HISTORY

OF

PHILADELPHIA.

1609—1884.

BY

J. THOMAS SCHARF AND THOMPSON WESTCOTT.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY OF PHILADELPHIA.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, 1700–1800.

PENN'S CITY—DURING THE REVOLUTION—THE AMERICAN CITY.

WHAT would have been William Penn's amazement if, on his leaving Philadelphia, in 1701, he could have had a vision of the future; if he had been told that three-quarters of the new century would barely have elapsed when the bells of that city would ring their joyful peals in honor of the birth of a nation, and "proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof;" if, peering still farther into that mysterious future, he had seen that nation, standing a giant amidst its elders, a living example of the blessings of freedom? But Penn, however far-sighted, had no such vision. Neither can we, even in this wonderful progressive age, pierce the veil of futurity and read what changes another century shall bring. The past alone is ours, and if, looking into that past, we see, with the mind's eye, the City of Brotherly Love as it was when its founder left it, never to return, and then turn to the Philadelphia of to-day, the contrast will be almost as great a matter of wonder to us as the vision would have been to Penn.

And yet the origin of Philadelphia is not hidden in the mist of ages, like that of the ancient cities of the Old World; it is not legendary, we need not accept uncertain facts from tradition, although more than two centuries have passed away since the first white man's cabin was built on the shore of the Delaware, and our fathers were participators in the struggle for liberty to which we owe our being as a nation. We should be too familiar with our history to wonder at it. But the rapidity of the changes that occurred in the last century has done the work of ages. Old landmarks have been swept off, records destroyed, the chain of events broken, so to speak. So busy, so hurried is life in our day, that we scarcely note the changes that take place around us. It must be the historian's task to collect the scattered material ere it is lost, to restore the missing links of facts ere they are disfigured by tradition, and by his pen-pictures of the past to attach a new interest to objects and sites amidst which we live unmindful of the memories they awake.

Philadelphia, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was an object of curious interest to the stranger. Its green meadows, blooming gardens, and noble forest-trees endowed it with a sylvan beauty which the lover of nature, the seeker of peaceful rest, must have found very attractive, while the practical observer could not but be struck with the bustling activity which already reigned about its wharves, its mills and shops, and the hopeful, contented air of its inhabitants.

The first few years of the eighteenth century did not bring much change in the mode of life or the costume of the Philadelphians, but they brought much improvement in the general appearance of the city. Many new houses were built, of brick, and generally two or three stories high. Some of these houses had a balcony, usually a front porch,—a feature of vast importance in house-building, for it became customary for the ladies of the family in pleasant weather to sit on the porch, after the labor of the day was over, and spend the evening in social converse. In those early days, and for a long time after, the young ladies of Philadelphia did not think it disgraceful to help in the housework; a few, having a large retinue of servants, and being gifted with artistic tastes, devoted themselves to painting, or did fancy needle-work; none were positively idle. But when the sun went down they were dressed and ready for the porch-parade; there neighbors came for a chat about those engrossing subjects, dress and housekeeping; friends called, and beaux strutted by in powdered wigs, swords, square-cut coats, tights, and silk stockings, running the gauntlet of all those bright eyes in order to lift the three-cornered hat to some particular fair one, and to dream about the sweet smile received in return.

If we are to believe the old chroniclers, love-making was a very tame affair then. The "girl of the period" did not yet exist, though the "dude" might, under another name; young ladies received company with their mammas, and the bashful lover, in the presence of the old folks, had to resort to tender glances and softly-whispered vows. Marriages were ordered promulgated by affixing the intentions of the parties on the court-house and meeting-house doors, and when the act was solemnized, they were required [by law] to have at least twelve subscribing witnesses. But true love laughs at shackles and bolts, the poet says; and Watson's "Annals" tells us the history of the elope-

ment (in 1707) of Col. Coxe with Sarah Eckley, a Friend and wealthy heiress. The funny part of the story is that the runaway couple, hastening through the Jersey woods in the night-time, met the chaplain of Lord Cornbury, the then Governor of New Jersey, and prevailed upon him to marry them, then and there, by fire-light.

The wedding entertainments must have been more of a nuisance than a pleasure, either for the parents or the young couple. They were inspired by a conception of unbounded hospitality, very common at that time. Even the Quakers accepted them with good grace until the evil consequences of too free drinking on those occasions compelled them to counsel more moderation. There was feasting during a whole day, and for the two following days punch was dealt out *ad libitum* to all comers. The gentlemen invited to partake of these libations were received by the groom on the first floor; then they ascended to the second floor, where they found the bride surrounded by her bridesmaids, and every one of the said gentlemen, be they one hundred, kissed the bride, so says the chronicle. It is to be hoped that the gentle bridesmaids took pity on the poor bride, and out of sheer generosity offered themselves in sacrifice to share the attentions of those gallant gentlemen.

On Second Street, corner of Norris Alley, was a commodious house, known as the Slate-roof House, and built before 1700 by James Porteus for Samuel Carpenter, who sold it to Penn. A very full description of this house, as well as of the house of Edward Shippen, first mayor of Philadelphia, of whom it was said that "he was distinguished for three great things,—the biggest person, the biggest house, and the biggest coach,"—has been given in the notes to pages 158, 159. The same notes contain biographical sketches of Shippen and Samuel Carpenter. We may add here that the last-named worthy citizen, who did so much toward building up the young city, left a numerous posterity. The Carpenter family of New Jersey are his descendants in the male line, while the female line is represented by the Whartons, Fishbournes, Merediths, Clymers, and Reads, all of Philadelphia.

A substantial brick building had been erected by Robert Turner so far back as 1685, at the northeast corner of Front and Arch Streets. A little later, he built, near the other, on Front Street, a large brick house, three stories high, "besides a good large brick cellar under it, of two bricks and a half thickness in the wall."

Robert Turner, in his letter describing his buildings, goes on to speak of the brick houses of Arthur Cook, William Frampton, John Wheeler, Samuel Carpenter, John Test, and others, all which houses, he says, have balconies.

William Frampton, Samuel Carpenter, and Robert Turner had established wharves under Penn's patent. Turner's patent was for Mount wharf, below Arch Street; Carpenter's for Carpenter's wharf, between Walnut and Dock Streets; and Frampton's for the lower wharf, between Dock and Spruce Streets.

The conditions of these patents are interesting as showing how Penn endeavored to preserve the bank on the east side of Front Street from being built upon; and also as indicating how King Street, afterward Water Street, was established. After reciting that permission is granted to "erect a wharf or quay, and to build houses thereon, for ye better improvement of ye place, as well as for his own particular profit," the deed provides that the said grantee,

"his heirs and assigns, do and shall in convenient time leave and make a sufficient cartway under and along by ye front of ye said banke, thirty foot wide, for ye common use of all persons in ye daytime; and also to make and erect convenient stairs, or other access, from ye water to ye said wharf, and from ye said wharf to ye street, by ye name of lower wharf, and to keep them in repair—to be for ye common use of all persons forever. Provided, also, that ye said William Frampton, his heirs and assigns, do not erect or raise any buildings above four feet above ye top of ye said banke, unless hereafter any person shall have privilege to build higher," etc.

JOSHUA CARPENTER'S MANSION, CHESTNUT STREET WEST OF SIXTH.
[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

Joshua Carpenter, the brother of Samuel, built a fine mansion on Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets—at the time a rural spot, remote from what was known as "the city," and where a citizen might have his country-seat. The grounds were beautifully laid out, and the fruit-trees and garden shrubbery for a long time attracted visitors. Many associations are connected with this house. Governor

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Thomas occupied those premises from 1738 to 1747. We are told by Watson that the Governor's amiable lady endeared herself to the young folks by indulging the pretty misses with bouquets and nosegays on May-day, and permitting the boys to help themselves from her fine cherry-trees.

There at one time lived with her father, Dr. Graeme, the celebrated Mrs. Ferguson, the poetess. Mrs. Ferguson was the granddaughter of Sir William Keith.

The Carpenter mansion changed hands several times; in 1761 it belonged to John Ross, attorney-at-law, who sold it to John Smith. In 1774 it became the property of Col. John Dickinson, who made great alterations to it, causing a new front, in modern style, to be made, facing on Chestnut Street. It then passed into the hands of Gen. Philemon Dickinson. During the war of Independence it was used as a military hospital. It was subsequently fitted up in magnificent style, and became the residence of the Chevalier de Luzerne, who gave there a brilliant entertainment, with fire-works, in honor of the birth of the Dauphin of France. In 1779 it was occupied by Monsieur Gerard, the French ambassador. Finally, it became the property and residence of Judge Tilghman, who sold it to the Arcade Company in 1826.

At the southwest corner of Third and Chestnut Streets was the magnificent mansion known as Clarke Hall. It was the property of William Clarke, of Lewes, a wealthy lawyer, who had been one of the members of the original Council of the Governor in 1682–83, and collector of customs in 1692. Mr. Clarke bought the lot from Thomas Rouse, in 1694, and erected upon it a fine brick house, with a double front, two stories high, with a hipped roof. It was then considered the largest house in town, and its fine garden was much admired. In 1704, Mr. Clarke conveyed his property to his son, William Clarke, Jr., on the occasion of the latter's approaching marriage with Rebecca Curtis, of Barbadoes. Young Clarke does not seem to have inherited his father's prudence and good management of his affairs, for in 1718 the Assembly of Pennsylvania directed that the house and lot at the corner of Third and Chestnut Streets should be vested in Charles Read and other trustees, and sold for the benefit of the creditors of William Clarke, Sr., and William Clarke, Jr. The property was conveyed to Andrew Hamilton by Anthony Houston, who had purchased it from the trustees. But the Privy Council repealed the act of the Assembly providing for the sale of Clarke Hall. Suit was entered in the High Court of Chancery, in England, by the representatives of William Clarke, Jr. After long delays the case was decided against Andrew Hamilton. He had died pending the suit, and his son, James Hamilton, bought up the rights of the claimants, and sold Clarke Hall to Israel Pemberton in 1745.

In 1701, Charles Read, merchant, purchased from Letitia Penn part of the large lot granted to her by William Penn four months previous. The piece sold was at the southwest corner of Front and Market Streets, measuring twenty-five feet front on the former by one hundred feet depth on the latter. It was considered the best piece in the Letitia lot. Mr. Read built a house on the corner, two stories high, with a high gable forming a third story, with a low garret-room above. A heavy eave from the second story and gables timbered and squared near the apex, gave this house a very quaint appearance.[1] Mr. Read died in 1737, and two years later his widow sold the property to Israel Pemberton, who lived in it until he bought Clarke Hall. After his death it became the property of his son John. In 1754 a public coffee-house was established on the premises, which thereafter was always known as the London Coffee-House. The want of a central coffee-house for the benefit of the merchants and traders had long been felt, and this one was established by subscription; the trustees, George O'Neill, William Grant, William Fisher, and Joseph Richardson, intrusted the management to William Bradford, who had been the first promoter of the enterprise.

The success of the enterprise very soon demonstrated how much the want of such a place had been felt by the better class of people, who objected to frequenting noisy taverns. Merchants met at the Coffee-House and transacted business over a cup of the fragrant beverage; the Governor and most of the high officials became regular *habitués*; ship captains hastened to bring there their budget of news, and strangers of distinction were brought to the Coffee-House to form the acquaintance of leading men. It became the great auction mart, public vendues of horses, carriages, and even of slaves, being held under the large shed which extended from the house to the gutter on both front sides.

Many exciting scenes took place in front of this popular resort during the troublous times which were the prelude to the Revolution. In 1765 bonfires were made of stamped parchment and of a Barbadoes paper bearing a stamp. In 1766, Capt. Wise, of the brig "Minerva," having brought from England the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, was escorted to the Coffee-House amid the huzzas of an enthusiastic crowd and there treated to a huge bowl of punch, in which he drank "Prosperity to America." It was there, also, an indignant crowd burned in effigy Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts, and

[1] Charles Read was a person of considerable importance in the young province. Logan writes of him to Penn in 1702, in relation to some transactions in which he had acted as appraiser, that he took him, "with the most here, to be a truly honest man." He held several important offices. He was a Common Councilman in 1716; alderman, 1726; and mayor of the city, 1726–27. He was sheriff of the county, 1729–31; justice of the peace in 1718 until his death; clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions and Orphans' Court for some time before his death; member of the Governor's Council, 1733; and judge of admiralty under the king, appointed 1735. All these were highly important positions, showing that Mr. Read was a man of most excellent character, trustworthy in all respects.—*Westcott's "Historic Mansions."*

Alexander Wedderburn, British solicitor-general, who had grossly insulted Dr. Franklin before the Privy Council. There, at last, on the 8th of July, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence had been publicly read, the king's arms, taken down from the chamber of the Supreme Court, were carried in procession and burned in the middle of the street, amid the cheers of the crowd.

If we have been led to speak at some length of the old houses of Philadelphia, we must not overlook the fact that from the beginning the spiritual needs of her citizens were provided for. A history of her churches fills an entire chapter of this book. We shall merely mention here such as were in existence during the period of which we are describing the manners and customs.

The Friends, naturally, since they were the most numerous, had several meeting-houses, the oldest being the Centre Square Meeting, erected in 1685. The Lutheran Swedes, after worshiping for several years in an old square block-house, attended service after 1700 in their beautiful church of Gloria Dei. The Church of England congregation had Christ Church erected in 1702. Previous to this date they had another church, the exact locality of which is not known, although there is proof that it existed since 1696.

The Presbyterians and the Baptists, after meeting together for worship in a small store, separated. The Presbyterians erected their first church in 1704. The Baptists had a small wooden building on Second Street from 1707 to 1731, when they pulled it down and built a brick church.

Catholics, by the laws of England, were not permitted to hold public worship, and the oldest chapel known to have been built by them was erected in 1753, in Willing's Alley. The first Lutheran Church was built in 1743 on Fifth Street. There was a large immigration of Germans,—forty thousand between 1701 and 1725. Many Swiss came over, settling first near Germantown, then at Pequea, in Lancaster County. These immigrants, like the first settlers at Germantown, included a good many Mennonites. In 1708 this sect had a church at Germantown, with fifty-two members, Rev. Jacob Godtschalk, pastor.[1]

The Moravian Church at the corner of Race and Bread Streets was built in 1742. The Methodist Church is of a later period. The first German Reformed Church was built on Race Street, near Fourth Street, in 1747.

It will be seen from the above list that the men of all denominations who came here to seek entire freedom of conscience and liberty of worship were not disappointed.

But however prosperous the condition of the new city, its people soon became aware that even in this land of plenty, of which Pastorius said, "God has made of a desert an inclosed garden, and the plantation about it a fruitful field," there could be suffering, and that "the poor ye shall always have among ye" is no vain prediction. They built a poorhouse on a green meadow extending from Spruce to Pine Street, and from Third to Fourth Street. This substantial, and, for the time, vast building also served the purpose of an asylum for the insane and a hospital. A large piazza ran round its four sides. The grounds were handsome, with many fine shade-trees. Altogether it was a noble charity.

Another admirable foundation was the Quaker almshouse, on the south side of Walnut Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, which was erected, according to tradition, on ground given to the society by John Martin in 1713, upon condition that they would support him for the remainder of his days.

If Philadelphia had numerous churches for her God-fearing citizens and almshouses to shelter the poor and the sick, she had also to provide quarters for a class of persons less worthy of sympathy. With the increase of population there came an increase of crimes and disorders. Not that the character of her citizens had undergone a regretable change, but because England emptied her jails upon the colony, and the title of redemptioner was a cloak under which many an evil-doer left his country "for his country's good," to prey upon the peace-loving community of Friends. For many years offenders were confined in "hired prisons," that is, in private houses, whose owners were paid to take care of the prisoners. An anecdote is told illustrative of the simplicity of these obliging jailers. In 1692, William Bradford, the printer, and John Macomb were implicated in the quarrels of George Keith with the Friends (no very grave offense), and were sent to prison for refusing to give security. The jailer, Patrick Robinson, after some time, granted them "the favor 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 with him. So, as they could not get in, they signed

[1] William Rittenhouse, Harman Casderp, Martin Kolb, Isaac Van Centern, Conrad Johnson, Henry Cassel, and their wives, Harman Taylor, John Key, Peter Caernects, Paul Klumpkes, Arnold Van Fossen, John Kolb, Wynant Bowman, John Gorgas, Cornelius Classen, Arnold Koster, Mary Tuynen, Helena Key, Gertrude Conners, Mary Van Tossen, Barbara Kolb, Anna Bowman, Margaret Huberts, Mary Sullen, Elizabeth Husters, Margaret Tuysen, Altien Revenstock, John Nise, Hans Nise, John Lensen, Isaac Jacobs, Jacob Isaacs, Hendrick Sellen, John Connerts, Peter Keyser, Herman Koster, Christopher Zimmermann, Sarah Van Centern, Civilia Connerts, Altien Tuysen, Catharine Casselberg, Civilia Von Fossen. "Branches from this church were established at Skippack, Conestoga, Great Swamp, and Manatawny before and about 1726, and they had added as ministers Henry Kolb, Martin Kolb, Claes Johnson, Michael Ziegler, John Gorgas, John Conerads, Claus Rittinghousen, Hans Burgwaltzer, Christian Herr, Benedict Hirschy, Martin Beer, Johannes Bowman, Velte Clemer, Daniel Langanecker, and Jacob Beghtly." (Westcott's "History," which seldom overlooks any of these minutiæ of local history, and is very full in its details, nearly seventy-five chapters being devoted to the subjects treated of in this single chapter.)

that paper in the entry or porch." As early as 1685 the subject of building a prison was discussed, and Samuel Carpenter, H. Murray, and Nathaniel Allen reported to the Court of Quarter Sessions that they had treated with workmen and advised with Andrew Griscomb, carpenter, and William Hudson, bricklayer, about the form and dimensions. The project, however, was not carried out until 1695, when the prison was built on High Street. It must have been a very poor affair, for as early as 1702 the grand jury presented it as a common nuisance. The new prison, at the southwest corner of Third and High Streets, for the construction of which an act had been passed in 1718, was finished in 1723, when the old building was torn down and the material sold. The whipping-post, pillory, and stocks were on High Street, in front of the market, and on the eastern side of Third Street.

STOCKS.

The building fronting on Third Street was for criminals. It was called the workhouse. Labor was deemed the best antidote to vice, and all offenders were put to work. The building fronting on High Street was called the debtor's jail. There the unfortunates who could not satisfy their creditors lingered until they could find persons *to sell themselves unto for a term of years to pay the same* (*i.e.*, their debts), *and redeem their bodies.* This custom of selling men for debt only applied to single men; married men stayed in jail. Such was the fate of "imprudent" debtors. Fraud sent men to the pillory and the workhouse. The last remembered exhibition of the kind was that of a genteel storekeeper, who, to build up his sinking credit, had made too free with other people's names. He was exposed in the pillory, where the populace pelted him with eggs, and, to conclude, had his ears clipped by the sheriff.

Whipping was the usual punishment for larceny and for felonious assaults. In 1743, a black man, brought up to the whipping-post to receive punishment, took out his knife and cut his throat before the officers could interfere.

Murder, house-breaking, horse-stealing, and counterfeiting were punished by hanging. A case of burning at the stake is reported as having taken place at New Castle in 1731. Catherine Bevan was sentenced to be *burned alive* for the murder of her husband, and Peter Murphy, the servant, who assisted her in the commission of the crime, to be hanged. In order to mitigate the sufferings of the wretched woman, it was designed to strangle her before the flames reached her, by pulling on a rope fastened round her neck, but the flames leaping suddenly from the pile, burned the rope, which broke, and she fell struggling into the fire.

We are horrified at the recital of these barbarous customs, but we should remember that the spirit of the laws of Pennsylvania was the same as governed the laws of England. The home government insisted upon the execution of the existing laws, and saw with jealous eyes any attempt at making new ones, even the civil laws necessary for the proper administration of the colony. 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 also 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."

On High Street, since called Market Street, there stood a mast supporting the great town bell. At the ringing of the bell the people assembled to listen to the royal and provincial proclamations, city ordinances, etc., which were read aloud by the town-crier, or beadle, from a stand at the foot of the mast. In 1707 a court-house was erected on this site. It was a grand edifice for the time, and the early Philadelphians, who called it the "Great Towne-House," or the "Guild Hall," were very proud of it. Beside the assessments and fines devoted to that purpose, many worthy citizens contributed, by voluntary gifts of money, to the expense of its erection. The first permanent market-house was built in 1710, adjoining the court-house, from which it extended to about halfway to Third Street.

It is pleasant to look over the records of the City Council and to study the patriarchal way in which the city was governed. A republican simplicity pervades the acts of the city fathers; a republican spirit, far ahead of the age, seems to have inspired many of the measures adopted for the common good. We are apt to think of Philadelphia, even then, as of an American city, forgetting that a long and bloody revolution had to intervene ere it would have any right to that name. The Philadelphians were unconsciously making the apprenticeship of self-government.

The office of mayor was no sinecure in those days. It was held for one year, and the Council, under the charter, elected one of their number to serve as mayor. Far from coveting this honor, the good Philadelphians often made strenuous objections to having it thrust upon them, preferring even to pay a fine,—it varied from twenty to thirty pounds as the city grew, and with it the cares of the office. Thus, in 1704, Alderman Griffith Jones is elected mayor, and prays that the fine of twenty pounds laid upon him for refusing to accept of the mayoralty the last year may be remitted him. In 1706, Alderman Story is fined twenty pounds for refusing the mayoralty. In 1745, Alderman Taylor was fined thirty pounds for refusing to serve. The Council then elected Joseph Turner, who also refused,

and was fined thirty pounds. The mayor and aldermen, after passing ordinances, gave their personal attention to having them carried out. They were, in every sense of the word, public servants. The mayor, once a month, "went the rounds to the respective bread-makers in this city," weighed the bread, and seized all such as was found deficient in weight. He had many other as arduous duties to perform.

Until the year 1746, it was the custom for mayors upon their retirement from office to give an entertainment to the gentlemen of the corporation. In that year the retiring mayor, James Hamilton, represented to the board that 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 in something permanently useful to the city. His donation was one hundred and fifty pounds. This wise and liberal precedent was followed by most of the mayors who succeeded him.

In 1747, William Attwood, retiring mayor, represented to the board that "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." Upon his motion it was ordered that one hundred pounds per annum should be paid to the mayor, out of the corporation stock, for three years to come.

OLD WATCHMAN.

The city had its beadle, constables, and public whipper. The beadle rang the bell and made proclamation of the ordinances. The constables, in addition to their customary offices, superintended for a long time the duties of watchmen. In 1713, William Hill, the city beadle, getting dissatisfied for some cause not put on record, broke his bell in a fit of passion, and swore that he would no longer serve. When he became cooler (sober?), however, he repented his folly and expressed deep sorrow, pledging himself to future good behavior. The good aldermen forgave him his offense, and continued him in office. Who paid for the cracked bell is not on record.

The name of one of Philadelphia's public whippers has been handed down to posterity. It was Daniel Pettitoe, who exercised his calling in 1753.

Taverns there were, in which a good deal of hard drinking was done in the Old England fashion, and brawls were frequent in consequence. The watch carried lanterns on their rounds, for there were no street lamps in those days. The young gallants were wont to go walking round on moonlit nights, stopping now and then to chat with the fair ones sitting on the porches (flirting would be the word nowadays), and as they could not do this on dark nights, they went by the name of *lunarians*.

This "porch amusement" was, of course, enjoyable only in the summer. In winter the company was received in the sitting-room, which might as well be styled the living-room, for the many purposes it served. They dined in it, and sometimes slept in it. The high-backed settee which graced one of its corners revealed a bed when the top was turned down,—a somewhat rough invention from which our modern sofa-bedstead has descended. The furniture and general arrangement of the room was of the simplest kind; settees with stiff high backs, one or two large tables of pine or of maple, a high, deep chest of drawers containing the wearing apparel of the family, and a corner cupboard in which the plate and china were displayed, constituted a very satisfactory set of parlor furniture in the early part of the eighteenth century,—sofas and sideboards were not yet in use, nor were carpets. The floor was sanded, the walls whitewashed, and the wide mantel of the open fireplace was of wood. The windows admitted light through small panes set in leaden frames. A few small pictures painted on glass, and a looking-glass with a small carved border, adorned the walls.

Wealthier people had damask-covered couches instead of settees, and their furniture was of oak or mahogany, but in the same plain, stiff style. They used china cups and saucers, delf-ware from England, and massive silver waiters, bowls, and tankards. Plated ware was unknown, and those who could not afford the "real article" were content to use pewter plates and dishes. Not a few ate from wooden trenchers. Lamps were scarcely known. Dipped candles in brass candlesticks gave sufficient light at night.

Carpets were introduced about the middle of the eighteenth century, and their use, for some time, was far from general. They were made to cover the centre of the floor, the chairs and tables not resting on, but around it. Paper-hangings came in a little earlier, and, in 1769, we see that Plunket Fleeson first manufactured paper-hangings and *papier-maché* mouldings at the corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets.

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Mr. Watson, in his "Annals," gives an extract from a letter of Mrs. Benjamin Franklin, written in 1765, to her husband, then in Europe, which shows that house-furnishing had taken a wide stride, at least among the higher classes. The letter is a minute description of their new house just then erected in Franklin Court. Here is the extract: "In the room down-stairs is the *sideboard*, which is very handsome

WILLIAM PENN'S SILVER TEA SERVICE.

and plain, with two tables made to suit it, and a dozen of chairs also. The chairs are plain horse-hair, and look as well as Paduasoy, and are admired by all. The little south room I have *papered*, as the walls were much soiled. In this room is a carpet I bought cheap for its goodness, and *nearly new*. The *large carpet* is in the blue room. In the parlor is a *Scotch carpet*, which has had much fault found with it. Your time-piece stands in *one corner*, which is, I am told, *all wrong*,—but I say we shall have all these *as they should be* when you come home. If you could meet with a *Turkey carpet* I should like it; but if not, I shall be very easy, for as to these things I have become quite indifferent *at this time*. In the north room, where we sit, we have a small *Scotch carpet*, the small book-case, brother John's picture, and one of the king and queen. In the room for our friends we have the Earl of Bute hung up, and a glass. May I desire you to remember drinking-*glasses*, and a *large* table-cloth or two; also a pair of silver canisters. The closet-doors *in your room* have been framed *for glasses*, unknown to me; I shall send you an account of the *panes* required. I shall also send the measures of the fire-places and *the pier of glass*. The chimneys do well, and I have baked *in the oven*, and found it is good. The room we call yours has in it a desk,—the *harmonica* made like a desk,—a large chest with all the writings, the boxes of glasses for music and for the electricity, and all your clothes. The pictures are not put up, as I do not like to *drive nails*, lest they should not be right. The blue room has the *harmonica* and the *harpsicord*, the gilt sconce, a card-table, a set of tea china, the worked chairs and screen, a very handsome stand for the *tea-kettle* to stand on, and the ornamental china. The paper of this room has lost much of *its bloom* by pasting up. The curtains are not yet made. The south room is my sleeping-room with my Susannah, where we have a bed without curtains, a chest of drawers, a table, a glass, and old walnut chairs, and some of our family pictures. I have taken all *the dead letters* [meaning those he had as Postmaster-General] and the papers that were in the garret, with the books not taken by Billy [his son, W. Franklin, at Burlington], and had them boxed and barreled up, and put in the south garret to await your return. Sally has the south room up two pair of stairs, having therein a bed, bureau, table, glass, and the picture,—a trunk *and books*,—but *these* you can't have any notion of!"

Mrs. Franklin's house was furnished in better style than the primitive "sitting-room" we have described, but such improvements were not to be found everywhere. The tastes of the people were simple, and it was a long time before they thought of luxury in their homes. What did it matter? They enjoyed health, they wanted none of the necessaries of life; food was abundant and wholesome, clothes did not change in style and color with every change of season, their amusements were of the simplest kind. Those bare walls resounded with as much genuine merriment as the brilliant parlors of our day. True

CREAM POT PRESENTED TO HENRY HILL BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.
Motto, "Keep bright the chain."

love-vows were whispered on that rustic porch or under the noble tree that sheltered the roof. The old people sitting in the chimney-corner planned and schemed as much as papas and mammas of modern times do about their children's future.

Hospitality and good feeling reigned. The large pine table often groaned under the weight of the viands spread out in welcome of some friendly guests.

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The punch-bowl was a fixture even in the Quaker's house, and it was not deemed a crime to enjoy a social glass. We may even admit that our old citizens were hard drinkers, which is far from meaning that they were drunkards. They were sensible enough to distinguish use from abuse, and temperance societies had not yet been invented.

The dress of the early Philadelphians was necessarily simple, made of strong and coarse material that could resist the hard usage to which it was put. Men could not hew trees, build houses, and drive the plow in velvet coats and satin breeches, nor could their wives and daughters bake and scrub and sweep with their hair "frizzed, crisped, and tortured into wreaths and borders, and underpropped with forks, wires, etc.," and flounced and furbelowed gowns. Coarse cloth and deerskins for the men, linseys and worsted for the women, were of every-day use; the "Sunday-go-to-meeting" clothes were carefully preserved in the huge chest of drawers that contained the family apparel. There was little difference between the dress of the Quakers and that of the remainder of the people. The former's adoption at a later date of a more formal costume of sober color was an effort to resist the extravagances of fashion, which had penetrated into the far-distant colony, making its belles and beaux a distorted counterfeit of the beruffled and gilded courtiers of Queen Anne's or George I.'s times.

But fashion is a mighty ruler, against which it is useless to rebel. The greatest men, thinkers, poets, philosophers, and soldiers have bowed to her decrees, and made themselves appear ridiculous to please "*Monsieur Tout le Monde*," as the Frenchman said. As for the dear ladies, whom they wish to please is a mystery, for have they not, from the oldest time to the present day, often accepted the most unbecoming styles of dress and *coiffures*, despite of the protest of their male admirers? They must have a more laudable object than exciting admiration, and their apparent fickleness of taste conceals, perhaps, a charitable desire to comfort such of their sisters to whom nature has not vouchsafed perfect symmetry of form or feature. Some woman of high rank has very large feet, and to conceal them she wears a long dress; immediately the prettiest little feet hide themselves; a lady of the British court had one of her beautiful shoulders disfigured by a wart; she concealed the unpleasant blemish by means of a small patch of black sticking-plaster; soon black patches were seen on every woman's shoulders; thence they crept to the face, and were seen cut in most fantastic shapes on the chin, the cheeks, the forehead; the tip of the nose was the only place respected. An *infanta* of Spain had the misfortune of being born with one hip higher than the other; to conceal this defect a garment symmetrically distended by wires was invented, and, forthwith all the ladies wore hoops. Louis XIV., of France, whose neck was not of the straightest, introduced the large wig, with curls descending half-way down the back and covering the shoulders; the men, as a matter of course, adopted the cumbersome head-gear. The women were loath to conceal their shoulders, so, after a time, they found a means of making quite as extravagant a display of their hair: they built it up in an immense pyramid, so high at one time that a woman's face seemed to be placed in the middle of her body. A lady of diminutive stature finding that this upper structure was disproportionate to her size, had wooden heels, six inches high, adapted to her shoes; all the women learned to walk on their toes, and the tall ones looked like giantesses. An old magazine publishes the doleful tale of a gentleman who, having married a well-proportioned lady, discovered, when she appeared in *déshabille*, that he was wedded to a dwarf. That old rake, the Duke de Richelieu, the fit companion of the dissolute Louis XV., having grown gray, was the first to use powder over his hoary locks, and for fifty years all Europe powdered the hair with flour or starch. Even the soldiers had to be in the fashion, and some curious economist once made the calculation that inasmuch as the military forces of England and the colonies were, including cavalry, infantry, militia, and fencibles, two hundred and fifty thousand, and each man used a pound of flour per week, the quantity consumed in this way was six thousand five hundred tons per annum; capable of sustaining fifty thousand persons on bread, and producing three million fifty-nine thousand three hundred and fifty-three quartern loaves!

As we have had occasion to remark, the fashions were slow in changing in Pennsylvania during the early part of the eighteenth century, and Addison could not have said of the ladies of Philadelphia as he did of the London belles,—"There is not so variable a thing in nature as a lady's head-dress. Within my own memory I have known it rise and fall above thirty degrees. About ten years ago it shot up to a very great height, insomuch that the female part of our species were much taller than the men. The women were of such enormous stature that we appeared as grasshoppers before them. At present the whole sex is in a manner diminished and sunk into a race of beauties that seems almost another species. I remember several ladies who were once very near seven feet high that at present want some inches of five. How they came to be thus curtailed I cannot learn. Whether the whole sex be at present under any penance which we know nothing of, or whether they have cast their head-dresses in order to surprise us with something of that kind which shall be entirely new; or whether some of the tallest of the sex, being too cunning for the rest, have contrived the method to make themselves sizable, is still a secret, though I find most are of opinion they are at present like trees, new lopped and pruned, that will certainly sprout up and flourish with greater heads than be-

fore." This was before the time of powdered heads; when this fashion did come, the ladies' head-dresses rose to a greater height than before.

Let us picture a fashionable couple walking in the streets of Philadelphia in 1712. The lady trips lightly on her dainty little feet cased in satin slippers. Her flounced silk petticoat is so distended by the recently-introduced hoops that it is a mystery how she can pass through an ordinary-sized doorway; her tightly-laced stomacher is richly ornamented with gold braid; the sleeves are short, but edged with wide point-lace, which falls in graceful folds near to the slender wrists. Her hair, no longer propped up by wires and cushions, drops in natural curls upon her neck. A light silk hood of the then fashionable cherry color protects her head. The useful parasol was not yet known, but she carries a pretty fan, which, when folded, is round like a marshal's baton.

The gentleman walks by her side, but is precluded from offering her the support of his arm by the amplitude of her skirts, and of his own as well, for his square-cut coat of lavender silk is stiffened out at the skirts with wire and buckram; it is opened so as to show the long-flapped waistcoat with wide pockets wherein to carry the snuff-box and the bonbonnière. The sleeves are short with large rounded cuffs; his gold-fringed gloves are hidden in his good-sized muff. A point-lace cravat protects his neck, and over his tie-wig he wears a dainty little cocked hat trimmed with gold lace. His feet are encased in square-toed shoes with small silver buckles. His partridge-silk stockings reach above the knee, where they meet his light-blue silk breeches.

At a respectful distance behind come the gentleman's valet and the lady's maid. He wears a black hat, a brown-colored coat, a striped waistcoat with brass buttons, leather breeches, and worsted stockings, stout shoes with brass buckles. The abigail's dress is of huckaback, made short, the skirts not so distended as those of her mistress, yet are puffed out in humble imitation of the fashion. A bright apron and silk neckerchief and a neat cap give a touch of smartness to the plain costume.

Here come a worthy tradesman and his buxom wife. His coat, of stout gray cloth, is trimmed with black. His gray waistcoat half conceals his serviceable leather breeches; worsted stockings and leather shoes protect his legs and feet. The good dame by his side has put on her chintz dress, and though the material is not as costly as that worn by the fine lady before her, it is made up in the fashionable style, and the indispensable hoops add to the natural rotundity of the wearer. A peculiarity in her costume is the check apron that spreads down from her stomacher, concealing the bright petticoat.

This simplicity of apparel was the rule, the costly style previously described the exception. Very ordinary material was still used among our citizens, and articles of clothing were considered so valuable as to be in many instances special objects of bequest. Henry Furnis, who died in 1701, bequeathed to one of his daughters his leather coat, leather waistcoat, his black hat and cap. To another daughter he left his blue waistcoat, leather breeches, and muslin neck-cloth; and to another daughter a new drugget coat.

Gunner Swanson, the Swede, who died in 1702, bequeathed "deer-skins dressed" and "not dressed." John Budd in 1704 devised his "beaver hat" to his brother. Peter Baynton in 1710 made special devises of a remnant of plush, two and a half yards, plate buttons suitable for breeches, his best hat, "a frieze coat without buttons on or to be put on it," one large waistcoat without buttons, and woolen hose. A runaway servant is advertised as having worn at the time of his departure a green silk handkerchief about his neck, a broad-brimmed hat, a brown-colored coat, mixed kersey jacket with horn buttons, leather breeches, and worsted stockings.

This disregard for the behests of fashion could not last, however. The Friends were alarmed. Although in the early days they had not been averse to bright colors, they advocated a still greater simplicity in apparel and customs when they saw the fashionable follies of Europe penetrating into the quiet colony. It was too late, however, to stem the current. They had lost much of their influence; new social elements had given a character to the community, and all they could do was to endeavor to protect the young people of their sect from the contamination of these worldly ways, so much at variance with their own ideas and principles.

In 1726 the following testimony was borne against female vanities by women who were not vain:

"From Woman Ffriends at the Yearly Meeting held at Burlington the 21st of the Seventh month, 1726, to Woman Ffriends at the several Quarterly and Monthly Meetings belonging to the same,

"Greeting:

"*Dear and well-beloved Sisters*: A weighty concern coming upon many ffaithful ffriends at this meeting in relation to divers undue liberties that are too frequently taken by some that walk among us and are accounted of us, we are willing, in the pure love of Truth which hath mercifully visited our souls, tenderly to caution and advise our ffriends against those things which we think inconsistent with our ancient Christian testimony of plainness in apparel, &c., some of which we think proper to particularise.

"As first, that immodest fashion of hooped petticoats, or the imitation of them, either by something put into their petticoats to make them set full, or wearing more than is necessary, or any other imitation whatsoever, which we take to be but a branch springing from the same corrupt root of pride. And also that none of our ffriends accustom themselves to wear the gowns with superfluous folds behind, but plain and decent; nor go without aprons; nor to wear superfluous gathers or plaits in their caps or pinners; nor to wear their heads dressed high behind; neither to cut or lay their hair on their forehead or temples.

"And that ffriends be careful to avoid wearing striped shoes, or red or white heeled shoes or clogs; or shoes trimmed with gaudy colors.

"Likewise that all ffriends be careful to avoid all superfluity of furniture in their houses, and as much as may be to refrain using gaudy flowers or striped callicoes and stuffs.

"And also that no ffriends use that irreverent practice of taking snuff, or handing snuff-boxes one to the other in meetings.

"Also that ffriends avoid the unnecessary use of fans in meetings, lest it divert the mind from the more inward and spiritual exercise which all ought to be concerned in.

"And also that ffriends do not accustom themselves to go with bare breasts or bare necks.

"There is likewise a tender concern upon our minds to recommend unto all ffriends the constant use of the plain language, &c., being a branch of our ancient Christian testimony, for which many of our worthy Elders underwent deep sufferings in their day, as they likewise did because they could not give the common salutations by bowing and cringing of the body, which we earnestly desire ffriends may be careful to avoid.

"And we further tenderly advise and exhort that all ffriends be careful to maintain love and unity, and to watch against whisperings and evil surmisings one against another; and to keep in humility, that nothing be done through strife or vain glory; and that those who are concerned to take an oversight over the flock, do it not as lords over God's heritage, but as servants to the churches.

"Dear Sisters, these things we solemnly recommend to your careful notice, in a degree of that divine love which hath graciously manifested itself for the redemption of a remnant from the vain conversation, custom and ffashions that are in the world, that we might be unto the Lord a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, showing forth the praises of Him who hath called us out of darkness into his marvelous light. That we may all walk as children of the light and of the day is the earnest desire of our souls.

"We conclude with the salutation of unfeigned love, your ffriends and sisters.

"Signed on behalf and by order of the said meeting, by

"HANNAH HILL."

The Quakers had partially laid aside the wig, but the day had not come when men were to see the absurdity of wearing other men's hair instead of their own. Light hair for periwigs is advertised by Oliver Galtry, periwig-maker, in High Street, near the market, in 1722; and George Sheed, periwig-maker, in Front Street, advertises in 1726 that he buys all sorts of light and gray hair. A murderer who escaped from New York is advertised as having worn a bob-wig, a sad-colored stuff coat trimmed with silver, and a flowered silk waistcoat and breeches.

The wigs held their own until after the return of Braddock's broken army. The hair was then allowed to grow, and was either plaited or clubbed behind, or it was worn in a black silk bag, adorned with a large black rose. From this it dwindled down to the queer little "pigtail," which, not many years past, could be seen bobbing up and down on the high coat-collar of some old gentlemen of the last generation.

Stiff high-back chairs and settees, a stiff style of dress,—for the hooped petticoat and wired coat-skirt carry with them no idea of graceful ease,—must have given the manners a tendency to stiffness. The stately minuet was, very appropriately, the fashionable dance of the day, at least among what was called "the politer classes;" the "common people," that is, the great social body not comprised in that upper-tendom, did not follow the fashions so closely, and enjoyed merrier dances, the favorite among which was "hip-sesaw."

Notwithstanding those distinctions of classes which sound oddly to our republican ears when we forget that the Philadelphia of which we speak was not a republican city, every tradition attests the fact that the most cordial relations existed between those classes. William Fishbourne, in his manuscript narrative, says, "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." Mr. Watson, writing in 1842, says he has often heard aged persons say that decent citizens had a universal speaking acquaintance with each other, and everybody promptly recognized a stranger in the streets. The hospitality of the early settlers was proverbial, and Mr. Kalm, who was here in 1748, expressed his surprise "at the universal freedom with which travelers were everywhere accustomed to leap over the hedges and take the fruit from the orchards, even while the owners were looking on, without refusal."

It is evident that the social prejudices of Old England had been considerably softened by the necessities of colonial life. Mutual helpfulness was natural and unavoidable when none could feel perfectly independent of the others; besides, the great majority of the early settlers were Quakers, or, as their other name implies, *friends*, the simplicity of whose religion did not admit of differences of rank and birth, or, at least, with whom these differences could not affect social relations. Yet these prejudices did exist, although the hereditary gentlemen were not domineering as in England, nor were the tradesmen cringing and submissive. In a new country every one must needs contribute to the common prosperity; labor is always honorable, and the honest laborer feels that he is as good as any other man. But while they possessed the dignity of manhood, the tradesmen of olden times were not ashamed of their calling; they did not try to ape the manners or copy the dress of their employers, or, as the Englishman would say, of their betters. They had no foolish pride; they formed a class of society, a useful class; they were content with the knowledge of their own worth, and did not care what imaginary barriers separated them from other classes. They went about their daily work as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, etc., clad in garments suited to their occupations,—strong buckskin breeches, check shirts, and flannel jackets, generally protected by the large leather apron from their breasts to below their knees. Their wives and children wore plain clothes; their homes were simple and comfortable, and saw as much mirth and genuine happiness as the homes of the wealthy. They were free from that bane of the modern poor man's home,—the desire for show, the craving for outward appearances of prosperity beyond their reach. It is such men, the bone and sinew of the country, together with the hardy tillers of the soil, who have fought her battles, secured her liberty, and founded her prosperity.

Tradition does not mention the antagonism between labor and capital,—the cloud that darkens the horizon of the republic in our day. It is true that in that golden age capital was not selfish, labor was not covetous.

The tradesmen of Philadelphia, with a view to check any attempt to encroach upon their rights by

those who claimed a superiority of rank, had formed a union under the name of "The Leather Apron Club." In 1728, Benjamin Franklin, then a young printer, twenty-two years of age, gave that name to an association which he and ten others formed for the purpose of mutual improvement. They attempted to establish a library of their own, and to this attempt, which partially failed as originally conceived, grew that most admirable of Philadelphia institutions, the library. The very interesting history of the Philadelphia Library being given in another chapter of this work, we have merely mentioned it to note the fact that, with one or two exceptions, the founders of Franklin's Leather Apron Club were tradesmen, and that all rose to distinction, several occupying places of honor and trust in the service of their country.

There were few hired servants in those days; menial labor was done by black slaves and German and Irish redemptioners. Slavery was not repugnant to our forefathers' notions of justice; it was admitted even by the Quakers. But the slaves of Philadelphia were happy; harsh treatment was not countenanced by public opinion. Servants were regarded as forming an integral part of the family, and proper attention paid to their comforts.

Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler, already quoted, who came to Philadelphia in 1748, seems to have thoroughly investigated the question of servants. He says that there were two classes of white servants: the first were quite free to serve by the year. They could even leave their masters before the expiration of the twelve months; but in that case they were in danger of losing their wages. A man-servant, having some abilities, got between sixteen and twenty pounds in Pennsylvania currency. This was in Philadelphia; the wages were not so good in the country. A maid-servant received eight or ten pounds a year. These servants had to buy their own clothes. The second class consisted of such persons as came annually from Germany, England, and other countries for the purpose of settling in the colony. Some were flying from oppression, others from religious persecution, but most of them were too poor to pay the six or eight pounds sterling required for their passage. They agreed with the captain that they would suffer themselves to be sold for a few years on their arrival. Very old people made arrangements to sell their children, in order to secure their own passage. Some could pay part of the passage-money, and were sold only for a short time. Some of the Germans, although having the means to pay their way, preferred to suffer themselves to be sold with a view that during their servitude they might gain some knowledge of the language of the country and have time to decide what pursuits would be most advantageous. The average price of these servants was fourteen pounds for four years' servitude. The master was bound to feed and clothe his servant, and to present him with a new suit of clothes at the end of his term of servitude. The English and Irish commonly sold themselves for four years, but the Germans frequently agreed with the captain to pay him a certain sum of money for a certain number of persons, and, on their arrival in America, they tried to get a man to pay their passage for them, giving him in return one or several of their children to serve for a certain number of years. If the demand was brisk, they were thus able to make their bargain with the highest bidder.

The purchase of black slaves involved too great an outlay of capital to be as general as that of white servants, and they were not held in large number by any one master.

The amusements of the young people of Philadelphia were, for many years, of the simplest and most innocent kind. Riding, swimming, and skating afforded pleasant out-door sport. "Going to meeting," although it may not be classed as an amusement, was certainly a pious recreation for the young Quakers and Quakeresses. It interrupted the monotony and seclusion of the domestic circle. The immigration of more worldly persons, in sufficient numbers to counterbalance the influence of the Friends, introduced hitherto unheard-of gayeties among them.

Yearly Meeting, in 1716, advised Friends against "going to or being in any way concerned in plays, games, lotteries, music, and dancing." In 1719 advice was given "that such be dealt with as run races, either on horseback or on foot, laying wagers, or use any gaming or needless and vain sports and pastimes, for our time passeth swiftly away, and our pleasure and delight ought to be in the law of the Lord."

In 1722 was advertised the exhibition of "the Czar of Muscovia's country-seat, with its gardens, walks, fountains, fish-ponds, and fish that swim." It was to be seen at the house of Oliver Galtery, the periwig-maker, in Market Street, near the court-house. In 1724 the first rope-dancer that astonished the young town held forth upon Society Hill, and made his announcement as follows:

"By permission of his Excellency Sir William Keith, Bart., Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, this is to give notice to all gentlemen and ladies and others, that there is newly arrived to this place the famous performance of roap-dancing, which is performed to the admiration of all beholders.

"1st. By a little boy of seven years old, who dances and capers upon the strait roap, to the wonder of all spectators.

"2d. By a woman who dances a corant and jigg upon the roape, which she performs as well as any dancing-master does upon the ground.

"3d. She dances with baskets upon her feet and iron fetters upon her legs.

"4th. She walks upon the roap with a wheelbarrow before her.

"5th. You will see various performances on the slack roap.

"6thly. You are entertained with the comical humour of your old friend, Pickle Herring.

"The whole concluding with a woman turning round with a swift motion, with seven or eight swords' points at her eyes, mouth, and brest, for a quarter of an hour together, to the admiration of all that behold the performance.

"There will also be several other diverting performances on the stage, too large here to mention.

"The above performances to be seen at the new booth on Society Hill,

to begin on Thursday next and last the term of twenty days, and no longer.

"The price on the stage, 3s.; in the pit, 2s.; in gallery, 1s. 6d.

"To begin exactly at 7 o'clock in the evening."

In 1726, Matthew Garrigues, at the sign of Prince Eugene, in Second Street, advertised for sale "a new billiard-table," certainly the first of which we have any account in the province.

Small shows now, from time to time, made their appearance. In 1727, "The Lion, King of Beasts," was advertised to be exhibited in Water Street. Admission for each person, one shilling. In April, 1737, there was exhibited at the Indian King Tavern, on Market Street, a cat having one head, eight legs, two tails, and from the breast down two bodies. This monstrous production was considered a curiosity worthy of special attention. In 1739 there was exhibited at Clark's Tavern, sign of the Coach and Horses, Chestnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth, a mechanical contrivance of moving figures, representing Joseph's Dream, Joseph in Egypt, etc. In 1744, something of the same kind, but more fanciful in the performances of the various figures shown, the whole moving by clock-work, was exhibited at the Crooked Billet Tavern, on King [Water] Street. In the same year there was exhibited at the Indian King, in Market Street, "a beautiful creature, but surprising fierce, called a leopard." In the same year the following advertisement appeared:

"To be seen at the house of John Saunders, huntsman, the upper part of Second Street, a strange and surprising creature called a mouse [moose], about the bigness of a horse. It has a face like a mouse, ears like an ass, neck and back like a camel, hind parts like a horse, tail like a rabbit, and feet like a heifer. It was lately brought to town, and came four hundred miles, and is so fine limbed that it can jump six feet high. Price to men, sixpence, and threepence to children."

In 1740 the camel was exhibited. In 1742 there was a magic-lantern exhibition; in 1745 a camera-obscura; in 1749, some curious shell-work and a philosophical machine.

But these shows were harmless amusements; a greater shock was given to Quaker propriety on the 31st of August, 1738, when the following advertisement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Mercury*:

"This is to give notice that Theobald Hackett, dancing-master (lately come from England and Ireland), has opened a DANCING-SCHOOL in this city, at the house wherein Mr. Brownell lately lived, in Second Street, where he will give due attendance and teach all sorts of fashionable English and French dances, after the newest and politest manner practiced in *London*, *Dublin*, and *Paris*, and will give all young ladies, gentlemen, and children (that please to learn of him) the most graceful carriage in dancing, and genteel behavior in company, that can possibly be given by any dancing-master whatever."

Whether as a consequence of a visit of this Terpsichorean professor to the city, or from the increase of persons who understood dancing, it cannot now be known, but it is certain that as early as 1740 a dancing assembly was formed in the city, and also an association for musical purposes. They had a room for the holding of parties and balls. This appears from the account of the conduct of Mr. Seward, the friend and companion of Whitefield, who attempted to close that saloon during the preaching of the latter. In 1748 the members of the dancing assembly were as follows: Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Lawrence, Jr., John Wallace, Phineas Bond, Charles Willing, Joseph Shippen, Samuel McCall, Jr., George McCall, Edward Jones, Samuel McCall, Sr., Redmond Conyngham, Joseph Sims, Thomas Lawrence, Sr., David McIlvaine, John Wilcocks, Charles Stedman, John Kid, William Bingham, Buckridge Sims, James Hamilton, Ro. Mackinet, William Allen, Archibald McCall, Joseph Turner, Thomas Hopkinson, Richard Peters, John Swift, John Kearsley, William Plumsted, Andrew Elliot, James Burd, Adam Thompson, Alexander Stedman, Patrick Baird, John Sober, David Franks, John Inglis, Ninian Wiseheart, Abram Taylor, James Trotter, Samson Levy, Lynford Lardner, Richard Hill, Jr., Benjamin Price, John Francis, William McIlvaine, William Humphreys, William Peters, James Polyceen, William Franklin, Henry Harrison, John Hewston, David Boiles, Thomas White, John Lawrence, Thomas Graeme, John Cottenham, John Moland, and William Cozzens.

In this year the dancing assembly was under the direction of John Inglis, Lynford Lardner, John Wallace, and John Swift. The subscription was forty shillings.

Gentlemanly accomplishments were looked after during this period. In 1742 there appeared this notification:

"These are to give notice to all gentlemen who desire to learn the true method and art of defense of the small-sword in its greatest perfection, and extraordinarily quick and speedy, with all the guards, parades, thrusts, and lessons thereunto belonging fully described, and also the best rule for playing against artists or others with blunts or sharps, that they may be taught the same by me, Richard Kyenall, professor and master of the said art, who is to be spoken with at Dr. Richard Farmer's, in Second Street.

"*Note.*—He teaches gentlemen either in private or public, by the month or the whole."

In 1746 one Kennet advertised to teach the arts and accomplishments of dancing and the use of the small-sword.

This notice elicited, in a succeeding newspaper, an indignant article, signed by Samuel Foulk, in which he said, "I was surprised at his audacity and brazen impudence in giving those detestable vices those high encomiums. They be proved so far from accomplishments that they are diabolical."

In 1749 the following advertisement appeared in the public journals:

"John Beals, music-master, from London, at his house in Fourth Street, near to Chestnut, joining to Mr. Linton, collar-maker, teaches the violin, hautboy, German flute, common flute, and dulcimer, by note. Mr. Beales likewise attends young ladies or others that may desire it at their houses. He likewise produces music for balls or other entertainments."

All this might be borne, but in the same year, 1749, an event happened which was well calculated to fill with alarm and sorrow the bosoms of the worthy Friends. A theatrical company made its first appearance in Philadelphia. In John Smith's manuscript

journal is given the following entry, under date of Sixth month (August) 22, 1749:

"Joseph Morris and I happened in at Peacock Bigger's and drank tea there, and his daughter being one of the company who were going to hear the tragedy of 'Cato' acted, it occasioned some conversation, in which I expressed my sorrow that anything of the kind was encouraged."

Where this company performed is not known. It might have been at the store-house in Water Street near Pine, afterward occupied by Hallam's company, to whom the introduction of the drama in this country, in 1752, has been erroneously assigned. That these comedians must have lingered here several months is shown by the following representation, made to the Common Council on the 8th of January, 1750:

"The Recorder reported that certain persons had lately taken upon them to act plays in this city, and, as he was informed, intended to make a 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 behavior, or by such other means as they should think proper."

Possibly the action of the magistrates produced the flight of these sons of Thespis from the city. The *New York Gazette* of the 26th of February, 1750, contains the following:

"Last week arrived here a company of comedians from Philadelphia, who we hear have taken a convenient room for their purpose in one of the buildings lately belonging to the Hon. Rip Van Dam, Esq., deceased, in Nassau Street, where they intend to perform as long as the season lasts, provided they meet with suitable encouragement."

This company was under the management of —— Murray and Thomas Kean. They remained in New York over a year, and the casts of the plays performed by them during that period were published in the New York papers.

Society in 1750 was certainly more lively than in the earlier part of the century. Dancing was freely indulged in, although not countenanced by the Friends. Entertainments were frequently given, at which conviviality sometimes exceeded the bounds. The use of strong drinks, justifiable in the case of the first settlers as intended to counteract the effect of exposure to the inclemencies of the seasons and hard out-door work, had become widespread, and habitual intoxication was not uncommon. It became necessary to check this fatal practice; but it was no easy matter to impress upon the people the evil consequences of a long-contracted habit that had become hurtful only because it had been carried to excess. Friends, with their usual thoughtfulness, were the first to move in this matter. They did so cautiously, yet denouncing the evil and adopting repressive measures so far as the members of their own society were concerned. In 1726 Yearly Meeting adopted strong resolutions against the practice of giving liquor to persons present at public vendue, which had the effect of exciting bidders and creating an incautious rivalry between them, thereby stimulating them to offer much higher prices than the goods were worth. The Yearly Meeting determined that members of their profession who indulged in this practice should be dealt with. In 1743 a petition was sent to the Assembly from Chester County complaining of this same practice of giving liquor at public vendue,—

"the excessive drinking of which frequently produced swearing, quarreling, and other scandalous enormities, and, moreover, was often the cause that poor people gave extravagant prices for unnecessary things, whereby families were much oppressed, and sometimes ruined."

In 1736 Yearly Meeting repeated its advice against the frequent use of drams, or other strong drink, in families or elsewhere, and particularly to be cautious of giving them to children, and thereby accustoming them to the habit of drinking such strong liquors. In 1738 it was resolved to caution Friends against the "*too frequent* use of strong liquors." This advice was repeated in 1749 and 1750. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 1733 are some remarks upon dram-drinking, caused by the fact that a woman had been found dead from the use of liquor.

These remarks of the *Gazette* give us a correct notion of what sort of a breakfast the good dames used to eat, and describe the consequences of tippling in a most graphic manner. Says the *Gazette*,—

"It is now become the practice of some otherwise discreet women, instead of a draught of beer and toast, or a chunk of bread and cheese, or a wooden noggin of good porridge and bread, as our good old English custom is, or milk and bread boiled, or tea and bread and butter, or milk, or milk coffee, &c., they must have their two or three drams in the morning, by which, as I believe, their appetite for wholesome food is taken away, and their minds stupefied, so that they have no longer that prudent care for their family to manage well the business of their station, nor that regard for reputation which good women ought to have. And though they find their husbands' affairs every day going backward, through their negligence, and themselves want necessaries; though there be no bread in the house, and the children almost barefoot this cold weather, yet, as if drinking rum were part of their religious worship, they never fail their constant daily sacrifice."

This was a sad state of society, and the wonder is how the Philadelphians ever succeeded in shaking off the incubus of drink. They were in a fair way of becoming a community of sots.

In 1729 the *Weekly Mercury* said that on the 1st, 2d, and 3d nights of October, in the previous year,—that being about election time,—there was drank and thrown away, in and about the city, four thousand five hundred gallons of common beer.

Drunkenness was attacked and defended in verse, the following having been published March 21, 1734:

"This town would quickly be reclaimed
If drams no more had vent,
And all the sorts that could be named
To *Strombolo* were sent.

"If none did *tiff* or *Sampson* mix,
And *punch* were quite rejected,
And all the *rum* thrown into Styx,
The work would be perfected.

"For brewers' skill is mostly such,
Their art is so divine,
Scarce any one would drink too much,
Except a goat or swine.
"Yours, R. W."

A reply, March 28, 1734, was as follows:

"ANSWER TO 'R. W.'

"This town would quickly be reclaimed
If every man was wise,
Or (be a lesser number named)
The persons who advise.

"To tell of Strombolo and Styx,
But not the way to either,
We still shall tiff and Sampson mix—
Drams, punch, and rum together.

"Pray, since the brewers' art divine,
And beer so much surpasses,
Bid them a faithful skill to join,
And to reject molasses.
"W. R."

Edward Shippen, in a letter written to his son Edward, afterward chief justice, gives a feeling picture of the habits of the young men of that period. After noting particularly the fact that himself and his son Joseph did their work at Lancaster "without tasting a drop of strong liquor, confining their drinking in the evening to a little wine after eating a light supper," and recommending this practice most affectionately to Edward, he goes on to say,—

"It is too common a thing for young men, when they first appear upon the stage of action, to aim at grandeur and politeness. They delight to see their friends (often falsely so called) frequently at their houses, and to entertain them in a genteel manner. The friends are pleased with this, and bring other acquaintances with them to dine, etc. Then, afterwards, they sit at table two or three hours tippling of wine and punch, which, rendering the company unfit for any business, a walk to the Bowling Green or billiard-table is proposed and consented to; and on their return from thence in the evening, instead of being calm and cool, and having the pleasure of reflecting upon a well-spent day, either for the advantage of their family or of both, they are become so stupid that they don't know what to do with themselves, but either go to a tavern or to one or other of their houses to drink away care till the clock strikes twelve; and then, being quite devils and quite beasts, they stagger away home to snore and groan by the sides of their innocent young wives, who deserve ten thousand better things at their hands, and all this after the poor young things have been moping at home and bemoaning themselves of their hard fate, and crying out one hundred times in an evening, 'Well, if these be the pleasures of matrimony, would to heaven that we had remained under our parents' roof!' But, to return, when they have wallowed in their beds until about eleven o'clock next morning, they then raise their unclean bodies in order to act the same part over again. Can any rational creature excuse such behavior to God, to his wife and family, or even to himself?"

There were already many taverns in those days,—not such coffee- and chocolate-houses as they had in London, where the most famous literary and political clubs held their meetings, and which were frequented by fashionable men, who sought the society of the wits,—such places as the "Chapter Coffee-House," where Dr. Buchan, Sir Richard Phillips, Alexander Chalmers, Dr. Busby, and other celebrities met, or the immortal "Button's Coffee-House," the headquarters of the Spectator's Club, where Addison, Steele, Pope, Ambrose Phillips, and others could be found enjoying social converse, and criticising the vices and follies of their time. Philadelphia could not yet boast of such places of resort, although it had long possessed establishments yclept "coffee-houses," a name that indicated a claim of superiority over the taverns, but whose frequenters called oftener for liquors, malt and spirituous, than for the fragrant Arabian berry or the nutritious bean of the cocoa-bush.

The old taverns of Philadelphia were certainly not all objectionable; many were quiet, respectable houses, where people arriving in the city might obtain refreshments, or a citizen might enter to have a social glass and chat with an acquaintance; but many, too many, perhaps, were bacchanalian resorts, frequented by dissipated young bloods and, often, by very bad characters. It is not to be wondered at that the practice of hard drinking prevailed to such an extent, and if we have dwelt at some length on this subject it is not that the vice was peculiar to this community; far from such being the case, it is a matter of congratulation that our forefathers should have succeeded in resisting and finally eradicating a practice which was generally accepted in England at the time. Drunkenness and profligacy of the worst kind prevailed in the higher ranks of society in the old country; the former was checked before it had destroyed the manhood of the colonists, the importation of the latter was a failure, if ever attempted, and though our grandmothers may have imitated the extravagance in dress of the court ladies, they never imitated their morals.

Weddings were occasions for feasting and frivolity, and the drinking on such occasions was often excessive. The practice was discountenanced by prudent parents and by Friends generally. Thomas Chalkley, in his journal for 1725, notes the fact that he went home after attending a marriage at Horsham, at which Governor Keith was present, without going to the marriage dinner, "being sensible that great companies and preparations at weddings were growing inconveniences among us, which I was conscientiously concerned to discourage."

As early as 1716, the Yearly Meeting had advised that Friends everywhere avoid all extraordinary provisions at their marriages; and also, "as much as may be, *avoid inviting those who are not Friends or that will not be under our discipline.*" In 1720, Yearly Meeting scented a new danger: with an increasing population representing a diversity of creeds, the social circle had become very much mixed; the Friends could not hold themselves aloof from the rest of the people, however much they might differ on religious questions; now, many a pretty Quaker girl had won the heart of some gay gentleman, and a sober-minded young Friend was not always proof against the blandishments of some worldly beauty. The meeting solemnly advised against marriages between Friends and such as were not of that persuasion. That patriarchal body furthermore recommended that all con-

cerned "take care, at the houses or places where they go to or are at, after the meeting is over, that no reproach arise or occasion be given by any intemperate or immoderate feasting or drinking, or by any unseemly, wanton discourse or actions, but that all behave with such modesty and propriety as becomes a people fearing God."

A great abuse and evil of the burial customs at this time was in feasting, eating, and drinking among the persons attending on these occasions. This custom prevailed in England. When a person of high rank died the body was kept for several days "lying in state" for the public and their neighbors to come and look at it, and also to give time for the relatives who lived at a great distance to make the journey and be present at the funeral. These visitors had to be entertained, and in course of time what had been a matter of necessity became a general custom, and there was an entertainment at every funeral, be the deceased ever so obscure. The Yearly Meeting admitted that at some burials where people may come from a long distance there may be occasion for refreshments, but recommended that these may be taken in moderation. Friends, when they attended the burials of those not in communion with them, were advised to keep themselves and their children from going with the dead into their worship houses. They were instructed by the Concord Monthly Meeting in 1729 to desist from such "idolatrous practices" as putting names and dates upon coffins.

The English practice of burying by torchlight, satirized by Pope as a vain ostentation in the lines,—

> "When Hopkins dies, a thousand lights attend
> The wretch, who, living, saved a candle's end,"

was never general in Philadelphia. A few such funerals, however, are on record. The interment took place in Christ Church. Robert Asheton, recorder of the city, was buried in that way in 1727. In 1734, Lady Gordon also had the honors of a torchlight funeral.

The order of march at funerals in Philadelphia was as follows: The parson walked before the bearers, and if the deceased was a woman the ladies walked in procession next to the mourners, and the gentlemen followed after them. But this order was reversed if the deceased was a man, and the gentlemen preceded the ladies.[1] Samuel Keimer, in 1728, describes in elegiac verses the funeral of Aquila Rose, a printer, a poet, keeper of the ferry at High Street, Schuylkill, and clerk of the Assembly, a much lamented young man. The description is graphic, if not of the highest order of poetry:

> "His corpse attended was by friends so soon—
> From seven at morn till one o'clock at noon;
> By master-printers carried to his grave,
> Our *city printer* such an honor gave.
> A worthy merchant did the *widow* lead,
> And then both mounted on a stately steed.
> Next *preachers, common council, aldermen;*
> A *judge* and *sherif* graced the solemn train;
> Nor failed our *treasurer* in respect to come,
> Nor stayed the *keeper of the rolls* at home.
> Our aged *postmaster* here now appears,
> Who had not walked so far for twice twelve years;
> With merchants, shopkeepers, the young and old—
> A numerous throng, not very easy told.
> The *keeper of the seal* did on him wait:
> Thus was he carried, like a king—in state;
> And, what still adds a further lustre to't,
> Some rode well mounted, others walked afoot.[2]
> Church folks, dissenters, here with one accord,
> Their kind attendance readily afford.
> To show their love, each differing sect agree
> To grace his funeral with his company;
> And what was yet more grateful, people cried.
> Beloved he lived, see how beloved he died!
>
> "When to the crowded meeting he was bore
> I wept so long till I could weep no more;
> While *beauteous* LIGHTFOOT did, like *Noah's* dove,
> Sweetly declare God's *universal love,*
> His words like balm (or drops of honey) laid
> To heal those wounds grief in my heart had made.
> Three other preachers did their task fulfill,—
> The loving *Chalkley* and the lowly *Hill.*
> The famous *Langdale* did the sermons end
> For this our highly honored, worthy friend."

In 1748, "burial biscuit" is advertised for sale by a baker in the city, a proof that the feasting at funerals, so much inveighed against by Yearly Meeting, was as strong as ever, and even inspired the genius of speculation. To have "burial biscuits" to dip in their wine probably intensified the grief of the dear departed's friends. In fact, the chronicler in attempting to describe the manners and customs of the early Philadelphians must be continually drawing the line of distinction between the Friends and the remainder of the community. The former had their peculiar views about everything, and these views were sometimes greatly at variance with not only the accepted code of English society, but with the laws of the land. In the early days of the province the preponderance of the Friends was such that the settlement was in almost every respect a Quaker community; but in time the character of the immigration which steadily swelled the numbers of the city population changed. It was no longer the poor and the persecuted who fled to Philadelphia; the glowing reports of the prosperity of the colony, published in Europe, attracted many people, merchants with ample means, men of rank and of culture, who brought their families to this new Garden of Eden, adventurers who expected to make their fortunes in that wonderful *El-*

[1] This custom was not, as some writers believe, peculiar to Philadelphia. It prevailed (and may still prevail) in New Orleans, at least at the funeral of women, the ladies not attending the funerals of men.

[2] The names of some of the dignitaries who officiated on this occasion were as follows:

Master-printers—Andrew Bradford, Samuel Keimer, and Jacob Taylor.

City printer—Andrew Bradford.

Sheriff—Owen Roberts.

Treasurer of the province—Samuel Preston.

Postmaster—Henry Flower.

Keeper of the rolls—Robert Asheton.

Keeper of the seal—James Logan.

dorado. The ideas and habits brought by these newcomers could not but clash with the unostentatious quiet ways of the Friends. Their moral and religious views were different. What some deemed innocent pleasures the others condemned as sinful practices. Too much freedom on the one side, too much restraint on the other, created social antagonism. Time alone could effect the desirable fusion, and its work was slow. When, therefore, we describe customs that do not agree with the principles of Quakerism as set forth in the actions of their meetings, it must be understood that these customs were not followed by the Friends. On the other hand, it is clear that the decisions of the meetings could not be binding on the other denominations. Yet it must be confessed that if the Friends showed unnecessary opposition to many harmless practices, they never failed to oppose and condemn that which was really hurtful and immoral. Their influence checked many a vice, their seriousness was a counterpoise to the frivolity of those who obeyed the worldly code brought from Europe. The happy result of this struggle for the good, was that in little more than half a century society in Philadelphia had reached that happy medium between extravagant frivolity and exaggerated seriousness which has stamped it indelibly with the mark of true gentility, and left it to this day without a superior.

But we must go back to the early days. Yearly Meeting adverted again and again to the pomp and extravagance introduced in funeral ceremonies. The practice of Friends was to take the body from the residence to the grave, where it was interred amid profound silence. After the burial the company adjourned to the adjoining meeting-house, where there was speaking and praying. This silent parting with the dead, witnessed in an English burying-ground, inspired Miss Lucy Collins with the following very appropriate lines:

"ON SILENT FUNERALS.

"When expectation anxious wishing
Eloquence of words to hear,
The solemn pause of awful silence
Mortifies the itching ear.

"As such, perhaps, the great Dispenser
Sees it best to deal with man,
The depth of whose unerring counsel
Human wisdom cannot scan.

"The striking scene of death before us,
What can more *instruction* plead?
Since 'tis a road we all must follow,
'Tis a path that none evade.

"Though learned phrase and flowery language
Please the proud, exalted part,
Yet deeply searching home reflection
Can alone amend the heart."

In 1729 the meeting resolved against "the vanity and superstition of erecting monuments and entombing the dead with singular notes or marks of distinction, which is but worldly pomp and grandeur, for no encomium nor pompous interment can add worth to the deceased." It ordered the erection of tombstones over the graves of Friends to be stopped, and the tombstones already so placed to be removed. This order not having been generally obeyed, the meeting, in 1731, ordered the overseer to remove the tombstones so remaining.

As a closing remark to the not over-gay subject of funerals and tombstones, we will note here that the custom of issuing special invitations to persons to attend funerals prevailed, and such importance was attached to this mark of respect to be paid the dead, that funerals were delayed if the parties invited did not arrive at the time appointed. Yearly Meeting very properly condemned such delays. The cards of invitation to funerals had deep mourning borders and other emblems of death. They were imported from London.

Marriages between relatives were disapproved, and the question gave rise to much perplexity. In 1731 it was determined that Yearly Meeting would not proceed to prohibit marriages in degrees of affinity and consanguinity allowable by the laws of England. But this minute did not give satisfaction, the Burlington Monthly Meeting declaring that they had lately been exercised "with sundry marriages, to wit, one person marrying two sisters, etc., by persons professing truth." A committee of fourteen Friends was appointed in the succeeding year to consider the matter. In 1733 the committee made its report, condemning not only marriage with a sister-in-law, but with a wife's first cousin. The meeting did not think proper to prohibit marriages, "further than a man may not marry his wife's sister," but in 1739 a resolution was adopted against the marriage of a man with his wife's first cousin.

Courtship among the Quakers was a very solemn business. Before declaring himself, before he had a chance of winning the regard of the object of his affections, the lover must speak to her parents and obtain their permission to sue for her hand. This permission granted, he came "a courting;" that is, he must strive by his grave demeanor and solid conversation to make an impression on the fair one. While he strove to show his sentiments by these means he could not have the faintest idea of what were those of his *inamorata* toward him, unless a soft glance from her downcast eyes told the story. He could not, like other young men in worldly sphere, whisper his vows during a moonlight ramble, or squeeze her dainty fingers while crossing hands at the dance. The only pleasures they participated in together were eating and drinking and going to meeting. Such a thing as a pair of lovers going anywhere unattended by a chaperon was unheard of. They must make love in presence of witnesses. The chaperons, it is to be supposed, were often obligingly deaf and blind, for the young people generally came to a perfect understanding.

As the Friends ignored all frivolous pleasures, they

made up for this deprivation by the more substantial enjoyments of the table. Every Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meeting brought to the city considerable numbers of Friends who had to be entertained, and during their stay dinners and tea-parties were numerous. It is probable that the pleasure of meeting for social converse, more than the love of good cheer, constituted the principal attraction of these love-feasts.

The city during the first half of the eighteenth century had considerably improved in appearance. Peter Kalm testified to this in his description of Philadelphia in 1748, by the following remarks:

"All the streets except two which are nearest to the river run in a straight line and make right angles at the intersections. Some are paved, others are not, and it seems less necessary since the ground is sandy, and therefore soon absorbs the wet. But in most of the streets is a pavement of flags, a fathom or more broad, laid before the houses, and posts put on the outside three or four fathoms asunder. Under the roofs are gutters, which are carefully connected with pipes, and by this means those who walk under them when it rains, or when the snow melts, need not fear being wetted by the dropping from the roofs.

"The houses make a good appearance, are frequently several stories high, and built either of bricks or of stone; but the former are more commonly used, since bricks are made before the town and are well burnt. The stone which has been employed in the building of other houses is a mixture of black or gray glimmer. Very good lime is burnt everywhere hereabouts for masonry.

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"The houses are covered with shingles. The wood for this purpose is taken from the *Cupressus thyoides*, Linn., a tree which the Swedes here call the white juniper tree, and the English the white cedar. The wood is very light, rots less than any other, and for that reason is good for roofs, for it is not too heavy for the walls and will serve for forty or fifty years together.

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"The good and clear water in Philadelphia is likewise one of its advantages. For though there are no fountains in the town yet, there is a well in every house and several in the streets, all which afford excellent water for boiling, drinking, washing, and other uses. The water is commonly met with at the depth of forty feet. The water of the river Delaware is likewise good."

A more particular description of some of the buildings erected just before or soon after Mr. Kalm's visit will not be without interest.

A very remarkable building was the frame house of Benjamin Loxley, at the southeast corner of Little Dock and Second Streets. The construction was peculiar. Across the whole front was a large balcony sustained by the walls of the room below, and above this balcony the roof continued from the main portion of the house, and was sustained by very large carved cantalivers. Thus protected from sun and rain, and commanding a good view of the street, the balcony made an excellent rostrum. Watson says that when Whitefield first visited Philadelphia he preached from the balcony of Loxley's house to a very large congregation which had assembled in the street below, and wherever they could obtain a place for hearing. According to this version the Loxley house must have been built between 1725 and 1750, but Mr. Westcott, in his "Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia," shows that the lot upon which this house was built was conveyed by George Clymer to Benjamin Loxley on the 20th of April, 1759. The building known as the Loxley House, therefore, could only have been erected subsequent to that date, and Whitefield must have preached from it on his sixth or seventh visit to America.

Immediately opposite this house was a spring, called Bathsheba's Bath and Bower. This title has been curiously accounted for by the statement that the person who fitted up the spring was named Bathsheba Bowers. It is stated that she built a small house near the spring, furnished it with table and cups, and threw in the additional attraction of a library of books.

Loxley was a carpenter, and in 1744 resided on Arch Street, between Third and Fourth. In 1751 he had bought two lots on the south side of Spruce Street, between Front and Second, on which he erected houses and cut through a court, afterward known as Loxley Court. He subsequently made other purchases, which made him the owner of the greater part of the square between Front and Second and Union and Spruce Streets.

On the north side of Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, stood another peculiar-looking house. It was built by David Brientnall, who lived in another house, where he kept his store, at the southwest corner of Hudson's Alley. The house on Chestnut Street was built of stone, two stories high, with a gable attic. There was a pent-roof over the first story, and the eaves were extended over the second story, pent-roof fashion, for a considerable distance from the cornice. The gable was flattened in front, in the style of the church of St. Michael's, Fifth and Cherry Streets. This house was occupied for a long time by an invalid officer from Barbadoes. After Brientnall's death, in 1731, his widow moved into this house, where she kept a tavern at the sign of the Hen and Chickens. Subsequently it became the residence of Anthony Benezet, who died in it in 1784. It became quite noted as the Benezet House. An engraving of it was made by Strickland, the architect, and published in the *Portfolio* of 1818.

On Third Street, some distance below Walnut, was the elegant mansion built in 1746 for Charles Willing, merchant, who was a member of the City Council, and afterward mayor. It was constructed by John Palmer, bricklayer, after the model of the homestead buildings of the Willing family at Bristol, England. The door-posts and pediments were of Bath stone, imported from England, ready for immediate use. In front of this house two fine buttonwood-trees were planted in 1749 by Thomas Willing and John Palmer. They grew luxuriantly, and are still remembered by our older citizens. The survivor of these trees was cut down when the Pennsylvania Railroad Company erected its office upon the premises of the Willing mansion, about the year 1857. Charles Willing was brought to America in 1728 by his father, Thomas Willing, who established him in business in the same year.

One of the handsomest dwellings in the city was that of Charles Norris, erected in 1750, in Chestnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth. The following complete description of it is from the pen of the late Charles A. Poulson:

"It was a spacious and very commodious dwelling, and in its palmy days was said to be esteemed one of great elegance and splendor. The main house was sixty feet front, and its ground-floor consisted of four rooms, which were intersected by a wide hall running through its centre to a cross entry at the foot of the spacious staircase, with doors opening into the piazzas on the east and west sides. The stairway, which entirely occupied the middle section of the building, was a fine-grained, highly-polished wild-cherry wood, so dark and well kept as to be taken for mahogany. It was lighted by windows in every story, and its flat roof, surrounded by a balcony, gave to the whole building an uncommon appearance. Beyond it was a small room, formerly of much comfort, in which a fire was kept up in winter, as well as in the parlor, where the housekeeper used to sit. Adjoining to this room, on the east, was a large kitchen, with a spacious fireplace. In the rear of the kitchen and housekeeper's room, and facing the south, was the green-house, which contained the best collection of exotics in the province at that period. It was well contrived, for the entrance into its stove was in the corner of the kitchen chimney, and a few chunks of hickory-wood put into it at bedtime prevented any danger from the cold. The hot-house (for the mansion had a pretty little one) was the first of the kind in our city, where excellent pineapples were raised. It was heated in like manner from the chimney of the wash-house,—a detached building to the east, where was a large copper boiler, oven, and other accommodations for a large family.

CHARLES NORRIS' MANSION.
[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

"The mansion-house was three stories high, and above-stairs contained chambers and light closets most convenient and pleasant, besides a large drawing-room, whose strong and substantial furniture, brightly rubbed, and Turkey carpets (when carpets were yet a luxury not everywhere to be seen) were often greatly admired; and to this enumeration of rooms of all description may be added that of an excellent laundry over the kitchen, and an airy apartment with deep shelves to dry herbs, which were cultivated in ample quantities in the garden, and used to be given away to the sick in winter. Indeed, it was the only place at that time in the city where they could be had, and the applications were often numerous, and the ability to answer them was a great pleasure to the kind and charitable ladies of the household. The cellars and vaults under the house were excellent, and by a contrivance in hydraulics water was introduced into the cellar designed for a dairy, and also carried by leaden pipes to the flat roof of the eastern piazza, and to that on the top of the house, where were cisterns lined with lead to receive the water in case of fire. It furnished more lead than any house in town to make bullets to repel the enemy during the Revolutionary war. The whole house, with its balconies and piazzas, was in its appearance altogether singular, and in its days of splendor, with its ample lot extending to Fifth Street, and garden undiminished, was really a beautiful habitation.

"The garden yet remains to be described,—a spot of elegance and floral beauty. It was laid out in square parterres and beds, regularly intersected by graveled and grass walks and alleys, yet some of the latter were so completely hid by the trees by which they were bordered as to be secluded and rural. A green bank, with flights of stone steps, led the way into the garden, and a profusion of beautiful flowers and shrubs first met the view. The western part was more irregular, and contained on a high dry spot, facing the south, and defended from the north by a high board fence, the hot-beds and seed-house, and led to a very shaded walk reaching to the extremity of the grounds, with vines, covering the fence, of the finest sort of grapes, and hid on the other side from the rest of the garden by a continuation of espaliers of the finest kind and in the most flourishing condition, and this walk opened into a little spot, separated by a slight railing, and through this a path led to a gate opening into the yard of a cottage, which was the residence of the gardener. It was a charming little retirement, and so secluded and quiet that it might have been thought to belong to a remote village, although the fence of its inclosure fronted on Fifth Street.

"The garden was plentifully stocked with the finest fruits. An old Swiss gardener was employed in it for over a quarter of a century, and one of the peculiarities of the family was the long time that the same faces composed its household. The coachman lived there as long as the gardener, for in fifty years the family had but two."

Another fine house, not unlike the Willing mansion in general appearance, was erected in 1745–46, by Edward Shippen, son of Joseph Shippen, on the west side of Fourth Street, below Walnut. It was of brick, three stories in height, forty-two feet front, and forty-four feet deep. A grand house for the time. The doorway in the centre was of stone; the steps, in the form of a truncated pyramid, were of soapstone, and the bricks were black and red. Mr. Shippen lived in this house from the time it was erected until very near the time of his death, in 1806, during which period he had been president of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions of the city and county of Philadelphia under the proprietary government, and an associate justice of the Supreme Court, and chief justice under the commonwealth. A sad memory is attached to this house. There, on the 8th of April, 1779, a large assembly of friends and relations met to witness the nuptials of Judge Shippen's sixth child and fifth daughter, Margaret, to a brave and honored soldier of the United States, one who stood high in the esteem of his brother-officers and of his chief. The bride was the leading belle of fashionable society. Warm were the congratulations of the guests upon the bright future that awaited the young couple. Mockery of human wisdom! The man whose alliance was to bring additional lustre to one of the most distinguished families of Philadelphia was Gen. Benedict Arnold, and ere long the venerable Judge Shippen bowed his head in shame, for his son-in-law was a traitor to his native land, alone in his infamy, the only American officer of high rank who betrayed the

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cause of liberty during the long struggle and terrible ordeal of the Revolution.

On Chestnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth, was, in an unfinished condition at that time, the State-House, commenced in 1732. Part of the building was occupied by the Assembly in 1736, but the whole was not finished till the end of 1744.

THE EDWARD SHIPPEN MANSION.

On the west side of Fourth Street, south of Mulberry Street, was the Academy. It was erected as a house of public worship, to contain also a charity school, in 1740, for a mixed congregation under the celebrated preacher, George Whitefield. It was used for these purposes until the year 1749, when, owing to the efforts of Benjamin Franklin, it was purchased, and converted into an academy, with the condition of partitioning off and reserving to the use of itinerants a preaching-hall therein forever. In 1753 the Academy had already attained great repute. It had, according to a manuscript letter from Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, quoted by Watson, sixty-five boys from the neighboring colonies.

Boarding-schools for young ladies were not known at that time. The girls were taught in common with the boys, and their instruction was, for a long time, confined to the elementary branches facetiously designated as the three R's; but they were instructed in the ornamental branches specially intended for their sex,—embroidery, music, drawing, etc. A teacher of the name of Horton first started the idea of a separate school for girls, and proposed to teach them grammar, geography, and other branches of learning. The pretentious names of "academies," "seminaries," "lyceums," etc., were not given to private institutions until after the year 1770. A Mr. Griscom was the first to advertise a private academy. Misses' boarding-schools came into existence toward the time of the Revolution. The old English system of flogging prevailed in all the schools. The boys were made to strip off their jackets and the girls to take off their stays, the better to feel the blows dealt with a leather strap.

An amusing anecdote of John Todd, the schoolmaster, is told in the "Annals." This old gentleman seems to have brought the art of flogging to perfection and to have found a certain delight in inflicting that punishment. Holding firmly the victim horsed across his knee, he would lay on measured strokes, asking after each other stroke, "Does it hurt?" "Oh! yes, master!" the writhing culprit would whimper. "Then I'll make it hurt thee more, 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 master at defiance. He seized him one day and, after giving him a sound thrashing, inquired, almost breathless with rage, "Does it not hurt?" To his discomfiture and the astonishment of the quaking scholars, Fudge cried out, "No! Hurray for leather crackers!" The irate Todd flung him sprawling on the floor, with these parting words, "Intolerable being! Get out of my school. Nothing in nature is able to prevail upon thee, not even my strap."

There were several handsome country-houses in the neighborhood of the city. Mr. Logan's house, on the Germantown road above Nicetown, was built in 1728, and received the name of Stenton. It was a plain two-story brick building, with a pent-roof and attics, sufficiently spacious to insure ease and elegance. Mrs. Sarah Butler Wister, in the sketch of Deborah Logan, in "Worthy Women of our First Century," gives the following charming description of Stenton: "Round the house there was the quiet stir and movement of a country-place, with its large gardens full of old-fashioned flowers and fruits, its poultry-yard, and stables. The latter were connected with the house by an underground passage, which led to a concealed staircase and a door under the roof, like the 'priest's escape' in some old English country-seats. . . . The offices surrounded the main building, connected with it by brick courts and covered ways. They were all at the back, and so disposed as to enhance the picturesque and dignified air of the old mansion, the interior of which is as curious to modern eyes as it is imposing. One enters by a brick hall, opposite to which is the magnificent double staircase, while right and left are lofty rooms covered with fine old-fashioned wood-work, in some of them the wainscot being carried up to the ceiling above the chimney-place, which in all the apartments was a vast opening set round with blue and white sculptured tiles of the most grotesque devices. There are corner cupboards, and in some of the rooms cupboards in arched niches over the mantel-pieces, capital show-cases for the rare china and magnificent old silver which adorned the dinner-table on state occasions. Half of the front of the house in the second story was taken up by one large, finely-lighted room, the library of the book-loving masters of the place."

Says Mr. Westcott, in "Historic Mansions," "The

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grounds were adorned with fine old trees. A splendid avenue of hemlocks—which legend would only be satisfied with declaring were planted by William Penn, although the poor man was dead years before Stenton was built—led up to the house. The Wingohocking meandered through the plantation, lighting up the landscape with brightness wherever its placid surface was seen. Stenton was a house for the living, but the affection which the owners had for it connected with the estate in time a last resting-place for the dead. The family graveyard is romantically situated, surrounded with old trees and with all the accessories of a spot to be picked out as a beautiful garden of the dead."

After Stenton was built, it was first occupied as a summer residence, but in time it became Mr. Logan's permanent dwelling until the time of his death, in 1751.[1] Stenton then passed into the hands of the eldest son, William, who was born on the place. He had been brought up to trade, but he now gave it up and removed to the family seat. He was a member of the Governor's Council in 1747. William Logan imitated his father in hospitality toward the Indians and in public exertions on their behalf. He divided his time between the pursuit of agriculture and traveling. He was in England during the war of the Revolution, and took no part in the great struggle. He died in 1776.

Before we leave Stenton let us note that it was there Thomas Godfrey, glazier,—already mentioned in these pages as one of the original members of the junto founded by Franklin, under the name of the "Leather Apron Club,"—discovered the principle upon which he constructed his improvement on Davis' quadrant (this improved quadrant superseded the other, and has scarcely been improved upon since). This discovery, like most all great discoveries, was due to accident. A piece of broken glass, which had fallen in such a manner as to reflect the sun, engaged Mr. Godfrey's attention while he was at work. To his philosophic mind—for he was no common glazier, but made optics and mathematics his study—this was a revelation. Quitting his work he hastened to Mr. Logan's library, and taking down a volume of Newton, he began to search its pages for a confirmation of his own theory. Mr. Logan coming in while he was thus engaged, Godfrey told him of the incident and explained to him the improved instrument he had in his mind. Mr. Logan understood at once the value of the discovery, and warmly encouraged Godfrey to put it in shape. Godfrey's quadrant was first tried in Delaware Bay by Joshua Fisher, of Lewes, and afterward at sea, but another, in the mean time, had pirated the invention, described it before the Royal Society in London, and succeeded in affixing his name to it. Few who handle "Hadley's" quadrant are aware of the fact that its real inventor was Thomas Godfrey, the Philadelphia glazier.

THOMAS GODFREY'S HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.
[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

Another elegant and spacious country-house was Bush Hill, erected in 1740 by Andrew Hamilton, the celebrated lawyer and member of the Assembly, on a tract, portion of Springettsbury Manor, which he had purchased from the Penns some years previous. Mr. Hamilton did not live long after erecting this mansion, and at his death it went to his eldest son, James Hamilton, who was subsequently Governor of the province. After the Governor's death, Bush Hill does not seem to have been occupied by any member of the family. John Adams when he was Vice-President of the United States (1790) lived in it for two or three years. In 1793, when the yellow fever was raging in Philadelphia, the mansion was unoccupied. William Hamilton (Jr.), the owner, being in Europe, it was taken possession of by the city and used as a yellow-fever hospital. The citizens' committee fearing a return of the epidemic, leased the property in 1795 from Mr. Hamilton for twenty-five hundred dollars. The Bush Hill estate was finally sold by the Hamilton family some time after the Revolution to a company of speculators in real estate, but the speculation proved a bad one, and the property went back to the Hamiltons. The house became a tavern and place of resort of some reputation at one time. It was burned down about the year 1808. The solid old walls stood the fiery ordeal, and Isaac Macauley, who bought the property, used them in fitting up an oil-cloth and floor-cloth manufactory. It was used for this purpose until 1871. In 1875 the old building was finally torn down and new houses erected upon the site, which was then on the north side of

[1] A full notice of Mr. Logan's life has been given at page 161.

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Buttonwood Street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth.

The first Andrew Hamilton had purchased from Stephen Jackson a large piece of ground in Blockley township, west of the Schuylkill, near and south of Market Street, and extending down to the Nanganesy (or Mill) Creek. He devised this property to his son Andrew, who, dying six years afterward, devised it to his son William Hamilton. This property was called The Woodlands. There was a comfortable house on it, which was torn down some time before the Revolution, and a magnificent mansion built upon the site. The following description of the Woodlands mansion, written in 1830, will be read with interest:

"The building embraces three different orders of architecture, but the Doric prevails. The north trace is ornamented in the front with six Ionic pilasters, and on each side is a pavilion; the south front has a magnificent portico, twenty-four feet in height, supported by six stately Tuscan columns. The vestibule at the north entrance is sixteen feet in diameter, from which a corridor leads on the east side to an elegant dining-room of an oval figure, the length of which is thirty feet and on the breadth twenty-two. Another corridor on the west side leads to the library, a square room with two bows, thirty by eighteen. In the library are many fine specimens of art, among which are several family portraits by eminent British and American artists. With these rooms communicate two others of smaller size, decorated with the works of several of the ancient painters from the Italian, Dutch, and Flemish schools, many of which pieces are of great merit. The grounds are in extent about ten acres, and contain a variety of indigenous and exotic trees and plants, chosen for their foliage or fragrance, and the scene is diversified by land and water in a very tasteful manner. A winding walk leads through the shrubberies and copses. At one spot there is a charming prospect of the city, at another a large expanse of water is visible. At the descent is seen a creek, overhung with rocky fragments and shaded by the gloom of the forest. Ascending from thence, the greenhouse appears in view, the front of which, including the hot-house on each side, measures one hundred and forty feet, and contains nearly ten thousand plants. There is surely no city on the continent in whose vicinity more beautiful country-seats can be found than in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and among these The Woodlands are conspicuous for their taste and elegance. The admirers of rural beauty may here find many objects to arrest their curiosity and to invite their observation."

Michaux, who visited Philadelphia in 1802, speaks of The Woodlands in this manner: "The absence of Mr. W. Hamilton deprived me of the pleasure of seeing him; notwithstanding, I went into his magnificent garden, situate upon the borders of the Schuylkill, about four miles from Philadelphia. His collection of exotics is immense, and remarkable for plants from New Holland, all the trees and shrubs of the United States, at least those that could stand the winter at Philadelphia after having once removed from their native soil; in short, it would be impossible to find a more agreeable situation than the residence of Mr. W. Hamilton."

Griswold speaks of The Woodlands as "a very charming spot," and says, "Mr. William Hamilton, who built the house and decorated the grounds, was a man of great taste in such matters, and embellished his beautiful mansion with such paintings and other works of art as were attainable in that day. His table was the frequent resort of artists and *bons vivants*."

In Blockley township, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, William Peters bought a piece of ground from Ruth Jones, widow of Daniel Jones, in 1742, and built thereon a small stone house. He made this property his residence, and named it Belmont. The situation was beautiful, the property embracing an island in the Schuylkill River, and running from the western bank out beyond the New Ford road, subsequently known as the Monument road. Some years later, the exact date is not known, the large mansion on the north, adjoining the small stone house, was built. Mr. Keyser, in "Fairmount Park," says of Belmont, "Its principal characteristics are a broad hall and small dormitories, small window-glass, and heavy sashes, highly ornamented, and high, wooden mantel-pieces, a comfortable dining-room, and open fireplaces. One of these, in the hall, is still used; the panel over it formerly held a landscape; the coat-of-arms of the family remains perfect on the ceiling. Other ornamental devices about the mansion are recognizable as belonging to that early period. The roof has been raised; the third story and piazza are modern. A library which adjoined the main house has also been removed since the judge's time. The date of the erection of the main out-building is fixed by a monogram, 'T. W. P., 1745,' cut on a slab set in the wall." The grounds are admirable, and contain some of the most superb trees in this country. The French traveler, Chastellux, designates Belmont as a "tasty little box in the most charming spot nature could embellish." Mr. Peters conveyed Belmont to his son Richard, who was born on the place in the first year of its occupancy. Richard Peters attained great fame as a patriot and as a judge of the United States District Court in Pennsylvania. After Judge Peters' death Belmont remained in possession of the family until the enlargement of Fairmount Park, when it came into the possession of the city of Philadelphia.

The description of so many mansions and fine houses erected during the first half of the eighteenth century may enable us to form an idea of the growth of Philadelphia, of increased wealth, introducing greater luxury in the mode of life of the inhabitants. Difficulties have been vanquished, fortunes have been made, society is no longer what it was at the departure of Penn; it has become more worldly; taste is more refined; the various elements of which the community was composed are more closely mingled, giving it a new character.

Especially toward the close of the half-century has the progress been marked. A traveler returning to England after a tour in America, writes to the *London Magazine* in 1749:

"It almost surpasses belief (when we consider that there were scarce any houses there about ninety years ago) the great extent of the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania. This hath, besides many others of near its length, one street of above a mile long, and the buildings as close together as in most places in London. There were built last year, between dwelling-houses, warehouses, and store-houses, about one hundred and twenty. The prodigious increase is not to be wondered at

when we consider that there arrive in this city yearly between three and five thousand Irish and Germans,—the most notable artificers of these staying generally in this city, and the peasants retiring to the country. Such is the plenty of provisions here that I have reckoned eighty carcasses of beef on one market-day,—they having two of a week. I have likewise numbered sixty country wagons in town on the same market-day."

The City of Brotherly Love continues to attract attention in Europe, and in 1759 we have another testimonial to its steady progress, in a notice which appeared in the "Grand Magazine of Universal Intelligence," published in London. The following is an extract from the article in question:

"The two principal streets of the city are each one hundred feet wide, and most of the houses have a small garden and orchard; while several canals are cut from the river, equally pleasant and useful. The wharves are spacious and well laid out, the principal being two hundred feet wide, and to this a vessel of two hundred tons may lay her broadside. A great number of vessels have been built here, twenty having been upon the stocks at one time. The inhabitants are said to be at present about thirteen thousand.

"Philadelphia has a great number of very wealthy merchants,—which is not at all surprising when we consider the great trade it carries on with the English, French, Spanish, Dutch, etc. Vast quantities of produce are brought down the Delaware and Schuylkill,—the former being navigable more than two hundred miles above Philadelphia, and the latter about one hundred. The Dutch employ nine thousand wagons, each drawn by four horses, in bringing the produce of their farms to market. In the year 1749 three hundred and three vessels entered inward, and two hundred and ninety cleared outward."

Let us take an inside view of the city which already attracted the attention and elicited the praise of travelers. Notwithstanding that, at an early period, narrow footwalks of brick had been laid in the principal thoroughfares, the beds of the streets had been left unpaved, or, where their miry and broken condition impeded travel, they were filled with pebbles. These improvements were generally made by the parties most interested, who would subscribe a sum sufficient to pay for the work. A general effort to have the streets paved was not made until 1761. A lottery was the means adopted to raise the necessary funds. There are frequent instances in the early history of the city of these lotteries organized for some object of public interest. The practice was not considered as a species of gambling; it was a voluntary tax, with a prospect of a profitable return for some of the lucky ones. The wealthy citizens subscribed freely, and every one used his influence to aid in the prompt sale of the tickets. The act for "regulating, pitching, paving, and cleansing the streets, lanes, and alleys, etc., within the settled parts of Philadelphia," was passed in 1762. The laborers employed on this work of paving were not very experienced, it seems, for one Purdon, a British soldier, related to John Purdon, store-keeper in Front Street, seeing how clumsily the men worked, offered to show them how to do it. He was a skilled pavior, and his services became so much in demand that the city officials obtained his release from the army by paying a substitute to fill his place.

Curb-stones were not in use previous to 1786. Until that time the gutters were protected by short posts placed at intervals. The dirty condition of the streets was a cause of frequent complaint. In 1765, Robert Erwin is made "a scavenger for seeing the streets cleansed once a week." What would Erwin ask to undertake the job to-day? It is not on record that he made a fortune out of street dirt, but neither can we find any complaint that he did not keep the streets clean.

Next to cleaning the streets comes the question of lighting them at night and protecting their inhabitants. For a long time the belated citizen, unless he carried a lantern, had no other light to guide his steps and save him from tumbling in mud-holes than that which shone feebly through the smoke-dimmed panes of some tavern-window. A few street-lamps were then put up, owned by private citizens, who, finding it troublesome to attend to them, met in consultation and agreed to pay a man a certain monthly sum (each three shillings and ninepence, says John Smith in his manuscript journal) to light them nightly. Thus was the first lamp-lighter commissioned. In 1750 the grand jury reiterated their oft-made representations as to the dirty condition of the streets and the necessity of lighting them. An act providing for the lighting of the streets was passed the following year, and the *Gazette* of October 3d (1751) announced that "on Monday last the streets began to be illuminated with lamps according to the act."

The appointment of the first watchman appears on the minutes as follows:

"July 1, 1700. It was unanimouslie agreed and assented to by ye Gov'r and Council that ——— be appointed, and is hereby authorized and empowered, to go round ye town with a small bell in ye night time, to give notice of ye time of the night and the weather, and if anie disorders or danger happen by fire or otherwise in the night time to acquaint the constables thereof."

The practice in the early times was for the Council to assign the duties of constables to certain citizens for a stated period. They were fined if they refused to act. No distinction was made in the selection, rich and poor, eminent or obscure, all were liable to be designated. The constables were charged to notify the grand jury of the nuisances occurring in their several wards, and to nominate the watchmen. The names of such men as Joseph Shippen, Abram Carpenter, George Claypole, and Henry Preston appear in 1706 as fined five pounds "for neglect to serve as constables." In 1704, "Gyles Green and William Morris are presented as not serving their tour of duty as watchmen when nominated thereto." In 1742 the inconvenience of this system was admitted, and the grand jury represented the need of a stated watch and watch-house. Very little was done, however, for in 1749 the grand jury insists strongly upon the fact that the five or six men employed as nightly watchmen, and who go their rounds in company, are a poor protection for so great a city, containing from two to three thousand houses and fifteen thousand inhabitants. The watch was thereupon increased.

That the city had remained so long with so few

guardians, and these private citizens, who did duty for the common good, is the best evidence of the orderly character of the young community. It was only when its population was swelled by the thousands who flocked to her shores yearly that we hear of thefts and robberies, of midnight brawls and debauchery, requiring a greater repressive force. And even then, how favorably it will compare with the great British metropolis! London, in 1736, had only one thousand street-lamps, and those were only lighted in the winter months. Her few watchmen were, for the most part, feeble old men, with just strength enough left to sing out in wheezing voice the time of night and state of the weather, but totally incapable of arresting or terrifying the evil-doer. Very few of the streets were paved, and great water-spouts projecting from the roofs of the houses made foot travel impossible when it rained. As late as 1744 the streets of London were so unsafe that the lord mayor and aldermen went to the king with an address setting forth the terrible grievances of the inhabitants, who were terrified, robbed, and wounded in the streets, even "at such times as were deemed heretofore hours of security," and that the officers of justice have been shot, some dangerously wounded, and others murdered, in attempting to discharge their duty by apprehending the offenders.

The shade-trees that embellished the streets of Philadelphia in those days were the buttonwood and the willow. The Lombardy poplar was introduced from Europe in 1786–87 by William Hamilton. While the grounds of some of the great mansions we have described could boast of rare flowers and shrubbery, the gardens in the city—almost every house had its garden—were bright only with the simple old-time favorites so neglected in these days of horticultural wonders,—the lilac, the rose, the snow-ball, the lily, the pink and tulip; above which the solemn sunflower and rank hollyhock lifted their tall heads. Morning-glories and gourd-vines climbed over the porch or shaded the summer arbor. Every house, generally, had its well. Public pumps were not numerous for some years. In 1744 the Union Fire Company offered five pounds reward for the apprehension of the persons "who stole the nozles from High Street and other streets." There were no public clocks to be consulted on the streets, but sun-dials were affixed to the walls of many houses for general convenience, as few people carried watches then. Mr. Watson mentions as still existing (in 1842) a large dial against a house (formerly the residence of Anthony Morris) on the north side of Pine Street, opposite Friends' meeting-house; another on South Second Street, and another on the north side of High Street, four or five doors west of Second Street.

Stores were quite numerous, and the goods offered for sale in great variety. Merchants generally resided on the premises in which they had their stores, and their wives and daughters often assisted them in the counting-room. The retail trade was for the most part in the hands of women. The old European practice of overhanging signs, bearing some device symbolic of the owner's trade, or often some fanciful name having not the slightest connection with it, had always prevailed. It was carried on to such an extent as to become a positive nuisance. In 1769 the setting up of signs, boards, poles, or other devices, extending from the house into the street, as well as the maintaining of all such signs, after the 1st of January, 1770, was prohibited, under penalty of a fine of five pounds.[1] An exception was made in favor of innkeepers.

[1] A list of these signs, many of which are whimsical in conceit, has been compiled by Mr. Westcott in his "History of Philadelphia." We insert it here as a historical curiosity:

1751.—Henry Flowers, watchmaker, sign of Dial, Second Street, between Chestnut and Blackhorse Alley; Yellow Key, Market Street, end of Jersey Market, Glover Hunt, ironmonger; Three Brass Cocks, Samuel Powell, brass-founder, Third Street, near Race; Handsaw and Crown, Solomon Fussell, opposite Christ Church; Hand and Shears, William Askin, Chestnut Street, near Second; Dish, C. Bradford, pewterer, Second and Arch Streets; Half-Moon, opposite Jersey Market, Peter Petridge, screen-maker; Sugar Loaf, Front and Catharine, John White; Mortar and Dove, Second Street; Sugar Loaf, Water, above Market, Capt. James Child; Tent, Thomas Lawrence, upholsterer, Second, opposite Church Alley; Three Bells, Thomas Gregory, brass-founder, Second, opposite Church; Thomas Say and Isaac Bartram, Three Bolt-heads, Second, above Arch; Founders' Arms, Second, near Market, John Smith and John Winters, who advertised to cast bells for churches, also brass mortars, mortar-pieces, cohorns, field-pieces, etc.; Cock, Second Street, Robert Mathews; Cradle and Coffin, Walnut Street, Samuel Williams, joiner; Lock and Key, Arch Street, William Rush, hardware; Sugar Loaf and Saddle-tree, Strawberry Alley, John Carl, saddle-tree-maker; Still and Golden Teakettle, Front, below Market, James Halden; Sloop, John Aris, Water, near Chestnut; Beaver, Samuel Howell, Chestnut, corner Strawberry Alley, dry-goods; White Stays, Second, near Market, John Aitkinson, stay-maker.

1752.—Blue Heart, Second, opposite Black Horse Alley, Joseph Maull, shears-maker; Ring and Dove, Charles Dutens, near Indian King, Market Street; Paracelsus' Head, Fourth Street; Hearse, Second, opposite Christ Church, John Nice.

1753.—Crown and Canister, Second, below Market, dry-goods; Bible and Crown, Third Street, Stephen J. Potts; Hand and Brush, Second Street, Henry Barbasin, scourer; Star, Market Street, Ann Redmond, dry-goods; Pestle and Mortar, opposite Presbyterian Meeting-House, Market Street, William Chancellor, druggist.

1754.—Sash Window, First [Front] Street, opposite the green pump, a little above the sign of the Queen of Hungary, George Brooks, glazier, plumber, and painter; Lamp and Crown, Second, near the Court-House, James Wagstaff, lamp-maker.

1756.—Royal Bed, corner Second and Chestnut, Edward Weyman; Crown and Cushion, Front and Chestnut, James White and Thomas Lawrence, upholsterers; Black Boy and Trumpet, William Forrest; Scrutoire, near New Market wharf, Society Hill, Francis Trimball, chairmaker; Golden Ball, Christopher Marshall, Strawberry and Chestnut, druggist.

1758.—Scythe, Fourth and Market, Whitehead and Jonathan Humphries, hardware; Black Bear, Second, above Race, James Caufman; Spinning Wheel, Market Street; Bell and Looking-glass, Chestnut Street, John Elliott; Fountain, Market Street, dry-goods; Key, Market Street, Wagstaff & Hunt, mustard-makers; Saddlers' Arms, Germantown; Three Bibles, John Bleakley, Market Street, opposite shambles, books, etc.; Golden Teakettle, Front Street; Gold-headed Cane, Second, below Walnut, Josiah Sherrard, sells bear-skins and hardware; Bottle and Three Bolt-heads, Second, above Arch, Say & Bartram, drugs; Teakettle and Canister, Benjamin Harbeson.

1759.—Spread Eagle, Arch, near Third; Hand and Earring, Chestnut Street, Austin Macknon, jeweler; Blue Lion, Water, above Arch, John Ross, has a servant-girl for sale; Dutch Fan, upper end of Market, between Fourth and Fifth, Adam Akert, wire-worker; Knapsack, Chestnut Street, opposite Charles Norris' house, Martin Brand, knapsack-maker;

Some of the old advertisements will enlighten us as to the choice the ladies had in dress-stuffs, though few, probably, can tell what the strange names mean. Articles for gentlemen were kept in the same stores.

Peter Turner, a merchant, advertised, in 1738, that he had for sale "broadcloth, kerseys, grograms, taffetas, harabines, sooloots, grassetts, poplins, chinus (chintz), fox curtains, belladine silks, fine sleeve-buttons, set in silver, and English periwigs." Other merchants advertised cotton romals, penascas, double and single sleetas, broad and narrow cadis, damask Florells, wove worsted patterns for breeches, women's and children's stays, garlix, watered barrogans, striped ducapes, mantuas, cherryderries, silk dunnadars, shaggyareen, seletius, chex, bunts, chelloes, satin-quilted petticoats.

Alexander Miller advertised, in 1739, that at his store, the sign of the Wig, in Second Street, were to be sold "A choice parcel of cawls, ribbons, roses, and fans, after the newest fashion, and likewise a large parcel of the best hard silk, where all gentlemen and others may be supplied with all sorts of periwigs after the best fashion now used in England, and at reasonable prices."

In 1745, Mary Cahill, who lived in Front Street, below Chestnut, advertised that she had for sale gentlemen's velvet and leather caps, and ladies' and children's caps, mantlets, pilareens, black bags, roses for gentlemen's wigs, and turbans for negroes.

Matthews & Charlton advertised, in 1744, that they sold "tyes, bobs, majors, spencers, fox-tails or twists, and perrukes of English hair." In the same year there was for sale, at the house of John Sanders, sign of "The Huntsman," in the Northern Liberties, "men's New Market stiff crown black velvet jockey-caps, with or without capes."

There was not any material change in the style of

Hand and Pen, Race, between Front and Second, Peter Thompson, India, China, and Madeira wine; Bell and Candlestick, upper end of Second Street, Dan. King, founder.

1760.—Pipe, Market Street, McLaughlin & Lane, drugs; Prussian Hussar, Levi Marks, tailor.

1762.—Comb-maker, Strawberry Alley, Christopher Angier, maker of combs, powder-horns, and spoons; Blue Ointment Pot, Second, below George Tavern, Luke Scanlon, drugs; Crown and Cushion, next door to London Coffee-House, Blanche White; Bible and Heart, Second Street, corner of Black Horse Alley, Andrew Stuart, printer; Sickle and Steel-yard, opposite the market, John Hendricks, cutter; Anchor and Hope, Martin Ashburn, late tavern-keeper, now baker, Poole's Bridge; Blackamoor, tobacconist, manufacturer of "fine pig-tail for gentlemen and ladies;" Case Knife, Timothy Matlack, Market, near Fourth, hardware; Piece of Reed, Market, west of Sixth, George Leacher, reed-maker; Golden Pestle, Second, between Market and Chestnut, Isaac Smith and Robert Harris succeed McLean & Stuart; Crown and Pearl, Ed. Milnes, goldsmith, Second, near Chestnut; Coach, Second near Walnut, James Chapman, barber; English Hunting Saddle, north side Market, fourth door above new printing-office, John Young, Jr., saddler; Golden Bell and Three Cocks, Front, between Market and Arch, James Smith, brass-founder; Hat and Crown; Bakers' Arms, Northern Liberties, Martin Noll, baker; Æsop in the Shades, Walnut Street; Three Nuns, Robert Lever's, Third Street, dry-goods; James Rivington, bookseller, corner Market and Front, opposite Coffee-House; Crown and Anvil, Second, near Spruce, Ben. Armitage; Ship, Thomas Harper, Strawberry Alley; Mariner, Crooked Billet wharf, James Mease; Crown, Ring and Parrot, Front Street, Samuel Alford; Fifty-six Pound Weight, Chestnut, opposite Three Tun Tavern, De Normandy and Pierce; Blue Anchor and Orange Tree, Front, near German; Three Reapers, Third Street, Edward Morris; Ship and Castle, Front, near Market, Anthony Hull; Bible, Second, between Arch and Race, Zachariah Poulson, bookbinder; Hat and Feather, Second Street, opposite the Royal George, John Drinker, dry-goods.

1764.—Indian and Pipe, Second and Race; Whittington and his Cat, Third Street, Southwark; Three Crown Sugar Loaves, Second, above Arch, David Shaffer; Two Green Canisters, Second, opposite Baptist meeting-house, grocery; Breeches and Gloves, Second, above Market, George Cooper.

1765.—Mariner, Front, near Drawbridge, Richard Harrison, schoolmaster; Ship in Distress, Water Street, Southwark, John Middleton; Long Plane and Handsaw, Hezekiah Niles, Church Alley; Boot and Spatterdash, Front Street, near the Drawbridge, Alexander Rutherford, shoemaker; Blue Hand, Race Street, between Front and Second, Everard Boulton, dyer; Architect, Chestnut, between Second and Third, James Lamb, carpenter; Hand-in-Hand, west side of Second, between Race and Vine, Daniel Mause, hosier; Blue Tea Canister, Second, above Arch, Theodore Meminger; Teakettle, Still, and Showboard, Second, below Black Horse Alley, James Haldane, coppersmith; Breeches and Broadaxe, Front Street, near Poole's Hill, Anthony Woodcock, deerskin breeches and gloves; Unicorn and Mortar, Market, between Front and Second, John Sparhawk, druggist; Lamb and Star, Alexander Smith, tailor, Front, opposite Pewter Platter Alley; Gilt Sickle, Second, above the church, Samuel Wheeler, cutler; Grindstone, Front, above Race, William Rusk, iron-monger; Hand and Watch, Front, below Spruce, Samuel May and Richard Clarke, watchmakers; Three Wise Men of the East, Market, between Sixth and Seventh; Bible and Crown, Chestnut Street, William Woodhouse, books; Swift's Head, Front, between Chestnut and Walnut, John Dean, books; Hand and Box Iron, Spruce Street, near the new chapel, Alice Williams, late from London, does up and clear starches; Rainbow and Dove, Walnut Street, Thomas Littlewood, silk scourer; Hadley's Quadrant, Front, between Chestnut and Walnut, Benjamin Condey, mathematical instruments; Seven Stars, White Horse Alley, Abel Gibbon, breeches-maker, washes and mends breeches; Lime-Tree, Front, opposite Coombs' Alley, Abraham Smith, fruiterer; Naked Boy, Second, between Market and Chestnut, George Bartram, broadcloth; Snuff Bottle, Water Street, between Market and Arch, Kearney & Gilbert; Gentleman and Lady, Norris Alley, Levi Marks, tailor and habit-maker; Circulating Library, Second, between Race and Vine, Lewis Nicola; Carpenters' Arms, Third, above the jail, Samuel Caruthers, hardware; Dog and Golden Kettle, Arch Street; Green Frying-Pan, Market Street, opposite the shambles, Dave Deshler, hardware; Chinese Balcony, Front, near Chestnut, Philip Wilson; Golden Slipper, Strawberry Alley, William Ross, from Scotland, shoe-store; Boerhave's Head, Second, near Walnut, Dr. Samuel Orm, druggist; Gold Laced Hat in Hand, Front Street, Richard Swann; Bell and Looking-Glass, Walnut, near Third, John Elliott; Bible and Heart, William Evett, Second, between Market and Arch; Crown and Shoe, Fourth, above Market, Richard Dickinson, silk and stuff shoemaker; Scythe, Sickle, and Branding Iron, Second, above Market, Samuel Wheeler; Golden Eagle, Chestnut, Ben. Randolph, carving, cabinet-ware, and wooden buttons; Blue Bonnet, Chestnut, between Front and Second, Henry Marks, starch-maker; Boerhaave's Head, Second and Walnut, Duffield & Delany, druggists; Trowel and Hammer, Second, below Walnut, Ab'm Wayne, dry-goods; Golden Lion, corner Second and Chestnut, John Carnan, jeweler; Golden Fleece's Head, Second, below Carter's Alley, George Bartram, woolen draper; Three Wise Men, Market, above Sixth, Tobias Rodolph; Crown and Tassel, Front, below Arch, George Ritchie, upholsterer; Golden Cup and Crown, Front, above the Drawbridge, Thomas Shields; West's Head, Second, near Walnut, Robt. Kennedy, pictures and prints; Golden Ball, Second, between Chestnut and Walnut, Thomas Douglas, dry-goods; Green Lamp, Chestnut, near Second, Eleanor Fitzgerald & Co., milliners.

1772.—Rising Sun, Second, below Market, William Smith, apothecary; German Flute and Hautboy, Second, above Vine, Jacob Anthony, turner; Highland Man and Bear, Second Street.

1773.—Lock, Jack, and Bell, Second, between Walnut and Chestnut, Alex. White Smith; Bell and Dragon, North Market, between Second and Third, Speakman & Carter; Golden Rose, Ludwick Kuhn, Arch Street; Golden Pelican, Second, above Arch, a distillery and a patent medicine store, Theodore Meminger; Hog, corner Second and Chestnut, John Hanna.

furniture in use at the beginning of the century. Yet it became more complete, as with increased prosperity there naturally came a desire to increase the comforts of home. Even without facts to support it, the inference drawn must be correct. Home, and especially an American home, is the dominion of woman, there she reigns supreme. It is her taste which adorns it and makes it pleasant to behold, it is her love and her cheerful spirit which make it a haven of rest for ever-busy, plodding, tired man. Can we admit that those merchants and tradesmen whose fortunes rose with the growing prosperity of Philadelphia were content to hoard their money or add to their lands without giving their wives and daughters the enjoyments of those elegancies and comforts which must add to the happiness of the family circle? Granted that the tastes of the people were simple, that they were not inclined to show or extravagance, when with an increased trade the importation of manufactured wares obtained larger proportions, and that was easily procured in the city stores which had been hitherto rare and difficult to obtain, the ladies were not deprived of their rights, and, while the younger and unmarried might be eager to price "grograms and taffetas," or even look at "cherryderries, shaggyareen, and chelloes," the worthy matron insisted upon having a good sofa for her parlor, and a large sideboard on which to display her newly-acquired glassware and her solid service of plate,—a present from the good husband on the anniversary of their marriage day,—or in which to secure the china or delfware,—the pewter having been exiled to the kitchen regions. Paper "for the lining of rooms" was advertised by Charles Hargrave in 1745. Paper-hangings and *papier-maché* work was manufactured in Philadelphia in 1769 (as we have had occasion to remark); it is likely that between 1750 and 1760 there were a large number of houses where wall-paper had taken the place of the primitive whitewash. Carpets, introduced in 1750, did not come so speedily in general use; but then they were expensive articles, and not very common in English households. Curtains of richer material, mantel-glasses and candelabra made their appearance in the parlor. Low bedsteads, of solid, carved mahogany, found their way to the chamber, although they did not supersede, to any extent, the popular beds long in use.

If there was an improvement in the furnishing of the average citizen's home, the wealthier Philadelphians, who erected splendid mansions and took such pains to beautify their grounds, could not do otherwise than buy furniture that would harmonize with the general arrangement of their houses. To the common paper-hanging they preferred wainscoting with some hard wood. Mr. Kalm says he saw in 1748, in Fair Hill, the country-seat of Mr. Norris,—one of the members of the Assembly,—a parlor wainscoted with boards of red cedar, which looked very well at the beginning, but was then quite faded and shabby. It was to be replaced with mahogany. The elaborately-carved and gilded furniture of Queen Anne's time, which remained so long in fashion, must have been in keeping with the grandeur of some of those Philadelphia mansions, and among the relics of olden time preserved in some of our families may be found some of the curious little tables, cabinets, and clock-cases made of pieces of different kinds of wood and called "marketry," or more properly *marquetterie*, from the name of the ingenious inventor, the Frenchman Marquette.

One decided improvement introduced in most of the houses, to the great comfort of the family, was the Franklin stove, which revolutionized the time-honored but objectionable method of warming the houses by means of open fireplaces. Dr. Franklin's invention, made in 1742, was an open stove, the plates of which had passages or air-chambers between them, through which the air circulated, diffusing a greater amount of heat in the room, with a positive saving of fuel. Robert Grace cast some plates for it, and Franklin wrote and published a pamphlet entitled "An Account of the New Pennsylvania Fireplaces wherein their Construction is particularly explained," etc. About the same time, there was a sort of stove made like a square box, which was set in the side of the kitchen fireplace, passing through the wall, so as to present the back end in the adjoining room, and was known as the German stove. They were made by Christopher Sauer, of Germantown. It is not known which of the two stoves was first invented, but Franklin's was decidedly the better one, and it became generally adopted.

There were no very material changes in the ladies' dresses, the hoop still maintaining its hold, as also the furbelows; the robe was made low in front, the upper part of the stomacher and the short sleeves edged with point-lace. Aprons were in fashion, and were worn sometimes long and at other times short, exposing the richly embroidered petticoat. Capuchin hoods were in style. But the greatest change was in the dressing of the hair. The simple and elegant *coiffure* of natural curls, already described, was in vogue only a few years. The old style of building up the hair in a high pyramid suddenly reappeared with still more exaggerated proportions. The hair was carried up over wire frameworks, stiffened with pomade sprinkled with powder, and formed a bewildering edifice adorned with curls, flowers, and feathers. Sometimes a sort of a little hat was perched on the apex of this wondrous structure. How our grandmothers ever had the patience to sit three or four hours under the manipulations of the hair-dresser, and how they could move, walk, and dance with such a load on their cranium, is the wonder of their granddaughters. Jewels—rich bracelets, necklaces, and chains—were much worn. It was the fashion for a lady to carry a costly gold snuff-box with a looking-glass inside the lid; as she opened the box to take or offer

a pinch, she could cast a surreptitious glance at her fair visage and see if her rouge was not coming off, and if her "beauty-spots," *i.e.*, patches, were still in the right places.

Satire often attempted to check the extravagances of fashion, but with little success. So it has been in all times, and a very thick volume might be made with the thankless advice given, in verse alone, by well-meaning men to the adorable creatures who read, smiled, and forthwith went to have a consultation with their dress-maker or their *modiste* about the latest style of dress or the coming bonnet. During the troubles that culminated in the Revolution, strenuous efforts were made to discourage the use of foreign manufactures. The ladies were appealed to, and for a time their patriotism was equal to the greatest sacrifices; yet during the Revolutionary period we shall hear many complaints of their extravagance. Enthusiasm and perseverance are very different virtues.

The following lines appeared in Bradford's *Journal* (Dec. 3, 1767):

"AN ADDRESS TO THE LADIES.

"Young ladies in town and those that live round,
Let a friend at this season advise you;
Since money's so scarce and times growing worse,
Strange things may soon hap and surprise you.
First, then, throw aside your high top-knots of pride;
Wear none but your own country linen;
Of economy boast—let your pride be the most
To show clothes of your own make and spinning.
What if homespun, they say, is not quite so gay
As brocades, yet be not in a passion;
For when once 'tis known this is much worn in town,
One and all will cry out 'tis the fashion!
And as one all will agree that you'll not married be
To such as will wear London fact'ry;
But at first refuse—tell 'em such do you choose
As encourage our own manufactory.
No more ribbons wear, nor in rich dress appear;
Love your country much more than fine things.
Begin without passion—'twill soon be the fashion
To grace your smooth locks with twine strings.
Throw aside your *Bohea* and your *Green Hyson tea*,
And in all things with a new fashion duty;
Procure a good store of the choice *Labradore;*
For there'll soon be enough here to suit ye.
These do without fear, and to all you'll appear
Fair, charming, true, lovely, and clear.
Tho' the times remain darkish, young men may be sparkish,
And love you much stronger than ever."

A Philadelphian, in 1769, sends to the *Penny Post* the following:

"RECEIPT FOR A MODERN DRESS.

"Pin a small bugle cap on as big as a crown;
Smout it off with a ribbon *vulgo dict* à pompon.
Let your powder be gray; and braid up your hair
Like the mane of a colt to be sold at a fair.
A short pair of jumps half an ell from your chin,
To make you appear like one just lying-in.
Before, for your breastpin, a stomacher bib on;
Ragout it with cutlers of silver and ribbon.
Your neck and your shoulders both naked should be—
Was it not for Vandyke blown with *chesa de free?*
Let your gown be a black, blue, yellow, or green,
And frizzle your elbows with ruffles sixteen.
Furl off your lawn aprons with flounces in rows;
Puff and pucker up knots in your arms and your toes;
Make your petticoats short, that a hoop eight yards wide
May decently show how your garters are tied:
With fringes of netting your dickey cabob;
On slippers of velvet set gold *à la daube*.
But mount on French heels when you go to a dance—
'Twas the fashion in England and likewise in France."

But let us not anticipate. The period of which we were speaking was one of peace and security. We were describing the dress of the ladies; they but copied the fashions of English society, with moderation doubtless, and, to the eternal honor of their womanhood, they did not copy its vices. Rev. Andrew Burnaby, who visited Philadelphia between 1759 and 1760, was very favorably impressed with our belles. Here is what he said,—

"The women are exceedingly handsome and polite. They are naturally sprightly and fond of pleasure, and, upon the whole, are much more agreeable and accomplished than the men. Since their intercourse with the English officers they are greatly improved, and, without flattery, many of them would not make bad figures even in the first assemblies in Europe. Their amusements are principally dancing in the winter, and in the summer forming parties of pleasure upon the Schuylkill and in the country. There is a society of sixteen ladies and as many gentlemen, called the Fishing Company, who meet once in a fortnight upon the Schuylkill. They have a very pleasant room erected in a romantic situation on the banks of that river, where they generally dine and drink tea. There are several pretty walks around it, and some wild and rugged rocks, which, together with the water and fine groves that adorn the banks, form a most beautiful and picturesque scene. There are boats and fishing-tackle of all sorts, and the company divert themselves with walking, fishing, going upon the water, dancing, singing, or conversing, just as they please. The ladies wear a uniform, and they appear with great ease and advantage from the neatness and simplicity of it. The first and most distinguished people of the colony are of this society, and it is very advantageous to a stranger to be introduced to it, as he thereby gets acquainted with the best and most respectable company in Philadelphia. In winter, when there is snow on the ground, it is usual to make what they call sleighing-parties, or to go upon it in sledges."[1]

When we read of the polished society of those days, of their elegant dresses, their jewels and laces and inimitable fashions, we cannot help thinking of one or two things which they did not have, things the poorest woman of our day could not do without. Tooth-brushes, until quite recently, were unknown, and the fairest lady rubbed her teeth with a rag, which, *horresco referens*, she dipped in snuff! Then they had no knowledge of ice-cream or soda-water, the former not having been introduced in Philadelphia until 1800 by a Mr. Bosio, who made a fortune, and the latter being a still more modern invention. A queer omission of the progress of the age was that they had no visiting or blank cards. Invitations to a ball or party were printed or written on the backs of playing-cards. All of which did not hinder the people from enjoying life. They were very fond of dancing, at least those who were not restrained by religious scruples. The City Assembly, established in 1748, had kept up its organization. It held its

[1] Mr. Westcott, in his "History of Philadelphia," says in regard to these impressions of travel of Mr. Burnaby, "As there is nothing in the minutes of 'The Colony on the Schuylkill' or Fort St. David's Fishing Company to show that ladies were associate members, the club alluded to by Mr. Burnaby is probably the Mount Regale Fishing Company."

meetings for some time at Hamilton's wharf, on the south side of the draw-bridge, and subsequently at the Freemason's Hall, Lodge Alley. The following-named ladies, belonging to the fashionable society of the time, were invited to grace with their presence a ball given by the Assembly in 1757:

Mrs. Allen, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Brotherson, Mrs. Inglis, Mrs. Jeykell, Mrs. Franks, Mrs. Lydia McCall, Sr., Mrs. Samuel McCall, Mrs. Samuel McCall, Jr., Mrs. Swift, Mrs. Sims, Mrs. Willcocks, Mrs. Lawrence, Sr., Mrs. Lawrence, Jr., Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Francis, Mrs. Greame, Mrs. Joseph Shippen, Mrs. Dolgreen, Mrs. Phineas Bond, Mrs. Burd, Mrs. Charles Steedman, Mrs. Thomas White, Mrs. Johnes, Mrs. Warren, Mrs. Oswald, Mrs. Thomas Bond, Mrs. Davey, Mrs. William Humphreys, Mrs. Pennery, Mrs. Henry Harrison, Mrs. Bingham, Mrs. Clymer, Mrs. Wallace, Mrs. Ellis, Mrs. Alexander Steadman, Mrs. Hopkinson, Mrs. Hockley, Mrs. Marks, Miss Mollie Francis, Miss Betty Francis, Miss Osborn, Miss Sober, Miss Mollie Lawrence, Miss Kitty Lawrence, Mrs. George Smith, Miss Nancy Hickman, Miss Sallie Hunlock, Miss Peggy Harding, Miss Mollie McCall, Miss Peggy McCall, Miss Lardner, Miss Betty Blumstead, Miss Rebecca Davis, Miss Jennie Greame, Miss Nellie McCall, Miss Randolph, Miss Sophia White, Mrs. Venables, Miss Hyatt, Miss Betty Clifton, Miss Mollie Dick, Miss Fannie Jeykell, Miss Fannie Marks, Miss Peggy Oswald, Miss Betty Oswald, Miss Sallie Woodrop, Miss Mollie Oswald, Mrs. Willing, Miss Nancy Willing, Miss Dolly Willing, Mrs. McIlvaine, Miss Betty Gryden, Miss Sallie Fishbourne, Miss Furnell, Miss Isabella Cairnie, Miss Pennyfather, Miss Jennie Richardson, Mrs. Reily, Mrs. Graydon, Mrs. Ross, Mrs. Peter Bard, Mrs. Franklin, Miss Lucy De Normandie, Miss Phebe Winecoop, Mrs. Harkly.

Dancing-masters visited Philadelphia occasionally, giving the gay people an opportunity to learn the latest fashionable dance. In 1761, John Walsh advertised that he taught "dancing in all its parts, after the most elegant tastes, together with a masquerade and a Spanish fandango, much in esteem." He declared that "he had the honor to perform before the Vice-King in Peru, with a royal bounty; also with satisfaction in France, Italy, Chili, etc." His school-room was in Videll's Alley, "but he was to be spoke with" at Mrs. Harper's, in Spruce Street. In 1763 John Baptiste Tyol advertised in the month of August that he had just come to town, and as soon as he could obtain a convenient room, and the weather became a little cooler, he intended opening a dancing-school. In order to make his merits known he stated that he had performed one year at the King's Opera-House, Haymarket; two years at the Theatre Royal, at Drury Lane, under Mr. Garrick; three years at the Dublin Theatre, and in several of the cities of Germany, France, Portugal, and Italy. He added, "As he learns that a regular prudent dancing-master is much wanted here, he flatters himself that he will be able to meet the due encouragement of the public."

Signor Sodi opened his dancing-school on Chestnut Street, back of the Fountain Tavern. He announced that he taught "rigadoons, paspies, etc.," all new French dances. In 1770 a Signor Gualda advertised a concert and ball at the Freemason's Lodge, admission ten shillings, with the singular proviso, "If any lady or gentleman chooses to go away after the concert, the porter will return him one-half a crown."

Much attention also was paid to music, principally of a sacred character. In 1752, Robert Coe modestly announced that, "conceiving himself capable of teaching to play on that agreeable instrument, the German flute," he offered to do so for fifteen shillings entrance, and the same amount per month. He was to be found in "Third Street, being the next door but one above Mr. Joseph Fox's." But the worthy musician has two strings to his bow, for he lets it be known that he also draws bills, bonds, leases, etc., at the house next door to the Horse and Groom, in Strawberry Alley. In 1759, Francis Alberti advertised that he taught the violin "in the best manner and neatest style according to the new Italian method. By the subscriber, an Italian born." In 1764, John Schneider, a German, offered to "teach gentlemen to play on the French horn." A concert of musical glasses, in 1765, was a great success. The singers of Hallam and Douglass' company, Mr. Wools, Miss Wainwright, Miss Hallam, Mr. Wall, Miss Cheer, and others, occasionally gave concerts. They contributed not a little to increase the taste for music. The mandolin was the favorite instrument then, and Mr. Wall, of the theatre company, gave special lessons on this instrument.

Signor Gualda, in 1770, gave a "concert of vocal and instrumental music, solos, and concertos on various instruments, the favorite mandolin not excepted."

The organ was introduced at the College and Academy a few years after it was built. Philip Fyring manufactured organs for Christ Church and other churches as early as 1762.

While on the theme of music, we will note that the first piano, in all probability, that was built in this country, was made by John Behrent, in Third Street (opposite Coates' burying-ground, below Brown Street). He advertised in 1775 that he had "just finished an extraordinary instrument by the name of the piano-forte, made of mahogany, being of the nature of a harpsichord, with hammers and several changes."

Duels, so frequent in England at that time, were of very rare occurrence in Philadelphia, yet a few did take place. In 1721, Solomon Fry, mariner, and Francis Jones fought with swords, and both were wounded. In 1750, Thomas Crosse and Hugh Davy fought also with swords, and Davy was wounded. It is not surprising, therefore, that some attention should have been given to the art of fencing. All gentlemen who desired to be known as fashionable and polite members of society learned the use of the sword. Fencing-masters, therefore, found occupation in Philadelphia as well as dancing-masters, although they were not at first received with favor, as we have shown in the history of the first part of the eighteenth century. They were tolerated, however, even then, and at a later day met with no opposition. In 1756, Richard Lyneall, professor of the small-sword and self-defense, notified the public that he was to be seen at the Tun Tavern, in Walnut Street. In 1763, John De Florette, fencing-master at the Prince of Orange, in

Second Street, notified the public that he taught the broadsword, backsword, spaderoon, and dagger. But this worthy Frenchman, not content with enumerating the weapons in the use of which he was skilled, added some advice to the young Philadelphians on the importance of a knowledge of fencing. "Young men without it have to put up with insults of the grossest nature, and much to their dishonor, whereas, were they masters of self-defense, they would be able to resent it in a genteel manner."

The gentlemen's costume suffered a few alterations, and those for the better. The coat—no longer of velvet, silk, or satin, except for full-dress, but of strong cloth—was square cut, with some simple trimming and black lining; the long-flapped waistcoat descending very low, and the stockings drawn very high over the knee; large hanging cuffs to the coat-sleeves, and lace ruffles. The skirts of the coat much less distended with wire; stockings of blue or scarlet silk; square-toed, short-quartered shoes, with high red heels and small buckles. All wore wigs, but of smaller size than before. The small three-cornered hat was laced with gold or silver galloon, and sometimes trimmed with feathers.

Old advertisements will again assist us. Here is one relative to wigs:

In 1760, Charles Eustace, peruke-maker, Walnut Street, between Front and Second, advertised that "gentlemen may be completely furnished with bag wigs of the neatest fashion, or of whatsoever fashion they choose; also scratch wigs and scratch bob wigs, cut wigs and long gristle-dress wigs, and all others, as gentlemen may choose."

Another, dated 1759, gives an idea of the uniforms of the Pennsylvania troops; it refers to deserters from various commands. Deserters from Col. John Armstrong's battalion, First Pennsylvania Regiment, were described as having worn green regimental coats, faced with red, red waistcoats, and buckskin breeches. Capt. John Singleton's company of the Pennsylvania new levies had green regimentals; while Capt. James Armstrong's company, Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot, were advertised as wearing blue regimentals.

In 1752 there appeared the advertisement of the first undertaker, James Humphries, in Second Street, one door below the Baptist Church. He also announced that he had got a variety of mourning. In 1753 a rival establishment was started by John Nice, opposite the Baptist Church. A new business in connection with funerals was inaugurated in 1766; Lydia Darragh, opposite the Golden Fleece, in Second Street, advertised that she was prepared "to lay out the dead,—a service greatly wanted, as she understands."

Very few Philadelphians kept a carriage in the olden time, and even hired vehicles were scarce; traveling was done principally on horseback. Mr. Watson, in his "Annals," mentions—besides William Penn's "coach" and "calash," alluded to in the latter's letters to Logan—some of the oldest of these vehicles. He says that in 1761 there were only thirty-eight private carriages in Philadelphia; William Allen, the chief justice, the Widow Lawrence, and Widow Martin were the only owners of coaches. William Peters and Thomas Willing owned the only two landaus. There were eighteen chariots enumerated, of which the proprietor and the Governor had each of them one. Fifteen chairs concluded the enumeration. He says that according to the recollections of James Reed, who died in 1793, at an advanced age, there were only eight four-wheeled carriages kept in all the province; they were: coaches, the Governor's (Gordon), Jonathan Dickinson's, Issac 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). Mrs. Shoemaker (aged ninety-five) told Mr. Watson 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, 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.

In the manuscript of Du Simitiere he has preserved an enumeration of the persons, eighty-four in number, who kept carriages in Philadelphia in 1772. Four or five of these persons owned two carriages.[1] In the

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[1] The *American Historical Record*, vol. ii., 1873, publishes this list of carriage-owners, furnished by a New Jersey correspondent. We quote what follows, from the introductory remarks: "This list, like the famous Roll of Battle Abbey, has been tampered with, the name of 'Tench Francis' being inserted in a different hand and darker ink than that of the original transcriber, and a strange hand in lead pencil has written opposite this name, 'added by J. F. F.' Watson gives 'eighty-four,' meaning the number of names, as we have shown above, and his manuscript Annals were finished in 1842. As 'Tench Francis' makes eighty-*five*, it will be seen that it was inserted since that date. It was noticeable he is set down for a 'coach' and one 'chariot, or post wagon.' A 'coach' was a special distinction in those days; the list mentions eight only out of the eighty-four owners of other vehicles, and could hardly have been overlooked by the observant Du Simitiere."

We condense the list, which is in tabular form in the *Record*. Richard Penn, Governor, all sorts; James Hamilton, one chariot; William Allen, chief justice, one coach and one chariot; Dr. Graeme, one chariot; John Dickinson, lawyer, one chariot; Benjamin Chew, recorder of Philadelphia, lawyer, one coach, one chariot; Joseph Galloway, Speaker of the Assembly, lawyer, one chariot; John Ross, lawyer, one chariot; Joseph Reed, lawyer, one chariot; Thomas Willing, merchant, one coach; John Lawrence; Thomas Lawrence, city vendue master; Edward Shippen, Jr., Lynford Lardner, uncle to the Governor; Richard Peters, D D., rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia; Robert Morris, merchant; Archd. McCall, merchant; Samuel Neave, merchant; William West, merchant; Capt. Isaac Cox, merchant; William Moore, merchant; Capt. Samuel Mifflin, merchant; Daniel Rundle, merchant; David Franks, merchant,—each one chariot; Daniel Benezet, Samuel Smith, Samuel Purviance, Henry Kepple, merchant,—each one coach-wagon; Henry Kepple, Jr., one chariot; James Craig, merchant and ship-chandler; Andrew Hodge, merchant and ship bread-baker,—each one coach-wagon; John Cadwalader, all sorts; William Straker, merchant; Capt. Williams, of the Engineers; Reynold Keen, Andrew Duche,

year 1794 the number of pleasure-carriages taxed was 847, to wit: 83 coaches, 157 coachees, 35 chariots, 22 phaetons, 80 light wagons, and 520 chairs and sulkies.

The carriage used by Gen. Washington while President, and which had been imported for Governor Richard Penn, was the most splendid ever seen in the city. It was very large and heavy, and was drawn by four horses. A correspondent of Mr. Watson gives some facts about this vehicle, as seen by him in his youth, and, later, when it was a desecrated and forgotten relic of the past: "It was of cream color, with much more of gilded carvings in the frame than is since used. Its strongest attractions were the relief ornaments on the panels, they being painted medallion pictures of playing cupids or naked children. That carriage I afterward 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 New Orleans for sale, and could find no one to buy it, where all were content with plain volantes. A far better speculation would have been to have taken it to the Marquis of Lansdown or other admirers of Washington in England." "It became in time," adds Mr. Watson, in a foot-note, "a kind of out-house, in which fowls roosted; and in the great battle of New Orleans it stood between the combatants, and was greatly shot-ridden. Its gooseneck crane has been laid aside for me."

Old advertisements will give us some information about vehicles for hire. In 1728, Thomas Skelton advertises in the *Gazette* that he has got "a four-wheeled chaise, on Chestnut Street, to be hired." He affixes prices, to wit: "For four persons to Germantown, 12 shillings and 6 pence; to Frankford, 10 shillings; and to Gray's Ferry, 7 shillings and 6 pence to 10 shillings."

In 1746, Abram Carpenter, a cooper, in Dock Street, near the Golden Fleece, calls in the assistance of his muse to tempt his customers with the following announcement:

"Two handsome chairs,
With very good geers,
With horses, or without,
To carry friends about.

"Likewise, saddle-horses, if gentlemen please,
To carry them handsomely, much at their ease,
Is to be hired by Abram Carpenter, cooper,
Well known as a very good cask-cooper."

Robert Robson, in 1759, advertised that he had "removed from Coombs' Alley to the sign of the Horse and Groom, at the corner of the fourteen houses in Fifth Street, above Sassafras, where gentlemen may be supplied with horses and chairs by the day or journey, and horses taken in to be kept by the night, day, or year. Said Robson will ride express for any who are pleased to employ him, who may depend on what they trust to his care. N.B.—Good pasturing." [1]

The fact of there being but little demand for carriages did not deter an adventurous coach- and harness-maker from London and Bristol, named William Welsh, from trying his fortunes in Philadelphia. He advertised, in 1759, that he had set up the coach-making business in Market Street, and proceeded to dazzle the minds of the simple citizens by informing them that he had "the honor of being coachmaker to his royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, her royal Highness the Princess Amelia, and the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, with dukes and lords of the first rank, together with the right worshipful John Clement, Lord Mayor of London and City Corporation, in building the state coach, which had cost fifteen hundred pounds sterling, and which had given great satisfaction."

History does not say that the good Philadelphians were induced to vie with those illustrious personages in the gorgeousness of their equipage, but the observant Mr. Watson informs us that "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 were all the ornaments found on the harness; the chairs were without springs, on leather bands, such as could now (1842) be made for fifty dollars." The ex-coachmaker to many Highnesses must have been highly disgusted with his American customers when he found them so easily contented.

Before we close our record of events in "Penn's City" and pass to the more exciting scenes of the Revolutionary period, mention should be made of certain houses erected during the third quarter of the century, and to which is attached some historic interest owing to the part taken in the Revolution

Sam. Powel, Dr. Thomas Bond, Dr. Phineas Bond, Dr. John Redman,—each one chariot; Capt. Edward Stiles; Widow Masters, mother to the Governor's lady,—each one coach; "added by J. F. F.," Tench Francis, merchant, one coach and one chariot; Joseph Sims, merchant, one coach-wagon; Widow Harrison, Widow Montgomery, Peggy Oswald,—each one chariot. September, carriages making for the following: Steinmetz, Morton,—each one chariot; Peter Turner, Daniel Benezet, William Logan, James Logan, Israel Pemberton,—each one chariot; James Pemberton, merchant, one coach-wagon and one chariot; John Pemberton, preacher, one chariot; Joseph Pemberton, merchant, one coach; Dr. Samuel Preston Moore and Henry Hill, Madeira merchant,—each one chariot; Joseph Fox; Hugh Roberts, iron-monger; Samuel Shoemaker, merchant; Joshua Howell, merchant; Reese Meredith, merchant; Abel James, merchant; Henry Drinker, Thomas Clifford, John Reynell, merchants,—each one coach-wagon; Joseph Wharton, commonly called Duke Wharton, one coach-wagon and one chariot; Thomas Wharton, Joseph Wharton, Jr., and Jacob Lewis, merchants; Samuel Morris; Richard Wistar, glass and button-maker; Samuel Emlen, Jr., preacher; James Bringhurst, carpenter; Samuel Noble, John Mifflin, Anthony Morris, Joshua Fisher, Widow Greenleaf,—each one coach-wagon; George Emlen, Jr., merchant; and Elizabeth Norris,—each one chariot. ("Chariots" or "post-chaises" are the same vehicle.)

[1] "The fourteen houses," usually called "the fourteen chimneys," stood west of Fifth Street, above Race, and had their fronts on Sassafras Alley. These houses, when first erected, were out of town,—a settlement by themselves. There was no obstruction between them and Fifth Street, and as a landmark they were well known.

either by the men who built them, or by those who afterward lived in them.

At the northeast corner of Third and Pine Streets stood a large house of peculiar aspect, erected by Anthony Duché. It was three stories high, with a roof addition, somewhat like a modern mansard, decorated with urns and a railing; it had a centre building and two small wings with gables in front. A central dormer-window, decorated with scrolls, assimilated with the gables on either side. This house was occupied as a military hospital when the British troops came to Philadelphia after Braddock's defeat. Mr. Duché gave this house to his son, Rev. Jacob Duché, after the latter was made rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's. It afterward became the property of Chief Justice McKean.

The fine house built by William Masters, some time before 1761, on the south side of Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth, was destined to acquire historic fame as the residence of George Washington while he was President of the United States. From that time it was designated as "The Washington Mansion." This property was conveyed by William Masters' widow to her daughter Mary, on the occasion of her marriage with Richard Penn. The young couple lived in it until their departure for Europe, in 1775. When the British troops entered Philadelphia, Gen. Howe took possession of Richard Penn's mansion. He made it his headquarters until the evacuation in 1778. Benedict Arnold coming to take command of Philadelphia as military governor, took possession of the premises just vacated by Howe. He occupied them until July, 1780, when he left the city. The Sieur John Holker, consul-general of France, was the next occupant. The mansion was burned down in 1780, but the stout old walls remained standing. Robert Morris then obtained a lease of the grounds, and caused the house to be rebuilt and repaired. He occupied it until the removal of the seat of the Federal government from New York to Philadelphia. Mr. Morris then gave up the use of the mansion to President Washington. The mansion was occupied by Mr. Adams when he became President. It was subsequently turned into a hotel, and, finally, was torn down and three stores erected on the site.

Richard Rush, in his "Reminiscences," gives his boyhood recollection of the mansion, as he saw it between 1790 and 1800, in these words, "It was a large double house; few, if any, equal to it are at present in Philadelphia. The brick of the house was, even in my time, dark with age; and two ancient lamp-posts, furnished with large lamps, which stood in front, marked it, in conjunction with the whole external aspect, as the abode of opulence and respectability before he became its august tenant. No market-house then stood on the street. To the east a brick wall, six or seven feet high, ran well on toward Fifth Street, until it met other houses (the first house, believed to be now 514 and 516, also owned by Robert Morris, as I find, was occupied by Gen. Stewart); the wall inclosed a garden, which was shaded by lofty old trees, and ran back to what is now Minor Street, where the stables stood. To the west no building adjoined it, the nearest house in that direction being at the corner of Sixth and Market, where lived Robert Morris."

On Third Street, between Willing's Alley and Spruce Street, were two houses built by Thomas Willing. One of these houses was occupied by his son-in-law, Col. William Byrd, of Westover, Va. In 1758, of the two Virginia regiments in the British service, one was commanded by Col. Byrd, the other by Col. Washington, of Mount Vernon. This house subsequently belonged to Andrew Allen and Chief Justice Chew. John Adams, describing the house which he visited in the chief justice's time, said, "We were shown into a grand entry and staircase, and into an elegant and most magnificent chamber, until dinner."

The other house which Mr. Willing erected for his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Samuel Powell, Mr. Adams speaks of as "a splendid seat."

Benjamin Franklin, before he went to Europe in 1764, built a house on his lot on Market Street between Third and Fourth. It is the house Mrs. Franklin had just moved into when she wrote to her husband the letter already quoted, about furnishing the "new house." About 1785, when he was elected President of Pennsylvania, Franklin erected a new wing to his house, which was three stories high. The first story was a large apartment designed for the meetings of the Philosophical Society. His library was in the second story, and the third story was occupied as lodging-rooms. Franklin thought that he had effected some improvements. He said,—

"None of the woodwork of one room communicates with the woodwork of any other room, and all the floors and even the steps of the stairs are plastered close to the boards, besides the plastering on the laths under the joists. There are also trap-doors to go out upon the roof, so that one may go out and wet the shingles in case of a neighboring fire. But, indeed, I think the staircases should be stone and the floors tiled, as in Paris, and the roofs either tiled or slated."

In 1765 Edward Penington erected a handsome house, built of red and black bricks, the prevailing taste at the time, on a large lot which he owned at the corner of Crown and Race Streets. The house with its stables and extensive back buildings occupied the ground to Fifth Street. During the Revolution this house became the headquarters of Lieut.-Col. Henry Johnson, of the Twenty-eighth Regiment, British Regulars, afterward brigadier-general, who was defeated by Wayne at Stony Point.

A very fine stately dwelling was erected in 1773, by John Lawrence, on the northeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, which was subsequently occupied first by Hon. Robert R. Livingston, and last by Peter S. Du Ponceau.

John Cadwalader's house on the west side of Second Street, below Spruce, was one of the largest dwelling-

houses in the city. It had extensive grounds and gardens extending to Third Street. Graydon relates that in the early part of the Revolution the "Silk Stocking Company," so called, commanded by John Cadwalader, being about seventy strong, rendezvoused at his house, "where capacious demijohns of Madeira were constantly set out in the yard, where we formed for our refreshment before marching out to exercise. The ample fortune of Mr. Cadwalader had enabled him to fill his cellars with the choicest liquors; and it must be admitted that he dealt them out with the most gentlemanly liberality."

John Cadwalader was immensely wealthy, and kept a very large establishment. He was the only man in Philadelphia, in 1772, besides the Governor, Richard Penn, who kept "all sorts" of carriages.

Archibald McCall, probably about 1762–63, when he married Judith Kemble, built a fine house at the northeast corner of Second and Union Streets. He was the leading East India merchant of his day, and a citizen of great influence.

In 1761, John Stamper, an English merchant, purchased from the proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn, the whole front on Pine Street, from Second to Third, being four hundred and sixty feet in width by one hundred and two feet in depth, for and in consideration of eleven hundred pounds sterling, and a yearly quit-rent of five shillings. Mr. Stamper was a member of the Common Council and an alderman, and in 1750 mayor of the city. He resided on Second Street. He bought forty feet of ground south of the original grant from the Penns. This made his lot one hundred and forty-two feet deep, to an alley which was called after him, Stamper's Alley. On this large piece of ground he commenced making various improvements. On the Pine Street lot he erected, some time before the Revolution, a fine three-story brick house, which was formerly No. 50, and which, in 1884, was No. 224. It was distinguished by its red- and blue-glazed brick, its ancient columnar doorway, and its low steps. The cornice and dormer-windows were fine specimens of old-fashioned woodwork. The interior of the house was finished, according to the taste of the ante-Revolutionary times, with elaborate paneling, wainscoting, surbases, heavy doors, etc., which still remain. The stable and coach-house in Stamper's Alley are also still standing.

At the southeast corner of Pine and Third Streets he built a castellated mansion for his son, Joseph Stamper, on the occasion of the latter's marriage with Miss Sarah Maddox, granddaughter of Joshua Maddox, one of the justices of the province. This property was subsequently bought by Dr. Philip Sing Physick, who erected a row of houses on the site.

John Stamper had two daughters; one of these, Mary Stamper, married William Bingham, and was the mother of William Bingham, Jr., afterward senator of the United States. The other daughter, Hannah Stamper, married the Rev. Robert Blackwell. The mansion on Pine Street, first described, passed into their possession and became their residence. Dr. Blackwell, on the occasion of the marriage of his only daughter, Rebecca Harrison Blackwell, with George Willing, built for her, on the west end of this lot, a fine house, which, in 1884, was No. 238 Pine Street. This house was one of the handsomest in the then new style, with chimneys against the sides, and folding doors between the parlors. In 1773, Dr. Blackwell built another house, corner of Pine and Second Streets. In this house, at the time of the Revolution, boarded Elias Boudinot, LL.D., who was a member of Congress, and at one time presided over that body. He was also commissary-general of prisoners during the Revolutionary war, and director of the mint under President Washington. His generous bequest of lands bordering on the Susquehanna River to the city of Philadelphia, in trust for the purpose of supplying poor housekeepers with fuel, has placed his name among those of public benefactors never to be forgotten.

The house erected by William Logan, the son of James Logan, at the northwest corner of Second Street and Lodge Alley (now Gothic Street), some time between 1750 and 1760, had interesting recollections attached to it. At William Logan's death, in 1772, he devised this property to his son Charles Logan.[1] It was to this house that John Smith, when he married William Logan's sister, Hannah, took his bride during the honeymoon. It was here, also, that David Franks, merchant,—a wealthy Hebrew converted to Christianity,—lived during the Revolution with his daughter, Polly, a famous beauty and wit.[2] In this house, it is said, Dr. James Rush was born in March, 1786.

North of William Logan's house, and separated from it by a garden (long since obliterated and built upon), was a spacious mansion built in the best style by James Pemberton, merchant, the brother of Israel Pemberton. It was built some time before the Revolution. Mr. Pemberton lived in it until his death. For many years the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company have occupied this house as an office.

Many old houses remain, whose appearance pro-

[1] Charles Logan, by deed executed in 1790, conveyed the house to James Smith. After James Logan, the younger, sold the old homestead to the Bank of Pennsylvania, he removed to the house formerly his brother's, which he bought of Smith in 1798. It was conveyed by James Logan to Joshua Fisher in 1805. The executors of the latter, after his death, sold this house to William Lehman, William Smith, and Samuel Smith, copartners as druggists, who changed it into a store. It was occupied for that purpose for many years by Lehman & Smiths, William Lehman, A. S. & E. Roberts, and others. The house is still standing, so changed by business alterations and abused by the progress of time that few will suppose, from its present appearance, that it ever could have been the abode of wealth, taste, and influence.—*Westcott's History of Philadelphia.*

[2] Another daughter married one of the Hamiltons of The Woodlands. Franks was commissary of British prisoners during the early part of the Revolutionary war, but was suspected of secretly leaning to the British cause, was deprived of his office in 1778, and was ordered, in 1780, to depart from the State.—*Ibid.*

claims them of ante-Revolution construction. Some have their story well known by the descendants of the old Philadelphians. Others are a puzzle; their former tenants have passed away from the earth, and their very origin is a mystery.

About 1767 it was the fashion for ladies to wear their hair hanging loose about the head, and especially over the forehead, much in the hideous style which has prevailed since a few years past under the name of "bangs." This fashion was the occasion of an epigrammatic quarrel in the columns of a New York paper. A cynical bachelor made bold to write as follows:

"TO THE LADIES ON THE PRESENT FASHION OF NOT DRESSING THEIR HEADS:

"With hair so long, so lank, so sleek,
Which not a comb composes,
Why do you hide your brow and cheek
And hardly spare your noses?
Say, ye, in whom each worth appears
Adorned by all the graces,
What makes you thus, my pretty dears,
Ashamed to show your faces?"

"A Miss" promptly answered in the next issue of the paper,—

"Presumptuous man, to slander prone!
Whose verse thy name disgraces;
What Demon whispered we were grown
Ashamed to show our Faces?
In perfect pity to mankind
We veiled us for a season;
Unmask, my Girls! he'll quickly find
That *Pity* was the Reason."

"A Boy" (he must have been an old one) dared to reply to the Miss,—

"The veteran Hunks all covered with scars,
Long battered and wounded in Venus' wars,
When her charms proved deficient to win her a lover,
Her—conscience—then bids the good dame to give over,
So our Chloes, with foreheads too low or too high,
Or covered with Wrinkles that tell something nigh,
Well knowing the consequence if they reveal them,
The good-natured Creatures,—in Pity conceal them."

The "Boy" had the last word, but the ladies continued to consult their own taste or convenience, in New York as well as in Philadelphia. No argument could avail with the goddess Fashion.

The practice of importing "indented servants" continued in force, and although we find in the newspapers of the time (1768–69) communications attacking and defending the enslaving of negroes, there seems to have been no objection to reducing white men to temporary slavery. Such advertisements as the following were not uncommon: "Just imported in the Brigantine . . . from Bristol a parcel of healthy, likely men and women, indented servants, among which are Blacksmiths, Cutlers, House-carpenters, Painters and Glaziers, Bakers, Turners, Husbandmen, and Labourers." This was no longer the scum of the streets and jails of London shipped to America by the authorities as a safe means of riddance. Here we have honest artisans selling themselves voluntarily into servitude in order to get to the new land of promise. What a sad comment on the condition of the working-classes in England! These poor fellows could be transferred by one master to another, and sold like common goods or chattel, until the term of their indentures had expired. But there were cases when the master, not the servant, deserved sympathy. The thieves and rascals of every grade, who came over under compulsion, or animated by the hope that they would find in Philadelphia a new field for their nefarious practices, gave no end of trouble to the unfortunate citizen who had invested his money in them; they were continually running away, and they generally carried off all they could lay their hands on. One fellow is advertised as runaway for the seventeenth time. A remarkable fact is that the negro slaves did not run away. Another, resulting from the perusal of hundreds of advertisements, is that *nine-tenths* of the runaway servants are described as being disfigured by the smallpox, which gives a faint idea of the ravages made by that dread disease before Jenner discovered vaccination.

All runaways were not criminals, however; some, probably, found servitude more irksome and unbearable than they had imagined, and impelled by a mad desire for liberty, made their escape and became liable to punishment for breaking their indentures. Of this class, we will charitably suppose, was the unfortunate "schoolmaster" (?), William Fetherson by name, who ran away from some place in Maryland, and was believed to have gone to Philadelphia. The description of this "schoolmaster abroad" is a picture in itself. He had on an old blue broadcloth coat and vest with yellow buttons, leather breeches, half-worn, with several patches above the knees, a white sheeting-linen shirt, and an old black silk handkerchief round his neck, yarn stockings, stout leather shoes, a half-worn castor hat, and a great-coat scorched on the left side, with a slit on the right foreskirt.

Advertising in verse was frequent at that time, and we cannot resist the temptation of giving here one of these quaint conceits. It appeared in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, and is somewhat prolix in style:

"THREE POUNDS REWARD.

"In Seventeen Hundred and Sixty-eight,
Of a runaway servant I'll relate;
In the Eighth month the twenty-first,
Which is commonly called August.
He from his master ran away,
It being on a Sabbath-day;
Some particulars I will relate:
The first his hair is dark and strait,
His eyes and visage both are dark,
And the smallpox hath left his mark;
He has a hobble in his walk,
And a mutter in his talk;
His age I don't hardly know,
But I believe near thirty-two;
An Englishman both born and bred,
And a barber is by trade;

William Tyler was his name,
But I have heard he changed the same;
About five feet six inches high,
And very apt to swear and lie.
He has been much used to the sea,
And had a shot went thro' one knee,
Which makes that leg less than the t'other;
By his account when got that scar,
He was on board a man-of-war;
In divers places he has been,
And great part of the world hath seen;
A scholar good, and for his clothes
They homespun are, as I suppose;
An old felt hat and bearskin vest,
With a striped ditto, when he's drest,
And good strong shoes, with strings to tie,
Which he is apt to tread awry;
He takes tobacco and strong drink,
When he can get 'em, I do think.
Whoever secures said servant-man,
And sends him home soon as they can,
Shall receive the above reward,
Which I will pay upon my word,
With charges all that may accrue,
Which shall be paid as soon as due;
In Bradford township where I dwell,
And so my name I think to tell,
Therefore in print I'll let it stand,
Which you may see at your right hand.
"JOHN TOWNSEND."

Old advertisements are sometimes very amusing, but they are oftener positively useful as furnishing the most certain data about events. They are more precise even than personal recollections. Mr. Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," speaks of Dr. Le Mayeur, dentist, who proposed, in 1784, to transplant teeth, and remarks, "This was quite a novelty in Philadelphia, the present care of the teeth was ill understood then. He had, however, great success in Philadelphia, and went off with a great deal of our patricians' money. Several respectable ladies had them implanted. I remember some curious anecdotes of some cases. One of the Meschianza belles had such teeth. They were, in some cases, two months before they could eat with them. . . . Dr. Baker, who preceded Le Mayeur, was the first person ever known as a dentist in Philadelphia." We cannot say how long before Le Mayeur Dr. Baker practiced, but inserting false teeth could not have been so great a novelty in 1784, since, in 1769, "Mr. Hamilton, surgeon-dentist and operator for the teeth from London," announced that he "displaces all superfluous teeth and stumps with the greatest ease and safety, and makes and sets in artificial teeth from one single tooth to a whole set, in so nice a manner that they cannot be distinguished from natural; therefore, those ladies and gentlemen who have had the misfortune of losing their teeth, have now an opportunity of having *natural* or artificial put in with dispatch and secrecy, and in such a manner as to be of real use, ornament, and service for many years, without giving the least pain to the patient."

In 1768-69 several firms advertise tooth-brushes and complete sets of instruments for cleaning the teeth. In fact articles for the toilet for both sexes, fancy articles, carved ivories, and all those expensive trifles invented by the ingenuity of the London and Paris artisans to tempt the wealthy, could be found in as great variety then as they may be now in our most fashionable stores. As much may be said of dress-goods of every kind. A few of the goods with strange, puzzling names still remained on the list, but we feel more at home when we read of the Mechlin and Brussels laces, gauzes, cambrics, lawns, mulmuls, jaconets, scarfs, trimmings, fringes, gimps, ribbons, and the usual variety of fans, gloves, and mitts for sale by the leading "milliners" of that time, Mrs. Symonds, in Chestnut Street, and Mrs. Ann Pearson, in Second Street. We learn from the advertisements of those ladies that ladies' satin riding-hats, with feathers or gold and silver bands and buttons, were fashionable; also stomachers, with Italian and French breast-flowers. We glean the information that the ladies wore rich shades or cloaks of all colors, stuff shoes, and toed and silk-tied clogs for wet weather, and we make the astounding discovery that the "chip" hats and bonnets of our day were worn on the streets of Philadelphia in 1768. Gentlemen could buy at the milliner's silk gloves, velvet morning-caps, and silk and satin bags for their "queues."

Louis Duchateau, the French peruke-maker and hair-cutter, at Mr. Lortie's, in Third Street, informs the ladies that "he makes different sorts of handsome *frizets*, which imitate nature and may be set on with very little trouble;" while Mrs. Holliday, wife of Joseph Holliday, "Taylor, from London," in Arch Street, offers them her "new-invented curious compound, which will, in half a minute, take out by the roots the hair which grows too low on the forehead, etc., or round the mouth; it forms the eyebrows that are too large into a curious arch." This compound is perfectly "innocent," and "may be used on children under twenty months old."

Broadcloths were to be had in such variety of colors as to please the most fastidious taste,—scarlet, crimson, blue, green, drab, black, white, buff, brown, light colored, and rose colored. Francis Hopkinson, on Walnut Street, kept a fine stock of them and of *cassimeres*, "a new-invented manufacture for summer." Roger Bowman, on Second Street, had a fine assortment of these cloths. He also sold books. Very few merchants could confine themselves to one specialty. Thus, one would see, in the same store, dolls, cutlery, gunpowder and snuff, looking-glasses and gloves, sugars, claret, and brocaded silks. The merchant dealt especially in one leading article, and this designated his business; thus, a dry-goods merchant might have for sale a consignment of wines, and a hardware merchant one of laces and ribbons. The millinery and retail dry-goods stores where the ladies dealt had less of this general assortment system, yet there was scarcely a store in another line that did not have dry-goods of some kind for sale. For their silks

and velvets, their hats and cloaks and fans, they went to one or two well-known establishments; but for cottons and calicoes, which were getting to be quite common, and for chintz, they could go into almost any retail store.[1]

When their dresses got soiled or faded, and economy forbade buying another, Mathews & Perrin, the London dyers and scourers, "cleaned, dyed, and dressed all manner of silks and velvets," they scoured rich brocades and beautified the colors to look as well as new. They also cleaned and dyed scarlet cloaks and "all manner of men's cloaths."

There were several bookstores with shelves well filled with the works of the best authors. John Sparhawk & Thomas Anderson, who kept the London Bookstore, on Market Street, near the London Coffee-House, had a very large stock of books, besides fancy stationery and mathematical instruments; so had Samuel Taylor, the stationer and bookbinder, at the corner of Market and Water Streets, but many people preferred going to Robert Bell, bookseller and auctioneer, at the sign of the Sugar Loaf, Market Street near the river, for at his vendue "the intrinsic merit and excellence of each book" was "rationally expatiated upon with truth and propriety; also, the extrinsic or original value properly demonstrated for the satisfaction of seller and buyer."

Here are the prices of a few books sold by Bell: "History of Rasselas," 2 vols. complete in one, bound and lettered, six shillings; the same in blue paper, four shillings. "The Traveller," to which are added "True Beauty" and the "Adventures of Tom Dreadnought," one shilling. The additional volume to the "Letters of the Right Honorable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu," with several poems, and her celebrated "Defence of Marriage," and a frontispiece of the "Female Traveller," in the Turkish dress, two shillings.

Theodore Memminger, Second Street above Arch, kept a variety of musical instruments for sale. So did John Gualdo, in Front Street, near the Bank meeting-house. He had violins, German flutes, guitars, mandolins, spinets, clavichords, etc. He had, besides, in his house, a German gentleman who taught to play on the violin, violoncello, and French horn, and, "likewise, a servant boy who copied music, so that the customer who wished a particular piece could have a copy made, without being compelled to buy the book in which it occurred." It seems that sheet music was not sold then.

There were two dancing-masters, the Italian Tioli, and the Frenchman Foy. Both were also fencing-masters, and taught the use of the small-sword. A drawing-school, recently opened by J. Smithers, several grammar-schools, and a boarding-school, in Second Street, a little below Walnut Street, kept by Mrs. Sarah Wilson, "where young ladies may be educated in a genteel manner, and pains taken to teach them in regard to their behavior, on reasonable terms. They may be taught all sorts of fine work, viz., working on catgut or flowering muslin, sattin stitch, queen stitch, ten stitch, cross-stitch, open work, crowning, embroidering curtains or chairs, writing, and cyphering. Likewise wax work in all its several branches, never, as yet, particularly taught here; also how to take profiles in wax, and to make wax flowers and fruit, and pin-baskets." Indeed, if some

[1] Here is a list, as complete as it could be compiled, of the firms doing business in Philadelphia on the 1st of January, 1770. Dry goods, etc.,—Philip Benezet, corner of Market and Third Streets; Roger Bowman, Second Street; Francis Hopkinson, Walnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets; Westmore & Batchelor, Second Street, above Market; John Kaighn, same block; Alexander Bartram, sign of the naked boy (specialty, hosiery and broadcloths); Joseph Carson, Second Street; Daniel and John Benezet, and Thomas Bartow, corner of Arch and Second Streets; Williams & Eldridge, Front Street; Cadwallader and Samuel C. Morris (also large stock of jewelry), Chestnut Street; Peter Wikoff, Front Street; John Fullerton, Chestnut Street; William Bell, corner Chestnut and Second Streets; David Sproat & Co., Front Street; William Adcock, Second Street; Semple & Buchanan, Front Street; Samuel Smith, Water Street, above Arch; James Rose, Second Street; Lewis Nicola, Market Street. East India goods, etc.,—James Budden, Front Street; Samuel Pleasants, Water Street; John Willday, Second Street; Abraham Usher, Front Street; Gibson & Asheton, Market Street; Benjamin Rawle, Water Street; Stacy Hepburn, Water Street; Joseph and George A. Morris; Stephen Collins, Second Street; James Gordon, Third Street; David Deshler, Market Street; Robert Strettel Jones, Arch Street; John and Clement Biddle, Market Street; Randle Mitchell, Water Street; Williams & Taylor, Second Street; Curtis Clay, Water Street; Mifflin & Dean, Front Street. Groceries, etc.,—Neave & Harman, Second Street; Charles Wharton, near Drawbridge; Isaac Gray, Chestnut Street; William Richards, Water Street; Samuel Garrigues, corner Second and Walnut Streets; Robert Levers, Chestnut Street; Benjamin Gibbs, Front Street; Hubley & Graff, Front Street; Henry Barnhold, Second Street; Benedict Dorsey, Third Street; Baldwin & Gilbert, Front Street; John Roman, Market Street. Drugs, etc.,—Christophers & Charles Marshall, Chestnut Street; Robert Bass, Market Street; Richard Tidmarsh, Second Street; Nathaniel and John Tweedy, Market Street; Samuel Duffield, Second Street; John Day, Second Street; Duffield & Delaney, corner Second and Walnut Streets. Hardware, chinaware, etc.,—Benjamin Davis, Third Street; Kearney & Gilbert, Water Street; John and Peter Chevalier, Water Street; Jonathan Zane, Second Street; James Cooke, Race Street; Samuel Sansom, Jr., Front Street; Howard & Bartram, Front Street; Timothy Barret, Arch Street. Hay, seeds, etc.,—Daniel Grant and William Ball, both on Market Street; John Lownes, Third Street. Sugars and molasses,—Edward Pennington, Market Street; Thomas West, Market Street; John W. Hoffman, Second Street; Josiah Hewes, Chestnut Street; Samuel & Charles Massey, Water Street; Harris Drayton, Water Street. Wines, etc.,—Hollingsworth & Rudolph, below the Drawbridge; James Emerson, Market Street; William Forbes, Water Street. Boulting cloth,—Robert & Nathaniel Lewis, near the Drawbridge; Daniel Williams, Chestnut Street. Brewery,—Anthony Morris, Jr. Bottled beer, etc.,—Timothy Marlack, Fourth Street. Ship chandlers,—Thomas Clifford & Son. Mast-maker,—Jonathan Hanson, near Penrose's wharf. Sail-maker,—J. W. Annis, Joshua Fisher's wharf. Sickles and scythes,—W. Dawson, Market Street; James Hendricks, Market Street. Sail-cloth, etc.,—John Bringhurst, Walnut Street. Iron castings,—Michael Hillegas. Manufacturers of chocolate,—Mrs. Crathorne, in Letitia Court, and Benjamin Jackson. Jewelers,—William Bartram, Front Street; John Baily, corner Front and Chestnut. Haberdashery and millinery,—E. White, Chestnut Street. Staymaker,—Fred Oblowskii, Race Street. Shoemakers' tools and goods,—Robert Loosely, Walnut Street. Locksmith and bell-hanger,—Alexander Smith, Second Street. Turner and joiner,—John Elmslee, Second Street. Engraver on metals,—James Smithers, Third Street. Vendue stores,—James Kinnear, Front Street; Footman & Jeyes, Second Street; Joseph Hart, Southwark. Brush-makers,—Elliot & Stapleton, Second Street. Saddlery,—William Todd, Arch Street. Coals,—John Flanagan. Carver and gilder,—James Reynolds. Assorted merchandise,—John Elliott, Walnut Street; Joseph Wood, Market Street; John Smith, Second Street; William Craig, Second Street.

of our modern schools would substitute a few of good dame Wilson's ornamental branches for as many of the "scientific branches" they claim to teach, the modern young lady would not lose by the exchange.

Paul Fooks, notary and tabellion public for the French and Spanish languages, professor and sworn interpreter for the same, draws up writings, letters, powers of attorney, contracts, and accounts, agreeable to the forms and usages of those respective countries; but modest Elizabeth Murphy simply announces herself as a French teacher, and proposes to give lessons from seven to nine in the morning, so as to not interfere with the children going to school.

The amusements offered to the people, in addition to Hallam's American Theatre, which gave regular performances, were frequent displays of fire-works and several shows, among others the following:

In February, 1768, a view of Jerusalem was exhibited at the sign of the Buck, on Second Street. The advertisement says, "It is an artful piece of statuary, representing the city of Jerusalem, the temple of Solomon, his royal throne, all the noted houses, hills, and towers; likewise the sufferings of our Saviour, from the garden of Gethsemane to the hill of Golgotha, all which is exhibited in the most natural manner." The price of admission to this "moral show" was one shilling for grown persons and sixpence for children.

In the same year, on Third Street, opposite Mr. Pemberton's garden, there was a wax-work exhibition representing "the judgment of Paris on Mount Ida, when he assigned the golden apple to Venus. Tickets, 1*s.*, children, 6*d.*"

Some months later Adam Crycer (from the king of Prussia's dominions in Germany) gave an exhibition of sleight-of-hand, at the sign of the Sorrel Horse, near the academy, to the great delight and awe of the boys, who looked upon him as a wizard.

A "person who professes to teach how to read with propriety any author in the English language," announced, in March, 1769, that he would read, at the academy, "Summer," a poem (by the author of "The Seasons"); tickets, five shillings. He states that proposals would be shortly published for the reading of Milton's "Paradise Lost," by subscription. This pioneer of elocutionists did not receive proper encouragement.

A much larger number of people went to see the two white oxen exhibited by Edward Barret. They were "the largest and weightiest ever known in America, raised by Mr. Adam Guier, on Carpenter's Island, near the city, and by him sold to the present proprietor for one hundred pounds currency."

Robert Tuckniss, on Market Street, gave his attention to hat-making. Isaac Heston, on the same street, painted coaches, chairs, etc. There were two watch and clock-makers on Front Street; Burrows Downdey's shop, above the draw-bridge, and James Wood, at the corner of Chestnut Street. The latter claimed to manufacture clocks "as good as those imported from England." Joseph Holliday, in Arch Street, Richard Humphreys, in Third Street, near Market, and Thomas Howell, on Third Street, near Chestnut Street, did the tailoring business. William Richards makes a specialty of breeches-making.

John Robertson, a journeyman barber, of a poetic turn, gets off the following epigram:

"Midas, we read, with wond'rous art of old,
Whate'er he touch'd at once transform'd to gold;
This modern statesmen can reverse with ease,
Touch them with gold, they'll change to what you please."

Thomas Affleck was a cabinet-maker on Second Street, and Robert Moon, a chair- and cabinet-maker on Front Street. We have no description of the goods they manufactured. The public vendue of Capt. James Ross' effects (December, 1768) may give us some idea of the furniture in use in most of the houses of the medium class. There were sold mahogany and walnut bureaus, dining-, dressing-, and tea-tables, one eight-day clock, walnut, leather-, worsted-bottom, and windsor chairs, feather-beds, bedsteads and bedstead-curtains, window-curtains, pictures, chest of drawers and floor-carpetings, also a very neat jack and sundry other kitchen furniture. Samuel Williams, joiner, on Fourth Street, sign of the Indian Queen, advertises a large quantity of joiner's stuff. He manufactures chests of drawers, desks, tables, chairs, bedsteads, sackings, cradles, and coffins. Joseph Wood, on Market Street, John Smith, on Second Street, and several others had for sale "Scotch carpetting," and Daniel Gibbs, on Front Street, sold "Wilton carpets." "Stamped paper-hangings for rooms" could be had at William Craig's, on Second Street, and James Reynolds, on Front Street, "imported paper-hangings with *papier-maché* borders." Ceiling ornaments and brackets, looking-glasses of all sizes, from a pocket-glass to the largest pier or mantel-glass, could be purchased at John Elliott's, while Alexander Bartram's stock of "china, delph and earthenware, stoneware and flint-glassware" was of the largest. The housekeeper, therefore, found no difficulty in furnishing her home in the most elaborate or the simplest style according to her taste and means. House-rent was not very high. A two-story brick house and kitchen situate on the west side of Second Street, and well situated for a retail shop, rented for thirty-five pounds per annum; a wooden dwelling-house on Elm Street, for six pounds per annum; a three-story brick house, with a lot extending from Front Street to Water Street, between Spruce and Pine Streets, rented for forty pounds per annum. This was a comfortable house with convenient cellar kitchen, double closets to each room, and neatly plastered garrets. The staircases and the rooms on the first floor were neatly papered, from which we infer that paper-hangings, as well as carpets, were getting into general use. From the description of quite a number of town and country

houses, it appears that the custom was to paper the lower or best rooms; where the parlor was in the second story, it and the staircase walls were papered.

There was in those days a quaint custom of turning off marriage notices with some remark complimentary to the bride. It must have been embarrassing to the editor when he had a batch of these notices to write for the same issue of his paper. Here are a few specimens: Married, "Mr. Samuel Shaw, merchant, to Miss McCullough, daughter of the late Capt. McCullough; and Mr. Thomas Patterson to Miss Brockden, daughter of Charles Brockden, Esq., both amiable young ladies with handsome fortunes." "James Allen, Esq., to Miss Betsey Lawrence, only daughter of John Lawrence, Esq., late mayor of this city, a young lady of distinguished merit, beauty, and fortune." "Mr. Levi Hollingsworth to Miss Hannah Paschall, daughter of Mr. Stephen Paschall, a young lady whose amiable disposition and eminent mental accomplishments adds dignity to her agreeable person." Rev. Mr. John Patterson was married to Miss Mercy Story, "a young lady with all the natural and acquired endowments which adorn the fair sex." A more simple announcement is made of an exchange of brides between Pennsylvania and Maryland, viz., "Joseph Shippen, Jr., secretary to his honor the Governor, was married in Philadelphia to Miss Jenny Galloway, of Maryland; and John Cadwalader, merchant, of Philadelphia, was married in Maryland to Miss Betsey Lloyd, daughter of the Hon. Edward Lloyd, of that province." The marriage of Mr. Bradford, printer, to Miss Polly Fisher, "an amiable young lady," brought out the following remark from the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*: "Mr. Bradford was genteelly dressed on the happy occasion in the manufactures of this country, *an example well worthy of imitation*." The same paper on another occasion says, "The following article of hymeneal intelligence came *so well recommended* that we cannot refuse it a place in the *Chronicle*. Last Wednesday evening was married Capt. Williams to Miss Esther Deers, a lady not more remarkable for the agreeableness of her person than her prudent conduct and amiable manners." Paid, 5*s*.

Husbands sometimes advertised their wives, as they do now. Mrs. Catherine Redman would not submit tamely to such treatment from her "inhuman" husband. She replies, and informs the public that his charges against her proceed from the advice of his pretended friends, "added to the chimeras of his stupidly jealous and infatuated noddle!"

Mary Nelson advertises a dishonest Irishman. She does not say in what relation the "villian" who stole her Pompadour chintz stood to her:

"FORTY SHILLINGS REWARD.

"Last Wednesday morn, at break of day,
From Philadelphia run away,
An Irishman, nam'd John McKeoghn,
To fraud and imposition prone;
About five feet five inches high,
Can curse and swear as well as lie;
How old he is I can't engage,
But forty-five is near his age;
He came (as all reports agree)
From Belfast town in sixty-three,
On board the 'Culloden,' a ship
Commanded by McLean that trip;
Speaks like a Scotchman, very broad,
Is round-shoulder'd, and meagre-jaw'd;
Has thick, short hair, of sandy hue,
Breeches and hose of Max'reen blue;
Of lightish cloth an outside vest,
In which he commonly is dress'd;
Inside of which two more I've seen,
One flannel, th'other coarse nankeen.
He stole, and from my house convey'd,
A man's blue coat, of broadcloth made;
A gray great coat, of bearskin stuff
(Nor had the villian yet enough);
Some chintz (the ground was Pompadour)
I lately purchas'd in a store,
Besides a pair of blue-ribb'd hose,
Which he has on as I suppose.
He oft in conversation chatters
Of Scripture and religious matters.
And fain would to the world impart
That virtue lodges in his heart;
But take the rogue from stem to stern,
The hypocrite you'll soon discern,
And find (tho' his deportment's civil)
A saint without, within a devil,
Whoe'er secures said John McKeoghn
(Provided I should get my own)
Shall have from me, in cash paid down,
Five dollar-bills and half a crown."

Political articles, written in a satirical vein, and lampoons on public men and matters, filled the few newspapers that existed in that time, with now and then some playful composition, in prose or verse, about love, manners, and fashions. Some of the poetical effusions are signed with a female *nom de plume*. Yet the ladies did not eschew politics, and the patriotic muse more than once inspired them, as in the following lines, signed "A Female":

"THE FEMALE PATRIOTS.

"*Addressed to the Daughters of Liberty in America*, 1768.

"Since the Men, from a Party, or Fear of a Frown,
Are kept by a *sugar plumb* quietly down,
Supinely asleep, and depriv'd of their Sight,
Are stripp'd of their Freedom and robb'd of their Right.
If the Sons, so degenerate, the Blessings despise,
Let the *Daughters* of Liberty nobly arise;
And tho' we've no Voice but a Negative here,
The Use of the Taxables, let us forbear.
(Then Merchants import till your stores are all full,
May the Buyers be few, and your Traffick be dull.)
Stand firmly resolv'd, and bid *Grenville* to see,
That rather than Freedom we part with our *Tea*;
And well as we love the dear Draught when a-dry,
As American Patriots our Taste we deny.
Pennsylvania's gay Meadows can richly afford,
To pamper our Fancy or furnish our Board;
And Paper sufficient at *Home* still we have,
To assure the *wiseacre*, we will not sign *slave*;
When this *Homespun* shall fail, to remonstrate our Grief,
We can speak *viva voce*, or scratch on a Leaf,
Refuse all their Colours, tho' richest of Dye,
When the juice of a Berry our Paint can supply,
To humour our Fancy, and, as for our Houses,
They'll do without Painting as well as our Spouses;

While to keep out the cold of a keen Winter Morn,
We can screen the northwest with a well-polished Horn;
And trust me a *woman*, by honest Invention,
Might give this *State-Doctor* a Dose of Prevention.
Join mutual in this, and but small as it seems,
We may jostle a *Grenville*, and puzzle his Scheme;
But a Motive more worthy our *Patriot-Pen*,
Thus acting, we point out their Duty to *Men;*
And should the *Bound-Pensioners* tell us to hush,
We can throw back the satire by bidding them blush."

The General Assembly of Virginia having closed an address to Lord Botetourt, Governor-General of the Dominion, with a prayer that the Supreme Being might inspire his lordship "with all wisdom," the following epigram appeared in a Philadelphia paper:

"ON THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY OFFERING UP THEIR PRAYER FOR WISDOM FOR LORD B——T.

"The Assembly, in devoutest strain,
Ask for my Lord the gift of brain.
Wisdom alone will hardly do,
Next beg a little patience, too."

In 1771 the wits in the public gazettes made fun of those effeminate individuals who used umbrellas to protect their heads against the fierce rays of a July sun. The umbrella, even as a shelter from rain, was a new article. They were heavy, clumsy things, made of oiled linen stretched over rattan sticks, in imitation of the "quittasol" (the predecessor of the parasol) which came from India and were made of oiled-silk in every variety of colors. The ladies used them to keep off the rain. The men were satisfied with the protection of a heavy cloak or a sort of a cape (a French invention) called a *roquelaure.* Ministers and doctors, people who had to be out in all sorts of weather to call on the sick, had *roquelaures* of oiled linen. The usefulness of the umbrella during a shower was acknowledged, but its appearance in fair, sunshiny weather elicited the jeers of the populace and the mockery of men who should have been wiser. The doctors, however, recommended carrying an umbrella in summer as a safe protection against many diseases caused by exposure to the sun. Dr. Chancellor, Dr. Morgan, and Rev. Mr. Duché bravely carried the objectionable umbrella through the streets at mid-day, and the air of comfort with which they went unconcernedly about their business finally silenced the opposition. Many a wag found it convenient to shelter his "diminished head" under an umbrella, after exercising his wit upon it. Umbrellas were first introduced in England in 1768; they were advertised for sale in Philadelphia in 1772, by William Barrel, on Market Street.

Mrs. Esther Reed, who had but recently arrived in Philadelphia, gives her first impressions in a letter to her brother,[1] Mr. DeBerdt, dated Nov. 14, 1770. We quote as follows: "Miss Pearson is making a fortune by going to England and bringing back new fashions in her way. Articles for gentlemen's use would answer as well. As to the common articles of wear, the country will soon be overstocked. Vast quantities of goods come already from New York and Maryland, and all the country people are spinning coarse linen, which they find their account in. . . . I am sure, after the first weeks, you would like this place very well. The city does not answer my expectations. The plan, undoubtedly, is remarkably good, but the houses are low, and in general paltry, in comparison of the account I had heard. . . . We made our appearance on Thursday at the Assembly with Mrs. Foxcroft, and my ladyship opened the ball, much to the satisfaction of the company, as something new to criticise on. The belles of the city were there. In general, the ladies are pretty, but no beauties. They all stoop, like country girls. So much for this city."

Two months later Mrs. Reed wrote: "We meet with much civility, but I can't say the place suits me very well. The people must either talk of their neighbors, of whom they know every particular, of what they both do and say, or else of marketing, two subjects I am very little acquainted with. This I only say to you, for we hardly dare tell one another our thoughts, lest it should spread and be told again all over the town."

In 1772 the following was published as a description of a beau in Philadelphia:

"It has a vast quantity of hair on its head, which seems to stand on end and gives it the appearance of being frightened. That hair is loaded with powder and pomatum, all little enough, too, to keep any degree of life or heat in the few brains that are in small particles scattered about in the cavities of that soft skull it covers. The rest of it chiefly consists of French silk, gold lace, fringe, silk stockings, a hat and feather, and sometimes a cockade, and then it is quite irresistible. White bands, a diamond ring, a snuff-box, a scented handkerchief, and a cane. Its employment is to present that snuff-box, to wield that cane, to show its white teeth in a perpetual grin, to say soft things in every sense of the word to ladies, to follow them everywhere like their shadow, and to fetch and carry like a spaniel."

The average citizen, however, was more modestly equipped. A recently-arrived Englishman is represented as wearing his hair tied behind, well dressed in a brown broadcloth coat, lapelled jacket, and breeches of the same material, a castor hat, brown stockings and shoes, with pinchbeck buckles, while a teacher, who had got himself in some trouble with the sheriff, is described as clad in a blue coat, with a red collar and wristbands, sugar-loaf-shaped metal buttons, a blue surtout coat, Nivernais hat, and ruffled shirt; he, also, wore his hair tied behind.

The lady's hat for out-door wear was a very flat, round hat, worn so as to stand up perpendicularly on the right side of the head, or rather of the immense edifice of hair reared high over the head, the back and crown of which was protected by a sort of loose hood. A cloak of some bright color was worn in winter. Scarlet cloaks, when first imported, were great favorites with the leaders of fashion, but public taste condemned them and the mode did not last. We took our fashions from England, and the Philadel-

[1] We are indebted for this and subsequent extracts to a very interesting "Life of Esther DeBerdt, afterward Esther Reed," printed for private circulation in 1853, without the author's name, but which is known to be by Mr. William B. Reed, of Philadelphia.

phia ladies were probably careful to follow the directions contained in a "London Pocket-Book" of the period,[1] viz., "Every lady who wishes to dress her hair with taste and elegance should first purchase an elastic cushion exactly fitted to the head. Then, having combed out her hair thoroughly, and *properly thickened it with powder and pomatum*, let her turn it over her cushion in the reigning model. Let her next divide the sides into divisions for curls, and adjust their number and size from the same models. If the hair be not of a sufficient length and thickness it will be necessary to procure an addition to it, which is always to be had ready-made and matched to every color."

During the next ten years there were as many different styles of dressing the hair. Curls, crisp or long, feathers, flowers and ribbons, powder and pomatum, each had their turn, or were combined into so many enormities that they aroused the poet's sarcasm,—

"Give Betsy a bushel of horsehair and wool,
Of paste and pomatum a pound,
Ten yards of gay ribbon to deck her sweet skull,
And gauze to encompass it round.
Her cap flies behind, for a yard at the least,
And her curls meet just under her chin,
And those curls are supported, to keep up the jest,
By a hundred, instead of *one* pin."

A custom prevailed at the funeral of young girls which has long since ceased to be: it was that the coffin should be carried to the grave by some of the most intimate companions of the dead girl. Miss Sarah Eve in her journal, July 12, 1773, has the following entry: "In the evening B. Rush, P. Dunn, K. Vaughan and myself carried Mr. Ash's child to be buried; foolish custom for girls to prance it through the streets without hats or bonnets."[2]

Miss Sarah Eve, the daughter of Oswell Eve and Anne Moore,[3] was a highly accomplished young lady, with a quick and naturally observing mind. The following extracts from her journal give an insight of the social life in her time:

"February 26th. As fine a day as in April. In the morning Dr. Shippen came to see us. What a pity it is that the doctor is so fond of kissing; he really would be much more agreeable if he were less fond. One hates to be always kissed, especially as it is attended with so many inconveniences; it decomposes the economy of one's *handkerchief*, it disorders one's *high roll*, and it ruffles the serenity of one's countenance; in short, the doctor's, or a sociable kiss, is many times worse than a formal salute with bowing and curtseying, to 'this is Mr. Such-an-one, and this Miss What-do-you-call-her.' 'Tis true this confuses one no little, but one gets the better of that sooner than to readjust one's dress."

In another entry she remarks playfully, "I never once thought of it before I heard Mrs. Clifford mention it, why such an exemplary man as Mr. Duché should sit every day and have his hair curled and powdered by a barber. Since I have thought about it *greatly*, and would like to hear *his* sentiments on this subject. But, my dear ma'am, what would a parson be without *powder?* it is as necessary to *him* as to a *soldier*, for it gives a more significant shake to his head, and is as *priming* to his words and looks. As to having his hair curled, he perhaps thinks it of little or no consequence, since curled or uncurled locks will turn so gray, or perhaps he may look upon it as more humiliating to wear his own hair than a wig, as then his head must serve as a *block* on which the barber must dress it."

She goes with Maj. and Mrs. Hayes to visit a lady from "*Tren Town*" who lodged at Dr. Duffield's, and the visit is an ovation for writing this graphic pen-picture of shallow fashionable life: "We went down to the doctor's where I was introduced to the lady, her name

[1] The Eighteenth Century, by Alexander Andrews.

[2] The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, from which we copy these extracts from the journal of Miss Sarah Eve, says in a note concerning this custom: "As late as Dec. 19, 1813, it appears to have undergone but little change from the time mentioned in the diary, as Miss Hannah M. Wharton recorded in her journal: 'We have had a melancholy occurrence in the circle of our acquaintance since I last wrote in the death of the accomplished and amiable Fanny Durden. Six young ladies of her intimate acquaintance, of which I was one, were asked to be the pall-bearers. We were all dressed in white, with long white veils.'

"The child whose funeral was mentioned in the text was Rebecca, second child of Col. James Ash. . . . Col. Ash was born in 1750, and died in 1830. He married three times, and had twenty-four children. His first wife, whom he married when he was quite young, was Sarah Hinchman."

[3] Sarah Eve was one of the surviving six of thirteen children. This gifted young lady died Dec. 4, 1774, aged twenty-four years. She had received a good education, and was familiar with the best poetical and prose writers in the English language. Her disposition was as amiable as her understanding was strong and her imagination brilliant. A member of the family wrote of her, "Her hair, though red, was always fashionably dressed, and her appearance very stately. On one occasion, when a companion said she 'was too proud,' another answered, 'There is more humility under Sarah Eve's high head than under many a Quaker bonnet.'"

The *Pennsylvania Magazine* says of her family, "In 1745 Oswell Eve, the elder, was a sea-captain, commanding the ship 'George,' and was so prosperous that, from 1756 to 1760, he was part owner in no less than twenty-five different vessels. During part of this time he was a shipping merchant of Philadelphia, and in 1756 was a lieutenant in Capt. Samuel Mifflin's company of Philadelphia Associators. In 1766 he became a member of the Society for the Relief of the Poor, Aged, and Infirm Masters of Ships, their Widows and Children.

"A daughter of Oswell Eve, Jr., writes that her grandfather 'lived in a large stone house in Philadelphia; the sons and daughters were educated in Philadelphia, and my father was a classmate and associate of Drs. Rush, Shippen, and James. His father was the owner and captain of the British war-brig "The Roebuck;" my uncle, Joseph, had his father's commission in his possession. As soon as his eldest sons, John and Oswell, were large enough, he took them to sea with him, leaving the res tof the family at a place near Philadelphia, where his wife and daughter lived until near the commencement of the war, in very comfortable circumstances, seeing a great deal of company. It was then Dr. Rush became engaged to my aunt, but she died three weeks before the event was to take place.'

"As will be seen by the journal, Captain Eve, having met with misfortunes in business, left his family, May 1, 1768, and with his sons, John and Oswell, went to the West Indies, where he engaged in business, which was principally transacted at Montego Bay, Jamaica. After an absence of over five years he felt that his affairs would allow him to return to his family, and it is while looking forward with pleasant expectations for this event that the diary of his daughter closes." . . . "It is likely the house (occupied by Captain Eve's family) was situated on the stream which supplied the Globe Mill at Germantown road and Canal Street, the dam of which was west of the present line of Fifth Street above Thompson, a site now covered with houses, but until lately occupied by glue-factories and tan-yards, presenting a scene greatly different from that described in the journal as a place where wild flowers could be gathered."

EARLY PHILADELPHIA COSTUMES.

[From old prints in Pennsylvania Historical Society.]

is Brayen, her husband is a doctor and a man of fortune. We found her agreeing with a man about framing a picture for her, how soon one may discover some people's predominant passions. I thought I had hers before the man left her, and by evening I was pretty sure of it. Though by appearance fond of show and gayety, if I mistake not, and I did not see her good man, *she* is mistress. She had just returned from buying wine for the doctor as he preferred her taste before his own. 'Your price rather, thought I, for peace sake poor man!' She put on her cloak and bonnet, and we went a shopping with her, she wanted a hundred things, she cheapened everything, and bought *nothing!* She offered ten pence a yard for trimming which the woman said cost her fourteen, and accordingly for everything she wanted. At one o'clock she left us to go home and dress as she was to dine with us. At half after two she came to us, and at three we sat down to dinner, for my part, at that time of day, I should have thought *tea* full as proper, my impolite appetite unaccustomed to be so served, had left me two hours before, so that I had little to do with the original intention of dining and a greater opportunity of observing (dare I call it the *shallow* elegance of my surroundings, and the more shallow compliments and conversation of the greater part of the company). 'Where, my dear Mrs. Hayes,' said the doctor's lady, 'did you get everything so much handsomer and so much finer than anybody else?' a proper stress to be laid on the word *so*. The other lady with pleasure sparkling in her eyes and a consciousness that the compliment was no more than her due, exclaimed she was very polite and very obliging, and in this entertaining manner we passed an hour and a half at the table. We drank tea at candle light, the silver candlesticks very handsome and much admired. As soon as possible I bade the company good-night, except Capt. Stainforth, who saw me safe to my brother's. I came home, thanking fate that I had so little to do with high life and its attendants."

In another letter of Mrs. Reed's (Oct. 12, 1772), she mentions several articles of apparel which she desires her brother to send to her, as she cannot procure them easily in Philadelphia, viz., Black calma shoes, a dozen of eight-bowed cap wires, a quilted cap for her little girl, and a "quartered cap for her boy; for herself, a half-dressed handkerchief or tippet, or whatever is the fashion, made of thread lace; a handsome spring silk, fit for summer, and new fashion." In a subsequent letter, however, she countermands the order concerning the silk gown, as she finds she can have one made in Philadelphia.

On the 20th she writes, "You will no doubt hear of the failure of a very considerable house in New York; it seems to have been very unexpected, as they were in great credit. Many failures are expected here; the city is so much overstocked with goods that in many shops you may buy cheaper than in London, and the needy trader is constantly obliged for the sake of ready cash to send his goods (often bales unopened) to vendue, where they sometimes sell under prime cost, which is productive of universal bad consequences." This repletion of the market was not to last, however. Yet another year or two and how different the aspect of things will be! The grievances of the colonies have become unbearable. The people of Boston have destroyed the cargoes of the tea-ships; the Philadelphians, with that decorum and dislike of violence inherited from their Quaker ancestors, have compelled the vessels sent to their port to leave it without discharging their obnoxious cargo. Non-importation is resolved; the Revolution is commenced. The effect on society was to create division. We will not introduce the political history of Philadelphia in a chapter devoted exclusively to manners and customs, but even these will show the divisions of parties. A lady's dress revealed at once the side taken by her family; the patriotic fair ones proclaiming their resolve to encourage home manufactures, while the wives and daughters of the men who doubted the wisdom of the Revolutionary measures recently adopted, clung to English fashions and English goods. Still, at this closing page of the ante-Revolutionary period, there was neither the folly and extravagance, nor the trials and sufferings which marked the great struggle. There was no scarcity of the good things of this world, and the delegates to the Congress held in 1774 had no cause to complain of the hospitality of the Philadelphians. When the delegates from Massachusetts reached Frankford, a number of gentlemen from Philadelphia, including Mifflin, McKean, and Rutledge, went out with carriages, and, having cordially welcomed the delegates, brought them to the city. Here they were introduced to a number of other gentlemen, who vied with one another in paying them attention. During their stay it was a continual round of invitations to dinner parties, receptions, etc. One of the delegates—John Adams—kept a diary, and in this he noted with much exactness the many invitations he had accepted, even to putting down the bill of fare. A few extracts from these curious memoranda will show how well the wealthy Philadelphians lived:

"September.—Went with William Barrell to his store, where we drank punch and ate dried smoked sprats with him.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Dinner with Joseph Reed. An elegant supper. We drank sentiments until eleven o'clock. Lee had dined with Dickinson, and drank Burgundy all the afternoon.

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"Dinner at Mrs. Fisher's: Ducks, hams, chickens, beef-pies, tarts, creams, custards, jellies, fools' trifles, floating islands, beer, porter, wine, punch, and a long, etc.

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"At Mr. Powell's: Curds and cream, sweet-meats of various sorts, twenty sorts of tarts, fools' trifles, floating islands, whipped syllabubs Parmesan cheese, punch, wine, porter, beer, etc.

"At Willing's: Turtle, and everything else.

"At Dr. Cox's, Water Street: Claret, Madeira, Burgundy, pears and peaches. Breakfast: Buckwheat-cakes, muffins and toast.

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"Dinner at Chew's: Turtle, etc.; sweetmeats, trifles, etc. Dessert: Raisins, almonds, pears, peaches, and Madeira (very fine)."

Silas Deane, a New England delegate, was not so well pleased with our markets. He wrote as follows concerning them in 1774:

"Their meat is brought in the neatest order and appearance, and their mutton excels. But in the whole market there was nothing of the fish kind, and I scarcely saw any fowls of any kind worth naming. Fruit of but few kinds, and those very inferior (watermelons excepted, which you may think ought to be good when I tell you I saw them sold for two shillings each). Among their roots and vegetables I saw none of the first quality, and none at all of several which we value. I saw no celery, not a root; no kinds of salads, one basket of endive excepted; no beans but what were fit to shell; and the cucumbers offered for sale were older than we ever ate them. The roots and vegetables worth noticing are, cabbages and potatoes, good; turnips, carrots, and radishes, as tough as a dry, sandy soil can make them. But the red beets are good. . . . They expose horses, cattle, sheep, earthenware, stockings, etc., in the market with other things, so that they really have an assortment. But everything, without exception, is dearer than at New York. The common price of butter is sixteen pence per pound."

Nor was he favorably impressed with the beauty of the Philadelphia ladies, if we judge from the following extract from a subsequent letter:

"A brother delegate, remarkably fond of fine ladies, at a late fair, when the whole country was collected, asked me if I saw one pretty girl. I replied in the negative. He was then very free (as he was very well acquainted in New England, though not an inhabitant of it) in praise of your ladyships there, and taking a guinea out of his pocket, said, 'Deane, here is a vast crowd of girls; I will follow you, and the first that you shall say has a pretty face I will give the guinea to.' We strolled through the whole fair, and though I sincerely wanted him to lose the guinea, yet I could not in conscience say that I found one handsome face. From this judge of the general complexion of girls here."[1]

[1] All strangers were not as fastidious as Mr. Deane. The Duke de Lauzun declared that "for beauty, grace, and intelligence" he had never seen the superiors of the Philadelphia ladies. The Marquis de Chastellux has devoted many an enthusiastic page of his "Voyage dans l'Amérique" to his fair Philadelphia acquaintances. The Abbé Robin, a chaplain in Rochambeau's army, says, "They are tall and well-proportioned, their features are generally regular, their complexion is very fair and without colour, they have less ease and grace but a more noble bearing than French ladies. Indeed, I have noticed in many of them something of the loftiness which characterizes some of the *chef d'œuvres* of the old artists." The Chevalier de Beaujour, after describing the men, remarks, "The women have more of that delicate beauty which belongs to their sex, and, in general, have finer features and more expression in their physiognomy. Their stature is usually tall, and nearly all are possessed of a light and airy shape, the breast high, a fine head, and their colour of a dazzling whiteness. Let us imagine, under this brilliant form, the most modest demeanor, a chaste and virginal air, accompanied by those simple and unaffected graces which flow from artless nature, and we may have an idea of their style of beauty; but this beauty passes and fades in a moment. At the age of twenty-five their form changes, and at thirty the whole of their charms have disappeared." This closing remark is applied to American women in general.

But remarks still more gratifying than favorable comments on American beauty were made by these foreigners. They describe society as it was in the infancy of the nation, and the high tribute which they pay to the social virtues of the women of America is the more precious because it is still deserved, despite of the teachings of European "civilization." Marshal Count de Rochambeau, in his "Memoirs on the War of the Revolution," remarks incidentally, "Young women are free till their marriage. . . . But when they have once entered the state of matrimony they give themselves up entirely to it, and you seldom see, particularly in the rural districts, a woman of loose manners."

The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt ("Voyage dans les États-Unis") comments favorably on the freedom, so rarely abused, allowed to young American girls. He says of the married women, "In the country she is, as in Europe, a necessary friend to the management of domestic affairs,—she is the soul of the family. In town she is so too. She is an indispensable resource for domestic affairs, while her husband is engaged in his own affairs, as every one is in America. She is an assiduous companion, and a society ever ready to be found in a country where there are no other but that of the family, and where the children soon quit their paternal abode."

In fact, it is a thought of which we should be proud, whatever may have been the criticisms, deserved or unjust, of foreigners upon American institutions and customs, the manners of American women have ever been the subject of their praise.

"It may be noticed," says Mr. Westcott in his "History of Philadelphia," "that the fairs were held in the public market-places, and were most generally attended by the country people, most of whom at that time were used to hard work, frequently in the fields, and were without the advantages incident to luxury and leisure and refinement, which give to women of taste opportunities to display their personal charms to the best advantage. The apology for Mr. Deane is that he did not get into the best society, which at that time was affected generally in favor of the crown."

The troublous times have come. The battle of Lexington has been fought, and independence has become a fact. Washington, appointed commander-in-chief in June, 1775, has started for Boston, where the Continental army is organizing; a number of Philadelphians accompany him. In Philadelphia everything bears a warlike aspect. We hear no more of races, of cock-fighting,—the favorite but cruel amusement hitherto so much in vogue,—no more bull-baiting or bear-baiting; the men have something else to think of, they discuss the war news, they prepare for war. Mrs. Reed, whose husband is appointed lieutenant-colonel of one of the three battalions of Pennsylvania, writes, "Two thousand men in the field, all in uniform, make a very military appearance. A regiment of men, whom they call riflemen, dress themselves like Indians, and make a very formidable show." Even the ladies have lost all interest in their wonted amusements, the ball-room is forsaken, dress affords no pleasure; war is the universal theme, the all-engrossing subject.

The newspapers belonging to the party of armed resistance made use of various devices illustrative of *union*, the essential element of success. The disjointed or dissevered snake was a favorite device at the time of the Stamp Act excitement, and when, in 1774, the colonists had resolved to take the important step for the promotion of union, namely, the assembling of a Continental Congress of delegates, that device was revived, with some modifications. The illustration of a disjointed snake, each part representing a colony, with the initials thereof,[2] first appeared in the heading of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, where it remained for about a year, or until the colonies were fairly united, on the meeting of the Second Continental Congress in May, 1775. The device excited the ire and disgust of the loyalists, and the Tory writers spoke in harsh terms of it. A writer in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, in New York, called it "a scandalous and saucy reflection;" to which a correspondent of the *Journal*, signing himself "New Jersey," replied as follows:

[2] This illustration is reproduced on page 303, vol. 1. of this work.

"That New England's abused, and by sons of perdition,[1]
Is granted without either prayer or petition;
And that 'tis 'a scandalous saucy reflection,'
That 'merits the soundest, severest correction,'
Is readily granted. 'How came it to pass?'
Because she is pester'd by snakes in the grass,
Who by lying and cringing, and such like pretensions,
Get places *once* honored, disgracéd by pensions.
And you, Mr. Pensioner, instead of repentance
(If I don't mistake you) have wrote your own sentence,
For by such *snakes* as this New England's abused,
And the 'head of the serpents,' you know, must 'be bruised.'"

H. Clay Lukens, of Germantown, sent to the *Record* "the following description of the curious banner originally displayed by the American colonies after the commencement of active hostilities against Great Britain." It is taken from the *London Morning Chronicle* for July 25, 1776:

"The colors of the American flag have a snake with thirteen rattles, the fourteenth budding,[2] described in the attitude of going to strike, with the motto, 'Don't tread on me!' It is a rule in heraldry that the worthy properties of the animal, in the crest borne, shall be considered, and the base ones cannot be intended. The ancients accounted a snake or serpent an emblem of wisdom, and, in certain attitudes, of endless duration. The rattlesnake is properly an emblem of America, as this animal is found in no other part of the world. The eye of this creature excels in brightness most of any other animal. She has no eyelids, and is, therefore, an emblem of vigilance. She never begins an attack, nor ever surrenders; she is, therefore, an emblem of magnanimity and true courage. When injured, or in danger of being injured, she never wounds until she has given notice to her enemies of their danger. No other of her kind shows such generosity. When undisturbed and in peace, she does not appear to be furnished with any weapons of any kind. They are latent in the roof of her mouth, and even when extended for her defense, appear to those who are not acquainted with her to be weak and contemptible, yet her wounds, however small, are decisive and fatal. She is solitary, and associates with her kind only when it is necessary for their preservation. Her poison is at once the necessary means of digesting her food and certain destruction to her enemies. The power of fascination, attributed to her by a generous construction, resembles America. Those who look steadily on her are delighted and involuntarily advance toward her, and, having once approached, never leave her. She is frequently found with *thirteen* rattles, and they increase yearly. She is beautiful in youth, and her beauty increases with her age. Her tongue is blue, and forked as lightning."

The Declaration of Independence had been proclaimed, and the United States of America had come into existence. Philadelphia, being the seat of government, was soon filled with strangers, delegates to the Congress and their families, patriots and politicians from all parts of the land, military men, adventurers, and speculators from every part of the world. The introduction of these new elements wrought a great change in the hitherto quiet community: hazardous speculations took the place of steady business habits, and a mad thirst for pleasure and excitement pervaded society. In the winter of 1776-77, Richard Henry Lee wrote of Philadelphia that it was an "attractive scene of debauch and amusement;" and James Lovell complained to Washington that he found it "a place of crucifying expenses." Judge Edward Shippen, writing to his father in January, 1777, remarks, "How long matters may thus continue cannot be known, yet another summer must necessarily show us our fate. If the war should continue longer than that, we are all ruined as to our estates, whatever may be the state of our liberties. The scarcity and advanced price of every necessary of life makes it extremely difficult for those who have large families, and no share in the present measures, to carry them through, and nothing but the strictest frugality will enable us to do it."

While many patriotic ladies persisted in giving up finery and frivolous amusements, and turned all their energies to helping and encouraging their husbands and brothers, fashion did not lose its sway, and dress was ruinous, owing to the scarcity of goods and of money. The dress for gentlemen in good society at the beginning of the Revolutionary war is thus described:

"The hair was powdered and tied in a long queue; a plaited white stock; and shirt ruffled at the bosom and over the hand, and fastened at the wrists with gold sleeve-buttons; a peach-bloom coat, with white buttons, lined with white silk, and standing off at the skirts with buckram; a figured silk vest, divided so that the pockets extended on the thighs; black silk small-clothes, with large gold or silver knee-buckles; cotton or silk stockings; large shoes with short quarters, and buckles to match."

It is related in the life of Samuel Adams that, upon his being chosen in 1774 to attend the Congress in Philadelphia, his friends fitted him out with a full suit of clothes, as follows: two pairs of shoes of the best style, a set of silver shoe-buckles, a set of gold knee-buckles, a set of gold sleeve-buttons, an elegant cocked hat, a gold-headed cane, a red cloak, and a number of minor articles of wearing apparel. The sleeve-buttons and cane had upon them the device of a liberty cap.

Such costumes were necessarily very expensive. Still more so was the uniform and equipment of an officer in the army. To obtain for the Continental troops that uniformity of dress which is necessary in order to distinguish an army from a mob of armed men, was a problem difficult to solve with the scant means at command. Still it was done, in a manner, with economy.

The first troops raised in Pennsylvania being associators and militia organizations, a cheap and effective distinction was the hunting-shirt. This garment was made of various colors, principally of brown, green, and yellow, and some black. The riflemen clung to this style of uniform longer than did other arms of the service. The infantry were soon clad in uniforms resembling the British fashions, except in colors. The prevailing color of the Pennsylvania line was brown, with facings of buff, blue, green, or red. Blue coats were used by some regiments and battalions. To the artillery—as soon as regular artillery regiments were formed—was assigned the color of black, with red facings.

The Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse, associated Nov. 17, 1774, adopted the following uniform: a dark-brown short coat, faced and lined with white, white vest and breeches, high-top boots, round black

[1] New England was then suffering from the effect of the Boston Port Bill.

[2] This represented Vermont.

hat, bound with silver cord, a buck's tail, housings brown, edged with white, and the letters "L. H." worked on them. Arms: a carbine, a pair of pistols and holsters, with flounces of brown cloth trimmed with white, a horseman's sword, and white belts for the sword and carbine.

On the 16th of January the body of the brave Gen. Hugh Mercer was escorted, with all the honors of war, to its last resting-place in Christ churchyard. He was a Scotchman by birth, and had fought in the battle of Culloden with Charles Stuart. Making his escape after that disastrous defeat, he had fled to America and had settled in the province of Pennsylvania. But the brave soldier did not find peace—if indeed he sought it—in his new home. In 1755 he was a captain in the provincial forces sent against the Indians. He was wounded and left for dead on the battle-field. Having, by good fortune, escaped the scalping-knife of the savage, he made his way to Fort Cumberland, after wandering for some weeks through the woods, with no other food than berries and nuts. In 1758 he was made a lieutenant-colonel, and placed in command of Fort Du Quesne by Col. Washington. Upon the organization of the Continental army, we find the gallant Mercer serving with the rank of general under his old chief. Mortally wounded at Princeton, where he fought on foot, after his horse had been shot under him, and refusing to surrender when pressed by a whole detachment, he was beaten down with the butt end of their muskets and received a fatal bayonet thrust, which caused his death.

The body of the gallant Philadelphian, Capt. William Shippen, also killed in the battle of Princeton, was likewise buried with military honors in St. Peter's churchyard.

Since the organization of the army, funerals—not at all attended with the pomp of war—were of daily occurrence in Philadelphia. John Adams, in a letter dated April 13, 1777, says, "I have spent an hour this morning in the congregation of the dead. I took a walk into the 'Potter's Field' (a burying place between the new stone prison and the hospital), and I never in my whole life was so affected with melancholy. The graves of *the soldiers* who have been buried in this ground from the hospital and bettering-house during the course of last summer, fall, and winter, dead of the *smallpox* and *camp* diseases, are enough to make the heart of stone to melt away. The sexton told me that upwards of *two thousand soldiers* have been buried there, and by the *appearance* of the graves and *trenches*, it is most probable to me that he speaks within bounds." This Potter's Field was on the site now occupied by the beautiful Washington Square.

But a sadder spectacle than that of the funerals of their brethren was in reserve for the Philadelphians. On the 19th of September the news reached Congress that the enemy had reached the Swedes' Ford, and might be in Philadelphia within twenty-four hours. The members of Congress, the military officers in the city on business or leave, and many gentlemen, active supporters of the cause of freedom and independence, departed in haste for Trenton and Bristol. The people lived in the greatest apprehension until the 26th, when the enemy entered Philadelphia. The event is noted in Robert Morton's diary[1] in these words: "September 26th. About eleven o'clock A.M. Lord Cornwallis with his division of the British and auxiliary troops, amounting to about three thousand, marched into this city, accompanied by Enoch Story, Joseph Galloway, Andrew Allen, William Allen, and others, inhabitants of this city, to the great relief of the inhabitants who have too long suffered the yoke of arbitrary power; and who testified their approbation of the arrival of the troops by the loudest acclamations of joy."

On the other hand, Watson says J. P. Norris told him, "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 him there was no huzzaing." A lady told Mr. Watson, "I saw no exultation in the enemy, nor indeed in those who were reckoned favorable to their success." If we remember that there were many Tories in Philadelphia and that they now had the upper hand, it is easy to reconcile these different opinions. Some people did rejoice, if others felt "sad and serious;" but it is likely that the manifestations of joy were subdued, until the British were definitely, as was supposed, settled in the city. That respectable loyalist, Robert Morton, had occasion, not very long after, to change his mind about the "relief from arbitrary power" procured by the coming of Cornwallis. He wrote, on the 22d of November, "Seventh day of the week. This morning about ten o'clock, the British set fire to Fair Hill mansion-house, Jonathan Mifflin's, and many others, amounting to eleven, besides outhouses, barns, etc. The reason they assign for this destruction of their friends' property is on account of the Americans firing from these houses and harassing their pickets. The generality of mankind being governed by their interests, it is reasonable to conclude that men whose property is thus wantonly destroyed under a pretense of depriving their enemy of a means of annoying y'm on their march, will soon be converted and become their professed enemies. . . . Here is an instance that Gen. Washington's army cannot be accused of. There is not one instance to be produced where they have wantonly destroyed and burned their friends' property."

Mr. Watson tells an amusing anecdote of the manner in which "Stenton" was saved from destruction on the occasion of this act of incendiarism. Stenton had been included in the list of (seventeen, not eleven)

[1] See *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. i.

mansions doomed to destruction. Two men came to execute the order. They told the housekeeper to get her things out while they would go to the barn to procure straw to fire it. Hardly had they left the house when a British officer rode up in quest of deserters. The housekeeper told him that two had come, who were hiding in the barn. The officer galloped toward that building, crying out, with many oaths, "Come out, you rascals, and run before me back to the camp!" The incendiaries came out and endeavored to explain that they were merely obeying orders. The irate officer would not listen, but drove them back to camp, and Logan's house was saved.

Capt. John Heinrichs, of the Hessian Jäger Corps, was not favorably impressed with Philadelphia, its people, or its climate.[1] He writes to his friend in Germany that among one hundred persons in or about Philadelphia not one has a healthy color, the cause of which is the unhealthy air and the bad water, and gives a list of diseases that are common every year. Some wag must have imposed on him, for he makes the strange remark, "Nowhere have I seen so many *mad* people as here. Only yesterday, as I was dining with a gentleman, a third person came into the room, and he whispered in my ear, '*Take care, this gentleman is a madman!*' Frequently the people are cured, but almost all have a quiet madness, a derangement of mind which proceeds from sluggish not active blood." The captain finds the climate unendurable; the animals, as well as the products of the earth, are only half developed; a hare, a partridge, a peacock, etc., is only half grown. Wild game tastes like ordinary meat. One of the few good consequences of this war is, he thinks, that more forests will be destroyed, and the air will become purer. "A man from this city by the name of Hamilton [William Hamilton, of the Woodlands] alone lost fifteen hundred acres of woodlands, which was cut down for the hospital, and he had sufficient patriotism to remark recently in company that it was good for the country." He finds that the fertility of the soil is great, "but the corn itself is not as good as ours." And yet, this fastidious Hessian, quoting Burnaby's "Description of His Travels," ends his letter by saying, "Among these 'country houses, pleasure-gardens, and fruitful orchards' the highly-esteemed Jäger Corps have their winter-quarters, and where he says 'on the Schuylkill,' there I mount guard to-morrow. It seems to me as if this sketch were plainer than many an engineer could draw it." Capt. Heinrichs lived to become a lieutenant-general in the service of Prussia.

[1] *Pennsylvania Magazine.* "The Hessians in Philadelphia:" translated by Miss Helen Bell.

This fault-finding Hessian did not find much to admire in a city which had become the first in America in population, as it was the first then in commercial importance. For neatness of appearance, well-built houses, broad streets,—the principal ones and all the crossings paved,—excellent police regulations, open squares, and fine market-houses, it was second to none. Its fairs attracted the country people for many miles, and its quays presented a scene of bustle and activity seldom seen elsewhere, and to which the varied garb of the foreign seamen, the sable-hued Africans, and the stolid Germans from the settlements added much picturesque charm. For Philadelphia had wonderfully improved in the last ten years preceding the Revolution, and when the delegates to the first Congress assembled there, the impression of those who came from distant points was one of pleased surprise. The refinement of its society, the culture of its representative men, and the beauty and modesty of its women, crowning that large-hearted hospitality born in the early Quaker days, made it a "good place to live in."

Let us say something here of the place where a battle raged so near to the city.

HOUSE OF PASTORIUS FAMILY, GERMANTOWN.
[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

Germantown, as its name indicates, was a German settlement, and, however changed it is now, had retained its German character as late as 1793. The yellow fever scourge which devastated Philadelphia in that year spared Germantown, and many citizens, as well as the officers of the general and State governments and of the banks, fled from the city to this healthier place. After this, the number of English-speaking residents increased steadily, and the road to the city became, in time, lined with handsome mansions.

The first settlers were Francis Daniel Pastorius, who purchased the land for himself and others, and Jurian Hartsfielder. This purchase was made from William Penn in 1683. In 1689, Germantown was

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incorporated as a borough, by a patent from Penn. The town lost its charter about the year 1706. Watson's "Annals" describe the old houses in Germantown as "plastered on the inside with clay and straw mixed, and over it is laid a finishing coat of thin lime plaster. Some old houses seem to be made with log frames and the interstices filled with wattles, river rushes, and clay intermixed. In a house of ninety years of age, taken down, the grass in the clay appeared as green as when cut." These houses were generally of one story and built low, with the gable ends on the street. The doors were divided at the usual window-sill height into two parts, the upper remaining open generally to admit air and light, the lower closed so as to keep the domestic animals from running into the house. Appearing in this upper open half, like a picture in a frame, the contemplative German *bürger* might be seen, pipe in mouth, his folded arms resting on the top-board of the closed lower part, gazing dreamily at the peaceful scene of comfort before him, with an occasional grunt of satisfaction, as he let the curling clouds of smoke escape slowly from between his lips. Or it might be the buxom *frau*, her blue handkerchief pinned up to her neck, her sleeves rolled up and her bare arms and brown hands showing the unmistakable and honorable marks of untiring industry, who would show herself in the aperture, to hold a few minutes' friendly gossip with a neighbor. The *fräulein*, doubtless, might occupy the place of an evening; and "Hans" or "Fritz," slyly approaching with his fragrant pipe, may have whispered to her just as tender vows as any Spanish lover thrumming his guitar under his lady-love's balcony, in Seville.

In those days of primeval innocence, the whole street of one mile in length, Oldmixon informs us, was fronted with blooming peach-trees. But these early settlers were industrious, thrifty people; their little community grew and prospered so well that Kalm, who visited it in 1748, describes it thus, "This town has only one street, but is near two English miles long. It is for the greatest part inhabited by Germans, who from time to time come from their country to North America, and settle here because they enjoy such privileges as they are not possessed of anywhere else. Most of the inhabitants are tradesmen, and make almost everything in such quantity and perfection that in a short time this province will want very little from England, its mother country. Most of the houses were built of the stone which is mixed with glimmer, and found everywhere toward Philadelphia, but is more scarce farther on. Several houses, however, were made of brick. They were commonly two stories high, and sometimes higher. The roofs consisted of shingles of the white cedar wood. Their shape resembles that of the roofs in Sweden, but the angles they formed at the top were either obtuse, right-angled, or acute, according as the slopes were steep or easy. They sometimes formed either the half of an octagon or the half of a dodecagon.

"Many of the roofs were made in such a manner that they could be walked upon, having a balustrade round them. Many of the upper stories had balconies before them, from whence the people had a prospect into the street. The windows, even those in the third story, had shutters. Each house had a fine garden. . . . The inhabitants were so numerous that the street was always full."

Dr. Rush, in his "Manners of the Germans of Pennsylvania," says, "Pennsylvania is indebted to the Germans for the principal part of her knowledge in horticulture. There was a time when turnips and cabbage were the principal vegetables that were used in diet by the citizens of Philadelphia. This will not surprise those persons who know that the first settlers in Pennsylvania left England while horticulture was in its infancy in that country." Schoepf says that "during the Revolutionary war some of the gardens in the vicinity of Philadelphia were improved by German prisoners, who had been in the service of the king of Great Britain. They introduced and cultivated broccoli, turnip, cabbage, etc."

Dr. Rush, quoting Tacitus' description of the ancient German villages, "Each man leaves a space between his house and those of his neighbors, either to avoid the danger from fire or from unskillfulness in architecture," adds, "Many of the German villages in Pennsylvania are constructed in the same manner. The small houses are composed of a mixture of wood, brick, and clay, neatly united. The large houses are built of stone, and many of them after the English fashion. Very few of the houses in Germantown are connected together. Where the Germans connect their houses in their villages, they appear to have deviated from one of the customs they imported from Germany."

Watson mentions four *hermits* living near the town in 1700,—John Seelig, Kelpius, Bony, and Conrad Mathias. They were what remained of a small religious community adverse to matrimony, and leading a holy, secluded life. Some of the members had been tempted to marry, and the sect had gradually died away.

There was a great deal of superstition in those days, especially among the Germans. The casting of *nativities* was much practiced, and those who made profession of astrology were called *conjurers*. "Old Shrunk," of Germantown, was looked upon as a great conjurer, who could find out stolen goods, discover hidden treasures, and do many other marvelous things taught by the "black art." It was generally believed that he could, by the mere force of his will, compel a thief to stand motionless whom he discovered in his orchard, which would lead to the belief that he was acquainted with animal magnetism, even before Mesmer made his public experiments and discovered what has been named after him "mesmerism." These

people believed that the presence of a *sphoke* or ghost in some lonely spot indicated that a treasure was buried there. The belief in money and jewels having been buried on the coasts of bays and rivers by defunct pirates existed even then. Watson speaks of a Col. T. F. [Thomas Forrest], who, at a later period, used to amuse himself much with the credulity of the people. "He pretended he could *hex* (conjure) with a hazel rod, and often he has had superstitious persons to come and offer him shares in spoils which they had seen a *sphoke* upon. He even wrote and printed a curious old play to ridicule the thing. Describing the terrors of a midnight fright in digging, he makes one of the party to tell his wife:

> "My dearest wife, in all my life
> Ich neber was so fritened;
> De spirit come, and Ich did run,
> 'Twas juste like tunder, mid lightning."

Owing to the want of good roads the travel from Germantown to Philadelphia was no trifling matter, yet the women often walked to town on market days, carrying heavy baskets on their heads, while the men trundled cumbrous wheelbarrows. Other farmers, however, drove their wagons, and the farmers' wives rode stout horses, with two paniers slung on each side. On going to church or to fairs, the custom was, as it existed in Europe at that time, for man and woman to ride the same horse, the woman sitting on a pillion behind the man. It was a long time before chaises or any kind of pleasure vehicles came into use. The wagons, made to carry heavy loads of produce and merchandise, were great, cumbersome things, with enormous wheels, which went creaking along at such a pace as precluded all thoughts of an enjoyable ride.

The Germans of Germantown, as it has been stated before, were principally tradesmen and manufacturers. They made very good linens, and became also famous for their manufacture of stockings. The very fact of having bad roads leading into the city had helped to build up the prosperity of Germantown, for, Mr. Watson tells us, "to avoid such, farmers bringing produce could sell out their whole loads in Germantown. In return they could get salt, fish, plaster of Paris, clover- and grass-seed, all kinds of groceries and dry-goods." Hence the great country stores of that time, which did a thriving business until turnpikes were built and the farmers took to driving straight to the city. "Such stores were granaries for all kinds of grain, and received and cured hogs and beef. They all made money. You might see a dozen wagons at a time about their premises."

Such was the town in and about which the British lodged their troops when they took possession of Philadelphia. "They took up all the fences," says Mr. Watson, "and made the rails into huts by cutting down all the buckwheat, putting it on the rails, and ground over that. No fences remained. . . . At that time and during all the war all business was at a stand. Not a house was roofed or mended in Germantown in five or six years. Most persons who had any substance lived in part on what they could procure on loan. The people pretty generally were mentally adverse to the war, equal, certainly, to two-thirds of the population of the place who felt as if they had anything to lose by the contest. So several have told me."

The British officers were quartered in houses in the town, and demeaned themselves with propriety. The soldiers were held under strict discipline, yet there were cases of individual robbing and plundering for which the inhabitants could obtain no redress, owing to the difficulty of identifying the offenders. "A large body of Hessians were hutted in Ashmead's field, out the School Lane, near the woods. Their huts were constructed of the rails from fences, set up at an angle of 45°, resting on a crossbeam centre. Over these was laid straw, and above the straw grass sod. They were close and warm. Those for the officers had wicker doors, with a glass light, and interwoven with plaited straw. They had also chimneys made of sod-grass. They no doubt had prepared so to pass the winter, but the battle broke up their plans. One of the Hessians afterward became Washington's coachman."[1]

Gen. Howe occupied Logan's house some time. The house No. 4782 Main Street, now Germantown Avenue, possesses rare historic interest. It was built by David Deshler, an old merchant of Philadelphia, in 1772 to 1774, and was owned by him at the time of the battle of Germantown, when it was taken possession of by Sir William Howe, commander-in-chief of the British army, as his headquarters, when he moved from Stenton, with his forces to oppose the attack by Washington on the British outposts. After the battle he continued to occupy the house for some time, and tradition has it that he here received a visit from the future King William IV., then a midshipman in the British navy.

In 1782 the property was sold by David Deshler to Col. Isaac Franks, who had been aide-de-camp to Washington. On the outbreak of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, in 1793, Col. Franks closed his house and went to Bethlehem, Pa. Soon after, on account of the fever, Congress left Philadelphia, the seat of government was removed to Germantown, and Washington, as President of the United States, rented Col. Franks' vacated house ready furnished. An inventory taken at that time is still preserved.

In 1804 the premises were purchased jointly by Elliston and John Perot as a summer residence. They continued to own and occupy it thus until 1834, when, upon the death of Elliston Perot, their property was divided, and this house fell to his share, and became part of his estate. In 1834 it was purchased by his son-in-law, Samuel B. Morris, a mem-

[1] Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, vol. ii.

ber of the old shipping-house of Waln & Morris, who made it his permanent residence, and lived there until his death, in 1859, leaving it by his will to his son, Elliston P. Morris, the present owner, who now (1884) resides in it. Owing to its successive family ownership of eighty years, the property has been kept in perfect repair, and, with scarcely any change, remains to-day the same as when occupied by Gen. Howe and President Washington. It is paneled throughout, and most of its old-fashioned, open fireplaces are surrounded by quaint tiling, and the windows retain their old eight-by-ten glasses, imported from Germany for the building.[1]

The British Gen. Agnew, who was killed in the battle of Germantown, had his headquarters in "Wister's big house, opposite Indian Queen Lane." Christopher Huber's house (afterward Samuel Shoemaker's, and since Duval's) was turned into a tailoring-shop for the army. The shoemaker- and blacksmith-shops were also taken possession of, and the soldier-workmen would proceed thence daily, in squads, to do their work. The owners of the shops generally assisted them in their task, in order to keep an eye on their tools and property.

Reuben Haines' house was made use of by the British surgeons as a hospital ward for amputating limbs, etc., after the battle. The American wounded were taken to another house on the hill. Chew's house has become celebrated from the fact that to the delay caused by the attempt to dislodge the British soldiers intrenched in it has been attributed the loss of the fight. John Dickinson's handsome house at Fair Hill, where he wrote his celebrated "Farmer's Letters," was burned by the British after the battle, the beautiful woods cut down, and the place laid waste. This was the house mentioned by John Adams in his diary (in 1774): "Went with my colleagues and Messrs. Thomson and Mifflin to the Falls of Schuylkill, and viewed the museum at Fort St. David's; a great collection of curiosities. Returned and dined with Mr. Dickinson at his seat at Fair Hill, with his lady, Mrs. Thomson, Miss Norris, and Miss Harrison. Mr. Dickinson has a fine seat, a beautiful prospect of the city, the river, and country, fine gardens, and a very grand library. The most of the books were collected by Mr. Norris, once Speaker of the House here, father of Mrs. Dickinson."

Mr. Townsend Ward, in his interesting papers on "The Germantown Road and its Associations," published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, mentions a house on the road to Naglee's Hill in which is to be seen a curious relic of the olden time. He says, "On a pane of glass in one of the windows of the house a guest, it is believed an officer of the Hessian force, engraved with the diamond of his ring an admirable equestrian likeness of Frederick the Great. On the lower margin he inscribed his name, 'M. J. Ellinkhuysen, fecit, 1783, Philadelphia.' The glass of the windows are of the early eight-by-ten size, and many in their turn became broken. This one fortunately escaped, and about thirty years ago Mr. Toland had it removed and framed for preservation. One of the last acts of Miss Toland was to permit this engraving to be reproduced." At the time of the British occupation this house was George Miller's, who became a colonel in the army. His house was made the quarters of more than a dozen of the British officers.

We will now resume our narrative of events in Philadelphia. Time is a wonderful pacificator, and the allurements of pleasure are often irresistible, especially with the fair sex. The rulers were courteous and agreeable; they were received as friends by the Tory families; they gave entertainments, balls, and theatricals; the winter of 1777-78 was a season of gayety unprecedented, probably, in the annals of the city. The belles could not resist such attractions, and some of the Whig ladies partook of these amusements without giving up their principles. They may have had many, to them, excellent reasons. With some it may have been a matter of policy, a desire to conciliate the enemy, and to protect some persecuted relative; others might entertain the hope of conquering the conquerors by the power of their charms; others, still, would not give up the field to their rivals, the Tory belles; and, lastly, some there were, doubtless, who did not see the importance of the act, but thought only of the fleeting moment of pleasure they would enjoy. At all events there was no lack of fair faces at the great "Meschianza," gotten up by the British officers on the 18th of May, 1778, as a sort of *fête d'adieux*.

The first month or two of the occupation, however, had not been a very agreeable period. The Philadelphians, accustomed to good living, and who had ever had good things in abundance, suffered from the scarcity of provisions. Then hard money was exceedingly rare and paper money was worthless. Indeed, it had depreciated to such an extent before the arrival of the British that silk sold at one hundred dollars per yard, and tea commanded fifty and sixty dollars per pound. But this "hard times" period did not last long, and if prices remained high, merchandise of every kind was not wanting.

The British evacuated Philadelphia, and right upon their heels came in the Americans. It was now the turn of the Whigs to rejoice, and bitter were their feelings toward the Tories who had welcomed the British invaders. A ball was given at the City Tavern "to the young ladies who had manifested their attachment to the cause of virtue and freedom by sacrificing every convenience to the love of their country." Many were of the opinion that the Tory

[1] The picture of the "Morris House," which should have been inserted with this notice, has been in error printed under the notice of Robert Morris, the financier, in vol. i. page 278. The house in Germantown was in no way connected with him.

ladies who had taken part in the Meschianza should be excluded from this ball, and, in fact, be "put in coventry" altogether, but this did not prevail, and Tory belles danced with the American officers, as the Whig belles had danced with the British. Gen. Wayne wrote from camp in July, "Tell those Philadelphia ladies who attended Howe's assemblies and *levées* that the heavenly, sweet, pretty red-coats, the accomplished gentlemen of the guards and grenadiers, have been humbled on the plains of Monmouth. The knights of the *Blended Roses* and of the *Burning Mount* have resigned their laurels to rebel officers, who will lay them at the feet of *those* virtuous daughters of America who cheerfully gave up ease and affluence in a city for liberty and peace of mind in a cottage."[1]

Gen. Arnold, the military commander of the city, did not think as Gen. Wayne, for he not only gave the example of extravagant display and unblushing speculation, but paid particular attentions to the Tory ladies. Mrs. Robert Morris wrote to her mother at this time, "I know of no news, unless to tell you we are very gay is such. We have a great many balls and entertainments, and soon the Assembly will begin. Tell Mr. Hall even our military gentlemen are too liberal to make any distinction between Whig and Tory ladyes. If they make any, it is in favor of the latter. Such, strange as it may seem, is the way those things are conducted at present in this city. It originates at headquarters, and that I may make some apology for such strange conduct, I must tell you that Cupid has given our little general a more mortal wound than all the hosts of Britons could, unless his present conduct can expiate for his past. Miss Peggy Shippen is the fair one."

The father of the fair Peggy, Edward Shippen, Jr., did not quite approve of the prevailing extravagance, for he wrote to his father in December of that year, "I shall find myself under the necessity of removing from this scene of expense, and I don't know where I could more properly go than to Lancaster. The common articles of life, such as are absolutely necessary for a family, are not much higher here than in Lancaster, but the style of living my fashionable daughters have introduced into my family and their dress will, I fear, before long oblige me to change the scene. The expense of supporting my family here will not fall short of four or five thousand pounds per annum, an expense insupportable without business." A few months previous to this he wrote to his father that it would be very difficult to procure any Madeira wine for him; "the only pipe I have heard of for sale was limited at eight or nine hundred pounds. . . . There is no such a thing as syrup, the sugar bakers having all dropped the business a long while."

An event in the month of July of that year was the arrival of the French ambassador, Monsieur Gerard. A grand banquet was given in his honor. On the 23d of August, the birthday of Louis XVI., the President and the members of Congress called upon the ambassador to offer their congratulations, and two days afterward he gave a handsome entertainment at the City Tavern.

Mrs. Washington arrived in Philadelphia about the middle of December. On the 17th an entertainment was given in her honor, from which the Tories were excluded. "The only public evidence of grace we have had," says Dunlap's paper, "in that infatuated tribe is that not a Tory advocate nor a quondam Whig interfered on this joyous occasion." The French minister and the president of the State were present. It was a very brilliant assemblage, and every one vied in paying respect to the wife of the commander-in-chief, in whom the hopes of all true Americans were centred.

Washington arrived on the 22d of the month. The impression produced on his mind by the scenes of folly and extravagance he witnessed was that of a great sadness, and he must have possessed the greatest fortitude to resist the discouraging thoughts that assailed him when he wrote to Col. Harrison, of Virginia, "If I were to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of men from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say, that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most of them. That speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the best of every other consideration, and almost every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day, while the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequences is the want of everything, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect. . . . Our money is now sinking fifty per cent. a day in this city, and I shall not be surprised if, in the course of a few months, a total stop is put to the currency of it; and yet an assembly, a concert, a dinner, or a supper that will cost three or four hundred pounds, will not only take men off from acting in this business, but even from thinking of it; while a great part of the officers of our army, from absolute necessity, are quitting the service, and the more virtuous few, rather than do this, are sinking by sure degrees into beggary and want."[2]

What a graphic picture! and how useless the adding another touch to it!

Meanwhile, the ladies had got a new mania for high head-dresses,—the old fashion revived, with exaggerated proportions. Timothy Pickering, writing from Philadelphia to his wife in Salem, comments as follows upon the follies of fashion:

[1] Life and Services of Gen. Anthony Wayne. By H. N. Moore.

[2] Writings of Washington, Sparks, vol. v. p. 151.

"I mentioned to you the enormous head-dresses of the ladies here. The more I see the more I am displeased with them. 'Tis surprising how they fix such loads of trumpery on their polls; and not less so that they are by any one deemed ornamental! The Whig ladies seem as fond of them as others. I am told by a French gentleman they are in the true French taste, only that they want a few French feathers. The married ladies, however, are not all infected. One of the handsomest (Gen. Mifflin's lady) I have seen in this State does not dress her head higher than was common at Salem a year ago. But you know, my dear, I have odd, old-fashioned notions. Neither powder nor pomatum has touched my head this twelvemonth, not even to cover my baldness. The latter I find a very common thing, now men have left off their wigs."

In connection with these absurdly high head-dresses an anecdote is told of the Tory belle and famous wit, Miss Rebecca Franks. She was entertaining Col. Jack Stewart, of Maryland, an old but unfortunate admirer of hers, who had called upon her after the departure of the British forces, when a noise in the street drew them to the window. The crowd was jeering a figure in female attire, who wore a head-dress of enormous size,—a caricature of the style by which the Tory belles distinguished themselves, while her skirts were ragged and her feet bare. "The lady is equipped altogether in the English fashion," unluckily remarked the colonel. "Not altogether, colonel," was Miss Frank's prompt rejoinder, "for, though the style of her head is British, her shoes and stockings are in the genuine Continental fashion."

The press kept up an incessant warfare against the extravagant fashions, but with indifferent success. The *United States Gazette* for 1779 fired this hot shot:

"Ladies are accused of robbing their breasts of gauze, cambric, and muslin for the use of their heads, with quilts or supernumerary upper petticoats for cushions, pomatum, powder, and essence,—above, their heads tower to the extremity of the fashion; below, a single petticoat leaves them as lank as rats."

But the ladies were not alone guilty of extravagance; the gentlemen laid themselves open to criticism, and were thus severely handled by a writer in the *United States Magazine* for 1777, in an article entitled "A Retaliation:"

"Does not your hair—cherokeed, couped, raised in form of a pyramid, pinned, curled, frizzed, buckled, plaited, ramillied, cued, clubbed, confined in a bag, or loosely flowing on the shoulders—revolve through as varied a whimsicality of modes as any female's on this continent? And to complete the whole, have not many of you, in this scarcity of tortoise-shell, introduced the crooked comb, lest some rude breath of wind might derange a straggling hair from the position to which your friseur may have confined it?

"They are imitators of the enemy. Nor has love of country prevented the Anspacher[1] from triumphing even over the hat *à la* Washington.[2]

"When silver was plenty and easy attainable, an insignificant piece, much about the size of an English shilling, fixed above the upper joint of the great toe, gave the foot an inimitable grace and elegance in the eyes of the spectator; but in the present scarcity of that metal, behold the buckle expanded over the shoe in quantity sufficient for a tankard or a coffee-pot.

"At present we are deprived of almost every source of supplying furs, and you know the extreme demand for wool for the manufacture of clothing. As a natural consequence, the hat, which was lately pared and pruned till its little brim left the nose of the wearer exposed to the scorching heat of the noonday sun, is now metamorphosed and extended to the size of my tea-table, till, involved in the vast circuit, we are often at a loss to know where to find the head of the owner; and, when found, we sometimes discover it is not worth the trouble it cost us in the search.

"When superfine cloth might be purchased for thirty shillings, and other materials for clothing were proportionably cheap, it was really difficult, without the aid of a magnifying-glass, to discover where were the skirts of your coats, or whether they had any skirts at all. At present they have got below the knee. And I have no doubt, should the prices of articles increase five or six hundred per cent., we shall see them *à la Hesse*, dangling below the middle of the leg, like those worn by the officers made prisoners that night when the fate of millions yet unborn was vibrating in the air, and the guardian angel of America, in the person of our illustrious chieftain, preponderated in the scale.

"I can very well remember the time when a little rattan was thought a necessary appendage for the hand of a smart fellow, but now discarded from all kind of estimation. The gold-headed cane, with its string and tassel, hath become almost as necessary as the hand that carries it or the wrist on which it is hung."

The following list of articles stolen from Jacob Bankson, "living in Penn Street, corner of an alley leading to Willing's & Morris' wharf," will give an idea of a private citizen's wardrobe in 1779:

"One light-colored cloth coat; one purple ditto; narrow red and white stripped linen coat and waistcoat; scarlet cloth jacket; breeches, edged with white silver buttons; one scarlet ditto; waistcoat, worsted back, yellow metal buttons; one buff-cloth waistcoat and breeches, plated silver buttons; one white cloth waistcoat and breeches, one white cloth waistcoat with a belt; one pair brown cloth breeches; one elegant large cotton counterpane; two morning-gowns, one single and the other double; two women's long cotton gowns; one white Holland polance; one pair scarlet silk-velvet breeches, gold knee-bands; one black cloth coat, waistcoat, and breeches; one black silk waistcoat and breeches; one elegant shaded silk gown and petticoat; two pink Mantua gowns; one pink Mantua polance; one nankeen riding-dress; one long scarlet cloth coat, etc., etc."

Four hundred pounds reward were offered for the return of these goods.

To complete the picture, we have the description of the outfit of a bridegoom furnished in Philadelphia and for use during the honeymoon:

"A light-colored broadcloth coat, with pearl buttons; breeches of the same cloth; ditto black satin; best swansdown buff stripe; ditto moskin, checker figure; ditto satin figured; ditto Marseilles, white; ditto muslin set, figured; underveat, faced with red cassimere; two ditto, flannels; one ditto cotton ditto; one pair black patent silk hose; one ditto, white ditto; one ditto, stripe ditto; ten or one dozen white silk hose; three pairs of cotton hose; four pairs of gauze ditto; a towel; six shirts; twelve neck-kerchiefs; six pocket-handkerchiefs, one a bandanna; a chintz dressing-gown; a pair of silk gloves; ditto old kid ditto."

Mrs. Bache, in her letters to her father, Dr. Franklin, who was then American minister to France, refers frequently to the high prices and scarcity of articles of dress:

"They really ask me six dollars for a pair of gloves, and I have been obliged to pay fifteen pounds fifteen shillings for a common calamanco petticoat without quilting, that I once could have got for fifteen shillings. I buy nothing but what I really want, and wore out my silk ones before I got this. . . . The prices of everything here are so much raised that it takes a fortune to feed a family in a very plain way. A pair of gloves seven dollars, one yard of common gauze twenty-four dollars, and there never was so much dressing and pleasure going on,—old friends meeting again, the Whigs in high spirits, and strangers of distinction among us. . . . The minister was kind enough to offer me some fine white flannel, and has spared me eight yards. I wish to have it in my power to return him as good, which I will beg you will enable

[1] The large hat, so called because worn by the Anspachers.

[2] The small military hat which was generally used in our army, and which had been introduced into France by that appellation.

me to do." . . . She had asked for some fine linen, long black pins, and some lace and feathers, to be sent to her from France. Franklin ends a letter of mild reproof with the following characteristic remarks: "I therefore send all the articles you desire that are useful and necessary, and omit the rest; for, as you say you should 'have great pride in wearing anything I send, and showing it as your father's taste,' I must avoid giving you an opportunity of doing that with either lace or feathers. If you wear your cambric ruffles as I do, and take care not to mend the holes, they will come in time to be lace; and feathers, my dear girl, they may be had in America from every cock's tail." Mrs. Bache, in her letter in reply to this, justifies herself from any wish to be extravagant, and says, further, "I can assure my dear papa that industry in this house is by no means laid aside; but as to spinning linen, we cannot think of that till we have got that wove which we spun three years ago. . . . I did not mention the feathers and pins as necessaries of life, as my papa seems to think. I meant as common necessaries were so dear, I could not afford to get anything that was not, and begged he would send me a few of the others. . . . Home will be the place for me this winter, as I cannot get a common winter cloak and hat, but just decent, under two hundred pounds. As to gauze, now it is fifty dollars a yard, 'tis beyond my wish, and I should think it not only a shame, but a sin, to buy it if I had millions. I should be contented with muslin caps if I could procure them in winter; in the summer I went without; and as to cambric, I have none to make lace of."[1]

The private letters of that period of folly all agree in deploring the general extravagance.[2] Gen. Greene wrote that the luxury he thought predominant in Boston was no more to be compared to what prevailed in Philadelphia "than an infant babe to a full-grown man." He dined at one table where there were "an hundred and sixty dishes." Franklin is "astonished and vexed" to find that "much the greatest part of the Congress interest bills come to pay for tea, and a great part of the remainder is ordered to be laid out in gewgaws and superfluities." An entertainment is spoken of at which *eight hundred pounds* were spent in pastry.

A letter to Gen. Wayne from a brother-officer in Philadelphia tells of the effect this extravagance had on society:

"Permit me now to say a little of the dress, manners, and customs of the town's people. In respect to the first, great alterations have taken place since I was last here. It is all gayety, and, from what I can observe, every lady and gentleman endeavors to outdo the other in splendor and show. The manners of the ladies are much changed; they have really, in a great measure, lost that native innocence in their manners which formerly was their characteristic, and supplied its place with what they call an easy behavior. The manner of entertaining in this place has likewise undergone its change. You cannot conceive anything more elegant than the present taste. You will hardly dine at a table but they present you with three courses, and each of them in the most elegant manner."

What a contrast these pictures of luxurious living present to Washington's well-known personal economy, even during better times, as illustrated in the following anecdote, related by Mr. Griswold in his "Republican Court." It was during Presidential times in New York. "Fraunces (the steward of President Washington) was always anxious to provide the first dainties of the season for his table. On one occasion, making his purchases at the old Vly Market, he observed a fine shad, the first of the season. He was not long in making a bargain, and the fish was sent home with his other provisions. The next morning it was duly served, in the best style, for breakfast, on sitting down to which Washington observed the fragrant delicacy, and asked what it was. The steward replied that it was 'a fine shad.' 'It is very early in the season for shad; how much did you pay for it?' 'Two dollars.' 'Two dollars! I can never encourage this extravagance at my table; take it away; I will not touch it.' The shad was accordingly removed, and Fraunces, who had no such economical scruples, made a hearty meal upon it in his own room."

A glance at the prices paid for various necessaries of life will give an idea of the depreciation of paper money in 1779, and make the culpable extravagance of the fashionable society still more incomprehensible. Butter sold at from two to three dollars a pound; flour at twenty pounds the hundred-weight; green peas, twenty to twenty-five shillings the half-peck. A silk handkerchief cost forty dollars, a man's hat four hundred dollars, a pair of leather breeches three hundred dollars, a pair of shoes one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and a suit of clothes sixteen hundred dollars! Fish must have been dear, when a fish-hook was worth half a dollar! Such was the price at which William Livingston bought a few for Anthony Bleeker and some other "gentlemen fishers."

It is no wonder that the excitement caused by this abnormal state of things culminated in the riot known as the "Fort Wilson Affair." That the disturbance was short-lived and was suppressed at the cost of so few lives is still more surprising.

The utter want of discretion of the Tories, their open sympathy with the enemy of their country, and their avowed hostility to the government, caused general indignation and, not unfrequently, fierce denunciations. These infatuated people seemed to court persecution. The Tory ladies, especially, made themselves conspicuous by their open sympathy for everything British. Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, says, in a letter to his daughter in Philadelphia, "I know that there are a number of flirts in Philadelphia, equally famed for their want of modesty as want of patriotism, who will triumph in our over-complaisance to the red-coated prisoners lately arrived in that metropolis. I hope none of my connections will imitate them, either in the dress of their heads or in the still more Tory feelings of their hearts."

But if such frivolous creatures were to be met with in Philadelphia, that city could boast of a large majority of true-hearted daughters of America. In the spring of 1780, when the distress of the American army was at its height, the ladies of Philadelphia undertook to collect by voluntary subscriptions money and clothes for the tattered soldiers, who were suffering s ‑eprivations in the cause of freedom.

[1] Letters to Benjamin Franklin from his Family and Friends, and Works of Franklin, Sparks.

[2] See the interesting sketch "Philadelphia Society One Hundred Years Ago," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, No. 4 of vol. iii.

Mrs. Reed was at the head of this movement, which was eminently successful, for the collections in Philadelphia City and County alone amounted to upwards of three hundred thousand dollars paper currency. Circulars were addressed to neighboring counties and States, and met generally with a liberal response. Maryland and New Jersey contributed generously.

William B. Reed, in his "Life of Esther Reed," says, "The original memoranda and accounts of these contributions, with the names of each committee and contributor, are in my possession. The number of contributors was 1645, thus apportioned: The city, 1099; Southwark, 152; Northern Liberties, 171; Germantown, 152; and Bristol, 13. All ranks of society seem to have united, from Phillis, the colored woman, with her humble 7*s.* 6*d.*, to the Marchioness de Lafayette, who contributed one hundred guineas in specie, and the Countess de Luzerne, six thousand dollars in Continental paper and one hundred and fifty dollars in specie."

We take the liberty of copying *in extenso* from Mr. Reed's book two letters of historic interest. The first is addressed to Gen. Washington, and dated Philadelphia, July 4, 1780:

"SIR,—The subscription set on foot by the ladies of this city for the use of the soldiery is so far completed as to induce me to transmit to your Excellency an account of the money I have received, and which, although it has answered our expectations, it does not equal our wishes, but I am persuaded will be received as a proof of zeal for the great cause of America, and our esteem and gratitude for those who so bravely defend it.

"The amount of the subscription is 200,580 dollars, and £625 6s. 8d. in specie, which makes in the whole in paper money 300,634 dollars.

"The ladies are anxious for the soldiers to receive the benefit of it, and wait your directions how it can best be disposed of. We expect some considerable additions from the country, and have also wrote to the other States in hopes the ladies there will adopt similar plans to render it more general and beneficial.

"With the utmost pleasure I offer any further attention and care in my power to complete the execution of the design, and shall be happy to accomplish it agreeably to the intentions of the donors and your wishes on the subject.

"The ladies of my family join me in their respectful compliments and sincere prayer for your health, safety, and success. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"E. REED."

The other letter accompanied the offering of Madame de Lafayette:

"HEADQUARTERS, June 25, 1780.

"MADAM,—In admiring the new resolution, in which the fair ones of Philadelphia have taken the lead, I am induced to feel for those American ladies who, being out of the continent, cannot participate in this patriotic measure. I know of one who, heartily wishing for a personal acquaintance with the ladies of America, would feel particularly happy to be admitted among them on the present occasion. Without presuming to break in upon the rules of your respected association, may I most humbly present myself as her ambassador to the confederate ladies, and solicit in her name that Mrs. President be pleased to accept of her offering. With the highest respect, I have the honour to be, Madam,

"Your most obedient servant,

"LAFAYETTE."

In Washington's answer to Mrs. Reed, he suggests that the amount collected should be deposited in the newly-created bank, and bank-notes received in lieu of it to purchase the articles intended. He adds: "This, while serviceable to the bank and advancing its operations, seems to have no inconvenience to the intentions of the ladies. By uniting the efforts of patriotism they will reciprocally promote each other, and I should imagine the ladies will have no objection to a union with the gentlemen."

It is refreshing, after recording scenes of frivolity and extravagance, to dwell upon such evidences of noble patriotism. The former are forgiven and forgotten; the latter will live forever in the hearts of true Americans. However great the sufferings of our forefathers, however praiseworthy their endurance and self-sacrifice, they could not have accomplished their work if the women of America had not been faithful to the holy cause of freedom and independence. The names of the heroes of the Revolution have been recorded in prose and verse. How many acts of female heroism have passed unknown or unremembered? Had she not the heart of a heroine, that Philadelphia lady who wrote to a British officer, a former friend of her family, "I will tell you what I have done. My only brother I have sent to the camp with my prayers and blessings, and had I twenty sons and brothers they should go to emulate the great examples before them. I have retrenched every superfluous expense in my table and family. Tea I have not drânk since last Christmas, nor bought a new cap or gown since your defeat at Lexington. I have the pleasure to assure you that these are the sentiments of all my sister Americans. They have sacrificed assemblies, parties, tea-drinkings, and finery to the great spirit of patriotism. If these are *our* sentiments, what must be the resolutions of our husbands *but to die or be free!* All ranks of men among us are in arms. Nothing is heard in our streets but the trumpet and drum, and the universal cry is 'Americans to arms!'" But this was written in the early days of enthusiasm. Many thought and acted likewise, who, while still ready to sacrifice their lives, could not, at a later date, steer clear of the whirlpool of fashionable extravagance.

The taste for fashionable frivolity and display during the gloomy winter of 1780 was not confined to Philadelphia. Eugene Lawrence, in speaking of New York City at this time, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society,[1] Jan. 6, 1857, says, "Meanwhile, in the midst of all this suffering and want, the city streets were filled with the fashions and luxuries of Europe. The ladies crowded William Street, and the merchants spread out the most costly wares. French silks, captured in some unlucky vessels, sold readily at extravagant rates. Lutestrings and poplins, brocades, and the best broadcloth of England were shown on the counters of William Street and Wall; and it is a curious circumstance that through all the war William Prince, of Flushing, continued his advertisement of fruit and flowers, of

[1] History of New York City, by William L. Stone, p. 268, note.

magnolias and apricots, and of the finest grafts and the rarest seeds."

Mrs. Riedesel, wife of a German general in the British service, in a letter to her mother tells a laughable anecdote of fashion. "We remained," she wrote, "the entire summer of 1780 upon this lovely estate" (Gen. Clinton's country-seat on the Hudson). "Two Miss Robinsons came to share our loneliness and enliven our little company. They remained with us a fortnight previous to our return to the city, when the news of the arrival of a ship from England, bringing over the latest fashions, took them back again to the town. On our return to the city I scarcely recognized them in their odd and actually laughable garb, which a very pretty woman, just over from England, had imposed upon them and the other New York ladies. . . . Accordingly, she made them think that in England they wore bodies that were parted in the middle, whereby the points stuck upwards, hoops as large around as those of a hogshead, and very short cloaks tied up with ribbons, all of which they believed implicitly, and copied after."[1]

Witty Rebecca Franks was in New York at that time, her father, David Franks, having been invited by the Pennsylvania government to leave Philadelphia, and in one of her chatty letters to her sister—the wife of Andrew Hamilton—she pays a high compliment to the Philadelphians. She wrote, "By the bye, few ladies here know how to entertain company in their own houses, unless they introduce the card-table. Except the Van Hornes, who are remarkable for their good sense and ease, I don't know a woman or girl who can chat above half an hour, and that on the form of a cap, the color of a ribbon, or the set of a hoop, stay, or *jupon*. I will do our ladies—that is, the Philadelphians—the justice to say, that they have more cleverness in the turn of an eye than those of New York have in their whole composition. With what ease have I seen a Chew, a Penn, an Oswald, an Allen, and a thousand others, entertain a large circle of both sexes, the conversation, without the aid of cards, never flagging nor seeming in the least strained or stupid." Miss Franks was certainly a judge in matters conversational. She concedes, *entre nous*, to the New York girls one advantage over the Philadelphians: they have a greater quantity of hair and better forms. She rattles away about the ways of the New York ladies, who avow too freely their partiality for a man and are the first to show a preference, and finally comes down to the question of dress. She describes the fashions as follows: "I shall send a pattern of the newest bonnets: there is no crown, but gauze is raised on wire, and pinched to a sugar loaf at the top,—the lighter the trimming the more fashionable,—and all quilling. Nancy Van Horne and myself employed yesterday morning in trying to dress a rag baby in the fashion, but could not succeed; it shall go, however, as it will in some degree give you an opinion on the subject. As to the jacket, and the pinning on of the handkerchief, yours, you say, reaches to the arm. I know it, but it must be pinned up to the top of the shoulders, and quite under the arm, as you would a girl's vandyke. The fuller it sets the handsomer it is thought. Nobody ever sets a handkerchief out in the neck, and a gauze handkerchief is always worn double, and the largest that can be got; it is pinned round the throat, as Mrs. Penn always did, and made to set out before like the chitterling of a man's shirt. The ladies here always wear a pin or a brooch, as the men do." She mentions two pairs of shoes sent to her by her aunt Richa from England; "one pair, dark maroon, embroidered with gold, and the other, white, with pink." Miss Franks, soon after the war, was married to Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Johnston, and subsequently lived in England. The witty and sarcastic sayings of this Philadelphia belle have often been quoted and would fill a volume. She had an irrepressible fondness for repartee, and would hit a friend for want of a foe, as she did Sir Henry Clinton at a ball in New York. While conversing with her that officer called to the musicians, "Give us 'Britons, strike Home!'" "The commander-in-chief has made a mistake," exclaimed Miss Franks, "he meant to say, Britons, go home!"[2]

But her humor was not always of the most refined. The correspondence between her and Gen. Charles Lee, published in the *United States Magazine* for January, 1779, somewhat extraordinary in its character, arose out of an assertion (at least it was so said by Gen. Lee) attributed to Miss Franks, that Gen. Lee "wore green breeches patched with leather." He said that they were "actually legitimate sherryvalies, such as his majesty of Poland wears (who, let me tell you, is a man who has made more fashions than all your knights of the Meschianza put together, notwithstanding their beauties)." In a note it is said that sherryvalies "are a kind of long breeches, reaching to the ankle, with a broad stripe of leather on the inside of the thigh, for the convenience of riding."

Of a very different sort was the wit of another famous belle of that time, the accomplished Miss Vining. Miss Montgomery, in her "Reminiscences of Wilmington," says "her rare beauty and graceful form commanded admiration, and her intellectual endowments—a mind stored with historical knowledge and sparkling effusions of wit—entertained the *literati* and amused the gay. The singular fluency and elegance with which she spoke the French language, with her vivacity, grace, and amiability, had made her a general favorite with the French officers, who praised her in their home correspondence to such a degree that her name became familiar in Paris, and the queen, Marie Antoinette, spoke of her

[1] Ibid.

[2] "Anecdotes of the American Revolution." Garden.

with enthusiasm to Mr. Jefferson, expressing a wish that she might some time see her at the Tuileries. The intimate friendships she formed during the Revolution were preserved after the peace, by a large correspondence with distinguished men. Lafayette appears to have been very much attached to her, and she wrote to him frequently until she died. Foreigners of rank rarely visited Wilmington, after Miss Vining's retirement from the society of Philadelphia, without soliciting an introduction to her. Among her guests were the Duke de Liancourt, the Duke of Orleans (Louis Philippe), and many others; and it is related that Gen. Miranda, passing through the town in a mail-coach, at night, left his card for her at the post-office. The death of her brother, a man of eminent abilities, who was chosen at an early age a member of Congress from Delaware, was followed by a series of misfortunes, and, retiring from the gay world in the maturity of her charms, she passed the closing years of her life in poverty and seclusion."[1]

Miss Vining's opinion of the society of Philadelphia is expressed in a letter to Governor Dickinson in 1783 (she was then twenty-five years of age), when she complained that Philadelphia had lost all its gayety with the removal of Congress from the city. "You know, however," she adds, "that here alone can be found a truly intellectual and refined society, such as one naturally expects in the capital of a great country."

The bonnet called the "calash" came into notice about 1780, and is thus ridiculed in Rivington's *Gazette* of 1782:

"Hail! great Calash! o'erwhelming veil!
 By all indulgent Heaven
To sallow nymphs and maiden stale
 In sportive kindness giv'n;
Safe hid beneath thy circling sphere,
 Unseen by mortal eyes,
The mingled heap of grease and hair
 And wool and powder lies!
From the bald head should pad and tête,
 And loads of horsehair fall,
Fear not the loose, disordered pate,
 Calash will hold them all!"

But the "calash" was only worn out-doors. The pyramid of hair now thrown back obliquely over the head, with light crisp curls at the base, was surmounted by figures of butterflies, caterpillars, coaches and horses, etc., in blown glass. These ridiculous ornaments, much in vogue in England at that time, were not very long the fashion. Friendly relations with France had had for one of its first results the introduction of the French modes in the ladies' dress. The *coiffure* of lofty feathers, invented by Mlle. Bertin, the Paris milliner, and cherished by the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, was received with much favor by the Philadelphia ladies. This head-dress is thus described in 1781:

"A cap like a bat,
Which was once a cravat,
 Part gracefully plaited and pinned is;
Part stuck upon gauze
Resembles macaws,
 And all the fine birds of the Indies!
But above all the rest,
A bold, amazing crest
 Waves nodding from shoulder to shoulder!
At once to surprise,
And to ravish the eyes—
 To frighten and charm the beholder!
In skirt, head, and feather,
And wig altogether,
 With wonder and joy would delight ye!
Like the picture I've seen
Of th' adorable queen
 Of the beautiful, blest Otaheite!"

The satirist does not inform us whether in Philadelphia, as it did in Paris, this towering head-dress compelled the wearer, as she rode in her carriage, either to hang her head out at the door or to sit on the floor of the vehicle.

Not every woman's hair furnished sufficient material for these elaborate pyramids; besides, they proved very awkward at bedtime, and could not be arranged at a moment's notice, so it became the fashion for ladies to wear wigs. Whether they consented to the sacrifice of having their hair shaved, as did the men, or some artificial means were found by which they could wear these cumbrous appliances over their own hair, history telleth not. The use of wigs had long been discarded by the mass of the people, but was still the necessary appendage to a gentleman of fashion's dress. At home they got rid of it, and wore a velvet cap to protect their bald pates in winter and a linen cap in summer. Their velvet or fine broadcloth coat was also laid aside, and the more comfortable dressing-gown of flowered damask donned. These coats were of all colors, and the dressing-gowns not always of damask. Worthy citizens were often seen on the streets during business hours clad in a flowing gown of calico.

The return of peace having permitted the importation of foreign goods, a fall in the prices was the natural consequence, and the ladies could indulge more freely in their taste for dress. Mr. Griswold, in "The Republican Court," page 268, says in a note, "During the period in which Philadelphia was the seat of government, on the arrival of the spring and fall ships from England, the pavements all along Front Street, from Arch Street to Walnut Street, were lumbered and scattered, before the doors of importers, with boxes and bales of English dry-goods, the clerks, apprentices, and subordinates of the merchants as busy as bees in their several vocations, some with sharp knives and claw-hammers ripping and breaking open the packages and cases, and others within-doors exhibiting the goods as salesmen, altogether displaying a pleasant bustle of rivalship and competition. The retailers, principally women, were hovering around, mingling with the men, and viewing with admiration the rich varieties of foreign chintzes,

[1] Griswold's "Republican Court," note to p. 21.

muslins, and calicoes of the latest fashions. All sums of money were computed in pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings, dollars and cents being unused denominations, except in the reports of Mr. Hamilton." "The first brilliant retail fancy dry-goods shop was opened about this time," says a writer in *Hazard's Register*, "by a Mr. Whitesides, as it was said, from London, in the true Bond Street style, at No. 134 Market Street, and the uncommon size of the panes of glass, the fine mull-mull and jaconet muslins, the chintzes and linens, suspended in whole pieces and entwined together in puffs and festoons, and the shopmen behind the counter, bowing and smiling, created for a time some sensation."

It was no longer the time for such prices as Capt. McLane paid to William Nicolls,[1] in January, 1781, to wit: one pair boots, six hundred dollars; six and three-quarter yards calico, at eighty-five dollars per yard; six yards chintz, at one hundred and fifty dollars per yard; four and a half yards moreen, at one hundred dollars per yard; four handkerchiefs, at one hundred dollars apiece; eight yards quality binding, at four dollars per yard; one skein of silk, ten dollars. The total amount is $3144.50, but with the proviso, "If paid in specie, £18 10*s*."

Mr. Watson tells a good story about the first fancy retail hardware-store, with bulk-windows, opened by James Stokes, in what had been the old Coffee-House, at the southwest corner of Market and Front Streets. "The buck-handled 'Barlow' penknives, the gilt and plated buttons, and the scissors, curiously arranged on circular cards (a new idea), and the bulk-windows lighted up at night (a new thing), was a source of great gratification to the boys and the country market-people lounging about with arms folded, on Tuesday and Friday evenings. One evening, among a group of gazers from about Conestoga, one of them exclaimed to the others in Pennsylvania German (Dutch), 'Cook a mole har, cook do! meiner sale!'" In German, "Guck' einmal her! Guck' da! Meine seele!" *i.e.*, "Only look here! Look at that! My soul!"

The trying times of the Revolution were now over. After the heroism displayed in the long struggle, wisdom must consolidate the new government, in order that the victory shall not be barren. The situation was still critical, but we had Washington.

The study of the manners and customs of a people is intimately connected with that of their political history. Thus we see the influence of the Quaker ideas of the early founders of Philadelphia strongly marked in the picture of Philadelphia society at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This influence is already greatly modified toward the middle of the century, by the increase of that part of the population which entertained views at variance with those of the Friends. Then came the Revolutionary period; the Quakers were generally opposed to the war; their influence wanes and disappears; they cannot resist the current of new ideas, and they are even compelled to compromise with the world; still the minority they form in the community is of immense importance,—Quaker simplicity checks worldly extravagance and helps it to return from excess to moderation. But the Revolutionary period is a period of transition; society is swayed by the alternate victories of conflicting elements and by foreign influences. The travelers who visited our shores during the war, and who speak with praise of our society, pay it a rare compliment; they must have instinctively recognized the characteristics, still undeveloped, of the American society of the future, the society born in peace, when with the turmoils of war had ceased the follies and exaggerations of an unsettled public taste.

The rigidity of President Washington's principles, the examples of economy and simplicity to be found in his manner of living, the sweet influence of Mrs. Washington, and of such superior women as her friends, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Stewart, Mrs. Powell, Mrs. Bradford, Mrs. Otis, and Miss Ross, gave an elevated tone to that society among whose brightest ornaments were that leader of taste and elegance and famous beauty, Mrs. Bingham (daughter of Thomas Willing), whom Mrs. Adams mentions as the "dazzling Mrs. Bingham," Miss Nancy Hamilton, Mrs. Madison, or, we should say, the fascinating Widow Todd, for she married Mr. Madison in 1794, and those favorite young friends of Washington, Miss Harriet Chew, who some years after married Charles Carroll, Jr., of Maryland, her sister, Mrs. Henry Philips, and their elder sister, Peggy, who married Col. John Eager Howard, of Baltimore, in 1787. She then left Philadelphia, but came back to reside in 1796, while her husband attended Congress as a senator from Maryland. The Chew sisters were renowned for their beauty and amiability.

Mrs. Washington's first *levée* in Philadelphia is thus spoken of by Miss Sally McKean in a letter to a friend in New York: "You never could have had such a drawing-room; it was brilliant beyond anything you can imagine; and though there was a great deal of extravagance, there was so much of Philadelphia taste in everything, that it must have been confessed the most delightful occasion of the kind ever known in this country." The "extravagance" mentioned by Miss McKean must have been little to the taste of the President, who attended his wife's *levées* as a private gentleman, much relieved at dispensing with the ceremonious forms of his official receptions, if we are to judge by his own words when he wrote to Mrs. Catherine Macaulay, "Our wishes are limited, and I think that our plan of living will now be deemed reasonable by the considerate part of our species. Mrs. Washington's ideas coincide with mine own as to simplicity of dress and everything

[1] Watson's Annals, vol. ii.

which can tend to support propriety of character, without partaking of the follies of luxury and ostentation."

Oliver Wolcott, on being appointed auditor of the Treasury, in 1789, went to New York to see whether he would be able to maintain his family there on the emoluments of his office, and after due inquiry wrote to his wife: "By observation of the people in public service, and other respectable families, I am confident that no change in our habits of living will be in any degree necessary. . . . *The example of the President and his family will render parade and expense improper and disreputable.*" When Congress was removed to Philadelphia rents rose and the markets became dearer. Mr. Wolcott wrote to his wife: "I have at length been to Philadelphia, and with much difficulty have procured a house in Third Street, which is a respectable part of the city. The rent is one hundred pounds, which is excessive, being nearly double what would have been exacted before the matter of residence was determined."

That rents and the cost of living had increased was the natural consequence of the influx of population resulting from the transfer of the seat of government. Philadelphia was the great metropolis, to which came travelers and foreigners of distinction, impelled by curiosity to see this new republican government, or by admiration for the great man who had brought his country safely through a crisis such as no other people had ever known. Then there were the numerous officers of the government and their families, and many eminent citizens from other parts of the country, attracted, as by a magnet, by the presence of Washington and the Congress. More remarkable was the change which had taken place in the customs of the people between the time of the ending of the war and the return of Congress. The vagaries of fashion during that period have been recorded.

An inventory of the wardrobe of Gen. Lord Sterling, published in the "American Historical Record," vol. i., shows that officer to have been remarkably well provided, as the total of garments was four hundred and twelve, among which were thirty-one coats, fifty-eight vests, forty-three pairs of breeches, thirty shirts, one hundred and nineteen pairs of hose, fourteen pairs of shoes, and four pairs of boots. It may show either how scarce were gloves, or how unusual was the wearing of them at this time, that Sterling had but two pairs of gloves, while he had fifty-four cravats and stocks. The list is without date, but probably it was taken in the Revolutionary war, as among the articles are a "blue cloth coat, vest, and breeches (regimental), laced with gold." Hats or caps are not mentioned in this inventory. The breeches were showy, being of various striking colors, and made of crimson and figured velvet; brown cloth, lined with red; gay with gold lace; white, claret, scarlet, and other varieties of colors. The coats were of cinnamon silk, blue cloth, brown mixed, white cloth, blue, claret, scarlet, brown, black, plum, gray, parson's gray, and other colors. The stockings were of various colors and material; and the vests, in most cases, of the color of the coats and breeches.

Lord Sterling was excusable, but fashion does not stop at lords; it penetrated even into the agricultural districts of Pennsylvania.

In the *Freeman's Journal* of July 10, 1782, a farmer complains against tie-wigs with tails, double rows of gilt buttons upon coats and waistcoats, and laced and embroidered garments. He said,—

"My eldest son, having spent some weeks in the city, comes home a mere baboon; hair besprinkled as white with powder as that of an old man of eighty years of age; a pair of ruffles reaching from his wristbands to the extremity of his nails; a strip of gold lace encircling his hat, with a button and loop of the same metal; a huge stock on his neck, containing muslin enough to be his winding-sheet; a suit of superfine clothes, wrought out in a most glaring manner; and, to complete all, a long piece of cold iron, called a sword, dangling after him,—in imitation, I suppose, of some coxcomb he has seen in town."

A few days afterward, "Priscilla Tripstreet" says,—

"Umbrellas used by men ought to be taxed; they are unfit for a man. Why should the men's silver, pinchbeck, and plaited shoe-buckles, weighing a pound each, be passed over in silence?"

Even the Quakers were not free from the contagion; not so much the men, for Brissot de Warville, in 1788, describes the Quaker dress as—

"a round hat, generally white; cloth coat; cotton or woolen stockings; no powder in their hair, which is cut short, and hangs around. They carry in their pockets a little comb in a case; and, on entering a house, if the hair is disordered, they comb it before the first mirror they meet. They put on woolen stockings on the 15th of September. It is an article of discipline, which extends to their clothing."

But the Quaker ladies, if prohibited from imitating their worldly sisters and too timid to follow the example of pretty Dolly Payne, who, after the death of her Quaker husband, Todd, became one of the gayest belles of the republican court, nevertheless introduced many little improvements in their toilet that would have horrified the meetings of olden times. De Warville says of them,—

"The Quaker matrons wear the gravest colors, little black bonnets, and their hair simply turned back. The young women curl their hair with great care and anxiety, which costs them as much time as the most exquisite toilet. They wear little hats, covered with silk or satin. They are remarkable for their choice of the finest linens, muslins, and silks. Elegant fans play between their fingers. Oriental luxury itself would not disdain the linen they wear."

Three years later the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt made the sage reflection, "Ribbons please young Quakeresses as well as others, and are the great enemies of the sect."

In *The Times*, by Peter Markoe, published in 1788, the poet says,—

"Genius of Penn! couldst thou thy mansion quit
And hear sound Sense abused by flimsy Wit;
Couldst thou behold by fops thy habit mocked,
And view the doubtful hat, half-flapped, half-cocked;
Locks which the useful comb have seldom known,
And cheeks which glow with roses not their own;
Stays which distress the fashionable belle,
Producing more than Nature's graceful swell,

> Whilst Art, the foe of genuine beauty, spreads
> Hoops from their waists and cushions on their heads—
> Struck by the scene less wicked than uncouth,
> How wouldst thou pity our degenerate youth!"

In "The Trifler," published in the *Columbia Magazine* for 1788, the writer makes a very sarcastic attack on the ladies. He says,—

"A few years ago the happiness of the ladies depended as much on the display of their necks and the contraction of their waists as it now does upon their anterior projection and posterior plumpness. Miss Becky Catastrophe—a young lady of a diminutive size—has quitted a ball-room in the extremest mortification because her *bishop* was not as large as Mrs. McRump's,—a matron whose natural swell might have disclaimed the assistance of Art! And Mrs. Palace has scarcely excited so much envy by the elegance of her manners and the brilliancy of her equipage as by a voluminous *craw*, which, like the fortification of Gibraltar, serves indeed to keep everybody at a distance. But, then, the difficulty of conveying provisions to the garrison is equally great in both instances."

In Carey's *Herald*, the year before, the disappearance of the queues is thus noted,—

"There is said to be a rage for cropping. Many of our young men lately have discumbered themselves of queues and clubs, and even some beaux, lately arrived from London and Paris, have docked those ancient ornaments of the head, and adopted a style called *à la mode d'Amérique*."

This fashion came from France. The influence of that country on the Americans' style of dress was great after the Revolutionary war, and still more so during the French Revolution. The Parisian republicans looked to ancient Greece and Rome for simplicity of dress, and the skirts, flounces, and trains gave way to the simple flowing robe *à l'antique*, with short sleeves and the waist under the armpits. This radical change in the ladies' garments crossed the ocean in due time. Another grateful change was the total abandonment of powder and high head-dresses.

In 1791 these changes had not all taken place, but an unbecoming fashion was thus satirized:

"THE CRAW OF FASHION—A NEW SONG.

> "Fashion! mayst thou ever reign
> In each city, on each plain!
> Lying rouge we now despise!
> Fashions cease to scale the skies!
> Taste ordains a newer law,
> And establishes the Craw!
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> "Beauty, with true lustre shine!
> All will own thee half divine!
> If to reason thou shouldst bend,
> Truth will own thee Reason's friend.
> Study to preserved applause:
> *Maids* have *bosoms*—*geese* have *craws*!"

The changes in male costumes were more important even than those in the dresses of the ladies: cloth of various colors was now used instead of silk, satin, and velvet, richly embroidered, which had been the previous style. The stiffening was taken out of the skirts of coats, the waists were shortened, and waistcoats were cut so short that they did not reach the hips. Breeches gradually vanished from view. Shoes were subject to experiment with various sorts of buckles, but were gradually lengthened into the Hessian boot, which, with pantaloons, were in full fashion before the year 1800. The broad black ribbon worn round the necks of gentlemen gave way to the cambric stock buckled behind, and to this followed the white linen cravat monstrous in its folds. The latter banished the ruffle from the shirt, and brought forward the standing shirt-collar.

About this time the round hat, which had made its appearance in England even before the end of the war, came into general use, and the cocked hat was put aside as out of fashion; it and the powdered hair and queue were, however, retained by the older men as part of a gentleman's full dress.

Asbury Dickens says of Washington and others,—

"He [Washington] was dressed in a full suit of the richest black velvet; his lower limbs in short-clothes, with diamond knee-buckles and black silk stockings. His shoes, which were brightly japanned, were surmounted with large, square silver buckles. His hair, carefully displayed in the manner of the day, was richly powdered and gathered behind into a black silk bag, on which was a bow of black ribbon. In his hand he held a plain cocked hat, decorated with the American cockade. He wore by his side a light, slender dress-sword, in a green shagreen scabbard, with a richly-ornamented hilt.... At the head of the Senate stood Thomas Jefferson, in a blue coat, single-breasted, with large, bright, basket buttons, his vest and small-clothes of crimson. . . . In the semicircle which was formed behind the chair, and on either hand of the President, my boyish gaze was attracted by the splendid attire of the Chevalier D'Yrujo, the Spanish ambassador—then the only foreign minister near our infant government. His glittering star, his silk *chapeau-bras* edged with ostrich feathers, his foreign air and courtly bearing, contrasted strongly with those nobles of Nature's forming who stood around him."

Let us see, now, what a foreigner says of Washington at home, and of Philadelphia.

Viscount de Chateaubriand, who came to America in 1791, with the intention of seeking the Arctic northwest passage, visited Philadelphia to see Gen. Washington, for whom he brought a letter of introduction from Marquis Armand de la Rouairie, formerly a colonel in the Continental army. He says of this city, in his "Voyage en Amérique": "On approaching Philadelphia we met some country-people going to market, some public conveyances and other very elegant carriages. Philadelphia seemed to me a handsome city. The streets are wide; some, lined with trees, cross each other at right angles in a regular order from north to south and from east to west. The Delaware flows parallel to a street which follows its northern [western] shore. This river would be of considerable importance in Europe, but is not spoken of here. Its shores are low and but little picturesque.

"Philadelphia, at the time of my voyage, did not extend to the Schuylkill. Only the land toward that stream was divided into lots, upon which a few isolated houses were built. The aspect of Philadelphia is cold and monotonous. Generally speaking, what is wanting in the cities of the United States is monuments, and above all, old monuments. . . . A man landing, as I did, in the United States, full of enthusiasm for the ancients, a Cato, who sought everywhere the rigidness of the early Roman manners, must have been greatly scandalized on meeting everywhere the elegance of dress, the luxury of equipages, the frivolousness of conversations, the unequality of fortunes, the immorality of banking and gaming-houses, the

noise of ball-rooms and theatres. In Philadelphia I might have believed myself in an English town. There was nothing to announce that I had passed from a monarchy to the republic. . . . My political *disappointment* doubtless caused the ill-humor which made me write the satirical note (in the "Essais Historique") against the Quakers, and even a little against all Americans. The appearance of the people in the streets of the capital of Pennsylvania was generally agreeable, the men were very neatly clad, the women—above all the Quakeresses, with their uniform hats—exceedingly pretty."

The enthusiastic young Frenchman's narrative of his interview with Washington is not without interest. "When I arrived in Philadelphia," he wrote, "the great Washington was not there, I was obliged to wait a fortnight; at last he returned. I saw him pass in a coach which whirled rapidly past, dragged by four mettlesome horses. According to my ideas, Washington must necessarily be a Cincinnatus; now Cincinnatus in a coach disturbed somewhat my republic of the year of Rome 296. Could the Dictator Washington be any other than a rustic, urging his oxen with a goad, and holding the handles of his plow? But when I went to carry my letter of recommendation to that great man, I found the simplicity of the old Roman.

"A small house built in the English style, and resembling the other houses in its neighborhood, was the palace of the President of the United States; no guards, not even footmen. I knocked, a young servant girl opened the door. I asked her if the general was at home; she said that he was. I told her that I had a letter to hand him. The girl asked my name, difficult to pronounce in English, and which she did not succeed in retaining. She then told me gently, 'Walk in, sir,' and she led the way through one of those narrow corridors which serve as vestibules in English houses, introduced me into the parlor and begged me to wait the general's coming. . . . After a few minutes' waiting the general entered. He was a man of tall stature, with a calm and cold rather than noble countenance (the engraved pictures of him are very resembling). I silently handed him my letter; he opened it, looked at the signature, which he read aloud, exclaiming, 'What, from Col. Armand!' This was the name by which he was used to call him, and which the Marquis de la Rouairie had signed."

Chateaubriand then went on to explain the object of his voyage. Washington, he says, made very few short remarks, sometimes in French, sometimes in English, and listened with a sort of astonishment. Perceiving this, the Viscount said, with warmth: "But it is less difficult to discover a northwest passage than to create a nation as you have done, General!" "Well, well, young man," replied Washington, deprecatingly, taking him by the hand. The young traveler, who was to make so great a name in French literature, was invited to dine with the President the next day. There were but half a dozen guests, and they talked principally about the French Revolution. On the following day Chateaubriand continued his voyage. He says of this solitary interview with Washington, "My name, probably, did not remain an entire day in his memory. I was happy, however, that his glance once fell on me! I have felt the warmth of it all my life. There is virtue in the glance of a great man."

The parallel between Washington and Bonaparte which follows this remark, is one of the most appreciative ever written, of the character of the modern Cincinnatus. We will quote one paragraph: "Washington was altogether the representative of the wants, the ideas, the lights and opinions of his time; he wished the very thing he was called upon to do; hence the coherence and perpetuity of his work. This man who strikes us but little, because he is natural and of just proportions, has confounded his own existence with that of his country; his glory is the common patrimony of growing civilization; his fame rises like unto a sanctuary where flows an inexhaustible stream for the people."

Chateaubriand's poetic fancy may have exaggerated the simplicity of the President's domestic arrangements; there is no exaggeration in his appreciation of the man.

Another traveler has given vent to his enthusiasm about Philadelphia in the following poetic effusion. It is taken from "Travels through America," a poem, by Michael Forrest, published in Philadelphia in 1793:

"Hail, PHILADELPHIA! I now behold
Thy regularity, as I've been told;
But more majestical thou dost appear—
More grand, more regular, and far more clear—
Than my ideas were of thy grand form,
Or even now my pen can well inform!
Governor PENN first its plan begun,
In imitation of old Babylon.
The streets are wide, and in a line direct;
The angles right, where they do intersect;
The footway pav'd nicely, with brick and tiles,
From north to south, nearly two English miles;
And from both rivers[1] to the centre street,
Named First, Second, and so on till they meet.
That half alone, joining the Delaware,
Is built out nearly to the Centre Square.
The buildings shew no great variety,
But the most pleasing regularity;
Void of extremes, the houses friendly join,
Nor cottage low nor palace rouse the nine
To sound the warmbling lyre. Upon the whole,
From the Arctic to the Antarctic pole,
View all the cities round this flying ball,
Their commerce, shape, and regulations all;
Compare their climates and situation,
Their buildings, cleanness, and navigation,
Then judge impartially, and you will find,
That Philadelphia most will please the mind."

Dancing, as an amusement, was little resorted to during the war of independence, except while the British were in possession of the city. After the

[1] Schuylkill and Delaware.

conclusion of hostilities the old City Dancing Assembly was revived, and gave balls at their own rooms. Balls, dancing-parties, dinners, and tea-parties were frequently given by the wealthy and fashionable. De Chastellux thus describes the manner in which things were conducted at the assembly balls:

"The assembly or subscription ball, of which I must give an account, may here be properly introduced. At Philadelphia, as at London, Bath, Spa, etc., there are places appropriated for the young people to dance in, and where those whom that amusement does not suit play at different games of cards. But at Philadelphia games of commerce are alone allowed. A manager, or rather a master of ceremonies, presides at these methodical amusements. He presents to the gentlemen and ladies—dancers—billets folded up, containing each a number. Thus Fate decides the male or female partner for the whole evening. All the dances are previously arranged, and the dancers are called in their turns. These dances, like the toasts we drink at table, have some relation to politics. One is called 'The Success of the Campaign;' another, 'The Defeat of Burgoyne;' and a third, 'Clinton's Retreat.' The manager is generally chosen from among the most distinguished officers of the army. This important place is at present held by Col. Wilkinson, who is also clothier-general of the army."

He alludes again to the custom of having but one partner for the whole evening, a custom which, he thinks, prevails only in America. He says, "Dancing is said to be at once the emblem of gayety and of love. Here it seems to be the emblem of legislation and of marriage. Of legislation, inasmuch as places are marked out, the country dances named, and every proceeding provided for, calculated, and submitted to regulation; of marriage, as it furnishes each lady with a partner, with whom she dances the whole evening, without being allowed to take another. . . . Strangers are generally complimented with the handsomest women. The Comte de Dumas had Mrs. Bingham for his partner, and the Viscount de Noailles had Miss Shippen. Both of them, like true philosophers, testified a great respect for the manners of the country by not quitting their partners for the whole evening. . . . When music and the fine arts come to prosper at Philadelphia, when society once becomes easy and gay there, and they learn to accept of pleasure when it presents itself, without a formal invitation, then may foreigners enjoy all the advantages peculiar to their manners and government, without envying anything in Europe."

De Chastellux describes an "American" dinner at the Chevalier de Luzerne's, and complains of the "absurd and truly barbarous practice, the first time you drink, and at the beginning of dinner, to call out successively to each individual, to let him know you drink his health." "One is ready to die with thirst," he says, "while he is obliged to inquire the names or catch the eyes of five and twenty or thirty persons. The partial or direct attacks when a guest asks permission to drink with you and passes you the bottle drives him to comical despair, the bottle is then passed to you, and you must look your enemy in the face, for I can give no other name to the man who exercises such an empire over my will. You wait till he likewise has poured out his wine and taken his glass. You then drink mournfully with him, as a recruit imitates his corporal in his exercise."

The Prince de Broglie describes good-humoredly his first experience at tea-drinking in Philadelphia:

"On the 13th of August, 1782," says he, "I arrived at Philadelphia, the already celebrated capital of a quite new country. M. de la Luzerne took me to tea at Mrs. Morris', wife of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. Her house is small, but well-ordered and neat; the doors and tables of superb, well-polished mahogany; the locks and andirons of polished brass; the cups arranged symmetrically; the mistress of the house good-looking and very gray. All was charming to me. I took some of the excellent tea, and would have taken more, I think, if the ambassador (M. de la Luzerne) had not kindly warned me at the twelfth cup that I must put my spoon across my cup when I wished to bring this warm-water question to an end. Said he, 'It is almost as bad to refuse a cup of tea when it is offered to you as it would be for the master of the house to offer you another when the ceremony of the spoon has indicated your intentions on the subject.'"

The Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, who was in the United States in 1795, '96, '97, said,—

"The profusion and luxury of Philadelphia on great days, at the tables of the wealthy, in their equipages, and in the dresses of their wives and daughters, are, as I have observed, extreme. I have seen balls on the President's birthday where the splendor of the rooms and the variety and richness of the dresses do not suffer in comparison with Europe; and it must be acknowledged that the beauty of the American ladies has the advantage in comparison. The young women of Philadelphia are accomplished in different degrees, but beauty is general with them. They want the ease and fashion of French women, but the brilliancy of their complexion is infinitely superior."

But the duke is not so well satisfied with the hospitality, or rather the want of hospitality, of the Philadelphians. He tries to account for it thus:

"The inhospitality to strangers, so often spoken of, is caused by the anxiety of the inhabitants to amass wealth.

"This mercantile idea of necessity confines the man whom it influences, and gives him no time or taste for the pleasures of society. What is justly called *society* does not exist in this city. The vanity of wealth is common enough. The rich man lives to show strangers his splendid furniture, his fine English glass, and exquisite china. But when the stranger has once viewed the parade in a ceremonious dinner, he is dismissed for some other new-comer who has not yet seen the magnificence of the house, nor tasted the old Madeira that has been twice or thrice to the East Indies; and then a new face is always more welcome than an old one to him who has little to say to either. The real state of society in Philadelphia is included in invitations to great dinners and tea to all who arrive from Europe,—English, French, inhabitants of every country, men of every class and of every kind of character, philosophers, priests, literati, princes, dentists, wits, and idiots. The next day the idolized stranger is not known in the street, except that he be wealthy, especially in money, when, indeed, the politeness of the citizens of Philadelphia continues to exist as long as the stranger can purchase estates, and even beyond that term, for the homage paid to wealth is a worship in which all sects unite."

Isaac Weld, who was in this country at the same time as the Duke de Liancourt, says, on the same subject, "It is a remark very generally made, not only by foreigners, but also by persons from other parts of the United States, that the Philadelphians are extremely deficient in hospitality and politeness toward strangers." He then proceeds to criticise Philadelphia society in the following severe terms:

"Among the uppermost circles in Philadelphia pride, haughtiness, and ostentation are conspicuous, and it seems as if nothing could make them happier than that an order of nobility should be established by which they might be exalted above their fellow-citizens as much as they are in their own conceit. In the manners of the people in general there is a coldness and reserve—as if they were suspicious of some de-

signs against them—which chills to the very heart those who come to visit them. In their private societies a *tristesse* is apparent, near which mirth and gayety can never approach. It is no unusual thing in the genteelest houses to see a large party of from twenty to thirty persons assembled and seated around a room without any other amusement than what arises from the conversation—most frequently in whispers—that passes between the two persons who are seated next to each other. The party meets between six and seven in the evening. Tea is served with much form, and at ten—by which time most of the company are wearied with having remained so long stationary—they return to their homes. Still, however, they are not strangers to music, cards, or dancing. Their knowledge of music, indeed, is at a very low ebb, but in dancing, which seems to be their favorite amusement, they certainly excel. The women in general, while young, are very pretty; but by the time they become mothers of a little family they lose all their beauty, their complexions fade away, their teeth begin to decay, and they hardly look like the same creatures."

Mr. Weld must have been introduced to a very different set from that visited by the travelers already quoted. Perhaps the satirical writer of an essay under the title of "The Trifler," published in the *Columbian Magazine*, in 1788, was right in his views of Philadelphia society when he said,—

"In Philadelphia there are several classes of company,—the *Cream*, the *New Milk*, the *Skim Milk*, and the *Canaille!* . . . In private parties and in public meetings, the distinctions here are accurately preserved. The Cream generally curdles into a small group on the most eligible situation in the room. The New Milk seems floating between the wish to coalesce with the Cream and to escape from the Skim Milk; and the Skim Milk, in a fluent kind of independence, laughs at the anxiety of the New Milk, and grows sour upon the arrogance of the Cream. Hence it is, sir, that our concerts and assemblies have lost their charms—for the superiority established on the one hand, and the mortifications felt on the other, seem to have produced this resolution; that never again shall the ears of Cream and New Milk listen to the same melody, or their feet caper. Notwithstanding these variances, however, each class closely imitates its immediate superior; and from the conduct of one you may easily conceive the conduct of all. The marriage week is appropriated in the same manner. You drink punch with the bridegroom, and tea with the bride. Every lying-in furnishes you with a taste of the caudle and the sight of a bed; and every tea-party consists in the same parade, whether your cake is handed on silver or Japan by a supercilious footman in lace, or a female apprentice in camlet."

This writer further divides society into "the Dressers, the Eaters, the Drinkers, the Singers, the Tattlers, the Politicians, and the Dozers."

Bulow, who was in this country in 1791, '92, '95, '96, must have met with some unpleasant adventure in Philadelphia, for nothing pleases him there. He speaks more like one smarting under some injury than as an impartial observer. It is a criticism *de parti pris*. He says, "Devouring immense quantities of flesh, the Americans call 'living rich!' . . . Their drink is for the most part brandy and water, and Madeira wine which is strongly adulterated with brandy." He illustrates the inhospitality of the Philadelphians by the story of an Englishman who burnt all his letters of recommendation because they procured him everywhere no other benefit than a glass of brandy and water. At public dinners they drink many toasts, "and for twelve persons on such occasions, you may always reckon sixty bottles of Madeira wine! Judge in what a condition the people return home! In general, Americans make a point of honor to spend a great deal at taverns. But tavern-keepers do not make great fortunes, because there is so much 'toping on credit,' and 'the payment often fails.' . . . The tea parties were invented by Avarice, in order to see company cheap." They would be a good economical invention, if they were not "so stiff." "The greatest expense is for furniture, which must be all made of mahogany. Travelers have been often astonished to find handsome carpets and mahogany tables and desks,—and in log houses, or rather huts!

". . . Luxury in North America turns upon objects of vanity, never to the production of the fine arts." In proof of this the artistic Bulow informs us that "an Italian came to Philadelphia with some copies in plaster-of-Paris of some excellent statues; but he could sell none of them, and went away again. A glass of grog, or of cold punch, is worth more to them than the most beautiful picture or statue." American architecture offends the good taste of this amiable foreigner, and he notes with disgust that "among the new houses in Philadelphia the most fantastic caricature shapes are found."

Luxury in house furnishing was, as a matter of course, a fit accompaniment of luxurious living. If the wealthy purchased fine imported furniture, home manufactures were daily increasing in importance, and the citizen of moderate means could introduce many improvements in his house. This was a field in which, despite Mr. Bulow's opinion, the native good taste of the Philadelphia ladies could display itself to advantage. European workmanship may send its most elegant productions to our markets, but the mere ability to purchase these and fill our rooms with them will not give us elegantly-furnished houses. It is the *taste* which presides in the selection and the arrangement that will make them pleasing to the eye. The charm attached to an American home, that *je ne sais quoi* which strikes the foreigner agreeably, is due neither to the English nor the French style of the furniture, but is peculiar to the American taste of the lady of the house. In no other city is this charm felt more than in Philadelphia.

The fondness for carpets, so characteristic of the American housekeeper,—for even at this late day well-to-do familes in Europe do not find carpets indispensable to their comfort,—became general as soon as this article was appreciated. The first carpets in use attracted much attention in Philadelphia about 1750, and in 1788 De Warville wrote as follows:

"It already appears that they have carpets,—elegant carpets. It is a favorite taste with the Americans. They receive it from the interested avarice of their old masters, the English. A carpet in summer is an absurdity; yet they spread them in this season, and from vanity. This vanity exercises itself by saying that the carpet is an ornament. That is to say, they sacrifice reason and utility to show.

"The Quakers likewise have carpets, but the rigorous ones blame this practice. They mentioned to me the instance of a Quaker from Carolina, who, going to dine with one of the most opulent at Philadelphia, was offended at finding the passage from the door to the staircase covered with a carpet, and would not enter the house. He said that he never dined in a house where there was luxury, and that it was better to clothe the poor than to clothe the earth."

The character of the usual household furniture of the time is shown by the following list of articles belonging to Dr. Franklin's estate, and advertised to be sold at auction in May, 1792, by Richard Footman, auctioneer:

"Mahogany sideboards, dining-, card-, and Pembroke tables, mahogany chairs, looking-glasses, clothes-presses, tea-urns, plated candlesticks, windsor-chairs, an elegant sofa, chints window-curtains, chest of drawers, a forte piano, a harpsichord, a copying-press, circular and sundry other coal-grates, Franklin stoves, china and queensware, brass andirons, shovel and tongs, patent lamps, plated knives and forks, jack, etc., silver and plated ware, waiters, sugar canisters, snuffers and stand, a dish-cross, tea- and coffee-pots, cruet frame and castors, candlesticks, saucepans, butter-ladles, wine-strainers, funnels, tureen with handsome glass and elegant workmanship, milk-pots, etc. Also a sedan chair."

Dr. Franklin, in the latter part of his life, had grown fat and heavy, and this sedan chair was his usual conveyance.

Two other advertisements of sales, although dated in the beginning of the present century, describe the furniture in use during the latter part of the eighteenth century in the homes of wealthy citizens. The first, in April, 1803, was at the house of Thomas Ketland, merchant, in Market Street, and comprised a drawing-room suite of French chairs, curtains, and sofa, in yellow damask; one mahogany four-post bedstead, with two hair mattresses and down feather-bed; richly-painted cornices, and three window-curtains to match; mahogany sideboard; dining-tables; mahogany commodes; tambour and satin-wood secretaries; one lady's writing-desk, painted; mahogany wash-hand stand; fire-screens; wine-coolers; one upright fine-toned mahogany forte piano, with stops, by Stoddard; one large, superb wardrobe, with writing-desk, drawers, closets, etc.; French Sevres tea-china in sets; one pair vases, superbly painted; groups of several figures and hyacinths, pleatue, French; a very handsome French clock, of the finest workmanship; a pair of French bronzed and gilt andirons; sundry prints and pictures; one elegant painting of dead game; Derbyshire ornaments; Italian marble busts; one large set of cut-glass dinner-ware; girandoles; dessert-dishes, etc.; a large glass hall-lamp; one pair richly-gilt tripods; gilt brackets, etc.; dinner-sets of English earthenware; a large steel grate, with a variety of other articles.

The second, published in the *United States Gazette* of Nov. 16, 1805, is still more important as describing the household furnishings of one of the leaders of society, of which Wanzey, in 1794, made the following note in his diary:

"June 8.—I dined this day with Mrs. Bingham, to whom I had letters of introduction. I found a magnificent house and gardens in the best English style, with elegant and even superb furniture. The chairs of the drawing-room were from Seddons, in London, of the newest taste,—the backs in form of a lyre, with festoons of crimson and yellow silk; the curtains of the room, a festoon of the same; the carpet, one of Moore's most expensive patterns. The room was papered in the French taste, after the style of the Vatican at Rome. In the garden was a profusion of lemon-, orange-, and citron-trees, and many aloes and other exotics."

The advertisement referred to contained a very full catalogue of the principal articles of furniture and plate belonging to William Bingham, which were to be sold at auction by A. Pettit & Co. In the drawing-room were a looking-glass seven feet six inches by five feet, a glass chandelier, four girandoles, four gilt candlesticks, three sofas, eight sets of blue satin window-curtains with gilt cornices, two gilt branch candlesticks, six large arm-chairs, two fire-screens, with shovel, tongs, and fender, carpet, with vases, figures, and artificial flowers. The parlor was furnished with ten looking-glasses, two rush-bottom settees, ten arm-chairs, and ten single chairs, dining-tables, mantel ornaments, Venetian blinds, and one harpsichord. The dining-tables probably were placed there for convenience. The furniture of the dining-room was a mahogany sideboard, wine-cooler, twenty-four mahogany chairs with morocco bottoms, brass and iron fenders, shovels, tongs, and bellows, with chandeliers, girandoles, brass lamps with reflectors, shade lamps, and a very large assortment of china, dinner, and tea sets, with bottles, decanters, and glassware. In the ball-room—probably placed there for convenience and sale—was a mahogany bedstead, seven feet square, with canopy, curtains, and mattress complete. The chambers were supplied with bedsteads with damask curtains, chairs with damask stuffed bottoms, yellow and pink chairs, and sofas with silk bottoms, and bureaux in japan, gold, and mahogany. There were figures in all the rooms, and in one of them a full-length portrait of Mrs. Siddons as the "Grecian Daughter," with vases and other ornaments. Silver plate was composed of tureens, vases, dishes, candlesticks, waiters, urns, bowls, goblets, trays, forks, spoons, etc., and weighed nearly two thousand ounces, in addition to which were several articles of plated ware. In the hall were twelve windsor-chairs, pedestals of composition and marble, with busts of Voltaire and Rousseau, three busts of Franklin, bronze and composition figures, two marble medallions in gilt frames, and a dial on a composition pedestal. In the library were three mahogany bookcases, a secretary, a copying-machine, four bronze figures, two urns, two busts, and a centrepiece placed on the top of the bookcases, with a costly collection of paintings and prints.

This list helps us to picture to our minds the grand apartments so often filled with a galaxy of beauties, in which the central figure was the charming hostess, acknowledged by all the queen of elegance, the rooms in which Washington, the Adamses, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, and other public men, met the Chews, the Mifflins, the Willings, and mingling with the gay crowd of ladies, forgot for a while the cares of state.

The number of equipages increased with the luxury of the times. William Priest, musician, "late of the theatres of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston," in his "Travels in the United States of America,"—commencing in 1793 and ending in 1797,—says, "There are eight hundred and six two and four-wheel pleasure carriages in the city. The population

does not exceed fifty thousand inhabitants. This is a proof of the luxury of the people."

Weld describes with great minuteness the equipages which he saw in Philadelphia:

"The carriages made use of in Philadelphia consist of coaches, chariots, chaises, coachees, and light wagons, the greater part of which are built in Philadelphia. The equipages of a few individuals are extremely ostentatious. Nor does there appear in any that neatness and elegance which might be expected among a set of people who are desirous of imitating the fashions of England, and who are continually getting models over from that country. The coachee is a carriage peculiar, I believe, to America. The body of it is rather longer than that of a coach, but of the same shape. In the front it is left quite open down to the bottom, and the driver sits on a bench under the roof of the carriage. There are two seats in it for the passengers, who sit in it with their faces to the horses. The roof is supported by small props, which are placed at the corners. On each side of the door, above the panels, it is quite open; and, to guard against bad weather, there are curtains, which are made to let down from the roof, and fasten to buttons on the outside. There is also a leathern curtain, to hang occasionally between the driver and passengers. The light wagons are on the same construction, and are calculated to hold from four to twelve people. The only difference between the small wagon and the coachee is that the latter is better furnished, has varnished panels, and doors at the side. The former has no doors, but the passengers scramble in the best way they can, over the seat of the driver. The wagons are used universally for stage-coaches."

Meanwhile, the ever-changing fashions continued to turn the heads of the belles and beaux, and to inspire the satiric muse.

The *Columbian Magazine* of 1792 has the following:

"THE REVOLUTIONS OF FASHION.

"Fashion, intent our wonder to excite,
Seems nature for the marvelous to slight!
Now on the head the Bonnet soars, designed
To show a towering, bold, ambitious mind!
Now swells the Petticoat, a spacious round,
And now in length three yards or more are found!
Tètes like the Titan's heaven appear to scale
As Fashion's arbitrary laws prevail!
The Stay's sharp peak with star-like lustre glows,
And the paste Buckle glitters on the toes!

"These wanderings of Taste we may excuse,
Assisting by politeness Beauty's views!
Powder! behold thy cheering, cleanly aid,
By Nature's tresses amiably displayed!
But may no curling-tongs e'er heat that brain,
Where cool Discretion should in triumph reign.

"Still will those Follies frame tyrannic laws,
Now dealing in Cork Hips and now in Craws.
Must Delicacy to thy power submit?
Wilt thou yield ample scope for sneering Wit?
The fair shall never suffer in my verse,
And simply thus a cynic's thoughts rehearse:
'There was a time, perhaps that time remains,
When feathers gave the tone to female brains.
Each whim the fair with readiness embraced,
Since to be flighty was a proof of taste.
There was a time, attached to liberal arts,
When ladies soothed our minds and cheered our hearts.
By moderate arts, ye fair, preserve your reign.
Prudence alone your empire can retain.
From delicacy, hope, sincere applause,
Your *hearts* men wish to gain, but slight your *craws!*'"

The fashions for men underwent some change about this time.

Oswald's *Gazetteer* for September, 1792, specifies the gentlemen's dress for balls, and declares that shoe- and knee-buckles are abolished.

"Two yards of black ribbon for the shoes, and an equal quantity for the knees, are used instead of buckles. The breeches are very tight. Two watch-chains and trinkets are worn. The hair is powdered, frosted, and perfumed. The cape is of different color from the coat. Muslin and cambric are worn about the neck; and the genteel beau is particularly genteel when he wears a tamboured shirt."

There was still some elegance in this, but the time was not far when Philadelphians, in no small number, would imitate the absurd fashions and coarse manners of the Parisian *sans-culottes*. The Americans had seen, with sympathetic interest, the incipiency of the French Revolution: it was the struggle of right against abuse; the Frenchman of 1789 did but follow the example of the American colonies. French people and French ideas were popular here, as it was but natural they should be, and we have mentioned in these pages the introduction of fashions *à la républicaine;* but affairs in France had taken a turn unexpected by the patriots, who demanded but the "rights of man;" a bloodthirsty mob had taken control of the government; Louis XVI., the honest king, who had befriended the struggling colonies, had been beheaded in the name of liberty; his beautiful queen also had perished on the scaffold; the hideous guillotine was decimating the nobility of France, it did not spare the families of those gallant gentlemen who had fought under Washington, and yet the wild ravings of the followers of Robespierre found an echo in our streets. The *bonnet rouge* made its appearance.

"No such 'frenzy,' to use Mr. Jefferson's favorite expression, has ever since been known in America. . . . Politeness was looked upon as a sort of *lèse républicanisme;* the common forms of expression in use by the *sans-culottes* were adopted by their American disciples; the title citizen became as common in Philadelphia as in Paris, and in the newspapers it was the fashion to announce marriages as partnerships between citizen Brown, Smith, or Jones, and the *citess* who had been wooed to such an association. Entering the house of the President, citizen Genet (French ambassador) was astonished and indignant at perceiving in the vestibule a bust of Louis XVI., whom his friends had beheaded, and he complained of this 'insult to France.' At a dinner, at which Governor Mifflin was present, a roasted pig received the name of the murdered king, and the head, severed from the body, was carried round to each of the guests, who, after placing the liberty cap on his own head, pronounced the word 'Tyrant!' and proceeded to mangle with his knife that of the luckless creature doomed to be served for so unworthy a company. One of the Democratic taverns displayed as a sign a revolting picture of the mutilated and bloody corpse of Marie Antoinette."[1]

The Parisian beaux of the time were called *muscadines*. Their style of dress was adopted by their imitators in Philadelphia. A writer in Oswald's *Gazetteer*, of January, 1795, describes them, as follows:

[1] Griswold, "The Republican Court."

"The sweet muscadines have the queue and the twist, the parallelogramic waistcoat and the waistcoat circular, the bolstered neckcloth and the cravat puddingless [although almost everybody wears something of a pudding]. They have the cape velvet, the cape cloth, the cape up and the cape down, the slash sleeve and the close sleeve, the London broadcloth and the Paris narrow back, the lapelle and the single breast, the covered queen's nipple, death's head, and metal button, the culotte long, the culotte short, and the bow."

In "The Trifler," published in the *Columbian Magazine*, it is said, speaking of the divisions in society:

"Florio, who is a type of the whole, has fretted himself into a fever that almost cost him his life because a modest tailor has made a pair of yellow breeches decently large for his limbs, and has not carried the cape of his coat as high as the crown of his hat."

But the best hit was in the Philadelphia *Minerva*, —"The Sunday Parade," a most delicious ode. In this effusion the writer says,—

"Thus all our modern belles and beaux
Are swaddled in such loads of clothes
As proves them ornamental gluttons.
Lord! what a dash does Mr. Demme cut,
In his superlative, unrivaled strut,
Besplattered with a peck of buttons!
His frizzled friends, this charming weather,
Have ventured out to air their leather—
Some staggering beneath as huge a sack
As Bunyan's Pilgrim carried on his back!
Sure they should strut with shanks of toughest steel
To prop the massy bundles which they wear;
For 'tis a sorry sight, my friend,
To see their charming little spindles bend
Beneath such monstrous packages of hair,
Crammed in with tallow and with Indian meal—
Some bungling barber's expeditious work,
Who took no pains to decorate their pork!

"Who pace with strange, exotic bags,
Put on unseemly o'er their rags;
And breeches buttons round their necks—
Gaping with huge and ghastly snout,
And whitewashed eyes turned inside out!

"THE MEN.

"'Most ladies lose their hearts,
Enchanted by the power of clothes—
By silks and satins, wigs and crapes,
Superbly hung on muffled apes,
And bolsters tied below their nose!'

"THE LADIES.

"'But it excites my wonder more
To see them wear their watch before,
Like warming-pans, of monstrous size!'"

These follies, however, were limited to a certain class of young men. Sober-minded gentlemen clung to the becoming old style.

A writer in Oswald's *Gazetteer* of January, 1795, describes fashions in polite assemblies. He speaks of the turban, the "shot dress," and the ruffled sleeves. Proceeding further, he speaks of—

"the satin waist, with trails of mull loose, and jaconette, gauze, crape, and light stopper. Then there's the hair up, the hair down, the frieze and the frizzles, the straight, and the curled. There's the Spanish leather, the Danish kid, the tamboured and plain slipper, and Roman sandals with English flat heels, and perch sky-scraper heels."

Wanzey, in 1796, said,—

"At the theatre ladies wear small bonnets of the English fashion, some of chequered straw, some full-dressed, with caps, and a very few in the French style,—the younger ladies with their hair flowing in ringlets on their shoulders.

"The gentlemen had round hats, coats with high colors (cut quite in the English fashion), and many coats of striped silk."

Washington never changed his style of dress, the plain black velvet suit already mentioned. At his inauguration, John Adams wore a full suit of light drab, with loose cuffs. He also wore wrist-ruffles. His hair was powdered and tied up in a bag.

William McKoy, speaking of the inauguration of John Adams, in 1797, gives a very full description of the Marquis D'Yrujo, the Spanish minister, who married the amiable Sally McKean. He says, "He was of middle size, of round person, florid complexion, and hair powdered like a snow-ball; dark-striped silk coat, lined with satin; white waistcoat, black silk breeches, white silk stockings, shoes and buckles. He had by his side an elegant-hilted small-sword, and his chapeau, tipped with white feathers, under his arm."

Jefferson, Mr. McKoy says, was dressed in a long blue frock coat, single-breasted, and buttoned down to the waist; light sandy hair, very slightly powdered, and queued with black ribbon a long way down his back.

One more poetical squib. They give us not only the caricature of the fashions, but specimens of the satiric wit of the time.

In Carey's *Recorder*, in 1798, was published the following:

"THE ADDRESS OF A VERY UGLY LADY TO HER 'UGLY,'—A HIDEOUS INSTRUMENT WHICH THE WOMEN OF FASHION WEAR ROUND THEIR HEADS.

"Come, blest invention, come! In kindness screen
This old, yet fruitful, source of all my woes!
Draw round my amber eyes thy case of green,
And wrap in night this never-ending nose!
In numerous blessings crown her useful head,
Who found a remedy for ills so great—
Ills that not Spanish wool, not e'en white lead,
Could cure, remove, diminish, or abate;
A mouth whose wide embrace both ears inclose;
A nose of ruddiest hue, sublime and high;
A chin on which a tankard might repose;
And the dull leerings of a blinking eye—
All seek for safety in the dark'ning veil—
All fly for rescue from the critic's stare—
The red, the dark, the purple, and the pale,
And the long, meagre, furrowed face of Care!"

Much has been said of the freaks of fashion and the submission to its behests shown by both sexes. Yet there has ever been a marked difference in the results of this submission. The ladies, prompt to accept any new style that might enhance their personal charms, have sometimes been deluded into adopting some ridiculous mode, but it was short-lived, and disappeared so soon as the experiment was made and proved it to be a failure. The forms of their head-dress were often changed, yet powder remained long in use; it was abandoned and taken up again. Why? Because powdered hair was becoming, though not natural and causing much trouble and loss of time in the dressing. So with their wearing apparel; it was more or less ornamented, beflounced, and cut in fanciful shapes;

its return to simplicity, attempted at different periods, was never lasting. The taste for ornament is inborn with women; even the uncivilized savage maiden will deck her person and decorate her scant dress with feathers, beads, or bright-colored seeds and shells. It is with all the sex an unsatiable thirst for the beautiful.

Not so with the men; they have no sooner attained a style of dress that makes them presentable than they cast it off for something hideous or ridiculous. The dress worn by our Revolutionary fathers, especially at and after the end of the war, had a manly elegance unequaled at any other period. It was as far removed from the stiffened skirts, laces, and feathers, in which the fops of an earlier period delighted, as it is from the uniform ugliness of the garments of the present generation, whose only merit is in being comfortable, the love of ease having become the characteristic of modern society. The ladies, kind souls! have made so many concessions that they are not shocked at the sight of a beau in a short sack coat, tight pantaloons, and diminutive round hat, puffing away at the inevitable cigar.

Can any one, gifted with the faintest artistic taste, after looking at the pictures of the Washingtons, the Adamses, the Jeffersons, and their contemporaries, realize the fact that to their imposing costume succeeded the dress we now describe? The coats were of the fashion called in modern times "swallow-tail," but much more broadly cut in the skirts, which commenced about the region of the hips in front, extended in a sloping line backward, and were cut off square in the back, so as to reach about to the bend of the leg. The lappels in front were prodigiously broad. The collar rose up on the sides as high as the bottom of the ears, and was continued in the back of the same width, and then it was doubled and turned over all round with a fold quite as broad. The cravat was wide and high, an oval fence around the neck, sufficiently wide and deep to allow the man to sink his chin into it. The ends were brought down in front, kerchief fashion, and knotted. The cravat was invariably made of light silk or linen, muslin, except occasionally in India importations, not having come into use. There was no shirt collar. Vests were shortened, and reached no lower than the well-defined region of the waist. Sometimes they were single-breasted, cut low, with small, straight collars, and allowed the display of the frills, or they were double-breasted, and finished with broad lappels. Another style was tight about the neck, covering the whole shirt except the collar, and extending from the neck no more than half a foot to the waistbands of the high pantaloons.

Breeches were not entirely banished, especially in the most polite society. They were in use for parties and balls, but they were superseded for ordinary business, and for men's wear generally except for party purposes, by trowsers and pantaloons. The latter went through strange mutations of cut and shape,—were sometimes closely fitted to the limbs, and called "tights;" at other times they were baggy and bulging. Sometimes they were tight at the waist and very broad at the bottoms; sometimes they were tight at the knee, and spread out like funnels toward the ankles. Again they were tight at the ankles, and loose and broad at the knee. They went through other changes, among which might be mentioned plaits at the sides and waist, tucks at the bottom, and other fantasies.

Fops clung for some time to perukes, powdered heads, and three-cornered hats. Elderly gentlemen of the old school were also loath to give them up, and as late as 1800 even wore the large wigs made of gray or white horsehair. When they gave up these, they consoled themselves in the use of the queue or pigtail, formed by twisting and tying the natural hair behind, below the back of the neck. But the middle class followed the French republican fashion, and cut their hair *à la Titus*,—a shock head from the forehead to the back of the neck. At a later period another French style was introduced; the hair combed down the forehead to within a short distance from the eyebrows, and cut straight across, was allowed to grow long on the sides and back of the head, covering the ears, *en oreilles de chien*, as may be seen in the portraits of Gen. Bonaparte at the time of the campaign in Italy.

The beard during all this time was banished from good society. The cheeks, upper and lower lip, and throat, were carefully and laboriously deprived of their natural growth of beard once, twice, or thrice a week, and, among the highly fashionable, every day. No gentleman could present himself with decency at church or at the theatre, or visit his friends and acquaintances, unless he was most scrupulously shaved, and was able to present a clean and respectable appearance.

The hats had narrow brims, and the crown tapered off toward the top, not unlike the Tyrolese hat, but less elegant. They were made of beaver, or of the skins of the muskrat, the otter, and the raccoon, these furs being used for body and all in the finer hats, or the fur was felted upon wool; coarser hats were made entirely of wool. The various furs were also used in the making of caps, or these were made of cloth; there were various shapes of caps.

As long as stockings continued to be an outside portion of the dress of gentlemen they were objects of care and sometimes of pride. Upon occasions of ceremony, where elegance of costume was looked for, the stocking was of silk,—white among young men who coveted distinction on account of the observance of the proprieties, and black among elderly gentlemen who commanded respect on account of age or social position. For persons in moderate circumstances, and those who could make no claim beyond that of being useful members of the community, the

stockings were of yarn,—gray, blue, or brown, according to the fancy of the good wife who knitted them. Striped yarn stockings, *à la mode de Paris*, were also worn with the short pantaloons not reaching to the ankles. Low shoes with metal buckles remained in the fashion until 1800, when they were succeeded by high boots, which were worn with the short breeches. A curious fact is that, until that time, there was no distinction made by shoemakers between the right and left feet. About 1800 William Young, who lived at No. 128 Chestnut Street, claimed to have introduced this valuable improvement. His advertisement gives the following summary of fashions:

"Plover and snipe toes, cock and hen toes, goose and gander toes, duck and drake toes, gosling toes, hog and bear snouts, ox and cow mouths, shovel and stick nose, and others too tedious to mention.

"THE PRESENT EUROPEAN FASHIONS:

"Suwarrows, cossacks, hussars, carrios, double-tongues, fire-buckets, Bonapartes, greaves, Swiss, hunting, walking, full-dress, York."

Some time after this announcement, Mrs. Young promised that she would—

"by the direction of her husband, cause her sex to have right and left feet,—to stand and walk with facility and pleasure. Why should they not be at ease as well as the gentlemen? It is a wonder that some one or more cordwainers in their line have not come forward in the execution of an object so extraordinary, expedient, and exquisite in its nature. All colored silks and satins, as well as fancy patterns, kid do., and morocco do., will be procured."

John Bedford, of No. 73 South Second Street, in 1800, took out a patent for "iron-bound boots and shoes." He said that they were made—

"on a plan entirely new, equally fit for men, women, and children. He has the pleasure of saying that this invention is considered by some of the best judges in this city to be one of the most economical ever offered to the consideration of the public, for it not only saves immense labor, but material also, both of which are well known to be of serious consequence in this country."

Bedford said that in the old way of making shoes, one pair a day was as much as could be made by one man, and that few men could make more than four or five pair a week. But by his new plan a man and a boy could make from six to ten pairs a day, so that the improvement would be a vast saving in time and leather, and would be an immense economy to the people of the United States.

While on the subject of shoes, it may be well to note that such a thing as our modern blacking or "shoe-polish" was unknown. Day & Martin's liquid blacking was first manufactured in England in 1801, and Lee & Thompson began its manufacture in New York in 1803. The first blacking which was manufactured in Philadelphia was made, some time later, by William Stubbs, Stubbs & Allen, and Robert Cochran. Before this "Blackball," so called, was the article used upon boots. It was composed of lampblack, mutton suet, or bayberry tallow, and not unfrequently of the greasy mixture which the tanners call "dubbing." Whatever might be the labor used with this mixture, there was still danger of its rubbing off upon the clothing of the person coming near the boots or shoes upon which it had been used. Ladies walking with gentlemen arm-in-arm, or dancing with them at parties, were particularly exposed to this nuisance; and when the modern shoe-blacking came into use, the benefit of it was universally recognized.

Jewelry, of which the ladies made a brilliant display, was but little worn by men. Watches were generally of silver and of very large size; they were worn outside. A French fashion, which prevailed only among a few, was the wearing of two watches, one on each side, with a steel or silver chain, from which dangled a bunch of watch-keys, seals, and bright-colored tropical seeds set like precious stones.

What a comical picture there is in the following reminiscences of a writer quoted by Mr. Watson:

"The coat I wore was such as fashion enjoined. The skirts were long and narrow, like a swallow's tail,—two-thirds, at least, of the whole length; the portion above the waist composed the other third. The waist was directly beneath the shoulders. The collar was a huge roll reaching above the ears, and there were two lines of brilliant buttons in front. There were nineteen buttons in a row. The pantaloons (over which I wore the boots) were of non-elastic corduroy. It would be unjust to the tailor to say that they were fitted like my skin, for they sat a great deal closer. When I took them off, my legs were like fluted pillars grooved with the cords of the pantaloons. The hat that surmounted this dress had a three-quarter-inch rim and a low, tapering crown. It was circled by a ribbon two inches wide."

Another writer, who, about 1850, gave his reminiscences of forty or fifty years before, said,—

"When I was a child the ladies wore shoulder-straps to their petticoats, but the men none to their breeches. The consequence was that gentlemen had frequently to adjust their waistbands. Learned judges standing up to charge a jury, and venerable clergymen preaching in the pulpit, I was accustomed to see hitching up their small-clothes with one hand, while with the other they tucked the lower portion of a fine ruffled shirt between the waistband and flaps of an ancient vest. This was necessary to prevent the exposure of a double linen ruffle below the waistcoat, extending horizontally from hip to hip. This horizontal fold of white linen,—not always exactly white, however,—in connection with the long, perpendicular ruffle of the bosom, formed a sort of inverted cross, of greater dimensions than the one paraded on a Roman bishop's back. The fashionable breeches of my early days were but a few inches longer than the thigh-bone of the wearer, and were buckled tight below the knee-pan, often to an obstruction of a free circulation of the blood, and productive of such itching as made a gentleman glad to unbuckle his knees when in his own dwelling in the company of his family alone.

"Was such a dress in itself desirable? Yet I remember when the male sex began to use suspenders, and they were ridiculed who first wore shoulder-straps. They were said foolishly to affect a female mode of dress. But why was it not well to keep breeches in their place by suspenders, instead of hitching them up perpetually by the hands?"

As we stop on the threshold of the nineteenth century, we will, for the benefit of the ladies, peep into the mysteries of fashion in the next half-dozen years.

In 1800 the walking-dresses for ladies were in the style called *à la grecque*,—a closely-fitting garment of very plain make, with the waist as high up as it could be made; the bosoms, cut square, were gathered in surplice style, and the neck and shoulders were protected by a muslin or gauze handkerchief, crossed in front, and forming a point behind. The bonnet fitted as close to the head as a cap, and the hair was twisted

or turned up high on the back of the head, while, in front, it was combed straight over the forehead, almost to the eyebrows. The evening dress, while preserving the style, was more elaborate; instead of the handkerchief, a ruffle was worn round the neck of the garment, descending in front, and leaving the neck and shoulders bare. The hair was frizzled in front, and an ostrich plume fell with a graceful curve over the top-knot. Whether for walking or evening, the sleeves were short, and gathered up with a band, above the elbow, leaving the arms bare.

A very popular head-dress for street wear in the summer time was made of muslin or some other light material. It surmounted the head like a cap, and was kept in place by a ribbon of some gay color all round the crown. The light muslin, often bordered with lace, descended in graceful folds on either side of the face and on the back, protecting the neck from exposure to the sun. It was a becoming *coiffure*, and was further improved, after a short time, by being divided in the back, and made to hang down both shoulders to the waist, the ends being finished off with a knot or tassel.

The sleeves kept getting shorter, and the exposure of bare arms in the streets were disapproved by staid people and ridiculed by the wits. The *Portfolio* in 1803 got off the following cruel hit:

"The display of a beautiful elbow is now becoming an old fashion, and some dashing belles intend to introduce the display of a finely-shaped knee. This will be no difficulty, considering that petticoats are laid aside."

It was during this period of bare arms that Moses Guest wrote the following piece, which appeared in the volume entitled "Poems on Several Occasions," published in Cincinnati some years later:

"Their heads and heels are often changing,
And still for novelty they're ranging,
Sometimes a hoop must swell their size,
And sometimes they a cushion prize;
Sometimes we find their waists are small,
But now we see they have none at all.
A princess fair first found this out—
Designed to hide her shape, no doubt.
Her light, loose dress, 'twas said, looked neat;
'Twas elegant, 'twas thought complete.
Then soon from Charlotte, England's queen,
Down to the lowest maid 'twas seen.
With something new they're always arming,
And say variety is charming!
Their elbows naked now we view—
I'd almost said their bodies too—
For many, filled, 'tis said, with pride,
Have laid their underclothes aside;
Such antique dress they do despise,
And nought but gauze and muslin prize."

The author adds, in a note, "When this piece was written it was the fashion for young ladies to dress as thinly as possible, with gauze and muslin; to have their arms bare nearly up to the shoulders, and also to have the upper part of their breasts bare,—which fashion they adhered to even in the most severe winter weather."

A novelty introduced in 1803, was a basque of different material and color from that of the dress. It was received with much favor and retained for several years with such improvements from time to time as lengthening the basque, edging it with embroidery, and adding variety by the use of a scarf fastened at the right shoulder and on the opposite side below the middle of the dress with a flower.

The French fashions were not the only ones consulted, however; many, and of the less frivolous, clung to the old England styles.

The *Philadelphia Repository*, in 1802, reported the London fashions in this manner:

"The Bonapartian hat is coming into vogue. It consists of white or salmon-colored satin, in the form of a helmet, surrounded with a wreath of laurel, and worn much on one side.

"Plain white chip hats, in the gipsy style, without any ornament whatever, tied carelessly under the chin with pea-green or pink ribbon.

"The archer-dress, a petticoat without any train, with a border of green or blue; a blue or green sarcenet boddice, vandyked at bottom; loose chemise sleeves, and no handkerchief. The head-dress, a small white or blue satin hat, turned up in front. Brown, gray, or olive silk stockings with yellow or orange cloaks, are worn by the ladies to walk in.

"Feathers and flowers continue to be much worn, and wreaths of roses on the hair for full-dress, in preference to more cumbrous ornaments.

"Small watches are worn by a few dashing belles, on their bosoms, not bigger than the round of a half-guinea."

The pelisse, of different color from the underdress, came into fashion in 1805. The muffs used in winter, which had been hitherto quite small, attained a large size; boas of white or colored fur became also very popular. The shape of the bonnet underwent a considerable change about that time; the front was turned up high above the forehead, and a large ostrich feather rose conspicuously over the crown. The style of the dress remained pretty much the same.

A writer in the *Portfolio*, in 1804, attacked a new style of bonnets in this wise: "The ladies have just now adopted a repulsive kind of hat, which may be called the 'poking hat.' It has a long projection, like the beak of a snipe, and is a good guard against all familiar approach of those who have any regard for their eyes. It is an invention inspired by the Goddess of Ugliness, and is quite worthy of its origin." This head-gear, called the "poke bonnet" and in later years the "coal-scuttle bonnet," could not withstand the ridicule constantly "poked" at it by the wits; besides, the ladies became convinced that it spoiled their good looks; it was given up. But, by a strange contradiction, the very homeliness which caused it to be discarded by the worldly, gave it favor in the eyes of the Quakers. This was the very thing to keep variety out of the heads of the young Quakeresses. Some slight alterations were made to it, and it was prescribed as the proper and permanent head-dress for the female members of the sect. Many a pretty face beams now from under the modest "scoop bonnet," the gentle possessor of which has never heard of its original model, the "poke bonnet," once worn by the worldly belles of 1804.

In 1806 the skirts of the dress were made longer, and a very decided tendency toward a train was perceptible. But, alas! as the skirt lengthened the waist

PHILADELPHIA COSTUMES AND HEAD-DRESSES.

[From prints in Pennsylvania Historical Society.]

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PHILADELPHIA COSTUMES AND HEAD-DRESSES.

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shortened, and a writer in that year expressed his dissatisfaction by the remark, "The part called the waist, which used to be admired, has disappeared, and we are left to conjecture where it may be found."

A fur hat, with rim and bell-crown, similar to the men's pattern of round hats, was worn that year by many ladies as a comfortable, if not pretty, head-dress for walking out in winter. The straw bonnets for summer wear were tastefully decorated with ribbons and flowers. A pretty fashion, introduced from France about this time, was that of carrying a rich lace handkerchief in the hand. It came from the Empress Josephine; that amiable woman had very bad front teeth, and, as she was very gay and easily provoked to laughter, when she laughed she raised her handkerchief to her mouth to conceal this defect. Josephine was passionately fond of fine laces, and her handkerchiefs were made of this costly fabric. The ladies of the court took to flourishing lace handkerchiefs, and they became an indispensable part of a fashionable costume. Thus it came to pass that the elegant daughters of the Philadelphia merchants invested large sums in lace handkerchiefs, because an empress of the French happened to have defective teeth.

Very little has been said of the costumes of children. During a former period, as we have seen, they wore wigs, and, from all accounts, their costume made them the miniature "counterfeit presentments" of their papas and mammas; but the ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau about childhood having created quite a furor just before the French revolution, more freedom was given to the youthful limbs. Then Dame Fashion claimed this a new conquest, and pretty soon there were special styles for children's dresses; these were imported in Philadelphia, as well as the styles for the grown folks. They were not always comfortable nor becoming to childhood.

About 1806 an entire metamorphosis took place in the dress of young gentlemen, owing to the make and wear of their small-clothes and the shape of the trowsers. A writer of the period said,—

"The prominence that was formerly continued in the vest or jacket has found its way into a pair of wide pantaloons, making a corresponding swell or protuberance in front and rear; and these are made more conspicuous by the short jacket that merely covers breast and shoulders. In fact, the appearance of some is so remarkable that, if one of their grandmothers could now see them, she would conclude that they were ready to *tumble to pieces!*"

Witty ladies sometimes amused themselves at the expense of the beaux. The following song appeared in the *Portfolio* Aug. 9, 1806:

"THE BOOTEES.

"*A New Song by Miss Kitty Crotchet.*

["*To be said or sung to the tune of 'Dorothy Dumps,' or any other tune the reader pleases.*]

"Of all the gay beaux
That sport their smart clothes,
There's none that my fancy can please,
With their spencers of crops,
Or woolly foretops,
Like Bob with his tippy bootees.

"Inexpressibles tight
Some fancies delight,
With bunches of tapes at their knees;
Yet all must confess,
Though snug in the dress,
They yield to Bob's tippy bootees.

"The blue pantaloons,
As they march in platoons,
Each lady's attention quick seize;
But I let them pass by,
And turn round my eye,
Then look at Bob's tippy bootees!

"View little Jack Spratt,
With his head from cravat
Peeping out like a mouse from a cheese,
With shoes on his toes,
And a handful of bows,
Then look at Bob's tippy bootees!

"Then there's Sir Thomas Tape,
With a coat and a cape
Like blankets of wild Cherokees;
Whether quiet or moving,
He looks like a sloven,
Near Bob with his tippy bootees.

"With such a dear lad
I ne'er could be sad,
Should we wander o'er mountains or seas;
And happen what might,
I'd still find delight
In my Bob with his tippy bootees!"

The Philadelphians, in all times, seem to have been fond of *badinage*. We have given in this chapter many squibs and witty criticisms published in the newspapers at different times during the period of which we treat. We will close these quotations with some amusing extracts from Washington Irving's "Stranger in Philadelphia," published in *Salmagundi*, in 1807. Under the guise of pleasant banter, they express a very flattering opinion of Philadelphia society. The interest to be found in the perusal of these extracts will be our excuse for their length. At the time of his visit Irving was a young man, fond of society, and who saw the best there was in Philadelphia.

He pays his compliments to the ladies in this fashion,—

"The Philadelphia ladies are, some of them, beautiful; some of them tolerably good-looking; and some of them, to say the truth, are not at all handsome. They are, however, very agreeable in general, except those who are reckoned witty, who, if I might be allowed to speak my mind, are very disagreeable, particularly to young gentlemen who are traveling for information. Being fond of tea-parties, they are a little given to criticism, but are in general remarkably discreet and very industrious, as I have been assured by some of my friends."

In another place he compares their ways to those of the New York ladies, and the comparison is not to the advantage of the latter. He says,—

"The amusements of the Philadelphians are dancing, punning, tea-parties, and theatrical exhibitions. In the first they are far inferior to the young people of New York, owing to the misfortune of their mostly preferring to idle away the time in the cultivation of the head instead of the heels. It is a melancholy fact that an infinite number of young ladies in Philadelphia, whose minds are elegantly accomplished in literature, have sacrificed to the attainment of such trifling acquisitions the pigeon-wing, the waltz, the Cossack dance, and other matters of equal importance. On the other hand, they excel the New Yorkers in punning, and in the management of tea-parties. In New York you never

hear, except from some young gentleman just returned from a visit to Philadelphia, a single attempt at punning. And at a tea-party the ladies in general are disposed close together, like a setting of jewels or pearls round a locket, in all the majesty of good behavior; and if a gentleman wishes to have a conversation with one of them about the backwardness of the spring, the improvements in the theatre, or the merits of his horse, he is obliged to march up in the face of such volleys of eye-shots, such a formidable artillery of glances, that if he escapes annihilation he should cry out 'A miracle!' and never encounter such dangers again. I remember to have once heard a very valiant British officer, who had served with credit for some years in the train-bands, declare, with a veteran oath, that sooner than encounter such a deadly peril he would fight his way clear through a London mob, though he were pelted with brickbats all the time! Some ladies who were present at this declaration of the gallant officer were inclined to consider it a great compliment, until one more knowing than the rest declared, with a little piece of a sneer, that they were very much obliged to him for likening the company to a London mob, and their glances to brickbats! The officer looked blue, turned on his heel, made a fine retreat, and went home, with a determination to quiz the American ladies as soon as he got to London."

He falls in with the wags, and being doubtless recognized as one of the brotherhood, is greeted with broadsides of wit, which inspires the following lament:

"Oh, my friend, how dreadfully I have been maltreated in this most facetious city! The good folk of this place have a most wicked determination of being all thought wits and *beaux esprits*; and they are not content with being thought so by themselves, but they insist that everybody else should be of the same opinion, and it has produced the most violent attack of puns upon my nervous system. The Philadelphians do absolutely 'live, move, and have a being' entirely upon puns, and their wits are absolutely cut up into sixpenny-bits, and dealt out in small change. I cannot speak two sentences but that I see a pun gathering in the faces of my hearers. I absolutely shudder with horror. Think what miseries I suffer, me to whom a pun is abomination! Is there anything in the whole volume of the 'miseries of human life' to equal it? I experienced the first attack of forlorn wit on entering Philadelphia. It was equal to a twinge of the gout or a stitch in the side. I found it was repeated at every step. I could not turn a corner but that a pun was hurled at my head; till, to complete my annoyance, two young devils of punsters, who began just to crow in the art like young bantams, penned me up in a corner at a tea-party, and did so be-pun me that I was reduced to absolute stupidity. I hastened home prodigiously indisposed, took to my bed, and was only roused therefrom by the sound of the breakfast-bell."

One more extract, too good to be lost. Poor Irving is button-held by a mad punster, and compelled to listen to a series of insane *jeux d'esprit*. He tells the story in such a way as to make the reader share his agony. Here it is:

"On my way from the stage-office to Renshaw's I was accosted by a good-looking young gentleman from New Jersey who had caught the infection. He took me by the button, and informed me of a contest that had lately taken place between a tailor and a shoemaker about,—I forget what. Snip was pronounced a great fellow of *capability*,—a man of gentlemanly *habits*, who would doubtless *suit* everybody. The shoemaker *bristled* up at this, and *waxed* exceeding wroth,—swore the tailor was but a *half-souled* fellow, and that it was easy to *shew* he was never *cut out* for a gentleman. The *choler* of the tailor was up in an instant. He swore by his *thimble* that he would never *pocket* such an insult, but would *baste* any man who dared to repeat it. Honest Crispin was now worked up to his proper *pitch*, and was determined to yield the tailor no quarters; he vowed he would lose his *all* but what he would gain his *ends*. He resolutely held out to the *last*; and, on his threatening to *back-strap* his adversary, the tailor was obliged to *sheer* off,—declaring, at the same time, that he would have him *bound over*. The young gentleman, having finished his detail, gave a most obstreperous laugh, and hurried off to tell his story to somebody else. '*Licentia punica*,' as Horace observes. It did my business. I went home, took to my bed, and was two days confined with this singular complaint."

The contest between the colonies and the mother-country had attracted the attention of the world, and many distinguished travelers visited the United States when peace was restored. We have quoted extensively from the impressions of travel published by most of them. The greater number of these travelers, especially in the early period, were Frenchmen,—a fact easily accounted for by the friendly relations which existed between the people of the two countries since the time when the allied forces of France and the United States had fought the battles of the Revolution.

François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, member of the French Academy and "maréchal des camps" in the armies of the king of France, came to this country in 1780, with the rank of major-general, under Count de Rochambeau. He remained in this country about three years, and won the good opinion of the Philadelphians during his sojourn in Philadelphia in 1782. Of the estimation in which he was held by Washington, one may judge from the latter's playful letter congratulating the marquis on his marriage, which had taken place in Paris, in 1787, but a short time before his death. "I was," wrote Washington, "not less delighted than surprised to meet the plain American words, 'my wife.' A wife! well, my dear Marquis, I can scarcely refrain from smiling to find you caught at last. I saw by the eulogium you often made on the happiness of domestic life in America, that you had swallowed the bait, and that you would as surely be taken, one day or another, as that you were a philosopher and a soldier. So your day has at length come. I am glad of it, with all my heart. It is quite good enough for you. Now you are well served for coming to fight in favor of the American rebels, all the way across the Atlantic Ocean, by catching that terrible contagion, domestic felicity, which, like the smallpox or the plague, a man can only have once in his life, because it commonly lasts him (at least with us in America,—I know not how you manage these matters in France) for his whole lifetime. And yet, after all, the worst wish which I can find it in my heart to make against Madame de Chastellux and yourself is, that you may neither of you ever get the better of this same domestic felicity during the entire course of your mortal existence. If so wonderful an event should have occasioned me, my dear Marquis, to write in a strange style, you will understand me as clearly as if I had said, what, in plain English, is the simple truth, 'Do me the justice to believe that I take a heartfelt interest in whatever concerns your happiness.' And, in this view, I sincerely congratulate you on your auspicious matrimonial connection." Chastellux, on his return to France, published the following works: "Voyage dans l'Amérique septentrionale dans les Années 1780, '81, '82," "Discours sur les Avantages et Désavantages qui résultent pour l'Europe de la Découverte de l'Amérique," "Discours en Vers adressés aux Officiers et Soldats des différentes Armées américaines, traduit de l'Anglais de David Humphreys," "De la Félicité publique."

The young, handsome, and intelligent Brissot de Warville[1] came to Philadelphia in 1788–89. He was a quick observer, and Washington said of him that "he was intelligent, discreet, and disposed to receive favorable impressions of America." Brissot published his impressions in "Nouveau Voyage dans les États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale." He also published at Philadelphia and Geneva "Examen du Voyage du Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique septentrionale," "Mémoire sur les Noirs de l'Amérique septentrionale lu à l'Assemblée de la Société des Amis des Noirs," and "De la France et des États-Unis, ou de l'Importance de la Révolution de l'Amérique pour le Bonheur de la France." Brissot was more critical than Chastellux, and censured some of the statements of the latter very severely.

The visit of François Auguste de Chateaubriand has already been mentioned in these pages. He gave up his contemplated expedition to the North Pole, but he traveled extensively through this country, visited the West and Northwest, and the South as far as Florida, and lived some time among the Indians on the borders of the great lakes. He returned to France at the end of 1792, ignorant of the great events that had taken place during his long absence in the wilds of America. He saw his nearest relatives perish by the guillotine, and he remained alone the last of a noble race. These horrors cast a shadow over his whole life. He never was a happy man, though he acquired undying fame as a poet, author, and statesman. His visit to America inspired him to write "The Natchez," "Atala," "René," and the "Voyage en Amérique," already quoted. It was also in the forests of the New World that he conceived his great work, "The Genius of Christianity," a book which did more to save France from the gross materialism of the revolutionists than anything that has been written on the subject. Chateaubriand had hoped to find a second Washington in Bonaparte. Disappointed in this hope, he renounced the liberal doctrines of his youth.

Count Adriani, of Milan, visited the United States in 1790, being the bearer of an ode addressed to Washington by Alfieri. He published some account of his travels, which was considered abusive.

Several exiles came from France during the reign of the "terrorists." The Viscount de Noailles, a brother-in-law of Lafayette and a soldier of the Revolutionary war, where he had held an officer's commission under Count de Rochambeau, came back, a fugitive, in 1793. Like many other noblemen of the time, prompted by the liberal principles which had led him to offer his sword to the cause of freedom in America, he had sided with the people in 1789, but when he saw Louis XVI. a prisoner and doomed to the guillotine, he went to England and thence came to Philadelphia, where he remained until better times permitted him to return to his native land. He at one time projected a settlement of the Susquehanna, but abandoned it for want of funds. He was very poor while in America, and during the latter portion of his stay in the city he occupied, gratuitously, the third story of a house upon the grounds of William Bingham, situate on Fourth Street, near Spruce, with an entrance from the street.

William Cobbett, the politician, Dr. Joseph Priestley, a man of science and a rationalistic philosopher, together with Dr. Thomas Cooper, a natural philosopher and chemist, came to the United States in 1794. Cobbett settled in Philadelphia, where he pitched into politics with such freedom that six or seven years' experience of America terminated his career. Priestley lectured and wrote, but finally settled at Northumberland, on the Susquehanna, together with his son, Dr. Cooper being a neighbor.

The celebrated diplomatist Charles Maurice, Prince

[1] The life and sad ending of this gifted and well-meaning man deserve more than a passing notice. Jean Pierre Brissot was what would be styled to-day "a self-made man." The son of a tavern-keeper of Chartres, he had received a good education. He left college full of admiration for the ancient Romans of the republic, and thirsting for fame. But his obscure plebeian name was an obstacle to success. His father had purchased a small estate called Ouarville; he assumed this name, changing the "Ou" into the W, so little used in France then, and came to Paris as Brissot de Warville. His undoubted talent and genial manner, his liberal views fearlessly expressed, soon made him friends among the philosophers of the school of Voltaire and Rousseau, who were unconsciously preparing the French Revolution. He published several pamphlets on the state of the kingdom, which led to his being imprisoned in the Bastille. He was released after a few months' confinement, through the influence of the Duke d'Orleans, and soon thereafter went to England, it is said, on a secret mission. It was after this he came to America. The political agitation which preceded the Revolution of 1789 hastened his return to France. He appeared in Paris in the garb of a Quaker, and, no sooner arrived, took an active part in public affairs. He published several pamphlets, and started the journal "Le Patriote Français," which soon commanded great influence. He was elected a deputy to the Legislative Assembly, and appointed member of the committee on foreign relations. It was owing to Brissot's report, as president of this committee, that Louis XVI. was obliged to declare war against the Emperor of Germany, April 20, 1792. On the 1st of February, 1793, he urged and obtained a declaration of war against England and Holland. One of the leaders of the Girondins, he had his own followers, known by the name of *Brissotins*. His influence excited the jealousy of Robespierre, who denounced him as a traitor for having drawn the country into war, the costs and sufferings of which would be borne by the people. The defeat of the Girondins' party, on the 31st of May, ruined Brissot's prospects, and put his life in danger. Orders for his arrest, and that of several influential "Brissotins," had already been issued by the terrible *Comité*, the passive instrument of Robespierre's vengeance. Brissot attempted to seek an asylum of safety in Switzerland, and left Paris in disguise, with the passport of a Swiss merchant. On the way he was recognized, and arrested, and brought back to Paris, where the guillotine ended his checkered life, Oct. 31, 1793. Brissot was an honest man, and a sincere republican, with no mean abilities. In addition to the books already quoted, which all relate to America, he published the following important works: "Bibliothèque philosophique sur les Lois criminelles," 1782–86, 10 vols. 8vo; "De la Vérité, ou Méditations sur les Moyens de parvenir à la Vérité de toutes les Connaissances humaines," 1782, 8vo; "Tableau de la Situation des Anglais dans les Indes orientales," 1784, 8vo; "Lettres politiques sur l'Histoire d'Angleterre," 1786, 2 vols. 8vo; and many political pamphlets on French affairs. Such is the work of the man in whom Sullivan saw only "a brisk little Frenchman." Returning to France with his republican theories considerably modified by what he had seen and observed in the United States, Brissot wished France to have a republic modeled upon the one he had just left, and which he admired sincerely. The Reign of Terror ended his dream, as it has that of many sincere republicans.

de Talleyrand Périgord, Bishop of Autun, came to Philadelphia. A nobleman and a priest, he had been one of the most active supporters of the French Revolution. Still, he was not of that advanced class of republicans who advocated the guillotine as the mainstay of liberty, and, after the fall of Louis XVI., he fell into discredit and thought it safe to leave France. He sought a refuge in England, but the government of that country was in little sympathy with renegades and revolutionists, and Talleyrand was given twenty-four hours' notice to leave British soil. It was then he came to America. Here he entered into important mercantile speculations, made money, and took out papers of naturalization. He returned to France, however, after the end of the Reign of Terror, and acquired the unenviable name of the most cunning and unscrupulous diplomatist in Europe. The celebrated axiom attributed to him, "Speech was given to man to enable him to disguise his thoughts," gives the key to his character. He served alternately Napoleon and the Bourbons, and betrayed them in turn. Despised, yet feared, employed for his undoubted talent at a time when his craftiness made him the head of European diplomacy, he lived until 1838. He was a great wit, and his *bon mots* are often quoted. Talleyrand, although he had once enjoyed the title and privileges of an American citizen, was not friendly to the United States, and often made American society the subject of his mockery.[1]

The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt came to Philadelphia about the close of the year 1794, and remained there about five months. He also was an exile, and had lived fifteen months in England before coming to the United States. A nobleman of ancient lineage and liberal views, he brought with him many letters of introduction, and was at once received in the best society in Philadelphia. He was particularly intimate with the families of Gen. Henry Knox and Judge Chew. On his return to France he published a work on "The Prisons of Philadelphia," and his "Voyage dans les États-Unis," in eight volumes. He was a close observer, and his study of American society and institutions is remarkable for the impartiality of the writer.

Alexander Baring, son of Sir Francis Baring, baronet and merchant, afterward banker, was sent to the United States, when he attained the age of manhood, to acquire a knowledge of the commercial relations between Great Britain and America. While here he moved in the best society, and he became acquainted with Anne Louisa, daughter of William Bingham, and married her. While residing in Philadelphia, his son, William Bingham Baring, was born. The father afterward became, in England, banker for the United States. During the war of 1812 this firm, without instructions from the United States, paid regularly the interest on the American debt owing in Great Britain, although without remittances. Mr. Baring afterward became Lord Ashburton, and in 1842 came to the United States once more as special ambassador from Great Britain, during which time was negotiated the great Ashburton-Webster treaty in relation to the northeastern boundary. Lord Ashburton died in 1848.

George Washington Lafayette, son of the Marquis,

[1] After his return to Paris Talleyrand lived with a beautiful widow named Mrs. Grandt, who was the most ignorant and stupid creature to be found. To please the first consul, who frowned down scandalous immorality among the officers of the government, he married this woman as soon as he was relieved of his priestly vows by a brief of the Pope, in 1801–2. Talleyrand liked to give dinners, and madame's *naïvetés* usually kept him in hot water on such occasions. The celebrated traveler, Denon, having returned from his voyages, was lionized by Parisian society, and Talleyrand, as a matter of course, wished to entertain him. Full of misgivings, the prince had a little precautionary talk at breakfast with his beautiful companion. "My dear," said he, "Mr. Denon, the famous voyager, will dine with us to-day. He will sit on your right; try to say something agreeable to him. His book of travels had just been published; send for it and read it to-day. You will find it very entertaining, for Mr. Denon has visited many strange countries and met with thrilling adventures: he has been shipwrecked, has lived among the savages. You can lead him to talk of these adventures; nothing pleases a traveler more than to speak of his travels." And Talleyrand went away rejoicing in his happy forethought. Poor madame was anxious to please her lord; she was aware that he had more than once blushed at her blunders. Wasn't it kind of him to suggest a way out of her embarrassment? She went immediately to the bookseller's; she would get the book herself. Alas! on entering the store she had entirely forgotten the traveler's name. "It is a book full of adventures," she explained to the shopman; "there is something in it about shipwrecks and savages and strange things seen in wild countries. I can't recollect the man's name, but I know it ends in *on*. Why, you must know what I mean; everybody reads this book!" "Ah! exclaimed the bookseller, after thinking a moment, "I know what madame wants. Here is the book; I have sold ever so many copies of it. Madame will find it very interesting." The gratified lady seized her prize, drove home, and shut herself up with the precious volume. When she came down to meet her guests she was radiant with smiles, and she gave her husband a reassuring look of intelligence. During the early part of a dinner-party there is generally little conversation, the guests are too much absorbed by the process of mastication. But madame could not wait; she was brimming over with recently acquired information; she had prepared her phrase of attack, and was afraid she might forget it. Amid the general silence her clear, silvery voice was heard addressing the following sympathetic remark to her right-hand neighbor: "Ah! monsieur, what must have been your grief when you saw your faithful Friday die, leaving you alone once more on your island?" Denon looked aghast at her; every head was turned toward that end of the table, while at the other end the prince, his usually sallow face red with mortification, looked at his wife with an expression which would have terrified the poor lady had she seen it; but she was looking at Denon, and repeating her pathetic ejaculations about "that poor man Friday." A light dawned on the mind of the great traveler; he had read De Foe's charming book, which had recently been translated in French. Madame had mistaken him for "Robinson,"—the French seldom use the surname "Crusoe," but designate the lonely inhabitant of the deserted isle by the simple cognomen "Robinson." Such was, indeed, the fact; madame had devoured the book as the narrative of real adventures, of which she was to meet the interesting hero. Denon was a kind man. He readily understood the simple creature at his side, and instead of chaffing her he told her many pleasant little stories of his own experience, not so thrilling, he said, as the adventures of that much more celebrated traveler for whom she had done him the honor to mistake him. These two chatted away like a pair of friends the whole evening. Madame thought Robinson-Denon the most pleasant man she had ever met. But Talleyrand vowed *in petto* that he would never again presume to suggest beforehand a subject of conversation for madame. The story was too good to be lost; it soon went the rounds of the Parisian *salons*, and was declared to be the best of Madame Grandt's many blunders.

when the latter was taken prisoner by the Austrians, came to Philadelphia with his tutor, M. Frestell. Washington was deeply moved by the misfortunes of his friend and companion in arms, but he would not, in the then condition of political affairs, allow the son to be brought too prominently before the public. The youth continued quietly his studies, the President seeing that he lacked nothing. But when Washington ceased to be the President of the United States, he was no longer hindered by reasons of state from showing his affection for the son of Lafayette. He took the young man with him to Mount Vernon, and lavished upon him, until his departure for France, all the attentions and care of a loving father.

"Misfortune makes strange bed-fellows," says the proverb. Philadelphia, in those days, gave shelter to Frenchmen of various conditions of life, and whose future was to show still greater disparity. In the same year, 1796, there arrived a scion of royal blood, the young Duke of Orleans, who, thirty-four years later, was to be known as "Louis Philippe 1er Roi des Français." His father, "Philippe Égalité," had dishonored himself, adopting the part of a fierce Jacobin, and casting the vilest insinuations on the fair name of his own mother. Then destroyed by the very wretches whose favor he had courted, he had perished by the guillotine. The eldest of three sons, young Louis Philippe, had joined the French army, and sought to retrieve the paternal disgrace by deeds of valor; but his services did not shield him from persecution. Exile was his reward. He went to Switzerland, where he taught school. Gouverneur Morris induced him to go to the United States, and even gave him letters of credit on New York bankers; but the young prince possessed the true dignity of misfortune, and would not avail himself of Mr. Morris' generosity. In Philadelphia he was known to be in very straitened circumstances, but he moved in the best society and was universally respected. He became intimate with Mr. William Bingham's family, and, smitten with the charms of one of the daughters, made her an offer of marriage. The prudent father declined the royal alliance: "Should you ever be restored to your hereditary position," he said, "you will be too great a match for her; if not, she is too great a match for you." Thus, a Philadelphia belle narrowly escaped ascending the throne of France, or, perhaps, giving the world another edition of the Patterson-Bonaparte case.

In 1797 the duke's brothers, Duke de Montpensier and Count de Beaujolais, joined him in Philadelphia. It seems that they engaged in business, for the City Directory for 1798 has on its register, "D'Orleans, Messrs., merchants, near No. 100 South Front." A short time after this they left Philadelphia. The year before they had done what was considered a hazardous undertaking, viz., making a tour through the West and South on horseback, and attended by a single servant. Louis Philippe, after he became king, adverted freely to his days of exile. He startled a foreign ambassador very much one day by beginning a remark with the words, "When I was a schoolmaster." He used to say that he was the first king who had "cleaned his own shoes."

Constantin François Chasseboeuf, Count De Volney, French author and free-thinker, exiled from France after confinement by Robespierre, came to the United States in 1795, and remained in the country three years. Before his arrival he had published at Geneva his celebrated work, "Les Ruines, ou Medidations sur les Revolutions des Empires." Stuart painted his portrait while he was in Philadelphia. Samuel Breck said,—

"Volney I knew well. (Note that I was upward of twenty-five years old in those days.) He was a man, as I have said elsewhere, of proud spirit and sour temper, jealous of the least appearance of slight, presuming much on his celebrity as a writer, and who judged us in terms of bitterness and folly. He had the arrogance to assert that the talents of Washington would not have raised him above the rank of a colonel in the French service. He pronounced as flippantly upon the spirit of our people, which he did not at all understand, as he did upon the qualifications of Washington. Happening to be in conversation one evening with him, in a richly-furnished room, when the news arrived of the Algerines having declared war, he pointed to the silk curtains, and remarked to me that since we had taken to decorate our houses with the rich trappings of European luxury, we must submit to any foe who chose to attack us, and that the Moors had nothing to do but to sail into our harbors and put us under contribution, adding that the revolutionary courage of the people had become enervated by fine-papered parlors and satin chairs. This is the way we were judged by nearly every superficial, prejudiced foreigner."

In the year 1796 there came to Philadelphia Dr. Eric Bollman, who had acquired some celebrity by his bold but unsuccessful attempt to liberate Gen. Lafayette from an Austrian prison in 1795. The name of Lafayette, ever dear to the Americans, insured the doctor a hearty welcome, but he does not seem to have created a very favorable impression here. John Adams, in a letter to his daughter, expressed the following severe opinion of the stranger: "With an extravagant character for knowledge and capacity, he appears to be an adventurer with little judgment or solicitude."

Hamilton thought more favorably of Dr. Bollman. He wrote of him to Washington, "He appears to have been induced to think that he attempted a service which would strongly recommend him to the favor of the people of this country; and, as a consequence, he hopes for some civil employment under our government. He seems to be a man of education, speaks several languages, converses sensibly, is of polite manners, and, I dare say, has the material of future advancement."

Bollman remained in the United States for many years.

Thaddeus Kosciusko, another of those gallant foreigners who had fought for American independence, returned to this country in 1797. The life of this celebrated Polish patriot since the Revolutionary war had been most eventful. Taking an active part in the last struggle of Poland for liberty, between

1789 and 1794, he was Dictator of that unfortunate country when he fell, covered with wounds, at the battle of Maciejowice. He was taken prisoner, and remained two years a captive. Congress had given him a pension and added a grant of land. Kosciusko's character was without blemish; his bravery in the field and skill as an engineer had won him distinction in the American army. De Liancourt speaks highly of him in his book on the United States.

With Kosciusko came another Polish patriot, who had been his companion in arms and in captivity, the poet Julian Ursin Niemciewicz. He had been a deputy of the Diet of Lithuania, where the fervor of his eloquence fired all hearts. Niemciewicz was a very amiable man as well as a gifted poet. He won the heart of an American lady, married her, and lived several years in the United States.

André Michaux and his son, François André, both eminent French botanists, visited Philadelphia in 1796. François André Michaux came again, alone, in 1802, commissioned by the French government to examine the natural productions of the Western States. He made a third visit in 1806. Michaux, the younger, acquired great fame as a botanist. Besides his works upon forest trees, in which he speaks of America, he published "A Journey to the West of the Allegheny Mountains," in which appear several notices of Philadelphia. The book was originally published at London, in 1805.

France, naturally, since she was the ally of the revolted colonies, was the first power which sent a representative to the United States. Her first ambassador, Monsieur Gerard, was a polished gentleman, of excellent manners and much ability. He made many friends in Philadelphia, although he did not remain very long here. Washington held him in great esteem. Watson relates, upon the authority of Col. McLane, who was among the guests, that Monsieur Gerard gave once an elegant dinner to about one hundred French and American officers, and while they were dining there arose a violent thunder-storm. The lightning struck the house and melted all the silver spoons and other plate upon the table. One of the French officers was killed and all the company stunned by the fearful shock.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne succeeded Monsieur Gerard. He occupied Carpenter's mansion, and it was there he gave the entertainment in honor of the birth of the Dauphin of France, already mentioned. It was for the time a scene of magnificence unprecedented. "The whole gardens were gorgeously illuminated, and the guests were seen by the crowd from the street under an illuminated arcade of fanciful construction and scenery." The *fête* ended with a splendid display of fire-works. De la Luzerne had the honor of presenting to Congress the pictures of Louis XVI. and his unfortunate consort, Marie Antoinette, sent by the king in testimonial of friendship. These portraits were placed in the large committee-room of the Senate. They were subsequently taken to Washington City when the seat of government was removed there, and were burned by the English in the war of 1812.

When France ceased to support a full minister to the United States, M. Barbé de Marbois, who had come with De la Luzerne as his secretary of legation, took charge of the office. When Congress removed to New York M. de Marbois went to that city, and a short time after married a daughter of William Moore, at one time president of Pennsylvania. She was a sister of Col. Thomas Lloyd Moore. Appointed *intendant* of Hispaniola in 1785, M. de Marbois left New York and was succeeded as *chargé d'affaires* by Louis William Otto. The latter was superseded by the Marquis de Moustier in 1787, but resumed the office after the recall of the marquis, and was holding it when Congress returned to Philadelphia in 1790. M. de la Forrest was vice-consul-general. Upon the advent of the Robespierre faction to power, the troublesome citizen Genet arrived as ambassador. He behaved with so little prudence, or indeed propriety, that Washington demanded his recall, and citizen Fauchet was sent in his place. He lived at the corner of Twelfth and High Streets. M. de la Forrest again filled the office of vice-consul, which had been given to citizen Dupont during Genet's short term. Citizen Adet in 1795, and citizen Letombe in 1797, were the next consul-generals. The difficulties between the United States and France caused the withdrawal of the latter's representative until friendly relations were resumed.

The country next earliest represented was Spain. Her first ambassador, Don Juan de Mirailles, died during the Revolution. Don Joseph de Viar came as *chargé d'affaires* in 1790. In 1793 this gentleman and Don José de Jaudennes were commissioners from Spain. Jaudennes was subsequently superseded by Don Carlos Martinez, Marques de Yrujo. Washington wrote to Pickering in relation to the young marquis in 1796: "He is a young man, very free and easy in his manners, professes to be well disposed toward the United States, and, as far as judgment can be formed on slight acquaintance, appears to be well informed."

De Yrujo, it has been mentioned elsewhere, married Miss Sally McKean. A son, afterward Marquis of Soto Mayer, was born in Philadelphia. De Yrujo in 1797–98 resided at No. 315 High Street. This was on the north side of the street, between Eighth and Ninth. The house was occupied in 1795 by Pierce Butler, senator from South Carolina. Don Joseph Ignatius de Viar continued to discharge the duties of commissioner or consul-general, and lived during the greater part of this time at the northwestern corner of Fourth and Prune Streets.

The Chevalier de Freire came to Philadelphia as resident minister from Portugal in 1790. He was very wealthy, and his wife, who dressed with much

elegance, used to appear blazing with diamonds on all great occasions. She was an amiable woman, and became quite intimate with Mrs. Washington. After Franklin's death De Freire rented his house in Franklin Court. He was a resident of Philadelphia for more than ten years. Ignatius Palyart, No. 208 South Second Street, was consul-general of Portugal.

The United Netherlands were represented in 1790–91 by Francis P. Van Berckel, who was accredited to the American government while it was yet in New York. He resided in 1791 at No. 276 High Street, which was on the south side, between Eighth and Ninth. In 1796 his residence is put in the Directory at No. 258 High Street. He was succeeded in 1796–97 by R. G. Van Polanen, who was minister resident. The latter remained until after 1800. During the greater portion of this time the consul-general from the United Provinces was John H. Christopher Heineken, at No. 64 North Third Street.

Charles Helsted was accredited consul-general from Sweden in 1791. He was succeeded by Richard Soderstrom, who died in Philadelphia, after many years' residence. In 1800 he was living in Walnut Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets.

The earliest representative of Prussia at Philadelphia was John Godfrey Paleske. In 1794 he lived on Chestnut Street, between Tenth and Eleventh.

In 1790–91 Great Britain accredited Sir John Temple as her consul-general. Dr. Phineas Bond was her consul for Philadelphia. Dr. Bond was a native Philadelphian, a brother of Dr. Thomas Bond. He had always been a Tory, was arrested in 1777, and signed the parole. The government of Great Britain rewarded his loyalty in 1786 by appointing him British consul for the Middle States. This appointment led to much heated debate in Congress. It made Dr. Bond consul and "commissioner for commercial affairs," and the latter title was held to confer some of the powers of a minister. He was confirmed as consul only. He was living in Philadelphia at the time of the affair between the "Chesapeake" and the "Little Belt." On that occasion a crowd of people marched past Dr. Bond's house and played "The Rogue's March." He remained in the city until hostilities commenced between Great Britain and the United States, in 1812, when he was compelled, after a life of many years in his native city, to retire in his old age to England, where he died.

The first minister from Great Britain to the United States was George Hammond, who came here in 1793. He lived three years in Philadelphia, during which time he courted and married one of the daughters of Andrew Allen. He was succeeded, in 1796, by Robert Liston, who remained in Philadelphia until the removal of the seat of government. Mr. Liston was accompanied to Washington by his secretary of legation, Edward Thornton, father of Sir Edward Thornton, British minister to the United States in 1880, and for some years before. Liston was succeeded as minister plenipotentiary in 1803 at Washington by Anthony Merry, who gave way, in 1806, to David M. Erskine. After the close of the war Charles Bagot was British minister from 1815 for five or six years. He gave way to Stratford Canning.

Russia was represented in 1809 by Andrew Daschkoff, consul-general and *chargé d'affaires*. He became minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary in 1813, and continued so until 1819. During the war of 1812 he offered the mediation of the emperor of Russia between the governments of the United States and Great Britain. Mr. Daschkoff was exceedingly popular in society. When he left the city in May, 1819, to return to his native country, Poulson's *Advertiser*, in noticing his departure, said that Mr. Daschkoff and his lady would "long be remembered for the elegant hospitality which has distinguished their residence in this city. Rarely, if ever, has a new foreigner attracted so large a share of admiration and affection as Madame de Daschkoff." She was represented to be a lady possessing talents of superior order, which were cultivated to perfection, and she was equally distinguished for her personal accomplishments and the qualities of her heart. In regard to Mr. Daschkoff, it was said "his own house has been on the most friendly and liberal establishment, and Americans were always received there with peculiar kindness and attention, as many can testify who have passed cheerful and happy hours under his roof."

Mr. Daschkoff's successor was Pierre de Poletica, who had probably been his assistant, for, upon Mr. de Poletica's departure for Europe, in 1822, a public dinner was given to him in Philadelphia, one of the reasons for which was stated to be because he had "lived so long and had been so highly esteemed among us."

Besides those already mentioned, several members of the diplomatic corps married in Philadelphia, testifying thus to the superior charms of our girls and their own good taste. Richard Soderstrom, consul-general of Sweden, who lived thirty-two years in America, spent nearly the whole of that period in Philadelphia, where he married and left children. He died in 1815, and was buried in the old Swedish churchyard, in Southwark. Baron de Kantzow was appointed minister resident of Sweden in 1814. Bernard Dahlgren was Swedish vice-consul. In 1808 he was married to Miss Martha Rowan, of Philadelphia. He never returned to Europe. He was the ancestor of Admiral John A. Dahlgren, of the United States navy, and of Col. Ulrich Dahlgren, who was killed during an attempted raid on Richmond in 1864.

P. Pederson, *chargé d'affaires* for Denmark in 1805, was minister resident in 1816, and lived in Philadelphia until 1825. He married a lady of Philadelphia, who died in Europe while on a visit there in 1815. In May, 1820, Mr. Pederson was again married, by Bishop White, to Miss Annie

Caroline, eldest daughter of William Langdon Smith, of South Carolina.

The new South American republic of Columbia was represented by Don Manuel Torres, minister plenipotentiary, who made West Philadelphia his residence. He died at Hamiltonville in July, 1822, and was honored with a military funeral, on which occasion the Washington Grays and some of the companies of the Washington Guards turned out.

In addition to the persons in the diplomatic service, there were, at the close of the last century and the beginning of the present, other foreign residents of some distinction. Philadelphia was also visited during those years by many travelers who were distinguished either for eminence attained in their professions or by reason of their birth. The names of some are of historic interest.

Baron de Brahm (John William Gerard), a German officer of some merit, came to the United States at the end of the century. He had quiet tastes, and, charmed with the peaceful aspect of Germantown, he settled there. He married a member of the Society of Friends. The year of his death is not known, but his widow, Mary de Brahm, died in February, 1806. There was another person of almost similar name,—Andreas Everandus von Braam Honchgust,—who had been the Governor of a Dutch East India island. He bought a place on the Delaware, three miles below Bristol, and erected there a costly mansion, to which he gave the name of China Retreat. In later times it has been known as Bristol College.

Another old soldier, Baron Col. Frederick H. de Weissenfels, a native of Prussia, who had served in his own country, then in the British army, and finally in the Continental army, had settled in Philadelphia. He died there in February, 1806.

In the early part of the century there came to Philadelphia a man who soon attained social distinction, while, strange to say, there hung over his origin and antecedents a veil of mystery, never penetrated even by his most intimate acquaintances. This was Talbot Hamilton, believed by some to be a Scotchman, by others an Englishman, who first came into notice as a teacher in a country school, the academy at Lower Dublin, from which he resigned in 1802, to take charge of a school in Hamilton village. In 1807 he established a private academy for young ladies back of No. 34 Church Alley, which he directed for about ten years. A man of fine education and acknowledged merit, he formed acquaintance with the most cultivated people and moved in the best society. His tastes were artistic, and, having acquired wealth, he accumulated a valuable collection of paintings and a good library. He was a member of the Philosophical Society, of the Athenæum, and of the Academy of Fine Arts. He went abroad in 1820, and died at Naples in April of that year. Upon the opening of his will it was found that he had bequeathed his fine collection of paintings to the Academy of Fine Arts and part of his library to the Athenæum. In noticing his death, Poulson's paper said, "Of his early history nothing is known. In his freest conversation an impenetrable veil was thrown over his early career."

Philadelphia had seen French noblemen, the very flower of that aristocracy which, notwithstanding its many faults, was admired for its chivalrous courage and elegance of manner; she had seen the sincere patriot and the demagogue; she had opened her hospitable doors to a future king of France; she was now to see some members of that Corsican family whose eldest son, himself sitting on the throne of the Bourbons, placed brother after brother on the thrones of the countries conquered by his military genius, frail monuments of an insane ambition, which were destined to crumble into the dust of oblivion long before the young American republic would attain its full growth or the last of Washington's companions pass away from the face of the earth. Jerome, the youngest of the Bonapartes, whom his brother Napoleon had placed in command of a French frigate, came to Philadelphia in 1803, and lodged at the old Indian Queen Hotel, in Fourth Street. He did not remain very long, and, to all appearance, did not make much impression on the Philadelphia belles, although he was a handsome young fellow, with a soft heart and a softer head. He went to Baltimore, where he was more successful, for he there won the heart and hand of Miss Elizabeth Patterson, the fascinating daughter of William Patterson, merchant. The young couple passed through Philadelphia in 1804, on their way to New York, where they were to embark upon Jerome's frigate, "Le Président." The presence of some English cruisers off Sandy Hook making the voyage unsafe, they returned and took passage on the "Philadelphia," bound to Cadiz, Spain; but this vessel meeting with a heavy gale in Delaware Bay, Jerome and his wife were landed at Pilot Town and came back to Philadelphia. They finally returned to Baltimore, and succeeded in sailing from that port in the spring of 1805. It seems as though Miss Patterson's good genius had tried so long to put obstacles to their departure as a warning of the bitter fate which awaited her in Europe. It were idle to recount here the story of the young wife's wrongs, to tell how the weak husband succumbed to Napoleon's stern will, and renounced the wife he had sworn to love and protect. This American girl did not pine and die of a broken heart, neither did she gratify the desire of the omnipotent emperor, and consider herself simple Miss Patterson. She never abdicated her rights, but retained proudly the name of Mrs. Bonaparte. She bore it, unsullied by any act of hers, until her death, at an advanced age, and during her long, lonely life she saw the mighty Napoleon hurled from his imperial throne, his brothers wanderers upon the earth, and himself a prisoner, released only by death. She lived to see the ephemeral restoration of

the Bonaparte dynasty, and her own grandson greeted as a cousin by the third Napoleon. She saw the fall of the second empire and France a republic.

Jerome Bonaparte was a weak, pleasure-loving, dissipated young man, who held his eldest brother in great awe. Napoleon kept him in leading-strings; having made him behave so infamously to his American wife, he rewarded him with the crown of Westphalia,—that is, he made him, as he did others, a nominal king, who was to do the bidding of the emperor of the French. An anecdote of the time will show what sort of a character was young Jerome. He had some boon companions, with whom he often sought relief from the forced dignity of his brother's court. One of these was Pigault-Lebrun, the writer of erotic novels; the other, whose name has escaped our memory, a young poet of the same cloth. The emperor had just told Jerome that he had made him king of Westphalia; the young man, on leaving the imperial presence, like one dazed by a sudden vision of grandeur, met his two friends, and hastened to tell them the great news. "You will cast us aside," said Lebrun. "Never!" cried the new king. "Never! my dear friends! You must come with me; you will be the highest dignitaries of my court. Come, let us go and dine together; we will talk the matter over." The trio stepped into the nearest restaurant, asked for a private room, and ordered a sumptuous feast. By the time the dessert was brought in it had been arranged that Pigault-Lebrun would be lord chancellor, and X, minister of finances of the new kingdom. Then began an animated discussion of the laws and measures to be introduced, and many a bottle of wine was drunk to stimulate the eloquence of the three friends. At last the dinner was over, and the host, made somewhat uneasy by the great consumption of liquids to be charged to these young strangers, came in with his bill. Jerome took out his purse. Alas! it did not contain half the sum required. As to his friends, they respected the tradition, and were, like true authors, absolutely penniless. X, who already felt all the importance of his office, waved his hand grandly to the proprietor of the restaurant, saying, "Have no fear, my good man; I will see that your bill is paid to-morrow." "Hum, I don't know who you are, sir!" "I am the High Treasurer of the Kingdom of Westphalia." "And I, the High Chancellor of Westphalia," chimed in Lebrun, in a husky voice, "indorse the promise of Monsieur the Treasurer." "Indeed," sneered the exasperated creditor, "those are your titles, messieurs! And I suppose that tipsy rogue yonder is the King of Westphalia?" "I am the man," hiccoughed Jerome, who was vainly trying to keep his eyes open. Mine host, no longer doubtful that he had to deal with three swindlers, sent for the police, who marched the three friends to the office of the "commissaire." There, luckily, some one was found who knew Jerome, and the matter was adjusted, but by the next day the emperor knew all the particulars of this adventure. Great was his wrath. He ordered Jerome to depart immediately for his kingdom, and Pigault-Lebrun and X were forbidden from having anything to do with organizing the court of Westphalia.

Another Bonaparte (Joseph, ex-king of Spain) came to Philadelphia some years later, about 1815. He is said to have lived in Capt. John Savage's house, on Ninth Street, and subsequently in John Beale Bordley's house, No. 7 Union Street; but his residence of a permanent character was at Lansdowne, the country-seat of the Binghams, on the west side of the Schuylkill, the grounds of which are now included in Fairmount Park. Samuel Breck records in his diary, under date of April 20, 1816, that he was informed that "the ex-king of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte, had hired Lansdowne House for one year and was already established in the mansion." He must have remained there for more than one year,—probably for two years. Breck records, under date of Sept. 1, 1817, that Julia Rush, daughter of Dr. Benjamin Rush, who afterwards married Henry J. Williams, informed him that she had lately dined at Joseph Bonaparte's. After this he leased John Dunlap's house, at the southeast corner of Market and Twelfth Streets, where he lived until 1825. He had purchased in the mean time some land near Bordentown, N. J., where he built a fine mansion as a summer residence. This place, called "Point Breeze," was tastefully arranged, and the house contained many valuable works of art, statuary, paintings, etc. It was destroyed by fire in 1820. The people in the neighborhood rendered every possible assistance in the effort to save the property, and Mr. Bonaparte afterwards sent a letter of thanks to one of the magistrates of Bordentown, in which he bore grateful testimony to the kindness and honesty of the people, declaring that—

"all the furniture, statues, pictures, money, plate, gold, jewels, linen, books, and, in short, everything that was not consumed, has been most scrupulously delivered into the hands of the people of my house. In the night of the fire, and during the next day, there were brought to me, by laboring men, drawers in which I found the proper quantity of pieces of money, medals of gold, and valuable jewels, which might have been taken with impunity."

Another Frenchman, very little in sympathy with the Bonapartes, made Philadelphia his home in 1805. Gen. Jean Victor Moreaux, banished from France for an alleged participation in the plot of Pichegru and Cadoudal against the life of the first consul, was held to be the greatest general of the French republic next to Bonaparte, and even by many considered his equal. His guilt, stoutly denied by himself, was generally doubted, and his disgrace was attributed to Bonaparte's jealousy of the hero of Rastadt, Etlingen, and Hohenlinden. Soon after his arrival the citizens of Philadelphia gave Gen. Moreau a public dinner. He petitioned the Legislature of Pennsylvania for permission to hold real-estate in the commonwealth. This request, refused at first, was subsequently granted, and Moreau purchased part of the Robert

Morris property at Morrisville, in Bucks County. On the 17th of April, 1811, Gen. Moreau entered his declaration of becoming a citizen of the United States, in the office of the clerk of the Circuit Court at Philadelphia. Whether he became fully naturalized is a matter of doubt, but Gen. Moreau returned to Europe in 1813, upon the invitation of the czar of Russia and the kings of Sweden and Prussia. While standing near the Emperor Alexander, at the battle of Dresden (Aug. 27, 1813) he had both of his legs broken by a cannon-ball from the French batteries. He died five days later. In 1816, Moreau's property in Morrisville was sold for account of his wife and daughter, and it realized fifty-two thousand dollars.

JOHN DUNLAP'S HOUSE.
[From an original drawing.]

About the same year (1805) David Parrish, of Antwerp, established himself in Philadelphia as agent of the Hopes, bankers, to effect a transfer to Europe, under the American flag, of silver which was on deposit in Mexico. He lived in fine style at No. 228 Walnut Street, then at No. 152 Walnut Street, Samson's Row, and finally in the fine house No. 1 York Row, at the southwest corner of Walnut Street and Columbia Avenue, now called Washington Square, which was afterward occupied by Dr. McClellan and Josiah Randall. In the United States he operated through the mercantile houses of Willing and Francis and others. Stephen Girard was at one time correspondent of the Hopes and the Barings.

John Dunlap's house was one of the finest in the city, and had connected with it almost a square of ground, extending from Market to Chestnut Street, and from Eleventh to Twelfth. South of it, on Twelfth Street, were two dwelling-houses, in one of which Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, lived and died. The other was occupied by Paul Busti, merchant. John Dunlap's house was built in 1790, and the roof covered more distinguished residents than almost any other house in the city, as the following list of some of the tenants will show:

1791. Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General of the United States.

1792. Chevalier Jean De Ternant, minister of the French Republic to the United States.

1793. Citizen Edwin Charles Genet, minister of the French Republic to the United States.

1794. Joseph Fanchet, minister of the French Republic to the United States.

1795. M. Adet, minister of the French Republic to the United States.

1797. Capt. John Dunlap.

1815. Baron De Kantzow, minister from Sweden to the United States.

1817. Joseph Bonaparte, Count De Survilliers, ex-king of Spain.

1824. Charles Lucien Bonaparte, prince of Canino and Mussignano, son of Lucien Bonaparte, with his wife, Princess Zenaide Charlotte Julie, daughter of Joseph Bonaparte.

1825. Dr. John Y. Clark, husband of Baroness Lallemand, a niece of Stephen Girard, with that lady. Girard then the owner of the house.

1829. Stephen F. Nidelet.

After the death of Stephen Girard the Dunlap house was torn down and the whole square improved under direction of the Girard Trust.

In 1808, Richard Penn, Lieutenant-Governor before the Revolution, returned from England, whither he had gone at the beginning of the war. He brought with him his son William and his daughter Hannah, and remained a little over a year in Philadelphia, looking after his landed interests. It was during this visit that young William Penn married a beautiful girl, Julia Catherine Balabrega, a native of Philadelphia. Though perfectly respectable, the bride's parents were of a lower station in life than that held by the Penns, and great was the scandal among those who entertained aristocratic prejudices. But William had consulted only his own happiness. He let society declaim about his *mésalliance*, and took his young wife to England, where they lived happily until his death.

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Many travelers visited Philadelphia in the early part of the century, most of whom published their observations. Robert Sutcliff, an English Quaker, who had a brother and a cousin living in Philadelphia, came to examine the resources of the country, and was so well pleased that he went back for his family, and brought them over in 1811. Unfortunately, he died in the same year; but during his first visit he had not been idle, and in the year following his death his manuscripts were published under the title of "Travels in Some Parts of North America in the years 1804–6." Sutcliff was a man of correct judgment and little given to exaggeration; his comments are sensible, and his narrative interesting.

Charles William Jansen published "The Stranger in America" at London, 1807. His observations embrace the period from 1793 to 1806. Jansen, in his title-page, styles himself "Counselor-at-law, late of the State of Rhode Island."

Vincent Nolte, a native of Leghorn, resided some time in Philadelphia, and was connected with David Parrish. He had traveled extensively, and was called "a restless cosmopolite," having resided alternately in Asia, Europe, and America. In his work entitled "Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres," published in 1854, he relates several anecdotes in connection with his residence here.

John Melish published "Travels in the United States of America," in the years 1806–11; "A Description of the United States," in 1816; and "A Statistical View of the United States," in 1822. He was a native of Scotland, and after traveling extensively through this country settled in Philadelphia, where he engaged extensively in the publication of maps and geographical and statistical works. He died in Philadelphia, Dec. 30, 1822.

Felix de Beaujour, for some time consul-general of France in Philadelphia, wrote in French a very important work, illustrated with tables and valuable statements, concerning the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the country. His observations of Philadelphia society are written in a spirit of fairness and impartiality. His book was translated into English, and published in London in 1814, under the title of "Sketch of the United States of America, from 1800 to 1810."

Henry Ker wrote a very fair book, "Travels through the Western Interior of the United States, from the year 1808 to 1816."

F. Cuming published in 1810 "Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country, Down the Ohio," etc., commenced in 1807. Commencing his trip at Philadelphia, he says nothing of the appearance of the town, because, he alleges, "he did not think it worth while to describe the city, which had already been very fully described by others." As, however, he had to cross the Schuylkill by a bridge, he described it pretty fully, as well as the floating bridge at the upper ferry.

Lieut. Francis Hall, of the Fourteenth Light Dragoons, published "Travels in Canada and the United States in 1815–17." His book is entertaining and fair in judgment. The *North American Review* said of him, "He has good sense enough to think that a country is not to be judged by its tavern-keepers and hostlers, and too much good humor to rail at a whole people because he meets with occasional instances of fraud and churlishness."

Of a different temper was Henry Bradshaw Fearon, a London surgeon, who visited this country about 1816–17. He was evidently prepared to criticise and denounce everything he saw. His observations were printed in "A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America." His work created a great deal of irritation in this country. Even the *London Monthly Review* noticed his "tone of ill-temper," while Sydney Smith, who was no lover of America, was compelled to admit in the *Edinburgh Review* that Mr. Fearon was "a little given to exaggerate in his views of vices and prejudices."

John Palmer published in London in 1818 "A Journal of Travels in the United States of North America and in Lower Canada in 1817." Sydney Smith said of him, "He is a plain man, of good sense and slow judgment." Palmer came from Lynn, Norfolk, England.

William Tell Harris wrote "Remarks made during a Tour through the United States of America," a fair book; and Emma Howitt, a lover of nature and a member of the Society of Friends, published some interesting "Selections from Letters written during a Tour through the United States in the Summer and Autumn of 1818–19."

Baron Von Humboldt, the celebrated naturalist and traveler, made a flying visit to Philadelphia, in 1804, with his friends Von Bonpland and Montufar, with whom he had explored South America and the Andes Mountains. The travelers were on their way to Washington, where they called on President Jefferson, who received them with great distinction.

A great excitement in literary circles was created in 1804, by the coming of the poet, Thomas Moore. He had received the appointment of registrar of the British Admiralty in the island of Bermuda, but after taking possession of the office, he found that his duties might be performed by a deputy, and did not require his personal attention. He determined then to return to England by the way of the United States, for to a man of his temperament residence in the quiet island of Bermuda was little better than exile. Moore remained about ten days in Philadelphia, and if he had a poet's weakness for praise and flattery he must have left more than satisfied. The poetical squad connected with the *Portfolio* lauded their foreign *confrère* with so much exaggeration that their praise might have been mistaken for satire. The flattering attentions he received in Philadelphia

were so pleasing to Mr. Moore, that he made this city an exception in the general condemnation of things American. His preconceived opinion of the United States reveals itself in a letter to his mother, dated Baltimore, June 13, 1804, when he says,—

"I shall leave this place for Philadelphia to-morrow or the day after. I shall see there poor Edward Hudson, who, if I am rightly informed, has married the daughter of a very rich bookseller, and is taken into partnership by the father. Surely, surely this country must have cured him of Republicanism!"

In a letter dated Philadelphia, June 16th, he says,—

"I have seen Edward Hudson. The rich bookseller I had heard of is Pat Byrne, whose daughter Hudson has married. They are, I believe, doing well."

THOMAS MOORE.

Some days later he wrote her from Passaic, as follows:

"Among other things, my reception at Philadelphia was extremely flattering. It is the only place in America that can boast of a literary society, and my name had prepossessed them more strongly than I deserved. But their affectionate attentions went far beyond this deference to reputation. I was quite caressed while there, and their anxiety to make me known by introductory letters to all their friends on my way, and two or three little poems of a very flattering kind, which some of their choicest men addressed to me, all went so warmly to my heart that I felt quite a regret in leaving them; and the only place I have seen which I had one wish to pause in was in Philadelphia."

In a letter from Saratoga, dated July 10, 1804, he says that the poem, "Alone by the Schuylkill a wanderer roved," was written after he left Philadelphia, and that he was not very certain as to the situation or course of that river. He says,—

"Dear mother, I know you will be pleased with the little poem I wrote on my way from Philadelphia. It was written very much as a return for the kindness I met with there, but chiefly in allusion to a very charming little woman—Mrs. Hopkinson—who was extremely interested by my songs, and who flattered me with many attentions. You must observe that the Schuylkill is a river which runs by, or (I believe, through), Philadelphia."

Nearly a month had elapsed since Moore's departure from Philadelphia, when the *Portfolio* mentioned his visit, and published "Alone by the Schuylkill a wanderer roved." To the passage in these verses,

"Like eyes that he loved were her eloquent eyes,
Like them did they soften and weep at his song,"

was appended a note in which it was stated that those lines alluded to the circumstance that in a certain company where Moore sang a song, "a lady wept." This lady was Mrs. Joseph Hopkinson, whom Moore mentioned in the letter above quoted.

The *Portfolio* of July 28th contained five poems by Thomas Moore: "When Time, who steals our years away;" "Thy song has taught my heart to feel;" "Dear, in pity do not speak!" "Good-night! good-night! and is it so?" and "When the heart's feeling." On August 11th was published "Loud sung the wind," and "The sorrow long has worn my heart." Everybody went into raptures over these songs, and the *Portfolio* said, by its editor, Dennie, Aug. 25, 1804,—

"The ardent admirers of Mr. Moore cherish a lively hope that the fascinating friend and the sweet poet, after enjoying the hospitality of his countrymen in the British provinces, will shortly return to gladden the social and literary circles on the banks of the Delaware. The editor will greet him with that warmth of welcome which the presence of such a friend inspires; and many an Horatian spirit will exclaim,—

"'Hinc tibi copia
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu,' etc."

A short time after several pieces of poetry in laudation of the "Translator of Anacreon" were published in the *Portfolio*.

But the American public at large, who might have shared the Philadelphians' admiration of Moore, were greatly disappointed when the "Epistles, Odes, and other Poems," by Thomas Moore, were published in 1806. This volume of poetry contained notes to some of the compositions, which referred to the author's experience in the United States in a manner little palatable to the sensitive American mind. Philadelphia, as we have already remarked, escaped his censure. He said, in reference to his visit here,—

"In the society of Mr. Dennie and his friends at Philadelphia I passed the only agreeable moments which my tour through the States afforded me. Mr. Dennie has succeeded in diffusing through this elegant little circle that love for good literature and sound politics which he feels so zealously himself, and which is so very rarely the characteristic of his countrymen. They will not, I trust, accuse me of illiberality for the picture I have given of the ignorance and corruption that surround them. If I did not hate as I ought the rabble to which they are opposed, I could not value as I do the spirit with which they defy it; and in learning from them what Americans can be, I but see with the more indignation what Americans are."

Many were the sharp replies of the American critics, and some very uncomplimentary things were said to and of Mr. Moore. Of a different temper was the ingenious revenge of a critic in the *Literary Magazine*, who published the following choice *morceau* as if written by Moore himself; until the hoax was discovered the Philadelphians were indignant:

"Philadelphia is the most dull, monotonous, uninteresting city on the face of the globe, whose positive advantages it would take a Solomon to discover. The negative catalogue, however, is not so scanty. It wants more churches, markets, and coffee-houses. Its churches, few as they are, want steeples, and their steeples want bells. They also want audiences, and their audiences want zeal. Their choirs want singers, and

their singers want voices. Their markets want space, air, and shelter, and their coffee-houses want room, dignity, and convenience. The streets want variety, being too uniformly wide and straight. Of the only curved streets, one is too narrow and the other is too wide. In the one the houses are too high, and in the other they are too low. Where the houses are dissimilar they are too dissimilar; where they are alike they are too much alike. The city wants more hotels. The few there are are dirty, noisy, dark, and inconvenient. The streets have too many trees, but little shade. Their foot-pavements are smooth where smoothness is least wanted, and their carriage-ways are rough where roughness is most troublesome. In a town of eighty thousand people many must go a mile to market, and as far to church. The best and most busy streets are twice a week crowded for half a day together with horses and carts. The principal street is lined all the year round with wagons, which serve the purpose, while moving, of ships; while standing, of stalls and inns. And the street has all the furniture of a stable-yard.

"Philadelphia has two theatres, one of which is very much in the style of a barn, is placed in the dirty and obscene skirts of the city, and is at least a mile from the habitation of two-thirds of the inhabitants. It is only opened occasionally, on the arrival of a company of mountebanks, jugglers, or rope-dancers. The other is opened half the year, and about one in two hundred of the people frequent it each night of exhibition, which takes place twice or thrice a week.

"Everything in this city is in a state of revolution. The only house which deserved the name of a genteel or fashionable residence was lately turned into a tavern. The house occupied by Washington and Adams in the days of their sovereignty underwent the same fate. A house designed as a palace for the Governor of the State has lately become a college, and the hall of the Revolutionary Congress is now a depository for stuffed birds and beasts.

"The only magnificent buildings are characteristic of the genius of the place: they are *money-shops*, vulgarly called banks. One of them is a mass of hewn marble, disposed most ridiculously into the form of a Grecian-Ionic temple, thus exemplifying the most preposterous incongruity between the form and the purpose. The other is not liable to this objection, but is built, in the interior, of such materials that a random spark would soon reduce the whole into a heap of ruins."

Whether the stranger in Philadelphia, coming with good introduction, mingled with the "best society," and could observe closely the beauty of the women and the manners of the men, or, being of a philosophical and practical turn of mind, gave his attention to facts and figures, and prepared statistics for publication, or being a mere wanderer, unknown and unwelcomed, he passed unnoticed through the crowd, he must have found subjects for amusement, and often for wonderment if he came from a distant clime, in the street noises and sights that greeted his ears and eyes at every step. Early in the morning, in the period between 1825 and 1835, he would be startled by the blasts of a horn, followed by an effort at vocal music, in which he might catch the words,—

"Charcoal by the bushel;
Charcoal by the peck;
Charcoal by the frying-pan,
Or any way you *lek!*"

Looking out he would see "Jimmy Charcoal," the New Jersey man, sitting on his long, narrow wagon, all grimy with the dust of his merchandise, yet looking out with a bright eye for the housemaids, who hastened to the door at the well-known sound of the horn. For wherever stone-coal was used charcoal was the proper thing, and if it was summer the housekeeper preferred the charcoal furnace for outdoor use to the kitchen stove, which heated the house unpleasantly. The charcoal venders always came from New Jersey, and Jimmy was, of them all, the most popular with the maids, because of his engaging manners, pleasant jokes, and musical talent. The blowing of the horn, however, became a nuisance, and was prohibited by an ordinance of the City Councils, which was adopted principally in consequence of Paul Beck's exertions. Charcoal Jimmy persisted in using the proscribed instrument, was arrested and made to pay a fine. He considered himself an aggrieved man: how was he to announce his approach if he did not blow his horn? Suddenly his countenance lighted up; if he did not exclaim "Eureka!" it was because he did not know the meaning of the word, and besides he wisely kept his own counsel. The next day the loud ringing of a bell in the street brought all heads out. Jimmy alternated his ringing with this improved version of his song:

"Charcoal by the bushel;
Charcoal by the peck;
Charcoal by the barrel,
In spite of Paul Beck."

There was no law against bell-ringing, and Jimmy was permitted to use in place his substitute for the "blasted horn."

Scarcely would the charcoal-man's song die away, when the cry "Sweep, oh! Sweep, oh!" reminded the housekeepers that they would have to pay a fine of forty shillings if their chimney took fire in consequence of their neglecting to have it swept once a month. If it did take fire notwithstanding the sweeping, the master-sweep paid the fine for having done his work negligently. The sweeps were generally negroes, upon whose dusky faces the soot did not show. The master-sweep had generally about half a dozen boys for his aids. These little blacks went up the whole length of the chimney, scraping and brushing the soot on their way, and when they reached the top popped out their woolly heads, protected by a coarse cloth cap, and shouted their cry of triumph.

In the street below, as if to remind the sweep of the ablutions he would have to go through and the amount of scrubbing it would take to get the black dust off from his tattered garments and his ebony skin, the soapseller's melodious voice would respond, "Soft-soap! soap! soft-soap!" and the hardy colored man would look up at the grinning little black face, with teeth of dazzling white and merry eyes, peeping from the chimney-top, nod and resume his march, trundling his wheelbarrow upon which stood the heavy barrel of soft-soap. The brick-dust vender, generally an old negro man or woman, followed, carrying, poised upon the head, the small tub of fine-pounded "salmon" brick, used to clean knives and forks and all sorts of brass implements. A frequent companion to the brick-dust seller was the sand-man, whose melancholy voice invited you from afar to "Sand your kitchens! Sand your floors!"

Crossing the path of these humble bread-winners,

and avoiding all contact with charcoal or brick-dust, the trim baker, his head and coat-collar as well powdered with flour as those of a fashionable gentleman, sped on silently, carrying his covered basket of fresh loaves, or, if his business was extensive, pushing his hand-cart from door to door. The baker was a very important man, for housekeepers did not have such kitchen ranges as they have now, and, especially in the summer, they relied on the baker's hot ovens for the baking of their pies and cake and the roasting of their meats and fowls. The charge was so much per dish, and in thickly settled neighborhoods the baker did a good business. The aristocratic milkman rattled past in his light wagon, his bright cedar churns with hoops of shining brass standing by his side. Having dispensed the required quantum of fresh country milk and cream to his customers in time for breakfast, he would drive leisurely home, or perhaps stop at the tavern and refresh himself after his early drive of several miles. There were also milk-stands in the neighborhood of the markets, where people went for their supply of milk, and where, in the summer time, housekeepers going to market could purchase that refreshing preparation, curds-and-whey. After a time ice-cream and lemonade made a formidable competition to the curds. A Frenchman named Roux was the first to sell them in the market.

The muffin-man came at a much later period. He followed his trade in the latter part of the day or in the dusk of the evening. The tinkle of his little bell was a familiar sound at which the expectant housekeeper gave the signal for supper to be put on the table, for now she was sure of a dish of delicious hot muffins. In 1813, P. Metham had his Yorkshire muffin bakery at No. 9 Knight's Court, Cherry Street, near Ninth. He had perfected the arrangement of the long basket in which he carried his muffins, so that they were kept warm to the last. He was very extensively patronized.

"Soap-fat and hickory ashes" was a cry often heard in the alleys upon which the yard-gates and kitchen doors opened. The 'ash man,' who drove an important business when wood was generally burned, thus announced his coming to the servant-girls, who kept for him the ashes and fats from the kitchen, their usual perquisites. They received in exchange a piece or a bar of hard, yellow soap, for no money ever changed hands in these transactions. Some families saved their fats and ashes and manufactured their own soap, an easy operation, made still easier nowadays by the use of concentrated lyes.

Hominy, made from broken maize, the kernel being hulled, was an Indian food which was taken to the tables of the blacks. White people learned to like this healthy preparation. There were tables at the ends of the markets, where it was sold by colored people, the grain being put up in bags, ready for transfer to the market-basket. About 1828 the original hominy man made his appearance. He was middle-aged, stout, had a broad face and short gray side-whiskers. He carried a large basket, which was stocked with parcels of prepared hominy. His care was to make a business for himself, and he traversed all parts of the town, seeking customers and announcing his presence. He had a clear, strong, resonant voice,—*tenore robusto* they would call it on the operatic stage,—and his refrain could be heard at a great distance,—

"Hominy man come out to-day
For to sell his hominy."

This he would vary by an occasional notice,—

"Hominy man is on his way
For to sell his good hominy."

OLD HOMINY MAN.

This person became quite a town character, and was known to everybody. The original "hominy man" long since left these peaceful scenes for another world. He was succeeded by one upon whom his mantle had fallen. The man who in 1883 solicits custom in the old way is the third or fourth in succession from the original hominy man.

The unwary stranger might be startled by the sudden shooting down of a cord of wood from the cart upon the cobble-stones, and the cry of "Way, piler!" with which the wood-sawyer would interrupt the rasping sound of his hand-saw, to warn his comrade in the cellar that another armful of sawed sticks was ready. Or he would look wonderingly at the brawny fellow walking past, with a huge axe over his shoul-

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der, from which implement hung two iron wedges, which jingled together and made a ringing noise at every motion. But the fellow bellowed, with stentorian lungs, "Spli-t wood!" and thereby revealed his professional character. The wood-sawyer divided the logs and long sticks into short billets, but it was the wood-splitter's business to split a portion of these for kindling-wood, unless some male member of the family had industry enough to do it. What changes modern progress has brought! Everything is done now by machinery. There is saving of money and increased comfort to the consumer, but how many humble trades by which the poor made an honest living have been destroyed! But the voice of the wood-splitter is drowned by the more powerful roar of the driver of the oyster-cart, "Ah yer oys-ta-oh! yer the go! oys-ta-oh!" Besides this perambulating oyster-man, there were stands and tables at the corners of the markets and other well-thronged places for the sale of stewed oysters. The oyster-cellar is of more modern discovery.

In the spring of the year the shrill voice of the female fish-huckster might be heard announcing the advent of the shad, dear to gourmands, "You buy an-ey sha-a-d?" Later in the year her cry changed to, "You buy any pe-e-rch?" "Buy any blackfish?" or "You buy any ca-a-t-fish?" But, if the season was dull, the same voice might be recognized, crying, "You buy any cherries?" or "You buy any straw-ber-ees?" and, still later in the season, "Buy any peaches?" to the legitimate fruit-huckster's disgust. Watermelons, cantaloups, apples, and peaches were generally sold on the streets by men, who, as they drove their well-filled carts around, thought it their duty to call the attention of buyers by terrific yells that would make a nervous man take to his heels: "Here's your ripe, freestone peaches! Here they go, three fips a half-peck, oh!" or "Sweet, mellow apples at a levy a half-peck, oh!"

Fleeing this pandemonium of sounds, avoiding the old cake-woman at the corner only to run into the scissors-grinder and his grinding-machine, whose whirling sound, as he busily works the treadle with his foot, is lost in the prevailing din, the bewildered stranger turns, perhaps, towards the wharves where numerous vessels are loading and unloading, for the commerce of the port of Philadelphia at that time was greater than that of New York. "In 1800 there were forty ships engaged in the East India and China trade, over one hundred ships which made voyages regularly between Philadelphia and various European ports, and twenty-five ships in the West India trade. There were brigs and smaller vessels also engaged in this traffic, so that the foreign commerce may be assumed to have given employment to at least two hundred large vessels. The coasting trade was also valuable."[1] As the stranger approaches the river, a strange chorus greets his ear:

"Ro! ro! ro! ro! around the corner, Sally!" chant the voices; and another chorus strikes out with admirable effect,—

> "Nancy Bohannan, she married a barber;
> Shave her away! shave her away!
> He shaved all he could, he could not shave harder;
> Shave her away! shave her away!"

The singers are the black stevedores, who thus lighten and facilitate the work of loading the vessels, their joint efforts being guided by the rhythmic arrangement of the song. The loiterer pauses and listens with delighted interest. His curiosity is excited; he would like to know who was "Nancy Bohannan," and why they must "shave her away," but he dares not interrupt the men's work by asking them questions. He strolls along the noble river, and finally turns back into the city, his curiosity aroused by the discordant sounds of musical instruments playing different tunes. A crowd of children and colored people, or, rather, two crowds, surround two rival organ-grinders stationed at opposite angles of the street-corner. One has a monkey dressed in a red coat and cocked hat. The boys predominate in *his* public, by no means a silent one, for each caper of poor Jack leads to loud and delighted comments. The other has no monkey, but he has pushed a slide from the front of his instrument, and lo! here is a diminutive ball-room, with minute ladies and gentlemen whirling around in all the glory of velvet, satin, and tinsel. The little girls press close in front of *this* organ, and gaze in silent wonder on the little automaton figures. The rival organ-grinders are Italians; their scowling looks reveal their fierce passions; the musical struggle may end in a row; but, no; both abandon the field discomfited as the juvenile audience rush from them to a still greater attraction than dancing monkeys and revolving puppets. The orchestra-man is coming! He comes, a whole orchestra in himself, as his lips run over reeds of the Pandean pipes he has thrust in his vest bosom; the motions of his head set the Chinese bells a-ringing which are affixed to his crown in lieu of a hat; the cymbals attached to his elbows clash in time; his hands wield the drumsticks with lightning rapidity, and yet find time to strike the triangle hanging over the drum in front of him. He marches on proudly, although not an elegant figure, followed by the crowd and by the envious gaze of an Irish piper, who has stopped, his bag under his arm, seeing the futility of competing with such a rival.

The children follow, oblivious of home and of time and distance, and by and by there will be anxious faces looking down the street, mothers will run distractedly to and fro, and finally another Philadelphia institution, the town-crier and bell-man, will have to be brought upon the stage. He moves on with solemn step, ringing his bell vigorously, stops at a corner,

[1] Westcott's History of Philadelphia.

where the people crowd round him to listen to his proclamation, and in a loud voice he describes the lost child. He recites the name, age, general appearance, and style of dress of the missing one, together with the name and residence of the parents. His voice is doleful in its tone,—it may be sympathy for the sorrowing mother, yet in the same tone did he not announce the loss of Dick Brown's horse and Widow Flanagan's cow? Withal, he was a useful, kind old body, this same bell-man. He has disappeared with his crony, the old city watchman, who used to walk so cautiously along the dimly-lighted streets, carrying his flambeau and his rattle. Poor old Charley, as the boys used to call him, who nearly teased the life out of him. He was lamp-lighter as well as watchman, walked his beat at regular intervals, and called out the hour, the state of the weather, and any startling event, such as a fire or a riot. The fact is on record that the old watchman did once startle the whole community from their slumbers, and brought them out, delirious with joy, in the streets. It was the night he cried, "O-h! p-a-s-t three o'clock, and Cornwallis is taken!" His piping voice rang like a clarion on that occasion.

The old watchman gone, his "box" ceased to ornament the street corner. Those watch-boxes were queer little shelter-places, where the guardians of the night could rest their wearied limbs in the intervals between their rounds and find protection from the pelting storm. They were square or hexagonal in shape, with a diameter of about four feet, and a height of seven or eight feet. The roof, running to a point, was surmounted by a lamp or lantern. A bench for the watchman to sit on, a few hooks on which to hang his overcoat and his citizen's clothes, a shelf in a corner where to stow away his oil-can and torch, used in lighting the street lamps, composed all the furniture of the watch-box. The lamplighter's torch, constructed of iron or tin, had a reservoir or fountain for the oil at the base, and a large wick, well fed with oil, so as to resist the wind. Having lighted this the watchman would start on his lamp-lighting errand; but sometimes it happened that a sudden gust of wind would put out his smoky torch. Then he was indeed in a quandary, for he must find some sheltered place where he could strike a light with his tinder-box and brimstone matches and ignite the blackened wick. With all these difficulties in his way his work, however, was well and faithfully done. In time the watch-box was made of circular form, and its dimensions enlarged. A diminutive stove then added to the comforts of the watchman, but invited sleep in forbidden hours. Woe to the poor "Charley" if he was discovered asleep by the dissipated young fellows roving about the streets at late hours! They would fasten the door from the outside, and call out "Watch! watch!" in tones of great distress, while the imprisoned officer made vain efforts to get out. The watch-boxes were made of wood, light, and, simply resting on the pavement, were easily moved. The wicked fellows would sometimes pass a stout rope round the frail structure and drag it to another spot, or suddenly turn it over, to the great terror and, perhaps, bodily harm of the drowsy occupant.

Among the peculiar noises heard in the neighborhood of the markets, one that always attracted a crowd was the flourish of trumpet announcing the proximity of show-beef. In the early part of the century it was the practice to drive cattle particularly fat to the slaughter-house through the streets of the city decorated with flowers and garlands, and with gay ribbons tied to their horns, in order to attract to the sale of the meat, which was to take place on the succeeding day. In Birch's view of the new market is a representation of one of these little processions, which is accompanied by a fiddler who seems to be playing right merrily. The sound of the trumpet became so closely associated with show-cattle in the minds of the people, that long afterward, at the concert or oratorio, a trumpet solo always provoked merriment in the audience and the suppressed exclamation, "Show beef."

A sight of no little interest and wonder to the stranger in Philadelphia, in the early part of the century, was the North American Indian, no longer in all the glory of war-paint, scalping-knife, and feathers, yet retaining enough of the characteristics of the noble sons of the forest to be an object of study for the European traveler. These Indian visitors were mostly descendants of the Lenni Lenape; they came in small parties with their squaws and papooses. The costume of the men presented a curious combination of the garments of the civilized world with those fashions dear to the savage. From the former they borrowed the fur hat, and the rough coat or overcoat as a good substitute for the blanket, but they disdained trowsers and shoes; their feet were protected by the convenient moccasin. There was one artifice of the toilet which these untutored sons of nature rarely neglected, however: they painted, not in imitation of our fair belles, with rouge and pearl-white, but with coarse ochres which gave a hideous expression to their faces. Neither did they fail to wear the large ear-rings of copper or silver in true Indian style. Their great object did not seem to be so much a desire to study the manners and customs of the whites, as to "turn up a penny" whenever they saw a chance. Their faithful bows and arrows, which they always carried, proved to be excellent implements of trade; they displayed their skill by shooting for pennies, "fips," "levvies," and "quarters," at the choice of the spectators. The piece being put up at some convenient place—a crack in the wall or post, a projecting stone, or even simply dropped upon the pavement at a suitable distance—sometimes as much as fifty yards, the "brave" would be invited to shoot. He seldom missed the mark; having struck the piece, he pocketed it without the

least signs of emotion, except perhaps a subdued grunt, and went on his way, unless invited to try his luck on another piece, which happened not unfrequently, for people never tired admiring his extraordinary skill with this primitive weapon.

The women's appearance was not so interesting as that of the men; their common calico dresses and dirty blankets did not enhance their charms. They went bare-headed and bare-footed, and, veritable beasts of burden, besides the papoose safely fixed on their backs, they carried bundles of moccasins and pouches decorated with bead-work and bark baskets, cunningly worked and painted. These they offered for sale at the street corners, while their noble lords shot their arrows or idled about the streets. The dark-skinned papooses, with their bead-like eyes and stolid little countenances,—for it is seldom one hears an Indian child cry,—were objects of general interest. These Indian women did not seem unhappy, but apathetic. The woman's rights question had never been discussed among them; it had not been agitated among the whites then, and if it had it would have made no difference with these dusky representatives of female loveliness. The Indians' code of gallantry authorized the men to respect their own dignity and leave all the hard work to their wives; they accepted it without murmur. Civilized white husbands have been known to entertain these Indian notions, as many a hard-worked wife may testify. Occasionally there were exhibitions by the Indians of the semi-theatrical display of their war dances and other customs. These were held at public gardens in summer and at taverns in winter. In 1825, Warwick, who kept a tavern at Seventh and South Streets, and who had a large exhibition-room in the second story, used for meetings, free-and-easys, etc., had a party of six Western sons of the forest, who went through performances illustrating their modes of life, for the edification of pale-faced visitors, who paid their price for admission. But these hired performers were far less interesting than the free visitors who used to shoot for pennies.

Every city has its harmless lunatic, enjoying the freedom of the streets and contributing to the amusement of the thoughtless. The madman is sacred in the eyes of the Mussulman and of most of the savage tribes: it is only the civilized Christian who laughs at his incoherent discourse or meaningless actions. Then there is the oddity, the eccentric individual, who will not do as others do. Philadelphia has had her crazy street characters, her oddities and eccentricities. She probably has them now, in greater number than ever, but what with the immense population of the city, and the busy, hurried ways of the age, they pass unnoticed, except by a few, until some foolish act of theirs brings them before a court or in the newspaper reports. Their modern name is the "crank," and they are not half so interesting a study as were their predecessors.

The spectre-looking elderly spinster, Leah, mentioned by Watson, who remembered having seen her, could not have excited merriment, for her oddities were of a ghostly turn. One of her favorite occupations was passing the night in the Potter's Field, where, wrapped in a long blanket, she stalked among the graves for the avowed purpose of "frightening away the doctors." Leah was a member of the society of Friends, and a very simple, kind-hearted creature. There must have been some incident in her life connected with resurrectionists, since her great anxiety was to protect the graves from desecration.

Nor was there anything laughable in the madness of Honorah Power, commonly known as "Crazy Norah." What was her history? The child of a well-to-do Irish farmer, she was left at his death with a modest but sufficient provision. She lived with a married sister, and put her money in the hands of her brother-in-law; he squandered it as well as his wife's portion. Norah came to America and hired herself out in Philadelphia as a servant. She was modest, well-behaved, and a pious Roman Catholic. She attended St. Mary's Church regularly. During the Hogan riot the church was desecrated. The effect of this painful scene on the girl's mind was disastrous; she became insane. After a time, her excitement being allayed, she recovered in part her reason, and was able to earn her bread by doing errands, collecting bad debts, etc. But she was too mad to fill any place requiring her constant attention. She walked a great deal, and had a pleasant word for every one she met. She was fond of children, though the boys tormented her sometimes; "she would take them by the hand," says Mr. Watson, "induce them to say the Lord's Prayer and the Catholic Creed, and then reward them with some trifle from the large bag she invariably carried, such as a button, a piece of colored china, old ribbon, or some similar thing of little or no value." She is described as a tall woman "with sharp, firm features, a clear black eye, and iron-gray hair, and whose quick step, together with her peculiar dress, gave her a masculine appearance."

"Lang Syne," of Germantown (Benjamin J. Leedom) says,—

"Sometimes, while sitting in silence in Pine Street Meeting, I have seen the door open and Norah would stalk in, and, advancing up the middle aisle, would stop, and standing erect as a statue, would make the sign of the cross and commence counting her beads. As she was well known by all the meeting, no one interfered with her, and she was permitted to pursue her way unmolested. After having gone through with her religious performances she would either stalk out or take a seat on the men's side and remain until the meeting closed, everybody kindly greeting her as they left. . . . Tall and slender in person, graceful in figure, her head surmounted by a man's hat, high men's boots reaching to her knees, with a leather girdle around her waist, and a large black cross suspended from her neck; she would frequently stop me on the street and make the sign of the cross on my forehead."

But who could have helped from smiling on meeting Michael Weaders, or rather "Me Mo Michael Hans Muckle Weaders," as he styled himself? "Lang Syne" describes this fantastic being, who

was a servant in the Pancoast family. When he was sent on an errand—

"he could scarcely proceed a square in an hour, being continually surrounded by all sorts of people, some viewing him and listening to him, and some asking him over again the same question which he had been asked a thousand times. Whether the question repeated came from the child or the man, he was sure to answer them every one with an unbroken smile extending from cheek to cheek (sans teeth), with unwearied patience, idiotic simplicity, and an affectionate tone of voice. To astonish them he sometimes changed his usual amiable appearance and expression of countenance to a hideous squint, his two eyes gazing at each other, and his long tongue hissing like a serpent from between his boneless gums, causing the juvenile spectator to shrink away from the horrid sight, which was but for a moment. Then, resuming his usual benevolent, smiling look, he would say, 'That's the way to frighten the Indians, so it is!' He claimed as sweethearts all the fashionable unmarried belles in the city. He had 'fifty hundred, twenty hundred and sixteen' of them; and when any one of them married he was sure to go the next day after the wedding to claim his forfeit,—always cheerfully given to him,—which was a half-crown and a glass of punch from the lady's own hands, 'which,' said he, 'was all the same as though I married her myself.'"

Michael Weaders died Feb. 23, 1808, aged eighty-three years. The *United States Gazette* records this obituary notice:

"He was a native of Germany, and a steady inhabitant of, or near, this city for upward of seventy years. It may be truly said that he lived a harmless and an inoffensive life. He had not the strongest mental capacity, and although he experienced more of the smiles and attentions of the fair sex than usually fall to the share of an individual, he preferred a life of celibacy as most conducive with his happiness. He was a zealous patriot at the commencement of our Revolution, but being terrified at the approach of the British army, he receded from his patriotism and made his peace with Gen. Howe; and on being asked what induced him to relinquish his former principles, he answered, 'It is best to be friendly.' Honest Michael was well known to many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia; though they will no more hear him utter his friendly salutation, 'I see thee first!' he will still retain a place in their remembrance."

Another curious character was Henry Noble, a colored man, who went by the nickname of "Whistling Harry." Whether he was totally insane does not appear, but his peculiarity was a strange one. "Lang Syne," of Germantown, informs us that—

"he always carried a stick, with a tin kettle on his arm. For a cent he would spell 'Constantinople' and give a prolonged whistle that could be heard for a square. When the cent was produced he would commence, 'C-o-n, that's Con, s-t-a-n, that's stan, t-i, that's ti, *n-o-b-l-e* (being his name), that's Constantinople,' giving a smack with his lips like the report of a pistol between each syllable, and winding up with his prolonged whistle, his eyes nearly starting from their sockets. He was generally surrounded by a crowd of boys from the stores along Market Street, between Fourth and Fifth. Cent after cent was produced, and ofttimes he was called upon to repeat his performances."

"The Man with the Whip" was an eccentric fellow, well known at that time. He had manufactured an enormous whip made from hickory withes with a long handle. It was his delight to swing this immense whip, which extended half-way across the street, and to crack it, to the great annoyance and possible danger of passers-by. What was his particular object in indulging in this amusement no one knew, but the city fathers put a stop to it. He was declared a nuisance, and he and his whip disappeared from the scene. "Lang Syne," of Germantown, gives this recollection of his performance:

"I saw him once standing in the middle of the crossing betwixt the Third and Fourth Streets markets, swinging the whip over his head in circles and until it had sufficient impetus, when he let it out with a report like the explosion of a rifle."

There was another well-known character,—not a madman, nor yet an idiot, but, on the contrary, a man of uncommon intelligence, who was often exposed to the jeers of the thoughtless populace because nature had denied him the fair proportions usually allotted to man. Richard Folwell, *alias* "Dicky" Folwell, was a dwarf and a cripple. He was witty and eccentric, as is commonly the case with dwarfs and hunchbacks, and, thanks to his tormentors, often mingled in some comic adventure. One day as he was crossing Walnut Street, a pig, scared probably by some wag, ran between the legs of the little man, who found himself suddenly astride the animal's back, and was carried some distance up the street before he could alight. The wags circulated the story that he had been seen riding a pig through Second Street from Walnut Street past the Coffee-House to Chestnut Street, and poor "Dicky" knew peace no more. This deformed creature was a printer, and managed with considerable ability a paper called *The Spirit of the Age*. Free in its comments on men and measures, Folwell's paper was no more personal than the journals of the time. That Folwell was familiar with other subjects than those which form the especial province of the journalist, that he was a thinker interested in the well-being of his fellow-man, whom he so little resembled, is shown by the plan he wrote and published for the extinction of yellow fever *by the use of ice-cold air and refrigeration*, "thus anticipating by more than half a century," says a writer, "the proposition of Gamgee, to whom Congress lately voted a half-million of dollars to experiment upon that theory."[1]

In the early part of the century some very odd performances could be seen on the streets on Christmas-eve and during Christmas week. Parties of "Mummers" went round from house to house, reciting rhymes explanatory of their fantastical disguises, and demanding "dole." This custom, which came from England, prevailed in the early part of the present century, and is well remembered by the old inhabitants of Philadelphia. The "Mummers" were but a popular reminiscence of the English saturnalia celebrated of old under the direction of "the Lord of Misrule,"—a fantastic personage, known to the Scotch as the "Abbot of Unreason" and to the French as "Le Pape des Fous." The English "Lord of Misrule," or Christmas prince, was originally created for the purpose of regulating "misrule" and keeping it within bounds wherever the king resided; but the institution became popular, and every town or parish had its manager of Christmas festivities, invested with plenary power. None delighted more in these whimsical exhibitions than the students in the inns of

[1] Westcott's "History of Philadelphia."

court. Gradually this moderator of fun took such delight in the antics of his subjects that he deserved the title of "a grand captaine of mischiefe," given him by the Puritan Stubbes in the reign of Elizabeth. The "dole" was a tax levied upon the citizens by the temporary ruler, and was generally paid with promptness, to avoid further annoyance. It was not always so, however. Disraeli, the elder, quotes from a manuscript letter of the learned Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville, an account of what seems to have been the last memorable act of a "Lord of Misrule" of the inns of court, and which occurred in 1627, when the Christmas game became serious. "The Templars chose one Mr. Palmer their 'Lord of Misrule,' who, on Twelfth-eve, late in the night, sent out to gather up his rents at five shillings a house, in Ram Alley and Fleet Street. At every door they came they winded the Temple horn, and if at the second blast or summons they within opened not the door, then the 'Lord of Misrule' cried out, 'Give fire, gunner.' His gunner was a robustious Vulcan, and the gun or petard itself was a huge overgrown smith's hammer." The letter goes on to relate how complaint was made to the lord mayor, who summoned the "Lord of Misrule" to appear before him, but the latter refused. They finally agreed to meet half-way. The interview ended in a general row, the "Mummers" were worsted, and the "Lord of Misrule" was captured by his lordship the mayor himself, who, taking him by the shoulder, "led him to the compter, and thrust him in at the prison-gate with a kind of indignation; and so, notwithstanding his hurts, he was forced to lie among the common prisoners for two nights." The prisoners obtained their liberty, at the solicitation of the attorney-general, upon condition they should repay the gathered rents, and "do reparations upon broken doors." The attorney-general *fetched them in his own coach*, and carried them to the court, where the *king himself reconciled my lord mayor and them together* with joining all hands." Notwithstanding this mark of royal favor, the "Lord of Misrule" and his mock court lost much of their importance after this. They disappeared finally after the death of Charles I. But the spirit of tomfoolery which had inspired them continued to display itself feebly in annual mummeries, the performers reciting some rhymed speeches in connection with a semblance of a plot,—crude attempts to imitate the celebrated "masques" contrived for the amusement of royalty, without the wit and splendor of their models.

One of the oldest of these second-rate masques, "St. George and the Dragon," had crossed the ocean, but the Philadelphia "Mummers" took many liberties with the *dramatis personæ*, and modified some of their speeches to suit the time and the public. Thus St. George became George Washington, and "Cooney Cracker," an American creation, took the place of "Little Devil Doubt." Beelzebub's speech suffered but trifling changes. It was originally,—

"In comes I, old Father Beelzebub,
And on my shoulder I carry a club,
And in my hand I carry a can—
Don't you think I'm a jolly old man?
As jolly as I am, Christmas comes but once a year;
Now's the time for roast beef, plum-pudding, mince-pie, and strong beer."

In the Philadelphia version, according to an old citizen's recollection, it began as follows:

"Here comes I, old Beelzebub,
On my shoulder I carry a club,
In my hand a dripping-pan—
Don't you think I'm a jolly old man?"

Another correspondent substitutes "a frying-pan" for "a dripping-pan."

Little Devil Doubt's speech was this:

"In comes I, Little Devil Doubt;
If you don't give me money I'll sweep you out!
Money I want, and money I crave;
If you don't give me money I'll sweep you to your grave!"

But the American Cooney Cracker spoke differently. One version of his speech is this:

"Here comes I, old Cooney Cracker!
I swear to God my wife chews terbacker!
A pipe is good; cigars are better;
When I get married I'll send you a letter."

Another version differs in the three last lines:

"I want some money to buy tobacco;
Tobacco's good; cigars are better;
Give me some money, or I'll marry your daughter."

Of the speech attributed to George Washington, only the first two lines are remembered. They were:

"Here am I, great Washington!
On my shoulders I carry a gun."

The patriotism of the American mummers had reversed the position of the two leading characters, and St. George, the patron saint and mythical hero of England, defending her against the dragon, became George Washington, the destroyer of that dragon—British rule in America.

A correspondent, speaking of these representations, said,—

"It was considered the proper thing in those days to give the leading mummer a few pence as dole, which, in the language of the present time, they would 'pool,' and buy cakes and beer. It was also regarded as the right thing to do to invite them into the house, and regale them with mulled cider, or small beer, and home-made cakes. It was considered a great breach of decorum, or of etiquette, to address or otherwise recognize the mummers by any other than the name of the character he was assuming. I remember a little girl who, with all the curiosity of her sex, had discovered a neighbor's boy in the party; and with childish impetuosity she broke out with, 'Oh, I know thee, Isaac Simmons! Thee is not George Washington!' etc. This departure from the proprieties of the occasion was made the subject of comment on many returning holidays. Such were the simple and gentle ways of those whose footsteps we are steadily and surely following, and still toward the setting sun."

One of these bands of mummers, which was recruited in the neighborhood of Sixth and South Streets, was led by Eph Horn, afterward noted as an Ethiopian minstrel singer. Horn brought out Beelzebub and Cooney Cracker, also the Prince of Egypt, who announced,—

"Here I am, the Prince of Egypt!
I am Pharaoh's only son."

These "mummeries," however, did not find favor with all the people. In fact, Christmas itself was not generally observed. The Quakers did not incline to the commemoration of holidays, nor did the more rigid of the Protestant sects, especially the Presbyterians. To the Episcopalians, the Catholics, and the Germans of the Reformed or Lutheran Churches, it was a day for family reunions and social gathering as well as a religious festival. The Germans introduced the Christmas-tree, with toys, trinkets, figures of angels, and numerous little lighted tapers,—a pretty custom with which many American families have since become familiar. In the homes of Americans of English descent the traditional row of children's stockings could be seen on Christmas-eve hanging in the chimney-corner, and the little ones, tripping up to them in their bare feet on Christmas-day, were sure to find them well filled with "goodies" and pretty things. The Christmas-dinner, so often described, with its three great features of turkey, plum-pudding, and mince pie, and its company of merry faces, assembled in friendship and kindly feelings, was an old English custom, too good to be rejected by the Americans.

As a closing scene to the Christmas festivities, there was an ancient custom, of German origin, it is said, which was the cause of some useless legislation. This was the "shooting away the old year,"—firing guns, pistols, and fire-crackers at midnight on the 31st of December. As early as the year 1774 an act was passed prohibiting these noisy demonstrations, as greatly disturbing the public peace, under penalty of a fine, and in after-years the mayor of the city frequently made proclamation calling attention to this act; but all these prohibitory measures were disregarded by many, and the new year continued to be ushered in by the discharge of fire-arms and pyrotechnic displays.

There was another festival, celebrated only by a certain class of the population, viz., the Irish Catholics, which often brought trouble and ended in a regular riot. This was the celebration of St. Patrick's day. Early in the morning the Irish pipers and drummers went around playing their national airs, and every Irishman, woman, and child displayed the cherished shamrock. The Hibernia Greens paraded, and the procession after marching down Chestnut Street would pass through such portions of the city where their countrymen mostly resided. The Protestant Orangemen would often make a counter demonstration, and if the two parties met a fight always followed. A contrivance calculated to rouse the ire of the Irish Catholics was the "stuffed Paddy," an effigy made of old clothes and straw, with a string of potatoes hanging to its neck, a pipe in its mouth, or where its mouth should have been, and holding a bottle in one hand and a glass in the other. This scarecrow figure was taken to some convenient place in the Irish quarters, before daylight on St. Patrick's day, and hung by the neck to some awning-post or to a tree. Woe to the perpetrators of this joke if they were caught in the act; they seldom escaped without broken bones. Foolish young Americans sometimes thought it good fun to annoy the "Paddies" by getting up these figures. This continual antagonism engendered much bad feeling, and a serious riot that happened in after-years led to a strong expression of public opinion against these celebrations, and caused their abandonment.

For some years after the Revolution, in fact, as late as the war of 1812, the old English festival of May-day was kept by certain classes of people. The Maying parties, composed principally of young men and young women, left the city in the early morning to spend the day in the fields and woods. They had a feast and dances on the grass, for they went with well-provided hampers, and the fiddler was an indispensable guest. After a day's enjoyment in the cool shade and sweet-scented fields, they returned laden with fragrant spoils, tired but happy. Lovers fully appreciated the innocent pleasures of Maying; hands met in breaking the lilac bough; cheeks met in close contact as two young heads bent over the same tiny field-flower, and the gay carol of the feathered songster overhead was a fit accompaniment to the softly-whispered vows of youthful love.

Although spring flowers are not suggestive of fish, May-day was the special holiday of the fish hucksters and shad fishermen. They met in the Water Street taverns, where they indulged in much jollification and dancing. May-poles were erected in front of these taverns or upon the Market Street hill, around which there was also much dancing. These good people went in for a day of fun and frolic, and they made the most of it while it lasted. For many years after the May-pole ceased to be seen, and Maying-parties went out of fashion, the fishermen and fishwomen kept up their May-day dancing and feasting in the taverns.

Two other anniversaries, dear to every American heart, were celebrated with fitting enthusiasm. Washington's birthday was an occasion for processions, orations, and banquets, and it should have been a national holiday, in which all the people would have participated, were it not that the societies most prominently engaged in the celebration being entirely composed of Federalists, the Democrats came to consider the 22d of February as a political anniversary, and they abstained from participating in ceremonies directed by their political opponents. This abstention extended even to the volunteer companies not in sympathy with the Federalists.

But the glorious Fourth of July was an occasion on which party feeling was ignored. The enthusiasm of the people manifested itself individually by the firing of guns, rockets, and fire-crackers, without prejudice to the organized programme, embracing

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION IN CENTRE SQUARE, PHILADELPHIA, IN 1819.

[Engraved from painting by J. L. Krimmel, in Pennsylvania Historical Society.]

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generally a military procession, patriotic orations, banquets, and displays of fire-works. We burn less powder now, and we object to noisy demonstrations. It may be all for the best, but there is danger, as the celebration becomes more restricted every year, that the anniversary of our national independence will gradually and quietly sink into oblivion. It would be well that the rising generation should be taught to reverence the day, and to kindle in their young hearts a spark of the spirit of '76, which made heroes of their fathers,—the spirit of endurance, of self-sacrifice and love of country, without which all the boasted progress of the age cannot save a people from decline.

An occasion for considerable excitement and some lively scenes, especially in the "old city," was "election-day." The general election for the city was held at the State-House, the windows of the east and west rooms, first floor, upon Chestnut Street and upon the State-House yard being appropriated to that purpose. For the Northern Liberties the elections were held at the Commissioners' Hall, which, in the early part of the period, was at the south end of the market at Second and Coates Streets. It was afterward transferred to the quarters originally belonging to the British barracks, on Third Street, above Tammany (or Buttonwood), which was thenceforth called Commissioners' Hall. The Southwark elections were held at the Commissioners' Hall, on the east side of Second Street, north of Christian, and those of Spring Garden at the hall on the northeast corner of Eighth and Buttonwood Streets. Each of these places was the focus of interest and activity for its district.

Platforms of wood were erected in front of each polling-window, so that the voter might be elevated to a level with the election officers within. Where the population of the ward was large and the election an important one, there was often great struggling among the voters to reach the polling-window, especially during the last hours of voting; pushing and jostling led to angry recriminations and finally to blows, and the strife would soon spread out among the mass of the people in the street, during which excitement fists, canes, umbrellas, or whatever instruments of offense were handy were used, while hats, coats, and apparel were torn to rags; and when the *mêlée* was over, the combatants, bloody, with blackened eyes and torn and disheveled hair, would manage to get out of the throng and sneak homeward. Nothing more serious than bruises were the results of these encounters. The carrying of deadly weapons, such as the pistol, the blackjack, and the knife, was unknown.

There was no recorded instance of any person having been killed in an election fight in Philadelphia between 1800 and 1825, nor for many years afterward.

But if political questions could be settled by the ballot with an occasional accompaniment of fisticuffs, there was a domes[illegible] [illegible]o solve then, as it still is now, and housekeepers discussed to no avail the "servant question." It seems that they were even worse off at that time, judging from the character of the servants described by Samuel Breck in his "Recollections:"

"This is a crying evil which most families feel very sensibly at present. The vast quantity of uncultivated lands, the general prosperity, and the unexampled increase of our city unite to scatter the menial citizens, and to make it extremely difficult to be suited with decent servants. I have, in the course of ten or twelve years' housekeeping, had a strange variety, among which I have heard of one being hung, of one that hung himself, of one who died drunk in the road, and of another that swallowed poison in a fit of intoxication. Those that form my present household have lived with me from one to three years, and are pretty tolerable."

Several years later Mr. Breck noted in his diary the following instance of the extravagance of servant-girls:

"Mrs. Breck discharged a servant-girl to-day for fibbing and mischief-making. She has been nearly three years in my family, and has contrived artfully enough to quarrel with, and occasion the dismissal of, four or five of her fellow-servants. But what makes me take any notice of this woman is that she, like many others who have served in my house these last twenty-five years, came to us almost naked, and must have seen hard times without profiting by the lessons of adversity; for no sooner was she entitled to receive a few dollars than she squandered it on finery, instead of buying necessaries. In this manner she has gone on until this day, bedecking herself in merino shawls, chip bonnets, etc., without laying up fifteen dollars, although she has received from one dollar and fifty cents to one dollar and twenty-five cents per week. Mrs. Breck informs me that when she took up about eleven dollars which were due to her in June last, she told her that she was bare of necessary clothing; yet, with this modicum for her all, she went to town and bought some satin to trim her bonnet in the style of that of a young lady who was on a visit to me, a gilt clasp that must have cost three dollars, a parasol that came to perhaps four dollars more, a set of tortoise-shell combs, and some other trash; so that she brought home of real necessaries nothing but one poor shift! If this girl gets out of place, or becomes sick, she will not have enough to support herself one month. This is a faithful picture of the wasteful and disgraceful extravagance of nine-tenths of the servants, male and female, for the last thirty years."

Many housekeepers of the present time might, without doubt, indorse Mr. Breck's remarks. The servant-girls' wages, though much higher than at the period treated of, are but too often foolishly spent in useless finery. There are two reasons why this practice is so common. In the first place, servants here do not form a class as in Europe; the girl who hires her time and services looks upon the arrangement as temporary; unless she is very ugly (and what woman ever believed herself ugly?) she expects to marry and have a home of her own. Dress, then, becomes an important question with her. She must look her best if she wishes to catch a husband. Another reason for a servant's extravagance is, too often, the example set by the mistress of the house. If she be extravagant and wasteful she cannot expect her servant to be modest and prudent, for a servant is but human, after all; and to resist temptation, with the daily recurrence of examples of folly in her superiors, would require heroism such as cannot be justly expected of her.

Fanny Wright, in the "Englishwoman in America," discusses the servant question, and says, in conclusion,—

"The native American, when he can be obtained, makes a valuable domestic. Household service, as I have observed in a former letter, is not an employment that the citizens are fond of; but the very qualities which disincline them from it make them the more trusty when engaged in it. The foreigner, however, must be careful not to rub their pride. No American will receive an insulting word. A common mode of resenting an imperious order is to quit the house without waiting, or even asking, for a reckoning. The sensitiveness of the American pride is sometimes not a little curious and amusing."

During the early part of the century many improvements and inventions tending to increase comfort were introduced. The bath-room arrangements were of the utmost simplicity. Wooden or marble tubs were used, to which hot and cold water had to be carried in pails. A floating furnace was invented, which was to be placed in a bath-tub to heat the water. It was in the shape of a cylinder of copper, within which was to be placed a charcoal-fire. Two hollow arms, extending out like horns, were to reach above the surface of the water, so that while one furnished draught to the fuel the other would carry off the smoke and the gases. The inventor quaintly remarked in favor of the contrivance that, when properly operated, it would be "quite sufficient to render the water of the bath comfortable in about two hours." But he made no reference to the fact that in order to prevent the bather from being stifled by the gas from the burning charcoal it would be necessary to have the windows of the room in which the bath was placed hoisted, so that whatever in winter-time might be gained by this method of heating the bath would be lost by the chilling discomfort of a cold bath-room.

The boiler or water-back connected with pipes was not invented until several years after the introduction of the Schuylkill water in the houses. Floating-baths were introduced in 1813. The applicability of gas for illumination had been shown at the Philadelphia Museum, at the State-House, at Masonic Hall, and at the Chestnut Street Theatre. In 1816, William Henry, who made the gas apparatus for use in the museum and theatre, placed pipes and set up an apparatus for manufacturing gas at his residence, No. 200 Lombard Street, near Seventh. He was a copper- and tinsmith. Notwithstanding this ocular demonstration, the Philadelphians remained indifferent, and stuck to their candles or to lamps in which they burned whale-oil. For grand illuminations they used wax candles.

Edward Clark, of Philadelphia, obtained a patent for lamps April 27, 1814, and Asa Taylor for candle-lamps Oct. 9, 1819.

The tinder-box, steel, and flint continued for a long time to be the only means of obtaining light. At last, in 1819, a new process was discovered. *Silliman's Journal*, in 1819, describes this new wonder in the following manner:

"We may say that while this method of obtaining fire was employed by lovers of curiosity, it was in a very small degree. There was too much trouble to be taken in the production of the flame to cause the invention to be brought into common use."

This method was a match tipped with some chemical composition, which, on being thrust into a bottle containing another chemical, took fire.

Ice creams were only made to order by the confectioners until the beginning of the century. Bosio, who opened his ice-cream house in 1800, had many imitators, and in a few years the use of frozen cream and custards and water-ices became general.

The water-cooler was brought into use about 1810 by Branch Green; and Daniel George, in 1811, was the first to engage in the ice business as a regular calling.

In the summer of 1816 the *United States Gazette* noted the fact, "This summer, for the first time, vessels loaded with ice went to sea to obtain fish, and brought them in ice to the Philadelphia market."

The refrigerator was invented by Thomas Moore, of Montgomery County, Md., first in such form as to facilitate the carriage of produce to market in better condition than had been possible under the old methods. The additional possibilities of the invention were thus suggested in 1802:

"This, however, is only one amongst many uses to which it may be applied; every family may be furnished with a vessel in their cellars, in which, by the daily use of a few pounds of ice, fresh meat, milk, butter, liquors, or any kind of provisions, may be cooled and preserved as effectually as in common winter weather. It would be very useful to butchers, who often lose considerable quantities of meat in summer. Fishermen might easily transport their fish a great distance without spoiling in any weather. Even our tables may be supplied with handsome vessels, not much exceeding the usual size, for containing certain kinds of food and liquids, which will cool their contents effectually, without exposing any ice to view."

At that time the tomato, which is now to be seen on every table in the land, was unknown as an esculent to the Philadelphians generally. It was called the "love-apple," and cultivated as an ornamental plant. The merits of the luscious terrapin were not discovered for a long time. The first time that we find it spoken of is in an advertisement published in Poulson's *Advertiser* in 1814, by one John Bailly, who gave notice that he had arrived in the city with one hundred dozen of terrapin, and that he could be found at the Rising Sun Hotel, in Letitia Court. In Palmer's list of articles sold in the Philadelphia markets in 1818, he calls them "tarapin's, or bay tortoises." The price was from one to two dollars per dozen. The negroes of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia had eaten them for a long while before this time; but their masters seemed to be of the opinion that they were only fit to be the food of slaves.

But we have passed the limits allotted to this chapter, and must stop. With the nineteenth century began an era of scientific progress which, in a few years, saw changes accomplished that could not have been dreamed of at any period of the momentous eighteenth century. We have thrown a curious retrospective glance on the social life of that past age,

ELECTION SCENE IN FRONT OF STATE-HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1815.

[Engraved from painting by J. L. Krimmel, in Pennsylvania Historical Society.]

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and found much to wonder at; what would have been the feelings of those dead actors in a great drama, had they had a vision of our railroads and telegraph, of the telephone and electric light! We have made science our slave and conquered the latent forces of nature and made them contribute to our comfort; yet we have much to emulate in the lives of our predecessors: their virtues made them happy and made their country great.

CHAPTER XXIX.

AMUSEMENTS OF THE PHILADELPHIANS.

"While Quaker folks were Quakers still, some fifty years ago,
When coats were drab, and gowns were plain, and speech was staid and slow,
Before Dame Fashion dared suggest a single friz or curl."

So sings R. A. Jackson, beginning the story of pretty Ruth and her unwelcome lover, Sylvanus Moore. Make "fifty" a hundred, and the introduction will serve the purpose of the history of amusements in Philadelphia. For we must begin with the "good old times," when the Quaker influence predominated in the provincial city, when every one's energies were directed mainly toward founding a home and acquiring "substance." In those times amusements were few and of the simplest kind. The founders of this prosperous community led an active, busy life,—withal a quiet one; they did not feel the want of exciting pleasures, which, moreover, were condemned by their religion, and religion governed every act of their life. The very word "amusement" was objectionable, as meaning something frivolous and worldly. They had but two resources against *ennui*, and they availed themselves of these. First, there was "going to meeting," which was not merely a duty but a positive mental enjoyment and a delightful rest for the body. Then, as man must have some kind of material enjoyment, the early Philadelphians sought naturally that which was suggested by the abundance of the land, the pleasures of the table, and big dinners became their principal recreation. To these two habits cultivated by our Quaker forefathers are due two characteristics of the people of Philadelphia, which have outlived the many changes brought about by time,—the religious, moral tone of society, and a general inclination to good living, and its natural sequence, hospitality. Every traveler who has written about Philadelphia has noticed these facts, and Philadelphia "dinners" and "tea-parties" have furnished the theme of many pleasant remarks. If these strangers have found anything to criticise, it has been the lavish extravagance of their host or hostess,—a criticism which may be accepted as a compliment. The history of every community, of every country, shows that it bears for centuries, if not forever, the recognizable mark of its founders. Laws and institutions, manners and customs may change in time, but there is something in the character of the people which survives all these changes, and reveals the influences, good or bad, which controlled the organization of the social body. The seal of the cavaliers in Virginia, of the Puritans in New England, of the Quakers in Pennsylvania is just as easily traceable as that of the French in Louisiana and Canada, although the greater differences of language and religion existed in those two colonies when they became the one English and the other American.

Against riding, swimming, fishing, and skating, there would be no prohibition; they were natural recreations which could be freely indulged in by all. In course of time there were fishing clubs and swimming clubs. As to skating, it became an art in which the Philadelphians acquired no little fame. Graydon, in his "Memoirs," says that "though the Philadelphians have never reduced it [skating] to rules like the Londoners, nor connected it with their business like Dutchmen, I will yet hazard the opinion that they are the best and most elegant skaters in the world." And Graydon had seen "New England skaters, Old England skaters, and Holland skaters."

In support of this judgment we will quote the following anecdote of the painter West, as told by Mr. Dunlap, in his "History of Art:" "West was a skillful skater, and in America had formed an acquaintance on the ice with Col. (afterward too well known in the colonial war as General) Howe; this friendship had dissolved with the thaw, and was forgotten, till one day the painter, having tied on his skates at the Serpentine, was astonishing the timid practitioners of London by the rapidity of his motions and the graceful figure which he cut. Some one cried, 'West! West!' It was Col. Howe. 'I am glad to see you,' said he; 'and not the less so that you come in good time to vindicate my praises of American skating.' He called to him Lord Spencer Hamilton and some of the Cavendishes, to whom he introduced West as one of the Philadelphia prodigies, and requested him to show them what was called 'the salute.' He performed his feat so much to their satisfaction that they went away spreading the praises of the American skater over London. Nor was the considerate Quaker insensible to the value of such commendations. He continued to frequent the Serpentine and to gratify large crowds by cutting the Philadelphia salute." The sequel was that many of the admirers of the skater became acquainted with the painter and sat to him for their portraits.

Graydon names Gen. Cadwalader and Charles Massey, the biscuit-baker, as the two reputed best skaters of his day. William McKoy, in his "Lang Syne Reminiscences," mentions as being "decidedly superior to the rest for dexterity, power, and grace" William Tharpe, Dr. Foulke, Governor Mifflin, C. W. Peale, George Heyl, and "Joe" Claypoole; also a

black skater who "outstripped the wind." Franklin Peale became as famous a skater as his father. Capt. James Page, of the State Fencibles, was also much admired. Dr. Joseph Parrish was equally expert, but being a Friend he did not indulge in "fancy touches." The list of these brilliant performers on the ice does not include any ladies' names. It is reasonable to believe that women at that time had not learned to skate, or at least that they thought it indecorous to exhibit their native graces in public; but the girls, doubtless, had many a surreptitious slide with their young brothers on some retired pond or creek. As for the boys, they did as all boys do,—they practiced on every frozen gutter, slided, fell, began again, went home with torn clothes, scratched noses, and unaccountable bumps on their heads, to the great distress of their mothers and suspicion of *pater familias*, until some fine day they appeared on the ice in all the glory of a new pair of skates, and proudly out-skated their elders. But if the fair Philadelphians did not venture upon the glassy surface of the Delaware, they congregated on its shores to witness the sport, and their approving bright glances had not a little to do with the efforts of the skaters to outdo each other in the grace and skill of their performances.

If skating remained an innocent amusement, riding led gradually and inevitably to horse-racing, at first a friendly trial of speed on an invitingly smooth road, then betting, the establishment of a race-course, and gambling unlimited. The Society of Friends did not approve of horse-races, but others did, and races were held at a very early period. Race Street got its name from being the street leading directly to the racing-ground. In 1726 the grand jury present "that since the city has become so very populous, the usual custom of horse-racing at fairs in the Sassafras Street is very dangerous to life," etc. Capt. Graydon, in his "Memoirs," says racing was a great passion of his young days. Watson notices the first public advertisement of a race in 1761, "wherein is stated the terms of running the intended races" at the Centre Race-Ground, to run three times around the course each heat." The grounds themselves at the same time were familiarly called "the Governor's woods."

The races at the Centre Square were discontinued in 1775.

Mr. Thomas Bradford, telling Mr. Watson of his recollections of the races, says "he was told that the earliest races were scrub- and pace-races, on the ground now used as Race Street. But in his younger days they were ran in a circular form on a ground from Arch or Race Street down to Spruce Street, and from Eighth Street of Delaware to Schuylkill River, making thus two miles for a heat. About the same time they also ran straight races of one mile, from Centre Square to Schuylkill, out High Street."

It seems that, at that time, pacers were deemed the most genteel horses. The Philadelphians, true to their English ancestry, had a decided fondness for horseflesh, and gentlemen having fine animals were wont to try their speed on the public streets. The race was often a spontaneous one, resulting from two riders getting into a discussion about the relative merits of their horses, but there were occasions when some day was fixed upon in advance for a trial, and the friends of the riders would assemble at a certain point to see the sport. Racing on the streets prevailed long after the Revolution, and when Philadelphia had become quite a large city. This dangerous custom became such a nuisance that on the 22d of March, 1817, the Legislature passed an act prohibiting horse-racing on any of the public streets of Philadelphia. The penalty was a fine of fifty dollars and forfeiture of the horse.

The citizens who were forbidden the unlawful pleasure of riding at break-neck speed through crowded streets could find ample compensation in taking drives or rides on one of the several fine roads leading out of the city through a beautiful and picturesque country. Mease said, in 1810, "No city in the United States affords so many diversified rides in its immediate vicinity as Philadelphia." But then driving or riding leisurely is not accompanied by the excitement of racing.

A regular race-course, very extensively patronized to all appearance, was in use near Germantown at quite an early period. Bulow, who visited Philadelphia in the latter part of the last century, speaks, in his account of his travels, of having witnessed a race near Germantown, where he saw horses run a four-mile heat in eight minutes, a feat which, he says, the horses of Germany could not perform.

Another race-course was situated upon the Hunting Park estate, at the corner of Nicetown Lane and the old York road. It was known as Hart's race-course.

That racing was, however, far from generally popular is shown by the fact that "fifteen hundred mechanics and twelve hundred manufacturers" signed an address to the grand jury, in June, 1802, in which they declared that the race-course was injurious to them, and went on to say,—

"This English dissipation of horse-racing may be agreeable to a few idle landed gentlemen, who bestow more care in training their horses than in educating their children, and it may be amusing to British mercantile agents and a few landed characters in Philadelphia; but it is in the greatest degree injurious to the mechanical and manufacturing interest, and will tend to our ruin if the nuisance is not removed by your patriotic exertions."

In September of the same year the "great mischiefs and vices" resulting from races held at a place between Frankford and Bustleton were denounced in a communication to the *Philadelphia Gazette*. Again, in 1805, the evil consequences of races are exposed by a writer in the *Daily Advertiser*, who says, "The Germantown races yesterday commenced, where I suppose

intoxication, riot, lewdness, and distress may be seen in all their various shapes."

Races continued to be held, however, for several years later, but this species of gambling could not meet with the approval of the Legislature, and on the 17th of February, 1820, a law was passed which declared that "all racing, running, pacing, or trotting of horses, mares, or geldings, for money, goods, or chattels, or other valuable things, shall be, and hereby are declared to be, common nuisances and offenses against this State." The animal used in the race was liable to be forfeited and seized by the overseers of the poor. All wagers and bets on horse-races, and notes and other securities given on account of the same, were declared void. The act further made it an offense to make up a purse or plate to be run for, to print advertisements, handbills, etc., mentioning the time and place at which races were to be held. Races for money were broken up for a time, but as racing to merely test the speed of the horses was not prohibited, a great deal of private betting was carried on, and the law was thus evaded, though apparently respected.

Before the Revolution such barbarous amusements as cock-fighting, bull-baiting, and bear-baiting were frequently indulged in, especially cock-fighting, in which men of the highest respectability found pleasure. Watson, in his "Annals," quotes from a letter of Dr. William Shippen to Dr. Gardiner, in 1735, announcing that he sent his friend "a young gamecock to be depended upon," and giving as a reason for not sending an old cock that "our young cockers have contrived to kill and steal all I had." The venerable annalist also states that Timothy Matlack had once "a great passion" for cock-fighting, which caused the wags to transform the initials T. G., with which he sometimes signed his political articles, into Tim Gaff, by which nickname he was afterward designated. Bull-baiting and bear-baiting were patronized principally by a lower class of people; they were usually gotten up by the butchers, who reared and kept dogs for the sport. Yet, it is on record that some very respectable citizens also kept bull-dogs and found much enjoyment in the excitement of these fights. These practices were gradually abandoned by the better class of men, but did not disappear entirely for some years after the Revolution.

Poulson's *Advertiser* of April, 1812, contained a complaint from a correspondent that on Easter Monday a certain neighborhood (not named) was a scene of riot and confusion on account of a cock-fight; also that a boxing-match was advertised at Bush Hill, which had been prevented by constables and aldermen. The writer took this occasion to lament the increasing wickedness of mankind.

As late as 1821 cock-fighting was carried on, but the cock-pit was shunned by all who laid a claim to social standing. Waln, in "The Hermit in Philadelphia," published in that year, says,—

"Cocking, to which English ruffians are so generally addicted, is limited to a very small number of Philadelphia fashionables. Several cock-pits, however, exist in the neighborhood of the city under the superintendence of men who have nothing further to dread from the opinion of the world. Toward a certain quarter there is one of higher rank, to which some of our aspirants have the misfortune to belong. This barbarous predilection subsides with the rude passions of youth, and I do not know one veteran cocker to disgrace the character of our city."

At the time when the Council was so much exercised about tavern frays and disturbances that it had to increase the number of night-watchmen, there was, without doubt, a good deal of "gaming and curses loud and deep" in some of these haunts of vice, yet it is strangely true that while in England gambling was carried on to such an extent that the period of which we speak might be called the "age of gaming," this fashionable vice never prevailed to any alarming extent in Philadelphia. Card-playing, even for amusement, never became a general custom, nor was it at a later period the principal attraction in fashionable society receptions, as it was in New York, as stated by the witty Rebecca Frank, in a letter already quoted in our chapter on Manners and Customs. The condemnation by the Friends of all sorts of gambling as frivolous and injurious, and leading to loss of substance and waste of time, and by the Puritans as a sinful practice, had their weight with public opinion, and Philadelphia society sought more intellectual recreation than that of handling slips of painted pasteboard. Still, it was not thought improper for sedate old gentlemen to sit down to a solemn rubber of whist, or perchance to a game of "all fours" or cribbage. But in every large or growing city there is always a class of people who care little for their reputation, and are not influenced by the opinion of good society. Among such there was much surreptitious gambling. The Legislature found it necessary to put a restraint upon this demoralizing practice by which the young and weak were lured to destruction, and by an act of Assembly, passed in 1794, playing at cards, dice, billiards, bowls, shuffleboard, or any game of hazard or skill, for money or other valuable consideration, was liable to fine.

Among the games of hazard prohibited by this act was one designated by the mysterious name of the "E. O." The extreme simplicity of this game was one of its chief attractions. On a round table, covered with canvas or oil-cloth, were painted lines radiating from a small circle in the centre. Upon each division formed by these lines the letters "E" and "O" were painted alternately. On one of these letters, in any division, at his choice, the players staked their money; the keeper of the game now placed a teetotum in the small circle in the centre of the board, and gave it a whirl; the toy spun around, tracing an erratic circle over the lines, and finally *died* in one of the divisions, to the great joy of the player who had hit upon the lucky letter and the discomfiture of the others. That a certain skill in twirling the teetotum enabled the keeper to score regular profits is mani-

fest, yet the dupes were not wanting to bet on the E. O. This old game has reappeared at different periods under other names, and with various improvements, the most artistic being the "menagerie," which was for a short time in vogue some thirty or forty years ago. Instead of letters, the table was ornamented with figures of animals, and the teetotum had octagonal sides. The elephant was the most difficult to reach, and a lucky hit on this animal brought considerable gain. Many went to "see the elephant," who came back sorely disappointed and never boasted of what the sight had cost them.

Billiards was a game much in vogue, though frequently denounced as gambling. A writer in the *Repository*, in 1802, said with fine sarcasm,—

"For the benefit of the friends to mental improvement, to the refinement of human nature, and to the happiness of society, the theme of this shall be, 'The virtues of a billiard-table.' The art of playing dexterously on this table is one of the most elegant accomplishments of gentlemen of spirit and spunk in every quarter of the refined world.

"There is something in it peculiarly adapted to the happy political constitution of the State. It reduces all to a perfect level. The sot, merchant, cobbler, captain, blacksmith, spruce gallant, pickpocket, and jockey are all hale fellows well met, and merit is the only true criterion of eminence. Such a general and promiscuous collection must certainly have a most happy influence over the gay and thoughtless youths of this city. It was ever a virtue in the young to revere and imitate the aged. Happy for them it is that here they may follow the example even of those whose gray hairs stimulated them to a redemption of their time by the constant repetition of *memento mori*."

Another writer defends the game as a perfectly innocent amusement, provided that no sum of money whatever be staked, and ends by comparing it to the childish play of marbles:

"Both games are played with balls; the only difference is that the one are made of common stone, and the other of ivory, and that the one is driven forward by the hand, and the other with a stick. Now, I cannot see why anything sinful can be attributed to an elephant's tooth more than to a stone, or how the crime is greater by propelling a ball with a stick instead of the hand, or by playing on a table and in a room instead of at the corner of a street and on the ground. I think the greatest sin is to be attributed to the latter game instead of the former."

For a short time pugilism, which had become fashionable in England, was taken in favor in Philadelphia. In 1824, William Fuller, who styled himself "the celebrated pugilist from London," gave notice that he proposed to give "lessons in the above-named manly science, whereby gentlemen, after a few lessons, will be enabled to chastise those who may offer violence, and protect themselves from the attacks of ruffians." In November of the same year, G. Kensett, "scientific boxer, from London," opened his school for teaching the art of self-defense. In February, 1825, Kensett gave "a grand display of the useful art of self-defense," assisted by several amateurs.

British boxers and French fencing-masters did not succeed, however, in exciting in the Philadelphians' breasts an inordinate fondness for the "ring" or *salle d'armes*. It is a singular fact that the native American, in every part of the Union, though he be ever ready to fight his battles with the knife, the pistol, or the rifle, and he may on an emergency strike with his fist, has never taken kindly to scientific fisticuffs or the small-sword exercise.

But the Philadelphians were fond of many sports requiring strength or agility, especially out-door sports. Bowls, ten-pins, quoit-throwing, bullets or "long bowls," the shuffle-board, with its heavy weights to be shoved or "shuffled" with a strong hand, guided by a cunning eye, were games which attracted crowds of visitors to the suburban inns and public gardens. A little betting on results may have thrown a spice of gambling in these amusements, but generally they were indulged in merely for the sake of the sport.

The first place of public resort fitted up on the plan of the public gardens in London was at the Lower Ferry at Schuylkill, known as Gray's Ferry. It was opened to the public shortly after the Revolution, and soon attained a well-merited popularity. Visitors, attracted by the novelty of the thing, were delighted with the tasteful arrangement of the place, where shaded walks, beautiful flowers, and artistic decorations combined to please the eye, while comfortable boxes afforded places of rest, where refreshments of every kind could be obtained. The city poets—the muses have never lacked fervent worshipers in Philadelphia—grew delirious over the beauties of the place, both natural and artificial, and the *Columbian Magazine* more than once admitted into its "Poet's Corner" "Verses upon Gray's Ferry," and "Lines" and other poetical effusions inspired by the same. Nor was the attractive resort celebrated by poets only, its praise was sung in prose as well. The following passage, clipped from one of these laudatory articles, bears evidence to the orderly disposition of the people:

"It is remarkable that public gardens are so little disordered by the concourse of mixed multitudes. The reason of this must be that even rude minds are harmonized by the genius of the place, and are awed into veneration for its beauty. When the pleasure-grounds of the Messrs. Gray were first opened to the public, their friends apprehended vexatious mischief from the less cultivated part of their visitors; but were agreeably disappointed, notwithstanding the novelty of the scene and that impatience of restraint which, in some degree, is a necessary evil in very free countries. In this respect, I place elegant gardens among the nurseries of national virtue. The sacred page, in conformity with our finer feelings, has laid the scene of man's first innocent and happy existence in a garden, and represents the future mansions of the just under the emblems of a paradise planted with the trees of Life, and watered by the crystal streams that spring from the throne of God! A mind accustomed to noble thoughts will frequently rise from Nature to Nature's God, and exclaim, with the poet,—

"'Hail! Source of being!—universal Soul
Of heaven and earth! Essential Presence, hail!
To Thee I bend the knee! To Thee my thoughts
Continual climb, who with a master hand
Hast the great whole into perfection touched!'"

Among the amusements prepared for the entertainment of visitors were concerts and fire-works,—the latter the most popular at all times with the crowd. On the 4th of July, 1790, the proprietors of Gray's Garden gave a splendid exhibition. The floating bridge was decorated with shrubbery and flowers, and with flags representing all the States in the Union.

The ship "Union"—a prominent object in the Federal procession of 1789—lay off the gardens, flying the colors of all nations. At night the "Union" appeared in a blaze of light, as did also a floating island, with a farm-house and garden. The portraits of the Presidents of the United States, and the many statues of heathen deities which decorated the gardens, were illuminated also. Thousands assembled at the ferry to admire the fairy-like scene, and it was pronounced a great success,—the grandest spectacle, in fact, presented since the Federal procession pageant.

At that time Gray's Garden had already a rival in the public favor. This was Harrowgate, in the upper part of the county, where a mineral spring had been discovered, possessing, it was claimed, great medicinal virtues. The proprietor, George Esterley, advertised his "Medical Waters for Drinking or Bathing," giving the analysis made by Drs. Rush, Mease, and Streble; but mindful of the comforts of the well as much as of the cure of the ailing, he ended his advertisement with the following inviting promise: "He is determined to keep the best of liquors of all and every kind. Breakfast, dinners, tea, coffee, and fruits of all kinds may be had at the shortest notice, and also excellent accommodations for boarding and lodging," which leads to the belief that brandy and rum did not destroy the virtues of the Harrowgate mineral waters.

The city poets strung up their lyres and forthwith sang the praise of the new Helicon. Harrowgate became subsequently a favorite resort during the pleasant season of the year, less, however, on account of its spring than for the attractions it presented as a public garden. It was a famous place for concerts and exhibitions, and was sometimes called "Vauxhall." In the summer of 1792, Monsieur Rolong, a famous harpist, appeared here. Messrs. Phill, Schulz, Tremner, Roth, Christhilf, Spangerberg, etc., assisted in an instrumental concert. Transparencies were exhibited, illuminated in the Chinese style. Kenna, of the Northern Liberty Theatre, gave a grand concert at Harrowgate, July 4, 1793.

The Wigwam baths, on the banks of the Schuylkill, at the foot of Race Street, were fitted up in 1791 by John Coyle. This establishment boasted of a Bowling Green, two shower-baths and one plunging-bath, but it had other attractions, alluded to by Priest, in his "Travels through the United States," 1793–97, when he says, "One evening, at six o'clock, a party of pleasure went to a tea-garden and tavern romantically situated on the banks of the Schuylkill, famous for serving up coffee in style. On the table there were coffee, cheese, sweet cakes, hung beef, sugar, pickled salmon, butter, crackers, ham, cream, and bread. The ladies all declared it was a most charming relish."

An attempt was made, in 1796, by Bates and Darley, performers at the new theatre, to establish a popular place of resort at Bush Hill. They leased for this purpose Andrew Hamilton's mansion with its fine gardens, but their plan was not such as to command success, and the attempts to put it in execution proved a failure. By this plan one hundred subscribers, at one hundred dollars each, were declared necessary,—the money to be paid quarterly. The subscribers were to have free tickets to the exhibitions, concerts, and entertainments, and were to be repaid by Bates and Darley in ten years, by annual installments of ten dollars.

If Bates and Darley's scheme proved to be impracticable, their selection of Bush Hill as a place of public resort showed judgment; for a few years later the mansion and grounds were leased by Lozout & Brown, who established there a public garden, and their venture was quite profitable. J. E. Lozout, who was a pyrotechnist "from France and Germany," gave a fine exhibition of fire-works on the grounds. It gave so much satisfaction that to gratify the public wish, on the Fourth of July, he gave another grand pyrotechnic display at Richardet's Long-ball Alley, below the new Catholic church, on Fourth Street. The fact that the tickets of admission were sold for one dollar speaks well for the excellence of the entertainment and the liberality of the patriotic spectators.

"Louth Hall," kept by John Hyde, on Tenth Street, between Race and Arch Streets, was taken by Louis Fouquet in 1803, and opened as a public garden. It soon became famous for its excellent cookery and the fine style in which Fouquet served up dinners and banquets. Military companies and other societies gave it the preference for their annual banquets. The place enjoyed a deserved popularity during about ten years; after that, the cutting through of Cherry Street having spoiled the grounds, the business declined, and Fouquet gave it up in 1816. The place ceased to be a garden after his retirement.

There were some nurseries and botanic gardens which, being established originally for the cultivation of flowers, trees, and plants, became, in consequence of the elegance of the manner in which they were laid out and the attractions of the gardens and floral splendor, places of resort. Some of them furnished refreshments, edible and potable. Among the former were tea, coffee, milk, relishes, soups, etc. Some of them sold liquors, the most popular of which among those who resorted there were mead, metheglin, malt beverages, ice cream, etc.

One of the oldest was that of Daniel Engelman, florist and seedsman. He was a Dutchman from Harlem, Holland, who came to Philadelphia in 1759. At an early period he established his nursery and garden on the north side of Arch Street, between Schuylkill Seventh [Sixteenth] and Schuylkill Eighth [Fifteenth]. He was still at that place in 1822. After he relinquished it, and about 1826–27, Thomas Smith became proprietor, and opened it as the Labyrinth Garden.

George Honey, formerly clerk to the County Commissioners, also established a garden at an early

period. It was quite large, having four hundred and ninety-five feet frontage on Race Street, five hundred and seven on Schuylkill Third, and five hundred and fifty-six on Schuylkill Second. Thomas Birch, gardener, was established here as early as 1811. John MacAran, who had been gardener for seven years for William Hamilton, of the Woodlands, and who also had laid out and improved Lemon Hill for Henry Pratt, went into business with him as nurseryman, florist, and seedsman at the beginning of that year. They remained together until 1822. Birch relinquished control of the garden about 1824, and it was afterward kept by August D'Arras. It contained about six acres.

Gray's Garden ceased to be a place of public amusement about the end of the eighteenth century, although it continued to receive patronage as a place of refreshment. Its distance from the city was the principal objection to it, and when equally attractive gardens were established at more accessible points its popularity waned and finally disappeared. After the Grays, Joseph Reed kept the garden and ferry until 1803, when Isaac Tucker became the lessee. He was there but one year, and was succeeded by James Coyle, formerly of the Indian Queen Tavern. By that time the garden had ceased to be a place of amusement.

The same causes brought about the decline of Harrowgate, notwithstanding the virtues of its waters and the musical attractions offered by Gillingham and Hupfeld in 1810, when they got up a series of entertainments on the plan of the celebrated London "Vauxhall." Harrowgate was offered for sale in 1816.

The old Lebanon Garden, at the corner of Tenth and South Streets, is better remembered as a popular tavern than as a place of amusement. It became a favorite resort for old Democrats. Among the events connected with its history are a display of fire-works in 1817, and a bear-roasting on the 4th of March, 1829, when Gen. Jackson was inaugurated President; also a Democratic celebration on the Fourth of July, 1832, when a man was fatally injured by the explosion of a cannon.

The old ante-Revolutionary place of resort, Centre-House Garden, on the south side of Market Street, at the southwest corner of Schuylkill Eighth [now Fifteenth] Street, had not entirely lost its popularity at the beginning of the present century. A concert was given there on the 4th of July, 1800, by Messrs. McDonald, Walen, and others. In the summer of 1808 a Mr. Victorien erected an amphitheatre at the Centre-House Garden, and announced that the performances would consist in feats on the tight-rope, ground and lofty tumbling, etc., in which he would be the principal actor. The building was opened in July, 1809, by a Mr. Martin, as a "summer theatre." Martin sent up a balloon on the Fourth of July.

The Lombardy Garden was appropriated to public use about 1800. It was situated on the west side of Centre Square and on the north side of Market Street. It occupied the lot now bounded by Market, Filbert, the street formerly called Oak and Merrick [now a portion of Broad Street], and Schuylkill Eighth [now Fifteenth Street]. James Garner became the occupant, and provided "breakfast, tea, and turtle-soup" for his customers. Summer concerts were also given there. In 1803, Jacob Kraafs was the lessee and gave notice that concerts would be given, "admittance, twenty-five cents, part in refreshments on the plan of Sadler's Wells." He also changed the name of the place to "The New Sadler's Wells," but in a very short time the old name was resumed. John F. Renault gave a grand exhibition of fire-works in May, 1805. Among other things presented to dazzle the public were figures of Washington and Jefferson. In June, 1811, Charles J. Delacroix, for nine years director of the festivals at Vauxhall, New York, gave two exhibitions of pyrotechnic art at Lombardy Garden. In 1819 the property was advertised to be sold. In May, 1822, Anthony Elton gave notice that he had opened, at the old Lombardy Garden, the Centre Square Hotel.[1]

As all the young people agree that eating ice-cream is an amusement, Bosio, the Italian confectioner, is entitled to an honorable mention in this chapter, since his "ice-cream house" opened in 1800, in Germantown, "opposite the Spread Eagle," was the first establishment of the kind known to the Philadelphians. Moreover, Bosio's success induced others to embark in the ice-cream business. Meanwhile greater attention had been given to the cultivation of the strawberry, and it was discovered that the flavor of this fruit combined admirably with that of fresh cream. The lucky possessors of strawberry-patches and milch cows invited the public to come and partake of this delicacy, and as no discovery is ever made but it leaves room for improvement, after a time "ice-cream" was substituted for the plain "cream" and strawberries.

Among those "strawberry-gardens" which combatted successfully against the old places of resort by offering their heated and thirsty visitors some cooling, delicious fruit bathed in rich, fresh cream, instead of the coarse viands and intoxicating drinks of yore, the following were noted:

In June, 1808, notice was given that Strawberry Hill, beyond the Robin Hood Tavern on Ridge road, was open for the reception of company. It was provided with an abundance of excellent strawberries and cream.

George Esher, in June, 1824, gave notice to the public that he was prepared to furnish strawberries and cream at his strawberry-garden on Ridge turnpike, two and a half miles from the city. It is very probable that his place was at Strawberry Hill.

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[1] The Pennsylvania Railroad depot now occupies the site of this garden.

There is reason to believe that the premises are now in the park, and are known as Strawberry Mansion. Strawberry Hill was originally the country-seat of Commodore John Barry.

Daniel Kochersperger, in 1824–25, apprised the public that he was ready to furnish them with strawberries and cream at his farm on Francis Lane (now Fairmount Avenue), between Ridge road and the new penitentiary.

Vincent Chirico gave notice in April, 1824, that he had opened Washington Garden, at the corner of Hamilton Street, Morrisville, near the water-works at Fairmount, where he was ready to dispose of cakes, fruit, ice-cream, etc. The situation of the garden was probably near the intersection of Hamilton and Morris Streets, which is now commonly called Callowhill Street, although not in a direct east and west line with that street.

The Moyamensing Botanic Garden, which was established in 1820 by Alexander Parker, was particularly noted for some box-trees of unusual size which stood near the door. These curious specimens of luxuriant vegetation and horticultural skill were cut and trimmed with fanciful taste so as to present the appearance of a square base or pedestal, two or three feet high, upon which rested a huge round ball; above this rose a sort of spire, making altogether a very singular figure. Hundreds of visitors came, year after year, to gaze on these box-trees, wondering how they could preserve the symmetry of their outlines while perceptibly, though slowly, growing larger. The Moyamensing garden was on Prime Street (Love Lane), between Eighth and Eleventh Streets. At that time Ninth and Tenth Streets were not opened as far as Prime Street. When the extension of the city necessitated the farther opening of these streets, it happened that Tenth Street went exactly through the middle of Parker's Garden, leaving the old house just beyond the line of the sidewalk.

Another fine nursery garden was that established on the lot bounded by Filbert, Arch, Schuylkill Fifth [Eighteenth] and Schuylkill Sixth [Seventeenth] Streets, by John MacAran, already mentioned as having been Birch's partner. MacAran supplied his visitors with strawberries and cream, and fitted out his garden in a very tasteful style. He built a large, high conservatory, in which were displayed large plants and trees. His hot-houses were long, spacious, and convenient to walk through. The out-door flower-beds and the garden, with its little boxes, vines, and shrubbery, were all arranged in good taste, and with the occasional display of a rare exotic, and illuminations with colored lamps on gala evenings, the place commanded a large and profitable attendance. MacAran's garden contained about four acres.

MacAran's had a collection of living birds and animals, and the place became a concert-garden and vaudeville theatre about 1840, and fire-works were exhibited there. A spectacle that never failed to attract the crowd was a fine representation of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius.

Pyrotechnic exhibitions were always popular in Philadelphia, and at a remote period were the principal feature in all public celebrations. They were so well received that artificers found it profitable to give them regularly on a minor scale. On special occasions these exhibitions were of a rare degree of perfection. Watson's "Annals" contain the following description of the great fire-works exhibited in September, 1758, on the Delaware River, in honor of the reduction of Cape Breton by Gen. Amherst: "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, etc. 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, etc. 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."

During the war of independence, when the Chevalier de Luzerne, ambassador of France, gave a splendid night entertainment in honor of the birth of the dauphin of France (poor little Louis XVII., who was destined to die a prisoner, after untold sufferings), the principal feature on that occasion was a brilliant display of fire-works. The pyrotechnist who prepared that exhibition was probably the Frenchman, Jean Laugeay. We find him, in October, 1781, exhibiting "a very grand fire-works, by a girl eleven years old, consisting of two English men-of-war fighting two Americans in force, and the battle shall be given to the Americans." In 1782 he gave an exhibition in the State-House yard (price of admission, one dollar), and on the 4th of July, 1787, another grand exhibition at Reade's Centre House, Market Street (admission, 7*s.* 6*d.*).

Ambroise & Co., "fire-workers, painters, and mechanicians,"—also French,—erected an amphitheatre in Mulberry Street, between Eighth and Ninth, where they gave regular exhibitions. A grand scene, which they brought out in September, 1794, and repeated many times afterward, was a representation of the taking of the Bastille, in which the shattering of the drawbridge was depicted with awful fidelity, and balls were "seen issuing from the cannon and musketry." Ambroise & Co. may claim the honor of having been the first to manufacture inflammable gas and exhibit the effect of gas-light in America. In August, 1796, they advertised an exhibition of fire-works, part of which was composed of combustibles in the usual style of pyrotechnics. The other part was composed "of inflammable air, by the assistance of light, as lately p[illegible]rope." By this latter means

were "exhibited an Italian parterre," "a picture of the mysteries of Masonry," "a view of a superb country-seat," "a grand portico," etc. There were eight pieces thus exhibited. Another fine exhibition given by these artists was the display of fire-works in February, 1796, in honor of the general peace reigning throughout the world at that time. The celebration was gotten up by subscription at Michael Ambroise & Co.'s amphitheatre, in Arch Street, between Eighth and Ninth. There was a grand triumphal arch twenty-six feet in height and twenty feet in width, decorated with pilasters, statues, vases, baskets, and inscriptions.

The oldest museum that we hear of in Philadelphia was that of Pierre Eugene du Simitiere, which was, at best, but a private collection, temporarily opened to the public. Du Simitiere was a Swiss-French gentleman, of good education, a writer and a painter. He had a decided turn for collecting curiosities, literary or natural. He had lived in New York, and he spoke and wrote English correctly; he came to Philadelphia before the Revolution. He wrote a great deal. Five volumes of his curious MSS., with some rare fugitive printed papers, are in the Philadelphia Library. His collection of curiosities became so much spoken of that he was frequently importuned by applications for permission to examine it. In 1782 he advertised it as the "American Museum," stating that it was constantly increasing, and that he was frequently applied to for an inspection of it; he had, therefore, set apart Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, between the hours of ten and twelve in the morning, and three and four in the afternoon, an hour for each company, not to exceed six in number. His house was in Arch Street, above Fourth. The price of the tickets was half a dollar each. Du Simitiere afterwards proposed to make his museum a permanent public exhibition, and he applied for assistance from the commonwealth to enable him to enlarge his building, but his application was unsuccessful.

In 1784, Charles Wilson Peale opened a museum at his residence, corner of Third and Lombard Streets. Mr. Peale had painted and preserved a large collection of portraits, principally of Revolutionary men; to this interesting gallery of paintings he added many natural curiosities collected by himself, and he opened his rooms to the public. The exhibition was a success from the first. The collection of portraits was a patriotic enterprise which could not fail to meet with general commendation. It served to preserve the features of the heroes who had fought the battles of the republic, or had assisted in saving it by their wise counsels and their examples of disinterested patriotism. Already many of the originals slept the eternal sleep from which there is no waking, and though their deeds were remembered, posterity could have formed no idea of those faces lighted up by the noblest passion but for the pencil of Charles Wilson Peale.

This indefatigable and zealous artist worked day and night to make his museum an institution of which Philadelphia should be proud. His collection of natural curiosities increased so rapidly that his rooms could no longer contain them. In 1792 he discovered a new process for the preservation of beasts and birds, and he applied to the Legislature for assistance to enable him to perpetuate the advantages of his valuable discovery, which, he claimed, surpassed any previous process. He had already on several occasions sought to obtain aid from the State, for he held that his museum, though the undertaking of a private individual, was a public benefit.

In 1794 a committee of the House, which had visited the museum, made a very favorable report, recommending that a loan of one thousand dollars be made to Peale. The House, however, refused to adopt this recommendation.

At this juncture the Philosophical Society nobly came forward and granted Peale the use of its building in Fifth Street, below Chestnut. Thither the museum was transferred in September, 1794, and its importance was better appreciated when the numerous specimens were properly arranged in the spacious rooms of the society. Here Mr. Peale began to form a zoological garden in a small way. It was fitted up in the rear of the building on Independence Square. Among other live specimens there was an eagle, over whose cage was this inscription, "Feed me well, and I'll live a hundred years." Mr. Peale manipulated wax with as much skill as he wielded the brush. The Rev. Manassah Cutler, who visited the museum while it was still at Third and Lombard Streets, relates the following anecdote:

"Immediately after dinner we called on Mr. Peale to see his collections of paintings and natural curiosities. We were conducted into a room by a boy, who told us Mr. Peale would wait on us in a minute or two. He desired us, however, to walk into the room where the curiosities were, and showed us a long, narrow entry which led into the room. I observed, through a glass window at my right hand, a gentleman close to me, standing with a pencil in one hand and a small sheet of ivory in the other, and his eyes directed to the opposite side of the room, as though he was taking some object on his ivory sheet. Dr. Clarkson did not see this man until he stepped into the room; but instantly turned about, and came back, saying, 'Mr. Peale is very busy taking the picture of something with his pencil. We will step back into the other room, and wait till he is at leisure.' We returned through the entry; but as we entered the room we met Mr. Peale coming to us. The doctor started back in astonishment, and cried out, 'Mr. Peale, how is it possible you should get out of the other room to meet us here?' Mr. Peale smiled and said, 'I have not been in the other room for some time.' 'No!' said Dr. Clarkson. 'Did I not see you there this moment with your pencil and ivory?' 'Why do you think you did?' asked Peale. 'Why do I think I did?' replied Dr. Clarkson. 'I saw you there if I ever saw you in my life.' 'Well,' says Peale, 'let us go and see.'

"When we returned we found the man standing as before. It was a piece of waxwork which Mr. Peale had just finished, in which he had taken a likeness of himself."

Mr. Cutler says of the collection,—

"The walls of the room were covered with paintings, both portrait and historic. Under a small gallery his natural curiosities are arranged in a most romantic and amusing manner. There was a mound of earth, considerably raised and covered with green turf, from which a number of trees ascended and branched out in different directions. On the de-

clivity of this mound was a small thicket, and just below it an artificial pond; on the other side a number of large and small rocks of different kinds, collected from different parts of the earth. At the foot of the mound were holes dug, and the earth thrown up, to show the different kinds of clay,—ochre, coal, marl, etc.,—which he had collected from various parts; also ores and minerals. Around the pond was a beach, on which was exhibited a fine assortment of shells, turtles, frogs, lizards, water-snakes, etc. In the pond was a collection of fish, with their skins stuffed, water-fowl, such as geese, ducks, cranes, herons, etc., all having the appearance of life, for their skins were admirably preserved. On the mound were such birds as commonly walk on the ground, etc."

But the great curiosity that attracted all Philadelphia to the museum, some years later, was the skeleton of the mammoth. Peale got the first information about the discovery of this skeleton in 1785. The first bones were brought to him by Dr. Browne, for the purpose of making drawings of them. Mr. Peale often gazed on these drawings, and thought what a grand thing it would be to procure an entire skeleton. The occasion, so long wished for, presented itself in the autumn of 1799. In digging a marl-pit in the vicinity of Newburgh, on the river Hudson, some workmen came upon many bones of extraordinary size. Peale, learning of the discovery through the newspapers, proceeded to the spot and succeeded in obtaining a collection of bones. Some portions of the skeleton were wanting, and artificial ones had to be substituted. The bones collected belonged to more than one animal, and after completing the first skeleton it was found that a second might be put together. This was done by Rembrandt and Raphael Peale, who took this second skeleton to England in 1802. They failed to sell it there, and brought it back to this country in 1803. In honor of the finishing of the second mammoth a collation was given within the cavity of the skeleton to twelve gentlemen. This original feast was the subject of a long article in the *Portfolio*, in which all the toasts, many of them witty, were given, as well as a long poem written for the occasion.

Peale had many warm friends and admirers, and after the removal of the Legislature from Philadelphia they exerted themselves on his behalf to obtain the use of a vacant portion of the State-House. By an act passed on the 17th of March, 1802, Mr. Peale was authorized to occupy the east room of the lower story (now known as the Independence Hall) and all the upper stories. He established his museum in the second story. Additions to the curiosities on exhibition were constantly made, and Mr. Peale spared neither pains nor money to make the museum worthy of the public patronage. Until 1806, the place was open to visitors during daytime only, owing to the difficulty of lighting large rooms with the ordinary lamps and candles in use at that time. In that year the proprietor gave notice that the museum would be lighted twice a week with patent lamps and candles equal to the light of two hundred and twenty ordinary lamps of candles. These evening exhibitions were generally well attended, for, in addition to their being an accommodation to the general public, there was always some novel feature introduced to make the exhibitions more attractive. In this Mr. Peale was assisted by his sons,—Rubens, Franklin, and Titian Peale. They gave lectures and experiments in chemistry, philosophy, exhibitions of the magic lantern, philosophical fire-works, electric experiments, and other entertainments, scientific and instructive.

Charles Wilson Peale and Titian Peale, assisted by —— Fenton and James Griffith, were the taxidermists of the museum. In 1809, Mr. Peale commenced a collection of stuffed monkeys, dressed as human beings, and engaged in some of the occupations familiar to man. The first exhibition represented a poet and a painter, with another individual sitting for his portrait in the artist's studio. Others followed, and in each new group some comical effect was obtained. Monkeys were represented as engaged in the various trades, and the contrast between their grave occupations and their mischievous faces and ridiculous atattitudes was extremely amusing. Peale's monkey tradesmen live in the memory of many an aged Philadelphian.

So many specimens had been added to the museum that the place was crowded, and there were many duplicates. Rembrandt Peale added to this surplus stock a collection of natural curiosities, which he purchased from James Savage, and he proceeded to Baltimore, where he established a museum and gallery of fine arts in Holliday Street. In January, 1818, the "Great Sea-Serpent" was exhibited at Peale's Museum. This monster, captured in the month of September of the preceding year off the coast of Massachusetts, had been submitted to the examination of the Linnæan Society of New England, and by it named *Scoliophis Atlanticus*. J. R. Peniman painted a grand picture of the capture of the sea-serpent, and this picture, nineteen feet in length by nine feet in height, was added to the treasures of the museum. Another sea-monster—a "devil-fish," twelve feet long, fifteen feet broad, and weighing two thousand pounds—was exhibited at the museum in 1823. Occasionally the place was opened to other exhibitions besides those of natural curiosities. Thus, in 1820, the "Pandean Band," consisting of a single performer, an Italian named Signor Helene, who played on five different instruments at the same time, was engaged. He was certainly a living curiosity, if not a "natural" one, for by using his hands, elbows, and knees, he managed to play on the Italian viola, the Turkish cymbals, and the tenor drum, while he blew into a set of pandean pipes thrust into his waistcoat, and by wagging his head tinkled the Chinese bells fixed thereon as a sort of helmet, presenting a grotesque rather than artistic appearance. The "orchestra-man" has long ceased to be a curiosity, but at that time he drew well.

The art gallery connected with Peale's Museum contained principally portraits painted by C. W. Peale himself, and by his sons at a later date. They will be

treated under their proper head in our chapter on art.

Peale's Museum was absorbed into the Philadelphia Museum Company, which was incorporated by act of the Legislature in February, 1821. The corporators were Pierce Butler, Raphael Peale, Rembrandt Peale, Coleman Sellers, and Rubens Peale,—all of whom, except Butler, being members of the Peale family. It was organized on the 14th of March, 1821, and the trustees were Pierce Butler, Professor Robert Patterson, Zaccheus Collins, Coleman Sellers, and Rubens Peale. The company established a series of scientific lectures, to be illustrated by articles in the possession of the company. This was a good plan to diffuse knowledge in the most entertaining manner. These interesting lectures were delivered by the following gentlemen: On Mineralogy, Dr. Gerard Troost; Zoology, Thomas Say; Comparative Anatomy, Dr. Richard Harlan; Physiology, Dr. John D. Godman. The conservator in zoology was Titian Peale, and the manager Rubens Peale. Charles Wilson Peale delivered a lecture on Natural History, in 1823. In 1828 the museum was removed to the Arcade, where it remained until 1838.

On the 4th of July of that year the Philadelphia Museum building, at the northeast corner of Ninth and Sansom Streets, was opened for exhibition. The museum was supposed to have outgrown the accommodations for the storage and exhibition of the collection at the Arcade. As early as Dec. 22, 1835, leave was given to the Museum Company, which was incorporated in 1821, to change its capital so that five hundred shares of two hundred dollars each should be divided in value into one thousand shares of one hundred dollars each. This would only have been a change without increase of capital. But permission was given to increase the number of shares to four thousand, which would swell the capital to four hundred thousand dollars. In the act it was declared that no part of the museum should be sold except duplicates. With the increased stock and in an enlarged spirit of enterprise the managers of the museum undertook the erection of a splendid building. It was two stories in height, each with very lofty ceilings. The length was two hundred and thirty-eight feet, nearly three-quarters of the square, extending from Ninth toward Eighth Street. The width was seventy feet. The second story ran over all. The first story extended back to an inclosed portion cut off from the main building, an apartment by itself which was called the lecture-room. It had its separate entrance, and the ticket-office, etc., on Sansom Street, and ran eastward toward a square passage and gateway, which ran to and connected with an alley of about twenty feet in width extending eastward from Ninth Street, and on the north side of the museum building. This alley separated the museum from the rear end of buildings of Chestnut Street, the principal of which was Cook's Circus, afterward Burton's National Theatre. The first story of the building was reached by the doorway on Ninth Street. It was appropriated on the opening for the use of Dunn's Chinese Museum, a very fine collection, which had been made by Nathan Dunn, merchant, during a long residence in China. This exhibition was a life-like representation of Chinese men and women in their proper costumes and engaged in their business, social avocations, and amusements.[1]

The second story was approached by a spacious stairway. The long room was of sufficient height to admit of a gallery all round it near the walls. In the middle of the floor, mounted upon a high pedestal, was the skeleton of the great mammoth, an elephant, other animals and objects, extending from the front

[1] In the "History of Chestnut Street," by Casper Souder, Jr., is the following description of Dunn's Chinese Museum:

"The collection was wonderfully complete. First, there were life-size and life-like wax figures which represented every order of the Chinese from the blind beggar to the mandarin of the first class. These figures were all dressed exactly as the originals dress, and all were presented in the exercise of their respective vocations. The huge room in which the collection was exhibited was fitted up with compartments in which were represented Chinese streets, Chinese parlors, Chinese chambers, Chinese workshops, Chinese stores, and Chinese temples. All these were appropriately furnished, not with painted shams, in the way of tools, fixtures, etc., but with real substantial articles which were made in China, and which at that moment had their counterparts in the houses and shops of the Celestials. There was a cabinet of curiously-wrought furniture, and in which a party of high government officials, with their scribes, etc., were engaged in the discussion of some business matters. The waxen mandarins were all clad in the splendid embroidered garments of their order. And the desciiptive catalogue would teach the visitor how to distinguish the different grades of officials by the color of the button on the top of the cap. Close to where the great men were in council would be a group of their wives, with their little feet peeping out from their embroidered skirts, and (the wives) taking tea together out of tiny porcelain cups while their lords were engaged in discussing the affairs of the central flowery kingdom.

"The store-keeper was behind his counter, just as he was to be seen in the streets of Canton, and with rolls of real silk upon the shelves of his shop. A tawny-skinned customer was represented making his selection of goods; a clerk was busy at his desk making entries in his books with the aid of a camel's-hair pencil and a stick of India ink; a beggar was soliciting alms; the walls were adorned with wise maxims from Confucius, and a Chinese store was displayed to the life. In the narrow apartment which represented the open street were coolies trotting along with some luxurious individual suspended in a 'sedan-chair' from bamboo poles; the Chinese barber was seen plying his trade upon the 'nob' of a customer in the open air; the itinerant tinker was blowing his fire to commence operations upon a cracked dinner-pot; an ancient cobbler was busy upon a damaged shoe; and even the boatman who spends his entire life upon a frail skiff on the Canton River was represented, with his wife and his little ones, on board a real boat taken from the river by Mr. Dunn, with all its real fixtures and appurtenances complete even to the gourd which was tied to the young amphibious Celestials to keep them afloat in case of a sudden dip in the river. There were models of Chinese houses, temples, bridges, boats, war junks, etc.; practical agricultural implements just as they had been used by Chinese husbandmen for hundreds of years; Chinese weapons of war, Chinese coins, Chinese idols, Chinese books; in short everything made by the Chinese or used by them was there in its full proportions, or, if too unwieldy, it was represented by models. The collection was very attractive for several years, and the interest was increased by the presence of a couple of real Chinamen in their native costume, one of whom was a clerkly gentleman, who used to write the names of visitors upon a card in Chinese characters at the consideration of a shilling a head. His brother Chinaman was a musician, who was wont to discourse the most abominable strains that were ever produced by a squawking human voice and an instrument which seemed to be a cross between a hurdy-gurdy and a plantation banjo."

to the back, and leaving the centre of the grand hall free of other obstructions. The natural history collection, animals, beasts, birds, etc., were placed in alcoves, lighted from the many windows on the north and south sides. The gallery floors were sustained on the top of the cases of the alcoves. There were cases also in this part of the building between the windows, but not so deep as on the main floor. A fine landscape scene filled up the extreme end of the hall from gallery to ceiling. The profile department, a most attractive and popular adjunct of the museum from the time of its being in the State-House, was arranged for taking silhouettes about the middle of the north gallery. Portraits of the old Peale collection, two or three hundred in number, were arranged along the fronts of the galleries. The arrangement was attractive. The collection had never been shown to such advantage, but, unfortunately, the enterprise was not successful. The lot had been taken up from Isaac Brown Parker on a heavy ground-rent. The building is said to have cost one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. While the patronage would have been liberal enough in a situation where the expenses were not so heavy, they were not sufficient to keep up either of these collections. At first the visitors were very considerable in number, but when local curiosity had been fully satisfied, the ordinary run of business was not sufficient to keep up the establishment. Dunn's collection was the first to yield. After two or three years it was removed to London, with promise that it should be returned in a few years. It was believed that Mr. Dunn intended to bequeath it to the city of Philadelphia as a free museum. But financial difficulties intervened, and the design was not accomplished. The Chinese collection was removed about 1842–43. The lower room, thence familiarly known as the Chinese Museum, although no museum was there, was thrown open for use for balls, concerts, public meetings, exhibitions, etc. Peale's museum, in the upper story, had a longer tenancy. After the novelty had ceased and the receipts had begun to fall off seriously, the managers instituted additional attractions in the shape of cheap concerts. Norton, the trumpeter, Mrs. Watson, and Mrs. Bailly were principal attractions. After them came the Shaws, — Rosina (afterward Mrs. Charles Howard and Mrs. Harry Watkins, actress), Mary (afterward Mrs. Fogg, afterward Mrs. Krollman), Josephine (afterward Mrs. Russell and Mrs. John Hoey), and David T. Shaw. Prices came down. The Norton & Watson concerts were fifty cents admission,—twenty-five cents to the museum and twenty-five cents for the music. The Shaw concerts fell to twenty-five cents. At a later day "levy" concerts were given in the museum and in the hall of the Chinese Museum. The programmes were of immense length, sometimes having upon them thirty-five pieces, including marches by brass bands, serious and comic songs, quartets, choruses, violin and piano solos, with perhaps a recitation or two to make a little variety. These "levy" concerts were given at a period when times were hard and money was not very plenty, and people were disposed to economy. They were cheap and attractive, because they were generally well conducted. The professional performers were persons of experience, the amateurs who were singers usually possessed good natural voices and knew something about music, and the instrumental performers were quite respectable in their efforts.

After a struggle of about six years the Philadelphia Museum was unable to maintain itself longer. The fine collection of objects of natural history, the largest in the country, was sold and dispersed. Barnum secured a portion of them for his collection in New York and for his museum in Philadelphia. Other curiosities went to Baltimore, Boston, and other cities. An effort was made to continue the better portions of the Peale collection in the old Masonic Hall in Chestnut Street, and to exhibit such curiosities as had been saved in connection with theatrical performances. The Academy of Fine Arts, or Peale's Museum Theatre, was opened by John Sefton & Co. in August, 1846, and closed in July, 1847.

The whole building at Ninth and Sansom Streets now became devoted to public use. The lecture-room, something like that in a medical college, the lecturer standing on a platform below the spectators, they seated in rising benches up to the ceiling, was occupied for many purposes. The genial Signor Antonio Blitz, magician and ventriloquist, popular with old and young, held the place for his winter exhibitions for many years. Other performers of various kinds, elocutionists, vocalists, musicians, orators, and lecturers, on week-days, alternated on Sundays with clergymen and religious congregations. The well-known Francis Fauvel Gouraud attempted here to teach some hundred ladies and gentlemen "the art of memory," and failed, as many of them declared, miserably. Monster balls on behalf of the Catholic benevolent institutions on St. Patrick's Day, with a few after-demonstrations, closed out the season of gayety which commenced about the beginning of November, and led off about that time with the grand fancy costume ball of the Maennerchor, succeeded by balls under the auspices of fire companies, military companies, and other organizations. All the great public meetings came to be held as matter of course in the Chinese Museum, which was the popular, but not accurate, name given to the whole building. The Franklin Institute held its annual exhibitions there, occupying both rooms and making a temporary apartment for the display of stoves, grates, and machinery out of the alley on the north, which being floored and boarded over with a temporary roof made a long, narrow gallery. The Horticultural Society held its annual floral shows in September and October. Political meetings by all parties were held in the first and second stories.

It was estimated that from three to four thousand persons could find standing-room in the Chinese Museum apartment. The upper story, upon floor and gallery, had room for five or six thousand. There were frequently held important conventions and congresses. In 1847 the Whig national convention met there and nominated Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore for President and Vice-President of the United States. The grand banquet by citizens of Philadelphia to the returned volunteers from Mexico took place in the museum room, July 24, 1848. The celebration of the arrival of the "City of Glasgow" steamship, a fine affair, took place there Jan. 11, 1851. The last grand occasion upon which this building was employed was the great consolidation ball and banquet, March 11, 1854. In less than four months after this time the building was in ashes, the flames having been communicated from the National Theatre immediately north of it, which took place July 5, 1854. Isaac Brown Parker, the original owner of the ground, as well as that north of it, occupied by the theatre, had become repossessed by sheriff sales upon his mortgages. He held the vacant lots for some years, and sold them finally to the Butler House Hotel Company, which erected a grand building, extending on Ninth from Chestnut Street to Sansom, along Chestnut to the full width of the National Theatre lot, along Sansom to the extreme east boundary of the museum property, which they finished and opened for guests for the first time on the 13th of February, 1860, and called the building the Continental Hotel.

Daniel Bowen came to Philadelphia in 1790, and opened a wax-work exhibition and museum of paintings and curiosities. In 1795 he took his collection to Boston, where it became the foundation of the Columbian Museum. He gave as one of his reasons for this removal "a desire to avoid a continued competition with my particular friend Charles W. Peale, a distinguished artist of Philadelphia." Bowen's Boston Museum was burned twice. After the second disaster, about the year 1810, he came back to Philadelphia, where he resided until his death, in 1856, at the extreme age of ninety-six years. He was a native of Massachusetts, and had served in the privateer "Providence" during the Revolution. While on board of that vessel he was taken prisoner and carried to England, where he was confined for some time in a prison.

A shameless exhibition was announced on the 21st November, 1794, in the following curious advertisement:

"EXHIBITION OF FIGURES IN COMPOSITION AT FULL LENGTH, Corner of Second and Callowhill Streets, at the sign of the Black Bear.

"The late king of France, together with his queen taking her last farewell of him in the temple the day preceding his execution. The whole is a striking likeness, in full stature, and dressed as they were at the time.

"The king is represented as standing, his queen on her knees by his right side, overwhelmed with sorrow and ready to faint, the king looking tenderly at her.

"Second is the scaffold on which he was executed, whereupon the king stands in full view of the guillotine. Before him is a priest on his knees, with a crucifix in one hand and a prayer-book in the other. On the side of the guillotine stands the executioner, prepared to do his duty.

"When the last signal is given, the priest rises on his feet, the king lays himself on the block, where he is secured. The executioner then turns and prepares to do his duty, and, when the second signal is given, the executioner drops the knife and severs the head from the body in one second. The head falls in a basket, and the lips, which are first red, turn blue. The whole is performed to the life, by an invisible machine, without any perceptible assistance.

"Made by the first Italian artist, of the name of Columba. The workmanship has been admired by the most professed judges wherever it has been seen.

"*₊* The proprietors humbly hope for the encouragement of the public, as nothing shall be wanting on their part to render the exhibition pleasing and satisfactory to their patrons.

"Price, three shillings. Children half-price. To be seen from nine in the morning till nine at night."

It was in reference to this exhibition that Cobbett wrote this very proper rebuke:

"The queen of France, the calumniated Antoinette, was the first foreigner, except some generous Englishmen, that advanced a shilling in the American cause. Have I ever abused her memory? It was not I—though it was an Englishman—that cut off her head, and besprinkled her garments with blood, on a sign hung over the public road. It was not I that guillotined her husband, in an automaton, every day, from nine in the morning till nine at night, for the diversion of the citizens of Philadelphia."

A museum, which for many years enjoyed a high degree of popularity, was opened, in 1807, at No. 48 Market Street, by Jesse Sharpless. As his collection increased, he advertised extensively, giving a list of the principal wax figures and curiosities on exhibition. This list, in 1813, comprised forty-seven items.[1]

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[1] Advertisement of 1813:

"MUSEUM OF WAX FIGURES,

"NATURAL AND MECHANICAL CURIOSITIES,

"at the White House, Market Street, opposite the west end of the Jersey "Market.

"This museum has been improved and considerably increased by the addition of a number of new figures, paintings, etc. A handsome organ, likewise a complete electrical machine, with extensive philosophical apparatus, has been added to the collection.

"1. Baron Trenck, loaded with sixty-eight pounds of iron, in the dungeon of Magdeburg.

"2. His Excellency James Madison, President of the United States.

"3. Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of France.

"4. Ferdinand VII., King of Spain.

"5. The present Pope of Rome.

"6. Goliath of Gath, and David, armed with a sling and stone.

"7. Columbus, the discoverer of America.

"8. The Connecticut and Boston Beauties.

"9. The Methodist Beauty.

"10. General Braddock, who fell near Pittsburgh.

"11. Miss Paine.

"12. The infant Moses, as discovered by Pharaoh's daughter.

"13. The immortal Washington, the Father of his Country, in full uniform, crowned with flowers by two female figures representing Liberty and Fame.

"14. The Lion between the feet of Washington.

"15. A figure showing the muscles, etc., of the human body.

"16. The head of John the Baptist on a charger.

"17. Admiral Viscount Nelson, who fell at Trafalgar, attended by his first lieutenant and surgeon.

"18. A painting representing the good Samaritan. A calf with two heads, six legs, and two tails.

In 1816 the enterprising proprietor exhibited the picture, by Boudet, of the death of Maj.-Gen. Ross, "who fell in the attack on Baltimore, the 12th of last September."

In the summer of 1818 there was added to the museum, "The Birth of Christ, with a group, and a picturesque view of the city of Bethlehem, exhibiting two hundred statues. The Battle of Waterloo brings to the view of the spectator several thousand men in arms." The elephant Columbus was exhibited in 1819. This animal was eight feet high, and weighed between four thousand and five thousand pounds. In the winter of the succeeding year, when he was brought back to the museum, he had grown to be nine feet high, and he weighed six thousand pounds.

In 1820 the museum contained three hundred wax statues, two hundred paintings, three hundred engravings, and many valuable curiosities. In May, 1821, was added a representation of the duel between Commodores Decatur and Barron, attended by their seconds, Commodores Bainbridge and Elliott. In May, 1822, the following living curiosities were exhibited: "Shuwiskanna, an Indian chief, twenty years of age, double-jointed, and only thirty inches high; sits in a bowl, and moves himself about with the aid of two sticks. Also a black man turned white; born in Virginia; aged sixty years. Some parts of his body are spotted like a leopard."

Mr. Adrian, professor of philosophic legerdemain, gave exhibitions at the museum in the early part of the year 1824.

There was a camera obscura fixed on the roof of the museum, which in clear and fine weather furnished attractive views of the active life at the court-house just west of it, at the fish-market, at the wharves, and in the busy street below.

The magic lantern was, at all times, a popular exhibition with the younger visitors at the museum.

"19. Othello stabbing Desdemona,—taken from Shakspeare.
"20. The Goddess of Love, with two doves.
"21. An elegant Chinese Pagoda, with two handsome Chinese ladies.
"22. A group representing Hercules tempted by Virtue and Vice.
"23. A box showing in perspective the principal buildings and cities.
"24. Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain.
"25. His Majesty George III., present King of England.
"26. Dr. Lamb and the Philadelphia Beauty.
"27. The Little Beauty and her Sleeping Sister.
"28. General Porter, supported by his waiter. The Indian throwing his tomahawk.
"29. Four Paintings, namely: Mount Vesuvius, Battle of Trafalgar, the Burning of the 'Philadelphia' frigate, and Columbus' First Landing in America.
"30. In the second room, on the left hand, stand the different State Beauties, with the colors.
"31. The Funeral of Admiral Nelson, surrounded by Soldiers.
"32. The Jovial Dutchmen over their glasses and cards.
"33. A Beggar and the Generous Little Boy.
"34. His Excellency President Washington and the venerable Benjamin Franklin.
"35. William Penn, founder and first Governor of Pennsylvania.
"36. Mrs. Newlin, with her six children at one birth.
"37. An Automaton Tumbler.
"38. The Philosophers, dressed in black.
"39. The Temple of the Invisible Lady.
"40. O'Brien McCool, the Irish Giant, weighing seven hundred pounds.
"41. A son of Hibernia, fourteen years old, and six feet four inches in height.
"42. Madame Bonaparte, consort of Napoleon.
"43. A correct likeness of the philosopher Richard Folwell.

"ALSO TO BE SEEN,
"the four naval victories of
"CAPTAINS HULL, DECATUR, JONES, AND BAINBRIDGE,
"on transparent canvas.

"From the great number of persons who have frequented this museum, and their repeated marks of approbation, the proprietor flatters himself that the improvements made, and still making, will give general satisfaction.

"The museum is open from 8 o'clock in the morning till 10 o'clock in the evening.

"Admission, 25 cents. Children, 12½ cents.

"Profiles taken and framed."

Advertisement of 1816:

"WASHINGTON MUSEUM,
"AND GALLERY OF PAINTINGS,
"in the large, new brick building in Market Street, third door below Second Street.

"The late addition in
"WAX STATUES, PAINTINGS, AND NATURAL CURIOSITIES,
"added to the former, makes a large collection,—such as the proprietor flatters himself will both satisfy and gratify the visitors. There are nine different rooms, which contain the different articles.

"ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY STATUES IN WAX.

"Room No. 5 contains the group of General Moreau, who joined the Emperor of Russia against Bonaparte, after he was so dreadfully wounded by a cannon-ball, and in the act of being borne off the field of battle by two grenadiers. He is dressed in the uniform of a Prussian General. His thigh-bone is plainly to be seen, together with the artery crurales; his countenance exhibiting the pallid hue of death, the wound representing the natural appearance; his favorite aide-de-camp, Baron Korsakow, deploring the misfortune of his general. A soldier weltering in his blood, his head shattered by a cannon-ball, which exposes to view the internal part of the head lacerated. All of which are executed with the greatest anatomical precision. Also, the group of General Packenham (who fell at New Orleans, in the engagement with General Jackson), after he was so dreadfully wounded by a cannon-ball, and supported by one of the infantry. The ball passed through the front of his stomach. The wound being large, his entrails are exposed to view, which enables the beholder to judge the horrid effects of war; surrounded with a number of British officers and soldiers, struck with horror, and surprised at the loss of their general. And Fairbanks, who destroyed Miss Falls, and who was executed for it.

"Room No. 6 contains nearly one hundred paintings, fifteen of which contain nearly one hundred feet of canvas each, and many of them are as interesting as any paintings in America. They represent battles, treaties, landscapes, etc.

"And from the summit of the building there is one of the handsomest panoramic views in Philadelphia.

"Room No. 7 contains ten different pieces of anatomical preparations in wax, executed in the first style, which will be found worthy the attention of medical gentlemen and connoisseurs. Also a number of handsome paintings,—
"1. Wertmuller's Venus.
"2. Otis' Bathing Figures.
"3. Wertmuller's Wood Fawn.
"4. Bodet's Bathing Figures.
"5. The Handsome Danse.

"And about fifty statues from France. This room is 25 cents extra.

"Profiles taken and handsomely framed.

"The museum is handsomely illuminated every evening, with appropriate music, and only 25 cents; children, 12½ cents."

Additions announced in 1820: Samson and Delilah, the Albinos, Charlotte Temple and Montroville, the Invisible Lady, Erasmus, Friar Bacon, Baron Swedenborg, and several French, English, and American dandies.

We have given, at some length, the history of the oldest and principal museums, which for many years were popular places of amusement. Of minor shows, of various descriptions, exhibited for a short time only, there was a goodly number, especially during the earlier part of the present century. The itinerant showman has lost his importance in this age of railroads and vast combinations; if he exists, he is found attached to some mammoth show, which, under the name of "circus," offers to the public a hundred different amusements combined. Of these early caterers for the amusement of the good people of Philadelphia, some have been incidentally mentioned in our chapter on Manners and Customs. We shall give, hereafter, a brief record of their transient visits, but we wish first to say something of that favorite of all Americans, young and old,—the circus.

The first permanent circus and *manège* created in Philadelphia was built in 1785, on Market Street, near the Centre House, by Mr. Poole, who claimed that he was "the first American who ever exhibited feats of equestrianism on the continent." Poole could perform various dexterous feats while riding two horses at full speed,—something too common now to attract notice, but which was deemed a wonderful act of horsemanship at that time. He had also some well-trained trick horses. He kept his circus open for a little over a year. In 1787, the equestrian Bates, who had performed in Philadelphia during a transient visit in 1772, came back and rented Poole's building, where he opened a riding-school.

Another equestrian, the Scotchman, John Bill Ricketts, who was a pupil of Hughes, of the Blackfriars' Bridge Circus, London, came to Philadelphia in 1792, and erected a building for a riding-school at the southwest corner of Twelfth and Market Streets. His success as a riding-master was such that he ventured to pull down the house and erect a larger one fitted up as a circus. This was opened for equestrian performances by daylight on the afternoon of April 12, 1793. The price of admission to boxes was 7*s.* 6*d.*, to pit, 3*s.* 9*d.* Seven hundred persons were all that could by any possibility be crowded into the establishment, and at the inaugural performance the house was full. Ricketts astonished the audience by riding upon two horses at the same time at full gallop. Master Ricketts and Master Strobel assisted him. The company was strengthened by the arrival of Signor Spinacuta, a dancer on the tight-rope, Mr. McDonald, an equestrian and clown, and others. Gen. Washington assisted in rendering this circus fashionable by attending a performance on Saturday, April 22, 1793. If Ricketts' venture proved profitable, he certainly showed himself worthy of the liberal patronage of the Philadelphians, for, during the season of 1794, he gave benefits for a fuel fund for the distressed poor of the city, the income of which is still used for that purpose. He also gave a benefit for the French exiles driven out of Hispaniola.

The building at Twelfth and Market Streets could no longer accommodate all who sought admission to the popular spectacle, and Ricketts concluded to build another circus, where, in addition to the larger seating capacity, he could give evening performances. He built an amphitheatre at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, which was opened to the public on the 19th of October, 1795. The building was of a circular form, and was ninety-seven feet in diameter. The roof rose from the outer walls, which were eighteen feet high, in the shape of a cone fifty feet high, which was decorated at the top with a figure of a flying Mercury. The centre of the dome, in the interior, was decorated with a blazing star, from which was suspended a chandelier having a number of lights. There was a handsome portico on the Chestnut Street front, which was the principal entrance, and from whence a lobby ran round to what were called the music or proscenium boxes. The stage was at the south end of the building, and was large enough for dramatic performances. The centre of the building was appropriated to the ring, and the boxes ran round this circle in the shape of a horseshoe, rising up to eight or nine rows of benches, which were divided into boxes and pit. The house had accommodations for twelve hundred or fourteen hundred persons. A coffee-room communicated with these portions of the house. "Patent" lights were placed on the pillars, and the building, in its decorations and fixtures, was justly considered the finest amphitheatre in America. John Bill Ricketts, his son Francis, and Sully were the principal equestrians. Signor Reano, a slack-rope dancer, and soon thereafter, Spinacuta, a tight-rope dancer, and his wife, who rode two horses at full speed, added to the attractions of the place. The trained horse, Cornplanter, could jump over another horse fourteen hands high. Ricketts performed the dangerous feat of riding two horses, each foot placed upon a quart-mug, set loosely upon the saddle. Francis Ricketts rode on his head, balancing himself on a pint-pot, and, while blindfolded, dismounted from his horse, going at full speed, picked up a watch, and mounted again. During the seven months' season that year several pantomimes were brought out with excellent success.

Ricketts' Art Pantheon and Amphitheatre, as it was called, enjoyed its well-deserved popularity for some years, but an accident destroyed in a few hours the work of many years. The building was burned down on the 17th of December, 1799, and Ricketts was totally ruined. The fire originated in a building adjoining the amphitheatre, and which was used for storing scenery and other property. The roof caught fire, and the flames spread rapidly. In the circus a large audience had assembled; the usual equestrian performances were over, and the actors were dressing for their parts in the pantomime of "Don Juan," when the terrible cry of "Fire!" was heard, and tongues of flame were seen leaping out from the base

of the dome over the actors' entrance. The terrified audience evacuated the building in haste and confusion, but, happily, without injury. In a short time the whole dome was in a blaze, and all hopes of saving the building were given up. The adjoining building, a fine structure originally erected for the Episcopal Academy, but then occupied by James Oeller's hotel, was totally destroyed by the flames, and considerable damage was done to a row of new houses extending to Sansom Street. It was the biggest fire that had ever happened in the city. Ricketts' loss was estimated at twenty thousand dollars,—a large sum for the time. The unfortunate manager supposed that the building had been set on fire willfully, and he offered a reward of one thousand dollars for the apprehension of the incendiary; but, upon investigation, it was ascertained that the disaster was due to the culpable negligence of a drunken stage carpenter, who, having had occasion to go into the loft, left his lighted candle behind when he came down.

Before these facts were ascertained, some bigoted people saw in the destruction of the circus a judgment of Providence. The last scene of the pantomime they considered impious. It was described in the bills as follows: "The last scene presents the infernal regions, with a view of the mouth of hell; Don Juan being reduced by his wickedness to the dreadful necessity of leaping headlong into the gaping gulf, in a shower of fire, among the furies, who receive him on the points of their burning spears, and hurl him at once into the bottomless pit."

It was said that the fire arose in the attempt to depict the flames of hell, and those saintly people came to the logical conclusion that the destruction of the circus was a judgment. Unfortunately for the moral effect of their reasoning, it was shown that the pantomime had not even commenced, and the flames, lighted by a drunken man's carelessness, had come from the roof, not from the pit.

Ricketts attempted to retrieve his losses, in part at least, by giving day performances in the rival establishment of Monsieur Lailson, whom he found kindly disposed to help him in his misfortune; but poor Ricketts was broken in spirit as well as in fortune, he soon gave up struggling against an adverse fate, and returned to England.

Lailson in 1797 had erected a splendid amphitheatre at the southwest corner of Fifth and Prune Streets, which extended as far west as the jail wall. He opened his establishment on the 8th of April, in that year, with equestrian exercises and the pantomime of "Les Quatre Fils Aymon; or, the Four Valiant Brothers," from the old French historic legend of that name. The equestrian performers were Monsieur Lailson, Langley, Sully, Herman, McDonald, C. Vandervelde, Reano, and Miss Vanice. The pantomimists were Pouble, Jaymon, Douvilliers, Poignard, Viellard, St. March, Leger, Savoil, Madame Douvilliers, Mrs. Rowson (a different lady from Mrs. Rowson the actress and author of "Charlotte Temple"), Mrs. Devan, and Mademoiselle Lailson. The company also performed French comedies and operas, in which Miss Sophie and Miss Tesseire appeared.

There were then in the city, operating at the same time, two theatres and two circuses, besides numerous minor exhibitions. The evidently increasing taste of the people for such amusements gave much concern to those who still clung to the simple ways and healthy pleasures of an earlier period. The Friends, particularly, were shocked at this frivolous tendency of the times, and they addressed a memorial to the mayor and Council protesting against the continuation of those exhibitions. Whether the moral effect of this opposition was to deter many from continuing to patronize the circus,—for the Council could take no action tending to close places of amusement that were not disorderly,—or Lailson's expenses were too heavy,—his equestrian company being the largest that had ever visited the United States, and the dresses and paraphernalia were gotten up on a scale of unusual magnificence,—his enterprise had a ruinous ending. In June, 1798, a short time after commencing his second season, he became bankrupt. His company was broken up, and his horses and stage-properties were sold. The greater portion of the latter was purchased by Wignell & Reinagle for the Chestnut Street Theatre Company. A month later—the building being unoccupied—the immense dome partially forced out the walls and fell in with a fearful crash, putting an end to the history of Lailson's Amphitheatre but not to the building, a portion of which was repaired and roofed and used for various purposes.

The burning of Ricketts' Circus, following the falling in of the dome of Lailson's Circus, put an end to regular equestrian performances for some time. In 1802, Thomas Swann, riding-master and farrier, had a riding-house in Southwark, adjoining the South Street Theatre, where, besides teaching his art, he gave some public exhibitions of horsemanship. In January, 1803, he invited the public to attend a lecture on the horse, in the old Lailson Circus building, on which occasion he proposed to "cause to be destroyed and dissected" a particularly lame horse. At the same time a real skeleton of a horse would be presented, and the lecturer would demonstrate the progress of the disease known as "hipshot," from which the animal to be slaughtered suffered. A little later, in the same year, Swann opened an amphitheatre and circus at the corner of Thirteenth and Market Streets. A lecture by the manager, equestrian performances, vocal and instrumental music, manœuvres of "the new exercise of the broadsword for cavalry movements, together with readings and recitations by a young gentleman lately from Europe," were the attractions offered on the opening night. The performer of broadsword exercise was a Mrs. Scott. She took her benefit at this amphitheatre on the 13th

of October. On that occasion she returned "her sincere thanks to those gentlemen of the City Troop, and others, who were present at her second essay of the broadsword exercise, for their approbation of her performance, and solicits their patronage for this night of her benefit." On that occasion Mrs. Scott exemplified "the six divisions of the broadsword exercise for cavalry movements, in which is exhibited ninety-three motions."

Swann occupied this amphitheatre until 1810, when he went to the amphitheatre erected by Monsieur Victorien, in 1808, at the Centre-House Gardens. Victorien gave performances on the tight- and slack-rope and wire, with ground and lofty tumbling. He did not remain long here. In 1810, Monsieur Poutingam opened a riding-school at the corner of Tenth and Arch Streets. At the end of one year, his enterprise not having been successful, Poutingam gave up the establishment. It was rented by Swann, who kept it until his death, in July, 1812.

The "New Circus," at the northeast corner of Walnut and Ninth Streets, was opened in 1809, by Pepin & Breschard. Victor Pepin was a native of Philadelphia, descended from one of the French Neutrals which had been brought to this city from Acadia before the Revolutionary war. Breschard was a Frenchman. The building was very large, and all the arrangements perfect. The dome was estimated to be eighty feet in height over the ring. The circus company, which had come from Spain upon the invitation of Don Leonis, Spanish consul for Philadelphia, was splendid. They performed to fine houses, with unabated success, during two seasons, after which they traveled on an extensive circuit, while alterations were being made to fit up the new circus for theatrical performances. Breschard was excellent in pantomime. Of Pepin, a writer quoted by Clapp in his "History of the Boston Stage," says,—

"Whether on foot or on horseback, he showed the port of a king. No Pepin of France that ever rode into Paris with his doughty Austrasians could have claimed greater homage than our martial equestrian as he brought up the rear of his glittering troops,—he himself in the costume of a Gallic field-marshal. Pepin differed, however, from his royal precursors in one great respect,—he had rather more brains; and both in ruling his State and in staving off revolutions, he showed a firmness and a skill that grander heads might have copied."

Returning to the minor shows of a miscellaneous character, we note, in 1800, "An exhibition of a Happy family, in a neat and warm room, formerly a Freemason's hall, at No. 61 Walnut Street, near the City Tavern." The "Invisible Woman," exhibited "in the house lately occupied by the Secretary of State, at No. 18 South Fifth Street. "A pygarg from Russia," exhibited at the Black-Horse Tavern, Market Street. "It has the likeness of the camel, bear, mule, goat, and the common bullock, and weighs eleven hundred-weight," said the advertisement, which went on to explain that this animal is spoken of in the book of Deuteronomy, chapter xiv., and was eaten by the ancients. "A white negro boy, born in South Carolina," at Mrs. Beatty's, No. 127 Water Street, at the sign of the Liberty Tree. An ostrich, "eleven feet high," lately imported from Africa, shown by Secondo Bosio, at No. 144 Cedar Street, at the sign of the Two Brother Sailors.

A wax-work show of fifty figures was opened in 1801, by Moulthrop & Street, at No. 100 North Second Street. Among the effigies were those of Franklin, John Adams, Jefferson, and Washington,—the latter being represented on his death-bed. In August of the same year,—rather a warm month for such an exhibition,—Mr. Wooley notified the public that he would eat fire and walk on red-hot iron with his naked feet, at the sign of the Castle and Grapes, on Fifth Street. A cassowary, "the giant of the feathered tribe, five feet high," could be seen at No. 308 South Front Street, while the "Learned Pig" astonished the visitors at the Rising Sun Hotel, Market Street, by telling the time of day, distinguishing colors, counting the company present, etc. When, in 1803, one of these educated grunters was on exhibition at the Centre House, the *Aurora* made the remark that "within four years four learned pigs have been exhibited." A model of Jerusalem and the Temple of Solomon, of the dimensions of sixteen by nine feet, could be seen at Patrick Kennedy's, No. 87 South Second Street, and at No. 112 Race Street there was exhibited "curious musical machinery in the shape of a clock, which of itself performs several airs upon the flute, and presents to view an automaton young lady seated at a piano-forte, performing on that instrument."

A visitor who astonished and delighted the Philadelphians in 1802 was John Ranie, professor of legerdemain and ventriloquism. The professor was a prestidigitateur, a mind-reader, and a ventriloquist, and the wonderful feats which he announced in his lengthy advertisements and faithfully performed were equal to anything that has since been attempted by our most famous modern wizards. His extraordinary success during a stay of several months justified his coming back the following year, when he gave performances at the Assembly-room, adjoining the new theatre. He was again in Philadelphia in 1810, and exhibited at the City Assembly room, in connection with Charles Ranie, or Rannie.

Bartholomew Corsa & Co., in July, 1804, exhibited a collection of waxen figures "formed from the originals," "of the same complexion, stature, dress, etc., of the personages whom they represent." There were twenty-six figures in this exhibition. In September there were thirty-four. The collection, which about this time had been removed from 106 Walnut Street, where first exhibited, to Dr. Franklin's mansion, in Franklin Court, was purchased by John Baptiste Justice & Co.

At the Red Lion, Market Street, an African lion of large size was exhibited. But soon thereafter a rival

beast was announced at Swann's riding-school: "The largest African lion that ever was seen in this city let out of his cage in a part of the school perfectly secure from the spectators, opposite Lombardy Gardens." A dancing horse was another attraction at Swann's.

Another Invisible Lady, "direct from Spain," invited the people to Vogdes' Assembly-room, while Mr. Smith, lately from Europe, announced "freaks of philosophy, ventriloquism, astronomy," etc., at Quesnet's ball-room, but many preferred to go and see the whale that had been caught in the Delaware. It was dead, and was kept on exhibition as long as the curious could endure the stench arising from its decayed flesh. During the exhibition an arm-chair was placed in the capacious mouth of the monster, and it was considered a distinction to have occupied that seat for a few minutes. The bold adventurers who claimed this honor were never tempted to venture, Jonah-like, within the cavernous depths of the whale's throat. A series of exhibitions of animals followed. Two live porpoises, one nine feet and the other six feet long, were exhibited at the Black Horse Tavern in 1805, an elephant at the George in 1806. The following year the learned African horse Spotee, which had a tail like an elephant, was exhibited at the Black Horse. This wonderful animal was represented to have a knowledge of arithmetic, and could add, subtract, and divide, tell the number of buttons on a coat, etc. At the same tavern there were exhibited that year two royal tigers from Surat, in Asia, and a living sea-dog, taken in the Delaware River, near Trenton. A live panther was shown at the sign of the Sorrel Horse, and in 1809 an exhibition of monkeys that "danced on the tight-rope" was advertised at the Shepherdess Tavern, on Moyamensing road.

In the latter part of 1805, Christopher Winckelback, "director of the Hall of the Liberal and Mechanic Art Society at Basle, in Switzerland," brought to the city his optic glass, with views in Switzerland, original paintings, prints, drafts, images of alabaster, and a variety of machines of his own invention, among which were several water-works, etc.; and in 1807, J. H. Rauchner exhibited at No. 100 Chestnut Street some wax-work figures, prints and paintings. He also informed the public that "there is also a grand hand-organ for the use of visitors."

John Scudder, in the summer of 1808, exhibited at Auriol's ball-room, No. 64 South Fourth Street, a grand panorama of historical paintings, representing "The Battle of Bunker's Hill," "The Bombardment of Tripoli," "The Burning of the Frigate 'Philadelphia' in the Harbor of Tripoli," "View of the Sports of India," and "A Correct Likeness of Brook Watson, Esq., whose leg was bitten off by a shark while he was bathing in the water at Havana, notwithstanding which he recovered, and lived to be chosen Lord Mayor of London."

"An astonishing female artist" was on exhibition in the year 1809, at the Shakespeare Hotel, corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets. This unfortunate creature, otherwise as perfectly formed as any woman, was born without any arms or legs, and it was announced that "Nature has deprived this young lady of the use of all her limbs, to make amends as it were in the exercise of other faculties surpassing all human belief. She will paint elegant flowers and landscapes, mix colors, write, thread a needle, cut cloth or paper with the scissors held in her mouth, etc., etc."

This lady was Miss Sarah Rogers, the wonder of the time. Respectable and poor, she had no other means of livelihood than the exhibition of herself and her extraordinary performances, a means repugnant to the modest female mind. She accepted this hard necessity with courage, and succeeded in earning a comfortable support, while enlisting the sympathy of all who saw her.

A "Moving Panorama, with a large number of people at their trades and in proper motion," was exhibited at Cook's building, South Third Street, shortly afterward.

"The American Dwarf, two feet eight inches high, and fifteen years old," was exhibited in full regimentals at Barnum's Shakespeare Hotel, northwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, in the latter part of the year.

A "New Museum" exhibited in 1809, at No. 136 Market Street, a "sea-tiger from Greenland," and a "living leopard." In 1811 the "Historical Gallery," at the corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets, had as its principal wax figures "The Arrestation of Robespierre," "The Celebrated Charlotte Corday," and "The Execution of Louis XVI." In the same year Lewis Chiappi, proprietor of the Roman Museum, No. 135½ Market Street, had on exhibition among other curiosities a wax figure of "Dicky" Folwell, printer, a well-known local character, already mentioned in another chapter of this history. Chiappi had also figures in wax of Washington and Lord Cornwallis.

Dawson & Pardee, at the northwest corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets, exhibited in January, 1811, "a band of elegant musicians, in wax-work, all of which will chime a number of tunes in unison, and accompanied by an elegant organ."

Zerah Colburn, the astonishing Vermont calculator, six years old, was exhibited in March at various places,—at Peale's Model Room, on Fifth Street, opposite the City Library; at No. 96 South Second Street, and at the Merchants' Coffee-House. This unfortunate child's strange gift—he could solve readily complicated problems in arithmetic which would have cost the best accountants a considerable expenditure of time and thought—was exhibited by his father for the avowed purpose of raising a fund for his education. The elder Colburn did, in fact, take him to England, and put him to school there,

but he took him away before he was sixteen years old. Young Colburn's mathematical powers left him when he reached manhood. He tried various professions, and became in time an actor, a teacher, a Methodist preacher, and a professor of languages and literature. He died at the early age of thirty-five years.

In February of the same year Miss Harvey, "the beautiful Albiness, the most astonishing phenomenon ever known," was exhibited at Earle's gallery. She was an Englishwoman by birth. The color of her eyes was said to be "a delicate red." Charles Wilson Peale, then in his seventy-seventh year, painted her portrait. Miss Harvey was subsequently married at Charleston, S. C. She died in Havana in 1820.

During the spring Maffei exhibited at Washington Hall a puppet-show under the high-sounding title of "A Picturesque and Metamorphosis Theatre." The figures in this show were two feet high. Stanislaus Surin, afterward manager of Tivoli Garden, gave "philosophical experiments," in which he brought science to assist in his legerdemain tricks. East India jugglers exhibited the same year at Masonic Temple, and "a great natural curiosity, a living elephant," was to be seen in Arch Street.

At the beginning of the year 1813, D. Bowen and J. Kidder brought from Boston the Phœnix Museum, which they exhibited at the Shakspeare Rooms. The collection consisted principally of what were called panoramic views. Among them was "a correct representation of Market Street, from the old court-house to Centre Square." It was shown for a few months.

In the same year the patriotic Philadelphians were invited to see a panorama of the naval engagement between the United States frigate "Constitution" and the British frigate "Guerriere." The sketches, it was said, had been taken under the direction of Capts. Hull and Morris, and "the relative situation of the ships may therefore be depended upon as being correct." The same subject was illustrated at a mechanical theatre, on Lombard Street, designated as the "Amusement Pittoresque Méchanique;" here the two vessels went through the manœuvres of a naval fight, and the "Guerriere" was conquered by the "Constitution." These exhibitions commanded a good attendance.

The Columbian Museum of Wax Statuary was opened at No. 130 Chestnut Street on the 1st of November, 1813. There were wax statues of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Gen. Pike, Capts. Bainbridge, Decatur, and Hull, of the navy, and the emblematic representation of "The Tears of Columbia," representing a female figure weeping over the tomb of Capt. James Lawrence. This enterprise did not achieve sufficient success to warrant a long continuance.

Minor shows continued to divide the attention of the sight-seers; the most successful being those which exhibited wild and rare animals.

Among the latter, the mammoth horse Columbus, which was exhibited in 1814, is worthy of mention. This magnificent animal was six years old, twenty hands high, and weighed two thousand seven hundred pounds. It was claimed to be "the largest horse ever produced in Europe or America." Columbus was bred in Pennsylvania. In November of the same year a whale nearly twenty-five feet long was caught in the Delaware, near Trenton, and was exhibited at Kensington. Dr. Lewis Chiappi, a skillful modeler in wax, made a model representation of this whale, with wax figures, the whole representing the way in which it was harpooned by Isaac Yard. John Smith, the dwarf, was exhibited at the same time. He had been reported to be dead, and he complained of the anonymous rival whose jealousy had thus stimulated him "to heap affliction upon bare eighteen inches of his fellow-man." A remarkable exhibition was made in 1813, by Mr. McKenzie, in Harmony Court, of a carriage "which runs by its own power in a large room."

Day Francis, "the great juggler and magician," performed some wonderful feats at Masonic Hall, in 1816. In 1817, Le Sieur Blanchard, "known by the celebrated appellation, *multum in parvo*, and the astonisher of the world," exhibited his skill in jugglery at Masonic Hall, proving himself a formidable rival to the "Sieur Breslau" and Potter, who were exhibiting at Washington Hall. Yet none of these worthies could compare with the East India magician, Sena Sam, who visited Philadelphia in 1818. His feats were truly wonderful. A "mammoth child" arrived from Europe, and was exhibited in 1819. This infant prodigy was five years old, three feet seven inches high, three feet five inches around the body, twenty-five inches around the thigh, fifteen inches around the calf of the leg, and it weighed one hundred and thirty pounds.

In the same year the Mechanical Museum was opened at No. 202 South Front Street. There were some very curious mechanical figures in this collection. At the end of the year James Griffith, who had been engaged at Peale's Museum, purchased the Mechanical Museum. Among the curiosities which he added to the collection in 1820 were two self-moving machines, invented and constructed by Willard Foster, of Vermont. In 1821, James Tilley gave some interesting exhibitions of fancy glass-blowing. His success was such as to justify his making periodical visits to the city for some years afterward. Exhibitions of nitrous oxide, or exhilarating gas, were given that year at Washington Hall. Among the novelties in 1821 were two Esquimaux, "a male and a female," together with a dog, "half wolf and half fox, from the coast of Labrador." They gave some exhibitions of their skill in guiding a canoe on the Delaware River. J. L. Boqueta exhibited a mechanical theatre at the beginning of 1822. Four dogs acting as the motive-power of the machinery of a newly-invented grist-mill, which produced flour of a good quality,

were shown at Bush Hill. But the great curiosity was the—

"wonderful Leviathan, or Sea-Serpent, caught at Brown's Point, N. J. It was described as measuring thirty-two feet ten inches in length, and eighteen feet in circumference. This monster of the deep has two legs, with a nail projecting out of the palm of each foot about the size of a man's thumb-nail. It has two long fins near the gills about four and a half feet long, and one large fin on the back about four feet long. Its tail is forked, the upper part about five feet and the under part three feet long. In each of the jaws there are six rows of small white teeth. The mouth is a phenomenon in nature, and difficult to describe. It has no bones, no heart, no tongue, no brain; but had a very large liver, which produced about four pounds of oil. It has five gills, each folding over the other. The skin is rough and of a leadish color, and is preserved in good order and complete shape. When taken it had about two bushels of lamprey eels adhering to its sides."

In 1823 more ventriloquism and legerdemain feats by Monsieur Perinor, physician and aeronaut, who also took portraits by a new process; the "celebrated picturesque theatre of Mr. Michael Muckle," exhibited by its new proprietor, Mr. Villivave; a handsome exhibition in Earle's gallery of a mechanical panorama representing an Italian village, with its inhabitants at their respective avocations, animals moving, etc. The figures were fifteen inches in height, and there were over one hundred of them in motion at the same time. This interesting piece of work continued attractive for several months.

In January, 1824, "a menagerie of twenty-one living animals, much the largest and most valuable collection ever in America," was exhibited at No. 272 Market Street.

In April "an Egyptian mummy, received from ancient Thebes, with its double sarcophagus, or coffin, curiously ornamented," was exhibited at Sully & Earle's gallery, opposite the State-House. It was received by the Boston Medical Society, and was exhibited for the benefit of the Massachusetts General Hospital. It was said to be the first mummy that had been brought to America.

About the same time there was on exhibition at No. 28 South Sixth Street "two ancient urns, or sarcophagi, formerly used for containing the ashes of the deceased, according to the customs of those days, found in Rome, one hundred and fifty feet below the surface of the earth, in a vault."

The Pennsylvania Museum was opened in this year in a new and spacious building No. 270 Market Street. The animals of a menagerie which had exhibited for some years previous occupied the lower floor and the yard. The upper stories were devoted to the display of curiosities, wax statuary, and a picture-gallery, with a place for performances. At this museum, in February, 1825, were engaged for six nights the Spanish dancers, Messrs. La Conta and Gonzalo, and Master Minich. La Conta danced the fisherman's hornpipe on the tight-rope, and performed the much more difficult exercise of saltation on the same rope with a living boy tied on each foot. Gonzalo danced on the tight-rope with wooden shoes. But his great performance was taking a collation from a table while himself seated upon a chair, both of which were fixed upon the rope and kept in equilibrium by the skill of the performer.

Minich was the clown. Adrian performed there, in March, in the character of a Greek juggler, and Monsieur Helene, the pandean performer, joined him in April. An Egyptian mummy was added to the treasures of the exhibition. The picture-gallery contained some large and showy pictures. Patrick McGee, the Irish giant, was exhibited at this museum in the summer and fall of 1824. He was represented to be nearly eight feet high, and was conspicuous for the masculine beauty of his form.

J. D. and H. I. Browere gave an interesting exhibition of "the Grând Inquisition of Spain and Portugal, sixteen figures as large as life undergoing trials, tortures, and burning." The instruments of torture were said to be made from drawings of the originals previous to their destruction in 1812. A "female sea-monster," caught upon Elk River, was also exhibited. There were four American dwarfs exhibited that year,—Joseph M. Stevens, thirty-seven inches high, and three sisters, Hannah, Rebecca, and Abigail Hatch, born at Falmouth, Mass. These sisters were described as well-proportioned and possessing the manners of educated women. They were exemplary in their piety and Christian devotion. Their ages were between twenty-five and forty years, and their heights between thirty-six and forty-two inches.

A rare set of Gobelin tapestry was exhibited at Earle & Sully's gallery about that time. This beautiful work had been made by order of the unfortunate queen Marie Antoinette to be presented to Gen. Lafayette. There were four large pieces, twelve by ten feet, and containing twelve figures, representing the four quarters of the globe, and twenty-four smaller pieces, for chair-covers, representing the arts and sciences. The whole was worth two thousand louis.

A very curious piece of mechanical work was an allegorical representation of the treaty of Ghent, made about that time on a large organ by Michael Muckle, in Philadelphia. The figures, which were quite numerous, "moved naturally, as if alive."

Lawrence Astolfi, a confectioner and distiller, who had established himself in business at No. 136 Market Street, about the year 1810, concluded, in 1813, to add the management of a place of public resort to his mercantile operations. To this effect he opened a summer theatre at the Columbian Garden, on Market Street, between Thirteenth Street and Centre Square. The first season was inaugurated by the Manfredi Company with the pantomime of "The Imaginary Sick Man." Manfredi played the *Clown* in this piece, and was assisted by Miss Catharine, as *Columbine*, and Messrs. Mestayer (*Harlequin*), Lewis, John, Parzote, and Grindone. Robertson, the "antipodean" performer, Jones, and Johnston joined the company a short time after; and the old actor, Fennell, appeared

one night in a recitation. This company brought out, for the first time in this country, the pantomimes of "Valcour and Emilia, or the Unfortunate Lovers," and "Le Marechal de Logis." After this first season Astolfi did not keep up his summer theatre for two years, although his garden was much frequented as a place of resort and refreshment. In 1816 it was again announced as a place of amusement. The opening took place on the 14th of June, with a grand illumination by means of two thousand five hundred lamps. In September of that year, T. Robinson gave a grand concert at the Columbian. The singers were himself and Miss Monier. Wolfe played the clarionet and Robinson and Bracken blew the trumpets. In 1819, Mestayer gave theatrical performances there with a small company, consisting of himself and wife, their sons, John and Harry Mestayer, and Monsieur Dedus, sword-swallower.

Stanislaus Surin, a professor of legerdemain, who had performed in the city during the previous year, succeeded Astolfi in the management of the Columbian Garden in 1820. He changed the name of the place to "Tivoli Garden," and gave there exhibitions of jugglery, accompanied with songs by Mr. Scott and others. At the end of May a summer theatre was opened at the Tivoli with "The Purse" and "The Intrigue." The company consisted of Messrs. Thornton, King, Scott, Mestayer, Charles S. Porter, Bard, Simpson, Bloom, Klett, Laidly, Allen, Champion, and Godeau (tight-rope dancer), and Mesdames Riddle, Still, Murray, Mestayer, Allen, Williams (tight-rope dancer), and French. They performed farces and light pieces. In 1823, Villivave, the tight-rope performer, opened the Tivoli with "The Company of Five Nations," but did not remain there very long. Louis Mestayer and Frederick Eberle took the Tivoli and fixed up a pretty little theatre there. John Crouta painted some of the scenes. The company consisted principally of the Mestayer and Eberle families, the former having two sons and two daughters, and the latter three sons and two daughters. Among the pieces brought out by them was "Modern Honor, or how to shun a Bullet," which was written by Joseph Hutton, in ridicule of a duel which had lately taken place between Col. Duffy, of South Carolina, and Col. Cummings, of Georgia. The season of 1824 was opened in May, with a very strong company, recruited in part from Drake's Cincinnati company. Among them were young Samuel Drake and his wife,—a daughter of Palmer Fisher by a first marriage,—Palmer Fisher and his young and pretty wife, who was afterwards long known to the American stage as Mrs. E. N. Thayer, W. Jones, William Anderson and wife, John Green, Crampton, Carter and wife, and others. Still, the vocalist, played a star engagement, and appeared in "The Devil's Bridge," "Poor Soldier," and other pieces. Mrs. Battersby, from the Chestnut Street Theatre, also played an engagement, at the close of which she took the public somewhat by surprise by appearing in the character of *Hamlet*. Mrs. H. A. Williams (afterwards Mrs. Maywood), who succeeded Mrs. Battersby, followed her predecessor's example by donning male attire and attempting the most unfeminine part of *Richard III.*

On the 1st of July the Fishers and Drakes separated from the company and opened Vauxhall, thereby injuring their old co-associates to some extent, without benefit to themselves, for their Vauxhall enterprise was short-lived, and proved a failure. The Tivoli company had the rare generosity to give the disappointed seceders a benefit after Vauxhall had closed. Still more praiseworthy was the act of old Joseph Jefferson, of the Chestnut, usually so scrupulous in maintaining his dignity as a member of a first-class theatre company. Remembering that he owed to Palmer Fisher a debt of gratitude for assistance given him by the latter before he left England, he volunteered his services for this occasion, and appeared as *Kit Casey* in "Town and Country," and *Shelty* in "The Highland Reel."

In April, 1825, the Tivoli Garden Theatre was opened under the management of a Mr. Johns, who, however, only remained five or six weeks. A new company was formed, and the Tivoli Garden Theatre reopened on the 23d of May with "The Soldier's Daughter" and "The Mayor of Garrett." The company at this time was composed of Charles S. Porter, Henry Eberle, Morrison, Hardy, Charles Webb, Henry, John Crouta, Jr., Sinclair, Lowrey, Mestayer, Mrs. Johns, Mrs. Mestayer, Miss Grier, and the Misses Eberle. Sinclair was blind. He had originally been a circus performer, but, losing his sight, could only be occasionally made use of in one or two parts. The actors generally joined to give him a benefit once in a season, on which occasion he usually played with painful naturalness the part of *Darling*, a blind man, in John Howard Payne's melodrama of "Adeline." In time Sinclair accumulated enough to enable him to set up a café and boarding-house opposite the Bowery Theatre, New York, which was a favorite resort of theatrical people, and by the profits of which he was enabled to support himself.

The Vauxhall Theatre, where the Fishers and Drakes made their unfortunate experiment in 1824, was a garden theatre, established in 1814. The establishment occupied the whole block bounded by Walnut, George [Sansom], Juniper, and Broad Streets, which was the property of Capt. John Dunlap. The theatre was erected at the northeast corner of Broad and Walnut Streets, and was used for various sorts of exhibitions. Vauxhall Garden was a favorite place for the display of fire-works and for balloon ascensions. On the evening of Sept. 8, 1819, a balloon ascension, which had been announced, thereby attracting a large number of spectators, was postponed for some reason unsatisfactory to the crowd. A disturbance ensued, which soon culminated into a regu-

lar riot. The theatre building was set on fire, and much damage done to the grounds, on which were various species of trees planted by the owner of the lot.

The Vauxhall Garden was refitted for public exhibitions, but not with the thoroughness and elegance of the original establishment. In November, 1820, the aeronaut Guille made a balloon ascension there with a parachute, in the car of which was a monkey. Both came down safely, the frightened monkey reaching the earth some minutes before his master. William Muirhead and Reuben Traveller took the Vauxhall in 1821, but did not have a very brilliant season. In October, 1822, Mr. Brown gave a grand pyrotechnic exhibition at this garden. Among the subjects represented were a grand "Temple of Independence," sixty feet wide and twenty-four feet high, with a full-length portrait of Washington in the centre, and "The Cataract of the Falls of Niagara," which was forty feet wide. "Mr. Brown, the artist, will appear on the rocks in the centre, clothed in brilliant fire, and will suddenly leap into the gulf below." Also a representation of Mount Etna, which was given several times.

After the unlucky attempt by the company of which Palmer Fisher and W. Jones were managers, the Vauxhall was reopened in 1825 by Joseph Diackeri, formerly the proprietor of the Philadelphia Garden. He made some improvements, among which was the building called the Lafayette Retreat, which was erected in the centre of the lot, and was surrounded by a flower-garden. He provided his guests with ice-creams, fruits, liquors and refreshments, and turtle-soup, and once a week illuminated the gardens and delighted the audience with the music of an excellent orchestra. A grand exhibition of fire-works was given there by Brown & Regnault on the 23d of July of that year, in honor of Gen. Lafayette. The grand arch of Columbia, with the Goddess of Liberty reclining on the pillar of Fame, the Tree of Liberty, the American Eagle, etc., was the great feature of the exhibition. Lafayette was received at the entrance of the garden by one hundred little girls all dressed in white. It was altogether a very successful affair. After this exhibitions of fire-works and illuminations were occasionally given during the season, which closed about the middle of September.

The satirist, Waln, in his "Sysiphii Opus," says of the closing of the Vauxhall,—

> "Now tradesmen's daughters shun the slippery streets,
> That oft have witnessed their nocturnal feats;
> The shady bowers, where oft the cooling ice,
> The spicy sandwich, or the savory slice
> Rule o'er the senses with a sovereign sway,
> And rouse the soul to titillating play;
> Where frothy mead expands its sparkling fumes,
> And many a heart to loving thraldom dooms,
> While genial darkness animates the frame,
> And balmy zephyrs fan the rising flame.
> Vauxhall no longer, with variegated light,
> Cheats the dull sameness of the moonless night,
> Where Love breathes softness to the attentive ear,
> And yielding nymphs the vows of Firmness hear,
> While Music's melodies through ether sail,
> Burst on the ear, and loiter on the gale."

The public gardens, as we have shown, from being places of refreshment, where sports and games and occasional open-air exhibitions and concerts were gotten up for the entertainment of visitors, had, in several cases, been further improved by the construction of summer theatres. In giving an account of these, we have unavoidably encroached upon the history of the regular theatres, or, more properly speaking, the history of the legitimate drama in Philadelphia, which will form another part of this chapter. Before coming to it, however, we must go back to an earlier period, and trace the introduction and progress of another amusement which preceded the first theatrical performance, and which, less public in its nature, and not so generally indulged in, is nevertheless intimately connected with the history of the changes that have taken place in the society of the Quaker City. We allude to dancing, which, at first forbidden, then suffered, finally became the amusement *par excellence* of fashionable society, in which our city belles displayed their native gracefulness of figure and motion, so as to be acknowledged without superiors in the polished society of any country.

In a chapter devoted to the history of amusements, dancing should perhaps have taken precedence of all others, for the taste for this sort of recreation seems to come naturally to man, even in the savage state. It is then a mimic representation of the passions that sway the uncivilized races. Our American Indians have their war-dances by which they excite their warriors to the highest pitch of frenzy, and rouse the warlike spirit of their young men; the savage tribes in all countries have theirs,—for dancing is but the active display of exuberant joy, and what greater joy for a savage than the prospect of taking his enemy's skull or scalp? The *bamboula* of the native African is an inimitable amorous dance, such as the most perfect professional dancer dare not attempt. The Spanish dances, expressive of the passion of love, are but an ardent and graceful pantomime, and the Spaniards probably inherited them from their old conquerors, the Moors. The voluptuous dance of the Bayaderes still charms the indolent potentates of the East. In fact, dancing is universal and natural, and the philosopher who first proclaimed that "man is the only animal who speaks," might have added "and dances." It is therefore a matter of some surprise that the good Friends who managed public affairs in Philadelphia in the olden time should have discouraged this amusement, especially as dancing has been made to express religious fervor as well as the human passions. Without holding the dancing Dervishes as an example, did not King David dance before the Ark of the Covenant? Besides, civilization had reduced dancing to an art, innocent and mean-

ingless, whose sole effect is to give gracefulness to motion. The formal minuet of that time was about as solemn a performance as could be wished, nevertheless dancing-masters were not numerous, and such as there were did not grow rich very rapidly. Still, as the population received frequent accessions of "worldly people," the terpsichorean art had its devotees, and the City Dancing Assembly was organized (1740). We have given in another chapter the list of the original subscribers, and also a list of the ladies of fashion who attended the ball of the City Assembly in 1757. This association was composed of the exclusives of the day, and none were invited who did not belong to the set. Mr. Watson preserved, among other curiosities illustrating the history of Philadelphia society in that remote period, a card of admission of the year 1749, addressed to Mrs. Jeykell, one of the beautiful leaders of fashion at the time. She was the granddaughter of the first Edward Shippen, a Quaker and first mayor of Philadelphia. She was married to the brother of Sir Joseph Jeykell, the secretary of Queen Anne. This card, like all cards used for such purposes in those early years, was written on the back of a common playing-card, there being no *blank* cards in the country. Watson copied one of these invitations which was *printed* on the back of a playing-card, and read thus, to wit,—

"The gentlemen of the Army present their compliments to Mrs. Jeykell, and beg the favour of her company to *a ball* at *the State-House* on Monday next, Saturday, September 20, 1755."

The same writer tells this curious anecdote of a time when carriages were not so common as they are now: "One of the really honorables of the colonial days has told me of his mother (the wife of the chief justice) going to a great ball *in Water Street*, in her youthful days, to *Hamilton's stores* on the wharf, on Water Street next to the Drawbridge, she going to the same in her *full dress on horseback*." Think of it, ye belles of 1884, who, wrapped in furs, recline languidly on the soft cushions of your hermetically closed carriage, and think the rapid drive to the ball-room door quite a trial this bleak winter weather.

During the Revolutionary war the regular Assembly balls had been suspended. They were revived when peace was restored; but political feeling was a new element of discord added to the exclusiveness of the old Assembly association, which brought about divisions in society, and there were opposition balls given. This feeling died out, however, and in 1800 the rival factions were united in a single body. The Assembly balls in that year were held at the City Tavern. The managers for the season of 1800–1 were William Cramond, Jasper Moylan, Thomas M. Willing, Samuel Mifflin, Stephen Kingston, Samuel S. Cooper, James Wilcocks, and Charles W. Hare. For 1801–2 the managers were Thomas M. Willing, Samuel Mifflin, Stephen Kingston, Matthew Pearce, Peter McCall, and Henry Nixon. In 1803, the new Shakespeare Building having been finished at Sixth and Chestnut Streets, the first assembly was held in Mr. Haines' room in that building. Afterward they were held at Francis' Hotel, which then occupied the Masters and Penn mansion (afterward the Washington mansion), Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth.

Harmony, it appears, did not reign among the subscribers, and the Assembly dissolved. In November of that year, a meeting of the "ci-devant subscribers" having been called for the purpose of holding a subscription-ball, a new Assembly was organized. The balls of the ensuing season were given in a large room over J. B. Barry's furniture-store, in Second Street.

In 1807 the managers of the Assembly were John Mifflin, Daniel W. Coxe, John B. Wallace, James Hamilton, Edward Shippen Burd, and Robert Hare, Jr. The first assembly for that year was held at the Exchange Coffee-House (formerly Bingham's mansion), South Third Street, on the 29th of January. In 1810 the assemblies were held at what was then called the City Hotel, in the old McCall mansion, corner of Second and Union Streets. But things must have sadly changed since the time of the old "exclusives," if we may judge from the following criticism, which appeared in the *Trangram, or Fashionable Trifler* in that year:

"The principal supporters of our city practicing balls are a strange medley of capering youths, who, the moment they are released from the finger drudgery of pen, ink, and paper, repair to the Assembly, where they contrive to kill an evening in the pleasing avocations of dancing and quarreling, occasionally interspersed with the delightful auxiliaries of smoking and drinking. When the promiscuous variety are met, they employ a portion of their time in quarreling for places in a set for a cotillion or country dance, and are famous for a peculiar dialect, for spitfire aggravations, provoking phrases, quaint oaths, and thundering mouth-grenades. Should the heat of the weather require more air than exercise, they retire to a witt drawing-room, where they stupefy their senses by the narcotic fumes of a cigar, dry their skins to parchment, bake their entrails to cinders, and exhaust all their radical moisture; so that when they return to their partners the room is perfumed like the interior of a warehouse on James River. Some exercise other extravagances—qualify their lemonade with the tincture of pure cognac, of which their fair partners sip a drop or two to prevent danger from excessive heat, and which these foplings drench in quantities, so that in the conclusion they become as noisy and quarrelsome as apes."

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the organization lost much of its social attraction, and ended in dissolution. Its last balls were given in 1815. After that it must have ceased to exist, for in a statement published in 1817 it was announced that gentlemen who were disposed to revive the City Dancing Assembly had held a meeting at Renshaw's hotel, and had resolved that "in the city of Philadelphia, the residence of so much elegance, and the resort of so much gayety, there ought to be Dancing Assemblies." Accordingly subscription-books were ordered to be opened, under the direction of David Lenox, George Harrison, Thomas Cadwalader, Robert Wharton, Charles J. Ingersoll, Samuel H. Wilcocks, Thomas F. Leaming, William S. Biddle, and James Craig. Subscription price, twenty dollars. The committee was requested to make such inquiries, "respecting the sum of money formerly subscribed for the erec-

tion of an assembly-room as may be proper, and that it consult with the present trustees of that fund respecting its disposition." Action upon this subject was prevented by a notice given in the same papers that a Cotillion Party had been formed, of which Benjamin Tilghman, Thomas I. Wharton, Charles S. Coxe, Edward S. Coxe, William Rawle, Jr., James Craig, Thomas W. Morris, and Joseph P. Norris, Jr., were managers. In consequence of this, notice was given that another meeting of the projectors of the City Dancing Assembly was held, at which it was resolved that "the Cotillion Party being already organized on an extensive scale, it is considered inexpedient to take any measure for the re-establishment of the City Dancing Assembly for the present year." These parties were given at the Masonic Hall. They were continued for a couple of years, after which the old title, "City Dancing Assembly," was revived. The balls were held up to 1825 and afterward.

Waln, in his amusing book, "The Hermit in America," describes one of these cotillion parties at the Masonic Hall, which he represents to have been given under fashionable auspices. The leader of the orchestra band was the colored fiddler, Frank Johnson, who enjoyed a high reputation in respectable society as a performer of dance and concert music. Says the "Hermit,"—

"The room was about half filled with the most splendid collection of belles and beaux. The greater portion of them were engaged in dancing cotillions, after the fashion of my country [France]. The decorations of the saloon, independent of certain dark-looking figures (apparently in bronze), which were placed at certain intervals around, are plain, but neat and ornamental. The figures alluded to have the most comical effect imaginable, and are no doubt placed there for the purpose,—seeing that no place is better adapted to the free and admissible use of the risible muscles than a ball-room. The ingenious managers deserve credit for this invention, for I believe it is indisputably original."[1]

[1] Here is another spicy *morceau* from the same work. The "Hermit" attends, with an American friend, a public cotillion party at Masonic Hall, and the following dialogue ensues:

"'But I observe a kind of pen fenced off, as it were, at the other extremity of the room, for what purpose I am at a loss to determine.'

"'That is a very useful inclosure, I assure you. It serves for three purposes of no little consequence. The first and the most important is the accommodation of those wise and cautious matrons, who, knowing from experience the necessity of a mother's presence on such occasions, accompany their daughters to all places of public and private resort. This is a custom that should never be destroyed. All who have experience know what young ladies are at home, and none are better judges than their mothers. Whenever you find a mother particularly anxious to observe her daughter's motions during the dance, and that daughter equally anxious to reach the side of her mother after its conclusion, you may take it for granted that some well-complied-with stipulation has alone guaranteed her appearance at the ball, and that some private domestic reason exists for the use of this discreet caution. Now, these suspicious mothers, by arranging themselves in certain situations within the pen, as you call it, can command a fair view of everything transacting therein, which it would be impossible to do on the outside. The dutiful daughter is bound by the stipulation aforesaid (on pain of forfeiting the pleasures of the next cotillion party) to make her appearance within the limits and remain under the watchful eye of her mother, until inclination to dance with her—inclination to dance with himself or the want of a better partner—prompts some bowing Adonis to rescue her from bondage. . . . The second purpose is diametrically opposite to the first. It is to be rationally supposed that all mothers are not equally careful of their daughters' manners, and that the spirits of all daughters do not require equal restraint. I know, to the contrary, there is a class of maidens, notoriously extensive, and technically termed "wall-flowers"—from the astonishing pertinacity with which they adhere to that inanimate substance in spite of the animated capers and nimble pigeon-wings of everything else young and movable in the room. I must, however, do them the justice to observe that whenever a tempestuous night, a rival party, or other fortuitous circumstance renders their services indispensable in the formation of a cotillion, there is not an instance upon record in which they have not, in the very essence of accommodation, cheerfully acquiesced in the wishes of the gentlemen and joined in the dance. And so grateful are these last for favors thus undeservedly conferred upon them that they take special care never to put them to further trouble than they can possibly avoid. You observe them now, seated opposite the great entrance, only distinguishable in color from the composition figures above. The gratitude of the gentlemen will prevent their molestation, as their services are not requisite this evening. But I have not yet informed you of the second purpose, which is simply to afford these easy mothers an opportunity of ruining their good husbands by playing half-dollar rubbers of whist. All these accommodations afforded to the matronizing part of the community are the result of long and deep thought on the part of the managers. The more inducements held out to them, the fewer objections to their daughters' appearance. This is all perfectly understood and skillfully acted upon. Now, as to the third,—and, many have averred, the most necessary purpose,—that, sir, is our supper-room,' he continued, pointing toward the inclosure.

"'Supper-room!' I exclaimed. 'Impossible! You cannot seriously tell me that the assembled wealth, fashion, and nobility of the first city in the United States are reduced to the pitiful necessity of fencing off a corner of their ball-room for that purpose?'

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"'Yes, sir! In that space, which you have worthily denominated a "pen," seated at a dozen small tables, sup what you are pleased to call "the nobility of Philadelphia." Nor can they even thus humbly enjoy the frugal repast. "Hungry expectants" are gathered around, watching the slow progress of mastication, on the republican principle of "rotation in office must be respected," before the appetite is barely excited.'

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"'Hold, Mr. Hermit! You have not yet heard all. What do you imagine the supper consists of?'

"'It is impossible to conjecture.'

"'Pickled oysters, and bread and butter! . . . But,' he continued, 'the want of accommodation is the reason assigned to these "supper apologies," as they are generally called. There is not a building in the great city of Philadelphia sufficiently extensive to furnish at the same time a ball and a supper-room, with the exception of the Washington

The English traveler, Francis Hall, in 1818, describes a dancing-party at a private house in such terms that we fail to recognize the gay, witty belles, and intellectual society-men of Philadelphia, described by so many unprejudiced foreigners. Did Mr. Hall attempt to hoax his readers, or was he himself the victim of a hoax? He says,—

"Chairs are arranged in a close semicircle, the ladies file into the room and silently take their seats beside each other, the men occupying the chord of the segment, *vis-à-vis* to their fair foes (for such their cautious distance and rare communication would indicate them to be). The men, in this situation, discuss trade and politics, the ladies, fashions and domestic incidents, with all the quiet and gravity becoming the solemnity of the meeting. Tea and coffee are handed about, and in due process of time, cakes, lemonade, etc. Should there be no dancing, the forces draw off after having for several hours thus reconnoitred each other. When they dance, the men step forward, and, more by gesture than word, indicate their wishes to their fair partners. Cotillions then commence with a gravity and perseverance almost pitiable. 'Dancing,' says the Marquis De Chastellux, 'is said to be at once the emblem of gayety and of love.' Here it seems to be the 'emblem of legislation and marriage.' The animation displayed by the feet never finds its way into the countenance, to light up the eye or deepen the rose on the cheek—

'Which hangs in chill and lifeless lustre there,
Like a red oak-leaf in the wintry air;
While the blue eye above it coldly beams
Like moonlight radiance upon frozen streams.'

One conceives, on these occasions, how dancing may become, as it is among the Shakers, a religious ceremony."

A rival association, called the Columbian Dancing Assembly, was organized in 1823, and gave its first ball at the saloon in Library Street, in December. In the succeeding years the Columbia's balls were held at the Masonic Hall.

The earliest mention of a dancing-school in Philadelphia is in the advertisement of Mrs. Ball, who, in 1730, kept a school in Letitia Court. "French, playing on the spinet, and dancing," were among the accomplishments in which young ladies were instructed in that establishment. In 1738, Theobald Hacket advertised his dancing-school. In 1742, Richard Kynall, the fencing-master, also taught dancing, and in 1746, Kennet, another professor of the small-sword, gave instruction in the art of Terpsichore. Bolton, another dancing-master, flourished about the middle of the century, and Tioli and his assistant, Godwin, about 1770 or 1772. In 1785, Mr. Patterson and Monsieur Russell, both members of the Ryan & Wells Company, taught dancing. Russell was the first dancer that introduced the "pigeon-wing" step in Philadelphia ball-rooms. John Durang succeeded Russell as a teacher. Mr. and Mrs. Byrne, English dancers, who came here in 1793, with the first Chestnut Street Theatre Company, opened a dancing-school at Oeller's Hotel in 1800. After teaching one season they returned to England.

B. Quesnet, an artist of merit, came in 1796 as ballet-master to Hallam and Henry's company, at the South Street Theatre. He set up a school, about 1800, in Harmony Place, and gave dancing parties at Kerr's ball-room, in Fourth Street. In the succeeding year he engaged Baconnais as his assistant, and the dancing academy was removed to No. 64 South Fourth Street, and some years after to No. 30 South Sixth Street. When, in 1810, Mathew Carey built a large printing-office on Library Street, opposite the Bank of the United States, the second story of this building was fitted up as an assembly-room, and Quesnet became the lessee. In 1817 he had his dancing academy at Washington Hall. He announced a great ball for the 22d of February, in honor of Washington's birthday; but there happened to be two other balls in preparation for the same day and object, one by the citizens and one by the military. Quesnet put off his ball until a later period of the season, the citizens' project was abandoned, and the field left to the military, who gave a very fine birthnight ball. The managers on this occasion were Capt. Thomas I. Wharton, Capt. John Swift, Capt. Thomas Anthony, Lieut. John B. Dickinson, Lieut. Cephas C. Childs, Cornet E. S. Fullerton, and G. Fairman.

Quesnet died in 1819, after a very successful career in a profession in which he had few, if any, superiors.

William Francis, comedian, was for a few years another successful dancing-master. He came here in the latter part of the last century. In 1800 he taught "the last new minuet as performed at the Grand Opera-House, Paris, the minuet de la cœur, the gavoto, waltzes, strathspeys, Highland reels, with the steps peculiarly adapted to those favorite dances; the Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Bath, and London cotillions, hornpipes, and the American country dances, after the most approved and fashionable styles." In 1803 his balls were given at the new assembly-room, adjoining the theatre, Sixth and Chestnut Streets. Francis entered into a copartnership with John Durang in 1806. In 1808 they gave their "farewell ball," but their academy was still kept open at Harmony Hall. They were assisted in the management by Durang's young sons, Harris and Charles, who gave a ball in 1810.

Monsieur Sicard commenced to teach dancing as early as 1790. That he was popular as a teacher is evident from the fact that he retired from the profession with a competency about 1812. He lived in Philadelphia for some years afterward, his name being set down in the Directory with the affix "gentleman." Dupuy assisted Sicard in 1809, when they gave a ball for the benefit of distressed mariners.

The year 1800 seems to have been particularly prolific in dancing-masters. In addition to those already mentioned, the following-named made their appearance in that year: Auguste Auriol, "late from Paris," announced himself as a teacher of the art, and became an assistant of Quesnet, but before the year was out he established his own dancing academy. He taught until 1809, giving balls regularly every season. He then went to France, and was absent one year, during which time Mr. Audrale managed the academy. Auriol returned in 1810, and remained in Philadelphia until 1818, when he was succeeded by Mr. Shira. Auguste Auriol came from a family of famous dancers.

In October, 1800, Henry Paul Nugent, "formerly principal dancer at the theatre," proposed to give lessons in literature and the art of dancing. In a long and curious advertisement, Nugent says of himself,—

"He was regularly bred to letters and the ornamental arts, by which alone he has supported himself for several years. He was a pupil to Mr. Sheridan, the author of 'The Art of Reading,' and has taught the classics in a reputable academy near London. The art of dancing he learned in France and England, and he practiced as an assistant to the most eminent dancing-master in Bath. The languages Nugent is acquainted with are the English, French, Latin, and Greek. These he has been accustomed to teach; but he wishes to teach the English language alone, as there are fewer skillful teachers of that language than of the others, as he has made it his principal study, and as the improvements which pupils make in their vernacular tongue, if properly instructed, render the task of the teacher no way irksome."

Insisting upon the necessity of teaching children to read with propriety, he incidentally states that "many young ladies of good abilities, on leaving an expensive boarding-school, have been found by their parents strangely deficient in reading and writing English," a remark which is lamentably true in the present time.

Ignace Fraisier, a French gentleman of good family

and education, and who had held an officer's commission in the American army during the Revolutionary war, opened a dancing-school in 1801. From some motive of sensitive pride he dropped his family name, and was commonly known as Monsieur Ignace. In 1802 he announced that in addition to lessons in dancing, he proposed "to instruct about twelve scholars in the French language, and to act as interpreter." His success as a teacher of French was so great that for some years he devoted most of his attention to this branch, although he did not give up his dancing-school. In 1823 he gave instruction to ladies and gentlemen in music and dancing, and in the French and English languages, and also gave notice that he was a sworn interpreter. Mr. Fraisier died in 1825, aged seventy-eight years. The fact that he had served his adopted country as an officer was not generally known until his obituary notice was published. As the obscure Monsieur Ignace, he had won the respect of the community among which he had labored so industriously during a quarter of a century.

Mr. Warrell, of the theatre, kept a dancing academy for a short time in 1804. Monsieur Epervil, in 1808, made an attempt to introduce masquerade balls in Philadelphia. He published the programme of a series of three balls, but only two were given. Public opinion was decidedly opposed to this kind of amusement, and within two weeks of the publication of Epervil's programme an act of Assembly was passed declaring masquerades and masked balls to be common nuisances. The penal provisions of the bill were very stringent, showing that the evil to be suppressed was considered a serious one. Section 1 of the act provided that—

"every housekeeper within this Commonwealth who shall knowingly permit and suffer a masquerade or masked ball to be given in his or her house, and every person who shall set on foot, promote, or encourage any masquerade or masked ball, and every person who shall knowingly attend or be present at any masquerade or masked ball in mask or otherwise, being thereof legally convicted, . . . shall for each and every offense be sentenced to an imprisonment not exceeding three months, and to pay a fine not exceeding one thousand nor less than fifty dollars, and to give security in such sum as the court may direct to keep the peace and be of good behavior for one year."

This had the immediate effect of putting a stop to Mr. Epervil's preparations to initiate the Philadelphians into the follies of the Parisian *Bals de l'Opéra*, and he left for other parts, deploring the want of (bad) taste of the legislators.

In 1809, F. C. Labbe, "late from Paris," announced himself by giving a grand ball at the City Hotel, and a few days later opened a dancing academy. About the year 1812 he gave up dancing to embark in the calico-printing business, but was probably not very successful in that enterprise, for in 1818 he returned to his old profession, and took Auriol's old ball-room, in Spruce Street. Shortly after he moved to Carey's building, hitherto occupied by Quesnet, who now retired. This building was destroyed by fire in 1820, and Labbe transferred his ball-room and school, temporarily, to Washington Hall. When Carey's building was rebuilt he returned to his old quarters, which were elegantly fitted up. Mr. Labbe continued in the exercise of his profession for some years after this, and is still well remembered by old Philadelphians. He is described as "small in stature, with bushy black hair, and jet-black eyes. He was very graceful in his carriage and manners, and very nimble on his feet."

Monsieur Trigant & Son opened a dancing academy in 1809; they were also associated with Monsieur L. Auguste in a fencing academy. In 1816 they were joined by Monsieur Gigion. In 1820, B. Auguste succeeded to the dancing interests of this school. In 1821 he opened a French academy in addition to his dancing-school. In 1825 he was teaching dancing at reduced rates, from which it is to be supposed that he was not as successful as some of his competitors. A Mr. Hipolite taught dancing in 1809, together with the broadsword and small-sword exercises. He gave, in the spring of that year, a grand exhibition, which was called "a grand tournament and ball." He does not appear to have made a long stay in Philadelphia.

Thomas Whale, an Englishman, kept a dancing-school from 1809 to 1812, when he either died or removed from the city. He was the father of Master Henry Whale, who, in 1809, was attached to the Chestnut Street Theatre Company as a dancer, and appeared under the title of the "Infant Vestris." On the 27th of November of that year *The Tangram* said of Whale, "Considering that Englishmen are not reputed for the elegance and grace of their movements, he promises fair to be the head of his profession, for, laying aside the gentility of his address and the politeness of his phraseology, he powders his hair, which is at least respectably, if not elegantly, done." In September, 1825, notice was given that "Henry Whale, known some twenty years ago as the Infant Vestris,—having danced on the Philadelphia stage with much *éclat*, though very young then,—now proposes to open a dancing academy." He stated that he had been teaching dancing in New York and Albany. He opened his dancing-school at the northwest corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets.

The dancing-masters who practiced their art in Philadelphia in the early period were mostly, as it has been shown in the preceding sketches, dancers attached to a theatre company, or professional dancers, who, in many instances, taught also the art of fencing. The French Revolution and, to a still greater extent, the exodus from San Domingo of white families who had escaped massacre at the hands of the revolted blacks brought to the various American ports numerous refugees, who, in this hour of their misfortune, turned to account the accomplishments acquired in better days with no other view than that of shining in the polished society in

which they moved. Fencing, dancing, and music were indispensable arts with the French gentleman of the old *régime*. Some added to these a fair knowledge of drawing and painting, while not a few, whose fathers had adopted Jean Jacques Rousseau's ideas concerning education, were lucky enough to know some genteel trade and could turn or carve wood and ivory, engrave on metal, etc. They set themselves to work bravely, and by steady industry managed to eke out a support for themselves and their families. Their native politeness, their industry, and the cheerfulness with which they accepted poverty after having known all the advantages of wealth and social position, won the regard and sympathy of the people among whom fate had made them cast their lot.

Philadelphia had her full share of these worthy refugees. Of such was Victor Guillou, who, about 1810, had a dancing academy at No. 294 Market Street. His ancestors were originally from Brittany, and of very ancient lineage. Keradec Guillou left France in 1697, and settled in San Domingo, where he purchased land, and in a few years was known as a wealthy sugar and coffee planter, the proprietor of vast estates. Victor, his great-grandson, was born in 1776. In accordance with the custom prevailing among the wealthy San Domingans, he was sent to France at the tender age of seven years to receive the education befitting his station,—an education which included a complete course of artistic accomplishments. The stormy beginning of the French Revolution did not hinder Victor Guillou from pursuing his studies, but when, in 1794, the Convention decreed the emancipation of the blacks, already in open rebellion, in San Domingo, the young man returned immediately to the colony and joined the military force organized by the planters for the protection of their homes and families. Love claims its supremacy even in the most troublous times: two years after his return home Victor married the amiable daughter of Dieudonné de Las Casas, a French nobleman, who had been banished by Louis XV. The young couple were not allowed very long the peaceful enjoyment of the honeymoon. Matters had grown worse in the colony, the fine plantations of the valley of the Artibonite were sacked and burned by the blacks, and whole families of whites massacred. Capt. Guillou's wife and the female members of his family were saved almost by a miracle, his father losing his life while protecting their flight. The young soldier succeeded in placing these terrified ladies on board of a vessel bound for Philadelphia; bidding them God-speed, he returned to his post. It was not until after the last hope of the planters was destroyed by the capitulation of the French expedition to the English, in 1803, that Guillou could think of joining his wife and family in Philadelphia. Here he resorted to giving lessons in dancing as a means of support. To this he soon added the teaching of fencing and the French language. In later years he assisted his wife in conducting a large boarding-school for young ladies, in which establishment he was among the first teachers in the United States to introduce the Jacotot or Pestalozzian method of instruction.

Guillou's dancing academy was transferred to Masonic Hall in 1812. In 1819, this building having been destroyed by fire, the academy was removed to Washington Hall, but Guillou returned to his old quarters as soon as Masonic Hall was rebuilt in 1820. In 1821 he announced his practicing ball for February 3d, in honor of which was introduced a great novelty: "His ball-room will be brilliantly illuminated with gas, the light representing a fanciful firework, which will be represented as the bat's wing, oak-leaf, and honeysuckle flower." On the 8th of January, 1823, Mr. Guillou gave a grand military ball at Masonic Hall, to celebrate the battle of New Orleans and Gen. Jackson's victory. This was perhaps the first commemoration of this day by a ball. In December, 1824, Mr. Guillou removed his dancing-school to Musical Fund Hall, and gave notice that he would leave this country in the following spring. He recommended as his successor F. D. Mallet, a teacher of eighteen years' experience. Mr. Guillou joined in 1827 with Gen. Henry Lallemand, who married a niece of Stephen Girard, in a scheme to induce French emigration to Florida, then recently acquired by the United States. This failing, he bought a plantation in the island of Porto Rico, but he was unfortunate in this venture, and after three years of trouble and disappointment, he returned to Philadelphia in 1828, and resumed his profession of dancing-master. But he still longed for that pleasant planter's life, to which he had been brought up, as a reward for his laborious exertions, and in 1836 he purchased a sugar estate in Cuba, and removed to that island. He died there in 1841.

In 1813, Louis Arnal, from Paris, had a dancing academy in Gofforth Alley. Mr. and Mrs. Ferdinand Durang gave their annual ball at Quesnet's, in Library Street, in April, 1814. Mr. Durang was a son of John Durang, a member of the old American Theatre Company; and the lady was Miss Plane, an actress attached to New York and Charleston theatres.

A. Bonaffon opened his academy in 1819. In September, 1824, he gave a grand ball at the Masonic Hall, on the evening of the arrival of Gen. Lafayette, and illuminated the saloon with gas and transparencies of Washington at Trenton and Lafayette at Yorktown.

M. Fedelon, "lately from France," and Monsieur J. Pauppinelle both opened dancing-schools here in 1822.

The Quakers and rigid Presbyterians who, in the early days, frowned down dancing and other "frivolous amusements," could not be expected to countenance the introduction of the drama in Philadelphia. So when Murray and Kean's company of Thespians

made their appearance, in 1749, they were not permitted to make a long stay, but were ordered off as soon as the worthy rulers of the city's morals realized the fact that their entertainments possessed irresistible attractions. So Murray and Kean went to New York, and for five years the Philadelphians did not see a play. During this time, however, the population had increased, and the ruling influence was divided. A very large proportion of the citizens, among whom were not a few men of wealth and position, advocated more liberal ideas as regarded public amusements. They could not admit that it was sinful to laugh at a good farce, or even to weep over the tragic fate of the virtuous hero or heroine. Whether a play is meant to show the inevitable defeat of villainy and punishment of crime, or it merely holds up to ridicule the foibles and follies of society, it contains a good moral lesson,—our old plays did, at all events, and the playwright's motto, "*Castigat ridendo mores*," was true then, if it has ceased to be so now. In the year 1753, Lewis Hallam's English company, after traveling a year in the Southern colonies, and performing in various places in Virginia and Maryland, went to New York, where they opened their theatre in the month of September. The report of the great success of their talented actors awakened a desire among the most liberal-minded Philadelphians that Hallam should visit the Quaker city. The matter was not arranged without opposition, and a goodly quantity of printer's ink was used in arguments pro and con; but the required license had been obtained from Governor Hamilton, upon the recommendation of a number of gentlemen of influence, and Hallam's company came to Philadelphia.

On the 25th of April, 1754, they gave their first performance in a large brick warehouse of William Plumsted, situated in King or Water Street, between Pine and Lombard Streets. The house extended through to Front Street, on which there was an entrance by means of stairs placed on the outside of the building. This house remained standing until the year 1849, when it was pulled down. The opening piece was the tragedy of "The Fair Penitent," followed by the farce, "Miss in her Teens." Mr. Rigby spoke a prologue, and Mrs. Hallam an epilogue written for the occasion, in which, after defending the stage from the accusation of sinfulness, and alluding to the effect produced by the tragedy upon the audience, she asked,—

"If then the soul in Virtue's cause we move,
Why should the friends of Virtue disapprove?"

This temporary theatre was neatly fitted up. Over the stage glittered the motto, "*Totius mundus agit histrionem*." On the opening night the house was very full. The audience was in the best of spirits, but an unpleasant disturbance occurred when it was discovered that one of the unfriendly opponents of the theatre occupied a seat in the pit. Instead of being allowed to sit the play through, with the chance of his becoming converted to a more liberal course, he was summarily ejected. The Governor's license was for twenty-four nights. This number was extended to thirty, and the theatre closed on the 24th of June, after having had a brilliant and profitable season. One of the performances was given for the benefit of the charity school.

The members of this company, whose performances were as the introductory chapter of the history of the stage in Philadelphia, were Mr. and Mrs. Hallam, Miss Helen Hallam, and her two brothers, the Masters L. and —— Hallam, Messrs. Malone, Clarkson, Rigby, Singleton, Adcock, Miller, and Bell, and Mesdames Adcock, Rigby, Becceley, and Clarkson, and, possibly, Mr. and Mrs. Love and Mr. Hewlet, who were members of the company when they performed in New York. The pieces performed, so far as ascertained, were (beside the two already named), "Tunbridge Walks; or, the Yeomen of Kent;" "The Country Wake; or, Hob in the Well;" "The Gamester;" "Tamerlane;" "A Wife well Managed;" "The Careless Husband;" "Harlequin Collector" (a farce); and "The Provoked Husband."

Hallam's company came back to Philadelphia in 1759, to occupy a permanent theatre, erected for them in Southwark, at the corner of Cedar (or South) and Vernon Streets, on Society Hill, which was just outside of the corporated limits. David Douglass, who had married the widow of the elder Hallam after the latter's death in the West Indies, was the director. He had contracted with Alexander, a blacksmith, and William Williams, painter, for the erection and decoration of this theatre, and leave had been obtained from Governor Denny to that effect. The Quakers, the Presbyterian Synod, the ministers and elders of the German Lutheran congregation, and the Baptist congregation, respectively, petitioned the Assembly to prohibit the building of the theatre. The Assembly passed a bill to suppress lotteries and plays. Alexander and Williams, the contractors, who had progressed with their work, petitioned the Governor to take their case into consideration. The Governor, however, signed the bill, and it went to England, where it was repealed by the king and Council, as had always been most of the provincial laws against popular amusements. This theatre was opened on the 25th of June, 1759, but either because the house was too small and not well fitted up, or because the opposition had a discouraging effect, the company only played in it one season. They left Philadelphia, and remained away more than five years. On their return a new house, much larger than the first one, was built, at the corner of South and Apollo Streets. This new theatre was opened on the 12th of November, 1766. The company, which formerly had been designated as "a company of comedians from London," now assumed the title of "The American Company." It was at this theatre, and by this company, that the first play by an Amer-

ican author performed on any regular stage was given, on the 24th of April, 1767. This was "The Prince of Parthia," by Thomas Godfrey, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Mr. Graydon, in his "Memoirs," speaks with praise of the various members of this company, especially of Lewis Hallam, although he admits that the latter's declamation, in tragedy, was "either mouthing or ranting," and that having once ventured to appear in "Hamlet," either at Drury Lane or Covent Garden, his acting had not been to the taste of a London audience, "though he was admitted to be a man of pleasing and interesting address." Mr. Graydon adds that "he was, however, at Philadelphia, as much the

OLD SOUTHWARK THEATRE, COR. SOUTH AND APOLLO STS.

soul of the Southwark Theatre as ever Garrick was of Drury Lane; and if, as Dr. Johnson allows, popularity in matters of taste is unquestionable evidence of merit, we cannot withhold a considerable portion of it from Mr. Hallam, notwithstanding his faults."

The "American Company" again performed at the Southwark Theatre in the winters of 1768 and 1769–70. They returned in 1772, and reopened the theatre on the 28th of October; the performances closed in April, 1773. During this season "The Conquest of Canada; or, the Siege of Quebec"—the second original American drama ever performed on the stage—was produced (Feb. 17, 1773). Great effect was given to this play by the introduction of soldiers from the barracks, sailors from the king's ships in port, with artillery, boats, etc. In January of that year Francis Mentges, who became an officer in the United States service during the Revolution, made his first appearance as a dancer, under the name of Monsieur Francis, at the Southwark Theatre. The company was again at the theatre in November, 1773, but the season only lasted two weeks. Mrs. Douglass died, and the company left the city.

The troublous times had come, and the momentous questions which filled the public mind left little room for any thoughts of amusements. Among the earliest resolutions passed by the Provincial Congress when it assembled, in September, 1774, was the following:

"That we will discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibition of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments."

When the company arrived, in October, they had nothing to do but to re-embark, which they did, going to the West Indies. The only performance at the theatre that season was on the 19th of September, when the "Lecture on Heads" and the recitation of "Bucks have at ye all," were given by Mr. Goodman, of the American Company, and Mr. Allen, of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. Mr. Goodman was a young man, who, after reading law for some time with Mr. Ross, had felt an irresistible vocation for the stage, and had joined the American Company, probably in 1770 or 1772.

The Southwark Theatre remained closed until it was opened by the British officers during their occupation of the city in 1777–78. These amateur performers gave regular plays, for which tickets of admission were duly sold, the proceeds going to the widows and orphan children of the soldiers. The ill-fated Maj. André and Capt. Delancy painted the scenes and other decorations. The curtain, representing a waterfall scene, the work of young André, remained in use until the theatre was burnt down, May 9, 1823. After the return of the Continental Congress, a company of actors, whose names are not now known, gave some performances at the Southwark Theatre, in September and October, 1778. Congress, at this time, passed a resolution prohibiting "any person holding an office under the United States" from attending play-houses and theatrical entertainments, and in March, 1779, the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a new act upon vice and immorality, in which was incorporated a provision against theatrical performances and shows of every kind. Various efforts were made during the succeeding years to have this provision repealed, but with little success. Lewis Hallam, with the old American Company, was very near obtaining a repeal during the session of 1784–85, but eventually failed. He then opened the theatre on the 1st of March, 1785, for miscellaneous entertainments and singing. Growing bolder, he gave, at a later period of the year, exhibitions or readings of scenes from plays.

Hallam was assisted by Mr. and Mrs. Allen, of the old American Company, who aided in recitations and songs, John Durang, a native of Lancaster, who was popular as a dancer, and Charles Busselot, formerly an officer of the French army. The entertainments were recitations, scenes from plays, pantomimes, songs, and scenic illusions, accompanied by mechanical effects. The entertainments were carried on till the 29th of July.

Notwithstanding the determination of the Assembly to prohibit theatrical exhibitions, the indefatiga-

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ble Hallam always found some new subterfuge by means of which he and his company could appear before the public without incurring the penalty of the law. Thus, in June, 1787, on their return from New York, where they had been performing, they opened at the Southwark, with a "Concert, vocal and instrumental," in which was introduced "The Grateful Ward; or, the Pupil in Love," and the "musical entertainment" of "The Poor Soldier." The theatre was designated in the bills as the "Opera-House, Southwark." This entertainment was for the relief of the American captives in Algiers.

Hallam and John Henry, who were now partners, continued the struggle, petitioning year after year for authority to open a new theatre, and for the repeal of the law against theatrical exhibitions, in the mean time evading that law by giving operas and musical pieces and occasionally plays, disguised under the title of "Lectures." Thus, "The Gamester" was announced as a "serious and moral lecture, in five parts, on the vice of gaming," while "Hamlet" was introduced as "a moral and instructive tale, called 'Filial Piety Exemplified in the History of the Prince of Denmark.'" The contest came at last to a crisis in 1789, when a petition, signed by nineteen hundred citizens, asking the repeal of the prohibitory provision relating to theatres, was presented to the Legislature. The religious community took the alarm. A remonstrance against the repeal of the law, signed by three thousand three hundred and ten persons, was taken to the Assembly by a committee, headed by all the ministers of the gospel of the Protestant sects in the city, viz., Right Rev. Bishop White, Rev. George Duffield, Rev. William Rogers, Rev. Henry Helmuth, Rev. John Meder, Rev. Joseph Pilmore, Rev. Ashbel Green, and several elders of the Society of Friends.

Counter petitions were immediately gotten up by the friends of the theatre, the proceedings on their part being conducted by a society called "The Dramatic Association," for whom Gen. Walter Stewart, Dr. Robert Bass, Dr. John Redman, Maj. Moore, John Barclay, William Temple Franklin, Jacob Barge, and William West, acted as a committee.

The newspapers, as might be expected, discussed the question at length, and every means was used to arrive at a true expression of public opinion. When the question came up for final settlement, it was found that six thousand citizens had signed the petitions in favor of the theatre, and four thousand against it. The restrictive portion of the act was accordingly repealed, and an act was passed authorizing licenses to be issued for theatrical entertainments for three years, and subjecting unauthorized exhibitions to a fine of two hundred pounds, so that improper or scandalous plays should not be performed.

Hallam & Henry opened the Southwark Theatre on the 6th of January, 1790, with "The Rivals" and "The Critic." Their company consisted of Ryan, Vaughan, Lake, May, Harper, Wignell, Wools, Head, Biddell, Robinson, John Durang, Gay, Hallam, and Henry; Mrs. Wools, Mrs. Henry, Miss Took (afterward Mrs. Hallam), Mrs. Hamilton, and Mrs. Harper. Mr. Kenna, Mrs. Kenna, with Master and Miss Kenna, arrived from London during the season, and strengthened the company. In December, 1790, when they reopened, some changes had taken place in this list of performers. Four American plays were produced that season: Dunlap's "American Shandyism," Trumbull's "Widow of Malabar," "Constitutional Follies," a comedy, by Mr. Robinson, a member of the company, and "The Recess," a translation and adaptation by a citizen of Philadelphia, name unknown. The theatre was fashionable, and the return of Congress to Philadelphia insured a good attendance. The season was unusually brilliant.

Charles Durang, in his "History of the Philadelphia Stage," says,—

"The east stage-box in the South Street Theatre was fitted up expressly for the reception of Gen. Washington. Over the front of the box was the United States coat of arms. Red drapery was gracefully festooned in the interior and about the exterior. The seats and front were cushioned. Mr. Wignell, in a full dress of black, hair powdered and adjusted to the formal fashion of the day, with two silver candlesticks and wax candles, would thus await the general's arrival at the box-door entrance, and, with great refinement of address and courtly manners, conduct this best of public men and suite to his box. A guard of the military attended. A soldier was generally posted at each stage-door, and four were posted in the gallery, assisted by the high constable of the city and other police officers, to preserve something like decorum among the sons of social liberty, who, as Lingo says, in speaking of American notions of independence, 'The very babes, nursing on their mothers' laps, are fed with liberty and—pap!'"

Wignell withdrew from the company that year, and Henry went to England to engage new actors. He brought back John Hodgkinson and wife, the former a dashing light comedian and his wife a lively singing actress, Mrs. and Miss Brett (the latter afterward Mrs. King), Mrs. Pownell (celebrated on the London stage for many years as Mrs. Wrighton), Mr. King, Samuel and James West, Prigmore, Chambers (vocalist), Luke Robbins (actor and scene-painter), and Floar (an ingenious machinist and propertyman).

The firm of Hallam & Henry was dissolved in 1793, and Hallam formed a partnership with Hodgkinson for the season of 1794. Among the attractions presented were the celebrated tragic actress, Mrs. Melmoth, the popular dancer and pantomimist, Monsieur Quesnet (already spoken of in these pages as a successful dancing-master), and the beautiful Madame Gardé, a French *danseuse* of merited reputation.

This was the last season of the old Southwark or "American Theatre" as a fashionable theatre. Hallam & Hodgkinson left Philadelphia for New York. They felt that the old building on South Street had had its halcyon days, and could not compete with a rival which offered the public vastly superior accommodations and elegant improvements until then undreamt of. They were wise, for from

that time the popularity of the Southwark Theatre gradually faded away before the rising glory of the Chestnut Street Theatre. It could scarcely have been otherwise; the old theatre, according to the reminiscences of "Lang Syne," was "an ugly, ill-contrived affair outside and inside; the stage lighted by plain oil-lamps without glasses. The view from the boxes was intercepted by large square wooden pillars supporting the upper tier and roof. It was contended by many at the time that the front bench in the gallery was the best seat in the house for a fair view of the whole stage." Such was the place where the most brilliant array of fashion had assembled during a quarter of a century. The new theatre in Chestnut Street was fitted up in the interior with two rows of boxes and a gallery above, supported by fluted Corinthian columns highly gilt, a crimson ribbon twisted from the base to the capital. The tops of the boxes were decorated with crimson drapery. The panels were of pale-rose color, adorned with gilding.

So the name of Hallam, which had been connected with theatrical affairs for the last forty years, disappeared from the boards. Yet it has remained indelibly written in our annals, for if the elder Hallam be not entitled to the appellation, "Father of the American Stage," conferred upon him by Dunlap, he has an undisputed right to that of "Founder of the Philadelphia Stage." His son continued his work and gave us the best interpretations of the old English drama, now forsaken for the clumsy adaptations of French pieces by modern playwrights, who have discovered that it is easier to imitate than to create, and—it pays better.

The old Southwark, after this, ceased to have regular seasons, but it was opened from time to time to the performances of transient companies, amateurs, or temporary combinations of seceders from different companies and actors out of work. In the spring of 1800 "The Orphans" and "The Irish Widow" were played at this theatre by an association of amateurs, called the Thespian Society. John Durang and his family, assisted by a few others, occupied the theatre in the summer months following. In August, 1801, a portion of the Chestnut Street Theatre Company announced the opening of a summer season at the South Street Theatre. Almost simultaneously with this announcement there appeared one by Messrs. Barrett, Placide & Robertson, who, singularly enough, had also engaged the theatre. The two companies, instead of quarreling over the possession of the stage, very wisely agreed to join their forces,—an advantageous combination which increased the chances of securing good audiences, for while the Chestnut Street actors were prepared for tragedy, high comedy, and English opera, their new associates were particularly strong in recitations, dancing, and pantomime, and they could boast of having in their ranks "that wonder of the world, the Antipodean Whirligig," Mr. Robertson, "late from London." Robertson was a great attraction, and thousands viewed with never-ceasing wonder his great whirling feat. He appeared with his head protected by a sort of metallic cap, lined inside with felt, and mounting a strong table, the legs of which were made fast to the floor, he was fixed head downward in the centre. He immediately began a rotary motion of his body, increasing in rapidity until he looked more like a piece of machinery than like a man. "Indeed," says Durang, "he was so very rapid that you could not observe by the eye his figure; you could only discern a perpendicular object like the axle of a wheel, going around with immense rapidity." Sometimes he would have fireworks attached to his heels and other parts of his person. Placide performed the extraordinary feat of playing the fiddle with the bow in his mouth, the instrument being held behind his back and over his head. There was no lack of talent in the dramatic company, which counted among its members Mr. Fullerton, from the Theatre Royal, Liverpool; William B. Wood, Cain, Francis, Warren, Blissett, Prigmore, L'Estrange, Mrs. Snowden, and Mrs. Shaw. During the season "The Battle of Bunker Hill; or, the Death of Gen. Warren," was played in very good style. In July, 1802, another company, formed from the Chestnut Street actors, had a short season at the South Street Theatre. Among the plays which they brought out was "The Federal Oath; or, the Independence of 1776," a pantomimical sketch, interspersed with songs. In this troupe were Warren, Wood, Cain, Bernard, Usher, Blissett, Francis, Milbourne, Miss Westray, Mrs. Jones, Misses Arnold, K. Solomon, Hunt, Screven, and others.

In the month of July, 1803, Mr. McGinnis, under the title of "A Theatric Lounge," opened a miscellaneous entertainment, consisting of songs and recitations and scenes from "The Mountaineers,"—*Octavian*, Mr. McGinnis. After an unsuccessful experiment, in August, at a place opposite the Lombardy Garden, McGinnis returned to the old theatre, and brought out "The Virgin Unmasked," the characters in which were taken by McGinnis, Durang, Parsons, Shaefer, "a gentleman," and Mrs. Brumley.

During the summer of 1804 there was a short season at the old theatre by the Chestnut Street Theatre Company. On the 4th of July was produced a piece written by James Workman, entitled "Liberty in Louisiana." Mr. Wood delivered an oration "in honor of Louisiana and the United States." The house was opened for a single night in October, when Mr. Story, from the London and Charleston theatres, presented "The Point of Honor" and "The Spoiled Child."

The Manfredi family opened this theatre in February, 1806, and gave a series of tight-rope performances, ballets, pantomimes, etc. They were succeeded by a portion of the Chestnut Street Company, among which were Mr. and Mrs. Poe, the latter formerly Miss Arnold. It was then and there Spencer H.

Cone made his first appearance on any stage. He played with much success *Achmet*, in "Barbarossa." Cone became a favorite afterward at the Chestnut Street Theatre, where he played during several seasons. In the midst of a successful career he suddenly left the stage and went to Baltimore, where he became associate editor of *The American*, exchanged his quill for a sword when the war with Great Britain broke out, and served as a captain of artillery; returned to the stage after the restoration of peace, and again left it, finally this time, to become a minister of the Baptist Church, in which last profession he continued until the time of his death. Kate Claxton, one of the most deservedly popular actresses of a later time, is a granddaughter of Spencer H. Cone.

In 1807 the first French dramatic company that had ever appeared in Philadelphia opened at the South Street Theatre for a short season, playing varieties and vaudevilles. Their advertisements show that they performed several good pieces of the old French *répertoire*, which required actors of a fair average of talent. "Le Directeur dans l'Embarras" (The Perplexed Manager), "L'Avocat Pathelin," by Palaprat, "On fait ce qu'on Peut, en non pas ce qu'on Veut," "Heureusement," by Rochon de Chabannes, "Le Sourd, ou l'Auberge Pleine," and several lighter pieces and farces were produced. In March, Manfredi came back to the old theatre, and the French company removed to Sicard's ball-room. Daudet, one of the principal actors, was the manager. His name and that of Monsieur Bridan are the only ones that have come down to us.

In the summer of that year John Durang opened at the old theatre with a company of which his three sons, Augustus F., Ferdinand, and Charles, and his daughters, Catharine and Charlotte, formed part, with Baillie, Taylor, Drummond, Wright, and Miss M. Mullen. Old Hallam, who owned the theatre, played occasionally. This company was considerably strengthened in September by the accession of Giles Leonard Barrett, Wilmot, McKenzie, Johnson, Williams, Yeates, George H. Barrett, Mrs. Wilmot, and others. They brought out several heavy pieces.

The name of Durang has occurred several times in these pages, and it is fit that it should form the closing chapter of the history of the old South Street or Southwark Theatre, with which it was so closely connected. John Durang was connected with Hallam's company ever since 1785. Engaged at first for his merits as a dancer, he became a useful member of the dramatic company. His children were brought up to the stage. One of his sons, Charles Durang, was born in Philadelphia, and appeared for the first time in a ballet in 1803. He was then only nine years old. He was destined to perpetuate the name of Durang in the annals of the Philadelphia stage long after his father had gone to rest in the silent city of the dead, near his old manager and friend, Hallam. Charles Durang, after being an actor, ballet-master, and manager, lived to write the history of that stage[1] of which his father had been one of the pioneers, and on which he himself had passed his life from boyhood through to manhood and old age, renouncing it only when his infirmities prevented his further prosecution of his profession. The "stars" of more than half a century had been his associates, and he had witnessed the first efforts of actors and actresses since famous. Who better than he could write a truthful, interesting narrative of reminiscences of the stage? He had played his part honorably on another stage beside that consecrated to Melpomene and Thalia: when the last war broke out between England and the United States he flew to the defense of his native land, and was one of the little garrison which guarded the six-gun battery at the battle of North Point, Md. This fight was immortalized by Francis S. Key's glorious song of "The Star-Spangled Banner," which was sung for the first time in public by Ferdinand Durang, in a building adjoining the Holliday Street Theatre, Baltimore, Charles Durang leading the chorus.

On the 10th of October, 1807, notice was given in the newspapers that there would be a performance of "Douglas" at the South Street Theatre, "to bring forward a boy of thirteen, who has been for some time past the admiration of New York, Charleston, and Virginia, under the title of the 'Infant American Roscius.'" Another "Infant Roscius," said to have been born in Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Jan. 18, 1802, and consequently only six years old, was brought forward in 1808. "Having found it impossible to get a room for exhibition," this young prodigy, it was announced, would "wait on families in their houses and give recitations." John Howard Payne was also called the "American Roscius," and he has been erroneously identified by some with the first "Infant American Roscius" of 1807. Payne, according to the biographical sketches of him, made his first appearance at the Park Theatre, New York, Feb. 26, 1809, as *Young Norval*. He was then sixteen years old. During the spring of 1808 the old theatre was "opened for public amusement." The performances were legerdemain, balancing, ventriloquism, imitations, etc. The place must have deteriorated when the manager found it necessary to announce that "smoking cigars is not allowed in the theatre."

An amateur association gave performances at various times in 1812 and afterward at the old theatre. This society was known as "The Moretonians," and took its name from John Pollard Moreton, a young American actor of merit, who was a native of Saratoga, N. Y. He had been in India and England, and was brought over by Wignell to be a member of the first Chestnut Street Theatre Company in 1793. He made his first appearance in Philadelphia in 1794, and died in 1798. No public notice was given of these amateur performances.

[1] History of the Philadelphia Stage, by Charles Durang.

In 1812, Mr. Beaumont, who had been manager of the Edinburgh Theatre, brought out his wife's nieces, the Misses Abercrombie, two fine dancers. Failing to negotiate with Warren & Wood, managers of the Chestnut Street Theatre, for their appearance, he organized a company and opened the old South Street Theatre. Beaumont had with him, besides his wife and two nieces, Mrs. Morris, Mr. Fell, Jr., Mr. Fisher, and James Abercrombie. During the season several performers of note joined this company, none of whom had ever played in Philadelphia. Among them were Mrs. Goldson, of the Haymarket Theatre, London; Mrs. Riddle, mother of Cordelia and Eliza Riddle; Mr. William Jones, afterward one of the managers of the Arch Street Theatre; and Joseph Hutton, schoolmaster and playwright. The ballet pantomime of "Little Red Riding-Hood" was produced for the first time in America by this company.

The Abercrombie sisters created such a *furor* by their admirable dancing that the managers of the Chestnut Street Theatre found it their interest to offer them an engagement, and the South Street Theatre season came to a close on the 30th of January, 1813. "The Theatrical Commonwealth," a company composed of seceders from various theatres, and which had been organized in New York by Twaits, opened the old place on the 13th of April, 1813. The members of this company were Messrs. Clark, Burke, Caulfield, and Anderson; Mesdames Burke and Clark; Miss Clark, of the Charleston Theatre; Messrs. Twaits, Jacobs, Fisher, Hathwell, and Fennell, Jr.; Mrs. Twaits, and Mrs. Goldson. Mr. Leigh Waring and old Mrs. Morris soon joined the company.

Mrs. Burke (afterward Mrs. Joseph Jefferson) made her first appearance in Philadelphia as *Leonora*, in "The Padlock." This lady, the mother of the two comedians so eminent in later times, Charles Burke and "Joe" Jefferson,[1] was a daughter of Monsieur Thomas, a planter of San Domingo.

Probably the last performance at this old theatre was on the 7th of June, 1817, when Higgins and Bernard, who had opened it for a few nights, after it had remained unoccupied some years, brought out "Manuel," a tragedy, by Rev. C. R. Maturin, the author of "Bertram." The old South Street Theatre was destroyed by fire on the 9th of May, 1821. The event caused little excitement; the very existence of the old place was almost forgotten,—*sic transit gloria mundi.*

An old dwelling-house on Apollo Street, running from South to Shippen, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, was fitted up in 1811, and opened as "The Apollo Street Theatre." It was an unfortunate undertaking, although the house had been prettily fitted up and arranged, the scenery well painted, and the company good, being composed of members of the Chestnut and Walnut Street Theatres. Among them were Webster (a vocalist of some reputation), Cross, Lindsley, Anderson, Morgan, Lucas, Legg, old Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Bray (formerly Miss McMullin), Miss Williams, Mrs. Roberts, and Mrs. Sweet. On the opening night an address, written for the occasion by a gentleman of Philadelphia, was spoken by Mr. Webster. Mr. and Mrs. Wilmot joined the company after the season commenced, but did not remain long. John Hodgkinson's play of "The Man of Fortitude" was performed there on the 19th of July, shortly after which the Apollo Street Theatre closed its doors forever.

In the year 1791 the Kenna family, which had performed at the South Street Theatre for a time, opened a theatre in the Northern Liberties, on Front Street, near Pool's bridge, and not far from the Noah's Ark Tavern. Being subsequently reinforced by some actors out of employment, they took the name of "The New American Company," and played tragedies and light pieces. Doneganni's troupe of tumblers and posturers, and Monsieur De Moulin's company of dancers afterward performed at this theatre, closing finally in May, 1792.

The great event in dramatic circles in 1794 was the opening of the new theatre on Chestnut Street, above Sixth, on the 17th of February. When Thomas Wignell separated from Hallam, at the close of the season of 1790, he associated himself with Hugh Reinagle, a musician, and the two determined to establish a new theatre. While prepared to supply the necessary funds to engage the best performers from Europe and to procure scenery, dresses, and everything concerning the internal arrangements of the theatre, they required assistance to purchase the ground and to erect the necessary buildings. They proposed, therefore, to create a stock of sixty shares, at three hundred dollars each share. Six per cent. interest and a season ticket to each shareholder were the inducements offered. Ten shares were to be redeemed and paid off annually. The stock was readily taken up by the liberal patrons of the drama,[2] and the building was

[1] There have been three actors of that name. The first Joseph Jefferson, a great favorite in his time and one of the most valuable members of the Chestnut Street Theatre company, was not only a great comic actor of versatile talent, but a fine singer. His son, Joseph the second, who played at the same theatre, was an actor of ordinary merit, but an artist and scene-painter. He married Mrs. Burke, and was the father of Joe Jefferson, third of the name—so well known for his personation of "Rip Van Winkle"—who has inherited his grandfather's genius, and moves the present generation from tears to laughter with a single glance or a change of intonation,—irresistibly comic, yet never vulgar or coarse.

[2] The following were the original subscribers, each for one share: Robert Morris, Henry Hill, J. Swanwick, J. Swanwick (for W. Mackenzie), Walter Stewart, Mark Prager, Jr., J. L. (for C. Febiger), Joseph Rivari, Matthew McConnell, Samuel Anderson, Robert Bass, Pearson Hunt, Samuel Hays, William Bingham, C. Richmond, James Lyle, William Cramond, Edward Tilghman, John Travis, James Cramond, John Ashley, Thomas M. Taylor, George Padst, Robert S. Bickley, John Vaughan, Thomas Fitzsimons, Michael Prager, John Duffield, Richard Potter, John Brown, Thomas M. Willing, Matthew Saddler, Robert Patton, John Leamy, Robert Rainey, David Cay (for Andrew Clow), David Cay, Thomas Rushton, James Glentworth, John Lawrence, Samuel Anderson (for a friend), John Mitchell, John Dunlap, Isaac Franks,

commenced in the year 1791. The corner-stone was laid, with Masonic ceremonies, by Mr. Reinagle, who was a master mason. Jared Ingersoll delivered an address on the occasion.

The plan of the building, which was a perfect copy of the Bath Theatre, was furnished by Mr. Richards, of London, a brother-in-law of Mr. Wignell. The theatre had so far progressed in February, 1793, as to permit of its being opened to the public for one night, when a grand concert, vocal and instrumental, was given. The interior decorations were finished, and they excited the admiration of the spectators, but, outside, the building was far from presenting the fine appearance it did some years later, when the colonnade was added. The following description, taken from "The Picture of Philadelphia," by James Mease, M.D., will give a correct idea of a structure which was acknowledged to be the finest theatre in America at the time:

"The theatre on Chestnut near Sixth Street was founded in the year 1791; and enlarged and improved, as it now stands, in 1805. It presents a handsome front on Chestnut Street of ninety feet, including two wings of fifteen feet each. The centre building is ornamented with two spirited and well-executed figures of tragedy and comedy (by Rush) on each side of a great Venetian window, over which, in two circular tablets, are emblematical insignia. The top of this centre building is crowned by a pediment. The wings, opened by large windows, recede a little from the front above, but project below, twelve feet to the line of the street, faced with marble; these pavilions are decorated by emblematic figures in tablets, and connected together by a colonnade of ten fancy Corinthian columns. The extreme depth of the theatre is one hundred and thirty-four feet; the interior is judiciously and handsomely arranged. In the wings are the green-rooms, dressing-rooms, scene-rooms, etc. Through the projecting wings or pavilions, you pass to the stairs of the galleries; under the colonnade, the left-hand door leads to the pit, but to the boxes you ascend in front by a flight of marble steps, enter the lobby, and pass to the corridors which communicate with all the boxes. Those in front of the stage are disposed in form of an amphitheatre; the seats of the whole, with those of the pit and gallery, are arranged so as to give the spectator the greatest advantages. The stage occupies a front between the boxes of thirty-six feet, and runs back upwards of seventy-one feet. Over the stage, occupying part of the entablature and plafond of the front scene, is an emblematic representation of America encouraging the drama, under which are the words, 'For useful mirth and salutary woe.'"

This theatre was computed to hold about two thousand persons, of which number nine hundred could be accommodated in the boxes.

The company was very strong, both as to number

INTERIOR FIRST CHESTNUT STREET THEATRE, 1794.

and combination of talent. Wignell went to England in 1796, to replace some of his actors who had left him. Among those whom he engaged were Thomas A. Cooper, afterward famous as a tragedian, and William Warren, of equal merit as a comedian. Mr. and Mrs. Byrne, the dancers, also came with him. John A. Bernard, already in this country, and who had acquired celebrity in light comedy, was engaged by the manager on his return. Wignell died in 1803, after seeing his enterprise a continued success. His widow entered into partnership with Reinagle, and Warren and Wood became the stage managers.

Joseph Jefferson, the elder, made his first appearance in Philadelphia at the commencement of the season of 1803, in the characters of *Frank Oatland* and *Dr. Lenative.*

The melodrama, which for a number of years may be said to have almost driven regular tragedy from the stage, was first introduced in Philadelphia in 1804, when "A Tale of Mystery," by Holcraft, was produced at the Chestnut Street Theatre.

Thomas A. Cooper, whose fame as a tragedian was now well established, came back to the Chestnut in 1804. During the season of 1808–9 he acted twice

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Charles Pettit, Thomas M. Moore, James Read, Thomas Wignell (for a friend), John Swire (for J. D. A. R. N. O. Y.), Thomas Ketland, Jr., Griffith Evans, James Barclay, Robert Westcott, J. Swanwick (for James Abercrombie), Joseph Harmar, Francis West, Andrew Spence, A. Reinagle (for a friend), Thomas Carradine, J. Delany, Robert Westcott (for a friend), John Brown (for James Crawford), John Harrison (L. M.).

"At a meeting of the subscribers to Messrs. Wignell & Reinagle's proposals for erecting a theatre, held at the City Tavern the 22d June, 1792, in consequence of three days' previous advertisement,

"*Resolved*, That Messrs. Wignell & Reinagle be authorized to open an additional subscription for forty shares upon the same terms and security as the former shares.

"JOHN VAUGHAN, Secretary *pro tem.*

"HENRY HILL, *Chairman.*"

Additional subscribers, one share each: Charles Biddle, D. C. Claypoole, G. W. Plumsted, Edward Fox, Robert Rainey, Edw. Fox (for a friend), George Meade, C. Richmond (for John Wright), John Mitchell (for A. Caldwell), John Williams, Jr., John Williams (for Miss U. Alexander), Joseph Donaldson, John Bidwell, George Keppele, Adam Zantzinger, C. A. Bertier, William Stiles, Philip Nicklin, T. Goyaux de la Roche, John Kean, Elizabeth Bordley (by Beale Bordley), Thomas Smith, Hannah Paleski, Peter Blight, Samuel Anderson (for a friend), John Nicholson (two shares), Thomas P. Anthony, David Pinkerton, John Binns, William Smith, Norton Pryor, Jr.

[Three names in addition to those given in the first list and one name in the second list are left out, it being impossible to decipher them.]

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a week in New York, and twice a week in Philadelphia. Master John Howard Payne, afterward celebrated as the author of the song "Home, Sweet Home," made his first appearance on the 5th of December, 1809. Durang says of him,—

"His youth, figure, and beauty of features were highly prepossessing. But sixteen years of age, and petite in stature, yet he appeared the epitome of a *Prince Hamlet* in soul and manner. His face beamed with intelligence, and his bearing was of the most courtly mould. He was vigorous with rant; chaste, but not dull. He portrayed all the quick thought, restless disposition, and infirm philosophy of *Hamlet* with great judgment and tact."

Reinagle died in Baltimore Sept. 21, 1809. A partnership was then formed between Warren—who had married the Widow Wignell—and Wood. The firm of Warren & Wood continued until 1826.

In 1811 the theatre-goers of Philadelphia were thrown into a fever of excitement, such as had never been known before, by the arrival of George Frederick Cooke, the English tragedian. He was engaged for twelve nights, and made his first appearance, on the 25th of March, as *Richard III.* There were no reserved seats in those days, and it was not an unusual thing to see a servant, or some one hired for the purpose, rush into the house as soon as he could gain admittance, drop into some desirable seat, and occupy it until his master or employer came to claim it. On the occasion of Cooke's first appearance, which was on a Monday, such precautionary measures were of little avail. As early as Sunday evening—as related by Charles R. Leslie in his "Autobiography"—the steps of the theatre were covered with men who had come prepared to spend the night there, that they might have the first chance of taking places in the boxes. Some actually took off their hats and put on nightcaps. When the doors were opened at ten o'clock, Monday morning, the street in front of the theatre was impassable. The rush was tremendous. Men literally fought their way through, coats were torn off the backs of their owners, hats knocked off and mashed; one fellow, swinging himself up by means of the iron bracket of a lamp, ran over the heads of the crowd into the theatre. By evening the crowd that besieged the doors was so dense and tumultuous that it was evident ticket-holders, and especially ladies, could not make their way through it without danger.

"A placard was therefore displayed stating that all persons who had tickets would be admitted at the stage-door, before the front doors were opened. This notice soon drew such a crowd to the back of the theatre that when Cooke arrived he could not get in. He was on foot, with Dunlap, one of the New York managers, and he was obliged to make himself known before he could be got through the press. 'I am like the man going to be hanged,' he said, 'who told the crowd they would have no fun unless they made way for him.'"

In *The Cynic*, by "Growler Gruff," the following notice of Cooke's acting appeared in 1812:

"His *Richard III.* was received with shouts. His death-scene was truly appalling. As he lifted his left arm over his forehead, and gave the last withering look at *Richmond*—the expression of his eyes as they for a moment vividly rolled, then became fixedly glazed, and all vision seemed gone—was peculiar, and thrilled the audience. His style was quiet, but astonishingly impressive. You felt everything he did. The face fixed your attention at once. The words that followed riveted your attention, and absorbed all objects else. Your mind dwelt on naught beside. You did not see Cooke. You only saw the character. He never lost the feeling of his part. The coloring of the passion was preserved in graphic tints to the end. We think that Kean bottomed much of his *Glos'ter* on that of Cooke. The basis of his acting bore a strong resemblance. But Kean made more detached points. In action he was more of the melodramatic school. Their performances were alike, yet distinct."

The receipts on Cooke's first night were $1348.50. The highest receipts during his engagement were $1434; the lowest, $778. He was re-engaged for four nights, with as good results. In the succeeding month Cooper and Cooke played together. The highest receipts were, on the first night, $1604; the lowest, $1183. These were large receipts when the prices were,—Box, $1; pit, 75 cents; gallery, 50 cents.

Durang says that "the performance of 'Othello' was the most magnificent effort ever witnessed on the American boards. It never has been surpassed to our recollection."

In the season of 1812–13, John Duff made his first appearance in Philadelphia; he was then a handsome young man, scarcely over twenty-one years of age; his wife (Miss Dyke), a sister of the wife of the poet, Thomas Moore, was about eighteen, and very beautiful. She played light parts. In her more mature womanhood she revealed herself as one of the finest tragic actresses that ever trod the American stage. In the same season Holman and his daughter, Miss Holman, were among the Chestnut Street stars.

James N. Barker's play of "Marmion" was brought out during the following season, with Duff as *Marmion*. The feeling toward Great Britain was not very friendly at that time, for all saw impending war in the difficulties then existing between the two countries. Resistance to England formed the theme of "Marmion," and the sentiments expressed by the Scots found an echo in the breasts of the Americans. Hence an incident, as related by Durang, which occurred on the first night the piece was played. The scene was between *King James* and *Marmion*. Gen. John Barker, the father of the author, was seated in the stage box. *King James* replies to *Marmion* as follows:

"My lord! my lord! under such injuries,
How shall a free and gallant nation act?
Still lay its sovereignty at England's feet—
Still basely ask a boon from England's bounty—
Still vainly hope redress from England's justice?
No! by our martyred fathers' memories.
The land may sink, but, like a glorious wreck,
'Twill keep its colors flying to the last!"

Old Mr. Barker, swinging his cane over his head and rising up in the box, exclaimed, "No, sir! no! We'll nail them to the mast, and sink with the Stars and Stripes before we'll yield!" This patriotic effusion brought the audience to their feet, and the shouts

and applause continued for upward of ten minutes. When, at last, the actors could proceed with the scene, every patriotic sentiment they uttered was received with rounds of applause. "Marmion" became a very popular piece which never failed to draw a good house.

The success of George Frederick Cooke had awakened a desire among English actors of note to cross the ocean in order to win the plaudits of American audiences and, what was still more acceptable, a respectable pile of American dollars. This laudable desire has been perpetuated since, and the parabolic course of the "stars" which shoot annually from the theatrical heavens of the Old World is invariably directed to the United States. Success is not always certain, however, as Mr. Betterton, of the Covent Garden Theatre, discovered in 1817, when he came to the Chestnut. He had been, at one time, considered the first among great English actors, but he failed to make an impression on the Philadelphians.

The Chestnut Street company counted enough able singers among its members to give vocalists a good support, so the operas gave as much satisfaction as the comedies. Henry Wallack made his first appearance as *Don Juan*, in "The Libertine," a musical play adapted to the music of Mozart's opera, in December, 1818. Mr. Jefferson, as *Leporello*, sustained him with excellent effect. James Wallack appeared as *Rolla* on the 8th of January, 1819. He played *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Shylock*, and some melodramas during his engagement, and created great excitement. Robert C. Maywood, of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, followed the Wallacks, and played with success the first-class parts of *Shylock*, *Othello*, and others. Mrs. Bartley, a tragic actress of great reputation in England, played a two weeks' engagement in February. Her husband, who accompanied her, played comedy parts, such as *Falstaff*, *Puff*, etc. The season closed on the 13th of April, with John Howard Payne's tragedy of "Brutus." In October, 1819, Arthur Keene, a lively young Irishman, with a very fine voice, but utterly ignorant of musical notes, commenced an engagement and played in several musical pieces.

This season, which closed on the 27th of March, 1820, was the last of the fine theatre erected by Wignell & Reinagle. The company had gone to Baltimore, when, on Easter Sunday night, April 2d, the building was totally destroyed by fire. An old eight-day clock, an antique mirror, and the old sick-chair which was used in the business of the stage, were the only articles saved from the flames. The wardrobe destroyed included the principal part of Lord Barrymore's private wardrobe, court costumes, and costly dresses. The beautiful drop-curtain, which was the admiration of every artist and connoisseur, was lost. It was the work of Wignell's brother-in-law, the celebrated Richards, and was commonly called "Richard's Drop." The subject was a Grecian triumphal arch, with a most exquisitely-wrought Italian sky in the perspective, relieved with variegated foliage.

The burnt-out company went to the Olympic Theatre in the fall of 1820. Meanwhile the stockholders adopted means to have the Chestnut Street Theatre rebuilt without delay. They created new stock, at six hundred dollars per share, which was readily taken, and they contracted with the able architect, William Strickland, for the construction of the new building. On the 2d of December, 1822, the new theatre opened with "The School for Scandal" and "The Wandering Boys; or, the Castle of Olival," with a very strong cast.

There was some criticism upon the design of the theatre, particularly the front, which was said to show architectural incongruity. Thus said "Microsmus Philadelphicus,"—

"Its columns Corinthian, in Italy sculptured,
Attest how the arts 'mongst ourselves have been cultured;
Fluted off and got up without flaw or disaster,
What a shame they omitted to flute the pilaster!
Their arrangement is neat, and supporting—but, rot it!—
A pediment, only the builder forgot it!"

The niches in the wings were decorated with the statues of Tragedy and Comedy, cut by Rush, which were in front of the first theatre when destroyed, but which were saved from the wreck. They had much spirit and expression.[1]

Junius Brutus Booth made his first appearance at this theatre on the 17th of February, 1823. Little was known about him; he was from the Royal Drury Lane Theatre, he had had a contest in London with Edmund Kean, he had come to America and had played an engagement in Richmond, Va.,—that was all. The Philadelphia public, which had applauded so many stars that had come heralded by the trumpets of fame, but which also had shown discernment in not always accepting as "great" all who came thus heralded, failed to discover the mighty power of this unknown man, who was soon to be recognized, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, as one of the most successful tragedians on the American stage.

Durang says of Booth's first engagement,—

"Junius Brutus Booth made his first bow to a Philadelphia audience with very poor prospects of success. Nobody knew anything about him, nor did anybody seem to care for him. His reception was extremely lukewarm. The house was poor, the applause was poorer. A few saw merit. The verdict of his jury was 'No go!' During his engagement he played *Richard III.*, with which he opened, *Sir Edward Mortimer*, *Sir Giles Overreach*, *King Lear*, *Reuben Glenroy*, *Octavian*, and *Orestes*, in 'The Distressed Mother.' These he played with his usual excellence, winning moderate applause from those who were present, but not drawing large houses, such as were due to his merit and great excellence."

[1] The niches not being very deep, Mr. Rush was compelled to treat the figures somewhat as if they were in high relief. They showed from the wall of the niche the front and about three-fourths of the body. The backs could not be finished, and the sculptures, which were of wood, actually presented nothing but a shell. But so skillfully and effectively was the work done that the spectator, who was ignorant of the device, could not, from the view taken from the street, suppose that the figures were not solid and complete. When the theatre was taken down, in 1854, these masks were sold to Edwin Forrest, and were placed by him in his library. Since his death they have been removed to the Actors' Home, near Holmesburg.

The day was not distant, however, when the great tragedian was to conquer this indifference of the public, and change it to a lasting admiration of his genius. The season of 1823–24 commenced on the 2d of December, Booth going through an engagement with a moderate degree of success. But in January, 1824, a performance was to be given in aid of a fund to assist the Greeks in their war against the Turks. The matter was under the control of a committee of leading citizens. Booth volunteered his services to play *Hamlet*. They were accepted. Sympathy with the Greeks was general, and in consequence the house was crowded by an unusually intelligent audience, many coming for the sake of the Greeks, who had never seen Booth, and did not care who played *Hamlet*. The effect produced by the wonderful rendering of this part, one of the most difficult among the creations of Shakespeare, can only be described by the word "astonishment." The spectators were not prepared for this sudden revelation of genius; it burst upon them and carried them by storm. When the play ended there was neither misgiving nor doubt: Junius Brutus Booth was recognized as a tragedian without superior. Henceforth he could always be sure of a full house and enthusiastic audience. The public made ample amends for its past indifference.[1]

Previous to this victory of Booth's, that is, in February and March, 1823, that most humorous of comedians, Charles Mathews, played seventeen nights to crowded houses. He had just concluded a long and successful engagement in New York, and so many anecdotes of his wit and mimic powers had appeared in the newspapers that every one was anxious to hear him. His success was immense. After his départure the English burletta of "Tom and Jerry" was brought out for the first time, Jefferson playing *Bob Logic*.

In January, 1824, Mr. Pearman, an English vocalist, played, with moderate success, an engagement of two weeks, during part of which Vincent De Camp, a brother of Mr. Charles Kemble, acted with him. Conway, a London actor, appeared toward the end of the season; he did not justify the appellation of "great," with which he had been announced. The succeeding season was opened by Booth as *Richard III.* He was followed by Clason, from the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, but who was a native of New York. Clason displayed no extraordinary ability as a comedian. The event of the season was the production of Von Weber's "Der Freischütz," with the original overture and choruses. The orchestra was doubled in size. The parts, sung by the regular actors of the company, were well rendered, yet "Der Freischütz" did not draw more than four or five nights.

Stanislaus Surin, whose success in the management of the Tivoli Garden has already been noticed, leased a large building, which had been erected for a cotton-factory, on Prune Street between Fifth and Sixth, and fitted it up as a theatre. This house was opened in 1820, under the name of the Winter Tivoli Theatre, and ran two seasons with fair success. The company was very well composed. There were Charles S. Porter, a talented actor, who was afterwards a member of the Chestnut Street Theatre, and at one time manager of the Arch Street Theatre; James H. Caldwell, a fine actor, and a man of uncommon ability, who in after-years became manager of the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans, and introduced gas into that city, of which he was elected alderman and subsequently mayor; Mrs. Williams, who afterward became the wife of Robert C. Maywood, one of the managers of the Chestnut Street Theatre; Mrs. Riddle, a well-known actress, the mother of Mary and Eliza Riddle, two beautiful girls. Eliza married Joseph M. Field, an actor, who became a humorous writer, and was editor of the *St. Louis Reveille*. The well-known writer, Kate Field, is their daughter. Beside these, there were in the company Messrs. McCleary, Laidley, Bard, Campbell, Thornton, Morrison, Mestayer, Parke, Still, Hall, Bloom, Simpson, Klett, Mesdames Mestayer, Still, Allen, and Miss French. "The Mountain Torrent," a new American drama, by S. B. Judah, of New York, was brought out on the 20th of December, and "The American Captive; or, the Siege of Tivoli," by a gentleman of Boston, was played for the first time April 5, 1821. Mr. Adamson, from the Theatre Royal, Bath, made his first appearance as *Peter*, in "The Stranger," and Mrs. Smith made her first appearance as *Adelgitha*. Among the actors who strengthened the

[1] In 1827 there appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre a young man by the name of Delarue, who had a peculiar talent for imitating the style of other actors. His most successful imitation was that of Booth, owing to his perfect resemblance with the latter. In size, features, voice, and action he was his perfect counterpart, and the resemblance even went farther, for he was very eccentric. It was rumored, probably with no better foundation for the story than this astonishing feat of nature, that Delarue was Booth's natural son. Rees, in his "Life of Edwin Forrest," tells the following anecdote of Delarue:

"On another occasion, in company with several gentlemen, Forrest visited the 'Castle of St. Angelo.' Originally it was called the Mausoleum of Hadrian, a rounded pyramid of white marble. For a while they stood entranced, so much to see, so much to admire and comment upon. All around them were the traces of former greatness. Rome, with its majestic ruins; Rome, in the solemn grandeur of its churches and palaces; Rome, with its endless treasures; Rome, with its Church of St. Peter's, built at the expense of the whole Roman world; Rome, the glory of modern architecture, loomed up before them. The Pantheon, the most splendid edifice of ancient Rome; the Vatican, the palace of the Pope, all these were more or less visible to the eye as they stood gazing in wonder and awe. In one of the pauses of their conversation a voice came up from behind a ruined column bearing upon its surface the impress of ages, saying, 'Mr. Forrest, have you been to see the ruins of the Coliseum?' Forrest turned around at these words to see from whom they proceeded. There, lying at full length on another pillar, was a young man whom none of the party knew. He went on, 'It is a splendid ruin, sir! They say it held one hundred thousand people.' 'You know me, it seems?' said Forrest. 'Know you? Why, certainly! Don't you remember Delarue? I played Richard III. at the Walnut Street Theatre in imitation of Mr. Booth.' 'What! you here? Get up, man, and let me have a good look at you.' Up jumped the eccentric individual; and as he stood before the group he appeared a fac-simile of the great tragedian he could imitate so admirably."

company the second season were Joseph Hutton, playwright; John Augustus Stone, who afterward wrote the tragedy of "Metamora;" Messrs. Herbert Williams, Bloxton, Sinclair, Klett, Mrs. Higgins, Miss Riddle, and others; Misses C. and K. Durang appeared in fancy dances; Adamson and Stamp sang comic songs. Mr. and Mrs. Pelby joined the company toward the end of the season. Stone brought out "Montrano; or, Who's the Traitor," an original drama of his composition. Louis De Hebrach also produced an original drama, "Oolaita; or, the Indian Heroine."

In 1822, Charles S. Porter assumed control of the Winter Tivoli Theatre, and opened it under the name of the City Theatre. Mr. Porter was stage manager, and in the company were Messrs. Meer, Mestayer, Forbes, Hamilton, Webb, D. Eberle, Irwin, Klett, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Mestayer, and others. This was not a very successful enterprise. Porter had no ambition to make another trial, and at the end of the season the history of this theatre was closed.

Pepin & Breschard, who had built the circus at the corner of Walnut and Ninth Streets, bought additional ground and enlarged the building in 1811, so as to combine stage and ring performances. The house was opened on the 1st of January, 1812, and called the "Olympic Theatre." On this occasion Mrs. Beaumont, a fine English actress, made her first appearance, supported by Mr. Knox, of the Park Theatre. The theatrical company was good, and the equestrian performances brilliant. The first season was a fair success, but the second was bad and came to a premature ending. Pepin & Breschard had gone heavily in debt to build the theatre, and creditors were pressing. Finally, the whole establishment was sold by the sheriff on the 5th of February, 1813. Pepin & Breschard opened the house once more in the month of August following, for circus performances only. In 1814, Twaits' Commonwealth Company played there a short, unprofitable season. Except for some rope-dancers' exhibitions, the house remained unoccupied until August, 1816, when Pepin & Co. opened it for equestrian, pantomime, and ballet performances. In November, West's splendid circus company, from England, made their appearance at the Olympic. Ferdinand Durang made quite a hit in "Timour the Tartar." In the spring of 1818 the Alexandria and Washington theatrical companies, under Managers James H. Caldwell and James Entwistle, made a coalition with Pepin, and opened the Olympic for the performance of light pieces and dramas in which horses could be used, with occasional variations in the ring. In 1818 a stock-company was formed, at Pepin's suggestion, to purchase the theatre property and make necessary repairs and improvements. One hundred and sixty-nine shares of two hundred dollars were subscribed.[1] The following-named trustees were to hold the property for the benefit of the association: Dr. John Redman Coxe, William Meredith, and Frederick Ravezies. William Meredith was chosen president; Frederick Ravezies, Richard Ashhurst, John R. Neff, John Meany, John Swift, and William Montelius, superintending committee; George Davis, secretary and treasurer.

The season of 1818–19 was not a very profitable one. Among the new performers who appeared this season was Mr. Lamb, of the English Opera-House, London, who was afterward with Coyle (the scene-painter), manager of the Chestnut Street Theatre; John Green, subsequently famous in Irish characters; and John Blair, also an Irish comedian, came out during the season.

The house was not reopened after this until the destruction of the Chestnut Street Theatre, in 1820, led to the leasing of the Olympic by Warren & Wood. The house, refitted and improved by the lessees, was opened on Nov. 10, 1820, as "The Walnut Street Theatre," a name by which it was, except during a brief period, afterward popularly known, although during the several years that Francis C. Wemyss was manager he called it "The American Theatre." A memory forever connected with the Walnut Street Theatre was the appearance upon its boards, during that first season, of the great tragedian of whom America, and more especially Philadelphia, will ever be justly proud. On the 27th of November it was announced that *Young Norval* would be performed "by a young gentleman of this city." His

[1] The whole number of shares subscribed for originally was one hundred and ninety-five. This number was reduced in 1821 to one hundred and sixty-nine, and it was then agreed that the association should continue until the 1st of June, 1828. The following were the shareholders: Richard Ashhurst, Laurence Astolfi, Samuel Allen, John Benners, Peter Bousquet, John Binns, John Breban, John Bernard, John L. Baker, Thomas Bloxton, George E. Blake, Joseph Beylle, John Byerly, Samuel Badger, Thomas Brown, James N. Barker, William Bargh, Richard Bache, Edward Barry, John R. Coxe, Edward D. Corfield, Anthony Chardon, George H. Cooke, William Campbell, Edmund T. Crawley, Isaac P. Cole, Charles Carpenter, Jr., Daniel B. Charpentier, Clement E. Chevalier, Fortune Clapier, John M. Chapron, Robert Desilver, John T. David, Lewis Duval, Simon Dance, Joseph Donath, Louis de la Croix, George Davis, Thomas Desilver, Lewis Desauque, Lewis Desauque, Jr., William Delany, John Dutton, John Ducker, Leonard Englebert, Adolph Ehringhaus, John J. Edwards, Andrew Farionlh, Peter Gaudichauld, Thomas Hope, Wilson Hunt, John Hart, Peter Hutz, Alexander Hampton, George Harrison, William Irwin, John Jackson, John Knox, Ambrose Laumatt, John Leadbeater, James Lyle, Paul Lajus, John Meany, Horatio L. Melcher, Anthony Michel, Jr., Charles Magner, Jacob Martin, Henry Meyers, Charles Mercier, Samuel A. Mitchell, Thomas S. Manning, Robert P. McCulloh, James P. Moore, James Maxwell, James J. R. Malanfant, Richard McKenzie, William McDonough, Louis R. F. Marotti, John U. Meynie, Alexander McCalla, William Montelius, William Meredith, John R. Neff, Stephen F. Nidelet, Matthew Newkirk, Bayse Newcomb, James Nixon, Eleazar Oswald, William A. Peddle, George Pfeiffer, Richard C. Potter, James Potter, Joseph Randall, Frederick Ravesies, John Rea, Richard S. Risley, Joseph Robard, William Renshaw, William W. Smith, John Swift, Frederick Seckle, James W. Sproat, Thomas Sergeant, William T. Stockton, Benjamin Sharpnack, David Seeger, William Short, Joseph Sevelinge, John Sibbet, Mrs. Ann Townes, Anthony Teisseire, John C. Tillinghast, John B. Wallace, Charles C. Watson, Reuben M. Whitney, Robert Welford, Samuel H. Williams, William Woods. The largest number of these subscribers were generally owners of one or two shares. Ann Townes had sixteen shares; Louis R. F. Marotti, ten shares; John R. Neff, ten; Adolph Ehringhaus, six; Richard Ashhurst, six; Richard C. Potter, four; John Swift, four.

performance met with such success that he repeated it on the 2d of December. On the 29th of the same month was presented "Lovers' Vows," altered from Kotzebue by Mrs. Inchbald,—"*Frederick*, by the young gentleman who performed *Douglass*." On the 6th of January, 1821, a benefit was given to the *débutant*, which was announced to be "for Master Forrest's benefit." The play was "The Mountaineers," *Octavian*, Master Forrest. The playbill said,—"After the play . . . an epilogue, in the character of a harlequin (written by Dr. Goldsmith), will be spoken by Master Forrest."

Edwin Forrest was then fourteen years of age. He was born in George Street [now Guilford Street], in a small frame house, bearing No. 51.[1] His father, William Forrest, was runner for the old United States Bank. Little Edwin was employed for a time in the office of the *Aurora* newspaper, which he left to go to a cooper-shop. There, it is said, he was in the habit of turning a tub upside down, mounting upon it, and making speeches to the great amusement of the workmen. We afterward hear of him as a youthful clerk in the store of Baker & Sons, importers, Race Street. But his passion for the stage was too strong, and he joined a Thespian society. He is said to have appeared at the old South Street Theatre in the part of *Rosalia De Borgia* in the melodrama of "Rudolph;" then, in 1817, at the Apollo Theatre as *Lady Anne* in "Douglass," and subsequently as *Young Norval* at the Tivoli Gardens. Howbeit, his first appearance on a regular stage was at the Walnut Street Theatre. In this theatre he also made his last appearance on the stage in Philadelphia in 1871. His first appearance as a "star" was at the Chestnut Street Theatre July 5, 1826, as *Othello*. He had had a varied experience of the stage, however, before he attained such eminence. He had gone West after his *début* in Philadelphia, and had played Shakesperian tragedy, low comedy, negro characters, and had even joined a circus company as a rider and tumbler,—a strange prelude to the honors he was to win in the service of the tragic muse. Mr. Forrest died on Dec. 12, 1872, in the fine house at the corner of Broad and Master Streets, which he had bought in 1855, when he resolved to retire into private life. This resolve was broken in 1860, when he was prevailed upon to return to the stage, but he kept his much-loved Philadelphia home, and he died, as he had wished, in the city of his birth. He left his fortune to less fortunate members of his profession, for the Edwin Forrest Home, at Spring Brook, was "instituted for the support and maintenance of actors and actresses decayed by age or disabled by infirmity, etc." A noble foundation perpetuating a name already too famous to be forgotten.

Edwin Forrest

Two days after young Forrest's benefit another notable event happened at the Walnut Street Theatre,—Edmund Kean made his first appearance in Philadelphia in the character of *Richard III*. At first he did not make a very great impression; people remembered the inimitable rendering of *Richard* by George Frederick Cooke, and the comparison was not favorable to Kean; but as the play went on, the great actor's power revealed itself, and the rapturous applause which greeted the last scenes was a final verdict from which there was no appeal. The fourteen nights of his engagement and two benefit nights which he played were so many triumphs. Kean came back in April, and played a second engagement. It was very successful until the last night, when "Venice Preserved" was given, Kean playing *Jaffier*. Kean must have been taken with a sudden fit of insanity, or he had been drinking more than was good for him, for Durang, describing the incident, says, "He commenced *Jaffier* in a very impressive manner, but soon fell into eccentric contrasts, doing strange things, so palpably nonsensical that the audience, especially the box portion, began to wince, and at length to express disapprobation more decidedly." Kean perceiving this, treated this manifestation with such offensive

[1] Mr. Bernard Reilley says in a communication to the *Dispatch*, "I and my family moved into that house on the day that the great ship 'Pennsylvania' was launched at the navy-yard, and lived there until the 7th of March, 1844, when it was burned down. Several horses were also burned in a neighboring stable. I think it was in the winter of 1839 that Mr. Forrest and a lady came in, and she, taking a look at the humble appearance of the place, with a smile, said, 'So, Ed, this is the house you were born in?' He replied, 'This is the house.' One of my little boys was playing on the floor. Mr. Forrest inquired if he, likewise, was born in that house. My wife answered in the affirmative. He then put his hand in his pocket and gave the child a silver dollar."

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hauteur that hisses and cries of 'Off! off!' came from every part of the house. Availing himself of a lull in the general uproar, the infuriated actor addressed the audience in the most insulting manner, calling them 'cowards' and other hard names. He had raised a tempest, and pretty soon he had to seek safety in flight. A riot ensued, and the lights had to be put out before it could be quelled."

That Kean had "a bee in his bonnet" is well known. During his second visit to America he played at Quebec. Four Huron chiefs who had witnessed his magnificent acting were introduced to him, and expressed their admiration. Mutual compliments followed; Kean presented each of the noble savages with a silver medal, and they proposed to him to become a member of their tribe. He accepted, and was dubbed a Huron chief, under the high-sounding name of Alantenaida (or Alantenoidet, as some have it).

Dr. Francis, an ardent friend and admirer of Kean, furnishes an interesting sequel to this incident:

"Some time after, not aware of his return to the city, I received a call to wait upon an Indian chief by the name of Alantenaida, as the highly-finished card left at my house had it. . . . I repaired to the hotel, and was conducted up-stairs to the folding-doors of the hall. . . . I entered, aided by the feeble light of the moon; but at the remote end I soon perceived something like a forest of evergreens lighted up by many rays from floor-lamps, and surrounded by a stage or throne, and seated in great state was the chief. I advanced, and a more terrific warrior I never surveyed. Red Jacket (or Black Hawk) was an unadorned, simple personage in comparison. Full dressed, with skins tagged loosely about his person, a broad collar of bear-skin over his shoulders, his leggings with many stripes, garnished with porcupine quills; his moccasins decorated with beads, his head decked with the war eagle's plumes, behind which flowed massive black locks of disheveled horsehair; golden-colored rings pendent from the nose and ears, streaks of yellow paint over the face, massive red daubings about the eyes, with various lines in streaks about the forehead, not very artistically drawn. A broad belt surrounded his waist, with tomahawk; his arms, with shining bracelets, stretched out with bow and arrow, as if ready for a mark. He descended his throne, and rapidly approached me. His eye was meteoric and fearful like the furnace of the cyclops. He vociferously exclaimed, 'Alantenaida!' I was relieved. It was Kean!"

The eccentric actor had his portrait painted in full Huron costume, and had visiting-cards made with his own English name engraved on the one side, and his Indian name, with a miniature likeness of himself in Huron dress, on the other. In later years this portrait puzzled many people, who thought that it was intended to represent the actor in some Indian character performed by him on the stage. The following anecdote, in connection with this portrait, is told by W. Grattan, in a note to the "Life of Edmund Kean:"

"When I first called on him at Humman's, one day early in 1827, he was sitting up in his bed, a buffalo-skin wrapped around him, a huge, hairy cap, decked with many-colored feathers, on his head, a scalping-knife in his belt, and a tomahawk in his hand. He was making up his face for a very savage look, a tumbler-glass of white-wine negus stood at his bedside, two shabby-looking heroes were close by, with similar potations within reach, and a portrait-painter was placed before an easel at the window, taking the likeness of the renowned Alantenoidet,—a name in which the chieftain (most sincerely) rejoiced. I was announced by a black boy in livery. I saw Kean's eye kindle somewhat, perhaps with pleasure, at my visit, but more so, I thought, from the good opportunity of exhibiting himself in his savage costume. He gave a ferocious roll of his eyes and a flourish of his tomahawk, then threw off his cap and mantle, and cordially shook me by the hand. The painter quietly retired and the satellite visitors soon followed," etc.

After Kean's first engagement in Philadelphia, Mrs. Allsop, a daughter of the celebrated Mrs. Jordan, of Drury Lane, played a round of light comedy characters at the Walnut Street Theatre. Then came Mrs. John Barnes, the leading heavy-tragedy lady of the Park Theatre. Her engagement was renewed when her husband, John Barnes, joined her, playing low comedy and eccentric characters. About the same time, David C. Johnson, a native of Philadelphia, made his first appearance on any stage at the Walnut Street Theatre. Mr. Johnson afterward became celebrated as a designer, caricaturist, and engraver. For some years he published annually, under the title of "Scraps," a very popular series of comic drawings.

At the opening of the season of 1821–22, Warren & Wood's company was strengthened by the performances of Mrs. Bloxton, Mr. and Mrs. Burke, Mr. and Mrs. H. Wallack, and Mr. Nicholson, of the Charleston Theatre. The latter made his first appearance on the 15th of November as *Count Belino* in "The Devil's Bridge." William Pelby made his first appearance on the 21st of November as *Macbeth*, and played *Rolla*, *Bertram*, *Hamlet*, *Pierre*, and *Brutus*. The tragedy of "Damon and Pythias" had a run of four nights. "Undine" was performed for the first time on the 1st of January, 1822. Edwin Forrest made his fifth appearance in Philadelphia on the 2d of February, as *Zaphna*, in "Mohammed the Impostor." Le Basse and Tatin, French dancers and pantomimists, appeared three nights in a ballet, and the first elephant that had ever trodden the boards of a Philadelphia stage appeared as a star of the first magnitude in the "Forty Thieves." The season closed on April 23, 1822, and Warren & Wood closed their lesseeship of the Walnut Street Theatre, to prepare for the opening of the new Chestnut Street Theatre. During this last season they had bought many new plays, among which were the tragedy of "De Montfort; or, the Force of Hatred;" "Yusef Caramalli; or, the Siege of Tripoli;" "Marion; or, the Hero of Lake George," and "She Would be a Soldier," both by M. M. Noah; and "The Spy; or, Neutral Ground," by a gentleman of New York.

Stephen Price and Edmund Simpson, lessees of the Park Theatre, New York, now leased the Walnut, refitted it for equestrian performances, in order to bring out a circus company, they having brought out West's circus stock, and restored the old name, "The Olympic," to the theatre. They opened with an equestrian and dramatic company, and produced several good pieces during a season of about twelve weeks, closing the house four days before the new Chestnut Street Theatre was opened. William C. Drummond, formerly of the Chestnut Street Theatre, was stage manager; Lawson was master of the circle, and John

Parker was ballet-master. Among the equestrians were Yeamans, Tatnall, and Walter; Williams, slack-rope dancer and clown; Mrs. Williams, slack-wire dancer and pantomimist; Champlin, balancer and wire-dancer. A novel attraction which created great excitement was the bareback act without saddle or bridle, by Hunter, an English equestrian from Astley's Amphitheatre, London. This feat had never been seen before, and was considered wonderful. It drew crowds to the Olympic. Tatnall, a member of the company, with his pupil, Chârles La Forrest, undertook to find out if the feat was as difficult as it appeared. They practiced in secret, and succeeded much more easily than they had expected. Tatnall then proposed to perform the feat in the ring with his pupil. Hunter took exception at this, and complained to Price & Simpson, at New York, and Tatnall and La Forrest were prohibited from undertaking the bareback act. Tatnall made an appeal to the public, and succeeded in creating a strong feeling in his behalf. On his benefit night, having the right to make up his own programme, he introduced the bareback act, proving that an American rider could perform any feat attempted by an English equestrian.

James Roberts, afterward a very popular comic actor, made his first appearance on any stage, during the season, in a piece written by himself, in which he gave imitations of popular actors.

When the season of 1823 opened, Simpson & Price being still the managers, George Blythe, formerly director-general at Astley's, was director of the ring, and Daniel Reed acting as manager; William Lawson was succeeded as riding-master by Asten. The company was nearly the same as in the previous year. William Dinneford, from London, a young actor, joined the theatrical company. Master Turner, afterward a popular equestrian, made his first appearance. The two novelties this season were a melodrama, called "Ali Pacha; or, the Greek Struggle for Liberty," brought out by Hunter for his benefit, and a patriotic drama, called "The Two Sisters; or, the Heroines of Switzerland," written by W. Barrymore. Another season was opened in the fall, with the same company. Joseph Cowell was the chief manager, under Price & Simpson, during the fall season of 1824. The melodramatic manager was Mr. Gale; equestrian-master, George Blythe; ring-masters, Lawson and Rogers; prompter, T. Honey; ballet-master, John Parker; scene-painters, Henry Wilkins and Henry Isherwood. The latter was an artist of no mean talent, and the new landscape scenery which he painted was much admired. James Stoker, a slack-rope performer, horrified the public by a new trick, hanging himself by the neck as if he were on the gallows. Although this repulsive exhibition was denounced, it did not fail to draw the crowd to the Olympic,—a morbid taste for the horrible will always exist among the masses. "Lafayette; or, the Castle of Olmutz," by Samuel Woodworth, of New York, was performed on the 1st of October. "The Cataract of the Ganges" was brought out in grand style, real water being introduced on the stage. At Cowell's benefit the play, so popular in London, of "Tom and Jerry" was brought out. Roberts made a hit in the character of *Bob Logic*, which was the foundation of his popularity.

The spring season of 1825 was short and unimportant; there being no theatrical company, the performances were limited to equestrian feats and pantomimes. The fall season, however, presented a more varied programme by a stronger company. Among the engagements for the circus were Collingbourne, a native of London, who was a dancer and pantomimist; Master Collet, a rider and performer of boys' parts in melodramas; James Kirby, of Drury Lane Theatre, clown and scene-painter; John Hallam, comedian, who made his first appearance in this theatre as *Joe Steadfast*, in "The Turnpike Gate;" Palmer Fisher and his wife, the latter afterward Mrs. E. N. Thayer; Miss Aspinall, a dancer, and Harry Moreland, a vocalist, who afterward married her.

The great success of the season was the harlequinade of "The Talking Bird," which was produced on the 14th of October. The scenery, which was very beautiful, was painted by Kirby and Williams. Kirby acted two parts in the play, *The Talking Bird* and the *clown*. Durang says of this piece, "The scene of 'The Dancing Waters and the Bird's Palace' was a supernatural ideal of Paradise. The entire scene revolved in the multitudinous colors of the kaleidoscope. The wings reflected transparent water pyramids and water-flowers, all revolving in various colors. The machinery of this piece was never surpassed in this country, if indeed equaled."

The familiar old name of "Walnut Street Theatre" was restored to the Olympic, the house was entirely rearranged and fitted up, and was opened by Inslee & Blake on the 1st of January, 1829. It is now the oldest theatre in Philadelphia, the old Chestnut Street Theatre having been torn down in 1855. The limits of this chapter will not admit of more than a cursory notice of the other places of amusement established after 1825.

Washington Museum Theatre, in Market Street, east of Second, was opened by Archbold, May 27, 1826. On the 23d of June, of the same year, Archbold opened the Pennsylvania Museum Theatre, in Market Street above Eighth, south side, but abandoned it after one month's experiment.

Maelzel's Hall was opened in 1827, in a portion of the old Lailson Circus, on Fifth Street. It was fitted up expressly for Monsieur Maelzel, mechanician, artist in automaton figures, etc., who had one of the most complete collections ever exhibited. The principal exhibition was that of Napoleon's expedition to Moscow, embracing the marching of the troops, the battles and skirmishes, the occupation of the city, its abandonment, and its destruction by fire. This place

was afterward occupied by Titus, June & Angevine's Menagerie. It was injured by fire about 1845.[1]

Arch Street Theatre was opened in Arch Street, west of Sixth, north side, by William B. Wood, on the 1st of October, 1828. It was built by Haviland, the architect,[2] had a handsome front, and was well fitted for a theatre, with a seating capacity of fifteen hundred. The interior was torn out and rebuilt, and the house reopened Sept. 12, 1863. At various times it was under the management of Jones, Duffy, Forrest, and William E. Burton.

Washington Amphitheatre and Circus, old York road, above Buttonwood Street, was opened in 1829 by Fogg & Stickney.

In 1834 the Sansom Street Circus, in Sansom Street above Eighth, was opened by Weeks.

In October of the same year Joseph Jefferson, Jr., opened the Northern Exchange Theatre, in Third Street below Green.

In 1835 the Hall of Industry was opened at Fotterall's Hall, northwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets. It was afterward known as the American Museum, J. H. Myers, manager. This place was burned down in December, 1854. It was rebuilt and occupied as Thomeuf's Varieties, 1856–59.

On Nov. 7, 1836, the Pennsylvania Theatre, in Coates Street, west of Second, north side, was opened by Logan & Wemyss.

Cooke's Equestrian Circus, on Chestnut Street, below Ninth, was opened by T. Cooke on the 28th of August, 1838. Cooke's company performed there for some time, then it was taken to Baltimore; there it suffered heavy losses in horses, costumes, etc., by the burning of the Front Street Theatre, where it was playing. Cooke came back to Philadelphia with the remnants of his stock, and performed at the Walnut Street Theatre. In the mean time William E. Burton fitted the circus on Chestnut Street for dramatic performances, and opened it in August, 1840, as the National Theatre. A correspondent sent to the *Dispatch* some years ago the following interesting reminiscence of the opening night:

"I was one of five hundred or more persons who squeezed themselves into the cheapest part (the pit) of the National Theatre, in Chestnut Street, below Ninth, when it was first opened by William E. Burton, on the 31st of August, 1840. I give the date because I preserved the playbill, and have it now. It cost me 'three levvies' to get into the pit, which now, being called the parquet, is considered the best part of the theatre. The play was 'The Rivals,' in which Burton did *Bob Acres*, Richings, *Captain Absolute*, and Tom Placide, *Fag*. Charlotte Cushman made her first appearance in this city as *Lydia Languish*, and her pretty sister, Susan, as *Julia*. The after-piece was 'A Roland for an Oliver,' *The Hon. Alfred Highflyer*, Mr. Richings; *Maria Darlington*, Charlotte Cushman, 'with a song' (what do you think of that?), 'When Harmony Wakens.' Burton abolished the old green curtain, and introduced instead a canvas curtain representing the American flag, painted in drapery style by W. Russell Smith. It was very showy. But the act-drop was one of the most beautiful things I have ever seen. I do not consider that it was excelled by the effective drop at the Academy of Music, painted by George Heilge, who in this proved his merit. The subject was 'The Cottage of Claude Melnotte, on the Lake of Como.' There was chance to introduce the finest landscape effects. The beauty, the clearness of the water, the rich foliage of the shore, the rocks, the mountain peaks, and all the accessories were splendid. The sky had the effect of distance and clearness. It seemed as if you could see the scenery of the lake and shore stretching out for miles. When this magnificent picture was unrolled at the end of the first act of 'The Rivals,' it came down and opened so unexpectedly in its beauty that the whole house was startled—I think I may use the word—by the unexpected effect. The audience sat as if spell-bound for a moment or two, when simultaneously, as if acting under command, there broke forth such peals of applause that the sound was perfectly deafening, and it was kept up for a long time. The triumph of the artist must have been the most gratifying of his life."

Burton was not successful in his enterprise. He failed, and was sold out by the sheriff. The magnificent act drop,—which had met with an accident, having been torn in two, but had been mended so as to conceal effectively the rent—was brought to the hammer, and was purchased for the use of the Walnut Street Theatre. The "National" subsequently became Welch's Amphitheatre, and was quite successful in that line of performance. It was destroyed by fire, July 5, 1854. On the same evening the Philadelphia Museum building, at the northeast corner of Ninth and Sansom Streets, was burned down.

The year 1839 saw the opening of the Assembly Buildings, corner of Tenth and Chestnut Streets. This place was burned March 18, 1851, but was rebuilt and reopened in 1852.

McAran's Garden Theatre, Filbert Street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets, was opened June 13, 1840, by Ward & McIntosh. The Athenæum Museum and Theatre, afterward known as Barnum's Museum, at the southeast corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets, was opened by Taber & Co., Dec. 25, 1845. It was burned down on the 30th of December, 1851.

The Academy of Fine Arts, or Peale's Museum Theatre, Masonic Hall, Chestnut Street, between Seventh and Eighth, was opened by John Sefton in August, 1846. It closed in July, 1847. "The company at this little theatre was a superior one, and nowadays would be called 'a star company.' Among the members were Joseph ('Rip Van Winkle') Jefferson, John Sefton, David P. Bowers, John E. Owens, Barney Williams, Charles Burke, half brother of Jefferson, and a better comic actor than the latter, with his wife, one of the liveliest actresses of the day, E. N. Thayer, Mrs. Russel (afterward Mrs. John

[1] The large factory building of the Tathams, lead-pipe manufacturers, now occupies the site.

[2] The question having been raised some years ago as to whether the Arch Street Theatre was built by Strickland, a correspondent wrote as follows to the *Philadelphia Dispatch*:

"In a Philadelphia guide-book, published by Carey & Hart in 1830–31, is a description of the Arch Street Theatre. The compiler says, 'Mr. Strickland was the architect of this beautiful theatre, which was first opened on the 1st of October, 1828.' 'The Album,' published in 1828 or 1829, has an engraving of the Arch Street Theatre, and I am sure Strickland is mentioned as the architect. Strickland was the architect of the capitol at Nashville, Tenn. In constructing the dome of that building he left a niche for his sepulchre. He died at Nashville, April 7, 1854, and his remains were placed there in accordance with his request. On a slab in the dome is this inscription,—'William Strickland, architect of this building, born at Philadelphia, 1787, died at Nashville, April 7, 1854.'"

Hoey), Miss Mary Gannon, Miss Mary Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Howard, and others. This splendid galaxy could be seen at any time at this theatre for twenty-five cents.

Sansom Street Hall, opened in 1848 for concerts, balls, etc., was closed as a place of amusement in 1863.

T. V. Turner & Co. opened the American Circus, on Fourth Street, between Brown and Poplar, in January, 1849.

The Melodeon was opened in 1852 in the old Bolivar Hotel building, on Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh, north side. In 1854 it became Wood's Museum, and was opened on the 17th of December by Col. J. H. Wood. It was destroyed by fire in 1857.

Ballard & Stickney opened a menagerie and circus on Walnut Street, west of Eighth, in December, 1853, which afterward became Welch & Raymond's Circus, and, still later, the Continental Theatre. This theatre was destroyed by fire June 19, 1867, and was rebuilt the same year. The City Museum Theatre, on Callowhill Street, between Fourth and Fifth, was opened by Ashton & Co. on the 11th of September, 1854. It was burned, also, on the 25th of November, 1868.

National Hall, Market Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth, was opened on Jan. 8, 1856, with a concert given by the Musical Union. In November, 1862, it was fitted out as a circus, and opened by Gardner & Hemmings. In 1873 this place was turned into a theatre, and opened, October 21st, by J. H. Johnson & Co., under the name of the Olympic Theatre. It was burned Jan. 29, 1874. Jayne's Hall, Chestnut Street near Seventh, was also opened in 1856 with a concert.

The National Guards' Hall, on Race Street, between Fifth and Sixth, opened with a ball and promenade concert, Nov. 17, 1857. McDonough's Gaieties, on Race Street, between Second and Third Streets, was opened by J. E. McDonough, Jan. 19, 1859; the following year it opened as McDonough's Olympic Theatre. The Theatre of Art was opened by J. Sanderson, in Jayne's Commonwealth Building, north side of Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh. This place is now used for business purposes.

The new Chestnut Street Theatre, on Chestnut Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth, north side, was opened on the 26th of January, 1863, by William Wheatley. The interior of this theatre was rebuilt in 1874.

Adam Forepaugh opened the Philadelphia Circus and Menagerie, on the southwest corner of Tenth and Callowhill Streets, Nov. 27, 1865. In the same year a private amateur company opened the Amateurs' Drawing-Room, on Seventeenth Street above Chestnut. On the 29th of May, 1867, Horticultural Hall, Broad Street above Spruce, opened with a floral exhibition. On the 18th of September of the same year, Tunison & Parsons opened the Philadelphia Opera-House, on Seventh Street below Arch. The name was afterward changed to "Seventh Street Opera-House," later, to "Philadelphia Opera Comique," and finally to "Adelphi Variety." The building was originally the Second Presbyterian Church.

The Arch Street Opera-House, on Arch Street west of Tenth, which had been opened by Simmons and Slocum on the 20th of August, 1870, was burned on the 20th of March, 1872. It was immediately rebuilt, and reopened Aug. 26, 1872. The American Museum, Menagerie and Theatre, at the northwest corner of Ninth and Arch Streets, was opened Nov. 23, 1870, by Simpson, Carncross & Dixey. This place afterward became Wood's Museum. On the 17th of December, in the same year, Robert Fox opened Fox's New American Theatre, on Chestnut Street between Tenth and Eleventh, north side. Another theatre, Harmonie Hall (German), was opened at that time in Coates Street, near Seventh, by the Maennerchor Musical Society. Its existence was brief, it being destroyed by fire March 8, 1871. Sanford's Opera-House, Second Street, above Poplar, was opened in 1871 by S. S. Sanford. It had scarcely commenced the season when it took fire and was burned down, Oct. 17, 1871.

Thus, from 1799 to 1871, nineteen theatres, circuses, and museums were destroyed by fire, being over one-third of the total number of such places opened during that period, and a little less than one-fourth of all such places of amusement, together with music halls that existed at any time since 1749. It is a remarkable fact that so many fires in places of public resort were not attended by any loss of life among the audiences. Rensselaer Albert Shephard, an actor, was caught in the falling ruins of the National Theatre, Chestnut Street, July, 1854, and burned to death.

CHAPTER XXX.

INNS, TAVERNS, ORDINARIES, COFFEE-HOUSES, AND HOTELS.

In olden times, such a thing as the modern hotel, with its fashionably-dressed and all-important clerk, its vast smoking-room, carpeted parlors, gilt mouldings, and other luxurious appointments, was unknown. The modest inn accommodated "man and beast," and the jolly landlord welcomed the wearied traveler,—and fleeced him, too, when the occasion offered,—and an active, bright-eyed barmaid waited on him, and provided those simple comforts,—a pipe, a pair of slippers, a glass of hot punch or a tankard of foaming ale, and a cosy corner near the tap-room fire. If the cloth was coarse it was generally white and clean, at least in respectable establishments, and the plain deal table groaned under the weight of

viands which, if they presented no great variety, were well cooked and wholesome. Our fathers were great eaters and stout drinkers, and there was no need of a French *menu* and wines with high-sounding names to whet their appetites; roast beef, a leg of mutton, ham and cabbage, a fat fowl, were the solid dishes laid before them; ale, port or Madeira wine, and a glass of Jamaica rum and hot water to top off, left them in a pretty good condition to find sleep on the clean bed,—sometimes a hard one,—prepared for them in the small room, whose bare floors, whitewashed walls, and plain curtains, did not invite dreams of palatial splendors.

The tavern, though it accommodated guests with bed and board, had more of the character of a drinking-house. The inn was rural in its origin, the tavern originated in the city, and was frequented not merely by topers and revelers, but by quiet citizens, bachelors having no fireside of their own, and men of family who went there to meet neighbors and discuss business or the news, while enjoying a quiet glass and pipe. The ordinary was an eating-house, something between the restaurant and the boarding-house of our day. Coffee-houses, so called, which dispensed intoxicating drinks as well as the fragrant decoction of the Arabian bean, made their appearance later; they were but taverns in an aristocratic disguise.

Philadelphia had quite a large number of these establishments for a city of its size, yet this fact was not due merely to the drinking habits of the inhabitants. It is more truly accounted for by the surprisingly rapid increase of the population from immigration during the first half of the eighteenth century, and the continual influx of strangers during and after the Revolution. These people had to be provided with food and lodging. It was a paying business, and many embarked in it. Nor does the increase in the number of taverns indicate an increase in drunkenness. We have related in another chapter the complaints and fears of the serious-minded citizens of ante-Revolution times, that the people were fast becoming a community of drunkards, yet, during those trying years of the war of independence, although folly and extravagance were the marked characteristics of fashionable society, there is nothing to show a greater tendency to intemperance. After the war, when the era of peace and prosperity commenced, quite the reverse is apparent. Through some unexplained cause or influence the people have turned to the ways of temperance, and there is not more drunkenness—not as much, perhaps—in Philadelphia than in any other large city in the Union.

Many interesting memories are attached to the old taverns and inns, important events and illustrious names are connected with the history of many of them, others awaken a curious interest by their quaint signs and rhymed mottoes and sentiments. They form part of the history of the city, and should not be forgotten. The generation which saw the most of them is fast passing away, and for the facts concerning some of those mementoes of a time not yet very distant, we have already to rely on tradition.

The oldest inn or tavern in Philadelphia was the Blue Anchor, built by George Guest in 1682, at least it "was not finished (says R. Proud) at the time of the proprietor's arrival" (in that year). It was there

BLUE ANCHOR INN AND DOCK CREEK.
[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

William Penn landed, the first house in which he broke bread on the soil that was to be Philadelphia. This house was the southwestern one in a row of houses on Front Street, which was known as "Budd's Long Row." It formed what is now the northwest corner of Front and Dock Streets. It was subsequently called the "Boatman and Call."

The next oldest, probably, was the Penny Pot-House, at Front and Vine Streets, it being also built at a landing to which it gave its name. It was a two-story brick house of good dimensions. It was still standing in the earlier part of the present century, but the name had been changed to the Jolly Tar Inn. In the year 1701, William Penn set forth and ordained that "the landing-places now and here-

PENNY POT-HOUSE AND LANDING.
[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

tofore used as the Penny Pot-House and Blue Anchor shall be left open and common for the use of the city." There were other houses of entertainment opened, however, very soon after William Penn's arrival, for in a letter, written in 1683, he says, "We have seven ordinaries for the entertainment of strangers and workmen that are not housekeepers,

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and a good meal is to be had for sixpence sterling." How fast the number of taverns and drinking-houses increased after the incorporation of the city is shown by the grand jury reports. In 1709 many tippling and disorderly houses were presented; in 1714, thirty-five true bills were found, in one session, against unlicensed taverns; in 1744, there were upward of a hundred houses licensed; in 1752, there were a hundred and twenty taverns with licenses, and one hundred and eighteen houses that sold rum by the quart. During all this time, and until 1759, justices of the peace heard and decided causes at public inns, and the Common Council itself had held its sittings occasionally in those places.

The first public-house designated as a "coffee-house" was built in Penn's time by Samuel Carpenter, on the east side of Front Street, probably above Walnut Street. That it was the first of its kind, the only one, in fact, for some years, seems to be established beyond doubt. It was always alluded to in old times as "ye Coffee-House." Samuel Carpenter owned also the Globe Inn, which was separated from the Coffee-House by a public stairway running down from Front Street to Water, and, it is supposed, to "Carpenter's wharf." The Coffee-House was a great place in those early days; it was there the ship-captains and merchants congregated to discuss the commercial and political news, and many interesting scenes must have taken place there of which no account has been preserved.

CLARK'S INN.
Facing the State-House, on Chestnut Street.

Clark's Inn, the Coach and Horses, was in Chestnut Street, opposite the State-House, before the Revolution. Here assemblymen, Governors, and public officers, with judges, perhaps, refreshed themselves in the good old times.

Enoch Story's Inn, at the sign of the Pewter Platter, which gave its name to Pewter Platter Alley, was a place much frequented by the young bloods in Governor Evans' time, and was the scene of many a bacchanalian revel. It was there young Penn and his friends had the fight with the watch which led to their being presented by the grand jury.

The Crooked Billet Inn, on the wharf above Chestnut Street, was the first house entered by Benjamin Franklin when he came to Philadelphia in 1723. It was already an old house. Not so old, however, as the Indian King Tavern, in High Street, near Third. This house, which was famous in its time, was selected by Franklin and his friends as the club-house of the Junto.

The Three Crowns Tavern, in Second Street, adjoining the City Tavern, was celebrated for its excellent table and perfect management under the supervision of the worthy hostess, Mrs. Jones. Entertainments were given there to Richard Penn and other Governors. Peg Mullen's "Beefsteak House," on the east side of Water Street, at the corner of Wilcox's Alley, was another house celebrated for its cookery. Mr. Watson was informed by the late Col. Morris that it was the fashionable house in his youthful days. Governor Hamilton and others held their clubs there. The Freemasons held their lodge meetings at Mrs. Mullen's, which was also a favorite place for public entertainments and meetings of societies.

The London Coffee-House has been described at length in another chapter. Its successor in the public favor was the City Tavern. This house was finished in 1773, and was advertised as a new house in Second Street, near Walnut. It was intended to be kept as a genteel tavern. "It contains several large rooms, two of which, thrown into one, makes a room fifty feet long. Also several lodging-rooms." Inquirers were requested to address their communications to Hugh James. In 1774 it was advertised that the long room at the City Tavern was divided into boxes fitted with tables and elegantly lighted.

On his arrival in Philadelphia, on the 4th of September, 1774, Gen. Washington supped at the "New Tavern," which was then kept by Mr. Smith. "On Monday, 5th of September, 1774," says Mr. Bancroft, "the members of Congress, meeting at Smith's Tavern, moved in a body to select a place for their deliberations." On the 20th of October, in the same year, "a grand entertainment was given by the Assembly of the province to all the delegates from the different provinces, at this time in the city, at the New Tavern."[1] It was at the City Tavern Monsieur Gerard, the first accredited representative of France near the government of the United States, gave his grand entertainment in honor of Louis XVI.'s birthday. At the time of the riot known as the Fort Wilson affair, the friends of James Wilson assembled at the City Tavern and sent word to President Reed of the danger apprehended. When the rioters commenced their demonstration, they marched first to the City Tavern, expecting to find there some of the obnoxious merchants. The gentlemen had already left the tavern, and the baffled party went up to Wilson's house.

The bull's head was a very common sign. There were several houses of that name in existence at

[1] Christopher Marshall's Diary.

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different periods. In 1704 the Governor, attended by several members of the Council, met the representatives of the lower counties, "where they were met at *the Bull's Head in Philadelphia*." Mr. Watson surmises that this was probably in Strawberry Street or the one west of it. The "Bull's Head Inn" in Second Street, north of Poplar Street, has an interesting memory attached to it. Thomas Leiper had connected his quarries on Crum Creek with Ridley Creek by a railway, evidently the first ever constructed in this country. He invited several gentlemen to meet him at the "Bull's Head," and there, in the yard of the inn, he exhibited the plan of his railway. Professor Robert M. Patterson, Callender Irvine, and John Glenn were among the interested citizens present on this occasion. "Reading Howell was the engineer, and the original draught of the railway was made by John Thomson, a native of Delaware County, whose son, the late John Edgar Thomson, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, not long ago presented it to the Delaware County Institute of Science."[1]

The *Aurora* of Sept. 29, 1809, devotes an editorial to this interesting exhibition.

The Indian Queen, on the east side of Fourth Street, below Market, was another ancient inn. Some time after 1800, Woodside painted a new sign for it, which was in his best style. There was another old Indian Queen Inn, a favorite place of resort, which was more generally named the Centre House, from its being near Centre Square. In 1808 it was kept by Samuel Hoffman, and at some other time by Job Whipple. The Indian Queen Inn first mentioned was kept before 1800 by John Francis, who again took it in 1803, when he left the Union Hotel. It was afterward kept by Samuel Richardet; then, at later periods, by Robert Smith, Margaret Thompson, and James Coyle. In 1822, Thomas Heiskell was proprietor.

Fort St. David's Inn, the old tavern at the Falls of Schuylkill, had on its sign a representation of the fish-house of Fort St. David's, which was near by.

The Wigwam, out Race Street by the Schuylkill, which was at one time the resort of the St. Tammany Society, obtained a new name in consequence of its connection with that association; but it was injured considerably in attraction by having been made a hospital and place of refuge during one of the yellow fever seasons before 1800.

The Lemon-Tree, also called the Wigwam, was on the west side of Sixth Street, and extended from Noble to Buttonwood Street, and westward nearly to Seventh. William Wray was the keeper of the Wigwam. James Harvey became the proprietor in 1812. It was kept by Bartholomew Graves, who was a famous Democrat. The Lemon-Tree was the headquarters of butchers and drovers, and was the scene of political meetings, ox-roasts, and Fourth of July dinners.

[1] Townsend Ward, in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, No. 16.

In 1804 Rowland Smith established a new Wigwam in Spring Garden, on North Sixth Street, not far distant from the Lemon-Tree. On Nov. 15, 1806, upon an occasion of some popular demonstration, the weather was unusually stormy, yet there were three hundred Democrats present, who were kept warm by the Wigwam being closed on all sides to keep out the weather, and being floored over and warmed with stoves. On this occasion Dr. Michael Leib presided, and Stephen Girard gave a barrel of gunpowder to be blown away by the cannon as salutes in honor of the toasts. Enos Eldridge succeeded Smith as landlord in 1807, and Mrs. Saville afterward became proprietress.

Harry Epple's Inn, in Race Street, was a fashionable resort during the Revolutionary period. An assembly party was given there, which was graced by Mrs. Bingham's presence. Washington, it is chronicled, was an occasional guest at Epple's, so was Louis Philippe d'Orleans, while he lived in Philadelphia. The George Inn, at the corner of Second and Mulberry Streets, was the stopping-place of the New York and Baltimore mail coaches. The sign represented St. George on horseback, armed with a long spear, killing a dragon. It was kept at one period by John Inskeep, who was for a time mayor of Philadelphia. But the most celebrated of its landlords was Michael Dennison, an Englishman, who had the name of "the biggest landlord in the city." Mr. Dennison's genial disposition and his solicitude for the comfort of his guests made him very popular with traveling Englishmen and Americans. "Lang Syne" furnished Mr. Watson with some reminiscences of the "George," among which were the following lines of poetry made upon Dennison's giving up business to return to his native England. These lines were published in vol. i. of Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia."

"LINES ON MICHAEL DENNISON.

"His bulk increased by ale and venison,
Alas! we soon must lose good Dennison.
City of *Penn*, his loss deplore,
Although with *pain* his bulk you bore!
Michael, farewell! Heaven speed thy course,
Saint George take with thee and thy horse;
But to our hapless city kind,
The watchful Dragon leave behind.
Michael! your wealth and full-spread frame
Shall publish Pennsylvania's fame.
Soon as the planks beneath you crack,
The market shall be hung with black.
Michael! her stores might sure content ye;
In Britain, none boast greater plenty;
The Bank shall with the market join,
To weep at once,—thee, and thy coin;
Thy guineas, ranged in many a pile,
Shall swell the pride of Britain's Isle;
Whilst England's Bank shall smiling greet,
The wealth that came from Chestnut Street."

The Black Bear Tavern, on the southeast corner of Fifth and Merchant Streets, was a well-known old place, much frequented by the farmers, for whose convenience there was a large yard on the Merchant

Street side, where they could put up their wagons. The "Butchers' Arms," at the old drove-yard, was on the north side of Vine Street, between Lawrence [now Franklin] and Eighth Streets. The site is now occupied by the Star Brewery.

The names and figures of certain animals were to be found on many signs. They seemed to have been specially adopted by innkeepers in America as well as in England. The "white horse" and the "black horse," "black" and "white bears;" lions, red, white, and blue; bulls and bull's heads, were very common. But there were other subjects of a more local or national interest, and a still greater number presenting quaint devices, the whimsical creations of the sign-painter, and generally accompanied by some suggestive doggerel rhymes. The sign-painter of olden time was often an artist of no small merit. Woodside's signs were famous. Matthew Pratt, a native artist who had studied under Benjamin West, at London, painted many of these signs with an artistic execution that would have made them worthy of a place in a picture-gallery, but in those days picture-galleries were not common, and artists found their best patrons among the tavern- and store-keepers. It is said that the equestrian figure of Frederick the Great, on the sign of the King of Prussia Inn, was painted by Gilbert Stuart in one of his eccentric spells. He permitted the painting to be used as a sign, with the understanding that his name should be withheld. Some years later the landlord, or his customers, did not think Stuart's picture suggestive enough, and an "improvement" was decided upon. A painter was hired, who, like the schoolboy who writes under his first attempt at copying nature, "This is a horse," or "This is a cow," painted under the Prussian hero's portrait the words, "The King of Prussia Inn."

One of Matthew Pratt's most famous signs, perhaps the best for the artistic skill displayed in the execution of so vast a subject, was the picture of the Convention seated in Independence Hall, which he painted for the "Federal Convention of 1787" Inn, kept by Hanna, and afterward by George Poppal, at No. 178 South Street, between Fourth and Fifth. The figures in this picture were striking likenesses of the members of the convention. In the *Portfolio* of 1824 this sign was thus described:

"The room itself was correctly represented as it stood at the time—richly wainscoted, with pediments over the doors, and Ionic pilasters supporting a full entablature of the order beneath a coved ceiling—though all these appropriate accompaniments of a public apartment have since been taken down by some ruthless commissioner of repairs, to be replaced with naked walls and meagre door-cases, which now disappoint the expectations of those who visit this memorable council-chamber, which has not been inaptly denominated 'the cradle of American independence,' and which ought to have been scrupulously preserved in its pristine state to future ages. On one side of this highly-interesting historical composition the President, George Washington, was seen in the chair, under the lofty central panel at the east end of the room, which was then ornamented with the arms of Pennsylvania. On his right, Judge Wilson occupied the chair with that imposing air which was natural to him, and which had strongly impressed the delineator; while on his left, and immediately under the eye of the spectator, sat the aged Franklin in his arm-chair, which must have been placed so near the bar that the venerable sage, then in his eighty-third year and suffering under a peculiar infirmity, might approach his seat in the sedan-chair he had bought in Europe, and which was the only mode of conveyance he could then support. On the other side of this contemporaneous memento the House was depicted in committee, and no particular feature of the scene is now recollected, but on both sides was inscribed the following quaint prognostication of their patriotic exertions, which has since been so happily fulfilled,—

"'These thirty-eight men together have agreed
That better times to us shall very soon succeed.'"

In the beginning of the century there stood on Second Street, between Race and Vine Streets, an ancient tavern, with the sign of the "Federal Procession," commemorating the great procession of the 4th of July, 1788.

As was natural, the name and portrait of Gen. Washington were among the most popular sign-symbols. The oldest, probably, was that of the General Washington Hotel, started immediately after the war by Capt. Jacob Mytinger, who had served under Washington. It was in Vine Street, between Second and Third. Capt. Mytinger kept this house until 1793, when he died of the yellow fever.

The Washington Tavern, at the corner of Sixth and Carpenter [now Jayne] Streets, was opened about 1790. Who was its first landlord does not appear, but in 1795 it was kept by Lewis Young. In 1810, Peter Evans became the landlord. He was succeeded in 1815 by James Stell. In 1822 it was leased by John Chase, who changed its name to the New Theatre Hotel. Woodside painted a handsome sign for the hotel, which represented Warren in the character of Falstaff. Beneath the figure was inscribed the appropriate quotation, "Shall I not take mine ease in mine inn?" How, by a third transformation, the old Washington Tavern became the "Falstaff Inn," is thus told by a correspondent in the *Dispatch*:

"Chase did not keep the place very long, and we are not able to trace the succession of the subsequent tenants. Its principal uses were in renting its rooms for arbitrations, the use of juries, audits, and other legal proceedings, and as a meeting-room for societies. There was only one occupant of this tavern who could have made it anyways famous, and that was William Warren, the actor, who, after he had fallen into the sere and yellow leaf, and had ceased to be a manager of the Chestnut Street Theatre, was induced to lease the Falstaff Inn, in the expectation that he might do a good business there. It was a mistake. Even Warren could not draw to the house such a custom as would make it worth while for him to remain. He was there but a short time. This was about 1830. He afterward kept a tavern in Baltimore, and died, in 1832, at Washington. Isaac Anderson kept this tavern in 1834 and for some years afterward. In time the original Woodside sign of the Falstaff faded out. It was replaced by a plain, painted board, on which were the words, 'Falstaff Inn.' This was succeeded by a new painted sign, which was so roughly done that it was not to be compared with the old work of Woodside, and might be justly denominated a daub. It is probable that the persons who put up that sign never had seen the old one. The motto, so very appropriate, and which poor Warren perhaps thought would induce patronage enough to make him comfortable in his old age, was changed to 'Bring me a cup of sack, Hal,' which was not near so appropriate, neither to host nor to guest, as that which was upon the first sign. The place was a horrible old rattletrap, and there ought to be no regret that it was demolished."

At the corner of Eighth and Zane [Filbert] Streets was an old tavern dating from the time of the Revo-

lution, and which, in the origin, had for its sign a "Golden Lion," standing on its hind legs. Whether the sign-painter had not done justice to the king of animals, or exposure to the weather had made the picture indistinct, or our patriotic predecessors wished to show their contempt for the British Lion, is not clearly shown; but in course of time the "Golden Lion" became the "Yellow Cat." This change of name has led to much discussion, and the "reminiscences" of old gentlemen have not thrown much light on the matter, for while some maintained that they had ever heard this old tavern designated as the "Golden Lion," others stoutly contended that they had never known it by another name than the "Yellow Cat." Our surmise that in its youth it was a lion, and when age effaced somewhat its bold outlines it was adjudged a cat, seems plausible, inasmuch as both animals have the feline aspect. Howbeit, the place was a famous resort in 1794. An old Philadelphian gives his recollection of it as follows:

"It was held in high repute for its well-drawn beer and porter, and was much resorted to by mechanics and working people to quaff the finest malt liquors from the then fashionable pewter mugs. At that time the President's house (late the University) in Ninth Street was being built, and many of the workmen and contractors—my father being one of them—would meet at the tavern in the evenings for the purpose of paying and receiving their pay. Many of them being from the old country, they adopted, or rather pursued, their old habits here. Governor Mifflin, Gen. Knox, and many others of the committee took their mugs of beer there, and it is probable that Gen. Washington did likewise."

Another describes it as it was at a later period, when it was kept by the Holohans,—

"It was until within fifteen or twenty years famous for its being kept in old-fashioned style. There was a huge ten-plate stove in the middle of the room. The bar was boxed up with rails, reaching to the ceiling. The sanded floor was worn, but clean; the tables were scrubbed every day until they were as white as snow, and tallow candles illuminated the room long after plate-glass, gilding, and gas distinguished the flashy city 'saloon.' But 'The Yellow Cat' was attractive as an old-fashioned place, by its dissimilarity to other places, and Susan, the ancient maiden who brought up the beer in pewter mugs upon an antique pewter salver, accompanying the presentation of each mug with the inevitable pretzel, will not soon be forgotten by the middle-aged gentlemen of the present generation."

As far back as 1750, there was a tavern at the corner of Front and Chestnut Streets, having for its sign a Turk's head, with the name "Kouli Khan." Thamas Kouli Khan was a Persian partisan of great valor, who drove away the Afghans from his country, and defeated the Turkish invaders. His prowess was rewarded by the crown of Persia. The fame of the victorious patriot and monarch became world-wide, and his head made a popular tavern-sign. But some time later he became a tyrant, and signalized the closing years of his reign by the most atrocious cruelties, which led to his assassination. The sign of the Kouli Khan, having survived the original many years, those who were not aware of how long it had been standing felt puzzled and somewhat indignant that the image of such a bad man should have been chosen for a sign. The proprietor of the old inn did not, perhaps, observe the change that took place in his hero after the latter had reigned some years, or if he did, he concluded wisely that his sign was a good sign, and as it was not his fault if Kouli Khan had lost the good opinion of mankind, he let it stand. The "Turk's Head," meanwhile, had acquired popularity from its gorgeous coloring, and several other taverns adopted it.

The Harp and Crown Tavern of ante-Revolutionary times was at the corner of Third Street and Elbow Lane; during the Revolution the name was changed to the Harp and Eagle; and some time after the tavern was removed to the east side of Third Street, below Arch. It was a well-patronized place. The house was torn down some time afterward, and an elegant structure erected by Heiskell, who gave it the name of the City Hotel. This establishment was considered one of the finest hotels in the city, and soon became the favorite. A public dinner was given there on the 27th of November, 1813, to Capt. Bainbridge, in honor of his capture of the British frigate "Java." Chief Justice Tilghman presided on this occasion, assisted by Charles Biddle, Alexander J. Dallas, and John Smith. It was at the City Hotel that, on the 24th day of June, 1833, at a quarter before twelve o'clock, John Randolph, of Roanoke, departed this life. The hotel at that time was kept by the late Edmund Badger. That same month President Jackson came on a visit to Philadelphia, and was quartered at the City Hotel.

The old building occupied by the Harp and Eagle, at Third Street and Elbow Lane, became the Robinson Crusoe, and was embellished with a well-painted representation of De Foe's hero.

A popular place of resort in those days is thus described:

"David Weaver's house was situated on the north side of Poplar Street, about where Ninth Street now goes through. In those days Poplar Lane only ran out as far as Fifth Street. Beyond that were farms. David Weaver's was a place of great resort for military companies for target-shooting; and it was a great place for sports of all kinds, such as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, foot-racing, pig-chasing, fox-chasing, badger-baiting, climbing a greased pole, wheeling a barrow blindfolded to a stake, and many other sports. Madam Johnson, the great aeronautist, attempted to make an ascension in her balloon from that place twice, and failed on both occasions. At that time there was a man by the name of John Runner, whom the Philadelphians thought could not be beaten at running one hundred yards. A race was made up between him and a Virginian. When the race came off there were five thousand persons on the ground, and great excitement was manifested; but the Virginian beat Runner easily."

Many of these taverns, on the edges of the town, were places of amusement, which enjoyed great popularity. The Yellow Cottage was one of these well-known taverns. It was situated in the lower part of Southwark, and had originally been built for a country house. It was on the east side of Second Street near Greenwich. The sign swinging in front told that the tavern was kept by Thomas B. Steele, and contained the following invitation:

"Rove not from sign to sign, but stop in here,
Where naught exceeds the prospect but the cheer."

An old citizen contributed to the *Dispatch* a description of the place and its ways, which is copied here *in extenso*, as giving a graphic and interesting picture of the popular amusements in vogue at the time. Says this correspondent,—

"Visitors passed through a large double gate on a gravel walk to the cottage, which was surrounded on three sides by a brick pavement, five or six feet wide, edged with lilac bushes and Washington bowers, concealing the lower story, except, perhaps, the door of the entrance. The bar was directly to the right as you went in, and, passing through to another room, a door opened out to a porch extending across the eastern side of the house, above the level of the ground, sufficient to walk in and out of the basement on the slope of the hill. This slope continued to descend for about one hundred feet beyond the cottage, or one hundred and fifty feet from Second Street. Then the ground began to rise gradually to the end of a large lot which had a plain board fence across it, with an opening, and a post and pivot cross-pieces, to pass in and out on Front Street. Near the fence, on the hill, stood a large poplar tree. Beyond the lot it was all an open space to the Delaware River. On the right (along the Second Street fence) of the main entrance there was a row of sheds, a stable, a chicken-house, and a few hog-pens, where there was usually to be seen an immense fat hog, a fat ox, or something else to attract patronage. Occasionally shooting parties enjoyed themselves here. The rifle and target were used for prize-shooting for a pool, for chickens, and sometimes for a fat hog. Quoits, throwing of an axe, large stones, and fifty-six-pound weights, were also indulged in. But the most amusing entertainment was walking up the hill to the tree blindfolded. A man would start off. For a few steps he appeared to go direct toward the tree; then he would slide off to the right or left and walk till he thought he had accomplished the feat, or until he was tired. He then removed the handkerchief from his eyes, to behold, amidst loud shouting, that he had walked in a circle to the place from which he had started, or that he was in the bushes, farther from the tree than ever. The novelty was sometimes changed by trundling a wheelbarrow to the tree blindfolded. Old-sledge, all-fours, and dominoes were indulged in on the porch, which was shaded by the house and by a few trees. A good southerly breeze could be enjoyed, together with a charming view of the river."

One square below the Yellow Cottage, already described, was the "Purple and Blue" Tavern, kept by a Frenchman named Lutier. It took its name from a sign representing a large bunch of purple grapes painted on a blue ground. This place was a favorite resort for military companies. A Mr. Douglas succeeded Lutier, and changed the name of the tavern to "The Quiet Woman," but the ungallant fellow had a sign painted which represented a woman without a head. His joke cost him dear, for the denizens of Southwark and "the Neck," however they might appreciate the company of a quiet woman, would not countenance this libel upon the fair sex; they withdrew their patronage, and the discomfited landlord removed himself and his sign to other parts.

More touching was the idea that inspired the painter of "A Man full of Trouble," in the small alley which runs from the north side of Spruce Street into Dock Street. The sign of this very ancient tavern represented a man on whose arm his wife was leaning heavily, while a monkey was perched on his shoulders and a parrot on his hand; the woman carried a band-box, on the top of which was a cat. Quite a family picture!

The proprietor of a tavern on Thirteenth Street above Locust, whose wooden walls were painted in cerulean hues, announced his business in the following quatrain:

"I, William McDermott, lives here;
I sells good porter, ale, and beer;
I've made my sign a little wider
To let you know I sell good cider."

There was a sign in Southwark representing a group of dogs baying at the full moon, which is believed to have been painted by Pratt. Beneath was the motto,—

"Ye foolish dogs! Why bark ye so?
When I'm so high and ye're so low."

The Lebanon Tavern, better known as the Lebanon Garden, was at the former country-seat of the Emlen family, at the southeast corner of Tenth and South Streets. It had a handsome sign, painted by Pratt, which represented on one side Neptune in his sea-chariot, surrounded by Tritons, with the following inscription:

"Neptune with his triumphant host
Commands the ocean to be silent;
Smooths the surface of its waters,
And universal calm succeeds."

On the other side of the picture there was a marine scene, sailing ships, etc., with the following lines:

"Now calm at sea and peace on land
Have blest our Continental stores.
Our fleets are ready, at command,
To sway and curb contending powers."

Over the door of the tavern were these words,—

"Of the waters of Lebanon,
Good cheer, good chocolate and tea,
With kind entertainment,
By John Kennedy."

George Brown kept the Lebanon Inn in 1817.

The Sorrel Horse was once a famous old tavern in Kensington, at the intersection of Shackamaxon Street and the Frankford road. Dancing was one of the principal amusements that brought patronage to the tavern, and old Kensingtonians remember hearing the sound of the violin and tambourine as they passed by the Sorrel Horse. There was another well-known tavern sign, the "Lady Washington," on the Frankford road, opposite Bedford [Wildey] Street. The Odd-Fellows or Masons had a large room with a frescoed ceiling in the third story of the building,—an old brick house, which may be still standing.

Another famous sign, "Shooting the Deserter," swung in front of Peter Boon's Tavern, at the foot of Shackamaxon Street, on the Delaware. "Penn's Treaty" tavern sign was on Beach Street, below Marlborough. The sign of the "Landing of Columbus," painted by Woodside, was on Beach Street, one door from Laurel. On Second Street, between Thompson and Master Streets, west side, was a sign of Daniel O'Connell, under whose bust was inscribed these lines,—

"'Hereditary bondmen! who would be free,
Themselves must strike the blow.'"

The Bolivar Tavern and Garden (formerly the Columbian Garden) was on the square bounded by

what is now Market, Filbert, Merrick, and Fifteenth Streets. The grounds were inclosed by a high fence and contained many fine old trees. The house was built in the centre of the lot, and could be seen from afar, the space around being open. The seclusion of the "Bolivar," the orderly regulations adopted for its management, and the many attractions of the place made it a favorite resort for the most respectable people. Quoits, tenpins, shuffle-boards, and other games of the kind were provided for the entertainment of visitors. The First City Troop had their drill-ground there.

Muirheid, who succeeded George Parkinson at the Burns' Head, in Bank Street, opposite Elbow Lane, had upon his swinging sign a very good portrait of Scotia's bard, beneath which were the following lines:

"Tak' a Scotsman frae his hill,
Clap in his cheek a Highland gill,
Say, 'Such is Royal George's will,
And there's the foe;'
He has nae thought but how to kill
Twa at a blow!"

On the other side of the sign there was no painting, but the following was set out in large gilt letters:

"'Twas thus the Royal mandate ran,
When first the human race began:
'The friendly, social, honest man,
Whate'er he be,
'Tis he fulfills great Nature's plan,
And none but he.'"

There was a tippling-house near the navy-yard, on whose sign were painted a tree, a bird, a ship, and a mug of beer, with the following quaint lines:

"This is the tree that never grew;
This is the bird that never flew;
This is the ship that never sailed;
This is the mug that never failed."

In the same locality was another sign representing a cock in the act of crowing, with the motto, "The old cock revived." Whether the resuscitated ancient rooster was emblematical of the host's commercial resurrection, or of some event in the history of the tavern, tradition sayeth not.

On Shippen Street, between Third and Fourth, there used to be a tavern sign representing a sailor and a woman, separated by these two lines,—

"The seaworn sailor here will find
The porter good, the treatment kind."

The thirsty tars found, doubtless, this invitation irresistible. A tavern-keeper at the corner of South and Vernon Streets, in 1794, who was of a philosophical turn of mind, had on his sign a woman sitting before a tub, from which protruded the woolly head and bare shoulders of a negro boy; in her raised hand she held a brush in an attitude indicative of hard scrubbing, while a scroll issuing from her mouth informed the passers-by that 'twas "Labor in vain to wash blackamoor white."

The Three Jolly Sailors was the sign of a tavern on Water Street, above Almond. One of the tars was busy strapping a block, and the motto below made him say,—

"Brother sailor! please to stop,
And lend a hand to strap this block;
For if you do not stop or call,
I cannot strap this block at all."

The Caledonia Tavern, on South Street near Front, had on one side of its sign a thistle, and on the other side two men shaking hands, with the motto, "May we never see an old friend with a new face."

There used to be a singular sign near the corner of Second and Union Streets. It represented a gate, with the following lines painted beneath:

"This gate hangs well,
It hinders none;
Refresh and pay,
Then travel on."

A tavern on Sixth Street, below Catharine, bore the puzzling name of "The Four Alls." The sign, five feet long and four feet wide, represented a palatial abode, on the steps of which stood four figures, a king in his royal robes, a general officer in full uniform, a clergyman with his gown and bands, and a peasant in the plain garb of his station. The riddle was explained by the following inscription:

"1. *King*.—I govern all.
2. *General*.—I fight for all.
3. *Minister*.—I pray for all.
4. *Laborer*.—And I pay for all."

The sign of the Huntsman and Hounds, kept by Widow Sarah Brown, on Arch Street, west of Sixth, represented a deer hunt. Beneath were these lines,—

"Our hounds are good, and the horses too;
The buck is near run down;
Call off the hounds, and let them blow,
While we regale with Brown."

After a time the "Huntsman and Hounds" was designated by the briefer name of "The Buck." The well-known anecdote of Sir Walter Raleigh's servant finding him surrounded with a cloud of smoke from his pipe, and throwing water over him to put out the fire, formed the subject of the sign of the Sir Walter Raleigh Tavern, on Third Street. Near the entrance to the barracks, on Second Street, near Buttonwood, was a tavern with the figure of Hudibras painted on its sign. An inscription beneath the figure informed the public that—

"Sir Hudibras once rode in state;
Now sentry he stands at barrack's gate."

A small, one-story house with a high-pitched roof, whose quaint style of architecture and ancient look made it appear to date almost as far back as its neighbor, the old Swedes' Church, used to stand on Christian Street above Swanson. Over the door was a sign representing an old hen with a brood of young chickens, and, hovering over them, as if to protect them, an eagle holding a crown in its beak, with this pithy inscription, "May the wings of Liberty cover the chickens of freedom, and pluck the crown from

the enemy's head." To represent freedom under the semblance of an ancient domestic fowl was a rare flight of fancy, and the "Hen and Chickens" was doubtless a much-admired sign. The grading of the street in later years had brought the house much below the surface level, and customers had to descend three steps to get to the bar-room. This apparent sinking of the building made the height of its walls entirely out of proportion with the high roof, and added to the quaintness of its general appearance.

The sign of "The Man making his way through the World" required no inscription, for the ingenious artist had painted on it a terrestrial globe from which the head and shoulders of a man protruded, not unlike a young chick forcing its way out of its egg-shell. The old tavern of the Bird-in-Hand was a blue frame house, on Fourth Street below Callowhill. On one side of the sign a sportsman was represented, holding a dead bird in his hand, on the other side were painted two birds in the bush, with the motto, "A bird in hand is worth two in a bush."

The Heart, on Frankford road, had a large heart painted in natural colors on its sign. It gave its name to Heart Lane, called Hart Lane, through euphonic corruption of the word, after the old sign had disappeared.

About fifty years ago there was a tavern called the Bee-Hive, which was kept by Edward Kelly, at the northwest corner of Sixth Street and Middle Alley. Its sign, a bee-hive with the busy bees going in and out, had for its motto, "By Industry we Thrive," a sentiment applicable perhaps to the industrious tavern-keeper, but certainly not to the thirsty "bees" who left their money on his counter. Another Bee-Hive, kept in Frankford some years later by Patrick Keegan, was more practically frank in this inviting inscription:

"Here in this hive we're all alive,
Good liquor makes us funny;
If you are dry, step in and try
The flavor of our honey."

A sign which stood in Franklin place, below Market Street, was very suggestive. It was oval in shape, and set on top of a fifteen-feet post, so as to be seen from afar. On one side was painted a smartly-dressed man mounted on a handsome steed, with the legend, "Going to Law." On the other side, the same personage, much dilapidated in person and garments, was seen on his horse, now jaded and worn out, and the legend read, "Coming from Law."

On John Upton's tavern sign, on Dock Street, above Second, the artist had represented fish, game, meats, etc., painted with such fidelity to nature that, the story has it, a dog passing by was so tempted by these delicacies that he made a bold spring to purloin some of them, and bumped his head against the sign-board, which so discomfited him that he ran off with his tail between his legs. An imitation, probably, of the story of the birds pecking at the grapes painted by Zeuxis. If true, Woodside the industrious sign-painter must rank with the famous Athenian artist.

A tavern on Third Street, above Shippen, had on its sign, "X 10 U 8." The riddle excited some curiosity, until some one read it,—"The Extenuate House." The learned, if they smiled at this ingenious puzzle and passed on, stopped complacently to read the inscription painted on the wall over the door leading to Prosser's cellar in Market Street, above Eighth. It said, very appropriately, *Facilis descensus averni, sed revocare gradum—hoc opus, hic labor est.*" McClain, who kept a cellar in Third Street, below Vine, was not familiar with the language of Cicero, so he told his customers, in plain English, on his door-sign,—

"Oysters opened or in the shell,
Of the best I keep to sell;
Walk down and try them for yourself,
That D. McClain may gain some pelf."

Such direct invitations to public patronage were not uncommon. They were sometimes in prose, but much oftener in verse.

In 1816, James Carson, of the Washington Inn, Holmesburg, issued the following address to the public:

"Ye good and virtuous Americans, come!—whether business or pleasure be your object—call and be refreshed at the sign of Washington. Here money and merit will secure you respect and honor, and a hearty welcome to choice liquors and to sumptuous fare. Is it cold? You shall find a comfortable fire. Is it warm? Sweet repose under a cool and grassy shade. In short, every exertion shall be made to grace the sign of the hero and statesman who was 'first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.'"

Who could resist such an appeal?

In 1819, George Parkinson, who had formerly kept the Burns' Tavern, became the lessee of the Pennsylvania Arms, in Chestnut Street. Although the old sign remained, the house, in consequence of its front having been painted green, was thereafter called "The Green House." Mr. Parkinson announced his new undertaking in the following advertisement:

"GREEN HOUSE,
"No. 161 CHESTNUT STREET.

"A generous public's patronage and favor
Call me once more to make my best endeavor
At one low bow of thanks, unfeigned, though rude—
Not framed by courtesy, but gratitude.
And here I take the liberty to mention
A few things not unworthy of attention:
And first ye gentlemen, officers and volunteers,
Whom duty calls to drill, lend me your ears:
Now that the summer, with its cloud of dust
And parching sunbeams, hastens nigh, you must
Seek shelter somewhere while you march and drill.
Now, I've a place where, snug as mouse in mill,
You may manœuvre coolly in the shade,
And, when you tire, sit down to lemonade,
Or wine, or whiskey,—what, in short, you please
To drink,—or eat, from pies to bread and cheese.
I should be tedious if I tried to tell
The names of all the liquors that I sell.
A few may serve to make the mind elastic:
I've whiskey, rye and apple,—all domestic,—
And genuine Irish, too, and Holland fine,
And the best of Europe's gen'rous wine.

Then, just adjoining, Mrs. P. has store
Of pies and creams, and cakes and fruits, and more
Of all such things than I can mention,—all
As good and cheap as e'er in store or stall
Have been exposed to sale; she likewise sells
Nice jellies and richly-flavored cordials.
Snug parties are accommodated here
With dinners, suppers, and all kind cheer.
Of all my patrons' wishes most obedient,
I am their faithful, most obedient servant,
"G. PARKINSON."

The baking and confectionery establishment of Mrs. Parkinson, alluded to in the latter part of these lines, subsequently dominated in interest and profit; so that Mr. Parkinson gave up the tavern and became a confectioner. In after-years his establishment was the best known and the most fashionable in the city.

But the best thing of this kind was the advertisement in which George Helmbold, publisher of *The Tickler and Independent Balance*, announced his intention of forsaking the press for the bar (room). It appeared in October, 1815, and was as follows:

"G. Helmbold, hitherto baffled in all his exertions to attain a decent competence, owing to the freaks and vagaries of 'outrageous fortune, has at last resolved to court her smiles in the humble vocation of a tavern-keeper. To make his approaches in a regular and scientific manner, he has rented and obtained license for that compactly commodious house, No. 1 George Street (which leads from Sixth to Seventh, between Chestnut and Walnut Streets), where he will open on Wednesday, the 1st of November, the Minerva Tavern, or Legitimate Owls' Nest. The moment the sun is over the fore-yard, Gen. —— (who has kindly consented to do duty as officer of the day) will give the signal for firing a salute at the bar. 'Mine host' of the Minerva will furnish visitors with the best liquors that can be procured in the city, from Imperial Tokay to genuine 'Holland tape' and humming beer. His larder shall always afford the choicest bill-of-fare that can be furnished in our markets.

"G. Helmbold will feel grateful for the visits of his late fellow-officers and companions in arms, be they sane or deranged.

"'Drink just enough; 'twill raise your merits
To prime and not to charge your spirits;
For he that drinks not but a prime
Will live to drink another time;
But he that drinks till life shall stop
Will never drink another drop.'
'JUDY BRASS.'

"Southern and Western Pennsylvania bank-notes taken at—*bar*. The highest premium for specie or treasury notes paid in *liquid stimulants*.

"P.S.—To facilitate the equitable liquidation of the demands of his old and patient *creditors*, G. Helmbold earnestly solicits such distant subscribers to his quondam paper, *The Tickler*, as are indebted to him, either to call personally, whenever they visit Philadelphia, or else to forward him the amount of their respective dues as speedily as possible, so that he shortly may be enabled to pay his debts to '*the uttermost farthing*.'"

In August, 1820, the following advertisement appeared in the *Independent Balance:* "UNION HOTEL.—Samuel E. Warwick respectfully informs his friends and the public generally that he has opened a house of entertainment at the northeast corner of Seventh and Cedar Streets (or South Street), and has copied for his sign Mr. Binn's beautiful copper-plate engraving of the Declaration of Independence by that justly-celebrated artist, Mr. Woodside.

"'Whate'er may tend to soothe the soul below,
To dry the tear and blunt the shaft of woe,
To drown the ills that discompose the mind—
All those who seek at Warwick's Inn shall find.'"

The sign of Rolla carrying the child, which was attributed to Woodside, was at the corner of Front and Catharine Streets. The figure of Rolla is generally believed to be a portrait of George Frederick Cooke. A correspondent of the *Dispatch*, however, protests earnestly against this belief, as Cooke was "too intensely British to perform an American hero, and he was insulting at all times to Americans;" he says in support of his opinion that Dunlap, in his "Life of Cooke," does not mention Cooke performing Rolla. He asserts confidently, moreover, that "the sign represented Mr. Forrest, and the tavern was kept by Capt. Koehler, father of the late Edwin Forrest Koehler, of the Philadelphia bar." As the Rolla sign on Catharine Street was there in 1817, that is, before Mr. Forrest appeared on the stage, it is possible there was another tavern of the same name with Forrest's likeness.

The Phœnix Tavern, at the intersection of Germantown road and Sixth Street, was a favorite place of resort for persons who could come in their own carriages and wagons. The grounds were pleasant, and Cohocksink Creek, then a bright and attractive stream, ran through them. Out of compliment to the tavern the street on its south side, when first opened, was called Phœnix Street, a name which it bore until within a few years. The house was built about 1810, by Samuel Hymas, who also kept a grocery-store at that place. He was an Englishman. The Phœnix Tavern was afterward kept by Joseph Knox. When he gave up the Phœnix he went to the Lamb Tavern, on Fifth Street, below Arch.

On the west side of Sixth Street, a few doors above "The Four Alls," already described, there was a small tavern called "The Ram's Head Headquarters." Its sign was a huge ram's head, with crooked horns, which was nailed to the wall. A correspondent tells the following anecdote in connection with this place:

"This was about the year 1840. One Sunday evening in the Methodist Church (Catharine Street, above Sixth Street), the pastor, Rev. 'Billy' Barnes, the Shakespearian pulpit orator, was seen to walk slowly up the eastern aisle and go into the pulpit. When there he turned around and gazed at the congregation for a few seconds, and then spoke thus: 'While walking to this house of worship, I was pained to see men going in "The Ram's Head Headquarters,"—a rum-shop,—headquarters for rams! Oh, brethren; what a contrast,—the lambs of heaven and the rams of hell.' This caused some little merriment among the curious, which was increased by Barnes, upon his doubling up his fists with a pugilistic attitude, stamping upon the floor, and daring the devil to come right out and fight him,—'here! here! in this pulpit!'"

A curious conceit was the sign of William Newton's Tavern, at the corner of Eighth and Buttonwood Streets, erected in the fall of the year in which David R. Porter was elected Governor of Pennsylvania. The tavern was diagonally opposite the old school-house, where at that time the elections were held, and the sign in question was a large log of wood cut into the shape of a bottle and swung on a hickory pole. This was called the "Porter-Bottle." The "Adam and Eveses' Garden" (so the sign read) had a picture of Adam and Eve in Eden. This tavern was on Sixth Street, above Berks.

The Cock and Lion—emblematically France and England—was the sign of a famous old tavern at the corner of Coates and Second Streets, which was frequently used for political meetings. It was kept for several years by Davis Kerlin, and after the death of the latter by his widow. She retired from business some years later, and the sign of the Cock and Lion was transferred to a tavern on Fourth Street, north of George Street, kept by —— Grundlock.

The sign of the Woodman Tavern on Germantown road, near Fifth Street, represented a woodman with an axe. Beneath the picture were the following lines:

"In Freedom's happy land,
My task of duty done,
In Mirth's light-hearted band
Why not the lowly woodman one?"

At the corner of Sixth and South Streets was the tavern of the Patriot Brothers. The sign represented the Temple of Liberty, with various implements of war. On the steps of the temple a soldier and a sailor grasped each other's hand. Over this group was the motto, "Where Liberty dwells there is my country."

A curious anecdote is told about the Rotterdam Tavern. This famous old house was kept by John Hay, at No. 118 North Third Street. In 1801 he removed to Fourth Street, between Race and Vine, and took the sign of the Rotterdam with him. He sold out in 1815, and in 1817 Buel Rowley set up the same old sign at 118 North Third Street,—the identical place where it was originally kept by John Hay. It often happened that a tavern-keeper, upon changing his place of business, took his sign with him and set it up at his new house. This was particularly the case where the old house had enjoyed much popularity. The sign was identified with its owner and the success he had achieved, and not with the locality. Hence an uncertainty in locating many old taverns, and the disputes between old gentlemen whose recollections of those old places conflict. Each equally sure of the description of a sign and the name, perhaps, of its owner, they disagree totally as regards the street and the house. If dates could always be remembered, the tavern-keeper might be followed in his migrations and all contradictions would cease to exist.

On the other hand there were sometimes changes in the signs. Much importance was attached to these symbols, and if one was found not to "draw," the landlord sought by some new device to attract customers. Then, the tavern might change hands and the new proprietor would substitute a new name and new sign more to his taste and fancy. Thus, the Washington Tavern, before mentioned, was changed to the New Theatre Hotel, and finally became the Falstaff Inn; the name of the Bull's Head, in Sixth Street, was changed to the Oley Wagon before 1822; in that year the tavern changed hands, and the new landlord, Bartholomew Graves, restored the old name and sign of the Bull's Head; some years later, another man bought the place and called it The Montgomery House.

The great variety of tavern signs in Philadelphia could not fail to attract the attention of travelers, and the Englishman Palmer, who visited the city in 1818, noticed it. He says,—

"We observed several curious tavern signs in Philadelphia, and on the roadside, among others, Noah's Ark; a variety of Apostles; Bunyan's Pilgrim; a cock on a lion's back, crowing, with the word 'liberty' issuing from his beak; naval engagements, in which the British ships are in a desperate situation, etc. The most common signs are eagles, heads of public characters, Indian kings, etc."

Yet, with the large number of houses of entertainment existing at that early period, we hear nothing of the drinking habits so often complained of in ante-Revolution times. The testimony of travelers would tend to show an almost total disappearance of those habits.

Lieut. Francis Hall, who traveled in 1817, says,—

"The innkeepers of America are, in most villages, what we call, vulgarly, 'topping-men,'—field-officers of militia with good farms attached to their taverns, so that they are apt to think, what, perhaps, in a newly-settled country is not very wide of the truth, that travelers rather receive than confer a favor by being accommodated at their houses. They always give us plentiful fare, particularly at breakfast, when veal-cutlets, sweetmeats, cheese, eggs, and ham, were most liberally set before us. Dinner is a little more than a repetition of breakfast, with spirits instead of coffee. I never heard wine called for. The common drink is a small cider. Rum, whiskey, and brandy are placed upon the table, and the use of them left to the discretion of the company, who seem rarely to abuse them. Tea is a meal of the same solid construction as breakfast, answering also for supper. The daughters of the host officiate at tea and breakfast, and generally wait at dinner."

Several of the inns and taverns of some consequence in the early part of this century were opened in houses of historical interest, old mansions, once the homes of some of the founders of Philadelphia, or within whose walls some of the great men of the Revolution were temporary dwellers or casual visitors. In 1800, John Francis, who had kept the Indian Queen on Fourth Street, opened the Union Hotel in the house built by Mrs. Mary Masters, about 1762, on Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets. This elegant mansion had had many illustrious tenants; the residence of Lieutenant-Governor Richard Penn previous to the war, it became the headquarters of Gen. Howe during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British; scarcely had it been vacated by Gen. Howe, when Maj.-Gen. Benedict Arnold took possession of it; later it was occupied by John Holker, consul-general of France, became the home of Robert Morris, the financier, who gave it up to President Washington. President John Adams afterward occupied it. Whether the memories attached to this noble mansion awed the guests of the Union, or they felt too keenly their smallness in those rooms where the giants of the Revolution lived, thought, and acted, or for the more prosaic reason that such a fine house could not be made to pay, the landlord gave it up after a two years' trial, and returned to the Indian Queen.

Benjamin Franklin's house, in Franklin Court,

also became a hotel. It was opened in 1802 by John Cordner, who does not seem to have been luckier than John Francis, for he did not keep it very long; and in 1805, Daniel Dunn gave notice that he had leased this house for a number of years, and would keep in it a tavern, beefsteak, and oyster-house. In the first year of John Cordner's tenancy a dinner was given to Thomas Paine, in the room which had been Dr. Franklin's library.

The Bingham mansion, on Third Street, where that leader of society, the charming Mrs. Bingham, was wont to collect around her the beauty and wit of Philadelphia, became a public-house after the death of its owners. William Renshaw leased it in 1806. He proposed to make a place of resort for merchants and business men generally. He was to keep a marine diary and a register of vessels for sale, to receive and forward ships' letter-bags, and to have accommodations for the holding of auctions. He even published proposals for keeping the Exchange Coffee-House, and solicited subscriptions for its support, but finding that he could not compete successfully against another establishment of the same kind, the Merchants' Coffee-House, kept by James Kitchen, he gave up the exchange plan and opened the Mansion House Hotel in 1807. In 1812 he left it to open the "New Mansion House Hotel," in Market Street, but came back to it in 1814, and kept it until it was destroyed by fire, March 17, 1823.

A traveler who published "An Excursion through the United States and Canada during the Years 1822–23, by an English Gentleman," bore testimony to Renshaw's good management, and to the very moderate prices charged by such a first-class hotel as the Mansion House. The cost of keeping a hotel must have terribly increased since 1823, judging from the rates of the present day. This traveler said,—

"Philadelphia, for so large a town, is very ill provided with hotels, or, to use the American word, taverns. The only good one in the city is that one at which I put up, the Mansion House, kept by a Mr. Renshaw. At this, as at all taverns in the United States, the stranger is boarded at so much a week or day. Indeed, the tavern-keepers will not receive you on any other terms; and you cannot have your meals by yourself, or at your own hours. This custom of 'boarding,' as it is termed, I disliked very much, as it deprived me of many a meal when I was desirous of going to see sights. If a traveler stay at a hotel only one day, and, from having friends in the place, neither dines nor sups, he is charged, nevertheless, with a whole day's board. The terms of boarding are, however, very moderate at the Mansion House, only ten dollars per week. The table is always spread with the greatest profusion and variety, even at breakfast, tea, and supper; all of which meals, indeed, were it not for the absence of wine and soup, might be called so many dinners."

Joseph Head, who some years later became the landlord of the Mansion House (it had been repaired after the fire and opened by Chester Bailey), had been a gentleman of leisure and means, moving in the first circles of society. Having been so unfortunate as to become suddenly impoverished, he decided to turn to account his epicurean tastes and experience, and opened a "Private Gentlemen's Restaurant and Club-House" at the corner of Columbia Avenue [now Seventh Street] and Walnut, in what had been the McClellan and afterward the Randall family mansion. During the visit of Gen. Lafayette, in 1824, the First City Troop gave him a splendid entertainment in this house. Mr. Head was very successful in his undertaking, and after remaining some years in the McClellan mansion, he took the Mansion House, as better adapted to his largely-increased business. This establishment commanded the public favor until it was badly injured by fire in 1847, when it ceased to be used as a hotel. Among its guests were Mr. and Miss Kemble during their sojourn in Philadelphia in 1832 and 1833, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean, who were staying there at the time of the fire, in 1847.

The old family mansion of the McCalls, at the northwest corner of Second and Union Streets, was turned into a hotel in 1809. Joseph B. Barry opened it under the name of the City Hotel. On the occasion of this opening, on the 11th of June, he gave a grand dinner in honor of the revival of commercial intercourse with Great Britain. The *Philadelphia Gazette*, speaking of the affair, said,—

"The *début* of the hotel was such as to give ample promise of making a very conspicuous figure, and of proving very useful to the public. . . . The building is second to nothing that our country contains. Indeed, when we take into view the number, convenience, dimensions, and excellence of the apartments, it is perhaps not too much to say that it is the foremost house of the kind in the United States. This house, besides a public dining-room and a coffee-room, contains a ball-room."

John McLaughlin succeeded Barry as proprietor of this house in the latter part of the year 1813. The house was not successful, and was abandoned as a hotel about 1815.

The handsome head of the Bard of Avon was a favorite sign. There were several "Shakespeare" inns, the principal one being that on South Sixth Street, between Market and Chestnut Streets, kept by David Irvin, and later (1805) by William Smith. A much more fashionable establishment, however, was the Shakespeare Hotel at the northwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets. It was kept in 1804 by Joseph Vogdes, who was succeeded in 1806 by Lewis Young. David Barnum, of Columbus, Pa., leased this hotel in 1808, but he was not very successful, although in his announcement of the opening he had stated confidently that, "To those who know the accommodations of the house, the size of the rooms, and the manner in which they are fitted up, it would be superfluous to say anything upon the subject." Samuel Hymas afterward kept the Shakespeare Hotel for some years.

The Robin Hood Tavern, in Poplar Street below Fourth, was a popular dance-house, and also famous for bear- and bull-fights on holidays. There was also a Robin Hood Inn on Ridge road, near Laurel Hill, which was established long before the Revolution.

The Silver Heels was the nickname of another tavern and dance-house, situated in Tammany Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets. The sign of "The Four Nations," in Coates Street, near Fairmount, represented four forts, flying respectively the flags of

the United States, England, France, and Spain. On Beach Street, near the Cohocksink Creek bridge, Kensington, was a sign of "Washington Crossing the Delaware," after Sully's famous picture.

The sign of the "State Fencibles Second Company" was in front of a yellow frame public-house on Third Street, below Coates. This house was kept by John Christine, a lieutenant in the Second Fencibles. On Callowhill Street, below Water, was a sign surmounted by the model of a ferry-boat, with a bird-box on top. The swallows used to make their nests in this box.

After the first decade in the present century, we see no new *inns;* the modern appellation of "hotel" is more general. The first house constructed in Philadelphia especially for the purpose of a hotel was the new Mansion Hotel, at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Market Streets. It was erected by Thomas Leiper, the owner of the lot, for William Renshaw, who left the Mansion House (Bingham's) and opened the new house in 1813. Although provided with every convenience known at that time, and elegantly furnished, the new Mansion House did not prove to be a very profitable venture, owing, probably, to its remoteness from the business quarter of the city, and Mr. Renshaw, after a year or two of trial, returned to his former hotel. Ford Cutter, of New York, then became the lessee, but he could not accomplish what Renshaw's experience and ability had failed to achieve, and his experiment, also, was of short duration.

Judd's Hotel, No. 27 South Third Street, was opened in 1819, by Anson Judd. The building, which was formerly the post-office, had been enlarged, and presented a very fine appearance, being four stories high, with a large front. This hotel did a very good business. Dana Judd Upson succeeded Anson Judd in the management, and in 1824 the hotel passed into the hands of James Bradley. There was an adjoining lot which fronted on Chestnut Street, upon which a hotel was built in 1826 with two entrances, one on Third Street and one on Chestnut Street. This building, with its double extension, had the shape of an "L." It was called Congress Hall.

The Bell Tavern, on South Eighth Street, might have been, but probably was not, named after the old bell that hung in the State-House. In its earlier days the Bell was a great resort for politicians, and was said to have been the first house in Philadelphia where Andrew Jackson was named for the Presidency. When in the great fire of 1854 the whole block, including the museum and the National Theatre, was destroyed, the "Bell" was the only building that escaped the flames. It had already fallen from its high estate, and had become a "three-cent shop," frequented by blacks and whites.

The Cornucopia Eating-House and Restaurant, in Third Street, below Arch, west side, was opened in 1832, by Robert Manners, who sold it in 1836 to Robert Harmer. It was a first-class establishment. The St. Charles Hotel was erected on the same site.

The Golden Swan Tavern was on the banks of the Schuylkill River, near Point Breeze. It was kept during a few years by Abraham McGee, after which the property was sold and became a private residence.

William Trotter kept for many years the Richmond Hotel, at Port Richmond. It was a place much frequented by sportsmen, and Charles J. Wolbert, who occupied it in 1821, announced that, in addition to his large stock of catfish, he had received about fourteen hundred others from the cove opposite Richmond. "The fowler and fisher are informed that there are no better gunning or fishing grounds than those adjoining the above hotel."

The Decatur Inn was started in October, 1813, by George Schoch, in Carpenter Street. This house was originally known as the German Hall. The sign was a representation of the hall of the German Society near by, on Seventh Street, below Market. Before Schoch took it, Jacob Nice kept an eating-house there. As the "Decatur Inn," it won the patronage of quiet-loving people, and became quite prosperous. It gave its name to Decatur Street, which was originally called Turner's Alley.

The Union Hall Hotel, at the corner of Chestnut and Front Streets, formerly kept by J. E. Beauson, having passed into the hands of T. Thomas, the new lessee advertised as an attraction to customers that his rooms were "kept warm with *Lehigh coal.*"

After the completion of the Market Street bridge a tavern, known as the Ferry House, was built on the west side of the Schuylkill, north of Market Street. A large hotel, which received the name of "The Schuylkill Hotel," was erected on the north side of Market Street. It was kept in 1810 by Peter Evans. Buell Rowley succeeded him in 1815, but kept the place only one year. It then passed under the management of R. Smith.

The Upper Ferry Hotel, on the west side of the Schuylkill, at Fairmount, was kept by Jacob Horn in 1820. Richard Harding became the landlord some years later. The Lower Ferry House, known as Gray's Ferry and Garden, was kept in 1800 by George Weed, in 1804 by James Coyles, formerly of the Indian Queen, Fourth Street, and in 1805 by Curtis Grubb. In 1825, D. Kochersperger became the landlord.

Mendenhall's Ferry Tavern was on the west side of the Schuylkill, below the Falls, and opposite a ford which landed on the east side and ran up to the Ridge turnpike. The lane still remains between North and South Laurel Hill Cemeteries. Mendenhall's was a famous catfish-and-coffee tavern upon the river-road drive, and was popular.

Among the taverns of a more recent date than those already described, was one with the picture of Gen. Washington, on Second Street, near the corner of Lombard Street, some forty years ago, which at-

tracted attention by the peculiar arrangement of its sign, rather a novelty at the time. It was one of those signs with perpendicular strips or slats so combined that while one has a good front view of the subject when standing opposite, an equally correct view of some other portrait is had when approaching the sign from either side. Another tavern, on Chestnut Street above Sixth, had a sign made in this style, but the three views showed three different pictures. Another of these signs, on a brewery in Fifth Street below Market, presented the names of the three partners who conducted the business.

A tavern at the southwest corner of Tenth and Arch Streets had a large sign of Gen. Washington, and was generally known as the "Washington Soup-House," being famous for the excellent soups and pepper-pots with which the proprietor, William Raster, tempted his epicurean customers.

"Our House" was the name of a handsome drinking-saloon established by John Vasey & Co., in 1839 or 1840, on the south side of Library Street, between Fourth and Fifth, in the building known as Military Hall, which was originally constructed by Mathew Carey for his printing-office. It was subsequently occupied by J. H. Fennimore, and called the Union House; later it was used by Labbe as a dancing-saloon, and afterward taken by certain military companies for an armory. Here used to meet the State Fencibles, Capt. James Page; Second State Fencibles, Capt. Murray; Washington Blues, Capt. W. C. Patterson. Here Frank Johnson, the black musician, who as a performer on the bugle had no superior at the time, practiced his band, which was the only band of music for some years in Philadelphia. It was after this that Vasey & Co. took it.

"Head Quarters," on Franklin Place above Chestnut, succeeded it, and was opened by Charles Alexander probably about 1836. It was rich with cosmoramas, pictures, busts, etc., and many original views of buildings in Philadelphia, by Breton. There was quite an extensive reading-room, well supplied with newspapers, being the "exchanges" of the *Daily Chronicle* and other publications of which Alexander was the proprietor.

The Wasp and Frolic, at the corner of Garden and Vine Streets, was some years older than the above described. The following anecdote is related in connection with this tavern: "One evening, in 1829, a party of butchers and drovers were at this place, a short time after the robbery of the Kimberton mail, when one of the latter said that he was going to leave the city that night. One of the butchers told him that he had better look out for the mail-robbers. The drover, a big, burly fellow, swore that no three men could tie his hands behind him. That night the Reading mail left the city. When it arrived at Turner's Lane, the horses were suddenly swung around that lane by one of the robbers; another pointed his pistol at the head of the driver, and ordered him to remain quiet; the third robber opened the door of the stage, and said, 'Gentlemen, I wish you to get out, one at a time.' The boasting drover was the first one called upon to get out, which he did, without uttering a word. His hands were tied, and his pockets were emptied. The others were served in the same manner. One of the passengers objected to having his tobacco taken from him. This created some merriment, in which the robbers joined. Another passenger, taking advantage of the merriment, requested the return of his watch, which he said was a family keepsake. It was handed to him. That drover was ever after known under the sobriquet of the 'Reading Mail.'"

The California House, which was the scene of a riot on election night, October, 1849, was situated at the corner of Sixth and St. Mary Streets.

The Sans Souci Hotel was opened by William Debeaufre, in the former country-seat of the Say family, a delightfully romantic place on the cliffs near Gray's Ferry, on the west side of the Schuylkill. It was afterward kept by Othwine, who already had a tavern on the east side of the river. The Sans Souci, which promised to become a favorite resort owing to its situation, had, however, but a short life. The opening of the Philadelphia, Baltimore and Wilmington Railroad had caused it to spring into existence, and the widening of this railroad a few years later compelled its demolition; it was in the way, like so many older landmarks.

Carel's tavern and restaurant, at the sign of "Gen. Simon Bolivar," was in Chestnut Street above Sixth, between the theatre and the Arcade. Some twenty-five or thirty years ago there was exhibited in this house a curiosity which attracted crowds of visitors. This was the mummy or dried-up remains of a so-called native of South America, found in the guano deposits of Peru. A gentleman who went to see this curiosity several times says, "The whole body was the color of an old saddle, and through its breast still stuck a part of the spear that had killed what looked to me to once have been a Portuguese. The remains were shriveled up; and the person had been, when living, not more than five feet four inches in height." Some naval officers who visited it in his company insisted that the body was that of an ancient Peruvian, and perhaps five hundred or six hundred years old.

There was a tavern kept by Eady Patterson at the southwest corner of Eighth and Lombard Streets, which had two very flashy signs, representing a half sun with radiating rays and stars surrounding it, one being on Lombard Street and the other on Eighth Street. This was a very respectable house, and was well patronized. Mr. Patterson died in 1832, and the "Rising Sun" double sign disappeared.

The most conspicuous, and for a long time the principal hotel of the city, was the United States Hotel, on the north side of Chestnut Street between Fourth and Fifth, opposite the United States Bank. It was orig-

inally built by alteration and addition to two large dwelling-houses, spacious and wide, with side yards and gardens. As it increased in popularity it was enlarged by an extensive addition on the east, so that in the upper stories the hotel took up the front space of seven ordinary brick houses. John Rea, an upholsterer, built this hotel, which was opened for guests in the year 1826. The host was Richard Renshaw.[1]

The United States Hotel for thirty years was the house to which strangers of distinction were sent, foreign travelers and others. It was in this hotel, upon the first visit of Charles Dickens to this country, that a small, self-appointed lot of Philadelphians assured the author of "Pickwick" that they came as representative Philadelphians, "with our hearts in our hands." The western part of the United States Hotel property in 1856 was sold to the Bank of Pennsylvania. The present Philadelphia Bank stands on the spot.

A well-known first-class hotel for many years was the North American, sometimes called the Union Hotel, on the south side of Chestnut Street between Sixth and Seventh. It was a patched-up affair, made by the alteration of dwelling-houses. It was opened by Mrs. C. Yohe, then fell into the management of John A. Jones, and was commonly called Jones' Hotel for many years. Bridges and West were proprietors toward the end of its career.

The Columbia House, on the north side of Chestnut Street, adjoining the Arcade on the west, also aspired to be a hotel of the first class. It took possession of the mansion of Mrs. Elizabeth Powell after her death, and was kept by Badger, by Bagley McKenslie, and Ferguson. It was not a successful house, although it made a brave struggle for business.

Petry's restaurant, on Walnut Street above Third, was opened in April, 1858, in one of the finest old mansions in the city. It was built about 1793, for Judge Richard Peters, who occupied it for ten or fifteen years as a city residence, his country-seat being at Belmont, now Fairmount Park. After Judge Peters left it, the house was occupied by Charles Chauncey, attorney-at-law, who was succeeded by Elihu Chauncey, and Chauncey and Chester. The following interesting recollections about this old mansion appeared in the *Dispatch* some years ago, when Petry's restaurant was closed:

"This house was, in its time, the resort of the very best society in the city. Judge Peters was generous and convivial, entertained liberally, and had many visitors. Among them, no doubt, during the time that Congress sat in Philadelphia, were Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison,—perhaps Andrew Jackson, who was a member of Congress before the capital was removed to Washington,—and all the distinguished people of the time. In the neighborhood were some notable residents. Bishop White lived next door, on the west. Dr. Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence, lived, in 1791, at the northwest corner of Walnut and Third Streets, where the *Dispatch* office now stands. He was succeeded, in 1795, by Nalbro Frasier. Dr. John Redman Coxe, professor in the University, afterward lived in the house. Mrs. Mary Harrison, mother-in-law of Bishop White, lived next door to the corner in 1791. At the southwest corner of Third and Walnut Streets was the house of James Wilson, sometimes called 'Fort Wilson.' He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and afterward judge of the United States Supreme Court. William Lewis, a celebrated lawyer, afterward lived in that house. Opposite the Peters mansion were two stately houses with high steps, adjoining the old Quaker almshouse, on the east. They were occupied, from 1791 until after 1800, by Benjamin Chew, Jr., son of Chief Justice Chew, who lived in No. 68, and afterward by Sanson Levy, in the same house. No. 70 was the mansion of Edward Stiles, formerly a sea captain, who had his country-seat at Green Hill, now in the neighborhood of Broad and Poplar Streets."

That fine hotel, The Aldine, was opened in 1877, in the old Rush mansion, on Chestnut Street, above Nineteenth. It was the residence of the late Dr. James Rush, the founder of the Rush Library. Dr. Rush's wife, a leader in fashionable and literary circles, was the daughter of Jacob Ridgway, the millionaire. Dr. Rush was a son of Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Revolutionary memory, and for some time the surgeon-general of Washington's army.

In noticing the principal inns and taverns of Philadelphia, and such as have some historical or pleasant local memory attached to them, several may have been inadvertently omitted. It could hardly have been otherwise in a work of this kind. Individuals who recollect interesting facts concerning a tavern, a house, or a street, are often surprised that these facts are not mentioned in the history of the city. Yet, there is nothing strange in the omission. In the first place, that which is a very pleasant recollection to a private individual may not be of sufficient interest to the public at large to justify its insertion in a history, or it may not have come to the knowledge of the historian. Then, the abundance of matter which has to be sifted and condensed in writing local history, renders omissions unavoidable. Otherwise, a volume would hardly suffice for a subject which must be treated within the limits of a chapter.

Below will be found a list of the inns and taverns existing in the city at different periods. In preparing this list the personal recollections of many old residents have been added to such information as could be gleaned from old directories, newspaper files, and other publications. This list, of course, is not given as complete. Some inaccuracies may also have crept in it, and some repetitions, but these are due mostly to changes of proprietors and of localities,—a tavern changing hands and its sign being removed to some other house.

Among the taverns that were known during the first half of the eighteenth century, the following are remembered: The Plume of Feathers, Front Street, by George Champion; Prince Eugene, Front Street, by Garrigues; the White Horse, by Owen Humphries; the George Inn, by John Steel, Second and Arch Streets; the Bear, by Nicholas Scull; the Queen's Head, Water Street; the Centre House, near the

[1] After Richard Renshaw, the proprietors of the United States Hotel were David Dorrance, who kept the house for many years, Noah W. Bridges, Thomas C. Rea, a son of the owner of the property, M. Pope Mitchell, Capt. Charles H. Miller, and C. J. McClellan.

old Centre Square; Pewter Platter, Front Street; the Indian King, Market Street, by Owen Owen; the Lion, Elbow Lane, by George Shoemaker; the Black Horse, Black Horse Alley; King George on Horseback; the White Horse, upper end of Market Street; the Dolphin, Chestnut Street; the Buck, Germantown, by Anthony Nice; the Mariners' Compass and Four Horseshoes, Strawberry Alley, by Elizabeth Walton; Two Sloops, Water Street; the Boatswain and Call, at the Drawbridge, by Philip Herbert; the White Hart, Market Street, by Richard Warder; the Three Mariners, Front Street; the Half Moon, by Charles Stow, Market Street; Crooked Billet, by Barbara Lewis, King Street; Red Lion, Second Street, by Sampson Davis; London Coffee-House, near Carpenter's wharf (between Chestnut and Walnut Streets); King's Arms, opposite Christ Church parsonage, by William Whitebread; Rose, in Arch Street; Conestoga Stage Wagon, Market Street, by James Gray; James' Coffee-House, Front Street; London Prentice; the Jolly Trooper, Arch Street; the Fleece, Front Street; the Jolly Sailors, Front Street; Roberts' Coffee-House; the Bear, Frankford; the Blue Bell, Frankford; the Free Mason, Front Street, by Thomas Jarvis; Rising Sun, Germantown road, by A. Nice; the Swan, Chestnut Hill; the Black Bull, Market Street, by John Chappel; the Three Crowns, Water Street; the Royal Standard, Market Street; the Hen and Chickens, Chestnut Street, by Widow Brientnall; Plow and Harrow, Third Street, by John Jones; Three Tuns, White Marsh, by Christopher Robbins; the Harp and Crown, Third Street, below Arch; the West India Coffee-House, by Margaret Ingram; the Lion, Wicaco, by Michael Israel; Seven Stars, Elbow Lane; Anchor and Hope, Black Horse Alley; the Swan, Spruce Street, west of Front, by John Ord; the Brig and Snow, Strawberry Alley; the Queen of Hungary, Front Street.

The following date from that period and the Revolution: Crooked Billet and Ball, by John Stricker, upper end of Second Street; One Tun, Chestnut Street, by Joseph Coburn; Black Boy and Trumpet, by William Forrest; Royal Anne, Second Street; Death of the Fox, Second Street, by Richard Wagstaff; Ship, Frankford road; Sloop, by Thomas Hill, Kensington; Royal Standard, Market Street, by Rebecca Pratt; Amsterdam, Second Street, between Race and Vine, by John Grubb; George, Second and Arch, by John Luckin; Blue House, by John Crozier; Boar's Head, Pewter Platter Alley; Black Horse, Black Horse Alley, by John Pickel; New Boar's Head, Keyser's Alley, by Joseph Templar; The Gun, Moyamensing, by Joseph Kepach; White Horse, Robeson; King's Arms, by William Whitbread, Second, opposite Church; Black Horse, Black Horse Alley, by Henry Duff; Black Swan, Walnut Street; Indian King, Hendrick, Third near Market; Bull's Head, upper end of Market Street, by Widow Gray; Lamb, Market, between Fourth and Fifth; Horse and Groom, Fourth Street, by William Gardiner, Noah's Ark, Poole's bridge, by Thomas Foster; Admiral Warren; Boar's Head, Pine, near the new market; Rising Sun, Fourth Street, by Joshua Mitchell; Conestoga Wagon, Market Street, by Charles Jenkins; Harp and Crown, by Mrs. Stevens, Third Street; Brigantine, South Street, by Amos Jones; City of Dublin, upper end of Front, at Keyser's Alley; Ship Wilmington and George, Society Hill, by Anthony Whitely; Ship Aground, Water, above Market; Unicorn, near the Drawbridge, Water Street; Stars, Elbow Lane, by John Etris; Horse and Dray, Market Street; White Horse, Elbow Lane; Valiant Dragoon, Front, opposite Black Horse Alley; Queen's Head, Water Street, by Robert Davis; Phœnix, Society Hill; Tun, Water Street, by Thomas Mullan; Salutation, Front Street; Sassafras-Tree, Race Street; Golden Ball, Elm, between Second and Third, by John Barnhill; Bird in Hand, Shippen Street, by John Crozier; Cooper's Arms, by Issachar Davids; Twelve Cantons, Spring Garden, by Christopher Shiefly; Rainbow, upper end of Second Street, Northern Liberties; Bowling Green, at the Centre; Unicorn, Prune Street, by John Chabord; Admiral Keppele, Southwark; Jolly Sailor, Moyamensing, by Valentine Smith; St. George and the Dragon, by Widow Cummings, Frankford; Golden Fleece, Second, opposite Taylor's Alley; Danish Flag, Society Hill, by John Brandt; Marquis of Granby, Northern Liberties, near the barracks, by Isaac Corrin; Queen Charlotte's Head, Water near Market, by Samuel Francis; City of Frankfort, Catharine Street, by John Fritz; Red Lion, in Moreland; King David and Harp, Water Street, near Market, by Thomas Griffith; Orange-Tree, Moyamensing, by John Belts; Ship Pennsylvania, corner of Front and Pewter Platter Alley; Highlander on Horseback, by Abel Carpenter, upper end of Front Street; King of Prussia, by Francis Shires, Society Hill; King of Prussia, Market Street, by Michael Huts; Buck, on Rowse's road, Southwark; Crooked Billet, Passyunk road, by Peter Kleckner; City of Manheim, Passyunk road, by Peter Hackner; City of Colerain, Walnut Street; Robin Hood, Wissahickon road; Lord Loudon, Front, below the Drawbridge; Nag's Head, Front, below the Drawbridge; Rising Sun, Germantown road; Boatswain and Call, near the Drawbridge; Highlander, by Abe Carpenter, Front, below the Drawbridge; City of Philadelphia, Society Hill; Royal George, Front, below the Drawbridge; Boy and Boat, Arch Street Ferry; Blue Bell, Society Hill; Angel, near the sugar-house, above Poole's bridge, by Caspar Stoles; Wheat Sheaf, Bristol road; Siege of Louisburg, Front, below the Drawbridge; Bottle and Glass, opposite Mr. Philip Hurlburt's, Society Hill; Mead House [mead, fresh cheese, and pies every night]; Saddler's Arms, Germantown, by Widow Macknett; Leopard, Front, near the Drawbridge, by Issachar Davids; Gen. Blakeney's

Head, Front Street, by Elizabeth Gant; Red Lion, Second Street, by Jacob Magg; City of Philadelphia, Society Hill, by George Leadbeater; Stars, Elbow Lane, by Thomas Rogers; Jolly Post Boy, near Frankford; Ship "Hero," Front Street, by Widow Malaby; Bunch of Grapes, formerly Bull's Head, Third, below Arch, by Josiah Davenport; Horse and Dray, Passyunk road, half mile from the city, afterward Whittington and Cat; Upper Ferry, Ashton's; King of Prussia, near the market, Germantown; Wagon, Race Street, opposite Moravian Alley, by Yost Eberth; Seven Stars, Second, near Arch, by Diedrick Rees; Admiral Keppele, between the Swedes' Church and the fort, fronting the river; Cross Keys, Chestnut Street, by Joseph Ogden; Buffalo, Race Street; White Horse, Elbow Lane, by John Cowpland; Pennsylvania Farmer, by Charles Dilworth; Indian Queen, Fourth, between Market and Chestnut, by John Little; Marquis of Granby, Market Street, next door to Presbyterian meeting-house; Golden Swan, Third, above Arch; Pennsylvania Farmer, near the new market, by Samuel Chesnut; Gen. Wolfe, Southwark; Anvil and Double Cross Keys, by Benjamin Armitage, corner Fourth and Chestnut; Vauxhall, on the agreeable banks of the Schuylkill, at Passyunk, by Thomas Mullan, formerly of the Tun, on Water Street; Blue Bell, Kingsessing, by Samuel Smith; Drove of Cattle, upper end of Race Street, by Lewis Saisengen; Sign of Dr. Franklin, southwest corner of Walnut and Fifth, by William Hornby; Huntsman and Hounds, old York road, Abington, by John Webb; Jolly Post, Southwark; Rose, Third and Arch, by Ludwick Kuhn; Fort, Society Hill, by John Thomas; Queen of Hungary, by James Gilchrist; Cheesecake House, Fourth Street; Masons' Arms, Walnut Street; Roebuck, Germantown; Conestoga Wagon, Market Street; Globe, south side of South Street, near the new hospital, by Clayton Biddle; King of Denmark, Second Street; Britannia, Walnut, near Front, by Ann Jones; Fountain, Market Street, by Mary Biddle; The Row Galley, Front Street; Green Tree, Race, between Second and Third; Prince of Orange, Second Street; Albemarle, Northern Liberties, by Caspar Stawl; Gen. Wolfe, upper end of Front Street, by Godfrey Lonberger.

The following were in existence in 1785: The Struggler, by Edmund Conner, Water Street, between Spruce and Pine; Cork Arms, by John Conner, Water Street, below Walnut; Black Horse, by Isaac Connelly, Market Street, between Fourth and Fifth; Plow, by Matthew Conrad, Third Street, above Market; Cordwainers' Arms, by James Culbertson, Walnut Street, below Second; Harp and Crown, by William Carson, Third Street, above Market; Dusty Miller and White Horse, by John Clemens, Chestnut Street, above Second; Strap and Block, by Cook Lawrence, Arch Street wharf; Saint George, southwest corner of Second and Arch Streets; Blue Ball, Elbow Lane, near Third Street; Boatswain Hall, Front Street, between Walnut and Spruce; Bull's Head, by John Evans, Strawberry Alley; Dr. Franklin, by John Fiegele, corner of Race and Second Streets; Bear, Second Street, between Race and Vine; Black Horse, by John Fritz, Second Street, between Vine and Callowhill; the Rose, by Mrs. Fourrage, Race Street, between Fifth and Sixth; Sportsman, by Charles Gordon, Water Street, between Walnut and Spruce; Red Lion, by David Gordon, Race Street, between Fourth and Fifth; Leopard, Spruce Street, between Third and Fourth; General Washington, Front Street, between Arch and Race; King of Prussia, by Michael Hay, Race Street, between Third and Fourth; Butchers' Arms, by Edward Handle, New Market Street, above Callowhill; the Salute, by William Hood, Third Street, between Chestnut and Walnut; American Soldier, South Alley, between Fifth and Sixth Streets; Red Cow, Water Street, between Race and Vine; Blue Ball, corner of Sixth and Market Streets; Samson and Lion, by John Eisenbrey, corner of Vine and Crown Streets; Cross Keys, by Israel Israel, Third and Chestnut Streets; Green Tree, by Andrew Kesler, Third Street, between Arch and Race; Plow, Market Street, between Seventh and Eighth; Seven Stars, by Charles Kugler, Fourth and Race Streets; Buck, Michael Kraft, Second Street, between Race and Vine; Golden Fleece, by Luke Ludwig, corner of Fourth and Lombard Streets; Harp and Crown, Front Street, between Market and Chestnut; Fountain, by James McCutcheon, Second and Lombard Streets; Seven Stars, by John McKinley, Fourth and Chestnut Streets; Jolly Sailor, by Robert Moffett, Second and Lombard Streets; Mermaid, Second Street, between Pine and Lombard; Rose, South Street, between Fourth and Fifth; Noah's Ark, by Ingellert Minzer, Second Street, between Vine and Callowhill; Jolly Sailor, Eighth Street, between Chestnut and Walnut; White Horse, Market Street, between Sixth and Seventh; General Washington (Jacob Mytinger), Vine Street, above Second; Conestoga Wagon (Samuel Nicholas), Market Street, above Fourth; King of Poland (Philip Oellers), Vine Street, between Fifth and Sixth; Lamb (Francis Oskullion), Second Street, below Lombard; Seven Stars, Market Street, between Front and Second; Dragon and Horse, Walnut Street, between Front and Second; Green Tree, Water Street, between Race and Vine; Indian King (Mrs. Sidney Paul), Market Street, between Second and Third; Hen and Chickens (Valentine Pegan), Spruce Street, between Front and Second; Louis the Sixteenth, South Street, between Fifth and Sixth; Three Tuns (Sarah Potts), Vine Street, between Seventh and Eighth; Ship, Water Street, near Chestnut; Kouli Khan, Chestnut and Front Streets; Horse and Groom, Sixth Street, between Market and Chestnut; Bunch of Grapes (John Razer), Third Street, above Market; General Wayne (Tobias Rudolph), Penn

and Pine Streets; Harp and Crook, Water Street, near Spruce; Rising Sun (Sarah Stimble), Market Street, above Front; Kouli Khan (Robert Stephens), Chestnut Street, below Second; Horse and Groom, Strawberry Alley; Jolly Tar (John Stafford), Water Street, below Race; White Horse, Second Street, between Vine and Callowhill; Moon and Stars (Mary Switzer), Second Street, above Vine; Eagle, Fifth Street, above Race; Organ (William Shedecker), Spruce Street, above Fourth; White Horse, Strawberry Alley; Three Jolly Irishmen, Water and Race Streets; Cross Keys, Race Street, between Sixth and Seventh; Darby Ram, Church Alley; United States, Water Street, near Spruce; Indian Queen, Fourth Street, below Market; Rising Sun (Samuel Titmus); Wilkes and Liberty, Market Street wharf; Boar's Head, Elbow Lane; Cumberland, Front Street, near Poole's bridge; Turk's Head (Adam Weaver), Chestnut Street, above Second; Eagle (George Weiss), Third Street, between Race and Vine; Fox and Leopard, Pine and Penn Streets; Cross Keys, Water Street, between Market and Arch; Buck (George Yoe), Callowhill Street, between Second and Third.

The following are of later date: The Taking of Major André, Second Street, above Tammany; the Seven Stars, Fourth Street, above Race; William Tell, Race Street, above Twelfth; General Warren, Sixth Street, below Pine; the Constitution and Guerrière and Landing of Columbus, both on South Third Street; General Lafayette, Thirteenth and Callowhill Streets; Cross Keys, Fourth Street, above Market; the Indian Queen, below Market on Fourth Street; Bust of Columbus, Chestnut Street, below Seventh, on Columbia House; Robert Fulton, Water Street and Chestnut; Delaware House, sign of ship at sea, opposite Robert Fulton, on Chestnut Street; Pennsylvania Farmer, Race Street, above Fourth; White Swan, Race Street, below Fourth; Golden Swan, Third Street, above Arch; Penn's Treaty, at the monument ground, Kensington; The Hornet and Peacock, an old frame building next to St. George's Church, Fourth Street; Bull's Head, Third Street, above Callowhill, east side; Black Bear, Front Street, west side, near Callowhill; Commodore Porter, Callowhill Street, below Second, east side; and First Ward Northern Liberties Hotel adjoining; Penn Township Guard, corner Willow Street and Ridge road; sign of Second Company of Fencibles, southeast corner of Third and Coates Streets; iron sign, Third Street, below Coates, east side; Franklin, Third Street, above Buttonwood, east side; Wagon and Horses, now Military Hall, Third Street, near Green. Later still we have Governor Simon Snyder, northeast corner of Crown and Callowhill Streets; Cross Keys, southwest corner of Race and Ninth Streets; Wounded Tar, north side of Vine Street, above Eighth; Bald Eagle, west side of Third Street, above Callowhill; Tiger Hunt, north side of Vine Street, below Fourth; Lion, west side of Second Street, below Noble; Girard Bank and Surroundings, west side of Dock Street, below Third (McGowan's); Simon Bolivar, north side of Chestnut Street, above Sixth (full length); the White Horse, Market Street, above Thirteenth, in front of the Tivoli Circus; the Sorrel Horse, Market Street, below Thirteenth; the Golden Horse, Market Street, below Twelfth; the Plow, Third Street, opposite Church Alley; General Montgomery, Sixth Street, near South; General Brown, kept by Simpson, northeast corner of Fifth and Buttonwood Streets; the Three Tuns (three wooden barrels strung crossways on an iron rod), Vine Street, below Eighth, where the church now stands; Eclipse and Sir Henry, Broad Street and Centre Square, where the Tabernacle Presbyterian church now stands; Constitution and Guerrière, kept by William Herlick, afterward famous as a militia-fine collector; Samson and the Lion, southwest corner of Vine and Crown Streets; the Bull's Head, said to have been painted by Benjamin West, Strawberry Street; Washington, Lafayette, and Franklin, a slatted sign, Chestnut Street, opposite the old Chestnut Street Theatre, above Sixth Street, afterward Second Street, below Lombard; the Seven Presidents, Coates Street, above Ninth; the Volunteer (Vanstavoren), Race Street, opposite Franklin Square; Robert Fulton, northeast corner of Front and Chestnut Streets; Kouli Khan, northwest corner of Chestnut and Front Streets; Coat of Arms of the States of the Union, Callowhill Street, below Second; Top-gallant (Hammitt), Cherry Street and Bryant's Court; Bird Pecking at Grapes, southwest corner of Third and Chestnut Streets, in the basement; Patrick Lyon, Sixth Street, below Race; Sheaff, Second Street, between Race and Vine; Barley Sheaff, Fourth Street, below Vine; General Washington (Von Buskirk), Market Street, south side, between Seventh and Eighth Streets.

Philadelphia at the present time (1884) can boast of some of the finest hotels in the country. The Continental Hotel, located at the southeast corner of Chestnut and Ninth Streets, occupies the site of two famous buildings,—the old Philadelphia Museum, which occupied the southern portion of the lot on Sansom Street, and the Cooke Equestrian Circus Company, which occupied that portion of the lot fronting Chestnut Street. The circus was opened to the public Aug. 28, 1837. The building subsequently became the National Theatre, under the management of William E. Burton. Messrs. Welch & Lent and Raymond & Waring occupied the theatre building for some years as an amphitheatre. The museum and circus were both destroyed by fire, with much adjoining property, on July 5, 1854. About 1858 the lot was secured by the Continental Hotel Company, and the hotel opened for the reception of guests Feb. 16, 1860. The building is six stories in height on Chestnut and Ninth Streets, and eight stories in the rear on Sansom Street, and covers forty-one thousand five hundred and thirty-six feet of ground. The principal

story is supported by ornamented cast-iron piers; the first floor level with the street, which is used by the hotel, occupies twenty-four thousand six hundred and twenty feet of the whole area. The total number of rooms in the Continental is about seven hundred, with accommodations for about twelve hundred guests. The Continental Hotel Company is under the management of the following directors: Daniel Haddock, John Baird, John Hunter, Charles Ninth; the St. Cloud, on Arch Street, above Seventh; the Bingham, on the corner of Market and Eleventh Streets; the Merchants', on North Fourth Street (this hotel was the largest in the city in 1837, when it was first opened); the American, Chestnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth; St. Stephen's, Chestnut Street, between Tenth and Eleventh; the Washington, Chestnut Street near Seventh, and Grand Central, Market Street.

THE CONTINENTAL HOTEL,
J. E. Kingsley & Co., Chestnut Street, corner of Ninth.

Reed, and Mr. Seltzer. J. E. Kingsley is the sole lessee. His son E. F. Kingsley and H. S. Brown are associated with him in the management of the hotel.

The Girard House, directly opposite the Continental, on the north side of Chestnut Street, has accommodations for about one thousand guests. It occupies the site of the Fisher and Leaming mansions. It was built by Messrs. George W. and J. G. Edwards, in 1851, and opened in the following year. The architect was John McArthur, Jr., who also designed the Continental and the La Pierre House.

The La Pierre, or Lafayette Hotel, located on the west side of Broad Street, between Chestnut and Sansom Streets, was also originally built by George W. and J. G. Edwards. It was opened for guests in October, 1853, and was greatly enlarged and improved in 1883.

Among the other hotels of the city we have the Colonnade, southwest corner of Chestnut and Fifteenth Street; the Irving, on Walnut Street, above

CHAPTER XXXI.

MILITARY.

POWDER-HOUSES AND MAGAZINES—BARRACKS—ARSENALS—ARMORIES AND FORTS.

Powder-Houses and Magazines.—The danger which might result from the careless storage of gunpowder began to make some impression upon the minds of the people about the year 1724. For three or four years previously legislation was sought for the purpose of reducing the danger of loss of property by fire. An act to prohibit the breaming of any vessel in any dock in the city with hot pitch, tar, etc., except at such places as should be appointed for that service by the city corporation, was passed in 1721. The keeping of fire on board of vessels, candles excepted, when lying in port after eight o'clock in the evening was prohibited, except upon permission by the mayor in case of sickness or extraordinary occasion. The

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old practice of cleansing city chimneys by setting fire to them and burning them out at the top, by which not only the house in which the practice occurred, but others in the neighborhood, were in danger, was prohibited under fine. Also the firing of squibs, serpents, rockets, and other fire-works in the city without the Governor's special license. In 1725 petitions were presented to the Assembly calling attention to the necessity of having a magazine for the storing of gunpowder. That dangerous article was frequently kept in stores and houses by merchants and others. Such of them as were very careful frequently placed it on board of vessels lying upon the water. But as sailors were generally reckless, there was danger in that practice. In consequence of these representations an act of Assembly passed on the 24th of August, 1725, which, after stating in the preamble the necessity of the establishment of some suitable magazine for the storage of gunpowder, recited that William Chancellor, sailmaker, had been encouraged by some of the magistrates, merchants, and others "to build a suitable powder-house or store for the receipt of all the gunpowder which shall or may be imported into the said city on a piece of ground he lately purchased from Daniel Pegg, lying near the north end of the said city, adjoining to a swamp on the south side, and upon the king's high road upon the east end thereof." The location was north of Pegg's Run, south of the present Noble Street, west of the present Front Street, and east of the present New Market Street. The lot was on the west side of the king's high road to New York, and nearly on a line with a passage now called Emlen's Court, a portion of which was the old highway. It was in sufficient nearness to the river to allow the easy loading or unloading of the powder. Under the act Chancellor was appointed the keeper, upon the direction that he should build "a good, substantial, tight, and secure powder-house or store for gunpowder, of brick or stone, . . . to be well boarded and covered, and so fit and capacious as may reasonably be expected will contain all the gunpowder to be from time to time imported into the said city."

In consideration of these undertakings Chancellor was given authority to keep the magazine, he being accountable to the owners of the powder, "lightning and other unavoidable accidents excepted." Attendance was necessary to be given daily at the powder-house between nine and eleven in the morning, and one and three in the afternoon, and upon other occasions when necessary. The keeping of more than twelve pounds of gunpowder at any time within the city, or within two miles thereof, except at "the powder-store," was prohibited under penalty of ten pounds. Captains of vessels arriving in port were also obliged to deposit their powder with him upon arrival or coming to anchor. For his care Chancellor was allowed to charge for storage twelve pence per barrel per month, and proportional rates for half-barrels and casks for the first six months, and sixpence per barrel and proportionately for smaller quantities after the first six months. For delivery, for twelve pounds or lesser quantity, sixpence above the storage. Penalties were denounced against the keeper of the powder-house for negligence. Under an act passed in 1701 "for preventing accidents that may happen by fire in the towns of Bristol (formerly called Buckingham), Philadelphia, Germantown, Darby, Chester, New Castle, and Lewes within this government," it had been declared that not more than six pounds of gunpowder should be kept in houses, shops, or warehouses, unless it be forty perches distant from any dwelling. This provision was repealed. The new act was directed to continue in force and effect for twenty-one years. The act of Assembly by which Chancellor was granted this power conferred the authority upon him, his executors and assigns. After the house was built Chancellor died, and this franchise remained in the family. Elizabeth Chancellor, daughter of William, petitioned the Assembly in 1746 for a renewal of the privilege. She stated that her father was dead, and there were no other means of supporting his orphan children except from the profits of the office. She asked that the right of keeping the powder-house should be renewed. In the mean while the district of the United States had increased in population, and the inhabitants considered the continuance of the powder-house in their neighborhood detrimental to their interests. A protest to the Assembly against the renewal of the powder-house right to Miss Chancellor was sent. The remonstrants represented that if the magazine were removed many good tenements with wharves and stores would soon be begun; that a market-house would be established in the place laid out for that purpose (at the intersection of Callowhill and New Market Streets); and that the prosperity of the neighborhood would be thereby insured. These remonstrances prevented immediate action, but on the 8th of May, 1747, an act was passed in which the original grant to Chancellor was recited, and it was declared that Elizabeth Chancellor, acting executrix under the will of her father, on behalf of herself and her orphan brothers and sisters, should be entitled to all the perquisites, fees, and rewards secured by her father under the previous act, for one year, "and from thence until some future provision be made by act of Assembly, and no longer." Capt. William Hill was the deputy under William Chancellor and his daughter.

In June, 1748, there being considerable fear of the coming up the river of hostile privateers, it became a matter of prudence to guard the magazine. The Provincial Council, upon the rumor that there were three privateers in the river, took some action:

"*Order'd*, That the Keeper of the Powder House be sent for; & being come and examined as to the condition of the Powder house & the number of men who had watch'd there & how many were necessary to guard it

as a watch; it was order'd by the Board that the Windows shou'd be stopp'd up & that four or five Men shou'd be kept in Pay at four shillings per Day for a Guard."

In April, 1754, Dr. William Chancellor sent a petition to the Assembly asking that the profits arising from the management of the powder-house should be continued to his two younger sisters and William Hill, who had hitherto been chiefly supported and maintained thereby. This petition was laid upon the table. The last act of the Assembly secured the right to Miss Chancellor until a new law was passed. As the Assembly did nothing in relation to Dr. Chancellor's petition on behalf of his younger sisters, the opinion became prevalent that the powder-house grant to the Chancellors had expired. The Contributionship Mutual Insurance Company (Hand-in-Hand), by petition, in 1760, stated that, in consequence of the belief that the powder-house act was no longer in force, it was a common practice to store gunpowder among the buildings in the city, and to draw it through the streets without protection by covering the casks, a practice very dangerous and the cause of much uneasiness to the people. Notwithstanding these representations, the Assembly made no enactment upon the subject. The magazine remained in use for the storage of gunpowder, although the placing of the material there was not compulsory, as formerly. In 1776, before the Declaration of Independence, gunpowder then had become so great a necessity that the building of powder-mills was encouraged.[1]

[1] The following powder-mills were offered to be built under the patronage of the Committee of Safety, who offered to lend each builder one hundred and fifty pounds on security, and to supply each mill with fifty tons of saltpetre per week. A premium of one hundred dollars was offered for the first mill put in operation, fifty dollars for the second, and thirty dollars for the third, and it was promised that these three mills first erected should have a preference during the year in contracts over the others. The following offers were made to the committee by the persons named, the situations proposed for the mills being also stated.

Dr. Robert Harris, on Valley Stream or Crum Creek, twenty-five miles from the city.

George Lush, Stony Run, Philadelphia County, fifteen miles from the city.

George Lush, Mill Creek, Philadelphia County, ten miles from the city.

Henry Hubback (or Huber), Swamp Creek, Lower Milford, Bucks Co., on the Bethlehem road, thirty-seven miles from the city.

John Flack, on a stream emptying into the Neshaminy, Buckingham, Bucks Co., twenty-five miles from Philadelphia.

Thomas Heimberger, near the Yellow Spring, Windsor township, Chester Co.

William Thompson, on the Neshaminy, Bucks County, twenty-two miles from the city.

Dr. Van Leer, of Gloucester County, N. J., proposition to turn a fulling-mill into a powder-mill.

Harris, Heimberger, and Lush built their mills, and received their loans. It is doubtful whether the others did anything. In February the Assembly resolved that it was necessary to erect a powder-mill under direction of the Committee of Safety. Congress also ordered the erection of a Continental powder-mill. The Province of Pennsylvania paid for it. It was established on French Creek, Chester County. Proposals were published for the discovery of "sulphur ore." They brought reports of the discovery of the substance supposed to be wanted near York, Pa.; from Jacob Frees, ten miles from Elizabethtown, N. J.; from Elias Boudinot, and also from Joseph Borden, at Bordentown.

Lewis Nicola, in March, 1776, prepared a plan of a powder-magazine. That which was in existence, he said, "was very unfit for the purpose for which it was erected. . . . As badly situated as possible in a low, swampy place, unprotected by a surrounding wall or fence, and not secured from fire, accidental or designed, whereas magazines should as much as possible be placed in dry. airy situations, so as to admit a free circulation and at the same time well guarded against fire." A description of the proper building for a magazine, with the drawing of a plan, was given. The walls were to be of a proper thickness, with contrivances for free ventilation to keep the powder dry, the magazine to be vaulted and covered above the arch, with a roof leaving a space within. The whole to be surrounded by a brick wall, at the two diagonal corners of which were to be placed sentry-boxes, each of which would command a view of two sides of the magazine. "The most suitable place I know of near this city is a piece of waste ground on the west side of Fourth Street, opposite the barracks; this situation is airy and convenient for the security of the magazine, as sentries could be supplied from the Barrack Guard, which would save ye trouble and expence of a particular guard for the security of the Powder."

The Committee of Safety, on the 13th of April, ordered a new powder-magazine to be built by Isaac Coats and William Melcher, capable of holding a thousand barrels of powder. The place selected is not stated in the minutes of the Councils, but it was upon the northeast corner of Franklin Square. Storehouses were procured for the storage of salt, saltpetre, and other provincial supplies at Germantown. Later in the year a committee appointed to ascertain the best place for a magazine of military stores reported that the heights on the north side of Wissahickon Creek afforded a very convenient situation, and were capable of being defended at great advantage, and that a fort on the hill on the Ridge road just above Van Derin's mill (at the mouth of the Wissahickon) would command a wide space of country. In 1787 an act was passed to secure the city of Philadelphia against danger from gunpowder, which forbade the storage of a greater amount than thirty pounds of powder at a time in any place but the magazine in the public square between Sixth and Seventh, Race and Vine Streets, under a fine of twenty pounds.

In April, 1790, the necessity of removing the powder-house was considered; the Assembly passed resolutions in favor of that course. The Council selected a lot on Walnut Street, bordering on the river Schuylkill, which belonged to Col. John Patton, which was valued at five hundred and sixty-five pounds specie. A committee of the Supreme Executive Council, to which the matter was referred, reported the following plan in May of the same year:

"The walls round the yard of the magazine to be brick, and on a line with the north side of Walnut Street, and the west side of Ashton Street, and to be eight feet high besides the capping, which is to be stone.

"The powder-house, or magazine, to be forty feet east and west, and sixty feet north and south, and to stand back from the wall on Walnut Street twenty feet clear, and from Ashton Street the north and west walls of the yard fifteen feet clear.

"The two gable-end walls to be two feet thick of stone, and the two side walls two feet six inches thick of stone, or if double, two feet thick of stone, opening three inches, and a four and a half inch wall inside all round.

"The height from the floor to the spring of the arch to be eight feet, small arches to be turned all under the lower floor in order to keep it dry. The height of the first floor to be six inches above the level of the yard.

"A small house for the keeper at the southeast corner of Walnut and Front Street, on Schuylkill, to be fifteen feet six inches on Walnut Street, and fifteen feet on Front Street, two stories high, the first story to be eight feet in the clear, and the second story seven feet three inches in the clear, with a cellar under the whole, and to be finished plain."

The officers of the city corporation were opposed to the establishment of the powder-magazine at that place. A memorial was sent to the Supreme Executive Council requesting that the building of the magazine might be postponed until the next session of the Assembly. There was postponement accordingly, but the original plan was adhered to. Patton was paid for his lot, in December, £664 14*s.* 1*d.* in paper money, which was equivalent, at fifteen per cent. discount, to £565 specie. The magazine and keeper's house was paid for shortly afterward, and cost £1706 3*s.* 7*d.* The lot thus purchased was a full square, and contained about four acres three quarters and thirty perches of land.

In April, 1795, an act was passed for the inspection of gunpowder. It was stated in the preamble that Joseph Leacock, of Philadelphia, had invented an engine called "a pendulum powder-proof, with a graduating arch and catch-pull, by which it is conceived that the force of gunpowder may be proved by actual experiment." David Rittenhouse, Francis Gurney, and Thomas Proctor were appointed commissioners. They were directed to purchase at least two pendulum powder-proofs, settle the standard of gunpowder, and mark the graduations in the arch. After that was done the inspector of gunpowder, an officer created under the act, was ordered to ascertain the strength of manufactured gunpowder by means of the standard. It was also ordered that all gunpowder manufactured in the State should be placed in barrels of certain sizes and deposited in the magazine. From the Northeast Square the powder-house was removed to Walnut Street wharf, Schuylkill, in 1791. On a map published in 1794, the site of this building is marked at the northwest corner of Ashton [now Twenty-third] and Walnut Streets. It did not remain there very long without exciting apprehension. The Legislature was memorialized in 1806, by citizens as well as by Councils, against the continuance of the magazine at that place.

In the succeeding year, Thomas Leiper, Matthew Shaw, Stephen Decatur, Sr., and John Swigor, were appointed commissioners to sell the powder-magazine building and lot, at Walnut and Ashton Streets, and build a new one or two buildings if necessary. One was not to be more than a mile from the city, for the accommodation of traders, and not to contain more than ten tons of gunpowder. The other, or others, were to hold the article in larger quantities, and might be built at a distance of not less than four miles from the city. The next year the commissioners reported that they had located a site for the powder-magazine about four miles from the city, and the Assembly made an appropriation of about five thousand dollars for the construction of the building. The place selected was upon Power's Lane, in the neck, near the Schuylkill, called afterward Magazine Lane. The building, of stone, massive and strong, was secluded from the ordinary route of travel. Trees were planted around it, and apparently every care taken to prevent accident.

In order to prevent danger as much as possible, it was directed, in 1818, that the manner in which powder should be removed from vessels in the Delaware River to the magazine or arsenal on the Gray's Ferry road should be by landing at the wharf above the Point House on the Delaware, commonly known as the powder-wharf. That it should be carried along Keeler's Lane westward along said lane and the boundary of Southwark; thence up said road to Passyunk road; thence up the said road to the Federal road; thence west along the same to Gray's Ferry road; thence up the same direct to the arsenal on the east bank of the Schuylkill. Gunpowder brought down the river Delaware was directed to be landed at Conoroe & Co.'s wharf, in the village of Richmond; thence up Ann Street west to Frankford road; down that road to the Black Horse and Mud Lane [Montgomery Avenue]; thence to Sixth Street; down the latter to Hickory Lane [Poplar Street]; thence west, crossing the Ridge road, to Broad Street, and to the Callowhill turnpike road; then west to Schuylkill Front Street [Twenty-second]; down the same, and by way of the Gray's Ferry road, to the destination. The intention was that the powder should be carried at a distance from the built-up portions of the city. Vessels bringing powder down the Delaware were required to keep in the midway of the channel until the time of landing. Gunpowder brought from the west side of the Schuylkill was obliged to pass by Gray's Ferry, or, if it could not be passed with safety by Lancaster bridge, by Callowhill Street; thence by Schuylkill Front Street to Gray's Ferry road. By act of Assembly, passed in 1856, it was ordered that "every carriage used for conveying gunpowder or gun-cotton within the city of Philadelphia . . . shall . . . have painted on each side thereof, in letters distinctly legible to all passers-by, the word 'gunpowder.'"

The magazine was abandoned by the State under authority of the act of April 29, 1874, by which it was ordered that the possession of the rented premises situated on Magazine Lane, near a branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in the city of Philadelphia,

now used and occupied as a State powder-magazine, be surrendered within twelve months, and the lease canceled, and that the office of superintendent be discontinued. The ground on Power's Lane, belonging to the magazine, was directed to be sold at public sale.

Barracks.—In 1755 the expedition against Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburgh), then held by the French, set out from Fredericksburg, under Maj.-Gen. Edmund Braddock. Two regiments of foot, the Forty-fourth, under Col. Sir Peter Halkett, and the Forty-eighth, under Col. Thomas Dunbar, had been sent from Ireland, and arrived at Alexandria, Va., in March. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, had notified Governor Robert Hunter Morris, of Pennsylvania, of the expected coming of these troops as early as the preceding January. The necessity for supplies was pointed out, and assistance was asked from the Assembly of Pennsylvania. As that body was in a chronic state of controversy with the Governor, little help was to be expected. The Assembly had before that time attempted to borrow five thousand pounds on its own credit, and it was proposed that a portion of the money should be laid out in the purchase of flour to be sent to the mouth of the Conococheague, for the use of the British troops. The quartermaster-general, Sir John St. Clair, requested that roads should be opened from the inhabited parts of the Province of Pennsylvania westward toward the Ohio, to facilitate the movement of the troops and the transportation of supplies. The Assembly delayed compliance, but finally passed an act to appropriate twenty-five thousand pounds in bills of credit for the king's use. There had been a dispute about such a bill in the previous year. The Assembly had sanctioned it, but the Governor would not approve of it. The new bill was of the same character, and for twenty-five thousand pounds. But the Governor, who was quite as stubborn as the Assembly, again refused his attest, so that there was no assistance to the royal troops. Governor Morris went to Alexandria in April, and took part in a council composed of Gen. Braddock, Admiral Keppel, and the Governors of five of the colonies. The plan of the campaign was resolved upon. There was a disposition on the part of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to give assistance to the king, provided the method of doing it was according to the desires of the majority. The House resolved to borrow ten thousand pounds on its own account and without reference to the approval of the Governor. But lenders could not be found. In the emergency the Assembly took another plan, and resolved to issue paper money to the amount of fifteen thousand pounds; and although the Governor refused to give his sanction, the notes were issued and put into circulation. Active measures were taken to assist Gen. Braddock. The road westward was opened as far as possible, and as rapidly as circumstances would permit. Benjamin Franklin and others obtained a large number of horses and wagons in the interior of the province for transportation. Braddock commenced his march from Fort Cumberland on the 12th of June. Governor Morris appointed the 19th of June as a day of fasting and of prayer for the success of the British arms.

On the 9th of July the advance of the British and Provincial troops, with which was Halkett's regiment, were attacked by the French and Indians within sight of the Monongahela River. The invading force was defeated with great slaughter. Braddock and Halkett, with sixty-two other officers, were killed. Gen.

GEN. BRADDOCK'S GRAVE.

Braddock was buried near where he was killed, in what is now called Wharton township, Fayette Co., Pa. A large number of soldiers were killed or wounded. Of eleven hundred and fifty men in the action, it was estimated that not more than three hundred escaped without injury. They retreated and fell back upon Dunbar's division, stationed in reserve at Little Meadows. A panic prevailed even there. The artillery was destroyed, and the whole force pushed on to Fort Cumberland. When the news of this disaster reached Philadelphia great consternation prevailed. Governor Morris convened the Assembly. A bill was passed immediately to raise fifty thousand pounds for the king's use by a tax on all persons and property in the province. Then was renewed the standing quar-

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rel between the Governor, representing the proprietary, and the Assembly. Morris was quite willing that the people should be taxed in their persons and their property, but he would not sanction any measure that would lay taxes on the proprietary estates. While this dispute was in progress a number of citizens agreed to subscribe five thousand pounds, which would be about equal to the tax on the proprietary estates, and tendered the amount for public assistance.[1] The Assembly would not receive the money, but sent the proposition to the Governor "as a further security if he would give his consent to the fifty-thousand-pound bill." He did not accede. There was recommendation of a voluntary subscription of ten thousand pounds, but nothing was done to forward a collection.

While these controversies were raging the fugitives under command of Col. Dunbar were marching slowly toward Philadelphia. The necessity of quarters for the troops was evident. As the Assembly could not be relied upon, Governor Morris, on the 1st of August, made application to the mayor and Common Council of the city, stating that he had been apprised by Col. Dunbar of his intended coming, and that he would require quarters for about one hundred officers and twelve hundred men. The city corporation was applied to to furnish these conveniences. A hospital was needed and lodging for the soldiers. The reply from Mayor Plumsted, Recorder Francis, and aldermen Strettel and Mifflin, was very brief. They said, "We know of no law that authorizes us to make such provisions, and therefore have it not in our powers to obey your orders." The Assembly was appealed to, and replied by reference to the act of Parliament for the maintaining and billeting of soldiers. The troops under Col. Dunbar reached the city about the 29th of August, and encamped between Pine and Cedar Streets, west of Fourth. The house of Jacob Duché, at the northeast corner of Third and Pine Streets, was rented for a hospital at fifteen pounds for six months. The soldiers did not remain long in the city. They were ordered to Albany. After a rest of about four weeks, during which they made illuminations and kindled bonfires in honor of the victory of Gen. Johnson over the French at Lake George, which was followed by an entertainment and ball given by the officers at the State-House, they closed their visit with a review of the whole force, during which the simple people of the city, unused to military display, were much amazed by the proficiency of the artillerists, who fired a field-piece "ten times in one minute." The soldiers took up the line of march about the end of September, being much rested and improved, and having been kindly treated by the inhabitants of the city.[2]

In the latter part of the year the city corporation remonstrated to the Assembly in regard to the state of the province, a misfortune made more apparent by the fact that the defeat of Braddock had stimulated a rising among the Indians on the western frontiers of the province and the slaughter of defenseless inhabitants. A strong remonstrance was sent by the city corporation, the result of which was authority for the association of companies of volunteers. Under this power, before the end of December, 1755, there were eighteen companies in the association, beside five independent companies of artillery, foot grenadiers, and horsemen.

How these troops were accommodated as to armories, arsenals, places of meeting and drill is not known. In the succeeding year, upon the occasion of the review of the city regiment, under Col. Benjamin Franklin, "each company met at the house of its respective captain," then marched down Second Street and to the new market below Pine Street. The first company halted, and as the second company approached, fired and retreated, and was followed by the second also firing. This movement was imitated by the other companies in succession, the intention being to exercise the soldiers in street firing. There were four cannon attached to the regiment. On the 12th of August the proclamation of war between England and France, which was declared in May, 1756, was republished in the city. Shortly afterward Lord Loudon, commander-in-chief in America, wrote from Albany to Governor Denny, stating that a considerable body of troops for the defense of North America were to be sent over from England, that it was required that the colonies respectively should provide for all such charges as would arise from furnishing quarters and other necessaries for the troops, the means of conveyance and the transportation of supplies, the formation of a general service-fund, promotion of enlistments, etc. It was

[1] These public-spirited persons were William Plumsted, Samuel McCall, Sr., John Wilcox, Samuel and Archibald McCall, William Allen, Thomas Cadwalader, Alexander Huston, Amos Strettel, Joseph Turner, Joseph Sims, John Kearsley, David Franks, John Kearsley, Jr., John Gibson, John Wallace, George O'Kill, Samuel Mifflin, Townsend White, Joseph Wood, and John Bell.

[2] Duncan Cameron, a private soldier in this expedition, whose journal has been published, spoke gratefully of the assistance received by the troops from the country people during their march and upon the road. He said, "The same tender compassion and humanity continued when we arrived and encamped on the south side of Philadelphia. The Philadelphians' hearts and houses were opened to us in the most affectionate and tender manner, and I must not forget the tender compassion of their good housewives; for they being informed that our living had been chiefly on flesh, the women of Market Street and Church Alley, as I was told, formed an Association for regaling us with apple pies and rice pudding, which they generously affected; and their example was followed by a great many women in the city, and though some may think little of this, yet certainly it was a great refreshment to some of us. And, indeed, during our whole stay, there was scarcely a day passed but our sick and prisoners were refreshed through their humanity. And I must not forget mentioning that one of our soldiers being condemned to be hanged for some misdemeanor, which they apprehended did not deserve death, was, through the intercession of some women of good credit and note in that city, pardoned of his offenses; and, indeed, a great number of the inhabitants of all ranks and degrees joined in application for the same purpose. For the people of that province are so humane and tender-hearted that they cannot bear to see any person put to death for scarcely any offense but murder."

also said, "and as his Majesty is at present graciously pleased to make such allowance toward victualling his troops as must greatly remove all Difficulty of Quartering as to that Article, I must expect that in the article of Lodging and such other nesessarys as are furnished in Quarters in Great Britain in Time of war, Your Province will more chearfully make full and proficient Provision. I must therefore beg of you that you will acquaint the People of your Province, but when I shall have occasion to put his Majesty's Troops into Quarters that I do and must expect to find such as are necessary in your province."

"The Assembley endeavored to evade compliance by adopting two British acts in regard to Mutiny & Desertion and the quartering and billetting of soldiers for the payment of their quarters in England." The latter the King's Council said was inapplicable "to a colony in the time of war, in the case of troops raised for their protection by the authority of the Parliament of Great Britain." In October, Lord Loudon again wrote to Governor Denny, "that it was necessary for him to look out for winter quarters for the troops, and that he would send to Phila., one battallion of Royal Americans, and 2 independent companies, and that he desired quarters to be furnished." The Assembly prepared a bill which was nearly the same as that which had already been repealed in England. In this emergency application was made to the city corporation. The act of Assembly directed the billeting of its soldiers on the public-houses. The Common Council ascertained that there were one hundred and seventeen taverns in the city. There were about five hundred and fifty men in the Royal American Sixty-second Regiment, and an independent company. Capt. Tullekin, of the Sixty-second, came in advance of the battalion to make arrangements for the quarters. He wanted the use of a place for a hospital, also a store-house and a guard-room. The keepers of the public-houses at first supposed that they would receive a shilling a day for each soldier, and they were tempted to misrepresent the extent of their accommodations. A message on the subject was sent to the Assembly, which refused to do anything but to pass the bill determined upon. While this controversy was in progress, the troops had arrived under the command of Col. Bouquet.

On the 15th of December the Governor represented to the Council that "the King's Forces still remained in a most miserable condition, neither Assembly, Commissioners, nor Magistrates having done anything to relieve them, though the weather grew more pinching and the Small Pox was increasing among the Soldiers to such a Degree that the whole Town would soon become a Hospital. That Col. Bouquet, being a Foreigner,[1] was loath to take violent Measures; but if something was not instantly done he hoped the Governor would issue a Warrant to the Sheriff to assign him Quarters in private Houses. That the Public House keepers were in general miserably poor, and had no Beds or necessaries, and were not in Ability to provide them. In short, that he was cruelly and barbarously treated, and urged the Governor to come to Resolutions instantly that the Soldiers might be instantly relieved, and an Hospital provided. He added that the new Hospital [Pennsylvania Hospital] was promised to him by the Managers, but they drew back from their promises, and he could neither get the new Hospital nor the old one,[2] nor any House for an Hospital." An effort was made to obtain additional accommodations in the public-houses, but with no success. The Governor then sent for James Coultas, the sheriff, and informed him that he was about to order him to quarter the soldiers in private houses. Coultas asked leave to inform some of his friends that such a step would be taken, representing also that, in case quarters were not provided, "there might be an easy accommodation, as there were plenty of empty houses in town, and none but straw beds were required, with a few necessaries that might be very soon provided." The sheriff showed this warrant, which had been intrusted to him but not served upon him, to some persons, and leading members of the Assembly became aware of the intention to issue it. The result was a message from the Assembly to the Governor, expressing surprise at the intimation as to what was intended to be done, and hoping that he would act according to the law passed a few days before.[3] Members of the Council were inclined to go into a long discussion. The Governor said he would have no altercation, and himself penned the following imperative message:

"GENTLEMEN,—The King's troops must be quartered. With respect to the Insufficiency of the late Act I refer you to my Message of the Eighth Instant, delivered immediately after the passing of it; and I see no Reason from any Thing that has occurred since to alter my Opinion.

"WM. DENNY.

"Dec. 18, 1756."

[1] Col. Henry Bouquet was a native of Switzerland, and was born at Rolle in 1719. He had been in the Dutch service and in that of Sardinia, and entered the British army as lieutenant-colonel in 1756. Under an act of Parliament, passed in the latter year, the Royal American Regiment (Sixty-second) was authorized to be formed of four battalions, each of one thousand men, to be recruited from German and Swiss settlers in America. The officers were of necessity required to be proficient in the German language, and the act authorized the appointment of foreign Protestants, who had served abroad as officers of experience, to rank as such in America only. Col. Bouquet, in co-operation with Gen. Forbes, repulsed the French and Indian attack at Loyalhanna, Oct. 12, 1756, and participated in the operations which were succeeded by the capture of Fort Du Quesne. Sent from Canada with troops for the relief of Fort Pitt, he defeated a large Indian force Aug. 5-6, 1763, and reached the fort with supplies. He commanded the famous expedition against the Ohio Indians in October, 1764, as a result of which the Shawanese, Delawares, and others were compelled to make peace at Tuscarawas. He was made brigadier-general for this service in 1765, and died at Pensacola, Fla., in 1766.

[2] The new hospital was at Eighth and Ninth and Spruce and Pine Streets. The old hospital was the building first occupied by the managers on Market Street, near Fifth.

[3] This was "an act for extending several sections of an act of Parliament passed in the twenty-ninth year of the present reign, entitled 'An Act for preventing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.'" It was substantially a re-enactment of the act of 1755, which had been repealed in England.

When the Assembly received this mandate it created astonishment. The day was Saturday; the House remained in session all the afternoon, and did not adjourn until Monday, as had been usual. There was a session on Sunday, on which day a message was sent to the Governor, in which it was represented that the members did not fully understand all the particulars, and that the Governor had not given full information. They protested that they were desirous that the troops should have good quarters. The Assembly had lately "shown their Regard for the Soldiery by voluntarily presenting Conveniances and Refreshments to the Officers, and furnishing provisions and Cloathing for the Soldiers of the King's Forces to the Amount of Many Thousand Pounds." The Governor replied that moderation was agreeable to him, notwithstanding which, "*There might have been a Governor* who would have told you the whole Tenor of that Message was indecent, frivolous, and evasive; That the Reception of His Majesty's Troops in this City shows want of Humanity and Gratitude, for you will please to remember that they were raised by Parliament for the Defence of these Colonies.[1] For my Part, Gentlemen, I shall always avoid Disputes, but am determined to do my Duty to my King and Country." The Governor added that sixty-two beds were wanted for one hundred and twenty-four men, who lay upon straw, and quarters for recruits who arrive every day. There was a committee of conference sent by the House, through which there was a great deal of protestation and explanation. In conclusion the report upon the Council minutes says, "Upon the whole there was an abundance of breath, Passion, and Rudeness on the part of the committee." A letter was sent to the mayor by Governor Denny, and that officer represented that he was doing the best he could to accommodate the soldiers. The mayor's official return afterward still showed that there was a deficiency in the number of beds and other accommodations for soldiers. A guard-room, a store-room, and hospital were provided as a result of this quarrel without much delay, but beyond that the officers and soldiers were compelled to get along as well as they could at the public-houses. The latter were furnished by the provincial commissioners, who were named in the act of December, 1756. They were William Masters, Joseph Fox, John Baynton, John Hughes, and Joseph Galloway. In the estimates of expenses for 1757, the cost of constructing the barracks was set down at ten thousand pounds. Some time afterward the commissioners, under authority of the act of Assembly, proceeded to erect barrack buildings for the accommodation of the troops. The location determined upon for the site of the barracks was a lot on the south side of Mulberry or Arch Street, west of Tenth. The foundations were dug out, and the plans were agreed upon, but the agent of the proprietary who owned the lot made objection. The commissioners therefore abandoned that ground and bought a large lot in the Northern Liberties bounded on the east by Second Street, and northward by Green Street, named after Thomas Green, an early owner of the ground. Southward the ground extended toward Bloody Lane [Noble Street], and westward beyond Third Street. It was substantially of a square form, but the lines were irregular upon the south and west. Afterward, when Third Street was opened, a portion of the lot, an irregular strip of ground, was on the west side of that street, and when Tammany Street was opened, after the barracks were no longer in military use, a narrow gore, no wider than two or three feet, at Second Street, extended on the south side of Tammany Street, toward Third, gradually widening to the westward. The title was taken in the name of Joseph Fox, by two conveyances, Sept. 17, 1757. The northern portion of the ground was purchased from Anthony Wilkinson, and the southeast portion from Michael Hillegas. Here the commissioners proceeded to erect buildings for barracks. In doing so they acted independently of Governor Denny, with whom they had no communication. They were members of the Assembly, representing and carrying out the will of that body. They had no consultation with the Governor, but settled upon a plan to suit themselves.

Col. Haldiman, of the Second Battalion, Sixty-second or Royal Lancers Regiment, was of opinion that the plan adopted was not a good one. His second objection was that he disapproved of the place where the barracks were to be situated. The only reason he (Col. Haldiman) gave against the place was that he thought the buildings should be so situated that, in case of need, there might be some possibility of throwing up an intrenchment around them, "from whence," said Lord Loudon, "it occurs to me that in case you should have any thoughts of making a Fort hereafter by the Town, you ought to benefit by those Barracks, so as to build them where you propose to have the Fort by which you will have so much of your Work ready done without creating an additional Expence. The thought can do you no harm, altho' I foresee that probably in the first place all the Ground near the Town is granted away, and in the second the Province will build those Barracks, with a view to turn them, after the War is over, either to Storehouses or a Manufactory."

In September, 1757, the Second Battalion of the Royal Americans (Col. Haldiman), *en route* to Carlisle, Pa., stopped in this city during the march. On that occasion the manner in which the barracks were being constructed was submitted to the colonel's judgment, as to the propriety of the plan. Lieutenant-Governor Denny, in September, gave to the Council a statement in reference to this business; "the Governor likewise related to the Council the strange Conduct of the Commissioners with respect to Bar-

[1] An allusion to the aid given to Braddock and Dunbar.

racks, that they had made Choice of the Ground, dug the Foundation, entered into Contracts with Workmen, agreed upon a Plan, then changed their Minds, chose another Place, altered the Plan, purchased a Quantity of Ground, and were at work with many hands, without so much as consulting him on any one article. But these things came to his Knowledge by Accident, whereupon he had sent for the intended Plan, which was in the Hands of Mr. Loxley, who came with it, and after shewing it to Col. Haldyman, and considering it, they were both of Opinion it was defective, and many Objections lay against it, on which his Honour had wrote the Commissioners a Letter to stop the work till he should approve the Plan, and know if it was an healthy spot, and that he proposed to desire Lord Loudon by the Post to spare him an Engineer to view the Situation, and concert with him a proper Plan; That Three Physicians had, at his Instance, viewed it, and reported there was no reasonable objection to it on the account of Health; That notwithstanding this Injunction the Commissioners still went on with their Work, and had the *Imprudence* never to give him an Answer to his Letter; That he had detained his Letter to Lord Loudon till he should receive their Answer, but believing they would not give any, he would send his letter by the Post." In the next month Lord Loudon sent Lieut. Meyer to the city to "give his Assistance in relation to the Construction of the Barracks, and desired those who would direct the undertakers of the Barracks would be obediant to the orders of Lieut. Meyer." Whether this application was successful is not known. Before the middle of the summer of the succeeding year the barracks were partially completed and must have been occupied by troops organized under authority of the province, since in July of that year orders were sent to the commanding officer of the barracks to place a guard at Wicaco Fort. This authority could not have been undertaken to be exercised over the royal troops.

Neither is it probable that more than a portion of the buildings were in condition to be occupied at once. In February, 1758, the tavern-keepers of the city petitioned for the removal of the soldiers quartered upon them "to the barracks *now* finished." In the succeeding month quarters were demanded by Brig.-Gen. Forbes for seventeen hundred and fifty-two men. The public-houses were not sufficient in accommodations to lodge so large a number. Governor Denny asked of the House if the barracks could not be made ready. The House ordered the Provincial Commissioners to provide quarters. On the 3d of May the House elected Joseph Fox barrack-master, "with full power to do and perform every matter and thing which may be requisite for the comfortable accommodation of his majesty's troops within the Barracks lately erected in the city."[1]

The Thirty-fifth Regiment of foot appears to have been in the city either during the winter of 1757 or the spring of 1758, since, on the 25th of April of that year, the wives of soldiers belonging to that regiment, "lately sent to Halifax," petitioned the Assembly, setting forth their destitute condition, and asked that they should be sent to their husbands. The House agreed to pay the expense if the Governor would consent. Whether these soldiers had been quartered at the barracks cannot be ascertained.

Brig.-Gen. Forbes left at Philadelphia in July, 1758, in the care of Benjamin Loxley, a very extensive amount of ordnance, ammunition, and stores belonging to the king. There were six brass field-pieces, mounted, with all the apparatus connected therewith, empty shells, muskets, bayonets, halberts, drums, pistols, carbines, tents, round shot, gunpowder, and large numbers of other articles.

Gen. Forbes at barracks, Raystown Camp, in October, 1758, wrote to the Governor, stating that he would be compelled to send down to the inhabited parts of the country the greater portion of twelve hundred men, being the force under his orders. The object was to enable the soldiers "to recruit and fit themselves out for the ensuing campaign; for were I to leave the whole during the winter in the uninhabited parts of the country, these corps would not be in a condition to march on service early in the spring." Among the things named by Col. Forbes as necessary "for making the soldiers' lives comfortable in this severe climate during the winter" were for each man a second blanket in lieu of a bed, a flannel jacket, a new pair of breeches, two pairs of stockings, and a pair of shoes. In November, 1758, Col. Forbes wrote from Fort Du Quesne, which had just been captured, requesting that the barracks should be put in good repair and proper lodgings for the officers, and provision in winter-quarters was required for Col. Montgomery's battalion of thirteen hundred men, and four companies of Royal Americans. The Assembly was appealed to by Governor Denny, but there was no immediate response. In 1759, Gen. Jeffry Amherst stated to Governor Denny that Lieut.-Col. Morris had informed him "that some small difficulties had arisen at Philadelphia in relation to quartering." Upon which he sent a copy of the agreement entered into between the deputy quartermaster-general for the king and the selectmen of Boston. This had been made a standing rule by Gen. Amherst for the other provinces. That officer was pleased to say, "I have no reason to think that Pennsylvania would be deficient in their care and

[1] In the provincial accounts are charges for payments, May 15, 1757, to Plunkett Fleeson, £381 16s. 8d. for bedding supplied to the Indians and soldiers at the hospital and barracks; John Rowan, for beer supplied to the soldiery, £50 13s. 6d.; Sept. 15, 1757, to Joseph Fox, for erecting barracks, £8000. The latter may be assumed to have been the cost of the buildings and lot. 1757, November 8th, Joseph Fox, wood for the barracks and rent of the King's Hospital, £350. Fox was paid at first £60 per annum out of the fund for his services and £50 per annum from the general fund. After two or three years there is note only of payment of £50 per annum on the general provincial expenses.

regard for the troops sent for their defense and protection. I make no doubt that upon sight of the before-mentioned agreement, they will cheerfully comply with it, and cause every difficulty that may have arisen immediately to subside."

The Assembly was much more interested in considering the Indian question in connection with complaints relative to the walking purchase, of 1737, than in making preparation for the comfort of troops. Alleging that the plan of operations for the year 1759 had not been received from Great Britain, the House in February adjourned for two weeks. The next month complaints were made that attempts had been made in the county of Lancaster to extort billets from the magistrates, and that the soldiers had been quartered in private houses. Gen. Forbes died in Philadelphia in 1759, and Brig.-Gen. Stanwix was appointed in his place, and came to the city in March. Gen. Amherst himself arrived in April of the same year, and the Assembly being slow and obstinate about passing the supply bill, he sent for the Speaker and some of the members, and told them "that he would withdraw the king's forces in case they did not raise the same number of provincials as served last campaign." Governor Denny represented these things to the Assembly, and received from the members the usual justification of their conduct. By way of set off, complaint was made of the quartering of troops at Lancaster. The House said that the measures taken there were unjustifiable and arbitrary, "that there was a commodious set of barracks erected near the city of Philadelphia capable of receiving all of his Majesty's Troops in the province. That the building of the Barracks there was occasioned by the officers refusing to quarter the troops anywhere else than in or near the city, that they had formerly refused to quarter them at Lancaster, and that if they had been willing a portion of the Barracks would have been erected there. That a number of Rooms in the Barracks are now, and have been during the Winter, empty, and ready to receive all the Soldiers thus oppressively, unnecessarily, and illegally quartered in that place." The House was stubborn, and would not pass the supply bill unless it retained a provision to tax the proprietary estates. In this emergency, Gen. Amherst solicited Governor Denny "for the good of the common cause to waive the proprietary instruction, and give his consent to the bill, as had been done at the request of the Earl of Loudon on a previous occasion," promising to inform the king's ministers of the necessity of his so doing, that no inconvenience might arise to him by his action.

In 1761, Vaughn's regiment was sent by Gen. Amherst to Philadelphia. In 1764 some of the Indians who were the objects of the animosity of the Paxton Boys were at the barracks, but were removed for greater security,—perhaps it would be better to say, so that they might more easily escape to Province Island. While they were at that place there were consultations as to what might be most proper to secure their safety. The Council was of opinion that the best method would be to send them to Sir William Johnson, at New York. It was observed as a particularly fortunate circumstance that there was in town a detachment of Highlanders, under the command of Capt. Robinson, on their march to New York, who, at the instance of the Governor, readily agreed to escort the Indians as far as that city. These soldiers actually proceeded to execute the agreement, and the Indians were taken upon the march into New Jersey. But they were not received at New York. Orders were given that they should be stopped before entering the province. About the same time Governor John Penn had applied to Gen. Thomas Gage for the stationing of some troops in Philadelphia. The latter ordered three companies of the First Battalion of Royal Americans to come to the city. They were ordered to meet the Highlanders in New Jersey to receive from them the Indians and escort them back from Amboy. Capt. Schlosser had command of this detachment, and, having reached Trenton, waited for instructions. He was desired to resume his march and bring the Indians to the barracks, where they could be better protected than anywhere else. After they arrived the rumors in relation to the assembling of the Paxton Boys, and of their intention to march to the city, became more alarming. The Governor was advised to give written instructions to Capt. Schlosser to defend the Indians to the utmost of his power, and to oppose any attempt to destroy them, "the riot act first being read by a proper civil officer." A meeting was ordered to be held at the State-House, at which the inhabitants of the town were invited to assemble with request to immediately take up arms, and put themselves under the command of the Governor for the defense of the government. It was proposed also that one hundred and fifty gentlemen should assist the soldiers in guarding the barracks on the night of February 4th. It was also recommended that, "upon any alarm made by the ringing of the bells, the inhabitants would turn out with their arms and repair to the barracks; or, if the town should be attacked, that they would meet at the court-house and defend the city." Arms and ammunition were ordered to be sent to the barracks, with four cannon and artillery stores from the State-House. A number of carpenters were directed to be employed to erect some works at the barracks to make them more defensible. Spies were dispatched up the different roads to observe the motions of the rioters, and bring intelligence of their approach. The condition of affairs was considered critical. There was great alarm. But the Paxton Boys got no farther than Germantown, where, being met by a delegation from the city, there was a parley. They were remonstrated with, and finally, being under no authoritative leadership, weakened and dispersed and returned to their homes.

The disposition of the Indians became, after the excitement had quieted, a matter of embarrassment to the authorities. Governor Penn again wished to send them to Sir William Johnson, but Gen. Gage objected that by such disposition they might prejudice the Six Nations against the English. It was the desire of that officer that they should remain at Philadelphia, or be sent to the barracks at Burlington, where they would be removed out of the way of the people of Pennsylvania and proper care be taken of them.

The Indians left the barracks in 1764, after having remained there for more than a year. In an address made to Governor Penn, on the occasion of their departure, they said that they were going back into the wood of Machelusing, on the Susquehanna, to settle there. "We think it is our first Duty to take a friendly leave from you by presenting our hearty Thanks for your great Goodness to us. We do not come with a String or Belt of Wampum agreeable to the custom among Indians, and as we cannot speak your tongue we must endeavor to express our grateful hearts by this Writing. Hoping you will accept of it from your poor Indians. . . . These Words come from us who have subscribed this address & from all the Indian Men, Women, & Children now at the Barracks, and we are your true and faithfull friends." This address was signed with the marks of John Pepunhang, Joshua, Anton, and Samy Evans.[1]

In June, 1766, a detachment of the Royal Highland Regiment which had been in service in the Illinois country, and had arrived at New York from Pensacola, was ordered by Gen. Gage to march to Philadelphia. This was but a single company of one hundred and fourteen officers and men. Gen. Gage two months afterward desired that provision should be made for a full battalion, the strength of which was five hundred officers and men. In 1768 the Assembly passed an act for appropriating a sum of money for building the middle house on the west side of the barracks, in the Northern Liberties of the city of Philadelphia.[2] In 1768 the Eighteenth Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Wilkins, arrived in Philadelphia on their march to Lancaster and Cumberland, and put up for a short time at the barracks. Gen. Gage wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Penn in June, 1769, that the Thirty-fourth Regiment, quartered in Philadelphia, were shortly to embark for Ireland going from the city. Capt. Chapman, of the Eighteenth, was there in 1772. Gen. Frederick Haldiman wrote to Governor Penn in July, 1773, that transports with his majesty's royal regiment of artillery had arrived at New York; that one company was to be stationed at Philadelphia, and requested that the barracks should be placed in order for their reception. The Eighteenth or Royal Irish Regiment was at barracks for some time, and left for Boston in September, 1774. It is probable that they were not succeeded in the tenancy of the building by any other British troops.

On the 1st of November, 1775, the Assembly of Pennsylvania directed that Mr. Miles and Mr. Dougherty should deliver to Joseph Fox, the barrack-master, the following order for providing necessaries and quartering troops:

"IN ASSEMBLY, Nov. 1, 1775.

"Upon Motion: Ordered that the Barrack-Master do forthwith put the Barracks near this city into proper repair for receiving the Troops now raising in this Province, and that the said Barrack-Master do in future receive and Comply with such orders from the Committee of Safety as they may find necessary to Issue for quartering Troops in the said Barracks

(Signed) "CH'S. MOORE, *Cl'k Ass'y.*"

The same committee was ordered to ascertain how soon the barracks would be ready for the reception of troops, and what number of firelocks were made for the county. These directions mark the period when, from the occupancy of the regular British troops, the barracks passed into the tenancy of the soldiers who were opposed to them. Barrack-Master Fox, who afterward became a Tory, had not yet shown his disaffection. He reported that the barracks would be ready for the reception of the troops in about ten days. Capt. Thomas Proctor, of the artillery, was allowed admission to the barracks on the 7th of November with his company, and it was directed that he should be furnished with the bedding lately belonging to the royal artillery company.

The Council of Safety three weeks afterward granted to Maj. Anthony J. Morris the use of the large house at the barracks "for the field-officers of the Pennsylvania battalion now raising." The board gave directions to Barrack-Master Fox to deliver the key of the said house to Maj. Morris.

In August, 1776, the deputy quartermaster-general was directed, if he could not obtain sufficient quarters for the troops which were coming to the city, to place them in the several places of worship in the city in turn. Notice of this intention was ordered to be given to the wardens or elders of the various congregations. Authority was also given to occupy private houses which were empty for the same purpose. Maj. Lewis Nicola succeeded Fox as barrack-master as early as the middle of March, 1776, at which time he was directed to deliver to Col. Arthur St. Clair and other officers of battalions such necessaries as they might want from the supplies at the barracks.

An estimate of the expense of converting the old jail into a barracks in 1776 is found in the Pennsylvania Archives, vol. iv. page 715. It was evidently intended for a small number of men, not more than sufficient for a city guard. The estimates were for about one hundred and twenty-one bedsteads, one of them of

[1] In "Unitas Fratrum," No. 4, are the names of fifty-five Indian men, women, and children who died at the Barracks during the occupation, and were buried by Moravians.

[2] The middle house fronted on Third Street, and was occupied as officers' quarters; in later times it was universally known as the Commissioners' Hall of the Northern Liberties.

rather large proportions, a mess-table and bench of generous size, and twenty other tables, with forty benches.

Bucks County militia were lodged at the United States barracks in September, 1777, at which time orders were issued to them to send a guard of four men to Robin Hood Ford (Garrigues, afterward Mendenhall's Ferry) over the Schuylkill, four men to the Upper Ferry, four men to the bridge (Middle Ferry), and four men to Gray's Ferry, to take care of the artillery at those places.

As appurtenances to the barracks, in 1777, before the British occupancy, there were two hospitals; that which was used for ordinary diseases was in Front Street, opposite the Noah's Ark Tavern, at the corner of Bloody Lane, or Noble Street, and probably upon the barrack grounds; the Smallpox Hospital was in Pine Street, exactly where is not known. It was under the care of the barrack-master, and nurses were employed to take care of it. Dr. Glentworth, in January, 1777, was superintendent of a "smallpox hospital, 2 doors above Peter Knight's." The sick quarters in January, 1777, were at Semple's store, Sproat's store, which was immediately opposite Semple's, and McElroy's store, also at John Shields' house. Mary Traker was a nurse at John Shields', and was frequently spoken of as a nurse at the Pine Street Smallpox Hospital. There were sick soldiers at Smeiler's, at the corner of Seventh and Arch Streets, and at Sneider's, in Front Street, and also at Evan Morgan's, on the common.

Occasional glimpses of the condition of the barracks after they came into the possession of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania are to be had in the reports published by Col. Nicola. Thus he said, in August, 1776, "The troops that daily come to the barracks are much displeased at not having necessarys to dress their victuals. Potts I have enough in store, but they will not take unless cleaned, yet constantly return them dirty. There is a great deficiency of buckets." In November of the same year he mentions that a consultation was held among the officers, with Col. Hampton and others, as to the disposition of rooms, from which it appears that the place was crowded. "It was agreed that room should be made in the wing occupied by the German battalion for Capt. Doyle's company, and that the cellars should be filled with men. This arrangement will make 20 rooms as soon as the Flying Camp men march out, and 50 cellars for the reception of Troops. In consequence of this I have directed that the cellars should be cleaned and fitted for the reception of men. . . . 18 wagons with sick men from the camp and 4 this morning came to the barracks. The men say more wagons are on the road, and 2 shallops are coming down the river." A few days afterward the barrack-master wrote, "As these unsettled times may occasion many removes in the Barracks, and that most of the rooms are supplied with bedsteads, tables, and benches, which cannot be removed into store-rooms, it is necessary to have them fastened up. As locks are attended with much inconveniency, occasioned by the men's loosing the keys and putting the locks out of order, I prefer padlocks, which may be taken into the stores whenever the rooms are occupied. I have hitherto found it impossible to procure the number I want. I propose advertising this day for them, in expectation that some smith in the neighborhood will undertake it." Three days afterward he complained that Capt. Doyle had not returned one-half of the bed-cases received from the German battalion, and that certain utensils had not been returned. After Nicola became town-major he issued standing orders to the garrison of Philadelphia in regard to returns and other matters (Penna. Archives, vol. iv. page 184). Among them were the following:

"V. When any Troops belonging to the Garrison, or on their way to Camp are quartered out of the Barracks, a sergeant or corporal from each corps is to attend constantly at the Barracks to be ready to carry Orders to their respective corps, for which purpose a room in the Barracks must be appointed for their Reception.

"VI. An adjutant in rotation is constantly to remain in the Barracks from which he is not to depart on any account till relieved, except when he goes to the Town-Major to receive orders, but be ready to receive and distribute orders.

"VII. Whenever the Drummer beats the Adjutants' call, or first part of the Troop, all the Adjutants in the Barracks and orderly Sergeants or corporals from corps quartered out of the Barracks, are to repair to the Parade, receive orders, and distribute them to their respective corps.

"IX. A Field-Officer whenever there are four in Town, when not a captain, to attend daily at the Barracks and do the duty of the Officer of the day."

When the British army entered Philadelphia the barracks were again occupied by the royal troops, whether by regiments or companies is not known. Soldiers were encamped in the open fields near, north, south, and west of the more luxurious quarters. There is no record by which may be ascertained what regiments or organizations were accommodated at the barracks.

Discipline was rather loose in the Northern Liberties after the British evacuation, and the soldiers were sometimes unruly. In December, 1779, complaint was made to the Supreme Executive Council "of great irregularities at the barracks and destruction of the buildings; and also that there is danger of bloodshed from the disputes between the soldiers and the neighboring inhabitants, and that the same are owing to the neglect of the proper officers providing wood." Measures were taken to prevent further mischief. The supply of fuel was a great difficulty at this time. In order to prevent, in some degree, the scarcity, the Council had ordered that the wood growing on a tract of land on the west side of the Schuylkill, belonging to some persons residing in Great Britain, should be cut down and brought to the city for the use of the poor, the same to be valued and accounted for when required. In pursuance of these orders, William Bradford, Tench Francis, James Ash, Isaac Melchor, William Hall, Andrew Tybout, David Dun-

can, William Miller, William Forbes, Thomas Shields, and Joseph Copperthwaite had cut down considerable quantities of the wood for those uses. They found themselves confronted by a person called William Wood, who made claim to the property, and took possession of some of it. The Supreme Executive Council proceeded promptly, and ordered Wood to be arrested and brought before them by the sheriff of the county. The consequence was that Wood was soon convinced of his error, "made some acknowledgments," and being reprimanded, was dismissed. Probably some of this wood went to the barracks. The necessity of the case and the want of fuel led to considerable destruction there. A committee of the Council, which had been detailed to make an examination of the condition of the barracks, made a very unpleasant report:

"That they find them in a very ruinous condition, all the Bedsteads (except a few in the Invalid quarter) missing having been burned, as we are informed, for want of Wood. Almost all the Glazing of the windows broken, plastering pulled down, the laths & partitions cut up to light fires. The floors much cut up and injured. The soldiers having brought their wood into the rooms, and there cut up for their fires; the rooms & galleries are so full of filth and ordure as to render these places extremely offensive; in short the whole of the buildings are in very bad order. . . . That upon a speciall inquiry what Wood had been served out, and what prospects there are, it appears to the committee that great part of the Fall & Winter there has been only half allowance, and that irregularly served. That they have been occasionally 2 days without Wood, even to cook their victuals, By which means the Buildings and Fences in the neighborhood had Suffered, which had occasioned great disturbance among the Inhabitants, so as not only to break the peace, but to endanger the lives of both soldiers and citizens; that there is not at present any stock of wood or any other supply than from day to day, and that so insufficient that unless there is some effectual reform in case of bad roads or bad weather which may be expected at this season, they will be destitute, and the like abuses on the buildings and in the neighborhood probably renewed."

The number of soldiers who might be accommodated at the barracks was not stated, nor the number of soldiers who were in quarters at that time. In regard to the officers there were more than enough. Isaac Melchior was barrack-master; Gen. Gibbs Jones, chief barrack-master and captain of artillery; Christian Schaffer, assistant barrack-master and superintendent of the carpenters; John Fauntz, assistant barrack-master. Beside these principal officers there were three superintendents of wagoners and wood-cutters, an issuer of wood, two clerks, and teamsters to an unknown number. There were twenty-one teams at the barracks, and twelve at Bristol, besides several more at the same place whose number was not ascertained. Col. Melchior and his assistants had a number of riding horses for their own use, and the affairs of the establishment were conducted at an extravagant rate. On the last day of December the barrack-master reported that a body of Continental troops were marching into the city, and unprovided with barracks or other cover, from which it would seem that the barracks were filled to their capacity. He asked assistance from the Council so that they might be secured suitable quarters. Orders were issued to the justices of the peace of the city and liberties to billet the troops in the public-houses, proportioning them according to the size of the house. Measures were taken also to recompense citizens who lost their wood when the troops were "constrained" to use that article. The barrack-master was ordered to replace it in the following proportion: "for twenty men one-eighth of a cord of wood for every twenty-four hours, and so on in proportion for a greater or lesser number of men."

The use of the barracks was given up to the United States at some time before the end of 1779, at which period the report above quoted was made. Consequently, there were disputes whenever the State authorities undertook to interfere. The report of the condition of the buildings was sent by the Council to the delegates of Pennsylvania in Congress, and the Council said, "Should there be any attempt to refer the correction of these abuses to the authority of the State, we desire you would object to it. We cannot think of involving ourselves in any further disputes with these officers, who, being under the immediate appointment of Congress, resent our interference, and in consequence treat us with very little respect or decency. . . . At all events we decline acting farther than giving you information as members of Congress, being resolved never again to commit ourselves as parties or accusers, and with the officers of Congress incur the imputation of indulging private resentment when we have only the public interests in view." The representations made produced no result. So that some months afterward President Reed wrote to the delegates in Congress stating that the abuses and mischiefs continued, "so that in a little time these buildings will be useless to the publick." One thousand pounds in gold, it was said, would not repair the damages that those buildings had sustained during the previous year. The Council, therefore, determined to take the buildings under their own care, and appoint a barrack-master. They requested the delegates in Congress to move in that body for an order to the Continental officers to pay due regard to the barrack-master within his department. Matthew McConnell was appointed town-major after this, and Leonard Cooper was superintendent in 1781. In January of the same year, a considerable number of officers belonging to the Pennsylvania line being in the city, were unprovided with decent quarters. Orders were given that they should be billeted by the Deputy Quartermaster-General.

In 1781, Col. Lewis Nicola, who was formerly barrack-master and at that time town-major, appears to have been in authority sufficient to take charge of the barracks again. He was directed to appoint a trusty sergeant to assist him in preserving the barracks from "being damaged by the soldiery that may be quartered therein from time to time." Various repairs were placed upon the barracks during that year.

In November, Robert Morris, superintendent of finance, and Richard Peters, executing the duties of

the War Department, wrote to President Moore stating that a regiment of Federal troops would be stationed in the city during the ensuing winter, and that upon their arrival the militia doing duty would be discharged. Therefore they applied for the use of the barracks, and requested that a barrack-master should be appointed and the buildings put in order.

Col. Nicola was discharged from his duty as town-major in February, 1782, there being practically no further occasion for his services.

After the conclusion of the Revolution, as soon as public officers became settled down to peaceable thoughts, it was considered necessary to dispose of much of the property acquired for military purposes during the struggle. On the 1st of April, 1784, the Assembly passed an act authorizing the sale of the barrack lots in the Northern Liberties. The money realized was to be appropriated toward the payment of the sums agreed to be paid to the late proprietaries. The Supreme Executive Council appointed Michael Hillegas and Tench Francis commissioners "to apportion and lay off the ground whereon the barracks are situate into as many lots as may be necessary, with such and so many streets and lanes that the interest of the State and the convenience of the inhabitants may be best promoted, and to make sale thereof." The commissioners opened on the south side of the barrack-ground a new street, to which they gave the name of Tammany Street. As early as 1772 a street had been laid out through the Coats property, north of Green Street, running northward, which was called St. John Street. This highway was continued by the commissioners through the centre of the barrack lot from Green to Tammany Street. Near the Germantown road, Pitt Street was in line of St. John Street. South of Pegg's Run, Ann Street extended on the same line from Vine Street to Cohocksink Creek. The route of St. John Street was confirmed from Pegg's Run to Germantown road in June, 1793. East and west of St. John Street, between Second and Third, small and narrow streets were laid out, to which the commissioners, with delicate taste, gave floral names. Rose Alley was east of Third Street and Lily Alley west of Second Street.

It was the opinion of Messrs. Hillegas and Francis that the best plan to dispose of the property would be to rid it of all the barrack buildings except the centre house for the officers. The materials would bring fair prices. The bricks, in consequence of scarcity, could be sold for nearly as much as new bricks. The lumber might be used, and other material, such as floors, window-sashes, etc. The lots thus being made vacant could be sold at a better price than if incumbered with inconvenient buildings.

The destruction of the barracks was found to be inconvenient in after-years for the want of some place at which the troops might be lodged. In 1788 a contingent being necessary from Pennsylvania, Lieut.-Col. Josiah Harmer was placed in Capt. David Ziegler, upon recruiting service, was embarrassed for want of quarters. In this emergency the Supreme Executive Council applied to the managers of the House of Employment, requesting them "to permit Capt. Ziegler to occupy an apartment in the Bettering House for the reception of such soldiers as he may enlist during his stay in this city." The application was not successful, and an order was issued to Clement Biddle to procure a house for the purposes of Capt. Ziegler on the best terms that he could.

The barracks became, as soon as they were erected, a place in which the inhabitants of the city took much interest. Except the militia and volunteer associations, organized under authority of the Lieutenant-Governors, there had been few regular soldiers seen in Philadelphia from the time of the settlement up to 1755, when the remnants of Halkett's and Dunbar's regiments marched back in retreat, it might be said, after the disaster of Braddock's Field. The Royal American regiment, although composed principally of emigrants from Germany and Switzerland, who had been settled in America some of them perhaps for many years, were commanded by officers thoroughly instructed in the military methods of Continental Europe, governed by obedience to such British methods as were considered necessary to be observed by superior authority. Halkett's and Dunbar's regiments were almost entirely composed of soldiers born in Great Britain. Col. Bouquet must have introduced some peculiarities founded upon his experience in the Dutch and Italian armies. Col. Montgomery's Highlanders were objects of great curiosity. Their peculiar costumes, their pipers and music, even their speech, so difficult to be understood by persons not used to cosmopolitan communications, were strange. Subject to proper precautions incident to military organizations, visitors to the barracks were welcome, at least at particular times, when it was understood that the sentries could be passed and access to the premises occupied by the troops was unrestricted. The parades and reviews were matters of continued interest. There was always something going on at the barracks which was worth looking at. It was a popular place to be visited by young people, and even by elderly and grave citizens.

The commissioners who erected the barracks are not known to have made any formal report as to their plans or description of the buildings. It is known that the barracks were of brick, that they had cellars under them, and occupied a parallelogram bounded on the west by Third Street, probably a little back from that highway, the middle building or officers' quarters being possibly in front of the barracks proper, which were of brick, and faced a ground for parade and exercise.[1]

[1] Among the collection of curiosities in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a powder-horn upon which is engraved a ...sentation of the city, with a sort of a map and other details suffi-

So far as noted, the battalions of British troops quartered at the barracks were infantry or foot soldiers. Yet there was artillery there. The king's birthday, in June, 1772, was celebrated at the barracks by a discharge of twenty-one cannon. After the barrack lots were laid out, the little street running from Second to Front, below Green, and known as Duke Street, was popularly called Artillery Lane. This was in allusion to the storage of cannon near there, either upon the barracks lot or upon the line of Duke Street. The presence of the troops in the Northern Liberties gave to that portion of the county a new nickname. It was called Camping-town and Camp-town for many years. In time this appellation was shifted northward, and was generally known as a name applied to Kensington.

State Arsenals.—There was no place for storage of arms at the time when the trouble commenced with Great Britain, which ended in the Revolution, other than at the barracks and in the sheds on the State-House lot, at Fifth and Sixth Streets, and in the State-House yard. After the battle of Lexington the Assembly, although somewhat under proprietary influence, was compelled to go with the people. The association for defense, entered into by citizens immediately after the beginning of hostilities, was approved by resolutions of the Assembly. June 30th, it was also resolved that if the Committee of Safety should consider it necessary, it would be lawful for the Associators to enter into service to repel "any invasion or landing of British Troops or others ... in this or the adjacent colonies during the present controversy," or if "any armed ships or vessels shall sail up the River Delaware in any Hostile Manner." The pay of the officers and privates was "not to exceed that of the army raised by the Congress of the United Colonies for the defense of the liberties of America." It was recommended to the officers of the city and county of Philadelphia, and to officers in other counties of the province, to provide "a proper number of good new firelocks with bayonets fitted to them; cartridge-boxes, with twenty-three rounds of cartridge in every box, and knapsacks, not less than fifteen hundred of each article for the city and county of Philadelphia," and three thousand for the other counties in the State. It was ordered "that the firelocks to be provided, as aforesaid, be of one bore with steel rammers. Locks well fitted to the same, and that patterns of the said firelocks, rammers and bayonets, be immediately made in the city of Philadelphia, and sent to the different counties." The manufacture of saltpetre within the province was encouraged by a bounty; a provincial saltpetre works was in operation in the city in April, 1776. To defray the expenses, bills of credit to the value of thirty-five thousand pounds were ordered to be issued. The committee got to work without delay. Col. John Cadwalader and Samuel Morris, Jr., were directed to provide patterns of muskets, bayonets, cartridge-boxes and knapsacks, to be sent to the different counties. The muskets were to be three feet eight inches long, with a bore of sufficient size to carry seventeen balls to the pound, and the bayonet sixteen inches long. Messrs. Robert Morris, Robert White, and Thomas Wharton, Jr., were appointed a committee to procure powder and saltpetre, and to buy two thousand stand of firearms. The first mention of the acquisition of military stores was made on the 18th of July, when Thomas Savidge "was ordered to be employed to take care of the cannon and military stores in the daytime, or until he be relieved by the guard placed for that purpose." Resolution of Congress of July 18th recommended that each soldier should be furnished with a good musket that would carry an ounce ball, with a bayonet, steel ramrod, worm priming-wire and brush fitted thereto, a cutting sword or tomahawk, a cartridge-box that will contain twenty-three rounds of cartridges, twelve flints, and a knapsack. The first anxiety about gunpowder arose the next month, when a night-guard was set over the powder in the new jail. The provincial muskets which had been in use previously to the Revolution were taken in charge by the associators at once. Robert Towers was commissary, and appears to have had charge of some portions of the powder, and made return of possession of two thousand two hundred and forty-four and a half pounds, in magazine, the greater part of which was immediately delivered for service. The return in the middle of August showed that powder was stored at the new jail, at the powder-house, and at Germantown, and there were twelve thousand flints and five hundred-weight of lead stored in the State-House. It is probable that for the latter purpose the frame build-

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cient to authorise the inference that it was the work of a British soldier who was in Philadelphia before the Revolution. From the manner of spelling the name Front Street ("Frond Street") it seems probable that this work was done by a foreigner, a German or Swiss soldier belonging either to Bouquet's or Haldiman's battalions. There is a rude but perfectly obvious representation of the barracks exactly where they would be, in reference to other localities on the map or plan. According to this representation the barracks were one-storied buildings with a pitched roof, which possibly may have been available lofts for sleeping purposes, although there are no marks of garret-windows. Doors at intervals appeared to have been placed on the west parallel. Chimneys are also marked. The description by Watson does not agree with this rude sketch. He says that "the houses were all of brick, two stories high, and a portico around the whole hollow-square." The view which Mr. Watson publishes shows a gallery above the first story and on a level with the floor of the second story, stretching around the three sides of the quadraugle. The number of soldiers who could be accommodated is also a matter of doubt. Mr. Watson says that they were tenanted "by three thousand men, all in the same year." ("Annals of Philadelphia," vol. i. page 415.) This is a doubtful phrase, and may mean that altogether, in one year, three thousand individual soldiers had tenated the building. If it meant that three thousand men were at one time quartered there, the statement may be suspected to be an exaggeration. It has already been shown that in March, 1758, Gen. Forbes demanded quarters for seventeen hundred and fifty-two men. Montgomery's battalion of Highlanders in the winter of 1758–59 consisted of thirteen hundred men, and there were four companies of Royal Americans, probably not more than four hundred men, altogether seventeen hundred men. No larger numbers than these are spoken of on the scanty records which remain to show the use of this building.

ings at the corners of Fifth and Sixth Streets and Chestnut were put in use.

A few days afterward saltpetre and round shot were stored at the State-House. There were already provided for the great guns of the armed boats one thirty-two-pounder, four twenty-four-pounders, and three eighteen-pounders. Carriages for the field-pieces were prepared; also pikes for the use of the armed boats. Two tons of gunpowder were sent to Gen. Washington in September, and in the same month considerable quantities of round shot were stored at the State-House. Muskets, bayonets, scabbards were soon added to the collection. In September a supposed spy, who had been "*frequently* observed to take an account of the cannon and carriages in the State-House yard, and had made inquiries respecting the different construction of machines, boats, etc., for the defense of the province," was brought before the Committee of Safety. But he succeeded in proving by papers and otherwise that he was actuated by no bad intention and was governed by curiosity. Racks for keeping the arms in good order were directed to be set up in the State-House in December. A guard over the artillery and military stores at the State-House was ordered to be placed early in the succeeding month, January, 1776. Three months afterward another application was made from the officers of the city battalions asking that there should be "a guard at the powder-house and cannon at the State-House, and another on the fire-rafts and magazines at the lower end of the town." Two field-pieces from the State-House yard were ordered to be sent to Gen. Washington, under charge of Capt. Newman, in November, 1776, when the British were in New Jersey. Joseph Blewer and Joseph Dean were appointed a committee in January, 1777, to collect all the cannon in the city and suburbs that were suitable for service and to mount them on trucks and carriages as soon as possible. In March of the same year it was ordered that a smith-shop should be erected at or near the public works now in the possession of this board, at the corner of Chestnut and Fifth Streets, that a sufficient quantity of iron and coal be purchased for that purpose, and that a master workman be employed to superintend the same. This was probably on the portion of the State-House yard on which the city hall was afterward erected. In October, 1778, Capt. Stiles was ordered to take possession of the old workhouse (at Third and Market Streets) "for the purpose of casting ball, &ca., as soon as the guard now there shall be removed, and that he take possession of and fit up the long room in the State-House for a magazine of small-arms."

On the 8th of April, 1785, the first action was taken toward building an arsenal for the storage of arms free from connection of the powder-magazine. The following entries appear upon the minutes of the Supreme Executive Council:

"Council taking into consideration the propriety of erecting a building for the purpose of covering the cannon and other parts of State ordnance from the injuries of the weather, &ca., &ca., an order was taken that Mr. Commissary Stiles be instructed to erect a frame building not exceeding eighty feet in length and eighteen feet in breadth, upon the lot of public ground bounded by the from Delaware." It appears from a subsequent entry that the lot intended to be appropriated for that use was on Eighth Street between Spruce and Locust Streets. In the succeeding month this intention was reconsidered, and the following conclusion was made: "*Ordered*, That the said arsenal be constructed upon the corner of the public square between Thirteenth Street and Juniper Alley." The site chosen was below Market Street, about half way to Chestnut, and the lot extended through from Thirteenth to Juniper Street, immediately opposite Centre Square. The building was probably completed by end of December, 1785. Up to that time Commissary Stiles had been paid £250 upon account of the construction, and Edward Pole, for ironmongery for the arsenal and the State-House, £34 *5s.* *7d.* specie. In May, 1788, three appropriations, amounting to over £114, were made by the Supreme Executive Council "for repairs done to the cannon-carriages belonging to the artillery battalion of this city." These payments were made to Valentine Hoffman, Christian Beackley, Jervis & Morrell, and George Flake, painter. John Nicholson, gunsmith, and Abraham Morrow were paid for the repair of arms. John & George Rowan, and others, were paid for similar services in 1788. In April of the same year, Capt. Joseph Stiles, superintendent of the powder-magazine, reported that a vessel had arrived with gunpowder, and that the magazine was full. He was given authority to store the same in the guard-house adjoining the magazine. The militia musters were expensive. Col. William Henry, lieutenant of city and liberties, drew from the treasury in the autumn of 1788 over three hundred and twenty-two pounds for the expense of the fall training. Three barrels of gunpowder were set apart to be used in the drill. Fifty pounds of gunpowder, ten yards of flannel, to be made up into cartridges, were directed to be served out to the artillery battalion about the same time, for the purposes of a *feu de joie* on the occasion of the inauguration and proclamation of the President and Vice-President of the State.

The arsenal remained as originally constructed in 1785, and was found to be insufficient for public use after twenty-eight years. The necessities of the war between the United States and Great Britain, which commenced in 1812, led to the adoption of measures for increased accommodations. By act of Assembly, passed 29th of March, 1813, it was ordered "that there shall be a brick arsenal erected on the lot on which there is now a frame arsenal, which shall be

large enough to hold twenty-eight pieces of artillery and apparatus, one thousand muskets, one thousand tents, six thousand knapsacks, and one thousand camp-kettles." The first story was directed to be arched, and the roof covered with slate or tiles. The cost of the building was not to exceed fifteen thousand dollars, and it was ordered that it should be completed in December of the same year.

The arsenal buildings stood in an inclosure on the north side of the lot. They were of brick, three stories high. At the first story there were arched piers, fitted with wooden doors. The cannon were housed there. The upper portion of the building was fitted up with racks and other fixtures necessary for the securing and accommodation of the muskets, pistols, swords, and accoutrements. The arsenal yard was south and east of the building, and extended to the line of Juniper Street. A brick wall, with gate on Thirteenth Street, a similar gate being on Juniper Street, were the means of entrance for troops if necessary, and for the convenient taking out or in of the artillery and munitions of war.

In 1839 an act of Assembly was passed authorizing the Governor to negotiate with the President of the United States for the purchase of the United States Arsenal on the Schuylkill, situate on Gray's Ferry road. If the purchase could be effected, the Governor was authorized to sell at public auction the State Arsenal on Thirteenth Street. This negotiation was not concluded. Some years afterward the State purchased ground on the south side of Filbert Street, extending from Schuylkill Seventh [Sixteenth] to Schuylkill Eighth [Fifteenth]. A very large building was erected, occupying the whole length of the square. It was not in use very long. After the breaking out of the Rebellion, the Legislature passed a law transferring the State Arsenal to Harrisburg. The building on Filbert Street was eventually sold, and when the Pennsylvania elevated road was built the walls were utilized for purposes of a depot.

In 1853 the officers of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company determined that the piece of ground at Thirteenth and Market Streets would be convenient for the purpose of a freight depot. The State was willing to sell that portion of the lot which was in use by the arsenal. An act of Assembly was passed April 19th, authorizing the Governor to sell the arsenal property, on Juniper Street and Thirteenth, for a price not less than thirty thousand dollars, and with the proceeds erect an arsenal elsewhere.[1] At this juncture the City Councils, in order to retain the establishment in the city, undertook to grant to the commonwealth the use of a lot of ground, on the south side of Filbert Street extending from Sixteenth Street eastward toward Fifteenth Street, a distance of one hundred and eighty-seven feet, and in depth one hundred and six feet to Jones Street. The premises were taken up on ground-rent, and the city guaranteed to pay the rent as often as it should fall due. These arrangements were perfected by authority of the act of May 6, 1857. A large building was erected of which it may be substantially said that, after it was finished, it was never occupied for the purposes of the construction. While it was being built the military stores had been removed to Harrisburg, and they were not brought back. A few military companies had their armories in it after it was finished, but there were no conveniences for exercise and drilling. As a "soldiers' home" the building was put to some practical use for a time; eventually it was sold and made a portion of the Sunbury and Erie Railroad Depot, on Market Street, and when the Pennsylvania Elevated Railroad was built, the upper portion was readily altered in the upper stories for the purpose of a roofed starting-place for trains.

Schuylkill Arsenal, Gray's Ferry Road.—About the time the Secretary of the Navy of the United States purchased the grounds in Southwark for the site of the new navy-yard, the Secretary of State in the same manner, without any authority from Congress, purchased a piece of ground on the west side of the road to Gray's Ferry, about opposite to the place where Carpenter, Washington, and Ellsworth Streets now come through. It was alleged by opponents of his action that this proceeding was without authority. But there were some acts of Congress under which his course was justified. By act of April 2, 1794, it was directed that "for the safe-keeping of the military stores there shall be established, under the direction of the President of the United States, three or four arsenals with magazines, as he shall judge most expedient, *in such places* as will best accommodate the different parts of the United States. Either or both of the arsenals heretofore used at Springfield and Carlisle to be continued as part of the said number at his discretion." Four hundred and twenty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five dollars were appropriated to carry out the design of this act. The greater portion was to go for the purchase of arms, ammunition, and military stores; only fifty-nine thousand dollars were appropriated for erecting and repairing the arsenals and magazines. Possibly the act was only temporary, as it was directed that the sums appropriated should "be paid out of the duties on imports and tonnage to the end of the present year." This act was passed at the time when the Algerine piracies were agitating the people, when it had been determined to establish a national navy, and to fortify harbors and works exposed to danger of attack from sea; it was also immediately before the breaking out of the Whiskey Insurrection, which was a menacing trouble for some time before it was necessary to proceed against the insurgents. By an act

[1] The property, with that of the Central High School, and other premises adjoining, was purchased by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for a freight depot. That company was given authority to make track connections with the railroads on Broad and Market Streets, by act of Feb. 16, 1854.

passed May 4, 1798,—war with France then seeming to be a possibility,—Congress appropriated eight hundred thousand dollars to the President of the United States "to purchase as soon as may be a sufficient number of cannon, also a supply of small-arms and of ammunition, and of military stores, to be deposited and used as will be most conducive to the public safety and defense, at the discretion of the President of the United States." Under this act one hundred thousand dollars additional were appropriated for the hire, purchase, and employ of premises to be used as foundries and armories, and to that end the President was also authorized to purchase or to lease one or more suitable place or places where cannon and small-arms might be advantageously cast and manufactured. He was also given authority to "establish foundries and armories." By an act passed in 1800, regulating public arsenals and magazines, it was made an offense punishable with fine or imprisonment to entice any artificer or workman to leave his employment in an arsenal or armory of the United States.

Work upon the buildings on Gray's Ferry road was commenced about the same time that work on the navy-yard began. In 1802 it was reported to Congress that the cost of the buildings at "the laboratory," or barracks, as the buildings were called, was up to that time (they being unfinished) $152,608.02; they were finished in 1806. There were four large store-houses of brick set at some distance apart, three stories high, and forming a hollow square. There were also on the premises several other buildings, including a brick house for the residence of the commanding officer, a powder-magazine, and other constructions. If arms were stored in these buildings they were placed there shortly after its construction, and there was a cessation of such employment in the establishment as soon as the United States Arsenal was established at Frankford. The Gray's Ferry road buildings were in use as a depot for storage as early as 1806. For more than seventy years the establishment has been used as a place of manufacture for supplies for the army, in which everything connected with the comfort of the soldier, his uniform, clothing, bedding, blankets, tentage were prepared and stored. Coats, shirts, pantaloons, stockings, overcoats, shoes, gloves, mittens, caps, helmets, plumes, and ornaments have been prepared there in immense quantities. For many years the Schuylkill Arsenal was a great workshop, at which the cloth and other material for clothing, etc., were cut and made up on the premises or delivered to tailors and tailoresses outside, who made them up and delivered them. Frequently from seven hundred to twelve hundred women were employed at this work, and from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men. During the Rebellion the disbursements at this depot were from twenty to thirty-five millions of dollars a year. The amount of property on storage is frequently very large and valuable. The area of the ground is eight acres.

Frankford or Bridesburg Arsenal.—In 1816, during the term of James Madison, President of the United States, a purchase was made from Frederick Fraley and wife of twenty acres and thirty-four rods of land on Frankford Creek for $7680.75. In 1837, Martin Van Buren being President, three acres and six perches additional were bought from Robert Kennedy for three thousand dollars. During the Presidency of Zachary Taylor, Dec. 4, 1849, thirty-two acres and over were purchased from Dr. William S. Haines and wife for a consideration of twenty thousand dollars, thus increasing the size of the entire property to sixty-two acres and eighty-two square rods. The situation of the ground is at the confluence of Frankford Creek and the Delaware River, in the Twenty-third Ward, extending along the northern boundary of the creek to Bridge Street, the main thoroughfare from Frankford to Bridesburg. The northern boundary is the Tacony road and the eastern the Delaware River.

The buildings are computed to be thirty-six feet above the level of the Atlantic Ocean, latitude 40° north and 77.08° longitude west from Greenwich, five miles distant from the State-House in the city, nineteen miles from Fort Mifflin, and eighty-seven miles from Fort Delaware.

The buildings are two brick houses three stories in height, with capacity for four offices; a two-story brick barracks with capacity for one hundred men, two buildings with quarters for twelve enlisted men and their families, eight large store-houses of stone and brick, a magazine with capacity to hold one thousand barrels of powder; a hospital, dispensary, twelve frame laboratories for manufacture, office, guard-house, and other buildings. The grounds are kept in beautiful order, cultivated with grass, trees, and shrubbery, so that the buildings and surroundings are very attractive. Originally the arsenal, beside being a place of storage, was principally used as a depot for the repair of artillery, cavalry, and infantry equipments, the repair and cleaning of small-arms and harness, the manufacture of percussion powder, friction primers and brushes, musket-balls, and for the proving and inspecting of gunpowder. In 1851 was introduced the manufacture of small-arms and fixed ammunition, with the cleansing, repairing, and packing small-arms, and the manufacture of cavalry, infantry, and artillery equipments. Instruments of precision, inspection, and verification, standard gauges, scales, weights, calipers, measures of proportion, etc., for use in government shops throughout the country are also made here. Cartridges are prepared from the plain copper to the priming, loading, and making ready for discharge, and packing away until called for. The conveniences for the purpose of testing the explosive force of powders and the velocity of balls, the strength and character of small-arms, are very complete. The principal buildings are rough-cast, and present a striking appearance from the road. The officers

in charge are, of necessity, thorough in scientific knowledge and experience. The cost of the grounds and improvements of a permanent character up to the 30th of June, 1834, was $1,197,037.42, and for repairs, $208,471.27. The value of the property manufactured since the works were in operation is immense. The commandants of this arsenal have been as follows:

—— 1816, to Feb. 6, 1821, Capt. James H. Rees.
Feb. 6, 1821, to Sept. 30, 1824, Lieut. Martin Thomas.
Sept. 30, 1824, to Feb. 28, 1827, Lieut. Thomas J. Baird.
Feb. 28, 1827, to April 8, 1828, Lieut. Constant M. Eakin.
April 8, 1828, to Dec. 21, 1830, Lieut. O. Mellon.
Dec. 31, 1830, to Sept. 30, 1832, Brevet Lieut.-Col. J. B. Walbach.
Sept. 30, 1832, to Jan. 19, 1835, Brevet Lieut.-Col. William J. Worth.
Jan. 19, 1835, to Sept. 30, 1838, Capt. Alfred Mordecai.
Oct. 5, 1838, to Aug. 25, 1845, Capt. George D. Ramsey.
Aug. 25, 1845, to Oct. 6, 1845, Maj. H. K. Craig.
Oct. 6, 1845, to March 18, 1848, Lieut. A. N. Dearborn.
March 18, 1848, to Oct. 10, 1848, Lieut. L. A. B. Wabach.
Oct. 10, 1848, to Sept. 10, 1851, Brevet Maj. G. B. Ramsey.
Sept. 10, 1851, to July, 1860, Brevet Maj. Peter V. Hagner.
July, 1860, to April, 1861, Capt. J. Gorgas.
April, 1861, to April, 1862, Lieut. T. J. Treadwell.
April, 1862, to August, 1864, Maj. T. T. S. Laidley.
August, 1864, to Oct. 11, 1869, Brevet Lieut.-Col. S. V. Benet.
October, 1869, to 1879. Brevet Lieut.-Col. T. J. Treadwell.
—— 1879, to —— 1880, Maj. James M. Whittemore.
—— 1880, to ——, Maj. S. C. Lyford.

State Armories.—Armories for volunteer organizations after the Revolution were necessary for meetings and for drill. But where they were established has not been generally recorded. In the history of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry it is said, "before the spring of the year 1779 the records of the Troop fail to show where its meetings either for business or pleasure were held." For civil business or social purposes meetings were held at the City Tavern, Second Street, north of Walnut, kept by Edward Moyston between 1779 and 1787. Occasionally, at intervals, they were held at Ogden's Middle Ferry, a good distance for a clever two-mile trot from town. In 1794 at Louth Hall, Richardet's, in Tenth Street above Arch, was a place of meeting. Once the Troop met at the Castle of the State in Schuylkill, on the west side of the river, somewhat north of the present Girard Avenue. For drilling the Troop met at the *manège* of Thomas Swann in 1798. It was on the north side of George [Sansom] Street, between Eighth and Ninth. Swann taught horsemanship and the use of the broadsword. The company engaged his services in that instruction, and their drills took place three times a week at the early hours of from five to seven in the morning at the "parade," in Chestnut Street, and on the days when the weather would not permit of exercise at that place, they were gone through with at Swann's *manège*. The site of the parade is not known. It was not, probably, far west of Ninth Street. Between the years 1808 and 1810 foot drills were held in the long room at Barnum's Hotel, Shakespeare Buildings, northwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, and the mounted drills at Swann's *manège*, which had moved in the meanwhile from George [Sansom] Street. In 1828 the Troop rented a room for an armory or hall in the north end of the Shakespeare Building, at the southwest corner of Sixth and Carpenter [now called Jayne] Streets. The room was given up in a year and the furniture sold. In 1852 the Troop held its mounted drills at the riding-school of John Ellis, in Westmoreland [now Lardner] Street, west of Broad Street. In the succeeding year the armory was again established in the front room, third story, of the Union building, northeast corner of Eighth and Chestnut Streets. After remaining there for six years the company rented a room in the third story of the building on the west side of Twelfth Street, south of Chestnut. While occupying that armory under rent a movement was made toward securing a special building for the use of the company not only for meetings, but for mounted exercise. A committee to which the matter was referred reported a plan in 1863 for the purchase of ground and the erection of a building. Certificates of loan bearing an interest of four per cent. were authorized to be issued, and a deed of trust was executed in the names of Thomas Smith, Harrison T. De Silver, and Dr. Paul B. Goddard. The loan was taken up almost entirely by members of the Troop. The lot cost five thousand dollars and the building about fourteen thousand dollars. The Troop bought a lot of ground on the west side of Twenty-first Street, south of Market, at the corner of Ash Street. The corner-stone was laid on the 12th of August, 1863. The armory was occupied in January, and formally opened Feb. 22, 1864. The lot ran westward toward Twenty-second Street. The new armory took up about three-fourths of the inclosure. There was an iron fence on Twenty-first Street inclosing an open space of ground with a flag-pole in the centre. The front of the building stood back from the street. It was of brick, two stories high, and quite plain. In this part of the structure was the meeting-room of the company. In the rear, extending for a considerable distance, was the riding-hall, one story in height, roofed in, and having a turf floor and every convenience for exercising horses.

In the fall of the same year, under the influence of Mr. De Silver, the largest holder of the armory loan, holders were induced to present their certificates of loan to the Troop as a free gift. A few certificates, which had been transferred to other parties, were purchased by the Troop, so that before the end of the year the company was out of debt, with the exception of the mortgage on the ground. John W. Grigg, who died in 1869, bequeathed to the Troop ten thousand dollars, and from that arose a proposition to increase the size of the armory, which was found too small for the use of the company. The expense was estimated to be eighteen thousand dollars. Before it was raised, Mr. H. T. De Silver died, Sept. 10, 1870, leaving a bequest of ten thousand dollars to the company, not immediately available, being sub-

ject to a life interest. The subscriptions were not sufficient, and the project lingered for four years, at which time a new committee was appointed, which was more successful in raising the money. Designs were made for the new building by Furness & Hewitt, architects. The Troop rented the Skating Rink building, at Twenty-third and Chestnut Streets, in May, 1874. The corner-stone was laid for the new building on the 4th of July. The armory was finished on the 15th of November, formally opened by a reception to guests on the succeeding evening, and dedicated, in "commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Troop," on the 17th of November, 1874. The building in front presents the appearance of a fortress in the style of the Middle Ages, having a square tower, battlements, with loop-hole windows, and a broad gateway, with portcullis and other peculiarities. It is built of Leiperville stone and brick. The building covers the entire area of the lot of ground, sixty-six feet in width and one hundred and eighty-eight feet in depth. The riding-hall is on the ground, measures one hundred and sixty-six feet in length, and is eighteen feet high to the spring of the roof-beams. It is lighted by a skylight along the peak of the roof and by windows on three sides. At night it is lighted by gas. There is a large target at the western wall, a rifle-range near the southern wall. The front building is used for the accommodation of the company at meetings, storage of ammunition, accoutrements, uniforms, and other purposes. The main meeting-hall, on Twenty-first Street, in the second story, is fifty feet in width by thirty-two in depth, a portion of the latter being gained by an overhang above the riding-floor, supported by a Howe truss.[1]

It was stated when the dome of Lailson's circus, on Fifth Street near Prune, fell in, July 8, 1798, that a company of cavalry had been exercising in the ring a short time previously. It was during the period that

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[1] First City Troop is the modern name of a company organized in anticipation of hostilities breaking out between America and Great Britain by twenty-eight gentlemen of Philadelphia, on the 17th of November, 1774. They adopted the title of the Light Horse of the City of Philadelphia. The original members were Abraham Markoe, Andrew Allen, Samuel Morris, James Mease, Thomas Leiper, William Hall, Samuel Penrose, Samuel Howell, James Hunter, James Budden, John Dunlap, John Mease, Robert Hare, William Pollard, Henry Hill, John Boyle, William Tod, John Mitchell, George Campbell, Samuel Caldwell, Levi Hollingsworth, Blair McClenachan, George Graff, Benjamin Randolph, Thomas Peters, George Fullerton, Andrew Caldwell, William West, Jr.

These persons, equipped at their own expense, chose their own officers, and volunteered their services to the Continental Congress. The officers were as follows: Abraham Markoe, captain; Andrew Allen, first lieutenant; Samuel Morris, second lieutenant and adjutant; James Mease, cornet; Thomas Mease, first sergeant; William Hall, second sergeant; Samuel Penrose, third sergeant and quartermaster; Samuel Howell, first corporal; James Hunter, second corporal.

The uniform adopted at the organization was a dark-brown short coat, faced and lined with white; white vest and breeches; high-top boots; round black hat bound with silver cord; a buck's tail, fastened in front or at the side of the hat; housings brown, edged with white and the letters "L. H." worked on them. The arms were a carbine, with white belt, a pair of pistols and holster, with flounces of brown cloth trimmed with white; a horseman's sword, with white belt.

Capt. John Markoe presented to the company, in the early part of 1775, a handsome silk standard, which embodied the earliest use of the thirteen stripes to symbolize the American colonies or States. The flag was forty inches long and thirty-four inches [illegible] was twelve and a half inches long and nine and a half inches wide. The field of the flag was yellow, the achievement in the centre of the flag is azure, a round knot of three interlacings, with thirteen divergent, wavy, bellied, double-foliated ends, or the scrolled edging of the shield was gold, with outer and inner rims of silver. The crest, without a wreath, was a horse's head bay, with a white star in the forehead, bitted and bridled. One supporter was an American Indian, with bow and quiver, grasping a gold rod upholding a blue liberty-cap. The other supporter was an angel, or a figure of Fame blowing a trumpet. The motto beneath the shield, on a floating silver scroll, upon the upcurled ends of which stood the supporters, was "For these we strive." The monogram "L. H." was above the shield. A running vine bordered the flag on all sides except that nearest the staff. The outside fringe was of silver bullion twist. The canton of the flag is "barry" of thirteen *azure* and *argent* (blue and silver). There are seven azure and six argent stripes. The staff was of rich dark wood in three ferruled divisions, screwing together with an upper ferrule and spear-head of solid silver. The knot of thirteen ends, the canton of thirteen stripes, are of most interesting historical significance, because they present the first idea of thirteen stripes for a national flag. This flag was paid for in two separate bills, one on the 8th, and the other on the 16th, of September, 1775. It was probably finished some time before that period. In 1797, Mrs. Elizabeth Powel presented to the Troop a standard of bright blue satin. The device, the same on both sides, was an eagle with outspead wings, painted in gold shaded with purple and red, and holding in its mouth a ribbon, on which is inscribed the words "*ad astra.*" A shield on the breast of this eagle has painted upon it the arms of Pennsylvania.

A detachment of the Troop was sent, in October, 1775, under command of Quartermaster Levi Hollingsworth, to Fort Ticonderoga with "a quantity of money for Gen. Schuyler." About the same time Private Samuel Caldwell, with a detachment, escorted a wagon with five hundred thousand dollars' worth of money for the use of the army in Massachusetts Bay. A detachment of the company served under Brig.-Gen. Hugh Mercer in New Jersey in August, 1776. The Troop was in service during the operations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which resulted in the battles of Trenton and Princeton in 1776 and 1777. They were discharged by Washington Jan. 23, 1777. The corps was in service again in September, 1779, and marched as far as Princeton. The members were under orders in June, 1780, and were employed frequently in escort duty and other service during the Revolutionary war.

In the campaign of 1794 against the insurgents of the western counties of Pennsylvania, who had opposed the excise laws of the United States (commonly called the whiskey war), the Troop was in service three months, and marched as far as Pittsburgh. In 1799 the Troop marched upon the Northampton expedition (the hot water war), and was on duty seventeen days.

In 1810 there were six troops of horse in the city, and they formed a regiment of cavalry, of which Robert Wharton, who had been captain of the Troop, was elected colonel.

In 1814, during the war with Great Britain, the Troop was upon vidette duty in Delaware and Maryland. They stretched over from Mount Bull at Turkey Point, on Chesapeake Bay, thirteen miles below Elkton, over to the Delaware. It was their duty to transmit any important intelligence, upon which, the alarm being sent to Fort Mifflin and the arsenal, six signal guns were ordered to be fired in quick succession, and the drums of the city were to be beat to arms. Upon this the orders by Brig.-Gen. Joseph Bloomfield, commanding the Fourth District, were that the militia should parade completely equipped for the field "right upon Chestnut extending southwardly on Broad Street." The company was in service from the 28th of August to the 12th of December, 1814. There were sixty-seven officers and members engaged in that duty.

At the breaking out of the Southern Rebellion the Troop tendered its services to the government on the 15th April, 1861. Over four thousand dollars was subscribed for the purchase of horses and uniforms for new members, minor officers, and the company's servants, and also to form a company fund. The troopers were mustered into the service of the United States for ninety days on the 13th of May. The ordinary company uniform was very handsome, but was now laid aside. The dark-blue and orange of the United States dragoons, regular cavalry service,

war existed between the United States and France. There were a large number of volunteer military organizations at the time. The cavalry found no difficulty in the pleasant seasons of the year in obtaining lots and fields not far from the city for purposes of drill exercise, and might occasionally, as was done by the First City Troop, occupy a riding-school. It would be interesting to know what armory accommodations there were for the large regimental and battalion organizations which existed after the Revolution. McPherson's Blues was composed of artillery, grenadiers, and light infantry, probably fifteen hundred men. Shee's Legion included a large number of independent companies. During the war of 1812, and afterward, there were seven companies of Washington Guards, two companies of Union Guards, and many independent single companies. These organizations had headquarters somewhere. The companies had places of meeting and drill, probably in the public rooms of taverns. In spring, summer, and autumn the broad walks in the State-House yard were much used, especially in the evenings, for marching and other exercises of volunteers.

Public-houses were the usual places for company armories, and as most of those organizations were scarcely ever in membership up to regulation, closets for accoutrements and racks for muskets would not take up much space.

One of the earliest volunteer companies to establish an armory of its own separate from the accommodations of a public-house, was the National Grays, Capt. Peter Fritz. The second story of the building at the southeast corner of Dock Street and Bank Alley [Gold Street] was secured for that purpose, and fitted up neatly with racks for arms and other military necessities. There was not much room for company drill, but for the preparation of ordinary parades the space was sufficient. About 1860 the company removed its armory to the southwest corner of Walnut and Ninth Streets. For the three months' service, in 1861, the Grays sent two companies, which were attached to the Seventeenth Regiment, Col. F. E. Patterson, viz., Company B, Capt. Peter Fritz; Company H, Capt. John Maxwell.

About 1830, and afterward, the Washington Blues, Capt. William C. Patterson, and State Fencibles, Capt. James Page, occupied the third story of the building in Library Street, between Fourth and Fifth, formerly occupied by Labbe's saloon and dancing-school, and then used as a tavern, and called, by reason of its tenancy by volunteer organizations, "Military Hall." The Second State Fencibles, Capt. Murray, the Union Fencibles, Capt. Robert M. Lee, and other companies occupied that building. Just before the outbreak of the Rebellion, the Washington Blues, then commanded by Capt. John M. Gosline, had their armory in the third story of the building at the northwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, and there was recruited the regiment known as Gosline's Zouaves, Pennsylvania Volunteers.

After the first company of State Fencibles removed from Military Hall it established its armory in the Union Building, northeast corner of Eighth and Chestnut Streets. Subsequently the company removed to an upper story of the large iron-front building belonging to William M. Swain, of the *Public Ledger*, on the north side of Chestnut Street, west of Fifth, and immediately opposite the State-House. The Fencibles were drilling and exercising in that room at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and a contingent consisting of two companies were enlisted there for the three months' service.[1]

The Light Artillery Corps Washington Grays, under the command of Capt. Thomas P. McAdam and others, established their armory at the Union Building, corner of Eighth and Chestnut Streets, about 1837–38. They occupied the northern room in the fourth story, which was long and convenient for drill and exercise. The Philadelphia Grays, Capt. George Cadwalader, had

was worn. The Troop marched from the place of rendezvous on a lot back of the Academy of Music, on the 30th of May, took cars by Pennsylvania Railroad, and proceeded to Carlisle, where it was attached to the Second United States Cavalry, commanded by Col. (afterward Maj.-Gen.) George H. Thomas. In subsequent movements the Troop was attached to the division operating in Northern Virginia, under Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson. It remained in service until August 14th, and was then sent home.

The following is the roll of captains of the Light-Horse, which, after the Revolution, was known as the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry: 1774–76, Abraham Markoe; 1776–86, Samuel Morris; 1786–91, Samuel Miles; 1792–94, Christian Febiger; 1794–1803, John Dunlap; 1803–11, Robert Wharton; 1811–17, Charles Ross; 1817–25, John R. C. Smith; 1825–27, Lynford Lardner; 1827–42, William H. Hart; 1842–47, John Butler; 1850–63, Thomas C. James; 1866–69, Fairman Rogers; 1869–77, M. Edward Rogers; 1877–78, A. Loudon Snowden; 1878, Edward Burd Grubb.

[1] The company of State Fencibles was organized in 1813 by Capt. Clement C. Biddle, and marched on the 26th of August, 1814, under orders to the State of Delaware. After this company and others had arrived at Camp Bloomfield, at Kennett Square, Pa., the first regiment of volunteer infantry was organized at camp. Capt. Biddle of the Fencibles was elected colonel, and resigned his company command. At this time the following were the officers: Hartman Kuhn, captain; Henry J. Williams, first lieutenant; Isaac W. Norris, second lieutenant; Peter A. Canonge, third lieutenant; John M. Call, ensign; William Ker, William L. Sontag, Joseph B. McKean, William Young, William Phillips, sergeants; Thomas C. Rockhill, Edward D. Coxe, P. F. Fontanges, Thomas Willing, Jr., Joseph T. Clement, and John C. Patton, corporals.

Besides these sixteen officers there were one hundred and twelve privates and one musician. The company served as part of the advance Light Brigade, under Brig.-Gen. Thomas Cadwalader, from the latter part of August until December, and some of the soldiers until January, 1815. Capt. Kuhn was succeeded in command by James Page, who was a private at Camp Bloomfield. He was at the head of the company for many years. The organization was spirited and popular. It was effective on many occasions when the presence and support of military force was necessary for the preservation of the public peace. Capt. Page resigned in 1860. In 1861 the company took its part in the three months' service, upon the requisition of the general government; first company under the command of Capt. John Miller; second company, Capt. Theodore Hesser. They were attached to the Eighteenth Infantry Regiment, commanded by Col. Francis E. Patterson. After the conclusion of the war, John W. Ryan was elected captain, and the Fencibles grew so strong that a battalion was organized, of which Maj. John W. Ryan was for some years commander.

the adjoining room on the same floor to the south. These companies in uniform accoutrements were so nearly alike that the easiest method to distinguish them was by the device on the diamond-shaped plate in front of their caps, or by the fact that one company had a brass guard-chain on the back of the cap while the other had no such ornament. The Washington Grays removed after some years to the Franklin Building in Sixth Street below Arch. They occupied that room, which was spacious, and extended over the whole building, for some years. At the outbreak of the Rebellion two companies were raised there for the three months' service. Subsequently the Grays removed their armory to the upper story of a building in Lardner [now Westmoreland] Street, between Broad and Fifteenth, adjoining Horticultural Hall. The company occupied that apartment for drill and exercise at a time when practically, by virtue of an order under authority of the commander-in-chief of the National Guard, its distinctive organization—historic in character, dating from 1824, of which its members had cause to be proud—was broken up, and the Washington Grays became only an ordinary company in a regiment, and distinguished by a letter.[1]

After the Philadelphia Grays left Eighth and Chestnut Streets, they fitted up an armory over a forwarding warehouse and depot in Market Street above Eighth, but were not long at that place. The resignation of Capt. George Cadwalader resulted practically in the breaking up of the company, not immediately, but as a necessary consequence. He had spent individually a great deal of money to keep up the spirit of the organization, and to make it prominent among local corps. The flying artillery drills, for which the Philadelphia Grays were celebrated about 1842–43, were costly in the expense of horses, drivers, ammunition, etc. Those exercises usually took place on the west side of the Schuylkill, back of Harding's Tavern, at the Upper Ferry, and beyond the narrow confines of Mantua village, which was then near the Schuylkill. The artillery had command of a large field of from twenty-five to thirty acres, where there was plenty of room for horses and men. The drills were usually witnessed by thousands of spectators.

The infantry corps, National Guards (now Second Regiment), was originally organized as a company on the 11th of December, 1840, by a number of citizens of what was then the district of Spring Garden. On the 7th of January of the following year (1840), Thomas Tustin was elected captain. The company made its first parade on the 22d of February, 1841, and mustered forty-eight muskets. In 1845, Capt. Tustin was succeeded in command by Stephen B. Kingston, and he in turn gave place, two years later (1847), to Peter Lyle, who was orderly sergeant of the original company, to whose efficient administration the corps owes its deservedly high reputation as a military organization. Capt. Lyle tendered the services of the company for the Mexican war, but, owing to the supply of troops being greater than the demand, the government declined the offer.

After a score of years' prosperity, the corps, on the twentieth anniversary of its organization (Dec. 11, 1860), was formed into the Second Regiment of eight companies, with Peter Lyle as its colonel. On the 16th of April, 1861, the regiment, increased to ten companies, entered the three months' service as the Nineteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, with Peter Lyle, colonel; D. W. C. Baxter, lieutenant-colonel; and Jeremiah W. Fritz, major, and remained in service twenty-two days over its term of enlistment. The captains were,—A, John T. Durang; B, A. J. Sellers; C, Harmanus Neff; D, Joseph Ellis; E, James M. Leddy; F, William A. Gray; G, William H. MacFerran; H, William A. Thorp; I, Charles F. Maguire; K, George Magee, Jr. On the 3d of September, 1861, the regiment was again mustered into service for three years, as the Ninetieth Pennsylvania Volunteers, with Col. Lyle still at its head. During the period of its enlistment the regiment participated in the following battles: Cedar Mountain, Rappahannock Station, Sulphur Springs, Thoroughfare Gap, Bull Run, Chantilly, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Fitzhugh House, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Mine Run, Wilderness, Todd's Tavern, Spottsylvania, Laurel Hill, Guinea Station, Tolopotomy, North Anna, South Anna, Bethesda Church, Cold Harbor, White Oak Swamp, Petersburg, Jerusalem Plank Road, Weldon Railroad, Poplar Springs, Ream's Station, and Hatcher's Run. On its return home its muster-out roll showed

[1] The Light Infantry Corps Washington Grays was established April 19, 1822. The first commander was Capt. John Swift. He was succeeded by Cephas G. Childs. Among subsequent commanders were Joseph Worrell, Cephas G. Childs a second time, Thomas McAdam, Peter C. Ellmaker. On the 12th of June, 1827, the name of the corps was changed from Light Infantry to Light Artillery Corps Washington Grays. In 1843 the company was attached to the First Regiment of artillery. Although occasionally exercising with light artillery, the most of the services of the company was as infantry.

In 1861, Thomas P. Parry was commander, and in service during the three months' campaign in Virginia on the first requisition for troops in 1861, and attached to Col. F. E. Patterson's Seventeenth Pennsylvania Regiment. A second company was commanded by Capt. Alexander Murphy.

This company, by its fine military appearance, particularly attracted the attention of Gen. Lafayette on his visit to Philadelphia in 1824, and elicited some complimentary remarks. The corps elected Lafayette an honorary member at his request, and escorted him out of the city when he proceeded on the tour through the United States. Among the military services of the company were those given during the "Buckshot War" at Harrisburg in 1838, assistance in suppressing the riots in Southwark and Kensington in 1844, and at other times. The company tendered its services during the Mexican war, but the government did not accept. Several of its members and officers served with distinction in that contest. The company served in the field during the rebel raids in Pennsylvania in 1862 and in 1863. The Grays being an exceedingly well-drilled and disciplined body of soldiers in time of peace, proved to be when the Rebellion broke out a school for officers. The corps furnished to the United States army during the war seven generals and one hundred and seventy-nine field and line officers, seventeen of whom were killed in battle. On the 19th of April, 1872, the Grays dedicated a monument to the memory of their comrades killed during the Rebellion at Girard Avenue and Broad Street.

twenty-one men of the original enlistment as the remnant of nearly nineteen hundred recruited or drafted and forwarded to the regiment.

From the Second Regiment sprang other organizations that did excellent service during the war. The Philadelphia Fire Zouaves, known as the Seventy-second Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. D. W. C. Baxter, was principally recruited and officered from the members of the old National Guards. They also organized, with the aid of the Union League, a battalion, in 1862, under Maj. Jeremiah W. Fritz; Fifty-second Regiment, Pennsylvania Militia, under Col. W. A. Gray; One Hundred and Ninety-sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, under Col. Harmanus Neff; and Two Hundred and Thirteenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, under Col. J. A. Gorgas, all of which organizations rendered efficient services during the war. It has been computed that over one thousand officers have graduated from the ranks of the Old Guards, where they received their first instruction in the school of the soldier.

The company of National Guards was organized principally among persons engaged in the transportation service of the State on the Columbia Railroad. Their headquarters were originally in the neighborhood of Vine and Broad Streets. The company at a subsequent period had its armory in an upper story of the large iron-front building on Chestnut Street above Fifth, which belonged to William M. Swain. About the beginning of the year 1856, the company being flourishing, the members resolved to take measures to build and furnish an armory for their own use. The first step was to obtain a charter of incorporation. This was granted by act of April 9, 1856, by which Peter Lyle, George Magee, D. W. C. Baxter, Robert B. Quayle, Jeremiah W. Fritz, F. E. Wilcox, Alfred J. Sellers, John T. Durang, William B. Carlisle, John S. Davis, William P. Davis, David P. Weaver, William Lindsay, and their associates, then members of the company, and all other persons who should thereafter become members, were incorporated as the "Infantry Corps of National Guards of the City of Philadelphia." Among other powers they were authorized to acquire "a suitable lot of ground with building thereon for the purposes of an armory and other proper and needful ones connected with the affairs thereof, with the necessary and convenient furniture, fixtures, and appliances." Under this authority the company, in the year 1857, purchased a lot of ground on the south side of Race Street, between Fifth and Sixth, being sixty feet front and one hundred and thirty feet deep. A large, high three-story brick building was erected, occupying the entire lot, and quite imposing in appearance. On the first floor the passageway is in the middle. On each side are rooms for officers' regimental headquarters, reading- and writing-rooms, drilling, dressing, meeting, and store-rooms. On the second floor is a large hall with a high ceiling, occupying nearly the whole space from Race Street to Cresson's Alley. It has been used for a drill-room and other regimental purposes, inspections, and occasionally as a public hall for lectures, fairs, concerts, and meetings. The third story is a large drill- and equipment-room for company accommodations. This building, popularly known as the National Guards' Hall, cost with the ground a large amount of money. It was not only the muster-place of the regiment for the three months' service during the war, but also for a three years' regimental organization, and during a portion of the war was occupied as a United States army hospital. After the reorganization of the militia of Philadelphia County, after the conclusion of the war, the National Guards resumed its old number, the Second Regiment of Infantry.

At the outbreak of the war of the Rebellion there was great excitement in the city. On the 19th of April City Councils passed resolutions "extending the hospitalities of the city of Philadelphia to Maj. Robert Anderson, his officers and soldiers;" also "resolutions of sympathy with the citizens of Baltimore and Governor of Maryland;" also "an ordinance to provide for the families of the volunteers in the service of the United States;" also an ordinance for the protection and defense of the city; also a resolution appropriating the city halls for military purposes; also a resolution recommending citizens to form companies for the purpose of drilling. The ordinance for the defense and protection of the city was prefaced by a preamble, which declared "at this unparalleled crisis in our national affairs, it is eminently proper that the city of Philadelphia should be placed in a condition of defense against any attack that might be made. And as arms and other munitions of war may be required here for the proper equipment of the Home Guard that are at our own disposal and can be used, should the occasion arise, for our own defense. Serving also as a means of drill to such companies as might wish to practice, and thus be well prepared at any moment to respond to their country's call as efficient artillerists." Fifty thousand dollars were appropriated for the purchase of arms or other munitions of war for the use of a Home Guard, or any other company that may hereafter be formed for the defense of the city. One week afterward two hundred thousand dollars were added to the appropriation. Volunteering for the Home Guard soon followed, and much more than a company was embodied. There were a sufficient number of companies to form a brigade, for which there was a brigadier-general and staff. An act of Assembly, passed May 16, 1861, authorized such a measure. The question of armories became of immediate importance. The city was in possession of two large market-houses, in the neighborhood of Broad and Race Streets, which had been unsuccessful as business enterprises. It was determined to put these buildings to military use. By ordinance of the 14th of November, 1861,

these premises, one of them at the southwest corner of Juniper and Race Streets, and the other on the east side of Broad Street, below Race, were appropriated to the uses of the Home Guard of the city, under the direction of the mayor and the Committee of Defense and Protection. Three thousand dollars were appropriated to pay for the necessary alterations. The building upon Race Street was appropriated to arsenal purposes and the storage of batteries of cannon. The first piece placed in that building was a handsome cannon with full equipments and ammunition presented to his native city by James McHenry, then residing at London. A few days afterward, two rifled cast-steel guns were presented to the city by James Swaim, also a native of Philadelphia and residing abroad. They were manufactured in Prussia, and when received were placed in the Race Street armory.

By ordinance passed in June, 1862, it was directed that such portions of Spring Garden Hall, Southwark Hall, Kensington Hall, and the Town Hall of Germantown, not at that time profitably employed by the city, should be appropriated as armories and drill-rooms for companies of the Home Guards. Mayor Henry vetoed this bill upon the ground that the buildings named were in use by the police, and could not be occupied by soldiers without much inconvenience. This veto was sustained. Before the war was closed the Home Guard had ceased to be of importance, its strength had been much reduced by the more active recruiting for regiments in the field. Two fine new regiments, the Gray Reserves and the Blue Reserves, were attached to the State militia. They kept up their organization with much zeal, and during the invasions of Pennsylvania they had gone promptly to the front, and had been of service. Before the war was closed in February, 1865, the City Councils passed a resolution requesting the Legislature to repeal all laws respecting the Home Guards.

By act of April 8, 1862, the armory company of the Gray Reserves was created. The corporators were Peter C. Ellmaker, Napoleon B. Kneass, Charles H. Graff, Robert P. De Silver, Jos. T. Ford, William H. Kern, Albert R. Fœring, Charles S. Smith, Charles M. Prevost, J. Ross Clarke, Jacob Laudenslager, Jos. N. Piersol, George W. Wood, George W. Briggs, Charles P. Warner, C. Frederick Hupfeldt, and Francis P. Nicholson. The capital was one hundred thousand dollars, divided into eight thousand shares, at $12.50 each. The corporation was authorized "to erect and maintain a suitable building for the accommodation of the companies composing the First Regiment of Infantry, Gray Reserves, or any other organizations desirous of occupying the same."

The enterprise languished for some years for two reasons. The funds collected were not sufficient to authorize the institution of measures necessary for the construction of the building. The city had endeavored to dispose of the two buildings at Broad and Race Streets at public sale, but the bids made upon the property were at rates which, if accepted, would have rendered necessary a very considerable pecuniary sacrifice. Therefore, the effort to sell was abandoned. The Race Street Armory was given up to the use of the commissioners of the fire department for the storage and repairage of apparatus. In the Broad Street Armory the First Regiment was permitted to remain. About 1881 the First Regiment, formerly the Gray Reserves, began to move in support of a proposition to make some actual commencement of the work, which had been so long delayed. Subscriptions were received to a liberal amount, fairs and other methods of raising money were resorted to. A large lot of ground was purchased at the southeast corner of Broad and Callowhill Streets, and there, on the 29th of March, 1882, ground was broken for the armory building of the First Regiment. The corner-stone was laid on the 19th of April by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania with Masonic ceremonies. An oration was delivered by Col. William McMichael. There was a military parade and review, and a reception in the evening at the Academy of Music.

The Third Regiment National Guards of Pennsylvania is a recent organization, composed of companies the headquarters of which are mostly in the lower part of the city. The various organizations met for drill and company purposes at the company armories. In 1882 the City Council granted to the Third Regiment the use of a portion of the public ground originally appurtenant to the county prison (Moyamensing), a part of the parade-ground, and situate at Twelfth and Reed Streets. Here was constructed a long brick building, principally of one room in the interior, and well suited for drill purposes for that reason. The regiment took formal possession on the 29th of December, 1881. The building was dedicated with religious services by Bishop Stevens, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, on the 9th of April, and was opened the next evening by a reception of citizens. Col. S. Bonnaffon was at that time in command of the regiment.

As soon as it became apparent that the armory of the First Regiment, at Broad and Callowhill Streets, would be completed, probably in the early part of 1884, the battalion of State Fencibles, under Maj. John W. Ryan, made application for the use of the old armory, at Broad and Race Streets, by that corps. Councils made a grant of the property on a nominal lease. The battalion raised a fund, and announced that as soon as the building was vacated by the First Regiment the Fencibles would rebuild and remodel the armory in front and in the interior.

The Keystone Battery, which had used the armory on Race Street for the storage of their guns and accoutrements, were ousted from that place by the appropriation of the building for the use of the fire department. For a time their guns and caissons were

stored in a wooden shed, at the northwest corner of Brown Street and Corinthian Avenue, on a lot used by the commissioners of city property. The ground being sold, the artillery and accoutrements were stored in a vacant room of the City Hall, at Broad and Market Streets. In 1883 Councils made grant of a site for an armory for the battery, on a portion of the ground appurtenant to the almshouse in West Philadelphia. Liberal contributions have been made toward the construction of the building, and the company expects to erect and finish a commodious and appropriate armory in the course of the year 1884.

Forts.—The earliest building erected by the Europeans on the Delaware was intended for defense. The settlement trusted for protection to the fort, and when new stretches of country were occupied the block-house or battery was erected. When the Dutch came in 1623, they built Fort Nassau, "about fifteen leagues up the river on the eastern shore." The site of Fort Nassau was immediately opposite the territory afterward occupied by the city of Philadelphia. It is supposed by Mickle to have been in the neighborhood of the present Gloucester Point, and at the mouth of the most northerly branch of Timber Creek, then called Sassackan. Edward Armstrong, in 1853, located it on a tongue of land between Big and Little Timber Creeks. Fort Nassau was for a long time the citadel of the Dutch power on the Delaware, and by its position and strength dominated the entire territory. The name of this fort was derived from the German house of Nassau, which occupied the throne of the Netherlands. In 1651 the Dutch, under Stuyvesant, conceived that Fort Nassau was "too far up and laid too far out of the way." It was, therefore, resolved to abandon Nassau and erect a new fort near New Castle, which was afterward finished and called Casimir. The directors of the Dutch West India Company were much surprised at the actions of Stuyvesant, and they doubted whether its demolition was an act of prudence.

FORT UPLAND, the second in construction on the Delaware, was built by Capt. Peter Heysen, of the ship "Walrus," near the mouth of Horenkill (now known as Lewes) Creek. It was a house surrounded with palisades, and a settlement near it was called Zwandludael or Swanendael,—the Valley of Swans. The settlement was taken and burned by the Indians shortly afterward.

FORT BEVERSREDE was, as far as known, the first building of any kind constructed by Europeans within the bounds of the future city of Philadelphia. It was erected upon ground purchased of the Indians by Arent Corssen, the Dutch commissary at Fort Nassau, probably in 1633. Upon that territory Fort Beversrede was built. Exactly when is not known. Probably soon after the purchase, as one of the reasons for buying the Schuylkill lands was that it was a place remarkably well situated, and named thus on account of the beaver-trade which was carried on there very briskly with the natives and wild Indians. The sale to Corssen was confirmed by Indian chiefs, in 1648, at Fort Beversrede, which must therefore have been built before that time. The situation of Beversrede is supposed to have been on the east bank of the Schuylkill River, within the limits of the present First Ward of Philadelphia, in the old district of Passyunk, upon the east bank, on a bold shore above the Penrose Ferry bridge, where it would command the stream called the Minquas, or Mingo, which was connected with the series of streams that flowed out of and between Darby and Bow Creeks. Beversrede was a palisaded fort, with an armament of great guns. The Swedish Governor, John Printz, in 1648, took the curious method of rendering Fort Beversrede unimportant, by building in front of it, on the Schuylkill, a house, about thirty to thirty-five feet long by twenty feet broad. This obstruction made Beversrede harmless. Boyer, who commanded there in 1648, complained that by the new house "our liberty on said water is obstructed so that our vessels, which come into anchor under the protection of our fort, can discover said fort with difficulty. . . . The back gable of the house is only twelve feet from the gate of the fort, so that the house is placed within the water-side and our fort." By this means the imaginary guns of Beversrede seem to have been effectually muzzled.

In 1648 the Dutch said of the Swedish house, then called a trading house, that it was "right before the gate" of the company's fort, Beversrede, not being a rod from the gate, "thereby depriving us altogether from the view of the common route, so as to deprive the company of the beaver trade, and to effect this they are using every effort." In 1648 Alexander Boyer wrote that Beversrede was garrisoned with only six men who were in good health and able to make defense, and that with that fort he was expected to defend two forts, Nassau being the other.

FORT CHRISTINA was the first Swedish post on the Delaware. It was built by Peter Minuit, in 1638, and named in compliment to the young queen of Sweden. It was near the creek afterward called Christiana, and near the present city of Wilmington. It was described in 1645 as being about half a mile (Dutch), or two and a quarter miles English, "within the creek, and nearly encircled by a marsh, except on the northwest side, where it can be approached by land." At the southwest it touches the kill. Mr. Ferris has located this fort at a point long known by the name of the Rocks, which here forms a natural wharf of stone, at that time being one of the bases of Christina, and so called in the ancient records of the country. In 1655, after the surrender of Fort Casimir to the Dutch, Fort Christina was besieged by Peter Stuyvesant, director-general of the New Netherlands. Governor John Rysingh, of the Swedish forces, defended the fort valiantly for fourteen days, and then capitulated upon honorable terms, by which the property of

the Swedish crown and of the Swedish company it was agreed should not be confiscated. The garrison was allowed the honors of war, and it was agreed that they should "march out of the fort with beating of drums, fifes, and flying colors, firing matches, balls in their mouths, with their hand and side arms." The name of the stronghold was changed by the Dutch to *Fort Altona*. In 1657 swords and fire-arms were sent to Altona sufficient for twenty persons. In that year it was said "for a long time no garrison has been there, and, as it was rather decaying, they knew not what to do either in regard to their lodgings and victuals." He thought that seventy-five men should be sent to Altona. In 1663, in consequence of rumors of a new Swedish expedition, all the guns were removed from Altona to the fort at New Amstel. The garrison at that time consisted of ten persons.

NEW GOTTENBERG was built by John Printz, Swedish Governor, in 1643, upon the island of Tenaka (Tinicum). It was constructed "by laying very heavy hemlock (greenen) logs the one on the other," and was "pretty strong." On the same island Printz built his mansion or palace, and had his orchard and other conveniences, and called the place Printz Hall. Fort New Gottenberg commanded the Schuylkill River, which opened just above it, and being south of Fort Nassau, the passage of the Dutch up the river could be prevented. In 1655, the Dutch being triumphant upon the Delaware by the capture of Fort Casimir and Fort Christina, New Gottenberg was compelled to surrender. Campanius says, "The Dutch proceeded to destroy New Gottenberg, laying waste all the houses and plantations within the fort, killing the cattle, and plundering the inhabitants of everything that they could lay their hands upon." The name of the fort was changed to Island Gottenberg. It probably ceased to be of any importance as a military post after the Dutch power was established on the Delaware.

FORT ELFSBORG was erected by the Swedish Governor, John Printz, in 1643, on the east bank of the river, on or near the mouth of the Asamohackingz, called afterward by the English "Indian Creek." This fort was mounted with eight cannon of iron and brass, and had also one potshoof. The garrison was a lieutenant and twelve men. The main object of this post was to visit when required or to annoy the Dutch vessels which passed, "and oblige them to lower the colors, which greatly affronted them." The fort also was useful to salute Swedish vessels when they arrived. Washington Irving, in "Knickerbocker's History of New York," gives a funny narrative of the driving out of the Swedish garrison by swarms of mosquitoes.

FORT CASIMIR was built in 1651, a short distance north of the town afterwards called by the English New Castle. Why it was so called by Stuyvesant is unknown. The Swedish Company when they heard of it were surprised, because it was "rather a Swedish than a Dutch name." When Governor John Printz heard of the erection of this fort he protested against it, but without effect. In 1654 the Swedish Governor, John Rysingh, sailed up the Delaware in the good ship "Aren" with three hundred men, among whom were twenty or thirty armed soldiers, and appeared before the fort. The Dutch, who were under the command of Gerritt Bikker, were much surprised, as well at the coming of the ship, which was unexpected, as by what followed. The soldiers landed on the beach; the door of the fort being open, they marched in. When within the fort, Capt. Swensko demanded the surrender of the river as well as the fort. Surprised at this, Bikker sent two commissioners on board the vessel to inquire the authority of Rysingh. The latter was not disposed to explain; two guns were fired over the fort, and the soldiers, of which there were ten or twelve, were disabled, and Rysingh took possession of the work. The result was that a forcible surrender by the Dutch was compelled, and the Swedes took possession of the fort on Trinity Sunday, for which reason the work was renamed *Fort Trefalldigheet*, or *Trinity*.

When the directors of the Dutch West India Company heard of this proceeding they were very angry. They resolved to fit out an expedition for the recovery of the fort and the restoration of the Dutch power on the river Delaware. In September, 1655, Peter Stuyvesant sailed from New Amsterdam (New York) with seven vessels, having on board six to seven hundred men. Arriving before Trinity Fort, an officer, with a drummer, was sent on shore, demanding "direct restitution of our own property." Rysingh was absent. Lieut. Swen Schute, who was in command, requested time for consideration. There was a parley. The Dutch in the meanwhile had been raising breastworks. On the following day the fort was surrendered, and the Dutch marched in with flying colors on the 11th of September, 1655, the articles of capitulation being signed on board the man-of-war the "Weightscales," or "Balance." Instead of retaining the old name, Casimir, the Dutch, in the succeeding year, called the fort by the new name, "New Amstel." The post was put under command of Capt. Martin Krygier, with a force of soldiers. The fort and the ground appurtenant were transferred, in 1657, to Jacob Aldrakes, in behalf of the colony of the city of Amsterdam, there to be planted. In 1664, the English having captured New Amsterdam, to which they gave the name of New York, Sir Robert Carre was ordered to proceed to the Delaware River and reduce the Dutch, who had "seated themselves at Delaware Bay, on His majesty of Great Britain's Territories, without his majesty's consent." Carre sailed in the frigate "Guinea," accompanied by the "William" and "Nicholas," with a force of soldiers, and appeared on the 11th of October, 1664, before Fort New Amstel. The Dutch were not in position to resist, and they prudently

surrendered on the 14th. The English gave another name to the fort, which they called New Castle.

In 1673 a Dutch expedition under Evertse and Benkes recaptured New York from the English. Antony Colve was appointed Governor on the Delaware in behalf of the Dutch, and Fort New Castle fell again into possession of the New Amsterdam authorities. By the treaty of Westminster, between England and the States-General, signed on the 19th of February, 1674, it was agreed that "whatever countries, islands, towns, posts, castles, or forts have or shall be taken on both sides since the time the late unhappy war broke out, either in Europe or elsewhere, shall be restored to the former lord or proprietor in the same condition they shall be in when the peace itself shall be proclaimed." Under this treaty New Castle again passed into the hands of the English, and Fort New Castle ceased to be a post of importance. It was ordered to be repaired in 1678. In that year there were eight iron guns mounted, and musket and other ammunition. After the arrival of Penn the fort must have fallen into disuse. It was a matter of complaint against Governor John Evans in 1707 that the fort at New Castle undertook to fire at vessels sailing up and down the Delaware. But it clearly appears that the fort at that place was established by the Governor and the Assembly of the Lower Counties, by virtue of an act passed "for erecting and maintaining a fort for her Majesty's service." It is probable that this work was either old Fort Casimir rebuilt or erected upon the same site.

FORT KORSHOLM.—Acrelius says that this fort "was at Passyunk, where the commander, Swen Schute, had his residence." The date is not given. It was probably erected before 1648, and afterward burned and destroyed by the Indians. It was on the east side of the Schuylkill, north of Fort Beversrede, and probably on the highlands at Point Breeze.

"FORT MANAYUNK," says Acrelius, "was a fine little fort of logs, having sand and stone filled in between the wood. It was situate upon Manayunk (or Manasonk) Island, at the east corner of the work, and surrounded by palisades, four Swedish (twenty-seven English) miles from Christina, eastward by the Schuylkill River, and the Delaware River north and west of League Island."

FORT MECOPONACKA (or UPLAND) was the second of the latter name. Acrelius says that it was "two Swedish miles from Christina and one mile from Gotheburg, on the river shore, on the same plan (with some houses and a fort)." Ferris suggests that the building was a block-house,—a place of refuge and defense, always, in those days, erected near a settlement. The site was somewhere about the present town of Chester. The time that it was built is unknown. It was before 1648.

FORT GRIPSHOLM was built by the Swedish Governor, John Printz, on an "island in the River Schuylkill," within gunshot of its mouth. The precise situation is unknown. Ferris conjectures that it was on the high point of land near Bartram's Botanic Gardens, near Gray's Ferry, and that the mouth of the Schuylkill at that time, in consequence of the islands and low grounds of the Neck, was covered with water, so that the mouth of the Schuylkill was between Point Breeze and Bartram's Garden. This conjecture can scarcely be sustained by known facts. There were transfers of land on the west side of the Delaware and Schuylkill, from Bow Creek up, in the early jurisdiction of the Upland Court. It would have been folly at that time, when ground was so plenty, for any one to have taken up submerged islands and marshes. The description of Gripsholm by Huddy, the Dutch officer, is that it was "a fort on a very convenient spot on an island near the borders of the kill, secured from the west by another creek, and from the south-southeast, and at each side, with underwood and valley lands. It lies about the distance of a gunshot in the kill. On the south side, on this island, beautiful corn was raised. . . . This fort cannot control the river, but has the command over the whole creek, while this creek is the only remaining avenue with the Minquas, and without it this river is of little value." The creek spoken of must have been the Minquas (or Mingo), with the streams connected therewith leading from Darby and Cobb's Creeks. This stream was in early time said to be the regular passageway of the Indians coming from the west to the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers.

The Dutch Fort Beversrede was built immediately opposite the Minquas, or Mingo, or Eagle's Nest Creek, to command the trade in furs (skins) brought that way by the savages. It is most likely that Fort Gripsholm was situated on the west side of the Schuylkill, upon the ground afterward known as Province Island, or State Island.

WICACO BLOCK-HOUSE.

WICACO BLOCK-HOUSE stood near the Delaware River, it is believed, about the site afterward occupied by the Swedish Church Gloria Dei, now south of Christian Street on the west side of Swanson Street.

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The block-house was built for defense against the Indians in 1669, and is usually described as having loop-holes for defense. It is believed that the first Swedish Church ordered by Upland Court, in 1675, to be erected at Wicaco, was established in this block-house, which was fitted up for the purpose in 1677. The building was torn down in 1698, when the old brick Swedes' Church building, dedicated July 2, 1700, was commenced.

ASSOCIATION BATTERY AT WICACO.—In 1747, the province of Pennsylvania being defenseless, and Great Britain being at war with France, much anxiety existed among the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia who were not members of the Society of Friends in fear of the visits of hostile privateers or ships of war, there being no garrisoned fort or other military defense on either side of the Delaware from the capes all the way up. The proprietary government under the Penns was in sympathy with any warlike measure necessary for defense. But members of the Society of Friends, who were in majority in the Assembly, would not consent to any measures of a warlike character. Finally the proprietary government determined to encourage the formation of a volunteer military force. It was determined to form what was called "The Association for General Defense." In May, 1748, President Palmer, of the Provincial Council, said, "Many thousands of the inhabitants having voluntarily entered into the most solemn engagements for that purpose, in consequence whereof arms have been provided," had "likewise at considerable expense erected batteries on the river of such strength and weight of metal as to render it very dangerous for an enemy to attempt the bringing of any ships before the city." Thomas Penn wrote from England March 30, 1748, "Whenever any company shall be made in Pennsylvania for establishing a militia and erecting a battery, we shall be very ready to show our concern for the safety of the city by giving cannon for such a battery." The Association in the city was embodied in regiments. There were liberal subscriptions, by means of which the battery was built, and cannon to mount it borrowed from Governor Clinton, of New York. A lottery was promoted for the raising of funds, and with the profits the managers bought some guns in England. In 1753 the Association Battery mounted twenty-seven pieces. The site of this work was southward of Swedes' Church, and is believed to have been exactly where the first United States navy-yard was afterwards built. In 1758 the Association Battery was placed under guards, and they were ordered to use the cannon against any vessel which might attempt "to break through the embargo." From the absence of any record of use of the Association Battery afterward, it is presumed that it was untenable and had fallen into decay before the commencement of the Revolutionary war.

SOCIETY HILL BATTERY was built in April, 1748, on the wharf of William Atwood, then mayor of the city. It was probably situated between Lombard and Cedar [South] Streets, or below the latter. It was built in two days. "The breastwork is eight or ten feet thick, composed of timber and plank filled in with earth, and rammed down. The building of the breastwork and merlons, laying the platforms, etc., was done by a number of the house-carpenters of this city, who voluntarily and generously offered their labor gratis, and performed the work with the greatest alacrity and surprising dispatch." This battery mounted thirteen guns, but there was no occasion to use them.

FORT CHRISTIANA was built in 1748, about the same time as the Association and Society Hill Batteries. It was begun and finished in a few days on the presumed site of the old Fort Christina, "on the rocks of Christiana (near Wilmington, Del.), with a bomb-proof magazine, and calculated for mounting ten guns." This was in July, 1748.

BATTERY AT NEW CASTLE.—This was erected in 1748. In May of that year a Spanish privateer with fourteen carriage-guns came up the Delaware as far as Elsinborough, and caused much alarm. Capt. Balliet, of H. M. S. "Otter," which had been sent for the defense of the Delaware, was appealed to, but unluckily his ship was unrigged, and his cannons were on shore. A battery was thrown up and the guns placed upon it, so that when the privateer approached New Castle many shot were fired at her from four mounted guns, "most of which passed her." Immediately afterward a fine battery was erected "a little below the town of New Castle."

FORT AT BILLINGSPORT.—In 1776, under the sanction of the Committee of Safety of Philadelphia, Robert Smith, carpenter and builder, commenced to build a fortification at Billingsport on the Jersey side, about twelve miles below Philadelphia. Thaddeus Kosciusko, the celebrated Polish patriot, drew the plan of the works, and arranged the means of defense, for which service he was paid fifty pounds. One of the principal objects of this work was to protect the *chevaux-de-frise* which were sunk in the Delaware River, to prevent hostile vessels from passing up to the city. The Continental Congress sanctioned, February, 1777, the building of the fortifications at Billingsport under direction of the Council. Col. John Bull and Blathwaite Jones, who had previously been superintending the construction of the work, were appointed to command, the former as colonel, and the latter as chief engineer with the rank and pay of lieutenant-colonel. A considerable number of men were employed in building these works, but they had not been finished in June, 1777. Gen. Mifflin and M. Du Coudray, who were appointed at that time to examine the work, reported that six or eight weeks might be sufficient to finish it. Those officers were authorized to complete the works, and there were a considerable number of soldiers and garrison. Col. Jehu Eyre was ordered to Billingsport in Sep-

tember, 1777, with two companies of militia artillery. In October, Col. William Bradford and Col. Will were at the fort with about two hundred and sixty-two men. On the 8d the British landed from five hundred to one thousand men on Raccoon Creek, and on news of their coming Bradford evacuated the fort, ordered the people to Fort Island (Mud Fort or Fort Mercer), carried off some of the cannon spiked, the rest took off the ammunition, and set the barracks and bake-house on fire. The British Highlanders and Marines took possession of the works, and set fire to them as well as to all houses that were left, and abandoned the premises on the 7th of October. After the British army evacuated Philadelphia in 1778, Col. Bull was ordered by Council to erect a battery of eleven guns at Billingsport, and temporary barracks for the accommodation of the garrison. A force was maintained there during the remainder of the war. In 1784 there were five eighteen-pounders, one twelve-pounder, and one four-pounder mounted and four other guns dismounted. At that time the keeper of the fort desired the privilege of establishing a public-house there.

FORT MERCER (Red Bank) was constructed under authority of the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania for the protection of the city of Philadelphia. It was on the east side of the Delaware River, in the State of New Jersey, north of Billingsport, and was constructed for the purpose of defending the *chevaux-de-frise*. The work was commenced by recommendation of Maj. Thomas Proctor, of artillery, given to the Council of Safety Dec. 23, 1776, under the authority of Maj.-Gen. Putnam, of the Continental army. The engineer by whose direction the fortifications were laid was the Polish patriot, Kosciusko. It was built principally by Col. Bull in 1777. Monsieur Du Coudray, while commending, with few exceptions, the manner in which the fort was built, was of opinion that it could not be made of much use in obstructing the passage of the river, and recommended that nearly all the guns should be carried to Billingsport, leaving two or three cannon at Red Bank as sufficient. When Gen. Howe got into Philadelphia, in 1777, he considered the reduction of the Red Bank fort as a matter of importance. Col. Count Donop was sent, with from two thousand to two thousand five hundred troops, chiefly Hessians, across the river Delaware, and marched to the fort on the 23d of October, this operation being part of a combined attack to be made by the troops on land, and the "Augusta" frigate, of sixty-four guns, with the frigates "Merlin," "Roebuck," and others. The American galleys, under Commodore Hazelwood, contested the passage of the ships. Mud Fort (Mifflin) engaged in the cannonade. Donop, on arriving before the Red Bank fort, summoned the commander, Col. Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, and his little garrison of four hundred men to surrender. They refused, although they had but fourteen guns mounted for defense. Donop made an attempt to carry the works by storm, but was repulsed and his men slaughtered, principally by the effects of grape-shot and musketry. The conflict was short. The Hessians were defeated, leaving three or four hundred of their comrades behind them. The American loss within the fort was eight men killed, twenty-nine wounded, and a captain taken prisoner while reconnoitering. The Hessians retreated to Haddonfield. Donop was mortally wounded, and died the next day. Congress highly applauded the gallantry of Col. Greene, and voted that a sword should be presented to him. He did not live to receive it. He was murdered at his quarters, near the Croton River, in New York, by Tories and British dragoons, under Col. De Lancey, who surprised the post. After the death of Donop, Gen. Varnum commanded at the fort, with supporting troops at Woodbury. After Fort Mifflin was evacuated, the British sent five thousand men against Fort Mercer. They were commanded by Cornwallis and Gen. Sir Thomas Wilson. They occupied Billingsport without resistance, and Varnum, whose force was far inferior, prudently withdrew from Red Bank.

On the 22d of October, 1829, several uniformed volunteer companies of Philadelphia and New Jersey erected a monument on the ground occupied by the fort at Red Bank in remembrance of the patriotism and gallantry of Lieut.-Col. Christopher Greene and his men.

Exactly when this fort was called Mercer is not known. It must have borne the name before the attack by Donop. On the 18th of November, 1777, a communication to Commodore Hazelwood by Maj.-Gen. Arthur St. Clair and Baron De Kalb and Brig.-Gen. Henry Knox, of the artillery, is dated at Fort Mercer.

MUD FORT, afterward called FORT MIFFLIN, was situate upon Mud Island, "about eight miles down the river" Delaware. This work was commenced before the Revolution, without anticipating the use to which it would be put in resisting the power of Great Britain. The General Assembly of Pennsylvania, in 1773, appointed commissioners "to apply and dispose of fifteen thousand pounds toward the building of such fortifications as might be necessary for the security and defense of the city of Philadelphia." With a portion of this money they purchased Mud Island, which immediately became known as Fort Island. A skillful engineer, recommended by Gen. Gage, planned the works, and some portion of the fortifications was completed before the beginning of the year 1774. The fact that the fort had already been commenced naturally seemed to render the sinking of the *chevaux-de-frise* in this portion of the Delaware a matter of necessity. In the operations of the 21st of October, when Donop was killed, the British frigates "Roebuck," "Augusta," and "Merlin" were engaged by the fort at Mud Island, as well as by the Pennsylvania galleys, floating batteries, and fire-ships. The loss of two of these vessels somewhat crippled the attacking

force. Being in possession of the city, a regular siege was attempted. The British erected batteries on the east and west banks of the Schuylkill River near the mouth. They mounted twenty guns,—twenty-four- and twenty-two-pounders, which had been borrowed from ships belonging to the British fleet. About the 27th of September the attack commenced. Mud Fort was gallantly defended by Lieut.-Col. Samuel Smith, of Maryland, with his small garrison.

On the 10th of November the British batteries on the Schuylkill, with six frigates belonging to the fleet, with galleys and smaller vessels, commenced the bombardment. There were but three hundred men in the fort. The force against them was at least two hundred and sixty-three guns. Mud Fort answered gallantly. The Pennsylvania armed boats and State vessels assisted. Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, and a new American battery, built on the Jersey shore, took part in the fight. Col. Smith, being wounded on the 11th, was succeeded by Lieut.-Col. Russel, of the Connecticut troops, who resigned the command after one day's fighting. During six days it was computed that ten hundred and thirty cannon-shot had been fired at the fort by the British. The worst destruction was made by the "Vigilant," an East India ship, which was razeed, and turned into a floating battery, carrying sixteen twenty-four-pound guns. This vessel, with another hulk, armed with three guns, managed to get on the west side of the fort, between the island and the shore. Here, where no attack was expected, the works were weak, and the execution of the enemy's guns was most severe. The palisades were beaten down, the parapet destroyed, the guns dismounted, and the block-house leveled. Of the three hundred men, two hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, and on the night of the 16th of October, Maj. Simeon Thayer, with forty men, the remainder of his garrison, embarked in boats, set fire to the barracks and buildings which remained, and gained the shelter of Red Bank.

After the evacuation of the city by the British, Col. Bull was sent to Mud Island with workmen and laborers to repair the banks and sluices, and complete barracks sufficient for fifty men. It was occupied by various officers with small numbers of men during the Revolutionary war. The fort remained under the jurisdiction of the State of Pennsylvania until April 15, 1795, when an act of Assembly was passed, ceding the fort and island to the United States, provided the same should be accepted within one year; also that the State might at all times occupy the island and fort whenever the same should not be held by a military force under the United States. The gift was ratified, and Mud Fort passed under the jurisdiction of the Federal government; about this time it began to be called Fort Mifflin. Money was appropriated to make the work strong for defense. Maj. Peter Charles L'Enfant was appointed temporary engineer, and the design for the new Fort Mifflin was furnished by Col. Tousard. In 1806 the fort was described as "a regular inclosed work, with batteries, magazines, and barracks, principally erected in 1798, 1799, and 1800. During the war of 1812 with Great Britain Fort Mifflin was occupied, during March and April, 1813, by the Independent Blues, Capt. William Mitchell, and the Junior Artillerists, Capt. Jacob H. Fisler, with one hundred and sixty men. Capt. James N. Barker, of the United States army, commanded at the fort in 1813. From 1844 to 1853 there was a company of United States artillery stationed at the fort, which mounted fifty-three guns.

Liberty Island.—In 1776 the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania authorized the building of a fort on Liberty Island, which was in the Delaware River. Robert Allison and George Worell undertook the work. It is probable that this island was afterward called Bush Island.

Continental Forts and Batteries.—In the latter part of 1776, when the movements of the British army in New Jersey menaced the city of Philadelphia, there was considerable alarm because there were no defenses which would prevent the enemy from marching into the city by a northern route. Maj.-Gen. Israel Putnam was therefore sent by Gen. Washington to Philadelphia, it being the opinion of the commander-in-chief that a line of defenses might be thrown up, reaching from the heights at Fairmount and Springettsbury, on the Schuylkill River, over to the Delaware. The lines were marked out, and work commenced in December, but in consequence of the defeat of the Hessians at Trenton, on Christmas-day, and the retreat of the royal troops, but little could have been done to the fortifications except preliminary work.

Fort at Darby Creek.—A battery seems to have been erected near this stream, in 1777, for the defense of the city. The exact location is unknown. It was probably south of the creek, and below Mud Fort. Dr. Smith is of opinion that it was built on the island of Tinicum. In September, 1777, the State Navy Board recommended that ninety or one hundred men should be placed in this fort.

British Batteries during the Revolution.—As soon as Lord Howe and the royal army entered the city of Philadelphia, on the 26th of September, 1777, immediate measures of defense against the American fleets and galleys were undertaken. A battery was commenced near the shores of the Delaware, one redoubt being in the vicinity of the present Reed and Swanson Streets. The old Association Battery was utilized by the mounting of three guns. Another wharf-battery was built near Swanson and Christian Streets. At Kensington a battery was built on a wharf above Cohocksink Creek. All these batteries were brought into effectual use on the 27th of September, when the "Delaware," frigate, Capt. Charles Alexander, mounting twenty guns, the frigate "Montgomery," the "Fly," sloop, with a number

of galleys and boats, appeared before the city. The "Delaware" anchored within five hundred yards of the lower battery and opened fire. The "Montgomery" and other vessels engaged the Association Battery and that at Christian Street. The result was unfortunate. The "Delaware" grounded, and was forced to strike her flag. A schooner was disabled and run ashore. The "Montgomery," "Fly," and the gondolas attempted to pass up the Delaware River, when they were forced to abandon the attempt, the "Montgomery" and a schooner having their masts carried away. The others succeeded in making their way to Mud Fort, under the guns of which they were in safety.

As soon as Gen. Howe had recovered from the effect of the battle of Germantown, and had withdrawn his troops to the city and liberties, intrenchments and field-works were constructed on the lines laid out by Gen. Putnam, between the Delaware and the Schuylkill. There were ten redoubts with small batteries between the lines, being further defended by abatis and stockades constructed of apple-trees and other timber cut down in the neighborhood. In many places there were lines of intrenchment and ditches behind the abatis. Taking present localities as ready means of location, the principal British works were as follows:

Battery No. 1, east of Front Street, above Cohocksink Creek, of a square shape, commanding the river and the Front Street road, with a small two-gun battery south of it. Intrenchments and abatis extended nearly along the line of the present Maiden Street to Germantown road. Saw-shaped redans, each calculated to hold three men, were at the northwest angle of the Germantown road and Maiden Street.

No. 2, square redoubt, west of the Germantown road, little north of Poplar Street.

No. 3, between Third and Fourth above Poplar Street.

No. 4, northwest of No. 3, but near Poplar and west of Fourth.

No. 5, near southwest corner of Sixth and Poplar, as at present open. There were no streets between Fourth Street and the Wissahickon or Ridge road, but beyond No. 4 was a small redan which would hold a few men.

No. 6, east of Ridge road, and not far from Coates Street.

No. 7, north of the Hamilton Mansion at Bush Hill, and near Eighteenth and Coates Street.

No. 8, near Twentieth Street and Francis Lane or Coates Street [now called Fairmount Avenue]. This was the most northerly of all the redoubts.

No. 9, near Lemon Hill. A short distance above where the Reading Railroad crosses Coates Street.

No. 10, on the northwest side of Fairmount Hill, and on a line with Green Street. Also a small battery on the northeast slope of the hill, and a barbed battery of three guns on the west side which commanded the Upper Ferry.

HALF-MOON BATTERIES.—In advance of the main line of redoubts and abatis were batteries of observation near the great roads. One of these was on the west side of old York road, below the upper branch of Cohocksink Creek, and probably between Fifth and Sixth, and near Germantown Avenue. A larger half-moon was on the east side of Ridge Avenue a little below Girard College, near Thompson Street.

In the western part of the city a fascine redoubt of six brass guns was built near the foot of Chestnut Street, Schuylkill, which commanded the Lower Ferry. A fascine redoubt was built on the hill above Market Street, and near the Schuylkill. A redoubt was placed on the hill on the west side of the river Schuylkill, near the old graveyard above Market Street, somewhere about the western end of the Pennsylvania Railroad bridge. The Middle Ferry floating bridge, which had been built by the British to replace the old bridge which had been removed by the Americans, was also defended by the British with eight iron cannon mounted on the ferry wharf.

FORT DELAWARE (Peapatch).—In 1813, during the excitement arising from the fact that the Delaware was blockaded by British ships, the United States government purchased the Peapatch Island in the river Delaware below New Castle for the defense principally of the city of Philadelphia. The Secretary of War then addressed the City Councils and promised that fortifications should be erected on the island if the city of Philadelphia would loan the United States government fifteen thousand or twenty thousand dollars for that purpose. An ordinance was accordingly passed, despite the opposition of Select Council, making the appropriation. In 1814 the city asked that a battery of thirty-two twenty-four pounders should be erected on the Peapatch and suitable fortifications at Newbold's Point and Red Bank. Capt. Babcock, of the engineer corps, was of opinion that he had no greater authority than to erect two martello towers. Councils were averse to the towers. Plans were adopted subsequently for fortifications and for the inclosure of the islands; but one of the towers was built in the Northern Liberties in the course of the year. Subsequently the United States built a very strong and formidable-looking fortification there. During the war of the Rebellion Fort Delaware was used as a place of confinement of Confederate prisoners.

FORTIFICATIONS IN THE WAR OF 1812.—In August, 1814, the Committee of Defense of Philadelphia, appointed at town-meeting, resolved that it was necessary to "immediately erect field fortifications on the heights and most important passes to the entrances of the city, to wit, from the west side of the Schuylkill." Gen. Jonathan Williams was requested to act in connection with the United States engineers in locating the proper places. Under this resolution

the able-bodied citizens of Philadelphia marched daily in great numbers to the ground marked out for the forts, where they entered upon the most laborious service, digging, carrying away dirt, and other hard work. Masters and journeymen in the various mechanical trades marched out together. Societies, persons of various nationality, together with physicians, artists, clergymen, and church-members assisted in this work. Between the 3d of September and the 1st of October, when the works were finished, it was estimated that fifteen thousand persons had contributed their labors toward their completion. These fortifications were principally laid out and directed by Col. L. Foncin, a French officer, who had lived in Philadelphia for many years. The forts were as follows:

Gray's Ferry, on the east side of the Schuylkill, on Gray's Ferry road, commanding the floating bridge.

Fort Hamilton, at junction of Gray's Ferry and Darby roads.

Redoubt on the west side of Schuylkill, on the Gray's Ferry road, opposite Hamilton's Grove.

Redoubt upon the Lancaster road, west of Market Street bridge.

Redoubt on the southern side of the hill at Fairmount, which commanded the bridge at the Upper Ferry, and also the bridge at Market Street.

Fortifications during the Rebellion.—Some time after the commencement of the war against the Confederacy, under a suggestion that the city was not free from danger of attack, a few small works were erected at various places, but were never occupied by any garrison. They were situated as follows:

A redoubt on the hill in Fairmount Park, at the intersection of the main drive from Lemon Hill and Girard Avenue, at the head of Girard Avenue bridge. The embankments were leveled at the close of the war, and exactly where the citadel was planned the statue of Humboldt is now placed.

A small half-moon on the north side of the Gray's Ferry road, between the United States arsenal and the Schuylkill River.

A redoubt on the rocks formerly known as the Cliffs, on the west side of the Schuylkill, near the end of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad bridge at Gray's Ferry. The fort and the rocks have since been obliterated by railroad operations.

An earthwork on the north side of Market Street, on the rise of the hill west of Thirty-sixth Street.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ART AND ARTISTS.

Art can find congenial surroundings only in old communities where wealth permits leisure and invites culture. It is not strange, therefore, that we hear so little of artists in the early history of this country.

The colonies did not present a very inviting field to the painter or sculptor. There was no inducement for him to settle there, even if, prompted by curiosity, he ran the risk of a long and hazardous voyage across the ocean to study American scenery. A few did come, doubtless, who traveled over the country, visiting the principal cities, where they left, as marks of their passage, the portrait of some wealthy citizen, or of the blushing beauty, his daughter. Some of these old-time portraits are to be found in Philadelphia families; but in many cases the name of the painter is unknown. Poor artist! struggling for bread, perhaps, yet with a faint hope that he might attain fame. The features he fixed upon the canvas are there still to tell of his cunning art, but he—his very name is forgotten.

Among the works of these anonymous painters are the following: A portrait of Edward Shippen, first mayor of Philadelphia, who died in 1712; a portrait of Edward or Joseph Shippen (there is some uncertainty as to the first name), son of Edward the first. Edward, the son, died in the same year as his father (1712); Joseph died in 1741. These likenesses, which are in the possession of the Shippen family, were painted prior to the time of any artist whose name is remembered. Joseph's picture might indeed have been done by John Watson, who came to America in 1715, and settled in Perth Amboy, N. J., and who is *supposed* to have made occasional excursions to Philadelphia, or by John Smybert, a resident of Rhode Island, who is also *supposed* to have visited Philadelphia between 1728 (date of his arrival in this country) and 1751; the supposition being based upon the fact that Smybert painted portraits in New England and New York during that period. But it is more likely that the three Shippen portraits were painted by one and the same unknown hand.

Also two life-size portraits, one of George McCall, merchant, who came to Philadelphia in 1701, and died in 1740, and the other of his wife, Mrs. Anne McCall, daughter of Jasper Yeates. A portrait of Governor Patrick Gordon, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and a fine likeness of James Logan are also among the works left by unknown artists. The same obscurity surrounds the engravers of the wood-cuts used in the newspapers and almanacs of that early period. A well-executed copper-plate, accompanying Franklin's account of the Pennsylvania fireplace, is believed to have been engraved here, but by whom it is not known.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has in its possession two drawings by Watson. They are portraits of Governor Keith and his wife, in India ink. These portraits were made probably between 1717 and 1728. Watson died at Perth Amboy, Aug. 22, 1728.

Although no real artist is known to have settled in Philadelphia before 1746, there were certainly some "painters," whose ambition did not aim higher than

the execution of a tavern or shop sign. If many of these signs were mere daubs, some gave unmistakable proof of artistic taste and skill. In our chapter on Inns and Taverns we have described some of these signs, and mentioned some sign-painters whose names belong to the history of art and artists, but they belong to a later period than that of which we are presently speaking. In 1702, or thereabout, one or those pseudo-artists executed a painting,—the earliest known to have been done in Philadelphia,—which is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It represents the royal arms, and bears Queen Anne's motto, "*Semper eadem.*" It was doubtless made, "by order," to hang behind and above the seat of the judges in the old court-house. The workman who did the job was, to all appearance, but a second-rate sign-painter.

Another memento of those bygone days is to be seen in the Philadelphia Library. It is a view of the city of Philadelphia, roughly done in bright colors, and shows the painter to have been ignorant of the laws of perspective and the contrasts of light and shadow. This picture had found its way to England, and it was discovered in an old curiosity-shop by the Hon. George M. Dallas while he was minister to England. Mr. Dallas purchased it and presented it to the Library Company of Philadelphia. Much interest is attached to this picture, notwithstanding its want of artistic merit, as one of the oldest pictorial relics connected with the history of Philadelphia. It had been the subject of a communication to the Antiquarian Society of London, and was spoken of by James N. Barker in an historical essay published many years ago. The painter of this old view of Philadelphia was Peter Cooper, whose history is briefly told in the minutes of the City Council, where it is entered that "Peter Cooper, painter," was admitted a freeman of the city in May, 1717. In the same year Peter Luolie, Aaron Huliot, and Samuel Johnson, all painters, were also admitted.

William Dunlap, in his "History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States," says that there were few artists in the country prior to 1751, and mentions Blackburn, Green, and Theus as having been in the colonies in 1750. But as early as 1746, Robert Feke and William Williams, two painters of merit, resided in Philadelphia. Feke is supposed to have been the descendant of a Dutch family which settled at the head of Oyster Bay, N. Y., at an early period. That he resided in Philadelphia some years can be a matter of but little doubt. His signature is upon a portrait of Mrs. Willing, wife of Charles Willing, mayor, 1748–49, in the possession of Dr. Charles Willing, a descendant. A portrait of Tench Francis, attorney-general, signed "R. Feke, 1746," is in the possession of Joshua Francis Fisher.

A writer in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. iii., speaking of Feke, says, "The portraits (Mrs. Willing and Tench Francis) referred to are rather remarkable for drawing and expression, and the coloring, which is still fresh and natural, gives reason to think the painter must have been well taught. It is hardly possible that a native self-educated artist could at that time have done so well." The portrait of Tench Francis is a kitcat (size of life), in a handsome full dress of the time (1746).

Another writer in the *Historical Magazine* makes out Feke's history to be somewhat romantic. According to this writer, Feke, although of Dutch descent, was a Quaker, who joined the Baptist Church, and thereby gave offense to his father. The young man then embraced a seafaring life, and in one of his voyages was taken prisoner by the Spaniards and carried off to Spain. While a captive in that far-off land, he sought to relieve the tediousness of a long imprisonment by some rude attempts at painting. The sale of these poor pictures, after his release, procured him the means of returning to America. He then settled at Newport, R. I., painted portraits, and is said to have several times visited Philadelphia. If this be true, young Feke while a prisoner must have had the good fortune to study with some of the Spanish masters. He died in Bermuda, at the age of forty-four years. Among his pictures yet remaining are those of Rev. John Callendar, of Newport, and the wife of Governor Wanton.

William Williams was an English painter of some merit. He must have been in Philadelphia long enough to earn a reputation as an artist of experience and taste, since it was to him Mr. Pennington brought Benjamin West, then a mere boy, for instruction in his art. The precise date on which this took place is not known, but it must have been prior to 1750, since West commenced portrait and historical painting in 1753; he was then only fifteen years old. When young West was introduced to Williams he had never seen an oil painting, except his own crude attempts made in Chester County. He gazed with admiration on a painting in oil colors, made by Williams for Samuel Shoemaker. Williams felt interested in this boy-artist; he instructed him in the first rules of his art, permitted him to study his own pictures and drawings, and loaned him the works of Fresnoy and Richardson. Williams was one of the contractors for the erection of the second theatre built in Southwark. Some efforts having been made to prevent the building of this theatre from being completed, Williams represented to Governor Denny that he had contracted to provide a new set of scenery for this theatre, and had painted them; that the cost was upward of a hundred pounds, which would be lost to him if the theatre were interfered with. So we know him to have been a scene-painter as well as a portrait-painter,—two widely-different branches of the same art. Williams must have left Philadelphia some time after this, for in an advertisement published in January, 1768, he announced that he had returned from the West Indies, and was to be found

in Loxley's Court, at the sign of Hogarth's Head, where he was prepared to do painting in general.

Hesselius, an English painter, whom Mr. Dunlap mentions as having settled in Annapolis in 1763, was in Philadelphia in 1751, and he must have lived there for some years prior to that date, unless we are deceived by a similarity of names, for "John Hesselius" was one of the subscribers to the Philadelphia Dancing Assembly in 1749. The signature "Hesselius, 1751," is on three fine paintings once in the possession of John William Wallace, also a portrait of Joshua Maddox, merchant, and for some years justice of the peace for Philadelphia County; a portrait of Mrs. Maddox, his wife; and a portrait of Mrs. Wallace, one of the belles of the Dancing Assembly of 1748. A writer, describing these family pictures, says, "These paintings are of considerable merit. The countenances are delineated with taste and delicacy of coloring. The drapery is finely done, the shadows being broad and bold." Hesselius is said to have been a painter of the school of Sir Godfrey Kneller, the broad shadows characteristic of Sir Godfrey's style being remarkable in the pictures signed "Hesselius." This and other marked characteristics have caused several pictures to be assigned to Hesselius, although they bear no signature. Such is the case with a portrait of Miss Mary McCall, daughter of George McCall, which belonged to the Misses Plumsted. Miss McCall was born in 1725. She married William Plumsted, mayor of the city, in 1750, who was the son of Clement Plumsted, also mayor. The Misses Plumsted had another valuable family picture, the portrait of Mrs. Clement Plumsted, painted by Sir Peter Lely, probably one of his latest works, since he died in England in 1680.

Hesselius went to Maryland some time after 1751. The portraits of Joseph Pemberton, son of Israel, and Anne, his wife, daughter of Joseph Galloway, of Anne Arundel County, Md., are assigned to Hesselius, for having the characteristics of his style, before mentioned. These portraits were in the possession of the Pemberton family, of Philadelphia. They are three-quarter lengths, life-size. The Walton family had in their possession two portraits by Hesselius.

Benjamin West, the boy artist, revealed his precocious talent in Lancaster, where, it is said, he made drawings on poplar boards for Mr. Wayne, and even executed a painting for William Henry, an ingenious mechanic of that town.[1] He commenced painting portraits in Philadelphia in 1753, and left that city for New York in 1758. He must have been constantly engaged in painting during these six years, for quite a large number of his pictures, dating from that period, are in the possession of old Philadelphia families. It is asserted in the "Shippen Memoirs" (Balch) that the first professional work of young West was the portrait of Charles Willing. As Mr. Willing was a merchant in Barbadoes, and he only moved to Philadelphia after his marriage, in 1760, it is probable that he had his likeness taken during a prior visit. West was living with Mr. Clarkson, and had won the warm interest of Rev. William Smith, who befriended him in many ways. Besides painting portraits and historical pictures, the industrious lad must have made sketches of scenery in the neighborhood. The "Treaty Tree" at Shackamaxon forms a conspicuous feature in his painting of the treaty of William Penn with the Indians, which he executed in England in after-years, and the resemblance is too perfect to admit of his having painted it from memory.

Among the portraits and pictures painted by West during his residence in Philadelphia are the following: Portraits of Mr. Peter Bard and Mrs. Dinah Bard, of New Jersey; one of the Morris family, of Philadelphia; a portrait of the Rev. William Smith, in the attitude and style of St. Ignatius, after Murillo; and a historical picture of "The Trial of Susannah," for Mr. Cox; a portrait of Eleanor Swift, who was born July 8, 1732, and who married Andrew Elliott—probably between 1750 and 1755—together with her daughter, Eleanor Elliott, while a child; a picture of St. Agnes and the Lamb, and a head,—in the possession of Edward Shippen; a portrait of Jenny Galloway, born in the year 1745, who married Joseph Shippen in 1768, and died in 1801,—in possession of John Shippen, of Pottsville.

A portrait of Chief Justice William Allen, who was on the bench in 1754, was painted by Benjamin West before he left Philadelphia, and is thus described by Brown, in the "Forum," vol. i. pages 248, 249:

"It is a three-quarter length portrait, and is taken standing. He has a curled wig and ruffled sleeves, but is otherwise dressed as plainly as possible. The costume for the whole dress is apparently of one color,—a not very good shade of brown; the colors may have faded. The face is round, with rather straight features, and is distinguished by *bonhomie* and good sense rather than by intensity of intellectual action, or by anything æsthetic."

A portrait of Dr. Benjamin Rush, painted by West. while Rush was prosecuting his studies in London, belong to Dr. W. Kent Gilbert. It is a kitcat, and handsomely executed.

Portraits of Hon. James Hamilton, Mr. Hare, Robert Hare, and Dr. Preston, in the Philadelphia Library, are ascribed by Tuckerman to this artist.

West's object in removing to New York, where he hoped to obtain better prices for his pictures than he had obtained in Philadelphia, was to earn enough money to enable him to realize the dream of his boyhood,—to visit Italy and study the works of the great

[1] Dunlap says that the Pennsylvania Hospital possessed some of the earliest efforts of West, painted on panel. "The largest is his own composition, and consists of a white cow, who is the *hero* of the piece, and sundry trees, houses, men, and ships, combined in a manner perfectly childish. The other is a sea-piece, copied from a print, with a perfect lack of skill, as might be expected."

masters. This hope was not disappointed. The young Quaker was destined to be one of those rare examples of genius recognized and encouraged by warm-hearted and liberal men until it has attained the summit and justified their opinion. This *luck*, as some of his rivals called the spontaneous homage paid to the godly gift of the artist, never failed West. In New York he painted many portraits, among others that of Mr. Kelly, a wealthy merchant. While engaged on this last work, West learned that Mr. Allen, of Philadelphia, was loading a vessel with flour for Leghorn. He mentioned to Mr. Kelly his intention of leaving New York as soon as the latter's portrait was finished, to take passage on that ship. Mr. Kelly, who treated the young painter with much friendliness, made him talk of his plans, and when the portrait was finished, paid him the price agreed upon and asked him to take charge of a letter for his Phila-

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delphia agents. On delivering this letter West learned, to his surprise and delight, that the liberal New York merchant had instructed his Philadelphia agents to pay the young painter the further sum of fifty guineas to help him carry out his studies in Italy. But this was not all: Mr. Allen's son was West's traveling companion on the ship, and when they reached Leghorn the artist was introduced to Messrs. Rutherford & Jackson, the correspondents of Mr. Allen, and these gentlemen gave him letters of recommendation to Cardinal Albani and other patrons of art in Rome, thus smoothing for him those obstacles which, as a stranger seeking an introduction in artistic circles, he would have found difficult to overcome unaided.

Scarcely had he arrived at Rome when he made the acquaintance of Mr. Robinson, an Englishman, who turned out to count among his friends most of the gentlemen for whom West had letters of introduction. Mr. Robinson undertook to present the young painter to Cardinal Albani. Mr. Dunlap relates an anecdote of this first interview with the Roman prelate which is highly creditable to the young painter's powers of observation. The cardinal had made up a party "to witness the impression which the sight of the *chef-d'œuvres* of antiquity would make upon a native of the New World. The Apollo was first shown him, and his exclamation was, 'How like a young Mohawk warrior!' The Italians, on having the words translated by Mr. Robinson, were mortified. But West, at that gentleman's request, described the Mohawk in his state of native freedom, as seen in those days, his speed, his vigor, his exercise with the bow. When Mr. Robinson interpreted the words, 'I have seen a Mohawk standing in that very attitude intensely pursuing with his eye the flight of the arrow just discharged from the bow,' his auditory were delighted by the criticism of the stranger and applauded his untutored acumen."

West was well received by Pompeio Battoni and by Mengs, the two leading painters in Rome at the time. Battoni, who in contemplating his own work was wont to exclaim, "E viva Battoni!" took pleasure in showing his pictures to the young Quaker artist, in whom he did not recognize a possible rival. Mengs gave West some practical and disinterested advice. He told him to stay in Rome only long enough to copy a few statues, then to visit Florence, Bologna, Parma, and Venice, to study the works of the Caracci, of Correggio, Tintoretto, Titian, and Paul Veronese, and having compared the styles of those masters, to come back to Rome and paint a historical picture. West saw the soundness of this advice and carried out the programme, notwithstanding the loss of eleven months, during which he was confined in Florence, in consequence of a fever contracted in Rome. On his return he painted his pictures of "Cimon and Iphigenia" and "Angelica and Medora," which obtained the academical honors of Rome. Before starting on this artistic tour he had painted the portrait of his new friend, Mr. Robinson. Here, again, his good fortune manifested itself; says Mr. Dunlap, "The applause bestowed on the portrait of Mr. Robinson was mentioned in a letter from Rutherford & Jackson to Mr. Allen, of Philadelphia, and the letter read by him to an assemblage of gentlemen at his dinner-table, among whom was Governor Hamilton. Allen mentioned the sum deposited with him by West before his departure, adding, 'As it must be much reduced, he shall not be frustrated in his studies for want of money: I will write to my correspondents to furnish him with whatever he may require.' This generous declaration produced a demand from the Governor that 'he should be considered as joining in the responsibility of the credit.' The consequence was that while West was waiting at Florence for the sum of ten pounds for which he had written to his friends at Leghorn, he received notice from their bankers that they were instructed to give him unlimited credit."

Having accomplished his object in Rome, West determined to visit England before returning home.

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This determination changed his whole future; the success that awaited him in London was to separate him forever from his native land. Leaving Rome he stopped at Parma to finish his copy of St. Jerome, a fine picture which has remained in the possession of the family of Mr. Allen, the early and generous friend of the artist. From Parma West proceeded to Paris, where he made but a short stay, and thence to London. Here his first care was to have his pictures hung up in the public exhibition-room in Spring Garden. The result of this exhibition was the acknowledgment of his rare merit as an historical painter and immediate employment for his pencil. He painted for Dr. Newton the "Parting of Hector and Andromache," and for the Bishop of Worcester, the "Return of the Prodigal Son." Dr. Drummond, Archbishop of York, requested him to make him a painting of Agrippina landing with the ashes of Germanicus, as described by Tacitus, and was so delighted with his rendering of that subject that he asked the king's permission to present the artist and his picture. George III. showed his admiration of this fine painting by ordering another, the subject of which, "The Departure of Regulus from Rome," he selected, and read himself aloud the description of that touching scene from Livy. The royal favor won on that day was never withdrawn during the king's life. He had taken a liking for the young American artist, and became his warm friend as well as his patron. When George III. founded the Royal Academy, this painting of Regulus was the first picture exhibited in it. West's reputation was now established, he had more commissions than he could attend to. The king was a liberal patron, who left him little time to paint for others. The "Death of General Wolfe," the "Death of Epaminondas," the "Death of Chevalier Bayard," "Cyrus Liberating the Family of the King of Armenia," "Segestes and his Daughter brought before Germanicus," were all painted by order of his Majesty.

Afterward came a great work, suggested by West, and which was an undertaking such as few painters could plan and carry out with success. This was the painting of a series of pictures on the progress of revealed religion, divided into four dispensations,—the Antediluvian, the Patriarchal, the Mosaical, and the Prophetical. This vast conception comprised thirty-six subjects. They were all sketched, and twenty-eight were executed, when the mental disease which fell upon the king put it in the power of the artist's enemies to show their rancor, and he was informed that he must suspend his work until further orders. While working at this religious gallery he had executed several other pictures for the king, among others a series of national subjects taken principally from the reign of Edward III., to wit: "Edward the III. embracing the Black Prince after the Battle of Cressy;" "The Installation of the Order of the Garter;" "The Black Prince receiving the King of France and his son prisoners at Poictiers;" "St. George vanquishing the Dragon;" "Queen Philippa defeating David of Scotland in the Battle of Neville's Cross;" "Queen Philippa interceding with Edward for the Burgesses of Calais;" "King Edward forcing the passage of the Somme;" "King Edward crowning Sir Eustace de Ribeaumont at Calais." Besides these pictures, which are of large size and among the best of his works, West painted his famous "Battle of La Hogue" and several portraits of the king and royal family.

On the death of Reynolds, in 1792, the academy selected West for their president. He occupied that honorable position until his return from his visit to Paris, in 1802. George III. no longer reigned, West had ceased to be "painter to the king," and the peace of Amiens opened the doors of the French capital to English visitors. West went to Paris, taking with him his masterpiece, on a small scale, of "Death on the Pale Horse." He was greeted with genuine enthusiasm by David and other artists of that time; nor were the public men of the French republic—then ruled by Bonaparte as first consul—remiss in their attentions. This reception by foreigners must have been as balm to his wounded feelings, but he had not emptied the cup of bitterness: on his return to London the animosity shown him by the academy, of which he had been the inspirer and over which he had presided to the general satisfaction, led him to retire from the president's chair. Wyatt was elected in his place, but ere long a revulsion of feeling took place, and the academy again selected West to preside over their labors. West was no longer the "young" painter, but in the winter of his age he still showed the sacred fire and energy of his youth. He painted a series of great works that show no declining talent, but the conceptions of a powerful mind executed by a firm, masterful hand. His "Christ Healing the Sick," painted as a present to the Pennsylvania Hospital of Philadelphia,[1] the "Descent of the Holy Ghost on Christ at the Jordan," the "Crucifixion," "The Ascension," the "Inspiration of St. Peter," the "Christ Rejected," and the wonderful composition of "Death on the Pale Horse," enlarged from the small picture already mentioned, all date from those late years of his life.

We have not given anything like a complete list of West's numerous works, and this short notice of a life spent abroad is not presented as a biography. We have merely outlined the high eminence to which the young Quaker artist rose far from his native land. When he went to England, Pennsylvania was a British colony. The Revolution came, and he still remained in London, but he remained an American at heart, and his biographers all agree that George III., who loved the artist, respected the opinions of

[1] The original of this picture, first intended for the hospital, was purchased by the British institution for three thousand guineas. The copy sent to Philadelphia is perhaps superior to the original, from which it differs materially in some respects.

the man. Nor is there any inconsistency in West loving his royal friend while his sympathies were with the revolting subjects of that friend. Should he have thrown aside brush and easel and crossed the ocean to shoulder a musket in his country's defense? The void caused by his absence was unnoticed; his peaceful pursuit of his work threw a new lustre on the American name, for it gave it a high place in the annals of art.

American students were always sure of a hearty welcome and the best friendly advice from Mr. West; the needy found that he was as prompt to assist as to advise. Charles Wilson Peale studied under him from 1771 to 1774; Gilbert Stuart, Joseph Wright, and John Trumbull were with him during portions of the American war, and all of them have testified to his kindly disposition and sympathy. Mr. Leslie, in one of his letters, quoted by Dunlap in his "History of the Arts of Design," says, "Mr. West was, as you know, at all times delighted to receive Americans, and no subject of conversation interested him more than the present greatness and future prospects of the United States. His political opinions were known to be too liberal for the party who governed England during the regency and the reign of George IV. Whether owing to this cause or not, he was certainly out of favor with the court during all the time of George III.'s long seclusion from the world. It was to the credit of that monarch that he never allowed the political opinions of Mr. West to interfere with his admiration of him as an artist and his friendship for him as a man. The king died while Mr. West was confined to his bed with his last illness. Raphael West endeavored to keep the newspaper from him, but he guessed the reason, and said, 'I am sure the king is dead, and I have lost the best friend I ever had in my life.'"

Martin Archer Shee, in his "Elements of Art," says of West, "Posterity will see him in his merits as well as his defects; will regard him as a great artist, whose powers place him high in the scale of elevated art; whose pencil has maintained with dignity the historic pretensions of his age, and whose best compositions would do honor to any school or country."

Benjamin West died on the 11th of March, 1820, aged eighty-two years. His beloved wife, Elizabeth Shewell, who fifty-five years before had crossed the ocean, under the protection of his father, to keep her plighted troth,—the then young artist being unable to leave London,—had left him a widower in 1817. From that moment his strength had begun to fail, though his mental faculties remained unimpaired to the last. "He was buried beside Reynolds, Opie, and Barry in St. Paul's Cathedral. The pall was borne by noblemen, ambassadors, and academicians; his two sons and grandson were chief mourners, and sixty coaches brought up the splendid procession."[1]

[1] Dunlap's History of the Arts of Design.

Cosmo Alexander, an old Scotch painter who visited this country some years before the Revolution, traveling for his health, and who, it is said, "painted for his amusement," is supposed to have been in Philadelphia about 1770–71. A portrait of John Ross seated in his library, with a table near him,—the property of J. Meredith Read,—was painted by this artist. Alexander was in Newport, R. I., in 1772, and taking a fancy for Gilbert Stuart, then a mere boy, gave him lessons in painting, and on leaving Newport took him with him to South Carolina, and thence to Scotland.

One of our earliest native painters, who was cut off by death ere his undoubted talent had matured and secured to him fame and profit, was John Meng, born in Germantown, Feb. 6, 1734. He was the fifth son of Christopher Meng, a German, who left his native town of Manheim and came to Philadelphia in the year 1728. John Meng, from early boyhood, had evinced a decided vocation for the painter's art. He was gifted by nature with artistic tastes, and soon acquired no little skill with the pencil and brush. But the practical old German, his father, did not approve of his son's choice of a profession. This opposition made things unpleasant for John; moreover, he felt that he must have better tuition than he could get in Philadelphia. He left home and went to the West Indies. He was probably not there more than a year or two, and died about 1754. He was only twenty years old. A very fairly painted portrait of himself, done in oil, was in possession of Charles S. Ogden, who also had the following works of John Meng: A portrait of his father, Christopher Meng, half size; a portrait of a lady, full length, name unknown, which was commenced in the West Indies, but which was left unfinished. These pictures are upon canvas. A likeness of Meng, painted upon pasteboard, is also preserved. There is reason to believe that there are other pictures by this early Philadelphia artist in the possession of old Germantown families.

Dunlap mentions James Claypoole as a painter in Philadelphia in 1756, and the instructor of Matthew Pratt, from whom he (Pratt) "learned all the different branches of the painting business, particularly portrait-painting, which was his particular study from ten years of age."

This is all we know about Claypoole, who may have been a very good instructor. His pupil, however, acquired both fame and substance. Matthew Pratt was born in Philadelphia, Sept. 23, 1734. He was the son of a goldsmith, and having shown some disposition for painting was apprenticed, in 1794, to Claypoole, who was in all probability a sign-painter. Having served his apprenticeship, Pratt gave his attention to portrait-painting, while not refusing to paint pictorial signs for taverns or stores. Many of those signs, in the execution of which the hand of the true artist was recognizable, have been described in our chapter on Inns and Taverns. In 1760, Matthew Pratt married

Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Moore, of Philadelphia. Loving his art, and feeling that to perfect himself in it he must have better instruction than he could obtain at home, he went to England in 1764. There he met Benjamin West, and made arrangements to study with him. He practiced his profession for some time in Bristol, and finally returned to Philadelphia in 1768. He opened a studio at the corner of Front and Pine Streets, and being well known, had no lack of employment. He, however, again crossed the sea in 1770, and went to Ireland, where he painted a full-length portrait of Rev. Archdeacon Mann in his canonicals. This picture was put on exhibition with the collection of the Dublin Society of Artists, and received much praise. Pratt remained abroad only a few months, and returned to Philadelphia in the same year.

At some time before the Revolution he painted a life-size portrait of Governor Hamilton, a copy of which is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. But portraits were probably not so much in demand as picturesque signs, and Pratt had acquired much fame in this branch of his art. There were not then, as there are now, wealthy amateurs, ready to pay hundreds or thousands for a good picture. Patronage did not go much beyond the ordering of a few family portraits. Private collections were rare, although Dunlap states that Governor Hamilton possessed a collection of pictures, among which was a St. Ignatius, by Murillo. The true artist will not be content with reproducing on canvas the venerable wrinkles of *paterfamilias* or the rosy cheeks of the incipient belle; he must needs give play to his fancy, and give shape and color to some of the conceptions of his brain. In the age of pictorial signs the street became his picture-gallery, where he could exhibit his works. The tavern-keeper, perhaps, if his patrons approved of it, congratulated himself upon having made a good bargain when he paid a few extra dollars to the painter of that sign, but the stranger with artistic eye passing by paused to look more carefully at the painted piece of board, and, as in the case of Pratt's "Cock in a Barnyard," which for many years graced a beer-house in Spruce Street, recognized the hand of a master. He was, indeed, no mean artist who painted that other remarkable sign, "The Convention of 1787," with its number of likenesses so life-like, which caused crowds of admiring people to assemble at the corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets, where it was first put up. Pratt had given proof of his skill and artistic taste as a decorative painter when, in 1785, he executed the paintings for the grand hall in which the Chevalier de la Luzerne gave his brilliant *fête* in celebration of the birth of the dauphin of France. The national symbols, the allegorical groups, and mythological figures were so well executed, and the coloring and disposition of the figures formed a harmonious whole so pleasing to the eye that they elicited the warm commendation of the chevalier, certainly a good judge in such matters.

Matthew Pratt ended a well-spent life on the 9th of January, 1805. He was then in his seventy-first year. He was the father of Henry Pratt, merchant, well known in his time as the owner of Pratt's Gardens, at Lemon Hill, and of Thomas Pratt, who died some years ago at an advanced age.

John Singleton Copley, of Boston, probably visited Philadelphia, and painted some portraits there before he went to England. He was in New York some time previous to his departure, and might well have made an excursion to Pennsylvania. At all events, a fine portrait of William Plumsted, mayor of Philadelphia, painted by this artist after the year 1750, is in the possession of Mayor Plumsted's descendants. Dunlap mentions the painter Woolaston as having painted portraits in Philadelphia in 1758, and in Maryland in 1759–60. Francis Hopkinson published some verses in praise of Woolaston in the *American Magazine* for September, 1758. Bernard Wilton, an English artist, was in Philadelphia in 1760. He was engaged principally, it seems, in sign-painting. His claims to fame consist in the painting of a fine sign representing a bull's head for a tavern in Strawberry Alley, which sign, from its superior execution, was for many years attributed to Benjamin West.

Henry Bembridge was born in Philadelphia in 1750, of wealthy parents, who encouraged his taste for art. While yet a youth, he painted the panels of a room in his father's house with historical designs, executed with so much skill as to attract attention. He went to Rome in 1770, and studied there for some time under Pompeio Battoni and Mengs. On his return to America, about 1774, he settled in Charleston, S. C. He came back to Philadelphia some time afterward, and married a Miss Sage. Several small pictures of Commodore Truxton and family are attributed to Bembridge, whose son had married a daughter of the commodore. According to Mr. Dunlap, Bembridge died in Philadelphia "in obscurity and poverty." The same author states that James Peale, a brother of Charles Wilson Peale, painted miniatures and oil portraits in Philadelphia, about 1775.

Charles Wilson Peale, the versatile genius who, without attaining the fame of West, yet did more toward spreading a taste for art in Philadelphia than any other painter, was born at Chestertown, Md., April 16, 1741. He was bound apprentice to a saddler in Annapolis while quite a young lad, and served his term of apprenticeship; but his active, inquiring mind would not permit him to devote his whole attention to one trade; from making saddles he got to making carriages, then he took to making clocks and watches. He had a natural facility for all kinds of mechanical employment, and if anything suggestive caught his attention he was ever ready to investigate and imitate it. Thus, having gone to Norfolk on some business, he casually saw the paintings of a Mr.

Frazier, and was struck with the sudden idea that he might do as well, although he had had no greater experience in painting than he might have acquired in his trade of coach-making. The result of this idea, which was a true revelation, was that on his return home the young tradesman shut himself up with canvas, brush, and colors, and a looking-glass, and succeeded in painting a portrait of himself. From that day Peale was a painter. He went to Philadelphia and made purchases of materials for portrait-painting and books of instruction in the limner's art. Hesselius, who about this time had settled in Annapolis, gave him some valuable advice. In 1768–69 the young painter made a voyage to Boston, where he met Copley, already successful as a portrait-painter, who kindly permitted him to copy one of his pictures and otherwise encouraged him. On his return home, Peale had decided that a voyage to England was indispensable if he wished to acquire a proper knowledge of the art and to merit the name of painter. Several gentlemen of Annapolis, interested in the young man, made up a subscription, and raised a sum sufficient for the carrying out of his views, the loan to be paid back in portraits. Peale, leaving his young wife and family, — he had married before he was twenty-one,—proceeded to London. He had a little money, a great deal of confidence and determination, and some letters of introduction to West. He remained in London from 1770 to 1774, studying with West, who kindly invited him to his house when his funds were exhausted. Not satisfied with studying painting while in London, Peale found time to learn modeling in wax, moulding and casting in plaster, painting in miniature, and engraving in mezzotinto.

C W Peale

Peale returned to Annapolis in 1774; but Philadelphia presented a wider field, and there he took up his abode in 1776. The times were unpropitious for the arts, and, besides, the artist was also a patriot; he was elected a captain of volunteers, joined Washington, and fought gallantly at the battles of Trenton and Germantown. Yet the sword had not banished the pencil, and while the captain of volunteers did his duty manfully, the artist found time to paint the likeness of his brother-officers. These portraits were the foundation of the gallery of national portraits, which was to be the principal feature in "Peale's Museum" after the war. He preserved on canvas the features of the most illustrious participants in the Revolutionary war. Washington he painted repeatedly. Rembrandt Peale says that the first portrait of Washington, at the age of forty-one years, was painted at Mount Vernon in 1772, by Charles Wilson Peale, who also executed others in 1778, 1781, 1783, 1786, 1795. Peale painted a portrait of Washington for the State of Pennsylvania in 1779. It was placed in the Council chamber in the State-House. In 1781 some persons unknown broke into the Council chamber, and defaced and totally destroyed the picture. While sitting for one of these portraits (a miniature for his wife), Washington received dispatches communicating the news of the surrender of Burgoyne. One of the best and most famous of Peale's portraits of Washington was painted in the building of the American Philosophical Society, Fifth Street, below Chestnut. It was painted by request of a committee of Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. By the time the picture was finished some discussion had taken place in Congress about the price agreed upon by their committee, — eight thousand dollars,—which, it was held by some members, was more than the country could afford to pay for a picture. Mr. Peale declined to deliver the picture, and hung it up in his museum. In August, 1780, the following advertisement was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet:*

"The subscriber takes the liberty of informing the public that he has just published a mezzotint print in poster size (fourteen by ten, beside margin) of his Excellency, General Washington, from the original picture belonging to the State of Pennsylvania. Shopkeepers and persons going to the West Indies may be supplied at such a price as will afford them a considerable profit, by applying at the southwest corner of Lombard and Third Streets, Philadelphia.

"CHARLES WILSON PEALE.

"N.B.—As the first impressions of this sort of print are the most valuable, those who are anxious to possess a likeness of our worthy general are desired to apply immediately."

This was certainly the first instance of mezzotint engraving in Philadelphia. The picture thus reproduced represents the general in uniform, leaning on a

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field-piece taken at Princeton, with the British prisoners in the background.

Peale painted, with great industry, soldiers, statesmen, philosophers, and eminent foreigners who visited America. His portrait of Benjamin Franklin was engraved, and was for a long time the accepted likeness of that eminent man. A very fine full-length of Gerard, first minister from France to the United States, was elaborate and finely finished. In his eighty-second year Peale painted a fine full-length portrait of himself,—a picture handsomely executed, representing a museum scene in the background, which was striking in the management of the subject.

Peale's portrait of Jefferson—engraved by Aiken & Harrison, Jr.—is perhaps the best likeness of that statesman ever executed. Portraits of John Paul Jones, Peyton Randolph, Rittenhouse, and John Dickinson,—executed in 1778,—and of Timothy Matlack and many others remain to attest the industry and skill of this artist.

In the winter of 1818–19 he made a trip to Washington City for the special purpose of painting the portraits of some of the distinguished men of that period. He returned with fifteen likenesses. Among them were portraits of President James Monroe, Vice-President Daniel D. Tompkins, Gen. Andrew Jackson, Col. Richard M. Johnson, John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay. These were added to the collection in the museum. Mr. Peale was at this time in the seventy-eighth year of his age. In his eighty-first year he painted "Christ Healing the Sick at the Pool of Bethesda." It was of large size—eight feet by six feet three inches.

In the year 1791, Mr. Peale attempted to form an association as an Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, but failed to get a sufficient number of artists to carry out his project. Another attempt made three years later met with no better success. In 1809 he was very active in promoting the association known as "The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts," about which Benjamin West, in a letter to Charles W. Peale, expressed his satisfaction at the establishment of an academy in Philadelphia "for cultivating the art of delineation." Mr. Peale died in Philadelphia, Feb. 27, 1827, at the age of eighty-five, active and industrious to the last. He was certainly a man of uncommon gifts, and would have attained greater fame as a painter had he concentrated in the cultivation of one art the wonderful energies wasted in so many different pursuits. Yet, taking in consideration his surroundings, the difficulties which beset him, the troubled condition of the country during those years of his manhood which should have been the golden period for peaceful and serious study, and above all the condition of American art at that time, it must be conceded that he achieved more than could have been expected of any man. Mr. Dunlap will not admit of a comparison between Peale and West; he recognizes "*sublime* genius" in the latter, while the "*genius*" of the former "was devoted to making money." West was a truly great artist, but supposing him to be in Peale's place, taking up art when he had reached manhood and had a family to support, serving his country in the field and in its counsels,—for Peale's biographer says he represented Philadelphia in the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1779,—then, instead of having royal patrons to reward and encourage his talent, having to create a taste for art in a community scarcely recovering from a long war, it is doubtful if Mr. West would have become famous. Had Peale gone to Rome to study, had he found protectors and remained in Europe, devoting his whole energy to his art, who can tell what the result would have been? As it was, the duties of the man and patriot crippled the genius of the artist, but his works show that this genius did exist. Whether or not fame grants it a niche in her sanctuary, the name of Peale will live in Philadelphia, and be ever mentioned with gratitude. He published an essay on "Building Wooden Bridges" in 1797, "Lectures on Natural History" in 1800, "Preservation of Health" and "Domestic Happiness" in 1813, "Address to the Corporation of Philadelphia" in 1816, and "Economy of Fuel" in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*.

Mr. Peale had several children, and he gave to most of them the names of famous painters. He was an enthusiast in art, and probably cherished the fond idea that the boys he named Raphael, Rembrandt, Vandyke, Titian, and Rubens would some day attain the fame of their great patrons, and his eldest daughter become a second Angelica Kaufman. But Raphael and Rembrandt were the only ones who adopted the artist's profession. Rembrandt, born in Bucks County, Pa., Feb. 22, 1778, showed artistic dispositions at a very early age; he commenced drawing at the age of eight years, and at thirteen left school to devote himself to art. He studied and worked with his father, and acquired no little skill at portrait-painting. Washington sat to him in 1795. In 1796, Charles Wilson Peale relinquished portrait-painting in favor of his son Rembrandt, who was then only eighteen years old. In 1800, Rembrandt Peale decided to abandon his surname, and published the following curious advertisement in the newspapers:

"REMBRANDT.
The use of names being merely to distinguish individuals, and whereas few persons discriminate between the peculiar names of my father, uncle, brother, or myself, which creates a confusion disadvantageous to the distinct merit of each as an artist, I am induced to obviate this inconvenience on my part in being known only by my first name, Rembrandt, the adjunct Peale serving only to show of whom descended. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen desirous of viewing a few specimens of my style of painting may find me by the following direction:

REMBRANDT,
Portrait painter in large and small,
head of Mulberry Court, leading from Sixth, three doors above Market Street."

The experiment could not have been a very satisfactory one, for Rembrandt, not very long after this,

removed to Charleston, S. C. From that city he proceeded to London, where he placed himself under the guidance of Benjamin West, and studied diligently to improve in his art. From London he went to Paris, and after a short stay in that gay capital returned to Philadelphia in 1804. He paid another visit to Paris in 1807, for the purpose of painting the portraits of some of the celebrated characters of the time. Among the likenesses which he brought back to Philadelphia and exhibited at the museum in 1808 were those of the famous naturalist and French academician, Baron Cuvier; Abbé Hauy, the learned mineralogist; Bernardin de Saint-Pierre; the traveler, Denon; and the great sculptor, Houdon. He also painted the portraits of Count Rumford and Gen. Armstrong. But Rembrandt had not devoted so much time to the study of the masterpieces in the London and Paris galleries for the mere purpose of improving his skill as a portrait-painter; in 1812 he exhibited "The Roman Daughter," a much-admired picture; this was followed by the "Ascent of Elijah," and in 1820 by his grand composition, "The Court of Death," the subject of which was suggested to his mind by Bishop Porteus' poem on "Death."

The idea which governed the artist was thus described in the pamphlet published for the use of persons who visited the picture:

"The picture of 'The Court of Death' is an appeal to the public taste by a native artist. It is an attempt to introduce pure and natural allegory (or rather *painting by metaphor*) in the place of obsolete personification and obscure symbols. It is a demonstration of the science of painting applied to its noblest purpose,—the expression of moral sentiment. It is a discourse on 'Life and Death,' equally interesting to all ages and classes, delivered in the universal language of Nature—the eloquence of the painter's art—which speaks not by the slow progression of words; and is calculated to remove the misconceptions of prejudices and terror, and to render useful the rational contemplation of death.

"The most impressive idea of death was excited by the appearance of a dead body which received the strongest ray of light in the picture. It was the body of a man in the prime of life by some accident rendered lifeless. The power of death was personified as an attribute of Deity 'by an antique form coeval with man,' the head representing the Egyptian feature, the form one of strength and power, covered with massive drapery, and seated on a shroud. On the right hand was a group expressive of War, in which were represented allegorical figures of Want, Dread, Desolation, the Warrior and his Victim, and Infant and its Mother. Pleasure, Youth, Remorse, and Suicide occupy another group. In another group were the victims of luxury and intemperate pleasures, —Gout, Dropsy, Apoplexy, Hypochondria, Fever, and Consumption. In the centre was Old Age supported by Virtue."

Rembrandt gives an interesting account of how he obtained the models for the figures in this picture:

"My good and venerable father stood as the representative of Old Age, modified by the antique bust of Homer. One of my daughters stood in place of Virtue, Religion, and Hope; and another knelt to the attitude of Pleasure, I borrowing a countenance from imagination. My friend and critic, John Neal, of Portland, impersonated the Warrior, beneath whom a friend consented to sink to the earth in distress, and thus appeared as a mother of a naked child, which I painted from my then youngest daughter. The corpse was the joint result of a study from the subject of a medical college and the assistance of my brother Franklin, lying prostrate with inverted head, which was made a likeness of Mr. Smith, founder of the Baltimore Hospital. My brother also, though of irreproachable temperance, stood for the Inebriated Youth. My wife and others served to fill up the background. It may be worth while to mention that for the figure of Famine following in the train of War I could find no model, though I sought her in many a haunt of misery, and I therefore drew her from my brain; but, strange to say, two weeks after the picture was finished, a woman passed my window who might have been sworn to as the original."

The canvas of this picture was twenty-four feet in length, thirteen feet high, and it contained twenty-three figures, larger than life.

In June, 1824, Rembrandt Peale exhibited his equestrian portrait of Washington in the old Apollodorean Gallery, on Swanwick Street. In the notice of the picture, in December, 1824, it was said that "Washington is represented seated on horseback, in the midst of a group of mounted officers, Lafayette, Knox, Lincoln, and Rochambeau. He is in the act of giving an order relative to the opening of the trenches before Yorktown."

This was a very fine picture, but about the same time Rembrandt completed another portrait of Washington, which he considered his greatest work. This was the picture—purchased by the United States in 1832 and placed in the capitol—in which the hero is represented in senatorial costume. Rembrandt, in his autobiography, speaking of this picture, says that, commencing with the original portrait of Washington, painted by him from life in 1792, he was still dissatisfied, as well with his own work as with the existing portraits of Washington, those by C. W. Peale, Pine, Wertmuller, and Stuart. He made sixteen attempts to paint this likeness. "I determined, in 1823, to make a last effort, and under an excitement even beyond the 'poetic frenzy' which controlled me during the three months to the exclusion of every other thought, and to the grief of my father, who considered it a hopeless effort, I succeeded to his conviction." Before its purchase by Congress, Rembrandt Peale's Washington was exhibited in various cities of the United States, and taken by the artist himself to Europe, in 1829, when it was exhibited in Naples, Rome, Florence, Paris, and London.

Rembrandt Peale painted and exhibited in Philadelphia a large picture of "Napoleon on Horseback," "The Death of Virginia," "Lysippa on the Rock," and many other pictures, landscapes, and portraits. His "Jupiter and Io," which he painted in 1813, was not publicly exhibited, owing to the figures being partly nude; it was made the subject of a special exhibition, and received the praise of the connoisseurs who visited it. After an absence of about ten years in Baltimore, Mr. Peale returned to Philadelphia in December, 1823, and resumed the practice of his profession at his old gallery on Swanwick Street. During the winter of 1859–60 he lectured in the principal cities on the portraits of Washington. He published "Historical Disquisition on the Mammoth," in 1803; "Notes on Italy," in 1831; "Portfolio of an Artist," in 1839; "Biography of C. W. Peale;" "Reminiscences of Art and Artists;" and a small treatise on elementary drawing, entitled "Graphics," in 1845. He contributed to the *Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in 1824. He died in Philadelphia, Oct. 3, 1860.

Raphael Peale, the first-born son of Charles Wilson Peale, came out as a portrait-painter, in oil and miniature, in 1800. He was not very successful in his profession, for while, in 1804, his prices were,—portraits in oil, fifty dollars, and miniature portraits, painted on vellum paper, ten dollars, in 1811 and later he offered to paint portraits in oil for fifteen dollars; in crayon, and miniatures on ivory, ten dollars: and profiles, colored, on ivory paper, as low as three dollars. He paid considerable attention, however, to paintings from still life, and was eminently successful in this particular branch of the painter's art, which Dunlap says "he was the first, in point of time, to adopt in America." Many of Raphael Peale's pictures of fruit, game, and fishes have been preserved in the collections of amateurs, and are highly prized. He died in Philadelphia, March 4, 1825.

Titian, the fourth son of C. W. Peale, seems to have turned his attention almost entirely to the drawing and painting of subjects connected with natural history. He drew the figures of birds engraved in the first volume of Bonaparte's "American Ornithology," and a part of those in the fourth volume. His first pictures on exhibition at the Academy of Fine Arts, in 1821, were water-color drawings of buffaloes, striped squirrels, Missouri bears, butterflies, etc.

Another branch of the Peale family has also produced several artists. James Peale, a brother of Charles Wilson Peale, who persuaded him to give up his trade and study painting, became quite a respectable portrait-painter. He essayed his skill on some works of more importance, and was quite successful. In 1811 he painted a picture representing "A Rencontre between Col. Allen McLane and Two British Horsemen," which occurred during the Revolution, near Philadelphia. This painting was for many years an ornament of Peale's Museum. One of his most ambitious works was a full-length portrait of Washington. He also painted "A View of the Battle of Princeton." In 1818 he painted "A View of Belfield Farm, near Germantown," the country-seat of his brother. James Peale died in 1823.

His daughter, Miss Anna C. Peale, exhibited her first picture—a fruit piece—in 1811. She devoted her attention for some years to painting still-life subjects, but afterward took to miniature painting. She painted miniature portraits of the French Gen. Lallemand; also of the "celebrated Albiness," Miss Hervey, President James Monroe, Maj.-Gen. Jackson (1819), James Peale (1820), and Commodore Bainbridge, of the United States navy.

Another daughter, Miss Maria Peale, commenced to paint vegetables and still-life subjects about 1810. It does not appear that she attempted portrait-painting.

Miss Sarah M. Peale, still another daughter of James, made herself known in 1816 as a painter of flowers. Still-life subjects—peaches, grapes, muskmelons, jelly, and cake—were exhibited by her in 1819. Afterward she took to painting portraits in oil. In 1820 she executed a portrait of the Rev. William Ward, missionary to Serampore, and one of Commodore Bainbridge in 1822. In 1825 Lafayette accorded her four sittings. Miss Peale afterward removed to Baltimore and Washington, where she painted the portraits of many senators, congressmen, and others.

James Peale, Jr., also followed his father's profession, but does not appear to have given any attention to portrait painting. A view of High Street bridge, by this artist, was hung up in the exhibition-room of the Columbian Society of Artists in 1813. Very soon after this first production of his pencil he painted a view of an engagement near Pernambuco between the privateer schooner "Cornet," Capt. Boyle, of Baltimore, and a Portuguese sloop-of-war and three vessels under her convoy; "View of Germantown" (1820), "View of Water Gap and breaking away of a Storm" (1824), "Fairmount Water-Works" (1824).

Pierre Eugène Du Simitière, already mentioned in these pages as a collector of curiosities and a writer, was also a painter of some talent, and practiced his profession in the city from 1760 to his death, in 1788. He was the designer of the frontispiece of the *United States Magazine*, published in 1779, and of an allegorical vignette for the *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1775), representing the Goddess of Liberty, etc. He painted a portrait of Silas Deane, which was engraved by B. Reading, London, in 1783. Shortly after the Declaration of Independence, Du Simitière was employed by a committee of Congress, consisting of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, to furnish designs for a seal for the new republic. After several consultations with the committee, each member of which had his own idea of a suitable subject, the following device was thought satisfactory: The shield, with six quarterings, was charged with the rose of England, the thistle of Scotland, the harp of Ireland, the lily of France, the black eagle of Germany, and the crowned red lion of Holland, these being allusions to the different nations by which America was peopled. Du Simitière proposed, as supporters, the Goddess of Liberty, with the pole and cap, and an American rifleman, with a rifle and tomahawk. Over the shield was the All-Seeing Eye. Motto, "*Bello vel pace.*" Franklin desired to propose a device of Moses lifting his wand and dividing the Red Sea, and Pharaoh and his host overwhelmed in the waters. Adams proposed the choice of Hercules between Virtue and Pleasure. Jefferson suggested the children of Israel in the wilderness, led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, and on the other side effigies of Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs, whose political principles were claimed to be the foundation of the system of government of the United States. Jefferson was desired to combine these ideas, and he did so by adopting the shield and quarterings of Du Simitière. The supporters were the Goddess of Liberty wearing a corselet of armor,

and holding the spear and liberty-cap, and the Goddess of Justice, with sword and balance. Crest, the All-Seeing Eye in a radiant triangle. Motto, "*E pluribus unum.*" The borders of the shield were formed by thirteen white escutcheons, linked together by a golden chain, and bearing the initials of the thirteen States. The device on the reverse was to be Pharaoh attempting to follow the Israelites through the Red Sea. The motto, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." Congress took no action on this project when it was reported, in 1776, and a new committee was appointed in 1779, to report a design for a seal. Du Simitière proposed the following: The shield—bow, thirteen diagonal stripes, alternate red and white; crest, a radiant constellation of thirteen stars; supporters, Peace with the olive-branch, a mailed warrior with sword; the supporters holding over the shield a linked chain. Motto, "*Bello vel pace.*" Reverse, the Goddess of Liberty, seated. Motto, "*Virtute perennis.*"

This design was not adopted; another design, furnished in the succeeding year by William Barton, was not more satisfactory. Finally, the present device of the seal was adopted; it was sent to the President of the United States by John Adams, and is said to have been designed by Sir John Prestwich, baronet, of the west of England, an accomplished antiquarian, and a friend to America during the Revolution.

Du Simitière painted miniatures in water-colors, and had many of his portraits engraved in Paris, among them Washington, Arnold, Silas Deane, Gates, Laurens, Huntington, Morris, Steuben, Charles Thomson, Gerard, and Joseph Reed. He was an ardent patriot and a well-informed man, and collected materials for a history of the American Revolution.

Thomas Spence Duché, son of the Rev. Jacob Duché, rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, was born in Philadelphia about 1766. He went to London with his father, when the latter left Philadelphia (during the British occupation of the city in 1777–78), and studied painting with West. Very little is known of his life, but such of his works as have been brought to this country are evidences of his fine artistic talent. He painted a portrait of Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, while the latter was in London, in 1783. The original of this picture, well known from Sharpe's engraving of it, is now at Washington College, Hartford, Conn. A portrait of Bishop Provoost, of New York, which is in possession of the family of the late Cadwallader Colden, an "Infant Saviour," and two pieces for public charities, are also the productions of Mr. Duché's pencil.

Robert Fulton, who was to acquire undying fame as the introducer of the steamboat, began life as a portrait-painter in Philadelphia, in the year 1782; he was then seventeen years old, having been born in Little Britain, Lancaster Co., in 1765. As a boy he had shown great attachment to mechanics as well as a fondness for drawing and painting, and it is likely that he adopted the latter as a profession because it would bring immediate pecuniary returns, for he was poor and without friends. Yet, he managed by untiring industry to save enough in four years to purchase a small farm in Pennsylvania, where he established his widowed mother. The good son, having thus secured his parent against possible want, felt free to seek that improvement in his profession which would give him fame, for he could not but see that his pictures lacked the artistic touch which well-directed studies alone would enable him to give them. He went to England to seek instruction from Benjamin West, —the Polar Star toward which all young American artists turned. "That Mr. West justly appreciated the character of his young countryman," says Mr. Dunlap, "is attested by his presenting him with two pictures; one representing the great painter, with his wife's portrait on his easel, and the other Fulton's own portrait."

ROBERT FULTON.

While practicing the art of painting, Fulton had his attention again attracted to his old favorite science of mechanics, and in 1795 he gave up a profession in which he had never attained very great eminence. His subsequent career, however interesting, has nothing to do with art. Mr. Dunlap says of one of his paintings, "In 1793 was published a print, engraved by Sherwin, from a picture by Fulton, of Louis XVI. in prison, taking leave of his family. The only copy I have seen is possessed by my friend Dr. Francis; it is now a curiosity." Fulton painted a very good portrait of his friend, Joel Barlow. He directed and superintended the execution of the fine plates of Barlow's "Columbiad." Mr. Colden, in his "Life of

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Fulton," says, "He paid about five thousand dollars for the paintings, the plates, and letter-press, which gave him a property in the publication. He relinquished, by his will, all his right to the widow of Mr. Barlow, with the reservation of fifty of the proof and embellished copies of the work. It was printed in Philadelphia, in quarto, and published in 1807; it is dedicated by Mr. Barlow to Mr. Fulton in such terms as evinced the strong attachment which subsisted between these men of genius. The original paintings, from which the prints of the 'Columbiad' were engraved, form a part of the handsome collection which Mr. Fulton has left to his family."

Though Fulton had ceased to paint, his love of art never changed. His affection for his kind instructor, West, and admiration for that great artist's talent are attested by his purchasing, at a high price, the pictures painted by West from "Lear" and "Hamlet" for Boydell's "Shakespeare." He also bought a fine picture by Raphael West from "As you like it." He went further and tried to persuade the citizens of Philadelphia to purchase such pictures of West as were at that artist's disposal. In his letter accompanying the catalogue he remarked, "No city ever had such a collection of admired works from the pencil of one man, and that man is your fellow-citizen." Fifteen thousand pounds sterling was the price set on the collection, "a sum," said Mr. Fulton, "inconsiderable when compared with the objects in view and the advantages to be derived from it."

If Robert Fulton was not a great artist, he had a great mind and a great heart. He died on the 24th of February, 1815. He had married, in 1806, Miss Harriet Livingston, daughter of Walter Livingston, of New York, from which he left issue one son and three daughters.

Two old advertisements tell all we know of two artists who were in Philadelphia for a short time. In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of January, 1781, is the announcement that "Austin Florimont, limner, lately arrived in this city, who is peculiarly happy in his likenesses, paints miniature and crayon pictures of all sorts at very reasonable prices," and in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Jan. 20, 1782, "Mr. Verstille, at Mrs. Ford's, in Arch Street," informs us that he "will take miniatures, for two months, for two guineas."

In 1781, George Rutter painted the arms of the State of Pennsylvania over the seats of the judges of the Supreme Court, in the room since called Independence Hall, and Martin Jugiez carved the ornamental frame of the coat of arms. These artists, it appears, had not been properly authorized to do this work, for the Assembly resisted their claim, which was not finally settled until 1799.

In the latter part of 1782, Joseph Wright, an American artist, lately from London and Paris, came to America. At Princeton, in 1783, he painted portraits of Washington and Mrs. Washington, and was employed by Congress to take a plaster cast of the features of the former for the purpose of sending it to Europe as a guide for a sculptor to make a statue. Washington submitted to the disagreeable operation, but Wright having unluckily broken the mould after he had removed it, the general would not consent to his trying a second cast. In the winter of 1783–84, Wright was in Philadelphia, and painted a portrait of Washington, which the latter presented to Count de Solms. This nobleman had formed a collection of portraits of distinguished military characters, and was anxious to place among them the likeness of the glorious American general. Wright went to New York after this, but returned to Philadelphia when Congress came back. He resided here until 1793, when he died of the yellow fever. During that period he executed, among other works, a portrait of Madison and a picture of Madison and family. Wright was a native of Bordentown, N. J. His mother, Patience Lovell, became celebrated as a modeler in wax. Mrs. Wright, after the death of her husband, Joseph Wright, Sr., took her children to London, where she devoted herself to her work of modeling. She became famous in this art, and both in London and Paris made enough money with her wax-work exhibitions to pay for the education of her children. Joseph, who had a taste for painting, studied with West; he was also aided in his efforts by Hopner, who married his sister. He profited in his studies, and before he left England had painted some good portraits, among others that of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. Mrs. Wright placed her son under the protection of Benjamin Franklin, in Paris, during part of the winter of 1781–82, and the young artist received several commissions for portraits from the aristocratic families of the Faubourg St. Germain, which he executed before his return to America. Wright had learned from his mother the art of modeling in wax and clay. During his residence in Philadelphia he taught William Rush, the sculptor, how to model in clay. He had also learned die-sinking, and he was appointed die-sinker to the United States Mint a short time before his death. "His children [his wife died during the same epidemic of 1793] have a picture painted by him in Philadelphia, representing in small full-lengths himself, wife, and three children;" also "a chalk drawing of his head, done from the mirror, which is more like, and very skillfully drawn."[1]

Robert Edge Pine, an English painter, who had acquired much fame in his native country, being considered one of the best portrait and historical painters in England before the arrival of West, came to Philadelphia in 1784. His object in coming to this country was to obtain portraits of noted personages and sketches of places of historical interest, to be afterward combined in historical paintings of American

[1] Dunlap's History of the Arts of Design.

subjects. His first portrait painted in America was that of Francis Hopkinson. He was extremely desirous of painting Washington, and Mr. Hopkinson feeling interested in him and his plans, wrote to the general, then at Mount Vernon, and obtained this privilege. Pine's portrait of Washington was painted in 1785. The artist had not much opportunity to paint during the short time he lived in Philadelphia, yet several good portraits by him have been preserved. A beautiful portrait of Sarah Livingston (Mrs. John Jay) is in possession of the Jay family at New York. A picture of Mrs. Richard Caton (Polly Carroll) belongs to the McTavish family of Maryland. The artist occasionally visited Virginia and Maryland, and painted portraits during these excursions. He executed full-length portraits of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Charles Carroll, his son, and the daughters, Mrs. Caton and Mrs. Hooper; groups of the Patterson and Smith families of Maryland, and portraits of George Read, of Delaware, and of Thomas Stone. Robert Morris took an interest in Pine, and is said to have procured for him the use of a house on Eighth Street, above Market, where the artist died, Nov. 19, 1788. Mary Pine, his widow, presented a petition to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, stating that her husband came to America with a view of representing, in several large paintings, the principal events of the late American war, and that he had brought with him original historical paintings, engravings, drawings, and designs. A building was erected for the reception thereof, but the debts were not yet paid upon it. She therefore prayed for permission to dispose of her husband's pictures by lottery. The Assembly granted her prayer, and the pictures were disposed of, many of them falling into the possession of Daniel Bowen, who exhibited them at his museum, and afterward removed them to Boston.

Concerning Pine's merit as an artist, it is said that his drawing was weak, but that his coloring was excellent. Allston said of him, "In the coloring of the figures his pictures in the Columbian Museum at Boston were my first masters. Pine had certainly, as far as I can recollect, considerable merit in color."

Joseph Hopkinson says of Pine,—

"He was a very small man; morbidly irritable. His wife and daughters were also very diminutive; they were, indeed, a family of pigmies. After his death his family went back to Europe. . . . He brought with him a plaster cast of the Venus de Medici, which was kept *shut up in a case*, and only shown to persons who particularly wished to see it, as the manners of our country, *at that time*, would not tolerate a public exhibition of such a figure. This fact shows our progress in civilization and the arts."

Mr. Dunlap mentions Edward Savage, a native of New England, as having lived in Philadelphia before 1789. It is said of this artist that "he painted poor pictures, and made still poorer engravings from them." One of his pictures, however, "Washington and his Family," is extensively known through the country by the many engravings and lithographs which have been made from it. It represented the general, Mrs. Washington, George Washington Parke Custis, his sister, afterward Mrs. Lewis, and Billy, a favorite servant. He also painted, while in Philadelphia, a profile portrait of George Washington upon wood, which was said to be a good likeness. A portrait of Robert Treat Paine, by Savage, is among the likenesses of "The Signers of the Declaration of Independence," engraved by Longacre. Engravings from portraits of Gen. Anthony Wayne and William Smith, of South Carolina, by Savage, were published in 1801. The first panorama ever exhibited in Philadelphia was shown by Savage in 1795. It represented the cities of London and Westminster.

In 1791, the Earl of Buchan presented to Washington, whom he admired above all men, the historical box made out of the oak-tree which sheltered Sir William Wallace, after his defeat at the battle of Falkirk, by Edward I., in the fourteenth century. Archibald Robertson, an English painter, was the bearer of this box, and obtained the privilege of painting a portrait of Washington in miniature. He also took a miniature likeness of Mrs. Washington, from which he afterward painted her portrait in oil and sent it to the earl. These miniatures were painted in 1792. Mr. Robertson did not prolong his stay in Philadelphia, but went to New York, in which city he resided principally while in this country.

C. Milbourne, who was brought from England by Wignell, in 1793, as scene-painter for the Chestnut Street Theatre, was gifted with a correct artistic taste. For his benefit, in December, 1794, he painted some local scenes to illustrate a pantomime called "The Elopement." Among these scenes, a view of Arch Street wharf, with a boat sailing on the Delaware, and a view of Third and Market Streets were remarkable for their excellence. James Cox, another Englishman, came to Philadelphia in 1794. He had been a colorer for Boydell, the famous London print-seller, and excelled in drawing and painting flowers. He was very successful in Philadelphia as a drawing-master.

In 1794 there came to Philadelphia that famous portrait-painter and most eccentric genius, Gilbert Stuart. A native of Rhode Island, he was connected with one of the old Philadelphia families, his mother being a sister of Joseph Anthony, of this city. Gilbert Charles Stuart, or Gilbert Stuart, for he dropped the middle name when he became a painter, had shown at a very early age a decided taste for drawing, and after copying pictures had even attempted likenesses in black lead, many of which were considered successful, when he was little over thirteen years of age. In our notice of Cosmo Alexander we have related how that artist, after giving lessons to the boy Gilbert, had taken him with him to South Carolina, and thence to Scotland. Not very long after their arrival in that country Mr. Alexander died. Stuart then became a pupil of Sir George Chambers, but

this gentleman also died shortly after, and the young American was left without friends in a strange country. What befell him there is not known. We next hear of his arrival in Nova Scotia, in great distress and poverty, having, it is believed, worked for his passage on board the collier that brought him there. From Nova Scotia he managed to get back to Newport, R. I., where he was some time in getting over the effects of the hardships he had suffered. But his travels had not been profitless, he had learned something of drawing and painting, and he resumed with renewed ardor his favorite occupation.

About this time his uncle, Joseph Anthony, came to Newport on a visit to his relatives, and was much struck by a portrait of his mother, which Gilbert, the grandson, had painted from memory, the old lady having died when he was ten years old. Mr. Anthony gave a commission to his nephew to paint the portraits of himself, his wife, and two children, and showing these to his friends, succeeded in obtaining for the young artist orders for the painting of several other portraits. The warm interest felt by Mr. Anthony in his young kinsman and the encouragement he gave him were most valuable. This was the painter's first start in life, and pretty soon he had as many portraits to paint as he could attend to. But the Revolutionary contest with Great Britain was approaching; the clouds of war were already gathering, and art, to flourish, needs a peaceful sky. Stuart, besides, wished better opportunities for study than he could find at home. He resolved to follow his schoolmate and dear friend, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, who had gone to London a few months before. He was not well provided with money, but he counted on his friend or on his own luck. He arrived in London in November, 1775, and learned, with what feelings of disappointment may well be imagined, that Waterhouse had gone to Edinburgh. He was a stranger, alone, friendless, almost penniless, in the great metropolis. He had suffered in Scotland, and now England had no better welcome for him.

GILBERT STUART.
[After the engraving by D. Edwin from Neagle's painting.]

That the young painter's first experience of London was a hard one is beyond doubt; but Gilbert Stuart was not the man to give way to despondency; he was possessed of that hopeful temperament ascribed to Mr. Micawber by Dickens, and often "waited for something to turn up." Nor was he deceived in his hope, though he had dark hours which would have made a less sanguine man despair. Stuart was a fine musician, noted particularly for his skill on the organ. This was fortunate, for music gave him the means of support before his pencil had found employment. The circumstances, related by Stuart himself to Mr. Charles Fraser, of Charleston, S. C., and Mr. Thomas Sully, of Philadelphia, and given at length by Dunlap, in his "History of the Arts of Design," were as follows: In that first period of trial, as Stuart was walking the streets listlessly one day, revolving in his mind the problem of how to pay his landlord for board and lodging, he heard the sounds of an organ issuing from the open door of a church in Foster Lane. Several persons were going in, and of one of these he inquired what was going on. He was informed that several candidates for the vacant position of organist were to exhibit their skill in presence of the vestry, who sat as judges. Entering the church, he placed himself as near as he could to the vestrymen, and after listening a while, asked one of them if he, a stranger, might try his skill and become a candidate for the place. Receiving an affirmative answer, he took his seat at the organ, and drew from it such sweet sounds that the delighted judges were unanimous in giving him the preference over his rivals. After due inquiry he was engaged at a salary of thirty pounds a year, which enabled him to support himself while pursuing his studies as a painter.

Strange as it may seem, Stuart did not get acquainted with West until the summer of 1778. His reception by that great artist is described in Stuart's own words to Mr. Fraser.[1] He said "that on application to Mr. West to receive him as a pupil, he was welcomed with true benevolence, encouraged, and taken into the family; that nothing could exceed the attention of that artist to him; they were, said he, paternal." Stuart studied for some years with West, whose kindness to him he never forgot, and at last, by his friend and master's advice, commenced painting as a professional artist. His first portrait, that

[1] Dunlap's "History of the Arts of Design."

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of Mr. Grant, being put on exhibition, attracted general attention. In a short time he had become famous, and his pictures occupied the best places at the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy. Indolent and industrious by fits, loving pleasure, fond of society in which he was hailed as a most agreeable companion, whose conversation sparkled with wit and humor, Stuart did not derive from his great success the material advantages they should have brought a man of ordinary prudence. Even when his pictures commanded the highest prices, he was often in debt. He returned to the United States in 1793, and settled in New York. There he painted many portraits. Dunlap mentions as particularly fine those of the Pollock and Yates families, Sir John Temple and some of his family, the Hon. John Jay, Gen. Matthew Clarkson, John R. Murray, and Col. Giles.

Stuart now conceived a great desire to paint the portrait of President Washington. He obtained a letter of introduction from John Jay, and came to Philadelphia (1794). Here he painted his first portrait of Washington, but only finished the head. This unfinished portrait he kept, and used it as a model for many other portraits of Washington, which he executed in after-years. The President, by the persuasion of Mrs. Bingham, it is said, consented to sit for the full-length portrait, which, engraved by Heath, of London, became generally known as Stuart's Washington. This portrait was the cause of a quarrel between the painter and Mr. Bingham. It had been painted for Lord Lansdowne, and Mr. Bingham persuaded Stuart to sell it to him in order that he might present it to that nobleman. Mr. Bingham, when he sent the portrait to Lord Lansdowne, neglected to reserve the right of the painter to have it reproduced by engraving. It was engraved by Heath, and Stuart had no share in the profits of the operation. He reproached Mr. Bingham with having sacrificed his interests, and they parted in anger. Stuart was then painting a very beautiful head of Mrs. Bingham; he left it unfinished, and never touched it afterward. Dunlap calls Heath's a "vile" engraving, "a libel upon Stuart and Washington."

Stuart took up his residence at Germantown, where he remained until Congress removed to Washington, when he went to that city. During his stay in Philadelphia he painted portraits of Judge Shippen, Judge (afterward Governor) McKean, three portraits for Peter Wager, wine merchant, and others. Volney, the French traveler and author, sat for his portrait to Stuart. Dolly Paine, afterward the wife of James Madison, was painted by Stuart. A portrait of A. J. Dallas, from the pencil of this artist, and of Timothy Pickering, are generally known by the existence of engraved copies. Stuart also painted the portraits of Eleanor Curtis (afterward Mrs. Lawrence Lewis), Sally McKean (afterward the Marchioness De Yrujo), and Elizabeth Willing (afterward Mrs. William Jackson). A portrait of John Nixon, by Gilbert Stuart, was in the possession of Henry Cramond. Ricketts, the circus-rider, sat to him, and the artist becoming angry at the equestrian, who gave him a good deal of trouble by his want of promptitude and the delays which occurred, is said to have dashed his paint-brush into the face of the portrait, declaring that he would have nothing more to do with him. A portrait of Mrs. Benedict Arnold (formerly Peggy Shippen), by Stuart, was in possession of Edward Shippen of this city. A very fine portrait of Provost William Smith, of the University, belongs to Dr. Brinton.

Gilbert Stuart died in Boston in July, 1828, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He died a poor man, after enjoying merited celebrity for nearly half a century. He preserved his brilliant faculties to the last. We will close this brief notice of the great portrait-painter with a last extract from Mr. Dunlap's work: "If we judge by the portrait of the Hon. John Quincy Adams, the last head he painted, his powers of mind were undiminished to the last, and his eye free from the dimness of age. This picture was begun as a full-length, but death arrested the hand of the artist after he had completed the likeness of the face, and proved that, at the age of seventy-four, he painted better than in the meridian of life. This picture has been finished—that is, the person and accessories painted—by that eminent and highly-gifted artist, Mr. Thomas Sully, who, as he has said, would have thought it little less than sacrilege to have touched the head."

Benjamin Trott, an American artist, who came to Philadelphia with Stuart in 1794, was one of the best miniature painters of his time. Stuart had become acquainted with him in New York, where he had been practicing for some time, and liking his style, recommended him when miniature copies of his portraits were wanted. In Philadelphia, among other works he made an excellent copy, on ivory, of Stuart's Washington. He left the city in 1805, but came back in 1806, and remained until 1819. He and Thomas Sully were for some years joint tenants of a house, each pursuing his respective branch of art. Trott was extremely sensitive, and at the same time given to making caustic remarks, which may account in some measure for his not achieving any great success, notwithstanding his acknowledged skill in portrait-painting. In a notice of some miniatures of his which were exhibited at the academy in 1812, a writer in the *Portfolio* remarks, "The works of this excellent artist are justly esteemed for truth and expression. In examining his miniatures we perceive all the force and effect of the best oil pictures; and it is but fair to remark that Mr. Trott is purely an American: he has never been either in London or Paris."

The Swedish painter, Wertmuller, also settled in Philadelphia in 1794. He was in the maturity of his age and talent, and had already acquired some fame in Europe. He brought with him some of his paint-

ings, which, being much admired, brought him several commissions. He painted Washington, and, it is said, recopied for James Hamilton the portraits of the Hamilton family, and then Hamilton destroyed the originals. Wertmuller returned to Europe in 1796, but having lost much money through some unlucky investment, he bethought him of Philadelphia and of his success there, and came back in 1800, bringing with him his celebrated painting of "Danae." This being a nude figure, could not be exhibited publicly, yet the curiosity to see this masterpiece was such that its private exhibition brought to the artist quite a handsome income. Wertmuller lived some years in Philadelphia, where he married a lady of Swedish descent, and finally removed to Marcus Hook, Pa., where he died in 1812. His pictures were sold at auction after his death and commanded very good prices, a copy of his "Danae" selling for five hundred dollars.

Samuel Jennings, a native of Philadelphia, painted a large and imposing allegorical picture in the year 1792, which he presented to the Philadelphia Library. It is called "The Genius of America Encouraging the Emancipation of the Blacks." It was long exhibited in the room of the Loganian Library, but now is in the main room of the Philadelphia Library. It is a showy picture, but is not a work of high art. Jennings went to London, and Dunlap says that he was there in 1794, and degraded his talent by "manufacturing old pictures for the knowing ones,—a degradation which could lead to no other result than poverty and wretchedness."

Quite a number of foreign artists, mostly unknown to fame, visited Philadelphia during the last years of the eighteenth century. The young American republic naturally attracted the attention of the world. Travelers sought the seat of government, where they might become acquainted with the great men of the Revolution, and be allowed to contemplate that wonderful man who had successfully led his countrymen to victory and liberty,—George Washington. Artists were eager to copy his august features. We doubt if any man was ever painted, engraved, and lithographed so often as our Washington was during that period and the following decade. It is not very long since an aged Philadelphian gave his recollection of the arrival of a vessel from Canton, which "brought to this port a few likenesses of Washington, executed on glass, in a superb and masterly style, by an eminent Chinese artist. It is said that the resemblance was striking, and approached very much to Stuart's happiest efforts." Those artists, though unknown to fame, deserve a brief notice as having contributed each, in his modest way, to the history of art in Philadelphia.

John James Barralett, an Irishman, born of French parents, came to Philadelphia about 1795. His principal occupation was that of designing engravings for books. He also made picturesque drawings, and a specimen of his style is preserved in a view of Centre Square. His most important work was a portrait of the French Gen. Moreau, which he painted when this celebrated man was in Philadelphia. Barralett added some fancy decorations to the plate of Robertson's miniature portrait of Washington when it was engraved by the Englishman, R. Field, himself an excellent miniature-painter as well as engraver. Barralett was described as "a man of talent, without discretion or anything like common prudence, prodigally generous, and graspingly poor. . . . He had the wildest portions of the French and Irish character vindictively united in him. He had some mechanical genius. He invented a ruling-machine,—the first used in the United States by engravers. He also devoted much time to the improvement of ink for copper-plate printing."

A young painter of the name of Bartello, probably an Italian, was employed by T. B. Freeman, in 1796, to paint portraits from which engravings might be made. Duvivier & Son kept an academy of drawing and painting, on North Second Street, in 1797. Mr. Duvivier, it was stated, "painted on silk and satins." Lawrence Sully, an elder brother of the famous artist, Thomas Sully, painted miniatures and fancy pictures, at No. 58 North Fifth Street, at that time. On Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, 1796, there was an exhibition of "The Temple of Minerva," with a statue of the goddess contemplating a bust of Washington, all of which was the work of Joseph Peruani, an Italian painter and architect. Woolley, an English painter, divided his time between New York and Philadelphia. He painted small portraits in oil, and other pictures. John Joseph Holland, who was brought from his native city of London, by Wignell, in 1796, as scene-painter for the Chestnut Street Theatre, also drew and sketched landscapes. A view of Philadelphia from the west side of the Schuylkill, near the upper ferry, was drawn by Holland about 1797, and engraved by Gilbert Fox. It shows the Fairmount hill, and gives a curious view of the city from an unusual point of observation. Holland taught Hugh Reinagle and John Evers, distinguished scene-painters.

James Sharpless, also an Englishman, visited Philadelphia in 1798. He painted in oil and in pastel, and traveled over the country, making the portraits of distinguished people for a collection of his own, and generally getting orders for copies from the persons he thus proposed to immortalize on canvas or pasteboard. As he could paint a portrait in two hours, and his charges were fifteen dollars for a profile and twenty dollars for a full head, he made money, but cannot be said to have filled Pennsylvania homes with masterpieces of art. A part of his collection, however, is now in the National Museum in Philadelphia. The Irishman, Gallagher, who, according to Dunlap, painted portraits in Philadelphia in 1800, painted signs when he had no other work. In 1798 he painted a standard for the First Volunteer Cavalry, com-

manded by Capt. McKean. "He had a dashy, sketchy manner, and had been well instructed in the rudiments of drawing." James House, who afterwards entered the United States army, rose to the rank of colonel, and commanded a fine regiment in 1814, is said to have practiced portrait-painting in Philadelphia about 1799. John Eckstein was living in Philadelphia in 1800, and for some years after. According to Sully, as quoted by Dunlap, he was more of a drudge than an artist: "he could do you a picture in still life, history, landscape, or portrait. He could model, cut a head in marble, or anything you please." Eckstein painted, among other historical pictures, "The Roman and Sabine Combatants separated by the Sabine Women." In 1812 he exhibited a model of an equestrian statue of Gen. Washington in Roman costume.

Jeremiah Paul is said by Jarvis to have been painting in Philadelphia about the year 1800, in partnership with Pratt, Clark (a miniature-painter), and Rutter (a sign-painter). Jarvis said, "They all would occasionally work at anything; for at that time there were many fire-buckets and flags to be painted. When Stuart painted Washington for Bingham, Paul thought it no disgrace to letter 'the books.'"

Among the members of the equestrian company brought out by the manager (West) in 1792, was an Englishman named Lawrence Sully, who was accompanied by his whole family, consisting of four sons and several daughters. Some of these children showed a strong disposition toward art; one of them, the boy Thomas, was destined to fill a high place among Philadelphia artists. Thomas was nine years old when he came to America, and even at that early age he expressed a determination to become a painter like his elder brother, Lawrence, who had settled in Richmond, Va., as a miniature and device painter. One of the Sully girls had married Mr. Belzons, a French gentleman, who painted very well for an amateur, having no professional experience. Mr. Belzons encouraged his little brother-in-law's efforts, and gave him such instructions as he could. The boy was passionately fond of his art, and derived much benefit from this instruction, however incomplete, but, unfortunately, he had a quarrel with his brother-in-law and master, whose temper was not of the best, and the poor lad (he was then sixteen years old) found himself cast adrift in the world. He went to his brother Lawrence, in Richmond, and became his pupil. When, two years later (in 1801), Lawrence removed to Norfolk, Va., Thomas had acquired considerable skill in miniature-painting. In Norfolk he became acquainted with Henry Bembridge, who gave him his first lesson in oil-painting. After a season of study in Norfolk Thomas returned to Richmond, where his brother had preceded him, and remained in that city until after Lawrence's death, in 1805–6. He then went to New York, and received some instruction from Turnbull and Jarvis. While in New York he painted a portrait of Mrs. Merry (afterward Mrs. Wignell, and later, still, Mrs. Warren), at that time the most popular actress in America. From New York, Sully went to Boston, to study with Stuart, and finally came back to settle in Philadelphia, his first home in America.

The young artist, who had taken unto himself a wife, found the times very dull in Philadelphia. Portrait-painting barely supported the young *ménage*, and Thomas was dreaming that dream of all young American artists, a visit to Europe, where he could perfect his taste by the study of the old masters. Fortunately for Sully, he had a warm and true friend in Benjamin Wilcocks. This gentleman succeeded in interesting six others in subscribing each two hundred dollars toward a fund to send the artist to London, each subscriber to be repaid with a picture copied by Sully from some of the old masters. Leaving the greater part of the fourteen hundred dollars thus raised with his wife for her maintenance during his absence, Sully went to Liverpool in 1809.

He had very little money, and he intended to follow a complete course of study in London. This was a difficult undertaking, but the young artist was frugal, prudent, and industrious; he accomplished it. He had from William Rawle a letter of introduction to Benjamin West, and was sure of a kind reception from that generous artist. But he first went to deliver another letter of recommendation to the art-student, Charles B. King. Kind fate had led him to a friend immediately after his arrival in the strange city. The following passage from Dunlap tells us more of this spontaneous friendship and of the character of the two friends than we could learn in a volume of particulars: "When Sully first saw King in England, there was an immediate reciprocity of feeling that produced a frank interchange of thought, without hesitation or disguise. King had been some years studying in London, and could appreciate Sully's inexperience. 'How long do you intend staying in England?' 'Three years, if I can.' 'And how much money have you brought with you?' 'Four hundred dollars.' 'Why, my good sir, that is not enough for three months. I'll tell you what, I am not ready to go home, my funds are almost expended, and before I saw you I had been contriving a plan to spin them out and give me more time. Can you live low?' 'All I want is bread and water.' 'O, then, you may live luxuriously, for we will add potatoes and milk to it. It will do. We will hire these rooms, they will serve us both. We will buy a stock of potatoes, take in bread and milk daily, keep our landlady in good humor, and (by the by) conceal from her the motive for our mode of life by a little present now and then, and work like merry fellows.' And so they did, thus making themselves excellent artists by a system of labor, economy, and independence as honorable as it was efficacious."

With such determination, and such a friend to

guide and counsel him, Sully could not fail to make a profitable use of his time. King introduced him to the council chamber of the Royal Academy, and the first impressions made upon the inexperienced young American, and which he consigned to a note-book, reveal a keenness of observation seldom met with. A student who could be thus impressed by the works of famous painters was a true artist, worthy of a place among those whose peculiar gifts and faults he could so well understand and analyze.

Here are Sully's remarks upon the pictures deposited by the academicians on their election, and which Mr. Dunlap quotes "by permission:" "The room is well stocked with works by Reynolds, Gainsborough, Fuseli, Stubbs, West, Lawrence, Owen, and many others. Owen's manner pleases me much. It is cool, broad, and firm, in some respects like Reynolds. The color is laid on in great body and with large brushes, so that no markings or hatchings are visible. His coloring is cool in the lights and warm in the shadows, beginning from almost pure white to vermilion tints to the cool half-tint, from that graduated to a greenish half-tint which looks like ochre-black and vermilion, and which perhaps is rendered more green when finished by glazing with asphaltum, the main shade of black and vermilion broken with the green tint. In some places Indian-red is used instead of vermilion.

Tho. Sully

"Gainsborough's manner struck me as being exactly as Reynolds describes it. There is some resemblance to it in Stuart's manner, only that Stuart is firmer in the handling. His dead colorings seem cool and afterward retouched with warm colors, used then so as to resemble the freedom of water-color painting. Many light touches of greenish and yellow tints are freely used, and although on inspection the work looks rugged and smeared, and scratched, yet, at a distance, it appeared to me the most natural flesh in the room. The specimens of Reynolds' pencil disappointed, and Opie's seemed raw, crude, and dirty; Copley more hard and dark than usual; Lawrence's too much loaded with paint, and the red and yellow overpowering. The ceiling of this room is painted by West and Angelica Kaufman, by far the most delicate coloring I have yet seen of the President's, and Angelica has closely imitated it."

Sully's introduction to West was beneficial in more than one sense to the young artist. The venerable painter received him with fatherly kindness, showed him his pictures, and gave him excellent advice; but very soon he did more, he rendered him an important service. Sully had to fulfill his engagement with his Philadelphia friends by painting seven copies of pictures by the old masters, and although he had been introduced to many artists and John Hare Powel, of Philadelphia, who was then in London, had obtained for him access to many fine collections, he had no opportunity of copying pictures. He was making up his mind to go to Paris, where students have free access to the artistic treasures collected by the government and may work as long as they choose in the galleries, when Mr. West, hearing of his difficulties, put his whole collection, old and new, at his service. Sully painted the seven copies, according to agreement. He then obtained an order from John Coates, of Philadelphia, for copies of certain landscapes in possession of the Penn family, which helped to replenish his almost empty purse. He finally returned to Philadelphia in 1810, having remained only nine months in London. But he had made the most of his time; he had worked hard, had seen the best collections of paintings in the British metropolis, and had studied with keen judgment and critical eye the manner of the most famous painters.

On his return home, Sully found that his most profitable employment would be portrait-painting, and he devoted his principal attention to this branch of the profession. His portraits were artistic; there was a magic touch in his pencil, which embellished what it reproduced on canvas, without going too far from the truth, so that, looking at the picture of some homely person, one recognized it, and yet muttered, much puzzled, "I had no idea that he (or she) was good-looking!" Among his portraits were Cooke, comedian, 1811; William B. Wood, as *Charles de Moor;* a full-length portrait of Cooke as *Richard III.*, 1811; Governor Tompkins, of New York, 1814; Dr. Benjamin Rush, 1814; also a full-length of the same subject in the same year; a full-length of Samuel Coates,

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President of the Pennsylvania Hospital, presented to that institution by the artist; James Ross, of Pittsburgh, three-quarter length, 1814; a full-length of Gen. Jonathan Williams, 1815; Elias Boudinot, 1817; Mrs. Wallack, 1819; Dr. N. Chapman, 1819; Maj.-Gen. Andrew Jackson, 1819; John Vaughan, 1824; Capt. James Biddle, U.S.N., 1825; William MacClure, 1825.

Sully, while he painted portraits as the surest means of making money, did not, however, neglect those other branches of painting where the artist may give sway to his imagination, and on which he generally rests his hopes of fame. Poetry and romance present a rich field to the imaginative painter; Sully found in them the subjects of many good pictures. He painted "Pylades and Orestes," "The Landing of Telemachus and Mentor on the Island of Calypso," a copy from West, 1811; "Contemplation," 1811; "Lady of the Lake," 1812; "Miranda," from Shakespeare's "Tempest," 1815; "Death of Long Tom Coffin," from "The Pilot," 1824. He also turned his attention to historical painting, and produced some valuable pictures of events in American history. His "Capture of Major André," painted in 1812, is widely known from the large engraving which F. Kearney made from it.

One of Sully's most important works, on which he doubtless based hopes of fame and profit,—his large picture of "Washington Crossing the Delaware,"—turned out to be a source of much disappointment and pecuniary loss. The history of this picture is singular. In 1818, Mr. Sully received an order from the State of North Carolina for two full-length portraits of Washington. The artist's mind was bent on producing some grand historical picture. Here, then, was his opportunity: instead of a simple portrait, he would represent Washington in some well-known episode of his patriotic career. He communicated this plan to the Legislature of North Carolina, and suggested "The Crossing of the Delaware before the Battle of Trenton" as a fit subject. His proposition was accepted, and he set to work with enthusiastic ardor, devoting himself to his task to the neglect of all other work, even refusing some valuable orders for portraits. But a most important point had remained unsettled. The picture must necessarily be quite large, the figures represented being of life size; the artist had mentioned the dimensions of his canvas, and no objection had been raised,—the Legislature had probably paid no attention to this trifling detail,—but when the picture was finished, after nearly two years of constant labor and considerable expense, the Legislature of North Carolina refused to receive it, upon the ground that there was no place in the public buildings where it could be put. It was exhibited in Sully's gallery in 1820, and much admired, but its large size hindered its admirers from thinking of purchasing it. At last this work of great merit, which had cost the artist so much thought and labor, was sold to John Doggett, of Boston, for five hundred dollars, not enough to cover the actual cost of canvas, paint, and models' hire. Mr. Doggett subsequently sold the "Washington Crossing the Delaware" to the Boston Museum.

A more profitable piece of work was the copy of Granet's famous "Capuchin Chapel." Granet had painted ten copies of his picture, and one of them was purchased by Mr. Wiggins, of Boston. There was much curiosity in the art-loving public concerning this masterpiece, and Mr. Wiggins was constantly annoyed by applications to see it. Sully went to Boston, obtained an introduction to Mr. Wiggins, and applied for permission to copy the picture for the purpose of exhibition. This being willingly granted, he worked steadily ten hours a day for three months, and made such an admirable copy that it was said that connoisseurs, seeing the two pictures side by side, could not tell which was Granet's and which Sully's. The industrious artist derived considerable profit from the exhibition of "The Capuchin Chapel" in various cities.

Sully's trusting disposition caused him to suffer another disappointment with his full-length portrait of Lafayette, now the property of the city of Philadelphia. While Lafayette was present, in 1824, a project was set on foot to secure his portrait for the city. The expense was to be met by subscription, and some names were readily obtained. Mr. Sully, confiding in the result of this scheme, obtained a sitting from Lafayette, and having succeeded in producing an excellent likeness, proceeded to paint the full-length, life-size portrait. Meanwhile the "*Héros des deux Mondes*" left Philadelphia, the subscription, started in a moment of enthusiasm, was abandoned as a failure, and Sully's picture—one of the best portraits of Lafayette ever painted, and remarkable for the fidelity of the resemblance as well as for the artistic execution—remained on the hands of the artist. Failing to find a purchaser for it, he presented it to the Academy of Fine Arts. Years afterward the academy exchanged this picture for West's "Paul and Barnabas at Lystra."

Among the best portraits painted by Sully about that period was a full-length of Thomas Jefferson for the Military Academy at West Point, in 1821.

In 1837 the St. George Society of Philadelphia commissioned Sully to go to England and paint a full-length portrait of the then youthful Queen Victoria, who had just ascended the throne. This commission was executed in an admirable manner. That portrait was Mr. Sully's last important work, yet up to within a short time of his death the artist continued to produce charming pictures, especially of women and children. As a colorist he had no superior in this country. His style was that of Sir Thomas Lawrence, especially in his portraits of women. His portraits of Cooke, Mrs. Wood, the singer, and Fanny Kemble, are among the most successful of his efforts.

Mr. Sully died at his residence in Fifth Street above Chestnut, Nov. 5, 1872, at the ripe age of a little more than eighty years. Mr. Sully's life was blameless. He indulged in the practice of music, of which he was passionately fond, and it became a solace to his declining years. Some of the best citizens of Philadelphia who enjoyed his society made his old age cheerful by their companionship. His kind disposition and engaging manners endeared him to his family and friends. Two of his daughters and his son, Gen. Alfred Sully, a distinguished officer of the United States army, were his constant attendants.

Alexander Wilson, who conquered a place in the history of art with his "American Ornithology," was a native of Scotland, who came to this country in 1794. He began life by being bound apprentice to a weaver, but, a born poet and dreamer, he was ill suited for this trade, and the only distinction he earned during his five years of apprenticeship was the nickname of the "lazy weaver." At eighteen years of age, having served his term at the loom, he began the rambling life of a peddler, but his rambles only increased his taste for poetry, and a satire upon the vices of the aristocracy caused him to be prosecuted and imprisoned. Disgusted with his native land, he sailed for America. Landing at New Castle, Del., he started on foot for Philadelphia, where he found employment as a weaver, and also worked as a copper-plate printer. But he had higher aspirations, and after traveling for some time as a peddler and earning a little money, he set up a school in New Jersey, which he managed successfully for some years. He was still poor, however, and his restless spirit led him to change his residence several times, and try his fortunes, with no better result, in various places. At last he came back to Philadelphia, and opened a school near the residence of the well-known naturalist, William Bartram, within four miles of the city. This circumstance was the turning-point in his life. Already an enthusiastic lover of nature, Wilson found a congenial disposition in Bartram, and the two neighbors soon became fast friends. Mr. Dunlap says that Alexander Lawson was the first to suggest drawing to Wilson as a means of diverting him from the melancholy thoughts caused by his poverty and disappointment. From drawing and painting birds he was led to study their habits. He had found his true vocation,—he had become an ornithologist. With time, as he improved in his art and studies, Wilson conceived the idea of publishing the ornithology of Pennsylvania and, if possible, of the United States. This was a stupendous undertaking for the self-taught artist. The engraving of the plates alone would require a small fortune, and he was poor. Fortune at last favored him in this extremity. He was engaged as assistant editor, at a liberal salary, by Samuel F. Bradford. Ere long Mr. Bradford, recognizing the merit of Wilson's valuable work, undertook to publish it. Lawson engraved the plates.

The publication was commenced in 1808. Wilson then traveled through various parts of the United States in search of subscribers, availing himself of the opportunity to add new treasures to his collection of birds. In 1813 seven volumes had been published, and the author had just completed the letter-press of the eighth when death put an end to his labors. He was then forty-seven years of age.

Mr. Dunlap says of Wilson, "The admirable trait in Wilson's character is his undeviating adherence to, and innate love of, truth. He was strictly honorable in his dealings, and in all trials through life rigidly a virtuous man. His fault, and I learn but of one, was irritability, which perhaps counteracted, in some measure, the good effect which his high moral character produced." From a long letter of Dr. John W. Francis to Mr. Dunlap we quote the following: "When the Dukes John and Charles of Austria attended a *conversazione* at Sir Joseph Banks', in 1816, the royal visitors expressed a desire to examine the library and vast collections in natural science of the venerable president of the Royal Society. 'I have nothing worthy of your special examination,' said Sir Joseph, 'except the American Ornithology of Wilson;' and further inquiries were dropped upon the inspection of this extraordinary work. 'Our Radcliff Library is deficient,' observed Dr. Williams, the Regius Professor of Botany; 'we have had no opportunity of procuring the American Ornithology, by Wilson; we learn the work is terminated, and it is remarkable that no Edinburgh or Quarterly has taken notice of it. In what way can we soonest obtain a copy from your country?' Thus the sod had scarcely covered the grave of the lamented Wilson ere his matchless efforts as Nature's historian were the theme of popular and scientific admirers in regions far remote and distant from each other. While, therefore, his earthly remains have commingled with their kindred dust, like the delightful solo of that chief of songsters, 'The Mocking-Bird,' among the feathered tribe, whose vocal powers amid the fragrant magnolia he has so eloquently described as unrivaled, his own surpassing labors will ever command the admiration of the disciples of nature in every part of the habitable globe."

John Paradise, a native of New Jersey, studied for a short time under Volozan, and came out as a professional portrait-painter in Philadelphia in 1803. He left this city in 1810 to settle in New York, where he was engaged in his profession for many years. He died in New Jersey in 1833.

If Jacob Eichholtz, of Lancaster and Philadelphia, did not rise to eminence, it was not from a lack of perseverance or even of talent. He had no opportunities; no protecting hand guided his first efforts; whatever he succeeded in doing was accomplished by his own strong will. He was a not uncommon example of ·t obstinacy of purpose, characteristic of the Amer-

icans, to which our country owes so much of its present greatness. Eichholtz was born in the town of Lancaster in 1776. At the early age of seven years he showed his vocation by covering the walls of the paternal garret with rude attempts at delineating objects that took his fancy. The elder Eichholtz, a practical man, of German descent, as the name indicates, was not disposed to encourage such nonsense, yet as he saw the child's delight when his persistent efforts to copy objects were crowned with success, he kindly consented to give him a teacher, a common sign-painter, who committed suicide when he had barely taught his pupil the first rudiments of drawing. Little Jacob made the most of those few lessons, and went on copying everything he saw, from the house cat to his father's horn spectacles and porcelain pipe. The child grew to be a lad, and was apprenticed to a coppersmith. He served his apprenticeship, went into the coppersmith business on his own account, and took to himself a wife, yet during all this time he gave to his favorite occupation of drawing every spare moment he could have out of the shop. How long he might have continued darkening his walls with uncouth charcoal sketches, had not fate sent Mr. Sully to Lancaster, is hard to tell. His acquaintance with this eminent artist was a revelation. It decided his future. He had attempted portrait-painting, dividing his attention between this occupation and his coppersmith business. He now dropped the shop entirely, resolved to support his family by painting faces. He attempted a portrait of Nicholas Biddle, president of the United States Bank, and having been urged to visit Gilbert Stuart at Boston, he took this work of art with him to show the great portrait-painter what he could do. Stuart received him kindly, and gave him some good advice; but poor Eichholtz saw enough to convince him that he was but a tyro in the art of delineating "the human face divine." On his return home he removed to Philadelphia, where he could find means of improvement as well as more lucrative employment for his pencil. He painted portraits of T. B. Freeman, Commodore Gale, and others, became favorably known, and acquired a decent competence, with which he returned to Lancaster after a ten years' residence in Philadelphia.

Sully, in a letter quoted by Dunlap, speaks thus kindly of Eichholtz: "When Governor Snyder was elected, I was employed by Mr. Binns to go on to Lancaster and paint a portrait of the new chief magistrate of the State. Eichholtz was then employing all his leisure hours, stolen from the manufacturing of tin-kettles and copper-pans, in painting; his attempts were hideous. He kindly offered me the use of his painting-room, which I readily accepted, and gave him during my stay in Lancaster all the professional information I could impart. When I saw his portraits a few years afterward (in the interim he had visited and copied Stuart), I was much surprised and gratified. I have no doubt that Eichholtz would have made a first-rate painter had he begun early in life with the usual advantages."

John Lewis Krimmel, who came from Germany to Philadelphia in 1810, to join his brother in commercial enterprise, but threw up trade to become an artist, was a young man of extraordinary gifts, who, had he lived to know that maturity of years which is also the maturity of talent, would probably have been proclaimed a second Hogarth. To a thorough knowledge of drawing and the use of colors, acquired in his native country, he added quick perception, an inventive and fanciful genius, and an equally strong sense of the humorous and the pathetic. He began by painting portraits, but soon became known for his pictures of popular subjects. The first which attracted attention was an artistic delineation of that peculiar Philadelphia character, the "Pepper-pot Woman." A copy, in oil, of Wilkie's "Blind Fiddler," "Blind-man's-buff," "The Cut Finger," "Celadon and Amelia," "Aurora," "Raspberry Girl of the Alps of Würtemberg,"—a reminiscence of his native land,—followed in quick succession, eliciting general admiration. In 1812 he exhibited in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts a picture representing a crowd in Centre Square, which revealed the hand of a master.

His last work was a great composition of several hundred figures in miniature oil, which Mr. Dunlap says were "executed with a taste, truth, and feeling both of pathos and humor, that rivals, in many respects, the best works of this description in either hemisphere." And he adds, "This picture I have seen. It is a Philadelphia election scene on Chestnut Street, in front of the State-House. It is filled with miniature portraits of the well-known electioneering politicians of the day. It has a portrait of the venerable building within whose walls the independence of America was declared. The composition is masterly, the coloring good, every part of the picture carefully finished, and the figures, near or distant, beautifully drawn. This picture was either painted for or purchased by Mr. Alexander Lawson. . . . ." The young artist was engaged to paint a picture of Penn's treaty with the Indians, but had not yet commenced this important work when he was drowned while bathing with some young friends in a mill-pond near Germantown.

Philadelphia may justly claim that great artist, Charles Robert Leslie, as one of her gifted sons, though London was his native city, and he acquired his fame in England. Leslie's parents, both Americans, were on a visit to the old country when the child was born; when they returned home with him he was not quite five years old. His first efforts at wielding the pencil were made in Philadelphia; his taste was inherited from his father, an amateur artist, whose drawings of ships and machinery were very much admired. The elder Leslie followed the trade

of watch-maker, but being passionately fond of art, he wished to encourage in his little son all that would tend to develop his artistic disposition, and on sending him to a boarding-school in New Jersey he stipulated that the child should be permitted to draw as much as he pleased when not engaged in his other studies, a permission of which the boy availed himself to the exclusion of all other recreation. From the little school young Leslie passed to the University of Pennsylvania, to pursue his studies; then his father died, and his mother not having the means of giving him the education of an artist, he was bound apprentice for seven years to Bradford & Inskeep, booksellers. This last circumstance, which seemed to shut off all hope of the lad's following his vocation, proved to be the very means of his adopting the profession in which he was to earn so great distinction. Mr. Bradford was a man of generous disposition and sound judgment. He saw the marks of genius in the sketches which his young apprentice continued to draw in his leisure moments. This genius must not be smothered, but encouraged; Charles could not continue in the shop; but the lad had not the means to devote years to the study of art. The warm-hearted bookseller solved all these difficulties. He headed a list of subscription to raise a fund for Leslie's maintenance during two years in England, and invited some other liberal-minded citizens to join him in his good work. The amount was raised; Leslie's indenture was canceled (he had been an apprentice three years), and the young man left Philadelphia, in 1811, with Mr. Inskeep, Bradford's partner, who was going on a business visit to London. Provided with letters for West and other leading artists, Leslie, on his arrival in the British metropolis, soon found friends. He there commenced his career under bright auspices, which his success fully justified.

But, even at the very height of that success, the artist never forgot those who had befriended him in his youth and given him the means of devoting himself to art. In a letter to Mr. Dunlap, who had written to him for such information as would be used in writing a biographical sketch of him, Leslie speaks feelingly of those Philadelphia friends, and gives a list of their names. They were S. F. Bradford, Mrs. Eliza Powel, J. Clibborn, J. Head, Joseph Hopkinson, J. S. Lewis, N. Baker, G. Clymer, E. Penington, William Kneass, Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, G. Murray, engraver; one hundred dollars was also voted by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The grateful artist also mentions Mr. Sully, who, "with his characteristic kindness," gave him his first lessons in oil-painting. "He copied a small picture in my presence to instruct me in the process, and lent me his memorandum-book, filled with valuable remarks, the result of his practice." Sully also gave him letters to several artists in London. Of the friends found in England he says the earliest were "Messrs. King, Allston, and Morse. With the latter gentleman I shared a common room for the first year, and we lived under the same roof until his return to America deprived me of the pleasure of his society. From Mr. West, Mr. Allston, and Mr. King" (all Americans) "I received the most valuable advice and assistance. . . . My employers at that time were almost entirely Americans, who visited or resided in London." Mr. Leslie died in 1859.

John Eaves, portrait- and miniature-painter, commenced to practice his art in Philadelphia in 1809. He had views taken from nature in England, Ireland, Wales, the Western Islands, Madeira, and North America, and was prepared to give instruction "in a new style of water-color drawing." How far successful he was in his profession, we cannot say.

Edward Miles, portrait- and miniature-painter in 1810, found it more advantageous to devote his attention to teaching his art than to continue painting portraits. He was for a long time connected with art in the city, and was an active member of the Academy of Fine Arts. Abram I. Nunes was a portrait-painter in 1810. William Groombridge, a native of Tunbridge, England, who had studied with Lambert, lived in Baltimore, but made frequent visits to Philadelphia, and painted various landscape subjects near the city. He exhibited, in 1811, "A View from a Public Road near Germantown; time, sunset; season, the approach of autumn;" "The Woodlands, seat of William Hamilton," "Middle Creek Falls, Pennsylvania," "Dover Cliff," and some fruit pieces; "A View on the Schuylkill," "View at the Mouth of the Wissahickon," and "American Autumnal Scene." They were the last of his works, as he died in Baltimore, May 24, 1811, in his sixty-third year. Thomas Bishop applied himself to landscapes and enamel painting. He produced "Lodona" (1811), and "A Flemish Village" (1812). He rarely exhibited his works publicly.

Thomas Birch, the son of William Birch, enamel painter, commenced by painting landscapes. He was born in London about 1779, and established himself in this city about 1800, and commenced the painting of profiles. In 1811 he exhibited at the Society of Artists. "A Fisherman's Hut on the Schuylkill, above the Falls," "The Woodcutter Asleep," "A Foggy Morning," "Snow Piece," "Frost Piece," "The Natural Bridge in Virginia," several views of the Schuylkill, and many other pieces too numerous for mention here, bear evidence of his skill as a landscape-painter. He also did something in the way of animal painting, as shown in his "English Setter" (1813), "Portrait of a Dog" (1817), "A Group of Pointers" (1823), "Landscape, with Dogs" (1825). Among his best marine pictures were "A View of a Bay" (1812), "Sea Storm and Shipwreck" (1811). He also painted "Engagement between the 'Constitution' and 'Guerrière,'" "'Constitution' and 'Java,'" "'United States' and 'Macedonian,'" "'Hornet' and 'Peacock,'" "The Ship-

wrecked Sailor" (1813), "Perry's Victory on Lake Erie" (1814), "Battle of Lake Champlain," "Storm," "Sea Breaking over a Rock," "The Wreck of the Packet Ship 'Albion'" (1823), "Pilot Boat off the Hills of Navesink" (1825), "Ship of War Dismasted" (1825). He died in Philadelphia, Jan. 14, 1851.

Denis A. Volozan, a Frenchman, was a historical painter, and quite prominent in matters relating to art up to the year 1820. Among his characteristic pictures were "Homer Singing his Poems;" "Angelica and Medor, from 'Orlando Furioso';" "Death of Cleopatra;" "Rinaldo and Armida, from 'Jerusalem Delivered';" "Testament of Eudamides, of the City of Corinth," copied from M. Poussin; "Antigone, the Affectionate Sister;" "Henry IV. under the Walls of Paris;" "Jupiter and Leda;" "Jupiter and Calista," and "The Last Moments of Œdipus." Volozan painted a few landscapes also, and some portraits. Among the latter were "General Washington" and "St. Joseph," in crayon, and "Victor Moreau," drawn in 1806.

Another Frenchman, Pierre Henri, was a miniature-painter, who moved to Philadelphia from Richmond, Va., in the early part of this century. In 1811 he painted a portrait of Mrs. Beaumont in the character of "The Grecian Daughter." Charles Knight painted miniatures and taught drawing for several years after 1800. He came from England with a certificate from the Royal Academy of London. John Crawley, portrait-painter, contributed to the Society of Artists, in 1811, two landscapes and a view near Norristown, with two portraits. In 1844 he painted "A View on Red Clay Creek." Crawley was born in England, during a visit paid to that country by his parents. His father was an Englishman, who had emigrated to America before the Revolution; his mother, a Miss Van Zandt, of New York. The boy John, after his parents' return, was sent to school at Newark, N. J. He studied art under Edward Savage, in New York, and Archibald Robertson. Crawley was a successful artist. He married, and left Philadelphia to settle in Norfolk, Va.

Pietro Ancora came from Rome in the year 1800. He taught drawing and painting, but never executed any pictures for exhibition in Philadelphia. He was the first who engaged in the importation of European paintings for exhibition and public sale in this country. This business he commenced in 1819, in partnership with Charles Bell. Mr. Ancora lived for many years, always successful, and much esteemed as a teacher.

Miss Eliza Leslie, a sister of Charles R. Leslie, had some taste for painting. She exhibited a copy from Salvator Rosa of "Ruins with Banditti" in 1812. Not very long after this she gave up painting for literature, and became quite celebrated as a writer of fiction. A younger sister, Ann Leslie, took to painting and drawing, and became noted for her work in later years. Joseph Wood came from New York in 1813, and painted miniatures for some years in Philadelphia. Among his noted likenesses were portraits of Commodore Perry, Rufus King, Judge Bushrod Washington, and Gen. John Armstrong, from the originals; Maj.-Gen. Harrison, from the original, 1814; Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, 1817; and James Madison, 1818.

J. Exilius drew landscapes and local views. A "View from Flat Rock Bridge looking up the Schuylkill River," "Conrad's Paper-mill on the Wissahickon," "Egglesfield, the seat of Richard Rundle" (1813), are among the works of this artist. Charles B. Laurence removed from Bordentown, N. J., to Philadelphia about 1813. He painted a portrait of Bishop Moore, of Virginia, in 1819; of M. Poletica, Minister from Russia, in 1822; a portrait of the Abbé Correa about 1822 or 1823; of Col. Allen McLane, of Wilmington, Del.; and Countess Charlotte de Survilliers in 1824. Laurence is represented to have studied with Stuart and Rembrandt Peale. He also painted some landscapes, which, Dunlap says, were without merit.

Bass Otis came to Philadelphia in 1811 or 1812. He executed several of the likenesses which were engraved for the use of Delaplaine's "National Portrait Gallery." In the Academy of Fine Arts exhibitions he displayed portraits of James Madison, late President of the United States, Joseph Hopkinson, Commodore Truxton, Charles Thomson, Dr. Caspar Wistar (1817), Samuel Adams (copied from Copley), Thomas Jefferson (1818), the Washington family (1819), Bishop White, Gen. Arthur St. Clair, Gen. Wilkeson (1823), Rev. Dr. James P. Wilson (1824), Rev. Ezra Styles Ely (1825), Rev. J. J. Janeway (1825). Otis exhibited copies of Vernet's "Storm and Calm" in Vauxhall Garden in 1817. His "Interior of a Foundry," which Dunlap says is a view of the scythe-maker's shop where Otis worked as an apprentice before he studied art, was first exhibited in 1819. Otis was the inventor of the perspective protractor, an instrument which was offered to the public in 1815, and which received the commendation of Sully, Birch, Lawson, and other painters and engravers. A. A. Vignier, a landscape-painter, exhibited in 1813 "A Storm," "A View in Switzerland" in 1819, and a "River Scene, Calm," in 1823.

Mrs. P. Barnes was a skillful painter of flowers and still life. She exhibited peaches in 1813, and in 1814 flowers. George Strickland, brother of William Strickland, painted at the age of seventeen years (1814) a scene from the "Lay of the Last Minstrel." He drew in sepia the designs to be engraved for "Childs' View of Philadelphia in 1825–26."

Benjamin H. Latrobe, the architect and engineer, had some taste for landscape drawing. He exhibited, in 1812, a "View of the River Schuylkill" and a "View of the Seat of Miers Fisher."

Beck sketched "A View of Mr. Hood's Place, near the Robin Hood Tavern, on the Ridge road;"

"The Woodlands, seat of William Hamilton;" "View on the Juniata, Pennsylvania;" and three views on the Kentucky River, 1814. He sketched and drew scenes in all parts of the country. Among them were "North River, near Wyhawk Ferry, N. Y.;" "View near Lexington, Ky.," and in other parts of that State.

John Robinson, an Englishman, came to Philadelphia in 1817. He brought with him from London his own miniature of West, representing the picture of "Christ Rejected" in the background. He painted portraits of James Lyle, Mrs. Sterling, Nicholas Biddle (1819), and Capt. Dallas, U.S.N. (1823). Dunlap says he was an artist of "some skill." Robinson was something of a critic. He wrote a long description of West's "Christ Healing the Sick," with remarks and criticisms which seemed sensible and reasonable.

John A. Woodside, the great sign-painter of his day, and the worthy successor of Pratt in that particular line, was an artist of no ordinary merit. He sent pictures of a tigress and a horse to the exhibition of the academy in 1817, and still-life paintings of apples, pears, peaches, and grapes in 1821. His frontispieces for hose-carriages, side and front and rear gallery paintings for fire-engines, were beautiful. He copied engravings in the best manner, and was a careful worker, finishing everything with great perfection. Hugh Bridport, a Londoner, who had studied at the Royal Academy with C. Wilkin, miniature-painter, came to Philadelphia in 1816. He was very successful from the start, being an excellent painter. He exhibited, in 1817, landscapes in water-colors, a "View of Haubden Lake," the "Port of Snowdon and Cader Idris, from Balla Lake, in North Wales," and a portrait of his brother, George Bridport. He afterward finished likenesses of Chief Justice Tilghman, Peter A. Browne, Joseph Hopkinson, and Bishop Henry Conwell, from Neagle's large portrait. In 1818 he joined John Haviland, architect, in the management of an evening school of architecture and drawing. His brother George, who had assisted him in this business previously, had retired in 1817.

Francis M. Drexel devoted himself principally to portrait-painting, but in 1818 he exhibited pictures entitled "Love," "A Magdalen," and "The Beggars," also heads of Homer, Diana, Caracalla, and Niobe's Child in chalk. In 1824 he exhibited a portrait of Gen. Alexander Ogle. At a later period Mr. Drexel gave up painting and went into business as a stock- and exchange-broker. This was the foundation of the banking-house of Drexel & Co., so well known in America and Europe.

William Albright, in 1818, ranked as a landscape-painter. He exhibited a copy of Rubens' painting of "The Watering Place."

Alexander Rider was a historical and portrait-painter, and exhibited some of the productions of his pencil in 1818. Among them were "The Fortune-Teller," a copy of Wilkie's "Rent Day," "Penn's Treaty with the Indians," "The Soldier's Return" (1819), and "The Reception of General Lafayette at the State-House" (1825).

H. Magenis, a portrait-painter, in 1818 copied Sir Joshua Reynolds' painting of "The Holy Family" and portrait of Lord Byron. Edmund Brewster, a portrait-painter of the same period, exhibited a portrait of himself. Hugh Reinagle, a son of Frank Reinagle, lessee of the Chestnut Street Theatre, studied scene-painting with John J. Holland, but subsequently turned his attention to landscapes. He painted many very pleasant pictures, among which are "A View of the City of New York," "A Panorama of New York," "Falls of Niagara from the New York Side," "Mount Ida Falls on the Hudson River," "Niagara Falls from the Canada Side" (1818), "Catskill Landing, New York," and "Village and Fort of Michilimackinac, New York, from Hell Gate." Mr. Reinagle, notwithstanding his success as a landscape painter, went back to scene-painting after a time. He died in 1834, in New Orleans, whither he had gone (in 1830) as scene-painter for Manager Caldwell.

Caroline Schetky, the daughter of the musician, George Schetky, of the Chestnut Street Theatre, was a very good miniature-painter. Among her best portraits was that of Signor Arfossi, of the Italian Opera-House, London. She paid also some attention to landscapes, and executed many views of English scenery. In 1822 she painted, in water-color, "New York, from Governor's Island." She painted flowers from nature, and her "Wild Geranium" and "Spring Crocus" were much admired.

Madam Plantou, wife of Dr. Anthony Plantou, dentist, painted the national picture of the "Treaty of Ghent," which was exhibited at her husband's house, on Third Street, in 1818. It was a fine, large, allegorical composition in oil, eleven feet long and seven feet high. This painting, it was said, "would be considered as worthy of the first collection in the world." It attracted much attention. Madam Plantou was a pupil of the celebrated French painter, Renaud. She exhibited in 1822 her original picture of "Christ Disputing with the Doctors." Her portrait of Bishop Conwell, painted in 1825, is well known by the engraving which was afterward made of it.

N. M. Hentz, in 1819, exhibited a portrait of a creole lady. Daniel Dickinson, of Connecticut, a self-taught artist, exhibited miniatures in 1819. He painted a portrait of Henry Wallack in 1823. He had quite a taste for fancy painting, illustrating female beauty. About 1830 he turned his attention to painting portraits in oil, and gradually devoted himself to that branch of art. Charles S. Le Seur, better known as a naturalist than as an artist, painted subjects in natural history, among which were "A Casoar, from New Holland, painted from nature"

(1819), "A Suffolk Boar," and "Brittany Cows," belonging to Reuben Haines, painted in 1821.

Joshua Shaw painted everything, from a tavern sign to a landscape; in the latter he was most successful. He exhibited at the academy in 1819 the "Isle of Wight by Moonlight." In 1820 he was commissioned by the government to accompany the party which was about to explore the country up the Missouri River, and make sketches of the scenery. He exhibited "A Storm and Shipwreck" in 1821, and "A Landscape and Lake" in 1825. He was a busy man among his professional brethren for some years, and was active in forming "The Association of American Artists." Yet he gave up art, and became interested in the sale and improvement of fire-arms. In 1822, and afterward, he took several patents for new models of fire-arms.

John Neagle, although he had had but a few months' instruction from Pietro Ancora and Bass Otis, became famous for his portraits, and was employed by the leading citizens. The list of his portraits is too long for insertion here. The first portrait which attracted general attention was that of Rev. Joseph Pilmore, D.D. But his masterpiece was the portrait of Patrick Lyon, the blacksmith and fire-engine maker, whom, at his own request, he represented at work in his shop. Dunlap says that it established Mr. Neagle's "claim to a high rank in his profession, by the skill and knowledge he has displayed in composing and completing so complicated and difficult a work. The figure stands admirably; the dress is truly appropriate; the expression of the head equally so; and the arm is a masterly performance. The light and indications of heat are managed with perfect skill. In the background at a distance is seen the Philadelphia prison, and thereby hangs a tale." He married a daughter of Sully, the artist, in 1820. He was eight years president of the Artists' Fund Society. Among his best portraits are Washington (in Independence Hall), Gilbert Stuart, Mrs. Wood as *Amina*, Mathew Carey, Henry Clay, Dr. Chapman, and Commodore Barron. He died in 1865.

Miss E. Neagle sent some flower-pieces to the exhibition in 1819. In 1821 she contributed a mill, waterfall, and river, in water-colors.

George Catlin was born in the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. He painted miniatures, among which are noted "Ariadne," after Sir Joshua Reynolds, Napoleon (1821), Timothy Pickering, Captain Morgan, U.S.N., "Persico," and "Madonna and Child" (1822). Catlin conceived the idea that accurate portraits of Indian chiefs and warriors would form a valuable collection; he went West, and lived eight years among the savages, visiting no less than forty-eight tribes. The result of this arduous undertaking was three hundred and ten portraits in oil-colors, and two hundred other pictures illustrative of Indian life. After exhibiting his pictures in the principal Atlantic cities, in 1839, he took them to London and the Continent in 1840. He published "Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians," etc., with three hundred steel-plate illustrations, London, 1841; "The North American Portfolio of Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the Rocky Mountains and Prairies of America," with twenty-five drawings and notes by the author; and "Notes of Eight Years' Travel and Residence in Europe," 1848. Mr. Catlin married in Philadelphia. He died in Jersey City, Dec. 28, 1872.

Borthwick exhibited, at No. 171 Chestnut Street, in 1821, "The Capuchin Chapel," which he called "the great American painting." The picture seems to have been a copy of Sully's copy of the original painting by Granet. Borthwick shortly afterward painted a portrait of Robert Burns, which he presented to the Burns Club, which met in the Burns Tavern, which was kept by Muirheid in Bank Street.

J. C. Schetky exhibited "Bass Islands," "Frith of Forth," "River Gallejos," "Gale on the Atlantic," water-colors, in 1821.

Thomas Doughty, born in Philadelphia, July 19, 1793, devoted himself almost entirely to landscapes, and acquired fame in that particular branch of art, although he was twenty-eight years of age when he resolved to adopt the painter's profession, and he had had but little instruction in drawing. He worked assiduously, and improved until he was, Dunlap says, "the first and best [landscape-painter] in the country." Benjamin says ("Art in America"), "There have been greater landscape-painters than Doughty, but few have done so well with such meagre opportunities for instruction." He practiced his profession for many years in the United States, and also in London and Paris, but died in New York, July 24, 1856. Among his best pictures are "Peep at the Catskills," "View on the Hudson," "Lake Scene," "Old Mill," "Near the Delaware Water Gap," and "Scene on the Susquehanna."

Countess Charlotte Julie de Survilliers, daughter of Joseph Bonaparte, although not a professional artist, had considerable skill and taste, and delighted in exhibiting her pictures, which were of sufficient merit to entitle them to admission to the annual exhibitions of the Academy of Fine Arts. Her works commenced in 1822, with a landscape and a waterfall. She produced landscapes in sepia, miniatures and landscapes in oil, crayon studies from nature, hollyhocks, peonies, tulips, and other flowers in water-colors and oil (1823), and "Falls of the Passaic" (1824). She was the designer of eleven views of American scenery, which were lithographed by Joubert, and published as "The Picturesque Views of America" (1825).

The introduction of the engraver's art in Philadelphia is surrounded with as much mystery as the introduction of painting. As we find signs and even portraits painted by unknown artists, so do we find cuts in wood and metal in the old almanacs and news-

papers, which must have been done here, although no name is attached to them. It is probable that the demand for engravers' work was not sufficiently great to justify those artists in devoting themselves entirely to their profession; they made a living in some other way, and if a newspaper heading or a wood-cut was wanted the job was given to them, and they did not attach enough importance to it to affix their signature to the engraving. Alexander Anderson, mentioned by Mr. Dunlap as the first professional wood engraver known in this country (he came from England to New York in 1775), says that "engravings for letter-press had been executed on type-metal in various parts of this country long before the Revolution." He believed that Dr. Franklin "cut the ornaments for his 'Poor Richard' almanac in this way." A well-done copper-plate of the Pennsylvania fireplace accompanied Franklin's account of his invention. It can hardly be supposed, however, to be the great philosopher's handiwork, but must be attributed to one of those nameless artists. The same may be said of the wood-cut in "Plain Truth," published in 1748, illustrating the fable of "The Wagoner and Hercules." A large engraving, published in 1764, entitled "The Paxton Expedition: inscribed to the author of the Farce by H. D.," is believed, on good grounds, to be the work of H. Dawkins, who lived for some years in Philadelphia. To this artist are also ascribed "The Old Ticket" and "The Election," published in 1765. Dawkins seems to have visited various parts of this country. In 1774 he was working in New York, where he was noticed by Mr. Dunlap.

In the *American Magazine* for January, 1769, is an engraving of "A Curious Manner of Fowling in Norway." The engraver is unknown. Unknown also are the engravers of numerous caricatures published, in 1764, against Franklin, Israel Pemberton, and others. The first professional engraver who acquired fame in Philadelphia was the Englishman James Smithers, who settled here in 1773. As Mr. Dunlap remarks, "He was the best, for he stood alone." He executed all sorts of engraving, and it is more than likely that the caricaturists of the time required the assistance of his graver. He was employed in illustrating the *American Magazine*, published by R. Aitken. He engraved the blocks for the Continental money, and, says Dunlap, "afterwards imitated them for the British." Smithers returned to Philadelphia with the British troops, and went away with them in 1778. He came back after the Revolution, for Lawson bought from him, and cut into smaller plates, three large plates of a ground-plan of the city of Philadelphia, which Smithers could scarcely have engraved during the war times. Smithers died in Philadelphia after 1829, at an advanced age.

But Smithers did not "stand alone" very long. Robert Aitken, the publisher of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, was a good engraver; he executed some very fair illustrations for his magazine. J. Poupard also engraved, for the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, a head of Dr. Goldsmith. He engraved several plates for the second volume of the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," and a curious seal for a burlesque "High Court of Chancery," which is in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. J. Norman, a pupil of Godfrey Kneller, and the early instructor of Charles Wilson Peale, was living in Philadelphia prior to and during the Revolution. He executed several battle pieces. His "print-seller and engraver" establishment was on Second Street near Spruce. Robert Scot came to Philadelphia about 1780. He engraved the architectural plates for Dobson's "Encyclopædia" and Peale's Washington at full length. He was the first regular engraver of the Mint, receiving his appointment in 1793. John Trenchard studied engraving with Smithers, and was one of the firm who started the publication of the *Columbian Magazine*, in 1786. He engraved several plates for this magazine. Lawson says of these engravings that "they were poor scratchy things, as were all the rest of his works." Notwithstanding, he was the instructor of his son Edward, and of Thackara and Vallance. Edward Trenchard visited England for the purpose of obtaining further instruction in his art, but it does not seem that he attained his object. He never was much of an artist. Soon after his return he gave up engraving and went into the United States navy,—a wise step, for he became an officer. While in London, Trenchard induced young Gilbert Fox, an apprentice to the well-known engraver, Medland, to come with him to Philadelphia. Fox taught Trenchard the art of etching, which was then little known here. He also obtained employment as drawing-master to a young ladies' boarding-school, but having fallen in love with one of his pupils, and persuaded her to marry him, he lost his situation and damaged his prospects generally. He then went upon the stage, and was the actor who first sung "Hail Columbia," this song having been written for him by Joseph Hopkinson. Among the etchings of Fox is a curious view of Philadelphia from the west bank of the Schuylkill, done in aqua-tinta. James Thackara and John Vallance were partners. Their principal works were the plates for Dobson's "Encyclopædia." Vallance engraved in 1795 the plates in "Transactions of the Philosophical Society." Thackara became in later years the keeper of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

James Peller Malcolm, a native of Philadelphia, born in August, 1767, commenced painting and engraving about 1787–88. He went to England, and studied at the Royal Academy three years. He then gave up painting, and devoted himself to engraving, but, although he was industrious and untiring, he never attained great eminence in his profession. He returned to Philadelphia for a short time, about 1792–93, and did some work here; among others, an inside view of Christ Church. He went back to London,

where he worked for the *Gentlemen's Magazine* and drew and engraved plates for historical and antiquarian works. He died in London, April 5, 1815. His ancestor, James Peller, was an emigrant with Penn. Malcolm published "Londinum Reditum, or an Ancient and Modern Description of London," 4 vols. 4to; "Letters between the Rev. James Granger and many Eminent Men," 8vo; "First Impressions, or Sketches from Art and Nature," 8vo; "Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London," 4to; "Miscellaneous Anecdotes," 8vo; "An Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing," 4to.

Alexander Lawson, already mentioned in these pages, was a Scotchman, who came to Philadelphia in 1794. He worked with Thackara and Vallance, also with Barralett, whose designs he engraved, and did some plates for Dobson's "Encyclopædia." Although a self-taught engraver, Lawson rose to the highest rank in his art. He was the engraver of the beautiful plates in Wilson's and Bonaparte's "Ornithology," and of the plates designed by Barralett for the poems of the Rev. J. Blair Linn.

A true artist was William Russell Birch, who came to Philadelphia, from his native England, in 1794. He first announced himself as an enamel painter, and did some work in that branch, but he soon conceived the project of a great work, which he carried out with great industry. Turning to account his taste for architectural drawing and his knowledge of the engraver's art, he drew and engraved upon copper, in the best style, a series of plates, twenty-eight in number and forming a volume, which was issued on the 31st of December, 1800, with the title "Views of the City of Philadelphia in 1800." This was a work of great value for its excellent execution. It is still more valuable at this day, as giving a true picture of the city and its people as they were nearly a hundred years ago.

One of the most important matters connected with these pictures is in the delineation of street-scenes in the neighborhood of the buildings, which are the principal subjects of the plates. The varieties of the costumes of the men and women are interesting, curious, and amusing, showing the fashions of the day. The occupations of persons who ply their callings in the streets are shown, and even the amusements of the time, life, animation, industry, and the social differences between artisans, laborers, and people of fashion are clearly distinguished. The Birch views are actual panoramas of street-life in the city, and the more valuable upon that account.

In addition to this volume of twenty-eight plates, Mr. Birch published several other engravings of views of Philadelphia and its vicinity. At a later period he issued, by subscription, a series of views of country-seats in the United States. Many of these views were taken in the vicinity of Philadelphia, several of the places represented being now within the bounds of Fairmount Park. Mr. Birch died in Philadelphia in 1834.

David Edwin, of whom Dunlap says, "this eminent artist was the first good engraver of the human countenance that appeared in this country," came to Philadelphia in December, 1797. He was an Englishman, the son of John Edwin, a celebrated comedian, and had been articled, when quite a youth, to the Dutch engraver, Jossi, an artist of superior ability. Edwin followed his master to Holland in 1796, but did not remain long in that country. Without money or friends he could not find the means of returning to England, and a ship bound for Philadelphia happening to be in the harbor of Amsterdam, the young artist determined to go to America by working his passage as a sailor before the mast. The ship was five months reaching its destination. Immediately after his arrival in Philadelphia young Edwin sought T. B. Freeman, a countryman of his, who carried on the business of book-publisher, and solicited employment. He came opportunely, for there were not many good engravers to be had, and Mr. Freeman set him to work on the title-page of a collection of Scotch airs selected by Benjamin Carr. Some idea of the difficulties with which an engraver had to contend in practicing his art in Philadelphia at that time may be formed from Mr. Edwin's account of his own experience. He says,[1] "Copper-plates were finished rough from the hammer. No tools to be purchased, he (the engraver) had to depend upon his own ingenuity to fabricate them for himself, or in directing others qualified for the work. But worse than all was the slovenly style in which printing was executed. Often have I, in extreme cold weather, waited hours for a proof, till the paper, oil, and even the roller could be thawed. The work-shop of the principal printer in Philadelphia was little better than a shell and open to the winds. I once insisted that the printer should have the plank of his press planed and leveled, as it was impossible in the state it was now in to take off a tolerable impression; and the plate I wished printed had cost me much trouble in the execution. The printer resisted all my arguments for a long time, being himself perfectly satisfied with the state of his press. At length, and only in consideration of my paying the expense, it was that he gave his consent." Edwin's first work was done with an old graver, which he happened to have in his seaman's chest, and the shank of which he sharpened into the shape of an etching point, using the two ends of the tool alternately to etch and then to finish his plate.

Yet, some very good engraving was done in those times, and Dunlap, speaking of Edwin's works, says, "His portraits from Stuart, in the stippling style, are unrivaled to this day." Edwin became famous as an

[1] Letter quoted by Dunlap, "History of the Arts of Design," vol. ii. p. 68.

engraver of portraits; yet he never acquired wealth, and at one time was glad to get employment as a clerk in an auction-store, doing at his leisure hours such small jobs in engraving as he could get. The last, and one of the best portraits he engraved, was the head of his friend and patron, Gilbert Stuart, painted by John Neagle. Edwin died in Philadelphia Feb. 22, 1841, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Freeman, the publisher, gave employment to other engravers beside Edwin: George Isham Parkyns, an Englishman, whose specialty was aquatint engraving, and Houston, an Irishman, a red-chalk engraver, worked for him. Graham, an Englishman, mezzotint engraver, was working in Philadelphia about the same time. Houston engraved a portrait of Washington for the *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* in 1798. John J. Barralett, the eccentric Franco-Irishman, already mentioned as a painter, was also an engraver; many of his prints appeared in the *Portfolio*. Barralett was the inventor of a ruling-machine for the use of engravers. He also succeeded in making a valuable improvement in the preparation of copper-plate printers' ink. Cornelius Tiebout did a great deal of work as an engraver in the early part of this century. A cottage scene, after a painting by W. Bigg, which he furnished the *Portfolio* in 1810, attracted much attention for being larger than the usual size, a mechanical contrivance of Tiebout's invention enabling the artist to execute most of the work without using the common graver. One of his most conspicuous works is a "View of the Water-Works at Centre Square," after a design by Barralett. John Aiken also practiced engraving about that time. William Harrison was engaged principally in engraving bank-notes. His son Samuel studied the art with him, and succeeded him in the business. John J. Plocher, historical and landscape engraver, came to Philadelphia about 1815. He engraved in line the fine picture of the Upper Ferry bridge, from a painting by Thomas Birch. Benjamin Tanner and his brother, Henry S. Tanner, both natives of New York, formed a copartnership for the publication of maps and other engravings about 1806. In 1816 they joined Vallance, Kearney & Co., in the business of bank-note engraving. Benjamin Tanner was the engraver of many fine pictures. Henry S. Tanner contrived a new mode of engraving bank-notes, so as to increase the difficulties of counterfeiting.

George Murray, a native of Scotland, who had studied engraving with Anker Smith in London, came to Philadelphia about this period, and got work on Dobson's "Encyclopædia." He was engaged, in 1813, with Gideon Fairman and Cornelius Tiebout, in issuing a new print of "Perry's Victory on Lake Erie," totally different from the designs of Birch, Barralett, and Strickland. He had associated himself previous to this with Fairman, Draper, and others, bank-note engravers. The firm of Murray, Draper, Fairman & Co. became celebrated as the finest bank-note engravers in the country, and made a great deal of money. Murray, however, made unwise investments, and died comparatively poor in 1822. W. Haines is known for a portrait of Dr. Caspar Wistar, engraved in 1805. Francis Kearney, a native of New Jersey, who had studied the art of engraving with Peter R. Maverick, of New York, came to Philadelphia in 1810, and found employment upon book-work. In 1820 he became a partner in the firm of Tanner, Vallance, Kearney & Co., bank-note engravers. He withdrew from the firm in 1823, and resumed portrait engraving. The finest of his pictures were a portrait of Chief Justice Marshall and a copy of Raphael Morghen's print of Leonardo da Vinci's famous picture of "The Last Supper." He has also left some large prints of naval engagements from designs by Birch and others. Francis Shallers, an engraver, who died in 1821, is remembered for his valuable work, in two volumes, the "Chronological Tables for Every Day in the Year, Compiled from the Most Authentic Documents," more than for any specimen of his skill as an artist. William Kneass, who was a member of the firm of Kneass & Dellaker, and at another time of Kneass, Young & Co., exhibited at the academy in 1813 a fine aquatint of Strickland's sketch, "A View of Quebec." From that time to 1820 he engraved several pictures, and did a good deal of work on illustrated books. In 1824 he succeeded Robert Scot as engraver at the United States Mint. He died Aug. 27, 1840.

Charles Goodman, a native of Philadelphia, and Robert Piggott, a New Yorker, both pupils of Edwin, formed a partnership and published many engravings, portraits of celebrated men and prominent citizens. Goodman relinquished engraving about 1819, studied law, and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar. Some years later Piggott also gave up art. He studied theology, and was admitted to orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Gideon Fairman, a native of Connecticut, began life as a blacksmith. He attempted engraving with rude tools of his own construction, and gave such evidences of native talent that Brunton, an English engraver, encouraged him to study the art. He went to Albany, N. Y., and bound himself an apprentice to the brothers Hutton, jewelers and engravers. Fairman, having become proficient in his art, came to Philadelphia in 1810, and was associated with George Murray and others under the firm-name of Murray, Draper, Fairman & Co. Jacob Perkins, who had discovered the process of transferring engravings to copper and steel plates, and of applying lathe-work to dies, was subsequently taken into the firm as a partner. In 1818, Fairman went to London with Perkins and Asa Spencer, and some workmen, to compete for a premium of twenty thousand pounds, offered by the Bank of England for a plate which could not be counterfeited. An English engraver having succeeded, after many efforts, in imitating their lathe-work, upon the use

of which they rested the impossibility of counterfeiting their plates, they did not secure the twenty thousand pounds, but the directors of the Bank of England awarded to them five thousand pounds voluntarily, in consideration of the value of their process. The party returned to Philadelphia with the exception of Perkins, who remained in London. The principle of the geometric lathe was in reality discovered by Christian Gobrecht, but its practical use as a security against counterfeiting was due to the ingenuity of Perkins and Asa Spencer, of Connecticut. Perkins suggested the idea and Spencer invented the machine. Most of Fairman's work was upon small figures and vignettes for use on bank-notes, but he was also a good engraver of portraits. Mr. W. S. Baker mentions two portraits of Washington from Stuart's painting, and one of Governor Moultrie of the Revolution, as being engraved by Fairman. Gideon Fairman died March 18, 1827, aged fifty-one years.

William Strickland, the architect, was also an engraver; most of his works are in the aquatint method. Several landscapes and battle pieces by this artist were published in the *Portfolio* in 1814, 1815, and 1816. John Boyd engraved principally in the stipple manner. His first notable work, "St. Francis," was published in 1810. He executed several good pictures between that date and 1821, and some fine portraits, among which were one of Fisher Ames, from Stuart's picture, and one of Elias Boudinot, after Sully.

In engraving, as in painting, native talent now began to reveal itself. James W. Steel, line-engraver, was a Philadelphian by birth. While a youth he learned his business with Benjamin Tanner, and worked at engraving bank-notes for Tanner, Vallance, Kearney & Co. He afterward worked for George Murray, and, having become proficient in his art, set up for himself. He engraved portraits of Gen. Washington, Commodore James B. Allen, John Vaughan, Samuel Slater, Rev. Gregory T. Bedell. Three pictures in Childs' "Views in Philadelphia," "The University of Pennsylvania," "Widows' and Orphans' Asylum," and "Friends' Meeting-House, Merion," were done by Mr. Steel; but one of his best works is that very pretty little picture, "Gray's Ferry in the Olden Time." Mr. Steel died, much respected, June 30, 1879, at the venerable age of eighty-eight years.

Another Philadelphian, David Claypoole Johnston, acquired some celebrity in a particular line of engraving. He was born in the city in March, 1797, and commenced studying the art when he was sixteen years old, with Francis Kearney, and remained with him until he became of age. His sense of humor made the business of book- or plate-work irksome to him, and he adopted the specialty of original caricature engravings, a rich field for one of his temper. His caricatures of the dandies and exquisites of the day, of the pompous, would-be-martial officers of the local militia, made people laugh, and found a ready sale; but, alas! these caricatures were exaggerated portraits, but they were portraits still, and the originals were easily recognized and pointed out. Loud were their complaints and threats. The print- and book-sellers were scared by prospects of innumerable libel suits, and declined to invest their money in those dangerous prints, or to expose them in their shop windows. "Othello's occupation was gone," for the nonce, and the caricaturist went upon the stage. He made his *début* at the Walnut Street Theatre, March 10, 1821, as *Henry* in "Speed the Plow," which was followed by *Master Slender* in the "Merry Wives of Windsor." Johnston remained with the company three seasons, occasionally engraving a political caricature to keep his hand in. In 1825 he accepted the offer of an engagement at the Boston Theatre, with the hope of finding an opportunity to practice his art which was denied him in Philadelphia. At the close of the first season he gave up the stage and set up an engraver's office. In 1830 he began the publication of "Scraps," an annual of five plates, each containing nine or ten separate humorous sketches. Still more comical was the language attributed to the figures represented. These sketches, sparkling with wit and humorous conceit, became known all over the country, and were eagerly sought by all lovers of fun. The caricaturist became famous and made money, a very acceptable companion to fame. Johnston was the nephew of Mrs. Rowson, the author of "Charlotte Temple." He died at Dorchester, Mass., Nov. 8, 1865. His son, Thomas Murphy Johnston, inherited his father's ability.

Some years before Johnston's first attempt, William Charles had set up as a caricaturist. He, in partnership with S. Kennedy, proposed to publish a monthly sheet, each number to contain four original caricatures, at $1.50 per number to subscribers. The project fell through for want of support, although Charles showed some talent as a caricaturist. Among the few known specimens of his skill is a caricature done in the manner of Gilray, representing "Stephen Girard frightened at the ghost of a silver dollar," a memento of the shinplaster times. William R. Jones (1811) is known for engraved portraits of James Montgomery, Capt. Thomas Truxton, Cornwallis, Maj.-Gen. Harrison, and others; Richard Harrison (1815), for a pretty vignette (a water and coast scene) for the title-page to the *Portfolio*, vol. v. J. Cone, in the early part of the century, engraved "Philadelphia from Kensington," for Childs' "Views," after Birch's drawing, and "Fairmount Water-Works, from west bank of Schuylkill," by Doughty. James Neagle, who practiced his art in Philadelphia from 1818 to 1822, when he died, engraved a portrait of Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, from Sully's painting. John L. Frederick commenced engraving in Philadelphia

in 1817. He continued in this business until the time of his death, in 1880–81.

John Hill, an aquatint engraver, came to Philadelphia in 1816. He was already known here as having aquatinted some six hundred groups of small figures in landscapes, which were etched by W. H. Pine, and published in "The Microcosm, or a Picturesque Delineation of the Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures, etc., of Great Britain," originally issued in London. In 1820, Hill associated himself with the painter Joshua Shaw, in an undertaking of some magnitude. This was a collection of about twenty large folio prints, colored, of views of interesting spots, such as "Washington's Tomb," "The Spot where Gen. Ross Fell," "Jones' Falls, near Baltimore," "Falls of St. Anthony," "View near Wissahickon," etc. This fine work bore the title of "Picturesque Views of American Scenery," published by M. Carey & Son, from paintings by Joshua Shaw and aquatints by J. Hill.

Cephas G. Childs, line-engraver, was a native of Bucks County, who first studied with George Fairman, whose partner he afterward became. Among his early works are many pretty views and engravings from paintings. Between 1827 and 1830 he published "Views of Philadelphia." After a trip to Europe, in 1821, he formed a partnership with Henry Inman, portrait-painter, to carry on the business of lithography, employing Albert Newsam as their principal artist for portraits. About 1835, Mr. Childs dissolved partnership with Inman, and became the publisher of the *Commercial List*, a mercantile register and journal. He died at Philadelphia, July 7, 1871.

T. Drayton, about 1819–20, was engraving, in aquatint, views by Miss C. Schetky, of "Edinburgh," "Naples," "The Cottage of St. Leonard's," "Konigstein on the Elb, Saxony," "Falls of the Peddlar, Virginia," "Natural Bridge, Virginia." Drayton went to Washington, and was for many years in the employment of the United States government as draughtsman. He was the father of Henri Drayton, the opera singer.

George B. Ellis, a pupil of Kearney, commenced to engrave in 1821. His specialty was fine work for magazines, annuals, and books. His first noticeable productions were copies of English engravings illustrating "Ivanhoe." John B. Neagle, line-engraver, was an Englishman by birth, but came to this country when a youth. He executed, with much skill, small work for books and almanacs, but, in the latter part of his life, was engaged principally in engraving bank-notes. He died about 1866, aged sixty-five years. Neagle engraved Smirke's design for the "Columbiad" of Joel Barlow, "Cruelty presiding over the Prison Ship," "Nelson wounded at the Island of Teneriffe," from Westall's painting, "Telemachus and Calypso," by Stoddart.

George S. Lang, a native of Chester County, Pa., learned engraving with George Murray. He was not long in the business, and, while he followed it, was principally engaged in bank-note engraving. He engraved "Washington crossing the Delaware," after Sully's picture, the figures being etched by Humphries. Charles H. Parker, who was considered one of the finest engravers of maps, writing, and ornamental letter-work of his day, was born in Salem, Mass., and studied under Fairman. He went to Europe to improve himself in art; came back in 1812, and established himself in Philadelphia. At the time of his death (1819), at the early age of twenty-four years, he was engaged in engraving Washington's Farewell Address. He was a young artist of much promise.

The name of Joseph Delaplaine belongs to the history of art, although he was not himself an artist. In 1813 he commenced the publication of "Portraits of Eminent Men and Women," a series of engravings, four by five inches, each accompanied with a biographical notice by a good writer. The first portrait issued was that of Benjamin West; this was followed by portraits of De Witt Clinton, John Jay, Governor Joseph Heister, Governor William Findlay, and others. The project was good, and it was beneficial to the cause of art, but the pecuniary results were far from satisfactory. Mr. Delaplaine subsequently exhibited his gallery of painted portraits, from which the engravings had been made. He died in 1824.

Joseph Perkins commenced engraving in Philadelphia in 1820. In 1825 he engraved a large picture commemorating Lafayette's visit to this country. The plate was twenty by sixteen inches. Robert Campbell is principally known for his engraving of Thomas Birch's picture of "Fairmount Water-Works," published by Edward Parker. Asa Spencer and Thomas Underwood, both members of the firm of Draper, Underwood, Bald, Spencer & Hufty, were skillful bank-note engravers, but not much known for other work. Richard Fairman, in 1820, had his office in the same building with Gideon Fairman, whose son he probably was. He died in 1821, aged thirty-three years. He left no notable work that we know of.

James B. Longacre was born in Delaware County, Pa., Aug. 11, 1794. He was a bright boy, and gave early indications of artistic genius, which awakened the interest of John F. Watson. The kind-hearted author of the "Annals of Philadelphia" took the lad into his family and book-store, and afterward placed him with George Murray, the engraver, in Philadelphia. Young Longacre justified all Mr. Watson's hopes of his artistic gift. Having made himself master of his art, he left Murray and began engraving on his own account in 1819. From that time to 1831 he engraved many illustrations for books and quite a large number of portraits. W. S. Baker gives a list of twenty-nine of these portraits. The first work by Longacre which attracted attention was his fine engraved portrait of Maj.-Gen. Andrew Jackson, from Sully's picture. This was in 1820; then came, among others, the portraits of Rev. Henry

Kollock; Maj. Nathaniel Greene (1822); Napoleon; Timothy Pickering; Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, in India ink; John Adams, from Stuart's picture; George Clymer, from Trott's miniature; Dr. Physick, in India ink (1824); James Wilson and Lafayette, in sepia; Robert Morris, in water-colors (1825); Alexander Hohenlohe; Governor Wolcott, of Connecticut; John C. Calhoun (1825),—all of which are done in the best style. Mr. Longacre now conceived the idea of a work of considerable magnitude, which, successfully carried out, gave employment to many engravers and a new impulse to the art of engraving. He originated, with James Herring, portrait-painter, of New York, the publication of the "National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans." There were one hundred and forty-seven portraits done in the very best style, and a biography of each person represented, written by literary men of established reputation. Many of these portraits were drawn from life by Longacre himself, and he engraved twenty-four of them. The first volume appeared in 1834, the others following from year to year. Herring withdrew from the association in 1839, and Longacre continued the work alone until he brought it successfully to its completion. In 1845, Mr. Longacre was appointed engraver at the United States Mint. He designed all the pieces struck after that period up to the time of his death, which occurred Jan. 1, 1869. A year or two before his death he finished for the government of Chili the remodeling of the entire coinage of that country.

The branch of engraving on steel known as mezzotinto was first introduced and practiced as a regular profession in America in the year 1830, by John Sartain, of Philadelphia. Occasionally, however, works in this style had been produced before that time, but only in an experimental sort of way, by amateurs, without being followed up in any instance.[1]

This artist was born in London, England, in 1808, and was educated to be an engraver in what is called the line manner, in which style he produced very many of the plates in Ottley's folio work entitled "The Early Florentine School," published in 1826, presenting examples of the best masters successively, from Cimabue in 1260, and Giotto, his pupil, down to Luca Signorelli in 1500. In 1828, Mr. Sartain commenced the practice of mezzotinto, and thereafter seldom resumed the art he had first learned in its purity, but mingles both styles, with the addition of stippling, in all his plates.

Besides engraving he has engaged professionally in painting in oils, in water-colors, and in miniature on ivory. In water-colors he had as instructor the eminent artist, John Varley, and in oils Joshua Shaw. Figure painting in oil was taught him by Manuel J. De Franca, and miniature and figures in water-colors by Henry Richter. For some time he was employed by Draper, Underwood & Co., the well-known bank-note firm, to make designs for the vignette pictures that embellished their notes, and he also designed on wood for that branch of engraving.

In 1843 he became editor and proprietor of *Campbell's Foreign Semi-monthly Magazine*, in which publication he was the first in America to print "The Song of the Shirt," "The Bridge of Sighs," "The Drop of Gin," and other pieces of a kindred nature, which afterward became so widely known; and Agassiz' article, entitled "A Period in the History of Our Planet," he printed as early as October, 1843, when the name of that eminent scientist was hardly known on this side of the Atlantic. During the same year he had an interest in the *Eclectic Museum* along with the Rev. John H. Agnew and E. Littell, which work was continued by Mr. Agnew alone as the *Eclectic*, and Mr. Sartain thereafter simply engraved the plates that embellished the monthly numbers. In the fall of 1848 he purchased a one-half interest in the *Union Magazine* (also a New York periodical), and it became widely known throughout the country as *Sartain's Magazine*, during the latter part of its career Mr. Sartain being also its editor. It was finally merged into another monthly of the sister city. Besides the literary labors inseparable from these engagements, he has been frequently called on to exercise his pen on various subjects, more particularly those having relation to art.

His industry has been untiring, and his capacity for continued labor a surprise to those who possessed opportunities of knowing his habits. Very many years ago he had, beyond a doubt, already executed with his own unassisted hand a greater amount of work than had ever been accomplished by any one in the profession during a long lifetime. Many still living remember the time when the annuals were in fashion that there was hardly a volume of the kind to be met with that had not all its plates from his prolific burin. *Graham's Magazine* during the first and best years of its existence had a plate every month by him, so too the *Eclectic*, and his own semi-monthly one every two weeks; all this in addition to his other engraving and literary work. His rapidity under pressure may be judged from the manner in which the portrait-plate of Espartero was produced in a sudden emergency for the number of the semi-monthly for November, 1843. Beginning on the uniform black mezzotinto ground at past midnight, the plate was finished, lettering included, when the printers came to work at daylight the same morning. Again, the portrait of Sir Robert Peel, in the October number, 1850, of the *Eclectic*, was begun at ten minutes before two, from the same state as the preceding, and at five the same afternoon a finished proof was mailed to New York. But this was during a period when his engravings were almost purely in mezzotinto, and also when he controlled the printing of his own

[1] As already shown, the first mezzotinto portrait of Washington, by Charles W. Peale, was published in August, 1780.

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plates. Such rapidity is incompatible with his present method of procedure, in which the mezzotinto is made to form the smallest portion of the process. All the plates referred to so far were for books; we will now turn to more important works.

His large framing prints, too, are quite numerous, several of them as much as three feet in length; but to attempt only a mere catalogue would occupy much space. Prominent among them are "Christ Rejected," after West; "The Iron-worker and King Solomon," after Schussele; "Civil War in Missouri," after Bingham; "Homestead of Henry Clay," after Hamilton; "John Knox and Mary, Queen of Scots," after Leutze; "Men of Progress, American Inventors," after Schussele; "The County Election in Missouri," after Bingham; "Zeisberger Preaching to the Indians at Gosgoshunk," after Schussele; "The Battle of Gettysburg," after Rothermel (this last a work of enormous labor), and many others.

Much of his time and attention has been given to numerous associations in which he held membership. As a controller of the Artists' Fund Society, from 1835 on, he was always an active member of exhibition and other committees, and filled successively all the offices in its gift from president down. For twenty-three years as director of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, he was its most active laborer, first under the presidency of Henry D. Gilpin, then under that of Caleb Cope, and lastly under that of James L. Claghorn. During his travels in Europe, undertaken for his own pleasure and study, he saw personally the honorary members of the institution, and delivered to them their diplomas; this in Spain, Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, England, and Scotland, and availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded of making better known and appreciated the oldest academy of the fine arts in the United States. In many other prominent institutions of Philadelphia he has been a manager or director, and vice-president of the School of Design for Women, having positively declined the presidency of it, which was tendered him. Many years ago he was elected an honorary member of an art society in Amsterdam, entitled the "Arti et Amicitiæ." In addition to many medals received from different quarters, the king of Italy conferred on him the title of *Cavaliere*, with a decoration and the appointment of "Officer of the Equestrian Order of the Crown of Italy," corresponding to the English grade of knighthood. This was on account of services rendered to Italian art during his management of the art department of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia; but a decoration received from another foreign prince was solely in recognition of his artistic skill, namely, "Chevalier d'honneur," and Commander in the Royal Order of Mélusine.

Without entering particularly into his multitudinous occupations, it ought not to be omitted that his architectural knowledge and taste have been frequently called in aid of important projects. Among them, the plans for the arrangement of the galleries and rooms of both floors of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts are from his drawings, prepared at the request of the building committee of the directors. He designed the lofty granite monument to Washington and Lafayette in Monument Cemetery, Philadelphia, and superintended its construction; modeled the two colossal medallion heads from which the bronze likenesses were cast, and is the author of the two admired inscriptions cast in bronze and placed on opposite sides of the pedestal. Other monuments of importance in the same cemetery are from his designs, as is also the steeple on the buildings at the entrance to the grounds on Broad Street.

After the organization had been completed for holding the great International Exhibition, in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Sartain was selected to fill the important and responsible position of chief of the bureau of art. The manner in which the arduous duties were discharged was deemed worthy of the highest praise, while the economy in its management made it infinitely less costly than any other department of the exhibition. The title and decoration from the Italian sovereign was marked evidence of appreciation in that quarter.

In the midst of all these occupations, in the course of a long, industrious life, he has not neglected opportunities, as they presented themselves, of forming collections of pictures, prints, and other art materials of value in his profession, as well as a considerable accumulation of autograph letters from distinguished men. The first named were dispersed under a reverse of fortune in 1852. Among the list is a noteworthy epistle from Bayard Taylor, dated at Kennett Square, Chester Co., Pa., when he was in his seventeenth year, asking Mr. Sartain to receive him as an apprentice. Thus we see how near the late representative of the nation at the German court came to earning distinction in a path so widely different from that on which his reputation now rests.

John Sartain has three children, who are quite distinguished in art. Samuel Sartain, his eldest son, born in Philadelphia Oct. 8, 1830, is both a mezzotinto and line engraver on steel; he studied under the direction of his father and at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Before he was seventeen years of age he engraved a "three-quarter length" portrait (ten by thirteen inches) of Benjamin West, after the picture by Harlow. In 1854 he was commissioned by the Art Union of Philadelphia to engrave for their annual distribution prints a large plate (eighteen by twenty-three inches) entitled "Clear the Track," a winter coasting scene, after the painting by C. Schussele. This engraving secured for him a silver medal at an exhibition of the Franklin Institute, and at the World's Fair in New York an "honorable mention, with special approbation." Prominent among his

numerous engravings are "One of the Chosen," after Guy; "Christ Stilling the Tempest," after Hamilton; "The Song of the Angels," after T. Moran; "Christ Blessing Little Children," after Eastlake; "Evangeline," etc. His chief work for many years past has been portraits on steel for books. Many examples of this class of engraving by him will be found in these pages. Samuel Sartain has been honored by the continuous re-election for twenty-three years as treasurer of the Artists' Fund Society. He also fills the same position in the Franklin Institute, having been one of the board of managers of that body for the past eighteen years.

A younger son of John is William Sartain, the artist, now residing in New York, who has become eminent as a painter, and also a professor in the leading art schools of that city.

Miss Emily Sartain, daughter of John Sartain, has achieved distinction first as an engraver, and since as a painter in oil. She studied in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and also in Paris for several years under Luminais.

She has exhibited pictures in the Paris *Salon*, and has twice received the "Mary Smith prize" for the best picture by women in the annual exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts. She filled the position of art editor of *The Continent* from the beginning of that journal until 1883, when she withdrew to make a five-months' trip to Paris.

Wood engraving, as a specialty, was introduced in Philadelphia in 1810, by William Mason, of Connecticut. He had learned the art of engraving on copper from Abner Reid, of Hartford. Alexander Anderson, of New York, was the only skilled wood engraver in the country, and some of his cuts inspired Mason with the desire to attempt that branch of the art. He worked industriously with clumsy tools, and succeeded in making some rude illustrations for toy books (1808). He had the sense to see the faults in his work, and the courage to persevere. He procured better implements, worked hard, and at last produced a creditable picture. He then came to Philadelphia and began to practice his art. His brother, David H., came with him, but not having the same skill or the same taste for wood engraving, soon set up as an engraver on brass and copper, giving his attention principally to engraving cylinders for the use of calico-printers. After some years he became the partner of Matthias W. Baldwin in the business of engraving for calico-printers. He was interested in the first locomotive built by Mr. Baldwin. William Mason was represented in the exhibition of 1811 by a portrait engraved on wood, and in 1814 by a figure called "Spring." He executed, among other ornamental work, a small eagle for a bank-check, which was superior to anything of the kind the printer (William Fry), who ordered it, had ever seen. Charles H. Bulkeley, in his "Recollections," says that Mr. Fry, on receiving the cut, told him with a grave emphasis, "Sonny, tell Mr. Mason that if he had called a jury of painters, they could not have produced a design which would have pleased me more than that does." In 1818, Mr. Mason, in partnership with his brother Alva, who had joined him in Philadelphia, set up an establishment as engravers on brass, to which they added the manufacture and sale of philosophical instruments. In the latter part of his life William Mason became teacher of drawing in the Franklin Institute. He was a well-informed man and a student of natural history, particularly ornithology and entomology. He died Feb. 28, 1844, aged fifty-five years.

On going into the brass engraving business with his brother, Mr. Mason left his wood-engraving establishment to his pupil, George Gilbert. This young artist's work was almost entirely confined to book illustrations. He was kept very busy making wood-cuts for Sunday-school books, geographies, and spelling-books. Later, when wood-cuts were used to illustrate magazines, Gilbert was constantly employed. The *Casket* was probably the first magazine illustrated by him.

John Binns, editor of the *Democratic Press*, published, in 1819, an engraved copy of the Declaration of Independence, which said the *Portfolio*, "far surpasses anything that the pencil and burin have hitherto produced in this country." Mr. Binns had had this work in contemplation for several years, and he completed it amid many discouragements. His work was copied on a smaller scale by a workman in the school of one of the artists he had employed, and he could obtain no redress in the courts, as there was no provision in the acts of Congress on this subject, where the parties belonged to the same State. But the facts were too well known, and public opinion avenged Mr. Binns' wrongs. The writing part of this copy was engraved by Charles H. Parker, a young artist, who was a pupil of George Fairman, and who died soon after this work was finished. The portraits of the Presidents of the United States were from drawings by Sully.

The *American Magazine* for 1797–98 had some engravings by T. Clark, among them portraits of Lafayette, Helvetius, Dr. Fothergill, Molière, Loyola, and Abbé Chappe; also a "View of the Bastille" and the frigate "United States." In the *Universal Magazine* for 1797 are Clark's engravings of a "View of the River Wear," a portrait of Kosciusko, and emblematic figures of "Prudence" and "Justice." Some of these are very fair specimens.

W. Harrison, Jr., was the engraver, in the *American Magazine*, of a portrait of Franklin, and Barker of a plate of a semaphore telegraph.

The *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* for 1798 contains a portrait of Washington, engraved by Houston, and also the "Elevation and Ground Plan of the Jail of Philadelphia," engraved by J. Bowes.

Allerdice was engraver of plates in the third volume

of the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society." He was a pupil of Robert Scott.

Fevret de St. Memin, a French *émigré*, who had been an officer in the army of the princes, came to the United States in 1793, and to Philadelphia in 1798. He engraved portraits by the physiognotrace process, an invention of the French engraver Queneday before the commencement of the French Revolution. By means of a machine the likeness was traced on copper, and so much work was done that it only required the finishing touches by the graver to complete the picture, so that the profiles were produced rapidly and cheaply. De St. Memin engraved many portraits of prominent persons—several hundred in number—in New York, where he remained from 1793 to 1798, and in Philadelphia. Before coming to this city he made a short stay in Burlington, N. J., and engraved a few portraits there. He remained in Philadelphia until 1803, after which he visited several other cities and went back to France, but returned in 1812 to New York. There he lived three years, painting portraits and landscapes in oil, having given up engraving. He finally returned to France in 1815. After the death of St. Memin a large collection of his American portraits, nearly seven hundred in number, were bought at Dijon by James B. Robertson, of New York. They were exceedingly valuable by reason of nearly all the names of the originals being written above them by St. Memin himself. This collection was made up of proofs which the artist had retained. It does not contain all the known pictures of St. Memin. There are several portraits which exist in this country that are not in the collection. Probably fifty or more of the number are of Philadelphians, and many of them the only known likenesses of the originals now extant.

An emblematical picture in remembrance of Washington, "America Leaning on his Tomb and Lamenting her Loss," was engraved by Aikin & Harrison, Jr., in 1800. George Helmbold engraved a full-length portrait of Jefferson in 1801. Samuel Folwell, an artist of whom little is known, was living in Philadelphia in the latter part of the last and beginning of the present century. An original silhouette likeness of Gen. Washington by this artist was in the possession of Dr. Joseph Carson. Folwell is designated in the Directory for 1800 as a "miniature-painter and fancy hair-worker." He designed and engraved the vignette frontispiece of the "Philadelphia Repertory" in 1811, in which the lanky bodies of the allegorical figures are provocative of laughter.

Edward W. Clay, who was for more than twenty years a noted caricaturist, was born in Philadelphia in 1792, and died in New York Dec. 31, 1857. He was a relative of Henry Clay; had a liberal education, served as a midshipman under Commodore Perry, then turned his attention to the law, and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar March 12, 1825. His artistic taste, however, led him to Europe, and he studied the old masters for three years. On his return to the city he sketched a caricature of "The Rats Leaving the Falling House," on the dissolution of Jackson's cabinet, which brought him into considerable prominence. Failure of eyesight caused him to accept the offices of clerk of the Chancery Court and of the Orphans' Court, Delaware, which he held for several years.

Felix O. C. Darley, the celebrated artist, was born June 23, 1822. His taste for art and an inclination to make it his profession were shown in his boyhood. At fourteen he was placed in a mercantile house in the hopes that his thoughts might be diverted into another channel. Viewing with positive distaste the dull routine of the counting-room, he spent his spare moments in drawing, in which he made rapid improvement. The subjects that first interested him were figures of firemen, and other types of city life, which brought him considerable revenue, and finally induced him to give up his mercantile occupation and devote himself to art. Receiving from the publisher of the *Saturday Museum* a then handsome sum for a few designs, he applied himself wholly to that pursuit. For several years he was employed by large publishing houses, and soon acquired reputation. The series published in the "Library of Humorous American Works" was very popular in the Southern and Western States. In 1848 he removed to New York, where he has acquired eminent distinction.

Charles Deas, another eminent American artist, was born in Philadelphia in 1818. His maternal grandfather was Ralph Izard. He was educated by John Sanderson, and early devoted himself to his art. He studied under the auspices of the National Academy, and afterward traveled extensively among the Indians of the Northwest, and practiced his art successfully many years in St. Louis, Mo. Among his pictures are "The Turkey Shoot," "Walking the Chalk," "Long Jake," "The Wounded Pawnee," "Indian Guide," "A Group of Sioux," "Hunters of the Prairie," and "The Last Shot." His principal work is "Council of the Shawnees at North Bend," an incident in the life of Gen. George Rogers Clarke.

Among the later artists Samuel Sloan, the architect, is deserving of mention. He was born in Chester County, Pa., in March, 1815, and, establishing himself in Philadelphia, he designed many important edifices. Among them are the Blockley Hospital for the Insane, Philadelphia, and the State Insane Hospital at Montgomery, Alabama. He published "The Model Architect" in 1850–51; "City and Suburban Architecture" in 1859; "Homestead Architecture" in 1860, and "Constructive Architecture," 4to. In 1868 he began the *Architectural Review*.

Joseph Wright, portrait-painter, died in 1793, of yellow fever. Appointed by Washington first draughtsman and die-sinker in the United States

Mint, the first coins and medals of the United States were his handiwork.

Die-sinking and seal-engraving form a peculiar branch of art which does not bring the artist's name before the public so speedily as painting and the various other modes of engraving. While, therefore, it was practiced by many of the engravers we have noticed in this work, few made it a specialty, and it is only after the beginning of the century that we hear of any renowned die-sinkers. As early, however, as 1790, an advertisement appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*, in which "an artist" proposed "a subscription for a medal of Gen. Washington," said medal bearing "a striking and approved likeness, and such inscriptions or allegorical figures as shall best suit so great a character." Subscriptions were received at Wilmington by Mr. Peter Rynberg, and by J. Manly to the care of Robert Patton, Esq., postmaster, Philadelphia. Accompanying this announcement was the following certificate: "We, the undersigned, have seen the medal of Gen. Washington, and think it a strong and expressive likeness, and worthy the attention of the citizens of the United States of America." Signed by Thomas Mifflin, Governor of the State of Pennsylvania; Richard Peters, Speaker of the House of Assembly; Christian Febiger, treasurer of the State; and Francis Johnston, colonel of the late American army. What success the subscription to the Washington medal met, is a matter for conjecture.

John Reich, of whom Dunlap says that he was "the best artist in his line that Philadelphia had had," was a die-sinker, frequently employed by Robert Scot, the engraver of the United States Mint, to prepare the dies for the national coin. In 1806, Reich executed, in silver, a medal in commemoration of the retirement of Washington. The design for this medal was by William Sansom, who caused to be prepared a series of fine historical medals, which were struck in silver, bronze, and white metal. One of the medals prepared by Sansom was a likeness of Franklin, from Houdon's bust, with the inscription, "Lightning averted; Tyranny repelled." On the reverse was a design of "the American beaver nibbling at the overshadowing oak." Motto: "British power on the Western continent, 1776." Reich was the artist engaged to cut the medal presented to Commodore Edward Preble, in 1806, under vote of Congress, for his services at Tripoli. Reich, after many years' practice of his art in Philadelphia, moved West, it is said, in consequence of ill health.

Moritz Fuerst, or Furst, die-sinker and engraver of seals and medals, was a native of Hungary. He had been instructed in his art by Wurt, die-sinker in the mint of Vienna, and Megole, superintendent of the mint of Lombardy at Mauckculries, and was thoroughly acquainted with all its branches. He was appointed die-sinker of the mint in 1808. In addition to his duties in that office, he had, after 1812, considerable work upon medals voted by Congress to military and naval officers who had distinguished themselves in the war with Great Britain. After the peace, Fuerst moved to New York, where he continued to work in his profession. He was residing there in 1834.

Christian Gobrecht, die-sinker and seal- and medal-engraver, was born in Hanover, York Co., Pa. He began life as an apprentice to a clock-maker at Manheim, Lancaster Co. Having learned his trade he went to Baltimore, where he gradually became an engraver of headings for newspapers, punches for type-founders, seals and dies. In 1836 he was engaged as a die-sinker at the United States Mint, and he became chief engraver after the death of William Kneass, in 1840. He held that office until his death, in 1844. Mr. Gobrecht was the inventor of the geometrical lathe for ruling plates, which Perkins and Asa Spencer turned to practical uses, as we have mentioned in our notice of these artists. Among Gobrecht's portraits mentioned by Baker were those of Washington, Franklin, Rittenhouse, Dr. Benjamin S. Barton, and Abraham Reese. His medal for the Franklin Institute, with the head of Franklin, is considered extremely fine.

Robert Lovett, an engraver upon stone and metals, came to Philadelphia in 1816. His principal work was upon seals and dies. He removed to New York in 1825, but returned to Philadelphia in after-years. J. Danby, engraver on copper, brass, wood, gold, and silver, settled in Philadelphia in 1822. He came from London.

The first specimen of lithography done in Philadelphia was drawn and printed on stone by Bass Otis, in 1818. This picture, which appeared in the *Analectic Magazine*, resembled a line engraving much more than a modern lithograph. The stone was presented to the American Philosophical Society by Thomas Dobson. The first practical lithographer was John Meer, a painter, who gave notice in April, 1825, that a specimen of engraving on stone, done by him, was on exhibition.

The first etching on glass done in America, it is claimed, appeared in the first volume of the *Emporium of Arts and Sciences*, 1812. It was done by Dr. John Redman Coxe, with fluoric acid, and printed from the glass. The original plate broke after seven hundred copies had been struck off, and a new etching had to be made.

The history of Albert Newsam, the deaf and dumb lithographer, is quite a romance. One day in May, 1820, passers-by stopped to see a little boy of about eleven years, who, with a piece of chalk, was sketching a street scene upon the side of a watch-box, at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets. The correctness of the drawing, the fidelity with which the familiar scene was reproduced under the deft fingers of so young an artist, awakened the curiosity and ad-

miration of the crowd, and some inquiries were made. The boy was deaf and dumb. Accompanying him was a man, also a deaf mute, who claimed to be his brother. They had resorted to this exhibition as a means of obtaining assistance to proceed on their journey. This information was obtained from the man, who gave his name as William P. Davis. Among the inquirers was Bishop White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who was the president of the newly-founded Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. Struck with the boy's cleverness, and touched by the destitute condition of a child of such tender age, the good bishop immediately apprised the managers of the society of these facts, and proposed to admit the little wayfarer to the institution, if his brother would consent. Davis, on being approached on this subject, showed much reluctance to part with his brother, but finally consented to leave him in the custody of the managers. He was going to Richmond, Va., he said, and on his return would claim his "little brother" and take care of him. This was the last ever seen of William P. Davis.

The boy Albert was very intelligent; he learned rapidly, and his artistic tastes, developed under proper tuition, left no doubt as to his future vocation. He was a born artist. But a very puzzling mystery was now found to surround the little fellow's past. It was ascertained from him that Davis was not his brother, but he did not know his father's name; nor could he tell the name of the town from which he came. He often drew scenery from memory. One of these pictures was a town on the margin of a river. A visitor who came from Steubenville, Ohio, recognized it as a view of that town. Mr. Wright, another citizen of Steubenville, came to the asylum some time after this, and was shown this boy. A gleam of recognition lighted up Albert's face, but Mr. Wright had no recollection of ever having seen him. The boy seized his pencil, and sketched rapidly a dwelling-house, in which the visitor, to his great astonishment, recognized his own home. Meanwhile the little artist went on drawing an adjoining street and a particular house in it, which, Mr. Wright at last remembered, was formerly occupied by a woman who had a deaf and dumb son; her name was Newsam. Here was a clue at last. It was followed up, and the truth came out. Albert was born in Steubenville in 1809. His father, William Newsam, a boatman on the Ohio, was drowned shortly after the birth of his deaf and dumb child. His mother died some years later, and the orphan boy was taken care of by a kind-hearted innkeeper named Thomas Hamilton. When he was about ten years old a deaf mute, who gave his name as Davis, stopped at the inn, and was much struck with the child's talent for drawing. The little fellow was always sketching things and places with marvelous correctness. Davis represented himself as a man of means, and persuaded Hamilton to let him take charge of the boy and provide for his education. The rascal had other plans. On the way from Steubenville to Philadelphia he compelled little Albert to show his talent by drawing with chalk on any available board, or with a stick upon the soft ground, and when people collected round them he begged money to enable him to take his little brother to Philadelphia, where he was going to place him in an institution for the instruction of deaf mutes, in which last assertion Davis unwittingly spoke the truth. The directors of the asylum wisely concluded that such a rare gift as that possessed by their young charge should not be neglected, but properly developed. They placed Albert under the professional instruction of Mr. Catlin, a portrait-painter, and Bridport, the miniature-painter. When he attained seventeen years of age he was placed in the office of Col. Cephas G. Childs, where he served until he was twenty-one, learning the art of drawing upon stone for lithography, in which he afterward became greatly celebrated. Newsam's work was not only admired for its perfect finish, but for the fidelity of the likenesses; he never lost that accuracy of touch and sight which had enabled him, when a mere child, to establish his identity by drawing scenes faithfully preserved by his memory. He died Nov. 20, 1864, aged fifty-five years.

If we study the history of the introduction and development of the arts in this or any other new country, we find that painting ever takes precedence of sculpture. This is but natural; the use of paint is a necessity; we paint the woodwork of our houses to preserve the wood, as much as to beautify its appearance; then we require a name to be painted on a sign; next comes the desire to have some symbol represented on the sign, and here we have the first step toward art. The demand for these street pictures increases, and the ingenuity of the artist is exercised to depict some suggestive subject; he improves with practice, and the public taste is improved in proportion: symbolic signs are the first picture-gallery of the people. Then there is the laudable desire to preserve the features of some dear member of the family, and the portrait-painter is welcome. All this has been a gradual preparation to the revelation of art in its highest form. It is not so with sculpture. We are not gradually made familiar with it, and it is not popular with the uneducated masses. The color in painting adds to the naturalness of the subject: it looks more life-like. To one who has no artistic training, and to many who have, a portrait will always be more pleasing than a bust. Where we find statuary adorning the public places and galleries, we know that we are among a cultivated people, who read the history of past ages and are writing their own in bronze and stone. The condition of sculpture in this country at the present time is one of the many evidences of the wonderful development attained by our young nation in the course of one century.

One name figures in the annals of art in Philadel-

phia, from the time of the Revolution until far into the present century, at the head of the list of sculptors. William Rush was the creator of his art in America. In 1800 he had already attained considerable reputation as a carver and sculptor in wood, and time in maturing his talent only brought it nearer to perfection. Benjamin H. Latrobe, in an oration delivered before the Society of Artists, in 1811, said, speaking of Rush's figures for the head of prows of vessels, "There is a motion in his figures that is inconceivable. They seem rather to draw the ship after them than to be impelled by the vessel. Many are of exquisite beauty. I have not seen one on which there is not the stamp of genius." Among the most admired ship-carvings executed by Rush were the emblematic statues, nine feet high, adorning the prows of the American frigates "United States" and "Constellation." For the latter, the subject was Nature, her forehead crested with fire, and her hair and drapery loose and flowing. The zone was ornamented with the signs of the zodiac, and the figure stood on a pyramid of stones, emblematical of the union of the States. The "Genius of the United States," a female form in classic drapery, with appropriate ornaments and national emblems, graced the prow of the frigate "United States." A life-like portrait-bust of John Adams was cut by Rush for the sloop-of-war bearing the name of that statesman. Busts and figures of Rousseau, Voltaire, and other French philosophers for the vessels of Stephen Girard, a head of Fingal, full-length figures of William Penn and Benjamin Franklin, a figure of an Indian orator, and a statue of Montezuma, in the Aztec costume, gave evidence of the artist's skill in reproducing the peculiar characteristics of different races in features and expression, as well as of his creative genius in purely imaginary subjects. Nor did he confine himself to carving figures for ships. "Winter," represented by a child shrinking from the cold, won general admiration and praise. So did the figures of "Exaltation" and "Praise," and cherubim encircled by glory, which he sculptured in wood, as ornaments for the organ of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church. His beautiful group, "Leda and the Swan," executed in 1809 for the decoration of the fountain at Centre Square, and since removed to the rocks over the pool at Fairmount, is well known.

Many other exquisite figures that were carved by him may still be seen in Philadelphia. Some, like the recumbent figure of Agriculture, that once adorned the eastern entrance of the Market Street permanent bridge, and the life-size figure of Christ on the Cross, executed for the Roman Catholic Church of St. Augustine, were destroyed by fire. The number of busts which he modeled in clay, beginning with that of William Bartram, in 1812, and ending with that of Gen. Lafayette (the best of his works of that character), in 1824, is quite large. It includes many prominent men and public characters. But the most famous statue executed by Rush was the full-length figure of Washington, which was first shown at the exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts, in May, 1815. This work alone would have sufficed to establish the reputation of the sculptor. Rush, in modeling the features of the hero, aided his own recollection by a study of the portraits of Stuart, Pine, and Peale, and of the admirable bust executed by the French sculptor Houdon, on his visit to Philadelphia. This statue was put up in Independence Hall, upon the occasion of the reception of Gen. Lafayette, in 1824, and was greatly praised by Washington's faithful friend and ally. City Council purchased it from the artist in 1831, for five hundred dollars. Among the later work of Mr. Rush was the carving of two recumbent figures, one male and one female, intended to represent the Schuylkill under the two aspects of a navigable river, and of the source of the water supply of Philadelphia. These figures, finished in 1825, surmounted the entrance to the wheel-houses at Fairmount.

Besides Houdon,[1] who was but a visitor who came for the express purpose of making a bust of Washington, and Rush, who was for so many years at the head of his profession, but few names of sculptors are to be found in the early history of Philadelphia. John Dixey, an Irishman by birth, and a student of the Royal Academy, is mentioned in the "Familiar Sketches of Sculpture and Sculptors," published in 1854, as one of the earliest sculptors in America. He came to this country in 1789, and in 1801 he was a resident of Philadelphia, and was elected vice-president of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. He afterward lived in New York, and all his known works were executed in that city. He is said to have had an ardent love of sculpture, and to have labored zealously to promote the neglected art. It is probable that he did not find sufficient encouragement in Philadelphia at the time he came here. Rush was carving his figures for ships, and no other kind of statuary was in demand. Dixey died in 1820.

Yet, James Traquair, a stone-cutter, who had some taste in sculpture, produced a bust of William Penn, in white marble, which he presented to the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1802. Traquair made it a business, and employed practical sculptors to cut his busts. In 1804 he advertised for sale several busts of Gen. Washington, cut in the best Carrara statue-marble, copied from Houdon's cast. Also busts of William Penn, Washington, and Franklin, in marble, half as large as life, for book-cases. He also produced a large bust of Alexander Hamilton. Traquair died April 5, 1811, aged fifty-five years.

Much of the success of Traquair's undertaking was

[1] The original terra-cotta models of the busts of Washington and Franklin, made by Houdon in Philadelphia, were taken to Paris. They were in the possession of Mr. Walfredin, nephew of Diderot, the encyclopædist, in 1869-70. After the death of Mr. Walfredin they were sold to Monsieur De Montbrison.

due to the talent of the Italian, Giuseppe Jardella, whom he employed to do his finest work. Jardella excelled in ornamental sculpture. He was brought originally from Italy to assist in decorating the mansion of Robert Morris, on Chestnut Street, under the superintendence of the French architect, Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant, and had executed several pieces of work, principally in bas-relief, for that building, when the failure of Morris put a stop to the work. It is believed that Jardella was the artist who executed the semicircular pieces in relief, representing Tragedy and Comedy, which were over the windows in the wings of the old Chestnut Street Theatre. They were prepared for the Morris mansion, and were adopted by Latrobe, the architect of the theatre, as appropriate ornaments for that building. Notwithstanding his undoubted talent as a sculptor, Jardella probably became discouraged by the little profit it brought him, for he finally gave up the higher branches of art to follow the business of stonecutter. He was, until 1817, the partner of Christopher Hocker, in a marble-yard on Race Street.

John Eckstein was both painter and sculptor, but showed more genius in the use of the chisel than in that of the pencil. In 1811 he was represented at the exhibition of the Association of Artists by two Cupids in clay, statues of "Pomona," "Charity," and "Milo," with "Samson and the Lion," a design in clay for a monument to Gen. Washington, and two bas-relievos of bacchanals and children. He modeled the "Genius of America" figure in 1813. In 1806, Eckstein designed a model of an equestrian statue of Washington. It was in Roman costume.

George M. Miller came into notice about 1812. He executed bas-reliefs in wax and other materials, which were life-like in color. Among these were heads of Albert Gallatin and Mrs. Madison, which he executed in 1813. He modeled, in 1814, original busts of Bishop White, C. W. Peale, and Commodore Bainbridge, a head of the Venus de Medici, and a copy of Houdon's bust of Washington, also a bust of the wife of Jerome Bonaparte. In 1821 he made a bust of Talbot Hamilton. Miller's most noted work was a life-size figure of "Venus" in wax, colored to nature. It was exhibited in the Apollodorean Gallery in 1818. Dunlap says that Miller, unable to make a living by art, threw it aside for the more profitable profession of a gold-beater.

The only title of George Magragh to a place in the annals of art is some carved musical trophies which were admitted to the exhibition of the Society of Artists in 1811. G. Merlini, in 1813, advertised that he executed "carving of all kinds of statues, ornamental, etc., in any wood that might be preferred." He also offered for sale "the original bust of a distinguished American statesman." Louis Stegagnini, another Italian ornamental sculptor, came to Philadelphia about 1820. He devoted himself principally to making monuments, urns, vases, and mantel-pieces, which, if they did not increase his fame as an artist, put money into his pockets.

Henrico Causici, an Italian sculptor, who claimed to be a pupil of Canova, came to Philadelphia in 1816 to obtain, by subscription, assistance in the preparation of a model of an equestrian statue of Washington, to be presented to the Academy of Fine Arts. While this project was being canvassed, the artist took likenesses in alabaster, in basso- or alto-relievo. Failing to obtain subscriptions in Philadelphia, Causici removed to New York, where (according to Dunlap) he succeeded, after ten years of effort, in finishing his model. That Causici was an artist of no little merit is evident from the fact that it was he who executed the fine full-length statue of Washington which surmounts the Washington monument in Baltimore. This great statue, which attracts the attention of all strangers visiting Baltimore, is sixteen feet high, and was wrought in three separate pieces from one block of marble, weighing thirty-six tons.

In 1824, E. Luigi Persico, another Italian, executed a colossal bust of Lafayette, which he exhibited at the Athenæum. He also modeled a bust of Washington and a bust of Dr. N. Chapman,—the latter by request of the doctor's private pupils. Persico designed a head of Liberty for United States coins in 1825.

Abraham Chevalier, a French sculptor, proposed, in 1825, to execute the "resemblance of some allegorical subject in glory of Lafayette." Whether he obtained encouragement to carry out his idea is not known. Chevalier had lived twenty years in Baltimore before his visit to Philadelphia, and had executed in the former city, he claims, "all there is of sculpture in wood or stone, at public or private buildings, until 1813." In Baltimore Chevalier executed the basso-relievos of the Union Bank, and he designed the façade of the Maryland Insurance buildings.

In March, 1827, it was stated that a full-length statue in marble of Napoleon Bonaparte, executed by an Italian artist of the city, was on exhibition at the Merchants' Coffee-House. The sculptor displayed this work as a specimen of his ability in art, and had ready a subscription for a full-length statue of Washington.

Benjamin Paul Akers, the distinguished sculptor, established himself in Philadelphia about 1860, and died here May 21, 1861, of consumption. He was born in Saccarappa, Me., July 10, 1825, and during his life executed about forty busts and statues, besides some marble copies from the antique. His best works are "Benjamin in Egypt," which he exhibited at the New York Crystal Palace in 1853; "Una and the Lion," statue of "St. Elizabeth, of Hungary," the "Dead Pearl-Diver," and an ideal head of Milton, his last, and perhaps his best, production in Rome. He produced busts of Judge McLean, Edward Everett, Gerritt Smith, and Samuel Houston, and in 1859

he modeled a statue of Commodore M. C. Perry for the New York Central Park.

Joseph A. Bailly, another prominent sculptor, came to Philadelphia about 1850. Among his chief works are "Adam and Eve," "Eve and her Two Children," the monument of Washington, placed in 1869 in front of the State-House, and a beautiful and graceful figure of "Time," a female form, which for many years adorned the front of Bailey's jewelry establishment on Chestnut Street west of Eighth.

The most noted architect in Philadelphia before the Revolution was Robert Smith, a native of Glasgow, Scotland, and a member of the Society of Friends. He built the steeple of Christ Church, and was the architect of Carpenters' Hall, for which he drew a plan-sketch as early as 1768, and was appointed chairman of the building committee in 1770. He was also the architect of the original Zion Lutheran Church at Fourth and Cherry Streets, and of the Walnut Street prison; the largest building which, up to that time, had been constructed in the colonies. He also built Nassau Hall, Princeton, and constructed the *chevaux-de-frise* for the obstruction of the Delaware. Mr. Smith was very young when he came to Philadelphia; at the time of his death, in 1777, he was only fifty-five years old. He was an early member of the American Philosophical Society.

John Thornhill, one of the most active members of the Carpenters' Company, was, according to his obituary notice published in Oswald's *Gazetteer* for January, 1783, "one of the most celebrated mechanics of this or of any other State; celebrated for his ability as an architect."

Samuel Blodget, of Philadelphia, who, though not a professional architect, was a gentleman of much taste, drew the plan of the Bank of the United States. When the building was occupied, in 1797, the newspapers paid some very handsome compliments to the amateur architect. In one of the notices of the building it was said that "the portico, in its proportions, nearly corresponded to the front of the celebrated Roman temple at Nismes." Mease, in his "Picture of Philadelphia," in 1810, said that the front of the bank was "said to be nearly a copy of the Dublin Exchange." Mr. Blodget was a native of Massachusetts.

Dr. William Thornton, a native of the West Indies, and long a resident of Philadelphia, was another amateur architect, who displayed a taste and skill in building which would have done credit to a regular member of the profession. He furnished the plans for the Philadelphia Library, and those for the first capitol building at Washington, D. C., the construction of which edifice he also superintended. He was the first superintendent of the Patent Office, and held that position until his death. Dr. Thornton was a man of science, and a member of the American Philosophical Society.

Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant came to Philadelphia when Congress removed to the city. He was well known, having rebuilt the New York City Hall, in Wall Street, for the accommodation of the Federal Congress in 1789. His principal architectural work in Philadelphia was in designing and superintending the building of Robert Morris' mansion, which, owing to the failure of Mr. Morris, was not finished. It was supposed that the extravagance of the architect's plans for that palatial residence had much to do with the celebrated financier's misfortune; but the charge was unfounded. Mr. Morris had the means and the wish to have a grand residence, such as was planned; his losses in unfortunate land speculations caused his ruin, but they were not influenced by his contracts with L'Enfant. Maj. L'Enfant subsequently displayed his talent and the soundness of his judgment by designing and executing the plan of the city of Washington. He was one of the first foreign architects who came to this country, but notwithstanding his talent and industry, and the reputation he acquired, he died poor.

Benjamin Henry Latrobe, one of the best architects and civil engineers who ever came to Philadelphia, was an Englishman by birth. He entered the army of the King of Prussia, in 1785, but after serving as an officer in one campaign, he resigned and went back to England, where he studied architecture. He came to the United States in 1795, and until 1798 resided in Virginia. During that time he built the penitentiary at Richmond, and afterward served as engineer in laying out the Dismal Swamp Canal. During a visit to Philadelphia, in 1798, he casually sketched out a plan for a bank building, in answer to some inquiries of the president of the Bank of Pennsylvania. Some time afterward he was notified that his plan had been adopted, and he was invited to come to Philadelphia. The result of his genius was the construction of a beautiful building of marble in the Ionic style of architecture, with porticoes on Second and on Dock Streets, which was for a long time considered one of the finest buildings in the United States. Latrobe also was the engineer who constructed the first water-works in Philadelphia. He afterward went to Washington, and finished the public buildings in that city. During a useful life he executed other important works.

After Mr. Latrobe's departure for Washington there was no architect of note in Philadelphia until Robert Mills, of Charleston, S. C., came in 1809. He soon made himself known, and obtained profitable employment. Few architects have executed so much work in Philadelphia. He drew the plans for the Sansom Street Baptist Church, the First Unitarian Church at Tenth and Locust Streets, in 1811, and the Upper Ferry bridge in 1812. In the latter year he projected certain changes at the State-House buildings which were important, and he was the architect who drew the designs for the wings for the accommodation of public offices adjoining the State-House. He also proposed very material improvements to the

main building. Mr. Mills designed the block of buildings running from Walnut Street to Locust, and from Ninth to Tenth, which was called "Washington Square." He was the architect of the First Philadelphia Bank, at the southwest corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets. It is supposed that he designed the Gothic mansion in Chestnut Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth, once occupied by Dorsey. He drew the designs for the hall of the Washington Benevolent Association, on Third Street, above Spruce. This was one of the finest buildings in the United States at the time of its erection, in 1814. When that elegant hall was burned, the second building on the same site was partially constructed on the plan of Mills. He was the architect of many buildings of taste and utility in various parts of the United States. He drew the plan for Thomas Jefferson's mansion at Monticello, in Virginia. He drew the designs of the State-House building at Harrisburg. He designed the Washington monument at Baltimore, and the monument at Bunker Hill. He built, in various parts of the country, churches, prisons, hospitals, public offices and edifices, and was for some years in permanent employment in Washington, where he designed and superintended the buildings of the Patent Office, the Treasury, the General Post-Office, and many other edifices. He died at Washington City, on March 3, 1855.

James Finley erected the chain bridge at the Falls of Schuylkill. Joseph Ramie devoted himself principally to the improvement of houses and landscape gardens. In 1813 he drew a plan of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. Thomas Pope, architect, had some peculiar plans for the construction of bridges. He lived in Philadelphia in 1812. He exhibited the model of "Pope's Flying Pendant Lever Bridge," suitable for the East River, at New York, one hundred and twenty feet high, so that ships could sail under it.

William Strickland, born in Philadelphia in 1787, studied architecture under Latrobe, and became the most noted native architect of his time. His first important work was the Masonic Hall on Chestnut Street. The corner-stone of this building was laid in April, 1809, and the hall was opened for service in December, 1810. The style was Gothic, and the building was crowned with a steeple and spire. His next work of importance was the United States Bank, on Chestnut Street. The plan was that of the Parthenon at Athens, the flanking columns being dispensed with, together with extraneous ornament. The corner-stone of this building was laid on April 19, 1819, and it was completed and ready for use in August, 1824. Strickland was the architect of the new Chestnut Street Theatre, west of Sixth Street, which replaced the building destroyed in 1820. This house was opened on Dec. 2, 1822. He was architect of the first custom-house building for the United States, in Second Street, below Dock, and the New Jerusalem Temple, southeast corner of Twelfth and George [now Sansom] Streets. St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, on Tenth Street, was designed by Strickland; also the Jewish Synagogue, Cherry Street, near Third, and the Friends' Lunatic Asylum, near Frankford. In after-years he was architect of the Merchants' Exchange, at Third, Walnut, and Dock Streets, the United States Mint, the United States Naval Asylum, on Gray's Ferry road, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church (rebuilt), and the Blockley Almshouse.

Mr. Strickland turned his attention to the construction of railroads, and he went to Europe to study the system. He was the engineer of the New Castle and Frenchtown Railroad. He died in 1854, while engaged in superintending the construction of the State-House at Nashville, Tenn. The Legislature of Tennessee voted that a crypt should be prepared for his remains in that splendid edifice, and there they have since remained.

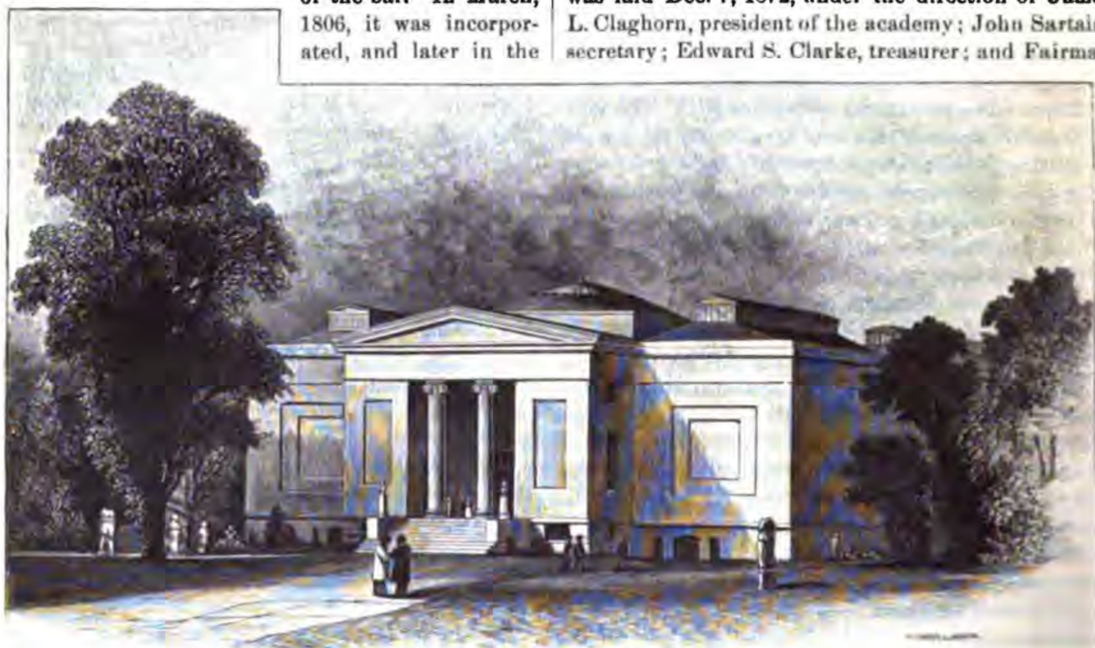
John Haviland, a native of England, came to Philadelphia in 1817. He became associated with Hugh Bridport in the management of an architectural drawing-school, and they published, in 1818, "The Builders' Assistant, for the use of Carpenters and Others." Mr. Haviland's first important design was that for the First Presbyterian Church, at Seventh and Locust Streets. Shortly afterward he drew the plans for St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal Church, in Eighth Street. His grandest work was the Eastern Penitentiary. He was the architect for the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at the corner of Broad and Pine Streets. The building of the Eastern Penitentiary increased his reputation greatly as a designer of prison buildings, and he did considerable work of that kind in various parts of the country. He died in Philadelphia, March 28, 1852.

As we close these brief and imperfect sketches of the men who have labored in the various branches of art in Philadelphia, we cannot but revert to those early days (1791), when Charles Wilson Peale attempted to found "A School for the Fine Arts," a scheme in which he found but one coadjutor, Cerachi, the Roman sculptor, and wonder at the change that less than one century has brought in the condition of art. It is the more surprising when we reflect that artistic taste is generally the result of, rather than the aid to the material progress of, a community, and that, moreover, our sketches stop at a period already distant from the present, and since which art has continued to move with the same gigantic strides. If Peale, the promoter of the abortive "School for the Fine Arts," the more successful founder of "The Columbianum," could see the noble Academy of Fine Arts, of which he was one of the most active promoters in 1805, in its present development, the noble specimens of statuary and architecture which adorn our streets and public places, our magnificent libraries, the splendid galleries of paintings, and the exhibitions, so different

from the first exhibition given by the Columbianum in the Senate chamber, he might say, with grateful exultation, "At last my dearest wish is gratified, the wish I expressed in my letter to Hawkins, in 1807,—'I wish Philadelphia to be the seat of art and science in America.'"

Of course the history and progress of the arts of a city are intimately associated with the organization of the societies intended to promote its welfare, and for the accomplishment of those things which separate individuals could not do. Among those which have from time to time been established in Philadelphia the "Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts" holds the most prominent position. It was organized in 1805, at a meeting in Independence Hall, by seventy-one gentlemen, a majority of whom were members of the bar. In March, 1806, it was incorporated, and later in the same year a building on Chestnut Street, between Eleventh and Twelfth, was completed and occupied, thus forming the oldest academy of the fine arts in the United States. Its first president was George Clymer. The first annual exhibition of the academy, in conjunction with the Society of Artists, was made in May, 1811, and consisted of above five hundred productions. At this time the board of directors were George Clymer, William Tilghman, P. F. Glentworth, William Meredith, Joseph Hopkinson, William Rush, Samuel F. Bradford, Zaccheus Collins, James Gibson, Charles J. Wister, William Poyntell, Reeve Lewis, and Rembrandt Peale. In 1810 the first annual discourse was made to the society by Mr. Hopkinson.

The first structure, after many additions had been made to it, was partially destroyed by fire in 1845, when quite a number of valuable works of art perished, among them a fine original picture of Murillo of the "Roman Daughter," which had been presented by Joseph Bonaparte, ex-king of Spain, and the entire gallery of fine casts from the antique, a donation from the first Napoleon, besides many other works, original models, etc. In 1846 a new building was erected on a much larger scale than the first, and was made in great measure fire-proof. But the growing wants of the academy very soon demanded more space, and finally, in 1870, the property was sold, and the Chestnut Street Opera-House now occupies the site. Immediate steps were taken to erect a new building for the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and a lot was secured on the southwest corner of Broad and Cherry Streets for the purpose. The corner-stone was laid Dec. 7, 1872, under the direction of James L. Claghorn, president of the academy; John Sartain, secretary; Edward S. Clarke, treasurer; and Fairman Rogers, John Sartain, Henry C. Gibson, Henry C. Morris, and Matthew Baird, building committee. The architects were Messrs. Furness and Hewitt. The ceremonies attending the laying of the corner-stone consisted of prayer by Rev. Dr. Morton, reading a letter by Mr. Claghorn from Horace Binney, brief remarks by Caleb Cope, followed by a very able address from Fairman Rogers. The president next introduced Theodore Cuyler and Rev. Dr. W. H. Furness, who made brief addresses.



OLD PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS.

The academy building has a front of one hundred feet on Broad Street, with a depth of two hundred and sixty feet on Cherry Street. It is built of brick and stone, of the Byzantine or Venetian style of architecture, and is thoroughly fire-proof. Over the broad portal on Broad Street stands a mutilated colossal statue in marble of the goddess Ceres, which

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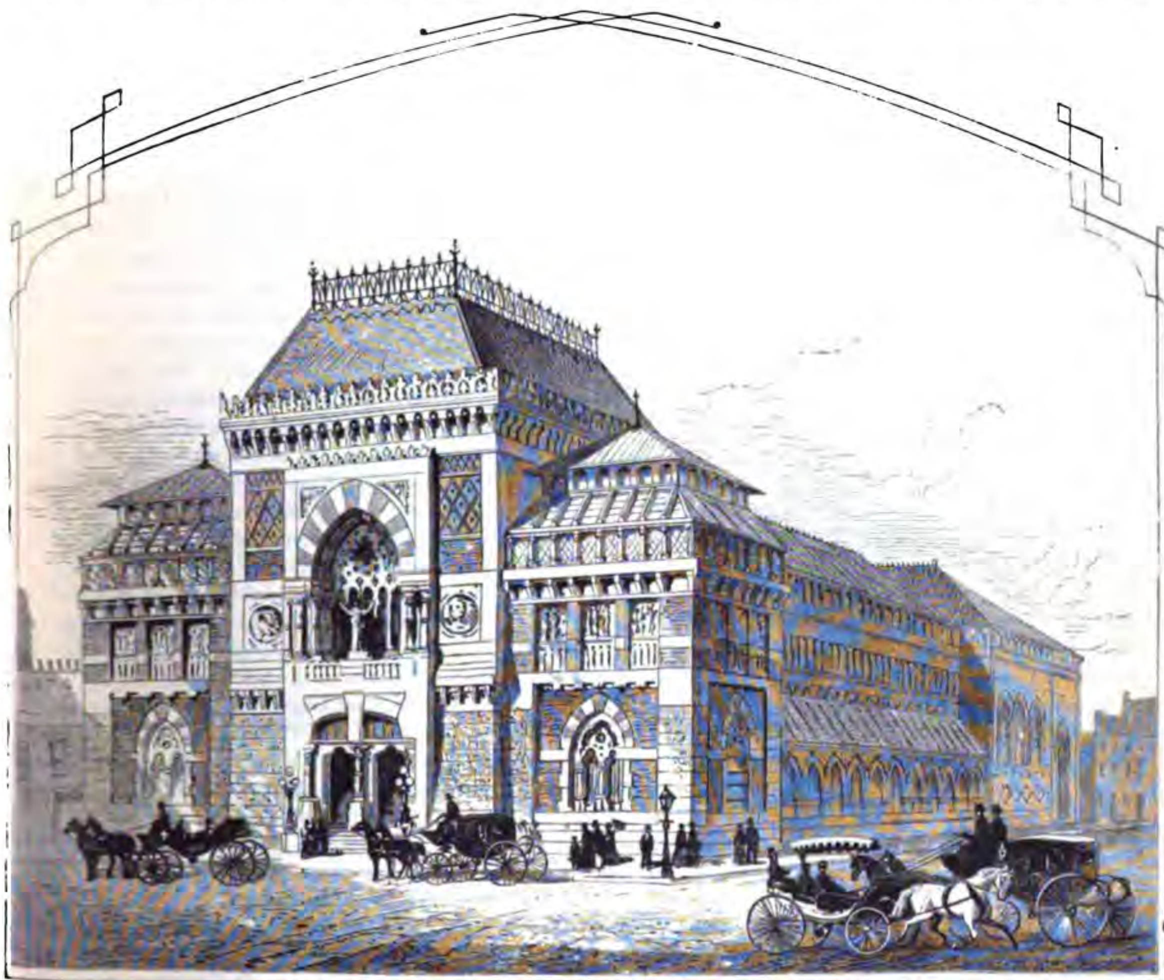
was dug up at Megara, Greece, and presented to the academy by Commodore Patterson.

The schools of the academy are conducted on the liberal plan of offering all their advantages gratuitously, merely obliging the applicant to show a drawing indicating sufficient capacity. Lectures on artistic anatomy form an essential feature, and perspective and a general knowledge of architectural styles are imparted, the whole being directed by competent professors. The fundamental principle of the institution is that of a joint-stock company, and this is the root of all its conflicts with the professors of art, which began with its birth and to all appearance must continue to the end; the artists insisting that it is only those practicing art can know how to conduct schools of art, or properly arrange the works themselves contribute to the exhibitions. A public-spirited lover of art, now deceased, has bequeathed in his will a very large sum of money to the academy, sufficient to endow it for the public good for all time, but it is on the condition that this feature of joint-stock shall disappear. This is not calculated to operate detrimentally to stockholders, because it would only be a change of name to that of contributor, all the privileges remaining the same except one, namely, the right to sell out the academy.

James L. Claghorn, the president of the Pennsylvania Art Academy, is a native of Philadelphia, where he was born July 5, 1817, being the second son of the late John W. Claghorn. At the age of fourteen he entered the establishment of Jennings, Thomas, Gill & Co., auctioneers and commission merchants, in which his father was a partner, and applied himself early to the work by which he expected to make his way in the world. Five years afterward, Mr. Jennings having died, the elder Claghorn and Mr. Myers (another partner) withdrew, and formed the firm of Myers & Claghorn. In 1840, John W. Claghorn withdrew, and then the subject of this sketch, together with Samuel T. Altemus, entered into a new combination with Mr. Myers, and continued the business, on Market Street, between Sec-



PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS.

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ond and Third. There they went on with various changes until Dec. 31, 1861, when James L. Claghorn retired. Up to this time so steady had been his devotion to business that, for the whole twenty-one years during which he had been a partner in the concern, not a single entry appeared in the ledger which was not made with his own hand. Throughout this period he had entire charge of the finance department, which was no small matter. In those days, to do a business of ten million dollars a year meant even more than it does now. After close application covering a long period of years, he might reasonably desire a respite, and, though not intending to quit active life, he planned an excursion abroad, to enjoy his well-earned leisure. But just at the time when he was ready to carry this out, the state of the nation had become so threatening that he could not find it in his conscience to turn his back on the popular struggle just entered upon, with the issue still doubtful. Instead, he resolved to devote his whole time and energies, just set free from business, to aiding, so far as he could, the cause of the Union. It is rather a remarkable fact that both he and Mr. Myers were invited to join the Union Club, which was formed in November, 1862, for the purpose of consolidating the loyal gentlemen of Philadelphia and counteracting secession sympathizers. It embraced but a little over forty members at first, and the selection of two persons from one firm was a pronounced compliment. Not long afterward, on Dec. 27, 1862, the Union Club evolved that larger body which took the name of Union League, and played so important a part in creating a popular support for the war. Immediately on its organization, Dr. John F. Meigs, William H. Ashhurst, George H. Boker, and James L. Claghorn were chosen on the executive committee. The last named was appointed treasurer, and has held that office ever since down to the present, except while absent for a time in Europe. Recently, upon the twenty-first anniversary of his incumbency of the treasurership, he was presented with a handsome gold medal, as a token of the appreciation of his services entertained by his fellow-members of the League. The pecuniary management of the League, so essential to its welfare, has always been successful, and for this fact its treasurer certainly deserves the credit.

Besides this he was very active in obtaining those large subscriptions which the Leaguers individually raised for various purposes, such as publication and recruiting. He became treasurer of each of the important committees, and kept all their accounts, besides those of the League itself. Some idea of their extent may be had from the fact that the enlistment committee alone disbursed one hundred and eight thousand dollars in two years. "I didn't give much time to my own affairs in those days," he once admitted in conversation, "and in that way lost some good opportunities. But that was not of much importance. The first business was to get the country out of its scrape. It was pretty hard work, though, and some nights when the League House was threatened I stayed there all night."

In 1865, on the 1st of November, peace being fully restored, he started for Europe, with his wife, on the steamer "Scotia," and two years to a day from that time re-embarked on the same vessel for America. Before his departure he received various complimentary dinners, at one of which T. Buchanan Read recited a spirited and graceful poem of his own, composed for the occasion.

Ever since he had been a young man Mr. Claghorn had been charged with financial trusts. He had not been in this country many days, after returning from Europe, before he was elected president of the Commercial National Bank, having previously been a director of the Philadelphia Bank, as his father had been before him, and also of the Girard Bank.

While Mr. Claghorn is prominently known to Philadelphians by reason of his identification with the city's financial and commercial interests, yet he is equally as well known as a leader in all that pertains to the development of the higher arts and to æsthetic culture in its fundamental aspect. The love of art was born in him. He began by making a collection of paintings. At one time he bought only American paintings, and had in his house three hundred pictures of native artists. Then he sought foreign works, and he still retains a number of both kinds. But his chief attention has been given to engravings, and he was one of the founders of the American Art Union, which strove to foster this branch of the fine arts. At present he devotes himself to keeping up the modern engravers and acquiring a representative variety of their works in the best state.

In his house on West Logan Square are everywhere seen the evidences of his love of the beautiful in art. The drawing-room and its adjoining cabinet are filled with pictures and other objects of rare artistic interest. Opening out of the first apartment is a spacious engraving-room, built on an adjoining lot and lighted from above through glass, as well as by rows of gas-jets lower down, for the darker hours. Here there is spread upon the walls a series of etchings and other prints, illustrating the history of the graver and burin from the best specimens of early German art in the fifteenth century down to the elaborate work of modern France, Italy, and England. At one end of the room the panels on which the pictures are hung are so arranged as to slide upward out of sight, bringing into view another array behind the first; and back of these there is still another set. A large bronze relief of Rembrandt is placed above against the cornice, and at the opposite end of the gallery another of Van Dyck. Gallery is hardly the right word, for there is no sense of coldness and vacancy as in so many rooms set apart for pictures. Comfortable furniture is disposed here and there; charming works in oil, by Diaz, Michel, and others, rest upon

James L Claghorn

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low easels; and as you wander about to look at the engravings, you come upon specimens of Japanese or royal Worcester ware of extraordinary rarity and beautiful design. In one corner is the grand piano, silently suggesting another taste cultivated amid these charming objects; near by stands a long row of sumptuous books on art, behind low glass doors, and in two angles of the walls are set pretty beaufets, filled with delicate and glittering products of the potter's wheel and the glass-furnace.

But the engravings here are merely a selection from the immense stores collected in the house. Without invading privacy too far, a word may be said of the "print-room" up-stairs, approached through a long passage, the walls of which are panoplied with cuts, both wood and steel, from skirting-board up to ceiling. In the room itself there is every appliance known to the collector. Chiffonieres, well stocked with examples of divers masters; broad tables, ample portfolios, racks for exhibition and revolving shelves, loaded with volumes of reference on the subject for which the room exists, and ready to fire off their information at the touch of a hand. Within this small space are assembled indescribable treasures, which have cost years of patient accumulation, loving study, and doubtless a good deal of money. But Mr. Claghorn is not one to value his treasures merely for their cost; they must be beautiful and meritorious as well. He is a connoisseur, and, more than that, a genuine enjoyer. The whole atmosphere of the house and this room shows that he has collected not from a sordid desire for possession, but so that he might live among artistic things and imbibe daily their refining and refreshing influence. In all Mr. Claghorn owns some fifty thousand engravings. Among them are two exquisite pieces by the rival claimants to the invention of mezzotint,—Rupert, Count Palatine, and Col. Von Siegen. Albert Durer is exceedingly well represented by a large group of impressions from steel and wood, and several complete series; and most of Whistler's best etchings are found in the collection. The accumulation of mezzotints is ahead of any other in America.

But Mr. Claghorn is not simply a collector of pictures, a patron of artists. In every local movement looking to the advancement of the cause of art, whether in the promotion of art education or in the city's adornment, he has been an active, generous leader. A few years since he was chosen president of the Academy of Fine Arts, of which he had been a director for a number of years. Mr. Claghorn lent all his influence to the work, and chiefly by his exertions there were obtained over twenty-three subscriptions of ten thousand dollars each, and seven of five thousand dollars each, within six weeks, making a total of two hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars. There are not many men who have the tact or can command the confidence to accomplish a feat like this. In this way the fund was raised which brought the academy into its present effective and commodious building. He is also connected with other art institutions.

It is more than thirty years since he attended the first meeting of the School of Design for Women. Subsequently he became a director and then treasurer of that institution, and finally he was made president. The influence of one such man, catholic in taste, and appreciating the æsthetic in a variety of forms, can hardly be estimated until after the lapse of years.

Mr. Claghorn's personal appearance and characteristics are too well known to need much description. Stout, hearty, white-haired, but active and keen in his enjoyment of all the good things of life, he retains at sixty-four all the zest of a young man, and nothing gives him more pleasure than to see those around him thoroughly happy, and to add to their ideal pleasures as well as to their material comforts. He is a striking example of how, in our American society, faithful devotion to business may be combined with sincere cultivation of the beautiful, generous encouragement of art and whole-souled patriotism, by simply carrying out the promptings of a large, frank, and unaffected manhood.

Besides the Pennsylvania Academy there have been several other institutions established in Philadelphia for the purpose of promoting the interests of the profession, and these were managed by artists themselves, with one exception, "The Artists' and Amateurs' Association," in which the control was by a mixed body, as its title indicates. The first of these in the order of date was entitled "The Columbianum," which was established in 1794, through the efforts of Charles Wilson Peale. The second was called "The Society of Artists of the United States," and was organized in May, 1810, four years after the Pennsylvania Academy had obtained its charter. An attempt was made to harmonize the interests of the two associations, but the joint-stock feature of the academy made it impracticable. Subsequently an arrangement was arrived at by which it was agreed that the Society of Artists should pay into the treasury of the academy the sum of two thousand dollars (which they did), and the directors passed a resolution which says, "The Society of Artists shall have the right of making their annual exhibition in the rooms of the academy for six weeks." After enumerating certain expenses to be paid out of the proceeds, the law goes on to say, "The residue of the moneys then received shall be equally divided between the academy and the society." Schools were provided for out of a portion of the proceeds of the exhibition, but difficulties arose about the management of them, and the affairs of both institutions languished. At length the Society of Artists dissolved.

In 1824, and again in 1828, attempts were made by the artists to obtain concessions from the academy to the end that matters purely professional should be confided to professors of art, but this was refused.

The result was the establishment, in 1834, of "The Artists' Fund Society of Philadelphia," with John Neagle at its head, but the chief promoter of the movement was Joshua Shaw. The act of incorporation bears date "the twenty-ninth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, and of the commonwealth fifty-ninth," signed, "James Findley, Secretary of the Commonwealth." This society added to the usual features of an exhibiting body and an academy that of a benevolent fund for the relief of artists needing assistance, hence the title adopted. This association continues to exist, but only in its beneficial and social character.

"The Artists' and Amateurs' Association of Philadelphia" was formed in 1839 through the exertions of Joshua Shaw, and held its first exhibition the year following in the upper galleries of the Arcade, situated on the north side of Chestnut Street, below Seventh, in the same apartments that had been occupied by Peale's Museum. The prominent feature of this institution was that of an art union, then a novelty here, and which had been devised in Germany about seven years before. It succeeded in popularizing art, and was found to be useful to such a degree that the plan was very soon adopted in England and other European countries, and was introduced into America by the Apollo Association of New York, and the Artists' and Amateurs' Association. Its exhibitions ceased on the second year.

"The Art Union of Philadelphia" succeeded, and was organized in March, 1843, with James McMurtrie as president. In the following year it received its charter. It made the sixth regularly established society in the city; but its sole purpose was the distribution of native art productions among the people at moderate cost, and the employment and encouragement of home talent. It became widely popular here, as it had previously been everywhere that the system had been tried, and was found very useful in the direction of its aim. After a number of years of marked success it was allowed to decline, and was dormant for a long time. But in 1882 it was resuscitated in a modified and, it is believed, an improved form, Its president was John Baird, and the annual distribution to the members was made in the Academy of Fine Arts.

The seventh and last on the list has for title "The Philadelphia Society of Artists," and held its first annual exhibition in 1879 in the north galleries of the Pennsylvania Academy, which were engaged for the purpose, but difficulties arose as usual, and their annual exhibitions are now held in galleries of their own, on Chestnut Street below Eighteenth.

Many of the profession continue to exhibit with the academy, although they now possess galleries of their own; but from the time of the establishment of the Artists' Fund Society, in 1835, the academy suspended its annual exhibitions altogether, a period of ten years. When the academy directors were about to reconstruct their new edifice, after the disastrous fire of 1845, they purchased from the artists their building, which stood in front, obstructing the view of the academy building from the street, and from that time on the artists contributed their works to the academy exhibitions, most of the time the exhibition committee of arrangement being composed one-half of representative artists, elected by the profession.

The building referred to was erected by the Artists' Fund Society, on space rented from the academy, over the stores on the Chestnut Street front. It was first opened with the fifth annual display of the society, in May, 1840. The Rev. Dr. Bethune delivered the inaugural address, and it may be appropriate to quote a few words from it in closing: "The opening of your new and commodious hall of exhibition, on a site generously secured to you by the Academy of the Fine Arts, warrants the best hopes for the future. You need no longer complain that you are without a resting-place and a home, and the scandal of seeming alienation between a society of artists and a society of the friends of art has ceased. Kindness has been proffered, and kindness has been accepted, and the academy have shown their willingness that you should be set before the public in a good light, even at the expense of being thrown themselves into the background.

"The fact that, as associated artists, you are conscious of strength to assume the entire management of your own interests is in itself cheering. For it is true that since the painters of Sienna were chartered in 1355, whose admirable statutes for the government of the profession, for truth and clearness, have never been surpassed, artists have proved themselves to be the best judges of what the honor of the arts may demand. It should also be remembered that in their earlier infancy they have always needed and sought kindly nurture from those who have the taste to admire and the means to reward what they have not the happy genius to execute."

The Philadelphia Sketch Club, founded in 1861, has a fine gallery of paintings. The School of Design, established in 1850, occupies a building at the southwest corner of Broad and Master Streets, Edwin Forrest's old mansion, which was enlarged and extended back to Carlisle Street. This institution is designed for the instruction of women in drawing, sculpture, and painting, and is maintained by the contributions of members of the society. The institution originated under the patronage and assistance of the Franklin Institute. The Fairmount Park Art Association, organized in 1872, is devoted to the embellishment of Fairmount Park with objects of art. The members make an annual payment of five dollars each, and have contributed to the park several valuable works of art. Beside these art associations there are several others in the city doing good work in the same commendable direction. There are also many private art collections in the city that

deserve mention, among which may be named those of William B. Bement, Henry C. Gibson, Fairman Rogers, James L. Claghorn, and George Whitney.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MUSIC, MUSICIANS, AND MUSICAL SOCIETIES.

THERE was no music in the Quakers. Even from their worship they excluded the hymn of humility and the psalm of praise. They were a peculiar people, more so upon this subject than the Puritans. The latter, while opposed to instrumental music in their churches, encouraged the utterance of vocal praise. The precentor was an important church officer in the Presbyterian worship. The manner in which he led the tunes was nearly as important as the text and method of the sermon. Congregational singing was a duty and an observance among the Presbyterians. In his house usually the member of that sect abstained from the use of musical instruments himself, and did not permit such enjoyment to his family. Here then were two great influences among the early Pennsylvanians against the cultivation of the art of music for purposes of enjoyment. On the other side was the limited influence of the Swedes, whose religious services, framed upon those of the Catholic Church, imitated the original as closely as Protestant doctrines would admit. When Christ Church was founded the hymn, psalm, and anthem were immediately adopted, according to the fashions of the Church of England. The Baptists used the hymn in their meetings. The German Reformed and the Lutherans were of similar taste. The Moravians shocked the early Quakers and Presbyterians, who denominated organs "whistle-boxes," by introducing that instrument, and accompanied it with profane brass, wind, and stringed instruments,—the trumpet, the clarionet, the harp, and even the violin and bass viol. When the Catholic chapel of St. Joseph's was opened the musical periods of the service were cultivated under the care of Father Harding and his successors. The choir might have been weak at times, but they must have fostered it with care and sought the acquisition of new voices whenever there was opportunity. Whatever musical taste there might have been among the early settlers had been acquired before they had come to America, and much of it was only a memory.

In a community in which the predominant feeling was in opposition to amusements, even harmony could hope for little encouragement. Such amusements as were common were of the rougher sort; horse-racing, swimming in summer and skating in winter, hunting, fowling, and fishing. In the first year after the foundation of the city the gravity of the grand jury was shocked by juvenile delinquencies. They spoke "of the great rudeness and wildness of ye youth and children in ye town of Philadelphia. . . . That they daily appear up and down ye streets gaming and playing for money." Except such recreation as was physical, or might be procured from games of chance or address, there was little that could interest children, and still less for the amusement of grown people outside of the cold hard work of life, and the performance of religious duties. Friends' Yearly Meeting, in 1716, advised against Friends "going to or being in any way concerned in plays, games, lotteries, *music*, and dancing." In the succeeding year there was a "pronouncement against races, gaming," or needless and vain sports and pastimes, "for our time passeth swiftly away, and our pleasures and delights ought to be in the law of the Lord." For nearly sixty years music in the city must have been a chance gratification and a novelty. It is known that in 1740 an association for musical purposes was formed in the city, and also a dancing assembly, which was composed of men of large figure in the affairs of the time, nearly all of them being members of the Church of England.

In 1749, John Beals, music-master from London, "at his house on Fourth Street near to Chestnut, adjoining to Mr. Linton, collar-maker," taught the violin, hautboy, German flute, common flute, and dulcimer, by note. His lessons were given to young ladies who desired it at their own houses. And he notified the public he "likewise produces music for balls or other entertainments."

The first attempt at anything like the performance of a musical drama or opera was made by Hallam's company at the new theatre on Society Hill, Southwark, under the management of Hallam, in the autumn of 1759. Mrs. Love, a member of that company, Mrs. Harman, and her husband were the principal singers of the troupe. They brought out the first musical feast, "Theodosius; or, the Force of Love," with all the vocal and instrumental music. "The Beggar's Opera," by Gay, followed,—*Macheath*, Mr. Harman; *Polly*, Mrs. Love; *Lucy*, Mrs. Harman. In December there was "an interlude of concert music" performed by "some gentlemen of the city," who had provided a harpsichord for the occasion. This is the first recorded appearance of musical amateurs upon the stage. The performers must have been men of some position, because the object of the entertainment was "for purchasing an organ for the College Hall in this city, and instructing the college children in psalmody." David Douglass succeeded Hallam as the manager of the new theatre (the second built) at Cedar [South] and Crab or Apollo Streets in the winter of 1766–67. This company had some fair singers. "The Beggar's Opera" was performed on the 28th of November; Miss Wainwright as *Polly*, *Macheath* Mr. Wools. Miss Cheer, a member of the company, who acted the principal light comedy characters, was also a good singer, and achieved some local reputa-

tion. Douglass, in the season of 1769–70, introduced "Midas" (an operatic burletta), Milton's masque of "Comus," and Shakespeare's "Tempest," altered by Dryden, all of which required the use of instrumental as well as vocal music. In 1765 the concert separate from theatrical representation was introduced. "A concert of musical glasses" was given in that year. The performers at the theatre led off in the first of the vocal and instrumental concerts given, it is believed, in the city; Miss Wainwright, Miss Cheer, Miss Hallam, Mr. Wools, Mr. Wall, and others, assisted. In 1770, Signor Gualdo, an Italian performer, it may be supposed, gave the first recorded concert by one of his nation "of vocal and instrumental music, solos and concertos, on various instruments,—the favorite mandolin not excepted." Gualdo afterward gave a concert and ball at the Freemasons' lodge in Lodge Alley. In order to quiet the consciences of the persons who would like to attend the concert but would violate their profession if they remained at the ball, Signor Gualdo had an admirable arrangement to secure both sorts of custom: "Admission ten shillings. If any lady or gentleman chooses to go away after the concert, the porter will return one half a crown."

At the outbreak of the Revolution Congress adopted puritanical objections to amusements, and prohibited theatrical entertainments as well as other vain diversions. When Hallam, in 1780, desired to open the theatre for dramatic performances, he found great difficulty and objection. He was obliged to avoid the scandal of an open announcement that he would not perform plays, and resorted to the subterfuge of opening the South Street Theatre as a "temple of Apollo," for concerts of vocal and instrumental music. With them he mingled recitations and even performances of plays, which were called "readings." In May he performed "A Monody in behalf of the Chiefs who nobly fell in the American Cause." Growing bolder, afterward he advertised "Lectures, being a mixed Entertainment of Representation and Harmony." In 1787, Hallam advertised "*Spectaculum Vitæ;* at the Opera-House, Southwark, for the relief of our fellow-citizens enslaved at Algiers; on Monday next will be performed a concert, vocal and instrumental." This musical entertainment consisted of the presentation of "The Grateful Ward; or, the Pupil in Love," and the musical entertainment of "The Poor Soldier," ending with "A Vaudeville." In 1789, the law still continuing, Hallam performed the operas of "The Duenna," "The Poor Soldier," the comic opera of "Lethe" beside; and under the title of lectures such tragedies as "The Gamester" and "Hamlet," and the comedy of "The West Indian." The law prohibiting theatrical representations was repealed in 1789, and the Governor permitted to license theatres. When Wignell & Reinagle opened the new theatre in Chestnut Street, above Fifth, on the 2d of February, 1793, the entertainments were a concert of vocal and instrumental music. This company was strong in talent. Reinagle was a musician, and led the orchestra in an overture. Boulay performed on the violin, Saloman on the harp, and Guenin on the piano. They were probably musicians attached to the orchestra. The songs were by Mrs. Morris and Mrs. Chambers, and Messrs. Mallet, Harper, and Chambers. The yellow fever of 1793 postponed the opening of the new theatre for dramatic performances for some months, the company having been driven to Annapolis, where they remained until late in the winter. On the opening night, Feb. 17, 1794, the first piece performed was Keefe's opera of the "Castle of Andalusia."[1] The musical character of this company had been looked to with care by Wignell and his partner. The foundation of the organization was the orchestra. The musicians were considered equal in general ability to the stage artists. There were twenty of them. Reinagle presided at times, and usually chose the piano for his instrument. George Gillingham, the leader, had been celebrated in London as a violinist.

In the dramatic company the most celebrated vocalist was Mrs. Oldmixon. She had been popular on the London stage as Miss George, and was a burletta vocalist, filling the line of singing chambermaids and sprightly girls at the Haymarket and Drury Lane Theatres. She took the leading characters, especially in comic operas. She was the first to sing in Philadelphia the simple ballad (now so very old, but known to everybody), "The Blue Bells of Scotland," in which she was encored night after night. Sir John Oldmixon, her husband, performed tolerably on the violin. Mr. Marshall, a vocalist of fine powers, was the principal tenor in opera. Mrs. Marshall, excellent in romps and country girls, was possessed of a melodious, powerful, and extensive soprano voice, which she used with skill and musical precision. Morton was an excellent performer of concertos and pieces on the piano-forte. Mr. and Mrs. Warrell, with capable voices, were good in minor parts and in choruses, which, by their taste and ability, they strengthened greatly. Miss Broadhurst was a singer of respectable talent, generally sustaining the second parts in opera. Darley was a tenor who had, Durang says, stood well beside Incledon, and Darley, Jr., was also a fine tenor. Wignell and Reinagle relied, in considerable degree, upon the musical talents of their company. Several musical pieces of the English opera type, partly dialogue and partly songs and choruses, were brought out in the first season, among which, pronounced a great performance, was "Robin Hood;" also "Comus," in which Mrs. Oldmixon, Mrs.

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[1] The cast shows that the managers had several performers whose musical abilities were at least respectable. The characters were as follows: *Don Scipio*, Finch; *Don Cæsar*, Darley; *Don Fernando*, Marshall; *Don Juan*, Morris; *Don Alphonso*, Morton; *Pedrillo*, Bates; *Strado*, Wignell; *Sanguino*, Green; *Philippo*, Darley, Jr.; *Banditti*, Harwood, Francis, Cleveland, Warrell, Blissett; *Victoria*, Mrs. Warrell; *Lorenzo*, Mrs. Marshall; *Isabella*, Mrs. Bates; *Catalina*, Miss Broadhurst.

Marshall, Miss Broadhurst, with the two Darleys and the Warrells, sustained the principal parts. "The Spanish Barber," with Dr. Arnold's music and accompaniments by Carr, was translated from the famous piece by Beaumarchais, upon which Rossini constructed his opera of "The Barber of Seville." In the year 1793 there was an addition to the resident population of the city by the arrival of two professional musicians who were not engaged in connection with the theatre company. One of these was Benjamin Carr, from the London Ancient Concerts, who established himself in a music-store at No. 118 Market Street. The other was Raynor Taylor, afterward frequently before the public in concerts and musical entertainments.[1]

On the 5th of May, 1794, what might be denominated the first professional and amateur concert took place at Oeller's Hotel, under direction of George Gillingham, leader at the theatre, Menel, and Benjamin Carr. Gillingham played a concerto on the violin, Carr sang one or two songs, but the great novelty of the evening was the performance by the orchestra of the celebrated composition afterward, for a quarter of a century and more, pounded to death on pianos, "The Battle of Prague." This was performed for the first time in America, and adapted for the band by George C. Schetky, who was a capital musician and long known to the Philadelphia public. Kenna, a vocalist, with his wife and daughter, sang at the Harrowgate Garden in afternoon and summer-night entertainments during this year. Benjamin Carr had been educated in music under the celebrated composers, Dr. Samuel Arnold and John Wesley, a nephew of the famous Methodist preacher. He was a brother of Sir John Carr, an Englishman of some literary education. A fine musician, he was a successful composer. As an organist he was one of the best performers of which the city could boast, and his services in Roman Catholic and Protestant Episcopal Churches were always in demand. He was religiously inclined, and when he performed in compositions of sacred music, he was exalted with emotion and feeling. His compositions were generally of a sacred cast.[2] He published, in 1820, "The Chorister," a collection of chants and harmonies, selected, arranged, and composed by himself. He was the leader of the Musical Fund Society orchestra, and conductor of the first concert at Washington Hall, in 1821. He was the leader at the first representation in Philadelphia of selections from Handel's "Messiah" and Haydn's "Creation," which embraced the principal solos and choruses of those pieces. The performance was under the direction of Benjamin Carr, Raynor Taylor, and George C. Schetky. It took place in June, 1810, at the Roman Catholic Church of St. Augustine. The principal soprano was a young lady pupil of Mr. Carr and Mr. Schetky; the principal tenor, Thomas Carr, of Baltimore; the principal bass, Shapter, of New York. Thirty-four ladies and gentlemen sang in principal parts and chorus. The orchestra was exceedingly strong, much beyond the general numbers of the orchestras of the day. Mr. Gillingham was leader of the band. The organists were Raynor Taylor, Benjamin Carr, Thomas Carr, and T. Meinecke, of Baltimore. Memminger, of Baltimore, led the twenty-one violins. There were six violas, four clarionets, six flutes, five violoncellos, three bassoons, three double basses, four trumpets and horns, and one kettle-drum. This performance was the most celebrated of the time and referred to frequently. The great number of the participants was unexampled in the previous history of the city. It was excelled by what was called a grand oratorio, but really a selection from oratorios, presented in 1820 for the benefit of the Widows' and Orphans' Asylum and the Bible Society. There were one hundred and thirty performers, of whom the larger proportion were instrumental.

BENJAMIN CARR.

The first performance of a full oratorio took place on the 9th of April, 1801, in the hall of the University of Pennsylvania, on Fourth Street below Arch. Dr. Shaw was the conductor, and he essayed the bold experiment of producing Handel's "Messiah." It

[1] They were buried in St. Peter's churchyard, where the Musical Fund Society have erected suitable monuments to their memory.

[2] Mr. Carr died May 21, 1831, aged sixty-two years. His companions of the Musical Fund paid this tribute to his virtues on his tombstone:
"Charitable without ostentation. Faithful and true in his friendships. To the intelligence of a man he united the simplicity of a child."

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would have been impossible to obtain vocalists competent for this work from amateur ranks. Dr. Shaw went to the theatre. He engaged for the principal parts Mrs. Oldmixon and Miss Broadhurst, John Darley, Darley, Jr., and Taylor, with others, the theatrical company making up the chorus. Gillingham was the leader of the orchestra, and Taylor the organist. How successful this performance was in a pecuniary point of view is not told in the journals of the day.

For many years the theatre supplied the concert-room with singers, and with most of the orchestral performers as well. The ladies of the theatre frequently added to their income by a yearly concert performance. Mrs. Oldmixon probably first resorted to that expedient in 1800, after she had sung with Miss Broadhurst and Mr. Carr, in two concerts given by Miss Chateaudun, a juvenile wonder ten years old, who, "considering her age, had a wonderful proficiency on the harp." Mrs. Oldmixon's concerts were regularly given for some years. Her fine musical education and good voice, and her experience in musical performances (she was the original *Wowski* in "Inkle and Yarico") rendered her popular. She had the advantage that she needed very little assistance from other performers. She could fill a programme herself. Wolfe played the clarionet for her in 1800. Soissons breathed for her on the flute in 1802. Gillingham was leader of the orchestra in 1808. In 1812 she was more liberally assisted than for many years. Mr. Smalley sang for and with her, Gillingham and Schetky played the violin, Pfeiffer the piano, the Carusi brothers on the French horns, and another Carusi and French on the clarionet. This occurred at Masonic Hall in February, 1814. On that occasion Mrs. Burke sang for her. Mrs. Oldmixon withdrew from the stage and opened a boarding-school at Germantown, which was quite successful. Mrs. Burke, of the theatre, afterward married Joseph Jefferson. She was an elegant singer, and was always an attraction at a concert. Mrs. French, a native of Philadelphia, was a popular vocalist, but not upon the stage. She gave her first concert in 1818, and was assisted by Taws on the piano-forte; Gillingham, violin; Gillies, violoncello; Schetky, bass; Blondan, flute; and others. A writer in Poulson's *Advertiser*, who said that he had seen and heard Mrs. Billington, Catalani, and Mrs. Mountain, then very famous in Europe, declared that Mrs. French was a better singer than either of them, and more scientific than Catalani, who at that time was considered the best singer in Europe. Mrs. French gave concerts and sang in concerts with others until the end of the year 1821.

Miss De Brueys gave concerts in 1805–8, part of the time with Mr. De Brueys. They took place at the Assembly Room, Shakespeare Hotel, Chestnut Street, at Auriol's dancing-school, and other places.

Mrs. Le Folle gave her first concert in the city at the old academy, Fourth Street below Arch, in December, 1808. She was the first wife of Le Folle, a leading musician connected with the Chestnut Street Theatre. This lady, who was no actress, should not be confounded with the second Mrs. Le Folle, who was a Miss Wrighton, daughter of a famous actress on the English stage, afterward known as Mrs. Pownall. Miss Wrighton was the second wife of Alexander Placide, and mother of the Placides, Henry and Thomas, and of daughters one of whom afterward became Mrs. Mann, and another Mrs. William R. Blake. Mrs. Le Folle, the vocalist, was a fine singer, and popular. Perhaps the next Italian after Signor Gualda who gave a concert at which the principal food was airs from the Italian operas was Mr. Comoglio, whose entertainment was given at the City Hotel, Nov. 7, 1809. One of the best established and successful musical associations which endured for some years was "the quartet party," originally consisting of Gillingham, J. C. Homman, Le Folle, and Schetky. They gave nine concerts in 1809, and were occasionally assisted by vocalists. Charles Hupfeld was admitted to the party, which became a quintet, although continuing under the old name, in 1810. The concerts continued several years longer, and were in operation in 1818.

The first of the theatrical star performers who shone in opera was Incledon, the English vocalist, who appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1818. He gave a full round of the English operas popular at the day,—"Love in a Village," "Lock and Key," "Castle of Andalusia," "The Waterman," etc. Incledon was equally effective in serious or sentimental songs. Mr. Henry Phillips, of the Lyceum Theatre, London, followed Incledon in the same year. He brought out for the first time the melodramatic opera of "The Devil's Bridge," "The Siege of Belgrade," "The Duenna," and other pieces. He had no difficulty about filling the minor parts. McFarland, Barrett, Burke, Jefferson, and Abercrombie, of the theatre, were good singers. More pleasing and excellent were Mrs. Burke, Mrs. Le Folle, Mrs. Anderson, and Mrs. Bloxton. Mr. Pearman, an English vocalist, came in the beginning of 1824, and introduced "The Devil's Bridge," "The Siege of Belgrade," "Fontainbleau," "The Barber of Seville," "Clari, the Maid of Milan," in which "Home, Sweet Home" was first sung, and others. Henry Phillips, in 1822, brought out in March, at the Walnut Street Theatre, Rossini's "Barber of Seville," his first appearance upon the American stage, translated from the Italian libretto, and rendered with the music of Rossini.

Charles F. Hupfeld also gave concerts on his own account in 1812, and annually thereafter nearly up to the time of his death in January, 1819. On these occasions there were songs by Gillingham, Blissett, Stewart, Jefferson, Mrs. Green, and Mrs. Burke.

Francis Blondau, celebrated as a performer on the

flute, gave a concert in 1814, and others up to 1823. At one of these Hupfeld presented an original composition, a "concerto militaire." Mrs. Green, Mrs. Burke, and Mrs. Placide sang for him. Mrs. Green was a Miss Williams, and an original member of the Chestnut Street Theatre Company in 1794. She married William Green, a member of the same company. He was manager of a Richmond theatre at the time of the great fire in 1811, and lost his only daughter by that calamity. Madame Knitel, from Paris, gave a concert at Masonic Hall in 1824. She was a performer upon the clarionet, an instrument not often played upon by a woman. She resided in the city for some years, and frequently appeared on musical occasions.

Arthur Keene, a young Irishman, "from the New York and Boston theatres," gave a concert in 1819. He was one of the company which supported Garcia, afterward Madame Malibran, at the Bowery Theatre, New York, in 1827. Miss Victoria Boudet, an American girl of French parentage, born at Savannah, gave several concerts in 1820, singing in Italian and English. She was then not sixteen years old. It was said of her, a comparison perfectly understandable at the time, that "her voice has the lowest tones of contralto, and the highest soprano tones of Mrs. French." Four years afterward this lady married a merchant of Norfolk, Va., and withdrew her attractions from the concert-room.

Willis, of West Point, leader of the military band there, celebrated as a performer on the Kent bugle, gave an example of his skill in 1820 at a few concerts, Mrs. De Luce taking the vocal parts.

One of the finest musicians that had come to the city was Anthony Philip Heinrich, known in the latter part of his life as "Father Heinrich." He was an enthusiast in music; he was a native of Schonlinde, in Austrian Bohemia. He had been a merchant and an extensive banker, and was believed to be a man of fine fortune. Music was his passion; he neglected his business to amuse himself by visiting places where he could hear and enjoy the best performances. As a consequence his business went to ruin, and he, who had been a wealthy amateur, was compelled to take up the bow and seek a livelihood as a professional musician. He was in Philadelphia when the European banking-houses of which he was proprietor failed in 1805, and after that he became a wanderer. He left and went West, where he remained in solitude for some time; then to London, where he received an engagement as principal violinist at Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres. Returning to Philadelphia in 1821, he sought relief from his poverty in concerts, and led a varied life. Heinrich was known all over the country. He was the author of over one hundred works, oratorios, symphonies, overtures, concerted pieces and songs, many of which were distinguished for great originality, varied expression, and patriotic sentiment.

Edward R. Hansen, a native of Denmark, became a permanent resident and teacher of music in the year 1822. He had the advantage over most members of the profession in the fact that he could play excellently on the flute, violin, piano, and flageolet. He was a figure in musical affairs in the city for some years.

Mr. Huerta, performer on the guitar, gave two concerts in 1824.

The first translation of Von Weber's romantic opera of "Der Freischütz" took place at the Chestnut Street Theatre on the 18th of March, 1825. The orchestra was doubled, and embraced nearly all the professional musicians and some amateurs. The text was spoken by several of the performers, but there were competent singers,—Wallack, *Caspar;* Darley, *Wilhelm;* Jefferson, *Killian;* and Mrs. Burke, *Bertha.* These artists saved the piece, which, taken altogether, was not a success. The music, it was said, was of too high and scientific character to be understood by the ordinary public, which had not been educated up to the full enjoyment of music, or to a liberal cultivation of taste.

The first regular opera company came to the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1827; the manager was Davis, of New Orleans. It was a French troupe which performed in that city in the winter season. The principal performers were Richard, Alexandre, Notaire, Rochfort, Le Blanc, Tabary, Theodore, and Mesdames Alexandre, Milon, Charlotte, and Bolze. This company introduced a knowledge of the methods of the operatic stage. During September and October they sang the following operas in the French language: "Joconde," "Robin des Bois" (Robert the Devil), "Der Freischütz," "Jean de Paris," "La Dame Blanche," "Le Macon," "Werther," "Thérèse," "Rendezvous Bourgeois," "Du Solitaire," and "Aremia." The same company performed at the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1828. They presented most of the operas of the previous season. "Mosè in Egitto" was among the novelties brought forward at this time. Mr. Hunt and Miss Phillips, in December, 1828, sang in English operas and in concerted pieces. Diamond's opera of "Native Land" was brought out during this engagement.

Mrs. Austin, a London vocalist, accompanied by C. Horn, Pearman, and Jones, introduced the English opera at the Chestnut Street Theatre, in the season of 1827–28. She performed in many of the old English musical pieces, and during her engagement introduced for the first time on the American stage "Cinderella" in English, with the original music by Rossini, and Dr. Arne's opera "Artaxerxes," in which she took the character of *Mandane.* Kotzebue's play of "The Cossack and the Volunteer" was produced at the Chestnut Street Theatre in the season of 1827–28 as an opera. It was probably the first American opera performed in Philadelphia. The composer of the music was Braun, a member of the theatre

company, and his wife, who was a singing actress, took the principal part.

Madame Fearon, in December, 1828, came with great reputation from London. Together with Madame Brichta, C. Horn, Signor Rosich, and Signor Angrosani, they produced the first Italian opera, "La Trionfa della Musica," on the 5th of May, 1829. "Justina," an American opera, by John Clemens, of Philadelphia, was performed at the Walnut Street Theatre in the season 1829-30. The New Orleans French Opera Company was again at the Chestnut Street Theatre in September, 1829. They brought out "La Fiancée," music by Auber; also "La Dame du Lac," and "Le Calife de Bagdad." The French Opera Company came again in 1829. There were some changes. Mrs. Alexandre had retired; Letterlière was added to the company, with Mesdames Boudoulot and St. Clair. They gave no new operas.

Madame Feron (not Madame Fearon mentioned in 1828) appeared in the fall season of 1830. On the 12th of November was brought out, for the first time, the grand operatic drama of "Aladdin," the character of *Nourmahal* being sustained by Madame Feron, *Aladdin* by Mrs. E. Knight, and another by Mrs. Willis. The company was without a principal tenor or bass voice, and much of the music, which was by Bishop, had to be omitted.

The French opera opened in September, 1831, with a fine company, in which were Madame Berdoulet Paradol, Monsieur Des Champs, Madame St. Clair, and M. St. Aubin. They brought out for the first time the opera of "La Muette de Portici" (Masaniello), by Auber, and his comic opera of "Fra Diavolo." *Masaniello* was sustained by M. St. Aubin; *Fenella*, Madame Berdoulet; *Elvira*, Madame St. Clair; *Fra Diavolo*, St. Aubin; *Zerlina*, Madame St. Clair. During this season were also brought out "Guillaume Tell," by Grétry; "Le Petit Chaperon Rouge," by Boieldieu; "Le Barbier de Seville," by Rossini; "La Gazza Ladra" and "Der Freischütz." Another American opera were brought out at the Arch Street Theatre Jan. 2, 1832. The words and music were by John Clemens, the leader of the orchestra. It was called "The Fiend and Fairy; or, the Rock of Utrich." Clemens was the author of the negro song "Coal-Black Rose," which was first sung at the Walnut Street Theatre in 1829, by William Kelly, and was afterward taken up by George Washington Dixon and others. The air of this piece became immensely popular. It was sung in parlors, hummed in offices, whistled in the streets, and performed by bands. No single piece of music had ever been so treated, and it continued in favor long after it had become to those who liked variety a nuisance.

A "national operatic drama," "The Red Branch Knight," written by George Pepper, editor of *The Irish Shield*, published in Philadelphia, was brought out at the Arch Street Theatre in April, 1832. The music was not original. The tunes were those of old Irish airs, but the singing of Miss Rock gave great satisfaction.

Mr. Sinclair, the English vocalist, made his first appearance at the Chestnut Street Theatre Oct. 17, 1831, in "Rob Roy." Sinclair was the pride of the English stage at one time, but when he came to America his voice was used up. He brought out during his engagement "The Cabinet," "Guy Mannering," and other pieces.

The opera of "Cinderella" was produced at the Arch Street Theatre, Nov. 28, 1831. *Prince Felix*, Mr. Jones; *Baron Pompolino*, John Jones; *Alidor*, Rowbotham; *Cinderella*, Mrs. Austin; *Clorinda*, Mrs. Rowbotham.

Sinclair Reynoldson, a bass singer, from London, and Miss Hughes, appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre in the spring of 1833, in "Cinderella," "Fra Diavolo," and some other pieces.

A regular Italian opera company, known as the "Montressor Troupe," made its first appearance at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Jan. 23, 1833. This was the first full Italian company that had performed in Philadelphia. The artists were Giovanni Battista Montressor, tenor; Count Arnaldi, basso; Fornasari, baritone; Orlandi, buffo; Sapignoli, Pracei, and others; *prime-donne*, Signorina Adelaide Pedrotti, Enrichetta Salvioni, Placi, Verduce, Sacomani. This company sang "Elisa e Claudio," "L'Italiana in Algieri," "Il Pirata," "Cenerentola," "Otello." The houses were good, and fashion began to incline to Italian opera. The leader of the company was Signor Antonio Bagliola; leader of the orchestra and first violin, Signor Micheli Rappetti.

Miss Phillips, a vocalist from London, with Latham, a buffo, Jones, tenor, and Miss Watson (afterward Mrs. Bailey, and a great favorite in Philadelphia), made their first appearance at the Chestnut Street Theatre, December, 1834, in the "Marriage of Figaro," which was not a successful engagement. Miss Watson's voice was a contralto of extensive range.

Mrs. Wood, formerly Miss Paton, and Lady Lennox, of London, her husband, Joseph Wood, a tenor with a sweet voice, and William Brough, a splendid basso, deepened the impression of the merits of opera at their first engagement at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Jan. 18, 1835. They made their appearance in "The Maid of Judah,"—*Ivanhoe*, Mr. Wood; *Cedric*, Brough; *Rebecca*, Mrs. Wood. This lady had a magnificent voice, ranging from mezzo-soprano to the highest soprano register. In ability to reach the top of the scale with pure intonation and force she has not been exceeded by other celebrated singers in opera, whether in English, French, or Italian. This company brought out "Cinderella," "Guy Mannering," and, on February 14th, for the first time, Bellini's delightful opera "La Sonnambula,"—*Amina*, Mrs. Wood; *Rodolpho*, Brough; *Alvino*, Wood; *Alessio*, Walton; *Lisa*, Mrs. Rowbotham. This opera was a great success. It held the theatre for fifteen nights. The managers

were so much impressed with their good fortune that they commissioned Thomas Sully to paint a full-length portrait of Mrs. Wood as *Amina*. He produced a splendid likeness, and the picture decorated the lobby of the Chestnut Street Theatre for many years. This company, on the 11th of January, 1841, at the Chestnut Street Theatre, produced, for the first time in Philadelphia, Bellini's opera of "Norma." The translation of the *libretto* was by J. Reese Fry and William H. Fry, and they gave great attention to the scenery, costumes, and accessories. The chorus numbered eighty voices. The orchestra, greatly enlarged by the accession of competent amateurs, was composed of sixty musicians, and led by Leopold Meignen. The cast was *Norma*, Mrs. Wood; *Elberta* (a new name for *Adelgiza*), Mrs. Bailey; *Claudian*, Wood; *Oroveso*, Brough. Burton was managing the National Theatre, on Chestnut Street, near Ninth, at this time, and endeavored to supplant the piece at the Chestnut Street by bringing out another version of "Norma" on the same night, in which Madame Anna Sutton took the principal part. His experiment did not succeed. By his tactics he managed to injure the performance by the Woods, which was not financially a success.

On the 15th of October, 1839, a new opera company opened at the Chestnut, with Mrs. Martyn (late Miss Inverarity), Miss Poole, and Messrs. Gubelei, Martyn, and Manvers. The opening piece was "Cinderella," but they brought out on the 21st, for the first time in the city, Beethoven's masterpiece, "Fidelio,"—*Leonora*, Mrs. Martyn; *Florestan*, Manvers; *Don Pizarro*, Guibelei. "La Gazza Ladra" followed.

On the 14th of January, 1838, Miss Sherriff, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Seguin made their first appearance in the city in "La Sonnambula," which was followed by "Amilie," a piece which had been previously performed at the Walnut with great success by Madame Otto, Brough, and T. Wilson. Mr. Horncastle was added to the company during the season. Seguin became popular at once, and held the public favor during many subsequent years of performances.

Among the vocalists who appeared in the concert-room at this period (the Musical Fund Hall being the place) was Madame Caradori Allan, a finished Italian singer. The veteran Braham appeared at Burton's National Theatre in 1840. He had at one time been the boast of the English stage, but was still an impressive shadow of himself. In this engagement were performed "Guy Mannering," "The Devil's Bridge," "Love in a Village," "Masaniello," "The Siege of Belgrade," "The Slave," and "The Cabinet." Braham, although *passé*, was still a fine singer, and managed to hide his defects with considerable skill.

The celebrated Italian buffo singer, Signor Giuseppe de Begnis, for want of a supporting company, sang at the Chestnut Street Theatre May 6, 1842, giving scenes and costumes. He frequently appeared in concerts afterward.

In November, 1839, Mr. Seguin, who had been pleased with his experiences in the country, came back with his wife, and, with Mr. Latham and Horncastle, opened at the Walnut Street Theatre, in March, in "Der Freischütz." They played the "Marriage of Figaro," and some other pieces, in English. This was the beginning of the Seguin Opera Troupe, an organization successful for many years. In April, 1844, Mr. and Mrs. Seguin opened at the Chestnut Street Theatre, then under the management of E. A. Marshall. Besides the Seguins, the company consisted of Mrs. Phillips, Shrival (tenor), and Peter Richings, with some others. They brought out "La Sonnambula," "Norma," "Anna Boleyn," "Barber of Seville," and "Fra Diavolo." In 1845, Mr. Fraser became the tenor. Others succeeded during the career of the company. Fraser made his first appearance as *Thaddeus* in "The Bohemian Girl,"—*Count Arnhein*, Brough; *Arline*, Mrs. Seguin; *Devilshoof*, Seguin, who was an excellent comic actor, and made more out of the part by his drollery than by his singing.

A new Italian troupe was at the Chestnut Street Theatre in February, 1848. It was composed of Signora Biscaccianti (late Miss Ostinelli, a native of Boston), Signorina Amalia Patti, contralto; Signorina Teresa Truffi, Signoras Lietti, Rossi, and Avogadro; Signors Rossi Corsi, Benedetti, tenor; Beneventano, baritone; Avignoni, Arnoldi, Piamontesi, Strini, Morra, bassos; with Lietti and Barili Patti, father of the *prima-donna* (the lady a fine contralto), and also of Adelina Patti, the famous singer in after-years. This company opened with Donizetti's "Gemma di Vergi." They performed "Lucia di Lammermoor," the heroine by Biscaccianti, who made a great impression; "Lucrezia Borgia," in which Truffi was much admired. "Ernani," by Verdi, was brought out on the 15th of March with a cast scarcely equaled and never exceeded,—*Elvira*, Signorina Truffi; *Don Carlos*, Beneventano; *Ernani*, Arnoldi; *Ruy Gomez da Silva*, Rossi. This company was the finest that had yet appeared in the city. They brought out "Il Giuramento," by Mercadante. A new season of Italian opera commenced on the 6th of June, 1848, with Biscaccianti as the *prima-donna*, Signor N. Perelli as the tenor, and Signor Novelli basso, aided by Signor Avignone. It was a short season. The weather was getting too warm for opera. Another company, with Signora Lietta Rossi as *prima-donna*, Signors Avietti, Rossi Corsi, Sanquirico, and others, tried a short season in the summer at the Walnut. There was more attraction in two members of the orchestra,—Arditi, violinist, and Bottesini, contra-bassist. They were artists of the highest grade on their respective instruments.

Edward P. Fry, son of William Fry, publisher of *The National Gazette*, and brother of J. R. and W. H.

Fry, who were engaged in the production of the opera of "Norma" by the Woods, was as enthusiastic a lover of music as the former. Fired with ambition to improve musical taste, he undertook the engagement of a company and the production of Italian opera at the Astor Place Opera-House, New York. He brought his company to Philadelphia, and opened the Chestnut Street Theatre, Oct. 14, 1848. There were one hundred and forty persons in this troupe, the chorus being fifty. Fry's company was composed of Signorina Patti, Truffi, Madame Laborde, Benedetti, Salvator Patti, Valtellina, Monsieur Laborde, Rossi, Guibelei, Du Breul, and Sanquirico. Madame Laborde was a fine singer of the French school, thoroughly cultivated, and possessing talent as an actress. She made her appearance October 6th in Donizetti's comic opera, "L'Elisire d'Amore," as *Adina; Nemorino*, Laborde; *Belcore*, Du Breul; *Dulcamara*, Sanquirico. This was charmingly done. Madame Laborde became at once popular, and her sudden success created feelings of jealousy in the company. The Italians, strong in admiration of their countrywoman Truffi, spoke disparagingly of Laborde, who they said was very good in comic opera, but incompetent for any grand part. She had her revenge before the war was ended by an appearance in *Norma*, in which as a singer she exceeded Truffi, and as an actress far surpassed her in earnestness and intensity of passion. Max Maretzek, afterward for many years a manager of opera, was leader of the orchestra, it being his first appearance in that capacity.

In the summer of 1847 a small Italian opera company opened at the Walnut Street Theatre in "Saffo," by Pacini. It was composed of Signorina Fortunato Tedesco, Signora Sofia Marini, Signora Carandi Da Vita; tenor, Natali Perelli, L'Bataglani, R. Novelli, L. Perozzi, and others. During the engagement they performed "Ernani," "I Lombardi," "I Due Foscari," "Romeo e Giuletta," and the oratorio of "Mosè in Egitto," at the museum building.

In June, 1845, "Leonora," an original opera, the first truly worthy of the name composed by a Philadelphian, was brought out at the Chestnut Street Theatre by the Seguin Company. It was composed by William H. Fry. The story was that of "The Lady of Lyons," and the whole of it was put into recitative, solos, duets, concerted pieces, and choruses. The libretto as well as the music was by Mr. Fry. This piece was produced in elegant style. Mrs. Seguin performed the character of *Leonora; Fraser*, of *Julio;* Richings, of *Claude Melnotte*. Seguin and Brunton were in the cast. The leader was Leopold Meignen. This piece had a good run of sixteen nights. The receipts probably were not equal to the expenses.

Madame Anna Bishop first appeared at the Walnut Street Theatre on the 22d of November, 1847, in the character of *Norma*. During the season she appeared in "Lucrezia Borgia." In her company were William H. Reeves, tenor, Signor Valtellini, and Mademoiselle M. Korsinska.

On Dec. 10, 1850, Max Maretzek commenced an Italian opera season, the business department of which was conducted by E. L. Walker. Maretzek had a fine troupe. The *prime-donne* were Teresa Parodi, Appolonica Bertucci (who afterward married Maretzek), and Teresa Truffi, soprano; Amalia Patti and Perrini, contralto; the tenors were Benedetti, Forti, and Lorini; basso, Beneventano, Avignone, Novelli, and Rossi; Sanquirico, buffo. Parodi was a splendid singer, and was for many years afterward popular in the concert-room. The company opened with "Lucia di Lammermoor." "Don Giovanni" was performed for the first time in Philadelphia,—*Donna Anna*, Truffi; *Zerlina*, Bertucci; *Donna Elvira*, A. Patti; *Don Giovanni*, Beneventano; *Don Ottavio*, Forti; *Leporello*, Sanquirico; *Commandatore*, Rossi. This opera of Mozart's, requiring three competent *prime-donne*, had never before been performed in the city. Parodi appeared during the season in the characters of *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Norma*, *Elvira*, and *Gemma di Vergi*. The opera of "Parisina" was brought out for the first time, also "Il Giuramento." This was a splendid season in the character of the performances, but probably not remunerative to the management.

Pader's Havana Opera Troupe appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre in September, 1850. It was the finest company that had visited the city. The male performers were of the highest rank. Salvi, a tenor, was famous throughout Europe; C. Badiali, a baritone, possessed a voice of pure melody from the lowest to the highest notes; Marini, the basso profundo, had a deep voice of noble power. The sopranos were Steffanone and Bosio. The former was an actress of great power in tragic parts. The latter had a voice that was clear and silvery. Signora Vietti, the contralto, was very competent. The second tenors, Lorini and Vietti, were of the first class, and Tedesco was in the troupe. This company presented no new operas, but the works performed were perfect in all respects.

Max Maretzek brought his Italian Opera Company to the National Theatre, Chestnut Street, in September, 1851. It was composed of Bosio, *prima-donna*, Steffanone, Truffi; Signor Bettini, tenor; Badiali, baritone; Coletti, basso. Salvi, Rossi, and Marini were in this company, and Miss Virginia Whiting, who afterward married Lorini, made her first appearance in Philadelphia. Madame Rose De Vries, a superior artist, made her *début* in the city at this time as *Norma*. Maretzek brought out no new pieces, but performed with great acceptance "old favorites."

Madame Anna Thillon and Mr. Hudson began an engagement at the Chestnut Street Theatre in October, 1851. There were no other professional singers connected with them except Mr. F. Meyer, a basso. Madame Thillon was a very pretty woman, and better

as a light-comedy actress than as a singer. Hudson was usually an actor of Irish parts, who had a fair singing voice. They drew very well; their principal pieces were "The Crown Diamonds," by Auber, now first done in English, "The Daughter of the Regiment," "Black Domino," and "The Enchantress."

The celebrated European contralto, Marietta Alboni, made her first appearance in Philadelphia, Feb. 27, 1853, on the stage of the Walnut Street Theatre, and appeared for four nights, as *Marie*, in "La Figlia del Reggimento," *Cinderella*, *Amina*, *Norma*, and *Rosina*. She gave some successful concerts at Musical Fund Hall.

Madame Anna Bishop, at the Walnut Street Theatre, in June, 1853, introduced Augustus Braham, son of the famous John Braham, as a tenor singer.

Caroline Richings, adopted daughter of Peter Richings, who had been on the stage for a period as an actress, determined to perform in opera. She made her *début* Feb. 9, 1852, as *Marie*, in "The Child of the Regiment." The cast included Thomas Bishop and Seguin. During an engagement, which was continued a short time afterward, she appeared as *Adina*, *Amina*, *Linda*, *Norma*, *Madelaine*, in the "Postilion of Lonjumeau," and *Louise Muller*, in an opera founded upon a composition of Schiller. This lady afterward, as a member of opera companies and manager of others, under her maiden name and that of her husband, Pierre Bernard, sang in nearly every theatre and opera-house in the country.

Madame Anna Bishop, with Augustus Braham, sang at the Walnut Street Theatre in December, 1853. Rosa Jacques sang with her, and Mrs. Barton Hill, and Messrs. Guidi, Leach, Strini, and Rudolph. During the engagement, on December 10th, was presented for the first time in Philadelphia Von Flotow's opera of "Martha," adapted for the English stage by Mr. Bochsa,—*Lady Harriet*, Madame Bishop; *Nancy*, Rosa Jacques; *Plunkett*, Leach; *Lionel*, Braham. "Martha" was quite attractive, and had a run of ten nights.

Madame Henrietta Sontag, Countess Rossi, a European celebrity, gave her first concert at Musical Fund Hall, Oct. 14, 1852, assisted by Badiali, Pozzolini, Rocco, Paul Julian, Carl Eckert, and Alfred Jael. In the succeeding spring Sontag, with Pozzolini, Rossi, and others, performed in a series of operas at the National Theatre with great success.

The Louisa Pyne English Opera Troupe made its first appearance Oct. 20, 1854, at the Walnut Street Theatre. Miss Pyne was an Englishwoman, and a singer of taste and excellence. W. Harrison was the tenor, Borrani and Mr. Meyer the bass, and the second soprano parts were executed by a sister of the *prima-donna*, known on the bills as Miss Pyne. They brought out a pleasant variety of pieces,—"The Bohemian Girl," "Maritana," "Crown Diamonds," "Fra Diavolo," and a work that had not been heard in the city for many years, Gay's "Beggar's Opera,"—*Capt. Macheath*, Harrison; *Mat of the Mint*, Borrani; *Peachum*, Whiting; *Polly*, Louisa Pyne; *Lucy*, Mrs. Ada King.

The world-renowned *prima-donna*, Madame Giulia Grisi, and the equally celebrated tenor, Signor Mario, performed at the Walnut Street Theatre, Jan. 2, 4, and 6, 1855. They opened with Bellini's opera of "I Puritani,"—*Elvira*, Madame Grisi; *Lord Arthur Talbot*, Mario; *Sir Richard*, Badiali; *Sir George*, Susini; *Lord Walter*, Signor Candi; *Henrietta*, Madame Mona. This was a good company, and there was a competent chorus. The artists sang with great effect. They afterward appeared in "Norma" and "Lucrezia Borgia."

The last operatic performances in the Chestnut Street Theatre took place in September, 1854, under the management of Max Maretzek. The company included among the *prime-donne* Signora Manzini, Madame Bertucca-Maretzek, Signora D'Ormy, Signora Badiali, Graziani, Coletti, Taffanelli. They performed "Maria de Rohan," "Louisa Miller," "I Puritani," "Lucrezia Borgia," "Lucia di Lammermoor," and "La Muette di Portici."

Rosalie Durand (real name Durang, and a daughter of Ferdinand Durang, an actor), who graduated as a dancer at the Chestnut Street Theatre, performed for a short season with a company of rather indifferent material, first appearing at the City Museum, June 11, 1855. On the 14th of January, 1856, the Paine Italian Opera Troupe, so designated after the name of the manager, appeared at the Walnut Street Theatre in "Lucrezia Borgia." This was a company of more than ordinary merit. It embraced Madame Anna de la Grange, a vocalist of the finest reputation, Mademoiselle Nantier Didiee. On this occasion first appeared in Philadelphia Signor Pasqualino Brignoli, who held the position of leading tenor on the operatic stage for a quarter of a century following; Elise Hensler, contralto, also for the first time; Signor Amodio, "fat and funny," the finest baritone of his period. This company opened in "Il Trovatore," the first performance of that opera in Philadelphia. This was a season of only two nights. The second performance was "Norma," the *Priestess* by Madame de la Grange; *Adelgiza*, Miss Hensler. Salviani, a new tenor, made his appearance as *Pollione*. This company performed two weeks in February and March, presenting "Lucrezia Borgia," "Linda di Chamounix," "Lucia di Lammermoor," "Don Giovanni," "La Favorita," and "I Puritani."

The opening of the American Academy of Music, in 1857, changed the centre of musical entertainments. The Musical Fund Hall, despite its splendid capacity and perfection as a concert-room, had been going down in popularity, chiefly in consequence of the unfavorable location of the building. Concert Hall, in Chestnut Street, had taken away a good deal of the patronage which formerly could not go anywhere else than to the old hall. Jayne's Hall, in Chestnut Street

east of Seventh, made a determined bid to givers of amusements. It was only partially successful. The room was large, but its acoustic properties for the comfortable hearing of music were miserable. Sansom Street Hall tried for a time to make up a concert custom, but failed. The Academy of Music was like a new revelation; large, elegant, comfortable in the seating, bright and attractive, there was the additional advantage that it was admirably constructed for hearing. Every auditor could enjoy the lowest notes, whether vocal or instrumental, in opera or in concert. The seat of musical art was therefore transferred to the Academy of Music. It was for years the only allowable temple of Italian opera, and it was largely employed for German, English, and French opera and concerts of the first class, as well as balls and other amusements.

The corner-stone of the Opera-House, or "American Academy of Music," was laid on the 26th of July, 1855, at the southwest corner of Broad and Locust Streets, in presence of a large throng of deeply-interested spectators; Robert T. Conrad, then mayor of Philadelphia, making an impressive speech on the occasion. The opening took place on the 26th of January, 1857, and was celebrated by a magnificent ball. On the 25th of February, following, the house was opened for its legitimate use by E. A. Marshall with Italian opera.

The Academy of Music[1] is an edifice of which Philadelphia is justly proud, and a brief outline of its history will not be out of place here. "The charter and prospectus" was issued in 1852, with an appeal to our wealthy citizens to subscribe to the stock of the company. This appeal met with but little response at first, but the board of directors[2] then formed were untiring in their efforts, and their zeal and perseverance were finally rewarded with success. In the spring of 1855 the requisite amount of stock, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was fully taken. Then, and only then, the building committee deemed it advisable to enter into any contract for the erection of the building. The plans submitted in 1854 by the eminent Philadelphia architects, Messrs. N. Le Brun and G. Runge, had been accepted, and a contract was made with John D. Jones for the principal construction of the building. "The architecture of the exterior is designed in the Italian Byzantine school, such as is frequently to be met with in the northern parts of Italy. Its character is massive and imposing, although exceed-

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, EXTERIOR VIEW.

[1] The facts and figures here given are taken from the "History and Description of the Opera-House, or American Academy of Music," published by G. Andre & Co., Philadelphia, 1857.

[2] John B. Budd, president, George S. Pepper, Frederick Graff, Samue Branson, James C. Haud, John P. Steiner, Charles H. Fisher, Isaac S. Waterman, James Traquair, Lyon J. Levy, F. J. Dreer, Fairman Rogers.

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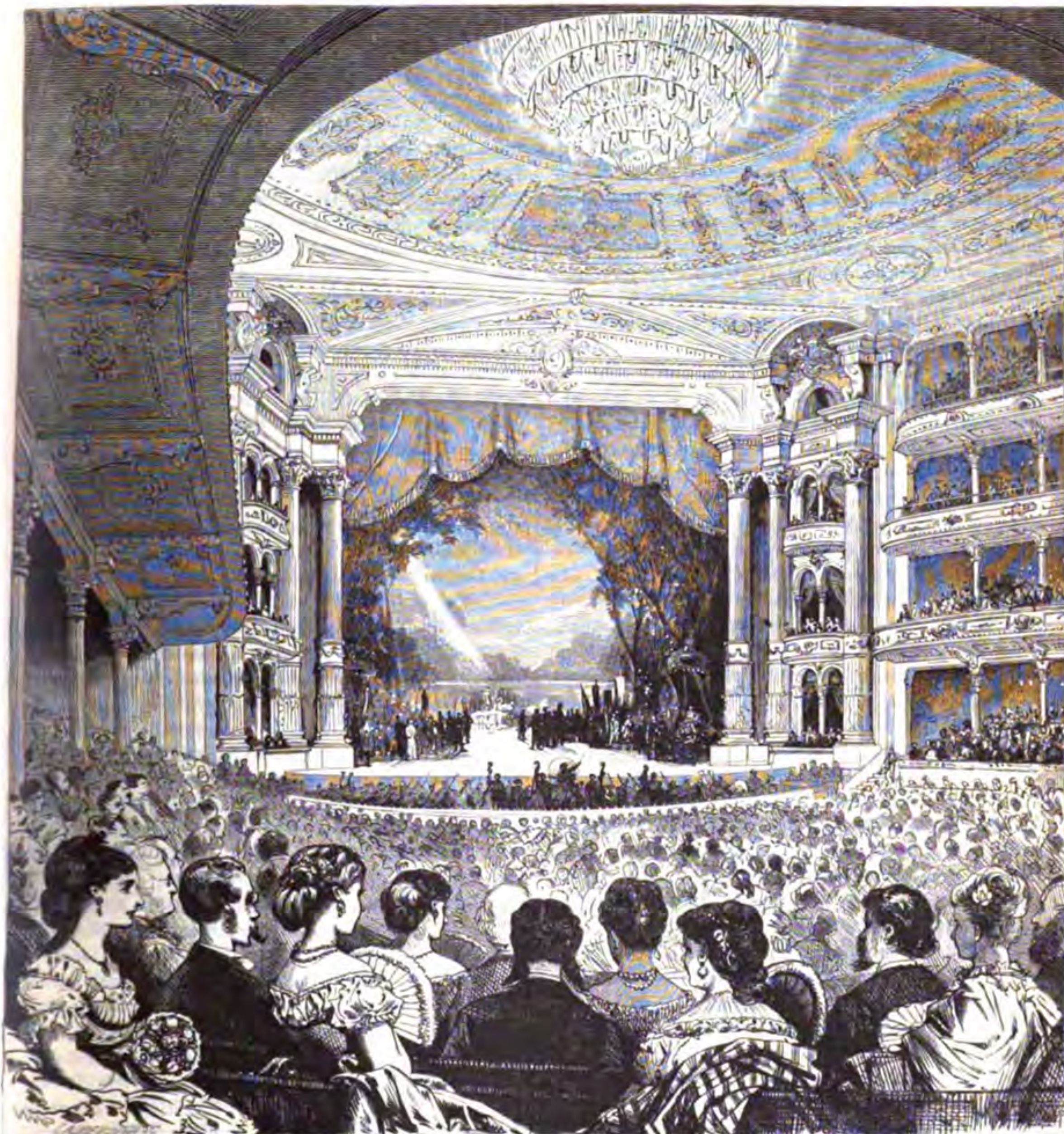
ingly plain, with window-frames shaped in a manner approaching the Gothic, which is peculiarly calculated to produce a pretty effect in the evenings when the interior of the building is illuminated. . . . The keystones over the five principal entrance-doors on Broad Street are ornamented with carved symbolical heads. In the centre is Poetry, represented by Apollo; over the adjoining doors on either side, Music and Dancing, and at the extremes, Tragedy and Comedy, are severally personified. In the pediment, over the centre of the main cornice, on Broad Street, is a lyre ornamented with flowers, as an appropriate symbol for the opera. The whole height of the fronts from the pavement is sixty feet. It is built of brick and brownstone. The width of the front on Broad Street is one hundred and forty feet, the depth on Locust Street two hundred and eighty-eight feet." Five principal doors (each nine feet wide) on Broad Street lead into the outer entrance-hall, where are located the ticket-offices at either end. This hall is seventy-three feet long, ten feet wide, [illegible] feet high. Crossing this



ACADEMY OF MUSIC, INTERIOR VIEW.

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we enter the grand vestibule, seventy-three feet long, twenty-seven feet wide, and eighteen feet high, at each end of which is a magnificent stairway thirteen feet wide. We are now in the interior, and can examine the admirable arrangements, in which elegance, safety, and comfort have been combined; spacious lobbies, corridors, and staircases, numerous exits, easy of access, a grand foyer or saloon, which may be employed independent of the theatre, and which communicates with the restaurant in the basement. The auditorium is remarkable for the comfort of accommodations, spacious passages, and freedom of vision; but it is still more so by the successful application of the laws of acoustics in its construction. The architects may be proud of the fact, admitted by every singer of eminence who has sung at the Philadelphia Academy of Music, that there is not a better house for the voice either in Europe or America. Many proclaim it the best. The seating capacity is two thousand nine hundred seats, with standing room for six hundred persons more. The stage at the curtain is fifty-one feet wide by seventy-three deep. The *proscenium* is arranged in a rather novel manner, viz., two Corinthian columns, standing apparently free, support the proscenium architrave, behind which the curtain is suspended, and four other columns of the same order are placed in front of the proscenium boxes on both sides, which contain balconies corresponding to the fronts of the adjoining tiers. The style of architecture is a florid *renaissance*, rich and effective, without being overloaded with ornaments. Over the entablatures of these columns are placed four colossal caryatides, representing kneeling giants, supporting the arched pediments over the proscenium boxes. Under these pediments, at the right and left of the stage opening, are sculptured the arms of the city and State in bold relief, and below them are the keystones of the lower arches, in the shape of two masks, representing Tragedy and Comedy. The first drop curtain, used on the opening night, was a rich crimson drapery ornamented with heavy golden fringes, ropes, tassels, etc., designed and executed by J. R. Martin, the scene-painter from Berlin. The entr'acte drop was a beautiful landscape, representing a view on Lake Como, painted by the talented Philadelphia artist, Russell Smith. The design and fresco-work of the ceiling were executed by Mr. C. Kaiser, and the panels filled with beautiful oil-paintings by Mr. C. Schmolze.

The opening opera, on the 25th of February, 1857, was "Il Trovatore,"—*Leonora*, Madame Gazzaniga; *Azucena*, Miss Phillips; *Manrico*, Brignoli; *Di Luna*, Amodio. "Lucrezia Borgia" followed. "La Traviata" was brought out for the first time in the same season,—*Violetta*, Gazzaniga; *Germont*, Brignoli; *Georgio*, Amodio. "Ernani" was afterward produced, the character of *Ernani* by Bottardi; *Ruy Silva*, Tagliafico. Ronzani's ballet troupe followed with the ballet pantomime of "Faust." In 1858, La Grange and D'Angri, Bignardi and Tafanelli sang, also Mademoiselle Parodi, Madame Strakosch, Signors Brignoli and Amodio. Madame Colson sang in the same year. "Don Giovanni" was brought out in splendid style,—*Anna*, Madame de la Grange; *Elvira*, Caridori; *Zerlina*, D'Angri; *Giovanni*, Gassier; *Leporello*, Carl Formes; *Ottavio*, Labocetta; *Masetto*, Rocco. "Rigoletto," "Robert le Diable," "The Barber of Seville," and "I Puritani" were performed in the same year. In 1859 one company embraced Madame Poinsot, Ghioni, and Piccolomini. In the same year another company consisted of Adelina Patti, Signor Stigelli, Ferri, Quinto, and Muller; another of Colson, Gazzaniga, Junker, Stigelli, and Amodio. "The Huguenots" was produced with the following cast: *Marguerite*, Madame Laborde; *Valentine*, Madame Poinsot; *Marcel*, Carl Formes; *Raoul*, Tamaro; *De Nevers*, Colletti. In 1860, Colson sang in "Ernani," with Striglia, Ferri, and Susini. "The Barber of Seville" was sung by Adelina Patti,—*Figaro*, E. Barili; *Almaviva*, Brignoli; *Bartolo*, Colletti; *Basilio*, N. Barili. In 1861, Colson sang in "Un Ballo in Maschera," with Miss Hinkley, Miss Phillips, Brignoli, and Ardavani. Kellogg appeared in the same year, with Miss Hinkley, Madame Strakosch, Brignoli, and Mancusi. In 1862, Kellogg, Brignoli, and Morentsi sang in "La Traviata," with other pieces. Miss Kellogg and Sulzer, with Mazzolini, Bellini, and Colletti, appeared in 1863. There was a continuation of *prime-donne* of the first class, who appeared at various times, among them Signorina Medori in 1863, Zuchi and Bosisio in 1865, Carmen Poch and Miss Hauck in 1866, Parepa Rosa in 1867, Madame Anna de la Grange and Isabella McCullough in 1868, Torriani in 1873, Albani and Anna Louise Cary in 1874, Belocca, Palmieri, and Titiens in 1876.

The opera "Faust" was brought out in 1872,—*Marguerite*, Madame Christine Nilsson; *Faust*, Signor Capoul. In the same year Nilsson produced "Mignon." "Aïda" was first produced in 1873,—*Aïda*, Torriani; *Amneris*, Cary; *Rhadames*, Campanini; *Amonasro*, Morrell; *Ramfis*, Nannetti; *King*, Scolara. A German company[1] brought out "Fidelio," during Mr. Marshall's management, with several other pieces, which were sung with great effect. In this company, besides Madame Johansen, were Madame Pappenheim, Madame Rotter, Madame Scheller, and Von Berkel, and Messrs. Habelman, tenor, Herr Formes, Herr Hermans, Herr Pickaneser, Herr Steinecke, and Herr Wachtel. The great Ronconi, one of the finest artists of Europe, appeared as *William Tell* in 1858. "Hamlet," by Ambroise Thomas, was first brought out by Nilsson in 1872, and "Lohengrin," by Nilsson, in 1874.

"Notre Dame of Paris," a new American opera, by

[1] This company performed at various times "Der Freischütz," "Mason and Locksmith," "Martha," "Czar und Zimmermann," "A Night in Granada," "Der Waldschütz," "Stradella," "Tannhäuser," "The Merry Wives of Windsor," "The Magic Flute," and many others.

one of the Frys, was brought out in 1876; afterward "Rip Van Winkle," an American opera, and "The Doctor of Alcantara," an original work. Madame Parepa Rosa sang in English, and with her was Zelda Harrison, who afterward married Edward Seguin, a son of the elder Seguin. Castle was the tenor, Campbell the baritone, with occasional changes in the cast. For a time between 1860 and 1870 the French opera bouffe held the stage. The principal pieces of Offenbach, "La Grande Duchesse," "La Belle Hélène," "Barbe Bleue," "Geneviève de Brabant," "La Fille de Madame Angot," and other operas of like character, were quite popular, the principal performers being Madame Aimée, Madame Irma, Madame Tostée, with a very competent corps of male singers and actors. Since 1879 the academy was not in requisition for musical purposes as much as formerly for opera, some of the companies, displeased with the regulation which gave free admission to the stockholders, preferring to go to the theatres. The Chestnut Street Opera-House, which was an alteration of Fox's American (variety) Theatre, had the most of this business.

Her Majesty's Opera Company, under the management of Col. Mapleson, was the principal tenant for musical purposes in 1883. Among the instrumental performers who have given concerts at the academy are the following: Ole Bull, Vieuxtemps, Rubinstein, Wieniawski, Von Bülow, Sauret, Moreau, Legendre, Gottschalk, Marie Krebs, Anna Mehlig, Teresa Careno, Madelaine Schiller, and Arabella Goddard. Dramatic companies have sometimes performed at the academy, but not with entire satisfaction. Charles Mathews made the first essay with a small company Oct. 26, 1857, in "Married for Money" and "Patter *vs.* Clatter." He found that the house was too large for his voice. Although perfect in acoustic quality for the performance of music to the perfect hearing of the lowest note, it is not so good for speaking. Occasionally dramatic representations have been given by Edwin Forrest, Charlotte Cushman, and special companies embodied for the performance of particular plays.

Many concerts were given during the period that opera became common. It was an ordinary thing for the operatic artists to alternate their performances on the stage with tastes of their quality in the concert-room. In some cases the artists did not appear at the theatre at all. This may be said to have been the common rule with violinists, pianists, trumpeters, and song and ballad singers. There were some exceptions, however, even in cases where the persons were accustomed to the stage. One of the latter, notable by the exception, was that of the singer whose fame afterward filled Europe, Signorina Maria Felicia Garcia, afterward Madame Malibran, and later Malibran de Beriot. She had made an appearance with great success at the Italian Opera-House, London, in 1822, and came to New York in 1825, where she made her *début* at the Park Theatre as *Rosina*. This lady remained in the United States about two years. The New York Operatic Company did not come to Philadelphia, but Garcia gave two concerts at Musical Fund Hall in June, 1827. High prices for admission may be said to have commenced with this vocalist. Tickets were two dollars, and at the last concert there were one thousand tickets reported to have been sold.

The famous Norwegian violinist, Ole Bull, created a great excitement throughout the country. He first appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre Dec. 4, 1843, and drew an immense house. His entertainment was afterward transferred to Musical Fund Hall, where he frequently performed.

Camille Sivori, a violinist, preceded him in 1841, and Henri Vieuxtemps, also celebrated as a violinist, came afterward, in 1845.

The Distin family, performers on the sax-horn (a sort of trumpet), performed at Musical Fund Hall in February, 1849.

Jenny Lind, "the Swedish Nightingale," shrewdly engineered by Barnum, created a great *furor* in 1850. She made her first appearance at the Chestnut Street Theatre on the 15th of October. She was assisted by Signor Belletti, Miss Pintard, a lady of Philadelphia, and Joseph Burke, once a juvenile Roscius, who settled down as a violinist, and was leader of the orchestra. The tickets were held at tremendous prices,—seven dollars for a seat in the first tier and parquet. Besides this, Barnum had shrewdly started an auction for the privilege of choice of the first seat. The ticket for this was bought by Marcus A. Root, a daguerrean artist, for six hundred and twenty-five dollars. It was supposed to be a good advertisement for him, but probably was not remunerative. The amount realized at the first concert was said to be twelve thousand dollars. Succeeding concerts were given at Musical Fund Hall, November 27th, 29th, 30th, and December 6th. After her tour of the United States, Miss Lind came back to Philadelphia, and opened at the National Theatre, June 9, 1851. She was greatly offended at the choice of this place. The theatre had lately been used for circus performances, and behind the scenes the smell was like that of a stable. A rupture with Barnum followed, and she commenced to give concerts on her own responsibility. The first of these took place at the museum building on the 4th of July. Another series of concerts was given at Musical Fund Hall, December 16th, 19th, and 22d. She left for Europe in May, 1852.

The Steyermarksche Company, a superior band of instrumental musicians, whose execution was simply perfect, were in the country about this time, and gave a series of concerts at the Musical Fund Hall, which were much enjoyed.

Alfred Jaell, a pianist of merit, gave several concerts in 1852 and afterward.

The Sontag concerts and Alboni concerts occurred

in October, 1852; Ole Bull's and Sontag's in 1853. Monsieur Jullien's band, a splendid set of trained musicians, offered several enjoyable entertainments in 1853 and afterward. Jullien had been fashionable in London, and he brought out several superior instrumental performers, among them Koenig, who played the trumpet in a surpassing style. His pianist, Leopold de Meyer, was a physical artist, who pounded on the keys as if they were drums, and sometimes, to produce a great effect, almost sprawled over the piano. Paul Julian, quite a boy, had much reputation as a violinist.

Sigismund Thalberg, reputed to be the master of the piano, gave his first concert in Philadelphia at Concert Hall, Nov. 28, 1856. He was assisted by Madame Cora de Wilhorst, an American lady belonging to an opulent family of New York, who had made an unfortunate marriage. At a later date Morris Gottschalk, a young American, born in New Orleans, achieved great reputation as a pianist. He made his first appearance at Musical Fund Hall, March 1, 1853, and in after-years gave many concerts. Adelina Patti, afterward the *prima-donna par excellence*, made her first appearance at Musical Fund Hall, together with Paul Julian, at a concert given in 1854. This was some time before she went upon the stage in opera.

Katherine Hayes, an Irish lady, who had a brilliant voice, gave her first concert at Musical Fund Hall on Dec. 6, 1851. She was a great favorite, but never appeared in opera in America.

The few friends of music that could be found in a city in which art was less cultivated than in any other part of the United States, would naturally become acquainted with each other, and be tempted for pleasure and practice to embody themselves in clubs and societies. As knowledge of church music only was diffused among the majority of people, it was natural that a society for the cultivation of this branch of the art should be earliest established. The Uranian Society, for the improvement of church music, the first of these societies known to have been formed, was established in 1787, and continued its meetings until after 1800. The Uranian rooms were at the corner of Third and Market Streets. About 1802 the Harmonic Society was formed, also for the study of sacred music. A clergyman, the Rev. Andrew Law, was chiefly concerned in promoting the organization. The Harmonics met for some time in a building on the north side of Norris Alley, between Front and Second Streets. This association aspired to concert, and usually gave at least one in each year. The places of performance were at the Second Presbyterian Church, Third and Arch Streets, in 1802, hall of the University, Fourth Street, 1803; hall of the Uranian Society, South Fourth Street, 1805, and other places. This association was in existence as late as 1817. The members were worried, in 1807, by another association which called itself the Harmonic Society, and gave two concerts in 1808, both of sacred music, assisted in each of which by one hundred and thirty performers. There was a Harmonic Society of St. John's English Lutheran Church, meeting, in 1819, at the corner of Sixth and Race Streets, William Binder being the secretary. At the same time the Independent Harmonic Society, Joseph McIhenny, president, met at Fourth and Vine Streets. The Union Harmonic Society, of the same period, met in the old Harmonic rooms in Norris Alley; James Weir was president, George W. Tryon secretary, and Henry Wrigley treasurer. The Associate Harmonic Society was in existence in 1820. The Germantown Harmonic Society, established in 1821, gave concerts in the churches of that village for several years. The Haydn Society in 1819 held weekly meetings at the corner of Fourth and Vine Streets. The managers were Rev. John R. Goodman, Joseph George, and George Emerick; secretary, Martin Gaul. It was announced "the object of this society has been for many years to introduce and improve themselves in psalmody."

The Handelian Society, in May, 1814, gave a vocal and instrumental concert at the academy (old university in Fourth Street). The organist was Rene Taylor; leader of the band, De Luce; leader of the choir, Samuel Dyer. In March, 1815, this society gave a concert for the benefit of the poor, at the Tabernacle Church, which yielded, after the payment of all expenses, the extraordinary return for that time of $1017.95. The St. Cecelia Society, established in 1824, had its hall in South Fourth Street. The first president was John Neagle, the artist. He was succeeded in that office, in 1825, by Col. (afterward Brig.-Gen.) Andrew M. Prevost. Edward R. Hansen was leader, and Thomas Carr, vocal conductor. Secular music was not as much cultivated as sacred music in the early part of the century. A Catch Club met at Hardy's Hotel in 1800, and devoted itself to the unmusical performance of dining. The stewards of this club who directed the feast were William Francis, William M. Biddle, broker, Thomas Hale, Richard C. Jones, Morris Rogers, and Robert S. Stevens. The Sons of Apollo, a club which met at the Shakespeare Hotel in 1807, was composed of amateurs and professionals. Among the latter were people from the theatre. Woodham was director; Webster, a popular singer; Bray and Robbins, Gillingham, and Reinagle, of the theatre orchestra, were also members. "The Amateur Concerts" were given by subscription, between 1810 and 1817, usually at Masonic Hall or other fashionable rooms. Nine or ten of these concerts were given several years. In 1815, in an announcement of a charity concert, the managers named were Charles N. Buck, William Schlatter, Thomas Kittera, Silas E. Weir, P. Lechleitner, and John Bohlen. These were men of great respectability. Kittera was a lawyer; the others merchants in good business.

The Musical Fund Society was established in 1820,

the object being much more broad and comprehensive than had been attempted by any association previously formed. The members aimed at the highest development of the art of music, and the performance of the compositions of the great masters, whether they were sacred or secular was of no importance. The charter stated that the object of the society was "the relief of the distressed musicians and their families, and the cultivation of taste and the proficiency of the musical art." The first object was to be attained by a pecuniary provision from the society funds for musicians, members of the association, who from age and infirmity were unable to support themselves and their families. Musical cultivation was secured by concerts given to and by the members every fortnight during the winter season, two or three of which might be open to the public. There were two classes of members, composed of professors of music and of amateurs. Some of the latter were musicians of unusual proficiency. At times the orchestra at public performances consisted of eighty, one hundred, and one hundred and twenty members.[1]

It will be noticed that two ladies were among the professional members. There might be twelve performers of that sex elected. Beside the professional membership, there was an organization to conduct the financial and business affairs of the society. This could be composed of members of either class. In 1825 the fund was managed by Dr. William P. Dewees, president; Francis Gurney Smith, treasurer; and W. McIlhenny, secretary. The Musical Fund Society was first established in Carpenters' Hall. The first concert was given at Washington Hall, April 24, 1821. There were one hundred performers, instrumental and vocal, and they had in use an organ. The first great work brought out by the society was Haydn's oratorio of "The Creation," April 20, 1822. The society was prosperous, and in 1824 was rich enough to purchase ground and erect a hall of its own. A lot and building on the south side of Locust Street, west of Eighth, which latter had been constructed for the use of a Presbyterian congregation of Rev. Mr. Burch, was purchased for seven thousand five hundred dollars. The cornerstone of the new building for musical purposes was laid on the 25th of May, 1824, and the hall was finished and opened on the 24th of December of the same year. The actual cost of lot, building, and furniture was $23,547.08. The music-room, in the second story, by lucky fortune, was constructed of the proper proportions. Its acoustic qualities were simply perfect. Long and large, it was the best hall for hearing ever constructed in the city, and for these qualities it was often asserted it had no superior in the world. For many years it was the only place at which a concert of music could be acceptably given. Here the finest European artists sang by necessity. Its records could show the leading names in musical art in two hemispheres; among them Garcia (Malibran), Mrs. Wood, Braham, Catharine Hayes, Alboni, Grisi, Mario, Jenny Lind, Mr. and Mrs. Seguin, and generally the best performers in opera, with eminent violinists, pianists, and performers on other instruments. Placed in a neighborhood which was always unpleasant and unpopular, Musical Fund Hall held its own against all rival places until the erection of the Academy of Music turned the tide of fashion to the west.

During the time that the Musical Fund Hall was in constant requisition for concerts and like purposes, some other societies for cultivation of the art of music were in operation. The Harmonia Sacred Music Society of Philadelphia was incorporated May 4, 1852. It probably grew out of the Philadelphia Sacred Music Society, which gave concerts during several years, and was generally under the leadership of Henry Knauff. The Philharmonic Society was established more for the purpose of insuring two or more musical concerts annually during the fall, winter, and spring seasons than for the performance of music by the members. The latter were generally amateurs, but the society manifested a disposition, for some years, toward the encouragement of native talent. Many American singers and instrumental performers made their *début* at the Philharmonic concerts and afterward became famous. The Handel and Haydn Society was devoted, as the union of the names of the two great composers show, to the performance principally of their compositions. Many concerts were given by this society. Eventually it leased the upper portion of the large building at the northeast corner of Eighth and Spring Garden Streets, extending to Green Street, built by Joseph Harrison, Jr., and which building, popularly known as Handel and Haydn Hall, was the place at which the members of the society practiced and gave concerts, which latter were varied at times by the engagement of much larger and more popular places, such as Musical Fund Hall, Concert Hall, and the Academy of Music.

The fondness for music which exists among the Germans began to show itself after 1830, when persons of that nativity were beginning to be sufficiently numerous to claim some right in directing their own amusements. Love of music led to the organization, Dec. 15, 1835, of the Mannerchor Music Society, the

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[1] In 1822 the following were the professional members of the society who performed at concerts. Some of them were amateurs engaged in other callings, who did not make a living by musical pursuits, but who were competent instrumental performers at concerts: Allyn Bacon, L. F. Burnhardt, George E. Blake, Miss H. Blaney, Samuel Cantour, Benjamin Carr, S. Carusi, J. Cheer, Jr., J. P. Cole, Benjamin Cross, George Catlin, Francis Cooper, John B. Dubree, Charles N. Danenberg, Samuel Dyer, A. Farroulih, J. L. Frederick, John Furs, P. Gillies, Titan Greland, Mrs. Ann Gillies, Abraham Hart, John C. Hommann, John C. Hommann, Jr., Thomas Hupfeld, John Hunniker, Wilfred Hall, C. Clem, Thomas Loud, Philip Loud, John Loud, George Miller, Henry Morse, —— Pilkinton, John Read, George Schetky, Thomas Sully, R. Taylor, Joseph C. Taws, John Wheeler, George Willig, William Whitesides. Directors of the Board of Music, Chairman, Benjamin Carr; Secretary, George Schetky; Conductors of the Vocal Music, B. Carr, B. Cross, and T. Loud; Curators, J. B. Dubree, Franklin Peale, G. Smith, and I. P. Cole.

first choral organization of male voices entirely in the United States. The founders were P. M. Wolsieffer, E. Ludeking, C. Liebrich, J. C. Schuellerman, H. Rutz, J. Fabian, M. Beck, F. Shreiber, and C. F. Wesselhoeft. This association was carried on for over thirty-three years as a private society, during which time there were given innumerable concerts at the hall of the society in the Northern Liberties, at Musical Fund Hall, Academy of Music, and other places. The Mannerchor balls in fancy dress were annual recurrences, and very popular. They took place at the museum building, Musical Fund Hall, Academy of Music, and other places. Frequently they were attended by two, three, and four thousand persons. The society was not incorporated until March 19, 1868. The corporators were William J. Horstmann, M. Richards Mucklé, J. M. Richard, J. P. Steiner, Lorenz Herbert, J. Henry Camp, Frederick Steed, Richard T. Schmidt, Frederick Baltz, Peter Baltz, Jacob Kemper, A. Weihnmayer, and F. Seelhorst. The Mannerchor, ever since its organization, has been at the head of musical movements among the German population. Beside its own concerts and balls, it has been prominent in celebration of *fête* days and holidays, and was always at the front in the great saengerfests, some of which brought delegations from all the musical societies in the United States to the regular concerts in some popular hall, winding up always with picnics and beer at Lemon Hill, Engel & Wolf's farm, or Scheutzen Park. The example of the Mannerchor was followed by the institution of various other German societies, the names of which are too numerous to mention. Among these was Die Junger Mannerchor, which was a split from the original society, the Liedertafel, the Cecilien Verien, in which ladies and gentlemen were singers, and a large number of others. The Mannerchor, after moving about from place to place, became permanently located at the northeast corner of Franklin Street and Fairmount Avenue, where it has remained for several years. The building here includes an audience-room, suitable for concerts and balls, and a large yard, which in summer-time is used for open-air evening concerts. The Young Mannerchor for some years occupied the old building erected as the session-room of the Second Presbyterian Church, on the south side of Cherry Street, west of Fifth. The Germania Musical Society was an orchestral organization composed of professional musicians, all of them of great merit. The society commenced a grand series of concerts at Musical Fund Hall, April 11, 1852. Alfred Jaell, the Viennese pianist, performed with them. This association was in operation for many years as a favorite orchestral combination, and the same name has been kept up until 1884.

Many musical associations have blossomed and faded during the period of fifty years, the very names of which are now unknown. They were generally small, numbering from a simple quartet to fifteen, twenty, or thirty. Some were for instrumental performance only. One of the best of those clubs was the "Amphion Musical Society," which for many years had its own rooms for practicing in Sansom Street, between Ninth and Tenth. Of glee clubs the number is beyond computation. An association of this kind may last two or three years, and sometimes exist to the venerable age of five years, but usually ceases before the latter extreme period is reached.

"The Cecilian Musical Society," composed of ladies and gentlemen, was organized about the year 1875, and called to its service as conductor of its concerts Michael H. Cross, a musician of merit and experience. This society practiced at Philadelphia Institute Hall, corner of Eighteenth and Chestnut Streets. Usually the grand concerts are given at the Academy of Music, frequently with choruses of five or six hundred singers, and with great perfection, according to the judgment of competent musical critics. In 1882 the Music Festival Association was organized, for the purpose of insuring musical entertainments of the first class. The first musical festival took place at the Academy of Music, May 9, 1883, and continued until May 12th. There were four evening and three afternoon concerts, fourteen principal solo singers, one hundred orchestra performers, and a chorus of five hundred voices.

Negro minstrelsy began to attract attention about 1837. There had been performers who sang negro songs in white faces from an early period. Some of these attained a certain degree of popularity. Graupner appeared in negro characters at the Federal Street Theatre, Boston, in 1799. He sang a song called "The Gay Negro Boy." About 1824-25, when there was considerable talk in the United States about the settlement of Hayti by the emigration of blacks to that island, there was a song quite popular in Philadelphia and Baltimore sung by a vocalist dressed as a negro,—

> "Bredern, let us leab
> Buckra land for Hayti.
> Dar we be receib,
> Grand as Lafayettee."

William Kelly brought out the song of "Coal-Black Rose," as heretofore noted. George Washington Dixon took that song and made the most of it. Thomas D. Rice made his first appearance in a negro song at Ludlow's Theatre, in Louisville, and sang "Kitty Co-blink-a-ho-dink! Oh! oh! Roley Boley—Good-morning, ladies all!" Shortly afterward Rice obtained or composed the song of "Jim Crow," which attained great popularity at the West. Rice made his first appearance at the Walnut Street Theatre in the summer of 1832, and was received with enthusiasm by crowded houses. He afterward went to London, where he was the rage for a long time. After the success of Rice, Dixon—"Coal-Black Rose" having become stale—brought forward a new song, "Zip Coon," which he sang at the Arch Street Theatre on the 19th of June, 1834. By this time it began

to be seen that there was money in "the Ethiopian business." Small parties for singing negro songs and choruses were formed. One of the earliest of these was the Virginian Serenaders, the leader of which was the violinist, J. Richard Myers, commonly called "Ole Bull" Myers and "Dick" Myers. There were associated with him James Sanford, Edward Kelley, Edward Deaves, John Diamond, W. Horn, Tony Winnemore, and Master Proctor. They were singing at Temperance Hall, Northern Liberties, in 1847, at which time they were joined by Eph Horn, a native of Philadelphia, who had been an attaché as a "subject" in Professor Rogers' lectures on mesmerism. In 1847, Horn joined the company, which shortly afterward appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre as the Virginia Serenaders. Sanford became quite famous, as did Horn. There was an immense deal of genius in their performances.

On the 1st of August, 1853, Samuel S. Sanford opened the first Ethiopian permanent opera-house in the second story of a large building in Twelfth Street, below Chestnut. This place was burned on the 9th of December in the same year. In 1855, Sanford reopened the Sanford Opera-House, at Cartee's Lyceum, in Eleventh Street above Chestnut. This building was erected as a house of worship for the First Presbyterian Reformed Church, of which Rev. Samuel B. Wylie was pastor. After some years the congregation removed to their new church, on Broad Street, and the Eleventh Street church was purchased for account of the Portuguese Synagogue Mikveh Israel. This congregation, however, never occupied it, having concluded to erect a synagogue on Seventh Street above Arch. The church building was then sold, and the purchasers altered it and fitted it up as a place of amusement. H. S. Cartee opened it as "The Lyceum" on the 4th of December, 1854. One of the features of Cartee's performances was a burlesque upon the performance of Jullien's Band. In Cartee's company were Wilkes, Dixey, Cotton, Paul, little Anna Kneass, La Petite Marie, and others. After the first season Cartee retired. Cotton & Dixey succeeded Cartee, and opened what they called the Eleventh Street Opera-House, March 19, 1855. Their season was short, not of more than two weeks' duration. Samuel S. Sanford, with his opera troupe, was performing at the Musical Fund Hall at that time. He became the lessee of the Eleventh Street Opera-House, and opened it as the New American Opera-House, April 23, 1855. The company was composed of Sanford, Cool White, Kavanagh, Lynch, Rainer, Buruff, and Dixey. Sanford remained in management of this house for several years. He was succeeded by Carncross & Dixey, who also retained the house for several years. Finally Mr. Dixey retired, and Mr. Carncross remained sole manager, and is still at his post in 1884. After thirty years' performance of Ethiopian minstrelsy within those walls the house remains, with popularity and commanding a good business. The reason for this has been that a cheap and agreeable entertainment has been furnished, always delightful and amusing, and kept by strict censorship over the performers free from vulgarity or cause of offense.

The name of Sanford is closely connected with the history of Ethiopian minstrelsy. As far back as 1830 we hear of negro melodies and dances by performers with blackened faces, but never of character scenes or plays acted by a combination of performers. A Brooklyn (N. Y.) paper of May 4, 1875, published the following:

"Prior to 1842 individual performers, who were specialty performers as a general thing, were numerous,—as they are now. The first band of minstrels was organized in 1842 at Mrs. Brock's boarding-house, in Catharine Street, New York City. It consisted of Dan Emmett, Frank Brower, Billy Whitlock, Dick Pelham, and G. G. Sanford. The members performed for the first time in public at the benefit of Pelham, given Feb. 17, 1843, at the old Chatham Theatre, and afterward at the old Bowery Amphitheatre. From thence they went to the Park Theatre, where they performed for two weeks under the management of Messrs. Rockwell and Stone. From the Park Theatre they went to Boston, and from there to Europe."

The veteran minstrel, Samuel S. Sanford, makes the organization date one year later. He says,—

"In the winter of 1843, at the Park Theatre, New York, on the occasion of Dick Pelham's benefit, a party of volunteer singers and dance men conceived the idea of all going on together, as each contended for the first appearance. The dispute was most severe between Pelham, who was a dancer for Dan Emmett, and Whitlock, who was a dancer for Brower. Finally, to settle it, Pelham said, 'Let's all go on together.' They did so, and were highly successful, and from that circumstance arose the idea of a troupe of performers. Each of them had his instrument. Frank Brower was *Bones*, Pelham was *Tambo*, Whitlock was *Banjo*, and Emmett, the author of 'Dixie,' was *Violin*. In the spring of 1844 I traveled with Hugh Lindsey, and we gave the first minstrel performances in the State of Pennsylvania. The company was composed of Dan Merrick, Dan Rice, Tom Young, and myself, at the close of the season. I brought out John Diamond, Major Winn, and Dave Lull. We opened at Commissioners' Hall, Southwark. The commissioners made us vacate the room in a few days. We then opened at Temperance Hall, Northern Liberties, during the holiday season of 1844–45. I afterward left and joined the 'Boston Serenaders,' which was the first company that sang at Masonic Hall. Afterward we played at the Assembly Rooms, Tenth and Chestnut Streets. On leaving the city I took the management *en route* for New Orleans. Thence we went to England, and remained there until the fall of 1848. We returned as the 'New Orleans Serenaders,' and opened at Musical Fund Hall. During our absence the 'Virginia Serenaders' came to the front, in 1846–47. They introduced Eph Horn, with Jim Sanford, Dick Myers, Kelly, Winnemore, Kavanagh, Solomon, and others. Bill Horn was agent. Speaking of Eph Horn, I may state that his first appearance as *Bones* was at Carlisle, Pa., the day after Governor Shunk's inauguration, which was in December, 1844. Any one who dates the introduction of minstrelsy into this country previous to these dates is wrong. We had song-and-dance men, banjo-players, people as Lucy Longs, and such like, long before, but no minstrels."

This is very positive testimony. Minstrel performances were given at different times at our various theatres, but Sanford's or Carncross & Dixey's Eleventh Street Opera-House has long been their principal headquarters. The Ethiopian minstrelsy of old times cannot be judged by the modern caricatures of negro humor. It was something original; the performers, many of them men of culture and talent, used their native wit and their experience of the stage in the delineation of the old "plantation

darkies" and "city nigger,"—studies from life,—with just enough exaggeration thrown in to make them excessively funny. These unique exhibitions attracted attention by their novelty, and the real merit of the performers made them very popular. Some of those actors were fine singers, and more than once the touching pathos of some plaintive melody, sung by a rich voice, has moved the heart-chords of the spectator who had enjoyed a hearty laugh. The once famous Buckley family was composed of excellent singers and fine musicians. Our modern minstrels may be well gifted, but Ethiopian minstrelsy is an exhausted subject, which leaves room for repetition, not invention.

In 1870, Simmons & Slocum, who had long been favorite performers at the Eleventh Street Opera-House, seceded, formed a partnership, purchased property, and erected the Arch Street Opera-House, on the north side of Arch Street, west of Tenth. They opened Aug. 20, 1870, and were successful during the remaining seasons until the house was burned March 20, 1872. It was rebuilt and reopened August 26th of the same year.

Military bands were for many years mostly composed of drummers and fifers. The cavalry usually turned out with one and sometimes two or three trumpeters. In 1805 the Republican Greens, Capt. William Duane, established a band of twenty musicians who wore the same uniform as the company. Capt. S. E. Fotteral, of the Independent Blues, in 1808, had a fine band. After the war of 1812 the third company of Washington Guards established a military band composed of colored men. The leader was Frank Johnson. This was substantially a reed band, with clarionets, flutes, one or two bassoons, a serpent, cymbals, triangle, bells, one or two French horns, and bugles, to give force and weight to the air, and a bass drum. There were a tenor drummer and a fifer who never played with the band, but filled up the intervals of the march while the other musicians were resting. After the third company was disbanded, Johnson's band was employed by other companes. It was for many years constant in attendance upon parades of the State Fencibles, Capt. James Page. This band was also supplied with stringed instruments, added in service for balls and dancing parties. Frank Johnson was a fine musician, and reputed in his time to be one of the best performers on the bugle and French horn in the United States. He was a man of talent also and the composer of many acceptable marches, lively quadrilles, and waltzes. After his death, A. J. R. Connor, a fine, tall, handsome-looking colored man, was the leader. A colored band, under the leadership of Hazzard from 1840 to 1850, was also in request generally for balls and parties. The Columbian Light Infantry, Capt. Charles S. Coxe, about 1820 established a band, the members of which were dressed in Turkish costumes with white turbans. About 1833 the Philadelphia Band, which used brass instruments altogether, was established principally among members of the Beck family. They became fashionable among the military, and took business in large degree from Frank Johnson's band. They were prominent on parades and festive occasions for many years. When the German Washington Guards, Capt. E. L. Kozeritz, was established, about 1837, it came out with a full band, composed of Germans, of twenty or thirty instruments. There was also introduced for the first time a drum corps of twelve or fifteen members, the style and mode of performance of which was entirely new in military displays. Some of the companies afterward established bands of their own. Bayley's Band, a fine organization, was employed by the State Fencibles. Breiter's Band performed in connection with the Gray companies. The company and battalion of German Washington Guards had a band of their own, and several other companies and regiments were supplied with bands between 1850 and 1860.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CLUBS AND CLUB LIFE.

ALTHOUGH known as the City of Homes, Philadelphia may well be called the City of Clubs, as it probably contains more social organizations of that character than any other place in the United States, except New York. Below will be found sketches of all the prominent organizations of the Quaker City.

Social Clubs.—The oldest social organization in Philadelphia, and possibly in the world, is, as we have before stated, the Schuylkill Fishing Company, commonly known as the "State in Schuylkill," which was formed May 1, 1732. In that year a club, called the "Colony in Schuylkill," by way of jest, the members asserting that it was an independent colony of North America, was founded by Thomas Stretch, Enoch Flower, Charles Jones, Joseph Stiles, Isaac Snowden, John Howard, William Hopkins, and others. The first castle, or fish-house, was erected on the west bank of the Schuylkill, above where Girard Avenue bridge now stands. An association of Welshmen, known as the Society of Fort St. David's, was afterwards merged into the colony. On the 21st of July, 1825, Gen. Lafayette visited the castle and was duly elected a member of the State. On the 27th of April, 1844, the club was incorporated under the name of the Schuylkill Fishing Company. The present castle is at Rambo's Rock, near Gray's Ferry. The officers and citizens belonging to it are as follows: Robert Adams, ex-governor, elected Oct. 7, 1840; S. B. Thomas, ex-governor, elected March 28, 1845; A. E. Harvey, ex-counselor, elected Oct. 12, 1857; George Cuthbert, elected April 15, 1858; S. J. Christian, elected April 15, 1858; John Wagner, gov-

ernor, elected March 29, 1860; R. Rundle Smith, first counselor; M. E. Rogers, second counselor; Joseph T. Thomas, third counselor; Edwin L. Reakirt, secretary of state; John Hockley, Jr., treasurer; J. Somers Smith, sheriff; F. W. Fotterall, coroner; Charles S. Pancoast, A. Loudon Snowden, L. H. Warren, Dr. Thomas Wistar, James B. Young, Ellicott Fisher, W. Redwood Wright, Victor Guillou, Neilson Brown, E. W. Keene, H. Carleton Adams, L. Taylor Dickson. Honorary members, James C. Fisher, William Camac, Daniel Smith, Jr.

THE PHILADELPHIA CLUB, which occupies a massive brick building at the corner of Thirteenth and Walnut Streets, was organized in 1833, by Henry Bohlen, James Markoe, Joseph P. Norris, Henry Beckett, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Commodore James Biddle, George M. Dallas, John M. Scott, and William and Henry Chancellor. These names represented some of the oldest and most prominent families in the city. The club first had rooms in the Adelphi Building, on Fifth Street below Walnut, and afterward removed to Ninth Street above Spruce. The members then occupied a building on Walnut Street above Ninth, and in 1850 the present building was purchased. The club paid thirty thousand dollars for the building, and nearly that amount has since been spent in improving the property. The same year that the club moved into its new building it was incorporated under the name of the Philadelphia Association and Reading-Room. On the 25th of May, 1850, the name was changed to the Philadelphia Club.

Among the members are Frank S. Bond, James A. Bayard, Jr., Robert Adams, Jr., Joseph C. Audenreid, Edwin N. Benson, Thomas A. Biddle, Andrew G. Curtin, Simon Cameron, A. J. Cassatt, Edwin H. Fitler, John G. Johnson, Henry M. Phillips, George DeB. Keim, George W. Childs, James L. Claghorn, George D. Krumbhaar, Pierre Lorillard, Henry Lewis, H. Pratt McKean, Wayne MacVeagh, James W. Paul, W. H. Pancoast, J. B. Lippincott, Richard Vaux, Frank Thomson, J. Lowber Welsh, Langhorn Wister, Samuel Ward, Walter McMichael, H. W. Biddle, Atherton Blight, Beauveau Borie, Henry P. Borie, Richard M. Cadwalader, G. Dawson Coleman, Brinton Coxe, Francis J. Crilly, Rudolph Ellis, Alfred T. Goshorn, E. B. Grubb, G. C. Heberton, Alfred Horner, Jr., E. C. Iungerich, Robert P. Kane, Charles Kuhn, Hartman Kuhn, P. Lardner, Bloomfield McIlvain, Clayton Newbold, Louis C. Norris, Richard Peters, Henry Preaut, William Henry Rawle, George M. Robeson, Fairman Rogers, J. G. Rosengarten, Thomas A. Scott, James P. Scott, Edward Shippen, A. Loudon Snowden. Among the deceased members are Adolph E. Borie, Samuel B. Fales, Gen. George G. Meade, Dr. F. F. Maury, and Philip F. Wharton.

THE SOCIAL ART CLUB, which occupies a handsome house on Walnut Street above Nineetenth, facing Rittenhouse Square, was organized in 1875 by Henry C. Gibson, Edward S. Clark, S. Weir Mitchell, M.D., Charles Platt, and Stephen A. Caldwell, and chartered the same year. The objects of the club are the promotion of literary, artistic, and antiquarian tastes among the members, the maintenance of a library and reading-room, and the collection of works of art and antiquities. A large residence on Chestnut Street, above Fifteenth, was first occupied and handsomely fitted up. In 1878 the club purchased the building 1811 Walnut Street for fifty thousand dollars, and replaced the brick front with a marble facing. The club-house is filled with paintings, engravings, curiosities, and antiquities of every description. Among some of the most prominent guests of the club have been Cyrus Field, Sir George Ferguson Bowen, G.C.M.G., Governor of Victoria; Sekizawa Akekio, Japanese Commissioner to the Centennial Exposition; Sir Herbert Bruce Sanford, of England; Henry W. Longfellow, W. D. Howells, Theodore Thomas, John Fiske, Count Szecheniyi, of Hungary; Count Hoyos and Count Andrassy, of Austria, and numerous others. Among the most prominent members of the club are Edwin N. Benson, George H. Boker, Samuel Baugh, Henry N. Bartol, Pierce Archer, James L. Claghorn, George W. Childs, Craig Biddle, Frank S. Bond, Franklin B. Gowen, George DeB. Keim, William Brockie, John Cadwalader, James E. Caldwell, A. J. Drexel, Ferdinand J. Dreer, Clayton French, Frank Furness, Horace Howard Furness, E. Burd Grubb, Clement A. Griscom, Dr. R. S. Huidekoper, John G. Johnson, Hartman Kuhn, Henry C. Lea, Dr. R. J. Levis, J. B. Lippincott, W. E. Littleton, Edwin M. Lewis, Wayne MacVeagh, Frederick T. Mason, Col. Henry Metcalfe, Henry A. Muhlenberg, G. Heide Norris, George M. Newhall, S. Davis Page, Joseph Patterson, James W. Paul, Henry M. Phillips, William Henry Rawle, Fairman Rogers, Edward T. Steel, Frank Thomson, W. S. Vaux, R. J. C. Walker, Henry Wharton, Henry Winsor, William Struthers, and Howard Roberts.

THE RABBIT, which originally had its headquarters in a quaint farm-house on Rabbit Lane, near Fiftieth Street, was organized about 1867–68 by a number of gentlemen belonging to the Philadelphia Riding Club. Among the members at that time were A. J. Drexel, George C. Carson, Fairman Rogers, Charles R. Colwell, Henry B. Tatham, Joseph Lapsley Wilson, Samuel B. Thomas, Joseph Patterson, Dr. John Neill, Richard C. McMurtrie, Morton P. Henry, Evans Rogers, and J. D. Bleight. Henry B. Tatham was chairman of the committee, and might be considered the first president of the association. As it became more popular other members were added, until the roll assumed very respectable proportions. A number of members of the City Troop joined, and stimulated the taste for horseback-exercise. A track was staked out in a field and private exhibitions of speed were given, some of the races being of exceptional interest.

From 1867 until 1872 the house on Rabbit Lane was occupied by the party, and in the latter year they removed to a place on Hay Lane, on the west side of the Schuylkill River, opposite Point Breeze. After staying there a year another change was made to a picturesque old house on the ground belonging to Christ Church Hospital, beyond Belmont. In 1875 the club took possession of the Asheton mansion, on Ford road, outside the West Park. Three years ago they changed back again to the old farm-house on the Christ Church Hospital grounds, where they still remain. The house is an old two-story building of stone, having a high pitch-roof and any number of old-fashioned angles. On July 2, 1877, the club was incorporated under the name of "The Rabbit." Among the prominent members are George B. Roberts, J. B. Lippincott, Wayne MacVeagh, Frank Thomson, James A. Bayard, Jr., George H. Boker, William Harrison Eisenbrey, Edward J. Etting, William Read Fisher, Dr. R. S. Huidekoper, Charles K. Ide, W. W. Harrison, F. W. Fotterall, L. Taylor Dickson, H. Carlton Adams, John A. Brown, Jr., J. N. DuBarry, E. Burd Grubb, Samuel Wetherill, J. F. Tobias, Samuel Welsh, Jr., Campbell Tucker, Samuel G. Thompson, James P. Scott, George Philler, William E. Littleton, Clayton McMichael, Walter McMichael, Richard Peters, Moncure Robinson, Jr., Hartman Kuhn, William H. Gaw, J. Aubrey Jones, Henry Bower, William T. Lowber, J. Alfred Kay, William McMichael, and George Willing. Among the deceased members are Gen. George G. Meade, Dr. F. F. Maury, Owen Jones, and Lewis Waln Smith.

THE SKETCH CLUB, on Chestnut Street below Broad, was formed by a number of artists on Nov. 14, 1860. The original members were R. Wiley, George F. Bensell, Philip F. Wharton, H. C. Bispham, E. McIlhenny, J. Gibon, Edgar Wyand, and E. B. Bensell. Every Thursday evening the members meet for social recreation and sketching. Once a month a prize is awarded for the best illustration of a subject given. The prize awarded for the best monthly illustration is generally a handsome print. In awarding it, the treatment, drawing, and composition are all carefully considered. An annual prize is also awarded for the best illustration, consisting of an autotype of a specimen of the old masters. During its existence the club has been greatly instrumental in the advancement of art in the city. In 1874 a series of lectures were delivered before the club by Professor Harrison Allen on "Artistic Anatomy," which proved of great assistance to the members. At intervals life classes have been instituted, at which the members draw from living models. Entertainments have been given from time to time by the club to visiting artists of celebrity. In 1875 a reception was given to D. R. Knight, James Hamilton, F. O. C. Darley, and P. F. Rothermel, which was largely attended. Receptions have also been given to other clubs and to private individuals. Among the prominent members are F. F. De Crano, W. M. Lansdale, C. E. Dana, Howard Roberts, Earl Shinn, Frank H. Taylor, H. V. Poore, P. L. Senat, Herman Simon, C. H. Stephens, W. M. Dunk, Charles McIlhenny, Ernest H. Klemroth, Frank D. Briscoe, Charles V. Brown, Leon Delachaux, Stephen J. Ferris, Arthur B. Frost, Frederick James, James P. Kelly, D. R. Knight, Milne Ramsay, W. H. Lippincott, Frank Moss, J. McLure Hamilton, and Harry Thouron. Among the deceased members are George F. Bensell, Philip F. Wharton, and Howard M. Poland.

THE PENN CLUB was organized on March 18, 1875, by Wharton Barker, J. M. Power Wallace, John C. Sims, Jr., Morton McMichael, Jr., Capt. W. W. Nevin, Howard Roberts, Samuel Wagner, Jr., Charles Chauncey, Simon A. Stern, and Henry Reed. The organization was named the Penn Club, and its object was stated to be the association of authors, artists, and men of science, and amateurs of music, letters, and the fine arts. The club membership was limited to two hundred and fifty, and the management of the affairs was placed in the hands of a committee, who were authorized to elect a chairman, secretary, and treasurer. Wharton Barker was elected chairman (there being no president), Morton McMichael, Jr., treasurer, and John C. Sims, Jr., secretary. The club prospered greatly, and soon became widely known by its receptions of prominent men. By the 30th of April, 1875, it had a membership of one hundred and thirty, which was soon increased to the limit prescribed. Finding the rooms too small, the house at the southeast corner of Eighth and Locust Streets was rented and fitted up, and in July, 1875, the club moved into its new quarters. During its comparatively short career the Penn Club has entertained many distinguished guests, and its receptions, while thoroughly informal, have always been enjoyable. The custom is when a prominent stranger arrives in town with whom a member is acquainted to extend an official invitation to him, and the club is notified of the event. Those who attend the reception spend their time in conversing with one another, and a plain and inexpensive collation is served. The first reception given by the club was on March 25, 1875, and was tendered to Carl Schurz. On May 27th, Dion Boucicault was the guest, and in October, Professor Richard A. Proctor, the astronomer, was entertained. Since that time receptions have been tendered to the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, the directors of the Academy of Fine Arts, Sothern and Jefferson the actors, W. W. Story the sculptor, Gen. Grant, just previous to his starting on his voyage around the world, the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania and New York, when Wayne MacVeagh delivered an interesting address, B. L. Farjeon the novelist, Bayard Taylor, James E. Murdoch, Governor Hoyt, Thomas Bayley Potter, M.P., Walt Whitman, and Dr. William Pepper, provost of the University of Pennsylvania. The following members have died

since the organization of the club: Thomas Balch, A. Lardner Brown, Henry Armitt Brown, Theodore Cuyler, Hon. Thomas Bradford Dwight, Asa I. Fish, LL.D., Professor William Newton Meeks, Samuel B. Wylie Mitchell, M.D., Hon. Morton McMichael, Hon. Joseph T. Pratt, B. Lincoln Ray, M.D., Lewis Sylvester, and Charles H. Addicks. Among the present members of the club are George H. Boker, Professor George F. Barker, Judge Craig Biddle, Anthony J. Drexel, Judge Hanna, Robert P. Dechert, George DeB. Keim, J. Vaughn Merrick, Walter E. Rex, George W. Childs, Fairman Rogers, A. J. Cassatt, H. Howard Furness, and Professor Charles J. Stillé.

THE CATHOLIC CLUB, which has a house on the east side of Broad Street, below Walnut, was originally founded, in 1870, under the name of the De Sales Institute. It was named in honor of St. Francis De Sales, and the object was to give aid to Catholic charities and support the faith. The club was chartered on the 7th of April, 1875, and two years later an amendment was added, by which the name was changed to the Catholic Club. In March, 1877, the building in Broad Street was leased, and after extensive improvements the club moved in. The club is accustomed to give annual art or musical receptions, as well as entertainments in honor of prominent persons. On Wednesday evening, June 13, 1877, one of the finest receptions ever given by the club was tendered to its venerable ex-president, Joseph R. Chandler. A sumptuous banquet was served in the dining-room of the club-house, at which President Robins occupied the head of the table, with Mr. Chandler at his right hand. Speeches were made by George D. Wolff, Pierce Archer, Jr., Charles Phillips, Mr. Chandler, President Robins, S. Edwin Megargee, and others, together with an original poem, written and read by John I. Rogers. In August of the same year a fine reception was also tendered to Archbishop Wood, upon his return from Europe, which was largely attended, and proved a very enjoyable occasion. Two years later a reception was given to Monsignor Chatard, formerly president of the American College at Rome. Numerous other receptions have been given from time to time by the club, which have always proved highly successful. From October to the following April, in every year, Sunday nights are used for the purpose of delivering lectures and interesting essays before the club. Daniel Dougherty has several times delivered lectures at the Academy of Music, and concerts have also been given, the proceeds of which have been devoted to various charitable institutions.

THE MERCANTILE CLUB, composed principally of members of the Jewish faith, was organized on Nov. 10, 1853. Among the original members were Mayer Arnold, Lazarus Mayer, H. Gunsenhauser, Michael Moyer, B. Greenewald, Moses A. Dropsie, and others. For ten years the club occupied the premises Nos. 410 and 412 Crown Street, and on the 17th of April, 1869, it was incorporated by the Legislature. The members applying for the charter were Hyman Gunsenhauser, David Teller, Benjamin F. Greenewald, Israel Weil, Gabriel Baum, Charles Stein, Henry Koshland, Levi Mayer, Arnold Vogel, Morris Rosenbach, Jacob Louer, Thomas S. Sterr, and E. G. A. Baker. In November, 1879, the club leased the large double brick house No. 864 North Seventh Street, owned by Edwin H. Fitler, and fitted it up at a cost of fifteen thousand dollars. The property has a frontage on Seventh Street, including a large garden of eighty-nine feet. The depth of the club building is one hundred and ten feet, connecting with a handsome new brownstone and pressed-brick hall fronting on Franklin Street, between Parrish and Poplar Streets. The club-house and hall are so arranged that they can be thrown into one at any time it is desired, and this is generally done at the entertainments given by the organization.

THE RIDING CLUB, which is located on Sixteenth Street below Walnut, was formed about thirty years ago by a number of prominent lawyers. Among the gentlemen who rode on horseback together at that time were the late St. George T. Campbell, Charles Peterson, Benjamin Gerhard, John D. Bleight, Judge Cadwalader, and others. After some little time the equestrians desired to procure a place to exercise their horses without going out on the road. It was necessary to have a large room not too far from the courts, as the lawyers might be sent for at any time. They therefore obtained permission to use a room on Sansom Street above Eighth, where they remained for several years. While located there Judge Hare, Samuel A. Rulon, Anthony J. Drexel, Dr. John Neill, Evans Rogers, and his son Fairman Rogers, R. C. McMurtrie, and George W. Biddle, were frequent attendants. Afterward they moved to their present location, No. 215 South Sixteenth Street, below Walnut. In 1868 the gentlemen who were in the habit of riding at this place procured articles of incorporation for an organization under the name of the Philadelphia Riding Club. Among the incorporators were John D. Bleight, Evans Rogers, Fairman Rogers, S. A. Rulon, A. J. Drexel, F. A. Drexel, S. H. Horstman, Joseph Patterson, Israel Morris, Benjamin Perkins, George W. Childs, J. T. Kille, and George W. Biddle.

THE CLOVER CLUB, which has its headquarters at the Hotel Bellevue, where its table in the shape of a four-leafed clover is only seen upon the occasion of its monthly dinners, was organized in January, 1882. It is an association of prominent men who like a good dinner, and who also like to see their friends enjoy one. Some of the most notable men in America have been entertained at its hospitable board. The following gentlemen comprise the membership:

Active Members.—John M. Ashmead, W. R. Balch, vice-president; Dr. Edward Bedloe, George W. Boyd, Col. F. A. Burr, William M. Bunn, James T. Bingham, J. L. Carncross, Joel Cook, C. R. Deacon, sec-

retary and treasurer; Col. Thomas Donaldson, Judge Thomas R. Elcock, M. M. Gillam, M. P. Handy, president; J. H. Heverin, T. M. Jackson, B. K. Jamison, W. H. Lex, president of Common Council; Col. William Ludlow, U.S.A., and chief engineer Philadelphia Water-Works; R. W. Merrill, W. B. Merrill, W. O. Hensel, A. K. McClure, Louis N. Megargee, Thomas Potter, Jr., George G. Pierie, Charles Emory Smith, Edward J. Swartz, J. R. Wood.

Non-Resident Members.—Capt. R. C. Clipperton, British Consul; Charles Burdett Hart, Wheeling, W. Va.; Paymaster M. C. MacDonald, U.S.N.

Honorary Members. — Daniel Dougherty, Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, Harrisburg, Pa.; Sol. Smith Russell.

THE JOURNALISTS' CLUB, which occupies a handsome five-story building on Walnut Street above Ninth, is composed entirely of editors and reporters, and numbers one hundred and fifty members. It was organized Nov. 20, 1882, and incorporated March 30, 1883. The object of the club is to promote fraternity among journalists, and with this view social entertainments are given fortnightly. The club-house includes a large restaurant, parlor, library, smoking-, billiard-, reading-, card-, and lodging-rooms for members. The officers are: President, M. P. Handy; Vice-President, George E. Mapes; Secretary, James Hoyt; Treasurer, John Norris; Managers, M. P. Handy, James Hoyt, W. C. Ruch, John Norris, L. N. Megargee, T. M. Jackson, T. J. Lindsay; House Committee, Albert H. Hoeckley, chairman, G. H. Shearer, J. B. Lane, G. R. Morse, and W. R. Lester. The club possesses a number of valuable paintings and engravings, as well as odd bric-à-brac and furniture.

THE LIBERAL CLUB, which occupies a handsome marble building on Broad Street, above Chestnut, was organized in 1876, by a number of members of the Union League and the Reform Club, the latter of which has since dissolved. The club was incorporated in 1878 by D. F. Houston, Stephen Flanagan, S. F. Donaldson, William Warnock, George W. Thompson, D. L. Flanagan, Charles I. Cragin, and E. F. Poulterer.

THE UNIVERSITY CLUB, to which only college graduates are eligible, occupies a handsome house on Walnut Street, above Thirteenth. The Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens is the president, and the organization is in a flourishing condition.

THE STYLUS CLUB is an organization restricted to editors, reporters, and contributors to or publishers of newspapers or magazines. It was organized in 1877, and its object is the promotion of social intercourse between its members. It is composed of the following gentlemen: James M. Ferguson, Stephen N. Winslow, Robert A. Welsh, Albert W. Frick, Edward J. Swartz, Alexander J. McCleary, Thomas J. Lindsay, James McConnell, William H. Smith, William B. Kinsey, Louis N. Megargee, Hermann Dieck, William F. McCully, George S. Ferguson, H. J. Murdoch, George G. Pierie, William Arthur, James R. Young, William Perrine, Robert S. Menamin, Franklin Dundore.

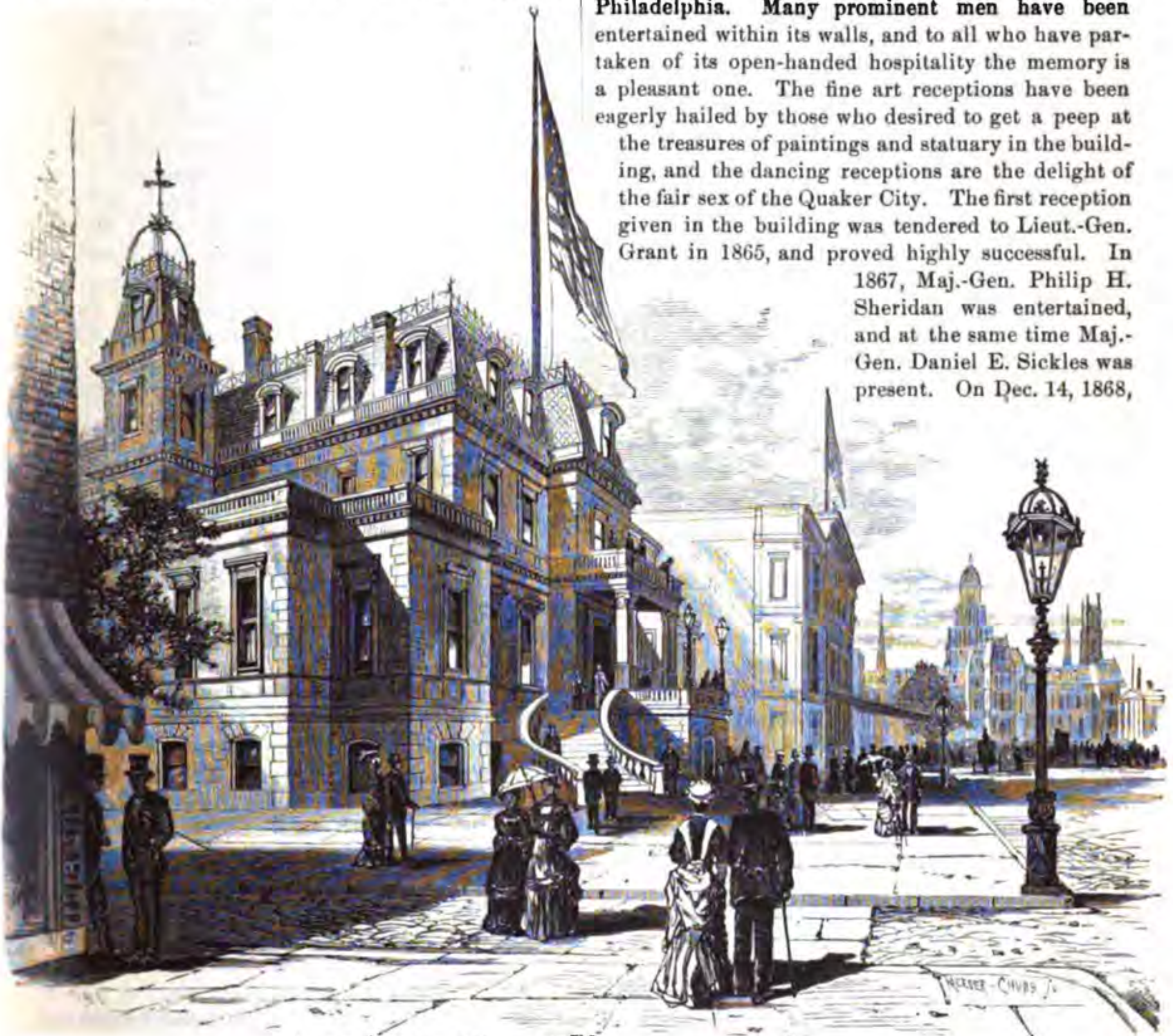
Political Clubs.—Besides the many social organizations in Philadelphia there are numerous political clubs. Prominent among these is the UNION LEAGUE, which is the leading club of the Quaker City. It is an outgrowth from the Union Club, which was organized Nov. 15, 1862, by Morton McMichael, chairman, J. I. C. Hare, Charles Gibbons, Benjamin Gerhard, and George H. Boker, secretary. Articles of association were drawn up, and the organization was named "The Union Club of Philadelphia." The articles provided, after reciting loyalty to the United States, that the club should meet every Saturday evening at the house of a member, who should provide a moderate entertainment not later than ten o'clock. Not more than three dishes of various kinds could be served, and the wines were limited to sherry and Madeira and one other. Meetings were afterward held at the residences of James W. Paul, John Ashhurst, Bloomfield H. Moore, and Dr. Wilson C. Swann. On Dec. 27, 1862, a meeting was held at the residence of Dr. John F. Meigs, at which the Union League of Philadelphia was organized from the members of the Union Club. The large house No. 1118 Chestnut Street was taken, and after being thoroughly furnished was thrown open to the members. In the mean time the Union Club was continued as a purely social organization until Nov. 4, 1865, when the weekly meetings were superseded by an annual dinner, which was to be held on December 27th in each year, the anniversary of the foundation of the Union League.

The League rapidly assumed a commanding position in the politics of the nation, and printed circulars were prepared and sent out to every city, town, and village in the country, giving plans for instituting similar Leagues to uphold the Union cause. A board of publication was appointed, and the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars was soon subscribed for the purpose of printing and issuing patriotic pamphlets. They were sent from Maine to California, and probably did much toward the success of the Republican party. A committee was also appointed for the purpose of securing employment for disabled Union soldiers and sailors, which accomplished much good. During this year (1863) a committee was appointed to enlist and send into the field as many regiments of soldiers as its means might warrant. In a few days eighty thousand dollars were collected and three regiments were armed, equipped, and sent forward. In August, 1864, the lease of the building No. 1118 Chestnut Street expired, and could not be renewed, as the late Matthias W. Baldwin desired to occupy the premises as a residence. A lot of ground had been previously purchased at the corner of Broad and Sansom Streets, upon which it was determined to erect a suitable building for the club.

During its erection the League moved temporarily into a building on the south side of Chestnut Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth, opposite where Concert Hall was formerly. While located here the League opened a recruiting-office for colored soldiers in the premises next door, which created considerable excitement among the residents of the vicinity. At this time the League numbered nearly one thousand members, and when a meeting was held Concert Hall was hired for the occasion, as the premises were much too small for them. Up to the close of the war the League sent into the field nine regiments, two battalions, and a troop of cavalry, all armed and equipped at the expense of the club.

On May 11, 1865, the Union League took possession of their magnificent new building at Broad and Sansom Streets. It had been intended to inaugurate the moving with a grand reception, but on account of the assassination of President Lincoln it was decided to postpone the affair. The building, which is one of the finest club-houses in the world, was built by John Crump, and cost in the neighborhood of two hundred thousand dollars.

The Union League has always been noted for the beauty and elegance of its receptions, which have invariably been attended by the highest society in Philadelphia. Many prominent men have been entertained within its walls, and to all who have partaken of its open-handed hospitality the memory is a pleasant one. The fine art receptions have been eagerly hailed by those who desired to get a peep at the treasures of paintings and statuary in the building, and the dancing receptions are the delight of the fair sex of the Quaker City. The first reception given in the building was tendered to Lieut.-Gen. Grant in 1865, and proved highly successful. In 1867, Maj.-Gen. Philip H. Sheridan was entertained, and at the same time Maj.-Gen. Daniel E. Sickles was present. On Dec. 14, 1868, the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, was the guest of the League at an entertainment given in this house. On the 11th of May, 1870, the first reception was given to the families of the members and many invited guests. A committee of one hundred was appointed to look after the details, and everything passed off successfully. The club-house was magnificently decorated with flowers and plants, and an admirable orchestra furnished appropriate music. On the 22d of December, 1871, a grand reception was tendered to George H. Boker upon his appointment as minister to Turkey, which was largely



UNION LEAGUE CLUB-HOUSE.

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attended, and on July 10, 1876, Mr. Boker, having returned from Russia, to which country he had been appointed minister, was entertained a second time. On October 26th in the same year, Hon. Rutherford B. Hayes, at that time Governor of Ohio, was the guest of the League. Two years later President Hayes and his wife were given a grand reception by the club, at which the decorations were notable for their elegance. Governor Hoyt was received April 15, 1879, and on December 23d, of the same year, Gen. Grant and his wife were entertained after their journey around the world. In addition to these more prominent receptions, there have been innumerable social entertainments. There are generally two receptions to the families of members and invited guests every winter.

THE AMERICUS CLUB is the leading Democratic organization of Philadelphia, and has a house on Broad Street above Chestnut. On the 30th of April, 1867, a meeting was held at the residence of Dr. Judah Isaacs, No. 513 Pine Street, having for its object the formation of a social club to be composed of Democrats. There were present at the time John Welsh, John Kelsh, John P. Delaney, Dr. J. Isaacs, William B. Hood, George Concannon, William W. Dougherty, Lewis C. Cassidy, David A. Nagle, James Stewart, John White, John O. Grady, and Andrew J. McGrath. Since that meeting John P. Delaney, William B. Hood, David A. Nagle, James Stewart, John White, and Andrew J. McGrath have died. John White acted as temporary president, William B. Hood as secretary, and Dr. Isaacs as treasurer. It was agreed that the membership should be limited to thirty, and that the meetings should be held in the third story of the building at the northeast corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets. A committee was appointed to rent and furnish the premises, and they were fitted up in comfortable style.

On the 11th of the following month a constitution and by-laws were reported by the committee appointed for that purpose. The name was adopted as the "Americus Club of Philadelphia," and the object was stated to be to have a room or rooms open at all times, furnished with books and newspapers of the day, for the discussion of all questions and the social enjoyment of the members. It was stipulated that the members of the club should be adherents of the Democratic party, and must be citizens of the United States. On the 15th of May, 1867, it was agreed to increase the membership to thirty-five, and a permanent organization was effected by electing the following officers: President, John Welsh; Vice-President, William Conway; Secretary, Andrew J. McGrath; Treasurer, Dr. J. Isaacs; Trustees, John P. Delaney, George Concannon, Matthew S. Farrell, John Kelsh, and James Stewart.

During the early part of the war, just after the Union League had been started and was progressing favorably, several of the members thought a club modeled after the same pattern, but conducted upon more economical principles, would be a great success. Accordingly they met and formed the National Union Club, having its headquarters on Chestnut Street, above Eleventh, in Girard row. At that time the Union League occupied the large double mansion on the south side of the same square. The object of the National Union Club was to sustain the government of the United States, to check disloyalty by every legitimate method, and at the same time to take an active part in national, State, and municipal politics. The club was a purely political organization, and among its original members were John E. Addicks, John L. Hill, William R. Leeds, Henry C. Howell, and Robert P. King. After the war had closed the members began to lose interest in it, and about 1872 the club was dissolved. As the years rolled on the members became desirous of forming another political club, and about 1874 the UNION REPUBLICAN CLUB of Philadelphia was formed. The object of the new club was to sustain and aid the Republican party, and also to take an active part in all political campaigns. Applicants for membership were restricted to citizens of the United States over twenty-one years of age, who were Republicans.

As soon as the club was organized it moved into the fine building northeast corner of Eleventh and Chestnut Streets, which it still occupies. At that time the president was John E. Addicks, who held that position until his death. M. Hall Stanton was vice-president, Henry C. Selby was secretary, and James N. Kerns treasurer. On Oct. 12, 1878, application was made for a charter by the following members, to whom it was granted: John E. Addicks, M. Hall Stanton, Henry C. Selby, James N. Kerns, and John McCullough. These members at one time held all the property of the club in their own name, but afterward transferred it to the organization.

THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB, a Democratic organization, and the UNITED REPUBLICAN CLUB occupy the southwest and northwest corners of Broad and Chestnut Streets respectively.

THE YOUNG REPUBLICANS' CLUB is at Twelfth and Chestnut Streets, and the PENNSYLVANIA CLUB, an independent political organization, on Walnut Street below Thirteenth.

THE SATURDAY CLUB, organized on Oct. 13, 1871, may be considered almost lineal in succession from the Wistar Parties and Wistar Club, established in the early part of the century. Its first president was Hon. Morton McMichael; George H. Boker, secretary. It succeeded the Union Club, which was founded in 1862, and continued during the civil war.

CHAPTER XXXV.

AUTHORS AND LITERATURE OF PHILADELPHIA.

The development of the literature of Philadelphia has been to the author a very entertaining study. The simplicity of its original, the means of its publication, the inspirations of its first ideas, contrasted with the excellent height to which it has attained, are things in the contemplation of which any person, whether he be a Philadelphian or not, who is fond of historical investigations, could not fail to become much interested. The school-master and the printer must begin this benign work, and it is amusing to consider the scale upon which these two plied their vocations in this early society. The name of Enoch Flower heads one list, that of William Bradford the other. The former would be unknown to fame but for a leaf in the journal of the Council in 1683, whereon appears a modest schedule of prices, which would seem to have put out of view of this wielder of the rod and ferule all prospect of great earthly riches. But children were not numerous, and their hands, when strong enough to wield an axe or hoe, or follow a plow and wagon horse, were thought to be more profitably employed in the forest or the field than in thumbing even the rudiments of any sort of lore. Mr. Enoch Flower, who is thought to have been a Wiltshire man, had this entry on the Council journal:

"Tenth Month 26th, 1683, Enoch Flower undertakes to teach school in the town of *Philadelphia*, on the following terms, *viz.*:

"To learn to read *English*, four shillings by the quarter; to write, six shillings by ditto; to read, write, and cast accounts, eight shillings by the quarter; boarding a scholar, that is to say, diet, lodging, washing, and schooling, ten pounds for one whole year."

This last sum, we observe, was half that of Dotheboys Hall, in Yorkshire, and we must allow it to be possible that the rector, like Mr. Squeers, was wont to make some of his practical lessons available in domestic economy. Six years after this date the first public school, called "Friends' Public School," was begun. In 1697 this school had become considerable enough to be incorporated in a charter by Lieutenant-Governor Markham. Some distinguished names appear in the petition for this purpose,—David Lloyd, Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Anthony Morris, James Fox, William Southbee, and John Jones. This action was confirmed by patents from William Penn in 1701, 1708, and 1711. This institution, the first of its kind, was entirely of Quaker origin, and was "forever thereafter to consist of fifteen discreet and religious persons of the people called Quakers, by the name of the Overseers of the Public School, found in Philadelphia, at the request, cost, and charges of the people called Quakers." In it the poor were to be taught without price. Already the side of the question of public against private schools, destined, it appears, never to be settled, was decided by these founders in favor of the former, as appears in the preamble of the amended charter of 1711: "*Whereas*, The prosperity and welfare of any people depend, in great measure, upon the good education of youth, and their early introduction in the principles of true religion and virtue, and qualifying them to serve their country and themselves, by breeding them in reading, writing, and learning of languages, and useful arts and sciences, suitable to their sex, age, and degree, which cannot be effected, in any manner, so well as by erecting *public schools*," etc. The words "sex, age, and degree," though so fitly spoken here, would be of little avail with founding of some later public institutions of the kind wherein the differences among all three of these conditions appear to be of little importance.

The first head-master was one destined to give trouble to the peaceful society that employed him, and finally, after involving them in many a dispute, abandon them, as so many others did afterward, and return to the English Church. George Keith, of Aberdeen, Scotland, lately of East Jersey, had a provision quite ample, compared with Enoch Flower, who worked in his own small independent way. He was to have fifty pounds a year, to be increased to one hundred and twenty in two years, a house to live in, and the school profits. But his restless spirit was tired out with one year's service. He was ambitious to become known as founder of a new sect, which he called Christian Quakers. But he deserted them in a very short while, and after officiating as missionary clergyman of the English Church in Boston and New York, went to England, where he died rector of Edbarton Church, Sussex. A man of considerable gifts and culture was Keith. He published two works, "New Theory of Longitude" and "Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck." His continued reputation has depended upon that of William Bradford, who has become immortal in the defense of a great principle, which, however incredible it seems, required a very long time to obtain recognition and acceptance. We shall speak of them in connection presently. For we should not omit entirely the mention of Thomas Makin, who, having been chief of the ushers during Keith's administration of the Friends' public school, became the head-master on his retirement. This person, if not of great, was of versatile talents, at least he was versatile in occupations. He served as clerk of the Provincial Council, and then, after a fashion, he was a poet, even a poet in Latin hexameter verse. We know not how judicious or how munificent James Logan may have been in his encouragement of the muse, but the bard, whether in his *rôle* of prothonotary or pedagogue, inscribed to him two poems, "Encomium Pennsylvaniæ" and "In Laudes Pensilvaniæ, Poema, seu Descriptio Pensilvaniæ," "both which," says Proud, "were found among James Logan's papers, many years after his decease." They seem to have been written chiefly for amusement in his old age. As specimens of this last production in alternate hexameter and pentameter, we give the opening and the closing four lines:

"Hæc habet, et regio memorabile nomen, habebit
Auctior auctores tempus in omne sui;
Qui fuit illustre proavorum stemmate natus,
Sed virtute magis nobilis ipse suâ.

* * * * * * * * *

"Utilis est illi, si non opulenta supella;
Res sapiens omnes utilitate probat.
O! mihi si liceat sylvas habitare beatas,
Et modico victu, non sine pace, frui."

This was written in 1729. But two poems, so styled, had been written in English, one by Richard Frame in 1692, printed by Bradford, entitled "A Short Description of Pennsylvania; or, a Relation of What Things are Known, Enjoyed, and Like to be Discovered in said Province;" the other "A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania," by John Holme, about 1696. This is not known to have been published until 1847. The author, like Keith, owes what fame he has obtained by his connection with William Bradford, being one of the judges that sat on the case that has made the defendant so renowned.

William Bradford, though not an author, yet is distinguished as the first printer of the province, and the first to maintain, with heroic courage in the midst of persecution and suffering, the freedom of the press. He was a native of Leicester, and when a young man emigrated to Pennsylvania, and was the first to settle upon the spot where Philadelphia was destined to be built. This has been supposed to be at Kensington, not far from the elm-tree beneath which William Penn treated with the Indians. He had learned the printer's trade in London. He had come over in 1682, but it was not until 1686 that he printed his first book, an almanac. The calculations for this work had been made by one Daniel Leeds, whose appellation on the title-page was "Student of Agriculture." This poor printer doubtless did not even dream of the renown that was to befall him and his small press from one of its early endeavors to impart some notoriety to another. George Keith's fiery temper and bold words were to be handled elsewhere besides on the tongues of the peaceful Quakers. It is amusing to read Robert Proud's account of the conduct of Keith in his vilifying "divers persons in the magistracy, tending to subvert that absolutely necessary institution and order in civil society;" how "he called Thomas Lloyd, the Deputy Governor, who was accounted a person of a mild temper and deportment, good sense, and unblemished character, an impudent man and a pitiful Governor, asking him why he did not send him to jail! and telling him his back had long itched for a whipping! and that he would print and expose them," etc. "And, besides, being much enraged, he had published several virulent pieces on several of the principal magistrates in their judicial capacity, and thereby lessening the lawful authority of the magistracy in the view of the baser sort of people, who began thereupon to take greater liberties; wherefore the said printers, William Bradford and John McComb, who had published it, were by a warrant from five magistrates, viz.," etc. The historian evidently believed that the defendants suffered very lightly in comparison with the heinousness of their crime. William Penn was absent from the province during this trial. It had been by his invitation that Bradford had come to Pennsylvania, and he was much pained both by the prosecution and the notoriety imparted to it, and so wrote in several letters from England.

Keith had already been condemned in a meeting of the Quakers for his utterances against the old faith, and was forbidden to attend and speak in their religious meetings. Governor Lloyd and most of the Quaker magistrates were of this faction, which was in a decided majority. Bradford sided with Keith, and printed his pamphlets against what he styled "The Spiritual Court." John McComb's offense consisted in assisting, though in a very small way, in distributing them. It was evident that however tolerantly inclined toward those of other faiths were the Quaker leaders, they wished, and they were determined, if possible, to cut off or render harmless this turbulent faction among their own ranks, especially Keith and Bradford. The whole proceedings were entirely arbitrary. They seem ridiculous enough, and therefore less repulsive, because of the almost total want of the knowledge of judicial administration among those pious magistrates who were endeavoring to settle among themselves a family dispute, which, like all of its kind, was attended with peculiar acerbity. We give a few extracts from the report of this trial as we find it in the *Register of Pennsylvania* (1828):

"*Justice Cook.* 'What bold, impudent, and confident men are these, to stand thus confidently before the Court?'

"*Bradford.* 'We are here only to desire that which is the right of every free-born English subject, which is speedy justice, and it is strange that that should be accounted impudence, and we impudent fellows, therefore, when we have spoke nothing but words of truth and soberness in requesting that which is our right, and which we want, it being greatly to our prejudice that we are detained prisoners."

"*Justice Cook.* 'If thou hadst been in England, thou would have had thy back lashed before now.'

"*Bradford.* 'I do not know wherein I have broke any law so as to incur any such punishment.'

"*Justice Jennings.* 'Thou art very ignorant in the law. Does not thee know that every printer shall put his name to the books he prints, or his press is forfeited?'

"*Bradford.* 'I know that there was such a law, and I know when it expired.'

". . . The prisoners continued to press for a trial.

"*Justice Cook.* 'A trial thou shalt have, and that to your cost, it may be.'

"*Justice Jennings.* 'A trial thou shalt have, but for some reason known to us, the Court defers it to the next Sessions, and that is the answer we give, and no other you shall have.'"

In the interim between the sessions the accused were imprisoned, Bradford deprived of his printing utensils, and the license of McComb to trade revoked by the Governor. On reading the presentment at the second trial, Bradford, to the question of the clerk as to his guilt or innocence, responded,—

"*Bradford.* 'In the first place, I desire to know whether I am clear of the mittimus, which differs from the presentment.'"

This for a while seemed a poser for the court, as the mittimus and presentment plainly differed. They concluded, however, after conference with the prosecuting attorney, to try him on the presentment, telling him he was clear of the mittimus.

"*Bradford.* 'What law is the presentment founded on?'

"*Attorney for the Government.* 'It is grounded both on Common and Statute Law.'

"*Bradford.* 'Pray let me see that Statute and Common Law, else how shall I make my plea? Justice Cook told us last Court that one reason why ye deferred our trial then was, that we might have time to prepare ourselves to answer it, but ye never let me have a copy of my presentment, nor will ye now let me know what law ye prosecute me upon.'

"*Attorney.* 'It's not usual to insert in indictments against what statute the offense is, when it's against several statutes and laws made.'

"*Justice White* 'If thou wilt not plead guilty or not guilty, thou wilt lose thy opportunity of being tried by thy country.'"

The court then ordered the clerk to write down that William Bradford refused to plead, which he did; but as he was writing it down, Bradford desired they would not take advantage against him, for he refused not to plead, but only requested that which was greatly necessary in order to his making his own defense. Several in the court requesting on the prisoner's behalf that the court would not take advantage against him, they admitted him to plead, and he pleaded not guilty.

In impaneling the jury, the exceptions of Bradford to two of them were overruled *by the clerk* and the attorney, who, it seems, was David Lloyd.

"*Clerk.* 'These are no exceptions in law.'

"*Attorney.* 'Hast thou, at any time, heard them say that thou printed that paper? for that is only what they are to find.'

"*Bradford.* 'That is not only what they are to find. They are to find also whether this be a seditious paper or not, and whether it does tend to the weakening of the hands of the magistrates.'

"*Attorney.* 'No. That is matter of law, which the jury is not to meddle with, but find whether William Bradford printed it or not, and the bench is to judge whether it be a seditious paper or not, for the law has determined what is a breach of the peace, and the penalty, which the bench only is to give judgment on.'

"*Justice Jennings.* 'You are only to try whether William Bradford printed it or not."

"*Bradford.* 'This is wrong, for the jury are judges in law as well as the matter of fact.'

"The attorney again denied it, whereupon some of the jury desired to know what they were to try, for they did believe in their consciences they were obliged to try and find whether that paper was seditions, as well as whether Bradford printed it, and some of them asked to be discharged.

"A gentle noise and confusion among the people. Some on the bench showed their willingness to allow of Bradford's exception to two jurors. Justice Cook said, 'I will not allow of it. Is there four of us of a mind? . . .'"

During the time that the prisoners were on trial the grand jury sat in the room, frequently threatening them with presentment for the words they used in their defense. The only evidence that Bradford had printed the paper was, as appears by these words of the attorney for the government, "It is evident William Bradford printed the seditious paper, he being the printer in this place, and the frame on which it was printed was found in his house."

"*Bradford.* 'I desire the jury and all present to take notice, that there ought to be two evidences to prove the matter of fact, but not one evidence has been brought in this case.'

"*Justice Jennings.* 'The frame on which it was printed is evidence enough.'

"*Bradford.* 'But where is the frame? There has no frame been produced here, and if there had, it is no evidence unless you saw me print on it.'

"*Justice Jennings.* 'The jury shall have the frame with them. It cannot well be brought here, and, besides, the season is cold, and we are not to sit here to endanger our health. You are minded to put tricks on us.'

"*Bradford.* 'You of the jury, and all here present, I desire you to take notice, that there has not one evidence been brought to prove that I printed the sheet called *An Appeal;* and whereas they say the frame is evidence which the jury shall have, I say the jury ought not to hear, or have any evidence whatsoever, but in the presence of the judges and prisoners.'

"The jury had a room provided for them, and the sheriff caused the frame to be carried in to them, for an evidence that William Bradford printed the *Appeal.* The jury continued about forty-eight hours together, and could not agree. They then came into court to ask whether the law did require two evidences to find a man guilty? To answer this question the attorney read a passage out of a law-book, that they were to find by evidences, or on their own knowledge, or otherwise. 'Now,' says the attorney, 'this otherwise is the frame which you have, which is evidence sufficient.'

"*Bradford.* 'The frame which they have is no evidence, for I have not seen it, and how do I or the jury know that that which was carried into them was mine?'

"Bradford was interrupted, the jury sent forth again, and an officer commanded to keep them without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco. In the afternoon the jury came into court again, and told they were not like to agree, whereupon the court discharged them."

The defendant was remanded to prison, protesting then and at the next term of the court against the additional error of the court in discharging the jury before they had agreed upon a verdict. The case failed at last from the total lack of evidence, and doubtless from the court being in a degree overawed by the dauntless courage and the superior knowledge of their prisoner. It was said that when the "frame" of the printer was carried into the jury-room, they were extremely embarrassed by this "otherwise" item of evidence. Men who, if they could read at all, read forwards with only moderate facility and speed, found greatly enhanced difficulty in performing that operation backwards. In their attempts to place the frame in a position favorable for deciphering it, one of them, assisting this effort with his cane, thrust the whole of the types from their positions, and thus some of the "otherwise" evidence was destroyed.[1] We must suspect there was, in this awk-

[1] The "some reason known to us," as uttered by Justice Jennings at the first trial, why "the court defers it to the next sessions," is thus explained in Thomas' "History of Printing:"

"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; to put a better 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, and of condemning them without a hearing; 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 anything like sedition appeared in their practice,

ward thrust of the juror's cane, some "method" that was born either of a friendly compassion for the accused, or of a disgust for the alleged sufficiency of this species of evidence.

The defense made by Bradford shows very plainly that during those years he had spent in learning his trade in London he had become familiar with all the rights and defenses that he was entitled to under the law, which cannot be said of the court that tried him. They were, indeed, strange proceedings for a court of justice: the attorney, the clerk, the grand jury, and even outsiders taking part with the judges in the work of browbeating. It was, in truth, none other than a quarrel between the two factions of Quakers, which the dominant were determined, if possible, to subdue by whatever force they could employ short of the shedding of blood. We may see in the chapter on the Bench and Bar the materials out of which the former was made, and the impossibility of an accused obtaining competent counsel for his defense. Yet we cannot too much admire the courage and the coolness of William Bradford in combating until overpowered by such numerous powerful antagonists upon every position of principle and right, and, though after prolonged delays, imprisonments, and other sufferings, prevailing in a cause that has led to his being justly named the father of the freedom of the press in the country of his adoption. The disgust he felt for the treatment he had received, and his unfriendly relations with those in power in Philadelphia, induced him, in the following year, 1693, to accept offers to remove to New York, though he still retained an interest in the business he left behind. For thirty years Bradford was the government printer in New York, being in fact the only one of his trade in the province. In 1725 he printed there its first newspaper.

As for George Keith, no doubt much of his conduct had been extremely exasperating. Those Quakers, forbidden by their principles and their meeting to resent and punish the individual vituperations of one who it seems was voluble of insulting words and epithets, resorted to the only warfare allowed, and were not afraid of going too far in the employment of its powers and agencies. Unlearned men, though judges, unfamiliar with the laws as judicial forms, they regarded themselves at liberty to supply whatever all these lacked in order to apply some of the punishment that in their consciences they believed to be justly due

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 (entitled 'New England Spirit of Persecution, transmitted to Pennsylvania, etc.'), '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 ado, 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.'"

to this disturber of their peace. Robert Proud shows a keen relish of the words he employed in telling of the subsequent career of this apostate from Quakerism.[1]

We thought that we should sketch with some detail these two men, the first names in those nurseries of Philadelphia literature, the school-room and the printing-office. Independent of such priority, they serve to illustrate conditions in that earliest society in ways most interesting to contemplate. It is easy to observe how simple were these conditions when we read the proceedings of that conglomerate assembly of judges, lawyers, clerk, grand and petit juries, and lobbyists called a court, and all clamoring against a poor printer, who, innocent of offense, consciously so, stood calmly before them all, pointing out their ignorance and injustice, and finally prevailing by the power of truth and justice.

The first essays in the matter of literary production we observe, from what has been said in the foregoing, were made on the subject of religious discussion. Our provincial literature, in its inception, was thus, to a degree, like that of the classical states in their infancy, which opened with hymns in honor of the gods. Counting themselves in Pennsylvania, as in New England, exiles for the sake of religion, their written thoughts might be expected to be upon that for the sake of which they had betaken themselves away from their native places. George Keith, rest-

[1] In volume i. (page 368) are given in a note the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting in Burlington in 1692, in "Their Testimony and Declaration against George Keith," and an appended "joining with our brethren in their Testimony against that spirit of railing, lying, slandering, and falsely accusing which hath risen and acted notoriously in George Keith and his adherents," etc.; also of the Yearly Meeting in London, in the Third month, 1694, in which it was unanimously declared "that the said George Keith was gone from the blessed unity of the peaceable spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hath thereby separated himself from the holy fellowship of the Church of Christ; and that while he is in an unreconciled and uncharitable state he ought not to preach or pray in any of Friends' Meetings, nor be owned or received as one of us until," etc. The historian then proceeds thus: "He thenceforward became a public and bitter enemy, as far as in him lay, against the *Quakers* in general, preaching and writing against them with all imaginable virulency, in which he appeared afterward to be employed by their adversaries for that purpose; for, having joined with the Episcopal Clergy in *England*, and served there for some time as a Vicar, ordained by the Bishop of *London*, he afterward returned to *America*, where, as a *Clergyman* in orders, he officiated in his new function for about twelve months, and having there given the *Quakers* all the trouble in his power, he returned again to *England* by way of *Virginia*. In this visit, it is said, he was generally slighted, both by those who had been his adherents and others; and that his conduct was so glaringly inconsistent with his former pretensions, and his behavior toward the *Quakers* so manifestly arising from a malignant disposition of mind and disappointed malice, notwithstanding all the superior abilities which he possessed and made use of, he was universally despised by sober and thinking people of all societies."

Gratifying as it was to tell these things, there was probably a more serene enjoyment in that which follows:

"After his return to England he was fixed in a benefice in *Sussex*, and continued to write against his former Friends as a bitter enemy, but, as far as appears, with a sinking reputation. At last, on his death-bed, from a well-authenticated account, it is asserted he thus expressed himself: 'I wish I had died when I was a Quaker; for then I am sure it would have been well with my soul.'"

less, pugnacious, though perhaps sincere, or believing himself to be so, had already waged a fierce warfare against Cotton Mather and the New England Puritans. His first tract in this contest is said to have been the first book published in Pennsylvania. Such a spirit was not at home among the peaceful Quakers, and when they excluded him from their meeting the torrent of resentment he poured upon them, and the sight of the followers that he had subtracted from them, were more than they could endure, and they proceeded, with such results as we have seen. Their spiritual triumph was complete when the Yearly Meeting in London indorsed their "Testimony," and they doubtless felt a sense of relief when Keith went over bodily to the Church of England. Perhaps they enjoyed the sweet sense of full forgiveness when they heard how, upon his death-bed, he had sighed and wished that he had died while in their pious, peaceful fold.

Edward Penington, in 1695, wrote "The Discoverer Discovered," "Rabshakeh Rebuked, and his Railing Accusations Refuted," and a "Reply to Thomas Crisp," and in 1696 "Some Brief Observations upon George Keith's Earnest Expostulation," and a "Modest Detection of George Keith's (Miscalled) Vindication of his Earnest Expostulation." John Penington, M.D., of the same family (descendants of Isaac Penington, a noted English Quaker), who perished in his devoted services to the victims of the yellow fever, in 1793, was a contributor to the *Columbian Magazine*, published in 1790,—"Chemical and Economical Essays to Illustrate the Connection between Chemistry and the Arts," and "Inaugural Dissertation on the Phenomena, Causes, and Effects of Fermentation."

Germantown, it appears from the work of Gabriel Thomas, a Londoner, who visited Pennsylvania, sailing with the first ship that came there in 1681,[1] had the honor of manufacturing the first paper in the province, there being, according to him, as early as 1697, "all sorts of very good paper in the German town." By this time the press may be said to have been fairly settled. Its representative in the succession to William Bradford was one Reynier Jansen, who, in 1699, printed the first book that the province had produced upon subjects other than that relating to religion.

Jonathan Dickinson, an English Quaker, had been residing in the island of Jamaica. In 1796 he emigrated with his family to Philadelphia. During the voyage the ship in which he sailed was wrecked on the coast of Florida, and the passengers, falling among savages, suffered divers misfortunes until rescued by the Spanish Governor of St. Augustine. In the fullness of his gratitude the traveler, upon reaching Philadelphia, wrote and had published an account of these perils and sufferings. The title of the book reads thus: "God's protecting Providence man's surest help and defense in times of the greatest difficulty and most imminent danger; evidenced in the remarkable deliverance of divers persons from the devouring waves of the sea, among which they suffered shipwreck; and also from the more cruelly devouring jaws of the Cannibals of Florida. Faithfully related by one of the persons concerned herein, Jonathan Dickinson." The author was anxious that his book should receive the credit to which he believed it entitled; yet he was not without apprehension that readers outside of his community might suspect exaggeration of the hair-breadth escapes and other wonderful things therein related. So he says of himself,—"The writer is a man well known in this town, of good credit and repute, on whose fidelity and veracity those who have any knowledge of him will readily relie, without suspecting fallacy." This not very immodest self-laudation proved to have been well deserved, as the longer he continued to live the more he was honored, being made one of the Governor's Council, and chosen from among his colleagues master in chancery, and in time made chief justice of the province. His book has been said by some who have read it to be an unusually interesting and pathetic narrative. The preface, among other things, tells of one Robert Barrow, an English Quaker, who, having obeyed the spirit that required him to leave his home and native country for missionary labors, had been for a year or two in Philadelphia, and for as long a time in the West Indies, and lately a fellow-passenger with the author and a sharer in his sufferings. These had entirely broken down his constitution, and he survived the reaching of Philadelphia only four or five days. He was of the old sect of Quakers, without a drop of adulteration of the heresies of George Keith. They took him on a stretcher to "Samuel Carpenter's house," and one of his first questions was as to what had become of "George Keith's people." On hearing how they had been discomfited and utterly routed he rejoiced intensely at heart, and remained in this frame to the last. A copy of this work is now in the Philadelphia Library.

It is noteworthy that in that society books, almanacs, and pamphlets were anterior by several years to newspapers. This fact appears strange now when the newspaper is so quick to follow the march of population, and can flourish, or seem to flourish, when that population is sparse, and with little means besides what are necessary to pressing domestic wants to pay the printer. Yet the latter will "go West" along with other bold adventurers, for he counts on the knowledge that there will be enough to keep from starving the man who goes to give notoriety to them, individual and corporate. It was not until 1719 that the first newspaper was

[1] An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsilvania, and of West New Jersey, in America, etc., With a Map of both Countries. By Gabriel Thomas, who resided there about fifteen years. London, 1698.

printed in Philadelphia. But it is safe to say that this delay was due, more than any other cause, to the treatment received by the first printer, treatment that sent him an exile into another province. Yet the name of Bradford must be further connected with Philadelphia literature. At the time of his exile William had a son, then six years old, Andrew, who, when he grew up, returned to his native city, and conducted the business begun by his father. It is probable that the latter, after his removal to New York, had kept an interest in Philadelphia. From 1712 to 1723, Andrew was the only printer in the city. That was doubtless a proud day, that 22d day of December, 1719, when on a half-sheet of the quarto size appeared the *American Weekly Mercury*, printed by Andrew Bradford, in the Second Street, to be sold by himself and John Copson, on Market Street, at the price of ten shillings a year. It was indeed a slender beginning. The paper contained little that appertained to existing conditions in Philadelphia, beyond an occasional advertisement of a shopkeeper or a rare notice of a death. It was made up mostly of extracts from English journals, and these not always well selected. One of the early advertisements is of one Matthew Cowley, running thus: "These are to give notice that Matthew Cowley, a skinner by trade, is removed from Chestnut Street to dwell in Walnut Street, near the Bridge, where all persons may have their buck and doe skins drest, and He can also furnish you with bindings," etc.

Andrew Bradford did not seem to have inherited a very large part of the courage of his father. Possibly when he returned to his native place it had been understood between his father and himself that he should learn from the experience of the first trial to keep himself out of danger of giving such offense to the powers that were as to be subjected to similar experience on his own part. At all events his behavior was sufficiently subdued on an occasion in 1725 when he appeared before the Council. The following is an extract from the minutes of that body:

"At a Council at Philadelphia, Feb. 1, 1725, the board being informed that Andrew Bradford, the printer, attended, according to order, he was called in and examined concerning a late pamphlet entitled 'Some Remedies proposed for restoring the Sunk Credit of the Province of Pennsylvania.' Whereupon he declared that he knew nothing of the printing or the publishing the said pamphlet; and being reprimanded by the Governor[1] for publishing a certain paragraph in his newspaper, called the *Weekly American Mercury*, of the 2d of January last, he said it was inserted by his journeymen who composed the said paper without his knowledge, and that he was very sorry for it, and for which he humbly submitted himself, and asked pardon of the Governor and the board. Whereupon the Governor told him that he must not for the future presume to publish anything relating to or concerning the affairs of this government, or the government of any of his Majesty's colonies, without the permission of the Governor or secretary of this province for the time being. And then he was dismissed."

[1] Governor Keith.

We see from this that the press was yet far from being free, when its representative, upon the summons of Governor and Council, must appear before them and get his reprehension and admonition. This want of entire freedom was doubtless the cause of the poverty of publications even of a purely literary character. When a publisher had to scan closely what was offered, so as to avoid offending the powers that were, and be subjected to the loss as well of his "tools" (as these were styled in the case of William Bradford's type) as of his own personal liberty, native ambition must be slow in getting the encouragement needed for its development. Yet, besides the Latin verses of Makin, the school-master, there had been, before the establishment of the *Mercury*, a few essays, in a small and somewhat secret way, to pay honor to the muse of poetry. The very earliest production of this kind that is known is from an author who, whatever may have been his opinions of his poetical talents, had worldly wisdom enough to keep himself *incognito*, as did his publisher, though we must suspect the latter to have been none other than William Bradford. The poem appeared in 1693, the year after the great case of the latter was tried. It was entitled "A Paraphrastical Exposition on a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in Boston, concerning a certain Person who compared Himself with Mordecai." One reason for suspecting Bradford as the printer is that the poem is an attack upon Samuel Jennings. This person ("Sam Jennings," the defendant styled him at the trial) was one of the justices who presided at that famous trial. We might suspect Keith to have been the author if the poem had been better, for Keith was a man of talent and culture. It doubtless came from one of the seceding sect of Christian Quakers, as the leader named his followers. Later, in 1707, another poet was made known to fame through the publication of the disputes between James Logan and the Assembly. He rejoiced in the name of William Rakestraw. All we know of this poet was gotten from the published proceedings of his trial as told in Logan's defense against the charges of the Assembly, and the only reference is to what are called his "several scurrillous libels and rhymes against the proprietor and his secretary." In what way the rhymster obeyed the order "to make satisfaction" we have not found.

Yet another poet lived (we could not say he flourished) before the birth of the *American Mercury*. This was David French. There was a Col. John French who bore a conspicuous part in the early times of the

lower counties, afterwards become the State of Delaware, and it has been supposed that he was the father of the poet, though there is no evidence of this fact, except that it was known that he came from the same region. He was evidently a person of classical education, and gifted with considerable poetic talent. Nothing has been ascertained positively of him, except the fact that he was acting at the time of his death, in 1742, as prothonotary of the court at New Castle, and was buried in the yard at Chester Church. For the preservation of his poetical effusions the world is indebted to Mr. Parke, one of the officers of the army in the war of the Revolution, who speaks of the author as "the learned and facetious David French, Esq., late of Delaware Counties." Mr. Parke himself was a gentleman somewhat facetious in his turn of mind, as will appear from reading what he said on their rescue by himself from destruction: "They had been consigned to oblivion, through the obliterating medium of rats and moths, under the sequestered canopy of an antiquated trunk." By whom the discovery was made Mr. Parke does not say. Probably he himself was the enterprising searcher and rescuer of the best of our very earliest poetical literature. These verses are poetical translations of some of the odes of Anacreon and two of Ovid's elegies. Some of them are decidedly fine, and evince unmistakably that their author was a man of high culture, who had studied poetry much and practiced its composition not a little.

But a poet must have a medium for the expression of his ideas. This came not until 1719, when the younger Bradford returned to his native place and set up the *American Mercury*. The new printer will learn from his father's experience not to meddle with matters appertaining to the government in this or any other of his Majesty's colonies.[1] Not long afterward another printing-press was started by one Samuel Keimer, who was one of the sect of fanatics called Camisards, or French Prophets, among the Cévennes Mountains of France, who were persecuted in the reign of Louis XIV. Keimer had written a book entitled "A Brand Plucked from the Burning," published in London in 1718. At this time he had diverged considerably from the religious faith practiced among the Cévennes. Franklin, who made his acquaintance when he reached Philadelphia, being then a lad of seventeen, says of him, "At this time he did not profess any particular religion, but something of all on occasion; was very ignorant of the world, and had, as I afterwards found, a good deal of the knave in his composition."

It is amusing to read the account that Franklin gives of his first acquaintance with these first printers Bradford and Keimer. Of the elder Bradford the philosopher certainly had not the high opinion which later writers have held concerning the man whom they style the "Father of the Freedom of the Press." The epithet "crafty old sophister" seems to us, however, not to have been wholly deserved, at least as appears from the account of the facts that led to its application. Franklin having applied to Andrew Bradford for work, William, now resident in New York, but happening to be in Philadelphia at that time, undertook to try to get for the lad employment with Keimer, as Andrew had no place for him. The two went together to Keimer's shop. Keimer, not knowing William Bradford, and supposing him to be a resident of the town, spoke boastingly of his prospects, as if he expected soon to get the greater part of the business in his line. The old gentleman, who was yet interested in the Philadelphia house, not telling who he was, "drew him on, by artful questions and starting little doubts, to explain all his views, what interest he relied on, and in what manner he intended to proceed. I," says Franklin, "who stood by and heard all, saw immediately that one of them was a crafty old sophister and the other a mere novice."

The printer, on Franklin's first engagement with him, was engaged in the pious duty of celebrating in verse the name and character of a deceased poet and friend. We regret that not more have been preserved of the poems of Aquila Rose, who died in 1723, at the age of twenty-eight. This was just before the coming of Franklin. He was clerk to the Assembly, and was employed in the printing-office of Andrew Bradford at the time of his death. He was spoken of as a young man of excellent character and promise, and his early death was universally regretted. Some years after his death, his son Joseph, who was an apprentice of Franklin, collected as many of his pieces as he could find and printed them in a pamphlet, along with those that had been written to his memory. The advertisement of the son appeals in a somewhat touching manner to those persons who may have borrowed without returning some of his father's works. He says, "The good reception the poetical manuscript writings of my deceased father, Aquila Rose, have met with in this province from men of wit and taste, with a desire of some of these to see them printed, induced me to collect what I could. But

[1] Benjamin Franklin, in his autobiography, makes a mistake, that is corrected by Sparks, regarding the rank, as to date, of the *American Mercury*, putting his brother's *New England Courant* "in the place belonging to another, second in the colonies." "This," says Sparks, "was written from recollection, and it is not surprising that, after the lapse of fifty years, the author's memory should have failed him in regard to a fact of small importance. The *New England Courant* was the fourth newspaper that appeared in America. The first number of the *Boston News Letter* was published April 24, 1704. This was the first newspaper published in America. The *Boston Gazette* commenced Dec. 21, 1719; the *American Weekly Mercury*, at Philadelphia, Dec. 22, 1719; the *New England Courant*, Aug. 21, 1721. Dr. Franklin's error of memory probably originated in the circumstance of his brother having been the printer of the *Boston Gazette* when it was first published. This was the second paper published in America." It appears from this that the *American Weekly Mercury* was the third, and only one day behind the second. Yet Philadelphia was far ahead of Boston in this matter, taking into consideration the date of the settlement of each. It was more than ninety years from the settlement of Boston to the establishment of the *Courant*, and only forty from the founding of Philadelphia to the *Mercury*. A longer time had elapsed in the case of New York.

many of his best pieces were lent out after his decease by my mother to persons who have forgot to return them, and perhaps the publishing these few will put them in mind of sending them to me." Rose was, as Franklin said, "a pretty poet," and had he lived would have attained some fame. The following are the last three stanzas from his piece styled

"TO HIS COMPANION AT SEA.

"Secure, should earth in ruins lie,
Should seas and skies in rage combine,
Unmov'd, all dangers we'll defy,
And feast our souls with generous wine.

"For should a fear each sense possess
Of chilly death and endless fate,
Our sorrow ne'er can make it less,
But wine alone can dissipate.

"Then fill the glass, nay, fill a bowl,
And fill it up with sparkling wine;
It shall the strongest grief control,
And make soft wit with pleasure join."

Keimer, when Franklin first met him, had on hand a job that was beset with difficulties of a kind more peculiar than we have ever heard of as befalling a poet. Anxious to do justice to the memory of his friend in verses that were to live, the difficulty was not in *making* the verses, but in introducing them decently to immortality through the medium of the press. His printing-stock consisted of "an old shattered press and one small worn-out font of English." The poet needed neither pen, nor ink, nor paper, nor time, nor reflection. He is the only poet that ever lived, perhaps, who composed his poetry in the types, as Franklin says, "directly out of his head." Hasting though he was to immortalize his friend, it was some days before his new employé's services could be availed, and his elegy could be printed. "Keimer made verses too, but very indifferently." This was the judgment of the employé, and we must admit that the period occupied in the composition was quite enough for a poem that contains the following as a specimen:

"Beloved he was by most, his very name
Doth with deep silence his great worth proclaim,
As if kind Heaven had secrets to disclose
By royal terms of Eagle and a Rose;
The arms most near akin to *England's* crown
Each royal emblem this sweet truth does own
As lively noble images affords,—
One's queen of flowers, the *other* king of birds."

The French prophet must continue to move in his eccentric course in obedience to a rather insane love of notoriety. One of his first movements after getting to Philadelphia was made in a temporary concern for the negroes. As this appears to have been the first attempt in the line of giving education to that race, we insert the advertisement of the project. It was put forth on Feb. 5, 1722:

"Take notice,—There is lately arrived in this city a person who freely offers his service, to teach his poor brethren, the *male negroes*, to read the Holy Scriptures, etc., in a very *uncommon*, *expeditious*, and *delightful manner*, without any manner of expense to their respective masters or mistresses. All serious persons, whether *Roman Catholics*, *Episcopalians*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Water-Baptists*, or people called *Quakers*, who are truly concerned for their salvation, may advise with the said person at his lodgings,—at the dwelling-house of *John Read*, carpenter, in *Hight Street*, at *Philadelphia*, every morning till eight of the clock, except on the SEVENTH DAY."

The philanthropist thought it worth while to signify that he was a poet also, and so he closed the advertisement as follows:

"The great JEHOVAH from above,
Whose *Christian Name* is LIGHT and LOVE,
In all his Works *will* take delight,
And wash poor HAGAR'S BLACK MOOR white.

"Let none condemn this undertaking,
In *silent thoughts* or *noisy speaking*;
They're fools whose bolt's soon shot upon
The mark they've looked but little on."

Quarrels of this kind were in Arcadia, and so they must be even at Parnassus. Philadelphia, it appeared, was yet not large enough to be able to afford two laureate wreaths at the same time, and another poet-printer, Jacob Taylor, contested arduously for the one the city had for bestowal. There was another spur to this rivalry besides the struggle for mere poetic fame. Jacob Taylor was also a school-master as well as printer and poet, and his verses must be employed to serve as well higher and spiritual purposes, that of assisting the business at which he made his bread. He attacked his rival both in prose (in the columns of the *Mercury*) and in verse. In the former medium, among other things, he says, "Thy constant care and labour is to be thought a finished philosopher and universal scholar, never forgetting to talk of the Greek and Hebrew, and other Oriental tongues, as if they were as natural to thee as hooting to an owl." This prose assault is followed, as was his rival's first advertisement, by verses in the same vein:

"A school for thee! a most commodious place
To nod and wink, and print with such a grace,—
Thy black disciples, now immured in folly,
Shall start our clerks, and read and speak like Tully;
The preference to the sable sort belongs;
The white man next must learn the sacred tongues.
Thus in just order are thy legions led
To realms of science,—Keimer at their head."

Franklin has much to say that is entertaining of his old employer; among other things, his plan for their joint founding of a new religious sect, in which Keimer was to preach the doctrines and Franklin to undertake the confutation of those who should assail it. Two of his most essential principles were the regarding of the seventh day as the Sabbath, and always wearing a beard, adopting literally the order in the Mosaic canon, "Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard." Franklin pretended to agree to his terms upon condition of the adoption of another essential, that of abstaining from animal food. After some remonstrance upon the score of health, the prophet agreed to this. The account of the ending of this pious project is given in Franklin's autobiography: "He was usually a great glutton, and I promised myself some diversion in half starving him. He agreed

to try the practice if I would keep him company. I did so, and he held it for three months. We had our victuals dressed and brought to us regularly by a woman in the neighborhood, who had from me a list of forty dishes to be prepared for us at different times, in all which there was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, and the whim suited me the better at this time from the cheapness of it, not costing us above eighteen pence sterling a week. I have since kept several Lents most strictly, leaving the common diet for that, and that for the common, abruptly, without the least inconvenience, so that I think there is little in the advice of making these changes by easy gradations. I went on pleasantly, but poor Keimer suffered grievously, tired of the project, longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and ordered a roast pig. He invited me and two women friends to dine with him, but it being brought too soon upon the table, he could not resist the temptation, and ate the whole before we came."

Having learned that Franklin intended to start a newspaper, Keimer anticipated him, and set up one himself in 1728, under the name of *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences, and Pennsylvania Gazette.* Franklin, resenting the treatment he had received from him, berated his enterprise very effectively over the signature of "Busybody," in *The Mercury.* It fell through in less than a year, and Keimer emigrated to Barbadoes. The last of the productions of his genius that the world is acquainted with is an elegiac poem, of thirty or forty lines, from *The Barbadoes Gazette* of May, 1734. The following is the announcement and the first four lines:

"To those would be thought gentlemen, who have long taken this paper and never paid for it, and seem never to design to pay for it.

"The Sorrowful Lamentation of Samuel Keimer, printer of the *Barbadoes Gazette.*

"What a pity it is that some modern bravadoes,
Who dub themselves gentlemen here in Barbadoes,
Should time after time run in debt to their printer,
And care not to pay him in summer or winter."[1]

Jacob Taylor kept the ground after the departure of Keimer. In 1728 he published a descriptive poem, "Pennsylvania," and the "Story of Whackum." A nameless bard thus praised him in *The Mercury* in his old age:

"With years oppress'd and compass'd round with woes,
A muse with fire fraught yet Taylor shows;
His fancy's bold, harmonious are his lays,
And were he more correct, he'd reach the bays."

The main reputation that Taylor enjoyed during his life was as a maker of almanacs. These were the media for the transmission of literary fame. In this line he was accounted the best before Franklin.

Keimer's was not the only elegy upon the untimely death of Aquila Rose, so happily named. One Elias Bockett, of London, wrote one in what Keimer was free to admit was "a melting, florid strain." And yet there was another, by a bard whose modesty prevented his making known the name of the one who had wept in poetic words at the tomb of the friend whom he styled Myris. The "Elegy on the Sight of Myris' Tomb" is thus prefaced: "The following lines were left with the printer by an intimate friend of A. R., deceased, who, touching at Philadelphia on his way to Great Britain, had but time to hear a relation of his friend's death, view the place of his interment, and write, without revising even, the following lines." The poet, after invoking the upper and inferior gods, dryads, and nymphs of forest and sea, addresses the river Delaware in such strain as the following:

"With pleasure we behold, O Delaware!
Thy woody banks become the Muse's care;
Thy docile youth were with her beauty fired,
And folly, vice, and ignorance retired;
And had but Myris lived, we hoped to see
A new Arcadia to arise on thee."

The three who with Keimer were most prominent in the small literary circle of Philadelphia when Franklin returned from his visit to England were George Webb, Joseph Breintnal, and James Ralph. Webb had been an Oxford student, who, fired with ambition for the stage, ran away to London, where, having been reduced to great straits, he bound himself to service in America. Franklin found him, when about eighteen years old, with Keimer, who had bought the remainder of his term from his master, and finally made him his partner. It was he who had betrayed to Keimer Franklin's project of setting up a newspaper, and thus enabled the former to take the initiative. Webb was a person of considerable talent, but this was wasted by a life which exhibited no steadiness of purpose and little of moral principle. A poem is preserved, called "The Bachelor's Hall," which evinces poetical gift of respectable degree.

Joseph Breintnal is represented by Franklin as "a copyer of deeds for the scriveners, a good natured, friendly, middle-aged man; a great lover of poetry, reading all he could meet with, and writing some that was tolerable; very ingenious in many little knickknackeries, and of sensible conversation." Yet, except for Franklin's autobiography, we probably should not have heard either of him or Webb, as, like the petty boaster whom Themistocles in so few words silenced, they were great only because they dwelt in Seniphus. Not that there are not specimens of their effusions. A copy of *The Mercury* for 1731 contains a satirical poetic production by an author who, we regret, wrote anonymously. The production is entitled "The Wits and Poets of Pennsylvania." Breintnal had been a fervent admirer of Webb, and prologued his "Bachelor's Hall" with some very laudatory verses. The satirist above mentioned speaks of his poetry in this style, which, from what we have seen, we suspect to have been not far from just:

[1] In Duyckinck's "Cyclopædia of American Literature" it is said, "A collection of papers from this journal was, in 1741, printed in London, with the title 'Caribbeana,' in two quarto volumes, arranged in a stiff imitation of 'The Tatler.'"

"For choice of diction I should Breintnal choose,
For just conceptions and a ready muse;
Yet is that muse too labored and prolix,
And seldom on the wing knows where to fix.
So strictly regular is every rise,
His poems lose the beauty of surprise,
In this his flame is like a kitchen fire,
We see the billets last which mount it higher."

Breintnal was a contributor to *The Mercury*, and when Franklin ceased to assail Keimer's paper, he continued the warfare over the same signature, "Busy-Body." In the number of *The Mercury* for June 19, 1729, is a paper which, as included in a number of the "Busy-Body," has generally been supposed to have been contributed by him. It was written in a brief period of freedom from business engrossments, and therefore was content with a position not the highest in poetical endeavors. It is a description of Market Street. The poet, in his introduction, says of it, "A plain description of the High Street in this city; the whole town being too great a task for his leisure."[1]

James Ralph was a more considerable person than any of the others aforementioned, but, for a long time, was as careless and as improvident as Webb. Coarse and disgusting as are some of the accounts that Franklin gives of his intercourse with some of the earliest among those with whom he lived on terms of greatest intimacy during the first years of his residence in Philadelphia, they, as a whole, are exceedingly interesting. Ralph, one of these, the biographer characterizes as "ingenious, gentle in his manners, and extremely eloquent; I think I never knew a prettier talker." Both Johnson and another friend (Charles Osborne, described as sensible, upright enough, but "in literary matters too fond of criticising") tried to dissuade Ralph from addicting himself to poetry. "Ralph was inclined to pursue the study of poetry, not doubting but he might become eminent in it, and make his fortune by it, alleging that the best poets must, when they first begin to write, make as many faults as he did. Osborne dissuaded him, assured him he had no genius for poetry, and advised him to think of nothing beyond the business he was bred to." . . . "I approved the amusing one's self with poetry now and then, so far as to improve one's language, but no farther." In spite of these discouraging things, Ralph was determined to be a poet, the more so from the luck he had once in obtaining the too critical Osborne's unmeasured praise of one of his effusions by leading him, through Franklin's connivance, to believe that Franklin was the author. The religious convictions of Ralph were unsettled by Franklin, as the latter said afterward, to his cost. He forsook his wife and child, accompanied Franklin on his first voyage to England, and there, though Pope killed him off as a poet, he acquired considerable fame as a political writer. He had printed a poetical squib called "Sawney," in which he undertook to ridicule Pope, Swift, and Gay. His first poem printed in England was "Night." Pope, in "The Dunciad," gave this the two lines:

"Silence, ye wolves, while Ralph to Cynthia howls,
And makes Night hideous. Answer him, ye Owls."

One is startled by the cool sincerity with which Franklin tells of the continued intimacy with such a man, who at one time endeavors to be an actor, then a contributor to a paper published by one Roberts, on Paternoster Row, in imitation of the *Spectator*, then a hackney writer for the stationers and lawyers about the Temple, and finally obtaining temporary employment as a country school-master (at sixpence each pupil a week), and hiding the disgrace of so mean a condition under the assumed name of Benjamin Franklin. Never had poet had a less encouraging patron than Ralph in Franklin. An epic was tried in the shades of the school in Berkshire, and when extracts of it were sent to the Mæcenas in London, the latter, with his corrections and other discouraging pieces, sent one of Young's "Satires," just then published, whose verses upon the fate of authors in general he would fain have had him take

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[1] The poem thus opens:

"At Delaware's broad stream, the view begin
Where jutting wharfs, food-freighted boats take in;
Then, with the advancing sun direct your eye
Wide opes the street with firm Brick Buildings high;
Step, gently rising, over the Pebbly way,
And in the Shops their tempting Wares display;
(Chief on the Right, screened from rude Winds & Blest
In Frost with Sunshine) Here, if ails molest,
Plain-surfaced Flags, and smooth-laid Bricks invite,
Your tender Feet to Travel with Delight
And Yew-Bow, distance, from the Key-built Strand
Our Court-house fronts Cæsarea's Pine-tree Land.
Thro' the arched Dome, and on each side, the Street
Divided runs, remote again to meet;
Here Eastward stand the Traps to Obloquy,
And Petty Crimes,—stocks, Post, and Pillory,
And (twice a week) beyond, right stalls are set
Loaded with Fruits and Fowls, and *Jersey's* Meat,
Westward, conjoin, the Shambles grace the Court."

Further on we are told locations of prominent buildings:

"South of the mart a meeting-house is reared
Where by the Friend (so called) is Christ revered;
With Stone and Brick the lasting walls are made,
High raised the Roof, and wide the Rafters spread.
Within a voice of this, the Presbyters
Of like materials have erected theirs;
Thence half a Furlong West, declining pace
And see the Rock-built Prison's dreadful Face.
'Twixt and beyond all those, near twice as far
As from a sling a stone might pass in air
The forging shops of sooty smiths are set
And Wheelwrights Frames,—with vacant Lots to let.
A neighborhood of smoke and piercing Dins,
From trades, from Prison Grates, and Public Inns.
But even among this Noise and Dirt are placed
Some Buildings fair, with peaceful Tenants graced.
Distant, more West, with unbuilt Grounds between,
The Furnace-House and Woods close up the scene.
On the other side (left in my verse disjoined
But all one Picture in the Poet's mind)
A comely Row of Tenements unite
And set their various goods and works to Light," etc.

for a warning.[1] He continued to woo the muses of Poetry and the Drama, in hope that they might induce Fortune to change her garments to his beholding. His plays, "The Fashionable Lady," "Fall of the Earl of Essex," "The Lawyer's Feast," and "The Astrologer," all broke down, in spite of the best presentation Drury Lane could give them. No better fate attended his poems, "Peuma," "Clarinda," "The Muse's Address." He bade farewell to literature with a work he named "The Case of Authors Stated, with Regard to Booksellers, the Stage, and the Public." Henceforward he devoted himself to political squibs, hired, cheaply enough, it was said, by Lord Melbourne, then prime minister, from whose service, according to Pope, he was easily bought. Had he remained in Philadelphia, and pursued a straightforward, upright course, it is probable that he would have risen to be the greatest literary man of that province during a considerable period. He was evidently a man of a high order of genius, at least for prose composition. Some time during his career he wrote a history of William of Orange, Queen Anne, and George I., which Hallam declared to be the most accurate and faithful history of those times. "My friend Ralph," said Franklin, "has kept me poor. He owed me about twenty-seven pounds, which I was now never likely to receive,—a great sum out of my small earnings." He must have retained to the last some of his old affection, for he tells us nearly twenty years afterward, evidently himself pleased with the news he had to impart, "He[2] gave me the first information that my old friend James Ralph was still alive, that he was esteemed one of the best political writers in England, had been employed in the dispute between Prince Frederick and the king, and had obtained a pension of three hundred a year. That his reputation was indeed small as a poet, Pope having damned his poetry in the 'Dunciad,' but his prose was thought as good as any man's."

He does not say so, but we suspect the philosopher of feeling some remorse for his part in unsettling the religious faith of the erratic man, and thus impelling him upon a career the chief part of which must prove unfortunate.

The nameless satirist of *The Mercury*, to whom we have before alluded, lauds very highly Henry Brooke, a young man,—who, however, was devoted rather to political than literary life. He was spoken of as a son of Sir Henry Brooke, and had come over with a commission of collector of customs at Lewistown in Sussex County. Although he continued to reside in the province until his death and acted a prominent part in politics, yet his spirit languished for want of the cultured society to which he had been accustomed. For several years he was Speaker of Assembly in the Lower Counties, and, on the establishment of Governor Keith's Court of Chancery, in 1720, was made by him a master in chancery. In a paper read at the council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in 1829, by Joshua Francis Fisher, it is said, "The only specimen of Brooke's poetry which I have met with is entitled 'A Discourse on Jests.' It is addressed to Mr. Robert Grace, whom Franklin describes as a 'young man of fortune, generous, animated, and witty, fond of epigrams, but more fond of his friends.' It rallies him on the subject of his darling passion in a jest with much good sense and good humor. It may be pronounced a sprightly and pleasant treatise on false wit, and proves its author to have been not only an imitator of good models, but himself the possessor of a lively wit and a refined taste." . . . "He died in 1735 in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the *General Magazine* of 1741 contains a poetic tribute to his memory, which describes him as an accomplished linguist and an adept in almost every science."

Another person, doubly unfortunate, being both a country school-master and a poetaster, was William Satterthwaite. Added to these misfortunes was his marriage, contracted, after one evening's courtship, with one of his pupils while he was teaching in England. The imprudence of this step, apparent both to husband and wife, induced them to emigrate to Pennsylvania, where the former drew what comfort he could with a poorly-paying vocation and an ill-tempered spouse, in composing verses named respectively "Mysterious Nothing," "An Elegy on the Death of Jeremiah Langhorne," "Providence," and "A Religious Allegory of Life and Futurity addressed to the Youth." The "Elegy of Langhorne" was written in grateful recollection of the kind services he had rendered the poet when pressed down by his various misfortunes. This generous patron was one of the leading public men of the province, being, after James Logan, chief justice. The poetry, though evincing a moderate degree of imagination, compares favorably with its contemporaries. It shows that his education had been far above the humble station he was occupying, and that his moral principles were good, even pious.

[1] The following lines seem as if they ought to have been adequate for their purpose:

> "The abandoned manners of our writing train
> May tempt mankind to think religion vain;
> But in their fate, their habit, and their mien,
> That gods there are is evidently seen.
> Heaven stands absolved by vengeance on their pen,
> And marks the murderers of fame from men:
> Through meagre jaws they draw their venal breath,
> As ghostly as their brothers in Macbeth.
> Their feet thro' faithless leather meets the dirt,
> And oftener changed their principles than shirt:
> The transient vestments of these frugal men
> Hasten to paper for our mirth again:
> Too soon (O merry, melancholy fate!)
> They beg in rhyme and warble thro' a grate.
> The man lampooned forgets it at the sight;
> The friend thro' pity gives, the foe thro' spite;
> And though full conscious of his injured purse,
> Lintot relents, nor Cecil could wish them worse."

[2] Governor Denny, who had just come over to the province with assuring messages from the proprietaries.

The muse here, as in greater and more advanced states of society, must pay her court to the great and the titled. There was not within it a laureate so named and entitled, besides perquisites, to pecuniary rewards and a butt of sack. But with the advent of a medium for their expression must come odes salutatory and panegyrics of divers sorts for those who held the reins of power. This sort of poetry was one of the first to follow in the train of *The American Weekly Mercury*, and divides its favors with that and its successor, *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette*. The first of the poets in this line in Philadelphia was one John Dommet, who for several years did that business alternately for both papers, winding up his career in 1729, not long before the publisher of the gazette with the name of lengthened sound was forced to retire and leave it in stronger hands. From all we can gather this poet received but little, if any, of the rewards he may have hoped and believed due to the verses in which he rendered immortal so many functionaries of high degree. Yet John Dommet, if he could not make himself rich by exalting yet higher the "blest" condition of the mighty upon earth, knew how to make himself "glorious" in the way such as he, Tam O'Shanter, and their likes love best; and this he was wont to do full often out of the pence his laudatory rhymes brought to him. He died at White Marsh. Some time afterward an elegy appeared in *The Mercury* in his honor. As a postscript to it the following summing up of his life was appended:

> "Wealthy whilst rum he had was John, yet poor
> 'Cause worth but little; rich, 'cause craves for no more;
> Him England birth, Heaven wit, this province gave
> Food, Indies drink, rhymes peace, White Marsh a grave."

In studying the early literature of Philadelphia thus far, crude and impoverished as it generally has appeared, yet a native of that city may well feel a sense of pride in the comparison it bears with that of any other of the American cities. By many years, comparatively, as we have seen, was Philadelphia anterior both to Boston and New York in the institution of a newspaper,—that first medium for the expression of the ideas of literary men. In such a society literature must be later than any other matter for the employment of active, persistent, serious endeavor. In such a society literature must in vain look for substantial encouragement from men who are intent upon organizing government, courts, commerce, and other institutions necessary for material security and prosperity. In our chapter on the Bench and Bar are noticed the materials out of which the judiciary was constructed, how rude and uncultured, yet how naturally prone to retention of the dignity and some of the oppressiveness that had obtained in English courts time out of mind; and how, yet, they retained the prejudices of those of their degree in the old country against the bar, who, though without their authority, were equally necessary for the adjudication of litigious causes on just and reasonable terms. These merchant judges, who alternated between the bench and their counting-rooms and warehouses, could see no value in work other than that which gave palpable evidences of results, that they could see and handle and pass from one to another in the habitudes of business transactions. The ideas of such men at such times, that a man who does not work with his hands is either no worker at all or produces work of incomparably less value than that of one who does, always operate discouragingly upon whatever is done in the office of the student. Such ideas never entirely subside, however advanced may be the state of society, and unreading men everywhere yet feel surprise, and some of them resentment, when they hear of the large pecuniary profits that occasionally accrue to a man of letters from an effort of his pen that has been uncommonly well received by the public. Yet it is during the formative period of a community's existence that these ideas obtain so generally as often to amount to actual prohibition to literary development. Few enough in such a period are those who value even rudimentary instruction enough to care to have it imparted to their children except in very small quantities, and for a price that only school-masters who are abjectly poor and utterly unfit for any other calling can be expected to accept, and then afterward avoid starvation. For education beyond rudimentary there was little concern beyond exceptional cases, or at least concern sufficient to withdraw from pursuits considered more important. Lawyers must arise, because, without its being so believed, they were as important to society as merchants and farmers and artisans, and indispensable to the maintenance of a pure judiciary, without which no society can subsist with freedom.

It is often amusing to contemplate the ideas of persons of ordinary or little culture, especially in new communities like Pennsylvania, regarding those who propose to devote themselves entirely or mainly to literature, especially light literature, most especially poetry. It is perhaps well for incipient poets that it is expensive to build and maintain madhouses, or many more of those unfortunates would have been sent therein. For down to these times, they are regarded by a great majority of mankind as promising to become lunatics if not vagabonds. William Bradford's printing-press Penn foresaw to be useful for the spread of such intelligence as needed diffusion for all practical business purposes among the colonists of his province, and no other. We have seen into what straits both Bradford and his son were driven when they undertook to travel outside of the small circle within which the government thought fit to limit them. In such a society the earliest literary men must be of about the quality, intellectually and morally, of those we have mentioned, poor pedagogues, or reckless rakes, living from hand to mouth, the latter generally defying public opinion, and sometimes

getting from an ignorant but vain and ambitious Governor or magistrate a few pence with which to buy a week's board and a jug of rum. Among such conditions it is most surprising that literature was not more tardy of development in Philadelphia, and that its early status was not much lower. The truth is that Philadelphians themselves have for the greatest part been used to rate the earliest literature of their city at far too low a value, and, what is more remarkable, to assign to Benjamin Franklin, a foreigner, the chief merit of its development, as if, like the traditionary Manco of Peru, he had brought to a barbarous or semi-civilized people the arts with which, but for his coming, they must have forever continued to be unacquainted. Much as is the praise due to that one of the most illustrious of all ages, this is not a part of it. Literature—that is, literature of the sort that lives longest in fame—arose in Philadelphia not by means of, but in spite of, his influence. "I approved the amusing oneself with poetry now and then, so as to improve one's language, but no further." This he said in advanced age, when the world was filled with his fame. Sufficiently "amusing" to others were his own essays of courtship to the muses. His jobbs[1] of poetry were to the extream[1] of common. It was not that writers were universally discouraged, otherwise they must have perished or gone entirely away. Among some of the older men, as Chief Justice Langhorne, and especially among the younger, who were enjoying advantages their fathers had not had, there was such encouragement as allowed to writers means sufficient with what they could pick up in other ways to obtain such living as they had. Of the writings of those whom we have mentioned, there was much that was quite above being common, showing that with fair auspices some of these authors might have taken a comparatively high rank. Some of the very best of the poetry of these times, however, was produced by anonymous writers. This fact is sufficient to show that the first settlers of Philadelphia set the smallest possible value upon this art when the men of wealth and culture and family connections disguised their authorship in the matter of such pieces as "A Journey from Patapsco to Annapolis," "Verses on the Art of Printing," "A Fable, the Dog and the Fox," and others of similar merit.

In one kind of writing especially some of these writers were of a rank that it would not be easy to find anywhere in this country now; that is, Latin poetry. We have already mentioned Thomas Makin, who succeeded George Keith as head-master of the Friends' Public School. After him came William Loury, who wrote Latin odes, and whose name would have been unknown except for the fact of his having written and signed his name to an elegy on the death of Andrew Hamilton, in 1741. The career of this great lawyer had been so distinguished that the author of some tributary Latin verses might be allowed to be named among the mourners at its close.[2] The poetry of this kind, inelegant as it is, falling short of the classic models it was intended to imitate, yet is incomparably superior to what might be supposed to have existed at that early day.

[1] He always spelled these words thus.

We have thus briefly sketched the history of the literature of Philadelphia to the period of the coming of Benjamin Franklin. We have seen that it was frequently crude, but containing occasional passages indicative of genius above ordinary, that in auspicious conditions could have accomplished far more abundant and successful results. It has been usual with most of those who have written of Franklin to regard him as the beginner of almost everything important that Philadelphia has produced since his advent there in 1723. To a man pre-eminently great mankind has ever been wont to ascribe more than his due of what was done both before and after the period of his endeavors. Yet there were heroes before Agamemnon, and bards before Homer, and Pericles could not have been Pericles except in Athens, wherein he lived in childhood. When Franklin came to Philadelphia he was a boy of seventeen, with little knowledge except of printing, to which he had been apprenticed in the shop of a brother, from whose brutal treatment he ran away. Within those previous forty years from the beginning of William Penn's proprietorship, Philadelphia had already grown to be a city destined soon to be known as the largest and most important in America. Its bench and bar were already on the eve of attaining the celebrity which in a few years was far to outrank all others, and its merchants were establishing a name for prudence, integrity, and success equal to the best. Its literary men were such as we have seen. He came to that town at a period most suited both to such a community and to himself. Having a genius whose quality was not dreamed of by his family or any others in his native place, he attained his freedom in boyhood, and went to a community that of all others in the country was the ripest for development of its various elements and resources. Here, unfettered by restraints of any sort except those imposed by the laws, no human being at his age ever indulged a larger freedom of action and opinion. It was a character unique, considering the variety of elements of which it was aggregated.

His autobiography is a curious and most interesting book. Parts of it read almost as if they were meant for a satire upon his youth, if not for the purpose of magnifying yet more the opinions of his greatness by contrasting his youth with his advanced manhood. He tells of the lowliness of his origin, his own little

[2] "De morte luctuosa celeberrimi Andreae Hamiltonis Armigeri, qui obiit IV. Augusti, MDCCXLI." Printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* Feb. 17, 1742.

dishonest pranks in boyhood, the meanness and cruelty of his elder brother, his own complicity with the latter in a trick to evade the execution of the laws, his boorish appearance and manners when he first walked up and down Market Street, his own disregard of the constraints of the Christian religion, and imparting that disregard to Ralph, Collins, and others of his companions, his courtship of Miss Read, and his subsequent neglect of her, his low debaucheries, and among all these his continual contemplation of his actions of every kind with one view, and one alone, that of ascertaining which of them would and which would not pay. The account of his marriage with Miss Read is the most remarkable of all the sayings of great men, at least in modern times, concerning a matter that among even the most uncultured has some delicacy that forbids it to be wholly uncovered. Husbands, of whatever degree of culture, for the most part forbear, except when in anger, to speak of their wives in such terms as may wound them, and disgust other persons to hear repeated. This, which may be termed an instinct of the conjugal relation, seems to have been wanting to Franklin. The coarse avowal of his controlling motive to marriage was painful enough. But what other husband would have written as follows? "I pitied poor Miss Read's unfortunate situation, who was generally dejected, seldom cheerful, and avoided company." Her situation was one to be pitied indeed. After his neglect of her while abroad, they had persuaded her to marry a potter, "one Rogers," whom she forsook on hearing that he had a wife in England. He had run away, and the rumor of his subsequent death was uncertain. But the old lover pitied "poor Miss Read," and, rather than do much worse, married her, and "none of the inconveniences[1] happened that we had apprehended. She proved a good and faithful helpmate; assisted me much by attending the shop. We strove together, and have ever mutually endeavored to make each other happy. Thus I corrected that great *erratum* as well as I could." The "*erratum*" of writing thus about the wife of his bosom was fully as gross as any that he has recorded, the more so as, notwithstanding their mutual affection, she must be presumed as having no more delicacy than himself, of whom he could thus write. This is the more surprising when we know that during forty years of married life they bore each other a faithful affection, and after all it is touching to read how in old age he writes about her to a young lady friend, using such expressions as "I hope she will live these hundred years, for we have grown old together, and if she has any faults I am so used to them that I don't perceive them," and "let us join in wishing the old lady a long life and a happy," etc., quoting from one of his own songs, written for the Junto:

"Some faults have we all, and so has my Joan,
But then the're exceedingly small;
And now I've grown used to them, so like my own,
I scarcely can see them at all,
My dear friends,
I scarcely can see them at all."

If ever there was a great man whose character, conversation, and opinions were unfavorable to the rapid development of literature in itself in a new society, it surely was Franklin. The literary talent that he found at Philadelphia, over which he had influence, he discouraged, unless it was to be exerted for the advancement of the practical standard which he had set up for his own pursuit. The literature of Philadelphia, therefore, we repeat, was not due to Franklin, but to its own inherent native strength, that developed in spite of his sentiments and his example. So much was due to be said in answer to those who have generally spoken as if they regarded everything important that has been accomplished by Philadelphia as having received its greatest impulsion from him.

Yet when we speak of the literature which Franklin, as we claim, discouraged rather than stimulated, we mean literature purely, specially as it is distinguished from science, political economy, and every other branch of intellectual expression except that which proceeds from the imagination or is expended in recording, with running comments thereon, the history of mankind. This is what we intend by literature purely, and this is the literature that by the consent of all mankind imparts the greatest amount of fame to those who have the genius to produce it. Further, this is the literature that owes nothing to Franklin, except as coming in along with the rest of his beneficiaries for its share of the blessings of those great institutions that he established. Franklin even when a young boy was a philosopher. At the age of ten years we find him discussing with his father, who held the rod over his back, the utility of a wharf which he, at the head of some comrades, had constructed on a salt marsh, with stones stolen from a pile belonging to a builder near by. "Several of us were corrected by our fathers; and, though I pleaded the usefulness of the work, mine convinced me that nothing was useful that was not honest." From that time forth utility was his standard. It is amusing to notice how he kept his eye upon that standard in his poetic essays when in the employment of his brother. "I now took a fancy to poetry, and made some little pieces; my brother, thinking it might turn to account, encouraged me, and put me on composing occasional ballads. One was called 'The Light-House Tragedy,' and contained an account of the drowning of Capt. Worthilake with his two daughters. The other was a sailor's song on the taking of *Teach* (or Blackbeard), the pirate. They were wretched stuff, in the Grub-Street ballad style, and when they were printed he sent me about the town[2] to sell them. The first sold

[1] Prominent among these, we learn from the following of Rogers: "He had left many debts which his successor might be called on to pay."

[2] Boston, where he then resided.

wonderfully, the event being recent, having made a great noise. This flattered my vanity, but my father discouraged me by ridiculing my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars. So I escaped being a poet, most probably a very bad one, but as prose writing has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how, in such a situation, I acquired what little ability I had in that way."

Thus the parental argument, though this time without the assistance of the rod, regarding the utility of actions prevailed, and he "escaped being a poet." With this standard before him, being yet in early boyhood, on a calculation of the comparative utility of attendance upon public worship on Sundays, and spending the time to be spent thereat in reading at the printing-office, he decided against the former, "which, indeed, I thought a duty, though I could not, as it seemed to me, afford time to practice it." So, when arrived at sixteen years, he found that by adopting a vegetable diet, and learning to prepare his own meals, he managed to save half the sum paid for his board. So, after faithful experience of the two methods of argument, the dogmatical and the persuasive, modestly diffident, he gave the palm to the latter and ever afterward adopted it. So the same method of calculation led him to take advantage of the stress to which his brother had been subjected by the offense that his paper, *The New England Courant*, had given the Massachusetts Assembly and break his indentures. It approximates the marvelous, his careful account of the matters that led to the adoption of his religious faith after his *quasi*-departure from that of the Deists. Referring to his having read Boyle's "Lectures," he writes, "It happened that they wrought an effect on me quite contrary to what was intended by them, for the arguments of the Deists, which were quoted to be refuted, appeared to me much stronger than the refutations; in short, I soon became a thorough Deist. My arguments perverted some others, particularly Collins and Ralph; but each of them having afterward wronged me greatly without the least compunction,[1] and recollecting Keith's conduct towards me (who was another freethinker[2]), and my own towards Vernon[3] and Miss Read, which, at times, gave me great trouble, I began to suspect that this doctrine, though it might be true, was not very useful. My London pamphlet, which had for its motto these lines of Dryden,—

"'Whatever is, is right; though purblind man
Sees but a part o' the chain, the nearest link,
His eyes not carrying to the equal beam
That poises all above,'—

and from the attributes of God, His infinite wisdom, goodness, and power, concluded that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world, and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing, appeared now not so clever a performance as I once thought it; and I doubted whether some error had not insinuated itself unperceived into my argument, so as to infect all that follows, as is common in metaphysical reasonings." From these reflections he deduced his conclusion, "I grew convinced that *truth*, *sincerity*, and *integrity* in dealings between man and man were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life." The account closed with allusion to vices not to be mentioned, although they "had something of *necessity* in them, from my youth, inexperience, and the knavery of others." The sum of all is, "I had, therefore, a tolerable character to begin the world with. I valued it properly, and determined to preserve it."

The establishment of the "Junto" by Franklin was the first organized effort to bring about co-operation among those who had talents for writing, and habits of reading and inquiry. This club began in 1727. The artful founder knew the value of secrecy, and this was made one of its elements, yet only to the degree of keeping its discussions from the public, allowing just enough to appear to stimulate interest among those who were admitted and lead outsiders to conjecture that it was of much importance. It existed until the war of the Revolution, and in it were discussed from time to time as great a variety of subjects as arose in any other ever instituted. Morals, politics, and natural philosophy, these were its themes, though any member might read a thesis on whatever subject he should please when discharging the obligation imposed by the rules upon every one to bring in something original once in every three months. The founder was fond to the last of this institution of his youth, which he styled a "school of philosophy, morality, and politics." Literature was not among its aims; but in such a club every one seriously devoted to its success must in time find his vocation, and thus the literary talent that was therein put itself forward in the individual efforts of its possessors. If Ralph had been there he doubtless would have been ridiculed, as before in the Sunday walks by the Schuylkill, for the compositions that did not pay except in the matter of "amusing one's self;" but his quarterly contributions must be tolerated according even to the letter of the rules. He doubtless would have discovered, sooner than in England, his genius as a political pamphleteer, as politics were to be a sharer in the general discussions. How his specially literary endeavors would have resulted we can imagine from the fate of Thomas Godfrey, whose claim to invention of the quadrant is now almost universally acknowledged, as long ago it ought to have been. Of this great man the founder of the Junto thus speaks: "Thomas Godfrey, a self-taught

[1] In borrowing from him and not returning.

[2] Governor Keith, while Franklin was with Keimer, had grossly deceived him with promises of assistance in the voyage to England, which had been undertaken at his suggestion.

[3] A person whose agent he had been in the collection of a debt which he withheld for a considerable period, at last correcting, "in some degree, that *erratum*," with payment of principal and interest.

mathematician, great in his way, and afterward inventor of what is now called Hadley's quadrant; but he knew little out of his way, and was not a pleasing companion; as, like most great mathematicians I have met with, he expected universal precision in everything said, or was forever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the disturbance of all conversation. He soon left us."

Some of the discussions upon morals in this young association, doubtless, would be entertaining if they could be reproduced. As it is, we read with curious interest how, in his old age, the philosopher set to work to break down the poor unpractical Keimer in his hard endeavors to maintain *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette*, by assisting with his own and Breintnal's "Busybody" contributions to *The Mercury* of Bradford, to exalt the latter beyond all hope of rivalry from the other, and how in due time he succeeded and got the paper into his own hands, to be known henceforward as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.[1] Equally interesting is the account he gives of the value of appearances to a young tradesman bent upon obtaining and maintaining his credit:

"I began now" (after purchasing the *Gazette*) "gradually to pay off the debt I was under for the printing-house. In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in *reality* industrious and frugal, but to avoid all appearances to the contrary. I drest plainly; I was seen at no idle places of diversion; I never went out a fishing or shooting; a book, indeed, sometimes debauched me from my work, but that was seldom; snug, and gave no scandal; and to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchased at the stores thro' the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being esteemed an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationery solicited my custom; others proposed supplying me with books, and I went on swimmingly. In the mean time Keimer's credit and business declining daily, he was at last forced to sell his printing-house to satisfy his creditors. He went to Barbadoes, and there lived some years in poor circumstances."

The Junto soon led to another institution, the first of its kind in America, which was destined to be the most prolific of all others in the diffusion of knowledge among all classes, the subscription library. This and other actions of Franklin in his special line of business is entitled to greater praise when we consider that at the time of his being established in Philadelphia "there was," as he says, "not a good bookseller's shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston. In New York and Philadelphia the printers were indeed stationers; they sold only papers, etc., almanacs, ballads, and a few common school-books. Those who loved reading were obliged to send for their books from England; the members of the Junto had each a few." When, therefore, they had left the tavern where the meetings were first held, and had hired a room, each member brought to it the books he possessed, and this arrangement, proving so beneficial, suggested to the founder the plan of enlarging the collection by subscriptions. The project, after great delays and hindrances, succeeded through the determined energy of Franklin, and became eminently successful. It soon was imitated in other cities and in other provinces, with results that are well known to all. This notable enterprise had its beginning in 1731. The Philadelphia Library, the oldest in the country, founded in 1731, incorporated in 1742, enlarged by the Loganian Library, and by annual purchases, is now one of the largest and most valuable in the United States.

We have spoken of the prominence of the almanac as a medium for the publication of matters of various sorts by which fame and money were hoped for from the notoriety thus given them. It was reserved for the publisher of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* to put forth the Almanac of Almanacs in the year 1732. The first of this work, destined to be continued for twenty-five years and be a source of handsome income, was unique in its announcement and its contents. "Just published, for 1733, an Almanac, containing the lunations, eclipses, planets, motions, and aspects, weather, sun and moon's rising and setting, high water, etc.; besides many pleasant and witty verses, jests, and sayings; Author's Motive of Writing; Prediction of the Death of his Friend, Mr. Titan Leeds; Moon no Cuckold; Bachelor's Folly; Parson's Wine, and Baker's Pudding; Short Visits; Kings and Bears; New Fashions; Game for Kisses; Katherine's Love; Different Sentiments; Signs of a Tempest; Death of a Fisherman; Conjugal Debate; Men and Melons; The Prodigal; Breakfast in Bed; Oyster Lawsuit, etc. By Richard Saunders, Philomat. Printed and sold by B. Franklin." Nothing in this line could now be compared with the Poor Richard that has become immortal. The great author, adhering to his maxim that wealth was the road to felicity, and even to virtue, reached forth his hand to get for himself and point out to the rest of mankind the means of similar success. It is simply wonderful, the story of its immense circulation, and the influence it exerted in the direction of its author's favorite thoughts. Finding it to have become so popular as to be read in every neighborhood, he says, "I considered it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people who bought scarcely any other books. I therefore filled all the little spaces that occurred between the remarkable days in the calendar with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as, to use here one of

[1] The following is a brief history of the paper till it fell into his hands:

"I wrote several pieces of entertainment for Bradford's paper, under the title of 'The Busybody,' which Breintnal continued some months. By this means the attention of the public was fixed on that paper, and Keimer's proposals, which we burlesqued and ridiculed, were disregarded. He began his paper, however, and after carrying it on three-quarters of a year with at most only ninety subscribers, he offered it to me for a trifle; and I, having been ready for some time to go on with it, took it in hand directly; and it proved in a few years extremely profitable to me."

those proverbs, "*It is hard for an empty sack to stand upright.*"

To our minds it would not be easy to find in the sayings of wise men one less fit to be believed and acted upon than this sentence. That virtue is to be secured by wealth was never, as we believe, the opinion of any other philosopher. Franklin, however, felt a pride in his presentation of proverbs, and to the almanac of 1757 he prefixed the greater part in a sort of discourse of an aged seer before crowds assembled in a public street. Nothing that had ever appeared in the form of a book was more popular, not only in this country but in England, and even in France, where two translations were made, and the editor in his old age was fond to believe that his work "had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money, which was observable for several years after its publication."

A man with the imperturbable confidence in his own powers that Franklin had, with such as he really possessed, could not fail to make a notable career. In the same year of his founding the library, he conceived what he styled "*a great and extensive project,*" namely, that of founding a new religious sect, to be called the Society of the Free and Easy. "Their narrow circumstances and the necessity of sticking close to my business" hindered then, and other engrossments afterward, but even when he was past threescore and ten he believed that the plan might have accomplished "great affairs among mankind." It was well for his contemporaries that his mind was diverted from this to other projects that were really useful. The levity with which he was wont to speak of matters generally held sacred by all classes of Christians must have been very painful to them.[1] His founding the Union Fire Company, the Philosophical Society, the city watch, the academy, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the illustrious part he enacted in politics, science, and the useful arts are known to all. In the fields wherein he worked he might be compared with the greatest men of all times. In none of these departments did literature, as such, obtain his most devoted influence and attention. The praise due to him, abundant as it may be, comes not from the gentle Muses, who teach other doctrine than that wealth is the only road to virtue. Yet the Muses must have their share in the blessings of wealth, as well as of liberty and enhanced enlightenment, which the energies of Franklin were the most powerful of all in producing. As a wise man, in the sense of purely earthly wisdom, it is probable that the world never has produced a superior to Franklin; certainly none ever exerted so great an influence upon his generation. "He was," says Lord Jeffrey, "the most rational, perhaps, of all philosophers. No individual, perhaps, ever possessed a juster understanding, or was so seldom obstructed in the use of it by indolence, enthusiasm, or authority."

James Logan, who is further mentioned in the chapter on the Bench and Bar, with allusion to his literary attainments, was a man that, during any period of the history of the United States, would have been among the most prominent. Besides the works mentioned in the chapter referred to, he wrote and had published in Leyden, in 1747, "*Canonum pro inveniendis refractionam tum simplicium tum in lentibus duplicium focis demonstrationis geometricæ.*" His deportment toward the elder Godfrey was very different from what we are led to suspect was that of Franklin, from the manner in which this scientist is spoken of in the autobiography; for he generously exerted himself in establishing his claim for the invention of the quadrant, of which he had been deprived by Hadley. Logan was one of the best classical and oriental scholars that ever existed in this country. That was a most munificent gift he made of his library to the city, ever since known as the Loganian Library. The following extract, in which a list of the works is given, will surprise those who have read it for the first time, and have not otherwise been made acquainted with the collection. "In my library which I have left to the city of Philadelphia, for the advancement and facilitating of classical learning, are above one hundred volumes of authors, in folio, all in Greek, with mostly their versions; all the Roman classics without exception; all the Greek mathematicians, viz., Archimedes, Euclid, Ptolemy, both his Geography and Almagest, which I had in Greek (with Timon's Commentary, in folio, about seven hundred pages) from my learned friend Fabricius, who published fourteen volumes of his Bibliothèque Grecque, in quarto, in which, after he had finished his account of Ptolemy, on my inquiring from him, at Hamburg, how I should find it, having long sought for it in vain in England, he sent it to me out of his own library, telling me it was so scarce that neither price nor prayers could purchase it; besides there are many of the most valuable Latin authors, and a great number of modern and ancient mathematicians, with all three editions of Newton, Dr. Watts, Halley, etc."[2]

It is not generally known, at least outside of Pennsylvania, that that State gave birth to a man whom the celebrated Linnæus pronounced the greatest natural botanist in the world. This was John Bartram, a native of Delaware County, where he was born in

[1] An instance of this he gives when George Whitefield, who was an intimate friend, wrote to him expressing thanks for the offer of his hospitality, and concluded with saying, "That if I made that kind offer for Christ's sake, I should not miss of a reward. And I returned, '*Don't let me be mistaken: it was not for Christ's sake, but for your sake.*' One of our common acquaintance jocosely remarks, that knows it to be the custom of the saints, when they received any favor, to shift the burden of the obligation from off their own shoulders, and place it in heaven, I had contrived to fix it on earth."

[2] An interesting brief account of this celebrated collection may be found in vol. viii. of the ancient *Register of Pennsylvania*. Its location, when Logan had a building constructed to contain it, was at the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets.

the year 1701. His family were then residents of the village of Marple, whither they had emigrated in 1682 from Derbyshire. From childhood ever onward he was devoted to the study of plants, transmitting both his talents and tastes to his son William, and their joint labors during a period of nearly a hundred years were the most valuable contributions that this country has made to the science in whose behalf they were devoted. The father was a pious Quaker, admired and loved by his acquaintance. Following a fancy to have no other than his own hands in the construction of a new abode in his old age, he got out the timber and stone and built it without assistance. He engraved upon its front these lines:

"To God alone: the Almighty Lord:
The Holy One by me adored.
"JOHN BARTRAM, 1770."

In 1751 he published his work, "Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Divers Productions, Animals, etc., made in his Travels from Pennsylvania to Onondaga, Oswego, and the Lake Ontario." In 1766 appeared "An Account of East Florida, by William Stork, with a Journal kept by John Bartram, of Philadelphia, upon a Journey from St. Augustine, Fla., up the River St. John's." Besides, he contributed numerous papers to the Philosophical Transactions from 1740 to 1763. He was the first in this country to found a botanic garden. His researches and publications made him known to the most distinguished scientists and friends of science in Great Britain and Europe, among them Peter Collinson and Sir Hans Sloane. His son William, at the instance of the distinguished Quaker physician, Dr. John Fothergill, of London, spent five years in the study of the natural productions of the Southern States. The results of these investigations were published by Dr. Fothergill.[1]

In the Bench and Bar chapter will be found a quotation from a letter of Francis Daniel Pastorius, who was undergoing trouble from the operation of a *fictio juris*, which the "four known lawyers of the province" were employing against him. Notwithstanding his scholarly attainments, he could not comprehend all the meaning and possibilities of this phrase, so long celebrated in the annals of judicial proceedings, and was too poor to send and bring lawyers from New York to compete with the learned quartet of Philadelphia. How his petition to the Governor and Council resulted we do not know. He lived, however, to own and transmit to his descendants a good property in Germantown, where he had gardens and vineyards, and left his name as a gifted Latin and French scholar, and a by no means contemptible rhymster in English. He had emigrated to Pennsylvania in the same ship with William Penn and Thomas Lloyd, then past forty years old. He was a native of Limburg, Germany. About the year 1700 he had published in that country his book, "A Description of Germany." A warm friendship existed between him and Thomas Lloyd. In honor of the latter's daughters,—Rachel Preston, Hannah Hill, and Mary Norris,—he wrote several complimentary short poems, which fifty years ago were, and now may be, in the possession of some of their descendants. We believe they were never printed.

Another German, John Kelpius, styled "the Hermit," became somewhat notable in the early settlement of Germantown. He was a native of Siebenbürgen, or Transylvania, and thought to be of noble family. With others of similar fanatical sentiments, he emigrated to Pennsylvania. The principal element of the faith of him and his sect was devotion, for the sake of religion, to a single and solitary life. The name adopted by the sect was in striking contrast with their principles,—"The Society of the Woman of the Desert." They settled first at Germantown, then in the place known as "the Ridge." Kelpius was the leader, being a man of much culture. After his death the sect rapidly declined, its few members deserting the woman in the wilderness, preferring the society of those who dwelt in less cheerless and comfortless neighborhoods. Kelpius wrote a collection of hymns. John F. Watson, in "Notes of the Early History of Germantown" (*Register of Pennsylvania*, 1828), gives an interesting account of the hermit, in which he praises his writings in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and English. His "Hymn-Books" were translated into English by Christopher Witt. Watson thus speaks of the location of the hermitage: "Kelpius' hut or house stood on the hill where the Widow Phœbe Riter now (1828) lives. Her log house has now stood more than forty years on the cellar foundation which was his. It is on a steep, descending, grassy hill, well exposed to the sun for warmth in winter, and has a spring of the hermit's making halfway down the hill, shaded by a very stout cedar-tree. After Kelpius' hut went down the hares used to burrow in his cellar. He called the place the 'Burrow of Rocks, or Rocksburrow' (now Roxborough)."

From the "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania" we learn, through Mr. Joshua Francis Fisher (1829), that early in the century the French language was taught in Philadelphia, a fact which he then thought should "excite astonishment when the period and the condition of our province are considered, and must elevate our opinion of the learning and refinement of our ancestors." He mentioned, especially, one John Solomon, who published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 2, 1736, a sonnet, and in that of August 12th, same year, an elegy on the death of Governor Gordon.

Among those who wrote verses in Latin we have

[1] Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogees, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws; containing an Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of those Regions, together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians. Embellished with copper-plates. 8vo. Map and sixteen plates. Philadelphia, 1791.

not yet mentioned the most noted, because he came on somewhat later than Makin and Loury. This was John Beveridge, a Scotchman, at one time teacher of a grammar-school in Edinburgh under the lead of Ruddiman, celebrated as one of the founders of the earliest literary society in Scotland, whose "Rudiments of the Latin Tongue" was long used as a text-book in schools. Leaving his native country, he came first to New England, and afterward to Philadelphia, where he was employed in the academy. The life of a school-master who does not like his vocation, and is therefore not suited for it, is not to be envied. Especially is this the case if he be a man of ardent temper, scholarly, and not knowing how to rule his little government. Somehow it has always been that there is less sympathy for a school-master's sorrows than for those of any other class of men. The scufflings with rude and dull boys, the tricks and their practical jokes upon a man sensitive to the ridicule they create and make publicly known, are generally considered necessary attendants to that relation, like the shell of the tortoise or the dromedary's hump, and the pain inflicted is considered small in comparison with the pettiness of the things that are its occasion. Yet there is some sadness in contemplating a man highly gifted as was John Beveridge spending a long life amidst such worryings which, if petty, were continual, and because of their pettiness the more exhausting of manhood. The school-master, for the want of a better means of earning a living, continued, for years and years, to alternate between flogging his subjects and being tricked and bull-baited by them, employing some of the leisure that was not given to reflection upon the lowness of his lot, in writing verses in the tongue he understood nearly as his vernacular,—his "*Epistolæ et alia quædam Miscellanea.*" These consisted of lyrics addressed to various friends he had known in Scotland and New England, of what he styled *Carmina Gratulariæ*, in honor of several of the Governors of the province, and of a few pastorals. Some of the lyrics in this collection are very fine; but the gratulatory pieces are ridiculously extravagant, and seem as if they were meant to compensate for the smallness of their subjects by the magnitude of the praise bestowed upon them. In the one to John Penn the poet broadly hints that he might receive as reward for his encomiums upon him and his family a reasonable number of acres of good land from the many thousands he possessed. But the proprietor either did not understand the hint or thus appreciate praise, and the poet, though living to old age, died with the birch in his hand. We scarcely need speculate upon what opinions our only philosopher indulged concerning this aged, learned, always poor school-master. As he neither had wealth nor knew how to get it, he must, by the standard of Richard Saunders, have been neither happy nor virtuous, but a mere "empty sack," incapable, from want, to fill and lift himself up, and therefore properly left to be worn out.

Contemporary with Beveridge was another school-master, misnamed Dove, bolder, more fiery, and combative, who in English rhymes lampooned whom he pleased. He was an Englishman, and in his native country had gotten some notoriety by figuring in a work called "Life and Adventures of the Chevalier Taylor," referred to in Boswell's "Life of Dr. Johnson." He was first employed in Philadelphia as English teacher in the academy, but, upon some dispute with the trustees, left, and took charge of the academy of Germantown. Another similar disagreement there led to his setting up an independent school, which soon came to nothing. Graydon tells some amusing anecdotes of this school-master, having been a pupil of his when the school was in Videll's Alley, that opened into Second a little below Chestnut Street.[1] He was of the jocular sort of pedagogues, and reserved the most of his ire for his own and his party's enemies. His rhymes were greatly applauded, but, being personal or political, lost their interest in a short time. The most noted of them was "Washing the Black-a-Moore White," written upon William Moore, of Moore Hall, on the occasion of his arrest by the Assembly.

The misfortunes as well as the genius of the inventor of the quadrant were inherited by his son, Thomas Godfrey. His father, who was a glazier, died when he was a child, pressed down by poverty, which would have been turned at least to competent means if his claim had not been disputed and for a time usurped by Hadley.[2] He was able to obtain at school only a tolerable English education, which he supplemented by private studies while working at his father's trade. Unfit for mechanical employment, he tried soldiering, seafaring, trade, speculation in North Carolina, in which last-mentioned region he contracted malaria

[1] "It was his practice in school to substitute disgrace for corporeal punishment. His birch was rarely used in the canonical method, but was generally stuck into the back part of the collar of the unfortunate culprit, who, with this badge of disgrace towering from his nape like a broom at the mast-head of a vessel for sale, was compelled to take his stand upon the top of the form, for such a period of time as his offense was thought to deserve. He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to dispatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell and lighted lantern, and in this "odd equipage" in broad daylight, the bell all the while tingling, were they escorted through the streets to school. As Dove affected a strict regard to justice in his dispensations of punishment, and always professed a willingness to have an equal measure of it meted out to himself in case of his transgressing, the boys took him at his word, and one morning, when he had overstayed his time, either through laziness, inattention, or design, he found himself waited on in the usual form. He immediately admitted the justice of the procedure, and putting himself behind the lantern and the bell, marched with great solemnity to school, to the no small gratification of the boys and entertainment of the spectators."

[2] Barlow pays a handsome tribute to the elder Godfrey in his "Columbiad," while noticing American men of science:

> "To guide the sailor in his wandering way,
> See Godfrey's glass reverse the beams of day.
> His lifted quadrant to the eye displays
> From adverse skies the counteracting rays;
> And marks, as devious sails bewildered roll,
> Each nice gradation from the steadfast pole."

from exposure, and died at twenty-six. That this young man possessed genius of high order plainly appears from several of his productions, written from time to time in his ever-restless career. Dr. Smith, the distinguished head of the Philadelphia Academy, wrote a review of them for the volume that was published after his death, in 1765, and bestowed the praise that was well deserved. When only twenty-one years of age he wrote "The Prince of Parthia," a tragedy, which he in vain attempted to have produced upon the stage in his native town. This was the first dramatic work ever written in America. It is a play of very considerable merit, notwithstanding the marks of hasty composition and an imagination whose too great exuberance, due to extreme youth, would have been subdued to a becoming tone if he had lived longer. "The Court of Fancy" was modeled on "The House of Fame," of Chaucer. Besides these were several other minor poems, on current topics, some pastorals, and a version, in modern style, of Chaucer's "Assembly of Fowls." The following song is a fair specimen of his powers in the idyl, a species of poetry in which it is so rare to find anything more than passable:

"Young Thyrsis, with sighs, often tells me his tale,
And artfully strives o'er my heart to prevail;
He sings me love-songs as we trace through the grove,
And on each fair poplar hangs sonnets of love.
Though I often smile on him to soften his pain
(For wit I would have to embellish my train),
I still put him off, for I have him so fast,
I know he with joy will accept me at last.

"Among the gay tribe that still flatter my pride
There's *Cloddy* is handsome and wealthy beside;
With such a gay partner more joys I can prove
Than to live in a cottage with Thyrsis on love.
Though the shepherd is gentle, yet blame me who can,
Since wealth and not manners 'tis now makes the man.
But should I fail here, and my hopes be all past,
Fond Thyrsis, I know, will accept me at last.

"Thus Delia enliven'd the grove with her strain,
When Thyrsis, the shepherd, came over the plain;
Bright Chloris he led, whom he'd just made his bride,
Joy shone in their eyes as they walk'd side by side;
She scorn'd each low cunning, nor wish'd to deceive,
But all her delight was sweet pleasure to give.
In wedlock she chose to tie the swain fast,
For shepherds will change if put off to the last."

Godfrey became quite a favorite among those who hoped for a higher standard of literature in Philadelphia, and, considering his youth and his restless disposition, the work he did is very remarkable.

His fellow-townsman and friend, Nathaniel Evans, wrote an interesting sketch of his life, that was prefixed to his poems. He, too, was an author and a classical scholar. At the time of the completion of his education the academy became a college, and he was one of the first to take the degree of Master of Arts. He entered, on graduating, upon work in the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and went abroad for the purpose of qualifying for ordination. When this was accomplished he returned and was stationed in Gloucester County, N. J., where he died in 1767. A warm friendship sprang up, on the voyage home, between him and Miss Elizabeth Graeme, who has been generally regarded as the most gifted and accomplished woman of Philadelphia during provincial times and for some time after the Revolution. Several poems were addressed to this lady by the young religionist, who, imitating Petrarch, gave to her the name of Laura. One of these, called "Ode written at Graeme Park," shows that he was sometimes a guest at that country-seat, once so famous. After his death, Dr. Smith, with the assistance of his fair friend, published his poems. The volume contains poetical correspondence between him and Laura, several poems on contemporary subjects, an ode to the memory of Gen. Wolfe, one on the Peace, an imitation of Horace, addressed to Thomas Godfrey.[1] His friend Miss Graeme was well known in literary as well as social circles. This accomplished lady was as unfortunate as she was gifted. She was the daughter of Councilor Graeme, mentioned more fully in the chapter on the Bench and Bar. Her mother was a daughter, by her first marriage, of the wife of Sir William Keith, Governor, who made his son-in-law a master in chancery, and afterward second to Chief Justice Langhorne, judge of the Supreme Court of the province.

A matrimonial engagement, contracted when she was seventeen years old with a young man who was going abroad for the purpose of studying law, was broken off from some cause, but the event was said to have been a sore disappointment to her. The suffering she felt has been assigned as the cause of her study of literature and occasionally printing her writings. She translated Fénelon's "Télémaque" into English verse. Besides she wrote a paraphrase of the book of Psalms.

[1] The following Ad Gulielmum Landerum, P. P., in Latin, after the Sapphic metre, shows the degree of care with which the classics were then taught in the college:

"Caseus pinguis, pyra, mala, nectar
Te manent mecum, Gulielme, sextam
Occidens quam Sol properabit horam
Axe fugaci.

"Diligit pullos nitidumque nidum
Uxor, at tecum gradiatur audax;
Filio quisquam nec erit venusto
Gratior umbra.

"Risus et musæ comitentur almæ,
Innocens et te jocus et lepores:
Linque sed curas, et amara vitæ
Linque severæ.

"Hanc moram rugis sapiens futuris
Ponito; quamvis viridem senectam
Cautus arceto, remorare vitæ
Gaudia blandæ.

"Vive nunc: ætas fugit impotentis
Fluminis ritu, volucrisve venti;
Vis stitit nulla, et revocavit horas
Nulla volantes.

"Umbra seu pulvis fumus, aut inanis
Fama, et nostrum remanebit olim.
Nil nisi virtus, monumenta sacra
Ingeniique."

She went abroad for the purpose of recruiting her health, which had become much impaired after her disappointment. On her return, her mother having died, she took the management of her father's house at Graeme Park, and it became the most noted place in Pennsylvania for the meetings of the most gifted persons in the country. When she was thirty-six years old she was married to Henry Hugh Ferguson, a Scotchman, near relative of Dr. Adam Ferguson. After only four years of married life, her husband, being in England for a season in 1776, returned with a commission in the British army, and was attainted of treason to the United States government. Devoted as she was to her native country, yet, like many others of those best born and best situated, she regarded independence with alarm. Although a woman, she was too prominent in society for her conduct and opinions not to be important and necessary to be known to the authorities. Rev. Dr. Duché, the distinguished rector of Christ and St. Peter's Episcopal Churches, in a panic of intolerable alarm, wrote a letter to Gen. Washington, urging him to abandon the rebel cause and submit himself to the British government, a letter which Washington, notwithstanding the consequences to befall the writer, felt himself bound to make known to the Congress. An offer had also been sent to Joseph Reed that if a reconciliation could be effected he should receive ten thousand pounds and any office he might desire in the colonies, an offer that received that noted answer that the king of Great Britain had nothing within his gift that would tempt him. The letter to Washington and the offer to Reed were transmitted through Mrs. Ferguson. Her sex, her high character, and her condition as the wife of a man in open hostility, who must to a great degree influence her opinions, were all forbearingly regarded by the government. She was refused her request in 1778 to go to New York in order to bid farewell to her husband, and they never met again. Graeme Park was seized as his property, but her petition for a lifetime occupancy was granted, and she retained it until her death, in 1801. She lived in comparative poverty, yet was well known for many benefactions out of her limited income for those of her neighbors who were poorer than herself.

The pious Petrarch of Gloucester would doubtless have made the Laura of Graeme Park his wife when, after her disappointment, she could have afforded again to take more hopeful views of life. So we must understand such words as these, with which one of his rhyming letters ends, after comparing her to Stella in answer to her likening him to Swift:

> "O Laura! when I think of this,
> And call you friend, 'tis greater bliss
> Than all the '*fat church-warden's schemes*,'
> Which rarely '*prompt my golden dreams*;'
> Yet if the happiness, fair maid,
> That soothes me in the silent shade
> Should, in your eye, appear too great,
> Come, take it all, and share my fate."

The answer shows that the time for yielding to such diversion to her griefs had not yet come. After suggesting some advice to him, she concludes thus:

> "Haste not to bend at Hymen's shrine;
> Let friendship, gen'rous friendship, be
> The bond to fetter you and me,—
> *Vestal, platonic*, what you will,
> So virtue reigns with freedom still.
> But if in matrimonial noose
> You must be bound, and have a spouse
> The faithful rib that heav'n shall send
> I'll fondly greet, and call her friend."

Mrs. Ferguson's prose was quite superior to her poetry. Her journals of travels, and many of her letters, are very excellent in their kind. She was long remembered with an interest that was bestowed equally upon no other woman in the whole country. Misfortune had served not only to make her compassionate to the sufferings of others to a degree that was romantic, but led to eccentricities that were easily atoned for by her other shining characteristics. Joshua Francis Fisher writes of her in 1831, "Mrs. Ferguson is said to have been a lady of fine talents, of refined delicacy, exquisite sensibility, and romantic generosity. Several of her friends are still living who remember with delight her noble disposition, her agreeable conversation, and her amusing eccentricities."

It has appeared that the earliest literature in Pennsylvania was for the greatest part in the line of poetry. So far from being strange, this is in harmony with the earliest literature of all people. Poetry is older than prose,—as a written language, of course. The first things thought worthy to commit to writing among all peoples when first arising into enlightenment are the songs, religious or otherwise, that have been aforetime in the mouths of the people. It is so to a degree with such a colony as that founded by Penn. In his suite, besides those who came for the sake of adventure, were devout, simple-minded men, who, regarding themselves as exiles, were more apt, if they should conceive a notion to literature of any sort, to follow the suggestions of the imagination than of the understanding. The young child can be taught precepts sooner if imparted in rhyme than in plain prose. It will learn the precept not so much for its own value as for the pleasure of the rhyme. It is the same with young nations. The first literature must necessarily be poetic. We have seen something of what that of Philadelphia was,—that, without claims to be considered great, some of it, when we consider all the circumstances of its creation, was of such a kind that Philadelphians may well be gratified that so much of it was preserved. The coming of Benjamin Franklin, who of all philosophers was probably the most unpoetic, had rather a discouraging influence upon that kind of literature, by pointing the minds of the people entirely to the practical and to the material. So meagre was his imagination that it did

not even indulge itself, except to a very limited extent, in dreams of any sort, not even of the future life. His teachings, his example, led ever to the practical and the material. Endeavors, according to his teachings and example, when not exerted for the practical and the material, were vain, even reprehensible. Even virtue, whatever his opinion of that might be, was attainable only through the previous attainment of wealth. The value of Franklin to mankind, therefore, is to be estimated by the stimulus he gave to a young community with inexhaustible, undeveloped resources to make themselves rich and happy. The institutions which he helped to establish were on a scale so great as to be benign in other directions besides those in which he traveled. They served to educate the youth to defend the oppressed, to care for the helpless. The freedom, the culture, the material prosperity that followed his endeavors did their work on the community and on individuals also. He was the first, it is true, to begin a literary magazine, the *General Magazine*,—historical chronicle for all the British plantations in America,—but it was far more political and news-telling than literary, and was continued only for about a year, because it was not an undertaking for which the character of his mind was suited.

We have seen that much of the prose writing heretofore was of a religious kind. A greater variety of opinions was never found in a new community than in Philadelphia at its founding. Noticeable in this connection are the agitations that were then beginning upon the subject of African slavery. Whatever merit belongs to the initiation of this subject, since become so vast and eventful, is due to George Keith, already mentioned, who wrote an essay upon it. But as he was wont to find fault with his brethren the Quakers for other habits and opinions, his remonstrances upon this subject doubtless had as little influence as the others. If the Quakers should be endangered in their claim to priority in this matter by being reminded that the first apostle for the freedom of the African deserted their meeting and went back to the Church of England, they may feel reassured by the fact that not very long after Keith another of their sect was even more pronounced and more steadfast in his preaching. This was Ralph Sandiford, a native of Liverpool, once a sailor-boy, and who after settlement in Philadelphia became a preacher. In 1729 he had printed, at Benjamin Franklin's press, a book entitled "The Mystery of Iniquity; or, A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times." The public sentiment upon the subject was by no means in accord with the preacher, and the chief magistrate threatened him with condign punishment if he should circulate it. Regardless of threats, he persisted in circulating it gratuitously. There is no record, we believe, that he was ever punished. What hostility there was to negro slavery was mostly confined to the poorer sort of white persons, on the ground mainly of their competition with them in servile employments,—an argument that was the most powerful and most reasonable ever adduced against the institution. Complaints were not unfrequently made by such white men, and discriminations in their favor demanded, which to some extent were complied with. Sandiford, who was generally regarded as a fanatic, died at Lower Dublin, in Philadelphia County, in 1733.

Quite beyond him went Benjamin Lay, for whom Franklin in 1736 printed a book. He was a native of

Benjamin Lay

Essex, in England, and, like Sandiford, had been a sailor. He was advanced in years when he came to Philadelphia. He rode two hobbies,—hostility to negro slavery and to animal food. On these two subjects he put forth pamphlets, circulating them gratis, but his fiercest assaults were made upon meat. In his zeal he set out to fast in the manner and to the extent of the Saviour, and actually got himself into imminent danger of perishing, when some friends interposed just in time to rescue him.

The most able and respectable among this class was Anthony Benezet, a native of St. Quentin, France, but who had left that country when a very young child, and, after spending the time until his eighteenth year in England, had come to Philadelphia, where he was soon afterward engaged as a teacher in the public schools. He became seriously interested in the slave trade, gave much of his time to its study, and published several works thereon. The first of these was "A Caution to Great Britain and Her Colonies relative to Enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions." This was in 1767. In 1772 appeared "Some Historical Account of Guinea, with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, its Nature and Lamentable Effects;" and in 1780, "A Short Account of the

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Religious Society of Friends." He was a devout Quaker and a thoughtful, sincere philanthropist. His works had a wonderful influence upon public opinion everywhere. They were read extensively in England, and were the first to give direction to the movement against the slave trade initiated by Wilberforce, Clarkson, and others.

Franklin gives a curious account of a Rev. Mr. Hemphill, a Presbyterian divine, some of whose preachings led to a war of pamphlets shortly after the starting of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Franklin himself entered into the dispute, partly out of amusement, it is probable, to encourage what afforded frequent jobs for his press, and to defend a man whom his brethren had driven from their communion for the sake of his views upon religious topics. The reverend gentleman had borne himself ably enough in the pulpit, being a man of decided eloquence, until it was discovered that many of his sermons were not of his own composition. Franklin would not abandon him even then, having the audacity to say that he preferred to have a preacher preach a borrowed sermon, if it was good, than his own, if it were not. But this argument did not satisfy the public, even that part who had sympathized with Mr. Hemphill. When the theft was discovered beyond a doubt he had to leave the field.

The most eminent native-born Philadelphian of the period we are now considering was David Rittenhouse. His birthplace has very commonly been assigned to Germantown, but he was born, according to Allibone, at Paper-Mill Run, Roxborough township, near Germantown. His father was a farmer, whose ambition for his son was not higher than that he should pursue the same vocation. But even in boyhood, while at work upon the farm, his talents for mathematics and astronomy commenced to develop with a rapidity almost without precedent, and at the age of seventeen, without assistance from any quarter, he had constructed a clock. Long before this, however, his talents for mathematical studies had been evinced, and on the farm near Norriton, Philadelphia Co., whither his father had removed, the fences, stones, his plow-handles, and all other objects on which he could mark with a pencil or chalk had upon them mathematical calculations that he had made. At the age of seven years he had constructed a complete water-mill in miniature. During his minority he had also made himself fully acquainted with the "Principia" of Sir Isaac Newton, and, without the slightest knowledge that the science of fluxions had been demonstrated, discovered it himself. The farmer's boy believed himself to have been its first discoverer until he afterward ascertained that that honor had been the subject of most acrimonious, prolonged dispute between Newton and Leibnitz, a dispute which was at last settled among the scientific men of the world by assigning the honor to both, as each was clearly proved to have made the discovery in ignorance of the other's investigations and results. For the honor of the achievement itself, therefore, Rittenhouse deserves praise equally with these illustrious men. Allowed by his parents to discontinue working on the farm, he built a shop on the roadside, near by, and commenced business as a clock and mathematical instrument maker. The marriage of his sister with William Barton, an Irish gentleman of good education, was very favorable to his ambition. Through Barton's encouragement and assistance he was enabled to continue his studies with ease, but these he prosecuted so continuously, day and night, that unfortunately his health became seriously and permanently impaired.

In 1768, Rittenhouse completed his first orrery, an instrument which was seen by Thomas Jefferson. He declared that the young man who had constructed it was one who, "as an artist, had exhibited as great proofs of mechanic genius as the world has ever produced." He made the next year his celebrated "Report on Observations of the Transit of Venus," which attracted the attention of the whole scientific world. The orrery first constructed by him was purchased by the College of New Jersey. He went straightway to the construction of another, which he afterwards employed in his astronomical calculations. This is now in possession of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1770 he removed to Philadelphia, and was elected a member of the Philosophical Society, to whose Transactions he became a frequent contributor during the remainder of his life. In 1773, as appears in the records of the society, he was chairman of a committee appointed to examine the first steam-engine constructed in this country, that had been made by Christopher Colles for the use of a distillery. The engine, after being worked for a few moments, broke, it was said, from the too little expense that had been employed in its construction; but the report of the committee was favorable to the principle on which it had been undertaken. Rittenhouse was employed by the government of Pennsylvania on several occasions as one of the commissioners for settling the boundaries between that and the adjoining States, and finally, after the death of Franklin, he became president of the Philosophical Society.

This celebrated institution had been founded, in 1769, by the union of the American Philosophical Society with the American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge. The first of these societies was originated by Franklin in 1743.[1] Its first president was Thomas Hopkinson. It is unfortunate that its details are not known, the minutes kept by it having been lost. It continued to exist for about ten years, when it ceased.

The second of the societies was the old Junto, estab-

[1] His circular, issued on May 14, 1743, was entitled "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America."

lished by Franklin in 1727, reconstructed under a new name and with somewhat enlarged intentions, the members of the Junto having decided upon the admission of corresponding members. A new name was adopted: "The American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge, held at Philadelphia." The plans of the society were gradually enlarged, and the name slightly altered.

In 1767 the American Philosophical Society, now reduced to a very few members, resolved on resuscitation. They had the influence of the Governor, John Penn, and made James Hamilton their president, after getting about fifty other members. The first paper among its Transactions was from David Rittenhouse, and was upon the subject of the orrery that he had constructed. A new vigor was thus imparted, and it was resolved to construct an observatory at Philadelphia and one at Norriton, the residence of Rittenhouse. Being without sufficient means for the accomplishment of all their purposes, they applied to the Legislature for assistance, and, the Governor being their chief patron, they obtained a grant of one hundred pounds for the purchase of a telescope. Finally, in 1769, the two societies were united. Each, on the new organization, was desirous of retaining its president, Franklin of the one, and Hamilton of the other. A very active contest was had between the two parties, which was ended by the defeat of Hamilton. Under the combined influence of the leading members, the society rose with great rapidity. Observatories were raised in Philadelphia (State-House Square) and at Norriton. One of the first matters considered by the new society was instruction to the committee on American improvements to inquire as to the most suitable route for a canal between Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. The committee, after investigation, reported in favor of the upper route. They were, however, appalled by speculations upon the probable cost, and abstained from making any estimate, reporting that it was beyond "the ability of the country."

It is obvious, from the laws first passed by the society, that none were desired as members who could not contribute to its progress. All its members were to be assigned to one or more of its six committees,—1, geography, mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy; 2, medicine and anatomy; 3, natural history and chemistry; 4, trade and commerce; 5, mechanics and architecture; 6, husbandry and American improvements. The officers were a patron (the Governor of the State being *ex officio* that officer), a president, three vice-presidents, a treasurer, four secretaries, three curators, and twelve counselors. It was a fortunate city that had two such men living contemporary with each other as Benjamin Franklin and David Rittenhouse at the period of the inception of its undertakings in behalf of philosophy, science, and political economy. Rittenhouse seemed to desire to take his favorite studies with him into the future world. He requested, upon his death-bed, that his body might be buried under the pavement of his observatory in the garden attached to his residence. The request was of course complied with. In 1813 his life was published, written by William Barton, his nephew.[1]

Rittenhouse came to the presidency of the society between the two men who were probably the greatest intellects that the country has produced. Succeeding Benjamin Franklin, he was himself succeeded by Thomas Jefferson, who, after occupying the office for three years, retired, when the office was bestowed upon Caspar Wistar. Wistar was of a family of German Quakers, who were settled first as glass-manufacturers in New Jersey, afterward in Philadelphia. Educated abroad, chiefly for the purposes of a medical education, he became professor of chemistry and anatomy in the university, to which he imparted a distinguished reputation, in the department of its medical school especially. Besides his many contributions to the Society's Transactions, he published "A System of Anatomy," which ranks among the very highest authorities upon that branch of science that have been produced in this country or Europe. The next two presidents, Robert Patterson and William Tilghman, ably sustained the dignity of that office. The former, an Irishman by birth, was professor of mathematics in the university and became its provost. Several papers of the Transactions were from his pen. Tilghman is noticed at length in the chapter on the Bench and Bar, wherein his reputation was fully on a level with that of any man that has ever sat upon the bench in the State. His successor is mentioned also in the same chapter; but he must be sketched more at length in this sphere, wherein his services were yet more conspicuous and comparatively important.

Peter S. Du Ponceau was the most variously gifted man perhaps that has ever lived in Philadelphia. He was a native of the island of Ré, on the western coast of France. While but a child he acquired a knowledge of the English and Italian by the intercourse he had with English and Italian officers who were stationed on that island, where his father was acting in some military command. Being intended for a military engineer, he had given up this pursuit on account of some imperfection of his eyesight. At thirteen he was sent to a college kept by the Benedictines, and at the death of his father, while he himself was in his fifteenth year, he at first yielded to the desire of his mother and friends of the family that he should study for the priesthood. But after a few months he gave up theology, left Bressuire, where he was at his preparatory studies, and went to Paris,

[1] "Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse, LL.D., F.R.S., late President of the American Philosophical Society, etc., interspersed with various notices of many distinguished men, with an Appendix containing sundry philosophical and other papers, most of which have not hitherto been published." By William Barton. Philadelphia, 1813.

where he supported himself by making available his knowledge of English in translating books and merchants' papers in that language, and in giving lessons. It was not long before he made the acquaintance of Court de Gébelin, author of "Le Monde Primitif," and became his secretary. Happening to meet at the house of Beaumarchais with Baron Steuben, he was persuaded by him to accompany him to America as his secretary and aide-de-camp. They sailed from Marseilles, and arrived at Portsmouth, N. H., December, 1777. Having accompanied Gen. Steuben, who obtained for him a brevet commission of captain, he was obliged, after three years' service, to retire, on account of ill health, from the army. Becoming a citizen of America, he, then only twenty-one years of age, succeeded Robert R. Livingston in the department of foreign affairs. About two years afterward he retired from this position, and, having studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1785, being then twenty-five years old. Such was the

PETER S. DU PONCEAU.

rapidity of his rise, that on the acquisition of Louisiana from Napoleon Bonaparte, Mr. Jefferson offered him the position of chief justice in the United States Court for that State. In the midst of his practice, which was large and lucrative, he found time to translate several foreign works upon the law, and wrote several original dissertations upon it as practiced in the United States, most noted of which is that entitled "A Dissertation on the Nature and Extent of the Jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States." Another admirable paper is his "Discourse on Legal Education," prefixed to a work of Thomas Sergeant's, entitled "A Brief Sketch of the National Judiciary Powers exercised in the United States prior to the Adoption of the Present Federal Constitution." More elaborate is his "Brief View of the Constitution of the United States, addressed to the Law Academy of Philadelphia."

But the best claim that this eminent man has upon his survivors for gratitude and praise depends upon the distinguished services he rendered through his connection with the Philosophical Society to linguistic and other literature. We have seen that in the objects for the study and propagation of which the society was expending its energies, neither history nor other literature was included. Through the influence of Mr. Du Ponceau was established a committee on history, moral science, and general literature. His first paper, in pursuance of the inquiries set on foot by this committee, was on the "Structure of the Indian Languages." The fame obtained by this on its publication among the Transactions resulted in his getting the degree of LL.D. and being elected a member of the Academy of Inscriptions of the French Institute. The Comte de Volney, while engaged in his investigations concerning ancient chronology, offered a linguistic prize, which was won by Mr. Du Ponceau with his "Indian Languages of North America." The last important work he contributed to literature was "A Dissertation on the Chinese Language." This is a most valuable work, and has exerted a strong influence in changing the opinion for a long time previously prevailing that this language, with that of Japan, is ideographic, representing *ideas*, instead of lexigraphic, representing *sounds*, as in the European tongues.

There were several other minor pamphlets and dissertations put forth by him upon various subjects in which his versatile mind was interested, and he was prominently distinguished in the latter part of the last and the first part of the present century. In his latter years his well-known absence of mind, the infirmities of his vision, the brightness of his intellect, continued to so late a period of old age, imparted a tenderness to the consideration in which he was universally held. His death, at eighty-four years, called forth expressions of public feeling mingled with regret, and of admiration for his varied talents.

The "Transactions of the Philosophical Society" during the period first succeeding its institution contain contributions from several persons who evinced much ability in their several pursuits. Rev. Gotthilf Henry Ernst Muhlenberg, a native of New Providence, Montgomery Co., in 1753, after completing his education at Halle, was ordained to the ministry of the Lutheran Church, and became assistant to his father in Philadelphia. On the occupation of that city by the British in the Revolutionary war, he retired to the country, where his time, during the interval of clerical service, was devoted to the study of botany. In 1780 he accepted a call to the Lutheran Church of Lancaster, where he spent the rest of his life, which continued until 1815.

Dr. Muhlenberg devoted much of his leisure time to the natural sciences, particularly to botany. A member of the Philosophical Society, he sent in several papers, which have always ranked high in the Transactions. The reputation obtained by their publication procured for him invitations to membership

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in kindred institutions in Germany, Sweden, and Denmark. Willdenow, in his "Species Plantarum," makes frequent allusion to him. His principal publications are "Catalogus Plantarum," "Descriptio uberior Graminum," and "Flora Lancastriensis." Besides his other accomplishments, he was a gifted

REV. GOTTHILF HENRY ERNST MUHLENBERG.

scholar both in ancient and oriental literature. Various papers contributed by him were never published, but, together with his herbarium, are now in possession of the society.

In this connection should be mentioned the name of Ambroise Palirot de Beauvais, who, though a citizen of France, spent some years in Philadelphia, whither he had fled from the island of St. Domingo on the overthrow of the government there by the negroes, and was hindered from returning to his native country on hearing the news that he had been proscribed by its government as an emigrant. This adventurous man had traveled in Guinea, and gone to St. Domingo, in pursuit of investigations on natural sciences. While in America he still pursued his favorite studies among the Alleghany Mountains. Having obtained permission to return to France he did so, and became one of the most distinguished members of the Institute. It was De Beauvais who arranged the collection of Peale's Museum in Philadelphia. Charles Wilson Peale was the author of an essay on "Wooden Bridges," with plates, "Introduction to a Course of Lectures on Natural History," "The Preservation of Health," "Essay to promote Domestic Happiness," and "Economy in Fuel." Doughty's "Natural History" contains a biographical notice of him by his son, Rembrandt Peale.

Thomas Nuttall, another distinguished foreigner, belongs in part to Philadelphia, where he spent much of his time. He was a native of Yorkshire, England, and spent his boyhood to majority in serving an apprenticeship to printing. Then he came to the United States. Here he devoted much of his time to expeditions in several parts of the country, even into the great territories of the West, in the study of botany. He traversed the Mississippi Valley, Florida, the region around the Northern Lakes, crossed the country to the Pacific, and thence sailed to the Sandwich Islands, in further pursuit of his favorite studies. He made Philadelphia his home until elected to take charge of the botanical garden attached to Harvard University. In 1828 the condition of his return to his native country having been attached to a bequest made in his favor, he went back. His principal works were "The Genera of North American Plants, and a Catalogue of the Species to 1817," "A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the Year 1819," "Manual of the Ornithology of the United States and Canada," and some volumes supplementary to Michaux's "North American Sylva." A biographical sketch of Mr. Nuttall was made by Elias Durand, who claims for him that he made more explorations and discoveries in botanical investigations in North America than any other, and that, with the possible exception of Professor Gray, of Harvard University, no other has given descriptions of a greater variety of plants.

The name of Benjamin Smith Barton belongs both to science and to the profession of medicine. He was son of the Rev. William Barton, of Lancaster, to whom, as we have seen, David Rittenhouse was indebted for the encouragement and development of his extraordinary powers. He was educated for the medical profession at Edinburgh, London, and Göttingen. He was first made Professor of Natural History and Botany in the University of Pennsylvania, and afterward succeeded Dr. Griffiths as Professor of Materia Medica, and Dr. Rush as Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine. The first work on botany published in America was by him, and he was the editor for several years of a medical journal. His other published works were "New Views of the Indian Tribes," "Materia Medica," and "The Pyrola Umbellata," the last of which appeared in the "Medico-Chirurgical Transactions" of London.

Another eminent member of the Philosophical Society was James Woodhouse, a native of Philadelphia, and a graduate of the college there. He attended Gen. St. Clair's expedition, in 1791, as surgeon-general, and afterward served for the rest of his life as Professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania. Among his publications outside of his profession was "Experiments and Observations on the Vegetation of Plants."

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The most able co-operator whom Franklin had was Joseph Galloway, before referred to, who alone of that party was able to compete with John Dickinson, the eloquent leader of the opposition. In the most heated contest for the Assembly he and Franklin were defeated, but through their outside influence the recall of the petition for the relapse of the government to the crown was hindered, and at the election in 1765, Galloway was again elected, and became Speaker for nine consecutive years. In the subsequent disputes with the crown Galloway sided with the latter, and in December, 1776, went from his home in Bucks County, whither he had retired after the passage of the resolution for independence, to Gen. Howe, and served under him in his march through New Jersey, and after the evacuation of Philadelphia went to England, where he remained for the rest of his life. In his exile he became a devoted student of the book of Revelation, concerning which he imagined that he already saw the fulfillment of many of its prophecies. His publications consist of pamphlets and speeches and works relating to the American war and the subject of his later studies. The list is thus given in Allibone: (1) "Speech in Answer to John Dickinson," London and Philadelphia;[1] (2) "Candid Examination," New York, 1775, London, 1780; (3) "Letters to a Nobleman," 1779; (4) "Reply to Sir William Howe," 1780; (5) "Cool Thoughts," 1780; (6) "Historical and Political Reflections," 1780; (7) "Letter to Lord Howe," 1780; (8) "Comment upon the Revelation;" (9) "Prophetic and Anticipated History of Rome." . . . "A new edition of his 'Candid Examination' was printed by a committee of the House of Commons, that made its appearance in Philadelphia in 1855. It was reprinted by the Council of the Seventy-Six Society, and edited by Thomas Balch, Esq., a lawyer of Philadelphia."

The most distinguished writer of political pamphlets was John Dickinson, a notice of whom will be found in the chapter on the Bench and Bar. The career of this extraordinary man is one of the most interesting in the history of this country in the times of the Revolution. Unlike Galloway, he was opposed to Franklin's policy regarding the relegation of the government of Pennsylvania from the Penns to the crown of Great Britain, and his able efforts for some time hindered the consummation of that project. But the country never possessed a citizen more patriotic than John Dickinson, and perhaps none who better understood at the last the principle on which the government he had opposed was founded. A native American, he felt that whatever were the fortunes of his country, he must take them as his own. When the measure was at length carried over his opposition, he treated it as an accomplished fact behind which it was neither possible nor patriotic to go, and in the subsequent consideration of the exactions of the British government, he did more than any other man in the country to arouse among the people the resentment that led to independence. The most famous papers written during all this period were what were known as "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies." Their influence has ever been regarded as superior to all others in imparting to the people an intelligent view of their rights and duties, and it is probable that no political pamphlets ever effected such important results. They were thrown broadcast over the country, reprinted in England, and translated into French. On their publication in England, Dr. Franklin, who had been his rival, wrote the preface.[2] With the prudence of a wise, contented old man, he spoke of the several exactions that had been inflicted upon the colonies, and urged a firm, peaceful, continued opposition until they were removed. This he did not doubt would be the case in time, and he never contemplated that matters would ever be driven to the extremity that ensued. When that extremity came, as before, he was arrayed on the side of conservatism, and, as long as he could do so with any hope of success, opposed the scheme of independence. A higher compliment could scarcely have been paid to him than to have been chosen to write a greater number than any other man in the Continental Congress of the various addresses to the British government on the subject of grievances. Through his influence partly, and on account of the general peaceful character of the Quaker population, the sentiment of armed hostility and eventual independence was later in being aroused in Philadelphia than in other parts of the colonies. It was through his influence that what was known as the second petition to the king passed in Congress, which was carried over by Richard Penn. Congress voted it out of regard to him, who was universally esteemed for his talents, patriotism, and integrity. This petition obtained the name of "The Olive Branch." Its illustrious advocate entertained in regard to it hopes that were not felt by a large majority of the body, who, but for his sake, would have precipitated independence much sooner than it came.

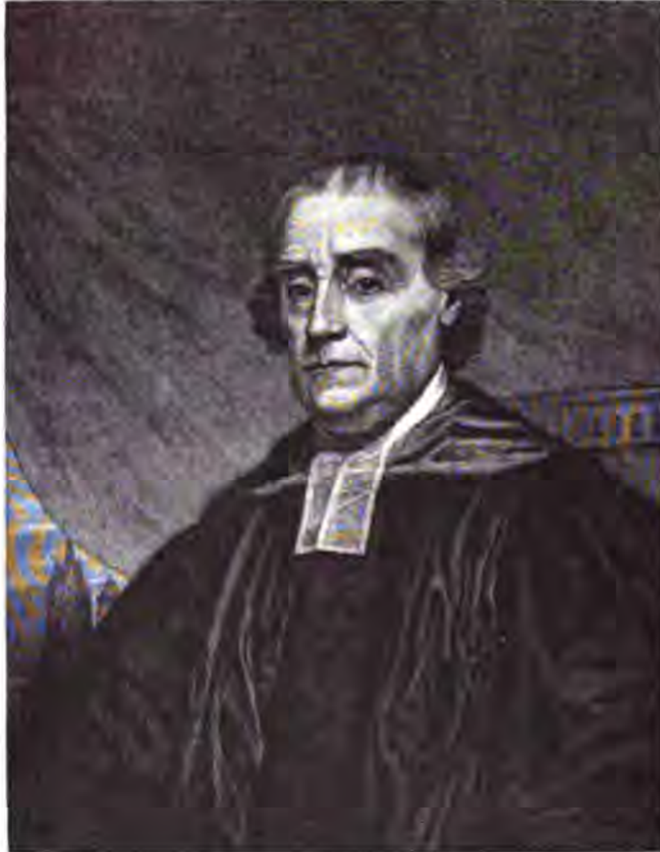
The part he bore at the last was most strikingly admirable. Of the delegates that were elected in December, 1775 (of which Dickinson was one, having been unanimously re-elected), all were against

[1] His rival, John Dickinson, declared that he never made this speech, and that it was written and published after the appearance of his own.

[2] The judgment evinced in these letters is most admirable. The introduction to the first is in these words: "My dear countrymen, I am a farmer, settled, after a variety of fortunes, near the banks of the river Delaware, in the Province of Pennsylvania. I received a liberal education, and have been engaged in the busy scenes of life, but am now convinced that a man may be as happy without bustle as with it. My farm is small; my servants are few and good; I have a little money at interest; I wish no more; my employment in my own affairs is easy, and with a continued grateful mind, undisturbed by worldly hopes or fears, relating to myself, I am completing the number of days allotted to me by Divine goodness."

separation except Franklin. Through the influence of the latter, the instructions to the delegation to vote against separation were withdrawn. Yet Dickinson persisted, and some of his speeches, made in the debates, are among the very finest orations that ever were pronounced. There was much that was pathetic in his words, when he dwelt upon the casting off of the parental authority that through so many generations had been, in the main, so benignant. But at last, when he saw that the sentiment in the other direction was irrepressible and continually growing stronger, more determined, and more acrimonious, when the resolution reported by the committee of the whole came up for final action, and Pennsylvania would have been the only one not to join in the measure, he, with Robert Morris, his colleague, withdrew in sadness from the hall, and the majority of the remaining members of the delegation having been converted to the measure, it was unanimously carried. He at once yielded to the temporary necessity of retiring from political life, and went to the field as a private soldier of the Delaware militia, and, when he came forth again, bore a leading part in Congress. As a delegate from Delaware, he served in the Convention of 1787, which met for the formation of the Federal Constitution. No man better understood the principles upon which that Constitution was founded. He was fully in accord with McKean in having fixed the recognition of the equality of the smaller States, and as long as he lived regarded the new government not as that of one compact people, but as a federation of sovereignties represented in the higher body, and a union of the peoples of those sovereignties in the lower.

Mr. Dickinson also wrote a series of papers over an assumed name, "Fabius," first for the purpose of attaching the people, in 1788, to the new Constitution, and afterward in behalf of the French people in their revolution of 1797. For some time the petition to the king was thought to have been written by Richard Henry Lee, Chief Justice Marshall having erroneously so stated in his "Life of Washington." But it was the production of John Dickinson. To him, more than to any other man in his generation, was due the opinion of the Earl of Chatham which prompted the celebrated eulogium he uttered on the American Congress. We have seen that the second petition to the king was his composition also.



WILLIAM SMITH, D.D.

Among others who were engaged in the political controversies of those times was Dr. William Smith, whose most distinguished endeavors, however, were made in other fields. He was a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, and after emigrating to America, and teaching for a season in the family of Governor Martin, of Long Island, studied for the ministry of the Church of England. He was made provost of the College of Philadelphia in 1754. This eminent divine and teacher joined heartily in the cause of his adopted country, but sided with John Dickinson in advocating the cause of the proprietors, and became afterward among the most eminent of the pamphleteers, especially in those contests that were waged, after the war of the Revolution was ended, between the officers of the college and those who affected to believe that the former intended to defeat the object of its charter and convert it into one entirely in the interest of the Church of England.

There are many interesting things told in Franklin's autobiography about the rise, the ups and downs of this institution, first as an academy, then a college, and lastly a university. Under Dr. Smith's presidency the college grew rapidly in name and importance, students coming from other provinces and even from the West Indies. The medical college was at-

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tached in 1765, the first professorship (that of the Theory and Practice of Physic) being filled by Dr. Morgan.

The college became a university in 1779, and, after a period of acrimonious disputes, Dr. Smith meanwhile having been removed, was restored to the provostship in 1789, and in 1791, upon his retirement in advanced age, the two institutions were blended, and became the University of Pennsylvania. Besides his political pamphlets, he was the author of several sermons and orations that were published. One of his earliest publications was "A Philosophical Meditation and Religious Address to the Supreme Being," which was intended as a text-book in philosophy. This was published in London in 1784. His "Brief State of Pennsylvania," published in London, was reprinted in New York. In 1803, Bishop White published, with his own preface, a collection with the title, "The Works of William Smith, D.D., late Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia." He was as well known in Great Britain as in America, and several of the English Reviews, notably the *London Monthly* and the *London Critical*, published laudatory criticisms upon his productions. In spite of his defense of the proprietary claims, he was an ardent patriot; his war sermons, in 1775, being regarded as contributing greatly to the feeling that culminated so happily. His essays, contributed to *The American Magazine* with the title of "The Hermit," aided his professional labors in raising in the community the standard of literary taste.

As for magazine-writing, it is a little curious that it should have been so far behind other similar interests. Franklin, as we have seen, was a man who, devoting his energies and counsels to the cultivation of fruits, had little leisure or concern for the flowers. He started the *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* in 1741, but it printed little that was purely literary; besides, it died within a year. This, such as it was, has the honor of being the first literary journal published in the town. In the same year Andrew Bradford started *The American Magazine*, that lived a couple of months. Sixteen years afterward it was revived by the same publisher, and had a yet shorter existence. The *Penny Post* had an irregular brief existence. It appeared in 1769 from the press of Benjamin Mecom, and in the same year appeared another *American Magazine*, by Lewis Nicola. It also died in a few months. In 1771 a publication was issued under a name which, however high sounding, could not perpetuate it beyond a few numbers,—*The Royal Spiritual Magazine, or Christian Ground Treasury;* and in 1775, *The Pennsylvania Magazine, or American Monthly Museum*, was published by Robert Aitken. The career of Dr. Smith was highly favorable to the production of a taste for literature that in time would originate and support literary journals.

Several men of considerable distinction were associated with Dr. Smith. Among them was the Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, who was teacher of oratory and English literature. He became most distinguished, however, for his studies and discoveries in electricity as associate with Franklin. In the Transactions of the Philosophical Society are papers from him, entitled "Experiments in Electricity." There were also Rev. Francis Allison, master of the Latin school, then vice-provost of the college, and Rev. John Ewing, who, in the charter of the University, in 1779, was made its first provost. He was a Marylander, born at East Nottingham, and was very highly cultivated not only as a divine (Presbyterian) but as a scientist, at one time being vice-president of the Philosophical Society. Besides, he was familiar with the classics and metaphysics. It was one of his delights to teach how the advance of science, instead of diminishing, enhances in reasonable minds the authority and value of the Sacred Scriptures. Among his contributions to the "Philosophical Transactions" were an "Account of the Transit of Venus," and a paper on Godfrey's quadrant. Others prominent in the office of provost were Dr. John McDowell, formerly principal of St. John's College, Maryland, Dr. John Andrews, Dr. Frederick Beasley, Bishop De Lancey (descendant of Chief Justice De Lancey), Dr. John Ludlow, Dr. Henry Vethake.

Francis Hopkinson is fully noticed in the chapter on the Bench and Bar, as he was more connected with legal and political studies than with literature. He was one of the most variously accomplished men of his time, well versed in mathematics, in chemistry, and other sciences, a wit, and considerable of a poet. Among his poems, besides "The Battle of the Kegs," were "The New Roof," "A Morning Hymn," "An Evening Hymn," "Description of a Church," "Science," "A Camp Ballad." His keen wit generally led him to take in his printed pieces the direction of satire. Of these the most noted are "The Typographical Mode of Conducting a Quarrel," "Thoughts on the Diseases of the Mind," "White-Washing," and "Modern Learning." Among his poetical pieces were "The Pretty Story," "The Prophecy," and "The Political Catechism." An excellent edition was published by Dobson in 1792, three volumes, octavo, entitled "The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson." Thomas I. Wharton (*Register of Pennsylvania*, September, 1830) says of him, "A poet, a wit, a chemist, a mathematician, and a judge of the Admiralty, his character was composed of a happy union of qualities and endowments commonly supposed to be discordant; and with the humor of Swift and Rabelais, he was always found on the side of virtue and social order. His publications were chiefly of a fugitive nature, and originally appeared in the magazines and newspapers."

The absence of suitable media for the public expression of literary endeavors kept down, doubtless, many of both sexes who, if they had lived sixty or

seventy-five years later, would have become widely known. In the midst of that splendid development that the legal profession had undergone, and that which grew upon political discussions, there had grown much literary taste and culture that maintained silence from the force of circumstances. Of the impression made upon foreigners by the notice of these we can form some idea from an account written by the Rev. Andrew Burnaby, vicar of Greenwich, in England, who, upon his return from a visit made to this country, published, in 1760, an account of his travels. Alluding to Philadelphia, he thus wrote: "Arts and sciences are yet in their infancy. There are some few who have discovered a taste for music and painting; and philosophy seems not only to have made a considerable progress already, but to be daily gaining ground. The Library Society is an excellent institution for propagating a taste for literature, and the college well calculated to form and cultivate it. This last institution is formed upon an admirable plan, and is by far the best school for learning throughout America. It has been chiefly raised by contributions, and its present fund is about ten thousand pounds Pennsylvania money. An account of it may be seen in Dr. Smith's (the president's) discourses. The Quakers also have an academy for instructing their youth in classical learning and practical mathematics; there are three teachers and about seventy boys in it. Besides these there are several schools in the province for the Dutch and other foreign children, and a considerable one is being erected at Germantown."

We have already alluded to Mrs. Ferguson. There were other ladies whose influence was benignant to literature in those early times, and who themselves were well known to possess talents of a high order, that only needed a more advanced state of publishing facilities to become widely known. One of these ladies was Susanna Wright, English-born, who came over with her parents when a girl. After some years spent at Philadelphia, the family removed to the banks of the Susquehanna, where they dwelt in close proximity to the Indians. The accomplishments of Miss Wright led her to make intimate acquaintance with many of the leading spirits of the province.

At that period, among other things that hindered development of literary talents to a high degree among women, besides the absence of magazines or other literary journals, was a diffidence that now fortunately no longer exists, founded upon the idea that writing and publishing of books might not be entirely consistent with the preservation of a becoming degree of feminine modesty. Though Miss Wright was familiar with several European languages and some of the sciences, and though her letters to various persons were greatly admired, yet we believe none of these were printed. The specimens of her poetry that have been seen are described as exhibiting much warmth and delicacy of feeling, and evince the gift of a devout spirit of religious faith.

Another was Hannah Griffiths, who had in her veins the blood of the Plantagenets. She was great-granddaughter, through Isaac Norris, of Thomas Lloyd, of Dolobran, who, as related in the chapter on the Bench and Bar, was a lineal descendant, through the Fair Maid of Kent, of King Edward III. Like Susannah Wright, she never married, though being of excellent social position and moving actively in that society which had become already about the most cultivated and *élite* in the whole country. She is represented as being a woman "of excellent abilities, and distinguished for the ease and accuracy with which she expressed herself both in conversation and with her pen." Her writings "were mainly devotional, or else in an elegiac strain on the death of her friends." "She was remarkable for the readiness of her wit and repartee, and for the ease and fluency of her conversation. In her a generous and lofty spirit was finely tempered by a Christian humility. She wrote a great deal, but was averse to her pieces appearing in print, which they sometimes did, though without her knowledge." Joshua Francis Fisher (*Register of Pennsylvania*, 1831)[1] says, "Several of Hannah Griffiths' pieces are evidence of talents of a superior order. They all breathe a spirit of piety and purity that commands our love, and some of them rise to a high elevation of devotional sublimity. Her versification is easy and elegant, and her poetry generally reflects with added lustre the charming traits of her exalted and polished mind." Both these ladies lived to a great age. Miss Griffiths became totally blind at last, but supported this affliction with much fortitude.

A person who was very prominent in his day in all circles was the Rev. Jacob Duché, rector of the united churches of Philadelphia, Christ and St. Peter's. He was a gentleman of excellent talents, education, and social position, and was particularly distinguished for being one of the most oratorical of the divines of the country. With his special abilities in this line, he was spoken of as a person variable and flippant in conduct and opinions, which infirmity led him into serious difficulties. He affected the *nom de plume* of "Tamoc Caspipina," formed from the initial letters of his lengthened title of rector of the two churches. His violent conduct in urging the people to resistance in the Stamp Act contests, and his alarm when he saw his advice accepted and likely to produce such dangerous results, greatly injured his standing. The list of his publications comprises the following: "Sermons," 1775; "Caspipina's Letters," Philadelphia, 1774, Bath, England, 1777; "Letter to General Washington on the Declaration of Independence," Bath, 1777; "Discourses on Various Subjects," London, 1779. The sermons of Dr. Duché were highly esteemed in England. The *London Monthly Review* praised them well. They, it said,

[1] Early Poets and Poetry of Pennsylvania.

"have great warmth and spirit, and, at times, are in the strain of our old divines."

The good effects of the University were seen in reasonable time. Stephen Watts was an ardent admirer of Beveridge, the Latin poet, and contributed to his "Epistolæ Familiaris et Alia Quædam Miscellanea." When quite young he published an "Essay on the Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and the Colonies," which was received with much *éclat*. It was not long, however, before he left these fields, which were not remunerative. Having studied law, he removed to Louisiana, where he married the Governor's daughter and acquired a fortune. Another was Thomas Coombe, who, like Mr. Duché, was for resistance until the Declaration of Independence, and for submission afterward. Having been sent off to Virginia on account of his Tory sentiments, after remaining a while, he left for England, and never returned. He had taken orders in the Church of England, and was assistant minister at Christ Church; he translated some of Beveridge's Latin poems. In 1775 he published, in London, a poem entitled "The Peasant of Auburn; or, The Emigrant," which was afterward republished in Philadelphia by Enoch Story. It is dedicated to Goldsmith, and was apparently designed as a continuation of the poem of "The Deserted Village." Coombe takes his emigrant to the banks of the Ohio, where Indian atrocities seem to show that it would have been much better if the emigrant had not deserted Auburn, or had at least chosen some more favorable place of exile. The poem was said to have been written for the purpose of discouraging emigration to this country. At the same time was printed "The Unfortunate Lovers," and some other pieces that are quite inferior to his first production.

Philip Freneau, though not a native nor continuous resident of Philadelphia, yet had several of his works published before removal from New York thither. While a resident of New York he made the beginning of those patriotic poetical pieces that gave him reputation second to no other in that line of composition. In 1776 he made a voyage to the West Indies, where he wrote two of his poems,—"The House of Night," and "The Beauties of Santa Cruz." In 1781 he wrote (having first printed in the *Freeman's Journal*) "The Philosopher of the Forest." In 1782 he wrote, at Philadelphia, "A Short Discourse on Esquires, with a Short Narrative of His Honor, the President of the Debtors' Club." "A Journey from Philadelphia to New York by way of Burlington, *via* South Amboy," in verse, is easy and amusing. Bailey published in 1786 "The Poems of Philip Freneau, written chiefly during the late war." In 1788 was published "The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Philip Freneau, containing his Essays and Additional Poems." In the *National Gazette*, while Freneau edited it, were satirical poems against Washington, John Adams, Knox, and others, which were ascribed to his pen.

For some time he had the superintendence of *The United States Magazine*, published by Francis Bailey. He afterward removed to New York and started *The Time-Piece and Literary Companion*, which, though evincing excellent ability, soon fell through. A restless spirit, he was wandering alone, even to a great age, from place to place. In one of such excursions near the town of Freehold in New Jersey, when eighty years of age, he perished in a snow-storm. It is reported that Lord Jeffrey said of him, "The time will come when his poetry, like that of Hudibras, will command a commentator like Gray."

One of the most promising of the young poets of Philadelphia, whose early death (at twenty-two years of age) seemed to have prevented a very brilliant career, was John Wilcocks. He was a young man of fortune, the son of a gentleman from the West Indies, who died shortly after his advent to Philadelphia. He wrote, mainly for his own entertainment, fables, satires, epigrams, etc., and in spite of the haste and carelessness apparent in their composition some of them evince talent that, if sedulously cultivated, would have produced results of much value. These pieces were published along with those of his intimate friend, John Parke, who wrote what he styled "The Lyric Works of Horace, translated into English Verse, to which are added a Number of Original Poems, by a Native of America.

"'Qui cupit optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer.'

"Philadelphia: Printed by Eleazer Oswald, at the Coffee-House, 1786."

These were written in compliment to several leading personages of the day, as Dr. Smith, Governor McKean, Benjamin Franklin, and others. It was a pity that such uncommonly good classical attainments should have been put to uses so unsuited.

George Mason, Jr., a writer little known, seems to have occupied his muse in graceful subjects. An epithalamium was composed in allusion to the marriage of Rachel Pemberton to Dr. James Parke, Dec. 5, 1773.

Several compositions of this period have been preserved, whose authors are unknown. Among them is one called "The Maid's Husband," found in Hazard's "Register," written about 1766, as is supposed by a lady. It possesses considerable merit.

To the poetry written by authors in the period thus far whose names are unknown may be added the following: "Serious Reflections on the Times," a poem by a minister of the gospel, published by James Chattin, 1758; "America in Tears," a pastoral eulogy on the death of George II., published by Stewart, 1761; "A Panegyric," by Strephon, published by Dunlap, 1762; "An Ode on the Glorious Successes of his Majesty's Arms and the Present Greatness of the English Nation," William Dunlap, printer, 1762; "Pennsylvania," a poem, by a student of the College

of Philadelphia, printed (1766) by Benjamin Franklin and David Hall. This poem was considered, at the time it was published, as a superior production. The theme was principally Braddock's defeat, and the efforts of the bard were intended to arouse the sons of Pennsylvania to meet the foe. "The Manners of the Times," a satire by Philadelphiensis, was printed by Dunlap in the year 1762. It is a light and an agreeable poem. Some of the hits are apparently intended to be personal.

In dramatic works, to "The Prince of Parthia," by Godfrey, there was added, in the year 1768, a piece called "The Disappointment," by Andrew Barton, which was announced for representation as an "opera" at the South Street Theatre, but which was never acted, in consequence of its personal allusions. Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia" attributes this work to Col. Thomas Forrest. Concerning the "Siege of Quebec," which was performed at the South Street Theatre in 1770, the authorship is unknown. It was written in America, but whether by an American or by a British officer, is left to conjecture.

Robert Proud

The historian of this period was Robert Proud, an English Quaker, born at Yorkshire, England, May 10, 1728. Arriving in Philadelphia in January, 1759, he taught Greek and Latin in a Quaker academy until the Revolution. Firm in his attachment to the crown, he believed that the Revolution would cause the decline of virtue and prosperity in America. He wrote his "History of Pennsylvania from 1681 till the year 1742." This work is one which evinces a great amount of study and research, and notwithstanding the frequent confusion and too great circumstantiality of details, has ever been regarded as a very important contribution to the history of the times. It was published in 1797–98, and the publication was said to have been attended with pecuniary loss to the author. Chancellor Kent says of the work, "This work is of great research, and abounds with valuable matter, but it is the most confused and tedious composition that ever tormented human patience."

The number of works published in Philadelphia before the war of the Revolution is about six hundred.

Nicholas Baker Waters, M.D., a native of Maryland, son-in-law to David Rittenhouse, published "A System of Surgery," 1790.

Samuel Brown Wylie, D.D., a native of Moylarg, County Antrim, Ireland, was pastor of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of Pennsylvania, and Vice-Provost. He published (1) "The Faithful Witness of Magistracy and Ministry upon a Scriptural Basis," 1804; (2) "Covenanting," 1803; (3) "First Annual Address before the Historical Society;" (4) "Greek Grammar;" (5) "Life of Alexander McLeod, D.D." His rank among scholars and divines was very high.

James Peller Malcolm, who was a native of Philadelphia, removed to London, where he became author: (1) "An Ancient History and Modern Description of London," 1802; (2) "Excursions into the Counties of Kent and Gloucester," 1806; (3) "Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London during the Eighteenth Century," 1808; (4) ditto "From the Roman Invasion to the Year 1700," 1811; (5) "Miscellaneous Anecdotes," 1811; and (6) "Lives of Topographers and Antiquaries."

Dr. Franklin, in his autobiography, speaks of Charles Brockden, the conveyancer who drew the papers for the establishment of the first library. The coming of this man to Philadelphia was owing to a singular accident. While a boy in the employ of a man in London, during the reign of Charles II., he happened one day to overhear a conversation between his employer and other persons, who were plotting something treasonable against the government. The plotters, on discovering that they had been overheard, debated whether they should murder the lad or ship him off. The latter alternative was finally determined upon, and he was sent to Philadelphia. Others of the family came on when the exile had grown prosperous, and one of his nephews was destined to become our first novelist.

John Edward Harwood, comedian, came to Phila-

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delphia in 1798. He was a dashing man upon the stage. While in the city, in 1800, he married a daughter of Hartman Bache,—an alliance which was not well received by the members of the family. Harwood wrote poetry. A collection of his fugitive pieces was published in 1809. Some of these are didactic, some sentimental. The following verses, from an "Ode to Indolence," will give an idea of Harwood's style:

"Goddess of Ease! whose all lethargic sway
In drowsy fetters binds the senseless soul,
Whose magic power e'en mighty seas obey,
And, touched by thee, in smoother billows roll;
At thine approach, in summer's scorching heat,
The cattle grazing on the fragrant plain
To some kind shade direct their weary feet,
T' enjoy sweet sleep beneath thy placid fane.

"Oh! take me, goddess, to thy circling arms,
And pour sweet visions o'er my languid head;
O'er every thought infuse thy magic charms,
And round my pillow all thy poppies spread.
What time the wearying sun, no longer bright,
Now paints the western sky with streaks of red;
What time the moon extends her glimmering light,
And dark'ning shades advise the tranquil bed;

"What time the shepherd's herds to quiet folds,
And, weary, haste to pen their tardy sheep;
What time 'the air a solemn stillness holds,'
And weary Nature welcomes balmy sleep.
Oh! waft me, goddess, to that peaceful shore
Where drowsy Silence lulls the quiet mind,
Where Strife's discordant voice is heard no more,
And sadd'ning thoughts a potent opiate find."

Joseph Stansbury, dealer in china and crockery-ware, in Second Street, was one of the best writers upon the Tory side. He was witty and sarcastic. In gasconade and lampoon he could scarcely have been surpassed by any author on his side at the time of the Revolution. Several of his pieces have been noted and quoted heretofore. Winthrop Sargent printed many of his poems in "Loyal Verses," published in 1860. Stansbury was a native of England, who came to Philadelphia some years before the Revolution, and was committed to prison in 1776 for singing "God Save the King!" at the City Tavern. He nevertheless remained in the city after his release, and was honored, upon the British occupation, with the appointment, by Lord Howe, of commissioner for selecting the city watch. He was elected a director of the Philadelphia Library Company in 1777. He was under arrest in 1780, and his personal property under seizure and threat of forfeiture. He was finally released upon condition that he would, at New York, use his influence to obtain the release of two American prisoners. He remained in New York while the British army had possession, when he removed to Nova Scotia. In 1785 he came back to Philadelphia, intending to re-establish himself in business; but, being warned to quit the city, and threatened with violence, he retired to New York, where he became secretary of an insurance company, and died in 1809.

Henry Archer, an Englishman, who came to Philadelphia in October, 1778, was educated at a military school in England, and, being enthusiastic in the cause of liberty, he sought to aid the patriot cause, and tendered his services as a volunteer. He was the author of "The Volunteer Boys," of which the following is a copy:

"Hence with the lover who sighs o'er his wine,
Chloes and Phyllises toasting!
Hence with the slave who will whimper and whine,
Of ardor and constancy boasting!
Hence with Love's joys,
Follies and noise—
The toast that I give is The Volunteer Boys.

"Nobles and beauties, and such common toasts,
Those who admire may drink, sir!
Fill up the glass to the volunteer hosts,
Who never from danger will shrink, sir!
Let Mirth appear,
Every heart cheer—
The toast that I give is the brave Volunteer!

"Here's to the Squire who goes to parade!
Here's to the Citizen soldier!
Here's to the Merchant who fights for his trade,
Whom danger, increasing, makes bolder!
Let Mirth appear,
Union is here—
The toast that I give is the brave Volunteer!"

Dramatic literature received much more attention after the Revolution than had previously been paid to it. At the South Street Theatre William Dunlap's comedy of "The Father; or, American Shandyism," was produced Jan. 26, 1791. From the pen of the same author was also produced, in 1798, a translation of Kotzebue's play of "The Stranger," and in the next year "Lovers' Vows." In 1800 "False Shame" and "The Wild-Goose Chase" were produced. Dunlap was principally conspicuous in translations from the German.

Various opinions have been expressed as to the ability of Joseph Dennie, the original editor of the *Portfolio*. Allibone says of him,—

"He enjoyed great reputation as a writer during his life and for some years after his decease. Patriarchs of the lean and slippered pantaloon, who perhaps composed a part of the mob of 'gentlemen who wrote with ease' about the beginning of this century, still extol the melodious cadence and liquid flow of the essays of the American Addison. We ourselves are so old-fashioned as to consider Dennie a charming writer."

But Griswold, in the "Prose Writers of America," who was a stern and an exact critic, was of a different opinion. He says,—

"The 'Lay Preacher' of Dennie and his articles in the *Portfolio* seem to me feeble and affected, though occasionally marked by considerable excellence. It was natural to overrate him, as in his time we had very few writers with whom he could be compared. For several years after the death of Brockden Brown, I believe, he was the only man in the country who made literature a profession. . . . He was a great favorite in society, and his brilliant social qualities gave him a factitious reputation as a man of letters. There is nothing in his writings deserving of reputation."

After the death of Dennie, the editorship of the *Portfolio* passed under the direction of Nicholas Biddle, who had been an occasional writer before that time. Mr. Biddle was at the time twenty-five years of age, and was son of Charles Biddle, formerly Vice-

President of Pennsylvania. He had the happiness of having received a good education, which he finished at Princeton, in 1801. He then studied law in Philadelphia for three years, and in 1804, receiving the appointment of secretary to Gen. Armstrong, minister to France, he went to that country, and resided in Europe until 1807. He was not all the time with Mr. Armstrong. He traveled in England, and while there became secretary to Mr. Monroe, then minister to England. He returned to America in 1807, and began the practice of the law, indulging in such literary amusement as brought him in connection with the *Portfolio*. Mr. Biddle wrote the concluding portion of the narrative of the American explorations of Lewis and Clarke, after the sudden death of Lewis, taking up the unfinished work by that traveler. Biddle wrote pleasantly and critically on the fine arts, was a pleasing versifier, and shone most excellently in humorous trifles, which were tasteful and amusing.

Harrison Hall assumed the publication of the *Portfolio* Jan. 1, 1816, while John E. Hall was the editor. The former kept a book-store at No. 136 Chestnut Street, while the latter had his office as a lawyer at the corner of Seventh and Sansom Streets.

John E. Hall was one of the writers for the *Portfolio* during Dennie's time. His mother, Mrs. Sarah Hall, was a daughter of the Rev. John Ewing, provost of the university, and was herself a writer for the *Portfolio*. John E. Hall was born in September, 1783. He was educated at Princeton, studied law under Joseph Hopkinson, and was admitted to the bar. He went to Maryland, practiced law in Baltimore, and during that time was elected professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres in the University of Maryland. While in that city he edited Wirt's "Letters of a British Spy," was the author of the life of Dr. John Shaw, prefixed to his poems, and wrote the "Memoirs of Anacreon," published in the *Portfolio*,—a work to which he was incited, it is said, by the approval of the poet Thomas Moore. The papers were a series of descriptions of Grecian manners and customs, purporting to have been written by Critias of Athens. Mr. Hall established in Baltimore, in 1808, the *American Law Journal*, which was subsequently transferred to Philadelphia, and published until 1817. He commenced the publication of the *Journal of Jurisprudence*, a quarterly, in 1820.

James Hall, a brother of Harrison and John E. Hall, contributed to the *Portfolio* "Letters from the West," which were written in the character of a young man traveling for amusement.

Dr. Thomas Mifflin Hall, who belonged to the same family, was also a contributor to the *Portfolio* in the shape of poetry and scientific articles.

On the 1st of January, 1824, Job Palmer published the first number of the *American Monthly Magazine*, which was edited by Dr. James McHenry. Dr. McHenry was a native of Ireland, and probably came to Philadelphia about 1820. Although he received the diploma of a physician, he was not engaged in the practice of medicine, but devoted himself to literature, and for some years was the keeper of a retail dry-goods store. His first literary work was "The Pleasures of Friendship," a poem, which was published in the early part of 1822. In June, 1824, he brought out his novel of "Halloran." He also wrote "The Wilderness," a novel; "The Spectre of the Forest," a novel; and "The Insurgent Chief," a novel. "The Pleasures of Friendship" went to a second edition in 1835. In 1839, Dr. McHenry published "The Antediluvians; or, The World Destroyed," a poem. He was a contributor to the *American Quarterly Review*, a publication which was commenced in 1837.

William Cliffton, Jr., was born in Philadelphia in 1772. He was the son of William Cliffton, blacksmith, a resident of Southwark, who was a member of the Society of Friends. William the younger was of delicate constitution; and although intended, perhaps, for his father's calling, he was unable to follow it. He found consolation in literature. His father was treasurer of the commissioners of Southwark. Some political reason, perhaps, led the son to the publication of a satirical poem called "The Group," which was pointed at some of the prominent members of the board. The commissioners highly resented this publication; and being unable at the time to discover the name of the author, directed the prosecution of Stephens, the publisher, for libel. This poem was published in 1793. Cliffton afterward published "A Rhapsody on the Times," in Hudibrastic measure. He commenced a poem called "The Chimeriad," which was unfinished. He wrote "An Epistle to Gifford," the author of "The Baviad" and "The Maviad," which was considered elegant. His poems were collected and published by J. W. Fenno and G. & R. Waite, at New York, in 1800. Cliffton died on Dec. 17, 1799, at the early age of twenty-seven. As a specimen of the style of Cliffton, the opening of the "Epistle to Gifford" may be quoted:

> "In these cold shades, beneath these shifting skies,
> Where Fancy sickens and where Genius dies—
> Where few and feeble are the Muse's strains,
> And no fine frenzy riots in the veins—
> There still are found a few to whom belong
> The fire of Virtue and the soul of Song,
> Whose kindling ardor still can wake the strings
> When Learning triumphs and when Gifford sings.
> To thee, the lowliest bard his tribute pays—
> His little wild-flower to thy wreath conveys;
> Pleased if permitted round thy name to bloom—
> To boast one effort rescued from the tomb!
>
> "While this delirious age enchanted seems
> With hectic fancy, desultory dreams—
> While wearing fast away is every trace
> Of Grecian vigor and of Roman grace—
> With fond delight we yet our bard behold,
> As Horace polished and as Persius bold;
> Reclaim the art, assert the muse divine,
> And drive obtrusive Dullness from the shrine!

Since that great day which saw the tablet rise
A thinking block, and whisper to the eyes,
No time has been that touched the muse so near,
No age when learning had so much to fear
As now, when *love-lorn ladies light verse frame*,
And every rebus-weaver talks of fame!"

Charles Brockden Brown was born in Philadelphia, Jan. 17, 1771, and was a nephew of Charles Brockden, who for over sixty years was recorder of deeds and master of the rolls at Philadelphia. Brown was educated at the school of Robert Proud, the first historian of Pennsylvania, and studied law in the office of James Wilson. His first literary efforts were a series of essays under the title of "The Rhapsodist," published in the *Columbian Magazine*. In 1797, he published "The Dialogue of Alcuin," in which the topic of marriage was discussed. In 1798 he commenced a series of papers in Waters' magazine,[1] entitled "The Man at Home." In the second volume of that magazine he commenced the novel of "Arthur Mervyn," which was founded upon incidents of the yellow fever of 1793. Before that time he had published, in New York, "Wieland; or, The Transformation." "Ormond; or, The Secret Witness," was published in 1799. "Edgar Huntley; or, The Memoirs of a Sleep-Walker," was published in 1801. Brown was the publisher of the *American Magazine*, commenced in 1799, which lasted about a year. Several novels followed, with other literary work. His style was clear and nervous, "with little ornament, free from affectation, and indicated a singular sincerity and depth of feeling." He exceeded in narrative which was eloquent and exciting. He died in 1810. His novels were nearly all reprinted in England, and were well received. He never realized much from his talent. Writing to his brother, James Brown, in 1800, he said,—

"Book-making, as you will observe, is the dullest of all trades, and the most any American can look for in his native country is to be reimbursed in his unavoidable expenses. . . . The salability of my works will much depend upon their popularity in England—whither Caritat has carried a considerable number of 'Wieland,' 'Ormond,' and 'Mervyn.'"

C. B. Brown

Dr. Benjamin Rush, chiefly known as a medical writer and lecturer, wrote, in addition to scientific essays, upon political and literary subjects. In 1798 a volume was published from his pen entitled "Essays, —Literary, Moral, and Philosophical." They were principally papers which had appeared in the *Museum* and *Columbian Magazine*. He wrote "An Account of the Life of Christopher Ludwick, the Baker-General of the United States Army during the Revolutionary War." This was published in Poulson's *Advertiser* in 1801. It was republished some years ago by the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools. His "Life of Anthony Benezet" is a pleasant specimen of writing. Dr. Allibone enumerates twenty-six topics upon which Rush wrote more or less copiously. He was a busy man, and, whether in his profession or in the field of literature, gave himself but little rest.

Rev. John Blair Linn, who in time became an assistant of Dr. John Ewing in the pastorship of the First Presbyterian Church, had previously been intended for the profession of the law, and had studied for that purpose. He had some literary taste. He was the author of "Bourrille Castle; or, The Gallic Orphan," a play, acted in New York, and published in 1797. He was the author of two volumes of miscellany and verse, which were published anonymously. He wrote a poem on "The Death of Washington," in 1800; "The Powers of Genius," a poem, in the same year; and a poem in blank verse, called "Valerian," which was published in 1805, after his death, with a biography by his brother-in-law, Charles Brockden Brown.

A very large number of authors appeared between 1780 and 1820. The *Portfolio*, *Literary Magazine*, *Repository*, *Analectic Magazine*, and other periodicals invited cordially the literary talent of the city to exhibit itself in their pages. Thomas Brannigan was an industrious writer on subjects chiefly religious. Some of his publications were the following: "An Essay on the Oppression of the Exiled Sons of Africa," and "A Letter to Napoleon Bonaparte;" "Serious Remonstrances on the Slave Trade, with a Plan of Colonizing Free Negroes," 1805; "The

[1] *The Weekly Magazine*, by James Waters. It ran about a year.

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Penitential Tyrant, or Slave-Trader Reformed," a pathetic poem, 1807; "Avenia, a Tragical Poem on the Oppression of the Human Species and the Infringement of the Rights of Men, with Notes Explanatory and Miscellaneous" (written in imitation of Homer's Iliad), 1805; "Political and Theological Disquisitions on the Signs of the Times," 1807; "The Curse of Christendom, or Bigotry and Bitterness Exposed," 1808; "The Excellency of the Female Character Vindicated," 1808; "The Beauties of Philanthropy, or the Moral Likeness of God delineated in Miniature," 1808; "The Excellency of Virtue Contrasted with the Deformity of Vice," 1808; "The Pleasures of Death Contrasted;" "A Concise View of the Various Religious Denominations of the United States, with Notes;" "Miseries of Human Life," 1809; "A Beam of Light in a Dark, Degenerate, and Deluded Age," 1814; "The Charm of Benevolence, or Patriotic Mentor," 1814; "The Celestial Comforter, or a Collection of Scripture Promises," 1814; "Right of God written for the Benefit of Man, or the Impartiality of Jehovah Vindicated," 1815; "The Pleasures of Contemplation, or a Justification of the Ways of God to Man." Probably Brannigan was a native of Ireland. His name appears in the directory for 1810, the business given being that of an accountant; residence No. 167 Coates Street. In 1811 he is at the same number as a publisher. In 1816, after his name, is added, "author of 'Avenia,' No. 363 North Third Street." In 1824 he had become a collector. Of his writings it may be said that, though they do not show marks of genius, they are respectable. As a poem, "Avenia" will take rank with most productions of the kind. The diction is pure, and the sentiments are highly moral.

In 1803 was published in London "Meditations written during the Prevalence of the Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, which proved Fatal to Upward of Four Thousand of its Inhabitants. By Joshua Cresson, of Philadelphia, of the People called Quakers, and one of the Latest Victims of the Disease.

> "Good when He gives, supremely good,
> Not less when He denies;
> Even crosses from His sovereign hand
> Are blessings in disguise."

Mr. Cresson commenced these "Meditations" on the 16th of September, 1798, and continued them until the 11th of October. He was attacked with the disease on the 15th of that month, and died on the 21st. The manuscript was, after his death, sent to London, and, attracting great attention among the Quakers, was printed.

Dr. Thomas Ruston, who was probably an American by birth, as he graduated in Princeton, N. J., as Bachelor of Arts, was a resident of Philadelphia as early as 1791, at which time he lived at No. 321 High Street, and practiced medicine. He had studied that science at the University of Edinburgh, where he received his degree as M.D. About the year 1794 he built a very large and elegant mansion for that time, on the lot at the northwest corner of Eighth and Chestnut Streets, which occupied the western part of the ground, reserving considerable space along Chestnut Street and along Eighth to Grape Street for the purposes of a garden. He resided there until about 1797 or 1798, when, in consequence of being involved by the cost of the building, he was sold out by the sheriff. In 1804 he published a book entitled "A Collection of Facts, etc., on the Yellow Fever, in a Serial of Letters addressed to the Inhabitants of the United States, by Thomas Ruston, M.D., of the University of Edinburgh and of the Royal Incorporated Medical Society; A.B. of the College of Nassau Hall of Princeton, in the State of New Jersey; Member of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Friends of their Country at Valencia, in Spain. *Omni tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulce.*" This volume was dedicated to Mrs. E. Powel, of Powelton. The most remarkable thing connected with it was that, after having exhausted his matter of an argumentative and statistical nature in the letters, Dr. Ruston winds up his work with a long poem which is entitled "A Tolerably Picturesque Poetical Description of the Horrors of the Year 1798," a composition peculiar, at all events, if not highly poetical.

Gen. Jonathan Williams, who was superintendent of West Point Academy, member of Congress from Philadelphia, and resident at one time at Mount Pleasant (now in the Park), published, in 1799, "A Memoir of the Thermometer in Navigation;" "Elements of Fortification," 1801; "Kosciusko's Manœuvres for Horse Artillery," 1808.

Joseph Sansom, in 1805, published, in two volumes, "Letters from Europe during a Tour through Switzerland and Italy in the Years 1801 and 1802." In 1817 he published "Sketches of Lower Canada," which were considered of sufficient importance and interest to be published in Sir Robert Phillips' collection of travels. Sansom was a merchant, and was in business with his brother Samuel. He was a member of the Society of Friends.

Harriet Fenno, a daughter of John Ward Fenno, editor of the *United States Gazette*, wrote poetry with taste and feeling, her contributions appearing in the *Portfolio* under the signature of "Violetta." Among her best productions was an address to Mr. Malbone on his painting a miniature likeness of a friend.

Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, more distinguished as a physician, yet devoted some of his time to literature. He was a native of Fairfax County, Va., and was born May 28, 1780. It is said that he imitated some of the early efforts of Pope, and paraphrased the "Odes of Horace" when he was not more than eight years old. He became a contributor to the *Portfolio*, under the signature of "Falkland," while yet a boy. In 1807-8 he published a work entitled "Select

Speeches," forensic and parliamentary, in five volumes. It was a compilation embracing the most celebrated oratorical efforts of famous men. The work of Dr. Chapman consisted not so much in the arrangement of the speeches as in the illustrative remarks and criticisms upon them. These speeches were followed by a collection made by Stephen Cullen Carpenter, published in two volumes in 1815, entitled "Select American Speeches." Dr. Chapman's great activity as a medical writer, together with his numerous professional cares, did not allow him to devote much time to lighter literature.

Tench Coxe devoted his attention principally to subjects of political economy. He was a son of William Coxe, of Philadelphia, and Mary, his wife, who was daughter of Tench Francis, attorney-general of Pennsylvania before the Revolution. Tench Coxe was born in Philadelphia, May 22, 1755, and died July 17, 1824. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, was brought up to business, and became partner in the mercantile firm of Coxe, Furman & Coxe. He held various public offices. He was a member of the Continental Congress, assistant secretary of the treasury, commissioner of revenue, and purveyor of the public supplies of the United States. He wrote frequently in pamphlets on public questions. He was author of an "Address on Manufactures," "An Inquiry into the Commercial System of the United States," in 1787; "A Brief Examination on Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the United States, with two Supplementary Notes on American Manufactures," in 1792; "A View of the United States of America," in 1794; "Thoughts on Naval Power and the Encouragement of Commerce and Manufactures," in 1806; "A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States for the year 1810;" "Memoir on the Cultivation, Trade, and Manufacture of Cotton," in 1807; "A Memoir on the Navigation Act," in 1809; and papers on other subjects of public importance.

Charles J. Ingersoll will be found fully noticed in the chapter on the Bench and Bar. He was a man of great versatility of talent, and, in the midst of professional studies and pursuits, devoted a considerable portion of his time to letters. While studying for the bar he wrote the tragedy of "Edwy and Elgiva," which was played at the Chestnut Street Theatre on the 2d of April, 1801. He also published, in 1800, in the *Portfolio*, "Chiomara," a poem. In 1808 he published a pamphlet entitled "The Rights and Wrongs, Power and Policy, of the United States of America," which was in defense of the commercial policy of Mr. Jefferson. In 1809 he published an anonymous work entitled "Inchiquin, the Jesuit's Letters; being a fragment of a private correspondence, accidentally discovered in Europe, containing a favorable view of the manners, literature, and state of society in the United States, and a refutation of many of the aspersions cast upon this country by former residents and tourists. By some unknown foreigner." "Inchiquin" represents a variety of description, criticism, narrative, and reflection, rendered agreeable by a vein of ridicule and humor. Literature and politics were particularly attended to. This work was reviewed in the *London Quarterly*, and a reply to that article was made by James K. Paulding. Ingersoll contributed to various newspapers, among them the *Democratic Press* and the *National Intelligencer*, of Washington, in relation to the controversy with England out of which originated the war of 1812. Several of his speeches on the war, while a member of Congress, were published. In 1823 he delivered an address before the American Philosophical Society on "The Influence of America on the Mind." It was republished in England. His latest work was "A Historical Sketch of the Second War between the United States of America and Great Britain," in four volumes. It was published between 1845 and 1852. He died in 1862.

His brother, Joseph Reed Ingersoll, a distinguished lawyer, also mentioned in the chapter referred to, though less prominent in literature than his distinguished brother, yet contributed occasionally to it. He translated the treatise of Roccus, "De Navibus et Nauta." His speech before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Bowdoin College, on "The Advantages of Science and Literature," and other similar discourses, were highly praised on their production. Another

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brother, Edward Ingersoll, wrote for the *Portfolio* a series of poems entitled "Horace in Philadelphia," and contributed articles on political subjects to Walsh's *Gazette*.

Condy Raguet, who was born in Philadelphia Jan. 28, 1784, graduated at the University of Pennsylvania and studied law, but gave up that pursuit, and, entering a counting-house, was sent at the age of twenty years to San Domingo as supercargo of a vessel. In 1805 he published "A Short Account of San Domingo, and a Circumstantial Account of the Massacre there." He corresponded with the *Portfolio*, and a letter of his, written in 1810, will be found in volume vi. of that periodical. He wrote "an account of the operations of the volunteers on the Delaware" after the return of the Advance Brigade in 1814. In these operations he was captain of a company of volunteers, and was promoted colonel before the troops returned. Mr. Raguet's thoughts were directed in the latter portion of his life to subjects of finance and political economy. He was the author of "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Present State of the Circulating Medium of the United States," published in 1815.

Zebulon Montgomery Pike, a native of New Jersey, who was employed in the government survey of Louisiana Territory in 1805, published in Philadelphia, in 1810, an "Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi and through the western parts of Louisiana, from 1805 to 1807, and a tour through the interior parts of New Spain when conducted through those Provinces by order of the Captain General, in the year 1807." This was printed in 1810. On the breaking out of the war with England, Pike received a colonel's command. He was next year made brigadier-general, and was mortally wounded during the attack on York, Upper Canada, on the 28th of April, 1813.

Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, performed his literary work in the United States almost entirely in Philadelphia. He undertook, in 1804, a pedestrian tour to the Falls of Niagara, in company with two friends, one result of which was the poem, "The Foresters," published in the *Portfolio*, which describes a journey in October through Pennsylvania and across the Alleghanies.

In 1806, William Bradford engaged Wilson to superintend the publication of "Rees' Encyclopedia." The salary was liberal, and enabled him to give up the drudgery of teaching, and to urge upon Bradford the publication of the "Ornithology."

Wilson wrote "The Solitary Tutor," published in the *Literary Magazine* of Charles Brockden Brown; an oration on "The Power and Value of National Liberty," 1801; a song called "Jefferson and Liberty," and several pieces printed in the *Analectic Magazine*, published by Moses Thomas. In 1810 he wrote "The Pilgrim, a Poem on a Voyage down the Ohio River." The "Ornithology" has attracted the praise of scholars and men of science in all parts of the world, while Wilson's energy has been frequently commended. Lord Brougham said of him that he had "penetrated through the vast territories of the United States with an enthusiasm never excelled." Cuvier declared that his "History of the Birds of the United States" equaled in elegance the most beautiful European works. *Blackwood's Magazine*, speaking of his style, said, "By the mere force of native genius and of delight in nature he became, without knowing it, a great and good writer." The "Encyclopedia Britannica," eighth edition, said, "With regard to the literary merit of his 'American Ornithology,' passages occur in the prefaces and descriptions which, for elegance of language, graceful ease, and graphic power, can scarcely be surpassed."

George Ord, the naturalist, who was born in Philadelphia in 1781, was a warm friend of Wilson, and after the latter died, added a supplement to his ornithological works. He also contributed a biography of Alexander Wilson, which is the source from which almost everything that is known of that child of genius is derived. Ord took a warm interest in the life of his friend, and his biography is considered an elegant and interesting memoir. Mr. Ord also wrote memoirs of Charles Alexander Le Sueur and of Thomas Say. He became president of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and held that dignified post until his death in 1866.

A curious composition published in 1801 by R. H. Hall was "The Powers of Chemistry in Relation to Things Visible and Invisible; or, a Walk through the Laboratory of the Skies through the Indulgence of the Goddess of Science. Dedicated to the Faculty of Pennsylvania. By Isaac Abrahams." "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall increase." In the copy in the Philadelphia Library, which belonged formerly to James Cox, the artist, it is written that the composition was by —— Austin. It was dedicated to Professor Wood, of the Chemical Society.

Thomas Dobson, bookseller and publisher, was the author of "Letters on the Existence and Character of the Deity, and on the Moral State of Man;" "Thoughts on the Scriptural Account of Faith in Jesus and Life through His Name," 1807; "Thoughts on Mankind," 1811.

Roberts Vaux was an active citizen, and wrote frequently upon subjects of public interest and philanthropy. He was born at Philadelphia on the 21st of January, 1786, and died in 1836. Between 1809 and 1825 he published the following: "Eulogium on Benjamin Ridgway Smith," 1809; "Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford," 1815; "Memoirs of the Life of Anthony Benezet;" "Address before the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture," 1825.

Jacob Rush was a brother of Dr. Benjamin Rush. He was born in 1746, and graduated at Princeton College in 1765. He was president judge of the Court of Common Pleas at Philadelphia from 1806 until 1820.

Although he was much engaged by his legal and judicial duties, he found time to indulge in authorship on other subjects. He was the author of "Charges on Moral and Religious Subjects," published in 1803; "The Character of Christ," 1806; "Christian Baptism," 1819.

Rebecca Rush, daughter of Judge Rush, wrote "Kelsey," a novel, by a lady of Pennsylvania. This book was published by Bradford & Inskeep in 1812. They gave Miss Rush one hundred dollars for the manuscript.

Mordecai M. Noah, born in Philadelphia, July 19, 1785, was apprenticed to a mechanical business, which, not liking, he abandoned and engaged in the study of the law, but in which he did not long persevere. He removed to Charleston, where he engaged in politics, but came back to Philadelphia before the year 1810, and established himself as a merchant at No. 41 North Fourth Street. He remained in Philadelphia until 1813, and during that time obtained the title of "major," which he held the remainder of his life. He received it in an election for militia officers, which, as he afterward told with glee, was attended only by himself and two other persons. In 1813 he went to Morocco as United States consul, and was taken prisoner by a British frigate. After his return to the United States he published a volume of travels in England, France, Spain, and the Barbary States. In New York he edited the *National Advocate* until 1826, when he established the *New York Enquirer* (subsequently the *New York Courier and Enquirer*). Noah was also connected with the following New York newspapers: *Evening Star*, 1834; *Union*, 1842; and the *Sunday Times and Messenger*. In a letter written to William Dunlap, in 1832, Noah relates some of his adventures in Philadelphia, particularly in relation to theatrical affairs. He was a member of a Thespian company which performed in the old South Street Theatre, together with George Helmbold, afterward editor of the *Tickler*. He was a regular attendant at the Chestnut Street Theatre, and wrote a melodrama called "The Fortress of Sorrento," which was never acted; and "Paul and Alexis; or, the Orphans of the Rhine," performed at Charleston, and afterward called "The Wandering Boys." He wrote for an actress "She Would be a Soldier; or, the Battle of Chippewa." His subsequent plays were "Marion; or, the Hero of Lake George;" "The Grecian Captive," and "The Siege of Tripoli."

Robert Walsh, a native of the city of Baltimore, was born in 1784, and was educated at the Catholic College at Baltimore and the Jesuit College at Georgetown, D.C. He went to Europe, and remained abroad until about 1809, having studied law in the meanwhile with Robert Goodloe Harper. He came to Philadelphia toward the beginning of the year 1810, and was admitted to the bar on the 7th of April of that year. He intended to devote himself to the practice of the law; but deafness, which was increasing upon him, obliged him to withdraw from that pursuit, and he returned to literature. He commenced to write for the *Portfolio*. In December, 1809, he published "A Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government. Including a View of the Taxation of the French Empire. By an American recently returned from Europe." This pamphlet was published in Philadelphia, in Baltimore, and in London. In the latter city the "Letter" reached a twelfth edition. In 1811, Mr. Walsh commenced the editorship of the "American Review of History and Politics." In 1813 he published "Correspondence Respecting Russia," between himself and Robert Goodloe Harper, and "An Essay on the Future State of Europe." In 1817 he was editor of the *American Register*. In 1819 was published his most important work, "An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America. Part I. Containing a Historical Outline of their Merits and Wrongs, and Strictures on the Calumnies of British Writers." This book went through two editions in America, and was twice reprinted in London, being the object of extensive criticism. The Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Walsh, and resolved that copies should be purchased for its members. In 1821, Mr. Walsh became editor of the *National Gazette*, which he continued to conduct until 1837. In the mean time he did other literary work. He was editor of the *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, which was established in 1822. He contributed to Delaplaine's *Repository* some of the biographical notices, among which was one on Benjamin Franklin.

William Duane withdrew from the *Aurora* newspaper in 1822, went to South America, and traveled through the new republics in that portion of the world. He embodied an account of his observations in "A Visit to Colombia," 1822–23, which was published in 1826. Mr. Duane found some leisure amid the distractions of partisan politics to employ his pen upon useful topics. He wrote a pamphlet in 1803, entitled "The Mississippi Question," and in 1811 "An Epitome of the Arts and Sciences." Having from an early period been connected with the military organizations of the city, he paid some attention to tactics,—his interest in which was increased by important appointments, one of which was lieutenant-colonel of rifles, conferred by Jefferson in 1808, and the other adjutant-general, with the rank of colonel, in 1813. His military works were: "A Military Dictionary," 1810; "Handbook for Riflemen," 1813; "Handbook for Infantry," 1813; "American Military Library," 1819. Mr. Duane was appointed prothonotary of the Supreme Court, April 23, 1829, and held that office up to the time of his death, Nov. 24, 1835.

William J. Duane, a son of the above, was born at Clonmel, Ireland, on the 9th of May, 1780, and as-

sisted his father, who was a reporter of Parliamentary debates for the *General Advertiser* at London, and was brought by the latter to America. He had some knowledge of the printing trade, and was employed in his seventeenth year in the office of the *True American*, then published by Samuel F. Bradford. He afterward became a clerk in the office of the *Aurora*, when his father joined that establishment. He married Deborah Bache, the sixth child and third daughter of Richard and Sarah Bache, and granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, on the last day of the year 1805. His mother-in-law, Margaret Hartman, was the widow of Benjamin Franklin Bache, and was married a second time to William Duane, father of William J. Duane.

Benjamin F. Bache, a grandson of Franklin, was brother to the wife of William J. Duane. The latter became a paper merchant, but subsequently studied law, and was admitted to the bar in June, 1815, his studies having been conducted in the office of Joseph Hopkinson. Mr. Duane wrote "The Law of Nations Investigated in a Popular Manner, Addressed to the Farmers of the United States," 1809; "Letters to the People of Pennsylvania on Internal Improvements," 1811; "Observations on the Importance of Improving the Navigation of the River Schuylkill, for the Purpose of Connecting it with the Susquehanna," 1818.

Samuel Ewing was a son of Rev. Dr. John Ewing, for many years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and provost of the University of Pennsylvania. He studied at the University, and was intended for the business of a merchant, being placed in the counting-house of John Swanwick. When that gentleman failed Mr. Ewing took one voyage as a supercargo. He subsequently studied law in the office of William Lewis, and was admitted to the bar in 1800. An acquaintance with Joseph Dennie induced him to become one of the correspondents of the *Portfolio*. He wrote various papers under the signature of "Jacques." Among his productions were "Reflections in Solitude," in blank verse. In 1809 he projected a monthly miscellany entitled *Select Reviews and Spirit of the Foreign Magazines*, which was kept up for three years. Subsequently the demands of his profession withdrew Mr. Ewing from the pursuits of literature, and he enjoyed a good practice. He died on the 8th of February, 1825, aged forty-nine years.

A pleasing example of the humor and gayety of Ewing is to be found in the "Mammoth Feast," written in 1802, in reference to the collation which Rembrandt Peale and twelve other gentlemen partook of within the breast of the skeleton of the mammoth, which he was about to take to Europe for exhibition.

Rev. Dr. James Patriot Wilson, of the First Presbyterian Church, published, in 1810, "Lectures on some of the Parables and Historical Passages in the New Testament," "Easy Introduction to Hebrew" (1812), "Essay on Grammar" (1817). He edited "Sermons of Rev. John Ewing, with a Life," published at Easton, in 1812, and "Ridgley's Body of Divinity, with Notes" (1816).

In 1810 was published "Moral and Political Truth; or, Reflections Suggested by Reading History and Biography. A Poem. By Jacob Franklin Heston." This he dedicated to Thomas Jefferson.

John Davis, an Englishman, came to America about 1799, and traveled chiefly on foot. He published "Travels of Four and a Half Years in the United States," at London, in 1803, and an abridgment was published in 1817. Davis settled down in Philadelphia as keeper of a juvenile book-store in 1804.

Rev. Dr. William White, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, published "Lectures on the Catechism" (1813), "Comparative View of the Controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians," two volumes (1817), "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America" (1820), with a continuation issued in New York in 1835,—a valuable contribution to church history.

Dr. James Abercrombie published in 1812 "The Mourner Comforted: A Selection of Extracts Consolatory on the Death of Friends. From Writings of the most noted Divines and Others; with Prayers suited to the various instances of Mortality." He proposed, before the breaking out of the war with Great Britain, to publish a complete edition of the works of Dr. Samuel Johnson by subscription. The project, which was suspended by the events of the war, was revived in 1815.

Jesse Kersey, a preacher of the Society of Friends, published in 1814 "A Treatise on the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion; in which are Illustrated the Profession, Ministry, and Faith of the Society of Friends."

John Watson published in 1810 "Observations on the Customary Use of Spirituous Liquors. Particularly Addressed to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania."

In 1808, William Christie published "A Dissertation on the Unity of God and the Membership of Christ."

John Parrish published in 1806 "Remarks on the Slavery of the Black People, to the Citizens of the United States."

In 1810, Thomas S. Manning, printer, at No. 148 South Fourth Street, printed a serial publication entitled "The Savage. By Piomingo, Head Man and Warrior of the Muscogulgee Nation." These papers, which were mostly didactic, were written by John Robinson, a native of the Holston River settlements in Washington County, Va., where he was born about the year 1795.

Clement C. Biddle was a son of Col. Clement Biddle, and was born in Philadelphia on October 24, 1784. He received his education at the University

of Pennsylvania, then under the superintendence of Rev. James Davidson. His literary work was confined to the editing of a treatise on political economy by John Baptiste Say, which had been translated into English. Mr. Biddle added a translation of the introductory essay and notes. He also wrote in the newspapers on political subjects and on political economy.

Alexander Graydon, a native of Bristol, Bucks Co., where he was born April 10, 1752, was a nephew of Dr. John de Normandie. He came to Philadelphia when young, was educated principally at the Quaker school, and studied law, but he was not admitted to the bar. He volunteered in the American army at the outbreak of the Revolution, and served until the capture of Fort Washington, on Long Island, where he was taken prisoner, being captain of a company. Graydon is the author of one of the most delightful books connected with our early history. It was called "Memoirs of a Life Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania within the Last Sixty Years; with Casual Remarks upon the General Occurrences, Character, and Spirit of that Eventful Period. Harrisburg. Published 1811." Graydon's descriptions of life in Philadelphia before the Revolution, and of the noted persons of whom he had knowledge, are lively and agreeable. He was a frequent contributor, after the year 1800, to the *Portfolio*, in a series of papers entitled "Notes of a Desultory Reader," which are criticisms upon the works of favorite authors. He was a highly cultivated man, and wrote easily and delightfully. One of his contributions to the *Portfolio* is a translation of the Latin epigram,—

> "Avulsa e ramo, frons o miseranda, viventi,
> Marcida quo vadis?—Quo vadam, nescio—Quercum
> Maternum columenque meum stravere procellæ.
> Inde mihi illudit Zephyrus, Boreasve; vagamque
> Montibus ad valles, sylvis me volvit ad agros:
> Nec contra nitor. Quo tendunt omnia tendo;
> Quo fertur pariter folium lauri rosæque."

The translation runs thus:

> "Torn from thy maturing branch, poor fallen leaf,
> What hapless lot awaits thy withering form?
> Alas! I know not, but I mourn in chief,
> Thy parent oak laid prostrate by the storm.
>
> "Hence doomed the sport of every vagrant breeze,
> I'm hurried up the mount, then down again;
> One while I mildew under shading trees,
> Now, whirled afield, I bleach upon the plain.
>
> "In short, I go where all things earthly tend,
> And unresisting meet my wasting foes,
> For oaks and bramble have one common end,
> The foliage of the laurel and the rose."

These verses, we think, evinced uncommon talent.

Peter Markoe published a volume of miscellaneous poems in 1787; "The Times," a poem, in 1788; "The Patriot Chief," a tragedy; and "Reconciliation," an opera. He was a son of John Markoe, a native of the Danish West Indies, who was first captain of the Philadelphia Troop of Light-Horse. Peter Markoe was supposed to have been the author of "The Algerine Spy." He died in 1792.

Joseph Hutton published, in 1812, "Leisure Hours; or, Poetic Effusions." He was the author of several plays,—"Cuffy and Duffy," "The School for Prodigals," "Modern Honor," "The Wounded Hussar," "The Orphan of Prague," "Fashionable Follies." He was for some time an actor, but for the greater part of his life was more quietly engaged in the performance of the duties of a school-master. He kept his school in Lombard Street, near Third, in 1816.

Thomas Clark, in 1813–14, published "Sketches of the Naval History of the United States from the Commencement of the Revolution up to the Present Time." This work was the foundation on which J. Fenimore Cooper wrote his "Naval History." Clark was a native of Pennsylvania. In 1813 he was appointed a lieutenant of artillery in the regular army, and attained the rank of captain of topographical engineers. He left the army when the war of 1812 closed.

A treatise entitled "The Philanthropist; or, Institutions of Benevolence," by Dr. Thomas D. Mitchell, was published by Isaac Pierce in 1813. He suggested a plan for the establishment of free schools, advocated improvements in the management of the almshouse and hospitals, provisions for disabled soldiers, and the establishment of a national asylum for soldiers, sailors, and their orphan children, and, in view of the diseases of infants and the mortality of children from summer sicknesses, proposed that means should be taken to insure to young children the benefit of fresh air in summer-time. He thought that the City Hospital, in Coates Street, might be used for that purpose. This essay probably led to the foundation of "The Society for Securing the Benefits of Fresh Air to Children in Summer."

John Sanderson, who was born in Carlisle in 1783, studied the classics with a clergyman living some six or seven miles from his home, and in 1806 came to Philadelphia to study law. His means were straitened, and, not being able to support himself while following his studies, he was compelled by necessity to give up his intention, and he became a teacher in Clermont Seminary, which was established near Frankford, the principal of which was John T. Carré. Afterward Sanderson married a daughter of Mr. Carré's, and became a partner in the management of the school. He was a contributor to the *Portfolio*. In 1820 was published at Philadelphia "The Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," which was the first attempt to combine their biographies. The first and second volumes of this book were written by John Sanderson. The remaining seven volumes are attributed to Robert Waln, Jr., Henry D. Gilpin, and others. Mr. Sanderson published in 1826 "Remarks on the Plan of a College to Exclude the Latin and Greek Languages." His views were adverse to the establishment of such an institution. After the death of Stephen Girard he advocated, in accordance with those opinions, the

introduction of the languages in the course of studies at Girard College. These arguments were enforced through the medium of the press in a series of letters signed "Roberjot." He went to Paris in 1835, and remained there one year. His impressions were given to the world in "Sketches of Paris, in Familiar Letters to his Friends, by an American Gentleman," two volumes, 1838; "The American in Paris," two volumes, 1838. These are light, agreeable, and abounding in wit and humor. Theodore Hook suggested the publication of this book in England. Jules Janin translated it into French, and it was published in 1843. He commenced a work to be entitled "The American in Paris," portions of which were published in the *Knickerbocker Magazine*. He was made professor of Greek and Latin in the Philadelphia High School on his return from Europe in 1836, and died in 1844.

Elias Boudinot, who had been member of Congress and director of the mint, republished, in 1801, "The Age of Revelation, or the Age of Reason shown to be an Age of Infidelity," which had been originally published in 1790; "The Second Advent of the Messiah," 1815; and "A Star in the West, or an humble attempt to discover the long-lost Ten Tribes of Israel preparatory to their return to their beloved city, Jerusalem." The last-named was published at Trenton, in 1816, and the object was to show that the Indians were descendants of the ten tribes.

Alexander James Dallas devoted his pen principally to the science of the law, statutory and adjudicated. Among his miscellaneous productions were: "Features of Jay's Treaty," 1795; "Speeches on the Trial of Blount and the Impeachment of the Judge;" "Exposition of the Character and Causes of the Late War," 1815. Mr. Dallas, at his death, in 1817, left unpublished some unfinished sketches of a history of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Robert Hare, who was born in Philadelphia, Jan. 17, 1781, devoted the best part of his life to science, and wrote frequently. He published, in 1810, a pamphlet entitled "A Brief Review of the Policy and Resources of the United States."

Dr. James Mease edited and revised the fourteen volumes of a compilation entitled "The Wonders of Nature and Art," by Rev. Thomas Smith, 1806. He published "A Geographical Account of the United States," 1807; "Picture of Philadelphia," 1810; "Description of Some of the Medals struck in North America," 1821.

John Mellish was a native of Scotland, and came to Philadelphia in 1809, dying December 30, 1822, aged fifty-two years. He was author of "Travels in the United States in 1806-'7-'9-'10-'11," which was published in two volumes in 1812. He wrote several pamphlets connected with his business of engraver of maps. Among these were: "A Description of the Roads," etc., 1814; "Travellers' Directory," 1815; maps of Pennsylvania and the United States, and "A Geographical Description of the United States," 1816; "Universal School Geography and Atlas," 1818; "Necessity of Protecting Manufactures," 1818; and "Information to Emigrants," 1819.

Dr. Charles Caldwell, whose career is closely connected with the history of the medical profession in Philadelphia, indulged somewhat in literature apart from that pertaining to medicine and surgery. His contributions to the *Portfolio*, during the editorship of Dennie, obtained from him the editorship of that magazine, which he held until he went to Kentucky, in 1818. He was an industrious writer, and in his "Autobiography" he gives a list of nearly two hundred essays, treatises, criticisms, biographies, etc., of which he was the author, a large number of which are upon medical subjects. Many of his literary efforts were published in the *Portfolio*, and embrace biographies, reviews, etc. Probably one of his earliest efforts was "An Elegiac Poem on the Death of Washington," written in 1800. "An Essay on the Variety, Complexion, and Figure of the Human Species" occupied ninety pages of that periodical. He was the author of "Lives of Distinguished Americans," published in 1816, and of "A Life of Gen. Greene," four hundred and fifty-two pages, published in 1819. He left Philadelphia in the previous year, becoming connected with the medical department of the University of Transylvania, and died at Louisville, on the 9th of July, 1853.

James Nelson Barker was son of Gen. John Barker, who was mayor of the city of Philadelphia in 1808-9 and 1812-13, and sheriff of the county from 1803 to 1807. He was the author of "Tears and Smiles," a comedy produced at the Philadelphia Theatre in March, 1807; "The Travelers," an operatic play, in the same month; "The Indian Princess; or, La Belle Sauvage," played April 6, 1808; "The Embargo; or, What News?" March 16, 1808; "Attila," a tragedy; "How to Try a Lover," 1817; "Marmion; or, the Battle of Flodden Field," dramatized from Sir Walter Scott's poem, Jan. 1, 1813; "The Armorer's Escape," March 21, 1817; "Superstition," a tragedy, the scene of which is laid in New England, and the principal character of which is Goff, the regicide, March 17, 1824. He wrote some fugitive pieces of poetry, was a frequent contributor to journals on political subjects, and delivered an address on "The Early Settlements on the Delaware" before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which contained some valuable information.

Richard Biddle, brother of Nicholas Biddle, was born in Philadelphia on the 25th of March, 1796, and spent the early part of his life in Philadelphia. He was a volunteer in 1813 in the troops that were sent to Delaware. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar March 25, 1817. He was in practice as a lawyer in the city until about 1820, when he removed to Pittsburgh. His principal literary work was "A Life of Sebastian Cabot," which has been considered

by writers to be a most elaborate and successful biography, introducing from obscure and forgotten sources new and important information on the history of maritime discovery in America. He also wrote a review of Capt. Basil Hall's "Travels in North America," in 1827–28. He was elected to Congress in 1837, served a single term, and died at Pittsburgh, July 6, 1847.

Mathew Carey, being devoted to the business of bookselling in 1800, became, as years advanced, in consequence of ease and the acquisition of wealth, a prolific writer. His subjects were solid. He gave no time to the elegancies of literature or fiction. He was born in Dublin, Ireland, Jan. 28, 1760, and came to Philadelphia in November, 1784. By the aid of Lafayette, who sent him four hundred dollars, he established the *Pennsylvania Herald*, Jan. 25, 1785. In a duel with Col. Eleazer Oswald, Jan. 21, 1786, he received a wound which confined him to his house for sixteen months. He was subsequently connected with the *Columbian Magazine* and the *American Museum*. He took an active part in charitable enterprises, and every fortnight dispensed food and other necessaries of life to hundreds of poor widows. In 1793 he founded the Hibernian Society. In 1796–98 he had a controversy with William Cobbett, which he closed with "The Porcupiniad, a Hudibrastic Poem." In 1830, under the title of "Miscellaneous Essays," he republished selections from his writings. There are fifty-eight papers, essays, and longer compositions, and two hundred pieces collected under the heading of "Light Reading." "The History of the Yellow Fever of 1793" takes up a portion of the volume, and among the other pieces are "Essays on the Benevolent Charities of Philadelphia," fifty-one pages; "Review of the Policies of the Founders of the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia, as regards Liberty of Conscience," twenty-eight pages, and numerous papers of more interest when written than when republished. In 1810 he published "Letters and Reflections on the United States Bank." In 1814 he published "The Olive Branch; or, Faults on both Sides, Federal and Democratic. An Appeal to the good sense of the political parties of the day to lay aside their differences during the pendency of the existing war with Great Britain." It passed through ten editions, circulating ten thousand copies. In 1818 he published "Vindicia Hibernicæ," which was a refutation of charges made against the Catholics of Ireland of butchering Protestants in the insurrection of 1640. In 1820 he published "The New Olive Branch," which was in favor of protection to American industry. In 1822 he published "Essays on Political Economy," which were also in favor of protection. He also advocated the system of internal improvements to which Pennsylvania is so much indebted. He died in Philadelphia Sept. 16, 1839.

MATHEW CAREY.

Mason L. Weems, an Episcopal clergyman, and a native of Virginia, who had some time officiated at Pohick Church, near Mount Vernon, became in later life a book agent or canvasser for Mathew Carey, and most frequently was solicitor for the sale of his own productions. As a writer he was very prolific. When not traveling, he was chiefly a resident of Philadelphia. His themes were biographical, patriotic, or moral and religious. He was author of a "Life of George Washington," published in 1800, which contains the anecdote of little George, the cherry-tree, and the hatchet. He wrote lives of Gen. Francis Marion, Benjamin Franklin, and William Penn. These publications had an immense circulation. More than forty editions of the "Life of Washington" were disposed of, and the book is one which still meets with a sale. The same may be said of his other biographies. He also wrote "The Philanthropist," "The Old Bachelor," "The Drunkard's Looking-Glass," and was the author of "An Oration on True Patriotism," and of many other tracts and essays.

"Sketches in Verse" were printed for C. & A. Conrad & Co., Philadelphia, by Smith & Maxwell, in 1810. In the introduction to these pieces it was said that the most of the sketches appeared in the *Portfolio*, and were signed "R. H. R." In this volume is the ode "To a Market Street Gutter," which was a parody on the "Ode to the Raritan." The ode "To a Market Street Gutter" was a provocation which led to retaliation in the production of "The Pursuits of Philadelphia Literature," in which John Davis took a part. Dr. Robert H. Rose, of Silver

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Lake, Susquehanna Co., was the author of "Sketches in Verse."

In 1811 was published "The Maniac, and Other Poems," by John Lawson, who seems to have been a citizen of Philadelphia. The directories of that year and of the year following give the name of "John Lawson, sea-captain, No. 119 Callowhill Street," but whether that person was the author of those poems cannot now be determined. Lawson's poems are introduced by a poetic address, signed T. L. McKinney, dated May 5, 1811, and another by Joseph Hutton, both of which are highly complimentary. Beside "The Maniac," which is in three parts, the volume contains "The Hour-Glass," and ten other miscellaneous pieces.

Moses Thomas, in 1814, published "An Apology for the Life of James Fennell," written by himself, with the self-accusing motto:

> "Look into those they call unfortunate,
> And, closer view'd, you will find they are unwise."

Fennell was also the author of the plays entitled "The Wheel of Truth," "Lindor and Clare," "Picture of Paris," and "The Face of Nature." He was for several years a resident of Philadelphia, and died in the city in June, 1861. He was born in London, took to the stage in 1787, was successful as a tragedian, and was considered a fine actor. He was eccentric, and about the time he published his "Apology" he had determined to leave the stage and establish salt-works near New London, Conn., which proved a failure. His autobiography was the first of a theatrical character published in this country.

Mary Brook published "Reasons for Silent Waiting" in 1816.

Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, in 1815, published "The Journal of the Stated Preacher to the Hospital and Almshouse of the City of New York for 1811–15." This book was unfavorably criticised on account of the character of the revelations which it contained. These were stories of vice and wretchedness which, it was said, had a tendency to make the virtuous reader "familiar with sins of which hitherto he had no idea," and the influence was therefore declared to be bad.

Francis Shallus, who was an engraver and proprietor of a circulating library, published, in 1817, "Chronological Tables for Every Day in the Year, compiled from the most Authentic Documents," etc. This digest, beside foreign and domestic references, contains dates of events in Philadelphia which were not to be obtained in any other way.

In 1817, Jesse Torrey published "A Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States, including Facts on Kidnapping."

Dr. Adam Seybert was born in Philadelphia in 1773. He was educated for the medical profession, and pursued his studies at London, Edinburgh, Paris, and Göttingen. He took part in politics, and was a member of Congress from Philadelphia, 1811–15 and 1817–19. His writings were principally on medical subjects. He published, in 1818, "Statistical Annals of the United States of America from 1789 to 1818," which was extensively reviewed, and extracts from it were published in French. He wrote some papers on "Land and Sea Air, and the Atmosphere of Marshes," which were published among the "Transactions of the Philosophical Society." He died in Paris, May 2, 1825, aged fifty-two years.

"The Mariner," a poem in two cantos, by Archibald Johnston, was published by Edward Earle, 1818. It was dedicated to Commodore Richard Dale.

John Agg, in 1819, published "The Ocean Harp," and some smaller pieces, with a monody on the death of Dr. John S. Dorsey.

Robert S. Coffin, a printer, who assumed the signature of "The Boston Bard," worked at his trade in the principal Atlantic cities, and was for some time a contributor to Philadelphia newspapers and magazines. He was a native of Maine, and was at one period of his life a sailor. He died at Rowley, Mass., in May, 1827. His pieces were collected in a volume entitled "Miscellaneous Poems," published in 1818, and in another entitled "The Oriental Harp." The author dedicated his "Miscellaneous Poems" to the officers and members of the New England Society of Philadelphia. The volume contained over one hundred pieces, and took up one hundred and fifty-six pages, 16mo.

Richard Ferguson published in 1818 "Causes, Results, and Remedies of Revenge and Unmercifulness;" "Abaddon's Steam-Engine, Calumny, Delineated,—being an attempt to stop its deleterious effects on Society, the Church, and the State," etc.

William Grimshaw in 1819 published "A History of England, from the Invasion by Julius Cæsar to the Peace of Ghent." It was a condensed account, for the use of schools. Also "A History of the United States, from the First Settlement to the Peace of Ghent." He was also the author of histories of France, Greece, Rome, South America, and Mexico. He wrote "A Life of Napoleon," an "Etymological Dictionary," a "Lexicon for Gentlemen," and a "Lexicon for Ladies," and prepared a treatise on politeness, called "The American Chesterfield." He was a native of Greencastle, Ireland, and emigrated to America in 1815. In the Directory for 1824 he is set down as "author," living at No. 263 New Market Street. He died in 1852.

Ezekiel Sandford published in 1819 "A History of the United States before the Revolution, with Some Account of the Aborigines."

William B. Tappan, who was born in Beverly, Mass., in 1794, came to Philadelphia about 1817, and engaged in business as a clock- and watch-maker at No. 49 South Third Street, afterward at No. 8 South Third Street. About 1820 he gave up that business, and opened a school at No. 118 Chestnut Street. He

was afterward associated with S. M. L. Staples in the management of a school at No. 2 Sansom Street. Subsequently he became the agent or manager of the American Sunday-School Union. Mr. Tappan delighted in poetry, and wrote copiously. He published at Philadelphia "New England and Other Poems," in 1819; "Songs of Judah," 1820; "Lyrics," 1822.

Dr. John K. Mitchell was born at Sheppardstown, Va., in 1798. He published in 1821 a poem entitled "St. Helena. By a Yankee." He graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1819, and married a daughter of Alexander Henry in 1821.

Matthias James O'Conway translated "The Knights-Templar," from the French of M. Raynouard, to which he added notes and prefixed a history of the origin and character of that order.

"The Maniac's Confession,—a Fragment of a Tale," by J. W. Simmons, author of "The Exile's Return," was published by Moses Thomas (J. Maxwell, printer) in 1821. "The Exile's Return," the author explains in the preface of "The Maniac's Confession," was written some time before the author was twenty years old; "The Maniac's Confession," at the commencement of his twentieth year; and "Observations upon American Literature and upon Poetry in the Drama," before he had become of age. In the same preface he goes into a vindication of himself from a charge that he had taken his incidents from Maturin's "Bertram."

Robert Waln, Jr., who was born in Philadelphia in 1797, was a man of leisure and of literary tastes. His inclinations ran strongly toward satire. He was the author of the following: "The Hermit in America on a Visit to Philadelphia;" "Sisyphi Opus, or Touches at the Times;" "The Hermit in Philadelphia." Mr. Waln also wrote "Life of Marquis de Lafayette," 1824; and "Account of the Asylum for the Insane near Frankford," which was published after his death. He published in quarto numbers "A History of China," and assisted in the preparation of some of the biographies for Sanderson's "Signers of the Declaration." He died in 1824. All of these works were in prose, except "Sisyphi Opus" and "American Bards." The latter was an imitation of the "Pursuits of Literature," "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," and other works of a satirical character.

William Rawle, the elder, devoted his attention more particularly to legal subjects. He was the author of an address before the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, published in 1819; two addresses to members of the Philadelphia bar, 1824, and a View of the Constitution of the United States of America, 1825. David Paul Brown says that Mr. Rawle wrote several works on the subject of religion, which were never published. Among them were "Angelic Influences," "Original Sin, and the Virtue of Baptism," and "An Essay to show the Proof of the Truth of Christianity to be derived from the Parables of our Saviour alone."

Charles West Thomson, who was born in Philadelphia in 1798, studied law, and was admitted to the bar. He afterward turned his attention to teaching, and had his school in Carpenter's Court in 1825. He subsequently obtained a position in the United States custom-house, and finally became a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He commenced to write poetry at an early age. He published "The Limner," prose sketches, in 1822; "The Phantom Barge, and other Poems," in the same year; "Eleanor, and other Poems," 1826; "The Sylph," etc., 1828; "Love of Home," etc. He became a contributor to periodicals, and wrote for annuals and magazines.

Dr. John D. Godman, a native of Annapolis, Md., born Dec. 24, 1794, was bound as an apprentice to a printer at Baltimore; was a sailor in 1814, and participated with the defenders of Fort McHenry when it was bombarded by the British. After he left the navy he studied medicine, and obtained the degree of M.D. in February, 1818. He practiced at New Holland, on the Susquehanna, in Anne Arundel County, Md., and at Philadelphia. He became professor of Anatomy, in 1821, in the Medical College of Ohio, at Cincinnati; resigned a few months afterward; edited, in the mean while, the *Western Quarterly Reporter*, and came back to Philadelphia in the latter part of 1822. In 1823 he commenced his principal work, "American Natural History," which was completed in 1828. He was a contributor to the *American Quarterly Review*.

Rev. William A. Muhlenberg, at one time rector of Christ Church, published, in 1823, "Church Poetry; being portions of the Psalms and Verses and Hymns suited to the Fasts and Festivals of the Church." Dr. Muhlenberg was author of the well-known hymn, "I would not live alway."

Rev. Benjamin Allen, rector of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church from 1821 to 1828, was moved by literary and patriotic ambition to publish, in 1811, a volume entitled "Miscellaneous Poems on Moral and Religious Subjects," by Osander, printed in New York; "United We Stand, Divided We Fall," by Juba, New York, 1812; "Columbia's Naval Triumphs," New York, 1813; "Urania, or the True Use of Poesy," by B. Allen, Jr., Philadelphia, 1814; "The Phœnix, or the Battle of Valparaiso," by B. Allen, Jr., New York, 1814; "The Death of Abdallah," an Eastern tale, founded on the story of Abdallah and Sabat in Buchanan's "Christian Researches," New York, 1814; "The Palace of the Comet," a poem. He edited the *Layman's Magazine*, at Martinsburg, Va., in 1815. In Philadelphia, in 1822, he published a volume of sermons, entitled "Jesus Christ and Him Crucified," the subjects being "The Trinity," "The Divinity of Christ," and "The Atonement;" "Living Manners, or the True Secret of Happiness," Philadelphia, 1822; an abridgement of Burnet's "History of the Reformation," Philadelphia, 1823; "History of the Church of Christ," Philadelphia, 1823; "A Narrative of the

Labors, Sufferings, and Final Triumphs of the Rev. William Eldred, late a Missionary of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania," 1828; "General Stevens, or the Fancy Ball," being the third part of "Living Manners," 1828; "The Church in the Fires of Persecution, or a History of the Sufferings of the Church from the Days of our Saviour," 1828. In 1828 he commenced the publication of *The Christian Warrior*, a magazine published weekly, which had but a short life.

In 1822 was published "The Troubadour," "The Club, a Satire, and other Poems," by John C. McCall. He was a lawyer, and he wrote with taste and facility of expression. The following is an extract from Canto I. of "The Troubadour:"

"The mists lay dreaming on the mountain's breast,
The lazy winds were sinking into rest,
And, softly breathing as they died away,
Sighed o'er the splendors of departing Day!
In awful grandeur, 'mid a blaze of light
That threw its countless hues of colors bright
O'er clouds and hills, o'er dells and babbling streams,
The sun of Even shed his crimson beams!
The hollow murmurs of the rushing rill,
The mellow horn that sounded 'cross the hill,
The nightly anthem of the feathered host,
All golden sounds, and sober Evening's boast,
Mixed their sweet discords with seraphic skill,
And held the wanderer list'ning at their will!
The lowing herds crept slowly 'long the vale,
And distant echoes bore the hunter's hail;
The curling smoke above the foliage flew,
Fantastic wreathing as the zephyrs blew."

Thomas Green Fessenden, a wandering child of genius, who published at London "The Terrible Tractoration," a satirical poem which attracted much attention, was at Philadelphia in 1808-9, where he published "Pills—Poetical, Political, and Philosophical; Prescribed for the Purpose of Purging the Public of Piddling Philosophers, of Puny Poetasters, of Paltry Politicians and Petty Partisans. By Peter Pepper-Box, Poet and Physician. Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, 1809."

"No common medicines are fit
For patient by a mad dog bit;
And poison must, as Galen held,
By counter-poison be expelled."
—*Paracelsus.*

The subjects of the satire were the embargo, gunboats, Governor Snyder, John Binns, Parson Hey, Dr. Leib, Commodore Truxton, and other themes. In 1808, Fessenden published "The Register of Arts, or a Compendium of the most Useful Discoveries and Inventions." He afterward finished his life as a lawyer, political editor, and writer upon agricultural subjects.

"Facts and Arguments respecting the Great Utility of an Extensive Plan of Inland Navigation in America, with a Map. By a Friend of National Industry." Printed by William Duane, No. 106 Market Street, 1805. This was issued anonymously, but in the Philadelphia Library catalogue it is ascribed to Turner Camac.

William Blodget in the same year published "The Utility of an Extensive Plan of Inland Navigation in America."

"An Apology for Silent Waiting upon God in Religious Assemblies." By Thomas Colley. Printed by Joseph Cruikshank, 1804. This was antagonized by the publication, in 1809, of "A Spiritual Discourse on Noise. Being a Plain Vindication of Sonorous Adoration." By Charles Giles. Printed by Abel Dickinson for the publisher (1809). The latter was evidently the production of a Methodist, and a defense "of a class of professing Christians who, in their transported moments being filled with heavenly joys, have clasped their hands, shouted aloud, and praised God in a vocal manner."

Messrs. L. A. Tarascon, Jr., and James Berthoud & Co. published, in 1806, "An Address to the Citizens of Philadelphia on the Great Advantages which Arise from the Trade of the Western Country to the State of Pennsylvania at large, and the City of Philadelphia in particular."

Charles Paleske wrote, in 1808, "Observations on the Application for a Law to Incorporate the Union Canal Company."

"An Account of the Languages, History, Manners, and Customs, etc., of the Indian Nations who once Inhabited Pennsylvania," by the Rev. John Heckewelder, was published in 1819.

Robert W. Ewing paid considerable attention to dramatic affairs, and frequently appeared in the newspapers during the year 1825-26 as a critic of dramatic performances under the signature of "Jacques." He wrote several plays, among which were "Le Solitaire," "Sponge Again," "The Frontier Maid," "The Highland Seer," "The Election," "Imperial Victim," "Lafayette," "Quentin Durward," "Exit in a Hurry," and "The Bride of Death."

"Juvenile Essays, a Collection of Poems," by Henry Pepper, was published without date. It probably made its appearance about the year 1815.

Dr. Joseph Priestley's last work was issued in 1803, and was entitled "Socrates and Jesus Christ Compared." This essay led to the publication of a reply by the Rev. J. Blair Linn, of the Presbyterian Church, and a rejoinder by Dr. Priestley. The latter died at Northumberland, Feb. 6, 1804.

"The Power of the Church Distinguished from the Power of Anti-Christ, the Man of Sin," by Emor Kimber, was published in 1823.

"Remarks on the Internal Evidence of the Truth of Revealed Religion," by F. Erskine, 1821.

"Salvation by Christ, to which is added Remarks upon the Salvation of Christ," by Job Scott, 1824. The same writer published in 1804 "War Inconsistent with the Doctrines of Jesus Christ."

In 1821 was published "The Vermin Destroyer; being a complete and necessary family book, etc., etc. By Dr. James Johnston." The title was very long, and was minutely descriptive of the contents. At the

same time Dr. Johnston published "A History of the Haunted Caverns of Magdalena, an Indian Queen of South America," etc., etc.

Benjamin Johnson in 1805 published "A Compendious History of the World, from the Earliest Times to the Coronation of Bonaparte," the latter part of which was announced to have been written by a citizen of Philadelphia. The same writer prepared "An Account of the Life and Writings of the great Apologist for Quakerism, Robert Barclay." He edited "An Easy Grammar of Geography for the Use of Schools, by the Rev. J. Goldsmith," superintended the preparation of "The Poems of Addison," and embodied in one volume the poetry of Dr. S. Johnson and William Collins.

Among the works of fiction published anonymously, and probably to be ascribed to inhabitants of Philadelphia, were "Kelroy, by a Lady of Pennsylvania," 1812; "Bakhtier Nameh; or, The Royal Foundling; a Persian Story, exhibiting a Portraiture of Society in the East. Translated into the English by a citizen of Philadelphia," 1813; "Margaretta; or, The Intricacies of the Heart, by a Lady of Philadelphia," 1821.

The following plays and pieces performed in Philadelphia, presented anonymously, were most probably written by citizens or residents: "The Way to Keep Him; or, Virtue, Love, and Friendship," a comedy played at the South Street Theatre in 1801; "The Federal Oath," South Street Theatre, July 5, 1802; "The Enterprise; or, Wreath for American Tars," a drama, Chestnut Street Theatre, 1803; "The Tripolitan Prize; or, Veteran Tars," Chestnut Street Theatre, 1804; "Blackbeard," a pantomime, brought out at the same house, 1804; "Count Benyowsky," a tragi-comedy, 1804; "American Tars in Tripoli," 1804; "The Impatient Lover," a comedy, translated by a citizen of Philadelphia, performed at the Olympic Theatre, 1812; "American Naval Pillar," Olympic Theatre, 1812; "Philadelphia Volunteers; or, Who's Afraid?" by a citizen of Philadelphia, acted at the Olympic Theatre, Oct. 5, 1812; "The Constitution; or, American Tars Triumphant," and "Returned from a Cruise," Chestnut Street Theatre, 1812; "The Constitution; or, More Laurels," Chestnut Street Theatre, 1813; "The Naval Frolic, a Tribute to American Tars," by a gentleman of Philadelphia, performed at the South Street Theatre, Jan. 1, 1812; "Heroes of the Lakes," played at the Chestnut Street Theatre, 1813; "The Author's Night," a farce, by a citizen of Philadelphia, Walnut Street Theatre, 1821.

William Francis, an actor of the Chestnut Street Theatre, brought out in 1803 a pantomime entitled "Harlequin in Prison; or, the Genii of The Rocks."

Mrs. Melmoth, who was acting at the Chestnut Street Theatre, in 1807 produced at that house "The Generous Farmers, or Chedmella Faul Routh," written by herself.

John Bray, an actor at the Chestnut Street Theatre, wrote some plays which were performed, namely, "Who Pays the Piper?" a comedy, 1809, and "The Toothache," a comedietta, 1814.

John Hodgkinson, comedian, who was at one time a manager of the South Street Theatre, in 1811 wrote "The Man of Fortitude," a melodrama.

Andrew Allen, an actor, was the author of "The Taking of Yorktown," a pantomime, brought out at the Olympic Theatre in 1812; "Proctor's Defeat by General Harrison," a play, 1813.

In 1823 there was performed at the Chestnut Street Theatre a farce called "The Phrenologist," which was translated from the German of Kotzebue by Francis J. Troubat, who afterward was a member of the bar.

Charles Breck wrote, in 1806, a comedy entitled "The Fox Chase," which was performed at the Chestnut Street Theatre in April of that year.

In the interests of science and education, and the branches of learning taught in schools and colleges, there was considerable activity among various writers.

Nicholas Gouin Dufief, a Frenchman, came to Philadelphia about the year 1800, and established himself at No. 68 South Fourth Street, as professor of French literature and bookseller. He published "Logic of Facts" in 1806, "A New Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of the French and English Languages," in three volumes, in 1810, and set forth his principles of teaching in a treatise entitled "Nature Displayed in Her Mode of Teaching Language to Man; or, A New and Infallible Method of Acquiring a Language in the Shortest Time Possible. Deduced from an Analysis of the Human Mind." This work was in two volumes, and has reached, up to the present time, more than twenty-one editions. Mr. Dufief's method received the approbation of the highest scholars of the period.

"Nature Explained. By D'Orlic: 1806." This was a controversial publication in regard to the merits of Dufief's plan of teaching French, and in opposition to that plan.

Peter A. Chazotte published, in 1817, "An Essay on the Best Method of Teaching Foreign Languages, as Applied with Extraordinary Success to the French Language." In 1819 he brought out "Metaphysics" and "Philology of Languages."

A rather curious treatise—being a Frenchman's directions to his countrymen how to speak English—was published by Moses Thomas in 1818. It was entitled "Traité complet de la Prononciation de la Langue Anglaise, by Charles Carle, interpreter for the State of Pennsylvania, and professor of English and French in Philadelphia."

An "Abridgment of a French and English Grammar," by A. Texier de la Pommeraye, appeared in 1822, and a reader—"Lecteur Français Amusant et Instructif"—in 1826.

"Hispano-Anglo Grammar, containing the Definitions, Structure, Government, and Combination of the Various Classes of Words in the Spanish Lan-

guage; also a Vocabulary and Index, by M. J. O'Conway," was brought out in 1810.

Dufief's "Nature Displayed," adapted to the Spanish by Don Manuel de Torrez and L. Hargous, was published in 1817.

Hugh Williamson, M.D., LL.D., statesman and man of letters, was born at West Nottingham, Pa., Dec. 5, 1835, graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, and died at New York May 22, 1819. He studied divinity, preached occasionally during two years, and in 1760-63 was professor of Mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania. He studied medicine in Edinburgh and Utrecht, where he took his degree, and on his return practiced successfully in Philadelphia. On Jan. 7, 1769, he was appointed one of a committee to the Philosophical Society to observe the transit of Venus, his account of which is in vol. i. of the Transactions of that society, which also contains a paper by him on the transit of Mercury, Nov. 9, 1769. After visiting the West Indies in 1772, he went to England to procure aid for an academy at Newark, N. J., and upon his return home entered into business at Charleston, S. C., and afterward practiced medicine at Edenton, N. C., where he acquired great distinction. He subsequently removed to New York, and was a frequent contributor to the Transactions of the learned societies of Europe and America. He published a series of essays upon paper currency in 1786; some fugitive pieces on languages and politics in the *American Museum;* "Observations on the Climate of America," 1811; "History of North Carolina," two volumes, 8vo, 1812; "Observations on Navigable Canals;" and an essay on comets. In 1810 he delivered a discourse on the "Benefits of Civil History" before the New York Historical Society.

HUGH WILLIAMSON.

Frederick David Schaeffer, a native of Frankfort-on-the-Main, emigrated and settled at Germantown, afterward at Frederick, Md., where he died in 1836. He was the author of (1) "Antwort auf eine Vertheidigung der Methodisten," and (2) "Eine Herzliche Anrede." His son, Frederick Christian, D.D., who died in 1832, was author of (1) "The Blessed Reformation," (2) "Parables and Parabolic Sayings," and (3) "Sermon on Laying the Corner-Stone of St. Matthew's Church, New York." Another son, Charles Frederick, D.D., published (1) "Kurtz's Manual of Sacred History," (2) "Luther's Smaller Catechism, with Additions," (3) Antritts-Rede, gehalten am 16 April, 1856, zu Gettysburg;" (4) "Discourse in the Memorial Volume of the Lutheran Evangelical Church of the Holy Trinity." A grandson, Charles William, was author of (1) "Discourse on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Lutheran Evangelical Church," (2) "Valedictory Discourse at Harrisburg," (3) "Dr. W. J. Mann's Exposition of Luther's Smaller Catechism," (4) "Early History of the Lutheran Church in America," (5) Bogatzky's "Golden Treasury," (6) "Family Prayer-Book," (7) "Discourse Delivered at the Opening of the Twentieth Convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."

Charles Adams Smith published (1) "Parables from the German of Krummacher," (2) "Catechumen's Guide," (3) "Commentary on Mark and John," (4) "Illustrations of Faith," (5) "Men of the Olden Time," also several single sermons.

John Blair Smith was author of the "Enlargement of Christ's Kingdom."

Samuel Stillman, D.D., at one time a Baptist clergyman of Philadelphia, was author of several sermons and discourses.

James A. Bayard, the distinguished American statesman, who was a native of Philadelphia, had published (1798) a speech on "The Foreign Intercourse Bill," and one on "The Repeal of the Judiciary Act in 1802."

Rev. Morgan Edwards, Baptist, a native Welshman, published several sermons and discourses, and a work called "Materials toward a History of the Baptists of Pennsylvania and New Jersey."

In 1754, William Bradford printed for Samuel

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Blair, a native of Ireland, his works, consisting of sermons, treatises, and a "Narrative of a Revival of Religion in Pennsylvania." His son, of the same name, published in 1761 an "Oration on the Death of George II."

Mrs. Sarah Hall was the author of "Conversations on the Bible." She contributed to the *Portfolio*, of which her son, John E. Hall, was editor.

Thomas Truxton (1794) published "Remarks, Instructions, and Examples relating to Latitude and Longitude," also the "Variation of the Compass."

James Wilson, one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, was the author of several works. Besides "An Address to Citizens of Philadelphia," published in 1784, he wrote, with Thomas MacKean, "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States."

His son, Bird Wilson, D.D., LL.D., published, in 1803, the works of his father, containing law lectures, speeches, orations, and legal disquisitions. Bird Wilson, after having served upon the bench, took orders in the Episcopal Church, and published,—(1) "An Abridgment of the Law by Matthew Bacon," 1811; (2) "Memoirs of the Right Rev. William White, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania."

James Sharswood, grandfather of the eminent judge, was a leading politician, and the author of several articles, published in the *Aurora*, against the United States National Bank.

Benjamin Say, M.D., published in 1792 "Spasmodic Affection of the Eyes," "Medical Memoirs and Short Compilation of the Extraordinary Life and Writings of Thomas Say." The latter was his father, a member of the Society of Friends, who had published a work called "The Vision of Thomas Say."

Thomas Say, son of Benjamin, was one of the most eminent naturalists that this country has produced. In company with McClure, Ord, and Peale, he traversed Georgia and East Florida in 1818, and the following year went in the first expedition of Capt. Long, and with the second in 1823. His published contributions to science are numerous: (1) "Astronomical and Meteorological Records and Vocabularies of Indian Languages;" (2) "American Entomology;" (3) "American Conchology." Many papers were contributed by him to scientific journals. His collected writings and notices of him were published: (1) "The Complete Writings of Thomas Say on the Entomology of the United States. Edited by John Le Conte, M.D., with a Memoir of the Author by George Ord;" (2) "The Complete Writings of Thomas Say on the Entomology of the United States, with a Copious Index to the Original Work. Edited by William D. Binney." A biographical sketch of the author was delivered by Benjamin H. Coates, M.D., before the Academy of Natural Sciences.

James H. Rogers, M.D., while Professor of Chemistry in the Philadelphia Medical Institute, was a frequent contributor to medical journals.

Henry Darwin Rogers, LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in Dickinson College, at one time State geologist of Pennsylvania, was a native of Philadelphia. His researches and publications obtained for him membership in the Royal Society, of which he was elected a fellow in 1858. These publications comprise, (1) "Five Annual Reports of the Geological Survey of Pennsylvania;" (2) "Report on the Geological Survey of New Jersey," 1836; (3) "Final Report" on the same in 1840; (4) "Address Assoc. Amer. Geol. and Nat.;" (5) "Atlas of the United States;" (6) "The Geology of Pennsylvania: A Government Survey; with a General View of the Geology of the United States, Essays on the Coal Formation and its Fossils, and a Description of the Coal-Fields of North America and Great Britain; with Seven Large Maps and Numerous Illustrations on Copper and Wood." The *Edinburgh Review* thus speaks of this most elaborate work: "The magnificent 'Survey of the Geology of Pennsylvania,' which is one of the most valuable recent contributions to geological science, and is published in a form equally creditable to the liberality of that commonwealth, the energy of its author, and the typographical skill of its printer, enables us to quote some interesting details as to the latest discoveries on the subject of fossil footprints in the United States."

Stephen Simpson was author (1832) of a "Biography of Stephen Girard" and other lesser works. He was proprietor and principal editor of *The Portico* and the *Columbian Magazine*, and a frequent contributor to *The Aurora* and "The Philadelphia Book."

Several descendants of Benjamin Franklin, through his daughter, Mrs. Bache, have become distinguished for authorship among other things. Franklin Bache, M.D., great-grandson of the philosopher, was author of (1) "A System of Chemistry, for the Use of Students of Medicine," 1819; (2) "A Supplement to the American Edition of Henry's Chemistry"; (3) "Letter to Roberts Vaux on the Separate Confinement of Prisoners;" (4) another letter on the same subject, published in the *Journal of Law*; (5) "The Dispensatory of the United States," in conjunction with Dr. George B. Wood; (6) "Introductory Lectures on Chemistry." He also, with Dr. Robert Hare, was editor of "Ure's Dictionary of Chemistry," of "A System of Pyrotechny," by James Cutbush, of "Turner's Chemistry," of "Dr. Hare's Chemical Compendium," and, with others of the medical profession, of *The North American Medical and Surgical Journal*. "Morand's Memoir on Acupuncturation" was translated from the French by him, and he was also a frequent contributor to the Columbian Chemical Society, *American Medical Record*, and various scientific journals.

Mrs. Anna Bache wrote "Clara's Amusements," "The Fireside Screen, or Domestic Sketches," "Little Clara," "The Sibyl's Cave," and "Scenes at Home."

R. Bache, 1810, wrote "Manual of a Justice of the Peace," and, 1818, "The Case of Alien Enemies Considered and Decided."

William Bache was author, 1794, of "Inaugural Dissertation on Carbonic Acid."

The most distinguished author of that name was Alexander Dallas Bache, a great-grandson of Franklin, graduated at the head of his class at West Point in 1825, occupied successively the lieutenancy of engineers of fortifications, professorship of mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania, that of natural philosophy and chemistry, and the presidency of Girard College. He published a volume written upon the various systems of public instruction in Europe, whither he went for the purpose of studying them. Professor Bache superintended the publication of the "Reports of the United States Coast Survey." He was a member of the principal scientific societies of the world, having received the medal of the Royal Geographical Society for 1858. His other most important works are mainly contributions to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Franklin Institute of Pennsylvania, the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," the "Annual Reports to the Treasury Department on Weights and Measures," the *American Journal of Science*, and the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Albert Barnes, an eminent Presbyterian divine (First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia), who for many years persisted in refusing the degree of D.D., which was several times tendered him, is well known throughout the English-speaking world for his Commentaries on the New Testament, on the Book of Job, and on the Prophecies of Isaiah and Daniel. He was also author of "An Inquiry into the Scriptural View of Slavery," "A Manual of Prayers," "The Way of Salvation," "Practical Sermons designed for Vacant Congregations," "The Church and Slavery," "Prayers Adapted to Family Worship," "Miscellaneous Essays and Reviews," and the "Atonement in its Relations to Law and Moral Government." The works of no commentator on the New Testament were ever so popular as those of Mr. Barnes. In the period of the first twenty-five years of their publication the sales are said to have been not far from half a million.

Samuel Bayard published (1810) "A Digest of American Cases on the Law of Evidence, intended as Commentaries on Peake's Compendium to the Law of Evidence;" also, 1834, "An Abstract of the Laws of the United States which relate to the Duties and Authority of the Judges of the Inferior State Courts, and the Justices of the Peace throughout the Union."

Gregory Townsend Bedell, D.D., rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, spent much of his time in studying and writing upon religious subjects. His publications are (1) "Ezekiel's Vision;" (2) "Is It Well?" (3) "It Is Well;" (4) "Onward, or Christian Progression;" (5) "Pay Thy Vows;" (6) "Renunciation;" (7) "Way Marks;" (8) "Sermons, with Biographical Sketch of the Author by Stephen H. Tyng, D.D.," 2 vols. 8vo.

Henry Bond, M.D., a native of Watertown, Mass., wrote "Watertown Family Memorials, with Illustrations, Maps, and Notes;" besides contributions to medical journals.

Francesca Anna Canfield is spoken of in terms of great praise in Griswold's "Female Poets of America," for her various contributions to the periodicals of the time, about 1820.

Henry C. Carey, son of Mathew Carey, carried on the publishing business after the death of his father. He wrote an essay on "The Rate of Wages," afterward enlarged upon in his work on "The Principles of Political Economy," published in 1837, a work that has been translated into several languages of Europe. The following year he published "The Credit System in France, Great Britain, and the United States," a work which was pronounced by the *Journal des Économistes* the best work on the "Credit System" that had ever been published. In 1848 he published "The Past, the Present, and the Future." This work was also much admired abroad. He also wrote many articles for *The Plow, the Loom, and the Anvil*, some of which were collected in a volume entitled "The Harmony of Interests,—Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial," and others in a smaller work, "The Prospects." Of these *Blackwood's Magazine* said, "Mr. Carey, the well-known statistical writer of America, has supplied us with ample materials for conducting such an inquiry, and we can safely recommend this remarkable work to all who wish to investigate the causes of the progress or decline of industrial communities." In 1853 appeared his "Slavery and the Slave Trade." He published other works, as "Answers to the Questions,—What Constitutes Currency? What are the Causes of its Unsteadiness? and What is the Remedy?" "Letters on Copyright, and Principles of Social Science."

John Beale Bordley was author of "Forsyth's Treatise on Fruit-Trees," "Sketches on Rotation of Crops," 1792; "Essays and Notes on Husbandry," 1799, and "View of the Courses of Crops in England and Maryland," 1804.

George P. Morris was born in Philadelphia. When he was not more than twenty-one years of age he began his career of letters with the establishment of *The New York Mirror* and the *Ladies' Gazette*. These were followed by *The New Mirror* and *The Home Journal*. That career was one of the happiest. In 1825, when he was only three-and-twenty, he produced his drama "Brier Cliff," which had a most successful run upon the stage, paying the author several thousand dollars. His opera of "The Maid of Saxony" was also successful. In 1836 appeared "The Little Frenchman and his Water-Lots;" in 1838, "The Deserted Bride, and other Poems;" in 1844, "Songs and Ballads." His rank is highest as a lyrical poet, in which *rôle* he has

had as yet no superiors in this country. All who read poetry at all are familiar with "The Carrier Dove," "Long Time Ago," "Think of Me, My own Beloved," "Woodman, Spare that Tree," "The Pastor's Daughter," "A Legend of the Mohawk," "I Love the Night," and many others of their like. We give a part of the criticism of his long-time friend and partner, N. P. Willis: "Morris is the best-known poet of the country,—by acclamation, not by criticism. He is just what poets would be if they sang, like birds, without criticism; and it is a peculiarity of his fame that it seems as regardless of criticism as a bird in the air. Nothing can stop a song of his. It is very easy to say that they are easy to do. They have a momentum, somehow, that it is difficult for others to give, and that speeds them to the far goal of popularity."

Thomas Bond, M.D., delivered the first clinical lectures in the Pennsylvania Hospital, and wrote much for the *London Medical Observer and Inquirer*. He wrote also "An Account of an Immense Worm bred in the Liver," and "On the Use of Peruvian Bark in Scrofulous Cases."

James C. Booth was author of the "Encyclopædia of Chemistry, Practical and Theoretical, Embracing its Application to the Arts, Metallurgy, Geology, Medicine, and Pharmacy." In conjunction with Campbell Morfit, he wrote, for the Smithsonian Institute, on "Recent Improvements in the Chemical Arts."

John Bouvier, associate judge of the Court of Criminal Sessions, an emigrant from France, published, in 1839, his "Law Dictionary, adapted to the Constitution and Laws of the United States of America and the Several States of the American Union, with References to the Civil and Other Systems of Foreign Law." This work, immediately on its production, was received cordially by the public, and has ever been regarded by the profession as the best book of the kind for the use of the American bar. Judge Baldwin, of the Supreme Court, said of it, "It is not only the best which has been published, but in itself a valuable acquisition to the bar and bench, by which both will profit." In 1841, Judge Bouvier began the writing of a new edition of Bacon's "Abridgment of the Law," and, with comparatively little assistance, finished the task in four years. In 1851 he published the "Institutes of American Law," which received equal praise with that bestowed upon his other works.

His daughter, Hannah M. Bouvier, published, in 1857, "Familiar Astronomy; or, An Introduction to the Study of the Heavens. Illustrated by Celestial Maps," to which was added a "Treatise on the Globes" and a "Comprehensive Astronomical Dictionary," a work that drew words of very high praise from the most eminent scientists of Europe. Trübner said she might justly be styled the Mary Somerville of the United States.

Judge Robert T. Conrad was known for his literary productions. His dramatic pieces are "Conrad of Naples," and "Aylmere; or, The Bondman of Kent." The latter was published in 1852, along with other poems, such as "Sonnets on the Lord's Prayer;" "Lines on a Blind Boy Soliciting Charity by Playing on his Flute." We give one of the sonnets:

> "Give us this day our Daily bread! thou art
> Lord of the harvest. Thou hast taught the song
> Sung by the rill, the grassy vale along;
> And 'tis thy smile when Summer's zephyrs start,
> That makes the wavy wheat a sea of gold!
> Give me to share thy boon! No miser hoard
> I crave; no splendor, no Apician board,
> Freedom and faith and food,—and all is told:
> I ask no more. But spare my brethren! they
> Now beg in vain to toil; and cannot save
> Their wan-eyed loved ones, sinking to the grave.
> Give them their daily bread! How many pray,
> Alas, in vain, for food! Be Famine fed;
> And give us, Lord, this day our daily bread."

Robley Dunglison, M.D., LL.D., a native Englishman, for many years Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence in Jefferson Medical College, was the author of a very large number of works, among which were "Commentaries on the Diseases of the Stomach and Bowels of Children," 1824; "Human Physiology;" "A New Dictionary of Medical Science and Literature," 1833; "The Practice of Medicine; or, A Treatise on Special Pathology and Therapeutics;" on "The Blind and Institutions for the Blind." Probably no physician of the country has contributed more largely to the literature of the profession. His works rank among the very highest of their kind, and have had comparatively enormous sales.

Frederick Charles Brightly, an emigrant from England, published (1839) "Treatise on the Law of Costs," "Nisi Prius Reports," "Equitable Jurisdiction of the Courts of Pennsylvania," and edited "Purdon's Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania," and "Binn's Justice." He published also an "Analytical Digest of the Laws of the United States, from the Adoption of the Constitution to the End of the Thirty-fourth Congress," a work that has been greatly commended.

John Romeyn Brodhead, born in Philadelphia, was an attaché to the United States Legation at the Hague, and in 1846 was Secretary of Legation at London under Mr. Bancroft. He was author of (1) "Address before the Historical Society of New York," 1844; (2) "Report as Historical Agent of New York;" (3) "History of the State of New York;" (4) "Address before the Clinton Hall Association."

William Potts Dewees, M.D., Professor of Midwifery in the University of Pennsylvania, was the author of "Inaugural Essays," "Medical Essays," and "System of Midwifery, founded on the French System of Obstetrics, especially that of Baudelocque." The twelfth edition of this admirable work was published in 1854. In 1825 he published "A Treatise on

the Physical and Medical Treatment of Children," and the following year one on the "Diseases of Women;" in 1830, "Practice of Medicine."

Herman Haupt published in 1840 "Hints on Bridge-Building," and afterward "General Theory of Bridge-Construction."

Isaac Hays, M.D., was editor of Wilson's "American Ornithology," of Hoblyn's "Dictionary of Medical Terms," Lawrence's "Treatise on Diseases of the Eye," Arnott's "Elements of Physics," and *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences* from its commencement, in 1827; also the *Philadelphia Journal of Medicine and Physic*, to both of which he contributed a variety of articles.

Joseph Hartshorne, M.D., was first American editor of Boyer's "Lectures on Diseases of the Bones," arranged by Richerand, and translated by Dr. Farrall, London. Besides this work, he contributed much to the *Eclectic Repository* and the *Medical Recorder*, of Philadelphia.

Edward Hartshorne, M.D., and Henry Hartshorne, M.D., sons of the preceding, added to the literature of the profession. The former published (1) "Medical Jurisprudence," by Alfred S. Taylor, with notes and references to American decisions; also the "Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery" of T. Wharton Jones. He was the author of many articles in *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences, The Philadelphia Medical Examiner*, and the *Philadelphia Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy*. The latter published "Water *vs.* Hydropathy," "Thesis on Water in its True Relation to Medicine," contributions to the above last-named journals, and a prize essay on "Arterial Circulation."

Catharine H. W. Esling, formerly Miss Waterman, was a very popular authoress about 1840, contributing often to the periodicals. Her published volume is one entitled "The Broken Bracelet, and Other Poems." Mrs. Hale, in "Woman's Record," speaks of Mrs. Esling as excelling "in portraying feeling, and in expressing the warm and tender emotions of one to whom *home* has ever been the lodestar of the soul."

J. F. B. Flagg, M.D., a native of Boston, removed to Philadelphia, where he was author of "Ether and Chloroform, their Employment in Surgery, Dentistry, Midwifery, Therapeutics, etc.," 1851, a work that has been much praised.

W. W. Gerhard, M.D., was for a time lecturer on clinical medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. He published (1) "Clinical Guide," 1842; (2) "Lectures on the Diagnosis, Pathology, and Treatment of the Diseases of the Chest." Of this last work the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* says, it is "the best refutation of the charges which are constantly made against physical exploration in medicine by those who appear to imagine that science can never advance beyond the point at which they ceased to learn."

Paul B. Goddard, M.D., was a frequent contributor to medical science. His works are (1) "On the Arteries," with plates; (2) "On the Nerves;" (3) "The Anatomy, Physiology, and Pathology of the Human Teeth;" (4 and 5) edition of Erasmus Wilson's "System of Human Anatomy, General and Special;" and the same author's "The Dissector; or, Practical and Surgical Anatomy;" (6) Moreau's "Practical Treatise on Midwifery;" (7) Ricord's "Illustrations of Syphilitic Disease." He edited the iconographic portion of "Rayer on the Skin," and edited "Ashwell on the Diseases of Females."

Thomas Charlton Henry, D.D., for many years pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Charleston, a native of Philadelphia, wrote three works that have been often very highly commended: (1) "An Inquiry into the Consistency of Popular Amusements with a Profession of Christianity," Charleston, 1825; (2) "Moral Etchings from the Religious World," 1828; (3) "Letters to an Anxious Inquirer, designed to relieve the Difficulties of a Friend under Serious Impressions." This last work was published in London (1829), with a memoir of the author by Rev. Thomas Lewis, and a preface by John Pye Smith. "These letters," said the *London Evangelical Magazine*, "are the production of a master-mind, deeply read in the Scriptures, in the knowledge of the human heart, and in the phenomena of Christian experience."

John Henry Hobart, D.D., bishop of New York, Professor of Theology and Eloquence in the General Protestant Episcopal Seminary of New York, was born in Philadelphia, and was at one time rector of a Protestant Episcopal Church in the upper part of the county. He published "Companion for the Altar," 1804; "Companion for the Festivals and Fasts," 1804; "Apology for Apostolic Order," 1807; Charge to the Clergy," 1815; "State of Departed Spirits;" "Thanksgiving Sermon;" "Address to the Episcopal Missionary Society," 1817; "Communicant's Manual;" "A Discourse comparing the United States with England;" "The Clergyman's Companion;" "The Christian's Manual of Faith and Devotion." His posthumous works, with a memoir by Rev. William Berrien, were published in 1833. Bishop Hobart was an earnest advocate of Episcopal ordination.

Thomas C. James, M.D., professor of Midwifery in the University of Pennsylvania, was fond of light literature, and contributed to the *Portfolio* translations in verse of the Idylls of Gessner.

L. J. Jardine, M.D., published, in 1795, "Letter from Pennsylvania to a Friend in England."

William David Lewis, after a year's residence in Russia, published a translation of the "Bokchesarian Fountain," by Alexander Pooshkeen, and other poems from the Russian. This was the first translation from Russian literature that was ever made in this country.

John Morgan, M.D., with Dr. William Shippen,

founder of the first medical school in Philadelphia, in which he was professor of the theory and practice of medicine, published in 1768 "Tentamen Medicum de Puris Confectione," and is said to have been the first in the medical profession who proposed the theory of the formation of pus by the secretory action of the vessels of the affected part. He was author also of "A Discourse on the Institution of Medical Schools in Philadelphia," and of "Four Dissertations on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and her American Colonies." These received the prize awarded by John Sargeant, of London. He wrote also "A Recommendation of Inoculation, according to Baron Dimsdale's Method," 1776; also "Vindication of his Public Character in the Station of Director-General of the Military Hospitals," 1777. He was also one of the founders of the Philosophical Society, and contributed frequently to its Transactions.

Samuel George Morton, M.D., after completing his education at the University of Edinburgh, rose rapidly in his profession, and was professor of anatomy in the Pennsylvania Medical College from 1839 to 1843. He became prominently connected with the Academy of Sciences, of which he was for some time president, and to whose Transactions he contributed many valuable papers. In 1827 he published "Analysis of Tabular Spar from Bucks County;" in 1834, "Synopsis of the Organic Remains of the Cretaceous Group of the United States;" and in the same year, "Illustrations of Pulmonary Consumption; its Anatomical Character, Causes, Symptoms, and Treatment." In 1839 appeared "Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America," to which was prefixed an essay on the "Varieties of the Human Species; illustrated with Plates and Maps." This work made a profound impression upon the scientific world. Humboldt, Prescott, Silliman, and others lauded it highly. The *Westminster Review* said, "It is the first application, upon anything like a commensurate scale, of the study of cranial peculiarities to the illustration of a great division of the human family." He wrote also a treatise styled "An Inquiry into the Distinctions and Characteristics of the Aboriginal Race of America;" also "Crania Egyptiaca; or, Observations on Egyptian Ethnography, derived from Anatomy, History, and the Monuments;" also "An Illustrated System of Human Anatomy, Special, General, and Microscopic;" also "A Catalogue of Skulls of Men and the Inferior Animals in his Collection." This collection, now in possession of the Academy of Natural Sciences, is said to be the most extensive in the world. Some of Dr. Morton's views were startling to the scientific world, especially his belief in a plurality of races, and that man will yet be found in the fossil state as low down as the eocene period.

Philip H. Nicklin was a bookseller in Baltimore first and Philadelphia afterward, dealing in law-books mainly. He was author, in 1834, of "Report Concerning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge;" (2) "Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs," by Peregrine Prolix, 1836; (3) "A Pleasant Peregrination," etc.; (4) "Remarks on Literary Property;" (5) "Papers on Free Trade." He also contributed to Silliman's and other journals.

James Patterson, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of the Northern Liberties, published, about 1820, a missionary sermon and several religious works.

Henry Stewart Patterson, M.D., besides the biography of Dr. Morton, which has been much praised, published (1) "Oration before the Pennsylvania Literary Institute;" (2) "Lectures Introductory to a Course of Materia Medica;" (3) "Notice of the Life and Professional Services of William R. Grant, M.D.," 1852.

Dr. William Patterson, a native of Londonderry, published, 1793, (1) "Remarks on Some of the Opinions of Dr. Rush respecting Yellow Fever;" (2) "Observations on the Climate of Ireland," 1804.

Charles Picot, a native of Paris, for several years a teacher in Philadelphia, wrote (1) "First Lessons in French;" (2) "French Assistant;" (3) "Entertaining French Narratives;" (4) "French Historical Narratives;" (5) "Historical, Scientific, Literary, and other Narratives;" (6) "Beauties of the French Drama;" (7) "Fleures de Parnasse;" (8) "Spanish Speller." Besides these, with Judah Dobson, he published an "Abridgment of Fleming and Tibbins' French and English Dictionary," in 1844.

John Hare Powel was once secretary of the United States Legation, under William Pinckney, at London. One of the founders of the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society, of which he published memoirs; also "Hints for American Farmers," and contributions to the *American Farmer*, and other journals.

John Redman, M.D., about 1810, published—(1) "Abortion;" (2) "Defense of Inoculation."

John Read, son of George Read, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and member of the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and successor to Nicholas Biddle in the United States Senate, published, in 1798, "Arguments on British Debts."

His son, John Meredith Read, United States district attorney, and attorney-general and associate, and chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, devoted some of his time to authorship. Among his productions are "Outlines of a Plan for the Administration of the Girard Trust," 1833; "Address to the Democratic Members of the Legislature of Pennsylvania," 1854; "Speech at Philadelphia on the Power of Congress over the Territories," and a large number of justly celebrated addresses. Also "Views Sustained by Facts and Authorities on the Suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus;" "Lecture before the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania," and many other similar works. Mr. Read was regarded one of the

ablest debaters of his time. His speech in the celebrated trial of the United States *vs.* Hanway, for treason, was never reported. If it had been, it has been said that the law of treason would have been forever settled in this country.

Joseph Reed, son of Gen. Joseph Reed of Revolutionary fame, published in 1822 "Laws of Pennsylvania," a continuation of the series by Charles Smith.

Henry Reed, who passed one-half of his life in the literary duties of the Pennsylvania University as Professor of Literature and Moral Philosophy, was one of the most accomplished scholars in English literature that this country has produced. He was born in Philadelphia on the 11th of July, 1808, being a grandson of Joseph Reed, the President of Pennsylvania. He was christened by the name of Henry Hope, after Henry Hope, of Amsterdam, who was cousin-german of his mother's grandmother, though the middle name was afterward dropped. He received his early education in the classical school of James Ross, a highly-esteemed teacher of his day in Philadelphia. Passing to the University of Pennsylvania in September, 1822, he attained his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1825, taking first honors. He then pursued the study of the law in the office of his uncle-in-law, Hon. John Sergeant, and was admitted to the bar in 1829. In September, 1831, he relinquished the practice of his profession, and was elected Assistant Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. In November of the same year he was chosen Assistant Professor of Moral Philosophy. In 1835 he was elected Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature.

Previous to this time, however, in 1834, he married Elizabeth White Bronson, a granddaughter of Bishop William White. Mrs. Reed had six children,—three who died in infancy, and Mary Bronson Reed, Henry Reed (a member of the bar of this city), and Anne Bronson Reed (who married W. B. Robins, who is also a member of the Philadelphia bar).

In May, 1854, Henry Reed obtained a leave of absence from his university duties, and accompanied by his sister-in-law, Miss Bronson, left America for a summer visit to Europe, a trip he had long contemplated. He visited the Continent, and from thence went to England, where he was at home among such friends as the Wordsworths, Southeys, Coleridges, Arnolds, Lord Mahon, Mr. Baring, Mr. Aubrey De Vere, Mr. Babbage, Henry Taylor, and Mr. Thackeray, names, one and all, associated with the highest literary or political distinction. The last words he ever wrote were in a letter of the 20th of September, 1854, to his venerable friend, Mrs. Wordsworth, thanking her and his English friends generally for all she and they had done for him. On the same day, Mr. Reed and his sister-in-law embarked at Liverpool for New York, in the steamship "Arctic." Seven days afterward, at noon, on the 27th, when almost in sight of his native land, a fatal collision occurred, and before sundown every human being (about three hundred persons) left upon the ship had sunk under the waves of the ocean.

The news of Mr. Reed's death was received with deep and intense feeling in the city of his birth, his education, and his active life. Philadelphia mourned sincerely for her son, and no tribute to his memory, no graceful expression or act of sympathy to his family, was withheld.

A diligent scholar, and of a thoroughbred cultivation in the best schools of English literature and criticism, of unwearied habits of industry, he would probably, as life advanced, have further served his country by new offerings of the fruits of his mental discipline and studies. His chief compositions were several courses of lectures which he delivered to the public at the University of Pennsylvania, and of which a collection has been published since his death by his brother, William B. Reed, with the titles "Lectures on English Literature, from Chaucer to Tennyson;" "Lectures on English History and Tragic Poetry as Illustrated by Shakespeare," and "Lectures on the British Poets." These works have been eminently successful, having passed through several editions both in this country and in England. The tastes, mental habits, and associations of the writer are fully exhibited in these productions, which cover many topics of moral and social philosophy, besides the criticism of particular authors. Of the "Lectures on the British Poets" the *London Athenæum* said, "No one can glance through the 'Lectures,' which are oratorical in style, without acknowledging the noble ardor which inspires them, or without sympathizing in the American's appeal—almost as fervent as a prayer—in behalf of the republic he loved, and to the service of which he devoted his generous and honorable life."

As a scholar and thinker, Mr. Reed belonged to a school of English writers who received their first impulse from the genius of Wordsworth and Coleridge. It is characterized by its sound conservatism, reverential spirit, and patient philosophical investigation. He was early brought into communication with Wordsworth, whom he assisted by the supervision and arrangement of an American edition of his poems. The preface to this work, and an elaborate article in the *New York Review* of January, 1839, which appeared from his pen, show his devotion to this master of modern poetry. After the death of the poet he superintended the publication of the American edition of the memoirs by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth.

With the Coleridge family he maintained a similar correspondence and intimate relation. As an evidence of this, Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, while on his late visit to this country, in the speech he made on Oct. 16, 1883, at the banquet given in his honor by the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, at that institution, said, "He was a friend of Henry Reed, too soon, too sadly lost," and added, "He was a

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scholar, philosopher, and perfect gentleman. He was known in England as well as here. Of him it might be said, 'His life too short for friendship, not for fame.'"

A memoir which Mr. Reed prepared of Sara Coleridge for the *Literary World*, Aug. 20, 1852, though brief, was so carefully and characteristically executed, that it appeared not long after, reprinted entire, among the obituaries of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Professor Reed edited several books in connection with his courses of instruction. In 1845 he prepared an edition of Alexander Reed's "Dictionary of the English Language," and in 1847 edited, "with an introduction and illustrative authorities," G. F. Graham's "English Synonymes," the series of poetical citations added by him being confined to Shakespeare, Milton, and Wordsworth. He also edited American reprints of Thomas Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History" and Lord Mahon's "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Paris." In 1851 he edited the poetical works of Thomas Gray, for which he prepared a new memoir, written with his accustomed judgment and precision. An "Oration on True Education" was delivered by him before the Zelosophic Society of the University of Pennsylvania in 1848. He also delivered a "Lecture upon the American Union" before the Smithsonian Institute, and several addresses were made at various times before other bodies. To this enumeration is to be added a life of his grandfather, Joseph Reed, published in Sparks' "Series of American Biography."

William C. Preston was a native of Philadelphia, though his life was spent mostly in South Carolina. He was elected president of South Carolina College in 1845, and served that State both in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. Although an eminent orator and scholar, he committed to the press little of his written work. His "Eulogy on Hugh S. Legare" is a most finished production.

Alonzo Potter, D.D., LL.D., a native of New York, elected bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Pennsylvania in 1845, had a very high reputation for ability and varied accomplishments. He was author of (1) "A Treatise on Logarithms," 1822; (2) "A Treatise on Descriptive Geometry;" (3) "Political Economy, its Objects, Uses, and Principles," 1840; (4) "The Principles of Science Applied to the Domestic and Mechanic Arts, and to Manufacture and Agriculture;" (5) "The School and the School-master, with G. B. Emerson;" (6) "Hand-Book for Readers and Students;" (7) "Plan of Temperance Organizations;" (8) "A Lecture on Drinking Usages." In 1858 a volume was published with selections from his sermons and other addresses. Besides these Bishop Potter composed nearly a dozen of the volumes in the Harper's Family Library Series.

Thomas McKean Pettit, one of the judges of the District Court of Philadelphia, was author of (1) "Annual Discourse before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1828;" (2) "Annual Discourse before the Philomathian Society of the University of Pennsylvania," 1836; (3) "Memoirs of Roberts Vaux."

Leon Hyneman, editor of *The Masonic Mirror*, published, 1858, "The Origin of Freemasonry."

Charles Hodge, D.D., professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary of Princeton, was a Philadelphian. He was editor of the *Biblical Repertory* and *Princeton Review*. His publications are (1) "Comment on the Epistle to the Romans," 1835; (2) "Questions to the Epistle to the Romans;" (3) "Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States," 1840; (4) "The Way of Life," 1842; (5) "What is Presbyterianism? An Address delivered before the Presbyterian Historical Society," 1855; (6) "A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians," 1856; (7) "Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians," 1857.

Daniel McCalla, D.D., minister of the Congregational Church at Wappetaw, S. C., was a native of Philadelphia. His "Sermons and Essays," with an account of his life, were published in 1810, by Hollingshead.

J. C. Oehlschlager, for many years a teacher of the German language, published a "Pronouncing German Reader," and the introductory matter to the American edition of Grieb's German and English Dictionary.

Benjamin Morgan Palmer, D.D., a native of Philadelphia, for many years pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Beaufort, S. C., published several of his sermons, and in 1835, "The Family Companion."

Joseph Parrish, M.D., published "Practical Observations on Strangulated Hernia and some of the Diseases of the Urinary Organs," 1836; and an edition of William Lawrence's "Treatise on Hernia," with an appendix. He was one of the editors of the *North American Medical and Surgical Journal*, and contributed much to its columns. A memoir of him was published by Dr. George B. Wood. His son, of the same name and profession, principal of the Institution for Feeble-Minded Children at Germantown, contributed many able papers on Idiocy and other subjects to the *New Jersey Medical Reporter*.

Two other sons, Isaac and Edward Parrish, published several works. The former, a physician, wrote a biographical memoir of John C. Otto, 1832. He was a frequent contributor to the Transactions of the College of Physicians, Pennsylvania State Medical Association, and other learned societies. A memoir of him, by Dr. Samuel Jackson, was published in 1853. His brother, professor of Materia Medica in the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, was author of (1) "An Introduction to Practical Pharmacy," 1856; (2) "The Phantom Bouquet," a popular treatise on the art of skeletonizing leaves and seed-vessels; (3) "An Essay on Education in the Society of Friends, with an Account of the Proceedings of Laying the Corner-Stone of Swarthmore College."

Eli K. Price, a distinguished member of the bar, published (1) "A Memoir of Philip and Rachel Price," 1853; (2) "Of the Limitation of Actions and of Liens against Real Estate in Pennsylvania," 1857; (3) "A Discourse on the Family as an Element of Government, with Centennial Writings of the Descendants of Philip and Rachel Price," 1864; "History of the Consolidation of the City of Philadelphia," 1873.

Margaret Smith, daughter of Col. John Bayard, of Revolutionary service, was author of (1) "A Winter in Washington; or, The Seymour Family," 1827; (2) "What is Gentility?" 1830; and many other stories and sketches appearing in *The Southern Literary Messenger and Lady's Book*. Mr. Hale's *Woman's Record* notices Mrs. Smith.

Richard Penn Smith, publisher of *The Aurora*, grandson of Dr. Smith, first provost of the University of Pennsylvania, wrote "The Forsaken," 1831; "A Guide to Philadelphia," 1832; "The Actress of Padua and Other Tales," 1836; a "Life of David Crockett." He was, however, more distinguished for his dramatic works,—"Caius Marius," made famous by Edwin Forrest, "Quite Correct," "Eighth of January," "A Wife at a Venture," "The Sentinels," "William Penn," "The Triumph at Plattsburgh," "The Water-Witch," "Is She a Brigand?" "My Uncle's Wedding," "The Daughter," "The Venetian." "The Disowned" and "The Deformed" were acted with much *éclat* in the London theatres. Selections from his works by his son, Horace W. Smith, with a biographical sketch by Morton McMichael, were published in 1856.

Henry Stuber, M.D., was a frequent contributor to various periodicals. He is best known for his "Continuation of the Autobiography of Dr. Franklin," in which he gives account of the philosopher's researches in electricity.

Joel B. Sutherland, M.D., judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, wrote (1) "Manual of Legislative Practice and Order of Business in Legislative Bodies," 1830; (2) "A Congressional Manual; or, Outline of the Order of Business in the House of Representatives of the United States."

Henry S. Tanner, a native of New York, resided for some years in Philadelphia. He published (1) "New American Atlas," 1817; (2) "Map of North America," 1822; (3) "The World on a Globular Projection," 1825; (4) "Map of the United States of Mexico," 1825; (5) "Map of Philadelphia," 1826, besides many other maps. He was the author also of "Recent Surveys," "View of the Valley of the Mississippi," "American Traveller," "Central Traveller," "New Picture of Philadelphia," "Description of the Canals and Railroads of the United States." His maps and other works were highly praised. He was a member of the Geographical Society of Paris, and a corresponding member of the Royal Geographical Society of London.

Gerard Troost, a native of Holland, the first president of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, became professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology in the University of Nashville. He translated Humboldt's "Aspects of Nature," and wrote extensively for several learned societies. In 1826 he published "Geological Survey of the Environs of Philadelphia" and "Geological Surveys of Tennessee."

William Bradford, Attorney-General of the United States, a native of Philadelphia, wrote, at the request of Governor Mifflin, "An Enquiry how far the Punishment of Death is Necessary in Pennsylvania." In early life Mr. Bradford wrote for the periodicals sundry poetical pieces.

John Bradford Wallace published (1) "Reports of Cases of the Third Circuit United States Court," in 1801; (2) "Remarks upon the Law of Bailment," 1840; and edited, in 1802, "Abbot on Shipping." His widow printed (for private circulation) a sketch of his life in 1848. His son, John William Wallace, master in chancery of Pennsylvania, reporter of United States Supreme Court, published (1) "The Reporters Chronologically Arrayed, with Occasional Remarks upon their Respective Merits;" (2) "Cases in the Circuit Court of the United States;" (3) "The Want of Uniformity in the Commercial Law between the Different States of the Union," 1851; (4) "Pennsylvania as a Borrower;" (5) "Reports of Cases in Supreme Court of the United States." He was editor of "British Crown Cases Reserved," also Smith's "Leading Cases." Mr. Wallace was for some years president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and wrote and delivered several valuable historical addresses. He also produced admirable works upon biography and history, among them, "Sketch of the Life of Bradford," the first printer of Pennsylvania; "An Old Philadelphian, Col. William Bradford, the Patriot Printer of 1776." This was privately printed a short time before Mr. Wallace's death, which took place Jan. 10, 1884.

Jasper Yeates, a member of the Philadelphia bar and associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, published reports of that court in 1818, which have been severely criticised for the want of care with which they were made.

Alexander Wilcocks, M.D., wrote (1) "Essay on the Tides: Theory of the Two Forces," 1844; (2) "Reflections upon the Nature of the Temporary Star of the Year 1572: An Application of the Nebular Hypothesis;" (3) "Thoughts on the Influence of Ether in the Solar System: Its Relations to the Zodiacal Light, Comets, the Seasons, and Periodical Shooting Stars."

Several of the family of Wharton have been prominently connected with the literary growth of Philadelphia. Thomas I. Wharton, a member of the bar, and for some time reporter of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, was author of (1) "Digest of Cases in the Circuit Court of the United States, Third District, and in the Courts of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania,"

1822; (2) "Digested Index to the Reported Decisions of the Several Courts of Law in the Western and Southern States," 1824; (3) "Discourse before the Society for the Commemoration of the Landing of William Penn," 1826; (4) "Discourse before the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania," 1836; (5) "Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Eastern District," 1835; (6) "Memoir of William Rawle, LL.D.;" (7) "Letter on the Right and Power of Philadelphia to Subscribe to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's Stock;" (8) "Address at the Opening of the New Hall of the Athenæum, Philadelphia," 1846. He also published biographical sketches of many distinguished Philadelphians, which have been of much service to us in the preparation of this work. His son, Francis Wharton, D.D., LL.D., who began as a lawyer and afterward became a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church (rector of St. Paul's, Brookline, Mass.), published (1) "Treatise on the Criminal Code of the United States," 1846, which was very highly commended by several leading lawyers in this country; (2) "The State Trials of the United States during the Administrations of Washington and Adams, with References Historical and Professional, and Preliminary Notes on the Politics of the Times," 1849; (3) "Treatise on the Law of Homicide in the United States," 1855; (4) in conjunction with others, "Treatise on Medical Jurisprudence." This work also has been highly praised. (5) "A Willing Reunion not Impossible: A Thanksgiving Sermon," 1863; (6) "The Silence of Scripture," 1867. Dr. Wharton was also a frequent contributor to various periodicals. His brother, Henry Wharton, a lawyer, was author of "A Practical and Elementary Treatise on the Law of Vicinage," and was one of the editors of *The American Law Register*.

George M. Wharton published (1) "Remarks on Horace Binney's Treatise on Habeas Corpus;" (2) "Answer to Mr. Binney's Reply;" (3) an article on "Literary Property" in *The North American Review*, and one on "Oratory" in "The Philadelphia Book."

Jacob Servoss Rose, M.D., was author of (1) "Consumption Curable;" (2) "Reformed Practice of Medicine," 1845.

William Edward Schenck, D.D., corresponding secretary and editor of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, published (1) "Historical Account of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton," 1850; (2) "Farewell Discourse," 1852; (3) "Discourse on Church Extension in Cities;" (4) "God Our Guide," 1863; (5) "Aunt Fanny's Home;" (6) "Children in Heaven;" (7) "Presbyterian Social Psalmist;" (8) "With Others Children's Praise."

Chief Justice George Sharswood, who is noticed in the chapter on the Bench and Bar, contributed much to the literature of his profession that has received the very highest encomiums,—(1) "Professional Ethics, a Compend of Lectures on the Aims and Duties of the Profession of Law," 1854; (2) "Popular Lectures on Common Law," 1856. He edited Blackstone's "Commentaries," "Byles on Bills of Exchange," "Coote on Mortgages," Leigh's "Nisi Prius," "Roscoe on Criminal Evidence," "Russel on Crimes," "Smith on Contracts," "Starkei on Evidence," Stephens' "Nisi Prius," "Laws of the United States," "English Common Law Reports." These editions rank among the very best that have ever appeared.

Francis Gurney Smith, M.D., professor of Institutes of Medicines in Philadelphia College, published (1) "Domestic Medicine, Surgery, and Materia Medica," 1852; (2) "Experiments Upon Digestion;" (3) "An Analytical Compendium;" (4) "Translation of Barth and Roger's Manual of Auscultation and Percussion;" (5) editor of Carpenter's "Principles of Human Physiology and the Microscope," of Rirke's & Paget's "Physiology," and, with others, of Drake's "Systematic Treatise."

Joseph Few Smith, D.D., first a Lutheran, then Presbyterian divine, professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology in Auburn Theological Seminary, was author of (1) "Address before the Evangelical Lutheran Church," 1845; (2) "American Lutheran Mission," 1845; (3) "Hints to Church Members," 1845; (4) "Pulpit Eloquence;" (5) "Silent Influence of the Bible," 1851; (6) "The Office of the Ruling Elder," 1858; (7) "Prayer Meeting," 1860; (8) "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Second Presbyterian Church of Newark, N. J.;" and (9) "The Prayer of the Afflicted," 1864. He was also a frequent writer for religious periodicals.

Persifor Fraser Smith was author of (1) "Pennsylvania State Reports," 1865; (2) "Forms of Procedure in the Several Courts of Pennsylvania."

William Moore Smith, son of Rev. Dr. Smith, the provost of the University, was a member of the bar, and wrote and published a volume of poems, which was republished in London.

Thomas L. Smith, a native of Philadelphia, afterwards judge of the Supreme Court of Indiana, published reports of that court, 1848; (2) "Elements of the Laws; or, Outlines of the System of Civil and Criminal Laws in force in the United States," 1858.

Robert Smith was for some time editor of *The Friend*, a literary and religious journal, devoted to the doctrines of the Quakers. This was about 1840–50.

Casper Souder, Jr., an editor and proprietor of *The Evening Bulletin*, and a frequent contributor to other journals of Philadelphia and New York, had a great deal of local historic knowledge, and wrote with care and excellence upon antiquarian topics. Among such contributions was "A History of Chestnut Street," published in the *Dispatch*, and a "History of Carpenters' Hall," prepared for the Carpenters' Company.

Alfred Charles Stillé, M.D., who had studied much abroad, and was prominently connected for many years with the Philadelphia Association for Medical

Instruction, St. Joseph's Hospital, Pennsylvania Medical College, and University of Pennsylvania, was author and editor of many valuable works. With John Forsyth, he translated "Pathological Hæmatology, from the French of G. Andral," 1839; (2) author of "Medical Instruction in the United States," 1845; (3) Elements of General Pathology," 1848; (4) "Report on Medical Literature," 1850; (5) "The Unity of Medicine," 1856; (6) "Humboldt's Life and Character," 1859; (7) "Therapeutics and Materia Medica; a Systematic Treatise on the Actions and Uses of Medicinal Agents, including their Description and History," 1860. This last work was pronounced by the *Archives Générales* of Paris to be worthy of being classed among the best and most powerful treatises on therapeutics. (8) "War as an Instrument of Civilization;" (9) "Epidemic Meningitis; or, Cerebro-Spinal Meningitis," besides many other essays on medical and surgical subjects.

Two others of this name prominently appear in literature. One, Charles Janeway Stillé, LL.D, professor and provost of the University of Pennsylvania, wrote (1) "How a Free People Conduct a Long War," 1862; (2) "Northern Interest and Southern Independence: A Plea for United Action," 1863; (3) "Historical Development of American Civilization: An Address before the Alumni Association of Yale College," 1863; (4) "Memorial of the Great Central Fair for the United States Sanitary Commission," 1864; (5) "History of the United States Sanitary Commission: being the General Report of its Work during the War of the Rebellion," 1866; (6) "Inaugural Address as Provost of Pennsylvania University;" (7) "Memoir of Rev. William Smith, D.D., First Provost;" (8) "Studies in Mediæval History."

John T. S. Sullivan, a son of the distinguished William Sullivan, LL.D., of Boston, resided for some time in Philadelphia, where he practiced law. He was the author of a biographical sketch of his father, translated several stories from the German, and wrote a considerable number of lyrical pieces, many of which became well known and popular.

Benjamin Cook Taylor, D.D., a minister of the Reformed Dutch Church, wrote (1) "The School of the Prophets," 1839; (2) "Annals of the Classis and Township of Bergen in New Jersey," 1857; (3) "Sermon on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Bergen." He was also an occasional contributor to the *Christian Intelligencer*.

Stephen Higginson Tyng, D.D., a native of Newburyport, Mass., rector consecutively of St. George's Church, Georgetown, D. C.; Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County, Md.; St. Paul's, and the Epiphany, Philadelphia; and of St. George's Church, New York, was a voluminous author. He wrote, among other things, "Lectures on the Law and the Gospel," "Memoir of Rev. G. T. Bedell," "Recollections of England," "A Lamb from the Flock," "Christian Titles," "Fellowship with Christ," "The Rich Kinsman," "The Captive Orphan," "Forty Years' Experience in Sunday-Schools," "Guide to Confirmation," "Prayer-Book Illustrated by Scripture," "The Feast Enjoyed," "The Spencers," etc., besides a large number of sermons and addresses, memoirs, etc. He was a contributor to "The Man of Business," and consecutively editor of *The Episcopal Recorder*, *The Protestant Churchman*, and *The Theological Repertory*.

Job R. Tyson, LL.D., was author of (1) "Essay on the Penal Laws of Pennsylvania," 1827; (2) "Address before the Apprentices' Library Company of Philadelphia," 1830; (3) "Annual Discourse before the Historical Society of Philadelphia;" (4) "Memoir of T. C. James, M.D.," 1836; (5) "Lottery System of the United States;" (6) "Discourse on the Integrity of the Legal Character."

Benjamin Wallace, D.D., edited the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for ten years, and published some sermons. He was a contributor to the "Bibliotheca Sacra."

Henry E. Wallace was publisher of "Pennsylvania Reports," containing decisions appearing in the *Legal Intelligencer*, of which he was editor, and co-editor of the *Pennsylvania Law Journal*, 1842.

Horace Binney Wallace, son of John Bradford Wallace, was one of the most gifted men that Philadelphia has produced. He had studied both law and medicine, but never engaged in the practice of either. He traveled very extensively abroad and carefully studied foreign laws and institutions, and had begun a series of works upon those subjects, when his life was cut off at Paris, in 1852, when only thirty-five years of age. Among his projects was a series of volumes on civil and commercial law. He wrote anonymously, at the age of twenty-one, "Stanley; or, The Recollections of a Man of the World," which was well received. He was also a constant contributor to several literary periodicals. Since his death selections have been made from these contributions, and published in two volumes with the titles of,—one, "Literary Criticisms and Other Papers," 1856; the other, "Art and Scenery in Europe, with Other Papers." These works have been most favorably criticised by the highest literary judgment. Of the "Art and Scenery" the *London Athenæum* said, "The style is elegant, fanciful, and easy, indicating an amateur's fondness for technicalities, but disfigured by no affectation." Daniel Webster thus spoke of him: "The development of great characters has always been one of my most favorite studies; and I doubt whether history displays at thirty years of age a loftier nature or one more usefully or profoundly cultivated." The celebrated Auguste Comte did not hesitate to rank Mr. Wallace as the "equal of the American statesmen."

William Wetherill, M.D., was the author (1835) of "Chemical and Medical Researches on Kreosote." Another of this family, Samuel Wetherill, a member of the bar, together with Benjamin Gerhard, edited

Joshua Williams' "Principles of the Law of Personal Property, for the Use of Students in Conveyancing."

Charles M. Wetherill, Ph.D., M.D., who had been educated in France and Germany, was author of (1) "Manufacture of Vinegar, its Theory and Practice, with Especial Reference to the Quick Process," 1860; also "Chemical Analysis." He contributed largely to scientific journals at home and in Germany and France.

Samuel Wetherill, ancestor of the above, a preacher of the Society of Free Quakers, published "An Apology for the Religious Society called Free Quakers," and several other smaller religious papers.

John A. Warder published "Hedge Manual: a Treatise on Hedges, Evergreens," etc., and "American Pomology." He also translated from the French Trousseau and Belloc on Laryngeal Phthisis, 1839. He was editor of the *Botanical Magazine and Horticultural Review.*

William D. Gallagher was born in Philadelphia, though he removed to the West when a lad of seventeen years. He was intimately associated with several literary journals,—as *The Backwoodsman, The Cincinnati Mirror, The Western Literary Journal and Monthly Review, The Western Magazine and Literary Journal.* In 1835, Mr. Gallagher published a volume of poetry with the title "Erato," and in 1836 another, and still another in 1837. His reputation as a poet began with the publication, anonymously, of "The Wreck of the Hornet." The second volume opened with a poem on Napoleon, called "The Conqueror." In the third was a narrative poem "Cadwallon." In 1841 he edited a volume which he styled "Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West." The following verses, from his "August," may be taken as a specimen:

"Faster along the plain
Moves now the shade, and on the meadow's edge:
The kine are forth again,
The bird flits in the hedge;
Now in the molten west sinks the hot sun.
Welcome, mild eve! the sultry day is done.

"Pleasantly comest thou,
Dew of the evening, to the crisped-up grass,
And the curled corn-blades bow
As the light breezes pass,
That their parched lips may feel thee and expand,
Thou sweet reviver of the fevered land.

"So, to the thirsting soul,
Cometh the dew of the Almighty's love;
And the scathed heart, made whole,
Turneth in joy above
To where the spirit freely may expand,
And rove, untrammeled, in that better land."

John S. Hart, a native of Massachusetts, published, in 1849, an essay on "Spenser and the Faerie Queene," and in 1851, "Female Prose Writers of America;" in 1844, "A Class-Book of Poetry" and "A Class-Book of Prose;" in 1845, "An Exposition of the Constitution of the United States for the Use of Schools," and an "English Grammar;" in 1853, "Greek and Roman Mythology," and other works. He was editor of the *Common School Journal, Sartain's Magazine, The Iris,* and White's "Universal History."

Ebenezer Hazard, one time postmaster-general of the United States, published, in 1792, in two quarto volumes, "Historical Collections, consisting of State Papers and other authentic Documents, intended as Materials for a History of the United States of America." These collections and those of his son have always been regarded as of inestimable value. His son, Samuel Hazard, was editor of the "Register of Pennsylvania, 1828 to 1836," "United States Commercial and Statistical Register, 1839 to 1842," "Annals of Pennsylvania, from the Discovery of Delaware (1609) to the Year 1682," "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," and "Pennsylvania Archives from 1682 to 1790." As a historical scholar, patient, industrious, and judicious, he has had no equal among authors in that field of literature. Willis P. Hazard in 1879 published the "Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time" as a supplementary volume to "Watson's Annals."

Henry D. Gilpin, attorney-general of the United States, published "Reports of the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania," authorities (chiefly under Judge Hopkinson) that rank among the highest in the profession, also "Opinions of the Attorney-General of the United States from the Beginning of the Government to the Year 1841." He was appointed by Congress supervisor of the publication of the "Madison Papers," 1840. Mr. Gilpin was a constant contributor to literary journals, among them *The American Quarterly, The Democratic* and *North American Reviews.* He wrote a large number of biographical sketches of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and of several of the public men with whom he was contemporary.

Richard de Charmes, a minister of the Swedenborgian Church, was the author of "The New Churchman Extra." He also published several sermons and lectures in defense of his religious faith.

One of the busiest literary men that Philadelphia has produced is Timothy Shay Arthur. He was born in Orange County, N. Y., but came to this city in 1841, and engaged in journalism. For many years he was the editor and proprietor of *Arthur's Home Magazine.* Among his voluminous writings are "Arthur's Juvenile Library," "Cottage Library," "Golden Grains from Life's Harvest-Field," "Lights and Shadows of Real Life," "Leaves from the Book of Human Life," "The Loftons and the Pinkertons," "Ten Nights in a Bar-Room," "Tales for Rich and Poor," "Advice to Young Men," "Six Nights with the Washingtonians," "Maiden, Wife, and Mother," "Tales of Married Life," "True Riches," "The Hand but not the Heart," "Tired of Housekeeping," "Stories of Domestic Life," and

"The Good Time Coming." Together with W. H. Carpenter, he published also a series of histories of several States of the Union.

Abel Stevens, D.D., LL.D., the distinguished Methodist divine, has written a large number of works, among them "Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into New England," 1848; "Memorials of the Progress of Methodism in New England;" "Church Polity;" "Pastors' Stories;" "Sketches and Incidents;" "Tales from the Parsonage;" "The Great Reform;" "The Preaching Required by the Times;" "The History of Methodism in its Different Denominational Forms;" "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America;" "The Life and Times of Nathan Bangs;" "The Centenary of American Methodism;" "The Women of Methodism: Its Three Foundresses, Susanna Wesley, the Countess of Huntingdon, and Barbara Heck, with Sketches of their Female Associates and Successors in the Early History of the Denomination." He was also editor of several Methodist journals, and contributor to many more.

Martin Russell Thayer, a native of Petersburg, Va., removed to Philadelphia in 1840, entered upon the practice of the law, and became in 1867 associate judge of the District Court. He published, besides several other pamphlets, "A Reply [in 1862] to Charles J. Ingersoll's Letter to a Friend in a Slave State," and in the same year "The Duties of Citizenship."

Joseph Parrish Thompson, D.D., LL.D., pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, a native of Philadelphia, published (1844) "Memoir of Timothy Dwight;" the next year, "Memoir of David Hale;" in 1848, "Young Men Admonished;" in 1851, "Hints to Employers;" in 1852, "Stray Meditations;" in 1854, "The Inalienable Possession;" and the same year, "Photographic Views of Egypt, Past and Present;" in 1855, "The Good Man's Memorial;" in 1857, "The Early Witnesses;" the same year, "Last Sabbath in Broadway Tabernacle: A Historical Discourse;" in 1858, "Teachings of the New Testament on Slavery," and "Memoirs of David Stoddard, Missionary to the Nestorians;" in 1859, "The College as a Religious Institution;" in 1860, "Love and Penalty;" in 1863, "The Sergeant's Memorial;" besides many other works, and numerous contributions to religious and literary journals.

Robert P. Thomas, M.D., professor of Materia Medica in the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, was a frequent contributor to the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, and the *American Journal of Pharmacy*. He edited R. B. Griffith's "Universal Formulary," and Dr. Benjamin Ellis' "Medical Formulary," and a translation from the French, Cazeaux's "Midwifery."

Joseph M. Wilson became well known as the originator, in 1858, of the "Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church," regarded as one of the best works of its kind ever published.

George D. Potts, D.D., pastor, at the time of his death (1864), of the University Place Presbyterian Church in New York, was a native of Philadelphia. Besides many contributions to various religious journals, he published various sermons, lectures, and addresses, between 1826 and 1854.

Philip Syng Physick, M.D., one of the most eminent in the medical profession of any country, after a three years' course of study abroad, settled in Philadelphia, his native place, and contributed a large number of papers to the journals of his time, such as the *New York Medical Repository*, Dr. Coxe's *Medical Museum*, *Eclectic Repository*, *Philadelphia Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences*. A biographical sketch of him was made by his son-in-law, Dr. J. Randolph, surgeon of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and professor of Clinical Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Randolph also published several professional papers. A biographical memoir of him was written by G. W. Norris, M.D., 1848.

W. H. Odenheimer, D.D., rector of St. Peter's Church, and Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New Jersey, published "The Origin and Compilation of the Prayer-Book," 1841; same year, "The Devout Churchman' Companion;" "The True Catholic no Romanist," 1842; "Thoughts on Immersion," 1843; "The Young Churchman Catechised," 1844; "F. Ringelburgius on Study," "Bishop White's Opinions," 1846; "Essay on Canon Law," 1847; "The Clergyman's Assistant in Reading the Liturgy," 1848; "The Private Prayer-Book," 1851; "Jerusalem and its Vicinity."

William B. Rogers, a native of Philadelphia, at one time professor in the University of Virginia, originated the plan of the Institute of Technology, and delivered a course of lectures, that have been much praised, before the Lowell Institute. He published "Report of the Reconnoissance of the State of Virginia," 1836; "Report of the Geological Survey of Virginia," 1836–41.

Horace Wemyss Smith, son of Richard Penn Smith, published "Nuts for the Future Historian to Crack, containing the Cadwalader Pamphlet, Valley Forge Letters," etc., 1856; "The Miscellaneous Works of the Late Richard Penn Smith," 1856; "The Yorktown Orderly Book," 1865; poems in *Godey's* and *Graham's Magazines*; "Patriotic Songs of America," and "The Life and Services of William Smith, D.D."

Lloyd P. Smith, who was great-grandson of James Logan, succeeded his father, John Jay Smith, as librarian of the Loganian Library. He published "Report to the Contributors of the Pennsylvania Relief Association for East Tennessee of a Commission sent by the Executive Committee to Visit that Region," 1864; "Remarks on the Existing Materials for forming a Just Estimate of the Character of Napoleon I.," 1865; "Remarks on the Apology for

Usurpation contained in Napoleon's Life of Cæsar," and was for a considerable time editor of *Lippincott's Magazine*. John Jay Smith, his father, was busy in literature for some years. A notice of him will be found in the chapter on Libraries.

William Strickland, architect, published "Triangulation of the Entrance into Delaware Bay;" "Reports on Canals, Railways," 1826; and, together with E. H. Gill and R. H. Campbell, "Public Works of the United States," 1841.

Mrs. Townsend Stith, in 1831, published "Thoughts on Female Education."

William Suddards, D.D., a native of England, rector of Grace Church, published a number of sermons, and for many years edited *The Episcopal Recorder*, and "The British Pulpit."

Furman Sheppard, an able member of the Philadelphia bar, was the author of "The Constitutional Text-Book," 1855; "The First Book of the Constitution," 1861; and "A General Treatise on the Law of Easements." A more extended notice of him will be found in the chapter on the Bench and Bar.

Samuel Sloan, architect, published "The Model Architect," 1852; "Constructive Architecture," 1859; "City and Suburban Architecture," 1859; "Homestead Architecture," 1869; "American Houses," 1868; and published *Sloan's Architectural Review and Builder's Journal*.

Clifford Stanley Sims wrote "Stemmata Rosellana," 1859; "The Origin and Signification of Scottish Surnames," 1862; and "History of the Society of the Cincinnati of New Jersey."

William Henry Milburn, the celebrated blind Methodist evangelist, was born in Philadelphia. He published "The Rifle, Axe, and Saddle-Bags," with an introduction by Rev. John McClintock.

Benjamin Moran, private secretary to James Buchanan when United States minister in London, published "The Footman and Highway; or, Wanderings of an American in Great Britain." Mr. Moran was for some years United States minister to Portugal.

Rev. Henry D. Moore published "The Good Child's Library," forty-eight volumes; "Poems for my Friends;" and the annuals "The Winter Bloom" and "The Talisman." He was editor of *The Christian Souvenir*.

Edward Joy Morris, member of Congress and *chargé d'affaires* to Naples, and United States minister to Turkey, published "Notes of a Tour through Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Arabia Petræa," etc., 1842; "The Turkish Empire;" "Life and Love in Norway," translated from the German of Theodore Mügge; also "Erich Randal;" and "Corsica, Picturesque, Historical, and Social," from the German of Gregorinus.

Edward Duffield Neill, Presbyterian minister at St. Paul, Minn., a native of Philadelphia, published "Annals of the Minnesota Historical Society," and "History of Minnesota, from the Earliest French Explorations to 1858." He contributed to the *Presbyterian Quarterly Review*.

John Neill, M.D., surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital, was author of "Outlines of the Arteries, Nerves, Veins, and Lymphatics," and, with Francis Gurney Smith, "An Analytic Compendium of the Various Branches of Medical Science;" also edited an American issue (1852) of William Pirrie's "Principles and Practice of Surgery."

John H. Packard, M.D., demonstrator of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania, translated from the French Malgaigne's "Treatise on Fractures," and was author of "Manual of Minor Surgery," 1863; "Lectures on Inflammation," and "Rules for the Course to be followed by the Bystanders in case of Railroad Injury, when Surgical Assistance cannot be at once obtained," 1864.

Joseph Pancoast, M.D., one of the most eminent physicians in the world, professor of Anatomy in Jefferson Medical College, besides many contributions to various scientific journals, was the author of "A Treatise on Operative Surgery; comprising a Description of the Various Processes of the Art, including all the New Operations; exhibiting the State of Surgical Science in its Present Advanced Condition; with a large number of Plates," 1844, and of sundry Essays and Introductory Lectures to his Class. He was also editor of several works published in foreign countries, as Lobstein's "Treatise on the Human Sympathetic Nerve," Manec's "Great Sympathetic Nerve and Cerebro-Spinal System in Man," Wistar's "System of Anatomy."

Edward M. Paxson, once editor of the *Newtown Journal*, and founder of the Bucks County Agricultural Society, afterward associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, printed verses, composed by himself, upon his parents.

Joseph Rupert Paxton was author of "Jewelry and the Precious Stones (by Hipponax Roset)," 1856; and "Reveries of a Bachelor." Mr. Paxton has translated a number of French plays, and dramatized many of Dickens' stories. He was for two years, 1854–56, editor of the *Bizarre*.

William A. Porter, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, published (1) "An Address at Lafayette College," 1842; "Essay on the Law pertaining to the Sheriff's Office," 1845; "Address before the Law Academy of Philadelphia," 1849; and an "Essay on the Life, Character, and Writings of John B. Gibson, late Chief Justice of the State of Pennsylvania," 1855. He contributed also to *The American Law Magazine* and *Law Journal*.

A. Snowden Piggott, M.D., is author of "Chemistry and Metallurgy as applied to Dental Surgery," and the "Chemistry and Metallurgy of Copper."

Caspar Wistar Pennock, M.D., was author, with W. W. Gerhard, of "Observations of the Cholera of Paris," 1832.

William Stevens Perry, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Iowa, is author of "An Historical Sketch of the Church Missionary Association of the Eastern District of Massachusetts," 1859; with Francis L. Hawks, "Journal of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1785 to 1853;" the "Journals of the Diocese of the Conventions of New Hampshire;" an "Historical Fragment (Bishops Seabury and Provost);" "The Connection of the Church of England with Early American Discovery and Colonization;" "The Proposed Book of Common Prayer of the American Episcopal Church;" edited, with introduction, "The Documentary Annals of the Colonial Church;" "Questions on the Life and Labors of the Great Apostle; for Sunday and Parish Clubs and Bible-Classes."

Henry Peterson, editor of *Neal's Gazette* and *Saturday Evening Post*, wrote "The Twin Brothers; or, Lessons in Charity," 1843. He has also published novels, and several poems, all which have been much praised.

Robert E. Peterson, M.D., was the author of "The Roman Catholic not the only True Religion, not an Infallible Church."

Addinell Hewson, M.D., surgeon to Wills Hospital, edited a "Treatise on Diseases and Injuries of the Eye," by Mackenzie, 1854. His father, Thomas T. Hewson, M.D., was translator of the "Treatise on Syphilis," by Swediaur.

Mrs. Mary Hughes, a native of England, emigrated to Philadelphia. She was the author of "Aunt Mary's Library for Boys and Girls," 10 vols., "Ornaments Discovered," "Stories for Children," "Emma Mortimer," and "Buds and Blossoms."

E. Kent Kane, who was son of Judge Kane, United States district judge of Pennsylvania, wrote one of the most entertaining works that has ever been produced upon the subject of travels, whether by land or sea. This was his account, entitled "The United States Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin," written after sixteen months' cruise on that most perilous and philanthropic undertaking. In 1856 he published "Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition during the Years 1853–55;" in 1856, "Far North: Explorations in the Arctic Regions." The author received sixty-five thousand dollars on the first year's sales of "Arctic Explorations." Among the many hundreds of expressions of praise to Mr. Kane, we give the following from Bancroft: "His constant self-possession during his long trials, his quickness of judgment, his unshrinking courage in danger, his fertility in resources in the hours of greatest difficulty, give him a very high place in the very first rank of ocean navigators as a leader, and commander, and man, and no one of them all has told the story of those adventures so charmingly as he has done."

John Jones, M.D., a native of New York, wrote "Plain Remarks upon Wounds and Fractures." After his death, Dr. Mease published an account of his life, with his surgical works.

J. P. Jones published, in 1834, "Eulogy on A. Laussat;" and in 1850, "Pennsylvania State Reports."

Walter R. Johnson published "Natural Philosophy on the Basis of Moffat," 1835; the same year, "Chemistry;" "Notes on the Use of Anthracite Coal in the Manufacture of Iron," 1841; an edition of Knapp's "Chemical Technology," 1848; an edition of Weisbach's "Mechanics," 1849; and in 1850, "The Coal-Trade of British America." Mr. Johnson was a frequent contributor to the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*.

Joseph H. Jones, D.D., a Presbyterian divine, published (1) "Revivals of Religion," 1839; "Influences of Physical Causes on Religious Experience," in 1846; "Life of Ashbel Green," 1849; and in 1850, "A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. C. C. Cuyler." He also published several other sermons and essays.

Thomas Evans, in 1828, published "Exposition of the Faith of the Society of Friends."

Francis Glass, in 1835, published a life of Washington, in Latin.

Richard Harlan, M.D., was author, in 1825, of "Fauna Americana," and in 1835, of "Medical and Physical Researches."

J. Harlan, in 1841, wrote "Memoirs of India and Afghanistan."

Thomas F. Gordon was author, in 1827, of "Digest of the Laws of the United States;" "History of Pennsylvania from its Discovery," 1829; "A History of New Jersey," 1831; "History of America," 1831; "History of Ancient Mexico," and "Gazetteer of New Jersey," 1834, and "Gazetteer of New York," 1836. Gordon wrote with judgment. His historical works are valuable.

Charles G. Leland, one of the most gifted among our literary men, was born in this city Aug. 15, 1824, and after his graduation at Princeton studied abroad for some years. Some time after his return he began a series of papers for the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, which were afterward published in book-form, under the title of "The Sketch-Book." He has also published "The Poetry and Mystery of Dreams," 1855; "Meister Karl's Sketch-Book," 1856, a collection of miscellanies and sketches of foreign travel; "Pictures of Travel," 1856; a translation of Heine's "Reisebilder;" also Heine's "Book of Song;" and "Hans Breitmann's Ballads," 1868–71. He began his literary career while in college, for the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, and was an editor on *Sartain's Magazine*, Griswold's *International*, *Graham's Magazine*, the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, and other periodicals. Besides his contributions to these journals and to Appleton's "Cyclopædia," as well as editorship of *Vanity Fair*, *The Continental Magazine*, and the *Philadelphia Press*, he has written "Sunshine in Thought," 1863; "Legends of the Birds," 1864; "The Union Railway, Eastern Division; or, Three Thousand Miles in a

Railway Car," 1867; and in 1872 he published a book of poems entitled "The Music Lesson of Confucius and other Poems." In the same year he published "Gaudeamus," and a year later "The English Gypsies and their Language," and the "Egyptian Sketch-Book," besides other works and contributions. His brother, Henry Perry Leland, a graceful magazine writer, was born in this city Oct. 28, 1828, and died here Sept. 22, 1868. In 1856 he published a volume of sketches entitled "The Gray Bay Mare," and in 1863 "Americans in Rome." He was wounded in the civil war by a piece of shell while serving as lieutenant in the One Hundred and Eighteenth Pennsylvania Regiment, from the effects of which he never recovered.

George H. Boker published in 1847 "The Lesson of Life, and other Poems." The next year appeared "Calaynos," a tragedy, which was remarkably successful both at American and British theatres. Successively came "Anne Boleyn," "The Betrothal," "Leonor de Guzman," and "Francesca da Rimini." His "Plays and Poems," in two volumes, were published in 1856. The following is said by Professor Tuckerman in "Characteristics of Literature:" "The glow of his images is chastened by a noble simplicity, keeping them within the line of human sympathy and natural expression. He has followed the masters of dramatic writing with rare judgment. He also excels many gifted poets of his class in a quality essential to an acted play,—spirit. To the tragic ability he unites aptitude for the easy, colloquial, and jocose dialogue, such as must intervene in the genuine Shakespearean drama, to give relief and additional effect to high emotion."

Thomas Scattergood. Of this gentleman the Memoirs were published in London in 1845.

William Sharswood, Ph.D. of the University of Jena, published in Vienna "Studia Physica." In 1862 he published in Philadelphia "Elenore; a Drama, in Five Acts." The same year were published his "Miscellaneous Writings."

George Washington Smith published (1) "Facts and Arguments in Favor of Adopting Railroads in Preference to Canals;" in 1829, "Defense of the Pennsylvania System of Solitary Confinement of Prisoners."

Eliza L. Sproat was author of "The Keepsake," 1847; "The Snow-Flake," 1849; and in the same year was a contributor to "Leaflets of Memory." She was a frequent contributor to *Sartain's Magazine.*

Thomas Stewardson, M.D., at one time physician of the Pennsylvania Hospital, wrote "Researches on Emphysema of the Lungs," 1830; and "Observations on Remittent Fever." He wrote also many other articles, that were published in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences.*

James Milnor, D.D., at one time lawyer and member of Congress, became an Episcopal divine and rector of St. George's Church, New York. He published occasional sermons and addresses. After his death a memoir of him was published by Rev. John J. Stone, D.D., rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn, 1855.

Richard R. Montgomery translated Ségur's "History of Charles VIII., King of France," in 1842.

Robert Parkinson was author of "The Complete Confectioner, Pastry-Cook, and Baker, with Additions and Alterations," 1844.

Robert M. Patterson, M.D., son of Robert, LL.D., before mentioned, professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and president of the American Philosophical Society, published "Early History of the American Philosophical Society," 1843; an address before the Franklin Institute in the same year, and afterward several other addresses.

W. Alexander, in 1847, published poetical works, including "Christian Dramas and Minor Poems," with a Dissertation on Poetry, and a Sketch of his Life.

David Bates, in 1848, published a collection of poems in a volume styled "The Æolian."

John Binns was author of "A Digest of the Laws and Judicial Decisions of Pennsylvania touching the Authority of Justices of the Peace" (1840), which was revised and republished under the title "Magistrate's Manual." In 1855 he put forth his "Autobiography." Mr. Binns was editor of the *Democratic Press,* and as a political writer he was among the foremost of his time.

W. H. Crump, an Englishman by birth, was a very popular writer of periodical literature, and for many years one of the editors of the *Philadelphia Inquirer.* In 1841 he published "The World in a Pocket-Book; or, Universal Popular Statistics."

Robert Egglesfield Griffith, M.D., published "Medical Botany," 1847. "The Universal Formulary" was published in 1856, after his death. He was also editor of several works by eminent foreign medical men.

Henry B. Hirst published in 1845 "The Coming of the Mammoth, The Funeral of Time, and other Poems;" in 1848, "Endymion, a Tale of Greece," in four cantos; in 1849, "The Penance of Roland, a Romance of the Peine Forte et Dure; and other Poems." The poems of Mr. Hirst exhibited very often a fancy of a very high degree. The following verses are from "The Robin." After singing of the legend of this bird covering the babes with leaves, he ends thus:

"So they rear
Their fledglings undisturbed. Often has hovered,
While I have stood anear

"A robin's nest, o'er me that simple story,
Gently and dove-like, and I passed away
Proudly, and feeling it as much a glory
As 'twas in Cæsar's day

"To win a triumph, to have left that nest
Untouched; and many and many a school-boy time,
When my sure gun was to my shoulder prest,
The thought of that old rhyme

"Came o'er me, and I let the robin go.
At last the young are out, and to the woods
All have departed. Summer's sultry glow
Finds them beside the flood.

"Then Autumn comes, and, fearful of its rage,
They flit again. So runs the robin's life:
Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, sees its page
Unstained with care or strife."

Eliza Leslie was one of the most popular female writers that has risen in any part of this country. Her published writings were "Seventy-five Receipts for Pastry, Cakes, and Sweetmeats," 1827. Then followed "The Mirror," "Young Americans," "Stories for Emma," "Stories for Adelaide," "Stories for Helen," "Atlantic Tales," "Birth-Day Stories," "The Wonderful Traveller," "Domestic Cookery-Book," "Althea Vernon; or, The Embroidered Handkerchief," "Henrietta Harrison," "Kitty's Relations," "Leonilla Lynmore," "Ladies' Receipt Book," "The Maid of Canal Street," "The Bloxhams," "Indian Meal Book," "Amelia," "The Dennings and their Beaux," "Alina Derlay," "French Cookery," "Stories for Young People," "Stories for Summer Days and Winter Nights," "Russel and Sydney, and Charles Loring," "Behavior Book," etc. Besides these, she edited *The Gift* and *The Violet*, and was a frequent contributor to other periodicals. The works of no other female American author have ever sold so well as those of Miss Leslie.

Alfred Taylor, Presbyterian divine, pastor at Bristol, is author of "Union Prayer Meeting Hymn-Book," 1858; "Prayer-Meeting Tune-Book," 1859; "Sunday-School Photographs," 1864; "The Extra Hymn-Book," 1864; "Hints about the Sunday-School Work," 1869. He was the editor of *Sunday-School Work*.

Joseph Thomas, M.D., with others, published "Baldwin's Pronouncing Gazetteer," 1845; "Travels in Egypt and Palestine," 1854; "A Revised Gazetteer," 1854; and, with others, "A Geographical Dictionary of the World." In 1865 he published a "Comprehensive Medical Dictionary," and in 1869, "Lippincott's Dictionary of Biography and Mythology."

Charles B. Trego wrote "A Geography of Pennsylvania," 1843; and arranged the Franklin papers for the American Philosophical Society.

George W. Tryon, Jr., in 1861 published "List of American Writers on Recent Conchology, with the Titles of their Memoirs and Dates of Publication;" the same year, "The Mollusca of Harper's Ferry," and "Synopsis of the Recent Species of Gastrochænidæ, a Family of Acephalous Mollusca;" in 1862, "A Sketch of the History of Conchology in the United States," and a "Monograph of the Order Pholodacea, and other Papers;" in 1865, "Synonymy of the Species of Strepomatidæ."

James Tyson, M.D., in 1870 published "The Cell Doctrine; its History and Present State, with a Bibliography of the Subject."

Henry C. Watson, a native of Baltimore, wrote "Camp-Fires of the Revolution; or, The War of Independence," 1851; "Nights in a Block-House; or, Sketches of Border Life," 1852; "Old Bell of Independence," 1852; "Yankee Tea-Party; or, Boston in 1773," 1853; "Lives of the Presidents of the United States, with a History of the United States;" "Heroic Women of Philadelphia," 1853; "Ladies' Glee Book," 1854; "Masonic Musical Manual," 1855; "Universal Naval History;" "Camp-Fires of Napoleon," 1856; "Romance of History as exhibited in the Lives of Celebrated Women." He wrote other works, upon hunting, etc.

R. M. Whitney, editor of *The Evening Journal*, published a "Memorial to Congress on the Bank of the United States" in 1832.

John R. Whitney, in 1869, published "The Last Passover: an Account of the Closing Incidents in the Life upon Earth of our Lord Jesus Christ; a Verbal Harmony of the Four Gospel Narratives."

Henry Wikoff was author of "Napoleon Louis Bonaparte, First President of France: Biographical and Personal Sketches, including a Visit to the Prince at the Castle of Ham," 1849; "My Courtship and its Consequences," 1855; "The Adventures of a Rising Diplomatist," 1856; "A New Yorker in the Foreign Office, and his Adventures in Paris." There is an interesting report of his trial, along with others, for a conspiracy to effect a forced marriage with Miss Gamble in "My Courtship."

Joseph Janvier Woodward, M.D., surgeon United States army, published, in 1862, "The Hospital Steward's Manual;" "Outline of the Chief Camp Diseases of the United States Armies, as observed during the Present War," 1864.

Horatio C. Wood, M.D., professor of Botany in the University of Pennsylvania, published, in 1865, "Monograph of the North American Myriapoda," and several other scientific books, and has been a contributor to very many scientific journals.

Thomas A. Budd, a leading lawyer, published in "The National Portrait Gallery" the "Life of John Dickinson," and was the author of several printed addresses.

J. W. Comfort, M.D., in 1853, published "Practice of Medicine on Thomsonian Principles, adapted as well to the use of Families as to the Practitioner."

D. Francis Condie, M.D., published an abridged edition of Thomas' "Practice of Medicine" in 1818; in 1824, "A Course of Examinations for the Use of Medical Students;" in 1831, "The Catechism of Health;" in 1832, "A Treatise on Epidemic Cholera;" in 1850, "A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children."

Benjamin Ellis, M.D., was author of "The Medical Formulary;" corrected and extended by S. G. Morton, M.D., 1849.

Gouverneur Emerson, M.D., edited, in 1853, "Johnson's Farmer's and Planter's Encyclopædia of Rural Affairs." He wrote much upon medical statistics.

He also published "Effects of Depressing Influences in Changing the Proportions of the Sexes at Birth."

Edwin T. Freedley published, in 1852, "Money: how to Get, Save, Spend, Give, Lend, and Bequeath it," a work that created a decided sensation at home and abroad. The *London Economist* said of it, "Mr. Freedley's is a capital book, and, considered as a representative of the daily dealings of the Americans, it raises them very much in our estimation. The work ought to be read by all traders, old and young." In 1856 he published "Leading Pursuits and Leading Men;" and in 1858, "Philadelphia and its Manufactures."

J. Reese Fry edited Conrad's "Life of Zachary Taylor."

William E. Horner, M.D., professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania, in 1851, published "Special Anatomy and Histology;" in 1856, "United States Dissector; or, Lessons on Practical Anatomy," and "An Anatomical Atlas."

Edward D. Ingraham, a member of the bar of Philadelphia, was author of "A View of the Insolvent Laws of Philadelphia," 1827; editor of "Gow on Partnership," 1844; of Vattel's "Law of Nations," 1852; of "English Ecclesiastical Reports from 1809 to 1835," also of an interesting treatise on the events connected with the capture of the city of Washington, D.C., by the British army in the war of 1812.

Horatio Gates Jones, in 1858, published "Genealogical Account of Wigard and Gerhard Levering."

Mrs. Sarah Jane Lippincott, *née* Clarke, made some reputation over the signature of "Grace Greenwood." Her work began with letters to the *New York Mirror*. She subsequently wrote a large number of works, most of which were received with great favor. Some of them are "Greenwood Leaves," in 1849, with a new series; Poetical Works, 1850; "Haps and Mishaps of a Tour in Europe," 1852; "Recollections of my Childhood, and other Stories;" "Merrie England," 1855; "A Forest Tragedy, and other Tales," 1856; and, in 1857, "A New Book for Children."

J. Cheston Morris, M.D., was translator (1856) of the German Lehmann's "Manual of Chemistry."

P. Pemberton Morris, in 1849, published "A Practical Treatise on the Law of Replevin in the United States, with Appendix of Forms and Digest of Statutes."

Robert Morris, for many years an editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, wrote extensively and with marked ability on various subjects, in politics, morals, and social life. He wrote some poetry, as, in 1836, "The Broken-Hearted." In 1836 he was contributor to "The Philadelphia Book." Some of his moral and social sketches and stories were published under the title "Courtship and Marriage."

Richard Newton, D.D., rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, has published two volumes that were well received, "Prayers of the Church" and "Rills from the Fountain of Life."

Frederick Overman was author (1850) of "The Manufacturer of Iron;" in 1851, "The Manufacture of Steel," and "The Moulder's and Founder's Pocket Guide," and "Practical Mineralogy, Assaying, and Mining;" in 1852, "Mechanics for the Millwright, Machinist, Civil Engineer, Architect, and Student," and a "Treatise on Metallurgy."

William V. Pettit published (1852) his "Addresses delivered in Congress."

Henry Philips, Jr., published in 1862, "Historical Sketches of Paper Money issued in Pennsylvania;" in 1863, "Catalogue of the New Jersey Bills of Credit;" in 1867, "Historical Sketches of Paper Money," and "Some Observations on the Early Currency of Maryland," also "Medicine and Astrology," and "The Pleasures of Numismatic Science."

Edward Pollock was a frequent contributor to *Graham's Magazine*. Among others of his poems is "The Chandos Picture."

John Meredith Read, a great-grandson of the signer George Read, and son of Chief Justice John M. Read, has been prominently connected for many years with many learned societies, and contributed largely to their various subjects of inquiry. He was author, in 1860, of "The Relation of the Soil Plants and Animals;" in 1866, of "A Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson." He has contributed largely to various periodicals, and among his contributions have been poems.

Isaac Reed, Jr., in 1860, published a collection of juvenile poems called "Head and Heart Fruits."

Joseph J. Reed, in 1862, published "Outlines of Universal History, in Three Parts,—Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern."

.Mary J. Reed, under the name of Marie Roseau, was a contributor to several literary journals.

David Meredith Reese, M.D., LL.D., once superintendent of public schools in New York City and County, was a native of Philadelphia. He was author of "Observations on the Epidemic Yellow Fever," 1819; "Strictures on Health," 1828; "Epidemic Cholera," 1833; "Humbugs of New York," 1833; "Review of First Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society," 1834; Quakerism *versus* Calvinism," 1834; "Phrenology known by its Fruits," 1838; and "Medical Lexicon of Modern Terminology," 1855. He was, besides, editor of the works of several foreign writers.

John J. Reese published "American Medical Formulary" in 1850, and in 1858, "Analysis of Physiology." "A Treatise upon Toxicology" is his most important work, published about 1872.

John Riddell, architect, in 1867, published "Architectural Designs for Model Country Residences."

Abraham Ritter was author of "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia," 1857; and in 1860, of "Philadelphia and her Merchants" as constituted fifty to seventy years ago.

Benjamin Rush, grandson of the distinguished phy-

sician of that name, wrote, in 1862, "Letters on the Rebellion to a Citizen of Washington from a Citizen of Philadelphia."

Winthrop Sargent published, in 1855, "The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1775;" in 1857, "The Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution;" in 1858, "A Journal of the General Meeting of the Cincinnati in 1784;" in 1861, "The Life and Career of Major John André," and other works concerning that officer.

Richard Rush, son of Dr. Benjamin Rush, born at Philadelphia Aug. 29, 1780, a statesman and diplomatist, held high positions: Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, 1811; Attorney-General of the United States, 1814 to 1817; Secretary of State and minister to England. He wrote largely upon political and public affairs. He was author of an edition of "Laws of the United States," 1815; "Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of St. James," 1833; a second volume, "Incidents, Official and Personal, from 1819 to 1825;" "Washington in Domestic Life," 1857; "Occasional Productions," 1860.

Dr. James Rush, son of Dr. Benjamin Rush, and founder of the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library, was author of "The Philosophy of the Human Voice," which high scientific authorities declare to be the most philosophical work upon the voice and methods of speech ever written. Also "Hamlet, a Dramatic Prelude," 1834; "Analysis of the Human Intellect," 1865; "Rhymes of Contrast on Wisdom and Folly," 1869.

John Sartain published the *Foreign Semi-monthly*, and afterward *Sartain's Union Magazine;* he was also connected for some time with *Graham's Magazine*. He published, in 1852, "Poetical and Prose Illustrations of Celebrated American Painters."

Alexander Shiraz, an Episcopalian minister, in 1865, wrote "Life and Letters of Rev. James May, D.D."

Henry H. Smith, M.D., professor of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, published several works, among them "A Treatise on Minor Surgery," 1843;" "An Anatomical Atlas," 1844; "A System of Operative Surgery," 1852; "The Treatment of Ununited Fractures by Means of Artificial Limbs," 1855; "A Professional Visit to London and Paris," 1855; "Syllabus of Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Surgery," 1855; "The Medical, Literary, and Social Influence of the Alumni of Pennsylvania University," etc.

Marshall B. Smith, a divine of the Dutch Reformed Church, one of the editors of *The Protestant Churchman*, published, in 1861, "A Sermon on the Nation's Danger," and "The Nation's Duty."

Frederick Ratchford Starr, a native of Nova Scotia, published, in 1866, "Didley Dumps; or, John Ellard the Newsboy," and "What Can I Do? A Question for Professing Christians;" and the following year, "May I Not? or, Two Ways of Looking Through a Telescope."

Rev. Edward Wurts, in 1869, published "The Thief on the Cross; or, the Way of Salvation by Grace proved and illustrated from its Leading Example."

Rev. Daniel B. Woods, in 1861, published "Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings," of which the *London Athenæum* said that a better book on California had not come within its notice.

Annis Lee Wister (*née* Furness), in 1864, translated from the German of George Blum and Louis Wahl "Seaside and Fireside Fairies;" in 1868, "The Old Mam'selle's Secret," and "Gold Elsie," from the German of E. Marlitt; in 1869, "The Countess Gisela," from the same; in 1870, "Only a Girl; or, A Physician for the Soul," from Wilhelmine von Hillern; in 1871, "Enchanting and Enchanted," and many others in subsequent years.

William Welsh, in 1861, published "Lay Co-operation in St. Mark's Church;" in 1863, "Letters on the Home Missionary Work of the Protestant Episcopal Church;" in 1868, "The Bishop Potter Memorial House;" in 1869, with others, "Toopi and his Friends; or, Indians' Wrongs and Rights."

Joseph Warrington, M.D., in 1837, published "Oration on the Improvements in Medicine," and "Treatise on the Uterus," from the French of F. Du Parcque; in 1852, "Nurse's Guide;" and in the same year "Obstetric Catechism."

Townsend Ward was author (1858) of "The Insurrection of the Year 1794 in the Western Counties of Philadelphia." He has written many historical treatises and papers, notable among which are his "Walks in Germantown and the Neighborhood," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*.

James Barr Walker, D.D., in 1855, published "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," which has been very extensively read, and has been translated into several foreign languages. The same year appeared "God Revealed in Nature and in Christ, including a Refutation of the Development Theory contained in the Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation;" in 1857, "Philosophy of Scepticism and Ultraism;" in 1862, "The Philosophy of the Divine Operations in the Redemption of Man." He edited *The Ohio Observer*, *The Watchman of the Valley*, and *The Watchman of the Prairies*. He has also published some poetical pieces.

Victor Value, a French teacher, published "Ollendorff's New System of Learning French; with Value's System of French Pronunciation;" in 1856 and 1858, "French Prosody."

Samuel Hulbeart Turner, D.D., professor in the General Theological Seminary of New York, was a native of Philadelphia. He was a voluminous writer, and his works have been highly esteemed. In 1824 he published "Notes on the Epistle to the Romans;" in 1841, "Companion to the Book of Genesis;" in 1848, "Parallel References Illustrative of the New Testament;" in 1851, "Essay on our Lord's Discourse at Capernaum;" in 1852, "Thoughts on

the Origin, Character, and Interpretation of Scripture Prophecy;" and "St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, in Greek and English;" in 1853, "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans;" in 1856, "To the Ephesians;" in 1858, "Teachings of the Master;" in 1869, "Spiritual Things compared with Spiritual;" in 1861, "The Gospels compared with the Ammonian Sections and the Tables of Eusebius;" besides many others. His "Autobiography" appeared in 1862, the year after his death.

John C. Trautwine, civil engineer, was author of (1) "New Method of Calculating the Cubic Contents of Excavations and Embankments by the Aid of Diagrams," 1851; (2) "Field Practice of Laying Out Circular Curves for Railroads," 1851; and (3) in 1854, "Rough Notes of an Exploration for an Inter-Oceanic Canal Route by way of the Rivers Atrato and San Juan, New Granada." He was also a contributor to the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*.

John Warner published a work on Railroad Excavation and Embankment, with Diagrams.

John K. Townsend was author of "A Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands," etc., 1837, and (1839) "Ornithology of the United States."

Mary Townsend published "Life in the Insect World."

Miss Hannah Townsend, in 1852, published "History of England in Rhyme."

John W. Torrey published, in 1857, "Interest Tables;" and John J. Breban published a work on the same subject. All these were preceded by "Rowlett's Interest Tables." Rowlett was for some years a clerk in the Bank of North America.

William P. Tatham (1869) published "On the Restoration of the Standard of Value, and the Proper Limit to the Use of Bank Credit as Money."

A. De Kalb Tarr, in 1859, published "The American Reader of Prose and Poetry."

George M. Dallas, son of Alexander J. Dallas, was United States senator; ambassador to Russia from 1837 to October, 1839; Vice-President of the United States from 1845 to 1849; minister to England, 1856 to 1861. He wrote and published pamphlets and speeches. Allibone gives a list of thirty of these. His "Letters from London in 1856–60" were edited and published by his daughter Julia.

Samuel D. Gross, M.D., physician and surgeon, translated Holland's "General Anatomy," Hatin's "Manual of Obstetrics," Hildebrand on "Typhus Fever," and Tavernier's "Operative Surgery." He has been a prolific writer on medical subjects: "Diseases and Injuries of the Bones and Joints," 1830; "Elements of Pathological Anatomy," 1839; "Wounds of the Intestines," 1843; "Diseases, Injuries, and Malformations of the Urinary Organs," 1851; "Foreign Bodies in the Air-Passages," 1854; "Report on the Causes which Retard the Progress of American Medical Literature," 1856; "System of Surgery: Pathological, Diagnostic, Therapeutic, and Operative," 1859; "American Medical Biography," 1861. About 1876 he wrote a comprehensive review and history of the progress of medicine and surgery during the previous century, and prepared an interesting discourse upon the origin and early history of Jefferson College.

Alexander D. Bache, LL.D., A.A.S., born July 19, 1806, was made regent of the Smithsonian Institute in August, 1846, having previously held many distinguished positions. In 1833 he edited Brewster's "Optics," with notes. He published "Observations" at the observatory of Girard College in 1840–45; "Report of Experiments to Navigate the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal by Steam," in 1834, and contributed many valuable papers to scientific journals of the day. He died at Newport, R. I., Feb. 17, 1867.

Samuel Austin Allibone, LL.D., the eminent bibliographer, who gave sixteen years of his life to the preparation of a monumental dictionary of the writers in English literature, was born in Philadelphia in 1816. The main labor of his career was preceded by the printing of two minor books,—"A Review by a Layman of New Themes for the Protestant Clergy," 1853; and "New Themes Condemned," 1854. "At the age of thirty-four," says Mr. Duyckinck, "while engaged in mercantile life, he projected, and three years later (Aug. 1, 1853) he began, the compilation of 'A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the Earliest Accounts to the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century.'

"The first volume, exceeding one thousand royal octavo pages, was published in December, 1858. Its notices extended from A to J, inclusive, but the volume was subsequently made to include those under K and L also. The second volume, reaching from M to S, inclusive, appeared in the spring of 1870, and the third, T to Z, in the year following. His only assistant was his wife, who copied the manuscript, covering about twenty thousand foolscap pages, from his notes." The entire work contains three thousand one hundred and forty double-column pages, and mentions the writings of about forty-seven thousand writers. While busied with his dictionary, Dr. Allibone prepared some valuable indexes, one of three hundred and ninety-six columns to "Orations and Speeches of Edward Everett," 1850–59; another of seventy-six columns to the "Life and Letters of Washington Irving," 1861–64; and also "An Alphabetical Index to the New Testament," prepared in spare moments on Sundays. He has been secretary of the American Sunday-School Union and editor of its publications, giving his mornings to its service, since 1867. Among his works are "Union Bible Companion," a compendium of scriptural knowledge, 1871; "The New Explanatory Question-Book on the Harmony of the Gospels," and one on the Acts, 1869; "Poetical Quotations from Chaucer to Tennyson," 1873; and a companion volume of "Prose

Quotations." This distinguished author has been for some years librarian of the Lenox Library, in New York.

Dr. Isaac Cathrall, born in 1764, studied medicine under Dr. Redman, and in London, Edinburgh, and Paris. He returned home in 1793 during the prevalence of yellow fever, and suffered severely with the disease. In 1797-99 he remained at his post, and even dissected those who died of the fever. He published "Remarks on the Yellow Fever," 1794; "Buchan's Domestic Medicine, with Notes," 1797; "Memoir on the Analysis of the Black Vomit," 1800, in vol. v. of the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society;" and a pamphlet on the yellow fever in conjunction with Dr. Currie, in 1802. He was a surgeon of the city almshouse from 1810 to 1816. He died Feb. 22, 1819.

Zachariah Poulson was born in Philadelphia Sept. 5, 1761. His father was also named Zachariah, and was born at Copenhagen, Denmark, from whence he emigrated to America and settled in Germantown in 1749. Zachariah, the elder, learned the printers' trade with Christopher Sauer (the second). The younger Poulson, following in the footsteps of his father, learned the art of printing with Joseph Cruikshank, on Market Street. He was editor, publisher, and proprietor of the first daily paper published in the United States, which was called *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, and was continued for nearly forty years, when it ceased to exist in 1849. He was elected for many years printer for the Senate of Pennsylvania. In 1789 he printed the "Minutes of the Convention which was appointed to Amend and Revise the Constitution of the State." Among the most important of the works printed by him are Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," in 1797-98; "Poulson's Town and Country Almanac," 1789 to 1801; "The American Tutor's Assistant;" the works of William Gerard de Braam: "Journals of the General Conventions from the Abolition Societies of the United States," intermittently from 1794 to 1801. Besides his business as a printer and publisher he was prominently associated with many public benefactions. He was one of the founders and at his death the president of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, at one time a manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, for fifty-nine years connected with the Library Company of Philadelphia,—twenty-one years as librarian, six as treasurer, and served thirty-two years as a director. The portrait accompanying this sketch is from a painting by Sully, which is now the property of the library. He was an enterprising and public-spirited man, and a citizen who was an honor to the place of his birth. His death occurred at Philadelphia, July 31, 1844, and he was buried in the family cemetery at Germantown.

Z. Poulson

Dr. Henry Bond was the author of many valuable papers on professional subjects, and contributed largely to medical and other journals. He was a member of numerous historical and other societies, and of religious and charitable associations, and was several years president of the Board of Health. Besides his high reputation as a physician, he obtained that also of being a successful and thorough genealogist. He was born at Watertown, Mass., March 21, 1790, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1813. He studied medicine, settled first in Concord, N. H., and in November, 1819, in this city, where he resided till his death, May 4, 1859.

Lucy Hamilton Hooper, a Philadelphia lady of culture, published "Poems: with translations from the German of Geibel and others," and, in conjunction with Charles G. Leland, edited *Our Daily Fair*, the daily chronicle of the great Central Sanitary Fair held in this city in 1864. For two years she was assistant editor of *Lippincott's Magazine*, and was a constant contributor to the *Galaxy* and other leading periodicals. A second and complete volume of her poems was published in 1871. She has been for some years a popular correspondent at Paris with journals published in Philadelphia.

Frank R. Stockton, a contributor to leading magazines, was born in 1834. He has been connected editorially with the *Philadelphia Post* and *Hearth and*

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Home and *Scribner's Monthly*. He wrote "Ting-a-Ling," "The House that John Built," "Roundabout Rambles," etc. He contributed to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, *Punchinello*, and other journals.

Henry Simpson died in 1868, aged seventy-seven years. He was a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, appraiser of the port of Philadelphia, and author of "The Lives of Eminent deceased Philadelphians," 8vo, 1859.

Thompson Westcott, editor of the *Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch* since its beginning, in 1848, was born in 1820. He was admitted to the bar in 1841, and is the author of a "Life of John Fitch," 1857; "Taxpayers' Guide," 1864; "Names of Persons, etc., with a History of the Test-Laws of Pennsylvania," 8vo, 1865; "Chronicles of the Great Rebellion," originally compiled for the "Old Franklin Almanac;" "The Official Guide Book of Philadelphia," 1876; "Centennial Souvenir," 1876; author of "The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia," 1877; "History of Philadelphia," published in the *Sunday Dispatch*, and numerous contributions to the periodical literature of the country.

William Bradford Reed, LL.D., grandson of Gen. Joseph Reed, was born in this city June 30, 1806; graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1822. He was attorney-general of Pennsylvania in 1838, envoy extraordinary and minister to China 1857–58, and negotiated the treaty ratified Jan. 26, 1860. Author of "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," 2 vols. 8vo, 1847; "Life of Esther Reed," 8vo, 1853; "Vindication of Joseph Reed," in reply to Bancroft's "History," in several pamphlets. He edited the posthumous works of his brother Henry, and published a large number of historical addresses and political pamphlets. He contributed to the *American Quarterly* and *North American Review*, and at the time of his death was one of the editors of the *New York World*.

Rev. Charles Philip Krauth, in 1825, assisted in preparing a "Hymn-Book, Liturgy, and Prayers for the use of the Churches of the Lutheran District Synod;" in 1831 he was placed on the editing committee of fifteen; from 1827 to 1834 he was pastor of St. Matthew's Lutheran Church in this city, and was regarded as one of the finest pulpit orators in the city. From 1834 to 1847 he was president of Pennsylvania College. He published some addresses, and furnished many articles for the *Lutheran Intelligencer* and the *Evangelical Review*.

His son, Rev. Charles Porterfield Krauth, was pastor of St. Mark's Lutheran Church from 1859 to 1868; professor of Theology in the Lutheran Seminary, 1864–68; and subsequently professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania. He published "The Pastoral Office," 1845; "The Transfiguration," 1850; "Popular Amusements," 1851; "The Bible a Perfect Book," 1851; "The Old Church on the Hill," 1854; "The Lutheran Church and the Lord's Day," 1857; "Translation of Tholuck's Commentary on the Gospel of St. John;" and wrote many other important treatises and criticisms. In 1861 he became editor of the *Lutheran and Missionary*. He has contributed to numerous reviews and periodicals.

Robert Shelton Mackenzie, M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., was literary and foreign editor of *The Press*. Among his publications are "Lays of Palestine," "Titian," "Partnership 'en Commandite,'" "Mornings at Matlock," a collection of fugitive magazine pieces; Sheil's "Sketches of the Irish Bar," "Noctes Ambrosianæ," "Bits of Blarney," "Dr. Maginn's Writings" and others, "Tressilian and his Friends," "Memoirs of Robert Houdin," "Life of Charles Dickens," "Life of Sir Walter Scott," etc. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Glasgow, and subsequently was admitted Doctor of Civil Law at Oxford. Mrs. Adelheid Shelton Mackenzie, his wife, has written several attractive romances, among them "Married against Reason," and "Aureola; or, The Black Sheep."

Thomas Mackellar, poet, was born in New York, Aug. 12, 1812, and in 1833 removed to Philadelphia, where, on the death of Mr. Johnson in 1860, he became senior partner of the great type-foundry of Lawrence Johnson & Co. He early wrote for the *Journal* of the Sunday-School Union, and published "Droppings from the Heart," 1844; "Tam's Fortnight's Rambles," 1847; and "Lines for the Gentle and Loving," 1853; also "The American Printer."

Joseph Clay Neal, humorist, was born at Greenland, N. H., Feb. 3, 1807, and died July 18, 1847. He removed to Philadelphia about 1820, and became editor of the *Pennsylvanian*, and after a tour in Europe and Africa for his health, in 1841–42, assumed, in 1844, the editorship of the *Saturday Gazette*, which he continued till his death. His first humorous compositions were "The City Worthies," a series of sketches which appeared in the *Pennsylvanian*. In 1837 he published the "Charcoal Sketches," reprinted in London under the auspices of Charles Dickens; in 1844, "Peter Ploddy, and other Oddities," and subsequently a new series of "Charcoal Sketches."

Oswald Seidensticker, professor of German Language and Literature in the University of Pennsylvania, has written and published several valuable literary works, and delivered a number of interesting historical addresses. He has also contributed a number of articles to the periodical literature of this country and Germany upon the German element in America.

Charles Henry Hart was born Feb. 4, 1847. He studied law in the office of Samuel H. Perkins, was admitted to the bar in 1868, and received the degree of Bachelor of Laws from the University of Pennsylvania in the following year. He published "Bibliographia Lincolniana: an Account of the Publications occasioned by the Death of Abraham Lincoln,

Sixteenth President of the United States, with Notes and an Introduction." The introduction was subsequently reprinted as a "Biographical Sketch of Mr. Lincoln." In May, 1870, he delivered a "Discourse on the Life and Services of Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, LL.D.," and subsequently published a "Memoir of George Ticknor, the Historian of Spanish Literature," and "A Treatise on the Doctrine of Equitable Conversion." He also contributed to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* a "Memoir of William Hickling Prescott," and has contributed many articles to the press of the country.

George Lippard, novelist, was born near Yellow Springs, Pa., April 10, 1822, and died in 1854. In 1841 he became a contributor to the *Spirit of the Times*. His first novel was "The Lady Annabel," followed by "The Quaker City," "Herbert Tracy," "Washington and his Generals," "Paul Ardenheim," "Memoirs of a Preacher," "Adonai," "Jesus and the Poor," "Adrian the Neophyte," "The Empire City," "Nazarene," "Blanche of Brandywine," "Legends of Mexico," "Washington and his Men," "The Rose of Wissahickon," "Bel of Prairie Eden," and "New York, its Upper Ten and Lower Million," etc. His life and selected writings were published, with an essay on his writing and genius, by C. C. Burr, in 1847.

William M. Gouge, editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette*, was born Nov. 10, 1796, and died at Trenton, N. J., July 14, 1863. He published "A Fiscal History of Texas," 1852; "History of the American Banking System," 1835; "Expediency of Dispensing with Bank Agency and with Bank Paper," 1837. He edited several journals, and for thirty years contributed articles on banking to various journals.

William Grimshaw, author of school histories and grammar, emigrated to America in 1815 from Ireland, and lived many years in Philadelphia. He published "Life of Napoleon," "Etymological Dictionary," "Gentlemen's and Ladies' Lexicons," "Merchant's Law Book," "Form Book," "American Chesterfield," etc. He died in this city in 1852.

James Gilborne Lyons, LL.D., died at Haverford, Jan. 2, 1868, where he had for many years a select boys' school of a high character. He was an accomplished scholar, and published "Christian Songs, Translations, and other Poems," 1861.

Samuel W. Pennypacker, a prominent member of the bar, was the author of many valuable historical contributions. His chief writings are "History of Phœnixville," "History and Biographical Sketches," and various addresses upon public occasions. He edited several volumes of law reports, and contributed many articles to the magazines and newspapers of the country. His historical researches in reference to the history of Germantown and of the Germans in Pennsylvania show great knowledge and patient industry.

Herman Hooker, a bookseller, was the author of "The Portion of the Soul; or, Thoughts on its Attributes and Tendencies as Indications of its Destiny," "Popular Infidelity," "The Philosophy of Unbelief in Morals and Religion," etc., "The Uses of Adversity and the Provisions of Consolation," "The Christian Life a Fight of Faith," and several others. He died July 25, 1865.

Noah Webster, the philologist and publicist, in 1787 was principal of the Episcopal academy, and when the Constitution of the United States was formed by the convention of that year, gave it his assistance in a pamphlet, an "Examination of the Leading Principles of the Federal Constitution." While on a visit to Philadelphia in 1782 he was encouraged by Mr. Madison and Professor Samuel S. Smith to enter upon the preparation of the school-books by which he subsequently became so well known. His public spirit and impulses were shown in his successful efforts to remove the remains of Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant, from a neglected spot on an old farm near Germantown to Laurel Hill, where an appropriate monument was erected. He also suggested the erection of a monument to Gen. Francis Nash, of North Carolina, at Germantown, where the gallant soldier fell on the battle-ground of 1777.

William Henry Fry, composer and journalist, was born in August, 1815, and died at Santa Cruz, West Indies, Dec. 21, 1864. His father, William Fry, was proprietor of the *National Gazette*. The musical talent of W. H. Fry was very early manifested, and in 1835 he received from the Philharmonic Society an honorary medal for four overtures performed by them. He became connected with the *National Gazette* in 1839, was editor of the *Ledger* in 1844, and afterward wrote for the *Sun*. His opera "Leonora" was produced at the Chestnut Street Theatre in June, 1845, and an Italian version at the Academy of Music, New York, in the spring of 1858. From 1846 to 1852 he was in Europe, chiefly residing in Paris, and corresponding with the *New York Tribune* (with which he was subsequently connected), the *Philadelphia Ledger*, and other newspapers. In 1852 he delivered in New York a series of ten lectures on the history of music, illustrating them by two new symphonies, "The Breaking Heart" and a "Day in the Country." These, with two others, "Santa Claus" and "Childe Harold," were also soon after played by Jullien's orchestra in various parts of the United States. He also wrote the music to an ode for the opening of the great Industrial Exhibition at New York in 1853, and a *Stabat Mater*, composed in 1855. He was also a political orator, and a popular lecturer on miscellaneous subjects. He published "Artificial Fish-Breeding" in 1854.

His brother, Joseph Reese Fry, translated and adapted the opera of "Norma" from the Italian for the Wood English Opera Troupe, wrote the libretto of his brother's opera "Leonora," and also of the opera of "Notre Dame." An accomplished scholar and lin-

guist, he was well versed in the history of the literature of music, and wrote with ease and taste. He was largely instrumental in raising the Union League Brigade during the civil war, and was the author of "Life of Zachary Taylor," 1848.

John Fanning Watson was born June 13, 1779, in Burlington County, N. J. His parents were of English origin; his grandfather, Thomas Watson, came to America in 1667, settling at Salem, where the father of John F., William Watson, was born.

After enjoying but limited advantages for an education, Mr. Watson came to this city and entered the commercial house of James Vanuxem, an eminent merchant. Here he remained until nineteen years of age, when, through his becoming a member of the Macpherson Blues, he offended the firm, and was compelled to withdraw. He next became a clerk in the War Department at the city of Washington until 1804, when he resigned his position to form a business connection with Gen. James O'Hara at New Orleans. After a residence of two years at New Orleans he returned to the city of Philadelphia, where he made his first essay as a bookseller and publisher, establishing a business house on Chestnut Street.

JOHN FANNING WATSON.

In 1814, Mr. Watson was elected cashier of the Bank of Germantown, which position he held till 1847, when he was chosen treasurer and secretary of the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad Company. In 1859, being at that time eighty years of age, he retired from all active business. In 1820 he began to collect antiquarian material, the first being history and legends of Germantown, though none of them were printed until about 1828, when some extracts from his manuscript books were printed in the *Register of Pennsylvania*. In 1830 the first edition of his "Annals of Philadelphia" was issued, the same "being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of the City and its Inhabitants from the Days of the Pilgrim Founders; also, Olden Time Researches and Reminiscences of New York City in 1828." It was in one volume of eight hundred pages, and illustrated by lithographs. In 1842 the work was republished in two volumes, revised and enlarged, and again, in 1856, he made a final revision, adding an appendix to the second volume. The editions subsequent to the first did not contain the matter relative to New York.

In 1832 he published a duodecimo volume, "Historic Tales of Olden Time, concerning the Early Settlement and Advancement of New York City and State." This was followed the next year by a similar volume, "Historic Tales of Olden Time, concerning the Early Settlement and Progress of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania." In 1846 his "Annals and Occurrences of New York City and State in the Olden Times" was published. Besides these works he edited "A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations, consisting of Elegant Extracts on every Subject, compiled from Various Authors, and arranged under Appropriate Heads." Mr. Watson's first publisher and most active co-laborer was Samuel Hazard, and to them is due the awakening of that spirit of antiquarianism and historical research from which sprung the Historical Society. Mr. Watson was an ardent collector of all objects of historic interest, many of which are now deposited in the Philadelphia Library and with the Historical Society. While his published writings are mostly local history, he also wrote articles on a variety of subjects, particularly upon theology. Mr. Watson died on Dec. 23, 1860, being eighty-two years of age, and leaving behind him a monument to his mental powers in his "Annals."

Rev. William M. Engles edited the *Presbyterian* from 1834 till his death, Nov. 27, 1867. He published "Records of the Presbyterian Church," "Bible Dictionary," "Book of Poetry," "Sailor's Companion," "Sick-Room Devotions," "Soldier's Pocket-Book."

Thomas Evans, in 1828, published "An Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends," etc., and from 1837 to 1854 edited, in conjunction with his brother William, "The Friends' Library," a collection of the standard religious writings of the society, in fourteen volumes. He died May 25, 1868.

Thomas Fisher, poet and scientific writer, was born Jan. 21, 1801, and died Feb. 12, 1856. He published a "Dial of the Seasons," 1835; "Mathematics Simplified and made Attractive," 1853; and in 1850, "Song of the Sea-Shells, and other Poems." Red-

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wood Fisher published several volumes on "Political Economy." Myles Fisher published an "Answer to Paine's Age of Reason."

George R. Crooks, D.D., lexicographer, was born Feb. 3, 1822, and in association with Professor McClintock, of Dickinson College, prepared Latin and Greek text-books. He published an edition of Butler's "Analogy."

Thomas Earle, a writer on law, died July 14, 1849. He removed to Philadelphia in 1817, and engaged in mercantile pursuits for a few years, then studied law, and commenced practice. He edited successively the *Columbian Observer*, *Standard*, *Pennsylvanian*, and *Mechanics' Free Press and Reform Advocate.* He published an "Essay on Penal Law," an "Essay on the Rights of States to Alter and Annul their Charters," "A Treatise on Railroads and Internal Communications," 1830, and a "Life of Benjamin Lundy." At his death he had nearly completed a history of the French Revolution and a translation of Sismondi's "Italian Republics."

Willis Gaylord Clark, a miscellaneous writer, died June 12, 1841. He gave early indications of literary talent; established a weekly journal in 1830, which was soon abandoned. He became co-editor with Dr. Brantley of the *Columbian Star*, a religious and literary weekly, and was subsequently, until his death, editor and proprietor of the *Philadelphia Gazette.* In September, 1833, he recited his longest poem, "The Spirit of Life," before the Franklin Society. In 1844 a volume of his literary remains, including "Ollapodiana," poems, and magazine articles, was published. He was a frequent contributor to the annuals and magazines, particularly the *Knickerbocker.*

Dr. Jacob Green, physicist, was born July 26, 1790, and died Feb. 1, 1841. He graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, and in his boyhood made a large collection of plants. He published soon after leaving the university, in connection with a young friend, a treatise on electricity, which gave him a reputation. He also studied law, and was licensed to practice, but in 1818 accepted a professorship in New Jersey College of Chemistry, Philosophy, and Natural History. He was professor of Chemistry in the Jefferson Medical College from 1822 to the close of his life. He published "Chemical Diagrams;" "Chemical Philosophy," 1829; "Treatise on Electro-Magnetism;" "Astronomical Recreations;" "A Syllabus of a Course on Chemistry;" two works on "Trilobites," with wax illustrations; a work on the "Botany of the United States, with a list of the Botanical Productions of New York;" "Notes of a Traveller," giving an account of a visit to Europe in 1828, three volumes, 1831; "Diseases of the Skin," 8vo, 1841; and contributions to *Silliman's Journal.*

Robert Patterson, LL.D., born in the north of Ireland, May 30, 1743, came to America in 1768, and became principal of the academy at Wilmington, Del., in 1774. He was a brigade major in the Revolutionary war, professor of Mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania in 1779-1814, and some time vice-provost. In 1805 he was made director of the United States Mint, and from 1819 till his death, July 22, 1824, was president of the American Philosophical Society, to whose Transactions he was a frequent contributor. He published "The Newtonian System," 1808; "Treatise on Arithmetic," 1819; and edited Ferguson's "Mechanics," 1806; his "Astronomy," 1809; John Webster's "Natural Philosophy," 1808; Ewing's "Natural Philosophy, with Biographical Sketch," 1809. A record of the families of Robert Patterson the elder was privately printed in 1847.

John Foster Kirk, editor of *Lippincott's Magazine*, was born at Fredericton, New Brunswick, in 1824, and came to the United States in 1842. He was secretary to William H. Prescott during the last ten years of the historian's life. He lived in Boston until 1870, when he removed to Philadelphia. He has written some fine literary and historical articles for the *North American Review*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Lippincott's Magazine.* His chief work is the "History of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy." He has also prepared a revised edition of Mr. Prescott's works, and an American edition of Palgrave's "Golden Treasury of the best English Songs and Lyrics."

John Cassin, a prominent ornithologist, was born near Chester, Pa., Sept. 6, 1813, but removed to this city in 1834, and, excepting a few years of mercantile pursuit, devoted himself to ornithology. He contributed to scientific journals, and published "Birds of California and Texas," a "Synopsis of the Birds of North America," "Ornithology of the United States Exploring Expedition," "Ornithology of the Japan Exploring Expedition," "Ornithology of Gilliss' Astronomical Expedition to Chili," and the chapters on the rapacious and wading birds in "The Ornithology of the Pacific Railroad Explorations and Surveys." He died Jan. 10, 1869. He was of a distinguished Quaker family, Commodore John Cassin being his great-uncle.

Francis J. Grund was long a resident of Philadelphia, and a frequent contributor to the public prints. He made his first impression as a Washington correspondent of the *Public Ledger.* He established *The Age*, and was the author of "The Americans in their Moral, Social, and Political Relations," 1837; "Aristocracy in America," 1839; "Algebraic Problems;" elements of "Chemistry," and of "Natural Philosophy;" and "Plane and Solid Geometry."

John Church Hamilton, son of Gen. Alexander Hamilton, was born in Philadelphia in 1792. He was the author of "Memoirs of Alexander Hamilton," 2 vols. 8vo, 1831; "Works of Alexander Hamilton," 7 vols. 8vo, 1851; "History of the Republic," 2 vols. 8vo, 1858.

Henry Charles Lea, son of Isaac Lea, and grand-

son of Mathew Carey, was born Sept. 19, 1825, and represented the publishing house of Mathew Carey & Sons, established at the close of the last century. He is the author of "Superstition and Force," etc., 1866; "Studies in Church History," etc., 1869; "History of Clerical Celibacy," etc. His father, Isaac Lea, LL.D., the naturalist, was born at Wilmington, Del., March 4, 1792, and joined the publishing firm of Mathew Carey, his father-in-law, in 1821, retiring in 1851. In 1815 he became a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and shortly after published his first paper in the *Journal* of this academy, describing the minerals in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. In 1827 he began a series of memoirs on new forms of fresh-water and land shells, which were continued for many years. In 1833 he published "Contributions to Geology," and in 1858 was elected president of the Academy of Natural Sciences. In 1851 he published a "Description of a New Genus of the Family Melaniana," "Fossil Footmarks in the Red Sandstones of Pottsville," and "Synopsis of the Family of Naiades." He also contributed many valuable articles to the journals of the country. The firms succeeding Mathew Carey have been Mathew Carey & Sons, Carey, Lea & Carey, Carey & Lea, Carey, Lea & Blanchard, Lea & Blanchard, Blanchard & Lea, and Henry C. Lea.

Thomas Dunn English, born June 29, 1819, received the degree of M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1839, and, having subsequently studied law, was in 1842 admitted to the bar. He wrote a novel, entitled "Walter Woolfe," and edited and contributed to a variety of journals and magazines. About 1842 he wrote for the *New York Mirror* the song "Ben Bolt." In 1848 he edited a humorous periodical, entitled the *John Donkey*, and, in connection with G. G. Foster, a work on the French Revolution of that date. He wrote a series of national ballads for *Harper's Magazine*, and is the author of numerous dramas, one of which, "The Mormons," has been printed. In 1855 he published a collection of his miscellaneous poems.

Dr. Benjamin Howard Rand was born in 1827, and graduated at Jefferson College in 1848. In 1853 he was professor of Chemistry in Philadelphia Medical College, and lecturer on Chemistry in the Franklin Institute. In 1864 he was professor of Chemistry in Jefferson Medical College. He was the author of "Medical Chemistry for Students," 1855; "Elements of Medical Chemistry," 1866. He edited Metcalfe's "Caloric," 2 vols., 1859, and contributed to medical periodicals.

Robert Montgomery Bird, born at New Castle, Del., in 1803, was educated in Philadelphia for the medical profession, but early turned his attention to literature. He contributed to the *Monthly Magazine*, and wrote three tragedies, "The Gladiator," "Oralooss," and "The Broker of Bogota." His novels were "Calavar," 1834; "The Infidel," 1835; "The Hawks of Hawk Hollow;" "Nick of the Woods," 1837; "Peter Pilgrim," 1838; and "Robin Day," 1839. In the same year he retired to his native town, but for a few years before his death, Jan. 22, 1854, he edited the *Philadelphia North American*, of which he was a part proprietor.

George W. Carpenter, of Germantown, ranked high as a geologist, and was a member of many European scientific societies. He was the author of "Essays on Materia Medica" and "Medical Chest Dispensatory," and was a contributor to the *Journal of the Medical Sciences*.

Joseph R. Chandler, a native of Kingston, Mass., educated to the law, member of Congress from Philadelphia from 1849 to 1855 and from 1858 to 1861, and afterward United States minister to Naples, was a conspicuous literary character for many years. When he first came to the city he was a teacher, and in 1821 published "A Grammar of the English Language."

Jos R Chandler

He was a frequent contributor to the *United States Gazette*, and for some years was editor and proprietor of that journal and an editor of the *North American*, in which it was merged. He was a prolific writer, sometimes of fiction, short tales, and sketches, and of many essays upon public and moral subjects, with addresses and speeches.

Charles J. Peterson, a native of Philadelphia, for many years proprietor of *Peterson's Magazine*, was editor at one time of the *Evening Bulletin* and an editorial contributor for the *Public Ledger*. His published works are "The Military Heroes of the Revolution, with a Narrative of the War of Independence," 1842; "The Military Heroes of the War of 1812 and of the War with Mexico," 1848; "Grace Dudley; or, Arnold at Saratoga," 1849; "Cruising in the Last War," 1849; "Naval History of the United States," 1850; "The Valley Farm;" "Kate Aylesford;" "History of the Refugees," 1855; "Mabel; or, Dark-

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ness and Dawn," 1857; "The Old Stone Mansion," 1859; also a continuation from 1840 to 1856 of Charles von Rotteck's "History of the World," 1856, and numerous tales and critical articles in magazines and newspapers.

John Frost, a native of Kennebunk, Me., and graduate of Harvard, came to Philadelphia in 1828, and was appointed professor of Belles-Lettres in the Central High School in 1838. He was very industrious, and the author of a large number of books for the use of schools and young people, with historical and biographical compilations.

Thomas Buchanan Read, the artist-poet, who spent a large portion of his life in Philadelphia, was born in Chester Co., Pa., March 12, 1822. He removed to the city in 1846, but died in New York, May 11, 1872. His latest poems were "The House by the Sea," 1855; "Sylvia; or, The Last Shepherd, an Eclogue, and other Poems, including Lyrics and Airs from Alpland," 1857; "The Wagoner of the Alleghanies, a Poem of the Days of Seventy-Six," 1862; "A Summer Story, Sheridan's Ride, and other Poems, chiefly of the War," 1865; and "Good Samaritans, a Poem," 1867, besides some minor contributions to magazines. Complete editions of his poetical works in two volumes were issued in 1860 and 1862, in three volumes in 1865 and 1867, and in one volume in 1882.

Joel Cook, one of the editors of the *Public Ledger* in 1884, published his first book, the "Siege of Richmond," a narrative of the military operations of Maj.-Gen. George B. McClellan during the year 1862. He wrote and published a delightful account of his travels in Europe, and also of journeys in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. About 1882 a splendid illustrative work upon the "History and Legends connected with Mansions and Seats of Historic Interest in England" was published, and is considered a valuable and interesting book, showing much research and knowledge.

Dr. Joseph Leidy, the celebrated naturalist and physiologist, was born in Philadelphia, Sept. 9, 1823, and received his degree at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1853 he was elected to the chair of Anatomy in that institution, which was held for many years. Some of his valuable contributions to the science of comparative anatomy and vertebrate palæontology are in the "Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences," the "Transactions of the Philosophical Society," and the "Smithsonian Contributions." He published an "Elementary Treatise on Anatomy," and many scientific papers.

Charles Heber Clark, once an editor and proprietor of the *Evening Bulletin*, wrote many humorous sketches, which were embodied in "Out of the Hurly-Burly," 1874, and "Elbow Room," at a later period.

John Hill Martin, a member of the bar, published, in 1873, a "History of Bethlehem, Pa.;" a "History of Chester and its Vicinity," 1877; "The Bench and Bar of Philadelphia," 1883, the latter a very comprehensive work.

Rev. William H. Furness, a leading Unitarian minister, published, in 1836, "Remarks on the Four Gospels," which he expanded into a large work in 1838, entitled "Jesus and His Biographers." He is also the author of "A Life of Christ;" "Domestic Worship;" "Julius, and other Tales, from the German," 1856; "Thoughts on the Life and Character of Jesus of Nazareth," 1864; "The Veil Partly Lifted and Jesus Becoming Visible," 1864; "Unconscious Truth of the Four Gospels," 1868; "Jesus," 1870, etc. He translated Schiller's "Song of the Bell," and other German poems, with great beauty and fidelity. A portion of these have been collected in a small volume with the title "Gems of German Verse." He is also the author of several hymns included in the collection in use by his denomination. As a preacher, Dr. Furness has great power, and his sermons, of which a volume appeared

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in 1855, are remarkable for the union of speculation and feeling. Dr. Horace Howard Furness, his son, has edited a "New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare," embracing the various readings of the principal editors. The first volume, "Romeo and Juliet," was published in 1871, and "Macbeth," "Hamlet," and "King Lear" have since appeared. He is also a valuable contributor to various journals. His wife is a lady of fine literary talent. Among her works are a "Concordance to Shakespeare's Poems."

We have thus made an imperfect sketch of a few of the prominent writers that Philadelphia has produced. The list is far longer than we had anticipated when we set upon our task. Proud as this great city may be of that distinguished line who have ornamented its bench and bar, it may boast more heartily still of its writers. In every department of inquiry, theology, morals, politics, political economy, science, art, mechanics, agriculture, trade, commerce, navigation, law, social life, history, poetry, and the novel, Philadelphia is not to be surpassed by any city of its age and size anywhere or in any time for the number and value of the works its citizens have composed.

In making this sketch we have noticed the earlier authors more at length than those that are more recent. We considered such a course the better because of the comparative lack of familiarity of most persons with the earlier literature of Philadelphia, except that part of it which has become specially distinguished in history, while that of recent times is generally well known. In our list of over five hundred names there are many who are known to the whole world, and many others who, had they lived in countries more fond than ours of the literary productions of their citizens, would have attained to far greater fame. The task of recording these names in this book has been very pleasing, and we have our own part of the gratification that all Philadelphians must feel in the contemplation of an array of authors so numerous and so honorable. Philadelphia has been a kind and generous nurse to talent of every description, and no city of its age and growth can show a greater number of those who have made becoming returns to her fostering care.[1]

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LIBRARIES AND HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.

As we have before stated in preceding chapters of this work, the first printing-press established in the middle colonies was brought to Philadelphia in 1685, three years after the arrival of William Penn. Philadelphia had also the honor of publishing in 1784 the first daily newspaper issued in the United States. It also led the way in publishing the first works of many literary varieties. But colonial Philadelphia did not simply excel as a maker of periodicals and books, but as a preserver thereof as well. In this city the first distinctive American library was established, and as the result of the beginning of this praiseworthy institution and of other kindred literary enterprises, the culture and intellectual growth of literature in Philadelphia soon became marked. Franklin, apropos of the foundation of the literary company, says, "The institution soon manifested its ability, was imitated in other towns and in other provinces. . . . Reading became fashionable, and our people having no amusement to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books, and in a few years were observed by strangers to be better instructed and more intelligent than people of the same rank in other countries."

The Rev. Jacob Duché, in 1774, wrote, "There is less distinction among the citizens of Philadelphia than among those of any other city in the world. . . . Literary accomplishments here meet with deserved applause. But such is the taste for books that almost every man is a reader."

But it was not alone in the domain of literature that Philadelphia led the way in its early history. In that kindred sphere, the realm of scientific and philosophical research, its enterprise and culture also led all the colonies. The American Philosophical Society, founded in 1743, was the forerunner of the numerous American associations now engaged in promoting the several abstract and applied sciences.

The Library Company of Philadelphia.—The Library Company of Philadelphia, established in 1731, owns the oldest library in America. It has long been known as the "father of American libraries," although Benjamin Franklin early denominated it the "*mother* of all the North American subscription libraries." Thackeray, in writing to Mr. William B. Reed, spoke of the institution as "that good old library." It had the following interesting origin: In the fall of 1728 the first literary association in the province was formed by Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Breintnall, "a copyer of deeds for scriveners," Thomas Godfrey, mathematician; Nicholas Scull, afterward surveyor-general of the province; William Parsons, who was a shoemaker by trade, but was afterward surveyor-general of the province; William Maugrige, a joiner; Hugh Meredith, a pressman, and Franklin's first partner; Stephen Potts, printer and bookbinder; George Webb, a compositor, but an Oxford scholar; Robert Grace, a gentleman of fortune; and William Coleman, a merchant's clerk, afterward a merchant and one of the provincial judges. This was the famous "Junto" club which originally met at a tavern, but afterward at the house of Robert Grace.

[1] In the chapters on the "Bench and Bar," "Medical Profession," "Art and Artists," "Religious Denominations," "Press," and others in this work, will be found sketches of many prominent authors and literary men, and mention of their works.

From this Junto originated the Philadelphia Library. Franklin thus tells the story of its origin in his "Chronicle of Events" in his life, under date of 1730:

"About this time (1730) our club meeting, not at a tavern, but in a little room of Mr. Grace's, set apart for that purpose, a proposition was made by me that, since our books were often referred to in our disquisitions upon the queries, it might be convenient to us to have them altogether where we met, that upon occasion they might be consulted; and by thus clubbing our books in a common library we should, while we liked to keep them together, have each of us the advantage of using the books of all the other members, which would be nearly as beneficial as if each owned the whole. It was liked, and agreed to, and we filled one end of the room with such books as we could best spare. The number was not so great as we expected, and though they had been of great use, yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection, after about a year, was separated, and each took his books home again.

"And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that of a subscription library. I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and by the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year, for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. We afterward obtained a charter, the company being increased to one hundred. This was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous."

The instrument of association was dated July 1, 1731, and the directors and treasurer therein appointed held their first meeting on the 8th of November following, at the house of Nicholas Scull, and made choice of William Coleman as their treasurer, and of Joseph Breintnall as their secretary, whose first entry is in the following words:[1]

"The minutes of me, Joseph Breintnall, secretary to the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, with such of the minutes of the same directors as they order me to make, begun on the 8th day of November, 1731. By virtue of the deed or instrument of the said company, dated the first day of July last. The said instrument being completed by fifty subscriptions, I subscribed my name to the following summons or notice which Benjamin Franklin sent by a messenger, viz.:

"'To Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Hopkinson, William Parsons, Philip Syng, Jun., Thomas Godfrey, Anthony Nicholas, Thomas Cadwalader, John Jones, Jun., Robert Grace, and Isaac Penington.

"'GENTLEMEN,—The subscription to the library being completed, you, the directors appointed in the instrument, are desired to meet this evening, at five o'clock, at the house of Nicholas Scull, to take bond of the treasurer for the faithful performance of his trust, and to consider of and appoint a proper time for the payment of the money subscribed, and other matters relating to the said library.

"JOS. BREINTNALL,
"*Secretary.*

"PHILADELPHIA, 8th November, 1731."

Upon the organization of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the price of a share was fixed at forty shillings. Ten persons paid their subscriptions at the first meeting. By March, 1732, more than twenty-five subscribers had paid in their money, and it was resolved to send to England for some books immediately. James Logan, having heard of the plan, proffered his assistance in suggesting to the members of the society such books as it would be judicious for them to select. He being esteemed a gentleman of universal learning, and "the best judge of books in these parts," the generous offer was accepted. Under the advice of Mr. Logan, forty-five pounds sterling was remitted to London, and the books ordered were obtained by Thomas Hopkinson, who was then on a visit to England. Peter Collinson, of London, who purchased the books, sent over on his own account, as a present to the library, a copy of Sir Isaac New-

ARMS USED BY HON. JAMES LOGAN.

ton's "Philosophy" and Peter Miller's "Gardener's Dictionary."

In October, 1732, the first importation of books was received and taken "to Robert Grace's chamber, at his house in Jones' Alley." The proprietor of the house Franklin characterizes as "a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively, and witty, a lover of punning and of his friends." Robert Grace's house, which was pulled down in 1850, stood on the site of No. 131 Market Street and Nos. 120 and 122 Church Street, formerly Jones' Alley. Mr. Poulson, in 1806 (*Minutes*, vol. iv. p. 209), says, "Jones' Alley is now called Pewter Platter Alley, and the building in which the library was kept was afterward occupied by David Hall as a printing-office. It was back of the house in which Mr. Horner has his iron-mongery store." This house in Jones' Alley was rented by Louis Timottiée (spelled also Timothee), the first librarian, from Robert Grace. It was the librarian's duty to attend at the library on Wednesdays, from two or three o'clock in the afternoon, and on Saturdays from ten to four. He occupied Grace's house, and received a small salary. By the rules, he was allowed to permit "any civil gentleman to peruse the books of the library in the library-room, but not to lend to or suffer to be taken out of the library by any person who is not a subscribing member, any of the said books, Mr. James Logan only excepted."

On the first occasion of the transfer of a share, December, 1732, the secretary records that "the directors have made inquiry concerning the said Evans,

[1] The author is greatly indebted to Lloyd P. Smith, the distinguished librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia, for the facts contained in the sketch of this library.

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who was a stranger to most of them, and having heard that he is honest and industrious, and regardful of books, they agree to take him into partnership."

At a meeting held Dec. 10, 1733, Benjamin Franklin mentioned Mr. Timothee's having been serviceable to him, and that he was willing to officiate for him as librarian until his current year should be expired.

On Aug. 11, 1735, a verbal order was granted to the treasurer to buy gold at twenty per cent. to remit to Peter Collinson, because a good bill for eight pounds could not be had.

At the meeting of Oct. 15, 1735, the directors declined to admit a less number of new members than five at a time.

On May 8, 1737, the directors, librarian, treasurer, and secretary, with a few others, dined together "at Mr. Mullan's, and enjoyed a facetious, agreeable conversation."

On May 1, 1738, the directors returned thanks to the Hon. Thomas Penn for a valuable and well-situated lot of ground "he has been pleased to bestow upon the company to build a library upon."

The minutes of the meeting of Aug. 16, 1738, contain this memorandum: "Jos. Breintnall, secretary, writes to Peter Collinson that Dr. Thos. Bond is the bearer of this, who (*if he be asked*) will give a surprising account of a new discovered phenomenon of a dog's breeding snakes in his liver after having been bit by snakes, and recovered."

On Oct. 16, 1738, it is recorded Walter Sydserp, of Antigua, gave the library £34 6*s*. 5*d*. sterling, writing that "if hereby others are prevailed on to lend a hand to promote so great a good, and so uncommon a virtue, your infant colony will, in a few ages, be ranked the first in the Kalendar of the American settlements."

On Nov. 12, 1739, at a meeting at the house of the widow of John Roberts, it was determined to remove the books from the residence of William Parsons, the librarian, where they had been kept for some time, to the State-House, the use of which had lately been granted the company by the Assembly, upon a petition of the directors drawn by Benjamin Franklin. It was not, however, until April 7, 1740, that the books were removed. They were placed in the upper room of the westernmost office of the State-House.

On the 9th of June, 1740, Franklin was ordered to print a complete catalogue, and on the 11th of August a committee of directors was ordered to prepare such a catalogue. The work of preparing and printing this catalogue was prosecuted at once, and on Aug. 10, 1741, it was agreed that each member of the Provincial Assembly have a catalogue given him, and that one be sent to John Penn, Esq., and one to Peter Collinson.

May 3, 1742, the charter granted by the proprietary was accepted by the members signing a paper to that effect.

On May 10, 1742, "the directors then went to the Widow Roberts' to sup, where they remembered their benefactors."

At the meeting of April 28, 1743, it was ordered that, "As Mr. John Bartram was a deserving man, he should have free access to the library, and be permitted to read and borrow the books."

The minutes of the meeting of Nov. 12, 1744, contain this memorandum: "Proposed that Mr. Franklin speak to his companions, who were, before the grant of our patent, nominated trustees to receive a conveyance from the proprietor, in behalf of the company, for a lot he gave them to build a library-house upon, on the south side of Chestnut Street, and that they obtain a deed for it without delay." [1]

On Nov. 11, 1745, the directors met at Joseph Breintnall's, all previous meetings having been at the Widow Roberts'.

On April 14, 1746, the directors met at the Widow Breintnall's, and presented her with fifteen pounds in consideration of her husband's services.

On May 12, 1746, it was ordered that the charter be printed by Benjamin Franklin.

At the meeting of July 14, 1746, John Lober and Lynford Lardner were appointed to prepare a catalogue of all the books added to the library since the last catalogue was printed, and deliver the same to Benjamin Franklin, who was directed to print it.

On Jan. 12, 1747, John Lober was instructed to confer with Secretary Peters to know whether leave might be obtained to fence in an additional piece of the proprietor's ground with the library lot during the pleasure of the proprietor, and on Feb. 9, 1747, Mr. Lober reported that he had spoken with the secretary, who gave a ticket to the surveyor-general to inspect the contiguous ground and return it by metes and bounds, that a proper entry might be made of the application, and a memorandum drawn to be signed by the Governor as commissioner of reports.

On July 13, 1747, Franklin presented to the board a letter from the proprietor Thomas Penn, Esq., with an electrical apparatus, in replying to which the committee say, "Some of our members who employ themselves in such researches may, by its assistance, show that this fresh mark of your favor has been judiciously as well as generously bestowed upon your most obliged," etc.

On Sept. 10, 1750, it was ordered that the books in the library "be new numbered, beginning No. 1 in the folios and likewise in quartos, octavos, and 12mos. Mr. Greenway [the librarian] undertook to do it, and is to be paid for doing it and for making a new catalogue."

On May 11, 1752, it was ordered that application be made to the secretary for a patent for the company's lot.

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[1] This lot was on the south side of Chestnut Street, about half way between Eighth and Ninth.

At the meeting of Jan. 8, 1753, it was resolved "that R. Peters and B. Franklin wait upon John Penn, Esq., with the compliments of the directors, and request him to do them the honor of accepting the privilege, now unanimously voted, of the free use of the library during his residence in this country."

Franklin acted as secretary from 1746 to 1757, but many of his minutes are lost. In 1757 he went to England, and Mr. Allison, at the request of the company, consented to keep the minutes of the directors for the current year.

It was ordered, at the meeting of Jan. 14, 1760, that bound catalogues of the books belonging to the library be presented to the following gentlemen, viz., six copies to the honorable the proprietaries, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, one to Mr. Gray, of Colchester, one to P. Collinson, and twelve to Mr. Franklin, to be distributed among gentlemen of his acquaintance.

On October 3, 1760, it was ordered, "That the secretary wait on Mr. Brockden and receive from him the patent for the lot given by the proprietaries to the library."

This memorandum is found on the minutes of the meeting of Feb. 20, 1761: "B. Franklin writes from London, to the treasurer, '. . . My best respects to the directors, my old friends, whom I long once more to see.'"

April 12, 1762, the secretary received from Mr. Brockden the proprietor's patent for a lot of ground, recorded in Patent Book, vol. xix. p. 545.

The following minute was adopted at the meeting of May 10, 1762: "Whereas, the fine of one shilling is found insufficient to engage the attendance of the directors at their monthly meetings, it was put to the vote and carried in the affirmative, that the fine for absences shall for the future be two shillings, for the benefit of the house where said directors shall keep their meetings."

On Nov. 8, 1762, the directors unanimously agreed that Dr. B. Franklin (who had just returned from England) be elected a director in the room of Samuel Shoemaker, who declined serving.

On June 13, 1763, the directors agreed to meet at the Indian Queen.

The board agreed, on Nov. 14, 1763, that it would be highly proper for them to address the Hon. John Penn, Esq., upon his appointment to this government and safe arrival here. Dr. Franklin, Thomas Cadwalader, and Samuel Rhoads were appointed a committee to prepare such an address, which was presented on the 21st of November, by the directors in person, receiving the thanks of Mr. Penn.

On March 12, 1764, it was unanimously resolved that there should be a new and complete catalogue of the books, curiosities, laws, rules, etc., belonging to the library, printed for the use of the company, the former catalogue being rendered incomplete by the great additions to the library, and by the loss of numbers of other books from the library since the printing of the said catalogue some years previously.

It was represented to the directors that several members of the company were much displeased at certain new regulations in the library, adopted Dec. 12, 1763, by which every person except the librarian was excluded from entering the library and taking down the books there, but was to apply to the librarian for any book he might choose to peruse. Because of these complaints it was resolved that the librarian should prepare a bond which should be tendered to every member who should desire the privilege of entering the library and examining the books there at the hours of attendance on Saturday, by which he should bind himself to be answerable for his proportional part of the loss that might arise from any books being lost or stolen out of the library.

The minute of the meeting of Nov. 2, 1764, contains this unique memorandum: "Mr. Bymes complaining that he had provided supper for the last meeting and nobody came but the secretary, it was agreed that for the future every absentee should pay a fine of one shilling, which should go to the house as a recompense for providing a supper for a larger company than should happen to attend, and that the secretary should pay Mr. Bymes 7*s.* 6*d.* for his last disappointment out of the money in his hands collected by former fines."

Dr. Franklin having gone to England, Joseph Sims was chosen a director in his place. On March 11, 1765, the secretary having reported that the new edition of the catalogue of books, etc., belonging to the library was completed, it was ordered that a copy of the same, neatly bound, should be presented to each of the following gentlemen, viz.: "To the honorable the proprietors of the province, to Mr. Peter Collinson, to Mr. Jackson, the agent of the province, to Mr. Gray, of Colchester, to Dr. Nothergill, to Mr. Lagrant, to Mr. Mildred, to Mr. Roberts, to Mr. John Struttle, and six copies to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in London, to be distributed as he shall think proper; to the Governor, the Speaker of the honorable House of Assembly, and to Col. Bouquet, in this city."

On Nov. 11, 1765, it was "*Resolved*, That Mr. James Bymes be desired to provide suppers for six members on the second Monday in every month, and that every absentee be for the future charged with 2*s.* 6*d.* in discharge of the reckoning."

At a meeting of the library company, Feb. 20, 1768, the price of a share was lowered from twenty-one pounds to ten pounds Pennsylvania currency (twenty-six dollars and sixty-seven cents).

On April 24, 1769, the secretary reported that a committee from the Union Library Company, into which the Amicable and Association Libraries had previously merged, had delivered to him a deed of conveyance of all their estate to this company, duly

executed, and had received from him certificates for the admission of their members.[1]

May 2, 1769, Ludowic Sprogle and John De Maurregnault were appointed to take charge of the library, the former to take charge of the books at the State-House, and the latter those at the house on Third Street, between Walnut and Spruce, used by the Union Library.

May 16, 1769, a committee appointed to prepare a petition to the House of Representatives for leave to build a library-house on the State-House Square laid the same before the board, at a meeting held May 16, 1769.

It was ordered, Sept. 25, 1769, that the library should be open on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays from 5 to 9 P.M. in summer, and from 4 to 8 P.M. in winter.

The following letter from Dr. Franklin was laid before the board at the meeting held Nov. 29, 1769:

"LONDON, July 7th, 1769.

"GENTLEMEN,—I received your favour of the 3d of May, and shall send you the books you write for ℞ Capt. Falconer. Seeing some time since that other libraries were about to be united with yours, I did for that reason forbear buying any Books but 'Robinson's History,' till I should have further orders, lest I should purchase Duplicates. I think we should have, in some of our public Libraries, all the Transactions of every Philosophical Society in Europe, viz., The Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris; those of Petersburg; of Haerlem, in Holland; of Bononia [Bologna], in Italy, &c., with the Continuations as they come out yearly, and also the French Encyclopædia. They would be extremely useful to us on many accounts, and are rather too heavy for private collections. But as they are in different Languages, and the Majority of our Members are only acquainted with English, I have not ventured to buy them without orders, and in general I wish to have express Directions, and that as little as possible may be left to my judgment in laying out the Company's Money.

"With great Esteem, I am,
"Gentlemen,
"Your most obedient,
"Humble servant,
"B. FRANKLIN.

"MESSRS. THOMSON & MIFFLIN."

Oct. 20, 1770, Josiah Henry reported that he had let out the old Union Library, on Third Street, to Robert Bell.[2]

At a general meeting of the company held Oct. 5, 1771, it was resolved that, the books being crowded together, it was expedient to built a new library-room, and the directors were empowered to apply to the Assembly for part of the State-House Square. From the minutes of the meeting of April 4, 1772, it appears that the Assembly had declined granting the company liberty of erecting a library on State-House Square. On the 29th of June, 1772, the company having been offered a room by the Carpenters' Company, on the second floor of their hall, at twenty pounds per annum, the directors agreed to take it at that rate; and on Oct. 26, 1772, it was agreed to lease the whole of the second floor at thirty-six pounds per annum.

[1] The building of the Union Library Company was at the southeast corner of Third and Pear Streets.

[2] Bell was a bookseller and publisher, and held "the book auction" there at stated times.

On Dec. 28, 1772, the directors "agree to allow the Librarian five pounds per annum, in consideration of which he is to provide an assistant at his own cost!"

It was agreed on May 10, 1773, that the library should be opened every day from two o'clock until seven P.M., as soon as the books were removed from the State-House to the new rooms. The minutes of the meeting held Oct. 25, 1773, contain this mournful record: "The library being entered by some thief last night (as supposed), he carried off all the coins and tokens, together with some change which was left in the drawer."

On Dec. 28, 1773, the committee sent a list of books to be bought in London by Dr. Franklin, and added: "Since our last the library has been removed to a new building called the Carpenters' Hall, in the centre of the Square in which Friends' school stands. The books (inclosed within wire lattices) are kept in one large room, and in another handsome apartment the apparatus is deposited and the directors meet."

On Aug. 31, 1774, it was ordered, "That the librarian furnish the gentlemen who are to meet in Congress in this city with the use of such books as they may have occasion for during their sitting, taking a receipt from them;" and the same privileges were continued to the Continental Congress while in Philadelphia.

Jan. 10, 1775, the following letter, addressed to Dr. Franklin, was read: "Sir,—we are directed to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 9th April and 25th July, with the books sent for the use of the company, which fresh instance of your constant kind concern for us is very obliging. . . . The directors are preparing an order for books, but from the present unhappy situation of public affairs it must be postponed. Wishing for days more propitious to the growth of science in America," etc. On the same date John Wesley presented four books to the company. On May 7, 1776, the board directed the following advertisement to be inserted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, *Journal*, *Packet*, *Ledger*, and *Evening Post:* "The members of the Library Company of Philadelphia are requested to attend at the library-room on Thursday, the 30th day of May, inst., at two o'clock in the afternoon, in order to consider the propriety of empowering the directors to remove the books and effects of the company, and determine on the place where they shall be deposited in case any future event should render that measure necessary, and that printed notices of the meeting be left at the house of each member on the morning of that day."

At a general meeting held May 30, 1776, in answer to the above call, the number of members present not being competent to the passing of a law, adjourned to June 6th, when the same thing occurred. At the regular meeting, July 9, 1776, only two directors were present. These were momentous times. At a meeting held March 11, 1777, Messrs. Allison, Jones, and

Hewes were appointed a committee to wait on Gen. Gates, commanding officer in this city, in order to procure, if possible, an order for the removal of the sick soldiers from the library; and the secretary was ordered to insert the following advertisement in the *Gazette*, *Packet*, and *Post*:

"The members of the Library Company of Philadelphia are hereby notified that books may be procured from the said library by application at the house of the librarian, on the south side of Market Street, four doors below Fourth Street, between the hours of five and seven in the afternoon, and leaving a signed note for such books as they may respectively want. The lower part of the library being at present used as an infirmary for the sick soldiery, renders it inconvenient for the librarian to attend at the library-room as usual."

An extract from the will of the Hon. William Logan, Esq., was laid before the board at the meeting held Aug. 12, 1777, by which it appeared he had bequeathed to the Library Company a very considerable collection of ancient authors, which had been accordingly delivered to the librarian.

On Nov. 12, 1778, the directors, taking into consideration the high prices of fire-wood, candles, etc., agreed that the library be opened during the winter season only upon Wednesdays and Saturdays from two o'clock to 8 P.M.

March 9, 1779, a number of members, anxious for the safety of the library, having mentioned their apprehensions of its danger from the combustibles kept in the hall below, the board, on the 9th of March, 1779, appointed William Hewes to apply to the gentlemen who had the management of those affairs to procure its removal, if possible, in the event of there being any real danger.

On Nov. 9, 1779, an order was drawn on the treasurer for six pounds specie and six pounds Continental money for the secretary's salary for two years. Munificent compensation!

April 11, 1780, a committee consisting of Messrs. Hewes and Stansbury was appointed to apply to the proper persons or powers for a safe passport for sundry books intended for the company, and then lying at New York. The committee for a passport reported, April 27, 1780, that they had received from Timothy Matlack, secretary, an extract from the minutes of the Supreme Executive Council, as follows: "On consideration that there is now in force a law of the State against importing any goods, wares, or merchandise the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, and, considering the character of the persons employed in New York in obtaining the said books, Agreed, that this council cannot give any advice or assistance in a business so circumstanced."

On May 4, 1781, the directors agreed that thirty shillings State money be received in lieu of a bushel of wheat, by which the annual payments were last year directed to be made, if paid immediately.

May 14, 1783, a bill of exchange for two hundred pounds sterling was remitted to Joseph Woods and William Dillwyn for the purchase of books. The letter addressed to them says, "We have not received any new books since 1774, except those contained in the list herewith [twenty volumes]; we, therefore, shall confide entirely to your judgment to procure for us such modern publications as will be proper for a public library, and though we would wish to mix the utile with the dulce, we should not think it expedient to add to our present stock anything in the novel way."

March 12, 1784, a joint committee of the American Philosophical Society and the Library Company petitioned the General Assembly to this effect:

"That a design hath been conceived and is already in a promising state of forwardness, to unite to the City Library that learned and executive collection of books known by the name of the 'Loganian Library;' but in such manner that, although it be kept in the same building, it shall ever remain distinct from the library with which it may be united, and retain its name in honor of the liberal citizen who collected and intended it for public use.

"That the Philosophical Society also find it absolutely necessary . . . that they should be accommodated with a suitable building . . .

"That your petitioners have turned their attention to the east and west lines of the State-House Square. . . . and, therefore, humbly pray your honorable House to grant . . . to the Philosophical Society a lot of ground eighty feet in front upon Sixth Street, and forty feet deep upon said square, midway between Walnut and Chestnut Streets, and to the said Library Company a like space of ground upon Fifth Street and directly opposite."

On Feb. 3, 1785, a petition was presented to the Assembly reciting that the former application for lots on the State-House Square had been ineffectual, and adding that "the directors and Philosophical Society proposed renewing their application, and a petition for that purpose was produced by the said Philosophical Society, but in which they had transferred the prayer of the petition, jointly presented to the last House; and placed the library on the west instead of the east side of the square, and, as they declined uniting with the library company on the plan which had been agreed to, your petitioners thought it a duty they owed to their constituents, to refuse signing the said petition. . . . Before the Revolution the library was opened six times a week, and, though it is at present opened but three times a week on account of our funds being diverted to the importation of books published during the war, we hope the stock will very soon afford a daily attendance.

"That the Library Company consists of upwards of four hundred members, and that there are also many other persons who constantly take out books. That being attended by so numerous a body of old and young, they hope your honorable House, in taking up the prayer of the Philosophical Society, will be pleased to consider that the members who attend at the society's hall are few in numbers compared with those

who frequent the library, and their stated meetings are only once a fortnight.

"Your petitioners therefore hope that you will be pleased to grant to the Library Company of Philadelphia a lot on the east side of the State-House Square."

On Feb. 2, 1786, a committee appointed to wait on Dr. Franklin reported that they had had a conference with the doctor, who appeared to interest himself much in the prosperity of the library, and wished some steps could be taken to procure a convenient lot to build on, and intimated that he had a valuable number of books which he intended for the library whenever there should be a safe place to deposit them in.

On July 5, 1787, it was "resolved that the librarian furnish the gentlemen composing the convention now sitting with such books as they may desire during their continuance in Philadelphia, taking a receipt for the same."

Feb. 5, 1789, a letter was presented to the company from Dr. Franklin, president of the Philosophical Society, inclosing an extract from the minutes of the said society, by which it appears that a committee were appointed to treat with the directors of the library company with respect to renting to the directors, for the use of the company, part of the building belonging to the society, on the State-House Square, which minute was taken into consideration, and it was resolved that Josiah Hewes and John Kaighn do wait on the president and thank him for his continued friendly attention to the interests of the library company, and that they request the president to inform the committee of the Philosophical Society that the directors are of opinion the present situation of the library would be very desirable were it not for the danger of fire, arising from a joint tenancy in the same building, which has induced them to enter into treaty for a lot on Chestnut Street and Fifth Street, on which they conceive, by proper exertions, they will be able to erect a safe, convenient, and detached building, without any diminution of the present income of the company, and that they desire the president to inform the society the directors entertain a proper sense of the overtures from the society, but that the dangers at present apprehended from fire would not be obviated by a removal of the books unto the society's hall.

April 30, 1789, the committee on accounts reported the capital stock of the company as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Bonds and mortgages	400	0	0
Ground-rents	567	13	4
House in Third Street, late the Union Library	500	0	0
Lot on Fifth Street	250	0	0
Lot on Chestnut Street	200	0	0
	1917	13	4
Deduct for ground-rents	216	13	4
	1701	0	0
Arrearages of interest, etc	284	10	0
Cash in hands of treasurer	345	17	10
Cash in hands of librarian	14	7	4½
	2345	15	2½

The library was also reported to comprise about seven thousand seven hundred volumes, and sundry apparatus not valued.

At a meeting of the members of the library company, held June 1, 1789, Bishop White was nominated by the directors, and took the chair. The directors were authorized to erect a two-story building, estimated to cost £1999 8*s*., as soon as one hundred new shares were sold.

On July 30, 1789, the building committee reported a conversation with Dr. Logan, to the effect that a lot of twenty-seven feet ten inches by two hundred and twenty-five feet deep could be procured, at the rate of one hundred dollars per annum. This is the first case on the minutes in which money is reckoned in dollars instead of in Pennsylvania currency of $2.66⅔ to the pound. They also reported that the two corner lots had been sold by the sheriff, and had fallen into the hands of Mary Norris, who was ready to make a title to the company. It was agreed to take the lot from Dr. Logan, and the committee was instructed to procure the deeds for this and the lots of Mary Norris, and to proceed to have the cellar dug out as speedily as possible.

On examination of the plans the board determined in favor of an elevation presented by Dr. Thornton.

Sept. 3, 1789, the building committee reported,—

"That the *first stone* of the edifice was laid on the thirty-first of August last; that upon the suggestion of Doctor Benjamin Franklin a large stone was prepared and laid at the South-west corner of the building with the following Inscription composed by the Doctor, except so far as relates to himself, which the committee have taken the liberty of adding to it:—

"'Be it remembered,
In honor of the Philadelphia Youth,
Then chiefly Artificers
That in MDCCXXXI,
They cheerfully,
at the Instance of Benjamin Franklin,
one of their Number,
Instituted the Philadelphia Library;
which, tho' small at first,
Is become highly valuable & extensively useful,
And which the Walls of this Edifice
Are now destined to contain and preserve;
The first Stone of whose Foundation,
was here placed,
The thirty-first day of August, Anno Domini MDCCLXXXIX,

Benjamin Gibbs,	Thomas Parke,	then being Directors.
Josiah Hewes,	Joseph Paschall,	
John Kaighn,	Benjamin Poultney,	
Mordecai Lewis,	Richard Wells,	
Thomas Morris,	Richard Wistar,	

Samuel Coats, Treasurer—
William Rawle, Secretary—
Zachariah Poulson, Junr. Librarian.'

"The following medals were deposited in the Stone:—a Pewter Coin 2 Inches diameter, a Figure erect with a Helmet—Right hand a Spear—left hand a Knot, or Cord, from whence suspends 4 shields, being the Arms of 4 Crowns, viz. 1st England—on the right, 2d three fleur de Lis (France) below on the right 3d a Lion rampant with a Sword in the right Paw, grasping a Bundle of arrows in the other—Fourth—A Shield with a Lion rampant at two opposite Corners of the Shield, the other two are confused. At the bottom is a detached Shield, as if lying on the ground, unconnected with the other four—The Figure appears to be a large head covering the whole Field.—Around the inner Edge is *Communi consensu* —1789 stamped on this side by Rue.

"On the other side is a handsome figure in Robes, sprinkled with fleur de Lis. Sitting in an armed chair, resting on a raised Step, sprinkled also with Fleur de Lis—The left hand pointing to a Pillar, with a Cap of 'Liberty' on it—A female Figure in light Robes is hanging up a shield on the Pillar having 13 Stripes—Round the inner Edge the Motto *Libertas Americana*, 1783–1789 Stamped.—

"A Copper Inch Coin, a Star radiating with thirteen small Stars between the points of the Rays—The Motto *Nova Constellatio*. On the other Side a circular Wreath with the Letters U. S.—The Motto *Libertas et Justitia* 1785–1789 Stamped.—

"A Copper large Inch Coin, a Shield with thirteen stripes.—The Motto *e pluribus unum*.—On the reverse, a Plough with a Nags head over it—The Motto *Nova Cæsaria*, 1787–1789 Stamped.

"A George the Third half-penny 1773. Stamped 1789.

"Inch Copper Coin—On one side a Spread Eagle with Massachusetts on the inner Date 1788—on the reverse an Indian with a Bow in his Right, and an Arrow in his left hand. Motto, *Commonwealth*—stamped 1789—

"Inch Copper Coin—a Cæsar's hand on one side with *Vermont: Auctoritas* on the inner Circle—On the reverse a Figure like Britannia date 1785. Motto *Inde: et Liber:* Stamped 1789—

"1¾ Inch a Medal—Roman head of Genl. Washington—round the inner Edge G. Washington General of the Continental Army in America—On the reverse a Trophy—Cannon, Mortar, Trumpet & Rays shooting out all round *Washin: reunit* par un rare assemblage les talens du Guerrier, les Vertus du Sage."—

SEAL OF THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Information was given at the same time by John Kaighn to the effect that William Bingham, having heard of the intention of the directors to erect a statue of white marble of Dr. Franklin as the founder of the library in the niche in the front of the building, was willing to furnish it at his own expense. John Kaighn, Mordecai Lewis, Joseph Paschall, and Dr. Parke were appointed a committee to wait upon and confer with him upon the subject.

On Oct. 1, 1789, the committee on the statue reported "that they have understood Dr. Franklin would approve of a gown for his dress and a Roman head."

A letter was read from William Bingham to the directors of the Library Company, at a meeting held April 5, 1792,[1] informing them of the arrival of a statue of Dr. Franklin, and requesting their acceptance thereof, and testifying his friendship to the institution; whereupon the secretary was directed to return an answer thereto, informing him of their acceptance of his valuable present and expressive of their thanks for the same.

This statue was cut of Carrara marble, by Francisco Lazzarini. It was placed in the niche in front of the building in the early part of April, 1792, and an ode in honor of its erection was published in Bache's paper, April 17th of that year. The features of the head were taken from a bust of Franklin procured from the Pennsylvania Hospital.

William Bingham, who donated the statue, inherited a large estate through a long line of distinguished ancestors, who resided in Pennsylvania. His great-grandfather, James, died in 1714, leaving a large estate. His grandfather, James, married a daughter of William Budd, of Burlington, N. J., and also inherited large landed property. His father, William, besides the Bingham and Budd property that came into his possession, added considerably to it by a marriage, in 1745, with Mary, daughter of Alderman and Mayor John Stamper. William Bingham, who married Ann Willing, the daughter of Thomas Willing, one of the early celebrated families of Philadelphia, was born in this city April 8, 1752. He graduated at the College of Philadelphia in 1768, and received a diplomatic appointment under the British government at St. Pierre Myzene, in the West Indies, where he was consul in 1771. He remained there during the Revolution as the agent of the Continental Congress, and performed patriotic service in furnishing money and supplies to the struggling colonies.

After his return from the West Indies, Mr. Bingham married, on Oct. 26, 1780, at Christ Church, the beautiful and accomplished Ann Willing, then only sixteen years old. This young girl, as will be seen in other portions of this work, was the favorite of very eminent men on account of the social position of her family and her own graces and accomplishments.

In 1784, William Bingham and his beautiful wife visited Europe, where they remained two years, and attracted general attention, having been presented to Louis XVI. In 1786, Mr. Bingham was elected a member of the Congress of the Confederation, and served until 1789. He was captain of a troop of dragoons in the latter year, and with his company

[1] Mr. Bingham's letter was as follows:

"PHILADELPHIA, April 4, 1792.

"GENTLEMEN,—The Respect I bore to the Memory of that deceased Patriot, Philosopher, and Statesman, Dr. Franklin, induced me to engage to carry your Intentions, of erecting a Marble Statue to perpetuate in the Minds of his Fellow-citizens the recollection of his public and private Virtues, into full Effect.

"The Statue is, at length, arrived, and I have the honor of inclosing to you the Bill of Lading. If I may credit the communications of my Correspondents, it is fashioned out of a beautiful block of Marble and is executed in a very masterly Stile, and is in every respect, worthy of the distinguished Personage whom it is intended to represent. As such I request your acceptance of it, and to believe me a Sincere Friend to your Institution.

"Gentlemen,
"Your obedient humble Servant,
"WM. BINGHAM.

"THE DIRECTORS OF THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA."

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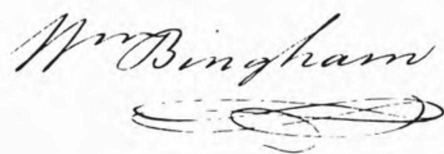

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escorted Mrs. Washington from Chester to the city when on her way to New York to join her husband, who had been elected the first President of the United States. In 1790 he was elected a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and although it was his first year in that body, he was, owing to his ability and character, chosen Speaker of the House. He was a member of the Assembly for the sessions of 1790 and of 1791, and in 1795 elected United States senator from Pennsylvania, and held the office until 1801. In July, 1780, William Bingham subscribed five thousand pounds to "the Bank of Pennsylvania for the purpose of supplying the army of the United States with provisions for two months."

Mrs. Bingham died in Bermuda, May 11, 1801, at the age of thirty-seven years. Mr. Bingham went to Europe shortly afterward, and died at Bath, in 1804, leaving three children, Ann Louisa, Maria Matilda, and William Bingham.

Samuel Jennings having written from London to his father that he would like to paint a picture for the library, the directors suggested, at a meeting held May 6, 1790, "the figure of Liberty displaying the arts and placing on the top of a pedestal a pile of books lettered with Agriculture, Commerce, Philosophy, and a catalogue of the Philadelphia Library, a broken chain under her feet, and in the distant background a group of negroes sitting on the earth, or in some attitude expressive of ease and joy." The picture is now in the Ridgway Branch.

On June 3, 1790, Richard Wells produced the following bequest from Dr. Benjamin Franklin: eighteen volumes quarto of a French work entitled "Descriptions des Arts et Métièrs," for which Mr. Wells was requested to inform the executors "that they entertain a very just sense of the compliment made to the library by the doctor."

July 1, 1790, the board having been desirous of disposing of the lot on Chestnut Street given by the late proprietaries of Pennsylvania, intimation, by the desire of the board, was made to their descendants, John Penn and John Penn, Jr., by one of the directors, which produced a letter to their agent, Anthony Butler, of which the following is a copy, and the original is permitted to be kept for such purposes as may hereafter become necessary:

"London, April 7, 1790.

"Sir,—Understanding that the Library Company of Philadelphia intend to fix upon a different place for the Building of a Library, as a more convenient Situation than the lot near ninth street, we beg to intimate to you our compliance with their requisition, made through Doctor Parke, for power to sell that Lot. You may therefore consider any mode which you together agree on the expediency of for confirming their Title as having the Sanction of our joint Consent. We are, Sir, with regard,

"Your obedient huml Servts.

"John Penn

"John Penn, Junr.

"Anthony Butler, Esquire."

The committee appointed to remove the books and property of the Library Company reported, Oct. 7, 1790, that they had performed that service.

On Dec. 30, 1790, the books in the new apartments being ready for delivery, the directors took into consideration the propriety of opening the library every day, and in consequence agreed with Zachariah Poulson, Jr., to perform that service at the rate of one hundred pounds per annum, to commence on the 1st of January next, and directed an advertisement to be published agreeably thereto, acquainting the members that the library will be opened in future every day, Sundays excepted, from one o'clock P.M. until sunset.

The library was opened for the first time for the delivery of books the 1st of January, agreeably to the order of the board on December 30th.

At a meeting held Jan. 18, 1791, the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, desirous of showing a respectful mark of attention to the President and Congress of the United States, resolved "that the President and members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the United States shall have the free use of the books in the library in as full and ample manner as if they were members of the company."

On Feb. 3, 1791, the secretary reported that, agreeably to the wishes of the board at the special meeting of the 18th ult., he communicated the resolution then agreed upon to the President and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States; that he received the following letter in consequence thereof:

"Thursday, Jan. 20, 1791.

"Sir,—In obedience to the command of the President of the United States, I have the honor to communicate to you, to be presented to the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, his best thanks for the very polite manner in which they have offered him the use of the books in the library, and he begs they will be assured that this mark of attention has made a proper impression on him.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Tobias Lear,

"*Secretary to the President of the United States.*

"William Rawle, Esq.,

"*Secretary to the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia.*"

Early in 1792 the heirs of James Logan made a proposition to transfer to the Library Company the Loganian Library, with certain properties, arrearages, and rents for the support of the institution, and a committee was appointed Feb. 18, 1792, to confer with them. A week later, on February 25th, the committee reported the following terms as advisable to be agreed to, and proposed to the heirs of James Logan, respecting the same:

"That application should be made to the Legislature for a Law to unite the Loganian Library to the Library belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia, so as to retain, as much as may be, the principles originally intended by James Logan; that the books shall be received into one of the apartments of the Philadelphia Library, or a commodious Room prepared contiguous thereto, on reasonable terms; the said books, and others hereafter to be acquired by the Loganian Library, to be and remain distinct and apart from the books of the Library of Philadelphia; that the Directors of the said Library of Philadelphia, from time to time chosen, together with James Logan, the surviving Son of James Logan, the Donor, and two Associates whom he may choose, shall form a Board of Trustees for

the conducting and managing the affairs of the said Loganian Library, and that his successor and successors, in the order and manner prescribed by the Deeds of Trust, shall, in all future time, form one of the said Trustees, with power to nominate two Associate Trustees, or in case of death or resignation to supply, from time to time, the place or places of such Associate Trustee so dying or resigning."

The transfer was made valid by act of Assembly passed March 31, 1792. The preamble to the act recited that William Logan, one of the trustees and first librarian, was dead; that the avocations of the other trustees, with the condition of public affairs, had suspended the operations of the library, although the books were found to be in good order, and were increased in number by a bequest by William Logan of nearly one hundred volumes, the whole number of books being about three thousand five hundred volumes. James Logan, the remaining trustee, it was declared, had entered into an arrangement with the Library Company of Philadelphia to render the said institution beneficial to the public, consistent with the designs of the founder. In this transfer were included the Loganian Library building and lot at the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets, two rent-charges (issuing out of ground in Bucks County), books, and other properties.

The character of the works in the Loganian Library, which passed into the hands of the Library Company of Philadelphia, can be best understood from the words of the founder himself, that cultured scholar, of whom *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1825, says, "We look upon him as altogether an extraordinary man." His library, which became as a public institution the Loganian Library, comprised, as he tells us, "over one hundred volumes of authors all in Greek, with mostly their versions; all the Roman classics without exception; all the Greek mathematicians. . . . Besides there are many of the most valuable Latin authors, and a great number of modern mathematicians."

The directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia having been appointed, by the act of Assembly of March 31, 1792, trustees of "the Loganian Library," in conjunction with James Logan, a son of the testator, and two associates by him to be appointed, the board agreed, on May 10, 1792, to permit the meetings to be held in the directors' room until further order should be taken therein.

On June 12, 1792, Benjamin Franklin Bache presented to the company the machine which Dr. Franklin first used to make experiments in electricity. This interesting machine is now in the south gallery at the Ridgway Branch.

On June 25, 1792, Richard Wells and Thomas Parke were appointed a committee to make a purchase of, or take on ground-rent, five feet of ground extending eastward from the eastern line of the library lot and north and south the whole length of the library, for the purpose of erecting thereon a suitable building for the present reception and accommodation of the books belonging to the Loganian Library. On July 16th the committee produced two deeds from Samuel M. Fox, the one for the additional lot they were directed to purchase, and the other granting a privilege of turning water from the eastern side of such building as may be erected thereon until prevented by the erection of an adjoining building or buildings. They also report the plan of an additional building to be erected on the east side of the present library, which plan was approved by the board, who authorized them to carry it into execution.

On Aug. 20, 1792, Richard Wells, Thomas Parke, William Rawle, and John Kaighn, the building committee, reported that the trustees of the Loganian Library had agreed to lend the Library Company of Philadelphia the sum of seven hundred pounds to defray the expense of a building for the accommodation of the Loganian Library.

At a meeting held Nov. 25, 1793, the secretary reported that, agreeably to public notice given for that purpose, a general meeting of the members had taken place on the 30th of August last, and the propositions recommended to the directors on the 1st of August had been taken into consideration and a law passed raising the price of shares to forty dollars.

At a meeting of the members of the company held March 16, 1795, a by-law was passed entitled "An Act to repeal so much of any law or laws of the company as authorizes the directors to dispose of the real estate belonging to the company."

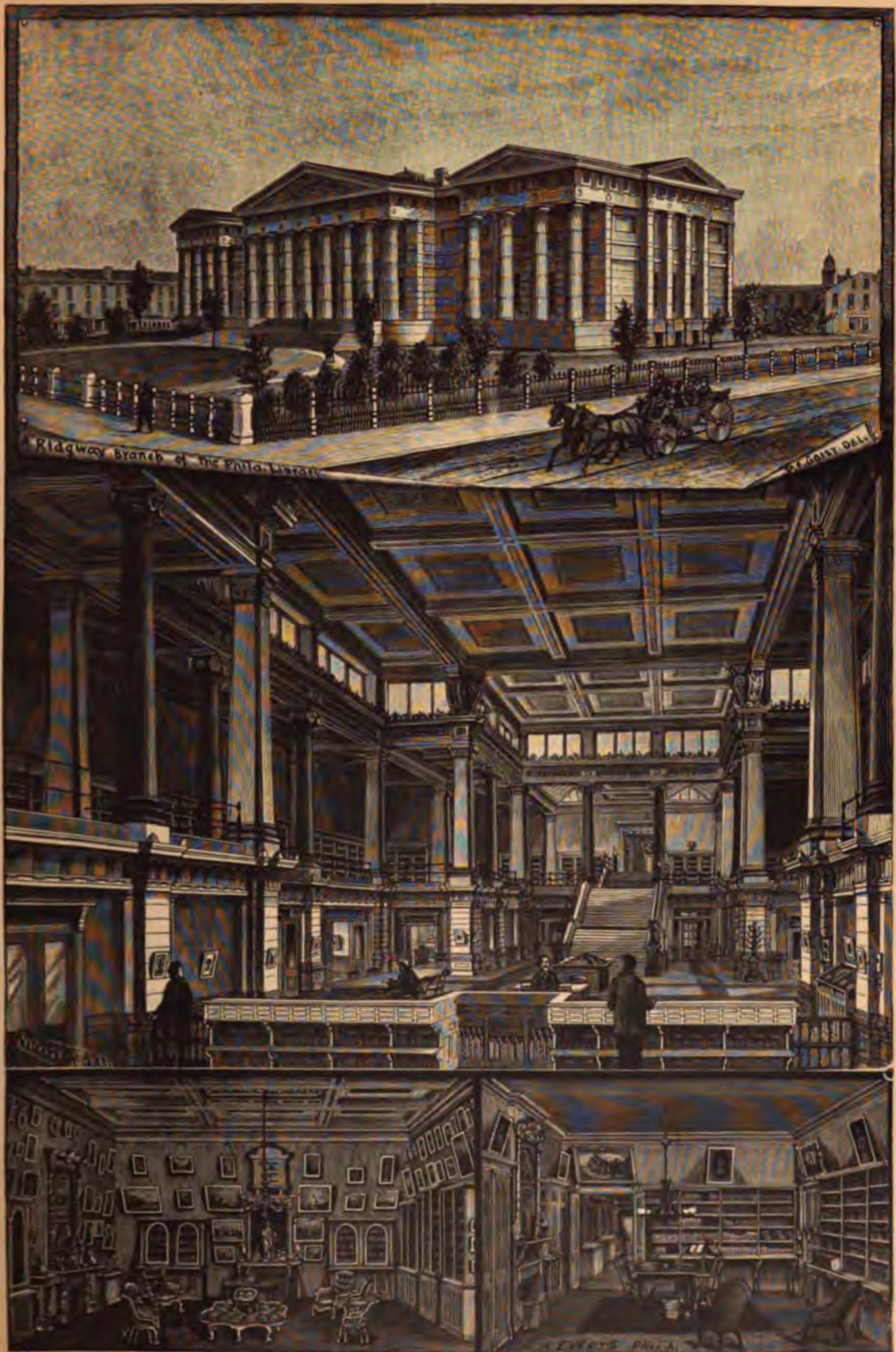
On Nov. 2, 1797, the secretary was directed to present to the President of the United States a handsome bound catalogue of the books belonging to the Philadelphia Library, and to offer him the use of them during his official residence in this city.

The contagious fever which prevented a meeting of the directors on the 6th of September, 1798, continuing in the city, and the city being abandoned by many of the citizens on account thereof, the directors had no meeting until the 7th of November, 1799.

On Nov. 3, 1803, Mr. Norris, as executor of John Bleakely, deceased, informed the board that he was ready to pay the legacy of one thousand pounds bequeathed to this institution by Mr. Bleakley.

The corresponding committee reported, Aug. 9, 1804, that they had received a letter from Joseph Woods and Robert Barclay, dated June 2, 1804, with a catalogue of the books bequeathed to the Library Company by the late Dr. Preston. On Aug. 25, 1804, the secretary was directed to write a letter of thanks to Mrs. West for the picture of Dr. Preston.

Rev. Dr. Samuel Preston was an intimate friend of Benjamin West, whose house, when in London, he frequently made his home. Having no descendants, it was occasionally a topic of discussion at the dinner-table what would be the best disposition of his valuable books. West pressed upon his notice the library at Philadelphia, and finally obtained his promise to will his collection to the institution, which promise he faithfully kept. There are in the collection many



MEMORIAL ROOM. LIBRARIAN'S ROOM

RIDGWAY BRANCH OF THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY.

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rare books of plates of the most costly description. On hearing of his promise, Mrs. West requested the doctor to sit to her husband for his portrait, which was forwarded soon after the books; bearing on the canvas, "A present from Mrs. West to the Library Company of Philadelphia."

The committee to prepare and forward a petition to Congress praying a remission of the duties on Dr. Preston's legacy, reported, Nov. 1, 1804, that they had prepared and forwarded such a petition, that the same had been presented to the two Houses of Congress, and that a committee of the House of Representatives had reported against granting the prayer of said petition, and their report had been adopted by both Houses.

At a meeting held March 6, 1806, Zachariah Poulson, Jr., in resigning the office of librarian, which he had held more than twenty-one years, presented the following comparative statements:

STATE OF THE LIBRARY AND OF THE FUNDS WHICH SUPPORT IT.

In February, 1785, the library contained:		In February, 1806, the library contained:	
Works.	Volumes.	Works.	Volumes.
339 (Folios)	586	945 (Folios)	1,495
412 (Quartos)	709	1397 (Quartos)	2,154
1282 (Octavos)	2660	3717 (Octavos)	7,201
731 (Duodecimos)	1532	1850 (Duodecimos)	3,368
2464	5487	7909	14,218

THE ANNUAL REVENUE OF THE COMPANY.

In February, 1785.

At this time there were 380 members, whose annual payments averaged nearly $1.60, and yielded a total of		$607.33
The annual amount of the hire of books and fines collected by the librarian, about		80.00
The interest of five bonds of £100 each		80.00
The rent of the old Union Library, formerly occupied by Robert Bell, bookseller	£50	
Deduct therefrom the ground-rent of	13	
Which leaves a balance of	£37	98.67
Two ground-rents of £3 each on lots in Pear Street		16.00
A ground-rent of £10 on the old Almshouse lot in Union Street.		26.67
A ground-rent of £15 on a lot in Spruce Street		40.00
A vacant lot of ground on the south side of Chestnut Street, above Eighth Street		....
A lot of ground on the east side of Fifth Street, below Spruce Street		....
		$948.67

In February, 1806.

There are now 676 members, whose annual payments will average about $2.30, and yield a total of	$1554.80
The annual amount of the hire of books and fines collected by the librarian, about	200.00
The legacy of £1000 left to the institution by *John Bleakley*, Esquire, deceased, late a director of the library, which has been invested in stock, and yields, per annum	200.00
The dividend on two shares of the stock of the Bank of the United States, bequeathed to the company by the late Rev. *Samuel Preston*, of Chevening, in the county of Kent, England, say	72.00
The rent paid by the trustees of the Loganian Library, being the legal interest of the money expended by the Library Company of Philadelphia in erecting the additional building which contains the Loganian Library	213.33
The surplus of the rent of the cellars after paying the balance of ground-rent (amounting to $40) on the lot on which the library stands	180.00
	$2370.13

Increase of the annual revenue of the company, $1421.46.

George Campbell was elected librarian April 10, 1806. On the 5th of August, 1824, it was resolved that the use of the library be offered to Gen. Lafayette during his residence in this city, and that he be presented with a copy of the catalogue; and on Oct. 7, 1824, Dr. Parke reported that, together with Mr. Lewis (instead of Mr. Rawle who was prevented from attending), he had offered the use of the library to Gen. Lafayette during his residence in the city, and presented him with a copy of the catalogue and a copy of the resolution of the board, on receiving which he expressed great satisfaction.

Sept. 4, 1828. The committee on the bequest of William Mackenzie reported that they had, agreeably to the will of Mr. Mackenzie, selected from the library of that gentleman five hundred volumes from his English books printed since the beginning of the eighteenth century for this institution and for the Loganian Library, all the books of Mr. Mackenzie printed before the beginning of the eighteenth century, and eight hundred volumes from his French and Latin books printed since the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that all the books thus selected had been received and were then in the library building.

The books left by William Mackenzie to the Loganian Library include many *incunabula* or early printed books, some of them of great rarity and value; two of them—Caxton's "Golden Legend," and a vellum "Pliny," by the first printer at Venice—were put on exhibition under glass at the Ridgway Branch. William Mackenzie, Esq., was born in Philadelphia July 23, 1758, received his education at the college and academy of Philadelphia, and then entered the counting-house of the late John Ross, Esq. Being easy in his circumstances, and fond of reading and retirement, he indulged himself in literary pursuits, and gradually accumulated the collection of rare and valuable books which he bequeathed to the Philadelphia and Loganian Libraries. The Rev. Dr. James Abercrombie, who was one of his few intimate friends, in speaking of him, says he believes "he never had an enemy; at least, from the purity of his principles and correctness of his conduct, I am sure he never deserved one."

The committee further reported that they deemed it expedient to purchase the whole of that part of Mr. Mackenzie's library which had not been bequeathed. The board approved of the views of the committee, and authorized them to make the purchase.

The portrait of the late William Mackenzie was presented by the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie, to whom the secretary was instructed to return the thanks of the board for his present.

On April 30, 1829, George Campbell resigned his post of librarian, which he had held for twenty-three years, and was succeeded by John Jay Smith.

John Jay Smith, of Ivy Lodge, Germantown, president of the board of trustees of Laurel Hill Cemetery, librarian of the Philadelphia Library, and one of the hereditary trustees of the Loganian Library, was by birth a Jerseyman, his Quaker ancestors having settled in Burlington County in 1678. In the

"Conceptions of West Jersey" (1676) the signature of Richard Smith (of Bramham, in Yorkshire) appears as one of the proprietaries of the province, along with that of William Penn and numerous others. The descendants of Richard Smith continued to reside, as they still do, near Burlington, one of them having been the author of the well-known "History of New Jersey" (1675), and another a member of the Continental Congress.

John Jay Smith was born June 27, 1798, at Green Hill, Burlington Co., N. J., whence he removed at an early age to Philadelphia, and entered into business as a druggist. His fondness for literature soon led him to the use of the pen, and he was editor, successively, of Walsh's *National Gazette*, Waldie's *Select Circulating Library*, Smith's *Weekly Volume*, Downing's *Horticulturist*, and several other periodicals. In 1829 he was appointed librarian of the Philadelphia Library, a post which he held until 1851, when he was succeeded by his son, the present librarian. In the time of the former the library was open only in the afternoon, and Mr. Smith's mornings were devoted for more than forty years to the planting and superintendence of the celebrated cemeteries, Laurel Hill and West Laurel Hill, of both of which he was the founder. It was in these labors that he acquired that extensive knowledge of trees and landscape-gardening which he afterward employed in editing Michaux's "North American Sylva" and McMahon's "American Gardener's Calendar." "His knowledge of trees and plants," says the *Gardener's Monthly*, "of garden art and rural taste, was singularly acute, and many of the most beautiful grounds, not only about Philadelphia, but in many distant parts of the country, were made more lovely by the suggestions freely thrown out by his fertile mind. The ground around his beautiful residence in Germantown was a remarkable piece of successful landscape gardening." The Germantown Horticultural Society, which "grew out of his active brain and generous energy," was not the only association founded by one who seemed to realize that the highest motive is the public good. In early life he was secretary of the company which started the famous line of daily Conestoga wagons from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and also one of the earliest members of the Academy of Natural Sciences. He called the meeting which resulted in forming the Girard Life Insurance Company, and was one of the originators as well as the treasurer of the Athenian Institute, an association of men of letters for the delivery of annual courses of lectures in Philadelphia. His first visit to Europe was naturally a great relief from his confining duties at the library, and resulted in the publication, in two volumes, of "A Summer's Jaunt Across the Water" (Philadelphia, 1846). His literary activity, no less than his turn for family history, are further shown by the production of his "American, Historical, and Literary Curiosities" (Philadelphia, 1847); his "Letter to Horace Binney, Esq., respecting John Smith, the founder of the Philadelphia Contributionship" (Philadelphia, 1852); "The Hill Family" (privately printed, Philadelphia, 1854); "A Brief Memoir of one of New Jersey's Respected Sons" (Philadelphia, 1860); and "The Penn Family" (Philadelphia, 1870). The same taste made him gather autographs, and his important collection of papers relating to the history of Pennsylvania and New Jersey are now happily preserved in the manuscript department of the Philadelphia Library. He was a steady miscellaneous reader. His wide range of information and brilliant conversational powers will long be remembered by Philadelphians, few of whom were aware that he passed at least forty years of his life in physical pain and suffering. Although, on one occasion, his life was only saved by a surgical operation of a heroic sort, yet his later years were passed in comparative ease, and his mental activity continued unimpaired down to the close of his long and useful life. He died Sept. 25, 1881. *Requiescat a laboribus suis: opera enim ejus sequuntur illum.*

Jan. 7, 1831, on motion of Benjamin R. Morgan, the following statement was directed to be published, attested by the secretary, viz.:

"The directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia are happy in announcing to their fellow-citizens, that although some valuable books have been destroyed, and others injured by the fire on the 6th inst., in the apartment of the Loganian Library, the loss sustained by the public in their valuable institutions under their care, proves much less than was at first apprehended.

"The destruction of an original portrait of James Logan, the distinguished donor of the library bearing his name, and a bust of the venerable founder of Pennsylvania, is, however, a subject of great regret to them.

"To the prompt and energetic exertions of the fire and hose companies, particularly the Pennsylvania and Fame, whose location enabled them to bring their powerful apparatus into almost immediate action, the preservation of the library is chiefly attributable.

"The fire originated in the breastwork of the chimney, from a grate recently fixed in the Loganian Library, with a view to the greater security afforded by a coal fire.

"The presence of the directors at one of their stated meetings in an upper room of the Philadelphia Library, fortunately prevented any delay in the introduction of water, and enables them to exonerate their librarian, and those employed by him, from any imputation of negligence.

"WILLIAM RAWLE, JR., *Secretary*."

A committee to whom was referred a communication from James Coxe, relative to the purchase of his library, reported at a meeting held April 15, 1832, that they had purchased the same from Mr. Coxe for an annuity of four hundred dollars to be paid to him during his natural life. The books amounted to about six thousand volumes, more or less.

At a general meeting, held April 28, 1832, the yearly payment was raised to four dollars.

Sept. 6, 1832, it was resolved that the library should hereafter be kept open every day (Sundays excepted) from the 1st day of October to the 1st day of April from one o'clock P.M. until sunset, and from the 1st day of April to the 1st day of October from two o'clock P.M. until sunset.

Jno. Jay Smith

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On Nov. 2, 1837, it was "*Resolved*, That the free use of the books in the library be tendered to the members of the convention to alter the constitution of this State, which is to meet in this city on the 23d November, in as full and ample manner as if they were members of the company."

The following resolution was adopted Dec. 7, 1848: "*Resolved*, That on and after the 1st day of January next, the library shall be opened daily (except on the usual Holy days) from ten o'clock A.M. until sunset, and that the librarian shall be authorized to employ an assistant, to be nominated by him and approved by the board, for whom the librarian shall be responsible in all cases, and that thereafter the sum of five hundred dollars per annum be added to the salary of the librarian from the 1st of January next."

INTERIOR OF PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY.

The librarian nominated his son, Lloyd P. Smith, as his assistant, who was approved by the board. This was at the meeting of Dec. 7, 1848.

On the 6th of February, 1851, John Jay Smith resigned his post as librarian, and his son, Lloyd P. Smith, was appointed in his place. Volume iii. of the Catalogue was published in 1856, an index being added by the new librarian. It was compiled—as were vols. i. and ii., published in 1835—by George Campbell, Esq., who died June 11, 1855, after serving the library faithfully as librarian, and as secretary for forty-three years.

In 1857 the directors set on foot the establishing of a fund to erect a fire-proof building, to which seven of them subscribed five hundred dollars each. For several years subscriptions were neither numerous nor very large, and no immediate steps were taken looking toward the institution of building operations. In 1864, however, the building fund received a very unexpected, as well as a very liberal contribution. Joseph Fisher bequeathed five thousand dollars in cash and one-half of his residuary estate, the total of which bequest amounted to $54,488.12. Joseph Fisher was by birth a German, who made and sold mathematical and optical instruments. His store on Chestnut Street, above Second, still remembered by many Philadelphians, was the place where, by economy and strict attention to business, he accumulated a competency, on which he retired. The latter part of his life was mainly devoted to reading and study, and he mixed but little with the world. When he called upon the late William E. Whitman, secretary of the Library Company, to draw up his will, after leaving certain legacies to relatives—he was himself a bachelor—he directed Mr. Whitman to make the Pennsylvania Hospital his residuary legatee. The latter remarked that the library wanted money for a fire-proof building. "Well," said the old gentleman, who was a member of the company, "suppose we divide it." And so it was, the hospital and the library each got over fifty thousand dollars, and to both institutions the amount was of great importance. "A word spoken in season how good is it!" Mr. Fisher's portrait, by Drexel, hangs in the Locust Street building, more than half of whose cost was defrayed by his opportune bequest. The building fund of the Library

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Company was allowed to remain untouched for a number of years, meanwhile drawing interest, and receiving fresh accessions. In 1868 the fund was estimated at eighty thousand dollars.

In 1869 the Library Company received a most extraordinary contribution. Dr. James Rush left his estate, amounting to about one million dollars, to the company. Within a year or two thereafter the executor of Dr. Rush's will began making preparations with a view to erecting a structure on the square of ground bounded by Christian, Carpenter, Broad, and Thirteenth Streets for library purposes, in accordance with the testator's will. In 1871, however, the Directors of the Library Company filed a bill in equity to restrain the executor from proceeding with the work. The principal reason for this litigation was that the site at Broad and Christian Streets was distant from the residences of a large number of the members of the company, and therefore in an unsuitable place. The litigation thus inaugurated covered a period of two years. In 1873, however, the bill in equity was dismissed by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and building operations were vigorously prosecuted. In 1878 the Library Company having accepted, by a majority vote, the bequest of Dr. Rush, his executor, Henry J. Williams, conveyed to the company the new building, to which was given the name of the Ridgway Branch, in memory of Dr. Rush's wife, together with the residuary estate of the generous testator. May 6, 1878, the Library Company took possession of the Ridgway Branch, and the Loganian Library and a portion of the Philadelphia Library were removed thereto. The building erected, a massive, imposing granite structure, is of the Doric order, and with its grounds covers, as indicated above, an entire square or block. It is calculated to contain four hundred thousand volumes, or three times as many as the library at present has. The exterior walls are of granite, with a frontage of two hundred and twenty feet and a depth of one hundred and five feet, and three porticoes, one in the centre and one at each end.

Dr. James Rush, who made the magnificent donation to the Philadelphia Library, was the son of Dr. Benjamin Rush, the distinguished physician of this city. He was born March 1, 1786, and graduated at the New Jersey College in 1805. He achieved a high reputation as a physician, but later in life secluded himself among his books. He was the author of "The Philosophy of the Human Voice," which, it is said, "contains more minute and satisfactory analysis of the subject than is to be found in any work." He also wrote "Hamlet, a Dramatic Prelude," 1834; "Analysis of the Human Intellect," two volumes, 8vo, 1865; "Rhymes of Contrast on Wisdom and Folly," 8vo, 1869. He left about one million dollars to the Philadelphia Library Company to establish the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library, provided the shareholders would accept the gift subject to the restrictions named in his will. In case the bequest was refused Dr. Rush directed that the institution should be opened as a free library, under the

DR. JAMES RUSH. MRS. JAMES RUSH.

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name of the Ridgway Library. The name "Ridgway" was adopted by Dr. Rush from Phœbe Ann, the maiden name of his wife, a daughter of Jacob Ridgway, from whom he inherited the most of his wealth.

Jacob Ridgway, the son of John and Phœbe Ridgway, of Little Egg Harbor, N. J., was born on the 18th of April, 1768, and was the youngest of five children. His parents were consistent members of the Society of Friends, his father being an elder in the meeting. His father died when he was six years old, and upon the death of his mother came to Philadelphia to live with his eldest sister, whose husband he had chosen as his guardian. His property was more than sufficient for his maintenance and education, and afforded capital sufficient for commencing business. He began his mercantile career in the wholesale dry-goods house of Thomas Shaw, and succeeded him in it as partner with his son, Thomas Shaw. In a few years he withdrew from the concern, and went into partnership with his brother-in-law, James Smith, in a grocery on Water Street. He continued here for some time, and then sold out to Joseph Pryor, and began the shipping business. Smith & Ridgway continued as shipping merchants with great prosperity until the difficulties commenced between France and England. Their ships were seized, and it became necessary for one of the firm to reside abroad to protect their property. Mr. Ridgway then removed with his family to London, where he conducted the business of the firm, and also that of a number of other merchants. He spent much time in traveling, but finally settled a Antwerp as consul for the United States. He there became a partner in the firm of Mestoris & Ridgway, still continuing in the firm of Smith & Ridgway, of this city. During this time he constantly sent large sums of money to be invested in real estate in Philadelphia. On his return, after several years' absence, he retired from business, finding sufficient employment in the care of his property. He died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, in May, 1843, leaving a large estate.

JACOB RIDGWAY.

The Library Company, not being content with the prospect of a new library building through the munificence of Dr. Rush, and having already in hand a very gratifying building fund, determined, in 1870, to inaugurate some active measures looking toward the erection of a suitable structure. In that year was purchased a lot of ground at the northwest corner of Locust and Juniper Streets, east of Broad. Further effort remained in abeyance, however, pending controversies relating to the acceptance of Dr. Rush's bequest, until 1879, when the corner-stone of the new building was laid on the Locust Street lot of ground. In February of the following year (1880) the library, or so much of it as had not been removed in 1878 to the Ridgway Branch, was transferred to the building at Locust and Juniper Streets. This new structure, which is chiefly built of brick, is a pleasing one to the eye. Although bearing no very strong resemblance, so far as the superficial observer can detect, to the old building at Fifth and Library Streets, yet the new edifice is in the interior substantially an architectural copy of the former.

The old library building, which was originally open only a short time in the afternoon, was in 1869 ordered to be open from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. On removing to the new building at Locust and Juniper Streets, in 1880, however, the period was extended from 8.30 A.M. to 6 P.M. Moreover, in November, 1882, the library was ordered to be open on Sunday afternoons, but for readers only.

The collection of *incunabula* and of various rare manuscripts belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia is hardly excelled in America. The company owns some fine specimens of illuminated manuscripts, exemplars of Caxton, Fust, and Schaeffer, the inventors, or at least sharers, in the invention of printing; of Pynson, Wynkyn de Worde, Sweynheym, and Pannartz; a work of Jenson, believed to be unique; of Koberger, and other works irreplaceable if lost.

The oldest printed book with a date found at the library is one by the eminent scholastic Eusebius, namely, "Præparatio Evangelica," printed in 1470. As is well known, the book is a very rare one. Another rare book is one written by Nicholai Delyra, "A Commentary on the Psalms," also printed in 1470, on vellum. Another fine old book is a copy of the Bible, printed in 1471, by Sweynheym and Pannartz, the first printers at Rome. Another old volume is a

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work on "Natural History," by Pliny, printed in 1476 by Jenson, the second printer in Venice. A handsomely illuminated work by that prolific writer, Duns Scotus, printed at Venice in 1477, is also found here. "The Golden Legend," printed by Caxton in 1486, is the oldest volume in the collection printed in England. The book is a rare one, as is also a copy of "The Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis, printed the same year (1486) at Venice. "Gothic Hours," printed on vellum, by Verard, an early French printer, in 1487, is a handsome volume. There are also two interesting works which were printed in 1491, namely, an early copy of Dante's Poems, in Italian, printed at Venice, and a religious volume, "The Book of the Treasure Holder," in German, printed in Nüremberg by Antony Koberger, the first printer at that place. Another volume of considerable rarity found here is "A Book of Prayers," published in 1496 by Verard, the French printer. In addition to the volumes enumerated, the library contains many more old books printed before 1500. Besides its *incunabula*, the library contains many volumes of much rarity. Among such may be mentioned an "Elliott Indian Bible," printed at Cambridge, Mass., in 1663. Two other objects of value are the first volume of the earliest newspaper in Pennsylvania, Bradford's *American Mercury*, for 1719, and the first volume of Benjamin Franklin's newspaper, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, for 1728.

BOOK-PLATE OF DR. BENJAMIN RUSH.

Among the library's valuable collections are the unique drawings and paintings of old houses and buildings in Philadelphia which formerly belonged to John F. Watson, the annalist, and to Charles A. Poulson, son of Zachariah, the librarian, who was a diligent collector of matters pertaining to local history.

List of catalogues, pamphlets, broadsides, magazine articles, etc., relating to or illustrating the history of the Library Company of Philadelphia:

"Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin," v.p., v.d. This volume, as is well known, contains Dr. Franklin's own graphic account of the origin of the library.

The original articles of association. Philadelphia, 1731. Printed in 1869.

"A Catalogue of Books belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia." Philadelphia (Franklin), 1741. The only copy known to exist of this catalogue is now under glass at the Ridgway Branch. It is a small duodecimo of 56 pp. The last page gives *a short account of the library*, concluding that "Tho' 'tis compos'd of so many persons of different Sects, Parties, and Ways of Thinking, yet no differences relating to the affairs of the Library have arisen amongst us." This volume was preceded, as appears by the following minutes, by several other catalogues, all of which were probably broadsides. None of them seem to have come down to the present time.

"The Charter of the Library Company of Philadelphia." Philadelphia (Franklin), 1746. This tract (12mo), contains, in addition to the charter, a list of books added since 1741, the rules of the company, and an advertisement that "such as incline to be admitted are desired to leave their names with the librarian, who attends every Saturday from 4 to 8."

"A Catalogue of Books belonging to the Union Library Company of Philadelphia, to which is prefixed the articles of the company, with the names of the present members, and rules observed by the clerk in letting out books, etc." Philadelphia: printed by James Chattin, 1754. (Small 12mo, pp. 53.)

"Catalogus Bibliothecæ Loganianæ: being a choice collection of books, as well in the Oriental, Greek, and Latin as in the English, Italian, Spanish, French, and other languages, given by the late James Logan, Esq., of Philadelphia, for the use of the Publick. Numbered as they now stand in the Library built by him in Sixth Street, over against the State-House Square." Philadelphia: printed by Peter Miller, 1760.

"The Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books of the Library Company of Philadelphia." Printed by Franklin & Hall. Philadelphia, 1764.

"Catalogue of Books belonging to the Association Library." Philadelphia, 1765.

"The Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books of the Library Company of Philadelphia; with a short account of the Library prefixed." Philadelphia, 1770.

"Statements concerning a Hall for the Library Company" (broadside). Philadelphia, 1771.

"A Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia; to which is prefixed a short account of the Institution, with the charter, laws, and regulations." Philadelphia (Poulson), 1789.

"Catalogue of the Loganian Library." Philadelphia (Poulson), 1795.

"Catalogue." Philadelphia, 1807.

"Catalogue of the Loganian Library." 2 vols. Philadelphia (J. Dobson), 1828. In vol. ii. are described the books bequeathed to the Loganian Library by William Mackenzie, to which is prefixed a sketch of his life.

"Why and Because: being the reasons produced in 1832 for and against keeping the Philadelphia Library open in the morning. Collected from the public prints, and arranged in the order in which they appeared, by John Jay Smith." Philadelphia, 1832.

"Papers (signed 'Franklin') in regard to opening the Library in the morning." Philadelphia, 1832.

"Remarks on opening the Library all day." Philadelphia, 1832.

"Catalogue." 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1835. These volumes contain a short account of the library, the charter and its supplements, the by-laws, the rules, the state of the library, a table showing the number of shares issued, forfeited, and remaining, a list of the members, and the names of the successive librarians.

"Library Company of Philadelphia, in trust for the use of the Loganian Library, *versus* Samuel D. Ingham. Writ of error, etc." Philadelphia, 1836. Relates to the Bucks County lands.

"Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Loganian Library; to which is prefixed a short account of the Institution, with the law for annexing the said Library to that belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia." Philadelphia, 1837. This catalogue, like that of 1835, was prepared by George Campbell, formerly librarian.

"Notes for a History of the Library Company of Philadelphia." By John Jay Smith, librarian. Philadelphia, 1837. 8 pp., 8vo. Reprinted from Waldie's *Portfolio*.

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"Appeal [drawn up by Henry J. Williams, Esq.] for a fund to erect a fire-proof building for the Library Company, with a list of subscribers; together with a final statement by the treasurer of receipts and expenditures." Philadelphia, 1855–60. This volume, although in manuscript, can be consulted at the Locust Street building.

"Catalogue." Vol. iii. Philadelphia, 1856. Contains a preface pointing out some of the rarities in the library, a state of the library, a list of the directors, treasurers, secretaries, librarians, and London agents of the board, and a list of portraits in oil belonging to the company.

"Bulletins of the Library Company." Philadelphia, 1856–84. These semi-annual bulletins give the titles of the more important books added to the library since the publication of the third volume of the catalogue, together with various bibliographical and other matter, for the use of the members.

"Library Company of Philadelphia *vs.* Andrew J. Beaumont *et al.* Brief of argument for plaintiffs, answer of defendants, and decree of the Court of Nisi Prius." Philadelphia, 1861. These paper-books relate to the re-valuation of the Loganian lands in Bucks County.

"Will of Joseph Fisher, deceased." Philadelphia, 1864.

"Report of William L. Dennis, examiner, concerning the will of Joseph Fisher, deceased." Philadelphia, 1866.

"First Supplement to the Catalogue of Books belonging to the Loganian Library; to which is prefixed the Deed of Trust constituting the Foundation of the Library," etc. Philadelphia, 1867.

Atlantic Monthly. Vol. xxi. Boston, 1867. Contains an article on the old Philadelphia Library by Gen. J. Meredith Read, Jr.

"Circulars to stockholders, resolutions, and powers of attorney. Printed on the occasion of a vote of the members being taken upon the question of the acceptance of the Rush legacy." Philadelphia, 1869.

Legal pamphlets—twenty-three in number—growing out of the bills in equity filed after the decease of Dr. James Rush, and relating to his devise to the Library Company. Philadelphia, 1871 to 1880.

Plan showing the residences of members of the Library Company. Philadelphia, 1872.

"Memorial of Thomas Potts, Jr. By Mrs. Thomas Potts James." Privately printed. Cambridge, 1874. In this volume, pp. 375–391, occurs a life of Robert Grace, and a description of the house where, as Mrs. James thinks, the library was first kept.

"Public Libraries in the United States. A Special Report of the Bureau of Education." Washington, 1876. Contains (pp. 952–977) an account by Lloyd P. Smith of the public libraries of Philadelphia, including a history of the Library Company.

"Old Landmarks in Philadelphia." [Containing an account of the library.] New York, 1876. In *Scribner's Monthly*, vol. xii. p. 145.

"The Philadelphia Library." By Thompson Westcott, Jr.

"Historic Mansions of Philadelphia." Philadelphia, 1877.

"The Old Philadelphia Library." By Louise Stockton. Philadelphia, 1882. In *Our Continent*, vol. ii. No. 15.

"The Philadelphia Library." By Bunford Samuel, assistant at the Ridgway Branch. New York, 1882. In *The Century*.

The librarians have been Lewis Timothee, in 1732; Benjamin Franklin, William Parsons, Francis Hopkinson, 1764–65; Zachariah Poulson, 1785–1806; George Campbell, 1806–29; John Jay Smith, 1829–51. He was succeeded by his son, Lloyd P. Smith, the present librarian, a gentleman having a great fund of literary, scientific, and classical information, and a thorough knowledge of books and the management of public libraries.

The Library of Friends.—The Library of Friends of Philadelphia, now in possession of that branch of Quakers popularly known as "Orthodox," owes its origin to a bequest made by a worthy Friend, Thomas Chalkley, as appears by the following extract from his will, bearing date the 19th of Second Month, 1741, as follows:

"Having spent most of my days and strength in the work and service of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and having been joined as a member of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia for above these forty years, to them, as a token of my love, I give my small library of books."

A transcript from the will was presented to the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia, held the 30th of Second Month, 1742, and Robert Jordan, a member and an eminent minister of that meeting, offering his services as librarian, the books, being three in number, were delivered into his possession, with a catalogue of their titles. Not long after this, however, Robert Jordan died, and it was found necessary to select a new librarian. Anthony Benezet was requested by the Monthly Meeting to take charge of the library, which he did, and it was accordingly removed to his house. Here it remained until the erection of the meeting-house adjoining the school-house at the southeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets, to which latter place the collection was removed.

In 1804 the new meeting-house at the southeast corner of Fourth and Mulberry (now Arch) Streets was erected, and the old property, two squares below, was abandoned to commercial purposes. Not long after this date the library was transferred to the new meeting-house of the Friends. In 1844, however, the collection of books had attained such a size as warranted the erection of a separate building. Accordingly, a modest structure was built on the eastern end of the lot belonging to the Monthly Meeting of Friends, fronting on Arch Street, now numbered 304. This building comprises the present quarters of the library in the second story, the first story being occupied by Friends' book-store.

The small collection left by Thomas Chalkley was gradually increased by purchases and donations of benevolent individuals, among whom may be noted Dr. John Fothergill, Peter Collinson, David Barclay, of London, grandson of the Apologist, and James Bright. Little attention, however, seems to have been given to the library, and books having been loaned without a systematic record of the persons who borrowed them, many volumes were irrecoverably lost.

In 1765 the attention of the Monthly Meeting seems to have been awakened to the importance of preserving a collection of the writings of early Friends and other suitable books for the perusal of its members, and a committee was appointed to devise some method of rendering the library more useful, to collect the books which had been loaned out, to purchase others, and report the names of suitable persons to have charge of them. This committee recovered some of the missing volumes, repaired those which were mutilated, and made a new catalogue of the whole. John Todd, then a teacher under "the overseers of the public school founded by charter in the town and county of Philadelphia," was engaged as the librarian.

The first attempt at anything like a system for conducting the library appears to have been made at this period. The following rules, among others, adopted at this time are of interest as showing the scrupulous

care and precision with which it was sought to conduct the affairs of the library, namely,—

"The librarian to give attendance on Seventh Day of every week, in the afternoon, from four to six o'clock, in order to lend out and receive the books, and shall keep a book, columnwise, in which shall be noted the title of the book, the name of the borrower, the time for which the book is lent, the sum for which the note was given, the day when the book shall be returned, and the forfeitures arising from all defaults.

"Each borrower shall give a promissory note to the librarian for the sum set in the written catalogue against the book he borrows, conditioned for returning the same book within the time mentioned in the said catalogue, at the expiration of which time, if the borrower inclines to keep the book longer, he must renew his note."

The improvement which took place in the library at the time alluded to, although considerable, still left it in a very imperfect state. The number of books was small, and those chiefly related to the history and doctrines of the Society of Friends. A very material gain, however, was made by John Pemberton's bequest to the library of a large number of books. His will, dated 1st of Fourth Month, 1794, contained the following clause:

"I give and bequeath unto my aforesaid friends, John Field and William Wilson, and the survivors of them, after the decease of my wife, one-half of my library of books, in trust, for the use and benefit and perusal of Friends of the three Monthly Meetings in this city; and to be placed in the library for that purpose; wishing the beloved youth were more willing to read and to become acquainted with the trials, sufferings, and religious experience of our worthy ancients."

In 1817 the library was placed in the hands of a committee, consisting of one Friend from each Monthly Meeting in the city.

The library has continued to grow steadily, but has never attained to very extensive proportions. It contained in 1884 eight thousand five hundred volumes. The library is free to any Friend, living in or near this city, who will sign an agreement to replace or pay for volumes that may be lost or injured. Thereafter any member of his or her family can take them out without charge, subject to the rules of the library. The books comprise works of history, biography, science, and most other subjects usually found in well-selected libraries, works of fiction being excluded. The collection of biographies and other writings of early Friends is probably unequaled in any other collection of books in this country.

The Philosophical Society.—In 1743, Benjamin Franklin, who did so much to excite and promote the love of literature, science, and human progress in the mind of conservative Philadelphia, was the originator of the American Philosophical Society. Being impressed with the importance of establishing a national institution for the cultivation of science, he, on the 14th of May, 1743 (old style), corresponding in the Gregorian calendar to the 25th, issued and distributed a proposal for this purpose in the form of a printed circular. This circular is entitled "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America."

After speaking of the great extent of the colonial possessions, this paper says,—

"The first drudgery of settling new colonies, which confines the attention of people to mere necessaries, is now pretty well over; and there are many in every province in circumstances that set them at ease, and afford leisure to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge. To such of these who are men of speculation many hints must from time to time arise, many observations occur, which, if well examined, pursued, and improved, might produce discoveries to the advantage of some or all of the British plantations, or to the benefit of mankind in general. But as, from the extent of the country, such persons are widely separated, and seldom can see and converse or be acquainted with each other, so that many useful particulars remain uncommunicated, die with the discoverers, and are lost to mankind, it is, to remedy this inconvenience for the future, proposed,—

"That one society be formed of *virtuosi*, or ingenious men, residing in the several colonies, to be called *The American Philosophical Society*, who are to maintain constant correspondence.

"That Philadelphia, being the city nearest to the centre of the continent colonies, communicating with all of them northward and southward by post, and with all the islands by sea, and having the advantages of a good growing library, be the centre of the society.

"That at Philadelphia there be always at least seven members, viz., a physician, a botanist, a mathematician, a chemist, a mechanician, a geographer, and a general natural philosopher, besides a president, treasurer, and secretary.

"That these members meet once a month, or oftener, at their own expense, to communicate to each other their observations and experiments; to receive, read, and consider such letters, communications, or queries as shall be sent from distant members; to direct the dispersing of the copies of such communications as are valuable to other distant members, in order to procure their sentiments thereupon."

Then follows in detail an enumeration of the subjects which it was proposed that the society should consider and investigate, including researches in botany, medicine, mineralogy and mining, mathematics, chemistry, mechanics, arts, trades, manufacturers, geography, topography, agriculture, etc.

There seems to be some doubt as to the precise date of the actual organization of the society. That it was formed and in active working order in the year in question (1743) is altogether probable, for as early as April 5, 1744, Dr. Franklin, in a letter to Cadwallader Colden, states "that the society, so far as relates to Philadelphia, was actually formed, and has had several meetings to mutual satisfaction."

In this letter the following list is presented of the original members: Dr. Thomas Bond, as physician; John Bartram, as botanist; Thomas Godfrey, as mathematician; Samuel Rhoads, as mechanician; William Parsons, as geographer; Dr. Thomas Bond, as general natural philosopher; Thomas Hopkinson, president; William Coleman, treasurer; and Benjamin Franklin, secretary. But a glance is sufficient to attract one's attention to the eminence of the names embraced in this list.

The minutes of the early proceedings of the Philosophical Society are not preserved, and one is left in the dark, not only as to the nature and scope of its labors, but also as to the period that it remained in activity. It is only from indirect evidence that it is to be inferred that it did not continue its meetings for more than ten years, when it went into a state of suspended animation, from which it was destined to revive at a future day, and to flourish with greater vigor than had characterized the earlier days of its existence.

The temporary collapse of the society was probably due to the fact that, at the time of its foundation, in 1743, the colonies were not prepared to appreciate and sustain so comprehensive a scientific organization. In fact, it seems to be generally conceded that Franklin was somewhat radically in advance of his age, in attempting to establish such an institution, particularly upon so elaborate a scale. The society did not remain in abeyance very long, however, for less than twenty years had elapsed before the surviving members of the old society, reduced to six in number, thought (to use the expression of one of them) that " they saw their way clear for its revival," and measures were accordingly taken looking toward this end. The date at which they reassembled for the first time is not known definitely; but it appears from the minutes that in November, 1767, the society elected four new members, and in January of the following year forty-four additional names were placed upon the roll.

From June 19, 1768, minutes of the proceedings were regularly recorded, and are preserved in the archives of the society. These records show that the revived institution began its new career with great advantages. John Penn, the Governor of the province, consented to become the society's patron. The use of the Council chamber of the State-House was granted for its meetings, and the rooms and apparatus of the College of Philadelphia were put at its commands " whenever the members should choose to meet there or have any experiments performed before them."

The following officers were elected by the society, Feb. 9, 1768, to wit: President, Hon. James Hamilton; Vice-Presidents, Drs. William Shippen and Thomas Bond; Treasurer, Philip Syng; Secretaries, Rev. William Smith, D.D., and John Ewing and Dr. Charles Moore.

On the 22d of March, 1768, the first scientific communication was made to the Philosophical Society, and it now stands as the first paper in the series of Transactions. It is entitled, " A Description of a New Orrery, planned and now nearly finished by David Rittenhouse, A.M." Throughout the year many communications were made, which are to be found in the printed Transactions. But by far the most important proceedings of the society were those which had relation to the transit of Venus over the sun's disc that was to occur on the 3d of June, 1769. At a meeting held June 21, 1768, the society took active measures preparatory to this great event by appointing a committee to make the necessary arrangements, and to observe the transit at Norriton; and another committee to erect an observatory at Philadelphia and make preparation for ascertaining the latitude and for observing the transit. The observations at Philadelphia and Norriton, and also at Cape Henlopen, were all successful, and the account of them and of the results to which they led is given in full detail in the first volume of the Transactions of the Society.

It was in the early portion of the year 1769 that the two organizations, the American Philosophical Society and the American Society, held at Philadelphia, for Promoting Useful Knowledge, were merged into a single association. The latter society was an outgrowth of the Junto, which was itself the progeny of the original Junto Club. At a meeting of the club held Dec. 13, 1766, rules had been adopted for the admission of non-residents as corresponding members, so that the bounds of the society could be extended to the utmost limits of the provinces, and even into Europe. By such a step as this the association lost its character of a club, and accordingly, at the same meeting, it abandoned the name of Junto, which had been used by itself and the parent institution for nearly forty years, and adopted the more ambitious title of "The American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge, held at Philadelphia." On the 23d of September, 1768, a new code of laws was adopted by the society, which was now called, by a slight change of the former name, " The American Society, held at Philadelphia, for Promoting Useful Knowledge." On the 4th of the fóllowing November, at an election of officers, Benjamin Franklin was chosen president.

To the latter society belongs the honor of making the first overtures looking toward a consolidation with the Philosophical Society.

On the 26th of January, 1768, the question was discussed " whether, since the two societies had the same views, it would not be desirable that they should be united, if this could be done on an equal footing, and on terms equally honorable to both;" and it was " voted unanimously that such a union would be desirable, and would conduce to the public good, if it could be effected on these terms, but on no other." Considerable diplomacy was required to consummate the union which was virtually effected. For a time it looked as though all negotiations would prove futile. Finally, however, on the 15th of November of the same year (1768), the Philosophical Society appointed a committee, consisting of their two vice-presidents, two secretaries, and two members, " to concert measures and prepare the way for a union." Shortly afterward the American Society also appointed a committee of conference, comprising the vice-president, two secretaries, two curators, and a member, with instructions to insure perfect equality between the contracting parties. The negotiations were conducted with a degree of diplomatic formality which shows the importance attached to the measure on both sides. Finally, on the 20th of December, both societies being in session, the terms on which a union should take place were mutually agreed upon. A perusal of them shows how cautiously they were framed, with a view to the perfect equality in the claims of the two parties to the treaty. The terms of

consolidation provided, *inter alia*, that the united society should bear the following name, composed of the former two, viz., "The American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for Promoting Useful Knowledge," and that the first joint meeting should be held at the college on Monday, Jan. 2, 1769. The ratification of this treaty was the last great act of the two rival societies, and at the close of the year 1768, a few days afterward, their existence as separate bodies came to an end.

On the last-mentioned day, Jan. 2, 1769, the united society held its first meeting and its first election. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was chosen president, while Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, Dr. Thomas Bond, and Joseph Galloway were elected vice-presidents. From the day of the union active measures were inaugurated and prosecuted in the various channels of scientific energy. But momentous events were soon to happen, whereby men's thoughts were turned toward more engrossing and more vital concerns than philosophical research. Political liberty, national and individual, came to be popular subjects of discussion, and, finally, war's alarms were almost the only sounds which fell upon the ear. From the month of March, 1774, to the same month, 1779, very few meetings were held; there not being a single session for over three years prior to the date last named. But on the 5th day of March, 1779, the society reassembled, never again to be dispersed or to be interrupted in its scientific pursuits.

A plan for incorporating the society was ordered at a meeting held (as usual then) in the university, Dec. 17, 1779, Dr. Smith, Dr. Duffield, and Mr. Biddle being constituted a committee.

It was incorporated by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, March 15, 1780. The preamble of the act declares the objects for which it is created with considerable detail, and then come the enacting clauses which gave its name and powers.

It is remarkable how fully and clearly the powers are expressed, and the only amendments or additions that have been made to them since are those which enable the society to sell and rent their real estate. It contains one remarkable clause which shows the clear and catholic views that the founders held as to the neutrality of science, for it provides that all correspondence or communications to or from the society shall have free transmission, notwithstanding the prevalence of war.

In 1785 the State granted a lot of ground to the society as a site for the erection of a hall. This lot forms a portion of Independence Square, and its dimensions are seventy by fifty feet. The building was begun in 1785, and it was occupied, but not completely finished, in 1789. With but a slight change in the basement story, the building stands to-day in the same shape as originally constructed. By several additional enactments the Legislature authorized the society to rent such parts of the hall as were not needed for its own purposes, and under these it has always had a considerable income from rents.

An important event in the history of the society was the donation, by John Hyacinth de Magellan, in 1786, of two hundred guineas for establishing premiums to be awarded to the authors of discoveries and improvements.

The following memoranda, gathered from the minutes of the society, will give at least a hint of the variety and scope of the detail work carried on. The period covered embraces the first decade and a half of the present century.

In 1801 the society appointed a committee to collect information respecting the past and present state of this country. It consisted of Thomas Jefferson, president of the society, and at that time President of the United States; Gen. James Wilkinson, commander of the United States army; Dr. Caspar Wistar, vice-president of the society; Dr. Adam Seybert, secretary; Charles Wilson Peale, and Gen. Jonathan Williams. This committee issued a circular requesting assistance from scholars and citizens, in which they stated that the following were the principal objects concerning which they desired help:

"1. To procure one or more entire skeletons of the mammoth, so called, and of such other unknown animals as either have been, or hereafter may be discovered in America.

"2. To obtain accurate plans, drawings, and descriptions of whatever is interesting (where the originals cannot be had), and especially of ancient fortifications, tumuli, and other Indian works of art,—ascertaining the material composing them, their contents, the purposes for which they were probably designed, etc.

"To invite researches into the natural history of the earth,—to the changes it has undergone as to mountains, lakes, rivers, prairies, etc."

The total eclipse of the sun of the 16th of June, 1806, attracted a great deal of attention. It was observed under the auspices of the society at various places, and the descriptive papers were inserted in the Transactions. Andrew Ellicott watched the phenomenon at Lancaster, Pa., William Dunbar at the forest near Natchez, Miss., J. J. De Ferrer and J. Garner at Kinderhook, N. Y. A member of the society made his observations at Bowdoin College, Me., and Simeon De Witt, at Albany, N. Y.

The society was divided originally into six committees or classes, as follows: first, of geography, mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy; second, of medicine and anatomy; third, of natural history and chemistry; fourth, of trade and commerce; fifth, of mechanics and architecture; sixth, of husbandry and American improvements. To these were added, in 1816, a committee on history (moral and general), science and literature, of which William Tilghman was chairman, Peter S. Du Ponceau corresponding secretary, and John Vaughan recording secretary. This committee sent out circulars requesting communications and assistance in collecting historical documents and knowledge of facts. It was fairly successful. President Jefferson sent manuscript documents calculated to throw light on the history of

our country, on the customs, manners, and languages of the Indian nations, and upon various other interesting national subjects. He also procured the unedited manuscript volumes of scientific notes and observations by Messrs. Lewis and Clark, made in the course of their journey to the Pacific Ocean. Dr. George Logan, of Stenton, contributed the original correspondence which was afterwards known as the "Penn and Logan Papers," consisting of letters between William Penn, Hannah Penn, James Logan, and others. These were arranged by Mrs. Deborah Logan. Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem, Pa., contributed correspondence upon the Indian languages of this country and Zeisberger's grammar of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware, language. This grammar was translated, under authority of the committee, into English. Heckewelder also undertook to write his observations on the "manners and customs of the Indian nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States."

As early as 1835 the city of Philadelphia, desiring to own the entire block of ground bounded by Chestnut, Walnut, Fifth, and Sixth Streets (having bought the remainder of the tract embracing Independence Square from the State in 1814), made overtures to the society looking toward the purchase of the hall belonging to the latter, situated on Fifth Street. A few years afterward conditional arrangements were made for such a purpose, but they were verbal and informal, although intended on both sides to be carried out in good faith.

There was at that time a large building, known as the Museum, situated on Ninth Street south of Chestnut, which contained the large and valuable collections of the Philadelphia Museum, originally founded by Charles Wilson Peale. An arrangement was made by which the society should purchase this building, and lease part of it to the Museum Company, and use the remainder for its own purposes and benefit. It was supposed that what the city would pay for the old hall would enable the society to buy and substantially pay for the Museum property. The society made the purchase, and used all its funds in making the required payments.

These funds it was expected would be replaced by the money to be paid by the city for the old hall. The price of the hall was to be fixed by referees, of which each party was to choose two, and in case they could not agree a fifth referee was to be chosen by the four referees, and his concurrence in an award by any two and himself made the award binding and conclusive on both parties. It so happened that when the four referees met three would not concur in any award. The fifth man was chosen, and he would not agree with any two of the other referees, and so the project of a sale fell through.

While these negotiations were in progress the memorable financial troubles of 1837–42 were in full operation, the city declined to carry out the conditional bargain that had been made, and the society was plunged into the depths of financial trouble, which for a long season threatened bankruptcy and even ruin. The sequel of this melancholy story was that the Museum building was sold under a paramount mortgage of comparatively small amount, against which it was supposed the society was protected by a valuable lot on Chestnut Street, adjoining the Museum property, which had to be sold first, and also by collateral security in other forms. But all these protections failed in the day of trial, and even the society's library and collections were at one time levied on by the sheriff. But the members went to work manfully, gathered their resources together, paid their debts, and, as it were, took a new and vigorous start in corporate life, and in 1884 the society had a fund of sixty thousand dollars, the income from which, in addition to its rents, enabled it to defray all proper expenses, and make liberal appropriations for its publications.

Two very important events in the later history of the society have been the centennial anniversary of its foundation, in 1843, and the centennial celebration of its incorporation, in 1880. The first-named event was in the form of a public assembly at Musical Fund Hall, May 25, 1843, at which Dr. Robert M. Patterson, one of the vice-presidents, delivered a rich and exhaustive discourse upon the history of the society, and furthermore, in the form of eight delightful scientific symposiums, May 26–30, 1843, at the hall of the society, attended by its members and a large number of distinguished correspondents from other States and from abroad.

The anniversary of the society's incorporation was in the nature of an elaborate banquet at the St. George Hotel, southwest corner of Broad and Walnut Streets, March 15, 1880, at which the following programme of toasts prevailed, Professor Gray alone being absent and unable to respond:

1. Address by the president, Frederick Fraley, Esq.

"It is not facts which perplex us, but the opinion about those facts." —*Epictetus.*

2. "The Early Botanists of the Society." Professor Asa Gray, Cambridge, Mass.

"E'en when the hoary head is hid in snow
The life is in the leaf."—*Dryden.*

3. "The Alliance of Universities and the Learned Societies." President D. C. Gilman, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

"Die Weltgeschichte sucht aus sprodem Stoffen,
Ein reines Bild der Menschheit zu gestalten."—*Hebbel.*

4. "Our Friends who have passed away." Dr. W. A. Hammond, New York City.

"Plena fuit vobis omni concordia vita;
Et stetit ad finim longa tenaxque fides."

5. "The Study of Languages." President William C. Cattell, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

"Quce philosophia fuit, facta philologia est."—*Seneca*, Ep. 108.

6. "The Society's Name." Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, Philadelphia.

"A thing which Adam had been posed to name."—*Pope.*

7. "The Need of an Elevated and Permanent Civil Service." A. Loudon Snowden, Esq., superintendent United States Mint, Philadelphia.

"Oh, reform it altogether."—*Hamlet.*

8. "The Tendencies of Scientific Culture." Dr. John L. LeConte, Philadelphia

"Reasoning at every step he takes,
Man yet mistakes his way;
While meaner things, whom instinct leads,
Are rarely known to stray."—*Cowper.*

9. "Daily and Periodical Literature." W. V. McKean, Philadelphia.
"To aim at learning without books is, with Danáides, to draw water in a sieve."—*R. Williams* (1639).

10. "The Spirit of a Philosophical Society." Professor J. P. Lesley, Philadelphia.
"Science moves but slowly, slowly creeping on."—*Tennyson.*

To attempt to outline the achievements of the American Philosophical Society—the oldest scientific institution in the United States—during its one hundred and forty years of varied history, or to seek to epitomize the results of the valuable researches of its individual members, would be tasks of incredible magnitude. Among its presidents have been Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse, Thomas Jefferson, Caspar Wistar, Robert Patterson, and William Tilghman.

Nor is the list of more modern presidents less illustrious, although composed, perhaps, of men whose reputations are less world-wide. The last eight presidents have been Peter S. Du Ponceau, Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, Dr. Robert M. Patterson, Dr. Franklin Bache, Alexander Dallas Bache, Judge John K. Kane, Dr. George B. Wood, and Frederick Fraley.

The society's library is an admirable one. It contains about twenty-two thousand volumes, in various languages, many of which are rare and valuable. The books are arranged on the shelves in numerical order, each volume having its number attached. Folios, quartos, and octavos have their respective systems of numbers. The catalogue of the library is constructed upon an original plan. Eight principal classes carry from the universal to the special, from the abstract to the concrete, from the inorganic to the organic, from matter to mind. Each class begins with the theory of the subject and follows with its practice. Excepting the first, which represents the abstract conception of knowledge itself with its universal applications, each class advances the theme beyond a point at which the class preceding leaves it. The several classes are: 1. General Science; 2. The Mathematical Sciences; 3. The Inorganic Sciences; 4. The Organic Sciences; 5. The Historical Sciences; 6. The Social Sciences; 7. The Spiritual Sciences; 8. Personal Science.

The Library of the University of Pennsylvania.—The history of the University library has been parallel with that of the institution itself. Almost immediately after the beginning of the enterprise, in 1749, a library was collected. Among the earlier contributors was Rev. Richard Peters, who presented many works in old English literature, together with a considerable number of ecclesiastical books. Other volumes, which still bear Benjamin Franklin's autograph, were donated by the latter. Dr. William Smith, the provost of the College of Philadelphia in 1762, visited England with a view to the enlargement of the endowment of the college. While there he obtained by donation and by purchase many valuable works, which were added to the library of the institution.

Shortly after the Revolution the library was enriched by a very generous donation of works, chiefly of French authorship, from Louis XVI., which had been sent at the suggestion of the Marquis de La Fayette. This munificent gift comprised works on the natural sciences, history, travels, etc., together with the Paris edition of the Byzantine historians. This donation grew out of the very great interest in the University which the French general manifested when in America.

For three-fourths of a century the growth of the library was not marked. No very extensive gifts were made, and no large sums of money were expended in the purchase of books. Such additions as were made were chiefly in the form of individual donations from publishers, authors, and various friends of the college. The period in question covers the time in which the University's latent energies and forces were shut up within the limited quarters on Ninth Street, so long occupied by the faculty. When, however, the celebration of the nation's centennial anniversary found the University occupying its present magnificent quarters in West Philadelphia, many evidences of a renewed and vigorous enterprise in every channel of effort on the part of the institution were noticeable. Among other branches to take on new life and to grow with vigor was the library.

The first great addition after removing to West Philadelphia was the donation of the splendid collection of works on social science and political economy belonging to the late Stephen Colwell. This collection, which embraced some eight thousand volumes, was unique. It included almost every important book or pamphlet, or edition of either, on the subjects mentioned that appeared down to Mr. Colwell's death, in 1869, in English, French, or Italian, besides many in German and Spanish. The collection of pamphlets on the theory of money and the practice of banking was particularly full, and many of them are not to be had at any price, or to be found in any other collection in this country.

Soon after the University acquired the above-mentioned collection of valuable books it also became possessed, by the joint act of the trustees and the alumni, of the rich library of Professor Allen. This contained, primarily, a full and judiciously selected body of authors in the department of classical, especially Greek philology, among which were the great Bibliotheca of Didot, and the fine Paris edition of the Thesaurus of Stephanus. Among other features of the magnificent Allen library may be mentioned the following: the modern Latinists, including especially the Italian and Dutch poets, with some of the patriotic and mediæval writers; a collection of

bibliographical works, catalogues, and manuals, including nearly complete collections of the works of Peignot and Nodier, and fine subscription copies of Brunet and Graesse; a fine Shakespeare library, including all the best editions and annotated translations (Delius, Schlegel, and Tieck, the Malone variorum edition, etc.), with the best English and foreign commentaries (including Ulrici, Gervinus, and the "Jahrbücher der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft"), together with works on general English philology; and a collection of English, French, and German works upon military subjects.

Another valuable accession to the library occurred when a portion of the excellent law library of the late Judge Bouvier, the noted jurist and lexicographer, was presented to the University by Dr. Richardson, the son-in law of Judge Bouvier. This collection embraced many works on English, Scotch, French, and ancient Roman law, including English reports, the French jurisconsults, the French code, the Pandects, etc.

Among other valuable donations to the library was the gift by the family of the late Tobias Wagner of property yielding an income of five hundred or six hundred dollars, for the establishment of a Wagner fund for the purchase and binding of books. Among the purchases made from this fund is the magnificent series of photographs of antiquities in the British Museum.

Among other contributions, furthermore, should be mentioned Professor Alfred Stillé's gift of a number of very valuable historical works, chiefly French and Italian. They are mainly on the history of various phases of art.

Perhaps the most noteworthy of recent donations to the library has been Professor Fairman Rogers' generous gift of works upon engineering, presented as a memorial of Professor Rogers' father, Evan Rogers. It consists of some five thousand volumes upon this single topic, many of them elaborately illustrated, and nearly all of them valuable works. It can safely be said of some that there are no duplicates in America.

The library has made such rapid and such material advancements within the past quarter of a century that it has become an honor both to the University and to the city. It contained about twenty-five thousand substantial volumes in 1884.

The Library of the Pennsylvania Hospital.—The fine medical library belonging to the Pennsylvania Hospital was founded in 1763. The first medical book owned by the institution, which formed the nucleus of the present splendid collection, appears to have been a gift from Dr. John Fothergill, who was an early and generous friend of the hospital. This volume was "An Experimental History of Materia Medica," by William Lewis, F.R.S., London, 1761, and was presented, in 1762, "for the benefit," as the record says, "of the young students in physic, who may attend under the direction of the physicians." The idea of establishing a medical library in connection with the institution having been thus probably suggested to the officers of the hospital, it was carried into effect the next year. As the number of students attracted to the hospital by its fame as a practical school for clinical medicine and surgery was considerable, the board of managers resolved to exact a fee from each student for the privilege of attending the wards of the house.

The faculty, composed of Drs. Thomas Bond, Thomas Cadwalader, Phineas Bond, and Cadwalader Evans, advised that the revenue so derived be applied to the foundation of a medical library for the institution. A number of donations from friends of the hospital soon formed a substantial nucleus for the proposed collection of medical works. In January, 1767, the executors of the will of Dr. Lloyd Zachary, with the approbation of the residuary legatees, donated from Dr. Zachary's library forty-three volumes of works upon various medical subjects; and in the same year the hospital library received a valuable acquisition in the presentation by Deborah Morris of the medical books of her late brother, Dr. Benjamin Morris, consisting of fifty-five volumes, principally standard works collected by Dr. Morris during his residence in the University of Leyden. Another donation of books, to the value of one hundred pounds, was received in the year 1774, from William Strahan, of London.

The collection of books thus gained was steadily increased by judicious purchases of works out of the library fund, the only interruption occurring during the time of the Revolution, when the lowness of the means of the institution made important additions to the library impracticable.

The first catalogue was published in the year 1790, and contained twenty-one folio volumes, seventy-seven quarto, three hundred and forty-one octavo, and eighty-nine duodecimo,—total, five hundred and twenty-eight volumes. In the same year the managers opened a correspondence with the celebrated Dr. Lettsom, requesting him to make such selections of books for the library as he thought proper. This request was complied with, and Dr. Lettsom continued a firm friend of the institution during his life.

A valuable present of books was received in the year 1800 from Sarah Zane, a wealthy maiden lady, who inherited an extensive and valuable library, the medical portion of which she bestowed upon the hospital. Her donation comprised twenty-three folios, ninety-one quartos, six octavos, and twenty-two duodecimos; in all one hundred and forty-two volumes, some of them very rare, at least in this country.

The increasing number of the students who attended the practice of the hospital now afforded an ample fund for the steady increase of the library; how faithfully it was applied may be seen by a comparison of the catalogue published in 1806 with its

predecessor of 1790, and the additional part printed in 1793. The prosperity of the library fund continued uninterrupted many years, during which a surplus accumulated, and large sums were occasionally granted from it for the general purposes of the charity, or such particular objects as appeared to require a special appropriation.

The principal object of the gentlemen who have administered the concerns of the library has always been the acquisition of books strictly medical, yet as the different branches of natural history assume the rank of collateral science, treatises upon them have never been considered foreign to the design of the foundation. On the decease of Dr. Benjamin S. Barton, late professor of Materia Medica and Botany in the University of Pennsylvania, his extensive and rare collection of works on natural history was purchased of his widow at the price of $2770.

Shortly after this important accession a supplement, or second part of the catalogue, was published, comprising all the works added to the library from 1806 to 1818.

To the year 1829 the library had grown to such a degree that another edition of the catalogue was considered necessary. This was compiled by William G. Malin, then librarian of the institution, and embodied all the former catalogues. Eight years afterward, in 1837, a supplement to the same was published, the library consisting then of seven thousand three hundred volumes.

In 1857 was prepared an entirely new catalogue, and upon an enlarged basis. This *Catalogue Raisonné* was modeled after that of the library of the Medical Society of Edinburgh, the arrangement of which was followed out so far as some difference in the compass and character of the two libraries would permit. A supplement to this catalogue was issued in 1867.

At the time of the publication of the *Catalogue Raisonné*, in 1857, the library comprised ten thousand five hundred volumes, as follows: folio, three hundred and fifty-eight; quarto, eleven hundred and seventy-eight; octavo, seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-four; and duodecimo, twelve hundred.

Since the last-named date there has been a very material increase in the number of volumes added to the library. In fact, the number has been doubled; so that, in 1884, the collection comprised some fifteen thousand bound volumes. With the exception of two or three others, the library of the Pennsylvania Hospital contains the finest collection of medical books in America. In point of age it has no rival.

Books may be borrowed by subscribers (who pay three dollars a year), or those who acquire a life right, either by purchase (twenty-eight dollars) or gift from the managers, these beneficiaries being chiefly those who were formerly resident physicians, to whom it is customary, on leaving, to give the use of the hospital's collection of medical works.

The library is housed in one of the substantial buildings comprised in the hospital's valuable property, bounded by Spruce, Pine, Eighth, and Ninth Streets.

The Library of the German Society of Pennsylvania.—The "German Society of Pennsylvania" was founded in 1764 for the purpose of protecting and relieving distressed German emigrants brought to Philadelphia; and this charitable object has ever since remained its principal feature. But in 1766 the suggestion of establishing a library was thrown out and favorably received, though at that time not acted upon. The society's charter, which was granted in 1781, extended the sphere of its usefulness by including education and the establishment of a library within the scope of its powers. A by-law having reference to a library was shaped accordingly, and some feeble attempts were made toward collecting books, but it was not until 1817 that decided steps were taken to carry the long-entertained plan into effect. In the annual meeting of the society on the 26th of December, 1816, Mr. W. Lehman offered the following preamble and resolution:

"WHEREAS, Next to the relief of distress, one of the original objects of the society was the establishment of a library in order to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge, which is so essential to the enjoyment of life, and so conducive to the preservation of virtue; and

"WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the great population and wealth of Philadelphia, and the excellence and celebrity of the literature of Germany, there is not to be found within the city a judicious collection of German books, etc.; be it therefore

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five members be appointed to inquire into the expediency of purchasing and importing some of the works of the best German authors, relating to general literature, to serve as a foundation of a library to be established agreeably to the act of incorporation and the laudable intention of the founders of our society, and to report a plan at the next meeting."

The committee to which this resolution was referred, consisting of L. Krumbhaar, D. Bräutigam, S. Keehmle, W. Lehman, and H. T. Virchaux, reported favorably, and suggested, as the investments would be of a limited amount, that particular attention should be paid, in the first place, to forming a collection of works in the German language. The first library committee consisted of Rev. Ph. F. Mayer, Rev. S. Helfenstein, L. Krumbhaar, W. Lehman, and H. T. Virchaux. The same gentlemen were reappointed every year until 1825, except that in 1823 H. T. Virchaux was replaced by Rev. Christian Crouse, and the latter, in 1825, by Rev. C. R. Demme. The first librarian was Joseph Charles Sprenger, a dealer in fancy goods, whom Ritter ("History of the Moravian Church," page 274), describes as a handsome Tyrolese. He was followed in the next year by Frederick K. Nidda, who held the position of librarian until 1828.

While the first purchase of books, in accordance with the recommendation, was limited to those in the German language, the claims of the rising population soon made themselves felt, and when the first catalogue was printed, in 1826, it showed a slight excess

of English over German books. This preponderance continued to exist nearly forty years. In 1884 the library of the German Society consists of about twenty thousand volumes, of which nearly two-thirds are in the German, the rest in the English language. It is richly stocked with works of general information and research, such as history, biography, ethnology, travels, science, philosophy, and art. The standard authors in both languages, especially the German, are well represented; and the library contains also the latest works of poetry and fiction.

Until 1807 the German Society continued to hold its meetings at the place where the society had been organized in 1764,—the Lutheran school-house in Cherry Street, below Fourth, which was built in 1761, and destroyed by fire March 25, 1878.

Since April 9, 1807, however, the society occupied the quarters in which its library was placed, in the upper hall of the building No. 24 South Seventh Street, the ground floor and rear of which were leased to the Philadelphia Gas Company. This building was erected by the society in 1806, and enlarged in 1866. The persons entitled to the use of the library are the members of the German Society and such as pay an annual subscription.

A special department of the library consists of Americana that relate to the German element, such as German imprints, works and pamphlets on immigration, county histories, proceedings of German societies, etc.

The Library of the College of Physicians.—In an address delivered by Dr. Benjamin Rush, on Feb. 6, 1787, before the newly-organized College of Physicians, setting forth the purposes of the institution, the intention of establishing a library by the college is indicated. He said, "A medical library will help to diffuse knowledge among us on easy terms." At the stated meeting in April, 1788, a series of by-laws was presented, containing, among other sections, the following, "Section VII., Library," without anything further on the subject. At the meeting in June, two months later, Drs. John Jones, Samuel Powel Griffiths, and Caspar Wistar were appointed a committee to report a plan for the formation of a library for the use of the Fellows of the college, whose report was subsequently considered and reconsidered, and a resolution adopted that "the several members of the college be requested to send to the secretary such books as they mean to present to the college."

The first donation of books seems to have been made, in 1789, by Dr. John Morgan, one of the founders of the college. In July of this year Drs. Jones, Parke, and Wistar were appointed a committee to prepare a list of books to be purchased at a cost of not more than fifty pounds, Pennsylvania currency. In 1790 the library received accessions of valuable books by the death of Dr. Morgan, its first patron, who bequeathed to the college the works of Hippocrates, Galen, Morgagni, and Harvey, the whole making twelve folio volumes and one quarto. Few additional volumes were purchased, and, besides donations from Drs. Morgan, Griffiths, Rush, Benjamin Barton Smith, Shippen, and Jones, contributions of books were very meagre during a long series of years. In volume i., part i., of the Transactions of the college, published in 1793, there is a foot-note which refers to the library in the following not very enthusiastic words: "It has been established by the college, and now consists of a number of scarce and valuable books."

Nor was the progress of the library during the first half of the present century more marked. Very few books were donated, and cash expenditures in the purchase of new works were insignificant. In 1834 the first committee on the library was appointed, consisting of Drs. J. W. Moore, William S. Coxe, and Simon A. Wickes, who, in January, 1835, made a verbal report upon the state of the library, "showing that it is in a bad condition and going to decay." In the annual report of the library committee, presented in June, 1836, it was stated that "the collection of books belonging to the college includes thirty-one folio volumes, sixty-seven quartos, and one hundred and ninety-three octavos, making a total of two hundred and ninety-one, besides a number of unbound pamphlets," surely not a very flattering showing after nearly fifty years of effort.

The growth of the library, however, was necessarily slow. For many years after the date of the institution of the College of Physicians, the diffusion of medical knowledge was not extended, and technical publications were not numerous. Such additions as were made were, as has been stated, largely in the nature of donations or bequests from private medical libraries. Indeed, for three-fourths of a century the books belonging to the college were stored in three or four library-cases,—at the University, on Ninth Street; in the Philosophical Society's building, Fifth Street, below Chestnut; at the old Mercantile Library building, at the southeast corner of Fifth and Library Streets; and in the picture-room of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Spruce Street, above Eighth, at which respective places the college was housed at various times. It was not until the erection of the hall of the College of Physicians, at the northwest corner of Locust and Thirteenth Streets, and the removal of the college thereto in 1863, that separate rooms were set apart for library purposes.

At the time of the occupancy by the college of its new buildings in 1863, it is probable that the library did not number more than four thousand five hundred volumes. This state of affairs was, however, a gigantic stride over the library's condition in 1836, when, as previously stated, only two hundred and ninety-one books were comprised in the collection.

The most noteworthy addition to the library during its entire history was the donation by Dr. Samuel Lewis, in 1864, at one time, of two thousand five

hundred carefully-selected volumes. Since the date named Dr. Lewis has presented to the library many additional books, until at the present time the Lewis Library comprises nearly one-third of the whole collection of works belonging to the College of Physicians. This branch of the library occupies an entire room in the society's hall, and is wholly sustained by the generosity of Dr. Lewis.

Another valuable contribution of books came to the library in 1866, through a bequest contained in the will of George Ord. This admirable collection, appraised at a valuation of four thousand dollars, was not comprised of medical works, but consisted of "the best editions of the most eminent classical writers in the English and French languages, many volumes of interesting voyages and travels, and the best and largest collection of English and French dictionaries perhaps in this country, being the fruits of Mr. Ord's industrious collecting during more than half a century."

Among other large contributors of books within the past forty years may be mentioned the following: Dr. Henry Bond, Dr. George B. Wood, Dr. Isaac Hays, Dr. Alfred Stillé, Dr. Moreton Stillé, Dr. Thomas F. Betton, Dr. Robert M. Huston, Mrs. M. A. Mütter (the widow of Dr. Thomas D. Mütter), Dr. Francis West, and Dr. Charles D. Meigs.

In addition to the contributors named, other friends of the institution have donated many valuable medical and scientific books. Besides this, the college has been enabled, during the past twenty or twenty-five years, to acquire by purchase a large number of works devoted to medicine and kindred topics. As a result the library has reached a point where it has become the best collection of medical books in the country, and in size is exceeded only by the library of the surgeon-general's office at Washington. It contains twenty-six thousand five hundred bound volumes, besides many pamphlets and unbound books. The last annual report of the Library Committee, presented on Dec. 5, 1883, shows that there were added to the library during the preceding year two thousand one hundred and eighty-six bound volumes, two thousand one hundred and seven pamphlets, and two thousand eight hundred and sixty-two numbers of current journals.

So far as the Fellows of the College of Physicians are concerned, the library is a circulating one, books being taken out subject to certain restrictions. As a library of reference, for visitors introduced by Fellows of the college, it is also considerably utilized.

It is worthy of note, that while Philadelphia possesses two of the finest collections of medical works in America, that of the College of Physicians and that of the Pennsylvania Hospital, yet a comparison of the catalogues of the two libraries exhibits a surprising absence of duplication. In the two collections Philadelphia contains the richest material in the way of medical literature of any city in America.

The Library of the Law Association.—The Law Association was formed on the 29th of March, 1827, by the union of "The Law Library Company of the City of Philadelphia" and "The Associated Members of the Bar of Philadelphia."

The former of these two was organized and incorporated on the 13th of March, 1802, by seventy-two members of the Philadelphia bar, for the purpose of maintaining a law library for the use of its members. The first board of directors was composed of Joseph B. McKean, William Lewis, Edward Tilghman, William Rawle, Jasper Moylan, Joseph Hopkinson, and John B. Wallace.

The "Associated Members of the Bar" was formed some years later. Its membership was confined to the members of the bar of the Supreme Court of the State. Its chief objects are said to have been "to bestow especial attention upon the practice of the bar and the improvement of the rules of practice adopted by the courts, to maintain the purity of professional practice, to prevent unfair intrusion upon the ranks of the profession, and to afford pecuniary aid and relief to its members when necessary." (See Martin's "Bench and Bar of Philadelphia," 1883.)

Upon the union of the two associations in 1827, the charter of the "Law Library Company" was amended so as to include the greater part of the objects of the "Associated Members of the Bar." William Rawle was elected the first chancellor; Horace Binney, vice-chancellor; George M. Dallas, secretary; Thomas I. Wharton, treasurer. Until about 1840 the latter practically acted as librarian. The charter was again amended in 1880.

The objects of the charter as amended are,—

1. The general supervision of the conduct of members of the bar, and of all persons connected officially with the administration of the law or in charge of the public records, and, in cases of any breach of duty on their part, the institution of such proceedings as may be lawful in respect thereto.

2. The improvement of the law and of its administration; the protection of the bar and of judicial tribunals, their officers and members, from invasion of their rights; and the maintenance of their proper influence.

3. The keeping of a law library.

As early as 1836 the library was kept in the old Congress Hall, on the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, in a room directly over the door of entrance on Sixth Street. An entry on the north side of this room was afterward taken in as a part of the library-room, and later another room, directly opposite the library, on the east side of the building, was added. At an earlier date the library was kept in a room immediately on the east of Independence Hall, in the State-House, in what was probably the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. In 1876 the books were removed to commodious

quarters in the Athenæum Building, No. 219 South Sixth Street.

The library, which is the oldest of its kind in the United States, is very complete in reports, and contains a fair set of the original laws of the various States. It also has a very complete and valuable set of records of cases argued in the Supreme Court of the United States since 1832, presented to it by Henry Baldwin, Jr., Esq. The library contains over sixteen thousand volumes. Much of its early growth was due to the labors of Mr. John William Wallace, who was the first regular librarian. He served for twenty years, or until 1860. Samuel Dickson was librarian from 1860 to 1865; James T. Mitchell from 1865 to 1871; George Tucker Bispham from 1871 to 1876; and Francis Rawle has been librarian from 1876 to the present time (1884).

The valuable collection of portraits of judges and members of the bar, numbering thirty-six, comprises among others the well-known portrait of Chief Justice Marshall, by Inman; also portraits of Horace Binney, by Sully; of Edward Tilghman, by R. Peale; of Chief Justice Gibson, by Street; of Chief Justice Tilghman, by Neagle, after R. Peale; and of William Rawle, by Inman.

It also possesses marble busts of Chief Justices Marshall and Gibson. The membership in December, 1883, was three hundred and forty-seven.

The chancellors of the association have been as follows:

William Rawle, from 1827 until 1836; Peter S. Du Ponceau, from 1836 to 1844; John Sergeant, from 1845 until 1852; Horace Binney, from 1852 until 1854; Joseph R. Ingersoll, from 1854 to 1857; William M. Meredith, from 1857 until 1873; Peter McCall, from 1873 until 1880; and George W. Biddle, from 1880 until 1884.

The present officers are as follows:

Chancellor, George W. Biddle; Vice-Chancellor, William Henry Rawle; Secretary, Robert Davison Coxe; Treasurer, William Brooke Rawle; Librarian, Francis Rawle.

The general affairs of the corporation are managed by a library committee, consisting of twelve members. The censorship over the bar is in the hands of a committee of censors, composed of nine members.

The Academy of Natural Sciences.—The establishment of the Academy of Natural Sciences was the result of the united efforts of several young men who had a taste for science, but who had small opportunities of increasing their stock of knowledge. John Speakman, an apothecary,—whose shop, in 1811, was at the corner of Second and Market Streets,—whose education was no greater than what he had acquired in a country school and what he had picked up by study and observation afterward, may be said to have been the founder of this institution. One of his friends, Jacob Gilliams, a dentist, had some uncultivated taste for natural history. Conversations between Speakman and Gilliams led the former to suggest that if they and their other acquaintances with the same tastes could be induced to meet together at stated times they might, by conversation and communications to each other of the observations they had made upon subjects of natural history, improve themselves and be encouraged to further study. It was accordingly agreed between them that they should meet for the purpose of forming a society on the succeeding Saturday evening, and bring with them such of their friends as were inclined to join them in their object. Accordingly, on the 25th of January, 1812, a small party of six persons met at Speakman's store. Besides Speakman and Gilliams, there were present Dr. Gerard Troost, Dr. Camillus MacMahon Mann, John Shinn, Jr., and Nicholas S. Parmentier. Speakman was chairman and Mann was secretary. Plans of the new society were talked over. The objects to be attained were discussed, and the conclusions were that "the operations of nature demand unprejudiced, attentive, and severe scrutiny; and in order that men may aid each other by comparison of observations their discussions must be free. . . . Sectarians are prone to oppose the promulgation and development of any newly-discovered fact which to them seems likely in the least to militate against their cause or dogmas; and it was from such motives that men of science in the dark ages experienced so much persecution; and they have experienced persecution even to our own time, until truth became too powerful for their opposition."

It was determined that neither politics nor religion should be allowed, nor even be permitted to be alluded to, at the meetings of the society. Several meetings for the purpose of organization were held at Speakman's store during the months of February and March, and one meeting at the confectionery-shop of Charles Mercier, at No. 104 High Street, which was between Third and Fourth Streets. The constitution was discussed and agreed upon on the 17th of March, and at the meeting on the 21st of the same month the title of Academy of Natural Sciences—which was suggested by Dr. Samuel Jackson, who was not then a member—was used for the first time. It was resolved that there should be "a museum of natural history, a library of works of science, a chemical experimental laboratory, an experimental philosophical apparatus, and every other desirable appendage for convenience of illustration and for the advancement of natural knowledge, and for the common benefit of all the individuals who may be admitted members of our institution." Thomas Say was approved of as a member at this time, and it was resolved that the anniversaries of the society in future should be dated from the 21st of March, 1812. There was a "committee and board of regulation, management, and direction," which met on Thursday evening of each week, and the general sessions were held on Saturday evening.

The six persons who founded the society met with

but little countenance for three months, although their objects were well known and were talked about among persons of reputed scientific knowledge and tastes. The founders foresaw that there was no hope of success unless they took upon themselves very considerable burdens at the beginning,—"a responsibility as to character and expenses," said they, "that may and must be considerable, and unless we make very extraordinary, zealous, determined, and persevering exertions, the institution must die in the nutshell before it can germinate and take root." In April, 1812, a small room was rented over a milliner's shop, situate at No. 121 North Second Street, near Race. Here the library was begun with a few books, presented by Messrs. Speakman and Mann. The museum was enriched by a herbarium collected in the neighborhood of Paris by Parmentier, a few mounted birds by Say, a few shells and insects by Dr. Barnes, and some artificial crystals prepared by Dr. Troost. This commencement, it has been said, "was calculated to excite merriment rather than procure respect;" but, slender as the foundations were, they were deep and strong enough upon which to erect, in the course of years, a magnificent collection of natural objects in the museum, and a rich and valuable collection of books.

The first election of officers was held on the 7th of May, 1812, and the following gentlemen were chosen: President, Dr. Gerard Troost; Vice-Presidents, N. S. Parmentier and John Shinn, Jr.; Treasurer, John Speakman; Controller, Jacob Gilliams; Conservator, Thomas Say; Secretary, Dr. C. M. Mann. This array of officers exhausted the whole membership of the society except one. There were at this time seven officers, and only one member—Dr. John Barnes—who did not hold office. The cabinet of minerals that had previously belonged to Dr. Seybert was purchased in August, by Mr. Speakman, for seven hundred and fifty dollars. He loaned the money, and the society converted the debt into shares of stock at twenty dollars each, which were divided among the members, who were promised repayment, with interest, from the treasury, and were given a potential voice in the affairs of the academy by virtue of their property therein. "The creation of this stock," says Dr. W. S. W. Ruschenberger, in "A Notice of the Origin, Progress, and Present Condition of the Academy of Natural Sciences," published in 1860, "formed a chain which bound the members together, without which they might have ceased to meet before the close of the year 1812." The acquisition of the Seybert cabinet gave the society something to work upon; and Dr. Troost took advantage of the opportunity to deliver a course of lectures on mineralogy, which was the first scientific instruction imparted to the members.

The collections having increased beyond the narrow capacity of their room, rendered more extensive accommodations necessary. The upper part of a house on the west side of Second Street, then No. 78, north of Arch Street, was rented, and to these apartments, which were called the hall of the academy, the collections were removed in September.

The efforts of the infant society were directed to increase the museum and library, and to augment the number of members and correspondents. But so unpopular was the enterprise that at the close of 1812 the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia consisted of only fourteen members and thirty-three correspondents.

The library and collections increased more rapidly than the number of members during 1813 and 1814. In the course of the former year Mr. Say delivered before the academy a series of lectures on entomology, and in the spring of the latter Drs. Waterhouse and Barnes delivered, under the auspices of the academy, a course of popular lectures on botany, the first ever delivered in this city. They were attended by more than two hundred ladies and a considerable number of gentlemen. This course was repeated in the spring of 1815 in the building at the southwest corner of Arch and Fifth Streets.

About the end of July, 1815, the academy removed from Second Street to the new building erected especially for its use by Jacob Gilliams, one of its founders. It was situated upon the rear end of a lot on the north side of Arch Street, between Front and Second, and was approached by a passage-way opening to the street. Mr. Gilliams leased this building to the society for two hundred dollars a year.

In 1816 the society adopted a constitution, and it was incorporated by act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed March 24, 1817.

In 1817 the academy commenced the publication of a journal, in which the society "determined to communicate to the public such facts and observations as having appeared interesting to them are likely to be interesting to other friends of natural science."

After half the first volume was printed it was found that the patronage was not equal to the expense. For the sake of economy it was determined among the members to endeavor to get out the journal by their own work. William Maclure procured an old printing-press, some type was bought, and the members of the committee on publication met at Mr. Maclure's house, where they set up the type and printed their impressions. Nearly all of the second half of the first volume was prepared in that way. Their labors ceased for a time at the completion of the volume, in 1818. In 1821 it was resumed under the management of Dr. Isaac Hays, and it was continued without interruption until 1825, the printer being Jesper Harding. The publication was continued afterward up to 1842.

A committee was appointed about 1823 to obtain better accommodations for the society. Nothing of moment was done immediately, and in January,

1825, a new committee was appointed, consisting of Isaac Hays, M.D., William Mason Walmsley, William Strickland, William S. Warder, Samuel George Morton, M.D., and Roberts Vaux. This committee entered into negotiations toward the close of the year 1825 for the purchase of the church building and lot at the southeast corner of Twelfth and George [now Sansom] Streets, which belonged to the New Jerusalem (or Swedenborgian) congregation. The negotiation was closed on Jan. 3, 1826, by the purchase of the property for four thousand three hundred dollars. To fit it for the purposes of the academy an expenditure of seventeen hundred dollars was required, making the aggregate cost of the then new hall about six thousand dollars.

To consummate this purchase more than two thousand dollars were contributed by members, and the balance was loaned by members and others. A debt of three thousand dollars was thus created, and up to August, 1837, only three hundred dollars of the amount had been paid. At that time William Maclure, with his characteristic liberality, presented to the institution five thousand dollars. The debt was forthwith liquidated, and two thousand three hundred dollars invested for the use of the society.

The academy held its first meeting in that hall on the 9th of May, 1826.

To render the museum generally useful, the academy opened it gratuitously to the public in 1828; and from that time till May, 1870, a period of forty-two years, it was visited by citizens and strangers on Tuesday and Friday afternoons throughout the year, tickets of admission being given by the members to all who applied for them. At the time last mentioned it became evident that the crowds of people who visited the museum were injurious to the preservation of the collections. To reduce the number, an admission fee of ten cents was required from every visitor. The effect of this trifling charge was to immediately reduce the number of daily visitors from thousands to hundreds, and even less.

In the year 1836 there was again a demand for increased accommodation. A building committee was appointed Feb. 7, 1837.

On the 22d of April, 1839, a lot, fifty by one hundred feet, at the northwest corner of Broad and Sansom Streets, was purchased for thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars, and the building committee made a contract to erect a hall, consisting of a basement story, which included a lecture-room and a room above, for twenty-two thousand dollars.

On the 25th of May the corner-stone of the building was laid with the usual ceremonies. Professor Walter R. Johnson delivered an address appropriate to the occasion.

The means to purchase the lot and pay the cost of construction were derived in part from the proceeds of sale of the premises at Twelfth and Sansom Streets, ten thousand nine hundred and fifty dollars, but chiefly from Mr. William Maclure. Of his contributions, seventeen thousand dollars were added to the building fund, which was largely augmented by liberal donations from members and others.

The building, which was constructed of brick, and fire-proof throughout, had a front of forty-five feet on Broad Street and eighty-five feet on Sansom Street, and an elevation of fifty feet.

The transfer of the collections and library was made at a cost of thirty-four dollars. They were all placed in the saloon, on the second floor, and the society held its first meeting in this hall Feb. 18, 1840.

At the stated meeting of June 30, 1846, Dr. Morton announced that Dr. Thomas B. Wilson had purchased the famous collection of birds of the Duc de Rivoli, embracing ten thousand specimens mounted and named, and wished them to be arranged in the academy, and therefore moved the appointment of a committee to devise means to extend the building. The committee reported, August 4th, that Mr. Nathan Smedley had agreed with Dr. Wilson to execute the plan for nine thousand two hundred dollars. The building was extended thirty feet westward, making its area forty-five by one hundred and fifteen feet. The library was moved from the second floor into the new room at the west end of the basement, and the society held its first meeting in it May 4, 1847.

The munificent gifts of Dr. Wilson, who paid the entire cost of extending the building, rapidly increased the museum. To accommodate it the lecture-room was altered during 1847, and the collections of minerals, of reptiles, fishes, etc., were removed into it, leaving more space in the main hall for the display of the birds.

On Dec. 30, 1851, a committee was appointed to collect funds to enlarge and improve the hall. The committee reported, Jan. 25, 1853, that the estimated sum required had been subscribed. Dr. T. B. Wilson, Dr. Robert Bridges, and Mr. William S. Vaux were appointed a building committee to execute the plans of improvement. In December, 1855, Mr. Vaux, in behalf of the committee, reported that the work of raising the previously enlarged building twenty-four feet, making its entire elevation seventy-four feet, had been completed in a satisfactory manner at a cost of twelve thousand two hundred and sixty-three dollars, which had been paid.

Of this amount, twelve thousand two hundred and eighteen dollars were subscribed by ninety members. More than a fourth of the sum expended by the building committee was contributed by Dr. Thomas B. Wilson, who also paid ten thousand eight hundred and fifty dollars, the entire cost of supplying all the cases, etc., in the new saloon, and in the east basement-room, which had been arranged for the use of the library, and for the meetings of the society.

Nov. 14, 1865, on motion of Mr. George W. Tryon, Jr., a committee was appointed "to devise methods

for advancing the prosperity and efficiency of the academy by the erection of a building of a size suitable to contain the collections," to increase the number of members, improve the style of printing the Proceedings, etc.

This committee reported progress, and submitted a series of resolutions, which were adopted Dec. 26, 1865, at the annual meeting.

Those resolutions required the appointment of a committee of forty members to solicit subscriptions for the purpose of erecting a fire-proof building for the use of the academy, the subscriptions to be made payable March 31, 1867, but valid only in case their aggregate should equal or exceed one hundred thousand dollars on the 31st day of December, 1866; and also a committee of five to select a suitable site, located as near as possible to the old building, but no "lot of ground of less than three times the size" of that at Broad and Sansom Streets was to be considered.

In anticipation of the creation of the building fund, the building-fund committee submitted a resolution, which was adopted March 27, 1866, which provided that all moneys which might be given to constitute the building fund of the Academy of Natural Sciences should be confided to a board of trustees, of not less than thirteen members of the academy, to be elected by the contributors, "each of whom shall be entitled to cast one ballot for every fifty dollars he or she may have subscribed."

At the stated meeting held Jan. 8, 1867, it was announced that a board of trustees of the building fund had been elected. The board was constituted as follows: W. S. W. Ruschenberger, M.D., chairman; George W. Tryon, Jr., secretary; William S. Vaux, treasurer; Robert Bridges, M.D., John B. Budd, Frederick Graff, Joseph Jeanes, Joseph Leidy, M.D., John Rice, Thomas Sparks, John Welsh, Ed. S. Whelen, and William P. Wilstach.

About that time a joint committee, composed of representatives of the Academy of Fine Arts, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the American Philosophical Society, and the Franklin Institute, was formed, and at its instance the Councils of the city passed a resolution, on November 4th, asking the Legislature of the State for authority to grant, on certain conditions, the use of the Penn Squares to the societies named. The board considered it expedient to wait the answer of the Legislature. The bill to authorize the City Councils to grant the use of the Penn Squares to the societies passed the Senate, but failed in the House of Representatives.

On the 10th of April, 1868, the board resolved unanimously to purchase a lot of ground, extending on Race Street westward from Nineteenth Street one hundred and ninety-eight feet, then southward one hundred and forty-four feet, and east fifty-nine feet, and again southward one hundred and forty-four feet to Cherry Street, and along the latter to Nineteenth Street one hundred and thirty-nine feet, on which the front is two hundred and eighty-eight feet. This lot was bought for sixty-five thousand two hundred and ninety-eight dollars, and conveyed to Joseph Leidy, M.D., John Welsh, William S. Vaux, E. S. Whelen, George W. Tryon, Jr., and Thomas Sparks, in trust for the academy.

Plans of a building to be erected ont his lot, with estimates for its construction, were obtained from three architects. Those submitted by Mr. James H. Windrim approximated nearest to the requirements of the institution, and he was therefore duly elected architect of the academy.

The board believed that a majority of the contributors as well as of the members of the academy desired that the site of the new building should be on Broad Street, and being of opinion that the lot purchased could be readily sold, if desirable, at an advance on its cost, again petitioned the Legislature, Jan. 18, 1869, to authorize the Councils of the city to grant one of the Penn Squares for the use of the academy. The petition failed.

April 23, 1869, a committee was appointed to prepare plans of a building, which were approved in November.

At the annual meeting of contributors, Jan. 10, 1871, it was resolved that "the trustees proceed to raise the funds for the erection of the building at as early a date as possible," and that "a more popular and public site be selected than that purchased by the trustees."

In deference to those who advocated a location on Broad Street, the trustees diligently and zealously sought a site on that street, but no suitably located lot, purchasable with the means at the command of the board, could be found.

In January, 1872, application for pecuniary aid was made to the Legislature of Pennsylvania without success. Appeals to it in behalf of the academy have been since made in vain.

On the 31st of May the building committee was authorized to commence the edifice. The work was commenced July 9th. The corner-stone of the new structure was laid at noon on Wednesday, Oct. 30, 1872, in presence of officers and members of the academy, and many citizens. Addresses were delivered by Dr. Ruschenberger, Rev. Dr. E. R. Beadle, Professor J. Aitkin Meigs, of the Jefferson Medical College, Professor Horatio C. Wood, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. Dr. George D. Boardman.

Building operations were vigorously pushed, and the structure was so nearly completed that the transfer of the collections was begun Nov. 2, 1875, and ended Jan. 11, 1876.

The building covers an area of one hundred and eighty-six feet on Race by seventy-five feet on Nineteenth Street. The ridge of the skylight is eighty feet

above the footway, and the eave fifty feet above the water-table. The walls are of brick faced on the exterior surface with green serpentine rock, except a space on the south side, where a junction with the main building will be formed at a future time. The appearance of the exterior of the building is a pleasing one. Its architectural style is known as the collegiate Gothic.

The public entrance is on Race Street. The first floor is divided into nineteen apartments, and the entresol into seven. The floor of the library is one hundred and thirty feet long and thirty feet wide between the fronts of the bookcases. The ceiling is eighteen feet high. It is estimated that the library-room will properly accommodate thirty thousand volumes, and leave space enough on the floor to seat comfortably four hundred persons.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES.

The second, or museum floor, is one hundred and eighty feet long by sixty feet wide. The aggregate of floor space in the museum is twenty-seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five square feet, or more than three-fifths of an acre, all of which is fully occupied by the collections.

The plan of the entire building includes a south wing, covering an area of one hundred and thirty-nine feet on Cherry and seventy-five feet on Nineteenth Streets, with a central or main building of the same area, set equidistant between the north and south wings, the three parallelograms being connected so as to show a uniform front on Nineteenth Street of two hundred and eighty-eight feet.

Between December, 1865, and April 24, 1876, the subscriptions to the building fund aggregated $239,-160.74. Among the contributors of large amounts were the following: William S. Vaux, $7000; Clement Biddle, $6100; J. G. Fell, Henry C. Gibson, H. Pratt McKean, Thomas Sparks, and A. Whitney & Sons, each $6000; John F. Weightman, John Welsh, and Mrs. S. R. B., each $5000; George W. Tryon, Jr., $3000; Isaac Lea and Miss R. A. Cope, each $2500; Phœnix Iron Company, $2337.50; John S. Haines, Joseph Jeanes, and Joshua T. Jeanes, each $2185; Charles Lennig, $2156; Henry C. Lea, $2050; Baeder & Adamson, Adolph E. Borie, Joseph S. Lovering, William Massey, Moro Phillips, and Mrs. E. V. Graham, each $2000; Alfred Cope, Joseph Wharton, and Miss J. R. Haines, each $1500; S. S. White, $1450; A. H. Franciscus, $1350; James S. Mason, $1250; Mrs. C. Pennock, $1200; Samuel Jeanes and Elias D. Kennedy, each $1185; together with forty-four contributors who gave $1000 each.

The first meeting of the society was held in the new edifice on Tuesday evening, Jan. 11, 1876, and the next day possession of the old building was given to the purchaser, it having been disposed of for sixty thousand dollars. A "Report of the Condition of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia on Moving into its New Edifice" was prepared under direction of the trustees, and a copy sent to each contributor, with an invitation to inspect the building on Monday, May 1st, between the hours of ten o'clock A.M. and ten o'clock P.M. On Tuesday, May 2d, the museum was opened to the public.

In 1858 the organization of the society was so mod-

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ified as to enable those members who were devoted to the cultivation of special branches of science to form departments of the academy, privileged to use the hall, hold separate meetings, etc., on condition that each department shall report its proceedings monthly to the academy, defray its own expenses, and admit to membership in it only members of the academy.

Under such provisions, the then recently-formed Biological Society of Philadelphia became the Biological Department of the academy. About July, 1868, the Microscopical Society of Philadelphia joined it, and was organized under the name of the Biological and Microscopical Section of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

The Conchological Section was organized Dec. 26, 1866. This collection is now equal in scientific value to any other in the world. Its classification required the fixing in appropriate trays seventy-six thousand four hundred and seventy-nine specimens, and the writing of twenty-four thousand two hundred and eighty-five labels, in order to fully display fourteen thousand one hundred and sixty-one species. Several families are so complete that no known representative of them is wanting.

The Entomological Section of the academy was organized through a junction of the American Entomological Society with the academy. This society was founded in 1859, and incorporated in 1862. It agreed to join the academy in November, 1875.

The museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences is an admirable one, considering the many disadvantages of a financial character under which the institution has labored since its foundation. The collections are placed in cases on the main floor and on the galleries of the second story of the building.

The main floor is occupied chiefly by the collections of fossils, of fishes, mammals, osteology; the first, or Wilson gallery, by the birds, and the second, or Tryon gallery, by the conchological collections.

The cabinet of minerals is arranged in horizontal or table cases placed on the margins of both galleries. It contains about six thousand selected specimens.

A collection of about seven hundred specimens of rocks, in table cases on the main floor, represents the department of geology.

The palæontological cabinet includes several special collections, all of them of considerable interest. The department contains seventy thousand specimens, as follows: vegetable fossils, American and foreign, two thousand; invertebrate, thirty thousand; vertebrate, five thousand; unarranged, thirty-three thousand.

The collection of mammals consists of about one thousand specimens, representing three hundred and eighty species.

The ornithological department is not excelled anywhere. It embraces several noted collections—the Rivoli, Gould, Bourcier, Gambel, and Cassin—and contains about twenty-seven thousand specimens, nearly all of which are mounted. Of the whole collection about twenty-four thousand specimens were given by Dr. Thomas B. Wilson and Edward Wilson. Unique and type specimens are numerous.

There are more than five thousand birds' eggs, and about two thousand nests, in the academy.

In the cabinet devoted to reptiles there were recently eight hundred and thirteen species, of three hundred and seven genera, of forty-seven families.

In the ichthyological department there are about twelve hundred species represented.

The cabinet of mollusks contains four hundred and fifty species, preserved in alcohol. Of the shells of the animals there are in the collection more than one hundred thousand specimens, representing fully twenty thousand of the species described in books.

The entomological department, in the northwest rooms on the library and entresol floors, which is confided to the care of the Entomological Section of the academy, contains about seventy-five thousand species.

Of arachnidans and myriapods there are small collections of about five hundred species.

Of crustaceans (crabs) there are one thousand and fifty species.

Of annelidans (worms) there is a small number.

Of echinoderms (star-fishes, sea-eggs), sponges, and corals, there are interesting collections of about one thousand species.

In the department of osteology, the collection of completely mounted skeletons and parts of skeletons of vertebrate animals numbers eight hundred and seventy-six specimens. Prominent among them are skeletons of an ostrich, of a gorilla, a polar bear, of a narwhal, the tusk of which exceeds eight feet in length, of a whale, of a rhinoceros, of a camel, and of a giraffe eighteen feet high.

The department of ethnology embraces a collection of eleven hundred and forty-six human crania and thirty-one casts, including the Morton collection, and several Egyptian and Peruvian mummies, besides some Indian reliques, pottery, implements, etc.

The botanical cabinets are in the southwest rooms, or the library and entresol floors. They include several noted collections. The herbariums comprised in this department contain over seventy thousand species, arranged according to the system of Jussieu.

The formation of the library of the Academy of Natural Sciences began in 1812. The founders of the society presented the first books. Its growth is due to the bounty of intelligent and benevolent persons. A catalogue of the library, printed in 1836, shows that at that time it consisted of six thousand eight hundred and ninety volumes and four hundred and thirty-five separate maps and charts. Of these, five thousand two hundred and thirty-two volumes and most of the maps and charts were the gift of William Maclure. They included nineteen hundred volumes of political history, which have since been sold, and the proceeds

of sale invested in scientific books. Mr. Thomas Say bequeathed to the society his collection of books on entomology, one hundred volumes. In May, 1845, Dr. T. B. Wilson presented Owen's "History of British Fossil Mammalia and Birds." From that date till his death, March 15, 1865, Dr. Wilson presented more than ten thousand volumes, periodicals, pamphlets, and parts of serials. They included nearly all of the most elaborate and expensive works on natural history and scientific travel published within that period, as well as many valuable and rare works, for which catalogues of second-hand books were carefully examined. Between the years 1850 and 1857, Mr. Edward Wilson presented four thousand one hundred and eighty-four rare publications and pamphlets of the last century.

Among the valuable specialties of this library is an extensive series of periodical publications of scientific societies throughout the world, received generally in exchange for those of the academy. It includes a complete set of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, commenced in 1655, and still continued. Also a complete set of *Curtis' Botanical Magazine*, commenced in 1790, and still published. It now consists of one hundred volumes, illustrated by more than six thousand beautifully-colored plates.

Among the admirable possessions of the library are the elephant-folio edition of Audubon's "Birds of America;" a complete series of the works of John Gould on birds and mammals, folio edition, beautifully illustrated; Elliot's "Ornithological Monographs," including his superb works on pheasants and birds of paradise; the work on pheasants is probably the most elegantly illustrated work on descriptive natural history ever published, the plates having been designed and drawn by Joseph Wolf, and colored by hand in the highest style of art; Wolf's "Zoological Sketches," illustrated by the same artist; Sonnini's edition of Buffon, one hundred and twenty-seven volumes; the "Flora of Austria," five folio volumes, illustrated by the process known as nature-printing; the "Ferns of Great Britain and Ireland," illustrated in the same manner; the "Stone Age of the Human Race," as collected and arranged by Franklin Peale, of which only twenty-five copies were printed, presented by Mr. Titian R. Peale.

At the close of 1871 the conchological department contained, with one or two exceptions, every work on conchology published up to that date. It then numbered eight hundred and seven titles. The perfection of this collection is due to the generosity of Mr. George W. Tryon, Jr., who gave to it his own valuable library on this subject.

There is also a very valuable collection of works on Roman, Greek, and French antiquities, among which are all those of Piranesi.

This special library of the natural sciences now attracts students from distant points to consult works which are not contained in any other library in the United States. It is maintained for reference only. It is opened from ten o'clock A.M. till ten o'clock P.M. daily, Sunday excepted.

Only members and correspondents of the academy have free access to the library. Other persons may obtain permission to consult it at any time through the introduction of a member, or upon application to the librarian, while such member or the librarian is present; but minors under sixteen years of age are not permitted to examine any work, except under the immediate supervision of the librarian or of a member.

While for many years after the academy's foundation the library's growth was due almost entirely to the donation of books by members and friends of the institution, yet recently the society has become possessed of quite a substantial library fund by endowment and otherwise. Dr. Thomas B. Wilson bequeathed to the academy ten thousand dollars, and directed that three hundred dollars of the annual income therefrom should be contributed towards the payment of the salary of a librarian, and that the balance should be expended in the purchase and binding of books. This bequest, after deducting tax, realized nine thousand five hundred dollars. It is called the Wilson fund.

In February, 1875, I. V. Williamson presented to the academy twenty-five thousand dollars in ground-rents, the income from which is to be expended in the purchase of scientific books, and for no other purpose. This donation is known as the Williamson fund.

The library is now in a splendid condition, containing, as it does, some thirty-two thousand bound volumes, in addition to an immense number of pamphlets.

The publications of the academy have ever been a feature of considerable interest. *The Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences*, as has been previously stated, was established in 1817. At irregular intervals it was issued until 1842. The publications during this period are known as the "first series." The "second series" was begun December, 1847, and is still continued.

The publication of the *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences* was begun March, 1841, and is still carried on.

At the present time the affairs of the academy rest upon a very satisfactory basis. The financial condition of the institution is eminently prosperous. That such is the case is evidenced by a recent amendment to the charter of the academy, which, as originally phrased, vested in the organization, among other powers, that of "purchasing, taking, holding, and conveying any estate, real or personal, for the use of said corporation: *provided*, that the annual income of such estate shall not exceed in value eight thousand dollars, nor be applied to any other purposes than those for which this corporation is formed."

In the early part of the present year (1884) the

Court of Common Pleas of this county decreed an amendment to the charter, whereby the academy is empowered to receive an increased annual income from its estate.

As previously stated, the academy's first president was Dr. Gerard Troost, who occupied the office in question from the date of organization, in 1812, until 1817. His successors have been as follows:

William Maclure, from 1817 to 1840; William Hembel, from 1840 to 1849; Samuel George Morton, M.D., from 1849 to 1851; George Ord, from 1851 to 1858; Isaac Lea, LL.D., from 1858 to 1863; Thomas B. Wilson, M.D., from 1863 to 1864; Robert Bridges, M.D., from 1864 to 1865; Isaac Hays, M.D., from 1865 to 1869; W. S. W. Ruschenberger, M.D., from 1869 to 1881; Joseph Leidy, from 1881 to 1884.

The Athenæum.—About the close of 1813 a number of gentlemen assembled for the purpose of establishing a reading-room in Philadelphia. Their first and immediate object was the collection, in some central place, of American and foreign periodical publications of politics, literature, and science, maps, dictionaries, and other works of reference, to which access might be had at all hours of the day. Besides the purchase of all new books of merit, they contemplated the gradual acquisition of such as might lay the foundation of a large and useful public library, and of such manuscripts, medals, and coins as might be valuable for their curiosity or as tending to illustrate the history of this country. They looked forward also to the establishment of lectureships on science; and, as accessory to this desirable object, it was intended to commence the collection of mineral, botanical, and other specimens illustrative of natural history.

The proposals for an athenæum were made public, and met with greater success than there had been reason to expect. The first meeting of the subscribers was held in January, 1814, when an address, stating the nature and objects of the institution, was agreed upon. On the 9th of February articles of association were adopted, which provided that the direction of affairs should be vested in a president, a vice-president, a treasurer, and twelve managers, who were to be chosen on the first Monday of February in each year. The number of subscribers at this time amounted to about two hundred, and their annual payment in the way of dues was fixed at five dollars. At the same meeting the following officers were chosen: President, William Tilghman, LL.D.; Vice-President, Dr. James Mease; Treasurer, Roberts Vaux; Managers, James Gibson, Samuel Ewing, Robert H. Smith, Richard C. Wood, Thomas I. Wharton, Alexander S. Coxe, Benjamin Chew, Jr., Nicholas Biddle, Daniel W. Coxe, William H. Dillingham, John C. Lowber, and Jonah Thompson. Robert H. Smith was elected secretary to the board of managers.

The reading-room of this society was established in the second story of the building occupied by Mathew Carey's book-store, at the southeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets. The association was incorporated "for the promotion of literature," April 5, 1815. From this place the rooms of the Athenæum were removed, on the 1st of May, 1817, to No. 118 Chestnut Street, southwest corner of Carpenter's Court, Dufief's building, second story. Subsequently the first story of the hall of the American Philosophical Society was acquired by lease, and the library, which had grown considerably, was removed to that building in April, 1818, and occupied the north room of the first story on Fifth Street. Subsequently the southern portion of the hall was obtained. There were three apartments, one of which was devoted to the literary and scientific journals issued periodically; another room was furnished with newspapers, and the third was used for conversation. In 1824 the library consisted of about three thousand three hundred volumes. All the leading magazines and reviews of the time—American, French, and English; literary, scientific, and historical—were obtained. Fifty-five newspapers were regularly received and filed. The maps and charts were considered, in the fullness of the collection, the best in the United States. The rooms were open daily, except Sundays, from eight o'clock A.M. until ten o'clock P.M. The number of stockholders was about four hundred, who, under the original charter, paid twenty-five dollars principal upon each share of stock, and three dollars per annum. There were about one hundred and twenty-five subscribers, who paid five dollars per year for the privilege of the library and reading-room. Subsequently the amounts were increased, and in 1819 the directors were empowered to raise the price of each share of stock to fifty dollars.

One of the most enterprising, liberal-minded, and liberal-hearted of the earlier members of the Athenæum was William Lehman, who became a member of the board of directors in February, 1817. Although an energetic and successful man of business, he managed to find sufficient spare time to devote to literary and philosophical studies. Mr. Lehman died March 29, 1829, having first executed his last will and testament, bearing date July 26, 1827, which contained the following provision: "I give and bequeath to the Athenæum of Philadelphia the sum of ten thousand dollars for the construction of a suitable building."

Immediate steps toward building a library hall for the use of the society were not taken; but Mr. Lehman's generous bequest was safely invested. On the 1st of January, 1847, the entire principal with accumulated interest had reached the sum of $24,845.45.

Finally, however, the society set about inaugurating measures looking toward a removal from the quarters which it had occupied nearly thirty years. On Nov. 1, 1845, was laid the corner-stone of a new building, upon a lot on South Sixth Street, below Walnut, at the southeast corner of Adelphi Street. Interesting services were held, including a brief historical sketch by the president, Samuel Breck. In less than two years the building was ready for occupancy.

On the 18th of October, 1847, exercises were held upon the occasion of the formal opening of the new hall. The chief feature of the celebration was a rich and valuable address by Thomas I. Wharton, the vice-president of the association, outlining many of the interesting phases of its history from its institution in 1814.

The structure, as erected in 1847, is fifty feet in front on Sixth Street, and one hundred and twenty-five feet in depth on Adelphi Street, and has a height of fifty-eight feet. It is an excellent specimen of the Italian style of architecture, tasteful and rather attractive in appearance, although simple in design. There is a considerable garden space at the east end of the lot, valuable for light and air, and available for building purposes hereafter.

Soon after the completion of the building the large hall on the lower floor was rented to the controllers of the public schools, while the Historical Society of Pennsylvania leased a portion of the third story. In fact, the Athenæum almost immediately established an annual rent-roll of two thousand dollars, from the rental of portions of the building for which the society had no use. At present the large hall on the first floor is used as the library-room of the Law Association of Philadelphia, while the front portion of this floor is rented for private offices. The Historical Society removed from the building in 1872.

The second story was appropriated by the Athenæum entirely to its own use. It is divided into a news-room, library, and chess-room. The news-room is on the Sixth Street front, and its dimensions are thirty-seven by forty-seven feet, with a height of twenty-four feet. It is finished in pilasters, with an enriched cornice and cove to the ceiling. The library is thirty-seven feet wide, sixty-five feet long, and twenty-four feet high. It is furnished with a columnar ordinance of the Corinthian order, advanced from the sides of the room, forming a centre cell or nave and aisles. The chess-room is eighteen feet square.

While the building was erected largely with the liberal bequest made by Mr. Lehman, yet the society had also, previous to 1847, been remembered in the wills of John L. Harris, Chief Justice William Tilghman, John Savage, Roberts Vaux, Peter S. Du Ponceau, and Nathan Dunn.

Since its foundation, in 1814, the Athenæum has had only six presidents, as follows: from 1814 to 1827, William Tilghman; from 1827 to 1844, Peter S. Du Ponceau; from 1844 to 1862, Samuel Breck; from 1863 to 1865, Samuel Norris; from 1865 to 1867,

ATHENÆUM LIBRARY BUILDING.

Joshua Francis Fisher; from 1867 to the present time, Edward E. Law; all of them being gentlemen of high standing in literary, professional, and commercial circles.

As previously indicated, it has not been so much the purpose of the managers of the Athenæum to supply its members with all current literary works as they came fresh from the press. This feature of literary material has largely been left to be supplied by other and more "popular" institutions. The main

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characteristic of the Athenæum has chiefly lain in the very complete collection of periodical literature which it possesses; from the daily journal, through the various weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies to the annual registers. Thomas I. Wharton, in 1847, at that time the vice-president, in his admirable address upon the opening of the new hall, testified to having heard Jeffrey, the famous editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, say that he found at the Athenæum literary and scientific journals of his own country that he had never seen in Europe. Within the last few years, however, a new policy has been inaugurated, and now the current literature of the day is found upon the shelves of the Athenæum; and brightly-bound works of fiction are found closely contiguous to musty volumes of magazine literature many decades old.

Among the curiosities of literature in the rooms of the society is a large collection of bound pamphlets which belonged to Dr. Franklin, some of them containing his manuscript notes and marginal remarks, and a regular series of the *Journal de Paris*, bound in volumes, and continued during the whole of the eventful period of the French Revolution. There is also a large collection of bound pamphlets, once belonging to Mathew Carey, which contain many scarce and valuable publications.

In addition to the persons previously mentioned as having made bequests to the Athenæum, prior to the date of the opening of the new hall, in 1847, the following-named gentlemen have also left legacies, of various amounts, to the institution: Richard S. Thomas, Jacob L. Sharp, John Perot Downing, Richard Bull, Isaac Barton, Edward Perot, Charles Perot, Perot Lardner, Arthur G. Coffin, and John Livezey. The bequest of the last-named gentleman, which came into the possession of the Athenæum in the latter part of 1880, like that made in the infancy of the society by William Lehman, amounted to ten thousand dollars. This sum is now safely invested, the annual interest therefrom being expended for the purchase of current books, fresh from the publishers. A brass plate on one of the book-cases in the library-room commemorates this generous patron of the institution, while upon a mural tablet on the west wall of the same room is this inscription, in honor and in memory of that other liberal donor, already mentioned, Mr. Lehman (or, more properly, Dr. Lehman, for he had taken his degree, although he did not practice), as follows:

"The Athenæum of Phila.,
Instituted 1814.
To
William Lehman, M.D.,
One of the earliest Directors,
to whose liberal bequest
is mainly due
the erection of this edifice.
Completed MDCCCXLVII."

Upon either side of this tablet is another plain ›rble tablet, each containing the names of one-half of the other gentlemen previously mentioned as having made bequests to the institution.

The Athenæum in 1884 contains about twenty-five thousand bound volumes, besides numerous manuscripts, pamphlets, maps, etc. New books are being added at the rate of five hundred a year. The annual circulation of books reaches about six thousand. The society is now entirely free from all indebtedness, whether floating or secured. Charles R. Hildeburn, well and favorably known in the literary circles of the city, is the librarian.

The Apprentices' Library.—In 1820 a few benevolent individuals, believing that it would promote "orderly and virtuous habits, diffuse knowledge and the desire for knowledge, improve the scientific skill of our mechanics and manufacturers, increase the benefits of the system of general education which is now adopted, and advance the prosperity and happiness of the community," associated themselves under the title of "The Apprentices' Library Company of Philadelphia," for the purpose of establishing a library for the use of apprentices and other young persons, without charge of any kind for the use of books.

In the following year (1821), under date of April 2d, the company was incorporated, and operations were commenced on a very limited scale, their only resources for a number of years being donations of second-hand books and an annual contribution of two dollars from several hundred worthy citizens who were convinced of the beneficial effects which would result from the establishment of such an institution.

The first officers under the charter were,—

President, Horace Binney; Vice-President, Roberts Vaux; Secretary, Daniel B. Smith; Treasurer, James Cresson; Managers, Clement C. Biddle, Thomas F. Leaming, Philip Garrett, Samuel L. Sorber, Benjamin H. Yarnall, Frederick V. Krug, William S. Warder, Robert J. Evans, Samuel B. Morris, Philip F. Mayer, Robert M. Lewis, Richard C. Wood, Benjamin Tucker, Henry Troth, Jacob Gratz, Richard Oakford, Samuel Canby, Anthony Finley, Abraham Miller, Thomas Kimber, Merrit Canby, Lloyd Mifflin, Samuel Sellers, William Price.

The library, when first opened in 1820, was in a second-story room on the south side of Chestnut Street above Third, and contained about fifteen hundred volumes, mostly old books, which had been presented to the managers. It was afterward removed to the second story of Carpenters' Hall, then to Jayne Street below Seventh Street, and from there to the old Mint building, in Seventh Street above Market, and finally to the southwest corner of Fifth and Arch Streets, where the trustees of "The Society of Free Quakers" gave the company the use of the upper and lower rooms of their meeting-house, free of rent, for many years.

The very satisfactory and beneficial result of loaning books to boys without charge induced the managers, in 1841, to commence a separate library for girls, which has also proved a valuable and decided success, there now being nearly twelve hundred orderly girls and young women reading twenty-five thousand volumes per annum.

The number of boys is also about twelve hundred, reading twenty thousand volumes a year; this, be it remembered, is from a library both branches of which combined have never numbered much over twenty thousand volumes.

In 1868 the necessity of more and better accommodations induced the managers to apply to "The Society of Free Quakers" for greater privileges. This resulted in a new lease of the entire property for twenty-five years, for three hundred dollars per annum, with liberty to make such alterations in the interior of the building as were necessary for the company's purposes, and also to build on the south side of the lot.

In granting such favorable terms, the trustees of that society were governed by the same liberal and enlightened spirit that has always marked their intercourse with the library company.

In the year 1879 the Philadelphia Library Company being about to vacate their building on South Fifth Street, a gentleman of this city, well known as a generous philanthropist, prompted by a desire to retain for a use similar to that to which it had so long been devoted that edifice to which so many historic associations are attached, as well as by the interest he felt in the Apprentices' Library, called the attention of the managers to the opportunity of obtaining by its purchase a building better adapted to the purposes of the latter library than is the one now occupied, and offered to assist in the attempt to obtain it by his personal influence and by a liberal subscription. A special meeting of the Appsentices' Company was held in October, 1879, at which resolutions were adopted authorizing the board of managers to purchase the Philadelphia Library building at a fair price, provided the means to meet the payment were first secured. Under this authority the committee of the managers renewed their effort to obtain from the community aid sufficient to purchase it, without encroaching on the general fund, the income of which is indispensable in meeting the regular expenses of the company.

Although the committee found that considerable interest was taken in the project by a number of gentlemen who offered liberal contributions to that end, after protracted effort they reluctantly came to the conclusion that they could not secure subscriptions sufficient in amount to justify them in reporting that the purchase was practicable. On receiving the report of the committee, the board concluded to abandon the attempt. The management of the library still entertain the hope, however, of being able to secure more commodious quarters for the enlargement of the scope of the enterprise. That such is the purpose of the company is evidenced by the following language from a recent annual report of the board of managers, to wit: "The establishment of the library in quarters more perfectly adapted for its uses, so as to allow of a more efficient and economic administration of its affairs, has been repeatedly discussed in the meetings of your board, and while no entirely feasible plan has as yet been presented, the desirableness of such a change, if it could be wisely accomplished, is acknowledged, and the subject will continue to have the earnest attention of the management."

THE APPRENTICES' LIBRARY.

Until recently the library was divided into two entirely distinct sections, one for boys and one for girls. This maintenance of two separate library-rooms rendered necessary the purchasing of a large number of duplicate volumes, and caused many other inconveniences. To remedy these unsatisfactory features in the conduct of the library the board of managers finally recommended that the two sections

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be consolidated, and that a single room be utilized for both males and females. This recommendation was acted upon, and carried out in 1882.

The library was closed for the purpose of making these alterations June 1, 1882, and was reopened December 2d. The reading-room was also moved from the basement to the light and airy room in the second story, formerly occupied by the boys' library.

The library, as consolidated, has a convenient entrance on Fifth Street, while the reading-room is reached by a stairway from Arch Street.

Instructive lectures, accompanied by the exhibition of stereopticon views, given in the reading-room, were recently introduced by the board. These lectures are delivered regularly every Friday evening.

The library has been the fortunate recipient of quite a number of liberal bequests and donations, among which have been the following; John Grandom, $5400; Dr. Jonas Preston, $1000; Thomas W. Goldtrap, $1000; Elizabeth Greenfield, $6400; Joseph Warner, $1000; Nathan Dunn, $14,900; Joseph Harrison, Jr., $2000; Josiah Dawson, $1000; S. Morris Waln, $1000; I. V. Williamson, $10,000; Jesse George, $1000; Henry J. Stout, $1000; Lewis D. Belair, $3000; John Livezey, $5000; Walter Smith, $5000; and Henry Seybert, $2000.

The Apprentices' Library can, with a single exception, perhaps, be denominated the only strictly free library in Philadelphia; at least, of any considerable size. No charges whatever are exacted of those who are the beneficiaries of the institution, except in the way of fines for books out over time. In order to obtain a book the applicant is required to conform to the following rule: "Applicants must procure a certificate of guarantee for the use and return of the books, signed by a good surety, and witnessed by a person authorized by the board, or by the deposit of one dollar with the librarian they may become their own guarantors."

The Apprentices' Library was instituted, and still is almost entirely controlled, by those belonging to the Society of Friends, consequently the management of the institution has ever been a conservative one. Its aim has always been to supply a class of books to the young men and maidens, who are its principal beneficiaries, which would instruct, rather than afford idle amusement simply. An unfavorable eye has ever been cast upon exciting fiction and sensational literature. The board of managers having always kept steadily in view the intention of the founders in establishing the library, not a volume has found its way to the shelves without being first carefully examined by the Book Committee and then securing the approval of the whole board. At the present time there are about twenty-two thousand bound volumes upon the shelves of the library.

The Mercantile Library.—The first meeting with a view to the establishment of the Mercantile Library was held in the Masonic Hall, on the 10th of November, 1821. From this meeting emanated a public notice inviting "Merchants, merchants' clerks, and others" friendly to the formation of a "Mercantile Library Association" to meet at the mayor's court-room on the 17th of the same month. At this meeting a committee, of which Robert Waln was chairman, was appointed to prepare and report a constitution at a subsequent meeting. The constitution was adopted at an adjourned meeting held on the 1st of December, 1821, and the election for a board of directors took place at the Merchants' Coffee-House, on Second Street, near Walnut, on the 10th of January, 1812, at which upward of three hundred members voted. The first board of directors was composed of Joseph P. Norris, Robert Waln, Langdon Cheves, Bernard Dahlgren, Thomas Biddle, William Chaloner, William M. Walmsley, William L. Hodge, Caleb Newbold, Jr., William H. Jones, William E. Bowen, John M. Atwood, Nicholas Thouron, and Joseph H. Dulles, treasurer.

Of these, four were bankers; Mr. Norris being the president of the Bank of Pennsylvania; Mr. Cheves, a South Carolinian, president of the Bank of the United States; Mr. Biddle a private banker and broker of large fortune, and Mr. Walmsley of the same profession. Mr. Bowen was afterward connected with, and became the resident Philadelphia partner of, the house of Brown Bros., which, through its connections in Liverpool, New York, Baltimore, and New Orleans, has acquired a celebrity both European and American. Mr. Chaloner was the senior partner of Chaloner & Henry; Mr. J. S. Henry being the father of Alexander Henry, afterward mayor of the city. He and Mr. Thouron were both engaged in the wholesale dry-goods business; Mr. Thouron being a French importer. William H. Jones was a famous auction-crier, and Bernard Dahlgren was an accountant and book-keeper in a large commercial establishment; both are remembered as men of mental power and cultivation. Mr. Dahlgren was a Swede, and father of Admiral John A. Dahlgren. Mr. Newbold, a man of ardent temperament, was at one period of his life engaged in mercantile pursuits. For many years he had charge of the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal; first as superintendent, and afterward as president.

Mr. Waln was chosen president of the board. His great-grandfather was one of the "Friends" who came over with William Penn. He inherited a handsome estate, and became one of the most prominent merchants of the city, being engaged in the West India and English shipping business, and for many years in the East India and China trade. He was also one of the earliest manufacturers of the country, having erected a cotton-factory at Trenton in 1812, and engaged in iron-works at Phœnixville. He became a leading advocate of the doctrine of protection. Mr. Waln for some years served in the State Legislature, and was elected to Congress in 1798.

The board of directors was organized on the 14th of January, and on the 19th the rooms of the second story of Robert Winebrenner's store, No. 100 Chestnut Street, were engaged at a rent of one hundred and fifty dollars yearly, and Daniel Culver was appointed librarian, at a salary of one hundred dollars, "the library to be kept open every evening except Sunday." The library was opened to its members on the 5th of March.

The Mercantile Library, as its name implies, was not originally a company, but an "Association." It was not composed of shareholders, having certificates of stock, but of members paying initiation fees and semi-annual contributions; the former being three dollars each; the latter, one dollar. It elected a treasurer, but no president or other general officer.

The committee charged with the selection and purchase of books had in the course of a year succeeded so as to publish quite a respectable catalogue, to which a supplement was not long after added. This committee (Messrs. Atwood, Dulles, and Walmsley) continued to serve acceptably for sixteen years. In 1824 the library contained fifteen hundred volumes, there being about three hundred and eighty members.

The library grew rather slowly in books. In its third year, as just stated, fifteen hundred were upon its shelves. Three hundred and forty of these were deposited with it by its friends. Nor was its increase in membership more successful. It had begun with over three hundred members, and up to its third year its rolls had contained but few over three hundred and eighty. From these various resignations occurred, and even "among those punctual in the payment of their dues a general apathy existed," so that "of all the dues for 1824 but about one hundred dollars were collected." Two remedies were proposed for this disheartening condition: that the library should be rendered more attractive by taking newspapers, and that members of the board should assist the treasurer in urging upon subscribers the payment of dues. The first recommendation resulted, during the next year, in taking three Philadelphia and two New York dailies,—the nucleus of the great newspaper and periodical department of the library as it now exists. The necessity of the second was superseded by a very important change in the constitution of the library, which was effected in 1826, by turning it from an association of subscribers into an incorporated company of stockholders. A charter was obtained; the property of the association valued, and divided into three hundred shares of ten dollars each, subject to an annual "due" of one dollar. In 1831 this payment was raised to two dollars, and in 1863 to three dollars, as was required to supply more completely the wants of the members. This change to a stock basis had very important advantages. It conferred upon the company control of its revenues, by enabling it to forfeit the stock of delinquents in payment of dues, and to the stockholder it gave augmented interest in the library, arising from a sense of the personal attachment of his ownership in it, as well as a dislike to be delinquent in the discharge of his annual pecuniary obligation.

This change, however desirable, was not very rapidly effected. There are records of seventy-seven stockholders having been acquired in 1826, one hundred and thirty in the next year, and it is stated in the report of 1828 that there were two hundred and eighty-seven stockholders and sixty subscribers, in all three hundred and forty-seven members, and this is the first exact statement that can be found of the numbers belonging to the library. But from the first the resolution to form a stock company seems to have inspired new vigor, and complaints of languishment were afterward seldom heard.

In 1826 the library was removed to the second story of the house at the northwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets. Here, in January of the next year, the board congratulates itself upon the "highly prosperous condition," which so continues that in October, for the sake of additional conveniences, it is forced to a removal to the second-story rooms of the Sunday-School Union building, on the south side of Chestnut, above Sixth, west of the present *Ledger* building.

Between the years 1828 and 1835 several courses of lectures were delivered under the auspices of this institution. Their titles (so far as known) show that they were intended to impart information and solid instruction on subjects of importance to business men. The well-known names of their authors guarantee their excellence. In 1837–38 began a series of brilliant discourses, which for several years were delivered by eminent public men brought from all parts of the country by the joint care of the Mercantile Library and the Athenian Institute. These, delivered to crowded audiences in the Musical Fund Hall, were marked events in city life.

In 1832 it was proposed to purchase the Adelphi building, on Fifth Street below Walnut, for fifteen thousand dollars, but it was found that the charter of the company did not empower it to hold real estate. In 1835 the library was removed to 135 Chestnut Street, below Fifth, in a portion of the building afterward occupied by the United States post-office. This latter property changed owners in 1843, and new quarters were necessary.

In this emergency it was determined to carry out a design that had long been entertained: the library should be no longer an outcast and an emigrant; it should possess a handsome hall, a local habitation of its own. The lot, one hundred by thirty-six feet, on the southeast corner of Fifth and Library Streets, was bought on condition that funds could be procured to complete the project.

The annual meeting of Jan. 9, 1844, approved the purchase, provided the funds could be raised by the first day of February following. Thirty gentlemen

were appointed to aid the directors in procuring subscriptions. "In a few days" upwards of fourteen thousand dollars were subscribed "by the members and the public." A building fund of three thousand four hundred dollars had been already laid by, chiefly from the profits of lectures. Feeling that these sums would sustain the enterprise the directors closed the contract for the lot (the heirs of Dr. James Gallagher being the owners), and subsequently added to it a strip fourteen feet wide, purchased of the Philadelphia Dispensary. Fifty feet by one hundred thus became the graceful proportions of the parallelogram on which the simple and chaste Grecian edifice was erected.

Its entire cost was forty-four thousand one hundred and ninety-nine dollars. In its erection a debt was incurred of twenty-two thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine dollars.

The library was moved into the new building in July, 1845. The rooms, which were heretofore open in the evenings only, were now opened at 3 o'clock P.M. In 1855, the debt having been reduced to ten thousand dollars, it was resolved not to reduce it faster than one thousand dollars a year, in order that a greater number of books might be purchased. Three years later it was reported that the rents from the building were all that could be spared from the revenue for the purchase of reading matter. In 1860 the third story of the building, which had hitherto been rented, was devoted to literary uses, being fitted up as a newspaper reading-room and chess-room.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY.

In 1867 the Library Company purchased from the Pennsylvania Railroad Company the building and lot, ninety-six feet by three hundred and one feet in dimensions, which had been built by the Franklin Market Company, on Tenth Street, between Market and Chestnut, and fitted it up for library purposes, at a cost of about one hundred thousand dollars. The old library building, on Fifth Street, was sold for ninety-five thousand dollars. In July, 1869, the new building was occupied by the library.

Towards liquidating the debt incurred, over and above the sum received from the sale of the old building, there were received from subscriptions, donations, and loans about fifty thousand dollars. All moneys received from sale of stock, and those subsequently saved from ordinary expenses, were appropriated to the sinking fund, and by these means the debt has been gradually reduced, and there exists only a small floating indebtedness against the company. The annual tax on shares of stock, which was at first one dollar semi-annually, was in 1863 raised to three dollars a year, and in 1864 to four dollars, and at the same time the annual charge to subscribers was made six dollars.

The library and reading-room is an apartment one hundred and eighty-seven feet by seventy-four feet, with a high arched ceiling, with ventilating windows and skylight. In the west wall there is a stained-glass window, not heavy with color, as such windows usually are, but light and brilliant. The reading-room, which is in the west end of the building, is sixty-seven by seventy-four feet, is divided by a low partition into two rooms, one for the female and the other for the male visitors. There are tables and chairs in each room, the latter numbering six hundred, and at times all the seats in the gentlemen's apartment are occupied. In these rooms the periodicals are kept. The newspaper room is on the second floor over the main entrance. The papers are arranged on low racks, so that a subscriber desiring to read may seat himself comfortably in an ordinary arm-chair and peruse the contents of the various journals with ease. The departments devoted to newspapers and periodicals are believed to be better supplied than those of any other library or reading-room in the country. In an adjoining room are the chess-tables, twenty-four in all. The greater number of these tables are almost constantly occupied during the day. On the first floor there are a waiting-room, conversation-room, ladies' parlor, directors' room, and lecture-room. In 1875 a gallery was added, which furnished space for seventy thousand more volumes. Here the books less called for are placed, such as classical, legal, medical, and such books as were heretofore kept in locked cases.

In 1870, in compliance with a popular demand, the board of directors concluded to open the library to

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subscribers on Sunday. For a time the reading-rooms were largely attended on these days, but of late years the Sunday visitors have gradually decreased, until, during the year 1881, the average number of visitors on Sundays was five hundred and thirty-eight, against one thousand and twenty-seven on other days.[1]

Since the establishment of the library, in 1821, there have been but four presidents of the company, as follows: Robert Waln, 1822 and 1823; Thomas P. Cope, 1823 to 1855 (thirty-two years); William E. Bowen, from 1855 to the end of 1860; T. Morris Perot, from 1861 to the present time. Richard Wood is the oldest consecutive director, he having served in the board since 1857.

Hiram Ayres, the librarian chosen in 1826, was succeeded by James Cox in 1830, who discharged the duties of the position until 1850, when A. McElroy succeeded him. The latter served until 1855, when he was followed by Seth C. Brace, who resigned the following year. In 1856, John Edmands, the present efficient librarian, entered upon the duties of the office.

The duties of a librarian are, as is well known, onerous and responsible, and Mr. Edmands' long connection with the library, and his familiarity with its proper conduct, added to his intelligence on all subjects connected with the purchase, selection, and classification of the books, make him a valuable adjunct of the library.

Since the library has occupied its present location, for the purpose of affording a ready means of finding the books desired, and to show at once what the library contains on particular subjects, the librarian has reclassified it on a new plan largely devised by him. The books on the different subjects are carefully divided into several groups, which form definite and easily recognized sub-classes; and the books in each sub-class are arranged in alphabetical order by the names of the authors. The department of biography has been treated in a special manner, as it does not admit of any satisfactory sub-classification. The books containing several lives are placed in alphabetical order by their authors and marked with the letter L. Those containing single lives are arranged under the names of the subject of the biography and marked La, Lb, Lc, etc. Thus all the lives of Washington and Napoleon are placed together. In order to find any book under this plan one need not seek to ascertain its number, but merely to consider in which of the groups or subjects of biography it should be placed, and then the name of the author will be a certain guide to its position on the shelves.

At the foundation of the library its benefits, open to all, were intended mainly for merchants and their clerks. Consequently its literary scope at the outstart by no means partook of its present universal character. As an evidence of its early comparative illiberality, it may be stated that in 1827 a society newly established in this city for the defense of a powerful religious organization against "calumny and abuse," having delivered at the library, free of expense, a miscellany published in its support, it "was resolved that no newspaper or periodical publication professingly designed to advance the interests of any particular religious sect be admitted into the library."

For many years this rule was strictly adhered to. It was not, however, that exclusion was sought for against religious doctrinal views, but that non-intervention in current polemics was the position desired. No hostile attitude was ever assumed against any form of earnest thought. The standard books of every religion or denomination; the works of the expounders of each great system of faith and feeling of which the human mind has been moulded; of the early Christian fathers, Luther, Cranmer, Calvin, Milton, Barclay, Bolingbroke, Hume, Paine, Voltaire, the Talmud, the Koran, Moehler, Balmés, Spaulding, or Kendrick, and many others have been for years upon the shelves of the library. About 1864 the application of the rule restricting religious periodicals was relaxed, and now can be found at the library all the leading ecclesiastical journals of the nation, non-sectarian as well as sectarian.

Although, as stated above, the library was designed at first, as its name signifies, for the especial benefit of merchants and merchants' clerks, yet it has outgrown its original scope, and has become the library for the city, ministering to the wants of all classes in the community, and furnishing a larger amount of reading matter than any other institution. It has thus taken an advance position toward meeting the need of our city and of our time,—a great free public library. Indeed, the Mercantile Library is probably the most popular institution pertaining to literature in this city, owing, in a great measure, to the large percentage of volumes of light literature to be found on its shelves, for, while one here finds abundant opportunity for literary, bibliographic, and scientific research, yet a very large per cent. of the works owned by the library belong to the domain of romance. This state of affairs exists simply because the management of the library deem it their duty to gratify popular tastes, taking care, however, not to furnish material for abnormal or morbid appetites. That the novel is the chief attraction to the greater number of those who use such a library as the Mercantile, is proven by statistics. Even in 1858 it was found, by a record of the emission of books by classes, that sixty per cent. of the whole number of volumes taken out were novels, and the proportion has since increased, a larger stock of them having been bought. Oversight is exercised in their selection, so as to insure that any which could be properly classed among "immoral or pernicious works" shall be rejected. And it is believed that few or none of such obtain

[1] The reason of this is undoubtedly the opening of the Philadelphia Library on Sundays.

admittance. If any such are discovered, they are removed. Further than this the right of censorship is not exercised, excepting that in selecting those upon which the money appropriated to novels shall be spent, those of the highest grade and most nearly classic may be chosen.

The following figures will give something of a hint as to the notable advance which the Mercantile Library has made since its institution, in 1822:

Years.	Number of Members.	Number of Volumes.	Number of Books Given Out.	Gross Receipts.
1822	300	....	....	....
1824	391	1,500	....	....
1830	490	3,320	8,430	$1,123
1840	761	6,494	14,690	3,527
1850	1474	13,149	28,000	6,186
1860	2450	21,500	87,500	11,351
1870	6577	56,438	148,961	40,751
1880	6115	140,211	140,261	26,824

The Southwark Library Company was established Jan. 18, 1822, upon the stock plan, the shareholders to be owners. In 1830 the company was incorporated by act of Assembly. At first, the number of books being small, the price of shares was placed at a low rate (five dollars), with an annual contribution of two dollars. With the funds thus received was furnished a reading-room, which contained magazines, newspapers, etc. A small library was collected together, which increased but slowly. The quarters of the company were established in Second Street, below Almond.

Clergymen were granted the gratuitous use of the library. A catalogue was published in 1847, a duodecimo of eighty-two pages, of which five hundred copies were printed. As already stated, the library did not grow rapidly, not even thirty years after its foundation, for it is officially stated that for five years preceding 1857 only four hundred and fifty dollars were spent for the purchase of books. While, however, accretions were slow, yet the work of extension went on. At the present time the library contains about twelve thousand volumes, comprising works of fiction, travel, history, and biography. As indicated by its name, the Southwark Library is situated in the old District of Southwark, and is the only library of any considerable size for many squares. It is, of course, chiefly used by the residents of the section of the city in which it is situated, who otherwise would be deprived of library facilities. The company owns a substantial brick building with a "rough-cast" front, located on the original site, on South Second Street, the present number being 765. Attached to the library is a reading-room, frequented by studious mechanics and young men and women of the neighborhood. The institution is, however, chiefly utilized as a circulating library. The officers of the company are William M. Maull, president, and Joseph W. Flickwir, secretary and treasurer.

The Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts was formally organized on the 5th of February, 1824. Previous to this date certain initiatory steps had been taken, which resulted in the official organization. The subject of setting on foot such an enterprise had been entertained for some time by Samuel V. Merrick, and a number of unsuccessful essays looking toward that end had been made by him. Mr. Merrick's first practical move was in the nature of a call for a meeting to be held at the hall of the American Philosophical Society, but no one attended. Another meeting was called, with the same result. About this time Mr. Merrick met Professor William H. Keating, of the University of Pennsylvania, whom he found to be in hearty sympathy with the project which he had sought to carry out. Indeed, Professor Keating himself had made a number of ineffectual attempts to organize a scientific institution similar to the one which Mr. Merrick had planned. These two kindred spirits, having met, found themselves characterized by common tastes and animated by mutual ambitions, and they went earnestly to work in concert.

They compared notes, and finally agreed to make another effort to get a meeting, under the shadow of whose authority they might make an appeal to the public.

Such a meeting was accordingly convened, and tradition and some memoranda indicate that the following gentlemen attended: Samuel V. Merrick, Thomas Fletcher, Matthias W. Baldwin, David H. Mason, and Oran Colton.

A committee was appointed, consisting of some of those present and of others selected outside who were supposed to be willing to unite, and James Ronaldson, Samuel R. Wood, Samuel V. Merrick, M. T. Wickham, W. H. Keating, Thomas Fletcher, and James Rush were appointed to draught a plan of organization, constitution, etc.

Subsequently the small meeting was again convened, and the committee's plan approved, and Messrs. Merrick and Keating prepared to carry it into execution.

They called to their aid Dr. Robert E. Griffith and George Washington Smith, and, assisted by them, selected from the "Philadelphia Directory" the names of some twelve hundred to sixteen hundred citizens whom they thought might possibly take an interest in such a work, and invited them, by circular letters, to attend a meeting to be held at the county court-house, at Sixth and Chestnut Streets, on the evening of the 5th of February, 1824, when and where the long-cherished project was to be submitted for final approval.

The meeting was large and enthusiastic, the court-house being filled to overflowing. It was presided over by James Ronaldson, a Scotchman by birth, who was extensively engaged in business as a type-founder.

Col. Peter A. Browne, then an eloquent and distinguished member of the Philadelphia bar, made an earnest and effective speech, in which he sketched the plan and purposes of the new institution, and his speech was warmly applauded. He was followed by others in earnest and eloquent remarks.

The constitution was submitted, considered, amended, and then unanimously adopted. Lists were then circulated, on which those present enrolled themselves for membership. A committee was appointed to nominate candidates for officers and managers, and to take the needed order for holding an election on the 16th of the same month. By the time the election was held the roll contained between four hundred and five hundred members.

Mr. Ronaldson was elected president, and held the office until the year 1842.

The board of managers then chosen, of whom Messrs. Merrick and Keating were members, went energetically to work, and soon had the institute thoroughly organized.

Standing committees on instruction, on inventions, on premiums and exhibitions, on the library, and on models and minerals were appointed, and took hold of their duties with zeal and earnestness.

Professorships of chemistry, of natural philosophy and mechanics, and of architecture were forthwith established, and respectively filled by the election of Professor Keating to the first, Professor Robert M. Patterson to the second, and William Strickland to the third.

The first course of lectures was delivered in the old academy building, on Fourth near Arch Street, belonging to the University of Pensylvania, the use of the building being granted by the trustees. In addition to the lectures on the subjects above named, there were a number of volunteer lectures, delivered by members of the institute, on various subjects connected with science and the arts.

The foundations thus laid for instruction were rapidly enlarged, and their proportions and usefulness have been wonderfully augmented.

Soon a school in which were to be taught architectural and mechanical drawing was established, and it was rapidly filled with pupils.

But, not content with this special school, the managers determined to establish another, in which all the useful branches of English literature and mathematics, and the ancient and modern languages should be taught, in short, a high school. This was placed under the charge of Walter R. Johnson, with able assistants, and was soon filled with pupils. The drawing-school has been very successfully continued down to the present day, and is now more flourishing than ever before; but the high school was discontinued after a few years' time, upon the resignation of Mr. Johnson. By this time the public schools of the city had been much improved by the introduction of new methods of instruction, and the establishment of the Central High School of Philadelphia supplied all the needs that the high school of the institute was intended to provide for. The department of instruction, with various changes and enlargement of the features, has continued in successful operation down to the present time.

The committee on inventions soon became a centre from which radiated the most useful and interesting results. The late Isaiah Lukens, a distinguished mechanician, was for many years its chairman, and, with the professors in the institute, and such associates as Alexander Dallas Bache, Benjamin Reeves, Samuel V. Merrick, Rufus Tyler, Matthias W. Baldwin, John Agnew, George Washington Smith, John Wiegand, and others, gave wise counsel to inventors, put them in the way of knowing what had previously been accomplished, saved them from the loss of money and of reputation by showing them when their inventions were not new, and when any matter of real novelty or value was presented, indorsing it most heartily with their approval, and giving that potential aid which would almost certainly secure public recognition and reward.

This committee continued its labors as originally constituted for many years, and upon its suggestions committees were raised for investigating the various forms of water-wheels, for giving economical value to water-power.

On this subject experiments of great number, and on almost every form of water-motor then known, were made, and the results tabulated and commented on in such an exhaustive manner that the report continues to this day to be a most valuable text-book on water-power.

Following this, and in the same lead of practical usefulness, a committee was raised to investigate the causes of explosion of steam-boilers, and in this investigation the institute succeeded in getting the co-operation of the government of the United States, an appropriation for defraying the cost of the experiments being made by Congress. But no part of the money so appropriated was paid as compensation to the experimenters. These were all volunteers, devoting many months of valuable time to the investigation and ascertaining most valuable facts, which have since been utilized for the benefit and safety of the public.

Connected with these experiments on explosions caused by steam came almost naturally an investigation of the strength of materials. For this purpose the committee devised testing apparatus of various forms, and applied them in the most extensive and crucial way to the metals and materials of all kinds used in machines, steam-boilers, buildings, and other branches of the useful arts. The reports on explosions and on the strength of materials were published also, and are of equal reputation and use as those on water-power.

The committee on inventions was subsequently

abolished, and in its place was established the committee on science and arts. This committee was intended to cover not only the ground originally occupied by the committee on inventions, but to embrace a wider field, and to interest in its operation a larger number of members. Every one, therefore, who felt an interest in developing the domains of invention or science was invited to enroll himself as a member, and thereby to pledge himself to devote his time and knowledge to the service of the committee, and through it to the public. This voluntary association still exists, and its long course of labors and usefulness is attested by its memoirs, and by the vast number of reports made on inventions and other matters submitted to its scrutiny.

One of the methods adopted by the institute for the promotion of the mechanic arts was to reward inventors, manufacturers, and mechanics by the distribution of medals and premiums. To this end, the committee on premiums and exhibitions was appointed. It soon announced that an exhibition of American manufactures would be held in the city, and published a long list of premiums that would then be awarded. A very extensive circulation of this intention was given by letters addressed to those whose interest would be promoted by the exhibition, and also by advertisements to direct public attention to the undertaking. It was held in the Carpenters' Hall in the autumn of 1824, and was crowned with complete success. These exhibitions were continued at short intervals for a long while, and grew in public favor and usefulness, but were suspended for a number of years in consequence of an inability to get a hall of sufficient size for a proper display.

In 1874, however, an exposition was held under the auspices of the institute, in commemoration of its semi-centennial, which exceeded in scope and interest any previous exhibition.

The first movement toward this exhibition was at the stated meeting of the institute held Feb. 18, 1874, when, on motion of G. Morgan Eldridge, the subject was referred to the committee on exhibitions.

The committee addressed a letter to J. Edgar Thomson, late president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, making an application for the use of their depot on Market Street, between Thirteenth and Juniper Streets, for the purpose of an exhibition. This application having been laid before the board of directors, the depot was placed at the disposal of the institute during the months of September and October, 1874.

At the stated meeting of the institute, held the 18th of March, resolutions were adopted, requesting the board of managers to hold an exhibition, and to secure a guarantee fund to indemnify the institute against loss. This condition having been fulfilled, public announcement was made upon the 14th of April that the exhibition would be held from the 6th to the 31st of October.

The prospectus of the proposed exposition announced that the exhibition would "embrace all materials used in the arts, in every stage of manufacture, from their natural condition to the finished products, and all tools, implements, and machines, by which the gifts of nature are changed and adapted to the use, the comfort, or the enjoyment of mankind."

The exhibition was opened by the Governor of Pennsylvania, upon the day appointed, and attracted the sustained attention of the public to such an extent that it was deemed advisable to continue it open for twelve days longer than was originally designed.

The whole number of paying visitors was two hundred and sixty-seven thousand six hundred and thirty-eight, besides members of the institute, their ladies, and minors, and persons admitted on complimentary tickets issued to the press and to others whose liberality it was desired to recognize. Making due allowance for these, it may be said that the exhibition was visited by one-third of the population of Philadelphia. The number of applications for space was fifteen hundred and twenty-eight. The number of entries for exposition, many of them covering numerous items and large displays, was twelve hundred and fifty-one.

Since 1874 the institute has held no comprehensive public exposition. Active measures, however, are now being prosecuted looking toward a complete electrical exhibition in the fall of 1884.

Ground fronting on the north side of Lancaster Avenue, and extending from Thirty-second to Thirty-third Street, the property of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, has been leased by that company to the institute from Dec. 1, 1883, to Dec. 31, 1884, at a nominal figure. It is estimated that the lot of ground will give net exhibition space of seventy-five thousand square feet.

A guarantee fund of fifty thousand dollars has been subscribed by the members and friends of the institute, and every indication points to the most successful exhibition of electrical appliances ever held in America.

Relative to the mode and scope of operations of the institute, and to its terms and privileges of membership, the following points of information are valuable:

Meetings are held on the third Wednesday evening of each month, except in July and August, at which new inventions are presented, papers on technical subjects are read and discussed, and an abstract of current progress in science and the arts is presented by the secretary.

Courses of lectures are delivered during the winter months, under the direction of the committee on instruction, and the professors of those branches in the institute as an advisory board.

At the drawing-school, which has been carried on since the foundation of the institute, nearly five

hundred pupils annually receive instruction in mechanical drawing, free-hand sketching for industrial purposes, and architectural drawing.

Chemical, electrical, and phonetic sections have been formed, composed of members interested in those branches, at which original papers are presented and discussed.

The committee on science and the arts conducts investigations of inventions brought before it, through sub-committees of experts,—selected for their special knowledge of the subjects,—and makes detailed reports upon the same, sustaining by its labors the scientific character of the institute.

Each member and adult holder of second-class stock, when not in arrears for dues, is entitled to attend the meetings of the institute, to use the library and reading-room, and to receive tickets for himself and a lady to the lectures.

Contributing members pay five dollars each year. The payment of fifty dollars in any one year secures life membership, without annual dues.

Shares of stock are ten dollars.

Second-class stock has an annual tax of three dollars per share, entitling the holder of one share to the privileges of membership.

Minor children, wards, and apprentices of members not in arrears, by payment of two dollars, have the use of library and reading-room, and admission to lectures, or lectures alone for one dollar.

Minors holding a share of second-class stock, by paying one dollar and fifty cents per year, have the use of library and reading-room and admission to lectures.

As has been previously stated, the first course of lectures was delivered in the old academy building on Fourth Street. The institute very soon rented the lower story of the old Carpenters' Hall, in the rear of Chestnut Street, east of Fourth Street. It was early determined, however, to build a hall for the purposes of the institute; and to carry out this intention a purchase was made of a lot on Seventh Street, between Market and Chestnut Streets.

The corner-stone was laid with appropriate Masonic and other ceremonies, on the 8th day of June, 1825, at noon, and the edifice was erected by contract, from plans and estimates furnished by John Haviland, Esq., the architect. Being obliged to have an eye to revenue from the building, an agreement was made with the United States that the second story would be finished so that it might be occupied as a court-room and offices for the Circuit and District Courts. When the building was completed, a lease was accordingly made for a term of years at fifteen hundred dollars per annum. But after a short occupancy this lease was cancelled, as it was found to be inconvenient for members of the bar to be so *far* from the county court-house at Sixth and Chestnut Streets. The United States then agreed to give up the premises, and to pay nine hundred dollars per annum for the remainder of the term, and the city rented for the use of the court the second story of Independence Hall.

The Franklin Institute building was completed, and all except the second story occupied, in 1826. On the cancellation of the lease to the United States, full possession of the whole building was obtained. Several times the question of removal from this hall, wherein so much efficient work has been wrought out, has been seriously considered. It very nearly culminated in the year 1836, when the Masonic Hall property on Chestnut Street west of Seventh was purchased by the institute for the sum of one hundred and ten thousand five hundred dollars.

Plans for a new and enlarged edifice were prepared by William Strickland, architect, aided by a committee of the institute. A plan for a building loan was adopted, and a part of it subscribed for, which enabled the institute to pay the first installment of the purchase money. But the great financial crash of May, 1837, struck the project down, and after vainly struggling for several years to carry it out its abandonment became necessary, and at a loss of many thousands of dollars. At different times since projects of removal have been started, but have never been consummated.

At the stated meeting of the institute held in December, 1873, it was decided to celebrate in February, 1874, the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the organization.

The meeting which had been held on Feb. 5, 1824, having been decided on as the one which most surely marked the permanent foundation of the institute as a society, it was deemed advisable, if possible, to hold the commemorative meeting on that day; but inasmuch as no suitable hall could be obtained for the evening of the 5th of February, the following day, namely, the 6th, was fixed upon; and at the meeting of the institute in January it was resolved that "when we adjourn we adjourn to meet at the Musical Fund Hall on the evening of February 6th." The meeting was public and largely attended.

The programme for the evening was as follows:

Music.
Assembly called to order by Coleman Sellers, President of Franklin Institute.
Music.
Address by Hon. Frederick Fraley, Treasurer of Franklin Institute.
Music.
Address by Robert E. Rogers, M.D., Professor of Chemistry in University of Pennsylvania, and Vice-President of Franklin Institute.
Music.
Address by Henry Morton, Ph.D., President of Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J., and late Secretary of Franklin Institute.
Music.
Closing Address by Coleman Sellers, President of Franklin Institute.

It was determined early in the history of the institute to gather material for a library, and under the auspices of the committee charged with attention to that feature of the institution books began to take their places on its shelves, to accumulate, to be used, and gradually to assume the numbers and variety

which now characterize the society's large and valuable collection.

The library at present comprises twenty thousand bound volumes and as many pamphlets. The yearly increase of bound volumes averages about one thousand or twelve hundred, by purchase and by donation. It contains many valuable works on mechanical and other subjects relating to the applied sciences, including all the leading American and European journals, and complete sets of American, English, and French patents, and which are placed at the command of members of the institute and of others properly introduced. Indeed, this collection of patent reports is unexcelled in America. Besides these valuable books the institute possesses a complete set of all publications of the United States government upon every phase of applied science.

The library is divided into two classes, the first comprising such works as from their rarity or value should not be lent out, all unbound periodicals, and such text-books as ought to be found in a library of reference except when required by committees of the institute, or by members or holders of second-class stock who have obtained the sanction of the library committee. The second class includes those books intended for circulation.

In natural connection with the library comes the *Journal*. At the outset the pecuniary means of the institute were too limited to permit it to venture alone on such a publication. But an arrangement was made with Thomas P. Jones, then professor of Natural Philosophy and Mechanics, to edit and publish a periodical devoted to science and the arts, under the title of the *Franklin Journal*. In this form, and with limited aid from the treasury of the organization, the publication was continued until 1828, when the institute assumed the responsibility of continuing it, under the title of *The Journal of the Franklin Institute;* and so it has continued to this time.

The editors of the *Journal* have been Thomas P. Jones, A. D. Bache, Charles B. Trego, John F. Frazer, Henry Morton, William H. Wahl, and Professor George F. Barker.

The *Journal* is published monthly, the subscription price being five dollars per year. Members and stockholders not in arrears have the privilege of subscribing at three dollars per year. It is the only technological journal published in the United States without private pecuniary interests, and has always been considered as a standard work of reference.

The Franklin Institute is the custodian of a number of trusts, whose main and common object is the advancement of the cause of science.

John Scott, a chemist of Edinburgh, gave by his will to the corporation of the city of Philadelphia, a legacy for the establishment of a premium, to be given by a medal and money to the inventors of anything new or useful. In the year 1834 the City Councils placed the awarding of the Scott's legacy medal and premium in the hands of the institute, and it has so faithfully and carefully discharged that duty that its stewardship still continues.

In 1848 Elliott Cresson placed in the charge of trustees a sufficient sum of money to provide a gold medal, which was to be awarded by the institute to the inventor of any new or useful discovery. As this premium is to be given only for matters of real novelty and merit, it is, of course, rarely issued. The first recipient of it was Gen. Benjamin C. Tilghman, of Philadelphia, the discoverer of the application of the sand-blast for a variety of useful and ornamental purposes.

And in 1859, Uriah A. Boyden, of Boston, Mass., placed in charge of the institute the sum of one thousand dollars, to be awarded to "any resident of North America who shall determine by experiment whether all rays of light, and other physical rays, are or are not transmitted with the same velocity. The claim to be made in the form of an essay, announcing the result and its manner of ascertainment, to be presented before the first day of January, 1873." The awarding of this premium was placed in the hands of a committee. Several essays were received, but no one of them was considered of sufficient merit to entitle it to the prize. Mr. Boyden has allowed the premium to remain with the institute, however, in the hope that it may be earned by some worthy mathematician.

The Franklin Institute has been fortunate in that it has been officered, from the very beginning, by energetic, public-spirited men. Its presidents, especially, have always been men of high character and reputation. James Ronaldson served as president until January, 1852, when he resigned; but he maintained his interest in the institution until he died, and gave it by his will a legacy of five hundred dollars.

He was succeeded by Samuel V. Merrick, the acknowledged founder of the institute, and the man above all others who impressed on it at the beginning nearly all of its practical features.

Mr. Merrick held the office of president until January, 1855, when he resigned. He was succeeded in the presidency by John C. Cresson, who had been elected a member in 1834. His able administration was universally recognized, and he occupies a high and honorable place in the records and history of the institute. He declined a re-election in 1864, and William Sellers was chosen his successor.

Under the administration of this distinguished mechanical engineer a new impulse was given to the career of the institute. The plan of organization was modified, and a large sum was raised by Mr. Sellers and his friends to reduce the debt, to repair and alter the hall, and to bring the institution into more effectual contact with manufacturers and mechanics.

Mr. Sellers declined a re-election in 1868, and was succeeded by John Vaughan Merrick, the eldest son of the distinguished founder. He inherited all the

interest so long held by his father, and energetically carried out the new and enlarged policy.

He declined a re-election in January, 1870, and was succeeded by Coleman Sellers, who occupied the office until 1875, serving the institute with marked ability.

In January, 1875, Professor Robert E. Rogers was chosen president. The office was held by Professor Rogers until January, 1879, the period of four years covered by his incumbency being fraught with importance to the institute.

At the annual meeting in 1879, William P. Tatham became president.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—The origin of this association was as follows: In 1824, George Washington Smith, of Philadelphia, happened, while visiting New York, to be placed in relations of intimacy with De Witt Clinton, then Governor of that State. The New York Historical Society was at the time a subject of public interest in New York City. Mr. Clinton's regard for the institution was always warm and active. He spoke much of it to his visitor, unfolded its plans and objects, expatiated eloquently on its prospects and usefulness. Mr. Smith, upon returning to Philadelphia, suggested to certain citizens the formation of a similar society in this city. The suggestion was well received. A preliminary meeting was held, with the following result, as learned from the original minutes, still extant:

"At a meeting of gentlemen, native citizens of Pennsylvania, favorable to the formation of a society for the purpose of elucidating the history of the State, held on the 2d day of December, 1824, at the house of Thomas I. Wharton,

"Roberts Vaux was called to the chair, and George Washington Smith appointed secretary. There were present Roberts Vaux, Stephen Duncan, Thomas I. Wharton, William Rawle, Jr., Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, Dr. Caspar Wistar, George Washington Smith.

"After an interchange of the views of those present it was, on motion of T. I. Wharton,

"*Resolved*, That it is expedient to form a society for the purpose of elucidating the history of Pennsylvania.

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws for the government of the said society.

"Whereupon, Thomas I. Wharton, Dr. Coates, and G. W. Smith were appointed a committee.

"Adjourned to meet on the 27th day of December, 1824."

At a meeting held pursuant to the adjournment, "present fifteen persons," the committee reported a draught of a constitution and by-laws, which was approved. The meeting then adjourned till the 29th of January, 1825.

On that day the society met again, when "a list of the names of gentlemen desirous of joining the society was read, and, on motion, the persons applying for membership were elected and placed on the secretary's roll."

This honored roll preserves for grateful recollection the following names, well known, every one of them, in the city's history: William Rawle, George Washington Smith, Roberts Vaux, Gerard Ralston, Joseph Hopkinson, William Mason Walmsley, Joseph Reed, William M. Meredith, Thomas C. James, Daniel B. Smith, John Sergeant, William Rawle, Jr., Thomas I. Wharton, Charles J. Ingersoll, Thomas H. White, Edward Bettle, Caspar Wistar (2d), Thomas McKean Pettit, Benjamin H. Coates.

It was then resolved that the constitution and by-laws be in force from and after the 28th of February, 1825, and that an election for officers for that year should be held on the day named.

On that day the society met again, and proceeded to an election, when the following gentlemen were chosen: President, William Rawle; Vice-Presidents, Roberts Vaux, Thomas Duncan; Corresponding Secretary, Daniel B. Smith; Recording Secretary, G. W. Smith.

The first meeting of the council was held on the 18th of May, 1825, and in the succeeding month the president, Mr. Rawle, read a paper defining the intentions of the founders, as follows:

"The objects of the society are to trace all the circumstances of early settlements; to collect all documents and written and printed evidence, and all traditionary information that may still be obtainable; and, after having thus acquired possession of such materials, to publish such portions as may be deemed most interesting and instructive.

"The purpose of the society also is to form an ample library and cabinet, the collection of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts on any subject or of any date, medals, coins, or any article drawing value from historical or biographical affinities, Indian idols, ornaments, arms, utensils, etc.

"The property of the society is to consist of original letters, books, journals, or narrations of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, or any distinguished persons among us in later years; narratives relative to the Indians, vocabularies of Indian language, accounts of missionaries, facts relating to the origin of the North American Indians; copies of record and proceedings of public bodies, political, religious, literary, or otherwise, that have existed; accounts of universities, colleges, academies, schools; topographical descriptions of cities, towns, boroughs, counties, or townships; accounts of population, births, longevity, deaths, epidemical and local diseases; facts relating to climatology, meteorology, and general employment and customs of districts; biographical notices of eminent and remarkable persons, etc."

The first place of regular meeting of the new association was in the rooms of the American Philosophical Society, on the west side of Fifth Street below Chestnut, and looking out upon the State-House grounds. Everything contemplated appears to have been upon the most modest scale, and in a quiet way of usefulness the society proceeded for nearly twenty years. But if it was small in numbers, unimposing in possession, without a habitation of its own, it was not less confident in hope, less zealous in endeavor, less fruitful in good works. Books were brought together. Manuscripts were sought for and rescued from destruction. A scheme of large usefulness was planned and marked out by its accomplished president, and standing committees to give every part of it effect were named.

The first volume of "Memoirs" of this society was published in December, 1825. It contained the constitution of the society and the list of officers; an inaugural discourse, delivered Nov. 25, 1825, before the society by William Rawle; "A Memoir of the Great Treaty of William Penn in 1682," by Roberts Vaux; "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," by Thomas I. Wharton; "A Memoir on

the Controversy between William Penn and Lord Baltimore concerning the Boundaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland;" and "Original Letters and Documents relating to the History of Pennsylvania," hitherto unpublished. All these represented the historical work of the year. And when it is considered that the gentlemen who prepared those papers were men of business, whose minds were constantly engaged with weighty affairs, it must be admitted that their enthusiasm was shown to be warm by the care they had taken and the time which they had spent in the preparation of those papers.

In 1844 the society removed to new quarters, a room having been secured in the second story of a house on South Sixth Street, below Walnut, which was afterward numbered 211. The resources of the society were still meagre, and in consequence the appointments of the organization and the material collected were upon a modest scale. In about three years the society again made a change of quarters, this time removing to the upper rooms of the then newly-erected building belonging to the Athenæum, about half a square to the south, on Sixth Street. Here the society was established about a quarter of a century, during which period great advancements, of a numerical, financial, and historical character, were made. A commendable zeal in research was fostered, much valuable material was collected, and, in general, the fundamental objects of the organization were sensibly promoted. Finally it became obvious that the collections of the society were increasing so fast that they could not be well accommodated in the rooms of the Athenæum, and the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital having placed at the command of the society, in a very handsome manner, and for a long term of years, their building on Spruce Street, known as the "Picture House,"[1] overlooking their spacious and well-kept gardens on the south, it was gratefully accepted by the society. A sum of ten thousand dollars being cheerfully subscribed, preparations were immediately made, on an extensive scale, to adapt the building to the uses of the new occupants; very large and securely-built fire-proof closets being a matter which engaged especially the attention of the society. The whole house, which it required nearly a year to complete, having been finished in February, 1872, the valuable collections of the society were transferred to it. This responsible and laborious work being accomplished a committee, composed of John Jordan, Jr., William Duane, and John T. Lewis, was appointed to inform the members of the transfer. To signalize more impressively a step which seemed to be a great one in the progress of the society, it was resolved to inaugurate the hall in form, and the president was requested to deliver an address of inauguration.

OLD HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING ON SPRUCE STREET.

Accordingly, on Monday evening, the 11th of March, 1872, that being one of the evenings of the stated meetings of the society, a large company assembled in the new hall, and John William Wallace, at that time the president of the society, proceeded to address it in an admirable discourse, outlining the history of the organization from its inception in 1824.

Although it had been the purpose of the society to remain many years in its new hall on Spruce Street, yet a decade had scarcely elapsed before its quarters were found to be too circumscribed to meet the demands superinduced by the advanced strides of the association; so that in the latter part of 1882 initiatory steps were taken looking toward what eventually resulted in a radically new departure. The commodious family mansion of the late Gen. Robert Patterson, which had been erected in 1832, standing at the southwest corner of Locust and Thirteenth Streets, was placed in the market, and a vigorous effort was made by a number of the more active members of the society to secure sufficient funds for the purchase of this admirable property. The movement was eminently successful, and the mansion was bought, together with an adjoining lot of ground, upon which an auditorium was subsequently erected. The property itself, together with the additions, alterations, and renovations which were made, cost about ninety-five thousand dollars; which sum was entirely raised by voluntary subscriptions, chiefly from the members of the society. Not a dollar has ever been asked for or

[1] It was originally constructed for the exhibition of Benjamin West's great painting "Christ Healing the Sick," presented by him to the hospital.

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received from the city or State authorities. The sum of five thousand dollars was also expended in furnishing the society's new quarters.

Since the institution of the Historical Society its deliberations have been presided over at various times by six presidents. As already stated, the first incumbent of this office was William Rawle. His tenure of the presidency covered the period between 1825 and 1836. Mr. Rawle was succeeded by Peter S. Du Ponceau. His term of service lasted from 1837 to 1845. He was succeeded by Judge Thomas Sergeant, of the State Supreme Court, who occupied the office until 1858. The next president was Dr. George W. Norris, an eminent physician, who served only two years, or until 1860. In the latter year, Joseph R. Ingersoll, at one time minister to England, was chosen. He performed the duties of the office until 1868. From that time until his death, Jan. 12, 1884, John William Wallace was president of the society. The next president was Brinton Coxe, who was chosen Jan. 21, 1884.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

John William Wallace, who has long been known to the bar and the community as a distinguished lawyer, scholar, and citizen, was born in this city Feb. 17, 1815. His father was John Bradford Wallace, who belonged to that distinguished circle of lawyers—Binney, Sergeant, and Chauncey—who conferred so much honor upon the Philadelphia bar, and his mother was a sister of the first named of this circle, the elder Horace Binney. His early training in literature, in religion, and the law was under the constant guidance and supervision of his father; but he owed much to his mother, who, to intellectual culture, joined qualities of heart that endeared her to her son, and united them in the closest bonds of affection.

Mr. Wallace graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1833. Selecting the law as his future profession, he pursued his studies in this city and in London. He was called to the bar Oct. 27, 1836. His legal acquirements were extensive and varied. Few of his contemporaries at the Philadelphia bar cultivated so assiduously what may be termed the literature of the law. His first volume, called "The Reporters," the first edition of which was published in 1843, illustrates Mr. Wallace's learning and abilities as a legal writer.

Early in his professional career he was appointed a master in chancery by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and subsequently published three volumes of reports of "Cases in the United States Circuit Court," and edited six volumes of "British Crown Cases Reserved." In 1864 he was appointed by the Supreme Court of the United States the reporter of its decisions, and twenty-two volumes of reports attest the ability and the fitness which he brought to

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the duties of this important position. "Wallace's Reports" are a monument to his faithfulness and his learning. Mr. Wallace was not only a lawyer and a legal writer, but he was an accomplished belles-lettres scholar, and during his several visits abroad devoted himself to literature and art. He was greatly interested in historical and biographical studies, and while still the reporter of the Supreme Court was elected, in 1868, the president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which position he continued to hold to the time of his death. In politics, Mr. Wallace was a devoted adherent to the traditions of the old Federal party. In religion he was a stanch churchman, and a constant attendant on church services. Mr. Wallace's family consisted of his wife, who survives him, and one daughter, the wife of John Thompson Spencer, of the Philadelphia bar.

During the society's sixty years of effort and investigation much material of value has been gathered. Of primary importance, of course, is its very excellent library. It contains at the present time about twenty thousand bound volumes. Among the valuable books belonging to the society may be mentioned the following: "Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense . . . Being an Almanack for the Year of Grace 1686," printed by William Bradford, at Philadelphia, in 1685; "Good Order established in Pennsilvania and New Jersey. By Thomas Budd," printed in 1685; "An Epistle from John Burnyeat to Friends in Pennsilvania," printed by William Bradford in 1686; an Elliott Bible, printed at Cambridge in 1685; the first and second volumes of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the first being printed by Samuel Keimer, and the second by Franklin & Meredith; and Sanderson's "Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," illustrated with original autograph letters.

The society's manuscript collection is a voluminous one, and of rare value. Among its chief features are the following: The "Penn Papers," being miscellaneous correspondence of members of the Penn family, from a period prior to the settlement of Pennsylvania in 1682 until the war of the Revolution; the "Franklin Papers," embracing much of the correspondence of the famous scholar and diplomat; the "Shippen Papers," containing letters and documents written by various members of this distinguished family, and a vast amount of miscellaneous matter of much historical, biographical, and antiquarian value.

The society is, moreover, possessed of portraits, chiefly in oil, of many distinguished persons. Among them are portraits of Amerigo Vespucci, Hernando Cortez, John Hampden, William Penn, Benjamin West, Washington, Lafayette, Anthony Wayne, William Moultrie, Henry Knox, John Cadwalader, Sir William Keith, Patrick Gordon, James Logan, James Hamilton, Richard Penn, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Joseph Reed, William Moore, John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Thomas McKean, Simon Snyder, George Wolf, and Joseph Ritner.

Besides its valuable collection of books, manuscripts, and portraits, the society possesses many historical relics of great interest. Indeed, this feature of the society may be said to constitute it a veritable museum of curiosities.

The Library Association of Friends.—Although the question of establishing a library had been previously discussed, it was not until 1834 that the liberal branch of Friends, known as "Hicksite Quakers," began active measures looking toward the establishment of a library. At a Monthly Meeting held Dec. 17, 1834, at the Cherry Street meeting-house, below Fifth Street, a committee was appointed to report upon the feasibility and desirability of founding a library under the care of the Cherry Street Meeting, and for the use of its members. This committee comprised William Wayne, James Mott, Caleb Clothier, Richard Pice, Joseph Parrish, M.D., Thomas Parker, Samuel Hutchinson, J. Elwood Chapman, Dillwyn Parrish, William Eyre, Edward Hopper, Benjamin J. Leedom, James Willis, George Truman, Charles Longstreth, and Jacob T. Williams.

On the 25th of February, 1835, the committee reported in favor of the establishment of a library, provided a suitable room could be made available. They had made some effort toward ascertaining whether sufficient funds could be secured with which to erect a library building, and also quarters for school purposes. They had succeeded in raising fourteen hundred dollars, which was considered nearly sufficient, only fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars being deemed necessary. The committee asked for authority to go on with the work, and requested permission to erect the proposed building on the property belonging to the meeting, forty-six by seventeen feet, north of the meeting-house. The authority asked for was granted.

At the Monthly Meeting held Nov. 18, 1835, the committee reported that the building for library and school purposes had been erected, and that the schools were already in operation. The committee also reported in favor of the appointment of a committee from the meeting to have general charge of the library, to supervise the selection of books, etc., and to see that the institution should be conducted in a proper manner. The committee further recommended the organization of a library association of Friends, to comprise not only members of the Cherry Street Meeting, but of the other Monthly Meetings as well, which should be responsible for the financial operations of the library, subject, however, to the general supervision of the Monthly Meeting.

The recommendations of the building committee were adopted. On the same evening there was organized "The Library Association of Friends of Philadelphia." At an adjourned meeting of the association held six days later, on November 24th, a committee reported a set of rules and regulations for the gov-

ernment of the society, which were adopted. Among them was the following: "The association shall consist of such persons, members of the Society of Friends, as shall pay in advance one dollar or upward per annum, or who shall contribute at one time twenty dollars; or donations may be received for the use of the association, and the donors not be considered as members of the association if they so request."

At this meeting of the association a committee of management was appointed. From that time the affairs of the library have been under the direction of a similar committee.

The library building, erected in 1835, was of modest dimensions and construction. Its whole cost, exclusive of furniture, was $2317.81. It was deemed adequate for the purposes of the association, however, until the Monthly Meeting in the spring of 1857, having disposed of its real estate on Cherry Street, removed to the very commodious property, then newly prepared for it, on Race Street above Fifteenth. Here convenient buildings had been erected, including a meeting-house and school- and library-rooms.

Since the institution of the library its growth has been excellent, considering the conservative methods which naturally prevail in a society wholly managed by Friends. In November, 1836, the library contained 1100 volumes, received by donation, purchase, and loan. This number had increased in November, 1852, to 3800 volumes, while at the same period in 1883 the library contained 8929 volumes. These were classified as follows: Abridged and juvenile, 1326; scientific, 1090; religious, 1815; voyages and travels, 885; history and biography, 1589; miscellaneous, 2224.

Any adult member of the three Monthly Meetings of this city can obtain books upon application to the librarian, and having recorded his or her place of residence, accompanied with the signature of the applicant.

Minors, who are members, can be accommodated in the same way, upon their parents, or any Friend of responsibility, signing a printed form of guarantee.

For all others who may desire the use of the library, application must be made to the committee of management, accompanied with a guarantee (which can be procured of the librarian), signed by some responsible individual, and approved by a member of the Library Association of Friends. No fees or dues are exacted for the use of the library, but all books borrowed must be returned or renewed within two weeks, or a fine is incurred.

No book can be renewed or taken out a second time by the same individual until six months shall have elapsed from the time of its introduction into the library, neither can it be transferred to another member of the same family while other applicants are waiting for it.

In making selections for the library care is taken to meet the wants of judicious readers, at the same time studiously avoiding the introduction of any book antagonistic to the principles and testimonies of the Society of Friends, or in any way unfriendly to true religion or high morality.

The library is open on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons and evenings, and on Friday afternoons. The hours are from two to five in the afternoons, and from seven to nine in the evenings.

The Spring Garden Institute building is situated at the northeast corner of Broad and Spring Garden Streets. It is one of a number of associations organized through the efforts of the Young Man's Institute, which, about the year 1850, collected funds with which to aid such work. Richard Wistar presented the corner lot, while an adjoining piece of ground was purchased with funds donated. The commissioners and a number of liberal citizens of Spring Garden contributed to the undertaking, and the sum of five thousand dollars was obtained from the Young Man's Institute. A charter was granted April 12, 1851, and the work of building was begun shortly afterward, the corner-stone having been laid July 8, 1851. On Nov. 12, 1852, the building was dedicated. It occupies a lot one hundred feet front on Broad Street by fifty-seven feet on Spring Garden Street. As originally constructed the first floor was occupied by stores. The second floor formed one large lecture-room, used at times by the institute, but also rented out to other organizations. The third floor was suspended by iron rods from the roof-trusses to avoid obstructing the lecture-room below with pillars, and was divided into three apartments. One of these was fitted up for school purposes, one for the library, and the third as a board-room. The library, by gifts, purchases, and consolidation with other libraries, soon became one of interest and value, but it was open only in the evening, and being on the third floor was not easily accessible. For a time a drawing-school was maintained, but this was afterward abandoned, and in its place a night-school for English branches was established. Lectures were also maintained with varying degrees of success.

The war of the Rebellion greatly crippled the usefulness of the institute, and it had not recovered from the effects thereof when, in 1878, a new board of managers was chosen, largely composed of young men who had heretofore had no part in the direction of its affairs. The institute, reinvigorated, dates from that time. The structure was remodeled, new schools were established, and gradually the whole of the building was recovered from tenants, and every room in it used for institute work. The library was removed to the first floor and opened day and night. The whole of the third floor was fitted up for drawing-schools, skylights being put in to fit them for use by day-classes; the basements were fitted up as machine-shops and stocked with tools, and the remaining apartments on the first floor were fitted up as drawing-rooms and offices. Extensions were also built in the

yard area, kilns for firing china and stained glass erected, and a clay modeling-room equipped in the loft. At present every available part of the building from the cellar floor to the roof is used for institute work.

The library of the institute has been greatly enlarged and improved within a few years, and now comprises about fifteen thousand volumes, some of them out of print, but a large proportion newly purchased and selected with care. The reading-room is entirely free, and is open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M. The use of the library is without cost to pupils, and subscribers can obtain the use of it by paying, if adults, three dollars; or if minors, two dollars per annum.

John M. Ogden was president of the institute from its organization until his death, in 1882, when he was succeeded by John Baird, the acting president since 1878, and one of the original board of managers.

The Presbyterian Historical Society was organized in May, 1852. Its foundation was chiefly due to the efforts of Samuel Agnew, of Philadelphia. Five years later, or in 1857, the Legislature of Pennsylvania granted the society a charter. The organization is not, however, confined in its scope to church interests in this State. It represents the denomination in the whole country.

Since the institution of the society, in 1852, various efforts have been made looking toward its extension, and toward the enlargement of its library. For over a quarter of a century the society possessed no building of its own for a place of meeting and for the storage of its library. Indeed, it was not until 1881, nearly thirty years after the society was founded, that the building No. 1229 Race Street, since owned by the society, was fully taken possession of. While this structure is a plain, modest one, yet it is substantially constructed, and is completely adapted to the present wants of the society.

During the years preceding the erection of the society's hall a great mass of material had been collected, chiefly the result of gifts of individuals and various ecclesiastical, semi-ecclesiastical, and secular organizations. This matter, however, had never been arranged in systematic order, nor catalogued, until the society's removal to its own building.

At the present time the library comprises about twenty thousand bound volumes, fifty thousand pamphlets, and a great mass of manuscript material. In the fire-proof building adjoining the main building on the east is placed the more valuable part of the library, including all books classed as collected works, Bible text and study, apologetics, doctrinal theology, ecclesiastical theology, ethics, secular history, church history, and biography.

In addition to works of the character indicated, it is the aim of the society, being in the line of its fundamental objects and purposes, to gather a variety of matter bearing upon Presbyterian history and effort, such, for instance, as pamphlets, magazines, periodicals, reviews, sermons, single and collected; histories and discourses concerning churches, persons, and localities; minutes and proceedings of Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies; manuals and charters of churches; letters, autographs, and manuscript sermons of deceased ministers; annual reports of religious and benevolent societies; catalogues of colleges, seminaries, and schools; biographies, portraits, and photographs of ministers and prominent laymen; views of churches; pictures and engravings, and whatever else can illustrate or add interest to the facts concerning Presbyterianism.

Any person connected with any branch of the Presbyterian Church may become a member of the society by the payment of five dollars annually, one-half of which is applied to the current expense fund, and the other half to the library fund. The payment of fifty dollars constitutes a member for life, the whole of which is placed in the endowment fund, and the income only used for the library fund. There are four funds kept separate on the books of the treasurer, viz., current expense fund, library fund, endowment fund, and publication fund. The yearly meeting of the society is held on the first Tuesday in May.

The American Baptist Historical Society was first organized as a department of the American Baptist Publication Society at its annual meeting in 1853. The subject was brought before the society in the following suggestion of the board:

"The board would also suggest the importance of organizing a Historical Department for the special purpose of collecting and preserving all documents elucidating our denominational history, and for publishing such papers and volumes as may shed light upon the rise and growth of Baptist churches, and the progress of Baptist principles throughout the Union."

After the reading of the suggestion, Dr. J. M. Peck moved the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the interests of the Baptist denomination require the organization of a Historical Department in connection with the American Baptist Publication Society.

"*Resolved*, That this society hold a meeting to-morrow evening for the purpose of organizing such a department."

On the following evening the meeting was held and the Historical Department organized. The first officers were: President, William R. Williams, D.D.; Vice-Presidents, John M. Peck, D.D., William Hague, D.D., Baron Stow, DD., and R. B. C. Howell, D.D.; Secretary, Horatio G. Jones; Treasurer, Rev. B. R. Loxley; and Curators, Joseph Belchior, D.D., John Dowling, D.D., J. Lansing Burrows, D.D., and John Hanna.

In 1860, Howard Malcom, D.D., LL.D., was elected president, and from that time the society entered upon a new life, and was favored with remarkable prosperity. In 1861 a charter was secured, and the department became the American Baptist Historical Society, with all the powers of an independent body. The second article of the constitution of the newly-chartered institution says, "The sole object of this society shall be to establish and maintain in the

city of Philadelphia a library or depository of books, pamphlets, periodicals, manuscripts, portraits, views, etc., pertaining to the history and present condition of Christianity, and of the Baptist denomination in particular, to cause to be prepared and published from time to time works which elucidate such history; and to collect and preserve all books written by Baptists, or against Baptist faith and practice."

The society is located at 1420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. It has in its library over seven thousand volumes, many of which are rare and of great value. It has about one thousand volumes on church history alone, embracing the ecclesiastical records of all lands, ages, and communities; some of these are in the original Greek, Latin, and French. Many of the works of the Fathers and of the writers of the Middle Ages are on the shelves of the library. Its collection of minutes of Associations and Conventions, of denominational periodicals, and of pamphlets is preserved in twelve hundred bound volumes, and in one immense list of assorted and labeled packages. It has hundreds of manuscripts written by Baptists, chiefly upon historical subjects.

In the library, in pamphlets and volumes, there are the writings of about three thousand Baptist authors. The works of Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, German and Dutch Reformed, Mennonites, Seventh-Day Baptists, Free-Will Baptists, Friends, Dunkards, Disciples, Adventists, New Church (Swedenborgian), Unitarians, Universalists, and Shakers belong to the society. It has nearly seven hundred autograph letters of distinguished Baptists, including one written by the illustrious founder of Rhode Island, Roger Williams. It has also some eight hundred portraits of Baptist worthies.

In its library the society has the Isaac Davis alcove, supplied with works by the income of an endowment gift made by the Hon. Isaac Davis, of Worcester, Mass., and the Francis Jennings alcove, containing six hundred volumes, the gift of Mr. Jennings. This alcove is chiefly filled with works containing the hymns, poems, and other productions of the authors of sacred songs. The hymnologist finds in it an unusual and invaluable treasure.

The use of the library is without charge. The right to borrow books belongs to members only. The privilege of consulting its works is fully accorded to proper persons by the officers.

The collection of the society is constantly increasing by purchases in Europe and America, and by the gifts of friends, and it is hoped that at no distant day a fire-proof building will protect its sacred riches from the ever-threatening calamity of a city conflagration.

The Rev. William Cathcart, D.D., is president of the society; Rev. I. Newton Ritner, secretary; and H. E. Lincoln, librarian.

The Wagner Free Institute of Science was founded in 1855, by Professor William Wagner. Professor Wagner, during his many tours, which extended over the four great continents, made large collections of minerals, shells, plants, etc., aggregating millions of specimens. The cabinets containing these various specimens, carefully classified, had been placed in a building erected for that purpose on his own premises, near the site of the present buildings belonging to the institute. Having thrown open to the public the hall containing this collection, Professor Wagner delivered for a number of years a course of lectures upon various phases of natural history, using his specimens as illustrations. The enterprise having met with gratifying success, he determined to enlarge its scope by establishing a free school for the study of practical scientific subjects. Acting upon this idea, application was made to the Legislature for a charter, which was granted March 9, 1855, whereby was incorporated "The Wagner Free Institute of Science." To this institution Professor Wagner donated his admirable cabinet collection, together with a large scientific library. Added to these liberal donations was a munificent monetary endowment from the founder.

In the infancy of this institution the Councils of Philadelphia, foreseeing the advantages that must accrue to the cause of public education from the enterprise, granted the use of a hall and anterooms in the building at the corner of Thirteenth and Spring Garden Streets, known as Spring Garden Hall. Here the public inauguration of the Wagner Free Institute of Science took place on the 21st of May, 1855.

On this occasion addresses were delivered by James Pollock, then Governor of Pennsylvania; by Robert T. Conrad, then mayor of Philadelphia; by the Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania; by William H. Allen, LL.D., president of Girard College, and others.

A faculty, consisting of well-known scientific gentlemen, was organized, and the first regular term of the institute began on the first Monday of October, 1855, and continued, with a vacation of two weeks, until the 18th of June, 1856. The first anniversary was commemorated on the 21st of May in the latter year.

During the succeeding sessions of 1856–58, and up to March 26, 1859, the lectures were continued, with only brief intervals of vacation, at the Spring Garden Hall. The building was usually filled to overflowing, and the lectures were highly appreciated. They embraced in their scope mineralogy, geology, anatomy, physiology, palæontology, ethnology, agricultural chemistry, civil engineering, natural philosophy, botany, etc. During most of this time twelve lectures were delivered each week, "without money and without price," to the multitudes that assembled to avail themselves of their enlightening influences. Large additions were also made to the cabinets and library of the institution.

The use of Spring Garden Hall was recalled, how-

ever, by the City Councils in March, 1859, the building being desired for municipal offices. The closing exercises in that building were held March 26, 1859, at which time a vote of thanks was presented to the City Councils for the use of the hall for so long a period. On the 28th of March, Professor Wagner, with his assistants, commenced removing the collections of the Wagner Free Institute of Science to a room previously rented by him for their reception.

During the autumn of 1859, Professor Wagner, not succeeding in an effort to purchase the Spring Garden Hall as a permanent location for the institute, concluded to erect a suitable building on a part of his own premises, selecting the present site, on the southwest corner of Seventeenth Street and Montgomery Avenue, as the most suitable. The lot appropriated is two hundred and sixty-six by one hundred and seventy-seven feet ten inches, and being his own architect, he adopted the plan of the present edifice, it being one hundred and fifty feet long and sixty feet wide, and of a height admirably proportioned.

The ceremony of laying the corner-stone took place June 2d, and was conducted by Professor Wagner, assisted by Professors Henry T. Child, M.D., J. W. Burns, Charles A. Leech, M.D., H. R. Warriner, William Ashman, and Judge William D. Kelley. It consisted in the laying on of their hands, and dedicating the institution to the pursuits and advancement of science for the benefit of citizens of Philadelphia forever; this college to be called the Wagner Free Institute of Science.

The work of constructing the new building progressed steadily, although somewhat retarded by the civil war, until its completion in 1864, when the museum and library collections of every variety and description, then or subsequently properly labeled, were tastefully arranged in the capacious apartments that had been prepared for them with so much perseverance and care.

The building as completed is a handsome, as well as a substantial, one. The lecture-room, which enjoys excellent acoustic properties, accommodates about thirteen hundred people. Adjoining the latter is the laboratory, amply supplied with all modern appliances suitable for scientific investigation. The eight professors' apartments and recitation-rooms are large and convenient. The museum is capacious and admirably fitted for displaying the cabinets which it contains. The building cost about forty-one thousand dollars, the lot sixty thousand dollars, the cabinets, collections of natural history, and philosophical instruments are estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, making the aggregate value of the college building and contents three hundred and fifty-one thousand dollars.

From July, 1864, at which time the building had assumed a sufficient degree of forwardness to admit of its being used, as it was not deemed best to commence its operations as a comprehensive technological college at that time on account of the great number of young men then absent in the army, Professor Wagner, desirous of rendering the building as serviceable as possible, threw open its lecture-room for the use of the various religious denominations of the city, on Sundays, up to May, 1865.

Prior to the date of the formal opening of the new building, application was made to the Legislature for an amendment to the act of incorporation passed in 1855. Under date of March 30, 1864, a supplementary act was passed by the Legislature making certain changes in the charter of the institute, whereby its scope was greatly enlarged. Indeed, the last-named enactment may be said to have constituted an entirely new charter for the institution. Under this new charter the institute is empowered to assume and exercise the powers of a university.

The inauguration or opening of the Wagner Free Institute of Science, in the new building, took place May 11, 1865, at 3.30 P.M. Col. W. B. Thomas was chairman, and Dr. Charles Gaunt secretary of the meeting. After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Adams, Col. Thomas explained the object of the meeting. Professor Wagner then made a few appropriate remarks, tendering the deed of the institute and lot to the board of trustees, then acting under the supplementary act of incorporation, approved March 4, 1864. The trustees consisted of Robert Cornelius, D. Rodney King, J. Vaughan Merrick, Charles J. Stillé, Samuel Wagner, Jr., Henry Coppée, and William Wagner. The deed conveyed the lot in trust to these gentlemen, together with the buildings, cabinets of natural history, philosophical instruments, specimens of geology, mineralogy, botany, and anatomy, chemical apparatus, the palæontological specimens, drawings, paintings, engravings, maps, diagrams, library, and statuary, on condition that they should be forever used for the instruction and improvement of the citizens of the United States in practical science.

The following is a schedule of the property donated to the institute by Professor Wagner:

The hall of the institute and lot of ground on which it is situated, one hundred and seventy-seven feet ten inches front by two hundred and sixty-six feet deep, at the southwest corner of Seventeenth Street and Montgomery Avenue, now worth one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

A lot of ground on the northeast corner of Seventeenth Street and Montgomery Avenue, one hundred and seventy-seven feet ten inches by two hundred and one feet, worth thirty-five thousand dollars.

Five hundred and fifty thousand specimens of minerals, collected from all parts of the inhabitable earth. This collection covers the whole field of mineralogy, and is one of the most valuable in the United States.

Five hundred and fifty thousand specimens of geologic and organic remains, of rare value to the student, illustrating as they do the various races

which are known to have flourished in the earlier geological periods.

Four hundred thousand specimens of recent shells, for the purpose of comparison with their extinct genera, found in the various strata of the earth's crust.

Two hundred and twenty-five thousand specimens of dried plants, constituting an extensive and valuable herbarium for botanical illustration.

A large and well-arranged series of diagrams, illustrative of various topics in natural history, and of geological phenomena.

Professor Wagner's library, philosophical apparatus, maps, and cabinet cases.

Four houses and lots of ground in Eleventh Street below Chestnut, worth thirty-five thousand dollars.

The cabinets, collection of natural history, philosophical apparatus, etc., worth two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

On May 15, 1865, at five P.M., the first course of free lectures commenced in the new building, and embraced chemistry, anatomy, geology, natural philosophy, physiology, mineralogy, and mining. In the following September an effort was made to commence a regular collegiate course, embracing geology, mineralogy, mining, civil engineering, mathematics, drawing, chemistry, and natural philosophy. Owing, however, to the unsettled state of the country because of the Rebellion, the enterprise was abandoned for the time, and will only be renewed when the plans, now fast approaching completion, are fully matured.

The course of free lectures commenced again Oct. 2, 1865, and continued until late in December.

Since Jan. 1, 1866, two courses of free lectures have been delivered each year, embracing most or all of the branches of natural science. The spring courses have commenced about the 1st of March, and have usually terminated the latter part of June; the autumn courses about the 1st of October, closing the last of December. The hour has been changed from five to eight P.M. Six lectures have generally been given each week.

The institute owns an excellent library, largely composed of scientific works. At the present time the number of volumes comprising this collection approximates eighteen thousand.

The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society was organized on the 27th of December, 1857, by seven gentlemen, who saw that there existed no society in America distinctively devoted to numismatic investigation. With this object in view these men resolved to fill the void by the establishment of an association. A committee was appointed to frame a constitution and by-laws, which reported at a special meeting, held Jan. 1, 1858, and the Numismatic Society came into being. On February 19th of the same year the General Assembly granted a charter to the society, not, however, without considerable opposition. On March 23, 1865, the name was changed to that which it at present bears.

The society has had but two presidents from the date of its foundation, Joseph J. Mickley, until 1867, and since that time Eli K. Price. To the enlightened zeal of the latter is due largely much of the present high standing of the association. Its ranks have been filled with the most illustrious men of America and Europe, and its contributions to antiquarian research have been frequent and worthy of note. The most important of its actions was the adoption, in September, 1858, of a new scale of measurement for coins and medals in place of that of Mionnet, which is the one in general use throughout Europe. This scale, proposed by Alfred B. Taylor, has been, after its reception by the society, generally adopted throughout the United States, and is known as the "American scale."

In April, 1866, the society petitioned Congress to render the national coinage of more interest and permanent value than a mere succession of insignificant pieces of metal. The petition was presented by Senator Reverdy Johnson, honorary vice-president for the State of Maryland, but as yet no step in the desired direction has resulted from the society's action.

On New Year's day, 1879, the society celebrated its twenty-first anniversary. Certain members of the society desired to mark this epoch, and accordingly caused to be struck a commemorative medal, which, while it should chronicle this event, should also be made to testify the respect and regard entertained for the society's president, Eli K. Price. When the medal was prepared, a special meeting of the society was held on the 20th of March, 1879, and an impression in silver, the only one struck in that metal, was formally presented to him. A number of the medals were sent, in the name of the society, to kindred associations in this country and in Europe.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the society occurred on Jan. 1, 1883, but as that day was a legal holiday it was deemed advisable to defer the formal celebration of the event, which had been previously agreed upon, until the next regular meeting on the first Thursday in January. Accordingly, on Thursday, January 4th, the society assembled at its hall, at the southwest corner of Eighteenth and Chestnut Streets, for the purpose of commemorating its institution. Two very admirable papers were read, one by Daniel G. Brinton, M.D., and the other by Rev. John P. Lundy.

The meeting was largely attended by the members of the society and by a number of visitors.

The society has done much good work in its quarter of a century of effort and investigation. Subjects previously shrouded in darkness have been illumined with the light shed upon them by the careful investigators belonging to the association, while much useful and instructive information has been imparted.

The purposes of the association are fully set forth ...ar recently addressed to kindred societies,

United States consuls, Indian agents, missionaries, and scientific men in fields favorable for archæological researches, soliciting their aid in gathering information concerning the latest discoveries of coins, antiquities, ancient manuscripts, and aboriginal remains of scientific interest, in which it is said,—

"The society desires to collect data relative to aboriginal peoples in any locality, concerning their habits, customs, and ceremonies; their myths, traditions, and religions; their dances, music, and musical instruments; and the society would be glad to receive for its museum contributions of antiquities or objects of ethnological interest, which, when received, will be fully credited to the donor and conspicuously exhibited."

The coins of the society are on exhibition at Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park, in the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art. The transfer took place in 1878. The collection here constitutes the only public exhibition of coins in the United States, outside of the United States Mint in this city.

Among the deposits which have been placed in Memorial Hall is the entire cabinet of coins and medals belonging to the American Philosophical Society. For nearly a century this collection had been in process of formation, and many interesting and valuable coins had been donated to it by prominent persons from time to time, until, in 1878, it became so cumbersome that the society transferred it to the custodianship of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society.

The society's library contains something over three thousand books and pamphlets, chiefly devoted to numismatic and antiquarian subjects. Access to it is denied to all save members, the number being limited to one hundred and fifty. Its cabinet of coins and medals, including many very ancient ones, numbers about eight thousand, while its cabinet of antiquities contains over five hundred relics. It has also collections of engravings, autographs, maps, and miscellaneous objects of value and interest.

The Friends' Free Library and Reading-Room (Germantown) was thrown open to the public in 1869. The nucleus of this library came from the venerable meeting of Friends, which has so long been established at Germantown. Since the date of organization, partly through purchase and partly from donations, the library has been enlarged from about two thousand seven hundred volumes until, at the present time, it contains about ten thousand volumes. The library has been the recipient of many generous money contributions during its brief history. Among its chief patrons has been Alfred Cope. It was mainly owing to his liberality that the managers of the library were enabled, in 1874, to erect on the meeting-house property a fine hall, at a cost of about seventeen thousand dollars.

In accordance with the usual custom prevailing in libraries under the direction of Friends, this one contains no works of fiction. Moreover, great care is exercised to prevent the introduction of any books whose moral tone is not of the most unexceptionable character. About six hundred persons use the library, there being a weekly average of about three hundred visitors.

In addition to many valuable books of travel, the library chiefly consists of historical and biographical works.

As intimated in the title of the library, the institution is entirely free, being one of the very few of this class within the corporate limits of Philadelphia. It is solely maintained by voluntary contributions.

Wilson's Circulating Library was established Dec. 1, 1875. At the opening there was a collection of only three hundred books. At present there are over twenty-two thousand volumes in the library. The main library is located at No. 111 South Eleventh Street. There are branches, however, at No. 2039 Ridge Avenue, and at No. 3902 Market Street, and also at Long Branch, Asbury Park, Atlantic City, and Cape May, N. J. These latter stations are, of course, chiefly utilized in the summer season, a transfer system being in vogue, whereby any subscriber at the main library can obtain books at the branch at any one of the summer resorts mentioned. In addition to these sub-stations, the library has a system whereby subscribers temporarily sojourning at Media, Chestnut Hill, Bryn Mawr, Germantown, Fernwood, and other places are supplied with books by means of weekly deliveries and by messenger service.

Books are taken out upon the following terms: By subscription, three dollars per annum, one dollar and seventy-five cents for six months, one dollar for three months; for two books at a time, the additional charge is fifty cents per quarter or two dollars per annum. To non-subscribers, on receipt of deposit, the charge is two cents per day, or ten cents per week. No fines are levied for keeping books longer than a specified time.

Although the quarters of Wilson's Library are unassuming in architectural appearance, yet it carries on a very heavy business, considering the time it has been established. As an evidence of this it is stated that seven thousand dollars' worth of books were purchased in 1883, and that over three thousand volumes were in constant circulation, representing about two thousand subscribers.

The Mutual Library was founded in 1879, as a circulating library. Since its institution it has made substantial progress. It now possesses about twelve thousand volumes, besides a considerable number of duplicates.

The following system prevails relative to the use of books by subscribers and others: Quarterly and annual subscriptions are received on the following terms: three books at a time, three months, one dollar; twelve months, three dollars; six books at a

time, three months, one dollar and fifty cents; twelve months, five dollars.

There are no fines, penalties, or liabilities imposed on subscribers, except for the value of a lost book, on failure to return it after ten days' notice.

In addition to this subscription plan is the check-register system, on the basis of one hundred books for one dollar. Each subscriber, on payment of one dollar, is furnished with a check-register, good for one hundred books, from Class A, being composed of bound copies of standard works and popular novels, or a proportionate number of books from the other classes. The check-register is good for two books at a time from any class until exhausted.

One of the main distinctions of the Mutual Library lies in the fact that it has upon its tables and shelves many copies of all the current magazines, temporarily bound in cloth, which are lent out, as are any other volumes.

When instituted, the Mutual Library was located in the massive granite building of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, at the northwest corner of Tenth and Chestnut Streets. For over a year, however, the library has been located at No. 1104 Walnut Street.

With two or three exceptions, these libraries, of which an historical sketch has been given, contain over ten thousand bound volumes each. In addition to these, there are in the city of Philadelphia a large number of libraries of fair size, some of which have a distinct corporate existence, while others are simply bibliographical collections, owned by various religious, educational, literary, charitable, and penal institutions. These libraries are as follows, each one containing from one thousand to ten thousand volumes:

Name.	Formed.	Class.
Academy of Notre Dame	1858	Academic.
American Sunday-School Union	1824	Theological.
Broad Street Academy	1863	Academic.
Burd Orphan Asylum	1862	Miscellaneous.
Byberry Library	1793	Miscellaneous.
Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia	1736	Miscellaneous.
Catholic Philopatrian Literary Institute	1850	Miscellaneous.
Central High School	1838	Academic.
Christ Church Hospital	......	Miscellaneous.
Christ Church Library	1695	Theological.
Christian Hall Library (Chestnut Hill)	1870	Miscellaneous.
Fifth Ward Grammar-School	1831	Academic.
George Institute	1872	Miscellaneous.
Germantown Library Company	......	Miscellaneous.
Girard College	1848	Academic.
Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, F. and A. M.	1787	Miscellaneous.
Hahnemann Medical College	1867	Medical.
Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church	1865	Miscellaneous.
House of Refuge (Colored)	1850	Miscellaneous.
House of Refuge (White)	1826	Miscellaneous.
Institute for Colored Youth	1837	Academic.
Institution for the Blind	1833	Academic.
Institution for the Deaf and Dumb	1833	Academic.
James Page Library Company of Kensington	......	Miscellaneous.
Kensington Institute	1853	Miscellaneous.
Keystone Public Grammar-School	1831	Academic.
La Salle College	1868	Collegiate.
Library and Reading-Room Association (Twenty-third Ward)	1857	Miscellaneous.
Lincoln Institute	1866	Miscellaneous.
Locust Street Grammar-School	1831	Academic.
Mechanics' Institute of Southwark	1852	Miscellaneous.
Moyamensing Literary Institute	1853	Miscellaneous.
Northern Home and Associated Soldiers' Orphans' Institute	1868	Miscellaneous.
Northwestern Grammar-School	1831	Academic.
Odd Fellows' Library Company	......	Miscellaneous.
Penitentiary, Eastern District of Pennsylvania	1829	Miscellaneous.
Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane	1841	Miscellaneous.
Philadelphia Almshouse	1808	Medical.
Philadelphia City Institute	1851	Miscellaneous.
Philadelphia College of Pharmacy	1821	Medical.
Philadelphia County Prison	1844	Miscellaneous.
Philadelphia Divinity School (Protestant Episcopal)	1865	Theological.
Presbyterian Board of Publication	1838	Miscellaneous.
Roxborough Lyceum	1857	Miscellaneous.
St. Joseph's College	1851	Collegiate.
St. Vincent's Seminary	1868	Academic.
Shakespeare Society	1851	Miscellaneous.
Sixth Ward Public School	1831	Academic.
Soldiers' Orphans' School	1866	Miscellaneous.
Southwestern Grammar-School	1831	Academic.
Tabor Mutual Library	1860	Miscellaneous.
Teachers' Institute	1867	Miscellaneous.
Theological Seminary (Evangelical Lutheran)	1864	Theological.
United States Mint	1793	Miscellaneous.
University of Pennsylvania, Medical Department	1765	Medical.
University of Pennsylvania, Philomathean Society	1813	Miscellaneous.
University of Pennsylvania, Zelosophic Society	1829	Miscellaneous.
West Philadelphia Institute	1853	Miscellaneous.
Women's Hospital	1863	Medical.
Young Ladies' Institute	1855	Academic.
Young Men's Christian Association	1854	Miscellaneous.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

THE SWEDISH CHURCH.

CHRISTIANITY in Sweden and Norway dates back to the days of the viking, King Olaf, and Bishop Sigfrid, who, in the year 1000, planted the "Cross of the White Christ" in the domains of Odin and Thor. Early in the sixteenth century the church was reformed by the hero-king, Gustavus Vasa, at the famous Diet of Westeräs, adopting the Lutheran faith in spirit, but retaining still the traditional Episcopal form. This was the beginning of the modern Swedish Church, and therefore it is that, as to the form of church government, they stand in a certain affinity to the Protestant Episcopal Church, while in doctrine they are unequivocally Lutherans. From the middle of the last century up to the war of independence the Swedish pastors and congregations were in nearer intercourse with the Lutherans and participated in their Synodical Conventions. Swedish immigration and language more and more disappearing, the influence of the Episcopal Church increased under the assumption that there was between Episcopalians and Lutherans no difference as to doctrine.

The early establishment of the Swedish Church in America is due to the far-sighted policy of King Gustavus Adolphus, the great Protestant soldier and statesman, whose death at Lutzen probably changed the political and religious history of Northern Europe. King Gustavus gave a charter in 1626 to the first

West India Company, and arranged for a colony in America where religious and political freedom should be enjoyed. Efforts were to be made to Christianize the savages. In 1638, after the king's death, the first party of immigrants were sent out by Chancellor Oxenstiern in the "Griffin" and the "Key of Calmar." They settled on the Delaware River, built Fort Christina (Wilmington), and a church within its inclosure. Rev. Reorus Torkillus was the clergyman. He seems to have gone to Virginia soon after, and was absent four years, was married and then returned, preaching at Fort Christina till his death, in 1643. Governor John Printz built the "hemlock log fort" on Tinicum Island, and brought as chaplain Rev. John Campanius (February, 1643). The latter's instructions read,—

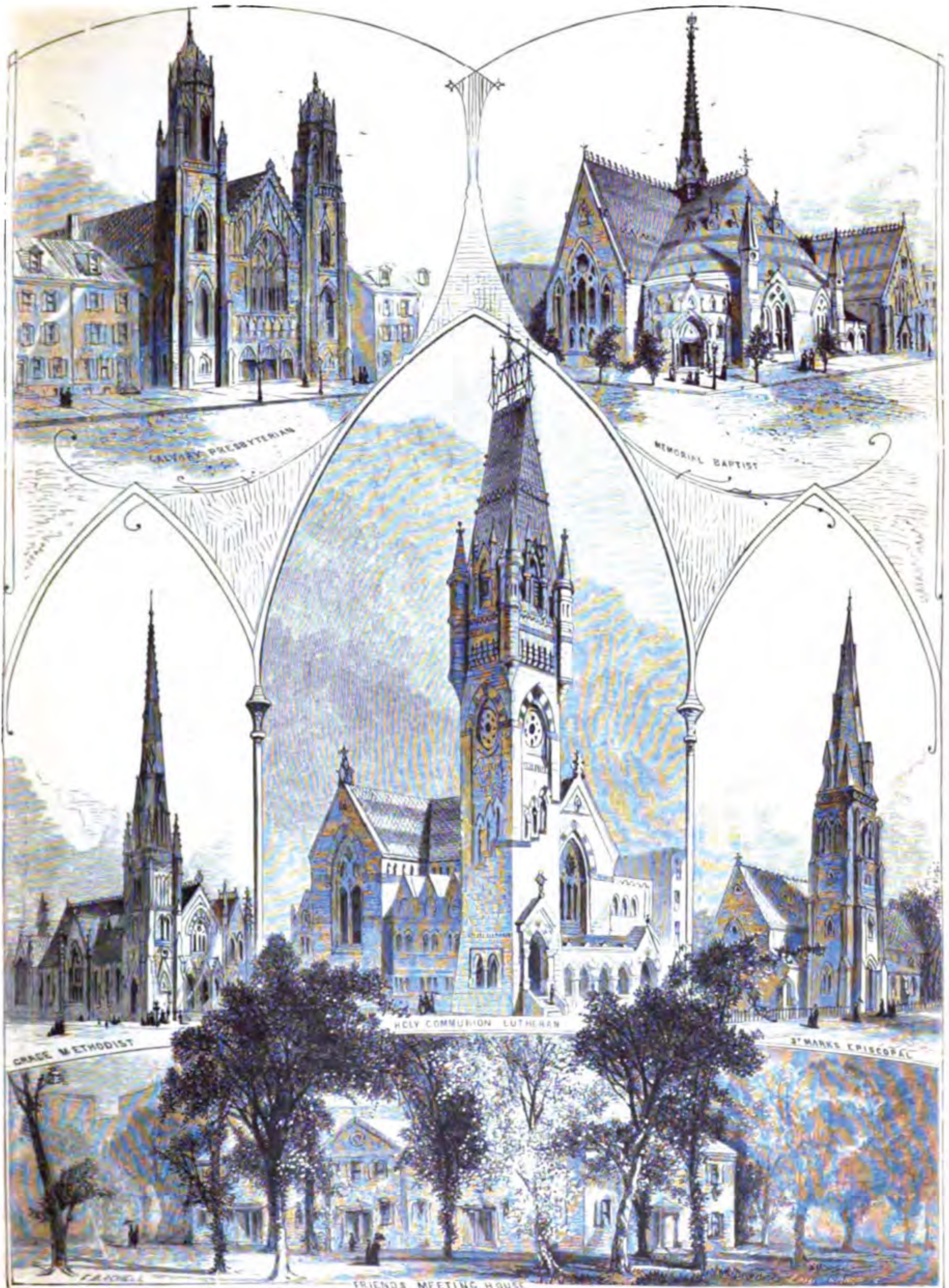
"He must labor and watch that he renders in all things to Almighty God the true worship which is his due, the glory, the praise, and the homage that belong to him, and take good measures that the divine service is performed according to the true confession of Augsburg, the council of Upsal, and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church, having care that all men, and especially youth, be well instructed in all the parts of Christianity, and that a good ecclesiastical discipline be observed and maintained. With respect to the Dutch colony which resides and is established in the country of her majesty and the crown, the government must not disturb what has been obtained in the aforesaid Court of her majesty, with regard to the exercises of the reformed religion."

Especial care was also to be shown toward the Indians to instruct and civilize them. Campanius preached in the fort, and also in a room of the Governor's mansion. In 1646 the first Lutheran Church on this continent was built on Tinicum Island, below Philadelphia, of wood, and was consecrated September 4th. The first cemetery of the colonists was laid out adjacent. Meanwhile, Campanius, zealous and capable, had studied the native language and begun the translation of Luther's catechism, the first translation of any sort into any Indian dialect. This he finished after his return to Europe. His capacity for this work is shown by the fact that he adapted his phrases to the Indian customs, requirements, and understanding. For instance, in the Lord's Prayer, instead of writing "give us our daily bread," he paraphrased it, "give us a plentiful supply of venison and corn." The Rev. Reorus Torkillus had made no effort to instruct the Indians, but the first sermon of Campanius had a curious effect upon those children of the forest. The story is told by his grandson, Thomas Campanius Holm:

"When for the first time he performed divine service in the Swedish congregation, the Indians came to hear him, and greatly wondered that he had so much to say, and that he stood alone and talked so long, while all the rest were listening in silence. This excited in them strange suspicions. They thought everything was not right, and that some conspiracy was going forward amongst us, in consequence of which my grandfather's life and that of the other priests were for some time in considerable danger from the Indians, who came daily to him and asked many questions."

The other priests alluded to were Rev. Lars (Lawrence) Carolus Lokenius (Lock) and Rev. Israel Holgh. The latter took the place of Campanius, who left New Sweden May 16, 1648. Holgh only remained a short time. Lokenius made a bad record. In 1660 he was fined by Director Beekman fifty guilders for marrying a couple without the usual proclamations, and against the will of their parents. In 1661 his wife eloped with one Jacob Jongh, carrying off some of the goods of her husband. Precisely one month afterward he applied to Director Beekman to marry again, his intended bride being a blooming Swedish girl of seventeen. Beekman refused, but three weeks afterward Lars appeared again for approbation of his marriage, "as the situation of his family imperiously required it." Two months later permission for a divorce was granted by Governor Stuyvesant at New York. No sooner did Lokenius learn this than, anticipating the official action of the Court of Magistrates, which had not yet allowed the divorce, he put an end to his doubts and uncertainties by "marrying himself!" Upon this the court at Altona declared the marriage "null, void, and illegal," he was fined, and an appeal was disregarded. Lokenius appears again in 1663, in violent and successful opposition to the preaching of Rev. Abelius Zetscoven, who had been called from New York. About this time two Swedish clergymen, whose surnames are unknown, visited the colony. Lokenius retired about 1668. His successor was Rev. Jacobus Fabritius, a turbulent character, of uncertain nationality, who had arrived in New York in 1669, and was suspended from preaching in Albany. About 1670 he went to the Delaware.

In 1674 he made himself amenable to the law for marrying a couple without previous proclamation, and by committing an assault and battery upon a woman in her own house. He begged Governor Colve and the Council for mercy. The marriage was declared void, and for the assault he was fined "two beavers and expenses" and suspended for one year. He begged liberty to baptize during his suspension, and the Albany Record says he was "excused." In 1675 a warrant was issued against him as one of the ringleaders in a riot at Delawaretown, and he was again suspended. This disqualification was afterward taken off, and we find that in 1677 the Rev. Jacobus Fabritius became the first clergyman who exercised sacred functions in Philadelphia. He was called to Wicaco Church, where he first preached in Dutch on Trinity Sunday, 1677. In the "Conspiracy of the Long Finne," 1679, it is said that "the little dominie," supposed to be Fabritius, was concerned. Until 1675 there had been no church within the present boundaries of Philadelphia. Crainehook, New Castle, and Tinicum were the only churches west of the Delaware. Governor Andros promulgated an order from New Castle in 1675, directing that a church, or place of meeting, be built at Wicaco, by authority of the court, to be paid for by general tax. This order does not seem to have been complied with by the erection of a new building, nor is there anything to show that a tax was levied for the purpose. The congregation was therefore compelled to



CHURCHES.

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make other arrangements, so, in 1677, they took an old log block-house, built in 1669, and fitted it up. It had "loop-holes for defense," and was a very plain structure, so neglected and weather-worn that in 1679 it was necessary "for Upland Court to order that the members of the congregation at Wicaco should be required to contribute their share to the expenses of repairs." The congregation brought fire-arms with them to church, ostensibly to shoot wild game that they might meet on the road. Even after the congregation took possession, the old house was sometimes used as a refuge. Tradition preserves the story that an attack upon the settlement was begun by some Indians while the men were away, but the women, then soap-making, fled to the block-house, and kept them at bay, chiefly with boiling soap, till the men returned from the fields, and the Indians fled.

Rev. Jacob Fabritius, by this time old and feeble, preached here for fourteen years, during the last nine of which he was totally blind. He preached in Dutch, which most of the Swedes understood. Penn's government superseded that of New York in 1682, the year that Fabritius became blind, after which Andrew Bengtson acted as reader. Charles Christopher Springer was reader at Christina.[1] From all available sources, we must suppose that the religious ceremonials among our early Swedish population resembled, in many respects, those of the Catholic Church. Robinson's account of Sweden, published in 1694, speaks of the ecclesiastical peculiarities of the worship, and says that the churches were decorated with sculptures, paintings, and gilding, and with rich altar-cloths, and that the clergy appeared in copes and other vestments. Consett, who traveled in Sweden in 1789, speaks of St. Nicholas' Church, at Stockholm, as being decorated with costly ornaments of silver and gold, and says, "As the Lutheran profession is very different from that of the Church of Rome, I was much surprised to find the Popish mode of worship, with respect to external splendor, so much adopted in these churches." Even in the old block-house at Wicaco there probably appeared rich vestments that had first seen the light in some of these old Swedish churches.

The Wicaco congregation was very poor, and illy supported Fabritius. In the colonial records, 19th of Fourth month (June), 1685, is a note of an application by Jacobus Fabritius to keep an ordinary (tavern). The Council, however, refused to grant the request. The dominie was probably reduced to the necessity of trying some other means of obtaining a livelihood. William Penn, in a letter to his steward, James Harrison, tells him that he may procure "fine smoked shads of the old priest in Philadelphia." There is still in existence a certificate of marriage performed by Fabritius in July, 1687, "according to the canon of the Church of England," the parties being John Rambo, of Haxburgh, now Hamburg, in High Germany, and Hathawdnah Hadowirk, of Saldazda, in High Germany. His death probably occurred in 1691 or 1692. Before this, however, the congregation wrote two letters to Sweden for another clergyman, and receiving no answers, wrote in 1691 to the Dutch Lutherans as follows:

"Very revered, very learned, very honorable consistorial senators of the unaltered Augsburgian confession at Amsterdam:

"With a cordial and respectful salutation, we, of the Swedish nation in Pennsylvania, notify that the revered and learned magister, Jacob Fabritius, who, in 1677, in our vocation commenced the clerical service, did, during five years, while having his eyesight, and for nine years succeeding his loss of sight, diligently and faithfully attend us by preaching and administering the sacraments according to the Orthodox confession of Augsburg, and by an exemplary life, but must now resign his trust on account of his blindness and the infirmities of age. You will easily judge, venerable sirs, how forlorn will then be our situation. Like sheep without a shepherd, sick without a physician, we shall be exposed to many dangers.

"We therefore supplicate you, in consideration of this and our happy fellowship in the Lutheran communion, to provide us with a proper Swedish character, as we know that many students of various nations are at Amsterdam waiting for promotion. And as a laborer is worthy of his reward, we stipulate for the coming minister a yearly salary of one hundred rix dollars, with a house and glebe for his maintenance. If a qualified person is not found in Amsterdam, we humbly request your kind aid to procure a clergyman from Sweden by letters to the proper authorities."

Receiving no reply to this, Andrew Bengsten and Charles Springer, the readers, were their only dependence. About this time Andrew Printz, a nephew of old Governor Johan Printz, of Tinicum, visited the Delaware. On his return to Sweden, he informed John Thelin, postmaster at Gottenburg, of the fact of there being a colony of Swedes settled on the Delaware, and also their need of clergymen. Thelin told a nobleman, who laid the matter before the king, and he was soon able to write a long letter to the Swedish colonists, in which he said,—

"His Majesty took therein a special and particular interest, and resolved that he would send unto you, not only ministers, but also all sorts of godly books, and would willingly have used for an agent in accomplishing these purposes the same man who had related these things. But the Lord knoweth what became of that man, for he could not be seen or heard of afterward. Therefore I do now take the boldness on myself, being acquainted with an elderly woman here, who says that she has a brother living among you, Peter Gunnarson Rambo [settled near Shakamaxon, where a stream was named after him, "Gunnar's Run"], through whom this letter may be received, that I may know from you the truth of what has been related, and in what way such ministers may be sent to you, desiring that you would let it be distinctly known of what you are in need.

"We desire to know the number of ministers and books which you desire to have, and also how many you are in number, and how many churches you have. About eight or ten years ago the Governor, William Penn, petitioned the Swedish Ambassador at London for ministers and books for you, but for some cause or other the request was not carried into effect. Be not negligent in the things which pertain to your everlasting happiness, for you may certainly see that the Great God doth as soon help through friends that are humble as those that are great and powerful. I commend you to the holy protection of Almighty God, both in soul and body. I shall expect to hear from you by the first opportunity that may offer, and remain your most loving friend and servant,

"JEAN THELIN.

"GOTTENBURG, 16th November, 1692."

[1] Clay's "Annals of the Swedes."

This letter gave the Swedes great pleasure, but they decided to lay the whole matter before Lieutenant-Governor Markham, who approved of the plan, and offered to write to Penn in London to talk the subject over with Lejoncrona, the Swedish ambassador. Charles Christopher Springer then prepared a reply to Mr. Thelin, which was dated "Pennsylvania, 31st of May, 1693," and signed by thirty persons, heads of families. It throws much light upon Swedish life and manners at that time in Pennsylvania, and reads as follows:

"Honored, loving, and much respected friend, John Thelin, his Majesty's loyal subject, and Postmaster at Gottenburg.

"Your unexpected and welcome letter, dated Gottenburg, 16th November, 1692, came to hand the 23d of May, 1693, and made us heartily rejoice that it had pleased Almighty God, through that young man, Andrew Prints, to make known our condition to our friends in Sweden. We rejoice that his Majesty doth still bear unto us a tender and a Christian care. Therefore we do heartily desire, since it has pleased his Majesty graciously to regard our wants, that there may be sent to us two Swedish ministers who are well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and who may be able to defend them and us against all false opposers; so that we may preserve our own true Lutheran faith, which, if called to suffer for our faith, we are ready to seal with our blood. We also request that these ministers may be men of good moral lives and characters, so that they may instruct our youth by their example, and lead them into a pious and virtuous way of life.

"Further, it is our humble desire that you would be pleased to send us three books of sermons, twelve Bibles, forty-two Psalm-books, one hundred tracts, with two hundred catechisms, and as many primers, for which, when received, we promise punctual payment at such prices as you may think fit to order. We do promise, also, a proper maintenance to the ministers that may be sent us; and when this letter is gone, it is our intention to buy a piece of land that shall belong to the church, and upon which the minister may live.

"As to what concerns our situation in this country, we are for the most part husbandmen; we plow and sow and till the ground, and, as to our meat and drink, we live according to the old Swedish custom. The country is very rich and fruitful, and here grows all sorts of grain in great plenty. So that we are richly supplied with meat and drink, and we send out yearly to our neighbors on this continent and the neighboring islands, bread, grain, flour, and oil. We have here also all sorts of beasts, fowls, and fishes. Our wives and daughters employ themselves in spinning wool and flax, and many of them in weaving, so that we have great reason to thank the Almighty for his manifold mercies and benefits. God grant that we may also have good shepherds to feed us with His holy word and sacraments.

"Further, since this country has ceased to be under the government of Sweden, we are bound to acknowledge and declare, for the sake of the truth, that we have been well and kindly treated, as well by the Dutch as by his Majesty the King of England, our gracious sovereign. On the other hand, we of the Swedes have been and still are true and faithful to him in words and deeds. We have always had over us good and gracious magistrates, and we live with one another in peace and quietness."[1]

[1] This letter also contained a list of the old Swedish immigrants and of the later arrivals, numbering in all one hundred and eighty-eight families and nine hundred and seven individuals. The names of the old Swedish immigrants are marked with a star.

A list of the Swedish families residing in New Sweden in the year 1693, with the number of individuals in each family.

Name	No.	Name	No.
*Peter Rambo, Sr	2	*Johan Svensson	9
Peter Rambo, Jr	6	Gunnar Svensson	5
Johan Rambo	6	*Anders Nilsson	8
Anders Rambo	9	Brita Gostafson	6
Gunnar Rambo	6	Gostaf Gostafson	8
Capt. Lasse Cock	11	*Jonas Nilsson	4
Eric Cock	9	Nils Jonsson	6
Mans Cock	8	Mans Jonsson	6
Johan Cock	7	Anders Jonsson	4
Gabriel Cock	7	Jon Jonsson	2
*Anders Bengtsson	9	Hans Joransson	11
*Anders Bonde	11	*Mans Staake	1
Sven Bonde	5	Peter Staake, *alias* Petersson	3

King Charles XI. received this letter and wrote the following to Dr. Olaus Suebilius, archbishop of Upsal:

"Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Sweden, etc., etc.

"Our faithful and well-beloved Archbishop: We send you herewith a letter from the Swedish colony on the river Delaware to John Thelin, the Postmaster at Gottenburg, and by him delivered to the Council of State. From which we have seen, with great pleasure, that this people have a pious zeal for the preservation to themselves and their children of the pure evangelical religion. We are by this moved to grant them aid, and to favor their petition for obtaining two clergymen. It is therefore our pleasure that you will carefully select for them such good and learned pastors as they desire to have, and it is our will that as soon as they shall be ready for their voyage they be provided with a passage

Name	No.	Name	No.
*Marten Martensson, Sr	3	William Talley	7
*Marten Martensson, Jr	10	*Hindrich Iwarsson	9
Mats Martensson	4	Johan Skrika	1
Otto Ernst Cock	5	Matts Skrika	3
Michel Nilsson	11	*Olle Paulsson	9
Peter Joccom	9	Johan Stillman	5
Johan Bonde	1	Hindric Parchou	4
Johan Scute	4	*Simon Johansson	10
Matts Hollsten	7	Johan Grantum	3
Johan Stille	8	Bengt Paulsson	5
Anders Wihler	4	Lasse Kempe	6
Mans Gostafson	2	Gostaf Paulsson	6
Nils Laican	5	Hans Gostafsson	7
*Eric Molica	8	Johan Andersson	7
Jonas Kyn	8	*Hindrich Jacobsson	4
Matts Kyn	3	Jacob Van der Weer	7
Bengt Bengtsson	2	Cornelius Van der Weer	7
Christian Classon	7	William Van der Weer	1
Nils Gastenberg	3	Jacob Van der Weer	3
Eric Gastenberg	7	Hans Petersson	5
Lars Bure	8	Paul Petersson	3
Lars Johansson	6	Peter Petersson	3
Didrich Johansson	5	Peter Mansson	3
Peter Stillman	4	Johan Mansson	5
Frederic Konigh	6	Hindrich Tossa	5
Elias Tay	4	Johan Tossa	4
Jonas Stillman	4	Thomas Jonsson	1
Casper Fisk	10	*Jacob Clemsson	1
Staphan Ekhorn	5	*Olle Resse	5
Peter Dahlbo	9	Jacob Classon	6
Otto Dahlbo	7	*Hindrich Andersson	5
Johan Mattsson	11	Lucas Lucasson	1
*Antonij Long	3	Hans Lucasson	1
*Nils Mattson	3	*Olle Kuckow	6
And. Persson Longaker	7	Hindrich Slobey	2
Martan Knutsson	6	Christopher Meyer	7
Nils Frende's widow	7	Hindrich Larsson	6
Anders Frende	4	Matte Ericsson	3
Reiner Peterson	2	Eric Ericsson	1
Anders Hindricksson	4	Thomas Dennis	6
Johan Von Culen	5	Anders Robertsson	3
Hindrich Faske	5	Robert Longhorn	4
Johan Hindricksson	5	*Anders Didricsson	1
Johan Arian	6	Peter Stalcop	6
William Cabb	6	Joran Bagman	3
Hans Kyns' widow	5	Eric Goransson	2
Chierstin Stalcop	3	Joran Joransson	1
Lucas Stedham	7	Lorentz Ostersson	2
Lyloff Stedham	9	*Johan Hindricsson	6
Adam Stedham	8	David Hindricsson	7
Asmund Stedham	5	Carl Petersson	5
Benjamin Stedham	7	Isaac Savoy	7
Brita Petersson	8	*Olle Fransson	7
Joran Anderson	5	Lars Petersson	1
*Broor Seneca	7	Matts Repott	3
Jesper Wallraven	7	Olle Stoby	3
Jonas Wallraven	1	Matts Stark	3
Conrad Constantine	6	Johan Stalcop	6
Olle Thomasson	9	Israel Stark	1
Peter Palsson	5	Matts Tossa	1
Johan Ommerson	5	*Staphan Joransson	5
*Mathias De Foff	6	Lars Larsson	7
Christian Joransson	1	Christiern Thomos' widow	6
*Carl Springer	5	Paul Sahlunge	3
*Israel Helm	5	Lars Halling	1
*Anders Homman	9	*Paul Mink	5
*Olle Dircksson	7	Johan Schrage	6
Anders Lock	1	Nils Repott	3
Mans Lock	1	Hindrich Jacob	1
*Hans Petersson	7	Matts Jacob	1
*Hindrich Collman	1	*Anders Seneca	5
*Jons Gostafsson	3	Johan Hindersson, Jr	3
Johan Hoppman	7	Anders Weinom	4
Frederich Hoppman	7	Lars Larsson	1
Anders Hoppman	7	Hindric Danielsson	5
Nicholas Hoppman	5	Olle Thorsson	4
*Mans Hallton	9	Jonas Skagges' widow	6
*Johan Andersson	9	Lars Tossa	1
Olle Pehrsson	6	Goran Ericsson	1
Lars Pehrsson	1	Jacob Hindricsson	5
*Hans Olsson	5	Peter Lucasson	1

and the necessary funds to defray their expenses. You will also procure the Bibles, homilies, common prayer and hymn books, catechisms, primers, and spiritual treatises that are desired, so that the ministers may take these books along with them, which we will present free of expense. We are persuaded that you will be solicitous to procure faithful laborers in the vineyard of the Lord. In so doing you will promote the glory of God, and also give us great satisfaction. We commend you kindly to Almighty God. Given at Stockholm the 18th of February, 1696.

"CHARLES."

The archbishop chose Rev. Andrew Rudman, Rev. Eric Biork, and Rev. Jonas Auren, the latter being ordered to return in a few months with a careful report of the country. Rudman and Biork were expected to return after a number of years' service and receive church preferment.

The missionaries took with them, as the king's gift, "thirty Bibles,—ten printed by Vankis, and twenty by Keiser,—six books of homilies, two cabinets of treasures, two of Mœller's, two of Lutheman's, one hundred and fifty manuals, one hundred religious treatises of different kinds, viz., twelve by Kellingius, Garden of Paradise, Atlice, etc., one hundred books of common prayer and hymns, two ecclesiastical acts, two church regulations, one hundred catechisms of Archbishop Suebilius, three hundred compends of Archbishop Suebilius, four hundred primers, five hundred catechisms in the Indian language." In addition to this the king appropriated three thousand dollars for the expenses of the missionaries, and the director of the custom-house was appointed to provide a good ship for their passage. The ship "Palamboom," Capt. Hegen, was selected for the purpose. The three clergymen then waited on the king with the most respectful and affectionate thanks for his favors. He gave them his hand and bid them God speed. They also received a long commendatory letter from the venerable Upsala archbishop.

Sailing from Stockholm Aug. 4, 1696, they reached the Virginia coast in June, 1697, having been delayed some months in London. Governor Nicholson received them cordially in Annapolis, and a few days later they started for Philadelphia, landing first at Trantown (near the present Frenchtown). Dr. Biork wrote home, saying,—

"On the 29th [of June] we went up to Philadelphia, a clever little town, and waited on the Lieutenant-Governor, William Markham, who received us with great kindness. On the 30th of June we visited the upper congregation, at a place called Wicaco, within two miles of Philadelphia, where the Swedes have a church, in which we gave them an account of our voyage and objects; and, clad in my surplice for the first time in this new country, I delivered a discourse in Jesus' name, on the subject of the righteousness of the Pharisees. In comparing the religious situation of these good people with the congregations of Sweden, it cannot be a wonder that they should be far behind; yet, if God grants us life to mend these matters, so that there will be divine service performed, ordinances administered, and the youth taught the catechism, we hope to find the road plain and easy, which is now rough and difficult. The country here is delightful, as it has been always described, and overflows with every blessing, so that the people live very well without being compelled to too much or too severe labor. The taxes are very light. The farmers, after their work is over, live as they do in Sweden, but are clothed as well as the respectable inhabitants of the towns. They have fresh meat and fish in abundance, and want nothing of what other countries produce. They have plenty of grain wherewith to make bread and plenty of drink. May God continue them in the enjoyment of these blessings. There are no poor in this country, but they all provide for themselves, for the land is rich and fruitful, and no man who will labor can suffer want. The Indians and we are as one people; we live in great friendship with them. They are very fond of learning the catechism, which has been printed in their language; they like to have it read to them, and they engaged Mr. Charles Springer to teach their children to read it. In order to forward our designs, I hope our spiritual fathers will assist us with some of the newly-printed books, particularly two church Bibles, as those we have are not fit to be used in divine service. There are always opportunities between England and this country.

"I cannot mention, without astonishment, but to the honor of these people, that we hardly found here three Swedish books; but they were so anxious for the improvement of their children, that they lent them to one another, so that they can all read tolerably well. None of the books that his Majesty graciously gave us are out of use. They are distributed among the families, who bless the King for that valuable present, for which they are truly glad and thankful. May Almighty God preserve his Majesty, the royal family, and our dear country in peace and gladness. Though distant from it, we shall never cease while we breathe to offer up our prayers for its prosperity."

Rev. Andrew Rudman also wrote home, and his letter also explains many things. He says that, on their arrival at Elk River, the Swedes came more than thirty miles to meetings. He took charge of the Wicaco congregation, and Rev. Mr. Biork of that at Christina. His letter continues:

"The churches are old and in bad condition, wherefore, with God's help, we are endeavoring to build new ones. The lower one is at Christina, the upper at Wicaco or Passyunk. The minister's garden and mansion-house are at the distance of four English miles from Philadelphia, a clever town built by Quakers. The population is very thin and scattered all along the river-shore, so that some have sixteen miles to walk or ride to go to church. Nevertheless, they very regularly attend divine service on Sunday. The houses are built after the Swedish manner. The women brew excellent drink, as in Sweden, and they have also a liquor made of apples or peaches, which they call cider. It is very pleasant to the taste and very wholesome. In order to build our church we are about to raise the sum of four hundred pounds sterling, but that will not be difficult, they are so very glad to have us among them. They look upon us as if we were angels from heaven. Of this they have assured us with many tears, and we may truly say that there is no place in the world where a clergyman may be so happy and so well beloved as in this country. As to the government, it is very mild, and the people live quietly under Governor William Markham, who is exceedingly well disposed toward us. He has reproached us with not going often enough to see him, and has left us quite at liberty as to our church discipline. There are many Swedes employed in the administration of this government. Some of them are counselors, whom they call judges. Many of them are officers,—captains, constables, ensigns, etc. There is plenty of work for us. We are alone. Our congregations are scattered, our youth numerous, and but few that do not require instruction."

The congregation at Christina was stimulated greatly, and by Trinity Sunday, 1697, the dedication sermon of what is now the "Old Swedes' Church of Wilmington"[1] was preached there. It was after-

[1] In regard to this church, begun May 28, 1698, Rev. Mr. Biork gave the following description: "It was inside the walls sixty feet in length, thirty in breadth, and twenty in height. The walls of hard graystone up to the windows three and a half feet thick, above that only two feet. There were four doors, large ones at the west and south ends and two smaller ones on the north. The roof was arched with logs and plastered with lime, with a shingle covering. The pews were of fir, with doors. The choir was circular, and the inner banisters, as well as the pulpit, of walnut. Near the vestry door was a pew for the priest's wife." The church at Wicaco was built by the same mechanics who built the church at Christina. Mr. Ferris says ("Original Settlements on the Delaware") that the building at Christina was finished for the following prices: Joseph Yard, mason and bricklayer, of Philadelphia, for the stone-work a[illegible] [illegible]ilver money. He received altogether £91 4s. 8d.,

wards for a time abandoned. Meanwhile Rev. Mr. Rudman's congregation were undecided whether to build at Passyunk or at Wicaco. The congregation had bought a tract at the former place, really at what is now "Point Breeze," exactly where the lower road to Penrose Ferry strikes the Schuylkill. It was purchased from Andrew Bankson about 1696, cost sixty pounds, and contained eighty acres of land, ten of which were in Punchon's Hook. The money was raised by the sale of the parsonage at Tinicum Island, which brought one hundred pounds, and was divided between the congregations of Wicaco and Christina. The balance was raised by subscription. Afterward sixteen acres were attached to the farm by purchase from Lawrence Cock, for ten pounds, and the tract was occupied by the Rev. Andrew Rudman and his successors, Andrew Sandal, Jonas Lidman, and J. Eneberg. The dwelling (glebe-house) was burned down in 1717 and immediately rebuilt.

OLD SWEDES' CHURCH (GLORIA DEI), PRESENT APPEARANCE.

This building was lately standing, but was abandoned as a parsonage about 1727. It was then rented to different parties for five pounds a year. But after this glebe-land was bought the Swedes near the Schuylkill and at Kingsessing desired that the church should be at Passyunk, while the Swansons and others, living at Shakamaxon and above, wanted it rebuilt on the site of the old block-house church at Wicaco. A meeting was called on the 16th of May, 1698, at which a tedious discussion took place. At length it was proposed to have it settled by lot. "Having by prayer and singing invoked the blessing of God on the undertaking two pieces of paper were prepared, on one of which was written *Wicaco*, and on the other *Passyunk*. These were shaken in a hat and thrown upon the ground, when, upon taking one up and opening it, the name of *Wicaco* appeared. Dissension at once ceased, and all joined in a cheerful hymn of praise. At the same time the agreement was ratified by the following persons signing their names to a suitable instrument of writing, viz.: Andrew Rudman, Capt. Lawrence Cox [Lassy Cock], Andrew Bancson, Caspar Fisk, Peter Rambo, Gustavus Justus, Elias Toy, Michael Lycon, Charles Springer, Andrew Rambo, Matthias Morton, Gabriel Cox [Cock], John Cox, Jr., Hans Boon, Nicholas Lycon, Richard Rhodes, Gunner Swanson, Christian Claeson, Lawrence Holstein, Jonas Biurstrom, witness." But when they tried to procure an addition to the Wicaco tract, so as to own the river front, they failed and new dissatisfaction was shown, so that Mr. Rudman thought of leaving them. At last these difficulties were all conquered, the church was begun, and was dedicated on the first Sunday after Trinity (July 2), 1700, by Rev. Eric Biork, who preached from 2 Samuel vii. 29: "Therefore now let it please Thee to bless the house of Thy servant, that it may continue forever before Thee: for Thou, O Lord God, hast spoken it: and with Thy blessing let the house of Thy servant be blessed forever." A great number of English and others from Philadelphia were present at the ceremony, to whom Mr. Biork also spoke in the English language. A letter sent to Sweden shortly after by the Wicaco pastor said,—

"This church is of the same size as the other, only that one of the corners is shortened in order to make room for a belfry or steeple, which has been begun at the west end, but must remain for some time unfinished, in order to see whether God will bless us so far that we may have a bell and in what manner we can procure it. This church is built of stone to the foundation, but not so good as that of which the lower church is built. The buildings will cost us, according to our reckoning, about twenty thousand dollars Swedish money, and something more, of which I am yet indebted in five thousand dollars, and my colleague is in about the same situation. We have nothing to rely on but the efforts of the congregations to raise that money as well as they can.

"Thus, through God's great blessing, we have completed the great

including £5 for his "morter laborer, the neger." Joseph Yard, for the gable ends above the square of the walls, plastering the inside walls and arched ceiling, and paving the floor, £45. John Smart and John Britt, carpenters, of Philadelphia, for the woodwork, windows, doors, frames, pulpits, pews, roof, eaves, etc., the timber, boards, and iron-work, for £130. They employed John Harrison, joiner and carpenter, of Philadelphia, to make the pews, pulpit, banisters, and other inside work, for £36 10s.

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work, and built two fine churches, superior to any built in this country, particularly that at Christina, so that the English themselves, who now govern this province and are richer than we, wonder at what we have done. It is but lately that two governors, with their suites, have come to this place and visited our churches. The one is Francis Nicholson, Governor of Maryland, and our great patron; the other is named Blackstone, and is Governor of Virginia. With all this we want some ornamentations for our church, which are not to be procured here, such as a couple of bells, handsome chalices and patterns, and chandeliers or lustres. We have also room for a small organ.

"We hope also that in time we shall have obtained the things that we most want, particularly books. I have at last established a school here, with an able teacher at the head of it, who also serves as parish clerk, an office which I was before obliged to perform."

The building thus erected was looked on as a master-piece. Watson says that it was "a great edifice," and nothing was then equal to it as a public building in the city.

This church was dedicated as the "Gloria Dei Church," and is still standing on Swanson Street, near the former locality of the navy-yard. The cutting down of the street in front has brought part of its cellar wall above the pavement. At first there was no steeple, and the porches on the north and south sides were not a portion of the original church, but were built in 1703, as supports to the walls, and cost one hundred and nine pounds and four shillings. The cupola was erected on the low tower after the bell was procured.[1] The antique font, still in possession of the church, is thought to have been either used in the Tinicum Church or the block-house church at Wicaco. Mr. Clay (1834) says, "There is still preserved in this church, on the front of the west gallery, an antique representation of two cherubs, with their wings spread over what is intended to represent the Holy Bible, on one of the open pages of which is the following passage from Isaiah in Swedish characters: 'The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light,' etc., and on the other page, also in Swedish characters, that passage in which the angels at the birth of our Saviour are spoken of as celebrating the event."

The ground on which the church stands, one acre and a half and five perches, was given to the church by Catharine Swanson, widow of Swan Swanson, and by the daughters of Swan Swanson and their husbands, viz.: Swan Boon and Brigita, his wife, Hans Boon and Barbara, his wife, and Peter Bankson and Catharine, his wife. An acre of ground north of the church, on which the old parsonage stood until 1832, when the present one was built, was given by Hans Boon and Margaret, his wife. June 19, 1719, twenty-five acres, lying at Wicaco, near the church, were bought for ninety pounds of Martha Cock, "to be a parsonage for the pastor and his heirs forever." It is said that this ground extended from the church as far west as Hudson's Lane (now vacated), beyond Tenth Street, being bounded north by Christian Street. The anniversary sermon of the rector in 1870 sums up the landed property of the church at this time, and says that only the grossest carelessness has kept the church from being one of the richest religious organizations in the United States. Besides the twenty-seven and one-half acres above spoken of, the church owned ninety-six acres on the Schuylkill, in the farm tract already mentioned. Papers and documents of almost priceless importance were allowed to disappear. Of the "parson's twenty-five acres" hardly anything remains, and the Schuylkill farm has nearly all been lost.

Rev. Andrew Rudman was, March 18, 1702, superseded by Rev. Andrew Sandel, who was sent from Sweden so as to let Rudman return, but the latter liked the country, and after (on the 19th) preaching his farewell sermon, he accepted a call from the Dutch Church in Albany. In 1705 he was again in Philadelphia, pastor of the Trinity Church, Oxford township, also for a while of Christ Church, in the city. He died Sept. 17, 1708, after eleven years' constant and successful service, and was buried in the Wicaco Cemetery. Rev. Andrew Sandel was a man of violent temper, and his controversy with and assault upon Benjamin Chambers caused the Provincial Council to administer an official rebuke; but the church grew and flourished under his administration. The church repair committee in 1708 consisted of Messrs. Keen, Lycon, Cox, and Bankson, also Peter Deal, a builder. The pews were all rented, and it was ordered in 1705 that members of the congregation who with their families might remove, or who should neglect to attend divine worship, should lose their rights altogether. In the same year the Swedish king sent over a quantity of Bibles, prayer-books, and other religious books.

In 1710, at a meeting of the congregation for the election of vestrymen, the following declaration was made of the duties of these church officers:

"To take care of the church, see to its repairs, and, if necessary, to put up additional buildings.

"To maintain the parochial ordinances and regulations enacted at the general meetings, and to preserve order in time of divine worship.

"To inspect the behavior of the people in their respective districts, admonish those that misbehave, and proceed with them further, if necessary.

"To attend divine worship often, partake of the Lord's Supper, and be edifying examples of all Christian virtues."

The following resolution was adopted in 1710:

"WHEREAS, some when reproved for their sins and are not permitted to break our church rules, hate both the minister and the congregation, and abandon divine worship, therefore resolved, that such shall be several times admonished and warned against the dreadful hazard of their souls; and if they persevere in their malice, shall have no right to the privileges of the church, and if they die without repentance shall not be buried in our cemetery."

In 1711 the congregation of Christ Church worshiped during three Sundays at Wicaco while th

[1] The present bell bears the following inscription:

"Cast for the Swedish church in Philadelphia,
styled 'Gloria Dei,'
Partly from the old bell dated 1643.
G. HEDDERLY, FECIT 1806.
I to the church the living call
And to the grave do summon all."

own church, on Second Street above Market, was being enlarged. They had been offered accommodations in the Presbyterian Church, but preferred the Swedish Church, "and for confirming the unity that existed between the two congregations a Swedish hymn was sung at the English service." The Swedish and English Churches seem to have been on good terms. "On solemn occasions," said Mr. Sandel, "as at the laying of corner-stones of churches, they have always invited us, and conducted themselves as friends to our church."

In 1717 the house at Passyunk being burned down, was at once rebuilt. That autumn the king of Sweden recalled Rev. Mr. Sandel, appointing him to a rectory in Dalecarlia, but the recall was not received till May, 1718, and further delays prevented the farewell sermon and departure of Mr. Sandel until May 7, 1719. Rev. Andrew Hesselius, of Christina Church, and Rev. Abraham Lidenius, of Raccoon Church, were present, and each agreed to preach once a month, Arvid Hernborn, the Sabbath-school teacher, acting as reader on the alternate Sabbaths. This arrangement lasted till November, when Rev. Joseph Lidman, a highly educated man, appointed by the queen of Sweden in May of that year, arrived at Wicaco. With him came Rev. Samuel Hesselius. In 1722 the subject of providing Swedish schools for the children was considered,—one of the last efforts made to maintain the ancient language against the preponderance of the English tongue then in use in the province thirty years. It was resolved the next year to divide the church land lying between the Moyamensing and Passyunk roads into two parts, and to let them as pasture-grounds, the rental to be for the use of the pastor. "Seventy trees, however, were to be reserved for the use of the congregation," whether for shade purposes or for firewood does not appear. In 1725 the pasture-ground next the church was ordered to be leased "to some honest person for the relief of the pastor."

Meanwhile other churches were established. The germ of the Second Swedish Church began in 1705, when the "upper inhabitants made application for occasional services in the winter, because of their distance from the Wicaco Church. Rev. Andrew Sandel officiated there twice that winter. The arragements were little better till 1720. On the 27th of March, in that year, there was a consultation at Gloria Dei between Revs. Andrew Hesselius, Lidenius, Lidman, and Samuel Hesselius. It was proposed to erect congregations at Calcoon's Hook and Neshaminy for the accommodation of the Swedish inhabitants there, and that Rev. Samuel Hesselius should be pastor. Objections being made to this, the proposal was made that Mr. Hesselius should settle at Manating (Manatawny), and the people in that region should support him, to which they cheerfully agreed.

Among the Swedes who settled in this part of Philadelphia County, now a portion of Montgomery, previous to 1726, were Marcus Hulings, Justus Justason, Martin Martinson, Nils Matson, Peter Rambo, Jr., Gunner Rambo, Mounce Rambo, Mathias Holstein, Peter Yocum, Jonas Jonasson, Mr. Kerlin, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Kerst. The church thus established was called St. Gabriel's, or Upper Merion Church. The services for several years were held in private residences. William J. Buck says ("History of Montgomery County") that when the church was finally built it was at Morlatton. "We know the graveyard was used here as early as 1719. The church building was first commenced in 1735, and finished in 1737. Rev. Samuel Hesselius left Morlatton in 1723, going to the church at Christina, which his brother had relinquished, returning to Sweden that year."

The Swedish settlers took little note of public affairs, but early in the eighteenth century accused Penn's agents of a failure to recognize their land claims (held under grants from the Duke of York), and of requiring resurveys, and demanding in many cases a quit-rent. In 1709 a petition to the Assembly upon this subject by the Swedes was signed by the following persons: Zacharias Cock, Eric Keen, John Tanck, Otto Earnest Cock, Peter Peterson, John Aretson, Matthias Nezelius, Anders Bonde, Anders Mortenson, Valentine Kock, Andrew Longacre, John Mortenson, Gabriel Cock, John Stille, Hans George, Morten Mortenson, Gosta Gostason, Hans Bonde, Lors Mortenson, Olle Bonde, Gabriel Friend, John Ellet, John Hindrickson, Matthias Keen.

A petition upon the same subject, sent to the Assembly, in 1722, by several ancient settlers and owners of land, called "the Swedes' petition," contained the following names, which we recognize as Swedish: Andrew Longacre, Andrew Rambo, John Cock, Jonathan Jones, Andrew Jones, John Ellett, Andrew Justa, Christopher Swanson, John Keen, Swan Rambo, Laurence Boore, Charles Cox, Andrew Yocum, Swan Yocum, Andrew Boone, Andrew Hingreson, Hans Boone, David Morton, Peter Longacre, Peter Rambo, Sr., Zachariah Cock, Mathias Niclins, Swans Boone, Hans Toston, Valentine Cock, Swan Justa, Justa Justis, John Swanson, Peter Rambo, Jr., John Orcher.

Rev. Joseph Lidman, at Wicaco, was recalled by Bishop Swedburg, of Upsala, in 1730, preached his farewell sermon on the 24th Sunday in Trinity, set sail shortly after, carrying with him a collection of furs as a gift to the king and the bishop, and retired to a Swedish parish. Rev. J. Eusberg (or Eneberg), then pastor at Christina, preached at Wicaco also. King Frederick, in August, 1732, appointed Rev. Gabriel Falck, who arrived in time to preach Jan. 7, 1733, but left the pastorate that year and went to St. Gabriel's Church. Two successive letters were written to Sweden for a successor, and at last Rev. John Dylander arrived, preaching his first sermon Nov. 6, 1737. Mr. Dylander worked with great zeal,

and increased the efficiency of every church department, but died suddenly in 1741, and another interregnum, this time of two years, followed in the church of Gloria Dei. Revs. John Eusberg and Petrus Tranberg did what they could to supply the vacancy. Rev. Gabriel Nesman was the next pastor from Sweden, and brought over a large supply of books. He began his work Oct. 20, 1743. The gain of the English language over Swedish was more and more manifest.

In the year 1743 the following were wardens and vestrymen of the Church of Gloria Dei: Benjamin Bengtson (Bankson), Martin Garretts, Lars Bure; in 1744, Jacob Bengtson, Peter Jones, Andrew Toy, in place of the above; also Peter Cock and John Henderson, of Philadelphia; Hans Tate and Jacob Archer, of Amasland; Andrew Georgen; in 1745, Andrew Bonde, John Garrett, Jacob Bengtson, Elias Rambo, wardens; Jacob Rambo, Andrew Justis, Morton Morton, vestrymen. The old church building was not kept in a good state of repair during this period. The roof was reported to be out of order in 1725; the doors and pews required speedy repairs in 1727; the windows and shutters were in the same condition in 1728. Part of the church roof was blown off in 1732. In 1748 the church roof was re-shingled on the north side.

The glebe in Passyunk (at Point Breeze) was leased to Peter Cock and Morris Cock in 1731 for four pounds per annum. In 1733 the parsonage house at Wicaco was built, and it was the residence of the Swedish pastors for many years. In 1737 the glebe at Passyunk was leased to Andrew Rambo for five pounds per annum, and the two lots at Wicaco to Jacob Bengtson for £7 10*s*. per annum.

It was resolved during the term of Mr. Nesman that, in case of a vacancy in the pastorship of the Church of Gloria Dei, gratitude to the kings of Sweden required that the arrival of a successor duly commissioned in Sweden should be waited for. On the 22d of February, 1750, word came from Bishop Benzelius, recalling Rev. Mr. Nesman, and appointing Rev. Olaf Parvin, who arrived on the 7th of July on the ship "Speedwell," and preached on the 22d, from Jeremiah i. 7. The provost, Rev. Israel Acrelius, of Christina, Rev. Eric Unander, of Raccoon and Penn's Neck, and Rev. Mr. Nesman officiated at this installation. The former pastor did not return to Sweden until late in 1752.[1]

Rev. Mr. Parlin preached at Gloria Dei, much respected and loved, till the spring of 1757, when Rev. Eric Norderlind became his assistant. In December, after a sudden illness of only four days, Mr. Parlin died. Rev. Mr. Unander, of Christina, preached in English, and a few days later Rev. Mr. Lidenius in Swedish, both from Timothy ii. 4, 6, 7, and 8. Mr. Parlin was buried in the chancel in Wicaco Church, beside Rudman and Dylander.[2] Rev. Mr. Norderlind supplied the church. In 1758, January 22d, the congregation wrote to Upsala, to bishop and Consistory, hoping that the widow and children of Mr. Parlin might be helped. They also asked, as a privilege, that they might be allowed occasionally to have their services in English, the Swedes and English being so intermixed as to make religious instruction in both languages necessary.

The church grew under Mr. Norderlind's ministrations, and large crowds attended. In 1759, Rev. Charles Magnus Wrangel arrived to take charge, and his being provost of the Swedish Lutheran Church, and his intimate friendship with the Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the German Lutheran Church in this country, brought him into close relations with the German Lutherans. In 1763 he applied to the Assembly for naturalization, and his petition was granted. During his term a quarrel arose in the congregation. There were many new members, and they found that Swedes and "sons of pioneers" held all the offices. A new charter taking

[1] In 1749 the following advertisement appeared in one of the Philadelphia newspapers:

"GABRIEL NESMAN, minister at Wicaco, advertises that he soon designs to sail for Swedeland, and owes some debts here, and to pay them, as well as support his family and lay up something for his passage home, he intends to open a school for the learned languages, or such philosophical or theological sciences as required, and humbly hopes those who wish to encourage him will meet him at the Indian King, Market Street, on the 9th of December, when they will be waited on by their humble servant, G. N."

In the same paper Mr. Nesman advertised a stray horse; also two pipes of wine for sale at the store of Messrs. Stedman.

In June, 1752, he again advertised as follows:

"I intend, God willing, to leave for Swedeland as soon as possible. I do therefore desire such gentlemen as have any demands on me to bring in their accounts in order to be paid, and those indebted to make speedy payment.

"GABRIEL NESMAN, M.A.,
"Swedish minister.

"N.B.—I have some very good High Dutch in divinity, such as sermons, to dispose of, and other spirit meditations; likewise a horse to dispose of."

[2] The inscription reads,—

"Siste viator, quisque et mortalis funde lachrymas in hoc corruptionis domicilio. Jacet in pace et quiete beate mortuus, vir eruditione conspicuus, a Deo doctus, plur reverendus dus magister Olavus Parlin, ecclesiarum Sueco Lutherarum quæ Deo Colliguntur in Boreali America præpositus et pastor in Wicaco meritissimus. Natus Suecæ A.D. MDCCXVI. Ordinatus verbi divini minister A.D. MDCCXLV. Adiit American 1750. Inivit societatem conjugalem 1751. Obiit die 22 Decem. A.D. 1757.

"He was an affectionate husband, a tender father, a true friend, and during his Christian warfare a faithful and valiant soldier of Jesus Christ, and in the last combat, strengthened by heavenly succors, he quitted the field, not captive, but conqueror, and is numbered among the children of God."

That over Rev. Mr. Dylander is as follows:

"In memory of REV. JOHN DYLANDER, missionary from Sweden, and four years minister of this church, who died Nov. 2, 1742. *Ætatis suæ*, 32.

"While here he sang his Maker's praise;
The listening angels heard his song,
And called their consort soul away,
Pleased with a strain so like their own.

"His soul, attentive to the call,
And quickly listening to obey,
Soared to ethereal scenes of bliss,
Too pure to dwell in grosser clay."

Mr. Dylander was a fine singer, which explains this inscription.

effect about this time enabled the radicals, in the election of 1765, to defeat Andrew Bankson, who had been treasurer for many years. Instead of submitting to the decree he resorted to the newspapers, and attacked the Rev. C. M. Wrangel and the new vestry, declaring that there had been insinuations against his honesty and an imputation that he had used the church money in his private affairs. Mr. Wrangel and the new vestry both responded, the latter declaring it was not averred that there were any insinuations against Mr. Bankson's honesty, but that it was said he would not make a statement of his accounts. The vestry also said that special thanks were due to Mr. Wrangel for his generous, disinterested, and spirited conduct in restoring to the congregation their rights and liberties, "to which they were entitled as free subjects of a happy English government," a thing which was necessary, because previously "the management of the estate of the church was in the hands of a few men of one or two families." Mr. Wrangel had assisted in procuring and approved of the charter making the vestry a body politic.

Rev. Mr. Wrangel returned to Sweden in 1768, and was made a bishop. He died eighteen years later. The new rector, Rev. Andreas Goeranson, had arrived from Sweden in 1766, but had been preaching elsewhere. He served till the autumn of 1779.

During these years but little is known of the St. Gabriel or Morlatton Church. When Rev. Samuel Hesselius left it (in 1731) there was a long intermission. But the Rev. Gabriel Falck, who left Gloria Dei in the same year, became the pastor of St. Gabriel's in 1735, and remained there until 1745. In 1735 the church building was commenced, and finished in 1737. The church books containing records of marriages and baptisms begin in that year. After 1745, Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, of the German Lutheran Church at the Trappe, served the Morlatton (also Molatton, a name of uncertain derivation) congregation until 1752, as much as his other engagements would permit. Mr. Buck says ("History of Montgomery County") that the present church was erected in 1801. The graveyard attached to it comprises nearly two acres of ground, and is inclosed by a wall. The most common names on the tombstones are Yocum, Hulings, Jones, Kerst, Harrison, Koons, Lott, Dehaven, Eisenberg, Brower, Lear, Leaf, Douglas, Rahn, Ingles, Schunk, Bunn, Koop, Bird, Kerlin, Tea, Henton, Krouse, Rutter, Bell, Lake, Stanley, Robeson, and Turner. In 1762 the Rev. Alexander Murray, who was sent from Europe by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was an organization attached to the Church of England, took charge of St. Gabriel's and preached there until 1768. The Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, in his journal, speaks of his having been visited at the Trappe by the Swedish missionary, Hageblatt, who preached in many different churches.

Up to 1760 there were not more than two Swedish churches in Pennsylvania, one in Delaware, and two in New Jersey. But Wicaco was now too large and populous a parish, so steps were taken to form new congregations, both at Merion and Kingsessing.

The church in Upper Merion township was given the name of Christ Church. It is situated in Swedesburg, about a mile below Norristown, and is believed to have been erected about 1760. The land on which it was built belonged to Morris Rambo. There are tombstones in the graveyard of this church which go back to 1744, '45, '48. The following are some of the most common names: Broades, Brooke, Halstin, Gartley, Supplee, Novioch, Custer, Ramsey, Thomas, Amies, Jones, Clay, Hughes, Munson, Learnard, Pastorius, De Haven, Rambo, Engle, Coats, Roberts, Famous, and Henderson.

The church in Kingsessing was called St. James, and was upon the southeastern side of the road leading to Darby, not far from the Blue Bell Tavern. The church was plain, built of stone, and was solid and substantial. The original building forms the southwestern wing of the present Church of St. James at the same place. On March 29, 1762, Andrew Justus conveyed to Henry M. Muhlenberg, James Coultas, William Boon, Zachariah Cocks, Ephrath Ellis, Matthias Nitcillis, George Morton, Andrew Urian, Swan Culin, and John Faler, for George Grantham and Seth Thomas, three acres of land for "a Lutheran Church, thereafter to be erected and to be officiated *and served in the English tongue* by the Swedish Episcopal Lutheran ministers at Wicaco, near the city of Philadelphia, forever." This transfer to the Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg and others shows how closely the Swedish and German Lutheran Churches were united. Mr. Muhlenberg, with his associates, held the property until Oct. 17, 1765, when those trustees conveyed the ground to the united vestry, etc., of the Swedish Churches of Gloria Dei, Christ Church, and St. James'.[1]

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[1] This graveyard contains some quaint inscriptions, such as the following:

"In memory of
JACOB STIDHAM,
who departed this life September 18th, 1768, aged 26 years, 4 months.
Watch and pray, do not delay,
For time doth quickly pass;
For you may see, that pass by me,
Man's days are like the grass."

"Here lieth the body of
THOMAS PHILLIPS,
who departed this life 27th November, 1768, aged 25 years."

"In memory of
ZACHARIAS COX,
who departed this life April 7th, 1773, aged 33 years.
Censure not him that here doth lay,
For every one that debt must pay;
Though cold his bed and dark his doom,
Yet angels watch above his tomb,
Till the loud music of the skies,
Relieves the guard, and bids him rise."

On Sept. 25, 1765, Lieutenant-Governor John Penn, by charter, incorporated the united Swedish Lutheran Churches of Gloria Dei, at Wicaco, St. James, at Kingsessing, and Christ Church, at Upper Merion. These churches were all under the same jurisdiction as Gloria Dei. Rev. Mr. Wrangel officiated at all of them by turns.

Rev. Andreas Goeranson found his duties too much without help, and Rev. Matthias Hultgren became assistant about 1780, and was recalled to Sweden in 1786. Goeranson had returned the previous year, and died in 1800. After Hultgren was recalled Rev. Dr. Nicholas Collin took charge of Gloria Dei, St. James', Christ Church, and perhaps St. Gabriel's also. He had been sent from Sweden in May, 1770, having no particular charge assigned to him. His mission seems to have been general to the churches in New Jersey. May 12, 1770, he took charge of the missions at Raccoon and Penn's Neck, and remained in that position until 1778, when, under date of July 8th, he solicited his recall. Affairs were gloomy in New Jersey, in consequence of the war, which, he said, had produced demoralization among the people, and brought religion to a low condition. Congregations had been weakened. The troubles in regard to Continental and Provincial money had reduced the rents of the Swedes' church-lands, and many articles of necessity had increased in value, judged by the paper-money standard, while according to specie standard they had shrunk immensely in value, and "there was no prospect of peace or civil order for several years, and, consequently, no hopes of relief." War interrupted communications, and when, in May, 1783, a favorable reply was received by him, peace was established and prospects in every way better. He therefore wrote that if the charge of the churches of Wicaco, Kingsessing, and Upper Merion, which were to become vacant by the recall of Rev. Mr. Hultgren, were given him he would remain, and assist his successor at the churches of Raccoon and Penn's Neck by his influence and experience. Upon this request he was appointed rector of the churches in Pennsylvania by a resolve of Aug. 10, 1785. He commenced his service in July, 1786, and was still in charge of Gloria Dei, St. James', and Christ Churches in 1801, and indeed until nearly 1825. During half a century of faithful service, he took charge of the Swedish churches, and he was the last of a long line of self-sacrificing missionary clergymen, who proved themselves willing to forego life among their friends and kindred to build up the little pioneer churches, so hungry for the gospel in their native language. But long before Dr. Collin's death, in 1831, there was no longer any necessity for missionaries to preach in Swedish, nor for kings and bishops to write letters and send books to the Gloria Dei Church. The English language had grown to be that of business and religion; the children of the Swedes were no longer Swedes, but Americans. His pastorate deserves a longer account than we have space for, but a few points must be mentioned.

ISRAEL ACRELIUS.

The three churches which were under the control of Dr. Collin were joined in one corporation under their old titles by Act of Assembly passed Sept. 10, 1787. During the Revolution Wicaco escaped annoyance, except during the short period when the contest

"Here lieth the remains of
MRS. LYDIA ANN WALLACE,
who departed this life 11th September, A.D. 1781, in
the 36th year of her age."

"In memory of
SUSAN,
wife of Israel Longacre, who died April 4th, 1784,
aged 57 years."

"In memory of
ISRAEL LONGACRE,
who departed this life September 23d, 1784, aged 59 years."

"In memory of
ELEANOR CULIN,
who departed this life July 15th, 1785, aged 55 years.
Farewell, fond world, I have done with thee,
And I am careless what thou sayeth of me;
Thy love I court not, nor thy *frons* [*sic*] I fear;
I hope, through charity, my head will lie easy here."

"In memory of
PETER JONES,
who departed this life September 10th, 1795, aged 48
years and 2 months.

"He was among the first, in 1776, who took up arms in his country's service, and steadily adhered to her in all her vicissitudes, whose heart constantly vibrated in unison with her happiness, and glowed with the warmest sympathy for the distress of his fellow-mortals."

[The rest of the inscription illegible.]

The names most common upon the tombstones in this ground are the following, of Swedish origin: Urian, Yocum, Boon, Longacre, Holstein Culin, Trites, Likens, Morton, Justus, and Cox. Other names are Gray, Thomas, Brandt, Roe, Laxenbry, Kenny, De Gorgue, Burgoine, Shillingsford, Harmar, Kochersperger, and Wallace.

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was carried on upon the Delaware River between the American vessels and the British fleet. The building was within the British lines, and protected. The church of St. James, Kingsessing, must have been disturbed greatly, as it was sometimes within British control and sometimes within the power of the Americans. Christ Church, at Swedesburg, in Upper Merion, and St. Gabriel's, at Morlatton, escaped disturbance, except while the Americans were at Valley Forge, when the intervening country was ravaged by Simcoe and his loyalists, but preaching was much interrupted. Rev. Slater Clay officiated at Christ Church once a month from 1792 to his death, in 1821. Matthias Holstein, of Norristown, related that "about 1790 nearly all who attended this church came on horseback." He further says, "It is believed that no preaching was ever done there in Swedish."

After the Revolution Dr. Collin undertook a translation into English of Acrelius' "History of New Sweden," a work commenced in 1799, at the request of the Historical Society of New York, which still has possession of the manuscript. He was also a member of the American Philosophical Society, and at one time its vice-president. He died at Wicaco on the 7th of October, 1831, in his eighty-seventh year.

Rev. Snyder B. Simes, rector of the Gloria Dei Church, in his memorial sermon for 1870, says that in forty-five years of Dr. Collin's ministry he married no less than three thousand three hundred and seventy-five couples. In 1795 he married one hundred and ninety-nine, and the next year one hundred and seventy-nine. In his old age he was a very eccentric individual, and many odd stories are told about him.

REV. JEHU CURTIS CLAY.

The successor of Dr. Collin was a gentleman who had been his assistant for about a year, Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay, then recently ordained. When he assumed this important position, Dec. 5, 1831, the three churches were united, but in 1843 they were separated into three distinct parishes, each with its own rector. For thirty-two years, or until 1862, this good and faithful minister led his congregation. The church was soon too small for the assembly, but all talk of building a new one was fortunately overruled, though many alterations and improvements were made, none of them, however, in any way changing the general appearance of the exterior. In 1846 the church assumed nearly its present aspect. Dr. Clay's assistant during his later years, Rev. Mr. Leadenham, succeeded him as rector of the old church. Next came Rev. Mr. Reed, who remained three years, and during his ministrations the Sunday-school chapel was built.

The orders and succession of the Swedish Church have always been recognized as valid by the Church of England. The Swedish clergymen and the Church of England ministers in the churches in or near Philadelphia, always labored harmoniously together. They exchanged pulpits and supplied each other's churches in case of vacancies. In the English services held in the Swedish Churches, the English Prayer-Book was used, and when, after the independence of the colonies was fully established, all further aid from Sweden was discontinued, these Swedish churches were commended to the care of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as that which in its episcopal government most nearly resembled the Episcopal Church of Sweden. All of them have been united with the Protestant Episcopal Church since Dr. Collin's death. The three churches of Wicaco, Kingsessing, and Upper Merion, which had been united, became in 1843, by almost unanimous consent, distinct parishes. Gloria Dei Church was admitted into union with the Episcopal Convention in 1845. The present rector, the Rev. Snyder B. Simes, entered upon the charge in 1868.

The ministries of Dr. Clay, Mr. Leadenham, Mr. Reed, and of the present pastor in Gloria Dei Church, all were successful. The parish is an active and vigorous one, its work and influence extensive, and its appointments good. It has its churchyard and burial-ground, a rectory, two Sunday-school buildings, and a sexton's house. It derives an annual income from some old ground-rents, and in 1879 an endowment fund to accumulate until 1900 was begun, and already amounts to some thousands of dollars.

Among the interesting old graves in the churchyard is that of Alexander Wilson, the celebrated ornithologist, who, in his desire to be buried here, speaks of it as "that spot sacred to peace and solitude, whither the charms of nature might invite the steps of the votary of the muses, and where the birds might sing over his grave."

The old Gloria Dei Church is a sacred relic of

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colonial days, and of the earliest Philadelphia, when it was "a neat little village." It is a place of historical as well as ecclesiastical interest, and belongs to the whole commonwealth. It is a hundred and eighty-four years now since the classic building was dedicated. Here for over two hundred years the quiet and moss-grown cemetery has been receiving for their last quiet rest the pioneers who had landed with Printz, listened to the preaching of Campanius, helped to consecrate the Tinicum Island Church in 1643, or the Wicaco block-house a quarter of a century later, the block-house near which William Penn landed, on the tree-shaded knoll sloping down to the broad and gleaming river, and to a pleasant inlet on the north, looking across to another knoll crowned by the rough log cabin of the Swansons, who then owned what is now Southwark, Moyamensing, and Passyunk. If those homely toilers could return for a glimpse of the Philadelphia of 1884, with what surprise would they behold its vast development.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

The Quakers under George Fox—he was born in the year 1624—originally called themselves "Professors" or "Children of the Light." It was Gervase Bennet, the magistrate signing the mittimus when Fox was first arrested at Derby, who gave to the sect in derision the name of "Quakers," because Fox bade him and those present to "tremble at the word of the Lord."[1] Bennet, a sturdy Puritan and Roundhead, was not in the habit of trembling at anything, and the extravagant bodily tremors of the new sect might easily be denominated quakings. The name stuck,—it is usually the case with sects and parties that they get their most enduring titles from the lips of opponents,—and the Friends have no aversion to hear themselves so called. The authentic title of Friends was not adopted until the sect embraced a considerable society. In their earlier periods the Friends encountered bitter persecution, and endured it with steadfast hearts even to death under torture. In these periods they were intensely imbued with a missionary and proselyting spirit, and went abroad through all lands to invite others to participate in the awful gifts of the Divine Spirit, with which they believed themselves endowed. They believed the grace of God to be upon them, making them intuitively conscious of the right interpretation of the Word, and that this infallibility of perception of the truth carried with it a sacred duty of teaching and preaching to the unenlightened.

Originally they came to America to seek savages to convert, but soon learned to flee hither for refuge from persecution. In Maryland, in Delaware, in New Jersey, and in Pennsylvania they found a security for rest and worship denied them everywhere else, and speedily they began to form towns in those colonies,—towns which still exist.

The first Quakers on the Delaware landed at the place afterward known as Salem, where a town grew up. In 1667 others of the same persuasion followed, and settled at the localities afterward called Gloucester and Beverly, the latter subsequently known as Burlington, in New Jersey. The first prominent member of the society who visited any part of the country attached to Pennsylvania was the famous George Fox, who, in 1672, arrived in Maryland, and, crossing to the eastern shore, proceeded to New Castle, on the Delaware. From this point he continued his journey northward to Middletown, in East New Jersey, where there was already a Quaker meeting-house. After visiting New England he returned to Middletown, and, having crossed the Delaware with the help of Indians and their canoes, he and his fellow-travelers proceeded to New Castle. On reaching the latter town he met with a handsome reception from the Governor (Carre), and had a large meeting there, it being the first ever held at that place. From New Castle, Fox went to Maryland, and thence back to England.

Three years later William Edmondson, an English Friend, while making a second visit to North America, came to Middletown, N. J., from New England, and attempted to reach the falls of the Delaware, at what is now the city of Trenton, but lost his way. He finally discovered the falls, and after visiting settlements on the west side of the Delaware, proceeded to New Castle, and from that point to Maryland. Shortly afterward, in 1679, Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, members of the religious sect called Labadists, also visited the settlements on the Delaware, and finally established a community at Bohemia Manor in Cecil County, Md. In their "Journal," published by the Long Island Historical Society, they mention having met some of the Quakers on the Delaware, whom they describe as being "the most worldly of men in all their deportment and conversation." The two Labadists appear to have formed a very unfavorable opinion of the Quakers, but their impressions were evidently colored by prejudice and bigotry.

As the settlements on the Delaware grew, Weekly, Monthly, and Quarterly Meetings of Friends were established at Burlington and Rancocas. At Shakamaxon the first meetings were held in 1681. In the year 1682 it was established by the consent of the meeting at Burlington that Monthly Meetings between Friends at Arwames (Gloucester) and Shakamaxon should be held on the second First day of each month. The first, for Arwames, was to be held at William Cooper's, at Pine Point (Gloucester Point), at Arwames, on the second First day of the Third month (May) of this year (1682), and the next at Thomas Fairman's at Shakamaxon, and so on alternately. This meeting at Fairman's was the first known to have been held

[1] Sewell, "History of the People called Quakers."

within the present limits of Philadelphia. A six weeks' meeting for business was also appointed to be held between the Friends of these two places. These meetings did not long continue. The settlement of Philadelphia rendered it more convenient to make the place of assembling in the city, and the meeting held at Shakamaxon ceased. Richard Townsend, in his "Testimony," says, "Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious worship, and, in order thereto, we had several meetings in the houses of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting-house was set up where the city was to be, near the Delaware; and, as we had nothing but love and good-will in our hearts one to another, we had very comfortable meetings from time to time, and after our meeting was over we assisted one another in building little houses for our shelter." As Townsend came with William Penn in the "Welcome," it seems certain from this that the meeting-house was put up even before the dwellings, and while the caves were yet in use.

On the 9th of January, 1683, a meeting of Friends was held at Philadelphia, at which it was agreed that the Monthly Meetings should be held on the first Third day of every month for men's and women's meeting, and that every third meeting should be the Quarterly Meeting. Thomas Holme, John Songhurst, Thomas Wynne, and Griffith Owen were selected to make the necessary arrangements for the choice of a site for a meeting-house and for building the same, the charge to be borne by Friends belonging to the city. At the same time John Hart and Henry Waddy for the upper part of the county, and Thomas Brown and Henry Lewis for the town and lower part of the county, were appointed to visit the poor and sick and supply them with what they deemed necessary, at the expense of the Monthly Meeting.

In August, 1684, the Quarterly Meeting at Philadelphia decided that a meeting-house should be built in the Centre Square, to be of brick, its dimensions sixty by forty feet. For some reason the size was altered in the next year, and it was ordered that the house should be fifty feet long and forty-six wide. It was also ordered that the erection of the building be finished with all possible expedition. The Quarterly Meeting was now composed of the meetings of Philadelphia, Tacony, Poquessing, the Welsh Friends of the Welsh tract in Chester County, and those near the city, on the other side of the Schuylkill.

About the same time that the meeting-house was in course of construction at Centre Square another was projected upon the river-bank, being situated on Front above Sassafras Street. Robert Turner, in his letter to William Penn, of Aug. 3, 1685, published by the latter in his second account of Pennsylvania, chapter xxxi., says, "We are now laying the foundation of a new brick meeting-house in the Centre (sixty feet long and about forty feet broad), and hope to soon have it up, there being many hearts and hands at work that will do it. A large meeting-house, fifty feet long and thirty-eight broad, also going on in the front of the river for an evening meeting."

This meeting-house was situated on the square at Broad and Market Streets, and not at Twelfth and Market Streets, as has been supposed by some.

The Bank meeting-house was probably of frame, and was but a temporary affair, being replaced by another of brick, built in 1703, which stood on the west side of Front Street above Race, and was torn down many years ago.

The Haverford Monthly Meeting was formed in 1684, of three meetings, one called the Schuylkill, another Merion, and the other Haverford. The first Monthly Meeting was held at the house of Thomas Duckett, located on the west side of the Schuylkill, a short distance above the present site of Market Street bridge.[1]

The first burying-ground used by the inhabitants of Philadelphia was located on the west side of the Schuylkill, near the river, between Market and Spring Garden Streets. It probably belonged to the Centre Meeting, but the ownership and the date at which it was first used are now matters of conjecture.

The Friends had external difficulties to contend with, which troubled them quite as much as their internal wrestlings with conscience and the flesh and spirit; but this pressure from without probably tended to maintain the homogeneousness of the society and strengthen the unity of its members. The "hot church party" was embarked in a perpetual conspiracy against their character and their political predominance, as a sect, in the affairs of the province. The churchmen had the establishment, and desired to annex to it the practical control of the State. In this movement they had, more or less, the sympathy and co-operation of the lieutenant-governors, who were all orthodox churchmen, and the state of war which generally existed with France or Spain, or both, and the anomalous attitude of the Quakers to every measure of military resistance and defense, contributed materially to foster the prejudices of the minority against them.

It may be said in a general way of the Quakers of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, between the time of Penn's last visit and the conclusion of the Revolutionary war, when the Governor, the Council, and sometimes the Assembly and the body of the people were not only at variance with, but actually hostile to them, that they were steadfast in adhering to their doctrine and discipline, quick in obeying their consciences, tenacious in their opinions even in indifferent matters; but cautious in their demonstrations, prudent in their resistance, patient in waiting, watchful in action. Their enemies were active and enterprising, but divided in counsel and not united; the Quakers, on the other hand, were a unit always in counsel and in action. They had, moreover, the

[1] Smith's History of Delaware County.

advantage in the great controversy in respect to taxation and revenue, to take common ground with every other colony in America; and in their difference with the established church, the latter could inaugurate few positive measures against them which did not strike with equal severity the dissenters in other colonies, who, collectively, were much more numerous than the church people.

The Quakers insisted that they should not be outnumbered in the Governor's Council by the church people, and they carried their point, and they were equally successful in regard to the composition of the Supreme Court.

George Keith, the leader of the first schism among the Quakers, was the instructor of the public school, who, becoming dissatisfied with the proceedings of the leading men in the society, resorted to criticism and abuse. Having given up the school he visited New England, where he held disputations with theologians, and on his return to Philadelphia urged upon the meeting certain reforms in discipline, which were not adopted. He now became involved in a controversy with William Stockdale and Thomas Fitzwater, whom he charged with preaching false doctrine. All the parties to the discussion were censured by the Monthly Meeting; but Stockdale and Fitzwater having preferred against Keith the charge of denying the great fundamental principle of the Society of Friends,—the universality of the light of Christ, or divine grace and its sufficiency, if obeyed, to effect the salvation of mankind,—the subject was reopened. An excited discussion was the result, and before any conclusion was reached the clerk and others withdrew, but Keith and his adherents remained, and adjourned to meet the next morning at the school-house. Here they adopted a minute in which they condemned Fitzwater and Stockdale for holding false doctrines, and with charging Keith with the same fault. An attempt was made to have this minute inserted in the book of the Monthly Meeting, which was resisted. On appeal the Quarterly Meeting decided that the meeting at the school-house was irregular and unauthorized.

In consequence of these proceedings and his abuse of Governor Lloyd, Keith made himself obnoxious to many of his fellow-members of the society, and an account of the troubles in the province having reached England, a long epistle was sent from the meeting in London, in which Friends in Pennsylvania were adjured to avoid "all heats, disputations, and occasions for display of passion." On the 28th of June, 1692, the meeting of Friends in Philadelphia sent a communication to the several Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, setting forth their sorrow at the defection of Keith, and asserting that he "had gone into a spirit of enmity, wrath, self-exaltation, contention, and jangling;" that he had disregarded the advice of the meeting, and said he "had trampled it under his feet as dirt." He had also set up a separate meeting, "where, like an open opposer, he not only reviled several Friends, by exposing their religious reputations in mixed auditories of some hundreds, endeavoring to render them and Friends here, by the press and otherwise, a scorn to the profane and the song of the drunkards." He was accused of traducing and vilifying James Dickinson and Thomas Wilson, traveling Friends, and of putting on his hat when James Dickinson was at prayer, and going out of meeting, drawing some scores with him by his evil example. It was therefore declared to be the duty of the meeting to disown him and those who had gone out with him.

This epistle was signed by Thomas Lloyd, John Wilsford, Nicholas Waln, William Watson, George Morris, Thomas Duckett, Joshua Fearne, Evan Morris, Richard Walter, John Symcock, Griffith Owen, John Boun, Henry Willis, Paul Saunders, John Blunston, William Cooper, Thomas Thackery, William Byles, Samuel Jennings, John Delaval, William Yeardley, Joseph Kirkbride, Walter Fawcett, Hugh Roberts, Robert Owen, William Walker, John Lyman, George Gray.

Keith and his followers, who called themselves "Christian Quakers," or "Christian Friends," established a separate meeting, and having obtained a lot of ground on the west side of Second Street, below Mulberry, built a small log meeting-house.[1]

To the accusations of the Philadelphia meeting the Christian Quakers, or Keithites, replied by publishing a "counter testimony," signed by twenty-eight members, in which they disowned the twenty-eight who had disowned George Keith. An "Expostulation" and several other papers were published, one of which caused the indictment of Keith and Thomas Budd, who were tried, convicted, and fined five pounds each. The meetings of ministers of Philadelphia and Burlington on the 6th of September, 1692, sent an epistle to London, setting forth the ill-behavior of Keith, and announcing that he had been disowned. Keith published an "appeal," in contradiction of this epistle, which was posted over the city.

At the time of the Yearly Meeting, Keith and his adherents met in the court-house,[2] and sent the regular Friends a paper demanding that his "appeal" be

[1] Bowden, in his "History of the Quakers," says that Keith had seventy or eighty followers, but Keith, in his journal, says there were five hundred, and that they had fifteen meeting-places in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The names of the following Keithians in Philadelphia have been preserved: Thomas Budd (author of "Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey"), Thomas Peart, Ralph Ward, James Poulter (these four purchased the ground for the meeting-house in trust for the society), John Budd, William Bettridge, William Lee and his wife Joan, Nicholas Pierce, Thomas Tress, Robert Turner, Griffith Jones, Caleb Wheatley, George Hutchinson, John Hart, John Rush, Nathaniel Walton, Richard Collet, —— Johnson, —— Jackson, —— Foster.

[2] Where the court-house was at this time is not known. It was probably some building hired for the occasion. Whether the Yearly Meeting was held at the Centre meeting-house or at the "evening meeting" on the bank, or elsewhere, is also open to conjecture.

heard. The paper was presented to the meeting by one of Keith's followers, "who, instead of entering the door to deliver it, climbed up in the meeting-house window, and stood in the window and read his paper with his hat on, while Thomas Janney was at prayer." On the third day of the meeting, Keith, by his own appointment, came to the Yearly Meeting. Friends apprised him that they had fixed the next day to hear his case. Keith and his party insisted upon being heard at once, which being refused, they withdrew in confusion to the court-house, from which they sent forth a paper, as from their Yearly Meeting, signed by Robert Turner, Griffith Jones, and others.[1]

In 1693, Keith went to London, and ultimately became a member of the Church of England.

As soon as their leader left the country, the "Christian Quakers" began to languish, although they had meeting-houses at Philadelphia, Burlington, Neshaminy, and elsewhere. The Keithian Quakers were finally transformed into Keithian Baptists, being also known as Quaker Baptists, from the fact that they retained the language, dress, and manners of Quakers. Some of them also became Seventh-Day Baptists and members of other societies.[2] In after-years a dispute arose between Christ Church and the Baptist Church as to which had the better right to the lot on Second Street below Mulberry, on which stood the meeting-house of the "Christian Quakers," the controversy being decided in favor of the Baptists.

In 1683 a First-day meeting of Friends was established at Tacony, or Frankford, and one at Poquessing, or Byberry. A Monthly Meeting for discipline was formed, and held alternately at the houses of John Seary, at Oxford, and John Hart, Poquessing. The weekly meeting of Poquessing was held at Giles Knight's until some time in 1685. Soon after the Poquessing meeting was commenced, a lot of about one acre was set apart as a burial-ground, which, after the defection of Keith, was used only by the Christian Quakers. In 1685 ten acres were given for the same purpose to the Monthly Meeting by Walter Forrest. The land was situated near Poquessing Creek, and was to be conveyed to Joseph Fisher, John Hart, Samuel Ellis, and Giles Knight, in trust; but whether it was ever used as a place of interment is doubtful. In 1696, John Hart having joined the Keithians, Monthly Meetings of Friends residing in the northern part of Byberry were held in the house of Henry English, who two years before had given an acre of land on his farm in Byberry, on which a log meeting-house was erected. It stood in the northern corner of the present site of the old graveyard,[3] and was built of logs chinked with mud and covered with bark. Monthly Meetings were held for Byberry, Oxford, and Cheltenham, and in 1687 one was established at the house of Richard Worrel, Jr.

German Friends are supposed to have established the meeting at Germantown soon after the settlement of the German township. The first meetings were held at Tennis Kundert's (Dennis Conrad's) as early as 1683. The Merion meeting-house, built in 1695, in Merion township, at the head of the Philadelphia plank-road, about five miles from the city, is the oldest meeting-house of the Society of Friends now standing in Pennsylvania.[4]

In the township of Plymouth a meeting is known to have been in existence as early as March, 1699. In the following year a meeting-house was established at North Wales, and meetings held by consent of Haverford Monthly Meeting, to which the members attached themselves. A meeting-house was built in 1700, and the number of members increased so rapidly that in 1712 it was found necessary to erect another and larger meeting-house.

FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE NEAR MERION.

The first meeting-house, at the corner of Second and High [the present Market] Streets, was built in the year 1695. "It was surmounted, in the centre of its four-angled roof, by a raised frame of glass-work so constructed as to let light down into the meeting below, after the manner of the former Burlington meeting-house."[5]

The lot on which it stood was given to George Fox, the land being due to him under a promise from William Penn. The latter, however, was very loth to

[1] Keith continued to frequent the meetings of Friends, calling them "hypocrites, snakes, vipers, bloodthirsty hounds, impudent rascals, and such like, bidding them cut him in collops, fry him, and eat him, and saying that his back had long itched to be whipped."

[2] Janney's History of Friends.

[3] Dr. J. C. Martindale's History of Byberry and Moreland.

[4] "It is," says W. J. Buck, in his "History of Montgomery County," "in its ground plan in the form of a T. It is a substantial stone edifice of one story, or about fourteen feet to the roof, with walls over two feet in thickness. Its greatest length is about thirty-six feet, and the facing southwest is twenty by twenty-four feet. Originally it was stone-pointed, but in repairing it, in 1829, it was plastered over in imitation of large cut stone. It was surrounded by several large, venerable-looking buttonwood-trees."

[5] Watson's Annals, vol. i. p. 355.

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give up the land,[1] which was really composed of reserved lots for the use of William Penn, Jr., and his sister Letitia, but which Governor Markham had granted to Friends without consultation with the proprietary.

The building was taken down in 1755, and another erected in its stead. In 1804 the property was sold, and the large meeting-house on Arch Street built.

The first grant of ground at Fourth and Mulberry [Arch] Streets was made, in 1690, to Thomas Fitzwater and Alexander Beardsley for "a piece of ground for a burial-place adjoining another laid out for the same use, bounded by the back of High Street lots and Mulberry Street." This lot and another were confirmed, Oct. 18, 1701, by William Penn to Edward Shippen and Samuel Carpenter, in trust "for the use and behoof of the people called Quakers in Philadelphia, with whom I am now in communion, and who are and shall be in fellowship with the Yearly Meeting of the said Friends at London, for a burying-place," etc. It had a frontage of three hundred and two feet on Arch Street, below which it was of irregular width on the eastern end, being three hundred and fifty-two feet in length on Fourth Street.

In 1703, by direction of the Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, Nicholas Waln and John Goodson purchased four acres of ground for eight pounds current money of Pennsylvania, situated upon the liberty lands, near and upon the road leading from Philadelphia to Germantown, and afterward known as Fairhill. On the present city plan the lot is situated between Indiana and Cambria Streets and Ninth and Tenth Streets. It was to be held "for the benefit, use, and behoof of the poor people of the said Quakers belonging to the said meeting forever, and for a place to erect a meeting-house and school-house on for ye use and service of the said people, and for a place to bury their dead." A few years later a piece of ground adjoining came into possession of the society under the following circumstances:

George Fox, founder of the society, had nominally purchased one thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania, and under the concessions and changes subsequently made, was entitled to sixteen acres of liberty land and two town lots. But Fox really was not a purchaser. William Penn made a gift of the right to take up the land to him. Fox did not receive a patent for his property during his lifetime. He died in 1690, and by his will he gave his lands in Pennsylvania to his sons-in-law, Thomas Lower, John Rouse, and Daniel Abraham, and their children, to be equally divided between them; but sixteen acres of it "he gave to Friends there, ten of it for a close to put Friends' horses in when they came afar to the meeting, that they may not be lost in the woods, and the other six for a meeting-house and school-house and a burying-place, and for a play-ground for the children in the town to play on, and for a garden to plant with physical plants, for lads and lasses to know simples and learn to make oils and ointments." The heirs of George Fox seemed to have imbibed the idea that there was a promise made to him in his lifetime that his town lots should be in the centre of the city. After his death his devisees and the Yearly Meeting of Friends pressed for the gift under the same circumstances.[2]

Finally, however, on the 5th of October, 1702, Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris, Anthony Morris, David Lloyd, and others wrote to Thomas Lower, of London, proposing that the proprietary, in lieu of the liberty land and town lots, should grant to Friends "twenty acres of land between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, as near the centre as conveniently may be." On the 30th of May, 1703, Penn replied to this proposition that he was willing to have "settled as desired" any part "the very nearest to the town out of the Liberty lands, though it be twenty-five acres," but "no part of the city ground lots, because it would make a perfect overthrow of the city."

As Penn persisted in his refusal, the Friends finally accepted a grant of land in the Northern Liberties, and on the 28th of August, 1705, Penn's commissioners granted by patent to Samuel Carpenter, Anthony Morris, and Richard Hill, in trust for the meeting of Friends, at a quit-rent of two and one-half pence, twenty acres of land in the Northern Liberties, which adjoins the land formerly bought in 1703 for the use of the Monthly Meeting. The whole twenty-four acres at Fairhill were therefore thrown into one tract. At the same time were conveyed, as part of the George Fox gift, a lot on the south side of High Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, thirty-three feet

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[1] In October, 1703, Penn wrote to James Logan,—

"Look into the first, if not only map of Philadelphia, and there thou wilt find N. N. where our meeting-house stands, and Thomas Lloyd had a lot, and how it was disposed of, being my son's and daughters High Street lot, reserved by me for their shares, every front lot having a High Street lot belonging to it."

In a letter, Sept. 7, 1705, Penn wrote to Logan,—

"As to T. L.'s request to me from Friends with you for land in or near the centre, gratify good friends, but none of the leaven, and what and where it is, and in what proportions tell me. I would have it within bounds, and rather to the line, by Schuylkill on the south bounds, or the north, than in the middle. Let it be 'the gift of William Penn to his dear friend and George Fox, and George Fox's gift to truth's and Friends' service.'"

On the 14th of September, Penn wrote to Logan,—

"To thy twelfth paragraph about the meeting-house and school lot, I could wish that some people had exercised some more tenderness toward my poor, suffering, and necessitous circumstances, than in invading lotts and lands in *nomine domine*. . . . However, since I will hope the better sort of Friends that seek it, I consent as my gift both that the meeting-house and school-house be granted and confirmed to the meeting-house and school-house and confirmed to the meeting."

On the 21st of September, 1705, he again wrote to Logan,—

"George Fox's lot is a mystery. Would Friends have it in the centre? What then shall we do with the city? I will not allow that which time may accomplish to be prevented. Take it on the right side or on the left, which yet is irregular. I rather it were out of my strife. Springettsbury, that runs up by the side of the city, and wherever it is, I will have a quit-rent, and recorded my gift to George Fox and his friends."

[2] Thompson Westcott.

front by three hundred and six feet deep, at a rent of fifteen pence,[1] and a lot on the west side of Front Street, between Sassafras and Vine Streets, twenty-five feet front by four hundred and twenty-six feet deep to Second Street, at a rent of fifteen pence. Also the bank lot on the river Delaware, in front of the same.

A small meeting-house was built at Fairhill, being located on the present Germantown road, above Cambria Street, which was standing in 1876 as the kitchen of a stone house adjoining. It was about twenty-five by fifteen feet, and the front and sides were of alternate red and black bricks. On the rear side the black bricks were arranged in lozenge or diamond shapes, a style in vogue between 1700 and 1720.[2]

Near the meeting-house a graveyard was established, a portion of which now belongs to Fairhill Cemetery. The meeting-house at Fairhill must have been built between 1706 and 1709.[3]

Plymouth meeting-house, in Plymouth township, was built some time after the Haverford Monthly Meeting, in 1703, gave its consent to Friends to hold meetings at the house of Hugh Jones, from which in a few years they were removed to that of John Cartledge. In 1858 the building, which is of stone, one story high, was repaired, and a gallery placed in the east end.

In 1715 the Friends of Plymouth and Gwynedd Meetings were constituted a Monthly Meeting for business, by consent of Haverford Monthly Meeting and Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting.

The meeting at Horsham was settled on the 24th of September, 1716, and after some time a meeting-house was built. In 1701 it was agreed in the Monthly Meeting at Byberry "that a Preparative Meeting be established at Byberry, to be held on the weekly meeting day that happened next before the Monthly Meeting, and that those Friends that are appointed as overseers do attend to that service." This meeting continued for many years. In 1714, the old meeting-house at Byberry being no longer tenable, a new house was erected on the land (one acre) given by Henry English. It was of stone, thirty-five by fifty feet, two stories high, and situated a few feet to the east of the old structure. In 1720 a school-house of logs and about eighteen feet square was erected near the meeting-house. The principal minister at Byberry Meeting between 1700 and 1725 is believed to have been William Walton, who died in 1736.

A Seventh-day (Saturday) Morning Meeting was established by the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia in 1701. ". . . These meetings, after the official appointment of elders, became meetings of ministers and elders, and after being held in Philadelphia on Seventh days for about fifty years were changed to Second days. It is said that after this change it became customary to review some of the public discourses that had been delivered the preceding day."[4]

The Meeting for Sufferings had its origin in a resolution of the Yearly Meeting of Friends at Philadelphia, in 1705, appointing Thomas Story, Samuel Jennings, Griffith Owen, Edward Shippen, and Thomas Gardner correspondents with other Yearly Meetings, with the view of collecting accounts of the sufferings and trials of Friends in maintenance of the faith. In 1709 it was decided that a committee of eight Friends should have power "to peruse writings and manuscripts, with power to correct what may not be for the service of truth, otherwise to not suffer anything to be printed." This power of supervision, which at this day seems strangely arbitrary, was exercised by the Friends' committee from 1718 to 1722.[5]

The following ministering Friends from abroad visited the meetings in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania during the years from 1701 to 1726: John Richardson, 1701; John Estaugh, 1701; John Salkeld, 1701; Thomas Chalkley, 1701, who settled in Philadelphia and became a noted man in the province; Samuel Bownas, 1702; Thomas Wilson and James Dickerson, 1713–14; Thomas Thompson, Josiah Landale, and Benjamin Holme, 1715; John Appleton, 1720; John Fothergill and William Armistead, 1721.

George Keith, who had caused so much trouble among the Philadelphia Friends some years before, again came to the surface in 1702–3. He was now a minister of the Church of England, and, in company with the Rev. Mr. Talbot, returned to Philadelphia on missionary service. He preached at Christ Church, but occasionally attempted to interfere with the Friends by appearing at their meetings in order to read "remarks," and engage them in discussion. On one occasion, according to the Logan papers, he had "a public dispute with himself" in Whitepain's great house.[6] During his stay in Philadelphia several

[1] This lot on High Street was where "Franklin Place" afterward went through, and was at one time the property of Benjamin Franklin. The meeting of Friends subsequently had some trouble about all of these properties. The heirs of George Fox in 1767 claimed all the property under the patent to Carpenter, Morris, and Hill, alleging that George Fox's right was never duly conveyed to them. The matter was compromised by the payment at that time of five hundred pounds, and the property confirmed to the then owners.

[2] Thompson Westcott, in making this assertion, adds: "The diamond-shape lozenge of black-headed brick is to be found upon Trinity Church, Oxford, built in 1709; Plain Pleasant House, Passyunk road, near Broad Street, built in 1701; upon a building in Mickles' Court, running from south side of Arch Street west of Second; on Fairhill meeting-house, and the farm-house of the Norris Fairhill mansion, to which the date of erection is assigned 1717. There may be other instances of the use of this ornament in Philadelphia unknown to the writer."

[3] In a deed from Arnold Cassel to Isaac Norris, Jan. 19, 1709, the ground is described as "lying contiguous and adjoining *the Fairhill meeting-house land*."

[4] Janney's History of the Religious Society of Friends.

[5] Thompson Westcott.

[6] "Whitepain's great house," says Thompson Westcott, "was built by Richard Whitepain, on the east side of Front Street, below Walnut, as early as 1685. It was a very large house, and it was recommended by Penn, in 1687, that it should be taken for public service. It is probable that the Assembly sat in it in 1695 and in 1701. This house was built with oyster-shell lime, and the walls fell down gradually in 1707, 1708, and 1709."

pamphlets were published by the friends and enemies of Keith, and a spirited controversy was carried on.

From 1701 to 1726 the Society of Friends suffered considerably from the efforts of those who desired the supremacy of the Church of England in Pennsylvania to dispossess Penn of his proprietary rights and bring the province under royal authority and control. The Lieutenant-Governors were all churchmen and sympathized with the movement, which was strengthened by the opposition of the Provincial Assembly, then under the control of the Quakers, to the establishment of a militia or the voting of supplies for military purposes to the government. Among the measures aimed at the Quakers the most serious was the extension, in 1715, to the colonies, for five years, of the statute of 7 and 8 William III., which provided that no Quaker "could be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal case or serve on juries, or hold any place or office of profit in the government." At this time almost all the offices in the province were filled by Quakers, and as the Governor (Gookin) held the opinion that the act repealed the provincial law permitting affirmations instead of oaths, and disqualified Quakers from giving testimony in criminal cases, sitting on juries, or holding office, the judges of the Supreme Court hesitated to proceed in the discharge of their official duties. The troubles and uncertainty on this point continued throughout the administration of Gookin, and were not settled finally until 1725, when an act of Assembly, passed May 9, 1721, embodying the principles as to affirmations which had always been prevalent in Pennsylvania, was ratified by the Privy Council. The act was strongly antagonized by the Church of England party, and in 1723 Christ Church sent a memorial to the Assembly protesting "against the omission of the sacred name in affirmations." But, as we have seen, the act was sustained by the Privy Council, and the Yearly Meeting was so grateful for the concession that it prepared and transmitted to England an address of thanks to the king.

In 1706 an effort was made to obtain the passage of a law confirming Friends in their titles, which rested upon an unsafe tenure, to meeting-houses and other places of burial and worship, and in January of that year the Assembly passed a bill "for the confirmation of gifts, grants, and conveyances to religious meetings, schools, towns, villages, and counties in this province, and their sales and grants." Objection to this bill was made in the Council by Governor Evans, who finally refused to approve it at that session. The matter remained in abeyance for many years, during which period "the religious meeting-houses of Protestant dissenting subjects," as the Assembly in a remonstrance to Governor Gookin, in 1709, expressed it, were "left exposed to the danger of the statute of mortmain."

The question of the right of Quakers to wear hats in courts of justice was another subject of controversy about this time. In Governor Keith's Court of Chancery, in 1720, John Kinsey, a Quaker lawyer, appeared "with his hat on his head, according to the usual manner of that people." He was ordered to take it off but refused, and the hat was removed by an officer of the court. The Quakers remonstrated with the Governor, who was informed, in an address signed by Richard Hill, Richard Hayes, Morris Morris, Anthony Morris, Evan Evans, John Goodson, Rowland Ellis, Reese Thomas, Samuel Preston, and William Hudson, that the removal of Kinsey's hat was "altogether new and unprecedented in this province," and a transaction which had "a tendency to the subversion of our religious liberties." In compliance with the request of the memorialists, the Governor promulgated a rule for the Court of Chancery, permitting Quakers to appear in court "without being obliged to observe the usual ceremony of uncovering their heads by having their hats taken off."

This was a small thing, but as in small things, so in great. They insisted uniformly that loyalty and conformity were two different things. Their duty compelled them to loyal obedience and respect for the powers of the realm, but their conscience forbade them to conform to and to do anything that bore the character of resistance. In a despotism their passive resistance would have amounted itself to rebellion and an attitude of war against the State. But the Quakers have not always been logical,—no sectaries ever were, perhaps; consistent with themselves, however, they ever were, and the record of their relations to church and State and their submission to conscience during the period under review, is highly honorable. We have already seen, in a previous chapter, how they dealt with Governor Fletcher when he attempted to force them to contribute to war revenue. In 1706, Governor Evans tried to rouse them to make provision for the defense of the province, by fair means and foul. The Quaker majority in Council and Assembly baffled him at every point. They refused to discuss the questions propounded by him, assuming that there could be but one answer, and, therefore, discussion would but injure them by seeming to set them wrong. This was most ingenious, since it prevented Evans from getting hold of a single declaration as a point upon which to attack them. In the time of Governor Gookin, they resisted as much, but in a different way. They were very sensible, they said, that the queen, their gracious sovereign, had been at a great expense in carrying out her war policy, "and were it not that the raising of money to hire men to fight or kill one another is matter of conscience to us, and against our religious principles, we should not be wanting, according to our small abilities, to contribute to these designs." As it was, they did not look upon the province as being in any danger, they could not give money for war, but they could vote the queen five hundred pounds to show their gratitude to her for

her great and many favors. They would like to give more, but they were poor, taxes had been misapplied, their losses had been great, trade was depressed, prices for products low, etc.

In 1727, Samuel Bownas, a distinguished member of the society, made his second visit to America, and during his stay in Philadelphia noticed what he thought to be a falling off in the spirit of the Friends since his visit twenty years before. The meetings, however, were large, and he observed that "there was a fine living people amongst them, and they were in a thriving, good way." In Pennsylvania at that time (1727-28), he said, there were thirteen meeting-houses. Among other prominent members of the society from abroad who visited Pennsylvania about this time were Mungo Bewley, Paul Johnson, and Samuel Stephens, of Ireland; Alice Anderson and Hannah Dent, of Yorkshire; and Margaret Copeland, of Westmoreland, all in 1732; John Burton, of Yorkshire, William Backhouse, of Lancashire, and Joseph Gill, of Dublin, in 1734; and John Fothergill, who made his third and last visit to the colonies in 1736, remaining until 1738.[1]

During the period under consideration (1725-51) occurred the death of the following members of the society who attained to prominence as ministers or elders in or near Philadelphia:

Robert Fletcher, of Abington, August, 1726; Elizabeth Webb, Nov. 6, 1726; Caleb Pusey (Feb. 25, 1727, in his seventy-sixth year). He was one of the first settlers in 1682, and partner with William Penn in the mill at Chester, author of tracts against George Keith, and a member of the Council and Assembly; Hannah Hill (Feb. 25, 1727), daughter of Thomas Lloyd, a native of Montgomeryshire, in Wales; she came to Philadelphia with her parents, married John Delaval, a minister of the society, and ten years after his death, in 1693, married Richard Hill, a leading merchant; Richard Hill (died in 1729) was for twenty-five years a member of the Governor's Council, several times a member and Speaker of the General Assembly, and for ten years judge of the Provincial Court; Dennis Conrad, of Germantown, died in 1729. At his house the first meeting of Germantown Friends was held; Isaac Norris, 1735, a merchant, who emigrated from Jamaica, many times a member of the Assembly, and at the time of his death chief justice of Pennsylvania; Edward Jones, of Merion, February, 1737, in his seventy-sixth year; Robert Evans, of North Wales, in March, 1738, aged over eighty; Benjamin Humphreys, of Merion (Nov. 4, 1738), who came over in 1683; John Salkeld, at Chester, Nov. 29, 1739, aged nearly sixty-eight,—he was a prominent minister among the early Friends, and had traveled in England, Scotland, and Ireland, preaching the doctrines of his sect; Thomas Chalkley, while "itinerating" at the island of Tortola, Nov. 4, 1741, in his sixty-seventh year; originally a mariner, Chalkley was a man of great importance and influence in the society, and an indefatigable preacher, making long voyages in his vessel, and thus discharging both religious and business duties, he settled near Frankford, where his memory is preserved by his house, Chalkley Hall; Thomas Story, at Carlisle, England, in 1742, he had held various civil offices, and was greatly trusted by Penn; John Cadwalader, of Abington Monthly Meeting, at Tortola, in October, 1742; John Estaugh, of Haddonfield, N. J., a frequent visitor and preacher at the Philadelphia meetings, Dec. 6, 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; Robert Jordan, died October, 1742, in his forty-ninth year. He was a native of Nansemond County, Va., born in 1693, a traveling preacher, came to Philadelphia in 1730, and married Mary, the widow of Richard Hill.

John Oxley, of Barbadoes, died while on a visit to Philadelphia in 1743. He was born at Chester, Pa., but had resided most of his time in the West Indies; Samuel Preston, Sept. 7, 1743, in his seventy-ninth year, born in Maryland, came to Pennsylvania after 1701, was a member of the Governor's Council, and for many years treasurer of the province, married,

[1] In the manuscript journal of John Smith, a minister of the society, the following list is given of persons who preached or prayed at the meetings in Philadelphia and vicinity in 1746, with the number of times each did so:

MEN.	
Michael Lightfoot	69
William Hammans	1
Isaac Davis	1
Evan Evans	6
Thomas Gawthrop	10
Abraham Farrington	7
Mordecai Yarnall	5
John Griffith	5
Thomas Brown	18
Daniel Stanton	69
John Churchman	4
William Brown	4
Jacob Howell	3
John Sykes	5
John Wright	4
Thomas Wood	2
Thomas Ross	1
Peter Fearn	13
Joshua Johnston	2
Hugh Foulk	1
Joseph Hoskins	1
John Woolman	1
Isaac Andrews	3
Peter Andrews	5
Samuel Jordan	27
Richard Symmons	3
Joseph Jones	1
Alexander Seaton	1
Samuel Abbott	1
Benjamin Trotter	59
Samuel Pennock	6
Jacob Holcombe	1
Joshua Lord	1
John Stackhouse	2
Josiah White	2
Andrew Cranmer	1
Joseph England	2
Joshua Gill	4
Abraham Griffith	2
John Laycock	2
Joshua Shreeve	6
Robert French	2
O. Barton	2
Benjamin Fell	1
Thomas Lewis	1
Stranger	1
Edward Whitcraft	2
Alexander Crukshank's apprentice	6
In all	376
Women	268
Total	644

WOMEN.	
Hannah Cooper	1
Eliza Shipley	2
Eliza Wyatt	9
Jane Hoskins	14
Ann Roberts	1
Ann Moore	3
Susanna Morris	2
Eliza Pennock	18
Joyce Benezet	13
Eliza Sullivan	7
Esther White	4
Rebecca Minshall	8
Hannah Jenkinson	17
Mary Emlen	14
Ann Scoffield	1
Phebe Lancaster	3
Widow Mendenhall	1
Eliza Hudson	13
Sarah Morris	38
Mary Smith	1
Hannah Hulford	18
Eliza Stevens	2
Mary Marriott	4
Margaret Ellis	11
Phebe Smith	2
Mary Waln	5
M. Pennell's daughter	2
Jane Ellis	2
Hannah Harris	2
Widow Mifflin	4
Eliza Evans	7
Strangers	5
Rebecca Bryan	7
Ann Pierce	5
Ann Widowfield	11
—— Durbrugh	5
Mary Waln, Jr.	4
—— Cowperthwait	1
Sarah Banks	4
Sarah Lewis	2
In all	268

first, Rachel Lloyd, daughter of Thomas Lloyd, and second, Margaret, widow of Josiah Langdale; Ann Roberts, June 4, 1750, in her seventy-third year, having been a minister fifty years. She was a native of Wales, who, after her arrival in Pennsylvania, settled at Gwynedd. She traveled, preaching, not only through the American provinces, but in England and Wales.

The wars in which Great Britain was engaged about this time necessitated frequent demands upon the Assembly for pecuniary aid; but the majority being Quakers, could not conscientiously vote appropriations for military purposes. Eventually a way out of the difficulty was found by nominally denying military aid, but voting presents of money for the king, which it was well known would be applied to the support of the army. The opposition of Friends to the military establishment would appear, indeed, to have been more formal than real, and qualified, to a great extent, by prudential considerations; for, when necessary, they exhibited no hesitation in accepting the protection of the army or navy. The formal testimonies of the society, however, continued to be given against war.

The attitude of the society toward the institution of slavery began to be defined at an early day. At first, however, the progress was gradual. The protest of the German Friends of Germantown against slavery, in 1688, failed to produce more than a declaration in 1696, after eight years of delay, that Friends should "be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes," but the holding in slavery of such as were already in the province was not discouraged. In 1711 the Friends of Chester Quarterly Meeting declared their dissatisfaction with Friends buying and encouraging the bringing in of negroes, and "desire the care of this meeting concerning it." After a due consideration of the matter, the meeting, "considering that other Friends in many other places are concerned in it as much as we are, advises that Friends may be careful, according to a former minute of the Yearly Meeting (1696), not to encourage the bringing in of any more, and that all merchants and factors write to their correspondents to discourage them from sending any more." In 1715 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting advised that Friends concerned in the importation of slaves "should be dealt with;" but in 1716, after confirming the minute of 1715, the meeting recommended that Friends "avoid buying such negroes as shall hereafter be brought in rather than offend any Friends that are against it," adding "*this is only caution, and not censure.*" In 1719 the advice against importing slaves was repeated, and ten years later, in 1729, appeared the first treatise against slavery known to have been published in any part of the world. It was entitled "A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times," and was written by Ralph Sandiford, and printed against the consent of the society, the overseers of the press having refused to allow its publication.[1] Sandiford's essay appears to have made some impression, for in 1730 the Yearly Meeting went so far as to advise against the purchase of negroes "hereafter to be imported." In 1737 another essay against slavery entitled "All Slave-Keepers that Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates," etc., by Benjamin Lay,[2] was published in Philadelphia, but seems to have met with scant sympathy or approval. The Yearly Meeting of Burlington even went so far as to publish, in Franklin's *Gazette*, Nov. 2, 1738, a statement denying that Lay's book was published with its approbation. On the other hand, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1738 expressed its satisfaction because of the fact that former rules on the subject of slavery had been somewhat closely obeyed.

In 1739, 1741, and 1742 the Yearly Meeting repeated its advice against the importation of negroes, or buying them after they were imported.

The general discipline of the Friends about this time was very strict. From the list of queries adopted in 1743 it appears that Friends were required to state at least once in each quarter of the year to "overseers or other weighty Friends," who propounded the interrogatories, whether they were regular and punctual in attendance at meetings; whether they refrained from sleeping in meetings; whether they accustomed themselves to "snuffing" or chewing tobacco in meetings; whether they kept clear of excess in drinking drams or other strong drink; whether they kept "company in order for marriage with those that are not of us, or with any others, without consent of parents or guardians;" whether Friends kept clear from tattling, talebearing, whispering, backbiting, and meddling with matters in which they were not

[1] Ralph Sandiford, born in Liverpool in 1693, removed in youth to Philadelphia, and at manhood was engaged in business as a merchant. In the course of his affairs he visited the West Indies, where he witnessed the cruelties practiced against slaves, which excited his sympathy, and caused him to adopt the opinion that the system was entirely wrong.

[2] Benjamin Lay was born in Colchester, England, in 1681, his parents being members of the Society of Friends. He was in early life a sailor, and followed the sea until 1810, when he returned to Colchester. At home he distinguished himself by opposition to the imposition of tithes, and with his own hands presented Milton's tract in relation to removing hirelings out of the church to George I., George II., and the royal family. He was of an erratic disposition, and for this cause, it is supposed, he lost the confidence of the Society of Friends, which disowned him in 1717. In 1718 he settled in Barbadoes as a merchant, where the cruelties practiced against slaves shocked his feelings and caused him to denounce the system of bondage. In 1730 he came to Philadelphia. Here he was noted for his eccentricity. It is said that he once came into the Yearly Meeting with a bladder filled with blood in one hand and a sword in the other. He ran the sword through the bladder and sprinkled the blood on several Friends, saying, "Thus shall God shed the blood of those persons who enslave their fellow-creatures." Lay was a peculiar man in appearance. "His size, which was not above four feet; his dress, which was always the same, consisting of light-colored, plain clothes, a white hat, and half-boots; his milk-white beard, which hung upon his breast, and, above all, his peculiar principles and conduct, rendered him to many an object of admiration, and to all the subject of conversation." He was in his time familiar to every man, woman, and to nearly every child in Pennsylvania. He died in his house in Abington, 1760, aged seventy-nine years.

concerned; whether they frequented music-houses, or went to dancing or gaming; whether the poor were taken care of, and their children put to school and apprenticed out to Friends, and whether Friends put their own children out to Friends as much as might be; whether they were careful in training their children in Quaker principles; whether there were any who launched into business beyond what they were able to manage, and "so break their promises in not paying their just debts in due time;" whether there were any belonging to the meeting that were removed without a certificate, or any coming as Friends from other parts who had not produced certificates; whether Friends observed the former advice of the Yearly Meeting not to encourage the importation of negroes, nor to buy them after being imported; whether Friends were careful to settle their affairs and make their wills in time of health.[1]

The Yearly Meeting for Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey adopted, on Sept. 18, 1751 (O. S.), a minute concurring with a minute of the London Yearly Meeting, to the effect that Friends should thereafter reckon January the first month in the year, and should style it "First month," etc., and that they should omit the eleven days next after September 3d (O. S.), in conformity with the act of Parliament. The next Yearly Meeting was appointed to be held on Sept. 24, 1752 (N. S.).

Between the years 1750 and 1776 but one congregation was added to those of the society already in existence in Philadelphia. In 1747, Samuel Powel, the younger, by his will devised to such persons as the Monthly Meeting of the people called Quakers in Philadelphia should nominate, in trust forever, a lot of ground sixty feet in width, situated on the south side of Pine Street, between Front and Second, "there to build a meeting-house on, if the members of that meeting shall agree to build a meeting, and not else." By the will of Samuel Powel, the elder, two side-lots were recommended to be given by his grandchildren, to give light and air to the meeting. They obeyed this direction, and the meeting-house lot was consequently enlarged. In 1753 the meeting-house on Pine Street was erected, and it was called in early times the Hill Meeting, in consequence of its being situated upon Society Hill.[2]

During this period (1750–76) the colonies were visited by many leading ministers from abroad. Among them were Jonah Thompson, in 1751; Mary Peisley (who afterward married Samuel Neale) and Catharine Peyton, in 1753; Samuel Fothergill and Joshua Dixon, in 1754; Jane Crosfield, in 1761;[3] John Griffith, Thomas Gawthorp, Abigail Pike, and Rachel Wilson, in 1765; Joseph Loxley and Samuel Neale, in 1770; Elizabeth Robinson, Mary Leaver, and Robert Walker, in 1773. Most, if not all, of these spent some time in Philadelphia.

Among the American Friends of prominence who visited Philadelphia during the same period were John Woolman, of New Jersey; Abraham Farrington, of Bucks; William Hunt, of North Carolina; Mary Griffin, of Nine Partners, N. Y.; Susanna Morris, wife of Morris Morris, of Richland Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania; Peter Andrews, Burlington, N. J.; David Ferris, of Wilmington; Joshua Evans, of New Jersey; William Matthews, of Virginia; Mary Brook, of Maryland, sister of William Matthews; Margaret Elger, of Maryland, another sister of William Matthews; William Amos, of Maryland;

[1] "These queries," says Thompson Westcott, "seem to have been modifications and amendments of queries formerly in use, which were much more minute and particular, and which, according to a minute of Concord Quarterly Meeting, in 1711, embraced, in addition to the above matters, the following prohibitions, advices, and inquiries,—against proposing marriages without Friends' consent; that burials shall be kept solid and grave; that parents and masters care to keep children and servants from hurtful principles and practices, and that they marry with none but Friends; against unreasonable keeping company with women, or at all, in order for marriage with such as don't profess truth; against inviting servants to marriage, except to near relations; against going to the marriages of any that profess truth, but marry not among Friends; against keeping company, in order for marriage, with any one's servant without leave of master or mistress; that every person shall be "clear of one before being concerned with another" in an engagement of marriage; against being too hasty in marriage after the death of husband or wife; against marriages by priests (*i.e.*, clergymen of other denominations); against Friends putting their children apprentices, or otherwise, to be brought up by those who are not Friends; that parents should often cause their children to read the Holy Scriptures, and should have them taught writing, and that they be brought up in some useful employment; against drinking to excess, swearing, cursing, lying, etc.; against superfluity of apparel and furniture in all its branches; against calling the days and months contrary to Scripture, and against calling them by the names of the idol gods of the heathen; that Friends should always speak the plain Scripture language of *thee* and *thou*; against smoking tobacco in streets, roads, and public-houses, except privately; against giving any just occasion of trouble to the government, and against refusing to pay its tributes or assessments; against selling rum to the Indians; against buying Indian slaves; against brother going to law with brother; against challenging to fight, etc.; against keeping vain or loose company in fairs, markets, drinking-houses, or other places; against vain and frothy discourses; against drinking to excess; and against a vain custom of drinking healths, as it is called; and against drinking to one another.

[2] Thompson Westcott.

[3] During the visit of Jane Crosfield the Monthly Meeting at Philadelphia, Oct. 30, 1761, adopted a paper certifying to her exemplary conduct, etc., while among them, which was signed by the following: Anthony Morris, Mordecai Yarnall, Daniel Stanton, William Brown, Benjamin Trotter, Jeremiah Elfreth, Zachariah Ferris, John Armitt, Joshua Emlen, Hugh Evans, Samuel Mickle, John Reynell, Joseph Lownes, John Burr, Paul Kripner, Anthony Benezet, James Pemberton, Isaac Zane, Samuel Sansom, Thomas Hallowell, Israel Pemberton, Owen Jones, John Smith, Hugh Roberts, David Bacon, William Lightfoot, Jonathan Mifflin, Thomas Mattieman, Samuel Wetherill, Jr., William Calvert, John Lynn, John Pemberton, John Drinker, Isaac Greenleaf, Benjamin Hooton, Samuel Emlen, Jr., Charles West, Abel James, Anthony Woodcock, Israel Morris, Isaac Howell, William Savory, Edward Thomas, Benajah Andrews, Benjamin Kendal, Thomas Clifford, Job Bacon, John Armitt, Jr., Edward Jones, Samuel Morton, Edward Elam, Robert Lewis, Richard Jones, Thompson Parker, Thomas Say, Robert Parrish, Alice Hall, Rebecca Coleman, Mary Emlen, Catharine Callender, Mary Evans, Hannah Carpenter, Lowry Evans, Martha Roberts, Rachel Pemberton, Mary Pemberton, Mary Armitt, Hannah Lloyd, Hannah Allen, Margaret Haines, Hannah Logan, Magdalen Brown Sarah Yarnall, Rebecca Jones, Mary Elfreth, Sarah Jenkins, Mary Wiley, Sarah Zane, Susanna Jones, Elizabeth Shoemaker, Catharine Lightfoot, Elizabeth Emlen, Elinor Moode, Sarah Mifflin, Ann Thornton, Phebe Morris, Jr., Sarah Morris, Susanna Mason, Mary Pemberton, Jr.

John Simpson, of Bucks County, Pa.; James Simpson, of Bucks County, Pa.; Evan Thomas, of Maryland; Job Scott, of Rhode Island; and David Sands, of Long Island.

A number of American Friends, many of them from Philadelphia, went to Great Britain and ministered to the meetings there, and elsewhere in Europe. Daniel Stanton, of Philadelphia, visited the Friends in Great Britain and Ireland in 1749–51. John Churchman, of Pennsylvania, with William Brown, a minister, sailed from Chester in April, 1750, and were engaged for some months in a mission in Great Britain, Ireland, and Holland. John Pemberton went with them. He was not a minister, but during his stay in England he felt it was his duty to undertake the gospel service. He first spoke at Penzance, in Cornwall, and afterward traveled with Churchman and Brown in various parts of England, where they remained over three years, and afterward went to Holland. Pemberton came back to Philadelphia in the early part of 1754. Churchman returned in the latter part of the same year. Samuel Emlen, Jr., visited England in 1756, and traveled with Abraham Farrington, of New Jersey. He first spoke as a public minister at a meeting in Carlow, Ireland, in 1756–57. Sarah and Deborah Morris, of Philadelphia, were in England on a religious visit in 1772. John Woolman went to England in 1772, and Samuel Emlen went with him on another mission. During this visit Woolman died at York, Tenth month 7, 1772, aged nearly fifty-two years, having been a minister more than thirty years.

Of the ministers of the Philadelphia meeting the more notable were George Dillwyn, born in Philadelphia in 1738, who, after being engaged some years in mercantile pursuits, entered the ministry about 1766; Rebecca Jones, born in Philadelphia in 1739, and brought up in the Church of England, but having been affected by the preaching of Catharine Peyton and Mary Peisley, became a member of the Society of Friends, was recognized as a minister, and taught a girls' school in Philadelphia for many years; James Thornton, born in Buckinghamshire, England, about 1727, and came to America in 1750; Nicholas Waln, born at Fairhill, in 1742, was educated at the Friends' school, Philadelphia, was admitted while a minor to the Philadelphia courts with a view to his education as a lawyer, but desiring to perfect his studies went to London, where he was entered at the Temple; and returning home practiced law for seven years; but some of the cases in which he was engaged being of such a character as to raise a doubt in his mind whether he was acting as a Christian should, he decided to relinquish his profession, and having dismissed his students, and returned to his clients the papers belonging to them, and sent back the fees for cases which he had not finished, he became a constant attendant at religious meetings, and finally a minister.

A number of ministers of prominence in the society died during the period from 1750 to 1776. Among them were Michael Lightfoot, a member of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting since 1725, who died Dec. 3, 1754; James Logan, secretary of William Penn, chief justice of the province, etc., who died Oct. 31, 1751, in his seventy-seventh year; Israel Pemberton,[1] first son of Phineas, of Bucks County, born in that county in 1684, and died at Philadelphia, Jan. 19, 1754.

Daniel Stanton died at Germantown June 28, 1770, after having served as a minister more than forty years; Thomas Brown, died June 21, 1757, was a native of Barking, Essex, England, born September, 1696, came to Philadelphia when young, and was an active minister for a number of years; Jane Jones, of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, wife of John Jones, of Montgomery township, Philadelphia County, died May 11, 1758; Benjamin Trotter, born in Philadelphia in September, 1699, died in March, 1768; Mary Knight, wife of Isaac Knight, of Byberry, and daughter of John and Mary Carver, who came from England in 1682, died March 4, 1769;[2] Thomas Wood, a member of Abington meeting for sixty-four years, and a minister upwards of forty-five years, died March 7, 1769; Isaac Child, of Abington, died April 5, 1769; Mary Evans, of Gwynedd, wife of Owen Evans, died May 20, 1769; William Foulk, elder and overseer at Gwynedd for many years, died Aug. 30, 1775; Sarah Morris died at Philadelphia Oct. 24, 1775, in the seventy-second year of her age, and the thirty-first year of her ministry.[3]

The discipline of the society was carefully maintained, and testimonies regarding children and youth and marriages were kept up faithfully. In 1755 it was unanimously agreed by the Yearly Meeting that in such places where Monthly Meetings of ministers and elders had not already been settled, they should be established without delay, and that "solid women

[1] Israel Pemberton was taught mercantile affairs in the establishment of Samuel Carpenter, and became one of the leading merchants of the city and a man of influence in the affairs of the province. He was a member of the General Assembly for nineteen years. His widow, Rachel Pemberton, was an elder, and survived him eleven years. She was a daughter of Charles Read, and was born at Burlington, in 1691. Out of a family of ten children, Israel left three sons living,—Israel, James, and John,—all of whom were eminent and useful in the Society of Friends, and were recognized as ministers. Israel succeeded his father in political affairs, and was a man of great influence in directing the course of the Quakers during the difficulties which they had to encounter in consequence of political contingencies and events between the years 1750 and 1775.

[2] Mary Knight was "born in or near Philadelphia," says Thompson Westcott, "being one of the first children born in the province of English parents."

[3] She was born in Philadelphia, and was the daughter of Anthony and Elizabeth Morris. She devoted herself to traveling. She visited meetings in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Maryland, with Margaret Ellis. In 1764 she visited Rhode Island with Joyce Benezet and Elizabeth Smith. In 1772 she went with Deborah Morris, her niece, to England, and traveled through the greater portion of Great Britain preaching, she being at that time in the seventieth year of her age. After her return she visited meetings in New Jersey, New York, and Long Island.

elders should be appointed to sit therein." With regard to the care of youth, the Yearly Meeting, in 1760, declared that "one prevailing danger" was "the frequenting of public companies, such as are too often met with in taverns, at fairs, and at all places of public diversion." The society was careful to protect its members from improper marriages, and the Yearly Meeting, in 1766, advised that "when persons having some right of membership are under immediate dealing by the overseers or by the meeting for conduct, and are publicly reproached, and in that situation are likely to propose intentions of marriage, they should be advised against making such proposals until they have offered such condemnation of their misconduct as the Monthly Meeting shall think sufficient; and if, notwithstanding such advice, any person so situated shall offer such proposals, we think the meeting should demand such an acknowledgment before they show so much of unity as to admit such proposals." When declaration was made before the society of an intention to marry, which was not followed by the consummation of the ceremony, it was usual to inquire the reasons, and if the latter were not satisfactory to deny "full unity" with the person thus offending. Marriages were occasionally celebrated with great feasting, a practice which, on account of the extravagance resulting, was condemned by some of the meetings.[1]

The testimony of the society against oaths was now extended to the administration of oaths by Friends as civil magistrates, and Friends were exhorted by the Yearly Meeting of 1771, "in all places carefully to avoid electing or promoting their brethren to such stations in civil government as may subject them to the temptation of violating them, and where any members show an inclination or desire of soliciting or accepting such offices, faithful Friends should take timely care to discourage and caution them against it."[2]

With reference to the question of slavery more radical action was also taken. In 1750 the society disapproved the practice of importing negroes from Africa or buying such as were imported, but made no formal declaration concerning the buying, holding, or selling of slaves born in the country. During the same year Anthony Benezet opened an evening school in which negroes were taught gratuitously, and began the publication of writings on the subject of slavery. In 1754 Yearly Meeting issued an epistle concerning slavery which declared that "where slave keeping prevails pure religion and sobriety decline," and discountenanced the purchase of negroes either born in the country or imported as contributing "to a further importation, and consequently to the upholding of all the evils above mentioned."[3]

In 1758 it was declared by the Yearly Meeting that "there was a unanimous concern prevailing to put a stop to the increase of the practice of importing, buying, selling, or keeping slaves for a term of life." In order to enforce these sentiments, John Woolman, John Churchman, John Scarborough, John Sykes, and Daniel Stanton were appointed to visit "and treat with all such Friends who have any slaves;" and it was declared further that "if, after the sense and judgment of this meeting now given against every branch of this practice, any professing with us should persist to vindicate it and be concerned in importing, selling, or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong should manifest their disunion with such persons by refusing to permit them to sit in meeting for discipline, or to be employed in the affairs of truth, or to receive from them any contributions toward the relief of the poor, or other services of the meeting."[4]

In 1774 the Yearly Meeting resolved that "such professors among us who are or who shall be concerned in importing, selling, or purchasing, or who shall give away or transfer any negro or other slave, with or without any other consideration than to clear their estate of any future encumbrance, or in such manner as that their bondage shall be continued beyond the time limited by law or custom for white persons, and such members who accept of such gifts or assignments, ought to be speedily treated with in the spirit of true

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[1] "The early marriages of Friends," says a writer in the *Christian Observer*, published in Philadelphia in 1853, "took place in private dwellings, prior to the erection of the first meeting-house, and are now to be found on record in the hands of Caleb Canby, a well-known citizen, who resides at the southeast corner of Branch and Fourth Streets, above Race. I have examined the first volume, commencing with the year 1672 and ending with 1758, and found, on page 62, the registry of my great-grandfather's marriage in 1709. The volume is in excellent preservation, and contains some of the finest specimens of good writing I have ever seen." These records are now in the possession of the Monthly Meeting at their meeting-house on Arch Street, where they are carefully preserved in a fire-proof vault. A custodian is regularly appointed by the meeting—one of the overseers—whose duty it is to read the certificate at the time of the wedding, and see that it is properly signed—the witnesses to the "solemnization and subscription" also signing their names. The certificate, with the signatures of the husband and wife, and also the names of the witnesses (sometimes in great numbers) are afterward duly recorded by him in the books designed for that purpose. Caleb H. Canby performed this duty very acceptably for many years,—up to the time of his death, in 1852. The "Arch Street Meeting" being the "old original," kept possession of the old records, so that Mr. Canby had control of them for the time being, and could have properly shown them to any one wishing to examine them.

[2] Thompson Westcott.

[3] During the same year, John Woolman, of Burlington Monthly Meeting, published a work entitled "Consideration on the Keeping of Negroes." It was recommended to the professors of Christianity of every denomination. A second part was added in 1762. Woolman seems to have been concerned in regard to this practice of slave-keeping from an early age, and his convictions were strengthened by his observations during his travels. In 1746 or 1747 he wrote his treatise on slavery, which he showed to his father, Samuel Woolman, and which was approved by him. It was offered to the society in 1753, was approved by the overseers of the press, and was ordered to be published and paid for out of the Yearly Meeting stock.

[4] In 1767, Anthony Benezet published "A caution to Great Britain and her Colonies Relative to Enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions." In 1772 he published "Some Historical Account of Guinea, with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, its Nature and Lamentable Effects."

love and wisdom, and the iniquity of their conduct laid before them." In regard to those who had not yet complied with former admonitions, and who still held slaves in bondage with views of temporal gain, and could not be prevailed with to release from captivity such slaves as were found suitable for liberty, Quarterly and Monthly Meetings were advised to unite "in a speedy and close labor with such members."[1]

We come now to the period of the Revolutionary war, during which the supremacy of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania was overthrown. Up to this time their principles and practices had possessed the weight of authority, and while they accorded toleration to all sects, the administration and the Legislature during the rule of the first proprietary were governed by Quaker influences. Penn favored them with valuable grants of land, distinguishing them in this respect from the Church of England, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists, who acquired property slowly and through the personal efforts of their members until the proprietary interest was transferred to the control of churchmen. This change was largely brought about by the humiliation which William Penn, Jr., the eldest son of the founder, received at the hands of the Quaker magistrates. In 1704 he was arrested in Philadelphia for riotous conduct, and treated by the authorities without due regard to his dignity. After this occurrence, it was reported that he had "fallen quite away from Friends," and his defection carried the descendants of the founder, after the latter's death, back to the Church of England, to which Admiral Penn, the father of William, had belonged. The result was "continual controversies and sometimes bitter quarrels between the Assemblies, Lieutenant-Governors, and proprietaries."[2] The proprietary's representatives in the government were churchmen, antagonistic to the Society of Friends, who, compelled to be tolerant, were yet determined to grant no concessions or privileges beyond what the Constitution and frame of government allowed. The offices under their control were filled either with churchmen or with persons who were not Quakers; and toward the latter part of the eighteenth century there were few members of the Society of Friends in the Governor's Council. The Assembly, however, continued under the control of the Quakers, and there was naturally an irreconcilable divergence upon almost every important public question, as well as most minor matters between that body and the anti-Quaker executive. In 1756 the Assembly undertook to establish a representation at the British Court, in order, if possible, to counteract the influence of the proprietary and his deputies, and with that end in view appointed Isaac Norris and Benjamin Franklin its agents at London. But little was accomplished by this step, as the passage of the Stamp Act created intense excitement throughout the colonies, and paralyzed the efforts of the Pennsylvania agents in London, rendering futile in advance any efforts that might have been made by the Quaker interest to array the crown against the proprietaries. In the struggle for American liberty which followed, a great majority of the Pennsylvania Quakers adhered to the royalist cause, "so much so as to persecute such of their members as inclined to the patriot side."[3]

In consequence of this state of feeling among them, and repeated acts on their part exhibiting a settled hostility to the patriot cause, extreme measures were resorted to by the Revolutionary authorities, and the sect suffered heavily in character and influence by the result of the contest. Their meetings for worship were less interfered with, however, than were those of any other denomination. During the period of Whig ascendency in Philadelphia, they were not disturbed, and when the British occupied the city they were treated with special consideration and respect on account of their well-known loyalist tendencies.

During the Revolution there was no change in the situation of the meeting-houses. The Bank meeting-house, on Front Street, the great meeting-house, at Second and High Streets, the Hill Meeting, or the Pine Street Meeting, and those at Germantown, Gwynedd, and other places in Philadelphia County, remained in use by members of the society. After the Revolution it was concluded to abandon the Bank meeting-house on Front Street,[4] and to build a new meeting-house in Keys Alley (now called New Street), between Front and Second, which was called "the North Meeting,—more commonly "the Keys Alley Meeting." The latter was finished and occupied, Watson says, in 1789. Probably it was later. To the North Meeting, in Keys Alley, were attached many worthies, among whom were Samuel Smith, John Parrish, Samuel Emlen, Thomas Scattergood, William Savery, Henry Drinker, Jacob Tompkins, Leonard Snowden, Nathan A. Smith, Joseph Justice, Thomas Morris, Joseph Yerkes, John de Marsellac, Stephen Grellet, John Webb, and on the women's side of the meeting-house, Rebecca Jones, Hannah Catherill, and others.

[1] Thompson Westcott.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] The late William McKoy, in his "Reminiscences," gives the following statement of the reasons which led to the removal of the Bank meeting-house:

"Friends were long accustomed to hold night meetings on the Sabbath. Their house on the Bank Hill, on Front 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 imr

The meeting-house at Byberry, built in 1714 and reconstructed in 1753, was so dilapidated about 1800 that it was evident a new structure would soon have to be built. In 1786 the select members of Byberry Meeting were Joseph Thornton (minister), Thomas Townsend, John Townsend, Susanna Walmsley, Grace Townsend, Agnes Walmsley, and Mary Knight.

The excitement of the times had not produced any perceptible effect upon the discipline of the society, which continued its warnings to youth against vain and unprofitable fashions, idle amusements, follies, games, and recreations, and its recommendations in favor of plainness of dress and truth and soberness in conversation. In 1792 the Yearly Meeting admonished those who departed "from that simplicity which truth requires, and who run into and copy the vain fashions of the world," that in case they could not be reclaimed, Monthly Meetings might "give forth testimony of disownment against them."[1]

In 1792 Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to visit Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative Meetings, which, it was said, "as truth may open the way, may conduce to the promotion of our several religious testimonies, and the benefit of individuals." Upon this committee the most influential Friends belonging to Yearly Meeting were appointed, viz., Nicholas Waln, Caleb Cresson, James Thornton, William Blakeley, Oliver Paxson, Joshua Sharpless, Samuel Canby, Abraham Gibbons, Isaac Coates, Warner Mifflin, Daniel Cowgill, George Dillwyn, Benjamin Clarke, John Collins, William Rogers, Benjamin Reeve, Isaac Martin, Abraham Hibbard, John Simpson, John Hoskins, James Pemberton, Huson Longstreth, and Mark Miller. In 1800 it was agreed that "the publishing of testifications and papers of acknowledgment at our meetings for public worship should be in future discontinued." This had reference to a practice at meetings in which erring Friends publicly confessed their shortcomings and aberrations. The practice had given much food for gossip and scandal, while scarcely securing the advantages which were hoped for from the humiliations.

Among the Friends who visited Philadelphia about this time were Joseph Nichols, founder of the sect known as "Nicholites" or "New Friends." Nichols was a farmer of Kent County, Md., who, in 1760, having led a gay life and become very popular on account of his social qualities, turned his attention to religious matters, and soon after began to exhort. He insisted on self-denial, plainness of living, and bore testimony against war, slavery, oaths, and a hireling ministry. The principles of his followers were much like those of the Society of Friends. The Nicholites effected a regular order of discipline and church organization about 1780. About 1800 and afterward some of them united with Friends, and in time all the Nicholites went over to the latter and transferred their meeting-house property to the Friends.

Another prominent visitor to the Philadelphia meetings was Elias Hicks, who afterward became noted as the disseminator of principles which led to a division in the society. He was the son of John and Martha Hicks, of Hempstead, L. I., where he was born on the 19th of May, 1748. In his youth he was apprenticed to a house-carpenter, and learned that trade. He began to speak in Friends' meetings in 1775, when he was twenty-seven years old, and soon became very active in the ministry. He was well known throughout the country for his fervid oratory, as well as for his purity of life and devotion to good objects.[2]

Having expressed opinions which seemed to be in conflict with those generally held by the society, he received, in 1818, a letter from Phœbe Willis, who wrote to him "under a profession of concern for his religious welfare." Thomas Willis, of Jericho, L. I., and Samuel Parsons, of Flushing, clerk of New York Yearly Meeting, had in the mean time taken down various utterances of Hicks, and the accusation was now brought against him of entertaining heretical views. Hicks replied to a second letter from Phœbe Willis in 1820, and to one from Thomas Willis in 1821. Some time after these letters were written, Willis proposed a friendly interview with Hicks, who requested that his letters should be brought to him. On that occasion the letters were exchanged. Hicks gave up his letters from Phœbe and Thomas Willis, and in return received those which he had sent to them. But a copy of one of his letters was, without the knowledge of Hicks, kept back. It was circulated among Friends who were opposed to Hicks' doctrines, and was printed.

In 1819, Hicks attended a Monthly Meeting at the Pine Street meeting-house. He spoke in the men's meeting, and "expressed a concern that he felt to visit the women Friends in their meeting for disci-

[1] In regard to this subject William McKoy says,—

"The dress of Friends, at first, was not intended to differ greatly from the common mode of the time, save that it was to exclude all show, and to appear simple and neat. I mean that they have since *seemed* more peculiar in their dress from the fact that fashion changed since from what was their starting-point, and to which they have adhered with more steadiness and sobriety than others. When they started as a sect, broad-brimmed felt hats, with loops at the side, were common. So of their coats and the straight collars. The *drab* was their prevalent color, because least removed from the uncolored state of cloth or *drap*. They excluded the use of metal buttons because of their former extreme tinsel finery, and they wore cloth-covered or stained horn ones. They used *ties* to shoes when buckles were worn with much display."

[2] A writer in *The Christian Examiner and General Review* thus speaks of Hicks as he appeared about 1828: "His figure was tall, his proportions muscular and athletic, his face of the Roman cast, intellectual and commanding, his voice deep, his gesture dignified and graceful. He had perhaps as much of what is called 'presence' as any man who could be named. The knowledge that he was to speak had drawn together a large assembly, which was sitting, when we entered, in the most profound silence. Statuary could not have been more still. Not a limb moved, not a garment rustled, not a breath was heard. At length this venerable figure arose like an apparition from another world, and poured forth a strain of natural eloquence which is not often surpassed."

pline." Some objection was made, particularly by Jonathan Evans, an elder. But a large number of Friends having "expressed their full unity at his being at liberty," he went to the women's meeting, Isaac Lloyd, an elder, being appointed to go with him. While he was engaged at the women's meeting, Evans insisted on adjourning the men's meeting, which was considered "an unusual, if not an unprecedented, proceeding." Some members concurred with Evans, and the meeting was adjourned. This transaction was construed to be an affront to Hicks, and produced great excitement, showing, as it did, the existence of a feeling unfavorable toward him in Philadelphia.

In 1822 measures were concerted at an unofficial meeting of a portion of the Meeting for Sufferings. Jonathan Evans was the principal actor. After the regular meeting was closed, this particular meeting was held by the few who remained. The subject of Hicks' unsoundness was discussed. As it was understood that he was about to visit Philadelphia again, and as it was asserted that he preached doctrines contrary to the doctrines of the society, it was declared necessary to stop him. Two or three elders were thereupon appointed to wait on Elias Hicks when he should arrive in the city, and although the object of their visit was not stated, it may be presumed that it was to remonstrate with him for his alleged heresies. Hicks was not deterred in his object. He went to Baltimore, and upon his return to the city was waited upon by the elders. He seems to have satisfied them, but their report was not acceptable to those who sent them. He was then summoned to appear before the male elders of the five Monthly Meetings of Philadelphia, and after protesting that they had no authority over him, that the utterances complained of were made outside of the Philadelphia Meeting, and that no sentiment delivered by him in Philadelphia had ever been objected to, he finally agreed to meet the elders from the Monthly Meetings at the Green Street meeting-house. He proposed to bring John Comly, Robert Moore, John Moore, John Hunt, and others, some of whom had been at the Southern Quarterly Meeting, and who, having heard his most recent expressions, could give evidence in the case. The ten elders refused to allow these Friends to appear. One of them said that they desired to have a "private opportunity" with Elias Hicks, and added that "unless it was private they would have none." Abraham Lower, a minister of the Green Street Meeting, protested, particularly on account of unfairness; also because Hicks was then performing "family visits" to the members of that meeting, some of whom thought themselves concerned in the case, and insisted on being present at the conference between Hicks and the elders. The latter would not accede to this, and they withdrew. Two of them then endeavored to dissuade the elders of the Green Street Meeting from allowing Hicks to prosecute his visits. Subsequently the ten elders—Caleb Pierce, Leonard Snowden, Joseph Scattergood, S. P. Griffiths, T. Stewardson, Edward Randolph, Israel Maule, Ellis Yarnall, Richard Humphries, and Thomas Wister—sent a letter, dated Dec. 19, 1822, to Hicks, embodying the charges made against him. These were that he held and promulgated doctrines repugnant to those professed by the society, *i.e.*, according to the statement of Joseph Whitall, he argued "that Jesus Christ was not the son of God until after the baptism of John, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, and that he was no more than a man; that the same power that made Christ a Christian must make us Christians; and that the same power that saved Him must save us." Some time after Whitall had brought these alleged declarations to the notice of the society, several Friends being together in the city, received an account from Ezra Comfort of alleged expressions by Hicks at a public meeting in Delaware, which was confirmed by Comfort's companion, Isaiah Bell. Comfort and Bell represented that Hicks had declared "that Jesus Christ was the first man who introduced the gospel dispensation, the Jews being under the outward or ceremonial law or dispensation, it was necessary that there should be some outward miracle, as the healing of the outward infirmities of the flesh, and raising the outward dead bodies, in order to introduce the gospel dispensation; He had no more power given Him than man, for He was no more than man; He had nothing to do with the healing of the soul, for that belongs to God only. Elisha had the same power to raise the dead; that man, being obedient to the spirit of God in him, could arrive at as great or a greater degree of righteousness than Jesus Christ; that 'Jesus Christ thought it not robbery to be equal with God; neither do I think it robbery for man to be equal with God;' then endeavored to show that by attending to that stone cut out of the mountain without hands, or the seed in man, it would make man equal with God, saying, for that stone in man was the entire God." On hearing the statement of Comfort and Bell, the meeting decided the subject to be one of such importance as to "require an extension of care in order that if any incorrect statement had been made it should as soon as possible be rectified, or, if true," that Hicks might be "possessed of the painful concerns of Friends and their sense and judgment thereon." Accordingly, two elders waited on Hicks, who denied the statement of Comfort and Bell, but declined to meet his accusers in company with the two elders, thereby leaving "the minds of Friends without relief." After a reiteration of Hicks' refusal, the elders from the different Monthly Meetings of the city were convened and requested "a private opportunity" with him, which he also refused. On the following day, however, he consented to meet them at a time and place of his own fixing, but when assembled (according to the statement of the

proceedings in the letter of December 19th, from the elders to Hicks), "a mixed company being collected, the elders could not in this manner enter into business which they considered of a nature not to be investigated in any other way than in a select, private opportunity. They therefore considered that meeting a clear indication of thy continuing to decline to meet the elders as by them proposed." Under these circumstances the elders declared that, as it appeared that Hicks was not willing to hear and disprove the charges brought against him, they felt it their duty to declare that they could not have religious unity with his conduct or with the doctrines he was charged with promulgating.

To this letter Hicks replied two days later, asserting that the charges against him by Whitall were not "literally true," but were founded on a forced and improper construction of his words. He added that he did not consider himself amenable to Whitall or to any other for crimes laid to his charge as being committed in the course of the sittings of the last Yearly Meeting, as "not any of my fellow-members of that meeting discovered or noticed any such things, which I presume to be the case, as not an individual has mentioned any such things to me but contrary thereto." Many of the "most valued Friends," he added, "acknowledged the great satisfaction they had with my services and exercise in the course of that meeting, and were fully convinced that all those reports were false; and this view is fully confirmed by a certificate granted me by the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of which I am a member, in which they expressed their full unity with me, and which meetings were held a considerable time after our Yearly Meeting, in the course of which Joseph Whitall has presumed to charge me with unsoundness of doctrine, contrary to the sense of the Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings of which I am a member, and to whom only do I hold myself amenable for all conduct transacted within their limits." With reference to the charges preferred by Ezra Comfort, he asserted that they were "in general incorrect," and assigned as his reason for refusing to confront his accuser, that Ezra Comfort had departed from gospel order in not mentioning his uneasiness when present with him, and when he (Hicks) could have appealed to Friends of the meeting to justify him; that therefore he considered that Comfort had acted in a disorderly manner, contrary to discipline, and he (Hicks) had consequently refused compliance with the requisitions of the elders, considering them arbitrary and contrary to the established order of the society. Hicks' letter was accompanied by a certificate from Robert Moore, Joseph Turner, and Joseph G. Rowland, in which they asserted that the statements of Comfort and Bell—of expressions made by Hicks at "a meeting succeeding the late Southern Quarterly Meeting"—were incorrectly quoted. That portion of the charge of Bell, commencing with the words that "Jesus Christ was the first man who introduced the gospel, and that it was necessary there should be some outward miracles in order to introduce the gospel dispensation," was substantially correct; but the succeeding phrases, "Christ had no more power given Him than man, for He was no more than man," and "that He had nothing to do with healing the soul, for that belonged to God only," were incorrect. Various other statements in the charges of Bell were declared to be incorrectly quoted. Twenty-two members of the Southern Quarterly Meeting subsequently sent a letter corroborating the certificate of Moore, Turner, and Rowland. Comfort and Bell were brought before the Monthly Meeting to which they belonged, but were unwilling to acknowledge error, and were disowned; but were reinstated by the Yearly Meeting.

On the 1st of January, 1823, nine elders wrote another letter to Hicks, in which they expressed disapprobation of his doctrines. Hicks' real or alleged opinions had now begun to attract general attention in the society, and many sermons and pamphlets were published on the subject.[1]

In the latter part of 1822 the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia was called upon to consider a doctrinal controversy over the signatures of "Paul" and "Amicus," published in a periodical at Wilmington, Del. "Paul" attacked the doctrines of Friends, and "Amicus" defended them. The Meeting for Sufferings was called upon with the expectation that it would sustain the position of "Amicus," as being correct statements of Friends' doctrines. But objections were made, and the author of "Amicus" promptly avowed his intention of taking the responsibility. This was not satisfactory. A committee of the Meeting for Sufferings in January, 1823, proposed the adoption of a minute disavowing the statements of "Amicus." By way of counteracting it they brought forward a project to publish a book entitled, "Extracts from the Writings of Primitive Friends Concerning the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ." The proposed minute was to be inserted in the preface, but the publisher refused to print it. There was also objection to the extracts. They were printed but not distributed. At the Yearly Meeting in the spring of 1823 the proceedings of the Committee of Sufferings were read in relation to these matters; but to the great surprise of many, instead of merely

[1] Among these were a report of a conversation with Hicks by Anna Braithwaite, of England, which was discredited by Hicks' friends in a pamphlet, "Letters and Observations," by Edward Parker, published in Philadelphia in November, 1824; "Calumny Refuted," said to be from the pen of an Episcopal clergyman; "Sermons delivered by Elias Hicks and Edward Hicks in Friends' Meetings, New York, in Fifth month, 1825, taken in Short-Hand;" "Sermons by Thomas Wetherald," also taken in short-hand, a sermon delivered in Baltimore by Gerard T. Hopkins, and many others. A portrait of Elias Hicks in silhouette, from a cutting by Master Hubbard, celebrated as a profile cutter by sight, was published in April. It was the only method by which a portrait of Hicks could be obtained, as he was strongly opposed to sitting for a portrait.

stating the proposition in regard to the "Extracts," Jonathan Evans, the clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings, had copied on his minutes all the "Extracts," which were thus read as part of the minutes to the Yearly Meeting. The design, it was supposed, was to obtain for the "Extracts" the sanction of the Yearly Meeting without further examination, and thus have them recognized as established doctrines. Efforts were made to have them taken from the minutes, which was objected to by Evans, because such action would deface them. Finally the Yearly Meeting decided not to publish the pamphlet. It was called in derision "The Creed."

The party opposed to Hicks held the places of influence in the meeting. Under the discipline and practices of the society, the clerk of the meeting possesses power almost autocratic. It is his privilege to decide how questions are determined by his understanding of the opinion of the majority of the members, which opinion is usually called the "weight of the meeting." The clerk ascertains the "weight of the meeting" sometimes by what is said, and sometimes by what is not said.[1]

To have the clerk of the meeting on the side of either party was therefore an important matter, and the party opposed to Elias Hicks—which about this time began to be called "Orthodox"—addressed itself particularly to obtain, not only in Yearly Meeting, but in Quarterly, Monthly, and Weekly Meetings, the clerks, overseers, trustees, and a majority of the important committees. In Philadelphia they carried nearly everything their own way. Of the five Monthly Meetings, the Green Street Meeting alone withstood the powerful combination. In the latter a new trouble arose in consequence of the method of dealing with Leonard Snowden, one of the members. Green Street Quarterly, in December, 1822, had acted on the religious engagement of Elias Hicks in visiting the families of members with an indorsement of unity and approbation, which was placed upon its certificate. Snowden, it was alleged, assented to the certificate and the language used in it, but afterward joined with the opponents of Hicks in a paper impeaching his gospel ministry. As Green Street Meeting sustained Hicks, the conduct of Snowden was looked upon as irregular and disorderly. The meeting resolved that he should be "taken under its care through the medium of the overseers." They made earnest efforts to "effect a reconciliation," which being impossible, Snowden was "released from the station of elder," his other rights as a member being unimpaired. Before this action was perfected, a new element of difficulty was interjected into the case. In April, 1823, the Preparative Meeting of ministers and elders belonging to Green Street Monthly Meeting took up the subject, and requested the aid of the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders. This interference was alleged to be expressly prohibited by the rules of discipline. Nevertheless the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders acted, in October, on the application of the select Preparative Meeting of Green Street, and, after holding it over for a year, the committee reported against the action of Green Street Meeting. The Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, on receiving the report, referred the subject to the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, wherein it was discussed in November, 1824, and postponed,—Green Street Meeting, in January, 1825, having presented a remonstrance against the action of Snowden, and against the jurisdiction of the Quarterly Meeting for discipline. The case was postponed until May, 1826, when it was decided to ask the advice of the Yearly Meeting in regard to a case of difficulty. It does not appear that Snowden's case was ever decided, its consideration being superseded by more important events in the course of the controversy, in which increased bitterness was apparent as time went on, showing elements of discord which were increasing until the society was rent by dissension.

After the close of the Revolution many Friends visited England, and at the Yearly Meeting in London in 1784, Thomas Ross, George Dillwyn, Samuel Emlen, Rebecca Jones, Nicholas Waln, and Rebecca Wright were present from Philadelphia. About this time several of the more conspicuous ministers of that period were active in the society. Among these was Warner Mifflin, a native of the eastern shore of Virginia, who came to Philadelphia during the Revolution and soon became a leading member of his sect.[2]

On the day when the battle of Germantown was fought (Oct. 4, 1777) the Yearly Meeting of Friends was in session in Philadelphia, and had under consideration matters concerning the principles of members of the society. This paper was read by the clerk, interrupted by the sound of cannon. Amid the excitement a committee was appointed to deliver the testimony of the society to the commanders of the contending armies. It consisted of Warner Mifflin, Samuel Emlen, William Brown, Joshua Morris, James Thornton, and Nicholas Waln. They sought Howe's headquarters, and gave a copy of the testimony to him. Going to the American lines they passed them, and the next day were presented to Washington, the commander-in-chief, to whom they also delivered the testimony.

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[1] In 1823, Samuel Bettle was clerk of the Yearly Meeting, and he was a strong opponent of Elias Hicks. Janney, in his "History of Friends," says that Bettle "regarded all those who gave their voices against the adoption of the Declaration of Faith presented by the Meeting for Sufferings as having no weight at all, thus virtually disfranchising them without the shadow of authority." Being examined on this matter, Samuel Bettle testified as follows: "I never considered them entitled to any weight or influence at all. I mean the same persons who had expressed themselves in relation to those extracts, and in opposition to them, in the Yearly Meeting of 1823, and whose objections I have quoted."

[2] Mifflin died Oct. 10, 1798, aged about fifty-three years.

About 1790 the Friends of Philadelphia Meeting determined upon opening a boarding-school upon a plan similar to that founded by Friends at Ackworth, in England. Owen Biddle wrote a pamphlet, with a plan for such a school, which met with so much approval that a school was opened by the society at Westtown, in Chester County,—an establishment which is in operation at the present time.

Among the members of the society who died during the period from 1775 to 1800 were John Pemberton, Jan. 31, 1795, a man of benevolent instincts, who early became a minister, and visited Europe in 1750, 1782, and 1794, preaching the doctrines of the society; Peter Yarnall, Feb. 20, 1798, in his forty-fifth year, a native of Philadelphia, admitted as a minister in 1782, and a resident of Byberry from 1791 until his death; Sarah Gray, killed, in 1796, by being accidentally thrown out of a "chair" (in Front Street, near Callowhill) while riding with John De Marsellac, a preacher of Friends. Mary Armitt, of Philadelphia, died Feb. 18, 1791, at the age of eighty-three; Daniel Offley, a noted minister of the Southern Monthly Meeting in Pine Street, a native of Philadelphia, born Nov. 29, 1756, by trade a blacksmith, his shop being located in Front Street, near Walnut; in the fever epidemic of 1793 he devoted himself to the care of the sick, and was finally carried off by the disease; Isaac Zane, a native of Gloucester, N. J., attached to the meeting at Second and Market Streets, died March 3, 1794, aged eighty-four years; Mary Emlen, died June 1, 1777;[1] John Hallowell, of the Southern Monthly Meeting, appointed an elder in 1772, died July 26, 1778; Mary Pemberton, daughter of Nathan and Mary Stansbury, of Philadelphia, and wife of Israel Pemberton, to whom she was married in 1747, after having been the wife of Richard Hill, and, after the latter's death, of Robert Jordan, died Oct. 25, 1778; Anthony Benezet,[2] an elder of the Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, who died in 1784; John Reynell, a serviceable member of the Southern Meeting, died Sept. 3, 1784, aged seventy-six; Samuel Emlen (the second), born in Philadelphia, an extensive traveler and preacher, well known in foreign lands, died Dec. 30, 1799, aged seventy-seven years; William Savery, a conspicuous minister of the society, born in 1750, commenced to preach in Virginia in 1779, acknowledged as a minister by the Philadelphia Meeting in 1781, traveled extensively in America, and went, in 1793, with other Friends to visit the Indians, in 1796 went to England in company with Deborah Daily, Rebecca Young, Samuel Emlen, Sarah Talbot, and Phœbe Speakman, returned to Philadelphia in October, 1798; Samuel Smith, a member of the Northern Meeting, son of Robert and Phœbe Smith, born in Bucks County June 4, 1737, came to Philadelphia in 1763, and began to preach in 1770; Isaac T. Hopper, a noted minister of Friends, born near Woodbury, N. J., in 1771, came to Philadelphia in 1787, was apprenticed to his uncle, a tailor, and admitted a minister of the society after 1793; Stephen Grellet, a minister attached to the meeting in Keys Alley, a native of Limoges, in France, compelled to emigrate during the French revolution, he came to America, settled in Philadelphia, in 1795, as a teacher of French, admitted as a minister in 1797, and acknowledged as one in 1798; Rebecca Jones, a prominent minister, born in Philadelphia, Aug. 8, 1739, chosen for the ministry in 1760, engaged part of the time in keeping school, in 1784 she went to England in company with Mehitabel Jenkins, Samuel Emlen, Thomas Ross, and George Dillwyn; she traveled through England, returned to Philadelphia, and was a useful minister until her death, which occurred on the 15th of April, 1818.

The society of Free Quakers had its origin in the difference of opinion among the Friends concerning the merits of the Revolutionary struggle. Those members of the society who took part with the Whigs, either by service in the field or by sustaining the cause in other ways, fell into disrepute among their associates of the sect. The Society of Friends in many cases appointed overseers to deal with the offending members.[3] The society, however, found the

[1] She was the daughter of Robert and Susanna Heath, natives of England, who arrived in America in 1701, when Mary was in the ninth year of her age. She was married in 1716 (then being in her twenty-fifth year) to George Emlen, of Philadelphia. She entered the ministry in 1728, visited the meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and went to New England, in 1744, with Mary Evans.

[2] Anthony Benezet, the anti-slavery pamphleteer, of whom mention has heretofore been made, was born at St. Quentin, Picardy, France, Jan. 31, 1713 (old style), of French Protestant parents. They removed to Holland in 1715, and afterward went to London, where they remained until 1731, when they came to Philadelphia, bringing their son with them, then a lad seventeen years of age. He was educated to mercantile business, and followed it for some time in Philadelphia, but eventually abandoned it for the profession of a teacher of youth. This occurred in 1742, when he obtained a situation in the Friends' English school, which he retained during the remainder of his life, with the exception of two years, which he spent in Burlington. During the last two years of his life he was teacher in the school for the instruction of black people and their children, established by the Society of Friends, and held in a building in Willing's Alley. He died May 5, 1784, his funeral being attended by persons of all denominations, among whom were several hundred negroes. By his will, after the death of his widow, he bequeathed the whole of his estate to a school for the instruction of negro children. In 1736 he married Joyce Marriott, of Philadelphia, who survived him. Benezet wrote several works, principally in relation to philanthropic subjects. Among them are "A Caution to Great Britain and her Colonies relative to Enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions," published in 1767; "Some Historical Account of Guinea, with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, its Nature and Lamentable Effects," published in London in 1772. He published, in 1780, "A Short Account of the Religious Society of Friends." He wrote personally letters to Queen Charlotte of Great Britain, and to the queen of Portugal, protesting against the continuance of the African slave trade. He wrote to Frederick the Great of Prussia, when the latter was engaged in war, protesting against the lawfulness of warfare. The writings of Benezet first attracted the attention of Wilberforce and Clarkson to the enormity of the slave trade.

[3] Timothy Matlack stated that in going to his home one day, he found a member of the society attempting to "deal" with his son on account of his approval of the war. The old gentleman was so much irritated by this interference with his paternal authority that he, although a

majority of members who took up the Whig cause incorrigible, and proceeded to disown them. During the war this made little difference, but after its close the Friends who espoused the popular side were excluded from their accustomed privileges in the society meetings. Finding it impossible to obtain their rights, these persons took measures to form themselves into a society. They met for that purpose, Feb. 20, 1781, at Samuel Wetherill's house. There were present Isaac Howell, Robert Parrish, James Sloane, White Matlack, Samuel Wetherill, Moses Bartram, Benjamin Say, and Owen Biddle. Here the preliminary measures were taken, and so proceeded with afterward that they formed themselves into a society entitled "The Monthly Meeting of Friends, called by some Free Quakers, distinguishing us from those of our brethren who have disowned us." In a circular addressed "To our Friends in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Elsewhere," the final meeting which formed this society was stated to have been held on the 4th of June, 1781, at the house of Timothy Matlack.

There was a strong feeling in favor of these disowned members of Friends among the Whigs, and by subscription the Free Quakers raised money enough to enable them to purchase a lot of ground at the southwest corner of Fifth and Mulberry [or Arch] Streets, where they erected a plain two-story building for worship, which still remains, and is now used by the Apprentices' Library Company. The tablet on the north end of the house bears the following inscription:

"By general subscription,
FOR THE FREE QUAKERS.
Erected A.D. 1783,
Of the empire 8."[1]

On the 26th of December, 1783, "the Free Quakers," as they called themselves,—"the Fighting Quakers," as many called them,—petitioned the Legislature for a lot of ground on Spruce Street, between Seventh and Eighth, north side, for a burial-ground. On the 26th of August, 1786, an act was passed vesting in the Free Quakers a lot for burial purposes, not on Spruce Street, as asked for, but a lot on the west side of Fifth Street, between Prune and Spruce, which has since been owned by the society.[2]

After the grant of the graveyard property, the following overseers were elected to manage the affairs of the yard: Joseph Styles, Peter Thomson, Moses Bartram, John Eldridge, Benjamin Say, and John Claypoole. Jacob Karcher was the first grave-digger.

It is said the number of members of the Society of Free Quakers, when established, was about one hundred. The names of the majority of them are not now known. Timothy Matlack was a prominent elder. Samuel Wetherill and Christopher Marshall—whose diary of the events of the Revolution is a valuable record of local affairs—were leading members. A memorial against theatres, presented to the Assembly Dec. 12, 1785, on behalf of the Society of Free Quakers, by a committee appointed by them, was signed by the following persons: Christopher Marshall, Isaac Howell, Peter Thomson, Moses Bartram, Richard Somers, Jacob Ceracher, Jonathan Scholfield, Joseph Styles, Samuel Wetherill, Jr., Joseph Warner, Jr., Hugh Eldridge, John Piles, Samuel Crispin, Jacob Lawn, John Claypoole, Samuel Crispin, Jr., and Edward Piffets.

In 1804 the Second Street meeting-house was transferred from the corner of Market Street to the burial-ground lot, on Arch Street, between Third and Fourth. In order to accommodate the great number of members, particularly those who attended the Monthly and Yearly Meetings, the building was made very large. It is probably one hundred and fifty by fifty feet, and consists of a central portion and wings. The interior is divided into apartments, one for the use of men Friends, the other for women Friends. The burial-ground had been in use since 1690, the grant then made by Penn being confirmed in October, 1701. In building the meeting-house it was necessary to invade the dominion of the dead; but it is said that care was taken to avoid that necessity wherever it could be done. Two tiers of bodies, and in some places three tiers, had been buried in the ground, and naturally there was some disturbance. Wherever it was possible the bodies were not moved, and portions of the building were placed over them.[3]

Under authority of the Monthly Meeting for the northern district of Philadelphia a lot was purchased

member of the society before the war, and acquainted with the usual course of action toward erring members, took the vindication of his honor into his own hands, and beat the Friend out of the house!

[1] "The use of the word 'empire' in this inscription," remarks Thompson Westcott, "has often been spoken of in modern times as curious and extraordinary. It was not so in 1783. The word 'empire' was a common one at that time, when used in reference to the country. The United States were under the confederation of independent governments, united under a limited central authority. They constituted an empire in the most correct sense of the word."

[2] This society may be said to be almost extinct. No burials of its members have been made in the Fifth Street ground for many years. But during the Rebellion use was made of it fully accordant with the principles of the Free Quakers of the Revolutionary era. In this ground were buried many of the soldiers of the Union who died in army hospitals in the city. The place was appropriate for sepulture of these brave men, and if the spirits of the "Fighting Quakers" interred there could have risen at that time they would have welcomed the strangers.

[3] The late Dr. Thomas D. Mitchell, in his "Remembrances of Religious Affairs in Philadelphia," says, with reference to the Arch Street meeting-house, "There was then no regulated Arch Street there, so that the lot reached out into the middle of what is now the legal highway, and the remains of the dead have been disinterred more than once north of the present brick wall of inclosure, in the various street improvements that were found to be necessary. . . . Preparatory to the removal of the Market Street meeting-house, the brick inclosure was made around the Arch Street lot, and the piles of brick and mortar now seen within were then erected with a view to the accommodation of very large assemblages of the society. Nor did the projectors err in their calculations in this respect, for in the palmy days of Quakerism in the city those extensive buildings were densely crowded year after year, [illegible] convocations, which met an almost universal response, [illegible] remotest corners of the State."

at the southeast corner of Fourth and Green Streets, extending from Fourth to Dillwyn Street, on which was erected a meeting-house, completed in the spring of 1814. The dimensions of the building were forty-seven by seventy-three feet. A committee of the Monthly Meeting consisting of Daniel Thomas, Leonard Snowden, Mary Taylor, and Sarah Smith, appointed to consider what should be done in relation to the new meeting-house, reported on the 27th of September, recommending "that meetings for worship be established there on First-days morning and afternoon, and on Sixth-day mornings, all to begin at the usual hour; and that Friends composing that meeting be allowed to hold a preparative meeting at the close of their meeting for worship on Sixth-day, in the week preceding the Monthly Meetings, to be known by the name of 'the Preparative Meeting held at Green Street.'" This arrangement was sanctioned by the Monthly Meeting, which decided that the meetings for worship should commence with the first First-day in the Twelfth month, and the Preparative Meeting on the 23d of that month. Nathan A. Smith, Philip S. Bunting, William Sansom, James Vaux, Thomas Stewardson, Joseph Bacon, and Edward Randolph were appointed to attend the opening of them. The project was approved by the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting on the 6th of May, 1816, upon report from the Monthly Meetings of Friends for the Northern District; which report, according to the minutes, "obtaining deliberate attention, is united with; and Jonathan Evans, Ellis Yarnall, Samuel Bettle, Thomas Stewardson, and Thomas Wistar, are appointed to attend the opening thereof." The Green Street Monthly Meeting for the Northern District, on the 23d of April, 1816, was ordered to be known by the name of "the Monthly Meetings of Friends, held at Green Street, Philadelphia."

Another meeting-house was built in 1812, under the auspices of Arch Street Meeting, on the west side of Twelfth Street, below Market, northwest corner of Clover Street, and opened for worship on the first First-day in April, 1813. By consent of the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, a Monthly Meeting was established there. It was known as "the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia for the Western District," and the first Monthly Meeting was opened in the Twelfth Street house on the 16th of March, 1814. During this period (1800–25) the Pine Street and Keys Alley meeting-houses remained without material change.

The success of the institution for the insane near York, England, known as "the Retreat," which had been founded about 1792, under the auspices of Friends, attracted the attention of the society in Philadelphia, and in 1811 two of the Quarterly Meetings proposed to the Yearly Meeting that provision should be made for "such of our members as may be deprived of their reason." The matter was referred to a committee, the report of which was adopted by Yearly Meeting in April, 1812. In December of that year a number of Friends met at Philadelphia to deliberate upon the most suitable means of carrying the plan into effect. Thomas Scattergood, Jonathan Evans, Ellis Yarnall, Isaac Bonsall, Emmor Kimber, Thomas Wistar, and Samuel Powell Griffiths were appointed a committee to raise subscriptions for the purchase of a lot and building to accommodate at least fifty persons. The annual subscriptions were ten dollars. All sums contributed under that amount, or beyond it and under fifty dollars, were to be considered as donations. Life-membership could be had for fifty dollars. Any Monthly Meeting of the Yearly Meeting might contribute two hundred dollars, and be considered a member. Every life-member and every Monthly Meeting had a right to recommend one poor person at one time as a patient on the lowest terms of admission. The contributors met and organized on the 14th of April, 1813, and adopted the constitution in June. At that time thirty-one Monthly Meetings had each contributed two hundred dollars. There were one hundred and eighty-eight members. In contributions there were received that year $24,170.75. In the spring of 1814 a farm was purchased near Frankford. A plan for a building was prepared by William Strickland. The centre building was sixty feet square and three stories high. There were two wings, each one hundred by twenty-four feet, and two stories high, roofed with slate. In each wing there were twenty chambers, each ten feet square, with a gallery or passage ten feet wide. The centre building contained rooms for cooking, washing, etc. The upper part was fitted up for the use of the family in charge of the institution. The asylum was finished and opened for patients on the 15th of May, 1817, the superintendent and matron being Isaac and Ann Bonsall. Before the end of the year eighteen patients were received, of whom three were discharged before the end of 1818. Five others were much improved, and seven were somewhat improved. Dr. Charles Lukens became the resident physician. George Vaux was treasurer. In 1820 the lowest price of boarding was reduced to two dollars and fifty cents a week. The next year it was reduced to two dollars. Charles F. Matlack became the resident physician in 1820–21. Edward and Sarah Taylor succeeded the Bonsalls in the superintendency in 1822. In 1825 the attending physician was Dr. Samuel W. Pickering, and the consulting physicians were Drs. Joseph Parrish, Nathan Shoemaker, Edwin A. Atlee, and Samuel Emlen. James Wills, who died in 1825, left a legacy to the institution of five thousand dollars. This establishment has been generally known as "Friends' Asylum for the treatment of persons deprived of their reason." In the modern topography of Frankford, it stands on Adams Street, west of the village.

In 1806 a rule was adopted by the society providing a method by which indiscriminate and loquacious

preaching might be prevented. According to this rule no Friend was to be received as a minister, or permitted to sit in the meetings of ministers and elders, or to "travel abroad as a minister," until he had obtained the approbation of the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders. About the year 1801 much suffering was caused in Great Britain by the wars on the continent and the failure of crops in England and Ireland. A subscription was taken up within the limits of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to aid in relieving the distress to the amount of fifteen thousand one hundred and seventy-six dollars, and forwarded to the Meeting for Sufferings in London. With reference to education, the Friends continued to maintain the principles which had led to the establishment of a public school in Philadelphia as early as 1683, and which were afterward more vigorously carried out in the Friends' school on South Fourth Street. In 1808 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, apprehending a falling away from Quaker principles, owing to the growth of the practice among members of placing their children "at colleges and other seminaries out of our religious society, in order to give them what is called a 'polished education,'" expressed the desire that "tender caution and counsel be extended to such parents and others as may be in danger of erring in this way." The opposition of Friends to wars and fighting had been sensibly modified since their declaration on that subject during the Revolution, for although in 1805 the Yearly Meeting pronounced against the payment by Friends of any tax on account of their refusal to serve in the militia, when war broke out between Great Britain and the United States, in 1812, the society evinced no opposition to the war. If any "testimony" was adopted in relation to the struggle at any time during its continuance, "it was quietly kept from the public eye in the minutes of the meetings."[1] From the "Book of Discipline" of 1806 it appears that the society still kept up its testimony against the unnecessary distillation and use of spirituous liquors.[2]

With regard to burial customs strenuous efforts were made to enforce the rules of the society in all their strictness. In 1808 the Yearly Meeting advised "that Friends be careful themselves, and discourage their children from attending the worship of those not in communion with us, and particularly at burials," and pronounced "against imitating the vain custom of wearing or giving mourning habits, and against affixing any monuments of wood or stone to graves, and all extravagant expenses about the interment of the dead." Other regulations were also provided in order that "everything tending to lessen the solemnity of such occasions" might be avoided. The same Yearly Meeting renewed the advice of former meetings in relation to marriage, and laid particular stress on the inadvisability of marriages between Friends and those professing a different religion. A resolution was also adopted, urging that "Friends take heed that they use plainness of speech without regard to persons in all their converse among men, and not balk their testimony by a cowardly compliance, varying their language according to their company."

The relations of the society in Philadelphia with Friends in England continued close and cordial, and visits were frequently exchanged. About the year 1800, Deborah Darby, wife of Samuel Darby, of London, visited Philadelphia, in company with Rebecca Young, afterward Rebecca Byrd. Mary Prior, wife of John Prior, of Hereford, England, and Mary Naftel, wife of Nicholas Naftel, of Germany, also came to Philadelphia about this time. Joseph Lancaster, an eminent teacher and originator of the Lancasterian system of education, was a minister of the society, and during his stay in Philadelphia, where he had charge of the public schools for some years, attended meetings and spoke on different occasions. William Foster, of London, visited the United States in 1820, remaining five years, engaged in religious labor. He was specially earnest in his denunciation of slavery. George Dillwyn[3] visited England in 1800, and Jesse Kersey[4] in the summer of 1804. In 1807, Stephen Grellet, a Frenchman by birth, left Philadelphia for Europe, with a view of spreading the doctrines of the society. He traveled extensively (part of the time in company with William Allen) in France, Great Britain, Ireland, Switzerland, Germany, Norway, Russia, Turkey, Greece, and Italy. He was admitted to interviews with the king of Prussia, the emperor of Russia, and the Pope.[5]

Among the eminent ministers from other parts of the Union who visited Philadelphia from 1800 to 1825 were Richard Jordan, of Norfolk, Va.; Edward

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[1] Thompson Westcott.

[2] Ezra Michener, in his "Retrospect of Early Quakerism," says, "While I am willing to allow full credit to all co-laborers in the cause of temperance, and rejoice in their success, it is proper to say that Friends were the pioneers in this reformation. It is only to be regretted that they have not been more unitedly concerned in carrying out the work."

[3] Dillwyn died June 23, 1820, from the effects of a fall on the ice. He was then in his eighty-third year.

[4] Jesse Kersey was born at York, Pa., on the 5th of August, 1768. He was sent to Philadelphia when sixteen years of age, to learn the trade of a potter. He was regular at Friends' meetings during his apprenticeship, and entered the ministry in 1785, being then in his seventeenth year. He was still an apprentice, and remained under his indentures for four years afterward. His addresses were considered surprising for one so young, and the eloquent young potter began to attract much attention on account of the impressiveness and perspicuity of his discourses. After his apprenticeship was over he went to East Caln, Chester Co., and kept a school. Having married in 1790, he went to York with his wife, and commenced business as a potter. After four years he returned to East Caln, and continued the business. Subsequently he became a farmer, near Downingtown. He was in unity with the society for many years, and died near Kennett, Chester Co., in 1845.

[5] He was courteously received by the Pope, and "found his way open to address some words of religious counsel to the pontiff, and was heard without offense. He was well satisfied with the interview, and, having preached the gospel in Rome, he left the city with a thankful heart."

Stabler, of Petersburg, Va.; Thomas Wetherald, of Washington, D. C.; Nathan Hunt, of Guilford, N. C.; Richard Mott, of New York; Gerard T. Hopkins, of Baltimore; and Joseph Foulke, of Gwynedd. Jacob Lindley, of Chester County, Pa., came frequently. He was a strong advocate of temperance, and of efforts for the civilization of the Indians, and a determined opponent of slavery. After a ministry covering a period of forty years, he was killed by being thrown from a chaise on the 12th of June, 1814, in the seventieth year of his age. Thomas Scattergood, born in Burlington, N. J., in 1748, was another active minister in Philadelphia and vicinity. He went to England in 1794, and after his return was engaged in religious labor, "having the near unity and fellowship of Friends." He died on the 24th of April, 1814. Hugh Judge, of Little Falls, Md., to which place he removed in 1804, having previously resided in Philadelphia, was a frequent visitor at Yearly Meeting, and sometimes at Quarterly Meeting. In the course of his career as a minister, Judge traveled extensively in different States of the Union. He died Dec. 21, 1834, in his eighty-fifth year, having been a minister upwards of sixty-two years. Among the elders in Philadelphia who were most prominent and active during the period from 1800 to 1825 were Dr. Joseph Parrish,[1] John Comly, of Byberry;[2] Nathaniel Yarnall, died Oct. 7, 1821; Hannah Yarnall, widow of Peter Yarnall, who was a physician and also a minister, and died in 1798;[3] Hannah Fisher, wife of Samuel R. Fisher, of Philadelphia, and daughter of Thomas and Mary Rodman, who died Sept. 9, 1819, in her fifty-sixth year; Isaac Potts, a minister of Germantown Meeting, who died in June, 1803; and Arthur Howell.[4]

Among the ministers connected with Pine Street Meeting during the years from 1800 to 1825 were Jonathan Kimber, Jonathan Evans, and Isaac T. Hopper. Among the leading members of the congregation were Charles Wharton, William Wharton (his son), Samuel R. Fisher, John Hutchinson, Samuel Shinn, John Morton (once president of the Bank of North America), John Townsend, Isaac N. Morris, Henry Cope, Isaac Lloyd, Alexander Elmslie, and many others.

The old Arch Street meeting-house, between Third and Fourth Streets, still retains a quiet serenity amid the surrounding bustle of the neighborhood. It stands in a lot three hundred and sixty by three hundred and sixty-six feet, and is surrounded by a high brick wall. The edifice is divided into meeting-houses for men and for women, and is probably two hundred feet front. The members of the society, resident in the neighborhood, are so few that services are seldom held there on Sunday.

The Society of Friends (Orthodox) have in 1884 ten meeting-houses, all of them exceedingly plain both in exterior appearance and furnishing. They are situated as follows: Fourth and Arch Streets, Orange above Seventh Street, and Forty-second Street and Powelton Avenue, West Philadelphia. The ministers of the above meetings are Joseph S. Elkinton, Abigail Hutchinson, Rachel E. Patterson, Rebecca A. Cooper, and Hannah Arnett. The Northern District meeting-house, at Sixth and Noble Streets, has for its ministers Samuel F. Balterston, John S. Stokes, and Phœbe A. Elkinton. The Germantown meeting-house, at Main and Coulter Streets, is ministered by William Kite, Samuel Morris, Samuel Emlen, and Elizabeth Allen. The Western District, Twelfth below Market Street, also includes Merion, on Lancaster Avenue west of Hestonville. Haverford is supplied by Edward Marshall, and the Frankford Monthly Meeting, at Frankford, by David Heston.

The Friends' (Hicksite) meeting-house, at Byberry, has for its ministers Watson Tomlinson, Ellen F. Croasdale, and Nathaniel Richardson. They have meeting-houses at Fair Hill, Germantown Avenue and Cambria Street; Frankford, at Unity and Wain Streets; Friends' Mission No. 1, Beach Street and Fairmount Avenue; Germantown school, Girard Avenue and Seventeenth Street; Green and Fourth Streets (Jane Johnson, minister); Race above Fifteenth Street (Anne S. Clothier and Samuel S. Ash, ministers); Spruce corner of Ninth Street (Deborah F. Wharton, minister); West Philadelphia, Thirty-fifth Street and Lancaster Avenue (Samuel J. Levick, minister).

The Friends "possessing original principles" have a meeting-house at Olive above Eleventh Street, ministered by Joseph E. Maule.

THE PRESBYTERIANS.

The persecutions suffered by the Presbyterians in Ireland and Scotland during the seventeenth century caused many of them to seek refuge in the

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[1] Dr. Parrish was born Sept. 2, 1779, and was the son of Isaac and Sarah Parrish, members of the Society of Friends. His father was a hatter, and Joseph learned the trade. At the age of twenty-two years he undertook the study of medicine, toward which he had an inclination from childhood. He graduated in due time, and became a very successful practitioner, enjoying celebrity in his profession, and great confidence and reliance on his skill and learning. For several years before his decease he was an elder of the society, and was diligent in religious meetings. His interest and labors were given very faithfully during his life in watchfulness of the Indians and in advocacy of the abolition of slavery. He died March 13, 1840, in the sixty-first year of his age.

[2] The son of Isaac and Asenath Comly, born Nov. 19, 1773, a teacher in Westtown school in 1801, married Rebecca Budd, a teacher in the girls' department, and with her conducted a school at Byberry. Comly became well known as the author of "Comly's Grammar" and "Comly's Spelling-Book," which attained a large circulation, and for many years were accepted as standard school-books. The Byberry school was discontinued in 1813. In 1813, Comly was acknowledged as a minister of the society. He died Aug. 17, 1850.

[3] Hannah Yarnall, whose maiden name was Thornton, died July 2, 1822.

[4] Arthur Howell was for many years a leading member of the Philadelphia Meeting, and exercised much influence. He was the son of Joseph and Hannah Howell, and was born in Philadelphia Aug. 20, 1748. He was acknowledged as a minister by his Monthly Meeting in 1779. Howell is said to have possessed the gift of foresight, and to have made some remarkable prophecies. He died Jan. 21, 1816.

American colonies. Immediately after the battle of Dunbar, the victorious general sent the Scots prisoners by ship-loads to the British plantations, where they were sold. After the restoration the same course was adopted by the king; and many of those concerned in the risings at Pentland and Bothwell were consigned to servitude in Maryland, Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, and the West Indies. In Maryland, under the care of the Calverts, the Presbyterians found that liberty of conscience which had been denied them in their native land. By the famous "act of toleration," passed by the Assembly of that province in 1649, the word "Presbyterian" was included among the terms of reproach which were forbidden to be used. From this circumstance it would seem that persons of this faith were already in the province. In a letter of Lord Baltimore to the Privy Council, dated July 19, 1677, giving an account of the state of religion in the province, he speaks of dissenting ministers being "maintained by a voluntary contribution of those of their own persuasion, as others of the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, and Romish Church are."[1]

A large number of the members of this religious faith settled in Somerset, now Wicomico County, on the eastern shore of Maryland, and, having established a church at Rehoboth in December, 1780, made application, through Col. William Stevens, to the Laggan Presbytery, in Ireland, to send them a minister. This was the first regularly constituted Presbyterian Church in the United States, and this is the first application known to have been made to the British churches for a minister. In response to the application of the Presbyterians of Maryland, Francis Makemie, a native of Donegal County, Ireland,—who had been licensed by the Laggan Presbytery near the close of 1681, and who had received ordination, *sine titulo*, with a view of coming to America,—was sent on his mission to the church at Rehoboth, where he arrived shortly after. Mr. Makemie must have faithfully discharged his duties, for we find, in a report made by Governor Nicholson in 1697 to the Bishop of London, that Somerset County had no "Popish priest, lay brothers, or any of their chapels, and no Quakers;" but it had "three Presbyterian places of worship."

The Presbyterians began to know one another in Philadelphia between 1690 and 1700. Francis Makemie came to the city in August, 1692, just at the time of the outbreak of George Keith's heresy. He met a number of English, Welsh, Scotch, and French Presbyterians, and organized a church, which assembled for religious worship, in connection with a few Baptists, in a storehouse then situated on the northwest corner of Second and Chestnut Streets, belonging to the Barbadoes Company. Neither sect had a settled pastor, but the Rev. John Watts, a Baptist minister of Pennepeck, agreed to preach for them every other Sunday. Mr. Watts, in his narrative, says, "that divers of the persons who came to that assembly were Presbyterians in judgment; they having no minister of their own, and we have hitherto made no scruple of holding communion with them in the public worship of God."[2]

Whenever there were Presbyterian ministers in town they officiated, and for three years the members of the two sects got along amicably. The Presbyterians, probably finding themselves unpleasantly situated, determined upon calling a minister, and invited the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, from Boston, who accepted their invitation, and arrived in Philadelphia in 1698.[3]

Of the members of this first congregation, the names survive of John Green, Samuel Richardson, David Griffing, Herbert Corry, John Vanlear, and Daniel Green. Shortly after the arrival of Rev. Mr. Andrews dissensions arose between the Baptists and Presbyterians, which resulted in their separation. The former withdrew, leaving the latter in possession of the storehouse, where they continued to worship until 1704. It was a small, one-story building, with a high hip-roof. In 1820, and up to about 1832, when it was pulled down, this store on the Barbadoes lot was known as "Jones' Stocking Store." The house adjoining on Chestnut Street was Myers & Jones' paint-shop; adjoining on Second Street was Adams' grocery store, afterward Adams & Reath.

In 1704-5—Mr. Andrews still minister—the Presbyterians built a church on the south side of High [now Market] Street between Second and Third Streets, White Horse Alley [or Bank Street]. This meeting-house, surrounded originally by some fine sycamore-trees, was styled "Buttonwood Church." It is not known of what material the building was constructed. Its first elders were John Snowden, tanner; William Gray, baker; and Joseph Yard.

The Presbytery of Philadelphia, first formed in 1705, comprised seven ministers, and included Philadelphia, Maryland, Delaware, and the eastern shore of Virginia. The names of these ministers were Francis Makemie, John Hampton, George McNish, and Samuel Davis, of the eastern shore of Maryland, all Irishmen; Nathaniel Taylor, Scotchman, Upper Marlborough; John Wilson, Scotchman, New Castle,

[1] See Scharf's History of Maryland, vol. i. p. 363.

[2] Edwards' "Materials for a History of the Baptists," vol. i. p. 104, quoted by Hodge in his "Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church," vol. i. p. 81.

[3] Rev. Jedediah Andrews, son of Capt. Thomas Andrews, was born at Hingham, Mass., July 7, 1674, and was baptized by the Rev. Peter Hobart five days after. He was the youngest but one of ten children. He graduated at Harvard College in 1695, was licensed in New England, and was ordained in Philadelphia probably in the autumn of 1701. While stationed in Philadelphia he must have performed considerable missionary labor, as we find him ministering at different times at Hopewell, Gloucester, Burlington, Amboy, and Staten Island. He was also the recording clerk of the Presbytery and of the Synod as long as he lived.

and Andrews, in Philadelphia. In 1706 John Boyd was ordained at the first meeting of the Presbytery of which there is any record. In 1716 four Presbyteries were formed out of the original one,—New Castle, Snow Hill, Long Island, and Philadelphia,—constituting altogether the Synod of Philadelphia. The Presbytery of Philadelphia was composed of the following ministers: Andrews, Jones, Powell, Orr, Bradner, and Morgan. The names show a preponderance of Welsh members. Only one of these ministers, Mr. Andrews, was settled in Philadelphia, and the First Church, of which he was pastor, was the only one in this city under its care. In 1718 Rev. William Tennent joined the Synod, a seceder from the Established Church in Ireland. This was the beginning of a powerful influence in the Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, and the history of that church from this time is picturesque.

The old Buttonwood Church is described by Kalm, the Swedish traveler, in 1748, as being near the market, of middling size, the roof nearly hemispherical,—hexagonal at least. It stood north and south. The Presbyterians do not mind the points of the compass, so that they have the points of the catechism all right. In 1735 came Rev. Samuel Hemphill, licensed by the Presbytery of Strabane, Ireland, and preached in Philadelphia. Smooth language, good elocution, said the crowds which he attracted; as to his doctrine,—rank heresy, said Rev. Mr. Andrews, and denounced Hemphill from the pulpit. The Synod pronounced the young man's views unsound; Franklin, who was a pew-holder in the church at the time, liked his flowing style, defended him in pamphlets and in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Presently it was found out that Hemphill's sermons were his only *memoriter*, got by heart from James Foster, Dr. Ibbots, and Dr. Clarke.

In the growth and extension of the church differences had arisen in the Presbyteries and Synod which disturbed their harmony. The points of difference were, the examination of candidates for the ministry on experimental religion, the strict adherence to Presbyterial order, and the amount of learning to be required of those who sought the ministerial office. The Synod, on motion of the Presbytery of Lewes, adopted a rule that no candidate for the ministry who had received a private education should be admitted to trials in order to be licensed to preach the gospel by any Presbytery within its bounds, until such candidate's learning was previously examined by a committee of the Synod appointed for that purpose. But the Presbyteries quarreled on this point, and the New Brunswick Presbytery, supported by the Tennents (Gilbert, William, Charles, and William, Jr.), with many elders, protested, and licensed, in 1738, John Rowland, in disregard of this rule of the Synod; but the Synod refused to consider him a member of their body. Mr. Rowland was deprived of his charges,—Maidenhead and Hopewell, N. J.,—and took to field-preaching and the barns,—the forerunner of the Methodists. Gilbert Tennent joined him, and administered the sacraments also. It was at this time that the great preacher and orator, George Whitefield, came from England to Philadelphia early in November, 1739, and gave intensity to the impending schism.

Whitefield was an itinerant, a field preacher himself, bold, fiery, denunciatory, intense, most eloquent, and most capable of producing strong religious excitement. He appealed only to the feelings, but he stirred these to their very depths. He was perhaps the greatest revivalist who ever preached, and he created a strange fever of enthusiasm in the quiet town, having sometimes as many as six thousand hearers, whom no church could contain. He began preaching the first Sunday after he árrived, in Christ Church; he ended in the public squares and the field.[1] He denounced; he was assailed; he rejoined; he became the subject of fierce and violent controversy. The Episcopal Churches were closed against him. He did not yet venture to apply to the Presbyterians, but kept to the field. When he preached his farewell ten thousand people attended him to Society Hill, and one hundred and fifty horsemen escorted him as far as Chester. He was soon back again to Philadelphia, and indeed paid several visits, but none, perhaps, which caused so much excitement as his first. It seems as if his followers could not help mixing a little charlatanry with their zeal. They claimed that his preaching had caused the dancing-school and concert-room to close. The managers of the Assembly, after declaring that Whitefield had engaged all the printers not to print anything against him, proceeded to show that one of the preacher's zealots (Seward) had invaded their property without leave and nailed up the door without notice. Nevertheless, the Assembly was held, and the intruder compelled to apologise. Still there can be no doubt that Whitefield's oratory resulted in a genuine revival. The Presbyterians and the Baptists were kindled by the flame; the Tennents, Rowland, Blair, Davenport took to open-air preaching, and, as the contemporary accounts aver, "Religion is become the subject of most conversation. No books are in request but those of piety and devotion, and instead of idle songs and ballads the people are everywhere entertaining themselves with psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs." The people put up a new and large building for Whitefield to preach in on Fourth Street below Arch Street, and this, one hundred feet long and seventy broad, became an academy later, and then the College of Philadelphia and University of

[1] He held forth from the balcony of the court-house to a great assemblage of people, computed to number six thousand. From this place he preached every night during his first visit. Gillies says, "When he preached at the court-house every word could be distinctly heard on a shallop at Market Street wharf, a distance of four hundred feet. All the intermediate space was crowded with hearers."

Pennsylvania. He founded an orphan home in Georgia, which was unsuccessful, and he continued to exercise great influence in Philadelphia.

The Presbyterian preachers who liked his style often preached in his "new building" after his departure, and became more and more divided from the controlling Synod. Many members withdrew from Mr. Andrews' congregation and flocked to the "new building" to hear the "New Lights" preach. In June, 1741, the Synod determined to deal with the "New Lights." A paper was presented, setting forth the reasons why they should be excluded from the Synod on account of "their heterodox and anarchical principles," their fostering dissensions, wholesale denunciations, and sensational preaching. The Synod adopted the indictment, and the "New Lights" were required to acknowledge their faults or withdraw from the connection. They withdrew, protesting they had been forced out. The seceders comprised William Tennent, Gilbert Tennent, Samuel Blair, Richard Treat, Eleazer Wales, William Tennent, Jr., Charles Tennent, Alexander Craighead, and David Alexander.

This secession, which rent the Presbyterian Church all through the country, had one good result. It was the immediate cause of the founding of the College of New Jersey. The controversy was hard to heal.

In 1743, when Whitefield paid his last visit to Philadelphia, the one hundred and forty members of the "new building" congregation offered him eight hundred pounds to preach for them six months. They used the building until 1749, when the trustees of the academy demanded possession of it. A lot was procured northwest corner of Third and Mulberry [now Arch] Streets, from Samuel Preston Moore and Richard Hill. It was ninety-eight and one-half feet on Arch Street and eighty feet on Third Street, and it was subject to an annual ground-rent of £24 12*s*. 6*d*. The foundations of the new church, eighty by sixty feet, were begun to be laid in May, 1750. On its eastern pediment, in gilt letters, was the inscription, "*Templum Presbyterianum anciente numine erectum, Anno Dom.* M.D.C.C.L." Gilbert Tennent was the first minister, and his immediate successors were John Murray, James Sproat, and Ashbel Green. Ebenezer Hazard was chairman of the building committee.

The Rev. Jedediah Andrews, who had been in charge of the First Presbyterian Church from the time of its establishment, continued as pastor of that body until his death, in May, 1747. In September, 1733, the Synod allowed him an assistant, and Rev. Robert Cross, who was born near Ballykelly, Ireland, in 1689, and who had been pastor of a Presbyterian congregation at Jamaica, L. I., since 1723, was requested to come to Philadelphia. He became a member of the Philadelphia Presbytery May 29, 1737, and on November 10th was installed assistant to Mr. Andrews. When Mr. Andrews died the Rev. Mr. Cross became the principal pastor of the First congregation. He was assisted by the Rev. Francis Allison, who came to Philadelphia in 1752, and became principal of the grammar-school connected with the academy. He was made vice-provost of the college in 1755, master of arts by Nassau Hall, Princeton, in 1756, and created doctor of divinity by the University of Glasgow in 1757. Mr. Allison assisted Cross during the greater portion of the time of the latter, who resigned June 22, 1758. Dr. Allison remained in charge of the First Church for some time after Mr. Cross' resignation.

After his resignation some difficulty was experienced in obtaining a successor. In 1759 a call was authorized to be made by the First congregation upon the Rev. Harry Munro. Some objections, however, were made against him, and in 1759, Rev. John Ewing, a native of Nottingham, Cecil Co., Md., and at that time professor of philosophy in the College of Philadelphia, was elected pastor of the First Church.

The difficulties which had arisen between the Presbyterians throughout North America, and separated them into independent jurisdictions, continued to keep them apart after the withdrawal of the New Lights, or Brunswick party, in 1741, for some years. In 1746 the Philadelphia Synod, to which the First Church was attached, had proposed a reconciliation. The New York Synod, to which the Second Church adhered, took no action upon this proposal for three years. In 1749 proposals were made in the New York Synod which were submitted to the Philadelphia Synod, and referred to the commission formed by that body and to the Presbyteries. In 1750 both Synods met in New York and Philadelphia in the month of May. Each considered the subject of union, and plans were offered on both sides. Correspondence was followed by inaction until 1757, when both Synods agreed to meet in Philadelphia at the Second Presbyterian Church. In the month of May a plan of union was agreed upon, consisting of eight articles, by which differences on both sides were sought to be accommodated. This important paper concluded as follows:

"The Synod agree that all former differences and disputes are laid aside and buried, and that no future inquiry or vote shall be proposed in this Synod concerning these things; but, if any member seek a synodical inquiry or declaration about any of the matters of our past differences, it shall be deemed a censurable breach of this agreement, and be refused and be rebuked accordingly."

From that time forward, and until the change of the system of government, in 1788, by the institution of the General Assembly, when the new discipline and government of the Presbyterian Church was adopted, the supreme control of the interests of that persuasion was reposed in the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which usually met alternately in those cities, and sometimes at Elizabethtown, N. J.

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia at its first meeting agreed that the Presbytery of Phila-

delphia should consist of the Rev. Messrs. Cross, Gilbert Tennent, Francis Allison, Treat, Chesnut, Martin, Beatty, Greenman, Hunter, Ramsey, Lawrence, and Kinkead. Notwithstanding this union, some of the old spirit remained, and it occasionally manifested itself in the disputes which were constantly arising between the Presbyteries and Synod. In 1762 a portion of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, becoming dissatisfied with the action of the Synod, sustained by certain members of the Presbytery, asked that there should be a separation, and required and demanded that a Second Presbytery should be erected. It was resolved that the Second Philadelphia Presbytery should be erected for one year at least. It was composed of Messrs. Robert Cross, Francis Allison, and John Ewing, all of the First Church, with John Symonton and James Latta. The Second Presbytery was composed principally of the New Light party, Gilbert Tennent, of the Second Church, and others. In 1766 a motion was made to unite the two Philadelphia Presbyteries, but it was lost; upon which William Tennent, with some of the First Presbytery, entered a protest.

In 1754 Rev. Dr. Allison introduced a proposal into the Synod of New York and Philadelphia for laying some plan for the support of ministers' widows. A committee was appointed for that purpose, who made a favorable report, and in 1755 a plan was adopted. A charter was obtained for "The Fund for the Relief of Poor Presbyterian Ministers and Ministers' Widows and Children," which corporation still exists.

On May 31, 1752, the New Light congregation, belonging to what was afterward called the Second Presbyterian Church, occupied their new church at the northwest corner of Third and Arch Streets. The opening exercises were under the charge of Gilbert Tennent.[1]

Samuel Hazard says,—

"In this building the pulpit was on the north side, with the pews facing it. The main door entered from Third Street, with an aisle across to the steeple-door at the west end. After some years the pews in the centre were built, filling up that portion of the east and west aisle. The pews were one hundred and four in number, of which thirty-nine were square pews, chiefly around the walls of the church. Opposite the pulpit, on the south side, was a large square pew with columns, designed for the use of the Governor and other public men who attended service. . . . It is not recollected whether stoves were in use at this early day in this church, but it is believed that two small ones were used, which, not making the church very comfortable, the ladies were in the habit of having foot-stoves brought to church to keep their feet warm. These were small square boxes made of wood and tin, perforated with holes, in which was placed a small vessel containing hot coals.

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"On the Saturday evening preceding the sacramental occasions the ministers and elders distributed, from the circle around the pulpit, to communicants small pieces of metal, called 'tokens,' the object of which was to prevent persons from improperly communing. On one side of these tokens was impressed a heart; the reverse side was plain or impressed with the name of the congregation. The use of these tokens was, however, in a few years dispensed with."

In 1762 the Second congregation determined to procure an assistant for Mr. Tennent, and a call was extended to the Rev. George Duffield, of the Donegal Presbytery, but he did not respond. Mr. Tennent died Jan. 23, 1764, aged sixty-one years, and his remains were buried in the aisle of the Second Church under a monumental stone. On July 30, 1764, the Rev. John Murray, a native of Ireland, was called to the pastorship, and he took charge probably about the beginning of 1765, but he remained only a portion of the year, when he returned to Europe, reports having been received derogatory to his moral character. For more than three years the Second Church remained without a pastor. On Aug. 30, 1768, by a unanimous vote, the Rev. James Sproat, minister of the Congregational Church at Guilford, Conn., was called by the Second congregation. After some consideration he accepted the charge, and was installed in March, 1769. In John Adams' diary for 1775 he thus describes the result of a visit to the Second Presbyterian Church to hear Sproat preach:

"There is a great deal of simplicity and innocence in this worthy man, but very little elegance or ingenuity. In prayer he hangs his head at an angle of forty-five degrees over his right shoulder. In his sermon, which is delivered without notes, he throws himself into a variety of indecent postures, bends his body, points his fingers, and throws his arms about without any rule or meaning at all."

"About three years after the settlement of the Rev. Mr. Sproat," says Rev. Mr. Cuyler, "the enterprise at Campington was commenced." This means that efforts were made to establish regular religious services in the Northern Liberties. The Second Church obtained possession of a small house at the northeast corner of St. John and Coates Streets, which was fitted up for religious services. Here the pastors of the Second Church preached, and some small religious gain was obtained. They were necessarily stopped at the time of the Revolution, and the house became a storehouse for military munitions. From this small beginning originated what was afterward called the First Presbyterian Church of the Northern Liberties.

The lot of ground at the corner of Third and Arch Streets originally extended to Cherry Street, and it is supposed that a portion of it was at one time used as a burying-ground. The principal burying-ground of the congregation was on the north side of Arch Street, above Fifth. It was fifty feet front and three hundred and six feet in depth, running across what is now Cherry Street, which was not then opened. It was bought, in 1750, from Thomas Leech and others. This ground, which contained the ashes of so many Presbyterian fathers, has since been sold, and the mouldering relics of the earnest worshipers in the Second Church have been dug up and scattered by their successors.

[1] The steeple yet remained unfinished, and in 1753 a lottery was projected to raise eight hundred and fifty-five pounds for the purpose of finishing it. This structure went on slowly, and in 1761 another lottery was projected to finish the steeple. It was said that a considerable amount of money was spent on that part of the church, and it remained unfinished a long time for want of funds. A new scheme was proposed to raise three thousand pieces of eight. The steeple was probably not finished until 1763 or 1764.

After the secession of the New Lights from the First Presbyterian Church, the latter gradually recovered its strength, principally by immigration from Scotland and Ireland. On Aug. 10, 1761, the Rev. Dr. Allison, Capt. Arthur, William Rush, John Wallace, John Coney, John Bleakley, Alexander Huston, William Bradford, John Fullerton, George Bryan, George Sharswood, and John Johnson, a committee of the First Church, resolved that John Chevalier, William Rush, and George Bryan should be appointed "to procure as much ground on Society Hill as will suffice for a church, only deferring till hereafter the procuring of a graveyard." It was also directed that the committee should treat with the Messrs. Shippen for some of their lots; and it was also determined to procure a house in the southern part of the town for temporary worship. Accordingly a small house was procured, at the corner of Second and South Streets, where worship was conducted by the pastor. In June, 1762, the committee agreed that an address should be drawn up by Dr. Allison and the Rev. Mr. Ewing to the proprietaries of the province, "requesting a lot of ground to build a meeting-house on within the bounds of the city, in the southern part." On Oct. 19, 1764, Thomas and Richard Penn granted the lot, one hundred and seventy-four feet on Fourth Street by one hundred and two feet on Pine, "to the congregation belonging to the old Presbyterian meeting-house on the south side of High Street, near the court-house, in the city of Philadelphia, to the intent that a church or meeting-house should be erected thereon, and a burial-yard laid out for the use of the said society of Presbyterians forever." This lot was afterward increased by purchases made by the society.

In 1765, in the month of June, it was resolved that it would be expedient to build the church. Consultation was attempted to be had with the Second Presbyterian Church, but that congregation refused to take any part in the matter. On July 4, 1765, it was agreed to open subscriptions for the purpose of building a church. William Rush and George Bryan were appointed collectors for the upper part of the city; John Mease, Alexander Huston, and Samuel Purviance, for the central part; and James Craig, Robert Knox, Samuel Moore, and John Jones, for the lower part.

In January, 1766, the committee reported that about six hundred pounds had been promised by different persons. It was determined to erect the church, which was not to exceed the dimensions of eighty feet long by sixty feet wide. John Moore, William Rush, James Craig, George Bryan, and Samuel Purviance, Jr., of the First Church, were appointed a building committee, and Robert Smith the architect. Although the church was occupied for the first time on May 30, 1768, it was not finished. On November 14th, of that year, a committee of the First and Third Churches voted to sell "the temporary house which had been a vendue-house, on South by Second Street, to help pay for the new house, because it was not in repair to defend the congregation against the storms and cold weather in winter." About that time it was ascertained that the congregation was composed of about eighty families, of whom twenty came from the First Church and sixty from the temporary church. By the aid of lottery, granted by the Assembly in 1769, to raise two thousand five hundred pounds, the First, Second, and Third Churches were enabled to pay off the greater portion of their

THIRD PRESBYTERIAN (OLD PINE STREET) CHURCH.

debts. This also enabled the Third Church to complete its building. "The cost of the church," says Rev. R. H. Allen, in his centennial anniversary address of the "Old Pine Street Church," has been estimated at sixteen thousand dollars. The building was of brick. The front on Pine Street had a large central door, surmounted by a pediment. On each side of the door in the first story was an arched window. In the second story was a large central window, two arched windows on each side, and a circular window in the pediment. On the east side there was a door in the centre and two windows on each side of it. This doorway was immediately opposite the pulpit. It was approached by a broad walk leading from Fourth Street, where there was a gate. In the second story were five arched windows. The south front was exactly the same as the north. The west side of the church was a blank wall, except that immediately back of the pulpit, which was on that side, was a

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window. There was a neat brick floor, high ceiling, rich and elaborate carving on the woodwork, square, high-back pews, in which short men and children entering, they were lost sight of; brass candlesticks burnished to golden brightness, and filled with honest tallow candles, which were snuffed three times in an evening, and a high box pulpit, covered with red velvet, the whole producing an effect which was then magnificent."[1]

The first pastor elected by the Third Church was the Rev. Samuel Aitken, who was chosen Nov. 14, 1768, and who officiated alternately with the pastors of the First Church. Mr. Aitken served for some months with satisfaction, but eventually a controversy arose between the Third and First congregations, and also between the ministers. Charges of gross immorality having been laid against Mr. Aitken, he was suspended from the ministry, but was restored by the Synod in 1772. He was joined to the first Philadelphia Presbytery. The congregation of the Third Church was thus left without a pastor. The time that had elapsed after the suspension of Mr. Aitken had been supplied by the pastors of the First Church and by others. On Aug. 5, 1771, at a meeting of the congregation, at which the Rev. Dr. Francis Allison was moderator, a majority of the members extended a call to the Rev. George Duffield, of the Presbytery of Donegal, and promised him a salary of two hundred pounds per annum. Mr. Duffield was pastor of the churches at Big Spring, Carlisle, and Monegan. He was what was called in the politics of the Presbyterian Church of that day "a new-side man." The choice was, therefore, very unpalatable to the members of the First Church, who belonged to the old-side, and from whom the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, with the New Lights, had gone out. They claimed that the congregation of the Third Church had no right to elect a pastor "without their approbation," and they did not approve of Mr. Duffield. There was nothing against him as a fervent and humble minister of God, nor as regarded his piety, activity, or learning; but there was a great spirit of combativeness in Presbyterianism from its earliest introduction into Pennsylvania, and this case gave an opportunity for a display of the heat and controversy which seem to be necessary to a healthy and lively condition of ecclesiastical affairs. After the call was made it was necessary that permission should be obtained to prosecute the call before the Presbytery of Donegal. This permission was granted by Synod May 26, 1772, by a large majority. The Second Presbytery having refused to grant such permission, and an appeal being made by the Third Church to the Synod, the action of the latter created great dissatisfaction. A long protest against the action of the Synod was presented by Messrs. Alexander McDowell, Matthew Wilson, and James Latta, who dissented from the vote of the Synod reversing the judgment of the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, and "giving the liberty to the people who call themselves the congregation of Pine Street" to prosecute a call to the Rev. Mr. Duffield. In May, 1773, the Presbytery of Donegal reported to the Synod that they had accepted Mr. Duffield's resignation, who had been called to the Third Church. After that acceptance Mr. Duffield came to Philadelphia and proceeded to discharge his duties, or, rather, he attempted to discharge them. When he was ready to assume the charge of the congregation it was found that the First Church, having been unsuccessful before the Synod, was determined to prevent the Rev. Mr. Duffield from preaching in the Third Church. The First Church people, exercising the rights of owners, locked the doors on Sunday to prevent the use of the building. This may have been done several times, but on Sunday, Sept. 27, 1772, the controversy came to the test of force. Mr. Duffield, with a large number of the congregation, repaired to the church. The scene is thus described by the Rev. George Duffield, grandson of the first pastor of Pine Street Church:[2]

"A multitude assembled in the street below the old edifice, pressing and impatient to enter. The throng increasing, the rival and contesting authorities of the Pine Street congregation, having secured an entrance through the window, the doors were unlocked from within and thrown open. Immediately the crowd rushed in, and others arriving so filled the house and the doors of entrance that on the arrival of the preacher he found it impossible to enter. To meet the exigency, he was carried and lifted up so as to enter by one of the large windows that on either side of the pulpit opened to the west on the graveyard. The religious services commenced, and had not proceeded further than about the close of the second Psalm, when the crowded assemblage began to surge by some movement from the door on the northeast corner. The minister had arisen and announced his text, when the king's magistrate was seen struggling and pressing his way up the middle aisle till he took his stand near the spot where afterward was, and undisturbed remains, interred the body of my grandfather. The royal officer ordered the congregation to disperse; and, pulling from his pocket the riot act, he began to read it authoritatively for the purpose of carrying its provisions into effect. The preaching thus being interrupted for the moment, Mr. Robert Knox, one of the trustees of the congregation, rose, and, with a loud, commanding voice, addressing the magistrate, exclaimed, in full Scotch-Irish brogue, 'Quet that, Jimmy Bryant.' The magistrate proceeded a second time, when he repeated his command, adding, 'Don't come here to disturb the people in their worship of God.' The king's officer still proceeding with his reading. Mr. Knox, a man of tall, athletic form and stout muscle, with heroic resolution and nerve, left his pew, and, taking the magistrate with one hand by the nape of the neck and the other by the breeches, lifted him above the heads of the crowd, and carrying him to the door, cast him forth unceremoniously, saying, 'There, take that! Begone! and disturb no more the worship of God!' Then, turning to the preacher, he added, 'Go on, Mr. Duffield,' which he did without further molestation. The next day my grandfather was arrested, brought before the mayor, the venerable and excellent Thomas Willing, whom I well remember often to have seen, as on my way to church I passed his residence, on the corner of Third Street and Willing's Alley, just opposite St. Paul's Church. He was charged with having instigated and aided in riotous proceedings at the Pine Street Church. The court demanded of him what was his answer to the charge. He responded courteously to the worthy mayor that he 'had no plea to offer,' and claimed to have done nothing but exercise his right as a

[1] This is the description of Rev. R. H. Allen, in his "Historical Address." There must have been subsequent alterations, by which on the side towards Fourth Street the centre doorway was filled up, and a doorway substituted near the north and one near the south end. The engraving is a perfect representation of the old building as it stood in the memory of persons now living.

[2] Address at the centennial celebration, 1868.

minister of Christ to preach his gospel. The mayor remarked that this stand taken by him would greatly embarrass the court. He might plead not guilty, and enter his brother, Dr. Samuel Duffield, as bail, which he would at once accept. This was respectfully declined. The mayor, after further conversation and remonstrance, stated that he would willingly go his bail himself, desiring to avoid the necessity of committing him to prison. My grandfather courteously thanked the mayor for his kindness, but respectfully remarked that if his honor felt it his duty to remand him to prison, he would much prefer to go there than, by putting in a plea on his unlawful arrest, directly or indirectly admit the tyrannical exercise of power in interfering with and trying him for the exercise of what he claimed to be his right, derived not from king or magistrate, or any established church, but from God, to preach his gospel wherever people willingly and peacefully assembled to hear him. On further conversation and consideration by the court, he was dismissed to his home, with information that at another time the matter would be investigated. He never afterward was summoned to appear in court in relation to the charge."

After this time Mr. Duffield was undisturbed by any attempt to exercise force to prevent his ministrations, but the First Church went to law to recover possession of the property, and the Third Church obtained the familiar title of "the fighting church."

At the meeting of the Synod in May, 1773, the First Church made complaint of the conduct of Mr. Duffield and the congregation. The Third Church made a reply. The Second Presbytery, to which the Pine Street Church had formerly belonged, and which was strongly under the influence of the First Church, refused to receive Mr. Duffield as a member. He also made his appeal to the Synod. Before the matter could be settled by the Synod, however, the First Church withdrew the consideration of the matter from the Synod, alleging in effect that they could not obtain a fair decision from that body. Mr. Duffield was eventually received into the Second Presbytery, but having carried his point in this matter, that his presence might not molest men who did not sympathize with him in ecclesiastical matters, he voluntarily applied for, and received, a dismission to the other Presbytery, with whose members he had more especial affinity. As far as the ecclesiastical tribunals were concerned, the case was thus ended; but the courts succeeded to the controversy, which had not been settled when the American Revolution fairly commenced. Although verdicts were obtained by the First Church, they were not settled, and law was compelled to be silent amid the clash of arms.

The Associated Presbyterian Church of Scotland, more frequently known as the Seceders, or Secession Church, arose in November, 1733, but it had no organization in Philadelphia perhaps until 1751. In that year the Associate (Burgher) Synod received an application for a minister from persons residing in Philadelphia. In 1752 another request was forwarded with a promise to defray all the expenses of the mission. It was not, however, until 1766, that the Rev. David Telfair, who was the first known minister of the Burgher congregation, arrived in this city. A church was erected upon a lot on the south side of Shippen Street, between Third and Fourth, where a frame building was erected twenty-seven feet in width by forty feet in depth. He remained pastor of this

congregation until his death, April 11, 1789, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. In 1762, the Rev. William Marshall was appointed by the Associate (anti-Burgher) Synod missionary to America. He first settled at Deep Run, in Bucks County. He was born about 1740, in Fifeshire, Scotland, and was licensed to preach in 1762. In February, 1764, he preached at a hall in Videll's Alley, used by the Ancient York Masons as a lodge-room, and subsequently continued in the service of the persons who formed the small congregation which worshiped in that place. They are said to have afterward used a vendue-store and frame house on Shippen Street; but whether the latter was the building in which Mr. Telfair preached is not now known. In 1768 the persons belonging to this small congregation gave Mr. Marshall a call to be their pastor, which he accepted with the limitation that his installation should be delayed until the Lord would give him further light about it. He entered on his duties at once at a salary of eighty pounds, Pennsylvania currency. He became pastor formally in 1771. In 1770 they purchased a lot of ground on the south side of Spruce Street, between Third and Fourth, upon which a building was erected in 1771-72. It is probable that the congregation of the church on Shippen Street were at that time or previously united with them, since the title to the ground on Shippen Street—still occupied as a burying-ground—is in the congregation of the church on Spruce Street, which received the name of the Scots' Presbyterian Church. The building and lot cost about three thousand nine hundred to four thousand dollars. Eight hundred dollars was advanced by members of the congregation, two thousand seven hundred dollars were obtained in Philadelphia by subscription, and about six hundred dollars in Baltimore and New York. The building was secured by a deed of trust to the use of persons holding the principles of the Associate Presbyterian Church. Mr. Marshall was in charge of that congregation, and remained in such service at the breaking out of the Revolution. A newspaper of May 25, 1772, says, "The Scots' Presbyterian Church is to be opened next Sunday," which was the 31st of May. This probably was the day of dedication.

In 1772 the Presbyterians, in consequence of remonstrances to the Assembly against the form of taking an oath in law proceedings, by "kissing the book," succeeded in inducing the General Assembly to pass a special law for their relief, allowing them to take oaths by the uplifted hand, etc.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary war the First Presbyterian Church, in Market Street between Second and Third, was in charge of Rev. John Ewing, and he remained there as pastor until the time of his death, in 1802. Rev. Francis Allison was associated with Mr. Ewing until his death, which occurred Nov. 28, 1779, Dr. Allison then being aged seventy-four years. Ewing and Allison were both

connected with the College of Philadelphia. Mr. Ewing was instructor in philosophy in the college until its rights were taken away by act of Assembly, and the University of Pennsylvania created. In the new institution Dr. Ewing was elected provost, and when the charter was restored, and the college and university were united, he was kept at the head of the institution. His lectures were upon natural and moral philosophy. He was one of the prominent members of the American Philosophical Society, and was its vice-president for some years. Dr. Francis Allison, although assistant to Dr. Ewing, was, until the college franchises were attacked, his superior in that institution, he being vice-provost while Ewing was tutor. He had the reputation of being the best Latin scholar in America.[1]

In 1793 the ancient meeting-house of the First Church, commonly called the "Old Buttonwood," situate at the southeast corner of Market Street and White Horse Alley (now called Bank Street), was found to be too small for the accommodation of the congregation. It was resolved that "Old Buttonwood" should be torn down, and a larger and handsomer building erected in its place. The new church was one of the first in Philadelphia constructed upon the Greek model of architecture. The front was on Market Street, with four plain pillars, with Corinthian capitals, resting on a platform and supporting a pediment, upon the architrave of which was the inscription, "Founded MDCCIV. Rebuilt MDCCXCIV." The house was eighty-eight feet long, fifty-six feet broad, and forty feet high, having galleries. There were ninety-six pews upon the floor, holding six persons each, and altogether one hundred and sixty-three pews, having a seating capacity for nine hundred persons. The ascent to the main floor of the building was by eight marble steps.

During the early period of the history of the First Church burials were made in the ground attached to the "Old Buttonwood" meeting-house, in the lot which ran southward, extending along White Horse Alley toward Chestnut Street.

In 1768, John Mease, merchant, by his will bequeathed five hundred pounds to be put out at interest by his executors, "to be by them applied toward purchasing a lot of ground, or part thereof, which is now inclosed around the new Presbyterian Church on Pine and Fourth Streets, for a burying-place to accommodate the First Presbyterian Church in this city, or such of its members as may assemble for public worship at the said new church. But if the majority of my executors, or of the survivors of them, together with the pastors of the First Presbyterian Church in this city, judge that it would not be for the benefit of religion in general, or of the said First Presbyterian Church, to purchase the said lot of ground, in that case the said five hundred pounds shall be deemed to revert to the residue of my estate, to be hereafter disposed of and devised." This sum of five hundred pounds was loaned to Samuel Powel, on interest, and was paid to William Allison, executor of Mr. Mease, in 1776. The currency difficulties and obstacles to safe investments operated during the Revolutionary war against any use being made of this fund; but finally, in January, 1786, Rev. John Ewing, pastor of the First Church, and Rev. William Allison, surviving executor of John Mease, by a formal paper, declared that "it would be for the benefit of religion in general, and of the First Church in particular, that the lot mentioned in the will should be purchased as directed by Mr. Mease." This was done, and the whole of the lot on Pine Street and upon Fourth Street was apportioned by agreement and understanding between the congregations, a record of which has not been preserved. The Third Church took the ground east of the church to Fourth Street, while the First Church retained the title in the burying-ground west of the building. Burials in the First Church lot on Pine Street must have commenced soon afterward. The Market Street ground was abandoned, and the remains of many of those interred were removed. Little was found beyond bones and skulls, most of which were removed to the ground of the First Church. Many tombstones were taken to Pine Street and placed against the southern wall, where they yet remain. These stones do not always certify that the remains of the persons commemorated are in the ground.[2]

At the Second Presbyterian Church, Rev. James Sproat was nominally in charge during the Revolution, but he was absent during much of the time. He was born in Scituate, Mass., April 11, 1721 (O. S.). His father was a captain and soldier under Queen Anne, and left some estate in land. James graduated at Yale, in the class of 1741. While he was a student, the Rev. Mr. Tennent came to New Haven and preached. Sproat and other students attended out of curiosity, and some in contempt. Sproat was affected by the sermon to such a degree that he afterward visited Tennent, and determined to study divinity.

[1] Among the pupils of Dr. Allison were Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress; Governor Thomas McKean, George Ross, and James Smith, signers of the Declaration of Independence; Hugh Williamson, historian of North Carolina; David Ramsey, historian of South Carolina; Dr. John Ewing, his superior in the church; Dr. Latta, Bishop William White, and many more. Bishop White said that Dr. Allison was a man of unquestionable ability in his department, of real and rational piety, with a proneness to anger, which was forgotten in his plainness and affability.

[2] Among the tombstones on the ground of the First Church of persons who died between 1775 and 1801 is that of David Rittenhouse, astronomer, who died June 26, 1796, and his wife, who died 1799. Mr. Rittenhouse was originally buried in a vault in the garden of his house at the northwest corner of Seventh and Arch Streets. At the time of his interment it was supposed that his burial there was to be permanent. At what time his remains were removed to Pine Street is not known. A tablet to Henry Reigel, who died Feb. 2, 1798, in his sixty-eighth year, states that he was born at Stuttgart, Suabia, empire of Germany, and served the Elector in various public offices, particularly as commissioner of finance.

He commenced under Rev. Jonathan Edwards. After being licensed to preach he was arrested in Connecticut and carried to Massachusetts, where he belonged. Rev. Samuel Finley, afterward a Presbyterian minister, was sent from Connecticut to New York about the same time. At twenty-two years of age Rev. Mr. Sproat was a minister at Guilford, Conn., where he was for about twenty-five years. He came to the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia March 30, 1769. At the breaking out of the Revolution he went into the Continental service as chaplain of army hospitals. During this period he was often absent from the city, and the Second Church was indifferently supplied. After his duties in the army were relinquished he returned to the Second Presbyterian Church. In May, 1787, Dr. Sproat's health not being good, Rev. Ashbel Green was called to the Second Church as associate minister. He was a native of Hanover, N. J., and was born July 6, 1762. He was educated at the College of New Jersey, served during the Revolution for a time in the American army, and from 1783 to 1785 was a tutor in the New Jersey college. He became professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in 1785, and served until 1787, when he accepted the call to the Second Presbyterian Church. On his ordination to the Second Church, an attempt was made to harmonize differences which had long existed between the First and Second Churches upon doctrinal points, so that the old and new side should be reconciled. The churches belonged to the same jurisdiction, but the First Presbytery, to which the Second and Third Churches belonged, and the Second Presbytery, to which the First Church was attached, were not cordial in their intercourse. With this purpose, Dr. Sproat, of the Second Church, presided; Dr. Ewing, of the First Church, preached the sermon; and Dr. Duffield, of the Third Church, gave the charge to pastor and people. Ewing and Duffield were personally estranged,—a feeling arising out of the controversies between the First and Third Churches before the Revolution. During the yellow fever of 1793, Mr. Green and his wife were attacked with the prevailing malady, and upon their convalescence they were removed to Princeton, N. J. Rev. Dr. Sproat remained in the city, he believing it to be his duty to his congregation. In the course of his labors he was infected, and his wife, eldest son, and youngest daughter all perished from the epidemic. Mr. Sproat himself died Oct. 18, 1793. So dreadful was the condition of affairs that it was difficult to obtain the usual observances at funerals, and in many cases the dead-cart was the only vehicle and the driver the only attendant. In the case of Dr. Sproat, some colored men of religious inclinations offered to carry his bier. Some persons met for the purpose of prayer at the Second Church, and a procession was formed of about fifty persons, which followed the remains of the preacher to the cemetery in Arch Street, above Fifth. Dr. Green was absent at this time. He returned November 10th, and on Sunday, the 16th, preached a funeral sermon, which was published. Speaking of the scene afterward, he said that "it was the most solemn and effective I ever witnessed. The pulpit was hung in black, and the greater part of the audience were in mourning for their relatives or friends. I was absent for about three months. All the circumstances taken together almost overcame me and the audience. I wept through the exercises, as did the people."

By the death of Mr. Sproat the burden of the Second Church fell on Mr. Green. In order to assist him, measures were taken by the Second and Third Churches to get the services of the Rev. John Nelson Abeel. The plan to be adopted was that Mr. Abeel was to give two-thirds of his time to the Second Church and one-third to the Third Church. "It was an ill-contrived arrangement," said Dr. Green, "and did not last long." Mr. Abeel was called to Philadelphia from the Dutch Church in New York, where he had been exceedingly popular. Afterward Mr. Abeel left the Second Church, and Dr. Green continued in it. When the yellow fever came, in 1797, he removed his family to Princeton, but remained himself in the city. The greater part of his congregation had gone away. "In general," he said, "it was the poorer part which remained; but the churches in the city, except of one Methodist, were closed, and the larger part of my audience were not of my pastoral charge. The people to whom I preached were about the one-third part of my congregation in time of health."

In 1799, Rev. Jacob J. Janeway became associate pastor of the Second Church. He was born in New York City in 1776, and was educated at Columbia College, where he graduated in 1794. He was ordained in 1799, and came to Philadelphia, where he remained, assisting Dr. Green in 1800. During Dr. Green's pastorship he was elected chaplain to Congress with Bishop White. He was elected in 1792, and held that office until Congress' removal to Washington, in 1800. Dr. Green attracted attention by his preaching, and his church became attended by crowds of persons, drawn by his eloquence.

During the British occupation of the city, in 1778, the Second Church was occupied as a hospital. Mr. Hazard says that the pews and wood-work were destroyed, as well as the fence which inclosed the church. A chandelier, imported from England, which was suspended from the centre of the ceiling, was taken down by them, sent to New York, and was afterward repurchased by the congregation. The church was lighted entirely with candles placed in the branches and in ten sconces around the wall, holding one or two candles each.

About the year 1795, owing to improvements in the neighborhood of the church, and the situation becoming so noisy as to require some remedy, resort was had to a petition for relief, first to the city authorities and afterward to the Legislature. The

former having refused, the latter was petitioned to grant permission to the church to extend chains in front of the church at Third and Arch, to prevent the passage of carriages and horsemen in time of divine service, which privilege was granted, and existed for some years. But finally the grant was removed, on application of citizens, who considered themselves aggrieved. Horsemen frequently attempted to evade the regulation, going around the chains on the pavement, until arrested by the sexton or constable in charge.

The church not occupying the whole space inclosed on Third Street, left a vacancy there, upon a part of which, and a lot adjoining, purchased by the congregation, was erected John Ely's frame school-house, to which the boys of the church were sent. This school-house, about the year 1794, gave place to a three-story brick building, erected by the congregation for a lecture-room and charity school of the church, which was afterward sold with the rest of the church property. The weekly lectures being always so well attended, it became necessary to erect a room of greater capacity, which was done on Cherry Street, in the rear of the burying-ground, immediately adjoining the church. The Delaware Fire-Engine Company was allowed to erect its house there, upon condition that they should place a door in the rear, so that, in case of need, the engine might be used for the church, and that the company would remove the house at the request of the trustees, which was accordingly done some years afterward.

SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The quarrel between the First and Third Presbyterian Churches, which was pending at the outbreak of the Revolution, continued during that contest. The matter came to a trial in February, 1776, suit being brought for forcible entry and detainer in the name of Robert Taggart, lessee of First and Third Presbyterian Churches, *vs.* Robert Knox, Alexander Alexander, and others, to recover possession of the church at Pine and Fourth Streets, which the defendants and their associates forcibly entered in 1772, in order to introduce George Duffield to the pulpit. The court gave judgment in favor of the plaintiffs, the First Church. The Third Church gave notice of an appeal to the king in Council. In less than five months that mode of settlement was closed by the Declaration of Independence. After that event new proceedings might have been necessary, but the congregations agreed on compromise. The First Church agreed to take five thousand dollars in full satisfaction of all claims. When the money came to be paid, that congregation generously made a deduction of seven hundred and fifty dollars, so that the controversy was ended, and the title of the Third Church was confirmed on the payment of four thousand two hundred and fifty dollars.

In 1795 the charters of the First and Third Presbyterian Churches—which were united, and which union had been the cause of much controversy and dissension—were annulled by act of Assembly. A new and separate charter was granted to the First Church on the 21st of September, 1796.

The religious services in the Third Church were interrupted in some degree by the events of the war. Rev. George Duffield was upon the patriot side, and his sermons upon proper occasions were not uncertain in teaching. On the 6th of July, 1776, he was appointed chaplain of all military forces in the service of Pennsylvania, and he held the office during the war. While the British were in Philadelphia, and while Congress was in session at York, he was elected chaplain of Congress. His services were divided. When the army was quiet he returned to the church and ministered. When the campaigns were opened and the troops in danger, he was generally in camp. He left Philadelphia when Washington retreated through New Jersey to the river Delaware, in the latter part of 1776. He reached the army at Elizabethtown, and remained with it until after the battles of Princeton and Trenton, and was among the last who crossed the bridge over the Asanpink Creek, near Trenton, before it was destroyed under orders of the commander-in-chief. Mr. Duffield was in charge of this congregation until the time of his death, which occurred Feb. 2, 1790.

During the remainder of that year the church was without a pastor; but in 1791 Rev. John Blair Smith, D.D., president of Hampden Sidney College, Virginia, was called as pastor, at a salary of three hundred pounds. He accepted the position, and discharged its duties until the year 1795, when he resigned to become president of Union College, New York. For four years after this the church was without a pastor. In 1799 Mr. Smith was recalled and came back to the church; but, unfortunately, for a short time only. He was seized with yellow fever in 1799, and died August 22d of that year, at the age of forty-four years. He was a native of Pequea, Lancaster Co., Pa., where he was born June 12, 1756. He was a son of Rev. Dr. Robert Smith and brother of Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, who was president of Hampden Sidney College. John Blair Smith was educated at Princeton, but graduated at the College of New York in 1778. In 1775 that institution gave

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him the degree of D.D. He succeeded his brother as president of Hampden and Sidney in 1779. He was celebrated as a preacher in the valley of Virginia, and, after twelve years' service in that country, he came to Philadelphia upon invitation of the Third Church.

During the Revolution, when the British were in Philadelphia, they used this church as a hospital. The pews were burned for fuel. They stripped the pulpit and windows, and after the abandonment of the church for hospital uses, they used it as a stable for the dragoons.

The sextons of the Third Church during this period were as follows: 1777, William Carr; 1788, Thomas Mitchell, clerk and sexton; 1793, William Allison; 1799, Alexander Urquhart. Sexton Allison was presented in 1798, by the congregation, with "a neat, snug, comfortable wig." Sexton Mitchell lost his office in 1792 in consequence of his refusal to open the pew-doors for the congregation. He was willing to perform his duty in all other respects; but upon this the congregation resolved that his "answer was not satisfactory."

In 1792 a large pew opposite the pulpit, at the end of the middle aisle, was reserved "for the accommodation of respectable strangers." In the same year a large pew in the centre was ordered to be rented for six pounds yearly. In 1793 a proposition that the members disapprove of the practice of informing the congregation from the desk, on Sundays, when pew-rents were payable, was negatived by a large majority. This church took advantage of the act of Assembly authorizing the putting up of chains across the streets in the vicinity of churches. In fact, the law was passed principally through the efforts of the Second and Third Presbyterian Churches. The committee on behalf of the Third Church to consult upon the subject was composed of Paul Cox, F. MacIlvaine, and J. McCulloch. In 1792 it was unanimously agreed that "no hooks, nails, nor other things be put up in front of gallery and columns for the purpose of hanging hats or anything."

The sacrament at the Second Church, at the time of which we are speaking, was celebrated according to the ancient usages and forms observed in Scotland and the north of Ireland. The preparatory service was held on Friday evening, and the names of any admitted by the session to communion were read at this preparatory service. Each communicant received from the pastor or one of the elders a "token," which was to be an evidence that the person presenting it was entitled to the ordinance. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was always on the Sabbath morning, after the sermon. The elements were not distributed to those seated, but tables covered with linen were arranged along the middle aisle and along the aisles on either side of the pulpit. As the communicants could not be seated all at once, it was necessary that there should be several tables, often as many as five being used, those who had communed retiring, and others taking their places. While this was being done part of a hymn was sung.

In June, 1799, a small number of persons were organized by the Presbytery of Philadelphia as the Fourth Presbyterian Church. The members of this little congregation had formerly been connected with the Third Church, and had gone out from the congregation in consequence of disagreement with the majority as to the propriety of choosing George C. Potts to the pastorship. During the vacation in the pulpit of the Third Church, after the death of John Blair Smith, in 1790, Mr. Potts, who was a native of Ireland, was called upon to supply the pulpit, and he became quite popular among those members of the church who were of Irish birth. The Scotch and Americans were not so strongly impressed with his merits, and his adherents, who withdrew, formed the Fourth Church. The indigent circumstances of many of the members of the new organization rendered it impracticable to erect a place of worship, and induced them to rent a very diminutive frame house that had been put up as an appendage to Mr. Peale's residence, on the southwest corner of Lombard and Third Streets, where first began the Philadelphia Museum. This small frame building, of not more than twelve by thirty-five feet, adjoined the corner house on the west side, having its narrow front on Lombard Street. They had no regular pastor at that time, services being conducted by supplies furnished by the Presbytery. In 1800 this small congregation extended a call to George Potts, who was then a licentiate under charge of the Presbytery of New Castle. He accepted the call, and was ordained and installed May 22, 1800. Rev. John Blair Linn, of the First Presbyterian Church, preached the ordination sermon, from John xxi. 15. Rev. John Davenport, of Deerfield, N. J., offered the ordaining prayer, and Rev. Thomas Boyd delivered the charges to the pastor and people. This was the organization of a congregation which afterward became eminent among the Presbyterian Churches of Philadelphia. Mr. Potts was a native of Ireland, born in the county of Monaghan. He came to the United States in the year 1797. He was educated at the University of Glasgow, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Monaghan. His only permanent service was with this church, with which he remained until near the time of his death.

After two years' stay in the building at Third and Lombard Streets, the means of the members were sufficient to justify them in making an effort to obtain a lot for the erection of a building for church purposes. On the 30th of March, 1802, Israel Israel, sheriff, for the consideration of eight hundred dollars, conveyed to Edward Hanna, Robert Jackson, and Robert Gordon, trustees, a lot of ground upon which a one-story carpenter-shop was erected, on the east side of Fifth Street h side of Gaskill

Street, forty-one feet nine inches on Fifth Street, and one hundred and twenty feet on Gaskill Street, subject to a ground-rent of $41.75 per annum. Subsequently the adjoining lot on the north, with a three-story brick house thereon erected, was purchased, making the whole width on Fifth Street sixty-one feet nine inches.

Upon this lot a church-building was commenced shortly afterward. The corner-stone was laid on the 4th of July, 1802, by Rev. George C. Potts and the elders and trustees of the congregation. The work upon it proceeded very slowly, and it was not completed for several years, although the congregation occupied it while it was in an unfinished condition. When completed the house showed a plain exterior, which was rough-cast, and, after the lapse of years, whitewashed. A central doorway on Fifth Street, with wooden frame and pillars, and square windows, presented themselves to the eye. The interior was sufficiently finished to allow the congregation to use it by the end of 1803, and the church was opened for worship on the 14th of December of that year, the services being under the direction of Rev. Nathaniel Irwin, of Neshaminy Church, and Rev. George C. Potts, the pastor.

In 1800 the church applied to the Legislature for the grant of a city lot, for the purpose of a burying-ground. On the 15th of March of that year the Legislature passed a law, vesting in the Fourth Presbyterian Church a city lot, bounded on the east by Twelfth Street, on the north by Lombard Street, on the west by Thirteenth Street, extending south seventy-eight feet, of a width on Lombard Street of three hundred and ninety-six feet. This grant was made for a "church and burying-ground;" but the situation at that time was so remote from the centre of population, and particularly from the residences of members of the church—most of whom lived in the neighborhood of Spruce, Pine, Lombard, and South Streets, between the Delaware River and Fourth Street—that the idea of erecting a church there was not then entertained. The ground was appropriated for the purposes of a church burying-ground, and went into use as soon as the grant was made.

The Scots' Presbyterian Church was under the pastorship of the Rev. William Marshall at the outbreak of the Revolution, and he continued in that charge during the contest. He preached until the British army entered Philadelphia, when, in consequence of his political sentiments, which were never concealed, he prudently left the city. During the time when the church was vacant it was taken possession of by the British, and was used as a hospital. The pews were destroyed, and other damage was done. After the evacuation of the city the damages were assessed at £5500 18*s*. Continental currency. Of course the actual injury at specie value was far below this estimate, as may be judged by the fact that in the bill of damages thirty pounds of nails and iron were set down as worth £142, while forty-nine hinges were valued at £472.

Mr. Marshall lived near Third and Spruce Streets. His house was broken into during his absence, and his furniture taken away. He advertised his loss after his return in 1778, and added that his property was taken "as rebel property out of his house by an understrapper." From 1778 to 1788 this congregation was ministered to by Mr. Marshall, but not without difficulty, distrust, and discontent.

In the latter year a cause of dissension, which had been creating unpleasant feelings in the congregation for some time, produced a rupture. The circumstances were these: In 1776 the Associate Presbyterian Church in the United States was formed into two Presbyteries. The Presbytery of Philadelphia consisted of Messrs. James Proudfit, Matthew Henderson, William Marshall, John Roger, John Smith, James Clarkson, William Logan, John Murray, James Martin, and Andrew Patton. The Presbytery of New York was composed of John Mason, Thomas Clark, and Robert Annan. These Presbyteries were co-ordinate, and were not subject to any common court in this country, being subordinate to the Synod of Edinburgh. Under this organization the Scots' Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia belonged to the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania. At this time the Reformed Presbyterians, or Covenanters, had in the United States three ministers,—John Cuthbertson, William Lynd, and Alexander Dobbin. In 1777 an effort was commenced with a view to unite the Associate Presbyterian Church and the Reformed Presbyterian Church, or Covenanters. These negotiations continued for six years, but in 1782 it was agreed that the union should be made, and the body thus constituted was entitled the Associate Reformed Church. The influence of Mr. Marshall was against this measure, and the Scots' Presbyterian Church was divided. Five of the elders of the Scots' Presbyterian Church and part of the congregation were anxious to unite with the new organization. Mr. Marshall and about one-half of the members were not favorable to the measure. The controversy at length broke out with violence. On a Sunday in June, 1786, the five elders took possession of the church and forbade Mr. Marshall to occupy the pulpit. At this time a dwelling-house on the west side of the church—which is still standing—was being built for the residence of Mr. Marshall. It was not finished, but was in a condition to be used. Therefore, without resorting to violent means to reinstate themselves, Mr. Marshall and his adherents withdrew to the house, where they held service for the day. It is probable that services were held there for some weeks.

In sympathy with Rev. Mr. Marshall were Rev. James Clarkson, Robert Hunter, James Thompson, and Alexander Moore, ruling elders. They sent a

protest against the action of the Scots' Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, and against the union made by the Associate Presbyterian Church with the Reformed Presbyterian Church, or Covenanters, but the Synod refused to sustain the appeal. No other course was left for Messrs. Marshall and Clarkson and their adherents but obedience or secession. They chose the latter course.

The Scots' Presbyterian Church was for a time without a pastor, but negotiations were opened without delay with the Rev. Robert Annan, of the Scots' Presbyterian Church, Boston. This clergyman came to the United States from Scotland, about 1758, with Rev. John Mason, who was sent from the Associate (anti-Burgher) Presbytery of Scotland. Mr. Annan was a probationer. He was a fellow-student with Dr. John Mason, in Scotland. He settled after his arrival at Neeleytown, Orange Co., N. Y. During the Revolution he was a promoter of the Whig cause. About the close of hostilities he took charge of Scots' Presbyterian Church in Boston, then newly formed. His service there was unsuccessful, in consequence of difficulties with the congregation in regard to discipline. After Mr. Marshall's secession from the Philadelphia Scots' Church Mr. Annan became pastor of the latter, and remained there until 1802, when he became pastor of an Associate Reformed Church in Baltimore. He died Dec. 6, 1819, aged seventy-seven years. Rev. James Gray, D.D., succeeded Mr. Annan, and held the pulpit from 1804 to 1815.

In 1816 this congregation called Rev. Robert McCartee. He held the pastorship for five years, leaving the church in 1821, and being succeeded by Rev. James Arbuckle, who was installed in 1822. It was during Mr. Arbuckle's pastorate that the Scots' Associate Reformed Church suddenly ceased to be connected with that organization, and was transferred bodily, with other churches of the denomination, to the Presbyterians.

By this act the Scots' Church became the Eighth Presbyterian Church, and was attached to the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Rev. James Arbuckle remained pastor until 1824, when he was succeeded by Rev. William L. McCalla. Mr. McCalla was born in Jessamine County, Ky., Nov. 25, 1788. He was licensed by the Presbytery of West Lexington. In 1815 he was appointed an army chaplain by Gen. Jackson. In 1819 he was settled as pastor of a Presbyterian Church at Augusta, Ky., from which he came to the Scots' Church.

We have already stated the fact that there was a Scots' Presbyterian Church in Shippen Street, between Third and Fourth, about 1753. It belonged to a Burgher congregation. The Scots' Presbyterian Church of Spruce Street was anti-Burgher. During the intervening time the Burgher congregation in Shippen Street was worshiping in the frame church, under the charge of Rev. David Telfair, who had been in that charge for many years. He remained there until his death, April 11, 1789, in his sixty-ninth year. After that event the congregation fell away. It was natural that they should incline toward the Scots' Presbyterian (anti-Burgher) Church, in Spruce Street. The causes of the differences which had divided the Associate Presbyterian Church in Scotland were of no importance in Pennsylvania, and much less so after the Revolution had made the American churches independent. A union was therefore formed between the two churches. This occurred in 1782, while Mr. Telfair was yet living.[1]

The Rev. William Marshall, with his associates, who had seceded from the Scots' Presbyterian Church, obtained from the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania the use of the room in the academy which, by the original agreement in Whitefield's time, was always to be ready for use by any religious sect on its subscription to a prescribed creed, when not engaged by some other congregation. Here Mr. Marshall and his congregation worshiped until 1791. A lawsuit, in the mean while, was instituted to recover possession of the Scots' Presbyterian Church building in Spruce Street. The trial took place in July, 1790. The two judges who were upon the bench disagreed in their instructions to the jury. Judge McKean was favorable to the elders; Judge Rush inclined toward Mr. Marshall's party. The verdict was in favor of the elders, and Mr. Marshall determined not to continue the contest.

The congregation which withdrew with Mr. Marshall organized under the name of the Associate Presbyterian Church. After the failure in the suit with the Scots' Presbyterian Church, they resolved to erect a meeting-house for their own use. Donations were received from citizens. Many who did not belong to the congregation contributed, among whom were some members of the jury who gave the verdict against Mr. Marshall's party.

In August, 1790, David Clark and William Young purchased a lot on the north side of Walnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth, having a front of thirty-six feet ten and a half inches on Walnut Street, and

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[1] By this transfer the lot on Shippen Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, became the property of the Scots' Presbyterian Church. The property is still held by that corporation. The lot used as a burying-ground is surrounded by houses on all sides except upon the Shippen Street front. In the neighborhood this ground, now much neglected and in wretched condition, is known as "Margaret Duncan's burying-ground." The origin of this name is perhaps attributable to the fact that Mrs. Margaret Duncan, widow of Isaac Duncan, who died in 1802, aged seventy-nine years, is buried in the ground by the side of her husband, Isaac Duncan, who died March 20, 1770, aged fifty-two years. The tomb of Rev. David Telfair, for a long time minister of the Associate Reformed (Burgher) congregation, is in the same ground. He was a son-in-law of Mrs. Duncan. Mrs. Duncan might have presented this ground to the church in 1753, but whether this is so has not been ascertained. At her death she devised a lot of ground on Thirteenth Street, above Market, for the erection of a church; and on that lot was erected a building subsequently known as "Margaret Duncan's Church." The same congregation now worship in Race Street, east of Sixteenth, under the pastorship of Rev. J. B. Dales, D.D., and is known as the "Second United Presbyterian Church."

being one hundred and twenty-four feet in depth, bounded eastward by an alley. (The site is now occupied by the building of the Schuylkill Navigation Company.) Here they erected a brick church of one story in height, although the ceiling was lofty. The church stood back from the street a distance of fifty or sixty feet. It had an arched doorway, with an arched window on each side, and two windows upon the alley on the east side of the building. In front was a graveyard where tombs were placed. This church was opened for divine service July 31, 1791, by Mr. Marshall, who preached his sermon from the following text: "And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts.

ASSOCIATE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.
[From an old drawing in the Philadelphia Library.]

The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts; and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts." (Haggai, chap. ii., verses 7, 8, 9.)

The title of the property was assured by a perpetual deed of trust, which declared "that the said church and lot of ground are held in trust for the Associate congregation in the city of Philadelphia who adhere to the religious principles expressed in a declaration and testimony of the doctrine and order of the church of Christ, agreed to at Pequea, Aug. 25, 1784, by the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, that said congregation may assemble in said church for worship forever, and use the said burying-ground for interring the dead."

Among the members of the congregation who went with Mr. Marshall were William Young, bookseller, of Rockland, in Brandywine; Robert Aitken, who printed the first English Bible in this country; John Purdon, merchant, father of John, author of "Purdon's Digest;" Frazier Kinley; John McCulloch, printer; John McAllister, whip, cane, and spectacle-maker; and James McConchy, storekeeper. Mr. Marshall's salary was small, and not sufficient for his support. While in Philadelphia he married Mrs. Marshall, widow of a Capt. Marshall. She had been keeping a boarding-house, and after her marriage with Rev. Mr. Marshall she continued in the same occupation, by means of which herself and husband were made comfortable. Among her boarders were members of the Convention to frame the Federal Constitution of the United States of 1787. In 1792 the Count de Noailles, brother-in-law of Lafayette, boarded in that house, and remained there for several years. He was an officer in Rochambeau's army during the Revolution. After leaving Philadelphia and returning to his native country he entered the French army, and was killed in the West Indies. Louis Philippe, Duke de Orleans, afterward king of France, and his brothers, Dukes de Montpensier and Beaujolais, came to this country during the French Revolution. They arrived in Philadelphia in February, 1797, and, after remaining with Mr. Conyngham, of Conyngham, Nesbett & Co., they took up their residence with Mr. Marshall, where they stayed for some time, until they rented the house northwest corner of Prune and Fourth Streets, still standing. Their names are in the Directory of 1798, "De Orleans, Messrs., merchants, near No. 100 South Fourth Street."

In a book entitled "A Display of the Religious Principles of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania," compiled by Rev. William Marshall, and published in June, 1794, there was given out "A Narrative Concerning the Maintenance of the Reformation Testimony," which was adopted by the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania Oct. 25, 1784. In that statement it is said that the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania was, by agreement, divided into two in 1776, and constituted the Presbyteries of Pennsylvania and of New York. The union with the Reformed Presbytery (Covenanters), it was said, was set on foot between the Associate Presbyteries of Philadelphia and New York, "and a party who called themselves the Reformed Presbytery, and who were of the same principles with those who take that designation in Scotland."

Mr. Marshall continued in charge of the Associate Reformed Church until his death, which occurred Nov. 17, 1802. His remains were buried in front of the church on Walnut Street. For three years this church was without a pastor. The Rev. Joseph Shaw, LL.D., succeeded Mr. Marshall in 1805, and remained in service until 1810. After his withdrawal from the church Mr. Shaw continued in religious service. He removed to Albany, N. Y., where he died, Aug. 21, 1824. In 1812, Rev. H. C. Brownlee, D.D., was elected pastor, and remained for two years. The Rev. John Banks, D.D., succeeded Mr. Brownlee.

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In December, 1801, the Associate Presbyterian Church applied to the Legislature for the grant of a city lot for the purposes of a burying-ground, but the request was not granted.

In the latter part of 1797, Samuel B. Wylie and Thomas McAdam, both Irishmen, who left their native country in consequence of their connection with United Irishmen, removed to Philadelphia from New Castle, Del., where they had previously landed. At this time there was no distinctive Reformed Presbyterian Church holding the principles of the Covenanters in Philadelphia. The union of the Scots' Presbyterian Church with the Covenanters in the same Presbytery, in 1782, by which the united churches took the name of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, though it carried to the union some of the congregations of the Covenanters, did not entirely annihilate that sect in this country. In this emergency the steadfast Covenanters turned to Scotland, and several missionaries were sent to the United States. Rev. James Reid came over before 1790, and preached from North Carolina to New York. William MacGarragh arrived in South Carolina in 1791, Rev. William King in 1792, Rev. James McKinney in 1793, and Rev. William Gibson in 1797. Messrs. Black and Wylie were educated for the ministry, and were soon licensed. The Reformed Presbyterian Church of the United States was again set up in Philadelphia, the first Presbytery being established in 1798. In 1799, Messrs. Donnelly, Black, Wylie, and McLeod were licensed to preach, and were all ordained in the course of two years. Mr. Wylie and his companion, Mr. McAdam, sought the means of worship in such manner as suited their principles, after their arrival. At the house of Thomas Thompson, laborer, at the southwest corner of Penn and South Streets, in an apartment in the second story, twelve feet square, a prayer-meeting was held for some time. With this small gathering Messrs. Wylie and McAdam became connected. The preaching of Wylie attracted new visitors, until a church was formed upon Jan. 28, 1798, by a commission consisting of Rev. William Gibson and Messrs. Andrew Gifford and David Clark, ruling elders of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of New York. William Henry was a ruling elder of the Philadelphia congregation, also Stephen Young and Thomas Young. Shortly after a lot of ground was bought on St. Mary Street, between Sixth and Seventh, upon which a small frame house was built and furnished before 1800. Rev. Samuel B. Wylie took charge, at which time he was ordained and installed as pastor of this humble congregation. His labors in its behalf were assiduous, and were rewarded with abundant success. Rev. Mr. Wylie remained in the pastorate for many years. The church building was situate on the north side of St. Mary Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets. The situation was chosen originally at a time when the members of the church were poor and humble. The portion of the city in which their church was situated was most unpleasant, on account of the degraded character of the inhabitants. In 1817 or 1818 the members of the church purchased a lot at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Marble Streets, between Market and Chestnut Streets, where a fine brick edifice (since given to other uses) was erected. It was opened for service on the 21st of June of that year, the services being conducted by Rev. Mr. Wylie, the pastor, and Rev. Mr. McLeod, of New York. To the old church in St. Mary Street was attached a burying-ground, in which many members of the church had been interred. This circumstance induced the congregation to retain the ground. An attempt was made to set up a Sunday-school for black children there, which was partly successful. The building on Eleventh Street was larger than the purposes of the congregation required, and Mr. Wylie used a portion of it for a school.

Dr. Thomas D. Mitchell, in 1859, records his remembrance of the first congregation as follows:

"The Covenanters have long been known in the city as a religious body marked by very distinctive peculiarities. These continue to the present day, and are likely to be permanent. The first preacher of this congregation I ever knew was Mr. Wylie (more recently known as Dr. Wylie), who ministered to a small flock in a school-house between Lombard and Cedar Streets, east of Fourth, for several years. His hearers were poor, and consisted almost wholly of persons lately arrived in the country. These persons had imbibed the notion at home that Christians should not take part in civil government, and on going into other countries should never take an oath of allegiance. Hence they were unwilling to become citizens of the United States, and of course did not vote at our elections. Indeed, it was made a disciplinable offense, as certainly as Sabbath breaking, to take legal steps to acquire the right of citizenship. In respect to doctrinal views in general, I am not aware that these people differed from the Irish and Scotch Presbyterians essentially, if at all, nor was their mode of worship different.

"The first congregation in the school-house referred to did not exceed twenty, but gradually, as the new-comers arrived from the old country the members increased till it became necessary to find a place specially suited to their wants. Being a very plain and rather obscure people, they sought a retired spot for the location of their first house of worship. This was a small avenue called Mary Street, running from Sixth to Seventh, between Cedar and Lombard. The building erected by them was very small and exceedingly plain, yet withal commodious enough. There the Covenanters continued for several years, until they found the place too small, and the neighborhood becoming each day more repulsive by the bad quality of the occupants. It is probable, too, that the society contained some persons who had become literally well off in point of worldly goods, and could not brook the idea of worshiping longer in an undesirable place. The property was therefore abandoned, and fell into the hands of a colored Presbyterian Church."

In the year 1800 the First Presbyterian Church, built upon the site of the "old Buttonwood," on the south side of Market Street, between Second and Third, and at the southeast corner of White Horse Alley, afterward called Bank Street, was under the charge of Dr. John Ewing, who at this period was well stricken in years, he having attained nearly the allotted period of threescore and ten. He died on the 8th of September, 1802, in his seventy-first year. Rev. John Blair Linn had become assistant to Dr. Ewing on the 13th of June, 1799, so that the decease of the pastor did not embarrass the service of the church. Mr. Linn was a native of Shippensburg, Pa., where he was

born on the 13th of March, 1777. He studied at Columbia College, New York, where he graduated in 1795. He was destined for the profession of the law, and was a student in the office of the celebrated Alexander Hamilton, during which time, having poetic aspirations, he wrote a play called "Bourville Castle; or, The Gallic Orphan," acted in New York City in 1797, which was not successful. Subsequently he turned his attention to theology, and, after a due course of study, was ordained in 1798. During his occupancy of the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church he published his poem on the "Death of Washington," which was written in the style of Ossian, and was published in 1800. In the same year he published, anonymously, two volumes of "Miscellanies," in prose and verse. The "Powers of Genius" was published in 1801, and was republished in England. "Valerian," a narrative poem, intended to describe the early persecutions of the Christians, and to illustrate the influence of Christianity, was written while Dr. Linn was at the First Church, but was not published until after his death. His funeral sermon on Dr. Ewing was also published after his death. While engaged in the ministry, he undertook a controversy with the celebrated Dr. Priestley, and wrote two tracts, which were published in 1802. In the year last named Dr. Linn was seized with a fever, which undermined his constitution and led to mental depression. In 1804, after having returned from a journey through the Eastern States for the benefit of his health, he died of a hemorrhage, on the 30th of August. Dr. Linn was the last Presbyterian minister who wore a pulpit-gown in the First Church.

For two years the First Church was without a settled pastor. In 1806, Rev. James Patriot Wilson was elected pastor. He was a native of Lewes, Del., where he was born on the 21st of February, 1769, and was the son of Dr. Matthew Wilson of the Presbyterian Church. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated in 1788. After he left college he was for some time surveyor-general of the State of Delaware. He turned his attention to the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in the year 1790. He became a successful and distinguished lawyer, and practiced for about twelve years, when he directed his mind to theology, studied for the ministry, and was ordained. The reasons for his doing so were the unexpected death of his wife and the assassination of his brother before his eyes. In 1804 he was chosen pastor of the united congregation of Lewes, Cool Spring, and Indian River, Del., which he served for two years. In 1806 the First Church elected him pastor, and he was installed on the 19th of June of that year. He continued in the service of the church until the spring of 1830, having maintained the ministry with acceptation. "He was of tall and lank figure, and pallid from the habit of bloodletting. . . . For some years before his death his infirmities compelled him to preach sitting on a high chair in the pulpit."

During this period Dr. Wilson wrote and published "Lectures upon some of the Parables and Passages of the New Testament," in 1810. He edited the sermons of Dr. John Ewing, and wrote a biography of that clergyman, which was published in 1812. He annotated "Ridgley's Body of Divinity" in 1814. He published an "Easy Introduction to Hebrew," 1812, and an "Essay on Grammar" in 1817.

The First Presbyterian Church building, in Market Street, at the time it was finished was considered the handsomest religious edifice in the city. It was also eligibly situated. But the movement westward increased greatly in the early part of the century, and the Market Street Church became entirely surrounded with stores and places of business. In addition there was imposed on the congregation, after some years, the necessity of expensive repairs. The showy portico on Market Street was supported by wooden pillars and exposed to decay, and fifteen thousand dollars was thought necessary to place the building in a tenable condition. A large number of the congregation thought it would be a waste to expend this amount upon the church edifice, and recommended that the lot be sold and a new church be erected at some other place. This point was not carried without controversy. A pamphlet, published in 1819, stated that all the pews were occupied, except a few parts of those which were most distant in the gallery. It was said that there were seventy applications for pews standing on the church-books, the parties waiting to obtain the pews they desired. The last letting of a pew before the pamphlet was issued was to an applicant of fourteen years' standing, and there were others remaining from eight to twelve years' standing. These statements were adduced in argument to show that there was no necessity for removing the church, and that it was in a state of prosperity.

The arguments in favor of a change were at length successful. On the 1st of May, 1820, the congregation held a meeting, and by a vote of seventy-five to thirty-four ordered the trustees to purchase the lot at Seventh and Locust Streets. It was conveyed by Elizabeth D. Pritchett and James Paul (executor of Thomas Pritchett), by deed of May 15, 1820, subject to a consideration of twenty thousand dollars, secured by mortgage, the lot being ninety-nine feet on Locust Street and one hundred and fifty feet eight inches on Seventh to a four-feet wide alley.[1]

The house was so far finished in July, 1821, that the congregation was enabled to assemble in the "prayer-room." The old congregation took the ma-

[1] The lot was a yard for the sale of cattle, etc., and at that time had a large stream of water running through it and over the street into Washington Square. The columns of the new church were sanded in the lot on which was afterward built by Langdon Cheves, of Charleston, S. C., the house subsequently occupied by Evans Rogers, southwest corner of Seventh [Washington Square] and Locust Streets.

jority of the pews, and the vacant pews were disposed of on the 12th of November of that year. The new church building was the largest and finest yet erected in the city. The architecture was of the Grecian order, and the model was an Ionic temple on the river Ilyssus, in Greece. The portico, supported by pillars, was seventy-five feet in width, and was very lofty. The extreme length of the church, including the portico, was one hundred and forty feet. A basement intended for the use of the Sunday-schools, and for many years employed in that service, was in the first story, and the pastor's study was upon the same floor. The main body of the church was in the second story, the approach to which was by steps at the sides leading up to the floor of the porticoes. Here large doors opened into a vestibule, which was seventy-one feet long and thirty-two feet deep, extending along the front of the building, apartments being taken off at each side. Over this was the prayer- or session-room, seventy-one by thirty-two feet, which contained a fine organ. The main audience-room of the church was eighty-five feet long and seventy-one feet wide, and would seat thirteen hundred persons. Wide staircases, with heavy carved balustrades, led to the galleries, which extended around the north, east, and west sides of the church. The pulpit was large and roomy, and stood at the south end of the church. A large organ was placed in the second story for the use of the congregation, and the acoustic qualities of the church were always considered most excellent.

In 1800 the Second Presbyterian Church, northwest corner of Third and Arch Streets, was under the pastoral charge of Rev. Ashbel Green and Rev. Jacob J. Janeway. In 1802, on account of the yellow fever, Mr. Green left the city on the 4th of August. There was some intermission of the services of the church. During the interval he preached at Princeton, Hanover, and Hackettstown, N. J. Finally Mr. Green and family went to Mr. Ralston's place, near Princeton. Mr. Green returned in November, and thenceforth preached regularly at the Second Church. Mrs. Green died on the 15th of January, 1807. After this Mr. Green suffered very much from impaired health and from depression of spirits, but continued his labors without interruption. In 1812 he was made president of the College of New Jersey. He removed to Princeton, where he remained until 1822, when he returned to Philadelphia. After Mr. Green's removal, Dr. Janeway remained as principal pastor of the church. As a preacher he was "didactic and methodical, avoiding the flowery paths of rhetoric. On all public occasions he acquitted himself creditably. His figure was portly and his countenance benevolent. He was singularly self-poised and unimpassioned." [Davidson]. Rev. Thomas H. Skinner, then a young man, was appointed assistant to Dr. Janeway. He was born in North Carolina in 1791, graduated at Princeton College, and was licensed to preach in 1812. His first charge was at the Second Church, where he remained until 1816. His withdrawal was caused by differences between himself and Dr. Janeway on controversial points. Mr. Skinner espoused the views which became known as those of the "New School" side, and Dr. Janeway was decidedly in favor of the "Old School." The preaching of pastors holding dissimilar views divided the congregation, and caused the creation of parties. The dissensions led to such bitterness that, in 1816, Mr. Skinner, with some fifty followers, withdrew from the Second Church, and formed the Fifth Church.

In 1809, the congregation requiring more room for worship than the dimensions of the old church afforded, considerable alterations were made. The upper part of the steeple had previously been torn down, leaving the tower. This was now demolished, and the extra space thus gained was thrown into the body of the church, additional walls being built on Arch Street. The length of the building was ninety feet. The pulpit, which had been on the north side of the church, was removed to the western end, and the pews were changed so as to face the pulpit. The old brass chandelier was removed, and an imported glass one was put in its stead. The sides of the church were still lighted by candles placed in sconces, which hung around the walls. During the alterations the congregation worshiped at the Tabernacle Church, in Ranstead's Court, running west from Fourth Street, above Chestnut. Mr. D. L. Peck conducted the singing portion of the services in this church in 1814.

On the 22d of October, 1812, Elias Boudinot presented to the congregation four brick houses and lots, at the northeast corner of Ninth and Cherry Streets, in trust, to allow Mr. Boudinot and his daughter, Susan V. Bradford, to use, improve, and enjoy the said premises during their lives; after their death, for the use and benefit of "poor widows and children who may be unable to provide for themselves, in such way and manner as shall be most beneficial, in the opinion of the said trustees, to the charitable design intended," with power to sell and convey the property as to them may deem meet. Mrs. Susan V. Bradford did not die until 1854; but long before that time the property was used for the purposes intended, being called "The Widows' Asylum," and being managed by trustees.

A correspondent in the *Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch*, speaking of the old church, says,—

"In its day it was one of the most important parishes of our city. Some of the most distinguished men of our city and country worshiped within its walls. The immortal Washington, when he resided here, and when our city was the seat of government, had a pew appropriated to him by the trustees of the church, and it was named the 'President's pew.' Dr. Ashbel Green was then the pastor, and Washington was a great admirer of his preaching. I have often heard my father say, for he was a member of the church at that time, that the pew was in the north aisle of the church. When the benediction was pronounced, and the congregation was about leaving on that side of the building, all would remain standing until the President passed out. When he walked down the aisle he would acknowledge the compliment by gracefully

looking from one side to another with a pleasant smile of the countenance. The old glass chandelier that he admired, and which is called 'the Washington chandelier,' is still in possession of the church at Walnut and Twenty-first Streets. The church at that time was lighted by heavy glass chandeliers and spermaceti candles. The venerable George Washington Musgrave . . . received his first religious impressions in that church, as well as many other gentlemen. The late Rev. John L. Grant was also a member, and afterward studied for the ministry under Dr. Janeway. The venerable Abraham Martin, at one time cashier in the custom-house, was superintendent of the Sunday-school. . . . After Dr. Janeway left the congregation became dissatisfied and quarreled among themselves, which led to a separation. Finally the building was sold, and in 1837–38 was demolished. The congregation —what was left of it—built a church on Seventh Street, and that also proved a failure."

Dr. Janeway remained in charge of the congregation, having no assistant. He was a good man, and a plain, practical preacher. There was a large congregation, and there always was a good attendance. His audience embraced some of the most respectable and influential gentlemen of our city. In 1828 he was elected to a professorship in the college at Pittsburgh, which he accepted. He was succeeded in the pastorate of the church by the Rev. Joseph Sanford, who came from Brooklyn. He entered on his duties in February, 1829; but the pastorship was not very pleasant to him. With some of his congregation fault-finding was constant, so much so that his constitution could not stand it, and he died at his residence in Arch Street, below Sixth, on Christmas night, Dec. 25, 1831, aged thirty-four years. His friends left the church and built the "Central," at Eighth and Cherry Streets. His opponents remained at the church, and in the fall of 1833, called the Rev. Cornelius C. Cuyler, D.D., of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., to become their pastor; but the church not improving under his ministry, and being far down town, the old congregation decided to build a new church on Seventh Street, below Arch. Many preferred the lot that was then vacant at the northeast corner of Thirteenth and Arch Streets, but there was a "hue and cry" raised on account of its being too far west. After much difficulty the congregation purchased the old house and ground on Seventh Street from the heirs of the late John Wagner, and commenced the building of the church. Ground had hardly been broken before the mistake was discovered that they had made a bad selection; but it was too late to be remedied. The church and ground in 1836 and 1837 cost about sixty thousand dollars. In its day the old church was considered one of our most influential churches, embracing among its members such men as Peter S. Du Ponceau, Charles Chauncy, Josiah Randall, Alexander Henry, Robert Ralston, Matthew L. Bevan, Samuel Hazard, John Stille, Andrew Bayard, Isaac Snowden, Charles Holland, Thomas Latimer, John Maybin, Samuel Richards, Charles Macalester, Sr., John W. Perit, John V. Cowell, Robert Taylor, Judge Ferguson, James Moore, Thomas Hart, John V. Hart, Elisha Kane, William Bell, John Harnard, Robert Murphy, Matthew Newkirk, and Thomas Leiper, whose names are well known in the history of the city.

The corner-stone of the new Second Presbyterian Church, on Seventh Street below Arch, was laid in September, 1836, and the church was opened for service in July, 1837. Dr. Cuyler, the pastor, preached in the morning, Dr. Ashbel Green in the afternoon, and Dr. Janeway in the evening. Dr. Cuyler continued pastor of the church until the spring of 1850, when he tendered his resignation, which was accepted. Dr. Cuyler was brought up and educated for mercantile pursuits, but left that profession and studied for the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church, and afterward joined the Presbyterian Church, when he received a call to the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, in 1833. Few men stood higher in the church than he, and it was much to be regretted that his declining years were rendered so unhappy. He died of a carbuncle, in great agony, August 31, 1850, and the funeral services were held in the church. He was succeeded by the Rev. Charles W. Shields, who resigned in the summer of 1865. He was succeeded by the Rev. E. R. Beadle, D.D. Not being successful, the church was soon vacated, and altered to a place for dramatic and Ethiopian performances. Negro minstrelsy did not flourish on Seventh Street, and the building in July, 1881, gave way to business purposes. The old Second Presbyterian Church then erected a new building at the southeast corner of Twenty-first and Walnut Streets.

In the diary of Rev. Ashbel Green, pastor of the Second Church, he refers to the establishment of what was called the New Church at Campington, in the Northern Liberties. The congregation had been instituted before the Revolution. It was dispersed during the war, but was revived afterward, through the exertions of Ashbel Green and Dr. Sproat, they agreeing between themselves that Dr. Sproat should preach in the Northern Liberties on Sunday morning and in the city in the afternoon, while Mr. Green would preach in the city on Sunday morning and evening, and in the Northern Liberties on Wednesdays. Success not attending the effort, it was relinquished after six months' trial. About 1804 another attempt was made to revive this church, and Sunday, April 7, 1805, the church was opened for public worship.[1]

[1] Mr. Isaac Snowden, in a manuscript journal quoted by Rev. T. J. Shepherd, in "The Days that are Past," describes the opening of this house for worship. He says, "The service of the consecration or solemn dedication of the new church in Campington began with a short introductory prayer for a blessing by Dr. Green. Then Mr. Bradford read 2 Chronicles vi., and gave out a hymn. Mr. Janeway prayed and gave out the one hundred and twenty-second Psalm. Dr. Green preached from 2 Chronicles vi. 40–41: 'Now, my God, let, I beseech Thee, Thine eyes be open, and let Thine ears be attentive unto the prayer that is made in this place. Now, therefore, arise, O Lord God, into Thy resting place, Thou, and the ark of Thy strength; let Thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and let Thy saints rejoice in goodness.' In the evening Mr. Janeway preached from 1 Kings viii. 27: 'But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee; how much less this house that I have builded!' The church was exceedingly crowded both morning and evening."

For the encouragement of the congregation, and for the accommodation of this church, William Coates, of the Northern Liberties, made a gift of a lot of ground at the northwest corner of Second and Coates Streets, with a front on Second Street of seventy-three feet six inches, and two hundred and nine feet on Coates Street, extending to St. John Street. The church building was of brick, of plain but substantial character, and "of comely proportions and modest ornament," says Dr. Green. The house was sixty feet front by eight feet in depth. The building was a great improvement to the neighborhood, and had considerable influence in advancing the value of property in the district, and in increasing the number of buildings. For years the religious wants of the church at Campington were attended to by Rev. Dr. Green, by his colleague, Rev. J. J. Janeway, and after Dr. Green left the Second Church, by Rev. Thomas H. Skinner, while he was connected with that church, and sometimes by Joseph Eastburn, familiarly known as "Father Eastburn." This arrangement was uncertain and not always satisfactory, and the congregation was ambitious for some more permanent arrangement. As long as the Campington Church was a portion of the Second Church, the members were obliged to defer to the wishes of the older congregation. But the idea of separation gradually strengthened, and at length an amicable conclusion was reached.

On the 20th of April, 1813, the Presbytery of Philadelphia authorized the church at Campington to separate from the Second Church, and constituted the persons who withdrew the First Presbyterian Church in the Northern Liberties.[1] In the succeeding month Samuel Macferran, Joseph Abbott, John Gourley, and Thomas White, with two others who declined to serve, were elected elders, and were ordained on the 23d of the same month by Dr. Janeway, of the Second Church. During the summer Messrs. Richard Crake, Horace Galpin, and James Patterson preached for the congregation; and on the 27th of September, of the same year, the Rev. James Patterson was called to the pastorate, and was installed on the 11th of January, 1814. Fifty communicants of the Second Church, but worshiping at Second and Coates Streets, formed the new congregation. A charter under the laws of the commonwealth for the First Presbyterian Church in the Northern Liberties was obtained Jan. 6, 1814. On the 12th of January—the day after Mr. Patterson's installation—the church was formally organized. Mr. Patterson was born at Ervina, Bucks Co., Pa., on the 17th of March, 1779, and was removed by his parents to Upper Strasburg, Franklin Co. He was brought up on a farm, and intended to lead the life of a husbandman. But a violent cold, which he contracted when sixteen years of age, disqualified him for laborious pursuits, and drove him to the necessity of obtaining a classical education, in order to earn means of future support. He entered an academy at Shippensburg, and afterward completed his course at Jefferson College. He then went to Princeton, N. J., to pursue his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Drs. Smith and Kollock, of Princeton College. In 1806 he was appointed tutor in that institution, and held the office two years. In 1808 he was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, and became pastor of the church at Bound Brook, N. J. At the First Church, in the Northern Liberties, Mr. Patterson remained until the time of his death, Nov. 17, 1837.

A society was organized in the spring of 1815, under the title of the "Union Sabbath-School Association of the Northern Liberties." It was one of the first organizations of the kind in Philadelphia, and it led to the establishment of others in various parts of the city. It opened with one hundred pupils, and in a few weeks many more were added. Beside the school in Coates Street, adjoining the church, the Union Sabbath Association opened the Spring Garden school, at the corner of Eighth and Buttonwood Streets, in 1817; Cohocksink school, "a mile and a half out of town," about the same time; Kensington school, Frankford road above Otter Street, also about 1817. A school for colored pupils, on Coates Street above Fourth, was also opened about the same time. Mr. Patterson established prayer-meetings shortly after he assumed the pastorship. On these occasions the members of the church would take part, and were led to exhortation and speaking. This method of "lay preaching," as it was called, caused considerable feeling among Presbyterians of other churches, and was denounced as "a trespass upon the rights of the clergy, and an unwarrantable liberty with functions appertaining to the ministry, or at most to the eldership." Mr. Patterson was sustained in this innovation by Rev. James P. Wilson and Rev. Thomas H. Skinner, and perhaps by one or two others, but the body of the clergy and some of the laity were against him. In 1816 a revival took place at Mr. Patterson's church, the result of which was the admission of seventy persons to the congregation. These were mostly young persons, between the ages of thirteen and twenty years. Only four of them were above the age of thirty years. Adjoining the church upon Coates Street, a building for the pur-

[1] The following were the members of the Second Church who were dismissed to form the First Presbyterian Church in the Northern Liberties: Samuel Macferran, Joseph Abbott, John Gourley, Thomas White, Peter Benner, Sarah Henderson, Susannah Lutz, William White, Sarah Crawford, Margaret Patterson, Margaret Wallace, Elizabeth Forsyth, Elizabeth Wallheimer, Joseph Grice, Mary Grice, Margaret Nagle, Ann Ford, Mary Rice, Susannah Ziegler, Elizabeth Ziegler, Catharine Dempsey, Catharine Hartman, Susannah Pollock, Lucretia Fry, Martha Craige, Sarah Fenton, Mary Green, Mary Macferran, Nancy White, Susannah McClurg, Rebecca Wilson, Jane White, Jane Campbell, Sr., Jane Campbell, Jr., Joshua Burley, Rebecca Burley, Mary Smith, Amy Free, Elizabeth Jones, Margaret Crawford, Mary Phile, John M. Hood, Francis Grice, Benjamin Wells, Elizabeth Sager, Mary Wells, William Wallace, Andrew Manderson, Elizabeth Manderson, Elizabeth Abbott, and Elizabeth Gourley.

poses of a lecture-room, and for accommodating the Sunday-schools, was erected in 1816. It was thirty-two feet front by fifty-two feet deep, and was three stories high. It was built upon a joint-stock capital, and cost over six thousand dollars. In after-years it was sold, and was altered into a theatre, being known as the Coates Street Theatre. The congregation undertook this expensive work in the hope that means would be found to discharge the debt and supply a revenue meanwhile to the stockholders, but the result was embarrassing, and for many years the church struggled under the load of this debt. Some of the stockholders were dissatisfied, and to quiet them the church assumed their claims, and borrowed money on mortgage to meet the obligations. It was a source of anxiety and mortification for a long time. The elders of this church between 1800 and 1825 were as follows: Samuel Macferran, Joseph Abbott, John Gourley, Thomas White, Francis Markoe, Charles Anderson, William A. Stokes, Samuel S. Barry, Robert Wallace, Isaac Will, and Robert Sawyer.

When the Rev. Mr. Patterson was installed, in 1814, the only means of warming the church was by ten-plate wood-burning stoves. In 1816 pyramid stoves were introduced, but wood was the only fuel used. In 1819 the first experiment of the burning of coal was made, but the use of the material was confined to the session-room. The church was dependent on the use of wood for heating purposes for several years afterward. Under the pastorship of the clergymen of the Second Church there was no necessity for finding means to light the church, as services were not held in the evenings. But after Mr. Patterson came to the pulpit there was a change in this matter. In 1816, during the revival, the necessity of holding meetings in the evenings was apparent, and to provide for it the trustees bought ten brass branch candlesticks and a box of mould candles. The latter required frequent snuffing, and it was the duty of the sexton to go around on tiptoe and attend to that duty frequently during the course of an evening's sermon. An attempt to introduce oil in lamps was made in 1818, but candles partially held their own against the intruders for some years afterward. The board of trustees of this church were fifteen in number, and were divided into three classes to serve for one, two, and three years respectively. Between the years 1813 and 1825 the following gentlemen were presidents of the boards of trustees: Joseph Grice, John M. Hood, John Shaw, Robert Brooke, Francis Markoe, Charles Elliott, William Porter, and Adam H. Hinkel. The following were members of the board of trustees during the same time: John Gourley, Robert Wallace, Joseph Abbott, Andrew Manderson, Joseph Weatherby, Branch Green, William White, John Baker, Samuel Macferran, George Benner, Benjamin Naglee, Samuel Grice, John Naglee, John Brown, Rees Morris, Thomas White, Andrew Wray, Charles Dingey, William A. Stokes, Samuel S. Barry, Joseph Pond, Isaac Will, Charles Anderson, William Simons, John Doughty, Cyrus Danforth, William Bruner, Leonard Jewell, William Heiss, J. George Flegel, George Shade, John Dickerson, Henry Close, John Hocker, George Cragg, Jacob W. Smith, Hugh S. Magee, John Keim, E. N. Bridges, Joseph Ketler, and George Wilson.

The death of Rev. John Blair Smith, by yellow fever, in 1799, left the Third Presbyterian Church, at Fourth and Pine Streets, for some months without a pastor. He was succeeded in the following year by Rev. Philip Milledoler. He was a native of Farmington, Conn., where he was born on the 22d of September, 1775. His parents were Swiss, and were possessed of sufficient means to secure him a good education. He studied at Edinburgh, won reputation as a scholar, and was noted for his proficiency in the science of chemistry, particularly in its application to the pursuits of life. While in Scotland he won a prize of fifty sovereigns offered by the Highland Agricultural Society for the best essay on oats. On his return to America he was licensed to preach in the German Reformed Church, and from 1795 to 1800 was pastor of the Reformed Church in the city of New York. Called by the Third Church, he came to the pulpit with a reputation already established, and to a congregation disposed to regard him with favor. The members were now growing richer. They had given Mr. Smith three hundred pounds a year. Mr. Milledoler's salary was fixed at five hundred and fifty pounds.

In 1805, Mr. Milledoler was called to New York, where he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Rutgers Street. He afterward became president of Rutgers College. He died at Staten Island Sept. 22, 1852.

Rev. Archibald Alexander was called to the Third Church in 1806. He was a native of Virginia, born near Lexington on the 17th of April, 1772. He studied theology, under Rev. Mr. Graham, at Liberty Hall, afterward Washington College. He was licensed to preach when nineteen years old, and was ordained, becoming pastor of Briery Church, Va., in November, 1794. He received a call from the Third Church of Philadelphia in the same year, but declined it, assigning as a reason that he did not possess the necessary ability to discharge the duties in such a place. Mr. Alexander was installed May 20, 1807, and remained in the service of the Third Church until 1812, having been elected professor in the theological seminary at Princeton in the previous year. His services thenceforth were devoted to that institution. He died Oct. 22, 1851. The call to Rev. Archibald Alexander was dated Oct. 20, 1806; salary, sixteen hundred dollars per annum. The church session and trustees which united in this call were composed of Samuel Duffield, George Latimer, Ferguson McIlwain, William Linnard, Robert McMullin, Jacob Mitchell, Conrad Hance, John McMullin, William

Smiley, James Stuart, Paul Cox, William Hazlitt, and James McGlathery, trustees, six of whom were members of the session. The pulpit supplies after Mr. Alexander's resignation were Rev. James K. Burch, Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, and others.

Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely succeeded Mr. Alexander after the pulpit had been vacant two years. He was born at Lebanon, Conn., June 13, 1786, and was the son of Zebulon Ely, a minister. He studied at Yale College, graduated in 1804, and became pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Colchester, Conn., in October, 1806. He afterward went to New York, where he was city missionary. He published his diary of experiences in that work under the title of "Ely's First Journal," which, in 1813, was printed in London under the title of "Visits of Mercy." His second journal was published in 1815. He continued in missionary duties at New York until the 1st of July, 1813, principally in the almshouse and hospital, when he resigned to meet the call made by the Third Church. This call created a great disturbance in the congregation, which delayed Mr. Ely's assumption of the duties of pastor for some months. In favor of the call of Ely were three of the seven elders, and a large majority of the members of the congregation. Opposed to him were four of the elders.

The controversy continued for about a year, and was finally settled by a compromise. The four elders who were opposed to Ely, with a small number of the members, were allowed to withdraw and form a new congregation, which subsequently was known as the Sixth Church. The Third Church transferred to them a lot on Lombard Street, worth about ten thousand dollars, twelve thousand dollars in cash, and two hundred and fifty dollars in communion-plate. These difficulties prevented Mr. Ely's installation until Sept. 7, 1814. After the malcontents withdrew, the ministry of Dr. Ely was peaceful, and no event had occurred up to 1825 to mar the good feeling between the congregation and the pastor.

In 1810 the number of pews was one hundred and sixty-two, and the annual income was estimated at $1781.44.

Prayer-meetings were held in the session-room on Green's Court, opposite the church. The meetings were conducted almost entirely by the elders, who read and explained the Scriptures. Sabbath-schools were held in the session-room, the teachers being members of the congregation.

Rev. Lebrecht Frederic Herman was pastor of the German Reformed Church at Germantown and of the German Reformed Church at Frankford in the year 1800, continuing in that relation until 1802. He was succeeded at Germantown and also at Frankford by Rev. John William Runkle, who commenced his ministrations on the 1st of March, 1802. He preached in the Frankford German Reformed Church until 1809, when the congregation ceased to be connected with that denomination. The Frankford German Reformed Church was very weak at the period alluded to, and was struggling for existence. In 1802 assistance was called for from the Presbyterians, and on the 2d of October of that year it was represented to the Presbytery of Philadelphia that "there are many people in the town of Frankford who are destitute of the privilege of the gospel, and who are desirous of receiving it from the ministers of this Presbytery." Messrs. Boyd, Milledoler, Linn, Potts, and Janeway were appointed, "each to preach two Sabbaths before the next meeting of the Presbytery." They did so, but under the expectation of forming a separate Presbyterian congregation. The German Reformed congregation kept possession of the old building, struggling to preserve its organization; but, not being able to maintain worship regularly, it rented the church-building to an association called the Church Company, reserving the right of the Reformed congregation to meet there once a month. The Church Company rented the house to Baptists as well as to Presbyterians. Benches were used until 1807, when pews were introduced. On the 18th of April, of the same year, the congregation resolved to secede from the German Reformed Church. George Castor was deputed to solicit a supply of ministers. On the 8th of December, 1807, the Presbytery met in the Frankford Church, Messrs. Tennent, Green, Alexander, Janeway, Latta, and Potts being present. A petition was received from the German Reformed congregation of Frankford, composed of about thirty families, asking that it be taken under the care of the Presbytery. This request was complied with, and the German Reformed Church of Frankford became the Presbyterian Church of Frankford. In 1808 it was chartered.

Notwithstanding the fact that the church became Presbyterian, John William Runkle was the principal supply of the church for two or three years afterward,—visits being occasionally made by ministers from Philadelphia. Rev. Thomas Murphy, in "One Hundred Years of the Presbyterian Church of Frankford," says that between 1807 and 1809, in addition to Mr. Runkle, preaching was performed at the Frankford church by Revs. William M. Tennent, Jones, Nathaniel Snowden, William Latta, Jacob L. Janeway, Clarkson, George C. Potts, Ervin, Archibald Alexander, James P. Wilson, Blair, Finley, Helfenstein, Edwards, Larzalier, Boyd, and Father Eastburn.

On the 18th of June, 1809, John W. Doak was installed as the regular pastor of the Frankford Church, and closed his connection with the church on the 1st of September, 1816. Rev. John Whitefield Doak was a son of Rev. Samuel Doak, of East Tennessee. He was born in 1788, and was educated by his father. He was licensed to preach by Abington Presbytery in 1807, and was ordained pastor of New Dublin and Wytheville Churches in Virginia, and subsequently of Mount Bethel and Providence Churches in Ten-

nessee. His health failing to such an extent that he could not safely perform the clerical office, he studied medicine after leaving the pulpit, and returned to Tennessee, where he practiced as a physician, sometimes preaching at Salem and Leesburg Churches. He died in 1820.

For two years after 1816 there was no regular pastor, and during that time the pulpit was supplied by Revs. Nathaniel Snowden, Rogers, Jacob L. Janeway, Thomas H. Skinner, William Neill, Bellville, Janvier, Latta, Dunlap, Lambert, Foot, and others. On the 10th of November, 1818, Rev. Thomas Biggs was installed pastor. Mr. Biggs was born in Philadelphia, Nov. 29, 1787, became a member of the Third (old Pine Street) Church in 1807, studied theology, and graduated at Princeton College in 1815. He was tutor there, and after having studied in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, he was ordained to the pastorship of the Frankford Church, where he remained until 1831. He was subsequently a professor in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, president of Cincinnati College for six years, president of Woodward College three years, and pastor of the Fifth Presbyterian Church of the same city for four years. He retired from active service in 1856, and died in 1864.

In 1809 the enlargement of the church edifice was determined upon, and contributions were solicited. The subscriptions were many. Although the individual amounts were small, they were sufficient to justify an addition of forty feet in 1810. The building committee was composed of George Castor, Joseph Dearman, and John H. Worrell. The carpenter was Henry Retzer; mason, Jacob Deal. The first Sunday-school was commenced in the spring of 1815, by Mrs. Martha Dungan and Mrs. Patterson, with a class of seven girls. Strange to say, according to the account of Rev. Thomas Murphy, there was opposition to this Sunday-school because it was free,—parents objecting to it because they could afford to *pay* for their children's education! The boys' Sunday-school was begun in 1818, the first teachers being William Gibson, William Nassau, and John Deal. The opposition to the Sunday-school might have been founded on the fact that the church had a pay-school, having bought the old Frankford Academy.

The elders during the period of the German Reformed Church were Jacob Grandsback, Rudolph Neff, Conrad Axe, George Castor, Philip Buckius, and Caleb Earl. The Presbyterian elders were: 1810, Robert Smith, Samuel W. Doak, and Jacob Myers; 1812, Edward Gilfillen, M.D., William Nassau, and Capt. Jacob Peterson; 1820, Roderick Adams. The trustees of the German Reformed Church before 1809 were George Castor, Philip Buckius, Stephen Decatur, Benjamin Fisher, Jacob Myers, Jacob Mower, John H. Worrell, Thomas Horton, Frederick Teese, John Buckius, George C. Troutman, Henry Retzer, Jacob Harper, and Ezra Bowen. The trustees of the Presbyterian Church of 1809 and after were George Wilson, Edward McVaugh, Adam Baker, Jacob Peterson, Edward Gilfillen, M.D., Jacob Deal, Dr. William Hurst, Lewis Wernwag, Peter Brous, George Haines, Henry Rohrer, Conrad Baker, Robert Worrell, Hugh McKinley, Henry Castor, Danfrith Woolworth, Daniel Thomas, Jacob Myers, Abraham Tenbrook, John R. Neff, Benjamin A. Prentiss, Joseph Pierson, Capt. William Hess, Joseph Wigfall, Jacob Coats, Peter Buckius, Gardner Fulton, James Tatham, John G. Teese, and some others. Joseph R. Dickinson was leader of the music in 1809; Samuel White, 1810; John G. Teese, 1811–18; Jesse G. Castor, who founded the Harmonic Society in the church, 1818–21; James Seddins, 1821–27.

The origin of the First African Presbyterian Church is attributed to the efforts of the Evangelical Society of Philadelphia, an institution founded through the efforts of Rev. Archibald Alexander, in 1806, "to be comprised of all persons desirous of advancing the interests of Christianity." It was composed principally of members of the Presbyterian Churches. Dr. Alexander, who was active in the proceedings of this society, called the attention of the members to the necessity of assisting in the religious training of colored people shortly after the association went into active operation. He was aided by Rev. Ashbel Green, Dr. J. J. Janeway, Rev. George C. Potts, and others. The means which were necessary to be taken in forming a colored Presbyterian congregation in the city were discussed, and while views were entertained upon the matter, and before anything was done toward the choice of a pastor, an accidental circumstance opened the way for a successful issue.

In 1807 the Presbytery of the Union Synod of Tennessee recommended to the General Assembly, then sitting at Lexington, Ky., that John Gloucester, a slave, should be licensed to preach among colored people. In order to secure the services of this man, and to prevent the danger of his being sold by his master to some unsympathetic person, who might be disposed to interfere with his preaching, Rev. Gideon Blackburne, then of Marysville, Tenn., purchased Gloucester, and devoted his time to improving his education. Dr. Alexander and the members of the Evangelical Society, noticing the application by the Union Synod in behalf of Gloucester, opened communication with Blackburne, and induced him to come to Philadelphia, bringing Gloucester with him. A proposition was made that Mr. Gloucester should be employed in missionary work, and it was very evident that he was well fitted for such a trust. Dr. Blackburne released Mr. Gloucester from all claims which he might have upon him for service or labor, and Gloucester entered at once upon his mission by holding meetings in private houses. It was soon found that such numbers came to hear him that no place they could obtain was large enough. He therefore resolved to commence street preaching, and he

gave notice that in clear weather he would preach every Sunday morning at Seventh and Shippen Streets, and when the weather was unfavorable he would hold forth in the school-house near by. His method of operation was such that he found no difficulty in attracting a sufficient number of persons to listen to him whenever he appeared in public. While he labored faithfully, he was for some time without license. In 1810 he went to Tennessee to obtain his license, which was granted in April, and on the 30th of the same month was ordained at Baker's Creek and ordered "as soon as possible to repair to the city of Philadelphia, and directed to join the Presbytery of that city, whereby he is represented as of fair morals and upright conduct as a man, a Christian, and a minister, and is recommended to the faithful care and Christian attention of the Presbytery of Philadelphia." These testimonials were received April 16, 1811, when Rev. John Gloucester was admitted as a member. Meanwhile the movements toward the creation of the First African Church were not suspended. The street meetings held by Mr. Gloucester were so successful that in the latter part of May or the beginning of June, 1807, twenty-two persons —nine men and thirteen women—were organized as the African Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. For some time afterward Mr. Gloucester, not being regularly licensed, was absent at certain periods, when necessary for the improvement of his education. During those times the services of the church were attended to by Drs. Alexander, Green, and Janeway, and the Rev. George C. Potts. The meetings were held for a time in Gaskill Street, and at another time in the school-house in Seventh Street, near the church. The want of a permanent place of worship became apparent, and in the summer of 1809 the congregation sent a committee to the Evangelical Society, to confer with that body upon some plan whereby a house of worship could be secured for the congregation. That association on the 31st of July adopted an address to the pious and benevolent, setting forth the necessity of the erection of this church, and the need of contributions for the purpose.

The appeal was so successful that in a short time a lot near the corner of Shippen and Seventh Streets, in front of which Mr. Gloucester had preached so often, was secured. On the 28th of June, 1810, David Shoemaker and wife conveyed to John Gloucester, on ground-rent, a lot on the east side of Seventh Street, in Moyamensing, twenty-two feet five inches on Seventh Street, and one hundred feet deep, upon which there was a school-house. In this building the services of the African Presbyterian Church were held for some time. On the 30th of August, 1810, Thomas Dixey and wife conveyed to the African Presbyterian Church three lots of ground on east side of Seventh Street, Moyamensing, twenty-four feet south of Shippen, subject to ground-rent. Together they were of the width of seventy-five feet nine inches, and seventy-eight feet deep. The corner-stone was laid by Rev. George C. Potts, and on May 31, 1811, the new and substantial brick church, erected on a portion of the lot on Shippen Street, below Seventh, was dedicated. The house was sixty feet long and thirty feet wide, very plain inside and outside, but comfortable. There were four rows of pews, numbering sixty-eight, on the floor of the house, with a gallery on three sides. Altogether there were seating accommodations for six hundred and fifty persons. The ceiling was high, and the audience-room was light and airy. Mr. Gloucester and wife conveyed to the church the school-house and lot adjoining on the 28th of February, 1816. On the 16th of October, 1811, the Presbytery of Philadelphia took the African Church under its care. Mr. Gloucester was never installed pastor, although he was in charge of the church from its foundation until his death. He remained a missionary of the Evangelical Society, and the reason may be found in the fact that, from the poverty of the members of the congregation, they were not able to support a pastor from their own means. There were about one hundred and twenty-three members about the time of the dedication of the church. The elders, during the time when Mr. Gloucester was in charge, were James Prosser, Cato Freeman, Quamany Clarkson, Jacob Craig, Peter McNeal, and Francis Webb.

Although Mr. Gloucester had received his freedom from the hands of Dr. Blackburne, it was his misfortune, during the greater portion of his services in Philadelphia, that his wife and four children were still held in slavery. Before the church-building was completed he was compelled, in order to secure their freedom, to perform a melancholy service, not infrequent in the days of bondage: He set out on a tour to collect money, in order to enable him to purchase the freedom of his family, and was successful. He traveled extensively throughout the United States for this purpose, but not being able to raise money enough, went to England, where he met with success in finishing out his task. During his absence the Presbytery appointed regular supplies for the pulpit, and they were Rev. Messrs. Neil, Ely, Patterson, Skinner, Engles, Chandler, Steel, and Wilson. After a faithful service in the ministry of Philadelphia for fifteen years, Mr. Gloucester died May 2, 1822. After he obtained the freedom of his family one of his sons, Jeremiah Gloucester, was educated for the ministry, and was duly licensed. Under the insidious progress of consumption, Mr. Gloucester found his health failing so that he could not attend to his duties. He revealed this condition of affairs to the Presbytery June 27, 1820, and brought forward, as persons capable of the ministry, Samuel Cornish and Benjamin Hughes. His son Jeremiah was recommended as a candidate April 18, 1821.

After the death of Mr. Gloucester, the church was

for some time without a stated supply. The pulpit was filled by ministers of the various Presbyterian Churches in the city. On the 1st of May, 1822, the session of the church resolved that a meeting should be held at a stated time for the purpose of electing a pastor. Dr. Janeway was moderator on the occasion of this election, which took place on the 1st of May. Upon a nomination being requested, Rev. Samuel E. Cornish was nominated, which caused some dissatisfaction. Before the difficulty was settled a second African Church was organized on March 9, 1824, by seventy-five persons, who went out from the First Church.

The disturbing element now got rid of, the call to Mr. Cornish was renewed; but he, upon being informed of the fact, replied that, "on viewing the whole train of circumstances together," he thought it to be most prudent for him to decline the acceptance of the call. A meeting of the congregation was consequently held, shortly afterward, and on the 14th of April, 1824, Benjamin Hughes, a licentiate of the Philadelphia Presbytery, was called and accepted. On the 4th of May, 1824, the entire Presbytery met in the African Church, Dr. Ashbel Green presiding, and twelve clergymen being present. Rev. Dr. Chandler preached the sermon from Jeremiah, xxvi. 15: "For of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears." Dr. Green propounded the constitutional questions. Rev. Mr. Biggs gave the charge to the pastor and people. The right hand of fellowship was given to Mr. Hughes, and he took his seat as a member of the Presbytery. Mr. Hughes' services in this church were short. After six months' occupancy of the pulpit, he found that the support given him by the congregation was insufficient, and he withdrew to enter into business. His request of withdrawal was granted by the Presbytery Nov. 18, 1824. He left Philadelphia soon afterward, and went to Africa, where he died. The church was vacant for some time after Mr. Hughes' withdrawal.

The Second African congregation upon its organization was somewhat troubled by want of a place in which to hold its services. It was driven to a considerable distance beyond the habitations of the population which was to furnish it with members. In 1824 services were held in a building on the north side of Norris Alley, between Front and Second Streets, and that place was occupied by the congregation for some years. Rev. Jeremiah Gloucester being licensed, took charge of the church as soon as he was able to do so, and the name given to it by the Presbytery was the Second African Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia.

The Presbyterian Church of Germantown was usually called the English Presbyterian Church, and owed its establishment to the discontent which existed among the young members of the German Reformed and Lutheran churches of that village at the use of German in the church services. They were Americans by birth, though Germans by descent, and they were more familiar with the language of their fellow-citizens than with that of their forefathers, which, with the exception of the senior members of old German families, had fallen into disuse. It was natural that they should desire that the services of the church should be conducted in the English language. But their representations and efforts in that direction met with little sympathy from the older members. They stubbornly refused to change, and even rejected the compromise that the services should be held each Sunday alternately in German and English. The result was that the English members withdrew and formed a new congregation, which they connected with the Presbyterian Church. A lot of ground was procured on the northeast side of the Germantown main street, and the corner-stone was laid on the 10th of September, 1811, an address being delivered by the Rev. Thomas Dunn. The stone church was finished in the ensuing year, and the first regular pastor was Rev. Dr. Blair. On the 8th of June, 1819, Rev. Mr. Rooker was installed pastor of the English Presbyterian Church of Germantown. The ground on which the church was built was conveyed to the congregation by Susan Blair and Joseph Miller, Jan. 8, 1821.

The establishment of what was called the First Presbyterian Church of Kensington is to be attributed somewhat to the efforts of the Evangelical Society of Philadelphia, with a view to the planting of churches in a portion of the city which had been almost entirely neglected by all other sects. This association purchased in February, 1813, two lots of ground on the northwest side of Queen Street, between Palmer and Hanover Streets. Together they were sixty feet front and one hundred feet deep, and were bought from Joseph Norris. It is probable that this was intended to be the site of the First Presbyterian Church of Kensington; but for some reason, not now known, another lot near by was preferred. It was on the northeast side of Palmer Street, between Queen and Bedford Streets. The property on Queen Street, above specified, was held by the society until June 22, 1835, when it was transferred to the First Church of Kensington. Upon the Palmer Street lot a small building, forty by sixty feet, was erected in 1813. The church was organized under the title of the First Presbyterian Church in Kensington on the 8th of April, 1814, and a charter was obtained. To the work of this infant church the congregation chose Rev. George Chandler, then quite a young man, who was active, earnest, and useful in his ministry, and who had a large field of labor and hope. During the earlier years of his mission, with the exception of the minister of the Methodist Church, he was the only clergyman in Kensington. He officiated at nearly all the funerals, marriages, and baptisms in that district, and he was known to people of all classes and denominations.

The Cohocksink Presbyterian Church was established as a mission about 1824, in a frame building situate on Germantown road, above Camac Street. Services were performed by missionaries, and occasionally by the pastors of other churches. This first organization did not succeed, and was soon given up.

The first religious meetings held under Presbyterian auspices in Southwark, except those under the control of the Covenanters, were stimulated and assisted by the Evangelical Society of Philadelphia. Paul Beck granted to that society, for free use, a small one-story frame house of which he was the owner, situate on Passyunk road, near its junction with Sixth Street. Services were maintained regularly here for some years. Jacob Mitchell, a ruling elder of the old Pine Street Church, had a prominent agency in keeping up the worship there by procuring such preachers and exhorters as could be obtained.

The First Presbyterian Church of Southwark was established about 1824. Worship was held for a time in the Southwark Commissioners' Hall, and subsequently in the church building belonging to the Ebenezer Methodist congregation, on the east side of Second Street, between Catharine and Queen, which had been vacated by that congregation after their removal to the new Ebenezer Church, on Christian Street, between Third and Fourth. On the 10th of September, 1825, the First Church bought, at sheriff's sale, a lot of ground on the south side of German Street, between Second and Third, formerly a part of Richard Brockden's estate. It was eighteen feet front and one hundred and thirty-six feet deep, subject to an annual ground-rent of twenty-two dollars. On the same day the Catholic Church of St. Mary's conveyed to the trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of Southwark another lot on German Street, adjoining that before mentioned, and of the same size, subject to a ground-rent of twenty-two dollars, thus giving a front of thirty-six feet. The lot was subsequently increased in size by other purchases. The first pastor was Rev. Truman Osborne.

In 1816 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church by vote authorized the opening of a seminary in Philadelphia to educate African youth to the gospel ministry by giving them a classical and scientific education preparatory to theology. Before that time the Africans of the city had established such an institution themselves. It was called Augustine Hall, and the Rev. Nathaniel Snowden was the principal. In that school Richard Allen, son of the Rev. Richard Allen, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Jeremiah Gloucester, afterward pastor of the Second African Presbyterian Church, and son of the Rev. John Gloucester, William Gordon, William Thomas, and Philip Perkins were educated. It does not appear that this plan of the Presbytery was ever carried out.

After the resignation by the Rev. Archibald Alexander of the pastorship of the Third Church, the congregation for two years was without a permanent minister. Rev. James K. Burch filled the pulpit for some time, and by several members was preferred as successor to Dr. Alexander. But there were others who did not favor the selection; and, after remaining for some time, Mr. Burch withdrew from the service of the church, and a number of the congregation went with him. They met for a time in the county court-house, corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, and at this place, in June, 1814, Rev. Archibald Alexander preached to them. The meetings there were not frequent. Mr. Burch and his friends withdrew to the old academy on Fourth Street, below Arch, where he preached with acceptance, succeeding in forming a congregation. For the accommodation of the members a lot was purchased on the south side of Locust Street, west of Eighth, and upon that ground was erected "a queer, circular building," according to one writer; "an odd, horseshoe-shaped house," according to another, which was intended for a church edifice. The front portion of the lot was appropriated for the graveyard, and on the west side, at the southeast corner of Blackberry Alley, was erected a two-story brick house, intended for the parsonage. The corner-stone was laid in May, 1814, and the building was finished in the next year. For some time Mr. Burch's congregation was successful; but he became unpopular through various causes, so that his usefulness was gone, and he removed to some other locality. This congregation was recognized as the Fifth Presbyterian Church.

After Mr. Burch's departure the congregation might have been dissolved had it not been for the controversy between Rev. J. J. Janeway and Thomas H. Skinner, of the Second Church, on doctrinal points, the discussion of which resulted in the withdrawal of the latter and his friends. The Fifth Church already had a building and property; Skinner's party was without such accommodations. Mr. Burch being about to retire, or having already retired, negotiations were easy. A meeting was called through the newspapers, July 15, 1816, for those members of the Presbytery and Second Presbyterian Church "who are of opinion that a separation under existing circumstances is expedient." The next day an advertisement was published, stating that the notice of the previous day was unauthorized. It was a manifestation of what was about to take place. Mr. Skinner with about fifty members of the Second Church withdrew, and, it is believed, found themselves ready to go at once into the building of the Fifth Church, on Locust Street. During the controversies between Skinner and Janeway, Mr. Burch took sides with Skinner, and, according to understanding at the time, he made an offer to vacate the pulpit of the Fifth Church, and transfer the organization and property to Skinner's party. The transfer was effected, and Skinner's party, united with Burch's congregatic [illegible] Fifth Church. They re-

mained in Locust Street for four or five years; but the situation was not considered a pleasant one, the surroundings being objectionable, and a large number of members of the congregation who had belonged to the church at Third and Arch Streets lived in the upper part of the city, and they complained of a location which at that time was so far down town. A desire to gratify appearances also had something to do with the determination to seek another location. The church burying-ground and parsonage on Locust Street was sold to the Musical Fund Society, which took down the circular church building, removed the bodies from the graveyard, and erected thereon the elegant Musical Fund Hall, which, so far as adaptability to the purposes intended is concerned, has never been exceeded.

On the 23d of March, 1822, Elizabeth M. Schell granted to William Montgomery, Thomas Fitch, and Thomas B. Fitch, a lot of ground on the south side of Arch Street, eighty-four feet three inches westward of Tenth Street, which was fifty feet front and one hundred and fifty feet deep, subject to ground-rent. A lot adjoining, of the same dimensions, was bought of William Stolland and wife on April 6th of the same year. The whole lot was one hundred feet front, and Montgomery, Fitch, and Darrach executed a declaration of trust, reciting that they held ninety feet of the breadth of the lot, "for the purpose of erecting thereon a Presbyterian Church for the use of subscribers to articles of association, dated Jan. 22, 1822." Ten feet adjoining were reserved for the purposes of a burial-place. A church-building was commenced on this lot without delay. The corner-stone was laid on the 18th of May, 1822. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Romeyn, and an address was made by Rev. Mr. Lansing. The house was of brick, the style was rather more showy than was usual in church-building at that time, and the edifice was made very conspicuous by the construction of a wooden steeple, handsomely proportioned and ornamented, which was one hundred and sixty-five feet high. Before the building was finished the congregation was compelled to remove from Locust and Eighth Streets, in order to allow the Musical Fund Society to improve the property. The place chosen for service, in the meanwhile, was in Wagner's Alley, below Race Street, in a large building suitable for meetings. The church in Arch Street was first opened for worship in June, 1823.

In 1817 a small choir of singers was started in Dr. Skinner's church, then in Locust Street above Eighth. There was some difficulty in establishing it, because the custom of choirs was unknown in Presbyterian Churches.

"In all the Presbyterian Churches in Philadelphia the singing-leader stood in front of the pulpit, at a table or desk placed on a little elevation from the church floor. The congregational singing consisted generally of a simple melody, and a bass or octave or solo in the same strain. Here and there might be heard parts of the harmony, sung by those venturesome enough to make themselves conspicuous. When the leader had sung his first note, and was about to begin his second, down at the farther end of the church they were about commencing to sing the first note, pretty much in the style of a falling row of bricks set on end."

David H. Mason and Charles Deal for a time stood up in front of the pulpit, and led off the singing in the Fifth Church, although there was a choir in the gallery. This was done in order to meet the existing prejudices against choir-singing. In order to give the cue to the choir as to the tune and the page in the music-book where it was to be found, these gentlemen used a blackened card, upon which, with chalk, the tune and number of the page were written. The card could be read by persons in the gallery having sharp eyes, and upon that information the choir was ready to go on as soon as the leader at the other end of the church was ready. After a time a four-stop organ was placed in the gallery, of which Mr. Deal was the organist. To prevent opposition, this movement was quietly resolved upon, and when the organ was first played it excited some feeling in the congregation. "One woman, on the first day it was played, was so much shocked at the profanation, that a rapid exit on her part from the church took place, accompanied by sundry bodily gesticulations, in order, as was supposed, that the reasons for her leaving might be comprehended by those who remained." In 1824, when the congregation removed to Arch Street, a larger organ was placed there, and a larger congregation was formed. E. E. Ives, Jr., was the leader of the choir, and Mr. Deal was organist.

The Sixth Presbyterian Church owed its origin to discontent in the Third Church, during the period after the resignation of Rev. Archibald Alexander. A party went out in 1814 because the Rev. James K. Burch was not elected pastor, and another party withdrew because Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely was elected pastor. Sixty-five pew-holders of the Third Church withdrew rather than sit under the preaching of Mr. Ely. They were led by four dissenting elders, Benjamin Wickes, William Haslett, John McMullin, and Robert McMullin. The Third Church transferred to them twelve thousand dollars in cash, two hundred and fifty dollars for communion-plate, and ground on Lombard Street worth about ten thousand dollars. For a time they worshiped in the court-house at Sixth and Chestnut Streets, where Joseph Eastburn did lay service for their benefit. On the 28th of July, 1814, an agreement was entered into by William Leonard, Benjamin Wickes, John McMullin, William Haslett, Conrad Hance, John H. Brown, Thomas M. Hall, Malcolm McDonald, Lewden Sawyer, William Hart, John Dickson, George Thomson, and John Kelsey, who were trustees of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, to the effect that they would obtain a charter of incorporation, and became legally entitled to hold property.

George Latimer, as one of the trustees, purchased for the purposes of the church a lot of ground on the north side of Spruce Street, between Fifth and Sixth, which was forty-five feet six inches front, and one hundred and fifty-five feet deep, irregular in shape on the sides. Another property adjoining was conveyed to the trustees in the same year by Robert Davis and wife. The two lots gave the church a front of about ninety-three feet on Spruce Street. Upon this ground was erected without delay a substantial brick church. As soon as the building was ready, Rev. William Neill, who was at that time pastor of a Presbyterian Church at Albany, N. Y., was called to take charge of the Sixth congregation. He was a native of Pennsylvania, born near Pittsburgh in the year 1779. He was educated at Princeton College, where he graduated in 1803, and was tutor there until October, 1805, when he became minister of the church at Cooperstown, N. J. He was in charge of that pulpit nearly five years, when he went to Albany, where he remained from 1809 until 1816, when he came to Philadelphia. Although the congregation of the Sixth Church was rich at starting in comparison to the means usually within control of new congregations, there was still some debt when Dr. Neill took charge. His salary was fixed at two thousand dollars a year, and he relinquished two hundred dollars annually during the lattter part of his term for the purpose of releasing the incumbrance. There was some ugly feeling between the members of the Third and the Sixth Churches at the beginning, and exertions were made by each party to fill up its congregation. The withdrawal of Burch's party and the anti-Elyites made a heavy inroad on the strength of the Third Church. In addition, a matter of disturbance was found in the coming of the First Church to Locust and Seventh Streets, in the vicinity of the Sixth Church.

Dr. Neill instituted a Bible-class of young girls and lads, which was large, comprising the youthful strength of the congregation. While engaged in this service, quietly discharging his duties, he received an invitation to become president of Dickinson College, at Carlisle. He left the church in 1824. The position at Dickinson College was highly honorable, but the place was not agreeable on account of the divided authorities of the institution, and also on account of its dependence on the Legislature of the State. After four years' service Dr. Neill withdrew, and became secretary of the Board of Education, which position he held for two years. He took charge of the church at Germantown in 1831, and was there eleven years. He withdrew from active pursuits in 1842, and died in 1860, aged eighty-two years.

After the withdrawal of Dr. Neill the congregation was for some months without a pastor. In 1825 they called Rev. John H. Kennedy, and he was in the service of the church for some time.

In the year 1804, Rev. John Hey, a clerical adventurer, visited Philadelphia. He was an Englishman, a Baptist clergyman in his native country, which, it may be presumed, he left for reasons satisfactory to his congregations. In the city he found no difficulty in gaining admission to the pulpits of Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, preaching during the summer with acceptation and increasing popularity. He had a good presence, a fine voice, a showy, oratorical style, and apparently great earnestness of purpose, and his preaching was so different from the grave and formal mannerisms of the pulpit of the time that he secured sufficient followers to justify an attempt in forming a congregation. Not having authority from Presbyteries or Baptist Associations, Mr. Hey and his followers set up as independents. His congregation was made up of persons belonging to various denominations, and some who previously had not belonged to any congregation. The Second Presbyterian Church granted letters of dismissal, Oct. 4, 1804, to nine members of that congregation,—William Shufflebottom, William Sheepshanks, Charles Woodward, Robert Murphey, John Lorain, Jr., Gilbert Gaw, Susanna Gaw, John Firth, and Elizabeth Firth. The congregation was organized at the old academy, Fourth Street, and Mr. Hey preached there with great success. Englishmen, most of whom had been connected with regular Baptist congregations, took great interest in Mr. Hey, and aided in his plans. Dr. Mitchell says of his meetings at the academy,—

"Collections were taken up on every Sabbath day to aid in the erection of an edifice of novel construction, which finally became the regular place of worship for the society, which as yet had no fixed designation. I well remember the disgust excited by a device of Hey for the purpose of augmenting the funds somewhat more rapidly than the people were disposed to encourage and tolerate. Bags fastened to long handles had been usually passed through the house to catch the mites; but many found it convenient to escape the carrier's hint by a timely retreat, to prevent which calamity Hey directed certain persons to take their stands at the doors, with open plates in their hands, and in such numbers that every passer-out was sure to find a plate thrust at him. The modest parson very plainly certified to the flock that silver was much more acceptable than pennies, and withal vastly more respectable."

As early as October, 1804, an address was published in the newspapers in favor of building a church for Rev. John Hey. The collections were made from that time, so that in six months enough had been gathered to justify the commencement of the church building. On the 24th of January, 1805, Joseph Shotwell and others conveyed to William Sheepshanks, William Taylor, William Shufflebottom, James Cummins, and Gilbert Gaw, a lot of ground "for the purpose of building thereon a house of worship situate on the south side of Petty's Alley [afterward Greenleaf Court, now Merchant Street] one hundred and thirty-three feet two inches west of Fourth Street, and running south to Ranstead Court." The lot was of irregular shape, and widened on the southern side. It was only nineteen feet in width on Petty's Alley, while upon Ranstead Court [formerly known as Patton's Alley] it was eighty-eight feet one inch [illegible] 'ance from Petty's Alley to

Ranstead Court was one hundred and sixty-three feet four inches. The foundation or corner-stone was laid on the 28th of April, 1805, and the church was finished and opened on Sunday, Jan. 5, 1806. The building was of brick, and was very spacious in comparison with churches then in use in Philadelphia. It was sixty feet in breadth by ninety feet in depth, and occupied the southern and eastern portion of the lot. From the north, on Ranstead Court, there was a passage-way, and west of the church there was a graveyard, which adjoined the property of the Black Bear Tavern. The principal entrance was from Ranstead Court by a door at the southeast corner of the building. There were two doors also on the east side in the way or passage which extended from Greenleaf Court. West of the Ranstead Court door a semicircular recess or bay rose to the roof. In this space the pulpit, which was roomy, stood. The choir was ranged on both sides of the pulpit. The galleries were shallow, and those upon the sides were supported from the wall. The northern gallery was supported by columns. The church was lighted by semicircular windows, which were built in such a manner that the lower sills were a considerable distance from the level of the ground. Above these were large windows with arched tops, which rose nearly to the roof. There were one hundred and sixty-two pews, conveniently arranged, with spacious aisles. The congregation gave to this building the name of the Tabernacle, and adopted for itself the title of the First Independent Church. Mr. Hey preached for them during 1806 and 1807, and until the close of 1808. During that period his true character became apparent by discoveries of moral delinquencies, and he fled to the West with a female who had formerly stood high in public estimation, leaving his wife in the city.

In November, 1808, charges were preferred against him by members of the church and he was dismissed. He died on Aug. 30, 1809, at Chambersburg, Pa. The dismissal of Mr. Hey led to bitter disputes as to who was entitled to the property, which were compromised in 1808. On the 1st of June, of that year, the trustees of the First Independent Church conveyed to the Independent Tabernacle Church the property on Ranstead's Court, and also four lots of ground on the south side of Cherry Street, between Schuylkill Fifth [Eighteenth] and Schuylkill Sixth [Seventeenth], having a front of one hundred and thirty-two feet, and a depth of one hundred and forty-four feet. It had originally been purchased by the Independent Church for the purposes of a burying-ground. Rev. Thomas Dunn, who was an Englishman, preached for some time after Mr. Hey was dismissed. He was a Presbyterian clergyman, and was succeeded by Rev. John Joyce, a Presbyterian clergyman. Mr. Joyce served the congregation for more than five years, when he resigned on account of ill health. The congregation, after Mr. Joyce had left, was obliged to depend for services in the pulpit upon whatever supplies could be obtained. Not being attached to any sect which had strength and popularity, they could not command the services of acceptable preachers for supply. They were an independent congregation, and could gain little sympathy from other sects. This led the members to seek affiliation with the Dutch Reformed Church.

On the 17th of October, 1816, the Tabernacle congregation was organized as the Consistory of the Second Reformed Dutch Church in the city of Philadelphia. At that time the number of communicants belonging to the church was fifty-one. Rev. David Parker was invited to preach to the congregation as soon as the organization was effected, and he held forth every Sabbath evening. He was a native of New England. He went to Europe in 1808, and studied divinity for several years in the seminary of Rev. Dr. Baque, in Gosport, England. He was ordained in May, 1816, and was sent to preach in the United States. After trial at the Tabernacle, Mr. Parker was regularly elected pastor, and was installed in April, 1817. Rev. Dr. Broadhead, of the First Reformed Dutch Church, preached the sermon. Father Eastburn took part in the services, assisted by Rev. Robert McCartee of the Associate Church. After the installation of Mr. Parker, some repairs and alterations were made to the building which prevented the use of the church. In August of that year it was announced that, the building being "so far completed as to admit a congregation," worship would be resumed. Rev. Mr. Joyce preached in the morning, and Rev. Mr. Parker in the evening.

The congregation did not long continue with the Dutch Reformed Church. For some time a majority of the members were dissatisfied. On the 18th of October, 1819, the pew-holders and communicants requested the Consistory to apply to the Classis of the Dutch Reformed Church for the dismissal of the Second Church to the Presbytery of Philadelphia. The Classis was not favorably impressed with this desire. The loss of a congregation from the fold was not to be submitted to with calmness, and there was some opposition to the request. Finally the Presbytery received this church and congregation by vote passed Nov. 9, 1819. Rev. Drs. Neill and Janeway, with Elders John McMullin and Robert Ralston, were appointed a committee to organize the church under its new relation. This was done on the 18th of November, 1819, and the congregation received the title of the Seventh Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. Under the new organization, the elders elected were William Sheepshanks, Robert Hamill, and William Shufflebottom; deacons, John P. Shott, Thomas Whitaker, and William Taylor, Jr. Jacob Engles was also elected, but declined to serve. The officers were set apart for their duties on the 28th of November, when Dr. Neill preached the sermon. After some delay, Rev. William M. Engles was elected pastor, who was installed on July 6, 1820. He was

then in the twenty-third year of his age. He was born in Philadelphia Oct. 12, 1797, graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1815, studied theology with Dr. S. B. Wylie, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia Oct. 18, 1818. He was in charge of the Seventh (or Tabernacle) Church in 1825, and continued in that pulpit until 1834, when he was obliged to resign on account of disease of the throat. He became editor of *The Presbyterian*, succeeding Dr. James W. Alexander, and he held the position until his death, in 1867. This paper was made the organ of the Old-School party, and under the control of Mr. Engles it achieved high reputation. He was also appointed editor of the board of publication in 1838, and held that position until his death. He wrote many books, which were published by the board. Among these were "Sick-Room Devotions" and the "Soldier's Pocket-Book," of which three hundred thousand copies were sold. He was moderator of the General Assembly in 1840, and stated clerk for six years.

The history of the establishment of the Mariners' Church in Philadelphia is a record of the earnestness of purpose and the untiring efforts of one man. Although the congregation, when established, was not, by formal proceeding, a Presbyterian Church, yet the circumstances attendant upon its foundation were such that Presbyterians were most active in the cause, and the congregation eventually went under the control of that sect. Joseph Eastburn, a member of the Second Presbyterian Church, was the founder of the Mariners' Church, and his life was one of simplicity, thorough work, and devotion. He was the son of Robert Eastburn, an Englishman, who came to America in 1714, when he was but four years old. He married Agnes Jones, of Germantown, in 1733, and Joseph, his sixth child, was born in Philadelphia, Aug. 11, 1748. He was put apprentice to a cabinet-maker at the age of fourteen, and became thoroughly accomplished in his trade. He was impressed with religious feeling in his youth, and after he had attained the adult age he commenced a weekly prayer-meeting in his father's house, reading sermons to the people who attended. He was finally induced to go to Pequea, where he entered the grammar-school of Rev. Robert Smith, with a view of accomplishing himself for religious service. His education had been limited, and, feeling his disadvantages, he addressed himself earnestly to study. Indeed, he devoted night and day to the acquisition of learning with such persevering and absorbing attention that his health broke down, and his physician ordered him to give it up. Returning to Philadelphia, he resumed working at his trade as a cabinet-maker. He was married to Ann Owen, June 12, 1771. During the Revolution Mr. Eastburn served two or three times in the army, and was in the battle of Princeton. One son was born to Joseph Eastburn and his wife, who, when a boy, took to the sea, and became mate and then commander of a merchant vessel. He was killed by a cannon-shot when returning from the West Indies as a passenger, being twenty-five years old. The circumstances connected with the history of this boy and his death no doubt aroused in Mr. Eastburn an interest in the welfare of seamen, a class of men who had been neglected by all denominations. After some years' connection with religious service as an exhorter, Mr. Eastburn's ambition to be an ordained minister increased. There was no doubt of his sincerity and piety, but the difficulty which at all times stood in his path was the want of a liberal education.

In the year 1801, Joseph Eastburn entered into partnership with Peter Lesley in the business of cabinet-making, and they established their shop on the north side of Arch Street, above Third, next door to the Second Presbyterian Church. Lesley was sexton of that church, and Eastburn was a member of it, and as it was part of the cabinet-makers' duties at that time to make coffins, Mr. Lesley's position in the church and the large acquaintanceship of both partners served to bring in a great deal of work. They were diligent about the shop, and although persons came in to converse on religion, they did not neglect the claims of industry. While they talked they worked. Mr. Eastburn's desire to get into the pulpit was finally gratified by his introduction as a lay reader to the Northern Liberties Presbyterian Church, which was under the charge of the Second Church. Necessity compelled the adoption of this course on the part of Dr. Green, who was pastor of the Second Church, and who could not devote as much time to the Campington Church as he desired. Mr. Eastburn, he considered, would be of valuable assistance at the weekly meetings, and they were generally conducted under his charge. There were hymns, examinations in the catechism, and addresses. Dr. Green had no expectation at the time that Mr. Eastburn would be anything more than a teacher and assistant. But the satisfactory manner in which he performed his duties gradually led to an enlargement of his sphere of service.

In 1805, the Presbytery of Philadelphia authorized him to "fulfill the duties of missionary in the jail, almshouse, and hospital of the city of Philadelphia, and also, as occasional opportunities might offer, to speak to collections of people in other places on the concerns of their souls." This was the only license Mr. Eastburn ever received. It did not make him an ordained clergyman, but it gave him much more freedom of action than he ever had before, and in time the people conferred upon him the title of "Reverend." As "Rev." Joseph Eastburn he was generally known in later life, although he had no claim to the title. For several years succeeding, Mr. Eastburn carefully attended to his business, which was managed with thrift and a steady increase in his means. Beside his labors in the hospital, jail, and almshouse, he was a ready and welcome assistant to religious

congregations, which temporarily or otherwise needed supplies for their pulpits. Beside week-day services, he generally, on Sunday, had some engagement. He preached in Presbyterian, Baptist, German Reformed, and Dutch Reformed Churches, and was called upon at meetings of societies connected with all religous denominations. His services were not confined to Philadelphia, but extended through various parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.

The foundation of the Mariners' Church in the port of Philadelphia was effected by the publication of the following notice in the *United States Gazette*, Oct. 23, 1819:

"The mariners of the port of Philadelphia, and all others who shall be transiently in port, are affectionately invited to attend on the public worship of God, at the large room used by Mr. Jacob Dunton as a sail loft, No. 6, fronting the water, and second wharf north of Market Street, where a flag will be suspended. This is to be the place for worship until a permanent mariners' church can be erected."

The first service was performed on the third Sunday of October, 1819, by Mr. Eastburn, who took for his text the 31st and 32d verses of Psalms cvii.: "Oh that men would praise the Lord for His goodness and for His wonderful works to the children of men! Let them exalt Him also in the congregation of the people, and praise Him in the assembly of the elders." Rev. Mr. Joyce assisted with an address. There were from five hundred to six hundred persons present, fully one-half of whom were mariners and masters of vessels. On the next Sunday a Sunday-school was opened. On the 21st of January, 1822, a new Bethel flag was hoisted at the Mariners' Church, at Dunton's sail-loft. It was procured through the exertions of Miss Elizabeth White, a sister of the Rev. William White, of the Northern Liberties. It was painted by Mr. Woodside, and was thirteen by eight feet, having an azure field and a white border. The symbols were, the morning and evening stars at the top, a dove in the centre, an anchor below, and the inscription, "Mariners' Church." Mr. Eastburn preached from the four last verses of Hebrews, and a hymn written for the occasion was sung. The congregation continued in Dunton's sail-loft until July, 1822, when the place of meeting was removed to the lecture-room of the Second Presbyterian Church, in Cherry Street near Fifth. This change, while it may have interfered with attracting those who had not previously attended the meetings, still held control over those who had been gathered in. Mr. Eastburn continued to preach here until a suitable church building was erected.

In June, 1823, an agreement for the purchase of a suitable lot was made with the directors of the Bank of North America. It was situate on the east side of Water Street, between Chestnut and Walnut Street, seventy-five feet front on Water Street, and sixty-one and a half feet deep, to a passage or court. The price was eight thousand dollars. Subscriptions were at once solicited, and with so much success that in a few weeks ten thousand dollars had been collected, sufficient to pay the cost of the lot, and to compensate the tenants for vacating the premises, leaving twelve hundred dollars in hand. The deed was made to Richard Dale, Samuel Archer, and Robert Ralston, in trust for the mariners of the port of Philadelphia. In April, 1824, William Strickland, architect, undertook to erect a brick building for the use of the church, for the sum of ten thousand five hundred dollars, and which was to occupy the full dimensions of the lot. The first story was divided into warehouses, with cellars. The church-room occupied the whole of the second story, being lighted by large windows. In the centre of the front was a tablet bearing an anchor in relief. The entrance was by a stairway at the south end of the building. The ceiling was eighteen feet high. The pulpit was in the north end, and the gallery in the south end. The building was covered with slate, and there was an observatory which rose twenty feet above the roof. The funds for building the church were partially raised by subscription, the revenue from the stores being devoted to a sinking-fund for the purpose of paying off the balance. The corner-stone was laid April 19, 1824. On the 17th of October, 1824, the New Mariners' Church was opened. Mr. Eastburn and Rev Mr. Patterson, of the Northern Liberties Church, preached in the morning, and Rev. Dr. Broadhead in the afternoon. Mr. Patterson read Solomon's dedication of the temple, and made some remarks upon it. Mr. Eastburn took for his text, "This is none other but the house of God; this is the gate of heaven" (Genesis xxviii. 17). Mr. Ralston read an account of the commencement of the meetings, and of the formation of the congregation and church. Rev. Dr. Broadhead preached from 2 Chronicles, vii. 16. In 1825, Mr. Eastburn was still in charge of this congregation.

One of the most important movements of the Presbyterian Church toward the dissemination of its principles and doctrines which took place in the period between 1800 and 1825, was the formation of a board of education. The first movement in that direction was made at the session of the Synod of Philadelphia held at Baltimore, in November, 1818, at which it was resolved to recommend the formation of a society "for educating poor and pious youths inclined to devote themselves to the work of the holy ministry." Rev. Jacob J. Janeway, D.D., Rev. William Neill, D.D., and Rev. James Patterson, were appointed a committee to mature a plan for the organization of such society. They called a meeting of the friends of the project in the Third Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, on Dec. 9, 1818. On that occasion, Revs. Dr. Janeway, Neill, Wilson, Green, Alexander, and Miller, with Rev. James Patterson, were appointed a committee to draft a constitution for the proposed society. At the next meeting, held December 17th, in the Sixth Presbyterian

Church, the constitution was adopted. Robert Ralston was elected president; Rev. William Neill, D.D., corresponding secretary; and Alexander Henry, treasurer. Ashbel Green, D.D., was elected president in 1824, and held the office until 1829. Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely was corresponding secretary from 1824 to 1829, and John S. Stille was treasurer from 1823 to 1831. Between the years 1819 and 1824 the board had one hundred and eight candidates for the ministry under its care.

The Second Associate Reformed Church, in Thirteenth Street above Market, was opened for worship on the 26th of November, 1815, the sermon being preached by Rev. John Mason Duncan, of Baltimore, grandson of the founder of the church. The house was of plain brick, without the least trace of ornament, and for many years was one of the gloomiest-looking churches in the city. The dimensions were fifty by sixty feet.

After the Second Associate Reformed Church was built, there was much difficulty in procuring pulpit service. The Associate Reformed connection in the United States was weak and poor, and the number of ministers within the communion was scarcely sufficient for the work to be done. Add to this the fact that "Margaret Duncan's church" was in a part of the city poor and thinly inhabited, and also that, although Mrs. Duncan provided for the building, she left no fund for its support, and it may be understood why the congregation struggled on against adverse influences. Indeed, had it not been for the assistance of the Presbyterians, who frequently gave supplies to its pulpit, it would probably have been closed for considerable periods of time. Among the supplies most frequent was John Welwood Scott, an elder of the Third Presbyterian Church, who at a subsequent period was ordained as a minister. The first regular pastor of this church was Rev. Thomas Gilfillan McInnes, who was called to the service early in 1822. He was received as a member of the Philadelphia Presbytery, but was soon after transferred to the Associate Reformed Presbytery. He died on the 26th of August, 1824.

This church, by the action of the Associate Reformed Synod and of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1822, like the Scots' Church, suddenly found itself outside of the Associate Reformed persuasion, and a member in full authority of the Presbyterian Church. By the process which effected this unexpected change, the Second Associate Reformed Church became the Ninth Presbyterian Church.

After the death of Mr. McInnes, the congregation of the Ninth Church, in March, 1825, called to the pulpit Mr. John Chambers, of Baltimore, to preach as a candidate. He accepted the invitation, and preached two Sundays in April. When he presented his papers for admission to the Presbytery of Philadelphia he was objected to on account of soundness in reference to certain doctrines of the Presbyterian Church. He was refused admission, and in October, 1825, the pulpit of the Ninth Church was declared vacant. The members of the Ninth Church took up Mr. Chambers' cause with great energy. By a vote of four to one they declared themselves independent of church courts, and by an equally heavy vote resolved to retain Mr. Chambers as their pastor. The minority, headed by Moses Reed, went away, and meeting in a room in Race Street, declared themselves to be the Ninth Presbyterian Church. By advice of Revs. J. P. Wilson, Thomas H. Skinner, and John Mason Duncan, Mr. Chambers went to New Haven in December, 1825, made application to the Association of Congregational ministers of the Western District of New Haven County, and was ordained in Middle Church, Professor Fitch, of Yale College, preaching the ordination sermon. Mr. Chambers then came back to Philadelphia, and again began his services in "Margaret Duncan's Church," not in the Second Associate Reformed Church, nor in the Ninth Presbyterian Church, which succeeded it, but in what was called the Independent Church, a congregation which had no connection with any regular sect.

On the 7th of October, 1824, Robert A. Caldcleugh and wife conveyed to Robert Fleming and the heirs and representatives of Thomas G. McInnes, Moses Reed, and fifty-two others, a lot of ground on the south side of Race Street, between Schuylkill Third [Twentieth] and Schuylkill Fourth [Nineteenth] Streets, for the purpose of a burying-ground. The lot was eighteen feet by six inches wide, and one hundred and twenty-nine feet deep, to a thirty-feet wide street. The burial-lots were conveyed to each member of the church in separate and distinct divisions. The width of fourteen feet six inches from the west line of the lot was devoted for graves, and a passage four feet wide on the east side was laid out for the use of owners of lots, and of those attending burials.

In 1831, Mr. Chambers' congregation removed to their new church edifice at the corner of Broad and Sansom Streets. It was known as the First Independent Church until 1873, when Dr. Chambers and his congregation sought to be and were admitted into the Presbyterian body. By order of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, the name of the church was changed, in honor of its pastor, to the "Chambers Presbyterian Church."

In May, 1875, the fiftieth anniversary of Dr. Chambers' pastorate was celebrated, and he delivered a historical sermon on that occasion, in which, among other items of interest, he stated that he had received three thousand five hundred and eighty-six members into the church, of whom twelve hundred were then in actual membership; that between thirty and forty young men had entered the gospel ministry; that he had married two thousand three hundred and twenty-nine couples; attended between four thousand and

five thousand funerals; and preached more than seven thousand sermons.

Dr. Chambers was a man of commanding influence over the masses. Bold and frank in the expression of his opinions, even those who differed with him could not but respect and admire his courage. He fearlessly attacked the crying abuses, vices, and errors of the day. He died Sept. 22, 1875, four months after his fiftieth anniversary. His successors in the pastorate have been Rev. Henry C. Westwood, D.D., 1876–78; Rev. J. M. P. Otts, D.D., 1879–83; Rev. Thomas A. Hoyt, D.D., 1884.

The Tenth Church, at Walnut and Twelfth Streets, was projected by the late Furman Leaming, at that time in the hardware business on Market Street. The corner-stone was laid on the 13th day of July, 1828, and the church was opened for service in December, 1829. The contributors were John Stille, Furman Leaming, Solomon Allen, George Ralston, James Kerr, and William Brown, all of whom are now dead. The Rev. Dr. Thomas McAuley, of New York, was the first pastor, but he resigned in January, 1833.

Henry Augustus Boardman, his successor, was born at Troy, N. Y., Jan. 9, 1808. He was graduated from Yale College in September, 1829, with the first honors of his class. On leaving college he spent one year in legal studies preparatory to the bar. But in the spring of 1830 he devoted himself to the work of the ministry, entered Princeton Seminary in September of that year, and studied there three years. He was ordained and installed pastor of the Tenth Church by the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia, Nov. 8, 1833. This was not only his first but his only charge, in which he continued to labor until released, May 5, 1876, after which he continued, by vote of the church and of the Presbytery, to hold the relation of "pastor emeritus" until his death, which occurred in Philadelphia, June 15, 1880, in the seventy-third year of his age. Called to the Tenth Church while yet in the seminary, in this position he performed his great life-work of forty-six years with distinguished ability, learning, and fidelity. From this eminent position he could not be drawn away. In 1853 he was elected by the General Assembly to be a professor of Pastoral Theology in Princeton Seminary, but he declined. In 1854 he was moderator of the General Assembly. In 1835 he was elected a director of Princeton Seminary, in which office he continued until his death. As an author he was able and prolific; as a preacher he was evangelical and elevated in his thoughts, and pure, simple, and direct in his style. He charmed while he instructed his people, and bound them to himself by the cords of a reverential love. He was pre-eminently wise in counsel, and to the very end grew in influence among his brethren.

Dr. Boardman's successor was the Rev. John De Witte, D.D. He was born in Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 10, 1842, and graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1861. Like his predecessor, he spent some time in the study of law. Having concluded to enter the ministry, he pursued his theological studies for two years in Princeton Seminary, and concluded them in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. The first eleven years of his ministerial life were spent in Irvington, N. Y., and in Boston, Mass. He was installed pastor of the Tenth Church Oct. 12, 1876, and was released from his charge June 5, 1882, to accept the professorship of Church History in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio. The present pastor is the Rev. William Brenton Green, Jr., who entered upon the duties of this office May 14, 1883. The changes of population have, in a measure, weakened the congregation, but it still holds a prominent and influential place among the churches of the city.

In 1842 several members of the Tenth Church, influenced by a desire to do something for the spiritual good of the poor and neglected, established a Sabbath-school in Christian Street below Tenth Street. Of this school the Rev. Andrew Happer, D.D., then a student of medicine, and now an honored missionary in China, was the first superintendent. At a subsequent date the school was removed to Carpenter Street. From the first it was a cherished plan of those interested in the enterprise to establish a church, when the way should be open to do so. This was accordingly done Oct. 11, 1858. The Rev. Willard M. Rice was installed pastor of the infant church Oct. 18, 1858. The church and Sabbath-school continued to hold the same missionary relation to the Tenth Church as before, the principal support of the enterprise being contributed thereby. In 1863, Dr. Rice was transferred to the pastorate of the Fourth Church. Subsequently the church organization was dissolved, but the Sabbath-school continued its good work. By the will of the late Harriet Holland, a pious and benevolent lady of the Tenth Church, a legacy was left to the school, with which a beautiful chapel was erected on Federal Street above Thirteenth, to which the school was transferred in 1874. Here the Holland Memorial Church was organized March 24, 1882, with two hundred and thirty members, and the Rev. James R. Miller, D.D., was installed its pastor April 23, 1882. Dr. Miller's editorial duties in connection with the Presbyterian Board of Publication compelled his resignation, September, 1883. His successor, the Rev. William M. Paden, was ordained and installed, Nov. 20, 1883.

In 1852, the Tenth Church had become so large and prosperous that a plan was formed for the establishment of another church. It originated in the mind and heart of Dr. Boardman, and its success was owing in large measure to his lead and co-operation. A lot was secured on the corner of Seventeenth and Spruce Streets. The congregation was incorporated as the West Spruce Street Presbyterian Church March 29, 1854. A commodious church edifice was erected.

The lecture-room was opened for worship May 18, 1856, and the church was dedicated Jan. 4, 1857.

The church was organized by a committee of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, of which Dr. Boardman was chairman, April 3, 1856, with thirty-four members, all of whom were members of the Tenth Church. Messrs. James Imbrie, Jr., John S. Hart, and Morris Patterson were elected ruling elders, and John McArthur, Jr., deacon. The Rev. William P. Breed was unanimously called to the pastorate.

The Rev. William P. Breed, D.D., was born at Greenbush, N. Y., Aug. 23, 1816. At an early age he removed with his parents to the city of New York. He was graduated from the University of the City of New York in 1843, and from the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1847. He was ordained and installed pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Steubenville, Ohio, Dec. 15, 1857. After a pastorate of eight years he was released from this charge, May 7, 1856, and installed pastor of the West Spruce Street Church June 4, 1856. The installation services were held in the Tenth Church. The quarter-century anniversary of the organization of the church and pastorate of Dr. Breed was celebrated April 3 and 4, 1881. The church has steadily grown and prospered. Dr. Breed has given himself faithfully and industriously to pastoral and pulpit work. But his labors have not been confined to these. He has frequently represented his presbytery in the General Assembly of the Church. For many years he has been a member of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, and zealously devoted to its interests. Twice he was elected moderator of the Synod of Philadelphia, and at the meeting of the Synod of Pennsylvania, in 1883, was elected to the same office. To him belongs the honor of placing the statue of John Witherspoon in Fairmount Park, the funds for which were mainly raised by his persevering efforts.

Dr. Wilson's successor in the First Church was Albert Barnes, who was born in Rome, N. Y., Dec. 1, 1798, and graduated from Hamilton College in 1820. When he entered college he was decidedly skeptical, but during his college course his religious views underwent a change. He gave up his previous intention of studying law, and entered Princeton Theological Seminary immediately after his graduation. He pursued the full three years' course, and remained several months after its termination as a resident graduate. He was ordained and installed pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Morristown, N. J., Feb. 8, 1825. His ministry there continued five years, and was very successful. June 10, 1830, he accepted the call of the First Church of Philadelphia, and was installed in the face of violent opposition from some members of the presbytery. Party feeling between the Old and New School became very bitter, until 1835, when charges were begun against Mr. Barnes, and he was tried for heresy by the Presbytery of Philadelphia. The presbytery refusing charges, the case was carried by appeal to the Synod of Philadelphia, which censured Mr. Barnes and suspended him from the ministry. To this sentence he quietly submitted, but in 1836 appealed to the General Assembly. This body reversed the sentence, and Mr. Barnes resumed the ministry. The violence of party feeling continued to increase, until in 1838 the Presbyterian Church became divided. Mr. Barnes was the acknowledged leader of the New School branch in the doctrinal controversies which preceded and followed the division. Throughout all these trying scenes his church gave him its hearty and undivided support. As a pastor and preacher he was eminently successful, and during his pastorate of forty years his church maintained its position among the Presbyterian Churches of Philadelphia as "first" in *fact* as well as *First* in name. In time the bitterness of controversy subsided, and at his death his loss was as sincerely lamented by his brethren of the Old School division as by his own.

In 1849, Mr. Barnes was elected to a professorship in Lane Seminary, which he declined. In 1851 he was moderator of the General Assembly. About this time his eyesight began to fail, and, notwithstanding a trip to Europe and the employment of assistants in the pulpit, this infirmity increased to such a degree that in 1868, at the age of seventy, he resigned his charge, much against the wishes of his congregation. He continued, however, as pastor emeritus. To the last he preached occasionally in the churches, and regularly in the House of Refuge, of which he was a manager. He died very suddenly Dec. 24, 1870.

His fame rests chiefly on his "Commentaries," of which a million copies have been circulated in America and Great Britain, and translations have been made into several foreign languages. His name appears without any honorary title, because he was conscientiously opposed to academic degrees.

Mr. Barnes' successor in the First Church was Rev. Herrick Johnson, D.D., who resigned in 1873 to accept a professorship in the Auburn Theological Seminary. Rev. Lawrence M. Colfelt, on March 29, 1874, was installed pastor. Failure of health compelled him to relinquish the active work of the ministry on March 3, 1884. During his ten years' service in this church, he worthily and ably sustained his charge. The church has during all its history numbered among its officers and members many men of mark and influence, and though the changes in population and the encroachments of business have had a weakening influence upon the congregation, it is still a power for good in the community.

The First Church has in common with others contributed, by its members and wealth, to the formation of other churches and congregations. Toward the close of 1850 steps were taken for the establishment of Calvary Presbyterian Church. The association was chartered April 2, 1851. A lot was purchased on Locust Street above Fifteenth, and a church edifice

erected and dedicated Nov. 5, 1853. On the 10th of November, 1853, the Fourth Presbytery of Philadelphia, upon the petition of the following persons, John A. Brown, Thomas Fleming, Matthias W. Baldwin, E. S. Whelen, John Gulliver, Henry White, Joseph H. Dulles, James C. Donnell, and Samuel McClellan, M.D., organized them into a church under the name of Calvary Presbyterian Church. On the same occasion, Thomas Fleming and Matthias W. Baldwin were elected ruling elders. The Rev. John Jenkins was installed its first pastor, Nov. 27, 1853. Under his charge the congregation steadily grew in numbers, wealth, and influence.

The following is a list of the pastors to 1884: John Jenkins, D.D., 1853; Zephaniah M. Humphrey, D.D.; and Charles A. Dickey, D.D., 1875.

During the pastorate of Dr. Humphrey a large and commodious chapel and Sabbath-school building was erected opposite the church. Important additions and improvements, rendered necessary by the growth of the congregation, have been made in the church edifice during the incumbency of Dr. Dickey. The church also has under its charge Hope Mission Chapel, at Thirty-second and Wharton Streets, to which the Rev. J. Gray Bolton has ministered since 1874.

Wharton Street Church, at the corner of Ninth and Wharton Streets, is also a daughter of the First Church. It was organized in 1863. The Rev. Augustus W. Williams has been its pastor since 1875.

Mr. Potts resigned the pastorate of the Fourth Church, Sept. 9, 1835, and died Sept. 23, 1838. His successor was the Rev. William McCalla, who was installed April 20, 1836. Difficulties arose in the congregation which ended in its division. Mr. McCalla and his friends were recognized as the Assembly Church, and the Fourth Church was declared vacant by the presbytery, by the casting vote of the moderator, after protracted discussion, Jan. 10, 1839.

Rev. William Loughridge was the third pastor. He began his labors in 1839, and was installed Nov. 17, 1840. The church at his accession was reduced to twenty-nine members; but such was the success that attended his labors that the congregation soon found itself straitened for the want of room. A larger and more commodious church edifice was erected at the corner of Lombard and Twelfth Streets. In a short time every sitting in the new church was occupied, and the congregation became one of the largest in the city. His pastorate may be considered the most prosperous and successful in the history of the church. He died Nov. 11, 1846. The fourth pastor, the Rev. Lewis Cheeseman, D.D., was installed Oct. 3, 1848. Failing health compelled him to relinquish his charge Oct. 10, 1860. The following is a list of his successors: Rev. Philip H. Mowry, D.D., 1862–63; Rev. Willard M. Rice, D.D., 1863–74; Rev. George H. Poole, 1875–77; Rev. George Benagh, 1877–80; Rev. James Robinson, 1881–.

The formation of the Central Presbyterian Church from the Second Church has already been mentioned (see p. 1280, note). The congregation worshiped for some time in the Whitefield Chapel, on Fourth Street, below Arch, the place where the Second Church was organized. In this chapel the first pastor, the Rev. John McDowell, D.D., was installed June 6, 1833. Dr. McDowell was born in Bedminster, Sept. 10, 1780, and graduated from Princeton College Sept. 1801; thoroughly instructed in theology by the Rev. John Woodhull, D.D., of Freehold, N. J.; ordained and installed pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown, N. J., Dec. 26, 1804; and after a singularly successful pastorate of nearly twenty-nine years was released, May, 1833, to take charge of the Central Church. The corner-stone of the church edifice, at the corner of Eighth and Cherry Streets, was laid April 22, 1833, and the building was opened for public worship Feb. 23, 1834. It was built in the most substantial manner, of ample dimensions, with chapel and Sabbath-school rooms adjoining. Among the founders of the congregation were Alexander Henry, Matthew Newkirk, Samuel Richards, Matthew L. Bevan, John V. Cowell, and many others who were well known as among the most prominent and influential citizens of Philadelphia. The church soon became large and efficient.

Among other acts of benevolence during Dr. McDowell's ministry was planting a missionary in Cohocksink, in what was then the northern suburb of the city, and supporting him for a time, which resulted in the organization of the Cohocksink Church, to the building of which the Central Church largely contributed. After a pastorate of twelve years, Dr. McDowell was released, Nov. 20, 1845, but he did not long remain unemployed. Many of the members of his last charge were unwilling to be deprived of his pastoral care and instruction. A new congregation was formed at the Whitefield Chapel, Fourth Street, below Arch, Dec. 14, 1845, where it continued to worship until its church edifice was ready for occupation. The Spring Garden Presbyterian Church was regularly organized with eighty-seven members, Jan. 18, 1846, and Dr. McDowell was installed its pastor Feb. 8, 1846. A lot was purchased on Eleventh Street, above Spring Garden, and the corner-stone of the church edifice was laid June 16, 1846. On May 16, 1847, the church was dedicated. Only the audience-room was then finished. The labor of collecting money for the building of the church fell entirely upon Dr. McDowell, in addition to his pastoral work. The entire sum expended was about twenty-eight thousand five hundred dollars. There was also a funded debt of nine thousand four hundred dollars. The congregation continued to increase and prosper until a heavy calamity, attended with great mercy, befell it. On the 18th of March, 1851, about five o'clock in the morning, after a storm of very wet and heavy snow, which commenced the previous afternoon and continued through

the night, the building fell. The roof came down, crushing the pews; the timbers broke through the floor into the basement below, the side walls fell out each way nearly to the floor, and the whole was a frightful scene of destruction.

The congregation, under the lead of Dr. McDowell, immediately began the work of rebuilding. The building was improved in strength and beauty, and reopened and dedicated Oct. 5, 1851. The restoration cost ten thousand dollars. This expense was met by the collections made for the purpose, and the permanent debt reduced to eight thousand seven hundred dollars. In 1857, Robert S. Clark, one of the ruling elders, offered to give for the extinguishment of the debt four thousand dollars, provided the congregation would pay the remainder. The money was raised, and the church began the year (1858) free from debt. The increasing infirmities of age led Dr. McDowell, soon after, to propose to resign his charge, to which proposition the church refused to listen. In 1859 measures were taken to secure a collegiate pastor, which resulted in the settlement of the Rev. Morris C. Sutphen, who was ordained and installed May 1, 1860. The arrangement was highly satisfactory, and the joint pastorate, which continued until the death of Dr. McDowell, Feb. 13, 1863, was a period of harmony and prosperity. Dr. McDowell, besides the active duties of three important and successful pastorates, extending over a period of fifty-nine years, was intimately connected with many of the important religious movements of his day. He was one of the founders of the Princeton Theological Seminary, in 1812, of which he continued a director until his death. For forty-eight years he was secretary of the board, and a member of the convention which formed the American Bible Society, in 1816. He was also moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1820, a member of the Board of Domestic Missions, and chairman of its executive committee for thirty years,—from its organization until his death,—besides holding other important and honorable positions. He was the author of several works, among which may be mentioned a "System of Theology," in two octavo volumes, a "Bible Class Manual," and a "System of Bible Questions" for the use of Bible-classes and Sabbath-schools, the first published in this country, of which several hundred thousand copies were issued. Few ministers of the Presbyterian Church were more extensively known or more universally honored and respected than Rev. Dr. McDowell. Mr. Sutphen remained pastor of the church until April 6, 1866, when he removed to the city of New York. His successors in the pastoral office have been Rev. David A. Cunningham, D.D., 1866–76; Rev. Joshua L. Russell, 1877–82; Rev. M. M. Mangasarian, 1882. The Columbia Avenue Presbyterian Church, of which the Rev. William H. Hodge is pastor, grew out of a Sabbath-school organized in 1868, under the auspices of the church, and called the McDowell Memorial Sabbath-school of the Spring Garden Presbyterian Church. Under the charge of Mr. Mangasarian the Spring Garden Congregation is now one of the largest in the city.

Dr. McDowell's successors in the Central Church have been Rev. William Henry Green, D.D., Rev. Henry Steele Clark, D.D., Rev. Alfred H. Kellogg, D.D., Rev. John H. Munro, D.D. The encroachments of business and the change of population led to the sale of the church property, at the corner of Eighth and Cherry Streets, and the erection of a new and costly church edifice on Broad Street, above Fairmount Avenue.

What is now known as the West Arch Street Church was an offshoot from the Second Church. A school-room at the corner of Race and Juniper Streets was procured and fitted up for the services of the church and Sabbath-school. It was regularly organized, as the Eleventh Presbyterian Church, Nov. 26, 1828, by Rev. Drs. Ashbel Green, Thomas H. Skinner, and George C. Potts,—a committee appointed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia,—with twenty-two members, all of whom came from the Second Church. The Rev. John L. Grant, the first pastor, was installed Nov. 18, 1829. During his pastorate a church edifice was erected on Vine Street, above Eleventh. He resigned Feb. 11, 1850, and was succeeded by Rev. John Miller, D.D., May 13, 1851. The present edifice, on the corner of Arch and Eighteenth Streets, was dedicated Oct. 15, 1855. It contains eleven hundred sittings, and cost one hundred and three thousand five hundred and seventy dollars. Dr. Miller resigned Dec. 5, 1855, and his successors have been Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D.D., June 26, 1857, resigned March 12, 1866; Rev. A. A. Willetts, D.D., April 29, 1867; and Rev. John Hemphill, D.D., in 1882.

Dr. Ely remained in the pastorate of the Third Church twenty-one years. He resigned in 1835 to aid in the establishment of a college and theological seminary in Missouri. Among the ministers of his denomination Dr. Ely had, when at his prime, few superiors in talent, eloquence, position, influence, and power. He was stated clerk of the General Assembly for eleven years, and moderator of the Assembly in 1828. His activity in all schemes of charity and benevolence was boundless. It is said Jefferson Medical College owes its existence to him, as one of its trustees, for in its pecuniary straits he bought the lot and erected the building where it now stands. There is good reason for believing that his benefactions during his life amounted to nearly fifty thousand dollars. His entire fortune was sunk in the Missouri scheme. He returned to Philadelphia in 1844, and took charge of the First Church of the Northern Liberties. Dr. Ely's successor in the Third Church was the Rev. Thomas Brainerd, D.D. He was installed in March, 1837, and remained in its

charge for nearly thirty years, until his death. He was moderator of the General Assembly (New School) in 1864. During his pastorate he admitted some twelve hundred communicants to the Third Church. He died of apoplexy, at the residence of his daughter, in Scranton, Pa., Aug. 22, 1866. He was succeeded by Rev. Richard H. Allen, D.D., who remained in charge until Oct. 4, 1880, when he resigned, on his election to the office of secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen. He was succeeded by Rev. Hughs O. Gibbons, Oct. 4, 1881.

In 1832 the trustees of the First Church of the Northern Liberties purchased a lot of ground on the south side of Buttonwood between Fifth and Sixth Streets, ninety-two feet four inches front with a depth of one hundred and fifty feet, and proceeded to erect a new house of worship. The audience-room was opened May 12, 1833. The service of dedication was performed by Rev. Mr. Patterson. Mr. Patterson continued his ministry until his death, Nov. 17, 1837, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the twenty-ninth of his ministry, and the twenty-fourth of his pastorate in this congregation.

The vacant pastorate was filled by the installation of the Rev. Daniel Lynn Carroll, D.D., Nov. 1, 1838. During his pastorate of five years and four months, the congregation was relieved from serious pecuniary embarrassment, and two hundred and fifty-nine new communicants were added to the church. Feeble health compelled him to resign Feb. 9, 1844. He was succeeded by the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, D.D., on Oct. 7, 1845, and who labored with great industry and fidelity until Aug. 23, 1851, when his ministry was brought to an abrupt end by paralysis. He lived nearly ten years longer, but never regained the power of intelligible speech. On April 15, 1852, he was released from the responsibilities of the office, and died June 16, 1861. The whole number of additions to the church during his ministry was two hundred and thirty-two. He was succeeded by Rev. Thomas James Shepherd, D.D., Oct. 3, 1852. In 1866, extensive alterations and improvements were made in the church building at a cost of $15,485.08. Dr. Shepherd continued in the discharge of the active duties of the pastorate for twenty-nine years. The following is an exhibit of some of the work performed by him: Funerals attended, 592; members received, 742; baptisms administered, 508; marriages solemnized, 322; prayer and inquiry meetings held, 3582; sermons, lectures, and addresses, 5139; visits made, 12,481; collections reported to Presbytery, $163,912.

Owing to failing health he was compelled to resign his charge July 3, 1881, but the congregation in recognition of his long and faithful pastorate honored him with the *Pastor Emeritus*.

Rev. Dr. Skinner was released from the Fifth Church, Dec. 13, 1832, to take the chair of Sacred Rhetoric in the theological seminary at Andover, Mass. His successors were Rev. George Duffield, D.D., 1835–36; Rev. Thomas T. Waterman, 1837–43; Rev. M. L. R. P. Thompson, 1844–48. The church, under the pressure of pecuniary embarrassment, was disbanded. The property was then purchased at sheriff's sale by a new congregation, and the Arch Street Church was organized on Feb. 6, 1850, by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, with twenty members, most of them from the Central Church. Rev. Charles Wadsworth, D.D., the first pastor, was installed March 20, 1850.

Dr. Wadsworth resigned April 3, 1862, to take charge of Calvary Presbyterian Church in San Francisco, Cal. He died in Philadelphia, April 1, 1882.

Dr. Wadsworth's successors were Rev. Nathaniel W. Conkling, D.D., 1863–68; Rev. John L. Withrow, D.D., 1868–73; Rev. Walter Q. Scott, D.D., 1874–78; Rev. John Scott Sands, D.D., 1880.

The following is a list of Presbyterian Church organizations in the city, with their date of formation as far as ascertained:

The Trustees of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. George Junkin, president; Rev. William E. Schenck, D.D., vice-president; E. G. Woodward, treasurer.

Presbyterian Board of Publication. President, Rev. William P. Breed, D.D.; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Joseph Allison, LL.D., Rev. T. J. Shepherd, Rev. J. Addison Henry, D.D.; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. William E. Schenck, D.D.; Editorial Secretary, Rev. John W. Dulles, D.D.; Secretary of Sunday-school Work, Rev. James A. Worden, D.D.; Business Superintendent, John A. Black; Recording Clerk, Rev. W. M. Rice, D.D.; Treasurer, S. D. Powel.

Presbyterian Historical Society, 1229 Race Street. Rev. John Hall, D.D., New York, president; Rev. J. B. Dales, D.D., recording secretary; Rev. Douglass K. Turner, corresponding secretary and librarian; Rev. Mr. Ludwig, treasurer.

Presbyterian Board of Relief for Disabled Ministers and the Widows and Orphans of Deceased Ministers. Rev. V. D. Reed, D.D., president; A. C. Barclay, vice-president; Rev. George Hale, D.D., secretary; Rev. Charles Brown, treasurer.

Board of Education. Rev. F. J. Dripps, D.D., president; Rev. Robert M. Patterson, D.D., vice-president; Rev. Daniel W. Poor, D.D., corresponding secretary; E. G. Woodward, treasurer.

Chaplin Public Institutions. Rev. Alexander Heberton.

Trustees Presbyterian House. President, Samuel C. Perkins; Secretary, Rev. Thomas J. Shepherd, D.D.; Treasurer, Charles M. Lukens.

Churches.—Alexander, corner Nineteenth and Green Streets. Rev. John W. Bain.

Ann Carmichael (Memorial), Fifth Street and Erie Avenue.

Arch Street, Arch Street, above Tenth. Rev. John S. Sands. 1815.

Atonement, Wharton Street, above Broad. Rev. Edward E. Bruen. 1838.

Berean, South College Avenue, above Ridge Avenue. Rev. Matt. Anderson.

Bethany, Twenty-second and Bainbridge Streets. Rev. Arthur D. Pierson, D.D. 1860.

Betheada, southeast corner Frankford road and Vienna Street. Rev. W. T. Eva, D.D.

Bethlehem, northeast corner Broad and Diamond Streets. Rev. B. L. Agnew, pastor elect.

Calvary, Locust Street, near Fifteenth. Rev. Charles A. Dickey, D.D. 1853.

Carmel (German), New Street, below Fourth. Rev. H. J. Weber.

Central, Broad Street, above Fairmount Avenue. Rev. John H. Munro. 1833.

Central (colored), Lombard Street, below Ninth. Rev. John B. Reeve, D.D. 1844.

Chambers, corner Broad and Sansom Streets. 1825.

Chandler Memorial, Kensington. Rev. James H. Marr.

Clinton Street Immanuel, corner Tenth and Clinton Streets. Rev. J. F. Dripps. 1844.
Cohocksink, Franklin Street and Columbia Avenue. Rev. William Greenough. 184?.
Columbia Avenue and Fairmount, corner Twenty-first Street and Columbia Avenue. Rev. William H. Hodge.
Corinthian Avenue (German), Corinthian Avenue, below Poplar Street. Rev. J. Richelsen.
Eastburn Mariners, Front Street, above Pine. 1830.
Falls of Schuylkill, Ridge Avenue, below School Lane. Rev. Joseph Beggs, D.D.
Fifteenth, Lombard and Fifteenth Streets. Rev. M. L. Ross. 1850.
First (Washington Square), corner Seventh and Locust Streets. 1698.
First Bridesburg. Rev. A. A. Dinsmore.
First Chestnut Hill, corner Rex and Main Streets. Rev. R. Owen, D.D.
First African, southeast corner Sixteenth and Lombard Streets. Rev. A. S. Mays. 1810.
First Germantown, Chelton Avenue, near Germantown Avenue. Rev. W. J. Chichester.
First Holmesburg, Holmesburg Avenue, below Decatur Street. Rev. John Peacock.
First Kensington, Girard Avenue, above Hanover Street. Rev. J. Hervey Beale. 1814.
First Manayunk, corner Centre and Chestnut Streets. Rev. Charles E. Burns.
First Northern Liberties, Buttonwood Street, below Sixth. 1814.
First Southwark, German Street, below Third. Rev. W. S. Thompson. 1818.
Fourth, Twelfth and Lombard Streets. Rev. James Robinson. 1799.
Fox Chase, in public hall. Rev. S. T. Milliken.
Frankford, corner Church Street and Frankford Avenue. Rev. Thomas Murphy, M.D. 1807.
Gaston, Eleventh Street and Lehigh Avenue. Rev. W. C. Rommel.
Grace, Twenty-second and Federal Streets. Rev. A. Culver. 1878.
Green Hill, Girard Avenue, above Sixteenth Street. Rev. George F. Wiswell, D.D.
Greenwich, Greenwich Street, below Moyamensing Avenue. Rev. William Hutton. 1867.
Hebron Memorial, Twenty-fifth and Thompson Streets. Rev. Robert Graham.
Hermon, corner Frankford Avenue and Harrison Street. Rev. John H. Boggs.
Hollond (Memorial), Federal Street, below Broad. Rev. W. M. Paden. 1882.
Hope Chapel, Thirty-third and Wharton Streets, under care of Calvary Presbyterian Church. Rev. J. Gray Bolton.
Howard Chapel, Bainbridge Street, below Fourth.
Kenderton, Sixteenth and Tioga Streets. Rev. J. McElmoyle.
Kensington, Frankford Avenue, above Girard Avenue. Rev. Robert Hunter.
Leverington. Rev. J. W. Kirk, Roxborough.
Macalester (Memorial). Torresdale.
Mantua, Preston and Aspen Streets. Rev. S. A. Harlow.
Market Square, Germantown. Rev. J. E. Wright.
Memorial, Montgomery Avenue below Eighteenth Street. Rev. Samuel A. Mutchmore, D.D.
Mount Airy. Rev. W. P. White, Germantown. 1882.
Ninth, Sixteenth and Sansom Streets. Rev. William Blackwood, D.D., LL.D. 1825.
North, Sixth Street, above Green. Rev. A. C. Clark.
North Broad Street, Broad and Green Streets. Rev. Robert D. Harper, D.D.
Northminster, Thirty-fifth and Baring Streets. Rev. Robert H. Fulton.
North Tenth Street, Tenth Street, below Girard Avenue. Rev. Henry D. Northrop.
Olivet, Twenty-second and Mount Vernon Streets. Rev. L. Y. Graham.
Oxford, Broad and Oxford Streets. Vacant.
Penn Mission, Twenty-seventh and Hagert Streets. Rev. George Van Deurs.
Point Breeze Mission. Rev. E. B. Newberry.
Princeton, corner Saunders Streets and Powelton Avenue. Rev. J. Addison Henry, D.D.
Pulaskiville Chapel, Coulter Street, near Pulaski. Under care of First Presbyterian Church, Germantown.
Richmond, Richmond Street, above William. Rev. G. H. S. Campbell.
Roxborough, Ridge Avenue, ninth milestone. Rev. W. E. Westervelt.
Scots, Spruce Street, above Third. 1825.
Second, Twenty-first and Walnut Streets. Rev. John S. Macintosh, D.D. 1742.
Second Germantown, Tulpehocken and Green Streets. Rev. J. W. Teal.
Sixty-third Street, near Vine. Rev. Clement C. Dickey.
Somerville Chapel, Stenton Avenue, near Church Lane. Under care of First Presbyterian Church, Germantown.
South, Third Street, below Federal. Rev. W. L. Ledwith. 1838.
South Broad Street, Castle Avenue, below Broad Street. Rev. J. C. Thompson. 1883.
Southwestern, northeast corner Twentieth and Fitzwater Streets. 1853.
Spring Garden, Eleventh Street, below Green. Rev. M. M. Mangasarian. 1846.
Susquehanna Avenue, Susquehanna Avenue and Marshall Street. Rev. R. T. Jones.
Tabernacle, Broad Street, above Chestnut. Rev. Henry C. McCook. Afternoon services at chapel of University of Pennsylvania. 1814.
Tabor, Eighteenth and Christian Streets. Rev. Willis B. Skillman. Rev. Robert Adair, pastor emeritus. 1863.
Temple, northeast corner Franklin and Thompson Streets. Rev. William D. Roberts.
Tenth, corner Twelfth and Walnut Streets. Rev. William Brenton Greene, Jr. 1829.
Third (Old Pine Street), corner Fourth and Pine Streets. Rev. Hughes O. Gibbons. 1768.
Trinity, Frankford road and Cambria Street. Rev. James D. Shanks.
Union, Thirteenth Street, below Spruce. Rev. John B. McCorkell. 1840.
Wakefield, Germantown Avenue and Negley's Hill. Rev. N. S. McFetridge, D.D.
Walnut Street, Walnut Street, west of Thirty-ninth. Rev. Stephen W. Dana, D.D. 1840.
West Arch Street, corner Arch and Eighteenth Streets. Rev. John Hemphill, D.D. 1828.
Westminster, Broad and Fitzwater Streets. Rev. William N. Richie. 1853.
West Park, Lancaster Avenue, below Fifty-second Street. Rev. J. Henry Sharpe.
West Spruce Street, corner Seventeenth and Spruce Streets. Rev. W. P. Breed, D.D. 1856.
Wharton Street, corner Ninth and Wharton Streets. Rev. A. W. Williams. 1863.
Woodland, southeast corner Forty-second and Pine Streets. Vacant. 1866.
York Street, York Street, west of Coral. Rev. A. G. McAuley, D.D.
Zion (German), Twenty-eighth Street and Girard Avenue. Rev. J. W. Loch.
Independent Presbyterian.—Northwestern, corner Nineteenth and Master Streets. Rev. Waldo Messaros.
Reformed Presbyterian (*Original Covenanters*).—Friendship Hall, corner Twelfth and Filbert Streets. Rev. David Steele, Sr.
Reformed Presbyterian (*General Synod*).—First, Broad Street, below Spruce. Rev. T. W. J. Wylie, D.D.
First, Nineteenth Street, above Federal. Rev. J. C. Chapman.
Second, Twenty-second Street, above Vine. Rev. William Sterrett, D.D.
Second, corner Twentieth and Vine Streets. Rev. James Y. Boice.
Third, Oxford and Hancock Streets. Rev. Matthew Gailey.
Fourth, Eighteenth and Filbert Streets. Rev. David Steele, D.D.
Fifth, Front Street, above York. Rev. W. H. Gailey.
Reformed Presbyterian (*Synod*).—First, Seventeenth and Bainbridge Streets. Rev. T. P. Stevenson.
Second, Seventeenth Street, below Race.
Third, Deal Street, east of Frankford Avenue. Rev. R. C. Montgomery.
United Presbyterian.—First, southwest corner Broad and Lombard Streets. Rev. Francis Church.
Second, Race Street, below Sixteenth. Rev. J. B. Dales, D.D.
Third, Front Street, above Jefferson. Rev. S. G. Fitzgerald.
Fourth, northeast corner Nineteenth and Fitzwater Streets.
Fifth, Twentieth and Buttonwood Streets. Rev. Isaac T. Wright.
Seventh, corner Orthodox and Leiper Streets. Rev. D. W. Lusk.
Eighth, northeast corner Fifteenth and Christian Streets. Rev. W. W. Barr, D.D.
Tenth, Thirty-eighth and Hamilton Streets. Rev. John Teas.
Twelfth Mission, Somerset and Garnet Streets. Rev. James Price.
Kensington Avenue Mission, Hart Lane and Kensington Avenue. Rev. James Price.
Ninth, Susquehanna Avenue and Hancock Street. Rev. James Crowe, D.D.
North, Master Street, above Fifteenth. Rev. J. Q. A. McDowell.

THE BAPTISTS.

The Baptist denomination forms one of the most numerous and prosperous bodies of believers in the United States. The persecutions that they often suffered in colonial times knit them closely together, and doubly intensified their zeal. The rapidity of their growth during the past fifty years has been the surprise of all unprejudiced observers. Dr. Cathcart, in his "Baptist Encyclopædia" (Philadelphia, 1883), states that there were then 24,794 churches, 15,401 ministers, 2,200,000 members, and probably 5,000,000 adherents of the Baptist denomination in the United States. "This," Dr. Cathcart proceeds, "does not include denominations that hold believers' immersion, but are not regular Baptists, such as Old School Baptists, Winebrennarians, or Church of God, Seventh-Day Baptists, Six-Principle Baptists, Tunkers, Disciples, Adventists, and Free-Will Baptists. These communities have 6951 churches and 615,541 members." They have organized, on the most extensive scale, various Bible, missionary, and publication societies, and have been among the foremost to occupy the frontiers. Dr. Baird, in his scholarly and impartial work on "Religions in America," concludes his chapter on the Baptists by describing their ministry as comprehending a body of men who, in point of talent, learning, and eloquence, as well as devoted piety, have no superiors in the country." This was written in 1844, and since then the educational facilities offered to Baptists have been very greatly improved.

Baptism by immersion, the distinctive rite of the Baptist Churches, has had its believers in every age of the Christian world. The Paulicians of Armenia, whose missionaries wandered from house to house, over Southeastern and Central Europe, and from whose teachings the Albigenses sprung, were Baptists, as also were the no less heroic Henricians and Petrobusians. The Anabaptists of the sixteenth century brought disrepute on the cause by their excesses; but Anabaptists were not always such desperate fanatics as Münzer, Storck, and Melchior Hoffman. Zwingli and the leaders of the Swiss Baptists showed in their "Confession" of 1527 the wisest and most statesmanlike views. Besides these there were mystical and speculative Anabaptists, such as Schwenkfeldt, Sebastian, Denk, Haetzer, men of widely-differing views, from the extreme mysticism of the last named to the materialism and rationalism of Socinus and Michael Servetus, the martyr to ultra-Calvinism. Baptists of every shade and degree of orthodoxy have contributed a glorious list to the martyrology of the church militant since the days when armies were sent against the Thracian and Bosnian Christians, and other armies hunted defenseless Albigenses through Swiss defiles and valleys of France. The denomination numbers many adherents in Europe in modern times. In England, founded in the days of Luther's Reformation, and growing in spite of persecution, it now has two great divisions,—the "general" and the "particular,"—the latter being most numerous. They have 2620 churches, and a membership of 269,836.

Orthodox Baptists are Calvinistic in theology. The Philadelphia Association, the oldest in America, organized in 1707, based its famous "Confession of Faith" upon that of the London Association of 1689, and both agree, in the main, with the Westminster on doctrinal points, representing one of the strictest forms of Calvinism, approaching the views of Dr. Gill, and now maintained by the primitive Old-School or strict Baptists. The Philadelphia Confession of Faith, which was adopted by the Baptist Association of this city on September 25, 1742, was printed by Benjamin Franklin in 1743. A fac-simile of the title-page appears above. About forty-five years ago the New Hampshire Baptist Convention

A
CONFESSION
OF
FAITH,
Put forth by the
Elders and *Brethren*
Of many
CONGREGATIONS
OF
CHRISTIANS
(Baptized upon Profeſſion of their Faith)
In *London* and the *Country*.

Adopted by the Baptiſt ASSOCIATION
met at Philadelphia, Sept. 25. 1742.

The SIXTH EDITION.

To which are added,
Two Articles *viz.* Of Impoſition of Hands,
and Singing of Pſalms in Publick Worſhip.
ALSO
A Short Treatiſe of Church Diſcipline.

With the Heart Man believeth unto Righteouſneſs, and with the Mouth Confeſſion is made unto Salvation, Rom. 10. 10.
Search the Scriptures, John 5. 39.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by B. FRANKLIN.
M,DCC,XLIII.

adopted a "Declaration" that since has been generally approved of by the churches, being a more moderate form of Calvinism, much like the doctrine preached by Dr. Andrew Fuller. Baptists usually hold to the doctrine of close communion as regards the sacramental feast. They do not believe in the baptism of infants, but lay stress upon the importance of believers' baptism. They believe that the command to baptize is a command to immerse, and nothing less. In their church government they are independents, each separate church having the right to elect and license ministers, and to choose elders. They have district and general Associations and State Conventions, but these ecclesiastical assemblies never interfere with the affairs of individual churches.

Pennsylvania occupies so important a place in the Baptist record that it might well be called the keystone State of their polity. Here the Baptists throve unmolested, and amply did they repay the debt when the dark days of the Revolution came, by the unflinching support they gave to the patriot cause. Roger Williams' church, at Providence, organized in 1639, was the first Baptist Church in America. Massachusetts had one in 1663, New York one about 1669, Maine one in 1682, and South Carolina one in 1683, but the first one that Pennsylvania possessed was organized about 1684, by Rev. Thomas Dungan, of Rhode Island, at Cold Spring, near Bristol, in Bucks County. This church did not prove permanent; but about three years later the second and permanent church was established at Pennepek, or Lower Dublin, in Philadelphia County. Rev. Mr. Henson, in his historical sermon to the Philadelphia Association of 1876, says that in 1682 there was in all Pennsylvania only one Baptist, and that one was "a little girl just come from Wales, and her name was Mary Davies." She was "the standard-bearer of the host," for now there are twenty-three Associations, five hundred and sixty-eight churches, and sixty-four thousand five hundred and two members within the State.

After his death, and perhaps for a short time before, William Kinnersley, father of the noted Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, acted as pastor. In 1725, Rev. Jenkin Jones became minister, and so continued for twenty-one years.[1] The church-building at Pennepek, erected in 1707, on an acre lot, gift of Rev. Samuel Jones, was twenty-five feet square. Some years later three acres more were added to the tract. In 1746, Mr. Jones was called to the Philadelphia charge, and Rev. Peter Peterson Van Horn, born in Bucks County, and bred a Lutheran, became the Pennepek pastor, remaining fifteen years there. Part of the time George Eaton, an exhorter, was assistant.

In April, 1824, the representatives of the Baptist denomination met in the Sansom Street Church, and organized a Foreign Mission Society. The Association had sent money to Burmah and India many years before, and had sent evangelists toward the South and West. In 1827 the Baptist Missionary Association of Pennsylvania was organized, and its annual income is now over fifteen thousand dollars. In 1826 the Baptist Tract Society of Washington was moved to Philadelphia, and in 1845 became the American Baptist Publication Society. The work of this society has grown to be something enormous. Their total number of publications in 1881 was 1326. The printed material issued between 1824 and 1881, is 5,311,320,610, 18mo size. The total receipts were $373.80 in 1824, but in 1880 were $349,564.46. In 1876 the society occupied its marble building at 1420 Chestnut Street, erected at a cost of $258,000. The missionary work and colportage agencies have grown wonderfully. Since 1840 nearly fifteen hundred such laborers have been used, and they are now to be found in all the States and Territories. The Sunday-school work began in 1867, and twenty-one such missionaries were in the field in 1881. They have already organized over four thousand Sabbath-schools, and distributed a vast quantity of Bibles, tracts, books, and periodicals.

"The Baptist Year Book" for 1883 gives to this denomination in this country 26,931 churches, 17,090 ministers, and 2,894,742 members. This membership indicates a Baptist population, old and young, of probably eight millions. The Regular Baptists of the United States had in 1883 forty-one colleges and theological seminaries, and over a hundred first-class academies. They had also seventy-five religious periodicals, whose influence is immense.

The Rev. Joseph Hughes, a Baptist, was instrumental in founding the first Bible Society that ever existed,—the British and Foreign; through the Rev. Dr. William Carey, a Baptist, the first great Protestant society for missions among the heathen was established, and he became its pioneer. Baptists have been among the foremost to occupy the extended frontiers of our own country.

In common with the Greek Church in Russia, Greece, and elsewhere, at the present time, and all the churches of the East, and in common with all the churches of the West, for centuries after they were instituted, Baptists practice immersion. They retain this form solely because it was required and observed, as they believe, by Christ and his Apostles. They deny that salvation reaches the soul by any ceremony however sacred.

They hold that faith alone saves men, and that all candidates for baptism should be true believers, and not unconscious babes or unconverted adults. After

[1] Samuel Jones was born July 9, 1657, in Radnor County, Wales, and came to America in 1686. Rev. Abel Morgan was born in 1637, at Alltgoch, County Cardigan, Wales, and began preaching at the age of nineteen. He compiled a folio concordance in Welsh, and translated the "Century Confession" into that language. He took a prominent part in the meetings of the Philadelphia Association, and was one of the earliest advocates for more thorough ministerial education. He was buried in Philadelphia. Rev. Jenkin Jones was born in 1686, in Llandydoch, Wales, reached America in 1710, and preached at the Welsh Tract, Del., in 1724.

the ages of comparative purity in the Christian churches had passed away, communities sprang up in various quarters which held the leading doctrines, doubtless with some errors, of the Baptists. Many noble men during the progress of the Reformation adopted the sentiments of Baptists, about faith as a prerequisite to baptism and church membership, the exclusion of unworthy members from the church, and the sinfulness of supporting ministers of any denomination by public taxation. The fanatics of Münster, with no more relationship to the true Baptists of that day than the Mormons sustain to American Baptists, inflicted infamy upon hosts of men all over Europe, who held, with some defects, the great doctrines of the Baptist Churches of this land.

Baptists have contributed a glorious host of martyrs to the church militant from the death of Stephen, the first martyr. In the times of the "ten great persecutions," in succeeding centuries, partially stained with saintly blood, in the days when hordes equipped for slaughter hunted the Thracian and Bosnian Christians, and other armies pursued defenseless Albigenses, until the flames or the sword gave them a heavenly throne, men holding our chief doctrines were terrible sufferers.

The English Baptists are divided into two bodies, known as General and Particular Baptists. The names were originally intended to describe the views of the atonement held by these communities. The Particular Baptists are much more numerous than the General. In 1881 the English Baptists had two thousand six hundred and twenty churches, with a membership of two hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and thirty-six.

Regular Baptists are Calvinists. The Philadelphia Baptist Association, organized in 1707, the oldest in America, adopted as its "Confession of Faith," in 1742, the London Confession of 1689, with two additional articles. This creed agrees in all purely doctrinal articles with the Westminster Confession of Faith, the venerable confession of all British Presbyterians and of all American Presbyterians of British origin. The Philadelphia Confession was commonly adopted by the early Baptist Churches in America, and it is still recognized by many of their successors. As printed in full the Philadelphia Confession occupies eleven pages, and the New Hampshire Confession one page and a quarter. The latter creed was adopted about forty-five years since by the New Hampshire Baptist Convention, and because of its brevity and its accessibility, it is now commonly accepted by churches just formed. In it, Dr. J. Newton Brown, its author, gives up no doctrine in the older confession, but he presents Calvinism in mild terms. In doctrines Baptists stand upon the platform of the Apostle Paul with their Presbyterian brethren, a platform upon which the XVII. Article of the Thirty-nine Articles places the Church of England.

All denominations observing the holy communion, except a small body of English Baptists, require baptism before participation in the sacred Supper. The Episcopalians and older communities make confirmation and baptism prerequisites to the Lord's table. Baptists hold the common doctrine of Christendom about baptism preceding the Eucharist, and as they believe that immersion alone is Scripture baptism, they only invite immersed believers to the precious emblems of the Saviour's body and blood. They love their own unbaptized converts tenderly, because they regard them as already saved by faith, but they never bring them to the communion. They love all the children of God from Fénelon, the Catholic, to Penn, the Quaker; but while cultivating a glowing charity for believers of all names, they cherish a conscience void of offense before God by holding tenaciously the teachings of his blessed Book.

In their church government they are Congregationalists. Each church is independent of every other. It receives and excludes members. It grants a license to preach to one of them, and when his ordination is mutually desired, it calls a council composed of the pastor and one or two laymen from each of several neighboring churches, who unite with a committee representing the church, and ordain, if they are satisfied, the candidate for the ministry called to the sacred office by the church.

They have District and General Associations and State Conventions, but these assemblies can only recommend measures to the churches. They can exercise neither the functions of a court nor of a legislature.

Baptists have ever gloried in proclaiming absolute religious liberty. They have always held that no man should be persecuted, even in the mildest form, for his religious opinions, and that his property should never be taken by due process of law for the support of any State church; that no civil disability should punish any citizen for the unhappy defectiveness or the unwise expansiveness of his creed, even for his absolute disbelief of everything sacred. With them Jehovah alone is the Lord of conscience. Leonard Busbee, of London, preceded and followed by many kindred spirits, published a tract in 1614 on liberty of conscience, in which he says, "And the king and Parliament may please to permit [liberty to] all sorts of Christians; yea to Jews, Turks, and Pagans, so long as they are peaceable and no malefactors." Rhode Island government was the first on earth, under the promptings of its Baptist founders, to establish absolute liberty of conscience. This doctrine has marked the Baptists throughout their entire history.

Pennsylvania furnished a peaceful home for Baptists from its first settlement as a Quaker colony. In it they flourished largely, considering the Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Quaker principles of nine-tenths of all its European settlers. The First Church of Providence, founded in 1639, is commonly supposed to have been the first Baptist Church in this

country. Massachusetts had one in 1663, Maine one in 1682, and South Carolina one in 1683.

The Pennepek (or Lower Dublin) Baptist Church is the sacred spot from which an influence radiated, and pioneer ministers went forth throughout New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Its present edifice, the third built upon the same piece of ground, stands in the Twenty-third Ward of Philadelphia, near the softly-flowing and tree-bordered Pennepek [or Pennypack] Creek. The story of its organization is a remarkable one. Elias Keach, son of the celebrated Benjamin Keach, of London, a Baptist minister and author, arrived in Philadelphia in 1686. He was "a very wild young spark," plucky, talented, audacious, and well posted on Biblical quotations and theological phrases. For the purpose of obtaining amusement he dressed in black, wore a band, and pretended to be a minister. As clergymen of all denominations were scarce, he soon had an invitation to preach "in the house of a Baptist at Lower Dublin." A large congregation assembled, and he began to preach, and, says Rev. Morgan Edwards, "he performed well enough until he had advanced pretty far into the sermon; then, stopping short, he looked like a man astonished. The audience concluded that he had been seized with a sudden disorder, but, on asking what the matter was, received from him a confession of the imposture, with tears in his eyes and much trembling. Great was his distress, though it ended happily, for from this time he dated his conversion. He heard there was a Baptist minister at Cold Spring, in Bucks County, between Bristol and Trenton. To him did he repair to seek counsel and comfort, and by him was he baptized." In January, 1688, he formed a church of twelve persons at Pennepek, and became their minister. These twelve were Elias Keach, John Eaton, George Eaton and his wife, Jane, Sarah Eaton, Samuel Jones, John Baker, Samuel Vaus, Joseph Ashton and Jane, his wife, William Fisher, and John Watts. The last four were baptized in the Pennepek. Samuel Vaus was chosen deacon, and Mr. Keach began to establish "missions," or preaching stations.

He preached and baptized at the Falls (Trenton), Cold Spring, Cohansey, near Bridgeton, N. J., Salem, Penn's Neck, Middleton, Burlington, and Philadelphia. "They were all one church, and Pennepek the point of union," says Morgan Edwards, and he explains that as many of the communicants as possible met there, but for the sake of distant members there were quarterly administrations of the Lord's Supper at Burlington, Cohansey, Chester, and Philadelphia. Cohansey, Middletown, and Piscataway, N. J., became separate churches within three years. Baptist emigrants from abroad and from other colonies increased the strength of these and other churches. In 1692, Rev. Elias Keach[1] returned to London, and there organized a church, baptizing one hundred and thirty persons in nine months. Rev. John Watts, who became his successor at Pennepek, had been baptized there by Elias Keach, Nov. 21, 1687, and called to the ministry the following year. He continued in the Pennepek pastorate until his death (from smallpox), Aug. 27, 1702. His wife was Sarah Eaton, also one of the original twelve members, and they had six children.

Religious controversies began in 1697 at the Pennepek Church. When William Davis, who had left the Friends at the same time with the noted George Keith, joined the Baptist communion, and soon commenced to air his own doctrinal views, finally publishing, in 1700, a book entitled "Jesus, the Crucified Man, the Eternal Son of God," the blending of the divine and the human natures, the God-Man, in short, without being properly God or man was the theme. Davis was expelled for heresy in 1698, and joined the Seventh-Day Baptists. Rev. John Watts wrote a reply to his book, "Davis Disabled," and it was, in 1705, ordered printed, though for some reason this was never done. This controversy may have helped to decide Rev. Elias Keach's departure.

The congregation in the city of Philadelphia was small at first, and so arranged harmoniously with the few Presbyterians, about April, 1695, to use the same building together. Rev. John Watts agreed to preach every other Sabbath, and Presbyterian ministers could usually be procured for the alternate Sabbaths, and so, for three years, the two congregations managed, doubtless often hearing each other's sermons. John Holme, author of "A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania," was the first Baptist in Philadelphia of whom we have record, having arrived in 1686. He became a judge of the Provincial Court in 1691, and a few years later removed to Salem, N. J. In 1696, John Farmer and wife arrived from London, and the next year Joseph Todd and Rebecca Woosencroft, of Limmington, Hampshire, William Elton and wife, Mary Shepherd, and William Silverstone, making, with those before named, nine church-members, completed the little group who met on the second Sunday in December, 1698, in the store-house on the lot of the Barbadoes Company, northwest corner of Chestnut and Second Streets, to organize a Baptist Church. They were few and weak, and for forty-eight years the feeble church was supplied by Rev. Elias Keach, Rev. John Watts, Rev. Thomas Killingworth, then at Cohansey, and others, there being no settled pastor. But when they first organized, in 1698, trouble arose with the Presbyterians, who had just secured Rev. Jedediah Andrews as pastor, and showed some desire to occupy the store-house entirely by themselves. The following letter was then sent:

[1] Elias Keach was born in London in 1667; married a daughter of Chief Justice Nicholas Moore, of Pennsylvania; died, in 1701, aged thirty-four years. He often preached to a congregation of fifteen hundred persons and the church he founded in Pennepek was long the nucleus of the Baptists in several colonies.

"To our dear and well-beloved friends and brethren, Mr. Jedediah Andrews, John Green, Joshua Story, and Samuel Richardson, and the rest of the Presbyterian judgment belonging to the meeting in Philadelphia: The Church of Christ, baptized on confession of faith, over which Rev. John Watts is pastor, send salutation of grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Dearly beloved: Having seriously, and in the fear of God, considered our duties of love to and bearing with one another, and receiving the weak in faith, and knowing that love, peace, and unity tend much to the honor of Christ and Christianity, and to the conviction and conversion of sinners, and the comfort and establishment of believers, and being desirous of your company heavenward as far as may be, and as much as we can to heal the breach betwixt us, occasioned by our difference in judgment (none being yet perfect in knowledge), we have thought it necessary to make you this proposition following for peace (as being the necessary term upon which we may safely, comfortably, and peaceably hold Christian communion together in the things wherein we agree in the public worship of God and common duties of religion, as in prayer, preaching, praising God, reading and hearing the Word), viz.: we do freely confess and premise for ourselves that we can and do own and allow of your approved ministers, who are fitly qualified and sound in the faith, and of holy lives, to pray and preach in our assemblies. If you can also freely confess and promise for yourselves that you can and will own and allow of our approved ministers, who are fitly qualified and sound in the faith, and of holy lives, to preach in your assemblies; that so each side may own, embrace, and accept of each other as fellow-brethren and ministers of Christ, and hold and maintain Christian communion and fellowship. Unto which proposition for peace (that further disputes and vain janglings may be prevented) we shall desire, if you please, your plain and direct answer, that it may be left for us at Widow Elton's house, in Philadelphia. Subscribed in behalf of the rest of the congregation the 30th of 8th month [October], 1698.

"JOHN WATTS, "THOMAS BIBB,
"SAMUEL JONES, "THOMES POTTS."
"GEORGE EATON,

The Presbyterians sent, on November 3d, a reply signed by Rev. Andrews, John Green, Samuel Richardson, David Giffing, Herbert Corry, John Vanlear, and Daniel Green, requesting a conference, which was afterward appointed for Saturday, November 19th, at the common meeting-house in the store on the Barbadoes lot. Messrs. Watts, Jones, and Morgan went there at the proper time, but found none of the Presbyterians, and none came, though sent for. Late in the afternoon, before leaving the house, the three Baptists wrote a letter, saying that they were disappointed, and added, "Considering what the desires of divers people are, and how they stand affected, and that we are not likely to receive answer to our reasonable proposition, necessity constrains us to meet apart from you until such time as we receive an answer, and we are assured that you can own us so as we can do you, though we still remain the same as before, and stand by what we have written."

The next day they met at Anthony Morris' brew-house, under the bank and near the dock. Rev. Morgan Edwards writes,—

"This was what the Presbyterians wanted in reality, as more plainly appeared soon after, particularly in a letter directed to one Thomas Revell, of Burlington, and signed 'Jedediah Andrews,' wherein are these words: 'Though we have got the Anabaptists out of the house, yet our continuance there is uncertain, and therefore must think of building, notwithstanding our poverty.'"

This little congregation met contentedly in the brew-house for several years, and while there penned a lengthy reply to a letter from Rev. Thomas Clayton, the minister of the Church of England, asking them to return to the Episcopalian fold. It runs as follows:

"*Sir*,—Whereas we received a letter invitatory from you to return to your Church of England (dated Sept. 26, 1698), wherein you desire us to send you in humility and without prejudice the objections why we may not be united in one community, and withal that you doubt not but by the blessing and assistance of God you will be able to show them to be stumbling blocks made by our wills and not by our reason; and some of us, in behalf of the rest, having, on the reception thereof, given you a visit and had discourse with you concerning some of the ceremonies of your church (about which you gave no satisfaction), we knew not that you expected any other answer from us; but in your late letter to John Watts you signify that you have received no answer to your former letter. We, therefore, taking this into consideration, do signify in answer to your foresaid invitation and proposal that to rend from a rightly constituted church of Christ is that which our souls abhor, and that love, peace, and unity with all Christians, and concord and agreement in the true faith and worship of God are that which we greatly desire, and we should be glad if yourself or others would inform us whenever we err from the truth and ways of Christ. Nor are we averse to a reconciliation with the Church of England, provided it can be proved by the Holy Scriptures that her constitution, orders, officers, worship, and service are of divine appointment, and not of human invention. And since you, yourself, are the person that has given us the invitation, and hath promised to show us that our objections are stumbling blocks made by our wills and not by our reason; and we, understanding that our Lord Jesus Christ is the only Head, King, Lord, and lawgiver of his Church, whom all are bound to hear and obey under the severe penalty of an utter extermination from among the people of God; and that his laws and will are only to be found in and known by sacred Scriptures, which are the only supreme, sufficient, and standing rule of all faith and worship; and not understanding the constitution of your church (with all the orders, officers, worship, and service at this day in use and maintained therein) to be agreeable to and warranted thereby, hath been the cause of our separation from her, and is the objection we have to make, or the stumbling block which lies in our way to such a union and communion as you desire. We therefore hope and expect, according to your promise, that you will endeavor its removal by showing us from Holy Scripture these two things, as absolutely necessary in order thereunto:

"I. That the formation of your church, with all the orders, officers, rites, and ceremonies now in use and practice therein are of divine institution

"Particularly that the Church of Christ under the New Testament may consist or may be made up of a mixed multitude and their seed, even all that are members of a nation who are willing to go under the denomination of Christians, whether they are godly or ungodly, holy or profane.

"That lords archbishops and diocesan lords bishops, such as are now in England, are of divine institution and appointment.

"That the government of the Church of Christ, under the gospel, is to be prelatical, according as it is practiced this day in your church, and that your ecclesiastical courts are of divine appointment.

"That particular churches or congregations, whether ministers or elders, who have power and authority to receive persons with memberships have not likewise authority (by Matthew xviii. 15–18; 1 Corinthians v.) to execute church censures and excommunication upon miscreants, swearers, liars, drunkards, adulterers, Jews, Atheists, etc.; but that it is by divine appointment that they must be presented to their ordinaries, and only proceeded against in your ecclesiastical courts.

"That the several offices of deans, subdeans, chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chancellors, commissaries, officials, registers, canons, petty canons, vicars, chorals, apparitors, organists, vergers, singing men and boys, septins, epistlers, gospelors, and such like offices and officers of your church and ecclesiastical courts, are of divine institution or have any Scripture warrant to justify them and to bear them harmless on the last day.

"That unpreaching ministers may celebrate the sacraments by Scripture warrant.

"That their different apparel, in time of divine service, such as hoods, tippets, surplices, etc., are of divine institution or have any Scripture warrant in the New Testament.

"That the manner of the public service and liturgy of the Church of England, with the visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, churching of women, matrimony, etc., as now in use, are of divine appointment.

"That the people ought by the rule of God's Word, and only with the minister, to say the confession, Lord's prayer, and the creed, and make

such answers to the public prayers as are appointed in the book of common prayer.

"That it is God's holy will and pleasure that saints' days or holy days should be kept and observed by Christians, according to the use of the Church of England.

"That instruments of music are to be used in God's worship by the New Testament.

"That infant baptism is a duty.

"That pouring or sprinkling water is the proper way of baptizing.

"That your manner of administering the sacraments and signing with the sign of the cross in baptism are of divine appointment.

"These are some of the things we desire you to prove and make plain to us by the Holy Scriptures. But if the case is such that some or all of them cannot be, then the

"II. Thing necessary to our reconciliation with your church is that you will give us clear and infallible proof from God's holy Word, such as will bear us harmless in the last day, that our Lord Jesus Christ has given power and authority to any man, men, Convocation, or Synod, to make, constitute, and set up any other laws, orders, officers, rites, and ceremonies in his church, besides those which he hath appointed in his holy Word, or to alter or change those which he hath therein appointed, according as may from time to time to them seem convenient, and that we are bound in conscience toward God by the authority of His Word to yield obedience thereunto, or whether it will not rather be a sure reflection upon the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures and a high defamation of the kingly and prophetical offices of Jesus Christ to suppose such a thing.

"Thus we have in humility and without prejudice sent you our objections, and if you can, according to your letter, show them to be stumbling blocks, made by our wills and not by our reason, we shall be very thankful, and you shall not find us obstinate, but ready to accept your invitation. But until you do so, and prove the constitution, orders, rites and ceremonies of your church to be of God, it is but reason, that you should suspend all charge of schism against us, and desist from blaming us for our peaceable separation. Which is all at present from your loving friends, who desire information and unity among saints, and the churches' peace, that God may be glorified through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Subscribed by us, members of the general meeting, in behalf of the rest, March 11, 1699.

"JOHN WATTS,
"JOSEPH WOOD,
"GEORGE EAGLESFIELD,
"SAMUEL JONES.
"GEORGE EATON,
"THOMAS BIBB."

George Keith, an impetuous Scotchman, left the Orthodox Quakers in 1691, with his friends, and after holding together for a few years as Keithian Quakers, and publishing a "Confession of Faith," some were reconciled. Keith himself turned Episcopalian, and many became Baptists, and were called Quaker Baptists, because they retained the garb and language of their earlier associations. At Upper Providence, in Chester County, in 1697, several Keithians were baptized, and the same year Rev. Thomas Killingworth baptized two men, formerly Quaker preachers, one of whom, Thomas Rutter, soon preached in Philadelphia, and baptized Henry Koster, Thomas Peart, and seven others. These nine organized a church of Keithian Baptists, June 12, 1698, choosing Thomas Rutter as their minister, and held services in the meeting-house on Second Street below Mulberry. Another society of Keithians met in Lower Dublin township, at the house of Abraham Pratt. John Wells left them Sept. 27, 1697, joining the Baptists. William Davis, expelled from Pennepek, joined them in 1698. Abraham Pratt and wife, David Price and wife, Richard Wansell, Margaret Davis, Martha Deal, Peter Deal, Richard Wells, Richard Sparks, Nicholas Ashmead, Alexander Babcock, and others also joined this society. In 1701 the changeable Keithians became exercised over the proper day for observance as the Sabbath. The dispute shattered the congregations, and most of the members became Seventh-Day Baptists forthwith, though many joined the regular Baptists. They had three Seventh-Day Churches in Chester County, but only one in Philadelphia County, that at Pennepek, established in 1701. The next year this last built a church, but in 1711 their pastor, Rev. William Davis, deserted them, but the Wells, Wansells, Pratts, and Ashmeads clung to the cause, and in 1770 they still had nine members. In 1716, Richard Sparks, a carpenter, left a plot of ground as a cemetery for Seventh-Day Baptists, the piece being "one hundred feet of the back end of a lot on the south side of High Street, Philadelphia." There yet remains a small portion of this lot, walled in, on Fifth Street, and there may be seen a marble tablet inscribed to the memory of Sparks.

The Regular Baptist Church at Pennepek, on the death of Mr. Watts, in 1702, elected Rev. Evan Morgan as their pastor. Mr. Morgan left the Quakers with the Keithians in 1691, was baptized in 1697, and ordained in 1706. He died Feb. 16, 1709. Rev. Samuel Jones was ordained with Mr. Morgan, with whom he was co-pastor in 1706. He was born in Wales in 1657, and baptized in his native country in 1683, and died Feb. 3, 1722. Rev. Joseph Wood was born in England in 1659, and baptized in Burlington, N. J., in June, 1691, and was ordained at Pennepek, in September, 1708, where "he took part of the ministry with Mr. Evan Morgan and Mr. Samuel Jones." He died in September, 1747. Abel Morgan was born at Altgoch, Cardiganshire, Wales, in 1673, began preaching at nineteen, arrived in this country in February, 1711, and took charge of the Pennepek Church, officiating regularly in Philadelphia and in the mother community. He compiled a folio concordance in Welsh, into which he translated the "Century Confession." He took a prominent part in the meetings of the Philadelphia Association, and earnestly advocated a thorough education for the ministry. Mr. Morgan was distinguished for his ability and piety. He died in December, 1722. The gravestone originally marking the resting-place of his remains in Philadelphia now occupies a place in the vestibule of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, with other monuments of venerated pastors of that honored mother of churches. Rev. Jenkin Jones was born about 1686, in Llandydoch, Wales, arrived in America in 1710, and became pastor of the Pennepek Church in June, 1726. He had William Kinnersley as one of his assistants, the father of Professor Ebenezer Kinnersley. He held this position until May, 1746, preaching in Philadelphia, where he resided, as well as in Pennepek. The church building at Pennepek, erected in 1707, on an acre lot, the

ift of Rev. Samuel Jones, was twenty-five feet square. Some years after the house was completed three acres were added to the church lot.

The Philadelphia Church during this period, and indeed until 1746, was considered as a part of Pennepek, and the same pastors supplied both. After March 15, 1707, meetings were held with the Keithians on Second Street, below Mulberry. In 1711, Rev. Thomas Selby and Rev. John Burrows quarreling, the former caused a disturbance in the congregation, and a number left, but the labors of Rev. Abel Morgan checked the disorder, and Selby two years later left the city. The wooden building was too small, and in 1731 it was taken down, and a brick house, forty-two feet by thirty feet, erected. The long controversy with Christ Church as to the ownership of the lot had been settled by a compromise, which left the Baptists in possession. Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley was a licentiate of this church before being ordained, and on July 6, 1740, he denounced the sensationalism of some of Whitefield's imitators, as shown by a sermon that day in the Baptist pulpit preached by Rev. John Rowland, a Presbyterian, and he "entered a solemn protest" against Whitefield's methods. The excitement which followed was so intense that Kinnersley, according to Sprague's "Annals of the Baptist Pulpit," was "actually forbidden the communion." In 1743, however, he was ordained, and preached at times in Philadelphia until 1746, when Rev. Jenkin Jones took permanent charge of that church.[1] The question was raised in 1746 as to whether legacies conferred on the Philadelphia Church did not partly belong to Pennepek, the parent and superior. There was no claim made, but it was thought best for the Philadelphia Church to incorporate, which they did, May 15th, with the following members: Jenkin Jones, Ebenezer Kinnersley, William Branson, Andrew Edge, Thomas Pearse, Stephen Anthony, Augustin Stillman, Samuel Ashmead, Matthew Ingles, John Perkins, John Standeland, Robert Shewell, John Biddle, Joseph Crean, Henry Hartley, John Lewis, Joseph Ingles, Samuel Burkilo, John Catla, Thomas Byles, John Bazeley, Samuel Morgan, Lewis Rees, Mary Sandeland, Hannah Farmer, Mary Catla, Ann Yerkes, Mary Burkilo, Mary Prig, Hannah Crean, Ann Davis, Hannah Bazeley, Jane Giffin, Edith Bazeley, Alice Clark, Lavinia Greenman, Mary Ball, Uslaw Lewis, Jane Loxley, Esther Ashmead, Hannah Jones, Sarah Branson, Catherine Anthony, Jane Pearse, Mary Edge, Mary Valecot, Elizabeth Shewell, Mary Middleton, Francis Holwell, Elizabeth Sallows, Mary Morgan, Ann Hall, Phebe Hartley, Ann White.

One of the great steps forward made during this period was the formation of the Philadelphia Association in 1707, composed of the churches at Pennepek, Middletown, Piscataway, Cohansey, and Welsh Tract. In 1712 the difficulty between Rev. Thomas Selby and the Philadelphia Church was referred to the Association, and both sides were censured. The members were required to pay Selby what they had agreed, and he was discharged "as an unfit person." In 1724 the Association answered in the negative the question, "Whether a believer may marry an unbeliever without coming under church censure for it?"

Rev. Peter Peterson Vanhorne, the eighth pastor of the Pennepek Church, was born in August, 1719, at Middletown, Bucks Co. He was baptized in September, 1741, and ordained in June, 1747, as pastor of Pennepek, where he labored successfully until February, 1762, when he resigned.

Rev. Samuel Jones became the ninth pastor of that church in 1763, preaching also at Southampton until 1770, when he devoted himself entirely to the former until his death, Feb. 7, 1814. He established a theological school near Pennepek, and published some sermons and other religious works. The deacons during this period were Crispin Collet, 1747–58; Thomas Webster, 1758–75; James Dungan and Joseph Ingles were chosen in March, 1775. John Vansandt was made ruling elder June 18, 1747. In 1763, William Marshall held the office (not used after 1770). In 1770 a new church of stone was built, thirty-three feet long and thirty feet wide, with pulpit in one corner, and galleries in the other corners. The church members in 1761 numbered fifty, the congregation and members three hundred; in 1763 the members were fifty-eight; in 1770, fifty; and in 1774, sixty-three. George Eaton in 1764 bequeathed five pounds and an acre of land to the Pennepek Church.

The church in Philadelphia lost its pastor, Rev. Jenkin Jones, by death, July 16, 1760. He served long and faithfully, and did much to build up the church. No regular pastor was secured till Rev. Morgan Edwards arrived from England, May 23, 1761, and immediately was called to the First Church, remaining there until 1771, when he resigned, and was elected "evangelist" by the Baptist Association. Morgan Edwards was one of the remarkable men of that time, highly educated, original, and earnest in all he did or said. He was born in May, 1772, in Wales, began to preach at the age of sixteen, and studied at the Baptist Seminary, Bristol. He published a number of sermons and treatises, but his great work was his "Materials toward a History of the American Baptists," of which two volumes referring to Pennsylvania and New Jersey were published, one in 1770, another in 1792. He also left many manuscripts, some of them of much historical value. Jan. 1, 1770, he preached the sermon that will always be quoted against him. It was from the text, "This

[1] Ebenezer Kinnersley became one of the most eminent scientific men of his time, a friend and a co-worker with Franklin, a member of the American Philosophical Society, and professor in the University of Pennsylvania, where a memorial window commemorates his worth. Born in Gloucester, England, he spent his childhood and youth at Pennepek. He died July 4, 1778.

year thou shalt die," and he applied it to himself, having had a "presentiment," but he did not die, living for twenty-five years afterward. A little later he sided with England in the great struggle, having a son in the British service, and was, it is said, the only Tory Baptist minister in America. He lived quietly in Delaware, supplying vacancies and gathering materials for his history. His death occurred Jan. 28, 1795. Dr. Cathcart has called attention to Morgan Edwards' services to the cause of Baptist education. He was the prime mover in establishing Brown University (then Rhode Island College). It was singular that the first student of this college, William Rogers, born in Newport in 1751, ordained in 1771, should be Morgan Edwards' successor in the Philadelphia Church, taking charge in 1772. He preached the funeral sermon of his predecessor, in which, speaking of the famous Tory principles, he said, "For any person to have been so marked out in those days was enough to bring on political opposition and destruction of property, all of which took place with respect to Mr. Edwards, though he never harbored the thought of doing the least injury to the United States or of abetting the cause of our enemies."

The First Baptist Church in 1762 tore down their building and erected a larger one, also of brick, sixty-one feet long and forty-two feet wide, with pews and galleries. It cost two thousand two hundred pounds, and was on Ledger Place, Second Street south of Arch, on a lot forty-four by three hundred and three feet. In 1770 the families in the congregation numbered one hundred and twenty, and the members were the following persons: Morgan Edwards, minister; Isaac Jones, Esq., George Westcott, and Samuel Davis, elders; Joshua Moore, Samuel Miles, and Joseph Moulder, deacons; Samuel Ashmead, Esq., Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, John Perkins, John Standeland, Joseph Ingles, Samuel Burkilo, Thomas Byles, John Bazeley, Catherine Standeland, Mary Burkilo, Edith Priestly, Esther Ashmead, Elizabeth Byles, Sarah Bazeley, Elizabeth Shewell, Mary Morgan, Isaac Bellangee, Rebecca Williams, Mary Morris, Jennett Church, Esther Tommins, John Linnington, Sarah North, Mary Harris, William Powell, Mary Rush, Susanna Woodrow, Eleanor Kesler, Abraham Levering, Ann Levering, Catherine Morgan, Edward Middleton, Martha Coffin, Mary Thomas, Rachel Davis, Septimus Levering, Mary Levering, Elizabeth Church, Catharine Coughlin, Ann Barns, Joseph Watkins, Joanna Anthony, Frances Jones, Elizabeth Byles, Mary Bartholomew, Catherine Bartholomew, Benjamin Davis, Barnaby Barns, Jemima Timmerman, Susanna Morris, John Dickson, Samuel Jones, Mary Powell, Sarah Hellings, William Perkins, Esther Davis, Hannah Stakes, Andrew Edge, Joseph Williams, Mary Iden, Sarah Shewell, Sarah Gardner, Mary Wood, Sarah Edge, Francis Maglone, Susanna McLaneghan, Hannah Swanson, Samuel Miles, John Mason, Nehemiah Davis, John Morgan, Grace Lloyd, William Jenkins, Joseph Moulder, Sarah Moulder, Sarah Neaves, Elizabeth Holton, Thomas Shields, Ann Ruxby, Margaret Emmet, Rebecca Wilson, Charles Wilson, Abel Gibbon, Sarah Thomas, Martha Mason, James Hunter, Sarah Harper, Lydia Shields, Jonah Thomas, Mary Robison, Mary Jones, Joan Thomas, Susanna Rose, John Rose, Hannah Drinker, Pollydore and Nelly, Jacob Levering, William Harper, Sarah Powell, Elizabeth Shewell, Ann Bray, Thomas Fleeson, Samuel Olden, Elizabeth Morgan, Sarah Briding, George Ingles, Joseph Gilbert, John Stow, Rebecca Barger, Mary Richey, Judith Fulton, Evan Jenkins, Thomas Dungan, John Flintham, Samuel Woodbridge, Isaac Powell, Elizabeth Morris, Sarah Megetegan, Matthias Mairis, Margaret Levering, Susannah De Nyce, John Drinker, Enoch Morgan, Erasmus Kelly, Sarah Marsh, Mary Fox, Mary Rush, Mary Evans, Mary Powell, and Charles McDonald.

In 1760, or before, the First Church bought land at the foot of Spruce Street, on the Schuylkill, for use in summer as a "Baptisterion." Ten years later Rev. Morgan Edwards describes it,—

"Round said spot are large oaks, affording fine shade. Under foot is a green, variegated with wild flowers and aromatic herbs." . . . "In the midst of this spot is a large stone, rising about three feet above ground, around which I have often seen the people kneel to pray after baptism had been administered. The top is made level by art, and steps are hewn to ascend. On the top stands the minister to preach to the people, who resort thither to see baptism performed, and a multitude of hearers he commonly has. I have once reckoned here thirty-two carriages, and often seen present from one hundred to one thousand people, all behaving much better than in some other places."

Dr. Mitchell, writing in the *Christian Observer*, in 1854, says,—

"I remember when it was a most delightful country-spot, with fine large shade-trees around it. A small house served the purpose of changing dress, and the whole seemed to be in far better keeping with the Apostolical style than the practice of ancient times. There were no wharves there, and the din of business had not found its way to the consecrated place, and hundreds went thither to witness a scene that could not have attracted them under different circumstances."

The building referred to was afterwards changed to two small dwelling-houses.

The Seventh-Day Baptists at Pennepek kept up their organization, though there is little on record about their pastors. In 1770, as Morgan Edwards tells us, they met on alternate Sabbaths at the house of Benjamin Tomlinson. There were eleven families in the society, including Samuel Wells, Richard Tomlinson and wife, Job Noble and wife, Elizabeth West, Mary Keen, Rebecca Dungan, and Enoch David. The last-named, their principal exhorter, was born in Kent County, Del., in 1718, and was ordained in 1769. Besides preaching at Pennepek, he supplied the congregations at Nottingham, Newtown, and French Creek, all in Chester County.

The Baptist Church in the Northern Liberties was formed in 1769. In 1770 appointments to supply the ...ade by the Association. There were ... members in the church. In 1773,

Joseph Bull was elder, and represented it in the Association.

The Baptist Association, in 1756, decided to "raise a sum of money toward the support of a Latin Grammar School for the promotion of learning amongst us, under the care of brother Isaac Eaton, and the inspection of our brethren, Abel Morgan, Isaac Stelle, Abel Griffith, and Peter Peterson Vanhorn." Next year it was resolved to request the churches to contribute their mite toward the support of the grammar school, and in 1758 the resolution was repeated, it being resolved "that what has been done hitherto in that way appears to have been well laid out." In 1762 the Association met in the Lutheran Church, Fifth Street below Race, "where the sound of the organ was heard in Baptist worship."

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, Philadelphia had three congregations, numbering two hundred and sixty members, and owning two small buildings. The territory of the Association reached from Stamford, Conn., to Virginia, and west to the unbroken forest. Within these bounds were only forty-two churches and three thousand Baptists. Rev. William Marsh, of New Jersey, had been the pioneer along the Susquehanna, and was slain in the Wyoming massacre. Pittston organized a church in 1776, and Southwestern Pennsylvania founded several that year. The difficulties and dangers that the pioneer preachers underwent in establishing new societies were enormous. And the financial weakness of these churches is worth a moment's thought. Their scanty resources made the smallest gift a boon. We read of a formal vote of thanks over the gift of a wooden settee, and elders debate whether to buy tallow-dips by the box or the pound. A legacy of twenty-five dollars is spoken of as a great benefaction. To-day, instead of three weakly churches, with a membership of two hundred and sixty, there are sixty-one churches and sixteen missions, with a membership of nineteen thousand, connected with which there are Sunday-schools with twenty-one thousand six hundred teachers and scholars. These communities own church property worth between two and three million dollars, nearly entirely paid for. Many of their church edifices are among the finest ecclesiastical structures in the State. Their benevolent contributions amount to about four hundred thousand dollars yearly. The seed planted by the early ministers has proved fruitful beyond measure.

During the Revolution, Rev. Samuel Jones was in charge of the Pennepek Church, and remained there until his death, in 1814. While the British army was in Philadelphia services were probably suspended. Between 1774 and 1800 there were thirty-seven persons baptized, and the number of members varied from fifty-eight to seventy-four. Deacons were as follows: James Dungan and Joseph Ingles, elected March 30, 1775; John Wright, elected Feb. 3, 1776; Benjamin Dungan, elected March 30, 1782.

The First Baptist Church in the city had for its pastor Rev. William Rogers, D.D., who was a strong patriot, became chaplain in the American army, and served from 1776 to 1781. Rev. Samuel Stillman supplied the church during a part of this time. Rev. Dr. Rogers returned to Philadelphia after the war, became professor of belles-lettres at the University of Pennsylvania, and occupied the chair until 1812. His death took place March 31, 1824. In 1782 the First Church, having no pastor, elected Rev. Thomas Ustick, a native of New York, and a graduate of Rhode Island College. He took charge in July, that year, and remained there in active duties till his death, in April, 1803. Rev. William Rogers and Rev. Morgan Edwards preached occasionally. Rev. John Stancliffe was assistant after 1789, and Isaac Carlisle was also a licensed preacher. In 1775 the church had one hundred and seventy-four members, but in 1781 there were only eighty-six; these increased by 1800 to one hundred and forty-five.

The Philadelphia Association was required, in 1781, to consider the case of Rev. Elhanan Winchester, who preached to the First Church the year before, and proclaimed Universalist doctrine in his sermons. Dr. Abel Thomas says that Winchester had only "accepted an invitation to preach" temporarily, attracted great crowds, and preached eighteen sermons at St. Paul's Church, the Baptist building proving too small. Winchester then formed his "Universal Baptists" (see article on Universalist Church), and all his adherents were expelled. In 1781 the Association made a formal excommunication, and solemnly warned all the churches against Winchester and his doctrines.

During the war the Association was thoroughly patriotic. In 1775 they recommended "to continue the four quarterly days of fasting and prayer, as the distresses of the nation continue;" also in 1776 and 1778 a similar request was made. British occupation of Philadelphia prevented the Association's session in 1777. George Westcott resigned the treasurership in 1788, and Samuel Jones was appointed. In 1780, "letters from twenty-one churches complained of great declension in religion," and of "such tokens of Divine displeasure as do loudly call for deep humiliation of spirit." Quarterly fasts were again ordered. In 1782 thanks were voted to printer Aitken, of Philadelphia, for his edition of the Bible. In 1788 the Association left each church to decide whether fasting and prayer were proper on account of the Hessian fly. The Association was chartered in 1797, with Rev. Samuel Jones, president; Rev. William Rogers, secretary; and George Ingolls, treasurer.

The following messengers represented the Philadelphia Church in the Baptist Association between 1775 and 1801: Joshua Moore, George Bright, Benjamin Shaw, Thomas Fleeson, George Ingles, David Bowen, Thomas Shields, John McKim, Thomas White, Joseph Watkins, Samuel Davis, Sr., Samuel Davis,

Jr., Elisha Gordon, Richard Reily, Samuel Miles, John McLeod, Hugh Gorley, Aaron Vanhorn, Joseph Keen, Nathaniel Davis, Heath Norbury, George Allen, Samuel Oakford, and John Peckworth.

The messengers for Roxborough were Abraham Levering, Charles Nice, Michael Conrad, Cornelius Holgate, Anthony Levering, Wickard Jacoby, Nathan Levering, John Levering, John Walraven, and Titus Yerkes.

The messengers and representatives from Pennepek were Rev. Samuel Jones, Alexander Edwards, Peter Smith, John Pitman, John Stancliffe, Jesse Dungan, John Holmes, Benjamin Dungan, Isaac Hough, George Guthrie, John Wright, George Edwards, Thomas Webster, William Rooper, Joseph Green, Joseph Evans, Joseph Miles, Joseph Wright.

The Association added to its long list of memorable deeds in October, 1781, when this ancient and honorable body was in session. The news of the Yorktown surrender was cried through the streets of Philadelphia at midnight, and at *sunrise*, October 24th, the Association met and passed patriotic and rejoicing resolutions.

The Roxborough or Ridge Baptist Church was organized Aug. 23, 1789, with thirty-two members dismissed from the First Church. Their names were Abraham Levering, Anna Levering, John Levering, Hannah Levering, Anthony Levering, Mary Levering, Nathan Levering, Sarah Levering, Samuel Levering, Rebecca Levering, Sarah Levering, Catharine Standeland, John Righter, Cornelius Holgate, Mary Holgate, Hannah Coulston, Sarah Mathias, John Howell, Elizabeth Howell, George Sinn, Margaret Sinn, Dorothea Sinn, William Holgate, Mary Holgate, Wigard Jacoby, Michael Conrad, Jane Conrad, Charles Nice, Elizabeth Yerkes, Sarah Gorgas, Sarah Lobb, Mary Stout. Nathan Levering gave a lot on a lane leading from the Ridge road for a church building. The structure was of stone, two stories in height, and was dedicated, free of debt, Oct. 24, 1790. It cost six hundred pounds. The collection the first Sabbath was £7 15*s*. Rev. Thomas Angier, Dr. Rogers, Rev. Thomas Ustick, and others, supplied the pulpit. In January, 1791, Rev. Curtis Gilbert was ordained pastor, but he died in April, 1792, aged but twenty-three. Rev. Thomas Fleeson and William White were "supplies" till 1800, when the former became permanent pastor. During this period the church averaged from forty-six to fifty-two members. Rev. Thomas Fleeson was white-haired and blind long before his death, in 1828, and became widely known as the "eloquent old blind preacher."

The church at the Northern Liberties in 1775 had fifteen members, but decreased so by removals that it was dropped from the Association after 1776.

In the year 1800, the First Church proposed a Domestic Mission Society, which the Association organized, and ten years later it had seven men in the field. That church, after Mr. Ustick's death, was supplied by Rev. John Peckworth and Thomas Billings, but in 1805, Rev. William Staughton was called. Dr. Staughton was then one of the leading ministers of the denomination, and became one of its greatest educators. From the first his eloquence attracted large assemblages. Professor Thomas D. Mitchell wrote of him,—

"No pastor of any denomination in Philadelphia retained so large a popularity in so long a period of years. Many a time have I seen the enlarged house most uncomfortably packed, and many more compelled to go away for lack of room. The people came from every quarter of the city, and this laid the foundation for numerous places distant from the church edifice, where prayer-meetings were held statedly for many years. The Tuesday-night meeting was at Mrs. Bright's, on Lombard Street, between Second and Third Streets, and that in Carson's school-house, on Gaskill Street, near Fourth. The sunrise Sabbath meetings at Beasley's, near the navy-yard, under the wide-spreading willow, and favored by the breezes from the Delaware, attracted hundreds to the preaching of the gospel, who, but for that device, had perhaps never listened to the herald of salvation. Often have I seen a great gathering at the latter place, which the benches could not accommodate, and yet the most perfect order prevailed while the eloquent Staughton preached Christ and Him crucified. The affectionate manner of Dr. Staughton had the effect of securing the attention and respect of the young, and from that class vast numbers were added to the First Church. . . . It may be added as a thing of history that before he was settled in Philadelphia very little attention was given to the religious instruction of the young. He began a good work in this respect that is felt to this day. He was among the most ardent advocates of the Sunday-school cause at a time when it needed powerful and influential friends."

But Dr. Staughton and some of the congregation were English, and though he had been naturalized the heated condition of politics affected his influence. A story is told that shows the absurd side of this prejudice. It was at a meeting of the congregation, when one of the stoves began to smoke so voluminously that there was no enduring it. "The sexton, . . . who was of the American party, could give no relief, and after several ineffectual attempts, solemnly announced to the assembly that he could account for it in no other way than by supposing there was an Englishman in the stove-pipe." The natural result was a separation, and in January, 1811, Dr. Staughton withdrew with ninety members, organizing the Sansom Street Church. Rev. Henry Holcombe was his successor in the First Church, when he preached till his death, May 22, 1824.[1] The church during this period built a brick baptistery on the Schuylkill at Spruce Street.

Dr. Staughton's Sansom Street Church was strong and united. John Mills, architect, educated under

[1] Rev. Henry Holcombe, born in Virginia, became a captain in the patriot army, and before the age of twenty-two preached his first Baptist sermon on horseback to his command. He was a member of the South Carolina Convention that ratified the United States Constitution. He founded the Savannah Female Orphan Asylum, organized the First Baptist Church in that city, published the first religious periodical in the South, founded Mount Enon Academy, the first under Baptist auspices in the South, and helped to organize the germ of the "Georgia Baptist Convention." Dr. Cathcart speaks with admiration of his "herculean physique" and "immense intellectual and moral momentum." During Dr. Holcombe's brilliant pastorate four ladies—Mrs. Ann Rhees, Mrs. Sarah Ogden, Miss Mary Halman, and Miss Emily Ramage—established the first Sabbath-school in Philadelphia, beginning with twenty pupils, a beginning that has grown to a Baptist Sunday-school army over a thousandfold greater.

William Cathcart

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1, 1857, until 1884. His was the longest unbroken pastorate among the Baptist clergymen of Philadelphia. In 1807 the Second Church founded a branch at Frankford, and supplied it until 1812, when Rev. David Jones became pastor.

Dr. William Cathcart was born in the county of Londonderry, in the north of Ireland, Nov. 8, 1826. His parents, James Cathcart and Elizabeth Cously, were of Scotch origin, the stock known as Scotch-Irish in the United States. Rev. William Cathcart, D.D., was brought up in the Presbyterian Church, of which, for some years, he was a member. He was baptized by Rev. R. H. Carson, of Tubbermore, in January, 1846. He studied Latin and Greek in a classical school near the residence of his father, but received his literary and theological education in the University of Glasgow, Scotland, and in Horton (now Rawdon) College, Yorkshire, England. He was ordained pastor of the Baptist Church of Barnsley, near Sheffield, England, early in 1850. From political and anti-state church considerations he determined to come to the United States in 1853, and on the 18th of November in that year arrived in New York. In the latter part of the following month he became pastor of the Third Baptist Church of Groton, on Mystic River, Conn. In April, 1857, he took charge of the Second Baptist Church of this city, where he has since labored. In 1873 the University of Lewisburg conferred on Mr. Cathcart the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1876, on the retirement of Dr. Malcom from the presidency of the American Baptist Historical Society, Dr. Cathcart was elected president, and been re-elected at each annual meeting since. In 1875, in view of the centennial year of our national independence, the Baptist Ministerial Union of Pennsylvania appointed him to prepare a paper, to be read at their meeting in Meadville in 1876, on "The Baptists in the Revolution." This paper, by enlargement, became a duodecimo volume, entitled "The Baptists and the American Revolution." Dr. Cathcart has also published a large octavo, called "The Papal System," and "The Baptism of the Ages and of the Nations," a 16mo. Dr. Cathcart's greatest work is his "Baptist Encyclopædia," a large imperial octavo volume, published by L. H. Everts, of Philadelphia. This handsome volume is worthy of the subject; it is a monument to the Baptist faith, and illustrative of the spirit, the enterprise, the industry and zeal, and the book-making genius of the author and publisher. Dr. Cathcart has given his best energies and tried experience to the production of this book, and the Baptist Church is fortunate in finding a historian of his qualifications to undertake her annals. The work is so complete and so encyclopædic upon "the doctrines, ordinances, usages, confessions of faith, sufferings, labors, and successes, and of the general history of the Baptist denomination in all lands," that it has superseded all similar publications, and will become henceforth the standard and universal *vade mecum* of a religious denomination that has probably about five million adherents in the United States.

The African Baptist Church was organized by twelve persons in June, 1809. They rented a lot on Tenth Street, above Vine, and built a house twenty-six by thirty-seven feet. Henry Cunningham, of Savannah, preached here until 1812, when John King, of Virginia, a white man, was ordained pastor. In 1825 this congregation moved to what is now Haviland Place, running west from Eighth Street, below Vine, and built a new church.

In 1817 the Second Church again sent out a colony of seventy-six members, which, on September 10th, organized themselves into a church; they chose Rev. John Grigg as pastor, and secured a lot on New Market Street above Noble. Their plain brick building was dedicated Jan. 1, 1818. Rev. Mr. Grigg resigned in 1819, and was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Griffin. The latter in 1825 resigned, and was followed by Rev. Elisha Cushman. March 20, 1820, the church was incorporated as the New Market Street Baptist Church. The original incorporators were Adam Corfield, George Hacker, Reuben Jarman, Abednego T. Whitton, Enoch Cummings, Peter Street, and others.

On the 18th of May, 1814, thirty-three delegates assembled at the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, and organized the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination, etc. This body passed through several changes, and gave rise, in 1845, to the American Baptist Missionary Union, which, in 1883, had in foreign fields, 190 American missionaries, 1366 ordained and unordained native preachers, 1090 churches, and 102,261 church members, of whom 10,667 were converts baptized the preceding year.

On July 4, 1827, the General Association was founded in the Blockley Philadelphia Baptist Church to spread the gospel in Pennsylvania. During the first half-century of its existence it commissioned 1430 missionaries, and formed or fostered 133 churches. During 1883 the Baptist City Mission of Philadelphia, about four years in existence, working for the same object as the General Association, and in a portion of its field, with it raised about $22,000, and employed fifty-eight missionaries.

The society for assisting in their education students for the Baptist ministry in this State has its headquarters and its ablest supporters in Philadelphia. In the last twenty of the forty-four years of its existence it has expended an average of $11,000 per year, and it has an invested fund of $33,500. It has aided over 500 students for the ministry, 350 of whom are recorded to be living and at work at the present time. This year (1884) seventy students are under its fostering care.

Pennsylvania has led in the Baptist ranks in education as well as in works of benevolence. Isaac Eaton's Hopewell Academy (1756) was the first in

the country. Dr. Samuel Jones' Pennepek Academy lasted from 1766 to 1794. Dr. William Staughton had a school of theology early in the century,—removed to Washington in 1821, as Columbian College. Haddington College (1832) led finally to the University of Lewisburg, established in 1846. The Crozer Theological Seminary became a noble monument of the liberality of the Crozers. The Jaynes, Creswells, Watsons, Bells, and a host more are worthily remembered among educational benefactors. The Baptists directly control five academies in the State, with about seven hundred pupils; the University at Lewisburg, and Crozer Theological Seminary; the buildings and endowments of these institutions are valued at $968,000. The Baptist Home and Infirmary of Philadelphia, located upon spacious grounds, with partial endowments already secured, are valued at $175,000. The Baptist Orphanage, yet in its infancy, is a credit to the denomination, and a cause for gratitude to those who need its shelter, and to their helpless friends, and to the benevolent who compassionate the dependent young.

The Baptists, in February, 1818, began their first religious periodical in the city, *The Latter-Day Luminary*. It was published quarterly, and was edited with marked ability. *The National Baptist*, a weekly journal, under the control of Dr. H. L. Wayland, editor and proprietor, is the organ of the Baptists of the State and of a large part of New Jersey. It is widely circulated and deservedly influential.

The American Baptist Historical Society is located in this city and chiefly sustained by its Baptist people. It has seven thousand volumes of religious literature, containing many that are invaluable, and its growth is steady. The works which Baptists have written and those which have been published against them lie lovingly together, and calmly invite the examination of those who bow the spirit to the sceptre of truth.

In 1826 the Baptist Tract Society, located at Washington, was removed to Philadelphia, and in 1845 became the American Baptist Publication Society. The work of this society is something enormous. Its total number of publications in 1883 was 1326. The printed matter issued between 1824 and 1883 would make 184,953,592 copies of books, tracts, and periodicals, equal to 7,080,323,003 18mo pages, or 4,720,215,336 16mo pages. Its income, in 1883, from the business and missionary departments was $521,919.16, an increase of $72,502.45 over any preceding year. In 1883 it had 159 colporteurs and Sunday-school missionaries laboring all over our broad land. It has employed 1949 Bible colporteurs, Sunday-school, and publication missionaries and secretaries from its beginning. During this period these men have sold 306,182 books, and given away 105,963, and they have distributed 7,990,688 pages of tracts, held 63,038 prayer-meetings, baptized 15,221 converts, constituted 569 churches, and organized 5334 Sunday-schools, and the society in the same time has given donations of various amounts to 9992 schools.

In 1876 the Publication Society occupied its new marble building at 1420 Chestnut Street, erected at a cost of $258,000, and free from debt. Its capital, permanent and other funds, and house are valued at not less than $700,000.

The Baptists have in Philadelphia the following institutions and church organizations in 1884:

American Baptist Publication Society, 1420 Chestnut Street. Rev. Benjamin Griffiths, D.D., secretary; Rev. G. J. Johnson, D.D., missionary secretary; Rev. G. W. Anderson, D.D., book editor; Rev. Sydney Dyer, Ph.D., Sunday-school sales department; Rev. C. W. Ray, D.D., Sunday-school missionary.

American Baptist Historical Society, 1420 Chestnut Street. William Cathcart, D.D., president; H. E. Lincoln, treasurer and librarian.

Baptist City Mission, 1420 Chestnut Street. Charles H. Banes, president; Rev. James French, superintendent.

Baptist Home, Seventeenth and Norris Streets. Mrs. Levi Knowles, president; Mrs. Charles H. Banes, treasurer.

Baptist Orphanage, Forty-fifth Street and Silverton Avenue. Hon. William B. Hanna, president; Mrs. J. J. Stadiger, treasurer.

Rev. H. L. Wayland, D.D., editor and proprietor *National Baptist*.

Rev. W. H. Conard, corresponding secretary Pennsylvania Baptist General Association.

Rev. R. M. Luther, district secretary American Baptist Missionary Union.

Rev. G. M. Spratt, D.D., corresponding secretary Pennsylvania Baptist Education Society.

Rev. Thomas Swaim, D.D., district secretary American Baptist Home Mission Society.

Churches.—Abbottsford, Baltimore Avenue, near Fifty-second Street. Rev. H. L. Wayland, D.D.

Alleghany Avenue Mission, Alleghany and Frankford Avenues. Rev. William Lawrence.

Angora, Baltimore Avenue, near Gray's Lane. Rev. J. E. Craig.

Berean, Chestnut Street, above Fortieth. Rev. Edgar M. Levy, D.D.

Bethany, Fox Chase.

Beth-Eden, corner of Broad and Spruce Streets. Rev. John T. Beckley.

Bethesda, Fifth and Venango Streets.

Blockley, Fifty-third Street, above Haverford Avenue. Rev. E. H. Bronson.

Bridesburg Mission of Frankford Church.

Broad Street, corner of Broad and Brown Streets. E. L. Magoon, D.D.

Bustleton Chapel, Bustleton. Rev. Charles Warwick.

Byberry. Rev. T. C. Trotter.

Calvary, Fifth Street below Carpenter. Rev. F. C. Colby.

Centennial, Twenty-third and Oxford Streets. Rev. I. D. King.

Chapel of Hebron Baptist Church, Fifty-sixth and Vine Streets. Rev. T. G. Deachfield.

Chapel of Second Church (colored), Frankford.

Chestnut Hill, Main and Summit Streets. Rev. B. F. Robb.

East, Hanover Street above Girard Avenue. Rev. S. S. Woodward.

Eleventh (Chapel), Twenty-first and Diamond Streets. Rev. I. Newton Ritner.

Enon (Germantown), Coulter Street, near Wayne. Rev. James D. Brooks.

Falls of Schuylkill, Queen Street, above Ridge Avenue. Rev. H. W. Jones.

Fifth, Eighteenth and Spring Garden Streets. Rev. John Peddie, D.D.

Fiftieth, corner Seventh Street and Susquehanna Avenue. Rev. J. T. Craig.

First, corner Broad and Arch Streets. Rev. George D. Boardman, D.D.

First (West Philadelphia), corner Chestnut and Thirty-sixth Streets. Rev. W. H. Robinson.

First African, Cherry Street, east of Eleventh. Rev. T. Doughty Miller.

First German, Sixth Street, above Poplar. Rev. J. S. Gubelmann.

Fourth, corner Fifth and Buttonwood Streets. Rev. J. B. G. Pidge.

Frankford (First), corner Paul and Unity Streets. Rev. T. P. Coulston.

Frankford (Second), Colored. Rev. E. G. Cooper.

Frankford Avenue, corner Frankford Avenue and Aramingo Street. Rev. O. T. Morgan.

German Mission, Bastein Hall, Seventh and Dickinson Streets. Rev. John C. Schmidt.
Germantown (First), Price Street. Rev. J. S. James.
Germantown (Second), corner of Main and Upsal Streets. Rev. John Love.
Germantown (Third), corner Wister and Wakefield Streets. Rev. J. L. Ray.
Gethsemane, corner Eighteenth Street and Columbia Avenue. Rev. Lewis P. Hornberger, D.D.
Grace, Berks Street, above Eleventh. Rev. R. H. Conwell.
Haverford Avenue, Haverford and Westminster Avenues and Fifty-sixth Street. Rev. T. G. Deuchfield.
Holmesburg, Main Street. Rev. S. V. Marsh.
Hope Mission of the Second Church, Richmond and Neff Streets. Rev. W. G. Russell.
Immanuel Chapel, Twenty-third Street, above Race.
Lehigh Avenue, Lehigh Avenue and Twelfth Street. Rev. Walter Calley.
Lower Dublin, near Bustleton. Rev. Charles Warwick.
Manatawna, Upper Roxborough. Rev. W. B. Tolan.
Manayunk, Green Lane, below Wood Street.
Mantua, Fortieth Street and Silverton Avenue. Rev. J. G. Walker, D.D.
Memorial, corner Broad and Master Streets. Rev. Wayland Hoyt, D.D.
Messiah, Dauphin Street, near Amber (west of Frankford Avenue). Rev. W. W. Dalbey.
Milestown, Oak Lane. Rev. C. C. Earle, Branchtown.
Monumental, Forty-first and Ludlow Streets. Rev. Robert A. Pinn.
Moore Street Mission. Rev. James French.
Mount Olive, Hall, Seventeenth and Poplar Streets.
Mount Vernon Mission, Washington Street, above Hipple's Lane, Manayunk.
Nicetown, Germantown Avenue, above Broad Street. Rev. Henry Bray.
North, Eighth Street, above Master. Rev. J. J. Muir.
Olivet, corner Sixth and Federal Streets. Rev. B. F. Leipsner.
Passyunk, Passyunk Avenue, west of Broad Street.
Pilgrim, corner Twenty-third and Christian Streets. Rev. George A. Peltz, D.D.
Pine Grove Chapel, Bristol turnpike, near Tacony.
Poplar Street Chapel of Fifth Church, Poplar Street, near Twenty-seventh.
Powelton Avenue, Powelton Avenue, above Thirty-sixth Street. Rev. F. B. Greul.
Roxborough, Ridge Avenue, opposite Lyceum Avenue. Rev. J. W. Willmarth.
Sandy Ford Chapel, Bustleton turnpike.
Scandinavian Mission, Hazel Street, below Second.
Second, Seventh Street, below Girard Avenue. Rev. William Cathcart, D.D.
Second German, Second Street, above Norris. Rev. John Linker.
Shiloh (colored), South Street, between Tenth and Eleventh. Rev. W. C. Dennis.
South Broad Street, corner Broad and Reed Streets. Rev. P. L. Jones.
South Seventh Street Mission. South Seventh and Emily Streets.
Spring Garden, Thirteenth Street, above Wallace. Rev. J. W. T. Boothe, D.D.
Spruce Street, Spruce Street, below Fifth. Rev. C. H. Thomas.
Tabernacle, Chestnut Street, above Eighteenth. Rev. G. E. Rees.
Tacony. Rev. W. W. Ferris.
Tenth, Eighth Street, above Green. Rev. A. J. Rowland, D.D.
Third, Second Street, above Catharine. Rev. W. H. Shermer.
Trinity Mission, northwest corner Markoe and Seneca Streets.
Union, Minster Street, above Sixth. Rev. W. Wallace.
Wheatsheaf Mission of Frankford Church, Bridesburg.
White Hall, Twenty-third Ward. Rev. K. Walling.
Wissahickon Chapel, Ridge Avenue, above Dawson Street.
York Street Mission, York and Fourth Streets. William Edis, lay missionary.
Zion (colored), Hall, Thirteenth and Poplar. Rev. Horace Wayland.
Free Baptists (Macedonian Missions).—First, Twelfth and McKean Streets. Rev. Ernest G. Wesley.
First Colored, Rodman Street, above Tenth. Rev. Alfred Brown.

THE TUNKERS.

Hardly any sect now in existence has a greater number of names than the Tunkers, who have also been known as the Dunkers, Dunkards, Tumblers, Dumplers, Brethren, and German Baptists. They now have two churches in Philadelphia, and their early history centres about "Bebber's township" and Germantown. They are in belief Seventh-Day Baptists, with a Universalist tendency, and with certain tenets that are strongly Roman Catholic. They first became well organized near Schwartzenau, Germany, early in the eighteenth century, and appeared in Pennsylvania in 1717, when twenty families arrived, settling at Germantown, Oley, Skippack, Conestoga, and Falkner's, and lacking religious organization till 1722, when their clergymen, Messrs. Becker, Gantz, Gomery, and the Trautz brothers, visited them, succeeding in forming a church December 25th the next year, in "Bebber's township."[1] Rev. Peter Becker (or Baker), one of the most enterprising of their evangelists, held the first meeting at his own house, in the morning of that day, and then baptized Martin Urner and wife, Heinrich Landes and wife, and Friederich Long, in the Wissahickon. The love-feast and holy communion were observed the same evening, at the house of John Gomery. This was the first love-feast celebrated in America by the Tunkers.

The original members of the Tunker Church were Peter Backer, Henrick Traut, Henry Holzapfel, Johannes Gomery, Jeremiah Traut, Balser Traut, Stephen Koch, John Freis, John Kempser, Johannes Hildebrand, Daniel Ritter, George Balser Gans, Magdalina Traut, Anna Gomery, Maria Hildebrand, Joanna Gans, Jacob Koch, Johannes Priesz, and Johannes Kaempfer. Rev. Peter Baker, their first minister, was born at Delsheim, in Germany, in 1687; was educated a Presbyterian; embraced the principles of the Baptists in 1714; came to America in 1719; settled with the church at Bebberstown in 1723; ceased to preach in 1746, and died in the year 1748.

A good idea of their present customs and beliefs may be gathered from Dr. Cathcart's "Baptist Cyclopædia" and from Dr. Baird's "Religion in America," but the earlier Tunkers, such as organized in "Bebber's township," were more ascetic and communal, and attracted much attention. Their dress consisted of a long tunic, reaching to the heels, confined by a sash about the waist, and also a hood similar to that of the Dominican friars. This dress was adopted by both males and females, with the addition, by the latter, of a veil, which was not withdrawn in public.

[1] This tract, bought by Matthias van Bebber, was above Germantown proper, and its name was soon corrupted to "Beggar's town," a name still in use. The township was settled in 1684. So thoroughly was the origin of the name forgotten that Morgan Edwards, writing in 1770, describing the meeting-house of the Tunkers, says, "The meeting-house is of stone, thirty feet square, erected this year (1770), on a lot of eighty rods. On the same lot stands their old building, erected by John Pettikoffer, for his dwelling-house, in 1731, and because it was the first house in the place, and erected by a beggar, the village assumed the name of 'Beggarstown.'"

The beard was never cut, though it was customary to clip the hair. The sexes were kept entirely separate, even at seasons of religious worship. The only exception was at the occurrence of their love-feasts, one of their sacraments, when men and women dined at the same table. They prohibited marriage, and if any insisted on abandoning celibacy they must also abandon the geographic limits of the society, though they could settle in the vicinity, worship as formerly, receive their portion of the public funds, and send their children to be educated by their brethren and sisters. Their diet was of the most simple sort, and flesh of all kind was proscribed by their rules, except at the love-feasts, when mutton and no other kind of meat was eaten. Their furniture was very plain; a bare bench served for a bed, and a small block of wood for a pillow. Their religious exercises consisted, to a great extent, in private meditation. Beside this they had seasons of public worship, when the men met in their appointed place, and the women in theirs. They were required to worship four times each day.

In baptism they are immersionists, not by one act, but by three, making a triple immersion, and they dip the candidates head forward under water, while kneeling. Their name "Tunker" is said to come from "Tunken," "sops," "to dip a morsel." Some of their doctrinal beliefs were as follows:

That future happiness was to be procured by penance and mortification of the flesh in this world; evidently being tainted with the Gnostic opinion that evil was inherent in matter.

That Jesus Christ died for the salvation of all men, but that it could and ought to be secured by good works, each individual thus working out his own salvation independent of the atonement.

That men might perform more good works than required by God, and that these would be credited to the account of those who were remiss in duty, so that they might not only work out their own but others' salvation by deeds of supererogation.

That the final punishment of the wicked was not to be eternal. They insisted that Christ preached His gospel to the dead, and that the souls of just men made perfect were employed as missionaries to the spirits of such as enjoyed no means of grace in this world.

That sundry Jewish divisions of time were typical of certain periods after the general judgment, when repentant spirits would be admitted to bliss from the scene of their punishment. And that at the very last those who persisted in impenitence would be converted by a special act of divine interposition and received into glory. This was supposed to have been indicated by the Jewish jubilee.

That deeds of violence were not justifiable, even in cases of self-defense.

That the members of Christ's church should on no account engage in litigation.

Their church government and discipline were much the same as that of the Baptists in general.

The Bebberstown (or Upper Germantown) Church grew but slowly. In September, 1729, Rev. Alexander Mack came from Germany with his three sons, Johannes Mack, Valentine Mack, and Alexander Mack, Jr., also Hans Gunde, Andreas Bony, Johann Naas, Anthony Deerdorf, Jacob More, Rudolph Harley, Johann Peter von Lausche, Jacob Kalckgluesser, Johannes Kipping, Jacob Bossert, Heinrich Kalckgluesser, Christopher Kalckgluesser, Wilhelm Knepper, Jacob Schneider, Matthias Schneider, Johannes Pettenkoffer, Hans Koch, George Koch, Reinhard Hammer, and others, who greatly strengthened the church.

Rev. Mr. Alexander Mack was born in 1679 or 1680. He died at Germantown (being an assistant to Rev. Peter Becker), on the 19th of January, 1735. His son, Rev. Alexander Mack, Jr., who succeeded him at Germantown, was called to the ministry June 1, 1748, and on the 10th of June, 1753, he was advanced to the office of bishop, at which time the public charge of the church at Germantown was laid upon him. He preached until near the time of his death, in March, 1803.

In 1731 the congregation obtained for their place of worship a house erected by John Pettikoffer for his dwelling-house, and meetings were held there till 1770.

About this time, early in the eighteenth century, the Tunkers of Bebberstown attempted an enterprise, which connects them closely with the Ephrata Brethren, indeed Ephrata was often called "Tunkertown." Conrad Beissel, who had about 1732 founded the large monastery in Ephrata, had been a Tunker.

At Ephrata the habit of the Capuchins or White Friars was adopted by both the brethren and sisters, which consisted of short trowsers and vest, with a long white gown and cowl of woolen webbing in winter, and linen in summer. That of the sisters differed only in the substitution of petticoats for trowsers, and some peculiarity in the shape of the cowl. Monastic names were given to all who entered the cloister. There were three places of worship,—Sharon, Bethany, and Zion. The brethren had a farm, a paper-mill, printing-office, and oil-mill; the sisters spun linen and wove cloth.

We are indebted to "Historic Notes of Olden Time in Roxborough and Manayunk," written by Horatio Gates Jones, and published in the *Manayunk Star* in 1859, for the following translations from the "Chronicon Ephratense," published in 1786, which purported to be the work of two monks, whose religious names were "Lamech" and "Agrippa." One of them says,—

"On the 12th of April, 1736, I moved to Brother Alexander Mack's, where three of us lived for some time. In the year 1737 we built a house in a valley one mile from Germantown, into which we moved October 14th of the same year. Another hermit, named John Reisman, and a couple of married people, came to and lived with us. On the 21st of March, 1738, my three brethren—Alexander Mack, Henry

Hoecker, and John Reissman—left me, and went to the hermits in Ephrata, whilst the housekeeper went again to the country. After this another pious housefather came and lived with me, but only up to March 27, 1739, at which time I moved also to the solitary ones at Ephrata."

It would seem from this that the supposed monastic establishment founded by the unknown author of the "Chronicon Ephratense" was only kept up about seventeen months, and could not have been composed of more than seven persons. The question is, Where is the house spoken of by the author of the "Chronicon?" Was it the old Gorgas mansion, now known as the "Monastery?" It is altogether unlikely. The "Historic Notes," from which we have already quoted, say that in the valley of the Wissahickon, on the eastern side, on the brow of a hill, and a mile above the Red Bridge, there is "a large, three-story house of dressed stone, with an old-fashioned hollow cornice. That building is the so-called 'Monastery of the Wissahickon,' but not as originally built, for many of the windows have been walled up, and a cornice that once projected over the first row of windows has been removed. In fact, the old house, which was a grand mansion in its pristine glory, has been thoroughly modernized, with the exception that it has escaped the vandalic coat of exterior plaster which in this region has ruined many a noble old house."

But, as the writer proceeds to show, the ground in question was sold in March, 1747, to John Gorgas, of Germantown. In 1752 the latter conveyed half of it to his brother, Joseph Gorgas, and there is a recital in the deed that Joseph had since (1747) erected at his own cost and charges "a three-story stone house or messuage on a certain piece or spot of land." Joseph Gorgas was a member of the society of Seventh-Day Baptists. It is conjectured that he erected this house for purposes of seclusion and meditation. It is said, "Hither were gathered congenial spirits like himself, and there they held sweet communion." A small strip of land below the county bridge is pointed out as the place where the monks were accustomed to administer the rite of baptism in the Wissahickon, and on the early township map the spot is designated as the Baptisterion.

Joseph Gorgas sold the lot with the house, now called the "Monastery," to Edward Milner in 1761, and it has since gone through various hands. The house in which the unknown author of the "Chronicon" lived for seventeen months could not have been the stone mansion to which tradition affixes the title. There is no proof that Gorgas allowed his house to be used for monastic purposes, but novelists have made much of the legends and tales of hermits and monks that cluster thickly about the vicinity. George Lippard and Dr. William Fahnestock drew abundantly on the wealth of literary material in this beautiful valley of the Wissahickon.

In 1770 the Tunkers built their meeting-house, which still stands on the main street of the modern Germantown, above Sharpnack Street, and held their first meeting June 8th. The following persons were then members: Alexander Mack, minister, with his wife and daughter; Christopher Saur, exhorter, with his wife and son; Margaret Bozer, deaconess; George Shriber and wife, Henry Slingluff and two daughters, Philip Weaver and wife, Peter Sybert and wife, John Slingluff and wife, Henry Slingluff, Anthony Snyder and wife, Richard Roob, Michael Keyser, Peter Keyser and wife, Jacob Bowman and wife, Justus Fox and wife, John Kime, Conrad Good, Conrad Stamm and wife, Hannah Stamm, Mary Baker, Sarah Baker, Susanna Baker, Eve Fith, Elizabeth Bozer, Mary Bossert, Margaret Herzbach, Magdalen Mellenger, Elizabeth Roob, Christian Van Lashet and wife, William Spyra, Nathaniel Shriber, Katharine Shriber, Henry Sharpnack and wife, Mary Nyse, Rudolph Haly and wife, Mary Fend, Sybelia Ent.

OLD TUNKER CHURCH, GERMANTOWN.

The church had no graveyard for the members, who were buried in the Mennonite and other grounds until 1793, when the yellow fever raged so terribly in the city that sufficient places could hardly be found to bury the dead in. The brethren then took up a subscription for a graveyard, to which Alexander Mack subscribed 10*s*., Peter Keyser 15*s*., Garret Clemens 15*s*., Michael Keyser 10*s*., Dirck Keyser 10*s*., Christian von Lashet 15*s*., Peter Keyser, Jr., 11*s*. 3*d*., William Keyser 10*s*., Benjamin Lehman 11*s*. 3*d*., Thomas Langstroth £1, Peter Leibert 15*s*., etc. In 1804 they also bought the adjoining lot to the meeting-house for a road, that they could drive in with a "*wagon or cart to the stable, and down to the graveyard, if needs be; and also to enlarge the graveyard at a future day.*" Four hundred and thirty pounds were paid for it, in two installments. The first was made up by subscription, and the second was borrowed from Peter Leibert and Peter Keyser, Jr., at six per cent. interest. To the subscription we find Peter Leibert gave $50; Peter Keyser, Jr., $50; Peter Keyser, Sr., $40; Michael Keyser, $30; Benjamin Lehman, $53.33; William Keyser, $20; James Lynd, $10; Keturah Clemens, $10; Catharine Langstroth, $10; John Keyser, $10, etc.

Rev. Alexander Mack, Jr., and Christopher Saur were occasionally assisted by Philip Weaver, Nathaniel Shriber, and Daniel Leatherman. Weaver afterward went to Pipe Creek, Ind., and Schreiber and Leatherman to North Carolina. Rev. C. Saur preached regularly until 1778, and occasionally until April, 1780, when he removed from Germantown to Mathatchey, where he died in August, 1784. The Rev. Peter Keyser succeeded Rev. Christopher Saur,

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and was made bishop Aug. 22, 1802.[1] Although he resided in Philadelphia, his connection with the Germantown meeting remained. He was always ready to conduct the services on Sundays, although he had to come from Philadelphia for the purpose. This duty, without regard to weather, he was never known to neglect. After he was installed as bishop he was assisted in the ministry at Germantown by Charles Hubbs, Christian van Lashet, and John W. Price.

The first Tunker Church in Philadelphia was organized by Bishop Keyser in 1813, and for more than four years the members worshiped in a school-room at the northwest corner of Fourth and Vine Streets. March 19, 1817, the members of this congregation held a meeting for the purpose of considering the expediency of building a meeting-house, when it was stated that nearly five thousand dollars were already subscribed. It was resolved to undertake it, and James Lynd, George Gorgas, Jacob Ziegler, James Gorgas, and John Rink were appointed a committee to procure a piece of ground. They purchased a lot on the east side of Crown Street, below Callowhill, from Jesse Stellwagen for four thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. It was forty-five feet front on Crown Street, running through of that width to Fourth Street, being about eighty-six feet from street to street. Peter Keyser, James Lynd, John Heisler, John Fox, Christopher Lehman, J. Gorgas, Christopher S. Langstroth, Michael Keyser, and John Leibert were appointed trustees, and also were the building committee. Strafer & Ritter agreed to "lay the brick at two dollars and sixty-seven cents per thousand, and the stone at seventy-five cents per perch, and make an allowance in the bill." W. Steinmetz agreed to furnish the brick "at eight dollars and fifty fifty cents per thousand, and give a donation of three thousand brick." William Jones offered to "plaster the house at ten cents per yard, and make a present of fifty dollars." These prices, of nearly seventy years ago, are perhaps worth record.

The house was consecrated Oct. 12, 1817. In the morning Bishop Keyser spoke from the ninth chapter of Hebrews, first to fifth verses. In the afternoon he spoke from the nineteenth chapter of Luke, forty-sixth verse; and in the evening from the twenty-sixth chapter of Acts, twenty-second and twenty-third verses. March 5, 1818, he presented the church with a fine, large pulpit Bible, which was in use until April 21, 1854, when it was replaced by a new one.

The first additions to the church in Philadelphia took place in the baptism of Christian Flower and Catharine Evans, on Easter day, April 6, 1817, in the Schuylkill, by Bishop Keyser. He (Keyser) was assisted by James Lynd, John Heisler, Timothy Bangor, John Righter, Thomas Major, and John Fox in his ministrations to the Philadelphia Church during 1818 and for some time after.

At this time (1884), the denomination of Brethren or Tunkers have two churches in this city, as follows:

Marshall Street above Poplar, Rev. Joel K. Reimer presiding elder; Main Street above Sharpnack, Germantown, Rev. J. R. Reinse.

THE MENNONITES.

The sect known as Mennonites has erroneously been claimed by some writers as Baptists. Dr. William Cathcart, in his "Baptist Encyclopædia," sums up the article upon "Menno and the Mennonites" by the declaration, "The Mennonites of to-day are a little nearer us than are the orthodox members of the Society of Friends, but they are not Baptists." Nor, although nearer to the Society of Friends than to the Baptists, are they identical with the Quakers. At present they have two churches in Philadelphia, and in the United States they have one hundred and twenty churches and twenty thousand members. They have three divisions,—Mennonites, Reformed Mennonites, and the Omish Church, whose discipline is more strict than either of the two first. Mennonite colonists gave early Germantown much of its distinctive character, and among their number were men quite as remarkable in their way as Zinzendorf, Muhlenberg, and Thomas Elwood. It was left for the poet Whittier to discover the hidden literary material in the quiet life and pastoral beauty of that humble colony, and to write of Francis Daniel Pastorius as "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim." Though in later life he joined the Friends, or Quakers, Pastorius was socially and politically the Mennonite leader in early Germantown.

We have said that mild and pure Mennonites much

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[1] Bishop Keyser was for sixty-three years pastor of the Germantown and Philadelphia Churches, of forty-seven of which he was the bishop. He was a most efficient preacher in both the English and German languages. Beside his profound knowledge of Scripture he was also distinguished as an eloquent orator, and whenever he preached he drew crowds of hearers from all denominations. "He was diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord," for beside faithfully discharging his numerous secular and ministerial labors, he was engaged in almost every measure for the good of his fellow-man. He was long a member, and for a while secretary, of the Board of Health, inspector and treasurer of the prison, an active member of the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of the Public Prisons, and was director and controller of the public schools when the system was first adopted. Germantown was his birthplace, and he was baptized by Martin Urner, of Coventry, on the 25th of September, 1784, in the eighteenth year of his age. He was called to the ministry in 1785. In his early youth he was remarkable for his quickness of conception and wonderful retentiveness of memory, which enabled him to commit whole chapters of Scripture with very little labor; and he soon had the whole of the New and Old Testaments indelibly fixed in his memory. In 1794 he relinquished the tanning business in Germantown and removed to Philadelphia to enter into the lumber business, which he carried on with his brother-in-law, George Gorgas, under the firm of Keyser & Gorgas, until 1828, when he retired on a competency, and moved back again to Germantown, into the house left him by his father. (The Tunkers, like the Friends and the Mennonites, do not believe in their ministers devoting themselves entirely to preaching.) Bishop Keyser was a descendant of a family noted for its martyrs. Leonard Keyser, the Mennonite, was publicly burnt to death at the stake near Schaarding, Bavaria, in August, 1527.

The family moved from Germany into Holland, settling in the city of Amsterdam, from whence Dirck Keyser, with his little son, Peter Dirck Keyser, emigrated to America in 1688, and were among the original settlers of Germantown.

resembled the Friends, or Quakers, in their religious beliefs, and the sects readily harmonized. Barclay's "Religious Societies of the Commonwealth" says the early leaders of "Society of Friends took great interest in the Mennonites." The Yearly Meeting of 1709 gave fifty pounds (then a large sum) "for the Mennonites of the Palatinate, who had fled from the persecution of the Calvinists in Switzerland. This required the agreement of the representatives of above four hundred churches." Jacob Felner, a Netherland Mennonite, wrote, Aug. 6, 1709, to Amsterdam, from London, saying that the English Friends had "sent eight families to Pennsylvania and helped them liberally." Quakers joined the Mennonite Church at Haarlem and at Crefeld. Mennonites joined the Quaker Societies in England and in America. The two first histories of the Quakers were written in Holland. William Sewel, the historian, is said to have been a Mennonite. Of all the Germans and Hollanders who came to Pennsylvania during Penn's administration, none were so much in accord with the spirit and hopes of that great lawgiver and statesman. If there is, as there should be, much in religious heritage, no sect in America could lay claim to a nobler history, quiet and seemingly unknown though it be. The Mennonites assert themselves, with good reason, to be descendants of and heirs of the doctrines of the Waldense communities of the twelfth century, and later, the Poor Brethren of Lyons, the martyrs of Provence and of Switzerland. The Waldenses were mostly weavers, tradesmen, and farmers, and they spread over Europe in comparative obscurity, settling in Flanders, thence extending to Holland, where they went by the name of Tisserands or Weavers. The Anabaptists of the sixteenth century drew Mennonites to their ranks. John of Leyden, and Thomas Munzer, those fanatic iconoclasts and socialists, probably had some Waldense followers, but the real strength of the sect sided with the far different movement of Menno Simons, Dirck Philips, David Jovis, and Battenburg, at their noted convention at Buckhold, Westphalia, in 1538. Menno was the first to teach the complete severance of church and state. He also taught the doctrine of the inner light, also non-resistance, and denounced war, infant baptism, and the taking of oaths. They were bitterly persecuted, two hundred and twenty-nine being put to death, seventy-four by fire in Antwerp alone. They were crushed with weights, broken on the wheel, cruelly mutilated, driven from their homes, and so caused to found silk and linen manufactures at Hamburg, in Prussia, and up the Rhine. The men who organized the early Baptist Churches in England had been Mennonites at Amsterdam, and from these Baptists, George Fox, so Barclay says, imbibed many of his views. Hardly anything in the history of the early Quaker missionaries is more interesting than their account of the welcome they received among the Mennonites in Holland and elsewhere, and their naïve astonishment that the doctrines of the two sects should be so similar. Thomas Story, recorder of deeds, left Philadelphia in 1715, and visited the Dutch Mennonites, preaching in many of their assemblies, and entertained by them in staid and cordial fellowship. In religious matters he said they "had no difference."

In the year 1683, William Penn offered a refuge to the persecuted Mennonites, and they settled in Germantown that autumn, having arrived in Philadelphia October 6th. On the 12th of that month a warrant was issued to Pastorius for 6000 acres of land; a fortnight later fourteen divisions were allotted, the colonists drawing lots for choice. By May, 1684, Pastorius had shared out 5350 acres, as follows: to the purchasers in Frankfort, Germany, Jacobus van de Walle 535 acres, John Jacob Schutz 428, Johan Wilhelm Uberfield 107, Daniel Behagel 356¾, George Strauss 178½, Jans Laurens 535, Abraham Hosevoet 535, total 2675 acres; to purchasers from Crefeld, Germany, Jacob Telner 989 acres, Jan Streypers 275, Dirck Sipman 588, Govert Remke 161, Lenert Arets 501, Jacob Isaacs 161, total 2675 acres also. Pastorius received 200 acres, and Jurian Hartsfelder 150 acres. It is said also that Heinrich Frey and, probably, Cornelius Bom were of the first colonists. Pastorius dug the first cave, and others followed his example, and built log huts in which they passed the first winter. Most of the purchasers in Germany seem to have sent friends or relatives with Pastorius. Walter Seimens, Isaac van Bebber, and Jacob Telner, the central figure in the migration, afterward owner of Telner township, on the Skippack, came over in 1684, and for thirteen years lived at Germantown in close business and social relations with the principal Friends. He was the largest land-owner and the first burgess in Germantown, and sold two thousand acres to the Op den Graeffs. In 1698 he removed to London, and was a merchant there as late as 1712. Though often preaching in company with the Quaker ministers, and, indeed, claimed as of that persuasion, he called himself a Mennonite. We shall hear more of Van Bebber, whose brother and father arrived in 1687. Another emigrant of 1684 was Jan Bockenogen, from Haarlem, and an ancestor of the late Henry Armitt Brown, of the Philadelphia bar. Many settlers arrived in 1685 and 1686, among them the Kassels, who brought with them the manuscripts of Ylles Kassel, a Mennonite minister of Krisheim, born before 1618, and graphically describing the sufferings of his inoffensive and pilgrim-like brethren, poor, persecuted, industrious wanderers as they were, hoping and searching in vain for a refuge, until they found it in the peaceful vales of Pennsylvania. Muhlheim, a town on the lower Rhine, also sent many colonists. One by one all but two of the original Crefeld purchasers visited Germantown. Professor Siedensticker, of the University of Pennsylvania, "shows that before 1692 all of the original thirteen

purchasers, except Jan Lensen, had been in one way or another associated with the Quakers." In 1688 the first Mennonite minister in Pennsylvania, Willem Rittinghuysen, great-grandfather of the famous scientist David Rittenhouse, came to Germantown with his family and others, and two years later built, on Wissahickon Creek, the first paper-mill in America. His ancestors had long been paper-makers in the cities of Arnheim and Broich, Holland.

Glimpses of the daily life of the colonists abound. Pastorius says that it will "not be believed by coming generations, in what want and need and with what Christian contentment and persistent industry this German township started." Wilhelm Strypers, in 1784, wrote home, "I have made a brave dwelling-house, and under it a cellar fit to live in, and have much Indian corn and buckwheat." In 1785 the honest Wilhelm had "two pair of leathern breeches, two leather doublets, handkerchiefs, stockings, and a new hat." Bom wrote that he had no rent-tax nor excise to pay, and that the "next year [1685] he would plant an orchard." Most of the Crefeld emigrants were weavers, and Germantown grew to be called a place

> "Where live High German people and Low Dutch,
> Whose trade in weaving linen cloth is much."

Pastorius, therefore, when a town-seal was needed looked out on the fair clover fields, the delicate blue blossoms of slender flax, and the broad arbors of vines under which the honest weavers sat, and he chose a trefoil clover-leaf, bearing a vine, a flax stalk, and a weavers' spool, with the inscription, "Vinum, Linum, et Textrinum." Hendrick Sellers gave the ground for the first Mennonite Church at Germantown, but little further is known about it. Klas Jansen was one of the earliest Mennonite preachers in the region. Pastorius went to Assembly in 1687 and 1691, and Abraham Op den Graeff in 1689, 1690, and 1692. It was on the 18th of February, 1688, that Pastorius, Hendricks, and the two Op den Graeffs, Dirck and Abraham, sent to the Friends' Meeting the first public protest against slavery ever made upon this continent, and from Germantown their protest went to the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, in April, and thence to the Yearly Meeting, at Burlington, in July, being there laid on the table. In 1691 the Keith controversy among the Quakers extended to Germantown, and Pastorius wrote two pamphlets on the subject.

In 1694 Cornelis Plockhoy and his wife, both aged and destitute, sole survivors of the twenty-five Mennonites who had, in 1662, founded the first colony of that sect at Horekill, on the Delaware, came to Germantown, were given a home and cared for. Their colony had been destroyed by Sir Robert Carr in 1664, and of the missing twenty-three colonists no record whatever has ever been found. The same year, 1694, about fifty Pietists and Chiliasts reached Germantown, led by Daniel Falkner, Johannes Kelpius, and others, and founded on the Wissahickon the society of the "Woman in the Wilderness," of which we shall give some further account.

Falkner's Swamp, in Montgomery County, was named after Daniel Falkner, who became a man of considerable note. Reynier Jansen, afterward the printer, arrived about November, 1698, and began printing in Philadelphia in 1699, being the second printer in the middle colonies, and producing books that are now almost unique. The first school was begun December 30th in Germantown, with Pastorius as teacher. The village stocks had been built in 1795, being thought needed to terrorize evil-doers.

In 1702–3 we find the first mention of organization for church purposes. One of Samuel W. Pennypacker's fine historical essays on the early German settlers (printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, and collected in a volume) states that, "Feb. 10, 1703, Arnold van Fossen delivered to Jan Neuss, on behalf of the Mennonites, a deed for six square perches of land for a church, which, however, was not built till six years later." Other sources of information complete the story. It was May 23, 1708, that the Mennonite Church at Germantown was established in a building of their own, they having previously met at private houses. There were fifty-two members, Rev. Jacob Godtschalk and wife, William Rittenhouse and wife, Harman Casdrop and wife, Martin Kolb and wife, Isaac van Centern and wife, Conrad Johnson and wife, Henry Cassel and wife, Harman Taylor, John Kry, Peter Coernerts, Paul Klumpkes, Arnold van Fossen, John Kolb, Wynant Bowman, John Gorgas, Cornelius Classen, Arnold Koster, Mary Tuynen, Helena Krey, Gartrude Conners, Mary van Fossen, Barbara Kolb, Anna Bowman, Margaret Huberts, Mary Sullen, Elizabeth Husters, Margaret Tuysen, Altien Revenstock, John Nise, Hans Nise, John Lensen, Isaac Jacobs, Jacob Isaacs, Hendrick Sellen, John Connerts, Peter Keyser, Herman Koster, Christopher Zimmerman, Sarah van Centern, Civilia Connerts, Altien Tuysen, Catharine Casselberg, and Civilia van Fossen. Branches from this church were established at Skippack, Conestoga, Great Swamp, and Manatawny before 1726, and by that date they had added, as ministers and exhorters, Henry Kolb, Martin Kolb, Claes Johnson, Michael Ziegler, John Gorgas, John Conerads, Claus Rittinghuysen, Hans Burghaltzer, Christian Herr, Benedict Hirschy, Martin Beer, Johannes Bowman, Velte Clemer, Daniel Langanecker, and Jacob Beghtly.

In 1702 the Skippack settlement, of which something has been said in the record of the Moravians and Lutherans, was founded as an outgrowth of the Crefeld purchase and of the Germantown colony. It was in Perkiomen township, in what is now Montgomery County, but then was part of Philadelphia County. Matthias van Bebber bought and located six thousand one hundred and sixty-six acres, and so

the settlement was long called Bebber's township. The colonists brought here under this patent were mostly Mennonites. One hundred acres were given for a church of that denomination, which was built in 1725, the first trustees being Hendrick Seller, Hermann Kuster, Klass Jansen, Martin, Henry, and Jacob Kolb, and Michael Ziegler. The Van Bebbers, or Van Bibbers, were men of means and energy. Their descendants are still persons of mark in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, as well as in Pennsylvania, and many have won eminence as soldiers, lawyers, physicians, clergymen, or writers. A Van Bebber was one of the boldest of the Indian fighters in Western Virginia during colonial times.

In 1727 the Confession of Faith of the Mennonites, translated into English, was published at Philadelphia. It embraced a translation of the Confession of Dortrecht, adopted in 1632. In 1740 the teacher in the Mennonite log church in Germantown was that quaint, pious, and modest pedagogue Christopher Dock, who in 1718, or perhaps 1714, had opened his first school on the Skippack. His treatise on his methods of teaching, finished in August, 1750, formed a fifty-four page pamphlet, published by the younger Saur in 1770. It is thought to be the earliest publication of the kind in America, and Mr. Pennypacker has translated most of it, and also some of Dock's curious hymns, still in use among the Mennonites. Meanwhile the mystic community of Tunkers at Ephrata, Lancaster Co., had obtained a hand printing-press (in 1745) and printed more than fifty books, hymns, and pamphlets. In 1748 they completed the translation from Dutch into German for the Mennonites of Pennsylvania of the latter's great historical book and martyrology, "The Martyr's Mirror" of Tideman Jans Van Braght, which contains much elsewhere unattainable in regard to the origin of their peculiar tenets. It was a massive, brass-clasped folio of fifteen hundred and twelve pages, and is one of the most rare and valuable of the Americana most sought for by bibliophilists.

Dr. J. G. De Hoop Scheffer, of Amsterdam, in a recent work, says that intercourse between the Netherlands and the American Mennonites ceased in 1758, but that a few years later the distinct Mennonite communities near Philadelphia were the following: Skippack, Germantown, Deep Run, Plain, Perkasie, Salford, Rockhill, Saucon, Great Swamp, Mateschen, Lower Milford, Hosensak, and forty near Conestoga. In 1770, however, we get better information from Morgan Edwards, who says that at that time they had in Pennsylvania thirteen churches, forty-two meeting-houses, fifteen ordained ministers or bishops, and fifty-three probationary or licensed preachers. Their families numbered about eight hundred and ten, containing about four thousand and fifty souls, of whom fourteen hundred and forty-eight were baptized members of their churches.

The Germantown Church was under the charge of one of their ministers, but his name is not known. Of the earlier ministers only Benedict Hirschy was living. The same writer, describing their peculiarities, says,—

"They will neither swear, nor fight, nor bear any civil office, nor go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend (though many break through this last). Some of them yet wear their beards. Nor are the ancient rites of washing feet, etc., wholly out of use among them. They, like the Tunkers, use great plainness of speech and dress. This last is so capital a point with them that some have been expelled from their societies for having buckles to their shoes and pocket-holes to their coats."

In a preceding paragraph we spoke of Kelpius and the "Society of the Woman in the Wilderness," begun about 1694. This was the popular name for them, but hardly did justice to their undoubted singleness of purpose, character, and zeal. They numbered about fifty, and after being a short time in Germantown, chose their permanent abode on the Ridge in the neighborhood of the Wissahickon, where they lived in log huts and caves or "dug-outs." John Kelpius, their leader, was from Sieburgen, in Transylvania. The only others whose names are known were John Seelig, Daniel Geissler, Conrad Mathias, Bernard Kuster, Daniel Falkner, and Christopher Witt. All were highly-educated men, much influenced by the mystic views of the mediæval mystics, such as Eckart, Tauler, Weigel, and Böhme. Kelpius wrote and read Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, and English. The hermits were properly classed among the Pietists. Kelpius argued that there was a threefold state of progression in the soul,—the barren, the fruitful, and the sacrificial or transcendent, which last was that of the elect and chosen, who had put everything else aside. We are told, more definitely, that these hermits believed that "the Woman in the Wilderness," mentioned in the Revelation, was prefigurative of the great deliverance that was soon to be displayed for the church of Christ. "As she was to come up from the wilderness leaning on her beloved," so the beloved in the wilderness laid aside all other engagements because being hermits, trimmed their lamps, and adorned themselves with holiness, that they might be prepared to meet the same with joy. Therefore they observed the signs of the times and every new phenomenon, whether moral or preternatural, of meteors, stars, or colors of skies, if peradventure the harbinger might appear. The hut or house of Kelpius was upon what is now called Hermit's Lane, about half way between the Ridge road and the Wissahickon. He died in 1708, and was buried in his garden. The remaining hermits began controversies among themselves upon the subjects of matrimony and celibacy, which led to a breaking up of the community. Some married, and some went to Ephrata. Seelig resided for a number of years with William Levering, near the present Roxborough Baptist Church. He died in 1745. Christopher Witt was not one of the original hermits, not having come to Pennsylvania till 1704. He re-

turned to Germantown after the death of Kelpius, where he practiced medicine, and obtained a wide reputation as a conjuror, root-doctor, botanist, naturalist, and astrologist; indeed, a curious mixture of charlatan and sage. His death, at the age of ninety, occurred in 1765.

THE MORAVIANS.

The Moravians, or United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), have a history that reaches far into the past, and is illustrated by deeds of heroism and endurance second to those of no other church in existence. They are the descendants, and still retain in some degree the ritual and discipline, of the old Bohemian and Moravian Churches of the Middle Ages. Near the close of the fourteenth century their organization had taken decided form. About the year 1400, John Huss, converted by the writings of the great English reformer John Wyclif, organized the famous sect that (known as Hussites) were, after his martyrdom, persecuted with dreadful severity, and some of them took arms, and tried to free Bohemia from Catholicism. The religious wars that followed were fearful in their fanatic excesses and atrocities. The nobles were divided, and all the horrors of civil war swept over the land. Those who believed in peace and suffering rather than assault, were fused into a pure, simple, and beautiful organization, this occurring in the year 1457, to which date the present Moravian Church can refer its origin, thus being the oldest of the Protestant Churches. In 1722, Lewis, Count Zinzendorf, received a company of Moravian exiles on his estate Bertholdsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, and there they founded, under his direction and with his help, that village dear to the hearts of all Moravians, Herrnhut, from which so many missionaries have gone forth. This date marks the reorganization of the noble church which had flourished a century before Luther's Reformation under the auspices of the ardent and eccentric Zinzendorf.[1]

One of the first Moravian colonies to America, sent to Georgia in 1735, failed of success, and its members were removed to the site of Bethlehem, their first permanent settlement in North America. They had spent the summer of 1740 in building a house for the famous George Whitefield, at Nazareth, on his five thousand acres of land, situated in the Forks of the Delaware, and now included in Upper Nazareth township. This tract, purchased early in the spring of 1740 from William Allen, a Philadelphia merchant, was intended by the great itinerant as a colony for such of his followers as chose to leave England, and as the site of a school for negro orphans, but circumstances prevented the fulfillment of his designs. His Moravian workmen, as first stated, were allowed to make a settlement there, and on Dec. 22, 1740, having finished Whitefield's asylum at Nazareth, they began, ten miles distant, to rear Bethlehem. Father David Nitschman, their first bishop, and Bishop John Martin Mack helped to fell the first tree to build the first house. Deep snow lay on the ground, and the cold was intense. The next year the timbers were squared and the stone hewn for a larger building, whose corner-stone was laid Sept. 28, 1741, in the presence of seventeen brethren and sisters. The first house was torn down in 1823; the second is still standing in the west wing of the old row on Church Street, next to the Moravian Church, and is one of the most interesting memorials of early Pennsylvania. The name Bethlehem was bestowed upon the colony by Count Zinzendorf, who expected it to become a station for missionary enterprises among the Indians. Instead of that it soon took the forms of an asylum, a school, and academy, and an organized Moravian centre.[2]

[1] Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, was born at Dresden, May 26, 1700, educated in the Lutheran Church by his grandmother, Baroness Gersdorf, entered Halle in 1710, and the University of Wittenberg in 1716, took an important government position in Saxony in 1721, but resigned it to preach the gospel in 1727. In 1734 he passed an examination in theology at the Stralsund Lutheran University. He came to America in November, 1741, under the assumed name of S. Lewis von Thürnstein. After organizing the First Moravian Church he returned to Europe, Jan. 2, 1743, and died at Herrnhut, May 9, 1760.

[2] Bethlehem has had an interesting history. It is forever associated with self-denying devotion and arduous labor, and is of interest to Christians and to political economists, for here was a sort of society life, pure and kindly. Additions were made to the first buildings until there was a compact assemblage of walls and roofs, massive and foreign in appearance, and thought by many to be representatives of monasteries and nunneries in disguise, though the usages, customs, and spirit of the United Brethren are far different from that of the Church of Rome.

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In 1742, the death of Whitefield's friend and helper, William Seward, changed his plans, and he sold the entire Nazareth tract to the Moravians at cost price, the transfer taking place in London, in 1743, for £2200, or about two dollars per acre. The tract was transferred by the Penns with the rights of court baron, the only manor possessing that privilege, and the feudal right consisted in the payment of a red rose in June of each year. The "Rose Tavern," on whose swinging sign was this floral emblem, built in 1752, is mentioned in colonial history and lives in tradition. The whole domain was nominally the property of Erdmuth Dorothea, Countess of Zinzendorf. Their settlements, according to Reichel's "History of Nazareth Hall," extended to and were made at Ephrata in 1743, in Old Nazareth in 1744, at Gnadenthal in 1745, at Christian Spring in 1748, and in Friedensthal in 1750; the total population of all these in 1754 numbering two hundred and seventy-nine. At this time the total number of Moravians belonging to the "Bethlehem Economy" or commune, and governed by its presiding board, including missionaries, numbered one thousand and thirty-four. The corner-stone of Nazareth Hall was laid May 3, 1755, and among those present were Delawares and Mohicans from Gnadenhütten Missions. Bishop Spangenberg presided, and some of the exercises were held on the green in front of the Ephrata stone house that Moravian hands had reared for Whitefield fifteen years before. Rev. Peter Böhler told of the commencement of Nazareth, and of the first Moravian service held there in May, 1740, under an oak-tree near the Whitefield house. In 1759, June 6th, the hall was opened as a boarding-school for Moravian boys, beginning with ninety-two pupils, transferred from Bethlehem. J. C. Ekesparre was the first principal, and Rev. F. C. Lembke his successor. By 1764 there were one hundred and six pupils under his charge, but the church found itself unable to meet the heavy expense, and a system of retrenchment was adopted ending finally in the closing of the Nazareth School in 1779. But it was reopened as a boarding-school for boys of all denominations in 1785, and has been in prosperous existence ever since.

Some allusion has been made to the social organization of the United Brethren. As soon as they were established in Pennsylvania they began to develop their peculiar system of what deserves to be called "Christian Socialism," being a scheme that in some respects would have delighted the hearts of Ruskin and of Kingsley. It was a communion of labor. According to the best authorities the lands belonged to the church, and the farms, workshops, and factories were worked for its benefit. No money was paid to any one. Members of the society devoted themselves to its service, and were put at work in whatever department seemed to the elders most applicable; the pledge of the church was to furnish the necessaries of life to each family and each member. It was a little commonweath, choosing their officers, and making, under the circumstances, the most ardent and successful efforts to educate all the children, male and female. This is the fundamental fact in Moravian history in this country. Their early relations with the Indians also were such that when the French and Indian wars broke out they were enabled to be of great service to the colonies; and the almost absolute seclusion of the homely, primitive settlements they had made in far-off and then frontier valleys, was broken in upon. The quiet and healthful influence of their quaint and old-fashioned customs and doctrines spread more widely. Interesting, indeed, it is to learn that Zinzendorf's daughter, the young Countess Benigna, opened the first Moravian school in Pennsylvania in a house in Germantown, and it is said planted a pear-tree, still standing. The church was a church of missionaries. They had a fixed purpose, educational and progressive, and were active in Christian philanthropy. The limits of Pennsylvania in 1740 were the Susquehanna on the west, the Blue Mountains on the north. Indian villages abounded, and danger of outbreaks was felt. Philadalphia had a population of but thirteen thousand. The colony was settled by a mixture of all races,—French, German, English, Swedes, Dutch, and others. Especially the Germans were in great need of organized religious societies. There were one hundred and twenty thousand of them in Pennsylvania, nominally Lutheran and Reformed, but having not more than eight or ten ministers in their number, and no church organizations. These were Mennonites, or Simonians, from Holstein, with their offshoots, Flemingians and Waterlandians, Arians and Socinians, Old and New Tunkers, Sabbatarians, Hermits, who lived in retirement near Ephrata; and, in brief, there were representatives of almost every conceivable form of belief and mysticism. Zinzendorf, on his arrival, said that Pennsylvania was a Babel. Spangenberg mourned over the irreligion and neglect everywhere manifest among the Germans. The need of the work the Moravian leaders tried to do was therefore manifest.

Here the elders, bishops, and ministers lived, also the students, artisans, and laborers, and also the self-denying women who established the first Moravian schools for girls. From here missionaries were sent out to the Mohicans and throughout Western Pennsylvania, and even as far east as Connecticut. Here Zinzendorf preached, and here, for fifteen years, Bishop Spangenberg, the friend and biographer of Zinzendorf, lived and labored. At Bethlehem the sexes and various conditions of life were divided into classes or choirs, residing in separate buildings, and each governed by a spiritual adviser selected from its number. Until 1762 it was the head of a communistic association of all the brethren of Pennsylvania. The first important accession to their number was in 1742, when a colony of fifteen married couples, five widowers, and twenty-two young men, all led by Bishop Peter Böhler, arrived from Herrnhut. Jan. 5, 1749, the first school for girls was opened in Bethlehem with sixteen scholars, daughters of missionaries and of devout Moravian brethren. In October, 1785, this arrangement was developed into a day- and boarding-school, in other words, into the Bethlehem Female Seminary, which has continued to the present time with ever widening influence for good. John Andrew Huebner was the first principal, 1785–90. From 1785 until the present time there have been more than six thousand pupils at the Moravian Seminary at Bethlehem.

The first Moravian in Pennsylvania was probably George Böhnisch, who preached in 1734 to the Silesian settlers at Skippack. He organized the first Moravian congregation in Pennsylvania, under the name of the Associated Brethren of Skippack. They built a church upon the Wiegner farm, which is two miles south of Kulpsville, and about eight miles southwest of Hatfield, on the North Pennsylvania Railroad, in Montgomery County. Among the early members were Henry Frey, John Kooken, George Merkel, Christian Weber, John Bonn, Jacob Wenzen, Jost Schmidt, William Bossen, and Jost Becker, of Skippack; Henry Antes, William Frey, George Stiefel, Henry Holstein, and Andrew Frey, of Frederick township; Matthias Ginelem and Abraham Wagner, of Matsche; John Bartolet, Francis Ritter, and William Pott, of Oley; John Bechtel, John Adam Gruber, Blasius Mackinet, and George Bensel, of Germantown. This congregation at Skippack was the rallying point of early Moravians in that region, and when the congregations at Nazareth and Bethlehem were afterward formed, the brethren, in their journeys backward and forward, generally stopped at Skippack on their way. Whitefield preached at Skippack (most probably at Wiegner's farm) on his way to view his purchase of five thousand acres of land at the forks of the Delaware, which he made of William Allen in 1740. He was surprised to find on his arrival that there were two thousand persons ready to listen to him.

The noted Bishop Spangenberg arrived in 1736, David Nitschman followed the same year, and George Neisser in 1737. Peter Böhler settled at Nazareth in 1740, and Christian Rauch began labor among the Mohicans that summer. The field was so large that these devoted apostles could not organize any distinct and individual church. That task was reserved for Zinzendorf at Philadelphia.

On the 10th of December, 1741, Count Lewis Zinzendorf arrived in Philadelphia. He was a man of great talents, and strong desire to do good. He is said to have had a hope of uniting all Protestant Christians into a confederacy or league. As previously stated, he assumed the name Lewis von Thürnstein, and came on an unarmed merchant vessel. Zinzendorf accepted the invitation of Henry Antes, a pious wheelwright and farmer in Falkner's Swamp, now Frederick township, Montgomery Co., and attended a Synod or Conference at Germantown, Jan. 12, 1742. It was regardless of denominationalism, though the German Reformed predominated. Zinzendorf, wishing to become acquainted with the people, went to Germantown before the Synod assembled, reaching there December 30th, and preached in the German Reformed Church on the 1st of January, his first sermon in America, from the text, "And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness." January 12th, the first of seven so-called Pennsylvania Synods was begun. It was in the house of Theobold Endt, a Germantown clockmaker, whose descendants, the Endts, still live in that vicinity. The house yet stands, in good repair, west side of Germantown Avenue, near Queen Street, a quaint two-story stone house. Zinzendorf was made moderator, and for two or three days delegates and visitors from various sects met and discussed the best way of bringing about a more perfect union of all Protestant denominations. There were a number of Moravians present, but not as delegates, for no settled congregation of that sect as yet existed. In this and the succeeding Synods the end aimed at was a noble one, but no definite results were reached, though Zinzendorf's ideas impressed the assemblies, as may be seen by the form of some of their resolutions.

Through the earlier half of 1742, Zinzendorf preached at Oley, at Falkner's Swamp, at Germantown, and other places, and gathered the nuclei of subsequent Moravian congregations. At Falkner's Swamp he organized a congregation on March 30, 1742, and at Oley the next day. It is probable that these congregations existed for a short time, but they were broken up by the superior attractions of Nazareth and Bethlehem.

The establishment of a school at Germantown, which must have led to the formation of a religious congregation under the charge of the Brethren, was an early subject of care. It appears that Andrew Eshenbach, from Naumburg, preached at Germantown in 1740, and was the means of drawing attention to the Moravians. In the early part of 1742 the Brethren rented a house in Germantown of J. Ashmead for Count Zinzendorf and his assistants, which was opened as a school in that year. The Countess Benigna assisted as a teacher, as did also Anna Nitschman, who subsequently became the second wife of Zinzendorf. In the annals of early Moravian settlements (Reichel, p. 181), it is said, under date of March 25, 1742 (Sunday), that Brother Ludwig (Zinzendorf) organized a congregation in Germantown, and preached in the Reformed Church, from Psalms xix. 21. On April 8th he preached there again, from St. John vi. 1–14. In the school on April 29th he preached again to the Germantown congregation from John xx. 24. A love-feast was held at his house on May 4th. The proposed school was opened at his house, with twenty-five girls as pupils. The teachers were Brothers Seyffert, Zander, and George Neissor; Sisters Benigna, Magdalene Muller, and Anna Nitschman. At this time Zinzendorf seems to have alternated between Germantown and Philadelphia. How long the Germantown congregation remained is not known. It must have died out after he left North America.

In Philadelphia Zinzendorf began ministrations in a barn on Arch Street below Fifth, then fitted up with seats and used in partnership by the German Reformed and the Lutherans. His Lutheran tendencies and training fitted him to take charge of a Lu-

theran Church, and May 30, 1742, the congregation above mentioned called him to take its charge. Indeed, it is said that he claimed to be inspector-general of the Lutherans, and had for some months supplied a Lutheran Church in Germantown. He accepted the call of the Philadelphia Lutherans, but wishing to do a certain amount of missionary work elsewhere, associated John Christopher Pyrlæus, a Saxony Presbyter, with him as assistant, and left matters much in his charge. Rev. Henry Jacobson, in his "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia," proceeds to tell what the consequence was. Pyrlæus, though evidently a hard worker, gave offense to a strong faction, and on the 29th of July, 1742, while in the pulpit, and officiating, a gang of his opponents dragged him down, and from his place, trampled upon him, and put him out of the church. The only accounts left do not enable us to identify the cowardly assailants, except that there seems to have been trouble between the growing Moravian element and the conservative Lutheran element. This affair was the prime cause of the establishment of a separate Moravian Church as soon as Zinzendorf returned from his preaching tour. Without this event, to crystallize the tendencies of things, separation might have been long delayed. The foregoing account of the causes which led to the organization of this congregation is that of Rev. Hermann Jacobson in his history, but another view is strongly supported by Mr. Westcott, viz., that the church was built by Zinzendorf, for the Lutheran congregation over which he claimed authority, upon his first arrival in the country, but the arrival of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, with direct authority from the University at Halle, in the latter part of that year, changed the tactics of Von Thürnstein (Zinzendorf), and so he made arrangements to transfer the church to the Moravians.

The congregation Zinzendorf organized consisted of thirty-four persons. They took up a lot on the east side of Bread Street and south side of Sassafras [now Race] Street, which, on Aug. 20, 1742, was transferred by William Allen and wife to Samuel Powell, Joseph Powell, Edward Evans, William Rice, John Okley, and Owen Rice, for a lot thirty-five feet east and west on Sassafras Street, by one hundred and two feet deep. The parties named were not all Moravians, but the deed was made to them in trust, according to the declaration of April 22, 1746, for "a certain congregation of Christian people, as well German as English, residing in the city of Philadelphia, belonging to the church of the Evangelical Brethren, who have caused to be erected thereon a new building for and to their use and service, and intended so to be and remain in their use and service for and as a church and school-house to S. Lewis Thürnstein, knight, David Nitschman, Joseph Spangenberg, Henry Antes, John Broomfield, and Charles Brockden." Twenty-five feet adjoining this lot were afterward purchased, probably before 1746, of Lawrence Kunze, although the conveyance was not actually made until Jan. 15, 1782. The church building was commenced immediately after the conveyance of 1742. The corner-stone was laid Sept. 10, 1742, by Count Zinzendorf, and proceeded with such rapidity that it was dedicated by him on the 25th of November following. This building was set back from Sassafras Street thirty-five feet. It had a front of forty-five feet on Bread Street, afterward called Moravian Alley, and was thirty feet deep. The building was about twenty feet in height to the eaves, from which started a broken pitch- or hip-roof of about ten feet to the upper ridge. There were two large windows on the eastern side, and two of corresponding size on the west. Two small windows were

THE ORIGINAL MORAVIAN CHURCH ABOUT 1742.

on the south, one to give light to the gallery. The discipline of the church requiring that the brethren and sisters should be separated in worship, the sisters' door was on the west side near the south corner of the building, while the brethren entered on the east by a door near the north corner. The church was a two-storied building, the first story being used as the church proper. Ritter's "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia," to whom we are indebted for these particulars, says that the lower audience-chamber, or church proper, was about twenty feet in height from the floor, wainscoted about five feet, and plainly whitewashed above to the ceiling, which was also whitewashed. Stairways, with old-fashioned broad hand-rails, on the north and south sides of the church, led to the galleries, which extended also on the east side of the church. The pulpit was on the west side of the room. Six steps led up to it, and the seat was a board built into the wall. In front of the pulpit a large "gloria" of wood, with carved rays, and

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gilt, darted from the letters "I. H. S." in the centre. A square oaken table in front of the pulpit was covered with a green cloth, with an old-fashioned, high-back, rush-bottom chair behind it. An organ was in the gallery. A sconce and candelabra hung from the ceiling. The pews, ten in number on each side of the church, were separated by a broad aisle. They were really plain benches with a rail at top. The only touches of comfort in the room were the window-curtains on the western side, which were large and of green color. It is believed that in this little room the congregation worshiped for full fifty years, without a stove in winter. This is more probable from the fact that when a stove was obtained, the building being without a chimney, the pipe was led through a window into the yard. The entrance to the hall, or upper chamber, was by stairways leading from the galleries. This room was in fact an attic, the east and west shaped by the roof, but the whole being wainscoted, so as to make the interior sightly. It was lighted by six small dormer-windows on the east and a square window on the south. It was fitted up with a table and chair for the minister or teacher; plain benches; a hanging sconce or candelabra; side branches of tin with candlesticks; a small organ, which was placed on the south side of the room. The hall was, when the church was first opened, intended to be used for night services. But it seems, from a statement in the newspapers of the day, that these exercises were so much interrupted by rude young men who made noises with some sort of an instrument, making a sound like that of a cuckoo, that the attempt had to be relinquished. This room was used for the more sacred ordinances of the church, the washing of feet, the communion, love-feasts, reception of new members into the congregation, and the trials of members for infractions of the ecclesiastical or moral law.

On the 30th of June, 1746, a parsonage house was commenced on the north of the church, which extended to Race Street. It adjoined the latter, and, when finished, made the whole seem like one building. It was thirty feet front by thirty-five feet deep. It was intended for the residence of the minister and of missionary brethren. There were four rooms on the first floor, used for parlor or reception-room, study, kitchen, and room for the family. Five or six sleeping apartments were in the second story, and a passage or door led into the hall or second story of the church adjoining, and it was used by the sisters upon occasion. A similar entrance in the first story admitted the minister. The entrance for the brethren was effected by the original door on the northeast of the church, access to which was had by a passageway ten feet wide, leading from Sassafras Street, on the east of the parsonage. On the east and south of the church was a space reserved for a garden, which was neatly cultivated.

This first Moravian congregation in Philadelphia contained those who had left the Lutherans when the Pyrlæus affair occurred, and a number of Moravians from Herrnhut, by way of England, who had been awhile in Nazareth and Bethlehem (Jan. 1, 1743). On the evening of his departure from America Count Zinzendorf organized these members into the First Moravian Church. Mr. Ritter gives the names of the following Moravian ministers between the years 1743 and 1747, some, and perhaps all, of whom sometimes preached at Philadelphia: Peter Böhler, David Bruce, Thomas Yarrel, John Okley, Owen Rice, Richard Utley, Edward Evans, Thomas Greening, Matthew Reitz, Richard Ronner, Andrew Eschenbach, John Bechtel, and Daniel Neubert. Between 1747 and 1751, Abraham Reinke, Owen Rice, and John Gambold. Rev. Hermann Jacobson says that the brethren of most influence in the congregation were Pyrlæus, Böhler, Rice, Yarrel, Rentz, and Reinke. The last four, ordained as deacons, soon became missionaries and ministers elsewhere.

Count Zinzendorf's zeal frequently led him to measures which would seem strange to persons living at the present day. In a Philadelphia paper, published in 1743, is a letter from Zinzendorf to Frederick Vende, a cooper, residing at Germantown, and his wife, dated Philadelphia, Dec. 26, 1742. It seems to have been a demand for Magdalena, the daughter of Vende, who was claimed as a member of the Moravian congregation. It will show the manner in which the Count discharged his ecclesiastical duties:

"DEAR COOPER AND COOPERESS:

"Although I take you both to be notorious children of the devil, and you, the woman, to be a twofold child of hell, yet I would make your damnation as tolerable as possible. . . . For although the laws of this country wisely provideth against such unreasonable parents, and will not suffer you to keep her against her consent, yet for want of it you may vex her soul. If, therefore, that sevenfold devil which possesseth you will permit you to recollect yourself, then consider what has happened, and leave your daughter to the congregation as perhaps the best means to promote your temporal and perhaps spiritual welfare. . . . In case you die without forcing your daughter away, your former sins shall be forgiven you. But if you presume 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 until she is redeemed."

Zinzendorf's biographers say that the idioms of the colloquial German dialect, in which this and some equally startling letters are written, lends itself poorly to translation, and evidently seemed only a rather strong sort of an appeal to those who received it. However this may be, there is evidence enough of the count's eccentricity in his published sermons and writings. He was a strong, earnest, and very peculiar man, and engaged in many controversies. The Moravian doctrines were attacked by Rev. Gilbert Tennent and other Presbyterians. This led to the publication of an able pamphlet on the Moravian side, entitled, "The Examiner; or, Gilbert against Tennent, containing a confutation of the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Tennent and his adherents. Extracted chiefly from his own writings, and formed upon his own plan of com-

paring the Moravian principles with the standard of orthodoxy, in distinct columns, etc., by Philalethes." In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 7, 1743, is a translation from the Latin, by P. Reading, B.A., of a letter of Lewis von Thürnstein, in which he styles himself deacon of the Moravian Church. It is addressed "To people of all ranks and persuasions which are in Pennsylvania." It sets forth the conditions in which Christian people are dispersed, the different sorts of opinions of religions, and contains a defense of the brethren. It is dated "Lecha [Lehigh], Aug. 29 [according to the vulgar computation], 1742." In the same paper Peter Böhler advertises "that many pieces concerning the Moravian brethren have been mistranslated," and he gives notice that the congregation at Bethlehem will themselves "cause such things to be translated as from time to time they shall judge useful." In the same paper of May 15, 1743, are printed "Answers of the illustrious Count of Zinzendorf, which he wrote down with his own hand in the German tongue, directly upon the sight of the following questions, without any premeditation, at Germantown, March 21, 1741–42. Translated by Peter Böhler."

The questions are upon doctrines, polemical points, etc. The Rev. Gilbert Tennent, in a subsequent paper, reviews Zinzendorf's positions. Zinzendorf made a farewell speech, Dec. 29, 1742 (O. S.), at the house of John Stephen Benezet, a wealthy member of a noble Huguenot family. He settled in Philadelphia in 1731, and had been for some time a Friend, but was the first treasurer of the Moravian congregation, and three of his daughters married Moravian clergymen. The count was his guest when first arriving in Pennsylvania. Said Zinzendorf, "Here, in America, the congregation of God in the spirit is the 'factotum,' and not the Moravian Church." ("Factotum" meaning "chief thing.") "I see no reason," he went on, "why the Moravian order and church discipline should be introduced in this country. The only cause for not leaving the Moravian plan out entirely is, that it unites the Lutheran and the Reformed." Here we see again the apostle's idea of church unity. He set sail for Europe early in January, 1743, and was never again able to visit America, though often expected and ardently longed for, especially by the Nazareth community, which reared its large buildings in full expectation of his speedy return. Financial and political causes combined to prevent this. Yet the most notable figure in early Moravian history in America is that of this picturesque enthusiast, Count Lewis Zinzendorf.

In 1747 the Philadelphia congregation was threatened with disunion. It was composed of both English and Germans, the latter having Brother Rentz as pastor, and the former Brother Yarrel. Bishop Cammerhof, of Bethlehem, wrote to Count Zinzendorf, and explained it by saying that the English were proud and overbearing. The English, on their part, accused the Germans of exercising too severe discipline, and of arrogating all the high officers. The existence of the church was in danger. Bishop Spangenberg had to visit Philadelphia, investigate and measure out judicious punishment. Brother Abraham Rienke was made pastor of both Germans and English.

Meanwhile, as Reichel says in his "Memorials of the Moravian Church," a small congregation was founded by the Moravians in Allemingle township. It commenced in the establishment of a school, which was opened in February, 1747, by the brethren. On Dec. 14, 1751, a new school-house, which had just been erected, was dedicated by Nathaniel Seidel, on which occasion sixty partook of the love-feast and seventeen of the sacrament. In January, 1755, Rev. Abraham Rienke officiated at the first interment made in the graveyard adjoining the house. This building was called in later times "the old white church." The Moravian congregation remained until October, 1755, when in consequence of Indian depredations and barbarities, the church was broken up, and some of the families belonging to it removed to other parts of Pennsylvania. The school-house was afterward sold to the Lutherans.

According to the statements in Ritter's history, the following ministers had charge of the First Moravian Church in Philadelphia during the quarter of the century following the year 1750, to wit: 1651, John Gambold; 1751–53, Abraham Rienke; 1753–54, Jacob Rogers, —— Herman, John Brandtmiller, and Abraham L. Rusmayer; 1754–56, John Valentine Haidt, Christopher Frank, and Thomas Yarrell; 1756–62, Christian Otto Krogstrup, Jasper Payne, —— Herman, Jacob Rogers, —— Till, and Henry Beck; 1762–74, George Neissor, Richard Utley, and Jacob Fries; 1774–84, Daniel Sydrick.

During the same time transient visits were paid to the church by Bishops Spangenberg, Cammerhof, and Rev. George Soelle. The church was maintained during all this time without a settled pastor, the itinerancy being a part of the discipline of the church. Daniel Sydrick, as noted above, was in charge during the Revolutionary war. The history of the Moravians seems to have been a quiet and undisturbed current while the war swept about and over them. We do not hear of any disturbance even during the British possession of Philadelphia. When Sydrick retired, in 1784, Rev. George Neissor, who had been one of their pastors between 1762 and 1764, assumed charge, but died in November, that year, and lies buried in the graveyard at the corner of Franklin and Vine Streets. The itinerant character of the pastorate was at this time changed, and a permanent one established by Rev. John de Watteville, a son-in-law of Count Zinzendorf, and husband of his eldest daughter, Henrietta Benigna Justina. This minister was familiarly called "Brother Johannes," and he was a delegate from the parent church in Herrnhut to its branches

in America. On Sunday, June 5, 1785, the committee appointed by Brother Johannes to transact the business of the United Brethren Church in Philadelphia, met for the first time. It consisted of the following persons: Bernhardt Adam Grube, Jacob Fries, ministers; Adam Goos, George Schloscher, John Peter, John Cornman, George Senneff, Conrad Gerhardt, Godfrey Haga, and Thomas Bartow. This was called the standing committee or vestry, and of that body Brother Thomas Bartow was appointed secretary and general accountant of the church. It appears that Brother Neissor was succeeded by B. A. Grube and Rev. Jacob Fries. The name of the latter does not appear upon the church minutes after June, and Rev. B. A. Grube, between July and October, 1785, also retired. Rev. John Meder succeeded, and was very attentive to his duties, preached regularly twice on Sundays, and added, after the latter service, catechisation and special religious instruction for the youth of his congregation. He also held religious meetings on Wednesday and Friday evenings of each week, and performed all parochial duties. He continued in these ministrations during the dreadful periods of the yellow fever of 1793 and 1798. In 1799 he was called to serve the congregation in New York, and Rev. John Frederick Frueauff was appointed for the vacancy, which he filled until the year 1803.

We have thus brought the story of the Moravian Church down to the beginning of the present century. Let us pause a moment to observe what the manners, customs, and church government of these interesting people were before the great controversies and changes which occurred between 1817 and 1825. The discipline of the church at this time was very straight. Admission to communion was not a matter following upon confirmation. Applicants were admitted only after six months' probation, during which time there were interviews with the minister, conferences and instructions, after which it was necessary that the application should pass the Conference at Bethlehem, where it was determined, after prayer, by lot. The lot was the governing influence among Moravians which settled many difficult matters, most prominent among which was marriage. Under this custom the Moravian who was matrimonially inclined and wanted a wife made known his desire to the minister or Conference. He had the right of suggesting his companion, and if the lot luckily was favorable he was happy, but if he drew a blank or negative the lot was again resorted to, and some marriageable woman chosen. It was his duty to be obedient to the will of Providence. It is claimed by Moravian writers that this chance method of determining the most serious obligation which human beings can enter into was generally happy, even when the persons brought together were previously almost strangers.

In the early period of the church, and until after 1800, there were peculiar regulations in regard to costumes, which were enforced by superior authority. In the meetings the sexes were separated. The women generally wore caps exceedingly plain, and white, three-cornered kerchiefs covering the breast and shoulders. The females were divided into classes, designated by the color of their cap-ties. Young girls from twelve to sixteen years of age were allowed to wear red ribbons; the single sisters who had attained the dignity of womanhood wore pink ribbons; married women were designated by ribbons of blue; while widows had white ribbons to their caps. The brethren were also divided into classes, consisting of great boys (*knaben*), single brethren, married brethren, and widowers. They wore simple costumes, but not such plain marks of distinction between them as were observable among the women. Ritter says,—

"The straight, unlappeled, dark-brown coat, the broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat, the knee-buckled small-clothes, the broad, round-toed shoes were consistent characteristics of a Moravian brother, while the plain drab or silk bonnet, the three-cornered white kerchiefs, the plain silk gown (Sunday dress), the comfortable hood-finished cloak, the stuff shoes for comfort and convenience were the sisters' concession to St. Peter's advice, 'Whose adorning let it not be that outward plaiting the hair and wearing of gold or putting on of apparel.'"

The officers of the church included some not known in other religious organizations. The "inviter" was an officer whose duty it was to give notice of a death, and to invite the friends of the dead person to attend the funeral. Written or printed invitations to attend funerals were before the Revolution, and for some years afterward, unknown. He was dressed in appropriate costume, and passed from house to house, bringing forth the inmates by loud raps administered with his knuckles, or by the knocker, if the door possessed such an adjunct, and, upon response being made, informed the person who answered the summons of the nature of his errand in a proclamation, in a solemn tone, and in set words. The German Churches also had inviters, and upon the cessation of that duty by John Merck, in 1794, Henry Cress, of the German Lutheran Church, was appointed inviter of the Moravian congregation. The chapel servant had charge of such preparations as were necessary during the time of service in the congregation, the preservation of order, etc. His duties were somewhat analogous to those of sexton of a modern church. The almoners administered the charity which the congregations contributed to the needy. The sustentation fund committee had charge of moneys given for the support of the minister and maintenance of worship in the church. This was effected by annual subscriptions of twenty shillings from each subscriber, and from the rent of some small properties near the church. The collections were not many. There was one for the poor annually, which Ritter says yielded from eight to ten pounds. One was taken up for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, usually called the Heathen Society. This averaged about thirteen pounds per annum. There were no

regular Sunday collections. The offerings were taken as the people were departing, upon a pewter plate, at each door, by the chapel servants.

In 1794, the standing committee of 1785 being reduced by the deaths of Brothers Senneff, Peter, and Bartow, their places were filled by the election of Brothers Isaac Smallwood, Jacob Ritter, Sr., and Jacob Frank. Rev. John Meder succeeded Brother Bartow as secretary of the committee between 1792 and 1794, after which Frederick Boller was elected. Brother Bartow, being the steward and general accountant from 1785 to 1792, was succeeded in the latter year by Brother Conrad Gerhardt, who held it until 1814. The collectors of the Sustentation Fund were, in 1785, George Schloscher; 1785 to 1788, George Senneff; 1788 to 1793, Godfrey Haga; from 1793 to 1800, and up to 1823, Jacob Ritter, Sr. The almoner from 1785 to 1814, with the exception of one year, in which George Schloscher officiated, was Conrad Gerhardt. The organists in 1785 were George and John Peter, and they were succeeded by Frederick Boller and John Boller. The chapel servant from 1785 to 1787 was John Merck, and Jacob Frank from 1787 to 1819. John Merck was "inviter" from 1786 to 1794, and was succeeded by Henry Cress and George Gasner, of the Lutheran Church. Brother Jacob Ettwein was grave-digger in 1786, and for some years thereafter.

Until the year 1757 the Moravians owned no burying-ground in the city. The Nazareth burying-ground was laid out in June, 1743, but upon the decease of any of the members interments were made in the various cemeteries in or near the city, either by contract or by courtesy. The cemeteries most used during this period were those of the Church of England, the Quaker burying-ground, and the Potter's Field. In May, 1757, the congregation purchased a piece of ground for burial purposes, of which the following are copies of the titles:

"*Deed May 10th*, 1757.

"Samuel Jones, and Amy his wife, heirs of Joshua Lawrence, to Lewis Cassler, for lot of ground in the Northern Liberties, north side of Vine Street, and west side of a fifty feet street, since called Lawrence Street, being eighty feet two inches on Vine Street by one hundred and forty feet on Lawrence Street, granted by patent of John Penn to Joshua Lawrence with other ground Feb. 15, 1734."

Lewis Cassler subsequently conveyed the above as follows in trust:

"*Deed burial-ground December 28th*, 1786.

"Ludwig Cassler to George Schlosser, John Peter, Adam Goos, John Cornman, Thomas Barton, Godfrey Haga, and Conrad Gerhart, for lot of ground on north side of Vine Street and west side of a fifty feet street called Lawrence Street, in trust. Consideration, £82 15s. Pennsylvania currency, or $215.33⅓.

(Signed) "SAMUEL JONES.
"AMY JONES.

"Witnesses,
"L. WEIS.
"PETER MILLER."

The following, from the church diary, is the account of the consecration of the new ground and the interment of the first corpse:

"1757. The 28th of June was the new burying-ground of the United Brethren in Philadelphia consecrated by Brother Otto Krogstrup, and the first corpse buried, namely, Mary, a daughter of Adam and Margaret Schitteheim, who was born and baptised on the 19th of January, 1755, by Brother Franck, aged 2 years, 4 months, 12 days."

On a slip of paper attached to the above is the following:

"The tombstone is to be in breadth twelve inches, and in length eighteen inches. *Es ist so in Bethlehem ausgemacht.* (It is so made in Bethlehem.)"

The oldest tombstones in the yard are those of Elizabeth Payne, who died Aug. 28, 1757, and Mary Helm, who died June 28, 1757. The Christian Indians during the disturbances with the Paxton boys were protected by the Moravians in the city, but suffered severely with disease. In the period from the 9th of February to the 24th of December, 1764, fifty-six Indians died by smallpox and fever. July 11th, four of them died, on the 16th three, and on the 24th and 28th, each day, three. When the first one died a grave was dug for the body in the church burying-ground on Vine Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. But some "evil-minded persons filled up the grave in the night." After this all who died were buried in the Potter's Field, now Washington Square. The Indians left the barracks on March 20, 1765, being liberally supplied with necessaries by the colonial government, and went to Fort Allen. The Moravian burying-ground appears to have been unprotected, except by a post-and-rail fence, until 1786, when the "committee of the church" ordered the purchase of four thousand feet of New England pine boards to make a board fence, of which report was rendered and account of items stated, amounting to £50 11*s*. 3*d*., which sum was immediately collected and paid. During the prevalence of the yellow fever in 1793 eleven, and in 1798 thirteen, members of the congregation died.

The Nazareth graveyard was laid out in 1756, and Peter Lehnart was the first buried there, Feb. 14, 1756. A matter of considerable interest relates to the method of arranging the graves. A history of religious denominations, published in 1783, remarks that, as one of the peculiarities of the Bethlehem Moravians, "These simple-minded people lay their dead with their heads to the south and their feet to the north." But this is not a universal rule. In Herrnhut, the Moravian Mecca, the place where the Unitas Fratrum were renewed, the dead are buried in rows, east and west, the feet toward the west. In Nazareth, Lancaster, Litiz, Philadelphia, and Lebanon they were buried lying east and west, with feet toward the east. In the Bethlehem cemetery it is the lay of the land which induced the north and south arrangement.

When the nineteenth century dawned the pastor of the First, or Race Street, Church was Rev. John Frederick Frueauff, but in 1803 he was called to the inspectorship of Nazareth Hall, and so resigned his

charge.[1] Rev. Joseph Zaeslein became his successor, and served till 1812; but losing his wife, and the church rules forbidding any one without a wife from acting as minister, he resigned and went to Bethlehem. Rev. John C. Beehler occupied the pulpit for one year, then went to Staten Island, N. Y. Rev. John Meder (who had ministered to the congregation from 1785 to 1789) again assumed charge, but in 1814 was succeeded by Rev. George Godfrey Miller, of Muskingum Station. In 1817 the latter removed to Litiz, then a strong Moravian centre. Rev. William Henry van Vleck was next appointed in 1817. He preached his introductory sermon in English from 1 Cor. iii. 11–13. During the pastorship of this clergyman a question came to a final decision which had been mooted in the congregation in 1806. The situation of the church at the corner of Race and Bread Streets had become by the changes in business an active neighborhood not inviting to strangers; not only the objection to the locality was urged, but the fact that the old church was inconvenient and too small. Want of funds and the difficulty of finding another suitable location quelled the agitation in 1806. It was renewed about ten years afterward. There were some who advocated building upon the burial-ground lot of the congregation at Lawrence [now Franklin] and Vine Streets. But there was not unanimity, and the matter was again suspended.

In 1817 the congregation settled finally an irritating question, which had been the cause of heat, controversy, and separation in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, namely: the subject of changing the services from the German to the English language. The Moravian congregation in Philadelphia had been founded by Germans, and was under the control of the Bethlehem establishment, which was entirely German. But the changes in manner, and the fact that the German children were taught in English, and that they forgot the language of their fathers as soon as possible, offered a serious obstacle to the progress of the congregation. In fact, the German element in the Moravian congregation had been so weakened years before that it was not able to resist, even had it been willing to do so, the partial use of English in the church services. They were held every other Sunday in German; but, the majority now becoming in great degree English, they joined in 1817 in voting that the German language should not be used in the future services of the church. The question was carried by a large majority, there being few Germans in the congregation willing to contest the matter. The result of this movement was exceedingly beneficial to the church. It brought into the congregation a new element, and, in comparison with previous progress, may be said to have originated a new era of prosperity. Mr. Van Vleck was fully capable of carrying on the services in English to the entire satisfaction of persons acquainted only with that tongue. Ritter says, "His popularity was induced as well by his unadorned oratory and manner as by the spirit-endowed matter. Untiring in zeal and winning in its application, he reached the heart kindly."

The access of new members and the dissatisfaction with the old arrangements brought the question of a change of the location of the church into prominence once more in 1819. It seemed that there could be no agreement as to the proper place for the new location, and at length it was determined to tear down the old church on Race Street, and erect a more modern and convenient edifice in its place. The committee was composed of Daniel Man, Francis Kampman, Jacob Boller, William Gerhard, and George Ritter.

In the spring of 1819 the venerable building, which at that time was the most quaint and striking specimen of the style of architecture of the eighteenth century, and where the fathers of the Moravian Church in America had preached, was, after seventy-seven years of service, torn down. The corner-stone of the new building was laid on the 12th of May, 1819. Fifteen clergymen of the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Lutheran, Reformed, and Baptist Churches assembled in the Moravian parsonage and accompanied Rev. Mr. Van Vleck to the spot where the ceremony took place. Mr. Van Vleck delivered an address, and placed in a box to be inclosed in the corner-stone books, coins, written papers, names of officers of the church, etc., and this inscription:

"This corner-stone
of a new church or meeting-house of the
society styled
The Protestant Episcopal Church of the Unitas
Fratrum, or United Brethren,
adhering to the twenty-one doctrinal doctrines
of the
Augustan Confesses or Confession of Augsburg,
erected on the site of the former church
built in the year 1742,
was solemnly laid
in the name of God the Father, God the Son,
and God the Holy Ghost."
May 12, 1819.

"Text appointed for the day in the Brethren's Church, 'I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds, saith the Lord.'—Jeremiah xxx. 9.

"'Ye are the temple of the living God.'—2d Corinthians i. 16.

"Present number of members belonging to the congregation one hundred and fifty adults, of whom fifty are communicants; one hundred children; total, two hundred and fifty."

[1] Nazareth Hall and the boarding-school there, as well as the extended economy of the brethren, had been extremely prosperous, outgrowing their earlier difficulties. Rev. C. G. Reichel, a graduate of the Moravian Theological Seminary in Barby (Saxony), became in 1785 principal of the school, and so remained till 1802; during these seventeen years one hundred and sixty-three pupils were taught there. Mr. Reichel was then made a bishop, and called to Salem, N. C., where the Moravians had settled in 1753. In 1818 he returned to Herrnhut. Mr. Fruesauff must have held an inspectorship over some other department at Nazareth, as Reichel's successor, Rev. Jacob Van Vleck, took immediate charge of the school, serving from 1802 until 1809. This gentleman was descended from an old Dutch family in New York, and during his administration the Moravian Theological Seminary was founded.

In order to suffer as little inconvenience as possible, the southern portion of the building, which comprised the original house for the church, was first torn down, and the new church building was erected upon its site. The old parsonage building, which fronted the church on Race Street, was left standing, to be used until the church was completed. The congregation removed for public worship to the old academy on Fourth Street, below Arch. The English Lutheran congregation of St. Matthew's was worshiping there at the same time, and an amicable arrangement was made between the two congregations, by which it was agreed that the Rev. Mr. Van Vleck should preach alternately with the Rev. Mr. Cruse, of St. Matthew's. The contractor for the building was Joseph Worrell, a member of the society. Its dimensions were forty-four by fifty-three feet. Mr. Van Vleck conducted the regular services of the day, preaching from 1 Kings, chapter ix., verse 3. In the afternoon there were further services, in which the Rev. Dr. Broadhead, of the Dutch Reformed Church, and Dr. Helmuth, of St. Michael's and Zion's Lutheran Churches, took part. In the evening the Rev. Mr. Cruse, of St. Matthew's English Lutheran Association, and Mr. Helfenstein, of the German Reformed Church, assisted Mr. Van Vleck. There were also present Bishop White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and Rev. Drs. Shaefer and Mayer, of the Lutheran Church.

The building cost about ten thousand dollars, one half of which was the gift of Godfrey Haga. Ritter says, in his description of the building,—

"The front entrance of the church was guarded by a small vestibule of about five feet in depth and ten in breadth, leaving a door at each side opening to the stairway of the galleries, as well as to the area below; but for the more convenient egress of the congregation, a large folding-door formed the centre of the partition. The elevation of the building was two feet six inches, leaving only space below for a current of air. A cellar was objected to, lest at some future period it might be let for the storage of malt or spirituous liquors. The height of the building was twenty-nine feet to the eaves, and thirty-six feet to the apex. The interior arrangement was plain and unadorned. The pulpit was a meagre apology for a sightly rostrum."

The side galleries were nine feet wide; the organ gallery twelve feet. A new organ, which cost twelve hundred dollars, was placed in position in 1825, E. N. Scherr builder; the old organ, which had cost four hundred dollars, being taken in part payment. The first organ the church had bought was in 1797, of Peter Kuntz, organist of Christ Church, and was in use till 1809, when it was exchanged with John Shermer for one of four stops, which cost four hundred dollars, valuing the old organ, which was taken in part payment, at one hundred and twenty dollars, thus requiring only two hundred and eighty dollars in cash. This organ remained until after the erection of the new church, in 1819. The organists between 1800 and 1825 were Frederick Boller, John Boller, Jacob Boller, and Abraham Ritter, who served from 1817 to 1843.

After the church was dedicated the old parsonage on Race Street was torn down, and a passage through from Race Street was opened. On each side of this space was built a three-story brick house for the church home, one of them being the residence of the pastor. In 1822, Mr. Van Vleck was called to the inspectorship of Nazareth Hall. He was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Reinke, who served until December, 1822. He preached his valedictory sermon November 8th, from Acts xx. 18. He was succeeded by Rev. John G. Herman, who was in charge of the congregation in 1825.

During this quarter-century there were changes in the officers of the church. The standing committee —analogous to the vestry or trustees in other churches —was composed in 1800 of Isaac Smallwood, Jacob Ritter, Sr., and Jacob Frank. From 1803 to 1809 it consisted of Conrad Gerhardt, Godfrey Haga, Jacob Frank, Jacob Ritter, Sr., John Jordan, and John Boller. In 1809 there was a vacancy caused by the death of John Boller, and Benjamin Lyndall was chosen to fill it. Conrad Gerhardt died in 1814, and his place was filled by the election of Jacob Ritter, Jr., in 1817. In 1821 Adam Neiss replaced Jacob Frank, deceased. He was expelled in the succeeding year, and Joseph Lyndall was elected in his place. In 1825, Joseph Lyndall and Godfrey Haga being dead, John W. Peter and George Esler were elected. Benjamin Lyndall died in 1818, and Thomas C. Leuders was chosen in his place. The secretaries of the committee were as follows: 1794–1802, Frederick Boller; 1802–9, John Boller; 1809–18, Jacob Ritter, Jr.; 1818–25, John Wise Peters. The treasurers of the church were: from 1795–1814, Conrad Gerhardt; from 1814–15, William Gerhardt; and from 1815–34, Jacob Ritter, Jr. The stewards after Thomas Barton, who served from 1785 to 1792, were: Conrad Gerhardt, 1792–1814; William Gerhardt, 1814–15; John Jordan, 1815–36.

The collector of the sustentation fund from 1793 to 1823 was Jacob Ritter, Sr. The almoners were, from 1788 to 1815, Conrad Gerhardt, and from 1815 to 1836, William Gerhardt. The superintendent of the burial-ground from 1812 to 1818 was Benjamin Lyndall, and from 1818 to 1825, and afterward, Jacob Ritter, Jr.

Jacob Frank, the chapel servant, who was appointed in 1787, served until his death, Nov. 26, 1819, he being then above the age of seventy-six years. Jacob Ritter, Sr., was also chapel servant from 1787 to 1819. They were assisted in those positions between 1801 and 1804 by Zachariah Poulson, father of Zachariah Poulson, publisher of the *Daily Advertiser*. Poulson, Sr., was a native of Denmark, and was born at Copenhagen, June 16, 1737. His father, Nicholas Poulson, brought him to America in 1749, settling in Germantown, where he died a few years afterward. Zachariah was placed as an apprentice with Christopher Sauer, printer, in Germantown. He married Anna Barbara, daughter of Andrew Stollenberger,

formerly of Lindenbach, near Wertheim-Leibenstein, in Germany. Zachariah Poulson died in Philadelphia, June 4, 1804. He was succeeded as chapel servant by Jacob Ritter, who served for many years. In 1820, Adam Neiss took this office, but was expelled from the church in the same year, and George Ritter was elected in 1820. He served many years afterward.

Godfrey Haga, long a member of this congregation, died in 1825. He had disposed of one hundred thousand dollars in charitable gifts in the nine years previous to his death. In his will, after bequests to relatives and friends, amounting to more than fifty thousand dollars, he bequeathed two thousand dollars to the Church of the United Brethren, six thousand dollars to the bishop at Bethlehem, to be divided among superannuated preachers and their widows, and twenty-five thousand dollars were bequeathed to benevolent institutions in Philadelphia. The residue of his estate was bequeathed to the Society of the United Brethren for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, of which he was a member, the interest on twenty thousand dollars of that amount to be expended at Nazareth Hall in educating pious young men for the gospel ministry and for missionary purposes; the residue for the "purpose of enlarging the schools in the Indian country of North America and elsewhere, for furnishing and providing books, diet, and clothing for such children whose parents are unable to supply them, and for the instruction of persons as schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in the seminaries of Nazareth and Bethlehem." The value of this residue thus disposed of was two hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

A number of the earliest members of the church died during this period. John Adam Goos, born in 1712, probably one of the "original thirty-four," whose names are not all recorded, died Nov. 28, 1804, aged ninety-two. George Schlosser died Feb. 25, 1802, aged eighty-seven; Conrad Gerhardt, Feb. 24, 1815, aged seventy-five; John Cornman, June 22, 1794; Isaac Smallwood, Jan. 7, 1811, aged fifty-six; John F. Boller, Nov. 24, 1802, aged thirty-five; Abram Frank, Nov. 26, 1819, aged seventy-six. In 1805 the burial-ground at Lawrence and Vine Streets was surrounded with a strong brick wall, as the street had been graded several feet below the natural surface.

In November, 1817, the congregation received an elegant piece of plate for the baptismal rite, inscribed "Unitas Fratrum, Philadelphia." It was the gift of an unknown lady, who sent it with a note, unsigned, begging its acceptance. A set of silver plate for communion service was presented by Capt. James King in 1820, and is still in use. The first Sunday-school was opened at the church Feb. 26, 1820, with about seventy scholars. A Bible class for men was opened Oct. 24, 1821, and was held weekly.

The church built in 1819 was soon found to be inconveniently located, and in some other respects not suited to the needs of the congregation. In the spring of 1853 the sale of the old premises was ordered, and also that a new church be built on some new site. The lot so long occupied as a burial-ground seemed to fulfill the requirements, and was adopted. March 7, 1854, the property at the corner of Race and Bread Streets was sold for sixteen thousand dollars at public auction. Thus the home and birthplace of Moravianism in Philadelphia passed into secular hands after one hundred and twelve years of use by the "Unitas Fratrum." The sum of seven thousand five hundred dollars was paid for ground sufficient to extend the cemetery lot to the corner of Franklin and Wood, and for a brick house already occupying the corner. The house was demolished, and April 30, 1855, the corner-stone of the new edifice was laid by Bishop Wolle, aided by the pastor, Rev. E. A. de Schweinitz, Brethren Bohnsen, Schultz, and others, besides Dr. Mayer, of the English Lutheran, and Revs. J. Berg and Bomberger, of the German Reformed, Churches. On the 26th of January the church was formally dedicated. The building committee consisted of Abraham Ritter, Jacob E. Hagert, Charles L. Bute, and Francis Jordan. The dimensions of the building were fifty-five by eighty feet. This church, like its predecessor, stands on classic ground. A portion of its site had been for one hundred and twenty years in Moravian hands, and here, in the midst of trade and commerce, rests the hallowed dust of the elders and the founders of the church. On the 25th of November, 1883, one hundred and forty-one years had passed since Moravians met in their own church in Philadelphia.

We have said that the present church building is at the southwest corner of Wood and Franklin Streets, and open to Vine Street. The principal room has space for five hundred worshipers. The basement floor has a vestibule, Sunday-school room, minister's room, apartment for "love-feast" arrangements, and other conveniences. The organ is eighteen feet front, eight feet deep, and twenty-nine feet high, and cost two thousand dollars. The furniture is neat and worthy of the place.

The more recent changes in pastorate and committees must be noted. It was in 1822 that Rev. W. H. Van Vleck was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Renike, who served one year, and was followed by Rev. John G. Hermann, who went to Lancaster in 1826. Rev. Peter Wolle then took charge until 1836, and Rev. David Bigler, from Antigua, followed, until 1842. Rev. Henry A. Schults served from Sept. 1, 1842, to June, 1844, and Rev. William H. Benade till November, 1844. From the month of November Rev. Emanuel Rondthaler supplied the pulpit until Nov. 30, 1848, when his death occurred, and Rev. Edward Reichel filled the gap until April, 1849. Rev. Edward Rondthaler then assumed the pastorate until August, 1853, when Rev. Edmund A. De Schweinitz took charge.

In the church committees the changes up to 1825 have been given already. In 1830, Abraham Klewel was chosen in place of J. W. Peter, deceased. In 1834 the tenure for life or good-behavior plan was changed to an election for a term of three years. The first committee consisted of Brothers John Jordan, John Binns, Valentine Hent, Thomas C. Lueders, Charles L. Bute, and Abraham Ritter. In 1837, Charles Williams took the place of Valentine Hent. In the election of 1840 the latter returned to office, and William Boller took Mr. Lueders' place. In 1843, Joseph Cake and Thomas W. Jones took the places of Mr. Bute and Mr. Williams. The board of 1846 was as follows: George Esler, William Boller, John Binns, A. B. Renshaw, Frederick Wilhelm, Alexander Leimer. In 1847 the church was incorporated, and the standing committee called elders. The election of 1849 chose A. B. Renshaw, T. W. Jones, Philip A. Cregar, Charles Williams, Alexander Smith, and Frederick Bourquin. In 1862, Abraham Ritter took Mr. Williams' place on the committee, and in 1855 Mr. Bourquin and Mr. Jones retired in favor of Charles Williams and C. L. Bute.

The stewardship was held by Thomas C. Lueders, 1836–38; Charles L. Bute, 1838–42; Valentine Hent, 1842–45; Thomas W. Jones, 1845–46; Frederick Wilhelm, 1846–49. The secretaryship was held by Henry J. Boller, 1825–33; John P. Binns, 1833–36; Abraham Ritter, 1836–40; William Bollar, 1840–47. The almoners were William Gerhard, 1836–46; F. Wilhelm, 1846–49; A. B. Renshaw, 1849–52; Abraham Ritter, 1852.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.[1]

Before entering fairly upon a sketch of the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, it may be said that, as it is at present organized, this denomination may be viewed from two different points,—*i.e.*, the *civil and political*, or the strictly *ecclesiastical*. The parishes are organized bodies incorporated under the State laws, and practically they are, in many respects, the sources of all power. They form the primary constituencies of the church. A number of citizens wishing to establish a parish organize themselves, and apply to the civil authorities for a charter, and if there are no legal hindrances they become duly incorporated. By a vote of the Diocesan Convention they are "admitted into union with the diocese," and acquire the right to send three lay members as deputies to represent the parish in the Episcopal Convention. They elect their own rectors. The clergy have seats in the Convention by right of their orders, and many of them have no parochial connection. The clergy represent themselves; the parishes are represented by the lay deputies. In any important matter the vote is taken in the Convention "by orders," and a majority of the clergy and a majority of the laity (and in some cases the consent of the bishop) is necessary to the approval of the proposed action. This principle of a distinct recognition of the rights of the laity runs through all the higher deliberative councils of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and has done so from its first organization after the war for independence.

In the other, the strictly *ecclesiastical* view, the bishops are the source of power. They alone can lawfully ordain the clergy, who in turn administer the sacraments of the church. Bishop Bedell says, "No historical record of a succession of civil governments is so perfect as is the proof of the perpetuation of the Episcopate in Christ's Church, by a succession of consecrators, dating back to the Apostles' days."

No attempt has ever been made to establish in Philadelphia *parochial boundaries*, the whole city being theoretically regarded as the joint parish of all the rectors of the churches in the city limits. For a few years, about 1855, an informal division of the city into parochial divisions was made, for the purpose of systematically distributing relief to the poor, through the Episcopal Aid Society (which has long ceased to exist), but it was altogether informal and temporary. Quite recently, to avert the evils of the erection of rival churches near each other, a canon was passed, forbidding, under ordinary circumstances, the erection of a church in a new locality without the consent of the rectors of the three churches nearest to the proposed new site. This canon has accomplished its object, doubtless, but has practically proved something of a hindrance to the rapid growth and extension of the church. Something like parochial metes and bounds will doubtless ultimately be established.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia has always comprised a large number of persons of wealth and prominent social position. It has received, not only into the ranks of its clergy but also into its general membership, large and valuable additions from those who by birth and early training were affiliated with other religious bodies. The United States census of 1880 gives the Protestant Episcopal Church in the country at large almost the largest percentage of comparative increase during the preceding decade, and this steady and rapid growth is largely accounted for by additions from those of other denominations.

To all who are identified with the Protestant Episcopal Church the Episcopate is the centre of influence and government. The bishop is placed in such peculiar relations to all the souls in his diocese, and to all associations, authoritative assemblages, and institutions of the diocese, that very much of the church history will naturally centre around him, and the life and activities of the church and the life and labors of the bishop run parallel and are closely interwoven. This was to an unusual degree the case with Bishop William White. He took so prominent

[1] The history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia was contributed by Rev. Washington B. Erben.

a part in the affairs of the church at a critical period in its history, he was so influential in arranging its orders, discipline, doctrine, and worship, and his life was so prolonged in the high station to which he was called, and which he so honorably filled, that his personal labors and influence are apparent in much of the early history of the church.

He held a prominent position in the church at large, and his influence was widely felt. But Philadelphia was his home, and here most of his work was performed, and no general history of this city would be complete that did not notice his life and labors.

The Rt. Rev. William White, D.D., the "Father of the American Church," was the son of Col. Thomas and Mary White, and was born in Philadelphia, March 26, 1748.[1] He pursued his studies and received his earlier education in the preparatory department and the grammar school connected with the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania), and graduated at the age of seventeen. At that early age he had already decided to devote himself to the ministry of the church. For several years he pursued his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Peters and the Rev. Dr. Duché. He took special interest and pleasure in a course of theological exercises, in which four other young men looking forward to the ministry joined with him, under the direction of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the college. During the Sunday evenings of a few months, for several successive years, these young men wrote out and delivered notes and exegeses upon Bible history. These exercises having been first submitted to the provost, were then delivered in public, in the hall of the old college, two speakers in turn each evening, the provost at the conclusion enlarging upon the themes discussed by the young men. The bishop says, "Although this was far from being a complete course of ecclesiastical studies, it called to a variety of reading and to a concentration of what was read, and was also of use as an introduction to public speaking."

BISHOP WILLIAM WHITE.

There was no bishop in America, and to obtain orders he sailed from Chester for London on Oct. 15, 1770, in the ship "Britannia." He was received in England by his aunts, Miss White and Mrs. Weeks. There were several obstacles in the way of his securing immediate ordination. He was not yet quite twenty-three, the canonical age for ordination, and he was not a graduate of either Oxford or Cambridge. The archbishop of Canterbury granted a faculty or dispensation for his ordination *infra ætatem*, and he passed so successful an examination, as to his learning, before the bishop and three clergymen, that the examining chaplain said, "that his examination would have been an honor to either of the universities."

He was ordained deacon on Dec. 23, 1770, in the Chapel Royal of St. James' Palace, Westminster, by Dr. Philip Yonge, Bishop of Norwich, acting for the Bishop of London. He remained in England until he reached the canonical age of twenty-four years, requisite to his ordination to the priesthood. He performed no clinical duties, but pursued his studies, visited several parts of England, and spent some weeks at Oxford. On April 25, 1772, he was advanced to the priesthood by Dr. Richard Terrick, Bishop of London. The English colonies in America were then under the Episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and after his ordination the bishop licensed the Rev. Mr. White to officiate in Pennsylvania. He sailed from England in June, on the ship "Pennsylvania Packet," Capt. Osborne, and after a tedious voyage reached Philadelphia on the 19th of September, 1772.

The Rev. Richard Peters, rector of the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, asked the vestry to secure the services of two assistants, as the work was too great for himself and the Rev. Mr. Duché, and suggested the appointment of the Rev. William White and his friend and collegemate, the Rev. Thomas Coombe. The rector consented to give to each of the assistants one hundred pounds per annum, in addition to any sum given by the vestry, and on Nov. 30, 1772, the Rev. Mr. White entered upon his duties as an assistant minister in the united churches, at a stipend of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. This was the commencement of his connection with this parish, which continued unbroken for sixty-four years. The Rev. Dr.

[1] He was baptized in Christ Church on May 25, 1748, by the Rev. Dr. Jenney.

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Peters died July 10, 1776. The Rev. Jacob Duché, a native of Philadelphia, who had been the popular and acceptable assistant in the United Churches since 1759, was elected rector. Mr. Duché left for England in 1777, where, ten years after, in 1787, he witnessed in Lambeth Chapel the consecration of his former assistant, successor, and friend as bishop of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

At the commencement of the war of independence the Rev. Mr. White at once espoused the cause of the colonists. On the very day on which independence was declared the vestry of the United Churches requested the rector and assistant ministers to "omit those petitions in the liturgy wherein the king of Great Britain is prayed for," and he acquiesced in their action. In 1776 he took the required oath of allegiance to the United States. Rev. Dr. Bird Wilson, in his "Life of Bishop White," says of him, "When he went to the court-house for the purpose a gentleman of his acquaintance, standing there, observing his design, intimated to him by a gesture the danger to which he would expose himself. After having taken the oath he remarked, before leaving the court-house, to the gentleman alluded to, 'I perceive by your gesture that you thought I was exposing my neck to great danger by the step which I have taken; but I have not taken it without full deliberation. I know my danger, and that it is greater upon account of my being a clergyman of the Church of England. But I trust in Providence. The cause is a just one, and I am persuaded will be protected.'"

Immediately after the battle of Germantown, in 1777, the British troops entered Philadelphia, and Congress adjourned to Lancaster and York. The Rev. Mr. White went to the residence of his brother-in-law, Mr. Aquila Hall, of Harford County, Md., and while on his way thither, was informed of his appointment by Congress as its chaplain, and he immediately proceeded to York to fulfill the duties of that office. The Rev. Mr. Duché, it may be stated, who won all hearts by his enthusiastic espousal of the cause of the colonists, and whose name is associated with the first prayer offered in Congress in 1775, changed his views, and believing the cause of the colonists to have become hopeless, he retired to England in 1777. The rectorship was subsequently declared vacant. The British left Philadelphia on June 18, 1778, for New York, and Congress re-entered the city in July following. Dr. White returned, resumed his ministry in the United Churches, and was elected rector by the vestry on Easter, 1779. He was chosen one of the chaplains of Congress each successive year until the removal of the seat of government to Washington, in 1801.

It would be foreign to a history of Philadelphia to enter into any very prolonged account of the general ecclesiastical questions which affected the condition of the members of the Church of England in the American colonies during the period prior to the consecration of Bishop White. We shall here notice, as briefly as possible, some of the matters which affected the church in Philadelphia, or were settled in this city, and in the arrangement of which Bishop White took a prominent part. The Bishop of London had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the colonial churches. There was no bishop on this side of the Atlantic. The rite of confirmation could not be administered, and any one in this country who wished to be ordained to the ministry of the church had to make the long, perilous, and expensive voyage to England, to be admitted there to holy orders.

At the commencement of the Revolution many of the clergy who were in the colonies felt that by reason of their connection with the State church, and their allegiance to the crown, they were in conscience bound not to oppose the royal authority. From various causes many of them retired to England, and the churches where they had ministered were closed. After the close of the Revolutionary war all connection with the Church of England was of course at an end. The clergy left here were few in number, widely scattered, and bound together by no formal organization. Strong popular prejudices existed among many who were not Episcopalians against an Episcopal Church, as not consistent with a Republican form of government. These facts, and the added fact that at that period the Church of England was not enabled by law to extend the episcopate to any who would not swear allegiance to the British crown, as required by the English ordinal, enhanced the difficulties which environed the Episcopalians in the colonies.

Several meetings of a general character had brought together a number of the clergy in the colonies at various periods. The first meeting of which anything is known was held in Philadelphia in 1760. Another was held May 20, 1761. The Rev. Dr. Smith and Rev. Messrs. Campbell, Craig, Reading, Sturgeon, Neill, Barton, Inglis, Thompson, Duché, Chandler, of New Jersey, and Keene, of Maryland, were present. The facilities for travel were poor, the distances which separated them great, and it is doubtful whether these meetings were continued. In 1783 a Convention was held in Connecticut, and Rev. Samuel Seabury was elected bishop, and requested to go to England, and, if possible, obtain consecration at the hands of the English bishops, and if not successful there, to apply to the non-juring bishops of the church in Scotland.

The Rev. William White called a meeting of his vestry in November, 1783, which led to further measures, culminating in the meeting of a Convention of delegates from Pennsylvania churches, held at Christ Church, May 27, 1784. This was followed by a meeting held in New York, attended by representatives of seven States, and by a meeting held in Christ Church, Philadelphia, Sept. 27, 1785, over which Dr. White presided, and which was also attended by representatives from seven States. At this meeting the

title, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, was formally adopted as the name of the ecclesiastical organization. This title had been first used in a "Declaration of Rights and Liberties," drawn up by the clergy in Maryland, at a meeting held to consider church affairs.

A correspondence was entered into with the English Church respecting the consecration of American bishops. The question was a novel one, and there was considerable delay. The English bishops had to first secure authority from Parliament for such action, and they wished first to be assured as to what the doctrine and ritual of the American Church would be, for the American Convention had made a revision of the Prayer-Book. The Rev. Dr. William Smith, of Philadelphia, had, among others, taken a prominent part in the work of revising the Prayer-Book. At last all was made satisfactory to the English authorities, and they were willing to consecrate three of the American clergy who should have been chosen by the Conventions held in the States, as bishops. The results of this have proved to be widespread and far-reaching.

The thirteen English colonies in struggling successfully for freedom from unjust and tyrannical government by the crown, fought and won a battle, the fruits of which are now enjoyed by the English-speaking colonists all over the globe, for the present extensive English colonies are far more kindly governed than were the original thirteen colonies before the Revolutionary war. In the same way the English churchmen in the American States, who finally succeeded in persuading the Church of England to provide lawfully consecrated bishops of the Anglican succession for the United States, started and quickened a movement which has outrun these bounds. The establishment of colonial episcopates by the Church of England during the past century has been a marvel. They are numerous, effective, and exist now wherever English rule is established. In 1883 the number of English colonial bishops was more than twice the number of the bishops in England.

In all this work of organizing the American Church and securing for it the episcopate from the English Church, William White was prominent. He was accepted as a wise and judicious leader by the American clergy and laity, and he had given much careful consideration to the questions at issue. In 1783 he had published a pamphlet entitled, "The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered," and given the outline of a plan for organization, which contained the fundamental principles afterward adopted by the American Church, and from which it has never essentially deviated. "The essential unity of the whole American Church as a national church, its independence of any foreign jurisdiction, the entire separation of the spiritual and temporal authority, the participation of the laity in the legislation and government of the church, and the election of ministers of every grade, the equality of all parishes, and a threefold organization (diocesan, provincial, and general) were fundamental principles of his plan."

All difficulties, as we have said, having been removed at the second session of the third annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania, held in Christ Church on Sept. 14, 1786, the Rev. William White, D.D., was unanimously chosen to be bishop. This Convention was composed of the following persons, viz.: Rev. William White, D.D., president; Rev. Samuel Magaw, D.D., Rev. Joseph Pilmore, Rev. Robert Blackwell: Laity, Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Esq., Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, Mr. Andrew Doz, Mr. John Swanwick, Mr. John B. Gilpin, Mr. Jacob Duffield, Mr. Jacob Ashton, from Trinity Church, Oxford; Mr. John Swift, St. James', Bristol; Mr. Isaac Bullock, St. John's, Concord; Mr. Benjamin Marshall, St. Martin's, Marcus Hook; Mr. James Witby, St. Paul's, Chester; Richard Willing, Esq., St. David's, Radnor; and Robert Ralston, Esq., St. Peter's, Chester County.

The following resolutions were adopted:

"On motion agreed, That it is most honorable for the church in general, and perfectly agreeable to the minds of all members present, that a reasonable sum be fixed upon to defray the necessary expenses of the voyage of the bishop-elect to and from England.

"*Resolved*, That the sum be two hundred guineas, or three hundred and fifty pounds, currency.

"*Resolved*, That the said sum be apportioned among the churches severally, to be raised by them, according to the salaries which they pay respectively to their officiating minister or ministers, or the sums which they may be supposed able with convenience to pay."

On October 29th Dr. White preached a Thanksgiving sermon in Christ Church, and on the following day he went to New York, and on Nov. 2, 1786, he sailed from that port, and eighteen days after landed at Falmouth, making the quickest voyage across the Atlantic then recorded. He was accompanied by the Rev. Samuel Provoost, D.D., who had been elected Bishop of New York.

He and Dr. Provoost were consecrated bishops on Sunday, Feb. 4, 1787, in the chapel of the Archiepiscopal Palace, at Lambeth, in the city of London. The consecrating bishop was Dr. John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Bishop of Peterborough united in the imposition of hands.[1]

Bishop White returned to Philadelphia in May, 1787, and on May 28th of that year he held his first ordination service in Christ Church, admitting Joseph Clarkson to the diaconate. Until his death, on July 17, 1836, the bishop held the rectorship of the United Churches, and, almost to the close of his life, the

[1] The Rev. James Madison, D.D., was consecrated Bishop of Virginia, in the same place, on Sept. 19, 1790. There had been a verbal understanding between Bishop White and the Archbishop of Canterbury, that no consecration of bishops should be held in the United States, until there were three bishops having the English succession, to unite in the consecration. The consecration of Bishop Madison completed the canonical number, and from that time all the bishops of the American Church were duly consecrated in this country.

venerable prelate preached regularly at one or other of the churches, when not elsewhere engaged. His last sermon was preached in St. Peter's Church, on Sunday morning, June 26, 1836.

His life was so prolonged, his official actions so numerous, not only in his own diocese, but in the great ecclesiastical body over which he was for so many years the presiding bishop, and which he saw grow from small and feeble beginnings to strength and greatness, that we cannot here fully review his character or his works. Judged by the standard of the activities of the present age, he might perhaps be deemed somewhat wanting only in aggressiveness of effort and a pronounced advocacy of the more distinctive principles of his church. But he possessed, in an eminent degree, precisely the qualities and characteristics which were needed and most valuable for the times in which he lived, and for the necessities and circumstances of the church during the period of his active leadership. The purity of his character, his amiable manners and disposition, his tolerant charity and lack of arrogance, disarmed suspicion, conciliated all who knew him, and won friendship and respect alike for himself and for the church which he represented. He was endowed with providential fitness for the work he so well accomplished. He was a cultivated scholar and an exact theologian. His published works, "Memoirs," "Lectures on the Catechism," "Pastoral Letters," "Calvinist and Arminian Controversy," etc., all give evidence of his piety and learning. He was one of the founders of the Philadelphia Bible Society, comprising members of the different Protestant churches, and was its president until his death. He was also one of the founders of the Society for the Institution and Support of First-day or Sunday-schools, and a valued member of other societies not connected with the church.

Among his personal peculiarities, Bishop Stevens, in his interesting memorial sermon, "Then and Now," delivered in Christ Church on the centennial of the bishop's ordination to the diaconate, says, "Bishop White never bowed at the name of Jesus in the Creed, and even wrote two articles in defense of his not doing it. . . . He never turned to the east to say the Creed or the Gloria Patri. He never preached in a surplice, but always, when not engaged in episcopal duties, in the black gown. He never required the people to rise up as he entered the church, and at the close of the service to remain standing in their pews until he left the chancel. He never asked the congregation to stand up while he placed the alms-basins, with the offertory, on the Lord's Table, or notified the communicants to continue in their places, after the benediction, until the clergy had reverently ate and drank what remained of the consecrated bread and wine. . . . He magnified his office, not by arrogant claims or by extolling unduly its sacred functions, but by a loving discharge of its duties, under the eye of God, in the humility of a servant, and with the fidelity of an apostle."

Bishop White was the personal friend and acquaintance of many of the most eminent men in American history. George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, John Adams, Lafayette, and a host of others, were in friendly relations with him; to some of them he bore pastoral relations, and by all he was honored, trusted, and beloved. He was worthy of the eulogium pronounced of him by Bishop Hobart, in his sermon at the consecration of Bishop Onderdonk, who spoke of the venerable Bishop White as "one whose long-protracted and revered years, whose pure and heavenly character, whose meek and lowly and beneficent virtues excited naught but love; one whose eminent patriarchal services have done so much for the church that he has for more than half a century cherished; whose piety is as pure as it is lovely and engaging. . . . What a privilege to enjoy his confidence, his affection, and his counsel."

THE PATRIOTS' PEW IN CHRIST CHURCH.

Bishop White died at his residence, on the north side of Walnut Street, five or six doors west of Third Street, on July 17, 1836, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. His remains were deposited in the family vault in the grounds adjoining Christ Church, by the side of those of his brother-in-law, Robert Morris, the great financier of our country during the Revolutionary war. His income was derived mainly from his stipend as rector of the United Churches. As bishop he received nothing except the interest on the legacy of Andrew Doz, for the support of the episcopate, the principal of which was about four thousand dollars. His income from the rectorship was about twenty-three hundred dollars per annum. He had a respectable but not large private estate. After his death the London papers commented upon the smallness of his salary as a bishop, which led the editor of the *United States Gazette* to say of him editorially, "Bishop White enjoyed a revenue beyond a monarch's command; his daily income was beyond human computation. If he went forth, age paid him the tribute of affectionate respect, and children rose up and called him blessed."

On Dec. 23, 1870, the remains of Bishop White were removed and reinterred within the chancel of Christ Church, the vestry of the parish resolving at the same period that a memorial window should be erected there to his memory. It was a solemn, grand, and stately ceremony. Many distinguished persons of the clergy and laity were present, and numerous representatives of churches, societies, and corporations. The pall-bearers were the Rev. Drs. Morton,

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Page, Beasley, Buchanan, and Suddards, and the Rev. Mr. Dupuy. The procession entered the church, and after an appropriate service, a memorial discourse —"Then and Now"—was delivered by the Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., LL.D., bishop of the diocese. The following was read by a grandson of Bishop White, the Rev. W. W. Bronson:

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 23, 1870.

"TO THE RECTOR, CHURCH WARDENS, AND VESTRYMEN OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

"*Beloved Brethren*,—By a vote of your body, passed Dec. 7, 1870, it was

"*Resolved*, That the remains of Bishop White—the family of the bishop co-operating—should be removed from the family vault and deposited in the chancel of Christ Church. As the representatives of the families of our venerated ancestor we beg leave to tender you our grateful acknowledgments for the distinguished honor thus paid to the memory of the departed. We have discharged our portion of this grateful work. The sacred dust lies here before you; to you and to your official custody we now intrust it; assured that it will be reverently cherished and sacredly guarded until reanimated by Him who has said, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life!'

"On behalf of the descendants of Bishop White,

"WILLIAM WHITE BRONSON."

The Rev. Edward A. Foggo, D.D., rector of Christ Church, on behalf of the parish, replied thus:

"MY REVEREND BROTHER,—I, the rector, for myself, the church wardens, and vestrymen of Christ Church, and for our successors in office, receive this sacred trust at your hands. Here, beneath the chancel in which for so long a period Bishop White ministered, we will deposit his remains; and here shall they rest, until the time come when the Great Bishop and Shepherd shall bid the dead arise, and gather into one fold all who have departed hence in the true faith of His Holy Name."

When the remains were deposited in the vault, Bishop Stevens said,—

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

"I, William Bacon Stevens, bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania, acting for and in behalf of the said diocese, and at the request of the rector, church wardens, and vestrymen of Christ Church, Philadelphia, do here solemnly commit to this, its final resting-place on earth, the sacred dust of William White, who was baptized as an infant in this font, served this church sixty-four years as a minister of Christ, and governed this diocese nearly half a century as its first bishop, and during most of the same period was the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

"In thus reinterring, after a lapse of thirty-four years, all that remains of this venerable servant of God, let us offer up our thanksgiving and praise for his good example, for his exalted character, and for his signal services to the Church of God. We deposit beneath this chancel this sacred dust, until the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible and shall be changed.'"

In 1826, when Bishop White was about eighty years of age, he gave his consent to the election of an assistant bishop. A special Convention was held in the fall of that year, but the Convention was not able to agree upon any of the candidates voted for. The Rev. Bird Wilson, D.D., professor of Systematic Divinity in the General Theological Seminary in New York, but canonically connected with the diocese of Pennsylvana, came within one vote of being elected. It was said that if he had consented to cast his own ballot for himself, he would have been chosen, but this he was unwilling to do.

At the regular annual Convention, held in May, 1827, and which convened in the chamber of the House of Representatives in the borough of Harrisburg, the Rev. Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., was elected to be "assistant bishop of the diocese during the life of Bishop White, and to be the bishop of the diocese after his demise."

He was the son of Dr. John Onderdonk, an eminent physician of New York, and was born in New York City in March, 1789. He graduated from Columbia College, and studied medicine, completing his medical studies and receiving his degree in Scotland. He afterward studied theology, and became rector of St. John's Church, Canandaigua, and afterward, at the time of his election as assistant bishop, was rector of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. He was consecrated in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on Thursday, Oct. 25, 1827. Bishop White was consecrator, and Bishops Hobart, Kemp, Bowen, and Croes united in the service. The consecration sermon, at the special request of Bishop White, was preached by Bishop Hobart, of New York. He entitled his sermon "The Christian Bishop, approving Himself unto God, in reference to the Present State of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." This sermon was simply a pious discourse, but party spirit ran high at the time, the church was excited over one of the forgotten controversies of the times, and unkind and injurious remarks were made about the sermon, which led Bishop White the following year, in his annual address, to say, "I hold myself bound to declare my abhorrence of the calumnies to which he became subject by his compliance with my request;" and "this is not the suggestion of private friendship, however felt and cherished for a right reverend brother, but an act of justice to him, and an imperious duty on my part."

Assistant Bishop Onderdonk entered with great vigor and activity upon his duties. Even with the limited facilities and rude means of travel in those days, he visited nearly every portion of the State. He was a fine preacher, and his sermons, several volumes of which were published, were much admired. He was always facile with his pen, and it was said had written over one hundred sermons while a candidate for orders, as a preparation for his entrance upon the ministry. At Bishop White's death, July 17, 1836, he became Bishop of Pennsylvania.

On Sept. 6, 1844, at a special Convention called at his request, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted. In October he was deposed. The excessive use of spirituous stimulants, indulged in to counteract painful disease and endure the fatigues of laborious journeys, was the basis for the action taken in his case. His after-life was marked by such unfeigned humility and Christian consistency that on Oct. 21, 1856, he was by the House of Bishops canonically restored to his proper functions, and he officiated after this on some occasions, with the consent and approval of the Bishop of Pennsylvania. He died on Dec. 6, 1858, aged nearly seventy years.

His remains were interred in the churchyard of the church of St. James the Less, Falls of Schuylkill, Philadelphia. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Bowman, assistant bishop of the diocese, officiated at his burial, and in his annual address before the Convention, in May following, Bishop Bowman thus tenderly alludes to the departed prelate: "In December last I was called to the melancholy duty of attending and assisting at the funeral of our late diocesan, the Rt. Rev. H. U. Onderdonk, D.D. The preliminary services were held in St. Peter's Church in this city; the interment took place in the quiet and beautiful cemetery of St. James the Less. There, clothed in his robes of office, we committed to their last resting-place all that was mortal of him who had stood to us in so near and sacred a relation. Now that he is 'no more in the world,' I am sure that all will rejoice with me that he departed in full standing as a bishop in the church of God, and to remember him by those qualities which equally become the man, the Christian, and the bishop. Courteous and fair in the discharge of his perplexing duties, singularly cautious and restrained in speaking of those who were opposed to him, indefatigable in his laborious office, eloquent in the pulpit, and irrefutable in his defenses of the church, we may well rejoice that such a man's sun went calmly down, and that his life and labors ended together. In this result no one, I know, rejoices more heartily than our own honored diocesan (Bishop Potter), to whose effective eloquence in the House of Bishops this happy result is largely due. The dead are in the hands of God, and 'tis well for us that we are not called to strike the balance of their virtues and their faults. While we labor to imitate the one and to avoid the other, let us consider that the utmost that any man can wish or hope for is to have inscribed upon his tomb, 'A sinner saved by grace.'"

The Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., LL.D., was the third Bishop of Pennsylvania. He was the greatest of a great family. His brother, Horatio Potter, has long been the honored bishop of the diocese of New York. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter, son of Bishop Alonzo Potter, was, in 1883, consecrated as assistant bishop of New York, and will succeed his uncle in that see; another son, Rev. Dr. Eliphalet N. Potter, has, for a number of years, been president of Union College, Schenectady,—the late Hon. Clarkson N. Potter, of New York, was one of his family,—and the other surviving sons fill responsible public or private stations.

The ancestors of the family were English, and settled at Portsmouth, R. I., between the years 1640 and 1660. Alonzo Potter was born July 6, 1800, in the town of Beekman, now La Grange, Dutchess Co., N. Y. He graduated with honors from Union College in 1818, and almost immediately became a tutor, and later, professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in that institution. He was baptized and confirmed in St. Peter's Church, Ph[illegible] while in this city pursued some of his theological studies with Rev. Dr. S. H. Turner, under the direction of Bishop White. Dr. Turner then lived in a house on the west side of Second Street, about three doors north of Catharine Street, and the lessons were given at his house to young Mr. Potter and several other candidates for holy orders.

He was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Hobart, to the priesthood by Bishop Brownell, married to the daughter of Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott, president of Union College, and received, but declined, a call to the presidency of Hobart College. In 1829 he became rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, Mass., but in 1831 returned to Union College, of which he became vice-president, and professor of Moral Philosophy. He was elected assistant bishop to Bishop Griswold, with the succession to the episcopate of Massachusetts upon the death of that venerable prelate, but declined to accept. In 1845 he was elected Bishop of Pennsylvania. He was consecrated in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on Tuesday, Sept. 23, 1845. The presiding bishop, the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, of Illinois, was consecrator, and Bishops Brownell, Hopkins, George W. Doane, McCoskey, Alfred Lee, and Freeman, united in the service.

The entrance of Bishop Potter upon the duties of his office in Pennsylvania was marked by a remarkable increase in the activities of the church. He very soon made himself acquainted with the condition and the wants of his diocese. On the day following his consecration he consecrated the new Church of the Nativity, Philadelphia. Within a week he began an extended visitation of his diocese, and held his first confirmation service in St. Paul's Church, Erie. During the early years of his administration, a large number of new churches were erected in the city of Philadelphia. He infused something of his own energy and strong purpose into others, and the church received an impetus during his episcopate which has been beneficially felt ever since. Throughout his administration of the affairs of the diocese, the growth of the church was continuous, steady, and encouraging. Just before his death the arrangements were completed for a division of the diocese, by setting off the western portion of the State as the diocese of Pittsburgh, though this was not actually accomplished until a few months after his death, under his successor, Bishop Stevens. Bishop Potter had a large, comprehensive mind. He was clear-sighted and far-seeing, and his broad catholic spirit, and unselfish and untiring devotion to his work, gave him great influence not only among his clergy, but to an unusual degree among the laity of his diocese. In the general councils of the church he was no less influential. His sermons and public discourses were clear, compact, and convincing. No one has ever grasped the true idea of the real position of the Episcopal Church in America better than himself, and his charges are

among the most valuable emanations from the American Episcopate.

All through his life he was a writer as well as a speaker, and his published works all bear traces of his profound learning, breadth of thought, and comprehensive Christian charity. He was not a vain man. He dealt but little with the ornaments and superficial graces of oratory, but he was one of the strongest and most convincing speakers. In his treatment of special subjects he was possessed of an unusual grasp of thought, and his discourse, for instance, "On the Drinking Usages of Society," is one of the best lectures on the subject of temperance ever delivered.

Besides the numerous churches erected in Philadelphia during his episcopate,[1] he has left in the Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Philadelphia Divinity School, and the Episcopal Academy enduring monuments of his spirit and influence. Of the first two he laid the foundations: the last, though established long before, was quickened by his efforts from an almost dormant condition into greatly enlarged activity and usefulness. The Church Home for Children, the endowment of the Burd Orphan Asylum, and a number of other church institutions of greater or lesser magnitude mark in this city his beneficent influence. In connection with William Welsh, he gave considerable thought and attention to efforts to organize the services of Christian women, and though the plans devised have not yet been fruitful, they may yet be developed practically in the future.

He was thoroughly loyal. He issued numerous special prayers for the Union soldiers and for the nation, which were models of devotion, piety, and patriotism, and in his last message to his Convention, dated March 18, 1865, just before the close of the civil war, he writes, "In our longings for a return of peace, and for a reunited nation, we must turn from them whose breath is in their nostrils, or rather, we must remember whose they are, and how powerless in arms and feeble in counsel they may be, if left to the inspiration of earthly and carnal persons. We must pray more fervently and constantly that the spirit of justice and mercy, of patience and magnanimity, may preside over every measure; and that He who alone can make men to be of one mind, may infuse the sweet influences of His love and of His presence into all hearts."

His health giving way under the burden of the duties of his large service, Bishop Samuel Bowman was in 1858 elected as his assistant bishop, and after the sudden death of Bishop Bowman, in 1861, Bishop William Bacon Stevens was elected as assistant bishop, and became the successor of Bishop Potter in this see.

On March 30, 1865 (leaving his diocese by special commission in charge of the assistant bishop), he sailed from New York for California in the new steamship "Colorado." During this voyage Bishop Potter held religious services every Sunday on board the vessel. His sermons were extemporaneous, but were written out by him after their delivery. Professor Agassiz, the distinguished naturalist, was a passenger as far as Rio de Janeiro, and it was much to the bishop's pleasure when, "at the celebration of the Lord's Supper on Easter day, which the bishop administered in his state-room to a few communicants after service, Professor Agassiz came forward and knelt at the table as an humble recipient of the memorials of the death of his Saviour, Christ."

He passed through the Straits of Magellan, and touched at Callao, Peru, on June 6th. Here he heard for the first time of the wonderful events which had occurred in the preceding three months,—the fall of Richmond, the surrender of Lee, the ending of the Rebellion, and the assassination of President Lincoln. He touched at Panama, crossed the Isthmus, and consecrated the American Episcopal Church there, and returned to the vessel. He became ill, and was unable to leave the vessel when she arrived at San Francisco on July 1st, and about noon on July 4, 1865, he died on board, of the Panama fever. His remains were brought to the East in charge of a deputation from the diocese of California, and on Friday, August 11th, the obsequies of Bishop Potter were solemnized in Christ Church, Philadelphia. His successor, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Stevens, at the request of the diocesan clergy, and also in compliance with resolutions passed by the House of Deputies and the House of Bishops, delivered in St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia, on Thursday, Oct. 19, 1865, a "Discourse commemorative of Bishop Alonzo Potter," before the General Convention, which was at that time holding its session in this city. In this discourse Bishop Stevens says, "I remember on one occasion, when a mere boy, that my mother, then a member of a Congregational Church in the city of Boston, permitted me to go one Christmas-day to St. Paul's Church. I was drawn there by a desire to see the church dressed in living Christmas green, and to hear what I had been told was strange music for the house of God. I went with all a boy's curiosity; I listened with open ears; a new and peculiar sensation took possession of me; I had never before beheld the service; it was all new, striking, and attractive. That was my first introduction to the Episcopal Church; that was the first time that I saw or heard Bishop Potter. How strange the combination of events that drew us both away from Boston, that kept us a thousand miles apart for years, and then brought me to his side again, first as a filial presbyter, then as his assistant, and now, alas! the chariot has come between us and borne him aloft, and left me with the mantle of the ascended father! Would to God that I might have a double portion of his spirit!"

The Rt. Rev. Samuel Bowman, D.D., who was for

[1] Thirty-four new parishes in Philadelphia were admitted to union with the Convention during his episcopate.

some three years assistant to Bishop Potter, was born in Wilkesbarre, Pa., May 21, 1800. Among the interesting incidents of his early life we may record the following: "When he was but seventeen years old his father was suddenly removed by death. On the evening after the funeral, as the family group was seated in silence, made sad by the bereavement, Samuel quietly took the Bible, read a chapter, and then called upon them to join him in prayer. The request electrified the weeping group. Samuel had never before evidenced any marked religious feelings, and the family had never before united in family prayer, but from that hour the duty was continued until he left his home to study his profession."

When he was a lad the news came to the village that a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church was to visit Wilkesbarre, and would hold there a church service. At the hour when the stage was expected to arrive quite a number of the citizens assembled to meet him. It was quite a patriarchal scene. The oldest men of the place were there to give a welcome to the coming stranger. The young clergyman was the Rev. Jackson Kemper (afterward missionary bishop of the Northwest). Under the auspices of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania, he made a missionary tour through that part of the State in the summer of 1814. He was invited to hold service in the academy at Wilkesbarre, and from his lips Bishop Bowman first heard the service of the church, at whose altar he afterward long and faithfully ministered.

He was ordained deacon by Bishop White, in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on Aug. 25, 1823, and advanced to priest's orders by the same bishop in 1824. After having had temporary charge of the congregation at St. John's Church, Pequea, and at Allentown, Easton, and Leacock, he was, in 1827, elected associate rector of St. James' Church, Lancaster, Pa., and in 1830, on the death of the rector, Rev. Joseph Clarkson, he became rector of the parish, and continued in charge of it until his elevation to the episcopate. In 1845, at the Convention of the diocese, which finally elected Bishop Potter, Dr. Bowman received a majority of the votes of the clergy, but not a sufficient number of votes from the laity to elect him. In 1848 he was elected Bishop of Indiana, but declined. In 1858 he was elected assistant bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania, and was consecrated in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on Aug. 25, 1858. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Kemper was the consecrating bishop, and among the other bishops present who united in the service were Bishops De Lancey, Alfred Lee, and Williams.

Bishop Bowman was tall and dignified and graceful in his movements. His voice was agreeably modulated, and he was a pleasing and effective preacher. As a pastor and parish priest he was a model. He was beloved as well as respected by the parishioners among whom so much of his life had been quietly spent. He was one of the earliest advocates of the free-church system, and St. John's Free Church, Lancaster, was erected through his efforts. Several other local charities are monuments of his zeal and charity.

He carried into the episcopate the same qualities that had marked his parochial ministry, and in the short period during which he held the office, by his sincerity, gentleness, amiability, and tolerant charity, he did much to allay the violence of party spirit. It is near the truth to say that probably no one of those who have held the same rank in the church ever gained a stronger hold on the affections of his clergy than did Bishop Bowman. With Bishop Potter, to whom he bore the official relation of assistant, their relations passed from those of an official character into those of the most confidential friendship and the most harmonious action. At a special meeting of the Convention, called not long after his death, Bishop Potter in his address, referring to his late assistant, said, "He was a true, devoted, and loving soul,—one of nature's noblemen, made more noble by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . I had occasion sixteen years since, when elected to the episcopate of Pennsylvania, to learn, by a communication from him, whom I had not then seen or known, the greatness of his moral nature, and the modesty of his self-appreciation. I mourn him as a friend beloved, as an associate honored."

On Saturday, Aug. 3, 1861, while on an episcopal visitation in the western part of the State, near Titusville, in the oil region, in consequence of a freshet and landslide in the Alleghany Valley Railway, he undertook with other passengers to walk some miles toward the place he had appointed to visit. He was unable to keep up with the others, and was missing when the train reached the point of starting. He had been overcome by the fatigue and heat, and dropped dead, alone, by the side of the railway track. A memorial stone marks the spot of his lonely death, and St. James' Church, Titusville, was erected by a general offering as a memorial of him. His remains were interred in the churchyard of St. James' Church, Lancaster, under the walls of the church in which he had served for so large a period of his mortal life.

The Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, M.D., D.D., LL.D., the present Bishop of Pennsylvania, was born in Bath, Me., on July 13, 1815, and was the son of William and Rebecca (Bacon) Stevens. In early life losing his father—an officer in the war of 1812—he was brought up in Boston, the home of his maternal and paternal ancestry. He pursued his earlier studies in the Phillips Academy, Andover. While young, and still prosecuting his studies as a medical student, he made an extended voyage around the globe. While at Canton, China, he rendered valuable services in the American hospital established there. On his return he went to Savannah, Ga., where (after graduating as M.D. from Dartmouth College) he entered upon the practice of his profession with distinguished success. He was confirmed by Bishop Elliott, in

Christ Church, Savannah, Ga., and there first became a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was one of the first vestry and building committee of St. John's Church, Savannah, and pursued his studies as a candidate for holy orders under Bishop Elliott. This was in fulfillment of the earlier purpose of his life, which had been changed by ill-health. He was ordained by the same prelate to deacon's, and later to priest's, orders in 1843-44, in Christ's Church, Savannah. He took charge of the church work at Athens, the seat of the University of Georgia, and was soon elected a professor of Belles-Lettres, Oratory, and Moral Philosophy in that institution. He became secretary of the diocese, and was elected a deputy to the General Convention, which met in New York in 1847. Emmanuel Church, Athens, was founded by his efforts, and he continued to be its rector until he left the State.

In October, 1847, he was called to the rectorship of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, then vacant by the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Thomas M. Clark, now Bishop of Rhode Island. The invitation was declined by him, and was twice renewed before acceptance was given. He entered upon his duties as rector of St. Andrew's Church on Aug. 1, 1848, and was instituted by Bishop Potter in the following September, the institution sermon being preached by his predecessor, the Rev. Dr. Clark. He at once took a prominent position in the diocese, and his pastorate was marked by success. The church was soon again filled by a large congregation, a debt of twenty-one thousand dollars was extinguished, and during his rectorship of thirteen years and six months, five hundred and fifty-five communicants were added, of whom three hundred and twenty-five were by confirmation.

At a special Convention of the diocese of Pennsylvania, held Thursday, Oct. 24, 1861, he was elected assistant bishop of the diocese. He was consecrated in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, on Jan. 2, 1862. The consecrating bishop was the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hopkins, D.D., and among the other bishops who united in his consecration were Bishops Alfred Lee, Alonzo Potter (to whom he was to be assistant), William Henry Odenheimer, Henry W. Lee, Thomas M. Clark, and Horatio Potter. Upon the death of Bishop Alonzo Potter, July 4, 1865, Bishop Stevens became Bishop of Pennsylvania.

Bishop Stevens is rather above the usual height, courteous in manners, and graceful and dignified. His voice is cultivated and finely modulated. He is a perfect master of all the graces of oratory, and few public speakers in the pulpit, the forum, or at the bar are his equals in the delivery of polished, appropriate, and felicitous addresses. His style of composition is a very happy one. He is always correct in his language, expressing his thoughts clearly, and is fertile in the use of appropriate illustrations.

He has always been a writer, and his published works are numerous. Among them are contained an interesting and exhaustive treatise on the "History of the Silk Culture in Georgia," two volumes of "Historical Collections," prepared by him as historian of the State of Georgia, a devotional work on "The Parables of Our Lord," etc. His "Charges and Memorial Sermons," delivered upon special occasions, are valuable contributions to the history of the church. Among those which have been published are his charges upon "The Undeveloped Powers of the Church" and on "The Relations of the Clergy and Laity," and his "Memorial Discourses" upon Bishop Bowman, Bishop Potter, William Welsh, and Hon. T. N. Conyngham; also his sermon "Then and Now," preached at the reinterment of Bishop White, and giving a *résumé* of church history during the preceding century, and an address upon "A Glimpse at the Religious Aspects of Europe," delivered by him at the request of the Convention after his return from one of his visits to Europe.

In 1868, Bishop Stevens was appointed by the presiding bishop to take charge of the American Episcopal Churches on the continent of Europe, which position he held six years.

Bishop Stevens is a fortunate man. Honors and emoluments have come near him and he has taken them. He has traveled extensively, seen much, is a keen observer, and converses well. He observes the usages of good society, and personal intercourse with him is a delight to his friends. His clergy have never been arrayed against him, and he has always moved along just about fairly abreast of the wishes and opinions of the majority of the clergy and laity of his diocese.

During his episcopate about twenty new parishes, in Philadelphia, have been admitted into union with the Convention, but this by no means indicates the entire growth of the church in this period. Some of the parishes, like St. James', have erected new and larger churches, others have greatly improved their church edifices, and many have added parish buildings, Sunday-school buildings, chapels, or rectories. His episcopate has been marked, too, by the greatly extended and systematized missionary works of various kinds performed in this city. Besides the City Mission, he has fostered a German mission, a French church, a Spanish mission, an Italian mission, and a church mission to deaf mutes, all of which will be noticed elsewhere.

Among the many interesting episodes of Bishop Stevens' varied and eventful career we notice the following: In his Convention address in May, 1868, he says, "Three times since we last met here I have been at the point to die,—once while at Pittsburgh, whither I had gone to assist in the consecration of Bishop Kerfoot; again in England, where I had gone to recruit my health; and thirdly, after my return. I had planned out a system of visitations which, had I been permitted to fulfill my appointments, would

have enabled me to make a visit to nearly every parish in the diocese. My carefully-laid plan was suddenly broken up. On the morning of Thursday, the 20th of February last, as I was returning to Philadelphia from Scranton (where I had held an ordination and confirmation the day before), the car in which the Rev. John Long and the Rev. A. A. Marple and myself were sitting was thrown from the track by a broken rail, over an embankment thirty-five feet high, into the frozen canal, and crushed to pieces and burned. It pleased God in His wise but loving providence to inflict greater injuries on me than on any one else. My head, neck, back, breast, and limbs were much bruised and wounded, and I was conveyed in almost a lifeless state to the residence of Judge Conyngham, at Wilkesbarre, about eleven miles distant from the place of the accident. Here I was confined for eight weeks, and did not resume my duties until May."

In his Convention address of 1877, alluding to the Centennial celebration held in Philadelphia in the preceding year, Bishop Stevens says, "While hundreds of thousands visited the shrines of liberty in Independence Hall and Carpenters' Hall, tens of thousands visited old Christ Church, the great historic temple of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to see the place where Washington and his companions worshiped, where Franklin and his family attended service, where Bishop White, the patriarch of the Protestant Episcopal Church, ministered from the period of youth to hoary age, and where were held conventions and consecrations second in historic interest to none ever held on this continent."

On Saturday, July 1, 1876, at the close of the national centennial commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the passage of the act declaring the colonies free and independent, on the 2d of July, 1776 (held in Independence Square on this day because the 2d came on Sunday), Bishop Stevens officiated by pronouncing the benediction.

On Monday, July 3, 1876, the centennial commemorative services, ordered by a resolution of the diocese of Pennsylvania, were held in Christ Church. By request of the committee of arrangements Bishop Stevens preached an historical discourse, which has since been published. There was a large gathering of the clergy and laity in the venerable edifice, a special form of service which had been set forth by the bishop was used, and the music was unusually appropriate and impressive. The Bishop of Central Pennsylvania was present, and took part in the exercises.

On Tuesday, July 4, 1876, Bishop Stevens, having been requested by the authorities in charge to officiate as chaplain on the occasion of the national centennial commemoration of the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, in Independence Square, he opened those august services with a prayer, which he had prepared for the occasion.

On Sunday, Sept. 10, 1876, in Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y., Bishop Stevens officiated as consecrator at the consecration of the Rt. Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D., as Bishop of Iowa; the Most Reverend Ashton Oxenden, D.D., Lord Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan of Canada, and Bishops Coxe, Kerfort, and Bissell, united in the imposition of hands. Dr. Perry, the newly consecrated bishop, was the son of a sister of Bishop Stevens.

Bishop Stevens attended, with a number of other American bishops, the second Conference of Anglican bishops, held at Lambeth, July 2, 1878. While in Great Britain he preached in Westminster Abbey the anniversary discourse before the Society for Propagating the Gospel, at its one hundred and seventy-seventh anniversary. He also preached in Canterbury Cathedral and in the Royal Chapel, Savoy, London. At the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the English bishops, Bishop Stevens preached the closing sermon to the Lambeth Conference in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. In reference to this discourse Bishop Stevens says, in his address to his Convention here in May, 1879, "I felt that this honor was conferred on me, not for any personal merit, but for the sake of the old diocese of Pennsylvania, the first fully organized one in the United States, and because I was the successor of the venerable Bishop White, who had been consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, and who had presided for nearly fifty years over the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country.

"In this connection I take pleasure in saying that a number of the American bishops then in England felt that they ought not to let the occasion pass without some marked recognition of the solemn and important gathering, and especially of the fact that in the chapel of the palace where we met, the first three American bishops of the Anglican line of succession were consecrated to their holy office. It was also felt that it would be a graceful act on our part and a grateful recognition of the extreme kindness and courtesy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the midst of his severe domestic sorrow, to associate with that memorial the name of the dear son who had so recently been taken from him, and who had, while in America, so endeared himself to the hearts of so many of the bishops and clergy and laity whom he met at our last General Convention. Hence it was resolved, with the approbation of his grace of Canterbury, to put up a memorial window in the Lambeth Chapel which should commemorate both events. That window has been completed and is now in its place, and has given great satisfaction to all who have seen it. I am sure that you will rejoice with me that such a memorial of the three bishops who brought to this country the Anglican Episcopate, has been placed in the very chapel where, nearly a hundred years ago, they were consecrated to their office."

Bishop Stevens, during the twenty-three years of his episcopate, has seen his diocese reduced in its

territorial extent, first, by the erection of the diocese of Pittsburgh, in 1865, and subsequently by the erection of the diocese of Central Pennsylvania, in 1871, so that since this latter date the diocese of Pennsylvania has comprised only the city of Philadelphia and the four adjacent counties, Bucks, Chester, Delaware, and Montgomery. Notwithstanding this, so steady and great has been the growth of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Pennsylvania that in many important respects the church is as large and strong in the limited diocese as it was when the whole State formed but one diocese. The number of clergy, of communicants, and of Sunday-school teachers and scholars is about the same or greater than in the whole State in 1862.

At present (in 1883) in the city of Philadelphia alone, not including the church statistics of the four adjoining counties, there are 80 parishes, 80 churches, 15 chapels, 154 clergymen, 50 Sunday-school and parish buildings, 36 parsonages, 2400 Sunday-school teachers, 26,000 Sunday-school scholars, 65 charitable, benevolent, and humane institutions under the auspices of the church, 24,500 communicants, and about 250 miscellaneous parochial organizations, such as guilds, industrial schools, workingmen's clubs, mothers' meetings, etc.

The annual offerings of the parishes in Philadelphia during the year ending May, 1883, amounted to $725,000, and the estimated value of the church property is about $8,000,000. The bishop occupies the episcopal residence, No. 1633 Spruce Street, purchased in 1869, and has a salary of $6500 per annum. This sum (apart from the income from the fund for the support of the episcopate in Pennsylvania, the principal of which amounts to $60,000) and the amount needed to defray the expense of holding the Annual Diocesan Convention, is raised by an annual assessment upon the parishes, proportionate to their strength. Apart from this assessment (and, of course, pew-rentals) all the receipts of the Protestant Episcopal Church are derived from voluntary offerings.

Christ Church.—The history of old Christ Church is virtually the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia for a long period. The venerable building, on the west side of Second Street, north of Market Street, is a fine and well-preserved specimen of a style of church architecture which appeared in London after the great fire. It has been the scene of so many interesting events of historical and ecclesiastical importance, and so many distinguished men have served or worshiped in it, that, apart perhaps from Independence Hall, it may be deemed the most interesting historical building in Philadelphia, a noble monument to the piety that founded and the devotion which has so carefully guarded and preserved it.

The principal facts in the early history of Christ Church have been carefully collated by the Rev. Dr. Dorr in his "History of Christ Church," and incidentally noticed in the published writings of Bishop White, Dr. Bird Wilson, Mr. Smith, and others. They are voluminous, covering as they do the space of nearly two centuries, and we give here as full and continuous a summary of this history as our space will allow.

In the royal charter granted to William Penn by Charles II. there had been inserted, at the suggestion

FIRST CHRIST CHURCH.
[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

of Compton, Bishop of London, a clause providing that "if any of the inhabitants of the said Province (Pennsylvania), to the number of twenty, shall at any time hereafter be desirous, and shall by any writing, or by any person deputed for them, signify such their desire to the Bishop of London that any preacher or preachers to be approved by the said bishop may be sent unto them for their instruction, that then such preacher or preachers shall and may be sent, and reside within the said Province without any denial or molestation whatsoever."

The Rev. Thomas Clayton was sent to Philadelphia by Dr. Bray, the Bishop of London's commissary in Maryland and Virginia. It is said that he did not find at his entrance above fifty of the communion of the Church of England to make a congregation, and yet within two years the congregation at

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Philadelphia was increased to about seven hundred members. What was then termed "a very fine church" was built upon the site of the present church in 1695. It would seat about five hundred persons, is thought to have been built of brick, and had galleries. In 1702 it had a church bell, and a brick belfry was built in 1708. The present church stands at the corner of Church Street, but it is a tradition that when the first church was built, and for some time after, all was open on the south side of the church, and that no buildings stood between the church and the north side of High (now Market) Street. The Rev. Mr. Clayton died in 1699, of yellow fever, at Sassafras, Md.

The second rector of Christ Church was the Rev. Evan Evans, sent out by the Bishop of London. The Rev. Mr. Evans died in 1718, in the pulpit of Christ Church, while officiating, having been stricken with apoplexy, and was buried in the church. During this period services seem to have been performed in Christ Church by numerous clergymen, assisting the rector or supplying services in his absence. Among them were the Rev. George Keith, the first missionary sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Rev. Mr. Rudman, pastor of the Swedish Church, Rev. John Thomas, who came over from England in 1704, Rev. Dr. Talbot, of St. Mary's Church, Burlington (whom the Rev. Dr. George Morgan Hill, now rector of that parish, in an exhaustive volume, endeavors to prove had been consecrated as bishop by the non-juring bishops),[1] Rev. Mr. Humphrey, of Chester, Rev. Mr. Ross, of New Castle, Rev. Andrew Sandals, of Gloria Dei Church, Rev. Thomas Hughes, of Virginia, William Skinner, Rev. Mr. Weyman, and Rev. John Urmston. The Rev. John Vicary was sent out as rector in 1719, but died in 1722.

The king for some time gave the rector fifty pounds per annum. After that was withdrawn, the vestry gave the rector one hundred and fifty pounds per annum and a parsonage. He had also his "surplice fees," which formed a considerable part of his income.

In 1711, Christ Church was enlarged, and ninety pounds realized from the sale of new pews. Governor Sir William Keith became one of the vestry, and built a permanent "Governor's pew" in the church. The church plate, still preserved, was brought over from England by the Rev. Mr. Evans, in 1708, on his return from a visit to England. It was the gift of Queen Anne, and the flagon and chalice bear the inscription, "*Anna Regina, in usum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ apud Philadelphiam*, A.D. 1708."

[1] The same statement is made in regard to the Rev. Dr. Richard Welton, who also officiated at the same period in Philadelphia. They are both said to have put on bishop's robes, and performed confirmation services. As soon as news of their performances reached England, they were recalled and their acts disavowed. Welton went to Portugal, and died in 1726. Dr. Talbot submitted, took all the required oaths, and made his peace with the church.

Of the Rev. Mr. Evans, Penn, who kept on good terms with people of all denominations, says, in writing of him, "The new minister seemed to be a goodish sort of man, sober and mild in disposition, and if he would behave conformably, and Asheton would keep him in order and at peace with the Quakers, he might count on as much favor in all reasonable things as he could from any Governor of his own way."[2]

The Rev. George Keith, spoken of above, was originally a member of the Kirk of Scotland, then a member of the Society of Friends, and later a clergyman of the Church of England. He had peculiar views and divided the Quakers, forming a sect called Keithians, and after he entered the church many of them followed him. Indeed, during the first quarter of the eighteenth century in Philadelphia, and in the settlements in its vicinity, quite a considerable number of the Friends joined the church. Keith says that Christ Church "had a good vestry, discreet, and in harmony with one another," and that the missionaries were very successful in making converts among the Quakers, especially the Keithians. In 1712, Col. Quarry presented Christ Church with a flagon, two plates for the communion service, and a silver basin for the font.

Prior to 1719 burials had been made either in the church or in the churchyard. In 1719 a lot was purchased at the southeast corner of Arch and Fifth Streets from James Steele, and in 1720 the first interments were made there.[3]

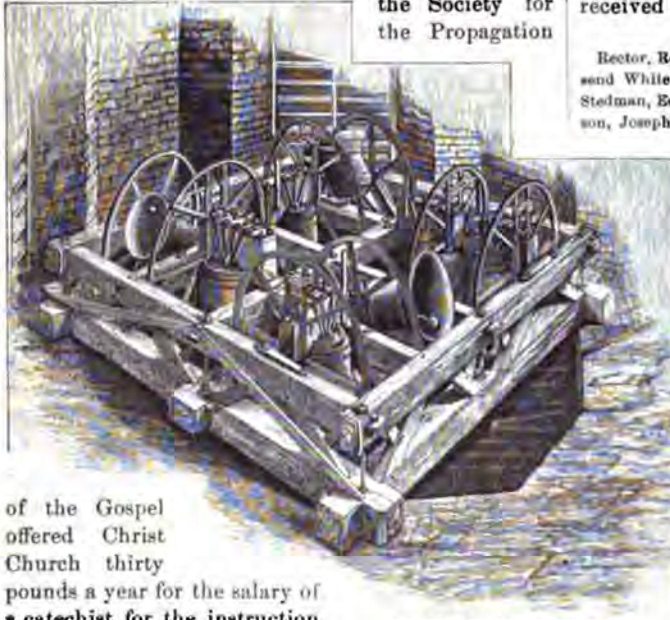
The pulpit was temporarily supplied by the Rev. Mr. Weyman, of Trinity Church, Oxford, Rev. Jonas Sidman, of Swedes' Gloria Dei Church, and the Rev. Mr. Holbrook. In September, 1726, the Rev. Archibald Cummings entered upon the rectorship. The church edifice was enlarged, a steeple built, and an organ procured from London. This was virtually the erection of the present edifice. Dr. John Kearsley, a member of the parish, was practically the architect of the building, and supervised its erection. The corner-stone was laid April 27, 1727, Lieutenant-Governor Patrick Gordon performing the ceremony, Mayor Charles Reed, Recorder Andrew Hamilton, Rev. Mr. Cummings, and other gentlemen assisting. In digging for the foundations some old graves were disturbed, and the widow of the former sexton was paid one shilling and sixpence per diem to gather up the bones.

[2] The Mr. Asheton spoken of was a kinsman of Penn, a prominent citizen and official, and one of the earliest members of Christ Church.

[3] The tomb of Benjamin Franklin and his wife are in the northwest corner of this burial-ground, and about fifteen years ago the vestry replaced the part of the brick wall opposite this tomb by an open iron railing, so that it can be seen and the inscription on the slab easily read by passers-by on Arch Street. Few or no interments have been made here since about 1850, and the ground has long ceased to yield any income to the parish. Its preservation in good order is an expense, to meet which the vestry a few years ago asked for donations to be added to a small existing fund, the income from which is used for this purpose.

In 1743, Dr. Kearsley asked for a committee to audit his accounts as trustee and overseer since 1727. He had "toiled hard, neglected his own business, and received no recompense but calumny and ill-treatment." The committee reported in a very complimentary way, and the vestry voted the doctor their thanks, and also voted "forty pounds for a piece of plate, as a lasting memorial of his services to this church and congregation." In August, 1744, the church wardens reported the church as finished, all but the tower and steeple. In 1740 the pulpit had been moved to the east end of the middle aisle, and there was introduced a chandelier of twenty-five branches, which cost fifty-six pounds. The Rev. Mr. Cummings died in April, 1741. In 1735, Rev. Richard Peters became his assistant, and was able and popular. He withdrew soon, however, on account of some difference, and after holding several offices of public trust, Dr. Peters became rector.

The Rev. Robert Jenney became rector in 1742, and Rev. Eneas Ross was for a brief period his assistant. In 1746 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel offered Christ Church thirty pounds a year for the salary of a catechist for the instruction of the negroes in the parish. The congregation increased this sum, and Mr. William Sturgeon, a graduate of Yale College, was appointed as assistant and catechetical lecturer, and is said to have done his difficult work well. By 1754 the tower and steeple were completed, and a chime of eight bells placed in position. The bells were brought over from England by Captain Budden, who charged no freight on them, and thereafter, whenever his ship arrived in port the bells rang a merry peal. On the approach of the British army in the Revolutionary war, these bells were taken down and hidden by the commissary of military stores, at Bethlehem, Pa.; but after the British troops evacuated the city they were brought back and replaced.


CHRIST CHURCH CHIMES.

In 1753 the residents in the lower part of the city were desirous to have a church erected in their own neighborhood, and applied to the vestry, but no action was taken until 1758, when steps were taken toward the erection of St. Peter's Church. The Rev. Dr. Robert Jenney was rector of Christ Church from 1742 until his death, on Jan. 5, 1762. He was "a man of strict honesty, one that hated dissimulation, exemplary in his life and morals, and a most zealous member of the church." He lies interred in the middle aisle of Christ Church.

After the death of Dr. Jenney, the Rev. Dr. Richard Peters became, in 1762, rector of Christ Church, and also rector of St. Peter's Church. Christ Church was originally organized under "Articles of Association," and St. Peter's Church, when united with it, was received under the same. In 1765, Dr. Peters, on his return from a visit to England, brought out a "charter" which had been granted by the proprietaries. The first vestry under this charter, which was received June 28, 1765, was the following:

Rector, Rev. Richard Peters, D.D.; Wardens, Charles Stedman, Townsend White; Vestrymen, Dr. John Kearsley, Jacob Duché, Alexander Stedman, Edward Duffield, William Pyewell, John Ross, Henry Harrison, Joseph Redman, Peter Turner, Sr., Redmond Conyngham, Peter Sonmans; Questmen, Joseph Swift, Joseph Sims, Joseph Stamper, Thomas Gordon, James Humphreys, William Bingham, William Plumsted.

After the erection of St. Peter's Church, the two were known by the name of the United Churches, and St. James' Church, after its erection, was included under the same charter and title. The Rev. Dr. Richard Peters died July 10, 1776, having resigned the rectorship on account of ill-health, in the previous year. The Rev. Jacob Duché, who had been assistant in Christ Church since 1759, was unanimously chosen rector. In 1772, the work being too great for Dr. Peters and Mr. Duché, the Rev. Thomas Combs and the Rev. William White (afterward Bishop White) were chosen additional assistants. The Rev. Mr. Duché having returned to England, the vestry declared the rectorship vacant, and in 1779 elected the Rev. William White their rector.

Dr. John Kearsley, who had taken an active part in the erection of St. Peter's Church, as well as of Christ Church, died Jan. 16, 1772, aged eighty-eight years. By his will, dated April 29, 1769, he left a large part of his estate in trust to the corporation of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, to found an institution which he named Christ Church Hospital, for the support of ten or more distressed women of the communion of the Church of England. This legacy, which was some-

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what enlarged afterward by other generous legacies, has been most faithfully guarded and judiciously administered, and Christ Church Hospital now stands among the noblest and most useful of the charities of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

On March 26, 1781, the Rev. Robert Blackwell was elected assistant to the Rev. Mr. White in the United Churches. Mr. Blackwell was descended from a Long Island family, from which Blackwell's Island in New York harbor derives its name. He had been a chaplain during the Revolution, attached to the First Pennsylvania Brigade. He had a large private fortune, was married to a sister of the Hon. William Bingham, and while in Philadelphia resided in a fine old mansion on the south side of Pine Street above Second, which [in 1884] is still standing. He resigned in 1811.

Zion Lutheran Church, at Fourth and Cherry Streets, having been burned, the use of Christ Church on Sunday afternoons or evenings by that congregation was offered and accepted. During the absence of Rev. William White, in England, for the purpose of being consecrated bishop, the Rev. John Andrews officiated in Christ Church, and the Rev. Mr. Blackwell in St. Peter's Church. In 1794, the Rev. James Abercrombie was elected assistant in the United Churches. Dr. Abercrombie gave much of his time to the destitute rural churches, but remained assistant until 1832, and died June 26, 1841, aged eighty-three years.

In 1811, the Rev. Jackson Kemper (afterward Bishop of the Northwest) was elected assistant in the United Churches, and remained until 1831. Rev. James Milnor was assistant, 1814–16. Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg was assistant, 1816–20. He was the author of the hymn "I would not live alway," and founder of St. Luke's Hospital, New York, and of St. John's Guild. The Rev. William H. De Lancey (afterward Bishop of Western New York) was assistant from 1822 in the United Churches, and later was rector of St. Peter's Church until his consecration, in 1839.

In 1828 St. James' Church, which had been one of the United Churches, became a separate parish, Bishop White still remaining its rector. In 1832 Christ Church and St. Peter's Church became separate parishes and distinct corporations, Bishop White, however, being rector of each. At Christ Church his assistant was the Rev. John W. James, at St. Peter's Church the Rev. Dr. De Lancey, and at St. James' Church Rev. Francis L. Hawks.

Bishop White died July 17, 1836. His assistant, the Rev. John W. James, died a few weeks later, and the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, of the diocese of New York, became rector of Christ Church, and was instituted on Ascension day, May 4, 1837. In 1836 extensive alterations were made in the interior of the church, and a new organ purchased. Dr. Dorr continued in the rectorship until his death, in 1869. After the death of Bishop Stone, in 1838, Dr. Dorr was elected Bishop of Maryland, but declined. He was scholarly, quiet, and of great devotion. He was honored and beloved not only in his own parish, but throughout the church. During the last year or two

CHRIST CHURCH IN 1829.

of his prolonged ministry his health was much impaired, and most of the duties were performed by his assistant. The present rector, the Rev. Edward A. Foggo, D.D., who had been assistant to Dr. Dorr for the previous six or eight years, was elected to the rectorship, and was instituted by Bishop Stevens, on Wednesday, Dec. 15, 1869.

In 1871 a new parish building, with ample accommodations for the Sunday-schools, was erected adjacent to the church, and opened on the first Sunday in December. In style it corresponds with the old church.

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In 1883 extensive improvements were made to Christ Church. The church was restored to the condition, in its general interior arrangements, which existed before the changes made in 1836. The wooden floor which covered the marble memorial stones in the aisle was taken away. Though the arrangement of the interior has restored this venerable church to the condition it was in during Bishop White's ministry, it has been modernized, and made comfortable and attractive. Just after the completion of this restoration and these improvements, the General Convention of 1883 assembled in Philadelphia in October. The sessions of that body were held in the church of the Holy Trinity, but the opening religious services were held in Christ Church. Nearly fifty bishops were present in their robes, and an historical sermon was delivered by Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island.

Beginning with the winter of 1869, a series of free services were held in the church on Sunday evenings, and gas was first introduced for the general lighting of the edifice.

In addition to the services held in Christ Church, the parish has maintained services at several other places, which will be noticed more at length in connection with the buildings named. The Ladies' Aid Association of Christ Church assisted greatly in the erection of Calvary (Monumental) Church, and for a long period paid the stipend of the clergyman there. Calvary Church becoming feeble, for a period of years was carried on as a chapel of Christ Church, services being held by the Rev. G. Woolsey Hodge, assistant to Dr. Foggo. Christ Church Chapel, on Pine Street above Nineteenth, was erected in 1877, and has been very successful. At Christ Church Hospital services are regularly maintained in the chapel by the chaplain, that institution being under the care of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church. In 1880 the endowment fund for the support of Christ Church, which had been begun a few years before, reached the sum asked for, fifty thousand dollars. This is invested, and is likely to be increased. The parish has ever been generous in its offerings for extra parochial, missionary, and charitable objects.

We have here given an outline of the history of this venerable church and parish. Its full history would require volumes. The record of the names of distinguished and pious men and womén who have labored for it and worshiped in its courts, would be a long list. It is most gratifying to be able to record the facts which show its great vitality and usefulness at the present period of its history. Notwithstanding the removal of so many families to the western and suburban portions of the city during the last twenty-five years, old Christ Church is still a strong parish. At scarce any former period in its honorable career, was the Sunday-school work, the charitable work, and the local parochial missionary work, more systematically and effectively carried on than at present. The ritual and services are stately and dignified; they accord with the historical spirit of the church.

The present rector is the Rev. Edward A. Foggo, D.D.; assistant, Rev. E. C. Belcher. The Rev. William P. Lewis, D.D., is minister-in-charge of Christ Church Chapel. Wardens, Thomas H. Montgomery and Isaac Welsh. In the Convention year ending May, 1883, Christ Church reported having three hundred and forty-eight communicants, and the annual expenditures and appropriations for parochial, charitable, and missionary purposes were $20,329.08.

The following bishops were consecrated in Christ Church: Rt. Rev. Robert Smith, D.D., Bishop of South Carolina, on Sunday, Sept. 13, 1795; Rt. Rev. Edward Bass, D.D., Bishop of Massachusetts, on Sunday, May 7, 1796; Rt. Rev. Theodore Dehon, D.D., Bishop of South Carolina, on Thursday, Oct. 15, 1812; Rt. Rev. Nathaniel Bowen, D.D., Bishop of South Carolina, on Thursday, Oct. 8, 1818; Rt. Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, D.D., Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, on Thursday, Oct. 25, 1827; Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, D.D., Bishop of Tennessee, on Tuesday, Jan. 14, 1834; Rt. Rev. Carlton Chase, D.D., Bishop of New Hampshire, on Sunday, Oct. 20, 1844; Rt. Rev. Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, D.D., Bishop of Alabama, on Sunday, Oct. 20, 1844; Rt. Rev. Cicero Stevens Hawks, D.D., Bishop of Missouri, on Sunday, Oct. 20, 1844; Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, on Tuesday, Sept. 23, 1845; Rt. Rev. Samuel Bowman, D.D., Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, on Wednesday, Aug. 25, 1858.

Christ Church Chapel.—About the year 1875, to provide services for members of Christ Church who were living at such a distance from the parish church as to make it inconvenient for them to be regular attendants, and who still were desirous to remain connected with the old church, and also to provide additional church accommodations for others, the Rev. G. Woolsey Hodge, then an assistant minister in Christ Church, began the services of Christ Church Chapel, which for a couple of years were held, part of the time, in an upper room in a building on Chestnut Street, temporarily fitted up as a chapel, and afterward, by courtesy, in the chapel of the French academy building, Twenty-first Street above Chestnut. The services were popular and well attended from the beginning, and the board of managers, to whom the care of the chapel had been committed by the vestry of Christ Church, purchased, in the autumn of 1876, a lot on the north side of Pine Street, between Nineteenth and Twentieth Streets, having a frontage on Pine Street of ninety-six feet. A row of dwelling-houses on a small street in the rear was included, and these are left standing for the present, the rental being devoted to the payment of an incumbrance remaining on the ground.

A neat chapel, to accommodate about two hundred and fifty persons, was built and opened in 1877.

This has since been somewhat enlarged. Chairs are used instead of pews. The Rev. Mr. Hodge resigned the assistantship March 10, 1880. The present minister in charge of Christ Church Chapel, the Rev. William P. Lewis, D.D., entered on his duties Oct. 6, 1880. The present number of communicants is three hundred and seventy-two. The sittings are all free. There is usually a daily service, a weekly celebration of the holy communion, and on several of the greater festivals two celebrations. There is a surpliced choir of men and boys. The ritual is very churchly, but conservative. Altogether the chapel has accomplished its intended purposes very successfully and satisfactorily. The property is estimated to be worth thirty thousand dollars; the total debt, which is being reduced, is about twelve thousand dollars.

St. Peter's Church, at the southwest corner of Third and Pine Streets, was the second church edifice erected by churchmen within the city limits. Christ Church was not large enough to accommodate the members of all the church families in Philadelphia. The first request to the vestry of Christ Church to build a church in the lower part of the city was made in 1753. At that period, and for a long time after, the best residences in the city were between Second Street and the Delaware. Many of the "merchant princes" lived on South Front Street, some in Swanson and Water Streets. The first steps toward the building of the new church were taken in 1758. The vestry appointed a committee, of which Dr. John Kearsley was an active member, and the erection of the church was begun. A lot at Third and Pine Streets was granted for the purpose by the "honorable proprietaries," and this was afterward enlarged by subsequent purchase of ground for the graveyard. The church was begun in September, 1758, finished in 1761, and opened for the first services on Sept. 4, 1761, the sermon being preached by the Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the college. It was named St. Peter's Church after its completion. It was ninety feet in length and sixty in width, with no spire, but surmounted by a small cupola. Christ Church gave it two small bells, which had been used before they procured a chime. As noticed in the history of Christ Church, it and St. Peter's were known as the United Churches, both being under one rector. Gen. Washington, while residing in Philadelphia, was an attendant at St. Peter's Church, as well as Christ Church, as appears by the following interesting letter, written by Bishop White to Col. Mercer, in reply to certain inquiries:

"PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 15, 1835.

"DEAR SIR,—In regard to the subject of your inquiry, truth requires me to say that Gen. Washington never received the communion in the churches of which I am the parochial minister. Mrs. Washington was an habitual communicant before the general left his seat in Congress to take command of the army. Afterwards, during the war, whenever he was in this city, and since, having rented a house near my other church (St. Peter's), he attended there. He was an antipode to those who are in the habit of changing the places of their attendance. . . .

"Respectfully, your humble servant,

"WILLIAM WHITE."

The Rev. William H. De Lancey, who had been an assistant minister in the united parishes from 1822 to 1828, and also since 1833, upon the death of Bishop White, July 17, 1836, became rector of St. Peter's Church. Prior to that date, however, in 1832, Christ Church and St. Peter's Church had become distinct and separate corporations, Bishop White being rector of each. Dr. De Lancey was consecrated Bishop of Western New York in 1839. The Rev. William H. Odenheimer, who had been assistant to Dr. De Lancey for a short time, succeeded him as rector. He was one of the most laborious of parish priests. He introduced daily prayers at St. Peter's Church, it being the first church in Philadelphia where the daily morning and evening prayer was said. In 1859, Dr. Odenheimer was consecrated Bishop of New Jersey, and the Rev. George Leeds, D.D., was rector from April 14, 1860, until 1867. He was succeeded by the present rector, the Rev. Thomas F. Davies, D.D., whose rectorship began in May, 1868. The spire of St. Peter's Church was erected in 1842, a fine chime of bells having been presented to the parish.

At the present time St. Peter's Church is a strong and vigorous parish. Like Christ Church, it has paid great attention to the local parochial and missionary work. It has a fine Sunday-school and parish building, erected a few years ago on Lombard Street. St. Peter's house, at Front and Pine Streets, is a centre of active charitable associations. This ground, occupied by the old family mansion, was given to St. Peter's Church by G. Dawson Coleman, Esq., about ten years ago, and the old house was replaced by the present building. The Memorial Church of the Holy Comforter, at Nineteenth and Titan Streets, was founded as a chapel of St. Peter's Church in 1868, and this splendid set of buildings was erected by a devoted member of this parish. An endowment trust for the future and permanent support of St. Peter's Church was begun in 1872, and now amounts, we believe, to over thirty thousand dollars. Christ Church Hospital is under the joint trusteeship of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church. The rectory of St. Peter's Church is No. 717 Pine Street.

The present church wardens are the Hon. John Welsh and George Harrison Fisher. The expenditures in 1883 for parochial and missionary purposes were $20,107.16. Number of communicants, seven hundred and seventy-one. Clergy, Rev. Thomas F. Davies, D.D., rector; Rev. Alexander J. Miller, assistant.

The Memorial Church of the Holy Comforter.—The Memorial Mission of St. Peter's Church was inaugurated on Advent Sunday, 1868, the earlier services being in charge of the Rev. Franklin L. Bush, assistant in St. Peter's Church. Tentative services were held for some time in a hall near Second and Pine Streets; afterward a frame church was erected on South Nineteenth Street, near Federal, and after this had proved successful, the present buildings at

the corner of Nineteenth and Titan Streets were erected, as a memorial to her mother and sister, by Miss Margaretta S. Lewis, on ground which had long been owned by the family, and in a neighborhood newly built up and densely populated, mostly by the industrious working classes. There is a large and beautiful stone church, and a parish- and Sunday-school building, recently enlarged by the generous benefactress of this church, which is a model of beauty and convenience. The church-work carried on here is extensive, varied, and successful. The Rev. R. F. Chase, Joseph A. Nock, George M. Christian, and Algernon Morton were in charge of this work successively for short periods. The Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, the present rector, has been in charge for the past five or six years. The vestry is, we believe, the vestry of St. Peter's Church.

St. Paul's Church, on the east side of Third Street, below Walnut, was the third Protestant Episcopal Church erected in Philadelphia. It has an interesting history. Many of the most influential clergy in the church have been included among its rectors, and many of the most earnest and prominent of the laity in this city have been members of this ancient parish. From its commencement St. Paul's Church has been "thoroughly evangelical." It was a centre of doctrinal preaching, and its influence extended far beyond the confines of the parish. It was almost the most influential parish in the country, and the effects of its teachings and influence are still felt in the party with which it was identified. The church edifice has been maintained, but by the removal of many members to other parts of the city and other causes it has ceased to be so strong and influential as it was formerly. Two of its most successful rectors, Rev. Dr. Tyng and Rev. Dr. Richard Newton, were called from it, and accepted the rectorship of the Church of the Epiphany. The Sunday-school work of this parish was carried on most successfully in Dr. Newton's rectorship, and he introduced a system of "Sunday-school Anniversaries," with emblems, music, and offerings, which was not only largely successful in his own parish, but was introduced elsewhere.

In 1758–59, Rev. Dr. Jenney, rector of Christ Church, required an additional assistant minister, and the Rev. William McClenachan, who had been sent out as a missionary by the London Society, was elected. The Bishop of London refused to license him, upon the ground that he had been appointed to take charge of a church in Virginia, and requested Christ Church to give him no encouragement. Some of the members attached themselves to Mr. McClenachan, and, very curiously, eighteen Presbyterian ministers, assembled in Synod in Philadelphia, sent a letter to Archbishop Secker in his behalf. His followers and friends decided to build a church, and St. Paul's Church was built in its present location, being completed and opened for the first services on Sunday, Dec. 20, 1761. The building was the largest in the province, and in a few days one thousand sittings had been taken in it. The Rev. Mr. McClenachan resigned in 1765, and soon afterward died on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The Rev. Hugh Neill officiated temporarily. The vestry, about this time, anxious to secure a clergyman from England, wrote and assured the Bishop of London of their "adherence to the faith, principles, and practices of the Church of England." In 1768 the Rev. William Stringer arrived with a letter of introduction from the Rev. George Whitefield. He had been ordained in London by a man who professed to be a bishop of the Greek Church. While here he became convinced that the Greek bishop was an impostor, and he returned, with highly commendatory letters from St. Paul's vestry, and was duly ordained by Terrick, Bishop of London, after which he was elected rector of St. Paul's Church, and continued in charge until the Revolutionary war. The Rev. Samuel Magaw, D.D., became rector in 1781, and took an active part in organizing the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Rev. Dr. Joseph Pilmore, Rev. Benjamin Allen, Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., Rev. Samuel A. McCoskry (afterward Bishop of Michigan, and who was consecrated in St. Paul's Church on July 7, 1836), Rev. James May, D.D., Rev. Dr. Richard Newton, Rev. Dr. Kingston Goddard, Rev. R. Heber Newton (son of Dr. Richard Newton), and Rev. Messrs. Roche and Boyer have been among the rectors of this parish. During the rectorship of the Rev. R. Heber Newton he proposed to the vestry a plan for erecting a row of buildings for business purposes on Third Street, and erecting a new church and parish building in the rear, which would have secured an annual revenue equal to an endowment for the support of the old church. The vestry, being unwilling, among other reasons, to disturb the family vaults by the side of the present building, did not accept the plan.

The present rector of St. Paul's Church, the Rev. William S. Adamson, entered on his duties on Oct. 1, 1879. The church wardens are Thomas Latimer and William A. Farr; communicants in 1883, two hundred and seventeen; receipts and expenditures for the year, $3374.96; value of church property, $85,000.

St. Thomas' Church.—The church for colored persons long known as St. Thomas' African Church, on Fifth Street, below Walnut, west side, was the *fourth* Protestant Episcopal Church built in Philadelphia (within the city limits),—the only one erected between 1761 and 1800. Most of the colored people in Philadelphia were attendants at the St. George's Methodist Church, but in 1787, a number of them thinking they were badly treated by being ordered to sit only in the gallery, left that church in a body. They organized a society, partly beneficial and partly religious, called the Free African Society. Being uneducated, they sought and received kindly counsel from some of the Society of Friends, and from Bishop White, who united together in advising them. A

congregation was formed, and the church on Fifth Street opened for the first services on July 17, 1794, the prayers being read by the Rev. Dr. James Abercrombie, assistant in the United Churches, and the sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Magaw, rector of St. Paul's Church. Absalom Jones, a colored man, of good character and principles, formerly a slave, was ordained by Bishop White to deacon's orders in 1795, and to the priesthood in 1804. The congregation organized in 1794, their Constitution providing "that none among us but men of color—Africans or the descendants of the African race—can elect or be elected to any office among us, save minister or assistant minister; and that no minister shall have a vote at our elections." On the other hand the Church of St. Thomas was admitted into connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Pennsylvania, but, it was "provided, it is not to be understood to entitle the African Church to send a clergyman or deputies to the Convention, nor to interfere with the general government of the Episcopal Church."

On several occasions efforts were made to admit this church into union with the Convention, but they failed. Finally, in 1863-64, St. Thomas' Church was admitted on the same terms and to the same rights as all other parishes, it having complied with a condition prefixed to the resolution admitting it, that its Constitution should be amended so as to make no distinction of color.

Rev. Absalom Jones died in 1818, after a ministry of twenty-two years. The church has been at times since then under the rectorship of white clergymen, at others, under colored clergymen. The Rev. James Wiltbank, 1825; Rev. Peter Van Pelt, D.D., 1830; Rev. Jacob M. Douglass, 1834; and Rev. Mr. Bowen, have been among the white pastors; the Rev. William Douglass, 1839; Rev. Mr. Alston, and the present rector, Rev. J. Pallam Williams, among the colored ministers. The church has a parsonage and a cemetery.

St. James' Church, Kingsessing.—This church, on the Darby road, about three miles below Chestnut Street, was one of the old Swedish churches. It was erected in 1760, during the pastorate of Rev. Dr. Charles Magnus von Wrangel, and was united to Gloria Dei Church, both being under one pastorate. In 1842-43 it became a separate corporation, and in 1844 it was admitted into union with the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rev. Samuel C. Brinkle being rector at the time. The present rector, the Rev. Charles A. Maison, D.D., has been connected with the parish since 1857. The venerable church is preserved in excellent order, and the parish is quite useful and prosperous. The grounds, including a cemetery, are extensive, comprising about two blocks. It has a rectory, a Sunday-school building, and a memorial parish building, erected about fifteen years ago.

In 1883 the number of communicants reported was one hundred and eighty-one, and the expenditures for parochial and extra parochial objects were $3438.85.

Trinity Church, Oxford, about three miles northwest of Frankford, was built in 1711, and was for many years the only church north of Philadelphia in the whole State. Before the present building was erected, another building, spoken of by one writer as built of logs, on the present site, which had been used for school purposes and as a meeting-house, was occupied by the Keithians. In 1698 it was transformed into an Episcopal Church. It was named Trinity Church, Oxford, and was served for some years by the clergy of Christ Church or the minister of the Swedish Church. It is barely possible that the present edifice was an enlargement of the building used prior to 1711. In 1700, Thomas Graves, a member of the congregation, deeded to Joshua Carpenter, the brewer, and John Moore, three acres of ground "for the use and service of those of the communion of our Holy Mother, the Church of England, and to no other use whatsoever." This was added to the burial-ground.

The Rev. Messrs. Clayton, Evans, Clubb, Weyman, and Thomas were among the earlier clergy who ministered at Trinity Church, most of them also supplying other stations. At that period Oxford included, in an indefinite way, a large district, comprising Frankford, Tacony, etc. The Rev. Dr. William Smith, provost of the college, now University of Pennsylvania, was rector from 1766 to 1777. He took an active part with Bishop White in settling the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and wrote the preface to the Book of Common Prayer. Lay deputies from Trinity Church attended the earliest Conventions of the church, and the parish was admitted into union with the Convention in 1786. The Rev. George Sheets was in charge from 1816 to 1854, and on Oct. 1, 1854, the Rev. Edward Y. Buchanan, D.D. (brother of President James Buchanan), became rector, and remained in charge until his resignation, Oct. 1, 1882. During Dr. Buchanan's ministry a rectory was built, the churchyard inclosed with a stone wall, an addition made to the old church, without any material alteration of the old building, and a fine chapel built at Crescentville, two miles distant. There was also a remarkable increase in the charitable offerings made by the parish, and for some missionary and benevolent purposes the offerings of Trinity Church were the largest made by any church in the diocese.

The present rector, Rev. R. Bowden Shepherd, was assistant to Dr. Buchanan for about eighteen months, and became rector Oct. 1, 1882. A neat parish building was erected adjacent to the church, and a tablet in the front wall designates it as a memorial of Dr. Buchanan's long and faithful pastorate. It was dedicated April 23, 1883.

Trinity Church, Oxford, with its venerable building

and old churchyard, is more like an old English rural parish church than any other church in the diocese. An object of curiosity to visitors is the burial-ground, and one of the old grave-stones, dated 1708, bears the following inscription, an evidence, doubtless, of some religious controversy which agitated the local community at that period:

"Here by these lines is testified,
No Quaker was she when she dy'd;
So far was she from Quakerism
That she desired to have baptism
For her own babes and children dear,—
To this these lines true witness bear.
And, furthermore, she did obtain
That faith that all shall rise again
Out of the graves at the last day,
And in this faith she passed away."

Church wardens, William Overington and Harvey Rowland. Money expenditures and appropriations, $6091.66.

All Saints' Church, Lower Dublin Township, near Torresdale, and just within the city limits, was built in 1772 to accommodate members of Trinity Church, Oxford, and others living in that neighborhood. For many years it was associated with Trinity Church and St. Thomas' Church, White Marsh, and the three churches were served by the same clergyman for a considerable time. The Rev. John Henry Hobart (afterward Bishop of New York) was in charge of the services in All Saints' Church for a while (in 1798) soon after his ordination. The parish was separated from Trinity Church, and the Rev. Frederick W. Beasley became rector in August, 1834, and so remained until his death, on Dec. 28, 1878.

During Dr. Beasley's prolonged rectorship a fine new church was erected, and consecrated May 29, 1864. A handsome new rectory was built and donated to the parish by Alexander Brown, Esq., and the parish had at the time of his death the old rectory and Christ Chapel at Eddington (Oak Grove), and a chapel and parish building at Andalusia. All of these, except All Saints' Church and rectory, are beyond the city limits, and lie in Bucks County. Christ Chapel is just about being erected into an independent parish. The Rev. John T. Magrath was rector of All Saints' Church in 1880–81. The present rector, the Rev. Frederick J. Bassett, entered upon his duties Nov. 19, 1882. The church wardens are Charles R. King, M.D., and Alexander Brown.

St. James' Church[1] (admitted 1810).—As the city extended westward, to accommodate members of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church living at a distance, a new church was erected as one of the United Churches. A lot was purchased from Mary Muhlenberg, on the east side of Seventh Street, above Market Street, and the corner-stone of St. James' Church was laid on June 23, 1827, by Bishop White, and it was consecrated by him May 1, 1810. Bishop White continued to be rector of this new church, as well as of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, until his death. St. James' Church, however, became a separate parish in 1828. The present rector, the Rev. Henry J. Morton, D.D., became connected with St. James' Church as assistant to Bishop White in 1830, and upon the bishop's death (in 1836) became rector of the parish.

The old church was sold and torn down, and the present splendid and costly buildings erected at the northwest corner of Walnut and Twenty-second Streets in 1870. The new site cost fifty-five thousand dollars, and the value of the buildings and ground is about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which is free from any debt. The buildings consist of a church and chapel. The venerable rector, who is still active in his duties as pastor of this flourishing parish, has been connected with it for over half a century. The expenditures in 1883 for parish and other purposes were $31,839.08. Church wardens, Richard M. Cadwalader and Joseph M. Wilson.

St. John's Church, Northern Liberties (admitted 1816).—On June 16, 1764, a lot of ground on the south side of Brown Street, above Second Street, one hundred feet wide by two hundred feet deep, was deeded by various parties to Rev. Jacob Duché, John Coats, and others, and to their survivors in trust, with intent that a church should be built thereon. In 1811 the surviving trustees granted this lot to the United Churches, and in 1816 St. John's Church was erected. It is a large, substantial brick edifice. The Rev. George Boyd was rector from 1815 until his death, in 1851. Dr. Boyd, the esteemed rector of this parish for the first thirty-six years of its existence, was one of the earliest advocates of the free church system, and in St. John's Church endeavored with varying success to develop the system of supporting the church by the offerings. After his death the church was much weakened, and for a while services were held by a candidate for orders. Under the rectorship of the Rev. Charles Logan (1865–1874) it revived. The present rector, the Rev. George A. Latimer, has been in charge since Oct. 12, 1877. The church is free from debt, and has a parsonage. In 1883 it reported one hundred and twenty communicants, and $1887.88 as total receipts and expenditures.

St. Luke's Church, Germantown (admitted 1818).—Prior to 1811 the church people living in Germantown were attendants at either Trinity Church, Oxford, or All Saints' Church, Lower Dublin. A congregation was organized, under the name of St. Luke's Church, and the first service held on June 9, 1811, in the German Reformed Church. Thomas Armat presented a lot on Main Street, afterward enlarged by purchase, and the corner-stone of a church was laid on March 30, 1818, and the building consecrated on Aug. 27, 1818. Among the earlier clergy were the Revs. Jackson Kemper, Jehu C. Clay, and

[1] The following parishes are noticed in the order of their admission into union with the Convention of the diocese.

Charles M. Dupuy. The Rev. John Rodney became rector in August, 1825. In 1868 he became rector emeritus, which position he still holds. No other clergyman in the diocese has been so long connected with one parish. Rev. B. Wistar Morris (now Bishop of Oregon) was first an assistant and then rector of the parish, 1868. Rev. Albra Hadleigh was rector from April 11, 1869, until his death. He was succeeded by the Rev. William H. Vibbert. The present rector, the Rev. Samuel Upjohn, began his ministry in November, 1883.

A fine parish building was erected in 1867, and a new church, erected on the site of the old one at a cost of seventy thousand dollars, was consecrated June 8, 1876. The parish is a strong and prosperous one, reporting, in 1883, five hundred and ten communicants, and the value of the church property at one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Annual expenditures for all purposes, $15,264.15.

Trinity Church, Southwark (admitted 1821).—The corner-stone of Trinity Church, Southwark, on the south side of Catharine Street above Second, was laid by Bishop White, April 25, 1821, and the church, a plain, substantial brick edifice, was consecrated by him Jan. 17, 1822. The first rector was the Rev. Manning B. Roche. Among the clergy who have held the rectorship were Rev. William Cooper Mead, D.D., the Rev. Levi S. Ives (afterward Bishop of North Carolina, and who was consecrated in this church on Sept. 22, 1831), and the Rev. John Coleman, D.D., who held the rectorship about twenty years. Dr. Coleman's ministry was for some years unusually popular, and the classes for confirmation unprecedentedly large, and during his rectorship the church was enlarged and the present front added. The later rectors have been the Rev. Thomas M. Martin, Rev. Daniel Washburn, Rev. Jesse Y. Burk (now secretary of the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and during whose rectorship the parsonage was purchased), Rev. F. Mansfield, and the present rector, the Rev. A. D. Heffern, who entered upon the charge on Easter-day, 1882. The parish is free from debt, has a rectory, a cemetery, several small special endowments for parochial uses, and one hundred and sixty-six communicants. The annual expenditures for 1883 were $4023.86.

St. Stephen's Church (admitted in 1823).—This church, on Tenth Street above Chestnut, was organized in 1822. A building, which had been used by St. Thomas' Methodist congregation, was purchased, and altered after plans by William Strickland, who designed its Gothic front. Joseph R. Ingersoll, Edward Shippen Burd, Sheldon Potter, and others took an active interest in the undertaking. The corner-stone was laid May 30, 1822. A portion of the old church was used, but it was substantially a new structure. The Rev. Dr. James Montgomery became rector, and continued in charge until his death, in 1833. The Rev. Henry W. Ducachet, D.D., talented, cheerful, and active, held the rectorship from 1834 until his death. The Rev. William Rudder, D.D., for some time Dr. Ducachet's assistant, succeeded him in the rectorship (1864–80). The present rector is the Rev. S. D. McConnell. The interior of this church is richly decorated, and it contains some memorial statuary of Mr. Burd's children, and the tomb of E. S. Burd, a munificent benefactor of the parish.

St. Stephen's Church is the trustee of the Burd Orphan Asylum for Children, a richly-endowed and well-conducted charity, and has for some years maintained, wholly or in part, the church mission service for deaf mutes. The Rev. G. J. Burton, warden of the asylum, and the Rev. H. W. Syle, in charge of All Souls' Deaf Mute Mission, are assistant clergy in this parish. In 1883 St. Stephen's Church reported six hundred communicants; total expenditures, $40,700.53; value of church property, $850,000.

St. Andrew's Church (admitted 1823).—This church, located on the west side of Eighth Street above Spruce, was organized in May, 1822. The first services were held in the Masonic Hall, and the Rev. Gregory Thurston Bedell was the first rector. The corner-stone of the present edifice was laid on Sept. 9, 1822, and the church was completed and consecrated by Bishop White on May 31, 1823. It is a large, substantial, and convenient building. The front is "one of the most perfect specimens of the Grecian Ionic order, taken from the temple of Bacchus, at Teos." Dr. Bedell died Aug. 30, 1834. The following clergy have been rectors: Rev. John A. Clark, D.D., Sept. 23, 1835, to February, 1843; Rev. Thomas March Clark, D.D., now Bishop of Rhode Island, Nov. 1, 1843, to May 1, 1847; Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., now Bishop of Pennsylvania, Aug. 1, 1848, to Feb. 1, 1862. He was consecrated assistant bishop of Pennsylvania in St. Andrew's Church on Jan. 2, 1862. The present rector, the Rev. Wilbur Fisk Paddock, D.D., entered upon the charge June 3, 1862.

The parish is prosperous. It has sent out many members who have founded other parishes, and an unusually large number of those who became clergymen have been connected with it. The interior of the church has recently been much improved. In 1883 it reported five hundred and fifty-three communicants, an endowment fund of about $50,000, raised in the past fifteen years. Annual expenditures, $11,-057.79; value of church property, $86,000.

St. Matthew's Church, Francisville (admitted 1825).—St. Matthew's Church, at the northeast corner of Girard Avenue and Eighteenth Street, had its origin in services begun in 1822, through the aid and efforts of the Female Protestant Episcopal Association of Penn township. Francisville was the name given to an irregular tract of land near the Ridge road and Coates Street. The corner-stone of St. Matthew's Church was laid in its bounds on Oct. 17, 1822. Bishop White says it was "at the distance of about a mile from the city of Philadelphia, to the

northwest." Among the rectors have been the following: Revs. Norman Nash, 1822; James Wiltbank, Jacob M. Douglass, George Emlen Hare, D.D., 1844–62. During Dr. Hare's rectorship the present church and school-house, handsome stone buildings, were erected at the new site. Also the Rev. D. Otis Kellogg, Rev. J. Houston Eccleston, D.D., and the present rector, the Rev. John P. Hubbard, who entered on the rectorship in December, 1880. In 1883 it reported having four hundred and nineteen communicants; annual expenditures, $6806.92.

Grace Church (admitted 1827).—In 1829 the Rev. Benjamin B. Smith (now the venerable presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States) was rector of Grace Church, and in his report says, "This small edifice, after repairs, and being prepared very commodiously and neatly for divine service, was consecrated by Bishop White, Nov. 30, 1828." This building appears to have been in Penn township. On April 24, 1833, the corner-stone of the present building, at the southeast corner of Twelfth and Cherry Streets, was laid, the Rev. S. C. Brinckle being rector at the time. The Rev. William Suddards, D.D., became rector of Grace Church, December, 1834, and at his resignation, in 1881, was made rector emeritus. He died Feb. 19, 1883. His tact and his great talent as a preacher made him, during his prolonged ministry, one of the most influential clergymen of the diocese. The Rev. J. W. Ashton was temporarily his assistant. The present rector, the Rev. Reese F. Alsop, D.D., took charge Oct. 16, 1881. Communicants, three hundred and forty-two; money expenditures and appropriations in 1883, $19,015.01.

St. Mary's Church, Hamiltonville, West Philadelphia (admitted 1827).—St. Mary's Church is on Locust Street, near Fortieth, in a part of the city once belonging to the Hamilton estate, and known as Hamiltonville. It was admitted in 1827, but services were held prior to that date. Various clergymen officiated in this suburban village church, among them (1834–35) the Rev. Robert Piggott, rector of All Souls' Church, in the city, who also officiated sometimes at Mantua, adjacent to Hamiltonville, north of Market Street. The present rector, the Rev. Thomas C. Yarnall, D.D., took charge in 1844. The parish has grown to be quite a strong one, and a few years ago a handsome and costly stone church was built on the site of the old church. The parish has a rectory and Sunday-school building. The Rev. Robert F. Innes became Dr. Yarnall's assistant Jan. 1, 1881. The parish reported, in 1883, three hundred and thirty-eight communicants; money expenditures and appropriations, $9888.77.

St. David's Church, Manayunk (admitted 1833).—St. David's Church originated in the suggestions of the Rev. Robert Davis. The Rev. Christain F. Crusé was the first pastor. The corner-stone of the church was laid Aug. 13, 1832, and the church was consecrated May 1, 1835. Among others, the Rev. Charles W. Quick and Rev. F. H. Bushnell have held the rectorship for considerable periods. The present rector is the Rev. Charles Logan. During his ministry the parish has erected a fine stone church, a beautiful parish and Sunday-school building, and also a mission chapel in the southern part of Manayunk. 1883,—communicants, three hundred and fourteen; money expenditures and appropriations, $8349.68. Church wardens, Orlando Crease and Richard Hey.

Church of the Epiphany (admitted 1834).—The Church of the Epiphany, at the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets, occupies one of the most valuable and eligible sites in the city. The parish was formed at first, to a great extent, of members of the St. Paul's Church, who followed their pastor, the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., in this effort to extend the church work in Philadelphia. The church was consecrated by Bishop White on Oct. 1, 1834. It immediately became, what it has always been, a large and influential congregation. Dr. Tyng held the rectorship until his removal to New York in 1845. The following have been among the rectors who succeeded him: Rev. Mr. Fowles, Rev. Dudley A. Tyng, Rev. Mr. Cracraft, Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., and the present rector, the Rév. George H. Kinsolving, who took charge Oct. 17, 1881. The parish has a mission chapel at Twenty-third and Cherry Streets. A Monday noon meeting of the city clergy has been held in the lecture-room of the Church of the Epiphany for many years. 1883,—communicants, six hundred and thirteen; money expenditures and appropriations, $27,938.32; value of church property, $300,000.

Church of the Ascension (admitted 1837).—The Church of the Ascension, on the south side of Lombard Street, above Eleventh, was consecrated Sept. 27, 1836. The Rev. John B. Clemson, D.D. (still living in the diocese), was its first rector, taking charge in the fall of 1835. The prospects of this new church were very bright for a while, but the erection of St. Luke's large church near by, and the vicinity of the Church of the Ascension becoming the place of residence of many colored persons affected it, and it has nearly always been a rather weak and struggling parish. For some years it was maintained by St. Luke's Church as a chapel, but is now an independent parish again. Among the numerous clergy who have had it in charge were the Rev. Frederick Ogilby, Rev. Samuel Cox, Rev. John A. Childs, D.D., and Rev. (now bishop) William H. Hare. Bishop Potter often attended the services when he wished only to worship, not officiate. The present rector, the Rev. G. Woolsey Hodge, took charge December, 1880. It is conducted now on the free church system, and has a surpliced choir.

Emmanuel Church, Kensington (admitted 1837).—Emmanuel Church, on Marlborough Street above Girard Avenue, was erected through the efforts of

the Rev. Christian Wiltberger, the first pastor, and consecrated June 7, 1838. The Rev. J. Gordon Maxwell succeeded him, entering on the rectorship while a deacon, and remaining until his death. During his prolonged ministry the church edifice was improved, and the congregation increased greatly in numbers. It has always been a useful and prosperous parish. The present rector is the Rev. N. L. Briggs. 1883,—communicants, three hundred; money expenditures, $3680.06.

All Saints' Church, Moyamensing (admitted 1838).—This parish seems to have been one of the results of several distinct efforts, made at about the same time, to extend the church in the southern part of the city. One mission was called All Saints', another St. Mark's, a third All Souls', and still another the Evangelist's. In the end the two parishes of All Saints' and the Evangelist were established, and the others given up. Some of the All Souls' congregation joined the Church of the Ascension. All Saints' Church is on Twelfth Street below Fitzwater, and is a fine stone church, with good Sunday-school accommodations. The parish owns a parsonage. The Rev. Thomas H. Quinan, Rev. Henry E. Montgomery, Rev. John P. Lundy, D.D., Rev. Thomas K. Conrad, D.D., and Rev. George Bringhurst have been among its rectors. The present rector is the Rev. H. L. Duhring. 1883,—communicants, four hundred and fifty; money expenditures, $8153.10.

St. Luke's Church (admitted 1839).—The corner-stone of St. Luke's Church, one of the largest churches in the city, on Thirteenth Street above Pine, was laid by Bishop Onderdonk, on May 24, 1839, and the church was opened Oct. 18, 1840. The means for erecting it were advanced by seventeen gentlemen belonging to seven of the city churches, and were in part refunded by the sale of the pews, sixty-seven of which were at once sold for thirty-five thousand dollars. The church, with ground, organ, and furniture, cost fifty-eight thousand dollars. The Rev. W. W. Spear was the first rector. On his resignation in 1846 he was succeeded by the Rev. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, D.D., who remained until his consecration as Bishop of Central Pennsylvania, which took place in St. Luke's Church, Dec. 28, 1871. He was followed by the present rector, the Rev. C. George Currie, D.D. A few years ago a fine chapel and parish building was erected adjoining the church, and the interior of the church much improved. It has a rectory and a Home for Aged Women. 1883,—communicants, six hundred and fifty; expenditures and appropriations, about $20,000; value of church property, $175,000. Church wardens, George L. Harrison and Andrew Wheeler.

St. Philip's Church, Spring Garden (admitted 1841).—This church, now located on the north side of Spring Garden Street below Broad, was originally located on the north side of Vine Street below Eighth. The church was consecrated on Oct. 1, 1841, and regular services began in it on the following Sunday. The Rev. Edmund Neville, 1841–49, was the first rector. The following have been among the rectors: Rev. Charles D. Cooper, 1849–68; Rev. Dr. Pratt, Rev. Percy Browne, and Rev. W. F. Chesley Morsell, 1879–82. During Mr. Cooper's pastorate the confirmation classes were very large, and many members of the Friends joined his church. During Mr. Morsell's pastorate the church at Eighth and Vine Streets and a chapel on Ninth Street were sold, the old church being devoted to business purposes by the purchasers, and the congregation, still retaining the name of St. Philip's Church, removed and took possession of the present building, then called the Church of the Advocate, which was heavily incumbered with debt. The two congregations were merged into one, and the debt on this property somewhat reduced. This building was first known as the Church of the Intercessor, Rev. R. A. Carden, rector, 1859; then as the Bishop's Church, Rev. J. W. Bonham and Rev. E. Owen Simpson, rectors; then as the Church of the Advocate, Rev. John W. Claxton, D.D., rector; and now as St. Philip's Church. It is at present without a rector.

Church of the Advent (admitted 1842).—The Rev. John J. Kerr was the first rector (1841 to 1848). The congregation began worshiping in the Commissioners' Hall, Northern Liberties, and organized there on Nov. 27, 1840. Afterward they rented and used Temperance Hall, nearly opposite. The corner-stone of the present church at York Avenue and Buttonwood Street was laid May 13, 1844, and the church consecrated by Bishop Alfred Lee, on June 28, 1845. The Rev. Samuel A. Clark, Rev. Phillips Brooks, and Rev. John W. Claxton have been among its rectors. The present rector is the Rev. James F. Powers. The church is quite prosperous. In 1883 it reports communicants, three hundred and sixty; expenditures and appropriations, $8967.61. It has no debt, and has begun an endowment fund which already amounts to about five thousand dollars.

Church of the Evangelists (admitted 1842).—The services of the Mission Church of the Evangelists began March 12, 1837. The Rev. N. Sayres Harris, first rector, took charge June 1, 1837. Services were held in a rented building until a small church on Fifth Street, above Catharine, was purchased, altered, and consecrated April 14, 1839. The Revs. Quinan, Woodward, and Huckel followed as rectors. The Rev. Samuel Durborow was rector from April 1, 1855, until May 1, 1870, when he resigned to become superintendent of the Philadelphia Protestant Episcopal City Mission. During his rectorship the old church was sold, the corner-stone of the present edifice, a fine, large brick church, with spire, on Catharine Street above Seventh, was laid May 1, 1856, and the building completed in the following year. It was consecrated by Bishop Potter on Dec. 18, 1864, it being the last church consecrated by him in this diocese. During Mr. Durborow's pastorate the congregation

was quite a large one. The Rev. Jacob Miller and the Rev. Thomas L. Franklin, D.D., followed as rectors. The present rector, the Rev. R. Percival, took charge Sept. 12, 1880. A considerable debt had accumulated on the church, after its consecration, prior to his ministry. He has introduced daily services and a surpliced choir. Number of communicants reported in 1883, two hundred and thirty.

Emmanuel Church, Holmesburg (admitted 1844).—Services, in a chapel at Holmesburg, were held by Rev. Dr. Beasley, rector of All Saints' Church, Lower Dublin, of whose parish it formed a part, until Jan. 1, 1844, when Emmanuel Church, Holmesburg, was set off as a separate parish, and the Rev. William H. Bourns became its rector. The Rev. George G. Field and Rev. John P. Lundy, D.D., have been among its rectors. The present rector, the Rev. D. C. Millett, D.D., took charge in September, 1864. The parish has become a very prosperous one, and is admirably supplied with a fine church, a beautiful parish building built in 1879, a rectory, and a cemetery. The chapel, built at Tacony, was under its care for some years after its erection, but is now an independent parish. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and thirty-nine; expenditures, $3492.31. Church wardens, Andreas Hartel and Joseph H. Brown.

CHURCH OF ST. JAMES THE LESS.

Church of the Nativity, Spring Garden (admitted 1845).—The Church of the Nativity, at the northwest corner of Mount Vernon and Eleventh Streets, was consecrated by Bishop Potter on Sept. 24, 1846. The Rev. N. Sayres Harris, the first rector, took charge Aug. 1, 1845. The Rev. Robert C. Matlack, D.D., was for many years rector, and was followed by Revs. William Newton and W. H. Lewis. The present rector is the Rev. William M. Jefferis, who took charge Dec. 3, 1882. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and four; the money expenditures were $4610.76. Church wardens, Charles H. Brightley and John E. Baird.

Church of St. James the Less, Falls of Schuylkill (admitted 1846).—This is a beautiful little Gothic edifice. It has a rectory, parish building, and a large burial-ground. The first rector was the Rev. David H. Macurdy, who took charge Aug. 6, 1846. The church was erected in 1847. Among its rectors have been the Revs. Christopher B. Wyatt, J. P. Hammond, and E. Shippen Watson. The present rector, the Rev. Robert Ritchie, took charge in 1870. Church wardens, George Blight and Ellis Yarnall.

Church of the Redemption, Spring Garden (admitted 1846).—The first services were held on March 30, 1845, the sermon being preached by the Rev. Dr. Ducachet. The corner-stone of the present church, at the northwest corner of Twenty-second and Callowhill Streets, was laid March 6, 1846, and the church completed soon after. It has since been enlarged and improved. The mission was placed in charge of the Rev. George A. Durborow, then a candidate for holy orders, and after his ordination he was its faithful and devoted rector until his death, April 27, 1869. He was followed by the Rev. J. P.

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Du Hamel, D.D. The present rector is the Rev. Thomas R. List, who took charge about eight years ago. The parish has a rectory. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and sixty; expenditures, $4623.35. Church wardens, Alexander Crow and Thomas Buchanan.

St. Mark's Church, Frankford (admitted 1846).—St. Mark's Church, a fine building, enlarged and improved since its erection, was built in 1846, and consecrated on October 22d of that year. The first rector was the Rev. Henry S. Spackman. The Rev. Daniel S. Miller, D.D., was rector of St. Mark's Church for twenty-eight years (1853–81), and during this period the parish was distinguished for its thorough organization and the vast amount of lay work performed by William Welsh, Esq., and others. John Clayton was an efficient member of the parish and rector's warden for twenty-five years. The present rector, the Rev. Robert C. Booth, was Dr. Miller's assistant for a year or two, and on his resignation was elected to the rectorship May 1, 1881. 1883,—communicants, eleven hundred and twelve; expenditures and appropriations, $10,702.57. Church wardens, Harvey Rowland, Jr., and Benjamin Rowland. The Rev. Samuel Tweedale (deacon) has for many years been assistant minister in the parish.

Church of the Crucifixion, Moyamensing (admitted 1847).—This church was begun as a church mission to the poor, especially colored people, living in the most degraded part of the city,—Bedford and Baker Streets. Rev. Edward C. Jones and Rev. O. E. Shannon were the earlier missionaries. A church was built about 1851 on Eighth Street near Shippen. Rev. George Bringhurst was missionary for a number of years. During his rectorship white people attended largely, but few colored, and when he became rector of All Saints' Church, he took the whites along with him. The Rev. Joseph R. Moore for about ten years did an excellent work among the colored poor, and founded the Home for the Homeless. The present rector, Rev. Henry L. Phillips (colored), is doing his work with great fidelity. To give better accommodations, a new church and mission building will be erected on Bainbridge Street above Eighth, at a cost of about twenty-five thousand dollars. The corner-stone was laid by Bishop Stevens on Oct. 22, 1883, and the buildings are now being erected.

Church of the Messiah, Port Richmond (admitted 1847).—The corner-stone of the Church of the Messiah, at the corner of East Huntingdon and Edgemont Streets, Port Richmond, was laid on June 28, 1847, and the church, a neat stone edifice, seating about four hundred persons, was opened on Easter Day, 1848. The first rector was the Rev. Samuel Hazlehurst. When the enterprise was first undertaken, it was supposed that the vicinity would in a short time be occupied by gentlemen's private residences, but the erection of chemical works and factories near by led this class to locate elsewhere. Though the parish has a good church building and a comfortable parsonage, it has never acquired much strength. Rev. Reese C. Evans, Rev. Jacob Miller, and Rev. L. N. Voight have been among its rectors. Rev. E. D. Widdemer, the present rector, took charge April 24, 1883.

Church of the Atonement (admitted 1847).—The first services were held in the fall of 1847, in the Wills Hospital, until the completion and opening of the present church, at Seventeenth and Summer Streets, on the first Sunday in Advent, 1847. The first rector was the Rev. Kingston Goddard, D.D. The present rector, Rev. Benjamin Watson, D.D., entered upon his duties in 1859. Recently the interior of the church has been altered and improved. 1883,—communicants, three hundred and eleven; expenditures, $7113.83. Church wardens, William C. Houston and William Hill.

St. Mark's Church (admitted 1848).—St. Mark's Church, on Locust Street, west of Sixteenth, is in some respects the finest church building in the city. It is of brown stone, with a stone spire, and has a fine school building. The corner-stone was laid April 25, 1848, and the church finished and consecrated on May 21, 1849. The Rev. J. P. B. Wilmer, D.D., afterward Bishop of Louisiana, was the first rector. The Rev. Walter Mitchell, Rev. E. A. Washburne, D.D., and Rev. E. A. Hoffman, D.D. (now dean of the General Theological Seminary), followed as rectors. The present rector, the Rev. Isaac L. Nicholson, D.D., entered on his duties in 1880. The parish is a strong and active one. It has a rectory, and also a building used by St. Mark's Workingmen's Club. The daily prayers have been said in the church since its erection, and it has now a surpliced choir, and numerous celebrations. 1883,—communicants, nine hundred and ten; expenditures, $34,030.60; value of church property, $280,000. Church wardens, Ernest Zantzinger and William B. Robins.

Church of the Mediator (admitted 1848).—The Rev. Samuel A. Clark, while a deacon, organized this mission congregation. The Rev. John A. Vaughan, D.D., took charge of the parish in January, 1848, and soon after the present church was built, at the northwest corner of Nineteenth and Lombard Streets. Rev. Dr. W. W. Spear was rector for several years. The present rector, the Rev. Samuel E. Appleton, D.D., took charge in 1860. The parish has been a very useful one, and steadily grown in strength and numbers. It has now a fine Sunday-school and parish building adjoining the church. 1883,—communicants, four hundred and forty; expenditures, $8714.04.

St. Jude's Church, Spring Garden (admitted 1848).—The Rev. Daniel S. Miller, D.D., immediately after his ordination, on Oct. 28, 1847, organized this congregation under the name of St. Jude's Church, and soon after the present church, on Franklin Street, above Brown, was built. It has within a

few years been enlarged, and has a parish building in the rear. The Rev. Edward Lounsbery was for some years rector. The present rector, the Rev. W. H. Graff, has been in charge about thirteen years. It is conducted on the free church system. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and ninety-two; expenditures, $5873.03.

Zion Church, Penn Township (admitted 1849).—This congregation was organized by the Rev. Jacob M. Douglass in the fall of 1848. Zion Church, at Eighth Street and Columbia Avenue, was built about 1857. The lot was donated by Benjamin W. Frazier. A parish building has been added to the church within the last few years. The present rector, the Rev. William R. Carroll, has been in charge nearly ten years. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and seventy-seven; expenditures, $3505.07.

Church of the Resurrection, Rising Sun (admitted 1850).—This congregation was organized, in 1849, by the Rev. Thomas J. Davis, who still remains connected with it as rector emeritus. The Church of the Resurrection, on North Broad Street, in the old village of Rising Sun, was built in 1853. The Rev. Joseph R. Moore, on Sept. 1, 1870, became rector of the newly-organized parish of St. George's Church, Kenderton, about a mile from the Church of the Resurrection, and on April 1, 1871, the two parishes were united under the Rev. Mr. Moore, Rev. Mr. Davis becoming rector emeritus. The church work has been greatly developed, and the parish is quite flourishing. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and ninety-six; expenditures, $3097.20.

St. Andrew's Church, West Philadelphia (admitted 1852).—A building named St. Mark's Church was erected in 1819, at the corner of Thirty-sixth and Sycamore Streets, in what was then termed the village of Mantua. The Rev. James Montgomery, afterward rector of St. Stephen's Church, was the rector for a short time. After his resignation the building was unused, was sold by the sheriff, and finally burned by incendiaries. The Rev. George W. Natt, whom many still living remember with affection for his many virtues, in 1851 organized St. Andrew's Parish, bought the lot with the ruined walls of St. Mark's still standing on it, and built a church and rectory. The Rev. Samuel E. Smith became rector in 1863, and in 1865 the property was sold, and a new church erected on the present site, Thirty-sixth and Baring Streets. This neighborhood was rapidly filling up with fine residences, and the parish has grown steadily. At present the erection of a new and still larger church has been begun. Rev. Dr. R. Bethell Claxton was rector until his death in May, 1882. The present rector is the Rev. Charles W. Duane, who took charge in 1882. 1883,—communicants, three hundred and twenty-five; receipts, $11,707.36.

Church of the Saviour, West Philadelphia (admitted 1852).—The Rev. Heman Leyer, D.D., had charge of this congregation in its earlier stages, about 1853. In 1855 the Rev. Henry W. Woods became its rector, and the present Church of the Saviour, a handsome brown-stone building, was built on Thirty-eighth Street, above Chestnut, in 1856. The Rev. Henry A. Wise, Jr., was rector prior to 1861. Rev. J. Houston Eccleston, D.D., was rector for a number of years, and the present rector, the Rev. W. H. Meade, D.D., took charge in April, 1883.

Christ Church, Germantown (admitted 1853).—The Rev. Addison B. Atkins, D.D., was the first rector of this parish, and took charge in July, 1854. A fine church was soon after completed. Eight or ten years ago, by a terrific tornado, this church was greatly damaged. The present costly and beautiful church and school building were then erected. The Rev. John B. Falkner, D.D., is rector. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and thirty; expenditures, $11,627.78. During the year a new tower was added to the church.

Trinity Church, Maylandville, West Philadelphia (admitted 1853).—The Rev. H. W. Woods had charge of the earlier services of Trinity Church, Maylandville, conjointly with the rectorship of the Church of the Saviour, West Philadelphia, and in after-years it was for some time supported by the latter parish. The present rector, Rev. Richard N. Thomas, has been in charge for about three years. A new and larger church was erected at Forty-second Street and Baltimore Avenue, and opened for services on March 11, 1882. Church wardens, William A. Sloan and Allen Childs.

St. Clement's Church (admitted 1855).—This church, at Twentieth and Cherry Streets, was erected in 1858–59, the Rev. Henry S. Spackman, D.D., being its first rector. It is a very beautiful stone edifice, and has a splendid parish building in the rear. The church tower was deemed unsafe and was taken down. The Revs. H. G. Batterson, D.D., W. H. N. Stewart, D.D., Theodore M. Riley, and O. S. Prescott, D.D., have been among the rectors. St. Clement's Church has the most "advanced ritual" of any parish in the city, and there has been considerable litigation in the civil courts and debate in the ecclesiastical tribunals in efforts to direct or control it. At present, after a pledge by the rector to give up certain ceremonies at the bishop's request, all its diocesan relations are harmonious. The Rev. B. W. Maturin is rector, and has several assistants. Some of its clergy are connected with one of the English orders (St. John's, Cowley, we believe). It has a clergy-house and is about introducing a sisterhood. The services are largely attended. 1883,—communicants, six hundred and fifteen; expenditures, $15,673.98. Church wardens, Henry Flanders and B. F. Holl.

St. Paul's Church, Chestnut Hill (admitted 1856).—This parish was organized in June, 1855, and a beautiful Gothic church was erected in 1856. The Rev. Alexander Shiras, D.D., was the first rector.

The Rev. William Hobart Hare, now Bishop of Southern Dakota, was rector for several years. The present rector, the Rev. John Andrews Harris, D.D., has been connected with the parish since 1864. It is exceedingly prosperous. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and thirty-seven; expenditures, $11,108.20. Church wardens, Edward S. Buckley and Richard C. McMurtrie.

Church of the Holy Trinity (admitted 1857).—This church, at Nineteenth and Walnut Streets, is in many respects the most prominent and influential parish in Philadelphia. Erected just when the western part of Walnut, Spruce, and neighboring streets began to be built up with fine residences, it has always had a large congregation, comprising many of the most prominent laity in the city. The church, which has a fine parish building connected with it, was built in 1858, and in 1883 received some considerable improvements. A fine chime of bells was recently placed in the tower, being a gift from Mr. Joseph E. Temple. The first rector was the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, D.D. He was succeeded by the Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., and the Rev. Thomas A. Jaggar, D.D., now Bishop of Southern Ohio, who was consecrated in this church on April 28, 1875. The present rector, the Rev. W. Neilson McVickar, D.D., took charge in 1875. Holy Trinity Memorial Chapel, noticed below, is connected with this parish. 1883, —communicants, nine hundred and twenty-five; contributions, $61,728.33; value of church property, $400,000. Church wardens, Alexander Brown and Lemuel Coffin.

HOLY TRINITY MEMORIAL CHAPEL.—A plain church, built about 1859, and known as Cranmer Chapel, located near the Church of the Holy Trinity, unable to be self-sustaining, was taken by the parish and renamed Trinity Chapel. About ten years ago, to give enlarged accommodations, the chapel was sold, to be used as a public school, and with the proceeds enlarged by generous donations, and one special gift of fifty thousand dollars from Mrs. Wilstach as a memorial of a deceased daughter, the present beautiful church and parish building, at Twenty-second and Spruce Streets, were erected. The school building is a memorial to John Bohlen, Esq., long an active and generous member of the parish. This work has been under the care of the following assistant ministers: Rev. H. L. Duhring, Rev. R. N. Thomas, Rev. R. A. Edwards, and Rev. George F. Bugbee, who is the present minister in charge (1883). The Memorial Chapel reports,—communicants, four hundred and twenty-five; receipts, $4170.59.

Calvary (Monumental) Church, West Philadelphia (admitted 1857).—Calvary Church was erected as a memorial of Bishop White, chiefly by the efforts of the Ladies' Missionary Association of Christ Church, which collected funds for the building, and for some years supported the missionary. The cornerstone was laid on April 4, 1851, and the church and a Sunday-school building erected soon after. The first rector was the Rev. Joseph H. Smith. Revs. A. Christman, Charles R. Bonnell, and Francis J. Clere, D.D., have been among the rectors. The location at Front and Margaretta Streets becoming unsuitable, the ground was sold, the last service held on April 23, 1882, and the building, a beautifully proportioned stone chapel, taken down and re-erected in its original form, on a lot which had been purchased on Forty-first Street, above Oregon, West Philadelphia. The Rev. Thomas P. Hutchinson has had charge of Calvary Church for some years. 1883,—communicants, forty-nine. Church wardens, William P. Troth, Jr., and George B. Bonnell.

Church of the Covenant (admitted 1858).—This church was organized by the Rev. Dudley A. Tyng, after his resignation of the Church of the Epiphany, and for several years popular services were held in Concert Hall, on Chestnut Street. After Mr. Tyng's sudden death the Rev. B. T. Noakes became rector, and the corner-stone of the present Church of the Covenant, on Filbert Street, above Seventeenth, was laid on April 22, 1861, and the building was soon after completed. The Rev. Charles E. Murray was rector for a number of years, but about two years ago, upon the completion of the Pennsylvania Railroad (elevated road) in front of the church, it was feared that the church would have to be abandoned and he resigned. Soon after the Rev. Dr. Richard Newton took charge of the services as rector, and the Rev. Dr. Daniel S. Miller voluntarily became his assistant. The services are largely attended. 1883,—communicants, three hundred and fifty; expenditures, $6804.16.

Church of St. John the Baptist, Germantown (admitted 1858).—The Rev. William N. Diehl was the first rector of the Church of St. John the Baptist, erected on Germantown Avenue, near Mehl Street, and this amiable and esteemed clergyman held the charge until his death. The present rector, the Rev. Charles H. Hibbard, took charge Dec. 1, 1882.

Calvary Church, Germantown (admitted 1859).—Calvary Church, at Manheim and Pulaski Avenue, was erected in 1859–60. The Rev. Thomas K. Conrad, D.D., was the first rector. The present rector, the Rev. J. De Wolfe Perry, has been in charge since 1864. It has a fine school building and a rectory. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and forty; expenditures, $7373.88.

Church of St. Matthias, Spring Garden (admitted 1859).—This parish was organized in 1856. First services held in a hall. A large lot, on which the present stately church stands, at the corner of Nineteenth and Wallace Streets, being a portion of the land occupied by the City Hospital, was purchased, and a chapel built in 1859. Rev. R. A. Carden, Rev. R. G. Chase, and Rev. R. F. Chase were rectors. In 1870 the Rev. Richard N. Thomas became rector, the church was built, and the parish became so strong that in some respects it stood fifth in im-

portance among the city churches. The Rev. Robert A. Edwards, the present rector, took charge Jan. 1, 1879. 1883,—communicants, four hundred and fifty; receipts, $16,363.79.

Church of the Incarnation (admitted 1860).—A congregation named the Church of the Holy Apostles was organized in January, 1856. The Rev. B. Franklin was the first minister, and a large lot at the corner of Broad and Jefferson Streets was taken up, and a chapel built. It became involved, and in 1860 was reorganized under the name of the Church of the Incarnation, the present rector, the Rev. Joseph D. Newlin, then assistant in St. Mark's Church, becoming rector of the new parish. The present church, a beautiful and costly building, was built some years after. The parish is strong and flourishing. 1883,—communicants, four hundred and fifty; receipts, $18,909.68.

Church of St. John the Evangelist (admitted 1860).—A mission, called the Boone Street Mission, was begun by the Rev. George A. Latimer in about 1855. In June, 1859, the Rev. Washington B. Erben, upon his ordination, took charge of the congregation then worshiping in the old Shiffler Hose Hall, organized the parish of St. John the Evangelist's Church, and built a small chapel on Reed Street above Second. The Rev. Charles L. Fischer became rector, and the present church at Third and Reed Streets was built. Rev. W. F. B. Jackson and Rev. John G. Bawn were rectors. The present rector, Rev. J. Edgar Johnson, has had charge about six years. The church is at present largely assisted by George L. Harrison, Esq. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and eighty; receipts, $6561.95.

St. Michael's Church, Germantown (admitted 1860).—The Rev. J. Pinckney Hammond, in 1858, became rector of a newly-organized parish in Germantown, and the corner-stone of the Church of the Holy Cross was laid, addresses being made by Bishops Bowman and Doane. The erection of Calvary Church, in the same vicinity, led to the abandonment of the location, and Mr. Hammond organized St. Michael's Church. A beautiful little church was built on High Street, and opened on St. Michael's Day, 1859. It has always been conducted on the free church plan. The present rector, Rev. John K. Murphy, took charge in 1869. The parish has now a parsonage and a school building, and is quite successful. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and eight; offerings, $4432.34.

Church of St. Luke the Beloved Physician, Bustleton (admitted 1861).—The memorial Church of St. Luke the Beloved Physician was erected, and for some years largely supported, by Mrs. Pauline Henry, as a memorial to her husband, Dr. Bernard Henry. The corner-stone was laid Sept. 19, 1860. The first rector was the Rev. Leighton Coleman. The present rector is the Rev. Samuel F. Hotchkin. 1883,—communicants, eighty-one.

The House of Prayer, Branchtown (admitted 1861).—The House of Prayer was built about twenty years ago. The Rev. T. Gardiner Littell was its first rector. Present rector, Rev. George Bringhurst. 1883,—communicants, ninety.

St. Timothy's Church, Roxborough (admitted 1861).—This is one of the wealthiest and best-appointed parishes in the vicinity of Philadelphia. In connection with its parish work it has a very successful Workingmen's Club. The parish was organized at Advent, 1859. The Rev. John Leighton McKim was the first rector. Until the erection of the church, in 1862, the church services were held in an old building erected in 1746, once a tavern, but known in the neighborhood then as the old poorhouse. The present rector is the Rev. Robert E. Dennison. 1883,—communicants, three hundred and four; expenditures, $7506.74. Church wardens, J. Vaughan Merrick and William Penn Stroud.

St. Albans Church, Roxborough (admitted 1862).—The present rector of St. Albans Church is the Rev. J. J. Joyce Moore. 1883,—communicants, sixty-seven; expenditures, $1803.95.

Grace Church, Mount Airy (admitted 1862).—Grace Church is a neat edifice, and the parish has a parsonage. The Rev. Robert A. Edwards was rector for some years. The present rector, Rev. Simeon C. Hill, has been in charge about ten years. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and fourteen; expenditures, $3602.96. Church wardens, F. B. Gowen and C. M. Bayard.

Free Church of St. John, Frankford Road (admitted 1864).—The Rev. George Boyd, D.D., left a lot for church uses on Cemetery Avenue near Frankford road, and on it a very pretty little church was built about twenty years ago. Among the clergy who have had charge of it were the Rev. Dr. George P. Schetky, Rev. Charles R. Bonnell, Rev. Joseph A. Nock, and Rev. John G. Bawn. For some years the City Missions supplied it with clerical services. Present rector, Rev. H. A. F. Hoyt. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and fifteen; receipts, $1723.96.

St. James' Church, Hestonville (admitted 1867).—This is a neat stone church erected about 1868, at Fifty-second Street and Kershaw Avenue, West Philadelphia. The Rev. T. William Davidson is the present rector. 1883,—communicants, fifty-nine; receipts, $1147.73.

Church of the Holy Apostles (admitted 1868).—The present rector of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the Rev. Charles D. Cooper, on resigning the rectorship of St. Philip's Church, took charge of this new enterprise in the southwestern part of the city, and in 1870 a fine church was built at Twenty-first and Christian Streets, to which a large and beautiful Sunday-school building has since been added. The parish is quite a successful one. The Sunday-school, under the superintendence of George C. Thomas, is the largest in the city. 1883,—communicants, four hundred and ninety; Sunday-school scholars

and teachers, one thousand and twenty-eight; expenditures, $9455.09. Church wardens, George C. Thomas and Lewis H. Redner.

Church of the Good Shepherd (admitted 1869).—This is a small edifice on Cumberland Street east of Frankford Avenue, built about ten years ago. The Rev. A. A. Rickert was the first minister in charge. Rev. John A. Goodfellow is the present rector. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and forty-five; receipts, $5231.95.

St. Stephen's Church, Bridesburg (admitted 1869).—This church was built about 1870. St. Mark's Church, Frankford, previously maintained a mission service here, which developed into this church. William Welsh, Esq., took a generous interest in the movement. It has no rector at present. 1883,—communicants, ninety-eight.

Church of the Holy Innocents, Tacony (admitted 1869).—This pretty little chapel was at first a mission of Emmanuel Church, Holmesburg, which began the services in 1867. The corner-stone was laid Sept. 29, 1868.

Church of the Messiah (admitted 1870).—This church, at Broad and Federal Streets, grew out of a mission established by St. Andrew's Church, which built a small chapel for it on Thirteenth Street below Washington Avenue in 1861. The Rev. George Bringhurst took charge, organized the parish, a large lot at Broad and Federal Streets was taken on ground rent, and the present Church of the Messiah built in 1871, at a cost of seventeen thousand dollars. After Mr. Bringhurst's resignation, in 1875, the parish being heavily encumbered, the Rev. Mr. Durborow, of the City Mission, obtained a pledge from about twenty prominent laymen to pay the annual interest for five years, dividing the amount between them. Thus relieved, the Rev. F. H. Bushnell, who became rector in 1877, has nearly succeeded in clearing this valuable property of debt. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and ninety; receipts, $4376.70.

St. George's Church, Kenderton (admitted 1870).—The rector of the Church of the Resurrection, Rising Sun, Rev. Joseph R. Moore, is also rector of this chapel, and holds occasional services.

St. Paul's Church, Aramingo (admitted 1870).—This chapel, built recently as a memorial of William Welsh, on Kensington Avenue, near Bockius Street, was at first a mission of St. Mark's Church, Frankford. The Rev. Henry E. Cooke is at present its rector. 1883,—communicants, eighty-two; receipts, $3139.96.

St. George's Church, West Philadelphia (admitted 1870).—This is a small stone church, at Hazel Avenue, near Sixty-first Street, West Philadelphia, near the village of Cardington, built about ten years ago. The services held in it are at present under the charge of the Rev. G. J. Burton, warden of the neighboring Burd Orphan Asylum, who also holds the rectorship of this parish.

St. Timothy's Church (admitted 1871).—This church is on Reed Street, below Eighth. The building was erected in 1856, the Rev. William C. Cooley being the first rector. The parish was originally organized as the Church of our Saviour, but in 1870 it was reorganized, and the name changed to the Church of St. Timothy. The present rector is the Rev. Robert T. Roche, D.D. 1883,—communicants, seventy-five; receipts, $1561.28.

St. Sauveur's (French) Church (admitted 1872).—This congregation was begun in 1871, and for some years it was aided by the Philadelphia Protestant Episcopal City Mission. It now occupies a chapel in the French Academy building, Twenty-first Street, above Chestnut. It is thoroughly organized, and does a large missionary and parochial work in its special field. It has all the time been in charge of the Rev. C. F. B. Miel, formerly the Abbé Miel, a distinguished and eloquent priest of the Roman Catholic Church, and one of the preachers at the Madelaine, in Paris, who was canonically received into the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church by Bishop Stevens in June, 1871. 1883,—communicants, ninety; expenditures, $2745.70.

Church of the Annunciation (admitted 1872).—This parish at present occupies a temporary but rather pretty frame chapel at Norris and Camac Streets, erected in 1871 for the Church of Our Merciful Saviour. This parish was organized by the City Mission, the Rev. E. S. Widdemer and Rev. J. W. Ashton being rectors. A few years ago the present rector, the Rev. H. G. Batterson, D.D., took charge, and the name was changed to the Church of the Annunciation. There is now a surpliced choir and frequent services. The erection of a new church is contemplated. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and eighty; expenditures, $4337.89.

Church of the Beloved Disciple (admitted 1874).—The first efforts which resulted in the organization of this parish were made by the Rev. Dr. A. Louderback, the mission being called Holy Innocents. The name was changed to the Church of the Beloved Disciple, and the present building, on Columbia Avenue, above Twentieth Street, erected about ten years ago. Rev. John P. Du Hamel, D.D., is the present rector. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and ninety-two; receipts, $5189.64.

St. Peter's Church, Germantown (admitted 1874).—St. Peter's Church, corner of Wayne and Harvey Streets, was built by a congregation composed to a large extent of members of Christ Church, Germantown, who, with the Rev. Theodore S. Rumney, D.D., then rector of Christ Church, withdrew and formed St. Peter's parish. The buildings, comprising a church and school-house, are very fine, and the parish is thoroughly organized. Dr. Rumney is still the rector. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and sixty-six; expenditures, $13,106.14. Church wardens, Henry H. Houston and Edmund A. Crenshaw.

Church of the Holy Comforter, West Philadelphia (admitted 1875).—This church, at Forty-eighth Street and Haverford Avenue, is a neat stone building, and was erected about ten years ago. For several years it was aided by the Church of the Saviour, and the Rev. Joseph A. Stone was the first pastor. The Rev. H. Morton Reed, who recently resigned to accept another charge, was rector for some years, and during his ministry the church was improved and a school-house built. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and fifty-three; receipts, $3001.60.

Church of the Transfiguration (admitted 1875).—For several years prior to 1878 church services were held in a frame church which stood over the tunnel of the Pennsylvania Railroad, on the south side of Chestnut Street, at Thirty-second Street. In 1877 the Rev. Thomas K. Conrad, D.D., accepted the rectorship, and the present Church of the Transfiguration, at Woodland Avenue and Walnut Street, West Philadelphia, was built and opened in January, 1878. 1883,—communicants, ninety-eight; expenditures, $5281.91; value of church property, $26,000.

Church of St. Ambrose (admitted 1881).—This congregation has a small church on Twenty-eighth Street, above Girard Avenue. Rev. William M. Harrison is rector. 1883,—communicants, one hundred and thirty-three; expenditures, $1758.03.

Gloria Dei (*Old Swedes*) **Church** will be found at the beginning of this chapter, under the head of the Swedish Church. It was admitted into union with the Non-Parochial Churches Convention in 1845.

St. Barnabas Church, Haddington.—This church, on Sixty-fifth Street near Hamilton, West Philadelphia, is under the City Mission. It was built in 1872. The Rev. John G. Bawn has been in charge for some years. Recently it was freed from all debt, and a comfortable rectory built.

Christ Church, Franklinville.—This church, at Sixth and Venango Streets, was built about seven years ago by the City Mission. The services are in charge of the Rev. Thomas J. Taylor.

Church of the Redeemer (Seamen's Mission).—This mission has a fine church and a mission building at the corner of Front and Queen Streets. It is supported by the Churchmen's Missionary Association for Seamen. Rev. Benjamin H. Latrobe, missionary.

St. Chrysostom's Church.—This is a small chapel near Twenty-eighth Street and Susquehanna Avenue, recently built. The Rev. Charles S. Daniel is in charge.

All Souls' Mission for Deaf Mutes.—Regular church services are held in the sign language for an organized congregation of deaf mutes by the Rev. H. W. Syle, who is himself a deaf mute, in the parish building of St. Stephen's Church, Tenth Street above Chestnut.

St. Barnabas' Mission.—This mission has a very convenient church at Third and Dauphin Streets. It was built about six years ago, to provide additional church accommodations for many who had been attendants at the Episcopal Hospital Chapel. The Rev. Charles E. Betticher took charge in February, 1882. 1883,—communicants, two hundred and fifty-seven; receipts, $1941.20.

Capella Italiana Episcopale dell' Emmanuello.—An interesting and very promising mission for Italians now occupies a neat chapel on Christian Street above Tenth, which was formally dedicated by Bishop Stevens as the Italian Church of Emmanuel, on Dec. 20, 1883. The Rev. Michelé Zara, an amiable and talented priest in the Roman Catholic Church, was canonically received into the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church by Bishop Stevens on Nov. 27, 1882. He soon after began this mission, and the church for its use was recently purchased, and dedicated Dec. 20, 1883.

La Santisima Trinidad (Spanish Mission).—Señor Parmenio Anaya, licensed by the bishop as a lay-reader, has held church services in the Spanish language for about a year past in the Bible-House at Seventh and Walnut Streets. The congregation is made up largely of Cubans. The Rev. Mr. Anaya was ordained deacon by Bishop Stevens in December, 1883.

In addition to the services held in the foregoing churches and chapels, church services are also held in the chapel of the Episcopal Hospital, Front Street and Lehigh Avenue, where a large congregation attend the services; in the chapel of the Burd Orphan Asylum; in the chapel of Christ Church Hospital; in St. Peter's House, Front and Pine Streets; in the Church of the Epiphany Mission Chapel, Twenty-third and Cherry Streets; by the City Mission clergy in many of the public institutions; and a service for the Chinese is held in the lecture-room of the Church of the Epiphany by the Rev. E. W. Syle, D.D., for many years a missionary in China.

Protestant Episcopal Educational Institutions.—THE PHILADELPHIA DIVINITY SCHOOL. The Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia is the outgrowth of the Diocesan Training School for the education of young men for the ministry, established by Bishop Potter in 1857. The Training School was placed under the Rev. George Emlen Hare, D.D., and a few lectures were given by Bishop Potter himself. The students were taught in one of the rooms of the Episcopal Academy, and some fifteen or twenty young men received instruction in the Training School. In 1859 the Divinity School was organized, and incorporated in 1863, and the Training School absorbed into it. A large and convenient building at the northwest corner of Thirty-ninth and Walnut Streets, formerly the private residence of Mr. Thomas Allibone, was purchased, and used by the seminary for many years.

In 1881 this building was sold and a new, large and beautiful building was erected on the Darby road, near Fiftieth Street, where the institution had some

years before purchased about twenty acres of ground. The new Divinity School is conveniently arranged, and has provision for a resident professor, and rooms for about one hundred students. The building cost about seventy-five thousand dollars. A fine chapel will soon be erected, a donation sufficient for the purpose having been made. The formal opening of the new Divinity School building took place on Monday, Oct. 30, 1882, but it had been occupied for a short time previous to that date.

The faculty is composed of the Rev. Daniel R. Goodwin, D.D., LL.D., dean; Rev. George Emlen Hare, D.D., LL.D., professor of Biblical Learning; Rev. Clement M. Butler, D.D., professor of Ecclesiastical History; Rev. Matson Meier-Smith, D.D., professor of Homiletics, and other occasional and special instructors. The Rev. John A. Childs, D.D., is secretary. The Divinity School is not diocesan, but is a general church institution, governed by a board of overseers, of which Bishop Lee, of Delaware, is the president. It has endowments sufficient to sustain several professorships.

THE ACADEMY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH was organized in 1785. About that time proceedings were brought against the College of Philadelphia, which resulted in the forfeiture of its charter and the establishment of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1784 the vestry of Christ Church and St. Peter's, "being informed that many persons wished to see an academy instituted in connection with those churches, appointed a committee which, on October 27th, reported in favor of a subscription for that purpose.

The academy was organized on Jan. 1, 1785, by a meeting of persons who had subscribed certain sums, and was placed under the management of sixteen trustees. The Rev. John Andrews was chosen principal of the academy April 21, 1785. It was chartered May 29, 1787, by the name of the Trustees of the Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of Philadelphia, and for its endowment ten thousand acres of land were granted by the State from lands not then taken up. This tract was subsequently located on the head-waters of Pine Creek. It afterward received bequests from Andrew Doz, the estate of John Keble, and others.

The academy was first opened, April 4, 1785, in a house on the east side of Fourth Street, below Market. A large building was erected on the south side of Chestnut Street, west of Seventh, and while this was still unfinished the academy was removed to it in 1788. It proved to be too expensive, and was sold in 1791. A house was then purchased at Third and Pear Streets for the use of the academy. Afterward, in 1824, the schools were kept in Locust Street above Ninth. There was a grammar school, which was strictly the academy, and also a free or charity school for boys, and another for girls, supported by subscriptions, which were for a time carried on in connection with the academy. These were given up when public schools became common. The academy languished until, in 1845, it was revived through the interest and efforts of Bishop Alonzo Potter. The Rev. George Emlen Hare, D.D., became head master of the academy in 1845, and in a few years, under his efficient administration, it reached the maximum number of pupils. In 1849, to provide the needed additional accommodations, the trustees undertook the erection of the present academy building, since enlarged, on the south side of Locust Street, below Broad.

In 1859 the present head master, the Rev. James W. Robins, D.D., succeeded Dr. Hare. Dr. Robins has thoroughly devoted himself to the institution, and it has been very successful. Including the department for small boys, it can provide tuition for about three hundred, and is usually filled. "Thousands of the sons of citizens of Philadelphia have been trained by its wholesome discipline and instruction, and many of these have risen to the highest offices in Church and State, as well as in business and civil life."

In 1882 the Society of the Alumni of the academy presented to it a memorial window to Bishop Potter. In 1883 the same association issued an appeal, and undertook to raise an endowment fund of fifty thousand dollars by 1885, in commemoration of its one hundredth anniversary, to be celebrated that year.

The Clergy Daughters' Fund.—This fund is made up of offerings to be devoted to support education of the daughters of church clergymen.

Fund for the Education of Sons of the Clergy.—The object of this diocesan fund is indicated in the title.

The Advancement Society.—The venerable English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to which the Church of England missions in America were so largely indebted for support during the colonial period, continued to make a few grants to missions in the United States after the Revolution, but finally discontinued them altogether. In 1812 the Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania was formed. It is a close corporation, electing its members. The Advancement Society has done a noble work for the church by sending out and supporting missionaries in all parts of the State, and by aiding in the erection of churches, assisting candidates for orders, and making grants of Bibles and prayer-books for distribution. It is also by its charter empowered to "receive and hold in trust moneys, houses, lands, etc., given or bequeathed—strictly applying them in accordance with the wishes of the persons so giving or bequeathing—for any church purposes, . . . or for any other purpose promotive of the advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania." It thus holds in trust a considerable part of the fund for the support of the episcopate in Pennsylvania and other trust funds.

The Bishop Potter Memorial House for Deacon-

esses.—This was founded in 1866, chiefly through the efforts of William Welsh, as a home for the education of Christian women as deaconesses, and in other church work. It occupies the old mansion in the Episcopal Hospital grounds. At present it is without a house mother.

The Seamen's Mission.—The Churchmen's Missionary Association for Seamen of the port of Philadelphia was founded in 1847. Mr. Joseph E. Hover and Mr. Isaac Welsh were among its earliest promoters. The Floating Church of the Redeemer was built and moored for four years in the Spruce Street Dock, which was rented from the city. The dock was then rented to parties for commercial purposes, and the Floating Church was sold to St. John's Church, Camden, who placed it on their lot in Camden, and worshiped in it for several years, until it was destroyed by fire on a Christmas morning. The Church of the Redeemer, at the northwest corner of Swanson and Catharine Streets, was built in 1857–59. It is now disused, and the ground is offered for sale. In 1878 the present Church of the Redeemer and the adjacent mission and school building, at the northwest corner of Front and Queen Streets, was built. The association maintains this church, and distributes reading matter among sailors. The missionaries have been the Rev. Richard S. Trapier, 1847–58; Rev. A. Christman, Rev. W. F. Davidson, Rev. R. F. Chase, and Rev. Washington B. Erben, 1864–78. During Mr. Erben's pastorate the resources of the mission were gradually increased, and a fund of over thirty thousand dollars was raised, sufficient to pay for the present site and erect the new buildings. The endowment fund, which amounts to about eight thousand dollars, was also somewhat enlarged. The present missionary, the Rev. B. H. Latrobe, took charge in 1878.

The Bishop White Prayer-Book Society.—This society was organized in 1833. It has published several editions of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Hymnal, and has distributed them in large numbers throughout the whole land.

The Episcopal Female Prayer-Book Society.—This society was founded in 1834. It publishes and has widely distributed a large and well-printed octavo edition of the Book of Common Prayer.

The Episcopal Female Tract Society.—This society was organized in 1822. It has published about seven hundred different church tracts, which have been widely distributed.

The Church Temperance Society.—The Pennsylvania Diocesan Branch of the Church Temperance Society (an affiliation of a General Church Society) was organized on Sept. 21, 1881. The Rev. Henry S. Getz was for some time its agent. It is a movement to unite together the friends of temperance and the advocates of total abstinence in efforts to restrain persons from the abuse of alcoholic liquors. Pledges of "total abstinence," or "partially restrictive pledges," may be made by members. The success of similar efforts made by the Church of England has led to the introduction of this plan here. Within the last three years parochial temperance organizations have been formed in about thirty of the Philadelphia parishes.

The Protestant Episcopal Association for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews.—This association was organized in 1857. The Rev. Louis C. Newman, a converted Israelite, was its missionary until his death, Nov. 22, 1880.

The Sunday-School Association of the Protestant Episcopal Church.—This voluntary and informal association of those engaged in church Sunday-school work in Philadelphia, for conference about the best methods of carrying out their work, began its meetings about fifteen years ago. They have proved to be very valuable, and are largely attended by teachers and superintendents. It has in various years held large public meetings of the scholars in the Academy of Music and other large buildings. Mr. George C. Thomas has been a prominent member of the association since its commencement. A Lenten Offering for missions is taken each year in the Sunday-schools during Lent, and for several years past about three thousand dollars has been raised in this way in Philadelphia each year. Mr. John Marston, Jr., first suggested this Lenten Offering to the Philadelphia church Sunday-schools, and it has recently been widely introduced in other dioceses.

The Bishop White Parish Library Association.—This association was organized in 1840. Its object is to provide rectors of feeble parishes with standard publications of the church.

The Chinese Mission.—Some Chinese were taught in St. Andrew's Church Sunday-school during Bishop Stevens' rectorship, and one was baptized by the name of "Bedell," who returned to China, and was a respectable Christian. In 1875–76, in the same Sunday-school, an effort was made to keep together a class of Chinese scholars. There are now about one hundred Chinese laundries in Philadelphia, and Mr. Thomas Latimer recently placed a copy of the Chinese New Testament in each of them.

Protestant Episcopal Church Notes.—At the time of the Irish famine, in 1847, in response to an appeal from Bishop Potter, nearly nine thousand dollars was received from the Protestant Episcopal Churches in Philadelphia and its vicinity. This amount was invested in corn-meal by the gratuitous agency of Thomas Robins and William Welsh, and consigned to the care of Brown, Shipley & Co., Liverpool, who generously declined any compensation for their services. Three-fourths of it was made subject to the order of the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, for the use of the Irish poor; and one-fourth to the order of the Primus of the Scotch Church, and of the Bishop of Edinburgh, for the use of the poor of Scotland.

—The Brotherhood of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a beneficial association, was in existence in Philadelphia from 1851 until about 1877, when it disbanded, and the funds were divided among its members *pro rata*.

—The Mission House, for the training of men for foreign missionary work, was in successful operation for some years in West Philadelphia, and then removed to New York City about fifteen years ago. The building, No. 3518 Lancaster Avenue, is now owned and occupied by the Pennsylvania Working Home for Blind Men.

—In 1819, Sheldon, Potter & Co. began the publication in Philadelphia of a church magazine, called the *Church Record*, and edited by the Rev. Jackson Kemper and the Rev. George Boyd.

In 1823 it was discontinued as a magazine, and succeeded by the *Philadelphia Recorder*. This newspaper soon after changed its name to that of *Episcopal Recorder*, and was for many years published by William Stavely. It was sold to Thomas H. Powers in about 1869, and discontinued as a church periodical. McCalla & Stavely in 1870 began the publication of the *Episcopal Register*, which has become an influential weekly journal.

In about 1845 the *Register*, a church weekly of a high literary character, was published in Philadelphia. Professor Henry Reed and others were contributors to its columns. It was only published for one year. The Rev. Dr. Herman Hooker, who established a church book-store in Philadelphia, published for a number of years the *Banner of the Cross*, but in 1861, on the outbreak of the Rebellion, it lost its large Southern circulation, and was discontinued.

—After the consolidation of the city of Philadelphia many new parishes still continued to use the old names of the districts in connection with their titles, that they might more readily be distinguished.

—During the civil war, 1861–65, the churchmen and the parishes in Philadelphia were fervent and profuse in their evidences of their loyalty to the United States government. A number of the Philadelphia clergy became chaplains. The Rev. Washington B. Erben was chaplain of Rush's Lancers, Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry; Rev. Mr. Egan, chaplain of Chorman's Cavalry; Rev. Archibald Beatty, Rev. Henry S. Spackman, Rev. Charles R. Hale, Rev. J. Pinkney Hammond, Rev. Richardson Graham, Rev. John Long, Rev. Alexander Shiras, and others, served as chaplains either in the field or in the military hospitals. The laity in Philadelphia were munificent in their private subscriptions for the equipment of regiments and other patriotic purposes, and in nearly every parish there were organizations of ladies engaged in benevolent efforts to aid and relieve the soldiers, especially the sick and wounded. Special prayers were issued by the bishop, and used in all the churches until the return of peace.

—On the 24th of May, 1884, the Diocese of Pennsylvania completes the first century of its diocesan organization. The Convention of 1883 appointed a committee to make arrangements for the proper celebration of the Centennial, and fixed the time for its annual meeting so as to be in session on that day.

—The Evangelical Education Society, a general association, assists young men while studying for the ministry. Its office for many years has been in Philadelphia, at No. 1224 Chestnut Street.

—Soon after Bishop Potter came to Philadelphia, the Episcopal Rooms were established on the second floor of a building on Walnut Street above Fifth. They were then removed to No. 708 Walnut Street, and remained there many years. In 1880 they were removed to No. 1102 Walnut Street. A committee was appointed in 1883, by the Diocesan Convention, to secure, if possible, a diocesan house, and the bishop's office and other church offices will doubtless soon be provided for in such a building.

The Protestant Episcopal denomination has the following officers and church organizations in this city in 1884:

Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, William Bacon Stevens, D.D., LL.D; house, 1633 Spruce Street; office, 1102 Walnut Street.

Officers of Church Institutions in Philadelphia.—Secretary of the Bishop, of Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of Board of Missions of Diocese of Pennsylvania, of the Trustees and Overseers of the Divinity School, and of Trustees of Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese, Rev. John A. Childs, D.D., 1102 Walnut Street.

Secretary of Standing Committee, James S. Biddle.

Treasurer of Episcopal and Convention Fund, Benjamin C. Godfrey, Episcopal Rooms, 1102 Walnut Street.

Treasurer of Christmas Fund, R. P. McCullagh.

Treasurer of Board of Missions of Diocese of Pennsylvania, Edward Pugh.

Treasurer of Hospital of Protestant Episcopal Church, William W. Frazier, Jr.

Secretary of the Bishop White Prayer-Book Society, James S. Biddle.

Treasurer of Corporation for Relief of Widows and Children of Deceased Clergymen, J. Somers Smith.

Registrar of the Diocese and Head Master of the Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, Rev. J. W. Robins, D.D.

Treasurer of Clergy Daughters' Fund, Charles W. Cushman.

Treasurer of Evangelical Educational Society, William C. Houston.

General Agent of Evangelical Educational Society, Rev. R. C. Matlack, D.D.

Treasurer of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania, George W. Hunter.

Corresponding Secretary of Society for Advancement of Christianity in Philadelphia, Rev. John K. Murphy, Germantown.

Treasurer of Society for the promotion of Christianity among the Jews, Richard Ashhurst.

Protestant Episcopal Sunday-School Association, Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., LL.D., president; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. W. H. Graff; Treasurer, W. A. Farr.

Superintendent Protestant Episcopal City Mission, Rev. Samuel Durborow.

Missionaries to Public Institutions, Rev. Thomas L. Franklin, D.D., Rev. Richardson Graham, Wallingford, Delaware Co.

Missionary to House of Mercy and Homes, Rev. I. Martin, M.D.

Churches.—All Saints, Twelfth and Fitzwater Streets. Rev. Herman L. Duhring.

All Saints, Torresdale, Bristol turnpike. Rev. F. J. Bassett.

Calvary, Manheim Street and Pulaski Avenue, Germantown. Rev. James DeWolfe Perry, Jr.

Calvary Monumental, Forty-first Street, above Oregon. Rev. T. P. Hutchinson.

Chapel of the Burd Asylum of St. Stephen's Church, Market Street, west of Sixty-third. Rev. Gideon J. Burton.
Chapel Christ Church, Pine Street, below Twentieth. Rev. William P. Lewis, D.D.
Chapel Epiphany Mission, corner Twenty-third and Cherry Streets.
Chapel Episcopal Hospital, Huntingdon Avenue and Front Street. Rev. A. B. Crawford.
Christ Church, Second Street, below Arch. Rev. E. A. Foggo, D.D.; Rev. E. C. Belcher, assistant.
Christ Church Hospital, Belmont Avenue. Rev. Edmund Roberts.
Christ Church, Germantown, Tulpehocken Street, near Adams. Rev. John B. Falkner, D.D.
Church of the Advent, York Avenue and Buttonwood Street. Rev. J. F. Powers.
Church of the Annunciation, corner Norris and Camac Streets. Rev. H. G. Batterson, D.D.; Rev. E. B. Taylor, assistant.
Church of the Ascension, Lombard Street, above Eleventh. Rev. G. Woolsey Hodge; Rev. H. O. Dubois, assistant.
Church of the Atonement, Seventeenth and Summer Streets. Rev. Benjamin Watson, D.D.; Rev. J. Sanders Reed, assistant.
Church of the Beloved Disciple, Columbia Avenue, above Twentieth Street. Rev. J. Pleasonton Du Hamel.
Church of the Covenant, Filbert Street, above Seventeenth. Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., Chestnut Hill.
Church of the Crucifixion, Eighth Street, above Bainbridge. Rev. Henry L. Phillips.
Church of the Epiphany, corner Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets. Rev. G. H. Kingsolving.
Church of the Evangelists, Catharine Street, above Seventh. Rev. Henry R. Percival; Rev. Edward Warren, assistant.
Church of the Good Shepherd, Cumberland Street, east of Frankford Avenue. Rev. J. A. Goodfellow.
Church of the Holy Apostles, Twenty-first and Christian Streets. Rev. Charles D. Cooper, D.D.
Church of the Holy Comforter, Forty-eighth Street and Haverford Avenue. Rev. Henry Morton Reed.
Church of the Holy Innocents, Tacony. Rev. G. E. D. Mortimer.
Church of the Holy Trinity, Nineteenth and Walnut Streets. Rev. William N. Neilson McVickar; Rev. Walter Jordan, assistant.
Church of the Incarnation, corner Broad and Jefferson Streets. Rev. Joseph D. Newlin; Rev. E. Cope, assistant.
Church of the Mediator, Nineteenth and Lombard Streets. Rev. Samuel E. Appleton, D.D.
Church of the Messiah, Broad and Federal Streets. Rev. F. H. Bushnell.
Church of the Messiah, East Huntingdon and Edgemont Streets Rev. E. S. Widdemer.
Church of the Nativity, Eleventh and Mount Vernon Streets. Rev. William M. Jefferis.
Church of the Redeemer (Seamen's Mission), South Front and Queen Streets. Rev. B. H. Latrobe, Jr.
Church of the Redemption, Twenty-second and Callowhill Streets. Rev. Thomas B. List.
Church of the Resurrection, Broad and Tioga Streets. Rev. Joseph R. Moore.
Church of St. Sauveur (French), Twenty-first Street, above Chestnut. Rev. C. Miel.
Church of the Saviour, Thirty-eighth Street, below Market. Rev. William H. Meade, D.D.
Church of the Transfiguration, northwest corner of Walnut Street and Woodland Avenue. Rev. Thomas K. Conrad, D.D.; Rev. E. H. Supplee, assistant.
Clay Mission (colored), Winslow Street, below Twelfth.
Deaf Mute Mission of St. Stephen's Church, Tenth Street, above Chestnut. Rev. Henry Winter Syle.
Emanuel, Marlborough Street, above Girard Avenue. Rev. Nathaniel L. Briggs.
Emanuel, Holmesburg. Rev. D. C. Millett, D.D., Holmesburg.
Franklinville Mission, Sixth and Venango Streets. Rev. T. J. Taylor.
Gloria Dei, Swanson Street, below Christian. Rev. Snyder B. Simes.
Grace, Twelfth and Cherry Streets. Rev. Reese F. Alsop, D.D.
Grace, Germantown, Mount Airy. Rev. S. C. Hill, Mount Airy Avenue.
Holy Comforter (Memorial), Nineteenth Street, above Wharton. Rev. Alexander H. Vinton.
Holy Trinity (Memorial), Twenty-second and Spruce Streets. Rev. George F. Bugbee.
House of Prayer, Branchtown. Rev. George Bringhurst.
L'Emmanuello Chiesa (Italian Mission), Christian Street, below Eleventh. Rev. M. Zara.
La Santisima Trinidad (Spanish Mission), Rooms, 136 South Seventh Street. Rev. Parmenio Anaya.
St. Alban, Ridge and Fairthorne Avenues, Roxborough. Rev. J. Joyce Moore.
St. Ambrose, Twenty-eighth Street, above Girard Avenue. Rev. William M. Harrison.
St. Andrew, Eighth Street, above Spruce. *Rev. W. F. Paddock, D.D.; Rev. Charles E. Milnor, assistant.
St. Andrew, southwest corner Thirty-sixth and Baring Streets. Rev. Charles W. Duane.
St. Barnabas, Sixty-fifth and Hamilton Streets. Rev. John G. Bawn.
St. Barnabas Mission, Third and Dauphin Streets. Rev. Charles E. Betticher.
St. Bartholomew, Nineteenth Ward. Rev. James Saul, D.D.
St. Chrysostom, Twenty-eighth Street and Susquehanna Avenue. Rev. C. S. Daniel.
St. Clement, Twentieth and Cherry Streets. Rev. B. W. Maturin, Rev. G. E. Shepperd, Rev. I. I. Cameron, Rev. Charles Fields.
St. David, Centre Street, above Baker. Rev. Charles Logan.
St. David Chapel, Manayunk, Terrace. Rev. H. P. Chapman.
St. George, Hazel Avenue, near Sixty-first Street. Rev. Gideon J. Burton.
St. James, corner Twenty-second and Walnut Streets. Rev. Henry J. Morton, D.D.; Rev. William H. Burr, assistant.
St. James the Less, Nicetown Lane and Falls of Schuylkill. Rev. Robert Ritchie.
St. James, Hestonville, Fifty-second Street and Kershaw Avenue. Rev. T. W. Davidson.
St. James, Kingsessing, Woodland Avenue above Sixty-eighth Street. Rev. Charles A. Maison, D.D.
St. John, Brown Street, below Third. Rev. George A. Latimer.
St. John Free Church, Cemetery Avenue, one square from Frankford road. Rev. Henry A. F. Hoyt.
St. John the Baptist, corner Germantown Avenue and Mehle Street, Germantown. Rev. Charles H. Hibbard.
St. John the Evangelist, Third and Reed Streets. Rev. John E. Johnson.
St. Jude, Franklin Street, above Brown. Rev. William H. Graff.
St. Luke, Thirteenth Street, below Spruce. Rev. C. G. Currie, D.D.
St. Luke the Beloved Physician (Memorial), Bustleton. Rev. Samuel F. Hotchkin.
St. Luke, Main Street, below Mill, Germantown. Rev. Samuel Upjohn.
St. Mark, Locust Street, above Sixteenth. Rev. Isaac L. Nicholson, D.D.; Rev. Henry McCulloch and Rev. Henry McDowell, assistants.
St. Mark, Frankford. Rev. R. C. Booth; Rev. S. Tweedle, assistant.
St. Mark's Mission, New York Railroad and Orthodox Street. Rev. S. Tweedle.
St. Mary, Locust Street, above Thirty-ninth. Rev. Thomas C. Yarnall, D.D.; Rev. Robert F. Innes, assistant.
St. Matthew, Girard Avenue and Eighteenth Street. Rev. John P. Hubbard, D.D.
St. Matthias, corner Nineteenth and Wallace Streets. Rev. Robert A. Edwards; Rev. Theodore H. Waterman, assistant.
St. Michael, High Street, near Morton, Germantown. Rev. John K. Murphy.
St. Paul, Third Street, below Walnut. Rev. William S. Adamson.
St. Paul, Chestnut Hill, Chestnut Avenue. Rev. J. A. Harris, D.D.
St. Paul, Kensington Avenue, near Bockius Street. Rev. H. E. Cooke, Frankford.
St. Paul, Cheltenham. Rev. Edward W. Appleton, D.D., Ashbourne.
St. Peter, Third and Pine Streets. Rev. Thomas F. Davies, D.D., Rev. Alexander J. Miller.
St. Peter, corner Wayne and Harvey Streets, Germantown. Rev. Theodore S. Rumney, D.D.
St. Peter's House, Lombard Street, above Third. Rev. Francis M. Taitt.
St. Philip, Spring Garden Street, below Broad.
St. Stephen, Tenth Street, above Chestnut. Rev. S. D. McConnell; Rev. Francis G. Burgess, assistant.
St. Stephen, Bridge and Melrose Streets, Bridesburg: Vacant.
St. Thomas, corner Fifth and Adelphi Streets. Rev. J. P. Williams.
St. Timothy, Reed Street, below Eighth. Rev. Robert T. Roche, D.D.
St. Timothy, Ridge Avenue, near Shur's Lane. Rev. Robert E. Dennison, rector, Roxborough; Rev. N. F. Robinson, assistant minister.

Trinity, Southwark, Catharine Street, above Second. Rev. Andrew D. Heffern.
Trinity, Oxford road, near Second Street turnpike. Rev. R. B. Shepherd.
Trinity Chapel, Crescentville.
Trinity, Maylandville, Forty-second Street and Baltimore Avenue. Rev. Richard M. Thomas.
Zion, Eighth Street and Columbia Avenue. Rev. William R. Carroll.

The Reformed Episcopal denomination have the following church organizations:

Church of Holy Trinity, Twelfth and Oxford Streets. Rev. H. S. Hoffman.
Church of Our Redeemer, Sixteenth and Oxford Streets. Rev. Charles H. Tucker.
Church of the Corner-Stone, northwest corner of Eighteenth Street and Fairmount Avenue. Rev. J. B. North.
Church of the Sure Foundation. Rev. William Newton.
Emanuel, East York and Sepviva Streets. Rev. Forrest E. Dager.
Grace Chapel, Falls of Schuylkill. Rev. Alexander Sloan.
Reconciliation, corner Thirteenth and Tasker Streets.
Second, Chestnut Street, west of Twenty-first. Right Rev. William R. Nicholson, D.D.; Rev. F. H. Reynolds, assistant.
St. John's, Frankford Avenue, above Adams Street. Rev. Johnson Hubbell.
St. Paul, corner Orthodox and Mulberry Streets, Frankford.
Third, Wayne Street and Chelton Avenue. Rev. J. Eastburn Brown.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.[1]

Pennsylvania was professedly founded as a land of religious toleration, as appears from the laws adopted in England for the government of the colony, which provided,—

"That all persons living in this province who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever."

In the first clause of the charter of privileges, Oct. 28, 1701, the same pledge is given in nearly the same language, and it is added:

"And that all persons who also profess to believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other persuasion and practices in point of conscience and religion) to serve this Government in any capacity, both legislatively and executively, he or they solemnly promising, when lawfully required, allegiance to the king as sovereign, and fidelity to the proprietor and Governor," etc.

There was then no legal debarment of Catholics from entering the newly-founded colony of Penn.

The first known reference to the presence of a priest and the celebration of mass in Philadelphia may be found in the following extract from a letter of Rev. John Talbot, a nonjuring Episcopal minister to the secretary of the (London) Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dated at New York, Jan. 10, 1707–8, which says, "Arise, O Lord Jesus Christ! help us and deliver us for thine honor. Since Mr. Brooke, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Evans went away there's an Independency at Elizabethtown, Anabaptism at Burlington, and the Popish Mass at Philadelphia. I thought that the Quakers would be the first to let it in, particularly Mr. Penn; for, if he has any religion 'tis that, but thus to tolerate all without control is the way to have none at all."[2]

In "Church Documents," by Pott & Amery, New York, under "Connecticut," page 37, is another letter from Rev. John Talbot to George Keith, who was engaged also by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, in which he says, under date of Feb. 14, 1708, "I saw Mr. Bradford in New York. He tells me that Mass is set up and read publically in Philadelphia, among which Lionel Britton [or Brittain], the church warden, is one, and his son is another."

The next reference to the celebration of mass is contained in a letter from Penn to Logan, dated 29th Seventh month, 1708 (Logan papers): "Here is a complaint against your Government that you suffer publick mass in a scandalous manner. Pray send the matter of fact, for ill use is made of it against us here."

In another letter from Penn to a correspondent in Philadelphia, he 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."

Others than Talbot made the charge that if Penn had any religion he was a Papist. To that he replied,—

"If the asserting of an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as we would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practicing of these things at all times and to all parties will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit or Papist of any rank, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it, too."

Such were the sentiments and the policy of the founder of Pennsylvania, and that it had "become a reproach to him" that mass was "publically" celebrated, and that he spoke of it as the "scandal of the mass" must not be too harshly judged, when we consider the temper of the times in England and his fears that his proprietary interests would be made to suffer.

That there were Catholics then living in Philadelphia is evident from the documents we have quoted. Dr. John Gilmary Shea, the eminent Catholic historian, furnished Thompson Westcott with the result of investigations in England by Very Rev. Pamfilo da Magliano, provincial of the Franciscans in this country, which shows there were Franciscans "in North America," and that of the number Rev. Polycarp Wicksted and Rev. James Haddock "were in North America in 1708," and that, therefore, "probability points," says Mr. Westcott, "to either as being the celebrant of the mass in Philadelphia in 1707–8."

Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in an article in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for July, 1883, says,—

"The earliest evidence we have of the presence of priests in Philadelphia is connected with the conversion of Lionel Brittain, a prominent and well-to-do personage, and the public celebration of mass at the time.

[1] This article was contributed by Martin I. J. Griffin.

[2] The authority for this statement is to be found in "The History of the (Episcopal) Church in Burlington, N. J.," by Rev. George Morgan Hill, D.D., Trenton, 1876, which contains many of Talbot's letters.

This conquest preceded the entrance of the Jesuits into that province, and was probably due to the Franciscans who had been sent to Maryland by the Propaganda some years before."

We believe, however, that to the Jesuits belongs the honor of establishing the first Catholic Church in this city. In the "Roman Catalogue of the Society of Jesus," the names of three priests are recorded as being in New York City between 1683 and 1696,—Fathers Thomas Harvey, Henry Harrison, and Charles Gage. Farther Harvey was born in London in 1635, was in New York from 1683 to 1690, and in Maryland in 1693, and again in New York in 1696,[1] and it is very probable that on his way from New York to Maryland, Philadelphia and the intervening country was ministered to. He returned to Maryland and died there in 1719, aged eighty-four.

In "The Records of the English Province of Society of Jesus," by Henry Foley, S.J., vol. iii. p. 394, is this important testimony from the "Annual Letters of the English Province regarding the Mission in Maryland," under date of 1685–1690, which says,—

"Our mission in the West Indies, Maryland, and indeed in New York, underwent the same fate with those in England. In the latter (New York) there were only two priests, and these were forced in the storm[2] to change their residence, as was also the Catholic governor himself. *One of them traveled on foot to Maryland*, the other, after many perils on the sea,—having been captured and plundered by Dutch pirates,—at length arrived safe in France. In Maryland great difficulties are suffered. Our Fathers yet remain to render what consolation they can to distressed Catholics."

The name of the priest who "traveled on foot to Maryland" is, unfortunately for investigators, not given. But who will gainsay the probability that he did not pass through Philadelphia, and, if so, spiritually attend such Catholics as he could discover?

The Assembly of New York, in 1691, declared the act of 1683, whereby religious toleration was proclaimed, to be "null and void." A bill of rights excluding Catholics from its privileges was adopted. This bill of rights was repealed by King William in 1697, and in 1700 an act passed whereby any "Jesuit priest and Popish missionary" was "deemed and accounted an incendiary and a disturber of the public peace and safety, and an enemy of the true Christian religion, and shall be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment." Harborers of priests were to pay two hundred pounds and stand three days in the pillory.

As the return, made June 13, 1696, by Mayor Merritt, of New York City, to Governor Fletcher shows but nine Catholics in New York City, it is a fair presumption that Father Harvey had "traveled on foot" from that city to Maryland, returned as far as Philadelphia, where no such restrictive and unjust laws existed, and ministered to the Catholics of this city who believing themselves privileged by the charter and laws openly professed their faith, and in 1708 had mass "publically" celebrated.

Thus far, it will be observed, no reference has been made to the "old priest" spoken of by William Penn in a letter from London, in 1686, as one "who had rare shad," nor of the house northwest corner of Front and Walnut Streets, nor of "the house at southeast corner of Second and Chestnut Streets," said to have been "built for a papal chapel." Investigations by Mr. Westcott prove the former property to have been owned by Friends, and the latter too large for any congregation the Catholics could possibly have had.

The gossip and traditions related by Watson regarding the place of early Catholic worship need not be critically examined. In those days Catholics did as Catholics in country districts sparsely settled do now,—have mass celebrated at the house of one of their number, and by changes very often from the house of one to another. This was the custom before the founding of St. Joseph's Church.

The "old priest" spoken of by Penn is very clearly proven to be Rev. Jacobus Fabricius, the Dutch pastor of the Swedish Lutheran congregation. He was called "priest" by his own people and by the Quakers; the term was applied to all "members of the gospel of whatever denomination of Christians."

As yet, no further reference to the Catholics of Philadelphia or their affairs has been discovered until the visits of Rev. Joseph Greaton, S.J., from about 1722 to the founding of old St. Joseph's Church. We are, however, of the opinion that Rev. Thomas Harvey visited this city from time to time prior to his death in Maryland, in 1719.

In the first "Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of England," Rev. Joseph Greaton is recorded in 1722 as a "missioner in Maryland," but this is not to be taken restrictively as applying to the colony of Maryland, but to the Jesuits' province, which then included Pennsylvania. Traditionary evidence shows that Father Greaton passed through Adams County, Pa., on a visit to Philadelphia as early, perhaps, as 1722.

The probabilities are that Father Greaton visited the Catholics of this city from that time until he concluded to establish a permanent residence here and found a church; that in 1729 he received the land upon which afterward the little chapel of St. Joseph's was built, and that in 1731 he began its erection.

It was finished in 1732, and on Feb. 26, 1732, mass was first celebrated within the eighteen by twenty-eight feet chapel, to a "congregation," says Mr. Westcott, "originally consisting of eleven persons."[3]

[1] "Documentary History of New York," and "Brief Sketch of the Catholic Church in New York," by Rev. J. R. Bayley.

[2] The "storm" was the Revolution of 1688, and Thomas Dongan was "the Catholic governor" of New York.

[3] To "not more than ten or twelve persons," says a manuscript in the archives of the Archbishop of Baltimore, and believed to be that of Archbishop Carroll. "To forty," says Rev. P. A. Jordan, S.J., now one of the assistants at old St. Joseph's, in "The Woodstock Letters," printed for the Jesuits in 1873.

It is probable that Father Jordan's figures are correct. Surely from

Father Greaton was born in London, Feb. 12, 1678, was admitted to the Society of Jesus July 5, 1708, being then in holy orders.

In 1710 he was studying theology (third year) at Liege. In 1711 he was teaching at St. Omer's. In 1712 and 1713 he was procurator and consultor at Watten. In 1714 his name appears in "Personarum" of the "Catalogue of the English Province" as *John*, and as being "on the mission."

From 1715 to 1720 he was a missionary priest in the College or District of St. Chad, Staffordshire, England. In 1722–25 he was a missioner in England. In another catalogue his name appears as *James*. These *aliases* become of importance, as will appear farther on.[1]

The land upon which St. Joseph's Chapel was built was purchased in 1729, but it is believed full payment was not made until May 15, 1733, when the deed for the lot was put on record. Father Greaton's residence was begun in 1732 and finished in 1733. It was a large substantial mansion, and is still standing.

The original deed, when the church property was first purchased, was not recorded, perhaps because official sentiment was not then favorable to the Catholics becoming established as a church organization, though public opinion was not hostile. While the Catholics were few and were visited occasionally by a priest, they were almost unnoticed, but when it became known that land had been obtained for a chapel, the Assembly of Feb. 6, 1730–31, passed an act "enabling religious societies of Protestants within this province to purchase lands for burial grounds, churches, houses of worship or schools." It is believed this act was designed to prevent "popish worshipers" from securing land. Though the title and preamble contemplated only Protestant associations, the second section, which is the main enacting clause as to religious societies previously formed, confirms all sales, gifts, or grants made of any lands or tenements to any person, in trust, for sites of churches, houses of worship, schools, almshouses, burial grounds, to the person to whom the same were sold or given, in trust, for the several religious societies for whose use the same were purchased or given.

At a later period it will appear that the design of this act was to restrict or prevent the securing of lands by any religious society except Protestants.

The erection of the first Catholic chapel in Philadelphia (eighteen by twenty-eight feet) attracted the attention of the authorities, and at the session of the Provincial Council, July 25, 1734, Governor Patrick Gordon informed the Council that he was under no small concern to hear that a house, lately built on Walnut Street, in this city, had been set apart for the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, commonly called the "Romish Chapel," where several persons resorted on Sundays to hear mass openly celebrated by a Popish priest. He conceived, he said, the public exercise of that religion to be contrary to the laws of England, some of which, particularly the 11th and 12th of King William III., are extended to all His Majesty's dominions; but those of that persuasion here imagining they have a right to it from some general expressions in the chapter of privileges granted to the inhabitants of this government by our late honorable proprietor, he was desirous to know the sentiment of this board on the subject. It was observed thereupon that if any part of the said charter was inconsistent with the laws of England it could be of no force, as being contrary to the express terms of the royal charter to the proprietary. The consideration was postponed till next meeting, the laws and charter to be laid before the board.

At the meeting held on the 31st of July this matter was resumed:

"The minute of the preceding Council being read and approved, the consideration of what the Governor then laid before the Board touching the Popish Chappell was resumed, and the charter of privileges, with the laws of the province concerning liberty, being read, and likewise the Statute of the eleventh and twelfth of King William the Third, chapter 4, it was questioned whether the said statute, notwithstanding the general words in it, 'all others his Majesty's dominions,' did extend to the plantations in America, and, admitting it did, whether any prosecution could be carried on here by virtue thereof while the aforesaid law of this province, passed so long since as the fourth year of her late Majesty, Queen Anne, which is five years posterior to the said statute, stands unrepealed. And under this difficulty of concluding upon anything certain in the present case, it is left to the Governor, if he thinks fit, to represent the matter to our superiors at home, for their advice and directions in it."

In the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* of July 7, 1737, a correspondent, in speaking of the Quakers, gives "a small specimen of a notable step which the people of that profession have taken toward the propagation of Popery abroad, and as I have it from a gentleman who has lived many years in Pennsylvania, I confide in the truth of it. . . . In the town of Philadelphia, in that colony, is a public Popish chapel, where that religion has free and open exercise and in it all the superstitious rites of that church are as avowedly performed as those of the Church of England are in the Royal Chapel of St. James. And this chapel is not only open upon fasts and festivals, but is so all day and every day of the week, and exceedingly frequented at all hours either for public or private devotion. . . . This chapel, slightly built and for very good reasons, is but small at present, though there is much more land purchased around it for the same pious purposes than would contain Westminster Abbey and the apartments, offices, etc., thereunto belonging."

In reply to this a correspondent, on July 21st, said,—

the time of the mass in 1708 up to 1732 there were by immigration or birth forty who professed the Catholic faith. Father Greaton would not have been likely to erect even the humble chapel he did were the numbers of the faithful not in excess of ten or twelve.

[1] For the above, and other information relating to Father Greaton, we are indebted to Brother Henry Foley, S.J., author and compiler of "The Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus," completed in nine volumes.

"What private understanding may be between Papists and Quakers I know not nor believe there is any. But it is plain that beads, *Agnus Dei*, bells, or even mass, are in no way detrimental to society, and the Yea and Nay folks in Pennsylvania find the Papists as useful in their trade and of as peaceful behavior as any sort of Christians."

That the Quakers were not hostile to the Catholics at the time mentioned is also proven by the letter of Rev. Colin Campbell to the secretary of the (London) Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Speaking of "the obstruction that I and our missionaries in Pennsylvania and New Jersey meet with," under date of Nov. 2, 1742, he says,—

"What is the effect of Quakerism now in Pennsylvania but a nursery of Jesuits; no less than two priests are in Philadelphia, four in Conestoga, a county in the country, and what the end of Quaker power will prove we may plainly guess. Many Irish Papists turn Quakers, and get into places as well as Germans."[1]

The "two priests" referred to were Fathers Greaton and Neale. Campbell's predecessor, Rev. John Talbot, had bewailed the permitting "Popish mass in Philadelphia" in 1707, and declared that if William Penn "had any religion 'tis that," and that Penn was "a greater Antichrist than Julian the apostate." He also called him "the lewd Governor," and charged that instead of trying "to convert the Indians to the faith, he labors to make Christians heathens, and proclaims liberty and privileges to all that believe in one God."[2]

It was this proclaiming "liberty and privileges to all who believed in one God" that made Father Greaton and his flock insist, in 1734, that they "had the right to the public exercise of their religion."

Thirty-five years after Talbot's testimony Rev. Colin Campbell's shows that Penn's policy had made Pennsylvania "a nursery of Jesuits," but strangely, too, that "many Irish Papists were turning Quakers."

It seems the principle of "tolerating all without control" worked rather oddly in those days.

Father Greaton was the only priest stationed in Philadelphia from the building of St. Joseph's until April 21, 1741, when Rev. Henry Neale, S.J., who had arrived in Maryland from England the year before, came to assist him. On the 25th he wrote to the Superior in England (Pennsylvania then being a separate mission from Maryland and subject to the provincial in England), saying, "I find things otherwise than represented in England, I mean as regards a competent maintenance of one in my station, for an amount of twenty pounds only will not suffice." Father Neale died May 5, 1748. It is not likely that Father Neale remained in Philadelphia from 1741 to 1748, the number of Catholics not justifying the permanent residence here of two priests.

As Rev. Robert Harding, who succeeded Father Greaton in 1750, and built St. Mary's in 1763, arrived in this country in 1732, and is recorded as laboring in Maryland and "occasionally in Pennsylvania," it is not likely that when he came as successor, in 1750, he came to a city he had visited while on the mission between 1732 and 1741, when Rev. Henry Neale, S.J., was sent as assistant to Father Greaton, and perhaps remained so until his death, in 1748.

In 1747, Father Greaton purchased from John Michael Brown and Sarah, his wife, for ninety-two pounds, fifteen and one-half acres on Wingohocking Creek. Rev. P. A. Jordan, in "Woodstock Letters," says, "About the time of Father Greaton's profession he came into his patrimony, and contrary to the custom prevailing in our society, he was granted permission to use his money for missionary purposes. It was with this money he purchased the grounds on the Nicetown road, and in other places in the city and State."

This John Michael Brown is in several Catholic histories set down as a priest who attended, in 1729, a church near Nicetown, erected by a Miss McGawley for tenantry she brought from Ireland. About 1865 the remains of this "Priest" Brown were reinterred in the graveyard of St. Stephen's Church, Nicetown, and services performed appropriate for a deceased priest. But for all that he was not a priest but "a physician, late of the West Indies," as he declared in his will. He ministered to bodies, not to souls.

He never assumed to be a priest. He had vestments and chalices to be sure, but they were for the missionaries on their way from Conewago, Lancaster to Philadelphia, and return. By will he bequeathed to his sister Anastatia his "church vestments," and, we presume, likewise the sacred vessels, as he directed that his sister Eleanor should get "all my plates except what belongs to the church vestments." He gave directions as to the size of his grave-lot, of the wall to be built around it, and of what material it should be constructed, and ordered "the bones of my child, if they may be found, shall be interred with my body" in the grave "in the orchard on my plantation."

Dr. Brown died in 1750. His executors were Rev. Theodore Schneider, Robert Meade (great-grandfather of the late Gen. Meade), and Robert Luther, of Mount Serrat. By his will he left twenty pounds to Rev. Theodore Schneider, who had, in 1741, founded a mission at Goshenhoppen, Bucks Co. In 1747, Father Neale purchased one hundred and twenty-one acres there for twenty-five pounds, and in 1748 Father Greaton bought three hundred and seventy-three acres for fifty-one pounds. Father Schneider, a Bavarian Jesuit, in that year built the first chapel of the Blessed Sacrament on "the Goshenhoppen farm," where he was assisted by Rev. William Wapeler, who also, in 1741, founded the mission at Conewago, Adams Co. Father Schneider was born in Bavaria in 1703, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1721. Father Wapeler was born in Westphalia in 1711, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1728.

[1] History of the Episcopal Church in Burlington. By Rev. George Morgan Hills. Trenton, 1876.

[2] Ibid.

As to Miss "McGawley," there was no land-owner in the neighborhood of that name or of any name resembling it. A diligent search for a record of conveyance of land or record of will has failed to discover any.

In the annual letters of the English province regarding the mission of the Jesuits in Maryland, as given in "The Records of the English Province of Society of Jesus," is the following under date of 1741:

"In Pennsylvania. We had opened a mission here about this year (1741), called Missio S. Fran., Borgiæ, Pennsylvania, with four Fathers, having Father Joseph Grayton (*sic*) as Superior."

The "mission opened about" 1741 must refer to that of Conewago in Adams County, founded by Rev. William Wapeler. Under date of 1746–47 the same authority has "Pennsylvania. There were four Fathers, with Father Grayton, Superior." "Pennsylvania. With the same Father Superior, there were five Fathers here."

In 1750 "the two missions [Maryland and Pennsylvania] were mixed together."

Father Greaton, as we have stated, remained here from 1732 to 1750, then "the two missions [Maryland and Pennsylvania] were mixed together," when he was recalled to Maryland, where he labored until his death at Bohemia, in that State, on Sept. 19, 1752. According to Oliver's "Collections," he died Aug. 19, 1753; the "Catalogue of Deceased Members of the Society of Jesus" gives the date as Aug. 9, 1753. We have accepted the date as given in De Courcy and Shea's "History of the Catholic Church."

Father Greaton's will was made in Philadelphia Sept. 2, 1749, his executors being Rev. R. Harding and Rev. Robert Digges, of Prince George County, Md.; witnesses, Rev. T. Schneider, John Dixon, and Patrick Carroll.

Father Greaton was succeeded, in 1750, by Rev. Robert Harding, S.J. He had come from England in 1732, and labored in Maryland and missions until sent to Philadelphia, in 1750, as successor to Father Greaton.

From the building of St. Joseph's the faithful who died were generally buried in the space adjoining the chapel where they had worshiped, though there is foundation for the belief that the southeast section of what is now Washington Square was used for the interment of Catholics. It was a space distinct from the Potter's Field, which that square originally was, and was not solely for poor Catholics.

A correspondent of the *Sunday Dispatch* says,—

"I am inclined to believe that most Catholics of that day were interred in some burial-ground in general use,—that of the Friends or in the Episcopal Cemetery,—and that the grave was blessed in each case, according to the usual form of burial service, at the time of the funeral."

Before 1748 there are no records of burials. From Dec. 24, 1748, to Dec. 24, 1749, there were eight male and ten female Catholics who were buried. From the same dates in the following years the interments numbered as set down:

1749–50	15 burials:	7 males,	8 females.
1753–54	21 "	12 "	9 "
1754–55	19 "	11 "	8 "
1755–56	47 "	22 "	25 "
1856–57	24 "	13 "	11 "
1758–59	40 "	Number by sex not specified.	

Here is a total of one hundred and sixty-six burials in seven years. Add to that the number from 1732 up to 1749, and it will be seen that as nearly all these were buried in St. Joseph's, space was becoming scarce toward 1760.

In November, 1755, three vessels arrived at Philadelphia, having four hundred and fifty-four Catholics. These were the banished Acadians driven from their homes and brought to this city as its allotment of the number of these people forced from their homes by British oppression. Though not over one-third of the number were able-bodied men, yet they "were looked upon with great suspicion, and even with fear," says Thompson Westcott. A letter of that time speaks of them as not being "better than so many scorpions in the bowels of the country."

The war between France and England, and the general alarm prevailing that all the Catholics would unite with the French, was the foundation of the fear growing out of the presence of these poor people simply because they were Catholics. They "were of the same superstitious persuasion as our inward enemies," it was said. But many of the banished were sickly, and all were poor. Subscriptions for their relief were taken up. They were quartered on the ground on the north side of Pine Street, above Fifth.

Governor Morris, of Pennsylvania, in writing from Philadelphia to Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, on Aug. 19, 1755, speaks of the defenseless condition of the colony, and says that the French "might march in and be strengthened by the Germans and Irish Catholics, who are numerous here." He wrote to Governor Hardy, of New York, on July 5, 1756, declaring that "the Roman Catholics in this and the neighboring province of Maryland are allowed the free exercise of their religion." Governor Hardy, in replying, says, "I have heard that you have an ingenious Jesuit in Philadelphia."

At the time of and just after the French and Indian war, the position of the Catholics in Pennsylvania was that of a class suspected of sympathizing and aiding, if occasion allowed, the French, who, being Catholics, were judged to have the good will of all Catholics irrespective of nationality. In those days the Catholics were Irish and German.

Lord Loudon, commander of the British army in America, had a return made to him on April 29, 1757, of the number of Roman Catholics in Pennsylvania in 1757, which is as follows:

	Men.	Women.
Under the care of Robert Harding:		
In and about Philadelphia, being all Irish (or English)	72	78
In Chester County	18	22
Under the care of Theodore Schneider:		
In and about Philadelphia, being all Germans	107	121
Philadelphia County, but up country	15	10
Berks County	62	55
Northampton County	68	62
Northampton County, Irish	17	12
Bucks County	14	11
Chester County	13	9
Chester County, Irish	9	6
Under the care of Father Farmer:		
In Lancaster County, Germans	108	94
In Lancaster County, Irish	22	27
In Berks County, Germans	41	39
In Berks County, Irish	5	3
In Chester County, Irish	23	17
In Chester County, Germans	3	...
In Cumberland County, Irish	6	6
Under the care of Matthias Manners:		
In York County, Germans	54	62
In York County, Irish	35	38
	692	673
Total sum		1365

April 29, 1757.

With the total number of thirteen hundred and sixty-five, and these widely separated, and about one-half women, the authorities were yet fearful. A militia act was passed in that year ordering that, in taking the names of all persons liable to military duty, the name of "what religious society each person belongs" should be taken, "especially such as are Papists or reputed Papists;" and all such, when found, were not allowed to belong to the militia, and all "arms, military accoutrements, gunpowder, and ammunition, of what kind soever, which any Papist or reputed Papist shall have in his house or houses or elsewhere, shall be taken" from them, and "shall be delivered to the colonel of the regiment within whose district the said arms are found, by him to be safely kept for public use."

To have, to conceal, or deny the possession of any such "arms, accoutrements, gunpowder, or ammunition" was an offense punishable by imprisonment for "three months." But all "Papists or reputed Papists," though thus debarred from joining the militia or having arms, were yet taxed twenty shillings, to be "paid the captain of each militia company" by all between seventeen and forty-five years, and parents were held for all young men between seventeen and twenty-one.

In November, 1756, a number of Catholics were arrested in Philadelphia for "being disaffected and treasonable," and Dr. Hugh Mathews had company at his house that was deemed seditious, as "many letters and papers had been read and handed about in the said company which there was great reason to suspect contained some traitorous and treasonable matter."

Still, Father Harding and his flock were undeterred. In 1757, while all this injustice growing out of fear was being perpetrated, he "peacefully razed to the ground" the original chapel of St. Joseph's, and erected one sixty by forty feet.

In August, 1758, the Rev. Ferdinand Farmer (German name Steinmeyer) came to Philadelphia to aid Father Harding, with particular reference to ministering to the Germans. His register of baptisms and marriages began on Aug. 29, 1758. He was born in Swabia, Germany, Oct. 13, 1720. He entered the Society of Jesus at Landesperge, Sept. 26, 1743, and arrived in America June 20, 1752. He is thus described by Mrs. Corcoran to Rev. P. A. Jordan, S.J.: "He was tall and upright, of a ruddy, pleasing countenance; graceful in manner and fluent in conversation; full of *bon homie* and anecdotes. . . . In his deportment he was gentle, like his Model, but showing by the bright flash of his light gray eyes that he could feel for his master's honor and defend his cause." Father Jordan adds, "He was a philosopher and astronomer, intimate with the *literati* of his day, and in 1779 one of the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, soon to be Philadelphia's pride." He is described in a pamphlet issued in 1820–22 as being "of a slender form," and having "a countenance mild, gentle, and beaming with an expression almost seraphic. . . . My childish imagination," said the writer, "ever personified in him one of the Apostles."

In addition to the duty of attending to the Germans in this city, he journeyed as a missionary throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York among the scattered people of these regions. By the Catholics of New York his name should be held in veneration as having been in reality the apostle of the faith in that city. The excessive labors of a long-continued service as a missionary at length affected the health of this devoted Jesuit. According to his usual custom of visiting New York once a month, he set out for that city April 10, 1785, while unwell. He discharged his task, and returned to Philadelphia on May 7th. He continued to do duty until about two weeks before his death, on Aug. 17, 1786.

St. Joseph's "chapel" was enlarged in 1757. After the enlargement of the church and the consequent decrease of the burial-space, the necessity for a burial-ground was acknowledged. "It was," says Rev. P. A. Jordan, S.J., "rather the increasing demand for resting-places for those who 'sleep in the Lord' than the increased number of those 'fighting the combat' that induced the purchase of the ground" now St. Mary's.

In 1758 a subscription-list for the purchase of *most* of the ground at present occupied by St. Mary's Church and graveyard was opened, and three hundred and twenty-eight pounds fifteen shillings and sixpence subscribed.

The money being thus secured, the purchase was made on May 10, 1759.

Joseph Shippen and his wife conveyed for two hundred and fifty-five pounds (subject to a small quit-rent) to James Reynolds (mastmaker) and Bryan O'Hara (perukemaker) the lot of ground, sixty-three

by three hundred and ninety-six feet, now occupied by St. Mary's.

On Jan. 22, 1760, Reynolds and O'Hara conveyed this property to Daniel Swan (coachman), Thomas Mallaby (rigger), John Cottringer (tailor), Edward Harrington (carpenter,—he owned the ground on the northward), William Hussey (tailor), and James White (merchant).

The deed of purchase was acknowledged on Jan. 26, 1760. A declaration of trust was signed by Swan and his associates named above, in which they declared that the property was "conveyed to us by the direction and appointment of the members of a congregation professing the Roman Catholic religion, and belonging to the Roman Catholic Chapel on the south side of Walnut Street," and that said property "was purchased with the proper moneys raised by a voluntary subscription or contribution of the said congregation to the intent only that we or such or so many of us as shall be and continue in unity and religious fellowship with the said congregation should stand and be seized of the said lot of ground and premises to the uses, intents, and purposes . . . for the benefit, use, service, and behoof of the said chapel and congregation, and for a place to bury their dead forever."

ST. JOSEPH'S SCHOOL-HOUSE, CHURCH, AND RESIDENCE IN 1776.
[From a drawing made by Rev. P. A. Jordan, S.J.]

This declaration of trust was not recorded until Jan. 28, 1788, or twenty-eight years after it was executed. The cost of recording was eleven shillings sixpence.

Interments were at once made in the new burial-ground, and on the northwest corner of the ground may now be seen the tombstone of one who died April 20, 1760.

The St. Mary's burying-ground having been obtained and used, the active members of the faithful set about procuring funds for the erection of a church. The subscription-list shows that £1315 1½s. were subscribed, and that the managers contributed £22 10s.

When St. Mary's was built it was denominated Mission No. 1 in a report, in 1765, of Rev. George Hunter, Superior of the Jesuits, to Rev. James Dennett, the English Provincial, and its income set down as ninety pounds, of which forty-five pounds were from house-rents, twenty pounds salary from London, and twenty-five pounds gratuities. This twenty pound salary was derived from the fund said to have been bequeathed by Sir John James for the missions in Pennsylvania, and as Rev. Henry Neale, who came as assistant to Father Greaton in 1741, speaks of twenty pounds as not being sufficient for his support, it is probable that this so-called Sir John James fund was then existing, though the earliest known record of its existence is a record of Bishop Challoner, made Sept. 29, 1748.

It is believed that the Sir John James fund was Father Greaton's patrimony invested under this assumed name to protect it from being confiscated, owing to the persecutions which the Jesuits and all Catholics were subjected to in England.

By injudicious investments the fund so decreased that the bequest to Pennsylvania mission ceased, as a forty pound bequest to the poor of London had to be satisfied. In December, 1768, Father Harding presented to John Dickinson, author of the "Farmer's Letters," an address on behalf of the Roman Catholics of Pennsylvania, thanking Mr. Dickinson for his patriotic efforts in behalf of American liberty.

About 1770, Joseph Crukshank, on Market Street, between Second and Third, reprinted from the seventh London edition the first Catholic prayer-book printed in this country, entitled "The Garden of the Soul; or, a Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions for Christians who being in the world aspire to Devotion."

On Sept. 1, 1772, Rev. Robert Harding died, aged seventy years. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 2d said of him that he was "a gentleman who in the integrity of his life and exemplary conversation is greatly lamented." Rev. Jacob Duché said of him, "He is a well-bred gentleman, and is much esteemed, I am told, by all denominations of Christians in this city for his prudence, his moderation, his known attachment to British liberty, and his unaffected pious labors among the people to whom he officiates."

He was one of the founders of the Sons of St. George.

Father Harding was succeeded in the title to the

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church property by Rev. John Lewis, as the will of Father Harding directed. He was vicar-general of the Vicar Apostolic of London and Superior of the Jesuits, and thus entitled to the revenues of the society's property. Father Farmer remained alone from the time of Father Harding's death until Rev. Robert Molyneux came, about June, 1773. He and Father Farmer were pastors during the Revolution. "Their voices were," says Rev. P. A. Jordan, S.J., "on the side of the colonies and aided in strengthening the Irish brigade and the dragoons under the Catholic Gen. Moylan."

Washington and John Adams, on Oct. 9, 1774, "went to the Romish Church in the afternoon," as is stated in an entry in Washington's diary and Adams' letter to his wife, Abigail.

Washington made no comments in his diary, but Adams speaks of "the afternoon's entertainment" being to him "awful and affecting; the poor wretches fingering their beads, chanting Latin, not a word of which they understood; their Pater Nosters and Ave Marias; their holy water; their crossing themselves perpetually; their bowing and kneeling and genuflecting before the altar. . . . Here is everything which can lay hold of the eye, ear, and imagination, everything which can charm and bewitch the simple and ignorant. I wonder how Luther ever broke the spell?"[1]

There was at this time but one Catholic congregation, though there were two "chapels,"—the "Old" and "New,"—St. Joseph's and St. Mary's. The former was used for week-day services, the latter for Sunday. It is believed the present St. Mary's Church was the one visited by Washington and Adams in 1774, and also by Washington on Sunday, May 27, 1787.

In March, 1776, Congress appointed a commission to visit Canada to secure the aid or neutrality of the Canadians. Rev. John Carroll, of Maryland, accompanied Franklin and Chase. Father Carroll came to Philadelphia *en route* to New York, and was given a letter of introduction from Father Farmer to Rev. Peter R. Floquet, S.J., of Montreal. The mission proved a failure, and Father Carroll returned in June to Philadelphia, and remained at St. Joseph's for several days.

The first occasion upon which Congress attended a Catholic Church was at the funeral of Monsieur Du Coudray. This French engineer officer, while on his way to join Washington's army, 15th of September, 1777, was drowned while crossing the Schuylkill River at the Middle Ferry. While crossing in a scow the horse upon which he was seated took fright and plunged overboard, carrying his rider with him. Du Coudray had just assumed the duty of inspector-general of the American army. In honor of his services, and perhaps with the expectation of assistance from France, Congress resolved that this officer should be buried with honors of war, and that the members of that body should attend his funeral.

Gerard, the French minister, invited "the President of Congress, the President of the State, the Council officers, civil and military, and a number of the principal gentlemen and ladies of the city" to celebrate the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, 1779, "at the new Catholic chapel." This was at St. Mary's. The invitation sent to Dr. Rush can be found in the Ridgway Library, and the discourse of the chaplain to Gerard delivered upon this occasion was published in *The United States Magazine* for 1779.

On Sept. 21, 1779, Luzerne, the French minister, as successor of Gerard arrived in Philadelphia and was instructed in the English language by Father Molyneux.

In 1781 subscriptions "towards paying for the old school-house and lot purchased for £400" were taken up and £180 3*s.* subscribed; £54 17*s.* 6*d.* was also subscribed "towards building the new school-house." It was finished in May, 1782, at a cost of £440 15½*s.*, and was situated back of Walnut Street, in the rear of what is now No. 326 Walnut Street. The ground was bought from Samuel Meredith.

On May 8, 1780, the funeral of Don Juan de Miraillés, the acting Spanish ambassador, took place at the Catholic Church. The church was, we believe, St. Mary's, as its size alone made it necessary to use it on account of the large attendance.

The members of Congress and the members of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and other public men attended a *Te Deum* celebration in thanksgiving for the birth of the Dauphin of France, son of Louis.

On Sunday, Nov. 4, 1781, a mass of thanksgiving for the victory at Yorktown was celebrated at St. Mary's Church. Abbé Bandol, chaplain to the French minister, delivered the discourse. Many of the principal public men then in Philadelphia attended on the invitation of the French minister.

This is the *Te Deum* celebration said to have taken place in St. Joseph's Church at which Washington and Lafayette, Rochambeau and De Grasse are said to have attended. Investigation proves they could not have been present, and as St. Mary's was *the* church, the church used on Sundays or great occasions, we believe this celebration took place there.

In 1782, St. Mary's Church was greatly improved. Additional pews were placed in it and galleries were erected. The total subscription for this was £1204 17*s.* 1*d.*

On Aug. 17, 1786, Rev. Ferdinand Farmer died. The funeral services were performed at St. Mary's, where Rev. Robert Molyneux delivered the discourse. The burial took place at old St. Joseph's. He was sixty-six years of age, entered the Society of Jesus

[1] Familiar Letters of John Adams to his wife, Abigail, during the Revolution. By Charles Francis Adams. New York, 1876.

26th of September, 1743. "He was," said Father Molyneux, "esteemed by all ranks and particularly reverenced and loved by his flock, who had nearer opportunities of knowing his singular worth and merit."

That he was "esteemed by all ranks" may be proven by the fact that Hon. John Swanwick, member of Congress, in "Poems on Several Occasions," Philadelphia, 1797, has a poem addressed "To Rev. Robert Molyneux on the death of Rev. Ferdinand Farmer."

"His funeral was attended," says the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Aug. 23, 1786, "by all the Protestant clergy, the members of the Philosophical Society, the professors and trustees of the University, and a vast number of the inhabitants of all denominations in this city."

In the fall of 1784, Rev. John Carroll, Superior of the missions, came to Philadelphia, and administered the sacrament of confirmation as he had been empowered to do by the Congregation of the Propaganda on June 9, 1784, "to confer the sacraments of confirmation, bless oils, etc." In 1787 he was appointed the first bishop of Baltimore.

Father Farmer died Aug. 17, 1786. Rev. Francis Beeston succeeded him about the 1st of January, 1787, and remained until recalled to Maryland, in 1790. In April, Rev. J. B. Causé came, and remained until December, when he went to Westmoreland County, near the present town of Greensburg, to attend a Catholic colony settled there. In October, 1787, Rev. William O'Brien was here. Rev. Peter Helbron came in November. Father Molyneux remained until February, 1788, and was succeeded as pastor by Rev. Laurence Graessl, who came here as early as Nov. 4, 1787. In May, 1789, Rev. Thomas Keating was assistant, and remained until September, 1790, when he went to Charleston, S. C., where he founded the first church. He returned to Philadelphia, and died early in 1793. Rev. Francis Anthony Fleming came on Dec. 30, 1789. Rev. Christopher Vincent Keating came July, 1790, and remained until December, 1795, when he returned to Dublin. Rev. Leonard Neale, afterward the second archbishop of Baltimore, came on Dec. 21, 1793.

During the yellow fever of 1793, Fathers Graessl, Keating, and Fleming labored as Catholic priests everywhere do in times of pestilence. Fathers Graessl and Fleming gave their lives as a sacrifice to duty. During the fever three hundred and thirty-five Catholics died. Of this number two hundred and fifty-one were buried at St. Mary's, thirty in the German portion of it, and fifty-four at Holy Trinity.

In 1795, Rev. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., came to Philadelphia from Ireland. He built St. Augustine's Church in 1800. Rev. Dr. Carr, on April 10, 1798, blessed the marriage of Le Chevalier de Yrujo, minister of France, to Maria Teresa Sarah McKean, daughter of Chief Justice Thomas McKean.

After the close of the Revolutionary war the affairs of St. Mary's Church were conducted by managers. In the fall of 1787 the Roman Catholic Society of St. Mary's was organized, and on Saturday, Sept. 13, 1788, was incorporated. The trustees named were Rev. Robert Molyneux (the title being in his name), Rev. Francis Beeston, Rev. Laurence Graessl (pastors), George Meade, Thomas Fitzsimmons, James Byrne, Paul Esling, John Cottringer, James Eck, Mark Willcox, and John Carrell.

In 1795–97 the priests stationed in this city were Rev. Leonard Neale, Rev. Michael Ennis, Rev. Matthew Carr, O.S.A. In 1798–99 the priests who from time to time performed duties at St. Joseph's or St. Mary's were Very Rev. M. Carr, O.S.A., Rev. John Rossitter, O.S.A. (had been an officer of the French army, remained in this country and became a priest), Rev. George Stanton, O.S.A., Rev. John Burke (died September or October, 1799), Rev. B. A. McMahon, O.S.A., Rev. Peter Helbron, Rev. Nicholas Brennan, Rev. Francis Beeston, Rev. D. Boury, Rev. Philip Stafford, O.S.A., Rev. William O'Brien, Rev. Michael Lacy, and Rev. Leonard Neale, who in March, 1799, went to Georgetown College as rector, and on Dec. 7, 1800, became coadjutor to Bishop Carroll, and his successor in 1815. Father Neale was the last of the Jesuits at St. Joseph's and St. Mary's until St. Joseph's came in possession of the Jesuits in 1833, save for a brief period in 1814, when John Grassi, S.J., was stationed there. In 1817, Father Grassi returned to Rome, and became rector of the Propaganda. He died Dec. 12, 1849.

In 1798, Rev. Michael Ennis and Rev. Joseph La Grange died of yellow fever, which then prevailed.

In 1800, Rev. M. Carr was pastor, assisted by Rev. John Rossitter. Rev. Philip Stafford, Rev. George Stanton, Rev. William O'Brien, and Rev. B. A. McMahon were here also in January, 1800.

In 1801, Fathers Carr, Rossitter, Stafford, and Lacy were in the city. The Augustinians went to St. Augustine's Church in 1802, and in January, 1802, Rev. Raphael Fitzpatrick became pastor of St. Joseph's and St. Mary's.

On April 12, 1803, Rev. Michael Egan, O.S.F., came to Philadelphia from Lancaster, where he had been assistant to Rev. A. L. de Barth since his arrival from Ireland, in 1802. He was pastor until appointed the first bishop of Philadelphia by Pius VII. on April 8, 1809, who decreed the founding of four new dioceses, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Bardstown. The consecration of Father Egan as bishop took place at Baltimore, Oct. 28, 1810.

In 1804–7, Fathers Egan and Rossitter were pastors. On Dec. 26, 1808, Rev. W. V. Harold and Rev. James Harold came. They remained until 1813, when they returned to Ireland, in consequence of difficulties with Bishop Egan.

On July 22, 1814, Bishop Egan died, and was buried at St. Mary's.

From his death until December, 1820, Philadelphia was without a bishop. Father De Barth acted as administrator. Several to whom the appointment was tendered declined. Rev. William V. Harold, for whom it was sought, was refused. Finally Very Rev. Henry Conwell, of the Archdiocese of Armagh, Ireland, accepted. He found Rev. William Hogan acting as pastor of St. Mary's Church, by appointment of Vicar-General De Barth. By reports given him he deemed it proper to suspend Father Hogan. Then ensued that lamentable schism of which we will speak more particularly in the account of St. Mary's Church.

From this time St. Joseph's and St. Mary's are to be considered as separate churches, having separate pastors, and until the cessation of the strife distinct and antagonistic interests. Heretofore they had been one congregation. All the priests lived at St. Joseph's.

In 1821 St. Joseph's Church was enlarged. The adherents of Bishop Conwell came to St. Joseph's to worship.

On Easter Tuesday, 1821, the adherents of Bishop Conwell assembled at St. Joseph's, at three o'clock in the morning, and before daylight proceeded to St. Mary's, and took possession. When the Hoganites assembled ensued "the battle of St. Mary's."

On March 1, 1823, a meeting was held at St. Joseph's of those sustaining Bishop Conwell in the Hogan schism, and opposing the amending of the charter of St. Mary's by the State Legislature so as to create a board of trustees of eleven laymen and excluding priests. Charles Johnson, John Keating, Jr., Michael McGrath, Dr. Joseph G. Nancrede, and John Carrell, Sr., were appointed a committee to report resolutions.

The resolutions declared in bishops alone was the right to appoint pastors; that the pious founders of St. Mary's intended "its pastor should at all times participate in the management of its temporal concern," and that the alteration of the charter as proposed by a committee of the State Senate was an infringement of chartered right, and defeating the intentions of the founders.

In 1823, Rev. John Walsh was at St. Joseph's.

On Feb. 13, 1824, Bishop Conwell, while residing at St. Joseph's, baptized Joseph Lucien Charles Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Charles Julius Laurence Lucien Bonaparte, and his wife Princess Zenaide Charlotte Julia, daughter of Joseph, formerly king of Spain. The latter was the godfather, and the godmother was Letitia, mother of Emperor Napoleon. She was represented by proxy,—the Princess Charlotte Bonaparte, the child's aunt. Ex-King Joseph presented Bishop Conwell with a diamond episcopal ring, formerly the property of Cardinal Ximenes.

In March, 1824, notice was given in the papers that an enlargement of the church was necessary, and contributions were solicited. At this time the notice declared "the chapel of St. Joseph's to be utterly disproportioned to the extensive number of the congregation, and in all respects unsuited for the purpose of divine worship."

In 1824 the clergymen at the church were Bishop Conwell, Rev. William V. Harold, Rev. J. Cummiskey, and Rev. John Ryan.

In 1825, Bishop Conwell, Rev. J. Cummiskey, and Rev. John Ryan were at St. Joseph's, and Father Jordan says that in this year Rev. C. Ferry was one of "the canons or prebendaries of St. Joseph's."

In 1826, Rev. Roger Baxter was stationed at the church, remaining there until his death, May 22, 1827. Rev. James Smith took his place, but does not appear to have remained long.

In February, 1827, Rev. John Hughes, afterward the illustrious archbishop of New York, who had here been ordained Oct. 15, 1826, and stationed at Bedford, Pa., was recalled and stationed at St. Joseph's, after the death of Father Baxter, to take the place of Rev. William V. Harold, removed by Bishop Conwell. The pastor of St. Joseph's was Rev. T. J. Donahoe, with Father Hughes, Rev. John Reilley, and Rev. S. S. Cooper as assistants.

The trouble at St. Mary's still continued. But at "St. Joseph's," wrote Father Hughes on May 2, 1828, "all is quiet. I received such encouragement that I was lately on the point of enlarging the church, which is much too small for the concourse of people that attend it. But I have declined for the present."

In 1829, Rev. T. Donahoe was pastor, and Rev. John Hughes assistant. On Dec. 29, 1829, Father Hughes wrote to Rev. M. Purcell: "At the little chapel of St. Joseph's there is peace and piety. They are, generally, poor; and Massillon says, 'the poor are the objects of God's predilection.'"

In June, 1830, Bishop Kenrick came to Philadelphia as coadjutor to Bishop Conwell, whose episcopal residence was at St. Joseph's. He speedily and effectively grappled with the trustee troubles at St. Mary's, and by vigorous and resolute measures destroyed the rebellious spirit and introduced harmony.

In April, 1833, the Jesuits were placed in charge of St. Joseph's, and have ever since continued to direct its affairs. Rev. Stephen Dubuisson was appointed a Superior.

In 1837 it was determined to build a new church. On Monday, May 7, 1838, mass was celebrated in the old church for the last time. On June 4th the cornerstone of the present edifice was laid by Rev. James Ryder, senior pastor, in the presence of Bishop Conwell. Rev. Felix Joseph Barbelin was assistant pastor. In 1839 he became pastor, and so remained until his death, June 8, 1869.

On Jan. 11, 1840, the first Sodality of the Blessed Virgin organized in this country outside of a Catholic college, was instituted by Father Barbelin. On Friday, April 22, 1842, Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell died. On Jan. 31, 1848, a society for the relief of emigrants

from Ireland was organized. It was the foundation of the present St. Joseph's Hospital, Seventeenth Street and Girard Avenue.

St. Mary's Church was founded 1763, by Rev. Robert Harding. The contributions for its erection amounted to thirteen hundred and thirty-seven pounds.

In colonial and Revolutionary days St. Mary's was the principal Catholic Church of this city. It was used on Sundays and special occasions, St. Joseph's (the old chapel) being used for services on week-days.

In 1782, after the close of the Revolutionary war, contributions to the amount of twelve hundred and four pounds were taken up for the improvement of the church, and new pews, galleries, and other additions were made.

On July 4, 1779, the third anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated at this church. The French minister (Gerard) invited the distinguished men of the time then present in Philadelphia to attend.

Feb. 22, 1800, was "a day of mourning throughout the United States" for the death of Gen. Washington. St. Mary's was draped in mourning, and Rev. Mr. Carr delivered an eulogium on his character.

In 1810 the church was enlarged to its present size. On April 11, 1811, Gen. Stephen Moylan died, and on the 14th was buried at St. Mary's.

On July 22, 1814, Bishop Egan died. Rev. L. de Barth became administrator, and acted until the appointment and arrival of Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell, early in December, 1820. At this time the pastor of St. Mary's was Rev. William Hogan, who had been appointed in April, 1820, by Father De Barth. Father Hogan said St. Mary's was at this time "the largest congregation in America." On Dec. 12, 1820, Bishop Conwell suspended him. Then ensued the schism in the congregation, which became divided into "Hoganites" and "Bishopites." On April 9, 1822, when trustees were elected a riot took place, and a portion of the wall and railing of the church were torn down and used as missiles. Both factions held elections, the Bishopites on the south side of the church, the Hoganites on the north. Two sets of trustees were elected, and appeals to the courts and to Rome were made by both parties. Hogan left Philadelphia in 1823, and spoke and wrote against the Church. He married twice, and died at Nashua, N. H., in 1848. By this schism many Catholics abandoned their faith. The controversy continued until finally suppressed by the vigorous course of Bishop Kenrick, soon after his arrival as coadjutor bishop, in 1830. In April, 1831, he ordered "the cessation of all sacred functions" at the church. On May 18th the trustees submitted, declaring that "they disclaimed all right to interfere in the spiritual concerns of the church," since which time there has been peace at St. Mary's.

In April, 1828, Rev. William Mathew, D.D., and Rev. Jeremiah Keiley became pastors. In 1829, Rev. Tolontina de Silva was assistant to Father Keiley, who remained in pastoral charge until the close of 1834, when he opened, on Jan. 1, 1835, Laurel Hill College. The enterprise not proving successful, it was closed in August. On Sept. 24, 1837, Rev. C. J. Carter became an assistant to Bishop Kenrick. He became pastor in 1841, and remained until March, 1849, when he erected the Church of the Assumption, on Spring Garden Street, below Twelfth, where he remained until his death. Father Carter's successor was Rev. George Strobel, who died in 1877. He had been stationed at St. Mary's from August, 1846. In March, 1838, Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, brother of the bishop, became a pastor. He remained until appointed coadjutor to Bishop Rosati, of St. Louis. He was consecrated at St. Mary's on Nov. 30, 1841. He is now the venerated archbishop of St. Louis. He succeeded Bishop Rosati in 1847.

During the riots of 1844 St. Mary's was guarded by military and by members of the congregation, but it was not injured.

The present rector is Very Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, D.D., a native of this city, one of the most eloquent and impressive speakers in the Catholic Church. He has been in charge since December, 1877. His assistant is Rev. Thomas Kelly.

Though this parish has been afflicted, yet have the highest honors been conferred upon it. Two of its pastors have become bishops, one of whom is now an archbishop. Here worshiped many distinguished French families, who for their safety were obliged to leave France on the outbreak of the revolution. Many lie entombed in its cemeteries, their descendants still worshiping at the altar around which their ancestors met and breathed many fervent prayers for the preservation of their land from anarchy. Within the graveyard repose the remains of learned and eminent men, prominent among whom may be mentioned Gen. Stephen Moylan, of the Revolution, and Capt. John Barry, "the father of the American navy."

Holy Trinity Church.—By the return made to Lord Loudon on April 29, 1757, there were two hundred and twenty-eight German Catholics "in and about Philadelphia," under the care of Rev. Theodore Schneider, who had founded the mission at Goshenhoppen, Berks Co., in 1741, and from thence attended the German Catholics in Philadelphia. In August, 1758, Rev. Ferdinand Farmer came to St. Joseph's, and until his death, in August, 1786, ministered more particularly to the Germans. After his death their numbers justified the more active in projecting a separate congregation. Accordingly, they organized an association in 1787, and on Feb. 21, 1788, Adam Premir bought from the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania the lots on the northwest corner of Sixth and Spruce, being sixty-eight feet ten inches front on Sixth Street, and one hundred and ninety-eight feet on Spruce. Pre-

mir purchased for the congregation and with money contributed by the members. Application being made to the Legislature for an act of incorporation, it was granted Oct. 4, 1788, under the title of "The Trustees of the German Religious Society of Roman Catholics, called the Church of the Holy Trinity in the City of Philadelphia." Rev. John Charles Helbron was the first pastor, being named in the deed of Adam Premir, Nov. 13, 1790, conveying the church to the trustees. He was succeeded by Rev. Peter Helbron, who came from Goshenhoppen in 1792. He was, after 1793, assisted by Rev. Lawrence Phelan, who preached in English on Sunday afternoons. In 1796, Rev. John N. Goetz was appointed by Bishop Carroll assistant at the church, and he became a favorite of the trustees. They removed Father Helbron and appointed Father Goetz pastor, and Rev. William Elling, assistant, in place of Father Phelan. Rev. Leonard Neale, vicar-general, reported this action to Bishop Carroll, who, by pastoral letter dated Feb. 22, 1797, condemned the action of the trustees. The controversy continued until 1802, Father Goetz withdrawing or being dismissed by the trustees and Father Elling submitting to the authority of the bishop. He continued at the church until his death, in April, 1811. The first Catholic orphan asylum in the city was established adjoining the church, to care for the orphans of Catholics who had died of yellow fever in 1798. The first Sisters of Charity sent out by the mother house of the order at Emmittsburg, Md., founded by Mother Seton, were sent to this asylum on petition of the trustees of Holy Trinity. The asylum was incorporated in 1807, and is now located at the southwest corner of Seventh and Spruce Streets.

In 1810 Rev. Adam Britt was pastor, and in 1826 Rev. Francis Roloff. He was succeeded by Rev. Father Carroll, and in 1831 by Rev. J. Vanderbrack. In 1833 Rev. Francis Guth, the pastor, founded St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum. It is now located at Tacony. In 1834 an assistant at the church was Rev. Henry Lemcke. He had been a soldier in the wars against Napoleon, and died Nov. 29, 1882, at the Benedictine Monastery at Carrolltown, Cambria Co., Pa., aged eighty-six years.

On July 29, 1834, a solemn high mass of requiem was celebrated at this church for the repose of the soul of Gen. Lafayette.

In 1836, Rev. Father Stahlschmidt was pastor; in 1842, Rev. Otto H. Burgers; in 1845, Rev. Andreas Skopes; in 1847, Rev. Nicholas Perrine; and in 1854, Rev. P. M. Carbon, who remained until his death, Oct. 24, 1871.

On June 23, 1860, the church was destroyed by fire. From the first trustee trouble, in 1797, there had really never been a cessation of the spirit of dissension relative to the affairs of the church. Finally, in 1859, a settlement was arrived at, though it imposed a debt of ten thousand dollars on the congregation. This was considered preferable to continue a litigation, and was advised by Bishop Neumann, Father Carbon, and by "some of the best lawyers and men of equity in the city." The destruction of the church so soon afterward made the burden very heavy.

In the burial-ground of this church Stephen Girard was buried; but on the completion of Girard College the body was removed to that institution.

In 1880 Rev. H. Schick was pastor, and on Oct. 7, 1883, the arrival of the German pioneer founders of Germantown was commemorated at this church. The pastor now (February, 1884) is Rev. Ernest O. Hiltermann.

St. Augustine's Church.—In 1796, June 11th, Very Rev. Dr. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., resident at the time at St. Joseph's, and pastor later on of both it and St. Mary's, purchased from Jonathan Meredith and wife, for a yearly ground-rent of three hundred and forty dollars, a lot of ground on North Fourth Street one hundred and seventy-five by eighty-five feet, on which St. Augustine's Church was built. On the 12th of the same month, 1796, Dr. Carr opened a subscription-list in aid of the new church, and in September of the same year (probably the first Sunday, the feast of Our Lady of Consolation, chief patroness of the Augustinian Order) was laid its corner-stone.[1]

The number of subscribers in 1796 was two hundred and forty-four, and the amount given $8679.02. The following are the names and amounts of some who subscribed in 1796, viz.:

Name	Amount	Name	Amount
Thomas Fitzsimons	$500.00	John Walsh	$53.33
John Leamy	200.00	George Washington	50 00
John Rudolph	100.00	Commodore Barry	150.00
J. Ingersoll	30.00	Capt. —— Hoare	10.00
Samuel Meredith	30.00	Capt. —— O'Connor	10.00
Thomas Allibone	20.00	Capt. —— Faulkner	10.00
James Vanuxem	20.00	George Meade	50.00
Isaac Jones	15.00	Mathew Carey	50.00
Montgomery & Newbold	20.00	Jasper Moylan	50.00
J. & B. Waln	20.00	—— Dunn, M.P. (Ireland)	20.00
Valentine Peacan	100.00	Stephen Girard	40.00

Gen. Washington and Governor Thomas McKean are said to have been present at the blessing of the first stone, in 1796. The church was of Roman style, one hundred and twenty-five feet long, sixty-two feet wide, forty feet to the eaves, and with a tower seventy-five feet high. The architect, builder, and superintendent was Nicholas Fagan, and his father-in-law, John Walsh, a wealthy lumber merchant, gave nearly all the lumber used in the building of the church.

Later on, in 1830, City Councils sold to Dr. Hurley, O.S.A. (successor to Dr. Carr), the State-House clock and bell. The clock was the same one that had struck the hours on July 4, 1776, and the bell was one that had belonged to the province of Pennsyl-

[1] During the riots of 1844 nearly all the church books were lost. Only six are known to have been saved. In these have been preserved, first, the original list of subscribers to the church, commenced June 12, 1796, with the amounts given; second, a diagram of the pews of the same church, with names of pew-holders from the day when they first took possession, June 7, 1801, down to 1808; third, the financial accounts for nineteen days, from Dec. 12, 1811, to Jan. 1, 1812, and the complete registries of baptisms, confirmations, and marriages. This sums up all the records of the early years of this church that have been preserved.

vania in colonial times, and had been used to call the Assembly together long before the State-House was built.[1]

It is noteworthy that St. Augustine's was the first in the State of either Catholic or Protestant Churches to have the altar and chancel at the western end. This singularity of position was doubtless due to the site of the lot.

In 1799, money for the building being hard to get, and the country being impoverished from the Revolutionary struggles, the Legislature sanctioned a lottery, projected by Dr. Carr, to raise ten thousand dollars toward defraying the building expenses. This was a favorite means at this time to raise funds for all kinds of projects,—for example, street improvements, schools, and churches of all denominations.

In 1801, June 7th, opens the registry of the first pew-holders, and in the same year, October 8th, is registered the first baptism, and October 20th the first marriage. From this it would seem that the church, that had been founded in 1796, was not blessed and opened to divine service until five years after,—that is, until June, 1801.[2]

Among the original pew-holders (1801–7) are Capt. James Butler, Capt. J. Rossitter, Capt. —— Burke, Commodore Barry, Pierce Maher, John Rudolph, Don Joseph Viar, Thomas Fitzsimons, Mathew Carey, Jasper Moylan, Richard W. Meade, Nicholas Esling, John Leamy.

In 1802, Dr. Carr took up his pastoral residence at St. Augustine's, leaving his fellow-religious, Father John Rossitter, O.S.A., in charge of Sts. Joseph's and Mary's, and in company with Rev. Raphael Fitzpatrick and Rev. Michael Lacy.

In 1803 St. Augustine's and St. Joseph's became distinct parishes, Dr. Carr giving up to Rev. Michael Egan, O.S.F., the parish of St. Joseph's and the vicar-generalship, which he had held since 1799.

In 1804, September 24th, the Fathers of St. Augustine's received their charter from the Legislature. The first incorporators were Revs. Dr. Carr, Dr. Hurley, and John Rossitter (all O.S.A.), Rev. Demetrius (the famous Prince) Gallitzin, and Rev. Louis de Barth.

During the years from 1801 to 1830 the Fathers of St. Augustine's ministered in a very extensive territory. They baptized and married at Germantown, Bustleton, Frankford, Darby, Norristown, Cobb's Creek, and Villanova (then known as Belair), Lamberton, Burlington, and Trenton, in New Jersey, and Wilmington, in Delaware.

[1] See *Sunday Dispatch* for more regarding this bell; also Etting's History of Independence Hall.

[2] The marble tablet on the façade of the present church puts its foundation in 1798, and its dedication in 1801. Father Jordan puts the foundation in 1799. Amid this conflict of authorities we have chosen the view that seems best supported by collateral evidence,—viz., that as the ground was bought in 1796, the subscription-books opened in 1796, one should put the foundation of the church (as above) on the first Sunday of September, 1796, and its dedication in 1801.

In 1822, Father Philip Larissey visited Staten Island and the towns along the Hudson River, also (but in year not known), Boston, Mass., where he built the Mortuary Chapel, in St. Augustine's parish. In 1834, Dr. Hurley, with sanction of Bishop Dubois, of New York, opened a mission at Binghamton, N. Y., and about this time Father James O'Donnell, O.S.A., opened the one at Salina, N. Y., near Syracuse, and later on one in Williamsburg, Long Island.

In 1800, January 1st, Dr. Carr received into the church the first Philadelphian to become Catholic and Christian in the nineteenth century. He was a negro slave named Cæsar Ducombe. Among the many interesting entries in the old registries of St. Augustine's we note the following:

Baptisms.

1801, December 1st, Caroline Eugenia Girard, Henrietta Maria Girard.
1803, November 20th, Augusta Virginia Peale.
1806, March 20th, Mary Frances Borie.
1810, September 13th, Adolphus Edward Borie.
1810, November 11th, Mary Ann Da Costa.
1816, June 4th, Sophia Elizabeth Borie, Emily Mary Borie, Charles Beauveau Borie.
1817, July 17th, George Washington Singerly.
1819, June 3d, Charles Louis Borie.
1820, November 19th, Louisa Augusta Da Costa.
1822, March 6th, Mathew Carey Lea.
1823, April 6th, Bertrand Peale.

Marriages.

1808, February 12th, John Joseph Borie to Sophia Beauveau.
Fielding Lucas to Elizabeth Carroll.
John Hoskins to Catharine Girard.
Henry Dominic Lallemand to Henrietta Maria Girard. The witnesses to this marriage were Stephen Girard, Joseph Buonaparte, Count of Survilliers, Marshal Count de Grouchy, Gen. Charles Lallemand, of the Imperial army, etc.

In 1808, January 11th, Dr. Hurley baptized Peter Albright, the same who afterward, in 1844, took so prominent a part in burning the churches, and who exulted that the record of his baptism as Catholic had been destroyed at St. Augustine's.

In 1821, February 1st, Dr. Hurley assisted at the marriage of his sister Catharine to Augustus Taney, brother of the late chief justice of the United States, Roger B. Taney.

In 1820 the first musical celebration which arrested public attention in the United States was at St. Augustine's Church. Dr. Hurley had got it up with the aid of Messrs. Carr and Schetky, well-known teachers of music, to raise funds to erect an altar and beautify the church. The trombones and their players came from Bethlehem, Pa., from the Moravian Seminary, and other amateurs from various parts of the United States.[3]

On Sunday, May 27, 1821, Bishop Conwell issued sentence of excommunication against (Rev.) William Hogan from the altar of St. Augustine's Church.

In 1832, during the ravages of the Asiatic cholera, Dr. Hurley had all the furniture, books, etc., removed from the school and convent, and turned them into

[3] See Binns' Autobiography.

hospitals for the reception of persons stricken with the disease. The buildings were fitted up suitably, and charitable nurses administered to their wants. Binns says three hundred and sixty-seven patients were cared for in all, of whom only forty-eight were Catholics. The city afterward paid the expenses of this charity, but Dr. Hurley declined to accept any other pecuniary remuneration. His church was destroyed in 1844.

In 1833, Father Nicholas O'Donnell, O.S.A., assistant to Dr. Hurley, undertook the editorship of the *Catholic Herald*, the pioneer of Catholic Philadelphia newspapers. He continued it up to 1839.

In 1836 was purchased, for cemetery purposes, by Dr. Hurley, a lot of ground at Bush Hill, formerly the country-seat of Governor Andrew Hamilton (in 1740) upon Schuylkill Eighth [Fifteenth] Street, below Coates [Fairmount Avenue]. It was opened on the 1st of September, 1836. The first interment was of a child. The growth of the city in after-years compelling it to be vacated, the remains of those who had been buried there were removed (where they had kin) to St. Augustine's graveyard on Fourth Street, or to Cathedral Cemetery, while the unclaimed dead were buried at the expense of the church, at St. Dennis' graveyard, at Haverford, Delaware Co. The last interment at Bush Hill was on the 20th of August, 1853.

In 1838 the census of the parish of St. Augustine's gives the following numbers, viz.:

Number of yearly communicants	750
" " these who have not made first communion	200
" " baptisms	183
" " marriages	54
" " converts	15
" " adults in the parish	2146
" under fourteen and over seven years	350
" under seven years	506
Total number	3002
Of these there were natives of Ireland	1494
" United States	508
" Germany	73
" England	37
" Italy and Switzerland	8
" Scotland	5
" France, etc	21
" unclassified	856
Total number	3002

In 1840, Father James O'Donnell, O.S.A., of this church, built at Williamsburg, N. Y., the church of St. Mary's, and on June 27th, of this year, it was blessed by Bishop Dubois. In 1844, May 8th, Wednesday, was consummated a gross wrong against Christianity. The church of St. Augustine's, founded fifty years before through the piety and charity of Philadelphians, aided by contributions from even those of alien creeds, of even the great hero of America's patriotism; the church that had opened its portals in time of dire distress to the woe-stricken of 1834, when abandoned by their own lawful guardians; the church that was a repository of so many monuments of art and learning as should have insured it respect and veneration by all who had any regard for aught holy or renowned for age, or hallowed by religious or patriotic associations; this church was, on the day above, with all its buildings, convent, library, schools, etc., given to the flames, and thus destroyed by the violence of a mob of fanatics. Its treasures were lost or scattered, and the few recovered were disfigured, mutilated, and ruined.

The following is a summary of the ruin wrought during 1844:

Two churches destroyed by fire, one church twice fired and desecrated, one seminary and house of retreat burned, two presbyteries destroyed, one theological library destroyed, two schools destroyed, one sisters' orphanage destroyed, about forty dwelling-houses destroyed, about forty lives lost, about sixty citizens wounded; and riot, rebellion, and treason rampant; the laws set at defiance, and peace and order imperiled by the violence of ruffians. The losses to the church, including buidings, personal property, etc., are three thousand volumes, the property of Dr. Carr, Dr. Hurley, Rev. George Staunton, Rev. Thomas Kyle, Rev. James O'Donnell, and the Catholic Library Association,—valued at $13,020.

Church furniture	$5,370.87	
Rev. John P. O'Dwyer's effects	9,225.00	
Rev. James O'Donnell's effects	6,916.75	
Rev. Thomas Kyle's effects	570.00	
Rev. Francis Ashe's / William Harnett's } effects	150.00	
Four servants' effects	170.00	
Six trombones	300.00	
House furniture	3,650.07	
		$39,372.69
Damages to buildings		44,255.06
Total amount of damages to buildings and personal property.		$83,627.75

This was claimed from the city. The Court of Nisi Prius, in 1847, November 29th, awarded $47,433.87. The singularity of this figure is accounted for from the fact that the jury that had the case in hand were unable to agree, until one of them, brighter witted than his fellows, suggested that each of them should name the sum he was willing to allow for damages, and the sum total should be divided by twelve, their number. This was agreed to, with the result that the damages found reached the figure as above.

The causes of this destruction may be given: first, the remote ones, viz., the growing spirit of hostility to foreigners, and especially to Catholics, which had first found vent in 1834 in the destruction of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Mass.; second, the malignant efforts of the ministers of various Protestant churches in 1841, in New York chiefly, to raise persecution *vs.* Catholics: and proximate causes, the association of Protestant clergymen in Philadelphia in 1842, under the title of the "Protestant Association," which was directed against the church. Incidentally, the crisis was brought about in Philadelphia by, first, the evil results of the Hogan schism, and, second, by the bold language used in the pulpit and out of the pulpit by the champions of the Catholic side. This undoubtedly was an occasion to the enemies of the faith to turn to the unchristian weapons of fire and bloodshed.

Within three months after the destruction of St. Augustine's, Father O'Dwyer, O.S.A., had erected the chapel of Our Lady of Consolation, which served as a parish church until the new and present one was built, in 1848. During the interval of three months the congregation of St. Augustine's was allowed by the courtesy of St. Joseph's Fathers to use their church

for devotions, mass, etc. The chapel of Our Lady was torn down in 1871, to make room for the large and well-equipped parish schools on Crown Street.

In 1847 it was resolved to proceed toward the rebuilding of St. Augustine's. The court had now awarded damages for the ruin of 1844, and, in April of this year, the congregation voted three thousand dollars toward the expenses of the new church. On May 27th (Sunday) the corner-stone was blessed by Bishop Kenrick; Dr. Ryder, S.J., preached. The site of the new church is identical with that of the old one, and the side lines of the building the same. The present church extends eighteen feet farther to the rear to allow of sanctuary room, and eight feet nearer Fourth Street to allow of a tower. The dimensions are one hundred and fifty-two feet long, sixty-two feet wide, and height of tower two hundred feet. The style is Roman Palatine; the architect, N. Le Brun.

In 1848, December, Sunday, the new church was consecrated (free of debt) by Bishop Kenrick, while Bishop Hughes, of New York, preached at high mass. In 1847 the Synod of Philadelphia had laid down the boundaries of the parishes of St. Augustine's and St. Joseph's, and in 1876 Bishop Wood revised them as they are at present.

The schools of St. Augustine's are noticed first in Dr. Carr's time. In 1813 he put a mortgage "on and for the benefit of the school-house." This is the earliest mention of a school. From the date above it may be inferred that a school existed prior to 1813. This school-house was afterward "rented to a Mr. Badlock." In 1838 the "school-house" is insured perpetually in the Philadelphia Company for forty dollars premium; in 1841 the teachers were, for the boys, Peter Madigan and —— Nugent, and for the girls Mrs. —— Holmes. In 1871 the fine large brick building now in use was put up by Father Mark Crane, O.S.A., pastor, and in 1874 given into the charge of the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine. The Sisters of St. Joseph, who succeeded the Sisters of the Holy Cross, now conduct the girls' department in the parish school, and a select academy on Fourth Street. Previous to the coming of the religious named above, the schools were under lay teachers, directed by the Fathers of the church. It should not be forgotten that the Orphans' Asylum on Spruce Street was at an early year in this century indebted largely, if not chiefly, to the efforts of Dr. Hurley, O.S.A., who in this was greatly aided by Mr. Cornelius Tiers (now deceased). Dr. Hurley got the Sisters of Charity from Emmittsburg, Md., in 1814.[1]

The societies of St. Augustine's Church of which earliest mention is made are: 1828, January 8, founded St. Augustine's Beneficial Society; in 1837 are mentioned a Library Society, a Rosary Society, and a Temperance Society. This seems the first temperance society on record. In 1840, Sunday, June 28, Dr. Moriarty founded the St. Augustine's Catholic Total Abstinence Society. In 1840, August 28, Dr. Moriarty founded the St. Augustine's Catholic Temperance Beneficial Society of Philadelphia; in 1840, September (by the same), a Temperance Literary Association for the young men of the parish. Early in 1843 (by the same), St. Augustine's Youth's Literary Institute. The Confraternity of Our Lady of the Cincture, being an usual aggregation in Augustinian churches, was probably from the beginning. The oldest members now living found it in standing when they first joined.

The pastors of St. Augustine's Church have been: Carr, Matthew, D.D., 1801–20; Hurley, Michael, D.D., 1820–37; O'Donnell, Nicholas, 1837–39; Moriarty, Patrick Eugene, D.D., 1839–44; O'Dwyer, John Possidius, 1844–50; Moriarty (second time), 1850–55; Stanton, Patrick Augustine, D.D., 1855–57; Mullen, Ambrose Augustine, 1857–61; Crane, Mark, 1861–71; Crane, Peter, 1871 to date.

Number of baptisms from 1801 to 1882 (seven years excepted)....	15,226
" " marriages " " " (one year excepted).........	4,411
" " confirmations from 1838 (the first) to 1883...............	6,042
Highest number of baptisms (1854)........................	435
" " " confirmations (1867)........................	428
" " " marriages (1854)........................	163
Lowest " " baptisms (1801)........................	13
" " " marriages (1809)........................	4
" " " confirmations (1838)........................	101

St. John's Church.—In consequence of the continued difficulty between the trustees of St. Mary's Church and Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell, D.D., Bishop of Philadelphia, and Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, coadjutor, Rev. John Hughes, then pastor of St. Joseph's Church, formed the design of erecting a church whose affairs should be conducted without trustees. On the festival of St. John, 1830, he received permission from Bishop Kenrick to undertake the erection of the desired church.

He accordingly announced to his congregation his purpose, and solicited donations toward the work. On Monday he waited at home to receive subscriptions; but he waited in vain. On Tuesday he was likewise disappointed; he began to feel discouraged. On Wednesday a servant-woman called upon him. "This is the first day, Father," said she, "since you spoke to us on Sunday, that I have been able to come out. I have brought my contribution for the new church." The sum was thirty-seven and one-half cents. "I took the money," said Father Hughes, "ran to my bedroom, and, throwing myself upon my knees, thanked God that the work was done. From that moment I never had a doubt of the success of my enterprise." Five thousand dollars were contributed by one individual, while M. A. Frenaye, so well known in connection with the church until his death, about ten years ago, contributed most munificently, and rendered valuable services toward the erection of the church. In February, 1831, Father Hughes purchased the ground on which the church stands; it is ninety-seven feet wide by one hundred and fifty-six feet long, and cost about thirteen thousand dollars. On Friday afternoon, May 6, 1831, the corner-stone

[1] See *Life of Mother Seton*, and *Catholic Herald*, Sept. 30, 1852.

was laid by Bishop Kenrick, assisted by Rev. John Hughes and Rev. T. J. Donahue, of St. Joseph's; Rev. William and Rev. Nicholas O'Donnell, and Rev. Michael Hurley, of St. Augustine's; Rev. Jeremiah Keiley, of St. Mary's, and Rev. M. Carroll, of Wilmington, Del.

Father Hughes in writing to the present Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, Ohio, in September, 1831, says of the church, "It will cause those who give nothing toward its erection to 'murmur' at its costliness, and those who did contribute to be proud of their own doing. As a religious edifice, it will be the pride of the city. The leading Protestants and infidels proclaim it the only building that is entitled to be called a church, 'inasmuch as its appearance indicates its use, and there is no danger of mistaking it for a workshop.'"

Joseph Bonaparte presented to the sanctuary a "Flagellation of Christ," by Hannibal Caracci, said to be valued in London at one thousand guineas. Signor Monachesi, whose paintings decorate many of our churches, ornamented the sanctuary as a voluntary offering. The other portions of the edifice were decorated by the same artist, whose only compensation was a voluntary contribution of the congregation in December, 1832.

On Passion Sunday, April 8, 1832, the new church was opened for divine service, and dedicated by Bishop Conwell and Kenrick. A sermon on the "Marks of a True Church" was delivered by Rev. Dr. Power, of New York. The collection amounted to eight hundred and fifty dollars. Father Hughes thought the sermon injudicious, as many Protestants were present at his invitation. "The sermon caused some irritation and provoked controversy," and was a remote cause of the discussion between Father Hughes and Rev. John Breckinridge.

The 4th of July, 1832, was celebrated in St. John's Church by the citizens. A platform was erected in front of the altar. Father Hughes said, "The selection of St. John's was intended as a compliment to the Catholics and to the church." During that month Father Hughes had more converts than for a year previous. At the celebration the prayer was recited by Father Hughes.

At this church on Tuesday evening, April 29, 1833, Mozart's Requiem Mass was performed for the first time in this country. The exterior of the church had not yet been completely finished; so in October, 1833, an organization of a number of the congregation took place. They formed a society for the exterior finishing of the church so as to procure means for its completion, in order that it might be made to correspond with the interior decorations. This society had a president, three vice-presidents, two secretaries, a treasurer, and twenty members of financial committee. After the dissolution of the society, after having accomplished the object of the formation, the names of the members, alphabetically arranged, and of those who had been officers, were engrossed on parchment and deposited in the archives of the church. For some time after the erection of the church Father Hughes was alone in the pastoral charge. Rev. F. X. Gartland was sent to assist him in 1832. Father Gartland was frequently left in pastoral charge, as Father Hughes several times accompanied Bishop Kenrick on his episcopal visitations. In June, 1834, Father Hughes preached a sermon in behalf of the Polish exiles who were obliged to leave their native land after the suppression of the Polish Revolution. Two hundred and three dollars were contributed.

Father Hughes and his assistant labored energetically to liquidate the debts of the church, which was not yet wholly completed. Many of the creditors were urgent in their demands, while all appeals for money with which to pay this indebtedness were but feebly responded to. Father Hughes, as a last resort, determined to visit Mexico in order to collect the means necessary to satisfy the creditors. For this purpose he studied Spanish for six months, determined to go without the knowledge of his congregation. Preparations were accordingly made to start; during the celebration of mass one Sunday, a carriage awaited Father Hughes. But Father Gartland could not restrain his concern at the near departure of the pastor. Accordingly, he informed the congregation of what was Father Hughes' intention, and he appealed to the people for whom he labored not to allow their beloved pastor to undertake such a journey. George Edwards arose and offered one thousand dollars, twelve others gave five hundred dollars; and throughout the church there arose responses proving the generosity of the people and their love for Father Hughes. About four thousand dollars were thus subscribed. After mass a meeting was held in the pastoral residence; among those present here were Dr. Joseph Nancrede, Charles A. Repplier, Michael McGrath, George Edwards, Francis Tiernan, R. F. Walsh, and Mr. Blaim. Mr. Repplier was chosen treasurer; all agreed to secure the payment of about fifteen thousand dollars of the debt then pressing, and so pledged their faith to Father Hughes. The appeal of Father Gartland and this action of the influential members of the congregation had the desired effect, and the most urgent demands were paid.

Father Hughes continued to labor energetically for the dissemination of the faith and the interests of his people. In the years 1834–35 he was engaged in a now celebrated controversy and discussion with Rev. John Breckinridge. The Propaganda in the beginning of 1836 decreed the division of the diocese, the transfer of Bishop Kenrick to Pittsburgh, and the appointment of Rev. John Hughes as coadjutor to Bishop Conwell. The division not being sanctioned by the Pope, the elevation to the episcopacy of the founder of St. John's was reserved for a short time, and to a see where his services were more necessary.

The cost of the ground and the erection of St. John's Church was about seventy-three thousand dollars. At the time of the appointment of Father Hughes as coadjutor to Bishop Dubois, of New York, in November, 1837, the indebtedness on the church was forty thousand dollars. On Sunday, November 26th, he announced to his congregation the honor that had been conferred upon him, and likewise upon them, by his elevation to the responsibilities of a bishop. His ordination took place at New York Jan. 7, 1838. In a few weeks he returned to this city and celebrated his first pontifical mass at St. John's. On Sunday, Jan. 27, 1838, he preached a sermon for the benefit of the Ladies' Benevolent Society attached to the church. His text was, "The poor ye have always with you." Over four hundred dollars were collected. During this year Bishop Kenrick made St. John's his cathedral. On the transfer of Father Hughes to New York, Rev. F. X. Gartland became pastor.

Previous to 1839 the church had been lighted by chandeliers, but in the beginning of that year it was resolved to introduce gas. Bishop Hughes, learning of this determination, wrote to Mr. Frenaye, " You will ruin the church and be sorry for it when too late. Leave gas to the theatres, fancy stores, and toy-shops, but do not desecrate the church with the association which it will present to the eye. If not for my sake, I would beg for God's sake that you will not do this." He offered to give one hundred dollars to defray an expense that had been incurred. Now the new electric light is within a few feet of the church, and will, no doubt, in a short time supersede the gas that so displeased Bishop Hughes.

On March 2, 1840, a meeting of the friends of the St. Charles Seminary was held at this church for the purpose of organizing, on a more efficient plan than had heretofore been in operation, the various auxiliary societies of St. Charles Seminary that existed in the city. John Keating presided; Judge Randall and Louis Laforgue acted as secretaries. Addresses were delivered by Rev. Dr. Moriarty and Rev. Dr. O'Connor, president of the seminary, who presented a plan for the establishment of these societies.

In June, 1840, Bishop Kenrick issued a pastoral letter recommending the temperance pledge to his people. On the 28th of that month he delivered a sermon at this church on the subject, when the pastors and three hundred and twenty of the congregation received certificates of membership. A greater number would have done so at that time but for the want of certificates. Within a month over twelve hundred of the congregation had taken the pledge. The society then organized ceased to exist in 1877; Mr. Edward McGovern being its last president, the late Bernard Rafferty the last secretary, and Francis Cooper the last treasurer.

On July 28, 1840, Bishop Hughes again visited the scenes of his labors as a parish priest and the church he had founded. He had lately returned from a voyage to Europe. On the above date he delivered a sermon to his former parishioners. On the 28th of October a charity sermon, for the benefit of St. John's Asylum, was delivered by Very Rev. Dr. Power, of New York. Bishop Hughes was expected to speak, but was detained owing to the school controversy in New York. He sent Dr. Power as a substitute, saying it was the first time he had ever disappointed an engagement.

On Nov. 21, 1841, the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, Very Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre, administrator of diocese of Detroit, was consecrated bishop of that see. The ceremony was performed at St. John's by Bishop Kenrick, assisted by Bishop England, of Charleston, and Bishop Hughes, of New York. Pontifical mass was celebrated by Bishop Kenrick; Archpriest, Very Rev. Edward Barron, V.G.; Deacon, Rev. F. X. Gartland; Subdeacon, Rev. C. J. Carter; Master of Ceremonies, Rev. M. Maller, C.M., President of the Theological Seminary. The sermon was delivered by Bishop Hughes.

During the riots of May, 1844, Gen. Cadwalader placed Maj. Dithmar with a guard for the defense of the church. No attempt was made, however, to destroy or damage this the cathedral church.

On Sunday, Sept. 3, 1848, the pallium was placed by Bishop Kenrick on the Most Rev. P. R. Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis. Rev. Edward J. Sourin preached. On Thursday, July 23, 1846, the obsequies of Pope Gregory XVI. were celebrated at this church by pontifical mass sung by Bishop Kenrick. Sermon by Rev. J. P. O'Dwyer, O.S.A., pastor of St. Augustine's. The text of the discourse was, " Beloved of God and of men, whose memory is in benediction." D. Desmond, the Roman consul, the foreign consuls, and the city authorities were present.

Father Gartland continued in pastoral charge until 1850, at which time he received the appointment of Bishop of Savannah. He was *dignus* in the nomination. Thus, once again, was a pastor of St. John's elevated to the dignity and honor of a bishop. A number of the personal friends of Father Gartland, and members of his congregation, as a tribute to his services in behalf of religion, on receiving information of the honors and responsibilities conferred upon their beloved pastor, presented him with a purse containing one thousand and fifty dollars.

On the transfer of Father Gartland to the bishopric of Savannah, his assistant, Rev. Edward J. Sourin, became pastor.

On May 22, 1853, the church was consecrated by Bishop Neumann. In the evening he lectured for the benefit of the orphans. During this year this church contributed $5935.75 toward the erection of the cathedral.

On Sept. 12, 1854, Bishop Gartland, the former pastor of this church, died a victim to yellow fever. He was born in Dublin in 1808, came to this country at an early age, studied at Mount St. Mary's College,

and was ordained in 1832. The universal regret at the demise of this prelate was nowhere more sincere than in St. John's parish, where Father Gartland had labored. Sad were the hearts of the people when they assembled to assist at the celebration of pontifical requiem mass by Rt. Rev. Bishop Kenrick, on Wednesday, Sept. 27, 1854. In 1855, Rev. J. Sourin, S.J., was pastor, the Jesuits having been given charge of the church. In 1856, Very Rev. James Ryder, S.J., was pastor. He continued in the pastoral charge until 1857, when he was succeeded by Rev. John McGuigan, S.J., who was assisted by Rev. Father Paccharini, S.J. In 1858, Rev. John Blox, S.J., was pastor, assisted by Fathers Lachat and Ward. In 1860, January 9th, the funeral obsequies of Rt. Rev. John Neumann, late bishop of this diocese, took place at this church.

On April 27th, Rev. John Blox, the pastor, died. His assistants in the pastoral charge at this time were Fathers Lachat and Immasso, the latter of the seculars, and stationed at the church to assist the Jesuits.

In 1861 the Jesuits surrendered the control of the church, and Rev. John Brannagan, of St. Patrick's, was appointed pastor, in which position he remained but a few days, being transferred to the interior of the diocese. He was succeeded by Rev. John P. Dunn, of St. Theresa's, who continued in pastoral charge until his death, in 1869. During his pastorate he had been assisted by Rev. P. R. O'Reilly, the present rector, Rev. Richard Keenan, Rev. Father Immasso, Rev. Peter McGrane, Rev. John Fitzmaurice, at present rector of St. Agatha's Church, West Philadelphia, Rev. James Powers, and Rev. James Fitzmaurice, now rector of the Church of the Sacred Heart. On Feb. 27, 1861, Rt. Rev. Bishop Wood blessed the present bell. It weighs sixteen hundred and forty pounds. The present rector is Rev. P. R. O'Reilly, who has been stationed at St. John's for the past twenty years. He succeeded Rev. John P. Dunn in 1869.

St. John's parish extends from the south side of Vine to the north side of South, and from the west side of Ninth to the east side of Broad. This is a populous and wealthy district, and within it reside a number of influential Catholics, but as many who possess wealth are not the most liberal in its distribution, so to the working classes, principally, must be given the honor of contributing the means for the support of the church, as theirs was the first contribution toward its beginning.

The assistants to Rev. P. R. O'Reilly are Rev. J. Ferry, Rev. J. J. Donnelly, and Rev. P. Burke.

On Sunday, April 16, 1882, the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the church was celebrated by solemn pontifical mass being offered by Rt. Rev. William O'Hara, D.D., Bishop of Scranton, Pa. The sermon was delivered by Rt. Rev. J. R. Shanahan, Bishop of Harrisburg, Pa. In the evening solemn pontifical vespers was sung by Bishop Shanahan, and the sermon was preached by Rt. Rev. Martin Crane, bishop of the diocese of Sandhurst, Australia.

St. Dominic's Church (Holmesburg).—The corner-stone of this church was laid Sept. 9, 1849, by Very Rev. F. X. Gartland. Rev. Dominic Berrill, O.P., was its first pastor, and remained until 1855, when he was transferred to St. Stephen's Church, Nicetown. He died May 11, 1856. His successor at St. Dominic's was Rev. M. A. McGrane. In 1867 he was transferred to Wilmington, Del., being succeeded by Rev. P. A. Lynch. He remained until 1870, when he was transferred to Bristol, his successor being Rev. Thomas W. Power, who, after a pastorate of two years, was appointed to build the church of St. Cecilia (now the Visitation). On Nov. 10, 1872, Rev. James O'Connor, D.D., formerly rector of St. Charles Seminary, was appointed pastor. He made many improvements. On Aug. 20, 1876, Dr. O'Connor was consecrated Vicar-Apostolic of Nebraska. On Oct. 8, 1876, Rev. Lawrence J. Wall, who had been first assistant at the church from June 22, 1872, was appointed rector, and still continues. He has added to the pastoral residence, purchased land for a cemetery, established a convent, and much improved the church.

St. Joachim's (Frankford).—The corner-stone was laid Sept. 28, 1845, by Rt. Rev. Celestin de la Hailandiere, Bishop of Vincennes, Ind., assisted by Rt. Rev. P. R. Kenrick and Rev. Dominick Forestal, the pastor. The ground was purchased on which to erect the church in 1843, but the riots of 1844 delayed the beginning of the edifice until 1845.

Rev. Dominick Forestal died in 1847, and is buried in St. Mary's Cemetery, South Fourth Street. In 1864, while Rev. John McGovern was pastor, a church was purchased from the Presbyterians and opened as a parochial school in care of Sisters of Immaculate Heart. In 1873 the old church was taken down, and on June 28, 1874, the corner-stone of the present church was laid by Most Rev. James F. Wood, archbishop. Rt. Rev. William O'Hara, Bishop of Scranton, preached; Right Rev. J. F. Shanahan, Bishop of Harrisburg, was present. On Oct. 20, 1880, the church was dedicated by Archbishop Wood. Rev. B. A. Maguire, S.J., preached. The present rector is Rev. J. P. Byrnes.

The Immaculate Conception (Front and Canal Streets).—The corner-stone of this church was laid Sept. 11, 1870, Rev. Michael A. Filan, now rector of the Church of the Annunciation, being its first pastor. On the festival of the Immaculate Conception, Dec. 8, 1872, the church was dedicated. In 1880 the parochial school was erected, and on August 29th dedicated. Early in 1881, Rev. M. A. Filan was transferred to the Annunciation Church as successor to Rev. J. McAnany, deceased. Rev. P. J. Daily, of the Annunciation, then became rector of the Immaculate Conception, and is such at present.

The Church of the Gesu, as it is now known, was formerly called the *new* St. Joseph's, and later the Holy Family. The lot for the church and college under the charge of the Jesuit Fathers was purchased Nov. 20, 1866. It is three hundred and ninety-five by two hundred and fifty-nine feet.

The corner-stone of the chapel of the Sacred Heart was laid June 24, 1868, and the building was opened and dedicated December 6th of the same year.

The parochial school, one of the largest and most complete school buildings in the city, was finished and opened in September, 1879. It is intended as the preparatory department of the Jesuit College contemplated to be erected.

The corner-stone of the new Church of the Gesu, supposed to be the largest non-cathedral church in the country, was laid Sunday, Oct. 5, 1879. The church now in course of erection will be similar in design to the Church of the Gesu in Rome. It will be two hundred and thirty feet on Eighteenth, and one hundred and fifteen feet on Stiles Street. The entire square, from Seventeenth to Eighteenth, and from Stiles to Thompson Streets, will be occupied by the church and college. The parochial school is on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Stiles Streets, Rev. B. Villiger, S.J., being the rector.

St. Clement's Church is in Paschallville, West Philadelphia. This parish was organized in 1864, when Rev. A. J. Gallagher, first assistant at the Church of the Assumption, was appointed pastor of Darby parish. The Catholics of Darby and vicinity had been attending the Church of St. Mary's, at Kellyville, the corner-stone of which was laid Sept. 23, 1847. Within six weeks after Father Gallagher's appointment he had erected a temporary chapel, which was blessed under the title of St. Cecilia's.

In 1866 a bequest of ground was made by Clement Ewig, and the church-site was changed to it. On June 24, 1866, the corner-stone of the present St. Clement's Church was laid by Rt. Rev. J. F. Wood, the dedicatory sermon being delivered by Rt. Rev. John McGill, Bishop of Richmond, Va. Rev. A. J. Gallagher remained pastor four years, when he was succeeded by the present rector, Rev. Thomas O'Neill.

St. Elizabeth's Church (Twenty-third and Berks Streets).—The corner-stone of the temporary church was laid Sept. 22, 1872, and on December 22d of the same year it was blessed. It continued to be used for divine service until Dec. 23, 1883, when the basement of the present church, the corner-stone of which was laid May 27, 1883, was blessed.

From the founding of the parish, in 1872 to 1878, Rev. Bernard Dornhege resided in apartments over the then church. Other portions were used during that time, and are now, as a parochial school. In 1879 the third story and the present pastoral residence were erected. In December, 1881, a lot on Islington Place, in the rear of the church, was purchased, and upon the erection of a pastoral residence on this lot the present parsonage will be occupied by the Sisters engaged in the parochial school.

Father Dornhege has been assisted during his rectorship by Rev. F. X. George (died May 26, 1880) and by Rev. John J. O'Reilly (died Nov. 24, 1880). His present assistants are Rev. John F. Lynch, appointed Feb. 1, 1881, and Rev. Michael E. Mulligan, appointed Jan. 1, 1884.

St. Bonifacius (Diamond Street and Norris Square). —The corner-stone of this church was laid Dec. 9, 1866, by Rt. Rev. J. F. Wood; sermon by Rev. A. Grundtner, pastor of St. Alphonsus. Rev. John W. Gerdemann, pastor. He afterward apostatized and married. On July 14, 1867, the church was dedicated. In 1876 the Redemptorist Fathers took charge of the church, burdened with a very heavy debt. The rector is Rev. F. X. Schnüttgen, C.SS.R., who has been in charge since July, 1877.

St. John's Church (Manayunk) was erected about 1830. In 1834 it was enlarged at an expense of two thousand dollars, and on Dec. 14, 1834, it was reopened. High mass was celebrated by Rev. Stephen L. Dubuisson, S.J.; Rt. Rev. F. P. Kenrick preached. Rev. Charles H. J. Carter was pastor. Rev. James A. Brehony is the present rector.

The Church of the Visitation is on Lehigh Avenue east of Front Street. This parish was established under the name of St. Cecilia in 1872, when in November Rev. Thomas W. Power, pastor at St. Dominic's, Holmesburg, was appointed to build a church upon the lot of ground corner of Cambria and C Streets. He erected a temporary chapel, and on Christmas day, 1872, blessed it by permission of Bishop Wood. He remained until September, 1874, when he resigned the pastorship. His successor was Rev. P. J. Garvey, D.D., who remained until the next month, when he was succeeded by Rev. A. D. Filan. On Feb. 5, 1875, Rev. Thomas J. Barry was appointed. He secured the permission of the archbishop, and changed the site of the church to its present location, and the title to the Visitation. The corner-stone of the present church was laid Oct. 22, 1876, by Archbishop Wood. The erection of the magnificent church was completed, and on Sept. 9, 1883, it was dedicated by Rt. Rev. William O'Hara, D.D., Bishop of Scranton; sermon by Rt. Rev. J. F. Shanahan, D.D., Bishop of Harrisburg. In the evening Monsignor Capel, the distinguished English priest, lectured.

The Church of St. Vincent de Paul is in Germantown. The corner-stone was laid Sept. 12, 1849, by Rt. Rev. F. P. Kenrick. Rev. M. Domenec, afterward Bishop of Pittsburgh, was the first pastor. The church was dedicated in 1851, and in 1857 was enlarged.

On July 18, 1875, the corner-stone of St. Vincent's Seminary was laid, and on Nov. 9, 1879, the chapel of the Immaculate Conception, attached to it, was dedicated.

On March 28, 1880, Rev. James Knowd, aged seventy-six, died, and also, on Nov. 26, 1883, Rev. James Rolando, C.M., president of St. Vincent's Seminary.

The Church of Our Lady of the Nativity, Belgrade Street, Port Richmond, was founded in 1882, being dedicated on Aug. 22d of that year. Rev. L. Helger, C.SS.R., is rector.

St. Bridget's Church (Falls of Schuylkill) was founded in 1853, when the corner-stone was laid. Rev. E. McMahon was the first pastor; Rev. James Cullen succeeded, followed by Rev. Thomas Fox, until his death, Dec. 30, 1874. Rev. Richard O'Connor succeeded him until his death, Jan. 31, 1883. Rev. Michael F. Martin is now rector, with Rev. John Keul assistant.

The Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (Manayunk) was built in 1849 for the use of the German Catholics. It was dedicated Jan. 6, 1850, by Rev. Louis Condenhove, C.R., by permission of Bishop Kenrick, who preached in English, Father Condenhove in German. Rev. F. J. Martersteck is the present rector, Rev. Herbert Hammeke assistant.

Polish Catholic Chapel.—At Friendship Hall, East Norris and Sepviva Streets, the Polish Catholics have a chapel; Rev. Emil Kattein, chaplain. On Sept. 12, 1883, the two hundredth anniversary of the rescue of Vienna by John Sobieski III., king of Poland, was commemorated. Mass was celebrated by Rev. Emil Kattein, assisted by Rev. James Regney and Rev. H. M. Effertz. Rev. Hubert Schich, rector of St. Alphonso's Church, spoke in German, and Father Kattein in Polish.

All Saints' Church (Bridesburg) was dedicated on Sunday, Feb. 3, 1861, by Rev. Father Helmpraecht, C.SS.R., of New York. Rev. John McGovern, of Frankford, preached. The corner-stone was laid Aug. 15, 1860, by Father Carbon, pastor of Holy Trinity Church. Father Carbon preached in German, and Father Dausch in English. On Feb. 20, 1874, Rev. Rudolph E. Kuenzer, then pastor, died. Rev. John F. Fechtel, the present rector, is assisted by Rev. Henry Effertz.

The Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (on Third Street, below Reed).—The temporary chapel was dedicated Dec. 10, 1871; Rev. Thomas F. Hopkins was the pastor. The corner-stone of the present church was laid on Pentecost Sunday, May 19, 1872, and the church was dedicated Sept. 30, 1877. Rev. James J. Fitzmaurice has been the rector since Nov. 24, 1876. The assistant priests who labored at this church were Rev. Francis Keane, Rev. F. McNamee, Rev. John J. Ward, Rev. Thomas F. Shannon, Rev. John J. McElroy, and Rev. William Loughran, under Rev. Thomas F. Hopkins, Rev. A. D. Filan, Rev. S. B. Spalding, Rev. B. F. Ruxton, and Rev. Thomas A. Logue under the present rector.

St. Malachi's Church (on Eleventh Street above Master) was founded in 1851. Rev. John Kelly was the first pastor. He died Feb. 2, 1874, aged fifty-two years, and was succeeded by Rev. Edmund F. Prendergast, the present rector. In 1865 the church was greatly improved. The assistants to Father Prendergast are Rev. M. A. Mullen, Rev. William Egan.

St. Mary Magdalene di Pazzi is on Marriott Street, below Eighth. Before its founding Rev. De la Piance assembled the Italian children of that locality for religious instruction every Sunday afternoon in St. Paul's Church. On March 21, 1852, a meeting of Italian Catholics was held in St. Joseph's schoolroom, to consider the adoption of measures by which a church could be had.

In August, 1852, Bishop Neumann gave the use of the Cathedral Chapel to the Italians, and about six hundred assembled every Sunday. On Sept. 24, 1852, a small church used by colored Protestants, on Marriott, below Eighth Street, was purchased, and on the 23d of the following month was opened by Rev. Cajetan Mariani, late of Florence, Italy, and Knight Honorary of the Order of St. Joseph in Tuscany, who had come to America in 1851, and for a time was professor of music in the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo.

An increase in the congregation rendered a new and larger church necessary. Accordingly, on May 14, 1854, the corner-stone of a new church was laid. Rev. J. M. Guigan, S.J., preached. The church was dedicated in November, and Father Mariani continued to serve the people bodily as well as spiritually until his death, March 8, 1867. He wrought many cures of diseases. Rev. Cajetan Sorrentini then became pastor. Rev. James Rolando succeeded him for a short time. Rev. Joseph Rolando then became rector; then Father Cicaterri, S.J.; then Father Rolando again. On Oct. 14, 1870, Rev. Antonio G. Isoleri, the present pastor, was appointed. In 1873 the parochial school was built, and in 1874 the Missionary Sisters of Third Order of St. Francis were placed in charge of it, and continued until August, 1882. In 1876 St. Mary Magdalene di Pazzi Orphan Asylum for girls was opened at 913 South Seventh Street. It continued until Aug. 26, 1882, when the orphans were placed in the Catholic Home.[1]

On Oct. 14, 1883, the corner-stone of the present church was laid by Rt. Rev. J. F. Shanahan, D.D., Bishop of Harrisburg, who spoke in English, and Rev. Father Cassini, of Harrisburg Diocese, in Italian. Pope Leo XIII. sent his blessing by cablegram.

This church, the founder, Father Mariani, declared, in a circular issued in 1854, to be the first Italian church in the United States.

The Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul.—The Cathedral Church of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia is located at Logan Square. M. A. Frenaye, in 1846, purchased the ground from the Farmer's Life and Trust Company of New York. On June 29,

[1] On Feb. 9, 1878, a requiem mass for the repose of the soul of Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy, was celebrated. On the 18th a similar service was performed for the repose of the soul of Pope Pius IX.

1846, Bishop Kenrick issued a pastoral letter declaring that the anxiety manifested for several years by the clergy and laity, and the assurance of generous support given him, determined him to undertake the erection of a suitable building. On the evening of July 26th following, a meeting in favor of the project was held in St. John's school-room, eight hundred persons being present. Very Rev. F. X. Gartland presided, and addressed the meeting. Rev. E. J. Sourin also spoke, saying that though many thought the location too far westward, "yet time would soon prove that worshipers will not be wanting to cover the pavement of the projected cathedral. On August 18th the lines of the building were laid out, and on Sept. 16, 1846, the corner-stone was laid in the presence of eight thousand persons. The collection

THE CATHEDRAL OF STS. PETER AND PAUL.

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amounted to eleven hundred and forty-eight dollars. The corner-stone was the gift of James McClaranan. It is a massive block of white marble, weighing one and a half tons. The foundation walls were laid under the direction of John Nailis, and cost $9716.16.

The ground on which the cathedral is built is one hundred and thirty feet wide by two hundred and sixteen feet long, and cost sixteen thousand nine hundred dollars.

Meetings were held and collections made annually under authority of Bishop Kenrick until his transfer, in 1851, to be Archbishop of Baltimore. Like efforts were made under Bishop Neumann, his successor. In April, 1857, Rt. Rev. James F. Wood, coadjutor to Bishop Neumann, came to Philadelphia, and observing the inconveniences to which the Catholics of the city were subjected, determined to erect a chapel for their use. Accordingly this was done, and on Dec. 13, 1857, it was dedicated.

On Sunday, Sept. 13, 1859, the large gilt cross was raised. Addresses were made by Rt. Rev. Bishop Spalding, of Louisville, Ky., afterward Archbishop of Baltimore, and Rev. Hugh McLaughlin, of St. Ann's. On Jan. 5, 1860, Bishop Neumann died. On Easter Sunday, 1862, religious services took place in the cathedral for the first time, when vespers was recited by Bishop Wood, Very Rev. Dr. O'Hara, and others.

On Sunday, Nov. 20, 1864, the cathedral was dedicated by Bishop Wood; Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, preached. Archbishops Purcell, of Cincinnati, McCloskey, of New York, and Bishops Fitzpatrick, of Boston, Timon, of Buffalo, Domenec, of Pittsburgh, Bayley, of Newark, Farrell, of Canada, Laughlin, of Brooklyn, McFarland, of Hartford, Goesbriand, of Burlington, Vt., Luers, of Fort Wayne, Lynch, of Toronto, and Rt. Rev. B. Wiemer, Mitred Abbot of Latrobe, Pa., were present. A bronze medal, three inches in diameter, was struck at the mint by order of Bishop Wood, in commemoration of the event. On March 20, 1867, the remains of Bishops Egan and Conwell were removed to this cathedral, and with requiem services interred beneath the grand altar. The cathedral is erected according to original plans of Fathers Maller and Tornatori, then of the Theological Seminary. Napoleon La Brun arranged the plan and superintended the work for a time; his successor was John Notman. The Church of St. Charles in Rome is the model after which the cathedral is erected. This grand edifice was begun by Bishop Kenrick, continued by Bishop Neumann, completed and adorned by Archbishop Wood. A native of Ireland began it, a native of Bohemia continued it, a native of the United States finished it,—all nations worship in it. On May 23d the first Provincial Council of Pennsylvania met at this cathedral. On Oct. 20, 1882, the late Archbishop Wood issued an appeal in order to secure funds to build the grand altar, to renovate and improve the church, to pay the debts "so that the cathedral might be consecrated." For this purpose fifty thousand dollars were needed. The altar, costing ten thousand dollars, has been erected.

James Frederic Wood was born in Philadelphia, at the southwest corner of Second and Chestnut Streets, April 27, 1813. His parents were both English, his father being a native of Manchester and his mother of Gloucestershire. They came to this country in 1809 and settled in Philadelphia, where Mr. Wood engaged in business as a merchant and importer. The son, James Frederic, received his elementary education in a school on Dock Street. In November, 1821, he was sent to England, to the grammar school attached to the Church of St. Mary de Crypt, in Southgate Street, Gloucester, where he remained for more than five years. He then returned to Philadelphia and attended the school of Mr. Sanderson, on Market Street. In November, 1827, he went to Cincinnati and there obtained a situation in the Branch Bank of the United States as chief clerk. He was speedily advanced to the position of individual bookkeeper and discount clerk. In 1833 he was appointed paying and receiving teller of the Franklin Bank of Cincinnati, the capital of which was one million dollars. He was appointed cashier of the same bank in the year 1836.

Shortly before this he was converted to the Catholic faith, and was baptized on the 7th of April, 1836, by the Most Rev. Archbishop Purcell; and in September, 1837, he resigned the office of cashier in the Franklin Bank, and in October, of the same year, went to Rome to study for the priesthood. He entered the College of the Propaganda as a subject of the Diocese of Cincinnati. He remained at Rome nearly seven years, diligently prosecuting his studies in the sacred sciences. During this time he won the confidence and esteem of the authorities of the College of the Propaganda, and was appointed by them Prefect of Discipline.

At the completion of his studies in the college he was ordained priest on March 25, 1844, by Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. Returning to this country, he arrived at Cincinnati in the beginning of October, 1844. He was appointed assistant rector of the cathedral at Cincinnati, which position he efficiently filled for nearly ten years, when he was assigned the pastorate of St. Patrick's Church, of the same city.

While in the active discharge of his duties as pastor of St. Patrick's he received the bull appointing him Coadjutor Bishop of Philadelphia, with the right of succession. He was consecrated bishop by the Most Rev. Archbishop Purcell on April 26, 1857, twenty-one years after his reception into the church, and thirteen years after his ordination. Bishop Wood immediately proceeded to Philadelphia, and on his arrival here, in the beginning of May, 1857, entered upon the fulfillment of the duties of his office, taking charge specially of the financial affairs of the diocese.

Engraved by Samuel Sartain, Phil'a

† James F. Wood, Abp

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These were in such condition, owing to the magnitude of the important ecclesiastical undertakings commenced, but not as yet completed, the then comparative paucity and poverty of the Catholic population of the diocese, and a number of other circumstances, that the administration of them required great exertions and skillful management. To this Bishop Wood specially devoted himself, and with great success. By judicious management and by vigorously urging forward the system of diocesan collections the means were secured for continuing the erection of the cathedral, and sustaining other important religious works. Without waiting for the completion of the cathedral itself, Bishop Wood erected the present cathedral chapel, and organized the cathedral parish. The parish grew rapidly from the time of its organization and the erection of the chapel, and it is now one of the strongest parishes in the city.

On the demise of Bishop Neumann, Jan. 5, 1860, Bishop Wood succeeded to the title and full administration of the diocese. Through his efforts the work of completing the cathedral was carried on with such vigor that it was dedicated Nov. 20, 1864. The cathedral chapel was enlarged, a number of churches partly erected were completed, and the building of others was commenced, and in the course of time finished and opened for divine worship. Additional religious orders were introduced into the diocese, and the charitable institutions already existing were enlarged and strengthened. Among these may be specially mentioned the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, the Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis Assisium, the Little Sisters of the Poor, and others. The Catholic Home for Destitute Orphan Girls, 1720 Race Street, was established, and the orphan asylum known as St. Vincent's Home, Eighteenth and Wood Streets, was enlarged.

In 1862, at the invitation of his Holiness Pius IX., Bishop Wood went to Rome and was present at the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, and again in 1867, at the celebration of the eighteen hundredth anniversary of Sts. Peter and Paul. He was also present at the opening of the Vatican Council on Dec. 8, 1869, and participated in its deliberations for several months. He was then compelled by severe illness to leave Rome, and as soon as his health permitted he returned home, but before his departure from Rome he placed on record his belief in the infallibility of the Holy Roman Pontiff and his desire that it should be defined as a dogma of faith. He arrived in New York, on his return, on April 4, 1870, and, after resting there a few days, proceeded to Philadelphia, where an enthusiastic public reception was given him by the clergy and laity of the diocese, on the afternoon of April 7th, in the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul.

Between 1870 and 1875, when the see was raised to a higher rank, and its prelate with it, Bishop Wood continued to give the full measure of his ability to the conduct of the affairs of the diocese and to develop that executive force and theological diplomacy for which he afterward became distinguished. The prudence which guided him in the ecclesiastical sphere was seen in his reserved and reticent attitude on many public questions, upon which there is a strong temptation for men in his position to pronounce. Content with being a good citizen, he carefully abstained from politics and forbade their presence or discussion in the church. But he never flinched from taking a decided stand on questions or movements that threatened the church, the State, or society at large. There appears to be no doubt that in the wise adjustment of the boundaries of the several sees made from the original diocese of Philadelphia, Bishop Wood suggested most of the plan, and was instrumental in the organization of the separate ecclesiastical districts. Much of his labors during the few years before 1875 appear to have been directed generally to the complete organization and equipment of the sees over which he was called a little later to preside. The great event in the history of the diocese and in the life of its prelate took place in 1875, when the Holy See appointed James Frederic Wood archbishop of the new ecclesiastical province of Philadelphia. The date of his creation was the 15th of February. At the same time that a cardinal was given to America and several of the far Western sees were raised to more important positions, Philadelphia was given an archbishop. On June 17th, with appropriate and elaborate ceremony, with distinguished prelates from other parts of the country around him, and with the assured reverence and affection of the great body of the church, he received the sacred emblems of his office.

In May, 1880, occurred the Provincial Council at Baltimore. In this Archbishop Wood took a prominent part, helping to shape its course, and sharing in those acts that were intended to solidify and harmonize the affairs of the church. On April 26, 1882, the silver jubilee of the consecration of Archbishop Wood was celebrated by a solemn pontifical mass and sermon at the cathedral. This was the twenty-fifth anniversary of his elevation to the bishopric of Philadelphia. Bishop Shanahan, of Harrisburg, delivered the sermon on this occasion, which was a day marked with a white stone in the history of the Catholic Church in this city. Bishop O'Hara, of Scranton, was also present, and a host of lesser ecclesiastical dignitaries. Congratulations came from all quarters, Rome, Ireland, and many parts of the United States. The students of the American College in Rome addressed the archbishop in felicitous Latin verse, and engrossed addresses came from the Lazarist Fathers of Germantown and from the Redemptorist body of this city.

Though in his seventieth year and much crippled

and debilitated by disease, the tireless prelate set about completing the work which would remain the crowning act of his busy and useful life. The cathedral on Eighteenth Street, though in use for divine service for many years, and to the casual observer seemingly finished, yet required much labor and great expenditure to make it all he wished to see it and had intended it should be. The grand altar was to be built, handsome pews take the place of the temporary ones, and the whole vast interior be fitly decorated. Besides, a debt of twenty-five thousand dollars remaining due on the building had to be paid. He set about accomplishing all this and hoped to see his task completed, and the noble structure then solemnly consecrated to God forever. Nigh half-way to the finish had the work progressed when death came upon him in the midst of his labors. Shortly before midnight on Wednesday, June 20, 1883, he breathed his last. He had completed his seventieth year on the 26th of April previous. The solemn obsequies of the illustrious archbishop took place in the cathedral on Tuesday, the 26th. They were the most impressive ever celebrated in this city.

Distinguished ecclesiastics in great numbers from every part of the country were in attendance. The presence of the mayor, presidents of Councils, judges of the courts, and prominent citizens, irrespective of creed, gave evidence of the high esteem in which Archbishop Wood was held by the entire community.

Maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary is at Bustleton. The corner-stone was laid Oct. 2, 1870, by Bishop Wood. The ground was presented by John B. Williams.

On Dec. 11, 1870, it was opened for divine service by Rev. John McGovern, pastor of St. Joachim's Church at Frankford. It is forty-six by seventy feet, and cost five thousand five hundred dollars. Its pastors have been Revs. J. F. Kelly (died May 14, 1871), John Loughran, J. Ward, H. Garvey, J. O'Byrne, M. J. Armstrong, James A. Brehony, M. P. O'Brien, D. S. Bowes, B. J. Conway, and Rev. A. P. Haviland, the present rector.

St. Alphonsus (German) Church is located at the southwest corner of Fourth and Reed Streets. The corner-stone was laid June 19, 1853, by Bishop Neumann. Father Regis was the first pastor. On March 4, 1860, the church was dedicated by Bishop Wood; sermon delivered by Very Rev. P. E. Moriarty, O.S.A. Father Nicola was then pastor. In July he was succeeded by Father Alphonse, of Syracuse, N. Y. The year following, Rev. Alphonsus M. Zoeller and Rev. Anthony Rossadowski were pastors. Rev. Anthony Grundtner succeeded; he died Aug. 13, 1876. His successor was Rev. John B. Maus. On his transfer to Allentown, Rev. Hubert Schick, of Holy Trinity, was appointed rector, and is at present in charge.

St. Ann's Church (on Lehigh Avenue and Cedar Street).—The corner-stone was laid July 4, 1845, by Very Rev. F. X. Gartland, assisted by Rev. P. Rafferty and Rev. D. McDevitt. Sermon by Rev. Dr. Manahan, of New York. Father McDevitt was the first pastor. In November, 1846, the church was dedicated by Very Rev. F. X. Gartland. Sermon by Bishop Hughes, of New York. In 1847, Rev. Hugh McLaughlin was appointed pastor, and continued such until his death, in 1865. On December 21st a new organ was used for the first time, when pontifical mass was celebrated by Bishop Gartland, of Savannah. On July 29, 1866, the corner-stone of a new church was laid adjoining the old church.

The present rector is Rev. Thomas Kiernan, who succeeded Father McLaughlin in 1865.

St. Stephen's Church (Nicetown).—On Sept. 21, 1843, the corner-stone was laid by Bishop Kenrick, who also preached the sermon. On Monday, Jan. 1, 1844, it was dedicated by Rev. M. Maller, C.M., president of the Theological Seminary. Sermon by Rev. E. J. Sourin. In 1846, Rev. M. Domenec, afterward Bishop of Pittsburgh, was pastor. On Feb. 21, 1848, the remains of Dr. John Michael Brown were removed from Miss Dickinson's field, on the road from Nicetown to Frankford, to St. Stephen's graveyard, Bishop Kenrick and other clergymen present at reinterment. This ceremony took place in the belief that the remains were those of a priest who died in 1750. Subsequent investigation proves that he was a physician. It is probable that in his house mass was celebrated, and thus came the tradition that he was a priest. On May 11, 1856, Father Berrill, the pastor, died. In 1857 the pastor was Rev. Eden McGinnis, and in 1859, Rev. Dr. Bulfe. In 1861, Rev. John D. Davis was pastor. In 1871, Rev. E. J. Martin was pastor, and in 1875, Rev. John Kelly. The present rector is Rev. William A. McLaughlin. He has purchased ground at northeast corner Broad and Butler Streets, on which to erect a new church.

The Church of the Annunciation is located at Tenth and Dickinson Streets. The corner-stone was laid April 15, 1860, and the church opened for service Christmas day, 1860. Rev. John McAnany was pastor until his death, Christmas day, 1880. Rev. M. A. Filan was appointed his successor, and is at present in charge. The church was completed and dedicated in 1863.

In 1881 the property northeast corner Tenth and Dickinson Streets was purchased, and a convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart founded.

St. Francis Xavier's Church (Twenty-fifth and Biddle Streets) was erected in 1839 under the direction of Rev. M. O'Connor, afterward Bishop of Pittsburgh, which see he resigned to become a Jesuit. He died in Baltimore Oct. 18, 1872. The church was opened for divine service on the first Sunday of Advent, 1839, when Very Rev. P. E. Moriarty, O.S.A., delivered the sermon. On June 6, 1841, the church was dedicated by Bishop Kenrick. Father O'Connor was succeeded

by Father Whelan. He was succeeded in 1842 by Rev. P. Rafferty, who remained until his death, in 1863. In 1843 the church was enlarged. After the death of Father Rafferty, Rev. James Maginn, the present rector, was appointed. On Jan. 23, 1880, he celebrated with his people the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination.

The Assumption Church is situated on Spring Garden Street, below Twelfth. The corner-stone was laid on May 21, 1848, by Bishop Smith, of Glasgow, Scotland, then on a visit to this city. Bishop Kenrick preached. Rev. C. J. Carter was the first pastor and continued rector until his death, Sept. 17, 1879, when Rev. A. D. Filan, the present rector, was appointed. On Nov. 11, 1849, the edifice was dedicated by Very Rev. F. X. Gartland; sermon by Rt. Rev. Ignatius A. Reynolds, D.D., Bishop of Charleston, S. C. On Sept. 11, 1859, the church was consecrated by Bishop Neumann; sermon by Bishop Spalding, of Louisville, Ky. The celebrant of the mass was Bishop Wood. Rt. Rev. R. P. Miles, Bishop of Nashville, Tenn., was present.

St. Teresa's Church (corner of Broad and Catharine Streets) was founded in 1853, the corner-stone being laid by the present rector, Rev. Hugh Lane. On May 29, 1853, Rev. Dr. Manahan, of New York, preached. On Christmas day of the same year the church was opened for service. Rev. Nicholas Cantwell, rector of St. Philip's, celebrated the first mass. In 1859 Rev. John P. Dunn acted as pastor until the return (in 1860) of Father Lane. In 1868 the large school adjoining the church was erected. It cost thirty thousand dollars, and was paid for in two years. In 1876 the Convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart, No. 1514 Christian Street, was purchased, and a select school opened. A new convent is to be erected on Broad Street adjoining the parochial school.

The Church of St. Edward the Confessor (at Eighth and York Streets) was formerly a Protestant Episcopal Church. It was purchased by Archbishop Wood and dedicated as a Catholic Church by him on Nov. 26, 1865. Very Rev. Dr. O'Hara, Bishop of Scranton, Pa., preached. Very Rev. Edw. McMahon, formerly vicar-general of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, was the first pastor, and so remained until his death, Oct. 7, 1873. His successor, Rev. P. F. Sullivan, is the present rector.

On Sunday, May 6, 1883, the corner-stone of a new St. Edward's Church was laid by Very Rev. M. A. Walsh, V.G. Rev. Jos. V. O'Connor preached. Ten years' litigation resulted from the sale of the church to the Catholics, but the final decision was in favor of Archbishop Wood.

St. Agatha's Church (Thirty-eighth and Spring Garden Streets).—The old church was at the corner of Thirty-sixth and Sycamore Streets, and was formerly the Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Andrew, and was erected by Judge Peters and others in 1821. In 1865, it was purchased for nine thousand dollars by Bishop Wood. On Oct. 10, 1865, Rev. John Fitzmaurice was appointed pastor, and has since continued in charge. On Oct. 20, 1865, the church was dedicated by Bishop Wood, assisted by Rev. M. F. Martin, Rev. John Fitzmaurice, and Rev. John P. Dunn. Bishop Wood preached. In 1870 the church was enlarged, and the congregation increased so that, in 1874, it was necessary to purchase the site of the present church. The lot cost twenty-eight thousand dollars. The corner-stone of the new church was laid on the 18th of October, 1874, by Rt. Rev. James F. Wood, D.D., who preached the dedicatory sermon. The edifice was completed in 1878, and was dedicated on the 18th of October, in that year, by Archbishop Wood; sermon by Rt. Rev. J. F. Shanahan, D.D., Bishop of Harrisburg. The dedicatory mass was celebrated by Rt. Rev. William O'Hara, D.D., Bishop of Scranton. This church cost one hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

St. Charles Borromeo Church is situated at the southwest corner of Twentieth and Christian Streets. The corner-stone was laid July 19, 1868. A temporary frame chapel was erected for the use of the people until the parish church was completed. On April 9, 1871, the basement was dedicated, and used for church service until the completion of the church, in 1876. On May 7th of that year it was dedicated, the empress of Brazil being among the number present.

Rev. James O'Reilly, now pastor at Keene, N. H., was the first rector, and continued so until May, 1877, when he was succeeded by Rev. Nicholas Walsh, the present rector.

St. James' Church (at Thirty-eighth and Chestnut Streets, West Philadelphia) dates from 1850. On July 14th of that year the first meeting was held at the first house in Mary Street, below Chestnut, to receive subscriptions. Rev. J. V. O'Keefe was pastor. On Aug. 4, 1850, the corner-stone was laid by Right Rev. P. R. Kenrick. Rev. Richard O'Connor was pastor from 1854 to 1862, when he went to Rome, and became professor of English in a college. He returned to this country, and died Jan. 3, 1883, as pastor of St. Bridget's Church, Falls of Schuylkill. Rev. Michael F. Martin became his successor at St. James'. He remained until Nov. 9, 1874, when he became pastor of St. Mary's, on the death of Rev. George Strobel. Rev. Francis O'Neill then became pastor. He died suddenly at Saratoga, N. Y., Aug. 8, 1882. Rev. Patrick J. Garrey, D.D., then became rector, and continues to the present time.

Our Mother of Sorrows Church is situated at the Cathedral Cemetery, West Philadelphia. It is the second church built there. The first was called St. Gregory's. It was founded soon after the purchase of the forty-three acres for cemetery purposes, in 1849.

On Nov. 1, 1867, the corner-stone of the present church (Our Mother of Sorrows) was laid by Rt. Rev. J. F. Wood, D.D. Rev. Francis A. Sharkey

was its first pastor, and continued so until his death at Liverpool, England, on April 10, 1881. He was succeeded by Rev. John W. Shanahan, the present rector. The church was dedicated to divine service on Sept. 28, 1873. In September, 1879, the parochial school was opened. In March, 1882, a Sunday-school was opened in Haddington for the Catholic children of that locality. It is attended to by one of the assistant priests. Father Shanahan has for assistants Rev. James F. Shields and Rev. John J. Denver.

St. Veronica's Church is situated at Second and Butler Streets, on a portion of the ground of the New Cathedral Cemetery. The cemetery contains forty-one acres, and was on Aug. 30, 1868, consecrated by Rt. Rev. William O'Hara, D.D., Bishop of Scranton. On June 2, 1872, the corner-stone of the church was laid, and on September 23d it was dedicated. The church was erected by Very Rev. M. A. Walsh, D.D., when pastor of St. Michael's Church. The present rector is Rev. W. A. Power, who succeeded Rev. William F. McLaughlin.

St. Peter's Church.—In 1841 there existed but one German Catholic Church in Philadelphia, that of the Most Holy Trinity, corner of Spruce and Sixth Streets. At that time a number of Catholic Germans, living in the northern part of the city, petitioned Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick for permission to build a new church in that part of the city and to obtain the services of a proper priest. The bishop granted the former permission upon condition that at least fifty men subscribed to the request. Thereupon a much larger number of names was referred to the prelate. Seeing the necessity of organizing a new congregation, the bishop advised these men to send a committee to Rev. Father Alexander Czvitkovicz, the Superior of the Redemptorists in America, to induce him to undertake the charge of the intended church and parish. Father Alexander showed himself willing, provided the new congregation collected at least one-third of the money necessary for building the church. The bishop on his part promised the Fathers a sum of money which he was about to receive from Vienna for the support of German churches. Father Rumpler, who in absence of Father Alexander, then in Europe, had charge of affairs, wrote, July 12, 1841, that he gave permission for the erection of the church, provided the title thereof be in the hands of the bishop.

In the following year the ground southeast corner of Fifth Street and Girard Avenue was bought for eleven thousand seven hundred dollars.

Toward the end of 1842, Rev. Father Louis Cartuyvels came and began the organization of the congregation. Two frame buildings which stood on the lot when purchased were converted into a temporary church and dwelling-house for the Fathers. But preparations were made at once for the erection of a new church. The corner-stone was laid on Aug. 15, 1843, by the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick. At the request of the faithful, the new church was dedicated to the Apostle St. Peter. The first congregation that assembled in the temporary church numbered only about two hundred persons. Nevertheless, a parochial school was started at the same time, thus securing a Christian education to the children. About a hundred children formed the first school.

Rev. Father Cartuyvels, the first Superior, was in 1844 succeeded by Rev. Father Joseph Fey, C.SS.R., who had charge of this church and congregation until August, 1848, when he was recalled to Europe by his Superiors. During the anti-Catholic riot of 1844, during which St. Augustine's and St. Michael's Churches were burned by the mob, the building of St. Peter's was not interfered with; nevertheless watch was kept day and night.

Toward the close of 1845 the church was finished, and on December 29th it was blessed and opened for service. In 1846 the decorations of the interior were finished, and on Feb. 14, 1847, the church was solemnly consecrated by Bishop Kenrick. The church is built in the Roman style, one hundred and sixty-six feet long and sixty-four feet wide.

Two months after the consecration a mission was given by a number of Redemptorist Fathers, and thus the apostolic labors of the Fathers in the city of Philadelphia were effectually inaugurated. The work of salvation was continued by the Fathers who succeeded from time to time in charge of this congregation up to the present day. The number of faithful continually increased. In course of time, however, several other German parishes were formed as circumstances required. The following are the Superiors who, in succession, had charge of St. Peter's Church: After the departure of Rev. Father Fey, 24th of August, 1848, Rev. Father Louis Condenhove was appointed. About the same time the Sisters of Notre Dame took charge of the girls' school, and in 1853 the Christian Brothers of the boys. Father Condenhove was succeeded, in 1853, by Rev. Father Benedick Bayer, whose administration was, however, of short duration, as he died on March 16, 1854, after having rendered signal services to the order to which he belonged. His successor was Rev. John Hespelein, and toward the close of 1855 Rev. Father Robert Kleineidaur succeeded. During the latter's administration the steeple of the church was finished and three bells placed therein.

In April, 1859, Rev. Father Lawrence Holzer became Superior, who displayed a special energy in bringing about the erection of the German Orphan Asylum at Tacony. On the 5th of January, 1860, the Redemptorist Fathers were most painfully affected by the sudden death of Bishop John N. Neumann, who was a member of their order, and as such doubly dear to them. In 1861, Father Holzer was replaced by Rev. Father Anthony Urban, and the latter's administration closed in May, 1862, when Rev. William Luehrmann was appointed for the next three years.

In August, 1865, Rev. Father John D. Dycker became Superior. He erected the new school-house in 1867, which accommodates over one thousand children. His successor, Rev. William Loewekamp (1868–74), had the church completely renovated and frescoed, and purchased a new organ, which cost twelve thousand dollars.

He was succeeded, in 1874, by Rev. Father George Sniet, who, at the most earnest request of the archbishop, and with the consent of the higher Superiors of the order in 1875, took charge of the church and congregation of St. Bonifacius, near Norris Square, on Diamond Street. Rev. Father Michael Holans took his place at St. Peter's until 1880, when the present incumbent, Rev. Father Joseph Wirth, was appointed rector.

St. Michael's Church is situated on Second Street, above Master, on ground of New Amsterdam, a town once projected there. The ground was purchased as early as 1831, and by notice in the *United States Gazette* lots for burial purposes were offered for sale. On Jan. 15, 1833, a public meeting in favor of building the church was held at Commissioners' Hall, when three thousand dollars were subscribed. On Easter Monday, April 8, 1833, the corner-stone was laid by Bishop Kenrick, assisted by Rev. Michael Hurley, Rev. John Hughes, and Rev. Terence J. Donaghoe (the pastor), Rev. Jeremiah Keiley, Rev. William Whelan, Rev. Nicholas O'Donnell, O.S.A., Rev. Tolentine de Silva, Rev. James Foulhouze, and Rev. F. X. Gartland.

When completed, the church was in the Gothic style of the twelfth century, according to designs of William R. Crisp.

The altar-piece was a rich and beautiful painting of St. Michael the Archangel, by Guido, and once the property of Cardinal Fesch, uncle of Napoleon Bonaparte.

On Sept. 20, 1833, the church was so far completed as to allow of its dedication by Bishop Kenrick. The venerable Bishop Conwell, then over eighty years of age, was present. High mass was celebrated by Rev. Terence J. Donaghoe, pastor; Rev. Edward McCarthy, S.J., deacon; Rev. Patrick Costello, subdeacon; Rev. John Hughes, pastor of St. John's, preached the dedicatory sermon, his subject being the sacrifice of the new law for which Christian temples are erected.

Application was made to the Legislature of Pennsylvania for the act of incorporation, which was in due time passed, and the affairs of the corporation of St. Michael's have been from that day to this directed and superintended by a board of trustees, composed of six laymen, the pastor of the church, and the bishop of the diocese, who is *ex officio* president of the board.

A handsome female seminary was also erected at the corner of Second and Phœnix [now Thompson] Streets, and here the educating and training of the minds of the young was intrusted to the good Sisters of Charity.

During the riots of 1844 this church and convent were destroyed by fire. The keys of the church were given by Rev. John Loughran to Capt. Fairlamb, who, searching the church, found neither arms nor men secreted; the front door was left unlocked, rioters entered, passing through the military, and set fire to the sacred edifice. The bare walls told the tale of that night's destruction. The convent was also destroyed, houses of the "Irish" were attacked, and many killed on both sides.

In six days after the destruction of the church Father Donaghoe had a temporary one erected. On Aug. 24, 1846, the corner-stone of the present church was laid by Bishop Kenrick; sermon delivered by Rev. E. J. Sourin. In October following a storm of wind and rain destroyed the eastern wall. On Feb. 7, 1847, the new church was dedicated; Bishop Kenrick preached. In December, 1847, a verdict for twenty-seven thousand dollars was given for the destruction of the church in the riot of 1844. In November, 1844, a verdict of $6468.98 was given against the county for the destruction of the school-house.

In 1845, Rev. T. J. Donaghoe went to Dubuque, Iowa, and Rev. William Loughran became pastor. In 1860 he returned to Ireland, and there died. On July 17, 1856, the Sunday-school gave an excursion on the North Pennsylvania Railroad to Fort Washington. At Camp Hill Station an accident occurred by which fifty-nine persons were killed. Among the number was Rev. Daniel Sheridan, an assistant at the church. A public subscription of thirteen thousand nine hundred dollars was made to relieve the distress occasioned by this accident.

Rev. Thomas Keiran became pastor in 1860, after the death of Father Loughran. He remained such until the death of Rev. Hugh McLaughlin, pastor of St. Ann's Church, Port Richmond, in 1865, when he was transferred to that church, where he still remains. Father Keiran was succeeded by Rev. Maurice A. Walsh, who is now pastor of St. Paul's Church, vicar-general, and administrator of the archdiocese since the death of Archbishop Wood. On Sept. 20, 1866, the church was consecrated by Archbishop Wood. Father Walsh was succeeded at St. Michael's in 1879 by Rev. C. P. O'Connor, D.D., the present rector, who is assisted by Rev. M. Lawlor, Rev. James E. Cleary, and Rev. P. J. Tierney.

St. Paul's Church (situated on Christian Street, between Ninth and Tenth).—The corner-stone of this church was laid May 7, 1843, by Rt. Rev. F. P. Kenrick, Bishop of Philadelphia, assisted by a number of priests. The hall of the commissioners of Moyamensing, directly opposite, was placed at the disposal of the clergymen, where they robed prior to the services. The collection amounted to four hundred and sixty dollars.

The church was opened for divine service on Sun-

day, Dec. 17, 1843, when Rev. Dr. O'Connor preached. On January 21st, Bishop Hughes, of New York, preached at the late mass, when a collection in aid of the building fund was taken up.

During the riots of May, 1844, Gen. Patterson, on May 9th, placed Capt. Fairlamb in charge of the militia guarding this church.

On July 4, 1847, the church was dedicated by Bishop Kenrick. The sermon was delivered by Very Rev. Dr. McGill, afterward Bishop of Richmond, Va.

On Nov. 26, 1861, the church was destroyed by fire. Rev. P. F. Sheridan, pastor, was at the time in Ireland. It was rebuilt, and on Sept. 21, 1862, was reopened for divine service by Rt. Rev. J. F. Wood.

In 1867 the hall of the commissioners of the district of Moyamensing, opposite the church, was purchased for thirteen thousand five hundred dollars and opened as a convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart. It had been used during the war as a military hospital.

On July 9, 1879, Rev. P. F. Sheridan, the pastor, died. He was succeeded by the Very Rev. Maurice A. Walsh, D.D., vicar-general and at present the administrator of the archdiocese. On July 8, 1880, he and his people celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination as a priest.

St. Patrick's Church.—In 1839, Rt. Rev. F. P. Kenrick rented a frame house at the corner of Nineteenth and Rittenhouse Streets for the use of the Catholics of the neighborhood as a chapel. It had been brought from near the navy-yard, and had been used as a vinegar-factory and carpenter-shop.

On June 5, 1841, a meeting was held in it to take steps to erect a church. Dr. Nancrede presided, with D. Dule as secretary. Addresses were delivered by Very Rev. M. O'Connor (afterward Bishop of Pittsburgh), Fathers Carter and Dunn, Dr. T. J. P. Stokes, and William A. Stokes. The contributions were seven hundred dollars.

The corner-stone was laid July 4, 1841, by Bishop Kenrick; Very Rev. P. E. Moriarty, O.S.A., preached. On December 5th the church (one hundred by sixty feet) was dedicated by Very Rev. M. O'Connor, V.G. Mass was celebrated by Rt. Rev. P. P. Lefevre, D.D., of Detroit; sermon by Rt. Rev. P. R. Kenrick, of St. Louis.

The first pastor was Rev. Daniel McDevitt. He was succeeded by Rev. William O'Hara, who remained until consecrated Bishop of Scranton, Pa., on Aug. 12, 1868. He was succeeded by Rev. P. A. Nugent, of St. John's Church, Manayunk. He resigned and went to Europe. His successor was the present pastor, Very Rev. J. E. Mulholland, appointed 12th of May, 1869. On Nov. 19, 1871, the church was consecrated by Rt. Rev. William O'Hara, D.D., Bishop of Scranton, assisted by Rev. James E. Mulholland as archdeacon, Rev. Francis P. O'Neill and Rev. Anthony Shields as deacons, Rev. M. A. Ryan and Rev. J. J. Boyle, masters of ceremonies. Sermon by Rev. Thomas F. Hopkins. Father Mulholland is assisted by Rev. Thomas W. Power, Rev. Luke McCabe, and Rev. Charles J. Vandergrift.

St. Philip's Church.—The corner-stone of this church (Queen Street, below Third) was laid in 1840 by Rt. Rev. John Hughes, Bishop of New York. On Sunday, May 9, 1841, the church was dedicated by Bishop Kenrick. High mass was celebrated by Rev. J. P. Dunn, the pastor; the collection amounted to five hundred dollars. This was intended to be a "free" church, to depend upon voluntary collections for its support, and no revenue was to be derived from the renting of pews. After a brief trial, however, this plan was abandoned.

On June 30, 1841, a meeting was held at the church for the purpose of raising funds and to hear the financial report for the year. Hon. Judge Doran presided, John Maher was secretary. The report showed that fourteen thousand dollars had been collected during the year, and that thirteen thousand nine hundred and forty-one dollars had been expended. Collectors for each square were appointed, and seven hundred dollars were subscribed. Addresses were made by Bishop Kenrick, Fathers Dunn and Carter, Judge Doran, and Dr. Maurice Morrison, of Buenos Ayres.

On Oct. 25, 1841, after being closed several weeks for plastering, the church was reopened. Bishop Kenrick delivered the sermon.

During the riots of 1844 the "Native American" rioters attacked the church on July 6th and 7th, and attempted to set it on fire.

On May 9, 1844, Gen. R. Patterson detailed the Lafayette Light Guards, Lieut. Pearce, and the Independent Rifles, Capt. Florence, to protect the church, a duty in which they succeeded.

Rev. John P. Dunn was pastor, and Rev. Nicholas Cantwell, assistant. He is now the venerated pastor of the church. He was ordained at St. Mary's Church on Nov. 4, 1841.

On June 30, 1847, a solemn high mass was celebrated at St. Philip's by Abbe de Massip for the repose of the soul of Daniel O'Connell, the Irish patriot. A funeral discourse in the Irish language was delivered by Rev. M. F. Jennings, O.S.F., of Galway, Ireland, from the text, "Remember, man, thou art but dust."

The Diocesan Synod of 1853 having instituted in the diocese of Philadelphia the devotion of the forty hours' exposition of the blessed sacrament on the festival of Corpus Christi in this year, the first celebration of this devotion in the diocese took place at this church.

On June 21, 1857, the church was consecrated by Bishop Neumann, assisted by Bishop Wood and Rev. Nicholas Cantwell as assistant priest, Rev. N. O'Brien of the seminary as archdeacon, Rev. David Whelan as deacon, and Rev. Robert Reilly as subdeacon. Solemn high mass was celebrated by Bishop

Wood, Rev. John Loughran being assistant priest, and Robert Reilly and Rev. John McAnany, deacon and subdeacon.

In January, 1860, the present stained-glass windows (nineteen and a half by three feet six inches) were placed in the church. They were made by George Morgan & Brother, of New York, and cost three thousand dollars.

The Diocese of Philadelphia was founded by Pope Pius VII., by decree of April 8, 1809. Rev. Michael Egan, pastor of St. Mary's Church, was appointed the first bishop. He was consecrated at Baltimore, Oct. 28, 1810. He died July 22, 1814. Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell became bishop in 1820, died in 1842. Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, D.D., consecrated coadjutor June 6, 1830, translated to Baltimore, 1851, died July 8, 1863. Rt. Rev. John Nepomucene Neumann, D.D., C.SS.R., consecrated March 28, 1852, died Jan. 5, 1860. The late Most Rev. James Frederic Wood, D.D., was consecrated coadjutor *cum jure successionis*, April 26, 1857, in Cincinnati, created archbishop June 17, 1875, died 1883. On Feb. 12, 1875, Philadelphia was erected an archdiocese. On June 17, 1875, the pallium was received by Archbishop Wood, who, since June, 1862, had been assistant at the pontifical throne. The archdiocese was, on the Feast of St. Teresa, Oct. 15, 1875, consecrated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It is under the patronage of Our Blessed Lady Conceived without Sin and of the Apostles Sts. Peter and Paul.

"According to the census of 1880, the church in the United States counted 6,200,000 Catholics in 11 archdioceses, 48 dioceses, 8 apostolic vicariates, and 2 apostolic prefectures, with about 5000 priests, 6000 churches and chapels, 600 colleges and academies, and 350 charitable institutions."

The following statistics show the condition of the archdiocese: churches, 127; in course of erection, 7; chapels, 53; stations, 31; priests, 260; priests in college, 35; students in seminary, 106; at Rome, 4; ecclesiastical institutions, 3; colleges, 3; Brothers of the Christian schools, 51; Franciscan brothers, 4; orders of religious women, 13; number of religious women, novices and postulants, 1020; schools of the Christian Brothers, 9; schools of Franciscan Brothers, 1; number of boys taught by Christian Brothers, 3587; academies and select schools for young ladies, taught by Sisters, 26; parochial schools, 59; number of scholars, 22,000; number of scholars at academies and select schools taught by Sisters, 2100; orphan asylums, 6; number of orphans,—boys, 495; girls, 503; total, 998; hospitals, 4; widows' asylum, 1; homes for aged poor, 2; conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, 27; Catholic population, 300,000.

LIST OF CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN PHILADELPHIA.

Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, Eighteenth Street, opposite Logan Square. Rev. John J. Elcock, rector; Rev. D. A. Brennan, chancellor and secretary; Rev. Thomas F. Shannon, Rev. James P. Sinnot, Rev. Alexander A. Gallagher, assistants.

All Saints, Bridesburg, corner Brown and Bockius Streets. Rev. John F. Fechtel; Rev. Henry Effertz, assistant.

Annunciation, Tenth and Dickinson Streets. Rev. Michael J. Filan, rector; Rev. William Masterson, Rev. D. O'Connor, Rev. Robert Clancey.

Assumption, Spring Garden Street, below Twelfth. Rev. A. D. Filan, rector; P. J. Wynne, Rev. Thomas Logue.

Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Oak Street, Manayunk. Rev. F. J. Martersteck, rector; Rev. Herbert Hammeke.

Chapel of Little Sisters of the Poor, Eighteenth Street, above Jefferson. Chapel services by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, at the Gesu.

Church of the Gesu, Seventeenth and Stiles Streets. Rev. B. Villiger, S.J., Rev. Peter Blenkinsop, S.J., Rev. Charles Cicaterri, S.J., Rev. Alphonse Coppens, S.J., Rev. J. A. McHugh, S.J., Rev. P. Claven, S.J., Rev. Livius Vigilante.

Church of the Sacred Heart, Third Street, below Reed. Rev. J. J. Fitzmaurice, pastor; Rev. S. B. Spalding.

Holy Trinity (German), northwest corner Sixth and Spruce Streets. Rev. E. O. Hiltermann; Rev. J. Kemmerling, assistant.

Immaculate Conception, Front and Canal Streets. Rev. P. J. Dailey, D.D., rector; Rev. Joseph O'Keefe, J. J. Clark, assistants.

Maternity of Blessed Virgin Mary, Bustleton. Rev. A. P. Haviland.

Our Lady of Consolation, Chestnut Avenue, Chestnut Hill. Rev. F. J. McShane, O.S.A., Rev. John Emmett, O.S.A., Chestnut Avenue.

Our Lady of the Nativity, Alleghany Avenue and Belgrade Street. Rev. Q. Hilger, C.SS.R.

Our Lady of the Visitation, B. V. M., Front Street and Lehigh Avenue. Rev. Thomas Barry, pastor; Rev. Joseph A. Strahan, Rev. John Cox, assistants.

Our Mother of Sorrows, Forty-eighth Street and Lancaster Avenue, Hestonville. Revs. John W. Shanahan, rector; James F. Shields, John J. Denvir.

Polish Congregation, Sepviva and Norris Streets. Rev. Emil Kattein.

St. Agatha, Thirty-eighth and Spring Garden Streets. Rev. John E. Fitzmaurice, Rev. P. W. Brannan, Rev. Richard Tobin.

St. Alphonsus, southwest corner Fourth and Reed Streets. Rev. Hubert Shick, pastor; Rev. A. Mersch.

St. Ann, Lehigh Avenue and Cedar Street. Rev. Thomas Kiernan, rector; Rev. Thomas F. Mullen, Rev. Francis J. Quinn, and Rev. Owen P. McManus, assistants.

St. Augustine, Fourth Street, below Vine. Rev. Peter Crane, O.S.A., Very Rev. P. A. Stanton, O.S.A., Rev. Henry A. Fleming, O.S.A., and Rev. N. J. Murphy, O.S.A.

St. Boniface, Diamond Street and Norris Square. Very Rev. Francis X. Schnüttgen, C.SS.R., Superior and pastor; Rev. Ferdinand A. Litz, C.SS.R., Rev. Francis Frischbier, Rev. G. Hilger, C.SS.R., Rev. Leonard Schwabl, C.SS.R., Rev. Louis Zinnen, C.SS.R.

St. Bridget, Falls of Schuylkill. Rev. John Keul.

St. Charles Borromeo, Twentieth and Christian Streets. Rev. Nicholas J. Walsh, rector; Rev. James C. Wynne, Rev. Peter McCullough, Rev. Francis P. Dougherty, and Rev. P. J. Mellon, asistants.

St. Clement, Seventy-first Street and Woodland Avenue. Rev. Thomas O'Neill, Rev. John F. Graham.

St. Dominic, Holmesburg. Rev. Lawrence Wall, Rev. P. A. Quinn.

St. Edward the Confessor, corner Eighth and York Streets. Rev. P. F. Sullivan, rector; Rev. John J. Rodgers, Rev. John P. Connell.

St. Elizabeth, southeast corner Twenty-third and Berks Streets. Rev. Bernard Dornhege, pastor; Rev. John F. Lynch, Rev. M. E. Mulligan, assistants.

St. Francis Xavier, Twenty-fifth and Biddle Streets. Rev. James Maginn, Rev. William Meigher, Rev. Michael Sculley.

St. James, Thirty-eighth and Chestnut Streets. Rev. P. J. Garvey, Rev. Edmund E. Rowan, Rev. Joseph H. O'Neill, Rev. William Craig.

St. Joachim, Pine Street, above Franklin, Frankford. Rev. J. P. Byrne; Rev. Michael C. Donovan, assistant.

St. John the Baptist, Manayunk. Rev. James A. Brehony, pastor; Rev. F. P. Fitzmaurice, Rev. J. Campbell.

St. John the Evangelist, Thirteenth Street, above Chestnut. Rev. P. R. O'Reilly, Rev. J. J. Ferry, Rev. J. J. Donnelly, Rev. P. F. Burke.

St. Joseph, Willing's Alley, below Fourth Street. Rev. Joseph M. Ardia, S.J., pastor; Rev. A. Romano, S.J., Rev. P. A. Jordan, S.J., Rev. Patrick Duddy, S.J., Francis O'Neill, S.J., Rev. Blasius A. Skiffini.

St. Malachi, Eleventh Street, above Master. Rev. Edmond F. Prendergast, pastor; Rev. M. A. Mullin and Rev. William Egan.

St. Mary, Fourth Street, above Spruce. Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, D.D., pastor; Rev. Joseph Kelly.

St. Mary Magdalene di Pazzi, Marriott Street, above Seventh. Rev. Antonio Isoleri, appointed missionary.

St. Michael, Second and Jefferson Streets. Very Rev. Charles P. O'Connor, D.D., pastor; assistants, Rev. M. J. Lawlor, Rev. James E. Cleary, Patrick J. Tierney.

St. Patrick, Twentieth Street, below Locust. Rev. J. E. Mulholland, pastor; Rev. T. W. Power, Rev. Charles Vandergrift, Rev. L. V. McCabe.

St. Paul, Christian Street, above Ninth. Very Rev. Maurice A. Walsh, V.G., pastor. Rev. William Walsh, Rev. R. F. Hannagan, Rev. Walter P. Gough, assistants.

St. Peter, Fifth Street and Girard Avenue. Redemptorist Fathers; assistants, Rev. Joseph Wirth, C.SS.R., Rev. Joseph Hovestadt, C.SS.R., Rev. John B. Hotz, C.SS.R., Rev. Matthias Kuborn, Rev. Louis Dolch, Rev. T. A. Timmer, Rev. Leonard Lentsch, Rev. Peter Ewald, C.SS.R.

St. Philip de Neri, Queen Street, above Second. Rev. N. Cantwell, Rev. H. McGlynn, Rev. James Trainor, Rev. Francis Trainor.

St. Stephen, Nicetown. Rev. William McLaughlin.

St. Teresa, Broad and Catharine Streets. Rev. Hugh Lane, Rev. Thomas Toner, Rev. P. Beresford, Rev. Henry Hesson.

St. Veronica, Second and Butler Streets. Rev. William Power.

St. Vincent de Paul, Price and Evans Streets. Rev. P. V. Byrne, C.M., Rev. J. P. Neck, C.M., Rev. J. J. Hennelly, C.M.

St. Vincent, corner Ash and Bocklus Streets, Tacony. Rev. G. J. Freude, Rev. J. Scheld.

St. Vincent Orphan Asylum. Rev. G. J. Freude.

THE METHODISTS.

The first Methodist society in Philadelphia was formed in 1768, probably under the administration of Capt. Webb, who was a British quartermaster in Albany, N. Y. The first class consisted of seven persons. At first the meetings were held near the drawbridge which then spanned Dock Creek at Front Street on the Delaware, and the services were conducted in a sail-loft, the use of which was obtained from a sail-maker whose name was Croft. This was the date of the organization of the first society. Some thirty years before George Whitefield, so well known for his fervor and eloquence, had visited Philadelphia and had produced a profound impression. He had gathered around him a number of earnest Presbyterian ministers, who assisted him in his revival meetings. So great was the effect that it was represented that the theatres were closed, and "all books except such as treated of religion were unsalable." In a few months, however, Whitefield died in England, and no further effort was made at that time to establish Methodist services. Some, however, who remembered Whitefield, were favorably disposed toward Mr. Wesley's ministers when they subsequently arrived. Dr. Wrangel, also a Swedish missionary, who had labored in Philadelphia, on his return to Europe, advised his friends in Philadelphia to attend the meetings of Mr. Wesley's ministers, should they arrive, and a few of his followers at once united with the society. Worship was held in the sail-loft which occupied the spot where the building Nos. 248 and 250 South Water Street now stands, until the fall of 1769, when Messrs. Boardman and Pilmore were sent by Mr. Wesley to preach in New York and Philadelphia. Mr. Pilmore began by preaching on the State-House steps on Chestnut Street, and afterward addressed large audiences on the race-ground, in what was called Centre Square. In a letter to Wesley, he informs him that the congregation numbered about one hundred. The society, however, remained small, as in 1771, when Francis Asbury arrived, there were only between thirty and forty members in the city.

In November, 1769, an unfinished building, which had been commenced by some members of the German Reformed Church of St. George, and who had become largely indebted, was sold at public sale. It was purchased by a gentleman who, a few days afterward, conveyed it to the Methodist Society for six hundred and fifty pounds, Pennsylvania currency. Though unfinished, religious services were immediately held in this building, which for years had no other name than the preaching-house, though afterward it was named St. George's, and has been so officially recognized ever since. It was not only the first Methodist Church edifice in Philadelphia, but is to-day the only church edifice belonging to Methodism in the United States now standing that was erected before the commencement of the present century. When Methodism was thus introduced, the leading churches of other denominations had been occupying the territory, some of them for nearly one hundred years. The Churchmen, Friends, Presbyterians, German Reformed, and Baptists were comparatively strong. The progress of the first church was very slow, as in a few years the excitement of the Revolution became great, and during the occupancy of the city by the British troops St. George's Church was used as a riding-school for cavalry. After the Revolution closed, in 1783, the society was still small; its members, however, though few, were very earnest, and a number of remarkable conversions took place. Though the congregations were weak, some noted men occasionally attended. A note in John Adams' diary, in

CAPT. THOMAS WEBB.

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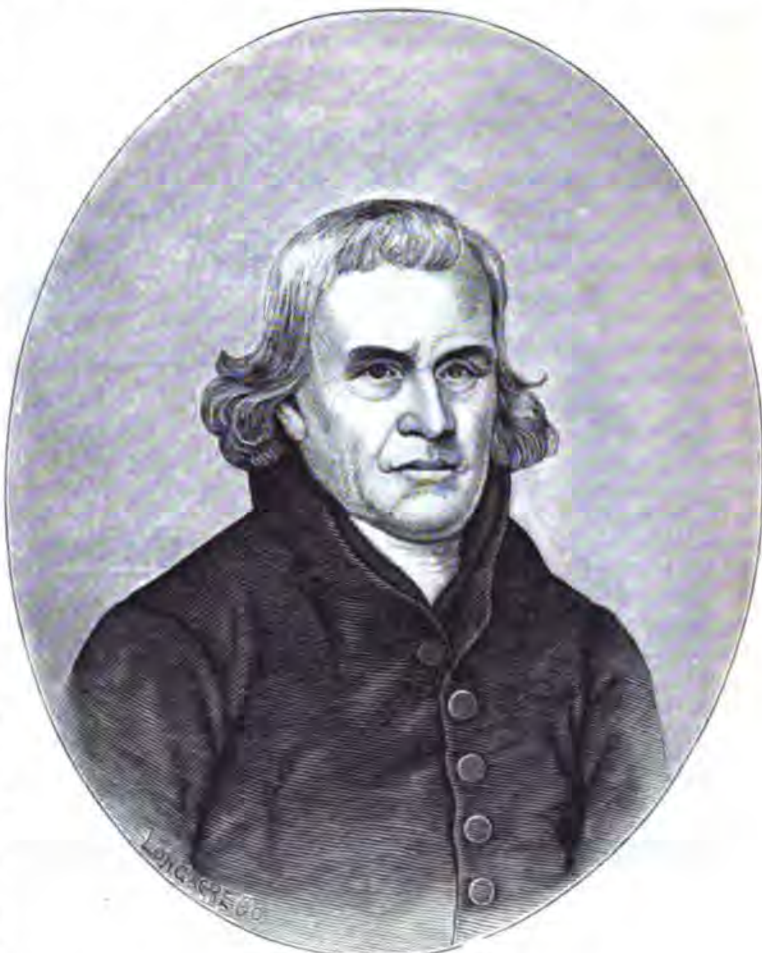
1774, speaks highly of Capt. Webb's "fluent and eloquent preaching." The opposition excited, however, was strong. Pamphlets against Methodism were published, and most extravagant denunciations were made. In October, 1771, Francis Asbury, who had been sent as a missionary by Mr. Wesley, arrived in Philadelphia. He was the apostle of Methodism in America. Though he had been preceded by several excellent ministers, no one had attempted a thorough organization until he came. He not only labored in Philadelphia and New York, but traveled extensively along the Atlantic seaboard. In July, 1773, the first annual Conference was held in this city. It was attended by nine ministers, of whom only six took appointments, but circuits were organized covering a large part of New Jersey, Delaware, Eastern Pennsylvania, and Maryland, with the city of New York. At that time one hundred and eighty members were reported for Philadelphia, but it should be remarked that this included not only the city, but all the members in Eastern Pennsylvania and in Northern Delaware.

In May, 1774, the second annual Conference was also held in this city, showing a membership which had almost doubled during the year, though the largest increase had been in Maryland and Virginia. In 1775 the third Conference in Philadelphia was held, showing a like increase throughout the country generally, though the growth in Philadelphia was not so large. The excitement of the Revolutionary war scattered their membership, and, as has been said, greatly retarded the work. In 1776, owing to the unsettled state of Philadelphia, the annual Conference was held in Baltimore. Subsequently it convened in that city, and in other places farther south until the war closed. At that time ministerial changes were very frequent. Mr. Pilmore, Mr. Boardman, Mr. Shadford, Mr. Asbury, and others, successively occupied the pulpit. All of these, however, left the country shortly after the Revolutionary war commenced and returned to England, excepting Mr. Asbury, who remained steadily attached to the fortunes of American Methodism. Earnest young men were, however, admitted to the ministry, and during the whole period of excitement the number of ministers and of members constantly increased throughout the Middle States. The membership in Philadelphia, however, was greatly diminished. In 1776 it was 137; in 1777, 96; in 1779, 89; in 1780, 90; and in 1783, 119. After the war, in 1784, the number rose to four hundred and seventy, but this embraced the places adjacent to the city also. St. George's Church, which had been occupied by the British cavalry, was left in a very bad condition. The congregation was weak. A rough board floor was put down on the east end of the church, while the other half was an earthen floor. The seats were rough, and the pulpit was simply a square box. In 1779, Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, a native of Maryland, a minister of great earnestness, was sent by Bishop Asbury to build up St. George's, and the bishop himself, two years afterward, raised two hundred and seventy pounds for the ground-rent, and four years subsequently raised five hundred pounds more to assist the church. During all this time the members of the Methodist society labored under peculiar difficulties. They were considered simply as members of a society;



BISHOP FRANCIS ASBURY.

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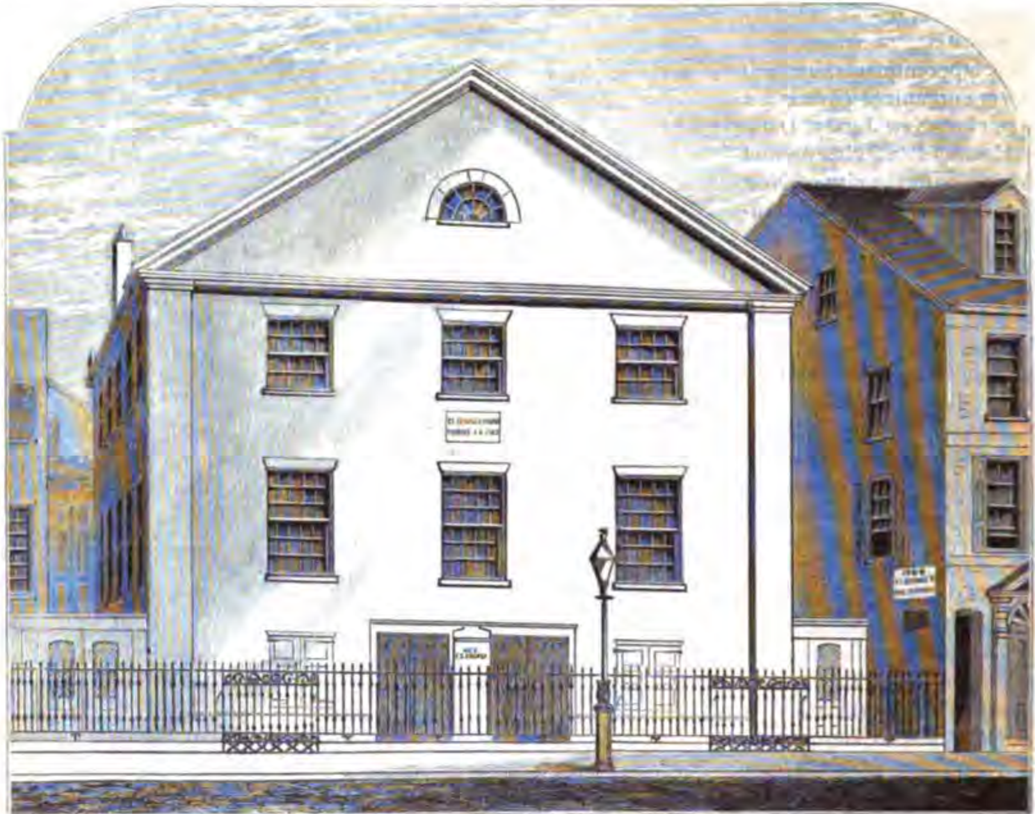
their ministers were not ordained, and the members went to other churches for baptism and the Lord's Supper; they held a membership in the Episcopalian or Presbyterian, or some other church, as well as being members of a Methodist society. During the war some of the ministers of the Church of England left the country. Other churches also were greatly disorganized, and the Methodists were anxious to be organized into a separate church, that they might have the benefit of the ordinances from time to time. This state of things continued until 1784, when Mr. Wesley, assisted by some ministers of the Church of England, ordained Dr. Thomas Coke as superintendent or bishop of the Methodist society, and requested that Francis Asbury should be associated with him. Dr. Coke, accompanied by Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, sailed from England for the United States, and Bishops Coke and Asbury first met in November, 1784, at Barratt's chapel, Delaware. Messengers were sent out to request the attendance of all the ministers in Baltimore at Christmas to hold a Conference and determine various matters in reference to the organization of the Church. Mr. Wesley had prepared a copy of his minutes and directions to ministers, and he also prepared a Sunday service and a liturgy abridged from that of the Church of England, which he deemed suitable for the American churches.

The famous Christmas Conference in Baltimore commenced on the evening of Dec. 24, 1784, and closed Jan. 2, 1785. At this session the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, and the outlines of the present Discipline were adopted. Francis Asbury was elected as joint superintendent or bishop with Bishop Coke, and was ordained by him, and a number of the ministers were elected deacons, and a few elected as elders. At this time the number of ministers amounted to eighty-three, and the membership to fourteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight. The Conference also took incipient measures to establish a school at Abingdon, Md., to be called Cokesbury College, and Bishops Asbury and Coke were very earnest in making collections for it. It opened under favorable auspices, and was doing great good, but in ten years the building was destroyed, probably by an incendiary. Another building was secured in Baltimore, but it was subsequently destroyed, accidentally, by fire. The early ministers, though they met in Maryland, were of one mind in reference to slavery, and in their minutes said, "We do hold in the deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery."



ST. GEORGE'S METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The membership of St. George's continued to in-

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crease, and about 1789 a prayer- and class-meeting was established in the southern part of the city, which developed, in 1790, into a separate church, which was called Ebenezer. The building was of brick, of small dimensions, and of the plainest style. It was located on the east side of Second Street, between Catharine and Queen Streets. This building gave way, in 1813, to a larger one, on Christian Street, between Third and Fourth, and this again was rebuilt in 1851. In its cemetery a number of the earlier ministers rest in peace.

In 1789 a book concern, or publishing-house, was projected by Bishop Asbury and Rev. John Dickens, and a few small publications were issued and put on sale. This enterprise started on six hundred dollars, borrowed capital, but so enlarged that in 1804 it had accumulated a capital of forty-five thousand dollars. The prevalence of the yellow fever and its ravages in Philadelphia a few years previous had produced an unfavorable feeling as to the location of Philadelphia, and in 1804 the book concern was moved to New York. In 1796 an association was organized to aid in the support of superannuated ministers, called the chartered fund, and was located in Philadelphia.

R Allen

During the early years of the church the colored people worshiped in the gallery of St. George's, but in 1794 a separate church was organized by Richard Allen and others, who were men of more than ordinary ability. Some difference of opinion took place between the colored and the white churches. The colored members complained of inequality and of injustice. Their church, however, continued in ecclesiastical relations with the other churches until 1816, when it became an independent church, and organized with other churches what is known as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and elected Richard Allen as bishop. In 1796 a second colored church was organized in Brown Street, between Fourth and Fifth, and was called Zoar. Its membership has remained in connection with the regular church to this time, and it now occupies a site on Melon Street, near Twelfth. This secession affected considerably the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. In 1815 the white membership was reported at seventeen hundred and twenty-five, and the colored membership at thirteen hundred and seventy-one. After the secession took place, while the white membership had slightly increased, the colored membership had been reduced to seventy-five, showing that almost the entire colored membership had seceded from the church. While there may have been personal causes and individual grievances, the secession arose out of that preference which each race has for an association with its own people. Up to that time Methodism had not fully recognized the importance or propriety of giving a colored pastorate or separate church organization to the individual colored churches. From that time to the present the great majority of the colored members of Methodist Churches in this city have affiliated with the African Church. A secession also occurred in New York, and formed what was termed the Zion Church, also claiming to be Methodist Episcopal, and one or two organizations of that order have for many years existed in Philadelphia. In the mean time in the regular Methodist Episcopal Church new churches have been established, and there are now some six colored churches belonging to the regular organization. A small organization, also, known as the Union African Methodist Church, has existed as an independent body.

While new churches were established from time to time, what was termed the circuit system still prevailed in the city, and for many years the ministers alternated between the different churches. But in 1800 a movement was made to establish a second church in the vicinity of St. George's, fifty members withdrawing and renting the north end of Whitefield's Academy. At first this organization was regarded as independent, but was subsequently approved by the Conference, and was known as Union Church. They purchased the southern part of the academy in 1815, and the edifice was rebuilt in 1833. The charter of St. George's Church allowed them to organize other congregations, and at first they acquired title to the Ebenezer and subsequently to the Nazareth and Salem Church properties, and owned a cemetery lot on Crown Street, near Vine. The lot being too small, they bought a burying-ground

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on Sixteenth and Coates Streets, where Hedding Methodist Church was afterward erected.

A Methodist Episcopal Church in Germantown was built about the beginning of the century, but a society had been founded some years previously. Bishop Asbury preached there as early as May, 1773, and Capt. Webb and others delivered sermons in the open air, "once under an apple-tree." The venerable Henry Boehm says of them, in 1802, that there was a small class formed, originally in a school-house, but from which they were soon excluded. He drew up a subscription, heading it with his yearly salary, which was then eighty pounds, and secured a sufficient amount to buy a lot and erect a small house. This church, though now included in the city, was at that time connected with the Bristol Circuit, which extended from the Northern Liberties beyond Easton. The ministers traveled over that immense area on horseback, visiting the societies about once a month, the other religious services being conducted by local preachers, exhorters, and class-leaders. The Kensington Church, in the northern part of the city, was built in 1804. This church was called the Old Brick. It was under the control of St. George's Church, but was deeded to separate trustees in 1809. After these earliest churches were founded there came a period of comparative inactivity, and for some ten years but little was done in church-building. The only exception was that the Union Church purchased a location and founded the church of St. Thomas on Tenth Street below Market. The attendance, however, was but small, and the church was finally sold.

In 1816 commenced a new era of church extension, and St. John's, Nazareth, and Salem were founded, and shortly afterward St. James and Holmesburg. Again a period of inactivity followed for ten years, when, in 1829, Asbury, in West Philadelphia, was built, and from 1832 to 1834 there followed in quick succession Fifth Street, St. Paul's, Paul Street, Frankford, Mount Zion, Manayunk, Bustleton, Haddington, Somerton, Western, Bethel, and Front Street. The spirit of church-building continued, and, in 1836, Mount Carmel was founded; 1837, Emory and Green Street; 1838, a small colored church called Wesley; and, in 1840, Cohocksink and Milestown. Since that period the progress in church-building has kept pace with the population, until now, in the area of the city, embracing the county, there are nearly one hundred church edifices belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, valued at nearly three millions of dollars. In 1881, the membership, as shown in the minutes, was twenty-six thousand one hundred and eighty-seven, and the number of Sunday-school scholars thirty-four thousand eight hundred and sixty-four. The growth, which is large, was never very rapid, but was steady in its increase, and was largely owing to the activity and efficiency of its early ministers and their successors. It is impossible to name in the limits of this article but a few of them. Ezekiel Cooper was one of the most remarkable men who especially labored for the progress of the church in Philadelphia, and was at one time spoken of most favorably by his brethren for the office of bishop. By his business skill he placed the Book Concern on advanced ground, and took a deep interest in all the enterprises of the church. A tablet was erected to his memory in front of St. George's Church. Dr. Thomas Sargent was also a distinguished minister, who filled many appointments, not only in Philadelphia, but in Baltimore and in Cincinnati. In one of the pulpits in the latter city he died. William Ryland was one of the finest orators, and was six times congressional chaplain. James Smith, John Emory, afterward bishop, Charles Pitman, Rusling, Bartine, Lybrand, Barnes, Durbin, Kennedy, and many others adorned the pulpit from time to time.

Under the supervision of many of the ministers there were occasionally remarkable and extensive revivals, wherein in a single church sometimes from four hundred to nine hundred persons were supposed to be converted. Henry Boehm, to whom we have alluded, who was the companion of Bishop Asbury, was the first to make arrangements for translating the Methodist discipline into German. The early members of the Methodist Churches were generally plain people, of but small means, and the early churches were remarkable for their simplicity and plainness, and all of them had free seats. In 1841 a number of the members associated together to build Trinity Church, which was erected in 1842, and was the first church of more modern architecture, and was for many years the chief centre of Methodistic wealth and influence. It was located on Eighth Street, but in the increase of business the site was abandoned, and, uniting with Sixteenth Street [Hedding], they erected a beautiful edifice on Mount Vernon near Fifteenth Street. Trinity was followed by the erection of a number of finer churches. The most commodious and beautiful structure is the Arch Street Church, at the corner of Broad. Though the Philadelphia Conference originally embraced Northern Pennsylvania and a large part of Western New York, as well as New Jersey and Delaware, with the Eastern Shore of Maryland, its bounds have been from time to time contracted by the erection of other Conferences, and now it embraces but a comparatively small territory in the southeastern part of Pennsylvania. The sessions of the Conference have been very frequently held in Philadelphia, and large audiences are always in attendance. In 1832 and in 1864 sessions of the General Conference were held in this city, and a large number of delegates from all parts of the Union were in attendance, and the General Conference of 1884 will be held here in the month of May.

The Philadelphia Conference about 1860 established a Conference Tract Society, and a small store

was opened for the circulation of tracts. In 1866 a building at 1018 Arch Street was purchased by the society, large subscriptions having been made by a number of gentlemen for the purpose. The lower rooms are occupied as book-stores, while the upper rooms are set apart for a bishop's office, for a historical society, and a hall in which preachers' meetings and other Methodistic associations are held. The room for the book-store is spacious and well arranged. At the General Conference of 1864 a board of church extension was established, and its office was located in Philadelphia. For some years it occupied rooms in the building owned by the Tract Society, but in 1878 erected a building at 1026 Arch Street, which is also large and commodious.

During the civil war a number of the ladies were associated together in benevolent work, preparing articles and sending aid to the soldiers at the front. At the close of the war, they turned their attention to other benevolent efforts, and founded a home for the aged. A large block of ground containing nearly six acres was purchased on Lehigh Avenue and Thirteenth Street, and a large and substantial building was erected. The property is now valued at about two hundred thousand dollars, and is wholly free from debt. In 1880 the ladies also took in hand the building of an orphanage. A property was temporarily rented, moneys were collected, and subsequently Mr. J. M. Bennett tendered two acres of ground on the north of the park, with a building sufficiently commodious to furnish provision for about fifty orphans. To this foundation he afterward added twenty acres of ground adjacent. As a benevolent institution it is now in operation.

While the Methodist Episcopal Church has thus grown, there have been several secessions from it, and other branches of Methodism have been established. Allusion has already been made to the African Church, which embraced Bethel, Union, Allen, Frankford, Germantown, and West Philadelphia Churches, the African Zion Church, and the African Union Church.

There was also a secession in 1829. A number of prominent members united to form a Methodist Protestant Church, omitting from their discipline the episcopacy and presiding eldership, and adding lay delegation. For a time the body seemed to flourish, and several churches were erected. All of these, however, have since either disappeared or reunited with the parent body. A small branch, known as the Free Methodists, have opened one or two churches with comparatively small membership. In addition to the work among the English and colored population, in 1846 services were commenced in the German language, and there are now two churches, composed of a membership exclusively German. The English-speaking portion of the Methodist Episcopal Church is in connection with the Philadelphia Conference, the colored with the Delaware Conference, and the German with the East German Conference.

The following table presents the names, date of erection, and the number of members, embracing probationers, together with the value of church property and the number of Sunday-school scholars, as shown in the minutes of 1881:

Date.	Churches.	Members.	S. S. Scholars.	Church Property.
1769.	St. George's	275	260	$39,000
1790.	Ebenezer[1]	504	521	60,000
1796.	Zoar (colored)	365	355	18,000
1797.	Germantown, Haines Street[2]	564	702	36,000
1801.	Union[3]	227	160	50,000
1804.	Kensington[4]	595	925	45,000
1816.	St. John's[5]	790	640	38,000
1816.	Nazareth[6]	425	291	40,000
1816.	Salem[7]	440	260	20,000
1818.	St. James'[8]	140	184	18,500
1819.	Holmesburg[9]	87	135	9,000
1829.	Asbury	225	388	19,800
1832.	Fifth Street	400	437	31,000
1833.	St. Paul's[10]	580	508	30,000
1833.	Frankford, Paul Street	474	483	31,000
1833.	Manayunk, Mount Zion[11]	370	503	48,000
1833.	Bustleton[12]	140	182	16,500
1834.	Haddington	126	194	17,000
1834.	Somerton	92	100	5,000
1834.	Western	260	140	65,000
1834.	Bethel[13]	751	406	90,000
1834.	Front Street[14]	200	221	45,000
1836.	Mount Carmel	127	218	24,000
1837.	Emory[15]	193	200	15,000
1837.	Green Street[16]	600	390	50,000
1838.	Wesley (colored)	100	116	2,000
1840.	Cohocksink[17]	645	629	35,000
1840.	Milestown	110	140	8,500
1841.	Sanctuary	140	105	22,000
1841.	Wharton Street	1186	1506	47,000
1841.	Trinity[18]	369	328	60,000
1843.	Twelfth Street	503	512	47,000
1844.	Chestnut Hill	66	102	8,000
1847.	Port Richmond	200	300	17,000
1847.	Manayunk, Ebenezer	364	400	24,000
1848.	Fletcher[19]	233	502	55,000
1848.	Summerfield	453	859	22,000
1850.	Bridesburg	140	235	9,500
1851.	Falls of Schuylkill	120	175	20,000
1853.	Christ Church[20]	232	488	60,000
1854.	Broad Street	375	650	30,000
1854.	Tabernacle	529	576	40,000
1855.	Eleventh Street	230	225	30,000
1855.	Pitman[21]	140	194	35,000
1855.	Central	461	334	30,000
1856.	Germantown, St. Stephen's	359	301	35,000
1856.	Hancock Street	241	319	21,000
1856.	Scott	334	523	40,000
1857.	Messiah[22]	220	390	22,500
1858.	Twentieth Street[23]	476	633	55,000
1858.	Twenty-eighth Street[24]	57	200	8,900
1858.	Roxborough, Ridge Avenue	74	137	16,000
1859.	Paschallville	153	194	18,000
1859.	Siloam[25]	587	1660	50,000
1860.	Spring Garden	490	377	90,000
1860.	Nineteenth Street	333	620	40,000
1860.	Fortieth Street	216	195	40,000
1861.	Girard Avenue (German)	104	85	22,500
1862.	Arch Street	557	467	260,000
1863.	Twenty ninth Street[26]	100	225	15,000
1863.	Christian Street[27]	129	251	22,000
1866.	Centenary[28]	425	700	30,000
1867.	Cambria	53	200	2,500
1867.	Olivet	62	90	1,500
1868.	Fitzwater Street	136	200	22,000
1869.	Memorial[29]	400	752	17,000

[1] Rebuilt in 1818 and in 1851.
[2] Rebuilt 1823 and 1858.
[3] Rebuilt 1833.
[4] Rebuilt 1855.
[5] Rebuilt 1850.
[6] Rebuilt 1827.
[7] Rebuilt 1819 and 1841.
[8] Rebuilt 1864.
[9] Rebuilt 1874.
[10] Rebuilt 1837.
[11] Rebuilt 1842.
[12] Rebuilt 1868.
[13] Rebuilt 1844 and 1874.
[14] Rebuilt 1857.
[15] Rebuilt 1852.
[16] Rebuilt 1854.
[17] Rebuilt 1857.
[18] Consolidated with Hedding, still called Trinity.
[19] Rebuilt 1873.
[20] Rebuilt 1870.
[21] Rebuilt 1873.
[22] Rebuilt 1875.
[23] Rebuilt 1871.
[24] Rebuilt 1871; society disbanded.
[25] Rebuilt 1868.
[26] Rebuilt 1875.
[27] Rebuilt 1874
[28] Rebuilt 1874.
[29] Rebuilt 1876.

Date.	Churches.	Members.	S. S. Scholars.	Church Property.
1869.	Franklinville	108	174	$4,000
1869.	Epworth	98	150	3,000
1870.	Roxborough, Central	200	262	20,000
1870.	Frankford Avenue	115	150	22,500
1871.	Tacony	75	150	2,500
1872.	Lehigh Avenue	90	154	5,0:0
1872.	York Street (German)	34	76	8,000
1873.	Cumberland	490	1193	45,000
1873.	Park Avenue	283	430	45,000
1873.	Grace	581	601	110,000
1873.	North Penn (colored)	56	59	1,700
1873.	North Broad Street [1]	47	208	2,000
1874.	East Montgomery Avenue	293	541	40,000
1874.	Eighteenth Street	244	450	30,000
1874.	Bethany	113	350	9,000
1874.	Belmont	282	334	4,000
1874.	Kingsley [2]	107	100	14,000
1875.	Tasker	114	.....	5,000
1875.	Frankford (colored)	36	30	800
1875.	Germantown (colored)	66	60	1,700
1875.	Orthodox Street	137	340	2,000
1875.	Sepviva	50	200	......
1875.	Spring Garden Mission [3]	231	643	18,500
1876.	Frankford, Central	315	553	18,000
1876.	Aramingo	46	120	3,000
1876.	Mount Airy	.....	.....	3,500
	West Park Avenue	166	435	12,000
	Norris Square	160	601	15,000
1881.	Tioga	53	125	10,750
	Columbia Avenue	.....	.....	......
	Total	26,057	34,537	$2,782,641

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Churches.	Members.	S. S. Scholars.	Church Property.
Bethel	1647	434	$70,000
Union	583	317	22,100
Allen	155	225	10,000
Frankford	196	137	15,000
Germantown	167	87	4,500
West Philadelphia	155	180	5,500
Free Methodists	48	50	7,000
African Zion Church	.....	.....	......

Thus in a little more than a hundred years the Methodism of the city has grown from an humble commencement to become one of the largest, if not the largest, Protestant body in the number of its churches, the number of its members, and of its Sabbath-school scholars, within the bounds of the city of Philadelphia.

Much of the present growth and prosperity of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this city is due to the gifted and highly respected Bishop Matthew Simpson. Bishop Simpson is the son of James Simpson and Sarah Tingley, and was born in Cadiz, Ohio, June 21, 1811. James Simpson, the father, was a native of the county of Tyrone, Ireland, and in 1793, being then thirteen years of age, left his native country in company with his parents, and landed in Baltimore after a three months' passage, during which the family had been captured by the British, and had lost all their possessions. They first settled in Huntingdon County, Pa., then went to Pittsburgh, and subsequently to Cadiz, where James was married. The latter became a merchant; was associated for a time with Mr. Wrenshall, grandfather of Mrs. Gen. Grant, and finally died in 1812, in Pittsburgh, to which place he had removed for medical attendance. James Simpson's mother belonged to an old Scotch family. His father had served in the British army, and the family on that side had been Presbyterians, but Bishop Simpson's grandmother heard John Wesley preach in Ireland, and from that period became a Wesleyan Methodist. Sarah Tingley, the bishop's mother, was the daughter of Jeremiah Tingley, of New Jersey, a Revolutionary soldier, and belonged to a very old family of French and English ancestry which early settled in America. A near relative was Rev. Mr. Manning, one of the early presidents of Brown University. Besides Matthew there were two other children, both daughters; one married a Methodist clergyman, and the other George McCullough. After the death of James Simpson at Pittsburgh, his family returned to Ohio. In 1828, after having been for some time at Cadiz Academy, where, partly under the care of Rev. Mr. McIntosh and Dr. McBean, he made considerable progress in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the modern languages, he attended the Madison College, Pa., where he reviewed the course in mathematics and read Hebrew, etc., and was appointed tutor, succeeding Judge Moses Hampton, of Pittsburgh. He soon returned home, however, studied medicine, and in 1833 practiced a short time. Being urged to enter the ministry, he was admitted in the summer of 1833 into the Pittsburgh Conference, and was given an appointment on the circuit in which he had been brought up, together with one year's time in which to arrange his personal affairs. At the end of eight months he relinquished his secular business altogether, and in 1834 was stationed in Pittsburgh, where he remained two years. He then removed to Monongahela City, where he remained until 1837, being in the mean time elected vice-president of Alleghany College and professor of Natural Science. In the spring of 1839 he was elected president of the Indiana Asbury University, which office he filled until 1848, declining in the interim the presidency and a life trusteeship of what was then Woodward College in Cincinnati.

In 1844 he was a member of the General Conference when the great discussion took place which led to the separation of the Methodist Churches North and South. In 1848 he removed to Cincinnati for four years, having been chosen editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*. At the Boston Conference, in 1852, he was chosen bishop, there being then but three active bishops,—Waugh, Morris, and Janes. Previously thereto he had declined the presidency of the Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill., and also of Dickinson College. He was elected a delegate to the Irish and British Conferences by the General Conference at Indianapolis in 1856, and in 1857 attended the Irish Conference at Cork and the British at Liverpool. From there he went to Berlin as a delegate to the Evangelical Alliance, and then traveled extensively through Europe, Asia (including the Holy Land), and Egypt, from which tour he returned early in 1858 so debilitated as to be unable to preach for a year. In 1859, removing from Pittsburgh to Evanston,

[1] Alleghany Avenue. [2] Now Eden. [3] Now Emmanuel.

M. Simpson

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Ill., he accepted the presidency of the Garrett Biblical Institute. The question of establishing theological schools as a part of Methodist polity was then before the church, and Bishop Simpson accepted the presidency of this institute to give force to his own opinions on the subject in favor of such establishment, which he expressed by speech and in writing, thus doing much to fix the permanent policy of the church, now settled in accordance with his views. Bishop Simpson was an intimate friend of Secretary Stanton, both having attended the same congregation at Pittsburgh where the latter went to practice law, and early in the late war, through him and President Lincoln, he gained an inside view of the mighty questions pressing upon the country. He was among the first to advise the emancipation of the slaves, though Mr. Lincoln then objected, and upon being asked if he would arm them, he replied that there was plenty of spading and hauling to do, and they were fully as able to work for those freeing them as for their masters. Early in 1862 he went to California and Oregon, by the way of the Isthmus of Panama, and upon his return by the overland route found that President Lincoln had already issued his preparatory emancipation proclamation. In the fall of 1863 he delivered an address before the Christian Commission at the Academy of Music, Philadelphia. This afterward became his famous lecture, "The Future of Our Country," which was repeated in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and other cities. The first Sunday after the capture of Fort Sumter he preached in the Chicago "wigwam" upon the issues involved in the conflict and its settlement. He was intimately acquainted with President Lincoln, and the day after his second inauguration preached in the capitol, and rode from the building with Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln. He never again saw the President alive, but after his death, at Mrs. Lincoln's request, he made the prayer before the funeral procession started from the White House and also delivered the address at Springfield, Ill., as the body was laid in the tomb.

Early in President Johnson's administration he declined Secretary Stanton's invitation to go South and study the condition of the freedmen with a view to the establishment of a freedman's bureau, on the ground that his church allegiance was his first duty; but he agreed to give the matter his attention for a few months, and recommended Gen. O. O. Howard to the Secretary. In May, 1868, he made the opening prayer at the Republican National Convention at Chicago, which nominated Grant and Colfax. In June, 1870, he went to Europe to complete the work suspended by the death of Bishop Kingsley, and while there attended the German, Swedish, Norwegian, and English Conferences. He was urged by President Grant, whose acquaintance he had made during the war at Nashville, whither he had gone to organize churches, to become one of the San Domingo commissioners. He declined, as his episcopal duties then required his entire time. In January, 1874, he went to Mexico to assist in planting missions. In 1875 he again attended several European Conferences. He made the prayer at the breaking of the ground for the Centennial Buildings, and again at the opening, May 10, 1876. In September, 1881, he preached the opening sermon at the Ecumenical Council held at the City Road Chapel, London, which was built by Mr. Wesley. In the same month, at a large meeting of Englishmen and Americans at Exeter Hall, held on account of President Garfield's death, and at the invitation of Minister Lowell, he delivered an address, closing with the sentiment, "God bless the queen for her womanly sympathy and queenly courtesy." At the end of the address the audience rose to their feet and cheered the sentiment and the speaker. He preached about this time in many localities throughout England and Scotland, and in some parts of Ireland. His time has been almost wholly devoted to the advancement of his church. Besides assisting in the building of numbers of churches, he helped establish the Pittsburgh Female College and Beaver Seminary and College in 1853 and 1854, and has aided a number of literary enterprises. He has also delivered a large number of addresses and lectures in this country and Europe, among which were a course of lectures in Yale College on preaching, and several sermons, in 1882 and 1883, before the students of Cornell College. As an author he has contributed to Methodist literature "A Hundred Years of Methodism" and "Lectures on Preaching." He was also the editor of the "Cyclopædia of Methodism," published by L. H. Everts & Brother, of Philadelphia, which is the standard authority in the church. It was the first undertaking of the kind by any church in the United States, though other denominations have since issued similar publications.

Not only is the Methodist Church indebted to the ability and energy of Bishop Simpson for this most compact and complete record of the church, but those of different religious beliefs who have since undertaken in like manner to prepare compendiums of their own church history have paid, in so doing, a silent though willing tribute to the man who led the way. Bishop Simpson is probably more widely known in this country than any other prominent member of any church, and not alone because of his leadership as a Methodist. While always devoting his time and talents to that cause which in his youth he embraced with his whole heart, he has taken a sincere and practical interest in all that pertains to the temporal welfare of his country. During and since the late war his suggestions and advice, often sought though seldom offered, have always had just and great weight with those high in official position. Bishop Simpson chose a profession which he has honored, and which has honored him, and has at all times exerted an influence that has been far-reaching in its effects and benefits.

Early in his ministry Bishop Simpson married Miss Ellen H. Verner (who is still living), daughter of one of the oldest citizens of Pittsburgh. They have had three sons and four daughters. Two of the former are dead, one living only five years. The survivor is Matthew Verner Simpson, assistant city solicitor of Philadelphia. Of the four daughters, two are at home, one is the wife of Col. James R. Weaver, consul-general at Vienna, and some time since consul at Antwerp, and the other married Rev. C. W. Buoy, now pastor of a church in Philadelphia.

In 1884 there are the following Methodist organizations in the city not connected with the regular church:

African Methodist Episcopal.—African Methodist Episcopal Book Concern and Publishing House, and office of *The Christian Recorder*, *Child's Recorder*, and the *Monthly African Methodist Episcopal Magazine*, 631 Pine Street. B. T. Tanner, D.D, editor; Theodore Gould, publisher.
Allen Chapel, Lombard Street, above Nineteenth. Rev. C. T. Shaffer.
Bethel, Centre, Germantown. Rev. L. C. Chambers.
Bethel, Sixth Street, above Lombard. Rev. C. C. Felts.
Campbell Chapel, Paul and Oxford Streets, Frankford. Rev. Thomas A. Cuff.
Little Wesley (Mission), Hurst Street. Rev. George W. Gibbs.
Morris Brown Mission, Vineyard Street, near Poplar. Rev. R. H. Coleman.
Mount Pisgah, Locust Street, above Fortieth. Rev. A. A. Robinson.
Union, Fairmount Avenue, below Fifth Street. Rev. T. G. Stewart, D.D.
Zion Mission, Seventh Street, below Dickinson. Rev. J. E. Rawlin.
Methodist Episcopal (Zion African).—Frankford Mission. Rev. T. H. Slater.
Trinity Chapel, St. Mark Chapel, Mount Olive Mission. Rev. T. H. Slater.
Wesley, Lombard Street, below Sixth. Rev. M. H. Ross.
Free Methodist.—First Church, Master Street, below Twenty-third. Rev. George Eakins.
Twelfth Street, corner Twelfth and Dickinson Streets.
West Philadelphia Mission, corner Market and Thirty-seventh Streets.
Methodist Protestant.—St. Luke, Broad Street and Germantown Avenue. Rev. W. R. Graham.
Independent Methodist.—J. Baker Steward, President.
Ridge Avenue, Twenty-fifth Street and Ridge Avenue. Rev. J. Baker Steward.
Tabor, Eighteenth and Dickinson Streets. Rev. Joseph Duckworth.
West Philadelphia Mission. Supplied by Rev. Chilton Dean.

THE CHRISTIANS.

The sect so well known in the West as Christians (the first "i," long accent), and now numbering over seventy-five Conferences in the United States and Canada, sprang from a union of three seceding bodies,—one from the Methodist Episcopal Church, Christmas, 1793, under Rev. James O'Kelly, of South Carolina, who refused to accept an episcopacy; another from the Baptists, under Rev. Abner Jones, of Vermont, in September, 1800; and the third from the Presbyterians, under Rev. Barton W. Stone, of Kentucky, in 1801, and greatly enlarged and extended after 1812 by the preaching of Rev. Alexander Campbell. The first schism mentioned began with the name Republican Methodists, but soon gave this up for the terms, Disciples of Christ, the Christian Connection, and Christians. The common point of agreement was the adoption of the New Testament as their only code, and they have all now adopted the Baptist doctrine of immersion. In many regards, however, the usages of the Methodist Church seem to prevail. This interesting departure may be studied in Baird's "Religion in America," in McClintock and Strong's "Encyclopædia," in the "Life of Bishops Coke and Asbury," and the reports of the Conference of 1793. The sect is strong in Tennessee and Kentucky, and in parts of the newer States and Territories, having, for instance, two colleges in California.

By the preaching of Rev. Elias Smith the congregation in Philadelphia was founded. He was born at Lyme, Conn., June 17, 1769, taught school in early life, and commenced preaching in 1790. He was ordained as a Baptist minister in 1792, and settled at Woburn, Mass., until September, 1801. He embraced the doctrine taught by Dr. Abner Jones about the beginning of 1803. In the course of subsequent evangelist labors he came to Philadelphia, and by his preaching there is reason to believe that the Christian Church was established there.

The foundation of the Mount Zion Christian Church in Philadelphia dates back at least as far as the year 1807. The congregation must have been formed before the 5th of August, 1807, at which time we find that a piece of ground on Sixth Street had been taken up. Robert Ferguson was the owner, and by a declaration of trust made to Jacob Stintzman, Thomas Wallace, and Robert Punchan, the trustees, he declared that he would hold the lots for such uses as they would appoint. There were four of them on the east side of Sixth Street, together making a width of eighty-three feet on that street, south of Christian Street, and one hundred and thirty-six feet six inches on Christian Street. On the 29th of June, 1809, Ferguson gave a deed to the Mount Zion Christian Church. This purchase was supplemented by others a few years afterward, so that the property of the church embraced a considerable piece of ground. James Enue, by deed of Nov. 15, 1809, conveyed to the trustees two lots on Christian Street, east of the ground purchased of Ferguson, each twenty feet front, running southward one hundred and one feet six inches, and a lot on Marriott's Lane, east of Sixth, twenty feet front, running north one hundred and two feet six inches, and adjoining the other lot. On the same day Joseph Marble conveyed to the trustees a lot at the corner of Sixth Street and Marriott's Lane, running along the latter one hundred feet four inches. Andrew McCalla, on the 20th of February, 1812, conveyed to Thomas Wallace, Israel Boake, John Hunter, Solomon Morgan, and John Newman, deacons or trustees of Christian Church, Mount Zion, a lot on the east side of Sixth Street, north of Marriott's Lane; and Mary Hering, of Bath, England, by deed of April 24th, conveyed another lot on the east side of Sixth Street, north of Marriott's Lane. By these conveyances the congregation became owner of "

ning one hundred and fifty-six feet on Christian Street, and extending through to Marriott's Lane west of Sixth Street.

The congregation built a frame meeting-house of one story at the southeast corner of Sixth and Christian Streets. In 1809 it was incorporated under the title, Christian Church, Mount Zion, of Southwark. The trustees then were Thomas Wallace, chairman; Andrew McCalla, secretary; Israel Boake, treasurer; John Newman and Solomon Morgan, deacons; and John Hunter, Jacob Lawrence, Sr., Joshua Raybold, Robert Fanshaw, Michael Cooper, William Beament, and Edward McCrea. These gentlemen were of the following occupations: Thomas Wallace was a tailor, living at No. 373 South Second Street. Andrew McCalla, shoemaker, lived at No. 263 South Fourth Street. Israel Boake was a nailer, whose shop was in Beck's Alley, and who lived at No. 494 South Second Street. John Newman was keeper of a china-shop and cheap store at No. 387 South Front Street. Solomon Morgan was a grocer at No. 235 South Fourth Street. John Hunter, well known in Southwark and Moyamensing as "Squire" Hunter, was justice of the peace at No. 186 South Sixth Street. Joshua Raybold was constable for the district of Moyamensing. He afterward became a justice, succeeding Hunter. He was also clerk of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania from 1824 to 1829. He was father of Frederick A. Raybold, an eminent member of the Philadelphia bar. Jacob Lawrence, Sr., was a carter and resided at No. 494 South Second Street. Michael Cooper was at this time a tax-collector, and afterward a constable.

In April, 1810, "Elder Frederick Plummer, of the Christian Church, preached in the meeting-house at Christian Street, on Sunday, the 21st, and in the afternoon preached and baptized at the navy-yard, on the Delaware River."

It is believed that Rev. Mr. Smith, after various missionary visits, first came to Philadelphia as permanent pastor of the Christian Church in 1811, and returned to Portsmouth, N. H., in 1815. He was a busy man, and was active, during a long life, in moral and religious enterprises. He was the author of several books, religious essays, etc., and did a great deal of work in the periodical and newspaper which he projected and conducted. His works are as follows: "Clergyman's Looking-Glass," 1803; "History of Anti-Christ," 1803; *Christian's Magazine*, published quarterly from 1805 to 1807; "Sermons on the Prophecies," Exeter, 1808; *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, published weekly, from September, 1808, to September, 1817, at Portsmouth, N. H., Portland, Me., and Philadelphia (this paper, it is claimed, was the first religious paper published in the United States); "New Testament Dictionary," Philadelphia, 1812; "The Fall of Angels and Men," Philadelphia, 1812; "Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels, and Sufferings of Elias Smith," Portsmouth, 1816; *The Herald of Life and Immortality*, a periodical—ten numbers, serial, from January, 1819, to October, 1820; "The Age of Inquiry," Exeter, 1825; "American Physician and Family Assistant," 1832; "People's Book," Boston, 1836; "The Christian's Pocket-Companion." Mr. Smith died at Lynn, Mass., on the 29th of June, 1846.

In the course of time the Christian congregation built a better church building than that which they originally occupied. It was of brick, plain in appearance, and not extensive in size, being forty feet front and forty-seven feet deep. It was finished and opened for worship Sept. 5, 1819. Elder Robert Ferguson was pastor at this time, and remained until he was succeeded by Elder Frederick Plummer, who had charge of the church for a number of years, and was officiating in 1825. Mr. Ferguson accepted a call from a church in the South.

The history of this congregation is uneventful. Much industry was shown, but proselytism was not rapid. Their baptisms in the Delaware were objects of particular attention. Elder Plummer secured for those ministrations a piece of ground in New Jersey, on the bend of the river between Kaighn's Point and Gloucester Point, which in the course of time became very valuable, and was disposed of to great advantage.

The Christians have at the present time (1884) two churches in the city, as follows: First, Marlborough, above Belgrade, Rev. John G. Wilson; Mount Zion, Christian, below Sixth, Rev. E. E. Mitchell.

BIBLE CHRISTIANS.

The Bible Christians, or Bryanites, are one of the branches of Methodism, and they are spoken of by Bishop Simpson in his "Encyclopædia of Methodism." They dress plainly, and affect a great simplicity in speech and manners. "They have class-meetings, love-feasts, circuits, districts, and an annual Conference, to which they admit lay delegates. The strength of the church lay in the laboring classes in England, where it originated. The Bryanite form originated with William O'Bryan, a Cornwall preacher, in 1815, but it is thought that he gained his doctrines in large measure from Rev. William Cowherd, rector of Christ Church, Salford, about 1800. The latter is properly entitled to be called the founder of the Bible Christian sect. He was educated for the ministry, held the church-living of Beverly, in Yorkshire, and was classical teacher and professor of Philology in Beverly College. Afterward he was rector of St. John's, Manchester; and becoming, while holding that position, a believer in the doctrines of the New (Swedenborgian) Church, he left the Church of England and became pastor of the New Jerusalem Church in Peter Street, Manchester. Eventually he emancipated himself from the creed of Swedenborg, and determined to be unshackled by human creeds. He obtained means to erect a meeting-house at Salford, which was completed in 1800. He preached without salary or

support from the congregation, maintaining himself by the practice of medicine. He was determined to free himself from the slavery of sects. He declared that his principles were taken directly from the Bible, and that his congregation should proclaim themselves simply Bible Christians.

In the year 1807 he began to inculcate the doctrine of abstention from the flesh of animals as food, and total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, as religious duties.

One of the men who listened to Mr. Cowherd's preaching was William Metcalfe, a native of Shroadzil, in Orton parish, Westmoreland. He also had been connected with a Swedenborgian Church, and went to Salford to study theology, but became a convert to Mr. Cowherd's views, and was ordained in 1811. Both he and his wife were strong vegetarians. In 1817 forty-one members of the Bible Christian Church — principally those who worshiped under Dr. Cowherd—determined to emigrate to America. Among them were two ministers, Rev. James Clarke and Rev. William Metcalfe. There were twenty other adults, and nineteen children. They sailed from Liverpool in the Liverpool packet "Captain Singleton." Their intention was to better their position, to propagate their religious views, and to establish a Bible Christian Church in the United States. Tradition reports that eleven adults and seven children became backsliders on the food question, and when they reached Philadelphia others apostatized. Rev. James Clarke and his family and two other families located as farmers in Lycoming County, where they formed a church and Sabbath-school. They taught strange doctrines to their neighbors, who could not understand what Christianity had to do with eating meat. Mr. Clarke was disappointed, and resolved to try his chances elsewhere. He went to Baltimore, and was not successful. He then settled in Indiana as a farmer. Rev. Mr. Metcalfe resolved to remain in Philadelphia; and first, in order to find means of support, he opened a day school and academy. Notice was soon given that—

"the members of the Bible Christian Church assembled every Sabbath-day in the school back of No. 10 North Front Street, at half-past ten o'clock in the morning and at three o'clock in the afternoon; they do not form a sectarian church, deriving their doctrines from human creeds, but they hold *all the doctrines*, though not all the *ideas*, of the various sects, so far as they are respectively founded on the moral expressions of the sacred Scriptures; that they humbly seek, through the institutions of the Word of God, to become more efficiently edified in Bible truths; and that they respectfully invite their fellow-mortals of any and every profession to come and hear for themselves, and, if disposed, to join with them in church-membership, and unite in the all-important service of worshiping God according to the teachings of His word."

The yellow fever visitation of 1818 broke up the school, and caused Mr. Metcalfe to remove his residence to the Germantown road, West Kensington. In 1821 the services of the Bible Christian Church were resumed at No. 7 Pear Street. Several further changes were made.

Meetings were held for a time in a school-house in Coates Street, then upon Germantown road, and afterward upon Little Green Street. On the 31st of May, 1823, Turner Camac and wife conveyed to James Royle, David Nuttall, George Richards, Jeremiah Horrocks, John Walker, Jonathan Wright, and Moses Kay, trustees of the Bible Christian Society, and to William Metcalfe a lot of ground on the west side of Third Street, West Kensington, sixty feet front and two hundred feet deep to a twenty-feet wide alley, subject to a ground-rent. This piece of ground was north of the present Girard Aveuue, and upon it was placed a frame school-house which had been built on Coates Street for a Lancasterian school. It was removed, put in order for use as a meeting-house, and was opened and dedicated as a place of worship on the 21st of December, 1823. Mr. Metcalfe was pastor at that time, and for many years afterward.

During this period he was engaged in a number of public discussions, and wrote a series of papers on the principles of his sect for the *Freeman's Journal*. He also edited the *Rural Magazine and Literary Evening Friend*, devoted to literature and agriculture, published by R. & C. Johnson, No. 33 Market Street, during the year 1820. In that year a series of tracts entitled "Letters on Religious Subjects," explanatory of Bible Christian doctrines, most of which were written by Rev. Dr. Cowherd, were republished under the editing of Mr. Metcalfe. He also published a tract about this time entitled "The Duty of Abstinence from all Intoxicating Drinks." It is believed to have been the first total-abstinence tract published in the United States. In 1821 he published a tract entitled "Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals;" and he wrote articles in the *Philadelphia Gazette*, the *United States Gazette*, and other papers.

The Bible Christians carried out the principle of opposition to the employment of liquors so thoroughly "that the wine used for sacramental purposes was expressly made in such manner as to remain unfermented, and consequently unintoxicating. Hence it has been claimed that the Bible Christian Church was the first temperance society, based upon the total-abstinence principle, in modern time."

Christ Church, on Third Street, above Girard Avenue, Rev. Henry S. Clubb, pastor, belongs to the Bible Christians.

THE UNITARIANS.

Unitarianism made no beginning in Philadelphia till near the close of the last century, though there were doubtless many who sympathized with the well-known liberalism of Dr. Franklin.[1]

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[1] A short-lived deistic society had been started in 1790, under the lead of John Fitch, the inventor of steamboats, and the membership ran up to forty. Its meetings in Church Alley were usually occupied with essays and debates, in which "the God of Nature" was the central theme, and a rigid code of morals was urged. The Rev. Elihu Palmer,

The famous Joseph Priestley, LL.D., a powerful opponent of Trinitarianism,—a man eminent alike in science, philosophy, and theology,—being persecuted in England for his sympathy with the French Revolution, came to America in 1794, and pursued his many-sided labors till he died in 1804. In 1796 he gave a course of lectures in Lombard Street Universalist Church, vindicating the "Evidences of Christianity," and exposing its corruptions, having among his hearers many members of Congress and others of distinction. Under his impulse, a constituency was soon found for a Unitarian society, which was organized June 12, 1796. There were fourteen original members, nearly all sturdy and free-minded Englishmen, who probably brought their opinions across the water.

Among them were John Vaughan, long the librarian of the Philosophical Society, who had once been the *protégé* of Dr. Franklin in Paris, and who entertained here so many distinguished foreign guests as to help the city to its reputation for hospitality; Ralph Eddowes, who had quitted the city of Chester after a brave but faithful struggle against the usurpations of a municipal ring; James Wood, a merchant, and father of the late Catholic Bishop Wood; the latter was himself christened by James Taylor, another original member, a lay preacher, and Scotch merchant, who kept for a time the "Manchester Store" at 18 North Third Street; William Turner, who migrated hither to retrieve his fortunes after bankruptcy, eventually paid all his old debts, and left a competency; and William Young Birch, from Manchester, a bookseller and stationer in Second Street, near Chestnut, who, in 1800, went into partnership with Abraham Small in the bookselling and publishing business, and accumulated a large fortune, of which he left two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind, besides other public bequests. The other original members were William H. Smith, Ralph Eddowes, Jr., Peter Boult, Samuel Darch, Josiah Evans, John Eddowes, Thomas P. Jones, Thomas Astley, and Rev. William Christie, who seems occasionally to have occupied the pulpit. Dr. Priestley, who settled at Northumberland, was among those whose names were added later. Thus began the first *declared* Unitarian society in America.

Inconspicuous and unpopular, the society found no place for years in the lists of city churches, perhaps because it had no abiding place. Its services were held at times in the hall of the University, in the Lombard Street Universalist Church, in a hall once owned by the guild of carpenters, and at several periods in a room in Church Alley. There was no legal incorporation till 1813, when it took the name, "First Society of Unitarian Christians." In 1824, when a new charter was taken out, the word "Congregational" was inserted to express a recognized affinity with sister-churches in New England, which bore that name.

In 1808 and later, several members acquired a title to lots on the northeast corner of Tenth and Locust Streets, which they conveyed to the society as a site for a house of worship and for a burial-place. In March, 1812, the corner-stone was laid, and on the 14th of February, 1813, the society dedicated an octagonal brick church large enough for three hundred persons. At a later day the bell and belfry of this building were transferred to the public school-house on Locust Street near Twelfth, and the iron tongue, which once rang out the fire-alarm, or called the little company of Unitarians to their simple service, or to share in that sacred communion which the late Thomas Bradford satirically called "John Vaughan's supper," now summons the children to their daily lessons. The present church edifice, Doric in style, with seats for eight hundred persons and a vestry in the rear, was built on the same premises in 1828.

For twenty-eight years there was no settled minister. The society was occasionally favored by the presence of distinguished preachers from New England, but the main dependence was on the lay preaching of Ralph Eddowes and James Taylor, and the reading of printed sermons by John Vaughan.

In August, 1824, came William Henry Furness, born in Boston, 1802, and graduated from Harvard in the class of 1820. After hearing him four times, the society gave him a unanimous call. He was ordained Jan. 12, 1825, and during his remarkable ministry of fifty years the society became strong, numerous, and influential. Between 1840 and 1861, some dissatisfaction was caused by the decided stand taken by Dr. Furness against negro slavery, then supreme alike in state and church. But he was never a popular agitator; his love of the true, the beautiful, and the good led him toward quiet studies, the promotion of gentle humanities and the fine arts; so that both his preaching and his personality have been powerfully felt in the direction of good-will, intelligence, and refinement. A scholar of fine taste, he has produced many beautiful hymns, besides several translations from the German; but he has found the love-work of his life in a study of the gospels and the character of Jesus, developing in a succession of books a theory at once rational and reverent.[1] The venerable patriarch resigned his pas-

a native of Connecticut and graduate of Dartmouth, who had been expelled from the "Universal Baptists" for denying the deity of Christ, and whose mind was rapidly moving toward deism, was desired to become the minister of this society, but the influence of Bishop White is said to have prevented their procuring of any suitable hall, and the society soon became invisible.

[1] Rev. Mr. Furness published in 1836 "Remarks on the Four Gospels," which he expanded into a large work in 1838, entitled "Jesus and His Biographers." He is also the author of "A Life of Christ," "Domestic Worship," "Julius and Other Tales from the German," "Thoughts on the Life and Character of Jesus of Nazareth," "The Veil Partly Lifted and Jesus becoming Visible," "Unconscious Truth of the Four Gospels," besides hymns and other devotional pieces in verse, translations from the German, and a volume of "Gems of German Verse." He

torate on the 12th of January, 1875, the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination; but he continues, in his eighty-third year (1884), to be hale and hearty, and delights the people by the vigor of his occasional discourses.

Rev. Joseph May, the present incumbent, a son of Samuel J. May, late of Syracuse, N. Y., and educated at Harvard, was installed Jan. 12, 1876. He has a fine standing among his brethren, and is a man of original qualities and genuine ability. Under his ministry the society has taken a new departure by the purchase of lots on the north side of Chestnut Street below Twenty-second, where a handsome church edifice, with a Sunday-school building attached, is now in course of erection, probably at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars.

The Unitarian Society of Germantown, now the Twenty-second Ward of the city, came into legal existence July 7, 1866; the following names being signed to the application for a charter: E. W. Clark, Atherton Blight, George Nichols, J. H. Withington, R. V. Sallada, James A. Wright, H. T. Hoyt, Conyers Button, A. W. Harrison, Philip S. Justice, and James Traquair. Their declared object is "to meet for the worship of the Almighty Father in the simplicity of the faith of Jesus Christ." Their meetings were held in Langstroth's Hall till 1869, when they had completed a pretty Gothic church, on the corner of Chelten Avenue and Green Street, at a cost of thirty thousand dollars, to which was added, in 1880, an elegant building for parish uses, costing about ten thousand dollars more. The first settled minister was Rev. William W. Newell, since master of a preparatory school in New York. Rev. Silas Farrington, now of Manchester, England, succeeded him in 1868, and Rev. Charles G. Ames was in charge from 1872 to 1877. Rev. Samuel Longfellow followed, but resigned in 1882 to become the biographer of his poet-brother. Rev. John H. Clifford, the present pastor, was installed Feb. 10, 1883. Through all these changes the society has maintained a healthy growth, and was never more flourishing and active than now.

REV. WILLIAM HENRY FURNESS.

The Spring Garden Unitarian Society, a young and promising enterprise, dates from May 29, 1881, when ninety-five persons, meeting in the hall of Spring Garden Institute, signed the following covenant: "In the freedom of truth, and in the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the service of man." The petition for a charter, granted June 18, 1881, was signed by Joshua G. James, J. Peter Lesley, Susan I. Lesley, Samuel Sartain, Hector McIntosh, Alice Bennett, M.D., A. C. Rembaugh, M.D., Julia A. Myers, Rudolph Blankenburg, Anna Wise Longstreth, and Charlotte L. Peirce.

The society is the outgrowth of a series of Sunday evening meetings in the hall of Spring Garden Institute, begun in November, 1876, by Rev. Charles G. Ames, with the countenance and support of the neighboring Unitarian societies, and kept up with more or less regularity till the nucleus of the audience fixed itself in an organization. The church building with lot, on the southeast corner of Broad and Brandywine Streets, was bought of the New Jerusalem Society for twenty-five thousand dollars, and was first occupied March 12, 1882, though its use on Sunday mornings was conceded to the Swedenborgians till November.

The society has continued under the ministry of Mr. Ames, and its covenant membership has nearly doubled, though including less than half the congregation. Probably no religious society in the city is more thoroughly identified with the system of co-operative charity, some thirty-five members being officially connected with various institutions of undenominational benevolence.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS.

From a very early period there have been in this city large numbers of persons who were trained in the polity of the first churches that were formed in New England by the Puritans, and very naturally they have desired to worship in accordance with their early education and their associations. It is difficult to decide as to which was the first example of Congregationalism in this city. The Universalist Church on Lombard Street, above Fourth, was founded as an

edited for three years *The Diadem*, a Philadelphia annual; has been contributor to the *Christian Examiner*, and is the author of a number of published sermons, many of which are in support of the anti-slavery cause, in which he took great interest.

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Independent or Congregational Church. The present Chambers Presbyterian Church, at Broad and Sansom Streets, was founded in 1820 as a Congregationalist or Independent Church. In 1836, Matthias B. Denman, Lemuel Coffin, Henry C. Blair, James W. Boyd, Dr. William K. Brown, Dr. James H. Briscoe, William S. Charnley, Joab Brace, Jr., Thomas Elmes, Archelaus Flint, Joshua P. Haven, David W. Prescott, Henry W. Safford, Joseph Seaver, Sabine W. Colton, Martin Thayer, Edward S. Whelen, and Hancock Smith founded the First Congregational Church, and elected Rev. Dr. John Todd pastor. During the early part of the year they met in a well-furnished room on the northeast corner of Eighth and Chestnut Streets. In a short time they purchased a lot at the northeast corner of Tenth and Clinton Streets upon which to erect a church. The corner-stone was laid Sept. 6, 1836, and the church was dedicated Saturday evening, Nov. 11, 1837. Dr. Todd, though a great Biblical scholar and a sound theologian, was not an attractive preacher, and the church struggled on through many difficulties, but was finally, in February, 1842, sold by the sheriff, and purchased by Hosea Kellogg for the First Presbyterian Church.

Several attempts were afterward made to establish a Congregational Church in the city, but without success until the winter of 1863–64, when the desire took permanent shape. On the 5th of April, in pursuance of a public notice inviting "New Englanders and all others interested in the formation of a Congregational Church in Philadelphia," a meeting was held at the house of James Smith, 210 Franklin Street. Careful and serious deliberation was held respecting the need of such an effort, the encouragements for the undertaking, and the difficulties to be met and overcome. It was concluded to form a Congregational Church in this city, and necessary steps were at once taken for giving effect to this decision. Concert Hall, on Chestnut Street, above Twelfth, was engaged for services on Sunday, and clergymen were engaged to conduct public worship. The first public services were held on Sunday, May 15, 1864, and were conducted morning and evening by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn.

A confession of faith and covenant having been adopted as its religious and doctrinal basis, the formal organization of the church in accordance with the simple methods of the denomination took place on Monday, May 30th, in the parlors of Mr. Smith. After a brief address and prayer by Rev. Newton Heston, of Brooklyn, he read the confession of faith and covenant, to which those who were to compose the church gave their individual assent. The *distinctive act* by which the church was constituted was the adoption by these persons of the following minute:

"We whose names are hereto subscribed do solemnly adopt the Confession of Faith and Covenant just read as the expression of our Christian faith and our sacred pledge to each other and to our Saviour; and by this act we do constitute ourselves a church of Christ under the name of the Central Congregational Church of Philadelphia."

This action clothed the body with all the essential powers and rights of a church, competent for all appropriate Christian work. Thus constituted, however, it was without recognized standing or vital union with other churches of the denomination. With the view of securing this fellowship, and in accordance with Congregational usage, an ecclesiastical council was called, composed of clerical and lay delegates from prominent churches in different parts of the country. This council met on the 1st of June, and, after considering the doctrinal basis of the church, the reasons assigned for its formation, and its prospects of usefulness, approved the action already taken, and by public services welcomed the church to membership in the denomination and commended it to the confidence and Christian fellowship of the churches at large.

The Sunday services continued to be held at Concert Hall, conducted by clergymen from abroad, and the weekly prayer-meetings were held at the house of Mr. Smith, conducted by members of the church. In September Rev. Edward Hawes, of Waterville, Me., accepted a call to the pastorate, and by advice of a council was publicly installed Oct. 25, 1864. Mr. Hawes had become widely known by his labors in raising funds for the United States Christian Commission, and by his personal service among the soldiers at various points at the South. His ministry here was continued for nearly nine years, and until a substantial church building had been completed and the church itself established on a basis of assured success. In 1873 he resigned his charge and accepted a call to the North Church in New Haven, Conn.

In the spring of the next year Rev. James R. Danforth, of Newton, Mass., accepted a call from the church, and was duly installed its pastor on Thursday, June 18, 1874. At installation services it is customary for some minister of the denomination to express the fellowship of the churches. On this occasion there was a departure from the usual procedure, and the fellowship of the churches, not the Congregational Churches only, but of the brotherhood of evangelical churches, was expressed in addresses by representatives of different denominations. Rev. George D. Boardman, D.D., conveyed the greetings of the Baptist Churches. Rev. R. D. Harper, D.D., spoke in behalf of the Presbyterians, and Rev. R. M. Hatfield, D.D., on behalf of the Methodists.

Public services were held at Concert Hall until July, 1865, and during the remainder of that year in the hall at the northeast corner of Broad and Arch Streets. In April, 1865, the church purchased the lot of ground at the northwest corner of Eighteenth and Green Streets, and at once made preparations for the erection of a building. The corner-stone of the chapel was laid with appropriate religious ceremonies on Monday, June 12th, and the building was dedi-

cated on Sunday, Jan. 7, 1866. The walls of the main structure were erected in 1871, and the completed church was dedicated on Sunday, June 2, 1872. It is of the Gothic style of architecture, and built of graystone trimmed with brownstone.

The ground on which the Central Congregational Church stands was purchased for $24,000; the cost of the chapel and of such part of the main building as had to be put up with it was $38,000; and the cost of the main edifice, including the furnishing, was $50,000; making a total cost of $112,000.

CENTRAL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

From the very first an efficient Sunday-school has been maintained by the church. It was for eleven years under the able and judicious superintendence of Nelson F. Evans, who is now the president of the Young Men's Christian Association. On his resignation, in 1880, William H. Wannamaker was chosen his successor.

Rev. James R. Danforth, the pastor of the Central Congregational Church, was born in Jersey City, N. J., Aug. 8, 1839. His studies preparatory to college were pursued in the Lyceum, then taught by Hon. William L. Dickinson, whose recent death Jersey City still mourns, and at the grammar school of Columbia College, in New York, then under the headship of Charles Anthon, LL.D., the finished classical scholar.

After finishing his preparatory studies he entered the University of the City of New York, but was obliged by ill health to intermit his studies for several years. Resuming his college course at the West, he graduated in 1865 at Beloit College, Wisconsin. His theological studies were pursued at the Congregational Seminaries of Chicago and Andover, he having graduated at the former in 1868.

In the summer of that year he was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in Woodstock, Ill. Under the labors of pastor his health gave way after a few months, and he resigned his charge and spent a year in travel in Europe, and two years in study in Germany, chiefly at the University of Leipsic. Shortly after his return, in 1872, he accepted a call to the charge of the Central Congregational Church of Newton, Mass. After a short pastorate at that place he accepted a call from the Central Congregational Church of this city in May, 1874.

The church, under Mr. Danforth's ministry, has had a steady and healthful growth. Soon after entering on his pastorate here, seeing that the debt of thirty thousand dollars, which remained on the church property, was a serious hindrance to the success of his work, he began an effort which has resulted in the almost total extinguishment of the debt.

Mr. Danforth has always been a close student and an accurate scholar. After completing his theological course of study he was invited to a college professorship, a position for which, by his tastes and his education, he was well fitted. As, however, he regarded the Christian ministry as his proper calling, he declined this invitation. From the bent of his mind and his training, the style of his preaching is scholarly and logical rather than rhetorical.

Mr. Danforth is one of the State secretaries of the American Congregational Union, and a member of the executive committee of the American Missionary Association.

Trinity Congregational Church at Frankford has for its minister Rev. E. N. Yelland.

THE GERMAN REFORMED.

So many Germans, we are told, immigrated to Pennsylvania during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, that the proprietaries were rather alarmed, but the peaceable habits and steady industry of the new-comers soon reassured them. The Germans made settlements on what was then the frontier, in valleys now among the richest and fairest in the State; others settling in or near Philadelphia engaged in business or manufactures. Germans ill-treated in New York province and elsewhere removed to Pennsylvania. Thus the number of religious sects, and also of divers dialects, were materially increased. Herr von Beck, in his "Reise Diarium," dated Philadelphia, June 6, 1734, says, "Here are some of all religions and sects." His list contains Lutherans, Reformers, Church people, Presbyterians, Quakers, Catholics, Dunkers, Mennonists, Sabbatarians, Seventh-Dayers, Separatists, "Bohemisteir," Swenkfelders, "Tutchfelders," and "Well-Wishers." Nearly all the German colonists were Protestants, and were pretty evenly divided between the two great doctrines, the Reformed (or Calvinistic) and the Lutherans (or church of the Augsburg Confession). The first Bible printed in America was Luther's version.

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The first congregation of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania is thought to have been formed in 1726 by John Philip Boehm, at Whitpaine township, in Philadelphia County (now in Montgomery), sixteen miles from Philadelphia. This rests upon the statement of Rev. Michael Schlatter,[1] who, in his journal, writing in 1746, says that Boehm had been preaching to large assemblies for twenty years. In another portion of his journal Schlatter calls Boehm "the oldest German minister in these regions." Boehm was a schoolmaster, not then licensed to preach, but there being no regular minister he felt called upon to lead in divine service according to the best of his ability. Boehm reminds one of the pious and gentle Mennonite schoolmaster, Christopher Dock, who was teaching and preaching on the Skippack as early as 1718. In 1729 an application was sent to the Classis of Amsterdam and the Synod of North Holland for his ordination. The early dependence of the German Reformed Churches upon the Dutch Church in Europe is a singular fact. It lasted until 1792, when the French conquest of Holland interrupted communication. To Boehm's request the Classis and Synod replied, acknowledging his former acts, and said that, "according to the custom of the church, he must be confirmed or ordained by the ministers of New York, with a declaration that he receive the Heidelberg catechism and all the formula, engaging strictly to regulate his ministry in accordance with them, and submit himself to the ecclesiastical ordinances of the Synod of Dordrecht." The Whitpaine church was then organized, meeting in Rev. Mr. Boehm's house until, in 1740, a church was constructed. "It was of stone, small in size, but built with remarkably heavy walls, constructed of stone and mud mortar, as no lime could at that time be procured. The pulpit was high up, in one corner." In 1750 the congregation contained thirty-six communicants. Mr. Boehm remained in charge until his death, May 1, 1749. "He was buried in the inside of the church, still called after his name, and his resting-place is in the southeast corner of the present church, covered with an arch, which was built in 1818. His funeral sermon was preached May 7, 1749, at the church in Germantown, by Rev. Michael Schlatter, who once a month visited the congregation at Whitpaine." In his journal, under date of June 25, 1751, he reports Whitpaine as "without a supply," and it remained so until 1760 or 1762, when Rev. George Alsentz left the Germantown Church and took charge of Boehm's old church at Whitpaine, serving other churches also in the neighborhood. He was pastor there when he died, in 1769, and he was buried in the old graveyard of the Reformed Church at Germantown. Rev. Alsentz was succeeded by Rev. Christian Foehring, who officiated from 1769 to 1772, when Rev. John Gabriel Gebhard became pastor, and served until 1774. Rev. John William Ingold then took charge of Whitpaine and Skippack, or Worcester Church, and preached for a year at Boehm's old church. He had assumed this charge at the request of the congregation, without authority from the Coetus; and having trouble about his salary he left the church. The Rev. John H. Weikel was the next occupant of this pulpit, which he took in 1776. A new German Reformed Church was built in 1762, about a mile from Boehm's church, known as "Wentz's church." It was erected by the exertions of Rev. John Philip Leidich, and was dedicated Nov. 13, 1763. This church was generally under the control of the ministers of Boehm's church.

The church at Skippack was organized almost as soon as that at Whitpaine. It was the work of pious Palatines, as they were called. The famous Upper Palatinate province lay on both sides of the Rhine, and had Manheim for its capital. Marshal Turenne desolated it with fire and sword in 1674, and thence flowed the first notable German emigration to America, beginning in 1680 or 1682. Mennonite Palatines founded Germantown. The later arrivals were many of the members of the Reformed Church, and the particular colony that founded the Skippack settlement consisted of one hundred and nine Palatines that arrived at Philadelphia in the ship "William and Sarah," Capt. Hill, from Rotterdam and Dover, on the 27th of September, 1727, under charge of Rev. George Michael Weiss (or Weitzius), who was sent out by the Upper Consistory or Classis of the Upper Palatine. Mr. Weiss soon went to Skippack, in the county of Philadelphia, about twenty-four miles distant, where he was accompanied by a portion of his emigrants. Here they built a log church, in the erection of which Rev. John Philip Boehm is said to have assisted. Mr. Weiss sent back to the consistory of the Palatinate information of the great spiritual wants of the Germans in the province. The latter laid the state of the case before the Synods of the Netherlands in 1728, and an effort was made to send out assistance. In 1729, Rev. Mr. Weiss, in company with Elder J. Reif, went to Holland to collect money, Bibles, and tracts for use in North America. The Synods of North and South Holland and the Classis of Amsterdam were solicited, and valuable contributions obtained. After Mr. Weiss returned to America he went to the province of New York, and he became pastor of a church at Rhinebeck, near Albany. He came back to Philadelphia in 1732. It is probable that Mr. Weiss was succeeded at Skippack by the Rev. Johannes Henricus Goetschiey, who came to Pennsylvania about 1729, and had a very extensive circuit, preaching also at Old Goshenhoppen, New Goshenhoppen, Folkner, Swamp, Oley, and other places in Philadelphia and

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[1] Mr. Schlatter had been sent from Europe with authority to unite the scattered German Reformed congregations in a better organization. The Dutch Classis and Synod also sent over, a little later, Revs. Weiber, Steiner, Otterbein, Hendel, Helfenstein, Helfrich, Gebhard, Vollicker, Blumer, Faber, Becker, and Herman, all able and devoted men.

adjoining counties. It is supposed that he died in 1739.

One of these Reformed congregations, early established by Rev. Mr. Weiss, was that at "Folkner Schwam" (or Swamp), in Frederick township, in 1727. Rev. M. Goetschiey preached there for a few years. Henry Antes, afterward ordained, preached at times. Rev. John Philip Leidich took charge of the church in 1748, and so remained till 1761, when Rev. Conrad Steiner became his coadjutor. In 1770, Rev. Nicholas Pomp, a native of Germany, and graduate of Halle, became pastor there, and remained in charge till the Revolutionary war had fairly begun. A book of his against Universalism ("Das Ewig Evangelium") was printed in 1774, by Henry Miller, Philadelphia.

At Great Swamp, in Upper Hanover, J. Henry Sproegel, about 1726, gave fifty acres of land for religious and educational purposes. The promise was made to Jacob Moyer, a Mennonite, but no formal deed was executed. Meanwhile the German Reformed Church had organized, and Rev. J. H. Goetschiey was the minister in 1730. In 1737 they built a church on the Sproegel tract. In 1746 it was arranged by Mr. Schlatter that Rev. George M. Weiss should be pastor of this church, and of New Goshenhoppen and Old Goshenhoppen. The three congregations contributed £40 a year. Mr. Weiss recorded in 1746 that "Grosen Schwam" congregation had forty-eight families. Old Goshenhoppen Reformed Church was also served as early as 1730 by Rev. Mr. Goetschiey. Rev. Michael Schlatter preached there, in "a new stone church," on the 20th of September, 1746. At that time trouble had been made by "a certain schoolmaster who undertook to preach without regular license." This was subsequently arranged, and Rev. George M. Weiss became pastor in 1746–47. New Goshenhoppen Church was taken charge of in January, 1730, by Rev. Mr. Goetschiey, and the congregation then had forty-five families. This church was also the scene of divisions and factions in 1746. They were settled by the efforts of Messrs. Boehm, Schlatter, and Weiss, and the latter was placed in charge. Difficulties about the church site at Great Swamp began in 1850, the Mennonites having raised the money for Abraham Moyer to erect buildings on the tract claimed under the deed of 1726. It was also claimed by the Lutherans. The German Reformed rebuilt their church in the year 1769, and caused to be surveyed two and a half acres of ground for church use, wishing to appropriate the rest to the use of the schoolmaster and to the support of the school already put up. The Mennonites also built a church, and the Lutherans erected a school-house. In 1796 this dispute was settled. Half went to the German Reformed Church, and the remainder to the Lutherans and Mennonites. Rev. G. M. Weiss, who took charge of Great Swamp, and Old and New Goshenhoppen in 1750, remained there till his death, in 1762. No permanent supply was obtained until 1766, when Rev. John Theobald Faber, a native of Toggenheim, arrived from Holland, though Rev. Jacob Reiss officiated for a short time. Rev. Mr. Faber married the daughter of Erhard Rose, of Reading, and was still in the pastorate till 1779. Rev. Caspar Wack had, about this time, a roving commission, preaching at many points in Philadelphia County. He was born in Philadelphia in 1752, his father being an elder of the Reformed Church on Race Street. Dr. Weyberg educated him, and in 1770 he began service as a catechist, preaching at Tohicon, Indianfield, and Great Swamp. In 1773 he was given charge of several churches in Philadelphia, Bucks, and Northampton Counties.

The Trappe Reformed Church at Providence, in Montgomery County, now St. Luke's, was in existence at a very early date, and the log house used for a church was in use until 1835. For October, 1746, Mr. Schlatter's journal contained the following:

"When, on the 18th, I returned to Providence, I preached there in a barn, since the poor congregation there has not been able to build a church. When I had made them known my commission they obligated themselves to raise a salary of fifteen pounds annually in money or grain, or one hundred Holland guilders for the support of a pastor."

Rev. John Philip Leidlich took charge in 1748, and continued as pastor until his death, Jan. 4, 1784. The earliest tombstone in the burying-ground attached to this church chronicles the death of Evalt, who departed this life March 16, 1760, aged sixty-nine years. In Scull's map of Pennsylvania, published in 1770, this church is marked as "the Dutch meeting." The most common names upon the tombstones in the burying-ground of St. Luke's are Paul, Reed, Shenkle, Netz, Buckwalter, Hillborn, Casey, Ricknor, Daringer, Smith, Dull, Francis, Wiland, Schneider, Eselin, Shore, Tyson, Thomas, Spear, Everhart, Garber, Izenburg, Longabough, Koons, Espenship, Wanner, Hanger, Shade, Beidler, and Stauffer.

There was also a Reformed Church in Allemingle township, Philadelphia County, in 1746. Rev. John Brandmiller was sent there to preach in that year. Mr. Schlatter visited it in 1747. A congregation was in existence at Manatawny, or Oley, in 1746. Mr. Schlatter records a visit there in the autumn of that year, in company with Mr. Weiss. In 1748 he was with Rev. Mr. Bartholemacus and Rev. Mr. Hochrentiner, at the same place. Both congregations were kept up for many years.

One of the important points occupied by the Reformed Church as early as 1728 was Germantown, and here the Moravian, Lutheran, Mennonite, and Reformed Congregations made that remarkable effort to unite under a common church union. It was characterized by a liberality, sincerity, and Christianity superior to trammels of creed, and no rightful church history of America can avoid admiring mention of this seemingly futile but really wise and fruitful movement.

The Reformed Church in Germantown was begun by John Bechtel, who arrived in 1726, and held services twice daily at his house. In 1733 they built a small church, and made Bechtel their pastor. He was licensed by the authorities in Heidelberg, but not at that time ordained. The latter ceremony was performed at Germantown, April 18, 1742, by Rev. David Nitschman, a bishop of the Moravian Church. This ordination was not regular; but Bechtel was now willing to join in a movement for the union of all the Germans in Pennsylvania. A convention of delegates was called in January, 1742, in Mr. Bechtel's church, and they resolved to form themselves into a Christian Union, which "allowed ministers, congregations, and members to remain in their former ecclesiastical connections, and, subordinately to this unity, to control their own affairs. It was to be a unity in the spirit." Nitschman was strongly in favor of this movement, and Bechtel was charmed with his eloquence and doctrines. The Rev. John Philip Boehm, however, opposed the whole movement, and wrote a pamphlet against it. It was replied to by George Neisser, schoolmaster in Bethlehem. Bechtel endeavored to establish the German Reformed congregations upon the basis of the articles of the Synod of Bern, established in 1532. Boehm, Weiss, Dorsitus, and Goetschiey opposed the schism. Bechtel adhered. The Germantown Church did not approve of the heresy, and on the 9th of February, 1744, Rev. Mr. Bechtel was dismissed by the congregation which he had established and to which he had preached sixteen years. Rev. Mr. Boehm took charge of the congregation, preaching also at Philadelphia and Whitpaine, and was aided by Rev. Mr. Weiss, and others. When Rev. Michael Schlatter arrived, in 1746, it was resolved that the church in Germantown should unite with that of Philadelphia, and Mr. Schlatter served both congregations. He preached his first sermon at Germantown, Sept. 18, 1746, from Joshua xxiv. 14, 15. Sixty men pledged themselves to pay twenty-five pounds annually for the support of a minister. In 1747 Mr. Boehm withdrew from the Germantown Church, and on the 15th of February installed Mr. Schlatter as permanent pastor.

Their first meeting-house was in Germantown opposite the market-house. The front half was first built, and the back part was added in 1762. It had an ancient shingle-roofed steeple, after the Dutch manner, and was surmounted by a well-finished iron cock, being the Dutch sign of a church. It was a low, elongated stone building with its adjunct additions and bare beams to the gallery, and high and narrow pulpit and sounding-board.

From 1752 to 1755 Rev. John Steiner preached there, and then moved to Frederick, Md. Between 1755 to 1758 there was no regular supply. In the latter year Rev. John Alsentz, who had been a year in Philadelphia, took charge of the Germantown Church, remaining there about four years. Another interregnum of nearly ten years without a settled pastor followed. In 1772, and until January, 1776, Rev. John Conrad Albert Helfenstein, a native of Moszbach, and theological graduate at Heidelberg, was minister of this church.

The congregation in Philadelphia was organized by Rev. Mr. Weiss in 1732. The consistory of the church at that time was composed of Jacob Diemer, Michael Hillegas, Peter Hillegas, Joost Schmidt, Heinrich Weller, Jacob Siegel, and William Rohrich.

FIRST REFORMED CHURCH.

In 1734 the German Lutheran and Reformed Churches rented of William Allen a barn on Arch Street, near Fifth. By the agreement made between these congregations, in force when Zinzendorf came to Pennsylvania, the Lutherans, having a minister (Rev. Valentine Kraft), were to have the use of the barn three-fourths of the time. Zinzendorf sent a letter to Boehm, desiring to speak before the Reformed. The latter replied that the Lutherans might do as they chose, but he could not preach before the Reformed. When Mr. Schlatter arrived, in 1746, the congregation at Philadelphia had already commenced a new stone church, which he saw in its unfinished condition on the 17th of September. On the next day he preached, "in the old half-fallen church in Philadelphia," from Isaiah xlviii. 17, 18. On the 6th of December, 1747, he preached for the first time in the uncompleted new church at Philadelphia, because the old church was not large enough to contain one-half of the people who desired to attend worship. On the 14th of July, 1748, the church was still unfinished, and Mr. Schlatter loaned the congregation

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sixty pounds, or four hundred and six Dutch guilders, out of moneys held by him in trust for religious uses, for the purpose of finishing it. Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler, who visited Pennsylvania in 1748, says of this building,—

"The old German Reformed Church is built in the northwest part of the town, and looks like the church in the Ladngoord field, near Stockholm. It is not as yet finished, though for several years together the congregation has kept up divine service in it."

This building must have had a very quaint appearance. It was of stone, and was hexagonal in form. It is referred to sometimes, in old advertisements, as "the six-square Dutch Church." Its location was on the south side of Sassafras Street (or Race), east of Fourth, still occupied by the same congregation.

The church appeared prosperous, but in 1749 a dangerous schism took place, caused by the arrival of Rev. John Conrad Steiner, of Canton Zurich, Switzerland, an eloquent preacher. The Coetus, or Council, desired to put him in charge of the Lancaster Church, but he probably had other ambitions, for, remaining in Philadelphia and preaching occasionally, he gained a large party in Schlatter's church, and strife followed. Schlatter then made up his mind to withdraw, and he selected as the text for his farewell sermon Christ's lamentation over Jerusalem. But, overcome by his feelings, he paused, and read Matthew x. 14. He then left the church. A vote was taken at Philadelphia and Germantown as to whom the congregations preferred. It stood in Philadelphia for Steiner 140, Schlatter 110. Harbaugh's "Life of Schlatter" says that this vote was fraudulent, as the congregation had not for some years much exceeded the latter number.

Steiner's friends then appointed the 14th of January, 1750, for his introductory sermon. But the advocates of Schlatter were early in the church, and he was in the pulpit. Civil officers were present and preserved order. The church officers were appointed by Schlatter, and there was no disturbance. Steiner made another attempt to preach on the 28th of January. Of this Mr. Harbaugh says,—

"Steiner went to the church for that purpose before the time on that day, under conduct of twenty-four men, and entered the pulpit. When Mr. Schlatter arrived many had collected in and around the church, expecting a tumult, but a number of civil officers were present. Mr. Schlatter calmly requested Mr. Steiner, in the name of God, to come out of his pulpit, which, however, he refused to do, and made an effort to commence the services. Confusion and controversy ensued, which continued for about two hours, though without violence. The result was a mutual agreement that neither party should hold service there till the question as to who had the proper claim to the church was settled."

Peter Kalm, on the contrary, declares that there *was* violence on this occasion. He says,—

"In the year 1750 another clergyman of the Reformed Church arrived, and, by his artful behavior, so insinuated himself into the favor of the Rev. Mr. Slaughter's [Schlatter's] congregation that the latter lost most half of his audience. The two clergymen then disputed for several Sundays together about the pulpit; nay, people relate that the newcomer mounted the pulpit on a Saturday, and stayed in it all night. The old one being thus excluded, the two parties in the audience made themselves the subject both of the laughter and scorn of the whole town, by beating and bruising each other and committing other excesses."

It was agreed to leave the whole controversy to six men, five of whom should be Quakers and one an Episcopalian. John Smith, of the Society of Friends, was one of these arbitrators. Both parties bound themselves in the sum of two thousand pounds to stand by the award. It was given on the 6th of March in favor of Mr. Schlatter. Four days later, with one hundred and twenty of his adherents, he held worship in the church, and they were not further disturbed. The regular church was much injured by the dissension. Steiner had a large party, and, being very energetic, the old organization became disheartened and weakened. Schlatter himself wearied, and probably by his own request, at the end of 1750, the Coetus appointed him to visit Europe. On Christmas day the Lord's Supper was administered by Schlatter for the last time, and on the 5th of February, 1751, he set sail from New Castle. Steiner had then one hundred and seventy adherents, and they determined to build him a house, which would also answer for a church. It was placed at a little distance from the old one. Steiner's congregation engaged him "for a year only." Thus, in 1751, there were two German Reformed congregations in Philadelphia, a city that could then scarcely support one.

The history of these rival congregations for the next few years is interesting. Steiner only stayed in charge of his church till 1752, when he thought it advisable to remove to Germantown, and Rev. Mr. Rubel took charge. Rubel was high-tempered, and caused much disturbance. Meanwhile the parent church had been supplied during Schlatter's absence in Europe by Rev. Samuel Luther, who had been a school-teacher in 1749, and by other Reformed Church ministers. In 1752, Mr. Schlatter returned, and again took charge of his old congregation. In 1755 the Coetus advocated the simultaneous withdrawal of Rubel from the new church and Schlatter from the old one, so that the weak and disputing congregations could be united under a new minister, and this was accomplished the same year, both ministers preaching their farewell sermons, and, after some irregular supplies, Rev. William Stoy, of Tulpehocken, Berks Co., a Westphalian by birth, and ordained by the Amsterdam Classis, was placed in charge for one year. Though an able man, he occasioned much talk by marrying, as was thought, below his station, and by persuading the young lady to break a previous engagement, so he did nothing to heal the dissensions still rife, and retired at the end of twelve months. During part of 1758, Rev. John G. Alsentz acted as pastor, and was succeeded by other "temporary supplies" until 1763, in which year Rev. Caspar Dietrich Weyberg, a Swiss clergyman, who had been preaching at Easton, Pa., for a year, received a call. He began his duties November 13th, and was able, by his tact and zeal, to entirely heal the wounds which had been so painful for over thirteen years. The Philadelphia congregation thus united contained over two hun-

dred heads of families, and thenceforward prospered greatly.

The first cemetery of the Reformed Church was a lot of ground on the Northeast (now Franklin) Square. The patent the church claimed under was issued Dec. 14, 1763, by John Penn. The first warrant granted to Philip Boehm and Jacob Seigel, dated June 1, 1741, from Thomas Penn, and notes of several payments and surveys previous to 1763 are in existence. The tract was between Sixth and Seventh Streets, south of Vine, and measured three hundred and six feet north and south by one hundred and fifty feet in width. The sum of £189 0*s.* 7*d.* was the last payment for the above-described piece of land. There was a long struggle over this property, the city claiming that the grant to the church by the Penns was illegal, and that the Penns did not own the property on the square.

The controversy was revived from time to time by action of Councils, and to the church it was a continual worriment. The city had ordered suit to be brought against the congregation before the year 1800. But in February, 1801, City Councils passed a resolution directing that the suit should be discontinued on condition, first, that the congregation would yield possession of all the square in which interments had not been made; second, that the congregation should accept a lease from the corporation of that part of the lot in which interments had been made, but for which the church had no patent; third, that the congregation should not erect buildings on that portion of the lot for which it had a patent, and that length of possession should be no bar to the city's rights.

A lease was signed on the 28th of September, 1801, which gave to the congregation peaceable possession for fifteen years, and for some time nothing more was done in relation to the controversy. In the autumn of 1816 the congregation asked for a renewal of the lease for ninety-nine years. It was refused, but a short lease was granted.

In May, 1818, a resolution was before Councils directing that the Northeast Public Square should be closed to burials after the 15th of June, but both branches could not be brought to pass it. In October a committee was appointed to settle with the German Reformed congregation. In April, 1821, Councils passed a resolution, absolute in its terms, which ordered the German Reformed congregation to remove from the square. The controversy remained in this condition, the church still holding possession of the lot, until the Supreme Court's decision favorable to the city. It was found that the five public squares —Centre, Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, Southwest—were granted to the city of Philadelphia for public uses by William Penn, under the charter of 1701, and were, in fact, dedicated to that use by the original plan of the city, 1682–83. The uses of the inclosure seem to have been forgotten for many years.

By act of Feb. 19, 1800, the Legislature granted to the German Reformed congregation for a burial-place and charity school one-half of the lot bounded south by Mulberry, east by Schuylkill Sixth [Seventeenth], north by Cherry, and west by Schuylkill Fifth [Eighteenth], being two hundred and eighty-eight feet in length north and south, and one hundred and ninety-eight feet broad on Arch Street. The grant was sought by the church in consequence of the difficulty which existed in reference to the use of the burial-ground in Northeast Square.

In 1762 a new church was organized in Philadelphia, and proved an unfortunate enterprise. Its first evidence of existence was given July 30th, when John Gamber, Johan Stillwagen, Barnhardt Lauwerswyler, Christopher Gellan, William Clampfer, elders; Caspar Geyer, Adam Eckert, Philip Boehm, George Wack, George Justus, and Jacob Schreiner, deacons, all representing a congregation in Philadelphia, signed a call to the Rev. Mr. Rothenbuhler, of Berne, Switzerland, then preaching at New York. He was ordained in 1752, and came to America in 1760 or 1761.

In the spring of 1763 he began preaching in Philadelphia, and soon made application for admittance to the Coetus, but was refused because said to be intemperate. He remained with the congregation, which received the name of St. George's. They purchased a lot on Fourth Street below Story (now called New Street), and prepared for the erection of a large church building, but they got heavily into debt. The next year Benjamin Franklin sent a letter to Jonathan Williams, of Boston, by Mr. Rothenbuhler, in which that gentleman was recommended to the charitable of that city, his object being to make collections for the purpose of paying the debt of St. George's. This scheme failed. Rothenbuhler died Aug. 9, 1766. The church became disorganized; the heavy ground-rent pressed severely, and several of the members, who had made themselves personally responsible for the debts, were in a bad situation. Lednum's "Rise of Methodism" states that some of these parties were sent to jail for the debts they had contracted, and when their acquaintances inquired of them, as they looked through the prison windows, "For what were you put in jail?" They answered, "For building a church." To go to jail for the pious deed of building a church became a proverb in the city of Brotherly Love. In January, 1769, they petitioned the Legislature to pass an act allowing them to sell the church, pay their debts, and distribute the balance, if any remained, among the first contributors. This act was passed Feb. 18, 1769. The ground had been taken up in 1763 by John Frick, Jacob Rothe, John Haugh, Conrad Alster, Valentine Kern, Lawrence Bomberger, Sigmond Hagelganns, Peter Teiss, Robert Shearer, John Scheh, Christian Rothe, and Joseph Job, upon ground-rent of Dr. Shippen. The too-expensive building was in size fifty-

five by eighty-five feet. The church was sold June 12, 1770, to William Branson Hockley for seven hundred pounds. Two days afterward he transferred it to Miles Pennington, a Methodist, for six hundred and fifty pounds, and it has since been known as the Methodist Episcopal Church of St. George.

In 1769 the Frankford Street Reformed Church, now the Frankford Presbyterian, was organized chiefly by Swiss from Basle. The following names appear in the first congregation: Rudolph Neff, Jacob Neff, George Kaster, Sr., George Kaster, Jr., Frederick Kaster, Rudolph Mower, Gerick Judy, Peter Mood, Samuel Neswinger, Jacob Myer, Jacob Lelelly, Martin Laty, Henry Rohrer. To these were afterward added,—Jacob Zebley, Jacob Oneyer, Rudolph Skutes, Leon Hardfrollick, Jacob Schmidt, David Bleuh, Frederick Sheibly, Leonhardt Kaufman, and Ulrich Neff. A lot was purchased on a street now called Church Street, running from Frankford to Paul Street, from Henry Paul, by deed to Henry Rohrer, dated Feb. 16, 1769. The latter conveyed the property on the 12th of October to the congregation. April 23, 1770, John Finney transferred to them a lot on which a parsonage was afterward erected. The first church was built on the southeasterly part of the lot. There were no pews, but benches were used. The work was commenced in April, 1770; the corner-stone was laid on May 4th by Rev. Frederick Foehring, and the church was dedicated November 11th. This church cost £382 13*s.* 6½*d.*, and by the 13th of February, 1771, £375 5*s.* 9*d.* had been collected from members and others, and the persons authorized to receive subscriptions were discharged. Rev. Mr. Foehring was in charge of this church probably until the Revolution. Rev. John Christian Stalschmidt supplied the pulpit in August, 1770.

We now come to the Revolutionary period, and the condition of the German Reformed Churches that clustered in and about Philadelphia at that time.

Harbaugh, in "The Fathers of the Reformed Church," upon authority of Jonas Detwiler, of Montgomery County, states that John H. Weikel was pastor at Boehm's, Whitpaine, and other churches in the northwestern part of Philadelphia County (now Montgomery County) from 1776 to 1781. At the commencement of the Revolutionary war he preached a sermon from Ecclesiastes iv. 13,—"Better is a poor and wise child than an old and foolish king who will be no more admonished," which so angered his congregation that he soon resigned.

In 1784, upon the 28th of March, Rev. John Herman Winkhaus received a call from the Whitpaine congregations at Boehm's and Wentz's churches, and the churches at the Trappe and Worcester. He was a native of Altena, in Prussian Westphalia, born Nov. 26, 1758, and educated at the Latin school at Limburg and the University of Duisburg, in Cleves. He remained in charge until April 9, 1787, when, receiving a call from Philadelphia, he resigned. For two years the churches at Whitpaine, Worcester, and Trappe had no pastor. Rev. Philip Reinholdt Pauli succeeded in 1789, and served till 1793, preaching in Whitpaine, and in Boehm's and Wentz's churches. He was succeeded by Rev. Nicholas Pomp, who was in charge from 1794 to 1797,—he being, at the time, also minister at Falkner's Swamp and Goshenhoppen. In 1796, Rev. Lebricht Frederick Herman took charge of these congregations as a supply, holding the position about six months. He was born in the principality of Anhalt Cothen, Oct. 9, 1761. He was educated at the Orphans' House at Halle and at the university in that city. From 1782 to 1785 he was assistant preacher at Bremen, and was then called by the deputies of the Synod of Holland to go to Pennsylvania to assist in supplying the great destitution which existed in the German Reformed Church. He was ordained to that work in February, 1786, with Rev. Mr. Troldenier. He arrived in August, 1786, and was called to the congregations of Easton, Plainfield, Dryland, and Greenwich, N. J. Four years afterward he had a call to Germantown Church, where he remained twelve years. Rev. Samuel Helfenstein, son of Rev. John Conrad Helfenstein, preached in this district from 1796 to 1799, and was followed in 1799 and 1780 by Rev. Thomas Pomp. About 1783 Rev. Nicholas Pomp accepted a call to Baltimore (from Falkner's Swamp). Rev. Frederick Dallicker (name derived from De la Cour) died while pastor at Falkner's, Jan. 15, 1799. Rev. Lebricht F. Herman assumed charge of that church and also the one at Frankford, in 1800, and preached many years in the tall hour-glass-shaped pulpit perched in one corner of the square building there. Rev. Mr. Faber's successor at Great Swamp was Rev. Frederick Vandersloot, who resigned in 1786, after seven years' service, and Mr. Faber was recalled and acted till his death, Nov. 2, 1788.

The Germantown Church, in 1775 in Rev. Mr. Helfenstein's charge, passed under the pastorate of Rev. Samuel Dubbendorf May 17, 1777. He had left the chaplaincy of a Hessian regiment. He afterward preached at Lykens Valley. Rev. John C. Helfenstein was recalled to Germantown, and died in 1790, leaving five sons, three of whom were ministers. Dr. Helmuth and Dr. Dallicker preached funeral sermons. Dr. Hermann, as noted, was his successor. During 1793 Gen. Washington and his family attended this quaint, low, stone church in Germantown. Ministers from here generally supplied the Frankford Church for some time after the death of Rev. Christian F. Foehring, in 1779. In 1787 the Frankford congregation was incorporated, and Rev. Philip R. Pauli was made exhorter though not yet ordained. This church was used by the Americans as a prison. Lately, in the journal of a Hessian officer, discovered in Hesse-Cassel, was found an entry under date of 1777, stating that he was in the battle of Trenton and captured, and he says that "they were imprisoned for

a time in a church of a little village called Frankford, above Philadelphia."

Dr. Caspar Deitrich Weyberg, to whom allusion has been made as taking charge of the Race Street Church, Philadelphia, when the Revolution began, was a true patriot, acted as chaplain for the Continentals, stayed in the city when the British entered, and even preached the doctrines of freedom to the Hessian soldiers in their own language. He was causing many desertions when the British put him in prison, and turned his church into a hospital. May 5, 1779, he speaks in a letter of beginning again to preach, but in the school-house. The first sermon which Dr. Weyberg preached after being liberated from prison, was from the text, Psalms lxxix., "Oh, God! the heathen are come into thy inheritance. Thy holy temple have they defiled." Dr. Weyberg died Aug. 21, 1790, and was buried by the side of his predecessor, Mr. Steiner, in the German Reformed graveyard, in the Northeast (now Franklin) Square. Dr. Weyberg was succeeded in the Race Street Church by Rev. John Herman Winkhaus, who preached his introductory sermon at Philadelphia Church, Sept. 26, 1790, only a month after Dr. Weyberg's death. He remained in charge for a short time over three years, when yellow fever, caught while in his ministrations, caused his death at the age of thirty-four. Samuel Weyberg, Jr., supplied the pulpit for a short time. Rev. Dr. William Hendel assumed the pastorate Feb. 9, 1794. He was a native of the Palatinate, and had been preaching in the Tulpehocken region since 1769, at times supplying no less than nine congregations, and doing thoroughly pioneer work. The arduous labors of the yellow fever season of 1798 proved too much for the venerable clergyman, and he died of the epidemic September 29th. Dr. Helmuth, of the German Lutheran Church, preached the funeral sermon.

The formation of Montgomery County out of the upper portion of Philadelphia County, by an act of Assembly passed on the 10th of September, 1784, takes from our consideration the history of the German Reformed Churches situated within the new county. There were in 1800 in this district churches at Whitpaine and Wentz's, and the churches at the Trappe, Worcester, Falkner's Swamp, Great Swamp, and at Old and New Goshenhoppen. There only remained of the German Reformed Churches in Philadelphia the First Church, in Race Street, below Fourth, the church at Germantown, and the church at Frankford. The death of the Rev. Dr. William Hendel by the yellow fever (1798) left the Philadelphia Church six months without a settled pastor. On the 14th of January, 1799, the congregation elected Rev. Samuel Helfenstein, D.D. He was promised a salary of three hundred pounds and a parsonage. Mr. Helfenstein was the son of Rev. John Christian Albert Helfenstein, who for several years was the minister of the German Reformed congregation in Germantown and elsewhere. His mother was a native of Philadelphia, and her maiden name was Kircher. Samuel was born at Germantown on the 17th of April, 1775, and was educated by the Synod to which his father had belonged. His oratorical powers were of a high order, and he was a leader among his ministerial brethren. Rev. David Van Horne, in his "History of the Reformed Church in Philadelphia," thus describes the church built in 1772, in which Rev. Mr. Helfenstein preached:

"It was ninety feet long on Race Street, with large double doors near either end, having at their tops a very heavy ornamented coping. A low brick wall, covered with flat stones, ran along the sidewalk in front, upon which was an iron railing or fence, with gates located at the few steps fronting either entrance. The building was of brick, with here and there a brick burned black and glazed, set in the wall by way of ornamentation. Between the doors in front were two windows, with corresponding ones in the second story for lighting the gallery. The east gable, on Sterling Alley, had two windows below, with a large central one in the second story and a large circular one in the attic. The width of the building was sixty-five feet, and its height was forty-two feet. In the rear were two doors, corresponding to those in front, between which was located a high pulpit with its spiral staircase, and a sounding-board projecting over the head of the speaker. Directly opposite, in the front gallery, was the organ, where the choir was stationed to sing the German hymns and chorals. The ceiling was high and arched, the gallery broad and firmly set, and the pews above and below deeply set, in the old-fashioned style."

On the same lot was the school-house, built in 1753. In 1793 it was torn down to make way for a larger structure in the rear of the church, which building has served the purposes of education ever since, and is still standing. The first Sunday-school was opened by this congregation on the 14th of April, 1806, with forty scholars. In the earlier history of the church, the schoolmaster and the sexton resided in this building, the schoolmaster being also the organist. During Dr. Helfenstein's time he had about thirty students studying under his direction for the ministry.

About the beginning of the century a new question began to call for a settlement. The English-speaking members of the congregation desired sermons in English. Dr. Helfenstein was conservative on this point. In April, 1804, a consistory resolution to call a meeting to consider the question was lost through some informality. In 1805 the Synod was petitioned to pass a resolution recommending that preaching in the English language be allowed every third Sabbath for the "benefit of those who do not understand the German." On the 9th of July, 1805, this motion was offered before the consistory,—

"*Resolved*, That, as the board of corporation of the Race Street Church, and in conformity to the wish of Synod, we will introduce the English language into our services before the congregation shall be destroyed through strife."

The vote upon this was a tie, Dr. Helfenstein voting in the negative. "A proposition followed," says Rev. David Van Horne, "from the party wishing English services for compromise; but all efforts for an amicable arrangement failed. Finding that there was no hope of receiving any consideration in their desires, the Englisl [illegible] dividing the congregation

almost equally, and taking fully one-half of the members." This occurred in the year 1806; and the subsequent progress of the seceders belongs to the history of the Dutch Reformed Church, hereafter to be given. The remainder of the church clung to the German, and they had a season of enjoyment of that language for eight or ten years. A new English party then sprung up in the congregation. Like those who had gone before them, they demanded that some of the services should be held in English, and their elders resisted stoutly. The question was carried into the church elections, but the English party was in the minority. In 1817 the board of corporation, being German adherents, became suspicious that Mr. Helfenstein was inclined to help the English innovators, and without any notice of complaint or citation dismissed him from the pastorate. The next Sabbath he took his stand before the altar, and gave an account of what the board had done. After this he withdrew, without attempting to hold religious service, his statement having created for him much sympathy. The board then closed the church, and a lawsuit was commenced, which ended in the Supreme Court issuing a mandamus, compelling the board to open the church doors. On the Sunday after this judgment was rendered, Mr. Helfenstein re-entered the pulpit. Upon this, the leader of the German party rose and said, "Come, my brethren! this is not our minister;" upon which the German party left the church *en masse*. This sudden event did not entirely change the character of the preaching in the old church. The use of the German language was still continued, but the English was also introduced. The two tongues were used alternately in the services, and so continued until after 1825.

The members of the Race Street congregation, who withdrew in September, 1817, organized themselves under the title of the German Reformed Church of the Northern Liberties,—afterward the Independent German Reformed Church of the Northern Liberties. They opened their meetings in the old Commissioners' Hall of the Northern Liberties, on Third Street, above Buttonwood, and organized with sixty-seven members, but were mostly poor in this world's goods. On the 29th of December, 1818, they called as pastor Rev. Frederick William Vandersloot, a native of Dessau, Germany, born Nov. 11, 1773. He had come to America in 1801, was licensed to preach in 1802, and ordained in 1803.

They purchased a lot of ground on the west side of St. John Street, between Tammany and Green. The corner-stone was laid May 8, 1819, and a plain brick church put up, the dimensions of which were sixty by fifty-five feet. In December, 1820, they petitioned the Legislature for authority to set up a lottery by which seven thousand dollars might be realized for church purposes, but it was denied.

In March, 1824, Rev. Mr. Vandersloot accepted a call to Virginia, preaching in several counties there, and afterward, returning to Pennsylvania, preached in York County till his death, in 1831. He was a fine linguist, composed many hymns and poems, and was gifted with good musical talents. When Mr. Vandersloot resigned his Philadelphia pastorate, Rev. Henry Bibighaus became his successor. Bibighaus was son of a Bucks County farmer, who engaged in business, taught school, became an organist, and after reaching middle age studied theology under Dr. Helfenstein, Sr., and was ordained in October, 1824.

There was a school-house in the Northern Liberties about the year 1800 which was alternately supplied by pastors of the German Reformed and the Lutheran Churches. There was also a school-house in Kensington similarly occupied by alternate services. Van Horne says,—

"Both of these school-houses were supplied with the pulpit, were under the special control, and were the property, of the two churches, the Reformed owning the one in Kensington."

Rev. Mr. Herman, who was preaching in Germantown in 1800, gave up the use of the English in the pulpit in that year, and therefore accepted a call from the churches at the Swamp and Pottstown, and also afterward supplied congregations in Chester, Montgomery, and Berks Counties. His wife was Mary Johann, daughter of Daniel Fiedt. They educated five sons for the ministry. He died in 1848, aged eighty-seven. After a short interregnum the Germantown Church was permanently supplied by Rev. J. W. Runkel, and he preached in English and German after March 1, 1802. Mr. Runkel was born at Oberengelheim in 1749, came to America at the age of fifteen, entered the ministry, and engaged in widespread and highly-successful missionary work for years throughout Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. In 1805 he accepted a call in New York City, but in 1812 returned to Germantown to spend his declining years, preaching only at times, until, in 1815, he received a call from the churches at Gettysburg, Pa., and Taneytown and Emmittsburg, Md. In 1819 he confined his services to the Gettysburg Church, which he served for seven years, after which, being well stricken in age, he withdrew from active service Nov. 5, 1832, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was one of those typical evangelists of the frontier, and his endurance, energy, and enthusiasm were marvelous.

Rev. F. W. Vandersloot supplied the pulpit from 1811 to 1813, and was succeeded in 1814 by Rev. Caspar Wack. He is believed to have been the first German Reformed minister in the United States who preached in English. Though for a number of years his services were in German, he was required by his residence in the country to keep up his English education. Mr. Wack remained at Germantown, preaching quite as much in English as in German, until 1826, attending also to the church at White Marsh. He subsequently supplied the church at Pikeland,

Chester Co., and died at Trappe, July 19, 1839, aged eighty-seven.

The history of the German Reformed Church at Frankford during the few years more in which it adhered to that communion is substantially that of the church at Germantown. Rev. Mr. Runkel preached every fourth Sabbath in the German language, at other times in English. He settled with the officers of the church, on the 13th of November, 1805, for three and a half years' services at the rate of one hundred dollars per annum. What was called the Church Company, composed of Abraham Duffield, John W. Clellan, and others, leased the German Reformed Church at Frankford, Feb. 13, 1803, for three years, time to expire on the first Sunday in April, 1806. The German Reformed had possession on the fourth Sunday, but at other times the services were by ministers of other Protestant sects in the English language. The last election for officers of the German Reformed Church was held Jan. 5, 1807, and the following were elected: President, John Rohrer; Secretary and Treasurer. George Castor; Trustee, Joseph Dearman; Elder, Caleb Earle; Deacon, John Meyers; Sexton, George Rohrer. These officers petitioned the Presbytery of Philadelphia in April, of the same year, for a supply in the pulpit, which ultimately led to the incorporation of the members of the German Reformed Church of Frankford on the 9th of April, 1808, as the Frankford Presbyterian Church of Frankford, in the township of Oxford and county of Philadelphia.

The Reformed Church of the United States, or German Reformed, have the following church organizations in this city in 1884:

English.—Reformed Church Publication Board, 907 Arch Street. Rev. Charles G. Fisher, superintendent.
First Church, Tenth and Wallace Streets. Rev. D. Van Horne, D.D.
Christ Church, Green Street, below Sixteenth. Rev. James Crawford.
Grace, southeast corner Tenth and Dauphin Streets. Rev. A. B. Stoner.
Heidelberg, Nineteenth and Oxford Streets. Rev. James I. Good.
St. John, Haverford Avenue, above Fortieth Street. Rev. John P. Stein.
Trinity, Seventh Street, north of Oxford. Rev. D. Ernest Klopp, D.D.
German.—Bethlehem, Norris and Blair Streets. Rev. John G. Neuber.
Emanuel, Thirty-eighth and Baring Streets. Rev. John Knelling, D.D.
Emanuel, Bridesburg. Rev. William F. Forster.
Salem, Fairmount Avenue, below Fourth Street. Rev. F. W. Berlemann.
St. John Chapel, Ontario and Tulip Streets. John G. Neuber.
St. Luke, Twenty-sixth Street and Girard Avenue. Rev. W. Walenata.
St. Mark, Fifth Street, above Huntingdon. Rev. G. A. Scheer.
St. Paul, southeast corner Seventeenth and Fitzwater Streets. Rev. A. E. Dahlman.
Zion, Sixth Street, above Girard Avenue. Rev. Nicholas Gehr, D.D.

THE DUTCH REFORMED.

The first Dutch pastor, Rev. Everasdus Bogardus, sent to America, reached New York about 1627, and on his return to Holland, in 1647, was lost at sea. John and Samuel Megapolensis succeeded him. In 1738 some of the Dutch Reformed ministers in New York proposed having an association of clergy, called the Coetus, which was done in 1738. In 1754 the effort to develop this body into a regular Classis narrowly failed of success. In 1771, under the noted Rev. J. H. Livingston, the Dutch Reformed Church in America was divided into five Classes with a yearly General Synod. The first preaching in English in this church was that of Rev. Dr. Laidlie, of Scotland, in 1764. The last Dutch sermon was preached in New York in 1804. The doctrines of the church are now, as always, Presbyterian.

In the previous division we alluded to the schism in the First Church of the German Reformed, in 1806, on the language question. The new organization developed into the first congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church in Philadelphia or vicinity. It is probable that at the time of withdrawal they had no definite idea of establishment, whether they would become connected with some other denomination than the Reformed, or whether they hoped to obtain from the superior authorities of the German Reformed Church the privileges which had been denied them by the members of their own congregation. Their desires and hopes were evidently for a continuance of connection with the German Reformed Church. They adopted the title of the Second Reformed Association, and obtained a room for meeting in that cradle of congregations, the academy, on Fourth Street, below Arch. According to the diary of Joseph Eastburn, he began to preach for them regularly on the third Sabbath in July, 1809, and gave his services to the congregation during the whole of the year, except when called by duty to the almshouse, the prison, and the hospitals, until the congregation obtained Rev. James K. Burch as regular preacher. The name was then changed, in January, 1810, to the Evangelical Reformed Congregation of the city and vicinity of Philadelphia. On the 18th of January, 1810, the trustees addressed a letter to Joseph Eastburn, signed Philip Peltz, president, and Matthias Gebler, secretary, in which they expressed their sincere thanks "for the many services you have rendered the congregation, and in being instrumental [under God] of adding another church to the cause of Christ." They also inclosed one hundred dollars, saying that it was an inadequate acknowledgment, but all that they could then raise. He at once turned the amount over to the treasurer as a subscription toward a church building. Rev. Mr. Burch, their new pastor, had been a Presbyterian, and led the party that went out from the Third Presbyterian Church, and organized the Fifth. The congregation grew rapidly, and on the 14th of April, 1810, Edward Pennington and wife conveyed to the Evangelical Reformed congregation two lots of ground on the west side of Crown Street, north of Race, bounded on the south by the Race Street lots. The whole front on Crown Street was one hundred and five feet; one lot was eighty-seven and a half feet deep, the other one hundred and seventy-five feet deep. The corner-stone was laid May 27, 1810, and the church was dedicated June 28, 1811. It was of brick, eighty-five feet by sixty-two and a half feet, a

substantial building, having its longest side on Crown Street. The pulpit stood on one of the sides, leaving the bulk of the congregation on either side of the preacher. The galleries were perched up midway between the floor and the ceiling. The ascent to the pulpit was by means of circular stairs.

Meanwhile the tendency was toward a union with the Dutch Reformed, and in February, 1813, the title of the church was changed from the Evangelical Reformed to the First Reformed Protestant Dutch Church. It was enrolled in the Classis of New Brunswick in April of that year, and was regularly organized in May. Mr. Burch resigned, and was succeeded by Rev. Jacob Broadhead, who was installed on the evening of Oct. 10, 1813. Rev. Jacob Broadhead had been one of the pastors of the Collegiate Church, New York, was a graduate of Union College, class of 1801, and tutor in that college for three years, also pastor of the church at Rhinebeck between 1804 and 1809. He retained charge of the First Philadelphia Church till 1836, and then returned to service in New York. He died in 1855, aged seventy-three.

The Second Reformed Dutch Church was known previously as the Tabernacle and Independent Tabernacle, and afterward as the Seventh Presbyterian Church. The congregation bought two pieces of ground for burial purposes. The first was purchased of Henry Pratt, May 11, 1824, and was on the south side of Sassafras [Race] Street, between Schuylkill Seventh [Sixteenth] and Schuylkill Eighth [Fifteenth] Streets. It had a front of eighty feet on Race Street and sixty feet on Cherry, and extended two hundred and ninety-two feet to the latter street. Another lot was purchased of Thomas Reeves, Jr., and wife, April 11, 1825. It was on the north side of Cherry Street, east of Tenth. It had a width of thirty-three feet on Cherry Street, and a depth of one hundred and forty-four feet. The College of Pharmacy is built on the northern portion of this lot.

The First Reformed Dutch Church, on Spring Garden, had its origin in religious meetings held in Penn Township Hall, at Garden [now Eighth] and Buttonwood Streets, which resulted in an association probably in 1817. On the 27th of March, 1818, Abraham Warthman conveyed to the "First Reformed Dutch Church in the District of Spring Garden," a lot on the east side of Garden [Eighth] Street, between Pegg's Lane and Buttonwood Street. It was fifty feet front by one hundred and thirty-seven feet deep, subject to a ground-rent of one hundred and seventy-five dollars. John Hyde on the same day conveyed the adjoining lot, which was fifty feet front and one hundred and forty feet deep, subject to one hundred and forty dollars ground-rent. Garden Street was in direct line with Eighth Street, and was considered to commence as a separate street at Callowhill Street. Afterward it was considered a portion of Eighth Street, and few persons now know that it was once disconnected with that street. A church building was erected upon it, which stood back from Garden Street. It was of plain brick, sixty feet front by seventy feet deep. On the 3d of May, 1818, the church was opened for services. Sermons were preached by Rev. Mr. Broadhead in the morning, by Rev. Mr. Parker in the afternoon, and by Rev. Mr. Valentine in the evening. Rev. Mr. Hoff was pastor of this church in 1821. Trouble shortly afterward ensued, and the congregation was nearly broken up for two or three years. On the 3d of July, 1824, John Douglass, sheriff, sold to Frederick Gaul the entire lot, with the brick building and an adjacent wooden school-house. An effort was made to reorganize the church, and the pews were disposed of in August of that year. Mr. Gaul bought the property in hope that the congregation might be revived, and held it for some years, during which time religious services there were irregular.

The First Reformed Dutch Church, at the northwest corner of Seventh and Spring Garden Streets, is a very handsome building seventy-one by one hundred and fifteen feet. The corner-stone was laid Dec. 15, 1853, and the building was dedicated April 29, 1855.

At present the Reformed Dutch Church has the following organizations in this city:

First, corner Seventh and Spring Garden Streets.

Second, Seventh Street, above Brown. Rev. Nathaniel I. Rubinkam.

Third, chapel, 909 North Broad Street.

Fourth, Cotton Street, above Cresson, Manayunk. Rev. Cornelius Schneck.

Fifth, Otis Street, between Memphis and Cedar. Rev. C. F. C. Suckow.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The first emigration of Lutherans to America was from Holland, and settled at New York in 1626; the second was the Swedish colony of 1636; the third, and most important and influential, was that of German Lutherans during the first half of the eighteenth century, which to a large extent was the result of the persecution of the Palatinate Protestants. Germany, Switzerland, and Alsace sent thousands of earnest Lutherans to America, though at first they had very few regularly-appointed pastors, and often had to be satisfied with the services of men of doubtful standing. It is a well-known fact that in the time of Queen Anne, when thousands of German Protestants from the Alsace, the Palatinate, and adjacent parts had arrived in England, and encamped near London, many of them Lutherans, about three thousand were in 1710 transported to New York. Within the following years there was a strong influx of Germans in Pennsylvania. In 1717 the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania state that the Governor called the attention of the Council to the unwonted influx, and it was ordered that each emigrant should within a month of his arrival report himself at Philadelphia, and take the oath of allegiance. Between 1727 and 1742 thousands of German settlers arrived, and, still having almost no ministers, were forced to depend on the

kindly offices of the few Swedish Lutheran clergymen then in the colony. Meanwhile, in 1733, Revs. Bolzius and Gronan began faithful work among the Saltzburg colonists, who that year settled in Georgia, at Ebenezer, where the churches they established still flourish. About this time Lutheran settlements were made at Purrysburg, then in Beaufort County, S. C., in Spottsylvania or Virginia (1735), and in Waldsborough, Me. (1739). It was in the Middle States and Maryland, and chiefly in Pennsylvania, that German Lutheranism took a firm hold. There is a profound interest attached to even the slightest local records of the church, whose attendants number more than thirty millions of souls, whose doctrines prevail at such universities as Leipsic, Halle, Göttingen, Jena, Rostock, Greifswalde, and others, and whose writers, theologians, and evangelists will compare favorably with those of any other evangelical denomination.

It was in 1726 that we first hear of a German Lutheran clergyman in Pennsylvania ministering to the poor and toiling colonists. Most of the church histories say there were no clergymen of this denomination in Pennsylvania prior to about 1740, but this is an error. In 1726, Rev. Anthony John Hinckle was complained of before the General Assembly, as having "married persons not according to the laws of the province." He was arrested, examined, and ordered "to be discharged on payment of costs." This he refused to do, and was sent to jail, but for how long is not known. We also learn that Johann Caspar Stoever, "missionary and student," came in 1728; John Philip Streiter, in 1737. Rev. Valentine Kraft and Rev. Mr. Falkner (Swedish Lutheran) were also in the province. Lutheran churches were built by 1730 at New Hanover, and near Lebanon, where Rev. Mr. Stoever labored in 1733. The following year there was a congregation at York. The Lutherans and Reformed had worshiped in a barn on Mulberry Street, near Fifth, about 1734. But none of these had settled pastors, nor seemed to contain the elements of permanency. An attempt was soon made under somewhat more favorable auspices. The Wicaco Swedish Church was too distant to accommodate the Germantown people, and in 1737 the First German Lutheran congregation in Pennsylvania was organized at Germantown, the corner-stone of a church being soon laid, and the fraternal services of Rev. John Dylander, of the Swedish Church, being called into requisition. The new church did not thrive; there were only seven members in 1740. In 1742, Valentine Kraft, who had been dismissed from the Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia, went to Germantown, where he was in charge of the church for one year, but he was dismissed by that congregation also. Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who was then pastor of the church in Philadelphia, also took charge of one in Germantown.

Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg is undoubtedly the brightest and most heroic figure in the early history of the Lutheran Church in America, and his arrival constituted a new era, coming, as he did, with zeal and scholarship, to become the patriarch of Lutheranism here. His education was of the highest order; besides easily reading Greek and Hebrew, he was able to speak Latin, German, French, Dutch, English, and Swedish, all with ease and fluency. The history of his labors would be nearly a complete history of the church from the time of his arrival till his career closed, half a century later. Inspired with religious fervor in the school of Francke, the noted German theologian, director of the Halle University, he was enabled to carry on in some degree the same sort of work among the Pennsylvania German Lutherans that Edwards did in New England and the Wesleys and Whitefield in England and America. All these were his earlier contemporaries, and no one of them labored with greater self-devotion.

Muhlenberg's call to this new field was in September, 1741, in consequence of three deputies having been sent to England and Germany from three congregations in Pennsylvania.

After a visit to the Georgia and Carolina colonies, he reached Philadelphia Nov. 25, 1742. Upon his arrival Rev. M. Kraft was "occupying a disputed jurisdiction, and Muhlenberg was soon involved in a difficulty with the Moravian leader, Count Zinzendorf, but this was amicably settled. His first sermon, December 5th, was in "the old log barn" on Mulberry Street, and on that afternoon he preached in the Swedes' Church, Gloria Dei, where he often officiated after Dr. Dylander's death.

The Philadelphia congregation in 1743 consisted of one hundred persons. The trustees and elders were J. V. Unstadt, L. Bast, J. H. Keppele, J. G. Burghardt, J. D. Seckel, H. Miller, and L. Herman. It was arranged that Mr. Muhlenberg was to serve each congregation—Philadelphia, New Providence, and Hanover—four months in the year. Nesman, the Swedish minister, in this year reported that "there were twenty Lutheran congregations in America."

The Philadelphia Lutherans decided to build as soon as possible. In 1743 they bought for two hundred pounds the lot of ground on Fifth Street, above Mulberry, extending northward from the street called Appletree Alley to Cherry Lane. On the 5th of April, 1743, the corner-stone was laid, and on the 20th of October divine service was held. At that time the windows had no sashes, and light was admitted through the cracks in the boards, which were placed in the window-frames. The congregation was seated on boards placed upon blocks. This building was seventy feet long, forty-five feet wide, and thirty-six feet high. It had a steeple fifty feet high, but this being put up before the walls were dry, the latter began to spread, and the steeple was taken down in 1750. The plan was adopted of building the porches on the north and south sides of the church, and that is why it appeared in the form of a cross. The church

cost thirteen hundred and ten pounds, but the congregation could only raise six hundred and sixty-one pounds, so they remained six hundred and forty-nine pounds in debt. This burden was heavy upon them for some years. Not until the 14th of August, 1748, was this or St. Michael's Church completed and dedicated. The whole cost by that time, exclusive of the ground, was about eight thousand dollars. Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler, says that about 1750 St. Michael's received a very fine organ from Germany.

LUTHERAN CHURCH IN 1743.

In January, 1745, Pastor Peter Brunnholtz arrived at Philadelphia, bringing with him Messrs. Schaum and Kurtz, students of divinity. Mr. Brunnholtz officiated alternately at Philadelphia and Germantown, and Mr. Schaum, who was appointed master of the German school, officiated at Germantown upon occasions. Three years later came Messrs. Handschuch, Hartnick (founder of the Hartnick Seminary), and Weygand; in 1751, Schultz and Heinzelman; in 1753, Geroek, Haneil, Wortman, Wagner, Schartlin, Shrenk, and Rauss; in 1758, Bager; in 1764, Voigt and Krug; in 1769, Helmuth and Schmidt; in 1770, Kunze. All of them were men of energy and education, clergymen and teachers. When the first Synod was held at Philadelphia, in 1748, there were six regularly called Lutheran ministers present. The Synod of 1751 reported forty congregations, and sixty thousand as the Lutheran population. Most of this gain was from Central Pennsylvania.

We have referred to "the three Lutheran congregations" in Philadelphia County, and have described one. Providence township contained fifty families in 1742, and was so thrown under the ministrations of Dr. Muhlenberg that the next year they built a costly and commodious stone church in the village now called Trappe or "The Trappe."[1] Over the door of the porch was a tablet with the following inscription: "Sub Remigio Christi, has edes Societate augustanæ confess. deditæ dedicates ex ipso fundamento exstruxit Henricus Melchior Mulenberg una cum censoribus I. N. Crossmano, F. Marstellero, H. A. Heilmano, I. Mullero, H. Hasio et G. Kebnero. A.D. MDCCXLIII."

The pews formerly, and each seat in the pews, were branded with a hot iron. When Dr. Muhlenberg first came to Pennsylvania the congregation worshiped in a barn. Buck's "History of Montgomery County" says in relation to this church,—

"It is built of stone, two stories high, fifty-four feet in length, and thirty-nine feet wide. At the ends of the roof are two iron vanes each bearing the date 1743. . . . From the floor to the ceiling of the roof is about thirty feet. The original pulpit is still here, with its sounding-board, all of black walunt. The four pillars, as well as the joists which support the galleries, are of hewn oak twelve by fifteen inches in thickness. The pews have never been painted. All the woodwork of the church is done in a very rude and rough manner, denoting simplicity, solidity, and strength."

The corner-stone was laid May 2d, and on the 12th of September the church was roofed in. A log school-house was built before the church was commenced. The Lutheran congregation at New Hanover, Philadelphia Co., or the Swamp, was the largest in Pennsylvania. When Dr. Muhlenberg took charge it had one hundred and twenty members, who were worshiping in a log building. He kept school all the week, and preached the gospel every Lord's day. In the schools he taught young people of from eighteen to twenty years of age and upwards, and sometimes the parents. On Whitsunday, 1743, he administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, having then previously confirmed twenty-six catechumens. A school-house was soon erected by the congregation. The Germantown Church, under Pastor Brunnholtz, who took charge in 1745, with Mr. Vigero, a Philadelphia schoolmaster, and Mr. Schaum, as occasional readers, began to grow materially. On the 15th of April, 1746, the corner-stone of an additional building was laid, being six feet wider than the old church, thirty feet being added to the length. The cost was estimated at one hundred and sixty pounds currency, but the pews and sacristy cost fifty-six pounds in addition. The members subscribed sixty pounds, and the remainder was borrowed on interest. In 1748 the congregation owed two hundred and thirty-six pounds currency, which burden was very much eased in the following year by a contribution of three hundred florins from the consistory of Würtemberg.

[1] In regard to the name of this village, Trap, or the Trappe, there has been much speculation. Many persons have been disposed to assign its origin to the German word *treppe* ("steps"); and the late Governor Francis R. Shunk, who was born at the Trappe, had as his private seal the effigy of three steps, with the motto, "Eich ersteigo" ("raise yourself"). Dr. Muhlenberg, in his journal, after speaking of Jacob Schrack, one of the first settlers in that neighborhood, who arrived from Germany in 1717, and purchased two hundred and fifty acres of land, which is embraced in the present village, says, "They built a cabin and dug a cave in which they cooked. They kept a tavern in a small way, with a shop, and beer, and such things. As once an English inhabitant, who had been drinking in the cave, fell asleep, and came home late, and was in consequence scolded by his wife, he excused himself by saying he had been at the *trap*. From that time this neighborhood was called the Trappe, and known as such in all America." In Reading Howell's "Map of Pennsylvania," published in 1792, and in Scott's "United States Gazetteer" of 1795, it is called "Trap," thus proving that this name did not originate from the German name of *treppe* for steps, but from the English word trap, signifying a snare, or rather a pitfall.

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Between 1750 and the outbreak of the Revolution the small churches we have been describing went on developing, and began to require separate pastors. Rev. Peter Brunnholtz at Germantown preached also at St. Michael's, in Philadelphia, as Dr. Muhlenberg's duties were also of a missionary and evangelist nature. He died in 1757. John Dietrich Heinzelman officiated at St. Michael's and Germantown as occasion required. He was called as assistant minister of St. Michael's on July 26, 1753, and died on Feb. 9, 1756. After the death of Pastor Brunnholtz, John Frederick Handschuch was called as minister of St. Michael's. He had left the Lancaster Church because of an uproar over his marriage to a deacon's daughter, had then preached at New Hanover and at Providence, and then, as the first really resident clergyman, at Germantown. From 1756 to the time of his death, Oct. 9, 1764, he remained at St. Michael's. Rev. John Louis Voigt, an inspector at the Halle Orphan House, began preaching at Germantown, and at St. Peter's, at Barren Hill (1764). In 1765 Christopher Emanuel Schulte arrived in America from Halle, and he was chosen vice-rector of St. Michael's Church. Dr. Muhlenberg having been called to that charge after the death of Mr. Handschuch, and having officiated in fact after his return to Philadelphia in 1761, from the Trappe (Church of Augustus), John Frederick Schmidt, in 1769, was sent to Germantown, where he remained sixteen years.

Rev. Mr. Hartnick took charge at the Trappe, but only remained six months. In April, 1762, the Rev. Jacob Van Buskirk took charge of this old church, and served for two years. In 1764 he gave up the Trappe congregation, which remained for more than a year without a settled minister. Meanwhile Mr. Van Buskirk served the congregation at New Hanover. In December, 1765, the Rev. John Ludwick Voigt became the pastor, and remained in that position for more than thirty-three years.

New Hanover, or the Swamp, enjoyed the labor of John Nicholas Kurtz even before 1750, under Dr. Muhlenberg's supervision. In 1759 Mr. Schaum was preaching at New Hanover. Mr. Handschuch also gave his services to this charge. Mr. Schulte, also, was among those who attended to the spiritual wants of the people in that section of Philadelphia County. In 1764 Mr. Voigt officiated at New Hanover. After he left Germantown and Barren Hill he returned again to New Hanover.

The Philadelphia congregation grew greatly, beyond all possible accommodation even when the school-house also was used; they even rented the academy on Fourth Street, and held service there for some time. The only remedy was evidently to colonize and found a new and large church, and the history of the enterprise shows how much in earnest its projectors were and how wonderfully their efforts were crowned with success. A lot at the southeast corner of Cherry and Fourth Streets, having a width of ninety-eight feet on Fourth Street, was bought of Daniel Wistar for £1083 12*s.*; another of thirty-six feet on Fourth Street was bought of Paul Weitzel and Andrew Graff, of Lancaster, for £456 17*s.* May 16, 1766, the corner-stone of Zion Church was laid. The length of the building was one hundred and eight feet, the breadth was seventy feet. The building was put under roof at an expense of £3756. The number of bricks used in it was five hundred and twenty-five thousand five hundred and sixty-seven. In 1767 the church was plastered and the floor was laid, but further work was postponed in consequence of the want of money. On the 25th of June, 1769, the building yet unfinished was consecrated. The whole cost amounted to £8000 currency, exclusive of the cost of the ground (£1540), and the debt was £5200 currency. The church was the largest and handsomest then in North America. The roof and ceiling were supported by eight large columns of the Doric order, which served for bases for the arches of the ceiling, which was ornamented and finished in the most ornate manner, and the inside was handsomely furnished. The most careful preparations were made to fittingly celebrate the consecration.

The Lutheran Synod was in session, and a procession was formed at St. Michael's to walk to Zion Church. It was composed of the corporation of St. Michael's, representatives of the German Reformed Church in Lancaster, and deputies from York, Old Germantown, New Germantown, Reading, Schuylkill, Hanover, Providence, Pikestown, and Barren Hill. The one hundredth Psalm was sung, and the sermon was preached by Pastor Kurtz from Mark, 16th chapter, 15th, 16th, and 20th verses. The evening was dedicated to the service of the children, in which Pastor Schmidt, Pastor Helmuth, and Muhlenberg took part. On the next day, Monday, June 26th, the Rev. Richard Peters, rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, preached a sermon in the new Lutheran Church of Zion, at the instance of the wardens and vestrymen of the incorporated congregation of St. Michael's, from St. Luke, chapter 2d, verses 13th and 14th. In commencing, Mr. Peters said,—

"Your invitation to the ministers and members of the Episcopal Church to mix their devotions with yours, and to partake of the joy you must needs feel on bringing this large building to such an admired and astonishing perfection, fills us with a high sense of your brotherly love to us in Christ Jesus. It reminds us of the love and tender affection which existed among the first Christian churches, and which makes so large and so delightful a part of the Apostolic epistles recorded in Scripture."

Zion Church was in charge at various times of Pastor Muhlenberg, Pastor Schulte, and Pastor Schmidt. Pastor John C. Kunze, of Artern, arrived in 1770, being the eleventh ordained minister who had been sent from Halle, and was appointed junior member in Philadelphia in 1771. Pastor Schulte resigned, and went to Tulpehocken. In 1773, Rev. Henry Muhlenberg, son of Dr. Muhlenberg, who had been ordained in 1770, was appointed assistant minister at

Philadelphia. In 1774, Dr. Muhlenberg resigned, and went to reside at the Trappe, where he remained until his death, in 1787. In 1775, Rev. Henry Muhlenberg and Rev. John C. Kunze, his brother-in-law, were in charge of the Philadelphia congregations.

In 1759 two hundred pounds were appropriated for the purchase of additional ground for burial purposes. The first lot had cost nine hundred and fifteen pounds, and the next year four hundred and forty-seven pounds were appropriated for the purchase of a house adjoining the church for a parsonage, and for a lot upon which to erect a school-house. The school-house was completed July 27, 1761. Pastor Brunnholtz had begun some time before, and the number had increased from a dozen to eighty, and still the school grew, till they were transferred to the church, and finally, that winter, back to his own house, when partitions were removed and a large room formed. Now, at the new school-house, there were one hundred and twenty pupils. The tuition was modeled on the plans of the German orphan schools, and the children were divided into six classes. There were quarterly examinations in the church before the whole congregation; afterward cakes were distributed among them, and printed verses from Scripture were also given out. Said Mr. Brunnholtz, writing to Halle, "In pleasant weather we go out into the country with the children, walking two by two. At one time they repeat their verses as if with one mouth, and at another time they sing, which animates me even in the greatest despondency. Sundays they assemble in front of my house, whence they go by twos to the church, where they are examined by Mr. Heinzelman." Dr. Muhlenberg, Provost Wrangel, and other ministers assisted in the dedication of this school-house.

Difficulties of a curious nature meanwhile arose in Germantown, beginning in 1753, in opposition to Pastor Handschuch. The malcontents got possession of the parsonage house and church, and elected for their minister Conrad Andrae, who was a disowned minister of Deuxponts. He died shortly after, and they elected Rev. Mr. Rapp.

Pastor Handschuch and his friends numbered about twenty families, and, being deprived of their church, they rented a house for twelve pounds per annum in March, 1753, where they held divine service, and where Mr. Handschuch kept school for four days in the week. He, however, withdrew from Germantown in a short time and went to Philadelphia.

The old members of the congregation met in the Reformed Church, and had only occasional services, but they kept together and purchased a lot for one hundred pounds on which to build a school-house. In 1762 one hundred heads of families belonging to the Germantown congregation petitioned the Synod for the appointment of a minister. The Synod replied that "this could not well be done, as the church was then in the hands of those who had contributed nothing to its erection." To this the petitioners answered that they would have the church restored to them either amicably or they would obtain possession of it by a judicial decision, and that in the mean time they had made arrangements for a place of meeting, and Peter Kurtz, of Tulpehocken, was therefore appointed.

Suit was then brought against the Rapp party, and in April, 1763, the judgment was that the party opposed to Rapp should one Sunday hold religious service in the morning and on the next Sunday in the afternoon. The Rappites had the church at all other times. Pastor Kurtz preached in 1763 and 1764, and was succeeded by John Ludwick Voigt, who preached his first sermon in 1764. The troubles with Rapp still continued, but it was finally agreed to unite on a certain day and determine who should be minister, Pastor Voigt or Rapp, and the decision was unanimously in favor of Voigt, therefore the old congregation obtained possession of the church and parsonage. Pastor Voigt, in March, 1765, accepted a call to New Hanover and Providence, and Pastor James Van Buskirk was appointed minister. He served four years, when he was appointed minister of the congregations of Macungie, Saccum, and Upper Dublin. John Frederick Schmidt succeeded him in June, 1769, and completed the restoration of peace and harmony to Germantown.

The small churches in the vicinity of Philadelphia also grew, but slowly. St. Peter's, at Barren Hill, twelve miles from the city, was a direct outcome of the Germantown difficulties just described. There had been a stone school-house there in 1759, where services were often held. In 1761 the church was built. It cost, before roofed, five hundred pounds, and twelve hundred pounds when finished. An attempt to pay the debt by a lottery failed, and an effort to raise the funds in England and Germany fared no better. In order to secure the creditors, the Swedish provost, Dr. Wrangel, Dr. Muhlenberg, and Henry Keppelle afterward became security for the debt, then amounting to upward of one thousand dollars. The creditors were not immediately pressing, but the congregation did not even pay the interest, and at length the sureties were called on. The first means of remunerating them was one hundred pounds, donated by the king of England. As a further means of increasing the interest of this congregation in the settlement of its debts, the church, school, and lot were transferred to the German Lutheran congregation, but it was considered parochial to St. Michael's. A short time afterward the Count of Roedelscheim, of Germany, died, and left by his will thirteen thousand guilders to the German Lutherans of Pennsylvania, three thousand of which were directed to be specially paid to discharge the debt of the Barren Hill Church.

The pastors of the churches in Germantown preached here. After 1769, Daniel Schroeter, "from the University at Philadelphia," took charge of this church, but soon went to Manheim, near Lancaster, and Mr.

Moller, a theological student, became his successor. Among the names on the early tombstones here are Mitchell, Hilkner, Bisbing, Kolp, Lentz, Freas, Wampall, Bartle, Dager, Fie, Russell, Haas, Hitner, Streeper, Sneyder, Schlatter, Staley, Hagey, Steer, Harman, Hallman, Rex, Faust, Tompson, Clay, Cressman, Gillman, Woolf, Stull, Kats, and Scheets. A German Lutheran Church was built in Lower Merion township in the year 1769, at the intersection of cross-roads half a mile east of Athensville, near the Delaware County line. It received the attention of various Lutheran ministers. The most common names on the tombstones here are West, Lainhoof, Knox, Kugler, Marten, Dolby, Calflesh, Sheaf, Pechen, Miller, Goodman, Litzenburg, Smith, Wagner, Fis, Super, Bittle, Latch, Epright, Fimple, Paget, Hammill, Sibly, Zell, Nagle, Hoffman, Mayer, Creekbom, Knowl, Horn, Trexler, and Ott. There was also a Lutheran Church at Frankford in which John Frederick Schmidt preached about 1769. Another at Whitpaine was also served by him.

In 1773, on the eve of the war, the need of home-trained ministers urged the Lutherans to establish a seminary. For the maintenance of this school a number of Lutherans agreed to associate themselves into a body to be called "A Society for the Promotion of Christianity and all Useful Knowledge among the Germans in America." It was to consist of twenty-four members, who were to contribute ten pounds each, with foreign patrons and honorary associates. The studies were to be of the higher sciences, English law, medicine, and theology. The first meeting of this society was held on February 9, 1773, the twenty-four members having been then obtained. The control of the institution was intrusted to the Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg and Mr. Keppele, directors; Dr. Kunze and Mr. Kuhl, associate directors; Rev. Henry Muhlenberg and another thereafter to be elected, inspectors. On the 15th of February the school commenced with five scholars. Mr. Leps taught Latin that year, but was ordained in 1774, and took a church in New York. The seminary managed to keep alive until 1778, but was then abandoned. When we stop to consider the immense amount of missionary labor that the few ministers then in Pennsylvania had to perform, it will seem a marvel that they ever undertook this enterprise. The population was very much unsettled, ever moving farther west. Dr. Muhlenberg wrote home that in five years half of his congregation had changed. Besides this, roads and bridle-paths were extremely bad, or entirely lacking, and Indian difficulties were not unusual. Rev. Mr. Kurtz, in his narrative, says that July 2, 1757, the lifeless bodies of no less than seven of his church members, murdered the night before by Indians, were brought to the church and lay before the pulpit till the funeral services the next day.

During the Revolutionary war the Lutheran Churches suffered greatly. Many of their members joined the patriots, and their property was not spared by the British. At Germantown they plundered Rev. Mr. Schmidt's house, and forced him to leave with many of his parishioners. The church was also injured, and the organ was destroyed. It is said that during the Revolution this church was used for a battery by British troops, soldiers being quartered in the building. At one time they were dislodged by a charge of Americans coming from Mount Airy. Maj. James Witherspoon, of the New Jersey Brigade, who fell in the battle of Germantown Oct. 4, 1777, was buried in the cemetery here, when the contest raged fiercely on that day. Mr. Schmidt returned and acted as pastor till 1786. Rev. Mr. Weinland was his successor for three years, when he accepted a call to New Providence, in which trust he afterward died. Mr. Weinland came from Roemhild, and was the last ordained German Lutheran minister sent to America by the University of Halle. In 1790, Rev. Frederick D. Schaefer, at the age of twenty-seven years, was elected minister. The parish over which these ministers ruled embraced the Frankford, Nicetown, Whitpaine, Rising Sun, the Ridge, and Barren Hill congregations. The church at Germantown, which in 1770 had one hundred and seventy persons partaking of the Lord's Supper, and thirty-nine catechumens confirmed, was not so large again until after the Revolution. In 1786 the church was incorporated. The Barren Hill Church also suffered during the Revolution. It was occupied by the contending armies as a battery and stable. It received much injury, and after the enemy left Pennsylvania it was found full of dirt and rubbish, and greatly injured. Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, in his journal of date Nov. 4, 1777, says of St. Peter's that it was used as a stable for horses by a part of the American army encamped in the vicinity. Lafayette used this church as a point of observation in May, 1778. St. Michael's, in Philadelphia, and Zion Churches (Revs. Muhlenberg and Kunze, pastors) suffered during the war. The pastors left when the British came in, and Zion Church was made a hospital. It cost the congregation one thousand three hundred pounds for repairs, and Sept. 22, 1782, the building was reconsecrated. St. Michael's was used as a garrison church, and occupied by British chaplains, the few Lutherans left using it in the afternoons. Rev. H. Muhlenberg went to Lancaster in 1779, and Dr. Helmuth[1] was his successor. Rev. M. Kunze went to New York in 1784. For a while Dr. Helmuth had both churches on his hands, but Rev. John F. Schmidt was called to Zion. In 1780 the Legislature

[1] Helmuth was one of the last of the twelve ministers who were sent over from Halle before the Revolution. He died in 1825, in the eightieth year of his age. While in Philadelphia he was appointed professor of German and the Oriental languages in the University of Pennsylvania. In 1785, with Dr. Schmidt, he established a seminary for candidates for the church, a school maintained for more than twenty years.

revived and reaffirmed the charter granted by the Penns in 1765, but a special enactment provided for non-election of officers in the church during British occupancy. On Oct. 10, 1790, the great organ was opened in Zion Church, being the largest and best instrument then in America. It was built by David Tannenberg, who was self-taught in this branch of mechanism. The frame was twenty-four feet front, eight feet deep, and twenty-seven feet high. The divisions consisted of five turrets and four frames, of two stories, except the side turrets, which, on account of the large pipes, were only one story in height. In the front there were one hundred metal pipes, and in the body there were two thousand pipes, with five sets of keys. St. Michael's had its organ repaired and the church rededicated in 1791. Zion Church lost no less than six hundred and twenty-five members of its congregation by the yellow fever in 1793.

Dec. 26, 1794, the vestry-room of Zion Church, in the tower, took fire, and the whole building was soon destroyed. Scarcely anything was saved except a few pipes from the organ. This fire was caused by putting hot wood-ashes into a box. Offers were at once made by other congregations, tendering their buildings for worship. Christ (Episcopal) Church made such an offer, also the German Reformed Church, on Race Street, near Fourth, which was most convenient. Soon after a lot south of the church, and now fronting on Loxley's Court, was bought for three thousand five hundred pounds, and a school-house subsequently erected thereon. The walls were strong, and the work of rebuilding was commenced. The tower was raised higher than before, the interior fixtures replaced, and in November, 1796, the church was reconsecrated.

In Zion Church the ceremonies of commemoration of the death of Washington took place December, 1799, and in the succeeding year the ceremonies of the Grand Lodge of Masons of Pennsylvania. In 1817 the third centennial jubilee of the Reformation by Martin Luther was celebrated in Zion Church. It was intended to be something more than a mere Lutheran demonstration, and the design was to bring together representatives of all Protestant sects. Among the ministers present were Bishop White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and Rev. Dr. Alexander, of Princeton.

Both Zion and St. Michael's paid attention to educational matters. The lot granted in 1763 by the Penns, on the south side of Vine, east of Eighth, was supplemented by purchases, in 1776, of an adjoining lot for about two thousand five hundred dollars; and by a succession of grants and purchases the whole square, bounded by Race, Vine, Franklin, and Eighth Streets, finally became the property of Zion and St. Michael's congregations. Portions of the ground were reserved for school uses, but a space, extending from Franklin to Eighth, was kept as a burying-ground, and used for that purpose during many years. In 1787 a school for poor children was opened by Zion congregation, for which the Legislature gave one thousand acres of land. A society for aiding the poor was also established in February, 1790. In 1789, to these churches, which had been educating eighty poor children, the Legislature granted, for the maintenance of a school, five thousand acres of land in Tioga County. In 1794 the Zion congregation erected a school-house in the Northern Liberties, on a lot at the corner of Second and Brown Streets, which had been purchased some time previous. The establishment of the public-school system and the multiplication of secular schools gradually did away with the system of church instruction.

Zion's first Sabbath-school was organized May 17, 1804, by a widow, Mrs. Anna Cruse, who began with six children. Another class was commenced in April, 1805, at the Northern Liberties school-house, corner of Brown and St. John Streets.

As early as 1796, when the troubles between the German and the English parties began to take dangerous form, these well-endowed churches were about to establish a large school, with five teachers, where both English and German should be taught. The school of Zion Church contained two hundred scholars and forty teachers before 1804. The four day-schools of the churches numbered two hundred and fifty pupils. It was during Dr. Schmidt's administration, in 1802, that the pro-English agitation began among the younger Lutherans. The first trial of strength was Feb. 14, 1803, and the advocates of the German language won, also in 1804, and again in 1805, the latter time by a majority of thirty-four members of the corporation.

Upon this triumph they offered the English party the entire use of St. Michael's Church and the burial-place belonging there, as well as the use of the school-house in Cherry Street, and the privilege of burying in the other ground of St. Michael and Zion, to such of the English-speaking members as had relatives interred there. This was made upon condition that the new congregation should assume and pay one-third of the debt of the two churches, which was then six thousand eight hundred and thirty-one dollars, but the English party refused, and renewed the contest in 1806. On that occasion the most strenuous efforts were put forth, so that nearly fourteen hundred votes were polled. The Germans won by a majority of about one hundred and thirty. The English party then went out in a body, carried off with them fully one-half of the members of the congregation, and formed St. John's Church. Dr. Schmidt survived this misfortune six years. He died May 16, 1812, at the age of sixty-six years, forty-three of which had been spent in the service of the churches at Germantown and Philadelphia. Dr. Helmuth delivered an affecting sermon. Before the death of Pastor Schmidt, on account of failing health, the congregation had elected as pastor Frederick D. Schaefer of St. Michael's,

Germantown. When he entered upon his duties new trouble was impending. The secession of the advocates of English preaching in 1806 had taken away the younger members. But in about eight years another party arose, which demanded alternate English and German preaching. The request was resisted, as had been the movement in 1806. In the early period of these controversies the English-speaking members of the congregation formed an association called the St. Michael's Society, the object of which was to "unite the members of the German Lutheran congregation by having divine service performed in the church in the English as well as in the German language." This society prepared a paper entitled "Observations Addressed to the Congregation upon the Subject of Preaching only German, and the Consequent Decline of the Congregation." A copy of this address was sent to every Lutheran, and a meeting was called for Sept. 26, 1815. The place appointed was the school-room of the church in Cherry Street, above Fourth; but when the persons intending to hold the meeting resorted to that place, they found the room already filled with the German party, and they were crowded out. This was repeated, until the meeting was abandoned. A meeting of the German party was held in the Northern Liberties in December, 1815. Frederick Eberle was chairman. Christian Manhart said,—

"Brethren, they want to steal our property, to rob our churches. They have associated themselves into a society. Their articles were that they take Irishmen, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and even black men, into their churches. We shall oppose them with all our bodily strength."

John Donneck said that "blood should flow in the churches before English should be introduced."

In December, 1815, a meeting of the corporation of the church was held, and a letter, signed by Dr. Michael Leib, champion of the English-preaching party, was sent to George Honey, the president. They met in the vestry-room of the church, and when the petition was to be presented a large number of the German party attempted to prevent its reading. The German party also prepared a petition, which was very strong in its expressions. The following is a translation:

"*To the Honorable Corporation of St. Michael's and Zion's Congregation in and near Philadelphia:*

"We, the undersigned, members of the German Evangelical Lutheran congregation in and near Philadelphia, herewith give an honorable corporation to know our liveliest displeasure on the inconsiderate undertaking of introducing a strange language in our churches.

"At a time when our beloved congregation tasted the deepest rest, when the worthy German gospel was preached among us with peculiar energy and power, when not only an increase of the number of our congregational members, but a powerful spiritual awakening, particularly among our youth, appeared to manifest itself, exactly at that time it is ventured on to sow the seeds of discord, of disturbance, and of destruction.

"We declare ourselves briefly by this opportunity, and only aver to an honorable corporation that we are determined, as we have also firmly bound ourselves before God, and solemnly before each other, to defend with our bodies and lives our German divine worship against every attack, and to oppose with all our power the introduction of a strange language in our churches.

"To this end we herewith apply to an honorable corporation, and to you, fathers and brothers particularly, who, in this respect, cherish similar feelings with ourselves, who, with us, prefer divine service in German to the English, and pray you assiduously, in virtue of your oaths before God and our whole congregation, to guard our exclusive privileges and the welfare of our whole union, so that the tempter may not succeed in destroying our beautiful German establishment.

"We pray you, dear fathers and brothers, to direct a steady eye to the character of our church, according to which, in important occurrences, at least two-thirds of the corporation and congregation are required before any innovation can be brought about.

"We pray you, dear fathers and brothers, agreeably to a resolution of the corporation, not again to let it be brought to an election whether the English divine service shall be introduced in our German churches or not.

"We pray you, dear fathers and brothers, for the suppression of a pernicious example, by repealing a resolution which permits the members of the corporation to speak in a strange language when the honorable church council is assembled on business of the congregation; such an example hath, in our view, the most baneful consequences.

"We further pray you to make such arrangements that the opponents of the German language and German divine worship may never be permitted to meet in our school-house for the attainment of their base views, because we ourselves would thereby give them the means in hand for our destruction.

"We pray you, dear fathers and brothers, for the sake of the ashes of our ancestors, who gave their wealth—yea, their blood—to build us German churches, thereby to enable us to enjoy the blessings of the German gospel; we pray you for the sake of the peace of our congregation, for the sake of the innocent hearts who, under present circumstances, suffer the deepest sorrow; we pray you for the sake of the German Lutheran order; yea, we pray you for the sake of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to comply with our prayers. And, finally, be assured that we will, with all our powers, yea, with body and life, support you, dear fathers and brothers, in all such measures that may tend to the welfare, the advancement, and to the perfecting of our German divine service.

"Experience teaches us that if we give up the breadth of a finger of our property, of our exclusive rights and privileges, that we are then near our destruction. In that event we shall become the object of laughter of every civilized nation.

"We are, with esteem and devotion, on honorable church councils, sincere brothers, etc.

[SEAL.] [NAMES.]

"The above is a true translation from the original hereto annexed. Witness my hand and seal, Jan. 12, 1816.

"JOHN GOODMAN, *Notary Public.*
"Residing in the Northern Liberties,
"County of Philadelphia."

The controversy culminated in the indictment of the whole German party, which, being found in the mayor's court, was taken by *certiorari* to the Supreme Court, before Judge Yeates, in July, 1816. The defendants were Fred. Eberle, Fred. Buckhalter, John P. Krocker, Charles Gunther, Fred. Beunecker, Adam Risinger, John Seyfert, Matthias Scheurman, Theobald Schmidt, George Weinman, Conrad Weckerle, David Schuh, John Donneck, Michael Knorr, William Yager, Christian L. Manhart, Jacob Link, John Dankworth, Christian Reish, John Schlag, John Cruse, Henry Dohnert, Christian F. Cruse, Jacob Chur, Jr., Gottlieb Schwartz, F. A. Schneider, John Chur, Henry M. Maxheimer, Fred. Hoeckley, Fred. Fricke, John William Berg, Charles Lex, Valentine Flegler, Henry Flegler, Frederick Schwikhart, Christian Jahns, Jacob Endress, John Seifert, Matthew Scheurman, David Scheurman, Jacob Scheurman, Henry Schweir, Casper Pickles, John Bournman, Jacob Chur, C[illegible] midt, John George Dau, Jacob Eberl[illegible] William Weyman, John

Peter, Henry Luben, Peter Selfert, Philip Zehner, Christopher Bush, Amos Burman, Henry Miller, Philip Eberle, John Herpel, F. A. Gildner, Fred. Oberthaur, Charles Bartholoma, Charles Dominique, John Andrew Maurer, John Zehner, William Walter, John Mickeline, George Selfert, Melchior Wahl, John Moole, Nicholas Hartzell, Elias Frey, and George Mark. As to the last fourteen names the grand jury found "*ignoramus*," and they were not tried. The defendants were charged with conspiracy, on Dec. 26, 1815, to "acquire for themselves unjust and illegal authority and power in the said congregation, and to distress, oppress, and aggrieve peaceful citizens of this commonwealth, also members of the said congregation," that they conspired to "prevent by force of arms the use of the English language in the worship of Almighty God." A very important part of the charge, on which great stress was laid in the evidence and in the arguments of counsel, was the allegation that defendants had "conspired with their bodies and lives to prevent the introduction of English," etc. The trial lasted for several days, and all the defendants on trial were convicted. An application to the Supreme Court in banc for a new trial was not successful. The defendants, however, were not punished, having received pardons from Governor Snyder.

The election for officers of the corporation in January, 1816, was carried on with much warmth and with the general incidents of a secular contest. The German party was very violent, and succeeded, according to the returns, in electing their candidates. But this result was also contested in a proceeding before Judge Gibson at *Nisi Prius*, after the conspiracy case was disposed of. The proceeding was by *quo warranto* against George C. Woelper and seven others, and the jury found in favor of the commonwealth, which established that the defendants were illegally chosen. Motion to set aside this verdict was made, but it was refused. Notwithstanding that the English party triumphed by the law, their situation in the congregation was so unpleasant that they resolved to follow the example of St. John's congregation, and secede. They went out about the end of 1817, and formed what was afterward known as St. Matthew's English Lutheran congregation.

We will now trace the history of these two revolting bodies. Those who withdrew in 1806 adopted the title of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. John. They withdrew to the academy on Fourth Street, where, in October, they procured the services of Rev. Philip F. Mayer, a graduate of Columbia College. In 1808 they were incorporated. It had grown so fast that they purchased that year a large lot on Race Street, between Fifth and Sixth, running northward to Mulberry Alley. A portion of the lot extended out to Fifth Street, and included some of the old houses known as the "Fourteen Chimneys." The corner-stone was laid March 9, 1808, by Rev. Philip F. Mayer, in the presence of a large number of persons and clergymen, including Rev. Dr. Helmuth, of the German Lutheran Church; Bishop White and Messrs. Blackwell, Abercrombie, and Andrews, of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Green, Janeway, and Potts, of the Presbyterian Church; Staughton and Smith, of the Baptist Church; and McDowell, provost of the University. The building was sixty-eight feet by one hundred and sixty-eight feet. Frederick Graff drew the design for the front, and William Rush did the carving over the pulpit. The eagle which sustained the sounding-board was particularly admired. It has since been transferred to Independence Hall. The figure of the bird was perched over the keystone of the arch, and the sounding-board was suspended from its beak by a long chain. The pulpit was an octagonal box with winding stairs, the pews were high and stiff-backed. There were triple windows at the ends, besides plenty of side-windows. At that date it was the finest church in the city. The building committee consisted of John Goodman, Jr., Christlieb Bartling, Michael Fox, John Hay, Adam Eckfeldt, and John Greiner. The building was dedicated in June, 1809. In 1820 a new organ was procured. As soon as possible they built a school-house on Fifth, at the corner of Mulberry Alley. It was a rather ambitious institution, called "St. John's Lyceum." Here Professor James Cutbush, in 1812, gave lectures on chemistry, natural philosophy, and mineralogy, and the next year a larger building was constructed at the corner of Race and Chester Streets, but Professor Cutbush was called to a position at West Point, and the school proved a failure in other hands.

Those who separated in 1817 organized themselves at the academy, on Arch Street, under the title of the Lutheran Church of St. Matthew. The first board of officers was composed of Andrew Geyer, president; George E. Baker, secretary; George Krebs, treasurer; Samuel Keemle, John Geyer, Abraham Beidelman, and Adam Steinbock, vestrymen. Among the members of the church at this time are to be found the names of Lex, Dannaker, Bush, Gougler, Croll, Baumbirn, Fredericks, Freed, Blumner, Ripperger, Wagner, Cline, Eberle, Shoch, Eisenhart, Hinecle, Lower, Knipe, Leoscher, Armbruster, and Kneedler. These names all indicate German nativity, but those who possessed them, and who belonged to this congregation, were of American birth. In the articles of union the members of this church expressed the opinion that if the Lutheran Church in America did not abandon her exclusive character and adapt herself to the language of the descendants of the founders, the sons and daughters of those founders would go over to other sects, and the strength of the Lutheran Church in America would be greatly diminished. They secured the services of Rev. Christian F. Cruse, and were worshiping in that building, under charge of Mr. Cruse, in the year 1825. A call was extended,

in 1818, to Rev. George Lochman, D.D., of Lebanon, but he declined. Similar fortune attended a call made in 1820 to Rev. Benjamin Kurtz, D.D., of Baltimore. The first purchase of real estate made by this congregation was on the south side of Buttonwood Street, between Fifth and Sixth, April 11, 1820, from Henry Pratt, by Charles Eberle, Andrew Bush, and Henry Burkhart, in trust, subject to a ground-rent of sixty dollars.

During the fourteen or more years that the question of introducing English had been agitated, the views of the conservatives had decidedly changed. Schmucker says in his history that they began to see how short-sighted their policy had been.

Hazelius says,—

"The obstinate adherence of many of our older ministers to the exclusive use of the German language in the service of the church, presents us with a hindrance to its growth which could not fail to effect the heart of every well-wisher of our Zion. The instruction of the young in the elements of religion became thereby necessarily imperfect. They understood little or nothing of the public services in the sanctuary, in consequence of which the love to the church of their fathers waxed cold in many, and, finding more instruction and edification in the houses of worship pertaining to those denominations of Christians who taught and preached in the language of our country than in their own, thousands left our church and connected themselves with English churches, while others became negligent attendants on the word of God in their own denomination."

Dr. Morris says,—

"Where are the thousand respectable families who abandoned our communion because their children didn't understand German? Go into any considerable town or city and you will see them maintain a conspicuous standing in almost every denomination of Christians."

After the secession of 1817, the members of the old church corporation, who were all Germans—"taking into consideration the impossibility of rearing children in the centre of an American community to understand the German language properly, and that as they grew up they must leave the church; that the congregation must depend upon emigration for its supply of members, and that strangers would supplant the natives"—attempted a plan of introducing English by which the German language would have been continued as long as fifty persons should desire it; but they failed in obtaining the consent of the congregation.

Rev. Dr. John C. Kunze, after he went to New York (in 1789), had risen to the emergency, and so he compiled a hymn-book composed largely of German hymns translated into English verse, generally in the original metre, so that they could be sung in either language. He also composed a liturgy and catechism in English, founded on the German books, and until his death, which occurred in 1807, he was a steady and vigorous advocate of the change to English. It is said upon the best authority that if the seceders from St. Michael's and Zion Churches had remained a few years longer, they would have won a peaceful victory.

In 1820 the two old congregations decided to have but one pastor. Dr. Helmuth retired, and Rev. Mr. Schaefer was elected. In 1823, Rev. Charles R. Demme, of Germany, was called as assistant pastor. That year Dr. Helmuth died, and was buried in St. Michael's Cemetery.

During this great contest in which the radicals departed, and built up new and thriving churches in Philadelphia, and even the conservatives submitted at last to the inevitable, the church at Germantown was carried safely through the storm. Rev. John C. Becker (or Baker), born in Philadelphia in 1791, took sole charge of this famous old church in 1812, after having been Dr. Schaefer's assistant in the parish for a year; but the creation of Montgomery County lessened their labors. Mr. Becker fully realized the evil effects of the policy pursued in the German-speaking churches of Philadelphia. He was determined to prevent such a disaster happening to the church at Germantown, and owing to his successful labors in the expression of his views, the officers agreed, in 1813, to have English services on alternate Sundays. The change was not effected without remonstrance from the old German members; but as he spoke both languages fluently, and acted judiciously, he succeeded in reconciling them. In 1817 he organized a Sabbath-school. In 1819 the congregation wanted a new church. The corner-stone of the new building was laid March 25th. It was finished and dedicated November 21st by Rev. Drs. Helmuth, Schaefer, and Mayer. It had been intended to build a steeple and belfry, in which were to be placed the bells of the old church; but during the removal of the bells the ropes used broke, so that the bells fell to the ground and were cracked. One of the church writers says, "The people, in a manner disconsolate for their loss, seem to have felt that in their affections no new bells could ever take the place of the old. The contemplated steeple for the new church was abandoned, and the sonorous, deep-toned summons, which without fail for Sundays and Christian festivals for over seventy years had called the people together, was heard no more." The master of this church kept supervision for some time over the Frankford Church. By 1822 the friends of English services at Barren Hill were so numerous that two out of three sermons were in that language.

St. Matthew's (English) Evangelical Lutheran congregation was organized on the 26th day of January, 1818, by members of the German Evangelical Lutheran congregation of this city, who felt persuaded that the introduction of the English language into the regular services of their religion could no longer be delayed. Their first place of worship was in the old academy building, on Fourth Street, near Arch, the services being conducted by Rev. Christian F. Cruse, who acted as temporary ministerial supply. Efforts were soon made to secure a suitable church edifice in which to hold all their congregational exercises. A lot on New Street, near Fourth, was purchased, and a church building erected thereon, in

which for many years they and their children worshiped. After long-continued use, in consequence of the changes in that locality, which was being more and more surrendered to business purposes, another location was deemed desirable, and the congregation removed to its present situation on Broad Street, northwest corner of Mount Vernon. The location now occupied by the congregation was purchased in 1875. The erection of a chapel and parsonage was at once commenced, both of which buildings were ready for use and taken possession of during the spring of 1876. The purpose is, at as early a day as possible, to place a church building on the vacant corner, of symmetrical design with the structures already completed. The cost of the property thus far has exceeded one hundred thousand dollars. The succession of pastors is as follows:

Rev. Charles Philip Krauth, D.D., from 1827 to 1833. His removal was occasioned by a call from the trustees of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, Pa., to become its first president.

Rev. Jacob Medtant served from 1834 to 1838.

Rev. Stephen A. Mealy, from 1838 to 1841.

Rev. Theophilus Stork, D.D., from 1841 to 1850.

Rev. Edwin W. Hutter, D.D., from 1850 to 1873.

Rev. W. M. Baum, D.D., from 1874 to the present date.

The numerical growth and financial condition of St. Matthew's have been such that at various times in its history it has been instrumental, through its members, in originating and establishing other prosperous church enterprises. St. Mark's, on Spring Garden Street, near Thirteenth; St. Luke's, on Fourth Street, near Thompson; St. Peter's, on Reed Street, near Ninth; Grace Church, Spring Garden and Thirty-fifth Streets; and Messiah, Sixteenth and Jefferson Streets, were severally started and fostered by this congregation. Together with the parent church these congregations are all in a growing condition. The Sabbath-schools, the enrolled membership, and the work of Christian charity and denominational benevolence are steadily increasing.

Edwin W. Hutter, D.D., who was for twenty-three years pastor of this church, was also one of the prominent men of Philadelphia. He was born in Allentown, Lehigh Co., Pa., Sept. 12, 1813, of German ancestry. His grandfather, Christian Jacob Hutter, settled in Lancaster before the Revolution, but later in life removed to Easton, where he established *The Sentinel* newspaper, and where Charles L., the father of Edwin W. Hutter, was born. In 1811, Charles L. Hutter removed tc Allentown, and continued the publication of *Th Republican*, which had been started by his fathe Upon the death of Charles L. Hutter, Edwin V Hutter returned from school at Nazareth, and at t' age of sixteen took the editorship of his fathe papers,—*The Independent Republican* and *The Leh Herald*, and at the same time assumed a parer

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E. W. Hutter

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and several Lutheran churches in the city have grown out of the missions originating under his ministrations. In addition to his other labors, Mr. Hutter was one of the editors of *The Lutheran Observer* from 1857 to 1870, and upon the death of Rev. Benjamin Kurtz, on Dec. 24, 1865, pronounced the eulogy on his life and character, at Selinsgrove, Pa.

In 1868, Mr. Hutter received the degree of doctor of divinity from the Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg. In 1871 his health began to fail in consequence of his severe and too often self-imposed labors in his parish. Nothing was too hazardous or trying in aid of his church. In the pulpit, in the Sunday-school, and especially among the poor and infirm, the sick and the dying, as friend and counselor, he was ever ready, never thinking of himself or his personal comfort. He was a prodigious worker, and spoke English and German with uncommon facility. In society he was agreeable and refined, especially among people of learning. He had a rich fund of humor, and his short newspaper paragraphs abounded in wit. A deep thinker and a close reader, he gave tone and dignity to everything he discussed, and all the newspapers he conducted were marked by his strong and vigorous style. During the war he was an active worker for the Union, and with his philanthropic wife, who was a daughter of Col. Jacob Shindel, performed great service in relieving the sick and wounded soldiers, and providing for those in the field. His remains are buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

St. James' Evangelical Church (German).—For a number of years members of St. Michael's, Zion, and St. Paul's Churches, residing in Kensington, so called, were desirous of having a church in that district. The great distance often prevented their attendance at service, or, if they went to St. Paul's, corner of Brown and St. John Streets, the crowd inside was so great that it was not possible to enter. The attention of the mother congregation and also of Synod was directed to this state of affairs. The necessity for a new church was so evident that Synod appointed the Rev. Benjamin Keller as missionary to undertake its establishment. On Sunday, Nov. 5, 1854, the first service was held by him in Phœnix Hall, northwest corner of Thompson Street and Frankford Avenue, at which thirty-four persons were present. But few services were held here, as a change of location was decided upon, and Central Hall, on Frankford Avenue, opposite Master Street, was secured, at a rental of one hundred and twenty dollars per annum. A Sunday-school was opened and a choir organized.

The congregations of St. Michael's and Zion Churches then purchased the lots at the corner of Columbia Avenue and Third Street, for five thousand four hundred and fifty dollars.

On Friday evening, April 27, 1855, an organization, named the Evangelical Lutheran St. James' Church, was effected, a constitution adopted, a pastor (the Rev. B. Keller) and a church council elected.

May 27, 1855, the Lord's Holy Supper was celebrated for the first time, fifty-two communicants partaking. Early in the spring of 1856 the mother congregation resolved to proceed with the erection of a church, sixty-one by ninety-five feet. April 11th the contract was awarded to Messrs. Jacob & George Binder, for fifteen thousand one hundred and twenty dollars. The steeple was to cost one thousand six hundred and fifty dollars extra, and had to be paid for by the members of St. James'. April 16th ground was broken, April 19th the corner-stone laid, and Dec. 28, 1856, the church was dedicated. Rev. C. R. Demme, D.D., preached in the morning, Rev. J. T. Vogelbach in the afternoon, and Rev. G. F. Krotel in the evening. In September, 1857, a parochial school was opened, with Mr. E. Becker as teacher. The mother-church agreed, for a period of five years, to pay annually five hundred and four hundred dollars respectively to the salaries of pastor and teacher.

In January, 1857, the Rev. B. Keller resigned the pastorate of the church, and Feb. 9, 1857, the Rev. J. T. Vogelbach, of Allentown, Pa., was elected his successor. His pastorate extended over a period of nearly twenty-four years, until his demise, in November, 1880. During this time, in 1867, a new parochial school-house was erected, and the beautiful pictures of Christ's crucifixion, Dr. Martin Luther, and Philip Melanchthon placed in the church.

During his later years, beginning with June, 1878, Pastor Vogelbach was assisted by the Rev. A. Richter, who became his son-in-law, and eventually his successor. As regular pastor, the Rev. Mr. Richter remained but one year, and on Oct. 1, 1881, was succeeded by the present pastor, the Rev. F. W. Weiskotten, formerly of Bethlehem, Pa. The present membership is eleven hundred communicants. The Sunday-school numbers one thousand pupils, with one hundred teachers and officers.

St. Mark's Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized March 26, 1850, at a meeting of Christian people favorable to the erection of a new English Lutheran Church in the northwestern section of Philadelphia, held in the Commissioners' Hall, in the district of Spring Garden. At this meeting a charter was adopted, and four elders, four deacons, and four trustees were elected as officers of the congregation; at the same time a building committee, consisting of nine persons, was appointed. The elders elected were B. Slaugh, D. R. Erdman, M. Buehler, and S. Heritage; the deacons, I. Sulger, W. B. Riehle, F. Zimmerman, and J. Lower; the trustees, P. Sides, A. R. Hortter, C. H. Moore, and M. E. Afflick. A Sunday-school was opened on the morning of April 14, 1850, in Brotherly Love Hall, at the northeast corner of Twelfth and Wistar Streets. At a meeting of the congregation held April 30, 1850, the Rev.

Theophilus Stork, D.D., was elected pastor, who at that time was pastor of St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church, situated on New Street, below Fourth. A lot of ground on the south side of Spring Garden Street, above Thirteenth, was purchased, and the erection of the building commenced. The corner-stone of the new edifice was laid by the Rev. Philip F. Mayer, D.D., pastor of St. John's Church, Philadelphia, in the presence of a large concourse of people, June 27, 1850. Contracts for work on the building were awarded as follows: carpenter-work to William Denney, brick-laying to Morris E. Afflick, painting and glazing to Charles Foster, iron-work to Heins & Adamson, and brownstone work to John Heugh.

The first religious services of the congregation were held in Brotherly Love Hall, on the fourth Sunday in October, 1850. These services were transferred to the church in January, 1851, the basement of the building being then so far completed that it could be occupied for that purpose. The church was consecrated on the second Sunday in November (9th), 1851. At a congregational meeting, held Feb. 23, 1864, it was resolved to enlarge the church edifice. Plans prepared by Sloan & Hutton, architects, were adopted. An entire new front of brownstone, with central tower and lofty spire, was erected, the side walls were strengthened, a new roof put on, the audience-room considerably lengthened, the ceiling raised, and side-galleries put in. Workmen commenced the removal of the old front April 18, 1864, and the alterations and repairs were completed by the 5th of November, 1865, and the building reconsecrated. A very heavy expenditure of money was incurred in making these improvements, which were a virtual reconstruction of the edifice. In 1864 the residence adjoining the church on the west side, No. 1314 Spring Garden Street, was purchased for a parsonage. In the summer of 1880 the audience-room of the church was again improved, altered, and repaired, and the roof was strengthened, at a cost of between nine and ten thousand dollars.

The congregation now (1884) has on its roll a list of six hundred communicant members, and a Sunday-school of four hundred and fifty persons, including officers, teachers, and scholars.

The following are the names of the pastors, and their terms of service, viz.: Rev. Theophilus Stork, D.D., April 30, 1850, to April 4, 1854; Rev. Charles A. Smith, D.D., July 2, 1854, to June 30, 1855; Rev. Theophilus Stork, D.D. (second time), July 1, 1855, to Jan. 4, 1859; Rev. Charles P. Krauth, D.D., LL.D., Oct. 1, 1859, to Dec. 31, 1861; Rev. Gottlob F. Krotel, D.D., Jan. 1, 1862, to April 12, 1868; Rev. John A. Kunkelman, D.D., May 10, 1868, to June 1, 1879; Rev. Samuel Laird, Sept. 1, 1879,—present pastor. The present officers of the congregation are: Elders, Philip Diehr, William Anspach, George A. Hight, and George Mueller; Deacons, Charles D. Colladay, J. Jacob Mohr, W. Frederick Monroe, and Reuben S. Shimer; Trustees, Henry F. Chorley, William K. Kepner, Edmund J. Frank, and Josiah C. Brooke; Superintendent of the Sunday-school, Henry F. Chorley; Assistant Superintendents, Edmund J. Frank, Edward Cline, and Susan E. Monroe.

St. Johannes' (German) Church.—In 1861 a branch Sunday-school was established at Broad Street and Fairmount Avenue, under the supervision of Zion, St. Michael's, and St. Paul's congregations. Soon afterward a parish school was established by the old congregation at the southwest corner of Thirteenth Street and Fairmount Avenue (Coates Street), first with one and soon with two teachers, and the lot at Fifteenth and Ogden Streets was purchased for the erection of a church at some future time. The Sunday-school was transferred to the building at Thirteenth Street and Fairmount Avenue. In September, 1865, the corner-stone of the church at Fifteenth and Ogden Streets was laid, and in April, 1866, the school-rooms and lecture-room were dedicated for the use of parish school, Sunday-school, and for Sunday evening services.

In February, 1867, the members of the old congregation living in the northwestern part of the city, together with other persons who had joined in the new enterprise, called the Rev. Adolph Spaeth, who had been from 1864 to 1867 collegiate pastor of old Zion's congregation, to become the first pastor of St. Johannes. He accepted the call, and was installed October 10, 1867. On the 10th of May, 1868, the church was dedicated to the service of the triune God. The cost of the building, together with the steeple, bells, etc., was about sixty-five thousand dollars, of which the sum of forty thousand dollars came from the property of the mother-church, which was at that time divided among the newly-formed congregations. The first pastor still serves this congregation, which has during the last years erected two mission chapels, one in North Penn Village, the other on Jefferson Street, near Twenty-sixth Street.

Holy Communion (English) Church.—At the present time there are thirty-two Lutheran Churches in the city, the handsomest being the Holy Communion Church, at the southwest corner of Broad and Arch Streets. Though a separate organization, it may be regarded as a branch or offshoot of St. John's Church, on Race Street, between Fifth and Sixth. The need of a new church was greatly felt, and on the third Thursday in October, 1870, at the suggestion of Rev. J. A. Seiss and William M. Heyl, a resolution was passed by the trustees of St. John's, embodying the desire of some of the members of the congregation for a new church, and promising their co-operation and aid. After several meetings a number of gentlemen assembled on Dec. 28, 1870, at the office of Mayor Fox, and effected an organization to establish an Evangelical Lutheran Church in the vicinity of Broad and Arch Streets. Twenty-seven

thousand dollars were pledged toward this object at this meeting, one person engaging to subscribe twenty thousand dollars of that sum. Subscription books were opened, and a committee on facts and plans was appointed. In answer to a public call a large meeting was held, in the hall at the corner of Broad and Arch Streets, on Feb. 28, 1871, to consider the subject, at which Hon. Daniel M. Fox was chosen president; William Musser, Joseph Jones, George K. Ziegler, W. L. Schaffer, Dr. John Rommel, S. Gross Fry, Dr. H. E. Goodman, Frederick Graff, and John R. Baker, vice-presidents; and P. A. Keller, W. W. Kurtz, Joel G. Baily, Charles E. Blumner, and C. D. Norton, secretaries.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. C. P. Krauth, and addresses were delivered by Mayor Fox, Dr. Seiss, and Dr. Krauth. Three lots were purchased at a cost of sixty thousand dollars, fronting seventy-five feet on Arch Street with a depth of one hundred and thirty-nine feet on Broad Street. The corner-stone was laid Nov. 28, 1871, and the Sunday-school room was dedicated and occupied Dec. 25, 1873. The first service was held in the lecture-room on Oct. 11, 1874, and the church was dedicated Feb. 17, 1875, at which time one hundred and fifty-nine persons were enrolled as members. On the 20th the congregation was regularly incorporated. The present membership of the church is two hundred and sixty-five.

The church is built of greenstone, variegated with light sandstone and stone of other colors. The style of architecture is the Florid German Gothic. The square tower at the northeast corner rises from the pavement, in the castellated style, to the height of ninety-two feet. The main audience-room is one hundred and twelve by seventy feet. On the Arch Street front the main building is relieved by a covered arcade, the arches being supported by polished stone pillars. The interior is very rich, and the cost of the lots, building, organ, and furniture was two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. The pastor is Rev. Joseph A. Seiss, D.D.

Emanuel's Congregation is an offshoot of St. Michael's and Zion Church. The mother-church in 1864 purchased the building known as Robert Reicke's school-house, on Sixth Street, below Christian, and fitted up the upper story for a parochial school, with three teachers, for the use of the children of the parish. The lower story was used by the members in the neighborhood for church service. Zion's congregation, having been authorized by the Legislature of Pennsylvania to sell their valuable ground on Eighth Street above Race, voted to their Southwark members forty thousand dollars for the erection of a church. Thereupon, Rev. H. Grahn was called in July, 1866, and organized Emanuel's (German) Lutheran congregation. In 1867 a lot was purchased at the southeast corner of Fourth and Carpenter Streets, for fourteen thousand dollars, and in 1868 the corner-stone of the new church was laid. The building was dedicated on July 4, 1869, Rev. J. W. Mann, D.D., preaching the dedicatory sermon. The edifice is of brick, with brownstone trimmings. It has a front of one hundred and six feet, and a depth of sixty-four feet, with a tower one hundred and ninety feet high, and clock and a chime of three bells. The lot and improvements cost eighty-six thousand two hundred dollars. In 1872 the congregation erected a parsonage on a portion of the church lot, at a cost of six thousand five hundred dollars. The church has also a parochial school, with two teachers, and Sunday-school, with four hundred children and thirty-eight teachers. The church membership (in 1884) is seven hundred. Rev. H. Grahn, who organized the congregation, is still its pastor.

Zion (German) Church, on Franklin Street, above Race, is another fine Lutheran Church. It is built of brownstone, and has a steeple one hundred and eighty-six feet high. The corner-stone was laid May 10, 1869, and the building was dedicated on the 11th of September, 1870. This is the original Zion congregation which removed from Fourth and Cherry Streets.

St. Paul's (German) Church, at the corner of St. John and Brown Streets, is an offshoot of Zion Church. The present site of the church was first occupied as a mission early in the present century, but in 1840 a church edifice was erected and occupied by St. Paul's congregation, under the ministerial charge of the pastor of Zion Church. It was dedicated Dec. 13, 1840, and being struck by lightning, it was partially destroyed by fire July 16, 1847. It was repaired at a cost of fourteen thousand dollars, and is still in use. On the 14th of April, 1869, St. Paul's congregation became a separate organization, having its own pastor and council. In the fall of 1868, Rev. Emil Reiche, of Würtemberg, was chosen as their pastor, and began his labors as soon as the church was officially organized. He was not in sympathy with the Lutheran Synod, and remained until July, 1870, a portion of his congregation, under the leadership of Rev. Mr. Reiche, forming a new organization, under the name of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Independent. The latter erected a church at the corner of Fourth and Canal Streets. It is at present under the charge of Rev. G. J. Müller. A number of the old St. Paul's congregation adhered to their church, and called Rev. F. Wischan to the pastorate in September, 1870. He accepted, and at once entered upon the discharge of his duties, and is still pastor. The church has a membership of about four hundred persons, and a Sunday-school of eight hundred pupils. The parochial school adjoining the church is attended by four teachers, and has two hundred and twenty pupils.

The Lutherans have the following church organizations in this city in 1884:

Committee of General Council on Foreign Missions. President, Rev. A. Spaeth, D.D.; English Secretary, Rev. B. M. Schmucker, D.D.; German Secretary, Rev. F. Wischan; Treasurer, William H. Staake. Meets in Seminary on the fourth Monday of each month.

Theological Seminary, Nos. 212 and 214 Franklin Street. Faculty, Rev. C. W. Schaeffer, D.D., Rev. W. J. Mann, D.D., Rev. Henry E. Jacobs, D.D., Rev. A. Spaeth, D.D.

Board of City Missions. President, Rev. H. Grahn; English Secretary, L. L. Houpt; German Secretary, John C. File.

Orphans' Home, Main Street, above Carpenter, Germantown. President, Henry Lehman; Secretary, Lewis L. Houpt; Treasurer, John C. File; Superintendent, Charles F. Kuhnle; German Transcribing Secretary, Rev. F. Wischan.

Lutheran Mission and Church Extension Society. President, Rev. S. Laird; Treasurer, Peter A. Keller; Secretary, William H. Staake.

Rev. J. Fry, D.D., Reading, Pa., Treasurer of German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Theological Seminary.

William H. Staake, Esq., Treasurer of General Council.

The Lutheran, No. 117 North Sixth Street. Rev. G. W. Frederick, Business Agent.

Lutheran Observer, No. 524 Walnut Street. Editors, Rev. F. W. Conrad, D.D., Rev. V. L. Conrad, Ph.D., Rev. H. M. Bickel.

Publication Society, No. 42 North Ninth Street. President, Rev. William M. Baum, D.D.; Superintendent, H. S. Boner.

English (*General Council*).—Advent, Fifth Street, above Cumberland. Rev. J. F. C. Fluck.

Christ, corner of Main Street and Southampton Avenue, Chestnut Hill. Rev. Charles J. Hirzel.

Holy Communion, southwest corner of Broad and Arch Streets. Rev. Joseph A. Seiss, D.D.

St. John, Race Street, below Sixth. Rev. E. E. Sibole.

St. Luke, Fourth Street, above Girard Avenue. Rev. J. L. Sibole.

St. Mark, Spring Garden Street, above Thirteenth. Rev. Samuel Laird.

St. Michael, corner of Main and Church Streets, Germantown. Rev. F. A. Kahler.

St. Paul, Twenty-second Street, above Columbia Avenue. Vacant.

St. Peter, Reed Street, east of Ninth. Rev. E. B. Cassady.

St. Stephen, Powelton Avenue, below Fortieth Street. Rev. W. Ashmead Schaeffer.

Trinity, Rope Ferry Avenue, below Passyunk road. Rev. S. A. K. Francis.

German (*General Council*).—Emanuel, corner of Fourth and Carpenter Streets. Rev. H. Grahn.

German, corner of Martin Street and Prospect Avenue.

Immanuel, corner of Tackawanna and Plum Streets, Frankford. Rev. Matthias Schimpf.

St. James, corner of Third Street and Columbia Avenue. Rev. F. W. Weiskotten.

St. John, corner of Fifteenth and Ogden Streets. Rev. A. Spaeth, D.D.

St. Michael, corner of Cumberland Street and Trenton Avenue. Rev. F. P. Bender.

St. Paul, northwest corner of St. John and Brown Streets. Rev. F. Wischan.

St. Peter, corner of Fifty-second and Myrtle Streets, West Philadelphia.

St. Thomas, corner of Herman and Morton Streets, Germantown. Vacant.

Trinity Mission, Rising Sun. Rev. A. Linss.

Zion, Franklin Street, above Race. Rev. William J. Mann, D.D.; Rev. J. E. Nidlecker, assistant.

Independent Lutheran.—St. Paul, corner of Fourth and Canal Streets. Rev. G. J. Müller.

Swedish (*Augustana Synod*).—Swedish services for sailors. Home, 422 South Front Street.

Zion, Ninth Street, below Buttonwood. Sunday afternoon, Rev. C. J. Petri.

German (*Missouri Synod*).—St. John, corner of Wharton and Barlow Streets. Rev. O. Schroeder.

English (*General Synod*).—Calvary, southeast corner of Forty-third and Aspen Streets. Rev. Samuel A. Holman.

Grace, corner of Thirty-fifth and Spring Garden Streets. Rev. J. H. Mentges.

Memorial, hall, 2529 Ridge Avenue. Rev. J. R. Williams.

Messiah, corner of Sixteenth and Jefferson Streets. Rev. E. Huber.

St. Matthew, northwest corner of Broad and Mount Vernon Streets. Rev. William M. Baum, D.D.

Trinity, corner of Main and Queen Streets, Germantown. Rev. Luther E. Albert, D.D.

"THE NEW CHURCH" (NEW JERUSALEM, OR SWEDENBORGIAN).

The earliest promulgation of Swedenborg's doctrines in America was made in a course of lectures in Philadelphia by James Glen, of Scotland. They were delivered in a hall over Bell's bookstore, South Third Street, adjoining St. Paul's Church, in June, 1784. Notice of the lectures was given in the daily papers. Many prominent citizens attended, among whom were Miers Fisher, lawyer; John Young, a student-at-law, afterward Judge Young; and Francis Bailey, printer and publisher. Mr. Glen brought with him from Scotland several of Swedenborg's books, which had been translated from the Latin into English. Copies of these books came into the hands of Mr. Bailey, who printed several of them, among which were the following: In 1787, "A Summary View of the Doctrines of the New Church;" in 1789, "The True Christian Religion," in two volumes octavo; and in 1796, "Conjugial Love," one volume octavo. Among the names published with the edition of "The True Christian Religion," as subscribers to that work, are to be found those of three of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, viz.,—Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, and Thomas McKean.

A number of those who had become interested in Swedenborg's writings held meetings at the residence of Mr. Bailey, No. 116 High [Market] Street, for reading and conversation, and subsequently for worship. In 1794, Rev. William Hill, an English clergyman, who had been ordained by Mr. Hindmarsh, came to the United States, and preached the doctrines of the New Church in Philadelphia and at other places. He returned to England in 1804. In time the meetings became too large for Mr. Bailey's residence, and in 1808 were removed to the school-room of Johnson Taylor, No. 37 Cherry Street, where they were held until 1815, when the receivers of New Church doctrines took measures for effecting a permanent organization, changing their place of meeting to the school-room of Maskell M. Carll, No. 226 Arch Street, who acted as lay reader to the congregation which met there every Sunday for worship.

On the 25th of December, 1815, the organization was effected under the title of the American Society for Disseminating the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church, by the following-named twelve gentlemen: Daniel Thunn, William Schlatter, Johnson Taylor, William Kneass, Maskell M. Carll, Job Harrison, John K. Graham, John Hunt, Condy Raguet, Charles Beywroth, John Sterling, of Glasgow, Scotland, and William Barton, of New York. On the 1st of January, 1816, there were added Francis Bailey, Daniel Groves, Frederick Eckstein, and William Strickland. On the same day the organization was completed by the election of the following officers: President, Jonathan W. Condy; Vice-President, William Schlatter; Treasurer, Daniel Thunn; Re-

cording Secretary, William Kneass; Corresponding Secretary, Condy Raguet.

Jonathan W. Condy was a member of the bar in excellent standing. He was a successful maritime and prize lawyer, and was employed in many important cases. In 1810 he edited, with American references, Samuel Marshall's "Treatise on Insurance." William Strickland was the well-known architect, who did more in his time than any of his professional contemporaries in beautifying the city. He was born in Philadelphia in 1787, and studied under Latrobe. The Bank of the United States, the Mint, the Merchants' Exchange, and other public buildings, besides many churches and residences, were his work.

William Schlatter was a very successful merchant, and was thought to possess great wealth. He was established in business before 1805 as a merchant at No. 129 High Street, near Fourth. He built, about the year 1815, the fine, large, double mansion on the south side of Chestnut Street, east of Thirteenth. He lost his property, and died Jan. 10, 1827. Daniel Thunn's bookstore was in Sixth Street below Market; William Kneass was an engraver at No. 8 South Eighth Street; Johnson Taylor was a school-teacher, as was Maskell M. Carll; Daniel Groves was one of the leading brick-layers and contractors of the time; John Hunt, the coach-builder, was at No. 60 Zane Street [now Filbert]; Frederick Eckstein was a distiller; John K. Graham, a grocer; and Job Harrison, a shoemaker. Condy Raguet was one of the best-known politicians and writers of the time, a native of Philadelphia, and born in 1784. He made two voyages to the West Indies, and in 1805 published "A Short Account of San Domingo, and a Circumstantial Account of the Massacre there." He was one of the founders of the Philadelphia Savings-Fund Society, was president of the Pennsylvania Company for Granting Annuities, etc., and at one time was president of the Chamber of Commerce.

In 1815 he was elected a member of the State Assembly, and in 1818 a State senator. In 1822 he was appointed consul to Rio Janeiro, and afterward made *chargé d'affaires*. He remained in that country for five years. Mr. Raguet was a prominent writer on political economy, and published several important books and pamphlets on banking and the currency. In the latter part of his life he was editor and publisher of the *Philadelphia Gazette*. He died in 1842.

In 1816 the society secured a lot of ground at the corner of Twelfth and George [now Sansom] Streets, containing ninety feet on Twelfth Street, and ninety-nine feet on George Street, and at once proceeded to the erection of a house of worship.

The corner-stone was laid with appropriate services on June 6, 1816. The building being finished in the course of the year, the Rev. John Hargrove, of Baltimore, ordained Maskell M. Carll as minister and pastor, and on the 1st day of January, 1817, the new temple was consecrated with solemn services by the Revs. Messrs. Hargrove and Carll. The society continued to worship here until 1824, when severe commercial reverses among the members compelled the sale of their temple and their removal to other quarters. Their meetings for worship were for some years afterward held in Mr. Carll's school-room, Arch Street above Seventh, but were at length discontinued for a period. The society, however, did not abandon its organization. In 1840 a hall was rented, and the Rev. Richard de Charms invited to become its minister. He was succeeded by Rev. William H. Benade, formerly a preacher of the Moravian faith, and son of Bishop Benade, of the Moravian Church.

In 1853 the society purchased ground at the corner of Broad and Brandywine Streets, and erected a church thereon, which it occupied until the fall of 1882, when it was sold to the Spring Garden Unitarian Society.

In 1822 another society, known as the Second Philadelphia Society of the New Church, was formed. In that year the Rev. Manning B. Roche, pastor of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, having become a receiver of the doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church, tendered his resignation to the bishop, and on the following Sunday made a public resignation of his charge, in an affectionate address to his congregation. A number followed him, and thus laid the foundation for the Second Philadelphia Society. The first meetings were held in Commissioners' Hall, South Second Street, above Christian.

This society purchased a lot on Fourth Street, below German, and erected a house of worship, which was dedicated on the 25th of October, 1829. Mr. Roche remained the pastor for several years, during most of which time he attracted large audiences. After his resignation and removal from the city the congregation, from various causes, was gradually reduced in numbers, until at length it ceased to hold public services. The society was virtually dissolved in 1880, transferring its property to the First Society, then worshiping at Broad and Brandywine Streets.

Rev. William H. Benade was pastor of the first society until the year 1854, when he resigned, and, in connection with some of the members who were in harmony with certain views of church order which he entertained, formed a third society, and built a small house of worship in Cherry Street, west of Twentieth. This society, known as the Society of the Advent, is still in existence. Rev. Louis H. Tafel is the minister.

There is also a New Church Society in Frankford. This society was organized more than fifty years ago, and was for a long period of time, and until his death, under the pastoral charge of Rev. James Seddon. There are quite a large number of receivers of Swedenborg's doctrines in Frankford. The minister of this society in 1884 was the Rev. J. W. MacPherson.

In the first New Jerusalem Society Mr. Benade was succeeded by Rev. E. A. Beaman. Rev. B. F. Barrett, Rev. E. R. Keyes, and Rev. W. F. Pendleton subsequently occupied the pulpit. In 1878, Rev. Chauncey Giles, who had been pastor of the New Church Society in the city of New York for fifteen years, was invited to become the pastor of the Philadelphia society, and accepted the call. Under his ministry it soon began to increase in numbers and activity. This growth continued until it became necessary to seek for larger accommodations. To this end a lot of ground at the corner of Chestnut and Twenty-second Streets was purchased in May, 1881, and the work of erecting a new house of worship and a suitable building for the Sunday-school, a free library and reading-room for social entertainments and for business meetings was commenced, and the work completed in the year 1883. On the 11th of March the main edifice was dedicated to the "worship of the Lord Jesus Christ in his Divine Humanity." The cost of the ground and buildings, when completed, was one hundred and fifty-three thousand dollars. No debt remained on the property when the church was dedicated, the members of the society having within the space of two years raised among themselves nearly the whole of this large sum.

REV. MANNING B. ROCHE.

The buildings were designed by and erected under the supervision of Theophilus P. Chandler, architect. The lot of ground has a front of about one hundred and sixty-four feet on Twenty-second Street, and ninety-two feet on Chestnut Street. The church is placed on the northern end of the lot and is ninety-two feet by seventy-three, and the Sunday-school building is on the eastern side and is about sixty-four feet by forty-two feet. By this arrangement a large lawn is left at the corner of the streets, which adds greatly to the beauty of the buildings. The grouping, as is shown in our illustration, is very successful; the monotony of having the buildings directly upon the street is avoided, and a full view of two sides of each is obtained at once. The church can be entered from Twenty second Street or from Chestnut, either through the Sunday-school or across the lawn.

The church is in outline simple and dignified, belonging to the early English Gothic style of architecture of the thirteenth century. It is built without any clere-story, the church being spanned by one large truss. The orientation is correct, the chancel end facing east; the south and north sides are broken with windows and gables, which have the appearance of transepts. At the southwestern corner a picturesque porch, vaulted with stone, gives entrance to the main edifice. This porch is in itself an architectural gem of much beauty, as it is something never done before in this city,—in fact it is only seen in the old cathedrals and churches abroad. The stone arches run up to a Gothic groin, of which there are very few examples in America. The roof, which is necessarily very high and wide, is relieved by graceful but simple pinnacles at the corners and between the windows. The roof is covered with red tiling. The material used in the construction of both edifices is Trenton and Newark brownstone, which has a soft, warm, pleasing color, eminently well suited for this purpose. On the interior the roof timbers are exposed, and the arches and piers at the east end are of finely-finished stone-work. At the right of the chancel is the robing-room and at the left a fine organ, which was built at the factory of H. L. Roosevelt, in Philadelphia. The windows are filled with cathedral glass in graceful geometric forms, so arranged that in the future memorial windows may be substituted. A striking feature of the windows is that the mullions are of heavy stone-work appropriately grooved and decorated, which give a very rich effect to the whole structure. The church will seat comfortably about nine hundred people.

The Sunday-school building belongs to a later style of Gothic architecture than the church. It is built of the same material and is two stories in height. The windows are peculiarly striking, the mullions here being also of stone and filled with glass leaded into the stone-work. There are no wooden frames either inside or outside. On the first floor is a ladies' parlor, infant-class room, free library and reading-room, and book-room for the sale and distribution of books and tracts. The second floor is the main Sunday-school hall, which has an open timber roof. A stone cloister connects the two buildings near the chancel end of the church. The interior of both the church and

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Sunday-school building is finished in hard woods, cherry being used in the church and butternut in the Sunday-school building.

The work of the society in making known the doctrines of the New Church is, in one of its features, novel, but practical and business-like. It uses the press largely in order to supplement its pulpit work. Most of the pastor's sermons are printed, and on the Sundays after their delivery are handed by ushers to the congregation as it is leaving the church, each person being invited to take one or more copies. In this way from eight to twelve hundred neatly-printed discourses are taken away nearly every Sunday, read at home, and handed around to friends and neighbors. Over fifty thousand copies of Mr. Giles' sermons have, in this way, been distributed in a single year.

The American New Church Tract and Publication Society has its headquarters in the Sunday-school building. This society was organized in 1866, and incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania. Its object, as stated in the constitution, "is to print and distribute tracts and other publications of a religious character; also to stereotype New Church works, and to arrange, when practicable, with some leading house in the book-trade to print, publish, and circulate them through the ordinary channels of trade."

The society was fortunate in being able to make an arrangement, at the very start, with the extensive publishing house of J. B. Lippincott & Co., of Philadelphia, to "print, publish, and circulate" its books, thus securing all the advantages of their large facilities for reaching the public. This arrangement still exists, and has, from the first, been entirely satisfactory to both parties. During the first year of its existence the cash receipts of the society, from voluntary subscriptions, were $5384.95, and it stereotyped thirteen hundred and ninety-six pages, at a cost of $1938.82. In the second year (1867) the receipts were $3823.84. Stereotype plates of Swedenborg's "Heaven and Hell," "Divine Love and Wisdom," and a part of his "Divine Providence" were made, at a cost of $3184.29. During the third year nearly five thousand dollars were raised and expended in making new translations of some of Swedenborg's works and in stereotyping them. Since then the society has expended on an average not less than three thousand dollars a year in the prosecution of its work. These facts are mentioned to show how vigorously the young society went to work and how well the initial efforts have been sustained. In the mean time the publishers (J. B. Lippincott & Co.) have pushed out the new and handsomely printed editions of the society's books, securing for them a wide distribution through the regular channels of the bookselling trade, and extended notices from the press.

NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH, CORNER OF CHESTNUT AND TWENTY-SECOND STREETS.

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The energy displayed by this society at the outset has never abated. Among its officers and managers are some of Philadelphia's most active and successful business men, and they have brought to the work of the society their practical wisdom and the business methods which lead to success. Their work in the society is voluntarily given, there being no salaried officer of any kind, so that all the funds of the society are used for the manufacture and distribution of its books and tracts.

Its issue of tracts in exposition of New Church doctrines has been very large, aggregating many hundreds of thousands; so has its work of supplying Protestant clergymen who make application for them with Swedenborg's work on "Heaven and its Wonders, and Hell, from Things Heard and Seen," and with a "Life of Swedenborg;" the first a volume of four hundred and fifty-three pages, and the other a volume of two hundred and sixty-six pages. Up to the close of 1883 Protestant clergymen and theological students had asked for and been supplied by the society with twenty-two thousand two hundred copies of the work on "Heaven and Hell," and seven thousand four hundred copies of the "Life of Swedenborg." Parallel with this work, and far exceeding it in cost, has been that of L. C. Iungerich, a merchant of Philadelphia, and a member of the First New Jerusalem Society. In 1873 he announced, through circulars and advertisements, that he would supply, without cost, any Protestant clergyman in the United States or Canada with a copy each of two of Swedenborg's large and most important works, viz., "The True Christian Religion," eleven hundred and twenty-nine pages, and the "Apocalypse Revealed," twelve hundred and two pages. The call for these books each successive year since that time has been large. At the close of the year 1883 twenty-three thousand six hundred of the "True Christian Religion," and sixteen thousand five hundred of "The Apocalypse Revealed" had been furnished to clergymen in response to their application for the books, at a cost to the donor of over thirty-three thousand five hundred dollars. The whole number of books thus supplied, up to 1883, by the Tract Society and Mr. Iungerich has reached nearly seventy thousand volumes. The offer of the Tract Society remains open, and Mr. Iungerich, at his death, in 1882, left ample means, in a trust fund, for the continuance of his part of the work.

THE HEBREWS.

The first Israelites in Philadelphia are believed to have been descendants of those families expelled from Spain by the well-known edict of Ferdinand and Isabella, but little concerning the Jewish people and church in Pennsylvania is to be found in any records previous to the Revolution. H. P. Rosenbach, in his lecture before the Young Men's Hebrew Association, mentions a tradition to the effect that "there were Jews in Pennsylvania before the landing of Penn." In January, 1726, a special act was passed to allow Arnold Bamberger and others to hold lands, and to engage in trade and commerce. Twelve years later the proprietaries sold a piece of land to Nathan Levy for a family burying-ground, and this passing finally into hands of the first Jewish congregation, deserves a more particular account. Richard Peters was then secretary to the proprietaries, and, under date of Feb. 17, 1747, he writes to them, saying,—

"On the 20th of September, 1738, there was laid out by order of Mr. Thomas Penn, for a burying-place for Mr. Nathan Levy's family, the quantity of sixty foot in front, on the north side of Spruce Street, between the Eighth and Ninth Streets, the east side thereof, being two hundred and forty feet west from the west side of Eighth Street. It is about fifty feet distant from Spruce Street [he meant from Ninth]. Mrs. Levy being buried there, and some other of the family since, Mr. Levy now desires the Proprietaries will grant him a patent, to include the ground within the wooden inclosure, and a ten-foot alley from Spruce Street [again Ninth], of such breadth as you please. The ground is full small, but, as I know it is not agreeable to you to part with any ground in the city, I have put Mr. Levy off from desiring an enlargement. You will be pleased to mention the terms or quit-rent to be reserved in the patent."

The year 1747 is believed to have witnessed the establishment of a congregation, called "Mikve Israel" ("Hope of Israel"), though it was long before they were able to build a synagogue. A letter from Jacob Henry, in New York, to Bernard Gratz, in Philadelphia, dated "Jan. 6, 1761," contains the following allusion:

"I am told there is great and mighty news with you at Philadelphia, that the building of a synagogue is actually resolved on, and, according to my intelligence, is to be put in execution with the utmost vigor. This is news. I could hardly have thought, seven months ago, that the same would be talked of this twenty-four years to come. Pray, Barnard, if your time permits, let me know who is at the head of this grand undertaking, with a short sketch of the plan, whether the synagogue is to be Hambro, Pragg, or Poland fation [fashion]. For my part, I think it will be best after the old mode of Pennsylvania. The same seemingly suits everybody. The expenses are not great, for the Rev. Mordecai Yarnall serves without fee or reward, and you must know, if you gitt a new fation Mordecai, he will expect great things for nothing. But, to shorten this long epistle of mine, I will only add that I wish you may go threw your good works, and myself the pleasure to see it built."

His postscript says, "The ink is frozen and weather very cold; wood £3 per cord." The reference in the above to Rev. Mordecai Yarnall is evidently a jest, for the only person of that name in Philadelphia at the time was a member of the Society of Friends, and a minister. It has been suggested that he had displayed much interest in the welfare of the Jews, and was well known to them all. During the period between 1747 and 1775 the congregation of Mikve Israel is believed to have worshiped in a small house in Sterling Alley, which ran from Cherry to Race Street, between Third and Fourth.

In September, 1751, a notice in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* said,—

"Whereas, many unthinking people have been in the habit of setting up marks, and fired several shots against the fence of the Jews' burying-ground, which not only destroyed said fence, but also a tombstone in it, there being a brick wall now erected, I must desire the sportsmen to

forbear (for the future) firing against said wall. If they do, whoever will inform, so that the offender be convicted thereof before a magistrate, shall have twenty shillings reward paid by

"NATHAN LEVY."

In 1774, Mr. Levy gave this ground to the congregation of Mikve Israel.

Afterward Mr. Michael Gratz was deputed by the congregation to buy the ground extending to the corner of Ninth Street, and title-deeds were made out in his name. This fact afterward led to the mistaken impression that Mr. Gratz had presented the congregation with the land; therefore sixty feet were reserved for the Gratz family. Among the earlier Jewish leaders were Bernard and Michael Gratz, brothers, and eminent merchants. They took the name of Gratz from the place they came from in Germany. They are thought to have taken their name from the town of Grätz in Styria, Austria, or from Grätz in Posen.

Another member of the first congregation and synagogue was David Franks, a son of Jacob Franks, a prominent merchant of New York. David Franks afterward left the Jewish faith. By untiring industry he accumulated a large property, but, by adhering to the British or loyal cause, his property was confiscated and he became very poor. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Jan. 26, 1769, had a letter from New York, which said, "Last Monday died Mr. Jacob Franks, for many years an eminent merchant." David Franks was equally eminent for years in Philadelphia, in social affairs and in business. He became a leading member of the famous and fashionable Mount Regale Fishing Company, which met and held stately revel at Peter Robinson's aristocratic tavern at the Schuylkill Falls. He and Sampson Levy are on record as subscribers, at forty shillings apiece, to the first assembly ball, in 1758, and Mrs. Marks, whose husband was a wealthy merchant, was one of the belles of the ball. Mr. Franks lived in the Logan mansion, built about 1755, at the northwest corner of Second Street and Lodge Alley [now Gothic Street], and then as fine a residence as any in Philadelphia. His name appears in various large financial transactions and agreements. In 1743 he married Margaret, daughter of Peter Evans. His daughter Abigail married Andrew Hamilton, attorney-general of the province. Another daughter, Rebecca, was one of the leading belles of her time. She and Miss Auchmuty were among the ladies of the "Meschianza," a gorgeous *fête* given to Gen. Howe in 1778.

This small Jewish congregation, for some years before the Revolution, had met at a house in Sterling Alley, which runs from Cherry to Race Streets, between Third and Fourth. The congregation was humble and the members poor, as the following minute of proceedings in 1773 will show:

"At a meeting of the Mahamod Kahal Kadosh Mikve Israel this 28th day of Shebat, 5533, present, Bernard Gratz, parnass; Mr. Solomon Marache, gabay; Mr. Michael Gratz, Mr. Henry Marks, Mr. Levi Marks, Mr. Moses Mordecai, Mr. Mordecai Levy, and Mr. Levi Solomon, it was resolved unanimously, that in order to support our holy worship and establish it on a more solid foundation than it is at present, we, the underwritten, do mutually agree and promise to pay annually to the parnass or gabay for the time being, the several sums annexed to our names, which are to be paid in equal quarterly payments, and it is understood that this subscription is to continue for the term of three years from this date, which money is to be appropriated for the use of the synagogue and charitable uses now established in the city of Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania.

"As witness our hands this twenty-second day of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, in the thirteenth year of his Majesty's reign.

"Bernard Gratz, parnass, £10 per annum.
"Michael Gratz, £10 per annum.
"Levi Marks, £10 per annum.
"Solomon Marache, £5 per annum.
"Henry Marks, £5 per annum.
"Levi Solomon, £4 per annum.
"Mordecai Levy, £3 per annum."

At the breaking out of hostilities the principal Jews of New York, being strong Whigs, were driven out by the occupation by the British army. Many of them came to Philadelphia, and increased the number of the congregation Mikve Israel, and new quarters were sought. They hired a three-story brick house belonging to Joseph Cauffman, in Cherry Alley, between Third and Fourth Streets, on the south side, nearly opposite Sterling Alley. The building is believed to be the same afterward known as the Golden Fleece Tavern. In the second story of the building the synagogue was accommodated, and conveniences for worship introduced. Among the Jews who came from New York was the Rev. Gershom Mendez Israel Seixas. He was a rabbi of influence and eloquence. He had officiated at New York, at the Mill Street Synagogue, from the year 1766, being then but little over twenty-one years of age. Under Mr. Seixas' ministrations the upper-room synagogue in Cauffman's house became overcrowded.

In March, 1782, the Jewish congregation, still worshiping in the house of Mr. Cauffman, received notice to quit the premises. Bernard Gratz and Solomon M. Cohen were appointed to purchase or hire a place for worship. They reported that they had agreed to purchase a house in Sterling Alley, probably the house used for worship before the Revolution. A subscription was taken up, and a committee was appointed to conduct the affairs of the congregation, and fit up and prepare the house. It consisted of Isaac Moses, Haym Levy, Solomon M. Cohen, Simon Nathan, Bernard Gratz, and Jonas Phillips. Upon consideration, this committee thought that the fitting up and repairing of the house would amount to nearly as much as building a new one. The estimate for the latter was six hundred pounds, and the subscriptions being short, Haym Solomon agreed to pay one-fourth of the cost.

The house in Sterling Alley was then sold. A lot of ground was then bought of Robert Parrish and Henry Hill, in Cherry Street, west of Third, north side. Here the congregation built a plain brick building for a synagogue, with a house adjacent, for the *hazan*, or reader. It was nearly square, one story

high, seated about two hundred persons, and stood a little back from Cherry Street. A committee, consisting of Jonas Phillips, president; Solomon Marache, Simon Nathan, Haym Levy, Isaac Moses, and Solomon M. Cohen, with Benjamin Seixas, treasurer, was appointed to prepare rules for the dedication service. On the 13th September, 1782, the synagogue being ready for use, it was solemnly dedicated by the rabbi, Gershom Seixas, and the congregation, according to the ancient Jewish forms.

The "Pennsylvania Archives and Colonial Records" contain, under date of Sept. 12, 1782, a "Memorial from the President and others of the Jewish Congregation" in Philadelphia, praying for the sanction of the commonwealth, and stating that the synagogue was to be dedicated on the following day, the 13th. From this memorial we quote as follows:

"The congregation of Mikve Israel (Israelites) in this city, having erected a place of public worship, which they intend to consecrate to the service of the Almighty to-morrow afternoon, and as they have ever professed themselves liege subjects to the sovereignty of the United States of America, and have always acted agreeably thereto, they humbly crave the protection and countenance of the chief magistrates in this State to give sanction to their design, and will deem themselves highly honored by their presence in the synagogue whenever they judge proper to favor them."

A long paper in the handwriting of Haym Solomon, dated 1784, is extant, which, after describing certain difficulties connected with the transfer of the title, adds that "the dedication was on September 17th." Additional evidence has rendered it certain that the church was dedicated on the 13th of September. This synagogue, the first and for some years the only one in the State, was known as the "Portuguese Synagogue," because some of its members were Lisbon Jews. Mease, writing in 1810, says that "there was formerly a German synagogue in Church Alley, and thirty years ago (1780) there was one in Pear Street." The Polish Jews, a few years later, worshiped in the Adelphi building, South Fifth Street.

The members of the Mikve Israel congregation at this time were as follows: Isaiah Bush, Abraham Barrias, Abraham Van Etting, Mayer Solomon, Mayer M. Cohen, Sol. Cohen, Isaac Da Costa, Nunes, from the Capes, Samuel Da Costa, Mayer Daiklain, Samuel De Lucena, Bernard Gratz, Michael Gratz, Moses Gomez, Daniel Gomez, Philip Moses, Samuel Hays, Jacob Hart, Manuel Josephson, Barnueb S. Judah, Isaac Judah, Israel Jacobs, Abr. Levy, Hagima Levy, Isaac H. Levy, Solomon Levy, Jacob Cohen, Ezekiel Levy, Jacob Levy, Henry Marks, Isaac Moses, Solomon Marache, Moses H. Myers, Abrm. Henriquez, Jos. Solomon, Isaac Da Costa, Jr., Isaac Madeira, Joseph Madeira, Solomon Marks, Isaac Moses, Sr., Eleazar Sey, Zodak Dormisted, Simon Nathan, Lyon Nathan, Moses Judah, Moses Nathan, Joseph Abandanon, Andrew Levy, Jonas Phillips, Cushman Polock, Samuel Alexander, Gershom Seysius, Benjamin Seysius, Haym Solomon, Mordecai Sheftal, Sheftal Sheftal, Barendt Spitzer, Moses B. Franks, Joseph Simons, Michael Marks, Jacob Mordecai, Mordecai M. Mordecai, Jacob Meyers, Benjamin Nunez, Asher Myers, Moses A. Meyers, Abraham Sasportes, Judah Myers, Joseph A. Myers, Abraham Seixas, Mordecai Levy, Michael Hart, Napthali Phillips, Naim Van Ishac, Napthali Hart, Lazarus Barnet, Levi Solomon, Joseph Henry, Isaac Abraham, Myer Hart, Judah Aaron, Solomon Aaron, Isaac Cardoza, Manuel Myers, Colonorus Van Shelemah, David Bash, Reuben Etting, Samuel Israel, Joseph Carpelles, Moses Homberg, Moses Jacobs, Solomon Etting, Moses Nathan, Marcus Elkin, Meyer Hart and Sons, Solomon M. Myers, Samuel Lazarus, Philip Russell, Jacob Cohen, Ephraim Hart, Henry Noah, and Levy Phillips.

Something has been said of several of these, and all were representative men of that time. Simon Gratz afterward bought the house, southwest corner of Seventh and Market, in which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, and paid for it in two payments in 1798 and 1802. Bernard and Michael Gratz lived at 107 Sassafras Street, and were merchants. Manuel Josephson's place of business was at 144 High Street. Israel Jacob's store was at No. 52 North Second Street; in October, 1771, he was one of a committee to represent Philadelphia in the Assembly. Jonas Phillips, 110 North Second Street, was one of the leading Jews of the time, and at the head of church affairs. He married Rebecca Machada, of New York, born in 1746, and died in 1831. One son, Napthali, became a wealthy New Yorker; another son, Zalegman, born at No. 82 Chestnut Street, became one of the leading lawyers of the time. Until the day of his death, which was Aug. 2, 1839, he wore a queue. The Phillips family was descended, on the mother's side, from a lady named Nunez, who, with twenty-eight of her relatives, escaped from the Spanish Inquisition, by way of Lisbon, to London, and her grandchildren emigrated to America. Isaac Moses subscribed three thousand pounds to the Bank of Pennsylvania to supply the Continental army with provisions for two months. Samuel Hayes was a subscriber to establish the old Chestnut Street Theatre in 1792. Moses Levy belonged to a wealthy branch of that extensive family. A house of his, No. 104 (now 308) Chestnut Street, was sold to the Bank of North America for ten thousand dollars. He was presiding judge of the District Court for some time after 1808, and for six years before that date was city recorder. His law-office was at No. 311 Chestnut Street, and his residence where the Washington House stands, below Eighth. His brother Moses, also a lawyer, and, according to tradition, brilliant, successful, and eccentric, left the synagogue, and joined the Episcopal Church. Benjamin Nones was notary public and sworn interpreter, at No. 22 Chestnut Street, from 1806 to 1824, and served in the Revolutionary army. Bernard Solomon was published by Enoch Story, inspector, in February, 1778, for having re-

tailed whiskey. He absconded, and five guineas were offered for his arrest. Levy Marks was a tailor, and his sign (in 1760) was a Prussian hussar, but five years later was a gentleman and lady. Henry Marks' starch-factory swung the sign of a blue bonnet. Abraham Cohen in 1800 headed his advertisement of money to lend by the trite remark, "A friend in need is a friend indeed." His office was opposite the Bank of Pennsylvania. Haym Solomon, a broker and banker, native of Poland, was a remarkable man. Being in New York when the British took that city, he was locked for weeks in that loathsome dungeon called the "Prevot," but, escaping, came to Philadelphia, and gave the most valuable assistance to the struggling young nation, "at a time," said a committee of the United States Senate in 1850, "when the sinews of war were essential to success." He negotiated all the war securities from France and Holland on his own personal security, without the loss of a cent to the country, he receiving only a commission of one-quarter of one per cent. He was banker for the French government on the accession of M. de la Luzerne, and through his hands passed one hundred and fifty millions of livres. At the time of his death, early in 1784, it is claimed that the United States were indebted to Solomon at least three hundred thousand dollars for advances to ministers and agents of foreign governments for the use of the United States. The committee of the United States Senate asserted that this debt was a just one, and reported a bill, in 1850, for payment of the amount, with interest, to the heirs of Haym Solomon; but it was neglected, and has never been paid. Among those thus aided with loans were Jefferson, Madison, Arthur Lee, Baron Steuben, Robert Morris, and others, also a number of foreign ministers. Israel Israel, who died in 1821, aged seventy-eight, was one of the most interesting characters of the Revolutionary period. His brother Joseph served in the Continental army. Both belonged to the congregation Mikve Israel. Israel Israel lived in Carter's Alley, below Third, and lost his property by fire while there. At one time he was high sheriff of Philadelphia. His wife was Hannah Erwin, one of the famous women of the Revolution, and his daughter became Mrs. Ellet, the author. Lossing's "Pictorial Field-Book" says that "the patriotism of the Israels and the heroism of Hannah Erwin Israel will never be forgotten." Betrayed by Tories into British hands, Mr. Israel, who had at one time been a Grand Master, was saved from death by the use of Masonic signs.

The year after the synagogue was built, Rabbi Seixas, Simon Nathan, *parnass*, or president, with Asher Myers, Bernard Gratz, and Haym Solomon, their *mahamod*, or associate councilors, addressed the Philadelphia Council of Censors in relation to the declaration required from each member of the Assembly, as follows: "I do acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine Inspiration," and that part of the State Constitution which declared that *no other* religious test should be required of any civil magistrate. They represented that this provision deprived them of the right of ever becoming representatives. They did not covet office, but they thought the provision improper, and an injustice to the members of a persuasion that had always been attached to the American cause. This memorial caused no immediate action, but it had an influence, and led to subsequent modification of the test-clauses.

After the close of the Revolution, Rabbi Seixas returned to New York, where he remained until his death, in 1816, in charge of the synagogue in that city. Rev. Jacob Raphael Cohen, an Englishman from Toronto, was his successor at Philadelphia. He remained in charge of the Hebrew congregation until his death, in 1811.

After Rabbi Cohen's death, his son Abraham was appointed *hasan*, or reader. It may not be generally known that all of the Cohens throughout the world claim descent from Aaron, the first high priest, brother of Moses, the law-giver, "Cohen" in Hebrew meaning "priest." Abraham Cohen was succeeded in 1816 by Rev. Emanuel Nunes Carvalho as minister. The latter died in 1818. Next came (in 1818) Hortnig Cohen, reader; then Mr. Bensaden, also as reader; then (in 1825) Rev. Abraham Keyes, of Barbadoes, as minister; then Rev. Isaac Leeser; then Rev. Sabatai Morais.

The congregation, after the synagogue was finished, remained for some years in debt. On the 27th of February, 1788, application was made to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania for permission to set up a lottery to pay the amount due upon the synagogue building. No action was taken upon it at the time, but on April 6, 1790, the Legislature passed an act to allow the Hebrew congregation to raise eight hundred pounds by lottery. The managers were Manuel Josephson, Solomon Lyon, William Wistar, John Duffield, Samuel Hayes, and Solomon Etting. Messrs. Wistar and Duffield were not Israelites. The lottery was successful. The congregation, in April, 1788, issued an appeal to citizens of all sects, closing as follows:

"Whereas, the religious order of men *in this city* denominated Jews were without any synagogne until the year 178[illegible], when they purchased a lot of ground and erected thereon the buildings necessary and proper for their religious worship; and whereas, many of their number at the close of the late war returned to New York, Charleston, and elsewhere (which they had been exiled from on account of their attachment to American measures), leaving the remaining few of their religion here; and whereas, the present congregation, after expending all the subscriptions, loans, gifts, etc., made the society, to the amount of at least £2200, were obliged to borrow money to finish this building, and to contract other debts that are now not only pressingly claimed, but a judgment is actually against their improvements, and which must be sold unless they are enabled immediately to pay the sum of about £800, and which, from a variety of delicate and distressing causes, they are wholly unable to raise among themselves; they are therefore under the necessity of earnestly soliciting from their worthy fellow-citizens of every religious denomination their benevolent aid and help, flattering themselves that

their worshiping Almighty God in a way and manner different from other religious societies will never deter the enlightened citizens of Philadelphia from generously subscribing toward the preservation of a religious house of worship. The subscription-paper will be enrolled in the archives of their congregation, that their posterity may know and gratefully remember the liberal support of their religious society."

This appeal was certainly not a success, or the above-mentioned lottery act would not have been necessary. Another evidence of the sad financial difficulties of the congregation about this time is found in the efforts to obtain help from their brethren abroad. An earnest appeal was made to the German synagogue in Paramaribo, Surinam, Feb. 24, 1790 (18th Adar, A.M. 5550).[1] An application was also made to their compatriots in London, also to several congregations elsewhere, from whom some help was received.

On Sunday, 4th Tamuz, 5549 (June 28, 1789), the congregation Mikve Israel met to raise funds. B. Gratz, *segan*, stated that Jacob Cohen, *hazan* (or reader), had written, informing him that his engagement as *shochet* and *hazan* had expired, and wishing to know whether the congregation intended to continue the arrangement. All the members present, except one, were in favor of such continuance, and each subscribed the same amount that he had paid during the year just expired. They then balloted for a trustee, to have in charge all books, archives, and papers of the congregation, and elected Manuel Josephson, who received five votes; Samuel Hays, three votes; and Moses Nathan, one vote. It was afterward resolved that the deeds of the synagogue should stay in the hands of Jonas Phillips till the debt of the congregation to Robert Waln was discharged; then they also should be given to the trustee.

Among the subscribers on this occasion to the minister's salary, called the "offering," were the following: Manuel Josephson, £1 5*s.* 6*d.*; Samuel Hayes, £1 2*s.* 6*d.*; Solomon Lyon, £1 10*s.*; Jonas Phillips and son, £2 12*s.* 6*d.*; Sholas Barrnitza, 14*s.* 6*d.*; Tuy Phillips, 12*s.*; Bernard Gratz, £1 16*s.*; Michael Gratz and son, £1 19*s.*; Michael Levy, 17*s.* 6*d.*; Isaac Moses, Sr., 7*s.* 6*d.*; Moses Nathan Levy, 2*s.* 8*d.*; Moses Nathan Levy's brother, 18*s.*; Solomon Aaron, 7*s.* 6*d.*; Jacob Cohen, Sr., £1 2*s.* 6*d.*; Myer Hart, 11*s.*; Abraham Hart, 7*s.* 6*d.*; Michael Hart Cohen, £1 11*s.*; Solomon Etting, £1 2*s.* 6*d.*; Benjamin Nones, £2 3*s.* 6*d.*; Isaac Ximenus, 6*d.*; Joseph Henry, 8*s.*; Myer and Solomon Marks, 3*s.*; Mr. Aaron Syefort, £10 10*s.*

At a meeting of the congregation, July 19, 1789, present Solomon Lyon, Benjamin Nones, Samuel Hayes, and Myer Hart, the *segan* stated that the cemetery had been opened several times, and to prevent this in future a person was willing to build a house near it and live there. This was allowed, on condition that the taxes should be paid by the person occupying the house. Jewish cemeteries have been subjected to many outrages, and, within a few years, in provinces of Russia, Bulgaria, and Roumania have been openly violated. During the British occupation of Philadelphia the gate of the Jews' burying-ground was used as the place of execution of deserters. A gentleman writing upon this subject some years ago, said, "When I was a school-boy, about 1785, observing the old gate marked with many holes, I asked my father what had caused them, and he told me that the British shot deserters at that gate, and that it was a custom in European armies to shoot deserters at the gates of Jews' burying-grounds. Happening to mention this to the late Col. Walbeck, in the year 1813, he informed me that it was much the practice yet in Europe."

The following persons were, among others, buried in the Jewish ground, Spruce Street, before the year 1800: Nathan Levy, 1753; Jacob Henry, March 20, 1761; David Gomez, July 28, 1780; Matthew Gomez, May 5, 1781; Sarah Judah, June 20, 1783; Miriam Marks, April 11, 1784; Sarah Marks, June 7, 1784; Abraham Levy, April 8, 1786; Emanuel Josephson, Feb. 30, 1796. This last was a stonecutter's error, as Mr. Josephson's death, according to a notice in the *Philadelphia Minerva* of Feb. 6, 1796, occurred on January 30th. After 1800, and previous to 1820, the following were buried there:

Abby De Lyon, November, 1803.
Mrs. Isaiah Nathans, April, 1804.
Rachel Roderigo De Costa, Jan. 15, 1805.
Moses and Benjamin Nones, Oct. 28, 1805.
Rachel Roderigo De Leon, April 28, 1806.
Jacob Roderigo Penayra, April 28, 1806.
Jonas Hibblen, 5568, Adar 13, 1807.
Jacob Joachim Levy, May 23, 1809.
Isaac Pesoa, Dec. 3, 1809.
Rebecca Roderigo Pensyra, Dec. 5, 1809.
Israel Jacobs, March 3, 1810.
Rachel Levy, Dec. 23, 1810.
Rev. Jacob R. Cohen, Sept. 9, 1811.
Jacob M. Bravo, April 29, 1812.
Charlotte Levy, May 15, 1812.
Ezekiel Hyman Judah, Sept. 29, 1812.
Rachel Phillips, March 9, 1814.
Rebecca Cohen, Oct. 14, 1815.
Moses Nathans, Feb. 24, 1815.
Michael Gratz, 73 years, Sept. 11, 1811.
Miss Miriam Gratz, 58 years, Sept. 12, 1808.
Gertrude Moses, Sept. 8, 1811.
Sarah Gratz, Feb. 20, 1817.
Mrs. Bela Plock, Nov. 17, 1815.
Isaac Rodriques, March 7, 1816.
Jacob Bazam, Nov. 26, 1810.
Rev. E. N. Carvalho, March 20, 1811.
John Jacob, May 15, 1818.
Mayer Deckheim, May 2, 1818.
Henriette Manx, Aug. 1, 1819.
Abraham Hart, Aug. 12, 1820.
Rachel Nones, Nov. 7, 1820.

When Washington became President the following interesting address was sent by the Hebrew congregation in Philadelphia, also speaking for

[1] The Jews date from the creation, which they fix in 3761 B.C., which would make the present year, our 1884, their year 5645. Bishop Usher's date for the creation was 4004 B.C. The Greek Church decided upon 5509 B.C., and the Abyssinian Church on 5492 B.C.

the congregations in New York, Charleston, and Richmond:

"TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"SIR,—It is reserved for you to unite in affection for your character and person every political and religious denomination of men, and in this will the Hebrew congregations aforesaid yield to no class of their fellow-citizens.

"We have been hitherto prevented by various circumstances peculiar to our situation from adding our congregation to those which the rest of America have offered on your elevation to the chair of the Federal government. Deign then, illustrious sir, to accept this, our homage.

"The wonders which the Lord of Hosts hath worked in the days of our forefathers have taught us to observe the greatness of His wisdom and His might throughout the events of the late glorious Revolution; and while we humble ourselves at His footstool in thanksgiving and praise for the blessing of His deliverance, we acknowledge you, the leader of the American armies, as His chosen and beloved servant. But not to your sword alone is our present happiness ascribed. That, indeed, opened the way to the reign of freedom; but never was it perfectly secure till your hands gave birth to the Federal Constitution, and you renounced the joys of retirement to seal by your administration in peace what you had achieved in war.

"To the eternal God who is thy refuge we commit in our prayer the care of thy precious life, and when, full of years, thou shalt be gathered from the people, thy righteousness shall go before thee, and we shall remember amid our regret that 'the Lord has set apart the godly for himself,' while thy name and thy virtues will remain an indelible memorial on our minds.

"MANUEL JOSEPHSON,

"For and in behalf and under the authority of the several congregations aforesaid.

"PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 13, 1790."

Washington immediately replied as follows:

"GENTLEMEN,—The liberality of sentiment toward each other which marks every political and religious denomination of men in this country stands unparalleled in the history of nations.

"The affection of such people is a treasure beyond the reach of calculation; and the repeated proofs which my fellow-citizens have given of their attachment to me, and approbation of my doings, form the purest source of my temporal felicity. The affectionate expression of your address again excites my gratitude and receives my warmest acknowledgment.

"The power and goodness of the Almighty were strongly manifested in the events of our late glorious Revolution, and His kind interposition in our behalf has been no less visible in the establishment of our present equal government. In war He directed the sword, and in peace He has ruled in our councils. My agency in both has been guided by the best intentions and a sense of the duty which I owe my country; and as my exertions have hitherto been amply rewarded by the approbation of my fellow-citizens, I shall endeavor to deserve a continuance of it by my future conduct.

"May the same temporal and eternal blessings which you implore for me rest upon your congregations.

"G. WASHINGTON."

By 1818 the old synagogue was found too small, and in 1820 a new building became a necessity. The corner-stone was laid Sept. 26, 1822, on the Cherry Street lot, west of Third, but the synagogue was not dedicated till Jan. 21, 1825. It measured forty feet in front by seventy feet in depth, and was two stories high. It was constructed in Egyptian style, and was built of Schuylkill stone. Its principal entrance was through an elevated doorway, with inclined jambs supporting a large, covered cornice, on which were sculptured the globe and wings,—the Egyptian emblems of immortality. The interior embraced two semicircular blocks of seats. The dome was supported by Egyptian columns copied from the temple at Tentyra, and was formed by semicircular archiv with richly-paneled segments extending from the ark to the altar. The ark wheat was on the east, and immediately opposite the altar was neatly decorated with pilasters supporting a covered cornice enriched with globe and wings, together with a marble tablet containing the ten commandments in Hebrew. It was approached by a flight of three steps, between cheek-blocks which supported two handsome tripods crowned with lamps. The galleries, which were semicircular, extended round the north and south sides of the building, and were supported by the columns before mentioned, which extended to the dome. The building was designed by William Strickland. The furniture in the lower portion of this building was afterwards removed to the new synagogue on Seventh Street on the erection of the latter, and was placed on the lower floor of that building, which is now used for minor services.

Mrs. Anna Royall, in her "Sketches of Life and Manners in the United States," published in 1826, gives the following account of a visit to the synagogue Mikve Israel:

"I attended the Jews' synagogue one Saturday, which is their Sabbath. Here I found about twenty men, but not one female. They all had their hats on and were standing, although there were seats convenient. Over their shoulders they wore a long linen scarf, in shape and size similar to those worn by ladies. It came down before, and each end was slung over the arm, as ladies wear them in summer. The service was nothing more than one of them, dressed like the others, standing at a desk, with a large Hebrew book open, out of which he read aloud as fast as his tongue could go, with a singing tone, and turning the leaves over with surprising rapidity. During all the time he was bowing his head up and down with such rapidity that it kept pace with his tongue, or kept time with his song, rather. While he was thus engaged the audience were walking to and fro, bowing in the same manner."

Mikve Israel occupies a solid and commodious building on the east side of Seventh Street, above Arch, and was dedicated May 10, 1860. This is the oldest congregation in the city, their former synagogue having been on the north side of Cherry Street, west of Third.

The German Congregation Rodef Sholem ("Followers of Peace") is supposed to have organized in 1800. The first place of meeting was at the corner of Margaretta Street and Cable Lane [now New Market Street], in a red frame building. The *hazan* and *rabbi* was Rev. Mr. Isaacs, who, it is said, was the inventor of the horse ferry-boats, then used on the Delaware River. He was succeeded by Rev. Jacob Lipman. The congregation removed from Margaretta Street to Church Alley, near Third. While it worshiped there Myer Ullman was *parnass*, and held the office until his death, when he was succeeded by Mr. Bomeisler, and afterward by Herman Van Beil. The congregation applied to the Legislature in December, 1808, for authority to establish a lottery for the purpose of erecting a synagogue. Dr. Lieb presented the petition, but the committee to which it was referred reported against it. In 1821 the effort was renewed, but with- success. The congregation then made an appeal

to the public, asking for contributions. About this time the congregation obtained a lot for a burial-ground on Frankford road. Through this ground Ellen Street was afterward laid out.

corner of Mount Vernon Street is one hundred and twenty-five feet high. The congregation is of German origin, and was the second of the Hebrew persuasion formed in the city. The corner-stone was laid July 20, 1869, and the building dedicated Sept. 10, 1870.

The Hebrew Church organizations in the city are as follows:

The Board of Managers of the Hebrew Sunday-school Society, incorporated in 1858, have under their supervision two schools, but they are not attached to any particular congregation. They meet in the school-house of the Hebrew Education Society, Seventh Street, above Wood, and in the building at the southwest corner Tenth and South Streets. Each has a sewing-school attached.

Adath Jeshurun, Julianna Street. Rev. Elias Eppstein. German and Hebrew school attached.

Anshe Emeth, New Market Street, above Poplar, Rev. A. Applebaum. Hebrew school attached.

Beth-el-Emeth, Franklin Street, above Green. Rev. George Jacobs. Religious school every Sunday morning for free instruction.

House of Israel, Crown Street, between Race and Vine. Rev. H. Rubin. Hebrew school attached.

Hungarian Congregation Chelrra Emmas Israel.

Jewish Hospital Synagogue, Olney road, near York pike. Rev. L. Saenger.

Keneseth-Israel (Reformed Congregation), Sixth Street, above Brown. Rev. Dr. Samuel Hirsch, rabbi; Rev. William Armhold, reader. A religious and German school attached.

Krakauer Beth Elohim, 417 Pine Street. Rev. Abraham Koper.

Mikve Israel, Seventh Street, above Arch. Rev. S. Morais.

Rodef Shalom, Broad and Mount Vernon Streets. Rev. Dr. M. Jastrow, rabbi; Rev. Jacob Frankel, reader. There are Sunday- and evening-schools at 838 North Fifth Street, and a religious school for Hebrew and German on Sixth Street, below Parrish.

HEBREW SYNAGOGUE.
[View showing Broad Street, looking south.]

At the present time (1884) there are ten Jewish synagogues in the city. Rodef Sholem, southeast corner of Broad and Mount Vernon Streets, is a very large building, of striking architectural appearance, in the Saracenic style of architecture. It is constructed of sandstone, decorated with stone of other colors. The interior is beautifully finished. The steeple on the

THE UNIVERSALISTS.

The Universalists were but little known in America until about 1740, when a few persons in New England and the Middle States professed their distinctive doctrines. There was no church organization till much later; but Dr. George De Benneville preached Universalist doctrines with great energy and zeal, in

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and about Philadelphia, as early as 1741, and is thought to have published the 1753 Germantown edition of Seigvolk's "Everlasting Gospel."[1]

In the summer of 1770, Rev. John Murray, who had been a Methodist minister, came to America, and soon began a series of Universalist sermons at Bachelors' Hall, Kensington. This was in the fall and winter of 1770–71.[2] At that time he was unable to obtain a hearing in any church, although it is believed that Rev. Morgan Edwards, of the Baptist Church, and Rev. Jacob Duché, of the Church of England, favored these doctrines, or at least took interest in them, showing partial conviction. Murray was received at the house of the Baptist minister in Philadelphia, and was invited to preach in his pulpit. The latter privilege was withdrawn, however, before a sermon was preached, and perhaps social courtesy ceased at the same time. After these discourses were preached at Bachelors' Hall, Murray visited Connecticut, R. I., and preached in New Jersey at Good Luck and other places. In his journal he says, "I think it was in January of 1773 that a most important solicitation drew me to Philadelphia; and, having frequently visited that city, I had many opportunities with strangers collected there."

In his journal he speaks of Thomas Say, Anthony Benezet, and Christopher Marshall, who were in unity with him in religious faith.

During the year 1773, and in the spring and summer of 1774, he preached in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York.

In 1784, Murray was again in Philadelphia, and met for the first time an important assistant among the teachers of his doctrine,—Rev. Elhanan Winchester, who was a recognized Baptist minister, and who had preached, during part of 1780 and 1781, the doctrine of universal salvation at the First Baptist Church. The result was a great commotion among the members of the denomination, which finally resulted in the exclusion of Winchester and his adherents from the Baptist Church. Rev. Abel C. Thomas says ("A Century of Universalism in Philadelphia and New York") that the members of the congregation of the First Baptist Church were two to one in Winchester's favor, but that by politic movements the minority obtained possession,—which is said to be nine points of the law,—and in the issue the Universalists were divested of any legal claim.

Winchester's adherents withdrew about March, 1781. They went to the hall at the academy, in Fourth Street, below Arch, reserved for the use of religious congregations. While here Mr. Winchester preached, Jan. 4, 1782, a sermon called "The Outcasts Comforted," from Isaiah lxvi. 5, addressed to his friends "who had been cast out and excommunicated for believing this glorious doctrine." This was soon afterward printed. The number of this congregation was probably less than one hundred. This society, which was at first known by the name of the Universal Baptists, worshiped at the academy for four or five years. During that time Winchester issued "The Gospel of Christ no Cause of Shame,"—two discourses, of one hundred and forty pages, published in 1783; also "A Serious Address to Young People," delivered May 20, 1785. An effort was made in 1785 to raise funds to build a church for the use of this society. Before they succeeded in this object it is probable that they removed their meetings to the Masonic Hall, or lodge, which was on the south side of Lodge Alley [now Gothic Street], between Second Street and Exchange Place. In November, 1785, Anthony Cuthbert, mast-maker, and Abraham Collins, sail-maker, who were brothers-in-law, bought the Masons' lodge for four thousand dollars. They paid one-fourth cash, and gave a bond and mortgage for the balance. On Jan. 16, 1786, they united in a deed of trust, in which they declared that they held the property for the use of the Society of Universal Baptists. The preamble recited in the deed is as follows:

"WHEREAS, The society of people called Baptists, known by the name of the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia, did, on or about the month of March, 1781, disunite from the fellowship of said society divers of those members who held and professed, and for so holding and professing, the doctrine of the universal love of God and the final restitution of all things through Jesus Christ our Lord; and whereas, the members of said society so disunited, and divers other persons holding the same doctrine, have united together and formed a religious society called the Society of Universal Baptists."

The deed of trust recited that the one thousand dollars paid by Cuthbert and Collins were raised by subs[illegible] they being personally responsible on [illegible] and bond, it was stipulated that

[1] De Benneville may rightfully be called the first Universalist preacher in America, so far as our information extends. His parents were refugee Huguenots, but died during his infancy. After an eventful and adventurous boyhood he "conceived the doctrine of universal restitution," to use his own words, and he opened his testimony in the market-house of Calais about the seventeenth year of his age. He was taken before a magistrate and sentenced to eight days' imprisonment. Notwithstanding the warning that a repetition would endanger his life, he persisted for the space of two years in preaching in France, mostly in the woods and mountains. In these labors Dr. Benneville had equally zealous preachers in co-operation, a Mr. Durant being of the number. At Dieppe these two ministers were seized, and condemned to death. Durant was hanged, but a reprieve arrived from Louis XV. for De Benneville. He was imprisoned for a long time in Paris, and was finally liberated by the intercession of the queen. He afterward went to Germany, in which country he spent about eighteen years, preaching extensively, devoting himself in the meanwhile to scientific studies. In the thirty-eighth year of his age he emigrated to America, and established himself in Oley, Bucks Co., as a physician, and also, temporarily, as a teacher. He preached and traveled much as a medical botanist among the Indian tribes in Northern Pennsylvania. He intermarried with the Bartolet family of Oley, and about 1757 he removed to Milestown, where he died in 1793, aged ninety years.

[2] In his autobiography, Murray says, "The combined efforts of the clergy in Philadelphia barred against me the door of every house of public worship in the city. Bachelors' Hall was in Kensington, but at Bachelors' Hall the people attended, and a few were enabled to believe the good word of their God." Bachelors' Hall, a favorite place of resort in colonial days, was the property of the Norris family. What is now known as Beach Street was formerly called Hall Street, and Bachelors' Hall was situated on the square now bounded south by Poplar Street, north by Shackamaxon Street, east by Beach Street, and west by Allen Street.

they should have the right to indemnify themselves in case of hostile proceedings upon either of those instruments. Winchester, according to Mr. Thomas, preached most of the time until he went to England, in the fall of 1787. He remained there nearly seven years, during which time he published several books. He came back in 1794, and was preaching at Philadelphia in the autumn of 1795-96, but died at Hartford, Conn., in 1797, aged eighty-seven. While he was in England, Rev. Moses Winchester, a half-brother, supplied the congregation, but he died in 1793, and was buried in the Sparks' (or Seventh-Day Baptist) Cemetery, on Fifth Street, above Chestnut.

The doctrines of Murray and Winchester were sufficiently alike to be easily reconciled. This was accomplished by a preliminary conference in 1789, and by a convention which met at the Masons' lodge in Philadelphia, May 25, 1790. The ministers present were John Murray, Nicholas Cox, Artis Seagreave, William Worth, David Evans, Moses Winchester, and Duncan McClain. They adopted Articles of Faith recognizing "the inspiration of the Bible, a belief in one God, infinite in all His perfections, and one mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus, . . . who, by the merit of His death and the efficacy of His Spirit, will finally restore the whole human race to happiness." A belief in the Holy Ghost and in the obligations of the moral law were also agreed to. A plan of church government was adopted. Annual meetings of this Conference were held for some years. The records preserved go as far as 1807. By the Convention of May, 1790, the Universalist Baptist Society was dissolved, and a new society was formed by a union of the disciples of Murray and Winchester, which was called "the First Independent Church of Christ, commonly called Universalists." Mr. Murray was in the city for some time that year, and preached to them; but, his sermons attracting larger audiences than could be accommodated at the lodge, some were preached at the University.

Mrs. Mary Ellet, daughter of Israel Israel, an early member of the congregation, who attended the meetings in Lodge Alley somewhere about 1788-90, thus describes the place,—

"It was a rough, unsightly structure, the room large and unfinished. The only furniture was common wooden benches on each side of the aisle leading to the primitive pulpit, an *unsightly box* surrounded with benches, on which sat the elders of the church, who would commence service by reading a few chapters from the Bible, sing a hymn, after that prayer by several, then exhortations to the congregation,—the men occupying one side of the house and the women the other. A very poor and much-worn Bible was the only book, with the exception of Watts' Hymns, that I ever saw there. Sometimes traveling ministers would hold forth, to the great delight of the members,—one of whom, I think, was the celebrated Dr. Priestley."

How long the society remained at Masons' Hall after the union of 1790 is not certain. The Philadelphia Directory for 1793, published in the early part of that year, in the appendix gives the names of "all the buildings appropriated to the worship of Almighty God, and where situated, with the names of their respective pastors, and says, "Universalists perform Divine worship in the Anatomical Hall, Fifth Street, between Chestnut and Walnut, and under the care of Rev. Hugh White."

In the same Directory, in the alphabetical portion, is the following: "White, Rev. Hugh, of the Universalist Church, schoolmaster, No. 146 Spruce Street."

There is nothing else said about the Universal Church in this Directory, nor does the name of Winchester appear in it. Rev. Hugh White is represented to have died in the yellow fever visitation of 1793.

In 1793 it was determined to obtain better accommodations for the congregation. Subscriptions were therefore raised in the summer of that year. There were forty-nine subscribers, who gave about four hundred pounds Pennsylvania currency, being nearly eleven hundred dollars. A piece of ground was purchased on the south side of Lombard Street, beginning at the distance of one hundred feet west of Fourth Street, and being one hundred feet front on Lombard Street by seventy-eight feet in depth. The price was five hundred pounds, and the deed was made in trust to Thomas Francis, Israel Israel, Anthony Cuthbert, Thomas Fitzgerald, Elisha Gordon, James Moore, and John Vannest. Upon this ground they built a church building, eighty feet on Lombard Street by fifty feet in depth. The location was badly chosen, and they were much cramped for means.

Thomas, in his history, says, "The walls were without plastering, and the only seats plain benches. I was told that the first pulpit was a rough platform, made by a mast-maker and a shoemaker."

Elhanan Winchester preached in that building from 1794 to 1796. He was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Jones, who held the position of pastor in 1801. In 1796, Dr. Joseph Priestley, the English divine and philosopher, delivered a series of discourses on "Revealed Religion" in the Lombard Street Church. A political meeting was held there Nov. 6, 1798, Israel Israel in the chair.

Mr. Thomas numbers among the helpers of Universalism at different periods some who were not members of the congregation, among whom were Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dr. William Shippen, Thomas Say, Christopher Marshall (who wrote in favor of Universalist doctrines), and Thomas Dobson (bookseller and publisher, known in literature as the American publisher of the "Cyclopædia," a very famous work when reprinted by him). Mr. Thomas says that Dobson for some time ministered to a few individuals in Carpenters' Hall, south side of Chestnut, between Third and Fourth Streets.

Dr. Thomas D. Mitchell says, in his "Recollections,"—

"The only Universalist Church in the city, in the days of my youth, was that on the south side of Lombard, west of Fourth Street. Being near to the homestead of my early youth, I have vivid recollections of the place and its early history. For many years the house was not plastered, and there were no galleries in it. The entrance was by two

doors on the Lombard Street front, near to the west end, while the pulpit was on the south side. There was a cellar under the whole, which yielded a revenue as a place for the storage of liquor and groceries in general. Who began the Lombard Street enterprise I know not; but it is certain that the actors were men of small means, for it was a long while before the house could be called a finished edifice, even according to the most ordinary taste, for the occupants were obliged to rent it for the use of singing schools, lectures, etc., in order to meet current expenses. For a long series of years it was impossible to procure a settled pastor, and, the dependence being on casual supplies, there was no obvious increase of the congregation. As it was important to rally once in a while, and to make a great effort to draw out the people, the eccentric and shrewd John Murray was frequently brought from Boston to beat up for recruits to the popular standard."

In the foregoing account the Baptist sect are observed to have lost more than any other by this defection. Besides the two Winchesters, they lost Rev. Nicholas Cox, Rev. William Worth, of Pittsburgh Baptist Church, also Rev. Abel Sargent, and probably others. Cox was a Philadelphian, and had labored in Warren and Sussex Counties, N. J. In 1790 the Philadelphia Baptist Association adopted the following:

"This Association lament that they have occasion again to call the attention of that part of Zion we represent to another awful instance of departure from the faith once delivered to the saints. Nicholas Cox, late a brother in the ministry, having espoused, and artfully as well as strenuously endeavored to propagate, the fatal views of the universal restoration of bad men and devils from hell, as such we caution in churches those of our sister Associations and Christian brothers of every denomination to beware of him."

In the year 1800, Rev. Thomas Jones was pastor of the Universalist Church in Lombard Street. During his pastorate he was assisted by Timothy Banger, an accountant and layman preacher, and intimate with Dr. Benjamin Rush. His name first appears in the minutes of a Convention in 1805. Thomas says, "He never had a pastorate, but was eminently useful as a preacher, especially during the many unsettled eras of our cause in Philadelphia." In 1821, Rev. Abner Kneeland wrote of him as "an amiable and worthy brother, who has always rendered his services gratuitously, and who has supplied the desk, when otherwise it would have been vacant (excepting what time it was thought best that the doors of the church should be closed) for more than twenty years."

Rev. Thomas Jones only remained until 1804, when he removed to Massachusetts, and died in Gloucester, after a ministerial service of forty-three years. He was educated at the seminary established by the Countess of Huntingdon, at Treveca, Wales, and came to America in 1796. Until 1807 the church was only supplied at irregular intervals, but in that year Rev. Noah Murray, of Connecticut, took charge. He had been the first Universalist preacher in Bradford County, Pa., and a monument stands to his memory at the town of Athens, erected by the North Branch Association of Universalists.[1] In 1808 he retired from the Lombard Street Church, and for a year Elders Timothy Banger and John Rutters were lay preachers. The next settled pastor was Rev. George Richards, in July, 1809. He was a writer of considerable repute, a poet, and a lecturer, particularly on Masonry. The church grew apace under his care. His sermon on the "Burning of the Richmond Theatre, Dec. 26, 1811," was printed and widely circulated. In the same year he also took the editorship of the *Freemason's Magazine.*

Serious dissensions arose in the First Universalist Church in 1812, in consequence of the political and national antipathies that then existed. Among the members were three Englishmen and their families. These were Thomas Dallett, Elijah Dallett, the elder, and Thomas Lay. They were entitled to all the privileges of the church, and they had declared their intention to become citizens, but were compelled to await the legal interval. Upon some occasion of business in the church the votes of these three persons were objected to on the ground that they were not citizens, and the ballots were thrown out by the officers, who sympathized with the anti-English party. The result was that the Dalletts and Lay were refused, and they withdrew from the congregation. This secession was of disastrous consequence. All the persons who attended services and supported the church, but were not allowed a voice, went out, and stripped it almost entirely of the greater portion of its attendants. The two Dalletts and Lay united with them, and it was resolved by the seceders to establish a new church, which they called the Church of the Restitution. Mr. Thomas says that there were one hundred and fifteen persons in this movement. They met in the fall of 1812, at the court-house, at Sixth and Chestnut Streets, and afterward at the hall of the University, on Fourth Street, below Arch. Rev. Mr. Richards went out with them, but he could not stand the strain and excitement of controversy. The position in which he was placed, heightened perhaps by want (for the old congregation was indebted to him for services, and the new one was not able to promptly meet the requirements of his salary), together with domestic troubles, affected his mind. He was placed in the Pennsylvania Hospital, and died there, by suicide, about March 1, 1814. His remains lie buried in the rear of the Lombard Street Church. The fact of a minister committing suicide seemed to the people a terrible thing, and Mr. Richards' self-murder was a heavy blow to the Universalist persuasion. After the death of Mr. Richards the Church of the Restitution ceased altogether.

By an act of Feb. 4, 1808, the Legislature appointed Israel Israel, Elisha Gordon, Thomas Amies, Jacob Thomas, Thomas Tompkins, John Murray, Thomas Kingston, and Thomas F. Gordon, commissioners, to conduct a Universalist lottery to raise ten thousand dollars to buy a burial-ground, and to pay off the debts. Mrs. Ellet, in her "Recollections," says,—

[1] His death occurred May 11, 1811, in his seventy-fifth year.

"The experiment was a disastrous one; the tickets sold slowly; the drawing was commenced when only a small amount had been received, and the first turn of the wheel brought out the grand prize. As a result, the church was deeper in debt than before, and the struggle with poverty was a long and severe one."

The controversies and financial troubles, outlined in the preceding paragraphs, weakened the First Church so that for some years its doors seemed to be open to anybody who desired to preach within its walls; and there are occasional notices in the newspapers of the intention of wandering clergymen and religious persons to speak there. The eccentric apostle of itinerancy, Rev. Lorenzo Dow, preached a charity sermon in November, 1814, "for the re-establishment of the Philadelphia Female Hospitable Society, for the relief of indigent sick persons." In February, 1815, it was announced that Dorothy Ripley, "the female Whitefield, will preach for the benefit of the Female Hospitable Society." In the early part of September, 1816, Rev. Ebenezer Lester, of Connecticut, was announced in the newspapers as having accepted the call of the Universalist Church on Lombard Street, and that he would commence service the following Sunday. He remained in Philadelphia about a year, when he went back to Connecticut, and died shortly afterward. Rev. Edward Mitchell, of New York, preached on the 10th of November, 1816, and again in June, 1817. Rev. Mr. Van Vliet preached in the early part of February, 1818. In the same month there came, it may be supposed, as a candidate for the pastorship, Rev. David Gilsom, who had been previously preaching in Western New York, and attracted many, but, for some unexplained reason, was not employed.

In September, 1818, Rev. Abner Kneeland assumed the pastoral care of the church, and a new schism soon arose. His introduction caused an entire change in some of the principles which were held by the congregation. In 1803 the Universalist Convention, held at Winchester, N. H., had adopted unanimously the articles of religion since known as "the Winchester Confession of Faith,"—a platform upon which the General Conventions of Universalists were established. The chief tenet thus laid down was: "We believe that there is one God, whose nature is love, revealed in our Lord Jesus Christ by one Holy Spirit of Grace, who will finally restore the whole world of mankind to holiness and happiness." This was a somewhat Trinitarian plank, while Kneeland's opinions were purely Unitarian; and, "however Murray might distinguish between the wrath of God and the fear of the wrath of God, both he and Winchester held to protracted future misery; whereas, Kneeland denied that the Bible taught any retribution beyond the present life." In his letter of acceptance he referred to the articles of faith embodied in the church organization to which he had been invited to minister, and reserved the right to interpret those articles himself. A number of families then withdrew, also Timothy Banger, who became a member of the Dunker congregation under Rev. Peter Keyser; but a majority remained, and there were many accessions.

Mr. Kneeland commenced his labors at the Lombard Street Church by the delivery of eight lectures on "Universal Benevolence," which were afterward published. In 1822 he edited "The Deist" (12mo), and the New Testament, in Greek and English, in two volumes. He was editor of the *Philadelphia Universalist Magazine and Christian Messenger*, 1821–23, according to Griesbach, which was printed by William Fry and published by Abraham Small. In May, 1824, he published a "Specimen of a Pronouncing Spelling-Book of the English Language, the Sounds represented by Phonetic Signs."

His celebrated debate took place with Rev. W. L. McCalla, of the Eighth Presbyterian Church, upon the question, "Is the punishment of the wicked absolutely eternal? or is it only a temporary punishment in this world for the good, to be succeeded by eternal punishment after death?" Mr. McCalla was the challenger, and Mr. Kneeland took up the gauntlet. Each of these debaters was represented by a moderator,—Mr. Kneeland by Rev. William Moss, a Universalist; Mr. McCalla selected Nathaniel Kennedy, a Presbyterian elder. These moderators united in the choice of an umpire in the person of Rev. William Hogan, formerly of the Roman Catholic Church in the city of Philadelphia. The discussion commenced Tuesday morning, July 13th, at the Lombard Street Church, and continued for four days. Mr. Kennedy, the Presbyterian moderator, became greatly excited during this controversy, and was immoderate in his expressions to his associates, in consequence of which he was persuaded to retire, and Rev. Ezra Styles Ely was chosen in his stead. This debate, which ended July 17th, was taken in short-hand by R. L. Jennings, and published in a volume of three hundred and thirty-six pages. In the year 1825, Mr. Kneeland's pastorate was closed by his removal to New York, and Rev. Nehemiah Dodge supplied the pulpit from August to November. Mr. Kneeland's subsequent career was a strange one.[1] Rev. A. C. Thomas, in his history, says of him,—

[1] Abner Kneeland was born in 1774, and became a preacher in Vermont, where he edited a work entitled "Mrs. Johnson's Captivity." After he left Philadelphia he succeeded Rev. Nehemiah Dodge as pastor of the Second Society of United Christian Friends—commonly called "the Second Universalist Society"—in their new church at the corner of Prince and Orange Streets, New York. A controversy springing up in the congregation, he and his followers left in the spring of 1827, and occupied the New Jerusalem Chapel in Paul Street, where they organized the Second Universalist Society. He edited the *Olive Branch* in 1828, and published "A Review of the Evidences of Christianity" in 1829. He also appeared in the press as a controversialist in reference to a tract which had been promulgated under the auspices of Rev. Thomas H. Skinner, of the Fifth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, which city he evidently revisited in 1829. The journals of that year say that on the 29th of September, when Fanny Wright, of England, and Robert Dale Owen lectured in Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia, Abner Kneeland, former pastor of the Lombard Street Church, was a prominent leader in the movement. The *Mechanics' Free Press* was its organ. Robert Dale Owen made an appeal for funds to enable the friends of free inquiry in

"He was certainly the most venerable man I ever saw in the pulpit. His commanding presence, slightly florid complexion, all-illuminating blue eye, his voice never boisterous, his temper never ruffled, not eloquent according to received standards, but wonderfully impressive in calmness and persuasive candor, remarkably self-possessed,—all these qualities have fastened him in my memory."

The First Universalist Church had a Sabbath-school under Rev. George Richards in June, 1812, when first organized containing sixteen children, but this effort probably came to grief when the Richards party left. On the 15th of October, 1816, while Rev. Ebenezer Lester was pastor, a female Sunday-school was opened, and a male Sunday-school was established in December of the same year. Societies were organized in the congregation to assist these schools, the members making contributions of two dollars each per annum. The number of members of each society was not more than eighty or ninety. Beside instruction, these schools were somewhat in the character of charities, as donations of shoes for the use of the children were frequently considered necessary. They were generally the children of poor parents, having no other opportunity for instruction, and were sought for in the lanes and alleys. Here there was published in 1819, for the use of the Sunday-schools, the "Philadelphia Hymn-Book; or, a Selection of Sacred Poetry, consisting of Psalms and Hymns, compiled by Abner Kneeland."

Among the members of the First Church during this period was Professor James P. Espy, scientist and teacher, who for more than twenty years was teacher in the classical school of the Franklin Institute. His work on the "Philosophy of Storms," published in 1841, attracted much attention throughout the United States and Europe. He was taken into the service of the National Observatory at Washington, and his observations have been published in several volumes. The reports which he obtained from all parts of the country were collated, and deductions made. Dr. D. Francis Condie was from the time of his admission to membership in the Lombard Street Church, September 13, 1819, until his death, an earnest and attentive worshiper. He was a frequent writer in Universalist periodicals.

The origin of the Second Universalist Church can be briefly stated. Residents of the Northern Liberties, in March, 1820, organized a society and opened their meetings in Commissioners' Hall, North Third Street. Rev. Mr. Kneeland officiated. In 1821 a society was formed for the discussion of Universalism, which was called the Berean Society. Meetings were held at Commissioners' Hall, Northern Liberties, and the debates were participated in by friends and opponents of Universalism, Mr. Kneeland taking a conspicuous part. In the latter part of December, 1821, Rev. Hosea Ballou visited Philadelphia, where he remained for three weeks and preached twelve sermons. He officiated in the pulpit of the Lombard Street Church, in Washington Hall, on Third Street, north of Spruce, and at Commissioners' Hall, Northern Liberties, strengthening the new Second Church. Large numbers of persons were attracted to his discourses, and it is said that the last of the series was preached to seven thousand hearers. About this time Charles Rogers, of Rogers & Brother, hardware merchants, advanced seven thousand and twenty-five dollars toward the purchase of a lot on the north side of Callowhill Street, between Fourth and Fifth. The amount was afterward increased to ten thousand dollars. A portion of the ground was laid out in burial-lots, the church being set back from the street some distance.

A building association was formed and was successfully managed. The church was built with a Doric front, supported by columns, and for a burial-place underneath the pillars, James Nice, a member of the congregation, paid one thousand dollars. The building was sixty by eighty feet. The ground was bought in March, 1822, and the corner-stone was laid in September of that year, and the church dedicated Oct. 17, 1823. During the remainder of that year, and for a portion of 1824, Mr. Kneeland officiated in the Second Church, assisted by others. Rev. William Moss was in the latter year selected by the congregation, and accepted the charge. He was ordained on the 10th of June, 1824, in the Callowhill Street Church. Rev. Edward Mitchell, of New York, preached the ordination sermon, and Rev. Richard Carrique and Rev. Abner Kneeland assisted. Mr. Moss remained in the service of the church less than a year, going to New England the following April. He was succeeded in June by Rev. Stephen R. Smith, who had preached first in Philadelphia in October, 1822, at Commissioners' Hall, Northern Liberties, and to the First Church, in Lombard Street. Thomas' "Universalism in Philadelphia" says of Mr. Smith,—

"He was a most earnest, impressive public speaker, with the single fault of pouring out the burning or melting words of his inspiration until it seemed that his lungs would collapse beyond recovery. As a writer he was very thorough, and I have often sorrowed that he left so few marks of his pen in Philadelphia. Beside editorial articles, chiefly of temporary interest, his printed record is comprised in four or five pamphlets."

Rev. John S. Thompson preached at Commissioners' Hall during the year 1823. He was a Scotchman, was educated at the University of Glasgow; was originally a Methodist, and afterward became a Uni-

Philadelphia to erect a public hall. Subscription-books were opened in the bar-rooms of Tobiason's tavern, next door to the Arch Street Theatre; at Mrs. Neal's Circulating Library; at Nathan B. Starr's, No. 6 Arcade; and at Joseph McClintock's, Morgan Street, near Tenth. John Butterworth, George D. Henk, John Yeager, John Thomason, Alva Mason, Francis Breisford, Joseph A. McClintock, Stephen Poultney, William J. Young, James Glasgow, Frederick Shriver, and Simon M. Furst were appointed a committee to collect the necessary funds for that purpose. Subscriptions amounting to several thousand dollars were received. Mr. Kneeland became a friend and admirer of Fanny Wright; finally went to Boston, where he published the *Investigator*; was charged with blasphemy; afterward went West, and settled at Saluber, on the Des Moines River, where he died Aug. 27, 1844. Among other eccentricities he became interested in a company to dig up the valuables buried by Capt. Kidd, the pirate, on the North River.

versalist. He was conspicuous in the history of that denomination in the central part of the State of New York. He afterward published his discourses in the Second Church,—"Universalism, the Religion of Jesus; or, Critical Lectures on the Unity of God and the Salvation of all Men."

The Messiah Church, at the northeast corner of Locust and Juniper Streets, is built of brick, rough cast in the Collegiate Gothic style. This congregation was formed in 1850, and met for worship for some time in the Assembly Building, situated at Tenth and Chestnut Streets. The session-room of the church was opened for worship in March, 1851, and dedicated November 19th of the same year, Rev. Henry Bacon, pastor. The present pastor is Rev. Edwin C. Sweetzer, D.D.

The Church of the Restoration, on the south side of Master Street, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth, is built of brownstone. It was dedicated April 3, 1872, and presents an attractive appearance. The pastor is Rev. Frank A. Bisbee, D.D.

THE MILLERITES.

The world has known innumerable excitements about the approaching end of all earthly things. When the close of the first one thousand years after Christ's birth approached, all Europe ran wild with terror and expectation that lasted, indeed, until the thousandth anniversary of the crucifixion had also come and gone. Since then, though many and strange millennial prophecies have been uttered, and many new sects founded on a belief in the speedy "Second Advent of Christ," none have equaled that contagious excitement which ushered in the century that witnessed Pope Hildebrand's lion-like pontificate. But America has never had another Second Advent excitement to equal that which occurred in Philadelphia in 1841–44. A period of ten years immediately following 1830–33 was marked, so religious writers of the time say, by great fanaticism, and many changes in sects. The probabilities of the Lord's coming and of the reign of the saints on earth were discussed by thousands, unused to any sound logic or just principles of interpretation of the Biblical prophecies. Pamphlets and books on the subject abounded, written by men and women who thought that the day and the hour were revealed to them by especial providence or miraculous interposition. It was reserved for a simple, ignorant, and zealous man, of New England birth, to begin the "Millerite excitement," which spread from the woods of Maine to the lead-mines of Galena and the cane-brakes of Arkansas. Illiterate persons, reading their Bibles with single-hearted ardor, accepted the doctrine that the end of the world was near, and that the prophet was in their midst. Fire was to destroy the earth in October, 1844. The excitement in Philadelphia had been growing for two or more years, and by the summer of 1842 it was indescribable. The Millerite Church was on Julianna Street, between Wood and Callowhill, and there his followers met, night and day, and watched the stars and sun, and prayed and warned the unrepentant that the "day of judgment was at hand."

Many of them began to sell their lands and their houses at prices which were merely nominal. Others gave away their personal effects, shut up their business, or vacated their houses. On a store on Fifth Street, above Chestnut, was a placard, which read thus:

"This shop is closed in honor of the King of kings, who will appear about the 20th of October. Get ready, friends, to crown Him Lord of all!"

On a Chester Street sign was an inscription,—"The Bridegroom is Coming!" It was at this time that Henry Clay was making his celebrated 1844 canvass against James J. Polk, but the Millerites, when asked how they would vote in November, pointed solemnly to the heavens, and declared it was no use. People laboring under the excitement went mad, and the grand jury was called upon to indict the fanatical preachers, and thus put an end to the horrible delusion. On one occasion all the windows of a meeting-house were surrounded at night by a crowd of young fellows, and at a given signal the darkness and gloom were made lurid by flaming torches, and the air resounded with the roar of fire-crackers. The saints inside were wild with terror, for they thought the fiery whirlwind was come. The Sunday before the final day was an eventful one. The Julianna Street chapel was crowded. A mod of unbelievers on the pavements stoned the windows and hooted at the worshipers. The police of the Northern Liberties and Spring Garden, and a sheriff's posse, headed by Morton McMichael, were on hand to quell the threatened disturbance. The members of the congregation repaired to their homes, and after, in many cases, leaving their doors and windows open, and giving away their furniture, set out for the suburban districts. A large number went over into New Jersey; but the chief party assembled in Isaac Yocomb's field, on the Darby road, three miles and a half from the Market Street bridge. While here a furious hurricane strengthened the faith of the Millerites, and struck awful terror to the souls of the timid. It swept over the city, destroying shipping and demolishing houses. The *Ledger* a few days before had said, "If, on the 22d or 23d of this month, there should be a storm, or the day be as black and inauspicious as days in the calendar can occasionally be, it will add to the delusion."

The crowd at Darby was gathered within two tents, but so great was it that the children for two days were obliged to run about the fields exposed to the peltings of a pitiless storm, and crying for their parents. The parents, clad in thin white "ascension-robes," were almost exhausted for want of food, slept on the cold, wet ground, and prayed and hymned

and groaned incessantly. At midnight of the 22d the "Bridegroom" was to come, and a rain of fire was to descend from the heavens, and the saints were to be gathered up in a whirlwind. There they stood, on that black and tempestuous October night, shivering with cold and with fear, their faces upturned, and every eye strained to catch a beam of the awful light piercing the clouds. The morning broke, and with it came the end of the delusion. The assemblage dispersed in despair, and slunk away silently and downcast to their homes. One man in his ascension-robes had sat all night on his wife's grave ready to catch her resurrected body, and in her embrace to be translated into heaven. When the woe-begone company arrived in the city, the first intelligence from their former associates was that one of their preachers had decamped out West with several thousand dollars. Many a happy family was broken up by the effects of the mania, and many a man was reduced to penury.

It is said that there was also an encampment by Camac's woods, outside of Philadelphia, where one party waited for the "transformation scene." A writer in one of the Philadelphia papers, about 1874, says, "I was a young man at that time, in a counting-house, near Arch Street wharf, and I well remember the Wartman brothers, who were draymen at Arch and Water Streets, and had their stand there. One of the brothers was so infatuated with Millerism as to offer his share in the business for sale, and he nearly went insane from his belief."

Miscellaneous Churches.—Besides the religious denominations already mentioned, there are in this city the following churches of other religious sects:

ADVENT CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Edwin King, corresponding secretary.
Advent Christian Mission, corner of Twenty-fifth and Huntingdon Streets. No settled pastor.
Second Advent, Mount Vernon Street, below Broad. Rev. Mr. Graham, E. F. Sergisson.

LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

MORMON, JOSEPH SMITH, JR., BRANCH,—ANTI-POLYGAMOUS.

Church, northeast corner of Ninth and Callowhill Streets. Elder Joseph A. Stewart.

MORMON,—POLYGAMOUS.

Congregation, Caledonia Hall, Pine Street, above Second. Elder Joseph Mullett.

CHRISTADELPHIANS.

West Philadelphia Institute Hall, Fortieth and Sansom Streets.

CHURCH OF GOD.

First, corner of Germantown Avenue and Berks Street. Rev. George Sigler.
Mission, Richmond Street, below Shackamaxon.

DISCIPLES OR CHRISTIANS.

First, Twelfth Street, above Wallace. Rev. C. Q. Wright.
Second, Frankford. Rev. Carroll Ghent.
Third, Holly Street, above Forty-first. Rev. A. B. Chamberlain.
Fourth, Twenty-second Street, above Montgomery Avenue. Rev. O. A. Bartholomew.

EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

Rev. J. Yeakel, presiding elder of Atlantic Conference.
Christ, Eighth Street, below Girard Avenue. Rev. J. D. Woodring.
Emanuel, Fourth Street, below Poplar. Rev. J. P. Schnatz. Services in German.
Southwark, Fifth Street, above Washington Avenue. Rev. C. B. Fliehr.
St. John, corner of Sixth and Dauphin Streets. Rev. George Knerr.
St. John Mission, Nicetown; and Zion Mission, Bridesburg. Rev. Joseph Steltzer.
Zion, Rittenhouse Street, near Green (Germantown). Rev. William A. Leopold, Morning services, German; evening, English.

SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS.

First Association of Spiritualists, hall corner of Eighth and Spring Garden Streets.
Keystone Association of Spiritualists, northeast corner of Ninth and Spring Garden Streets. Joseph Wood, president.
Second Spiritualist Church, Thompson Street, below Front.

UNDENOMINATIONAL MISSIONS.

Clarence, near Municipal Hospital. Henry W. Koons, superintendent.
Free Gospel Tabernacle, Restein Hall, Seventh and Dickinson Streets. Rev. William B. Cullis.
Kensington Mission, Girard Avenue, east of Otis Street.
Meadow Chapel, Moyamensing Avenue, above Seventh. John A. Neff, superintendent.
Park Avenue Union Mission, Diamond Street, above Twentieth.
Salvation Army Post, Richmond Street, west of Shackamaxon. Capt. H. C. Brown.

UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

ENGLISH.

Jasper Street, Jasper Street, below Lehigh Avenue. Rev. J. W. Taylor.
Mount Pisgah, Kipp and Cambria Streets, east of Front. Rev. T. B. Miller.

GERMAN.

First, Fourth Street, above Norris. Rev. F. List.
St. Paul's, Edgemont and Westmoreland Streets. Rev. W. A. Bairer.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CHARITABLE AND BENEVOLENT AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS.

Almshouses.—Although the original settlers of Philadelphia were persons of means and of industry, so that it was a boast about the time of the foundation of the province that "no one need ever starve or be in want in this fruitful country," the lapse of years brought idle persons to the town, or misfortune overwhelmed some of those who were already there, so that they were really in want of assistance.

An act for the better provision of the poor was passed in 1700, and repealed by the queen in council in 1705. The Assembly adopted a new law in the latter year, by which it was directed that justices of the peace should annually appoint two overseers of the poor for each township, and might for the support of the poor levy a rate of one penny per pound on real and personal estate of citizens, and four shillings per head on all citizens not otherwise rated "to be employed for the relief of poor, indigent, and impotent persons, inhabiting within the said townships." The system established for the overseers seems to have been by personal relief, as the names of the beneficiaries were entered in the poor-book. The Common Council in 1712 resolved, "the poor of this

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City, Dayly Increasing, it is ye opinion of this Council that a Workhouse be immediately Hired to Imploy poor P'sons & Sufficient P'sons appointed to keep them at Work." The overseers of the poor were empowered to attend to this business, and in the course of the year were authorized to find a convenient building for a work-house. Whether they carried out this direction does not appear in the minutes of Councils, which contain no further reference to the subject.

The establishment in the succeeding year of the Friends' Almshouse may have had some influence in relief of the public. Yet that institution was strictly confined to the relief of poor members of the Society of Friends, and it was not available as a place of refuge to the general public. In 1717 it was directed that persons receiving relief from the overseers of the poor should wear upon the right shoulder of the upper garment a large Roman P, together with the initial of the county, city, or place of which the pauper was an inhabitant. The said letters to be cut either in red or blue cloth, as the overseers of the poor shall direct. Every poor person who should neglect or refuse to wear such a badge was liable to the suspension or withdrawal of the relief, and also to whipping and keeping at hard labor for twenty-one days.[1] The Assembly passed an act in 1717 authorizing the erection of work-houses in Philadelphia, Chester, and Bristol. The preamble of the act declared that for want of proper prisons or houses of correction evil-doers escaped unpunished, and servants who for their neglect and abuses should be kept at work in such houses have become incorrigible. In Philadelphia a work-house was directed to be established within three years. It was to be managed by a board of assistants of the poor, appointed by a justice of the peace of the city and county. But this direction does not seem to have been immediately obeyed. The outdoor system of relief was still maintained. In 1729 the overseers of the poor presented a memorial to the Legislature setting forth the difficulty under which they labored from the great number of poor from foreign ports and neighboring provinces, and likewise from the insolvent debtors and their wives and children. The city having recommended this application, the Assembly resolved to loan the mayor and commonalty one thousand pounds, to be applied to purchasing a piece of ground and building an almshouse for the use of the poor of the city. The Council received this money in 1720, and the mayor and alderman, Plumsted and James Steel, were appointed a committee to fix upon a proper place to build the almshouse, to draw a plan, and to make estimates.

In the succeeding year a square of ground was bought from Aldran Allen for two hundred pounds which had formerly belonged to John Knight, and was a square bounded by Third, Fourth, Spruce, and Pine Streets. The lot was then a green meadow. The building was of brick, and probably finished in 1731 or 1732. The main front faced Third Street, from which there was an entrance by a stile. The great gate was on Spruce Street. There was a piazza all around the building, and in general appearance the house resembled the Friends' Almshouse, upon Walnut Street, west of Third. Here, beside the asylum for paupers, was established an infirmary, or hospital, with accommodations for the sick and insane, which was the commencement of the institution which has always been conducted in connection with the almshouse, and has been known of late years as the Philadelphia Hospital. Although this building was erected by the city of Philadelphia, it must have been in use by the county as well. There would be no difficulty about the tax-rate, the county justices having full authority to make levies, and the State really having furnished the money by which the almshouse was built. As a consequence of the establishment of this almshouse, which was probably the first set up on public account in the province, the Assembly passed a new statute in relation to the relief of the poor March 29, 1735.

They regulated the manner in which persons who came into the city of Philadelphia or any township or county, except those who arrived from Europe, might obtain a legal settlement. Housekeepers or inhabitants who received into their dwellings persons not having legal settlement were bound to give prompt notice to the overseers of the poor, under penalty. There were particular directions as to how persons removing should secure or keep their settlements. The act said, "The almshouse built for the city of Philadelphia may, if well regulated, be of service and help to ease the inhabitants of the taxes yearly assessed on them for the maintenance of the poor." The mayor, recorder, and aldermen were given authority to appoint a superintendent of the almshouse. Even at this early day abuses in furnishing public supplies had been noticed, against which complaint and absolute legal provisions have been directed ever since. The preamble of one of the sections recites that "Complaints have been made against Overseers of the Poor who have supplied the Poor with Necessaries out of their own Stores and Shops at exorbitant Prices, and also against Overseers who have paid unreasonable Accounts to their Friends and Dependents for Services done the Poor." After thirteen years of occupation the almshouse became too small to accommodate the persons who sought relief.

In 1764 the overseers of the poor represented to the Assembly that they were very much restricted in accommodation of the paupers. Into rooms but ten or eleven feet square they had been obliged to crowd four or six men. The church was turned into a

[1] Under this law a pauper of the city was known by the badge-letters P. P.

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lodging room with fifteen beds.[1] There were several persons needing accommodation for whom there was no proper lodging. The number of paupers requiring this care at that time was two hundred and twenty. In 1766 the overseers of the poor again made application to the Assembly upon account of the insufficiency of accommodation to the paupers. The support of the poor for 1765 had cost three thousand two hundred dollars. Beside the inmates of the house, there were one hundred and fifty out-pensioners. About this time the urgency of the duty to the poor attracted the attention of persons of benevolence and means, and it was proposed that if the Assembly would charter a corporation with power to establish and maintain an almshouse and house of employment, such a company should be formed. In compliance with this suggestion the Assembly passed, on the 8th of February, 1766, "an act for the better employment, relief, and support of the poor within the city of Philadelphia, District of Southwark, the townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk, and the Northern Liberties." By this law every person who contributed ten pounds toward the purposes of the almshouse became thereby a member of the corporation with power to elect twelve managers, a treasurer, etc. They were embodied as "Contributors to the Relief and Employment of the Poor within the city of Philadelphia." As soon as they raised a stock of fifteen hundred pounds the city corporation was authorized to borrow on mortgage of the almshouse premises at Third and Spruce Streets, two thousand pounds, and to pay that over to the managers of the almshouse corporation for the purchase of ground, the erection of buildings, etc. The contributors were authorized to construct a commodious building, one part of which was to be appropriated to the reception and maintenance of persons who were poor and helpless, and the other, called the house of employment or work-house, for the reception, lodging, and employment of poor persons who were able to work. The managers purchased for the accommodation of the establishment a lot of ground bounded by Spruce, Pine, Tenth, and Eleventh Streets. The price was eight hundred pounds.

The buildings were opened in October, 1767. The almshouse was laid out in the form of an L, one hundred and eighty feet by forty, two stories in height, joined by a turret thirty feet square, and four stories high. The house of employment was on the west side of the lot, running south from Spruce, fronting Eleventh Street, also in shape of an L, so that the entire range of buildings inclosed on three sides a quadrangular space. A large central building was erected on Spruce Street, which stood between the L's. The first story of the almshouse and house of employment on the interior was a cloister of open arches. The buildings on Tenth and Eleventh Streets occupied two stories and a garret. The main central building, when finished, was three stories in height, with a hip-roof, surmounted by a small cupola. A habit soon grew up among the people of calling this establishment "the Bettering-House," a title which in time became somewhat an epithet of contempt. Two hundred and eighty-four persons were admitted into the almshouse in October, 1767, and in three months afterward the number had increased to three hundred and sixty-eight. The inmates of the house of employment were soon put to work, and in it were made various kinds of goods, principally of wool, hemp, and flax. When, in years after, cotton began to be grown in the United States, the manufacture of that fibre became an important industry in the establishment.

The events of the Revolution, which resulted in the impoverishment of many of the contributors, gradually reduced the membership and the income of the institution so much that, in 1781, the Legislature passed a law to the effect that if the corporation could not be kept up, or should cease to act, the overseers of the poor should be vested with all the powers of the corporation, and be themselves a corporation, under the title of the "Guardians of the Poor of the City of Philadelphia." In 1803, by an act of Assembly, it was ordered that the guardians of the poor, who were to be "substantial housekeepers," should be elected annually, sixteen by the corporation of the city, six by Southwark corporation, and eight by the justices of the peace of the township of the Northern Liberties. Outside of the city, Northern Liberties, and Southwark, the poor were attended to by the overseers of their respective districts. By act passed March 5, 1828, commissioners of Kensington and of Southwark, guardians who acted for Penn township, were added to the number of guardians, which was reduced to twelve. By the same act authority was given for erecting buildings for the accommodation of the poor upon a suitable site, not exceeding two miles from Market and Broad Streets, and if they desired, they might separate these buildings and erect a hospital at some place within the limits of the city eastward of Schuylkill Eighth Street. A loan of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was authorized to be negotiated for that purpose.

Some time afterward two hundred acres of land were purchased in Blockley township, on the west side of the Schuylkill River, and extending along the south and east side of the Baltimore turnpike from a point near Chestnut Street and Hall Street, and the present Thirty-fourth Street. Upon this lot were erected four distinct buildings, disposed at right angles with each other, and inclosing an interior space of seven hundred by five hundred feet. The men's almshouse fronted the southeast. The main building contained a portico ninety feet in front,

[1] This was the hall used as the assembly room for the use of the paupers for religious and moral instruction, and not a separate church building.

supported by eight columns, in the Tuscan order, built of brick and rough cast, and was flanked by two wings, each two hundred feet in length. The portico being elevated on a high flight of steps, rising beyond the basement story to those of the principal story, gave to this group of buildings a commanding appearance. The women's almshouse was directly opposite the department for males, on the northwest side of the quadrangle. Between these buildings, on the sides, was the hospital, five hundred feet front, and the house of employment, of the same dimensions, immediately opposite. Court-yards and yards of labor, gardens and walks, were allotted to each building, for the accommodation of the inmates, the departments being separated by walls. In time, however, the inclosure became filled up with buildings absolutely necessary for the use of the establishment. The group of buildings was considered sufficient to accommodate four thousand persons, and the cost was about nine hundred thousand dollars. They were first occupied about the year 1835.

TOWNSHIP ALMSHOUSES.—In consequence of the peculiar system which combined certain portions of the city and county of Philadelphia in arrangements for the maintenance of the almshouse, other townships or districts were compelled either to rely upon the overseer system of relief, or else to establish poor-houses of their own. Moyamensing, Passyunk, Kingsessing, Blockley, unincorporated Northern Liberties, Germantown, Roxborough, Oxford, Bristol, Lower Dublin, Byberry, and Moreland were not within the almshouse jurisdiction when the buildings were erected at Third and Spruce Streets or at Tenth and Spruce Streets. Some of them were not united with the city and other districts in the management of the main almshouse after the great establishment was built in Blockley. Under an act passed April 11, 1807, authority was given to establish a public corporation, styled "the Directors of the Poor and of the House of Employment for the Townships of Oxford and Lower Dublin of Philadelphia County." Under this law a farm was purchased of one hundred and forty-five acres, near the mill-dam of Samuel Comly and others. In 1823 the guardians of Bristol township were incorporated, with authority to erect a poor-house, purchase land, etc. In 1809, for Germantown, a corporation was created, entitled "The Managers for the Relief and Employment of the Poor of the Township of Germantown, in the County of Philadelphia." They bought a lot of ground, containing twenty acres, and established an almshouse upon a lane east of the main road, which thenceforth was called for many years "Poor-House Lane." The township of Roxborough was authorized to build a poor-house in the year 1837. The borough of Manayunk was united with the township, and the almshouse grounds contained twenty acres. The Moyamensing Almshouse was established in the early part of the century, on Irish Track Lane, now obliterated (below the present Fitzwater Street). It was of brick, with several outhouses, and the inclosure comprised several acres of ground.

THE FRIENDS' [OR QUAKER] ALMSHOUSE.—Charity and benevolence in a community founded by the Society of Friends might naturally be supposed to have been quite active from the foundation of the province of Pennsylvania. This expectation does not seem to be justified by facts. Want, suffering, and sickness went on for many years without attention being directed to relief and comfort. The first purely charitable institution known to have been established was strictly sectarian, and its benevolence was confined closely to the members of the religious denomination in the interests of which the so-called charity had arisen. The Quaker Almshouse was not a place for the support of the poor unless they should happen to be Quakers. The ground was a gift by the will of John Martin, who died in 1702, and devised the property on Walnut Street to Thomas Chalkley, Ralph Jackson, and John Michener, without reservation or expression of desire that they should hold it for any trust. The devisees, however, understood from conversations with Martin in his lifetime why he made this devise to them, and they represented to the Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends that there was an understanding that Martin intended that "his estate should be disposed of for the use of poor Friends according to this meeting's direction." Small houses appear to have been erected upon this ground for almshouse purposes before 1714, and "a messuage and messuages" are spoken of in a declaration made by the executors of John Martin's will in that year. The front building, quaint in its appearance and character, which occupied the whole front of the lot, was not built until 1729. "The central portion rose above a simply ornamented doorway to an open-arched entrance which led from the street by steps to the garden and buildings in the rear. The ground was naturally higher than the level of the street. The central building rose above the wings two stories in height, one of them being of a basement character. The garrets were under a steep-pitched roof. The centre had a third story and garrets. Four chimneys were conspicuous from the street. The eaves were heavy and the roofs pitched sharp and high. The entire appearance of the structure was peculiar, and unlike anything else to be seen in the city. There was a fitting accompaniment to the oddity of the structure in a little one-story building with steep garret-room on the west, which in modern times was known as the Wigmore House, in which lived at one time Joseph A. Wigmore, a bottler, who was succeeded in the occupation by his widow, famous for many years among the young population as a fabricator of molasses candy.[1]

The Friends' Almshouse has no story of romance or

[1] Westcott, Historic Mansions, pages 99, 100.

interest connected with its history. The Quakers generally were thrifty, and were sufficiently economical in saving to be beyond the necessity of a resort to the almshouse to be supported at the expense of the society. There were in the yard three or four cottages, small square buildings, which were inhabited in the present century by old women, some of whom made a little money by the cultivation of roots and herbs in the garden. About 1830 there was a watchmaker who occupied the room in the first story adjoining the main entrance on the west. A few pinchbeck and silver watches hung on wires which crossed the front window gave some intimation of the work that might be done within.

The plan of the almshouse building on the inside merely showed what were, although apparently in one building, six separate and small houses in a row, the door of entrance of each being from the yard, and the block being divided on the first story by the central doorway and entrance from the street to the garden. The two dwellings on each side of either end may be described in appearance from the garden as a one-story house with a garret-room, or a garret divided into two rooms. The central building was sufficiently high to be divided into two two-story dwelling-houses with garrets. The cottages in the yard of the almshouse were small one-story brick buildings with an overhanging roof and loft, in which a garret was accommodated with a dormer-window. The chimneys were narrow and tall, almost too big in appearance for the houses. Although the Society of Friends had equitable title to this property in 1702, they did not get legal possession of it by deed for many years afterward. In the mean while they had occupied it, built upon it, and in all respects treated it as their own. In 1714 the executors of John Martin made a declaration that they held the lots on Walnut Street for the use of the Society of Friends, "for the habitation and succor of such and so many poor and unfortunate persons of the people called Quakers as the members of the Monthly Meeting at Philadelphia should nominate and appoint, and for want of such poor to inhabit such premises that the said messuage or messuages, or such part or parts thereof happening to be vacant, should be let and rented to others, and that the rent and profits thereof, as well as the surplusage of said estate, should be applied for the relief and maintenance of the poor of the said people called Quakers, in such manner as the said Monthly Meeting should order and direct." This declaration of trust was made to William Hudson, John Warder, and Anthony Morris, Jr., and they held it as trustees. The legal title seems to have been vested, in 1751, by Rebecca James, who was the surviving child and heir of Thomas Chalkley, who was at the time of his death surviving executor of John Martin. Abel James, her husband, joined with her in the deed which was made to Edward Cathrall, John Reynell, John Armit, Israel Pemberton, John Smith, John Emlen, and John Morris in trust for the use of the Society of Friends. From these trustees the title is traceable all the way down. In regard to the tenancy of this building, it could never have been very large. The little cottage houses would have been overcrowded by four persons each, and in modern times rarely contained more than two. The six tenements of the front building often could not have had more than from two to three occupants each.

This old almshouse, with its queer architecture, was a peculiar building among the grander edifices of the city for one hundred and twelve years. It was torn down in 1841, and upon the ground and some space adjoining in the almshouse yard was built a large, broad, three- or four-story brick building, suitable for offices for brokers and others, the rents of which were considerable. One or two cottage-houses remained in the yard, in which a few old women lingered long after business entrenched itself all round them. At length they had to go, and in 1876 the cottages were torn down, and right through the centre of the lot, with arched entrance from Walnut Street, was pushed a long court or alley extending to Willing's Alley, and built up on each side with a row of two-story brick buildings, intended to be used for offices, the passage being called Walnut Place. This disposition of the property was not to the injury of the poor people in whose welfare John Martin, the tailor, was interested one hundred and fifty years before. The revenues from this property must be very considerable, and it may be taken for granted that they are administered with prudence by members of the society for the benefit of their poor, not, however, by the stigma which residents in an almshouse may seem to authorize in vulgar minds. A better and less objectionable method has been adopted. The poor of the Society of Friends do not live in communities any more. They are placed in respectable families as boarders, and the poverty of their condition is not exposed. When John Martin originated the idea of the almshouse there was no such intention of charity as this; but the diversion of the fund in the method now adopted is worthy of the spirit of the age, and not beyond what it might be supposed the founder of the Friends' Almshouse intended, and would have directed, if he could have foreseen the vast changes that were to take place in manners and methods of living.

Magdalen Society.—After the establishment of the Quaker Almshouse many years rolled by before any step was taken toward the establishment of any private institution in the shape of an asylum or home. The first instance was the establishment of the Magdalen Society for the reformation of fallen women. It was founded in 1799, "to aid in restoring to the paths of virtue women who have been robbed of their innocence, and are desirous of returning to a life of rectitude." Bishop William White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was the first president of this so-

ciety. In 1802 the society was incorporated. President, Rt. Rev. William White; Vice-President, Robert Wharton; Secretary, Samuel Howell; Treasurer, John Evans; Standing Committee, Robert Ralston, Thomas Atmore, John Letchworth, Robert Wharton, Jesse Cluer, and William T. Donaldson. The society bought ground at the northeast corner of Schuylkill Second [Twenty-first] and Race Streets, extending down Race Street toward Schuylkill Third [Twentieth] a considerable distance, and northward half way to Vine Street. Here was erected a house of moderate dimensions, which, in 1810, could accommodate ten or twelve women. At a later period a broad and imposing four-story brick building was erected in front. High brick walls on all sides shut out the inmates from sight of the world, and if reformation is an effect of solitude the building and grounds are well suited to effect the purpose.

Officers for 1882.—President, William Purves; Vice-President, Henry D. Sherrerd; Secretary, Andrew H. Miller; Treasurer, Richard Cadbury; Managers, Henry D. Sherrerd, Thomas A. Robinson, Colson Hieskell, Richard Cadbury, S. Weir Lewis, Andrew H. Miller, Samuel B. Huey, Asa S. Wing; Physicians, Dr. James J. Levick, Dr. Edward W. Watson; Matron, Mrs. E. T. Freeberger.

The Rosine Association, a society for the same purposes as the Magdalen Society, was established about 1847, the object being "to rescue from vice and degradation that class of women who have forfeited their claims to the respect of the virtuous." The society was incorporated April 10, 1848, and established a house on Eighth Street, above Wood, and subsequently at No. 3216 Germantown Avenue, below the Rising Sun Lane.

Officers.—President, Mrs. I. Newton Peirce; Vice-President, Mrs. Harriet Gaw; Treasurer, Elizabeth Diament; Secretary, Violetta Warbasse; Corresponding Secretary, Harriet S. French, M.D.; Managers, Mary A. Kintzle, Sarah C. Walker, Sarah B. Brotherton, Rebecca Hampton, Joanna Hatten, Elizabeth C. M. Boyd, Mrs. Joseph G. Ditman, Mrs. George A. Smith, Mrs. C. S. Baker, Mrs. Hettie Savage; Physician, Anna M. Marshall; Solicitor, Harry C. Hawkins.

The Orphans' Society.—On the 20th of March, 1814, ladies connected with the Second Presbyterian Church, at Third and Arch Streets, resolved, at a meeting held by them, to establish an asylum for the care and education of orphan children. Their measures were so well taken that they were able to establish and open a home on the 3d of March, 1815. Application made to the Legislature was followed by a charter for "The Orphans' Society of Philadelphia." Women only were members. They were admitted on payment of two dollars per year, or thirty dollars for life membership. The First Directress was Sarah Ralston; Second Directress, Julia Rush; Secretary, Maria Dorsey; Treasurer, Mary Yorke.[1]

Upon the lot at the northeast corner of Cherry and Schuylkill Fifth [Eighteenth] Street, a broad two-story brick building, with a handsome doorway, was erected. The institution was conducted successfully, with benefit to the young and satisfaction to the ladies who were interested in the society. But, on the 24th of January, 1822, a terrible disaster occurred. A fire broke out at an early morning hour, at a time when the weather was intensely cold. Schuylkill Fifth and Cherry Streets were at that time far out of town, and a fire there was not certain of being immediately noticed, nor made the subject of an alarm. The engine and hose companies were slow in coming on the ground, and they were sparsely manned. Fire-plugs were few, and most of them frozen, and there was every facility for the spread of the flames. There were ninety orphan children in the asylum at the time; sixty-seven of them were rescued, but twenty-three were unable to escape, and were burned to death. Those who were saved were received in the Widows' Asylum adjoining. Before night of the day on which this occurred plentiful donations of bedding, covering, and clothes, with food, made the frightened little creatures comfortable. The cause of the fire was determined to be the catching of the woodwork of a floor by the defective manner in which a boiler was placed upon the masonry which supported it. The building was totally destroyed. The firemen could do but little to save it. Their hose burst from the effects of the cold. The chambers and valves of their engines were filled with ice, and those machines would not work. The best they could do was to try and save the lives of the children, several of whom were rescued by their undaunted courage. A few days after the fire a house on Market Street, west of Broad, was prepared for the reception of the orphans, and the family was removed there. Much sympathy was felt by citizens and the people of the country in consequence of this terrible calamity, and assistance came forward with alacrity. The State of Pennsylvania appropriated five thousand dollars to the Orphans' Society toward the expense of constructing a new building. Private contributions came forward liberally, and amounted to twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight dollars. Encouraged by this, preparations were made to rebuilt the asylum. William Strickland prepared a plan. The new building differed somewhat from that first erected, more particularly as to the style of the doorway and entrances. It was at the northeast corner of Schuylkill Fifth [Eighteenth] and Cherry Streets, and had a front to the west. The size was fifty-three by one hundred feet. There was a basement, principal and attic stories, substantially built, and of good materials. The basement was arched throughout, rendering the first and second floors completely fire-proof. The stairs were of stone from the foundation to the bed-room floor. All the rooms in the attic story had immediate communication with the large hall and stairs, thereby affording the utmost safety to the numerous tenants. The building was calculated to accommodate a family of two hundred persons. The cost, including stable, water-cistern, and the introduction

[1] See vol. i. pp. 584, 585.

of the Schuylkill water, was twenty-five thousand dollars. This institution continued in operation after the reconstruction for nearly fifty years. About 1871 it was found that the ground had become so valuable, and the invasion of the city buildings all round the institution was so pressing, that the situation of the asylum was no longer desirable. It was determined to sell the property. This was done in 1872, and a row of greenstone front dwelling-houses, extending from Cherry Street to Race, was erected on the site. The managers of the society bought a fine elevated piece of ground, on Sixty-fourth Street, near Haverford Avenue, in the western part of the city, where a large building was erected in a prominent position and commanding a handsome landscape view.

Officers.—First Directress, Mrs. Alexander Biddle; Second Directress, Miss E. Fisher; Treasurer, Mrs. William S. Blight; Secretary, Miss M. Tilghman: Admitting Committee, Miss M. Tilghman and Miss Otto; Binding Committee, Miss Otto and Miss E. Perot.

The Association for the Care of Colored Orphans was founded in 1822 by the Society of Friends. It occupied a building on the east side of Thirteenth Street, above Callowhill, which in later years was known as Brotherly Love Hall. In the year 1837, during the abolition riots following the opening of Pennsylvania Hall, the Shelter for Colored Orphans, as it was then called, was attacked by a mob, and only saved from destruction by the gallant efforts of firemen, who had been summoned to the scene. The institution was removed to a brick building at the corner of Forty-fourth Street and Haverford road. Children are admitted from eighteen months to eight years of age, and are chiefly indentured in the country.

The Home for Destitute Colored Children was founded about 1853, and incorporated April 11, 1856. It is situated on the Darby road, near Forty-sixth Street. The object of this institution is to afford a home for destitute colored children of our own and neighboring counties, giving them the rudiments of a simple education, and training them to habits of order and industry. At a suitable age they are indentured to respectable families, in the country, if possible. The children of those who are earning their living at domestic service are also sometimes admitted at a moderate weekly charge.

Officers.—Trustees, Dillwyn Parrish, Samuel Jeanes, Henry M. Laing, Calvin Taggart, Eli Dillin, Joseph Powell, Joseph Bacon, Passmore Williamson, Thomas Garrigues, Lewis D. Vail, Joseph C. Turnpenny, G. W. Montgomery, Nathan W. Ellis, William Still, Abram W. Haines; Treasurer, Henry M. Laing. President, Huldah Justice; Vice-Presidents, Martha Dodgson and Mary T. Ivins; Recording Secretary, Emily B. Smyth; Corresponding Secretary, Matilda Garrigues; Treasurer, Martha G. McIlvain; Managers, Huldah Justice, Martha Hodgson, Mary T. Evans, Emily B. Smyth, Matilda Garrigues, Martha G. McIlvain, Mary Jeanes, Lydia S. Johnson, Susan E. Dubois, Sarah K. Taggart, Martha B. Chambers, Abby A. Longstreth, Elizabeth B. Parrish, Asenath C. Moore, Anna E. Atkinson, Mary T. Gawthrop, Sarah L. Haines, Sarah A. Atkinson, Lydia T. Hallowell, Mary P. Chambers, Hannah H. Woodnut, Sarah M. Carver, Ruth A. Pierce, Mary F. Wise; Physician, Henry B. Rockwell, M.D.; Counselors, Charles Gibbons and Lewis D. Vail.

The Foster Home Association was chartered Jan. 14, 1839, "to extend aid to respectable widowed parents who from adversity are obliged to part with their children for a time, but desire to have them finally restored." This institution for several years occupied the Preston Retreat, at Twentieth and Hamilton Streets, built for another purpose. In 1866 the Preston estate, having recovered from the financial misfortunes which prevented the opening of the building for the purpose for which it was built, took possession of it for the object originally intended. The Foster Home Association erected a fine building at the southwest corner of Twenty-fourth and Poplar Streets, where it has since been established.

The Southern Home for Destitute Children, formerly the Union School and Children's Home, southeast corner of Twelfth and Fitzwater Streets, was the first of its kind in Philadelphia. It was organized in the lecture-room of the Chinese Museum building, June 21, 1841, and incorporated in 1851. Its object is to provide a home, food, clothing, and schooling for destitute orphan children, and for such other poor children as may be neglected or deserted by their parents.

Over three thousand children have been fed, clothed, and taught within its walls, while hundreds have been placed in comfortable homes, to be trained to habits of industry and usefulness. The institution depends entirely upon voluntary contributions for its support.

Officers.—President, Mr. Richard G. Stotesbury; Secretary, Mr. S. Weir Lewis; Treasurer, Mrs. John M. Maris; Board of Trustees, Dr. J. H. Hutchinson, Richard G. Stotesbury, Caleb J. Milne, I. V. Williamson, J. Sergeant Price, A. Boyd Cummings, S. Weir Lewis, Henry Petit, Charles P. Perot, Samuel A. Crozer. Board of Managers.—President, Mrs. W. M. Singerly; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. R. G. Stotesbury, Mrs. J. Lennig, Mrs. J. C. Milne; Recording Secretary, Mrs. S. A. Crozer; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. C. P. Perot; Mrs. Beaton Smith, Mrs. H. S. Hopper, Mrs. E. M. Buehler, Mrs. S. Weir Lewis, Mrs. J. Maris, Miss M. D. Allen, Mrs. G. Knowles, Mrs. Randolph Wood, Miss Lizzie Esherick, Miss Ann Brooks, Mrs. William Hill, Mrs. Marie Symes, Miss Fannie Porter, Mrs. E. L. Linnard, Miss Anna Ellison, Mrs. O. H. Tiffany, Mrs. L. Gerhard, Mrs. J. William Lewis; Physicians, Dr. Samuel F. Hazlehurst, Dr. J. W. O'Neill, Dr. R. H. Wharton, Dr. J. B. Dever; Matron, Mrs. Garrett; Assistant Matron, Miss James; Teacher, Mrs. Zimmerling.

The Union Temporary Home for Children, No. 1525 Poplar Street, was organized in 1855. It was chartered in February, 1857, and opened in a large double house situate as above stated. There are accommodations for about fifty children. There are grounds on the west extending to Sixteenth Street, and along the latter northward to a small street.

The Industrial Home for Girls was incorporated in 1859, and at first occupied a house on Twelfth Street, below Pine, but in 1859 removed to Twelfth Street, below Spruce. The home is now situated at No. 726 South Tenth Street. The design of this institution is to afford a home, provide clothing, and furnish schooling and instruction in the arts of housewifery and sewing for poor orphan girls, or such girls as may be neglected or deserted by their parents, the said children having in all cases attained the age of twelve years before admission (unless where it may be desirable, in the discretion of the managers, to

receive girls at a younger age in order to avoid the separation of children of the same family). No servants are employed. The inmates do all the work, and thereby obtain a practical knowledge of housework. The institution depends entirely upon voluntary contributions for support.

Officers.—President, Samuel C. Perkins; Vice-President, H. Y. Evans, M.D.; Secretary, James T. Shinn; Treasurer, Robert N. Willson; Board of Trustees, Samuel C. Perkins, Elliston L. Perot, Robert England, Levi Knowles, H. Y. Evans, M.D, James T. Shinn, Robert N. Willson, Joseph K. Wheeler; and *ex officio* the following Board of Managers: President, Mrs. J. C. Pechin; Vice-President, Mrs. S. C. Perkins; Recording Secretary, Mrs. S. Dickson; Corresponding Secretary, Miss S. K. Neill; Sub-Treasurer, Mrs. James T. Shinn; Miss E. W. Lewis, Miss A. M. Stocker, Miss Elizabeth N. Brown, Mrs. George Whitney, Mrs. John E. Cope, Miss E. J. P. Shields, Mrs. Charles P. Turner, Mrs. John Wanamaker, Mrs. S. R. Shipley, Mrs. James Lesley, Mrs. Edward Waln, Jr., Miss A. E. Clarke, Mrs. R. N. Willson, Miss Mary Wm. Perot, Miss E. A. Bliss, Miss M. B. Irwin, Miss S. Carr; Physicians, Dr. Elliott Richardson and Dr. Houston Mifflin; Consulting Physician, Dr. H. Y. Evans; Matron, Miss Anna R. Stafford; Teacher, Mrs. Adeline D. West; Assistant Matron, Mrs. Sarah E. McDowell.

The Northern Home for Friendless Children was chartered Jan. 25, 1854. Mrs. E. E. Hutter and other ladies were prominent in originating this charity. They succeeded in obtaining a lot of ground extending from Twenty-second to Twenty-third Streets, and from Brown to Parrish Streets. The object was to receive and befriend "destitute and neglected children, ignorant or forsaken, little boys or girls under twelve years of age." It was not necessary that they should be orphans. Here, in 1855, was erected a very large and imposing building, sufficient to accommodate a considerable number of children. In later years, after the war of the Rebellion had commenced, a large adjoining building on Twenty-third and Parrish Streets was erected. Here was maintained the Soldiers' Orphans' Institute, the inmates being supported by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Officers.—Board of Trustees, MacGregor J. Mitcheson (president), James J. Barclay, Charles E. Haven (vice-presidents), James L. Claghorn (treasurer), Smith Bowen (secretary), Theodore Earp (assistant secretary), Rev. William M. Baum, D.D., Samuel Baugh, C. Eugene Claghorn, Charles O. Baird, S. Weir Lewis, William Bucknell, A. V. Murphey, Charles H. Hutchinson, Andrew H. Miller; Solicitors, M. J. Mitcheson and J. J. Barclay; Physicians, H. Leaman, M.D., Jacob Roberts, M.D., Charles Baum, M.D., Charles M. Seltzer, M.D., George Y. McCracken, M.D.; Consulting Physicians, D. Hayes Agnew, M.D., R. J. Levis, M.D., S. D. Gloninger, M.D., W. W. Welsh, M.D.; Dentists, W. Gorgas, Joseph R. C. Ward. Officers of the Sunday-school, Hartman Baker, superintendent; Professor J. B. Umstead, assistant superintendent; William A. Johns, secretary and treasurer; Abner Davis and Walter Smack, librarians; Superintendents of Infant Department, Miss Maggie Walk, Miss Mary Ann Shay. Board of Managers, Mrs. E. E. Hutter (president), Mrs. J. Wiegand, Mrs. J. B. Heyl (vice-presidents), Mrs. W. J. Chaplain (recording secretary), Mrs. Caroline Yarrow (corresponding secretary), Miss Louise E. Claghorn (treasurer), Mrs. William M. Singerly, Mrs. A. Emerick, Mrs. T. Trewendt, Mrs. W. H. Kemble, Mrs. Walter Baird, Mrs. William Bucknell, Mrs. R. D. Harper, Mrs. J. Lewis, Mrs. Charles B. Baeder, Mrs. Hamilton Disston, Miss Sallie Horn, Miss Laura Merrick, Mrs. Alfred Cookman, Mrs. Henry Disston, Mrs. W. A. Johns, Mrs. Matthew Baird, Miss Anna M. Grove, Miss Louise E. Claghorn, Mrs. George I. Young, Mrs. J. R. Claghorn. Superintendents of Northern Home, A. G. Huber and Miss Maggie M. Walk; Matron, Martha Hood; Teachers of Northern Home, Miss Elizabeth Stagg and Miss Jennie Hartin. Superintendents of Soldiers' Orphans' Institute, A. G. Huber, Mrs. Jennie Harshberger; Matron, Miss Emma McFarland. Boys' Department, Professor P. J. Umstead (principal), Miss Mary Umstead, Miss Jennie Hartin; Secondary School, Miss Lizzie S. Ogden. Girl's Department, Miss Rachel La Rue (principal), Miss Mary Ann Shay, Miss Louisa Lee; Secondary School, Miss Edith Bogle. Kindergarten, Miss R. S. Walk (principal), Miss Mary Walton. Music Teacher, Miss Anna B. Kintzle; Band Teacher, Professor Henry Paul; Military Instructor, Maj. Harry F. Spicer. George G. Brownlee, baker; Louis H. Wolf, engineer; George W. Duffield, John Kissling, shoemakers; James Spillman, watchman.

Mrs. Elizabeth E. Hutter, the president of the Northern Home, is a native of Lebanon County, Pa., and is the granddaughter of Baron Peter Shindel, who for many years represented his district in the Pennsylvania Senate. Her father was the late Col. Jacob Shindel, a veteran of the war of 1812. Col. Shindel married Elizabeth Leisenring, of Sunbury, Northumberland Co., and Elizabeth Shindel was one of their children. She married the Rev. Dr. Edwin Hutter, of Allentown, Pa., the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Ruthrauff officiating at the ceremony. In 1845 the late President James Buchanan, then Secretary of State in Mr. Polk's cabinet, called Dr. Hutter into his service as private secretary, thus necessitating a residence in Washington. Her personal attractions made her a star in the society of the capital; but when her husband, in 1849, studied for the ministry, she relinquished social temptations, and in the next year removed with her husband to Philadelphia. Three years later Mrs. Hutter became interested in a philanthropic project, the result of which was the establishment of the Northern Home for Friendless Children. In April, 1853, she was chosen the first president of the board of managers, a position which she has held up to the present time. She is also the president and one of the founders of the Newsboys' Aid Association, which was established in 1879. During the civil war she more than once "went to the front" to help the sick and wounded soldiers. When the memorable "Sanitary Fair" was held, in 1864, Mrs. Hutter was placed at the head of the labor, income, and revenue department, in which capacity she raised two hundred and forty-seven thousand five hundred dollars, to be applied to the comfort of soldiers in the field and hospital. Mrs. Hutter and her husband were zealous and indefatigable in caring for the wounded men who passed through Philadelphia. It was a common thing that those approaching death would ask, "What will become of my children?" Mrs. Hutter asked herself the question, and it was not long before the answer was seen in the formation of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphan Institute in connection with the Northern Home. In 1867 she was appointed inspector and examiner of the State Department of Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphan Schools, and still enjoys the distinction of being the only woman in the history of Pennsylvania to whom a Governor's commission has been granted.

Mrs. Hutter has been prominent in other work. When the Confederate general, Jubal Early, burned Chambersburg, in 1863, and the refugees made their

Elizabeth E. Hutter

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way to Philadelphia, she secured the rooms of the Board of Trade, and, gathering there every kind of provisions, fed the starved and homeless. After the great fire in Chicago she was most active in collecting and forwarding aid.

Mrs. Hutter was at the head of the executive committee that had charge of the State Educational Department of Pennsylvania in the Centennial Exhibition, and was presented with a massive gold medal as a token of her services. As president of the Northern Home she received from the Centennial Commission a diploma and medal in honor of the home, which was thus certified to be the first in the State in respect of its industrial and educational features. The kindergarten features of the home were very highly commended. On May 14, 1878, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Northern Home for Friendless Children and of Mrs. Hutter's presidency was celebrated at the Academy of Music. On this occasion an elegant silver service was presented to Mrs. Hutter in recognition of her labors in the cause of humanity.

The Jewish Foster Home was established on the 4th of February, 1855, in the synagogue of the congregation Mikve Israel. Prominent among the corporators and early friends of the institution were Misses Rebecca and Louisa Gratz, Mrs. David Samuels, Mrs. Henry Cohen, Mrs. B. Lieber, Miss Bomeisler, and Abraham Hart. At the meeting Miss Rebecca Gratz presided, and John Samuels was secretary. The society was organized by the choice of the following board of managers: Mrs. Anna Allen, Mrs. M. Arnold, Mrs. J. M. Ash, Mrs. N. Becker, Mrs. Leon Berg, Mrs. I. Binswanger, Miss E. Bomeisler, Mrs. Henry Cohen, Mrs. E. J. Etting, Mrs. Judith Finzi, Mrs. J. L. Florance, Mrs. W. Florance, Mrs. S. Gans, Miss Louisa Gratz, Miss Rebecca Gratz, Mrs. A. Hart, Mrs. L. J. Levy, Mrs. B. Lieber, Mrs. D. Mayer, Mrs. J. L. Moss, Mrs. H. Newhouse, Miss Clara Phillips, Miss Emily Phillips, Mrs. G. D. Rosengarten, Mrs. C. Shoneman, Mrs. D. Samuels, Mrs. E. Simpson, and Mrs. J. Stern. The officers of the board then elected were Mrs. Anna Allen, president; Miss Louisa Gratz, treasurer; Miss E. Bomeisler, secretary; and Messrs. A. Hart, J. Newhouse, Hyman Gratz, Isaac J. Phillips, and Rev. S. Morais, the board of council. A small house was procured and opened on the 1st of May, 1855, with ten children, under charge of the society. A year later the home was removed to a more commodious house, at 1424 North Seventh Street. In 1857, Daniel Ganz presented to the board of trustees a lot of ground on which to erect a building, but, the site not being desirable, subsequently the executors of Mr. Ganz paid to the home fifteen hundred dollars, which was considered the value of the ground, and also a legacy of five thousand dollars. Several other donations and bequests were made to the institution, and about 1866 a large house was purchased at 1431 North Fifteenth Street, where the home was afterward located. Subsequently it was removed to Mill Street, Germantown.

Orphans' Home and Asylum for the Aged and Infirm of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (at Germantown) was established in 1859 to meet a pressing want that had long been felt, viz.: the care of the destitute orphan children and of the aged and infirm who were left comparatively friendless in their old age. The first orphan was received into the home on March 18, 1859, and the first inmate of the asylum or infirmary was admitted in May, 1860. Since that time four hundred and sixty-seven children, and seventy-five aged or infirm persons have enjoyed the benefits of the institution.

It is situated at No. 5580 Germantown Avenue, near Mount Airy. The present officers are Henry Lehman, president; Lewis L. Houpt, secretary; and John C. File, treasurer.

The Lincoln Institute (No. 324 South Eleventh Street) for boys, was founded for the reception and benefit of the orphans of soldiers who had fallen during the war for the Union, or died from the effect of diseases contracted in service. Miss Mary McHenry (now Mrs. J. Bellangee Cox) was its chief promoter, and for this, and several other church charities, she was instrumental in securing donations during a period of about ten years, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars. It was incorporated May 9, 1866, and opened at 308 South Eleventh Street for the reception of boys between the ages of twelve and twenty-one years. When first opened it was supplied with inmates to its full capacity, but as the boys grew up and went out to learn trades and occupations, the average number was being reduced, and it became apparent that in a few years the institution would outgrow its object. The plan had to be modified somewhat before 1876, so that children might be admitted to the Lincoln Home who were placed there by their parents or guardians.

Another institution, therefore, grew out of the Lincoln Home, but for the reception of children of a more tender age. In 1872, Mary Gibson gave six acres of ground for the purpose of an educational home in which white girls and boys of all creeds between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one years were to be admitted. The corner-stone of the building was laid June 3, 1872, and the house was opened in 1873. In 1882–83 a number of Indian children (little girls) were taken by the Lincoln Institute, and to their education it is now devoted.

Officers.—President, Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D.; Vice-President, J. B. Moorhead; Secretary, Samuel Bell; Treasurer, G. Theodore Roberts.

Officers of Board of Managers.—Directresses, Mrs. John Bellangee Cox, Mrs. George R. Justice, and Mrs. J. Dundas Lippincott; Secretary, Mrs. T. B. Tunis; Treasurer, Mrs. Manning Kennard.

The Pennsylvania Institution for Feeble-Minded Children was incorporated April 7, 1853, and opened at Germantown. Idiots are the object

of the care of this institution, and under the training given, the physical and mental condition of many of those unfortunates have been much improved. In some cases the pupils were so much benefited that they were able to enter public schools and learn simple mechanical employments, and they were thus rescued from the misery and ejection of hopeless idiocy. Some time after the foundation this institution was removed to Media, Delaware Co., where fine buildings were erected for its accommodation, with capacity of lodging and education of one hundred and fifty children.

The Bethesda Children's Christian Home was established about the year 1861, near Chestnut Hill. The institution received much aid from Henry J. Williams, who, in his lifetime, gave ground and paid the cost of buildings near Tedyuscung Station on the Chestnut Hill Railroad, and was an annual contributor to a liberal extent, and left a legacy toward the support of the institution at his death. Upon the grounds are a home for girls and a home for boys, the whole number of inmates in 1883 being one hundred and forty.

The Philadelphia Home for Infants (at 4618 Westminster Avenue) was incorporated Dec. 15, 1873. It was open for "the purpose of caring for infants who are too young to be admitted into other institutions." At three or four years of age these little ones are transferred to those who will take care of their proper training. Fathers of children who are motherless and able to pay for attention to them, can find here a comfortable boarding-home for their little ones. The president of the home is Mrs. Franklin Bacon; treasurer, Mrs. P. G. McCollin.

The Baptist Orphanage, an institution established about 1883, has its home (in 1884) at Forty-fifth Street and Silverton Avenue. The officers in 1884 were: President, Hon. William B. Hanna; Secretary, Charles L. Lockwood; Treasurer, Levi Knowles. Ladies manage the domestic affairs of the institution. The board of managers consists of Mrs. M. G. Kennedy, president; Mrs. S. M. Miller, vice-president; Mrs. M. K. Perpt, secretary; Mrs. J. J. Stadiger, secretary.

Officers.—Board of Trustees, Rev. H. L. Wayland, D.D., William Frederick Snyder, Levi B. Kaler, William M. Shoemaker, John S. Stevens, William Bucknell, Benjamin Githens, Theodore C. Search, J. Howard Genpell, James S. Moore, Horatio G. Jones, John T. Huber.

The Western Home for Poor Children (formerly the Western Provident Society and Children's Home) was incorporated April 8, 1857, for the care of "poor white children under the age of twelve years, who may be intrusted to their care by their fathers, mothers, or guardians; also such as may be committed to their management by any of the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the District Court of the city and county of Philadelphia, the Court of Common Pleas or Court of Quarter Sessions, or by the mayor of said city."

It occupies a building at the southeast corner of Forty-first and Baring Streets.

Officers.—Board of Trustees, Clarence H. Clark, Samuel Field, A. J. Drexel, John Sellers, W. Hasel, Wilson E. A. Rollins, W. G. Moorhead, Samuel B. Huey, H. M. Dechert, Franklin Bacon, Dr. S. S. Stryker, Charles B. Keen, Samuel A. Coyle, B. Andrews Knight, James C. Shedwick, Dr. Isaac Ray. Board of Managers, First Directress, Mrs. Joseph M. Wilson; Second Directress, Miss Sutherland; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry M. Dechert; Secretary, Mrs. William Burnham; Mrs. Samuel Field, Mrs. C. M. Finley, Mrs. Franklin Bacon, Mrs. James Trimble, Miss Kelly, Miss Wiltberger, Mrs. E. C. Geyelin, Mrs. J. G. Hardie, Mrs. L. R. Massey, Mrs. A. Blair, Mrs. E. A. Warne, Mrs. J. H. Butler, Mrs. A. C. Fergusson, Mrs. N. B. Browne, Mrs. W. R. Colladay, Mrs. G. J. McLeod, Mrs. Storm, Mrs. Charles Este.

The Methodist Episcopal Orphanage, for the maintenance and instruction of destitute orphan children, was incorporated May 12, 1879, and established at Monumental and Ford Avenues, near Belmont, a little outside of West Fairmount Park.

Officers.—President, Mrs. Bishop Simpson; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. James Hunter, Mrs. E. C. Bryson, Mrs. D. H. Bowen, Mrs. J. H. Wright, Mrs. James Armstrong; Recording Secretary, Mrs. J. E. Salter; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Dr. C. F. Bonsall; Treasurer, Mrs. Charles Hill.

The Presbyterian Orphanage of the State of Pennsylvania was established in 1878. Ground was procured on Kingsessing Avenue, near Fifty-eighth Street. Here four cottages were erected in 1881–82. Three of them were occupied as residences and the fourth as a school-house. A fifth building intended for school purposes, and erected as a memorial of Abraham Martin, a long-time worker for the interests of the young, was expected to be finished in 1883, so that the cottage formerly occupied for school purposes could be used for the accommodation of the family.

Officers.—Board of Advisers, Mr. Benedict D. Stewart, Rev. John W. Dulles, D.D., Mr. J. B. Stevenson, Mr. John Wanamaker, Mr. Samuel Field, Rev. Matthew Newkirk, D.D., Rev. Robert D. Harper, D.D., George F. Wiggan, Crawford Spear, George S. Graham. First Directress, Mrs. Daniel Haddock, Jr.; Second Directress, Mrs. Samuel Field; Third Directress, Mrs. Alexander Whilldin; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Sarah F. Cuyler; Recording Secretary, Miss Josephine Atmore; Treasurer, Miss E. L. Tenbrook.

The Friends' Home for Children, organized in 1881, was incorporated February, 1882. The object was "to afford protection to orphans and others, who in their tender years may not be blessed with proper care-takers, and when necessary to find suitable homes in private families where they will be properly trained to fill useful positions in life." This institution is located at No. 3401 Germantown road.

Officers.—President, Jesse Cleaver; Vice-President, Dr. Sarah T. Rogers; Secretary, Edwin L. Peirce; Corresponding Secretary, Mary F. L. Connard; Treasurer, Thomas J. Whitney. Managers, Joseph M. Truman, Jr., Robert Ambler, Clement A. Woodnutt, Henry C. Cooper, Edwin K. Burgess, Jonathan Jones, Henry M. Laing, Amos S. Jackson, Matilda J. Palmer, Elizabeth W. Whitney, Sarah M. Holcomb, Mary T. Burgess, Hannah I. Kirk, Elizabeth H. Webster, Eliza H. Smith, Lavinia J. Lawrence. Co-operative Committee, Martha D. Hough, Graceanna Lewis, Margery Hall, Mary W. Shoemaker, Sarah H. Dorsey, Elizabeth Hallowell.

The Emlen Institution for the Benefit of Children of African and Indian Descent is a society principally of Philadelphians, which receives clothes,

and instructs its wards in a manual-labor school on a farm on Street road, between Old York road and Doylestown pike, Warminster township, Bucks Co., Pa.

The Central Employment Association was incorporated by act of Oct. 13, 1840, principally under the charge of women connected with the Green Street Friends' Meeting. It is industrial, and gives employment to sewing women in the making of garments. The officers are Elizabeth F. Williams, president; Rachel C. Bunting, secretary; and Mary M. Scranton, treasurer.

The Indigent Widows' and Single Women's Society was established in 1819. A preface to the articles of incorporation says, "There seems to be in Christian charity a capacity to enlarge and diffuse itself so as to meet all the wants of suffering humanity. The heart that is alive to this generous principle will find its means to do good multiplied, and the hand that would be extended to wipe away the tear of the orphan could not pass by unheeded the bitter calamity of the widow." The charter declared that the members of the corporation should be "all such persons of the female sex as now are or may hereafter become subscribers," etc. Subscription sufficient to constitute membership was three dollars per year or thirty dollars for a life member. The regulations for the admission of beneficiaries were peculiar. If they were pensioners on any benevolent institution or society it was expected that their pensions would be continued to assist in their support, and that their funeral expenses would be defrayed.

"Those who have any property are required to secure the same to the institution before they are admitted. In case of their obtaining property after their admission, if they remain in the asylum, it will also be necessary to make it over to this institution.

"It will be required that any one admitted shall pay thirty dollars, and come provided with a good bedstead, bed, bedding, and furniture for a room. If they do not bring furniture with them, fifty dollars must be paid on their admission.

"Furniture and other articles brought into the asylum, are to remain for the benefit of the institution.

* * * * * * * *

"No person shall be admitted as a boarder unless satisfactory security be given for the regular payment of her board.

"The age of persons admitted at the asylum, whether as boarders or pensioners, must not be under sixty years."

This association became owner of a lot of ground on the north side of Cherry Street, between Schuylkill Fifth [Eighteenth] Street and Schuylkill Sixth [Seventeenth] Street, and a large building resembling in general appearance the Orphans' Asylum west of it, was finished about 1820. It has been in operation ever since, and has been prudently and quietly managed, and has been an excellent and kind charity.

The Penn Asylum for Indigent Widows and Single Women was incorporated Dec. 6, 1852, and the building on Belgrade Street, above Otis, was dedicated in October, 1857.

Officers.—President, Mrs. M. B. Stockham; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Lydia A. Murphy, Mrs. A. M. Trinkle; Treasurer, Mrs. M. A. Freas; Secretary, Mrs. H. W. Eisen. Managers, Mrs. M. B. Stockham, Mrs. Lydia Megargee, Mrs. A. M. Trinkle, Mrs. Henry Disston, Mrs. M. A. Freas, Mrs. M. Seddinger, Mrs. E. A. Barrie, Mrs. Sarah Rambo, Mrs. Sarah Shubert, Mrs. L. A. Murphy, Mrs. M. Faunce, Mrs. George Sheppard, Mrs. Jackson Heiss, Mrs. Hannah Allen, Miss E. Delany, Mrs. H. Vaughan, Mrs. H. W. Eisen, Mrs. Kate G. Kisselbach, Mrs. Lavina M. Marks, Mrs. J. Barton, Miss M. E. Ross, Mrs. H. E. Bower, Mrs. Dr. Hulshizer, Mrs. Jane Knight.

The Presbyterian Home for Widows and Single Women, established by members of that denomination, is a fine building of stone, very commodious, and arranged to accommodate about one hundred and fifty persons. The site is at Fifty-eighth Street and Greenway Avenue, not far from the Darby road. The corner-stone was laid Oct. 15, 1872, and the edifice dedicated Oct. 9, 1874. The example of the Presbyterians stimulated other sects to imitation.

Officers.—President, Mrs. Samuel Field; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. D. Haddock, Jr., Mrs. Alfred Nevin, Mrs. E. F. Halloway, Mrs. W. S. Adair; Treasurer, Mrs. Enoch Taylor; Recording Secretary, Miss Clara A. Lindsay; Corresponding Secretary, Miss S. W. Dubois.

The Baptists' Home for Women is a striking building of stone, at the corner of Seventeenth and Norris Streets. It was commenced in 1873, and dedicated Nov. 6, 1874.

Officers.—Board of Trustees, George Nugent, Geor e Callaghan, William E. Garrett, Charles H. Banes, Levi Knowles, Joseph F. Page, Thomas Tolman, Daniel Weckerly, Horatio Gates Jones, George K. Crozer, James Allison, J. G. Huber. Officers of the Board, President, George Nugent; Secretary, H. G. Jones; Treasurer, Levi Knowles; Physicians, S. Hastings Brown, M.D., T. V. Crandall, M.D. Officers of the Board of Lady Managers, President, Mrs. L. Knowles; Vice-President, Mrs. John Mustin; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. P. G. McCollin; Recording Secretary, Miss Anna E. Friend; Treasurer, Mrs. C. H. Banes.

The Temporary Home Association, in 1884, had its building at No. 505 North Sixth Street. The society was established for the benefit of "respectable women out of employment, where those with means can be accommodated for a moderate price, and those without, succored until situations can be procured for them; also where destitute children shall be taken care of until suitable homes are provided.

The Mapother Home for Women was opened in an old mansion on Harrowgate Lane, west of Kensington Avenue. There were fine grounds attached before 1876. Among the other institutions of this character were the Old Ladies' Home for Indigent Widows and Single Women, which, in 1876, was at Clearfield Street and Frankford road.

Old Man's Home.—Up to 1864 there was no institution in which aged men were especially provided for. The Old Man's Home of Philadelphia was chartered April 20th of that year, through the exertions of Mrs. Roberts Vaux, Mrs. Frederick W. Grayson, and other ladies. For some years they had their home in contracted quarters in West Philadelphia. In June, 1872, the corner-stone was laid of a fine stone building at Thirty-ninth Street and Powelton Avenue. It was dedicated June 13, 1873. No one is received under sixty years of age.

Officers.—First Directress, Mrs. B. P. Williams; Second Directress, Mrs. Henry D. Steever; Treasurer, Miss S. E. Peterson; Assistant

Treasurer, Mrs. A. T. Goodman; Secretary, Mrs. Frederick W. Grayson. Managers, Mrs. B. P. Williams, Mrs. H. D. Steever, Miss P. A. Attwood, Mrs. F. W. Grayson, Mrs. E. C. Prosser, Mrs. John Sibley, Mrs. J. C. Miller, Mrs. B. F. Huddy, Mrs. T. K. Peterson, Mrs. Israel Maule, Miss Mary Coates, Miss S. E. Peterson, Mrs. G. L. Buzby, Mrs. Jacob P. Jones, Mrs. C. K. Inglis, Mrs. Lemuel Peterson, Mrs. Charles Richardson, Mrs. A. T. Goodman, Mrs. Emily Small, Mrs. Andrew Zane, Jr., Mrs. William N. Ashman, Mrs. C. W. Stouffer. Advisory Board, I. V. Williamson, B. F. Huddy, R. M. Girvin, M.D., C. F. Keyser, Henry C. Gibson, George L. Buzby, John Sibley, Edwin H. Lehman, Jacob P. Jones, M. B. Musser, M.D., George S. Pepper, A. H. Franciscus, J. H. Morris, Charles Richardson; Physicians, Dr. M. B. Musser, Dr. R. M. Girvin.

The Odd-Fellows' Home was established for members of that order by an association of lodges and their members in 1874. Each member of a lodge or encampment supporting the home pays one cent per week, and the institution is open for indigent brothers. The original building occupied for the home was a fine mansion, on a lot at Sixty-fifth and Vine Streets, occupying nearly an entire square. It was dedicated on the 30th of November, 1876, and cost forty-two thousand dollars. This was an extensive building, and with accommodations for eighty persons, altogether too large for the means of the charity. In about a year a change was made. A house and grounds at Seventeenth and Tioga Streets was purchased, with about two acres of ground, for sixteen thousand five hundred dollars. The front of the lot is two hundred and twenty-five feet and the depth one hundred and seventy-five feet. No person is admitted who is not in good standing in the order and over fifty years of age. An admission-fee of one hundred dollars is required from any lodge or encampment which sends a member to the home, with a guarantee of four dollars per week thereafter. The lodges and encampments which do not belong to the Home Association pay two hundred dollars.

Home for Aged and Infirm Methodists.—The Methodists preceded the Baptists in this benevolence. Their home for aged and infirm members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on Lehigh Avenue, between Thirteenth and Broad Streets, a plain, solid building, with accommodations for one hundred men and women, was founded in 1867, and dedicated June 15, 1871.

Officers.—President, Mrs. Bishop Simpson; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. James Hunter, Mrs. A. Winchester, Mrs. A. K. Paysont; Recording Secretary, Mrs. A. W. Rand; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. M. V. Salter; Treasurer, Mrs. Mary E. Clark.

The Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Men and Women has been in operation for several years, principally under the management of the Society of Friends. It is a spacious building of stone located at Belmont and Girard Avenues.

Officers for 1882.—President, Dillwyn Parrish; Vice-President, William Still; Treasurer, Israel H. Johnson; Secretary, Thomas H. McCollin.

The Edwin Forrest Home.—One of the asylums which has attracted more attention than many others is the Edwin Forrest Home for Retired Actors. It was founded under the direction of Edwin Forrest, the famous tragedian, who died Dec. 10, 1872. By his will, dated April 5, 1866, Mr. Forrest bequeathed to his executors, James Oakes, of Boston, James Lawson, of New York, and Daniel Dougherty, of Philadelphia, all his property, with the exception of annuities to his sisters and some personal legacies, in trust for an institution "which they will call the Edwin Forrest Home," which was directed to be established at his country place called Spring Brook, below Holmesburg, in the city of Philadelphia, which he had purchased some years before. The purposes of this asylum were thus described by Mr. Forrest in his will:

"The said institution shall be for the support and maintenance of actors and actresses, decayed by age or disabled by infirmity, who, if natives of the United States, shall have served at least five years in the theatrical profession, and if of foreign birth, shall have served in that profession at least ten years, whereof three years next previous to the application shall have been in the United States. . . . The number of inmates in the home shall never exceed the annual rent and revenue of the institution; and after the number of inmates therein shall exceed twelve, others to be admitted shall be such only as shall receive the approval of the majority of the inmates, as well as of the managers. . . . The purposes of the said Edwin Forrest Home are intended to be partly educational and self-sustaining, as well as eleemosynary, and never to encourage idleness or thriftlessness in any who are capable of any useful exertion. My library shall be placed therein, in precise manner as it now exists in my house on Broad Street, Philadelphia. There shall be a neat and pleasant theatre for private exhibitions and histrionic culture. There shall be a picture gallery for the preservation and exhibition of my collection of engravings, pictures, statuary, and other works of art, to which additions shall be made from time to time if the revenues of the institution shall suffice. These objects are not only intended to improve the taste, but to promote the health and happiness of the inmates and such visitors as may be admitted.

"Also as a means of preserving health, and consequently the happiness, of the inmates, as well as to aid in sustaining the home, there shall be lectures and readings therein, upon oratory and the histrionic art, to which pupils shall be admitted, upon such terms and under such regulations as the managers may prescribe. The garden and grounds are to be made productive of profit, as well as of health and pleasure, and so far as capable, the inmates not otherwise profitably occupied shall assist in farming, agriculture, and the cultivation of flowers in the garden and conservatory.

"The Edwin Forrest Home may also, if the revenue shall suffice, embrace in its plan lectures on science, literature, and the arts, but preferably oratory and the histrionic art, in manner to prepare the American citizen for the more creditable and effective discharge of his public duties, and to raise the education and intellectual and moral tone and character of actors, that thereby they may elevate the drama, and to cause it to subserve its true and great mission to mankind as their profoundest teacher of virtue and morality.

"The Edwin Forrest Home shall also be made to promote the love of liberty, our country, and her institutions; to hold in honor the name of the great dramatic bard, as well as to cultivate a taste and afford opportunity for the enjoyment of social rural pleasures. Therefore there shall be read therein to the inmates and public by an inmate or pupil thereof the immortal Declaration of Independence as written by Thomas Jefferson, without expurgation, on every fourth day of July, to be followed by an oration under the folds of our national flag. There shall be prepared and read therein before the like assemblage on the birthday of Shakespeare, the 23d of April in every year, an eulogy upon his character and writings, and one of his plays, or scenes from his plays, shall on that day be represented in the theatre; and on the first Monday of every June and October the Edwin Forrest Home and grounds shall be opened for the admission of ladies and gentlemen of the theatrical profession and their friends, in the manner of social picnics, when all shall provide their own entertainment."

Mr. Forrest recommended that application should be made to the Legislature for a charter to trustees, with authority to conduct the affairs of the institu-

tion in accordance with his plans. Application was accordingly made, and on the 7th of April, 1873, James Oakes, of Boston; James Lawson, of New York; Daniel Dougherty, John W. Forney, James H. Castle, John H. Michener, and the mayor of Philadelphia for the time being, were made a body politic by the name of the Edwin Forrest Home, with authority to carry out the designs of the donor. The estate which Mr. Forrest left was largely in real property, land and houses, some of it unproductive and waiting for a market, so that there was no product from it. In addition there was a claim on behalf of his wife, who had been separated from him for years, which seemed to affect his property. She had been divorced in the State of New York. The court allowed her as alimony, under the laws of that State, three thousand dollars per year, and this claim it was thought was good against Mr. Forrest's estate during the entire period of her life. The executors were embarrassed in consequence, and restrained by the existence of the claim from advantageous sales of the real estate. Finally a compromise was arrived at by which a release was given by the lady, then calling herself Mrs. Catharine Sinclair, upon payment of a large sum of money, by which the aggregate fund for the support of the home was considerably diminished. The executors were not able to open the building until about 1876, when it commenced with four inmates, William Lomas, George G. Spear, Mrs. Rhoda Wood, and Mrs. Burroughs. To these old actors and actresses was shortly after added Jacob W. Thoman, who made his first appearance at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, in 1834. For several years there was little change among the beneficiaries, and the number of twelve, on the attainment of which Mr. Forrest directed that the inmates should have a vote on the admission of new companions, had not been obtained. There was much criticism after Mr. Forrest's death as to the propriety of the location of the home, and its comfort, in the estimation of the inmates. Actors and actresses who have spent the high day of their youth in the theatre, amidst the excitements of city life, would prefer to spend their old age in cities, near the theatres, which they might visit when desirable, and with opportunity to renew their acquaintance and friendship with old companions on the stage. Mr. Forrest's Home was placed far out in the country. It was a fine house, and capable of being made comfortable, but the direction that actors and actresses should cultivate the farm and garden, pursuits for which they might have no taste, was considered objectionable. Practically, it may be presumed, this direction is not strictly enforced.[1]

Relief for the Blind.—The condition of the blind did not seem to attract the attention of benevolent persons until other sufferers by personal misfortune had been attended to. James Wills, who died in 1825, was apparently the first Philadelphian who thought anything on the subject. The sum of money which he left to the city of Philadelphia in trust, in 1825, was intended to be "for the relief of the indigent blind and lame." The fund has never been put exactly to the use mentioned by the donor. Wills Hospital has paid no attention to the lame, and very little to the blind. The objects of the trust have been somewhat anticipated by an establishment under the management of the Wills Hospital for diseases of the eye, most of those which precede blindness.

The Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind owes its foundation to the exertions of Julius R. Treidlander, who had opened a school for the instruction of the blind before the institution was

[1] The following description of the Edwin Forrest Home was published about the time when the building was first opened for the reception of actors and actresses:

"The mansion is an old-style, exceedingly comfortable-looking structure, three stories high, skirted by broad, pillared porticoes, tastefully decorated with vases of flowers and evergreens. The first floor is divided by a wide hall-way. This is richly carpeted, and made to look a perfect gallery of art without having the appearance of being overcrowded. On either side are busts of Burns, Forrest, Milton, Napoleon I., and one exquisite life-size statue of the great actor, executed in marble, the work of Ball Hughes, considered to be the finest statue in the country. It is a representation of Mr. Forrest in the character of *Coriolanus*. Portraits and paintings line the walls at agreeable distances. At one end there is hung a full-size photograph of Forrest taken in sections, a portrait of him in 'Lear,' paintings of Frederick the Great, John Philip Kemble, George Frederick Cooke, and along the walls and niches which point the way of the staircase are portraits of James A. Caldwell, Forrest's first theatrical manager; paintings,—life-size of the Saviour, the Madonna, by a careful copyist of Angelo, and steel engravings of Forrest in 'The Broker of Bogota' and the 'The Gladiator' of Dr. Bird; also paintings of Forrest as he appeared in *Claude Melnotte*, *Damon*, and *Hamlet* twenty-five years ago. Here and there through the upper halls appear portraits of Forrest as *Metamora* and *Othello*, some interesting play-bills of his early performances, a portrait of David Graham, formerly the light of the New York bar, and always a warm friend of Forrest. Excellent pictures too of the elder Conway, Macready, Miss O'Neil, John Greene, the great Irish Comedian, 'Old Jim' Wallack, George Frederick Cooke in the character of *Iago*, are to be seen on the third floor, together with very handsome engravings (three in all) representing 'The Plains of Heaven,' 'The Last Day of Judgment,' and 'The Day of Wrath.' On these floors and in the bedrooms are several old trophies of the stage, among which are recalled the sword of the elder Kean, the original bowie-knife, and the sword of Talma, the once famous French tragedian. In the bedrooms, all of which are commodious and inviting, are high-post bedsteads, some a century old, and others older; ancient types of bureaus and dressing-cases, and all alone in the glory of its antiquity a settee, which was carved in 1620. The library and parlors are on the first floor, and here, as almost everywhere in the curious building, hang costly works of art. In the centre of the library stands the desk, a plain, oil-cloth covered affair, which Forrest used for many years. In the capacious book-case are intelligently arranged some eight thousand volumes, embracing the classics, treatises upon art, and interesting histories of the stage. In niches of the walls are busts of Jackson, Jefferson, Calhoun, Patrick Henry, and Napoleon. Over the mantel is a handsome painting of Forrest's mother, and wherever space could be impressed have been placed rich engravings of distinguished men. . . . In one position in the grand old parlors, where it can be examined with the greatest advantage, hangs the famous painting by Siengeneyer, 'The Christian Martyr,' a painting which is effectively designed to demonstrate the grandeur of religion and the weakness of unjust persecution. In another end of the parlor is a painting, entitled 'Children at the Brook,' the work of Meyer von Bremen. Before this picture Mr. Forrest was wont to sit when in his study for hours, in silent contemplation of its surpassing beauties."

The farm attached to the fine mansion contains one hundred and eleven acres. It was sold in 1858 by Caleb Cope to George H. Stuart, and purchased in 1865 by Edwin Forrest.

formed. The latter was founded in 1833, and liberally endowed under the will of William Young Birch, one of the managers. The society was incorporated by act of January 24th, under the title of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, and the following officers were named in the charter: Patron, the Governor of the State; President, William White, D.D.; Vice-Presidents, Peter S. Du Ponceau, Roberts Vaux, William Y. Birch, and Edward Coleman; Treasurer, John Vaughan; Corresponding Secretary, Francis Fisher; Recording Secretary, Jacob Snider, Jr.; Consulting Physician, Philip S. Physic; Visiting Physicians, William Gibson and Caspar Morris; Managers, Nathan Dunn, Joshua Lippincott, John K. Mitchell, Richard Price, Alfred Elwyn, John A. Brown, Robert Maxwell, Alexander Dallas Bache, Charles D. Meigs, M.D., Benjamin W. Richards, John Miller, Jr., and John U. Fraley. Ten thousand dollars were appropriated toward the support of every indigent pupil of this commonwealth taught in said school. No one scholar to be taught at the expense of the State for more than six years, and no more than nine thousand dollars per year to be drawn for such tuition. To aid the institution it was provided that ten thousand dollars should be appropriated toward the expense of erecting a building, but the same not to be paid unless the managers should raise twenty thousand dollars within two years. They did so. A lot was purchased at the northwest corner of Schuylkill Third [Twentieth] and Race Streets, where lofty and extensive buildings with workshops, etc., were erected. The institution has been maintained with great success ever since. The pupils generally had a taste for music, and educated several excellent vocal and instrumental performers. The weekly concerts at the Blind Asylum were for many years very attractive.

Officers.—Patron, His Excellency Robert F. Pattison, Governor; President, Alfred L. Elwyn, M.D.; Vice-Presidents, Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D., Caspar Morris, William R. Lejee, and Edward Townsend; Corresponding Secretary, John J. Lytle; Recording Secretary, J. Sergeant Price; Treasurer, Robert Patterson; Consulting Physician, J. F. Meigs, M.D.; Consulting Surgeon, Thomas J. Morton, M.D.; Managers, Edward S. Whelen, James H. Hutchinson, M.D., John Cadwalader, Edward Coles, Charles W. Wharton, George C. Morris, G. Harrison Fisher, A. C. Harrison, Oliver A. Judson, M.D., J. D. Lippincott, Henry Haines, Galloway C. Morris, S. F. Corlies, William M. Meigs; William Chapin, principal.

Alfred L. Elwyn, M.D., the president of this institution, was born in Canterbury, England, graduated at Oxford in 1794, and came in 1795 to America. He came of a family old and honorable in British history, and married in Portsmouth, N. H., July 16, 1797, Elizabeth Langdon, born Dec. 4, 1777. She was the daughter of Hon. John Langdon, born December, 1739, on the Piscataqua. She was a descendant of the famous Sherburne Wentworth families, which, with that of Langdon, dates far back into England's brightest annals. John Langdon's mother (Mary Hall) was a great-granddaughter of Ralph Hall, a signer of the Exeter "Combination" of 1639, and a daughter of Kinsley Hall, whose wife was Elizabeth Dudley, daughter of Rev. Samuel Dudley, the first minister who settled at Exeter, N. H., in 1643. John Langdon married, Feb. 3, 1777, Elizabeth, only daughter and second child of John, son of Henry and Dorothy (Wentworth) Sherburne, intermarried with a daughter of John Moffat, a wealthy merchant of Portsmouth, N. H. John Langdon, in 1775, was a delegate in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, a Speaker of the House of Representatives of New Hampshire, a Governor of that State, a United States senator, and the first presiding officer of the United States Senate when Washington was first inaugurated President in April, 1789. He was a great man and distinguished patriot, and died Sept. 20, 1819, at Portsmouth, N. H., leaving but one child, Elizabeth, married to Thomas Elwyn. The latter died many years before his wife, who deceased at Philadelphia, Aug. 8, 1860, having had nine children,—Catharine Cecilia, Elinor Elizabeth, John Langdon, Emily Sophia, Alfred L. (subject of this sketch), Charles Henry, Emma Matilda, Thomas Octavius, and William Octavius.

Alfred L. was born July 9, 1804, in Portsmouth, N. H., where he went to school under the noted Deacon Tappan. In 1816 he went to Exeter Academy, and there remained three years. In 1819 he entered Harvard University, from which he was graduated in 1823. He read medicine in Boston with the celebrated Dr. Gorham. He went to England and to Edinburgh in October, 1826, and back to London in April, 1827. Then passed one year in Paris, and in summer of 1829 returned to America, having in the course of his sojourn abroad visited his father's relatives in England, and kept up a continuous course of study. In 1831 he graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, and received his diploma as M.D. He was married, Jan. 31, 1832, to Mary Middleton, daughter of Dr. James Mease and granddaughter of Hon. Pierce Butler, of South Carolina, by whom he has one living child,—Rev. Alfred Elwyn. His daughter, Mary Middleton Elwyn, married Dr. G. W. Mitchell, and died in 1861, leaving two sons, both living. In 1845, Dr. Elwyn, who has always resided in Philadelphia, but has never practiced medicine, purchased property in East Bradford township, Chester County, Pa., where he has had a summer residence ever since. He was one of the founders of the State Agricultural Society in 1850, and has been largely identified with its progress and Farmers' High School. He was connected with the establishment of the Institution for the Blind of Philadelphia, and was the originator of the training-school for feeble-minded children located at Elwyn, and fostered and built by the State of Pennsylvania. He has taken the greatest interest in philanthropic institutions, and aided in the creation of many of them. He is now the oldest living member of the American Association of Science. He belongs to the Academy of Natural Sciences, was a director for

Alfred Langdon Elwyn

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many years in Girard College, long time an officer in the Historical Society, and a member of the American Philosophical Society. He served as president of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and was president of the old Agricultural Society of Philadelphia. He was one of the Philadelphia board of three for licensing taverns under a special act of the Legislature, in which he acquitted himself with honor and to the credit of the city. His farm in East Bradford originally belonged to Philip Price. The first guano put on lands in Chester County was by Dr. Elwyn on his farm in 1846. He has given much attention to the natural sciences, philosophical inquiry, and political economy, and contributed largely to the press, reviews, and magazines with his able pen. His varied learning and versatile genius has made him one of the most pointed and incisive of our educated men. He still pursues his studies with the ardor of his youth unabated, and is a zealous worker in the cause of humanity.

The Pennsylvania Working Home for Blind Men.—After the establishment of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind, nothing more was done for the release of those unfortunates for years. The Pennsylvania Working Home for Blind Men was established in 1874, for "the organization of workshops and a home for homeless blind mechanics, teaching useful trades to blind men, giving employment also to those blind men who have homes, and the selling of the manufactures of the corporation for its benefit and advantage." The principal objects of care of this institution are "homeless blind mechanics," of whom seventy or eighty can be accommodated in the buildings erected by the society. These are situated on a lot of ground fronting on Lancaster Avenue below Thirty-sixth Street, one hundred and fifty feet front and extending back one hundred and ninety feet to Warren Street. An old mansion upon the ground is fitted up for the use of the homeless. On the Warren Street front is a long narrow building, running the whole front of the lot. It is intended for manufacture, and is on week-days the scene of busy industry. An additional four-story building is used for the same purposes. The articles manufactured are carpets and brushes, mattresses, and other articles at which the blind can work; the reseating of chairs, the sewing of harness, and other things. In 1877 there were eighty-nine inmates, eleven of whom were outside workmen.

Officers.—President, Caleb J. Milne; Vice-Presidents, William Chapin, A.M., E. P. Borden; Treasurer, Levi Knowles; Secretary, Charles D. Norton; Superintendent and Financial Agent, H. L. Hall. Managers, B. B. Comegys, Joseph K. Wheeler, Theodore H. Morris, George B. Collier, James T. Shinn, Alexander C. Fergusson, James Spear, James Hutchinson, M.D., Henry C. Townsend, I. Layton Register, George Burnham.

The Industrial Home for Blind Women was organized at a meeting of ladies held at the house of Miss O'Neill, 1408 South Penn Square, by the election of the following officers: President, Miss O'Neill; Treasurer, Miss Fanny N. Stevenson; Corresponding Secretary, Miss A. M. Smart; Treasurer, Miss F. Knowles; Surgeon, Dr. Caleb W. Hornor. The managers located the home at No. 1817 Lombard Street, which was formally opened on the 14th of June, 1869. It remained there scarcely two weeks. A better house was obtained on Locust Street below Fortieth, West Philadelphia, which was opened on the 1st of July. The work-room is used by women of various ages, making cane-seats for chairs, bead-work, knitting, making willow baskets, tidies, rag carpets, and other articles. At a later period the society erected a handsome building for the purposes of a home at the corner of Powelton and Saunders Avenues, West Philadelphia.

Officers.—Board of Council, President, James Pollock; Vice-President, William Chapin; Secretary, C. W. Hornor, M.D.; Treasurer, Levi Knowles. Board of Officers, President, Miss S. P. Lloyd; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. S. B. Rowley, Miss H. A. Dillaye, Mrs. A. F. Lex, Mrs. J. Harper; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. H. G. Wilson; Treasurer, Miss E. E. O'Brien; Recording Secretary, Mrs. J. Ward Atwood.

The Pennsylvania Retreat for Blind Mutes and Aged Infirm Blind Persons was incorporated April 13, 1882, and is intended for a home "for such respectable blind persons as have, after a life of patient industry, failed to secure a support for their old age." In his address, Bishop Stevens, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, said, "It is not too much for them to ask that after sixty or seventy years of darkness passed in a continuous struggle with poverty, the last few years of their lives should be a time of rest." This institution had not yet got into practical operation by the establishment of a home building.

Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.—In 1820, David G. Seixas, an Israelite, set up a private school for the education of the deaf and dumb in Market Street, the third brick house west of Schuylkill Seventh [Sixteenth] Street. There was a good deal of interest in the education of deaf mutes at this time, and Seixas' plan attracted much attention. Many citizens assisted him, and finally it was resolved that a society should be formed to support a public institution for the instruction of deaf and dumb persons. A meeting of citizens was held for the purpose at the hall of the American Philosophical Society, April 20, 1820. Seixas was present, with some of his pupils, and it was shown that he had instructed ten or twelve of them without remuneration. The conclusion arrived at was that an institution was necessary, and a society was formed, entitled "The Pennsylvania Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb." Seixas gave an exhibition with his pupils at Washington Hall on the 24th of May. The society was incorporated Feb. 8, 1821, as the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. The society occupied Seixas' house for some time, and afterward went to the building formerly the Mansion House Hotel, at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Market Streets. Under the charter the Legislature provided for the

payment of one hundred and sixty dollars per year for the support of every indigent mute child of suitable age in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania which shall be admitted to the institution, provided that the annual payment should not exceed eight thousand dollars. The system of education adopted was that of the Abbé de L'Epée and Sicard, which had been successfully practiced in Europe. When the society was ready to build an asylum, a lot was purchased on the west side of Broad Street, extending from Pine Street northward and toward Schuylkill Eighth [Fifteenth] Street. The corner-stone of the principal building was laid in May, 1824. The design was by Haviland. The centre building was fifty feet front by sixty-three feet deep. The walls were constructed of granite. A wing of two stories, each twenty-five feet wide, extended at right angles with the centre ninety-two feet, making the depth of each ninety-six feet six inches. In the basement were dining-rooms, workshops, baths, kitchens, and offices. On the second floor were parlors, offices, and a chapel, and in the upper story school-rooms and chambers. The intention was to teach the mutes trades and manufactures, in which instruction was given in the workshop. There was not much profit by this to be expected at first. In 1829 the managers congratulated themselves that by the labors of the seventy-five pupils the profits during the year were $285.63. This institution remains at the same place in 1884. It has been greatly enlarged by the addition of spacious buildings on the west, extending to Fifteenth Street, in which the manufacturing operations are principally carried on.

St. Andrew's Society.—Among the earliest charitable societies were those established by natives of foreign countries for the benefit of their countrymen who might emigrate to Pennsylvania. The report that America was a land flowing with milk and honey, that the soil was fertile and kind, the woods filled with game and the waters with fish, that living was cheap, and wealth and comfort sure to follow, spread over Europe and excited the adventurous, while it gave hope to the poor. Large numbers of the early emigrants had spent the greater portions of their years in the struggle for existence in the Old World, and when they came they brought scarcely anything with them but their health, strength, and the skill acquired in their occupations. With few clothes, with stores scarcely sufficient to last them during the voyage, and with little money, perhaps, they landed on these shores. Many had not even the means to pay their passage, and were brought in bond to the captains of the vessels or consignors with undertaking to serve at labor for periods of years in payment of their passage-money. Frequently sick and miserable, generally poor, and, with those from the Continent, unable to speak the English language, they were naturally objects of commiseration of their own countrymen who had gone through the same experience.

The earliest society for the assistance of emigrants in distress probably grew out of the experience of settlers who had gone through the hardships and privations of long sea-voyages. Naturally they would be interested in the new-comers of their own race, and soon learned how much they were in want of assistance. This thought led to the formation of the St. Andrew's Society in 1749. The constitution and rules provided for a social, as well as a charitable society. There were to be quarterly meetings, at which there was a repast, and in order to govern the character of the feast the following rule was adopted:

"In order to observe that frugality which becomes a charitable society, the four assistants shall take care at the quarterly meetings to provide a neat and plain supper, and shall call for and settle the bill at eleven o'clock at furthest every meeting, except St. Andrew's night, and at twelve o'clock at furthest on that night. Nor shall any liquor be brought into the company but what is ordered by the assistants, and if any member shall stay after the bill is settled, their expenses shall be paid wholly by themselves."

The committee of assistants had power to bestow out of the society's stock such relief as they might think proper to poor persons whom they should judge objects of the society's charity, "*provided, always*, that none but natives of Scotland, their widows or children, or the widows and children of those who have been members of this society be entitled to any part of the charity; and provided, also, that sums allowed do not exceed five pounds to any one person, and twenty pounds in the whole between one quarterly meeting and another." In the preface to the rules printed in 1769 it is said, "Every institution for the charitable relief of our fellow-creatures in distress must certainly claim the approbation and encouragement of benevolent minds. That such is the design of the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia will be acknowledged (it is hoped) by all who candidly peruse the subsequent rules, to which a stronger proof might be added, if necessary, namely, a list of many hundreds who have been relieved by the charity of this society during nearly twenty years it hath subsisted; in which list would be found many who must otherwise have suffered without friends in a place where they were strangers." This society met at the Tun Tavern in 1756, at Byrne's Tavern in 1765, and at the Indian Queen in 1774. In 1769 the officers were as follows: President, Dr. Thomas Graeme; Vice-President, Rev. Dr. William Smith; Treasurer, Samuel Inglis; Assistants, James Craig, John Wallace, Charles Stedman, George Bartram; Secretary, David Sproat. The seventy members included among them men of the highest position,—Hon. James Hamilton (afterward Lieutenant-Governor), John Ross (attorney-at-law), Archibald McCall, Rev. William Currie, John Ross (merchant), Alexander Barclay, Gilbert Barclay, Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon (afterward signer of the Declaration of Independence), the two famous privateersmen, Capt. John Sibbald and Capt. John McPherson, Capt. John Inglis (of the royal navy), and others in honorable position, beside

a large number of honorary members. During the Revolution the work of the St. Andrew's Society, although somewhat interrupted by the contest, was maintained with sufficient interest to keep up the organization. In 1792 the officers were James Wilson, LL.D., justice of the United States Supreme Court, president; Dr. William Smith and James Craig, vice-presidents; John Shields, treasurer; Rev. William Marshall, chaplain; William Moore Smith, secretary; Thomas Leiper, Alexander Anderson, Robert Smith, and Richard Lake, assistants. In 1804, Gen. William McPherson was president and Thomas Leiper vice-president. The association has been in existence ever since, doing a great deal of good.

The Scots Society was established in the early part of the nineteenth century, for mutual benefit and assistance of emigrants from Scotland in indigent circumstances and their widows and children. Talbot Hamilton was president from 1800 to 1809. The widows' fund, for the assistance of widows during their widowhood, was established in 1808. The society met quarterly, on St. Andrew's day (on November 30th), and on the 1st days of March, June, and September. The William Wallace Scots' Society, instituted November, 1824, was devoted to similar objects.

The German Society.—The example of the Scotchmen was followed by the Germans. They had experienced the inconvenience, misery, and horrors of transportation from Europe, packed closely in small vessels, subject to the brutality of sea-captains, and of enduring insults and privations. The voyage terminated and the immigrants landed, they found themselves in a strange country, thrown among people whose language they could not understand, and to whom they could not make themselves understood. Chance determined where they should go. Generally without means, they depended for their existence upon those who should "buy their time," and were subject to the commands of their masters. If the latter were kind and reasonable people, their lot was happy, but if they fell into the hands of harsh and brutal persons, they were subject to all the maltreatment and hard conditions of slavery. In time their terms of service would be ended and they were turned out to shift for themselves, with little money and nothing but the hope that by hard labor and economy they would be able to raise themselves from low estate. The wrongs which these poor foreigners suffered led to representations made to the Assembly and protests, and an act was passed in 1749–50, "for the prohibition of the importation of Germans or other passengers in too great numbers in one vessel." This law produced some amelioration in the condition of those persons, but was not sufficient to afford universal relief. There was still many wrongs practiced upon them, and these became so flagrant that in 1764 an association of citizens of Philadelphia of German birth was formed, to urge upon the Legislature such reforms as were necessary and to protect the Germans who were brought to this country. This association was called the German Society, to supply poor, sick, and distressed Germans brought to the city of Philadelphia with relief. The association applied to the Assembly of Pennsylvania for the passage of an act amending the act of 1749, to insure more comfort to passengers on board of ships coming from Europe, and to compel just treatment on the part of shipping-merchants and sea-captains who might bring them. They were successful and attentive, on the arrival of vessels with Germans, to ascertain if they had been kindly treated, and to enforce the provisions of the laws in cases where injustice had been done. The society met from 1764 to 1776 at the German Lutheran school-house, on the north side of Cherry Street, east of Fourth. In 1776 the society bought a lot of ground on the west side of Seventh Street, between Market and Chestnut, and made preparations for building. Contracts were awarded, and materials—brick, stone, and lumber—placed upon the lot. The events of the Revolution discouraged the commencement of the work. When the British came to Philadelphia they found this store of material very handy, and they used it in the building of stables for horses in use by the army. On Sept. 20, 1781, the Assembly incorporated the German Society, and it was recited that the society had obtained two lots, on which it was expected to erect a building to be used as a school for teaching German and English and the opening of a library. On Dec. 26, 1805, the society appointed a committee, with power to act, consisting of Peter Muhlenberg, president of the society, Conrad Weckerly, Christlieb Bartling, Peter Kraft, Daniel Trump, John Stock, and Michael Kitts. Under their care a brick building was erected on the Seventh Street lot, two stories high, and having a cellar with a board floor. It stood free from houses on all sides, and was well provided with windows and means of ventilation. The front of this building stood back twenty feet from the street line. It was plain, with a gable and pediment. The central doorway was approached by marble steps. On either side of the first story was an office, usually occupied by a lawyer. There was a room in the rear of the lower story, which was rented to Charles Keyser, who used it as a German and English school until 1822. The College of Pharmacy occupied this room for some years, and was succeeded by the Schuylkill Navigation Company, which occupied the building as an office. The hall was dedicated with ceremonies and addresses on April 9, 1807. The society only used the second story for meetings and a library, which was then established, and which has since grown to a considerable proportion, consisting of books in the German, English, and other languages. The total cost of the building, accessories, etc., was $6941.06. In 1841 two side-wings, of one story, were built and rented out for offices, thus in-

creasing the income of the institution. They were occupied by George Fox, James A. Donath, and Charles E. Lex, lawyers, and at a later period by A. W. Harrison and Augustus Mitchell for business purposes. In 1866, under contract with the Philadelphia Gas-Works, who were in need of a central office, the front part of the building was partly torn down and a new building erected in front, which occupied the whole width of the lot, and is (in 1884) still in use by the gas trustees in the lower story, whilst the society continues to occupy the second story for meetings and the purposes of the library. The latter probably numbers seventeen thousand volumes, principally in German and English. The books are in use by the members. This society, during the course of one hundred and twenty years, has faithfully fulfilled the object of its institution. It has relieved and protected thousands of emigrants, and still maintains that care, although the necessity of interference on their behalf has been greatly diminished in the latter part of the century.

The Hibernian Club was holding its meetings at Griffith's Tavern in 1759, and might have been merged into the association afterward called "the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick." The minutes of the latter, which have been rescued, and are the basis of an interesting memoir written by Samuel Hood, show that the latter was in full operation in September, 1771, and that the minutes referred to were those of an association before that time in existence. The society was composed of Irishmen and the descendants of Irish parents on either side, with right of admission to descendants of the members. This was a convivial society, and met quarterly on the 17th days of March, June, September, and December, for the enjoyment of a first-rate dinner. Each member was required to procure for himself, and wear at the meetings of the society, a gold medal of the value of three guineas, bearing the following devices: On the right, "Hibernia," a female figure with a harp; on the left, "America," represented as an Indian, with quiver on his back and bow strung; in the centre, "Liberty," with a pole, joining the hands of "America" and "Hibernia." Below was the motto, "Unite." On the reverse was the figure of St. Patrick, in full pontificals, a cross in his hand, trampling on a snake. Motto, "Hiar" ("west"). At the meeting held in 1771 the following persons were present: President, Stephen Moylan; Vice-President, John M. Nesbitt; Secretary and Treasurer, William Mitchell. The honorary members at this time and up to 1776 were James Searle, Henry Hill, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, William Hicks, Richard Penn, William Hamilton, John Cadwalader, Samuel Meredith, Richard Bache, and Lambert Cadwalader. The members of the society in the same period were William West, Thomas Barclay, John Mease, Randle Mitchell, John Mitchell, Turbutt Francis, John Nixon, Thomas Fitzsimons, George Meade, George Campbell, Tench Francis, James Mease, Andrew Caldwell, Matthew Mease, George Davis, John Shee, Ulysses Lynch, George Fullerton, John Boyle, Benjamin Fuller, Samuel Caldwell, Thomas Batt, Robert Boyd, D. H. Conyngham, Sharp Delany, Robert Glen, George Henry, James Logan, James Moylan, John Murray, John Patterson, Anthony Wayne, and William West, Jr. This list comprises the names of Catholics and Protestants, and religious differences were not allowed to enter into the composition of the society. Several of these names are those of distinguished patriots in the Revolution. The society was firm in the American cause. In March, 1776, it expelled Thomas Batt "for taking an active part against the liberties of America." The dinners of the club were held at some first-class tavern,—Byrne's, Smith's City Tavern, the Wigwam, or Duffy's. The members continued to meet until the British took possession of Philadelphia. Sessions were recommenced in 1779. Among the members after the Revolution were John Dickinson, William Bingham, Judge Richard Peters, Capt. John Barry, of the navy, Gen. Edward Hand, Maj.-Gen. William Irvine, Maj.-Gen. Knox, Gen. Walter Stuart, Gen. William Thompson, Col. John Patton, Col. Francis Nichols, and Col. Francis Johnston. In December, 1781, Gen. Washington (an exception to the rule) was invited to dine with the society. As he was not of Irish blood, this honor created some discussion as to its propriety. To get over the difficulty the society unanimously adopted him as a member. It was requisite that he should possess and wear the gold medal. This emblem had been prepared in England, and a new one could not be obtained. Dr. James Mease patriotically solved the difficulty by presenting his medal to Washington, trusting to opportunity after the war was over to obtain another. In fact, the law was tacitly suspended at this feast. There were invited to be present several gentlemen who were not Irish by birth or descent, among them the minister of France, M. Luzerne, M. Otto, Mr. Holker, French consul-general; Count De la Touche; and Count Dillon. There were also present Gen. Lincoln, Gen. Steuben, Gen. McIntosh, and Mr. Hanson, president of Congress. The guests were twenty-one in number. This association may have done somthing in the way of charity to emigrants, but the members finally went into the Hibernian Society.

The Hibernian Society received a charter April 27, 1792. The preamble stated, "It is highly proper to promote the designs of said society, inasmuch as they may greatly contribute to the prosperity of this State and of the United States by encouraging emigration from Ireland. The first officers were: Chief Justice Thomas McKean, president; Gen. Walter Stewart, vice-president; Edward Fox, secretary; Dr. John Carson and Dr. James Cunningham, physicians; Charles Heatly and Jasper Moylan, counselors; James McClure, John Maloney, James

Ash, Thomas Cuthbert, Redmond Byrne, Joseph McGuffen, John Read, David McCormick, John McElwee, Joseph Brown, Alexander Lawrence, Jr., and Andrew Kennedy, acting committee. This society took active means to assist emigrants. A committee of twelve members, divided into four classes, each class to serve three months, was required to visit all vessels arriving in port from Ireland, to inquire into the condition of the passengers, to give such relief and advice as was necessary, to inquire if the laws regulating the passenger trade had been obeyed, and to take measures to punish the masters of vessels who had been guilty of negligence, cruelty, or oppression of emigrants.

Society of the Sons of St. George.—The British Club, social in its objects, met at Griffith's Tavern in 1759. The example of the Scotch, Germans, and Irish incited the natives of England to the formation of a society in imitation of the objects already aimed at by the societies heretofore named. The Society of the Sons of St. George, established at Philadelphia for the advice and assistance of Englishmen in distress, was founded on St. George's day, April 23, 1772, at Byrne's Tavern ("Sign of the Cock"), in Front Street, below Walnut.[1]

The officers elected were: President, Rev. Richard Peters, D.D.; Vice-President, Robert Morris; Treasurer, Daniel Rundle; Stewards, William Parr, Esq., Dr. John Kearsley, Thomas Foxcroft, Richard Footman; Secretary, Richard Peters, Jr.; Messenger, John Airy. The St. George's Society was in session at the City Tavern on St. George's day, April 17, 1775, when Robert Morris, afterward the celebrated financier of the Revolution, announced the reception of the news of the battle of Lexington. The members were shocked at this intelligence, and the feast was one of sorrow and anxiety. Subsequent events, as was natural in a society composed of Englishmen by birth, created differences of feeling. Some of the members inclined to the mother-country. Others warmly espoused the cause of the colonies, and maintained their principles during the long struggle. The meetings were afterward suspended. No meeting was held until March 4, 1776, when Dr. John Kearsley, Jr., was expelled upon the public avowal of Tory sentiments. At the next meeting the operations of the society were suspended altogether, and the members did not come together again for eleven years. Governor Richard Penn was president in 1775–76, and he was re-elected on the reorganization April 23, 1787. In 1793 the meetings were suspended in consequence of the yellow fever, and they were not resumed for three years. The society was not incorporated until Jan. 16, 1813, when an act of Assembly was obtained through the services of a committee consisting of Thomas Ketland, Joseph Sims, John Vaughan, Dr. J. P. Glentworth, and Tristram B. Freeman. In 1821 the society returned answer to commissioners appointed by the General Assembly in relation to pauperism, that between Jan. 23, 1813, and Jan. 23, 1821, the society had expended $3754.87 for charitable purposes, and had assisted and relieved two hundred and seventy-six male adults, three hundred and sixty-two females, and five hundred and thirty-two children, exclusive of twenty-two cases, in each of which it was stated there was a large family of children. The resident contributing members were then about one hundred, and they paid their dues quarterly. The Rev. Dr. Joseph Pilmore, who died in 1826, left to the society his residuary estate, which amounted to $8162.52. The society voted that Dr. Pilmore was a benefactor, and ordered his portrait to be painted, which was done. It still hangs in the society's hall. For some years the members met in the third story of the Philadelphia Exchange, and during that time sent Thomas Sully to Europe to paint a portrait of Queen Victoria. In 1875 it was determined to secure a hall. The property of Matthew Newkirk, a handsome marble building at the southwest corner of Thirteenth and Arch Streets, was bought, greatly enlarged, an extra story having been added, and the interior altered, by which a large assembly-room in the second story was secured with accommodations for seating one thousand persons. An elegant equestrian group in bronze, representing St. George killing the dragon, was placed upon the pediment, and St. George's Hall became a public building, which was finer in appearance than any other occupied in the city by a national society.

The French Society.—Natives of France were not numerous in Philadelphia before the Revolution. After that time refugees from San Domingo came in considerable numbers, and also persons from France, driven out by the revolution there. At a meeting of Americans and Frenchmen celebrating a dinner, Jan. 1, 1793, at Oeller's Hotel, to commemorate the

[1] The following were the original members who signed the articles of association: Rev. Dr. Richard Peters, Robert Morris, Daniel Rundle, Richard Peters, Jr., Esq., William Parr, Dr. John Kearsley, Richard Footman, Thomas Foxcroft, Matthias Aspen, Charles Allen, William Adcock, Dr. Thomas Bond, Dr. Phineas Bond, John Baynton, John Baron, Joseph Bullock, Dr. Robert Bass, James Budden, Edward Barrett, Thomas Bowlsby, Richard Bache, Jonathan Brown, Capt. Joseph Blewer, Alfred Clifton, Rev. John Carter, John Coanes, Capt. Isaac Caton, Capt. James Caton, Edward Drewry, Dr. John Day, Manuel Eyres, John Eyres, Anthony Stocker, William Sitgreaves, Capt. James Spack, Joseph Stansbury, Robert Sherman, Thomas Savidge, Rev. William Stringer, Rev. Dr. William Smith, John Tyler, Godfrey Twells, John Foxcroft, Mark Freeman, John Glover, Thomas Goodwin, George Goodwin, Dr. George Glentworth, Isaac Hazlehurst, William Hevin, John Heaton, Amos Hayton, Rev. Robert Harding, Capt. William Heysham, Capt. John Hazlewood, Nathaniel Hyde, Francis Jeyes, John Jennings, William Haughton James, Samuel Jeffries, John Kidd, Lynford Lardner, Lieut. John Lennox, William London, Capt. John Mawbey, Thomas Murgatroyd, George Noarth, Dr. William Pemberton, John Phillips, William Pollard, Thomas Roaker, George Rundle, Richard Rundle, Charles Startong, William Snell, Peter Turner, Hon. Thomas Willing, Richard Willing, Drewry Wake, Thomas Charles Williams, John Williams, George Westcott, Thomas Yorke, and Thomas West. Among the other members added before 1776 were: Dr. Anthony Chovet, Joseph Fox, James Humphries, Asheton Humphries, Robert Hare, Richard Penn, and Rev. William White.

victories achieved by the Gallic arms in the war waging between France and other nations of Europe, it was determined to open subscriptions for the relief of distressed citizens of France then in the city. In the succeeding month they fully organized Le Société Française de bien Faisance. John Ternant, the minister of France to the United States, was elected president; John de la Forest, Vice-consul of France, vice-president; Peter le Maigre, treasurer; Peter S. Du Ponceau and John Armand, secretaries; Henry Elouis, Joseph Meisson, James Gardette, Joseph D. Hamelin, Benjamin Nones, Peter Legaux, Anthony Chardon, Edmund Bureau, Augustus Massole, John Peter Blanchard, Bernard, Francis, Robert, and Francis Dupont, acting committee. In the same year there were on the latter committee also James Vanuxem, Ferdinand Gourdon, Charles Homanel, Francis Serre, and Ambrose Vasse. This society was active until about 1798, when it ceased from its labors. A social association, Le Société des Grivois ("The Society of Merry Fellows), served for a time to keep the Frenchmen together at dinners and on other festive occasions, each member bearing a club name or nickname, by which he was always addressed. Prominent among the members were Messrs. Chardon, De la Grange, Tanguy, De la Boissiere, Dr. Monges, De St. Memin, De la Neuville, Dr. Gardette, and others.

In 1804 an attempt was made to revive Le Société Française de bien Faisance, but it was not successful. On the 7th of September, 1805, the work was accomplished at a meeting of French citizens.[1]

The society was incorporated on the 2d of October, 1805, and held its first meeting at the "Harp and Crown," on the 2d of October. The following officers were elected: President, Jean Laval; Vice-President, Augustine Bousquet; Treasurer, Patrice Gernon; Secretary, Lawrence Huron; Board of Directors, Jean du Barry, president; Dr. Jean Mathieu, Rene G. Gravelle, Louis Desauque, Richard Gernon, Fournier Rostaing, Louis Gachet, De Lisle, Amable Brasler, Dr. James Gardette, Simon Chaudron, Françoise Laquet, Joseph B. Galbade, William Foussette, Dr. Rousseau, Dr. Monges, Garrestie Tender, Louis D. C. Carpentier, and Peter le Barbiere Du Plessis. After some years the organization became inert. Jean Laval, the president, held the capital, four thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, in trust, and dispensed of the interest for many years to Frenchmen in distress, which trust was exercised with great judgment during his life. In 1830 the society was reorganized with a large number of members, and rechartered in 1835, and the fund held by Mr. Laval was handed over to it. Since that time the society has been in active operation, and is usually known as the French Benevolent Society. The funds have been used with much discretion for the benefit of Frenchmen in distress, and good advice and friendship has been shown toward them.

Officers.—President, H. A. Pintard; Vice-President, H. Perdriaux; Treasurer, S. Delbert; Secretary, G. G. Dussoulas; Directors, E. Borda, George W. Farr, Jr., J. E. Lafore, H. Lejambre, Paul Pohl, Jr., F. A. Seynave, William G. Delbert, F. G. Dussoulas, A. F. Bornot, E. A. Lejambre.

The Welsh Club met at Griffith's Tavern in 1759, and is supposed to have given origin to the St. David's Society, which existed before the Revolution. In 1798 a number of Welshmen associated themselves for the relief of Welsh emigrants in distress, and they were incorporated as the Welsh Society in 1802. In 1801 the Welsh Society resolved to give a piece of plate, worth one hundred and fifty dollars, to Dr. Thomas C. James, for his humane attention to unfortunate Welsh emigrants sick at the city hospital, at the wigwam on the banks of the Schuylkill, during the yellow fever of that year. In 1809 the officers of the Welsh Society were as follows: President, Samuel Meredith; Vice-President, Robert Wharton; Treasurer, Thomas Cumpston; Secretary, Joseph S. Lewis; Register, Jonathan Smith; Stewards, John Evans, Richard Price, Thomas Parke, Chandler Price, Reeve Lewis, Elihu Chauncey, and Matthew L. Bevan; Physicians, Dr. Thomas C. James and Dr. Joseph Strong; Councilors, Benjamin R. Morgan and Edward Tilghman.

Emigrant Society.—About the year 1793–94, there was established among citizens, mostly of foreign birth, The Philadelphia Society for the Information and Assistance of Emigrants and Persons Emigrating from Foreign Countries. A fund was established, which became of some importance through generous donations. The officers were: President, John Swanwick; Vice-President, Thomas Newnham; Treasurer, Napthali Phillips; Physician, Dr. A. Blaney; Register, Henry A. Heins; Councilors, Thomas W. Tallman and Walter Franklin. The Conference Committee consisted of those officers, with William Young Birch, Thomas Williams, William Oliver, Charles Kenny, James Fuze, Philip Jones, Jr., John Cumming, and Bartholomew Connoly. This society was in existence a few years, but ceased its functions before 1800.

The Philadelphia Irish Emigrant Society was formed about 1816. In the succeeding year the following officers were elected on the 22d of December: President, Gen. John Steel; Vice-President, William Taggert; Recording Secretary, M. Williamson; Corresponding Secretary, William J. Duane; Treasurer, Silas E. Weir; Managers, Robert Patterson, William Duane, Rev. George C. Potts, John Horner, W. Calhoun, Mathew Carey, James Stewart, Alexander Cook, and Edward Fox. The most of these probably all had been members of the Hibernian Society, and it is likely continued their membership therein.

In later years other societies for the assistance of

[1] The original members of this association at this time were Jean Laval, Augustine Bousquet, Richard Gernon, Peter Naire, L. Gashet Delisle, J. Tarascon, James S. Duval, Louis Clapier, J. L. Boujac, J. G. de la Roche, John A. Soullie, N. G. Dufeif, J. W. Fousset, L. Desauque, J. Gardette, Fournier Rostaing, Charles Burgier, and others.

emigrants were formed among foreigners, the latest of which were the Swiss Benevolent Society, founded in 1860, and chartered Dec. 4, 1865, and the Italian Society, instituted about 1875–76.

The Carpenters' Company.—Associations for the benefit of workers at particular trades have been innumerable. The oldest is the Carpenters' Company, established in 1724, which united in 1752 with another Carpenters' Company, and in 1763 resolved to erect a hall of its own. The project was delayed until 1768, when the company bought a lot on the south side of Chestnut Street, below Fourth, sixty-six feet front and one hundred and fifty-five feet deep, on the rear end of which the venerable building so connected in its uses with the history of the country was erected and finished, and occupied on the 21st of January, 1771. Its occupation as the first place of meeting of the Continental Congress, in 1774, is well known. It was used also by the Provincial Committee, July 18, 1774; and in 1775 by the Provincial Convention of Pennsylvania.

The Society for the Relief of Poor and Distressed Masters of Ships, their Widows and Children, was instituted July 4, 1765, as the "Captains of Ships' Charitable Club," and incorporated Feb. 4, 1770, by the title first mentioned. It was partly mutual, but had an established fund for charity. The charter was amended by the General Assembly, March 4, 1780.

The Stone-Cutters' Company was formed in 1790, somewhat on the plan of the Carpenters' Society. In a few years the objects were enlarged to embrace "the relief of poor stone-cutters, their widows and children."

The Mutual Assistance Society of Hair-Dressers, Surgeon Barbers, etc., was established in 1796. It was beneficial principally, but some provision was made for the relief of widows of members.

The Society for the Benefit of Decayed Pilots, their Widows and Children, was formed in 1788, and chartered in 1789.

The Bricklayers' Company, incorporated on the 11th of March, 1799, was a trade society which gave some attention to charity, to the widows and children of their members.

The Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed.—The first society for temporary assistance of the distressed was formed in 1793, after the cessation of the yellow fever, through the exertions of Ann Parrish, a member of the Society of Friends, and among women of that denomination only. They found room for their benevolence in the condition of many families which had been visited by the disease and lost parents or children, and particularly in the condition of the latter, many of whom were without friends. The first meeting was held at the house of Isaac Parrish, southeast corner of Second Street and Pewterplatter Alley. The following were the original members: Ann Parrish, Catharine W. Morris, Eliza Marshall, Mary Paul, Elizabeth Howell, Hannah Elliott, Rebecca Gray, Anne Pancoast, Patience Marshall, Jr., Sarah Parrish, Jr., Hannah Hopkins, Jr., Hannah Lewis, Jr., Sarah Bacon, Anna L. Fisher, Deborah Parrish, Susannah Shoemaker, Rachel Lewis, Elizabeth Bacon, Sarah Marshall, Jr., Mary Fields, Mary Wheeler, Jane Hough, and Anne Shoemaker. Ann Parrish was clerk, and Catharine W. Morris treasurer. The society met in a room at the house of Rose Lowry, in Pewterplatter Alley. It was formed in November, 1795, and was called "The Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed." Wood was distributed in the same winter to the poor and assistance given to the sick. In 1798 it was determined to establish a house of industry, at which work should be prepared for the employment of the poor and wages paid them for their labor. "The house designated for spinners" was situate on the west side of Mickle's Court, which ran south from the south side of Arch Street, west of Second, originally built, it is believed, by William Chancellor, sailmaker, for his shop; it was afterwards used as a coach-house by Samuel Mickle and his son-in-law, Joseph Fox. Here the house for spinners was in operation for some years. In 1816 the society, which was then incorporated as "The Female Society of Philadelphia for the Relief and Employment of the Poor," removed the house of industry to a building in Ranstead's Court, running west from Fourth Street, above Chestnut. Here the house of industry was maintained for thirty years. In 1846 the property at No. 112 North Seventh Street, above Arch, was purchased, and has been occupied in the quiet charity of the association ever since.

The Female Association.—In 1800 a number of benevolent ladies associated themselves for the purpose of relief of women and children in reduced circumstances. They prepared a room at No. 28 Chestnut Street, where they received and disposed of to poor people clothing, groceries, and supplies, commencing with a donation of five hundred dollars, a portion of the money collected for the relief of the sufferers by the yellow fever in Baltimore, but not used for that purpose. This society was called "The Female Association." It opened the first soup-house established in the city, in the year 1803, at the corner of Sixth and Cherry Streets. In 1810 the president of the society was Mrs. Stocker; Treasurer, Mrs. Hodge; Secretary, Miss Gratz.

The Female Hospitable Society was established in 1808. The object was to furnish employment for women. The workshop and wareroom was at No. 2 Appletree Alley. Spinning of flax was the first work done. Subsequently it was changed to the making up of garments. The women who were employed came to the workshop. Finally the plan was changed, and the work was given out to the women to be made up at their own homes. A store, in addition to the wareroom in Appletree Alley, was established at No. 54 North Fourth Street, where they sold sewing-thread

spun in the establishment, with sheets, towels, table-linen, etc., prepared by the beneficiaries. In 1818, Mrs. Snyder, who resided at 351 High Street, was president; Mrs. Van Pelt, treasurer; and Mrs. Eliza Norman, secretary.

The Society for the Relief of the Children of the Poor, by furnishing them Fresh Air, established about 1816, was the first association of that kind in the United States. The special purpose was to furnish in summer to infants the benefit of country air. The members were successful in obtaining the use of the City Hospital, on the south side of Coates Street, between Schuylkill Third and Fourth (Nineteenth and Twentieth). It was finely situated, with extensive gardens and grounds which ran southward nearly to Green Street. This institution was in operation some three or four years. It was the predecessor of the society which established summer excursions about 1870 and after, and of "The Country Week," a modern and most useful institution, the work of which has been well discharged; also of the Sanitarium at Point Airy, in the lower part of Windmill Island.

The Philadelphia Society for Relieving the Miseries of Indigent Persons was in existence in 1818, when John Brown was president; Nathan Fry, vice-president; George Willard, secretary; and Jacob Mayland, treasurer.

The Provident Society, established in February, 1824, was to enable persons in indigent circumstances to support themselves by their own industry. In the first year of its existence it gave employment to fourteen hundred persons, most of whom did the work at their own houses. "The House of Industry" was established on Market Street, west of Centre Square. One of the rooms was fitted up to teach the art of weaving straw hats and bonnets to children, they also being instructed in reading and writing. In 1825 the wareroom was removed to No. 3 South Alley (now Commerce Street), between Fifth and Sixth Streets. Work was given out here, and the society incidentally added to its duties a new benevolent object. This was the receiving and sheltering of lost children until their parents or friends could be apprised of their place of refuge and take them away. This was a most important and useful kindness. Before that time the only means of recovering lost children was by means of the public bell-man, who went through the streets ringing his bell and making proclamation at the corners of the name of the child lost, with his age, description of his clothing, the names and residence of his parents, and other particulars. After this, it being publicly known that the rooms of the Provident Society were open for the reception of lost children, they were frequently brought there by citizens who found them wandering in the streets. Parents and friends also went there to inquire for and recover the little strays. This establishment broke up substantially the business of the town-crier and bell-man, but he was frequently seen in districts remote from the rooms of the Provident Society, ringing his bell and making his proclamations, and sometimes leading to their parents the children who had been lost. This practice prevailed until the consolidation of the city and districts in 1854, when the establishment of police station-houses in the built-up portions of the town, with the convenience of the police and fire-alarm telegraph, by which there was communication between all the station-houses, rendered the old system unnecessary. After business invaded South Alley, the Provident Society sought other quarters. It was established in Prune Street, below Sixth, in 1859.

The Spring Garden Association, for charitable purposes, met in 1819 at the public school-house and town hall, at the northeast corner of Eighth and Buttonwood Streets. The president was William Alburger; Vice-President, William Warner; Secretary, David J. Sneathen.

The Western Charitable Society was in operation in 1818.

The Western Temporary Home was, as a shelter for grown persons too weak to go to work yet discharged from hospitals or otherwise, but unable to labor, at Market Street, below Fortieth, in 1875. On October 5th, of the same year, the home was removed to No. 47 North Thirty-eighth Street. On Jan. 3, 1876, a building was secured on Fortieth Street, above Market, which was opened as the Western Temporary Home. Under the rules, each inmate was allowed to spend only ten days in the home, and required in the mean time to make efforts to obtain work. In case of sickness, indulgence is allowed to relax the regulation.

The Howard Institution, under the care of an association of women Friends, incorporated Sept. 20, 1858, "for furnishing shelter, food, and clothing to poor outcast women," was in operation in 1876, at No. 1612 Poplar Street, and had at that time an average of more than forty inmates. Its peculiar object was to furnish discharged female prisoners released from the jail or penitentiary with a place to stop at upon their release from confinement until they can find some employment or return to their homes. The women Friends who were associated with this society had been in the habit of visiting the prisons since 1830, and gave as their testimony, "as of frequent occurrence, that female prisoners give satisfactory evidence of repentance, and of earnest desires to reform and regain their lost characters; yet when discharged from prison, for want of employment, they are often reduced to great distress and subjected to sore temptations.

The Midnight Mission (No. 919 Locust Street) was incorporated Feb. 15, 1871, and has for its object the rescue and salvation of fallen women through the agency of meetings, suitable homes, and industrial pursuits.

Officers.—President, Rev. Samuel E. Appleton, D.D.; Secretary, Rev.

B. H. Latrobe; Treasurer, John McCardle; Managers, Rev. George Bringhurst, Rev. Samuel E. Appleton, D.D., Rev. Bishop Simpson, D.D., Rev. B. H. Latrobe, Rev. T. L. Franklin, D.D., Howard Edwards, Mrs. Franklin Bacon, Mrs. S. M. Lyttle, Mrs. R. G. Stotesbury, Mrs. Mary Adams, William Bucknell, W. A. Farr, John McCardle, De F. Willard, M.D., R. G. Curtin, M.D., John T. M. Cardeza, M.D., W. Curtis Taylor, Mrs. B. H. Cardeza, Mrs. F. Hoskins, Mrs. L. O. Wilmarth, Mrs. McIlvaine, Mrs. John M. Maris.

The Northern Association of the city and county of Philadelphia, for the relief and employment of poor women, was organized in October, 1844, and incorporated June 2, 1856. This is an industrial society, by which the aged and infirm, without regard to religious persuasion, are furnished with sewing, and paid therefor. There is a work-room at No. 702 Green Street, or women may take out work and make it up at their own homes. The articles prepared are mostly of clothing, and these, when made up, are sold to charitable institutions at low rates, so that the institution is a double benefit.

The Union Benevolent Association was organized in October, 1831, and incorporated March 28, 1837. The main object is to assist the deserving poor to help themselves, and to reform as well as to alleviate by visiting, counseling, and affording such sympathy for body and mind as their cases require. The city is divided for the accomplishment of these ends into districts, and each district into sections. This machinery is managed by volunteer committees of from eight to one hundred females, who visit the poor, ascertain their wants, and give assistance whenever it can be judiciously offered. The society, about 1850, purchased a lot of ground at the northwest corner of Seventh and Sansom Streets, upon which a large building was erected for the purposes of the charity, considerable revenue being derived from stores and offices below, and apartments in the upper stories. Since its organization members of the association have visited 250,000 families in distress; furnished material relief to 350,000 persons in need; judiciously distributed $1,000,000 in money and materials; furnished to the worthy poor 50,000 tons of coal; administered to 40,000 sick; procured employment to many thousands unemployed; and given moral and religious instruction to 400,000 persons.

The ladies' branch of the association conducts a store at No. 202 South Eleventh Street, for the employment of *needy sewing women*, where needle-work of all kinds is done cheaply, both in men's and women's wear.

Officers.—President, Hon. William A. Porter; Vice-Presidents, J. Fisher Leaming, Thomas Latimer; Treasurer, Louis C. Madeira; Corresponding Secretary, James Laws, M.D.; Recording Secretary, John H. Atwood; Solicitor, John B. Gest; Managers, J. Fisher Leaming, Thomas Latimer, William Purves, John H. Atwood, Richard Wood, Charles S. Wurts, M.D., E. R. Wood, John E. Graeff, Henry D. Sherrerd, John B. Gest, Albert F. Damon, Caleb J. Milne, Hon. William A. Porter, S. Weir Lewis, Alexander P. Colesberry, Louis C. Madeira, Nathaniel Burt, James Laws, M.D., Henry Bettle, Henry T. Coates, J. Ralston Grant, Alfred L. Clay, Frederick W. Morris, Horace W. Pitkin.

The Moyamensing House of Industry.—About 1847 was founded the Philadelphia Society for the Employment and Instruction of the Poor, and it was incorporated the next year. Shortly afterward the association erected a large building on Catharine Street, above Seventh, which has since been known as the Moyamensing House of Industry. This institution fills a comprehensive object. It is a dispensary for medical advice, medical attendance, and the free distribution of medicines. It is an industrial school for white and colored persons, with an average winter attendance of nearly two hundred. It disposes of clothing for the thinly-clad, prepares meals for the hungry, has lodgings for one hundred and fifty persons daily, has large conveniences for free bathing and for washing clothing. Placed in the midst of a population poor, thriftless, degraded, and frequently vicious, the objects to which it is devoted are the best that could be devised to reduce temptation and incite to industry and honesty.

The Home Missionary Society was organized in 1835, and was incorporated in 1845, and in 1860 had its office at No. 841 East North Street. Its objects were the promotion of religion, temperance, industry, and the support of the poor, the latter being provided for by means of a poor-fund specially devoted to that use.

Officers.—President, Thomas L. Gillespie; Vice-Presidents, Samuel R. Shipley, Samuel G. Lewis; Recording Secretary, William M. Capp; Corresponding Secretary, Joseph H. Schenck, M.D.; Treasurer, William H. Lucas; Solicitor, William H. Sutton; George H. Stuart, Hon. William B. Hanna, William H. Sutton, Samuel R. Shipley, Joseph A. Schenck, M.D., Edmund A. Crenshaw, William M. Wilson, Henry E. Dwight, M.D., Henry M. Kimmey, Horatio G. Kern, Joseph Thompson, Samuel G. Lewis, Caleb J. Milne, William M. Holloway, M.D., William M. Shoemaker, Thomas L. Gillespie, Andrew H. Miller, William Gulager, William M. Capp, William H. Lucas, Solomon Smucker, Jr., John H. Watt, William Waterall, Eben C. Jayne, Levi D. Brown; General Agent and Collector, Emanuel H. Toland; Missionary, John Barry; Visitor, J. W. Field.

Soup Societies.—Following the example of the Female Society in the establishment of a soup-house, the Philadelphia Soup Society was in operation in 1818 at No. 30 Springett's Alley, running from Second to Third Street, south of Lombard Street, and the Northern Soup Society was in operation in the Northern Liberties. In 1876 there were ten soup societies in the city,—the Philadelphia, incorporated in 1841, and located at 338 Griscom Street; the Southwark, 1842, in Southerland Street, near Queen; Spring Garden, 1852, 1329 Buttonwood Street; Northern, established 1817, and incorporated 1839, at No. 817 North Fourth Street; Northeastern, 2052 North Front Street; Northwestern, corner of Nineteenth and Thompson Streets; Kensington, 1853, No. 1936 Crease Street; Central Soup- and Bath-House, 708 and 711 Cherry Street; Moyamensing, 1835, corner of Eighth and Marriott Streets; Western, No. 1615 South Street.

The Charitable School.—The first association which supported free schools was composed of the subscribers to the New Building erected in Fourth Street, below Arch, as a place where the Rev. John

Whitefield could preach. It stood back from the street, and was subseqnently known as the Academy, and was occupied by the College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania. From the beginning it was intended that this house should be occupied for public worship and the use of a charitable school. The ground was purchased from Jonathan Price and wife by deed Sept. 15, 1740, which was made to Edmund Woolley (carpenter), John Coates (brick-maker), John Howell (mariner), and William Price (carpenter), subject to a quit-rent and yearly ground-rent of fifteen dollars. In less than a month afterward the grantees conveyed the lot to George Whitefield, of the province of Georgia, clerk, William Seward, of London, in the kingdom of Great Britain, John Stephen Benezet, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant, Thomas Noval, of the city of New York, merchant, Samuel Hazard, of the city of New York, merchant, Robert Eastburn, of Philadelphia, blacksmith, James Read, of Philadelphia, gentleman, Edward Evans, of Philadelphia, cordwainer, and Charles Brockden, of Philadelphia, gentleman.[1]

The deed recited that a considerable number of persons of different denominations in religion had united their endeavors to erect a large building upon the lot in the deed described, intending that the same should be appointed to the use of a charity school for the instruction of poor children gratis in useful literature and in the Christian religion; and also that the same should be used as a house of public worship, and that it was agreed that the use of the said building should be under the direction of certain trustees, viz., the persons above named, Whitefield and others, with power to appoint new trustees, etc., also with power "to appoint fit and able schoolmasters and schoolmistresses for the service of the said school, and to introduce such Protestant ministers to preach the gospel in the said house as they should judge sound in their principles, zealous and faithful in the discharge of their duty, and acquainted with the religion of the heart and experimental piety, without any regard to those distinctions or different sentiments in lesser matters which have been to the scandal of religion, unhappily dividing real Christians." The building was one hundred feet long and seventy feet broad. The front, occupying the entire eastern side, was broken in the centre, where the door was placed, by a sort of porch supported by pillars to the second story, upon which there was a balustrade and gallery with plain pilasters in the rear supporting a pediment. This small gallery might have been intended as a place from which to preach or address persons assembled in the yard, which extended out to Fourth Street some forty or fifty feet. It is not known whether it was ever used for such purpose. The building was crowned by a small square cupola and spire on the south end. The south end showed four round-headed windows in the first and in the second story. There were three round-headed windows for each story of the northern portion. The building was rough-cast, and was quaint and peculiar in appearance. Here Whitefield preached in November, 1740, before there was a roof on the structure, sixteen times. He also preached there in 1745 and 1746. Meanwhile a religious congregation had been worshiping in the building. They were the New Lights, seceders from the First Presbyterian Church, under the leadership of Rev. Gilbert Tennent and William Tennent, who followed the style of Whitefield in their preaching. These persons withdrew from the Presbyterian congregation, and went to the New Building, worshiping under the ministrations of Rev. Samuel Finley and Rev. Gilbert Tennent. This congregation, in 1743, offered George Whitefield eight hundred pounds if he would remain with them six months and preach. He refused the offer. The congregation then became the Second Presbyterian Church, and not being in favor with the Presbytery of Philadelphia, they connected themselves with the Presbytery of Londonderry and New Brunswick. The Second Church remained in this building until the end of May, 1752, when they removed to their new meeting-house at the northwest corner of Third and Arch Streets.

Although the establishment of a charity school was the principal object in the erection of the new building, the trustees took no care to carry out that intention. The project rested for some years, until, in 1749, Benjamin Franklin wrote, printed, and distributed a pamphlet entitled, "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," and set about obtaining a subscription, the amounts to be paid in yearly quotas during five years. He was so successful that five thousand pounds were subscribed. This was independent of the charity school intended to be provided in the new building. A house was therefore obtained and hired, where the school was opened in 1749–50. The pupils soon became numerous, and a larger building was necessary. While looking round for a lot, Franklin was elected a trustee of the New Building, in the place of a Moravian trustee, who was dead. Franklin at once saw the opportunity for the academy which he had founded. The trustees of the New Building finally agreed to cede the property to the trustees of the academy, upon an undertaking that they would pay off the debt of the new building and retain a portion of it forever for occasional preachers, and also set up, according to the original intention, a free school for the instruction of poor children. The deed was made on the 1st of February, 1749, by Edmund Woolley and John Coates, surviving trustees, to James Logan, Thomas Lawrence, William Allen, John Inglis, Tench Francis, William Masters, Dr. Lloyd Zachary, Samuel McCall, Jr., Joseph Turner, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Leech, Dr. William Shippen, Robert Strettell, Philip Syng,

[1] Westcott, Historic Mansions, p. 160.

Charles Willing, Dr. Phineas Bond, Richard Peters, Abraham Taylor, Dr. Thomas Bond, Thomas Hopkinson, William Plumsted, Joshua Maddox, Thomas White, and William Coleman. The consideration was the payment of debts due on the building, amounting to £775 18*s.* 11*d.* 3*f.* There was an agreement that there should be established and founded upon the ground a place for public worship, and also one free school for the instructing, teaching, and edution of poor children or scholars. Also that Logan and the other trustees would "supply the schoolmaster or masters, usher or ushers, mistress or mistresses, to teach and instruct the said children, gratis, in useful literature and knowledge of the Christian religion." Also that the said trustees "shall have full power to found, erect, establish, and continue in and upon the said house and premises such other school, academy, or other seminary of learning for instructing youth in the languages, arts, and sciences, and generally to improve the premises to such other use or uses for the benefit of mankind and the good of society as to them, etc., shall seem meet." This deed, although dated in 1749, was not acknowledged until Nov. 28, 1753, which may be accounted for by the supposition that the trustees had not raised the money to pay off the old debt until that time. The trustees must have gone into possession immediately, since the academy, which had first been opened in Allan's private house in Second Street, was removed to the New Building in 1751.

Some alterations were made in the structure. The great and lofty hall was divided into stories, with rooms above and below, for the use of the schools, and one in the second story for the use of preachers and congregations. The Rev. David Martin, D.D., was rector of the academy in 1751. He was succeeded on his death, in December of the same year, by Rev. Francis Allison, rector and teacher of the Latin school. In July, 1753, the trustees were incorporated under the name of "Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania." In the succeeding year the title of the corporation was altered and enlarged, and the institution was named the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia. Rev. William Smith succeeded as provost of the College, Academy, and Charitable School, and the history of the institution thenceforth is principally connected with the progress of the College and University of Pennsylvania. The early history of the Charity School cannot now be traced. Whether it was established in 1753, when the academy removed to the new building, or was delayed for a time, cannot be determined. In 1762 the charitable school was certainly in operation, since we are told that a large three-story brick building was erected on the north side of the college, which was devoted in the lower stories to the charitable school, and in the upper stories was fitted up with dormitories for the use of students at the college and academy who had no residence in the city. In 1826 the northern building was occupied in two stories by two charity schools for boys, and were at that time under charge of Dr. Joseph Bullock and John McKinley. In the northeast corner of the college building there was at the same time a girl's charity school, kept by Mrs. Knowles. About 1839–40 the southern portion of the old college building, called the academy, was torn down by the Union Methodist Episcopal Church, which had bought that portion of the property years before. They put up a new brick church building. About the same time the northern end of the old academy, and the building used by the charitable schools, was torn down, and large stores for business purposes erected on the front part of the lot. In order to carry out the agreements and stipulations entered into in the year 1740, the University of Pennsylvania, which owned the property, erected on the back part of the lot a hall of good proportions, two stories in height, in which a room was set apart for worship, to be occupied by such ministers that might apply for it, and also by the charitable school. By this time the increase of the public schools, in which children were taught gratis, had rendered the ancient charity school comparatively useless. The boys' charity schools were discontinued. The girls' school was in operation much longer, and latterly under charge of Miss Bedlock as teacher. Some time after 1870 the trustees of the University determined to abolish the charity schools altogether, because they had become more expensive than useful. The funds and revenues devoted to the support of those schools were made the foundation of free scholarships in the University, so that under the *cy pres* doctrine there was only an alteration in the grade of education. The charity which had been devoted to primary instruction was changed to a richer field of culture, but it was still charity.

The Philadelphia Society for the Free Instruction of Indigent Boys.—The second effort toward the establishment of charity schools took shape and motion in the year 1799. About nine young men, apprentices and clerks, who had been in the habit of meeting together, of evenings, for the purposes of social conversation, agreed among themselves that their spare time might be judiciously spent in teaching poor children to read and write. They associated themselves as the Philadelphia Society for the Free Instruction of Indigent Boys. They opened a night-school themselves and officiated alternately as teachers. They soon had between twenty and thirty scholars. This was a very modest enterprise, and frugal also. The revenues for the first season derived from the contributions of the members were sixteen dollars and thirty-seven cents; the expenses, nine dollars and twenty-seven cents. They carried on their school for two seasons during the winter months, and had been so successful that they were arranging for a more

extensive organization and the procuring of a charter. An unexpected circumstance put them in the way through their energy and enterprise. Christopher Ludwick, of Philadelphia, called the "Baker General" of the Revolution, died in 1801, and left his residuary estate, estimated at eight thousand dollars in value, to the association which should be first incorporated for the purpose of teaching, gratis, poor children in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, without any exception to the country extraction or religion of their parents or friends. To this fund the members of the society turned their attention and determined to obtain a charter. The amount in expectance was very considerable. The trustees of the University of Pennsylvania were anxious to obtain it in furtherance of the interests of their charitable schools. Each institution applied for a charter. It could be granted by the Governor upon certificate of the judges of the Supreme Court and attorney-general of the commonwealth that the object sought by the corporators were not contrary to law and public interest. Governor McKean, with strict impartiality between the rivals, delivered to the agent of each a charter at the same moment of time. To perfect those instruments it was necessary that the charter should be enrolled at the seat of government at Lancaster. Therefore, there was to be a race to that town, conducted by the agents of the two societies. Everything seemed to be in favor of the University. The trustees of that institution with wise forethought had made arrangements for an express with relays of horses at certain distances on the route. The Society had not been as thoughtful, but trusted to the ordinary chances of the road. It was the fable of the the hare and the tortoise over again. The express of the University started first on horseback, going off in a grand gallop, leaving behind him Joseph Bennett Eaves, who had volunteered his services to go to Lancaster with the other charter. He had not geared up his horse and got into his sulky when the University agent went clattering off. It happened that the weather was exceedingly hot. The haste of the University express was unwise at the beginning. Before he reached the place where he might take his first relay, his horse broke down entirely. He had to abandon him, and was too far off the first stage to attempt to get there. Eaves in his sulky jogged along until his horse failed from the excessive heat. In a neighboring field there was a horse harnessed to a plow. A negotiation with the farmer procured the hiring of this animal to draw the sulky about four miles to the next town. At that place a fresh horse was purchased by Mr. Eaves from a traveler, and when he got to Lancaster, seven hours from Philadelphia, he had performed a remarkable journey as to speed, the distance being sixty-six miles over common country roads under a depressing heat. The society thus established was called the Philadelphia Society for the Support of Charity Schools. At the election held in 1801 the following persons were elected managers: Thomas L. Bristoll, Thomas Bradford, Jr., Caleb Cresson, Jr., William Paxon, Robert Coe, Jr., Edmund Darch, William Neckervise, Thomas M. Hall, Benjamin Williams, William Fry, Joseph Bennett Eave, Joseph D. Brown, Samuel Lippincott, Philip Garrett, Frederick Stellwagon, Thomas Smith, Robert McMinn, and Joseph Briggs. At the time of the incorporation the society had its school-room back of the Second Presbyterian Church, on Third Street, above Arch.[1]

Mr. Ludwick's legacy was not obtained by the Society until about the latter part of the year 1805 or beginning of 1806. There was added to it, after the death of Ludwick's widow, a house and lot at No. 176 (afterward No. 250) North Fifth Street, estimated to be worth two thousand seven hundred dollars. The whole amount received from the Ludwick legacy was about thirteen thousand dollars. While waiting for this bequest the society, by the certainty of getting it, was emboldened in an effort to anticipate its receipt. Subscriptions were sought among citizens. Two thousand eight hundred dollars were raised in that way, and with the sum a lot of ground was purchased on the north side of Walnut Street, above Sixth, on the north end of which was erected, at the end of the year 1804, a two-story brick school building.[2]

The first teacher employed by the society was Thomas Walter, chosen in 1802. This charge increased rapidly, and in 1809 there were two hundred and seventy-eight scholars, all boys. In 1811 the society determined to establish a school for girls, and in the next year there were one hundred and eighty-six female pupils. In 1816 the executors of Robert Montgomery paid over to the society four thousand dollars, under a bequest which directed that three-fourths of the amount should be used in the District of Southwark for the education of poor children. Two schools were accordingly set up in that district. In 1859 the property on Walnut Street becoming undesirable by changes in the city which brought business into neighborhoods which had once been entirely

[1] At this time the children of people of color were more liberally provided with free schools than the poor white children. In April, 1801, the following free schools were in operation for the use of black children: Willing's Alley, day school for males and females, and an evening school for males; Race Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, under the care of Episcopal Churches (Christ's and St. Peter's), for boys and girls; Fourth Street, between Market and Chestnut, evening school for females; Sixth Street, between Chestnut and Walnut, under the care of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, day and night school for both sexes. There were Sunday-schools for colored children at Bethel Church, Fifth Street, near Lombard, and at Henry Atherton's school-house, Vine Street, near Fifth.

[2] This structure, called in its day the Ludwick School, is standing (in 1884) as part of the group of structures called the Ludwick Building. The old school-house has been changed and fitted up into two rows of offices in each story, with a central entry. The space of ground in front of the hall extending toward Walnut Street has also been built over and fitted up with offices. The revenue derived from these uses is considerable.

devoted to dwelling-houses, admonished the members of the society that a change of location was advisable. A large income was possible by devoting the whole building to office purposes. The school was discontinued. Meanwhile Paul Beck, Sr., had presented to the society a lot of ground on the north side of Catharine Street, west of Sixth. There a new school-house was erected and opened in May, 1859, under the title of the Beck School-house. This school has the right to send pupils to the Central High School.

The Society for the Free Instruction of Female Children was established in 1796 by three young women, members of the Society of Friends. Ann Parrish, founder of the Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed, established it. It was opened in a room of her own house at the southeast corner of Second Street and Pewter Platter [Jones] Alley. She instructed little girls in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, and plain sewing, and was soon joined by Mary Wheeler and Hannah Hopkins, the younger. Shortly after Catharine W. Morris and Hannah Y. Tompkins were added. In the latter part of 1797 the Society of Friends gave permission to the members of the society to use a room in the old school-house on Fourth Street, below Chestnut. The members of the society were teachers until 1799, when S. Roache was engaged as teacher, at a salary of sixty dollars per year, which within a twelvemonth was more than doubled to $133.33. In 1807 this school received the name of the Aimwell School, a title given it by Catharine W. Morris.[1]

The Philadelphia Union Society, for the education of poor female children, was formed, in 1804, by the union of two Presbyterian societies formed among members of the Second and Third Churches. The society was incorporated in 1808. The school was back of the Second Presbyterian Church in 1810, and during that year the following ladies were officers: President, Mrs. M. McMullin; Secretary, Miss H. Orr; Treasurer, Miss Eliza Hall.

The Association of Friends for the Instruction of Poor Children.—One of the largest free schools in the county during the early part of the nineteenth century was maintained by the Philadelphia Association of Friends for the Instruction of Poor Children. It was established some time in 1807, and on Jan. 11, 1808, opened as the Adelphi School on Pegg Street, Northern Liberties. It was built upon two lots of ground presented by William Sansom and Thomas Scattergood. The school-house was seventy feet front by about thirty-five feet deep. This was a Lancasterian school, in which the elder pupils were monitors and instructors of the younger. It was maintained by a payment of four dollars per year from each subscriber, or by fifty dollars for a life membership. The school when first built stood upon the sloping bank on the north side of Pegg's Run, in a vale from which it obtained its common name, —the Hollow School. It was well known to everybody in the city and districts, by reason of the Lancasterian plan adopted there, among which was the learning to write by tracing letters with sticks in sand, and other novelties. The society was incorporated in 1808, and at that time consisted of forty-five members. In 1810 the managers were John Paul, John C. Evans, David Jones, Clement Biddle, Jr., Isaac Donaldson, Samuel Haydock, James B. Parke, Roberts Vaux, Reuben Haines, Charles Allen, Robert Smith, Jr., and Benjamin Ferris; Treasurer, John Cooke; Clerk of the Association, Elihu Pickering.

The Union Adult Society, established about 1820, opened four schools in that year: No. 1, for white adults, back of the Presbyterian Church at Third and Arch Streets; No. 2, for colored adults, Cherry Street near Fifth; No. 3, for colored adults, at Clarkson school-house, north side of Cherry Street above Sixth; No. 4, for white adults, back of the Presbyterian Church at Second and Coates Streets.

The Institute for Colored Youth was chartered in 1842, the object being the education and improvement of colored youth of both sexes, to qualify them to act as teachers and instructors of their own people, either in the various branches of school learning or in the mechanic arts and agriculture. The funds have been principally derived from bequests and donations. The building for the use of the schools was established in 1851, on Lombard Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. There were four departments, beside one preparatory and one high school for each sex. There were six teachers, all colored persons. Admission was free for scholars, text-books were furnished gratuitously, and a library and reading-room were established in connection with the schools.

The Inoculating Society.—There were some societies instituted for purposes of peculiar benevolence which claim notice. The first of them was the Society for Inoculating the Poor for prevention of the smallpox, that process being the only one which at the time was considered the most certain method of checking the ravages of the dreaded scourge. Dr. Glentworth established a private smallpox hospital in 1773. In a published notice in the newspapers he said, "The great success attending inoculation hath been so effectually demonstrated that the most respectable personages in Europe have been the subjects and are now the avowed patrons of it. Gentlemen of eminenc[illegible] in the different cities in

[1] In 1812 the sewing-school was disconnected from the school proper, and established in Appletree Alley. The Aimwell School, with the exception of a short occupancy *ad interim* of a house on the north side of Chestnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth, was at the Friends' school-house until 1820. Afterward it was in the Carpenters' Company building, east side of Carpenters' Court, 1820–23; Eighth Street, near Market, 1823–24; Zane Street, near Eighth, 1824–25. In the latter year the association purchased a lot of ground for eleven hundred dollars on the north side of Cherry Street, between Ninth and Tenth.

America where inoculation is tolerated have provided houses for the reception of inoculated patients, and have met with great encouragement and success. For this salutary service to society Dr. Glentworth has also provided a convenient house in the city of Philadelphia, with a tender, skillful matron to superintend it. Those who choose to accommodate themselves with lodgings will be attended with as much assiduity as those in the house for inoculation." In the succeeding year the physicians of the city united in the formation of an association for inoculating the poor, which was generally called the Society for Inoculating the Poor Gratis. In their prospectus they stated that during the previous year, out of thirteen hundred and forty-four persons who had died in the city, three hundred had died of the smallpox. They said, "A number of gentlemen, having taken these things into consideration, have fallen upon a method of rendering the benefits of inoculation as extensive as possible in the city and suburbs. For this purpose they are providing themselves with a fund, and have concurred with eight physicians, who have agreed to perform the operation, and to administer to the patients such medicines and advice as may be necessary to prepare them, and also to attend them at their houses free of expense. They have engaged a room in the State-House, where a number of the physicians and managers will attend every Tuesday, between the hours of ten and twelve in the forenoon, to receive applications. They will begin their attendance there on the last Tuesday of this month" (February, 1774).

The managers were Thomas Wharton, Jacob Shoemaker, Benjamin Morgan, Reynold Keen, Joseph Fox, William Coates, Thomas Clifford, Arthur Donaldson, Sharp Delany, John Wharton, George Roberts, and David Deshla. The physicians were Drs. Charles Moore, Adam Kuhn, John Kearsley, Samuel Duffield, Gerardus Clarkson, Thomas Boud, William Shippen, Jr., and Benjamin Rush. Daniel Roberdeau was treasurer. In September, 1774, it was announced that the "physicians of Philadelphia have agreed to inoculate no patients for the smallpox during the sitting of Congress, as several of the Northern and Southern delegates have not had that disorder." The rising difficulties between Great Britain and America probably put an end to the functions of this society when the war of the Revolution had fairly set in.

The Society for Promoting Vaccination.—A quarter of a century had rolled by before anything more was done by associated effort for the prevention of the smallpox. In 1801, John Vaughan, having heard that vaccination for the smallpox had been successful in Virginia, wrote to Thomas Jefferson requesting his assistance in procuring vaccine matter, he having learned that vaccination had been successful in that State. Mr. Jefferson replied that he had vaccinated himself with vaccine matter received from Dr. Waterhouse, a portion of which had originally come from Dr. Jenner, of London. He sent a portion of this matter to Mr. Vaughan. The latter gave it to John Redman Coxe, who immediately vaccinated himself and two or three other persons. Dr. Coxe immediately published letters setting forth the value of the process as a substitute for inoculation. In 1803 fifty physicians in a public address declared that they thought "it a duty thus publicly to declare our opinion that inoculation for the kine- or cow-pox is a certain preventive of the smallpox, that it is attended with no danger, may be practiced at all ages and seasons of the year, and we do therefore recommend it to general use." Finally, on the 10th of March, 1809, was established "the Society for Promoting Vaccination,—a preventive of the smallpox,—especially among the poorer classes of society." The affairs of the association were managed by a committee of twelve members, a clerk, treasurer, and six physicians. Members were elected upon the payment of two dollars per year. The physicians visited the houses of poor people and vaccinated them. The association, sometimes called the Philadelphia Vaccine Society, and sometimes the Society for Vaccinating the Poor, was very successful at first, and on the 1st of January, 1813, it was reported that it had vaccinated in the preceding three years and nine months four thousand five hundred and eighty-nine persons. The necessity for the continuation of this association ceased about 1816, when City Councils passed an ordinance, May 31st, for the vaccination of persons in indigent circumstances. Under this regulation the city was divided into four districts. There were collectors of vaccine cases, whose duty it was to inquire for persons who had not been vaccinated or were liable to smallpox, and to report to the physicians whose duty it was to vaccinate the persons who had not been protected by that process. The society published a report of its work in 1818; shortly after that it may be supposed it ceased its operations.

Society for the Relief of Distressed Prisoners.—Before the Revolution the condition of the prisoners confined in the city was truly deplorable. They were badly clothed, scantily supplied with food, and, during the winter, exposed to the cold, there being no provision for warming the apartments in which they were confined, and they were generally without bedclothing. Several persons had died from actual starvation in prison, and means were taken by benevolent citizens to furnish them with food. But this relief was spasmodic, and only brought forth earnestly for a time after some shocking case of misery had been reported. Eventually, in 1776, a charity society was formed, which was called the Society for the Relief of Distressed Prisoners. They established closed wheelbarrows, on the top of which was painted, "Victuals for the prisoners." These were wheeled from house to house, and received such contributions of broken bread and cold victuals as the charitable might furnish. The barrows were taken to the prison daily, and from this bounty the prisoners were fed.

The society was in operation for about nineteen months, when its service was suspended by the capture of the city by the British. It was succeeded in May, 1787, by the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, an institution which still exists, and which is spoken of at greater length in the chapter on Public Prisons.

The Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery was also established before the Revolution, being founded in 1774, and was practically dissolved by the events of that contest. It was re-established after the Revolution, on the 10th of February, 1784, and called the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race. It was a popular association, and before the year 1801 over seven hundred and seventy-five persons had joiued it. The members in 1775 were John Baldwin, president; Thomas Harrison, secretary; Samuel Davis, treasurer; members, Arthur Thomas, Seymour Hart, Thomas Wishart, John Browne, Joel Zane, Thomas Hood, and James Morgan. These were the founders. During the same year there were admitted Cadwallader Dickinson, William Lippincott, Amos Wickersham, James Starr, Joseph Shotwell, Jr., William Coats, Matthew Henderson, John Hamilton, John Davis, Joshua Comly, Thomas Morgan, and John Bull.

The presidents of the reorganized society, elected from members who had joined it before 1801, but were not all elected to office during that time, were John Baldwin, the president of the first established society, Samuel Richards, Benjamin Franklin, James Whitall, Thomas Meredith, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Jonathan Penrose, James Pemberton, Dr. Caspar Wistar, and William Rawle. This association had upon its rolls the names of the most distinguished persons in public life and prominent members of old families. The Quaker element was not in the majority at the beginning of the society, as might have been expected. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and persons attached to other persuasions, controlled the association, the first object of which was to promote the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania and to improve the condition of the free blacks in regard to their industries and conditions. Even in later times, when the abolition of slavery became a political question, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society stood aloof from the arguments and methods of the anti-slavery party. Slavery in Pennsylvania was over, and the society, instead of buckling on its armor to engage in the great controversy, stood idly by, scarcely showing sympathy, at best giving small assistance. In the stirring times last referred to there were several anti-slavery societies, which exercised great influence. One of these was the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, established (1844) by Lucretia Mott and others. The Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society was a stronger and much more belligerent association.

The emancipation of the slaves having relieved the society from a portion of its labors, leaves it to the important work of the "improvement of the condition of the African race."

Officers.—President, Dillwyn Parrish; Vice-Presidents, Benjamin Coates, T. Elwood Chapman; Secretaries, Joseph M. Truman, Jr., William Heacock; Treasurer, Henry M. Laing; Librarian, Thomas H. McCollin; Counselors, Edward Hopper, George H. Earle, Joseph R. Rhoads, Alfred Moore, Joseph Parrish, Philadelphia; Acting Committee, Dillwyn Parrish, Henry M. Laing, Passmore Williamson, Alfred H. Love, William Still; Board of Education, Dillwyn Parrish, William Heacock, William Still, Henry M. Laing, Jacob C. White, Joseph M. Truman, Jr., Mordecai Busby, Marcellus Balderston, Lukens Webster, Nathaniel E. Janney, Alfred Moore, Robert M. Janney, Samuel J. Stevenson.

The Humane Society, for the recovery of drowned persons, was established in 1780. Its objects were enlarged by extending the efforts of the members to cases of asphyxia and other cases which might suspend animation in human beings for a time. Consequently the object of the society's care was extended to "those whose animation may be suspended from other causes, as breathing air contaminated by burning charcoal, hanging, exposure to choke-damp of wells, drinking cold water while warm in summer, strokes of the sun, lightning, swallowing laudanum, etc." The signs of the Humane Society were familiar objects to persons who loitered about the wharves as late as 1840 and 1850. They were placed near ferry-houses and prominent taverns and places of resort, and gave notice that the apparatus of the Humane Society was stored upon the premises, and could be had by application in cases of drowning. This consisted of drags, hooks, nets, together with medicines and other appliances for the resuscitation of persons taken from the water, where animation was suspended. There were also printed directions how to proceed in such cases. Every summer the society had printed startling hand-bills, cautioning the people against the dangers of drinking cold water when the body was heated. These were conspicuously posted upon the cold-water pumps, of which there were several highly popular in various parts of the city. The society also offered prizes for dissertations on suspended animation, and the best methods of restoring persons to life who were apparently drowned. These offers were repeated for several years. In 1802, Dr. Benjamin Say was president of this society, and in after-years, Joseph Cruikshank was president and Isaac Snowdon secretary.

The Merchants' Fund was incorporated in January, 1854, the object being "to furnish relief to indigent merchants of the city of Philadelphia, especially such as are aged and infirm." The extension of aid is through an executive committee, in the integrity of which the members of the society have confidence. Hence no report is ever made of the manner in which the bounty of the association is given or to whom it has been supplied. This association has been more

than usually successful in obtaining a large endowment, by means of which its benefactions to distressed merchants are more liberal than they can be made by the larger number of beneficial societies.

Officers.—President, John Welsh; Vice-Presidents, William C. Ludwig, James C. Hand; Treasurer, Richard Wood; Secretary, John H. Atwood; Managers, John Welsh, I. V. Williamson, Thomas C. Hand, John D. Taylor, John H. Atwood, Albert F. Damon, Daniel B. Cummins, William C. Ludwig, Charles S. Lewis, Charles D. Reed, James C. Hand, J. B. McFarland, Edward C. Knight, Richard Wood, Edward P. Borden, R. Dale Benson, William S. Grant, T. Charlton Henry, Thomas P. Stotesbury, Christian J. Hoffman.

The Newsboys' Aid Society was incorporated June 7, 1858, for the purpose of "providing lodging and education for homeless and indigent boys engaged in the occupation of vending newspapers and periodicals." This society was in operation for two or three years, but by the strictness of the rules established for the government of the inmates it became unpopular with them, so that they abandoned it.

Another newsboys' home was instituted about 1875–76, and opened a building or lodging-house and residence on the east side of Sixth Street, below Locust. This soon went out of existence, but in May, 1878, at the suggestion of George W. Childs, another effort was made to establish a Newsboys' Aid Society, under the management of a number of prominent ladies, whose efficiency in benevolent movements would be a guarantee of success. Accordingly an informal meeting of a number of ladies was held in June following at Association Hall. There were present at this meeting Mrs. E. E. Hutter, Mrs. John M. Maris, Miss L. E. Claghorn, Mrs. C. M. Baker, Mrs. C. C. Hancock, Mrs. Joseph Lennig, Mrs. Dr. Muhlenberg, Mrs. Benjamin I. Crew, Mrs. I. H. Jackson, and Miss McBride. On June 11th, following, the society was duly organized by the appointment of a board of managers, consisting of twenty-four ladies, and a board of counselors of twenty gentlemen. A house was rented at No. 228 South Ninth Street for the use of the society, and on the 11th of February, 1879, was formally dedicated. On the 13th of the same month nineteen boys, all of whom were without homes, were received as inmates of the institution. Mrs. E. E. Hutter was made president; J. S. Cummings, corresponding secretary; and Miss Louise E. Claghorn, treasurer. An adjunct to the home, and growing out of it, was the formation of a Newsboys' League, organized in May, 1879, composed of about two hundred members. At the same time a Dime Savings-Bank was organized. The society now occupy a building at No. 251 South Sixth Street, which was obtained mainly through the generous aid rendered by Mrs. John Gilbert, Mrs. J. Wright, Mr. and Mrs. William Singerly, and Mrs. Hamilton Disston. The formal opening of this building took place on Jan. 25, 1882. The exercises were of an exceedingly interesting character. The late mayor, William S. Stokley, presided. Prayer was offered by Rev. William Baum, D.D. The corresponding secretary, Mr. J. S. Cummings, presented a statement in detail of the progress of the institution. Addresses were made by Justice Trunkey, of the Supreme Court, Judge Pierce, Ex-Governor Pollock, and M. J. Mitcheson.

Officers.—President, Mrs. Elizabeth E. Hutter; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. G. B. Markle, Mrs. J. P. Steiner, Mrs. Dr. F. Muhlenberg, Mrs. J. Wood Wright, Mrs. William Singerly; Recording Secretary, Mrs. C. E. Boney; Corresponding Secretary, J. S. Cummings; Treasurer, Miss Louise E. Claghorn; Managers, Mrs. Elizabeth E. Hutter, Mrs. G. B. Markle, Mrs. Joseph Lennig, Mrs. Dr. F. Muhlenberg, Mrs. J. Hood Wright, Miss Louise E. Claghorn, Mrs. J. M. Maris, Mrs. C. E. Boney, Mrs. H. Shurtleff, Mrs. William M. Singerly, Mrs. Frederick Lovejoy, Mrs. Charles Godfrey, Miss Clara Gilbert, Miss Ida Markle, Mrs. William H. Maule, Mrs. John Lucas, Mrs. Henry Disston, Mrs. J. P. Steiner, Mrs. Horace Disston, Mrs. Walter Baird, Mrs. Matthew Baird, Mrs. Davis Pearson, Mrs. Edwin H. Fitler, Mrs. Moore; Board of Counselors, George W. Childs, J. S. Cummings, Alexander Whilldin, A. J. Drexel, James Neill, George H. Stuart, Alexander Brown, James L. Claghorn, Edwin Scull, Hon. James Pollock, Benjamin Crew, James Grant, C. C. Hancock, I. V. Williamson, William Bay, Charles M. Baker, William M. Shoemaker, Thomas P. Wattson, Henry C. Butcher, Samuel G. Scott, Daniel K. Grim, William M. Singerly, William Bucknall, Horace Disston, Frederick Lovejoy, Caleb J. Milne, Charles Godfrey, A. M. Spangler, Davis Pearson, William Disston, Edwin Fitler; Solicitor, James W. Paul; Assistant, Charles E. Lex; Physician, Frank Muhlenberg, M.D.; Dentist, Dr. Thomas.

The Pennsylvania Seamen's Friend Society was organized in 1845, and incorporated March 7, 1846. Its principal field of operations is the port of Philadelphia. Sailors, when in port, it is well known, are exposed to many temptations, and being without restraint when off ship, indulge too often in debauchery and vice. The Seamen's Friend Society furnishes to the mariner in port a sailor's home,—a large, comfortable, cheerful boarding-house. In 1860, this was at No. 422 South Front Street, and sought the confidence of the seafaring class by furnishing them with good clean lodgings, abundance of food, and space to indulge in such amusements as are innocent. There is a good library and other conveniences. A part of the duty of this society was to select and send out libraries for use of ships and vessels by which the monotony of long voyages could be beguiled, and instruction also afforded.

Officers.—President, Henry D. Sherrerd; Treasurer, John Laughlin; Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, Rev. S. Bonhomme and Rev. George W. MacLaughlin, A.M.; Managers, Dr. Charles A. Kingsbury, Alexander Whilldin, Henry N. Paul, E. O. Thompson, William Brockie, Thomas B. Wattson, Capt. John Laughlin, Robert W. Smith, S. Bonhomme, John H. Atwood, John A. Weir, L. Westergaard, John C. Darrah, William Buehler.

The Female Seamen's Friend Society, at Sailors' Home, No. 422 South Front Street, was established in 1832, and incorporated fifty years afterward. The objects go further than those of the principal society, which looked principally to the finding of a comfortable home for the sailor while in port. The Female Society is for the relief of the sick, disabled, shipwrecked, and indigent seamen and their families, looking after their moral and religious welfare, supplying them with food, fuel, and clothing when in distress, burying their dead, if found worthy and without means, and caring for their children and widows.

Officers.—First Directress, Miss Martha H. Gano; Second Directress, Miss Maggie T. Richards; Corresponding and Recording Secretary, Miss Teresa Epsy; Treasurer, Miss Caroline R. Epsy; Managers, Mrs. M. W. Baldwin, Miss Martha H. Gano, Mrs. Enoch Turley, Mrs. Alexander Hewitt, Mrs. William Proctor, Jr., Mrs. John C. Hunter, Mrs. E. D. Ledyard, Miss M. T. Richards, Miss Elizabeth T. Wright, Miss Lydia Baldwin, Miss Georgiana Baldwin, Miss Lydia D. Sherrerd, Miss Caroline R. Epsy, Miss Teresa Epsy.

The Seamen's and Landsmen's Aid Society in 1876 also had a snug harbor for sailors at the corner of Front and Union Streets.

The Grandom Institution, incorporated April 23, 1841, has charge of the funds bequeathed by Hart Grandom, for two objects: First, "to loan to young men of good character who have attained their majority, loans by which they may commence business in their various pursuits; and second, to distribute the income of a permanent fund to the aid of the deserving poor, but not the intemperate during the winter season."

The Fuel Saving Society, of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, was established in 1821, and incorporated in 1837. The object was "to encourage among the poorer classes the practice of economy and thriftiness so as to enable them from their summer earnings to provide for their winter fuel." "Receivers were appointed annually for the purposes of this society, and generally they were respectable apothecaries whose places of business were prominent in those portions of the city where poor people most abound. The receiver would take very small sums, and whatever was deposited stood to the credit of the depositor, and could be drawn upon in fall and winter, or whenever necessary for the purchase of fuel. Originally this was fire-wood always, but after the changes caused by the introduction of anthracite coal were well established, the supply of wood was given up, and coal furnished by the ton, half ton, and quarter ton. The advantage to the depositors is that the society is to them a saving-fund. They can lay away in summer small sums, the product of which will keep them warm in winter. They also purchase at wholesale prices, because the society lays in large quantities of coal when the price is cheapest, and charges no more than cost. Indeed, of late years fuel has been furnished to depositors at less than cost; the members of the society having the advantage of the revenue of an endowment fund, which assists them in taking a portion of the expense of the coal off of the shoulders of depositors.

The Friends' Charity Fuel Association was organized to supply the poor with fuel gratis on the 1st of August, 1835, among members of the Society of Friends, whose meeting-house was on Cherry Street (now on Race Street above Fifteenth). It was incorporated in 1869. It is broad in its views, and established for the benefit of all. It is said, on its behalf, "The Society of Friends, by its discipline, is expected to take care of its indigent members. The aim of this organization, therefore, is to aid such persons, irrespective of creed, color, or nationality, as cannot be otherwise provided for." Some investments made on account of this society promote its usefulness.

The Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, established in 1878, works upon the idea that true charity consists in giving only to the worthy. Hence it seeks to repress mendicancy, to reduce vagrancy and pauperism, to prevent imposture and indiscriminate giving. It has no building in which benevolence is administered, but there is an office for the central association and offices in all the wards.

The work of the society is conducted through a central executive board of twenty-one directors and by boards of directors in its several district associations. There is also an assembly, consisting of all the members of the society and of representatives of co-operating societies, which meets monthly for the consideration of subjects under the different branches of charitable and correctional work. The assembly has committees (1) on arrangements, (2) on visitation and women's work, (3) on employment, (4) on provident habits, (5) on medical charities, (6) on education and care of children, (7) on defective classes, (8) on hygiene, etc., (9) on penal and reformatory institutions, (10) on legal protection of the poor, (11) on pauperism, vagrancy, etc., (12) on charitable and correctional statistics. Monthly conferences by the women visitors of the society are held for the consideration of their work. It is estimated that the total number of visits among the poor made by the officers and workers of the society exceed one hundred and twenty-five thousand. A paper called *The Monthly Register* is published by the society, giving information of the work of charitable societies in this city and elsewhere. It is issued monthly.

Central office, 1602 Chestnut Street. Dr. James W. Walk, general secretary; Benjamin H. Shoemaker, treasurer.

Officers, 1883–84.—President, Hon. Samuel G. King, mayor of the city, *ex officio*; Vice-Presidents (being presidents of the district associations), First and Second Wards, David Wood; Third Ward, A. C. Deakyne, M.D.; Fourth Ward, William McAleer; Fifth Ward, William S. Price; Sixth Ward, Thomas M. Seeds; Seventh Ward, Richard C. McMurtrie; Eighth Ward, Alexander Brown; Ninth Ward, P. Pemberton Morris; Tenth Ward, John F. Keen; Eleventh Ward, J. Christian Miller; Twelfth Ward, William J. Miller; Thirteenth and Fourteenth Wards, A. M. Spangler; Fifteenth Ward, William Wood; Sixteenth and Seventeenth Wards, Isaac A. Sheppard; Eighteenth and Nineteenth Wards, A. H. Overholt; Twentieth Ward, William R. Thomas; Twenty-second Ward, Jabez Gates; Twenty-third Ward, Samuel Bolton; Twenty-fourth and Twenty-seventh Wards, Rev. D. R. Goodwin, D.D.; Twenty-fifth Ward, John Blood; Twenty-sixth and Thirtieth Wards, A. A. Catanach; Twenty-eighth Ward, Enoch Fulleway; Twenty-ninth Ward, Rev. William H. Hodge: Thirty-first Ward, William McIntire. Board of Directors: President, Joshua L. Baily; Vice-President, James S. Whitney; Joshua L. Baily, Rudolph Blankenburg, Henry T. Child, M.D., Nelson F. Evans, Ambrose Smith, Robert Ellis Thompson, Ph.D., term expires in November, 1884; Rev. Charles G. Ames, Charles E. Cadwalader, M.D., Philip C. Garrett, John F. Keen, Joseph K. Wheeler, Rev. H. L. Wayland, D.D., Joseph P. Mumford, term expires in November, 1885; A. C. Deakyne, M.D., Josiah R. Sypher, James S. Whitney, Albert B. Williams, Robert N. Willson, William J. Gillingham, David Wood, term expires in November, 1886; Treasurer, Benjamin H. Shoemaker; General Secretary, James W. Walk, M.D.

The Day Nursery for Children.—A peculiar form of kindness is shown by the day nurseries for children and kindergarten schools, which are mostly associated with them. These take charge of children of poor, industrious working women, and take care of them during working hours. The nursery day is usually from half-past six in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening, by which latter time the little ones must be called for. "The Day Nursery for Children," established in 1863 and incorporated in 1873, is the oldest of these. It was formerly established at 410 Blight Street, below Pine, but in later years has been at No. 2218 Lombard Street. The Lombard Street Day Nursery, at No. 430, occupies the same field, as does the Northern Day Nursery, at 923 North Seventh Street.

Officers.—Board of Managers: Directress, Mrs. W. A. Ingham; Treasurer, Miss H. S. Biddle; Secretary, Mrs. W. W. Frazier, Jr.; Visitors, Miss Clyde, Mrs. F. H. Wyeth, Mrs. H. G. Batterson, Mrs. A. Monges, Mrs. J. Shipley Newlin, Miss M. Newlin, Mrs. Blight, Mrs. O. Buckley, Mrs. W. W. Frazier, Jr., Mrs. M. L. Sewart, Mrs. Rudolph Ellis, Miss Eugenia Smith; Visiting Physician, Dr. T. H. Bradford.

Kindergarten Instruction has been established in seventeen free schools, established by the Sub-Primary School Association. Some of these are, by leave of the school directors and controllers, held in public-school buildings; others at various places. The annual expenses in 1883 were five thousand dollars; the number of pupils, four hundred and thirty.

Indian Aid Associations.—At a very early period in the history of Pennsylvania the members of the Society of Friends adopted a humane course toward the North American Indians,—an inheritance, it might seem, from the policy of William Penn. The Friendly Associations for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians was established in 1756, in defiance of the Proprietary government, which had declared war against the Indians and offered rewards for Indian scalps. In later times Friends maintained a constant testimony of kindness in relation to the original inhabitants of North America. The Indian Aid Association connected with the Race Street Meeting and the Indian Hope Association are societies of this character.

The Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was established in 1868, and incorporated April 4th of that year. Its object is sufficiently told in its name. It seeks to protect the brute creation from the cruelty of mankind, and its care is given to prevent the maltreatment and suffering of horses, mules, cattle, and every creature that moves and has being. Its aims have been greatly assisted by the institution of a "women's branch" of the same society. The management is effective, and there are officers whose duty is to examine every report of cruelty and procure the arrest and punishment of the offenders.

The Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty might be said to be an outgrowth from the former, because the vigor with which wrongs against dumb beasts were prosecuted frequently led to expressions of regret that there was not some association to follow up and bring to justice brutal parents, guardians, relations, and others who subjected children to barbarous treatment. The children's society since its institution has been vigilant in interfering for the protection of children, and its officers have brought many of their oppressors to punishment.

Officers.—President, Hon. Daniel M. Fox; Vice-Presidents, Clarence H. Clark, Charles J. Harrah, Henry C. McCook, D.D., Charles Willing, M.D., T. Morris Perot, Samuel P. Godwin, Richard P. White, Thomas H. Montgomery, George W. Childs, Joel J. Bailey, Joseph K. Wheeler; Treasurer, Peter A. Keller; Secretary, Benjamin J. Crew; Managers, Hon. Daniel M. Fox, William Eisenbrey, Gen. L. H. Warren, J. Lewis Crew, Samuel J. Levick, James Constable, Dr. Charles P. Turner, William F. Jones, Dr. Thomas G. Morton, Frederic Collins, Mrs. R. H. Hare, Mrs. Charles Willing, Mrs. Ernest Turner, Mrs. E. M. Norris, Mrs. Alfred Cromelien, Mrs. Daniel Dougherty, Mrs. G. M. Jones, Mrs. Dr. George W. Ellis, Miss Isabella Tatham, Mrs. Ed. H. Ogden, Mrs. E. H. Miles, Mrs. H. W. Wilson, Miss Rebecca Wetherill, Miss Anna Hallowell, Mrs. Henry J. Biddle, Miss Georgiana Harrah; Counselors, Richard P. White, N. Dubois Miller; Medical and Surgical Advisers, Dr. Charles P. Turner, Dr. Thomas G. Morton.

Protestant Episcopal Church Reliefs.—The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Deceased Episcopal Clergymen.—This venerable corporation, the object of which is indicated in its title, was originated by a number of the clergy at a meeting held in Elizabethtown, N. J., in 1767. The Rev. Mr. Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York, Rev. Dr. Miles Cooper, president of King's College, New York, Rev. Mr. Cooke, missionary of the London Society at Shrewsbury, N. J., and the Rev. Dr. William Smith, of Philadelphia, were appointed a committee to draw up and recommend a plan, and in 1769 they organized the "Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen of the Communion of the Church of England." This society was practically a company for insurance on the lives of the clergy in the three provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Separate charters were obtained in each province, the one in Pennsylvania being granted by John Penn, on Feb. 7, 1769. It may be noticed that the meetings of this corporation called a number of the clergy together at intervals during the period prior to the Revolutionary war, and gave them an opportunity for consultation about the general affairs of the church. In October, 1784, a meeting was held in New York, efforts were made to resuscitate the corporation, which had held no meetings during the war, and which in 1784 received a legacy of four thousand dollars from the estate of Andrew Doz. The one corporation was divided into three in 1796, —one for Pennsylvania, one for New York, and one for New Jersey. The accumulated funds were not divided until 1806, when Pennsylvania received as its share $10,390; New York, $11,806; and New Jersey, $4289.

The affairs of the corporation in Pennsylvania

have been so judiciously managed, and its resources so carefully husbanded, that it has now an accumulated fund of about three hundred thousand dollars. It insures the lives of church clergymen in the diocese, receives deposits from them, and sells annuities for their widows and children. It has been generous in its aid to those who came properly within the range of its benefactions, which have always been confined to the families of deceased clergymen who during their lives paid at least some small amount into its treasury. J. Somers Smith, No. 212 South Fourth Street, was treasurer in 1883.

The Christmas Fund for Disabled Clergymen.—A collection is made for this fund every year, in the churches, on Christmas-day. The trustees are elected by the Diocesan Convention. The beneficiaries are disabled clergymen and widows and children of clergymen. The names of the beneficiaries of this and of the similar diocesan charities are not published. The receipts are about five thousand dollars each year, and there is an invested fund of about eighteen thousand dollars.

The Protestant Episcopal Board of Missions.—All the missionary work of the Episcopal Church in the diocese is under the control of the Board of Missions, organized in 1859, and made up of the bishop and twenty-four clergymen and laymen, elected annually by the Convention.

The Philadelphia Protestant Episcopal City Mission.—The Rev. Thomas G. Allen, Rev. Edward C. Jones, Rev. John G. Furey, and perhaps others, at various periods between 1830 and 1870, were engaged in general missionary work in Philadelphia; but their labors were personal, and there was no organization to sustain or direct them. Several meetings of the city clergy were held in 1869–70 to consider the subject. The bishop's first plan was to have four churches selected, in different neighborhoods, to be used as centres of missionary work, to be supported by the other parishes. As this was not favorably received, and no other plan being agreed upon to meet a great and recognized want, Bishop Stevens began the Philadelphia Protestant Episcopal City Mission, on May 1, 1870. He appointed as superintendent the Rev. Samuel Durborow, an indefatigable and earnest worker, and one having had a large experience in church missionary work. Missionaries were set to work, a house was taken, halls and rooms were rented, services were commenced at various places and in many of the public institutions, money was collected, and systematic plans for the relief of the poor put in operation.

After the first year's experience had demonstrated its success, the bishop handed over the control of the City Mission to a Board of Council, of eight clergymen and eight laymen, to be appointed by the bishop. In 1872 the Diocesan Convention committed the whole work of city missions to the supervision of the Diocesan Board of Missions. This board adopted a plan providing for the continuation of a Board of Council for City Missions, who should carry forward all beneficent enterprises in the city, unconnected with parochial organizations, and report to the Board of Missions. This plan remains unchanged. In April, 1877, the City Mission was incorporated, with the title "Trustees of the Real and Personal Property of the Philadelphia Protestant Episcopal City Mission." There are five trustees, appointed by the Convention.

The City Mission first occupied a rented house, No. 225 South Ninth Street, which was fitted for its office, and for a German mission service held in its chapel. In 1876, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Ingersoll gave to the City Mission, for its uses, the large house No. 411 Spruce Street, which the generous donors enlarged and placed in perfect order. This is now the House of Mercy, being occupied as the central office of the City Mission, and also as the Central Sick-Diet Kitchen, the upper floors being used for hospital purposes, and occupied by female patients, as the Home for Poor Consumptives. In 1882 the City Mission received as a legacy the one-sixth part of the estate of Miss Mary Shields, amounting to about one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, and this has been invested and the income used in supporting the department for the relief of poor consumptives.

The City Mission is really a group of missions and missionary agencies, which it has set in motion, directs, and maintains. Some of them we notice under separate headings. The Rev. Mr. Durborow is still the general superintendent. There is a staff of three or four clergy, who minister statedly in the prisons, almshouse, and other public and charitable institutions. It has given most valuable aid in establishing a number of missions and churches, some of which have become self-supporting parishes. The French Church, St. Barnabas' Church, Haddington, the Church of our Merciful Saviour, now the Church of the Annunciation, Christ Church, Franklinville, and others were all aided by it when they began. It has made provision for not only the spiritual wants, but also for the temporal relief of many classes of the deserving poor, without distinction. The consumptives are relieved in many cases in their own homes. Provision is made for a number of poor aged persons, and sick-diet kitchens have been established at various points.

In the thirteen years, 1870–83, the total expenditures of the City Mission for all purposes have been $184,717.96; baptisms, 2417; burials, 1549; visits, 214,237; Bible readings, 8693; grocery orders, coal orders, garments, and shoes distributed, 54,466, etc.

Officers.—President, Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., LL.D.; Board of Council, Rev. B. Watson, D.D., Rev. D. S. Miller, D.D., Rev. Joseph D. Newlin, Rev. W. N. McVickar, Rev. William H. Graff, Rev. S. D. McConnell, Rev. J. F. Powers, W. W. Frazier, Jr., Edward B. Bowen, Effingham Perot, W. P. Cresson, H. H. Houston, George R. Kellogg, William M. Runk, W. S. Lane.

The House of Mercy.—This house, No. 411 Spruce Street, is the central office of the City Mission, where all applications for relief can be made and information received. It was formally opened on April 2, 1877, by the Right Reverend Bishop of the diocese, and dedicated to the various works of mercy which have been, from time to time, established by the Philadelphia Protestant Episcopal City Mission. On the first floor of the main building are located the offices of the City Mission. The Central Sick-Diet Kitchen is accommodated in the spacious and well-appointed room in the rear building. The Home for Consumptives is located on the upper floors, wards being provided for female patients destitute of an abiding-place. Rev. Samuel Durborow is superintendent.

The Central Sick-Diet Kitchen was opened by the Protestant Episcopal City Mission in November, 1875. The object of the Sick-Diet Kitchen is to provide for the sick poor properly-prepared food, and such delicacies as they need but cannot procure. The rations are given out daily, except Sunday, to all who are sick and poor. This kitchen is maintained by the City Mission at No. 411 Spruce Street.

The Northeastern Sick-Diet Kitchen, maintained by the City Mission, location No. 1233 Leopard Street, was established in 1879.

The Southern Sick-Diet Kitchen, maintained by the City Mission, location No. 1719 South Ninth Street, was established in February, 1880.

The Southwestern Sick-Diet Kitchen, maintained by the City Mission, location No. 768 South Nineteenth Street.

The Home for Aged and Infirm Persons.—The City Mission has a special department for the relief of aged and infirm persons, and has cared for a number of them at No. 618 South Tenth Street. Efforts are now being made by the City Mission to secure an additional building for this and other charitable purposes.

The Church Home for Children.—This highly useful and beautiful home was organized in 1856, Miss Meredith being one of its most active promoters. It was first located at the northeast corner of Twenty-second and Pine Streets, but on May 15, 1873, the present home, which has also a neat chapel on its grounds, was opened at Baltimore Avenue and Gray's Lane, West Philadelphia, near Angora Station.

Officers, Board of Council.—President *ex officio,* Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D.; Secretary, Lewis H. Redner; Treasurer, George T. Lewis; Board of Managers, Directresses, Mrs. George T. Lewis, Mrs. Charles Stillé, Mrs. James W. Robins; Secretary, Mrs. Algernon Morton; Treasurer, Mrs. John Harrison.

The Burd Orphan Asylum of St. Stephen's Church.—This home was founded in 1848, by Mrs. Eliza Howard Burd, a member of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church. For some years the home occupied several small buildings on Sansom Street, near Tenth. After her death it was removed to the present buildings, built in 1861-63, on Market Street, near Sixty-third, West Philadelphia. The grounds are extensive, and the buildings very fine. It educates orphan girls, and the results have been of the most satisfactory character. The institution is liberally endowed, St. Stephen's Church being the trustee.

The Home for the Homeless.—This home provides a temporary refuge for homeless females. It also maintains a sick-diet kitchen. The home is at No. 708 Lombard Street.

Officers.—President, Mrs. A. F. Lex; Vice-President, Mrs. Joseph R. Moore; Secretary, Miss Emily Wells; Treasurer, Miss Anne DeHaven.

The Clinton Street Boarding-Home for Young Women.—This institution provides a comfortable home for respectable young women at moderate charges. It was founded by Miss Mary Coles, who is still a directress of it. It occupies two large dwellings, Nos. 913 and 915 Clinton Street, and has been quite successful.

Boarding-Home for Young Women.—This is a home with similar objects as the preceding one, and is located at No. 1433 Lombard Street.

St. James' Church Industrial School.—This is a parochial mission, at Twenty-fourth and Walnut Streets, maintained by St. James' Church. Very poor and ragged little girls are received and carefully trained.

Officers.—President, Rev. Henry J. Morton, D.D.; First Directress, Miss Rebecca Coxe; Second Directress, Miss Helen Hunter; Treasurer, Miss Rebecca Yarnall; Secretary, Miss Margaretta Hutchinson; Visitor, Mrs. McConnell.

St. Luke's Church Home.—This is a parochial charity maintained by St. Luke's Church. It is located at No. 1317 Pine Street, near the church, and provides a comfortable home for some aged women, members of the parish.

Faith Home for Crippled Children.—This institution was begun in 1882, and is located at the northwest corner of Forty-fifth Street and Osage Avenue, West Philadelphia. It is designed to receive and care for children who are incurable cripples. Mrs. Innes, wife of the assistant minister of St. Mary's Church, was active in the organization of the home. Its corporate title has, we believe, been somewhat altered.

St. Peter's House.—This is a parochial mission of St. Peter's Church. It occupies a large building, erected about ten years ago, at the southwest corner of Front and Pine Streets, devoted to the use of various parochial missionary organizations. The site was the gift of Mr. Coleman, and the old mansion which stood on it was the house in which Bishop White lived at the time he was first called to be an assistant minister in the "United Churches," Christ Church and St. Peter's Church.

The Deaf-Mute Mission.—The Rev. Francis J. Clerc, D.D., some time warden of the Burd Orphan Asylum, about twenty years ago held occasional

church services in the sign language for deaf mutes. St. Stephen's Church very kindly gave the use of the Sunday-school building in the rear of the church, and has since fostered this mission until it has become extensively useful. The Rev. H. W. Syle, himself a deaf mute, was ordained by Bishop Stevens some years ago, and is in charge of the services. An effort is now being made to erect a church, to be called All Souls', to be the headquarters of this interesting and peculiar mission.

The Ellen Butler Memorial.—This home was founded in 1882 by Edgar H. Butler, Esq., as a memorial to his deceased wife. It is located at Nos. 28 and 30 Haines Street, Germantown. It is in charge of a board of directors, and informally connected with St. Luke's Church, Germantown. Its object is to "provide a home for gentlewomen who, from sickness, reduced circumstances, or want of employment, shall be in need of such a home, either temporarily or permanently."

The Sheltering Arms.—Several abortive efforts were made to establish a foundling asylum which should be under the control of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, without satisfactory results. Such an agency was so much needed that in 1881 the Sheltering Arms was organized, and is now firmly established. The building is at the southeast corner of Franklin and Brown Streets. It receives infants, and in certain cases, the mothers also, and this charity has already won the approval and confidence of the general public.

Officers.—Board of Council, William Bacon Stevens, D.D., LL.D., president; Rev. W. H. Graff, Thomas F. Davies; Francis Wells, Orlando Crease, Rev. W. F. C. Morsell, A. H. Miller, Justice Cox, Jr., George D. McCreary, Daniel Baugh, J. N. Newlin, John B. Love; Board of Managers, Mrs. Charlotte L. Peirce, Mrs. George L. Harrison, Mrs. E. B. Wood, Miss Margaret Bache, Miss Georgie Harrah, Miss Emily Ashhurst, Mrs. S. C. F. Hallowell, Mrs. Wayne MacVeagh, Mrs. Robert Adams, Mrs. Hannah P. Baker, Mrs. Orlando Crease, Mrs. Daniel Baugh, Mrs. H. O. DuBois, Mrs. S. P. Wolfe, Mrs. George D. McCreary, Miss M. A. Bonnell, Mrs. Abel Reed, Miss Gertrude K. Peirce, Mrs. T. K. Conrad; Medical Board, J. Cheston Morris, M.D., Albert H. Smith, M.D., John Ashhurst, Jr., M.D., Louis Starr, M.D.

Miscellaneous Charities, Protestant Episcopal Church.—In addition to the organizations noticed in this list, there are numerous other charitable and benevolent agencies connected with the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Nearly all the parishes have something in the way of guilds, workingmen's clubs, Dorcas Societies, beneficial clubs, temperance societies, and the like connected with them. We have noticed the oldest and most prominent of them, and the list shows what a wide and varied field of charitable and benevolent ministrations is traversed and cultivated in this city by the members of this communion.

Catholic Relief Associations.—St. Joseph's Female Orphan Asylum is located at the southwest corner of Seventh and Spruce Streets. It is in charge of the Sisters of Charity. It owes its origin to Rev. Leonard Neale, who in 1797 organized an association to care for the destitute orphans of those Catholics who died during the year from yellow fever. A number of children were kept in a home on Sixth Street, near Holy Trinity Church, and were supported by voluntary offerings. In 1806 an association to maintain the orphan by an annual subscription was formed. An act of incorporation was obtained on Dec. 18, 1807. In 1814 the institution was placed in charge of the Sisters of Charity. Up to about 1830 the asylum occupied a building on the east side of Sixth Street, north of Spruce.

St. John's Orphan Asylum owes its origin and foundation to a voluntary association formed in 1829, at the house of Nicholas Donnelly, Lombard Street, above Third, to care for the four children of one James Andrews, who died in June, his widow dying in October. When the association numbered one hundred and sixty-three members, application was made to Rev. John Hughes, at St. Joseph's Church, to draft constitution and by-laws for the government of the society. He did so, and subsequently applied to Rev. John Hickey, at Emmittsburg, Md., for four Sisters of Charity. They came, and a house on Prune now [Locust] Street, above Fourth, was secured and occupied. In 1832 the asylum was removed to Broad Street, north of Chestnut. The next year it was changed to the Gothic mansion, Chestnut Street, below Thirteenth, on the site of Concert Hall. The property cost the asylum $21,333.33. It was sold for $33,000, when, in 1852, thirteen acres adjoining the Cathedral Cemetery was purchased, and the asylum erected, at a cost of $43,000, having accommodations for four hundred children.

Since 1847 the asylum has been in charge of Sisters of St. Joseph.

St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, at Tacony, is for the care of Catholic German orphans.

St. Mary Magdalen di Pazzi Asylum, for Italian orphan children, is at No. 913 South Seventh Street, founded 1876, by Rev. A. G. Isolero.

St. Ann's Widows' Asylum is on Moyamensing Avenue below Christian Street. It was founded in 1848, by Bishop Kenrick, who in that year purchased the property and donated it to the object. The gift was accepted at a meeting at St. John's, on Oct. 8, 1848. In 1849 a charter of incorporation was obtained. On May 24, 1849, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd took possession, and on the 26th Bishop Kenrick said the first mass in the asylum. Widows over fifty years of age are admitted.

Home for Aged Poor, under the care of the Little Sisters of the Poor, is on Eighteenth Street, above Jefferson, and was dedicated Oct. 29, 1871. On May 24, 1874, the corner-stone of a new chapel for the accommodation of the inmates was laid, and on November 1st it was dedicated.

The home receives all aged poor without respect to creed or nationality. The number of inmates is about three hundred.

The Catholic Home for Destitute Orphan Girls, No. 1720 Race Street, owes its origin to the Particular Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. In 1863 the necessity of providing for such children, many of whom were orphans of deceased soldiers, procured a charter from the Legislature and founded a temporary home, and finally secured the present location. In 1865 the management of the institution was assumed by Bishop Wood. Since its foundation over twelve hundred children have been cared for.

St. Vincent's Home, corner of Eighteenth and Wood Streets, cares for children who are under five years of age.

St. Vincent de Paul Society.—Conferences of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul exist at nearly all the Catholic Churches. Their object is the relief of destitution, irrespective of the religion, color, or nationality of the needy. The first conference was organized at St. Joseph's Church, by Rev. John Lynch, S.J., in 1851; William A. Steel, president; L. Kirkpatrick, treasurer; and Charles McKeone, secretary. In 1858 the following conferences were organized: St. John's, M. A. Frenaye, president; SS. Peter and Paul's, John G. Ford, president; St. Patrick's, Michael McEvoy, president; St. James', John B. Colahan, president; St. Malachi's, Patrick McIntee, president. In 1859 they were aggregated to the organization in Rome. Later, the Assumption, Joel Zane, president; St. Augustine's, William J. Turner, president; St. Francis', John Nailis, president, were organized, and aggregated to the Particular Council in November, 1860, April, 1862, and November, 1872, respectively. In March, 1860, the Particular Council, or union of the city conferences, was formed. John G. Ford was the first president. John B. Colahan succeeded until 1863, when William J. Turner was elected. He resigned in 1864, when Hon. Joseph R. Chandler was elected. He continued president until his death in July, 1881. His successor and the present incumbent is Charles Philips.

The following conferences, in addition to those named above, have been organized. The date of their affiliation with the Particular Council and name of the first president is given:

Our Mother of Sorrows, February, 1865, John I. Murray.
St. Michael's, November, 1865, Michael McEvoy.
St. Paul's, September, 1866, Bernard Owens.
St. Joachim's, June, 1871, William M. O'Reilly.
St. Teresa's, June, 1871, Peter O'Reilly.
Immaculate Conception, February, 1872, J. W. Kearney.
St. Agatha's, February, 1872, Owen Brady.
St. Ann's, February, 1872, Hugh Smith.
Gesù, June, 1878, J. W. McDermott.
St. Vincent de Paul, March, 1879, Charles Philips.
St. Mary's, June, 1879, J. Hammill.
St. Cecilia's, November, 1879, Michael Ward.
St. Charles Borromeo, April, 1880, Charles Lafferty.
Annunciation, April, 1880, John T. Murray.
St. John the Baptist, November, 1881, Patrick Dillon.
St. Elizabeth's, November, 1881, Charles E. Baker.

In order to protect destitute children the Council, in 1863, procured a charter for a temporary home. The Catholic Home continued under the management of the society until 1865, when it was assumed by Bishop Wood. Over twelve hundred children have been cared for by the home. In 1876 the General Assembly of the society met in this city, by direction of the president-general at Paris, as a mark of honor to the United States. In 1877 the annual spiritual retreat of the society was instituted, and has since been maintained.

House of the Good Shepherd.—The Sisters of the Good Shepherd were founded in 1651, at Caen, France, by Rev. Eudes de Mezerai. The order was introduced into Philadelphia in 1849. On May 3, 1850, an auxiliary society was organized to assist the order. Mrs. Robert Walsh, president; Mrs. Edward Frith, vice-president; Mrs. James Slevin, secretary.

On March 21, 1852, the corner-stone of the convent, or Home of the Good Shepherd, northeast corner Twenty-second and Walnut Streets, was laid. Prior to its completion the Sisters were in charge of St. Ann's Widows' Asylum, on Second Street, below Christian. The institution remained at Twenty-second and Walnut Streets until Nov. 3, 1880, when the present magnificent house at Thirty-fifth Street and Silverton Avenue, West Philadelphia, was first occupied. The object of this noble order is the reclamation of wayward females.

The Catholic Philopatrian Literary Institute is situated on Twelfth Street, below Walnut. It was organized at St. Mary's school hall, on Dec. 22, 1850. Rev. E. J. Sourin was elected president. After leaving St. Mary's, the society subsequently met at Sixth and Walnut, corner Eighth and Arch, southeast corner Sixth and Prune [now Locust], northeast corner Tenth and Chestnut, southeast corner Eighth and Walnut, No. 923 Sansom Street. On April 9, 1871, the society bought the property of the Schuylkill Hose Company, Locust, below Thirteenth, where it remained until 1879, when it purchased the property it now occupies. E. J. Molineaux is president.

The Irish Catholic Benevolent Union of the United States, a national organization of Catholic societies, engaged in the work of mutual assistance in case of sickness and death, number forty-seven, aggregating six thousand seven hundred members.

The officers of the national body are Hon. A. M. Keiley, Richmond, Va., president; John L. Lindsay, Providence, R. I., and Maurice F. Wilhere, Manayunk, Philadelphia, vice-presidents; Martin I. J. Griffin, Philadelphia, secretary; Rev. James Henry, St. Louis, treasurer.

The societies of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union in Philadelphia are:

No.		Members.
59.	Rev. E. J. Sourin	70
90.	National Catholic	372
91.	St. Charles' Male	72
94.	National Catholic of St. Vincent de Paul	167
95.	St. Ann's	170

No.		Members.
96.	Rev. Hugh McLaughlin	260
104.	Father Mark Crane	104
105.	New St Joseph's	118
109.	Rev. David Mulholland	30
117.	Workingmen's	58
120.	Dr. Moriarty	241
131.	Daniel Carroll	50
155.	Philadelphia National Catholic	310
166.	St. Clement's	86
171.	Kensington Catholic	148
172.	St. Dominic	145
197.	St. Patrick's	150
212.	St. Catharine's	200
217.	Father Burke	196
234.	Rev. Thomas Fox	88
240.	Archbishop Carroll	280
260.	Pius IX	457
313.	James D. Howley	234
329.	St. Jerome's	170
355.	St. Cecilia's	214
380.	John Lee Carroll	73
384.	Rev. Thomas Kieran	186
401.	St. Mary's	90
402.	Pope Leo XIII	98
403.	St. John's Y. M. R. C.	109
4/5.	Erin	27
418.	Mary Star of the Sea	325
430.	Celtic	132
434.	Cecelian	121
445.	St. Monica's	230
450.	A. M. Kelley	117
452.	Father Jordan	105
456.	James D Howley, No. 2	207
457.	Father Sharkey	116
458.	St. Ann's Sodality (beneficial)	301
462.	Columbus	185
464.	Rev. Thomas J. Barry	90
467.	St. Elizabeth's	54

The Shamrock, St. Gertrude, and Hon. Dennis Dwyer Societies have lately been organized.

These societies pay weekly benefits to members when sick, and a funeral benefit to the family when a member dies.

There are also a number of Catholic beneficial societies, male and female, unattached to the Union. There are many societies, almost wholly composed of Catholics, to which no religious qualification is required for membership.

Catholic Total Abstinence Societies.—In 1871 the wave of agitation against the evils of intemperance, which had led to the formation of numerous Catholic total abstinence societies in the United States, reached Philadelphia, and a young man named James D. Howley took up the work in the southwestern part of the city, and organized St. Charles Borromeo T. A. B. Society. The necessity for some such organization being apparent, the new society attracted attention, and other societies were shortly afterward founded in adjoining parishes.

On March 17, 1872, St. Charles' and a cadet society formed a union, of which Mr. Howley was the founder and first president. The movement was of limited extent until the formation of a society in the Cathedral parish gave prominence to the subject, and the brilliant lead which that society at once took and has since maintained caused the agitation to become universal, and at this date the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of Philadelphia, commenced by Mr. Howley, and perfected and put into shape by John H. Campbell, the president of the Cathedral T. A. B. Society, numbers seventy-seven societies and eight thousand two hundred and fifteen members, and stands unrivaled at the head of the whole Catholic total abstinence movement in America. Mr. Howley died early in March, 1873, beloved by all his associates, and the Union some years afterward erected a neat monument, with appropriate inscriptions, over his grave in the Cathedral Cemetery, West Philadelphia.

In January, 1875, at the suggestion of Mr. Campbell, who had just been elected president, the Union established an emigration committee to look after the interests of destitute emigrants landing at this port. This committee has faithfully attended to its work ever since. Its agents are at the wharf upon the arrival of every European steamer. Young girls are protected from strangers, friendly advice is given to all, situations obtained for emigrants desiring to settle in Philadelphia, and pecuniary aid extended to needy persons. For years every case of distress has been attended to, and nowhere in the United States is such excellent care taken of the newly-arrived emigrants from other lands. Much of the success of the committee's work is due to Owen Kelly, the chairman of the committee, and Bartholomew Gillin, the wharf agent, the latter of whom speaks Irish fluently.

Early in 1873, Dr. Michael O'Hara, John H. Campbell, and some other active Irish-Americans connected with the movement conceived the idea of having the Union take a prominent part in the United States Centennial Exhibition, and the project of erecting a magnificent fountain in Fairmount Park was inaugurated. It was thought that a fountain of water, surrounded by statues of prominent Revolutionary heroes of Irish birth or descent, and of the Catholic faith, would be a lasting memorial of the principles of the organization and of the patriotism of the Irish element in America during the Revolutionary war. Accordingly plans were prepared, and a young Philadelphia sculptor of great ability, Herman Kirn, was selected to carve the five beautiful marble statues which now form a part of the group comprising the fountain. The central figure is Moses, the lawgiver, who redeemed his people from the bondage of slavery, as the Union would redeem its members from the bondage of drink, and who brought forth the living waters from the rock in the wilderness, just as the Union would supply the same beverage to the weary and famishing drunkard. First of the four remaining statues is that of Father Mathew, "the apostle of temperance," and upon the base are recorded the high honors paid to him by the United States Senate and House of Representatives. The second is Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the patriot signer of the Declaration, and next to him stands Rev. John Carroll, the first Catholic bishop in the United States, who was selected by the Continental Congress as one of the commissioners to the Canadas. Last, but not least, is Commodore John Barry, the "father of the United States navy," whose gallantry during the Revolutionary war is one of the bright pages of that glorious struggle. Each of these four statues is nine feet high, and that of Moses fifteen

and one-half feet high, carved—every one of them—out of a single block of Tyrolese marble. Moses is the largest single-piece marble statue in America. As works of art they are beautiful, and help greatly to adorn our beautiful park. Around the basin of the fountain there are carved medallion portraits of Lafayette, Kosciusko, De Grasse, Stephen Moylan, George Meade, Orono (the Catholic chief of the Penobscot Indians), and Pulaski, all of them Catholic patriots of the Revolution.

The fountain cost fifty-four thousand dollars, and was erected under the auspices of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, the societies of that body outside of Philadelphia contributing about ten thousand dollars of the cost, the Philadelphia societies contributing the remainder. Ground for the monument was broken July 4, 1875, Hon. Joseph R. Chandler delivering the address on that occasion. Upon July 4, 1876, it was dedicated to American liberty, the oration being delivered by Governor John Lee Carroll, of Maryland, a grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Upon July 4, 1877, it was delivered to the city of Philadelphia, in trust for the free use of the American people, in the presence of what was claimed to be the largest public gathering ever held within the limits of the city. The number of people present was variously estimated to be from forty-five thousand to sixty thousand. Addresses were made by Governor John Lee Carroll, of Maryland; Governor John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania; David W. Sellers, representing the Park Commission; and John H. Campbell, representing the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America. A poem was read by Philip A. Nolan, now general secretary of the latter body.

The Union of Philadelphia has at various times, principally upon March 17th (St. Patrick's Day), July 4th, and October 10th (Father Mathew's birthday), paraded its societies through the streets of the city, attracting much favorable attention, and in the Bi-Centennial celebration of the city it figured quite prominently, being second only to the division of fire companies in numbers.

The Union has accomplished and is doing much for the cause of good morals and sobriety in the city. Its societies have enlisted thousands of boys into its cadet organizations, teaching them to grow up without knowing the taste of intoxicating liquors, and have in use many halls and buildings fitted up to furnish amusement and instruction to the members, and especially designed to keep the young men from the temptations of idleness and drink. Circulating libraries, lyceums, dramatic and debating clubs, savings societies, night schools, etc., are among the prominent features of the movement in this city.

The present officers are: President, John H. Campbell; Vice-President, James Jordan; Treasurer, John A. Smith; Recording Secretary, William J. Power; Corresponding Secretary, Philip A. Nolan; Editor, John O'Callahan; Marshal, P. J. Hayes; Sergeant-at-Arms, John Stimmler. All of them are veterans in the cause of temperance, and upon their shoulders has rested for many years the structure which is known so prominently as the Catholic Total Abstinence Beneficial Archdiocesan Union of Philadelphia.

The following are the names of the societies attached to the Catholic Total Abstinence Archdiocesan Union, with date of admission to Archdiocesan Union.

No.		Date of admission.
1.	St. Charles Borromeo	March 17, 1872.
2.	St. Teresa's	Aug. 16, "
3.	St. Teresa's Cadets	Aug. 16, "
4.	St. Mary's	Nov. 24, "
5.	St. James'	Nov. 24, "
6.	St. Michael's, Chester	Jan. 26, 1873.
7.	St. Francis Xavier	Jan. 26, "
8.	St. Charles Borromeo, Kellysville	Jan. 26, "
9.	St. Paul's	Jan. 26, "
10.	Sacred Heart	March 11, "
11.	Cathedral	March 17, "
12.	St. Charles Borromeo Cadets	March 17, "
13.	St. Paul's Cadets	March 23, "
14.	St. Francis Xavier Cadets	March 23, "
15.	Assumption	April 27, "
16.	Immaculate Conception	May 11, "
17.	St. Vincent de Paul	May 25, "
18.	St. Patrick's	June 22, "
19.	St. Agnes, West Chester	June 22, "
20.	St. Dominic's, Holmesburg	June 22, "
21.	Cathedral Cadets	June 22, "
22.	St. Philip de Neri	Sept. 28, "
23.	St. John Baptist, Manayunk	Sept. 28, "
24.	St. Augustine's	Nov. 9, "
25.	Our Mother of Sorrows	Nov. 23, "
26.	St. Michael's	Nov. 23, "
27.	St. Ann's	Nov. 23, "
28.	St. Patrick's Cadets	Nov. 23, "
29.	St. Michael's Cadets	Dec. 28, "
30.	St. Ann's Cadets	Dec. 28, "
31.	St. Agatha's	Jan. 11, 1874.
32.	St. Michael's Cadets, Chester	Jan. 11, "
33.	Mother of Sorrows Cadets	Jan. 11, "
34.	St. John Baptist Cadets	Jan. 18, "
35.	Immaculate Conception Cadets	Jan. 18, "
36.	St. Bridget's, Falls	April 12, "
37.	Nativity, Media	Sept. 12, "
38.	St. Agnes' Cadets, West Chester	Feb. 14, 1875.
39.	St. Stephen's, Nicetown	March 14, "
40.	St. Charles' Cadets, Kellysville	June 12, "
41.	St. Cecilia's	Sept. 12, "
42.	St. Elizabeth's	March 12, 1876.
43.	St. Elizabeth's Cadets	April 9, "
44.	St. Mary's, Doylestown	June 10, 1877.
45.	St. Thomas of Villanova	Jan. 14, 1878.
46.	Annunciation	March 10, "
47.	St. Thomas of Villanova Cadets	March 10, "
48.	St. Mary's, Phoenixville	July 11, 1880.
49.	St. Cecilia's Cadets	July 11, "
50.	St. Bridget's Cadets, Falls	July 11, "
51.	St. Agnes' Ladies, West Chester	Sept. 12, "
52.	St. Bridget's Ladies, Falls	Oct. 10, "
53.	St. Charles' Ladies, Kellysville	Nov. 14, "
54.	St. Paul's Ladies	Jan. 9, 1881.
55.	St. Augustine's Cadets	Jan. 9, "
56.	St. Mary's Cadets	March 14, "
57.	St. Malachi's	April 10, "
58.	St. John Baptist Ladies	April 10, "
59.	St. Agatha's Cadets	July 10, "
60.	Annunciation Cadets	Sept. 11, "
61.	Visitation Ladies	Oct. 9, "
62.	Nativity Cadets, Media	Oct. 9, "
63.	St. Philip de Neri Cadets	Nov. 13, "
64.	St. Vincent de Paul Cadets	Dec. 11, "
65.	Sacred Heart Cadets	Jan. 8, 1882.
66.	St. Malachi's Cadets	March 12, "
67.	Immaculate Heart, Chester	June 11, "
68.	Cathedral Ladies	Feb. 12, 1883.
69.	Annunciation Ladies	March 12, "
70.	Assumption Cadets	March 12, "
71.	Mother of Sorrows Ladies	April 8, "
72.	St. Francis Xavier Ladies	April 8, "
73.	St. Mary's Ladies	June 11, "
74.	St. Peter's, Reading	July 9, "
75.	St. Stephen's Cadets	July 9, "
76.	St. Cecilia's, Coatesville	
77.	St. James Cadets	

The Old Ladies' Home (Frankford Avenue and Clearfield Street) receives applicants over sixty-five years of age.

Officers.—President, Mrs. Emeline Claridge; Vice-President, Mrs. Elizabeth Burton; Secretary, Mrs. E. B. Lacey; Treasurer, Mrs. Charles E. Kelley.

Union Home for Old Ladies (corner of Lancaster and Girard Avenues, West Philadelphia) is an incorporated institution, where old women of all denominations may find a comfortable home.

Officers.—Board of Managers, President, Mrs. I. S. Hinkson; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. R. T. Tumbleston, Mrs. H. A. Teal; Treasurer, Mrs. M. M. Pauling; Recording Secretary, Miss H. Zarina Teal; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Annie Myers; Mrs. T. M. Newbold, Miss M. J. Levy, Mrs. Dr. A. A. Willits, Mrs. R. W. Piers, Mrs. H. Belfield, Miss E. Chambers, Mrs. M. A. Restein, Mrs. A. B. Walters, Mrs. M. J. Porter, Mrs. J. H. Cofrode, Mrs. R. Babb, Mrs. J. M. Gessler, Mrs. L. H. Alloway, Mrs. Joseph Sheppard, Miss S. Maxwell, Mrs. W. M. Smith, Miss M. J. Clift, Mrs. Thomas W. Barlow, Mrs. C. P. Snesserott, Mrs. M. Moore, Miss L. Y. Miller. Board of Trustees, President, Archibald C. Levy; Secretary, Thomas M. Newbold; Alfred L. Carey, Cornelius Herwig, M.D., E. M. Bruce, William J. Mackey, Henry Belfield, James Spear, A. B. Walters, John M. Gessler, Thomas W. Barlow.

The Home for Aged Couples (No. 1723 Francis Street, corner of Perkiomen) was founded Feb. 12, 1876. The object of this institution is the support of a non-sectarian home for old and indigent couples, man and wife, of good moral character.

Officers for 1883.—President, Mrs. H. P. Taylor; First Vice-President, Mrs. Walter H. Tilden; Second Vice-President, Mrs. H. G. Batterson; Treasurer, Mrs. William Hobart Brown; Secretary, Miss Lucy E. Wadleigh; Assistant Secretary, Miss L. Gorton; Solicitors, Hon. M. Arnold, W. Albert Nichols; Physicians, E. A. Farrington, M.D., T. H. Fenton, M.D.; Managers, Mrs. H. P. Taylor, Mrs. W. H. Tilden, Mrs. W. H. Batterson, Mrs. W. Hobart Brown, Miss L. E. Wadleigh, Miss L. Gorton, Mrs. H. J. Smith, Mrs. F. W. Stokes, Mrs. Joseph Allen, Mrs. M. Arnold, Mrs. J. C. Allen, Mrs. E. B. Taylor, Mrs. E. E. Girard, Miss Kirkbride, Mrs. J. K. Wallace, Mrs. O. Crease, Mrs. G. W. Terry, Miss G. Harrah; Board of Council, Rev. A. A. Rickert, Mr. J. C. Allen, Mr. W. H. Tilden, Hon. M. Arnold, Mr. G. Boyd, Mr. R. D. Jones, Mr. H. J. Smith, Mr. H. P. Taylor, W. A. Nichols, Esq., Rev. H. G. Batterson, D.D., Mr. W. H. Brown, Mr. Joseph Allen.

The Soldiers' Home was incorporated in 1864, and confined its benefits to the care of disabled soldiers, until the United States government made ample provision for them in the national homes, since which it has (in accordance with its charter) contributed to the relief, support, and education of the children of disabled soldiers.

Officers.—President, William H. Rhawn; Secretary, Edward S. Hall; Treasurer, Andrew Blair. Executive Committee, Walter Allison (chairman), James G. Hardie, Joel J. Bailey, Andrew Blair, Edward P. Kelly, Maurice H. Matsinger, Edward S. Hall (secretary). Board of Lady Visitors, President, Mrs. J. Bellangee Cox; Secretary, Miss E. W. Key.

Home for Incurables.—In 1877 a form of charity that had not been considered by persons of benevolent minds and feelings before that period, was brought into operation. Persons connected with the administration of the hospitals were aware of many cases of peculiar hardship connected with their management, and affecting patients who, after certain time of treatment in the hospitals upon charitable foundation, were determined to be incurable, and were of necessity discharged, because those institutions being established for the restoration to health of persons who were sick, there was necessity for the admission of the latter, and the incurable being beyond hope, their retention only excluded persons who might have been restored to conditions of health. On the other hand, many of the patients who were thus thrust forth had been respectable, industrious, and, in some instances, of commanding position, but reduced by misfortune to poverty. Their unfortunate condition had at length an influence upon the thoughtful, inducing the belief that a charitable institution of a new kind was necessary. This led to the establishment of the Philadelphia Home for Incurables in 1877. It was opened November 8th of that year, at No. 4800 Darby road, the object being stated to be "to provide a home for sufferers whose diseases are pronounced incurable." The home was originally opened in a fair-sized villa building, which has since been considerably enlarged by additions. In this form of relief the society was anticipated as to one form of disease by the Home for Consumptives, established by the Protestant Episcopal City Mission in March, 1876, and having its shelter at No. 411 Spruce Street, in the House of Mercy.

The Educational Home (Forty-ninth and Greenway Avenue), was incorporated November, 1871, to act in connection with the Lincoln Institution and for the care and education of orphan and destitute white children from two years old and upward. The building was opened December 1, 1873. When the boys arrive at twelve or thirteen years of age they are put at trades or other work.

Officers.—Board of Council, President, William Lippincott; Secretary, Franklin A. Dick; Treasurer, George T. Roberts. Officers of Board of Managers, Directresses, Mrs. J. Bellangee Cox, Mrs. Franklin A. Dick, Mrs. William Lippincott; Secretary, Miss Julia Rush Biddle; Treasurer, Miss Foster.

The Bedford Street Mission (No. 619 Alaska Street) was organized in 1853. It has under its management a day-school, Sunday-school, industrial school for girls, night's lodgings, free baths, distribution of food, etc. The objects of this mission are to thoroughly discriminate between the deserving poor and impostors and professional beggars; to prevent pestilence, and the spread of epidemics, by furnishing the means of cleanliness for persons and premises, and enjoining the use of the same; to educate the young in habits of industry, morality, and religion; and thus, by increased labor and contributions, not only to alleviate suffering and poverty, but to lessen the evils of pauperism.

Officers.—President, Charles Spencer; Vice-Presidents, William M. Coates, William L. Boswell; Recording Secretary, Edmund A. Souder; Corresponding Secretary, George Cuthbert Gillespie; Treasurer, Theodore Stan; Missionary, Rev. George W. Lybrand; Solicitors, W. W. Montgomery, Jerome Carty.

The Women's Bible Readers' Society.—This institution combines Christian missionary work with that of charitable relief. It divides the densely peopled parts of the city into eighteen districts, giving to each a reader and a superintendent, the latter being always a manager. The readers give their lives to

their work among the poor and suffering; the superintendents aiding them by counsel when it is needed, and by the supply of money, clothing, food, etc., necessary for the efficiency of their mission.

Officers.—President, Miss Anable; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. J. B. Dales, Mrs. M. Adams, Mrs. T. W. J. Wylie, Mrs. S. F. Ashton, Mrs. Charles Gibbons, Mrs. J. F. Page, Mrs. W. M. Elliott, Mrs. Alexander Whilldin, Miss S. G. Shipley; Recording Secretary, Miss M. A. Williamson; Corresponding Secretary, Miss B. L. Kennard; Assistant Corresponding Secretary, Miss S. E. Allen; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Morrison; with a board of fifty directors.

The Moyamensing Soup Society (No. 926 South Eighth Street) furnishes to the deserving poor of the district during the inclement winter season a daily supply of nutritious bread and soup. The house was opened Jan. 9, 1882.

The American Sunday-School Union (No. 1122 Chestnut Street) was established in 1824, and incorporated in 1845. In the past fifty-eight years (1824–82) 71,775 schools have been organized by the American Sunday-School Union, with 456,120 teachers, and 3,038,605 scholars.

In addition to the Sunday-schools actually organized, the records show that by visits and words of counsel and encouragement, and gifts of books, papers, etc., assistance has been extended in 111,945 cases, representing a membership of 812,026 teachers, and 6,089,340 scholars. Amount expended in missionary operations (1824–82), $2,725,890, of which about $593,488 were for books, papers, etc., granted to needy Sunday-schools. Value of books, papers, etc., circulated by sales and grants (1824–82), over $7,000,000.

The Young Men's Christian Association (southeast corner of Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets) occupies a fine structure, four stories high, of sandstone, seventy-two feet front, with a depth of two hundred and thirty feet, and a tower one hundred and fifty-three feet high. The interior is fitted up with rooms for devotional meetings, lectures, and reading-rooms, lyceum, library for reference and circulation and other purposes. This association was instituted June, 1854, and incorporated June, 1854. It is composed of members of various Protestant denominations who are associated for the improvement of the social, spiritual, and mental development of young men.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION BUILDING.

Officers.—President, Robert England; Vice-President, James M. Gibson; Treasurer, John S. Thackray; Secretary, Joseph C. Curry; Managers, Andrew M. Strang, Walter Scott, George Battise, John F. Rush, Henry Cummings, Benjamin S. Bown, Alfred Taylor, Samuel Tudor.

Officers.—President, John Wanamaker; Vice-Presidents, John E. Graeff, James Neill; Treasurer, Francis W. Kennedy; Financial Secretary, Thomas Marshall.

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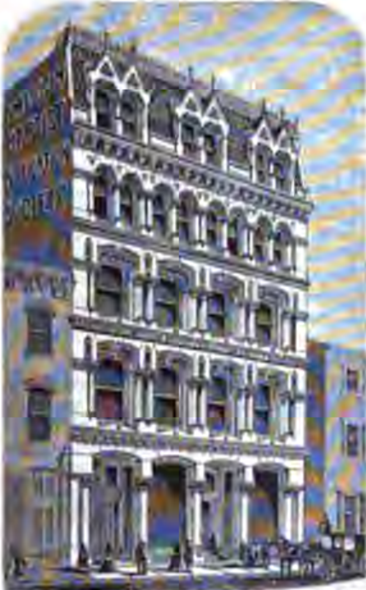
The Young Women's Christian Association was incorporated in 1871.

The Presbyterian Board of Publication was incorporated Feb. 14, 1837, and went into operation in 1838, on Sansom Street. A few years afterward it purchased a house on Chestnut Street, above Eighth, which was destroyed by fire, but rebuilt it of sandstone. The Presbyterian publication committee (New-School) was organized in 1852, and had its publication house on a portion of the present site. Upon the reunion of the Old and New Schools, in 1870, it was resolved to unite the two boards, and provide a larger house. The result was the construction of the present large edifice, Nos. 1334 and 1336 Chestnut Street, near Broad, of New Hampshire granite, with columns of colored and polished Aberdeen granite. It was finished in 1873, and is four stories in height, forty-four feet front, and two hundred and thirty-five feet in depth to Sansom Street. The house cost one hundred and thirty thousand dollars exclusive of furniture.

Officers.—Rev. W. P. Breed, D.D., president; Hon. Joseph Allison, LL.D., Rev. James M. Crowell, D.D., Rev. Thomas J. Shepherd, D.D., vice-presidents; Rev. William E. Schenck, D.D., corresponding secretary; Rev. John W. Dulles, D.D., editorial secretary; Rev. James A. Worden, secretary of Sunday-school work; John A. Black, business superintendent; Rev. W. M. Rice, D.D., recording clerk; and S. D. Powel, treasurer.



AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

The American Baptist Publication Society (No. 1420 Chestnut Street, between Broad and Fifteenth Streets) occupies a building of white marble, forty-six feet front, with a depth of two hundred and thirty feet to Sansom Street. It is four stories high, surmounted by a mansard roof.

The Evangelical Educational Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church (No. 1224 Chestnut Street) gives aid to theological students, and gives books, tracts, etc., to clergymen.

Officers.—Board of Managers, President, Hon. Felix R. Brunot; Secretary, Rev. Robert C. Matlack, D.D.; Treasurer, William C. Houston, Esq.; Rev. Thomas F. Fales, Mass.; William R. Lawrence, M.D., Mass.; Rev. William F. Watkins, D.D., N. Y.; James M. Brown, Esq., N. Y.; Rev. W. S. Langford, Elizabeth, N. J.; Rev. J. H. Eccleston, D.D., Newark, N. J.; Rev. J. E. Grammer, D.D., Baltimore; Rev. A. M. Randolph, D.D., Baltimore; Rev. Charles E. Murray, Del.; Edward Olmsted, Esq., Phila.; William P. Cresson, Esq., Phila.; Rev. Benjamin Watson, D.D., Phila.; Rev. D. S. Miller, D.D., Phila.; Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., Phila.; Rev. W. F. Paddock, D.D., Phila.; Rev. E. W. Appleton, D.D., Phila.; Rev. William N. McVickar, Phila.; Rev. W. W. Farr, D.D., Phila.; Rev. Augustus A. Marple, Phila.; Rev. J. Blake Falkner, D.D., Phila.

The Pennsylvania Bible Society was organized in 1808, and incorporated Jan. 10, 1810, as the "Bible Society of Philadelphia." By supplementary act, March 7, 1840, the title was changed to the Pennsylvania Bible Society. This is the first association founded in the United States for the purpose of publishing and circulating "the Holy Scriptures without note or comment." The society circulates gratuitously and by sale from seventy-five thousand to one hundred thousand copies yearly. At present the society occupies a brick building at the northwest corner of Seventh and Walnut Streets, which is also occupied by the Philadelphia Bible Society and the Female Bible Society.

Officers.—President, Rev. Bishop M. Simpson, D.D.; Vice-Presidents, Rev. Charles A. Hay, D.D., Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., Hon. William Strong, LL.D., Rev. David R. Kerr, D.D., A. Updegraff, Esq., Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., Robert E. Sellers, Esq., Rev. William P. Breed, D.D., Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., Samuel Small, Esq.; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. John W. Dulles, D.D.; Recording Secretary, Gustavus Benson; Treasurer, Benjamin C. Godfrey; Secretary, Rev. Irwin H. Torrence; Depositary, John P. Rhoads.

We have in the preceding pages of this chapter attempted to give a fair idea of the number and character of the charitable, benevolent, and religious institutions of Philadelphia. This city has always been justly famed for its public and private philanthrophy, and is distinguished among many other good things by a multitude of class or religious organizations, having for their sole object the relief of the needy, the destitute, and the suffering. The system of philanthropy that is now being carried out by the city in its official capacity, and by religious denominations, associations, and private individuals, is of the most disinterested and broadest character. Whenever the city was found to be in need of more extensive or general work, the citizens by spontaneous action and liberal charity have, at all times, and under all circumstances, fully met the requirements.

During the last fifty years immense progress has been made, not only in this city, but throughout the world, in the treatment of the unfortunate classes. A considerable number of the insane are cured and restored to society; the idiotic are much advanced in self-control and the use of their faculties; the blind, if not taught to see, are at least so instructed that they join steadily in labors for production, and obtain

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much enjoyment from life; the deaf and dumb are taught to articulate so as apparently to be able to join in the business of the community, or they are so highly instructed in sign-language that they can form a social community of their own of culture, and capable of much social enjoyment.

The greatest practical advance in human methods, however, has undoubtedly been in the care of the neglected, exposed, and abandoned male and female children, as seen in the foundation of so many humanitarian institutions throughout the country, in the opening of innumerable mission-schools for poor and ignorant children, and in such extended original and successful labors for the prevention of childish misery and crime as exist in this city. Nothing is more characteristic of the barbarous period of society than its utter neglect of children; while, on the other hand, the highest attainment of social wisdom and the realization of Christianity are shown in the most watchful care for the young, and especially for the children of the unfortunate and the criminal. The culture of the young guards the future of society, and the prevention of misery and crime among children is a duty at once of economy and humanity. In no way can society save the vast losses it now sustains through pauperism and criminal offenses so well as by the care and education of the children of the most destitute classes. The extent and wisdom of this care are the measures of the civilization of a people. In this respect nothing can surpass the efforts of the charitable and benevolent associations of Philadelphia, in their spirit, their organization, and their success, and they compare favorably with any other humanitarian agencies that can be found in the United States.

Besides those mentioned, Philadelphia also contains the following charitable, benevolent, social, and religious institutions and associations:

Hestonville Relief Society, George Institute, 5100 Lancaster Avenue.

Sunday Breakfast Association, Eleventh and Wood Streets.

Female Episcopal Benevolent Society (Protestant Episcopal).

Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, 1411 Arch Street.

Female Association for Relief of Sick and Infirm Poor (Friends'), 152 North Fifteenth Street.

Presbyterian Board of Relief for Disabled Ministers, and the Widows and Orphans of Deceased Ministers. Office, 1334 Chestnut Street.

Ladies' United Aid Society of the Methodist Church, Thirteenth Street and Lehigh Avenue.

Musical Fund Society. Hall, Locust Street, above Eighth.

Nonpareil Typographical Society, 803 Locust Street.

Philadelphia Typographical Society, northwest corner Sixth and Walnut Streets.

Volunteer Firemen's Funeral Relief Association. Secretary's office, 511 South Fourth Street.

Society of the United Hebrew Charities, 325 North Fifth Street.

Preachers' Aid Society of the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, No. 1018 Arch Street.

Society for the Relief of Ministers and their Widows of the German Reformed Church of the United States.

Passenger Railway Relief Association of Philadelphia.

Friends' Association for Relief of Sick and Infirm Poor, 152 North Fifteenth Street.

Fund for the Education of the Sons of the Clergy (Protestant Episcopal).

Ladies Depository Association, 1024 Walnut Street.

Western Association of Ladies of Philadelphia for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, 19 South Seventeenth Street.

Albion Society.

Cambrian Society and Welsh Benevolent Institute, southwest corner Twelfth and Filbert Streets.

Hildise Bund, 111 North Fifth Street.

Italian Society, Columbus Hall, Eighth Street, below Fitzwater.

Kosciusko Association.

Scandinavian Society, 347 North Third Street,

Scots' Thistle Society, 216 Pine Street.

Vlastimal Society, 347 North Third Street.

Children's Asylum, Philadelphia Almshouse, Thirty-fourth and South Streets.

Children's Week in the Country, No. 1112 Girard Street.

Girard College, Ridge Avenue, above Nineteenth Street.

Orphans' Home of the Shepherd of the Lambs, Bridesburg.

Home for the Moral Reform of Destitute Colored Children.

Children's Aid Society, 1602 Chestnut Street.

The Pauline Home for Pauper Children, No. 106 Penn Street, Germantown.

Preachers' Aid Society of the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Office, 1018 Arch Street.

The Education Society of the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Office, 1018 Arch Street.

The Philadelphia Conference Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Colson Hieskell, president.

The Ladies' United Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mrs. Bishop Simpson, president, 1334 Arch Street.

Penn Industrial Reform School.

Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Vice and Crime, 209 South Sixth Street.

Board of Public Charities of the State of Pennsylvania. Office 1224 Chestnut Street.

Germantown Poor-House, Rittenhouse Street.

Roxborough Poor-House, Yellow School Lane.

BENEFICIAL SOCIETIES.

Bank Clerks' Beneficial Association, southwest corner of Twelfth and Filbert Streets.

Book-Keepers' Beneficial Association, Twelfth and Filbert Streets.

Hunt Female Beneficial Association, 1137 Ogden Street.

Mercantile Beneficial Association, Mercantile Library Building, Tenth Street, above Chestnut.

Mutual Aid Association of Friends, Race Street, above Fifteenth.

National Beneficial Association, 462 North Fourth Street.

St. John's Young Men's Beneficial Society, Queen Street, near Sixth.

Young Men's Hebrew Association, Thirteenth and Arch Streets.

Free Sons of Israel, Magnolia Street, above Fifth.

Asbury Beneficial Society of the City and County of Philadelphia.

Expressmen's Beneficial Society of Philadelphia.

Female Hope Beneficial Society of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia Union Beneficial Society.

St. Mary's Beneficial Society of the City of Philadelphia.

St. Paul's Beneficial Society of Young Men of the City and County of Philadelphia.

Samaritan Beneficial Society of the City and County of Philadelphia.

Southwark Beneficial Society.

United Hebrew Beneficial Society of Philadelphia.

Hebrew Society for the Visitation of the Sick and Mutual Assistance.

Jefferson Assistance Society of Germantown.

Ladies' United Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.

Keystone Mutual Beneficial Society, corner of Sixth and Vine Streets.

Independent Female Beneficial Association, Mechanics' Hall.

Rising Sun Beneficial Association, Mechanics' Hall.

Mayflower Beneficial Association, Mechanics' Hall.

St. Matthew's Beneficial Association, Eighteenth Street and Girard Avenue.

Unity Yearly Beneficial Association, northwest corner of Ridge Avenue and Wallace Street.

The Teachers' Beneficial Association of Philadelphia, Board of Education Building, Filbert Street, above Seventh.

WORKINGMEN'S CLUBS.

Epiphany Workingmen's Club, Market Street, below Seventeenth.

Franklin Workingmen's Club, 104 East Huntingdon Street.

Germantown Workingmen's Club, 4504 Germantown Avenue.

St. Mark's Workingmen's Club, southwest corner of Seventeenth and Kater Streets.

St. Timothy's Workingmen's Club and Institute, Wissahickon Station, Norristown Branch of Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.

Workingmen's Club and Reading-Room (Church of the Mediator), South Nineteenth Street, above Lombard.

Workingmen's Club and Beneficial Society of St. Peter's Church, 100 Pine Street.

Workingman's Club of Holy Trinity Parish, 2322 Market Street.

Progressive Workingmen's Club, 424 South Eleventh Street.

Workingmen's Club and Reading-Rooms of St. Luke's Church, 342 Dugan Street.

St. Clement's Workingmen's Club, 254 North Twentieth Street.

Blue Bell Hill Workingmen's Club, Old Township Line and Walnut Lane.

Mount Vernon Workingmen's Club, 1125 Mount Vernon Street.

Trinity Church Workingmen's Club, Forty-second and Woodland Avenue.

St. Mark's Guild, Frankford.

Friends' Association for the Free Instruction of Poor Children, Winslow Street, near Jacoby.

Friends' Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen.

Friends' Association for the Relief of Colored Freedmen.

Pennsylvania Society for Improving the Condition of the African Race.

Association of Friends for the Free Instruction of Adult Colored Persons, 304 Arch Street.

Orphan Education Society, under care of the Congregation Keneseth Israel, Sixth Street, above Brown.

Penn Sewing School (Friends'), Race Street, above Fifteenth.

West Philadelphia Industrial School (Roman Catholic), Pine and Thirty-ninth Streets.

FREE INSTITUTES AND LIBRARIES.

West Philadelphia Institute, northwest corner of Fortieth and Ludlow Streets.

Young Men's Institute, 232 Walnut Street, having charge of the following, viz.:

1. Mechanics' Institute, South Fifth Street, below Washington Avenue.
2. Moyamensing Literary Institute, corner of Catharine and Eleventh Streets
3. Philadelphia City Institute, northeast corner of Chestnut and Eighteenth Streets.
4. Spring Garden Institute, corner of Broad and Spring Garden Streets.
5. Kensington Literary Institute, corner of Girard Avenue and Day Street.

Sub-Primary School Society.

The Society for Providing Evangelical Literature for the Blind, 3518 Lancaster Avenue.

Bishop White Parish Library Association, 325 South Twelfth Street.

Churchmen's Missionary Association for Seamen of the Port of Philadelphia (Protestant Episcopal), northwest corner of Front and Queen Streets.

Indians' Hope Association (Protestant Episcopal) of Pennsylvania, 411 Spruce Street.

Indian Aid Association (Friends'), Race Street, above Fifteenth.

Locust Street Mission Association (Friends'), southeast corner of Locust and Raspberry Streets.

Board of City Missions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Philadelphia, 726 North Seventh Street.

Board of Trustees of the Howard Building, Bainbridge Street, east of Fourth.

Bishop White Prayer-Book Society (Protestant Episcopal).

Bible Association of Friends in America, 116 North Fourth Street.

Episcopal Female Tract Society Depository, 1226 Chestnut Street.

Female Prayer-Book Society, 719 Pine Street.

First-Day School Union.

Philadelphia Conference Tract Society, 1018 Arch Street.

Philadelphia Tract and Mission Society, 1224 Chestnut Street.

Society for the Increase of the Ministry. Under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Tract Association of Friends, 304 Arch Street.

Young Men's Christian Association of Germantown, Main Street.

Philadelphia First-Day School Association, Fifteenth and Race Streets.

Mutual Aid Association of Friends, Fifteenth and Race Streets.

Protestant Episcopal Sunday-School Association, 1102 Walnut Street.

Women's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions (Protestant Episcopal).

Society for the Promoting Christianity among the Jews (Protestant Episcopal).

Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania (Protestant Episcopal).

Flower Mission.

Germantown Flower Mission.

Beneficent Building Association, 619 Walnut Street.

Pennsylvania Colonization Society, 609 Walnut Street.

Pennsylvania Peace Society, 813 Arch Street.

Philadelphia Fountain Society. Office, 1512 Walnut Street.

Universal Peace Union, 813 Arch Street.

Church Temperance Society (Protestant Episcopal).

Home Teaching for Adult Blind.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE BENCH AND BAR.

We know not how old may be the expression that, ever since our childhood, we have often heard, even among uneducated persons, when reference was made to uncommonly subtle and difficult questions,—"That would puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer." But whoever has carefully studied the history of the bench and bar of this city has found why that expression originated; for during a period of very many years, not only since, but before the Declaration of Independence (in the year 1776), the bench and the bar of Philadelphia were above those of any other city in North America. For a long time the most populous in the country, near the centre of its population, the chief gathering-place for the councils of the several colonies, afterward the seat of the Federal government for a quarter of a century, Philadelphia became the cynosure that attracted far more than its proportional share of talent, learning, and enterprise.

The lawyer was not an object of solicitude to the founder of Pennsylvania. The people who came with him were opposed to litigation and to lawyers who were servants of litigation. The earliest legislation of the province was such as tended to discourage, and even prevent, the rise of the legal profession, as if it were hostile or at least hindering to civil and social progress. William Penn and Friends who came with him were influenced by this prejudice. In some respects a man of marvelous sagacity, a statesman, considering the examples of his times, of uncommon sense of justice and liberality, yet he dreaded the influence upon his proprietary rights and the fortunes of his family by the too early growth into importance of a class above a safe level of intelligence in the concerns of government. A judicature of some sort he could not fail to know

to be necessary for society, however peaceful and pious in its foundation. Yet he thought it prudent to organize it by placing at its head such men as Cousins Markham and Crispin, not too learned in the lore of courts, and especially men who would be faithful to himself, who was the chief fountain of all law in the province.

William Penn was a man who deeply, sincerely loved peace. It was his earnest desire that all disputes among his followers should be settled among themselves, either by private reference or at "meeting." Knowing this to be impracticable upon other than a very limited scale, he provided for the appointment of "peacemakers," who were to be arbitrators with the powers of judges and jurors to settle disputes. These means failing, he organized courts which were to be held in terror over those who had failed to "agree with their adversaries while in the way with them." It is interesting to contemplate the curious blending of the functions of government in these courts instituted by a man of great virtues and sagacity, yet not learned in judicial science, and jealous, perhaps unconsciously to much extent, of those who might be.

There was the Provincial Council, presided over by Penn himself, proprietary and Governor. This, also, exercised in some matters the functions of a High Court of Errors and Appeals. The following is a decree rendered in this court in an early case: The Court "advised them [the parties] to shake hands and forgive one another, and ordered that they should enter into bonds for fifty pounds a piece for their good abearance, which accordingly they did." The final order in the decree seems strange, considering how fair was the proprietary in his usual dealings. "It was also ordered that the records of the court concerning that business should be burnt." This action was prophetic of what was to be afterward when the press should make its first efforts to become free. The proprietary was desirous that whatever was discordant or unhappy in his government should be known as little as possible to the public, abroad or at home; that his administration, if not entirely peaceful, should at least appear so, except among the discordant and litigant themselves. His opposition to lawyers was owing as much, perhaps, as any other reason, to his apprehension of their fomenting litigation, and the publicity that would be given by their extravagant assaults and defenses of parties in judicial suits.

With the exception of this unreasonable prejudice, the earliest system of provincial jurisdiction was singularly good, consisting of that above mentioned, and those subordinate. Peter McCall, in his address before the Law Academy of Philadelphia, in 1838, thus speaks of that system: "The first organization of the courts was admirable for its simplicity and convenience. The County Court, in the days of Alfred and Egbert, a tribunal of great dignity and splendor, was drawn from the obscurity into which it had sunk after the Norman invasion, and was made the ground-work of the edifice. It was composed of the justices of the peace of the several counties, with an appeal to the Provincial or Supreme Court. The Provincial Court originally consisted of five judges. The members afterward varied from five to three, who went their circuits every fall and spring in each county. To it belonged the cognizance of the higher criminal offenses, and all appeals from the County Courts, both in law and equity. To complete the structure there were added the Quarter Sessions and Orphans' Court, and the Admiralty. Such was the plan of the judicial system established at the settlement of the colony; so simple, yet convenient in its arrangements, that though frequent alterations were made in its details by subsequent legislation, the general outline remains to the present day a standing proof of its enduring excellence."

As early as 1685 the county courts, which had theretofore been courts of law only, were made those of equity also, the same justices holding them, but when sitting in equity causes called commissioners. The proprietary and his Council held Admiralty jurisdiction until the year 1693, after which the judges of the Vice-Admiralty were appointed by the commissioners of the Admiralty in England, with commissions by the crown under the great seal of the High Court of Admiralty. In 1789 the Admiralty jurisdiction was vested by the Constitution of the United States in the United States District Courts.

Penn made whatever efforts that seemed possible of success to make the evil of lawyers, whom he could not but foresee would arise in time, as harmless as possible. In the year 1686 a law was made "for the avoiding of too frequent clamors and manifest inconveniences which usually attend mercenary pleadings in civil causes." By this law it was enacted that "noe person shall plead in any civill causes of another in any court whatsoever within this province and territories before he be solemnly attested in open court that he neither directly nor indirectly hath in anywise taken, or will take or receive to his use or benefit any reward whatsoever for his soe pleading, under penalty of £5, if the contrary be made appear." Before this, besides the right of all persons to "plead in their own cases," had been allowed that whenever not able so to do, "by their friends." A lawyer, therefore, might plead for the love but not the money of his friend, a rule that did not seem likely to produce very soon a very able bar. To prevent further litigation that might make necessary the employment of persons learned in the law, the arbitration law was passed in 1705, providing that parties having accounts to produce one against another may consent to a rule of court for referring the adjustment thereof to certain persons mutually chosen by them in open court, whose award, when approved of by the court and entered upon the record, should have the effect of a verdict given by a jury. This law was extremely popular

and was adhered to for many years subsequent to the war of independence.

Of the county courts there were three: the Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and the Orphans' Court. Special Courts of Oyer and Terminer were held by judges specially appointed for that service from time to time, including almost always at least one of those on the Supreme Bench. Besides these was the City Court, consisting of the mayor, recorder, and aldermen, presided over by the recorder. As to the locality of what is known as *equity* jurisdiction apart from that of *common law*, it maintained during many years conflicts for independent separate existence.

In Pennsylvania there were courts before Penn. Forty years anterior to his proprietorship (1642) they had been established by John Printz, the Swedish Governor, at New Gottenburg, now Tinicum. This lawgiver had instructed his judges to decide all controversies according to the laws, customs, and usages of Sweden. The seat of justice was removed to Upland (since Chester) about twenty years afterward, the Dutch on taking possession of the country (in 1664) and the English (1672) having allowed, until Penn's accession, the magistrates to continue in office. In fact, for several years Upland Court was the superior tribunal which ruled in legal matters over all the territory upon the upper Delaware from Chester up to the falls.

Penn came to his office with his share of the notions of his countrymen who were unlearned in the law, about both the necessity of its being and of restraint upon the action of its officials. It is curious to contemplate how soon an able bar arose in Philadelphia, when we remember not only rules were made against their practicing in the courts for fees or rewards, but that for a long period none of them were placed upon the bench; and, further, that these courts, thus instituted, were partly judicial, partly executive, partly legislative; and, further, that their judicial functions were partly according to common law and partly to equity. To add to what now, at least, appears to have been confusing, some of the officials in one court had co-ordinate jurisdiction with those in another; for instance, the aldermen of the city sat in the City Court as associate judges, the recorder at the head, and such of those as were justices of the peace and of the courts assisted the other justices or judges in the Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, and Orphans' Courts. *They were justices of the peace* who were commissioned as justices of the courts that held the county courts (Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, and Orphans' Court) from the beginning as far as the Revolution; and before that time, certainly at least in the Court of Common Pleas, scarcely a single lawyer had ever been raised to the bench. As for the confusion concerning the exercise of equity jurisdiction, this arose, in spite of the fact that it was assigned by law to the Court of Common Pleas, from the lack of learning of all sorts among the early judges. We are informed that out of the act of 1701 that invested the judges of the Common Pleas with equity powers, arose speedily a dispute whether the Governor should or should not be chancellor.

Yet it is scarcely to be denied that this very confusion regarding the province of equity was a benefit to judicial legislation not only in Pennsylvania, but in other States which looked to Philadelphia when it possessed the most gifted examples, both upon the bench and at the bar. Except for a period of fifteen years (from 1720 to 1735) there never has been in the State a distinct Court of Chancery. Such a court was established during the administration of Governor Keith; but it was abolished after the brief period above mentioned. Under his influence the law had been enacted in the hope of settling forever the question of where was located the proper home of that jurisdiction that was intended to baffle the chicanery of lawyers, and mitigate the rigors of the common law. The Governor's proclamation regarding that court runs thus:

"A PROCLAMATION.—Whereas, complaints have been made that Courts of Chancery or Equity are absolutely necessary in the administration of Justice for mitigating in many cases ye Rigor of ye Laws, whose Judgments are tied down to fixed and unalterable Rules, and for Opening a way to the Right and Equity of a Cause, for which the Law cannot in all cases make a Sufficient Provision, Have, notwithstanding, been but too seldom regularly held in this Province in such a manner as ye Aggrieved Subject might obtain ye Relief which by such Courts ought to be Granted. And, Whereas, the Representatives of ye Freemen of this Province, taking the same into Consideration, did at their last meeting in Assembly request me that I would with ye Assistance of ye Council Open and hold such a Court of Equity for this Province. To ye end, therefore, that his Majesties' good subjects may no longer labor under those inconveniences which are now Complained of, I have thought fitt by, &c., with ye advice of ye Council, hereby to Publish and Declare, That with their assistance I Purpose (God Willing) to open and hold a Court of Chancery or Equity for this Province of Pennsylvania at ye Court-House of Philadelphia, on Thursday, ye twenty-fifth day of this instant (August), From which date the said Court will be and remain always open for ye Relief of ye subject, to hear and Determine all such matters arising within the Province afores[d] as are regularly cognizable before any Court of Chancery, According to ye Laws and Constitution of that part of Great Britain called England and his Majesties' Judges of his Supreme Court, as well as ye Justices of ye Superior Courts, and all others whom it may concern are required to take notice hereof and govern themselves accordingly.

"Given at Philadelphia ye tenth day of August, in the Seventh year of ye Reign of Our Sovereign Lord GEORGE, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., Annoq. Domini, 1720.

"God Save the King.

"WILLIAM KEITH."

The law enacting the establishing of this court was repealed, as we have seen, and since that time (1735) there has not been another. The sentiments of a large majority of the people of Pennsylvania, both as a province and a State, have been averse to a separate court of equity. Indeed, there is no need of such a court anywhere when equitable jurisdiction is imparted to common law judges with the caution which has been observed in the courts of this State. The time has long passed when decrees in equity can be rendered according to the individual notions of right and wrong entertained by presiding magistrates.

They are safe only when rendered, not in opposition to, but in analogy with the law, and in all possible harmony with it. The safest equity judge (judicial temper and integrity being not in question) is he who is at the same time the ablest, or would make the ablest, judge of a common law court. It is such as he who is the quickest to see wherein the common law is inadequate for all its behests, and is ready to employ those exceptional peculiar powers that are meant to supply what the common law lacks in the complete ascertainment of rights.

These preliminary observations seemed proper to be made before beginning with the long list of those eminent men for whom the bench and bar of Philadelphia soon became distinguished.

In a new community, settled and controlled by bold and thoughtful, though not learned men, what judicature is needed may afford to be simple in its inception. Very different were the variety, the subtlety, and the importance of civil suits in a city like London or Manchester, and in a town like Philadelphia two centuries ago. Here judges, if not learned in the law, were as learned as any, except an occasional lawyer, whose stock of learning could not be well increased without fees, with which to purchase law-books as well as bread. Such judges, in spite of their ignorance of legal principles and formularies, might sit upon cases that arose in a simple state of society, and give judgments that in the main would be satisfactory. As wealth and population increased, and labor and enterprise became diversified, there would arise those who were competent to conduct litigation multiplied according to the subtleties and necessities that would of necessity follow. There was sometimes one lawyer among the judges in the person of the recorder, who presided in the City Court. To this court belonged almost exclusively the trial of crimes committed within the limits of the city, so that the Quarter Sessions was relieved of the most disagreeable and difficult business that afterward befell that tribunal. The Common Pleas and Orphans' Court, and the Quarter Sessions, all served by the same judge, were occupied chiefly with executive, rather than judicial, concerns, such as laying out and working upon public roads, granting licenses, appointment of guardians, and other trusts, such as require not great learning in those who are chosen to discharge them. Then we should not forget the salutary influence of the "peace-makers." In a peaceful society the control that a few men, known to be upright, just, and benevolent, can exert is always very great, especially when the prevailing religious tone is one that inculcates quiet and friendship with peculiar stress. Some idea may be had of the amount of business transacted in courts when we are informed that the proceedings of every kind, during twelve years of the Orphans' Court, from 1719 to 1731, would fill not more than twenty or twenty-five pages of an ordinary 12mo printed volume. Then much of the business in criminal causes was the trial of petty offenses, as the utterance of oaths in the market-places and appearing upon the streets, whether in innocent mischief or not, of men and boys in women's apparel, the latter being pronounced in one instance by the good magistrate, who was horrified by the necessity of trying it, as an offense "against the law of God, the law of this province, and the law of nature, to the straining of holy profession and incoridging of wickedness in this place."

Notwithstanding such simplicity, it is surprising in what brief time came forward men who gave that rapid impulsion to bench and bar which made them easily take rank quite above those in any other American province. Most commendable is the pride with which the lawyers of Philadelphia, conscious of their value, have rescued from oblivion the names of those who have illustrated the history of their profession. The bar of Philadelphia rose into distinction so early after the settlement of the town, it was composed of men, some of them so gifted, both in genius and character, that it soon became a sort of guild, with a code of manners and deportment that was the more binding because unwritten, and its records were things too valuable for its members, living at any period of its existence, to suffer to be destroyed. If ever there was in this country an aristocracy of talent, the only aristocracy that ought to exist in any country, and that can exist in a country like ours, it was that of the bench and bar of Philadelphia for a hundred years, beginning in the first half of the last century.

The bench of Philadelphia began upon a basis of integrity and respectability. The men in the settlement who were most known for good character and good sense were appointed to the magistracy, and, except for the first prejudices against lawyers as a class, the early conduct of judicial administration might be regarded as nearly faultless as in its peculiar circumstances it was possible to be made. Even these prejudices were temporary, as they must necessarily have been when the increasing importance of the affairs of the province must demonstrate the indispensability of legal science in the ascertainment of disputes concerning individual rights and wrongs. Integrity and respectability, these were the first essential qualifications for a Philadelphia judge. But that such a fact has been often observed, it might not be believed how soon a man of good sense and probity may become a reasonably good judge of a court, even one of high jurisdiction. Law being, or aiming to be, at least, "the perfection of human reason," a man of good sense and probity, or such a man along with several others of his kind, by careful attention to his official duties, may himself be surprised to notice how soon he will become familiar, not only with the principles but the formulæ of judicial transactions. On the death or retirement of these early judges it became a habit of making records, in one form and another, at least in cases of special prominence, of

their peculiar points of excellence, a habit which, persisted in, has given to us that familiarity with the judicial history of Philadelphia that we value so much. For instance, Isaac Norris presided for a long time in the Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas, and was a member of Council for more than thirty years. Notice was taken of this judge, at the same time merchant, after his death, that took place in 1735, a part of which reads thus, "His great abilities in the discharge of his duty in each of these stations (judge and councilor) made him the justly esteemed, one of the most considerable, men in the government. His courteous deportment and affability gained him the love and respect of many. His quickness of apprehension, liveliness of expression, and soundness of judgment met and were remarkably conspicuous in this good man, nor did it appear that the age of sixty-four had impaired any of these valuable qualities. None were more frequently applied to for composing differences than Mr. Norris, and few succeeded better in good offices of this kind, his reputation for sense and integrity being so well established that both parties willingly submitted themselves to the determination of his superior understanding." Therein nothing is said of him as one familiar with legal decisions and principles. Yet such praise is wanting in nothing that would add to the reputation of a judge who was thus plainly shown to be sufficient for all the behests of the judicial offices that he had held during his life that was now passed.

We give here a copy of the *Precept* for the first court which was held in the city:[1]

"*To ye high Sherif of ye County of Philadelphia:*

"Nicholas More, Esq., &c., President of ye Free Socyety and Court of Justices.

"Thomas Ferman, Esq., and one of ye Justices of ye Peace.

"Lawrence Cock, Esq., and one of ye Justices of ye Peace.

"Three Justices of ye King shall keep ye Peace in ye County of Philadelphia, and they that are appointed shall hear and terminate divers ffelonies, transgressions, and other wicked deeds being committed in ye County aforesaid, vizt. We do command through all ye parts of ye same County aforesaid, and in ye authority of ye King, that thou mayest go thorow it and Cause to come before us or our Companions, ye Justices of ye Peace in Philadelphia ye Eleventh day of ye Eleventh month alias January att ye Blew Anchor, att 10 of the clock, such twenty ffoure honest and lawfull men of ye County and twenty-ffoure *Milites et al. provos et legaces homines de Corpore Com.* and other honest and lawfull men of ye body of ye County, whosoever they be, and that have possessions and be ffree Indwellers to Enquire in and in ye place concerning these things wch shall be Commended you of ye King aforesaid: also yee must cause all Crowners of ye County Marshalls, Constables, and other officers of ye County, to Know it that they are then, att that time to know and to fill up those things wch they must do by reason of their offices. Moreover, thou must cause to be proclaimed in all ye County and privilege, and in fitt places, that ye sessions of ye Peace shall be held att ye day and place beforesaid, and that thyselfe must be there to know and perform those things wch belong to thy office: and thou must have so many names of witnesses, Crowners, Marshalls, Constables, &c., as is required by precept.

"Dated under our seales ye 2d January, 1682–83.

"N. MORE [SEAL]
"THO. ffarman [SEAL]
"LASSE COCK. [SEAL]"

Each of these seals has impression of the coat of arms of the signer. On that of Nicholas More is a shield of four quarterings, the first and fourth, four bars (barry), second and third a lion rampant, crowned, crest, a ducal coronet: the shield surrounded by olive branches. That of Thomas Fairman (ffarman, he writes himself) has a shield having a chevron with two squirrels above and below it. That of Lasse Cock has a pelican on her nest in a circle, feeding her young with blood from her breast.

We should have a very large amount of these records of judicial proceedings, but for the carelessness of the janitors of the court-house buildings, to whose custody in the early part of this century they were assigned by the county commissioners without strict instructions as to their safe keeping. Some of these persons, it was afterward ascertained by a member of the bar, were in the habit of kindling the fires of the court-rooms with them. Some of the most curious and interesting that remained were rescued, and afterward bound in a volume by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Here follow copies of some presentments:

"PHILADELPHIA, *ss.* We, the Jurors for this City, doe present Philip Kilbeck, of Chester County; for that on the twenty-third Day of this instant, at night, at the house of Margaret Garret, in the front Street, in Philadelphia, aforesd, did then and theire mennace and threaten herman Debick, by drawing his bayonet and making a pop at him, the said herman; and at the same time and place abovesaid did other three curses to the terrifiding of the said herman and other the Queen's Leige people, contrary to the laws in that case made and provided. Signed in behalf of the Rest of the Jurors this 28th day of the 7th mo., 1702, pr.

"JOHN PSONS, *Foreman.*

"Appears and submits, and puts himself in mercy of the Court.

"Kilbeck for breach of the peace and three curses, xxx s."

Another reads thus:

"PHILADELPHIA, the 3d day of the 9th Mon., 1702.

"Wee, the Grand Inquest for the body of this city, do present Thomas Mattocks, of Philadelphia, Butcher, for drunkennes, & particularly upon the twenty-fourth day of the Eighth month, he, the said Thomas Mattocks, was drunk in the market-place of this city. Sined in behalf of the said inquest by JNO. PSONS, *forman.*

"Wee also present George Robinson, of Philadelphia, butcher, for uttering a grevious oth on the thirtieth day of the seventh month last, another oth the tenth day of the eighth month last past in Philadelphia, aforesaid. Sined in behalf of the said inquest by JNO. PSONS, *forman.*

"Submitts. Whereupon the Court fines him XII S. for the sd oaths, it being the 2nd offence, & orders him to be discharged, the Court paying his fees."

The third is,—

"The 4 of ye 12 month, 1702.

"We, ye Grand Jury of ye City of Philadelphia, present Sarah Stivee, wife of John Stivee, of this city, for being dressed in men's cloathes, contrary to the nature of her sects, and in such disguises walked through the streets of this city and from house to house on or about the 26th of tenth month to the grate disturbance of well-minded persons and incoridging of vice in this place; for this and other like enormities, we pray this honorable Bench to supress. Sined in behalf of the rest, ABRAHAM HOOPER, *forman.*"

[1] This precept illustrates plainly one of the most confusing peculiarities of the early period, viz.: the carelessness which prevailed as to the proper spelling of Christian names and surnames. It seemed to be a privilege to spell a name in any style, and to vary it with each repetition. Thus Thomas Fairman is called in this writ *Ferman* and signs it *ffarman.* *Lawrence* Cock signs his name *Lasse*, and we may add that it was frequently spelled *Lars.* This will account for different methods of spelling names to be found in this work, which could not be avoided sometimes by reason of contemporary errors and differences.

Yet another of the same date,—

"We, of the Grand Jury for the Citty of philadelphia, Do psent John Joyse for having of to wifes at ouce, which is boath against the law of God & man."

It is usual in the lists of appointments of attorney-general of the province of Pennsylvania to place the names in order of appointments, thus: "1683, 8th month [October] 6th, John White; 1686, Jan. 16 [new style], Samuel Hersent; 1686, 2nd mo. [April], David Lloyd." It is doubtful whether these assignments are correct. John White was appointed, according to the minutes of the Provincial Council, "Attorney-General to plead the cause between Our Propr & Govr and Char: Pickering & Samuel Buckley." The appointment was for a special object, and related to a prosecution in Philadelphia only.

Samuel Hersent, "appointed 16th of 11th Mo. (Jany), 1685–86," might or might not have been a lawyer. He was sheriff of Philadelphia at the time, and his authority was somewhat special in character,—"To prosecute all offenders against Ye penall Laws of this Province & to search for those Yt are on Record Convicted, & prosecute them if Yt have not satisfied Ye Law." At the next meeting it is said,—"Samll Hersent, Atturney for Ye *County of Philadelphia* was attested in Yt Office." In the minutes of 1st of second month (April), 1686, the commission of Hersent was called for and was found to be "Impowering him to be Atturney for Ye County of Philadelphia to prosecute all offenders that break Ye penall statutes of this Province." . . . "It was put to Ye Vote whether a Sheriff should be an Atturney in the same Court he is Sheriff: Was carried in Ye negative, *nemine contra dicente*, with an Order thereon to be made." From this it is doubtful whether Hersent ever was attorney-general of the province. His duties seem to have been as prosecutor for the city and county of Philadelphia.

At a meeting of the Council on the 5th of the Sixth month (October), 1686, "David Lloyd Presented his Commission, given him by Ye Govr, bearing date Ye 24 of Ye 2nd Mo., Apll, 1686, Constituting him Atturney Genll for this Province and Territorys, To wch he was Attested, Declaring his Allegiance to Ye King, Fidelity to the Govr & Governmt, and faithful performance of his Office." This commission came from Penn himself, who was generally called the "Govr." Lloyd seems to have been the first attorney-general appointed for the province, and was therefore independent of Council. He held other offices at the same time. Lloyd arrived in Philadelphia in the ship "Amity" on the 15th of the Fifth month, 1686, and must have received his appointment from Penn in England. In 1789, Lloyd was clerk of the County Court of Philadelphia, of the Provincial Court, and deputy clerk to Thomas Lloyd, master of the rolls. In that year he came under censure of the Council for having refused to produce the records of court before that body. The Council voted that he was "unfit to be a public clerk or public officer of record before any court in this government," and that he stand discharged therefrom till upon acknowledgment of his offense and giving the Council satisfaction the Governor shall think fit to commission him again. James Claypole was appointed in his stead, but David Lloyd refused to give up the records to him, and immediately afterward Thomas Lloyd, who was master of the rolls, appointed David Lloyd deputy clerk of the County Court, a proceeding which caused great dissatisfaction in the Councils, the members of which looked upon the transaction as a contempt of the Governor's authority.

On the 19th of May, 1698, John Moore was appointed attorney-general. He was at the time attorney-general for the king and prosecutor in the Admiralty. At first he refused to accept the office under the province, but afterward accepted that appointment (first Logan Papers, p. 60). After David Lloyd ceased to be attorney-general he became quite conspicuous in the political affairs of the province. He was elected member of the Assembly for Philadelphia County in 1701, and was Speaker at the session of 1703, and continued to be re-elected and hold that office until and including the sessions of 1709–10. He was also a member for the county at the session of 1711–12. He removed to Chester, it is supposed by Dr. Smith, in 1710, but it is doubtful whether he was a permanent resident before 1712. During his term in the Assembly Lloyd was at the head of the anti-proprietary party, particularly in the disputes with the Assembly. He drew and signed the address to the proprietary in 1704, which was so offensive to Penn that he sent over from England directions that Lloyd as a signer of the address should be prosecuted for high crimes and indicted. This was not done, probably through the exercise of discretion by James Logan, who had the direction of Penn's affairs, and was already in hot water in consequence of previous disputes. In 1718, Lloyd was appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court, and was reappointed in 1726. On the 4th of February, 1731, the Council declared that he was "unfit to act." He died on the 5th of April, aged seventy-eight years. Lloyd was born in the year 1656, in the parish of Manavan, in the county of Montgomery, North Wales. His first wife, Sarah, was born at Cirensister, Gloucestershire, England. She came with him to America, but died some time after her arrival. Lloyd married for his second wife Grace Growden, who survived him.[1]

Edward Shippen was a native (born 1639) of Yorkshire, where his family, having removed anciently from Cheshire, had for a long period their ancestral hall,—Hellham. He emigrated, in 1668, to Boston,

[1] Lloyd erected at Chester the fine old mansion "Green Bank" in 1721. In after-times it was the residence of Commodore David Porter, of the United States navy, and is still called Green Bank. Grace Lloyd, his second wife, died in 1760 at an advanced age, probably ninety years.—*Martin's History of Chester*, p. 80.

where in mercantile pursuits he in a few years accumulated a fortune of ten thousand pounds. A member of the Church of England, he married Elizabeth Sybrand, a Quakeress, and adopted her faith; and during several years bore courageously his part of the persecutions inflicted on that sect by the Puritans. On the appearance, in 1693, of a meteor in the heavens, over Boston, the authorities there, supposing that they were threatened with the vengeance of heaven for their mildness in the punishment of Quakers and Baptists, turned upon them such vials of wrath that Mr. Shippen was driven to seek a home in the city of Penn. But before he left Boston he erected a monument, which he in vain endeavored and hoped to make enduring, near what he styled "a pair of gallows, where several of our friends had suffered death for the truth, and were thrown into a hole." He soon acquired by his wealth and character so high a position in his new home that he was elected (1695) Speaker of the Assembly, and made by popular vote, the next year, one of the Provincial Council, and returned to the same office at several successive elections. In 1700 he was nominated to the same board by Penn, and became one of the justices of Philadelphia County, and afterward the first mayor of the city. For a while he was at the head of the government, and was made one of the judges of the Provincial Supreme Court. His marriage (for the third time) led to his separation from the Quakers. He died in 1712. He was distinguished proverbially (says Keith, Provincial Council) for three great things: "the biggest person, the biggest house, and the biggest coach." His country-house stood at what is now the southwest corner of South and Broad Streets.

James Logan was a descendant of the Baron Logan, of Restalrig, Scotland, whose property was confiscated for connection with the Gowrie conspiracy in the reign of King James VI. His father, Rev. Patrick Logan, became a Quaker, and afterward removed to Bristol, England. His son James was born at Lurgan, County Armagh, Oct. 20, 1674. He had begun a successful mercantile career, when he accepted the invitation of William Penn to accompany him, as secretary, to Pennsylvania. An amusing anecdote is told by Keith about this voyage. "On the way over the ship was attacked by pirates, and Logan took part in the defense of it, while Penn, the stancher Quaker, perhaps a Quaker by conversion, while Logan was only a Quaker by birth, retired down below. The pirates were beaten off, after which Penn expostulated with Logan for engaging in battle. Logan replied that if Penn had disapproved, Penn being Logan's master, should have ordered him down."

On their arrival in Philadelphia, Penn appointed him secretary of the Council, and two years afterward, on his departure for England, made him one of the commissioners of property and also receiver general to collect quit-rents, look after fines and perquisites, discharge debts, and pay officers for whose salary provisions had not yet been made by the Assembly. Henceforward Logan became the general business agent of Penn during his lifetime, and of his family after his death, being appointed to the last position by will. He was elevated to a seat in the Council in 1704. Disputes had arisen during the proprietary's first sojourn in his province, on the one side with the officers of the crown on several subjects, and with the poorer sort of Quakers, on the other, about quit-rents. Of the three Deputy Governors who administered the government after his departure, Evans, Gookin, and Keith, not one was competent for the embarrassments of the province. Logan, honestly and ardently devoted to the interests of his employer, was yet haughty and aristocratic in tone and bearing. The lapse of Evans while Deputy Governor into licentiousness, and his continual disputes with the Assembly, were employed by David Lloyd to incite the Quakers generally against him and the government. So fierce was the resentment against Logan, who was secretary, that the Assembly presented articles of impeachment against him. The defiant attitude of Logan, united with the Governor's decision that he had no right to try impeachments, exasperated the Assembly to that degree that they ordered the sheriff of Philadelphia to arrest him while on the eve of his departure for England, and hold him in prison until he should recant some of the invectives which he had thrown upon several of its members. But the sheriff dared not obey a mandate so evidently unlawful, especially when directed against one in whom he knew the proprietor had such confidence, and the secretary was allowed to go away without molestation.

He remained abroad about a year, and upon return was made one of the proprietary's attorneys for the sale of lands in order to pay the debts in which the province had been involved. At the accession of King George I., Deputy Governor Gookin having charged Logan and the Quakers with being not faithfully disposed toward the new government, he was removed by Logan's solicitation, and Keith substituted in his stead. An accomplished, able man was Keith, but of a will too ardent for the safe guidance of such a government. It was during his administration that the first paper currency was started in the province, and it was through his influence that a militia law was passed, as well as one for the establishment of a separate Court of Chancery, which we have seen had an existence of only fifteen years, destined after its abolishment never to be revived. Keith was ever disposed to question the authority of the Provincial Council, as it was not recognized, he contended, in the charter of 1701. Logan and the Council were indignant that their views were so little consulted, and on one occasion, with a majority of the members present, left the meeting, whereupon the Governor, with the few that were left, passed the bills, and Logan was shortly afterward removed from the office

of secretary. Penn died in 1718, having appointed by his will Logan as trustee of all his possessions in America, and Hannah Penn constituted him one of her attorneys. He became mayor of Philadelphia in 1723. After this he made a visit to England for the purpose of laying before Hannah Penn his complaints for the treatment he had received from Keith, and returned with a letter from her to the Governor ordering him not only to restore Logan to the secretaryship, but to be controlled by him in the general management of his office. A fierce conflict arose. The Governor was defiant, and the Assembly was in accord with him until it was rumored that the wishes of Logan and the widow had prevailed at court, when the Assembly were not slow to leave the Governor to fight the battle alone. In 1726, Patrick Gordon arrived with a commission from the Penns that had been confirmed by the crown. Logan was not only restored to the office of secretary, but made one of the justices. In 1731 he became chief justice of the Supreme Court. Lieutenant-Governor Gordon having died in 1736, the office of president of the Council devolved upon Logan as senior member. This created him chief magistrate of the province until the arrival of the new Lieutenant-Governor, George Thomas. Logan had refused the offer of Lieutenant-Governorship on account of the troubles he had had with the question of the boundary lines between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and his having been ordered by the government in England to cease to meddle in that dispute until having received further and definite instructions from thence. After the coming of Thomas he retired from politics, and spent the remainder of his life on his estate, "Stenton," near Germantown, dying in 1751.

The government of Pennsylvania and the society of Philadelphia had never had an officer more vigorously active in the various services in which he acted during all the years from his first arrival to his retirement. He found time amidst his public duties and devotion to his mercantile and other private interests to pursue studies both in science and literature. He contributed papers to the Philosophical Transactions on Lightning. Several of his written productions were published in Europe, as "Canonum pro Inveniendis Refractionum," "Epistola ad Joannem Albertum Fabricium," "Demonstrationes de Radiorum Lucis." He established for the benefit of the people of Philadelphia a free library, and gave a lot and one thousand pounds' value of books. He also erected a library building that he designed to add to this gift, but died before the deed was executed. This was the beginning of the Loganian Library. He, while chief justice, translated the "De Senectute" of Cicero, and the "Disticha" of Cato. He was one of the trustees named in the deed by which the meeting-house of Whitefield was given for an academy, destined in time to become the University of Pennsylvania.

As early as 1690 young Isaac Norris, the first representative of this family in American history, was sent by his father, a Friend, who had recently settled at Port Royal, in Jamaica, to Penn's new colony, in search of a fresh resting-place for his family, but upon his return to that island to report his views of this unfamiliar province, he was saddened by the tragic news that his father and all his family had perished, with their possessions, in a frightful earthquake, which had devastated Jamaica while Isaac was on his journey.

Returning to Philadelphia in the year 1693 he soon rose to power and fortune, one of his first steps in the direction of those goals being his marriage, in 1694, with Mary Lloyd, whose influential and well-known father, Thomas Lloyd, was president of the Provincial Council and a man of mark in the new-founded town.

Isaac Norris adopted mercantile pursuits as his business, and in them he seems to have attained large financial success at a time when he was still young in years. About 1706 he made the then unusual journey to England, where he became well acquainted with William Penn, whom he helped to release from the jail, where his creditors had placed him. While there he was hospitably received by his wife's family, the Lloyds of Dolobran, but whether this visit abroad was one of business or of mere pleasure is not now apparent.

In the investment of the moneys which he amassed in his business Mr. Norris showed sagacity. Evidently believing that there was a great future for the young colony, he bought largely of real estate, beginning such acquisitions in 1704, and continuously adding to them hereafter. At one time he owned about eight thousand acres on the east bank of the Schuylkill, situated in and about the present borough of Norristown, for which he seems to have paid some nine hundred and twenty-five pounds Pennsylvania money, or about two thousand five hundred dollars. His town residence was what was well known as the "Slate-Roof House," on Second Street, below Chestnut, but the purchase which is most nearly connected with his name was that of "Fair Hill," an estate of some six or seven hundred acres in the old township of Northern Liberties, but now in the well-settled limits of the city. This, in the latter years of his life, he used as a quiet country home, remote from the noise and bustle of the steadily-growing capital, where he could free himself from the cares of business and of politics.

With the latter, far more simple and unpretending then than now, Isaac Norris became early connected. He was many times elected to the Provincial Assembly, noted above those of its sister provinces then and at all times for its fearlessness and independence. More than once he presided over it as Speaker. In 1709 he was appointed a member of the Governor's Council, and at various times he held other impor-

tant and responsible public offices, both elective and appointive, which facts certainly testify to the high esteem in which he was held, not by the Governors only but by the governed.

In June, 1735, while attending the Friends' Meeting at Germantown, he died suddenly, aged about sixty-six years, having had many children, most of whom survived him. Among them was a daughter, Hannah, married to Richard Harrison, of Maryland, whose daughter, also named Hannah, afterward married Charles Thomson, celebrated in Revolutionary times as the upright secretary of the Continental Congress.

Isaac Norris, son of the former and second of that name, was very prominent during a long life in our provincial politics. Born in 1701, he early became a merchant, continuing in business until about 1742, but always devoting a portion of his time to public affairs. He was much looked up to as an authority upon all points of trade and finance, and his opinion on such matters seems to have been often sought by those in authority. In 1739 he became the recognized leader of what was known as the "Quaker party," who opposed the proprietaries in more ways than one, antagonizing them especially by the curious and memorable opposition to all acts of war, even defensive, on the part of the colony.

Party feeling often ran high in those days, and the disputes between the Governor's party and Norris and his friends spread from the Assembly chamber to the streets, and if the Quaker drab covered meek hearts, it none the less clothed gallant ones, which brooked no wanton injury, so that when, in 1742, an attempt was made to defraud Mr. Norris of his election as a member of the Legislature, actions spoke louder than principles with his Quaker supporters, and so serious a riot resulted that it was always thereafter known as the "bloody election."

It was this Isaac Norris who, appointed by the Governor in 1745 a commissioner to represent his province at a conference held with certain Indian tribes at Albany, undertook the long and tedious journey to that place, and has left an interesting diary of the incidents of his trip. So changed are all the methods of life in the one hundred and thirty-nine years since Isaac Norris wrote this that it seems difficult to comprehend the fact that, though he did not tarry by the wayside, it took him six days to accomplish what the modern traveler can complete in about the same number of hours. Nor was his return speedier, though it, too, was as direct as the ordinary means of travel could make it.

The result of the conference was inconsequential, but it was an interesting incident, and one which at that early day would in itself suffice as a foundation for a whole lifetime of anecdote. Ten years later he was again appointed commissioner for the same purpose, but of this trip there remains no personal record.

Mr. Norris was in 1751 elected Speaker of the Assembly, the same office which his father had held before him, and which he himself filled for many years. He was always a sturdy opponent of the Penns and of the policy which they sought to force upon their colony. He died in 1766. In 1739 he had married Sarah, daughter of James Logan, and their daughter Mary subsequently married John Dickinson, well known in after-days as a patriot and a statesman. He left no surviving sons.

His brother Charles, son of the first Isaac, was born in Philadelphia in 1712, and became a prominent and wealthy merchant, residing on the then outskirts of the city, where the United States Custom-House now stands. His plans in life seem to have led him into quieter paths than those trodden by his father and his elder brother, for he is but little heard of in politics or public affairs, though he was at one time a trustee of the general loan office, and was always much interested in promoting the welfare of the Pennsylvania Hospital from its earliest foundation. He was twice married, and by his second wife, Mary, daughter of Joseph Parker, of Chester County, he left four children to survive him when he died, in 1765.

Of these children the third, Joseph Parker Norris, was born May 5, 1763. He was educated at the school of Robert Proud, the historian, with whom he subsequently had very friendly relations. In 1790 he married Elizabeth Hill Fox, daughter of Joseph Fox, who had succeeded his uncle, Isaac, as Speaker of the Assembly. For quite a number of years Mr. Norris was president of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and was at all times much considered and respected. He died in June, 1841, leaving many children, to whom he left his large landed estates, devising "Fair Hill" in trust for his sons and "Sepviva" for his daughters.

The fifth of those sons is the present Isaac Norris, the fourth of that name. Born in his father's house, on Chestnut Street, below Fifth, on the 21st day of February, 1802, when that part of the city had still rather a rural look, he was liberally educated at private schools and at the University of Pennsylvania, from which latter institution he was graduated bachelor of arts in the year 1821.

Choosing the law as his profession, Mr. Norris studied in the office of Joseph R. Ingersoll, and was admitted to practice Jan. 15, 1825. At present (January, 1884) he stands third on the list of living Philadelphia lawyers, James J. Barclay, admitted in September, 1815, and Eli K. Price, in May, 1822, alone outranking him in seniority, after his fifty-nine years' experience.

Until the death of his father, in 1841, he devoted himself with much success to the regular practice of his profession, achieving position and standing by his assiduity. Since that time his intimate connection with the "Fair Hill" property, at first as counsel and later as trustee, has compelled him to relinquish the ordinary pursuits of a lawyer, and to devote himself almost exclusively to the large landed interests

which were intrusted to his care. How thoroughly he has done this, and how admirable his management has been, those best know who have benefited by his industry and prudence, but the difficulties of handling so vast a piece of property can only be fully appreciated by the practical real-estate man, who has had similar charges on his hands.

When Joseph Parker Norris died, a little over forty years ago, this "Fair Hill Estate," which had descended to him from the founder of the family, was still what it had always been, a suburban residence. The old house, built in 1718, and in its day a very grand edifice with its front of sixty feet, had been burned by the British during the Revolution, but it had been restored, and though the city was fast circling about it, there it still stood surrounded by magnificent forest and evergreen trees. The entrance to the place was from the Germantown road, and the drive led through an extensive lawn, past pleasure grounds, green-houses, gardens, fish ponds, and walks, all celebrated in their time as models of grace and beauty.

The house in its day saw many distinguished guests. John Dickinson lived there at the time the Continental Congress met at Carpenters' Hall, in 1774, and doubtless invited many of the distinguished men who formed that body to share his hospitality. John Adams, the future President of a then unborn republic, records in his diary that he dined there in that year.

It was at "Fair Hill," too, tradition has it, that the first willow-trees ever seen in the province were grown. The story runs that Benjamin Franklin observed a twig sprouting in a basket newly landed from the hold of a ship, and presented it to Miss Debby Norris, a daughter of the elder Isaac, who carefully nursed the unknown growth.

This family estate Joseph Parker Norris devised in trust for the use of his sons, having provided for his daughters by leaving them other lands in the same neighborhood. It consisted of some six hundred and fifty or seven hundred acres in all, each of which had cost, when purchased, the equivalent of some eight or ten dollars. The city was rapidly encroaching upon it, and it was almost the last, if not the very last, pre-revolutionary country home which had warded off the assaults made upon it by the needs of an advancing, growing, and manufacturing quarter of the city.

It had been the desire of the devisor that none of this land should be disposed of until his youngest grandchild (then unborn) should reach legal age, but it was found impossible to comply with this. Streets were pushed through the quiet fields, paved and cobbled in approved Philadelphia fashion, and the demand for the land upon which to build homes for the workingmen of the neighborhood soon became so imperative that it was necessary to yield.

The eminently judicious plan of selling upon ground-rent was finally adopted on the advice of Horace Binney, as a preferable way of disposing of the estate, and has since been followed. While much of the land still remains in the possession of the family, very much more has been sold, and that which was the retired plantation of the first Norris, has now become the home of thousands of the well-to-do mechanics and tradesmen of the Nineteenth and Twenty-fifth Wards, and through the once quiet fields and woods of the estate there now run more than forty miles of busy city streets.

In all ways a public-spirited citizen, Mr. Norris has especially shown himself to be so in connection with "Fair Hill," having always been foremost in there promoting improvements of a beneficial public nature, and the city itself has vastly benefited by the increased population (with consequent enormously increased values) drawn to "Fair Hill" by the liberal policy of its owners.

Mr. Norris' skill and large grasp of business affairs have been appreciated by others than his family, and he has not always been allowed to devote his knowledge solely to his own relations. When the whole financial world was startled, ten years ago, by the unforeseen failure of Jay Cooke & Company, and when that great firm was forced into bankruptcy, Mr. Norris was called upon, as representing one of the creditors, to help take charge of the broken estate and to lend his knowledge to assist in extricating those who had gone down with the ruins of the house. How well the trustees did their work is now a matter of history, and it is sufficient to note Mr. Norris' connection with that event.

Through his long life Mr. Norris has always taken an interest in the various public institutions, charitable and otherwise, scattered through the city. He has never sought nor held political office. Since its formation he has been an active and interested member of the Republican party, always supporting its worthy nominees by his vote and influence, and upon more occasions than one he has done that highest (and to some most unusual) duty of the voter, attended primary elections with a view to secure proper and fitting candidates.

In May, 1830, Mr. Norris was married to Mary, daughter of George Pepper, Esq., a well-known citizen. Mrs. Norris died in 1862. He has had seven children, three of whom are dead; the others, three sons and one daughter, are all married and have children in their turn.

In person Mr. Norris is tall and well proportioned, and his figure, little bent by his more than fourscore years, is a familiar sight to many, and one always greeted with respect and esteem as he daily goes to his office, still devoted to his life-long task with its large and responsible transactions.

Prudent, firm, and decided in character, he has always been affable, kind, and dignified, and, like his ancestors, he has ever been esteemed and honored by all with whom he has been brought in contact.

Isaac Norris

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Andrew Hamilton is one of the most illustrious names in the provincial history of Pennsylvania. There was a mystery concerning his origin and early antecedents that has never been cleared. Only conjectures could be indulged about the confusion of the name *Hamilton* with that of *Trent*, which he sometimes bore, and which, was often said, was the one to which he was really entitled. His eminent abilities, the dignity of his carriage, the courage with which he maintained his convictions upon the subjects of right and liberty, given to public exhibition not very long after his first appearance in humble guise, have led some to suspect that for some political or other reason he had fled from his native country, Scotland, and, while yet calling himself occasionally by his paternal name, had adopted the other, or been heard to say that it was his real name, in order to avoid identification and pursuit. Some, indeed, went so far as to connect him with the duke of the same name, who had fought a duel with Lord Mohun. Many inquiries, after his death, were made about his family, but none were ever satisfactory, except that he was known to have been born about the year 1676, and when about of age came to the county of Accomac, on the eastern shore of Virginia. In one of his addresses before the Assembly of Pennsylvania, after he had become famous, he made that celebrated eulogy in which, among other things, he spoke of "Liberty, the love of which, as it first drew to, so it constantly prevailed on me to reside in this province, though to the manifest prejudice of my fortune."

A. Hamilton

When he arrived at Accomac County he gave his name as Trent. Shortly after his arrival he opened a classical school, and was afterward employed as steward upon a plantation. On the death of the owner he married his widow, and, removing to Chestertown, in Kent County, Md., began the practice of the law. How it was that he went to England not long afterward it has not been told, but it appeared that he was admitted to the bar of Gray's Inn, London, and in the winter of 1712–13 he acted as counsel for William Penn in a case of replevin, brought by one Berkeley Codd. The defense by the proprietary was that the quit-rent due from Codd's land, being a rent service, distress was incident thereto as of common right. The account given by James Logan of this suit shows the astuteness of the counsel, both in assault and timely retreat. "He baffled them, though he thought not fit to suffer it to proceed to a trial for want of better tackle on our side." What the counselor meant by "tackle" we cannot precisely say. It was perhaps the sufficiency of good witnesses, or full assurance of the value of the defense. It is believed that he removed to Philadelphia about the year 1715. His bold temper brought him the following year into collision with Charles Gookin, who was then Lieutenant-Governor of the province, against whom he was reported to have sworn an oath, and uttered other "wicked, opprobrious, and reproachful words." The bond fixed for his appearance at court to answer the charge was one thousand pounds, showing either the importance of the injury that the high official had received or that of the assault made by the eminent lawyer. The case did not come to a hearing during the term of Gookin, and it was discontinued by his successor. The following year Hamilton became attorney-general of the province, and in 1720 was invited to the Council. He accepted the invitation on condition that his services there should not interfere with his profession.

A letter from James Logan, in 1723, contains expressions that enable us to form an idea of the singular greatness of spirit that belonged to Hamilton. "He has for three or four years past appeared very hearty in the Proprietor's interest, notwithstanding it is not his natural disposition to be on the side of those who are accounted great, or one in power; but of late he has somewhat recoiled, and given more way to nature. He is very true when he professes friendship, unless he thinks himself slighted, which he cannot easily brook. He is a very able lawyer, very faithful to his client, and has generally refused to be concerned for any plaintiff who appeared not to have justice on his side. He has done many considerable services for our Governor (Sir William Keith), but

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of late they have openly been at variance, for which reason I am of opinion that he will not appear against the Governor, for he is singularly generous that way. I have been much obliged to him, both on my own account and the Proprietor's, and I heartily wish he may be treated there by the family in such a manner as may engage him, of which I am somewhat apprehensive." This letter was written to Gouldney, one of the friends of the Penn family in England, on the occasion of a prospective voyage of Hamilton thither. Among other subjects of dispute with Governor Keith was doubtless Hamilton's opposition to the Court of Chancery that the latter had established in 1720, and which afterward Hamilton bore the leading part in abolishing.

He sailed for Europe in 1724, having before then resigned as attorney-general, and appeared as solicitor in the Court of Chancery in London for proving the will of William Penn. For his services to the Penn family he received as reward one hundred and fifty-three acres of land, lying north of the city and west of what is now Ridge Avenue, whereon he built his country-seat,—"Bush Hill." In 1727, Hamilton became prothonotary of the Common Pleas and recorder of the city. The same year he was elected to the Assembly, of which, in 1729, he became Speaker. For ten years consecutively, with one exception, he was returned to the Assembly. The exception occurred during the administration of Governor Gordon, and was owing to a social quarrel between the Governor's daughters and Miss Margaret Hamilton. The particulars we do not know, but this much is certain, that the young ladies at the Executive Mansion induced their father to employ all his influence, official and personal, against the father of their rival, and he was defeated at the polls.

Contemporaneously with the bill of the Assembly providing for the issue of paper money, rather an appendix to the same, was the provision for a legislative hall, the sittings heretofore having been held in a private house. This was in 1729. For this purpose two thousand pounds was appropriated. Hamilton, Thomas Lawrence, and Dr. John Kearsley were appointed a committee to oversee its construction. The location that had been proposed was Third and Market Streets, but Hamilton, in conjunction with William Allen, who afterward became his son-in-law, took the liberty of purchasing the square on Chestnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, afterward known as "Independence Square," and succeeded in having it adopted. Hamilton also succeeded in obtaining the adoption of his plan for the construction of the building, and superintended the work, which was finished in the fall of 1736, nearly enough for the first sitting therein of the Assembly.

The coming forward so early of such a lawyer as Andrew Hamilton is the more remarkable when we call to mind the prejudice against lawyers, which was at one time so strong as to lead to an attempt at a prohibition against their practice for fees and rewards. Against this prejudice, rather in spite of it, a profession so indispensable to all civilized society must necessarily continue to grow in strength and importance and be recognized by the community. In 1722 some departure was made from the spirit of suspicion that had obtained theretofore. It seems to have been made with reluctance and prudent—at least intended as prudent—conservatism. It was ordained by the Assembly that "there may be a competent number of persons, of an honest disposition, and learned in the law, admitted by the justices of the said respective courts, to practice as attorneys there."

From an early day, however, there had at all times been in the province one or more lawyers trained in the English inns of court, and with a competent acquaintance with the forms of legal procedure. The obligations of their successors to David Lloyd and the two Asshetons, in this regard, has already been mentioned.

In this connection we should say that the law was not the only profession against which there was a prejudice in the minds of these sturdy settlers of Pennsylvania; but medicine, at least that branch which is founded upon preliminary studies in works upon science, had its share also. In 1698 a volume was printed in London entitled "A Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and the Country of Pennsylvania, and of West New Jersey in America, etc., with a map of both countries. By Gabriel Thomas, who resided there about fifteen years." Regarding these two professions, the author thus writes: "Of lawyers and physicians I shall say nothing, because the country is very peaceable and healthy; long may it continue so and never have occasion for the tongue of the one and the pen of the other, both equally destructive to men's estates and lives; besides, forsooth, they, hangman-like, have a license to murder and make mischief."

It can scarcely be doubted that the early policy of the framers of the provincial government of Pennsylvania exerted a benign influence in introducing that simpler model of conducting business which has since obtained throughout the whole country to the exclusion of the complications of the English courts. It was, in fact, but a few years when such court papers as we cannot but smile at when reading, were followed by those which stand the test of criticism from those most noted in the science of pleading. "We perceive," says David Paul Brown in his "Forum," "by the legislative enactments of the early part of our provincial history,—especially many acts passed in 1705,—as the act for taking lands in execution, etc., the act about arbitrations and defaulting, the act concerning the probates of written and nuncupative wills, and for confirming devices of lands, and several others, some of which were repealed by the Queen in council; some of which remain at this day in force

as original enactments, and others of which have been incorporated, almost verbatim, into one revised code, that there was no want in the legislative council, at an early date, of good legal mind and good legal education. But whoever the lawyers were, they seemed to have been inclined to make a Pennsylvania system of jurisprudence rather than to introduce the English; and everything relating to the jurisprudence of the earlier years of the century has a very plain and practical form."

That, however, for which Hamilton is best known by the greatest number of persons is his conduct in one celebrated law case which he conducted for a defendant in another colony. The motives that led to his undertaking this case were not only nor mainly the defense of the individual client who had been prosecuted, but the establishment of a most important principle that before his day had been assaulted and dangerously hurt in his own province. This was in the case of William Bradford, the first printer in Philadelphia, whose prosecution by David Lloyd is mentioned in the chapter on the literature and literary men of Pennsylvania.

The case in which Hamilton appeared in New York was that of John Peter Zenger, indicted in 1735 for a libel against the Governor of New York before Judge De Lancey, chief justice of the province, Frederick Phillipse, second judge. Zenger was defended by James Alexander and William Smith; but these counsel having made bold to question the jurisdiction of the court for the trial of the cause, the following order was passed in quick indignation: "James Alexander, Esq., and William Smith, attorneys in this court, having presumed (notwithstanding they were forewarned by the court of their displeasure if they should do it) to sign, and having actually signed, and put into court exceptions in the name of John Peter Zenger, thereby denying the legality of the judges their commissions, though in the usual form, and the decree of this Supreme Court, it is therefore ordered that for the said contempt the said James Alexander and William Smith be excluded from any further practice in this court, and that their names be struck out of the roll of attorneys of this court. *Per cur.* JAMES LYLE, *Cl.*"

Being the duty of the court to appoint for the defendant counsel, as he was now without, they named one whose servility was such as to promise a speedy conviction. It was at this conjuncture that the friends of Zenger applied to Andrew Hamilton, whose fame, especially as a courageous defender of the innocent and oppressed, had spread throughout the whole country. He accepted the call and repaired to New York. Whatever were his opinions concerning the exceptions taken by his predecessors, Alexander and Smith, he was too astute to wage a warfare at a point shown to be impregnable, and, with a boldness amounting to audacity, assumed the position taken by William Bradford nearly half a century before, admitted the truth of the facts alleged to have been committed, and then proposed to adduce testimony to their existence. This proposition was of course refused by the court. But Hamilton entered upon an argument, wherein he gave a history of the trial by jury, how it had been instituted by our ancestors in order to take from kings and their minions the absolute power they claimed over the lives, property, and security of the people. In this connection he spoke with most splendid eloquence of that other provision that in criminal trials the jury, however unlearned they might be, when they were brought within the court-room were invested with powers equal to the judges who sat upon the bench above them in deciding what were the laws in such cases, with the added power of saying whether or not they had been violated. Without derogating from the powers of the court, he enlarged upon the equality of the jurors, and then he appealed to them to say if it was possible for them to find that their fellow-citizen, free as they were, and as upright, was deserving of punishment for what he had done, and what the bravest and best citizen of New York would feel that he had the right to do, not only without punishment, but without the fear of it. Most masterly was his praise of truth, and the argument that nobody, high or low, had cause to complain when it was spoken of his actions. His peroration was spoken of as the very highest height of majestic eloquence. He called to mind many of the brave of all ages who had suffered for the truth, and compared their memories with those of the tyrants, great and small, that had inflicted them. Even the court could not withstand the power of his appeals. The charge of the chief justice was such as to appear that, in his terror of being numbered among the oppressors of the innocent, he was quite willing to throw the responsibility of deciding this case upon the jury. These, after a brief conference, brought in a verdict of *not guilty*. The defense made a profound impression, not only throughout this country but in England, where a leading statesman is reported to have said of it, "If it is not law, it is better than law, it ought to be law, and will always be law wherever justice prevails;" and it was further reported that "the greatest men at the bar have openly declared that the subject of libel was never so well treated in Westminster Hall as at New York."

The defense of Zenger did not hurt Hamilton in England so as to hinder his receiving a commission, two years afterward, as judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court. We say this because appointments to that court seem to have been made by commission directly from the crown. But the reputation of the appointee was well known to the home government, and that was, that, zealous as he was in the defense of every right of his clients, he was faithful to the demands of every office he had held or might hold. He resigned all other offices except this, and retired from it only a short time before his death, which occurred in 1741.

The argument given in favor of the appointment by the crown to the Vice-Admiralty is thus stated by David Paul Brown in his "Forum": "We may infer this, both from the nature of the jurisdiction and from the fact that even in early times they appear to have belonged to the Church of England; for the only two whom we *know* to have been judges were wardens of Christ Church in this city" (Philadelphia). One of the earliest of these was William Assheton, who died in September, 1723, at the early age of thirty-three, being at that time the rector's warden.[1]

Joshua Maddox was an English gentleman of studious and contemplative tastes, liberally, but not, we believe, professionally, educated in England,—a man of dignity and fortune. Though a scholar unquestionably, he had pursued commerce, as we know, and pursued it with skill, reputation, and success. Yet he sat, as the records of the Orphans' Court show, from March, 1741, till his death in April, 1759, a term of eighteen years, upon the seat of judgment, constantly partaking in its exercises and attending to its adjudications; and when he died, at the age of seventy-four, had almost become personified in this province with the administration of its local justice. Mr. Maddox, like his associate justice, Lawrence, was a warden of Christ Church, in the burial-ground of which, at the corner of Fifth and Arch Streets, close by the grave of his other associate, Franklin, his monument may yet be seen.

We mention a case in one of the courts to illustrate the tone of the community regarding prosecutions for challenging to the duel. One Peter Evans having taken offense at certain conduct of one Francis Phillips, who is described in the papers as a "clerk," sent him a letter in the following words:

"SIR—You have lately scandalized a gentle-woman that I have a profound respect for; and for my part, I shall give you a fair opportunity to defend yourself to-morrow morning, on the west side of Jos. 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 Yours, etc.,

"Jan. 21, 1714. "PET. EVANS.

"I am at the Pewter Platter."

Mr. Phillips declined to meet the sender of the letter so early in the morning, and, whether in apprehension of the "usage" which had been threatened, or willing to make an example of such wickedness, indicted Evans. On the trial of the case the jury found their verdict thus,—

"We, the jury, do find that Peter Evans, in the indictment mentioned, did send a letter in writing to Francis Phillips containing these words" (quoting the letter in full). "If upon the whole the court do judge the words contained in the said letter to be a challenge, then we do find the said Peter Evans guilty; but if the court do judge the words contained in the said letter are no regular challenge, then we do find the said Peter Evans not guilty." This finding seemed to have been a poser to the learned judges. They reserved their decision for another time, and that time seems never to have come, as there was no further entry upon the records. This plainly shows that in that society—controlled, however, by peaceful Quakers—either dueling was held in not so great abhorrence as we would have supposed, or that in this instance disgust for the meanness of a man who had scandalized a gentlewoman was too great to let punishment fall only upon the man who had undertaken, though in an unlawful manner, to defend her. It is amusing to speculate upon the attempt of the jury to cast upon the court the responsibility of so ugly a case, and the conclusion of the judges not to assume it. This was certainly one issue at least wherein the court would heartily have consented for the jury to decide upon the law, independent of all interference from the bench. Whether this Evans was the officer of the court we cannot say. The same name is found among those containing a list of the registers of wills, and it is probable that he was the same person.

There is a curious document, being an entry, without signature, upon the continuance docket of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia in 1775. It runs thus: "Departed Saints of the Law whom I have known." Upon this list the first is Andrew Hamilton and the second Peter Evans. The gallant defendant in the case at the instance of Phillips may have been he.

William Allen was a native of Philadelphia, born in 1704. His family were from Dungannon, Ireland, and were Presbyterians. His father, being a man of large wealth, sent him to England to pursue his studies, which were carried on at the Temple. On his return, instead of going to the practice of his profession, he became a merchant, and in 1727, when only twenty-three years of age, became one of the Common Council of the city. We saw, in the notice of Andrew Hamilton, that Allen had joined with him in the preference for the State-House upon the present Independence Square over the other site that had been agreed upon. From 1731 to 1739 he was a member of the Assembly. In 1733 he married Margaret Hamilton, the same whose feud with the Misses Gordon brought out the Deputy Governor's successful opposition to her father's return to the Assembly. Two years after his marriage he became mayor. He retired from the Assembly in 1739. When the war with Spain came on he again came to the front, and, in opposition to the conservative policy of Isaac Norris, became the head of the Anti-Quaker party. Defeated at the polls in 1742, he yet held his position as recorder, to which he was chosen the year before, and he boldly held the city government to the side of the

[1] The appointments to the vice-admiralty may, in a customary looseness of language, be said to have been made by "the crown," but this does not mean that they were made by the king, or even that he had been consulted in relation to them. They were made by the commissioners of admiralty in England. See "Bench and Bar," by John Hill Martin. Being appointed in England by churchmen, the judges of vice-admiralty could scarcely be expected to have been Quakers.

Governor, against the policy of the Assembly, then controlled by Norris and his friends. This position he held, together with those (alternately) of judge of the Common Pleas and Orphans' Courts, until the year 1750, when he resigned the first to accept the chief justiceship of the province. This office he continued to hold for nearly a quarter of a century. His career in this exalted position has ever been regarded as comparing favorably with those of the greatest judges of Pennsylvania. His learning, his wealth, his courage, his conservatism, his social standing, all combined to give to his administration an *eclat* equal, or nearly equal, to the best even of those who succeeded him. His mercantile business, however, was never suspended, and he acquired a wealth which was said to be greater than that possessed by any other citizen of the province in his time. He was most munificent in his donations in behalf of public institutions, and contributed largely to the expedition made in search of the Northwest Passage. While upon another visit to England, in 1763, he rendered most important service to the colonies in the matter of the taxation bills in Parliament. Through his influence with many of the leaders in both Houses, the passage of the Stamp Act was delayed for that session. During the disputes of the colonies with Great Britain he sided with the former, yet was opposed to the plan of independence. His last years were embittered by the contemplation of a struggle that seemed to him unnecessary and unjustifiable. He died in 1780. He was the founder of Allentown. One of his daughters married John Penn, son of the proprietor.

Clement Plumsted was intimately connected with the Hamiltons and Allens, and even before the coming to Philadelphia of Andrew had been concerned with him in real estate transactions that were eminently successful. The family (the earliest known of them) were resident of the county of Norfolk. The father of Clement was a merchant of London. The son immigrated to America just before or shortly after his attaining his majority. He became a common councilman in 1712, when thirty-two years of age, and in 1723 succeeded James Logan as mayor. He was a member of the Assembly during several sessions, and was given, in 1717, along with others, commission for holding the Courts of Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, and Orphans' Court of the county. In 1727 he was appointed to the Governor's Council, and in 1730 became a master in chancery. He died in 1745.

William Plumsted, the son of Clement, born in 1708, was somewhat conspicuous, though less so than his father. He became common councilman in 1739. In 1745 he became register-general of wills for the province, which office he held until his death, though serving as mayor three terms,—1750, 1754, and 1755. Clement Plumsted was a Quaker of the moderate class in that sect. This moderation descending to his son culminated in his renouncement of that faith altogether and becoming an Episcopalian, even becoming a subscriber to the Dancing Assembly in 1748, the original of that institution in the city. He afterward became one of the founders of Christ Church, was its first warden, and one of its first vestrymen. He died in 1765.

Joseph Growdon, father of Lawrence, of a family among the gentry of Cornwall, emigrated to Pennsylvania not long after the purchase (together with his father, Lawrence Growdon) of a large body of land from William Penn. He was a member of the Assembly from Bucks County during several sessions, and several times elected Speaker. The Provincial Council at one time was an elective body, and he was made a member by the votes of the people. After the change in the Constitution whereby the Council ceased to be elective, he was appointed to that body by Penn, though he did not habitually attend the meetings thereafter. For some time he was justice of the Supreme Court. His son Lawrence, now being considered, was born in 1693. Having received a comfortable estate under the will of his grandfather of the same name, he went to England, and for some time was a merchant in the city of Bristol. His residence, during the greater part of his life after returning to America, was on his estate, called Trevose, in the county of Bucks, wherein he became a justice of the County Court, and from 1734 to 1737 represented that county in the Assembly. He was commissioned, along with Rev. Richard Peters, to run the boundary line, with commissioners from Maryland, between that State and Pennsylvania, a matter which cost a great deal of money, time, and anger until, long after this attempt, it was definitely settled. Growdon was raised to the Governor's Council in 1737. He was the second in rank on the Supreme Court bench, where he sat for twelve years. He left a very large estate when he died, in 1770. David Lloyd, the great leader of the party among Quakers hostile to Penn, was his brother-in-law, having married his sister Grace.

The most distinguished of the family of Hopkinson was Francis, who will be mentioned when we come to a later period. Thomas was born in London in 1709, and, having studied law, came to America in 1731. He became first clerk of the Orphans' Court, afterward prothonotary of the county, and in 1741 common councilman and judge of the Admiralty. He was raised to the Provincial Council in 1747. Thomas Hopkinson devoted much of his time to investigations in science, to some of which Franklin acknowledged himself indebted for much of his own success in discoveries, particularly affecting electricity. His early death put an end to what most probably would have been a very eminent career. He died in 1751.

Like many others of the founders of the bench and bar of Philadelphia, the Asshetons were of distinguished family. These it is easy to trace to the

Lords of Ashton-under-Lyne, in Salford Hundred, Lancashire. Robert Assheton was a kinsman of William Penn. He had been educated to the law in his native county, and came over to Philadelphia about 1699, at Penn's invitation, and was placed in office, straightway becoming clerk and prothonotary of the city and county of Philadelphia. He was town clerk of the city in 1701, at the time of its being chartered, and in 1708 became recorder, an officer who, as we have seen, was generally a lawyer, and presided, along with the mayor and aldermen, over a court which had concurrent jurisdiction in some cases with the other courts. After the coming of Robert Assheton the proceedings of the courts began to be conducted in a style far superior to what had preceded. "After 1704," says the "Forum," "the indictments, which are drawn by one of the Asshetons, are entirely scientific, and indeed all the proceedings of the *officers*, or the court proceedings,—I mean only clerical,—appear in general to be good. The indictments after this year, however, present, equally with those before them, a curious record of the times, though less than the earlier ones such records of the law. There are great numbers of them for forestalling the markets and negotiating, although the extent of the purchases do not, from the specification of the indictments, seem to be alarming."

The mention of Robert Assheton calls to our minds again the name of the Francis Phillips who, instead of accepting the challenge of Peter Evans for the insult offered to a lady, indicted him before the grand jury. David Paul Brown seems to have supposed that this man, from being styled "clerk," was a clergyman. He, at all events, was one who brought no honor to the cloth he wore, of whatever kind it was, for thus says the "Forum:" "We find this same 'Francis Phillips, clerk,'—who, if he was a clergyman, must have been one of the few disreputable clergymen who were here before the Revolution,—very soon afterward" (the prosecution of Evans) "the subject himself of an indictment for having 'as much as in him lied,' attempted to deprive, annihilate, and contemn the authority of the recorder, mayor, and justices of the peace by saying, 'Tell the mayor, Richard Hill, and Robert Assheton, the recorder, that I say they are no better than rogues, villains, and scoundrels.'"

Robert Assheton was prothonotary of the Supreme Court from 1722 to 1726. In the former year he was also a master in chancery. He was one of those who favored the establishment of a separate High Court of Chancery, and having been prominent in the Councils concerning the former establishment of courts, it was he who originated the bill for the Court of Chancery that was endeavored to be set up prior to that of Governor Keith in 1720, of which the Lieutenant-Governor was made chancellor, and a portion of his Council masters. He was a member of the Council as early as 1711, and probably was more influential than any other one man in his day in shaping the legal forms as well as the legislation of the province. In the disputes that arose between Governor Keith and the Penns during the Lieutenant-Governorship of the former, Assheton took the part of the Penns, and in resentment therefor he was dropped from the Council in 1719, but recalled in 1722, and continued in the position until his death, in 1727.

William Assheton, his son, who had been educated for the law at Gray's Inn, was called to the Council in the same year, 1722, wherein his father had been recalled by Governor Keith. The reconciliation of the Governor appears to have been most hearty when two of a family were simultaneously invited to a position so exalted. William was also one of the masters in chancery. It was, however, as judge of the Admiralty Court that William Assheton was most distinguished, though he held the place only a few years, dying in 1723, at the early age of thirty-three.

Appointments to the Admiralty were made directly under the crown, and in the appointment of William Assheton the crown had a magistrate who was disposed to render all due service, and inflict the rigors of his court upon those who did not. We quote portions of the comments of David Paul Brown ("Forum") on a case adjudicated by him in 1723: "Two persons brought before the judge, adherents of the cause of Charles Stuart, and Scotsmen, most probably, had ventured to call George Guelph 'the Pretender,' and one of them, it appeared, had not only spoken ill of the king, but had been guilty of that which might naturally impress the court as a still greater offense,—disobeying and publicly affronting magistrates." One of the men had confessed his guilt and submitted, but the other was contumacious, and it had to be proved upon him. Judge Assheton goes into the whole general subject of contempt, explaining exactly what they are, "in order that the people may know when they incur guilt, and though they are fully predetermined in their own opinions against clear conviction, they may at least be so discreet as to reform their manners." He does not tell either the prisoners or us how exactly contempts against the king fell within the Admiralty jurisdiction. He may, perhaps, have felt secure in the fact that the subject of contempt is not one for revision by any one except the courts which commit, and have usurped a power. After telling them what is contempt against the king, he tells them "that it is greatly impudent and presumptuous for private persons to intermeddle with matters of so high a nature, and it will be impossible to preserve the peace unless subjects will quietly submit themselves to those whom Providence has placed over them." "Though it be," he says, "the duty of a magistrate, and an excellent qualification in him to temper justice with prudence, and severity with gentleness and forbearance, yet it must be confessed, much more for the common ad-

vantage to have such magistrates as incline to the excess of sharpness and rigor than those who are disposed to mildness and easiness and compassion. . . . The strict and harsh magistrate is the better restraint, the stronger curb. The mild and merciful one exposes the laws to contempt, makes magistracy cheap, and lessens the prince, who makes both the law and the magistrate." After giving a somewhat milder sentence to the prisoner who confessed his guilt and submitted to sentence, namely, that he "shall stand under this court-house for the space of one hour on two market days, with one paper fixed on his breast, and another on his back, with these words written upon them in fair characters, 'I stand here for speaking contemptuously against my sovereign, Lord King George,' pay twenty marks sterling, and the charges of prosecution," the judge goes on to the other one, who had been contumacious, and "heartily wishing that the sentence might have a good effect upon him," pronouncing his doom thus, "I do adjudicate and decree that you shall stand in the pillory, in this market-place, for the space of two hours, on two market days; that afterward, on the said days, you shall be tied to the tail of a cart, and be drawn round two of this city squares, and then you shall be whipped on your bare back with forty-one lashes, and be imprisoned till you have paid the charges of prosecution."

Ralph Assheton, a younger son of Robert, was only four years of age when the family came to Philadelphia. At the age of eighteen he was made deputy to the clerk of the Provincial Council. This early appointment came necessarily and easily from the family connection with the Penns, who were ever intent to provide for their kinsfolk. In 1708, having arrived at age, he was made town clerk, succeeding to his father, who had held the office until that time, and then resigned in behalf of his son. In 1724 he was made a common councilman of Philadelphia, and in 1728 raised to the Provincial Council. He also sat as judge in both the Common Pleas and Orphans' Courts, and was one of the masters in the Court of Chancery at the time of its abolishment in 1735. In addition to holding these offices he was also a lawyer, practicing here and there in the various courts wherein, for the time being, he was not a judge. He died in 1746.

Benjamin Chew was the great-great-grandson of John Chew, who as early as 1624 was a citizen of Jamestown, Va. His son, Samuel Chew, was, in 1648, a judge of the High Provincial Court and Court of Chancery in Maryland. The father of Benjamin, a physician near Annapolis, after becoming a convert to Quakerism, removed to Delaware, where he was appointed by Governor Thomas chief justice of the lower counties, in which position he continued until his death, in 1743. Although a Quaker, he was not conscientiously opposed to war, when entered into for obtaining rights that otherwise could not be had, and it was this that made him a favorite with the Governor and the home government. Benjamin was the son of the preceding by his wife Mary Galloway, and was born in 1722, at the home of the family, then on West River, Md. Brought up a Quaker, though not after the straitest sect, he lived to abandon that faith entirely, and return to that of his ancestors. Being intended for the bar, he was sent to the office of Andrew Hamilton, who died when his student was nineteen years old. After this event he was sent to England, and entered the Middle Temple. Returning in 1743, he began the practice of his profession at Dover. In 1754, after having discharged the duties of several offices under commission of the Legislature of Delaware, he removed to Philadelphia. He was made attorney-general in the following year, and held that office until 1769. In the same year he was made recorder of the city, and so continued until 1774. He was also in the same year (1755) called to the Provincial Council. As Speaker of the Assembly of the lower counties, he vigorously and successfully exerted himself in obtaining from them supplies during the embarrassing times succeeding the defeat of Gen. Braddock. In addition to the duties of the offices aforementioned, he was register-general of the province in 1765. When he resigned the office of attorney-general, in 1769, he devoted himself more zealously to his private practice. By this time the bar of Philadelphia had become already, perhaps, the ablest in the country. In its circle, consisting of such as Dickinson, Tilghman, Galloway, Waln, and Francis, he competed with an ability recognized as among the very greatest. In 1761 he was appointed by the Legislature one of the commissioners to finally settle the long-disputed boundary between the two States of Pennsylvania and Maryland, which settlement was made by the adoption of the Mason and Dixon's line.

In 1774, on the resignation of William Allen, he became chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State. During the struggle for independence he took part neither with nor against it, and for some time had to remain upon his parole to avoid transportation beyond lines where he might be able, if he should so choose, to render services to the British cause. Yet, after the war was over, such was his reputation for integrity and ability that it was easy to continue the successful practice of his profession, and in 1791 was appointed judge and president of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, in which he continued to sit until 1808, when it was abolished. He died in Philadelphia in 1810.

The period to which James Wilson belongs includes that before and during, as well as that after, the Revolution. He was a native of Scotland, having been born near St. Andrews, about 1742. He studied at Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh, and came to Philadelphia about 1766. His first employment was as a tutor in the college and academy. He studied

law under John Dickinson, and was admitted to the bar (according to John Hill Martin) in November, 1767. He sought practice in different localities, appearing during the next ten years in the courts at Reading, Carlisle, and Annapolis, Md. He came back to Philadelphia in 1778, and there settled permanently. He was a man of brilliant talents, and soon became prominent in public affairs. He was a member of the Provincial Conventions of 1774–75, and of the Continental Congress, 1775–76, and voted for the resolution of independence on the 2d, and to adopt the Declaration on the 4th of July in the latter year. He was again member of Congress in 1782–83 and 1785–87. He was a member of the Convention to frame the Constitution of the United States, of the State Convention which adopted it, and subsequently member of the Convention to amend the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania. President Washington appointed him one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States in September, 1789. He was the first law professor of the University of Pennsylvania, appointed in 1790, and delivered lectures in that institution. In connection with Chief Justice Thomas McKean, he wrote "Commentaries on the United States Constitution," published in London in 1792. He died on the 28th of August, 1798, at Edenton, North Carolina.

George Ross, the first judge of the Court of Admiralty of Pennsylvania, was commissioned to that office on the 6th of April, 1776, under recommendation of the Continental Congress. He was a native of New Castle, Del., where his father was a clergyman of the Church of England, at the time of his birth in 1730. He came to Philadelphia at eighteen years of age, and commenced the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar about 1750. He went to Lancaster and established himself in practice there in 1751. He was a member of the Assembly for Lancaster County, 1768–70, and a member of the first Congress of 1774. He was also a signer of the Declaration of Independence, but resigned from Congress in January, 1777. Appointed a judge of the Admiralty Court, he served in that office until his death, July 14, 1779, when he was succeeded in his judgeship by Francis Hopkinson.

The Tilghmans are another family of very high social position, dating back to a remote period in English history. Long before the coming of the Tudors to the throne the Tilghmans were of high rank among the gentry in the county of Kent, their seat, Holoway Court, being at Snodland. A descendant of this family, Richard, who had been a surgeon in the British navy, purchased an estate called the Manor of Canterbury, on the Choptank River, in Maryland, and removed to it in the year 1661. He built his residence on the Chester River, and named it "The Hermitage." He died in 1675. His son Richard having intermarried with the Lloyds, became a leading member of the Assembly and Council of Maryland. He was the father of James, the councilor, who was born on the Hermitage. Choosing the law for his profession, he practiced at Annapolis until 1760, when he removed to Philadelphia. Already had he risen to high eminence when this change was made, whose object, doubtless, was the desire of a greater field for the employment of powers that he knew to be of the highest. Philadelphia was already the largest town in the country, and the career of Hamilton in that large sphere probably had its influence in attracting him there. Five years after his arrival he was invited by John Penn, then the principal member of the proprietor's family, to become secretary of the land office. The judiciousness of the appointment soon was proven by the splendid executive ability of the appointee. The year before (1764) he had been made common councilman. In 1767 he was raised to the Provincial Council. While acting in this office he became one of the commission that was sent to Virginia in order to treat concerning the boundaries of the two States, the chief purpose of which deputation was an appeal to the Virginia Governor, then Lord Dunmore, to petition the crown to settle the dispute. Indignant as he was at the injustice of British legislation upon the colonies, yet he was opposed to the efforts at independence, though he did not take a very active part against it. When the war of the Revolution began, he, with other leading men who were known to be opposed to the movement, was arrested at the motion of the Continental Congress, and placed on parole. He was allowed, in 1777, to visit his family in Maryland, where he remained for some time, on account of the occupation of Philadelphia. Like Chew, Shippen, and the rest of his colleagues in office, he was never suspected of being capable of actions inconsistent with what his public character had warranted all to expect, and he was relieved from his parole the following year. It was doubtless intensely painful to eminent men of the class we have lately been considering, who had grown prosperous and renowned in the existing condition of things, to contemplate a revolution that, even if successful, seemed likely to lead to the overthrow of whatever was good and conservative that had required so many years to establish. But in colonial governments, unless they are extremely oppressive, officials in the enjoyment of safe salaries, and others grown to mature age and prosperity must be more than human to be expected to join in revolutionary endeavors. Several of the sons and other descendants of the councilor became eminent. They will be noticed hereafter.

John Moland, a barrister of the Inner Temple, born in London about 1700, came out to Pennsylvania with a commission of king's attorney. In 1745 he purchased an estate near Philadelphia, afterward known as "Rose Hill." He soon became one of the leading members of the bar, was admitted to the Council in 1759, and died two years afterward.

Edward Shippen, son of the councilor of the same name, was also one of that body during a part of the last years of its existence. He was born in 1729, in Philadelphia. After having studied for a while in the office of Tench Francis, then the most distinguished lawyer in the city, he went to London and was a student at the Middle Temple. On his return he soon went into good practice. In 1752 he became judge of the Admiralty Court. The place where this court was held was over the market-house on Third Street. In 1765 he became prothonotary of the Supreme Court. It is curious to consider how many offices could be held in those times concontemporaneously that would now seem to be, many of them, inconsistent among themselves, and yet the holders be occupied in other business besides, with little detriment to the latter's satisfactory progress. Edward Shippen, we see, at the same time, to be judge and prothonotary, and yet he was in very remunerative practice as an attorney. The income to the judges of the Admiralty was not derived from salaries, as ought to be the case in all judicial, and, indeed, other officers appointed by law, but depended upon the costs that were levied upon the parties litigant therein. It was, therefore, quite a pecuniary loss to the present incumbent that another office was created, occupied by a commissioner of appeals in Admiralty that divided the fees accruing in cases wherein the Court of Admiralty had jurisdiction. We have seen that that jurisdiction was not limited to cases strictly concerning Admiralty, but had much to do with the trial of contempts and other cases of that kind. In 1770, Edward Shippen was made one of the Provincial Council.

Edw. Shippen

Like the most of the leading officials in Pennsylvania, while he felt, along with the rest of his fellow-citizens, the sense of wrong at the unjust legislation of the British government, yet he was averse to the project of independence. On the breaking out of the war of the Revolution he retired from public life, and remained quietly at his home on the Schuylkill, near its falls, and was required to give his parole, as were the rest of officials and other prominent citizens who were known to be not in accord with the movement. During the whole struggle he was never suspected of any conduct not consistent with his parole, and such was his exalted reputation for integrity and talent that, by universal desire of the community, he was made, in 1784, presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Philadelphia, and in the same year made one of the judges of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, in which position he remained until 1791, when it was abolished. In 1785 he was elected a justice of the Dock Ward, and soon afterward made president of the Quarter Sessions and General Jail Delivery. On the abolition of the High Court of Errors and Appeals and the institution of the Supreme Court, he was appointed one of the associate judges of that tribunal. On the election of Chief Justice McKean Governor, in 1799, Mr. Shippen was raised to the position just made vacant, and held it until 1805, when he resigned it, and died the following year. His wife was Margaret, daughter of Tench Francis, Esq., attorney-general, and at one time the leader of the Philadelphia bar.

Having begun with the members of the Great Council of the Province of Pennsylvania, we thought proper to continue through the list, notwithstanding that some of the latter survived for many years the

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abolition of that body. We have omitted the names of John and Richard Penn, because, though members, their connection was by virtue of their proprietary rights, and neither of them can properly be said to have been much connected with the bench. The notices of them, therefore, more properly belong to other departments of this work.[1]

The simplicity in William Penn's first institution of his government grew out of a mind that sincerely desired that all its affairs might be conducted with reference to bringing his people to the performance of all their duties, not so much by compulsion as by regard for the dictates of truth, justice, and peace. The following extract, taken from his frame of government and laws in 1682, affords evidence of a spirit that most seriously contemplated the behests of the important mission upon which he believed himself to have been divinely sent. After referring to several passages in the sacred Scriptures relating to the duties of magistrates and people, he says,—

"This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends,—first, to terrify evil-doers; secondly, to cherish those that do well,—which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be. So that government seems to me a part of religion itself,—a thing sacred in its institution and end. For, if it does not directly remove the causes, it crushes the effects of evil, and is, as such, a lower, yet an *emanation of the same divine power* that is both author and object of pure religion, the difference lying here: that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operation; but that is only to evil-doers, government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness, and charity as a more private society. They weakly err that think there is no other use of government than *correction*, which is the coarsest part of it; daily experience tells us that the care and regulation of many other affairs more soft and daily necessary make up much the greater part of government, and which must have followed the peopling of the world had *Adam* never have fallen, and will continue among men on earth, under the highest attainments they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed second *Adam*, the *Lord* from Heaven."

Going to work with these benignant intentions, upon his arrival he called his Assembly, and proceeded, as we have seen, with the establishment of his courts and issuing commissions for the judges. It was a body compliant and prompt. Its first session lasted twenty-two days, the last work being (for Philadelphia) the establishment of a seal (an anchor) and the appointment of John Test as sheriff. A grand jury was summoned in a few weeks afterward, specially for Pickering's case of issuing counterfeit money. The courts were to sit every two months, and the presiding judges were commissioned for two years. Of these judges (Nicholas More, William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, the earliest appointees) it is somewhat singular that the first-named should have been impeached. He was a person, however, of obstinate courage, and refused to appear to the summons of the Assembly, who, in resentment against his contumacy, ordered his suspension until the impeachment could be fully heard. The proprietor, then in England, interfered in the prosecution, believing it to have had insufficient foundation, and More afterward rose to get higher employments in the government.

In spite of the prejudices against lawyers, not only among the people, but the government officials, these must come on quickly, in a community whose progress in every direction was so rapid. Already (in 1722) had the profession advanced far when the Assembly enacted the law regulating their appointment and conduct. Distinguished as was Andrew Hamilton, there was one who equaled him in professional acquirements, whose abilities and whose personal character were doubtless among the causes that led to the removal of the prejudice of which we have spoken. This was John Kinsey. In Proud's "History of Pennsylvania" is given a list of the members of the Assembly elected in 1740. Among them John Kinsey appears as Speaker. He is there recorded as from Philadelphia *County*, while those for Philadelphia City were Israel Pemberton and John Kearsley. Three years after this date he was made chief justice of the State, and so continued until his death, in 1750. The following is a note from Proud's "History":

"In May, 1750, died at Burlington, in West Jersey, of an apoplectic fit, John Kinsey, of Philadelphia. He was an eminent lawyer, and during the last seven years of his life chief justice of Pennsylvania, which station he held with an unblemished integrity, and with so much reputation that even the chief part of the lower courts followed him there. He had been many years a member and Speaker of the Assembly of New Jersey, where he distinguished himself with so much zeal and true patriotism as greatly endeared him to the people of that province. On his removal to Philadelphia, in 1730, he was chosen into the Assembly there, of which he was Speaker during the last ten years of his life successively, except a month or two, when he being on an embassy to an Indian treaty held at Albany, John Wright . . . officiated in his stead. He had very much practice and success in the law, and was for some time attorney-general, his long experience and great ability in the management of public affairs, his skill in the laws, and readiness for communicating his knowledge therein, often without fee or reward, and his tenderness to his friends (the people called Quakers), by whom he was deservedly esteemed a valuable member in their religious society, with the exercise of

[1] In this connection we must again express as well our indebtedness as our thanks to Charles P. Keith, for his most complete work, "The Provincial Councilors of Pennsylvania," published in 1883. To it we owe the greatest number of facts which have been related in the foregoing part of this chapter, and it will serve other purposes hereafter when we come to speak of others, who, although not members of the Council, yet were connected with them by either marriage or descent. This is not quite yet the place to speak fully of the extraordinary standard that was raised at a very early period by the bench of Philadelphia in the social being of that city. It is interesting, and it is wonderful to follow, in Mr. Keith's book, the preservation of that standard among so many generations of families that yet, or more than a century and a half ago, are fully equal to the best in wealth, culture, talent, manners, and social importance in the many States wherein they reside.

many civil and social virtues, are said to have rendered his life very useful and valuable, and his death much lamented as a great and universal loss to these provinces."

Of the many names that were connected with the courts in one way or other, few beside those already mentioned, occurring in the first period of fifty years after the proprietary government of Penn was established, would have been known to posterity but for their appearance upon the court records that have been preserved. Of many of those who presided in the lower courts, and even on the Supreme bench, we get our principal information from the entries upon the judicial or other records stating the facts of their deaths. Of these we may say, as David Paul Brown says of Andrew Robinson and Jeremiah Langhorne, both chief justices, "Except that we know that they both died, we should not know that either of them lived."

Of the judges under the presidency of Allen, the one best known is William Coleman, who was on the bench in 1754. He was a merchant. That he was a man of considerable note we must infer from the praise of him by Benjamin Franklin, who thus refers to their relations with each other of some years anterior to this: "William Coleman, about my age, then a merchant's clerk, had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and exactest morals of almost any man I ever met with. He afterwards became a merchant of great note and one of our provincial judges. Our friendship continued without interruption to his death, upwards of forty years, and the club continued almost as long, and was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics that then existed in the province." Coleman, like many others of the judges and lawyers, was a hearty coworker in the establishment of useful public institutions, as the Library Company of Philadelphia, etc., and was one of the founders and original trustees of the College of Philadelphia. He was also the first treasurer of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

Of many of the other judges, such as Lawrence Growdon, Caleb Cowpland, Alexander Stedman, John Lawrence, and John Morton, it is not known whether any of them had ever been lawyers prior to their elevation to the bench, though the "Forum" says that such has been the impression regarding Growdon and Lawrence. Of these, John Morton lived to acquire distinction for at least one service, whatever may have been his qualifications as a judge,—that of having been not only an ardent patriot, but manifesting both his patriotism and his courage by being a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

It is greatly to be admired, notwithstanding the want of previous studies of legal science by the far greater portion of the provincial judges of Pennsylvania, in how short time they brought the courts up to a standard ever since justly celebrated. The "Forum" pays this fine tribute to them: "In looking at the character of some of the persons who exercised the judicial office in the days of the province, one cannot help observing how much higher, too, in that day must have been the character of 'the merchant.' Nearly all the justices, both of the Common Pleas and the Supreme Court, Franklin excepted, were merchants, yet they were men not only of much intelligence and education, but were also of a very high character as gentlemen, and bearing those characteristics of independence and retirement which Mr. Burke admired in the judicial character, and which, while fit to mark especially that character, belong to the best expressions of society everywhere; but belong not at all to the driving, eager, gambling class which too often in this day assumes to represent 'the merchant,' whose honest and honorable commerce was the commerce of our fathers."

Before the middle of the eighteenth century the tone of the bench and bar had become much exalted, and it is plain to observe the ease and dignity with which the trial of causes had gradually come to be conducted. There appears less of unscientific procedure, sprung from a better acquaintance with the history of court trials in former terms, as they were read by judges and lawyers in the studies of individual cases. There was much of the learning in the reports of English decisions that men of the kind that presided in the provincial courts, however unscientifically educated, but possessed of good judgment and mercantile and other business experience, would soon perceive the value of, and appropriate it to themselves. They would understand in time that this learning was founded, at least the greater part of it, upon reason, at the perfection of which the law has always aimed to attain, and that many of the forms of procedure were not only as simple, but more so than those variously used theretofore by those who, in their ignorance of others, had been accustomed to make them for themselves. The very "fictions" of the law against which Logan was used to declaim were found, upon acquaintance, neither so wicked nor so meaningless. It is interesting, therefore, to notice about this time the rise upon a higher plane, upon which there afterward walked an array of eminent men, a larger number of whom were illustrious than were to be found at any other bar in the whole country.

The character of the members of the bench through those fifty years was such, however, as to impart to their bearing, official and personal, a dignity far beyond what would have been expected of their limited knowledge of laws. There was a decorum in their courts the like of which, though it continued for many years, has long since passed away, not only from Pennsylvania, but the other States, among some of which it formerly obtained, to the great honor of the bench during its continuance. David Paul Brown, in that excellent work we have referred and

shall refer to often hereafter ("The Forum"), in speaking of the Common Pleas, says, "We know little of the formalities which belonged to the court-room, nor indeed—unless it was in Market Street, at the crossing of Second Street—do we know exactly where the court-room was. We have reason to believe, however, that those ceremonies of respect which the wisdom of past times thought so much connected with respect itself were observed with becoming attention. An escutcheon which has descended to our time shows that the crown and royal arms were placed behind the bench, as the emblem of its authority. An ancient portrait of Justice Maddox, painted by Hessellius in 1751, represented the venerable and benignant-looking man costumed with care and dignity in the fashion of the day, short-clothes, ruffled wrist-sleeves, and a wig,—not in any sort of a robe, however,—with a velvet cap laid upon the judicial table, the top of which is covered with a dark cloth, the sides being hung with crimson velvet; himself seated in a crimson velvet-covered and cushioned chair of office, the cushion and arm-rests of which are tasseled with cords and golden fringe. Undoubtedly it looks like a seat which its incumbent, when ordering it, considered that he would have the right to use for the residue of his life." In this connection, the same author refers to a portrait of Andrew Hamilton, which he supposes to have been painted when Hamilton was in England. "He is dressed in a long flowing wig, a scarlet coat, frilled bosom, and bands precisely like those worn by some denominations of the clergy in our time. It is manifest that if this, or anything like this, was the ordinary costume of the bar, it must have generated an observance of propriety in manner which belongs to a different and a better school than that of the sack-coat and 'squash' hat. Indeed, the beauty and bright intelligence of his cleanly-shaven face would present a contrast with many countenances now to be seen of a Saturday morning in our court-rooms which would not argue much in favor of the improved personal appearance of the men of this generation." Mr. Brown also tells of a portrait by Benjamin West of Chief Justice Allen, which was then (in 1856) in possession of one of his descendants in Philadelphia, which is "of three-quarters length, and taken standing; he has a curled wig and ruffled sleeves, but is otherwise dressed as plainly as possible."

Before proceeding to the notice of the leading members of the bench and bar who succeeded those already mentioned, we notice some changes made in the organization of the courts. The Assembly of 1759 passed an act entitled "A supplement to an act for establishing courts of judicature in that province." Martin ("Bench and Bar") says (in his notice of the Court of Common Pleas for the city and county of Philadelphia), this act provides "that five persons, of the best discretion, capacity, judgment, and integrity, may be, and no more, appointed and commissioned to hold the county court of record, styled and called 'the Court of Common Pleas,' in each county, and there to hold a court; and by the second session they are authorized to hold the Orphans' Court. Justices of the Quarter Sessions not to be judges of the Common Pleas. The judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Orphans' Court in Philadelphia appointed under this act were Thomas Yorke, Rowland Evans, John Potts, Samuel Wharton, and John Hughes. The act was repealed by the Privy Council, Sept. 2, 1760, and on Feb. 28, 1761, . . . writs of supersedeas were issued to the above-named judges, forbidding them exercising the powers granted under their commissions from Governor Denny."

The same author thus continues, giving account of the establishment of the District Court:

"By the repeal of the act of Sept. 29, 1759, the justices of the peace, commissioned as justices of the county courts, held the Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, and Orphans' Court until Sept. 1, 1791. The act does not mention the presiding justices, and I have not been able to find any law conferring that dignity previous to the passage of the act of Jan. 28, 1777; but, as I have before stated in this work, I believe there has always been a presiding justice, being the prior justice on each commission."[1]

By the act of April 13, 1791, in order to render effectual the provisions of the Constitution of 1790, establishing Courts of Common Pleas, the State was divided into five districts, the city and county of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, and Delaware constituting the First District, and a president judge learned in the law was to be appointed for each district, and not fewer than three nor more than four other persons appointed in each county as judges, which said president and judges were empowered to execute the powers, jurisdictions, and authorities of judges of the Court of Common Pleas, justices of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, judges of the Orphans' Courts and of the Register's Court, and justices of the Courts of Quarter Sessions of the Peace, agreeably to the laws and Constitution. We have attempted in vain to obtain an account and description of the forms and ceremonies observed previous to the Revolution in opening the

[1] The statement here referred to is on page 37. After referring to the establishment of the Supreme Court, with a chief justice and two (increased to three in 1767) associates, in 1722, with power to hear appeals from the then existing courts, and a Supreme Court of General Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, etc., he proceeds thus:

"On Jan. 28, 1777, an act was passed directing that one justice in each county should be appointed to preside in the respective Courts of Common Pleas, General Quarter Sessions, and Orphans' Court. But this office had existed from the foundation of Penn's government, for we find in 1 C. R., page 18, that an attested copy of the laws 'Should be transmitted to ye Presidt or Clerk of each county Court,' and on the 24th of the Sixth month, 1684, a Council 'ordered that the next Justice in Commission to be Presdt of the Court of New Castle, doe officiate in the same till further order.' The cause of that order was, without doubt, the death of William Welch, who was, I have no hesitation in stating, the president of the court of New Castle, and at Philadelphia also; for in 1 C. R., page 67 (1st edition), on ye 11th of ye Seventh month, 1684, 'It being proposed by a member in Council that a new commission of the peace be granted for the countys of Philadelphia and New Castle, by reason of ye removeall and Decease of ye sayd Presdt, it was unanimously agreed that new Commissioners should be Issued out.'"

terms of our courts, which was done in the most formal manner, and with forms and ceremonies unknown to the present race of lawyers. The portraits of Chief Justice Logan represent him in wig, band, and gown. No doubt that before 1776 the courts observed all the forms then in force in England, and the judges wore the costume prescribed therein.

The overthrow of the royal government could scarcely avoid being followed by the discarding even of many of the forms in the administration of public officers which were not only harmless but contributory to the decent conduct of business therein. Our ancestors, tired out with paying adulation to kings and others high in authority, seemed to wish that what authority it might appear necessary to preserve or establish under different *régime* should have as little resemblance as possible to that which had been destroyed; that judges, even if as authoritative as before, should not seem by their dress and the other appointments of office to be any greater than the people, who instead of a king were now their masters. Natural as was this revulsion, it has ever been regarded by the most thoughtful minds as hurtful to the bench, in diminishing the respect that is due from the rest of the community to the office, to which, and not to any incumbent, it is becoming and important that the highest honor and reverence should be paid. A judge in Pennsylvania is as exalted an officer as a judge in England, and the judges in England have been those who, in spite of exceptional cases of servility, have been instrumental both in the establishment of the rights of the English people, and the sure ascertainment of them when infringed by the crown and its favorites. To this day is to be seen the superior dignity over others of those courts in this country wherein is observed the decorous and dignified etiquette of those of former times.

WILLIAM TILGHMAN, LL.D.

We now pass to the review of those men who made up the second generation of the bench and bar.

William Tilghman, whose reputation is probably not surpassed by that of any other lawyer and judge whom this whole country has produced, was the son of the counselor James Tilghman and Anne, daughter of Tench Francis, who was long leader of the bar in his time, and who was the first of his profession to lead the way to the practice in the provincial courts upon a plane comparable with those in the mother country. Tench Francis, then a citizen of Maryland, resided in Talbot County, his estate being named Fansley. Thereon William Tilghman was born Aug. 12, 1756. Distinguished while in college especially for his love and progress in classic literature, he left before graduation, and when sixteen years old began the study of law in the office of Benjamin Chew. The family had been residing in Philadelphia since an early period in his infancy. After remaining in the office of Mr. Chew four years, he removed to his native State. During the war of independence he remained in retirement, pursuing the while his law studies, and not until it was well over did he apply for admission to the bar. This took place in 1783, when he was then twenty-seven years old. For several years he was a member of the Maryland Legislature, either the Senate or the House of Delegates, and bore a conspicuous part in the adoption by that State of the Federal Constitution. In 1793 he was married to Margaret Elizabeth, daughter of James Allen, son of William Allen, chief justice of Pennsylvania, who, as we have seen, was son-in-law to Andrew Hamilton, and the wealthiest man in the State. Shortly before this marriage he returned to Philadelphia. Besides the lawyers of the city, he was thrown into frequent competition with eminent lawyers from other States, as Ames, Hamilton, Hooper, Pringle, etc., for Philadelphia was then not only the most populous city in the United States, but its bench and bar far outranked those in any other city. Among his contemporaries Mr. Tilghman was noticeable for modesty and distrust of his own ability, which attended him throughout his high career. These, as Cicero (De Oratore) argues, are valuable helps in the formation of an orator when not prevailing to excess. In the study of classic literature, acquaintance with the best examples in Greek and Roman eloquence, he held before himself a standard that he knew was difficult to attain, and his persistent endeavors resulted in a splendid success, which, however unsatisfactory to himself, was the admiration and wonder of his compeers.

The first judicial office to which he was raised was in

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the United States Circuit Court, of which he became, by appointment of John Adams, in 1801, one of what were called "The Midnight Judges."[1] The opposition of Mr. Jefferson to this act caused its repeal in 1802. In the year 1805 Tilghman was made president of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia County, and on the resignation of Judge Coxe, in 1805, he was appointed by Governor McKean president of the First Judicial Circuit of Pennsylvania, and in the following year to be chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State. This was done after the resignation of that position by Judge Shippen. Here Justice Tilghman remained until his death, on the 30th of April, 1827. Mr. Binney, in his eulogium, says,—

"An intimate friend of the chief justice has said that in all his intercourse he never knew him allude to the circumstance of having been a judge of the Federal Court. There was doubtless a painful recollection connected with it. It is known that his opinion was against the validity of the repealing law. 'A nickname, intended as one of reproach, intimating collusion in underhand practices, is often the more painful to sensitive minds the greater the consciousness of innocence.'"

The administration of Chief Justice Tilghman has always been spoken of with unqualified praise. Coming to the bench during the period when was being settled what portions of English law were yet in force in Pennsylvania and what changes should be made in them, his services were of inestimable value. In the eulogium by Horace Binney, already referred to, it is said,—

"It was reserved for Judge Tilghman, with the aid of able and enlightened colleagues, to carry into effect the plan which the genius of his great predecessor (Judge Shippen) had conceived. His philosophical mind perceived at once how equity could be combined with law; how two systems, apparently discordant, could be amalgamated into one homogeneous whole. He found in the common law itself principles analogous to those which courts of equity enforce, principles too long obscured by the unmeaning distinctions and frivolous niceties of scholastic men; he wiped off the dust from the diamond and restored it to its primitive splendor. And though he did not entirely complete that immense work, which still wants the aid of wise legislators and liberal judges, he brought it to that degree of perfection which defies all attempts to destroy it in future, and Pennsylvania boasts of a code of laws which her ordinary courts may safely administer, without the fear of doing injustice and without needing to be checked by an extraordinary tribunal professing a different system of jurisprudence.

"With the same enlightened and philosophical spirit, Judge Tilghman always gave a fair and liberal construction to the statutes which the Legislature made from time to time for the amendment of the law and simplifying the forms of proceeding, which, however they might be suited to the meridian of England, were not well calculated for this country. If those statutes were not always drawn with the requisite skill, he would supply it by their spirit, and would, as much as, indeed, he could, carry into effect the intentions of the legislator. Thus, by his interpretation of the statutes called of *Jeofail*, our practice is now free from those technical entanglements by which justice was too often caught, as it were, in a net, and the merits of a cause made to yield to formal niceties, while chicane rejoiced at the triumph of iniquity.

"Chief Justice Tilghman could have done as much with this bar by the force of his authority as any judge that ever sat in his seat. His investigations were known to be so faithful, his reasonings so just, and his convictions so impartial, that there would have been a ready acceptance of his conclusions, without a knowledge of the steps that led to them. He asked, however, for submission to no authority so rarely as to his own. You may search his opinions in vain for anything like personal assertion. He never threw the weight of his office into the scale which the weight of his argument did not turn He spoke and wrote as the minister of reason, claiming obedience to her, and selecting with scrupulous modesty such language as, while it sustained the dignity of his office, kept down from the relief, in which he might well have appeared, the individual who filled it. Look over the judgments of more than twenty years, many of them rendered by this excellent magistrate after his title to unlimited deference was established by a right more divine than kings. There is not to be found one arrogant, one supercilious expression, turned against the opinions of other judges, one vainglorious regard toward himself. He does not write as if it occurred to him that his writings would be examined to fix his measure, when compared with his standard of great men, but as if their exclusive use was to assist in fixing a standard of the law."

The praise which is given of Chief Justice Tilghman's compassion for those tried for criminal offenses is one of the noblest panegyrics to be found:

"He could not but pronounce the sentence of the law upon such as were condemned to hear it, but the calmness, the dignity, the impartiality with which he ordered their trials, the deep attention which he gave to such as involved life, and the touching manner of his last office to the convicted, demonstrated his sense of the peculiar responsibility which belonged to this part of his functions. In civil controversies, such excepted as by some feature of injustice demanded a notice of the parties, he reduced the issue freely much to an abstract form, and solved it as if it had been an algebraic problem. But in criminal cases there was a constant reference to the wretched persons whose fate was suspended before him, and in the very celerity with which he endeavored to dispose of the accusation he evinced his sympathy. It was his invariable effort, without regard to his own health, to finish a capital case at one sitting, if any portion of the night would suffice for the object, and one of his declared notions was to terminate, as soon as possible, that harrowing solicitude, worse even than the worst certainty, which a protracted trial brings to the unhappy prisoner. He never pronounced the sentence of death without severe pain: in the first instance it was the occasion of anguish. In this, as in many other points, he bore a strong resemblance to Sir Matthew Hale. His awful reverence of the Great Judge of all mankind, and the humility with which he habitually walked in that presence, made him uplift the sword of justice as if it scarcely belonged to man, himself a suppliant, to let it fall on the neck of his fellow-man."

Chief Justice Tilghman, though a man of decided political convictions, abstained as far as possible, consistently with personal freedom in their expressions,

[1] Thompson Westcott, author of the "History of Philadelphia," is quoted by John Hill Martin, in a note to the latter's "Bench and Bar," as having (in the *Sunday Dispatch*, Oct. 8, 1876) this following account of the "Midnight Judges:" "John Adams, while President, toward the end of his term, seriously urged a reorganization of the Federal judiciary. The Circuit Courts were held by the judges of the Supreme Court, but the business was increased so much that the appointment of additional judges was considered necessary. On the 13th of February, 1801, an act was passed reducing the number of the judges of the Supreme Court to five,—whenever a vacancy occurred,—and released those judges from all circuit duty. The number of United States District Courts was increased to twenty-three, and the districts were arranged in six circuits, each circuit with three judges. The result was to create sixteen new judges, besides attorneys, clerks, marshals, and other officers. As it was near the end of Adams' term, and as Jefferson was elected four days after the act was passed, it was supposed that the President would allow his successor to make the appointments; but he did nothing of the sort. He sent to the Senate, on the 18th, the names of Charles Lee, of the District of Columbia; Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania; Richard Bassett, of Delaware; William Griffith, of New Jersey; Egbert Benson, of New York; Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut; Samuel Hitchcock, of Vermont; Philip Barton Key, of Maryland; John Davis, of Massachusetts; Jacob Read, of South Carolina; Elijah Paine, of Vermont; Ray Greene, of Rhode Island; John Sitgreaves, of North Carolina; Joseph Clay, of Georgia; William McClurg, of Kentucky; and William H. Hill, of North Carolina."

Jared Ingersoll having declined the appointment, Mr. Tilghman was afterwards nominated in his place. The term "Midnight Judges" arose from a story that the names of some of them were confirmed just before midnight, 1801, when Mr. Adams' term expired. This act was repealed the following year.

from prominent connection with politics. It is written by Mr. Binney, "He once refused to take part in a meeting on the Missouri question, because, often obliged to decide in matters relating to slavery, he would do nothing to bring his impartiality into doubt. Yet he expressed a 'fervent wish to see the evils of this institution mitigated, and, if possible, extinguished,' and he freed his own slaves by a plan of gradual emancipation."

He became president of the American Philosophical Society in 1824, was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, the first president of the Athenæum, and a warden of the United Churches.

On the last anniversary that he was to see he wrote the following:

"This day completes my seventieth year, the period which is said to bound the life of man. My constitution is impaired, but I cannot sufficiently thank God that my intellects are sound, that I am afflicted with no painful disease, and that sufficient health remains to make life comfortable. I pray for the grace of the Almighty to enable me to walk, during the short remainder of life, in His ways. Without His aid, I am sensible that my efforts are unavailing. May I submit with gratitude to all His dispensations, never forget that He is the witness of my actions, and even of my thoughts, and endeavor to honor, love, and obey Him with all my heart, soul, and strength."

John Ross is described by Graydon as one "who loved ease and Madeira much better than liberty and strife." During the troubles of the Revolution he "declared for neutrality," saying "let who would be king, he well knew that he would be subject." Ross was in excellent practice before 1759, and in that year was consulted by the Governor and Council, together with Mr. Moland, Benjamin Chew, Justice Coleman, and Justice Stedman, in relation to a bill for recording of warrants and surveys, and for rendering real estate and property more secure. In the year 1761, Ross lived in the Carpenter (afterward Tilghman) mansion, on the north side of Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh. He agreed to sell the premises for three thousand pounds to John Smith, because, as he said, his "wife deems it too remote for his family to live in. . . . He must then look out another airy place to build on, and how to succeed therein he knows not." Subsequently he built a new house farther in town, on the north side of Chestnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth. The house was afterward used for many years by the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, and the present bank building occupies the same site.

Thomas McKean was born at Londonderry, Chester Co., Pa., March 19, 1734. His father (William) and his mother (Lætitia, *née* Finny) were natives of Ireland. After finishing his preparatory course of education, he went to the study of the law in the office of a kinsman,—David Finny,—at New Castle, Del. Shortly after entering this office he was made deputy prothonotary and register for the probate of wills, and some short time thereafter prothonotary of the Common Pleas. These offices led to speedy acquaintance with the clerical part of the profession, which, with the rapid advance he had made in the study of its principles, led to his admission to the bar before he was of age. When he was twenty-two, he was appointed deputy attorney-general for Sussex County. The next year he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and in the same year became clerk of the Assembly. Five years afterward, when only twenty-eight years of age, he was appointed, together with Cæsar Rodney, to codify the laws of Delaware that had been passed from the beginning to the year 1751. In the same year (1762) he was elected to the General Assembly from New Castle, which position he held for seventeen years consecutively. In 1773 he removed to Philadelphia. This change of residence, however, did not affect the confidence of his constituents nor their desire for him to continue as their representative. In spite of his continued proposal to be relieved, they continuously elected him for the remaining six years of his service in that body. When at last, in 1779, he peremptorily declined to serve another term, his old constituents asked him to make out a list of those whom he thought they would do best to choose. In vain he endeavored to decline a request imparting so delicate responsibility. He was prevailed upon to comply, and the names he rendered were elected almost with unanimity. In 1764 he was appointed by the Legislature one of the trustees of the loan office for the county of New Castle, an appointment that was many times renewed. This was a most benignant measure on the part of the Legislature, designed, as it was, to advance money, on reasonable security, and very indulgent terms, to those persons who were embarrassed with debts, yet were industrious and needed only such accommodation in order to eventually become extricated.

It is to Thomas McKean that we are indebted for having made the first, at least the most public and effectual, move toward the establishment of that principle in our Federal government which resulted in placing the smaller States in the United States Senate on a level with the larger. He was representative in the Colonial Congress of 1765 from Delaware. This has generally been styled "the Stamp Act" Congress. Early in its sittings Mr. McKean contended that on the votings upon the important subject for which the body was mainly assembled, Delaware, though the smallest in territory and population, should count evenly with all the rest. His opinions prevailed. It was a great question, destined, after the attainment of independence, to become one of the most exciting of those to be discussed before the final settlement upon the basis of a Federal Union, which was compromised by allowing the disparity in population to be counted only in the House of Representatives. Young as he was, he was one of the most prominent figures in this Convention, and among other appointments to which he was assigned [illegible] eing one of the committee to draw [illegible] of the colonies to the

Parliament of Great Britain. An interesting incident is told in Armor's "Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania" (Philadelphia: James K. Simon, 1872):

"One circumstance which occurred near the close of the session so well illustrates the open, manly boldness with which he met every question that it merits recital. It is given by the author of the sketch of Mr. McKean published in 'The Signers of the Declaration.' 'When the business was concluded,' he says, 'and on the last day of the session, the president and some timid members refused to sign the proceedings. Mr. McKean then rose, and, addressing himself personally to the president, remarked that as he had not made a solitary objection to any of the measures which had been finally adopted, nor a single observation indicative of disapprobation, he requested that he would now assign his reasons for refusing to sign the petition. To this demand the president replied that he did not conceive himself bound to state the cause of his objections. Mr. McKean rejoined that the gentlemen present had met together to obtain the repeal of an unconstitutional and oppressive act of the British Parliament and a redress of other grievances; that as unanimity and harmony had hitherto prevailed among them, it appeared very extraordinary that any member should refuse to affix his name to what he had at least apparently approved, without any excuse or observation on the occasion; and that if there was anything treasonable, offensive, or indecent in the proceedings, he thought it would be an act of comity, nay, of duty, to advise his brethren of it. Other delegates spoke briefly to the same purport. Thus pressed to an explanation, the president, after a long pause, observed that it was against his conscience. Mr. McKean now rung the changes on the word conscience so long and loud that a plain challenge was given and accepted in the presence of the whole Congress; but the president departed from New York the next morning before the dawn of day.'"

The course of their representative was approved by the people of Delaware even enthusiastically. On his return he was appointed notary public and tabellion for the lower counties on the Delaware and justice of the peace and of the Quarter Sessions for New Castle County. When the period arrived for the Stamp Act to go into operation, Justice McKean promptly issued an order that the officers of the court should not delay in the performance of their duties, but continue them with the use of unstamped paper. This action has generally been considered the first of its kind in that momentous era.

In 1774, Mr. McKean finally removed to Philadelphia, and took up his residence as a citizen. But the people of Delaware, for a long time indeed a part of Pennsylvania, insisted upon at least having him continue their representative in all matters pertaining to the public coalition of the colonies. He never had the heart to decline their urgent solicitations, and from this time forth to the end of the Revolutionary war and the settlement of the Federal Union, he, though a resident and citizen of Philadelphia, continued to represent Delaware. As her representative he went to the First Continental Congress in New York, and is noted as being the only man who from this date to the final settlement, a period of more than eight years, was continuously a member.

A very singular error occurred in the matter of the Declaration of Independence by which by very many persons afterward Mr. McKean was believed not to have signed that paper, although known to have been one of the most ardent and eloquent among those who effected its adoption. The error is accounted for in this manner (in Armor's "Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania"):

"It appears that on the 19th of July, two weeks after its passage, Congress directed that a copy of the Declaration should be engrossed on parchment and signed by every member. This engrossed copy was finished, and on the 2d of August was produced and signed. But previous to this day McKean had obtained leave of absence, being then an officer of militia, and for several weeks succeeding he was not in his place, he being absent on the 2d of August and before his signature was affixed. But his presence was too notorious to occasion any question as to the fact, even without his own testimony. When the preliminary vote was taken on the 2d of July all the States declared in favor of it, except Pennsylvania and Delaware. Of these McKean voted for it, Read against it, and Rodney, the third, was absent. Seeing that the vote of his State was likely to be lost, McKean sent a messenger, at his own expense, posthaste, to summon the absent member. He arrived in time to vote for the measure, thus carrying the State in its favor, and some of the opposing members of the Pennsylvania delegation absenting themselves, the vote was finally made unanimous."[1]

Immediately after the adoption of the Declaration by Congress the State of Pennsylvania appointed Mr. McKean to the command of the regiments hastily formed to be sent to Perth Amboy to the support of Washington, who, with inadequate forces, was en-

[1] The following shows what important consequences may sometimes follow an omission that at the time of its occurrence is scarcely regarded. Mr. Alexander James Dallas called the attention of McKean to the circumstance afterward, and received an answer, part of which is as follows: "My name is not in the printed journals of Congress as a party to the Declaration of Independence, and this, like an error in the first Convention, has vitiated most of the subsequent publications; and yet the fact is, that I was then a member for the State of Delaware, was personally present in Congress, voted in favor of independence on the 4th of July, 1776, and signed the Declaration after it had been engrossed on parchment, where my name, in my own handwriting, still appears."

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deavoring to protect New Jersey from the British. As soon as relieved from this duty he returned to Philadelphia, where he ascertained that the people of Delaware had chosen him as a member of their convention, now assembled for the purpose of forming a Constitution. He set off without delay for Dover, and during the night of his arrival wrote out that document which, on the very next day, was unanimously adopted. In 1777 he was appointed chief justice of Pennsylvania, and accepted the office not without much reluctance. The prodigious powers for business that he possessed are known from the fact that he was yet a member of Congress, and that his little native State, unable to part from the service of her favorite son, elected him her president. It is interesting to consider this long, even affectionate, attachment between Mr. McKean and the State of Delaware. As he had done while its representative in the Assembly, he remonstrated with it in 1780, begging them to allow him, on account of the pressure of his other duties, to resign the presidency. But the people could not be brought to comply with his request, and it is another evidence of the greatness of his spirit that he was receiving no salary for his services. On the 10th of July he was elected president of Congress, which position he continued to hold until November, when he resigned it, preparatory to proceeding to take his seat upon the Supreme bench. In this capacity he served until 1799, when he was elected Governor of Pennsylvania.

In the first establishment of hostile parties, led as these were by Adams and Jefferson, McKean, with all the ardor common to his spirit, aligned himself with the latter, and it was as a Republican of the Jeffersonian school that he was elected. The hostility between these parties was most acrimonious, and men of great parts and great courage, who were placed in public positions, must personally have known what it was to attack and defend in long-continued and bitter warfare. In that period many questions that were new must have constantly arisen, in the study and discussion of which it is not to be wondered that many men became illustrious. The office of Governor at that day had a hundredfold more numerous and weighty responsibilities than have ever attached to it since. Thus Governor McKean writes, not long after he had been settled in office,—

> "Though my situation in life is changed my cares remain. I have never had greater employment for body and mind than for the last six months, unless when I was president of Congress. I have waded through a sea of troubles and surmounted my principal difficulties. I have been obliged (though no Hercules) to cleanse the Augean stable[1] with little or no aid, for I am my own minister and amanuensis. A Governor of Pennsylvania has more duty to perform than the President of the United States or any other Governor in the Union."

For three consecutive terms McKean was elected Governor. In his last term he was impeached, to such a degree had political animosities risen. But the trial of the impeachment was never had. A paper that he submitted to the Legislature defining the relative powers and duties of the three branches of government was so exhaustive and convincing that the prosecution was allowed to drop, from the conviction of his enemies that it could not succeed and ought not. This is considered one of the ablest State papers that the country has produced. At the end of his third term he retired from office. In a letter to John Adams (with whom, in spite of his adhesion to the school of Jefferson, he had ever had very friendly relations), written after his retirement, he says, "Three years ago I shook hands with the world, and we said farewell to each other; the toys and rattles of childhood would, in a few years more, be probably as suited to me as office, honor, or wealth; but, thank God! the faculties of my mind are as yet little, if anything, impaired, and my affections and friendships remain unshaken. Since my exemption from professional and official duties I have enjoyed a tranquility never (during a long, protracted life) before experienced, and my wealth and comforts are sufficient for a moderate man." He died on the 24th of June, 1817, and was buried in the yard of the Presbyterian Church, in Market Street, Philadelphia.

Judge McKean was the first to preside upon the bench of the Supreme Court after the Declaration of Independence. In spite of the deliverance from royal government, yet it was too soon to throw away all forms which had prevailed in the tribunals of justice, and there was a dignity in the conduct of business very different from what afterward came to prevail there, as in courts elsewhere, except that of the United States. "The judges, it is true, had thrown off their wigs, but they nevertheless retained the robes and such appliances as probably, in their opinion, contributed to make 'ambition virtue.' In taking their seats at the opening of the court in the city, as well as in the counties, with all their professed republican principles, they followed and imitated at no great distance the examples of the judges of the English court of king's bench. The sheriff in all his pomp, together with the tipstaves and attendants, assembled at the commencement of the term, and swelled the retinue of the chief justice and his asso-

[1] The allusion to this one of the "labors of Hercules" was suggested by the habit lately adopted by the followers of Mr. Jefferson of putting into practice the motto, ascribed to him, "to the victors belong the spoils." A man of the temper of McKean might be expected, if he ran this schedule at all, to run it through regardless of all opposition. That he approved it was early evinced both by his actions and his words. Thus, in three months after Mr. Jefferson's inauguration, he writes (July 10, 1801) to him: "It appears that the anti-Republicans even those in office, are as hostile as ever, as insolent. To overcome them they must be shaven, for in their offices (like Samson's hair-locks) their great strength lieth. Their disposition for mischief may remain, but their power of doing it will be gone. It is out of the common order of nature to prefer enemies to friends; the despisers of the people should not be their rulers, nor men be vested with authority in a government which they wish to destroy. A dagger ought not to be put into the hands of an assassin. Sayings of this import are in the mouths of everybody, and self-preservation seems to demand some attention to them."

ciates as they proceeded to assume their respective places upon the judicial seat."[1]

It is not uncommon for a man who has been most restive under authority that he considers oppression, when once invested with it himself, to employ it after the arbitrary manner of which it had been his wont to complain in others. This was the principal fault that the bar of that time had to complain in the administration of Judge McKean. David Paul Brown says that, but for the courage of those who were leaders in the profession, his rule would have been a very hard one. In spite of the inflexibility of his integrity, his imperious temper sometimes rendered it most unpleasant to practice in his court. Before such a judge coolness and courage are often very available. The author just alluded to gives an instance in the case of Gouverneur Morris. "While Gouverneur Morris was addressing him some remark that he made gave offense to his Honor, who, turning to the counsel somewhat roughly, commanded him to take his seat. Mr. Morris, who was a man of lofty spirit, replied, 'If, sir, you do not wish to hear me, I will cease speaking; but whether I shall *sit* or *stand* depends upon my own convenience, and I prefer *standing*.'" Ardent as was his temper, arbitrary as was his rule, he was never a man to exert his authority strenuously, except where, in his opinion, it seemed becoming. On one occasion, when his warrant for the arrest of a quartermaster who was then serving under Gen. Greene, at the encampment at Valley Forge, and when that general had written to him that he could not spare his subaltern from the service just at that time, and asking that he might be allowed to put in his recognizance for his appearance at court hereafter, the judge, in firing indignation at the interference with his authority, wrote to the general a letter, in which, among others like, occurs the following: "I do not think, sir, that the absence, sickness, or even *death* of Mr. Hooper could be attended with such a consequence that no person could be found who could give the necessary aid upon this occasion; but what attracts my attention the most is your observation that *you* cannot, without great necessity, consent to his being absent. As to that, sir, I shall not *ask* your consent, nor that of any other person in or out of the army, whether *my precept* shall be obeyed or not in Pennsylvania."

When a man who is suspected of wishing to be despotic is himself of intrepid courage, ready to employ it on occasions of whatever emergency, and especially in the cause of right, he cannot but obtain great respect, even among those who suffer most under his rule. The "Forum" gives the following account of his action on one of such occasions: "It happened upon one occasion, while the Supreme Court was holding an important session, during a period of great political and public excitement, a large assemblage of persons and a consequent tumult occurred in the immediate vicinity of the court-room, and interfered materially with the transaction of business. The chief justice sent for the sheriff, and directed him immediately to suppress the riot. The sheriff soon afterward returned, and declared his inability to do so. 'Why, sir,' said the chief justice, 'do you not summon your posse to your aid?' 'I *have* summoned them,' was the reply, 'but they are totally inefficient, and the mob disregard them.' 'Why do you not summon ME?' said the chief justice.' The sheriff, looking somewhat confused for a time at this direct appeal, at length said, 'Well, sir, I DO summon you.' Whereupon the chief justice immediately left the bench, proceeded to the scene of disorder, and seizing two of the ring-leaders, placed them in custody, which, together with the influence of his standing and authority, at once restored matters to peace."

[1] Brown's Forum.

The appointment of William Tilghman as chief justice of the State was very distasteful to the Democratic party, especially the leaders. A man so modest and so reserved, who had kept himself to his profession, and taken no prominent part in politics, could not be expected to receive the warm support of those who had already begun to know how to make politics something of a trade. Then the aristocratic bearing of Mr. Tilghman was against him. A town-meeting had been held in Philadelphia, wherein resolutions were adopted by the Democrats of that city expressing their objections to him, and a committee was appointed to wait upon the Governor, now in the second term of office, present the resolutions, and beg him to withhold the nomination of one thus shown to be obnoxious to so large a number of the party that had elected him Governor. He received the committee, listened to the address of the chairman, and then answered, "Indeed! Inform your constituents that I bow with submission to the will of the great Democracy of Philadelphia, but, by G—d! William Tilghman *shall* be chief justice of Pennsylvania!" He was a man of noble presence, tall, erect, usually wearing a cocked hat, and carrying a gold-headed cane.

Bushrod Washington must be noticed among the occupants of the bench and bar of Philadelphia, as much of his career was spent in the city from his appointment under John Adams as associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States (1798) until his death, in 1829. This appointment was of scarcely less importance than that, shortly afterward, of Marshall to be chief justice. The career of no man who ever sat upon the bench in any of the courts of the United States has been the subject of higher praise than that of Bushrod Washington. A man of small stature, delicate, gentle, almost feminine in appearance and manners, yet he united the qualities that these might be expected to exhibit, with a strength of purpose and will that altogether made him as

nearly perfect a judge as ever lived. It has ever been remarked how more impressive are the fully-determined mandates of those who utter them without passion, yet with the appearance of inflexible purpose to have them executed, than those intemperate, hasty, and irate, that come from the passionate and fretful. Before Justice Washington, while those disposed to be overbearing to the juniors at the bar might be quietly and easily restrained, the young and the modest found in him a most valuable ally in supplying them, as far as was consistent with his judicial position, with confidence and courage. Even to the lower officers of his court he was wont to speak with the respect which a good man, however exalted in position, always feels for every other who is acting in his sphere, however lowly, with fidelity. The very hardest expression recorded of him in his relation with these inferior officers is that when, upon an occasion, when on account of the crowded state of the court-room, hindering somewhat the usual transaction of its business, a bailiff, disposed, as it appeared, more to exhibit his own importance than to suppress the confusion, had ordered silence several times in a very loud tone to little purpose. The judge said to him, "Mr. ——, it seems to me that you make much more noise than you suppress, and if I should have occasion to speak again upon the subject, it will be to your successor." Two men could scarcely have been more unlike than Judge McKean and Judge Washington. Yet the authority of the latter was fully as complete in his court as that of the former. Patient, courteous, but firm and inflexible, he was just the sort of judge that was most suited to every class of practitioners. He early established that rule whereby a lawyer is made to testify in a case, if so asked, against his client in matters that come to his knowledge outside and independent of the communications of his client. It was in a trial where counsel had been asked by the opposing lawyer to testify merely in regard to the situation of the property, the right to the possession of which was being tried, and he had refused to take the stand, urging his privilege in that behalf. But the judge, without waiting to hear argument from the counsel who had made the motion, disposed of it summarily, thus, "You are not asked to state anything confided in you by your client; but the relation of client and counsel does not impart to the counsel any exemption from the obligation to testify to what he independently knows; if you know, therefore, you must state who was in possession of the land. Were it otherwise, when a member of the bar has knowledge of a fact important for the case of one party, it would only be requisite for the other party to employ him, and thereby defeat the purposes of justice." With all his reticence and gentleness of manner, he was sometimes, not often, driven to words that showed that he had within a spirit that, however he habitually restrained it, was strong enough for any purpose for which it might be thought necessary to employ it. A lawyer he was, complete as a man can become, in all the knowledge of his profession. He understood thoroughly the common law, and he therefore understood the relation borne to it by equity, when it was proper for its interposition, and what were its purposes, and its limits in such interposition.

David Paul Brown relates an anecdote of part of a conversation that occurred once between Judge Washington and Richard Stockton, then one of the leading lawyers of the bar of New Jersey. It was in relation to the embarrassed position in which Governor Desha, of Kentucky, had been placed by a flagrant crime of his own son:

"Mr. Stockton inquired, 'Have you seen the melancholy position in which Governor Desha, of Kentucky, has been placed by the crime of his son?' 'It is a sad affair,' said the judge. 'But,' rejoined Stockton, 'the worst of it is that the son, having been convicted, the Governor, his father, must now decide between signing the death-warrant or a pardon.' 'And that you consider a difficulty?' said the judge. 'Certainly,' replied the interlocutor. 'Why, I would like to know what you, an upright, impartial, and inflexible judge, would do in such a case?' 'Do?' was the reply; 'do?' his eye sparkling, and his little figure expanding by the side of his gigantic friend, 'why, sir, I would *pardon him at once;* the time has long gone by when it was deemed either natural or honorable to play the Roman father.' "

Such expressions coming from such a man at a time when mankind had not yet ceased to praise the horrible action of the elder Brutus, and other unnatural fathers who followed his example, were of inestimable value to a better ascertainment of the duties of those who, while in public positions, are sometimes called upon to decide upon questions on which it is only strange that the world should ever have entertained a doubt. It is, perhaps, a fact that that is the highest kind of courage that holds itself habitually in reserve for great occasion wherever its exhibition may be found necessary. The thoroughly brave man is apt to be mild, quiet, unaggressive, modest, cool. If entirely upright, he must have a consciousness of integrity that not only does not fear to be led far astray from just action, but is indifferent to whatever others may think of its possibilities. It is not easy to say what Judge Washington would probably have done in a case like that when Judge McKean ordered himself to be summoned upon the posse to aid the sheriff in suppressing a riot, but it is probable that had Washington been upon the bench at the time, and his presence there were known to the crowd, the riot would not have occurred, or if it had, then out of the hearing of the court. It may well be said to be a happy thing both for the State of Pennsylvania and the Federal government that such a man as Judge Washington was upon the bench during the contest between these two powers in the great case of Gideon

Olmstead, wherein he was called upon to decide upon the issue clearly made by Pennsylvania with the Federal government, the Legislature of the former having solemnly ordered the Governor of the State to resist the execution of a judgment of the court of the latter. Nothing could exceed the cool courage with which the judge bore himself throughout this trial, that lasted for several weeks. Outside pressure upon the court was constant, and conducted in such a manner as to be dreaded by almost any man, however solemnly convinced of his rights and duties. Threats had been made abundantly against the judge personally if he should dare to decide adversely to the defendants, whose cause the State had espoused. We believe that the records of courts may be sought in vain for a more consummate act of courage, prudence, and sagacity than that of the presiding judge upon the close of the arguments of counsel. The court was sitting at its usual place, in a house, the room on the ground floor of which was much more capacious than the court-room. A large and anxious crowd, that more than filled the latter, were on hand eager to hear the judgment of the court. Determined to have in view as many as possible of those who had threatened his judicial authority when it became necessary to assert it, with as much mildness of manner as he had ever employed in the issuance of the most trifling orders, he said to the crier, "Adjourn the court, to meet to-morrow morning in the room of the ground-floor of this building. This is an important case; the citizens manifest a deep interest in the result, and it is but right that they should be allowed, without too much inconvenience, to witness the administration of the justice of the county, to which all men, great and small, are alike bound to submit."

We close this notice by the following, taken from the discourse of Judge Hopkinson, delivered after the death of this illustrious man:

"Few, very few men, who have been distinguished on the judgment-seat of the law have possessed higher qualifications, natural and acquired, for the station than Judge Washington. And this is equally true, whether we look to the illustrious individuals who have graced the courts of the United States, or extend the view to the country from which so much of our judicial knowledge has been derived. He was wise, as well as learned, sagacious and searching in the pursuit and discovery of truth, and faithful to it beyond the touch of corruption, or the diffidence of fear; he was courteous, considerate, and slow in forming a judgment, and steady, but not obstinate, in his adherence to it. No man was more willing to listen to an argument against his opinion, to receive it with candor, or to yield to it with more manliness if it convinced him of an error. He was too honest and too proud to surrender himself to the undue influence of any man, the menaces of any power, or the seductions of any interest, but he was tractable as humility to the force of truth, as obedient as filial duty to the voice of reason. When he gave up an opinion he did it not grudgingly, or with reluctant qualifications and saving explanations; it was abandoned at once, and he rejoiced more than any one at his escape from it. It is only a mind conscious of its strength, and governed by the highest principles of integrity, that can make such sacrifices, not only without any feeling of humiliation, but with unaffected satisfaction."[1]

A leading character in the politics of the times before and some time after the Revolution of 1776, was John Dickinson. Like many others whose careers were spent mainly in Philadelphia, John Dickinson was a native of Maryland. Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, the councilor, whom we have sketched heretofore, had a sister who had married a rich Quaker, Samuel Dickinson, who had been the presiding justice in Kent County, on the Delaware. The country-seat of this gentleman was named "Crosia," and located in Talbot County, Md., on the Choptank River. Here was born his son John on 2d of November, 1732. After finishing his course at schools, he spent some time in the office of Lawyer Moland, in Philadelphia, and then went to London, where he spent three years in the further prosecution of his law studies at the Temple. Showing an early liking for politics, he engaged ardently in them, particularly in the Lower Counties, where Benjamin Chew was his ablest opponent. In 1762 he was elected from Philadelphia County to the Assembly, and in the following year, being re-elected, was placed upon the Committee of Correspondence.

The family of Penn, with far less sagacity, as well as sense of justice, than their illustrious progenitor, had made and insisted upon so many unreasonable exactions, that a party arose which had for its object the annihilation of the proprietary government altogether, and the relegation of authority to the crown. The ablest man in this movement was Benjamin Franklin. Dickinson was as much opposed as any to these exactions of the Penns, but was intensely hostile to the movement of Franklin. He argued that the main cause of the daring of that family proceeded from the sense of security which they had had in the approval of the British government in all their exactions, and that the removal of these petty oppressors would be followed by exactions the more oppressive, because made by a higher power, that was already resentful on account of what it deemed inadequate service rendered by Pennsylvania in the late war with France. But, through the management of Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Galloway, the measure was carried.

Dickinson continued his hostility after the adjournment. Through his exertions both Franklin and Galloway were defeated for the next Assembly, and himself returned. He could not prevail, however, in his efforts to have the petition recalled, and Franklin, notwithstanding his defeat at the polls,

[1] David Paul Brown, in the "Forum," makes a comparison between Judge Washington and Judge Tilghman. In his sketch of the latter he writes, "Yet with all his merits, and certainly he had no superior in those respects, his judicial manner was not equal to Judge Washington's, though superior to any other man that ever held his seat upon a Pennsylvania bench. They were equally learned in the law, or perhaps Tilghman's reading was the more comprehensive of the two. They were equally confided in by the public, but the advantage of Washington over Tilghman consisted in his imperturbable composure, 'his masterly inactivity,' until the hour of action arrived, when he struck an unerring and final blow. Whether he had less timidity than his great rival it is difficult to say, but he showed less, perhaps, than any man that ever held a similar post."

was elected to the commission to go with the paper to England.

The career of this remarkable man belongs to other fields rather than to this which relates the history of the bench and bar. His ardent nature led him to take active part in politics rather than pursue a profession in which, doubtless, he would have attained eminence corresponding to that which he won elsewhere. Notwithstanding his opposition to the Declaration of Independence, such was the confidence in his talents, integrity, and patriotism exhibited after its adoption, that about the year 1780 he was placed on the Supreme Executive Council, that had been created by the Constitution of 1776. This Council had been formed mainly upon the model of Penn's Provincial Council, established in 1683. This, as we have seen, was a judicial as well as political post, the members being also members of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. The office of president of this Council was elective by its members. In 1782, Dickinson was chosen to it. During his administration as such president Dickinson College was founded, to which he had contributed largely of his abundant means. His wife was Mary Norris, granddaughter of the councilor of "Fair Hill." Dickinson died Feb. 14, 1808.

F Hopkinson

In connection with him, it is perhaps most proper to mention here Joseph Galloway, who was, with Franklin, his leading rival in the political discussions of their times. Galloway was another of the many Marylanders the chief part of whose life in their most eventful periods was spent in Philadelphia. He was born near West River, on the Western Shore of Maryland, about the year 1729, the son of Peter Galloway and Mary, daughter of John Rigbee. He began the practice of law at a very early age, for at that of twenty-one we find his name appearing upon the docket of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Finding politics more inviting to his temper than law, he devoted himself to the former. His attitude toward independence when that great question came along was such as to drive him to expatriation. We shall see elsewhere the parts he enacted on this theatre and in that of letters. He t the town of Watford, in Herts, England, the place of his residence. His residence while in Philadelphia was at the southeast corner of Sixth and High Streets. Attainted of high treason in 1789, among other things done with his estate, this house was appropriated by the Legislature as a residence of the Supreme Executive Council. It was afterward bought by Robert Morris. Galloway's mother was Grace Growdon, daughter of Lawrence Growdon, the councilor, before mentioned.

Francis Hopkinson, one of the most eminent men of his times, was the son of the Councilor Thomas Hopkinson, by his wife Mary (*née* Johnson), of New Castle. This lady was of a distinguished English family, her grandfather, William Johnson, of Laycock Mills, having been granted in 1677, by Charles II., the reversion of the office of master of the rolls to succeed Sir Harbottle Grimston. Francis was born in 1737 in Philadelphia. He was the first pupil to come forth from the College and Academy of Philadelphia, studied law under the Councilor Benjamin Chew, and was admitted to practice in 1761. Without having accomplished anything considerable by 1765, he then embarked for Europe, partly for the purpose of visiting his mother's relations there, among whom some, as the Bishop of Worcester, were in high positions. His principal object, however, was to obtain office of some sort from the Penns or the government. The office he sought mainly was that of one of the commissioners of the customs for North America. He maintained with leading persons relations pleasant in all respects, except in obtaining the office he desired. Upon his return he resumed the practice of his profession, and at the same time engaged in merchandising on Race Street, above Third. In 1772 he obtained the office of collector of New Castle. Having intermarried with Ann, daughter of Joseph Borden, of Bordentown, N. J., he had the business at New Castle attended to by deputy, and for a while residing at Bordentown, was a member of the Provincial Council of New Jersey. In 1776 he was chosen one of the State's delegates to the Continental Congress. Here he was one of the committee for drafting the Articles of Confederation, and favoring

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independence, became one of the signers. He was placed afterward at the head of the Navy Department of the newly-formed government, and was treasurer of the Continental Loan Office.

Mr. Hopkinson had great powers of ridicule, and no production of greater literary merit, it is probable, ever had more successful influence in the production of what was intended than his "Battle of the Kegs," written in relation to the attempt upon the British in Philadelphia, in 1778, by sending floating torpedoes down the Delaware. In the following year the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania appointed him judge of the Admiralty at Philadelphia. After the convention that formed the Federal Constitution, he wrote another humorous piece for another serious purpose. This was "The New Roof," and, like its predecessor in the same vein, contributed wonderfully to making that document acceptable among the people. The establishment of the District Court of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania drew to it the jurisdiction in Admiralty, and of this court President Washington appointed him judge. The name of Francis Hopkinson stands among the very highest upon that long list of distinguished Philadelphians who made the bench and bar of their city the most illustrious in the country during many years, and his numerous posterity may recall with much pride the history of his actions. One of these, his son Judge Joseph Hopkinson, was perhaps fully his equal as a lawyer and judge, and his superior in literary culture.

Joseph Reed was one of the most distinguished men of his time. He was of a family that, many years before his birth, in 1741, had emigrated from Carrickfergus, Ireland, and settled near the town of Trenton, N. J. His father, Andrew Reed, married Theodosia Bowes, and was for most of his life a merchant at Trenton. Shortly after the birth of Joseph he removed to Philadelphia, but in the course of about ten years went back to Trenton. Joseph's college education was at Princeton, where he took the first academic degree when he was only sixteen years old. After graduation he began the study of law under Richard Stockton, a leading lawyer of the province, and was admitted to the bar in 1763. Not satisfied with the advantages he had had in his legal studies thus far, he went to London after his admission, and studied at the Middle Temple for two years, returning in 1765. Young as he was during this sojourn, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the progress of the relation between the British government and the American colonies, and became an ardent opposer to the increasing oppressiveness of the former. Many of his letters written during this time have been preserved and printed in the work published by his grandson, William B. Reed, in 1847, entitled "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed." On his return from London he began the practice of his profession. His services, destined to become so valuable in the trying times that were hastening their approach, were for some time in danger of being lost to his native country on account of an attachment he had formed for the daughter of Mr. De Berdt, a prominent merchant in London, who had refused Mr. Reed's request to be allowed to marry her unless he would settle there. Some time after the latter's return, and while matters were discussed with great anxiety on both sides, Mr. De Berdt, who was a Dissenter, concluded to accept the appointment of agent for Massachusetts "to solicit and pursue the petitions of the General Congress." This appointment seemed favorable to a degree to the hopes of the young lover, as it identified the family of the woman he loved more closely with his native country. The five years following he devoted himself assiduously to his profession, and though he had rapid, abundant success, yet he was ever debating the question of whether or not he must comply with the terms on which he could obtain the object of his affections. Finally, at the death of his own father in 1769, he embarked for London, yet uncertain of his destination. Arriving there he found that Mr. De Berdt had died shortly before. Reed soon thereafter married, and in the latter part of the year 1770 returned to Trenton, and immediately removed his residence to Philadelphia.

Like Dickinson, Mr. Reed became so prominently engaged in politics that the greater part of his ablest endeavors were spent in public affairs. His connection by marriage with some of the best London society led to his intimate acquaintance with some of the leading statesmen of Great Britain, among them Lord Dartmouth, who, on the resignation of Lord Hillsborough, in 1772, became Secretary of State for the Colonies. In the work of William B. Reed, before referred to, is given some very interesting correspondence between Mr. Reed and this nobleman upon the exciting topics of the day. Along with this correspondence is that with Mr. De Berdt, Mr. Reed's brother-in-law, Arthur Lee, and others. The conclusion of his last letter to the earl we must insert here, although it has no reference to the subject we have immediately in hand in this chapter. It was written Feb. 10, 1775, in Philadelphia. Mr. Reed had never disguised from his lordship his own views concerning the matters in dispute between the colonies and the mother-country. At this period matters had become so exacerbated that Mr. Reed felt himself bound to intimate that if the correspondence he had had with the secretary was becoming embarrassing to him, he would cease to write. "If so," he writes, "a word to Mr. De Berdt will be sufficient, and I shall forbear to trouble your lordship further, though I shall ever retain sentiments of the most sincere and respectful devotion and gratitude for your condescension to myself, and the regard your lordship has often expressed for this unhappy country." After giving an account of the Provincial Convention that had met in Philadelphia, the reception the king's speech on colonial affairs had met with, and other things pertaining to the situation, he con-

cludes thus: "I am very sensible that the disposition I have mentioned may by some be imputed to timidity and apprehension of division among ourselves. That there are some in this province, and more in New York, who do not think with the Congress in all things is very true; but, on the best inquiry, the majority of a different opinion is too great, and the number of the dissenting too small, to make it a circumstance of material weight in any plan which may be formed. By what I have said your lordship will see that it is my opinion, if it can be reconciled with the dignity of the mother-country to express a desire of accommodation, and the present severities against Boston could be suspended on making satisfaction for the damage done the tea, the Americans may think it their interest to recede in some degree from the line of jurisdiction drawn in Congress. But this country will be deluged with blood before it will submit to any other taxation than by their own Legislature."

On the 15th of June, 1775, George Washington, then a member of Congress, was made commander-in-chief of the forces that had been raised when, after the battle of Lexington, the war of the Revolution had fairly begun. Shortly afterward Mr. Reed was made his military secretary. This action was surprising to his friends, who remembered how conservative he had been during all the preliminary public transactions concerning the difficulties with the mother-country. To one who warned him of the dangers to which he was subjecting himself by his present prominent connection with the rebellion he coolly answered, "I have no intention to be hanged for half-treason. When a subject draws his sword against his prince, he must cut his way through if he means afterward to sit down in safety. I have taken too active a part in what may be called the civil part of opposition to renounce without disgrace the public cause when it seems to lead to danger, and have a most sovereign contempt for the man who can plan measures he has not spirit to execute." In June, 1776, Mr. Reed was appointed adjutant-general, an office which had just been made vacant by the promotion of Gen. Gates. The correspondence of Mr. Reed ever after his joining the army, especially with Gen. Washington and Mrs. Reed, is deeply interesting.[1]

In June, 1777, Reed was offered the post of brigadier-general, but declined the appointment. So he did with that of chief justice of the State of Pennsylvania. The latter declination he made, giving among others as his reasons the some not yet fulfilled engagements he had with the commander-in-chief, which he could not relinquish. He was elected president of the State of Pennsylvania the following year, having resigned the seat which he had held in Congress for some time. The history of the succeeding three years of his life is the general history of Pennsylvania during that most important period. His connection with the judiciary was his being, by virtue of his office as president of the State, the president of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. "Thus," says his descendant, with honorable pride, "was the chief magistrate of the State, in these times of varied responsibility, directing legislation, administering an active executive trust, presiding in the highest court of justice, superintending the recruiting service and the discipline of militia troops, occasionally, as will be seen, taking the command in person and leading them to the field, and all this amidst the fury of party conflict, and in the agony of a civil and Indian war."

Mr. Reed had been elected chief magistrate of the State for three successive terms, the last of which expired just after the surrender of Cornwallis and the attainment of independence. The Constitution under which he had been elected had established ineligibility for a longer period than three terms. So, in 1781, in the month of December, he retired, and the office devolved by election upon William Moore, who had been lately Vice-President. He at once went back to his profession of law, and with all the zeal possible to one whose health had been permanently injured by the enormous work he had done, and the exposures to every form of hardship that had befallen him. Much notoriety was attached to his employment by the State as one of the counsel in the important controversy between Pennsylvania concerning the right to certain lands in the Wyoming settlement. This exciting controversy had at last to be referred to Congress, which appointed a committee to sit at Trenton, and after hearing decide the case. Mr. Reed's associates in the case were William Bradford, James Wilson, and Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant. His speech in the trial was represented to be one of masterly ability.

In spite of so much of his time having been given to matters outside of his profession, he yet, in the intervals when he could attend to it, had a large practice, and had his health not been broken down by his arduous labors in other fields, he was yet young enough to have won a yet higher distinction than he had already achieved. For he was now only just past forty years of age, a period when most of those who have won great professional renown were fairly established in the road leading to it. But his health d been injured beyond all hope of recovery. After ain effort to recruit it by a voyage to England, in

[1] In his letter from New York, Sept. 2, 1776, he writes confidentially to his wife concerning the unexpected attitude of various persons of their acquaintance toward the dangerous questions of the day. We insert the following from this letter as containing a compliment to the Tilghmans: "When I look round, and see how few of the numbers who talked so largely of death and honor are around me, and that those who are here are those from it was least suspected (as the Tilghmans, etc.), I am lost in wonder and surprise." This is a very high compliment to a family who had been so opposed to open rupture, but who, when it must come, devoted themselves to their country's cause with the same faithfulness that had characterised them in all other co
fore. Of Tench Tilghman especially, brother of the chiel
ington was extremely fond.

1784, he returned, and died March 5, 1785, at his residence, Chestnut Street, below Fourth. He died at the age of forty-four years.

Not very long after the beginning of Joseph Reed's professional life, upon his settlement in Philadelphia, a young man, a native of Connecticut, came to his office, and began the study of the law. He was less than ten years younger than his preceptor, and was the first of a name that was destined to become eminently distinguished in the legal profession. This was Jared Ingersoll. After admission to the bar of Philadelphia he made a voyage to Europe, where he spent several years, partly in studies and partly in journeying for the purposes of learning manners, customs, and institutions of various nations. He returned when about the age of twenty-nine years and began the practice. The culture that he had gained by extended travel, the freedom from haste with which he had gone to his profession, were of invaluable service to him in his subsequent career. The lessons he had gotten at the Inner Temple, the study he had made of whatever was peculiar and striking in the public transactions of foreign peoples, the ease, the deliberation, the polish that had become his own, came speedily to be remarked when he came to the bar, and it was but a short time before he was regarded as one of the most prominent of the young men at the bar that for fifty years had been the ablest and most distinguished in the United States. The man who is uncommonly accomplished in the various gifts which adorn a gentleman, whether in professional or social life, if he has delicacy and modesty along with these, carries with him a charm that it is beautiful to contemplate. Cultivated as Ingersoll had become, by his studies while abroad, of other things besides those pertaining to his profession, yet when he at length settled down to it, he seemed to have no other ambition than the rewards which single devotion to it would obtain for one competent for all of its behests. So he abstained from politics and everything else that would interfere with this devotion. Not in the office of Joseph Reed, not in his chambers at the Inner Temple had he been a closer student of law than during the whole course of his long professional life. It is curious to see, as we sometimes do, what power there is often in a man who either has not uncommon ardor, or who has schooled himself into the knowledge of how to suppress it. We have seen something of this in the life of Judge Washington. Jared Ingersoll was like that illustrious judge in this respect. He was a man whose forte was persuasion. No advocate of his time was his superior, if any was his equal, in this power of persuasion, a power which the old rhetoricians defined eloquence to be. Without exalting to an undue degree the conduct of his own clients, he was as far from derogating from that of his adversary, except on occasions where it seemed flagrantly wrong. He argued for his client with calm, sincere appeals to known principles for the guidance of transactions among men, and the knowledge that all men—judges and juries—had of his candor, his integrity, his learning, and ability, made him pre-eminently successful. In his relations with the bar, he was a model of that sort of deportment which, among lawyers who are gentlemen, is one of the chief glories of the profession. Never was there at the Philadelphia bar a lawyer who better understood the amenities of professional life, or practiced them with more constancy and ease. Yet he was very powerful as an advocate. He studied the case of his adversaries with the same care as he studied his own. He saw with extraordinary quickness whatever points in his adversaries' cases were weak, and when he saw them, he attacked them with just the force that was necessary, and no more, to overcome them. It has been said of him that in this respect, and in that of defending weak points in his own cases, he was the first man of his time at the bar. He had a very large practice in the Circuit Court of the United States, in which he was pre-eminently successful in winning cases.

The case in which Mr. Ingersoll was, perhaps, most successful in the display of his extraordinary powers was that in which, along with Mr. A. J. Dallas, he appeared in the Senate of the United States in defense of William Blount, a senator of the United States from Tennessee, who was impeached for conduct alleged to have been committed by him for the purpose of alienating the various tribes of Indians from the treaties entered into between them and the government. Mr. Adams, then President (1797), gave the impulsion to the impeachment by an alarming message to both Houses, wherein he offered his opinion that the country was in peril from various internal schemes, at the same time accompanying his message with documents, among which was a letter written by Senator Blount on the 21st of April of that year. The letter, if not obviously designed for the purposes of which it was suspected, was eminently imprudent and unbecoming a senator of the United States. The speech of Mr. Ingersoll on the trial of the impeachment has been considered one of the very best specimens of forensic eloquence that the whole country has given.

A man of a temper like Mr. Ingersoll, if unusual accidents do not hinder, lasts a long time. The periods of revolution and war bear with especial heaviness upon the bar, which needs peace for its continuous successful progress. Men that, in 1776, were rich, or living in the promise of riches, met great changes during the seven years of war that followed, and those others which were spent in endeavors to recover from the effects of war, and besides in organizing a new *régime* under which to live after the attainment of independence. When these were over the most, however prosperous they had been before, were now to begin life over again, and at middle age renew, or try to renew, the strength as the struggle of young man-

hood. It is notable of the bar of the country how successful were these efforts among them. It was a noble sight to see men of forty and upwards going back to their professions and taking them up where they had left them nearly ten years before and prosecuting them with the cheerful energy of men of twenty-five and thirty. But men of the class that led the bar in the latter part of the last century were such as had not gone into the profession merely or mainly for the sake of pecuniary rewards. Such men, therefore, when the period of peace came, could afford to be cheerful, and content themselves with what rewards were to follow industry and genius in the time that was left wherein to employ them.

It has been remarkable in the history of Pennsylvania that party politics, purely *as* party politics, have had less to do with nominations to offices connected with the judicial administration of the law than in any other State of the Union. A remarkable example of this sort was the case of the appointment, in 1811, by Governor Snyder to the post of attorney-general of that State. Governor Snyder was at the head of the Democratic party in the State, and it behooved him to nominate to that office a man known to be competent for its duties. He would gladly have appointed Mr. Dallas, but that gentleman had already the United States district attorneyship, which he would not have exchanged for the other. It so happened that among the others of the bar belonging to that party there was not one who could be acknowledged generally to be fully fit for the position. Mr. Ingersoll, therefore, was entirely taken by surprise when one day he received a commission to that office from the Governor. The surprise was none the less, because he had been sounded, without his own knowledge of such intentions, on the part of those whom the Governor sent for this purpose, and who had found, upon his own frank, unsuspicious admission, that it was an office that he would be willing to accept, if tendered. Immediately upon his admission, the blank in the commission, which was in the hands of the Governor's friends in Philadelphia, signed by him, was filled with Ingersoll's name, and put into his hands. This position he held from 1811 to 1816, when he resigned. In 1820 he was appointed judge of the District Court for the city and county of Philadelphia. This position he held until 1822, when, on the 31st of October, he died, being then seventy-three years old. He was among the last of those that wore such dress as was common to the profession then, consisting usually of a drab body-coat and small-clothes, with silk stockings, and shoes with buckles. It was getting to be the end of professional dressing, a habit of long antiquity, that the older members of the bar had not the heart to depart from, notwithstanding the changes that new times had brought, and the occasional smile that would be bestowed upon remaining fondness for old manners. It would have been well if in casting

aside these harmless memorials of former times, subsequent generations had not left with them so much of that dignity of deportment that was contemporary with them.

Mr. Binney, in his sketches of the "Leaders of the Old Bar," speaks with great earnestness in relation to the power of Jared Ingersoll before a jury. He says,—

"His professional character, fairly and not partially described, is that of a very sound and well-read lawyer, and a most consummate advocate. Though he was strong as a lawyer in learning, and in the accomplishments which assist the application of it, his great forte was at the bar, in the face of an intelligent jury, and, indeed, of any jury, and second only to that was his power with the court. In his full vigor, which continued for nearly twenty years after the year 1797, I regard him as having been, without comparison, the most efficient manager of an important jury trial among all the able men who were then at the bar of Philadelphia."

Like the Ingersolls, the family of Dallas have become illustrious on the theatre of the law. Alexander James Dallas, who in his double *rôle* of lawyer and statesman combined as much talent as perhaps any man of his day, was a native of the island of Jamaica, where he was born in 1759. His father, Robert Charles Dallas, had emigrated from Scotland. His first studies were carried on at Kensington, near London, where his father had gone mainly for the purpose of obtaining for his children opportunities superior to what could be obtained at home. His father having died, leaving his estates in Jamaica somewhat embarrassed, and his mother having married again (with Capt. Sutherland, of the British navy), Alexander, thrown upon his own resources, even at the early age of fifteen, determined to adopt the profession of a lawyer, and entered his name at the Temple. But further reflection led him to enter the counting-room of an uncle by marriage, a merchant in London. At the end of two years, this relative having ceased business, the youth quitted London, and sojourning with his family, who then resided in Devonshire, he devoted himself to such readings as in his opinion would be best suited to qualify him for the career he had chosen. At the age of twenty-one he married Arabella Marice, daughter of Maj. George Smith, of the British army. After a brief sojourn in the West Indies, whither he had emigrated after his marriage, he finally set sail for the United States. Here he arrived in the year 1783. As soon as he had passed the time (two years) which, unreasonably enough, had been prescribed by the courts, of the residence in the State of applicants for admission to the bar, he entered upon the practice. In this interval, besides what business employment he could obtain, he devoted some of his time to the assistance of Lewis Hallam in his efforts to lift the drama from the low standing it had hitherto occupied, and contributed liberally with his pen in the way of addresses, prologues, epilogues, and detached dramatic pieces. The time requisite to sojourn having elapsed, he was admitted to the Supreme Court in 1785. Yet he did not forsake the field of letters, as

will be seen by referring to the chapter on literature, especially in connection with Francis Hopkinson in the management of the *Columbian Magazine* and other literary periodicals.

Mr. Dallas, with all the ardor of his Scottish blood, soon became identified with the interests of the country he had adopted, its literature, its general concerns, especially its politics. His uncommonly versatile genius, the rapidity with which he worked, the self-disputed, laborious pursuits of his boyhood and youth, his tall, stalwart, vigorous, healthy body, his goodly manners, his ardent temper, his intrepid courage, all combined to fit him for important distinguished work in a country great in resources and full of great possibilities. The new form of government for Pennsylvania went into operation in 1790, when he had been a resident five years, time enough for such a man to fully comprehend its elements, and its needs. This same year, the first volume of his "Reports of Pennsylvania Cases" was published, destined to be followed by three others, and to become and to continue one of the most valuable contributions ever made to the law library. Henceforth, the name of no man in Pennsylvania was more conspicuous. The following contains a brief summary of his public actions hereafter, taken from a contribution to the *Sunday Dispatch* of January, 1875, by Thompson Westcott. After mentioning some of the events in the life of Mr. Dallas preceding the publication of these Reports, he says,—

"These cases not only contained the judgments and arguments before the Supreme Court, but many cases disposed of before the Revolution. They carried the Reports from 1790—when the first volume was published—to 1807. They contained decisions of the Supreme Court, High Court of Errors and Appeals, and of the Courts of Common Pleas and of the United States in Pennsylvania. Mr. Dallas soon became prominent in politics. He was appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Jan. 19, 1791, and held that office until April 28, 1801. At this time he was appointed by Mr. Jefferson attorney of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, and was appointed in July, of the same year, by Governor McKean, recorder of the city of Philadelphia. He resigned the latter office in 1802; but he held the office of district attorney until 1813, when he was succeeded by Richard Peters, Jr. In October, 1814, he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and, on the 13th of March, 1815, also assumed the duties of the Secretary of War, which, together with those of Secretary of the Treasury, he discharged until he resigned in November, 1816, and returned to the practice of his profession."

A. J. Dallas

All cabinet offices he had declined when first offered to him. On the relinquishment of the secretaryship of the treasury, in 1813, by Mr. Gallatin, who, with Mr. Bayard, had gone to St. Petersburg to join John Quincy Adams in the embassy to the emperor of Russia, who had proposed to exert his good offices in behalf of peace with Great Britain, this position was offered to Mr. Dallas, and at the same time that of attorney-general that had lately been made vacant by the resignation of William Pinckney, with permission to Mr. Dallas to choose for himself which of the two he would accept. Both these he declined in a letter to Hon. W. Jones, Secretary of the Navy (then acting also in Mr. Gallatin's place), 3d February, 1814. But he was afterward prevailed on to forego his aversion to a "permanent residence in Washington."

There is much that is touching in the cheerfulness with which Mr. Dallas in approaching old age submitted to the necessity of retiring from all business except professional, and devoting himself to the recruiting of his fortune, which had been much impaired by his long service in public life, where salaries are, as they always have been in our country, so inadequate to the service required. In the fair, affectionate, most tasteful memoir of Mr. Dallas, by his son George Mifflin Dallas, in the work entitled, "Life and Writings of A. J. Dallas" (J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1871), is recorded this brief account of his illness and death. After referring to his having been subject for many years to sudden attacks, conceived to have arisen from internal injuries received when he once had come near being drowned in the river Thames, he says, "While occupied in arguing an important suit at Trenton, before the then Governor and *ex officio* Chancellor of New Jersey, Mahlon Dickerson, he became conscious of the approach of his old and implacable enemy; asked a short delay, but was obliged to proceed; and concluding his address, hurriedly drove to his home in Philadelphia, and on the night of his arrival, the 16th January, 1817, died tranquilly, while his two sons watched, unaware of the crisis, at his bedside."

David Paul Brown, always so fond of bestowing

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generous praise upon those of his profession who were deserving, says of him among many other things, "Mr. Dallas was a man of the most fascinating and courtly manners, and of the most impressive and dignified personal appearance. He dressed with great taste, ordinarily in a suit of olive-brown, with small clothes and top-boots. He had an abundance of hair, which he always wore powdered and gathered into a bag-cue. In everything he did, he was the embodiment of gracefulness. He never lost sight of what was due to himself or others." . . . "As nearly all the leading lawyers of the bar were Federalists, his position was at times rendered uncomfortable, if not disagreeable, and the very refinement of his sensibilities increased the penalties to which he was subjected. But even this could not deprive him of his self-reliance or of the force required in the conscientious and inflexible discharge of his duty.

"In his diversified and more attractive pursuits, it could not be expected that he should devote his attention at any time exclusively to the bar. Nevertheless he enjoyed a large practice, and always maintained his post in the first rank of the profession. His multifarious avocations did not afford him time to condense his arguments; and his style therefore was often diffuse, and somewhat redundant. He was undoubtedly less of a jurist than some of his contemporaries, but perhaps of a more general accomplishment than any of them. If he had not been a lawyer, he would have been a great statesman; and if he had not been a statesman, he would have been one of the greatest lawyers of the age."

A singular career in the history of the bar was that of Nicholas Waln, who, during the period of which we are now treating, began the practice under uncommonly good auspices. After his preliminary education, received in Philadelphia (he was born at Fairhill, Philadelphia County), he was admitted to the bar in 1768, and soon afterward went to London, where he spent some time in further study at the Temple. He had been at the bar several years, when a case occurred that ended in his separation altogether from his profession. That he was a lawyer of ability, with good promise of success, appears from the fact that for several years he was the partner of William Lewis, who in some respects was the first lawyer of his time. Whether Mr. Waln was a man of uncommonly acute sensibilities, or had not fully understood the merits of the cause that led to the action, to be mentioned presently, or felt that in his too eager pursuit he had been derelict in the duty that binds all lawyers never to overstep the limits of just discussion when pleading the cause of clients, cannot now be determined. At all events, he made a resolution and adhered to it for the rest of his life.

It was after he had been at the bar for some years, that having been struck with contrition, in consequence of his assistance in a case in which he thought his client had unjustly won the cause, he withdrew from the practice of the law, and subsequently devoted his life and energies to the service of religion as a preacher of the Society of Friends.

William Lewis was one of the rare exceptions to what seemed almost the rule in ante-Revolutionary times, that law students and lawyers should come of good families. He was of humble birth, born upon a farm in Chester County, in 1751, and having once gone into a court-house and seen and heard the distinguished men who were there, felt and immediately resolved to follow the instant impulse to become like them. Such a spirit will in time compass its purposes. He studied law with Nicholas Waln, above mentioned, and became his partner after admission to

the bar. He is a signal example of what genius and energy may do in spite of the want of preliminary advantages. Mr. Lewis had never had the facilities for cultivating the arts of forensic speaking, nor did he ever rise entirely above the roughness of voice and gesticulation that came to him in the farm-life he had led. And yet with all that roughness and sonorousness that attended the efforts of his stalwart lungs and brain, he has been accorded the very highest place among his contemporaries and rivals in the matter of forensic eloquence. He was one who seemed to have studied what were his possibilities, and what not, to have let these go without pain or reluctance, and make everything out of those. Wit and humor and sarcasm were with him, always abundant, and always fresh. These qualities he employed when they suited his purposes, but he employed them with the air of one who valued them little except for their temporary uses.

It seems impossible for those who have risen to eminence without those facilities enjoyed by most

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others who are no higher than themselves, to fail to overrate their own unaided endeavors, and imagine that, had they enjoyed greater facilities, they would have risen unquestionably above the rest of mankind. This inferiority doubtless appears more distinctly in such men, because they have never learned the art, like those risen in all stages of life amid the best society, to concede what others perhaps feel as keenly as themselves. An instance of what with such men as Tilghman and Ingersoll could never have occurred, is told in the "Forum." "He was a proficient in commercial law, and he was particularly disposed to exhibit his knowledge before those who professed to be most familiar with its principles, usages, and customs. The late Robert Morris, a thoroughbred merchant, on hearing Lewis discuss the commercial relations between this country and Europe, at a dinner at which they were both guests, observed to the party assembled, 'that Mr. Lewis seemed as familiar with commercial affairs as if he had been head of a counting-house all his life.' 'Let me tell you, sir,' said Lewis, 'that a competent lawyer knows *everything* that a merchant does, *and a great deal more.*'"

Perhaps, at least, such condition of mind may be necessary to a man risen far above the expectations of his youth, in order to make him feel secure against those smiles which, if he does not see, he suspects to often lurk upon the faces of his associates.

The rudeness of which we speak was of manner and voice, not of language. For he had made himself well acquainted with classical authors, and his style was often to be compared favorably with those lawyers who had ever had the best opportunities for culture in that respect. It was simply a wonder to hear him when thoroughly aroused, when, with his one gesture, a perpetual sawing the air with his outstretched arm, his stentorian voice sounding to a pitch not to be reached by one in a thousand, he poured forth continuously for hours an unbroken stream of eloquence, sometimes in language classic as was employed by the best men of Greece.

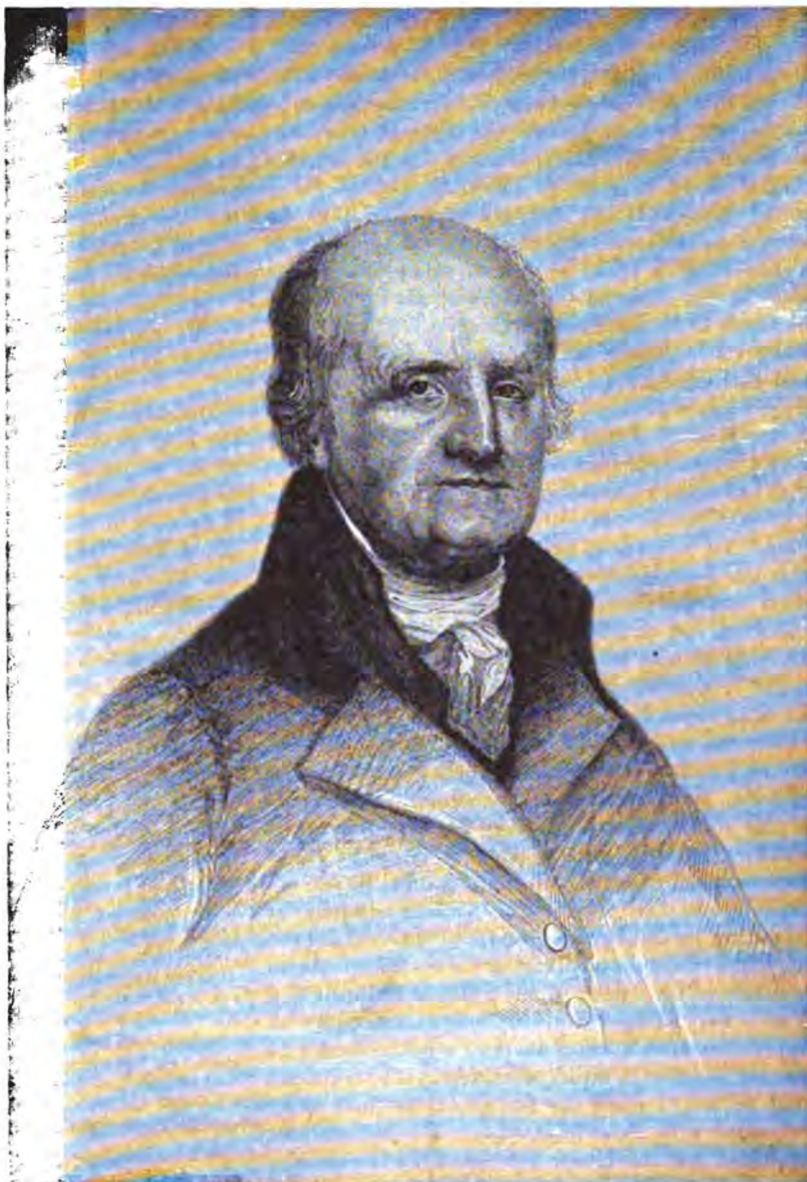
Withal, he was a man of exemplary sincerity and honor. An instance of the first is given by himself in an account of a case of great importance that he was engaged in at New York. He had courteously given a brief statement of his case and his authorities to Alexander Hamilton, who had been called into the case suddenly by Chancellor Kent, Mr. Lewis' opponent, who had been taken sick. Mr. Lewis says, Hamilton "thanked me, left me, and in an hour afterward we met again in court, and the argument at once proceeded. I spoke for several hours. The judges seemed to be convinced, and I was perfectly satisfied with the cause and myself. During the argument Mr. Hamilton took no notes, sometimes fixed his penetrating eye upon me, and sometimes walked the chamber, apparently deeply interested, but exhibiting no anxiety. When I had finished, he immediately took the floor and commenced his reply. What was my amazement when, in his first sentence, he acknowledged all my points, and denied none of my authorities, but assumed a position which had never entered my mind; to the support of which, directing all his great powers, in one-fourth the time employed by me, he not only satisfied the court, but convinced me that I was utterly wrong. In short, after all my toil and time and confidence, I was beaten, shamefully beaten." The instance given of his high sense of professional honor is given in the "Forum." Having been engaged by an influential citizen to defend him in a case of considerable magnitude, in the course of the trial it became apparent that the client had grossly misrepresented the case, and had been, in fact, guilty of a gross fraud; whereupon Lewis threw up his brief, and when called upon to speak for the defendant, he promptly declined. "Will you not speak?" said the client. "No, sir," said the counsel. "What then," said the suitor, "have I paid you for?" "You have paid me," replied the indignant advocate, "that you might have justice done, and justice will now be done, without my further interference."

Mr. Lewis confined himself more strictly to the law and paid less attention to politics than most of his contemporaries of equal professional rank, but he merits notice and remembrance in politics as the draftsman of the famous act of 1780, abolishing slavery,—the first act of the kind passed in any country.

Mr. Lewis was the most notable man of his time for his carelessness in the placing and preservation of his papers, and otherwise slovenly in the appointments and keeping of his office. This was the more notable because at that period the leaders of the bar were more distinguished than at any other time since for the neatness and order, and even luxuriance, with which their offices were kept. But a man seldom gets entirely over the habits and manners formed in childhood. His country-seat was near the Falls of the Schuylkill. Here he lived in almost entire exclusion the few years previous to his death, in his seventieth year. In religious faith he was a Quaker. He was buried in the graveyard of the Friends' Society.

Richard Peters was born in Blockley in 1744. He received his education at the Academy of Philadelphia, and afterward studied law, and was admitted to the bar in the year 1763. Eminently precocious, as eminently gifted in wit and humor, he rose with celerity into notoriety, yet he was not one to give to his profession the devotion that is necessary, even with the very greatest natural endowments, to enable one to rise to the very highest and necessary place. Probably there has never been on the bench of Philadelphia one of whom the memory that has been cherished is more hearty and even affectionate. Appointed a justice of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

in 1792, where he sat for thirty-six years, he began a career which for punctuality, painstaking investigation, anxious concern for the dispensation of justice to all, the humble and the exalted, has perhaps never been surpassed. An elegant classical scholar, to a great degree familiar with the literature of Europe, and with the language of two of them, France and Germany, he was withal the most incomparable humorist of his day, and it was charming how the dry and often painful work of his court was enlivened by sallies, never out of place, nor inconsistent with the speedy dignified progress of judicial proceedings. Then he was of an integrity so unspotted that no man, counsel or client, ever doubted that, so far as the bench was concerned, justice would not be hindered in its rendition by anything that was repugnant to it. Inferior to such as Washington and Tilghman in professional learning, he yet has ranked justly high among those who have occupied that exalted station since its first organization. In some respects he made himself particularly distinguished. Especially was this the case in the matter of admiralty rulings. When he died (in 1828), at the meeting of the bar of Philadelphia, Charles J. Ingersoll made an address, in which he paid to the deceased a compliment so deserved and so fitly spoken that we insert it here:



Richard Peters.

"To have been thirty-seven years a judge without ever failing to be punctual, patient, and painstaking, is more than but few can boast of. But Judge Peters, moreover, was a man whose purity was never doubted, and whose judicial faithfulness altogether was of a high desert. With the land laws, so important in this State, he was remarkably conversant. In the sea-laws, so important to the United States, he was almost the founder or reviver of a code which has not only been sanctioned throughout America, but received the remarkable acknowledgment of its unconscious adoption, about the same time, by the most profound judge of the greatest marine empire,—Lord Stowell, in Great Britain.

"It is a distinct merit in this system of [illegible] most advantage to navigation, besides being in itself a most honorable characteristic, that he uniformly vindicated and protected that humble, helpless, but useful class of mankind, the common sailors, from the oppression and extortion of their superiors, whether master, merchant, or proctor. Judge Peters was a man of considerable quickness of perception and of great sagacity. His judgments have been mostly supported, even when he differed occasionally with the eminent person who for thirty years has presided on this circuit, and displayed all the qualities of a great judge,—Judge Washington. Let me add, that in thirty years these gentlemen never differed but in conscientious judgment, the most cordial harmony marking and strengthening their administration. The constant cheerfulness which never forsook Judge Washington to the last, we all remember."

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In the resolution adopted by the bar at this time it was said of Judge Peters,—

"His purity and integrity were never questioned. His industry, vigilance, fidelity, and punctuality never failed. No suitor was denied or delayed justice. The poor and humble were protected in their rights, and wrong-doers, of whatever class, were restrained and punished."

Hugh Henry Brackenridge occupied a place among the men of that period, remarkable in various ways. Born in Scotland in 1748, his family emigrated when he was five years old to America. By some means he had worked himself up into the place of teacher in an humble school in Maryland, and with the earnings therein saved he went to Princeton College (then called Nassau Hall), and, graduating in 1774, he studied for the sacred ministry, and was appointed to a chaplaincy in 1777. Giving up this profession, he went to the study of law, and was admitted to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1780. In 1799, when Chief Justice McKean was elected Governor and Edward Shippen made chief justice, Brackenridge became associate judge of that court along with Judge Yeates. Judge Brackenridge was the first to give a decided start towards overturning the decorum that had always seemed so becoming to the administration of justice especially in the courts of Philadelphia. To this there, perhaps, never lived a judge that was more indifferent. The accounts given of his dress and general physical deportment are almost shocking, and nothing but his well-known integrity and faithfulness to his duties would seem to have made it possible to tolerate them. It was often amusing to see the continued mutual repugnance between the two associate justices, a repugnance that not only almost never allowed them to harmonize in opinion, but sometimes in the absence of the chief justice to sit without speaking to each other, or if speaking, in words usually, however, begun by Judge Brackenridge, of petty fault-finding. Yet he was not capable either of perpetrating deliberate wrong or tolerating its perpetration if he could prevent it, even upon one whom he disliked or his associate. As an instance of the latter, when Justices Shippen and Yeates were charged (in 1805) before the Senate with oppression upon a suitor in their court, although he was not included in the impeachment, yet he requested that he might share the fate of his brothers as he coincided with them in opinion. The justices were acquitted, but the House petitioned the Governor to remove Justice Brackenridge for what they considered defiant conduct. This the Governor peremptorily refused to do. The rank of Justice Brackenridge is quite below many of those whom we have noticed in previous pages in this chapter, but his eccentricities were such as to make him one of the most frequently mentioned among his contemporaries.

The colleague of Justice Brackenridge, Justice Jasper Yeates, was a man his opposite in manners and breeding and superior professional attainments. He had studied in one of the Inns of Court in London. He was fond of society, but for its pleasures never neglected his official duties. Justice Yeates died at Lancaster March 14, 1817. The commission of Thomas Duncan, who was appointed an associate justice in his stead, bears date the same day, March 14, 1817.

Judge Duncan was a native of Carlisle, Cumberland Co., and son of a Scotch emigrant. He was educated at Dickinson College, and studied law at Lancaster under Judge Jasper Yeates, who was then on the bench of the Supreme Court. After admission to the bar he returned to Carlisle, where he was in practice for many years, and until his appointment to the Supreme Bench. After his appointment he removed his residence to Philadelphia, and resided in the city until the time of his death. Nevin says,—

"At the bar Mr. Duncan was distinguished by quickness and acuteness and discernment, accurate knowledge of men and things, with a ready use of the legal knowledge he so largely possessed. He was also remarkably ready in repartee."

Modesty seems to have been a family trait among the Tilghmans. Not very far below the great judge whom we have noted was his first cousin, Edward Tilghman, born at Nye, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in 1750. He was educated for the bar at the Middle Temple. During the war of the Revolution he remained abroad. On his return, and after his admission to the bar, he rose easily into practice, and was so eminent a man that the chief justiceship of the State was offered to him by Governor McKean upon the death of Chief Justice Shippen; but he declined it, and gave his influence in favor of his cousin. Edward Tilghman was a deep-read lawyer, particularly well versed in the abstruse doctrines of devises and contingent remainders. Judge Duncan said of him, "With one glance he took in all the beauties of the most abstruse and difficult limitations. With him it was intuition."

Mr. Binney says of him ("Leaders of the Old Bar"),—

"It was this quick and accurate glance that distinguished him in his arguments at the bar. The difference between cases, which to some men seemed contradictory or discordant,—the little more or less in circumstance,—he knew, and could touch as quickly as the musician touches the flats and sharps of a key-board. And he did it without the least affectation of learning, passing along them from one key to another with the purest modulation, and bringing them into harmony with the key of his own argument."

William Bradford, Jr., son of Col. William Bradford, the printer, was admitted to the bar in March, 1778. He was born in Philadelphia Sept. 14, 1755, studied at the College of New Jersey, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1772. He studied law with Edward Shippen, commencing in 1775. In 1776 he entered the American army as a volunteer, was appointed captain, and became deputy muster-master, with the rank of colonel. He resigned in April, 1779. According to the records, he was admitted to the bar a year before that time. He resided for a short time at York, Pa., but shortly afterward

came to Philadelphia. In August, 1780, the Supreme Executive Council of the State appointed him attorney-general, as successor of Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant. He held this office until Aug. 22, 1791, when he was appointed one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the State. He resigned that office in 1794, when he was commissioned, on the 28th of January, by President Washington, Attorney-General of the United States, succeeding Edmund Randolph. He died Aug. 23, 1795, from the consequences of exposure. Mr. Rawle says,—

"His course was as 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 which do not interrupt the chain of argument. Yet his manner was not free from objection. I have witnessed in him what I have occasionally noticed in the public speeches of Charles James Fox,—a momentary hesitation for want of a particular word, and stopping and recalling part of a sentence for the purpose of amending it. Nor was his voice powerful, nor always varied by those modulations of which an experienced orator knows the utility."

David Paul Brown ("Forum") says that "within his comparatively limited space of life (he died before attaining the age of forty years) he exhibited more talents and achieved more honors than any other man of his.day."

Very high on the list of the distinguished men of that generation stands the name of William Rawle. He was born in 1759. After studying for some time under Councilor Kemp, of New York, he attended at the Temple. The most loving of all those admirable sketches in the "Forum" of David Paul Brown is that devoted to his preceptor. It is delightful to read a tribute so felicitous in expression and so just, springing from recollections of what were ascertained by the most familiar intercourse with one of the greatest lawyers and one of the best men of his day. In 1791, Mr. Rawle was appointed by President Washington district attorney of the United States, which position he resigned after the election of Mr. Adams. He had declined more than once the office of the Attorney-Generalship of the United States. Mr. Rawle devoted much of his leisure time to studies in literature, science, and art. His contributions to literature will be noticed in their proper place. He early conceived an earnest hostility to slavery of every kind, especially to that which obtained in the United States, and was one of that trio of eminent counsel (himself, Jared Ingersoll, and William Lewis), who, in 1805, argued before the High Court of Errors and Appeals of Pennsylvania the constitutionality of the existence of that institution in the State.

It is sad to contemplate a life so eminently felicitous from its beginning to past middle age, and then declining by the loss of so many dear objects. One after another of his grown-up children,—two daughters and one son,—all of much promise, and not long afterward his wife, were removed by death. To add to this, his immense fortune was lost, and old age found him poor and to a great degree desolate. But whoever can receive misfortune without complaint is superior to it, and such a man was William Rawle. The sketch in the "Forum" concludes thus: "For upward of a year before his translation to more kinder and congenial climes, while chiefly confined to that bed, which proved to be the bed of death, it was my privilege to have frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with him. What a solemn and sublime sight! His whole soul had become concentrated and fixed on things above, and growing purer, as it looked toward heaven, was fashioned to its journey. He passed from works to reward on the 12th day of April, 1836.

'Night dews fall not more softly on the ground,
No weary, worn-out winds expire so soft.'"

In 1800, John D. Coxe was president judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the city and county of Philadelphia, and president judge of the First Circuit. Jacob Rush was appointed president judge in 1806, and remained in that position over fourteen years. In 1806, by an act of February 24th, it was established that the First District should be Philadelphia City and County only, and President Judge Rush was relieved of the labor of traveling the circuit. Samuel Badger was appointed associate judge April 15, 1814. He was a lawyer, and the first associate judge skilled in the law who had been appointed. He did not remain long upon the bench. Thomas Armstrong dated his commission from April 8, 1817. He was also a lawyer, and about this time the policy of the appointment of lawyers as associates seemed to have considerable strength at Harrisburg. George Morton, a lawyer, was commissioned Jan. 11, 1819. Edward D. Ingraham, also a lawyer, was appointed March 3, 1819. It is doubtful whether Ingraham ever took his seat upon the bench. He was succeeded, on March 29th, of the same year, by Hugh Ferguson, who was not a lawyer. He had been an active politician, and for many years colonel of the militia. Judge Ferguson remained on the bench for a long time. On the 19th of June, 1820, John Hallowell was appointed president judge, to succeed Judge Rush. In 1825, Judge Hallowell was transferred to the District Court. Edward King was appointed president judge of the Common Pleas April 22, 1825. He was a young lawyer, quite active as a politician, and held, at the time of his appointment to the bench, the office of clerk of the Orphans' Court. President Judge Coxe is said by Brown—"Forum"—to have held "a highly respectable position as a lawyer and a judge." He was admitted to the bar in 1780.

Judge Jacob Rush was admitted to the bar in September, 1777, and was one of the judges of the Supreme Court, and also of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, before the adoption of the Constitution of 1790. He was a brother of Dr. Benjamin Rush, and was born in 1746. He graduated at Princeton College in 1765. He died Jan. 5, 1820. Brown says of him,—

"He was a man of great ability and great firmness and decision of character. He was also an eloquent man. Perhaps there are few specimens of judicial eloquence more impressive than those charges which he delivered during his occupation of the bench. An accurate idea of his style may readily be formed from an extract of his charge to a grand jury in 1808, and his sentence pronounced upon Richard Smith for the murder of Carson in 1816. We refer as much to the moral tone of his productions as to their literary and intellectual power. . . . Some of his early literary essays were ascribed to Dr. Franklin, and for their terseness and clearness were worthy of him. . . . Judge Rush's charges to the jury generally, and his legal decisions, were marked by soundness of principle and closeness of reasoning. Having been a judge of the Supreme Court and of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, he never appeared to be satisfied in his position in the Common Pleas, yet his uprightness of conduct and unquestionable abilities always secured to him the respect and confidence, if not the attachment, of his associates, the members of the bar, and the entire community. He was one of the gentlemen of the old school, plain in his attire, and unobtrusive in his deportment; but while observant of his duties toward others, he was never forgetful of the respect to which he was himself justly entitled."

The fame achieved by Jared Ingersoll was well sustained by his two sons. Charles J. and Joseph R. Ingersoll were both eminent at the bar and in politics, though in the latter field, which is not often the case with brothers, they widely differed, the elder being a stanch Democrat, and the younger a Whig, though less prominent in political action.

Charles Jared Ingersoll was admitted to the bar on the same day as Thomas Sergeant. He became conspicuous in politics and as an author. He was a member of Congress in 1813–15, United States district attorney for Pennsylvania from 1815 to 1829, member of the Legislature from the county in 1830–31, and a member of Congress from the Third District in 1841–49. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837–38. In his later years he was a frequent candidate for Congress, without success, and he was well known politically. He died May 14, 1862.

Joseph R. Ingersoll was admitted June 2, 1807, and for many years held a high position. He kept out of political life until the time of the excitement caused by the repeal of the charter of the United States Bank. He was a Whig, and held political opinions in opposition to the policy of Gen. Jackson. He was a member of Congress from 1835 to 1837, and from 1841 to 1849. He was minister from the United States to England from 1850 to 1853. He died Feb. 20, 1868. He was president of Select Council from 1832 to 1834. Both these are noticed in the chapter on literature.

John Bannister Gibson was born at Cumberland, Pa., in November, 1780. He was the son of Col. George Gibson, of the Revolutionary army, who was killed at the defeat of St. Clair, in 1791. The subject of our sketch was then eleven years old. His mother, who was of the family of West, one of the most gentle in Ireland, though sorely pinched for many years after her husband's death, stimulated and helped her son continuously. "My poor mother," he said once, in answer to inquiries concerning his maternal ancestry, "struggled with poverty during the nineteen years she lived after my father's death, and having borne up till she had placed me at the bar died." His collegiate studies were pursued at Dickinson College, and on their completion he began the study of the law under Judge Duncan, who was his kinsman, and was admitted to the bar in 1803. It is interesting to read of his continued struggles for support, and the compass of his ambitious hopes, after he came to the bar,—first, his going to Beaver County, in a remote part of the State, thence to Hagerstown, Md., thence again to Carlisle. A curious anecdote is told of him that, on one occasion, when he was informed that another lawyer had slandered him, on his meeting with the latter he gave him a flogging. The assailed challenged him to a duel. Meanwhile he had ascertained that his informant was mistaken in the person who had offended. Gibson, however, promptly accepted the challenge, and then, seeking out the real offender, flogged him. When the matter was explained to the challenger he was satisfied with the apology extended by Gibson, and through the interference of Judge Duncan the matter was amicably settled. In 1812 he received the appointment of president judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Tioga County, and on the death of Judge Brackenridge, in 1816, was appointed by Governor Snyder associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Judge Gibson's rank is among the very highest of Pennsylvania judges. In the matter of personal character his reputation was on a level with the best. Higher praise than that is not possible, when it is remembered how character has ever been cultivated and appreciated by the bench of that State. The assurance of his incorruptible integrity, an agreeable judgment that was unsusceptible, either of bias or prejudice, a mind of uncommon quickness and width of comprehension qualified him eminently for judicial service, and made him be regarded with profound respect by all classes. On the death of Tilghman, in 1827, he was appointed chief justice, and presided over the court for the long period of twenty-three years, until the judges were made elective by the amendment to the Constitution in 1850, when he was one of the five judges elected by the people, but on drawing lots for the terms, the shortest term, carrying with it the chief justiceship, was drawn by Judge Black. He remained, however, a member of the court until his death, in 1853. Judge Black, in the conclusion of a very able panegyric pronounced after his death, said, "Abroad, he has for very many years been thought the great glory of his native State. Doubtless the whole commonwealth will mourn his death. We all have good reason to do so. The profession of the law has lost the ablest of its teachers, this court the brightest of its ornaments, and the people the steadfast defender of their rights, so far as they were capable of being protected by judicial authority."

Peter Stephen Du Ponceau was one of the most

eminent of the men who came on after the Revolution, and he is specially to be commended for the services he rendered in the matter of putting the standard of law studies and law literature upon a high eminence; many are the anecdotes preserved of this Frenchman, justly eminent, as well for professional attainments as in other departments of mental culture. He was a native of the Isle of Rhé, on the west coast of France; came to America, when seventeen years of age, as secretary and aide-de-camp of Baron Steuben. In February, 1778, he was appointed brevet captain, and assisted Steuben in his efforts to introduce discipline in the American army. He left the army in 1780, became secretary of Robert M. Livingstone, head of the Department of Foreign Affairs, in October, 1781, and left that post in May, 1783. He then studied law, and was admitted to the bar June 24, 1785. He became eminent in the profession, particularly in the branches of civil law and foreign law, as well as in constitutional law, under the States and United States. As a linguist and philologist he was profound. In literature, science, and philosophy he was equally learned. He died April 2, 1844.

Jos. Hopkinson

Joseph Hopkinson, admitted May 4, 1791, was a son of Judge Francis Hopkinson. Joseph was born Nov. 12, 1778. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar. After his admission he practiced a short time at Easton, but soon returned to Philadelphia. He was counsel for Dr. Rush in the suit against Cobbett in 1799, and appeared for the Northampton insurgents before Judge Chase in 1800. He was a member of Congress from 1816 till 1820. He resided in New Jersey, 1820–23; then returned to Philadelphia, resumed practice, and was appointed judge of the United States District Court in 1828, and held that position until his death, in 1842. He was a leading member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of Pennsylvania in 1837. As the author of the song, "Hail, Columbia!" his name is known throughout the country.

Richard Rush, a man of excellent parts, would have become a great lawyer but for his fondness for politics, in which the greater part of his life was spent. His defense of Duane when the latter was tried for libel on Governor McKean was regarded as showing uncommon abilities. In the year 1811 he was appointed attorney-general of Pennsylvania, but held the office for only one year, preferring the appointment of controller of the United States Treasury. In 1814 he became Attorney-General of the United States, which position he also held for three years. He was temporary Secretary of State in 1817, and was minister from the United States to England from 1817 to 1825. In the latter year he was recalled by President Adams, who made him Secretary of the Treasury. He was candidate for Vice-President of the United States in 1828, upon the same ticket with President John Quincy Adams. Both were defeated. He was sent to England in 1836, by President Jackson, to obtain the Smithsonian legacy of over a half-million dollars. His last public service was as minister to France, from 1847 to 1851. He died at Sydenham, his country-seat, near Philadelphia, July 30, 1859.

Thomas Cadwalader, admitted in December, 1801, attained a very respectable practice, particularly valuable in the management of the estates of the Penn family. He was well known through his connection with the military, having been captain of cavalry, afterward lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of cavalry, brigadier general during the war with Great Britain, and subsequently was major-general of the First Division. He died Oct. 26, 1841. He was the son of Gen. John Cadwalader of the Revolution, and the father of John and George Cadwalader, the first of whom was for many years judge of the United States District Court, while the second was brigadier-general and major-general in the army of the United States during the war with Mexico and with the Southern States during the war of the Rebellion.

Among that body of lawyers was one who contributed, perhaps, as much as any other to the enjoyments of lawyers and judges, who are all gentlemen, and who have, more perhaps than any other profession, a keen sense of the humorous. This was a Hebrew.

Sampson Levy was born in 1761. A mind quite limited in its grasp, compared with those of the

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great men with whom he associated upon terms of equality, deficient in the knowledge of legal principles, never having been a student of any sort, yet by activity, wit and humor, and a certain sort of audacity that was offensive to nobody, he was enabled to rise into comparatively fine practice, and hold his own in some sort of fashion, with the best, and become one of the favorites among the bar. The absurdities that he often committed did him, it appears, more service than harm, and his unlimited volume of speech made him seem to many juries and outside listeners one of the most eloquent men of his day. There is no man of the Philadelphia bar of whom the anecdotes that have been preserved are so abundant with raciness. He frequently succeeded in his causes by means which could perhaps have occurred to none other than himself, the peculiarity of which contributed to make him the most interesting man of the time. Judge Washington once said of him that "he was the most troublesome speaker at the bar, as in beating every bush, in sporting phrase, he sometimes started game which he almost immediately left for the judge to hunt down." He died in 1831.

Sergeant is another of the names destined to be made and continued illustrious in the bar of Philadelphia. Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, who was admitted to the bar in September, 1777, was born at Princeton, N. J., in 1746. He was educated at Princeton College, studied law with Richard Stockton, and was admitted to the bar of New Jersey, where he practiced for some years. He was a delegate from New Jersey in Congress during a portion of 1776–77. In July of the latter year he was appointed attorney-general for the State of Pennsylvania. He was selected, together with Mr. Patterson, attorney-general of New Jersey, as law counselor, to assist the judge advocate upon the court-martial of Gen. St. Clair, on account of the evacuation of Ticonderoga in 1778. He was counsel for the State of Pennsylvania in the controversy with the State of Connecticut, concerning the Wyoming lands, in 1782. He resigned the attorney-generalship in 1780, and was in practice until 1793, when, being upon the committee of health during the yellow fever visitation, he took the infection, and died in the month of October of that year.

Thomas Sergeant, born in Philadelphia, Jan. 14, 1782, was admitted to the bar on June 8, 1802. He was clerk of the Mayor's Court of the city from April 22, 1806, to May 10, 1809. After he left the bench of the District Court he was appointed secretary of the commonwealth, Dec. 16, 1817, and resigned on the 6th of July, 1819. In the same year he became attorney-general of Pennsylvania, and held the office for one year, being succeeded by Thomas Elder. He was postmaster of the city from 1828 to 1833, appointed justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania Feb. 3, 1834, and held that office until 1846, when he resigned. He died May 8, 1860. Judge Mitchell says of Thomas Sergeant: "In person he was singularly unlike his distinguished brother John, but though not possessing the same brilliant forensic qualities, he was fully equal to his brother in soundness of judgment and depth of learning." It may be added that the brothers were unlike in appearance as well as in stature. John Sergeant was a small, dapper man, who was very particular as to his dress and appearance, while Thomas Sergeant was careless and slouchy, wearing awkwardly-cut clothes, and being sometimes seen in the public streets with a colored bandanna handkerchief tied around his neck.

The most distinguished member of the family, however, was John Sergeant, who was born in this city in 1779. He was the son of Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, and was educated in the schools of the University until the spring of 1794, when he went to Princeton College and graduated in September, 1795. After leaving college he entered the counting-house of Messrs. Ellison and John Perot, but afterward changed his intentions and entered in March, 1797, the office of Jared Ingersoll, and commenced the study of the law. In July, 1799, before reaching the age of twenty, he was admitted to the bar. His advance in the profession was rapid, and in 1800 he was appointed to prosecute for the commonwealth in Chester County, and during that and subsequent years prosecuted also in Philadelphia. In 1802 he was appointed by Mr. Jefferson, commissioner of bankruptcy, and in 1805, he was elected a member of the House of Representatives.

Having declined a re-election in 1806, he was again elected in 1807 to the Legislature. During 1807 and 1808 he was chairman of the Committee on Roads and Inland Navigation, and in that capacity reported the first act giving the direct aid of the State to internal improvements, a cause which he had deeply at heart, and to which he never refused his assistance. The amount appropriated was nearly two hundred thousand dollars, which was applied to the construction of turnpike roads. At the same session he introduced a bill, which was passed, prohibiting masquerades, which he considered dangerous to public morals, the care of which he never lost sight of.

In 1815 he was elected to Congress by the district composed of the city and county of Philadelphia and county of Delaware, and was elected from the same district to the three following Congresses, the last time in 1820, without opposition, and at the end of the term he declined a re-election and devoted himself again exclusively to his profession.

Mr. Sergeant took his seat in Congress at an interesting period. It was the first session after the close of the war of 1812. He gave from the beginning his earnest, active, and efficient support to the bill framed by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Dallas, and recommended by Mr. Madison, for the relief of the finances of the country. Another topic of vast importance during his early career in Congress, in rela-

tion to which he rendered distinguished service, was what has since been known as the Missouri question. On the 9th of February, 1820, he delivered one of the best reasoned and most able speeches that had ever been heard in the hall of either House of Congress. His efforts were also directed to promote the establishment of a bankrupt law which he had deeply at heart.

Mr. Sergeant, by the faithful discharge of his duties and the conscientious adherence to his principles, earned that distinction which gave him a national reputation; and the influence which he acquired in Congress may be illustrated by the fact that on one occasion, when a bill for the establishment of a lottery had been introduced, he, by a few words, not only defeated the bill itself, but so effectually awakened the feelings of the House that they ordered a committee to bring in a bill to prohibit the sale of lottery tickets in the District of Columbia.

Active as he was on the higher and more general questions which were presented, he never neglected those which were locally important to his constituents. The bills for constructing the Breakwater, for the erection of a new mint, and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, afford a few of many instances he served the districts he represented.

In 1826 he was appointed by the President minister from the United States to what was commonly called the Congress of Panama. In 1832 he was taken up as the Whig candidate for Vice-President.

John Sergeant.

In 1836 he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention, and on its assembling, in 1837, was chosen president. In 1840 he was again elected to Congress, from which he retired in 1841.

On Gen. Harrison's election, he was tendered a place in the cabinet, and shortly afterward declined the appointment of minister to Great Britain.

His last public official function was discharged in 1847, when he was selected on the part of the United States as an arbitrator to determine the controversy then existing between the United States and Delaware as to the title of the Peapatch Island, and which was definitely settled by his award.

He was appointed one of the Board of Canal Commissioners under the act of 1825, and was the president of that board until the period of his departure to Mexico.

He acted as president of the House of Refuge from the date of its establishment; was also president of the Apprentices' Library, and for many years there was in the city no meeting of importance to which he did not attend. During this period he was engaged in a laborious profession.

In the cause of charity he was never appealed to in vain. He was connected with many of our charitable institutions, and in some of them took a more active part than might have been thought consistent with his various public and professional occupations.

Through life he fulfilled all public functions faithfully, sought none unworthily. By his inflexible integrity, not less by his eminent ability, he added lustre to Pennsylvania, and richly earned the honors which are now paid to his memory.

We have spoken several times before of the elevated tone of the bench and of the bar of Philadelphia. There never was a bar at which chicanery and pretension had less opportunities for successful practice. Already old was the canon that a lawyer, to be respected, if he had not great abilities and great learning, must at least be a gentleman. It is a canon that ever has been adhered to, and no bar in any State in the Union can count a larger number of men who adhered to it with constant, cheerful fidelity throughout life. All who remember Mr. Sergeant remember him with a regard that is made up both of profound respect and a feeling like affection. Great as he was, he never parted from the modesty and simplicity he had as a child. Not such an orator as Ingersoll or Lewis, he yet approximated the former in persuasiveness. He was not only thoroughly honest in conduct, but his very language before juries had the sound of honesty to a degree that was irresistibly persuasive. It was said of him once that without the consciousness of it he had the art of getting himself into the jury-box, and there take a part with his fellow-jurors in deciding upon his case. We know how unalterably upright he was when we are told that on the prospect of the failure of the Schuylkill Navigation Company, when it was

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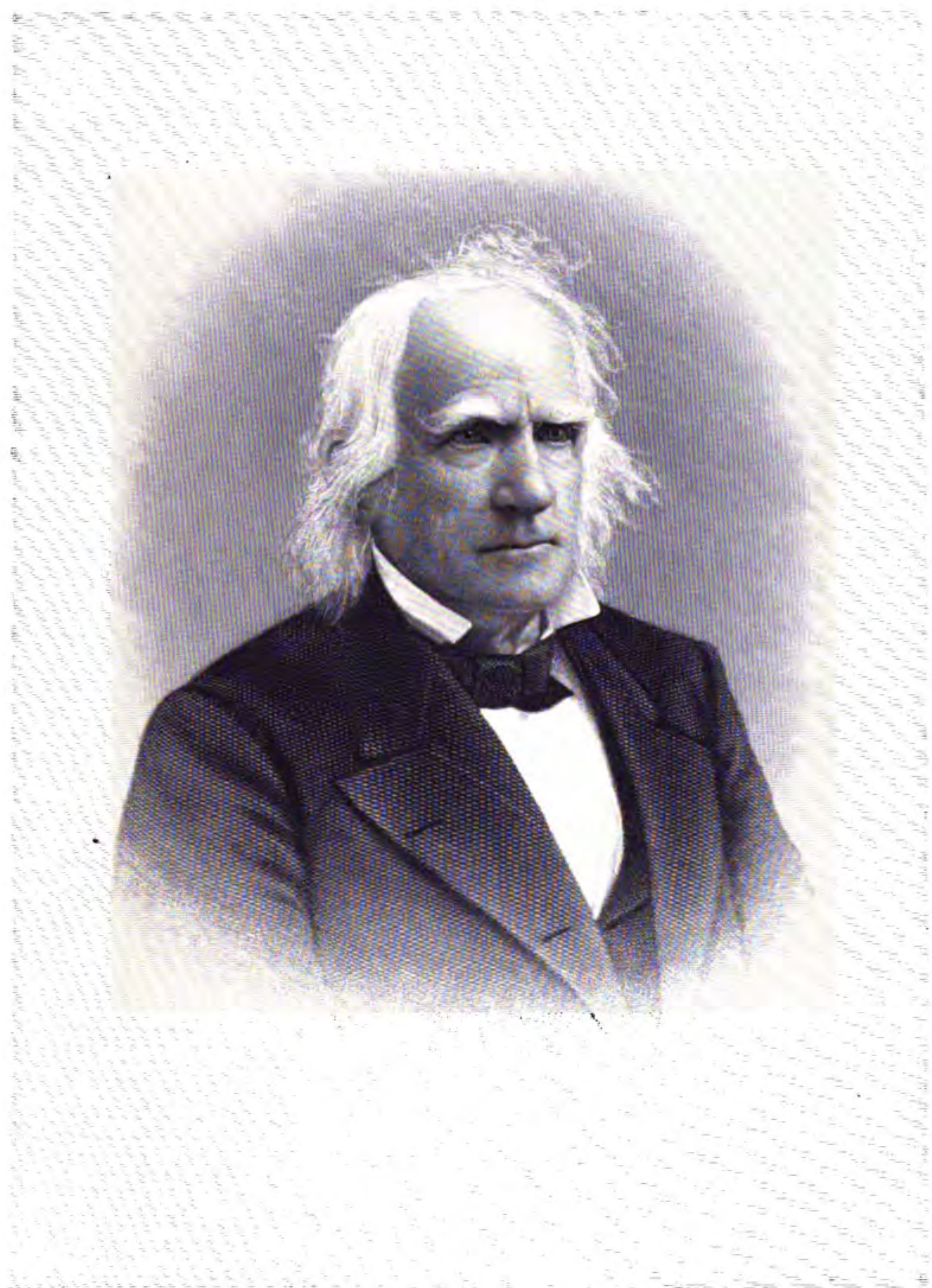
proposed to him to sell out his stock in time to prevent disaster, he answered, "No. I have launched my fortune in the same boat with others, many of whom have relied upon my opinion and my example as to the probable safety of the investment. There are many that can bear the loss less than I can, but whether or not, I will not shrink from the common peril, and save my money at the expense of others, as well as of my own character. If they lose, I will lose, and then no man can question the honesty and sincerity of my motive. Not a share of mine shall be sold." When such qualities belong to a man of great abilities and favorable opportunities, it is impossible to properly estimate his value to his generation. The eulogy of Mr. Sergeant by his great rival, is one of the very best of its kind in any language. The following brief extracts are so fine that we cannot fail to give them, wishing we had space for more: "Whatever he studied, he knew well, and when he left the office (or going thence to the bar) he was as accomplished a student as was ever admitted to the bar. I have seen his great powers in their bud,—you have seen them in their bloom. It was the flower more fully developed, but having from the strength of my first impression, no more freshness or beauty to me, at any hour, than when I saw it at its opening." "In addition to great quickness, grasp of thought, and power of comprehension, he derived through an excellent education the art of arranging his argument with perfect skill, according to the rules of the most finished and effective logic, and he was able to penetrate the want of it in anybody that was opposed to him." . . . "He marched to his conclusions by a path or paths that he was willing to let everybody trace and examine, after he had completed the passage,—and it was not safe for any man to do otherwise with him." . . . "He did not like to read for the purpose of thinking,—he thought for the purpose of reading, to corroborate or to rectify his thoughts. It was his striking way, and while sometimes it exposed him to inconvenience, at other times it gave him a sort of electric power that was altogether marvelous." He died in 1852.

William Sergeant, son of Hon. John Sergeant, was born in Philadelphia in 1829, and graduated at Princeton College in 1847. He studied law under Benjamin Gerhard, and was admitted to the bar in 1850. He held a prominent position at the bar, and was for a time a member of the Legislature. On the breaking out of the war he received a captaincy in the Twelfth United States Infantry, and was noticed for his gallantry in the Peninsular and the other campaigns in which he participated. He was afterward commissioned as colonel of the Two Hundred and Tenth Pennsylvania Volunteers. On the 31st of March, 1865, he was wounded by a ball in his thigh while resisting a desperate attack on the White Oak road near the Boynton Plank-road, in front of Petersburg, Va., from which he died on board of the hospital steamboat "Connecticut," while on his way home, April 11, 1865. Col. Sergeant was an amiable, accomplished, and warm-hearted gentleman, a writer of marked ability, and a gallant officer.

Benjamin Gerhard, by marriage connected with this family, was born at Philadelphia in 1812, and received a preliminary education at the school of Professor Espy. He graduated at Dickinson College in 1828, and studied law under Joseph R. Ingersoll, and was admitted to the bar in 1832. He married a daughter of John Sergeant, and was a trustee of the Gas Works for many years, member of City Council, trustee of the University of Pennsylvania; a member of the Protestant Episcopal Academy; a vestryman of St. James' Church; a member of the American Philosophical and Historical Societies, and of the Episcopal Corporation for Widows. During the early part of the late civil war he was appointed provost-marshal of the city to superintend the draft, and performed the duties without compensation. He was one of the founders and an officer of the Union League. He died June 18, 1864. He was an accomplished lawyer and a perfect master of the legal science, and edited "Starkie on Evidence," "Williams on Personal Property," and other text-books. In addition to his accomplishments as a lawyer, he possessed an extensive general education. The character of Mr. Gerhard was one of purity and candor; his anxiety about the affairs of the nation was intense, and he became a martyr to the cause to which the latter years of his life were given, and for which he gladly would have died.

One of John Sergeant's students is still practicing law at the bar of Philadelphia, and is one of its most distinguished citizens. Eli K. Price was born on the 20th of July, 1797, in Chester County, Pa., within a short distance from the spot where the battle of the Brandywine was fought. He is the third son of Philip and Rachel Price, the father being the fifth in the line of lineal descent from Philip Price, who came into Pennsylvania with the Welsh settlers, who, in 1682, took up Merion, Haverford, and Radnor townships, Chester Co., and subsequently overspread into Newtown, Goshen, and Uwchlan townships.

The early education of Eli K. Price was obtained at Friends' Western School, in the county in which he was born. The first inclination of Mr. Price, when nearing his majority, was in the line of commercial life, and he entered the shipping-house of Thomas P. Cope, in Philadelphia, with a view to definite embarkation upon mercantile pursuits. He had ever been an industrious student and a comprehensive reader, and it was not long before he concluded that a professional life was more in accord with his tastes. He accordingly entered the law-office of John Sergeant, where he applied himself with his wonted diligence to the mastering of legal problems. He was admitted to the Philadelphia bar on the 28th of



Eli K. Price,

aged 84 years.

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May, 1822, and is now its senior member in actual practice.

Early in his professional career Mr. Price evinced great aptitude in the principles and practice of law. He speedily attained a very high position in his profession, and to-day he stands, with two or three other eminent jurists, at the head of the bar of this city. Pursuing the course usually followed by successful practitioners, his inclination and readings led him toward a specialty in civil practice,—the law of real estate. He has long held the proud position of being the leading authority upon the law relating to real property at the bar. The well-known act of Assembly of April 18, 1858, entitled "An Act relating to the sale and conveyance of real estate," popularly known by all lawyers as the "Price Act," is his handiwork, and in 1874 he published an admirable treatise upon the act in question, which contains much valuable historical and technical information. He has published other legal works, chief among which is the "Law of Limitation and Liens against Real Estate."

Not only has Mr. Price attained deserved distinction within the sphere of his profession, but he has also served with honor in a number of important public positions. He represented Philadelphia in the State Revenue Boards of 1845 and 1848, and was a member of the State Senate in 1854–56. To the latter office he was chosen over the regular candidates of the two political parties then existing. He had been especially selected as a candidate by many representative residents of the county of Philadelphia, with a view to having a diligent effort made looking toward the union of the several townships, boroughs, and districts of the county, to the corporate limits of the city of Philadelphia. It was chiefly through his energy that the charter of Feb. 2, 1854, known as the "Consolidation Act," was granted. The history of the movements looking to and following the consolidation was written and published by him, in 1873, in a volume of one hundred and thirty-seven pages. During his senatorial term of three years, many important statutes were passed, which had been drafted by him. Except his membership of the State Revenue Board and the State Senate, he has held no public office save that of a member of the Park Commission, upon which he has served since its organization, in 1867, to the present time.

Besides devoting his energies in the line of his profession, and in the incumbency of the offices mentioned, he has found time to give considerable attention to matters educational, scientific, and historical. He is at present a member of the board of trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, president of the board of managers of the University Hospital, vice-president of the American Philosophical Society, president of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, etc. In the successful operation of each of these institutions he takes a very active interest.

Throughout his varied and well-spent career, although apparently overburdened with the comprehensiveness of his pursuits and their laborious demands, he has found opportunity to prepare for publication a great variety of rich material upon many phases of political, social, and moral economy. In addition to the legal works already mentioned, and the "History of the Consolidation," he has prepared treatises upon the following subjects, which were read before the Philosophical Society, and subsequently published: "The Trial by Jury" (1863), "The Family as an Element of Government" (1864), "Some Phases of Modern Philosophy" (1872), "The Glacial Epochs" (1876), "Sylviculture" (1877), and "The Rockery at the University of Pennsylvania" (1881). All of these treatises display rare intellectual power, extensive research, and recondite literary intuition. Besides these public writings, he has prepared two other volumes, printed for private circulation, which evince equally as strong and commendable, though different phases of, head and heart power, namely, a memoir of his father and mother, Philip and Rachel Price, written with true filial reverence and delicacy, and a monograph containing a sketch of the life of a daughter, penned with affectionate yet dispassionate devotion. He is still much given to literary pursuits, although now [1884] eighty-seven years of age. The subjects which of late have engrossed his attention tend less toward the divers realms of practical ethics and abstract metaphysics than toward religious and spiritual themes.

In general terms it can be said of him that no Philadelphian to-day stands higher in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, whether as a courteous gentleman, a ripe scholar, or a sound lawyer. This opinion was but voiced by the late Chief Justice Sharswood, at the banquet given in the latter's honor, on Dec. 20, 1882, upon his retirement from the bench of the Supreme Court. In concluding an address replete with learning and reminiscence Judge Sharswood said, "I will ask your indulgence for a few moments longer, while I express the gratification I feel at being honored with the presence here of the venerable gentleman who sits by my side. Mr. Eli K. Price was the chairman of the committee by whom I was examined for admission to the bar more than fifty-one years ago. His examination was a thorough one, for then, as now, everything which it was his duty to do was done well. I have no doubt I made a great many mistakes, but he was kind and considerate enough not to correct them. We all know how laborious, useful, and honorable his long public and professional life has been, and he is still bearing fruit in old age as sound and ripe as ever."

Henry Baldwin, born in Connecticut, removed while young to Pennsylvania, and after studying under Alexander J. Dallas, was admitted to the bar in 1798. He practiced for several years successfully at Pittsburgh, and while there served in Congress.

On the death of Judge Washington, Baldwin was appointed his successor, and it was on his very first appearance at Trenton, when about to take his position upon the bench of the Circuit Court, that he used expressions that effectually put an end to the time-honored custom of receiving the judges by the marshal and his suite with their insignia, and being conducted to the court. When he came out of his lodgings he said, in pretended simplicity, "Why, what's the matter, boys? What are you doing with all these sticks?" The old bar, so long accustomed to the decorous usages set up by their forefathers, saw with sadness their sudden ludicrous overthrow, and at first it was feared that the mantle of his illustrious predecessor had not fallen upon him except as a mere occupant of the seat that had been vacated. From this judgment, however, he was able to rise by the exhibition of talents quite superior to what had been known of him in this eastern portion of the State, and an amiability and generosity quite unexpected from so rude a beginning. He was also found to be a man of great integrity, and though apparently sometimes too anxious to have and to know that he had the favorable opinions of others, yet never condescending to unworthy arts to obtain them. The "Forum" thus speaks of him: "A kinder and more conciliatory judge, and one who had stronger sympathies for the bar, or tenderer consideration for its youthful aspirants, rarely, if ever, graced any bench. . . . He was not, perhaps, calculated to shine in the circles of fashionable life, although his manners were exemplary; but he was calculated to shine in those higher spheres in which mere fashionable life never showed itself. . . . He had been brought up in a rough school, but there was still much unction in his manners. It could hardly be otherwise, from his naturally amiable feelings. That is a merit which education rarely gives, and still more rarely takes away." He died in 1844.

Edward King, quite unexpectedly to those who had seen him at the bar, where he had not devoted himself to close study, became eminent in spite of the want of very considerable preliminary preparation. Raised to the presidency of the Common Pleas in 1825, to the surprise of all, even the bar, he became one of the ablest and most notable judges that ever sat in that court. "He proved," says the "Forum," "take him for all in all, perhaps the best judge that ever occupied that bench since it was first created, so far as regarded its criminal jurisdiction, and at least equal to any in the civil department of his judicial duties. His charges to the jury exhibited great perspicuity and strength, and his written opinions during a period of more than twenty years were indicative of much research, discrimination, and power. If his firmness had been equal to his legal learning, certainly no judge of the Common Pleas in Pennsylvania would have been entitled to a loftier position than he richly merited. Indeed, it is doubtful whether there would have been his equal. As a criminal lawyer he had no judicial competitor."

John Cadwalader, judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, was born at No. 172 Chestnut Street, near Eighth, April 1, 1805, and resided there with his father, and at No. 266 Chestnut Street, until the latter, about 1815, bought the mansion of Maj. David Lenox at the southeast corner of Ninth and Arch Streets. He graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, in the department of arts, in 1821. He afterward studied law under Horace Binney, and was admitted to the bar Sept. 30, 1825. He at once took a high position as a lawyer, and was particularly distinguished for the thoroughness, accuracy, and variety of his learning, and his success as a counselor. He was in active and profitable practice for many years, and was justly considered one of the foremost among the leaders of the bar.

A strong Democrat from the time of General Jackson, Mr. Cadwalader took rank among the prominent men of that party, and sustained his faith consistently amid all the changes of opinion which gradually turned many of his early associates to the Whig party, and finally to the Republican party. He was elected a member of Congress on the Democratic ticket for the Fifth Congressional District, composed of a portion of Philadelphia and Montgomery Counties, in 1855, and served in the House of Representatives at Washington for a single term. Upon the death of Judge John K. Kane, Mr. Cadwalader was appointed to the vacancy in the United States District Court by President Buchanan, April 24, 1858. Under his administration the admiralty practice of the court, which increased immensely during the war of the Rebellion, and by the improvement in our foreign and domestic commerce, became more thoroughly than it ever had been before a science, settled in doctrine by the admirable character of his decisions and the profoundness of his learning.

Thomas Kittera came to Philadelphia with his father in 1801. He was admitted to the bar March 8, 1808, and died in the year 1834. As he was never married, he was the last male member of the family. Mr. Kittera's office and residence were on Walnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth (being No. 140 old style), and it was here that Judge Conrad (whose full name was Robert Taylor Conrad) acquired his legal education, and possibly his taste for poetry and literature; for Mr. Kittera was a man of fine ability, and his reputation for literary, as well as for legal knowledge, still lives among the older members of the bar.

Peter A. Browne, admitted March 7, 1803, was in active practice for many years, during which he was prominent in public affairs as captain of a company of volunteers, and as a member of the Franklin Institute, in the service of which he was very earnest. He projected the Arcade building, on Chestnut Street, and the Chinese pagoda, at

Fairmount. He gradually dropped away from law to science. He became interested in geology, and gave a great deal of attention to the subject of the texture and peculiarities of hair and wool. His last public appearance as a lawyer was upon the trial of James Wood for the murder of his daughter, in September, 1839, and of Singleton Mercer for the murder of Heberton Hutchinson, at Woodbury, N. J., in March, 1843. In those cases Mr. Browne brought forward, for the first time in the courts of Pennsylvania or New Jersey, the doctrine of "emotional insanity," a novelty to the law previous to that time. In both instances his clients were acquitted.

Thomas Burnside, who was an associate judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania from 1845 to 1858, was admitted to the Philadelphia bar Feb. 4, 1804. He left the city afterward, and during many years as a lawyer and judge in the interior of Pennsylvania, had made himself known quite as much by the solidity of his judgment and his simple common sense as by his eccentricities. He was a good lawyer, but an oddity as a judge, succeeding in this regard to the reputation of Brackenridge. He died March 25, 1851, aged sixty-eight years.

John Swift, admitted March 16, 1811, became well known in connection with military affairs as captain of one of the companies of Washington Guards, colonel of regiment of militia, and candidate for brigadier-general against Col. Robert Patterson. He was also a prison inspector and mayor of the city. He held the latter office, altogether, eleven years, but not consecutively. He was mayor from 1832 to 1837, from 1839 to 1841, and from 1845 to 1849. At a late period of his life he was alderman of the Eighth Ward,—from 1855 to 1865. Mr. Swift—"Col. John Swift," as he was usually called—was prominent in political matters; originally as a Federalist, and afterward as a Clay Whig. He was a man of great courage and of earnest convictions, a most forcible political speaker, and the object of warm and devoted admiration and friendship by his political associates. He died June 9, 1873.

Nicholas Biddle was admitted to practice June 3, 1811. He was scarcely known as a lawyer, although he seems to have kept an office at No. 181 Chestnut Street. He devoted himself more especially to literature, art, and finance. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1810–11, State senator in 1814, director of the United States Bank in 1819, was president of that institution from 1823 to 1836, and was president of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania from 1836 to 1839. As a speaker Mr. Biddle was elegant and scholarly. His tastes were classic, and his diction was pure and pleasing. He died Feb. 27, 1844.

Benjamin R. Morgan, admitted to the bar in 1785, became one of the law judges of the District Court in 1821. He died Nov. 19, 1840, aged seventy-six years.

N Biddle

Joseph B. McKean, admitted Sept. 10, 1785, was the son of Governor Thomas McKean, and somewhat conspicuous in politics at various periods. He was appointed associate law judge of the District Court, together with Joseph Hemphill, in April, 1817. He became senior law judge in the next year, and continued to preside in that court until October, 1826, when he was succeeded by Judge Hallowell.

Gouverneur Morris, who was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in 1781, practiced law in Philadelphia for some years. A native of New York, born in 1752, he had been conspicuous in the political affairs of that province. He was a delegate (from New York) of the Provincial Congress of 1775. He was a member of the Continental Congress, sitting at Philadelphia, from 1777 to 1780. In the latter year he took

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up his residence in this city, and was a member from Pennsylvania of the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. He was United States minister to France from 1792 to 1794, and United States senator from New York from 1800 to 1808.

James M. Porter, admitted April 24, 1813, practiced law in this city for a short time, after which he went to Easton, Northampton Co. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1838, and was president judge of the Twelfth Judicial District, and afterward of the Twenty-second Judicial District. He died at Easton, Nov. 11, 1862.

William J. Duane, admitted June 13, 1815, came into the profession in his thirty-fifth year, having previously been a printer, a paper dealer, and an editor. He was the friend and counsel of Stephen Girard, was one of the executors under his will, and was subsequently a director of Girard College. In the line of his profession he was prosecuting attorney in the Quarter Sessions for two or three years. President Jackson appointed him Secretary of the Treasury in 1833, and removed him from that office on the 23d of September of the same year, because he refused to order the removal of the government deposits from the Bank of the United States, upon being commanded to do so. He died Sept. 27, 1865.

James Page, admitted March 16, 1816, was conspicuous for many years in public affairs, and was personally popular. He was a volunteer during the war of 1812, and afterward became captain of the State Fencibles, a company which survived for many years others which were established about the same time. He was also at one time colonel of a volunteer regiment. In politics he was a Democrat, and possessed considerable influence in his party. He was postmaster of Philadelphia from 1833 to 1841, county treasurer from 1842 to 1844, collector of customs from 1746 to 1849, and a member of Select Council for the Fifth Ward from 1866 to 1868. He died April 6, 1875, aged eighty years.

Since the death of Horace Binney, in 1875, James J. Barclay has been the senior member of the Philadelphia bar, and as such is held in the highest esteem. He was born in this city on Jan. 15, 1794; his father, John Barclay, was a merchant and at one time mayor of Philadelphia. He was quite young when he graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, after which he studied law with James Gibson, and was admitted to the bar in 1815. In the mean time, however, he had served during the war of 1812, and in Camp Dupont gained his military experience to a large extent. After the close of the war he devoted himself to his profession and to those philanthropic labors which have always distinguished him. He was not ambitious of public office, but did for a time serve as a member and afterward as president of the Board of School Control before the consolidation of the city. His writings, though not voluminous, have always been valuable, and one of his publications, "A Memorial of Abraham Hutton," contains, it is said, the best history of institutions for the deaf and dumb ever given to the public. He is a great lover of books and pamphlets, and his collection is one of the largest in the city. Since the date of the foundation of the House of Refuge, in 1826, he has been one of the founders and co-workers in that institution, and for forty-eight years its president. Not the House of Refuge alone, but other institutions have profited by his philanthropic labors, the public appreciation of which was so justly expressed on the anniversary of his ninetieth birthday, at a public reception given in his honor at the House of Refuge on Jan. 15, 1884. Upon that occasion, surrounded by those whom he had seen grow up about him, his past and present colleagues, intellectual men and fair women—by the best people in Philadelphia—he received the sincere congratulations of them all. It was a quaint, impressive, and dignified sight, this gathering of wealth, learning, enterprise, and beauty, all in turn speaking kind words, and calling up the history of the past to this old man, who bore with modesty and grace the almost reverential tokens of regard that it was considered a privilege to convey. A number of addresses were delivered during the evening, and the Hon. Eli K. Price, who is but three years Mr. Barclay's junior, and the next oldest member of the Philadelphia bar, paid the aged philanthropist a beautiful tribute. He said, Mr. Barclay "has lived all his life as God wills that man should live. He has been with him and cared for him, and, after a fuller measure of years and happiness, will gently and lovingly take him to Himself."

Charles Chauncey, Jr., was a leading member of the bar for half a century. He was a son of Charles Chauncey, LL.D., State's attorney in Connecticut in 1776, and judge of the Superior Court of that State from 1789 to 1793. Charles Chauncey, Jr., was born at New Haven, Conn., Aug. 17, 1777. He studied law there, came to Pennsylvania about 1798, and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar Jan. 7, 1799. He held no public office of importance, but as a counselor and lawyer held a place with Binney, the Sergeants, the Ingersolls, and the other lights of the bar. He died at Wilmington, on the 30th of August, 1839.

James Thompson, elected associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania Oct. 13, 1857, was not a resident of Philadelphia until after he went upon the bench of the Supreme Court. He became chief justice in 1867, and held that dignified position until the end of his term, in 1872. He died in the Supreme Court room while arguing a case, Jan. 27, 1874, aged sixty-eight years. He was emphatically a great lawyer, with manners affable and pleasant, which made him popular. He was born in Middlesex, Butler Co., Pa., Oct. 1, 1806, learned the trade of a printer, became a journalist, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1829. Engaging in politics, he was a mem-

ber of the Legislature from Venango and Warren Counties in 1832–34, and in the latter year was Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was appointed judge of the Erie District Court in 1839, and served until 1845. In the latter year he was elected a member of Congress. He held that office until 1851, and was a member of the Legislature again in 1855.

St. George Tucker Campbell, a nephew of George M. Dallas, studied law with his uncle, and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar July 6, 1835. For twenty-five years he was in successful practice, which was incessant, and which finally brought about the usual effects of overwork. As an advocate, Mr. Campbell was remarkable for quickness of perception and energy in presenting his views. His speeches and arguments were usually short, but he had the facts so concentrated and classified that sophistry was swept away, and the clearest statements presented to courts and juries. In cross-examination Mr. Campbell was so sharp and aggressive that no untruthful witness could successfully resist the impetuosity of his attacks. He retired from active practice on account of impaired health several years before his death, which occurred March 20, 1874, when he was in the sixtieth year of his age.

HORACE BINNEY.

Among the lawyers admitted in 1800 were Horace Binney, March 31st, the Nestor of the American bar. He was a son of Dr. Barnabas Binney, and was born in Philadelphia, Jan. 4, 1780. He was a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania for the session of 1806–7, and a member of Congress for the Second District as representative of the anti-Jackson party for a single term from 1833 to 1835. He was president of Common Council in 1810–11 and 1811–12, and a member of Select Council from 1816 to 1819. He gave but little time to public office, and was more interested in his practice, which in the course of years became very valuable. He died Aug. 12, 1875. One of his most celebrated cases was that of Vidal *vs.* The City of Philadelphia, before the Supreme Court of the United States, in which the meaning of Stephen Girard's will was the subject of the adjudication.

Elihu Chauncey, who was admitted to the bar on the 31st of April, 1800, occupied for many years a position of great respectability in the profession; but he never held public office.

Richard Peters, Jr., son of Judge Richard Peters, was admitted to the bar Dec. 2, 1800. He was never in extensive practice before the courts; but as a reporter of the decisions of the courts of the United States—Supreme, Circuit, and District—he was very industrious. His contributions to that branch of legal learning are comprised in thirty volumes, and he gave some attention to the editing of a few text-books. He was United States district attorney from 1813 to 1815. He died May 2, 1848.

William Morris Meredith, who was admitted Dec. 16, 1817, was in after-years, by the unanimous agreement of the profession, for a long time at the head of the bar. He was a man of extraordinary legal learning, of great quickness of apprehension, and of solid judgment. As a speaker he was straightforward and terse. He had remarkable ability in grasping facts and in establishing from them the real points at issue. With all this, he would have been a dull advocate if it had not been for a wonderful play of humor which he possessed, and which was available as well in illustration of an abstruse theory as in assisting him to bridge over the weak points of his case. He was the son of William Meredith, who had been city solicitor in 1808–9, 1811–13, and in 1815, and who in after-life was for many years president of the Schuylkill Bank. William M. Meredith made his way slowly, and was for some years in very moderate practice. He was a member of the Legislature 1824–28, a member of Select Council of Philadelphia 1833–49, was president of that body from 1834 to the end of the term, 1848–49, and was United States district attorney 1841–42. He was also Secretary of the Treasury of the United States 1849–50, member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania in 1837, attorney-general of Pennsylvania 1861–67, and was a member and president of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania in 1873. He died Aug. 17, 1873, aged seventy-four years.

The first law-student of William M. Meredith was Richard Vaux, at present (1884) one of the most

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distinguished lawyers and citizens of Philadelphia. Mr. Vaux was born in this city, on Arch Street, above Second, Dec. 19, 1816. His grandfather, born in England, went to San Domingo, and from thence came to Philadelphia. He married a Miss Roberts, granddaughter of the first "Hugh" Roberts. Roberts Vaux, the father of Richard, was born in this city, and was one of the authors of the present school system of Pennsylvania, and aided in drawing the first act of Assembly passed on the subject. He was instrumental in inducing Governor Wolf to present the matter in his annual message, and was afterward, for fourteen years, the first president of the Board of Controllers of Public Schools of Philadelphia. It was Roberts Vaux, also, who was the first to suggest that the object of imprisoning criminals should be their reformation rather than their punishment, and, with this end in view, to propose separate confinement and humanizing influences. After repeated rebuffs the State gave its approval, and the Eastern Penitentiary was remodeled on the plan of separate confinement. Roberts Vaux was also one of the founders of the Deaf and Dumb and of the Blind Institutions, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and of kindred societies. Upon the subject of prison discipline Chevalier Wikoff, in his "Reminiscences of an Idler," pays a hearty tribute to Roberts Vaux, and writes further: "The novel attempt to improve the condition of malefactors made a sensation in Europe, and France sent over Messrs. De Tocqueville and De Beaumont, England Mr. Crawford, and Prussia Dr. Julius to examine and report on the two systems. All these eminent persons pronounced in favor of the cellular system of Roberts Vaux, which was forthwith introduced into their respective countries." Roberts Vaux, although not a lawyer, was a judge. He was appointed associate upon the bench of the Common Pleas, Oct. 30, 1835, and held that honorable commission until his death, Jan. 8, 1836. He was the last lay judge of that court.

Richard Vaux was educated almost exclusively by his father, Roberts, with the aid of private tutors, whom the latter selected and supervised. After he had finished his course of studies he began the study of law, becoming, as before stated, the first law-student of William M. Meredith. When but twenty years of age young Vaux was admitted to the bar, and very shortly afterward he received a note from John Forsythe, Secretary of State under President Van Buren, asking him when he was about to sail for Europe, as he understood that such a trip was contemplated. Pursuing the correspondence that ensued, Secretary Forsythe sent the young attorney a written request to take charge of a package, to be handed to him the night before the day of sailing, and to be delivered to the American legation in London. In due course of time the package was placed in the possession of Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, United States minister to England, father of ex-Senator Stevenson, of Kentucky. Having done this, young Vaux was delivering some private letters to Mrs. Stevenson when the minister entered the room, and to his young friend's surprise, said, "Come down stairs, sir; I have made you secretary of legation *ad interim*. One of the dispatches that you brought to this office directs the present secretary to report to one of the Continental courts, and you must fill the vacancy." The young man protested, but in vain, for the honor was thrust upon him. He remained in the position until his successor, Benjamin Rush, was sent from the United States in the following year, when he went on the continent. After a long trip, in which he won attention and admiration everywhere by the brilliancy of his conversation and his charms of person, Richard Vaux returned to London, when Mr. Stevenson insisted on his remaining as the minister's private secretary, which position he continued to occupy until 1839. In October, 1839, he turned his back on the attractions of monarchical governments, and returned to Philadelphia, to find himself already nominated for the Legislature by the Democrats of the Ninth Ward of the "old" city. The Whig majority in the ward was very large, and the result was obvious, even at the time of his nomination.

WILLIAM M. MEREDITH.

In 1842 he was appointed by the Supreme Court inspector of the Eastern Penitentiary; and bringing to bear on the subject involved the love of prison reform he inherited from his father, has won for himself the reputation of being one of the leading penologists of the world. He has served as inspector for

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forty-four years, and during that time has prepared many volumes on the subject of penology, in all of which his theory of hereditary crime occupies a prominent place. Among the principal papers written by him on this subject are "Penal, an Element in Social Science;" "Crime-Cause;" Short Talks on Crime-Cause and Convict Punishment;" "The Convict, his Punishment, and How Best Applied;" "The Penalties and Prison-Life of American Convicts;" and "Short Sketch of the Eastern State Penitentiary." At the United States Congress of Delegates convened to consider Prison Subjects, held at St. Louis, Mr. Vaux was elected president, and in the following year a similar congress met at New York, over which he was also chosen to preside.

Owing to his ability in the discussion of penology and other phases of social science, he has been elected a member of the American Philosophical Society.

It was on the 4th of March, 1840, that he first attended a State convention, the Democratic delegates gathering in Harrisburg. There was a very bitter fight between the Van Buren and Johnson elements, and in the committee that was appointed on Mr. Vaux's motion to harmonize the convention, Simon Cameron, Hendrick B. Wright, Morrow B. Lowry, John W. Forney, Mr. Vanamridge, and Richard Vaux sat together. After this he began the practice of law, but in August, 1841, was appointed recorder of the city. He would not have accepted the office had not the Whig Councils, immediately after the appointment of this pronounced Democrat, removed from the recorder all salary and other emoluments, leaving but the bare office. This opposition determined his course, and for seven years he filled the position with an acceptability that gained for him a name as recorder that exists to this day. He published a legal volume entitled "Recorders' Decisions," that is now a legal treasure.

About this time in the old city the Whigs were still largely in the majority, but in 1842 the Democrats induced Richard Vaux to lead their forlorn hope. He was defeated by John M. Scott, but he cut down the regular Whig majority. In 1845 he was again renominated, Swift being the Whig candidate, and Peter A. Browne the nominee of the Native American party. Swift was elected, but Vaux polled a larger vote than Browne. Overtures were then made for Mr. Vaux to again become a candidate, with the understanding that he would receive the indorsement of the Native Americans.

"Never, while I live,'" he said, "will I put my name to any principle which attempts to interfere with the religious views of any citizens."

"Simply consent, sir," said the committee, "not to place any but native Americans on the police force."

He indignantly refused, but the Democrats nominated him in 1854 by the Crawford County system, and the Native Americans accomplished his defeat, Robert T. Conrad being made mayor. This aroused all the ire in Mr. Vaux's nature. Twice he had been defeated on outside issues that he had no connection with. The day following that of election he stood on the State-House steps, and with a shake of his head, and in roaring tones, announced himself as again a candidate. He was nominated, too, when convention day came around, and in 1856 he was made mayor, defeating Henry D. Moore.

The city was consolidated in 1854, and on Mayor Vaux devolved the formulation of many of the laws governing the newly-organized municipality. His police force was such a model one that his successor, a political opponent, retained its chief and many of its lieutenants. It was no infrequent thing for the bluff Democratic mayor to disguise himself and walk around the streets until two and three o'clock in the morning, to see that his officers were awake and conducting themselves properly. He was renominated for mayor by the Democrats, but owing to the Lecompton compromise matter being dragged into the canvass, he was defeated by Alexander Henry.

The mayoralty was the last public elective position which he occupied. After his retirement from this office he was made a director of Girard College, and became president of the board on the retirement of Morton McMichael, and served in that capacity until parties changed, and a successor from the majority party was chosen. The Democratic State Convention nominated him as an elector-at-large with Gen. Keim, of Reading, in the Presidential contest when Douglas, Breckinridge, and Lincoln were candidates. Again, in the McClellan canvass, he was also nominated by the Democratic party of the State as an elector-at-large with Mr. Johnson, of Cambria County. In 1875, the State Legislature having failed to make an apportionment of congressional districts, he was nominated by the State convention as a candidate for congressman-at-large, together with James H. Hopkins, of Pittsburgh, and Col. H. B. Wright, of Wilkesbarre.

Although Mr. Vaux has held no other public offices than those named, yet he has for years held, and still continues to hold, intimate relations with the leaders of his party, and several times of late has been officially identified with the party's management. In his political sympathies and beliefs Mr. Vaux is never equivocal. He is popularly known as the "Bourbon of Bourbons." This designation, the application of which excites no resentment, is thus defined by him: "The Bourbons—I mean the name as applied to American politics—are those who believe in State rights and the delegated limited powers of the Federal government, and who hold that the powers of sovereignty in the Federal government granted by the States is the first instance on record in any history where sovereignty has been so parted with by the sovereign."

For over forty years Mr. Vaux has been a Free-

mason. He was elected Grand Master of Masons of Pennsylvania, and served nearly three years. He is regarded as an authority in Masonic jurisprudence.

As a public speaker, at the bar, on the rostrum, or in the field of politics, he has made a high reputation. For a lifetime he has been addressing public assemblages, from New Hampshire to Kentucky, and in his own State has, probably, been more frequently invited to make political speeches than any other private citizen.

The personal characteristics of the man whom his friends sometimes—though in respect—speak of as "the Bourbon war-horse" are difficult to describe plainly without causing misunderstanding to arise in the minds of those not acquainted with them. He has the noble face, tawny locks, and flowing mane of the king of the forest. His hair, which is now bespotted with gray, hangs in a tangled mass over his brow and down his back. He has a full beard and moustache of silken gray, but the full dimensions of the former are concealed, and he gives the impression of wearing side-whiskers by having that portion of the beard which springs from the chin tied together and hidden beneath his clothing. Vigorous physical exercise leaves him in his sixty-eighth year with a robust health that many young men envy. Even at this time of life an ice-cold bath at five o'clock on a winter's morning is a necessary prelude to breakfast. Until recently he never entered a street-car. He never carried an umbrella for his own protection, and he has never worn an overcoat. A few years ago he did yield sufficiently to the force of life's tempest to permit him to wear a heavy cloak in very rainy weather, and now he pays tribute to the storm in the shape of a gossamer rubber coat. He is fast in his friendships, devoted to his principles, unswerving in his beliefs, emphatic in his opinions, impregnated with the Democracy. He has led an active political life of over forty years, and yet no one can point to an act of his and say that its motive was not as stainless as the Arctic snow.

In 1841, Mr. Vaux married Miss Waln, of this city, and has two sons and four daughters, some of whom are married.

Samuel Rush, admitted Feb. 15, 1817, represented the commonwealth as deputy attorney-general in various courts. He was recorder of the city, and presided in the Mayor's Court in 1838-41. He died in 1859, aged sixty-four years.

Thomas McKean Pettit was admitted April 13, 1818. He did some service as deputy prosecuting attorney. He was city solicitor in 1820, member of the Assembly in 1830, member of Select Council in 1831, assistant judge of the District Court in 1832, and was president judge of that court in 1835-45. He was also United States district attorney in 1845-49, and director of the United States Mint, April 4, 1853. He held the latter office less than two months. He died May 30, 1853, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Archibald Randall, admitted April 13, 1818, was for some years with John R. Vogdes, admitted 1820, a member of probably the first law-partnership established in the city. Randall & Vogdes were in business for some years. Archibald Randall was appointed law associate in the Court of Common Pleas, Jan. 23, 1834. In March, 1842, he received the appointment of judge of the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District in place of Thomas Bradford, who was appointed by President Tyler to succeed Judge Joseph Hopkinson, but was rejected by the Senate. Randall died May 30, 1846, aged forty-six years.

John M. Read, admitted Sept. 7, 1818, was the son of John Read, who was city solicitor 1810-11, 1818-20. John M. Read was a member of the Legislature for the city, elected on the Federal ticket, 1823-25; city solicitor, 1830-31; United States district attorney, 1837-41; attorney-general of Pennsylvania from June 23d to December, 1846; associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1858-72; and chief justice, 1872-73. He died Nov. 29, 1874, aged seventy-seven years.

John Purdon, Jr., the author of "Purdon's Digest," was admitted April 28, 1806. His compilations were very useful. He died Oct. 3, 1835.

Thomas F. Gordon, who was admitted Sept. 16, 1806, was clerk of the Orphans' Court from 1818 to 1821. He was the author of a history of Pennsylvania, a very useful book; also of histories of New Jersey, America, ancient Mexico, and a gazetteer of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. He died at Beverly, N. J., Jan. 11, 1860.

William Rawle, Jr., who was admitted May 21, 1810, was associated with Thomas Sergeant in the preparation of "Sergeant and Rawle's Reports."

Joel B. Sutherland, admitted March 30, 1819, plunged boldly into politics, and was almost continually in office until within a few years of his death. He was a physician before he studied law, and obtained his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania. He was Lazaretto physician, 1816-17. As a politician Joel B. Sutherland was best known. He was a member of the Legislature, 1821-25; State senator for the county, 1825-27; member of Congress for the First District from 1827-37; and judge of the Common Pleas, 1833-34. In Congress he was chairman of the Committee of Commerce for some years. He was the author of a "Manual of Parliamentary Practice," for the government of Congress, which was founded upon that of Jefferson, and was for many years a great book of reference and authority in parliamentary usages. Dr. Sutherland was for a short time deputy prosecuting attorney for the county of Philadelphia. He died Nov. 15, 1861, aged seventy years.

Thomas S. Bell, admitted April 14, 1821, removed to Chester County shortly afterward. He was appointed president judge of the Common Pl--- -f

Richard Vaux

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Chester County, May 16, 1839, and held that position until he was appointed justice of the Supreme Court, Nov. 18, 1846. He died June 6, 1861, aged sixty years.

Joseph McIlvaine, admitted Oct. 3, 1821, was recorder of the city of Philadelphia from Aug. 19, 1829, to 1835.

Henry D. Gilpin, admitted Nov. 14, 1822, was United States district attorney from 1832 to 1837. In the latter year he was appointed solicitor of the United States Treasury, when he removed to Washington. In 1840 he was appointed Attorney-General of the United States. He published a volume of "Reports," "Opinions of Attorney-Generals of the United States," supervised the publication of "The Madison Papers," wrote biographies, discourses, and addresses, and prepared, as well, contributions to light literature. He died Dec. 29, 1859.

John H. Campbell, admitted Feb. 1, 1823, was quietly engaged in practice for many years. He was elected a member of Congress for the Third District in 1845, and served one term.

Joseph M. Doran, admitted April 3, 1824, was judge of the Court of General Sessions which succeeded the Court of Criminal Sessions from March 20, 1840, until the time when the court was abolished by act of Assembly of Feb. 3, 1843. Doran was in moderate practice, and most successful in criminal cases. He was a man of rare humor, and his addresses to juries were enlivened not so much by sarcasm as by an unctuous ridicule of description or comparison which was always enjoyable.

John Bouvier, admitted April 10, 1824, is well known to the profession as the author of a "Law Dictionary," published in 1839; "The Institutes of American Law," 1851; and as the editor of an edition of "Bacon's Abridgment." The son of a French Quaker, and himself a native of France, he came to this country in 1802 with his father. He was employed in a book-store, and edited and published a newspaper at Uniontown, in Fayette County. He was first admitted to the bar of that county. He was recorder of the city of Philadelphia from Jan. 9, 1836, to March, 1838. When the Mayor's Court was abolished by the act of Assembly of March 19, 1838, Recorder Bouvier was made judge of the Court of Criminal Sessions, which was established in its place. He held that position until the tribunal was abolished by the act of Assembly of Feb. 25, 1840, which created the Court of General Sessions. He died Nov. 18, 1851.

John K. Kane, admitted April 8, 1817, was a member of the Legislature for the city of Philadelphia in 1824–25; city solicitor in 1829–30; and attorney-general of Pennsylvania in 1845, which he held for a year. In 1846 he was appointed judge of the United States District Court, to succeed Judge Archibald Randall, and discharged the duties of that office with learning and dignity until his death, which took place Feb. 21, 1858.

John Wurts, who was admitted Oct. 2, 1816, devoted some time to politics. He was a member of Congress from the First District in 1825–27.

In the history of Philadelphia there are several families fortunate in possession of several individuals who have risen to eminence. Like the Hamiltons, Sergeants, and Ingersolls, so were the Dallases. In George Mifflin was ably sustained the fame won by his father, Alexander James. Born at Philadelphia, July 10, 1792, he received his last academic training at Princeton, where he graduated in 1810, with the highest honor of his class. He read law in the office of his father, and while yet a young man began to take an interest in politics, attaching himself, as did his father, to the principles formulated by Thomas Jefferson. He was admitted to the bar before he was quite of age, as a special favor of the court, and at once set off as secretary to Mr. Gallatin, who, with Mr. Bayard, proceeded to join the United States minister at St. Petersburg. His subsequent career in the political history of the country is well known, and forms not a part of these sketches. In spite of the time devoted to politics, he made rapid rise in his profession. For at least he loved his profession more than politics, and the offices he held in the latter were devolved upon him more because of the great confidence the people of his State had in his abilities and integrity than for the sake of his own seeking. Charles J. Biddle, in his eulogy, pronounced Feb. 11, 1865, says of him, "He sought no office that would withdraw him from his profession. In the line of it he held several important positions. . . . He was deputy attorney-general for the city of Philadelphia, district attorney of the United States, solicitor of the Bank of the United States, commissioner of bankruptcy, attorney-general for the State of Pennsylvania, solictor of the county of Philadelphia. He declined the office of Attorney-General of the United States, which was offered to him by President Van Buren. In 1828 he was elected mayor of Philadelphia. But though the duties, less onerous than now, did not interfere much with his practice, he soon resigned the office."

So when he retired from the Vice-Presidency, in 1848, he went back with alacrity to his profession. His rank in the profession was among the very highest in every quality becoming a lawyer. A higher compliment in the matter of professional courtesy and kindness could not be paid than the following from Mr. Biddle's address: "A friend, who was probably as often as any one his junior in important cases, tells me he never was with any senior who took so full a share of the labor. He adds a remark so happy that I give it in his own words: 'Mr. Dallas seemed always to have in his mind an oath of professional office, to behave with all good fidelity as well to the court as to the client, to use no falsehood nor delay any person's cause for lucre or malice.'"

A very interesting work is that entitled "A Series of Letters from London written during the years 1856-60." The preface to these letters is so modest and tasteful that we insert it. "There were many incidents connected with the post of American minister in London, from 1856 to 1861, which may be usefully, and perhaps not disagreeably, recalled from the oblivion into which they must otherwise hasten. To do this, no departure from the reticence lastingly exacted by diplomatic function is necessary. A book in which the scenes and conversations of Paris, at the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848, are portrayed by a British diplomat, was doubtfully received, because this reserve was in a measure disregarded. The example should be followed with watchful self-restraint." The life of his father remained in manuscript for very many years, but has at last been printed, and it evinces that had the life of the author been devoted to literature, he must have become very eminent. A large number of Mr. Dallas' speeches are to be found in print. We make yet another quotation from the beautiful address of Mr. Biddle: "Living mainly by the practice of law in a commercial city, he did not hesitate, on two important subjects, to run counter to what were thought to be its interests. Through life he was the champion of the poorer many rather than the richer few. Yet no man was more refined and cultivated in his tastes, nor more adapted to the elegant enjoyments that may spring from the good use of wealth. He had none of the morbid sensibility that cloisters itself from contact with the world. He was one of those who seek tranquillity,—not in solitary retreats, but in their own hearts, made calm by culture, religion, and philosophy."

Another distinguished member of the modern bar was Theodore Cuyler, who was born at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., on Sept. 14, 1819. He was the eldest son, and third child, of the Rev. Dr. Cornelius C. and Eleanor (De Graff) Cuyler, and was a descendant of two of the oldest families of that State. The Rev. Dr. Cuyler was the pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church at Poughkeepsie, then the only church in the village; and here the son passed the first fourteen years of his life. However, in the spring of 1834, Dr. Cuyler having accepted the pastorate of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, the family removed to the Quaker city; and here it was that Theodore Cuyler acquired the learning and culture which enabled him to make so indelible an impress upon the city's thought and progress; and here it was that his long life of effectual achievement, of untiring endeavor, and of well-merited honor, was lived out to its full consummation. In September, 1834, Mr. Cuyler was matriculated at the University of Pennsylvania as a member of the class of 1838. He was graduated in July of the latter year, third in his class. Not long after his graduation he was registered as a student of law in the office of Charles Chauncey, then one of the leaders of the Philadelphia bar. He was admitted to active practice on Oct. 7, 1841.

From the date of his admission to the bar his zeal in the profession of his choice knew no respite. While he underwent the testing experiences and vicissitudes which naturally come to the young advocate, no matter how tireless his ambition or how broad his fitness for his work, yet he persevered with indomitable energy, laying wide and steadfast the foundation of a remunerative practice and an honorable professional career. His first appearance in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania was on April 19, 1849, when he successfully argued the case of Blight *vs.* Schenck (10 Barr, 285). In the following year, in December, he argued his first case in the Supreme Court of the United States, Gayler *vs.* Wilder (10 Howard, 477), on which Daniel Webster was upon the opposite side, Mr. Cuyler having been admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court on Dec. 30, 1845. During his long and varied professional career he was identified as leading counsel in scores of important cases, including many a *cause celebre*, and an attempt to catalogue them would result in a reproduction of much technical material from the State and Federal Law Reports for an extended period of years. While the compiling of such a catalogue would be neither practicable nor profitable, yet there were in his practice a number of cases of general and even of international importance which are worth noting. One of these was the noted Christiana treason case, tried in the Circuit Court of the United States in November, 1851, in which Castner Hanway, and thirty-seven other residents of Lancaster County, Pa., were tried on the charge of high treason. Their dereliction lay in the fact that they had declined to assist a United States deputy marshal in capturing two fugitive slaves who had escaped from Maryland. Another important case in which he was counsel was that of Henry Hertz, indicted and tried in the Circuit Court of the United States for enlisting soldiers in Philadelphia to serve in the British army in the Crimean war.

However, Mr. Cuyler's fame as a lawyer is derived chiefly from the great corporation cases in which he was counsel, many of the fundamental legal principles now prevailing, as applied to corporate rights and liabilities, having been established in the adjudication of the cases with which he was connected. On April 15, 1857, he was elected solicitor at Philadelphia of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. In 1869, upon the reorganization of its legal department, he became the general counsel of that corporation, and he served it faithfully and zealously to the close of his life. As an advocate, he had but few equals at the bar. Whether he appeared to greater advantage at *Nisi Prius* or before the court in banc it is difficult to say. He was, perhaps, equally felicitous and forcible in his masterly examinations and cross-examina-

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tions, and in his forensic appeals to an enraptured jury on the one hand, and in his brilliant exposition of abstruse legal principle before an attentive court on the other.

While devoting himself assiduously to his professional duties, through the long and honorable period of his practice, he yet found time to do the city and State good service. His first public office was that of director of public schools. He occupied this position for some years before 1856. On the 6th of May of that year he was chosen a member of Select Council from the Eighth Ward, and was successively re-elected in 1858 and 1860. His third term ceased on Dec. 31, 1862, when he voluntarily retired, having declined a further re-election. His associates during his six years of service numbered, among others, John Welsh, George M. Wharton, William Bradford, Archibald McIntyre, W. Heyward Drayton, John Price Wetherill, Daniel M. Fox, and other eminent citizens. On the 10th of May, 1860, while serving his last term, he was unanimously elected president of the chamber, and he continued to preside over its deliberations until he retired from the body.

He was also one of the original commissioners of Fairmount Park, serving with great zeal and acceptability until the close of his life. On Oct. 8, 1872, he was elected one of the delegates-at-large from Philadelphia to the Convention called to amend the Constitution of the State. He served with diligence and great distinction through the one hundred and seventeen days in which the Convention was in session. Even a cursory examination of the debates of the Convention will clearly exhibit the prominent position which he attained and maintained in that body, and the ability which he displayed in aiding in the formulation of many of the vital principles now embodied in the organic law of the State.

His time and energies were not, however, solely engrossed with his professional obligations, and with the discharge of those public duties incident to his incumbency of the official positions indicated; he was connected with other enterprises of wide scope, and in many societies and associations rendered, without remuneration, services professional and otherwise. He was the first president and one of the founders of the Social Art Club, for many years a director and the counselor of the Musical Fund Society, one of the trustees of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, etc.

Burdened, as Mr. Cuyler was, by a multiplicity of onerous duties, and laboring, as he did, with untiring zeal in the line of his profession, and in such responsible and honorable positions as he chanced to be placed, it was but natural that his health should eventually give way, despite the fact that he possessed naturally a vigorous constitution. After several months of ill health, superinduced by a too active participation in two or three very important railroad suits, he died on the morning of April 5, 1876. The funeral services were held in the Second Presbyterian Church, on Saturday, April 8th, Dr. Beadle, the pastor, delivering a strong and profound discourse upon the life and character of the deceased. At a meeting of the bar, held on April 7th, presided over by Justice George Sharswood, resolutions eulogistic of Mr. Cuyler were adopted, and appropriate remarks were made by Messrs. Henry M. Phillips, George W. Biddle, William A. Porter, Daniel Dougherty, Stephen S. Remak, Chapman Biddle, and Judge Amos Briggs. On the 5th of April, upon the direction of President Judge Joseph Allison, a minute was entered upon the records of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace, reciting the extraordinary professional abilities, and the distinguished career at the bar of Mr. Cuyler. Resolutions, or minutes, of a highly eulogistic character, were also adopted by the directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the Park Commission, the Social Art Club, the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, the trustees of the Second Presbyterian Church, and the Equitable Life Assurance Society.

Robert Cooper Grier was a native of Cumberland County, Pa., the son of Isaac Grier, a Presbyterian minister of the gospel. Isaac Grier was a near relation to Margaret Grier, who married Andrew B. Stephens, a native of the region near the mouth of the Juniata River, and father of Alexander H. and Linton Stephens, of Georgia, the former Vice-President of the Confederate States, and lately Governor of Georgia, and the latter at one time one of the judges of the Supreme Court of that State. Judge Grier graduated at Dickinson College in 1812, the same year in which his kinsman, Alexander Stephens, was born. He was then eighteen years old. After spending some time as head master of a college, he studied law under Charles Hall, Esq., a lawyer of Sunbury, and was admitted to the bar in 1817. His first judicial appointment was as judge of the District Court of Alleghany. In 1846, on the death of Judge Baldwin, he was made one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Judge Grier was one of the most extensively and variously-informed men who have ever sat upon the bench. The habits of youth and younger manhood, that the straitened circumstances of his family made necessary, resulted in the production of such an accomplishment, which when exhibited with becoming sparingness and modesty are extremely interesting to contemplate. He removed, two years after his appointment, to Philadelphia. No man who had preceded Judge Grier upon the bench has left a better reputation for courtesy and kindness to bench and bar, and for probity and fairness in the rendition of the judgments of the court for extent and variety of learning, and for strength and comprehensiveness of mental grasp. During the exciting times of continued agitation of the various questions pertaining to slavery, the Fugitive Slave Law, the repeal of

the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska, and other Congressional proceedings regarding slavery in the Territories, and the opening of the civil war, he presided as a tower of strength in the courts of the United States. Baldwin, his predecessor, had been thought by some to be almost too prompt in enforcing the laws upon these subjects; but Judge Grier carried himself with the deliberateness and the equability, neither hasting nor resting, that he employed in every question, great or small, that involved no principles except those which related only to the ordinary transactions of mankind. Whatever were his opinions regarding the morality of the institution of slavery, or the misfortunes that its existence inflicted, he felt that he could not but hold himself to the law which he was sworn to follow, and leave where it belonged the province of repeal or amendment.

Mr. Brown in the "Forum," says, "Mr. Justice Grier is a man of more general and practical knowledge than Judge Washington. His classical attainments are higher and more cultivated. The grasp of his mind is stronger and more comprehensive; but for experience, and perspicuity, patience, dignity,—and above all, disinterestedness,—no judge that has ever preceded or followed Judge Washington ever equaled him."

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, since its organization in 1838, has had several very able judges. Ellis Lewis was a native of York County. Medicine was the profession that he first was inclined to adopt, but he gave it up when fully of age, was admitted to the bar in 1822, and the following year became deputy attorney-general for Lycoming and Tioga Counties. At Bradford, whither he removed from Williamsport, he rose into lucrative practice, and in compliment for the able service he had rendered in the Legislature, and his warm support of Andrew Jackson, he was appointed in 1833, by Governor Wolf, attorney-general of the State. This office he held for only a few months, resigning in order to take that of president of the Eighth Judicial District. In 1845 he became president judge of the Second Judicial District. In the year 1851, Judge Lewis was elected to the bench of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and through the rotation prescribed by law (a singular law, we remark, by which the judge who held for the shortest term—three years—was so honored) he became, on the expiration of the term of Judge Black, chief justice, and so continued until the end of his term, in 1857. Judge Lewis has ever been regarded as a very able judge, notwithstanding the fact that he devoted so much of the time not occupied with official duties to politics and other studies. One of the most celebrated and important of his decisions, made while he was district judge, is that of Commonwealth *vs.* Armstrong, a decision that Chancellor Kent quoted in his "Commentaries on American Law." The question was as to the extent of a parent's exclusive right to give direction to the religious education of his child. The decision affirmed such right, and it was indorsed, with a complimentary notice of the presiding judge, by Judge Kent.

George W. Woodward was a native of Bethany, Tioga Co. After the completion of his education at Wilkesbarre he studied law in the office of Garrick Mallery, Esq., and was admitted to the bar in 1830. In 1841 he became judge of the Fourth Judicial District, and in 1852, upon the death of Judge Coulter, he was appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court by the Governor for the unexpired term of the deceased, and at the election by the people the same year was elected for the full term of fifteen years. The personal resemblance of Judge Woodward to Judge Gibson was often remarked. Upon their resemblance in other respects David Paul Brown runs the following interesting comparison between them: "Judge Gibson's attainments were more comprehensive and diversified, but less concentrated and available; his mental grasp was stronger, but it was not so steady. Judge Gibson struck a harder blow, but did not always plant it or follow it up so judiciously. Judge Gibson sometimes rose above expectation; Judge Woodward never falls below it. Judge Gibson's industry did not uniformly equal his talents; Judge Woodward's talents are, if possible, surpassed by his industry. Judge Gibson was, perhaps, the greater man, Judge Woodward the safer judge."

John C. Knox, born in 1817, appointed deputy attorney-general for Tioga County in 1840, became judge eight years afterward, having been appointed by Governor Shunk president judge of the Tenth Judicial District. The judiciary becoming, under the new Constitution, elective, he was elected in 1851 to the presidency of the Eighteenth Judicial District. In 1853 he was raised to the Supreme Court by Governor Bigler for the remainder of the term of Judge Gibson, who had died, and was elected by the people in the same year. His reputation as a judge was high. He died Aug. 28, 1880.

One of the most eminent of the judges who have sat upon that bench was George Sharswood. And because of his so recent decease we might fitly make an extended notice of this great judge. But besides the delicacy involved in such work, his career, both as judge and author of works upon legal science, is too well known to require but a brief summary. After having enjoyed and profited by the best advantages of academic studies, graduating at Pennsylvania University, and reading in the office of Joseph R. Ingersoll, he began the practice in 1831. Since the organization of the Supreme Court of the State, whether since it was made dependent upon election by the people, or receiving appointments from executive action, it has not had an incumbent superior to Justice Sharswood. For several years he was in moderate practice as a lawyer, and was somewhat prominent in politics as a member of the Whig party.

Geo. Sharswood

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He was a member of City Councils for some years, a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, House of Representatives, 1837–38, a member of Select Council from 1838 to 1841, and a member of the House of Representatives, 1841–43. His opinions being known to be in favor of free trade, his party gradually drifted away from him, until he found himself numbered with the Democrats. On the 2d of April, 1845, he was appointed associate judge of the District Court of the city and county by Governor Francis R. Shunk. On the 1st of February, 1848, he was commissioned president judge of that court, in place of Hon. Joel Jones, resigned. He was elected president judge of the same court in 1850, and was re-elected in 1860. He remained at the head of that tribunal until 1867, when he was elected, as a Democratic candidate, associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and took his seat in 1868. By rotation as the oldest judge in commission, he became chief justice Dec. 4, 1878, and held the office until the first Monday of January, 1883, when he retired. He was the recipient of a banquet given in his honor by the Philadelphia bar shortly afterward. He died May 28, 1883, aged seventy-two years. Judge Sharswood was an industrious legal author while yet at the bar. He edited "Blackstone's Commentaries," "Byles on Bills," "Starkie on Evidence;" at a later period, "Russell on Crimes," "Leigh's Nisi Prius," "Roscoe on Criminal Evidence," and "Smith on Contracts." He was the author of original works: "Professional Ethics," 1854; "Popular Lectures on Commercial Law," 1856; and "Lectures Introductory to the Study of the Law," 1870. Some of these were the results of his eighteen years' work as professor of law—between 1850 and 1868—in the University of Pennsylvania.

David Paul Brown

The District Court for the city and county of Philadelphia (organized in 1811) has had a succession of able judges. Among these George McDowell Stroud was conspicuous, not only for the vigor, but the rapidity of his decisions and actions. The enormous quantity of business that devolved upon that court, however, required a judge that was swift in its dispatch, even if, as was sometimes complained of Judge Stroud, he may have been at times too impatient, and so made rulings that operated inconveniently to counsel and parties litigant. Impatience in a judge is far better than indolence. Impatience, in most cases, may be rendered harmless by a reversal of a decision, either by the judge who made it, after subsequent calm reflection, or by a higher tribunal, whereas indolence brings those sickening delays that are often as hurtful to justice as the denying or selling it would be. Judge Stroud was appointed in 1835, for ten years. He retired at the end of his term, but was reappointed in 1848, and in 1851 was elected under the amended Constitution, and re-elected in 1861. He continued to the end of his term, in 1871, making a nearly continuous service of thirty-six years. He died in 1875.

Among others of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas may be mentioned the names of John Hallowell, J. Richter Jones, Anson Virgil Parsons, James Campbell, Oswald Thompson, William D. Kelley, Joseph Allison.

We close the account of those members of the bench and bar who are deceased with a reference to David Paul Brown, to whose work, the "Forum," we have so often referred, which has been of inestimable service in the work we have had on hand. He also has, too, recently deceased, and is too well remembered to allow of any other than a brief sketch. His literary productions are noticed in another chapter. He was born in Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1795, was educated partly by his mother and private teachers, and in Massachusetts by a clergyman in the classics. On the completion of his education he decided that his future profession should be the practice of medicine. For that purpose he entered the office of Dr. Benjamin Rush, and remained until the death of the latter, when he abandoned the medical profession, and turned his attention to the law. He entered the office of William Rawle, the elder, and after a due course of study was admitted to the bar on the 4th of September, 1816. He was a brilliant and effective speaker, and soon attracted attention. In criminal cases he was at one time considered an advocate of great power, especially with a jury, and he had for

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some years the leading criminal practice of the city, with occupation in the civil courts of importance and value. At one time he appeared in almost every important criminal case, and his practice was lucrative. But, while he was earning money with ease and great rapidity, he was deficient in economy and frugality, and seemed to spend faster than he made. The profitable period of the life of a lawyer will not extend over his whole life, if his term at the bar should be as extensive as was that of Mr. Brown. Of late years he went out from the public sight, and, with but a moderate practice, amused himself by literary pursuits. His poems occasionally found their way into the newspapers. Some of them were originally published in the *Sunday Dispatch*. In earlier life he wrote and published "Sertorius," a tragedy, in which the elder Booth took the principal part; "The Prophet of St. Paul's," a drama, which was also performed in one of the Philadelphia theatres; "Love and Honor," a farce, which, we believe, was never played. His book entitled "The Forum; or Forty Years' Full Practice at the Philadelphia Bar," was published in two volumes octavo, and, although it contains much that is interesting, is also remarkable for its utter absence of allusions to many matters connected with law and lawyers in Philadelphia, in the period named, which were of great interest. Mr. Brown's great strength professionally was in the skill and power which he possessed in the examination of witnesses, his easy and flowing oratory, his classic style, and, particularly, a readiness of retort and repartee, which frequently did more than his most impassioned eloquence.

One of the most distinguished of the living contemporaries of David Paul Brown is Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster, at present the Attorney-General of the United States. He was born in Salem County, N. J., Oct. 13, 1816, and is a son of Francis E. and Maria Hampton Brewster. His grandfathers (Brewster and Hampton) were both surgeons in the Revolutionary army. His father was an eminent lawyer, who ranked high at the bar of this city, and other members of the family have distinguished themselves in various relations of life. Mr. Brewster is, of course, college-bred, and, like all young Jersey gentlemen of his day, an alumnus of Princeton, being a member of the class of 1834. He now wears the degrees of A.B., A.M., and LL.D. The effect of his Princeton training is reflected in much that Mr. Brewster says and writes. He is orthodox in everything, and orthodoxy in everything commands his respect and admiration. Simultaneous with leaving college Mr. Brewster began the study of the law. His preceptor was the now venerable Eli K. Price, the Nestor of the Philadelphia bar. He was admitted to the practice of his profession in 1838, and won prominence at once. There were giants in those days,—Binney and Sergeant and Meredith and the other great men who have shed an ineffaceable lustre upon the Philadelphia bar being still active; but even in this great company the abilities of the young advocate were easily discernible. He soon achieved greatness, and for thirty years has been the preferred counselor of Philadelphians. A list of the great cases in which he has been engaged would fill a column in a newspaper. No living Philadelphia lawyer has so extended a reputation, and no one has been oftener summoned abroad to argue important causes.

Mr. Brewster's reputation as a legal practitioner is of a twofold character. He not only possesses a mind stored with ripe knowledge and jurisprudential acumen, but, unlike many eminent jurists, his power as an eloquent advocate before a jury is great. The only two public offices of great importance which Mr. Brewster has held have been strictly within the line of his profession. In 1867 he was appointed by Governor Geary attorney-general of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. His term of service continued until 1869, when he resigned. In 1881, upon the resignation of Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, Mr. Brewster was appointed by President Arthur to the office of Attorney-General of the United States. This office he still holds, having during his two years' incumbency of the high position reflected great credit upon the country, the national administration, and the bar.

Besides the two great offices mentioned, Mr. Brewster has seldom been in the service of the public. He has rarely been an office-holder, and never an office-seeker. His first taste of public life was in 1846, when, at the age of thirty years, he was appointed a commissioner by President Polk to adjudicate the claims of the Cherokee Indians against the United States.

Besides his labors at the bar, and his public services in the State and nation, Mr. Brewster has devoted very considerable attention to literary pursuits; and as a finished linguist, a delightful conversationalist, an attractive orator, and a polished writer he is equaled by few. His numerous public addresses upon a variety of occasions have been replete with rich erudition, and his contributions to current literature have been characterized by great learning and rhetorical skill. In the words of a biographer, "He has been a close student of *belles-lettres*, is a versatile and brilliant essayist, a correct, original, and profound thinker, a graceful, eloquent, and forcible speaker;" and, as another biographer has said,—

"To listen to him is at once to be enchanted and to be instructed. Every ancient and modern author is at his tongue's end, and the only trouble one experiences is when he throws at the more unlettered of us some quotation from Æschylus or Horace or Virgil. The study of the history of the Middle Ages—of that long, black period, when the only lamp that illumined the world was held in the hands of 'Holy Mother Church'—seems to have especially fascinated him, and his lecture or monograph upon Gregory VII.

Yours very truly
Wm D Kelley

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is, in my opinion, the greatest tribute ever paid to the greatest man of his time, who lived between the decay of Pagan Rome and the rise of Christian civilization, —a greater man than Charlemagne."

In his personal and domestic life Mr. Brewster is none the less eminent. Like the great Duc de Guise, who, with his brother, the Cardinal Lorraine, founded the mighty Catholic League in France, and was the power behind the throne during the reign of three monarchs, and who had hopes of royalty himself, he bears the marks of recognition on his face. Of little more than medium height, and now slightly inclined to corpulency, he dresses with faultless taste, but after the style of a generation ago. In dress, as in manners and morals, he is inclined to be old-fashioned. His manners are courtly, he recalls the *ancien noblesse*, and he would be distinguished in any assemblage. His popularity among his friends and acquaintances is proverbial.

Before his appointment to the cabinet, and prior to his removal to Washington, Mr. Brewster was noted for his domesticity. His home was characterized by solid comfort, substantial wealth, and uncontaminated virile taste in everything. His inner office, the *sanctum sanctorum*, as it were, which was in the same building, was a delightful spot. There was no other law-office in Philadelphia to compare with it in its comforts, furnishings, and attractiveness.

In 1857, Mr. Brewster was married to Elizabeth Von Myrbacke de Reinfeldts, a Prussian lady, who died in 1868. In the summer of 1870 he was again married, his second wife being a daughter of Robert J. Walker.

Hon. William Darrah Kelley, jurist and statesman, senior member of the National House of Representatives, and so often termed the "Father of the House," was born in Philadelphia April 12, 1814, and was the grandson of Maj. John Kelley, an officer of the Revolutionary army. His success in life is altogether the fruit of his own efforts, as his father died when he was a mere child. His first employment was as a reader in a Philadelphia printing-office, which he left to spend seven years as an apprentice in a jewelry-house. Thoroughly learning his trade, he accepted a situation in Boston from 1835 to 1839. His leisure hours were given to study, and when he left the latter city to return to Philadelphia, he had acquired a reputation as a writer and speaker. Here he studied law, and exhibited so decided a tendency for political affairs that in several campaigns he took the stump for the Democratic party. In 1841 he was admitted to the bar; in 1845–46 he was attorney-general of Pennsylvania, and from 1846 to 1856 judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia. In 1854 he abandoned the Democratic party, and signalized his entrance into the Republican party by an address in which he opposed the admission of slavery into Kansas or any other of the Territories. In 1860 he was elected by the Republicans to the House of Representatives of the Thirty-seventh Congress, and has been re-elected ten times in succession; so that he is now in his twenty-third year of uninterrupted service. He has filled memberships of all the important committees of the House, and was chairman of the Committee on the Centennial Celebration. There is no more ardent and efficient advocate and defender of the system of protection of American industry, and his speeches and documents upon the question are a library of reference and information. Since the retirement of Mr. Blaine from the House of Representatives, he has been chosen to the chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee in each Congress of which the Republicans have had control. In addition to his many political speeches, a number of addresses on general topics have been published from his pen. In the summer of 1883 he went to Europe for medical treatment, and returned in a much improved condition.

Furman Sheppard, another distinguished member of the bar of to-day, was born at Bridgeton, Cumberland Co., N. J., in 1824. He graduated with distinction at Princeton in 1845. After leaving college he devoted himself to teaching the classics and mathematics in schools and private families for some time, and then commenced the study of law with Judge Garrick Mallery. He was admitted to the bar Sept. 7, 1848, and remained for several years associated with Judge Mallery in the active management and conduct of the business of his office. His range of subsequent practice has included many cases of importance and responsibility in the Federal as well as the State courts, and the professional ability therein displayed is conceded by the bar, and has not been without frequent mention and recognition by the bench. He was nominated the Democratic candidate for the office of district attorney for the city of Philadelphia in 1868, and in October of that year was elected to the office for the term of three years. The entire city ticket was claimed to have been elected by the Democrats, but this being disputed, a contest was entered upon by the Republicans, and the matter went before the courts. A decision was rendered affirming the election of D. M. Fox as mayor, but annulling that of the district attorney, the receiver of taxes, and some others. Mr. Sheppard obtained a rehearing of his case, in which it was shown that the court, in deciding against him, had committed an arithmetical error, and he was thereupon restored to the office as its rightful possessor. In the mean time, for about six months, it had been occupied by Charles Gibbons, the opposing candidate. An appeal from this latter decision was made, and the case carried before the Supreme Court, where, on review, the judgment of the inferior court was affirmed, and Mr. Sheppard thereupon resumed the duties of the district attorneyship, his administration being marked throughout by energy and a high sense of responsibility. In 1871 he was renominated,

but by means of a local and special election law which had been enacted in the mean time, he was defeated by a small majority. In 1874 he was unanimously nominated again by the Democratic County Convention, and was indorsed by the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association. After a campaign almost unexampled in its activity and earnestness, and which aroused more than a merely local interest, he was elected by a vote nearly six thousand above the average of that received by the Democratic State ticket, while the vote of his opponent was reduced over eight thousand below that of the Republican State ticket. The term to which Mr. Sheppard was thus elected expired on the 1st of January, 1878.

Upon receiving his third nomination for the district attorneyship, in July, 1874, Mr. Sheppard addressed a letter to the committee which notified him of the action of the convention, which well illustrated his position relative to that office. The following is an extract:

"My occupation brings me in contact with persons of all shades of political opinion and of all classes of society, and I am constrained to say that the feeling which pervades the general body of citizens, as respects our municipal misgovernment, is one of mortification, distrust, and apprehension, to such an extent, indeed, that public spirit and local pride seem to languish in our city, good men shrink or are driven into retirement, and thus the management of public business is the more easily usurped or retained by knavery, mediocrity, and disrepute."

Mr. Sheppard paid especial attention to the dispatch of criminal business arising during the centennial summer, and by procuring the establishment of a Magistrate's Court on the centennial grounds for the immediate hearing of criminal charges, and by other arrangements, he succeeded, in most cases, in having offenders indicted, tried, and sentenced within a few hours after the commission of the offense. This rapid proceeding was popularly designated as "Sheppard's Railroad," and it, in connection with the vigilant co-operation of Mayor Stokley, entirely broke up the preparations of the criminal class for plundering our centennial visitors.

Having accomplished what he believed to be his duty in connection with that most important branch of the public service which was under his charge, he announced his determination, in 1877, to decline a renomination, and to resume his private practice. This announcement was received by the public with a very reluctant acquiescence, and a reconsideration of it, although strongly urged, was finally declined.

Shortly before the meeting of the Democratic State Convention of 1877 a very general impression prevailed that the nomination for the then existing vacancy in the Supreme Court would probably be conceded to Philadelphia, and Mr. Sheppard consented to the use of his name as an aspirant for the position. On the first ballot Mr. Sheppard received 64 votes, to 73 for John Trunkey, of Venango, and 116 scattered among seven other candidates. On the second ballot Mr. Sheppard led with 103 votes, Trunkey having 100 only, with 48 scattering. During the progress of the third ballot, which appeared to stand 125 for Trunkey to 124 for Sheppard, the excitement ran very high. The chairman finally decided that the third ballot must be taken over, and the roll was again called. All the candidates were dropped but Trunkey and Sheppard, and the vote between them ran singularly even. They were not ten votes apart at any time; they were exactly even at 85, again at 90, again at 97, again at 100, again at 107, again at 113, again at 117, again at 120, again at 122, and the roll closed with Trunkey 123 and Sheppard 123, with five not voting. Two more votes were cast, and it stood 124 to 124. Then the chairman voted for Trunkey, and as the two other delegates were absent, Sheppard was defeated by one vote. Mr. Sheppard's defeat was brought about by a defection in the Philadelphia delegation. At the Democratic Convention of 1878, Mr. Sheppard was again a candidate for Supreme Court judge, and again his chances for the nomination were sacrificed by antagonism in the Philadelphia delegation, one-half of which voted for Judge Henry P. Ross, of Montgomery, who was nominated on the first ballot. Judge Ross received 162 votes, to 71 for Sheppard and 10 for Edward S. Golden, of Armstrong.

For several years after 1878, Mr. Sheppard devoted his energies entirely to the practice of his profession. However, on the 24th of January, 1884, having been unanimously nominated by the Democratic Convention as a candidate for the office of city solicitor, and indorsed by the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred, he again entered the political arena. His written acceptance of this nomination, addressed to the committee which acquainted him with the action of the convention, was as follows:

"Gentlemen,—In reply to the communication which you have just handed me, informing me of my nomination as city solicitor, I may say at once that I accept it. Indeed, it has been tendered so unanimously and spontaneously, that to do otherwise would be almost an act of rudeness.

"Should it be the pleasure of the citizens of Philadelphia to ratify your action, I shall earnestly endeavor to discharge the duties of the position with whatever of ability I may possess, and with a full sense of the double obligation, professional and official, resting on me."

Notwithstanding the claims of a busy professional life, Mr. Sheppard's liberal taste has led him to devote spare time to the study of languages and literature. In the "Vocabulary of the Philosophical Sciences," published by the late Rev. Charles P. Krauth, vice-provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the author expresses his acknowledgment for friendly and useful suggestions, among other named persons, "to Hon. Furman Sheppard, who, known to the world as one of our most distinguished jurists, is also one of our ripest philosophical scholars and thinkers." By appointment of the judges of the Supreme Court, Mr. Sheppard was for several years, and, by appointment of Governor Pattison, is at present an inspector of the Eastern Penitentiary, and his interest in matters of science and literature has led to his election as a

Furman Sheppard

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trustee of the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia, and to membership in the American Philosophical Society. In the year 1855, for the purpose of introducing the systematic study of the principles of the Constitution of the United States as a branch of instruction in schools, he prepared a work, entitled "The Constitutional Text-Book," together with an abridgment of the same, entitled "First Book of the Constitution." Each of these works was extensively circulated and largely used as a text-book in schools and colleges.

In making this summary of the most notable persons and things connected with the bench and bar of Philadelphia, we have been compelled to pass over many others of much, though secondary, interest. Our object has been to sketch outlines that, besides being sufficient for the general purposes for which this branch of the work has been compiled, will enable readers easily to find where they may study more extensively upon individuals, persons, or events.

The history of the bench and bar of Philadelphia is one of especial interest. It is, indeed, wonderful to contemplate the development from those rude beginnings of William Penn, down to and after the time when had resulted the production of judicial excellence, quite superior to what was established anywhere else in the country. Whoever studies this history will have enhanced admiration for the character of William Penn. His antecedents, both in personal culture and in the social relations of his family, were favorable for the great enterprise he had undertaken. Having embraced the faith of a sect despised in his native country, he had done so from sincere convictions of the insufficiency of the Established Church, as its career was being run after the Restoration, to encourage the religious growth of minds seriously concerned about the truth. But these convictions did not bring with them prejudices against individuals, and the history of the world does not exhibit a founder of a new commonwealth who was more circumspect and sagacious in the employment of those who were to assist in his great work. Capacity, integrity, sincerity, vigor of purpose were the qualities he was in search of, and when he found them, whether in Quakers or Episcopalians, he employed them. Some of these belonged to his own relatives. The latter he must naturally prefer, in a condition where his personal interests were largest and most important; but in such selections his sagacity was apparent as in those made outside of his religious faith. In regard to that, he was a man ever disposed to give the freedom and the respect that he desired for himself. The hostility to professional judges and lawyers was not to be greatly wondered at when it is considered how oppressive, how unscrupulous the English bar had become in the times of the two last of the Stuart kings. The men, English born, who were in Pennsylvania in 1683, for the most part, were those who or whose families had suffered from these and other oppressions, and they were determined to organize, if possible, a judiciary that would be without many of the evil elements of the one they had left behind. As for lawyers,—they hoped to be able to get along altogether without them. They were a class who, in their opinions, were mere dishonest hinderers and delayers of justice, practicing in all the various stages between audacity and servility. Disputes, in the hope of these law-givers, might be settled with sufficient ease and promptness by the courts on their presentation by the disputants themselves, or their personal friends, or yet more easily and soon by the arbitrament of their neighbors. We have seen what this first judiciary organization was, its ancient, simple origin, and what praise it has received from the most gifted of the profession in later times who have studied well its history.

There is no part of the annals of this whole country more deserving of study and reflection than those of the judiciary of Pennsylvania. To its early actions are to be traced an almost incredible amount of whatever, since their time, has been best in all the institutions of the country,—political, civil, mercantile, social, and domestic. Taking the word *aristocracy* in its just literal sense, government of the best, it has certainly obtained from the influences begun under William Penn's government earlier and more extensively than those originating in any other State in the Union. With trifling exceptions, the men selected to preside in these courts were such as, except in the matter of professional training, were wonderfully well fitted for their positions. They were not only with honorable connections in the old society of Great Britain and Ireland, but they had not lost enough of the memories of society there to lead them to feel that they could dispense with many of the forms and other attributes of government in all its forms. To themselves they assumed the costume, and endeavored to practice the decorum, of the courts of the mother-country. Even the appointment of sheriffs and other subordinate officers was made with a carefulness that has long ago ceased to be employed. Out of three persons nominated by popular will for the offices of sheriff and coroner, one was selected by the government.

In a society so young, consisting of so small a number of inhabitants, litigation could not be very extensive or involving many subtle important questions. Most of it was petty, both in civil and criminal adjudication, yet occasionally questions intricate, involving important principles and considerable pecuniary interests, demanded both strong understandings and painstaking research and reflection on the part of those who were to decide upon them. Yet the bench by gradual usage became more and more competent for its functions, and we find that under the Asshetons, who were relations of the proprietor, and had come over on his invitation, and were trained lawyers of careful and accurate habits, judicial forms

very shortly after the beginning of the eighteenth century, even the forms in courts, were put upon a basis of entire respectability.

The rise of the bar, as we have seen, was difficult, and only after experience of their inevitable necessity. It is somewhat amusing to read the pitiful petition of Francis Daniel Pastorius, in 1708–9, to the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania, complaining of one John Henry Sprogel, "through the contrivance or plotting of Daniel Falkner in the last adjourned court held for the county of Philadelphia, the 18th of January, by means of a *Fictio Juris* (as they term it), wherewith your petitioner is unacquainted, hath got a writ of ejectment, that the said Sprogel hath further feed or retained the four known lawyers of this province, in order to deprive your petitioner of all advice in law, which sufficiently argues his case to be none of the best." The petitioner "notwithstanding he was the first of all Germans who came into this country since it was a province, yet being poor, and unable to fetch lawyers from New York," begs, in his helpless condition, "for whatever relief the Governor and Council in justice and equity shall think expedient."

It must have seemed to Governor, Council, and judges a pitiful case indeed, when it required the four known lawyers of the province to handle a *fictio juris*, to the ejectment of one German, who was too poor to fetch lawyers from New York.

With the overthrow of this prejudice there began a system of training for the bar that resulted in the production of a large number of men, whose likes, in comparison of numbers, were not to be found elsewhere, and who imparted not only to the judiciary and the bar, but to commercial and social life a tone that, in the number of those who maintained it in its highest pitch, was as pure as could be maintained anywhere on the earth. The early judges were mainly merchants. They had with them the traditions of ancestry that for the greatest part were of the best of English society, both among the gentry and the peerage. The sittings upon the bench, preserving the decorous usages which they remembered to have seen and respected in their native countries, the habitual application of their minds alternately to mercantile transactions and the adjudication of disputes among their fellow-citizens, made them, both as judges and as merchants, rise with ease to the standard which we have described.

It has been a pleasing task to contemplate the reciprocal influences these two avocations exerted. The number of eminent lawyers was small for a considerable period after the subduing of the prejudices against them; but when the sons of the old councilors had grown up and received the careful training we have mentioned, completed, in many cases, at the Inns of Court in London, then it was that the bar of Philadelphia took its rapid rise to the very top of excellence, and maintained it for fully fifty years. To the intermarriages among the early descendants of these councilors, society, especially in Pennsylvania and Maryland, is indebted for a vast number of those who yet contribute most to its respectability and its general well-being. In the bar, so constituted, there was much of that family aristocracy which, exhibited as it then was, assisted far more than it injured in the advance of social existence. The coming on of the Revolution and the declaration and attainment of independence effected great changes in all conditions in the community. Hostile as were the leading families to the oppressive laws of the mother-country, yet many of the fathers, and some of the younger members among them, contemplated with pain a separation that seemed to threaten the destruction not only of their own established prosperity but that of the country. Many of them, when their magistracies were abolished and their professional practice suspended, withdrew in sadness from public life and waited the end of revolution and war. Others among them, scions of fathers who thus retired, went heartily for independence, and were conspicuous in service from its inception to its final attainment. To the great honor of those who had borne no part, but neither had contributed in any respect, except in the known state of their sentiments to the British cause, such was the universal confidence in their integrity that many of them were restored, after independence was achieved, to their offices in the courts organized under the new government.

And now, in accordance with the natural results of revolutions, a new set of men came on, men outside of the old families, men who had learned from the history of late events what may be accomplished by courageous, persistent endeavors, in spite of the want of high family connections and long training under experienced guides,—self-made men, ambitious of honor and power and wealth,—and we have seen to what rank they rose in time on those fair fields. In the contemplation of these new men it is pleasing to notice the benign influences imparted by what had been so long the rule in a profession that had been in the hands of gentlemen well bred in all the discipline of personal and professional honor. The new men could see no hope of satisfactory rivalry with those who were by inheritance, as it were, the leaders of the profession, except by imitation of their long, persistent studies before and after admission, their unsullied integrity, and the becoming dignity of their deportment. They also, many of them, intermarried among the older families, and helped to perpetuate blood so productive of good citizenship in all pursuits. It may have been a mistake to bestow the appointment of the judiciary upon popular election. Doubtless it was, but, so far as Pennsylvania is concerned, her experience has been such that she need not, up to the present time, regret it.

The bar of Philadelphia to-day, as reflected in its

living and active members, both those upon the shady side of the hill and those younger men who are gallantly climbing toward the summit, is not unworthy in any respect of the distinguished ancestry whose faint outline has been painted in the preceding pages. It has not lost any of its old-time brilliancy. It is still distinguished for its eloquence, its integrity, and for its solid learning, as of yore. But these qualities are not so conspicuous now as their singularity made them in the period from 1760 to 1860, when, for a century, the lawyers of Philadelphia were almost without peers in their profession upon this continent.

The profession holds out to-day the same high rewards to honorable industry, cultivated talents, probity, and integrity, and our contemporaries toil with an inherited zeal and compete with an ardor transmitted through unbroken generations for the same sort of distinction as that which compensated Hamilton, Allen, Tilghman, and Sergeant. Those who lightly pretend to believe the bar has degenerated are not familiar with its past, or have neglected to measure the stature of its present. They may not have forgotten Price, Gowen, Cassidy, Edward Coppee Mitchell, John G. Johnson, George W. Biddle, Daniel Dougherty, Henry M. Phillips, MacVeagh, Edwin Shippen, and Brewster, perhaps, but they do not sufficiently take into account men who are their equals in energy and learning, although they may be not as well known.

In making comparisons between the lawyers of the past and present, it must not be forgotten that much more is demanded of advocates nowadays than was the case a hundred or even fifty years ago. The rules and forms of practice have been greatly simplified, statutes codified, reports made more complete and comprehensive, and the profession wears much more the aspect of a science than formerly. But, at the same time, the sphere of the advocate has both widened and deepened enormously. Precedents and rulings have multiplied on all sides, and the *juris consult* must nowadays be ready at a moment's warning to thread the intricate labyrinths of a dozen branches of science which had no existence in the times of Hamilton, Shippen, and Hopkinson. Then expert testimony was almost unknown; now it is called in the majority of important issues. Patent law, railroad law, telegraph law, all open new and most arduous fields to the profession, and compel it to specialize itself more and more every day. Business law is assuming a thousand new shapes, each more complicated than the other; nor can the vast body of decisions, rapidly as it accumulates, keep pace with the ever-swelling volume of new issues daily coming up for adjudication. A lawyer who would embrace the whole scope of his profession nowadays must travel very far beyond Coke and Blackstone, Chitty and Greenleaf, Kent and the code. He must be an accountant, a civil engineer, an architect, a mechanician, a chemist, a physician; he must know the vocabulary and technology of all the arts and professions; he must be a theologian and a metaphysician, with the experience of a custom-house appraiser and the skill in affairs of an editor. And, after all, with all these stores in his possession, so great is the competition that he may scarcely be able to hew out a living in his profession.

Bar Associations.—The bar of Philadelphia was among the earliest, as well as among the most diligent and judicious, in the matter of associations for the purpose of keeping up a common professional library and the professional education of young men. As early as 1802 was formed "The Law Library Company of the City of Philadelphia," whose first officers were Joseph B. McKean, Edward Tilghman, William Lewis, William Rawle, and J. Bradford Wallace. In the year 1826 this company was united with another known as "The Associated Members of the Bar," the new company being styled "The Law Association of Philadelphia." It has continued with great prosperity to the present time, and now includes the majority of the members of the bar in good personal and professional standing. It owns a law library second to none in the country, as is more fully noticed in another part of this work.

In 1810 there was a law society in existence, of which Peter A. Browne was president. This appears from a communication sent to the Law Association in that year.

In 1811 another law society was formed, composed probably of students and young members of the bar. They called upon P. S. Du Ponceau to act as their president. This association was in existence about two years.

In 1820 "The Society for the Promotion of Legal Knowledge and Forensic Eloquence" was founded, and was composed of judges of the Federal and State courts, and lawyers and students who had attained the age of twenty-one years. Its principal object was "to connect with the mode of instruction at that time exclusively pursued a more scientific and academical system, whereby not only a greater degree of jurisprudential knowledge might be acquired, but the students might be exercised in the art of public speaking, so as to unite the talent of the orator with the science of the jurist." On the 12th of January, 1821, the society was incorporated. William Tilghman was chosen president; William Rawle, vice-president; John K. Kane, secretary; and Benjamin Tilghman, treasurer. The trustees were Charles Chauncey, Thomas Kittera, John M. Scott, Bloomfield McIlvaine, and John Keating, Jr.

There was in 1818 an association in existence which was called "The Law Society," before which in that year Thomas M. Pettit, the president, delivered some opinions upon questions argued, and John K. Kane, also president at a subsequent period, delivered opinions. This society was invited to become a "Law Academy" by the "Society for the Promotion of

Legal Knowledge," etc. The members of the Law Society agreed to this, and their society was formally annexed to the new association as "The Law Academy." The members of the academy were treated as an associate branch, and were accorded the privilege of electing their own officers, who were different from the officers of the principal association. They chose Peter S. Du Ponceau to be the provost, and James Gibson, vice-provost. *Poulson's Advertiser* in February, 1821, published the following item of news:

"The Law Academy, a recent institution, was opened in due form in the hall of the Supreme Court, in the presence of lawyers, judges, members of the Supreme Court, etc. The provost delivered an address showing the necessity of a national school of jurisprudence, and the advantage which this city possesses over all other American cities, after which there was a discussion of the question whether the inhabitants of Pennsylvania have a right to tow upon the banks of the river Delaware without permission of the owner of the lands over which they pass,—Roger Dillion Drake in the affirmative, Charles B. Penrose in the negative; to be followed at the next meeting by Thomas S. Smith in the affirmative, and Samuel H. Perkins in the negative."

Mr. Du Ponceau saw in this opportunity the means of erecting a law-school. The organization was expected to be of a dual character,—composed of members of the bar and judges as one class, and of students as another class. The old Law Society was merged into this institution. The Law Academy commenced its exercises in the early part of 1821, with thirty regular and eighteen honorary members. The academy discussed weekly some legal question before the provost or vice-provost, who at the next meeting delivered his opinion,—not in the form of a judicial decision, but of a law lecture on the particular subject to which the question referred. Mr. Du Ponceau was ardent in his anticipation that the Law Academy might become, in time, a school of law of sufficient importance to be annexed to, and become a part of, the University of Pennsylvania.

In March, 1822, the Society for the Promotion of Legal Knowledge and Forensic Eloquence appointed Joseph Barnes, judge of the District Court, lecturer for the Law Academy upon "Common Law." In November of the same year he delivered lectures on "Municipal Law." The existence of the Society for the Promotion of Legal Knowledge, etc., was brought to a close in a curious manner. It was probably in existence for a year or two. It came to an end in a strictly *legal* manner. The absence of the janitor on a night when there ought to have been an election for officers, prevented the accomplishment of that great duty. Then arose a controversy whether the society had not ceased to exist because its functions had not been continued at the right time and place according to the constitution. This was debated with great learning, and finally the differences of opinion engendered so much personal disagreement that indifference followed, and the society died of inaction.

The Law Academy, which was a branch of the Society for Promoting Legal Knowledge, was not so strictly technical as the society which had adopted it. The members refused to consider that it *was* dissolved, and they struggled on, determined to take care of themselves. They were successful. There were regular elections, an increase of members, and sufficient enthusiasm to keep the Law Academy in motion.

In 1833, Mr. Du Ponceau, speaking of the unfortunate end of the Society for the Promotion of Legal Knowledge, etc., said, in his address to the Law Academy,—

"What the academy has done since is known to us all. I think I may safely say that no association of young students has distinguished itself as this academy has done. It was a happy idea of your faculty to include among your scholastic exercises the writing of dissertations upon legal subjects."

Several were produced of considerable merit, which the academy deemed worthy of publication.

The Law Academy, in fact, claims to have been originated in 1783. In 1838, when it was incorporated, the academy ordered that the inscription upon the seal of the corporation should contain the words: "Founded, 1783; incorporated, 1838. *Per aspera ad astra.*"

We subjoin a list of reports of Pennsylvania Courts, abridged from John Hill Martin's "Bench and Bar," in which it will be seen that this State is abundantly rich, and we are confident in saying that in the courts of no State in the Union do any reports rank higher than those of Pennsylvania:

MS. Notes and Reports of cases between the years 1760 and 1783.
Hopkinson's Reports of forty-nine cases in Admiralty, printed in 1792.
Pennsylvania State Trials, 1794.
MS. Notes of J. Bradford Wallace, 1801 to 1816.
Wallace's Reports, 1802.
Peters' Admiralty Decisions, 2 vols., 1807.
Opinion of Judge Cooper on Foreign Admiralty Cases, 1810.
Fisher's British License Cases, 1 vol., 1813.
Peters, Jr.'s, Reports, 1 vol., 1819.
Washington's Circuit Court Reports, 4 vols., 1826–29.
Baldwin's Circuit Court Reports, 1 vol., 1837.
Gilpin's Reports, 1 vol., 1837.
Crabbe's Reports, 1 vol., 1853.
Wallace, Jr.'s, Reports, 3 vols., 1849–62.
Dallas' Reports, 4 vols., 1790–1807.
Addison's Reports, 1 vol., 1800.
Trial of Alexander Alison, 1803.
Yeates' Reports, 4 vols., 1791–1808.
Binney's Reports, 6 vols., 1809–15.
The American Law Journal, 6 vols., 1809–16.
Browne's Reports, 1 vol., 1806–11.
Sergeant & Rawle's Reports, 17 vols., 1818–29.
Rawle's Reports, 5 vols., 1829–36.
The Journal of Law, 1 vol., 1831.
Ashmead's Reports, 2 vols., 1831–41.
Penrose & Watts' Reports, 3 vols., 1832–33.
Watts' Reports, 10 vols., 1834–41.
Miles' Reports, 2 vols., 1835–41.
Wharton's Reports, 6 vols., 1835–41.
Watts & Sergeant's Reports, 9 vols., 1842–45.
Pennsylvania Law Journal, 5 vols., 1842–46.
Pennsylvania State Reports, 99 vols., 1845–81.
P. F. Smith, 1 vol., 1881.
Vaux's Decisions, 1 vol., 1846.
Parson's Select Equity Cases, 2 vols., 1841–50.
Brightly's Nisi Prius, 1 vol., 1851.
The American Law Register, 32 vols., 1852–84.
Grant's Cases, 3 vols., 1859–64.

John Hill Martin, Jr.'s, Reports, 2 vols., 1858–67.
John Hill Martin's Admiralty Reports, 1 vol., 1858–60.
Philadelphia Reports, 12 vols., 1860.
Brewster's Reports, 4 vols., 1869.
Legal Gazette Reports, 1 vol., 1872.
Pennsylvania Law Journal Reports, 5 vols., 1872–73.
Pittsburgh Reports, 3 vols., 1872–73.
Legal Chronicle Reports, 2 vols., 1874–77.
Trunkey's Notes of Cases, 12 vols., 1874–83.
Pierson's Reports, 2 vols., 1879–80.
Pennsylvania Supreme Court Reports, 1 vol., 1882.
Luzerne Legal Register Reports, 1 vol., 1882.
The Legal Record Reports, 1 vol., 1881.
The Legal Intelligencer, beginning in 1843.
Olwine's *Legal Reporter*, beginning in 1848.
Tuckett's *Monthly Insurance Journal*, 2 vols., 1852–62.
The Insurance Intelligencer, 1857–62.
The Philadelphia Intelligencer, 1862, onward.
Legal and Insurance Reporter, begun 1859.
Luzerne Legal Observer, 1860–63.
The Lancaster Bar. 15 vols.
The Legal Gazette, 1869–76.
Legal Opinion, 5 vols., 1870–73.
The Scranton Law Times, 3 vols., 1873–76; *Ibid.*, New Series, 1 vol., 1877–78.
The Real Estate Reporter, begun 1875.
The Daily Court Record, begun 1877.
The Lackawanna Bar, 1 vol., 1878.
The Susquehanna Legal Chronicler, 1 vol., 1878–79.
The Lackawanna Legal Record, 1878–79.
The Common Pleas Reporter, 1878.
The York Legal Record, begun 1880.
The Daily Legal News, 1879.
The Pennsylvania Law Record, 2 vols., 1879–80.
The Chester County Reporter, begun 1880.
The Weekly Reporter, 1881.

Persons appointed to administer the Laws in the County of Philadelphia and the Province of Pennsylvania from the Earliest Period to the Present Time:[1]

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

This high tribunal was established under the royal charter to William Penn, bearing date March 4, 1681, and by order of the Provincial Council of yᵉ 1st of yᵉ 2nd mo., 1684, and reorganized from time to time by different Acts of the Assembly of the Province.

The following sketch, which is as complete as the records at Harrisburg and elsewhere can make it, shows the organization and *personnel* of the court at different periods between 1684 and 1776.

It will be observed that William Penn, as early as the 18th of 8th mo., 1685, in his letter to William Markham, "Dept. Govern'r of Pennsylvania," says, "I have sent my Cosin William Crispen, . . . and it is my will and pleasure that he be as Chief Justice," etc., and although Andrew Robeson, in 1693, is the first of the "prior judges" (1 Proud, 295; 1 C. R., 86) that I find called chief justice, I have indicated each "prior judge" before his time as chief justice.

4th 6 mo., 1684.—1 C. R., 47, 66–8, and 1st Proud, 286; "Rawle's Equity," 9. Under the act of 1684, chapter 158, Laws, five justices were commissioned for two years,—Dr. Nicholas More, C. J., William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner, and John Eckley. William Clarke was appointed in place of William Welch, who died before 10th 7th mo., 1684. He was styled "Justice in General," 1 C. R., 109–10, and appears to have, by virtue of his commission, presided over the county courts, and, perhaps, succeeded William Welch, who was called the president of the counties of Philadelphia and New Castle, in 1 C. R., 67. My references to the "Colonial Records" are to the first edition, printed in 1838. The second edition was issued in 1851–52.

1685.—Appointed 14th 7 mo., 1685; 1 C. R., 102 and 105–8,—James Harrison, C. J., James Claypoole, and Arthur Cooke. These judges, however, declined to serve; 1 Proud, 300, and the Council heard the appeals.

1686.—Appointed 31st 1 mo., 1686; 1 C. R., 120, 130, and 141,—Arthur Cooke, C. J., William Clarke, and John Cann.

1686.—Commissioned 20th 7 mo., 1686. Recommissioned 2nd 2 mo., 1687; 1 C. R., 142, 143, and 152,—Arthur Cooke, C. J., John Simcock, and James Harrison.

1690.—Appointed 2nd 2 mo., 1690; 1 C. R., 283 (1st edition), and 1 C. R., 324 (2d edition)—Arthur Cooke, C. J., William Clarke, and Joseph Growden.

1690.—Under the act of 1690, chapter 197, five judges were appointed and commissioned on the 5th 7 mo., 1690; 1 C. R., 303,—Arthur Cooke, C. J., John Simcock, Joseph Growden, Peter Alrichs, and Thomas Wynne; but on account of the "unwillingness of yᵉ Judges to doe their Dutys in Severall counties," this commission was afterward revoked, and the court was reorganized 21st 9 mo., 1690; 1 C. R., 304,—John Simcock, C. J, William Clarke, Arthur Cooke, Griffith Jones, and Edward Blake, of New Castle. William Clarke, C. J., for the Lower Counties, with the other four as his associates.

1693.—The following judges were commissioned May 29, 1693, and in the same year a new law was passed, by which the court was to consist of one chief justice and four associates, and a new commission issued to the same justices Sept. 23, 1693. The fifth justice seems never to have been named; 1 C. R., 352, 383, and 415,—Andrew Robeson, C. J., William Salway, John Cann, and Edward Blake. Anthony Morris was appointed Aug. 10, 1794, in the place of John Cann, deceased.

1698.—On the 3rd of the 8th mo., 1698, the following justices held a session of the Province Court at Chester; Martin's "History of Chester," 73,—Joseph Growden and Cornelius Empson.

1699.—On the 18th 2 mo., 1699, a Provincial (Supreme) Court was held at Chester by Edward Shippen, Cornelius Empson, and William Biles. It is, perhaps, on account of this record in the minutes of the courts of Chester County that I find Edward Shippen sometimes spoken of as one of our chief justices, but he never obtained that dignity that I can ascertain.

1701.—From Mr. Staughton George's notes and the Records of Commissions at Harrisburg. Commission dated 20th 6 mo., 1701. The commission directs the justices to hold a court twice a year at Philadelphia, on the 24th of the 7th mo. and on the 10th of the 2d mo. Two of them to go the circuit of the counties, of whom Guest or Clarke must always be one. In the "Logan Papers," 1 vol. 57, it is stated under date of the 26th of 7 mo., 1701, "Judge Guest is made our Chief Judge, upon which Judge Growden would not act as his inferior. Caleb Pusey is in, and what is the wonder of us all, Thomas Masters has, without taking his degree of a Justice, leaped at once to be one of the five Judges,"—John Guest, C. J., William Clarke, Joseph Growden (declined), Edward Shippen, Robert French (declined?), Caleb Pusey, and Thomas Masters.

1702.—"Logan Papers," 1 vol. 193–5, &c.,—John Guest, C. J., William Clarke, Edward Shippen, Thomas Masters, and Samuel Finney, associates.

1703.—2 C. R., 86; "Logan Papers," 1 vol. 193–5,—William Clarke, C. J., Edward Shippen, Thomas Masters, and Samuel Finney. William Clarke was acting chief justice in place of Guest, who declined. Capt. Finney also declined.

1704.—Commissioned April 10, 1704; see Record of Commissions,—William Clarke, C. J., John Guest, Jasper Yeates, Samuel Finney, and William Trent, associates. Judge Clarke died about February, 1705.

1705.—Martin's "History of Chester," p. 74,—John Guest, C. J., Joseph Growden, Jasper Yeates, Samuel Finney, and William Trent. Chief Justice Guest died 8th 7 mo., 1707.

1706.—2 C. R., 248, appointed April 17, 1706,—Roger Mompesson, C. J., Joseph Growden, Jasper Yeates, Samuel Finney, and William Trent, associates.

By order of the Queen's Council of Feb. 7, 1705–6, the several laws establishing the courts of this province having been repealed, and the Assembly not agreeing on a bill, John Evans, the Lieutenant-Governor, by an ordinance and proclamation of Feb. 22, 1706–7, established and restored the usual courts, etc. See "Manuscript Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania," Book A 4, pp. 3–7. The Supreme Court was to have only three justices; and the Supreme Court of the province became separated from that of the Lower Counties on the Delaware. A Supreme Court for the trial of negroes was created, Book A 4, p. 78, and a commission issued, A 4, pp. 66 and 181. The Supreme Court for the Lower Counties

[1] The complete and satisfactory lists of persons appointed to administer the laws in the county of Philadelphia and the province of Pennsylvania are extracted, with the author's permission, from John Hill Martin's "Bench and Bar of Philadelphia," published by Rees Welsh & Co., Philadelphia, 1883. No person in the city is more thoroughly acquainted with the history of the bench and bar of Philadelphia, or more competent to discuss this important subject in an effective and comprehensive manner, than Mr. Martin, and with rare generosity he has given the writer permission to extract from his able work all that he desires to make this chapter complete.

was established with three justices, A 4, p. 184. I am indebted for much valuable information respecting the Provincial Courts to Mr. Staughton George, of Harrisburg, Pa. Mr. George is one of the editors of the work issued by the State in 1879, known as "The Duke of Yorke's Laws," etc. It brings the provincial acts down to 1700; but we have no printed acts of the Assembly between 1700 and 1714, since when the annual session laws have been printed, and several complete copies are known to exist. See my "Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of Pennsylvania," *Legal Intelligencer*, Oct. 6, 1882.

1707.—Names of justices commissioned,—Joseph Growden, C. J., Nov. 20, 1707; Jasper Yeates, Dec. 2, 1707; Samuel Finney, April 8, 1708.

1711.—Under the act of Feb. 28, 1710–11. Four justices were commissioned March 16, 1711,—Joseph Growden, C. J., Samuel Finney, Richard Hill, and Jonathan Dickinson.

1715.—Under the Act of May 28, 1715, Book A 2, p. 109, commissions were issued on June 10, 1715, to Joseph Growden, C. J., William Trent, Jonathan Dickinson, and George Roche. Robert Assheton was appointed associate, June 12, 1716, in the place of Capt. George Roche, who was absent from the country; 2 C. R., 613.

1717.—Commissioned Feb. 15, 1717. From record of commissions,—David Lloyd, C. J., Jasper Yeates, Richard Hill, and William Trent, associates.

Commissioned Sept. 23, 1717. Record of commissions. A change of Governors accounts for two commissions being issued the same year,—David Lloyd, C. J., Jasper Yeates, Richard Hill, and Jonathan Dickinson.

1718.—Commissioned Feb. 15, 1718; 3 C. R., 22, 29, 35, 67, 83, 104–5,—David Lloyd, C. J., Jasper Yeates, Richard Hill, and William Trent. The same justices were recommissioned March 26, 1720, and served until the passage of the act of May 22, 1722, which reduced the number of justices to three. Justice Yeates died in 1721; 3 C. R., 140.

1722.—Commissioned June 2, 1722; see also 3 C. R., 156, 186, and 197. Three justices, act of May 22, 1722,—David Lloyd, C. J., Richard Hill, and Robert Assheton.

1724.—"Votes of Assembly," 2 vol., 401 and 493,—Daavid Lloyd, C. J., Richard Hill, William Trent, and Robert Assheton. Assheton was appointed in place of William Trent, who died Dec. 25, 1724, he being at his decease the chief justice of New Jersey.

1726.—Commissioned Sept. 20, 1726. A new act was passed Aug. 27, 1727. Book A 2, p. 352, and the same justices were recommissioned Sept. 23, 1727. See also 3 C. R., 272 and 273,—David Lloyd, C. J., Richard Hill, and Jeremiah Langhorne, in the place of Robert Assheton, who declined. He being recorder of the city of Philadelphia, *ex officio* justice of the peace and the courts, clerk of the peace, and prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas of the same city and county, objections were made to his sitting in the Supreme Court as one of the justices. David Lloyd died 6th 2 mo., 1731, aged seventy-eight years, and was buried in Friends' graveyard at Chester. (See Martin's "History of Chester," p. 82.) Richard Hill was a merchant sea-captain. He died Sept. 9, 1739, so says 1 Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," i. p. 473, in a note.

1731.—Commissioned April 9, 1731, Record Commissions and 3 C. R., 426, 439, and 640,—Isaac Norris, C. J., Jeremiah Langhorne, and Dr. Thomas Graeme. James Logan, C. J., was commissioned Aug. 20, 1731, in the place of Isaac Norris, who declined the office, and died June 3, 1735.

1733.—Commissioned April 9, 1733. Recommissioned Dec. 28, 1733,—James Logan, C. J., Jeremiah Langhorne, and Thomas Graeme, associates.

1739.—Commissioned Aug. 13, 1739; 4 C. R., 348,—Jeremiah Langhorne, C. J., Thomas Graeme, and Thomas Griffitts. Chief Justice Langhorne died in 1743, and Mr. Justice Griffitts resigned the same year.

1743.—Commissioned April 5, 1743; 4 C. R., 640,—John Kinsey, C. J., Thomas Graeme, and William Till. Kinsey, C. J., died in 1750. Dr. Thomas Graeme died Sept. 14, 1772, aged about eighty-four years.

1750.—Commissioned Sept. 20, 1750,—William Allen, C. J., Lawrence Growden, and Caleb Cowpland. Mr. Justice Cowpland died at Chester, Pa., on the 12th of the 10 mo., 1757, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in Friends' graveyard at that place. For a sketch of the old judge and his family, see Martin's "History of Chester," p. 272–3.

1758.—Commissioned April 8, 1758,—William Allen, C. J., Lawrence Growden, and William Coleman. By an act passed Sept. 29, 1759 (see "Big Peter Miller," p. 115), the justices were to hold office for life or during good behavior, and the above judges were recommissioned April 8, 1760, and again on March 20, 1761. Lawrence Growden was recommissioned in 1761, but not sworn into office; at least his oath is not on file with the others in the records at Harrisburg. He died in 1770, aged seventy-six.

1764.—Commissioned March 21, 1764,—William Allen, C. J., William Coleman, and Alexander Stedman. Alexander Stedman, the president judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the city and county of Philadelphia, was commissioned in place of Coleman on March 21, 1764, and not before that date, as I find that he presided in the Orphans' Court on March 10, 1764. On the 20th of May, 1767, an act was passed increasing the number of judges of the Supreme Court to four, viz., a chief justice and three associates.

1767.—Commissioned Sept. 14, 1767, under the act of May 20, 1767, the bench to consist of four judges, to be justices of the Supreme Court, and justices of the Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery; 9 C. R., 393,—William Allen, C. J., William Coleman, John Lawrence, and Thomas Willing. In 1768, Mr. Justice Coleman retired from the bench, but the vacancy occasioned by his resignation was not filled until 1774.

1774.—The following gentlemen were commissioned, April 29, 1774 (10 C. R., 173), justices of the Supreme Court of the province, and the same day a new commission was issued, assigning and appointing the same four gentlemen "justices of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery for this province."—Benjamin Chew, C. J., John Lawrence, Thomas Willing, and John Morton, of Chester County.

THE JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1684 TO 1776.[1]

Chief Justices.

Name	Date
Dr. Nicholas Moore, commissioned	4 6mo., 1684
James Harrison,[2] commissioned	14 7mo., 1685
Arthur Cooke, commissioned	31 1mo., 1686
John Simcock,[3] commissioned	21 9mo., 1690
Andrew Robeson, commissioned	May 29, 1693
John Guest, commissioned	20, 6mo., 1701
William Clarke,[4] commissioned	—— —, 1703
John Guest, commissioned	—— —, 1705
Roger Mompesson, commissioned	April 17, 1706
Joseph Growden, commissioned	Nov. 20, 1707
David Lloyd, commissioned	Feb. 15, 1717
Isaac Norris,[5] commissioned	April 3, 1731
James Logan, commissioned	Aug. 20, 1731
Jeremiah Langhorne, commissioned	Aug. 13, 1739
John Kinsey, commissioned	April 5, 1743
William Allen, commissioned	Sept. 20, 1750
Benjamin Chew, commissioned	April 9, 1774

Associate Justices.

Name	Date
William Welch, commissioned	4 6 mo., 1684
William Wood, commissioned	4 6 mo., 1684
Robert Turner, commissioned	4 6 mo., 1684
John Eckley, commissioned	4 6 mo., 1684
William Clarke, commissioned	10 7 mo., 1684
James Claypoole, commissioned	14 7 mo., 1685
Arthur Cooke, commissioned	14 7 mo., 1685
John Cann, commissioned	31 1 mo., 1686
John Simcock, commissioned	20 7 mo., 1686
James Harrison, commissioned	20 7 mo., 1686
Joseph Growden, commissioned	2 2 mo., 1690
Peter Alrichs, commissioned	7 5 mo., 1690
Thomas Wynne, commissioned	7 5 mo, 1690
Griffith Jones, commissioned	21 9 mo., 1690
Edward Blake, commissioned	21 9 mo., 1690
William Salway, commissioned	May 29, 1693
Anthony Morris,[6] commissioned	Aug. 10, 1694
Cornelius Empson,[6] commissioned	about 1698
Edward Shippen,[6] commissioned	about 1699
William Biles,[6] commissioned	about 1699
Robert French,[7] commissioned	20 6 mo., 1701
Caleb Pusey, commissioned	20 6 mo., 1701
Thomas Masters, commissioned	20 6 mo., 1701
Samuel Finney, commissioned	Sept. —, 1702
John Guest, commissioned	April 10, 1704
Jasper Yeates, commissioned	April 10, 1704
William Trent, commissioned	April 10, 1704
Richard Hill, commissioned	March 16, 1711
Jonathan Dickinson, commissioned	March 16, 1711
George Roche, commissioned	June 10, 1715
Robert Assheton, commissioned	June 12, 1716
Jeremiah Langhorne, commissioned	Sept. 20, 1726

[1] This list is made from the Record of Commissions at Harrisburg and other authentic sources, and is believed to be absolutely correct in everything except some few dates of the issuing of commissions.

[2] James Harrison declined, and died the 6th of the 8th mo., 1687, aged fifty-nine.

[3] Simcock died 27th 1st mo., 1703.

[4] Guest declined to serve for some reason, and Clarke was chief justice for two years.

[5] Declined Aug. 20, 1731, and Logan commissioned.

[6] See Martin's "History of Chester," pp. 73 and 74.

[7] Mr. Shaw was recommended for the office, but Mr. French continued.

Dr. Thomas Graeme, commissioned	April 9, 1731
Thomas Griffitts, commissioned	Aug. 13, 1739
William Till, commissioned	April 5, 1743
Lawrence Growdeu, commissioned	Sept. 20, 1750
Caleb Cowpland, commissioned	Sept. 20, 1750
William Coleman,[1] commissioned	April 8, 1758
Alexander Stedman, commissioned	March 21, 1764
John Lawrence, commissioned	Sept. 14, 1767
Thomas Willing, commissioned	Sept. 14, 1767
John Morton,[2] commissioned	April 29, 1774

JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Chief Justices.

Joseph Reed, declined	March 20, 1777
Thomas McKean,[3] commissioned	July 28, 1777
Edward Shippen, commissioned	Dec. 18, 1799
William Tilghman, commissioned	Feb. 28, 1806
John Bannister Gibson, commissioned	May 18, 1827
Jeremiah S. Black, elected	Dec. 1, 1851
Ellis Lewis,[4] by rotation	Dec. 4, 1854
Walter H. Lowrie,[5] by rotation	Dec. 7, 1857
George W. Woodward, by rotation	Dec. 7, 1863
James Thompson,[6] by rotation	Dec. 2, 1867
John Meredith Read, by rotation	Dec. 2, 1872
Daniel Agnew, by rotation	Dec. 1, 1873
George Sharswood, by rotation	Dec. 4, 1878
Ulysses Mercur, by rotation	Dec. 1, 1883

Puisne Justices.

William Augustus Atlee,[7] commissioned	Aug. 16, 1777
John Evans,[8] commissioned	Aug. 16, 1777
George Bryan,[9] commissioned	April 3, 1780
Jacob Rush, commissioned	Feb. 26, 1784
Edward Shippen, commissioned	Jan. 29, 1791
Jasper Yeates, commissioned	March 21, 1791
William Bradford, commissioned	Aug. 20, 1791
Thomas Smith,[10] commissioned	Jan. 31, 1794
Hugh Henry Brackenridge, commissioned	Dec. 18, 1799
John Bannister Gibson, commissioned	June 27, 1816
Thomas Duncan, commissioned	March 14, 1817
Molton Cropper Rogers, commissioned	April 15, 1821
Charles Huston, commissioned	April 17, 1826
Horace Binney, declined commission	May 18, 1827
John Tod,[11] commissioned	May 25, 1827
Frederick Smith, commissioned	Jan. 31, 1828
John Ross, commissioned	April 16, 1830
John Kennedy, commissioned	Nov. 29, 1830
Thomas Sergeant,[12] commissioned	Feb. 3, 1834
Thomas Burnside, commissioned	Jan. 2, 1845
Richard Coulter, commissioned	Sept. 16, 1846
Thomas S. Bell, commissioned	Dec. 18, 1846
George Chambers, commissioned	April 16, 1851
Jeremiah S. Black, elected	Oct. 14, 1851
Ellis Lewis, elected	Oct. 14, 1851
John Bannister Gibson, elected	Oct. 14, 1851
Walter H Lowrie, elected	Oct. 14, 1851
Richard Coulter, elected	Oct. 14, 1851
George W. Woodward,[13] appointed	May 8, 1852
John C. Knox, appointed	May 23, 1853
Jeremiah S. Black, elected	Oct. 10, 1854
James Armstrong, appointed	April 6, 1857
James Thompson, elected	Oct. 13, 1857
William Strong, elected	Oct. 13, 1857
William A. Porter, appointed	Jan. 20, 1858
Gaylord Church, appointed	Oct. 22, 1858
John M. Read, elected	Oct. 12, 1858
Daniel Agnew, elected	Oct. 13, 1863
George Sharswood, elected	Oct. 8, 1867
Henry W. Williams,[14] appointed	Oct. 26, 1868
Ulysses Mercur, elected	Oct. 8, 1872
Isaac Grantham Gordon, elected	Oct. 14, 1873
Edward M. Paxson,[15] elected	Nov. 2, 1874
Warren J. Woodward,[15] elected	Nov. 2, 1874
James P. Sterrett,[16] appointed	Feb. 26, 1877
John Trunkey, elected	Nov. 7, 1877
Henry Green,[17] appointed	Sept. 29, 1879
Silas M. Clark, elected	Nov. 7, 1882

Standing Masters in Chancery.

Commissioned by the Supreme Court.

John William Wallace	Dec. 20, 1844
John King Findlay[18]	Jan. 11, 1853
Joel Jones	—— ——
Garrick Mallery	July 25, 1861

Prothonotaries of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Patrick Robinson,[19] in office	11 5 mo., 1685
David Lloyd,[20] appointed	2 8 mo., 1686
Robert Assheton,[21] appointed	Oct. 25, 1701
Joshua Lawrence, "in office for divers years past"	before 1730–31
James Read, in office	June 6, 1748
Edward Shippen, Jr.,[22] in office	Nov. 1, 1762
Edward Burd, appointed	Sept. 1, 1778
Joseph Reed, appointed	Jan. 2, 1800
Joseph Barnes, appointed	May 13, 1809
John Conard, appointed	May 5, 1817
Col. Isaac Franks[23]	Feb. 18, 1819
William Richardson Atlee, appointed	March 9, 1822
Joshua Raybold, appointed	Feb. 7, 1824
William Duane,[24] appointed	April 23, 1829
Stephen Payran, Jr., appointed	Nov. 26, 1835
Henry Witmer, appointed	March 24, 1836
Joseph Smith, appointed	Feb. 2, 1837
Francis W. Hindman[25]	Jan. 1, 1839
Joseph Simon Cohen, appointed	Dec. 16, 1840
Robert Tyler,[26] appointed	Jan. 11, 1853

[1] Mr. Justice Coleman died Jan. 11, 1769, aged sixty-four years.

[2] See "Life of George Read," p. 14, 1754, "John Ross, then attorney-general."

[3] Chief Justice McKean was recommissioned July 29, 1784, and again on July 29, 1791. He was admitted a member of the Middle Temple bar, in England, on May 9, 1758, and was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania on April 17, 1758, which must have been just before he sailed for England.

[4] Died March 19, 1871, aged seventy-two years.

[5] Died Nov. 14, 1876, aged sixty-nine years.

[6] Died Jan. 27, 1874, aged sixty-eight years.

[7] William Augustus Atlee died Sept. 9, 1793.

[8] Judge Evans died Dec. —, 1783.

[9] Recommissioned April 3, 1787; died Jan. 27, 1791, aged sixty years.

[10] For obituary of Judge Smith, see the *Portfolio* for 1809, 2 vol., p. 79, and inscription on his tombstone in Christ Church graveyard, Philadelphia.

[11] Died Feb. 23, 1830, aged fifty-one years.

[12] Resigned Oct. 1, 1846.

[13] Judge Woodward was appointed in place of Richard Coulter, who died April 20, 1852. Elected Oct. 12, 1852, for fifteen years.

[14] Judge Williams was elected in October, 1869, for fifteen years.

[15] In drawing lots, Judge Paxson drew the seniority.

[16] Judge Sterrett was appointed in the place of Williams, deceased, and was afterward elected Nov. 5, 1878. Judge Williams died Feb. 19, 1877.

[17] Judge Green was appointed by the Governor to fill the vacancy created by the death of Judge Warren J. Woodward, on Sept. 5, 1879, aged sixty years, and on Nov. 2, 1880, was elected to serve for fifteen years.

[18] The court commissioned Judge Findlay as "Standing Auditor and Master in Chancery," and on July 25, 1861, Garrick Mallery was appointed "Master and Examiner in Equity," in the place of Joel Jones, deceased. I could not find the date of the latter's appointment on the minutes.

[19] The Historical Society of Pennsylvania have the MS. minutes of the County Court of Philadelphia, in Patrick Robinson's handwriting. I identify them as of that court by the case of Rambo, 1 C. R., 106. For Pat Robinson's troubles, etc., see 1 C. R., 86, 87, 89, 90, 94, 95, 101, 108, 144, and 145.

[20] David Lloyd was commissioned on the 2d of the 8th month, 1686 (see 1 C. R., 145), in place of Pat Robinson, dismissed.

[21] Robert Assheton was appointed, Oct. 25, 1701, town clerk, clerk of the peace and clerk of the court, or courts, by William Penn. See "City Charter," 2 Proud, Appendix, Part 1, p. 45. On Sept. 15, 1726, he said he had been clerk and prothonotary of Philadelphia for about twenty-six years. He died June 5, 1727. It is very probable that the above appointment by Penn carried with it the clerkship of the Supreme Court of the province. At all events he was certainly in office as clerk of the Supreme Court June 6, 1709. 2 C. R., 474.

[22] Edward Shippen, Jr., was in office, and signs himself as prothonotary, Sept. 24, 1765. See 4 "Pa. Archives," 243. He was in office before Nov. 1, 1762. 9 C. R., 5.

[23] Died March 3, 1822, aged sixty-three.

[24] By the Act of April 14, 1834, for the purpose of holding the Supreme Court, the commonwealth was divided into four districts, denominated the Eastern, Western, Northern, and Middle Districts, and a prothonotary or clerk appointed in each district. I have no records of any other district than the Eastern. By the minutes of the Middle District, Wallace De Witt was the prothonotary in office May 2, 1864. Robert Snodgrass, appointed May 1, 1871, and William Pearson, Jan. 11, 1882.

[25] Died Nov. 12, 1840, aged thirty-four.

[26] Robert Tyler was a son of John Tyler, of Virginia, one of the Presidents of the United States. He married a daughter of the distinguished

James Ross Snowden, appointed	May	6, 1861
Benjamin Evan Fletcher, appointed	May	19, 1873
Col. Charles S. Greene, appointed	May	24, 1880

ATTORNEYS-GENERAL OF PENNSYLVANIA.

OF THE PROVINCE.

John White	25 8 mo.,	1683
Samuel Hersent	16 11 mo.,	1685–6
David Lloyd	24 2 mo.,	1686
John Moore[1]	May	19, 1698
Robert Assheton[2]	——	—, 1700
Par Parmyter[3]	10 mo.	2, 1701
George Lowther	April	5, 1705
Thomas Clarke[4]	May	8, 1708
Andrew Hamilton	Sept.	17, 1717
Joseph Growden, Jr	March	7, 1726
John Kinsey	July	6, 1738
Tench Francis	——	—, 1741
Benjamin Chew	Jan.	14, 1755
Andrew Allen	Nov.	4, 1769

OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

John Morris, Jr., *pro tem*	July	16, 1777
Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant	Nov.	1, 1777
William Bradford, Jr	Nov.	23, 1780
Jared Ingersoll	Aug.	22, 1791
Joseph Borden McKean	May	10, 1800
Mahlon Dickerson	July	22, 1808
Walter Franklin	Jan.	9, 1809
Joseph Reed	Oct.	2, 1810
Richard Rush	Jan.	26, 1811
Jared Ingersoll	Dec.	12, 1811
Amos Ellmaker	Dec.	21, 1816
Thomas Sergeant	July	6, 1819
Thomas Elder	Dec.	20, 1820
Frederick Smith	Dec.	18, 1823
Calvin Blythe	Feb.	15, 1828
Amos Ellmaker	May	6, 1828
Philip S. Markley	Aug.	17, 1829
Samuel Douglass	Feb.	10, 1830
Ellis Lewis	Jan.	29, 1831
George Mifflin Dallas	Oct.	14, 1833
James Todd	Dec.	18, 1835
William Bradford Reed	April	2, 1838
Ovid F. Johnson	Jan.	15, 1839
John K. Kayne	Jan.	21, 1845
John Meredith Read	June	23, 1846
Benjamin F. Champneys	Dec.	18, 1846
James Cooper	July	31, 1848
Cornelius Darrah	Jan.	4, 1849
Thomas E. Franklin	April	28, 1851
James Campbell	Jan.	21, 1852
Francis Wade Hughes	March	14, 1853
Thomas E. Franklin[5]	Jan.	17, 1855
John C. Knox[6]	Jan.	20, 1858
Samuel A. Purviance.[7]	Jan.	14, 1861
William Morris Meredith	June	3, 1861
Benjamin Harris Brewster	Jan.	16, 1867
Frederick Carroll Brewster	Oct.	26, 1869
Samuel E. Dimmick	Jan.	22, 1873
George Lear	Dec.	6, 1875
Henry W. Palmer	Feb.	25, 1879

actor, Mr. Cooper, and abandoned his position to take part with his native State when she attempted to secede from the Union, in 1861.

[1] Moore declined at first, but afterward accepted. He was appointed in the first place attorney-general for the king; 1 C. R., 519, and afterward by Penn. 1 "Logan Papers," 60.

[2] In Futhey & Cope's "History of Chester County," and 9 "Pa. Archives," 631 (2d series), the following are given as attorneys-general of the province to 1717: "Oct. 25, 1683, John White; Jan. 16, 1685, Samuel Hersent (commission revoked); Nov. 17, 1685, John White (special), April 24, 1686, David Lloyd; May 19, 1868, John Moore; 1700, William Assheton; 1701, Par Parmyter; April 5, 1705, George Lowther; June 24, 1708, Thomas Clarke; 1710, Robert Quarry; March 5, 1717, Henry Wilson." William Assheton, 1700, died September, 1723, aged thirty-three years. He was judge of the Vice Admiralty then. He was born about 1680, and it must have been his father, Robert Assheton, who was, if at all, only for a brief period, attorney-general in 1700. I am afraid that the error as to William Assheton has its origin in my "History of Chester," 472, and I can recall no authority for its insertion there. "In the year 1700, James Logan speaks of David Lloyd as the then attorney-general," 1 "Watson's Annals," 521. John Moore was attorney-general Dec. 19, 1700; 2 C. R., 11.

[3] Par Parmyter was Penn's cousin, and appointed before this date, but does not seem to have remained long in the province, as Moore was again in office in 1703. See "Logan Papers," 1 vol. 38, 66, 113, 196, and 314. See "State Papers," 4 vol., "Memoirs of the Historical Society," p. 333.

[4] In 9 "Pennsylvania Archives" (2d series), p. 631, Henry Wilson is given as commissioned attorney-general on March 5, 1717, to succeed Thomas Clarke. Previously this attorney-general's name had been furnished me as Thomas Wilson, and as being from the Records of Commissions at Harrisburg. Not being able to discover that any lawyer of either name lived in the province at the period indicated, I asked the secretary of internal affairs to examine the Records of Commissions. He replied by his deputy, April 5, 1881, "We have made a very thorough search, not only through the records of this department, but also through those of the secretary of state, and are unable to find that 'Henry Wilson' or 'Thomas Wilson' were attorneys-general at any period." In the "Catalogue of the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania," Thomas Kittera, a graduate of 1805, is noticed as attorney-general of Pennsylvania. If he ever held the office the Record of Commissions at Harrisburg would have shown it.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE OF THE COUNTY COURTS OF PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, FROM 1684 TO 1790.

In this record, in spelling the names of justices, I have followed their signatures in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It will be observed that the members of the Provincial Council are not on the Record of Commissions, although they were *ex officio* justices of the peace and of the courts. See 1 C. R., 497 (2d edition), Sept. 28, 1696.

1682–83, January 2.—From the original precept to the sheriff. Nicholas More, president, Thomas ffairman and Laurence Cock.

1684.—William Welsh, General Commission of the Peace, appointed 29th 3d mo., 1684. He died, and (1 C. R., 66) William Clark was appointed general justice, 19th 6th mo., 1684, and the following justices: William Clayton, Robert Turner, and Francis Daniel Pastorius.

1685.—Appointed 6th 9th mo.; 1 C. R., 112 and 127, and commissioned Justices of the Peace, and of the Courts of the County of Philadelphia,—James Claypoole, William Frampton, Humphrey Murray, William Salway, John Bevan, Lacey Cock, William Wardner, Sr., Dr. John Goodsonn, Robert Turner, and John Moon.

1686.—Appointed; 1 C. R., 134 and 143,—Christopher Taylor, 17th 3d mo., 1686; Barnabas Wilcocks and William Southebe, 20th 7th mo., 1686. William Clarke, "Justice for yᵉ Province and Territories, 2nd 8th mo., 1686;" 1 C. R., 145.

1687.—Appointed 18th 3d mo.; 1 C. R., 162,—John Eckley, Thomas Ellis, John Goodsonn, William Southebe, Barnabas Wilcocks, Joshua Cart, and John Shelton.

1688.—Commissioned 12th day of 11th month (see Commission in Archives of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia),—William Markham, Robert Turner, John Eckley, John Goodsonn, Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Jones, Samuel Richardson, William Salway, Lasse Cock, Griffith Owen, Francis Rawle, and John Holme.

1689–90.—Appointed 2d 11th mo.; 1 C. R., 278,—Thomas Lloyd, John Eckley, Robert Turner, William Salway, Barnabas Wilcocks, Francis Rawle, Lawrence Cock, and John Holme.

1690.—Commissioned 4th 9th mo., 1690—"Justices of the Quorum, Common Pleas." Record of Commissions, Harrisburg,—William Markham, Thomas Ellis, Dr. John Goodsonn, and Samuel Jenings.

1690.—Appointed 6th 7th mo.; 1 C. R., 303,—Arthur Cooke, added to the Commission.

1692.—6th Hazard's "Register," 281,—Arthur Cooke, Samuel Richardson, Anthony Morris, and Robert Ewer.

1693, May 5th.—William Salway, Esq'., "did solemnlie promise to execute the Office of Justice of the Peace throughout the whole province and Countrey;" 1 C. R., 331. Appointed May 6, 1693,—Anthony Morris, Jacob Hall, Francis Rawle, Francis Danl. Pastorius, Andrew Bankson, Griffith Owen, a former Justice, did decline. May 10th,—Humphrey Waterman. July 18th,—Joshua Carpenter.

1697.—Mentioned Feb. 12, 1697–98; 1 C. R., 498,—Edward Shippen, Anthony Morris, Charles Sober, John Farmer, James ffox, and Samuel Richardson.

1700.—Mentioned 19th 10 br. in 2 C. R., 4,—Edward Shippen, Samuel Richardson, Nathan Stanbury, and John Jones.

1701.—Commissioned 2d 7th mo., 1701. See Record of Commissions,—John Guest, Samuel Finney, Edward Farmer, Rowland Ellis, Robert French, Andrew Bankson, Samuel Richardson, Nathan Stanbury, and John Jones.

1703, 7th 7th mo.—1 "Logan Papers," 236. Mentioned as the only Judges sworn,—John Guest, Samuel Finney, Edward Farmer, and Andrew Bankson.

1704.—Appointed 4th 7 mo.; 2 C. R., 163,—John Guest, Samuel Finney,

[5] Died May 16, 1862. [6] Died Aug. 28, 1880.
[7] Died Feb. 14, 1882, aged seventy-three.

George Roche, Samuel Richardson, Nathan Stanbury, John Jones, Joseph Pidgeon, Edward Farmer, Rowland Ellis, and Andrew Bankson, Jr.

1706.—Commissioned 11th mo., as Justices of the Court of Common Pleas. See Record of Commissions. Day of the month not recorded,—Joseph Growden, William Biles, Samuel Dark, Joseph Kirkbride, Willoughby Warder, Jeremiah Langhorne, and Thomas Stevenson.

1707.—Commissioned March 3d, Justices of the Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, and Equity. See Record of Commissions,—Joseph Growden, Samuel Finney, Nathan Stanbury, John Jones, George Roche, Edward Farmer, Joseph Pidgeon, Rowland Ellis, and Peter Bankson.

1715.—Commissioned June 4th. See Record of Commissions and 2 C. R., 626,—Richard Hill, Benjamin Vining, Isaac Norris, James Logan, Nathan Stanbury, Edward Farmer, Rowland Ellis, Josiah Rolfe, John Swift, Samuel Carpenter, Joseph Fisher, and Robert Jones. The mayor and recorder were added to the commission always; 2 C. R., 626. Richard Hill was mayor and Robert Assheton recorder in 1715, but the latter is not mentioned in the Record of Commissions.

1715.—Commissioned September 1st. See Record of Commissions. No reason is given for two commissions this year,—Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, James Logan, Nathan Stanbury, Edward Farmer, Rowland Ellis, Benjamin Vining, Josiah Rolfe, Richard Anthony, John Swift, and Robert Jones.

1717.—Commissioned September 2d. Record of Commissions, 3 C. R., 17,—Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, James Logan, Anthony Palmer, Nathan Stanbury, Edward Farmer, Rowland Ellis, Benjamin Vining, Josiah Rolfe, John Swift, Robert Jones, Clement Plumsted, and Morris Morris.

1718.—Commissioned August 19th, and recommissioned Nov. 29, 1718; 3 C. R., 40, and Record of Commissions,—Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, James Logan, Jonathan Dickinson, Robert Assheton, Anthony Palmer, Nathan Stanbury, Edward Farmer, Rowland Ellis, Benjamin Vining, Josiah Rolfe, Clement Plumsted, John Swift, Robert Jones (Merion), Robert Jones (North Wales), Andrew Hamilton, Samuel Perez, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Moore, and Charles Read.

1719.—Commissioned December 5th; from Record of Commissions,—Richard Hill, James Logan, Isaac Norris, Jonathan Dickinson, William Fishbourne, Robert Assheton, Anthony Palmer, Nathan Stanbury, Edward Farmer, Rowland Ellis, Benjamin Vining, Clement Plumsted, John Swift, Robert Jones (Merion), Robert Jones (North Wales), Samuel Perez, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Moore, and Charles Read.

1712.—Commissioned June 4th; from Record of Commissions,—Richard Hill, James Logan, Isaac Norris, Jonathan Dickinson, William Fishbourne, Robert Assheton, Anthony Palmer, Rowland Ellis, Benjamin Vining, Clement Plumsted, John Swift, Robert Jones (North Wales), Samuel Carpenter, Charles Read, Francis Rawle, and Robert Fletcher.

1723.—Commissioned February 18th. Records of Commissions,—Richard Hill, James Logan, Isaac Norris, Robert Assheton, Anthony Palmer, William Fishbourne, Josiah Rolfe, Edward Farmer, Benjamin Vining, Clement Plumsted, John Swift, Robert Jones (North Wales), Samuel Carpenter, Charles Read, Rees Thomas, Francis Rawle, Robert Fletcher, Richard Alborough, Thomas Lawrence, Evan Owen, John Cadwalader, and Edward Roberts.

1725.—Commissioned May 12th. Record of Commissions,—Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Robert Assheton, Anthony Palmer, William Fishbourne, Edward Farmer, Clement Plumsted, John Swift, Robert Jones (North Wales), Samuel Carpenter, Charles Read, Rees Thomas, Francis Rawle, Robert Fletcher, Robert Fisher, Thomas Lawrence, Evan Owen, John Cadwalader, and Edward Roberts.

1726.—Commissioned September 1st; 3 C. R., 271, 298, and Orphans' Court Docket, No. 1,—Isaac Norris, James Logan, Anthony Palmer, Samuel Preston, William Fishbourne, Edward Farmer, Clement Plumsted, John Swift, Charles Read, Robert Fletcher, Thomas Lawrence, Evan Owen, Edward Roberts, Thomas Fenton, Richard Harrison, Joseph Ashton, Derick Jansen (Germantown), and Owen Evan (North Wales), and on Sept. 15, 1726 (3 C. R., 273),—Robert Assheton; but not to sit on the bench, as he was clerk of the peace and prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas.

1727.—Commissioned September 2d,—Isaac Norris, James Logan, Anthony Palmer, William Fishbourne, Edward Farmer, John Swift, Clement Plumsted, Charles Read, Thomas Lawrence, Edward Roberts, Thomas Fenton, Richard Harrison, Joseph Ashton, Derick Jansen, and Owen Evan.

1732-33.—Appointed March 5th; 3 C. R., 528,—Isaac Norris, Clement Plumsted, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Hasell, Edward Farmer, Charles Read, Edward Roberts, Richard Harrison, Derick Jansen, Owen Evan, William Allen, George Boone, Thomas Griffitts, George Fitzwater, Richard Martin, Lassey Bore, John Pawlin, Mordecai Lincoln, and the mayor and recorder of the city of Philadelphia for the time being.

1733.—Commissioned December 3d,—Isaac Norris, Clement Plumsted, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Hasell, Thomas Griffitts, Charles Read, Edward Farmer, Edward Roberts, Richard Harrison, Derick Jansen, Owen Evan, William Allen, George Boone, George Fitzwater, Richard Martin, John Pawlin, Mordecai Lincoln, Evan Thomas, Henry Pastorius, and the mayor and recorder of the city.

1738.—Appointed November 22d; 4 C. R., 312,—Clement Plumsted, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Hasell, Ralph Assheton, Thomas Griffitts, Edward Farmer, Edward Roberts, Richard Harrison, Derick Jansen, William Allen, George Boone, George Fitzwater, James Hamilton, Thomas Fletcher, William Till, Cadwalader Foulke, Abram Taylor, Jonathan Robeson, Owen Evan (Limerick), Edward Reece (Manhatawney), David Humphreys (Merion), and the mayor and recorder of Philadelphia for the time being.

1741.—Appointed April 4th; 4 C. R., 482. Commissioned April 10, 1741. Record of Commissions,—Clement Plumsted, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Hasell, Ralph Assheton, the mayor and recorder of Philadelphia, Edward Roberts, Richard Harrison, William Allen, George Boone, George Fitzwater, James Hamilton, William Till, Abraham Taylor, Jonathan Robinson, Owen Evan (Limerick), Isaac Leech, Benjamin Shoemaker, Joseph Paschall, Joshua Maddox, Robert Strettell, and Derrick Keyser. In the appointments appears the name of Griffith Llewellyn, but his name is not in the commission.

1745.—Commissioned May 27th; 4 C. R., 762,—Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Hasell, Ralph Assheton, Abram Taylor, Robert Strettell, the mayor and recorder, William Allen, Richard Harrison, George Boone, George Fitzwater, Jonathan Robinson (Robeson in the Commission), Owen Evan (Limerick), Benjamin Shoemaker, Joshua Maddox, Septimus Robinson, Griffith Llewellyn, Derrick Keyser, Edward Shippen, Joseph Turner, Charles Willing, Thomas Venables, Nicholas Ashton, Thomas Fletcher, Samuel Marsh (Whitemarsh), Thomas Yorke, James Delaplaine, Francis Parvin, John Potts and Anthony Lee, Esquires.

1749.—Appointed June 30th; 5 C. R., 388,—Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Hasell, Abram Taylor, Robert Strettell, Benjamin Shoemaker, Joseph Turner, Thomas Hopkinson, William Logan, the mayor and recorder of the city, William Allen, Jonathan Robinson, Owen Evan, Joshua Maddox, Septimus Robinson, Edward Shippen, Charles Willing, Thomas Venables, Nicholas Ashton, Thomas Fletcher, Samuel Morris (White Marsh), Thomas Yorke, Francis Parvin, John Potts, Anthony Lee, William Coleman, Benjamin Franklin, Rowland Evans, and John Smith (son-in-law of James Logan).

1750.—Deed-Book H, No. 13, page 256,—Samuel Mifflin.

1751.—Commissioned March 25th. Record of Commissions,—Jonah Seely and Conrad Weiser.

1752.—Appointed by Council May 25, 1752; 5 C. R., 572, and commissioned by the Governor May 30, 1752,—Thomas Lawrence, Robert Strettell, Benjamin Shoemaker, Joseph Turner, William Logan, Owen Evan, Joshua Maddox, Septimus Robinson, Edward Shippen, Charles Willing, Nicholas Ashton, Thomas Fletcher, John Potts, William Coleman, Benjamin Franklin, John Smith, Rowland Evans, William Plumsted, Thomas White, John Mifflin, Henry Antes, Henry Pawling. Samuel Ashmead, John Jones, Abraham Dawes, and, August 1st, Charles Brockden.

1757.—Appointed November 27th; 7 C. R., 769,—William Coleman (promoted to associate justice of the Supreme Court April 8, 1758), Joshua Maddox, Septimus Robinson, John Potts, Rowland Evans, William Plumsted, Henry Pawling. Samuel Ashmead, John Jones, William Peters, Atwood Shute, Alexander Stedman, Samuel Mifflin, Jacob Duché, Isaac Jones, Evan Thomas, John Roberts, Archibald McLean, Enoch Davis, William Dewees, John Coplin, George Evans, and Isaac Ashton.

1759.—Commissioned October 20th,—James Humphreys and John Hughes. These are the only names on the Record of Commissions at this date. James Humphreys was a notary public, and was made a justice of the peace to accommodate him in that office, which he held for a long series of years; see 10 C. R., 46. On Feb. 8, 1761, five writs of *supersedeas* were issued to Thomas Yorke, Rowland Evans, John Potts, Samuel Wharton, and John Hughes, late judges of the Common Pleas, forbidding them exercising the powers granted them by Governor Denny; 8 C. R., 575. They were commissioned only as judges of the Common Pleas on Oct. 20, 1759; no doubt they held the Quarter Sessions. In the Record of Commissions Samuel Wharton heads the list, and would, therefore, appear to be the prior judge, but I have followed the "Colonial Records," as above, and as will appear in the list of the justices and judges of the Common Pleas. See also the Orphans' Court Dockets, wherein it is sho[illegible]s Yorke and his associates held that court from Dec. 8, [illegible]perseded.

1761.—Commissioned February 28th; 8 C. R., 575,—Alexander Stedman (advanced to associate justice of the Supreme Court March 20, 1761), William Plumsted, Septimus Robinson, John Potts, Jr., Rowland Evans, Henry Pawling, Samuel Ashmead, John Jones (Germantown), William Peters, Samuel Mifflin, Jacob Duché, Isaac Jones, William Coxe, Thomas Willing, Daniel Benezet, Edward Pennington, Samuel Shoemaker, William Parr, Joshua Howell, Evan Thomas, John Roberts (Miller), Archibald McLean, Enoch Davis, William Dewees, John Coplin, George Evans, Isaac Ashton, Henry Harrison, James Coultas, John Trump, John Bull, and William Mayberry, and, on March 4th, James Humphreys. In 8 C. R., 575, will be found the list of gentlemen recommended for justices to the Governor on Feb. 28, 1761, which it will be perceived, differs from the foregoing in this, Jacob Hall is omitted and William Parr substituted.

1764.—Commissioned November 19th,—William Plumsted, Septimus Robinson, Samuel Ashmead, William Peters, Samuel Mifflin, Jacob Duché, Isaac Jones, William Coxe, Thomas Willing, Daniel Benezet, Samuel Shoemaker, William Parr, Evan Thomas, Archibald McLean, William Dewees, Henry Harrison, James Coultas, Jacob Hall, John Bull. Thomas Lawrence, Jr., John Lawrence, George Bryan, William Humphreys, Frederick Antes, Peter Evans, James Biddle, Alexander Edwards, and James Humphreys.

1765.—Commissioned January 17th,—Enoch Davis.

1767.—John Allen, commissioned March 20th; and Charles Jolly, Sept. 14, 1767.

1768.—Charles Batho, commissioned June 13th.

1770.—Commissioned June 4th,—Isaac Jones, Samuel Ashmead, Samuel Mifflin, Jacob Duché, Samuel Shoemaker, William Parr, Evan Thomas, Archibald McLean, William Dewees, Jacob Hall, Thomas Lawrence. John Bull, George Bryan, Frederick Antes, James Biddle, Alexander Edwards, John Allen, Charles Jolly, James Young, Charles Batho, John Gibson, Peter Chevalier, Peter Knight, and John Potts; and, on June 21st, James Humphreys, the notary public.

1771.—John Moore, commissioned August 1st, and on August 20th, Matthew Clarkson, the notary public.

1772.—Commissioned January 1st; 10 C. R., 46,—Peter Miller, the notary public, to aid him in his office, etc.

1772.—Commissioned April 27th,—Isaac Jones, Samuel Ashmead, Samuel Mifflin, Jacob Duché, Samuel Shoemaker, William Parr, Archibald McLean, John Bull, George Bryan, Frederick Antes, James Biddle, Alexander Edwards, John Allen, James Young, John Gibson, John Potts, John Moore, Thomas Rutter, James Diemer, Samuel Potts, George Clymer, Lindsay Coats, Charles Bensel, and Samuel Irwin, and the following notaries public, to assist them in their office, viz.: James Humphreys, Matthew Clarkson, Peter Miller, and John Ord; and on May 4th, Samuel Powel and Henry Hill; 10 C. R., 47.

1773.—Justices of the Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas. From "Aitkin's Register," 1773, p. 30,—Isaac Jones, president; Samuel Ashmead, Samuel Mifflin, Jacob Duché, Samuel Shoemaker, William Parr, Archibald McClean, John Bull, George Bryan, Frederick Antes, James Biddle, Alexander Edwards, John Allen, James Young, John Gibson, John Potts, John Moore, Thomas Rutter, James Diemer, Samuel Potts, George Clymer, Samuel Irwin, Lindsay Coates, James Humphreys, Matthew Clarkson, Peter Miller, John Ord, Samuel Powell, and Henry Hill.

1774.—Justices of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions. From "Aitkin's Remembrancer,"—Samuel Ashmead, president; and the above justices, excepting Isaac Jones, and with Alexander Wilcocks, commissioned March 4th; 10 C. R., 155.

1776.—By ordinance of the Convention of September 3d. See "Minutes of the Convention," page 73,—Benjamin Franklin, John Dickinson, George Bryan, James Young, James Biddle, John Morris, Jr., Joseph Parker, John Bayard, Sharpe Delaney, John Cadwalader, Joseph Cowperthwaite, Christopher Marshall (the elder), Francis Gurney, Robert Knox, Matthew Clarkson, William Coats, William Ball, Philip Boehm, Francis Casper Hassenclever, Thomas Cuthbert (the elder), Moses Bartram, Jacob Shreiner, Joseph Moulder, Jonathan Paschall, Benjamin Paschall, Benjamin Harbeson, Jacob Bright, Henry Hill, Samuel Ashmead, Frederick Antes, Samuel Irwin, Alexander Edwards, Seth Quee, Samuel Potts, Rowland Evans, Charles Bensel, and Peter Evans.

1777.—Commissioned March 28th; 11 C. R., 104,—James Young, John Ord, Joseph Redman, Sr., Isaac Howell, George Henry, Plunket Fleeson, Benjamin Paschall, and Philip Boehm.

1777.—Commissioned June 6th; 11 C. R., 215,—Samuel Ashmead, George Bryan, James Young, John Moore, John Ord, Jonathan Paschall, Joseph Redman, Sr., Peter Evans, George Henry, Plunket Fleeson, Isaac Howell, Benjamin Paschall, Seth Quee, Andrew Knox, John Knowles, David Todd, Philip Boehm, Zebulon Potts, and John Richards, and, on July 25th, William McMullin.

1778.—July 6th, Jonathan Bayard Smith; October 21st, David Kennedy; November 10th, Henry Naglee, Joseph Cowperthwaite; December 16th, John Miller and Michael Croll.

1779.—Commissioned January 5th,—William Ball, William Adcock, Samuel Morris, Jr., and, May 7th, William Rush.

1780.—Commissioned June 7th,—John Howell; 12 C. R., 379.

1783.—Commissioned July 12th,—William Dean; 13 C. R., 625.

1784.—14 C. R., 54, etc.—Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, Samuel Wharton, Isaac Howell, John Knowles, William Masters, Manuel Eyre, John Richards, Henry Scheetz, Plunket Fleeson, John Gill, and Jonathan Penrose.

1785.—John Nice, James Loughead, Joseph Wharton, and Edward Shippen; 14 C. R., 316, 344, 381.

1786.—14 C. R., 629, 660, 669, 672; 15 C. R., 17, 26,—Dr. Enoch Edwards, William Craig, William Pollard, Matthew Holgate, John Gill, Lewis Weiss, and William Rush.

1787.—15 C. R., 160, 192, 272,—February 9th, Alexander Tod; April 7th, Matthew Irwin; and, September 12th, Robert McKnight.

1788.—January 10th, William Nichols; March 31st, Joseph Ferree; April 3d, Jacob Weaver; May 9th, Joseph Wharton and William Masters to be justices of the Common Pleas; 15 C. R., 452; August 26th, William Coats; August 29th, William Craig; September 22d, Clement Biddle; and November 25th, James Biddle.

I give below a list of the justices who held the County Courts of Philadelphia until Sept. 1, 1791, and, to avoid useless repetition of names, give only the name of each justice once, and the date of the year when first commissioned, although many were reappointed several times, and some served through a long series of years. For the term of service, see the Record of Commissions heretofore given. It appears that four justices were a quorum. See 2 C. R., p. 4. In the old Dockets of the Orphans' Court I noticed that there were always four justices present at every sitting of the court, never any less, seldom any more:

PRESIDING JUSTICES OF THE COUNTY COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS.

Name	Date
Nicholas More, in office	Jan. 2, 1682–83
William Welch, commissioned	29 3 mo., 1684
William Clarke, commissioned	19 6 mo., 1684
James Claypoole, commissioned	6 9 mo., 1685
Christopher Taylor,[1] commissioned	17 3 mo., 1686
William Clarke, commissioned	2 8 mo., 1686
John Eckley, commissioned	17 6 mo., 1687
William Markham, commissioned	10 11 mo., 1688
Thomas Lloyd,[2] commissioned	2 11 mo., 1689
William Markham, commissioned	4 9 mo., 1690
William Salway, commissioned	May 5, 1691
Anthony Morris,[3] commissioned	May 29, 1693
Edward Shippen, commissioned	Feb. 12, 1697–98
John Guest, commissioned	2 7 mo., 1701
Joseph Growden, commissioned	— 11 mo., 1706
Richard Hill, commissioned	June 4, 1715
James Logan,[4] commissioned	Sept. 2, 1723
Isaac Norris,[5] commissioned	Sept. 21, 1726
Clement Plumsted, commissioned	June 11, 1734
Thomas Lawrence,[6] commissioned	May 27, 1745
Robert Strettell, commissioned	April 26, 1754
William Coleman, commissioned	Nov. 27, 1757

[1] Died before Sept. 21, 1686.

[2] Died 10th 7 mo., 1694, aged forty-five.

[3] Salway was promoted to the Supreme Court on May 29, 1693, and Morris on Aug. 10, 1694, but the latter seems to have retained his position in the lower courts, as will be seen hereafter; he died 23d 8 mo., 1721, aged sixty-seven.

[4] "James Logan and his associates, justices of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Common Pleas for the city and county of Philadelphia," Sept. 2, 1723. See printed pamphlet, entitled "A Charge to the Grand Jury," etc., printed 1723, by Andrew Bradford, with the address to the grand jury.

[5] See Orphans' Court Docket, No. 2. Isaac Norris last sat on the bench on April 22d, and on June 11, 1734, Clement Plumsted heads the list of justices.

[6] Thomas Lawrence died April 25, 1754. On April 8, 1758, Coleman was promoted to the Supreme Court, and Alexander Stedman took his place then, for we find him presiding in the Orphans' Court on Dec. 9, 1758, and called "President of the Court of Common Pleas," June 2, 1759; 8 C. R., 339. On March 21, 1764, Judge Stedman was advanced to the Supreme Court in place of Mr. Justice Coleman, who declined to be recommissioned, and William Plumsted, next in the commission of Feb 28, 1761, to Stedman, no doubt took his place as president.

Alexander Stedman,[1] commissioned	April 8, 1758
William Plumsted, commissioned	March 21, 1764
Septimus Robinson,[2] commissioned	Aug. 14, 1765
Samuel Ashmead, commissioned	Jan. 16, 1767
Isaac Jones, commissioned	June 4, 1770
Samuel Mifflin,[3] commissioned	Dec. 6, 1773
James Young, commissioned	March 28, 1777
Samuel Ashmead, commissioned	June 6, 1777
John Ord, commissioned	March 1, 1779
John Moore, commissioned	Sept. 6, 1779
John Ord, commissioned	Sept. 4, 1780
Plunket Fleeson, commissioned	Nov. 18, 1780
Edward Shippen, commissioned	Oct. 4, 1785
Dr. Enoch Edwards, commissioned	Aug. 15, 1789

JUSTICES OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, QUARTER SESSIONS OF THE PEACE, AND ORPHANS' COURT FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA FROM 1684 TO 1789.

Nicholas More, commissioned	Jan. 2, 1682-83
Thomas Fairman, commissioned	Jan. 2, 1682-83
Laurence Cock, commissioned	Jan. 2, 1682-83
William Welch, commissioned	29 3 mo., 1684
William Clarke, commissioned	19 6 mo., 1684
William Clayton, commissioned	19 6 mo., 1684
Robert Turner, commissioned	19 6 mo., 1684
Francis Daniel Pastorius, commissioned	19 6 mo., 1684
James Claypoole, commissioned	6 9 mo., 1685
William Frampton, commissioned	6 9 mo., 1685
Humphrey Murrey, commissioned	6 9 mo., 1685
William Salway, commissioned	6 9 mo., 1685
John Bevan, commissioned	6 9 mo., 1685
William Warden, Sr., commissioned	6 9 mo., 1685
John Moon, commissioned	6 9 mo., 1685
Dr. John Goodsonn, commissioned	6 9 mo., 1685
Christopher Taylor, commissioned	17 3 mo., 1686
Barnabas Wilcocks, commissioned	20 7 mo., 1686
William Southebe, commissioned	20 7 mo., 1686
John Eckley, commissioned	18 3 mo., 1687
Thomas Ellis, commissioned	18 3 mo., 1687
Joshua Cart, commissioned	18 3 mo., 1687
John Shelton, commissioned	18 3 mo., 1687
William Markham, commissioned	12 11th, 1688
Samuel Carpenter, commissioned	12 11th, 1688
Griffith Jones, commissioned	12 11th, 1688
Samuel Richardson, commissioned	12 11th, 1688
Griffith Owen, commissioned	12 11th, 1688
Francis Rawle, commissioned	12 11th, 1688
John Holme, commissioned	12 11th, 1688
Thomas Lloyd, commissioned	2 11, 1689-90
Arthur Cooke, commissioned	6 7 mo., 1690
Samuel Jenings, commissioned	4 9 mo., 1690
Anthony Morris, commissioned	— —, 1692
Robert Ewer, commissioned	— —, 1692
Jacob Hall, commissioned	May 6, 1693
Andrew Bankson, commissioned	May 6, 1693
Humphrey Waterman, commissioned	May 10, 1693
Joshua Carpenter, commissioned	July 18, 1693
Edward Shippen, commissioned	Feb. 12, 1697-98
Charles Sober, commissioned	Feb. 12, 1697-98
John Farmer, commissioned	Feb. 12, 1697-98
James Fox, commissioned	Feb. 12, 1697-98
Nathan Stanbury, commissioned	19 10 br 1700
John Jones, commissioned	19 10 br 1700
John Guest, commissioned	2 7 mo., 1701
Samuel Finney, commissioned	2 7 mo., 1701
Edward Farmer, commissioned	2 7 mo., 1701
Richard Ellis, commissioned	2 7 mo., 1701
Robert French, commissioned	2 7 mo., 1701
George Roche, commissioned	4 7 mo., 1704
Joseph Pidgeon, commissioned	4 7 mo., 1704
Andrew Bankson, Jr., commissioned	4 7 mo., 1704
Joseph Growden, commissioned	— 11, 1706
William Biles, commissioned	— 11, 1706
Samuel Dark, commissioned	— 11, 1706
Joseph Kirkbride, commissioned	— 11, 1706
Willoughby Warder, commissioned	— 11, 1706
Jeremiah Langhorne, commissioned	— 11, 1706
Thomas Stevenson, commissioned	— 11, 1706
Peter Bankson, commissioned	March 3, 1707
Richard Hill, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Benjamin Vining, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Isaac Norris, commissioned	June 4, 1715
James Logan, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Josiah Rolfe, commissioned	June 4, 1715
John Swift, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Joseph Fisher, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Robert Jones, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Robert Assheton, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Richard Anthony, commissioned	Sept. 1, 1715
Anthony Palmer, commissioned	Sept. 2, 1717
Clement Plumsted, commissioned	Sept. 2, 1717
Morris Morris, commissioned	Sept. 2, 1717
Jonathan Dickinson, commissioned	Aug. 19, 1718
Robert Jones (Merion), commissioned	Aug. 19, 1718
Robert Jones (North Wales), commissioned	Aug. 19, 1718
Andrew Hamilton, commissioned	Aug. 19, 1718
Samuel Perez, commissioned	Aug. 19, 1718
Richard Moore, commissioned	Aug. 19, 1718
Charles Read, commissioned	Aug. 19, 1718
William Fishbourne, commissioned	Dec. 5, 1719
Robert Fletcher, commissioned	June 4, 1722
Rees Thomas, commissioned	Feb. 18, 1723
Richard Alborough, commissioned	Feb. 18, 1723
Thomas Lawrence, commissioned	Feb. 18, 1723
Evan Owen, commissioned	Feb. 18, 1723
John Cadwalader, commissioned	Feb. 18, 1723
Edward Roberts,[4] commissioned	Feb. 18, 1723
Robert Fisher, commissioned	May 12, 1725
Samuel Preston,[5] commissioned	Sept. 1, 1726
Thomas Fenton, commissioned	Sept. 1, 1726
Richard Harrison, commissioned	Sept. 1, 1726
Joseph Ashton, commissioned	Sept. 1, 1726
Derick Jansen, commissioned	Sept. 1, 1726
Owen Evan (North Wales), commissioned	Sept. 1, 1726
Samuel Hasell, commissioned	March 5, 1732-33
William Allen, commissioned	March 5, 1732-33
George Boone, commissioned	March 5, 1732-33
Thomas Griffitts, commissioned	March 5, 1732-33
George Fitzwater, commissioned	March 5, 1732-33
Richard Martin, commissioned	March 5, 1732-33
Lassey Bore, commissioned	March 5, 1732-33
John Pawlin, commissioned	March 5, 1732-33
Mordecai Lincoln, commissioned	March 5, 1732-33
Evan Thomas, commissioned	Dec. 3, 1733
Henry Pastorius, commissioned	Dec. 3, 1733
Ralph Assheton, commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
James Hamilton, commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
Thomas Fletcher, commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
William Till, commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
Cadwalader Foulke, commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
Abram Taylor, commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
Jonathan Robeson, commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
Owen Evan (Limerick), commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
David Humphreys, commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
Edw'd Reece (Manatawny), commissioned	Nov. 22, 1738
Isaac Leech, commissioned	April 4, 1741
Benjamin Shoemaker, commissioned	April 4, 1741
Joseph Paschall, commissioned	April 4, 1741
Joshua Maddox, commissioned	April 4, 1741
Robert Strettell, commissioned	April 4, 1741
Derrick Keyser, commissioned	April 4, 1741
Griffith Llewellyn, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Septimus Robinson, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Edward Shippen, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Joseph Turner, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Charles Willing, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Thomas Venables, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Nicholas Ashton, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Samuel Morris (White Marsh) commissioned	May 27, 1745
Thomas Yorke, commissioned	May 27, 1745
James Delaplaine, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Francis Parvin, commissioned	May 27, 1745
John Potts, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Anthony Lee, commissioned	May 27, 1745
Thomas Hopkinson, commissioned	June 30, 1749
William Logan, commissioned	June 30, 1749
William Coleman, commissioned	June 30, 1749
Benjamin Franklin, commissioned	June 30, 1749
Roland Evans, commissioned	June 30, 1749

[1] By the act of Sept. 29, 1759, the justices of the Quarter Sessions were not to be judges of the Common Pleas or of the Orphans' Court; therefore Thomas Yorke and his associates never sat in the Quarter Sessions; for this reason his name is omitted in this list.

[2] Septimus Robinson died Jan. 7, 1767.

[3] Westcott, in his "History of Philadelphia," *Sunday Dispatch* of May 2, 1875, states, *inter alia*, that "Samuel Ashmead died in 1798. . . . He was president of the justices of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions in 1774." See Aitkin's "Register," which gives him as president of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions at that date. This is an error as to the Quarter Sessions, for an old docket, just discovered (1879), of that court, for 1773 to 1779, gives as president, or first justice, Isaac Jones, Sept. 6, 1773; Samuel Mifflin, Dec. 6, 1773; and places Mifflin's name on a separate line by itself until June 4, 1776, after which there are no entries in the docket until the following, viz.: "At a General Quarter Sessions of the peace, held at Philadelphia for the county of Philadelphia, on the 1st day of September, Anno Domini, 1777 (being the first session of the peace held for the county aforesaid since the United Colonies of North America were by their Representatives in Congress assembled declared free and independent States, which was done at Philadelphia, on the 4th day of July, 1776, when the former Constitution and Government of the Province of Pennsylvania were abolished, and soon afterward a new (to wit, the present) Constitution, laws, and police for the good government of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania were formed and established)." And we find in said docket, "James Young, Esquire, president," Sept. 1, 1777; John Ord, Esquire, president, March 1, 1779; John Moore, Esquire, president, Sept. 6, 1779; John Ord, Esquire, president, Sept. 4, 1780.

[4] Died 25th 11 mo., 1768, aged eighty-two.

[5] Died 10th 7 mo., 179?, aged seventy-nine.

John Smith,[1] commissioned... June 30, 1749
Samuel Mifflin, commissioned... —— —, 1750
Jonas Seely, commissioned... March 25, 1751
Conrad Weiser, commissioned... March 25, 1751
William Plumsted, commissioned... May 20, 1752
Thomas White, commissioned... May 20, 1752
John Mifflin, commissioned... May 20, 1752
Henry Antes, commissioned... May 20, 1752
Henry Pawling, commissioned... May 20, 1752
Samuel Ashmead, commissioned... May 20, 1752
John Jones, commissioned... May 20, 1752
Abraham Dawes,[2] commissioned... May 20, 1752
Charles Brockden, commissioned... Aug. 1, 1752
William Peters, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
Atwood Shute, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
Alexander Stedman, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
Jacob Duché, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
Isaac Jones, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
Evan Thomas, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
John Roberts, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
Archibald McLean, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
Enoch Davis, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1759
William Dewees, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
John Coplin, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
George Evans, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
Isaac Ashton, commissioned... Nov. 27, 1757
James Humphreys, commissioned... Oct. 20, 1759
John Hughes, commissioned... Oct. 20, 1759
Samuel Wharton, commissioned... Oct. 20, 1759
John Potts, Jr., commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
William Coxe, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
Thomas Willing, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
Daniel Benezet, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
Edward Penington,[3] commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
Samuel Shoemaker, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
William Parr, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
Joshua Howell, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
John Roberts (Miller), commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
Henry Harrison, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
James Coultas, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
John Trump, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
John Bull, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
William Mayberry, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
Jacob Hall, commissioned... Feb. 28, 1761
Thomas Lawrence, commissioned... Nov. 19, 1764
John Lawrence, commissioned... Nov. 19, 1764
George Bryan, commissioned... Nov. 19, 1764
William Humphreys, commissioned... Nov. 19, 1764
Frederick Antes, commissioned... Nov. 19, 1764
Peter Evans, commissioned... Nov. 19, 1764
James Biddle, commissioned... Nov. 19, 1764
Alexander Edwards, commissioned... Nov. 19, 1764
John Allen, commissioned... March 20, 1767
Charles Jolly, commissioned... Sept. 14, 1767
Charles Batho, commissioned... June 13, 1768
James Young, commissioned... June 4, 1770
John Gibson, commissioned... June 4, 1770
Peter Chevalier, commissioned... June 4, 1770
Peter Knight, commissioned... June 4, 1770
John Moore, commissioned... Aug. 1, 1771
Matthew Clarkson, commissioned... Aug. 20, 1771
Peter Miller, commissioned... Jan. 1, 1772
Thomas Rutter, commissioned... April 27, 1772
James Diemer, commissioned... April 27, 1772
Samuel Potts, commissioned... April 27, 1772
George Clymer, commissioned... April 27, 1772
Lindsay Coats, commissioned... April 27, 1772
Charles Bensel, commissioned... April 27, 1772
Samuel Irwin, commissioned... April 27, 1772
John Ord, commissioned... April 27, 1772
Samuel Powel, commissioned... May 4, 1772
Henry Hill, commissioned... May 4, 1772
Alexander Wilcocks, commissioned... March 4, 1774
Benjamin Franklin, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Jonathan Dickinson, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
John Morris, Jr., commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Joseph Parker, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
John Bayard, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Sharpe Delaney, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
John Cadwalader, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Joseph Cowperthwaite, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Christopher Marshall, Sr., commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Francis Gurney, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Robert Knox, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
William Coats, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
William Ball, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Philip Boehm, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Francis Casper Hassenclever, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Thomas Cuthbert, Sr., commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Moses Bartram, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Jacob Schreiner, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Joseph Moulder, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Jonathan Paschall, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Benjamin Paschall,[4] commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Benjamin Harberson, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Jacob Bright, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Seth Quee, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Rowland Evans, commissioned... Sept. 3, 1776
Joseph Redman, Sr., commissioned... March 28, 1777
Isaac Howell, commissioned... March 28, 1777
George Henry, commissioned... March 28, 1777
Plunket Fleeson, commissioned... March 28, 1777
Andrew Knox, commissioned... June 6, 1777
John Knowles, commissioned... June 6, 1777
David Todd, commissioned... June 6, 1777
Zebulon Potts, commissioned... June 6, 1777
John Richards, commissioned... June 6, 1777
William McMullin, commissioned... July 20, 1777
Jonathan Bayard Smith, commissioned... July 6, 1778
David Kennedy, commissioned... Oct. 21, 1778
Henry Naglee, commissioned... Nov. 10, 1778
Joseph Cowperthwaite, commissioned... Nov. 10, 1778
John Miller, commissioned... Dec. 16, 1778
Michael Croll, commissioned... Dec. 16, 1778
William Adcock, commissioned... June 5, 1779
Samuel Morris, Jr., commissioned... June 5, 1779
William Rush, commissioned... May 7, 1779
John Howell, commissioned... June 7, 1780
William Dean, commissioned... July 12, 1783
Frederick Aug. Muhlenberg, commissioned... March 19, 1784
Samuel Wharton, commissioned... May 12, 1784
William Masters, commissioned... June 7, 1784
Manuel Eyre, commissioned... June 7, 1784
John Gill, commissioned... June 23, 1784
Henry Sheetz, commissioned... June 24, 1784
Jonathan Penrose, commissioned... Sept. 2, 1784
John Nice, commissioned... Jan. 15, 1785
James Longhead, commissioned... Feb. 3, 1785
Joseph Wharton, commissioned... March 18, 1785
Edward Shippen, commissioned... March 18, 1785
William Pollard, commissioned... March 2, 1786
Dr. Enoch Edwards, commissioned... March 18, 1786
William Craig, commissioned... March 18, 1786
Matthew Holgate, commissioned... April 20, 1786
Lewis Weiss, commissioned... May 20, 1786
Alexander Tod, commissioned... Feb. 9, 1787
Matthew Irwin, commissioned... April 7, 1787
Robert McKnight, commissioned... Sept. 12, 1787
William Nichols, commissioned... Jan. 10, 1788
Joseph Ferree, commissioned... March 31, 1788
Jacob Weaver, commissioned... April 3, 1788
Clement Biddle, commissioned... Sept. 22, 1788
James Biddle, commissioned... Nov. 25, 1788

The Constitution of 1790 abolished the county courts, to take effect Sept. 1, 1791.

PRESIDING JUSTICES OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

Nicholas More, commissioned... Jan. 2, 1682–83
William Welch, commissioned... 29 3 mo., 1684
William Clarke, commissioned... 19 6 mo., 1684
James Claypoole, commissioned... 6 9 mo., 1685
Christopher Taylor, commissioned... 17 3 mo., 1686
William Clarke, commissioned... 2 8 mo., 1686
John Eckley, commissioned... 18 3 mo., 1687
William Markham, commissioned... 12 11th, 1688
Thomas Lloyd, commissioned... 2 11 mo., 1689
William Markham,[5] commissioned... 4 9 mo., 1690
William Salway, commissioned... May 5, 1693
Anthony Morris,[6] commissioned... May 29, 1693

[1] Son-in-law of James Logan.

[2] Died Feb. 1, 1776, aged seventy-two.

[3] The Peningtons of Philadelphia spell their names thus, and are descendants of Isaac Penington, who died in 1769, and who, with his wife, is buried alongside of William Penn and his wife, in Jordan graveyard, Chalfont, Bucks, England. He said there was no need of a double *n* to spell Penington.

[4] Died Aug. 31, 1785.

[5] On the 4th of 9th mo., 1690, William Markham, Thomas Ellis, John Goodson, and Samuel Jenings were commissioned "Justices of the Quorum" for the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, three to be a quorum.

[6] I have seen a writ signed by him on May 20, 1698, in the office of his descendant, P. Pemberton Morris, of the Philadelphia bar. Anthony Morris was probably the presiding justice of the Common Pleas from May 29, 1693, until Edward Shippen appears at the head of the commission; 1 C. R., 498, but as the writ signed by Morris bears date more than three months afterward, it may be that Shippen presided only in the Quarter Sessions. The writ signed by Anthony Morris, before referred to, is in the plain language of Friends, and is as follows:

"PHILADELPHIA, *ss.* [SEAL.] { THESE are by the King's authority in the Proprietor's name to require thee to ATTACH Francis Jones, Merch't, by all his goods and chattels in thy Bailwick, so that hee may be and appear at the next Court to be held at Philadelphia the Seventh day of the Fourth Month next, as well to answer the complaint of James Stanfield, Merch't, as well to stand to and abide the Judgment of the said Court, and make returns hereof to said Court. Given under my hand and Seal the 20th Day of the 3rd Month, 1698.

"ANTHO. MORRIS.

"To the Sheriff of the County of Philadelphia, or his Lawful Deputy."

Name	Date
Edward Shippen, commissioned	Feb. 12, 1697-98
John Guest, commissioned	2 7 mo., 1701
Joseph Growden, commissioned	— 11 mo., 1706
Richard Hill, commissioned	June 4, 1715
James Logan, commissioned	Sept. 2, 1723
Isaac Norris,[1] commissioned	Sept. 21, 1726
Clement Plumsted, commissioned	June 3, 1735
Thomas Lawrence,[2] commissioned	May 27, 1745
Robert Strettell, commissioned	April 26, 1754
William Coleman, commissioned	Nov. 27, 1757
Alexander Stedman,[3] commissioned	Dec. 9, 1758
Thomas Yorke,[4] commissioned	Oct. 20, 1759
Alexander Stedman, commissioned	Feb. 28, 1761
William Plumsted, commissioned	March 21, 1764
Septimus Robinson,[5] commissioned	Aug. 14, 1765
Samuel Ashmead, commissioned	Jan. 16, 1767
Isaac Jones, commissioned	June 4, 1770
Samuel Ashmead,[6] commissioned	April 27, 1772
Benjamin Franklin,[7] commissioned	Sept. 3, 1776
James Young, commissioned	March 28, 1777
Samuel Ashmead, commissioned	June 6, 1777
John Ord, commissioned	Dec. 26, 1778
Plunket Fleeson, commissioned	Nov. 18, 1780
Edward Shippen, commissioned	May 1, 1784
Dr. Enoch Edwards,[8] commissioned	Aug. 14, 1789

PRESIDENT JUDGES.

Name	Date
James Biddle, commissioned	Sept. 1, 1791
John D. Coxe, commissioned	June 19, 1797
William Tilghman, commissioned	July 1, 1805
Jacob Rush, commissioned	June 1, 1806
John Hallowell, commissioned	Jan. 19, 1820
Edward King,[9] commissioned	April 22, 1825
Oswald Thompson,[10] commissioned	Dec. 1, 1851
Joseph Allison,[11] commissioned	Jan. 30, 1866

JUSTICES OF THE COMMON PLEAS.

The justices whose names are given here I found specially commissioned as justices of the Common Pleas:

Name	Date
William Markham, commissioned	4 9 mo., 1690
Thomas Ellis, commissioned	4 9 mo., 1690
Dr. John Goodsonn, commissioned	4 9 mo., 1690
Samuel Jennings, commissioned	4 9 mo., 1690
Joseph Growden, commissioned	— 11 mo., 1706
William Biles, commissioned	— 11 mo., 1706
Samuel Dorke,[12] commissioned	— 11 mo., 1706
James Kirkbride, commissioned	— 11 mo., 1706
Willoughby Warder, commissioned	— 11 mo., 1706
Thomas Stevenson, commissioned	— 11 mo., 1706
Jeremiah Langhorne, commissioned	— 11 mo., 1706
Joseph Growden, commissioned	March 3, 1707
Samuel Finney, commissioned	March 3, 1707
George Roche, commissioned	March 3, 1707
Nathan Stanbury, commissioned	March 3, 1707
John Jones, commissioned	March 3, 1707
Edward Farmer, commissioned	March 3, 1707
Rowland Ellis, commissioned	March 3, 1707
Peter Bankson, commissioned	March 3, 1707
Joseph Pidgeon, commissioned	March 3, 1707
Richard Hill, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Isaac Norris, commissioned	June 4, 1715
James Logan, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Nathan Stanbury, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Edward Farmer, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Rowland Ellis,[13] commissioned	June 4, 1715
Benjamin Vining, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Josiah Rolfe, commissioned	June 4, 1715
John Swift, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Samuel Carpenter, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Joseph Fisher, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Robert Jones, commissioned	June 4, 1715
Enoch Davis,[14] commissioned	Jan. 17, 1765
Samuel Ashmead,[15] commissioned	April 27, 1772
James Humphreys, commissioned	April 27, 1772
John Ord, commissioned	April 27, 1772
Peter Miller, commissioned	April 27, 1772
Matthew Clarkson, commissioned	April 27, 1772
Henry Hill, commissioned	April 27, 1772
Samuel Powel, commissioned	April 27, 1772
Jonathan Bayard Smith, commissioned	July 6, 1778
Henry Scheetz (resigned), commissioned	March 31, 1784
John Dickinson, commissioned	May 1, 1784
Samuel Wharton, commissioned	May 10, 1784
Plunket Fleeson, commissioned	June 24, 1784
Jonathan Penrose, commissioned	Sept. 2, 1784
Charles Biddle, commissioned	Jan. 26, 1786
Matthew Holgate, commissioned	May 6, 1786
John Gill, commissioned	May 26, 1786
Lewis Weiss, commissioned	May 26, 1786
William Rush,[16] commissioned	May 26, 1786
Charles Biddle, commissioned	Jan. 19, 1787
Isaac Howell, commissioned	Jan. 19, 1787
Alexander Tod, commissioned	Feb. 9, 1787
Matthew Irwin, commissioned	April 7, 1787
Robert McKnight, commissioned	Sept. 12, 1787
William Nichols, commissioned	Jan. 10, 1788
Joseph Ferree, commissioned	March 31, 1788
Jacob Weaver, commissioned	April 3, 1788
Joseph Wharton, commissioned	May 9, 1778
William Masters,[17] commissioned	May 9, 1788
William Coats, commissioned	Aug. 26, 1788
William Craig, commissioned	Aug. 29, 1788
Clement Biddle, commissioned	Sept. 23, 1788
James Biddle, commissioned	Nov. 25, 1788

ASSOCIATE JUDGES OF THE COMMON PLEAS.

Name	Date
Thomas Yorke, commissioned	Oct. 20, 1759
Rowland Evans, commissioned	Oct. 20, 1759
John Potts, commissioned	Oct. 20, 1759
Samuel Wharton, commissioned	Oct. 20, 1759
John Hughes, commissioned	Oct. 20, 1759

1 Isaac Norris died June 3, 1735, and Clement Plumsted became the presiding justice. See Record of Commissions, 1733.

2 Thomas Lawrence died April 22, 1754, and was succeeded by Robert Strettell, who stood next in the commission to Lawrence on his decease. See Orphans' Court Dockets from June 5, 1754, to June 20, 1757, from which he appears to have been the presiding justice.

3 Stedman was in office at this date (see Orphans' Court Docket), and is spoken of as president of the Court of Common Pleas (8 C. R., 339) on June 2, 1759.

4 On Feb. 28, 1761, five writs of *supersedeas* were issued to Thomas Yorke, Rowland Evans, John Potts, Samuel Wharton, and John Hughes, late judges of the Common Pleas, forbidding them exercising the powers granted them by Governor Denny; 8 C. R., 575. They were commissioned Oct. 20, 1759, and in the Record of Commissions Samuel Wharton's name heads the list as first judge, but I have followed the Colonial Records, as Samuel Wharton not having been in commission before as a justice, is not likely to have been first judge, although he was a prominent man in his day, a writer of some eminence, and devoted to the proprietary's interest. The Orphans' Court Docket on Dec. 8, 1759, shows that Thomas Yorke was the senior judge.

5 Robinson died Jan. 8, 1767.

6 Ashmead succeeded Jones at this date in the Common Pleas. See Record of Commissions at Harrisburg, wherein he and the other justices are referred to as "Samuel Ashmead and associates of the Common Pleas." In Aitken's "Register" of 1774, Samuel Ashmead is given as the "president" of the justices of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions. Isaac Jones appears to have died or resigned after Sept. 6, 1773, and if there is an error in the indorsement or note to the Record of Commissions even, Ashmead became president of the Board of Justices of the Common Pleas at Jones' retirement, as the "Register" shows. We have seen heretofore, that on Dec. 6, 1773, Samuel Mifflin became "president of the justices of the Quarter Sessions," as appears by the Docket of that Court, wherein it will also be seen that Ashmead sits next to him in rank among the justices. In the *Independent Gazetteer* of March 29, 1794, will be found a biographical notice of the death of Samuel Ashmead, who died March 19, 1794, "aged above eighty-four years, long respectable as a magistrate, and lately a representative in the Legislature for Philadelphia County." He "died in the Northern Liberties, and was interred on the 21st in the Baptist burial-place."

7 It is doubtful whether Benjamin Franklin ever presided in any of the courts. The appointment of justices by the Convention of July 15, 1776, was an usurpation of power. See "Minutes of the Convention," p. 73.

8 Died April, 1802, aged 50 years.

9 Edward King died May 8, 1873, in his eightieth year. He was a powerful, heavy-built man, of a robust constitution. He was the great judge of the Common Pleas. I have been told that much dissatisfaction was openly expressed by many members of the bar at his elevation to the bench, but that the great abilities he soon displayed astonished his friends and confounded his enemies.

10 Oswald Thompson died Jan. 23, 1866, from overwork. He was an accomplished scholar, an able and a conscientious judge, and a kind-hearted, courteous gentleman.

11 Joseph Allison was appointed by the Governor to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Thompson, and was sworn into office Feb. 5, 1866. On Oct. 11, 1866, he was elected president judge.

12 From signature in Archives of the Historical Society.

13 Died 7th mo., 1629, aged eighty.

14 9 C. R., 237.

15 Commissioned as Samuel Ashmead and associates of the Common Pleas. Humphreys, Ord, Miller, and Clarkson were notaries public, and were commissioned justices of the peace and of the court, to assist them in their business; 10 C. R. 46.

16 Died Nov. 30, 1791, aged seventy-four.

17 Died Aug. 5, 1788, aged fifty-three.

Dr. Enoch Edwards, commissioned	Aug.	17, 1791
Jonathan Bayard Smith, commissioned	Sept.	23, 1791
William Robinson, Jr., commissioned	Sept.	23, 1791
Isaac Howell, commissioned	July	6, 1793
Thomas L. Moore, commissioned	July	6, 1793
Joseph Redman, commissioned	Nov.	11, 1793
Reynolds Keen, commissioned	May	8, 1794
Jonathan Williams,[1] commissioned	Jan.	5, 1786
William Coats, commissioned	June	20, 1799
Edward W. Heston,[2] commissioned	Dec.	10, 1799
David Jackson, commissioned	Sept.	2, 1800
John Inskeep, commissioned	May	21, 1802
Frederick Wolbert, commissioned	May	22, 1802
Jacob Franklin Heston, commissioned	May	1, 1806
James Sharswood (declined), commissioned	Nov.	7, 1809
John Geyer, commissioned	March	1, 1809
John Conrad, commissioned	Dec.	15, 1809
William Moulder, commissioned	Aug.	2, 1813
Samuel Badger, commissioned	April	5, 1814
Thomas Armstrong, commissioned	April	8, 1817
George W. Morgan, commissioned	Nov.	2, 1818
George Morton,[3] commissioned	Jan.	11, 1819
Edward Duffield Ingraham, commissioned	March	3, 1819
Hugh Ferguson,[4] commissioned	March	29, 1819
Jonathan T. Knight,[5] commissioned	June	19, 1828
Dr. Joel B. Sutherland, commissioned	March	4, 1833
Archibald Randall, commissioned	Jan.	23, 1834
Roberts Vaux,[6] commissioned	Oct.	30, 1835
John Richter Jones, commissioned	March	12, 1836
James Campbell, commissioned	April	2, 1842
Anson V. Parsons,[7] commissioned	Feb.	8, 1843
William D. Kelley, commissioned	March	13, 1847
Joseph Allison,[8] commissioned	Nov.	7, 1851
Robert T. Conrad, commissioned	Nov.	30, 1856
James R. Ludlow,[9] commissioned	Nov.	24, 1857
William S. Peirce,[10] commissioned	Feb.	3, 1866
Frederick Carroll Brewster, commissioned	Nov.	15, 1866
Edward M. Paxson,[11] commissioned	Oct.	26, 1869
Thomas K. Finletter, commissioned	Oct.	11, 1870

The dates to March 3, 1819, were taken from the Orphans' Court Dockets, and are the dates the judges first sat in that court. The old minutes of the Common Pleas contain no information. The remaining dates are those of commissions, election or transfer.

THE COURTS OF COMMON PLEAS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1873.

By the Constitution of 1873, it was provided that on and after the first Monday of January, 1875, the then existing Court of Common Pleas and District Court should be abolished, and all their powers and jurisdiction should be vested in four new courts of equal and co-ordinate jurisdiction, to be composed of three judges each, and to be called the Courts of Common Pleas No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, and No. 4, respectively. By the schedule to the Constitution the judges of the District Court and the old Common Pleas, then in commission, were transferred to the new courts, and provision made for the election of two additional new judges to complete the requisite number.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, No. 1.

PRESIDENT.

Joseph Allison,[12] transferred .... Jan. 4, 1875

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

William S. Peirce,[13] transferred	Jan.	4, 1875
Edward M. Paxson,[14] transferred	Jan.	4, 1875
Craig Biddle,[15] appointed	Jan.	12, 1875

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, No. 2.

PRESIDENT.

John Innis Clark Hare,[16] transferred .... Jan. 4, 1875

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

James T. Mitchell,[17] transferred	Jan.	4, 1875
Joseph T. Pratt,[18] elected	Nov.	3, 1874
D. Newlin Fell,[19] appointed	May	3, 1877

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, No. 3.

PRESIDENT.

James R. Ludlow,[20] transferred .... Jan. 4, 1875

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

James Lynd,[21] transferred	Jan.	4, 1875
Thomas K. Finletter,[22] transferred	Jan.	4, 1875
William H. Yerkes,[23] appointed	July	1, 1876

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, No. 4.

PRESIDENT.

M. Russell Thayer,[24] transferred .... Jan. 5, 1875

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

Amos Briggs,[25] transferred	Jan.	5, 1875
Thomas R. Elcock,[26] elected	Nov.	3, 1874
Michael Arnold,[27] elected	Nov.	7, 1882

PROTHONOTARIES OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, PHILADELPHIA.

John Southern, 1 C. R., 145	date unknown.	
Patrick Robinson, in office	3 mo.	16, 1685
David Lloyd, commissioned	2 8 mo.,	1686
James Claypoole,[28] commissioned	12	28, 1688–89
John Claypoole,[29] in office	July	6, 1697
Robert Assheton,[30] appointed	Oct.	25, 1701
Andrew Hamilton, commissioned	June	5, 1727
James Hamilton, commissioned	Dec.	28, 1733
Thomas Hopkinson, commissioned	Nov.	24, 1748
James Read, commissioned	May	1, 1752
James Hamilton,[31] commissioned	—	—, 1754

[1] Died May 18, 1815.

[2] Lieut.-Col. Edward W. Heston, an officer of the Revolutionary army, died Feb. 14, 1824, aged seventy-eight years.

[3] Died June 7, 1828.

[4] Died Jan. 29, 1835, aged eighty-six.

[5] Died 1858, aged sixty-seven.

[6] Died Jan. 8, 1836. He was the last of the "lay" judges of the Common Pleas in Philadelphia.

[7] Died Sept. 23, 1882, aged eighty-three.

[8] Election and sworn in Dec. 5, 1851. By an amendment to the Constitution in 1850 the judges were made elective.

[9] Judge Ludlow was re-elected for ten years on Oct. 12, 1867.

[10] Elected for ten years Oct. 11, 1866.

[11] Appointed, then elected Oct. 11, 1870, for ten years.

[12] Re-elected for ten years, Nov. 7, 1876.

[13] Transferred from the old Common Pleas. Re-elected for ten years, Nov. 7, 1876.

[14] Transferred by the schedule to the Constitution from the old Common Pleas. He never, however, sat in the new court, as he was in the mean time elected to the Supreme Court, where he took his seat Jan. 4, 1875.

[15] Appointed to fill the place of Paxson, elected to the Supreme Court. Elected for ten years, Nov. 2, 1875.

[16] Transferred from the District Court, of which he was then president. Re-elected for ten years, Nov. 5, 1878.

[17] Transferred from the District Court. Re-elected for ten years, Nov. 8, 1881.

[18] Died March 26, 1877.

[19] Appointed in place of Pratt (deceased). Elected for ten years, Nov. 10, 1877.

[20] Transferred from the old Common Pleas, of which he was then the senior associate. Re-elected for ten years, Nov. 10, 1877.

[21] Transferred from the District Court. Died June 30, 1876.

[22] Transferred from old Common Pleas. Re-elected for ten years, Nov. 2, 1880.

[23] Appointed in place of Lynd, deceased. Elected for ten years, Nov. 7, 1876.

[24] Transferred from the District Court, of which he was then the senior associate. Re-elected for ten years, Nov. 5, 1878.

[25] Transferred from the District Court.

[26] Judges Pratt and Elcock were elected "judges" without designation of any court, and in accordance with Section 18 of the Schedule to the Constitution, drew lots for their assignments to the vacant positions in Courts No. 2 and No. 4. Though elected in November 1874, their terms did not commence until Jan. 5, 1875.

[27] Elected in place of Judge Briggs, whose term expired in December, 1882.

[28] The offices usually annexed to that of prothonotary were clerk of the Orphans' Court and Court of Quarter Sessions, and justice of the Court of Common Pleas, 14 C. R., 377. And this rule existed until the Revolution. James Claypoole died before the 30th of the 5th mo., 1690.

[29] For John Claypoole, see 1 "Pa. Arc.," 125. Thomas Lloyd (1 C. R., 214) claimed that the offices of keeper of the seal, master of rolls, clarke of the peace, and clerk of the justices of the county, were his by patent and on the 1st of 1 mo., 1689, appointed David Lloyd his deputy, which course, the Council held, was a high usurpation of the Governor's authority.

[30] Robert Assheton said, Sept. 15, 1726, that he had been for about twenty-six years clerk and prothonotary of Philadelphia. He died June 5, 1727, having been appointed town clerk and clerk of the peace and clerk of the court, or courts, by the "City Charter" of Oct. 25, 1701.

[31] Andrew Hamilton died in 1741. James Hamilton was still in office Jan. 30, 1775. In the year 1760, Samuel Wharton was his deputy. In 1770–71, James Biddle was his deputy. See 4 "Pa. Archives," 600.

George Campbell, declined .... March 25, 1777
Jonathan Bayard Smith,[1] commissioned .... April 4, 1777
James Biddle, commissioned .... Nov. 13, 1788
Charles Biddle,[2] commissioned .... ——, 1791
Frederick Wolbert, commissioned .... Jan. 30, 1809
John Porter, commissioned .... April 25, 1811
Joseph B Norbury, commissioned .... Dec. 24, 1817
Matthew Randall, commissioned .... March 17, 1821
Richard Palmer,[3] commissioned .... Feb. 22, 1830
Robert Morris, commissioned .... March 24, 1836
William O. Kline, commissioned .... Feb. 9, 1839
Samuel Hart,[4] commissioned .... Nov. 14, 1839
Richard Palmer, Jr., commissioned .... Dec. 1, 1842
John Smith, commissioned .... Oct. 20, 1845
Anthony Wayne Olwine,[5] commissioned .... Nov. 25, 1848
James Vinyard, commissioned .... May 16, 1850
George Carpenter, commissioned .... Dec. 1, 1850
James G. Gibson, commissioned .... Oct. 8, 1853
Edward G. Webb, commissioned .... Nov. 10, 1856
Charles D. Knight, commissioned .... Nov. 10, 1859
Frederick G. Wolbert, commissioned .... Nov. 17, 1862
Albert W. Fletcher, commissioned .... Dec. 7, 1868
Richard Donagan,[6] commissioned .... Nov. 16, 1869
J. Alexander Loughridge,[7] commissioned .... Dec. 1, 1871
William B. R. Selby, commissioned .... Dec. 2, 1872
William B. Mann,[8] appointed .... Dec. 6, 1875

THE CITY COURT OF PHILADELPHIA.

(See City Charter; 2d Proud, Part I, Appendix, p. 49.)

PRESIDING JUDGES—THE RECORDERS, 1701 TO 1788.

Thomas Story, the Recorder .... Oct. 25, 1701
David Lloyd, the Recorder .... ——, 1702
Robert Assheton,[9] the Recorder .... Aug. 3, 1708
Andrew Hamilton,[10] the Recorder .... June 12, 1727
William Allen, the Recorder .... Aug. 7, 1741
Tench Francis, the Recorder .... Oct. 2, 1750
Benjamin Chew, the Recorder .... Aug. 29, 1755
Andrew Allen,[11] the Recorder .... June 25, 1774
James Young, president .... June 11, 1777
Plunket Fleeson,[12] president .... Jan. 30, 1782

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF THE CITY COURT.

The Aldermen of the City.[13]

1701.—Joshua Carpenter, Anthony Morris, Griffith Jones, Joseph Wilcox, Nathan Stanbury, Charles Read, Thomas Masters, and William Carter.

1704.—Edward Shippen, John Jones, and Thomas Story.

1705, Oct. 2.—Samuel Richardson.

1708, Oct. 5.—George Roche, Richard Hill, Samuel Preston, and Isaac Norris.

1711, Oct. 2.—Jonathan Dickinson.

1713, Oct. 6.—Joseph Growden and Pentecost Teague.

1715, Oct. 14.—William Hudson, Abraham Bickley, and Joseph Redman.

1717, Oct. 1.—James Logan.

1718, Oct. 7.—Thomas Griffith[14] and William Fishbourne.

1720, March 4.—William Trent.

1720, Oct. 4.—Clement Plumsted and Israel Pemberton.

1722, Oct. 2.—Benjamin Vining, Charles Read, Jr., and Thomas Griffitts.[14]

1724, Oct. 6.—Thomas Lawrence and Evan Owen.

1727, Oct. 3.—Edward Roberts.

1729, Oct. 7.—Samuel Hasell, George Claypoole, John Jones,[15] and George Fitzwater.

1730, Oct. 6.—William Allen and Isaac Norris, Jr.

1733, Oct. 2.—Anthony Morris, Jr.

1741, Oct. 6.—Joseph Turner, William Till, James Hamilton, and Benjamin Shoemaker.

1743, Oct. 4.—William Atwood, Abram Taylor, Samuel Powel, Jr., and Edward Shippen.

1747, Oct. 6.—Joshua Maddox, Charles Willing, and William Plumsted.

1748, Oct. 4.—Robert Strettell and Septimus Robinson.

1751, Oct. 1.—Benjamin Franklin and John Mifflin.

1755, Oct. 7.—John Stamper, Atwood Shute, and John Lawrence, Jr., who died January, 1775.

1756, Oct. 5.—Alexander Stedman and Samuel Mifflin.

1757, Oct. 4.—John Wilcocks, Jacob Duché, and William Coxe.

1759, Oct. 2.—Thomas Willing and Daniel Benezet.

1761, Oct. 6.—Henry Harrison and Samuel Rhoads.

1764, Oct. 2.—Isaac Jones and John Lawrence.

1766, Oct. 7.—Amos Strettell and Samuel Shoemaker.

1767, Oct. 6.—John Gibson.

1770, Oct. 2.—James Allen, Joshua Howell, and William Fisher.

1774, Oct. 4.—Samuel Powel and George Clymer.

1777, June 11.—11 C. R., 220. To be judges of the City Court,—James Young, John Ord, Plunket Fleeson, Isaac Howell, and Philip Boehm, who resigned Sept. 30, 1778.

1779, Jan. 15.—11 C. R., 667,—Benjamin Paschall, and on October 27th, John Miller. 12 C. R., 150.

1782, Jan. 31.—13 C. R., 181,—William Rush. Appointed in place of John Ord, deceased.

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[1] Jonathan Bayard Smith, died June 16, 1812, aged seventy years; born Feb. 21, 1742. He was a son of Samuel Smith, of Portsmouth, N. H., and removed to Philadelphia before the Revolutionary war. Samuel Smith, his father, had three sons,—Thomas, Jonathan, and William. Thomas married a sister of the late Judge Richard Peters. Jonathan married Susannah, daughter of Col. Peter Bayard, of Maryland. After his marriage he introduced the name of Bayard as one of his Christian names. William was the father of the late Samuel F. Smith, president of the Philadelphia Bank. So says Richard H. Bayard, May 7, 1858.

[2] The certificate of admission of my grandfather, Dr. William Martin, of Chester, Pa., to the Philadelphia bar, bears date March 24, 1794, and is signed by Charles Biddle, prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas. He was a sea captain, and died April 4, 1821, aged seventy-six years. He was appointed prothonotary of the Common Pleas in 1791, and reappointed in 1800.

[3] Richard Palmer died May 20, 1850, aged over seventy years, ex-alderman of Southwark.

[4] By the 1st section of the Act of July 2, 1839, P. L., 559, etc., the prothonotaries of the District Court and Court of Common Pleas, the clerks of the Oyer and Terminer, Quarter Sessions, and Orphans' Court, the Recorder of Deeds and the Register of Wills, were elected at the general election, on the second Tuesday of October, 1839, for the term of three years from the 1st of December in the same year, and made elective thereafter at the next election after the occurrence of any vacancy; such vacancy to be filled in the mean time by appointment of the Governor.

[5] Olwine died May 6, 1850, aged fifty-two years.

[6] Donagan contested Fletcher's election successfully.

[7] Died Aug. 3, 1881, aged forty-three.

[8] By the Constitution of 1873, the prothonotary is appointed by the judges of the court; salary, $10,000 per annum. The only clerks of the Common Pleas that I can now recall are Christian Frederick Erichson, in 1858, and for several years afterward. Thomas O. Webb, chief clerk of the Common Pleas, under his father, in 1856, and until his death, in 1868. George T. Deiss, who succeeded him in that position, and was continued until the reorganization of the courts in 1875, when he was made court clerk of the Common Pleas, No. 1, which position he still fills. The present court clerk of court No. 2, is Thomas B. Reeves; of No. 3, James Penn MacCain; and of No. 4, Charles H. White. The affable manners of these gentlemen render them great favorites with the bar.

[9] Assheton was elected in the place of Edward Shippen, who declined.

[10] Andrew Hamilton, the Recorder, died in August, 1741, and must not be confounded with Andrew Hamilton, appointed clerk of this court and town clerk, Feb. 24, 1745. See "Minutes of the Common Council," 452–56. Andrew (Jr.) and James Hamilton were sons of the recorder, who was formerly attorney-general of the Province. Andrew, Jr., died 1747.

[11] See "Minutes of Common Council," p. 795. Andrew Allen was declared a traitor about 1778, and his estates sold April 12, 1779. See 11 C. R., 745.

[12] By act of March 21, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council were authorized to appoint *five* judges to hold the City Court, and for other purposes. Fleeson was appointed by the Supreme Executive Council, to hold the office during pleasure. 13 C. R., 181. He died in 1791.

[13] Reappointments are not noticed in the list. See 2 Proud, Appendix, part 1, page 47, and the "Minutes of Common Council" therefor. There is no way of determining the length of service of these judges of the City Court, but the great majority held the office till their death, or until the court was abolished, in 1789.

[14] Different persons. See "Minutes of Common Council" during the years 1722–26, when both were present at the sitting of Council at different times. Alderman Thomas Griffith's name appears on the "Minutes of Council" April 27, 1727, while Thomas Griffitts was elected mayor in 1729–37. See also Orphans' Court Docket, No. 1, March 4, 1729–30.

[15] Elected to Council in 1712, as John Jones Boller, but it should be John Jones (Bolter).

CLERKS OF THE CITY COURT.

Name	Month	Date
Robert Assheton, by the charter	Oct.	25, 1701
Ralph Assheton,[1] by the Council	Aug.	10, 1716
Andrew Hamilton, Jr., by the Council	Feb.	21, 1745
William Coleman, by the Council	Sept.	18, 1747
Edward Shippen, Jr., by the Council	May	27, 1758
John Haley, by the Council	June	11, 1777
William Nichols, 14 C. R., 667	March	24, 1786

The act of March 11, 1789, abolished this court.

THE COURT OF EQUITY.

Formed by proclamation Aug. 10, 1720; abolished by resolution of 27th 11th mo., 1735–36.

The history of the Court of Chancery in Pennsylvania is rather curious. The Assembly has nearly always been violently opposed to the formation of a court with exclusive equity powers. In the earliest days of the Province, after it came under the jurisdiction of Penn, he and his Council exercised chancery powers in cases brought before them. Thus our earliest courts began to exercise a blended jurisdiction in equity as well as law, and to all intents and purposes exercised the authority of Chancery Courts. The subject became an important one very early, because the Governors under the proprietaries claimed the powers of chancellors, and the entire period of our colonial history is marked by frequent disputes on questions of prerogative between the Governors and the Assembly.

Sir William Keith, who was Governor from 1717 to 1726, obtained from the Assembly an act establishing a *Court of Equity*, the Governors being the chancellors. This was our first and only "Court of Chancery" in Pennsylvania. It existed fifteen years, and was abolished in 1736. As our courts possess equity powers, there is now no need for a court with exclusive equity jurisdiction. Mr. William Henry Rawle's lecture on "Equity in Pennsylvania," published with a copy of the Register's Docket, fully elucidates the subject, and gives a history of Keith's Court of Chancery.

CHANCELLORS.

Name	Month	Date
Sir William Keith, Bart.	Aug.	25, 1720
Patrick Gordon, Esq.[2]	Feb.	2, 1726

REGISTERS.

Name	Month	Date
Charles Brockden, appointed	Aug.	25, 1720
Robert Charles,[3] resigned	Sept.	1, 1739

MASTERS.

1720.—James Logan, Jonathan Dickinson, Samuel Preston, Richard Hill, Anthony Palmer, and William Trent.

1721.—Thomas Masters, Robert Assheton, William Assheton, and John French.

1724.—Andrew Hamilton and Henry Brooke.

1725.—William Fishbourne, Dr. Thomas Graeme, Evan Owen, Ralph Assheton, Thomas Lawrence, and Samuel Hasell.

1730.—Clement Plumsted and Isaac Norris.

SOLICITORS.

1720.—John Kinsey, James Parnell, Ralph Assheton, James Alexander, Joseph Growdon, Jr., James Graeme, and Peter Evans.

EXAMINERS.

1725.—Charles Osbourne and Dr. Patrick Baird.

THE HIGH COURT OF ERRORS AND APPEALS.

Established by act of Feb. 28, 1780; *abolished by act of Feb.* 24, 1806.

This court was established by act of Feb. 28, 1780, to hear appeals from the Supreme Court, the Register's Court, and the Court of Admiralty. The judges were to be the president of the Supreme Executive Council, the judges of the Supreme Court, and three persons of known integrity and ability to be commissioned for seven years, any five or more to form a quorum.

By the act of April 13, 1791, section 17, the judges of the Supreme Court, the president judges of the several Courts of Common Pleas of the five judicial districts, and three other persons of known legal abilities were constituted a High Court of Errors and Appeals, to hear appeals from the Supreme Court and the Register's Court,—"Read's Digest," 70, article 23, section 17. In this Digest will be found many acts relating to the courts, from the act of May 22, 1722, to 1800.

By an act of Sept. 30, 1791, a president judge was to be appointed by the Governor of the commonwealth.

LIST OF JUDGES.[4]

Name	Month	Date
Joseph Reed,[5] commissioned	Nov.	20, 1780
Thomas McKean, commissioned	Nov.	20, 1780
William Augustus Atlee, commissioned	Nov.	20, 1780
John Evans, commissioned	Nov.	20, 1780
George Bryan, commissioned	Nov.	20, 1780
James Smith, commissioned	Nov.	20, 1780
Henry Wynkoop, commissioned	Nov.	20, 1780
Francis Hopkinson, commissioned	Nov.	20, 1780
William Moore,[5] commissioned	Nov.	14, 1781
John Dickinson,[5] commissioned	Nov.	7, 1782
James Bayard, commissioned	March	18, 1783
Samuel Miles, commissioned	April	7, 1783
Jacob Rush, commissioned	Feb.	26, 1784
Edward Shippen, commissioned	Sept.	16, 1784
Benjamin Franklin,[5] commissioned	Oct.	18, 1785
Thomas Mifflin,[5] commissioned	Nov.	5, 1788
William Bradford, Jr., *Register*.		

REORGANIZED UNDER ACT OF APRIL 13, 1791.

Name	Month	Date
Benjamin Chew (president), appointed	Sept.	30, 1791
Thomas McKean, appointed	April	13, 1791
Edward Shippen, appointed	April	13, 1791
Jasper Yeates, appointed	April	13, 1791
William Bradford,[6] appointed	Aug.	20, 1791
James Biddle, appointed	Sept.	1, 1791
William Augustus Atlee, appointed	Sept.	1, 1791
Jacob Rush, appointed	Sept.	1, 1791
James Riddle, appointed	Sept.	1, 1791
Alexander Addison, appointed	Sept.	1, 1791
John Joseph Henry, appointed	Nov.	—, 1793
Thomas Smith, appointed	Jan.	31, 1794
John D. Coxe, appointed	April	6, 1797
Hugh Henry Brackenridge, appointed	Dec.	18, 1799
William Tilghman, appointed	July	31, 1805
Edward Burd, *Register*.		

ORPHANS' COURT FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA,

IN THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

By the act of March 27, 1713, establishing the Orphans' Court, the presiding justices of this court were those of the Quarter Sessions, as the same justices were to hold both courts. Previous to this the court was held by the justices of the County Courts, Orphans' Courts having been constituted by the act of 1683 to "sitt twice every year." But as the dockets of the Orphans' Court are complete from April 9, 1719, to this date, I have thought it proper to give the presiding justices from the records, so far only as they show them. There is nothing, however, in the minutes to indicate who was the presiding justice. That knowledge I have derived from the long service of certain justices at the head of the list of justices present at the sittings of the court, and from the

[1] Robert Assheton's son. Appointment "to take effect November 30th next, when he comes of age." See "Minutes of Common Council."

[2] See 3 C. R., 266. He died at Philadelphia, Aug. 5, 1736.

[3] See "Rawle's Equity," 52. In 9 "Pa. Arc.," 631 (2d series), "George Thomas" is mentioned as one of the chancellors. The only act he performed that I know of in regard to the court was as Governor, on Sept. 1, 1739, in accepting the resignation of Robert Charles as the "Registrar," and directing him to "deliver up all the books, papers, and writings in his custody to Thomas Lawrie, the secretary, to be by him kept till further orders." Upon the question of the power of the Assembly to abolish the court, see the "Shippen Papers," 1–6.

[4] Thomas McKean was the chief justice of the Supreme Court; Atlee, Evans, Bryan, and Rush (who was appointed in place of Evans, deceased), associate justices. Hopkinson was the judge of the Admiralty. James Smith, of York, resigned May 10, 1781. Samuel Miles resigned April 4, 1784, and Edward Shippen appointed in his stead. Henry Wynkoop, president judge of Bucks County, resigned June 27, 1789.

[5] President of the Supreme Executive Council.

[6] William Bradford was commissioned an associate justice of the Supreme Court, Aug. 20, 1791, in the place of Bryan. Atlee was commissioned president judge of the Second District, Aug. 17, 1791, to take effect on September 1st. (See the act of April 13, 1791.) James Biddle became president judge of the First District Sept. 1, 1791; Jacob Rush, president judge of the Third; James Riddle, of the Fourth; Alexander Addison, of the Fifth; and John Joseph Henry, of the Second, in November, 1793, in place of Atlee, who died on September 9th of that year. Thomas Smith was appointed an associate justice in the place of Bradford, promoted to Attorney-General of the United States. Hugh Henry Brackenridge was appointed an associate justice *vice* Shippen, made chief justice in the place of McKean, elected Governor Dec. 18, 1799. John D. Coxe, president judge of the First District in the place of Biddle, and William Tilghman, president judge of the First District in the place of Coxe. No "persons of known legal abilities" were appointed to fill two out of three additional positions mentioned in the act.

record of commissions, etc. Previous to Isaac Norris, in 1727, the records do not indicate a president; no particular justice heads the list; Robert Assheton generally presided. Docket No. 1 opens "the 9th April, 1719," with the following justices present: Jonathan Dickinson, Robert Assheton, and Clement Plumsted. After Sept. 23, 1727, the justices whose names I give below presided nearly all the time of their term of service, and it will be perceived that in most cases they were the prior or oldest justices in the commission.

Jacob Duché, who is given on March 19, 1764, was not president of the board of justices by seniority, but presided until December 8th. He was one of the most attentive justices of the court, and presided very often at the sittings during his long term of service. He was a merchant, and the father of the Rev. Mr. Duché, of Revolutionary fame.

Isaac Jones presided almost continuously from June 27, 1768, until Sept. 6, 1773. He never sat after that date, although I have a citation issued by the Orphans' Court on Sept. 14, 1773: "Witness Isaac Jones, Esquire. . . . By the court. James Humphreys, clerk," showing, I think, that Jones was the president or presiding justice at that time. The seal of the court to the papers is the arms of William Penn, surrounded by the words, "Orphans' Court, City & County Phila."

Samuel Mifflin presided after Sept. 13, 1773. He was, we know, the president of the Quarter Sessions from Dec. 6, 1773, to 1776. Sometimes, however, Samuel Ashmead sat in the Orphans' Court with him, and presided, and at other times Mifflin presided, with Ashmead as an associate. Ashmead was the older justice by commission, and when Plumsted died, in 1765, Ashmead succeeded him in the Orphans' Court, although Septimus Robinson was next to Plumsted, but Robinson never sat in this court after March 21, 1757. He died previous to Jan. 16, 1767. (See Will-Book O, 156.) His will is dated Jan. 4, 1767. From Aug. 14, 1765, to Sept. 6, 1766, Mr. Duché generally presided; after that Ashmead presided nearly always till June 13, 1768. I discovered a singular error in the Wills index. William Plumsted is entered there as having died in 1769, but in Will-Book O, p. 335, his will is proved as of Aug. 20, 1765.

I noticed that whenever the mayor of the city was present he always presided, his name heading the list of justices. On all other occasions the order of seniority of justices was rigidly observed, erasures being even made in the minutes to correct errors in this respect, and I expect that in the few instances where the justices were not entered in proper order, it is an error on the part of the clerk.

The records show conclusively that out of each commission a certain number of justices were assigned to each County Court. To make this evident I give a carefully-prepared list of all the justices who have sat in the Orphans' Court from 1719 to 1791, extracted from the dockets, and, therefore, absolutely correct. The date of the first sitting only given.

PRESIDING JUSTICES.

Name	Date
Isaac Norris, in office	Sept. 23, 1727
Clement Plumsted,[1] in office	June 11, 1734
Thomas Lawrence,[2] in office	June 3, 1745
Robert Strettell, in office	June 15, 1754
William Coleman, in office	Dec. 19, 1757
John Maddox,[3] in office	April 24, 1758
Alexander Stedman, in office	Dec. 9, 1758
Thomas Yorke, in office	Dec. 8, 1759
Alexander Stedman, in office	March 7, 1761
Jacob Duché, in office	March 19, 1764
William Plumsted,[4] in office	Dec. 8, 1764
Samuel Ashmead, in office	Aug. 14, 1765
Isaac Jones,[5] in office	June 27, 1768
Samuel Mifflin, in office	Dec. 6, 1773
James Young,[6] in office	July 25, 1777
John Ord, in office	Dec. 26, 1778
John Moore, in office	Sept. 7, 1779
John Ord,[7] in office	Sept. 9, 1779
Plunket Fleeson, in office	Jan. 13, 1781
Edward Shippen, in office	Oct. 25, 1785
Dr. Enoch Edwards,[8] in office	May 10, 1790

JUSTICES OF THE ORPHANS' COURT.

Name	Date
Jonathan Dickinson, in office	April 9, 1719
Robert Assheton, in office	April 9, 1719
Clement Plumsted, in office	April 9, 1719
John Swift, in office	Aug. 11, 1719
James Logan, in office	Aug. 17, 1719
Samuel Carpenter, in office	Aug. 29, 1719
William Fishbourne, in office	11, 10 br., 1719
Isaac Norris, in office	Dec. 12, 1719
Anthony Palmer, in office	Dec. 21, 1719
Edward Farmer, in office	March 6, 1720
Benjamin Vining, in office	April 29, 1721
Robert Jones, in office	June 9, 1721
Thomas Lawrence, in office	June 16, 1724
John Cadwalader, in office	June 16, 1724
Edward Roberts, in office	June 16, 1724
Evan Owen, in office	Dec. 5, 1724
William Hudson (the Mayor), in office	July 8, 1726
Thomas Fenton, in office	Oct. 12, 1727
Andrew Hamilton, in office	Oct. 12, 1727
Richard Harrison, in office	Oct. 12, 1727
Samuel Hasell, in office	May 14, 1729
Joseph Ashton, in office	Sept. 24, 1729
Thomas Griffitts, in office	Mar. 4, 1729–30
William Allen, in office	Oct. 5, 1730
Charles Read, in office	April 2, 1734
George Fitzwater, in office	Dec. 4, 1734
Ralph Assheton, in office	Mar. 6, 1735–36
Anthony Morris, in office	Nov 13, 1738
Abram Taylor, in office	Dec. 4, 1738
William Till, in office	Dec. 18, 1738
Cadwalader Foulke, in office	June 6, 1740
Joshua Maddox, in office	March 1, 1741
Septimus Robinson, in office	Sept. 20, 1742
Jonathan Robinson, in office	June 8, 1743
Edward Shippen, in office	Oct. 7, 1744
Benjamin Shoemaker, in office	March 29, 1745
Charles Willing, in office	July 15, 1745
James Hamilton, in office	May 20, 1746
Thomas Venables, in office	Sept. 3, 1746
Samuel Morris, in office	Mar. 4, 1746–47
William Atwood, in office	July 25, 1747
Thomas Fletcher, in office	June 8, 1748
Owen Evans, in office	June 5, 1750
Nicholas Ashton, in office	June 5, 1750
Thomas Yorke, in office	June 5, 1750
John Potts,[9] in office	June 5, 1750
Rowland Evans, in office	June 5, 1750
William Plumsted, in office	Feb. 12, 1750–51
Robert Strettell, in office	April 7, 1752
Benjamin Franklin, in office	June 5, 1752
William Coleman, in office	June 5, 1752
John Mifflin, in office	July 15, 1752
Samuel Ashmead, in office	June 6, 1753
Henry Pawling, in office	Sept. 5, 1753
John Jones, in office	Sept. 2, 1754
William Peters, in office	Jan. 4, 1757
Alexander Stedman, in office	Dec. 10, 1757
Jacob Duché, in office	March 20, 1758
Isaac Jones, in office	March 20, 1758
Samuel Mifflin, in office	Dec. 18, 1758
Isaac Ashton, in office	March 7, 1759
Samuel Wharton, in office	Dec. 8, 1759
John Hughes, in office	Dec. 8, 1759
Daniel Benezet, in office	March 7, 1761
William Coxe, in office	March 7, 1761
Evan Thomas, in office	March 7, 1761
Archibald McClean, in office	March 7, 1761
Jacob Hall, in office	March 7, 1761
Henry Harrison, in office	March 16, 1761
Thomas Willing, in office	June 6, 1761
Samuel Shoemaker, in office	Dec. 21, 1761
William Dewees, in office	June 12, 1762
James Coultas, in office	Dec. 30, 1762
John Lawrence, in office	Dec. 8, 1764
George Bryan, in office	Dec. 8, 1764
Alexander Edwards, in office	June 7, 1766
John Bull, in office	March 28, 1768
William Parr, in office	Sept. 8, 1769
James Biddle, in office	Sept. 8, 1769
Frederick Antes, in office	June 4, 1770
Charles Jolly, in office	June 4, 1770
John Gibson, in office	July 2, 1770
John Potts, Jr., in office	Oct. 4, 1771
James Young, in office	Jan. 8, 1773
George Clymer, in office	April 9, 1773
Samuel Powel, in office	June 8, 1773
James Diemer, in office	June 28, 1773
Benjamin Chew, in office	Dec. 13, 1773
Henry Hill, in office	June 10, 1776
John Moore, in office	June 24, 1776
John Ord, in office	July 25, 1777
Plunket Fleeson, in office	July 25, 1777
Benjamin Paschall, in office	July 25, 1777
Philip Boehm, in office	July 25, 1777
John Knowles, in office	July 25, 1777
Andrew Knox, in office	Sept. 28, 1778
Isaac Howell, in office	Dec. 14, 1778
David Hunter, in office	Dec. 14, 1778
Seth Quee, in office	March 2, 1779
Andrew Kennedy, in office	March 2, 1779
John Richards, in office	March 2, 1779

[1] Died May 26, 1745.

[2] Died April 25, 1754, aged sixty-four.

[3] Died April 18, 1759, aged seventy-four.

[4] Died Aug. 10, 1765, aged fifty-eight.

[5] Died Oct. 18, 1773, aged fifty-eight. "President of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions."

[6] Died Jan. 28, 1779, aged fifty.

[7] Died Dec. 11, 1781, aged sixty-three.

[8] Will proved July 14, 1802. He never sat but twice; Plunket Fleeson generally presided after the date of his first sitting in 1781.

[9] Died June 6, 1768.

Name	Date
John Miller, in office	March 2, 1779
William McMullin, in office	March 2, 1779
William Adcock, in office	April 28, 1779
William Ball, in office	April 28, 1779
William Rush,[1] in office	June 11, 1779
John Gill, in office	July 27, 1784
William Masters, in office	Aug. 9, 1784
Emanuel Eyre, in office	Aug. 9, 1784
Samuel Wharton, in office	Sept. 23, 1784
Joseph Wharton, in office	Feb. 13, 1786
William Craig, in office	April 3, 1786
William Pollard, in office	Sept. 11, 1786
Dr. Enoch Edwards, in office	Nov. 13, 1786
Lewis Weiss,[2] in office	Nov. 13, 1786
Robert McKnight, in office	June 7, 1787
Alexander Tod, in office	June 31, 1787
Joseph Ferree, in office	March 9, 1789
William Coats, in office	March 14, 1789
Jacob Weaver, in office	March 21, 1789

On Sept. 23, 1791, James Biddle, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Enoch Edwards, and William Robinson, Jr., Esqs., judges, held the Orphans' Court. This is the first time the term judges is used in the dockets of this court (see Docket No. 16), although Thomas Yorke and his associates were commissioned as judges of the Common Pleas and Orphans' Court. They are called justices in the minutes of the Orphans' Court. The judges of the Common Pleas held the Orphans' Court from 1791 to 1875.

THE ORPHANS' COURT

As Established by the Constitution of 1873.

The delays and expense attending the settlement of estates of decedents led the framers of the new Constitution of Dec. 16, 1873, to authorize the formation of Orphans' Courts as separate tribunals. (See Article v., Section 22.) In Philadelphia the Orphans' Court was established by the act of May 19, 1874, and organized Jan. 4, 1875. The Orphans' Court always had separate organization as to clerks and records, but until 1874 never had an independent judiciary. The Orphans' Court bench now consists of three judges, learned in the law. At first the judges were of equal rank, and presided in turns, but the act of May 24, 1878, created the office of president judge.

President Judge.

Name	Date
William Brantley Hanna, appointed	June 5, 1878

Associate Judges.

Name	Date
Thomas Bradford Dwight, elected	Nov. 2, 1874
William Brantley Hanna, elected	Nov. 2, 1874
Dennis O'Brien,[3] elected	Nov. 2, 1874
William N. Ashman,[4] appointed	Jan. 9, 1878
Clement Biddle Penrose, appointed	Jan. 30, 1878

Clerks of the Orphans' Court.

Name	Date
Robert Assheton, in office	Oct. 25, 1701
Charles Read,[5] in office	before 1721
Thomas Hopkinson, appointed	Jan. 20, 1736-37
Andrew Hamilton, appointed	Feb. 24, 1745-46
John Lawrence,[6] appointed	Sept. 8, 1747
John Price, appointed	Feb. 28, 1752
James Humphreys, appointed	May 7, 1757
John Haley, appointed	Sept. 15, 1777
William Nichols,[7] appointed	March 24, 1786
John Bickley, appointed	March 3, 1800
John L. Leib, appointed	Dec. 21, 1801
Robert Johnson, appointed	Dec. 24, 1814
Thomas F. Gordon, appointed	——, 1818
Nathan R. Potts, appointed	March 15, 1821
Edward King, appointed	Feb. 7, 1824
William Runkle, Jr., appointed	April 22, 1825
John L. Wool, appointed	June 1829
John P. Binns, appointed	Dec. 30, 1829
Robert Andrews,[8] appointed	Feb. 2, 1830
Francis Parke, appointed	March 25, 1836
Isaac P. Trimble, appointed	April 1, 1836
James Hanna, appointed	March 25, 1838
Robert F. Christy,[9] elected	Feb. 9, 1839
Jacob Lewis, elected	Dec. 1, 1842
David Hanley, elected	Dec. 1, 1845
Oliver Brooks,[10] elected	Oct. 10, 1848
Jacob Broom,[11] appointed	Nov. 25, 1848
David Hanley, decided to be in office	Jan. 22, 1848
Jacob Broom, appointed	March 26, 1849
James M. Jackson, commissioned	Nov. 17, 1852
John Sherry, commissioned	Oct. 17, 1855
Nimrod Woolery, commissioned	Nov. 20, 1858
William C. Stevenson, commissioned	June 10, 1862
Edwin A. Merrick, commissioned	Oct. 11, 1864
Joseph Megary, commissioned	April 21, 1868
Joseph C. Tittermary, commissioned	Oct. 11, 1870
Richard Ellis, commissioned	Oct. 14, 1876
Gideon Clark,[12] appointed	June 12, 1875
Jesse W. Neal, elected	Nov. 7, 1876
William Marshall Taylor, elected	Nov. 4, 1879
Walter E. Rex, elected	Nov. 7, 1882

THE REGISTERS OF WILLS OF PHILADELPHIA.

The provincial registers were the registers-general of Pennsylvania for the Probate of Wills and Granting Letters of Administration, established by the twenty-second section of the laws agreed on in England. 1 C. R., 32. The act of March 14, 1777, abolished the office of register-general and named the Register of Wills in each county to succeed the deputies of the register-general. 1 Dallas' "Laws of Pennsylvania," 731. The dates of appointment are taken from the will-books, and are the dates when the names are first mentioned therein. Book A, in register's office, is in the handwriting of Patrick Robinson. He was deputy register and secretary to the Governor.

The Registers-General.

Name	Day	Month	Year
Christopher Taylor,[13] in office	10	br. —	1682
Robert Turner, commissioners in the place of Taylor, deceased	5	5 mo.	1686
William Frampton, commissioners in the place of Taylor, deceased	5	5 mo.	1686
William Southbee, commissioners in the place of Taylor, deceased	5	5 mo.	1686
James Claypoole, Sr., commissioned	19	9 mo.	1686
Jacob Simcock,[14] deputy	—	——	——
Thomas Ellis, appointed	9	8 mo.	1687
David Lloyd, deputy, appointed	12	8 mo.	1687
William Markham, appointed	14	8 mo.	1688
Patrick Robinson, deputy	—	——	——
Capt. John Blackwell,[15] appointed	8	11 br.	1678-89
Robert Turner,[16] in office	16	12br.	1690-91
Samuel Jennings, in office	5	10 mo.	1692
Francis Rawle, Jr., deputy	—	——	——
William Markham, appointed	20	7 mo.	1693
John Moore,[17] in office	7	3 mo.	1700

[1] Died Nov. 30, 1791, aged seventy-four.

[2] Lewis William Weiss was his full name.

[3] Judge O'Brien died Jan. 24, 1878, aged sixty.

[4] In place of Judge Dwight, who resigned on account of his ill-health.

[5] Charles Read was probably appointed after the passage of the act of March 27, 1713. He died in office before Jan. 20, 1736-37.

[6] *Vice* Hamilton, deceased. For Andrew Hamilton's appointment, see clerks of the City Court. I give Hamilton and Lawrence as clerks of the Orphans' Court on the authority of Thompson Westcott. Hamilton died in office in September, 1747.

[7] Nichols, clerk of the Mayor's Court and Orphans' Court. Directory of 1798; 12 C. R., 667, clerk of the Orphans' Court and City Court.

[8] In the official lists in the Directory of 1830 and 1831, Joseph Andrews is given as the clerk of the Orphans' Court, which is an error; it should be Robert. In the court offices the active man is always the chief deputy; the actual prothonotary, clerk, register, etc., are seldom known or seen by the bar. In the Orphans' Court office, for a long series of years, from 1858 to 1868, Richard M. Batturs, a genial gentleman of Philadelphia, was chief clerk. Since his retirement, Alfred J. Fortin has been the efficient deputy. He entered the office first in 1857.

[9] Col. Christy was elected under act of July 2, 1839, for three years from December 1st, in same year (L. P., 559), and commissioned Nov. 14, 1839. He died Aug. 31, 1881, aged seventy-two.

[10] Brooks died before being commissioned, Nov. 7, 1848. (See 9 Barr, 513; Commonwealth *vs.* Hanley.)

[11] Broom was commissioned Dec. 14, 1848. Commission set aside by the Supreme Court on Jan. 22, 1849, on the ground that there was no vacancy. Oliver Brooks, who was elected Oct. 10, 1848, having died before a commission had been issued to him, it was held that Hanley, the old clerk, held over. Hanley died March 18, 1849, and Broom was appointed and commissioned March 26, 1849, and elected in October, 1849, for three years.

[12] Clark was at the time register of wills, and became *ex officio* clerk of the Orphans' Court under the provisions of the Constitution of 1873.

[13] The first will, recorded 10th mo., 1682, was Thomas Wreames. He died before 5th mo. 5th, 1686; 1 C. R., 137.

[14] See Smith's "History of Delaware County," 502.

[15] He appointed himself register-general, thus creating a precedent which was afterward followed by other Governors.

[16] Francis Rawle, Jr., his son-in-law, was his deputy.

[17] In Smull's "Legislative Hand-Book," 1878, it is set forth that John Moore was commissioned Jan. 1, 1693. By "Will-Book B" it does not so appear, but he was in office May 7, 1700. Col. William Markham was commissioned by Penn, March 29, 1703, by an order directed to Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Hamilton, 2 C. R., 96; also Book A, 25th 7 mo., 1703, and complained to the Council (2 C. R., 122, 123, and 124) that Moore refused to surrender the office to him, saying that it was "his property

Col. William Markham, appointed............March 29, 1703
Lieut.-Gov. John Evans, appointed............27 4 mo., 1704
Peter Evans, deputy, appointed..................Dec. 11, 1704
Peter Evans, commissioned..........................17 12br., 1708–9
Lieut.-Gov. Charles Gookin, commissioned...Nov. 7, 1710
Benjamin Mayne, commissioned..................July 28, 1712
Peter Evans, commissioned..........................July 3, 1713
Richard Birmingham, deputy.......................Nov. 3, 1715
Dr. Thomas Graeme, commissioned.............May 14, 1724
John Moore,[1] deputy......................................Dec. 3, 1724
Peter Evans, in office.....................................Dec. 6, 1725
William Plumsted, commissioned................June 19, 1745
Benjamin Chew, commissioned....................Aug. 14, 1765
John Maxfield, deputy, died.........................Oct. 6, 1774

THE REGISTERS OF WILLS, PHILADELPHIA.

Samuel Morris, by act of..............................March 14, 1777
George Campbell,[2] by the Assembly...........April 6, 1782
Joseph B. McKean, in office........................April 21, 1800
Charles Swift, in office.................................May 19, 1800
Samuel Bryan, in office.................................April 12, 1809
Peter S. Muhlenberg, in office......................Nov. 8, 1821
Joseph Barnes, in office................................March 9, 1824
John Geyer, in office.....................................March 28, 1825
John Humes, in office....................................March 6, 1830
John Gest, in office.......................................March 28, 1836
Edward D. Corfield, in office........................Jan. 8, 1839
Michael Pray, in office.................................March 2, 1839
William Piersol, elected................................Oct. 9, 1839
John Painter, elected.....................................Oct. 11, 1842
John Weaver,[3] elected.................................Oct. 14, 1845
Edward A. Penniman, appointed...................Jan. 26, 1846
Alexander Browne, in office.........................Dec. 1, 1846
Thomas C. Bunting, in office........................Dec. 4, 1849
Theodore T. Derringer, deputy.....................— —— ——
William Bowers, in office.............................Dec. 1, 1852
Samuel Lloyd, deputy....................................— —— ——
Charles W. Carrigan, in office......................Dec. 1, 1855
Joseph C. Molloy, deputy.............................— —— ——
George W. McMahan, in office......................Dec. 6, 1858
Samuel Lloyd, deputy....................................— —— ——
Thomas McCullough, in office.......................Dec. 3, 1861
John F. Belsterling, deputy...........................— —— ——
Frederick M. Adams, in office.......................Dec. 2, 1864
Samuel Lloyd, deputy....................................— —— ——
William A. Leech, in office...........................Dec. 1, 1867
J. Alexander Simpson,[4] in office..................April 3, 1868
John H. Campbell, deputy.............................— —— ——
William M. Bunn, in office...........................Dec. 1, 1870
George W. Painter, deputy............................— —— ——
Gideon Clark, in office.................................Dec. 1, 1873
James Brearly, deputy...................................— —— ——
Jesse W. Neal, elected...................................Nov. 7, 1876
James Brearly, deputy...................................— —— ——
Horace L. Keyser,[5] deputy...........................— —— ——
W. Marshall Taylor, elected...........................Nov. 4, 1879
William G. Shields, deputy............................—— ——
Walter Edwin Rex, elected.............................Nov. 7, 1882
William G. Shields, deputy............................—— ——

The registers of wills are now by the Constitution of 1873 the clerks of the Orphans' Court. (Art. 5, sec. 22.)

THE MAYOR'S COURT OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

This court was created by act of Assembly of March 11, 1789, incorporating the city of Philadelphia, and abolished by the act of March 19, 1838.

By this act the mayor, recorder, and aldermen, or any four of them, whereof the mayor or recorder was always to be one, were constituted a court, to be called "the Mayor's Court of the City of Philadelphia," to hear and determine all charges of larcenies, forgeries, perjuries, assaults and batteries, riots, rows, unlawful assemblies, and all other offenses usually cognizable in any Court of Quarter Sessions. This court met quarterly on the first Monday of March, June, September, and December in each year, and held frequent sessions.

The act of 1789 also established the "Aldermen's Court," to consist of three aldermen, two to be a quorum. Those to hold the court to be designated at least four times a year by the mayor or recorder to try all matters usually cognizable by justices of the peace, where the debt or demand amounted to forty shillings and did not exceed ten pounds. The justices of the court were paid by fees. This court was abolished by act of Assembly of March 20, 1810. I copy from the *Independent Gazetteer* of April 18, 1789, the following in reference thereto: "At a meeting of the mayor, recorder, and aldermen, held the 15th inst., the mayor and recorder nominated and appointed Francis Hopkinson, Joseph Swift, and Hilary Baker, Esqs., to constitute and hold 'the Aldermen's Court.'"

The mayor and aldermen had power personally to hear and determine cases of debt under forty shillings.

PRESIDING JUSTICES.

THE MAYORS.

1789. Samuel Powel.
1790. Samuel Miles.
1791. John Barclay.
1792. Matthew Clarkson.
1796. Hilary Baker.
1798. Robert Wharton.
1800. John Inskeep.
1801. Matthew Lawler.
1805. John Inskeep.
1806. Robert Wharton.
1808. John Barker.
1810. Robert Wharton.
1811. Michael Keppele.
1812. John Barker.
1813. John Geyer.
1814. Robert Wharton.
1819. James Nelson Barker.
1820. Robert Wharton.
1824. Joseph Watson.
1828. George M. Dallas.
1829. Benjamin W. Richards.
1830. William Milnor.
1831. Benjamin W. Richards.
1832–38. John Swift.

THE RECORDERS.

1789. Alexander Wilcocks.
1801. Alexander J. Dallas.
1802. Moses Levy.
1808. Mahlon Dickerson.
1810. Joseph Reed.
1829. Joseph McIlvaine.
1836. John Bouvier.
1838. Samuel Rush.

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES.

THE ALDERMEN.

1789.—Samuel Miles, Hilary Baker, William Colladay, Joseph Swift, John Barclay, Francis Hopkinson, Reynold Keen, Matthew Clarkson, Gunning Bedford, John Baker, John Nixon, Joseph Ball, George Roberts, John Maxwell Nesbit.
1792.—Michael Hillegas, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Francis Gurney.
1793.—Edward Bartholomew.
1796.—Matthew Clarkson,[6] John Barclay, John Jennings, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Robert Wharton, James Ash, Michael Hillegas, Reynold Keen, John Clement Stocker, Gunning Bedford, Alexander Tod, Isaac Howell, Philip Wager, Nathaniel Falconer, Hilary Baker, and John Baker.[7]
1796.—Jacob Baker, in place of Falconer.
1798.—Philip Syng Physick, in place of Clarkson.
1799.—John Inskeep, in place of Barclay.
1799.—William Jones, in place of Ash.
1799, Dec. 3.—John Clement Stocker, Jr., in place of his father.
1800, Sept. 15.—Dr. David Jackson, in place of Hilary Baker.
1800, Oct. 22.—John Barker.
1801, Oct. 14.—Andrew Pettit, in place of Bedford.
1801, Oct. 23.—Matthew Lawler, in place of Jackson.
1802, May 22.—John Douglass, in place of Jennings.
1802.—Samuel Carswell, in place of Howell.
1803.—Abraham Shoemaker.[8]
1806, May 26.—Michael Keppele, in place of Hillegas.
1809.—Andrew Geyer.
1809, Aug. 9.—John Geyer, in place of Tod.
1813, April 30.—George Bartram, in place of Smith.
1813, Nov. 25.—Timothy Matlack, in place of Stocker.

and freehold, and conceived it to be a point of law," and demanded a trial thereof, which was granted. Markham and Moore acted jointly while contesting the matter. Markham died 12th mo. 4th, 1704, and Lieutenant-Governor Evans appointed himself the register-general, thus settling the matter, and taking possession of one of the most lucrative offices in the province, and made his cousin, Peter Evans, his deputy, 2 "Logan Papers," 8.

[1] John Moore signs as deputy register from Dec. 3, 1724, to April 2, 1728.

[2] Reappointed by Council (16 C. R., 443), Sept. 4, 1790.

[3] By act of July 2, 1839, the registers of wills became elective. Charles Thomson Jones was deputy for Corfield, J. B. Sewell for Pray, and Piersol and Col. Robert F. Christy for Painter. John Weaver died in office Jan. 16, 1846.

[4] Appointed for the unexpired term of Col. Leech, who died in office.

[5] Appointed in place of Brearly, who died Aug. 23, 1878, aged thirty-seven years.

[6] Mayor's Court, after the second Tuesday in October, 1796, was composed of fifteen aldermen as associates, appointed by the Governor under the act of April 14, 1796.

[7] The father of Hilary and John Baker was a German schoolmaster, of Germantown, named Hilarius Becker. Baker and Barker are different names, and must not be confounded in these lists.

[8] Died May 25, 1818, aged sixty-five.

1815, July 24.—Samuel Badger, in place of John Barker.
1816.—Joseph Hertzog.
1817, April 2.—James Nelson Barkér.
1818, March 4.—Peter Christian, in place of Matlack.
1818, April 8.—Abraham Shoemaker, Jr., in place of his father, resigned.
1820, May 11.—John Connelly, in place of Jacob Baker.
1822, April 3.—Joseph Watson, in place of Keppele.
1822, April 3.—William Duane, in place of Carswell.
1822, Dec. 2.—John Binns, in place of Hertzog.
1823, Jan. 7.—William Milnor, in place of Connelly.
1823, Dec. 15.—David P. Muhlenberg, in place of Douglass.
1829.—Jacob Sperry,[1] Joseph Burden, Richard Willing, Jr.[2]
1832.—Robert Wharton, Jonathan K. Hassinger, Thomas McKean.
1835.—Samuel Heintzelman, John R. Vodges, in place of Sperry and Willing.
1835.—David S. Hassinger.

CLERKS OF THE MAYOR'S COURT.

Name	Month	Date
William Nichols, in office	——	—, 1789
John Bickley, commissioned	March	8, 1800
William Sergeant, commissioned	Dec.	21, 1801
Thomas Sergeant, commissioned	April	22, 1806
Josiah Randall, commissioned	May	10, 1809
Randall Hutchinson, commissioned	Aug.	—, 1814
Charles Pierce, commissioned	March	17, 1821
William Stewart, commissioned	Feb.	7, 1824
John R. Vodges, commissioned	Feb.	22, 1830
John P. Bewley, commissioned	Dec.	11, 1835
William White, commissioned	March	26, 1836

THE DISTRICT COURT FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Organized by act of Assembly of March 30, 1811; *abolished by the Constitution of* 1873.

In the early part of the present century Philadelphia was the largest city in the Union, and its commerce, manufactures, and general business had kept pace with its population. It began to be seriously felt that the judicial system was inadequate, and accordingly, by an act approved March 30, 1811, it was enacted: "Whereas, the Court of Common Pleas of the City and County of Philadelphia, from the various objects of its jurisdiction and the great increase and accumulation of business, is incompetent to the speedy and effectual administration of justice to the citizens of that district, for remedy whereof, be it enacted," etc., that there shall be established a Court of Record by the name and style of the District Court for the city and county of Philadelphia, to consist of a president and two assistant judges, any two of whom, in case of the absence or inability of the other, shall have power to try, hear, and determine all civil pleas and actions where the sum in controversy should exceed one hundred dollars.

The court thus established soon became full of important business, and acquired a solid and enduring reputation as a great law court for the trial of civil issues. It was the first and, for many years, the only court of original jurisdiction in the commonwealth whose judges were all learned in the law. Down to about the beginning of this century there was no positive requirement that even the presidents of the Common Pleas should be learned in the law, though the practice had been uniform since the Revolution to appoint only lawyers. But the associates remained laymen in the Common Pleas of Philadelphia until 1833, when one of them was required to be learned in the law, and "one to be appointed under the existing laws of the commonwealth" (act of Feb. 8, 1833; P. L., 23), and the other associate remained a layman until 1836, after which all the judges of that court were required to be learned in the law (act of March 11, 1836; P. L., 76). So late as 1831 the salaries of the associate judges of the Common Pleas of Philadelphia were only four hundred dollars each, while the salaries of the judges of the District Court and the president of the Common Pleas were two thousand dollars each.

The bench of the District Court was occupied by a succession of learned and able lawyers, and when the court adjourned *sine die*, Jan. 4, 1875, it was with the universal regret of the bar. A more dignified, learned, and impartial tribunal has seldom, if ever, existed in this or any other community.

PRESIDING JUDGES.

Name	Month	Date
Joseph Hemphill, commissioned	May	6, 1811
Joseph Borden McKean, commissioned	Oct.	1, 1818
Jared Ingersoll, commissioned	March	19, 1821
Moses Levy, commissioned	Dec.	18, 1822
Joseph Borden McKean, commissioned	March	21, 1825
Joseph Barnes, commissioned	Oct.	24, 1826
Thomas McKean Pettit, commissioned	April	21, 1835
Joel Jones, commissioned	April	8, 1845
George Sharswood, commissioned	Feb.	1, 1848
John Innes Clark Hare, commissioned	Dec.	1, 1867

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

Name	Month	Date
Anthony Simmons, commissioned	May	6, 1811
Jacob Sommer, commissioned	June	3, 1811
Thomas Sergeant, commissioned	Oct.	20, 1814
Joseph Borden McKean, commissioned	March	27, 1817
Joseph Barnes, commissioned	Oct.	1, 1818
Joseph Borden McKean, commissioned	March	17, 1821
Benjamin Rawle Morgan, commissioned	March	29, 1821
John Hallowell, commissioned	March	27, 1825
Charles Sidney Coxe, commissioned	Oct.	24, 1826
Thomas McKean Pettit, commissioned	Feb.	16, 1833
George McDowell Stroude, commissioned	March	30, 1835
Joel Jones, commissioned	April	22, 1835
John King Findlay, commissioned	April	1, 1845
George Sharswood, commissioned	April	8, 1845
George McDowell Stroud, commissioned	Feb.	5, 1848
John King Findlay, commissioned	Feb.	5, 1848
John Innes Clark Hare, commissioned	Dec.	1, 1851
Martin Russell Thayer, commissioned	Dec.	1, 1867
Thomas Greenbank, commissioned	Dec.	7, 1868
Martin Russell Thayer, commissioned	March	27, 1869
James Lynd, commissioned	Dec.	5, 1870
James Tyndale Mitchell, commissioned	Dec.	4, 1871
Amos Briggs, commissioned	March	25, 1872

Joseph Hemphill was a native of Chester, now Delaware County, admitted to the Chester County bar, August, 1793. Member of Congress, 1801 to 1803, from Chester County, and from 1819 to 1831. He died May 29, 1842, aged seventy-two years. Associate Judge Sommer's name is sometimes rendered Somers. Simmons and Sommer were not lawyers. Judge Sommer died in February, 1857, aged sixty-nine years, and Anthony Simmons, late judge and colonel of the Ninety-sixth Regiment, died Jan. 6, 1830, aged fifty-seven years. Edward King had the position of associate judge offered to him in 1825; he hesitated about accepting it, and then Judge Hallowell took it, thus making room in the Common Pleas for King as the president judge. The "Forum," 2 vol., 175. On April 1, 1835, King was tendered the place of presiding judge of the District Court, but declined. George M. Stroud was associate for thirty-four years, and declined the position of presiding judge in 1868, when Sharswood was elected judge of the Supreme Court, and died in 1875, full of years and honors. Thomas McKean Pettit was appointed in the place of Hallowell, who resigned, and was recommissioned March 30, 1835, for ten years. Joel Jones was recommissioned March 31, 1845, for ten years. Judge Hare was commissioned president judge Dec. 1, 1867, and elected Nov. 6, 1868. Thomas Greenbank had certificate of election and took his seat, but it was successfully contested by M. Russell Thayer. Judge Briggs was appointed March 25, 1872, and elected Oct. 8, 1872, for ten years. In accordance with the amended Constitution of 1873, the District Court was consolidated with the Court of Common Pleas, and the act of May 14, 1874, abolished all courts not mentioned in the Constitution. P. L., 1874, pp. 139, 140.

An interesting sketch of the District Court will be found in "An Address delivered at the final adjournment of the Court, Jan. 4, 1875," by the Hon. James T. Mitchell, one of the judges of the court, in which he says, "By the Constitution of Pennsylvania, adopted in 1873, a new organization of the judicial tribunals of the State was directed, under which the Nisi Prius, District, and Common Pleas Courts of Philadelphia City and County ceased to exist on the first Monday in January, 1875. The judges of the Supreme Court, heretofore in turn holding the Court of Nisi Prius, were relieved from original jurisdiction, and the judges of the District and Common Pleas Courts were transferred to the new Courts of Common Pleas, created by the Constitution."

PROTHONOTARIES OF THE DISTRICT COURT.

Name	Month	Date
John Porter, also of the Common Pleas	April	25, 1811
Timothy Matlack, of District Court only	March	14, 1817
Michael Leib, commissioned	Nov.	15, 1822
Randal Hutchinson, commissioned	Feb.	27, 1824
John Lisle, commissioned	Feb.	22, 1830
Franklin Comly, commissioned	March	24, 1836
William White, commissioned	Jan.	7, 1839
William V. Pettit,[3] commissioned	Feb.	9, 1839
Edward C. Dale, elected	Dec.	1, 1842
David C. Skerritt, elected	Dec.	1, 1845
Augustin R. Peale, elected	Dec.	1, 1848
Thomas Fletcher, elected	Dec.	1, 1851
James W. Fletcher, elected	Dec.	1, 1854
John P. McFadden, elected	Dec.	1, 1857

[1] Died Jan. 2, 1830, aged sixty.

[2] Died April 15, 1833.

[3] Appointed, and then elected on the second Tuesday in October, to serve three years from the 1st day of December. (See act of July 2, 1839, § 3.)

Philip S. White, elected..........Dec. 1, 1860
George Kelly, elected..........Dec. 1, 1863
James McManes, elected..........Dec. 1, 1866
William K. Hopkins, elected..........Dec. 1, 1869
William B. R. Selby,[1] elected..........Dec. 1, 1872

COMMISSIONERS OF INSOLVENTS.

Act of March 13, 1812, *to expire April* 1, 1815.

Three commissioners to be appointed by the Governor. This law was repealed, except as to pending cases, Dec. 21, 1812. April 29, 1814, the insolvent law was declared unconstitutional.

Charles Jared Ingersoll, commissioned..........March —, 1812
William Newbold, commissioned..........March —, 1812
John Conrad, commissioned..........March —, 1812
George Bartram,[2] commissioned..........July 14, 1812

THE COURT OF CRIMINAL SESSIONS FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

This court was organized in accordance with the act of March 19, 1838, and commenced its sessions on the first Monday in April, 1838, with a president judge and two associates learned in the law, all *ex officio* justices of the peace, and to have all the powers and exclusive jurisdiction exercised by the Mayor's Court and the Recorder's Court of the Northern Liberties, Kensington, and Spring Garden.' The clerk of the Quarter Sessions of the Peace to be clerk of the court. "All the necessary records of the Mayor's Court, Recorder's Court, and of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the County of Philadelphia shall be delivered to the clerk of the Sessions Court."—"Laws of Penna.," 1838, section 18, p. 125. Abolished by act of 27th February, 1840.

PRESIDENT JUDGE.

James Todd,[3] appointed..........March 28, 1838

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

John Bouvier,[4] appointed..........March 28, 1838
Robert T. Conrad,[5] appointed..........March 28, 1838

THE COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Established by Act of Feb. 27, 1840. *Abolished by Act of Feb.* 3, 1843.

The Court of General Sessions was to consist of three judges, learned in the law, and to have exclusive jurisdiction and cognizance of all matters of which the Court of Criminal Sessions then had jurisdiction, and with power to try all cases of murder, etc.; and such duties as were incident to the clerk of the Oyer and Terminer were to be performed by the clerk of that court, and such as appertained to the clerk of the Criminal Sessions were to continue to be performed by the clerk of that court. When the court was abolished the Court of Quarter Sessions was reinstated with all its former powers and original jurisdiction.

PRESIDENT JUDGES.

George W. Barton,[6] appointed..........March 20, 1840
Anson V. Parsons,[7] appointed..........Jan. —, 1843

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

Robert T. Conrad, appointed..........March 20, 1840
Joseph M. Doran, appointed..........March 20, 1840

CLERK.

William O. Kline, appointed..........March 20, 1840

THE CLERKS OF THE COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS FOR THE COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

John Southern, commissioned..........Date unknown.
Patrick Robinson, in office..........13 3 mo., 1686
David Lloyd, by Provincial Council..........1 8 mo., 1686
James Claypoole,[8] commissioned..........28 12mo., 1688-89
John Claypoole,[9] commissioned..........July 6, 1697
Robert Assheton, by city charter..........Oct. 25, 1701
Ralph Assheton,[10] in office.......... —— —, 1733-34
Charles Read, died before..........Jan. 20, 1736-37
Thomas Hopkinson, appointed..........Jan. 20, 1736-37
Andrew Hamilton, appointed..........Feb. 24, 1745
John Lawrence,[11] appointed..........Sept. 8, 1747
William Parr,[12] his deputy.......... —— ——
Hilary Baker, commissioned..........Aug. 19, 1777
Charles Biddle,[13] commissioned.......... —— —, 1794
Joseph Reed, commissioned..........Jan. 22, 1800
Richard Bache, Jr., commissioned..........Nov. 9, 1805
Tench Coxe, commissioned..........Jan. 28, 1815
William Runkle, Jr., commissioned..........March 4, 1818
Erasmus Thomas, commissioned..........March 15, 1821
Henry Shoemaker, commissioned..........Nov. 2, 1823
John Conrad, commissioned..........Feb. 7, 1824
Matthew Randall, commissioned.......... —— —, 1829
Bartholomew Graves, commissioned..........Feb. 22, 1830
Edward D. Corfield, commissioned..........March 24, 1836
William G. Conroy, commissioned..........Jan. 20, 1839
James Enen, Jr.,[14] commissioned..........Feb. 9, 1839
Andrew Flick, commissioned..........Nov. 22, 1842
John Thompson, Jr., commissioned..........Oct. 14, 1845
John Williams, commissioned..........Nov. 25, 1848
John A. Scanlan, commissioned..........Nov. 22, 1851
George M. Howell, commissioned..........Nov. 10, 1854
Joseph Crockett, commissioned..........Nov. 2, 1857
George H. Moore, commissioned..........Nov. 22, 1860
John C. Butler, commissioned..........Nov. 8, 1866
Thomas H. Ashton, commissioned..........Nov. 16, 1869
Henry H. Bingham, commissioned..........Nov. 1, 1870
George Truman, commissioned..........Nov. 5, 1878
Isaac McBride,[15] *ad interim*..........Sept. 29, 1879
William R. Leeds,[16] appointed..........Oct. 4, 1879
William E. Littleton, elected..........Nov. 2, 1880

Joseph P. Galton, chief court clerk of the Quarter Sessions, died on Jan. 22, 1879, aged thirty-nine years. He entered the office of the clerk of the Quarter Sessions in 1857, when quite young, as an assistant to J. Orlando Tobias, the then chief court clerk, and succeeded him in that position in 1860. His death was announced in Judge Mitchell's court by District Attorney Hagert, on the afternoon of the day of his death. He said, "It becomes my painful duty to announce to your Honor the decease of Joseph P. Galton, who was connected with this court for a period of twenty-one years, and who was for more than eighteen years its court clerk. In the course of this long experience, Mr. Galton had acquired a thorough knowledge of the business and practice of the court, and was frequently consulted by the judges in matters arising in the progress of its daily business. Indeed, so thoroughly informed was he upon such matters, that although comparatively young in years, he filled the full measure of the old law-writer's description of the aged and faithful clerk, who was described as the 'right hand of the court.' Ever faithful and attentive to his duties, courteous and obliging to all

[1] Mr. Selby served until the court was abolished, and then became, by the Constitution of 1873, prothonotary of the Common Pleas. The bar seldom came in contact with the prothonotaries. Their duties were performed by deputies. The seniors of the bar have a vivid recollection of Matthias Coates, who was chief clerk previous to 1840 for many years. He was a character in his way, and made all the lawyers "stand from under" when he was in a bad humor. He was much liked, however. John L. Woolf was deputy for Mr. Dale, and afterward principal deputy for Sheriff Lelar. Edwin T. Chase succeeded Woolf as chief clerk, and held that office for a long time. The bar will recall with pleasure Frederick A. Trego; James G. Gibson, search clerk for many years, and afterward prothonotary of the Common Pleas; David A. Allison, who succeeded him as search clerk, and continued in that position for a long period; and Benjamin M. Shain, who was for a long series of years a clerk; Henry T. Coleman, a former appearance clerk from 1845 to 1848; Horace L. Peterson, in the same position; and Pierre Chapouty, chief clerk; and also Robert E. Hackett, for many years one of the clerks, who died Jan. 8, 1882, aged seventy-two years, all pleasant and obliging gentlemen.

[2] Appointed in the place of Conrad, who resigned.

[3] Of Fayette County; attorney-general when appointed.

[4] Recorder of Philadelphia.

[5] Recorder of the Northern Liberties.

[6] Judge Barton resigned Dec. 31, 1842.

[7] On Feb. 3, 1843, the bill abolishing the General Sessions having been finally passed, the Governor revoked the appointment of Anson V. Parsons as president judge, and nominated him as an additional judge of the Common Pleas, and the Senate confirmed him February 8th. He never presided.

[8] 1 C. R., 208, 214; died 1690.

[9] In office; 1 Pa. Archives, 125.

[10] See 9 Pa. Archives, 2d series, 699.

[11] John Lawrence was appointed in the place of Andrew Hamilton, deceased, 5 C. R., 106 (1747), 110, and held office until his death, January, 1775. Although it is stated in 9 Pa. Archives, 2d series, 699, that James Read was appointed clerk of the peace June 4, 1752, it is probably an error. See Prothonotaries of Common Pleas.

[12] See 4 Pa. Archives, 601, and Aitken's "Register" for 1773, p. 30, etc.

[13] The Directory of 1794 says Charles Biddle was prothonotary of the county. The Directories of 1798 and 1799, under the head of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, give Charles Biddle "Prothonotary of said Court."

[14] James Enen, Jr., under the Constitution of 1838, was elected on Oct. 8, 1839, to serve three years from December 1st. See act July 2, 1839.

[15] See the opinion of the city solicitor of Oct. 21, 1879.

[16] *Vice* Truman, deceased.

with whom he was brought into contact, his loss will be sensibly felt by the court and the bar. I deem it due to the memory of this efficient and faithful officer to bear this public testimony to his worth and ability, and as a mark of esteem in which he was held by the judges, I move, your Honor, that a minute of his death be entered on the records of the court."

Judge Mitchell, in a few feeling remarks eulogistic of the deceased, said that he acquiesced in what Mr. Hagert had said, and ordered a minute of the proceedings to be entered on the records.

The death of Mr. Galton was also announced in the old court-room by Assistant District Attorney Reed, and Judge Yerkes, after making an appropriate reply, ordered that the court be adjourned in respect to the memory of the deceased. These were exceptional honors to one occupying so subordinate a position; but the moral is evident,—

"Honor and fame from no condition rise;
Act well your part, there all the honor lies."

INTERPRETER FOR THE COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS.

Appointed by the judges, term five years.

Joseph Sanson,[1] appointed........................Feb. 8, 1869

PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS FOR PHILADELPHIA.

This list is very unsatisfactory, but it is the best I could compile from the reports and the memory of the older members of the bar, and is, therefore, necessarily incomplete in many particulars. Attorney-General Lear wrote me in 1878 that there were no lists of the deputies on file in the attorney-general's office. The prosecuting attorneys were:

Deputy Attorneys-General.[2]

Name	Month	Date
Joseph Barnes, appointed	——	—, 1810
Peter A. Browne, appointed	——	—, 1811
Edward Ingersoll, appointed	——	—, 1814
Peter A. Browne, Oyer and Terminer	Jan.	—, 1817
Charles S. Coxe, Quarter Sessions	Jan.	—, 1817
Thomas Kittera, Mayor's Court	Jan.	—, 1817
George M. Dallas, *vice* Kittera	Jan.	—, 1818
William J. Duane, *vice* Dallas	Jan.	—, 1821
Jasper Slaymaker, Mayor's Court	Jan.	—, 1821
Thomas Kittera, Supreme Court and Oyer and Terminer	Feb.	2, 1821
George M. Dallas, Quarter Sessions	Feb.	9, 1824
Charles S. Coxe, Mayor's Court	Feb.	9, 1824
Thomas M. Pettit, Supreme Court and Oyer and Terminer	Feb.	9, 1824
Samuel Rush	——	—, 1826
George M. Dallas, Oyer and Terminer	——	—, 1826
Thomas M. Pettit	——	—, 1826
George M. Dallas, for the county	Feb.	22, 1828
Samuel Rush, Mayor's Court	——	—, 1828–29
Augustus H. Richards, Quarter Sessions	——	—, 1829
Thomas S. Smith, for the county	April	—, 1829
Philip S Markley, *vice* Smith	Sept.	—, 1829
Joel B. Sutherland, for the county	Feb.	—, 1830
Michael W. Ash, Quarter Sessions	Feb.	26, 1830
John Wurts, Mayor's Court	Feb.	—, 1830
Samuel Rush	——	—, 1830
Michael W. Ash, Oyer and Terminer	——	—, 1831
Joel B. Sutherland, Quarter Sessions	——	—, 1832
Augustus H. Richards, Mayor's Court	Feb.	—, 1833
Joel B. Sutherland, Oyer and Terminer and Supreme Court	Feb.	—, 1833
Michael W. Ash	Feb.	—, 1833
John Wayne Ashmead, Quarter Sessions	——	—, 1833
Edward C. Watmough, Mayor's Court	Jan.	—, 1834
David S. Todd, for the county	——	—, 1835
Ellis Lewis, for the county	——	—, 1835
Samuel Rush, for the county	——	—, 1835
Edward E. Law, for the county	——	—, 1838
George W. Barton, for the county	——	—, 1839
Henry M. Phillips,[3] for the county	——	—, 1839
William L. Hirst,[3] for the county	——	—, 1839
C. Wallace Brooke, for the county	——	—, 1840–41
Ashbel Green, Jr., for the county	——	—, 1841
William Badger, for the county	——	—, 1842
William A. Porter, for the county	May	3, 184[illegible]
J. Murray Rush, for the county	——	—, 1844
William D. Kelley, for the county	——	—, 1845
Francis Wharton, for the county	——	—, 1845–46
William D. Kelley, for the county	Jan.	—, 1847
David Webster, for the county	Jan.	—, 1847
William A. Stokes, for the county	June	23, 1848
David Webster, for the county	June	23, 1848
William Bradford Reed, for the county	——	—, 1849
Joseph P. Loughead, for the county	——	—, 1849

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Previous to 1850 the prosecuting law-officer for the commonwealth in the different counties of the State was appointed by the attorney-general, and called the deputy attorney-general. By the act of May 3, 1850, P. L., 654, the qualified voters of every county in the State were authorized to elect one person learned in the law as district attorney, for three years from the first Monday in November next after his election. By Article 14 of the new Constitution district attorneys are declared to be county officers, and their terms begin on the first Monday in January next after their election, to represent the commonwealth in all criminal and other prosecutions. Since that time the following gentlemen have acted as district attorneys for the judicial district known as the city and county of Philadelphia.

Name	From		To
Horn R. Kneass, in office from	1850	to	1851
His election contested successfully by			
William B. Reed, in office from	1851	to	1856
Lewis C. Cassidy,[4] elected	Nov.		3, 1856
His election successfully contested by			
William B. Mann, in office from	1856	to	1868
Joseph P. Loughead, in office from	1856	to	1859
Dennis W. O'Brien,[5] dep. dist. att'y.	June		21, 1861
Furman Sheppard,[6] elected	Nov.		2, 1868
Charles Gibbons, by the court	Oct.		25, 1869
Furman Sheppard, by the court	May		3, 1870
William B. Mann, in office from	1871	to	1875
Furman Sheppard, in office from	1875	to	1878
Henry S. Hagert,[7] in office from	1878	to	1881
George S. Graham,[8] elected	Nov.		2, 1880

[1] In the edition of "Purdon's Digest," by Brightly, 1853, it is said, in a note to an act providing for the appointment of an interpreter in Allegheny County, that the several sworn interpreters of foreign languages in the city and county of Philadelphia shall be entitled to receive the same fees as the Allegheny County interpreter for attendance on courts. This act was passed April 14, 1838. In a note the compiler says that the only act authorizing the appointment of an interpreter in Philadelphia was the general health law of Jan. 29, 1818, which gave him fees for his visits to vessels. On the 27th of March, 1865, a law was passed authorizing the appointment of an interpreter in Philadelphia by the Governor, and one for the court by the judges of the Common Pleas.—See Com. ex rel. Girard *vs.* Sanson, 67 Pennsylvania State Reports, 322.

[2] All the attorneys-general had their deputies here, but some represented the commonwealth themselves, particularly those residents of the city. Joseph B McKean, 1800 to 1808; Richard Rush, 1811; Jared Ingersoll, 1811 to 1816; Ellis Lewis, 1831; George M. Dallas, 1838; William B. Reed, 1838; Ovid F. Johnson, 1839 to 1845; Benjamin F. Champneys, 1846; and James Cooper, in 1848, appeared before the courts here in person as the representatives of the commonwealth.

[3] Messrs. Lewis, Phillips, and Hirst are mentioned in the reports as appearing for the commonwealth, but I believe they were not prosecuting attorneys or deputies in the strict sense, but only assisted the attorneys-general in special cases. At the times stated, Messrs. Barton and Brooke were deputies for Ovid F. Johnson, the attorney-general.

[4] The act of April 27, 1857, which was passed with the intention of compromising the contest between Mr. Mann and Mr. Cassidy, provided that there should be two district attorneys, the judges of the Quarter Sessions to appoint the additional district attorney, but the presiding judge of the Court and his associates refused to recognize the act as a compromise, and the contest went on, and was decided in favor of Mr. Mann. The court then appointed Mr. Loughead the additional district attorney.

[5] District Attorney Mann was in service for over four months (in 1861) as colonel of the Thirty-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, during which time Mr. O'Brien was his deputy. He was the assistant of Mr. Reed during the latter's term. Mr. Mann's son, Charles Naylor, was his assistant after his admission to the bar, in 1862. The late Judge Thomas Bradford Dwight and William H. Ruddiman were also Mr. Mann's assistants.

[6] Mr. Sheppard had certificate of election, and was sworn in. Mr. Gibbons contested his election, and the court declared him elected, Oct. 25, 1869; afterward the court discovered they had made an error in counting the votes, so on May 3, 1870, reversed their former decision and declared Mr. Sheppard duly elected. His assistants during the time he held office were Henry S. Hagert, Robert P. Dechert, and William Wilson Ker.

[7] Mr. Hagert's assistants were John R. Reed, Dallas Sanders, and William Wilson Ker, lately an assistant to the Attorney-General of the United States.

[8] District Attorney George S. Graham made the following appoint-

SALARIES OF COUNTY OFFICERS OF PHILADELPHIA COUNTY.

Act of March 31, 1876.

Office	Salary
District Attorney	$15,000
First Assistant	6,000
Second Assistant	5,000
Third Assistant	3,000
Sheriff	15,000
Coroner	6,000
Deputy Coroner	2,500
Prothonotary of the Common Pleas	10,000
Clerk of the Quarter Sessions, Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery	10,000
Recorder of Deeds	12,000
Register of Wills, who is also clerk of the Orphans' Court	10,000
Treasurer	10,000
Commissioners (each)	5,000
Controller	10,000

CITY SOLICITORS.

By ordinance of Feb. 27, 1801,[1] an attorney and solicitor for the corporation was authorized to be appointed by the mayor, salary $500. I am indebted to the late estimable Chief Justice John Meredith Read for this list of the city solicitors, and for encouraging me to compile these lists for preservation and future reference.

Name	Year
Jared Ingersoll,[2] appointed	1798
Joseph Hopkinson, appointed	1801
Mahlon Dickerson, appointed	1801
William Meredith, appointed	1808
William McIlhenny, Jr., appointed	1809
Joseph Reed, appointed	1810
William Meredith, appointed	1811
Randall Hutchinson, appointed	1813
E. Spencer Sergeant, appointed	1814
John Read,[3] appointed	1818
Thomas McKean Pettit, appointed	1820
Robert Wharton Sykes, appointed	1823
John K. Kane, appointed	1829
John Meredith Read, appointed	1830
John K. Kane, appointed	1831
Edward Olmsted,[4] appointed	1833
Isaac Hazelhurst, elected	1854
William A. Porter,[5] elected	1856
William L. Hirst, by Councils	1857
Henry T. King,[6] elected	1858
Charles E. Lex, elected	1860
Frederick Carroll Brewster,[7] elected	1862
James Lynd, by Councils	1866
Thomas J. Barger,[8] elected	1868
Thomas J. Worrell,[9] in office	1869
Charles H. T. Collis, elected	1871
William Nelson West,[10] elected	1877
Charles F. Warwick, elected	1884

SOLICITORS OF THE DISTRICTS.

FOR PHILADELPHIA COUNTY.

Previous to Consolidation, 1854.

Name	Date
John Lewis Leib, in office from	1809 to 1817
John Hallowell, appointed	1817 to 1818
William Delany, appointed	1818 to 1822
Richard Peters, Jr., appointed	May —, 1822
Thomas Sergeant, appointed	April —, 1825
Charles Taylor, appointed	1833 to 1836
William Bradford Reed, appointed	1836 to 1841
Charles Wallace Brooke, appointed	Jan. —, 1841
William Deal Baker, appointed	—— —, 1841
George M. Dallas, appointed	June —, 1841
Benjamin H. Brewster,[11] appointed	June —, 1841
Henry M. Phillips, appointed	May 6, 1845
Peter A. Browne, appointed	May —, 1845
Horn R. Kneass, appointed	May —, 1847–48
Elihu DeKalb Tarr, appointed	Oct. —, 1849
Joseph Pfeiffer Loughead,[11] appointed	—— —, 1850
William Deal Baker, appointed	Dec. —, 1851

FOR SOUTHWARK.

Incorporated by act of March 26, 1762, *and by act of April* 18, 1794.[12]

Name	Date
Joseph M. Doran, in office	—— —, 1835
Peter Orans, elected	Oct. —, 1839
John W. Ashmead, elected	—— —, 1848

FOR THE NORTHERN LIBERTIES.

District formed by act of March 28, 1803. *Solicitor to be elected by ordinance of June* 1, 1830.

Name	Date
James A. Mahany, appointed	Dec. 5, 1819
Charles Naylor, elected from	1831 to 1837
Marshall Sprogell, elected from	1837 to 1840
William M. Kennedy, *vice* Sprogell	May 11, 1840
Robert B. Knight, elected	Dec. 1, 1840
William Wilkinson, elected	Dec. —, 1841
John Wayne Ashmead, elected	—— —, 1847
Frederick C. Brightly, elected	—— —, 1848–49
John F. Belsterling, elected	Dec. —, 1851
James Goodman, elected	—— —, 1854

FOR MOYAMENSING.

District created by act of March 24, 1812.

Name	Date
Henry Helmuth, elected	—— —, 1831
Samuel F. Reed, elected	June —, 1838
Horn R. Kneass, elected	1839 to 1842
Samuel F. Reed,[13] elected	July —, 1842
James Hanna, elected	—— —, 1845
Robert K. Scott, elected	Nov. —, 1845
Francis Dimond, elected	—— —, 1847–48
William D. Barnes,[14] elected	Dec. 4, 1848
Francis Dimond, elected	Jan. 1, 1850
Andrew Miller, elected	Dec. —, 1851
Lewis C. Cassidy, elected	—— —, 1852
John Wayne Ashmead, elected	—— —, 1853
Edward C. Quin, elected	—— —, 1854

FOR SPRING GARDEN.

District established by Act of March 23, 1813. *Solicitors elected by Ordinance of June* 18, 1832.

Name	Date
Peter A. Browne, appointed	Jan. —, 1820
James Page, appointed	Jan. —, 1824
Samuel Chew, appointed	—— —, 1826
Robert Bethell, elected	—— —, 1832

ments: First Assistant, Francis Amedée Bregy; Second Assistant, Charles Franklin Warwick; Third Assistant, John Lippincott Kinsey; Clerk, James Murray Rush Jermon. Mr. Bregy was assistant under Col. Mann. Charles F. Warwick having been elected city solicitor in 1884, J. L. Kinsey was appointed second assistant, and John A. Siner third assistant.

[1] Ordinance repealed Dec. 28, 1815. Ordinance of April 10, 1817, authorized the mayor to appoint a solicitor, whose services were to be paid for according to their value. And this was the rule until the passage of the ordinance of Aug. 29, 1839, which authorized Councils, yearly, in January, to elect a solicitor.

[2] Judge James T. Mitchell, formerly assistant under Mr. Lex, has a letter signed by Jared Ingersoll, dated in 1798, as city solicitor.

[3] John Read, city solicitor in 1818, was the father of the late Chief Justice Read, city solicitor in 1830.

[4] Mr. Olmsted held the office for twenty-one years.

[5] George L. Ashmead was first assistant city solicitor for Mr. Porter.

[6] The first assistant under Mr. King, and also under Mr. Lex, was David W. Sellers. The other assistants under Lex were the present Judges Finletter and Mitchell, and Simon Gratz.

[7] Mr. Brewster was elected in 1862 for three years, re-elected in 1865, resigned in 1866, having been elected as associate judge of the Common Pleas.

[8] Mr. Barger's election was successfully contested by Mr. Worrell, who was declared city solicitor in 1869.

[9] Henry R. Edmunds was assistant city solicitor from Feb. 25, 1870, to Feb. 14, 1871. William P. Messick, A. Atwood Grace, William H. Yerkes, William N. Ashman, Lorin Burritt, Joshua Spering, Joseph K. Fletcher, and John H. Seltzer, for the guardians of the poor, were also assistants under Mr. Worrell.

[10] Assistants to Mr. West were Charles E. Morgan, Jr., John K. McCarthy, and Francis Alexander Osbourn solicitor for the guardians of the poor, and Abraham M. Beitler, Charles Barnsley McMichael, Robert W. Finletter, William H. Addicks, Robert T. Corson, John Scott, Jr., M. Verner Simpson, Thomas Corwin Cheston, and Thomas D. Finletter.

[11] Attorneys for forfeited recognizances.

[12] The reason why it is impossible to obtain a list of the solicitors of Southwark is because no such list was ever made out by any person. The minute-books of the corporation of Southwark, as well as of all other districts, were ordered to be placed in charge of City Councils after consolidation. This direction was but partially enforced. Many of the books were carried off by individuals. I saw some years ago a minute-book of the corporation of Southwark in the possession of a gentleman of this city, who claimed it to be his private property. It is said that for some years after consolidation a large number of books belonging to the district corporations, with other papers, were stored over the mayor's office at Fifth and Chestnut Streets, but I have not been able to verify this statement.

[13] Appointed *pro tem.*, *vice* Kneass, resigned.

[14] Collector of outstanding debts, 1847–48.

Eli K. Price, elected	——	—, 1833
John Miles, in office	——	—, 1835
Charles Naylor, elected	Dec.	—, 1835
Eli K. Price, elected	Dec.	—, 1837
Henry M. Phillips, elected	Dec.	8, 1841
Joseph Allison, elected	Dec.	4, 1848–51
Robert Bethell, elected	Dec.	—, 1851
Leonard Myers, elected	——	—, 1854

FOR KENSINGTON.

Incorporated by Act of March 6, 1820. *Office created by Ordinance of Nov.* 7, 1843.

John M. Read, appointed	Sept.	—, 1842–46
Elihu DeKalb Tarr,[1] appointed	——	—, 1846–50
John G. Michener, appointed	——	—, 1850
Harlan Ingram, appointed	——	—, 1852
John G. Michener, appointed	——	—, 1854

FOR PENN TOWNSHIP.

Created by Act of March 21, 1827. *Incorporated by Act of Feb.* 26, 1844.

George M. Wharton, appointed	——	—, 1844
J. Murray Rush, appointed	1845	to 1846
Horn R. Kneass, appointed	1848	to 1850
David Webster, appointed	Oct.	22, 1850
Henry T. Grout, appointed	——	—, 1851
David Webster, appointed	——	—, 1854

FOR WEST PHILADELPHIA.

Created a borough Feb. 17, 1844. Title changed to district April 3, 1851.

Henry M. Phillips, appointed	May	3, 1842
George Emlen, appointed	April	—, 1849
George L. Ashmead,[2] appointed	before	1850
William W. Wallace, appointed	June	—, 1850
Henry M. Phillips, appointed	1851	to 1854

FOR RICHMOND.

Incorporated Feb. 27, 1847.

William E. Lehman, appointed	April	—, 1847
Edward C. Graeff	Oct.	—, 1849
Thomas W. Higgins, appointed	1853	and 1854

FOR MANAYUNK BOROUGH.

Charles D. Freeman, appointed	April	—, 1847

FOR THE BOARD OF HEALTH.

Samuel Ewing, in office	1812	to 1818
Charles Naylor, in office	1835	to 1838
Benjamin Gerhard, in office	1838	to 1841
J. Altamont Phillips, in office	1841	to 1854

FOR THE GUARDIANS OF THE POOR.

James Milnor, in office	——	—, 1809
Richard Rush, in office	——	—, 1810
Samuel Ewing, in office	——	—, 1815
James A. Mahany, in office	——	—, ——
Joel B. Sutherland, in office	before	1822
John M. Scott, in office	1822	to 1835
James Hanna, in office	1835	to 1850
Charles Gilpin, resigned	Feb.	—, 1850
Henry S. Hagert, in office	Oct.	16, 1850–54

Since the Act of Consolidation the city solicitor or his assistants represent all the departments of the city.

THE RECORDER'S COURT OF THE NORTHERN LIBERTIES, KENSINGTON, AND SPRING GARDEN.

Established by Act of June 16, 1836.

This court was abolished by act of March 19, 1838, creating the Court of Criminal Sessions. It was irreverently called "The Flaxseed Court."

PRESIDENT.

Robert T. Conrad, commissioned	July	16, 1836

ASSOCIATES.

The Aldermen of the Districts.

I have had no opportunity of examining the records of the districts; in fact, I believe they have all been destroyed, hence these imperfect lists. There were no City Directories printed in 1836 or 1838, and that of 1837 contains no lists of the aldermen, except those of the city proper. Being unable to find out the names of the gentlemen who sat as associates, application was made to the author of the history of Philadelphia for any information he had on the subject. He replied as follows:

"By an act passed in 1832 seven aldermen were to be appointed for the District of the Northern Liberties. John T. Goodman, Nathan Harper, John Laws, John R. Walker, Frederick Wolbert, Peter Hay, and John Conrad were appointed in 1833. Some one of these must have died, resigned, or declined, because Mordecai Y. Bryant was appointed April 17, 1833, in the place of somebody; John M. Cannon was appointed April 15, 1834; and Michael Andress, April 16, 1836. The three latter were probably in commission at the time the Recorder's Court was created, but we do not know which four of the seven first above named were in service at that time. The Spring Garden aldermen, by act of 1832, were four in number. There were appointed in 1833: Morton McMichael, Charles Souder, John L. Woolf, and Freeman Scott. June 20, 1836, Martin W. Alexander was appointed. We presume that he was the successor of Charles Souder, who died June 2, 1836. By act of 1832 four aldermen were to be appointed for the District of Kensington, and in 1834 the number was increased to five. In 1833 the four aldermen were Hugh Clark, Isaac Boileau, Robert Hodgson, and David Snyder. William B. Mott was appointed Dec. 7, 1835. On Dec. 9, 1836, Samuel Weyant replaced one of the foregoing, but we do not know who." Frederick Wolbert, an alderman of the Northern Liberties, died June 19, 1836.

JUDGES OF THE VICE-ADMIRALTY SITTING IN PHILADELPHIA.

William Penn and Council	March	9, 1683
Thomas Lloyd and Council	11 8 mo.,	1684
Benjamin Fletcher, vice-admiral	Oct.	20, 1692
William Markham,[3] sole judge	May	17, 1693
Col. Robert Quarry	——	—, 1697
Robert Snead, deputy, 1 C. R., 531	Aug.	8, 1699
John Moore, deputy, 1 C. R., 550	April	13, 1700
Roger Mompesson,[4] "Logan Papers"	9 5 mo.,	1703
Robert Quarry, P. and West Jersey	9	br, 1703
John Moore, deputy for Seymour	5 mo.	20, 1704
William Assheton,[5] in office	——	—, 1718
Josiah Rolfe, sole judge	June	25, 1724
Joseph Browne, sole judge	Oct.	6, 1724
Isaac Miranda, deputy judge	July	19, 1727
Charles Read, sole judge	April	—, 1735
Andrew Hamilton, sole judge	Aug.	18, 1737
Thomas Hopkinson,[6] sole judge	——	—, 1741
Dr. Patrick Baird, deputy	Dec.	14, 1749
Edward Shippen, Jr.,[7] judge	Nov.	22, 1752
Jared Ingersoll, commissary	Oct.	17, 1768
James Biddie, deputy	Oct.	17, 1768

JUDGES OF THE ADMIRALTY UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

George Ross,[8] commissioned	April	6, 1776
Francis Hopkinson, commissioned	July	16, 1779

[1] See his "Digest of the Ordinances."

[2] See copy of "Ordinances," edited by him in 1851.

[3] William Markham was appointed by Benjamin Fletcher, the vice-admiral, etc., "his Deputy or Surrogate in the sd office of Vice Admiralty, as far as it extended over sd province of pennsylvania & Countrey of New Castle."—1 C. R., 311 and 314.

[4] Mompesson had arrived here at this date; 1 "Logan Papers," 200. His commission as judge of the Vice-Admiralty included Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania; "Street's New York Council of Revision," 75; but Col. Quarry in some way got a commission as judge of the Admiralty for Pennsylvania and West Jersey.—1 "Logan Papers," 281, November, 1703. In 1 C. R., 575, Quarry is spoken of as judge of the Court of Admiralty of Pennsylvania and West Jersey on May 14, 1700, and Moore as advocate.

[5] The inscription on the book-plate previously referred to is as follows: "William Assheton, of Gray's Inn, Esquire, Judge of the Court of Admiralty in Pennsylvania, 1718." See, also, 3 C. R., 182, May 18, 1722, where he is stated to be "Judge of His Majesties Court of Vice Admiralty for this Province."

[6] See 2 *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 314.

[7] In the history of the First City Troop it is stated James Mease was "Admiralty surveyor of the port of Philadelphia, 1796–1825."

[8] The Continental Congress recommended the several Legislatures of the United Colonies to create Courts of Admiralty.—"Journal of Congress," i. vol., 260. An appeal being allowed to Congress in all cases, or to such person or persons as they should appoint for the trial of appeals. On Sept. 9, 1776, a committee, consisting of Richard Stockton, Samuel Huntington, Robert Treat Paine, James Wilson, and Thomas Stone were appointed to hear an appeal in the case of the schooner "Thistle." This committee appears never to have met but once, namely, on Sept. 16,

JUDGES OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Under act of Congress, Sept. 24, 1789, organizing United States District and Admiralty Courts.

Francis Hopkinson, commissioned	Sept. 30, 1789
William Lewis, commissioned	July 20, 1791
Richard Peters, commissioned	April 11, 1792
Joseph Hopkinson,[1] commissioned	Oct. 23, 1828
Thomas Bradford, Jr.,[2] commissioned	Jan. —, 1842
Archibald Randall,[3] commissioned	March 8, 1842
John K. Kane, commissioned	June 16, 1846
John Cadwalader,[4] commissioned	April 26, 1858
William Butler, commissioned	Feb. 12, 1879

ADVOCATES FOR THE CROWN IN THE VICE-ADMIRALTY.

John Moore, appointed	May 19, 1698
David Lloyd,[5] in office	2 8 mo., 1702
Joseph Growden, Jr., sworn in	April —, 1735

COURT OF APPEALS IN ADMIRALTY IN CASES OF CAPTURE.

Established by Congress Jan. 15, 1780. To consist of three judges to be elected by Congress. Sessions to be held at Philadelphia.

William Paca, elected	Jan. 22, 1780
George Wythe, declined	Jan. 22, 1780
Titus Hosmer, elected	Jan. 22, 1780
Cyrus Griffin, elected	April 28, 1780
John Lowell, elected	Dec. 5, 1782
George Read, elected	Dec. 5, 1782

Paca resigned Nov. 21, 1782, being elected Governor of Maryland. Judge Griffin died in 1810, aged sixty-two, being judge of the United States District Court of Virginia.

June 1, 1785, Congress, by resolution, discontinued the salaries of the judges. See "Journal of Congress." On June 27, 1786, they were authorized to grant new trials, etc. The court expired with the Confederacy.

REGISTERS OF THE ADMIRALTY AT PHILADELPHIA.

Patrick Baird, clerk	June 24, 1724
Patrick Baird, register	April —, 1735
William Peters	Oct. 20, 1744
Philip How, in office	——— —, 1771
John Smith, his deputy	——— —, 1771
Richard Peters, in office	——— —, 1771
Andrew Robeson[6]	July 15, 1776
James Read, appointed	June 5, 1781

CLERKS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT.

Samuel Caldwell, appointed	Oct. 6, 1789
David Caldwell, appointed	Nov. 27, 1798
Francis Hopkinson, appointed	Oct. 7, 1831
Thomas Leiper Kane, appointed	March 9, 1847
Charles Ferris Heazlitt, appointed	Jan. 1, 1858
John M. Jones, appointed	July 10, 1858
Gilbert Robert Fox, appointed	Dec. 29, 1860
Charles Shippen Lincoln, appointed	April 19, 1875

MARSHALS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

Robert Webb, in office	——— —, 1697
Richard Brockden, in office	April —, 1735
Judah Foulke,[7] in office	——— —, 1770
Arodi Thayer, in office	——— —, 1771
Matthew Clarkson, appointed	April 10, 1776
Clement Biddle,[8] appointed	Nov. 10, 1780
David Lenox, appointed	Sept. 26, 1793
William Nichols, appointed	May 18, 1795
John Hall,[9] appointed	Dec. 6, 1800
John Smith, appointed	March 28, 1801
Samuel D. Ingham, *vice* Smith, appointed	Jan. 26, 1819
John Conrad, appointed	Feb. 16, 1819
George B. Porter, appointed	Feb. 22, 1831
Abiah Sharp, appointed	Sept. 5, 1831
Benjamin Say Bonsall,[10] appointed	Feb. 2, 1832
Samuel D. Patterson, appointed	Sept. 25, 1837
Isaac Otis, appointed	April 26, 1841
George M. Keim, appointed	July 7, 1843
Anthony E. Roberts, appointed	May 9, 1849
Francis M. Wynkoop, appointed	March 9, 1853
Jacob S. Yost, appointed	March 31, 1857
William Millward, appointed	April 26, 1861
Peter C. Ellmaker, appointed	July 6, 1865
Gen. John Ely,[11] appointed	April 27, 1869
Edgar M. Gregory,[12] appointed	May 11, 1869
James N. Kerns, appointed	Nov. 14, 1871

UNITED STATES DISTRICT ATTORNEYS FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

William Lewis, commissioned	Oct. 6, 1789
William Rawle, commissioned	July 18, 1791
Jared Ingersoll, commissioned	May 7, 1800
Alexander James Dallas, commissioned	March 10, 1801
Charles Jared Ingersoll, commissioned	Feb. 28, 1815
George Mifflin Dallas, commissioned	April 7, 1829
Henry Dilworth Gilpin, commissioned	Dec. 30, 1831
John Meredith Reed, commissioned	June 23, 1837
William Morris Meredith, commissioned	March 25, 1841
Henry Miller Watts, commissioned	May 13, 1842
Thomas McKean Pettit, commissioned	May 5, 1845
John Wayne Ashmead, commissioned	May 12, 1849
James C. Van Dyke, commissioned	March 12, 1854
George Mifflin Wharton, commissioned	April 17, 1860
George Alexander Coffey, commissioned	July 22, 1861
Charles Gilpin, commissioned	March 19, 1864
John P. O'Neil, commissioned	April 20, 1868
Aubrey Henry Smith, commissioned	April 5, 1869
William McMichael, commissioned	March 17, 1873
John King Valentine,[13] commissioned	Nov. 6, 1875

JUDGES OF THE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT, EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THIRD JUDICIAL CIRCUIT.

See Act of Congress, Sept. 24, 1879, and Brightly's "Digest of United States Statutes."

James Wilson, assigned	April 12, 1790
John Blair, assigned	April 11, 1792
William Cushing,[14] assigned	Oct. 11, 1792
William Paterson, assigned	March 11, 1793
James Iredell,[14] assigned	April 11, 1793
Samuel Chase,[14] assigned	April 11, 1798
Bushrod Washington,[15] commissioned	Dec. 20, 1798
Jared Ingersoll,[16] chief judge	Feb. 18, 1801
Richard Bassett, commissioned	Feb. 20, 1801
William Griffith, appointed	Feb. 18, 1801
William Tilghman, chief judge	March 3, 1801
Henry Baldwin, assigned	Jan. 6, 1830
Robert Cooper Grier, assigned	Aug. 4, 1846
William McKennan, commissioned	Jan. 4, 1870

1776, in the State-House, to the appeal from the decision of Judge Ross. —See "Admiralty Docket," "Record in Prize," 1776, in which the committee are denominated commissioners.

[1] There is a volume of reports of his decisions included in his works.

[2] Appointed by the President, but not confirmed by the Senate.

[3] In the place of Horace Binney, who declined Jan. 31, 1842.

[4] Died Jan. 26, 1879, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

[5] James Logan says of Lloyd, in a letter to Penn, 2d Eighth mo., 1702 (1 "Logan Papers," 139), "He is now made J. Moore's Deputy Judge of the Admiralty, Advocate at the said Court, and is now at New Castle upon a trial in it, notwithstanding his opposition to it before thy arrival occasioned so much trouble." This means that John Moore, who was the deputy judge, as we well know, made David Lloyd the advocate for the crown in his court.

[6] Died May 29, 1781, aged twenty-nine years.

[7] Died Jan. 14, 1776, aged sixty-three.

[8] Appointed United States marshal of the Pennsylvania District Sept. 30, 1789. This official is now styled the United States marshal for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

[9] Died Sept. 10, 1826, aged eighty-seven.

[10] Died Aug. 27, 1837.

[11] Died May 4, 1869.

[12] Died Nov. 7, 1871.

[13] Mr. Valentine was assistant district attorney from May, 1864, to the day of his appointment. Henry Hazlehurst and Hood Gilpin were appointed assistants by Mr. Valentine in 1875, Henry P. Brown in 1876, and James S. Nickerson in 1882.

[14] These judges held the Circuit Court at the date specified, Cushing at York, Pa., Iredell and Chase at Philadelphia. As they were justices of other circuits, they were probably detailed for the occasion by the Supreme Court. Until the appointment of Judge McKennan, the only judges of the Circuit Courts were the associate justices of the United States Supreme Court, with the exception of the "Midnight Judges." The act of April 16, 1869, gives each circuit a judge. The bench of the Circuit Court consists of an associate justice of the Supreme Court, the circuit judge, and the judge of the United States District Court for the district in which the court is held. Any two of said judges sitting together constitute a full bench.

[15] Judge Washington died Nov. 26, 1829, aged seventy. Judge Grier died Sept. 26, 1870.

[16] Jared Ingersoll was appointed chief judge Feb. 18, 1801, but declined, and Mr. Tilghman was appointed, nominated, and confirmed by the Senate on March 3, 1801. These judges were facetiously called "The Midnight Judges."

William Strong, commissioned........................Feb. 18, 1870
Joseph P. Bradley,[1] assigned.............................Jan. 10, 1881

CLERKS OF THE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT, THIRD CIRCUIT, PHILADELPHIA.

Samuel Caldwell, died Nov. 26, 1798..............April 12, 1790
David Caldwell, appointed.................................May 11, 1801
Francis Hopkinson, appointed..........................Oct. 11, 1831
George Plitt, appointed.....................................Nov. 17, 1846
Benjamin Patton, appointed..............................Jan. 30, 1858
Samuel Bell, appointed.....................................April 12, 1870

CHAPTER XL.

MEDICAL PROFESSION.

First Practitioners—Epidemics—Eminent Physicians and Surgeons—Medical and Dental Colleges and Societies—Hospitals and Dispensaries.

If the city of Philadelphia was at an early period in possession of the ablest bar in the United States, the same may be said in regard to its physicians. It is a fact, not generally known, that this city takes precedence over all other cities in the United States in medical education. Here the first systematic and regular course of lectures in medical instruction in this country was given, which resulted in the foundation of the present University of Pennsylvania. It is not strange, therefore, that a city which first began medical instruction in this country, being so favorably located, should have gained pre-eminence over all rivals in this particular field, and secured to her medical schools a world-wide fame.

As heretofore stated, the first settlers on the banks of the Delaware were the Swedes. We are not informed from what diseases they suffered during the period of their supremacy, and how they were mitigated by the hands of those skilled in the knowledge of the causes of human maladies, and the means of their relief. Noah Webster, in his history of epidemics and pestilential diseases, alludes to the fearful severity of the winter of 1641, and the great sickness that prevailed among the Swedes in the following summer. In 1647 the same colony was similarly visited by an epidemic that prevailed throughout all the colonies. From the remarks of this writer we must conclude that there were few, if any, whose skill was sufficient for the exigencies of that visitation. He says, "such as were bled or used cooling drinks died; such as used cordials or more strengthening things, recovered for the most part." Eight years afterward another fearful epidemic came on. Yet further on, the same historian tells of another whose advent had been presaged by signs and wonders in the heavens. "In the year 1668 appeared a comet with a stupendous coma: this was attended by an excessively hot summer, and malignant diseases in America."

The foregoing is about the extent of our knowledge of diseases and their treatment in this country prior to the arrival of William Penn. This absence of information may be regarded as evidence that these colonists, barring accidents from epidemics, were in the main a vigorous and healthy community. With the coming of a ruler like William Penn all the exigencies of a society destined to rapid development must be foreseen, and to some degree provided for. We have seen how he brought along Bradford and his printing-press, destined to become so notable in the history of the young commonwealth. All professions had their representatives among those related to him by blood or religious faith. Among those who joined their fortunes with him in this movement (perilous for those times) were Thomas Wynne and Griffith Owen, whom, for want of earlier historic accounts, we must regard as the pioneers of the medical profession in Pennsylvania. Both were Quakers, and, according to tradition, had been well educated in medicine, and been engaged in practice in the mother-country. Wynne was said to have followed his profession in the city of London. The proprietor, it seems, had other uses for his learned friend than the cure of the bodily infirmities of his people; or such infirmities were not sufficiently numerous and serious to engross all his time. We find that he was returned to the first Assembly that was elected for the province, and became its first Speaker.

It is much to be regretted that these men did not leave some memorial of the career they led in the beginning of the scientific treatment of what few maladies befell the early colonists. What poetry is to prose, in new societies, surgery is to medicine. It goes before. They were mainly accidents by flood and field, great and small, from dangerous wounds to toothaches, that claimed the attention of these men of science, except, indeed, when an epidemic came along, and prostrated the multitudes with fevers and influenzas or other pestilences. Cases were not sufficiently numerous to keep even these two constantly employed. Dr. Wynne continued to take an active part in politics, while his brother of the lancet and the scalpel is said to have traveled much among the neighboring provinces. This habit grew upon him with years, until later he gave his practice over entirely to his son, and took his chief delight in going the rounds of meetings with the Quaker ministers, several of whom kept journals, in which Dr. Owen is frequently alluded to in terms of fond regard.[2]

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[1] Mr. Justice Bradley is one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, assigned to the Third Circuit, as the circuit justice, which he must visit at least once in every two years.

[2] Dr. Owen, we suspect, was as much a preacher as physician. This combination of the two professions, theology and medicine, is not uncommon, especially in newly-organized communities. The cure of souls among such as claim to have this as a gift from heaven, nearly always carries along as a handmaid the cure of bodies, and many a penny has been turned in this line of practice that was at least as honest as those gathered from the other. Among the inducements of simple folk to emigrate to other climes, those founded upon religion are frequently among the most potent. Dr. Thatcher speaks with feeling upon this motive that impelled so many Quakers to leave their native country. "They

Allusions are found here and there in old annals to the "Barbadoes distemper," so named, doubtless, from having been imported from that island. This was in 1697, beginning in August and lasting until near the last of October, when it suddenly subsided. It had been an intensely hot summer, during which several persons had died from sun-stroke. Vomiting and the discharge of blood were the most marked symptoms. Dr. Wynne had died some time before this epidemic. His practice devolved upon his son-in-law, Dr. Edward Jones. A son of Dr. Owen about this time became of age, and these two young physicians supported the burden of encountering this distemper. It is evident from the foregoing that the settlement must have been a remarkably healthy one for several years, in spite of its rapid growth and the necessarily abundant felling of timber. Deaths that occurred, except from epidemic causes peculiar to no locality, were very infrequent. Allusions are frequently made to this fact by English travelers who, upon their return to England, published accounts of the country.

At the settlement of Philadelphia there were living those with whom the search for the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life was yet dear, sometimes avowedly so. One of these, whose descendants yet live in the State, some of them deriving profit yet from one of his nostrums, was very prominent in his day. There were many who fully credited his claim to have the secret of producing gold, and the doubting were confidently answered by those who had seen with their own eyes the precious metal in his hands. Among many of the uneducated in Pennsylvania to this day is often used the medicine "golden drops," of which the traditions of cures, some approximating the miraculous, are many and multifold.

were restive and unhappy under the restrictions and even persecutions which emanated from the bigotry of the Church of England." The Puritan clergy of England were, for more than twenty years prior to the emigration of the first settlers, subjected to the sharpest persecution. Hence, as a precautionary measure in case of ejectment, a considerable number of clergymen of that period were educated to the medical profession, and not a few were eminent professionals before they crossed the Atlantic. When these professional men came to form connections in the colonies, it was found that the small congregations were unable to afford them a comfortable support; hence the convenience of their resorting to secular avocations."

The clergy, at least in this country, have not been noted for backwardness in asserting their claims of recognition for whatever they may have regarded themselves as specially competent. From the pulpit they declaimed upon the sin of inoculation when it was first introduced. They wrote and published freely upon other subjects connected with the sanitary and moral principles involved in medical practice. Some interesting things are told of this mingling of the two professions. A descendant of one of these theological physicians used to exhibit, not very long ago, what evinced some absence of mind in his ancestor. The latter was on one occasion on a Sunday morning in the pulpit engaged in the dispensation of the solemn services of the hour, when he received a communication, stating that a negro girl needed his speedy medical attention. Unfortunately, he had no paper at hand on which to write his prescription. Whereupon he took the hymn-book and wrote on a fly-leaf this: "Let the wench be blooded, and wait until I come." The case being urgent, we suppose the reverend doctor hastened through his present duties in order to repair to those which, if not more important, needed more speedy attention.

Dr. Griffith Owen died about 1717. His son and Dr. Jones, a son-in-law of Dr. Wynne, as far as can now be known, were the only two physicians of any claim to respectability until the coming of Dr. Kearsley and Dr. Graeme. The latter of those, we may suppose, was at least as fond of other pursuits as of his profession. At all events, he was often absent from the arena of professional labors, whiling away his time in establishing and continually adding adornments to his estate in Montgomery County, destined to become long notable under the name of "Graeme Park."

The Graemes claim descent from William de Graham, who went to Scotland on invitation of David I., in 1128, and whose descendant in the tenth generation was one of the Scotch commissioners to treat with England in 1406 and 1411, from whom came in undoubted succession the Graemes of Montrose. Dr.

DR. THOMAS GRAEME.

Thomas Graeme was born in 1688, at Balgowan, the hereditary estate in Perthshire. He came to Pennsylvania in 1717, along with and under the auspices of Col. William Keith, who had been appointed Deputy Governor of the Province. He was by profession a physician, and is supposed to have received his education at the University of Leyden. His practice was small in a society where, as we have seen, men who had been regularly educated in medicine as well as law were regarded with less favor than those who consulted other dictates than those to be found in books. To compensate this insufficient progress of his *protégé*, Governor Keith put him at the head of the naval office, much to the disgust of Logan, whose friend Assheton had been removed for this purpose, and went so far as to intimate that Keith, without considering the question of the merits of Assheton or Graeme, had appointed the latter from gratitude to his family for the security which he had enjoyed while hiding at Balgowan after the battle of Sheriff Muir. He was married to Miss Diggs, who was stepdaughter to the Governor, and this relation also enhanced his influence at the seat of power in the province.

The Court of Chancery was established through

the influence of Governor Keith in 1720. In 1725 Dr. Graeme was raised to the Council and became a master in chancery. Hostile as the Assembly became to the Governor, the latter's subordinates came in for their share of odium and distrust. They complained of the exorbitant fees charged by the master, and even went so far as to accuse him of partiality. Notwithstanding these discouraging things, he was appointed in 1731 justice of the Supreme Court. The St. Andrew's Society, intended originally for the assistance of Scotchmen, was founded in 1749, and Dr. Graeme became its first president. He died in 1772.

The name of Dr. John Kearsley was long remembered. He was a native of England, and came to this country about 1711. As a member of the Colonial Assembly his speeches for the rights of Americans were so forcible that he was often carried home on the shoulders of the people. He contributed a large sum of money for the building of Christ Church. Associated with his name is the establishment of the first institution founded for the relief of the indigent,—the Hospital for Poor Widows, which was attached to Christ Church. Under his instructions were two young men who were destined to become eminent in the profession, but the latter in another community,—John Redman and John Bard. He has been represented as of morose disposition, an infirmity which, strangely enough, is often found, as in his case, blended with high public spirit and hearty benevolence. He died about 1732. His practice, like that of Drs. Wynne and Owen, descended to another member of his family, a son of his brother. But this person, if he did not take too active a part in politics, certainly espoused the unfortunate side. An avowed adherent to the foreign cause, first proprietary and then royal, his conduct rendered him obnoxious to the Whigs to that degree that he was subjected to so gross indignities as to induce permanent insanity.

For a while dividing the practice with Dr. Kearsley, and then surviving him about twenty-five years, was Dr. Lloyd Zachary. He had come when a young infant with his father from England to the city of Boston. A brother of the elder Zachary was a resident of Philadelphia. To this brother the child was consigned by his father on his death-bed, and Philadelphia became his home for the rest of his life. Dr. Zachary was one of the most gifted men that ever lived in Philadelphia. After receiving his academic education he was placed under Dr. Kearsley for professional training. With him he remained until he had acquired all that his preceptor could singly impart. Then he went abroad and spent three years in further study. He began the practice of medicine about 1723. He was eminently successful, and acquired much money, of which he liberally contributed to charitable purposes. He rendered incalculable services to the hospital which was founded in his time, and of which he was made first physician. In the community there probably was not one who was more respected and beloved. His active career was unhappily shortened by an attack of paralysis when in the meridian of his success. Yet his devotion to the hospital was never subdued, and when he died, his will was found to contain a liberal bequest in money and books to that institution.

Two of the Bonds—Thomas and Phineas—brothers, natives of the State of Maryland, became quite distinguished. Thomas, the elder, removed to Philadelphia about the year 1734. Franklin had then been a resident about ten years, and was already fairly entered upon the great career he was to enact. Dr. Bond soon became intimate with the latter, and they, along with Bartram, Godfrey, and others, gave to public endeavors their most determined and successful direction. With Dr. Zachary, he was teacher of the medical students of the city, and was the first to deliver clinical lectures at the hospital, of which he was one of the most active of the founders. The younger brother, Phineas, after receiving his academic education, took professional courses in London, Paris, Leyden, and Edinburgh, after which he returned and settled in Philadelphia, where he soon rose to distinction, and, besides being connected with his brother and Dr. Zachary in the hospital, was one of the founders of the College of Philadelphia. The elder Bond was an occasional contributor to foreign journals, notably the *London Medical Observations and Inquiries*. One of his papers was an account of an immense worm bred in the liver, and another on the use of Peruvian bark in scrofulous cases.

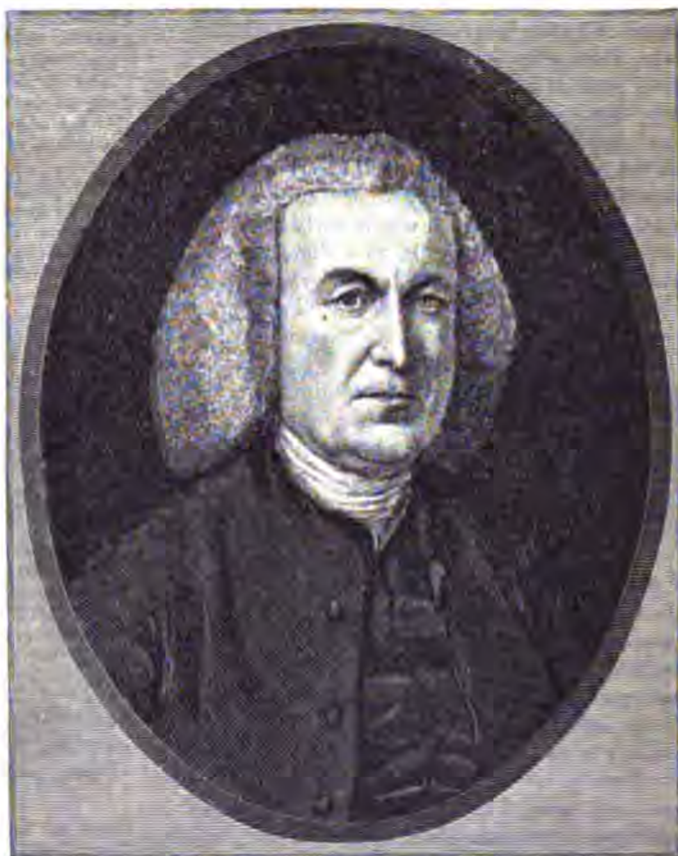
Contemporary with the aforementioned, though somewhat younger, were several men of much ability. Among these was Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, the provincial councilor.

He was the son of John Cadwalader, a member of the Provincial Assembly, who emigrated to Pennsylvania from Pembrokeshire, North Wales, toward the close of the seventeenth century, and on Dec. 29, 1699, married Martha, daughter of Dr. Edward Jones, one of the earliest practitioners of medicine in the province, and granddaughter of Dr. Thomas Wynne, who came over with Penn in the "Welcome." Dr. Cadwalader was born in Philadelphia, and it is believed that after studying at the Friends' public school he began his medical tuition under his uncle, Evan Jones, who was a chemist in this city. He was for some years abroad completing his professional acquirements, and studied anatomy in London a year under the celebrated Chesselden. Returning to Philadelphia about 1731, he began that career as a physician, philanthropist, and man of affairs which made him so highly distinguished. He was one of the original corporators of the Philadelphia Library Company, and a director at various periods from 1731 to 1774. In the winter of 1736–37 he was one of the physicians who inoculated for the smallpox, and in 1745 he published his essay on the West India dry

gripes, a violent colic that was probably introduced into Philadelphia from the sub-tropical islands. In this little volume Dr. Cadwalader demonstrated that he was ahead of his professional colleagues by advocating the employment of mild cathartics in preference to quicksilver and drastic purgatives. The suggestion was so eminently sound that the practice was adopted with success in America and England. It appears that in 1746, Dr. Cadwalader had his home in Trenton, N. J., as when a charter as a borough was granted to it in that year he was chosen first burgess. In the possession of the Young Men's Christian Association are a number of volumes of a public library founded by him at Trenton. He returned to Philadelphia in 1750, and his name appears in the following year as a subscriber to the capital stock of the Pennsylvania Hospital at the time of the charter of the institution, of which he was one of the original physicians and surgeons, and served many years. In 1751 he was also elected a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia, and served until 1774. With Chew and Mifflin he was called to the Provincial Council Nov. 2, 1755, and remained a member up to the time of the Revolution. In 1750 he delivered the first course of medical lectures given in Philadelphia, and in 1753 he was made a trustee of the academic department of the college, now the University of Pennsylvania.

In 1765, upon the organization of the medical department of the University, he was elected one of its trustees. He was a member of the Philosophical Society and the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge. He was a patriot in the Revolution, signed the non-importation articles, and was one of the commission appointed by the Committee of Safety, July, 1776, to examine candidates for positions in the navy. He was also medical director of the army hospitals. He died at Greenwood, N. J., Nov. 14, 1779, aged seventy-two years, and his remains were interred in the Friends' burying-ground at Trenton. He was married, June 18, 1738, to Hannah, daughter of Thomas Lambert, and their children were Anne, Martha, John, Lambert, Mary, Rebecca, Margaret, and Elizabeth.

John Cadwalader, son of the councilor, became the Gen. John Cadwalader of the Revolutionary war, and was the father of Gen. Thomas Cadwalader, of the war of 1812, and Frances Cadwalader, born June 25, 1771. She married Lord Erskine, British minister to the United States, and son of Lord Chancellor Erskine. Lady Erskine was one of the most remarkable beauties of her time, as shown in her portrait by Gilbert Stuart, a superb example of his skill, which is in possession of the Philadelphia family. It is a curious fact that her descendants, and therefore the descendants of a Revolutionary general, are the present Duke of Portland and the son of Lord Archibald Campbell, prospective Duke of Argyle. The late John Cadwalader, born April 1, 1805, was the great-grandson of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, and was elected to Congress in 1854. In 1858 he was appointed judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, a position which he filled with great reputation to the time of his death. A



DR. THOMAS CADWALADER.

brother of Judge Cadwalader was the bold Maj.-Gen. George Cadwalader, distinguished for his services in the Mexican war and the civil war, and especially in connection with the quelling of the Philadelphia riots in 1844. The Gen. Thomas Cadwalader above mentioned was, in 1826, associated with Gen. Scott and Col. (afterward President) Taylor in the revision of the tactics of the United States army. He was the author of numerous articles in various journals, and his residence at Ninth and Arch Streets was the resort of the most accomplished scholars of the country. Col. Lambert Cadwalader, of Revolutionary renown,

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was also a son of the councilor, and John Dickinson, the celebrated author of "The Farmer's Letters," was a nephew. Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, upon his return home from Europe, rose with marked rapidity into successful practice. He was represented as a man eminently polished in manners, yet equally popular among the humblest of the people. He had the leading practice among the Welsh families, and in 1745 published one of the earliest American medical treatises, in which he recommended a change in the treatment of a then prevalent disorder. He was as generous as he was gifted. While abroad he had paid much attention to the study of anatomy. Not disposed to keep to himself an accomplishment which most of his brethren in the profession had not had opportunities to acquire, he took a house, in which he gave lessons in this science, illustrating its principles by practicing there upon such of his patients as could be removed from their homes. This house is supposed to have been furnished by James Logan.[1] These lectures were attended not only by students, but by men already engaged in practice, and by other leading citizens.

Dr. George Glentworth was an early physician and surgeon. He was born in this city July 22, 1735, and died here Nov. 4, 1792. He graduated at the University of Edinburgh, in 1758, and was surgeon in the British army during the French and Indian war. In 1777 he relinquished his extensive practice in this city and became surgeon of a regiment; afterward senior surgeon in the American army, and subsequently director-general of hospitals for the middle division.

Another physician of note in that day was Cadwalader Evans, a relative of the councilor. He was one of the pupils of Dr. Thomas Bond.

Among the evils that occasionally interrupted the growth and happiness of this otherwise then most favored young community was the smallpox. In the beginning of the century there were those who, having carefully studied and compared the statistics of deaths by this disease and by inoculation, did not hesitate to advise the adoption of the latter as a preventive. It required persistent argument to overcome the fears of the inhabitants; but so disastrous had been the ravages of the disease, and so persistent and able the arguments of Kearsley, Zachary, Cadwalader, Bond, and Shippen, that the hostility was overcome at last about 1730. The first submission was that of J. Growden. It is recorded of Thomas Jefferson that when a lad, he made the journey to Philadelphia for the purpose of receiving inoculation, and persons used to point out, near the bank of the Schuylkill, the house where he lay during his convalescence.

The following extract is interesting in several aspects of the history to which we are devoting this chapter. It is taken from an address by Dr. Caspar Morris, published in the "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania" in 1829:

"The winter of 1740-41 was very severe, and the succeeding summer the city was visited by a disorder which Noah Webster calls the American plague, and Dr. Bond says was yellow fever, but supposes it to have been introduced by a sickly ship-load of convicts from the Dublin jail. Previous to this it had been the practice to distribute sick immigrants among the inhabitants, at whose houses they received that attention their forlorn situation demanded. In this way jail, or ship-fever, was frequently communicated to the families with which they were quartered (or it was so thought at the time), and about this time a 'pest-house' was erected at League Island. In 1747, Webster says, the city again was visited by the 'Bilious Plague,' preceded by influences which very frequently prevailed over the whole continent.

"The citizens frequently suffered from bilious remittent fevers, particularly while the dock remained open. This was a creek, running from near the centre of the city plat to the Delaware, following the course of Dock Street, and was navigable at high tide so far as Chestnut and Fourth Streets. At low water, however, its muddy bed was left exposed to the sun, and emitted a most noxious effluvium, and Dr. Bond asserts that fewer ounces of bark were taken after its closure, than pounds before. As a preventive and cure for miasmatic diseases and their sequelæ, Dr. Bond lauds highly the mild chalybeate waters which abound in the neighborhood of the city, and by his directions they were resorted to both by convalescents and those who wished to escape the 'bleaching ague.' Many facetious stories are told of the impositions that were practiced upon those who, too unwell to walk to the springs out of the city, were directed to particular wells as possessing equal virtues. These springs seem early to have claimed attention, and were thought by the first settlers to equal the most celebrated spas of Europe. So early as the year 1722, the one now known as the Yellow Springs, in the Great Valley, was discovered, and much resorted to. There was one in the neighborhood of the Wind-Gap in the Blue Mountains, which on the early maps of the State was called the Healing Spring, and marked by the representation of a number of tents pitched around it. There was another situated near Bristol, and in the Watson Map one is noticed situate near where the Globe Mill now (1829) stands, which received the patronage of William Penn, who caused accommodations for visitors to be erected, and hoped to see a village collected round it, which, in anticipation, he named Bath."

From some causes the method of inoculation for smallpox did not prove as great a blessing as its advocates had foretold. It is probable that sufficient preliminaries were not observed for putting patients in condition to receive the virus. The indifferent success of its first employment seemed likely after some time to cause its disuse, until Dr. Thompson, about the middle of the century, brought forward a system of practice originated by himself, which made a very strong impression, not only in Philadelphia but in New York and Boston. It was also noticed with favor by the leading physicians abroad. Dr. Thatcher, from whose "American Medical Biography" this information has been obtained, seems to have not known whether to assign Dr. Thompson to Pennsylvania or Maryland.

Much of the information we have of medical events and others in the early history of Philadelphia has been derived from the works of Thomas Story, an English Quaker, who traveled in the colonies of

[1] "Dr. Cadwalader, who had studied anatomy in London, under the guidance of the celebrated Cheselden, gave demonstrations to the physicians of Philadelphia when he himself settled among them. It is interesting to know that the place of delivery of these lectures was in Second Street, above Walnut. The Bank of Pennsylvania subsequently occupied the site. With respect to these lectures Dr. Wistar remarks, 'I suppose that the anatomy of that day, as well as of the present, enjoyed the honorable protection of literature, and that the dissertations were made under the auspices of the most profound scholar of Pennsylvania, the president, James Logan, founder of the Loganian Library.'" —*Watson's Annals.*

North America about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Among other things, he published his "Travels and Labors in the Service of the Gospel." We may have some idea of the degree to which the science and practice of anatomy had risen in 1699 by his account of a surgical operation, claimed to be the first that had taken place in that community:

"The next day, being the 1st of the 10th month, we went over Chester Creek on a boat to the town, and as the Governor landed[1] some young men, officiously and contrary to express command of some of the magistrates, fired two small pieces of cannon, and being ambitious of making three out of two by firing one twice, one of the young men, darting in a cartridge of powder before the piece was sponged, had his left hand and arm shot to pieces, upon which, a surgeon being sent for from on board a ship then riding, an amputation of the member was quickly resolved on by Dr. Griffith Owen (a Friend), the surgeon, and some other skillful persons present. But as the arm was cut off, some spirits in a basin happened to take fire, and being spilt on the surgeon's apron, set his clothes on fire, and there being a great crowd of spectators, some of them were in the way, and in danger of being scalded, as the surgeon was upon his hands and face; but running into the street, the fire was quenched, and so quick was he that the patient lost not very much blood, though left in that open, bleeding condition."

From this it appears that Dr. Owen had quite an extensive practice. Perhaps there was no physician residing at Chester, or perhaps Dr. Owen merely happened to be there to pay his respects to the newly-arrived Proprietary.

It is interesting to contemplate the rapid rise of the medical profession in Philadelphia from this rude beginning. There was promise to be indulged by the sight of the laborious philanthropic lives that were being led by the men comprising that list, from Wynne and Owen to Bond and the elder Shippen; how they devoted their endeavors not only to the attainment of fame and fortune for themselves, but the dissemination among one another and among the people of what they had learned of the principles of the general sanitary condition of mankind. It was to them most specially that Franklin could always appeal with success for co-operation in those great schemes which he was chief in establishing in the city he had made his home. It was to a physician that he was indebted for the leading ideas that resulted in the foundation of the American Philosophical Society.

Dr. Cadwalader Colden, a Scot, educated at the University of Edinburgh, came to Philadelphia in the early part of the century, and there resided for about ten years. Thence, and before the coming of Franklin, he removed to New York. But the distance between did not hinder the formation of an intimate cordial acquaintance. A physician, a botanist, a natural philosopher, he and Franklin were wont to make frequent interchange of notices of new discoveries, and of ideas and suggestions appertaining to general science. Franklin had already founded the Junto, which, limited in membership as it was and maintaining a quasi-secresy as to its operations, he was fond of and even proud to the end of his life to remember. The intercourse with Dr. Colden led him to believe that the Junto was less sufficient for the development of the continually growing interests of Philadelphia than a society based upon a larger fraternity, and public and more extended operations. To this end he issued in 1743 his celebrated "Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America." Some account of this institution has been already given, and we notice it in this connection for the sake of those physicians who were prominent in its foundation, and those who subsequently enacted prominent parts in its transactions. Of the nine original founders two were physicians, the two brothers, Thomas and Phineas Bond. The position of honor was assigned to the older as physician, and that of general natural philosophy to the younger. It was but a short time when another society, similar in its aims to the former, was established. This also had been known in its inception by the name of Junto, but afterward assumed that of the "American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge." Among those most prominent in the foundation and conduct of this kindred institution were some of the physicians already mentioned. The rivalry between the two societies was such as it ought to have been between those which were founded upon such enlightened and benign intentions. It seemed a fitting compliment to the aged Dr. Thomas Bond when after twenty years the two institutions were consolidated, and he was chosen as the representative of the older in this generous work.

In this interval between the foundation of the first society and the union of the two, another great institution was begun, if of not greater, certainly of not less importance. This was the Pennsylvania Hospital.

In this great enterprise we observe again that Franklin, its prime mover, looked to the medical faculty mainly for co-operation. The first movement began in 1750, with a memorial addressed to the House of Representatives of the province of Pennsylvania. The petitioners made a strong case before the Assembly. Beginning with the "lunaticks," who are represented to be greatly increasing in the province, and whose going at large was a constant "terrour to their neighbors," a reminder is made of the beneficial influences of the Bethlehem Hospital when it is asserted that "two-thirds of the mad people received therein, and there treated properly, have been perfectly cured." The petitioners call attention to the fact that relief is provided for the poor who are well, and modestly suggest that—

"Something further seems wanting in favor of such whose poverty is made more miserable by the additional weight of a grievous disease, from which they might be relieved if they were not situated at too great a distance from regular advice and assistance, whereby many languish out their lives, tortured, perhaps, with the stone, devoured by the cancer, deprived of sight by cataracts, or gradually decaying by loathsome distempers, who, if the expense in the present manner of nursing and

[1] William Penn, on the occasion of his second visit to his government.

attending them separately when they come to town were not so discouraging, might again, by the judicious assistance of physic and surgery, be enabled to taste the blessings of health, and be made in a few weeks useful members of the community, able to provide for themselves and families."

They conclude by expressing confident assurance that the granting the petition "will be a good work, acceptable to God, and to all the good people they represent."

There was heroism of a high type in the manner in which the objections to the bill founded on the petition were met by the physicians, especially Zachary and the two Bonds. When it was urged that the expenses of surgical and medical aid would probably consume whatever funds might be raised, these men agreed to serve without salary or fees in the hospital for three years. This generous proposal, which, of course, ought never to have been accepted, overcame all opposition, and the bill was passed unanimously. Its chief condition was the raising by voluntary subscription the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, upon the success of which the Speaker of the Assembly would give his warrant on the provincial treasurer or trustees of the loan-office for another two thousand pounds.

The managers, without waiting for the selection of a lot and the erection of buildings, hired a house and agreed upon a set of rules governing the conduct of officers and the reception and disposition of patients. These rules are fifteen in number:

"First, That no patients shall be admitted whose cases are judged incurable, lunatics excepted, nor any whose cases do not require the particular conveniences of a hospital.

"Secondly, That no person having the smallpox, itch, or other infectious distempers, shall be admitted, until there are proper apartments prepared for the reception of such as are afflicted with those diseases; and if any such person should be inadvertently admitted they shall be forthwith discharged.

"Thirdly, That women having young children shall not be received, unless their children are taken care of elsewhere, that the hospital may not be burthened with the maintenance of such children, nor the patients disturbed with their noise.

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"Eighthly, That at least one bed shall be provided for immediate relief.

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"Thirteenthly, That no patient go out of the hospital without leave from one of the physicians or surgeons, first signified to the matron; that they do not swear, curse, get drunk, behave rudely or indecently, on pain of expulsion after the first admonition.

"Fourteenthly, That no patient presume to play at cards, dice, or any other game within the hospital, or to beg anywhere in the city of Philadelphia, on pain of being discharged for irregularity.

"Fifteenthly, That such patients as are able shall assist in nursing others, washing and ironing the linen, washing and cleaning the rooms, and such other services as the matron shall require.

"The foregoing rules were agreed to by a board of managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, the twenty-third day of the first month (January, 1752).

"BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Clerk*.

"We do approve of the foregoing rules.

"WILLIAM ALLEN, *Chief Justice*.

"ISAAC NORRIS, *Speaker of the Assembly*.

"TENCH FRANCIS, *Attorney-General*."

A very interesting account of the foundation of the hospital and the earlier regulations for its conduct, was printed at the office of the *United States Gazette*, in Philadelphia, in 1817, from which it appears that the rules regarding the choice and conduct of physicians were suggested mainly by themselves. The following extract will be read with interest.

"About this time all the physicians and surgeons who were contributors were consulted, in order to form some rules relating to the choice, admission, and conduct of the practitioners, and, after sundry meetings, the following were prepared and agreed to, at a general meeting of the contributors:

"Rules to be observed in the choice of the physicians and surgeons of the Pennsylvania Hospital, to limit and appoint their number, authority, and duty, and to raise a fund for supplying the said hospital with medicines.

"*Imprimis*, The managers of the said hospital shall within ten days after their first meeting in the month called May, yearly, choose six practitioners in physick and surgery, to visit and take care of the patients in the said hospital, and the other practitioners (who are at this time members of this corporation), shall have the privilege of attending and observing the practice of those chosen for the service of the year.

"Secondly, The practitioners chosen shall give their attendance at such times, and in such manner, and be classed with each other as shall be concluded and agreed upon by the managers and practitioners.

"Thirdly, Upon extraordinary cases, the practitioners in attendance shall call in two or more of the practitioners chosen for the service of the year, to consult with.

"Fourthly, In all such cases, which will admit of time for deliberation, all the six practitioners chosen for the service of the year shall have timely notice thereof.

"Fifthly, If any practitioner be removed by the managers for neglect of duty, or any other cause, or shall die, in that case the managers shall choose another practitioner (who is a member of the corporation) to supply his place.

"Sixthly, Each apprentice, or other student the practitioners shall introduce to see the practice of the hospital, shall pay an English guinea, or thirty-four shillings current money, per year, to be laid out in medicines, or such manner as the managers think most proper.

"Seventhly, No practitioner, during the term for which he is chosen to serve the hospital, shall act as a manager.

"Eighthly, The practitioners shall keep a fair account (in a book provided for that purpose) of the several patients under their care, of the disorders they labor under, and shall enter in the said book the receipts or prescriptions they make for each of them.

"Ninthly, No person shall be received hereafter as a candidate to be employed in the said hospital, as a physician or surgeon, until he be a member of this corporation, and of the age of twenty-seven years, hath served a regular apprenticeship in this city or suburbs, hath studied physick and surgery seven years or more, and hath undergone an examination of six of the practitioners of the hospital, in the presence of the managers, and is approved of by them. And with respect to strangers, they shall have resided three years or more in this city, and shall be examined and approved of in the manner and under the restrictions aforesaid."

The hospital was ready and received its first patients on Feb. 10, 1752. The physicians elected were Thomas Bond, Phineas Bond, Lloyd Zachary, Thomas Cadwalader, Samuel Preston Moore, and John Redman. For the first year, or until December, 1752, the physicians of the hospital furnished medicines without charge. Then an apothecary-shop was opened in the hospital, and the first stock of medicines was paid for by contributions from "the charitable widows and other good women of the city."[1]

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[1] The following is the list, which we take from the pamphlet of 1817:

	£	s.	d.
Mary Allen	24	6	0
Margaret Clymer	1	7	0
Deborah Claypole	5	8	0
Mary Calvert	2	0	0

Old as it was claimed to have been, strange seems to us now the device that was used to obtain, surreptitiously as it were, benefactions for the new charity. It is amusing to read the following:

"About the beginning of this year twelve tin boxes were provided, on which were written these words, in gold letters, 'Charity for the Hospital.' One box for each manager, to be put up at his house, ready to receive casual benefactions, in imitation of a good custom practiced in some foreign countries, where these kind of boxes are frequent in shops, stores, and other places of business, and into which the buyer and seller (when different prices are proposed) often agree to throw the difference, instead of splitting it, in which the successful in trade sometimes piously deposit a part of their extraordinary gains, and magistrates throw their petty fees, a custom worthy of imitation. But these boxes among us have produced but little for the hospital as yet, not through want of charity in our people, but from their being unacquainted with the nature and design of them."

One would not desire to see a more tender excusing of tardiness and reluctance in taking a hint for charitable action.

When the institution was in existence, Dr. Zachary was attacked by paralysis, when the managers chose Dr. William Shippen to supply his place.

If cards, dice, and other games were forbidden to the inmates, not so the things that seemed to remind at least the poorest whence they had come, and whither it was to be hoped they might return in good time. "In the beginning of 1754 spinning-wheels were provided by the managers for the employment of such of the women patients as may be able to use them."

We find that at the annual election of the Fifth month (May), 1755, the same physicians were chosen, soon after which was laid the corner-stone of the first building.

It is remarkable that year after year the same physicians were appointed. The only changes made to 1759 were those occasioned by the paralytic stroke that befell Dr. Zachary, before mentioned, and by the resignation of Dr. Samuel Preston Moore, to whose place Dr. Cadwalader Evans was appointed.[1]

The most distinguished name in the early history of the medical profession in Philadelphia is that of Shippen. In the chapter on the bench and bar we spoke of the frequency with which younger members of the families of the counselors and other distinguished persons went abroad in order to have better opportunities for professional training than could be gotten at home. This was the case yet more often with those who were studying for the practice of medicine and surgery. William Shippen, commonly known as Dr. William Shippen the elder, was for a long time one of the leading physicians of Philadelphia. It is not known where he received his degree, but it is most probable that, according to the usages of the time, he served his apprenticeship under one of the physicians who had come in with William Penn. Although eminently successful, yet he was quick to see and prompt to acknowledge the meagreness of the opportunities afforded in Philadelphia or anywhere else in this country for a young man to qualify himself for all the exigencies of a physician's life. A remark of his has been transmitted that shows him to have been a man entirely sincere, and looking forward for a state of things better than was possible to the existing conditions of his home. On an occasion when he was congratulated upon his eminent success, and the few cases of patients who had died upon his hands, he answered, "Nature does a great deal, and the grave covers up our mistakes." These words show him to have been not only a good, but a true and wise man.

	£	s.	d.
Susannah Dillwyn	5	0	0
Sarah Edgell	3	0	0
Sarah Fishbourne	2	0	0
Abigail Griffits	10	0	0
Frances Griffits	2	3	6
Elizabeth Griffits, Jr	1	7	0
Elizabeth Holton	1	0	0
Hannah Kearney	1	0	0
Miriam Kelley	1	7	0
Sarah Lloyd	1	10	0
Sarah Logan	10	0	0
Hannah Lloyd	3	0	0
Sarah Mifflin	2	0	0
Debby Morris	2	14	0
Debby Norris	5	8	0
Content Nicholson	1	0	0
Hannah Ogden	2	0	0
Mary Plumsted	1	14	6
Mary Powell	5	8	0
Elizabeth Paschall	3	0	0
Beulah Paschall	1	7	0
Martha Roberts	1	0	0
Mary Standley	5	8	0
Ann Strettel	3	0	0
Rebecca Steel	3	0	0
Sundry women, by Isaac Jones	3	10	0

In this list we notice names distinguished in their day. Mary Allen heads it with a good figure. Abigail Griffits and Sarah Logan compete for the next best. We have no doubt there was many a poor widow among the "sundry women" whose mites the undistinguished, yet not wholly unambitious, Isaac Jones brought forth and laid at the bottom of the rest.

[1] In alluding to the proposal of Drs. Zachary and the Bonds to attend gratuitously for three years the patients,—a proposal made in order to secure the passage of the measure before the Assembly,—Dr. Joseph Carson, in his "History of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania," says,—

"This became the settled understanding with the board of physicians and surgeons; nor have we learned that the compact has ever been annulled or abrogated during the period of one hundred and seventeen years (from 1751 to the present date, 1869), an instance of disinterested philanthropy which has generally been followed in the charitable institutions depending on medical attendance not only of this city, but throughout the length and breadth of the land." The author adds: "In this institution was the first clinical instruction given by Dr. Thomas Bond in connection with the collegiate course, and, it may be stated, so close has been the association between the hospital and the medical school that of the twenty-nine professors who have occupied collegiate chairs, eighteen have been attending physicians or surgeons of the hospital, and five of the seven medical men first elected to these positions in the hospital were trustees of the college. The foundation of the medical library dates as far back as 1763. The first medical book possessed by it appears to have been a gift from that warm friend and generous benefactor of the institution, Dr. John Fothergill. It was the 'Materia Medica' of Dr. William Lewis, London, 1761." He quotes the following from Dr. Emil Fischer's preface to the catalogue of the hospital medical library: "When the managers resolved to demand a fee for the privilege of attending the wards of the hospital, and consulted with the physicians in regard to the destination of the sums raised, these gentlemen,—Thomas Bond, Phineas Bond, Cadwalader Evans, and Thomas Cadwalader,—although having claims upon such gratuities, according to the custom of the British hospitals, full of scientific zeal, proposed to apply the money to the foundation of a medical library for the advantage of the pupils of the institution."

Dr. William Shippen was born in this city Oct. 1, 1712, and died here Nov. 4, 1801. He was one of the founders and trustees of the College of New Jersey, a vice-president of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, the first physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital, a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1778–80, and one of the founders of the First Presbyterian Church, of which he was a member for seventy years.

He had been an early and interested attendant upon the lectures of Dr. Cadwalader, where, it is probable, he was made to feel specially the inadequacy of the means there provided for medical instruction, and determined that his son should not lack of opportunity to find better elsewhere.

This son, known as Dr. William Shippen the younger, born in this city in 1735, after graduating at Princeton College in 1754, studied with his father for four years, and then went abroad, where he spent four other years. He had developed so extraordinary a talent for oratory that some of his friends advised him to enter upon the ministry, but he chose the profession of his father, and the father was determined that his son should have abundant access to all the facilities that had been denied to himself. While in London he studied with the Hunters, John and William, in the family of the former of whom he resided. He had also the benefit of the society and instructions of Hewson. Under these guides he studied anatomy and surgery, and also attended the lectures on obstetrics of Dr. McKenzie. From London he repaired to Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1761. He afterward spent about a year in Paris, where he devoted himself unremittingly to professional studies. Returning to Philadelphia, in May, 1762, he commenced in the autumn the first course of anatomical lectures ever given in this country. In September, 1765, he was chosen professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the Philadelphia Medical School, of which he was one of the founders. He entered the medical department of the Continental army in 1776, and from April 11, 1777, to January, 1781, was its director-general. He subsequently practiced as accoucheur-surgeon and physician until 1798. He died at Germantown, July 11, 1808.

While abroad Dr. Shippen became intimately acquainted with another young man, who, together with him, was destined to put the medical profession in America on a footing far higher than it had held heretofore. This was Dr. John Morgan, whom we mention in connection with Dr. Shippen because of their being not only contemporary but conjoined in the foundation of what has long been regarded the best-appointed medical institution in the United States. He, too, was a native of Philadelphia, and connected with the best society, having intermarried with Mary, daughter of Thomas Hopkinson, the councilor. He had studied medicine under Dr. John Redman. He served as lieutenant in the French and English war. In 1760 he went abroad to pursue his studies, and was graduated at Edinburgh in 1763. He also, after graduation, repaired to Paris. His reputation as a young man of genius had preceded him from the uncommon proficiency he had made in his studies at Edinburgh, and particularly from some arguments he had advanced regarding the formation of pus in the human system, and his success in the art of injecting organs with wax. He was soon elected a member of the Royal Society of London, licentiate of the College of Physicians of London, member of the College of Physicians of Edinburgh, and of the Society of Belles-Lettres of Rome.

These young men while in London made the acquaintance of the noted Dr. Fothergill, who has been alluded to in another chapter of this work. This gentleman had mentioned to Dr. Shippen his intention of contributing in some way to the Pennsylvania Hospital. Some time after his return to Philadelphia a box of anatomical drawings arrived from Dr. Fothergill.

In a letter to James Pemberton, one of the managers, he says among other things,—

"I need not tell thee that the knowledge of Anatomy is of exceeding great use to practitioners in physic and surgery, and that the means of procuring subjects with you are not easy; some pretty accurate anatomical drawings, about half as big as the life, have fallen into my hands, which I propose to send to your hospital to be under the care of the physicians, and to be by them explained to the students and pupils who may attend the hospital. In the want of real subjects these will have their use, and I have recommended it to Dr. Shippen to give a course of anatomical lectures to such as may attend. He is very well qualified for the subject, and will soon be followed by an able assistant, Dr. Morgan, both of whom, I apprehend, will not only be useful to the Province in their employments, but if suitably countenanced by the Legislature, will be able to erect a school of physic among you, that may draw students from various parts of America and the West Indies, and at least furnish them with a better idea of the rudiments of their profession than they have at present the means of acquiring on your side of the water."

Dr. Shippen had already begun a series of lectures on anatomy. His announcement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on Nov. 25, 1762, and ran thus,—

"Dr. Shippen's Anatomical Lectures will begin to-morrow evening, at six o'clock, at his father's house on Fourth Street. Tickets for the course to be had of the doctor, at five pistoles each, and any gentlemen who incline to see the subject prepared for the lectures and learn the art of dissecting, injections, etc., are to pay five pistoles more."[1]

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[1] Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," thus speaks of these first lectures of Dr. Shippen:

"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 late Yoke's Hotel, on 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 book-store; by this they favored 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 town with disguised 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 dropped in general parlance, save among the boys, with whom it lingered long,—

The introductory lecture was delivered in the State-House. The class numbered twelve. This was the beginning of the medical college of Philadelphia. The physicians of the hospital unanimously agreed to the request of Dr. Shippen to use the drawings sent by Dr. Fothergill. These had excited quite an interest in the city, outside as well as in the profession. In answer to the demand for that purpose, Dr. Shippen attended at the hospital once a fortnight for their demonstration. Tickets were one dollar each, and the sum raised was turned over to the hospital. He had been engaged in his lectures and practice about two years when Dr. Morgan returned, and then they began that co-operation which had such beneficent results. Of a more ardent temperament than Dr. Shippen, Dr. Morgan, while yet a student, had conceived the plan of a medical college wherein education in the various branches of physic, surgery, and pharmacy might be so conveniently and effectively studied that practitioners would be led in time to separate them from that union in which heretofore they had existed necessarily in a community so young. Heretofore every medical man was a physician, a surgeon, and a pharmacist. Dr. Morgan enlisted in his scheme many distinguished persons in London, as Mr. Hamilton and Richard Peters, then sojourning there, Drs. Fothergill, Cullen, Watson, and Hunter. His most influential friend, however, was Thomas Penn, who wrote a letter in his behalf to the board of trustees of the College of Philadelphia.[1]

Upon his return, when Dr. Morgan entered upon the practice of his profession, he set the example of making the separation he had regarded so important, and confined his practice to visitations of the sick and prescribing for them. At the outset he published a discourse, in the preface to which he put forth his views upon this and other special duties of the physician. Of course, views entirely different, at least from the practice that was universally in vogue, not only in Philadelphia, but in every other city in the colonies, would not be immediately followed.

The College of Pennsylvania had then been in operation about fifteen years. Among the board of trustees at its foundation was Dr. Zachary, and the medical profession had ever held a conspicuous position in that body. When the proposition of Dr. Morgan was submitted, there were among them both the Bonds, Cadwalader, Redman, and the elder Shippen. From some cause physicians ceased for a brief season to be nominated, but this soon passed away, and they have ever since had a fair share in the government. The reputation of the young man, backed by indorsement

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"'And awful stories chain the wondering ear,
Or fancy led, at midnight's fearful hours,
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 near the Cohocksink, on North Third Street, which all the boys of Philadelphia deemed the receptacle of dead bodies, where their flesh was boiled and their bones roasted down for the use of the faculty. The proofs were apparent enough,—it was always shut up, showed no out-door laborers, had a constant stream of running water to wash off remains, had 'No Admittance' forever 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 odor, offensive, and nearly as yawning as 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. . . . But more discoveries were afterward made at Dr. Shippen's anatomical theatre in this 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."

In all new communities where a medical college has been newly established, professors of anatomy have most to apprehend from prejudice against the dissection of bodies of the dead. This has been the case from Vesalius to Dr. Shippen. The latter was one time near being subjected to the loss of his house and his anatomical materials by a report that he had been robbing some respectable or at least honest graves for his subjects. The outcry was chiefly among the sailors. It required the utmost presence of mind and the interference of several of the citizens to suppress what was afterward known as the "Sailors' mob." He thought it prudent afterward to publish in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* the following card: "It has given Dr. Shippen much pain to hear that, notwithstanding all the caution and care he has taken to preserve the utmost decency in opening and dissecting dead bodies, which he has persevered in chiefly from the motive of being useful to mankind, some evil-minded persons, either wantonly or maliciously, have reported to his disadvantage that he has taken up some persons who are buried in the church burying-ground, which has distressed the minds of his worthy fellow-citizens. The doctor, with much pleasure, improves this opportunity to declare that the report is absolutely false, and to assure them that the bodies he dissected were either of persons who had willfully murdered themselves, or were publicly executed, except now and then one from Potter's-field, whose death was owing to some particular disease, and that he never had one body from the church or any private burial-place."

[1] The following is a copy of this letter:

"GENTLEMEN: Dr. Morgan has laid before me a proposal for introducing new professorships into the academy for the instruction of all such as shall incline to go into the study and practice of physic and surgery, as well as the several occupations attending upon these useful and necessary arts. He thinks his scheme, if patronized by the trustees, will at present give reputation and strength to the institution; and though it may for some time occasion a small expense, yet, after a little while it will gradually support itself, and even make considerable additions to the academy's funds.

"Dr. Morgan has employed his time in an assiduous search after knowledge in all branches necessary for the practice of his profession, and has gained such an esteem and love from persons of the first rank in it that, as they very much approve his system, they will from time to time, as he addresses us, give him their countenance and assistance in the execution of it.

"We are made acquainted with what is proposed to be taught, and how the lectures may be adopted by you, and since the like systems have brought much advantage to every place where they have been received, and such learned and eminent men speak favorably of the doctor's plan, I could not but in the most kind manner recommend Dr. Morgan to you, and desire that he may be well received, and what he has to offer be taken with all becoming respect and expedition into your most serious consideration, and, if it shall be thought necessary to go into it, and thereupon to open professorships, that he may be taken into your service.

"When you have heard him and duly considered what he has to lay before you, you will be best able to judge in what manner you can serve the public, the institution, and the particular design now recommended to you.

"I am, gentlemen, your very affectionate friend

"THOMAS PENN.

"LONDON, Feb. 15, 1765."

from so many and exalted sources, prevailed with the board, and on May 3, 1765, he was elected professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic. This has the honor of being the first medical professorship established in this country.

Few addresses made in this country have acquired such notoriety as that pronounced by this, the first medical professor, at the ensuing commencement of the college at the close of the same month. In anticipation of results, he had prepared the address while sojourning in Paris. Dr. Carson thus speaks of it: "In this address will be found an exposition of the nature and scope of medical science; a sketch of the departments of which it is composed, with the reasons for their special cultivation; an advocacy of classical, literary, and general scientific attainments on the part of the student of medicine, and, what is pertinent to the purpose, the demonstration that to be effectively taught, a coalition is required of able men who would undertake to give complete and regular courses of lectures on the different branches of medicine." In connection with his statements, the author insists especially upon the advantages presented by the city of Philadelphia, to which even the students resorted, attracted as well by the reputation of its practitioners, as by the facilities for clinical instruction afforded them in the hospital. The orator made the bold prediction, since happily verified, that the example thus set would be followed by the rise of other useful institutions "calculated to spread the light of knowledge throughout the whole American continent wherever inhabited."

The appointment of Dr. Shippen, like that of Dr. Morgan, was made after his own personal application. The letter shows that he and Morgan had had the project in view during the period of their studies abroad:

"To the Trustees of the College, etc.:

"The institution of medical schools in this country has been a favorite object of my attention for seven years past, and it is three years since I proposed the expediency and practicability of teaching medicine in all its branches in this city in a public oration read at the State-House, introductory to my first course of anatomy.

"I should long since have sought the patronage of the trustees of the college, but waited to be joined by Dr. Morgan, to whom I first communicated my plan in England, and who promised to unite with me in every scheme we might think necessary for the execution of so important a point. I am pleased, however, to hear that you, gentlemen, on being applied to by Dr. Morgan, have appointed that gentleman professor of medicine. A professorship of anatomy and surgery will be accepted by, gentlemen,

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"William Shippen, Jr.

"Philadelphia, 12th September, 1765."

The applicant doubtless foresaw the acceptance of his proposal. About a week afterward, with his colleague, he announced the lectures for the ensuing session of the college upon anatomy and materia medica.

It is pleasant to contemplate the attitudes of the older practitioners of Philadelphia toward these younger and more cultured brethren. The elections were reported to have been unanimous, notwithstanding that among the board of trustees were all of the old leading physicians. It looks well that, after a course of lectures by these two young men, the veteran Dr. Thomas Bond came in from the Pennsylvania Hospital and began his course of clinical lectures.

John Sargent, a member of Parliament, offered, in 1766, a prize medal for the best essay on the reciprocal advantages of a perpetual union between Great Britain and her colonies. From nine competitors for this medal the trustees selected that of Dr. Morgan.[1]

The impulse imparted by these young men soon led to important consequences. The college, fortunately, at that time happened to be under the lead of William Smith, D.D. His cultivated, liberal mind was quick to respond to the ambitious intentions of Shippen and Morgan, and, on counseling with them and Dr. Bond, he formed the plan of organizing a medical department on a justly broad foundation. There were established the terms on which a student might obtain the Bachelor's degree, for which, besides having served an apprenticeship to some reputable practitioner in physic, and obtaining a general knowledge of pharmacy, he should give evidences of satisfactory knowledge of the Latin language and such branches of "mathematics, natural and experimental philosophy, as shall be judged necessary to a medical education," and attended at least one course in "anatomy, materia medica, chemistry, the theory and practice of physic, and the course of clinical lectures, and shall attend the practice of the Pennsylvania Hospital for one year."[2]

The qualifications for a Doctor's degree in physic were very exacting:

"It is required for this degree that at least three years have intervened from the time of taking the Bachelor's degree, and that the candidate be full twenty-four years of age, and that he shall write and defend a thesis publicly in the college, unless he should be beyond seas, or so remote on the continent of America, as not to be able to attend without manifest inconvenience, in which case, on sending a written thesis, such as shall be approved of by the college, the candidate may receive the Doctor's degree, but his thesis shall be printed and published at his own expense."[3]

Auxiliary to the regular lectures of the physicians, Dr. Smith undertook a course on natural and experimental philosophy for the special benefit of the medical students. In his announcement of this, on Dec. 17, 1767, he thus alludes to a gentleman distinguished for his connections with Dr. Franklin in the latter's studies in electricity, Dr. Ebenezer Kinnersley, then professor of Oratory and English Literature in the college:

[1] This essay was entitled "Four Dissertations on the Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and her American Colonies, written for Mr. Sargent's prize medal, to which, by desire, is prefixed an eulogium spoken on the delivery of the medal at the public commencement of the College of Philadelphia, May 20, 1766."

[2] From the announcement made by the trustees of the College of Philadelphia, July 27, 1767.

[3] Ibid.

"To the standing use of the large apparatus belonging to the college, Dr. Kinnersley has engaged to add the use of his electrical apparatus, which is fixed there, and to deliver the lectures on electricity himself, as well as to give his occasional assistance in other branches, so that with these advantages, and the many years' experience of the subscriber in conducting lectures of this kind, it is hoped the present course will answer the design of its institution and do credit to the seminary."

It is not only interesting, but it is really most surprising to contemplate the rapid rise of this institution, so happily originating in the minds of two young medical students in Great Britain. In the same year of this announcement of the trustees, another young Pennsylvanian, Adam Kuhn, born Nov. 28, 1741, at Germantown, having studied medicine under his father, and at the University at Upsal in 1762, and botany under Linnæus, graduated at Edinburgh University June 12, 1767. The following year he returned to Philadelphia, bearing the highest testimonials from the great father of botany. Up to this time instructions in botany and materia medica had been given by Dr. Morgan in his general course of the Theory and Practice of Physic, but young Kuhn, immediately upon his return, was cordially received by his predecessors in studying in foreign lands, and in January, 1768, he was installed into the professorship of Botany and Materia Medica, which he held until November, 1789, when he was transferred to that of Practice. In the following year the degree of Bachelor of Medicine, the first in the country, was conferred upon eight candidates.

Dr. Kuhn was professor of the Practice of Physic from the junction of the college and university in January, 1792, to 1797, and physician of the hospital from May, 1775, to January, 1798. He was president of the College of Physicians from July, 1808, until his death, July 5, 1817.

A yet more distinguished person came in for the fourth regular professorship in the college. For Dr. Bond, though continuing his clinical lectures, was never formally made professor. The new accession was Dr. Benjamin Rush. He was born near this city, Dec. 24, 1745. He had conducted his preliminary studies at Nottingham,[1] Md., and afterward, when only sixteen years of age, graduated at Princeton College. For six years thereafter he served his apprenticeship, as it was then called, under Dr. Redman, spending in the mean time a year in attendance upon the lectures of Dr. Shippen. He then went abroad, finishing his course, as his three predecessors, at Edinburgh. While yet an apprentice under Dr. Redman, Benjamin Rush had formed in his mind the intention to rise to the highest reputation possible in his profession. He began at the beginning in medical science, not only reading, but translating from the Greek, the works of Hippocrates. He thus began that habit so useful not only to himself but to science and to history, of keeping a note-book, in which he entered contemporary occurrences that seemed to him specially worthy of being recorded, a practice that was never given up during his life. While at Edinburgh he rendered a service to his academic Alma Mater in the matter of obtaining Dr. Witherspoon as president. The trustees, on the doctor's declination of their first invitation, solicited young Rush to call upon him in person, and urge his acceptance. This he did with success. A very warm friendship at once was started between the two, which continued during their lives. After his graduation at Edinburgh, he studied for some time longer in London, especially in attending the hospitals. It was mainly at the suggestion of Dr. Franklin, then residing there, who advanced him the money for the purpose, that he afterward spent several months in Paris. From 1760 to 1769 he had been exclusively devoted to the study of his art, having had the very best advantages in school and college discipline.

While at Edinburgh, like his predecessors, he had been looking forward with hope to obtain a professorship in the college newly started at Philadelphia, and his wishes were warmly seconded by them.[2] He had the good fortune to be the bearer of a chemical apparatus that had been presented to the college by Thomas Penn. The reports of his wonderful progress, however, had been such that it became generally understood, nearly a year before his return, that his hope would be realized speedily thereafter. Along with the chemical apparatus he also bore a letter of recommendation from Thomas Penn.[3] At the meeting of the trustees, in July, 1769, Dr. Rush was unanimously elected to the chair of Chemistry, a science which had been taught by Dr. Morgan.

There is a similarity, amounting often to entire identity, in the career of these four young men, the founders of the oldest, and, we think we can justly say, the most renowned school of medicine in the United States. Their long period of preliminary studies, their prosecution of them abroad, their grad-

[1] Under Dr. Finley, his uncle by marriage.

[2] The following extracts from his letter to Dr. Morgan, in 1768, evince a beautiful union of lofty ambition with most becoming modesty: "I thank you for the pains you have taken to secure me the Professorship of Chemistry. I think I am now master of the science, and could teach it with confidence and ease. . . . I would not, however, urge your interest too warmly in this affair. Perhaps I may disappoint the expectations of the trustees, and prevent a person better qualified from taking the chair. I should like to teach chemistry as a professor, because I think I could show its application to medicine and philosophy." Then "I should likewise be able more fully, from having a seat in the college, to co-operate with you in advancing the medical sciences generally."

[3] This letter reads thus:

"GENTLEMEN,—Dr. Rush having been recommended to me by Dr. Fothergill, as a very expert Chymist, and the Doctor having further recommended to me a Chymical apparatus to the College, as a thing that will be of great use, particularly in the tryal of ores, I send you such as Dr. Fothergill thought necessary, under the care of Dr. Rush, which I desire your acceptance of. I recommend Dr. Rush to your notice, and humbly wishing success to the College, remain, with great regard,

"Your very affectionate friend,
"THOMAS PENN.

"TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA."

The "tryal of ores" was no doubt regarded by the writer as his highest trump.

uation at the same university, their ambition for the places they were to fill, are very striking. They were probably the youngest faculty that ever sat in professors' chairs, their average age being thirty years; Morgan, the oldest, being but thirty-four, while Rush, the youngest, was only twenty-four.

It is not to be wondered that these young men, full of ardent admiration and gratitude, should have modeled their institution upon that of Edinburgh, even as the latter had been modeled upon that of Leyden,

Benjamin Rush

at which so many of the Scotch medical students, before the establishment of their own, were wont to attend.

The one whom Dr. Rush most particularly admired was Dr. Cullen, under whose tuition he had long sat, and whose friendship and confidence he enjoyed. The young man soon obtained a large practice. His success was due not only to the reputation of his extraordinary accomplishments, but to an amenity of manners that was not surpassed by any in his time.

Dr. Rush has already been noticed as an author. He had a fondness and a talent for public discussion. While in London he was a member of a debating club, in which sometimes questions were raised touching the rights of the American colonies. Even then he was an earnest and eloquent defender of those. He early took to writing, and published his thoughts upon various subjects connected more or less closely with his profession. These productions brought him much notoriety, but he became famous in the fifth year of his professorship by the oration pronounced before the Philosophical Society on the history of medicine among the Indians, with a comparison of their diseases and remedies with those of civilized nations. He especially discussed the evils of the intemperate use of intoxicating spirits. This, Dr. Jackson says, was probably the first instance of such a discussion in Philadelphia. The address obtained for him great renown, and did much to make him one of the political leaders in the troublesome times that were to come. One of the most ardent of Whigs, he was elected to the Provincial Conference of Pennsylvania, and afterward elevated to Congress, not long before the passage of the Declaration of Independence, which he signed with his father-in-law, Richard Stockton, of Princeton, whose daughter, Julia, he had married.[1] He shortly afterward received the appointment of surgeon-general of the United States army for the Middle Department. This office he held for about six months, when he was made physician-general. He continued the habit formed in boyhood of regularly jotting notable occurrences in his note-book. Those made during the time in which he held those offices were afterward elaborated into a portion of his "Medical Inquiries," a most valuable dissertation, which he styled "Results of Observations made in the Military Hospitals of the United States."

The misunderstanding between Dr. Rush and Gen. Washington, probably the controlling cause of his resigning his position, belongs not to this chapter. He came out of the army a

[1] The following interesting account of his transfer from the Conference is from the "Medical Biography" of Dr. Gross: "He was a member of the Provincial Conference of Pennsylvania, and chairman of the committee to which was referred the great question whether it had become expedient for Congress to declare independence. The report they made was adopted and sent to Congress the same day. It is a most animating document, most probably written by Rush, as he was chairman of the committee, and ever ready with his pen. The whole committee consisted of himself and Col. James Smith. The report includes

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poor man, and henceforth devoted himself with increased assiduity to his professional duties, though he always took an ardent interest in whatever concerned the welfare of the country. He was said to have been mainly instrumental in the founding of Dickinson College, so named in honor of the great political leader John Dickinson. It is wonderful what great and what various resources were in the mind and the spirit of Dr. Rush. His "consideration of the test laws of Pennsylvania," made for the disfranchisement of all Tories of all grades, evinced both his generous courage and his familiarity with the discussion of such subjects on a line with the ablest statesmen of his day. About 1785 the Philadelphia Dispensary, and two years afterward the College of Physicians were established mainly through his influence. His restless public but not less patriotic spirit led him to take part in political action again, and he became a member of the Pennsylvania Convention for the adoption of the Constitution. His career in that field does not, however, belong to this department. In 1789, Dr. Morgan having died, he was elected to the professorship of Theory and Practice of Medicine in his place, and two years afterward when the college became a part of the University he was called to the chair of Institutes and Clinical Medicine, being succeeded in that of Practice by Dr. Kuhn.

Perhaps no portion in the professional life of this eminent physician is as interesting as that which contains the record of his practice during the visitation of the yellow fever in 1793. The heroic practice that his bold genius was led to adopt, the bolder assumption that it was of domestic not foreign origin, raised against him outcries both from the profession and from the property-holders in the city, who were incensed by the publication of opinions which, if accepted abroad, would subtract from the value of their real estate. The struggles made by him during this terrible year were wonderful. In the midst of deaths in his own family and those of his friends, he kept going night and day, sometimes fainting in the streets from exhaustion, yet the while attending more than a hundred patients during the twenty-four hours. The never-forgotten note-book was kept to its work during all this time. When it was over he wrote the history of the plague. Of this work Dr. Trotter said, "It is the best history that was ever written of any epidemic." Upright as he was ardent, having once expressed his opinion that the fever was contagious, and afterwards led to believe that he was mistaken, he made haste to recant, and this at the time when belief in contagion was almost universal.

all that has been so much praised in the Declaration of Independence, of which it might appear to be the protocol. When Congress had decided on this great measure, five members from Pennsylvania, who were in favor of postponing it, withdrew from the House, when the State Convention appointed Rush and four others to fill their places. Thus our patriot went into Congress knowing what he had to do. He did not sign the tremendous parchment because he was a member; he became a member that he might sign it."

The untiring energy of Dr. Rush continued to his old age. He died in 1813, full of Christian faith. Dr. Jackson, writing of this event, says, "The sensation throughout the whole country was intense. Every one had heard of Dr. Rush, and all that were interested in medicine or philosophy, in common humanity or in the honor of their country, felt that they had lost a friend and benefactor." "From one end of the United States to the other," says Dr. Charles Caldwell, "the event was productive of emotions of sorrow, for since the death of Washington no man, perhaps, in America was better known, more sincerely loved, or held in higher admiration and esteem. . . . For nearly three thousand years but few physicians his equal in greatness have appeared in the world, nor is it probable that the number will be materially increased for ages to come." Jefferson, writing to John Adams, said, "Another of our friends of '76 has gone, another of the co-signers of our country's independence, and a better man than Rush could not have left us, more benevolent, more learned, of finer genius, or more honest."

Dr. John Redman, the first president of the College of Physicians and the medical preceptor of Benjamin Rush, was born in this city, Feb. 22, 1722. After finishing his preparatory education in Mr. Tennent's academy, he entered upon the study of physic with John Kearsley, then one of the most eminent physicians of Philadelphia. When he commenced the practice of his profession he went to Bermuda, where he continued for several years. From thence he proceeded to Europe for the purpose of perfecting his acquaintance with medicine. He lived one year in Edinburgh, attended lectures and dissections, and visited the hospitals in Paris, and graduated at Leyden in July, 1748. After passing some time at Guy's Hospital, he returned to America and settled in his native city, where he soon gained great and deserved celebrity. In 1784 he was elected an elder of the Second Presbyterian Church. The death of his youngest daughter, in 1806, was soon followed by the death of his wife, with whom he had lived near sixty years. He died of apoplexy, March 19, 1804, aged eighty-six years.

He was a man of small stature, of good sense and learning, and much respected in his day. He lived for more than half a century in the same house, in Second Street, about one-third of a square from Arch, on the west side, next to Dr. Ustick's Baptist Church, where he died.

He became independent in wealth, and retired from business many years before his death. He used to visit his old friends and acquaintances after he became infirm from age, on a fat pony mare. Dr. James Rush says, "I remember him well hitching her to the turnbuckle of the mansion shutter, so that she always stood on the foot-pavement, when he visited my father, which he made it a point to do once or twice a year. In the rough cutting of his like-

ness, which was given to me by a member of his family, the hat, wig, nose, mouth, chin, eye, dress, person, expression, and character are admirably true. The mare is not so well done. The doctor retired from practice about 1785, and was known to the public as an antiquated-looking old gentleman. He was usually habited in a broad-skirted dark coat, with long pocket-flaps, buttoned across his under dress, and wearing, in strict conformity to the cut of the coat, a pair of Baron Steuben's military-shaped

DR. JOHN REDMAN.
[From a picture in the Ridgway Library.]

boots, coming above the knees." Mr. Watson says, for riding-habit, "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 endeavoring 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, fat, black, switch-tailed mare, and riding for his amusement and exercise, in a brisk racking canter, about the streets and suburbs of the city."

One of the most distinguished of the contemporaries of Dr. Rush was Dr. Samuel Bard, who was born in Philadelphia, April 1, 1742, and died May 24, 1821. He was a skilled botanist, and was mainly educated in the medical profession in the school of Edinburgh, where he received his degree in May, 1765. Returning to America, he went into partnership with his father, and after marrying his cousin, Mary Bard, he formed the plan of the Medical School of New York, in which he was appointed professor of the Practice of Physic. In order to provide for his family, he was obliged to return to New York while the British were in possession of the city. In 1784 he came back to Philadelphia, and was selected by Washington as his family physician. Having formed the purpose of retiring from business, he removed to his country-seat at Hyde Park, but when the yellow fever appeared in Philadelphia he resolutely resumed the post of duty, and but for the faithful care of his wife would have perished from the disease. This was in 1798, and the remaining twenty years of his life were spent in calm and happy retirement.

Barnabas Binney, a surgeon in the Revolutionary war, was born in Boston in 1751, and graduated in 1774 at Rhode Island College, afterward known as Brown University. His medical education was obtained in London and Philadelphia, and he considered himself as belonging to the latter city, having married in 1777 a Philadelphia girl. While in the service of the government an instance of his success as a surgeon occurred in his treatment of one of the sailors of the Pennsylvania vessel "Hyder Ali," who, in the engagement with the British ship "Monk," was pierced by a musket-ball that, entering the left groin, passed through the intestines and lungs, and came out under the right shoulder-blade. Dr. Binney cured the patient, who was so grateful that he visited him annually during his life. Dr. Binney was the discoverer of the sex of the heroic and romantic Deborah Sampson, who enlisted in the army as a man, and served as such until she was disabled by a wound which brought her under his care. In searching for the pulsations of her heart he found that she was a woman, and he concealed her in his house until he could obtain from Gen. Washington her discharge. The tension of army life was too great for his health, and he died in Philadelphia, June 21, 1787, aged thirty-six years. He was the father of Hon. Horace Binney.

Dr. Gerardus Clarkson was an eminent physician of Philadelphia, and was the son of Matthew Clarkson, a New York merchant, who died in 1770. Dr. Clarkson was a popular practitioner as early as 1774, and died Sept. 19, 1790. The Rev. Dr. Finley married his sister in 1761, and John Swanwick wrote a poem on his death.

Dr. William Potts Dewees was born at Pottsgrove, Pa., May 15, 1768. He commenced the practice of medicine in 1789, and in 1793 he removed to Philadelphia. He devoted himself especially to the practice of obstetrics, which was then a novel branch of medicine in the United States. By the year 1812 he had made a fortune by his lectures, which, five years later, had gone to the winds. He was chosen a professor of Midwifery in the University of Pennsylvania, first as an assistant and subsequently as principal, but he resigned in 1835. He died at Philadelphia, May 20, 1841, aged seventy-three years.

After the Revolution George De Benneville was a young physician. He was born in this city, in November, 1760, and commenced the study of medicine in his father's office, and also under Dr. Pfeiffer. He assisted his father's practice for some time, and was also engaged in connection with his brother-in-law, Dr. Jonathan Bertolette. He married Eleanor Roberts, and practiced medicine forty-five years, dying Dec. 17, 1850.

Dr. John Jones was born in Jamaica, L. I., in 1729. After studying physic with Dr. Thomas Cadwalader in Philadelphia, he completed his education in London, Paris, Leyden, and Edinburgh. On

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his return he settled at New York, and was particularly eminent as a surgeon. He was a surgeon in the Revolutionary army, and attended Deiskau, the French general, when the latter was so terribly wounded by a British bullet. On the establishment of a medical school in New York, he was appointed professor of Surgery. Soon after he settled in this city, the physicians agreed, for their own dignity, to wear their hair in a particular *bob*, and he refusing to concur in the project, they refused to consult with him. But he soon triumphed, and the powers of ridicule compelled the medical men to wear their hair like other gentlemen. In 1780 he settled in Philadelphia, and was the physician of Washington and Franklin. He died June 23, 1791, aged sixty-two years. In his religious views he was a Quaker.

To return to the college, begun under auspices so full of vigor and promise. We have seen the part enacted by Dr. Rush, both in politics and as a physician in the army. Dr. Shippen and Dr. Morgan acted successively as medical director-general. During this time several of the graduates of the college acquired distinction. In June, 1771, four young men, who had received the degree of Bachelor of Physic three years before, were presented with the degree of Doctor. These were Jonathan Potts, James Tilton, Nicholas Way, and Jonathan Elmer. The first two became eminently distinguished for their services rendered during the war. Dr. Potts was medical director of the Northern Department. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are the papers of Dr. Potts. Among these is a letter to the director-general of the United States army, written at Fort George. It is painful now to contemplate the deprivations and other sufferings of the Revolution, but it must excite our gratitude to remember the heroic devotion that was paid to them by the few educated physicians then in the country.

The following is an extract dated Aug. 10, 1776:

"The distressing situation of the sick here is not to be described: without clothing, without bedding, or a shelter sufficient to screen them from the weather. I am sure your known humanity will be affected when I tell you we have at present upward of one thousand sick, crowded into sheds, and laboring under the various and cruel disorders of dysentery, bilious, putrid fevers, and the effects of a confluent smallpox. To attend this large number we have four surgeons and four mates, exclusive of myself, and our little shop doth not afford a grain of jalap, ipecacuanha, bark, salts, opium, and sundry other capital articles, and nothing of the kind to be had in this quarter."

We have seen in the chapter on the bench and bar that some of the fathers of leading families in Pennsylvania did not co-operate with the new government formed in 1776. It was partly from this being the case with some of the trustees that the charter of the college was abrogated by the Legislature in 1779, and the College of Philadelphia became merged in the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Ewing, who had been lecturing on natural philosophy, was made provost. The professors of the medical faculty were invited to the University, but the invitations were declined by all except Dr. Shippen. The same was the case with Drs. Tilton, Hutchinson, and McClurg. In the embarrassment of the trustees, Dr. Bond consented to accept the chair of Theory and Practice along with his clinical lectures, until it could be filled by another. The contest between the former professors and the new trustees seems to have been occasioned by the demand of the former to be vested with the full rank and privileges of their positions in the college, whereas they, as the other gentlemen who were invited upon their declination, were expected to take only temporary position that was subject to be changed thereafter. It is somewhat singular that this state of things should have continued so long, for it was not until near the beginning of 1784 that, when a new election took place, the former professors were elected upon their old basis, and the appointments were accepted. But the friends of the college, who had not become reconciled to its abolishment, finally prevailed in their efforts to restore the charter in 1789. The college was reinstated with all its former belongings, while the University was to maintain itself from the sales of property that had been confiscated. This result was attributable in great part to the influence of Franklin.

On the reorganization he was made president of the board of trustees, Dr. Smith was restored to the provostship, and for a year all the meetings were held at his house. The new organization of the faculty consisted of Rush, chemistry; Shippen, anatomy; Kuhn, botany and materia medica. Dr. Morgan was to be offered theory and practice of medicine upon his return from the West Indies. A cloud seemed to have fallen upon this most gifted physician, from the fact of his discharge from the post of medical director-general. He was exonerated afterward from the charges alleged against him; but he lost much of the activity he had been wont to employ, and died six months after the reorganization of the college. The same year Dr. Rush was made professor of Theory and Practice, and his chair of Chemistry bestowed upon Dr. Caspar Wistar. Dr. Adam Kuhn left the college and was appointed to Practice in the University, Dr. Samuel Powel Griffitts to Materia Medica and Pharmacy, and Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton to Natural History and Botany. About the same time the professorship of Materia Medica and Chemistry in the University was conferred upon Dr. James Hutchinson.

It had been the earnest wish of Dr. Wistar, before and after taking position in the college, that the two institutions should be consolidated. They, however, continued to battle with each other. It is remarkable that during this rivalry the college determined to abolish altogether the granting of the Bachelor's degree. The experience was that comparatively few Bachelors, after three years of practice, many of them in theatres distant from Philadelphia, ever returned to obtain the doctorate. The first establishment of this degree, indeed, had not been

cordially approved by the parent (so to name the University of Edinburgh), some of the wisest of whose savants had predicted this result. The University, however, continued to confer the two degrees.

In such a struggle it was apparent that the interests both of the community and of the medical sciences were receiving less development by this division of duties among two faculties. Finally, in 1791, hostilities were ended, and the union was made, the consolidation taking the name of the University of Pennsylvania. The union, on the petition of the two

C. Wistar

institutions, was consummated by act of the Legislature in September, 1791.

It was a matter for general congratulation when the two colleges were consolidated. They had not been acrimoniously hostile, for Dr. Shippen occupied the chairs of Anatomy in both. He seems to have been a man as discreet, as he was unquestionably at the head of his special art. Students from both institutions attended his lectures, though the number that came from the college was far in excess of those from the University.

The new University was opened in November, 1791. Dr. Rush made the introductory address, and congratulated all parties upon the fact that "by means of this event, the ancient harmony of the different professors of medicine will be restored, and their united efforts will be devoted, with accumulated force, toward the advancement of our science." The rule heretofore adopted by the college, regarding the Bachelor's degree, was adopted by the new institution, and henceforth only the degree of Doctor of Medicine has been granted.

The man who probably had been most instrumental in effecting this salutary arrangement was Dr. Caspar Wistar, than whom the city of Philadelphia never had a citizen more alive to all its interests, more intelligent and active, and influential in their development. It is really delightful to consider the career of this man, so gifted in the characteristics that make a man an ornament and a blessing in the community wherein he resides. He was an infant at the opening of the first of Dr. Shippen's anatomical courses, having been born in Philadelphia in 1761. As his name indicates, he was of German extraction, his grandfather having emigrated from the Duchy of Baden very early in the century. His ancestry on the mother's side was English, of a family named Wyatt (Quakers), who came over about the time of William Penn. Wistar received his academic education at the Friends' Academy, then on Fourth Street, below Chestnut. After finishing this course he studied medicine under Dr. John Redman, who had already reared several men destined to become pre-eminent in their professions. Afterward he became a student of the University that had been recently founded upon the ruins of the college, and took his degree in 1782.

It is a curious fact that at that time the examination of the students was held in public. The trustees were expected, and all other citizens were permitted to attend. In the funeral oration pronounced on Dr. Wistar, by Chief Justice Tilghman, in alluding to the different theories of professors upon subjects that lay on the border lines of their several professorships, and the natural desire to make his own prominent in the examination, he said,—

> "Each professor examined with an eye to his own system. Of this Wistar was aware, and had the address to answer each to his satisfaction in his own way, with such uncommon promptness and precision as excited the surprise and commanded the admiration of all who heard him."

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Like his illustrious predecessors, he also went abroad and attended the lectures at Edinburgh. The rapidity of his rise in reputation while a student was most remarkable, especially considering he was a foreigner to most of the students, and citizen of a country with which Great Britain had lately had a war of seven years that had ended to its great discomfiture. He was elected by the students one of the presidents of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, and president of the Society for the further investigation of Natural History. He made intimate acquaintance, not only with the professors of the medical department of the University, some of whom had already attained to great fame, but with several other distinguished men, as Mr. Jeffrey, Mr. Emmet, and Sir James McIntosh. In 1786 he took his degree of Doctor of Physic. Upon his return, in 1787, he was at once appointed to a position in the Philadelphia Dispensary, and was elected one of the fellows in the College of Physicians.

It was well known that while abroad he had not confined his studies to the peculiar branches that he was to practice, but had made himself familiar with quite a number outside of these. At the time of his return the Philadelphia Society had then among its controlling members names whose equals the country has not yet produced,—Thomas Jefferson, David Rittenhouse, and Benjamin Franklin. These men quickly invited him to join in their labors and investigations, and thus, at twenty-five years of age, he became a leading spirit in that famous institution. A personal friendship soon grew up between him and Mr. Jefferson, which continued throughout their joint lives, even to the cordial espousal of the political opinions of that statesman, in which action he differed from his family, all of whom, except himself, were supporters of Mr. Adams.

The union of the two institutions placed the new school incontestably at the head of the medical institutions of the country. The acceptance by Wistar of the adjunct's chair, under Dr. Shippen, evinced the simplicity, the freedom from jealousy, the small desire of reputation, compared with the greater objects of professional endeavor, that are most pleasant to see in a man of genius. A fervent admirer, himself very eminent (Dr. Hosack), pays this generous praise. Alluding to his assuming the duties of his professorship, he says,—

"He at once evinced those great qualifications by which he was afterward distinguished. The same fluency of utterance, the unaffected ease and simplicity of manner, the perspicuity of expression, the animation and earnestness arising from the conviction of the truths he was delivering, as well as from the desire to impress them upon the minds of the pupils, and the readiness with which he summoned and applied the numerous and varied resources of his mind, which many of you now in my hearing have had an opportunity of witnessing, Dr. Wistar displayed in the most remarkable manner in the first lectures he delivered. Such were his fascinating powers of description that even upon those subjects that are usually considered as an uninviting part of a course of anatomical lectures, the attention of his hearers was ever awakened and unremitting. Even in the demonstration of a muscle or a bone, his views were those of a philosopher as well as the anatomist."

It would be well for college professors and college students everywhere if the former would follow the precedent set by Dr. Wistar, who was no less a good man than a learned one, no less a gentleman than a great physician, in his continual endeavors to make happy as possible all with whom he came in contact, brethren of the faculty, students, patients, citizens. Intercourse with Dr. Wistar was simply a delight to all who held it. There is scarcely any praise which a just and gifted man might desire to be said of him after death than the following beautiful tribute from Dr. Caspar Morris:

"Universally known and respected, his daily course through the streets was interrupted by persons of every grade in life, who were permitted to stop him by the way to consult him about their ailments or to testify their gratitude for the benefits received from his skill. His courtesy to all was unbounded; the poorest, equally with the richest, were received with kindness, and their cases treated with respectful consideration. His walks were almost an ovation, and childhood as well as manhood rejoiced at the beaming look and pleasant nod, which gave evidence of his recognition of each token of respect."

As for his intercourse with his students, it was characterized by a patience, a painstaking, and an assiduity that would not have been greater had they been his sons or his younger brothers, in whom he felt the solicitude natural to such affectionate relationships. It became a habit with students at the close of his lectures to approach the platform where he was wont to stand and ply him with questions until the last moment that he could remain before proceeding to other calls. Instead of discouraging, he was pleased with these evidences of the interest he had excited in them, and answered with a ready cheerfulness that imparted universally the sense of ease and freedom. Not only this, but his office and his residence, it was understood, were accessible at all becoming hours to these students, who were wont often to repair there for solutions of difficulties arising from time to time during the course. What was fully equal, if not superior, to such treatment was the habit he began of often inviting parties at different times to supper in his mansion. There were few towns of any considerable size at that period throughout the country. Even Philadelphia, the most important, had a population not far above thirty thousand, and the majority of the young men attending the medical lectures were from country districts. Besides, it was after the close of a long war wherein they had had but scanty opportunities for learning such manners as are always so auxiliary to the practice of a professional man, especially a physician. It is not possible to say how benign are the influences exerted by such a man as Wistar upon such youths. That he employed them for any other purpose than to benefit them not one among them, and not one among any class who knew of them, ever had the smallest suspicion. It was a part of his duties as a trainer of youth for the difficult and often most delicate duties in the careers they were to lead. He had these youths at his board and in his drawing-

room, with the same motives wherewithal he had them daily assembled in the lecture-hall.

Never was a professor who was not only the more effective in his teachings, but the happier in his heart, from every action during his office that brought him and his pupils close together in sympathy and in the interchange of civilities and friendly attentions. It was, doubtless, the observation of the value of these re-unions that led to those more important that he began at his house, wherein were used weekly to resort the most cultured of that society, and gifted visitors from other places who might have happened to be then sojourning in the city. These were the origin of the Wistar Parties, an honorable name that remains to this day a memorial of the founder.

The traditions of Dr. Wistar in his intercourse with the sick under his charge are most pleasant. "He was," says Dr. Morris, "sincere and truthful; and the patient in the hospital, in the wards of which he was a faithful attendant during seventeen years, or the poor sufferer in an alley, received from him the same delicacy of attention as the proudest citizen who claimed his services for a fee."

Mr. Jefferson resigned the presidency of the Philosophical Society in 1815. For twenty years Dr. Wistar had been one of the vice-presidents. He was now made president, and so continued until his death, three years afterward. A physician by profession, yet, as we have seen, his mind discoursed upon other studies. It was to him that the society owed the movement to begin the collection of isolated, fragmentary portions of the history of Pennsylvania and the rest of the States. Although he taught anatomy specially, yet he had become quite familiar with other branches of science, as mineralogy, chemistry, botany,[1] and natural history. The last pursuit he had grown to be particularly fond of, and had his life continued the results of the studies he had projected in this field would, doubtless, have been most important.

It is remarkable that men of such extraordinary culture as Wistar, Morgan, Shippen, and Kuhn should have written so little for the public. This seems, strangely enough, to have been common with the profession everywhere during this period. Besides his contributions to the Philosophical Transactions, he wrote little, except his "Human Anatomy," which was a text-book in the medical schools throughout the country until the advances in anatomical science made necessary new works. The men of that generation seemed to be content with making American editions of the works of foreign authors, instead of producing original. If Wistar had had ambition in that line, or if he had taken from his professional engagements opportunities for that purpose, his reputation would have been among the first in medical literature. He was twice married,—first, to Miss Marshall, and, some years after her early death, to Miss Elizabeth Mifflin, daughter of George, and niece of Governor Thomas Mifflin. Probably the death of no citizen of Philadelphia was ever more generally and sincerely lamented than his, which occurred Jan. 18, 1818.

[1] The botanical name "Wistaria" is for him.

It seemed to be the rule with those young men who sought high rank in the medical profession to employ the best opportunities for qualifying themselves for its behests. It was this mainly that gave to Philadelphia that preponderance in the number of able men in both law and medicine which, so far as the latter is concerned, it can with truth be said she still holds. Dr. James Hutchinson, a native of Bucks County, born in 1752, took the highest honor of his class on graduating at the College of Philadelphia, and having taken the degree of Bachelor of Medicine in 1774, repaired to London, and became a pupil of Dr. Fothergill. This connection was unfortunately interrupted by the war of independence. He necessarily had to leave London; thence he went to Paris. But his studies there were discontinued by the uncertainty consequent upon the great proportions which the war seemed destined to assume. He had already become eminently distinguished, particularly in chemistry, for which, at the attainment of his Bachelor's degree, he had received from the College of Philadelphia a gold medal. He resolved to return to his native country and bear his part in its struggles. At that time, as is known, Dr. Franklin was our minister at the court of France. Upon the young student's return he confided to his care dispatches for the government that were near being lost. The ship on which he sailed was captured by a British man-of-war; but his biographer, Dr. James Hutchinson, his grandson, says, "When near the American coast the ship in which he was a passenger was chased by a British armed vessel, and, being anxious to save the dispatches, he left the vessel in an open boat, under a heavy fire from the enemy, and landed safely. A short time after he left the vessel she was captured by the enemy in sight, and he lost everything he had, including a fine medical library collected in England and France."

Dr. Hutchinson served the government of the United States and of his native State for three years. As one of the trustees of the University founded upon the ruins of the college, while cordially interested in its fortunes, yet he declined the appointment first of professor of Practice, and afterward of Chemistry, in deference to the sympathy that was felt by a majority of the citizens for the parent institution and the men who had mainly supported it. When the college was restored to the rights of which it had been deprived, he consented to serve as professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica in the University. Two years after, in 1791, when the two were consolidated, and the various chairs could be adequately distributed, he took that of Chemistry, while Materia Medica was

assigned to Dr. Griffitts. He survived this appointment only three years; at the same time he was one of the secretaries of the Philosophical Society. Chemistry was then assigned to Dr. John Carson, who was prevented by death from accepting it or from entering upon its work.

Dr. Samuel Powel Griffitts was also a native of Philadelphia, the junior of Dr. Hutchinson by seven years, having been born in 1759. We do not find his name among the descendants of Thomas Griffitts, the councilor, heretofore mentioned, but we have no doubt that he was connected with him. After graduating at the college of his native city, he studied medicine with Dr. Kuhn, and took his degree of Bachelor of Medicine at the University in 1781. Afterward, in pursuance of the precedents of the most eminent men in the profession, he went abroad. On account of the relations between the United States and Great Britain he went first to France. Spending about a year in Paris, he went to Montpellier. Thither he was attracted by Barthez, at once a physician and philosopher. He remained there about a year, and after the achievement of independence by his country, devoted the following year to the prosecution of his studies at London, finishing off his course at Edinburgh.

We have heretofore spoken of the Philadelphia Dispensary, founded mainly by Dr. Rush. Dr. Griffitts warmly co-operated in the scheme upon his return to Philadelphia. It was located in Strawberry Alley, and began its operations in 1786. Dr. Griffitts became one of the secretaries of the board of managers and one of its physicians. His colleagues were Dr. James Hall, Dr. William Clarkson, Dr. John Morris, Dr. John Carson, and Dr. Wistar. On the merging of the college in the University he was made, as we have seen, professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy. He seemed never to have liked his professorship, although there were never any doubts as to his competency for the discharge of its duties. He retired from it about the year 1797, and devoted himself thereafter to practice, though serving to the last in some capacity in the dispensary. He died in 1826.

Immediately upon his resignation, the professorship devolved upon Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, who hitherto had held that of Botany and Natural History. This he continued to fill until the death of Dr. Rush, in 1813, when he was placed in the chair of Practice thus made vacant. Dr. Barton was a native of Lancaster, son of the Rev. Mr. Barton, who married a sister of Rittenhouse, the philosopher. His school education was conducted at York under the care of Dr. Andrews, who afterward became provost of the University. His medical studies were had under Dr. Shippen. He also went to the University of Edinburgh, where he stayed two years. Then he left for Göttingen, in Hanover, where he received his degree. While in London, in 1787 a small treatise on Natural History, which was his favorite study. The report of the proficiency made in his studies while abroad led to his being elected a member of the American Philosophical Society. It was said that the professorship of Botany and Natural History, to which he was elected, had been created through the special efforts of Dr. Kuhn, for the purpose of securing for the institution a man so specially gifted in these branches. He thus became the first public teacher of natural history in the United States, botany having been before that time taught, but with comparatively little patronage, by John Bartram.

The services of Dr. Barton were of incalculable value in developing his science. Through various agencies he made extensive collections of the flora of many sections of the country. Both Frederick Pursh and Thomas Nuttall were indebted to him for much of the information embraced in the "Flora Americana Septentrionalis" of the former, and the "Genera of North American Plants" of the latter. The sway of his instructions naturally followed that of his mind, and he imparted to his students much of his own fondness for botany. It was his wont to take them to the Botanic Garden of Bartram, situated on the Schuylkill, below the city. He formed the Linnæan Society, of which he became first president, and was the first in Philadelphia to erect a greenhouse. This was attached to his residence, on Chestnut Street, below Eighth. It afterward became enlarged when the property of George Pepper, father of Professor Pepper. In 1804 he began a periodical, entitled *The Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal*, which was continued for about five years, when it ceased, probably from want of the business qualifications needed for such an undertaking. The appreciation in which he was universally held was manifested by the honors bestowed upon him at home and abroad. He was one of the vice-presidents of the Philosophical Society, and in the year 1809 was made president of the Philadelphia Medical Society, a position which he continued to hold until his death.

We have thus noticed the leading names in the medical profession in Philadelphia from the earliest times to the union of the college with the University, and the members of the faculty under the new organization. It has been interesting to us to trace the development of medical science in this new community, and we cannot but reflect how fortunate it was in the men who originated and those who conducted this development. It is simply wonderful how many young men of the very best society were willing to undergo the years of apprenticeship and study, to risk the dangers of voyages across the sea, and remain so long absent from home, families, and friends, before entering upon careers in which fame and fortune were ready to be made with the attainments they had already gained long before the period

they had assigned to themselves had ended. There is something akin to romance, especially, in the concerted efforts of Shippen, Morgan, and Rush, mere boys, who projected the great institution that for a century and a third yet remains the first in rank amid so large a number of kindred. As interesting as this, and yet more to be admired, is the cordiality with which these young men were received by the older practitioners, under whom they had studied the rudiments of science, and by whom they had beeu sent abroad for obtaining the benefit of those faculties that had been denied to themselves.

Yet among those who were less distinguished than those we have already mentioned were some of excellent ability and character. Contemporary with Redman were the usual number for such a town, of varying abilities and notoriety. Dr. John Jones, whose office was on Market Street, between Second and Third Streets, was a man of much note and a large practice. He was often referred to with respect and gratitude by some of the more distinguished men whom he had assisted in their studies. Another was Dr. Thomas Say, who lived on Moravian Street, near Arch. Dr. Say was an eminently pious Quaker, so much so that he claimed and was believed to have been honored by special visitations from heaven. He was undoubtedly a good physician, and he sincerely believed himself to be a favored medium between the Divine Being and mankind, and was wont to tell, both with tongue and pen, of what had been revealed to him. Some of his family credited what he said of these revelations, and one of his sons, Benjamin, who was also a physician, wrote, among other things, what he styled "A Short Compilation of the Extraordinary Life and Writings" of his father. The report of his having been thus chosen as a recipient of Divine confidence rendered him an interesting object in old age, especially to the young, who were wont to pause when he was met upon the street and wonder how the strange visions appeared that he had seen.

There was Dr. Abraham Chovet, on Race Street, between Third and Fourth, whose lectures on anatomy were held at his house on Water Street, which was in that day the principal place of residence for the merchants. He was eminently successful, after long trials and experiments, in making preparations in wax. He lingered in active life long after old age had set upon him. Many anecdotes were told of him. He is thus described by Watson:

"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 upward 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 woolen 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."

In this primal time there were some of the other sex who were not unknown to fame. It must have been a case that threatened to become fatal when a *man* physician was called in at the most critical period of a woman's life. When these began to be resorted to there was great complaint among the nurse sisterhood, and charges of departure from decent usages were made. Mary Broadway was a famous midwife. She lived to be a hundred years old, and served at her profession to the last, even without need of spectacles, as was fondly mentioned in the obituary notice on the day after her departure from this life. It was sad to such women when the science and the business of obstetrics passed from them to the men.

We herewith append a list of all the physicians and dentists of Philadelphia in 1783, with their locations. It will seem strange how some of these locations should ever have been specially favorable:

James Batchelor, Water Street, between Almond and Catharine Streets.
Barnabas Binney, Arch Street, between Fourth and Fifth.
Bond & Wilson, Second Street, between Market and Arch.
John Baker, dentist, Second Street, between Walnut and Spruce.
John Carson, Third Street, between Chestnut and Walnut.
William Clarkson, Front Street, between Union and Pine.
Abraham Chovet, Race Street, between Third and Fourth.
Gerardus Clarkson, Pine Street, between Front and Second.
William Curry, corner Second and Pine.
Benjamin Duffield, Front, between South and Almond.
James Dunlap, Market, between Fifth and Sixth.
Nathan Dorsey, Front, between Walnut and Spruce.
Samuel Duffield, Chestnut, between Second and Third.
John Foulk, Front, between Market and Arch.
George Glentworth, Arch, between Front and Second.
Peter Glentworth, Front, between Market and Arch.
Joseph Goss, Front, between Walnut and Spruce.
Samuel K. Griffith, Union, between Second and Third.
James Gardette, dentist, corner Third and Pear.
James Hutchinson, Second, between Walnut and Spruce.
Robert Harris, Spruce, between Second and Third.
John Jones, Market, between Second and Third.
Michael Jennings, Moravian Alley (Bread Street).
Jackson & Smith, Second, between Market and Chestnut.
John Kehlme, Race, between Second and Third.
Adam Kucher, Second, between Chestnut and Walnut.
George Syle, Front, near Poole's bridge.
John Morgan, corner Second and Spruce.
Peter Peres, North Second, corner Brown Street.
Joseph Phiffer, Second, between Vine and Callowhill.
Thomas Park, Fourth, between Chestnut and Market.
Benjamin Rush, Second, between Chestnut and Walnut.
Frederick Rapp, Third, between Race and Vine.
John Redman, Second, between Market and Arch.
Benjamin Say, Second, between Arch and Race.
William Smith, Arch, between Front and Second.
Samuel Shober, Front, between Almond and South.
Thomas Shaw, corner Front and Callowhill.
William Shippen, Second, between Walnut and Spruce.
Benjamin Vanleer, Water, between Race and Vine.

Before proceeding further with accounts of the men who have been leaders in the medical profession, it seems proper to speak somewhat of diseases, especially those that were epidemic in the earliest settlement of Philadelphia, and the habits of persons not skilled in medical science in making available

for cures or alleviations of sickness the natural productions of the country. In the study of this branch of the subject, we have been impressed by the accuracy with which many traditions of the curative qualities of certain of the indigenous plants of the country have descended to the inhabitants of rural districts wherever we have known them.

The farther we go back in the history of the settlement, the more frequent seem the variations in the degrees of heat in summer and cold in winter. William Penn early noticed this inconstancy, and occasionally alluded to it in his letters to friends. From the mildness of the first winter of his residence, he was at first inclined to suspect that he had settled in the midst of a climate for the greater part of the time salubrious and even delectable. The next year (1683) was not so mild, as the Delaware River during one spell was frozen over. It is certain that as the time elapsed the spring season came on later and later. The native grapes used to green by the last of February, and in the course of thirty or forty years the springs seem to have fallen a couple of weeks or more behind the usual period of their return. So the winters were later in coming as they were in departing. The Delaware used often to freeze by the middle of November. Merchants, counting upon this, were wont to hasten in sending forth their ships, to avoid being ice-bound. By about the middle of the century this necessity was not wont to arise until about a month later. Several winters in that period of half a century were intensely severe. That of 1697–98 was notably so, as that of 1702–3. Loaded wagons traveled across the Delaware at Christmas in the former year, and in the latter such was the case early in October. That of 1704–5 was so severe that during six weeks no mail matter was brought or carried. The snow fell to the average depth of three feet. In 1740–41 it was yet more so. The wild animals, in their stress for food, were wont to make their way to the plantations in search of the means of subsistence, and many of the poorer classes of citizens maintained themselves and their families from these and the carcasses of those who were found nearly perished in the snow. Other winters were as notably mild, as that of 1824–25 and that of 1827–28. In Hazard's "Register" there is much interesting information to be obtained touching this subject, which, however, is too voluminous to be inserted.

The conclusions that have been arrived at by those familiar with the history of meteorological phenomena are that the climate of Pennsylvania underwent considerable changes within a hundred years, and that a greater uniformity was observable in the seasons. The springs became colder and the autumns milder,[1] yet these frequent abrupt variations continued, and produced their natural crops of sickness.

Allusion has been made heretofore to the specially sickly seasons spoken of by Noah Webster and others. The excessive cold of the winter of 1697–98 was productive of much influenza, which, but more so farther north than in Philadelphia, took on the form of typhoid pneumonia. Two years afterward, in August, 1699, the city was visited by a most malignant sickness, to which was given the name of the Barbadoes distemper, though there does not seem to be any evidence that it was directly imported from that island, and it was not until afterward that the epidemic received the name of yellow fever. The summer had been as notably hot as the last, but one winter had been cold. The heat had been so intense that often laborers in the harvest-field had been prostrated, many of them dying. This was a most uncommon occurrence anywhere. The accounts of this epidemic have been gathered from the journals of Thomas Chalkley and Thomas Story, two zealous preachers among the Friends. The latter was then visiting the colony of Pennsylvania, where, however, he settled upon his arrival, and was made master of the rolls, though he afterward returned to London, where he died in 1742. Chalkley had been on a mission to the island of Tortola, and came to Philadelphia in 1701, where he remained during the rest of his life. The historian Proud speaks of him as a man of great virtues. The disease began about the 1st of August, and continued nearly through October. Story tells with great satisfaction that the only season of abatement of the awful malady was during the session of the Friends' Meeting.

"In this distemper," he says, "had died six, seven, and sometimes eight a day, for several weeks, there being few houses, if any, free of the sickness. Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord! Great was the fear that fell on all flesh! I saw no lofty or airy countenances, nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter, nor witty repartee to move men to mirth, nor extravagant feasting to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure. But every face gathered paleness,

[1] The following from Watson's "Annals," referring to Hazard's speculations, are interesting: "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 twenty or thirty 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 falls only 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 variableness of weather in our State, he observes, lies south of 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 generally in January. The greatest cold he has known in 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 that 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 the air is greater now than formerly, owing, probably, to its now falling in rain, whereas it before fell in snow. Even the same successive seasons and months differ from each other every year."

and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave."

About two hundred and twenty perished of the disease. Among them were as many as five from the family of Isaac Norris, Sr.[1] The disease was ever thought to have been imported. Dr. Rush, we believe, was the first to assume that it might originate from local causes.

The neighborhood was occasionally beset by fever and ague. The year 1717 was notable for this visitation. The smallpox made its entry into Philadelphia in 1710. It had been on the ship on which Penn came over in 1682, and several of the passengers died while at sea, but we believe there is no record of its having invaded the country at that time. The havoc made in 1710 was great. Afterward some pains were taken, upon its recurrence, to keep those infected away from the rest. Such was the case in 1726, when it was imported by a ship from England. There was a house called Blue-House Tavern, on South Street near Tenth, where infected persons from the ships were carried, and the disease confined there.

This disease was the greater from the ignorance of any means of preventing except by inoculation and the tardiness with which it was resorted to. We have seen that among the physicians of Philadelphia at the time were some of thorough education. These advised inoculation, but the state of public opinion was so hostile to it that it was long before any medical man dared to attempt it. The majority of the inhabitants, in case of the death of any one from this cause, would have regarded it as a case of murder. The *Weekly Mercury*, the first newspaper, published, as we have seen, by Bradford, contained a sermon by a New England divine, in which he styled inoculation as "an unjustifiable act, an infliction of an evil, and a distrust of God's overruling care to procure us a possible future good." It was thirty years before this superstitious prejudice could be overcome. In 1730 the mortality had been appalling. Among the victims were George Claypole and five of his children. In the following year, when inoculation was successfully performed upon James Growden, the example thus set was soon followed. Not all the physicians practiced it, but a majority did as late as 1836. These were Kearsley, Shippen, Zachary, Bond, Hooper, Sommers, and Cadwalader.[2]

In the year 1741 the yellow fever again appeared, this time called the "Palatinate distemper," because of its being brought by some German emigrants. Noah Webster calls it the "American plague;" but Dr. Bond, who seems to have been in advance of his time, if not in learning, at least in judgment, pronounced this yellow fever, and declared that it had been imported along with a shipful of emigrants from Dublin. In 1743 the same disease reappeared, but there being no proof of importation, the apprehension for the first time seemed to be that it owed its origin to local influences.

The years 1747 and 1748 were notable for sickness and the mortality consequent thereupon. That of the first seems to have been what Noah Webster calls "a bilious plague;" that of the second, coming on in February, was known as an "epidemic pleurisy." In 1754–55 the mortality was great. The infection thus received was called the "Dutch distemper." This originated from a disease occurring among the immigrants of vessels from Germany, who, occupying crowded and poorly-ventilated berths, fell ill of a distemper that became so general as to have assigned to it a national name.

Without undertaking to account for the fact, it is certain that among all peoples, however uncultivated, there has ever been a considerable acquaintance with the virtues of various medicinal herbs. Such acquaintance will ever be found most abundant in new communities, as all will testify who have spent much of their time in their midst. The crone with her salves precedes the physician with his books and apothecary materials, and it is long before he can entirely supplant her. Indeed, he never does so entirely, partly because of the intimate acquaintance that those otherwise wholly unlearned have made with the provisions that nature has made in the woods, the field, and the garden. The history of medicine in Philadelphia shows that the fees of the most learned of the early physicians were not large, on account of the use of plants and herbs, which was common, especially among the poorer class. Ordinary cases of sickness were usually treated by the parents or friends, and it must be a case of great danger, or one requiring surgical operation, when a physician or surgeon would be called. As the city grew in population and culture, the knowledge of the efficacies of these various plants became more and more diminished, and the professional man was found to be more and more in demand.

Very many were those plants. Asthmatic persons, for instance, smoked the Jamestown weed; poke-berries were used for chronic sores, sour-dock for the itch, burdock for the reduction of fevers, everlasting for poultices, mullein for vapor-baths, catmint for colic, blackberry-roots and berries for dysentery. Many of

[1] The following is from the papers left by him: "This is quite the Barbadoes distemper. They void and vomit blood. There is not a day nor night has passed for several weeks but we hear the account of the death or sickness of some friend or neighbor. It hath sometimes been very sickly, but I never 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."

[2] In volume ix., "Register of Pennsylvania," on the subject of "The early settlement of Columbia, in Pennsylvania," occurs the following: "In the year 1757 a physician (Dr. Moore) came from Philadelphia to inoculate the children who never had had the smallpox. Being all connected, they were taken to one house to make it convenient for the doctor. He had forty patients. One or two that did not take the smallpox by inoculation died; the rest all did well. It was the opinion then that it would be wrong to inoculate the second time, lest the subject should take the disease the natural way, and have a double portion."

these may be found to-day in rural districts remote from cities. "In the woods they also found medicines, much of which knowledge was derived from the Indians, as Gabriel Thomas, in 1689, says, 'There are also many curious and excellent herbs, roots, and drugs of great virtue, which make 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. People used the leaves of the beech-tree for steeping the feet in hot water. Grape-vine 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 bitters; 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. People used the root of the bayberry-bush to cure toothache. The cedar-tree berries were used as a tonic to strengthen a weak spine, to destroy worms, etc. Golden-rod was deemed excellent for dysentery. Boneset, used for consumption and for agues; sweet ferns, for bowel complaints; pennyroyal, excellent to produce sweat for colds; dittany, for cure of a fever; alder-buds made a tea for purging the blood; elderberries were used for purges, and the inner bark to make ointment for burns and sores."[1] It was then customary among the more provident and charitable of the inhabitants to cultivate many of these plants in their gardens, not only for their own use, but that of their neighbors and the sick in general.

Doubtless it was owing in great part to the simple living of these early settlers that made sickness, except in the case of epidemics, easily relievable by such simple remedies. The same Gabriel Thomas' opinions of the wonderful skill of the Indian physicians must be taken with some allowance when we remember his hostility, or at least his prejudice, against professional men, whether physicians or lawyers. Outside of these he was a man ready to praise the most of what he saw in his travels, and some things he said spoke well for those women whose best and favorite doings were in rendering assistance to those who were called upon to aid in the way most natural to the increase of the population.

The attention of leading medical men was early called to the effects upon the health of the habitual use of ardent spirits. The College of Physicians, in 1787, appointed a committee, consisting of Drs. Rush, Jones, and Griffitts, to memorialize the Legislature upon the subject; and afterward another committee, consisting of the two former and Dr. Parke, memorialized Congress upon the subject. Among other things said in the address was the following:

"Your memorialists have beheld with regret the feeble influence of reason and religion in restraining the evils which they have enumerated. They centre their hopes, therefore, of an effectual remedy for them in the wisdom and power of the United States; and in behalf of the interests of humanity, to which their profession is closely allied, they thus publicly entreat the Congress, by their obligation to protect the lives of their constituents, and by their regard to the character of our nation, and to the rank of our species in the scale of beings, to impose such heavy duties upon all distilled spirits as shall be effectual to restrain their intemperate use in our country."

The members present at the adoption of this address were John Redman, president; John Jones, vice-president; Robert Harris, Nicholas B. Waters, Thomas Parke, William Currie, Benjamin S. Barton, Nathan Dorsey, Benjamin Rush, Michael Leib, William W. Smith, Adam Kuhn, and Samuel P. Griffitts, secretary. The names on the adoption of the memorial to the Legislature, and not on the above list, are William Shippen, Jr., George Glentworth, James Hutchinson, Benjamin Duffield, Benjamin Say, John Carson, John R. B. Rogers. Among the diseases consequent upon the use of distilled spirits the memorialists "would only mention the dropsy, epilepsy, palsy, apoplexy, melancholy, and madness, which too seldom yield to the power of medicine;" and they maintain that the "inconveniences arising from excessive labor, heat, or cold are to be removed with much more safety and certainty by the use of cider and malt liquors."

These physicians abstained from the utterance of any other opinions upon the subject than those which lay in the line of their profession. Whatever views may be indulged as to the practicability of the legislation they sought, their action in the premises evinces that they were men who seriously desired whatever means were feasible for the prevention of human suffering and the conservation of the health, physical and intellectual, of the community.

In the above list Dr. William Currie was one of the most gifted, and by his writings became most widely known, both in this country and in Europe. His professional studies were conducted under Dr. Kearsley, in Philadelphia, though after his admission to practice he settled in Chester, and there remained, and it was probably about the time of the memorial to Congress that he removed to Philadelphia. He became specially distinguished by his practice and views of yellow fever. He maintained that it was highly contagious. At first he believed that the disease was wholly of foreign origin, but he afterward gave up this opinion, and while he admitted that it might originate from local causes, he never yielded the question of contagion. He discussed the various questions connected with the disease with many of the leading physicians abroad. This correspondence, however, was lost. He published in 1792 his work, "An Historical Account of the Climate and Diseases of the United States," a most ambitious undertaking for one whose professional engrossments prevented his visitations to the several States whose history in these respects he undertook to give. But he availed him-

[1] Watson's "Annals."

self of all the information he could obtain from every source. His notion appears to have been the collection of all facts possible of ascertainment, with a view some time thereafter to write a more studied and elaborate account, an intention that was postponed for other work, as his "Treatise on Epidemic Bilious Fevers," his "View of the Diseases Most Prevalent in the United States," and his "General View of the Principal Theories or Doctrines which have Prevailed at Different Periods up to the Present Time."

The hostility that had been shown in the matter of inoculation was indulged against vaccination, and Dr. Currie was one of those who were specially active in extending the knowledge and blessing of the latter. He was one of the original founders of the College of Physicians, and an active member of the Philosophical Society. His intention had been to publish another more extensive and carefully elaborated work upon the theory of fever, but his labors had been so arduous, and several domestic afflictions were so grievous, that for several years before his death he was incapacitated for intellectual labor. He died in 1829.

At the death of Dr. James Hutchinson, Dr. John Carson was elected to the chair of Chemistry in the University. Heretofore he had been one of the trustees. He accepted the invitation, but died shortly afterward, and without entering upon the duties. Then Dr. Joseph Priestley was chosen. This is a name quite notable in the history of American literature, though mostly in matters other than those of our present studies. He was an Englishman by birth, educated to the doctrines of the Dissenters, and became one of their leading divines. Several of his sons had gone to America. These he followed, arriving about the year 1794. Soon after his arrival he was offered the professorship, but declined it, and removed to the town of Northumberland, where the rest of his life was spent. He had written quite a number of works before leaving his native country, and many more in this. His publications amounted to more than a hundred, on science, politics, philosophy, morals, and religion. Lord Brougham said of him, that of all voluminous writers he had the fewest readers, though he pays a high compliment to his genius and personal worth:

"That he was a most able, most industrious, most successful student of nature is clear, and that his name will forever be held in grateful remembrance by all who cultivate physical science, and placed among those of its most eminent masters, is unquestionable. That he was a perfectly conscientious man in all the opinions which he embraced, and sincere in all he published respecting other subjects, appears equally beyond dispute. He was also upright and honorable in all his dealings, and justly beloved by his family and friends as a man spotless in all the relations of life."

On the declination of Dr. Priestley, Dr. James Woodhouse was elected, and continued in that professorship until his death, in 1809. He was a native of Philadelphia, and took his degree of A.B. at the University in 1787. Afterward he studied medicine with Dr. Rush, taking his degree in 1792, at the first commencement after the union of the college and University. He had borne some part as medical assistant in the army, and had become so distinguished in chemistry that he was proposed for the chair vacated by Dr. Hutchinson by Dr. Adam Seybert, then one of the most eminent physicians in the country. But in this he was defeated. Woodhouse was represented to be a man unusually felicitous, not only in the delivery of lectures, but in the manipulation of experiments. Dr. Priestley admired him much, and was fond of expressing high praise of him. He became somewhat of a follower of the doctor's theories, particularly that relating to phlogiston. He was succeeded by Dr. J. Redman Coxe.

Dr. Coxe studied medicine under Dr. Rush, and at London, Paris, and Edinburgh. He was born at Trenton, N. J., in 1773, and settled in Philadelphia in 1796, where he died March 22, 1864. He was port physician in 1798, during the yellow-fever visitation; was several years a physician of the Pennsylvania Hospital and of the Philadelphia Dispensary; professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania in 1809–18, and professor of Materia Medica from 1818 to 1835. He published "On Inflammation," 8vo, 1794; "Importance, Etc., of Medicine," 8vo, 1800; "Vaccination," 8vo, 1800; "Combustion," etc., 8vo, 1811; "American Dispensatory," 8vo, 1827; "Refutation of Harvey's Claim to the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood," 8vo, 1834; "Female Biography;" "Recognition of Friends in Another World," 12mo, 1845; edited *Philadelphia Medical Museum*, 6 vols. 8vo, 1805, new series, 1811; *Emporium of Arts and Sciences*, 5 vols. 8vo, 1813.

He was regarded as one of the most gifted of the medical fraternity of his time, not only in the profession, but in general literature. He gave up the professorship of Materia Medica in the University in 1835, and was succeeded by Dr. George B. Wood. The same year obstetrics was left by Dr. Dewees, and devolved upon Dr. Hugh L. Hodge.

Dr. George B. Wood was born in Greenwich, N. J., March 13, 1797, and after his graduation at the University of Pennsylvania in 1818, was, in 1822, made professor of Chemistry in the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, from which he was promoted, in 1831, to the chair of Materia Medica. In 1835 he accepted the chair of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1850 the position of professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine. In 1860 he resigned this office and retired from professional life. For the preceding twenty-four years he was engaged in medical teaching as attending physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was a voluminous and successful author. The most famous of his productions, the "United States Dispensatory," survives him, and the latest (the fifteenth) edition has had a very large sale. The

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fourteenth edition, which was published during his lifetime, reached an edition of one hundred and fifty thousand copies. He and Dr. Franklin Bache originally wrote this work for the purpose of creating a uniformity in the practice of pharmacy, and their object was fully accomplished. Dr. Wood's great treatise on the practice of medicine was published in 1847, and rapidly ran through six editions. In 1856 he published a treatise on "Therapeutics and Pharmacology," which reached a third edition. He was also the auther of two volumes of "Memoirs and Addresses and Biographical Memoirs," of the "History of Pennsylvania Hospital," of the "History of the University of Pennsylvania," and of numerous scattered papers and reviews. Acquiring a fortune by marriage, and enjoying for many years a large professional income, Dr. Wood was enabled to give great pecuniary aid to various medical institutions, and was widely known as a public and private benefactor. Leaving no issue, by his last will and testament about one-fourth of his estate was bestowed upon the University of Pennsylvania and much of the remainder upon various other charities.

Heretofore chemistry had been regarded as a science not necessarily connected intimately with the profession of medicine, and the trustees of the University, putting it in the same category with botany and natural history, had adopted a resolution that it should not be considered as appertaining to the medical department, although, of course, they did not exclude physicians from appointment to it. This resolution seemed to the medical faculty to derogate from the repute and the responsibilities of that element of their profession. Chief Justice McKean, a leading member of the board, to whom complaints had been made in this behalf, requested an opinion in writing from such of the medical faculty as felt most concern upon the subject. At that time Dr. Physick was a member, whom we must mention at some length hereafter. He joined with Wistar, Rush, and Barton in a letter that, concise as it was, put the science on the basis to which it was entitled.[1]

Along with anatomy and obstetrics was associated surgery, and it may well be supposed that Dr. William Shippen (Junior) had his hands full of other things besides his favorite study. But even in Edinburgh surgery had not been considered of sufficient individual importance to be taught separately from anatomy. The Medical College of Philadelphia having been founded upon this, the Alma Mater of its first faculty, it was not more than what was to be expected, that the infant might not anticipate the parent institution in new developments. Yet it really did so in this particular. Not that efforts had not been made in Edinburgh to assign a separate chair to surgery. But this was at a time when Dr. Munro was professor of Anatomy there, and he regarded the movement as an interference with his province, and it was many years before a chair of surgery was thought of separately from anatomy. The separation was made sooner in Philadelphia, and mainly through the efforts of one of the most remarkable men that this country has produced in any department of endeavor.

Philip Syng Physick was a native of Philadelphia, born in 1768. His father, Edmund Physick, had emigrated from England some years before, had held office under the provincial government, and was one of the agents for the Penn family. The son received his preliminary education at the Friends' Academy, in Fourth Street, near Chestnut, then kept by Robert Proud, the historian. The family residing out of town, the boy boarded in the family of a Mr. Todd, whose widowed daughter-in-law afterward became the wife of President Madison. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1785 at the University of Pennsylvania. Within a month afterward he began his medical studies under Dr. Adam Kuhn, the professor of Botany and Materia Medica in the medical college. Here he continued three years and a half.

Dr. Physick was one who seemed to have been driven most reluctantly into the career which he was afterward to adorn. A violent shock to his sensibilities, received when witnessing surgical operations and the setting up a human skeleton in the college, which was on Fifth Street, opposite to Independence Square, led him to ask, and even to beseech, his father to allow him to relinquish a pursuit for which he felt himself to be wholly unfitted. But the parent was unrelenting, and he went back to his work with a diligence that could not have been greater, if he had felt greatest eagerness to learn its principles and practice its behests.

It has been regarded fortunate for Dr. Physick that in youth he had not thought of becoming a practical surgeon, and so a greater portion of his studies was devoted to principles, instead of learning the facile

[1] It runs thus, after getting to the subject of discussion, "It is particularly expedient that the professor of Chemistry should have a full and extensive knowledge of medicine, because very many valuable articles of the materia medica are derived from chemistry; and the nature of these articles can only be understood by a person who has a competent knowledge both of chemistry and medicine. The students, who almost exclusively support the professorship of Chemistry, are induced to do so in consequence of its application to pharmacy and the different branches of medicine, viz.: physiology, pathology, therapeutics, materia medica, and the practice of physic. No man can teach pharmacy unless he has had some knowledge of the practice of medicine, and the application of chemistry to physiology and the other branches of medical science above-mentioned can only be taught by a chemist who understands them.

"The teaching of chemistry in this University has hitherto been confined to the professors of medicine, and the success attending this arrangement appears to us good reason for continuing it."

After calling attention to the fact that the science was taught by medical professors in all the universities of Europe, except in Sweden, where it was most intimately connected with mineralogy, they say, in conclusion,—

"We beg leave to say that our professor of Chemistry has always taken an active part in the business of the medical faculty, judging of the qualifications of the respective candidates in every branch of their profession, and examining inaugural theses on subjects relating to medicine."

use of surgical instruments. He set out to learn thoroughly whatever was to be learned, not only in what might become his special pursuit, but whatever might be thought cognate or ancillary to it. While in Dr. Kuhn's office he attended the latter's lectures on botany and materia medica, and those of the other professors in the college. He might have obtained his degree here; but he determined to study much abroad before setting up in his profession. With this view he went abroad in 1789, and became a pupil and friend of Mr. John Hunter, in London. The latter was then surgeon of St. George's Hospital. There was an anecdote characteristic of the abruptness of this eminent surgeon. When Mr. Physick, the father, asked what text-books it might be necessary for his son to obtain, Hunter, leading both into the dissecting-room, and pointing to the bodies lying ready for the knife, answered, "These are the books your son has to study; the others are fit for very little." The aptness and fidelity evinced by the student led to his being soon taken as assistant in experiments, and when a vacancy occurred in the office of house-surgeon, he was elected to it on the recommendation of his preceptor. This position was of inestimable service. While under the pupilage of Mr. Hunter he became associated on friendly terms with others eminent, or soon to be, in the profession, as Jenner, Grey, Kingston, Sir Everard Howe, Mr. Lynn, and Sir Anthony Carlisle. He remained with Hunter about two years and a half. His progress had been so prodigious, and he had in other ways so commended himself to him, that he was offered a residence in his house and a partnership. He might have obtained a great practice in London, even upon his own separate endeavors, for it had become to be generally said that his action as house-surgeon at St. George's had placed that institution upon a basis quite above what it had rested upon heretofore. But his intention always had been to return to his native city. And yet he desired to qualify himself yet further for the needs of his profession. So, after taking his degree at the College of Surgeons in London, he immediately thereafter repaired to Edinburgh, where, besides attention to the medical lectures, he became habilitated at the Royal Infirmary. In one year he obtained his degree of Doctor of Medicine, and in the fall of 1792, when twenty-four years of age, returned to Philadelphia.

P. Physick

The rapid success of his predecessors was not to be repeated in his case. They were the pioneers who with abundant facilities had gone upon a field ready for their exertions. Philadelphia was now rich in the fame of its physicians and medical institutions. A young man, however gifted and so known, must wait, especially if like Physick, to be above learning the art to talk of his advantages and put forward his claims. He was one of the last to resort to such arts, and so he long remained without practice sufficient for his maintenance. In speaking of his experience in this behalf, he said once, "I walked the pavements of Philadelphia, after my return from Europe, for nearly three years without making as much by my practice as put soles on my shoes, and such were my discouragements and dissatisfaction that I would have sold the fee simple of my profession for a thousand pounds, and never again have felt a pulse in the capacity of a physician."

The next year was 1793, notable in the history of Philadelphia for the scourge of the yellow fever. It made its appearance in August, and disappeared only with the coming of frost. Such was the terror of its ravages that multitudes fled and remained away until it was abated. Some days the deaths were more than one hundred. The mortality amounted to over three thousand, an enormous figure for a town of less than fifty thousand inhabitants. Most of those that could get away did so. One of the gazettes, published during the epidemic, in an issue of about the 1st of October, said that at that writing there were not more than three thousand persons left in the city. This statement, however, was an under-estimate, as statistics pertaining to the plague prepared afterward and published showed. Those who may be inclined to know more extensively of this subject than we can give in a chapter thus limited, are referred to a "statement of the number of houses, deaths, etc., in the respective

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streets, alleys, and courts in the city of Philadelphia." The number of dead on Market Street and northward was 1178; south of Market Street, 1068; Northern Liberties and Southwark, 541; in all, 2728. Of the inhabitants, 22,929 remained in the city, and 11,906 fled.

Soon after the appearance of the epidemic, the house known as Bush Hill, the property of William Hamilton, was taken by the authorities for a hospital, and Dr. Physick, together with Drs. Cathrall, Leib, and Annan, attended to patients occasionally. The services rendered by Dr. Physick in this trying time, his courage and his skill, served to put him on a better footing than that of the year before, when he was said to have been forced to the necessity for support to agree to practice in several families at a fee of twenty dollars each for the year. He was especially commended by Dr. Rush, with whom he frequently had occasion to consult. Rush wrote an account of the fever, in which he often mentioned the name of the young physician. In the following year he was made one of the surgeons of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and assigned a position in the Dispensary of Philadelphia. After this his rise was easy and rapid.

According to the account of Dr. Rush, there were not very many of the physicians of Philadelphia who, from first to last, remained at their posts. The scourge was so terrific and the mortality so appalling that some of these fled along with the multitudes. Several who remained died while faithfully serving the sick of all conditions. Dr. Physick was one who never left the city, and as a result he could not fail to meet with success. He had been seized with the fever himself, and when restored to health went back to his work. The dread pestilence returned in 1797, and, what is of most rare occurrence, he was seized with it again. Dr. Rush spoke of this as one of the three cases he had known in 1793, and two in a brief visitation of the distemper in 1794. The mortality was very great in 1797, but not equal to that of 1793 in the ratio of the population of the city. It was especially great among the physicians, nine of whom perished. Beside Dr. Physick, Drs. Reynolds, Strong, Boys, Benjamin, Duffield, Hayworth, Church, and Caldwell were stricken, but recovered. Contemporary records speak in the highest language of praise of the profession during this season. Among those physicians who fell victims to the disease was Dr. Annan, an attendant at the Bush Hill Hospital, in 1793. Another, Dr. Pleasants, had retired to the country, but feeling himself called on to confront danger, he returned to the city and gave his life as an evidence of the sincerity of his benevolence. The case of Dr. Thompson was of a still more startling and melancholy nature. "He had been married in the evening, had gone to bed, and within two hours felt the symptoms of the disorder approaching. The family were alarmed. The bridegroom was removed, and died on the third or fourth day, leaving his unfortunate at once a widow and a bride."[1]

The history of the yellow fever in Philadelphia is intensely interesting. During the year 1797 the number of physicians was less than twenty-five. We have seen that eight of this number were carried off by the fever, and a goodly number of the rest lay smitten by it for various periods, leaving only seven or eight to administer to the sick. These had to attend at hospitals and private residences. By this time the hospital at Bush Hill had been fitted up and known as the City Hospital. Through the generosity of several of the citizens, at the head of whom was Stephen Girard, it had been remodeled after the experience of 1793, and rendered far more efficacious for its purposes.[2] It had been only irregularly that Dr. Physick attended there, and it was owing to Girard that it was put in a condition in which it could render greater good.

After all that Stephen Girard did for the poor of his adopted country, this was his noblest work. When he saw the condition of Bush Hill he set to work to reform it. Ready in his assistance was Peter Hilm, another citizen of foreign extraction. They might have fled with the multitudes who were stricken with panic by the dreaded disease, but they remained behind; and it is simply wonderful to read of the unflagging charities they bestowed, both in work and in money, in every emergency. All the world knows of the great institution which bears his name, and which he established for the education of the poor. But few know that he took in hand Bush Hill Hospital in the midst of its unlimited disorder and filth, and, day by day, traveled to it on foot and waited upon its inmates, serving in every office, even the lowest and most loathsome. Great numbers of the sufferers languished and died in his arms. Whatever may have been the disgust and horror he felt, he would only dispose the putrid cases with whatever decency was possible, and without resting, and even without stopping to cleanse himself of the excretions that had been voided upon him, repair to another couch to repeat the *rôle* of horror.

In the experience of this remarkable man, some things must have occurred of a striking character which led to the hostility which later in life he felt

[1] Dr. John Bell's sketch of Dr. Physick.

[2] The following account of this hospital as it was in the early part of the epidemic, in 1793, is from Mathew Cary's "Account of the Malignant Fever lately Prevalent in Philadelphia." A profligate, abandoned set of nurses and attendants—hardly any of good character could at that time be procured—rioted on the provisions and comforts prepared for the sick, who, unless at the hours when the doctors attended, were left entirely destitute of every assistance. The sick, the dying, and the dead were indiscriminately mingled together. The ordure and other evacuations of the sick were allowed to remain in the most offensive state imaginable. Not the smallest appearance of order or regularity existed. It was, in fact, a great human slaughter-house, where numerous victims were immolated at the altar of riot and intemperance. No wonder, then, that a general dread of the place prevailed through the city, and that a removal to it was considered as the seal of death."

toward ministers of the gospel and toward physicians. There seems to have been some difficulty in obtaining regular attendance of physicians at the hospital, especially that so many of them had gone away from the city, and it must have been that some of the clergymen, when so many of their flocks had fled, persuaded themselves that it was a greater duty to go in pursuit of the wanderers than remain and perish among the poor, and so leave the former to roam without shepherds. At all events Stephen Girard, rich as he was, selfish as he might be suspected of being, stayed with the unfortunate, tended them when sick with his own hands, paid for the services of the few physicians he could employ, and buried the dead with whatever decency was possible.

There seems to have been some misunderstanding between the managers of Bush Hill in 1793 and Dr. Physick, with other physicians, whose services were sometimes employed there. Dr. Deveze and Dr. Benjamin Duffield, as it now seems, were most prominent in the professional service which they rendered there. To the former the committee allowed fifteen hundred and to the latter five hundred dollars. As evidence of the exigency of affairs then prevailing, we mention the fact that the house physicians—Morrice, Guisard, and Muliner, and Lefer, the apothecary—only received four dollars a day each for their services.

In the season of 1797 the Bush Hill physicians were Drs. Samuel Duffield and Edward Stevens, assisted by Drs. Sayer, Dobel, John Redman Coxe, Samuel Pleasants, Michael Leib, and John Church. The services rendered by these men were such that the Board of Health voted to such as were alive after the epidemic, and the heirs of those who had fallen, each a share in the Bank of Pennsylvania, valued at five hundred dollars.

In the following year, 1798, the fever again appeared, and with yet more disastrous results. In this season, Dr. Physick, who had now become quite eminent, was physician in charge of the City Hospital, as Bush Hill was now called. His assistant was Dr. Samuel Cooper, who died at his post. From the history of this scourge of 1798, written by Thomas Condy and Richard Folwell, we learn the names of the physicians who remained in the city during its continuance. The list shows from its meagreness that very many must have gone away, for the population was then near seventy thousand. The names given were Physick and Cooper, Rush, Wistar, Griffitts, Gallagher, Moore, Caldwell, Harris, Proudfit, Connover, Leib, Boys, Church, the two Duffields, Stewart, Parke, Strong, Bigelow, Pfeffer, Kincaid, Trixo, Yeatman, Mayer, La Roche, Pascalis, and Devirier. Drs. Dewees, Sayer, and Currie also remained, as appears from other testimony.

What had specially intensified the horror of the disease heretofore had been the idea that it was contagious. By this time, however, from careful study of its spread, both in Philadelphia and in other places where it had appeared, this idea began to be rejected. Dr. Deveze had maintained, as early as 1794, that it was not contagious. To this opinion Dr. Physick now agreed. This knowledge was a great relief to the friends of those who were smitten, when they could tend them upon removal to places of security, without fear of the results of contact.

One of the resorts improvised for the service of the infected was at Master's Place, about two miles out of town, on the Germantown road. There was another at the wigwam, between Race and Vine Streets, near the bank of the Schuylkill. Large numbers were treated in these two receptacles. It is remarkable that in this season, while the mortality among the people should have been greater, that among the physicians was less. Death, however, had a smaller number from whom to select his victims, and the most of that number had already fallen a prey in the war in which they so heroically persisted in contending.

During the several visitations of the epidemics the physicians, especially the ablest among them, studied with unceasing pains in the midst of their ministrations; notably Dr. Physick, particularly by *post-mortem* examinations. He, in conjunction with Dr. Cathrall, agreed in announcing that the black vomit proceeded from inflammation in the vessels of the stomach and intestines, and they gauged their treatment according to this *rationale*. The marked success of Dr. Physick in the treatment enhanced yet higher his already fine reputation, and he received at the abatement of the fever a present of silver plate of great value from the managers of the hospital.

We have seen that surgery heretofore had been united with anatomy and obstetrics. The reputation acquired by Dr. Physick as a surgeon was such as to make him feel justified in starting a class upon his favorite study. This he did in the year 1800. Of course he could expect few, if indeed any, students except among those young men who were already engaged in the study of other branches, with the view to become practicing physicians. The intercourse between him and Dr. Rush had become specially friendly during their services side by side in so many disastrous campaigns. Dr. Rush was one of the professors in the University, and he lent his influence to the project of the young man, who was now only thirty-two years of age. Young men, students of the University, came to his lectures in such numbers that finally the trustees were driven to separate surgery from the branches with which it had heretofore been joined, and make it a separate chair, and invite Physick to occupy it. Before this students had not been specially required to study surgery before getting their degrees. On the election of Physick this was changed, and a resolution was passed by the board rendering attendance upon surgical lectures a necessary preliminary. This action occurred in June, 1805. It was thus that surgery rose to its legitimate position earlier in Philadelphia than in Edinburgh.

Coincident with this event was the election of Dr. Shippen to the presidency of the College of Physicians. He survived this appointment three years, having died in 1808. Two years after this anatomy underwent another subtraction, that of obstetrics. It is probably less curious that the importance of the latter branch should have been so long overlooked than that of surgery. A natural event of such constant recurrence among all classes, with infrequent attendance of death, it was generally believed for a long time, might be left to professional persons in that sex to which such events were confined. Added to this is the sensitive delicacy with which women, no matter of how humble condition, shrink from the approach of men at such times. The professional midwives of those times doubtless knew how to avail themselves of this infirmity, if it can justly be so styled, and none more than physicians know the confidence with which such experts are wont to vaunt their success in this the principal field of their professional endeavors. We have seen somewhere an advertisement of a noted midwife who claimed, in a practice of some thirty years, to have brought twelve hundred children into the world, every one of whom lived and prospered.

From 1765 until 1810 obstetrics had its corner, gradually growing in space, in the house of anatomy, the various physicians getting fees, when possible, in cases where the midwives were suspected to be not wholly adequate for the responsibilities of most trying occasions. Dr. Shippen had done faithful service, courageous and cool, persistent, but prudent in exterminating a prejudice that had so long obtained not only in this country, but abroad. He was familiar with the history of this prejudice in Great Britain, so great as to disqualify those who practiced obstetrics from becoming licentiates in the College of Physicians, and when the few who did were regarded, even by physicians, as condescending from the deportment of gentlemen. If he was the father of medical science in Pennsylvania, he was yet more emphatically the originator of that change in public sentiment everywhere which led, though after a long time, to the conviction that women in the times of greatest peril needed the service of science.[1] It was several years after the beginning of his career in Philadelphia before the practitioners of midwifery were admitted as Fellows in the College at Edinburgh, and it was not until the year 1810, forty-five years after, that the science of obstetrics was assigned a separate chair in the University of Pennsylvania. This chair was occupied for the first time by Dr. Thomas Chalkley James.

It is very interesting to study the history of the medical profession in Philadelphia, for several reasons; among them prominent are the difficulties that were ever in the way of such enlargement, and distribution of professorships as, from time to time, were seen to be necessary by the eminent men who constituted the medical faculty of the University in the early years of its existence. The trustees, for the most part not men of science, were reluctant to make changes when existing things appeared to them quite sufficient for existing needs. It was ever the force of character and the reputation of extraordinary culture and ability in individuals among the profession that wrung consent to such changes. It was the genius of Physick, indorsed by Rush, and constantly increasing attendance upon the former's lectures by students of the University, that led to the separation of surgery and its elevation to independence. So it was when Wistar, at the death of Shippen, was placed in his vacant chair. A man of his strength could not be spared. This, it is to be supposed, he knew well enough. At all events, not long after his installation he made an appeal to the authorities of the University to separate these two branches, and leave to him only anatomy. Such an appeal from such a man was equal, if not to a demand, at least a most serious remonstrance against being expected to discharge a double set of duties, each of which was arduous and important enough to demand the full service of any one man. The request was granted, though not until nearly two years afterward, and then not without a reservation that evinced the reluctance with which they had come even thus far. The resolution was in these words: "That the present establishment of a professor of Anatomy and Midwifery be divided, and that hereafter there shall be a professor of Anatomy and a professor of Midwifery, but that it shall not be necessary, in order to obtain the degree of Doctor of Medicine, that the student shall attend the professor of Midwifery." It is somewhat amusing to speculate upon the debatings in that honorable body during the time in which this resolution was delayed in its birth. Doubtless a large majority, probably every one among them, had come into the world without other aid from science than such as the professional crones had gathered from experience and the traditions of their predecessors in the interesting art, and therefore they believed that future generations might be satisfied to come along in the same safe, old-fashioned way. It is evident that they could not yet be brought to think

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[1] It required a man of courage to put in the newspaper an advertisement such as the following, that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Jan. 1, 1765: "Dr. Shippen, Jr., having been lately called to the assistance of a number of women in the country, in difficult labors, most of which were made so by the unskillful old women about them, the poor women having suffered extremely, and their innocent little ones being entirely destroyed, whose lives might have been easily saved by proper management, and being informed of several desperate cases in the different neighborhoods which had proved fatal to the mothers as to their infants, and were attended with the most painful circumstances too dismal to be related, he thought it his duty immediately to begin his intended courses in midwifery, and has prepared a proper apparatus for that purpose, in order to instruct those women who have virtue enough to own their ignorance and apply for instruction, as well as those young gentlemen now engaged in the study of that useful and necessary branch of surgery, who are taking pains to qualify themselves to practice in different parts of the country with safety and advantage to their fellow-citizens."

of man-midwifery, even if becoming to gentlemen, as important enough to be put upon a level with other branches. It was important, however, to relieve so necessary a man as Dr. Wistar, and this relief doubtless formed the controlling element of the resolution. They made the new chair, and they invited to it a young man, giving him leave to get as many students as he could from among those who were attending the University for other purposes besides, mainly, that of obtaining the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

It was doubtless a surprise to the board when the deportment of Dr. James was such as to elevate in a short time the science to the rank it was entitled to hold in the curriculum of studies. Thomas Chalkley James was a descendant on one side of Thomas Chalkley, the celebrated Quaker preacher, and on the other of Samuel Hasell, one of the councilors in the proprietary government of the Penns, and master in Chancery of the High Court established by Governor Keith in 1720. His father was Abel James, one of the leading merchants of Philadelphia and a personal friend of Benjamin Franklin. Quaker though he was, he was at the same time a Whig, and intensely devoted to Whig principles. There was an anecdote of an interview between him and Robert Morris at a time when the new government was suffering sorely for money. "Robert Morris, who was at the head of the Committee on Finance, meeting Mr. James on the street, was asked by him, 'What news?' To which he replied, 'The news is that I am in immediate want of a sum of hard money, and that you are the man who must procure it for me, your security to be my note of hand and my honor.' Though a Friend and non-combatant, Mr. James did at once what scarcely any other could have done,—advanced the money and relieved the embarrassment of the country."[1]

Mr. James was a member of the Philosophical Society. He had been elected as a member of the Assembly, and had served upon committees appointed by that body for investigations concerning all matters appertaining to the welfare of the city. After getting all that could be had at the school of the Friends, then presided over by Robert Proud, he studied medicine under Dr. Adam Kuhn. The intention of his family had been that he should get his degree abroad, like many others of the leading physicians of Philadelphia; but the failure of his father's commercial ventures prevented this. He took his degree in 1787 in the University. Determining not to be wholly disappointed in his hopes of obtaining some of the benefits of foreign education, the youth ventured upon a speculation in the trading that Philadelphia had with China. He took the post of surgeon on a ship bound for one of the Chinese ports, and realized enough from his ventures to permit him to go to London, where he became the pupil of the famous Dr. Hunter. His devotion was mainly given to obstetrics, which he studied in a hospital for lying-in women. Here he spent one year. The next he was at Edinburgh, for it seemed as if a Philadelphian must necessarily finish off at that institution. It was not until 1793 that he returned to Philadelphia. This year, as we have seen, was that of the great visitation of the yellow fever. The services he rendered during that fearful time made his fortune. At the public hospitals he was enabled to do good service to sufferers who were natives of Wales, and for this the Welsh Society afterward, in token of his kindness, presented him with a service of plate, which, it is said, is yet among the descendants of this heroic physician.

We have seen in what repute a male practitioner of midwifery had been held heretofore, and we have seen how Dr. William Shippen, Jr., had had the courage to practice this along with anatomy. The leading physician in this branch, however, had been Dr. Dunlap. He had fought his way as well as possible during many years, having been often called in at the last hour, sometimes just in time, often too late, to save women from ruin at the hands of their own sex, to whom, in mistaken modesty, they had intrusted their lives. By this time Philadelphia had advanced so high in culture that the ignorant women who had held so long sway in this important branch of science were made to gradually retire, at least from more genteel circles, and the strange false modesty that had existed so long was fain to be convinced that it was false, and that this feeling had led to the sacrifice of many lives. It was fortunate for Dr. James, and still more fortunate for the women of his native city, that he was a gentleman. Soft in his manners, tender and delicate in his ministrations, the most modest woman, after the agony of her travail, could turn to Dr. James not only without a blush, but with a face beaming with gratitude, as well for the relief he had given as the manful delicacy with which it had been administered. Added to all this was a demeanor that showed that, instead of being ashamed of his art, he regarded it well worthy of all the study he had given to it, and that knowledge of it was competent to put him on a level with those who had made themselves foremost in any other branch of science.

The science of midwifery owed a great deal to Dr. Shippen, who, in the midst of his more special and engrossing duties, had done what he could in the line we have seen. Dr. Dunlap also had come along, gathering what was possible to be gathered from the first bold teachings of Shippen. Then there was Dr. W. P. Dewees, who had made an attempt to lecture upon the principles of midwifery. But the small classes that he could command showed that the community, even the medical part of it, was not yet fully ready for the realization of this branch of science, thereby

[1] Dr. Caspar Morris' sketch of Dr. James in Gross' Medical Biography.

taking it from the crones who, with their incantations and rum-punches, had held it so long.

Even the University was not yet ready for the change. Dr. James therefore set out upon a course of independence. He made application at the city almshouse for the privilege of lecturing therein, and therein he received what pupils he could get. In this laborious work he associated with him Dr. Church, and these two men during three years worked assiduously at the special department, Dr. James meanwhile delivering courses of lectures annually. In the midst of this work his friend and coadjutor, Dr. Church, yielded to the malady that had carried so many thousands away. After his death Dr. James took into partnership another young man who was destined to make a great impression upon the history of medicine at home and abroad. This was Dr. Nathaniel Chapman. These two carried on the work hitherto conducted by Drs. James and Church in the almshouse until the death of Dr. Shippen. It was then, as we have seen, that obstetrics was separated from anatomy at the instance of Dr. Wistar, who had been raised to the chair vacated by the death of Shippen. The new chair of midwifery, then created, was given to Dr. James, with Dr. Chapman as adjunct. This was all done in deference to Dr. Wistar, whose wishes in that regard the trustees well knew that they could not disregard. But the reluctance with which they yielded was plainly evinced by their resolution to make attendance upon the lectures of the new professors voluntary upon the part of students, and acquaintance with that branch of science not necessary to the attainment of degrees. Yet the history of the University shows what may be done by men of real ability in exacting among a prejudiced people whatever is important when they devote themselves ardently to its behests. For two years these young men stood in their places, getting what they could from the voluntary attendance of the numerous students who were in the University. The ability of the lecturers attracted more and more of these. At last, in 1813, the great Dr. Rush, who had held the chair of Practice, died, Dr. Barton was elected to his position, and Materia Medica, thus left vacant by the latter, was filled by Dr. Chapman. Midwifery then was devolved solely upon Dr. James. By this time at least enough of prejudice was removed to have it put upon a level with the rest.

Meanwhile, Dr. Dewees had continued his practice in that line, and had become eminent. The assiduity with which Dr. James had devoted himself to his art eventually impaired his health to the degree that he asked for the services of an assistant. This request was granted, and Dr. Dewees was put into the place.

In all this time, that is, from the date of his becoming well known in the profession, he was one of the attending physicians at the Pennsylvania Hospital, a place that has been the recipient of the voluntary unpaid service of the best talent of the profession since the time of its foundation. A man of his prominence could not fail to belong to the College of Physicians. Eventually he rose to be its president, and so remained until his death.

It is singular, when we consider what extraordinary talents and culture have been possessed by the leading physicians of Philadelphia at every period of its history, how few, especially in the earlier periods, exerted themselves to any considerable extent in original contributions to the branches they severally professed in medicine. The text-books they employed for the most part were foreign, sometimes with, but more often without, American annotations. The favorite text-book of James was "The Principles of Midwifery," by Dr. John Barns, regius professor of Surgery in the University of Glasgow. He worked, however, on a more modest scale for the literature of his profession, being, along with Drs. Otto, Hewson, and Parrish, editor of the *Eclectic Repertory*, which in its day took high rank. In the midst of his professional labors he yet found time for the study of literature. He was a frequent contributor to the *Port-folio*, the leading literary journal of the time. The work he did in that line that has been most highly commended is his translation in verse of the pastorals of Gessner. He died in 1835.

Dr. James has been regarded as the father of midwifery in this country. The way had been pointed out by Dr. Shippen, justly famed as the originator of the teaching of medical science in general, but for whose engrossments in other things doubtless so important a branch would sooner have been elevated to its proper position. We have seen what ignorance and prejudice in both sexes, at home and abroad, it had to fight in order to make its way. It is one of those wonders, not however confined to science, but some of the plainest conditions of ordinary life, that a matter that now seems, even to the rudest society, of essential importance should have been so long kept back by causes apparently so inadequate. Reluctant as it was, the following resolution was wrung from the trustees on the 11th of October, 1843:

"*Resolved*, That hereafter the Professor of Midwifery shall be a member of the medical faculty, and that no person shall be admitted as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Medicine in this University unless he shall have regularly attended the lectures of said professor for two years."

Commenting upon this event, the biographer of Dr. James, Dr. Hodge, says,—

"This triumph of truth and humanity over ignorance and prejudice may be considered as complete. Obstetrics was confessedly equal to the other branches of medical science, and its practitioners and teachers were authoritatively pronounced on a par with surgery and the practice of medicine. The battle had been fairly fought and won, and Dr. James, who contributed so much to the happy issue, received now the reward so eminently due to modest worth, superior talents and attainments, united with persevering industry."

Dr. Robert Montgomery Bird, born at New Castle, Del., in 1803, and equally famous as a physician and author, spent the major portion of his life in Philadelphia. Of his work done as a playwright, his

tragedy "The Gladiator" and the dramatization of his novel "Nick of the Woods" alone survive. He wrote a number of novels which were popular forty or fifty years ago, and are now nearly forgotten. He died at his residence in Philadelphia Jan. 22, 1854.

Dr. Henry Bond, who died May 4, 1859, though entitled to and receiving high consideration and respect as a physician of more than forty years' practice in Philadelphia, attained his widest reputation as the author of the "Family Memorials," comprising a genealogical history of the settlers of the Bond places in Massachusetts, in one of which, Watertown, he was born. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, and removed to Philadelphia from Concord, N. H., in 1819.

Dr. Réné La Roche was a native of Santo Domingo, where he was born in 1755, and was educated at the medical school of Montpellier, France. He was one of the Dominican refugees who fled to Philadelphia in 1793, and his successful treatment of the yellow fever gained for him a very extended practice. He was noted for his benevolence, much of his twenty-seven years of professional career in Philadelphia having been given to the uncompensated care of the poor. His death occurred on June 6, 1819.

Dr. George Logan, born at Stenton, near Philadelphia, Sept. 9, 1758, was another graduate of the medical school of Edinburgh. In 1798 he was induced to embark for Europe to conduct negotiations for the prevention of war between France and the United States. At this period Mr. Gerry, the American minister, had departed from Paris, an embargo had been laid on our shipping, and many American seamen had been imprisoned. Dr. Logan persuaded the French government to raise the embargo, and prepared the way for the negotiations that terminated in peace. He emerged from the political quarrel that was coincident with the Franco-American dispute with so much credit that he was elected Senator from Pennsylvania in the Seventh and Eighth Congresses (from 1801 to 1807). He went to England in 1810 on the same peaceful mission which led him to France, but without the same success. He died at Stenton April 9, 1821. He was an active member of the Board of Agriculture and of the Philosophical Society.

Dr. John Armentaire Monges was a Frenchman, who came to Philadelphia in 1793, after having been attached to the French naval force during the war. It was said of him that, in his last illness, even in the days of summer, he could not perspire. He attained the highest standing in his profession. The date of his death was May 20, 1827.

Dr. Samuel George Morton, born in Philadelphia in 1799, and died May 15, 1851, was the author of numerous medical and other works, and began in 1830 his celebrated collection of skulls, one of the chief labors of his life. He adopted what was known in his day as the theory of a diverse origin of the human race, and had an historic controversy with the Rev. John Bachman, of Charleston, S. C.

His father dying when he was quite young, he was placed at a Quaker school. From this he was removed to a counting-house, but manifesting a distaste for business, and selecting the study of medicine for a profession, he passed through the usual course of preliminary study under the guidance of Dr. Joseph Parrish; he received a diploma. Shortly afterward he visited Europe, and passed two winters in attendance on the medical lectures of the Edinburgh school, and one in similar manner at Paris. He returned in 1824 and began practice. Geology was his favorite pursuit. In 1827 he published an "Analysis of Tabular Spar from Bucks County;" in 1834, "A Synopsis of the Organic Remains of the Cretaceous Group of the United States;" in the same year a medical work, "Illustrations of Pulmonary Consumption: its Anatomical Characters, Causes, Symptoms, and Treatment;" and in 1849, "An Illustrated System of Human Anatomy, Special, General, and Microscopic." During this period he was actively engaged in the duties of his profession, having, in addition to a large private practice, filled the professorship of Anatomy in the Pennsylvania College from 1839 to 1843, and served for several years as one of the physicians and clinical teachers of the Almshouse Hospital. In 1839 he published the "Crania Americana," with finely executed lithographic illustrations.

Dr. John C. Otto was a son of Dr. Bodo Otto, and was born in New Jersey in 1775. He was for many years attending physician and clinical lecturer in the Pennsylvania Hospital. He died June 30, 1845.

Dr. Hugh L. Hodge, born in Philadelphia June 27, 1796, was the son of a surgeon in the Continental army. He was an alumnus of Princeton College, and received medical tuition under Dr. Caspar Wistar. In his youth he made a trip to the East Indies as surgeon of a trading-ship, and after returning to this city was physician to the Southern Dispensary and the Philadelphia Dispensary, lecturer on the Principles of Surgery at the Medical Institute, and physician to the Philadelphia Almshouse. He was one of the editors of the *North American Medical and Surgical Journal*, and wrote for other professional publications. From 1835 he took up almost entirely the practice of obstetrics, assuming the lectureship of that branch of practice in the Medical Institute and physician to the lying-in department of the Pennsylvania Hospital. In 1863 he resigned the former chair, and was made emeritus professor by the trustees of the Pennsylvania University, to which he presented his museum, the collection of his professional career. In 1872 the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Princeton College. In 1864 was published his chief literary work, the book on obstetrics. He married, Nov. 12, 1828, Margaret E. Aspinwall, daughter of John Aspinwall, of New York.

Dr. George McClellan was born at Woodstock, Windham Co., Conn., Dec. 28, 1796; he was of Scotch descent, and in 1817 came to Philadelphia to attend the medical lectures in the Pennsylvania University and to study with Dr. John Syng Dorsey. Dr. S. G. Morton said of him that "his restless activity and sleepless vigilance in the pursuit of knowledge were remarked and admired by all, exciting the surprise of his fellow-students and drawing from older heads the presage of future distinction." In 1818, the year following his graduation, he was elected resident physician of the Philadelphia Almshouse. His public career as a lecturer began in 1825, in which year he became one of the founders of the Jefferson Medical College. His lectureship was that of surgery, and he continued his instructions until 1838, when all the professorships of the college were vacated, and a new organization took place, from which Dr. McClellan was excluded. He immediately conceived the idea of forming a third medical school, and, with five associates, organized the medical department of the Pennsylvania College, in connection with that at Gettysburg. He became one of the faculty, and remained so until his death. He read little and wrote little, and the urgent solicitations of his friends were needed to induce him to begin the preparation of his work on the principles of surgery, the first sheet of which was presented to him as he was lying on the bed from which he never again arose. The book, however, was ably edited by his son. On the morning of May 8, 1847, he assisted in the performance of two operations, and he died the next day. He married, in 1820, Elizabeth, daughter of John H. Brinton, and one of their five children became Gen. George B. McClellan.

Dr. Samuel McClellan was born Sept. 21, 1800, at Woodstock, Conn. He graduated at the medical department of Yale College, and, coming to this city, entered the office of his brother, George McClellan. He next removed to Bristol, Pa., where he practiced a few years, but finally settled in this city. About this time he assisted his brother in surgical operations, particularly in ophthalmic surgery. He was identified with him in the foundation and establishment of the Jefferson Medical College, and was appointed demonstrator, and then professor of Anatomy, and afterward professor of Obstetrics, in that institution. Subsequently he was elected professor of Obstetrics in the Pennsylvania Medical College; but, wearied at length with professorships, he resigned, and devoted himself exclusively to private practice, for which he was admirably fitted by a sound judgment, native cheerfulness of manner, great experience, graceful urbanity, and his Christian character. He died Jan. 4, 1853.

The system of examination of students in the University of Pennsylvania had always been most trying. In the earlier periods it was in the presence of the trustees, and the public were admitted. Students were required to write theses upon some subjects connected with their course, and to defend it in public against attacks of whatever kind might be made upon them. The examination was called "defending his thesis." The difficulties growing out of this habit, especially with young men who were easily embarrassed at such trying occasions, led to the adoption of the "green-box" system, in which applicants were examined only in the presence of the dean of the faculty, while the questions were propounded by the various professors behind a screen, not seeing and not seen by the students. This plan was found after trial to be inadequate, and finally one was established making applicants dependent upon the aggregate votes throughout all the branches they had studied.

Contemporary with midwifery, natural philosophy was assigned a separate chair; but, as the former had been, so this was declared not essential to obtaining the degree, and the professor was enjoined from teaching in his lecture-room anything that was embraced regularly in any of the other departments. Dr. Robert Hare was elected to this new chair, but resigned it in 1812, when Dr. Robert M. Patterson was appointed.

Dr. Robert M. Patterson was born in this city, graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1804, and received his degree of M.D. in 1808. He was a son of Robert Patterson, director of the United States mint. Dr. Patterson, educated as a chemist under Sir Humphry Davy, returned home in 1812, and, as we have stated, was soon after elected professor of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Mathematics in the University. He was a professor in the University of Virginia in 1828–35, and director of the United States mint from 1835 to 1853. He was elected a member of the Philosophical Society in 1809, and contributed largely to its proceedings. He delivered, May 25, 1843, while its vice-president, a discourse on the early history of the American Philosophical Society, and from 1849 to 1853 he was its president. In 1843 he delivered an address before the Franklin Institute. He died Sept. 5, 1854, aged sixty-eight. He married a daughter of Thomas Leiper.

Professor Henry S. Patterson, who was a member of another family of that name, was born in this city Aug. 15, 1815. His father, John Patterson, a much respected citizen and merchant, was a native of the north of Ireland. Dr. Patterson graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1839 was appointed one of the resident physicians of the almshouse, where he remained two years. At the expiration of that time he resigned, and resumed general practice. Soon after he was appointed physician to the dispensary. In November, 1843, upon the reorganization of the faculty of the medical department of the Pennsylvania College, he accepted the chair of Materia Medica in that institution, and during the first year he also performed the duties of the chair of Chemistry. In 1846 he was appointed chief physician at the Blockley Almshouse, the duties

of which he continued to discharge for two years, at the same time continuing his medical lectures, and contributing largely to the medical and general literature of the day. In 1852 he sought relief from his pressing duties by a trip to Europe, but he soon returned, and died in April, 1854. Dr. Patterson was a very learned man, and spoke the German, French, Latin, Italian, and Hebrew languages. As a physician he stood very high.

We have seen that at the death of Dr. Rush, in 1813, and the appointment of Dr. Barton to the chair of Practice left vacant by him, Dr. Nathaniel Chapman was taken from Surgical Obstetrics and given the chair of Materia Medica, from which Dr. Barton was at the same time changed to Practice.

The career of Dr. Chapman is one of the most distinguished in the history of medicine. He was a native of the State of Virginia, of one of the best families. The landed estate gotten by his ancestors yet remains in the possession of the family, on the Pamunkey River. Dr. Chapman was born in the county of Fairfax. His academic education was obtained in the town of Alexandria. At seventeen years of age he began the study of medicine, first under Dr. John Weems, of Georgetown, and subsequently under Dr. Dick, of Alexandria. From there he went to the University of Pennsylvania, where, after taking his degree, he settled and began the practice of his profession. Of winning manners, eloquent of tongue, courageous in spirit, he soon won his way to practice. Almost simultaneously with his coming to Philadelphia was that of a young man from still farther south, Dr. Charles Caldwell, of North Carolina. It was thought to have been the defeat of Caldwell by Dr. Chapman for a professorship in the University that drove him away, to seek in the West the exalted fame that he there acquired. In addition to his studies at the University, Chapman became a private pupil of Dr. Rush, then in the zenith of his fame. The veteran physician became warmly attached to his pupil, and was free to predict for him a brilliant career. Upon the subject of hydrophobia Dr. Rush had put forth certain opinions that had been most severely commented upon. When his favorite pupil, Chapman, was graduated in 1800, he chose for his thesis this subject, and defended with marked ability the views of his preceptor regarding its pathology. The thesis was thought to have been inspired by Rush, though there was no doubt that the youth was entitled to all the praise the paper received. Further, like his preceptor, Chapman, during his course at the University, took an interest in matters outside of his profession, and contributed occasionally to the *Portfolio*, which, under the management of Dennie, exerted a controlling influence upon American literature. His contributions were mainly upon foreign, especially French, politics.

N Chapman, M.D.

Like many of his predecessors in Philadelphia, he went abroad in order to accomplish himself yet more. He first repaired to London, where he studied for a year under the charge of the eminent Mr. Abernethy. In 1801 he repaired to Edinburgh, the Alma Mater of the larger number of the eminent physicians in those days in all parts of America.[1]

It was not until 1804 that he returned to Philadelphia, where, as we have seen, his success was rapid and brilliant. A man who, like Chapman, loves with all his heart the profession that he has chosen, who has availed himself faithfully of all the facilities for studying it thoroughly, and who therefore has constant confidence in his abilities to practice it, if he have, besides, the distinguished manners that all tradition says belonged to him, cannot but rise rapidly to fame. As a practitioner of his art he has left behind a reputation probably superior to that of every other physician of his generation. He early

[1] Regarding this matter, Dr. Samuel Jackson, in his eulogy at the death of Dr. Chapman, thus speaks: "The celebrity aquired by the University of Edinburgh from its Munros, Cullen, Brown, and Gregory had not been eclipsed by the Paris or German schools, or rivaled by those of London or Dublin. The medical school of the Scotch metropolis was the cynosure of American physicians during the colonial period, and continued to be so until the last twenty-five years. Most of the eminent men of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston of the latter part of the last century were its alumni. I doubt whether at that time more was known of the European continental schools than the mere existence of two or three of repute. All of the medical doctrines, ideas, principles, and practice of this country were derived from the Edinburgh school or from English writers. Our knowledge of the works, contributions to science, doctrines, theories, and practice of the French, German, and Italian medical schools and profession, with some very limited individual exceptions, does not date beyond twenty-five or thirty years."

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evinced a notion to become a public teacher, as men are apt to do who are unusually positive in their ideas, and know themselves to be uncommonly well adapted to advance and maintain them. It was the career that he had run in the lectures upon obstetrics with Dr. James that gave him the *éclat* which went far to overcome the reluctance of the trustees of the University to elevate that science to an independent professorship, and assign Dr. James to Obstetrics and Chapman to Materia Medica.

Although the medical profession had yet done but little in the matter of producing original professional literature, yet they had made some beginnings. Chapman wrote his "Elements of Therapeutics and Materia Medica," the basis of which was his lectures during the short time that he held that chair. The medical world everywhere pronounced this the best work upon the subject that thus far had appeared in any country.

It is extremely difficult for a man of ardent temper, who has long maintained a theory of the truth of which he has never a doubt, to publicly withdraw his teachings, even when he has at last been led to suspect that his advocacy has been carried too far. The "solid" theory he had believed in with his whole mind, and taught it with an eloquence rarely heard in the lecture-room of a professor of medicine. Yet as the "humoral" theory, under the reasoning and experiments of several distinguished scientists, was put forth with new and very strong arguments in its favor, he studied it again with the utmost diligence. It was never precisely known to what extent his opinions, theretofore so confident, were modified; but he afterward discouraged the further sale of his own work, although it had already passed through many editions.

It was upon his elevation to the chair of Theory and Practice that his great powers began to develop in a specially eminent degree. This was in 1816. Here he continued in the neighborhood of thirty-five years, during which his reputation, take it all in all, was equal to that of any physician then living. He was said to have possessed remarkable oratorical powers, and these were often exerted to the delight of his hearers. Instead of being a mere physician, his tastes and his talents had been cultivated in other branches of erudition, evidences of which were often seen in the discursions he was wont to make for illustrations of themes in themselves dry and uninteresting. His reputation came soon enough and was great enough for him to enjoy during a long period the consciousness of its value among all classes, without producing the vanity that renders reluctant the bestowal of abundant adulation. The highest offices and honors were given to him while he was in the full possession of ability to discharge, appreciate, and enjoy them. He was president during many years of the Philadelphia Medical Society, and when the American Medical Association, which we shall speak of hereafter, was organized, in 1847, although he was then near the end of a long life, he was unanimously elected its first president. He was also for a time president of the American Philosophical Society, and was so acting at the time of his death, in 1853. *The Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences* was begun by him in 1820, and edited by him during many years. This was afterward changed to the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, now well known throughout the scientific world.

The works of Dr. Chapman have already been enumerated in the chapter on Literature.

Contemporary with the advent of Dr. Chapman to Philadelphia was that of another Virginian, Dr. Joseph Hartshorne. His father was a native of New Jersey, and his mother of Philadelphia. The Hartshornes had long been dwellers in New Jersey, having emigrated from the county of Leicestershire, England, on account of the hardships imposed upon the Friends, of whom they were members. Richard Hartshorne came over in 1669, and was associated with William Penn and the Duke of York in the proprietaryship of East Jersey, and became a man of great wealth and influence. A portion of the estate on the Highlands of Neversink is said to be yet in possession of some of his descendants. William Hartshorne, the father of the physician, was a man of great prominence, an intimate friend of Washington, and president of the Potomac Navigation Company, the first great work of internal improvement in the country. Joseph became incurably lame of foot from an attack of small-pox when he was a child. Like Chapman, he received his education at the Alexandria Academy, after which he spent some time in the business of his father, who was a leading merchant. Determining to become a physician, he began the study of medicine under the superintendence of Dr. James Craik, of Washington. In 1801 a vacancy occurred in the post of resident apprentice and apothecary in the Pennsylvania Hospital. The young student was anxious to obtain this office, and through influential friends and relatives who resided in Philadelphia, some of whom were among the managers, he succeeded. Such a position was of incalculable advantage to him in his general professional studies, which henceforth he prosecuted in the University. He held this office for five years, not only to the satisfaction of the managers, but to their gratitude, as publicly expressed by them, especially for the services he had bestowed upon the library and museum.

During most of this time Dr. Caspar Wistar was professor of Anatomy. Young Hartshorne early showed a strong liking for this branch of science. This was enough with such a man as Wistar to attract special interest. Soon a warm friendship sprang up between the two, to endure during their joint lives. Another great advantage in the position he held was the facility which he enjoyed from long-continued habit in practice, both in surgical and general medical

cases. The many patient years spent by him before applying for his degree were evidences of a true man, who, estimating his profession at its just importance, determined to prepare himself thoroughly before undertaking its various responsibilities. So, after seven years of study, he took his degree. Such was the confidence in his abilities by the managers of the hospital that for a year before his graduation he had the entire charge of the out-patients who were accustomed to receive the benefits of this noble charity. Among other services he rendered at the hospital which made him particularly distinguished was the introduction of a new apparatus for splinting a fractured thigh.

Shortly before the expiration of his term of service at the hospital he took position as surgeon and supercargo of an East India ship about to sail for Batavia. The permission he requested was granted, and he received from the managers a copy of a resolution in the highest degree complimentary to the fidelity and efficiency of his services. This voyage was repeated, and after a brief period, in which he united the drug business with his professional work, he devoted himself wholly to the latter. A position as one of the surgeons of the Pennsylvania Hospital might have been obtained but for his withdrawal from competition in favor of Dr. John Syng Dorsey. The position, however, was unanimously offered to him in 1815. The death of Dr. Wistar in 1818, with whom he had been long known to be familiar, devolved upon him a large increase of practice, and came very near securing him the professorship of Surgery that had just been vacated by Dr. Physick, who, on Wistar's decease, was transferred to the chair of Anatomy. Dr. Evans, the biographer of Dr. Hartshorne, attributes his defeat by Dr. Gibson to the strong desire of the trustees "to transplant from a neighboring and rival school one who promised to contribute much to its rising reputation." This, he added, "was at the time generally understood to have been the principal cause of Dr. Hartshorne's defeat." As a practitioner Dr. Hartshorne ranked among the first and most successful of his time. His practice was equal to that of the greatest, and so were his successes during the yellow fever of 1820, and the next ten years in which a series of epidemics visited the city. His lameness, though this operated no serious hindrance to his practice, and his naturally reticent disposition, kept him somewhat more from society than was the wont of men of his rank; but he was universally respected and esteemed, and held his place with the rest in the Philadelphia Medical Society, the American Philosophical Society, and the College of Physicians. He died in 1850 at Brandywine Springs, Del., whither he had gone in order to obtain some rest from an arduous practice, which, in spite of his long-failing health, he had not relinquished.

Contemporary with Dr. Hartshorne was Dr. Samuel Emlen. He was born in Chester County, March 6, 1789, and was studying in Paris in the eventful year of 1814. He walked the hospitals, and, after the surrender of Paris, he went to London, thence to Holland, and back to the United States as a bearer of dispatches for the government. He was a manager and the secretary of the Philadelphia Dispensary. He married Beulah Valentine, who was, like himself, a member of the Society of Friends. He died April 17, 1828.

In the year 1816, moved by the new impulse given everywhere to the natural sciences, the trustees of the University established a faculty for such study,—of Botany, Dr. William P. C. Barton; of Natural History, Dr. Charles Caldwell; of Mineralogy and Chemistry, Dr. Thomas Cooper; and of Comparative Anatomy, Dr. Thomas T. Hewson.

Dr. Thomas Tickell Hewson, who was born in London, April 9, 1773, spent five months with Dr. Franklin, at Passy, France, in 1784–85, and on the removal of the family to Philadelphia, the next year, became a student in the University of Pennsylvania. After pursuing his medical studies with Dr. John Foulke he went abroad, and was in Edinburgh and London until 1800. He then came back to Philadelphia, and in 1806 was appointed physician to the Walnut Street prison, where he was most courageous in contending against the typhus fever epidemic in the winter of 1817–18. For his heroism he was presented by the inspectors with a silver vase. He was a surgeon of the Philadelphia Almshouse and the Pennsylvania Hospital, and a physician of the Orphan Asylum, where he served for twenty years from January, 1817. He largely contributed to the formation and revision of the National Pharmacopœia, and was president of the Cholera Medical Board in 1832. He filled successively the offices of secretary and censor of the Philadelphia College of Physicians, with the exception of one year, from July, 1802, to April, 1835, when he was chosen vice-president, and in July following he was elected president, which office he continued to hold until his death. He died Feb. 17, 1848.

A pupil of Dr. Thomas T. Hewson was Dr. William Pepper, who was born in Philadelphia, Jan. 21, 1810, and in October, 1828, graduated with the highest honors at Princeton College. In the autumn of 1829 he entered the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, graduating March 29, 1832, and spending the summer of the latter year at the Bush Hill Hospital, during the prevalence of the cholera. He occupied the ensuing two years in study in Paris and travel through Southern Europe. In 1834 he returned to Philadelphia and took charge of one of the districts under the care of the Philadelphia Dispensary, being also resident physician at the Pennsylvania Hospital. In 1832 he became a member of the Philadelphia Medical Society, in 1837 a member of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and in 1839 Fellow of the College of Physicians, as well as one of the physicians at the Wills Hospital. In 1841–42 he was chosen physician to the Institution for the Instruction of the Blind and visiting physician

to the Pennsylvania Hospital. In April, 1851, he entered into membership of the American Philosophical Society, and on June 5, 1860, he succeeded Professor Wood as professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, where he remained until his death, which occurred Oct. 15, 1865. In June, 1840, he was married to Miss Sarah Platt, of Philadelphia, and left seven children, one of whom, Dr. William Pepper, is now (1884) the distinguished provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and professor in the medical department.

Dr. Charles Caldwell, who held the chair of Natural History in the University, was the son of an Irish officer who had emigrated to North Carolina. He was born in what is now Caswell County, of that State, May 14, 1772, and in 1792 arrived in Philadelphia, where he entered the medical classes of the University and studied under Shippen, Wistar, and Rush. On the breaking out of the Whiskey Insurrection he was appointed surgeon of a brigade and proceeded with the forces to the neighborhood, when the difficulty was declared to be terminated and the troops retired. In the military banquet which followed, the management of the affair was assigned to Dr. Caldwell, whose address drew forth a liberal compliment from Alexander Hamilton. In 1795 he began his literary career by translating Blumenbach's "Elements of Physiology," and he was thereafter the author or translator of many other medical works. In 1814 he succeeded Nicholas Biddle as editor of the *Portfolio*, writing articles that were chiefly biographical, or reviews of the prominent books of poetry of the day. He was, as we have stated, professor of Natural History in the University of Pennsylvania, but in 1819 removed to Kentucky, where he took charge of the chair of the Institutes of Medicine and Clinical Practice in the Transylvania University, at Lexington. He had to create a prestige for medical education throughout the whole region, and he managed to secure funds from the Kentucky Legislature. In 1820 he went to Europe for the purpose of getting books and materials for the University, from which he withdrew in 1837 to establish the Medical Institute in Louisville, where he died July 9, 1853.

Dr. Isaac Cathrall was a native of Philadelphia, and, after studying in London, Edinburgh, and Paris, he returned home in 1793. In the yellow fever epidemic that ran through the years up to 1799 he was remarkable for his attention to the victims and his close investigation of the disease, concerning which he issued three treatises, one of them being a "Memoir on the Analysis of the Black Vomit," contending that the vomit might be safely tasted. He died Feb. 22, 1819, aged fifty-five years.

On the death of Dr. Wistar, in 1818, the chair of Anatomy was given to Dr. John Syng Dorsey, a nephew of Dr. Physick. He was born in Philadelphia, Dec. 22, 1783, son of Leonard Dorsey, and grandson of Edmund Physick, and, after studying with his uncle, became an M.D. at the age of eighteen. He visited France and England, and returned home in 1804. In 1807 he was elected adjunct professor of Surgery, and succeeded Dr. Wistar as professor of Anatomy. On the evening of the day when he pronounced his eloquent introductory lecture he was attacked with fever, and in a week died, Nov. 12, 1818. As a surgeon he was scarcely rivaled. Besides papers for the periodical journals, and an edition of Cooper's "Surgery" with notes, he published "Elements of Surgery," two volumes, 1818. His death devolved anatomy upon Dr. Physick, with Dr. William E. Horner as adjunct, when Dr. Gibson became professor of Surgery.

The career of Dr. William Gibson is one of the most distinguished in the history of medicine. He was born in Baltimore, March 14, 1788, and was educated at St. John's College, Annapolis, and Princeton College, taking up the study of his profession under Dr. Owen, of Baltimore, in 1803. After a preliminary course at the University of Pennsylvania he became another of the American alumni of Edinburgh, and in London sat under the teachings of Sir Astley Cooper and Mr. Abernethy. In 1812 he was appointed to the chair of Surgery in the University of Maryland, removing to Philadelphia in 1819 to fill the corresponding position in the University of Pennsylvania, which had been vacated by the transfer of Professor Physick. He published in 1824 his "Institutes and Practice of Surgery," of which six editions were issued between that year and 1841. In 1847 he again visited Europe, and died at Savannah, Ga., March 2, 1868.

In the same year that Dr. Dorsey was appointed to the chair of Anatomy, Dr. John Redman Coxe was made professor of Materia Medica and Chemistry; that left by him in the University was bestowed upon Dr. Robert Hare, who filled this chair from 1818 to 1847, and during his long course of research and experimenting accumulated a vast store of instruments and materials. He devoted great labor and skill to the construction of new and improved forms of the voltaic pile, and he invented the deflagrator that was of so much value before the discovery of the constant battery, which has superseded for practical use the old voltaic pile forms. He formulated a theory of whirlwinds and storms upon an electrical hypothesis that since his death has been broadened into the scientific explanation of the causation of cyclones. He was one of the few life-members in his day of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, to which he gave all his chemical and physical apparatus, which thus became the property of the nation.

Dr. Hare was born in Philadelphia, Jan. 17, 1781, and was associated with Professor Silliman in the invention of the oxyhydrogen blowpipe, which was the earliest and one of the most remarkable of his contributions to science. In later years he constructed

the apparatus on a gigantic scale, with large vessels of wrought iron capable of sustaining the pressure of the Fairmount Water-Works, and with this powerful combination he was able, in May, 1858, to fuse at one operation fifty-three ounces of platinum. The employment of Dr. Hare's jet to illuminate light-houses and signal-reflectors, under the names of the Drummond or calcium light, is only another mode of ignoring the name of the real discoverer or inventor, of which the history of science presents so many parallels. He died May 15, 1858.

Dr. Samuel Jackson, born at New Garden, Chester Co., Pa., Aug. 27, 1788, was the fourth in descent from the Isaac Jackson who came from England in 1725. Dr. Jackson passed through the Friends' Latin Academy in Philadelphia, and on May 12, 1812, was graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. After practicing in Philadelphia a year, and being appointed a physician in the Pennsylvania Hospital, he removed to Northumberland County, where he remained until 1837. In that year he returned to Philadelphia and was elected a member of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in which he was censor for some years. He was a most prolific writer on medical and general topics, and was the author of the life of Dr. Rush, at whose advice he had gone to Northumberland, and also the memoirs of several others of his brother-physicians. In 1852–53 he was president of the Philadelphia County Medical Society, and on retiring delivered, by request, an address on medical education. He died at his home, Pine Street, Philadelphia, Dec. 17, 1869.

Dr. Joseph G. Nancrede, a contemporary of Dr. Gibson, was born in Boston in 1793, and lived with the family in Paris until 1808, when they fled to America to escape Napoleon's conscription. In 1816 he opened an office in Philadelphia, and became the popular physician among the French families. Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-king of Spain, was his patient during his residence in this country. Dr. Nancrede was the first to perform in this country the Cæsarean section, which was so happy in its results that both the mother and child survived. He married a daughter of Commodore Truxton, and died in 1856.

Dr. Franklin Bache, ex-president of the American Philosophical Society, vice-president of the College of Physicians, professor of Chemistry in the Jefferson College, and one of the authors of the "United States Dispensatory," was born in Philadelphia, Oct. 25, 1792, and died March 19, 1864. He graduated as Bachelor of Arts and as M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, and, after spending three years in the army as surgeon, went into practice in Philadelphia.

From 1824 to 1836 he was physician to the Walnut Street Prison; from 1826 to 1832, professor of Chemistry in the Franklin Institute; from 1829 to 1839, physician to the Eastern Penitentiary; from 1831 to 1841, professor of Chemistry in the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy; and in 1841 was appointed professor of Chemistry in the Jefferson Medical College, a position held by him during the remainder of his life.

Professor Bache contributed largely to the medical literature of the country. He wrote a number of works on medicine and chemistry, of which the "United States Dispensatory," under the joint authorship of Dr. George B. Wood and himself, has a world-wide reputation. As a member of the publishing committee of the "United States Pharmacopœia," he also contributed much of the most valuable matter contained in that work. Besides being a most active Fellow of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, he was a vice-president of the Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania, of which he was a permanent member. He assisted in organizing the American Medical Association, of which body he continued a member up to the period of his death, and strongly urged its resuscitation by sending delegates to its proposed meeting at Chicago. He was also a member of the Philadelphia County Medical Society from April, 1849, and was much interested in the promotion of its objects. At the time of his death he was president of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum. He was the eldest son of the eldest grandchild of Benjamin Franklin, a brother of Col. Hartman Bache, of the United States Engineer Corps, and a first cousin of Professor A. D. Bache, superintendent of the coast survey. A daughter and four sons survive him, three of the latter being in the government service.

Dr. Antoine Bournonville, born in Lyons, France, Aug. 6, 1797, was a graduate at Copenhagen, in 1818, of the Royal College of Denmark in medicine. He practiced his profession in that city, and was a surgeon in the Danish navy for several years. After traveling in Siberia and the north of Europe, he remained for a short time in the island of St. Thomas, West Indies, and crossed to Philadelphia in 1825, where he married Charlotte Abadie. He then located himself in Norfolk, but after the birth of his eldest son, Dr. A. C. Bournonville, he took up a permanent residence in Philadelphia. Desirous of having the degree of M.D. conferred upon him by a Philadelphia medical school, he graduated at the Jefferson Medical College in 1848. He was a member of the Philadelphia County Medical Society and of the College of Physicians, consulting physician to the French and German benevolent societies, and one of the trustees of the Girard bequest to the Masons, of which order he was a prominent member, and for two years Grand Master. He was a member also of the order of Odd-Fellows, and belonged to numerous charitable institutions. Notwithstanding Dr. Bournonville had so extensive and varied a knowledge of disease in all its forms, and, from close observation, having great experience, he never left to the profession a record of his opinions or a monograph on any medical subject. Dr. Bournonville was the first (about the year 1859)

to prescribe as an antiseptic and caustic the permanganate of potassium. He retired from professional work in October, 1862, and died Feb. 27, 1863.

Dr. Samuel Henry Dickson, born in Charleston, S. C., in September, 1798, graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1819, and forty years later was summoned to Philadelphia to take the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the Jefferson Medical College, which he filled until his death, in 1872. Of him it has been truly said that "his name is identified with the history of medicine in America." "His culture was many-sided: he was scholar, poet, historian, philosopher, as well as physician; and more than one literary journal has spoken of him as remarkable among the authors of the day for his graceful diction. Attracting them by his intelligence and refinement, he had formed warm friendships with many of the most distinguished men of his time; and such was the charm of his society and the pleasing character of his manners that to have been his friend once was to remain his friend. His influence over young men was remarkable; and no teacher influenced his classes more, did more to educate them by his example, was more solicitous of their welfare than was Dr. Dickson. Partly for these reasons, partly from the singular ease of delivery and fluency natural to him, and which he began to exhibit when a young man, he became one of the most celebrated and popular teachers in the United States; and whether as professor in the medical college of Charleston, at the University of New York, or at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, aided largely in the success of any school to which he was attached, drawing to his lectures many eager listeners. Nor was Dr. Dickson simply the brilliant teacher and accomplished writer. While in Charleston, and before his health began to give way, he enjoyed a large practice, possessing in a remarkable degree the confidence both of the public and his professional brethren. In his many medical writings much of the experience thus gained is referred to, and, as was his wont, commented upon with the acuteness and breadth of view which distinguished him. Whether we regard him as physician or as man, he was an ornament to his country."

Dr. Wilson Jewell was born Nov. 12, 1800, and when the University of Pennsylvania graduated him, in 1824, he made a voyage to China as medical officer of the ship "New Jersey." Thence he sailed to Calcutta and London, and spent a year in travel. In 1828 he located in his native city of Philadelphia, having in 1825 married Miss Rachel Lyon. He was a member of the commission of three that, in 1832, visited Quebec to learn something of the pathology and treatment of the cholera. In 1837 he was induced to go to Illinois in an enterprise that terminated most disastrously for him, and after his return to Philadelphia, in 1839, he was quite satisfied to remain. He held such offices as president of the Board of Health, and in 1857 president of the Quarantine and Sanitary Commission that met in this city; in 1864 president of the Pennsylvania Medical Society, and in 1862 vice-president of the American Medical Association. It was mainly due to his efforts that the law was passed for the collection of vital statistics. His first wife died in May, 1865, and in 1867 he married Miss Charlotte McMullen. While they were traveling in Europe symptoms of disease appeared on him, and he died soon after his return home, Nov. 14, 1867.

Dr. Jonas Preston, a Welshman, who settled in Delaware County, Pa., had a son who was born in that county in 1764, and died in 1836. The son was the second Dr. Jonas Preston, and he amassed the very large fortune—as financial accumulations were considered fifty years ago—of four hundred thousand dollars. He endowed, with a quarter of a million dollars, the Preston Retreat, but a large part of the fund was lost in the collapsed banks of 1857 and in the Schuylkill Navigation Company.

Dr. Adam Seybert, for eight years a member of Congress from Philadelphia, died in Paris May 2, 1825, bequeathing one thousand dollars for educating the deaf and dumb, and five hundred dollars for the Orphan Asylum of Philadelphia. He was particularly skillful as a chemist and mineralogist, and was the author of the "Statistical Annals of the United States from 1789 to 1818."

As early as 1816 pharmacy received a distinct recognition at the hands of the trustees in the person of Dr. James Mease. Dr. Mease was the first vice-president of the Philadelphia Athenæum, and a man of great wealth. He did not largely engage in the practice of his profession. He was a member of the Philosophical Society, and contributed by his writings to many other institutions, scientific and literary. He died May 15, 1846, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

In 1825, Dr. James, in the chair of Midwifery at the University, finding it necessary to have assistance on account of his age and infirmities, Dr. William P. Dewees was made his adjunct. Two years afterward the University was yet further distinguished by the election of Dr. Samuel Jackson as adjunct in the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine.

Dr. Samuel Jackson, born in Philadelphia, March 22, 1787, was the son of Dr. David Jackson, of Chester County, who was one of the first class of graduates upon whom the degree of Bachelor of Medicine was conferred by the College of Philadelphia in 1768, and subsequently became one of the trustees of that institution. The younger Dr. Jackson had the benefit of studies in the offices of Dr. Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., and Professor Wistar, and took his degree of M.D. at the Pennsylvania University in 1808. When war was declared between Great Britain and the United States, in 1812, he enlisted in the First Troop of Philadelphia Cavalry,

and took part in the advanced movements for the protection of the city from invasion. The autumn and early part of the winter of 1814 were spent at Mount Bull, Md., in observing the movements of the enemy, then in the waters of the Chesapeake, or in hiding as a scout between that post and Philadelphia. He was elected president of the Board of Health March 10, 1820, and when Philadelphia was scourged by the yellow fever he exhausted himself in the service of the sorely-stricken community. He has left a graphic and important record of the epidemic which he read before the Academy of Medicine in 1820, and which was a highly valuable scientific investigation of the causes, progress, and cure of the disease. In 1821 he was appointed professor of Materia Medica in the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, having been chairman of the committee which presented the plan for its foundation. He was also one of the first trustees of the college. The next year he was elected an attending physician of the Philadelphia Almshouse, where he was deeply interested in developing the practical usefulness of auscultation, then a new feature of practice. He lectured weekly at the almshouse from 1822 to 1845, when more pressing duties forced him to retire. He was chosen, in 1827, by Professor Chapman as his assistant in the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine, Clinical Medicine, and the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. The delivery of the lectures upon the last-named subject was the especial duty of Professor Jackson. The winter of 1830–31 was remarkable for the interest awakened by the public discussions before the Medical Society of Philadelphia, and the champions of opposing views were frequently Professor Jackson and Dr. Daniel Drake, who, for a season held the chair of Institutes and Practice of Medicine in the Jefferson Medical College. In 1832, Dr. Jackson was a member of the commission of those delegated by City Councils to investigate the Asiatic cholera then prevailing at Quebec and Montreal, and concerning which he published several papers. In 1835 he was made professor of Materia Medica in the University of Pennsylvania, which he resigned in 1863. He died April 4, 1872.

The two Parrishes, Joseph and Isaac, father and son, are prominent figures in the medical history of Philadelphia. Dr. Joseph Parrish, born in this city, Sept. 2, 1779, graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1806, and in the beginning of his practice was appointed resident physician in the Yellow Fever Hospital. He was subsequently consulting physician to the Philadelphia Dispensary, surgeon to the Philadelphia Almshouse, and surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital. He died March 18, 1840, just after having published his last work upon hernia. His son, Dr. Isaac Parrish, studied under him, and also graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. The younger Parrish spent the last year of his pupilage in the Blockley Hospital, and his experience therein suggested to him the subject of his thesis upon spinal irritation. In 1834 he was elected one of the surgeons of Wills Hospital, to which he was ardently devoted until his death, July 31, 1852.

In 1830, Dr. Horner, by the resignation of Dr. Physick, became full professor of Anatomy. So, in 1834, on the retirement of Dr. James, Dr. Dewees became full professor of Obstetrics. The importance that obstetrics gained under Dr. James was greatly enhanced under Dr. Dewees. He had settled, upon his graduation, at Abington, but the prevalence of yellow fever brought him, in 1793, to Philadelphia, where he remained ever afterward. Having been early devoted to obstetrics, he made that branch of science his special study in the leisure he could find from professional duties. Like Shippen and James, he had had a world of prejudice to encounter, yet he persevered, and he was said to have been the first physician who had ever delivered a full course of lectures, and that upon his own responsibility. He had applied for the professorship in the University when it was first created, but failing in this, became adjunct in 1825, with the reversion that came on afterward. He died in 1841.[1]

The men who came on after the great lights we have sketched were fully up to the standard. Hare had studied chemistry under Woodhouse. His inventions and discoveries in chemistry, and the apparatus needed for its experiments, are known to the whole world. At his death, in 1858, he was succeeded by Dr. James B. Rogers.

Dr. Rogers was born in this city, Feb. 22, 1803, and studied at the University of Pennsylvania, William and Mary College, at Williamsburg, Va., and the University of Maryland, at Baltimore. In 1819 he was appointed professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry at William and Mary College, and in 1840 he returned to his native city, where in the next year he succeeded Professor John Kearsley Mitchell as lecturer in the Philadelphia Medical Institute. He was connected with the Franklin College, and when, in 1847, the chair of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania became vacant by the resignation of Professor Hare, he became the successor of the same eminent teacher to whom his father had succeeded twenty-eight years previously. Dr. Rogers died June 15, 1852.

When Dr. Hare was brought from William and Mary to the University of Pennsylvania, he was succeeded at the former by Dr. Patrick Kerr Rogers, father of Dr. James B. The latter received his collegiate education at William and Mary, and for some time after his graduation practiced medicine in the

[1] The medical faculty stood thus in 1835: Nathaniel Chapman, Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine; Robert Hare, Chemistry; William Gibson, Surgery; William E. Horner, Anatomy; Samuel Jackson, Institutes of Medicine; George B. Wood, Materia Medica and Pharmacy; Hugh L. Hodge, Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children.

State of Maryland. In 1841 he took charge of the Medical Institute of Philadelphia, a summer school in connection with the University, that had been established by Dr. Chapman. Like that of Dorsey, his career, so full of promise, was cut off by death in 1852, when he was succeeded by his brother, Dr. Robert E. Rogers.

Dr. John Kearsley Mitchell, who was succeeded in the Philadelphia Medical Institute by Dr. Rogers, was born at Shepherdstown, Va., May 12, 1796, and received his degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1819. He made three voyages to China as surgeon, and settled in Philadelphia in 1822. In 1824 he lectured on the Institutes of Medicine and Physiology in the Philadelphia Institute. In 1826 he accepted the chair of Chemistry there, and in 1833 lectured in the Franklin Institute on Chemistry applied to the Arts. In 1841 he was called to the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the Jefferson Medical College. His services during seasons of pestilence and in the City Hospital were twice rewarded by municipal gifts. He was the author of "Indecision and other Poems" (1839), and "Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects," a work which was translated into several foreign languages. He died April 4, 1858, leaving a work "On the Cryptogamous Origin of Malarious and Epidemical Fevers," and many valuable contributions to the *American Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*. A collection of his essays, including a valuable paper on animal magnetism, was published in this city in 1858. His son, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, was born in this city, Feb. 15, 1829, and received his degree at the Jefferson Medical College in 1850. He is particularly known by his researches respecting the venom of serpents, published in the Smithsonian Contributions, and in the "Memoirs of the Philosophical Society;" also, "Researches on the Physiology of the Cerebellum," in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* for April, 1869. He published, with Drs. Keen and Morehouse, "Effects of Gunshot Wounds" (1864), and "Anatomy and Physiology of Respiration in the Chelonia," in Smithsonian Contributions.

Joseph Leidy

Dr. Richard Harlan, a physician and writer on natural history, was born in Philadelphia, Sept. 19, 1796, and died in New Orleans, Sept. 30, 1843. Previous to receiving his medical degree, in 1817, he made a voyage to Calcutta as surgeon of an East India ship. Besides his private practice in this city, he was in 1822 elected professor of Anatomy to the Philadelphia Museum, where he delivered lectures on that science. In 1825 he published his "Fauna Americana;" in 1835, "Medical and Physical Researches;" "Observations on Salamanders," 8vo, 1824; "American Herpetology," 8vo, 1827. In 1838 he visited Europe, and on his return, the following year, established himself in New Orleans.

The career of Dr. William E. Horner is so well known that we may speak of it in brief. Dr. Horner was, like Chapman and Hartshorne, a native of Virginia. He received his academic education at the town of Warrenton in Fauquier County. He entered the service of the United States in the war of 1812, acting throughout as surgeon's mate. After graduation at the University of Pennsylvania, he practiced for two years in Warrenton, and in 1816 had already acquired such reputation for his knowledge of anatomy that he was chosen by Dr. Wistar as his assistant. At the death of Wistar, in 1818, he was to have been in that relation to Dr. Dorsey. At the death of the latter he became assistant to Dr. Physick. The University boasts, and with becoming pride, of the distinguished services rendered by this great anatomist to its museum.

By his death, in 1853, the professorship fell to Dr. Joseph Leidy, who was born in Philadelphia, Sept. 9, 1823, and graduated in 1844 from the medical school of the University. His life was devoted mainly to biological research, and his published works, ranging from pamphlets to elaborate treatises, amount to some eight hundred in number. Of these publications some of the most important are "Flora and Fauna within Living Animals," "Ancient Fauna of Nebraska," "Memoir on the Extinct Sloth Tribe of North America," "Cretaceous Reptiles of the United States," "Extinct Mammalian Fauna

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of Dakota and Nebraska," together with a "Synopsis of the Mammalian Remains of North America," "Contributions to the Extinct Vertebrate Fauna of the Western Territories," and "Description of Vertebrate Remains from the Phospate Beds of South Carolina." Most of his works have been issued through the Smithsonian Institution, the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and Hayden's United States reports of geological surveys of the Territories. In 1846 he was elected demonstrator of anatomy in the Franklin Medical College, and chairman of the curators of the Academy of Natural Sciences. In 1853 he became professor of Anatomy in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1871, professor of Natural History in Swarthmore College. During the late war he was a surgeon in the United States army, and contract surgeon to the Satterlee General Hospital at Philadelphia.

The eminent Robley Dunglison, LL.D., M.D., was born Jan. 4, 1798, at Keswick, a small town in Cumberland, England, and his parents intended to send him to his uncle, Joseph Robley, a wealthy planter in the West Indies, but the design was frustrated by the latter's death, and the young man chose the profession of medicine. His general education was mainly acquired in Green Row Academy, and his medical training at the University of Edinburgh, the Royal College of Surgeons, and the Society of Apothecaries. He began practice in 1819, but also continued his studies at the University of Erlangen, Bavaria, from which he graduated in 1824, and in the same year was appointed physician-accoucheur to the Eastern Dispensary of London. In October, 1824, he came to the United States, in response to an invitation from Thomas Jefferson, to occupy one of the chairs in the medical department of the then newly-founded University of Virginia. Nine years later he accepted the chair of Materia Medica, Therapeutics, Hygiene, and Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Maryland, and removed to Baltimore, where he remained three years. In addition to his labors as a lecturer and author, he had charge of the medical wards of the Baltimore Infirmary. In June, 1836, he was appointed professor of the Institutes of Medicine in Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, a chair expressly created for him. He filled it until 1868, when he resigned, and received from the trustees the title of emeritus professor. He contributed largely to various medical periodicals, and translated and edited many volumes on medicine. In 1837 he established the *American Medical Library and Intelligencer*, a monthly magazine that was continued five years. He was the author of the standard work, "Dunglison's Medical Dictionary." In 1825 Yale College conferred on him the degree of M.D. In 1852 Jefferson College, at Cannonsburg, Pa., made him LL.D., and in the same year the same degree was granted him by the Jefferson Medical College of this city. He was vice-president of the American Philosophical Society, vice-president of the Training-School for Idiots, vice-president of the Institute for the Blind, chairman of the faculty of the University of Virginia, and for many years dean of the faculty of Jefferson Medical College. In October, 1824, he married Harriet, daughter of John Leadam. His death occurred in this city, April 1, 1869.

Dr. Thomas D. Mütter was born at Richmond, Va., March 11, 1811, and graduated at Hampden Sidney College. He studied medicine under the tuition of Dr. Sims, at Alexandria, and received his degree at the University of Pennsylvania. In the reorganization of Jefferson College, after the departure of Drs. Patterson and Revere, Dr. Mütter was first made adjunct, or professor of Operative Surgery, while Dr. Randolph, then in Europe, was elected professor of the Principles of Surgery. Dr. Randolph declining the appointment, Dr. Mütter was made professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery, while Dr. Pancoast took the chair of Anatomy. Dr. Mütter died March 16, 1859, leaving a large endowment and his fine collection of osseous and other preparations to the College of Physicians of this city, for the establishment of a museum.

Among the leading physicians of the past may also be mentioned the late Dr. Joseph Pancoast, who died in this city greatly lamented March 7, 1882. Dr. Pancoast was born in Burlington County, N. J., Nov. 23, 1805. He graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1828. He immediately began the practice of his profession in this city. In 1831 he commenced teaching practical anatomy and surgery, having determined to make a specialty of surgery in his practice. In 1834 he was chosen one of the physicians of the Philadelphia Hospital, Blockley. Soon afterward he was elected physician-in-chief to the Children's Hospital, in the same institution, and from 1838 to 1845 was one of the visiting surgeons to the same hospital. In 1838 he was called to fill the chair of Surgery in the Jefferson Medical College. On March 27, 1854, he was elected one of the surgeons of the Pennsylvania Hospital, a position which he resigned Feb. 29, 1864. In 1841 he was chosen professor of Anatomy in Jefferson Medical College, from which he resigned in 1874, being succeeded by his son, Dr. William H. Pancoast. For thirty-six consecutive years he occupied two of the most important chairs in that celebrated school. Upon his retirement from the chair last mentioned, he was chosen emeritus professor of Anatomy, as an evidence of the high esteem in which he was held by the trustees of the institution.

During the long and honorable professional career of Dr. Pancoast, he kept pace with the march of progress which has characterized medical science during the past three-quarters of a century. By his devotion to literary pursuits within the sphere of his profession, and his identification with leading philosophical and medical associations, he succeeded in maintaining a

Joseph Pancoast

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high position as one of the leaders in thought and in practice among American physicians. Of the societies of which he was a member, the following may be enumerated: the American Philosophical Society, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the London Medical Society, the College of Physicians, the College of Pharmacy, the Philadelphia County Medical Society, the Pennsylvania State Medical Society, and the American Medical Association. In fact, any reputable movement looking toward organized effort in promoting the cause of medical science, and the higher interests of the profession, was sure to meet with his support.

As has been intimated, Dr. Pancoast gave much attention to medical literature. In fact, it is as a distinguished author, as well as a successful practitioner, that he won deserved fame, both at home and abroad. One of his earliest literary efforts was the translation from the Latin, in 1831, of a "Treatise on the Structure, Functions, and Diseases of the Human Sympathetic Nerve," by J. Frederick Lobstein, to which he added notes. In 1844 he published his "Treatise on Operative Surgery," which he revised and enlarged in 1852, when it had passed to a third edition. During the first nine years of its existence upward of four thousand copies were sold. He also, in 1844, remodeled the able work,—originally written by Dr. Caspar Wistar, to which the late Professor William E. Horner had made valuable additions,—entitled "A System of Anatomy for the Use of Students." He also edited at various times "Lænnec on the Great Sympathetic Nerve," the "Cerebro-Spinal System in Man," and "Quain's Anatomical Plates." He was also a voluminous contributor to the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, the *American Medical Intelligencer*, and the *Medical Examiner*, besides publishing sundry monographs, pathological and surgical.

Dr. Pancoast was, perhaps, chiefly noted for having performed many remarkable surgical operations, some of which were previously entirely unknown to the profession. In many instances during his varied and successful career in the practice of his chosen profession he not only succeeded in saving individual lives where death appeared to be a probable sequence, but he devised convenient appliances, and practically safe plans of procedure, whereby the practice of surgery throughout the world has brought less woe and misery to suffering humanity.

Viewing him as a man and as a physician, as an author and as a practitioner, as a student and as a teacher, it can be truly said that the city of his adoption and the profession of his choice have just cause to be proud of him, and that the world is the better and the happier for his life.

Dr. Jacob Randolph was born in this city Nov. 26, 1796, and died here Feb. 29, 1848. His father was an officer in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment in the Revolution. Dr. Randolph graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1817, and began practice in this city. He married the daughter of Dr. Physick in 1822, and soon attained eminence as a surgeon. He was surgeon at the city almshouse in 1830, a surgeon of the Pennsylvania Hospital from 1835 to his death, and in 1847, after having been some time lecturer upon clinical surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, was made professor of that branch. He published a memoir of Dr. Physick in 1839, and contributed many valuable papers to medical journals. At the time of his death he was a member of the American Philosophical Society and of the College of Surgeons, and a consulting surgeon to the City Dispensary.

Dr. John Barclay Biddle, born in Philadelphia, Jan. 3, 1815, was educated at St. Mary's College, and before entering the office of Dr. Nathaniel Chapman was a law-student. He received his diploma from the University of Pennsylvania when he was twenty-one years of age, and at once spent a year in Europe for purposes of study. On his return he became associated with Dr. Meredith Clymer in the publication of the *Medical Examiner*, the first number of which was issued Jan. 3, 1838. Early in 1846 Dr. Biddle, with other physicians, obtained a charter of incorporation for the Franklin Medical College, in which he took the chair of Materia Medica. In 1852 he published his "Review of Materia Medica." In June, 1865, he was elected to the chair of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in Jefferson College, vacated by the death of Professor Thomas D. Mitchell, and became dean of the faculty. In 1850 he married Caroline, daughter of William Phillips, and died Jan. 19, 1879.

On the 22d of December, 1811, William Robertson Grant was born at East River, Nova Scotia, and on Dec. 17, 1836, he entered Philadelphia, which was to be his home and the scene of his labors and distinction. In his early years he was especially a student of anatomy, and he assumed the responsibilities of professor of Anatomy in Pennsylvania College when it was apparently on the brink of ruin. A faculty of four members carried through the course of lectures with a class of twenty-three pupils. During the session Dr. Grant labored with untiring zeal and energy, delivering nine lectures weekly and attending assiduously to the duties of the dissecting-room. The faculty completed their labors on March 9, 1844, by holding a public commencement in their own lecture-room on Filbert Street, at which the degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred on seven pupils. Devoted to the interests of the Pennsylvania College, he did everything that could be done to advance its prosperity, although he was suffering from a most severe pulmonary affection. It was in the discharge of professional duty that his fatal illness was contracted. On March 23, 1852, he was summoned to the aid of a woman who had committed suicide by hanging in the cellar of her own house. The damp and chilling atmosphere of the place and his unsuccessful efforts to revive the woman had a most disastrous effect upon

him, and on the evening of that day he was prostrated at the house of Dr. Henry S. Patterson. Dr. Patterson has written, "On Saturday, the 27th, it was believed that a favorable change had taken place in his condition, but on Sunday it became evident that all human aid was vain and that the end was near." He died March 28, 1852, in the forty-second year of his age.

Perhaps no man was better known as an alienist on this side of the Atlantic than Dr. Kirkbride. For more than forty years his name has been familiar to the medical world as associated with the study of insanity. He was born in Pennsylvania, near Morrisville, Bucks Co., July 31, 1809. He was a descendant of Joseph Kirkbride, of the parish of Kirkbride, in the county of Cumberland, England, who came to America with William Penn. He received his education at Trenton, N. J., whence he came to Philadelphia to pursue his medical studies in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, which conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Medicine in March, 1832. Only one month later he was appointed resident physician to the Friends' Asylum for the Insane, still located near Frankford, where he remained for one year, and in the spring of 1833 was elected to the same position in the Pennsylvania Hospital, which he held for two years, after which he engaged in private practice in the city.

In the autumn of 1840 a new institution for the insane, now well known as the insane department of the Pennsylvania Hospital, perhaps most commonly called "Kirkbride's," was so near its completion that it became necessary to select a superintendent. To this post, in October, 1840, Dr. Kirkbride was elected, almost without his knowledge of such a purpose, certainly without any solicitation by him. This was to be used for the insane then in the hospital at Pine and Eighth Streets. It was opened on the first day of the year 1841, with Dr. Kirkbride in charge, and the fact that he so remained is a grand proof of his eminent fitness for this important and extremely responsible position. By constant improvements and additions to the original building, this establishment, which was then only capable of receiving a little more than one hundred patients, and actually started with ninety-seven, has been made suitable for five hundred, and these divided into separate buildings,—a male and female department. When the improvements were under consideration, Dr. Kirkbride urged the complete separation of the sexes, as though in two distinct institutions, and furthermore recommended that an appeal should be made to the public for the requisite amount of money. Both these plans were adopted, and the appeal proved an entire success, the private contributions aggregating three hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars.

In October, 1859, the new building was formally opened. Each department will accommodate two hundred and fifty patients; each has its own set of physicians and other officers, being in every way separate and distinct from the other, but with the same board of managers and physician-in-chief.

It is greatly to the credit of Dr. Kirkbride that his plans have been extensively copied by similar institutions throughout America. This hospital has been one of the institutions most frequented and studied by visiting medical men and scientists.

Under the promptings of Dr. Kirkbride and kindred spirits an Association of the Medical Superintendents of the Insane Asylums of America was formed in 1866, of which he was president for eight years. He was always active in medical organizations. He was elected a Fellow of the Philadelphia College of Physicians in 1839, and was a member of the Philadelphia County Medical Society, the American Philosophical Society, the American Medical Association, and the Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania. The two latter bodies were, on several occasions, accorded a special reception at the hospital, and were handsomely entertained by the venerable and much-loved doctor.

Dr. Kirkbride was not a voluminous writer, but gave to his profession a most excellent volume on "The Construction, Organization, and General Arrangements of Hospitals for the Insane," and one on "Rules for the Government of those employed in the Care of the Insane." In addition he contributed a number of valuable monographs and reviews to the *American Journal of Insanity* and other periodicals, while his annual "Hospital Reports" now form forty-two volumes, filled with the history of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and with the valuable results of his long experience and study in the general subject of insanity.

Personally, Dr. Kirkbride was remarkable for his genial temperament, which quickly endeared him to those members of the profession with whom he was thrown in contact. He never appeared more happy than when playing the host, whether for a few personal friends or for the members of a large medical society. He was endowed with a wonderful power over the unfortunates whose mental malady caused them to be consigned to his care, and could, with scarcely any apparent effort, control the most wayward, winning the affections of his patients amid all their mental aberrations, and dealing with all with a patient gentleness, blended with a wise firmness, that enabled him to exert the best influences upon all who came under his care.

In the early part of his career, in 1849, Dr. Kirkbride narrowly escaped death at the hands of a patient named Wylie Williams, who, excited by some insane idea of wrong, escaped from the hospital, procured a gun in the city, and, returning, concealed himself in a tree at the entrance of Dr. Kirkbride's residence. As he passed under the tree the lunatic called to him that he was going to kill him, and a moment later discharged a load of buckshot at the doctor.

Most fortunately his aim was bad, and yet so close that one of the shot wounded Dr. Kirkbride in the scalp, where it remained to the day of his death.

Dr. Kirkbride was a man of modest and retiring character, but exceedingly clear and pronounced in all his social, political, moral, and professional opinions. Trained in the tenets and usages of the Society of Friends, he was accustomed to "bear his testimony" on all suitable occasions without any ambiguity. He was a man of spotless integrity, of the finest domestic virtues, abhorring whatever was mean or wrong, and winning the esteem and affection of a great circle of friends by the grace and goodness of his daily life. Few men are privileged to complete such a long record of devotion to duty and good work done for the benefit of their fellows. He died, after a protracted illness, during the night of Dec. 16, 1883. He was twice married, his first wife being a daughter of Joseph Jenks, and his second wife, who survives him, the daughter of Benjamin Butler, a distinguished member of the New York bar. He left two adult children—Dr. Joseph J. Kirkbride and Mrs. Thomas G. Morton—and four minor children.

Among the many distinguished physicians in this city, we take the liberty of presenting in these pages several of the most prominent, who, we think, are representative in their character of the medical profession of Philadelphia at the present time (1884).

Samuel D. Gross, M.D., D.C.L. Oxon., LL.D. Cantab., was born near Easton, Pa., July 8, 1805. He received a classical education at the Wilkesbarre Academy and the Lawrenceville (New Jersey) High School. Subsequently he began the study of medicine, first under Dr. Joseph K. Swift, of Easton, and afterward with Professor George McClellan, the eminent surgeon, of Philadelphia. He graduated from Jefferson Medical College in 1828, and immediately began practicing his profession in Philadelphia, and during the first year of his novitiate translated several medical works from the French and German. In the following year he published a work on the "Diseases of the Bones and Joints."[1] In 1833 he became Demonstrator of Anatomy in the Medical College of Ohio, at Cincinnati, thus inaugurating a career as a medical instructor, which, in brilliancy and breadth, is excelled by that of no other American physician. Dr. Gross, during his connection with various medical schools, léctured to a larger number of students than any other surgeon in this country. Forty-eight years of the most active period of his life were spent in public teaching, two years as Demonstrator of Anatomy in the Medical College of Ohio, four years as Professor of Pathological Anatomy in the Medical Department of Cincinnati College, and forty-two years as Professor of Surgery, fifteen of these having been passed in the University of Louisville, one in the University of the City of New York, and twenty-six in his Alma Mater, the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia. His name is attached to upward of ten thousand diplomas of students, representing every State and Territory of the Union, as well many foreign countries and provinces, including England, France, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Japan, Australia, Canada, Ireland, Cuba, Armenia, and several of the South American nations. As a teacher he was always very popular, highly instructive, and universally beloved. Systematic in the arrangement of his matter, and earnest and forcible in its inculcation, he was one of the most successful lecturers our country has ever produced, and when, in the spring of 1882, in the fullness of his physical and intellectual powers, he retired from the chair of surgery at the Jefferson Medical College, which he had so long adorned by his talents, learning, and experience, universal regret was felt by the many pupils and friends of the school. As a testimonial of the respect and reverence of the faculty and the board of trustees, the latter conferred upon him the title of Emeritus Professor of Surgery, a relation to the institution which he now bears.

If as a didactic teacher Dr. Gross was popular and instructive, he was, if possible, still more so as a clinical teacher. His extensive knowledge of disease, acquired at an early period of his professional life, added to a ready facility in diagnosis, the result of a large private and hospital practice, enabled him to grasp at a glance the leading features of a case and to suggest a proper plan of treatment. One of his strong points as a clinician was the happy elucidation of the symptomatology and diagnosis of the diseases and injuries brought from time to time before his classes, his ready application of remedies to meet their exigencies, and every other expedient calculated to enlighten the minds of the students. He was never satisfied unless his work was done thoroughly. He felt that in every case he had a triple duty to perform: first, and above all, to his patient; secondly, to his pupils; and, lastly, to himself. No man was ever more conscious to the responsibility of the duties of his office, or more determined to perform them with an eye single to the best interests of all concerned. As an operator he did his work well, often brilliantly, never slovenly or recklessly, or for the sake of *éclat*. It is his boast that he never lost a patient on the table. As a lithotomist he enjoys a high reputation. His favorite operation is the lateral, performed with the knife, guided by an ordinary staff. He is always cool and self-possessed. No man ever saw his hand tremble, or his eye express fear. His knowledge of topographical anatomy never fails him, and this knowledge is one of the causes of his self-possession in the use of the knife.

[1] In 1832, Dr. Gross performed a series of experiments on hanging and manual strangulation, the results of which were published in the *Western Journal of Medicine*, and afterward embodied by Dr. T. R. Beck in his great work on medical jurisprudence. He also made numerous observations on the temperature of the blood and on the coagulation of that fluid as influenced by various circumstances.

Dr. Gross has long been a voluminous writer. In 1840 he published "Elements of Pathological Anatomy," 2 vols. 8vo, copiously illustrated; third edition in 1857. This was the first systematic treatise upon the subject ever published in the English language. The work was well received abroad, especially in Prussia and Austria. Professor Virchow, of Berlin, bestowed upon it the highest praise, while the Imperial Royal Medical Society, of Vienna, soon after the publication of the second edition, honored him in acknowledgment of the merits of the work, with its membership. In 1843 he published "An Experimental and Critical Inquiry into the Nature and Treatment of Wounds of the Intestines," 1 vol. 8vo, a work based upon upward of seventy experiments upon dogs, performed with a view of ascertaining the best mode of treating this class of lesions, a labor occupying nearly three years. In 1851 he published "A Practical Treatise on the Diseases, Injuries, and Malformations of the Urinary Bladder, the Prostate Gland, and the Urethra," 1 vol. 8vo; second edition in 1854; a volume of nine hundred and twenty-five pages, well illustrated and thoroughly exhaustive; and a third edition in 1876, edited by Dr. S. W. Gross. In 1854 he published "A Practical Treatise on Foreign Bodies in the Air Passages," 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 468. At the time of its appearance, this was the only work upon the subject in any language. In this work the author gave a full digest of the existing state of this important branch of surgery, and laid down important principles of treatment since universally recognized by the profession. The same year he published a "History of Kentucky Surgery," an elaborate and painstaking report, in which he established upon an immutable basis the claims of Ephraim McDowell to the honor of having been the first to perform ovariotomy until that time erroneously awarded to other surgeons. In 1859 he published his noblest work, "A System of Surgery, Pathological, Diagnostic, Therapeutic, and Operative," 2 vols. 8vo. A sixth edition, thoroughly revised, and brought up to the existing state of the science, in 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 1194, 1174, with upwards of sixteen hundred engravings, was issued in 1882. This work has everywhere been received with great favor, and was, in 1863, translated into the Dutch language. Extracts from it have also been published in China and Japan. At the outbreak of the war he published "A Manual of Military Surgery," which passed through two large editions, and rendered important service in fitting young military surgeons for the better and more efficient discharge of their duties on the field and in the hospital. In 1861 he edited a large volume entitled "Lives of Eminent American Physicians and Surgeons of the Nineteenth Century," of which three were furnished by his own pen. In 1876 he published a "History of American Medical Literature from 1776 to the Present Time," 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 88, and in the same year an elaborate paper, entitled "A Century of American Surgery."

In addition to the comprehensive standard works already mentioned, Dr. Gross has also made many other noteworthy contributions to the literature of the medical profession, chiefly in the form of monographs and miscellaneous papers contained in the current medical press of the country. In 1856 he founded, along with Professor T. G. Richardson, now of New Orleans, and for five years edited, the *North American Medico-Chirurgical Review*, a bi-monthly journal of medicine and surgery, which was conducted with marked ability, and enjoyed a successful career for five years, when, the war of the Rebellion coming on, it was suspended, as many of its subscribers lived in the South.

Dr. Gross has always been actively identified with the leading medical and scientific societies, local, State, and national, as well as with many prominent kindred associations of other countries. Among such have been the following: the American Philosophical Society, the Philadelphia College of Physicians, the New York Academy of Medicine, the Imperial Royal Medical Society of Vienna, the Medical Society of Christiania in Norway, the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London and of Edinburgh, the British Medical Association, the Clinical Society of London, the Medical Society of London, and the following associations, in each of which he has been honored at various times with the office of president, namely: the Kentucky State Medical Society, the Philadelphia Pathological Society, the Philadelphia County Medical Society, the American Medical Association, the Teachers' Medical Convention, which met in April, 1870, at Washington, D. C., to consider the subject of Medical Education, the Pennsylvania State Medical Society, and the International Medical Congress which met at Philadelphia in September, 1876. He was one of the founders of the Kentucky State Medical Society, and the originator of the Pathological Society of Phiadelphia, of the Philadelphia Academy of Surgery, and of the American Surgical Association,—institutions which are now in a highly flourishing condition, and doing good work in the interests of scientific medicine and surgery.

Besides the official distinctions enumerated, Dr. Gross has been the recipient of numerous other honors, fully merited and worthily bestowed. In 1861 he received the degree of LL.D., from Jefferson College of Pennsylvania. In 1872, during his second visit to Europe, the University of Oxford, England, at its one-thousandth commemoration, conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L., the only compliment of the kind ever bestowed upon an American physician. In 1880 the University of Cambridge, England, honored him with the degree of LL.D. His associates upon this occasion were, among others, Brown-Séquard, of Paris, Professor Donders, of Utrecht, and Sir George Burrows, Sir William

S. D. Gross.

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Jenner, Sir William Gull, Joseph Lister, F.R.S., and William Bowman, F.R.S., of London.

Dr. Gross has always been a warm advocate of a higher grade of medical education than now obtains in our medical schools, and a more prolonged course of study on the part of the student. He has long been an avowed enemy to the unnecessary multiplication of medical colleges and medical journals; and in 1856 he published an elaborate "Report on the Causes which Impede the Progress of American Medical Literature," in which he took strong ground against the then prevalent habit of republishing English works under the editorship of American physicians. Dr. Gross was the first to describe several surgical diseases before unknown or imperfectly understood, and he has devised some useful surgical instruments and surgical operations.

In 1828, Dr. Gross married Louisa Ann Dulaney, of Philadelphia, a highly accomplished lady of English descent, who died in 1876, leaving four children, two daughters, married, the elder to B. F. Horwitz, and the younger to Orville Horwitz, distinguished members of the Baltimore bar; and two sons, Samuel W. Gross, one of his father's successors in the chair of Surgery in the Jefferson Medical College, and Albert Haller Gross, the present member of Select Council from the Eighth Ward.

Dr. Gross can be justly denominated one of Philadelphia's most distinguished citizens, as he is one of America's most famous physicians. Whether as surgeon, author, or lecturer, his individuality has been strongly impressed upon the history of the country's progress and broadening thought. He has not simply kept pace with the advanced stride of scientific research, but he has been the intrepid pioneer into many otherwise unexplored regions. As a result, the technical and general literature of the century has not only been enriched, but the heart of humanity has been made happier. With him science and philanthropy have been handmaidens.

A clinical assistant to Professors Mütter and Pancoast, at the Jefferson College, was Benjamin Howard Rand, who was born in Philadelphia Oct. 1, 1827, the son of Benjamin and Ellen Spurrier Rand. In 1850 he was elected professor of Chemistry in the Franklin Institute, holding that position until his resignation, in 1864. Upon the foundation of the Philadelphia Medical College, an institution which ceased to exist in 1861, he was elected to the chair of Chemistry, and from 1852 to 1864 was secretary to the Academy of Natural Sciences. This latter office, as well as his professorship in the Franklin Institute, he resigned in 1864, in order to accept the chair of Chemistry in Jefferson Medical College, from which he resigned by reason of ill health in May, 1877. He was elected a Fellow of the Philadelphia College of Physicians in 1853, and a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1868, and also a member of the American Medical Association. Besides frequent contributions to scientific periodicals, he wrote "Chemistry for Students" (1855), "Elements of Medical Chemistry" (1863 and 1875), and also edited Metcalfe's "Caloric" (1859). He was married, in 1853, to Hannah M., daughter of Jacob L. Kershow, Esq. His first wife died in 1854, and fifteen years later, Dec. 23, 1869, he married Mary M. Washington, great-grandaughter of Fairfax Washington. He died Feb. 14, 1883.

Dr. Francis Gurney Smith, Jr., born in Philadelphia March 8, 1818, received both his academical and medical education in the University of Pennsylvania, taking his degree of B.A. in 1837, and those of M.A. and M.D. in 1840. For about a year after receiving his diploma he was one of the resident physicians of the Pennsylvania Hospital, giving special attention to the department of the insane. After establishing himself in practice in Philadelphia, he turned his attention specially to midwifery and diseases of women. He was a member of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, Philadelphia County Medical Society, College of Physicians and Surgeons of Reading, Academy of Natural Sciences, Pathological Society, American Philosophical Society, Colorado State Medical Society, Rocky Mountain Medical Society, and Burlington County Medical Society of New Jersey. He was the first president of the Philadelphia Obstetrical Society, and was vice-president of the meeting of the American Medical Association which was held in Washington in 1870. He was well known in professional literature as one of the authors of the "Compendium of Medicine," which has passed through numerous editions. He also edited several of the American editions of Carpenter's and Marshall's works on physiology and a number of other scientific works, as well as translated for the first American edition Barth & Roger's "Manual of Auscultation and Percussion." For a period of nine years he was one of the editors of the *Philadelphia Medical Examiner*. He is well known as the author of an elaborate series of experiments on the celebrated Canadian, Alexis St. Martin, on the "Physiology of Digestion." In 1842 he was elected lecturer on Physiology by the Philadelphia Medical Association, and ten years later professor of the same branch in the Pennsylvania Medical College. In 1863 he succeeded Professor Samuel Jackson in the chair of the Institutes of Medicine in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, which he resigned on account of failing health in May, 1877, when he was elected emeritus professor of the same branch in that institution. He was one of the first medical staff of the Episcopal Hospital, and for six years was one of the attending physicians and clinical lecturer at the Pennsylvania Hospital. During the war he was connected with the medical staff of the army, and was one of the physicians in charge of a military hospital. He founded and established the first physiological laboratory in which physiology was taught experimentally and by demonstration in the Univer-

sity. For several years he held the position of medical director of the National Life Insurance Company, after having organized the medical department in that company.

In 1844 he married Catherine Madeline, daughter of Edmund Dutilh, by whom he had four children, the eldest son being also a member of the medical profession and a prize essayist of his college.

Dr. D. Francis Condie graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1818, practiced medicine in Philadelphia, and died in 1876. He was at one time president of the State Medical Society, and in 1855 president of the County Medical Society. He was a voluminous writer and a brilliant speaker, expressing his views on paper or by word of mouth with much clearness and force. He edited "Churchill's Midwifery," and among his original works was one on the diseases of children.

Dr. Benjamin Horner Coates, born in Philadelphia Nov. 14, 1797, was the grandson of Samuel Coates, one of the Pennsylvania Quakers of the seventeenth century. He was a member of the Philadelphia Medical Society, and was for five years a resident physician in the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was a Fellow of the College of Physicians, a member of the Philadelphia County Medical Society (of which he was president in 1859), a permanent member of the Pennsylvania State Medical Society, and senior vice-president of the American Philosophical Society. He was a founder of the *North American Medical Journal*, published from 1826 to 1831. Of his contributions to the literature of the profession may be mentioned his "Report of the Committee on Epidemic Cholera to the Philadelphia College of Physicians," April, 1832; oration on "Certainty in Medicine" before the Philadelphia Medical Society, Feb. 10, 1830; speech before the same society, April 4, 1841, on "The Present State of Evidence in Regard to the Larvæ of the Hessian Fly;" remarks on "The Effects of Secluded and Gloomy Imprisonment on the African Variety of Mankind," May 24, 1843; and lectures, in 1821–22, on "Absorption," "A Machine-Bed for Fractures," "Gangrene of the Mouth in Children," "Delirium Tremens," and the "Origin of the American Indians." He wrote a memoir of Thomas Say, and a description of the hydrostatic balance. He was lecturer in the Philadelphia School of Medicine on the Practice of Medicine and on Bandages. His clinical lectures in the Pennsylvania Hospital were during the years from 1828 to 1841. He was a Quaker, and was never married. He died Oct. 16, 1881.

Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, who was born in Lancaster County, Pa., Nov. 24, 1818, is the son of the late Dr. Robert Agnew, an eminent physician of that section. His classical education was commenced at the Moscow Academy, a flourishing institution located in Chester County, then under the direction of Rev. Francis Latta. Subsequently he was under instruction at Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Pa. His educational training was finally completed at Newark College, Delaware, where Rev. John Holmes Agnew, a relative, was professor of Languages. Having concluded to adopt the practice of medicine as a profession, he matriculated at the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, and graduated therefrom in 1838.

After leaving the latter institution he entered upon the practice of his profession in the rural districts. Subsequently he removed to Philadelphia, where he continued his practice, meeting with early and flattering success. Soon after settling in this city he began to deliver a course of lectures in the Philadelphia School of Anatomy, in College Avenue, which were continued for many years. At the outbreak of the Rebellion his class numbered two hundred and sixty-five students, representing every State in the Union. He also established the Philadelphia School of Operative Surgery. In 1854 he was chosen one of the surgeons of the Philadelphia Hospital, in which institution he founded the present Pathological Museum, and for a while acted as its curator. In 1863 he was appointed demonstrator of Anatomy and assistant lecturer on Clinical Surgery in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. He was also chosen, about the same time, one of the surgeons of Wills Ophthalmic Hospital. Two years later he was elected to a similar position in the Pennsylvania Hospital, and also in the Orthopædic Hospital. In 1870 he was chosen to fill the chair of Operative Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, and in the year following he became professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery in the same institution. The last-named position he holds at the present time, as well as the professorship of Clinical Surgery in the University Hospital. A most skillful and rapid operator in every department of surgery, which is his specialty, his reputation as a surgeon is world-wide. In his capacity as an efficient surgeon, as well as a consulting physician, Dr. Agnew has been called into many cases of extraordinary importance. His greatest prominence to the general public came from his connection with the case of President Garfield, who was shot by Charles J. Guiteau, July 2, 1881. He was called to Washington by the local physicians July 5th, and from that time until the death of the victim of the assassin's bullet, Sept. 19, 1881, he was assiduous in his devotion to the illustrious patient, being in daily communication with the attending surgeons, and visiting the President twice a week. Such surgical operations as were performed were under the immediate direction of Dr. Agnew, his steady hand using the necessary instruments with marked delicacy and skill. The result of the cowardly assault of the assassin has become, of course, a matter of national history. As was believed by many during the course of treatment, and as was proved by the post-mortem examination, the President had been mortally wounded, and no human skill or efficiency

D Hayes Agnew

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could have saved his life. But that the physicians were able to prolong it for a period of over two months, during which the passions of the nation subsided, and the interests of order and good government triumphed, is largely attributable to the distinguished skill of Dr. Agnew.

During his forty-six years of active practice Dr. Agnew has made many valuable contributions to the literature of the profession. Among such may be enumerated the following: A work on "Practical Anatomy," one on "Lacerations of the Female Perineum and Vesico-Vaginal Fistula," a series of papers —sixty in number—on "Anatomy in its Relations to Medicine and Surgery," an exhaustive work on the "Principles and Practice of Surgery," and numerous contributions to medical journals on various subjects connected with surgery.

Among the prominent living physicians are Drs. Alfred Stillé and Jacob M. Da Costa. Dr. Stillé was born in Philadelphia in 1813, and in 1836, the year of his graduation from the Pennsylvania University, was elected resident physician of the Pennsylvania Hospital, a position which he retained from 1839 to 1841. He then pursued his studies abroad. From 1844 to 1850 he lectured on Pathology and the Practice of Medicine to the Pennsylvania Association for Medical Instruction. In 1849 he was appointed physician to St. Joseph's Hospital. In 1854 he was elected professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the Pennsylvania Medical College, and filled the chair for five years. On June 20, 1864, he was chosen to occupy a similar chair in the University of Pennsylvania. He was president of the American Medical Association in 1871, and of the Philadelphia County Medical Society in 1862. From 1865 to 1871 he was physician and lecturer on Clinical Medicine in the Philadelphia Hospital. The degree of LL.D. he received in 1876 from the Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg. In association with Dr. J. Forsyth Meigs, he translated "Pathological Hæmatology" from the French of G. Andral. His other publications are "Medical Instruction in the United States," "Elements of General Pathology," "Report on Medical Literature," "Unity of Medicine," "Humboldt's Life and Character," "Therapeutics and Materia Medica," "War as an Instrument of Civilization," a new edition of Wharton and Moreton Stillé's "Treatise on Medical Jurisprudence," a work on materia medica, and, with Dr. John M. Maisch, the National Dispensatory.

Dr. Jacob M. Da Costa, born in the island of St. Thomas, West Indies, Feb. 7, 1833, graduated from the Jefferson Medical College in 1852, and in 1854 became a resident of Philadelphia, devoting his attention mainly to diseases of the heart and lungs. He was for some time attending physician at the Episcopal Hospital, and subsequently held the same position at the Philadelphia and Pennsy[illegible] als. In 1864 he was appointed lecturer [illegible] i-cine at the Jefferson Medical College, and in 1872 professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine. His principal writings have been upon "Medical Diagnosis, with Special Reference to Practical Medicine," "An Inquiry into the Pathological Anatomy of Acute Pneumonia," on "Cancer of the Pancreas," on "Serous Apoplexy," "Inhalation in the Treatment of Diseases of the Respiratory Passages," and the "Physicians of the Last Century."

At the Jefferson Medical School Dr. James Aitken Meigs was matriculated in October, 1848, and graduated in March, 1851. He was born in Philadelphia July 31, 1829, and passed through the Mount Vernon Grammar School and the Central High School. At his graduation at the Jefferson School he received the honorary certificate annually conferred by the lecturers of the Philadelphia Association for Medical Instruction on students who passed examination upon their lectures. The subject of his thesis was the "Hygiene and Therapeutics of Temperament." He began practice in 1851. He was for some years assistant to the professor of Physiology in the Pennsylvania College, and lecturer on Climatology and Physiology at the Franklin Institute. He lectured frequently on physics and ethnology at the different mechanics' institutes in Philadelphia, and before the literary associations of neighboring cities. In 1855 he was elected physician to the department of diseases of the chest in the Howard Hospital and Infirmary for Incurables, a position which he filled thirteen years. In 1856 he became librarian of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and in 1857 accepted the chair of Institutes of Medicine in the Philadelphia College of Medicine, which he occupied until, two years subsequently, he was transferred to the professorship of Institutes in the medical department of Pennsylvania College. Here he delivered two courses of lectures on physiology illustrated by vivisectal demonstrations, which attracted much attention, as no previous attempts to teach physiology experimentally had been made in any of the four medical schools of Philadelphia. In November, 1859, he was chosen consulting physician and clinical lecturer to the Philadelphia Hospital at Blockley, and in 1861 he resigned his positions in the Pennsylvania College. In 1866 he delivered before Jefferson College, in the spring course of lectures, a series upon the physiology and pathology of the blood and circulation.

In June, 1868, on the resignation of the late Professor Robley Dunglison, he was elected professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence in the Jefferson College, his application for the chair having been indorsed by the medical profession of Philadelphia and some of the most distinguished physicians and scientists of America and Europe. In 1871 he was elected president of the Philadelphia County Medical Society. He was a member of the Franklin Institute, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the College of Physicians, the State Medical Society

of Pennsylvania, the American Medical Association, the Wisconsin Historical Society, the biological department of the Academy of Natural Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Medico-Legal Society of New York, the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, the New York Lyceum of Natural History, the Linnæan Society of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, the Ethnological Society of London, the Anthropological Society of London, the Societas Medicorum Svecanæ of Stockholm, and the International Congress of Prehistoric Archæology. He also was a delegate to the International Medical Congress held in Philadelphia during the Centennial Exposition. In 1877 he was elected a member of the board of trustees of the Polytechnic College of the State of Pennsylvania.

While a student of medicine, and for some time after his graduation, he contributed to the *Medical Examiner* reports of cases treated at Jefferson College and the Pennsylvania Hospital, discussions of the Medical Society, and papers on the mortuary statistics of Philadelphia. In 1855 he published, in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, an article on the "Physiology of Stammering, and its Treatment by Mechanical Means." In the same year he read before the Academy of Natural Sciences a paper on "The Relation of Atomic Heat to Crystalline Form," which was published in the Journal of the academy. In 1856 he prepared an appendix to the first American edition of Carpenter's work on the microscope. The following year, being chairman of the standing committee on anthropology, he arranged and classified the extensive collection of human crania in the Academy of Natural Sciences, and prepared a systematic catalogue of the collection, which was published by the academy. He also contributed during this year to Nott and Gliddon's "Indigenous Races of the Earth," an essay on the "Cranial Characteristics of the Races of Men, presenting a General Survey of Human Skulls in their Ethnical Relation," and edited an American edition of Kirke's "Manual of Physiology." To the Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences, to the Reports of the Smithsonian Institution, and other like publications, he contributed at various times many original articles on craniography. He also contributed numerous articles on a great variety of physiological, medical, and scientific subjects to current publications. In 1868, as introductory to his Jefferson College discourses, he delivered an inaugural address on the "Correlation of the Physical and Vital Forces," of which two editions were printed. He lectured annually in Jefferson College on diseases of the nervous system, on physiology, and also on clinical medicine; having charge, as attending physician, furthermore, of the medical wards of Pennsylvania Hospital from May to August, throughout which period, in addition to his daily visits, he delivered twice a week a series of clinical lectures, which make a part of the course of instruction given for eight months of the year by the faculty, hospital staff, and corps of special lecturers of Jefferson Medical College. He died in 1882.

Before terminating the chapter of this history setting forth the rise and progress of scientific medicine in Philadelphia and the names of its many illustrious teachers and practitioners, it would be injustice to omit a statement of the universally-acknowledged truth that the medical men of this city are steadily increasing its reputation as a great luminous centre of study, experiment, and demonstration, from whence proceed rays of light to all parts of the earth. In the hospitals, schools, and offices they are constantly adding to the sum of medical knowledge by their intelligent and laborious devotion to professional duty. The investigator could scarcely take at random any one of the current medical journals published in our own or foreign languages without happening upon some contribution from a Philadelphia physician from which he must derive profitable information. As some of those most prominent now in solving the vast problems of sanitation, as well as the prevention and cure of disease, there may be mentioned,—

Drs. Harrison Allen, John Ashhurst, Jr., Samuel Ashhurst, Roberts Bartholow, John H. Brinton, Charles H. Burnett, William B. Atkinson, Oscar H. Allis, Thomas M. Drysdale, Henry C. Chapman, J. Solis Cohen, Charles T. Hunter, James H. Hutchinson, William V. Keating, William W. Keen, Peter D. Keyser, Richard J. Levis, Benjamin Lee, Squier Littell, John L. Ludlow, Charles K. Mills, Thomas George Morton, William F. Norris, John H. Packard, William H. Pancoast, William H. Parish, James Paul, Richard A. F. Penrose, William Pepper, William G. Porter, Joseph G. Richardson, S. D. Risley, John B. Roberts, Robert E. Rogers, Lewis Rodman, J. T. Rothrock, W. S. W. Ruschenberger, Edward O. Shakespeare, Edward Shippen, John V. Shoemaker, Alfred Stillé, Henry H. Smith, George Strawbridge, William Thomson, James Tyson, Ellerslie Wallace, James B. Walker, William M. Welch, J. William White, De Forest Willard, Ellwood Wilson, J. C. Wilson, Caspar Wistar, Horatio C. Wood, Theodore G. Wormley, Frank Woodbury, Louis A. Duhring, Richard J. Dunglison, William S. Forbes, H. F. Formad, James E. Garretson, William Goodell, H. E. Goodman, George Hamilton, George C. Harlan, Lewis D. Harlow, Robert P. Harris, Edward Hartshorne, Henry Hartshorne, Nathan L. Hatfield, Frederick P. Henry, Addinell Hewson, Sr., George H. Horne, Samuel B. Howell, J. Gibbons Hunt, William Hunt.

In thus sketching briefly the history of medicine in Philadelphia, from early provincial times to the middle of this century, we cannot well forbear to express the gratification we have felt in the studies that have enabled us to perform this task. We have seen how superior were the bench and bar to those of any other city during a period of many years in the last century. What we have said of those in this regard, we may say with great heartiness of the medical profession. It was fortunate for Philadelphia that its very first physicians were men of genius and culture. The science of the law had to be born anew in a *régime* very different from that which the first settlers of Pennsylvania had left behind. So far from there being things to tempt a lawyer well bred in the inns of London courts, there was everything to discourage to immigrate to a new, thinly-settled province, whose

judges were not only not learned in legal lore, but were prejudiced against those who were. The splendid, though strange, almost unique, career of Andrew Hamilton was but another evidence of what a man of great genius may accomplish, even among a rude people, and thus pave the way for the advent of such as Francis, Kinsey, and Tilghman. But the need of physicians like Zachary, Wynne, and Griffitts was contemporary with every other in the new community. Their examples led the young men of ambition to yearn eagerly, in the want of similar at home, for the advantages these accomplished men had enjoyed abroad. It is indeed surprising to contemplate the number of those who, as they reached maturity, repaired to London, and especially to Edinburgh. And indeed, there is something romantic, we repeat, in the long-nurtured ambitions of such youths as Shippen, Morgan, Rush, and Kuhn, aspirations that were so abundantly realized, to found, upon the model of their Alma Mater, a university in their native city. For a while Shippen alone conducted the enterprise, not waiting for his compeer, Morgan, to finish his course and return to join in that benign work. The Medical School of Philadelphia thus began under one young man; but he was a young man who well comprehended the greatness of the work he had begun, and was in all points competent for its behests. When his colleague came, the impulse thus begun was enhanced, as it must have been, by the co-operation of one of such splendid gifts. When Rush came to join the resources of his splendid intellect, another step upward was attained, and on Kuhn's arrival the medical college was a great accomplished fact.

The history of no scientific or literary institution is more remarkable than that of the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. From its very inception genius, long, patient study, resulting in full acquaintance with and facility to teach the various branches of medical science, have been prerequisites to professorships. It opened with one man of eminent gifts. Men of similar gifts one after another came and performed the parts they were to enact. As needs, and especially as pecuniary means, were increased, there followed that distribution of labor which was delayed until others came who were well known to be competent for the just exaltation of those branches which had theretofore been auxiliary to those more prominent.

It has been interesting to contemplate how many of these formerly considered subordinate branches were elevated into just recognition through the commanding genius of individuals whom the trustees, often against their will and their prejudices, were compelled to take into the University, and so make the distributions which, in their want of scientific culture, they had not considered necessary, and in their mistaken parsimony, had thitherto opposed. Notably difficult, as well as amusing, was the struggle against midwifery. None other than such as Shippen, young, gifted, ambitious, the scion of a strong old family, with the confidence that courageous, gifted youth has in the future, could have had the audacity to place in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* that advertisement against the "ignorant old women" who were wont to hover around the beds of the younger of their sex in the times of their sorest trials. But we have seen what this great science became under James and Dewees, and so of other branches.

In this sketch, which is necessarily brief, we have had to notice specially those who were connected with the medical schools. These, of course, were leaders. But Philadelphia has ever had physicians, not among the college and university faculty, who were men of decided ability. It must have been so from the exalted tone of the profession from the very earliest times. There was, as it were, an atmosphere of science in this city of which all must necessarily absorb. Men could not live in the same city with such men as Shippen and Morgan and Rush and Wistar and Chapman and James and Dewees and others like them and pursue the same vocation without in some degree being like them.

It was remarkable how late the physicians of Philadelphia were comparatively in the production of original works upon science. The pioneers were for the most part content to use the books of their eminent preceptors in the universities abroad. In time, however, quite a change has been induced in the medical literature of this country, in which Philadelphia has certainly had the most distinguished part. We have made few allusions to their works, having already enumerated them in a former chapter.

The history of epidemics that have visited Philadelphia is exceedingly interesting. We have already spoken of those to which Noah Webster alluded in terms so indistinct, and somewhat of those subsequent. The smallpox was bereft of most of its terrors, first through incoulation, and afterward by vaccination, the latter of which may be regarded as the very greatest achievement in medical science. The most dreaded scourge of this community at an early day was the yellow fever. Most interesting accounts of this epidemic have been published from time to time by Thompson Westcott, whose investigations concerning the early history of Philadelphia entitle him to the praise due for the very many important things he has rescued from oblivion.

The disease had prevailed to a considerable extent before 1741. In this year it reappeared under the name, as we have seen, of the Palatinate distemper. Criminations and recriminations passed between the Governor (Thomas) and the Assembly regarding the carelessness in admitting into port without proper quarantine "sickly vessels." The dispute between them had originated about the appointment of Dr. Graeme as physician of the port by the Governor,

and of Dr. Zachary by the Assembly. The season was a very sickly one. By an account published at the close of the year 1741 it appeared that there had been seven hundred and eighty-five burials in Philadelphia during that year. Upon five hundred and eighty of these the increase over the deaths among persons of the same denominations in the previous year was three hundred and ninety-five. The increase of deaths among the Episcopalians is not given; but at the average of other sects it would have shown an addition of one hundred and ten, making an aggregate increase of five hundred and five deaths beyond the bills of mortality of the previous year. The disease, although in effect the yellow fever, was called the "Palatinate distemper," because it was supposed to have been introduced from ships in which Palatinates, or German emigrants, were passengers. The mortality among these people was great. Two hundred and six Palatinates died of the pestilence during the summer, an increase of one hundred and sixty-six over the previous year; and ninety-four "strangers" were also victims, an increase of fifty-four deaths over the ratio of the preceding twelve months. The manner in which this disease was introduced is not now known. According to an expression of Thomas Penn, in a letter written in 1748, the deduction may be drawn that it was supposed to have been imported from the West Indies. We have already spoken of the plague in the years 1793 and 1794, and the heroic exertions made by the physicians who remained in the city, and many of the citizens[1] in the lead of Stephen Girard and Peter Helm. In this trying time the clergy of the city worked and suffered along with the rest. The number of deaths among them equaled that among the physicians. Those were Revs. Alexander Murray, of the Episcopal Church; F. A. Fleming and Lawrence Graess, of the Roman Catholic; John Winkhouse, of the German Reformed; James Sproat, of the Presbyterian; William Dougherty, of the Methodist; Daniel Offley, Huson Langstreth, Michael Wimer, and Charles Williams, ministers of the Society of Friends.

[1] The following is the list of citizens of the committee of forty-five appointed in 1793:

For the District of the Northern Liberties.—William Peter Spragues, William Gregory, Jacob Witman, James Swaine, Joseph Burns, George Forepaugh, Casper Snyder, Peter Smith.

Vine to Arch Street.—Richard Whitehead, Joseph Kerr, John Ettries.

Race to Arch.—Thomas Willis, Daniel Dawson, Peter Thomson, Thomas Allibone, Lambert Wilmer.

Arch to Market.—William Samson, Justinian Fox, Amos Wickersham.

Market to Chestnut.—Arthur Howell, Alexander Cochran, Thomas Dobson.

Chestnut to Walnut.—Jeremiah Paul, James Cummins, Casper W. Morris, Thomas Castleres.

Walnut to Spruce.—George Rutter, Benjamin W. Morris.

Spruce to Pine.—Samuel Pancoast, Jr., John Woodside, Levi Hollingsworth, William Watkins.

Pine to South.—John Wood, Adam Brittle, William Eckard, Thomas Dicksey, Ferguson McIlvaine.

Southwark.—William Tunis, Richard Moseley, William Robinson, Sr., John Grantham, John Savage, John Pattison.

It is horrible to read the details of suffering in those times, when were wanting the sanitary arrangements and preventives and charitable carings for the destitute which have been provided since. In many instances the adult members of families were carried off by the pestilence, leaving young children without relatives or friends. Such was the general terror that these innocents wandered abroad with none to restrain them. The children of a respectable citizen, in easy circumstances, were found in a blacksmith-shop, squalid, dirty, and in a state of hunger and destitution. Wherever these children went they were shunned, lest they should spread the infection; and their condition was therefore truly deplorable. The committee of citizens deemed it a duty to take measures to shelter the orphans. A house was rented in Fifth Street on the 19th of September, in which thirteen children were placed. This asylum was soon found to be too small, and on the 3d of October the committee procured a house belonging to the Loganian Library, in Little George, now Sansom Street, above Sixth, to which they built a temporary addition. In this shelter there were as many as sixty orphans at one time, forty others being at the same period placed out with wet-nurses. During the pestilence one hundred and ninety children were thus thrown upon the care of the committee.

When the scourge of 1793 was over the Legislature made liberal provision for the orphans who had been left destitute, and provided a general quarantine and health laws.

In spite of the precaution of a quarantine against New York, where the fever raged in 1795, there were about nine hundred deaths from it in Philadelphia during that year. In 1797 it made its appearance again in Philadelphia, the sooner and more virulently, as was supposed, from neglect of the proclamation of Governor Mifflin regarding quarantine. This year it was thought to have been introduced by the ship "Hinde" from Cape Nichola, Mole, and the "Arethusa" from Havana. The Health Office, No. 32 Water Street, among other arrangements made that of removing the sick, when newly stricken, outside of the city. Especially was the disease malignant in Penn and Pine Streets. An additional hospital was opened at the wigwam at Race Street, when about one-third of the inhabitants fled from the city, and one-sixth of the houses were shut. The mortality this year was one thousand two hundred and ninety-two.

In 1798, the health law having been found inadequate for all purposes for which it was intended to provide, the Board of Health was reconstructed. The Marine Hospital of the port of Philadelphia was established on State Island. The City Hospital, on Race Street, was appropriated for the city, Northern Liberties, Southwark, and Moyamensing. The Lazaretto was established on Tinicum Island. The approach of the epidemic was foreboded as heretofore by great mortality among the lesser domestic animals,

as dogs and cats. It was supposed, however, to have been immediately introduced by the armed ship "Deborah," from Port au Prince. The terror of the inhabitants this year was beyond all precedent. Of fifty-five thousand, it is computed that only fifteen thousand remained. The health office was removed from Walnut Street to the City Hall, the Custom-House to Congress Hall, at Chestnut and Sixth Streets, the post-office on Market west of Eleventh. Never had the scourge been so malignant. Five out of six who were seized by it perished. Owing to the prejudices against the City Hospital, provision had to be made for great numbers who could not endure the thought of being carried there. Tents were erected on the Schuylkill between Chestnut and Spruce Streets; another encampment was at Master's Place, on the Germantown road. During the time of the pestilence many awful occurrences took place. Sick persons were found in the streets suffering under the epidemic. Putrefying bodies were discovered in deserted houses in such a state of corruption that it was beyond the power of any one to recognize the remains. Dead bodies were seen upon the commons and lots in the outskirts of the city. People delirious from the fever ran through the streets almost naked; and in some cases the screams of persons who were attacked with the malady were heard at a square's distance from the houses in which the sufferers lay. Imagination cannot picture the terrible reality of the scenes which then transpired.

The number of deaths were three thousand six hundred and forty-five, a far greater mortality than in previous years, considering the immense number of citizens who had fled. In 1793 the per cent. of deaths was twenty-two; in 1788, even with the few who remained, it was twenty-four. The ever-disputed question of the contagiousness of the disease was argued by the faculty with accustomed acrimony. "The controversy was waged with bitterness, but without the establishment of any reliable theory."

The following year (1799) the epidemic again visited the city. A dispute occurred between the College of Physicians and the Academy of Medicine as to the origin of the disease, the former contending that it was caused by importation, and the latter from domestic sources. The government offices were made ready for removal to Trenton; the State prisoners were removed to Norristown. In the midst of the pestilence a bitter political contest was going on between Chief Justice McKean, Republican, and James Ross, of Pittsburgh, Federalist, for Governor. Governor Mifflin, to prevent access to the city of large numbers from the country, partisans of either candidate, changed the places of voting in the city from the State-House to Centre-House Tavern on Market Street, west of Broad, and from the Commissioners' Hall to a place on Love Lane, between Moyamensing and Passyunk roads. The mortality this year was somewhat over one thousand.

The recurrence of the epidemic in 1802 was again generally ascribed to importation. This time by the St. Domingo packet from Cape Français, in spite of its long quarantine at the Lazaretto. The fever began at Vine Street wharf, where she had landed. It continued for some time about Vine and Water Streets, gradually along Front to Callowhill. Though increasing afterward with greater rapidity and malignity than ever before, it had expended the worst of its fury by the middle of August. The Northern Liberties were the most sorely visited. The whole mortality was not above three hundred.

In 1832, Philadelphia, with many other portions of the country, was visited by the Asiatic cholera. The mortality, however, was far less than it had been under the yellow fever, being only seven hundred and eleven. It returned in 1849, and again in 1854, but with much less disastrous results.

The American Medical Association was formed in Philadelphia in 1847. The reputation acquired by the first medical colleges in the country, notably that in Philadelphia, had led to the organization of a large number of others. In the period of fifteen years, from 1830 to 1845, the number had been doubled. Leading men in the profession easily foresaw the evil that would result from such multiplication, in the dereliction of professional excellence on account of the reduction in the standard heretofore required to be reached before the obtainment of degrees. As early as 1835 the Medical College of Georgia, founded mainly by Dr. Anthony, had advocated a convention of delegates from all the medical colleges, with a view of preventing as far as possible the effects of such continued rivalry. After a long time such a convention was agreed to be held, Philadelphia and Boston being the latest to respond to the call. The first (the one called at New York) failed because of a want of representatives from as many as one-half of the United States, and adjourned *sine die*. This was in 1846. Another was called for Philadelphia for May of the following year. The first resolution adopted in the matter of the personal qualifications of young men before being received even as students in physicians' offices, after a long debate, was adopted. It is in the following words:

"*Resolved*, That this convention earnestly recommends to the members of the medical profession throughout the United States to satisfy themselves, either by personal inquiry or written certificate of competent persons, before receiving young men into their offices as students, that they are of good moral character, and that they have acquired a good English education, a knowledge of natural philosophy, and the elementary natural sciences, including geometry and algebra, and such an acquaintance, at least, with the Latin and Greek languages as will enable them to appreciate the technical language of medicine and read and write prescriptions."

The debate upon these resolutions showed how the standard had already been lowered, but they were adopted by a decided majority. After several days' sittings the association was finally established. The following is a list of the first officers, who were chosen unanimously: President, Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, of

Pennsylvania; Vice-Presidents, Drs. Jonathan Knight, of Connecticut, Alexander H. Stevens, of New York, James Moultrie, of South Carolina, and A. H. Buchanan, of Tennessee; Secretaries, Drs. Alfred Stillé, of Philadelphia, and J. R. W. Dunbar, of Baltimore; Treasurer, Dr. Isaaç Hays, of Philadelphia.

It is difficult to overestimate the blessing that the formation of this association has been to the medical profession of the United States. Among all it has done, probably second to none both in importance and benignity is the action at the second annual meeting, in 1849, at Boston, regarding the increased devotion to medical literature and the assistance to be rendered physicians in the publication of their works.

The Clinical Society was organized under the name of the Northern Medical Association of Philadelphia on the 5th of December, 1846, at a meeting held at the Northern Dispensary, No. 603 Spring Garden Street. The first officers were Dr. Benjamin S. Janney, president; Dr. Arnold Naudain, vice-president; Drs. Thomas H. Yardley, N. L. Hatfield, and John Uhler, council; Dr. M. B. Smith, treasurer; Dr. Isaac Remington, recording secretary; and Drs. R. H. Townsend and Joseph R. Bryan, reporting secretaries. The meetings were held at the Northern Dispensary, but when the location of that institution was changed to 608 Fairmount Avenue the association moved with it. The association received its original name from the fact of its being composed of physicians residing in the northern portion of the city. It is the only medical society in the city open to women, Dr. Hannah T. Croasdale and Dr. Ida E. Richardson being the first lady members admitted, on the 22d of April, 1881. The Northern Medical Association was reorganized as the Philadelphia Clinical Society, at a meeting held Jan. 25, 1884, at the College of Physicians, corner of Thirteenth and Locust Streets. The following officers were elected: President, Dr. Henry Beates, Jr.; Vice-President, Dr. E. E. Montgomery; Second Vice-President, Dr. Hannah T. Croasdale; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Ida E. Richardson; Recording Secretary, Dr. I. G. Heilman; Reporting Secretary, Dr. G. Betton Massey; Treasurer, Dr. L. Brewer Hall; Censors, Drs. A. S. Barton, S. N. Troth, Albert H. Smith, James B. Walker, and Henry Rihl. The number of members after reorganization was about seventy. The society meets at the College of Physicians on the fourth Friday of every month, except July and August. The initiation fee is three dollars and the annual dues two dollars. The society is composed entirely of resident members.

The Philadelphia County Medical Society was organized at a meeting held at the Hall of the College of Pharmacy, on Filbert Street above Seventh, on the 11th of December, 1848, at which Dr. Samuel Jackson was made president, and Dr. D. Francis Condie, secretary. The first stated meeting was held at the same place on the 16th of January, 1849, when Dr. Samuel Jackson was elected president for the ensuing year; Dr. George Fox and Dr. T. F. Betton, vice-presidents; Dr. D. Francis Condie, recording secretary; Dr. Henry S. Patterson, corresponding secretary; Dr. M. M. Reeve, treasurer; and Drs. T. Hobson, Wilson Jewell, J. F. Meigs, Isaac Parrish, and D. Tucker, censors. The successive presidents have been:

Dr. Samuel Jackson, 1849–53; Dr. John F. Lamb, 1853; Dr. Thomas F. Betton, 1854; Dr. D. Francis Condie, 1855; Dr. Wilson Jewell, 1856; Dr. Gouverneur Emerson, 1857; Dr. John Bell, 1858; Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, 1859; Dr. Isaac Remington, 1860; Dr. Joseph Carson, 1861; Dr. Alfred Stillé, 1862; Dr. Samuel D. Gross, 1863; Dr. Lewis B. Gebhard, 1864; Dr. Nathan L. Hatfield, 1865; Dr. William Mayburry, 1866; Dr. Andrew Nebinger, 1867; Dr. George Hamilton, 1868; Dr. William L. Knight, 1869; Dr. William H. Pancoast, 1870; Dr. James Aitken Meigs, 1871; Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, 1872; Dr. William B. Atkinson, 1873; Dr. Washington L. Atlee, 1874; Dr. William Goodell, 1875; Dr. T. M. Drysdale, 1876; Dr. Henry H. Smith, 1877–80; Dr. A. H. Smith, 1880–81; Dr. H. Y. Evans, 1882; Dr. W. M. Welch, 1883–84.

The society was incorporated Oct. 2, 1877. Since 1878 it has issued an annual report of its transactions. The number of members in January, 1884, was four hundred and ten. The society is the only one in this city which is entitled to representation in the American Medical Association or the Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania. It meets in the building of the College of Physicians, corner of Thirteenth and Locust Streets.

The objects of the society are: "The advancement of knowledge upon all subjects connected with the healing art, thereby lessening human suffering by investigating the diseases and remedies which are peculiar to this country, and enlarging the avenues to knowledge from the discoveries and publications of foreign countires; the organization of the medical profession in connection with the Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania and the American Medical Association; the elevation of the character and the protection of the rights and interests of those engaged in the practice of medicine, and the study of the means calculated to render the medical profession most useful to the public and subservient to the interests of humanity."

The members of the society must be citizens of the county of Philadelphia, graduates of at least one year's standing from a respectable medical school, and of good moral and professional reputation. A physician removing into this county is not eligible for membership until he has practiced for one year within the county. The admission fee is five dollars, the annual contribution four dollars. Stated meetings are held on the first Wednesday of January, April, June, and October. Conversational meetings are held on the second, third, and fourth Wednesdays of each month from September to June, both inclusive.

The Pathological Society was organized on Oct. 14, 1857, at a meeting held in the picture-house of the Pennsylvania Hospital, on Spruce Street, above Eighth. The first officers were as follows: President,

Professor Samuel D. Gross, M.D.; Vice-Presidents, Dr. René La Roche and Dr. Alfred Stillé; Treasurer, Dr. Addinell Hewson; Secretary, Dr. Jacob M. Da Costa; Assistant Secretary, Dr. T. G. Morton. During the earlier portion of its existence, before the County Society had acquired a great degree of importance, the College of Physicians and the Pathological Society were the two most important medical organizations in Philadelphia. Among its members have been the most prominent physicians of the city. The successive presidents of the society have been as follows: Dr. Samuel D. Gross, 1857; Dr. René La Roche, 1858; Dr. Alfred Stillé, 1859, 1861–62; Dr. Edward Hartshorne, 1860, 1863; Dr. Jacob M. Da Costa, 1864–66; Dr. John H. Packard, 1867–68; Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, 1869; Dr. John Ashhurst, Jr., 1870; Dr. James H. Hutchinson, 1871–72; Dr. William Pepper, 1873; Dr. H. Lenox Hodge, 1876; Dr. Samuel W. Gross, 1879; Dr. James Tyson, 1882. The society meets in the building of the College of Physicians.

The objects are "the cultivation and promotion of the study of pathology, by the exhibition and description of specimens, drawings, and other representations of morbid parts." Its meetings take place on the second and fourth Tuesdays of every month, except July and August. Its membership is composed of residents, non-residents, and correspondents, any respectable physician being eligible. The admission fee to resident members is five dollars, and the annual contribution four dollars. A committee on pathological research, a committee on publication, and a committee on morbid growths are elected annually in October. The committee on pathological research is empowered to aid, from the funds of the society, any member of the society engaged in pathological experiment, upon being satisfied that such research is in actual progress, and that it is so conducted and of such a nature as to benefit the science of pathology. The results of such inquiries must be contributed to the "Proceedings of the Pathological Society." To the committee on morbid growths the specimens exhibited in the meetings of the society may be referred for microscopical examination.

The Obstetrical Society was organized at a meeting held June 6, 1868. Dr. Francis G. Smith was elected the first president. The number of original members was twenty-eight. The successive presidents have been: 1868, 1869, and 1870, Dr. Francis G. Smith; 1871, Dr. Robert P. Harris; 1872 and 1873, Dr. William Goodell; 1874 and 1875, Dr. Albert H. Smith; 1876, Dr. John S. Parry; 1877 and 1878, Dr. John H. Packard; 1879 and 1880, Dr. Lewis D. Harlow; 1881 and 1882, Dr. Edward L. Duer; 1883 and 1884, Dr. Richard A. Cleeman. The society was incorporated April 14, 1877. The number of active members in February, 1884, was ninety-two. The society has always met in the building of the College of Physicians.

The object of the society is the advancement of the study of obstetrics and diseases of women and children. There are four classes of members,—resident, associate, corresponding, and honorary,—all of whom must be practitioners in good standing in the profession, and especially interested in the study of obstetrics or the diseases of women and children. The entrance-fee payable by resident members is five dollars, and the annual dues three dollars. The regular meetings of the society take place upon the first Thursday of every month.

The Medico-Legal Society of Philadelphia was organized as the Northwestern Medical Association at a meeting held in a hall at the corner of Twentieth Street and Ridge Avenue, on the 8th of November, 1877. Dr. George E. Stubbs was temporary chairman. The original design of the society was the protection of physicians against patients who were likely to be delinquent in paying bills, by the preparation of confidential lists containing the names of such persons. The first permanent officers were elected on the 1st of February, 1878, Dr. C. R. Paul being chosen president; Drs. T. S. Butcher and G. M. D. Peltz, vice-presidents; Dr. Richard D. Stretch, recording secretary; Dr. T. V. Crandall, corresponding secretary; Dr. J. D. Nash, treasurer; and Drs. A. S. Gerhard, J. Peltz, and M. Franklin, censors. These officers all retained their positions until April of 1883, except that Dr. Franklin was succeeded, in 1879, by Dr. D. N. Connor. The officers elected April, 1883, are as follows: President, Dr. Thomas B. Butcher; First Vice-President, Dr. T. V. Crandall; Second Vice-President, Dr. F. B. Hazel; Secretary, Dr. Richard G. Stretch; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. George B. Oliver; Librarian, F. L. Weir; Censors, J. Peltz, A. S. Gerhard, and D. N. Connor. The society has held its meetings at the offices of its members. A reorganization took place in 1883, the name of the society being changed to the Medico-Legal Society, and its province widened to include the reading and the discussion of papers upon the subject of medical jurisprudence. Lawyers are admitted as members. Conversational meetings take place monthly, and business meetings quarterly.

The Laryngological Society was organized at a meeting held at the house of Dr. J. Solis Cohen, 1431 Walnut Street, on the 7th of May, 1880, at which Dr. J. Solis Cohen was chosen president; Dr. Carl Seiler, secretary; and Dr. Harrison Allen, Dr. Isaac Barton, and Dr. George Y. McCracken, the executive committee. The first stated meeting was held on the 28th of May following at the house of Dr. Cohen, when the officers elected at the previous meeting were continued for the ensuing year. Dr. Cohen was president for two years, Dr. Harrison Allen succeeded him in 1882, and Dr. Charles S. Turnbull in 1883. Dr. George Y. McCracken is the present secretary.

The object of the society is to promote an interest in the study of diseases of the throat and nose. Members are all specialists in laryngology or in

associated diseases of the head. The initiation fee is five dollars, the annual dues two dollars. The society meets at the houses of members on the last Friday of each month, each member in turn being visited. A paper is read at each meeting, and interesting cases are exhibited.

The Medical Jurisprudence Society originated in the beginning of 1884, Dr. Henry Leffman and Hampton L. Carson being the prime movers in its organization. The preliminary meeting was held on the 18th of January, 1884, in the hall of the College of Physicians, at which Dr. Samuel D. Gross was chosen president, and committees were appointed to prepare for a permanent organization. Meetings are held monthly from October to May, inclusive. The society is to be composed of members of the medical and legal professions and such other persons as may be interested in medical jurisprudence.

The Philadelphia Neurological Society.—The first meeting to organize the Philadelphia Neurological Society was held in the building of the College of Physicians on the evening of the 15th of December, 1883, pursuant to a call issued by Drs. Charles K. Mills, F. X. Dercum, J. T. Eskridge, and Wharton Sinkler. At a second meeting, on Monday, Jan. 28, 1884, the following officers were elected: President, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell; Vice-Presidents, Drs. Charles K. Mills and I. N. Kerlin; Secretary and Treasurer, Dr. James Hendrie Lloyd; Council, Drs. S. Preston Jones, Wharton Sinkler, and J. T. Eskridge; Recorder, Dr. Lewis Brinton.

The object of the society is to promote the study of neurology in all its branches. Members must be engaged in some branch of the study. The society is composed of active, corresponding, and honorary members. The first-named must be regular physicians, residing in the city of Philadelphia or its vicinity. Corresponding members live outside the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia, and are limited to twelve in number. Honorary members are distinguished neurologists or alienists, who are not active or corresponding members. They are limited to six in number. The annual dues are four dollars. The meetings are held on the fourth Monday of every month from October to April, inclusive. The society admits ladies as members.

Homœopathy in Philadelphia.—While the regular schools and practitioners of Philadelphia have justly attained a reputation that is world-wide, the fame of the other great branch of the profession, the homœopaths, is not less enviable. Both in teaching and in practice, as well as in original investigation and the application of discoveries, the roll of their members discloses many most eminent and honored names of men who have conferred lustre upon what has not been inaptly termed the noblest and most beneficent science in which the human intellect can be employed. Their record may not be so voluminous and venerable as that of the regulars, for the distinctive system of Hahnemann only dates back to about the beginning of the present century, and many of its disciples did not become converts to it until they had reached or passed middle age, and been long engaged in the other school. It was not introduced in Philadelphia until 1831, when Dr. George Butt, who was a friend of Dr. Constantine Hering, and had studied homœopathy with him in Paramaibo, South America, opened his office here. The next was the cholera year, and Dr. Butt was very successful in his treatment of the disease. He remained in this city until 1837, when he removed to Nazareth, Pa., dying there in 1875. In 1833 he was joined by Dr. Constantine Hering, a native of Saxony, born in 1800, and one of the ablest champions of homœopathy. Some time after this Dr. Hering opened a school of the new system in Allentown, but it was not a success in the financial sense, and he returned to Philadelphia. He accumulated an extensive practice, and died in 1879. One of his pupils, Dr. Lingen, was a practitioner in 1839, and in 1848 removed from Philadelphia to Mobile, where he died in 1864. Dr. Matlack was probably also a student of Dr. Hering, as he, in 1835, had a homœopathic office on Arch Street, below Seventh. In 1870 he removed to Germantown, and died there five years later. Dr. Gideon Humphrey was, between 1836 and 1840, practicing homœopathy in Philadelphia, and was noted for his zeal in the propagation of its principles, to which he was a convert from the other school. He was a native of Delaware, to which he returned some forty years ago. Dr. Jacob Jean's initiation into homœopathy dates back to 1835, and he remained faithful until his death, in 1879. In 1836, Dr. Jonas Green came over to homœopathy, and about 1860 removed to New Orleans for the remainder of his life. Following closely after him was Dr. Walter Williamson, who opened his office in Philadelphia in 1839. He was one of the organizers of the American Institute of Homœopathy, of which he was president in 1848, and of the Medical College of Pennsylvania, in which he filled a professional chair. As a teacher he had under his charge scores of the later practitioners. He died Dec. 19, 1870. These early Hahnemannians had up-hill work to gain the confidence of the public in their innovations upon the familiar system of medicine, and one of those who did exceedingly effective service was Dr. Samuel Richard Dubs, who practiced for three years after his graduation, in 1836, and in 1839 changed to the new school because it had built up his own health after the other had failed to do so. For the following nineteen years he practiced in Philadelphia, where he was engaged in the foundation of the first homœopathic college in the United States, the American Institute of Homœopathy, and the Provers' Union. He was the first homœopath to employ and advocate, in 1839 and 1840, the preparation of medicines on the decimal scale, and of carrying the attenuations up by that scale instead of by the centennial, as recommended by Hahnemann.

Still another pioneer was Dr. Adolphus Lippe, son of Count Ludwig von Lippe, who learned homœopathy in Dr. Hering's Allentown school. A keen and thorough controversialist, he was always prepared to do battle with his tongue or pen for his opinions. In 1847 he removed from Carlisle to Philadelphia, and from 1863 to 1868 he filled the chair of Materia Medica in the Homœopathic College. Although Dr. Walter Ward left Philadelphia in 1849, it was here that he qualified in his profession, joining the American Institute of Homœopathy at its first session in Philadelphia, and becoming professor of Physiology in the Homœopathic College, where he, with others, had the honor of signing the first diplomas granted by that body. Another graduate of Dr. Hering's school was Dr. Charles Neidhard, who, after 1837, was professor of Clinical Medicine in the Homœopathic Medical College, and participated in the founding of the American Institute. Contemporary with him was James Kitchen, A.M., M.D., who adopted homœopathy in 1839, because the latter treatment had been triumphant in his own case. In 1828 he published a translation of Bouillaud's "Treatise on Rheumatism," and in 1841 a translation of Jahr's "Homœopathic Pharmacy." He relinquished the chair of Clinical Medicine in the Homœopathic College after one term, was placed in charge of the quarantine station in 1831, and was port physician from 1832 to 1836. Dr. W. S. Helmuth studied homœopathy by the advice of Dr. Kitchen, and began the practice of it in 1840. Dr. Joseph Sims was a nephew of Dr. Helmuth, and a student in his office. He died in 1881. Dr. Joseph Berens graduated in medicine in 1841 at the Pennsylvania College, and two years later entered on the practice of homœopathy in Philadelphia. John K. Lee, A.M., M.D., who, from 1861 to 1863, was professor of Materia Medica and the Institutes of Medicine in the Homœopathic College of Philadelphia, had received his degree from it in 1841. He was also United States pension surgeon.

A learned native of Würtemberg who became a convert to the tenets of Hahnemann while serving as surgeon in the army of his country was Dr. Adolphus Fellger, who sailed for America in 1847, and speedily graduated from the Pennsylvania Homœopathic Medical College, making his new home in this city. He was as well known as a scientist as a practicing physician, and much of his time was spent in foreign travel. Dr. Charles Everett Toothaker came of a family that emigrated to America in 1604, and in which, from that time onward, there was an unbroken line of physicians. The date of his graduation from the Homœopathic College of Pennsylvania was 1851, when he was forty-six years of age. The pages of the *Philadelphia Journal of Homœopathy* have been largely enriched by his pen. In 1854 he assisted Dr. A. E. Small in preparing his work on domestic practice, and also wrote upon skin diseases. He claims to have been the first physician who advocated the homœopathicity of hot applications to heated, inflamed surfaces instead of cold, and he has strenuously argued for the most liberal culture for medical practitioners.

It will be seen that even previous to 1850 the Homœopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania, and the Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia, were established upon a firm basis. Dr. Richard Gardiner graduated from the former in 1848, and in company with Dr. Gideon Humphrey, his intimate friend, began homœopathic practice, and was a physician in active service for more than sixty years. In the list of those whose connections with these institutions are well known were Dr. Henry Newell Guernsey and Dr. Jabez Dake, the latter one of the editors of the *Philadelphia Journal of Homœopathy*. Dr. Guernsey entered the Pennsylvania College in 1856, and was for a long term professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children, as well as dean of the faculty, and was also author of the "Key-Note System." At the centennial celebration, in 1855, of Hahnemann's birthday, Dr. Dake delivered the oration, which was largely instrumental in elevating him to the chair of Materia Medica in the Hahnemann College. Dr. Amos Russell Thomas adopted the new school soon after his settlement here, in 1856, and in 1867 took the chair of Anatomy in the same college, in addition to filling which he held the position of editor of the *American Journal of Homœopathic Materia Medica*. Another organ of the profession is the *Hahnemannian Monthly*, of which the editor is Robert J. McClatchey, who has been in succession demonstrator of Anatomy and professor of Anatomy in the Homœopathic Medical College. He has been secretary of the Philadelphia Homœopathic Medical Society from its institution, and in June, 1871, was elected general secretary of the American Institute of Homœopathy.

Dr. McClatchey's predecessor as editor of the *Hahnemannian Monthly* was Dr. James H. P. Frost, who removed to Philadelphia in 1865, to accept the professorship of Physiology in the Homœopathic College, and retired from the editorial and college chairs in 1868, to recruit his health in the country.

Dr. Henry Noah Martin became a homœopathic physician after the civil war, on account of his belief that the system had saved his life while he was in the Union army. He has been professor of Physiology in the Homœopathic College, and professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children, professor of Clinical Medicine, and professor of Practice in the Hahnemann College. His labors in the literature of the profession have partly consisted of assisting in editing the *Journal of Homœopathic Materia Medica*, and especially conducting the department of practice and clinical medicine, and he has also edited the department of gynæcology in the *Medical Investigator*.

Dr. Morgan John Rhees was a Philadelphian by birth, but after adopting homœopathy, in 1846, when he was chosen a member of the American Institute, he removed to New Jersey, and in 1849 to California. He was one of the early Hahnemannians in this vicinity who were entirely educated in that system.

Dr. David James, who became a convert to the Hahnemann school in 1841, and came to Philadelphia fifteen years later, was the father of Bushrod James, and preceptor of Dr. John R. Reading, who, in 1868, was elected from the Fifth District of Pennsylvania to the United States Congress. A pupil of Dr. Reading is Dr. William H. H. Neville, who took his degree in 1865 at the Homœopathic College, and is a member of the County Medical Society of Philadelphia, the State Society, and the American Institute.

To the instrumentality of Bushrod W. James, A.M., M.D., the Homœopathic Medical Society of Pennsylvania is largely indebted for its existence. For seven years he was its recording secretary, and was then promoted to its presidency. He has acquired a high reputation as a surgeon, having given much of his energy to that branch upon his graduation from the Homœopathic College, in 1857, the same year in which Dr. Walter Martin Williamson, son of Dr. Walter Williamson, already spoken of, took his degree. The second Dr. Williamson has been chairman of the Bureau of Organization, Registration, and Statistics of the American Institute, and chairman of the Bureau of Clinical Medicine and Zymosis of the State Association. Dr. Charles G. Rane occupied an office in Philadelphia from 1847 to 1850, and returned to the city in 1859. Between 1864 and 1870 he was professor of Pathology and Diagnosis at the Homœopathic College, and issued a work upon Special Pathology. A Philadelphia homœopathist, who from 1862 to 1865 served as surgeon in the United States army, is Dr. Rufus Sargent, who in 1857 had begun his practice in this city.

Dr. C. Carleton Smith used to study medicine and compare the various systems while employed as a dry-goods clerk, and his decision resulted in his receiving the diploma of the New York Homœopathic Medical College in 1861, he being at that time twenty-eight years of age. His residence in Philadelphia did not commence until nine years later, but shortly after his arrival here he was elected to the chair of Special Pathology and Diagnosis in the Hahnemann College, and in 1872 an honorary member of the Hahnemann Medical Institute. Like many of his professional associates, he has a share in the editorial work of the *Medical Investigator*.

It is, perhaps, an unique incident that a physician should graduate into the ranks of his profession from a nautical life, but such was the experience of Dr. John J. Garvin, who previous to the civil war had commanded a steamer plying between Philadelphia and Savannah, and was chief officer of several government transports during the war. He had always used homœopathic medicines at sea, and when his vessel was laid up, in 1857, he completed a course of study at the Homœopathic College of Philadelphia, where he obtained his degree in 1863. Released from his maritime vocation, he settled down to practice in Philadelphia, where he was born in 1819. Dr. Richard Cox Allen, author of the "Dissector's Guide," an authority on anatomy, and a member of the American Institute, saw in 1865 a remarkable cure of diphtheria by Hahnemannian methods, and at once gave up the old school for the new. He is a graduate of the Homœopathic College of Philadelphia, and selected the Frankford district for his field of labor. Dr. William Henry Smith was in his native England a pupil of Gideon Humphrey, and enjoys the notable distinction of being the first person who applied homœopathic medicine to the diseases of animals, which he did as a repetition of the argument that it is the imagination which effects the cure. He had to practice in this line on analogy alone, as there were then no books to aid him, but he succeeded in making his demonstrations. In 1864, in the fifty-third year of his age, he graduated at the Homœopathic College. The successor to the practice of Dr. Dubs, who retired in 1857, was Dr. G. R. Starkey, who had graduated at the same college two years previously, and at which he was, in 1860, elected to the chair of Anatomy, retiring in 1879 in order that he might uninterruptedly perfect the treatment of disease by compound oxygen gas. He also filled the chair of Surgery for several years.

Among the native-born Germans who were led by Dr. Hering to look to homœopathy as the most meritorious theory of medicine, was Dr. John Michael Weick, a resident of Philadelphia from 1852. Dr. William Henry Keim, a graduate of the Hahnemann Medical College, was, in the winter course of 1872–73, assistant demonstrator of Anatomy in that institution, and since April, 1871, physician to the dispensary of the college.

When Dr. Malcolm Macfarlan was appointed professor of Surgery in the Homœopathic Medical College of this city, in 1867, he had had five years of service in the United States army as hospital steward, druggist, and surgeon, and held a degree from the medical department of Yale College. In Philadelphia he set himself to work to establish a surgical and operative clinic, the first of any account in a homœopathic college. On the union of the Homœopathic College and the Hahnemann Medical College, in 1869, he was appointed professor of Clinical Surgery in the new institution.

Dr. Thomas Moore was appointed surgeon to the Northern Home for Friendless Children soon after homœopathy was introduced into it. In 1857 he was elected professor of Anatomy, and in 1859 professor of Obstetrics in the Homœopathic College of Pennsylvania, a connection which his removal to Germantown, in 1860, obliged him to sever.

A physician who also occupied the chair of Anatomy was Dr. John Coleman Morgan, who was chosen to it in 1865, and afterward to the professorship of Surgery in the Hahnemann College. The inception of the Homœopathic Hospital was a project to which he extended zealous aid. He is associate professor of the *American Journal of Homœopathic Materia Medica.*

The general opposition—at least until quite recently—of the medical profession to the admission of women we do not propose to do more than allude to. But it comes within the duty of the historian to speak of the careers of two women of renown. They are Dr. Sarah Brooks Pettingill and Dr. Emily Ridgway Robbins. Dr. Pettingill was born in Charlestown, Mass., May 16, 1810. She was the daughter of Jacob Felt, and in 1827 she married John Pettingill, and when they removed to Philadelphia, in 1835, she had indulged her innate love of the study of medicine by fairly grounding herself in its rudiments. In 1858 she had been two years regularly engaged in a course of instruction, which she decided to continue a third year if she could graduate honorably from the Pennsylvania Medical University, of which she had become a member. The permission was accorded her, and she gained her diploma; but her convictions were so greatly formed on the Hahnemannian precepts that she applied to the dean of the Homœopathic College for admission. The rules closed the doors against her or any other female, and the utmost concession she could obtain was that she might attend the lectures on practice and Materia Medica if she would sit behind a partition to screen her from the view of the male students. She accepted the conditions, and thus attended two courses of lectures, from which she deduced sufficient of the homœopathic system to apply it in her practice among her own sex. In 1871 the profession had so far progressed in the broadening of its views that she was elected a member of the American Institute of Homœopathy. She was the pioneer woman in the practice of homœopathy in Philadelphia. Her daughter, Ehia Felt Pettingill, graduated from the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia in 1864, and from the Pennsylvania Medical College in 1865.

Mrs. Emily Ridgway Robbins, M.D., was at first a determined opponent, and subsequently a firm advocate, of homœopathy. She matriculated at the Penn Medical University in 1855 and graduated in 1859. All her skill and energy could not secure for her professional success in the face of the then prevalent antipathy in Philadelphia to women doctors. Locating at Fort Madison, Iowa, the people there gave her a cordial welcome. At that period she was much disposed to deride the "fallacious nonsense," as she termed it, of homœopathy; and even after she married, in 1862, Dr. Charles W. Robbins, of Philadelphia, a homœopathic physician, her views but slowly underwent a change. But when they found themselves back in their native city and he fell sick, she undertook to attend to his practice. As his patients would have nothing but homœopathy, it became compulsory upon her that she should learn its formulæ. She did so, and was always a homœopath from that time on. The many occasions she was twitted for her adoption of a system that she had once so fervently antagonized are noted in numerous anecdotes. Having taken up homœopathic practice perforce, she continued steadfast to it. In 1872 she was admitted a member of the Homœopathic Medical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Homœopathic Medical Society.—The first Homœopathic Medical Society begun in this city, and probably in the United States, was organized in 1833, but it had only a brief existence. Several of its successors met with the same fate, and it was not until the institution of the Homœopathic Society of the County of Philadelphia that a permanent organization was effected. This society originated from an informal meeting held Feb. 10, 1859, at the office of Dr. Richard Gardiner, at which were present, beside Dr. Gardiner, Dr. J. R. Coxe, Jr., Dr. Samuel R. Dubs, Dr. John G. Howard, Dr. Charles E. Toothaker, Dr. J. K. Lee, Dr. G. R. Starkey, Dr. D. Cowley, Dr. C. B. Compton, and Dr. G. Wolf. Dr. Coxe was appointed chairman. At a meeting held on the 10th of March following, a constitution and by-laws were adopted, and twenty-nine members were enrolled. Meetings were held regularly until October, 1860, when, for lack of attention, they were discontinued until Nov. 22, 1865, when one meeting was held. The next meeting was held on the 22d of February, 1866, when a committee was appointed to take measures for the organization of the society as at present constituted. Circulars were issued to all the homœopathic physicians of Philadelphia and vicinity, calling a convention "to devise some acceptable plan of organization whereby all might co-operate in the furtherance of the cause of homœopathy," to meet in the Dental College building, corner of Tenth and Arch Streets, on the evening of March 8, 1866. The meeting was large and enthusiastic. A constitution and by-laws were adopted, and the society was named "The Homœopathic Medical Society of the County of Philadelphia." All persons who assisted in the organization were declared members, and all persons who had obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and were practicing according to the formula *similia similibus curantur*, were declared eligible for membership. At a meeting held April 19, 1866, in the Hahnemann Medical College, Dr. Richard Gardiner was chosen the first president, and Dr. Robert J. McClatchey secretary. The society has since met at the Hahnemann Medical College. Soon after organization effective measures were taken by the society to erect the Homœopathic Hospital. In all matters relating to homœopathy in the State the society has exerted a wide influence. Most of the articles read before the society, and the discussions thereon, have been published in the *Hahnemannian Monthly.*

The successive presidents have been Dr. Richard Gardiner, 1866–70; Dr. Walter Williamson, 1870–71; Dr. Jacob Jeanes, 1871–73; Dr. W. M. Williamson, 1873–74; Dr. P. Dudley, 1874–75; Dr. A. R. Thomas, 1875–77; Dr. R. J. McClatchey, 1877–78; Dr. John K. Lee, 1878–79; Dr. E. A. Farrington, 1879–81; and Dr. William B. Trites, 1881–84. The number of members of the society in February, 1884, was one hundred and fifty-three.

The object of the society is briefly stated in its constitution to be "the advancement of medical science." The officers of the society are a president, a vice-president, a treasurer, a secretary, and three censors, who are chosen at the annual meeting in April. Stated meetings are held on the second Thursday of each month, except July and August. The initiation fee is one dollar, and the annual contribution one dollar.

Dental Surgery is an important branch of the medical profession, and the Philadelphia dentists have not failed to qualify themselves for the proper discharge of the most delicate and difficult labors that they can be called upon to perform. They measure up to the central maxim of their science as it is now taught,—that the business of the dentist is not primarily to pull teeth or fit false teeth, but to preserve the teeth of the patient in every instance where it is possible to do so. They have their Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery and their Philadelphia Dental College; and when we contrast the present perfection of the science with its rude beginnings, we discover some curious facts relative to its early stages. It seems that some of our ancestors in the last century had teeth which originally grew in the heads of other people. Mr. B. Fendall, a dentist, who was for some time in Philadelphia, advertised in the *Maryland Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1779, that "those who have had the misfortune of losing their teeth may have natural teeth transplanted from one person to another, which will remain as firm in the jaw as if they originally grew there." In his "Annals of Philadelphia," Watson says that he had seen a printed advertisement of the year 1784, wherein Dr. Le Mayeur, dentist, proposed to the citizens of Philadelphia to transplant teeth, stating that he had successfully transplanted one hundred and twenty-three teeth in the preceding six months. At the same time he offered two guineas for every tooth that any person might be disposed to sell to him. Watson adds: "This was quite a novelty in Philadelphia; the present care of the teeth was ill understood then. He had, however, great success in Philadelphia, and went off with a great deal of our patricians' money. Several respectable ladies had them implanted. One of the Meschianza belles had such teeth. They were, in some cases, two months before they could eat with them. One lady told me she knew of sixteen cases of such persons among her acquaintance."

Turning from this picture of the clumsy dentistry of a hundred years ago, we are brought to notice that Philadelphia not only now has three of the best equipped and most efficient dental colleges in existence, and her practitioners are not excelled anywhere, but they have also exerted a potent and widespread influence in the formation of professional associations other than those existing in this city. The Pennsylvania Dental Association was organized at a meeting held in the hall of the Philadelphia Dental College, and the original suggestion for the creation of the American Dental Association came from the pen of the late Dr. McQuillen. A large proportion of the text-books of dental science have been written by Philadelphians, and a still larger proportion have been published here. Stockton's *Dental Intelligencer* was the first periodical in this city devoted to dentistry, and the second in the world. *The Dental News-Letter* was originally issued in October, 1847, as a quarterly pamphlet of sixteen pages, by Jones, White & Co. Its size was increased from year to year until the numbers of the fifth volume comprised sixty-four pages, and J. D. White, D.D.S., M.D., and J. R. McCurdy were appointed its editors.

The Dental Cosmos, a monthly journal, was started under the ownership of Jones & White in 1859, the editors being J. D. White, J. H. McQuillen, and George J. Ziegler. In 1861 Dr. S. S. White became the sole proprietor. In 1865 the editorship of J. D. White ceased, Drs. McQuillen and Ziegler continuing. In 1872 J. W. White, M.D., D.D.S., assumed the editorial charge, in which position he still remains. This journal from the first has been managed with marked ability, and probably has a larger circulation than any other dental journal in the world.

The Dental Times, a quarterly, was issued July, 1868, and ran a course of some ten years. It was published and edited by the faculty of the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery.

The Dental Practitioner, a new monthly journal, published by Gideon Sibley, and edited by Charles E. Pike, D.D.S., was begun January, 1883, and gives promise of able management and of usefulness to the profession. The first number of the second volume appeared with an additional number of pages and otherwise greatly improved. The dental profession have also contributed many valuable works to the literature of the country, among which may be mentioned:

A Practical Guide to the Management of the Teeth. By L. S. Parmly, dental professor. Philadelphia, 1819.

Observations upon the Importance of the Teeth. By Samuel Sheldon Fitch,*[1] surgeon dentist. Philadelphia, 1828.

The Anatomy, Physiology, and Pathology of the Human Teeth. By Paul Beck Goddard,* M.D. Philadelphia, 1846.

[1] The * indicates the authors as Philadelphia dentists.

A Practical Treatise on the Operations of Surgical and Mechanical Dentistry. By Samuel C. Harbert,* surgeon dentist. Philadelphia, 1847.

The Medical Student's Guide in Extracting Teeth. By S. S. Horner,* practical dentist. Philadelphia, 1851.

Ether and Chloroform: their Employment in Surgery, Dentistry, etc. By J. F. B. Flagg,* M.D. Philadelphia, 1851.

A Practical Treatise on Dental Medicine. By Thomas E. Bond, A.M., M.D. Philadelphia, 1851.

A Text-Book of Anatomy and Guide in Dissections, for the Use of Students of Medicine and Dental Surgery. By William R. Handy, M.D. Philadelphia, 1853.

Chemistry and Metallurgy as Applied to the Study and Practice of Dental Surgery. By A. Snowden Pigott, M.D. Philadelphia, 1853.

A Treatise on the Use of Adhesive Gold Foil. By Robert Arthur, M.D., D.D.S. Philadelphia, 1857.

A Practical Treatise on Operative Dentistry. By J. Taft, Professor of Operative Dentistry, etc. Philadelphia, 1859.

A Practical Treatise on Mechanical Dentistry. By Joseph Richardson, D.D.S., M.D. Philadelphia, 1860.

Dental Anomalies. By Am. Fouget, M.D., C.L.D. Philadelphia, 1860.

A Manual on Extracting Teeth. By Abraham Robinson, D.D.S., M.D. Philadelphia, 1863.

Instructions in the Manipulations of Hard Rubber or Vulcanite for Dental Purposes. By E. Wildman,* M.D., D.D.S. Philadelphia, 1865.

Odontalgia: Commonly called Toothache. Its Causes, Prevention, and Cure. By S. Parsons Shaw. Philadelphia, 1868.

Register Papers: A Collection of Chemical Essays in Reference to Dental Surgery. By George Watt, M.D., D.D.S. Philadelphia, 1868.

A Treatise on the Diseases and Surgery of the Mouth, Jaws, and Associate Parts. By James E. Garretson,* M.D., D.D.S. Philadelphia, 1869.

Treatment and Prevention of Decay of the Teeth. By Robert Arthur, M.D. Philadelphia, 1871.

Studies in the Facial Region. By Harrison Allen,* M.D. Philadelphia, 1874.

Plasters and Plastic Fillings. By J. Foster Flagg.* Philadelphia, 1881.

The Mouth and Teeth. By J. W. White,* M.D., editor of *Dental Cosmos*.

Notes on Operative Dentistry. By Marshall H. Webb.* Philadelphia, 1883.

Dental Metallurgy: a Manual for the Use of Dental Students. By Charles J. Essig,* 1882.

Dental Medicine. By F. J. S. Gorgas, A.M., M.D., D.D.S. Blakiston, Son & Co., Philadelphia, 1884.

The question as to who was the first regularly educated dentist that practiced in America is answered by the historical evidence that John Woofendale, a pupil of Thomas Berdmore, dentist to King George III., came over from England in 1766, and spent some eighteen months in Philadelphia, making occasional visits to New York for professional purposes. In March, 1768, he returned to England, as his American venture had not been remunerative to him. Within a very few years after that date there was, as related in Watson's "Annals," a Dr. Baker, who had an office for the practice of dentistry on Second Street, between Walnut and Spruce. Like Woofendale, he seems to have left no abiding historical impression.

One of the Frenchmen attracted to America during the Revolutionary war was James Gardette, physician, surgeon, and dentist, who also came to Philadelphia in 1784. He opened an office at the corner of Third and Pear Streets for the practice of dental surgery, which he pursued for a period of forty-five years. Mr. Gardette had received in his native country a systematic and thorough education in medicine and surgery, as well as in the specialty of dentistry, so far as instruction was available at that time. What he lacked in the art and science his inherent genius, close application, and judgment supplied. Much might be said of the improvements he made in dental practice. He was a most estimable man, a skillful dentist, and his name stands as one of the most prominent among the host of American dentists.

Edward Hudson, who came from Dublin, Ireland, to this country in 1802, began the practice of his profession in this city in 1805. At first he was involved in pecuniary embarrassments, and met with many discouragements; but, freeing himself from the perplexities of certain commercial pursuits, he attained to great skill and eminence in his profession. It has been said of him by one who is competent to judge, "We are probably more indebted to his success than to that of any other man for the importance which was attached at that period to operations which were intended to preserve the natural teeth in their natural state. For by the complete success attending the practice of this great man the public were soon convinced that teeth could be saved instead of being extracted."

Leonard Koecker, a native of Bremen, Hanover, came to this country, and began the practice of dentistry in Philadelphia in 1807. His knowledge of dentistry was very meagre when he commenced, and he had much to learn. But his native ability and energy enabled him to overcome his many defects, and in a few years he gained quite a reputation. He practiced some fifteen years in this city, when, his health failing, he went to Europe, and finally settled in London, where he gained an extensive practice and widely-known reputation as a dentist.

A. A. Plantou was one of the early dentists of this city. He was born in France in 1774, and graduated in the Royal Academy of Medicine and Surgery at Paris in 1805. He came to Philadelphia in 1817, and

pursued the practice of his profession up to about the time of his death, which occurred March 16, 1837. To him belongs the credit of introducing porcelain, or mineral, teeth into this country, and also for many improvements that he made in their fabrication. In the same line of work was that versatile genius, Charles W. Peale, who founded the Philadelphia Museum, the first in the United States, and was successively a saddler, silversmith, watch-maker, dentist, and portrait-painter. Peale died Feb. 22, 1827, at the age of eighty-six years. Samuel W. Stockton so improved upon the ideas of Plantou and Peale in regard to the form and quality of porcelain teeth as to make their manufacture of great commercial importance. Among other dentists of high reputation in the first half of the century were Drs. Roper, Harrington, Flagg, Gilliams, Harris, Dillingham, and Elisha M. Neal.

Dr. Elisha Townsend was a most accomplished and skillful practitioner of dentistry. For many years previous to his death, which occurred Oct. 13, 1858, his attainments placed him at the head of his profession, not only in this city, but throughout the entire country. In 1840 a few prominent men determined to form the American Society of Dental Surgeons. In 1851 Dr. Townsend took a leading position as an advocate for separate and independent colleges for instruction in dentistry. He was professor of Operative Dentistry and dean of the Philadelphia College of Dental Surgery, the first dental school established in the city, in 1852. Upon the reorganization of this institution, under the corporate name of the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery, he again filled the same chair in 1856–57. His health failing in the autumn of 1857, the honorary degree of emeritus professor was conferred on him by the trustees and faculty of the college. He was president of the American Society of Dental Surgeons, and the originator of the American Dental Convention. His contributions to the various repositories of dental literature consist of introductory and valedictory addresses delivered before collegiate classes, their topics being the means, methods, aims, and duties of professional life and progress, collegiate education in dentistry, the agency and utility of associative effort among practitioners for the advancement of their common interest and honor, and also essays upon professional fees, dental patients, and the minor morals of professional conduct,—enough for a volume of classical miscellanies.

Dr. Elias Wildman, a distinguished dentist of Philadelphia, was a native of Bucks County, Pa., and was born June 8, 1811. He graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, served in hospital practice in New York for some time, studied dentistry, and commenced its practice in Philadelphia in 1836.

He devoted himself with untiring zeal to scientific researches and experiments in various departments of his profession, and his labors were crowned with marked success. He improved the fabrication of mineral teeth, reducing the process to an exact system, giving to them a more natural form and life-like appearance. The dental profession is indebted to him for the discovery of the method of producing the beautiful gum enamel in use at the present time. His experiments in hard rubber and celluloid as a base for artificial dentures were of great value. He was elected professor of Mechanical Dentistry and Metallurgy in the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery in 1862, and retained the position up to the time of his death, which occurred July 25, 1876.

Another quite prominent member of the dental profession in Philadelphia was the late George S. Barker, D.D.S. He was born in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., March 26, 1836. He came to this city in 1856, entered the office of Dr. Edward Townsend as a student, attended lectures at the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery, and graduated from that institution in 1859.

In 1862 he was elected professor of Dental Pathology and Therapeutics in the same college from which he graduated, and held the position up to the time of his death, Jan. 10, 1878.

Dr. Barker was one of the original editors of the *Dental Times*, was author of a work entitled "Instructions in Nitrous Oxide," was a contributor to the various dental journals, and member of a number of dental societies.

Dr. John Hugh McQuillen was born in Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1826. His parents were Capt. Hugh McQuillen, who served under Decatur in the war of 1812, and Martha Scattergood McQuillen, whose ancestors came to the western continent with William Penn, one of them, Thomas Scattergood, being a Quaker preacher of historic fame. In 1847, after having been employed for six years in a clerical capacity, he began the study of medicine and dentistry, practicing dentistry in 1849, and continuing his terms at the Jefferson Medical College, from which he was graduated as M.D. in 1852. His degree of Doctor of Dental Surgery was conferred in recognition of his services to the profession. As has been stated, he was the parent of the American Dental Association. The article in which he advocated its organization was published in 1859 in the *Dental News-Letter*, over the signature of "Junius." The same year he became one of the editors of the *Dental Cosmos*. Many of his articles attracted special attention, and were copied into the leading magazines of Europe, and were translated into foreign languages. Dr. McQuillen was a member of several associations and scientific societies in this country and in Europe, to which he contributed numerous papers.

In 1857 he was appointed to the chair of Operative Dentistry and Dental Physiology in the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery, which he occupied till 1862, at which time he, in connection with several other members of the dental profession, made applica-

tion to the Legislature of Pennsylvania for a charter for a new college, namely, the Philadelphia Dental College. The charter was obtained and the college organized in the fall of 1863. To the success of this new institution, for the more thorough education and better qualification of the dental practitioner, Dr. McQuillen gave his time, talent, energy, and experience. He was made dean of the faculty and was professor of Physiology, both of which positions he held to the date of his death, March 3, 1879. He was for many years a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, where he was accustomed to pass the majority of his leisure hours.

Closely associated with Dr. Stockton was his pupil and nephew, Samuel S. White. He was born in Bucks County, and was indentured to his uncle to learn dental surgery and the art of manufacturing artificial teeth. When twenty-one years of age he began practice as a dentist, and looked after that of his uncle. Subsequently he opened an office on Race Street, above Eighth, where he practiced until 1845, when he formed a partnership with Asahel Jones and John R. McCurdy, and in the next year he gave up his practice to devote himself entirely to the manufacture of artificial teeth. In 1848 he purchased a property on Arch below Sixth Street, which was fitted up as a factory and salesroom, and soon afterward bought out the interests of his two partners, paying them one hundred and forty thousand dollars each. In October, 1867, he removed to the present location at the southeast corner of Twelfth and Chestnut Streets, where he erected a five-story marble structure, in which are manufactured artificial teeth and all the various instruments and appliances required by the dental profession. In the adaptation of teeth to the facial expression and the anatomical conformation of his patients, Dr. White was an innovator upon the older system of practice. He received medals and premiums from institutes, associations, and universal expositions. The first which he was awarded was from the American Institute of New York, and the last was the diploma bestowed upon him at the Vienna Exposition of 1873. He died in Paris, Dec. 3, 1879, greatly lamented. Out of the ample fortune which he had earned, he was extremely liberal in his charities.

Marshall H. Webb, D.D.S., who has been identified with the dental practitioners of Philadelphia during the past fifteen years, was born in Chester County, Pa., Oct. 28, 1844, and graduated from the Philadelphia Dental College in 1867, after which date he divided his professional occupation between Philadelphia and Lancaster. His operations in gold fillings were in many cases triumphs of genius, and it is said of him that "they gave him a prominence in his profession excelled by none, and, though dying so young, he was fairly entitled to rank as one of the most eminent of American dentists."

He was a member of the Harris Dental Association of Lancaster County, the Pennsylvania State Dental Society, the American Dental Association, the New York Odontological Society, and the Odontological Society of Pennsylvania. He was lecturer on Operative Dentistry and Dental Histology in the dental department of the University of Pennsylvania. He was honorary member of many dental societies, and was a delegate to the medical congress that assembled in London in 1881. As a clinical teacher he had few equals, and his published notes on operative dentistry will prove a valuable legacy to the younger members of the profession who survive him. After a lingering illness he died Jan. 1, 1882.

Dr. Thomas L. Buckingham was known for several decades as a prominent member of the dental profession in Philadelphia. He was born in the State of Delaware March 9, 1816. He came to Philadelphia in 1845, and engaged in the practice of dentistry in copartnership with Dr. Lee. In 1846 this connection ceased, and he began practice on his own account. He was elected to the chair of Mechanical Dentistry in the Philadelphia College of Dental Surgery, at its first session, in 1852. Subsequently he occupied the same chair in the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery, but in 1857 he was transferred to the chair of Chemistry, which he held to the time of his death, which took place Sept. 4, 1883. He was dean of the faculty for some eight years, the duties of the position including also those of secretary and treasurer. He graduated in medicine from the Philadelphia College of Medicine in 1851, and the degree of D.D.S. was conferred upon him by the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery in 1853. He took part in the organization of the Pennsylvania Association of Dental Surgeons, —with one exception, the oldest dental society in America,—was a member of the Odontological Society of Pennsylvania, and other dental societies. He was president of the American Dental Convention in 1860, and of the American Dental Association in 1874. He was a man of superior mechanical abilities, and his talent for invention was shown in various appliances connected with his profession. His talent and skill were devoted chiefly to mechanical dentistry. As a teacher he occupied a high position among the professors and great popularity with the students.

The present number of dental practitioners in this city at present (1884), according to the most authentic information, is about three hundred and fifty. Among these are many of high rank.

The Pennsylvania Association of Dental Surgeons was organized in Philadelphia Dec. 15, 1845, and, with the exception of the Mississippi Valley Dental Society, at Cincinnati, Ohio, is the oldest dental society in the United States. Its first officers were G. A. Plantou, D.D.S., president; Eli Parry, D.D.S., vice-president; Stephen T. Beale, D.D.S., second vice-president; C. C. Williams, D.D.S., recording secretary; R. Arthur, D.D.S., corresponding secretary; and F. Remstein, D.D.S., treasurer. The

society for a long time met at the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgeons, but since at the houses of members. Since its organization until 1884 the number of members has been one hundred and sixty-nine. The number in January, 1884, was thirty-five. The officers for 1883-84 were as follows: E. H. Neall, president; John Hillings, vice-president; Theodore F. Chupein, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, and reporter; W. H. Truman, treasurer and librarian; Spencer Roberts, M. L. Long, and Amos West, committee on membership.

Members of the society are active and honorary. There are also life-members, who are exempted from the payment of dues, in consequence of their membership having extended over a period of twenty years or more. Meetings are held on the second Tuesday of each month, except in July and August. The annual meeting takes place on the second Tuesday of October. The initiation fee is two dollars, and the annual dues two dollars.

The Odontographic Society of Philadelphia was organized at a meeting held on the 19th of May, 1863, at Concord Hall. The first officers were Jacob Gilliams, president; John McCalla and C. A. Kingsbury, vice-presidents; Louis M. Lusson, recording secretary; J. H. McQuillen, corresponding secretary; Thomas Wardell, treasurer; and William P. Henry, librarian. The successive presidents of the society have been Jacob Gilliams, D.D.S., 1863; C. A. Kingsbury, D.D.S., 1864; James M. Harris, D.D.S., 1865-66; William C. Head, D.D.S., 1867; John H. McQuillen, D.D.S., 1868-70; Thomas C. Stellwagen, D.D.S., 1871-73; Louis Jack, D.D.S., 1874-75; F. M. Dixon, D.D.S., 1876-77; M. Lukens Long, D.D.S., 1878; J. Lehman Eisenbrey, D.D.S., 1879; Alonzo Boice, D.D.S., 1880; Joseph R. C. Ward, D.D.S., 1881; and L. Ashley Faught, 1882-83. The society's place of meeting was at the Philadelphia Dental College, on Tenth Street, near Arch, until about 1882, after which it was unsettled until the adoption of the College of Physicians as the meeting-place, in January, 1884.

The objects of the society are the promotion of professional and social intercourse among dental practitioners, and the encouragement of a disposition for investigation in every direction which relates to the principles and practice of the profession or collateral sciences. Members are active, corresponding, and honorary. The whole number of active members since the institution of the society has been one hundred and twenty-four, and the number in January, 1884, was twenty-seven. The active members must be practitioners of dentistry residing in the State of Pennsylvania. The initiation fee for active membership is three dollars; the annual contribution two dollars. The stated meetings are held on the third Tuesday of each month of the year, except July, August, and September. The annual meeting is held in May.

The Odontological Society of Pennsylvania was organized on the 1st of February, 1879, its first president being Daniel Neall, D.D.S., and its first secretary, Ambler Tees, D.D.S. Its successive presidents have been F. M. Dixon, D.D.S., C. J. Essig, D.D.S., and James Truman, D.D.S. The meetings are held in the offices of members, and are appointed for the first Saturday evening of each month. The number of members in January, 1884, was forty-two. The object of the society is the diffusion of the principles, and the development of the best modes of practice in the art and science of dentistry. Members are active, associate, or honorary. Active members must be practitioners of medicine in the State of Pennsylvania, and graduates in dentistry or in medicine, and must have contributed at least one paper to the published literature of the profession, or have made some other addition to its science or art. The admission fee for active members is three dollars, and the annual dues three dollars. For associate members the admission fee is three dollars, and the annual dues two dollars.

In addition to the medical and dental societies mentioned in this chapter there are numerous clubs, or coteries of medical gentlemen, averaging probably about a dozen members each in the city, having for their object the promotion of social intercourse among their members, but exercising little influence directly in medical matters.

MEDICAL AND DENTAL COLLEGES.

The College of Physicians.—The first medical society organized in Philadelphia, so far as is known, was the Philadelphia Medical Society, which is mentioned as having been in existence in 1768, but which was dissolved during the war of the Revolution. The American Medical Society was organized some time about 1783, but did not exist very long. The College of Physicians of Philadelphia—the subject of this sketch—was the next in succession. It claims to be the oldest existing medical society not only in Philadelphia but in the United States.

The College of Physicians of Philadelphia was organized in the latter part of the year 1786, and held its first stated meeting at the old University building, which was then located on Fourth Street, below Arch, on the second day of January, 1787. At this meeting fourteen physicians appended their signatures to the constitution and two committees were appointed, one of which was to devise a seal for the college, and a diploma or certificate of membership, and the other to prepare by-laws. A charter was not obtained until the 26th of March, 1789, at which time the number of members was twenty-seven. The whole number of physicians in the city in 1783 was only forty-two, and at the time of incorporation was probably not much in excess of fifty, so that about one-half of the practitioners of the city were members of the new organization. The first president of the college was Dr. John Redman, an eminent retired physician.

The other officers mentioned in the charter, who were in all likelihood the first officers of the college, were John Jones, vice-president; William Shippen, Jr., Adam Kuhn, Benjamin Rush, and Samuel Duffield, censors; Samuel Powel Griffitts, secretary; and Gerardus Clarkson, treasurer.

The society held its first meetings in the University building, but in December, 1791, removed to a room in the building of the American Philosophical Society, which had been fitted up for their reception at an expense to the college of £27 6*s.* 8*d.*, and was rented for forty dollars a year. In 1845, the college changed its headquarters to a room in the Mercantile Library building, and in 1854 to the "picture-house" of the Pennsylvania Hospital, afterward occupied by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Its last transfer was to its present handsome building, corner of Locust and Thirteenth Streets. The society had long desired a building of its own, and as early as December, 1849, had started a building fund, to which were transferred some securities held by the society, and which were increased by degrees by donations from Fellows, by appropriations from the surplus fund, and by the interest from judicious investments. In 1859 the building fund amounted to over $22,000. In 1856, Dr. Thomas Dent Mütter had communicated to the college his willingness to convey to it on certain conditions his extensive collection of pathological specimens, together with a certain sum of money which was to be devoted to their preservation and increase. Negotiations were entered into between Dr. Mütter and the college, which, though interrupted for two years by the illness of Dr. Mütter, resulted in an agreement being reached, which was signed by the president and secretary of the college on the 5th of January, 1859. One of the articles of agreement required that the college should erect within the ensuing five years a fireproof building to contain the specimens. On the 4th of May, 1859, a lot was purchased by a committee of the college at the corner of Thirteenth and Locust Streets for $10,000, having a front on Locust Street of forty-two feet, and a depth of one hundred and ten feet, and subsequently the adjoining lot on the east, having a front of eighteen feet, was purchased for $3500. The college thus became possessed of an advantageous location, having an area of sixty by one hundred and ten feet, for $13,500, which was increased by incidental expenses to $14,408. The plan for a building drawn up by James H. Windrim was accepted, and the contract for its erection was given to M. Errickson. The total cost of the structure when completed was $25,250, and the cost of furniture, such as book-cases, gas-fixtures, and the like, $1100, making a total expenditure on lot and building of $40,858. All the obligations thus incurred by the society were met out of the building fund except $5000, which was raised by mortgage. The building committee in its final report, in 1864, estimating the value of the college library at $15,000, and of the Mütter Museum and endowment at $30,000, felt able to congratulate the society on the possession of property worth nearly one hundred thousand dollars. The building was completed and occupied in 1863, and has been the headquarters of the society ever since. It is a two-story structure of fine pressed brick. The lower story is occupied by the museum, the directory for nurses, which is under the charge of the college, and a number of dwelling-rooms. The second story contains the library and the lecture-room. A number of medical societies meet in the lecture-room, among which may be mentioned the County Medical Society, the Obstetrical Society, and the Pathological Society.

The college rendered efficient aid by its advice to the authorities during the several periods of prevalence of the yellow fever in the city between 1790 and 1800, and has since many times been called on by the Board of Health or the State authorities for suggestions during the prevalence of an epidemic, or for advice in matters relating to the promotion of the public health. In the compilation of a national pharmacopœia the college was active in lending its assistance, and at the first convention for that purpose, at Washington, in January, 1820, Dr. Thomas F. Hewson, afterward president of the college, was appointed secretary of the meeting.

The establishment of a good medical library was a matter of great concern with the founders of the association, and a committee on library, appointed in June, 1788, requested members wishing to donate books to the society to send them in at once. Dr. John Morgan, who has a claim to distinction not only from the fact of his having been a skillful physician, but also because, according to his biographer, he was the first man in the State, and probably in the country, to carry an umbrella, and inaugurated the practice of sending to an apothecary for medicine for his patients, was the first donor to the library. It increased slowly from donations for years afterward, and was open for only a few hours in a month. In 1845, upon removal to the Mercantile Library building, the number of volumes belonging to the society was six hundred, most of them the works of ancient physicians, and in 1855 the number was seventeen hundred. After this time bequests and donations were more numerous. In 1864 and 1865 four thousand five hundred volumes were added to the library, the gift of Dr. Samuel Lewis, and in acknowledgment the college determined to constitute them a distinct portion of the library, to be known as the Lewis Library. At the time of the last report of the librarian, on the 1st of November, 1883, the library contained twenty-six thousand three hundred and fifty-nine volumes, of which six thousand two hundred and eight belonged to the Lewis Library.

The presiding officers of the society since its origin, with dates of election, have been as follows: 1787, Dr. John Redman; 1805, Dr. William Shippen;

1809, Dr. Adam Kuhn; 1818, Dr. Thomas Parke; 1835, Thomas C. James, Dr. Thomas T. Hewson; 1848, Dr. George B. Wood; 1879, Dr. W. S. W. Ruschenberger; 1883, Dr. Alfred Stillé; 1884, Dr. Samuel Lewis. Dr. Thomas C. James, elected president in 1835, died four months after that event. The number of Fellows at the beginning of 1884 was about one hundred and eighty-five.

The objects of the college, as set forth in its charter, are "to advance the science of medicine, and thereby to lessen human misery, by investigating the diseases and remedies which are peculiar to this country, by observing the effects of different seasons, climates, and situations upon the human body, by recording the changes which are produced in disease by the progress of agriculture, arts, population, and manners, by searching for medicines in American woods, waters, and in the bowels of the earth, by enlarging the avenues to knowledge from the discoveries and publications of foreign countries, and by cultivating order and uniformity in the practice of physic."

The college consists of Fellows, Associate Fellows, and corresponding members. The Fellows are physicians of good character and standing, residing in the city of Philadelphia, and over twenty-four years of age. Associate Fellows are distinguished Americans, or foreign physicians, residing beyond the limits of Philadelphia. They must not exceed fifty in number, twenty of whom may be foreigners. The corresponding members are distinguished foreign or American physicians, chosen because of their devotion to medical science. The entrance fee is twenty-five dollars, and the annual contribution fifteen dollars, payable in advance. The officers designated in the charter are a president, a vice-president, four censors, a secretary, and a treasurer; and in addition there are elected annually an honorary librarian, a curator, a recorder, and two councilors, the last named serving for three years. The stated meetings of the society take place on the first Wednesday in each month.

In compliance with one of the articles of agreement between Dr. Mütter and the college, a person is nominated by a committee on lectures to deliver a course of at least ten lectures on some subject connected with surgical pathology. The lectures are delivered in the college building, and the lecturer has the right to charge a fee of five or ten dollars, as he may choose, to persons, other than Fellows, attending the course. The lecturer, however, is required to distribute "ten gratuitous tickets to poor, but well-educated and moral, students of regular medicine, whom he may select at will." For his services the lecturer is paid two hundred dollars.

The library is open daily. Visitors introduced by Fellows are allowed to consult books free of charge. The transactions of the society are published annually in book form.

The Medical Institute.—In 1819, Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, founded the Medical Institute of Philadelphia, for the purpose of giving instruction to students during the summer months. It was not proposed to confer degrees, but merely to grant certificates of attendance. At different periods Drs. Horner, Gibson, Mitchell, Dewees, Jackson, Hodge, and Bell were associated with Professor Chapman as preceptors. Between 1819 and 1847 over seventeen hundred students attended the lectures, and in the latter year the faculty were John Neill, John J. Reese, William Byrd Page, J. F. Frazer, William Pepper, W. Gerhard, G. W. Norris, and Edward Norris. In 1856 the lectures were abandoned, and the institute permanently closed its doors.

Jefferson Medical College.—The Jefferson Medical College stands in the front rank of medical institutions in the country in the number of its students, the completeness of its equipment, and the learning, ability, and reputation of its faculty. Its fame is world-wide, and its alumni are to be found in almost all quarters of the globe. Its history is naturally divided into two periods, the first being one of considerable trouble and frequent changes, owing chiefly to opposition from without and dissensions within, which lasted from the time of its institution until its reorganization in 1841, and the second one of peace and progress, which has continued from the close of the first period up to the present time.

To Dr. George McClellan, more than to any other person, is due the credit of having founded the institution. He it was who obtained the charter for the college, organized the first faculty, and in no small measure, by his personal exertions, brought together the first class. An effort had been made to establish a medical college a number of years previously by Dr. William P. C. Barton and several of his friends, but it resulted in a failure. Dr. McClellan, however, was a man of indomitable energy and enthusiasm, and in his hands the project met with a different result. Attracted by the fame of the University of Pennsylvania, the mother of American medical schools, he came to Philadelphia. Marrying an estimable lady in 1821, he made his residence at the corner of Walnut and Swanwick Streets, opposite Washington Square, and delivered lectures on anatomy and surgery with such success that he was soon obliged to enlarge his quarters. He also associated with himself Dr. John Eberle, the latter taking as his subjects materia medica and the practice of medicine.

Dr. McClellan's ideas had expanded with his success, and he determined to use his best endeavors toward the establishment of a new medical college. The project was bitterly opposed by numbers of members of the medical fraternity, who thought that a new college might work great injury to the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, on the 7th of April, 1826, the act for its incorporation was passed by the Legislature.

It received its corporate privileges under the charter of the Jefferson College, a literary institution located at Cannonsburg, in the western portion of the State, and was operated as a branch of that institution. Instruction, however, was begun on the first Monday of November, 1825, the faculty being constituted as follows: Dr. John Eberle, professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine; Dr. George McClellan, professor of Surgery; Dr. Jacob Green, professor of Chemistry; Dr. Benjamin Rush Rhees, professor of Materia Medica; Dr. Francis S. Beattie, professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Midwifery; and Dr. Nathan Reyno Smith, professor of Anatomy and Physiology. Dr. Smith was dean of the faculty. The opposition to the college was very fierce for a while, and amounted almost to a social ban upon the faculty and students, but as the healthful effects of the rivalry thus established became apparent it gradually died away.

The college continued to be operated as the branch of the Jefferson College at Cannonsburg until April 12, 1838, when the connection was severed by a special act of the Legislature, and the medical college received a separate charter, granting it the same rights and privileges as other medical schools in the United States. The government of the institution was at first intrusted to a board of ten trustees, located in Philadelphia, of whom the Rev. Ashbel Green, D.D., LL.D., formerly president of Princeton College, was the first president. The number of trustees was increased to fifteen upon the separation, but is at present only fourteen.

The faculty were not harmonious among themselves, and during the early history of the college resignations were annoyingly frequent, and sometimes one professor presided over two chairs. Until 1841, the time from which the reorganization of the college is usually dated, the succession in the different chairs, as nearly as can be ascertained, was as follows:

Chair of Surgery: 1825–39, George McClellan; 1839–41, Joseph Pancoast.

Chair of Anatomy: 1825–27, Nathan Reyno Smith; 1827–30, George McClellan; 1830–32, Samuel McClellan; 1832–41, Granville Sharp Pattison.

Chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine: 1825–30, John Eberle; 1830–31, Daniel Drake; 1831–41, John Revere.

Chair of Materia Medica: 1825–26, Benjamin Rush Rhees; 1826–29, William P. C. Barton; 1830–31, John Eberle; 1831–39, Samuel Colhoun; 1839–41, Robley Dunglison.

Chair of the Institutes of Medicine: 1825–26, Francis S. Beattie; 1826–31, Benjamin Rush Rhees; 1831–36, appears to have been vacant; 1836–68, Robley Dunglison.

Chair of Chemistry: 1825–41, Jacob Green.

Chair of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children: 1825–26, Francis Smith Beattie; 1826–27, John Barnes; 1827–29, John Eberle; 1829–31, Benjamin Rush Rhees; 1831–32, Usher Parsons, of Providence, R. I.; 1832–39, Samuel McClellan; 1838–41, Robert M. Huston.

Dr. George McClellan occupied the chair of Surgery until 1839, when, owing to the internal dissensions, his resignation was given to the board of trustees. From 1827 to 1830 he was also professor of Anatomy, on account of the resignation of the first incumbent in that position. Immediately after the severance of his connection with the Jefferson Medical College he obtained charter privileges for another college, under the title of the Medical Department of the Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg. This new enterprise started in Philadelphia, with about one hundred students, in November, 1839, but financial difficulties terminated its career in the spring of 1843, much to McClellan's disappointment. Afterward he devoted himself to the cares of his large private practice, and died, suddenly, early on the morning of the 9th of May, 1847, after a few hours' illness only, of perforation of the bowel. He was at the time about fifty-one years of age.

Dr. McClellan was one of the most eminent surgeons of his day, and even before he had been engaged in practice ten years he had placed himself in the front rank in his profession. He performed a number of original and daring feats of surgery, having repeatedly exsected the upper and lower jaws, several times extirpated the parotid gland, a feat long regarded as impracticable, ligated most of the great arteries, and performed numerous amputations. He was of a very energetic and enthusiastic disposition. As a lecturer, he did not possess much oratorical power, and lacked in system, but he attracted the attention of his hearers by his earnestness, his force of language, and his knowledge of his subject. He was constantly in motion. He thought rapidly, talked rapidly, worked rapidly, and, in fact, did everything in a high-pressure manner. This restlessness and dash incapacitated him, however, for being a first-class student or a thorough worker. His impulsiveness was in a considerable degree instrumental in producing the troubles that marked the early career of the college. Nevertheless, when the vastness and beneficence of the work performed by him is considered, his faults sink into insignificance, and he must be accorded the credit of having lived a highly honorable, useful, and successful life. He left behind him a son, whose name will live long in history as the distinguished leader of the Army of the Potomac during the Rebellion, Gen. George B. McClellan.

Nathan Reyno Smith, the original professor of Anatomy, was born in New Hampshire in 1797. He was a man of pleasant manners and thorough cultivation, and was clear and accurate in his teaching and demonstrations. He held his chair until 1827, when he resigned to accept the same professorship in the University of Maryland, at Baltimore. He remained in this position until his voluntary resignation, in 1870. He died July 8, 1877.

Dr. John Eberle was descended from an obscure family in Pennsylvania. He was instructor in the Practice of Medicine in the college until 1830, after which he lectured for one year on Materia Medica. In 1831 he removed to Cincinnati, and became a professor in the Ohio Medical College. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, at Lexington, Ky., whither he had gone as professor of medicine shortly before. He was a very studious man, but did not have a large

practice. His works on "Materia Medica" and "The Practice of Medicine" were standard in their day.

Dr. Jacob Green, son of the Rev. Ashbel Green, D.D., and the first professor of Chemistry, was born in Philadelphia in 1790, and was professor of Experimental Philosophy, Natural History, and Chemistry in Princeton College previous to coming to Jefferson College. He retained his professorship in Jefferson College until his death, in 1841. He was not a great man nor a profound chemist, but he was a capable teacher, a good lecturer, and a most estimable Christian gentleman.

Dr. William P. C. Barton, the instructor in Materia Medica from 1826 to 1829, was a nephew of Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, formerly a professor in the University of Pennsylvania. He was a very learned man, and one of the best botanists in the country. His lectures were plain, conversational, didactic, and often witty, and his success as a teacher was all that could be desired. He was very fastidious in the matter of dress, and rarely wore the same coat, vest, or cravat on two successive days. He excelled as a musician. He remained with the college for three years, when, as he had joined the navy at an early age, he was ordered by the government to New York, and afterward to sea. Subsequently, for a short time, he was chief of the Medical Bureau in Washington. He died at an advanced age, in the service of his country.

Dr. Benjamin Rush Rhees was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. He was the first professor of Materia Medica in Jefferson Medical College, but in the second year became instructor in the Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence. He was of feeble appearance physically, but possessed qualities of mind and heart that endeared him to the students. He died of phthisis, to which he had an hereditary disposition, in October, 1831, in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

Dr. Samuel McClellan was less noted than his brother George, but was nevertheless one of Philadelphia's eminent physicians in his time. At the instance of his brother he was made adjunct professor of Anatomy in 1829, and in 1830 became professor in full in this branch. In this position he lectured with faithfulness and success until the close of the session of 1831-32, when he was succeeded by Dr. Granville Sharp Pattison, and was himself elected to the chair of Obstetrics. He became disconnected with the college in 1839, and devoted himself to the cares of his large private practice thereafter until his death, which occurred in 1854, from heart-disease. He was almost the opposite in disposition of his brother, George McClellan, being diffident, quiet, and unpretending. He was particularly celebrated as a practitioner of midwifery.

Dr. Granville Sharp Pattison, successor to Dr. Samuel McClellan in the chair of Anatomy in 1832, was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1792, and came to this country in 1820 to take a chair in the University of Baltimore. This position he held until his election as a teacher in Jefferson Medical College. He resigned from the college in 1841, and took the chair of Anatomy in the University of New York, which he filled until his death, in 1851. Dr. Pattison occupies a high position among medical celebrities.

The first graduating class, in 1826, numbered 20 pupils. In 1827 there were 34 graduates, and in 1828, 25. In 1829 the attending class numbered 110, the graduating class, 26. In 1832 the number of students was 96; in 1834, 172; in 1836, 364; but in 1840, owing to the intestine quarrels of the college, it had fallen off to 145. It appeared evident to the trustees that unless a radical change could be effected the college might be utterly ruined. Accordingly, at the close of the session of 1838-39 they declared all the chairs in the college vacant, and proceeded to elect the following faculty: Dr. Jacob Green, professor of Chemistry; Dr. Granville Sharp Pattison, professor of Anatomy; Dr. John Revere, professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine; Dr. Robley Dunglison, professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Materia Medica; Dr. Robert M. Huston, professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; and Dr. Joseph Pancoast, professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery. Dr. Revere was dean of the faculty. In 1841 the death of Professor Green and the resignations of Professors Pattison and Revere necessitated another reorganization, which resulted in a faculty that will ever be famous in the annals of Jefferson College. It consisted of the following members: Dr. Robley Dunglison, professor of the Institutes of Medicine; Dr. Joseph Pancoast, professor of Anatomy; Dr. Robert M. Huston, professor of Therapeutics and Materia Medica; Dr. John K. Mitchell, professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine; Dr. Thomas D. Mütter, professor of Surgery; Dr. Charles D. Meigs, professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; and Dr. Franklin Bache, professor of Chemistry.

The new faculty remained unbroken until the withdrawal of Dr. Mütter, in 1856, and during that time they strove with united energy and zeal to promote the common interest and the welfare of the college. Their efforts met with gratifying success. Students began to flock to the college in annually-increasing numbers, and in 1846, when the number of the class had reached four hundred and sixty-nine, the friends of the college were enabled to point with proud satisfaction to the fact that this was the largest class in attendance on any medical school in the United States. This superiority the college has maintained, with scarcely a break, up to the present time. During the war, the number of its students declined materially, as in every medical school in the land, falling from six hundred and thirty-one in 1859, which was as large as any class that ever attended the institution, to two hundred and thirty-eight in 1861. Since the close of the war,

the recovery in this respect has been gradual but steady, and in 1881 the number of matriculates was exactly the same as in 1859.

The members of the faculty of 1841 were all men of eminence in their profession. Dr. Robley Dunglison assumed, in June, 1836, the chair of the Institutes of Medicine in Jefferson College, and continued to serve in that position until 1868, when he resigned and became emeritus professor of the same branch. He died in April of the following year. The experiments which he devised and carried out in the famous Alexis St. Martin case, reported by Dr. Beaumont, resulted in valuable discoveries.

The high standard of professional talent represented in the early professors of the college has been maintained ever since, and they have been in almost every case men of national and in many cases of international reputation. The successors of the faculty of 1841 have been as follows:

In the chair of Surgery, Dr. Mütter was succeeded in 1856 by the eminent Dr. Samuel D. Gross, who left the professorship of Surgery in the University of Louisville, Ky., to assume the same duties in Jefferson College. On his resignation, in 1882, the trustees constituted two chairs of Surgery, Dr. Samuel W. Gross, son of the preceding, being elected professor of the Principles of Surgery, and Dr. John H. Brinton, professor of the Practice of Surgery. The former gentleman was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, and was a graduate of Jefferson Medical College in 1857, since which he has been settled in Philadelphia. Previous to his election as professor he had been a lecturer in Jefferson Medical College on the Diseases of the Genito-urinary Organs, and was a surgeon in Jefferson Medical College Hospital. Dr. John H. Brinton is descended from an old Philadelphia family, was a graduate from Jefferson College in 1852, and was surgeon in the Philadelphia Hospital in 1869.

In the chair of Anatomy, Dr. Joseph Pancoast was succeeded in 1874 by his son, Dr. William H. Pancoast, the present incumbent. Dr. William H. Pancoast was the successor of Dr. Ellerslie Wallace as demonstrator of Anatomy in Jefferson College in 1863.

In the chair of Materia Medica, Dr. Robert M. Huston was succeeded in 1857 by Dr. Thomas D. Mitchell, who had been professor of the same branch of study in the Medical College of Ohio, at Cincinnati, and at other schools. Dr. Mitchell died at the close of the session, in 1865, and was succeeded by Dr. John Barclay Biddle, who had formerly occupied the same chair in the Franklin Medical College, and later in the Pennsylvania Medical College, both of this city. Dr. Biddle died during the session of 1878–79, and was succeeded by Dr. Roberts Bartholow, the present incumbent. Dr. Bartholow was born in Howard County, Md., and was an instructor on Materia Medica in the Ohio Medical College, at Cincinnati, previous to coming to Philadelphia. He has a wide reputation as an author and teacher.

Dr. John K. Mitchell was followed in the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, in 1858, by Dr. Samuel Henry Dickson, who had created for himself distinction as a teacher and authority in the Medical College of the State of South Carolina. Dr. Dickson held his position until his death, on Easter Sunday, in 1872. His successor was Dr. Jacob M. Da Costa, the present incumbent. While possessing a large general practice, Dr. Da Costa's specialty has been diseases of the heart and lungs.

On the retirement of Dr. Robley Dunglison from the chair of the Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence, Dr. James Aitken Meigs was elected to fill the vacancy. Dr. Meigs was professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the Philadelphia Medical College in 1857, and later held the same chair in the medical department of the Pennsylvania College, at Gettysburg. In 1866 he was elected as a lecturer in the spring course of lectures at Jefferson Medical College. Dr. Meigs wrote a number of important articles on craniology, and was a prolific contributor to medical magazines. He died during the session of 1879–80, and was succeeded by Dr. Henry C. Chapman, who holds the position at present. Dr. Chapman was born in Philadelphia, Aug. 17, 1845, and graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1867. He became lecturer on the Physiology of the Nervous System in Jefferson Medical College in 1877. He is the author of "Evolution of Life," and numerous contributions to medical journals.

Dr. Franklin Bache was followed in the chair of Chemistry by Dr. Benjamin Howard Rand, a Philadelphian, born in 1827, and a graduate of Jefferson Medical College in 1848. He resigned the position of professor of Chemistry in the Franklin Institute to accept the chair in Jefferson College. He withdrew from this last position on account of ill health in 1877. He was the author of a book entitled "Chemistry for Students," and another called "Elements of Medical Chemistry." His successor was Dr. Robert E. Rogers, the present incumbent. Dr. Rogers was born in Baltimore, in 1814, and graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1836. He was professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania for many years previous to his acceptance of the chair in Jefferson Medical College.

On the resignation of Dr. Charles D. Meigs from the chair of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children, in 1861, Dr. William V. Keating became his successor, but ill health compelled him to resign during the first session thereafter. Dr. Meigs again filled the chair for the remainder of the session. Dr. Ellerslie Wallace was the next incumbent, and held the place until 1883. Dr. Wallace was born in Philadelphia in 1819, and became a graduate of Jefferson College in 1843. He was appointed demonstrator of Anatomy in the college, and filled the posi-

tion until his election to succeed Dr. Meigs. Dr. Wallace's successor is Dr. Theophilus Parvin, born at Buenos Ayres, South America, in 1829, and a teacher successively in the Ohio Medical College in Cincinnati, in the medical department of the University of Louisville, and in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Indianapolis, from the last of which he was summoned to his present position.

The first president of the college was, of course, the president of Jefferson College at Cannonsburg, but his position was nominal, and the Rev. Ashbel Green, the first president of the Philadelphia board of trustees, was the actual head of the institution. On the separation of the Jefferson Medical College from the parent college, in 1838, Dr. Ashbel Green was still president of the board of trustees, and thus became the nominal executive also. Dr. Green had been president of Princeton College for a number of years subsequent to 1812, and was afterward editor of the *Christian Advocate*, published in Philadelphia. On his death, on May 19, 1848, he was succeeded by the Rev. C. C. Cuyler, who, in 1850, had been succeeded by the Hon. Edward King. In 1873, the Hon. Jesse R. Burden was president. He was succeeded, in 1875, by Dr. E. B. Gardette, the present incumbent.

In 1870 an alumni association was organized, of which Professor Samuel D. Gross was chosen the first president, and has retained the office up to the present time. The fee for membership is one dollar annually, but the payment of five dollars, or of one dollar annually for five years, secures a life membership, after which there are no dues. In the establishment of the Jefferson Medical College Hospital, the Alumni Association played an important part, the first step in that direction being taken at an informal meeting of the association in December, 1872, when the subject was discussed, and fifteen thousand dollars were pledged for the enterprise upon the spot. The history of the hospital, which has been an important agent in securing facilities for clinical demonstrations to students, is given elsewhere.

The original location of Jefferson Medical College was at 518 Prune Street, now Locust Street, where the old Walnut Street prison was in full view on one side, and the paupers' burial-ground, now Washington Square, on another. In 1829 the college was removed to its present location on Tenth Street, where a plain brick building, standing with its gable to the street, was erected. The front portion of the building contained two large lecture-rooms, each capable of seating four hundred and fifty students, with the private apartments of the professors and the janitor. The rear of the building was mainly occupied by two large halls, each over fifty feet in length, the lower of which contained the museum and certain cabinets, while the upper was used for practical anatomy. On the 1st of May, 1845, the building having become too small to accommodate the increasing number of students, alterations were commenced upon it, the plans being furnished by the architect, Le Brun. The building as remodeled had a frontage on Tenth Street of fifty-nine feet. The adjoining lot on the north side, seventy by one hundred feet in area, was purchased, and students entered the building through a gate opening into the lot from Tenth Street. On the rear of the lot, sixty feet back from Tenth Street, was erected an addition, thirty-six feet deep, which contained spacious stairways, and afforded access to the various parts of the college. The front of the building was made to represent a hexastyle, or six-columed portico, the portico being supported by a marble basement, seven feet high, and the whole being crowned with a handsome entablature and pediment. The exterior was then covered with mastic, which was painted a light stone color. This building was an object that attracted the notice of passers-by for many years subsequently, and was represented in a wood-cut on the back of the pamphlets containing the annual announcements of the college. The continued growth of the institution rendered still more space necessary, and accordingly, in the summer of 1881, the main building was remodeled by an extension to the front, taking away the portico and adding a new story, and by constructing new laboratory-rooms. By this extension of the front the seating capacity of each lecture-room has been materially increased. By the addition of another story new and more commodious dissecting-rooms, with every convenient appliance, have been constructed. Large and well-lighted rooms have been provided for practical obstetrics, and for the laboratory of experimental therapeutics and pharmacy, and another with special reference to microscopical work, and for a laboratory of pathological histology and morbid anatomy. In this building are also contained the extensive and valuable Anatomical, Surgical, and Pathological Museums, which are enriched annually by important additions.

The course of instruction extended originally from the beginning of November until the 1st of March. The trustees felt that four months' instruction in the year was not enough, and in 1832 they announced their intention to establish a spring course, to extend from April 1st to June 1st, which would be free to matriculates who should choose to remain after the winter course, but which would not be obligatory. In the establishment of this now general feature of medical instruction Jefferson Medical College claims the precedence. In 1834 the trustees announced that a preliminary course of lectures would be given during the month of October, and that the dissecting-rooms would be kept open during October and March for the benefit of students. The winter term was gradually lengthened to include the month of October, the preliminary lectures being then delivered during the month of September, and in the winter of 1881-82

the further extension of the term was made until the end of March.

It will be perceived that the course of instruction continues through nearly nine months of the year. The important part of the period of study is, of course, the winter session of six months, and this alone is obligatory. As the fees paid for the spring session are remitted to those taking the ensuing winter course, except the registration fee of five dollars, and as the preliminary or fall term is free, the fees paid for the regular term cover almost the whole cost of instruction for nine months.

The winter term, as has been shown above, now lasts about six months. The branches upon which lectures are given are indicated in the list of members of the faculty appended at the close of this article.

Clinical instruction has always been an important feature of the college course, in which, indeed, systematic clinical methods were first inaugurated in this country. While the amphitheatre of the hospital is one of the most commodious in this country, the material of the clinic is most abundant, and represents almost every possible condition of disease or injury. Besides the college clinics, students can attend at the various hospitals and dispensaries, the lectures being so arranged as to afford them the opportunity to do so.

Special instruction is given in clinical medicine, examples being obtained from the abundant material of the daily clinic. A number of hours are devoted also to clinical conferences. During these the advanced student has a case assigned him, which he is required, with the aid of the chief clinical assistant, to examine beforehand, and which, then, with remarks on the diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment, he presents to the class.

All the courses of practical and laboratory instruction are designed for, and obligatory upon, all candidates for the degree who have not taken these courses in other schools, and are free of charge to them, except in the case of practical anatomy, in which the fee for the "dissecting ticket," which is good for the whole scholastic year, is ten dollars.

In the laboratory of practical chemistry the course is made especially one of medical chemistry and toxicology, and includes manipulation, in which students perform for themselves the various experiments set forth in the winter lectures of the professor of Chemistry, qualitative and quantitative analysis, so far as relates to the wants of the medical practitioner, and the examination of normal and abnormal products of the human body.

The laboratory of materia medica and therapeutics contains a complete cabinet of materia medica, preparations, and active principles, for study by each pupil, as the articles are taken up by the professor during the regular term. The room has been also equipped for pharmaceutical instruction, and a systematic course in pharmacy is given.

In the laboratory of histology and physiology demonstrations are given to members of the graduating class, arranged in sections. The course in histology includes the demonstration of the minute anatomy of the alimentary canal and its appendages, the circulatory, respiratory, and excretory apparatus, the general nervous system and special senses, the manner of using the microscope, and the injecting and preparing of tissues.

The physiological teaching embraces the demonstration of the essential phenomena of digestion, absorption, circulation, respiration, excretion, the functions of the nervous system, including the special senses, the reproductive apparatus, and the development of the embryo.

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There is also a large room especially designed for the study of practical surgery, in which all the operations are performed by the student upon the cadaver, under the supervision of a demonstrator and his assistants.

The faculty, desirous of affording every facility for promoting higher medical education, and of conforming to the existing demand for instruction of graduates in medical and surgical specialties, have organized a post-graduate course. This is intended to afford to practitioners of medicine an opportunity to familiarize themselves with microscopical, chemical, pharmaceutical, gynæcological, physiological, laryngological, ophthalmological, electrical, and other

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kinds of manipulations. The classes formed for these courses are entirely separate, and at different hours from those of the undergraduates, but are so arranged that the gentlemen who desire to do so can attend any of the lectures of the regular course.

The post-graduate course of instruction includes five terms of seven weeks each. All the courses are demonstrative, the fees in each branch ranging from ten to twenty dollars.

The candidate for the degree of M.D. must be of good moral character, and at least twenty-one years of age. He must have attended at least two full winter sessions of lectures, of which the last shall have been in this college, and the previous one or more either here or in some regular college (the word *regular* being used in the sense commonly understood by the medical profession) authorized to confer the degree of M.D., and in which anatomy, chemistry, materia medica and therapeutics, physiology, surgery, practice of medicine, and obstetrics are embraced in the curriculum. He must have studied medicine for not less than three years, including private tuition under a regular graduate of medicine or some regular institution, and have attended at least one course of clinical instruction and of practical anatomy. Candidates for graduation will be required to take the dissecting ticket of this college for at least one session. This rule does not apply to those who are already graduates of other recognized schools.

Students who have attended one complete course in a recognized medical school, where attendance on two complete courses is necessary for a degree, and where the same branches are taught as in this, are permitted to become candidates by an attendance here on one full course, the rules of graduation being in other respects observed. They are also exempted from the payment of fees upon attending a second term.

The expenses of instruction are as follows: During the first session, matriculation, paid but once, five dollars; full course of lectures, one hundred and forty dollars; dissection ticket, ten dollars. During the second session, full course of lectures, including laboratory courses, one hundred and forty dollars; graduation fee, thirty dollars,—a total of three hundred and twenty-five dollars for the two years.

A number of prizes are offered to graduates at the annual commencement, those offered for 1884 being as follows:

1. A prize of one hundred dollars, by Henry C. Lea's Son & Co., for the best thesis founded upon original experiments, clinical observation, or superior excellence in scholarship.

2. A gold medal, by R. J. Levis, M.D., one of the surgeons to the Pennsylvania Hospital, for the best report of his surgical clinic by a student of the Jefferson Medical College.

3. A gold medal, by Thomas G. Morton, M.D., one of the surgeons to the Pennsylvania Hospital, for the best report of his surgical clinic by a student of the Jefferson Medical College.

The faculty also offer prizes as follows:

5. A prize of a gold medal or a case of instruments for the best essay on a subject pertaining to obstetrics, etc., or for a specimen well described.

6. The same for the best essay on a subject pertaining to practice of medicine.

7. The same for the best anatomical preparation.

8. The same for the best original research in the chemical laboratory.

9. The same for the best origiual research in the materia medica laboratory.

10. The same for the best essay on a subject pertaining to physiology.

11. The same for the best essay on a subject pertaining to surgery.

12. The same for the best pathological essay or preparation.

All preparations offered to belong to the college museum.

Graduates cannot compete for prizes, and no student can compete for more than one prize.

The faculty is at present constituted as follows:

Professors.—Samuel D. Gross, M.D., LL.D., D.C.L. Oxon., LL.D. Cantab., Institutes and Practice of Surgery (*emeritus*); Ellerslie Wallace, M.D., Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children (*emeritus*); J. M. Da Costa, M.D., Practice of Medicine; William H. Pancoast, M.D., General, Descriptive, and Surgical Anatomy; Robert E. Rogers, M.D., LL.D., Medical Chemistry and Toxicology; Roberts Bartholow, M.D., LL.D., dean, Materia Medica and General Therapeutics; Henry C. Chapman, M.D., Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence; Samuel W. Gross, A.M., M.D., Principles of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; John H. Brinton, M.D., Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; Theophilus Parvin, M.D., LL.D., Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; William Thompson, M.D., Honorary Professor of Ophthalmology; J. Solis Cohen, M.D., Honorary Professor of Laryngology.

Demonstrators.—William S. Forbes, demonstrator of Anatomy; J. Ewing Mears, M.D., demonstrator of Surgery; G. Mason Ward, M.D., demonstrator of Chemistry; Morris Longstreth, M.D., demonstrator of Pathological Anatomy and curator of the museum; Cochran McClelland, M.D., demonstrator of Obstetrics, etc.; Daniel E. Hughes, M.D., demonstrator of Clinical Medicine; S. Mason McCollin, M.D., demonstrator of Pharmacy and Materia Medica; A. P. Brubaker, M.D., demonstrator of Physiology and Histology.

William S. Leffman, janitor.

The board of trustees at present is as follows:

President, E. B. Gardette, M.D.; Secretary, George W. Fairman; Gen. Charles M. Prevost, Hon. Henry M. Phillips, Hon. James R. Ludlow, Hon. James Campbell, Joseph Patterson, Hon. Joseph Allison, LL.D., Hon. Furman Sheppard, B. B. Comegys, Ellwood Wilson, M.D., Henry C. Gibson, Joseph B. Townsend, Daniel B. Cummins.

Hospital Staff.—Surgeons, R. J. Levis, M.D., O. H. Allis, M.D., Joseph Hearn, M.D., J. M. Barton, M.D.; physicians, James C. Wilson, M.D., Oliver P. Rex, M.D., J. T. Eskridge, M.D., J. S. Neff, M.D.; ophthalmic surgeon, Professor William Thomson, M.D.; gynæcologists, F. H. Getchell, M.D., J. Ewing Mears, M.D.; aural surgeon, L. Turnbull, M.D.; pathologist, Morris Longstreth, M.D.

The Alumni Association of the college has the following officers:

President, S. D. Gross, M.D., LL.D., D.C.L. Oxon., LL.D. Cantab.; Vice-Presidents, Ellwood Wilson, M.D., Addinell Hewson, M.D., R. J. Levis, M.D., W. W. Keen, M.D.; Treasurer, Nathan Hatfield, M.D.; Recording Secretary, Thomas H. Andrews, M.D.; Corresponding Secretary, Richard J. Dunglison, M.D.; Executive Committee, Drs. W. B. Atkinson, F. H. Gross, L. K. Baldwin, Oscar H. Allis, James Graham, Theodore Gruel, J. M. Barton, Frank Woodbury, John B. Roberts, T. H. Bradford, E. E. Montgomery, J. T. Eskridge, R. S. Wharton, William S. Little, H. Augustus Wilson, Addinell Hewson, Jr., L. P. Stone, A. F. Kempton, F. P. De Grandchamp, Charles M. Wilson, W. H. Warder, Henry Leaman, O. P. Rex, Orville Horwitz, John Klemet.

The Pennsylvania Medical College.—In the year 1839, by reason of some disagreement in the administration, all the professorships in the Jefferson Medical College were vacated, and in the reorganization Dr. George McClellan, who had been one of its founders, was assigned no part. In his teeming brain was then conceived the project of forming another medical school. His biographer, Dr. S. G. Morton,

says, "With characteristic buoyancy of spirit and determination of purpose, he went in person, accompanied by a single friend, to solicit a charter from the State Legislature. Corporate privileges were, in consequence, granted to an institution entitled 'The Medical Department of Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg.'" The following were elected professors: S. G. Morton, Anatomy and Physiology; George McClellan, Principles and Practice of Surgery; S. Colhoun, Materia Medica and Pharmacy; William Rush, Theory and Practice of Physic; Samuel McClellan, Obstetrics; Walter R. Johnson, Chemistry. The lectures were delivered in the building on Filbert Street, above Eleventh, now occupied by the Hahnemann College. In 1841, Dr. Robert M. Bird took the chair of Dr. Colhoun, deceased. In 1843 the original faculty was dissolved, and the new one was as follows: William Darrach, Theory and Practice of Medicine and Surgery; H. S. Patterson, Materia Medica and Therapeutics; W. R. Grant, Anatomy and Physiology and Chemistry; John Wiltbank, Obstetrics. In 1844, Dr. Washington L. Atlee was elected professor of Chemistry, and in 1845, Dr. David Gilbert was elected professor of Surgery. In 1849 the college was removed to the building, at Locust and Ninth Streets, that had been erected for its occupancy. In 1852, Professor Atlee was succeeded by Dr. John J. Reese; Dr. J. M. Allen was elected professor of Anatomy, and Dr. F. G. Smith professor of Institutes of Medicine. Dr. Patterson died the next year, and Dr. J. B. Biddle took the vacant chair. By the partial reorganization in 1854, Dr. Gilbert was transferred to the chair of Obstetrics, Dr. John Neill was elected professor of Surgery, and Dr. Alfred Stillé professor of Practice. In 1856, Professor Allen resigned on account of ill health, and his place was filled by Dr. T. G. Richardson, who was succeeded in 1858 by Dr. John H. B. McClellan. In 1859 all the professors resigned in favor of the faculty of the Philadelphia College of Medicine, and the two institutions were merged into the Pennsylvania Medical College. In 1861, on account of the confused state of the country, and the desire of many of the professors to enter the medical staff of the army, the college was closed, and has never been reopened.

The Philadelphia College of Medicine, located at the northwest corner of Fifth and Adelphi Streets, was organized about 1846, and at its first commencement, in 1847, graduated eighteen students. The faculty were Jesse R. Burden, president; James McClintock, dean and professor of Principles and Practice of Surgery; Rush Van Dyke, Materia Medica and General Therapeutics; Thomas D. Mitchell, Theory and Practice of Medicine; James Bryan, Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence; Ezra S. Carr, Medical Chemistry; James McClintock, General, Special, and Surgical Anatomy; Frederick A. Fickardt, Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children. In 1853, Dr. Bryan was transferred to the chair of Surgery; Dr. Thomas Spencer was elected professor of Materia Medica and Pathology, *vice* Dr. Van Dyke, transferred to the chair of Practice of Medicine; and Dr. Henry Geiger was elected professor of Obstetrics. From 1847 to 1854 about four hundred students were graduated. In the latter year the college was reorganized, and adopted the code of ethics of the American Medical Association. The following were the officers and faculty under the new *régime:* Hon. Ellis Lewis, M.D., LL.D., president; J. R. Tyson, LL.D., secretary; Dr. George Hewston, professor of Anatomy; Dr. B. Howard Rand, dean and professor of Chemistry; Dr. Henry Hartshorne, professor of the Institutes of Medicine; Dr. Isaac A. Pennypacker, professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine; Dr. James L. Tyson, professor of Materia Medica and General Therapeutics; Dr. Joseph Parrish, professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Dr. Edwin M. Tilden, professor of Surgery. In 1855, Dr. Lewis D. Harlow succeeded Dr. Parrish as professor of Obstetrics. In 1856, Dr. Alfred T. King was elected to the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine, *vice* Dr. Pennypacker, deceased, and Dr. George Dock to the chair of Surgery. In 1857, Dr. King was elected emeritus professor, and his chair was taken by Dr. Hartshorne; Dr. William S. Halsey was elected professor of Surgery, Dr. William H. Taggart, professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, and Dr. James Aitken Meigs, professor of the Institutes of Medicine. In 1858, Dr. William H. Gobrecht was elected professor of Anatomy. In 1859 the college united with the medical department of Pennsylvania College, and the faculty of the Philadelphia College of Medicine became the faculty of the Pennsylvania Medical College, with Dr. Lewis D. Harlow as dean.

The Medico-Chirurgical College was organized as a medical society in the latter part of 1849, at a meeting held at the house of James Bryan, A.M., M.D., at the northeast corner of Tenth and Arch Streets. The society was chartered on the 12th of April, 1850. Its object was stated in its charter to be "the dissemination of medical knowledge, the defense of the rights, and the preservation of the repute and dignity of the medical profession." The number of members at one time aggregated over one hundred. Meetings were discontinued during the late civil war, but on its conclusion were resumed. In accordance with a resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the society in January, 1867, measures were taken to obtain from the Legislature the privilege of appointing or electing professors to lecture on the different branches of medicine, with power to confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine. By an act approved by Governor Geary on the 10th of April, 1877, the charter of the society was amended to grant the privileges asked for. A meeting was held at the house of Dr. George P. Oliver, No. 1430 North Twelfth Street, on the first Saturday in May following, at which the

following faculty for the new college was elected: George P. Oliver, M.D., professor of Surgery; J. Aitken Meigs, M.D., professor of the Institutes of Medicine; J. Solis Cohen, M.D., professor of the Practice of Medicine; Edward Donnelly, M.D., professor of Chemistry; David D. Richardson, professor of Materia Medica; D. D. Clark, M.D., professor of Anatomy; and Samuel Walsh, M.D., professor of Obstetrics. Owing to difficulty in obtaining a suitable building, the college was not opened until the 4th of April, 1881, and in the mean time the faculty underwent great changes owing to withdrawals of some of the professors. The faculty at the opening stood as follows: George P. Oliver, A.M., M.D., president of the college, and professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; George E. Stubbs, A.M., M.D., professor of Anatomy and Clinical Surgery; Charles L. Mitchell, Ph.D., M.D., professor of Chemistry, Sanitary Science, and Medical Jurisprudence; William F. Waugh, professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine; Abraham S. Gerhard, A.M., M.D., professor of Physiology, Pathology, and Clinical Medicine; William Stewart, dean, and professor of Obstetrics, Gynæcology, and Clinical Gynæcology; and Frank O. Nagle, M.D., professor of Materia Medica, Therapeutics, and Clinical Medicine. The faculty remained unchanged until the death of Professor Nagle, in the latter part of January, 1884. The number of students in attendance upon the first session was thirty-one; upon the session of 1882–83, twenty-seven; and upon the session of 1883–84, twenty-four. The college has been located at the southwest corner of Broad and Market Streets ever since opening.

The course of instruction is graded, and extends over three years, known as the Freshman, Junior, and Senior years. Candidates for admission to the college are required to pass a preliminary examination. Attendance of the students at the college is required six hours a day. Examinations are held at the end of each year in the subjects taught in that year, and no student is admitted to the advanced grade until he has passed the preceding one.

The collegiate year embraces a spring or auxiliary literary term of three months, a preliminary or autumn term of one month, and a winter session of six months, the whole comprising a period of ten months.

The auxiliary literary term begins on the first Monday in April, and continues three months, and is designed for those whose qualifications are not sufficient to enable them to rightly comprehend the lectures of the winter session. During this time instruction is given in natural philosophy, botany, physical geography, mental philosophy, principles of English composition, elements of the Greek and Latin languages, mathematics, comparative anatomy and zoology, mineralogy, and geology.

The autumn term begins on the first Monday in September, and continues four weeks, the instruction being preliminary to that of the winter course. The regular winter session begins on the first Monday of October, and continues six months. During this time instruction will be given by didactic lectures on the seven fundamental branches of medicine, together with the various clinics, clinical lectures, and personal instructions. Clinical advantages are abundantly offered to the students, as in the best medical schools in the city. The faculty *personally* conduct daily examinations or "quizzes" of the class, on the subjects of the preceding lectures, thus fixing permanently in the minds of the students the instruction previously given, and at the same time affording them an opportunity of obtaining explanations on any points not thoroughly comprehended. This is considered a very valuable adjunct in the instruction by the faculty.

As an encouragement to diligence, students are allowed to compete for the following prizes: a gold medal, known as the faculty prize, for the best thesis and final examination of all branches; a Beck's histological microscope, awarded by the professor of Chemistry, for the best thesis upon a subject in medical chemistry showing original research; and a gold medal, known as the Oliver Prize, awarded by the professor of Surgery, for the best thesis and final examination in surgery.

The expenses of attendance at the college are as follows: matriculation, paid but once, five dollars; auxiliary literary term (deducted from the fees for the ensuing winter session when tickets for the latter are taken), thirty-five dollars; lecture tickets for the Freshman year, fifty dollars, and for the Junior and Senior years, seventy-five dollars each; tickets for practical pharmacy, in the laboratory, practical chemistry, practical anatomy, histology, pathological histology, and operative surgery (part only being taken each year), each ten dollars.

In order to graduate, the candidate must have attained the age of twenty-one years and be of good moral character. He must have applied himself to the study of medicine for three years, and have attended three regular winter sessions of lectures, the last of which shall have been in this college. He must show the evidence of having taken the different laboratory courses in the college, and of having received practical clinical instruction. He must also show evidence of having dissected two terms, and at least three parts of the body, and of having received instruction in operative surgery and bandaging. He must present to the dean the required evidence of literary proficiency, and of having passed the different examinations of the Freshman and Junior years. He must likewise present a satisfactory thesis on some medical subject, written on one side of thesis paper, and of his own composition and penmanship, and be prepared to defend the same before the faculty.

The Academy of Surgery was organized at a meeting held at the house of Dr. Samuel D. Gross, on the 21st of April, 1879. In addition to Dr. Gross, there were present Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, Dr. Richard J. Levis, Dr. Addinell Hewson, Sr., Dr. T. G. Morton, Dr. William H. Pancoast, Dr. J. H. Brinton, Dr. J. H. Packard, Dr. S. W. Gross, and Dr. J. Ewing Mears. Dr. Hewson was chosen president, and Dr. Mears secretary. A constitution and by-laws, proposed by Dr. Samuel D. Gross, were referred to a committee, and at a subsequent meeting the report of the committee was adopted. A charter was not obtained until the 17th of December, 1879, and permanent officers were not elected until Jan. 5, 1880, as follows:

President, Samuel D. Gross, M.D.; Vice-Presidents, D. Hayes Agnew, M.D., and Richard J. Levis, M.D.; Secretary, J. Ewing Mears, M.D.; Treasurer, William Hunt, M.D.; Recorder, J. B. Roberts, M.D.; Librarian, Oscar H. Allis, M.D.; Corresponding Secretary, Thomas G. Morton, M.D.; Pathological Histologist, Samuel W. Gross, M.D.; Council, John Ashhurst, Jr., M.D., and John H. Brinton, M.D. (with president, secretary, and treasurer as members *ex officio*), and Committee on Publication, John H. Packard, M.D., W. W. Keen, M.D. with the recorder *ex officio*).

The same officers were re-elected in 1883, except that Dr. C. B. Nancrede became recorder in place of Dr. Roberts.

The objects of the academy are "the cultivation and improvement of the art of surgery, the elevation of the medical profession, the promotion of the public health, and such other matters as may come legitimately within its sphere." The society consists of resident, non-resident, corresponding, and honorary fellows. The number of the resident fellows is limited to thirty, of non-resident fellows to fifteen, of native honorary fellows to fifteen, and of correspondent and foreign honorary fellows to ten. Officers are elected by ballot every three years, and are eligible for a re-election. Stated meetings of the society are held on the first Monday of every month except July, August, and September. The council consists of five fellows, including the president, secretary, and treasurer, who report nominations for fellowship, and act as censors. The pathological histologist takes charge of such morbid specimens as may from time to time be presented to the academy, and makes such disposition of them as the academy may direct. An annual address is delivered by a member appointed by the president, embodying an historical sketch of the more important discoveries and improvements in surgery during the previous year, or the subject may be one chosen by the lecturer. Resident fellows pay an initiation fee of ten dollars on admission to the society, and five dollars annual dues thereafter. The academy meets at the College of Physicians.

The Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania is the oldest college in the world regularly organized for the purpose of training women for the medical profession. It was incorporated by an act of the Legislature passed March 11, 1850, its corporate privileges being the same as were granted to the Franklin Medical College of Philadelphia, Jan. 28, 1846, an institution which had but a brief career. The names of the corporators given in the act of the Legislature are William J. Mullen, Henry Gibbons, M.D., William J. A. Birkey, M.D., Robert P. Kane, and John Longstreth. The first board of trustees consisted of twenty-one gentlemen whose names serve to show the high character and standing of those interested in the establishment of the college. They were as follows: Rev. Albert Barnes, Rev. H. S. Porter, Hon. William D. Kelley, Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, Hon. John Bouvier, Hon. George R. McFarlane, William J. A. Birkey, M.D., William J. Mullen, Charles J. Bleck, Joseph T. Bailey, Ferdinand J. Dreer, John Longstreth, Robert P. Kane, James Flowers, James Mott, Benjamin Naylor, William S. Pierce, John Dainty, Thomas J. Mitchell, John Jackson, and George W. Reed. The board of trustees has since been abolished, and the college is under the management of the corporators only, who are at present nineteen in number.

The first session began on the 12th of October, 1850, in a building back of No. 229 Arch Street (old number), which is at present No. 627. The first faculty consisted of the following gentlemen, all of whom were practitioners in high standing: N. R. Mosely, M.D., professor of Anatomy, general, special, and surgical; James F. X. McCloskey, M.D., dean, and professor of the Institutes and Practice of Medicine; Joseph P. Longshore, M.D., professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; C. W. Gleason, M.D., professor of Physiology and Surgery; W. W. Dickeson, M.D., professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; and A. D. Chaloner, M.D., professor of Chemistry. Changes in the faculty for a number of years subsequently were very frequent, and gradually women began to figure in it. Forty students matriculated at the first session of the college, fifty-two at the second, and thirty-one at the third. As the novelty of the innovation wore off the number of students decreased for several years, but there was afterward a recovery and there has since been a steady increase. The number of matriculates for the winter term of 1882–83 was one hundred and twenty-five, and for the spring term following, eighty-five.

The first graduating class numbered eight ladies, whose names were as follows: Susanna H. Ellis, of Pennsylvania; Angenette A. Hunt, of New York; Anna M. Longshore, of Pennsylvania; Hannah E. Longshore, of Pennsylvania; Frances G. Mitchell, of Pennsylvania; Ann Preston, of Pennsylvania; Martha A. Sawin, of Massachusetts; and Phœbe M. Way, of Pennsylvania. The first commencement was held on the 30th of December, 1851, in the Musical Fund Hall.

The session of 1861–62 was omitted by reason of the fact that many of the professors and students were employed in hospitals taking care of sick and wounded soldiers. When the exercises of the college were resumed in the fall of 1862, the location of the institution was changed to rooms in the Woman's

Hospital, on College Avenue, which had been erected but a short time previously. The space thus occupied eventually became needed for hospital purposes, while the increasing number of students required that the college itself should have more room. As the college had received a considerable sum of money by bequest in 1868, and other contributions had also been given, it was determined to erect a separate building for its use on the lot corner of North College Avenue and Twenty-first Street, adjoining that of the Woman's Hospital. The corner-stone of the building was laid on the 1st of October, 1874, and on the 11th of March, 1875, a reception was given within its walls to the friends of the college. On the 15th of March following the building was opened for the instruction of students for the spring term, and it has been occupied ever since. It is a handsome brick edifice, four stories in height, and contains two large lecture-rooms, capable each of seating three hundred students, with large laboratories for chemical and pharmaceutical classes. It has a well-lighted dissecting-room, a museum, and the general equipments of a first-class medical college.

The early days of the college were passed in considerable poverty, but it is now on firm financial standing, and by bequests and gifts has obtained an endowment fund amounting to over one hundred thousand dollars.

An Alumni Association was organized in 1875, and at their third annual meeting the association determined to apply yearly one-half of its surplus funds to the founding of a medical and scientific library for the use of students and alumni of the college, and the other half to the establishment of an educational fund to be used in the interest of the students as the association may at any time direct. The number of alumni up to 1884 was three hundred and fifty.

Instruction is given in the Woman's Medical College in all the branches of study taught in first-class medical institutions. It was among the first colleges in the country to lengthen its winter sessions, and adopt a progressive course of study, with a division of final examinations, and it was the first to make a three years' course of study obligatory,—an innovation that is regarded with much favor. The winter session opens about the 1st of October, and terminates about the middle of March. To this course was added some years ago a spring term, which is mainly devoted to demonstrative and clinical teaching, although lectures are given in special departments of medicine not provided for in the established curriculum of the winter. The spring term is free to every matriculate of the college who has paid for two or more tickets of the preceding winter course. The duration of the spring term is about ten weeks.

Students are given the privilege of being examined at the end of the second winter term in chemistry, anatomy, and physiology, and these examinations, if satisfactory, are final. At the end of the third year they are eligible for examination in their remaining studies.

Students taking a three years' course are expected to attend, during their first year in college, the lectures on chemistry, anatomy, physiology, and histology, with materia medica and general therapeutics, and one other branch, the choice of which may be optional; to take a complete course in practical anatomy, with work in the chemical, pharmaceutical, and physiological laboratories; and to attend the clinics of the Woman's Hospital. During the second winter attendance upon all the required lectures of the course is necessary, with the exception of materia medica and the optional branch, provided these have been included in the studies of the first winter. In the second spring, work in the pathological laboratory is required preparatory to attendance upon lectures on pathology during the following winter; opportunity is also afforded for attendance upon such lectures and special courses of instruction as students may elect. During the third winter, attendance upon all the required lectures of the course is necessary, with the exception of those branches in which the final examinations have been passed.

The faculty, however, earnestly recommend a four years' course of study, with a still further division of the final examinations.

Weekly clinics are given before the students at the Woman's Medical Hospital, where over four thousand patients are treated yearly. Students are also admitted to the clinical lectures in the Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia (Blockley) Hospitals, and by private arrangement classes may obtain instruction in the wards of the latter hospital, which offer rare opportunities for clinical study.

The daily clinics at Wills Hospital for diseases of the eye, at the eye and ear department of the Philadelphia Dispensary, and at the Orthopædic Hospital and Infirmary for nervous diseases are all accessible, and the Philadelphia Lying-in Charity also affords advantages to students.

As a substitute for the supervision of a private preceptor, a student may attend upon the weekly examinations of the winter, upon the spring course, and upon the clinics as provided for in the schedule, each period of attendance upon these courses being considered as equivalent to a year of private preceptorship. There are no additional fees incurred by adopting this plan, and the faculty, after a trial of several years, are inclined to think it is a valuable addition to the educational facilities provided by the college.

A reading-room is open to students at the college at all hours, a tax of fifty cents being charged in order to keep up the supply of periodicals. The college also possesses a library which is composed of standard medical works.

Three scholarships, founded and endowed by Ann

Preston, M.D., Robert J. Dodd, M.D., and Hannah W. Richardson, M.D., friends of the college, are available to well-educated and deserving young women between the ages of twenty and thirty years. The value of the scholarships is two hundred and forty dollars for the first and second years, and one hundred and twenty dollars for the third year.

Advantages are offered to students in the matter of hospital appointments. Four graduates are appointed annually to serve as assistants to the resident physician in the Woman's Hospital. The large out-practice connected with this hospital is mainly in the hands of these assistants. The competitive examination for the position of *interne* in the Blockley Hospital has recently been opened to women, and an alumnus of the class of 1883 has already been a successful candidate. The New England Hospital for Women and Children, in Boston, and the Nursery and Child's Hospital, of Staten Island, also make appointments of female physicians, for which graduates of this college may become candidates.

In order to graduate, candidates must have attained the age of twenty-one years.

They must have been engaged in the study of medicine for three years, and during two years of that time must have been either private pupils of a respectable practitioner of medicine or special students of the college.

The candidate must have attended at least two full courses of lectures on the following subjects: chemistry and toxicology, anatomy, physiology and hygiene, materia medica and general therapeutics, principles and practice of medicine, principles and practice of surgery, obstetrics, gynæcology. At least one full course must have been attended in this college. The candidate must also have taken one course of lectures on histology and on pathology; two courses in practical anatomy, having made at least one creditable dissection of each of the usual divisions of the cadaver; one course in the chemical, the pharmaceutical, and the pathological laboratories, and in the practical use of the microscope. Satisfactory evidence of having attended at least two courses of clinical lectures in the departments of general medicine, surgery, obstetrics, and gynæcology is also required from each candidate for graduation.

The application for the degree must be made six weeks before the close of the session. The candidate, at the time of application, must exhibit to the dean evidence of having complied with the above requirements; she must also present the graduation fee and a thesis of her own composition and penmanship on some subject which has direct application to medicine. Clinical reports in some one department of medicine will be accepted in lieu of a thesis.

The fees are as follows: matriculation, paid but once, five dollars; professors' tickets, each fifteen dollars; practical anatomy ticket, ten dollars; graduation fee, thirty dollars. The whole cost of two or more courses of lectures and graduation, exclusive of laboratory and incidental expenses, is two hundred and sixty-five dollars. A limited number of poor, but deserving, young women are admitted annually on the payment of thirty-five dollars for the session, exclusive of registration, matriculation, and graduation fees. Such arrangements are strictly confidential. All applicants for admission to the college as beneficiaries, or upon the scholarships, are required to undergo an examination of their knowledge of the elements of a fair English education in order to determine their fitness to enter upon the study of medicine.

The present faculty consists of the following professors, lecturers, and demonstrators:

Rachel L. Bodley, M.D., professor of Chemistry and Toxicology; Clara Marshall, M.D., professor of Materia Medica and General Therapeutics; Frances Emily White, M.D., professor of Physiology and Hygiene; Anna E. Broomall, M.D., professor of Obstetrics; James B. Walker, M.D., professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine; Hannah T. Croasdale, M.D., professor of Diseases of Women and Children; William H. Parrish, M.D., professor of Anatomy; William W. Keen, M.D., professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery; J. Gibbons Hunt, M.D., professor of Histology and Microscopy; C. Newlin Pierce, D.D.S., professor of Dental Physiology and Pathology; Horatio C. Wood, Jr., M.D., lecturer on special subjects; Edward T. Bruen, M.D., lecturer on Pathology; Charles K. Mills, M.D., lecturer on Nervous Diseases; Louis A. Duhring, M.D., lecturer on Dermatology; Alexander W. MacCoy, M.D., lecturer on Laryngoscopy and Rhinoscopy; Emilie B. Du Bois, M.D., demonstrator of Anatomy and instructor in Materia Medica; Lucius E. Sayre, Ph.G., demonstrator of Pharmacy; Henry F. Formad, M.D., demonstrator of Pathology; Ida E. Richardson, M.D., instructor in Practice of Medicine; Anna M. Fullerton, M.D., instructor in Obstetrics; Lena V. Ingraham, M.D., instructor in Surgery; Rachel L. Bodley, M.D., dean.

The Philadelphia Polyclinic and College for Graduates in Medicine is the result of a number of informal meetings held at the houses of prominent physicians of the city, which had for their object the consideration of the need of establishing an institution where graduates of medicine would be enabled to continue their studies, and where, at the same time, the poor and indigent sick might receive good medical attention free of charge. The charter for the college was obtained on the 19th of March, 1883. The incorporators were fifteen in number, and were mostly the physicians instrumental in promoting the enterprise.

The first location of the college was the four-story building which is occupied at present, at the corner of Locust and Thirteenth Streets. As no difficulty had been anticipated in procuring a charter, the building was rented before the charter received the Governor's signature, and the first clinic was given on the 12th of March, 1883. Since the time of its inception the college has had a high degree of prosperity, and its present class numbers over fifty persons. The teaching is entirely clinical and demonstrative, and members of the class can thus personally examine cases of disease and acquire skill in the use of surgical instruments. They are also given opportunities to perform laboratory work in chemistry, histology, anatomy, surgery, and electro-therapeutics.

The number of cases treated at the college from the first clinic, on the 12th of March, to Dec. 31, 1883, was three thousand three hundred and one. Provision is made for the hospital treatment of operative and emergency cases.

The faculty consists of the following well-known medical gentlemen of the city, all of whom are among the incorporators of the college. The subjects taught in the college are indicated in connection with the names:

Clinical, Operative, and Orthopædic Surgery, Thomas G. Morton, M.D., surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital and to the Philadelphia Orthopædic Hospital; Diseases of the Throat and Chest, J. Solis Cohen, M.D., honorary professor of Laryngology in Jefferson Medical College, physician to the German Hospital; Applied Anatomy and Operative Surgery, John B. Roberts, M.D., surgeon to St. Mary's Hospital; Diseases of the Ear, Charles H. Burnett, M.D., aural surgeon to the Presbyterian Hospital; Diseases of the Mind and Nervous System, Charles K. Mills, M.D., neurologist to the Philadelphia Hospital and to the Howard Hospital; Clinical Chemistry and Hygiene, Henry Leffmann, M.D.; Diseases of the Skin, Arthur Van Harlingen, M.D., consulting physician to the Philadelphia Dispensary for Skin Diseases; Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children, Edward L. Duer, M.D., obstetrician to the Philadelphia Hospital and gynæcologist to the Presbyterian Hospital; Diseases of the Eye, George C. Harlan, M.D., surgeon to Wills Eye Hospital and eye and ear department of Pennsylvania Hospital; Genito-Urinary and Venereal Diseases, J. Henry C. Simes, M.D., assistant surgeon to the Episcopal Hospital; Pathology and Microscopy, Frederick P. Henry, M.D., physician to the Episcopal Hospital; Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children, William H. Parrish, M.D., obstetrician to the Philadelphia Hospital, and professor of Anatomy in the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania.

There are also the following assistants:

Clinical, Operative, and Orthopædic Surgery, A. B. Hirsh, M.D., Chief of Clinic, John F. Bower, M.D.; Diseases of the Throat and Nose, A. W. MacCoy, M.D., Chief of Clinic, S. Solis Cohen, M.D., C. Jay Seltzer, M.D., Max J. Stern, registrar; Diseases of the Chest, Caspar Morris, Jr., M.D., Demonstrator of Physical Diagnosis, H. Mifflin, M.D., Chief of Clinic; Applied Anatomy and Operative Surgery, L. W. Steinbach, M.D., Chief of Clinic, A. A. G. Starck, M.D., B. N. Keely, M.D., L. W. Steinbach, M.D., Demonstrator of Anatomy, Surgery, and Fracture Dressings; Diseases of the Ear, Robert H. Hamil, M.D.; Diseases of the Mind and Nervous System, Max H. Bochroch, M.D., Louis Brinton, M.D., William M. Angney, M.D.; Clinical Chemistry and Hygiene, William Beam, B.A., Jul. L. Salinger, Helen D. Abbott; Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children, Washington H. Baker, M.D., Chief of Clinic; Diseases of the Eye, H. F. Hansell, M.D., Chief of Clinic, C. F. Clark, M.D.; Genito-Urinary and Venereal Diseases, Thomas R. Neilson, M.D., Chief of Clinic; Pathology and Microscopy, S. Solis Cohen, M.D., Demonstrator; House Physician, J. S. Watt, M.D.

The government of the institution is vested in a board of seven trustees, consisting of the following gentlemen: R. J. Levis, M.D., president; Henry Leffman, M.D., treasurer; John B. Roberts, M.D., secretary; J. Solis Cohen, M.D., Thomas G. Morton, M.D., Charles K. Mills, M.D., and George C. Harlan, M.D. The college is sustained by the tuition fees, which are as follows:

Operative and orthopædic surgery and applied anatomy, $25; diseases of the throat and chest, and general medicine, $25; diseases of the ear and eye, $25; diseases of the mind and nervous system, $15; clinical chemistry, pathology, and microscopy, $25; diseases of the skin, syphilis, and genito-urinary surgery, $25; obstetrics and diseases of women and children, $25; single branches of the double departments, $15; general ticket for all branches during an entire year, $300.

There is no fee for matriculation, nor other extra charges, and any number of branches may be taken. There are six sessions, each six weeks in length, and thirty-six hours of instruction are given in each department during each session. All tickets, however, are good for six consecutive weeks. In 1883–84 the fall session began on the 1st of October, the early winter session on the 12th of November, the mid-winter session on the 7th of January, the late winter session on the 18th of February, the early spring session on the 1st of April, and the late spring session on the 13th of May.

The Hahnemann Medical College was organized in the summer of 1867, but was an offshoot from the Homœopathic Medical College of Philadelphia, and afterward became consolidated with it. It therefore dates its origin from the time of organization of the latter college, and from that fact claims to be the oldest medical college in the world which teaches the distinctive method of medical treatment originated by Samuel Hahnemann. The first college of the kind started in the country was the North American Academy of Homœopathic Medicine, located in Allentown, Lehigh Co., Pa., and organized in the year 1835. Its teaching was conducted in the German language, and consequently it never became a popular institution, and soon ceased to exist. The Homœopathic Medical College of Philadelphia was the next in succession. The question of establishing a homœopathic college had been frequently discussed at the meetings of the Central Bureau of the American Institute of Homœopathy, and at a meeting held at the house of Dr. Jacob Jeans, of this city, in February, 1848, at which Dr. Jeanes, Dr. Constantine Hering, and Dr. Walter Williamson were present, it was determined to petition the Legislature, then in session, for a charter. The charter was passed by the Legislature on the 8th of April, 1848, and granted the proposed college all the powers and privileges of other medical colleges in the State.

The first board of officers consisted of the following gentlemen: President, Hon. Anson V. Parsons; Managers, Stillwell S. Bishop, Henry J. Boller, Edward M. Davis, Daniel Deal, Lawrence Johnson, John M. Kennedy, Francis King, Henry P. Lloyd, Benjamin R. Miller, John Sartain, Isaac S. Waterman, Haworth Wetherald; Recording Secretary, Francis Sims; Corresponding Secretary, Walter Williamson; Treasurer, William Rhoads.

The faculty consisted of the following gentlemen: Jacob Jeans, M.D., professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine; Caleb B. Matthews, M.D., professor of Materia Medica; Walter Williamson, M.D., dean, professor of Midwifery and Diseases of Women and Children; Francis Sims, M.D., professor of Surgery; Samuel Freedley, M.D., professor of Botany; Matthew Semple, M.D., professor of Chemistry; William A. Gardiner, M.D., professor of Anatomy; Alvan E. Small, M.D., professor of Physiology and Pathology.

A dispensary was opened at the same time in con-

nection with the college, for the purpose of affording the poor of the city an opportunity for homœopathic medical treatment, and for furnishing material for clinics. This was the first homœopathic dispensary started in Philadelphia.

The first course of lectures began on the 15th of October, 1848, in the building in the rear of 627 Arch Street, which subsequently, for several years, was occupied by the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania. The first class numbered fifteen students, of whom only six graduated. In 1849 the college removed to Filbert Street, above Eleventh, to a stone building formerly occupied by the Pennsylvania Medical College, and there it has remained up to the present time.

Several reorganizations took place in the faculty, the first being at the close of the session of 1859–60, when the trustees declared all the chairs of the college vacant, and proceeded to the appointment of another corps of teachers, in which some of the old faculty were retained, but in which the majority were new men. One result of this action was the establishment of the New York Homœopathic Medical College, by Dr. Jacob Beakley, one of the members of the deposed faculty, and others. The reorganized faculty consisted of Matthew Semple, M.D., professor of Chemistry and Toxicology; William A. Gardiner, M.D., professor of Surgery; Silas S. Brooks, M.D., professor of Homœopathic Institutes and Practice of Medicine; George R. Starkey, M.D., professor of Anatomy; A. H. Ashton, M.D., professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; J. K. Lee, M.D., professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; and O. B. Gause, M.D., professor of Physiology and Pathology.

Resignations from the faculty occurred frequently for various reasons, among them being financial stringency in the affairs of the college, but the vacancies were refilled until the close of the session in 1864. The lectures were delivered to the students up to the close of the term, and they dispersed to their homes without knowing that the college was in danger. The crisis soon followed, and the college was again without a faculty. In 1865 a new charter was obtained, entirely reorganizing the institution and making it a stock company, with permission to increase the capital sixty thousand dollars for hospital purposes. The board of trustees were now elected by the stockholders, and not by the corporators as previously, and these trustees elected the faculty for one year. The first faculty under the new organization commenced their instructions with the session of 1864–65, and consisted of the following gentlemen: Constantine Hering, M.D., professor of Homœopathic Institutes and Practice of Medicine; Ad. Lippe, M.D., professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; Charles G. Rane, M.D., professor of Special Pathology and Diagnosis; H. N. Guernsey, M.D., professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; George R. Starkey, M.D., professor of Surgery; Pusey Wilson, M.D., professor of Anatomy; Charles Heerman, M.D., professor of Physiology; Lemuel Stephens, M.D., professor of Chemistry and Toxicology.

At the close of the session of 1866–67 a rupture occurred, which produced important results. The majority of the stock of the company had fallen into the control of one person, whose dictum was at times displeasing to members of the faculty. When a resolution was adopted to abolish the chair of Diagnosis and Special Pathology, Dr. Constantine Hering resigned, and was followed in his course by several others of the professors. Another reorganization ensued upon these withdrawals, and during the summer changes took place which again compelled a reorganization. The last course of lectures delivered under the management of the stock company was in 1868 and 1869, when the faculty stood as follows: Adolph Lippe, M.D., professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics; A. R. Morgan, M.D., professor of Homœopathic Institutes, Special Pathology, and Practice of Medicine; Henry N. Guernsey, M.D., professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; William L. Arrowsmith, M.D., professor of Physiology and General Pathology; Malcolm Macfarlan, M.D., professor of Surgery and Surgical Pathology; Robert J. McClatchey, M.D., professor of Anatomy; and George G. Percival, A.M., M.D., professor of Chemistry and Toxicology. Thirty-one degrees were conferred at the conclusion of this last course.

In the mean time, in the summer of 1867, the seceders from the old institution had obtained the charter of the Washington Medical College of Philadelphia, chartered May 2, 1853, which had not been organized, and by the act of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Philadelphia, July 17, 1867, the name was altered to the Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia. The new college organized with the following faculty: Constantine Hering, M.D., professor of Institutes and Materia Medica; Charles G. Rane, M.D., professor of the Practice of Medicine, Special Pathology, and Diagnosis; John C. Morgan, M.D., professor of Surgery; Henry Noah Martin, M.D., professor of Midwifery, Diseases of Women and Children, and Lecturer on Clinical Medicine; Richard Koch, M.D., professor of Physiology, General Pathology, and Microscopic Anatomy; A. R. Thomas, M.D., professor of Anatomy; Lemuel Stephens, M.D., professor of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Toxicology. During the session Dr. O. B. Gause succeeded Dr. Martin as professor of Midwifery, Dr. Martin becoming professor of Clinical Medicine only.

The board of corporation trustees were Jason L. Fennimore, president; John A. Marshall, secretary; John W. Sexton, treasurer; Edward S. Lawrence, George W. Troutman, John T. Midnight, Augustus W. Koch, M.D., F. E. Boericke, M.D., Howard Malcom, D.D., Byron Woodward, James B. Read, and T. Guilford Smith.

The first location of the college was at 1307 Chestnut Street, where the second and third stories were specially fitted up for the purpose. In the spring of 1868 a removal was made to a building better suited for the requirements of a medical school at 18 North Tenth Street.

HAHNEMANN MEDICAL COLLEGE.

In the spring of 1869 arrangement was made by the trustees of the Hahnemann Medical College by which the charter and building of the Homœopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania were obtained, and by act of the Legislature on April 2, 1869, the two charters were merged and the colleges consolidated, the title of the younger college being retained as the title of the consolidated institutions. Since the time of union the college has been prosperous. In the present year (1884) arrangements have been made for the erection of a new college building on Broad Street above Race, west side, on a lot extending to Fifteenth Street, on which it is also intended to erect the Homœopathic Hospital.

The college derives its support from the fees paid by students. During the twenty-one years of the existence of the old college six hundred and thirty-seven students graduated. The largest class graduated from the consolidated college was in 1881, and numbered eighty-three. No alumni association has yet been organized. Among the alumni of the college are some of the most eminent homœopathic practitioners of the country, and members of the faculty of homœopathic colleges in Cleveland, Chicago, Cincinnati, and other cities.

The present faculty consists of the following gentlemen:

A. R. Thomas, M.D., dean, professor of Anatomy; Lemuel Stephens, M.D., professor of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Toxicology; O. B. Gause, M.D., registrar, professor of Obstetrics, Puerperal Diseases, and Diseases of Infants; E. A. Farrington, M.D., professor of Institutes and Materia Medica; B. F. Betts, M.D., professor of Gynæcology; Pemberton Dudley, M.D., professor of Physiology and Sanitary Science; R. J. McClatchey, M.D., professor of Pathology and the Practice of Medicine; Charles M. Thomas, M.D., professor of Operative and Clinical Surgery and Ophthalmology; John E. James, M.D., professor of Principles of Surgery and Clinical Surgery; Charles Mohr, M.D., lecturer on Clinical Medicine and Physical Diagnosis; R. B. Weaver, M.D., demonstrator of Anatomy and Lecturer on Surgical Anatomy; J. N. Mitchell, M.D., demonstrator of Obstetrics; W. H. Keim, M.D., demonstrator of Surgery; W. C. Goodno, M.D., lecturer on Microscopy, Histology, and Morbid Anatomy; W. S. Boney, A.M., demonstrator of Chemistry and Lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence; William H. Bigler, M.D., lecturer on Diseases of the Eye and Ear (Spring Course); E. M. Howard, M.D., lecturer on Botany and Pharmacy; W. B. Trites, M.D., lecturer on Venereal Diseases (Spring Course).

The Hahnemann Medical College gives instruction in all the lines of study taught in the best medical institutions, but in the courses on the institutes of medicine, materia medica, and the practice of medicine the doctrines peculiar to homœopathy are taught.

The regular winter session opens about the 1st of October, and continues until the beginning of March. In order to become a student, the candidate must present to the dean a certificate signed by his private preceptor, as evidence of qualification for the study of medicine. Graduation is possible at the close of the second year, but the college in 1869 prepared a three years' graded course, which scholars are earnestly recommended to adopt and which the majority of them do pursue. The Hahnemann College claims priority over other medical schools in the establishment of this course, though the Woman's Medical College was the first to make a three years' course obligatory. Students attending on the three years' course have the advantage of special lectures on microscopy, pharmacy, histology, hygiene, physical diagnosis, dermatology, neurology, morbid anatomy, and diseases of children during the winter term, and extended clinical instruction is also afforded. A supplementary course during the spring months embraces all the special lectures of the graded course alluded to above, and is especially recommended to students in the two years' course, as it enables them to complete the full round of studies as given in the three years' course. A post-graduate course has been established for the benefit of physicians of the old school who are anxious to compare the two systems of practice.

Stated medical, gynæcological, surgical, and eye and ear clinics are held throughout the year, and the dispensary and hospital supply abundant material for the same.

The means and facilities for illustrating the lectures are well selected and abundant. The laboratory is well supplied with apparatus and material; the museum contains over 4200 specimens, including a large number of models in wood, wax, and *papier maché*, over 2000 mineralogical and botanical specimens, besides nearly 1000 plates and diagrams. The library comprises about 2000 volumes, and is open to the students, under proper regulations, free of charge. Suitable rooms are provided for the demonstration of anatomy, surgery, gynæcology, midwifery, chemistry, and microscopy.

Students may become candidates for graduation who have attended two full sessions of instruction in

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this institution; or one full session only, in case they have attended one or more regular sessions in another accredited medical college. The candidate must be at least twenty-one years of age, of good moral character, have applied himself to the study of medicine for three years, have been a private pupil for two years of a respectable practitioner of medicine, and must have attended at least one course each of practical anatomy and practical surgery. When applying for examination, he must exhibit his tickets to the dean of the faculty, or give other satisfactory evidence of having complied with the regulations. He must, by the 1st of February, deliver to the dean of the faculty an essay or thesis on some medical subject in his own handwriting, composed by himself, correctly written, and must be able to defend it during the examination. On the presentation of his thesis the graduation fee must be paid; if he is rejected said fee will be refunded. A student who has attended one or more courses in a medical college in which homœopathy is not taught must attend one full session of instruction in this institution, and, in addition to the general average required for graduation, he must obtain a two-thirds average in the following departments: homœopathic institutes and materia medica, practice of medicine, and clinical medicine.

The fees charged for instructions are as follows: matriculation, $5; one full session of lectures, two years' course, $100; one full session of lectures, three years' graded course, $70; one full session for graduates of other accredited medical colleges, $50; practical anatomy and surgery, each $10; practical obstetrics and chemistry (optional), each $10; spring course, $15; graduation, $30.

Pharmacy.—In the early days of this city every family had its medicine-chest, and if a case of illness was considered too serious for the remedies that it contained, the country doctor was called into service. Our ancestors dosed themselves liberally, and the manufacturers of quack nostrums drove a thriving trade. Physic and surgery were rough and rude, and, especially in the remoter regions, were strangely mingled with superstitions and prejudices. All except the highly-educated people used charms for remedies, and believed in witchcraft and "spells." If the treatment was not scientific, it was at least heroic. In fevers, the patient was sweated with tea of snake-root, purged with a decoction of walnut bark, and his blood purified with drenches of "Indian physic," or blood-root; if a child had worms, he was given salt, copperas, or pewter filings; the croup, known as the "bold hives," and probably very fatal to young children so much exposed, was treated with "wall-ink" (probably "soot-tea") and the juice of roasted onions or garlic. The sufferer from itch was plastered with brimstone ointment. For the very common infliction of rheumatism, custom prescribed sleeping with feet to the fire, and anointing the affected parts with unguents made of rattlesnake-oil or the fat of ground-hogs, raccoons, polecats, wolves, or bears. The erysipelas was supposed to be curable by the application of the blood of a black cat, and consumption released its victims if they took enough of the syrup of elecampane and spikenard. The woodsmen were frequently bitten by snakes, but their lives could always be saved by cutting the snake into pieces and applying the fragments to the wound; a decoction of chestnut leaves and bark must also be laid on, and an infusion of white plantain in milk taken internally. If there was swelling and inflammation the surgeon resorted to cupping and leeching, and if hunters were bitten in the woods they at once scarified the wound and filled the gashes with gunpowder.

The Philadelphia College of Pharmacy was organized in 1821 to correct abuses which had crept into the drug trade, and which were in a large degree owing to the lack of proper knowledge among apothecaries. The immediate cause of action was the adoption by the University of Pennsylvania of a series of resolutions having in view the elevation of the trade, and providing for the conferring of the degree of Master of Pharmacy upon such druggists in the city and liberties of Philadelphia as were desirous and deserving of obtaining it. On certain conditions, apprentices who had served for three years under such druggists were also awarded the degree; but a further resolution required that future candidates should have attended at least two courses of lectures on chemistry, materia medica, and pharmacy at the University.

This attempt to regulate the drug business from the outside was naturally resented by members of the trade, and the hours at which the lectures above referred to were delivered being in the middle of the day rendered them very inconvenient for the attendance of apprentices. In the first or second month of the year 1821, in a conversation between Peter K. Lehman, a druggist doing business on the south side of Market Street, below Tenth, and Henry Troth, a thriving wholesale druggist, in business on Market Street, at what is now known as 630, Mr. Lehman expressed his dissatisfaction with the action of the University. Mr. Troth suggested, in reply, that a better plan for the needed improvement in the trade would be the establishment of an institution by the druggists themselves, where they could train their apprentices and themselves, and supervise the qualifications of those seeking admission to the business. The suggestion struck Mr. Lehman favorably, and the friends resolved to agitate the subject among their brethren in the business. This conversation may be regarded as the first step which led to the foundation of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy.

The project, when broached, met with a favorable reception among nearly all of the druggists of the city, and as a result a meeting of the trade was held in Carpenters' Hall on the 23d of February, 1821, at

which Stephen North presided, and a committee was appointed to draw up a plan of proceedings. The committee made their report at a meeting held March 13th, following, and recommended the formation of a college of apothecaries, where information of a character beneficial to the trade should be obtained, and the qualities of articles brought into the drug market should be investigated. It was further proposed to start a school of pharmacy in connection, in which lectures should be delivered especially for the instruction of those desiring to become druggists and apothecaries. The report was adopted, and a constitution prepared by the committee was signed by the persons present. At the first stated meeting, held two weeks later, officers were elected, Charles Marshall being chosen president. Mr. Marshall was born in Philadelphia in 1744, and had been engaged in the drug business on the south side of Chestnut Street, above Second Street. He had retired from business previous to his elevation to the presidency of the new college.

On the 12th of December, 1823, he resigned his office on account of old age, and William Lehman was chosen his successor.

The charter for the college received the Governor's signature March 30, 1822, the name of the institution having previously been changed from the College of Apothecaries to the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy.

Instruction was begun in the school in the fall of 1821, the first professors being Gerard Troost, M.D., professor of Chemistry, and Samuel Jackson, professor of Materia Medica. The instructors up to the present time (1884) have been as follows, all those who held positions previous to the present occupants being now deceased:

Gerard Troost, M.D., professor of Chemistry from 1821 to 1822; Samuel Jackson, M.D., professor of Materia Medica from 1821 to 1827; Benjamin Ellis, M.D., professor of Materia Medica from 1827 to 1831; George B. Wood, M.D., professor of Chemistry from 1822 to 1831, when he was elected to the chair of Materia Medica, made vacant by the death of Dr. Ellis, and continued till 1835; Franklin Bache, M.D., professor of Chemistry from 1831 to 1841; R. Eglesfeld Griffith, M.D., professor of Materia Medica from 1835 to 1836; William R. Fisher, professor of Chemistry from 1841 to 1842; Joseph Carson, M.D., professor of Materia Medica from 1836 to 1850; William Procter, Jr., professor of Theory and Practice of Pharmacy from 1846 to 1866, and from 1872 to 1874; Robert P. Thomas, M.D., professor of Materia Medica from 1850 to 1864; Edward Parrish, professor of Materia Medica from 1864 to 1866, and professor of Pharmacy from 1866 to 1872; Robert Bridges, M.D., professor of Chemistry from 1842 to 1879, and emeritus professor of Chemistry from 1879 to 1882; John M. Maisch, Ph.G., professor of Materia Medica and Botany from 1866 to the present time; Joseph P. Remington, Ph.G., professor of the Theory and Practice of Pharmacy from 1874 to the present time; Samuel P. Sadtler, Ph D., F.C.S., professor of Chemistry since 1879.

In addition to the above-mentioned professorships, Frederick P. Power, Ph.G., Ph.D., was appointed professor of Analytical Chemistry several years ago. He was succeeded a short time since by Henry Trimble, Ph.G.

The first location of the college was on Seventh Street, where the gas-offices now stand. It remained there but a few years, when removal was made to a building on Filbert Street, west of Seventh, and adjoining the east side of Lippincott's publishing-house. In 1867 this building was found inadequate to meet the wants of the college, and removal was again made to the present building, at 145 North Tenth Street, which had been erected for the purpose. In 1880 the properties in the rear of the building were purchased, and in 1881 an addition was put up, which nearly doubled the capacity of the college. The new building extends from Tenth Street on the front to Elwyn Street in the rear, and is four stories in height. The first floor contains the library, with over three thousand volumes, the museum, the chemical laboratory, and a number of offices. The second floor is principally occupied by the pharmaceutical lecture-room and the pharmaceutical laboratory, and the third by the materia medica and the chemical lecture-rooms. On the fourth floor the Alumni Association and the Zeta Phi and Zeta Phi Alpha societies have their quarters.

The American Journal of Pharmacy, published since 1825 under the direction of the college, has been one of the leading agencies in developing and improving the profession of pharmacy in the United States, and is regarded throughout the country by druggists as of the highest authority on the subjects on which it treats. Its offices are next door to the college building.

Previous to the year 1840 pharmacists were not recognized in the pharmacopœial conventions, but a resolution adopted in that year requested the co-operation of this college in the final work of revision and publication. In 1850 the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and other kindred institutions in the country were invited to send delegates to the decennial convention, and in that revision and the revisions of 1860 and 1870 pharmacists were well represented. In the last convention (in 1880) fourteen out of the committee of twenty-five to whom was intrusted the work of revision were pharmacists. In producing this recognition of the claims of educated pharmacists to be equal co-laborers in what may be regarded as among the highest legislative proceedings known to the medical profession, the zealous cultivation of the pharmaceutical science and art by the college has been a chief agent. A direct result of the "Pharmacopœia" has been the "United States Dispensatory," emanating from Drs. Wood and Bache, formerly professors in the college, aided in the pharmaceutical department by a former president, Daniel B. Smith, and, in later editions, in the chemical by a former professor of Pharmacy, Dr. Robert Bridges, and in the pharmaceutical articles by the late Professor William Procter, Jr. The present pharmaceutical and chemical editors of the work are the professors of Pharmacy and Chemistry in the college.

The record which the college has made for itself is one of which it is deservedly proud, and it has become famous as an instructor in its special branches wherever pharmacy is practiced. From the establishment of the college to the close of the term of 1882–83 seven thousand one hundred and nine students had matriculated, and two thousand and forty-nine had received the degree of Graduate in Pharmacy (Ph.G.). Its students are drawn from every State in the Union, and from Canada, Cuba, and various parts of Europe. An alumni association was organized in 1864, the secretary of which has his headquarters in the college building.

The object of the college, as set forth by the charter, is the "cultivating, improving, and making known a knowledge of pharmacy, its collateral branches of science, and the best modes of preparing medicines and their compounds, and the giving of instruction in the same by public lectures."

The officers of the college are a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary, and a treasurer, elected annually, who, with sixteen trustees, eight of whom are elected each half-year, constitute a board to control the affairs of the college. The college is maintained by the initiation fees, amounting to five dollars in each case, and the annual dues from members, which are also five dollars each. Members are active, honorary, and corresponding, the last two having the same rights and privileges as the first, except that they are not allowed to vote or hold office. Honorary members are chosen for their superior knowledge of materia medica, pharmacy, and the collateral branches of science. The school of pharmacy in connection with the college is maintained by the fees paid by students.

The course of instruction to students in the school of pharmacy occupies two years. In place of a repetition of the same lectures to the same class, a radical change was begun in 1879, the course being divided into a more elementary first course, called the junior, and a more advanced, called the senior. The fees to be paid by students are: for matriculation, five dollars; for each course of lectures, twelve dollars; and for final examination, fifteen dollars. The term begins with the 1st of October, and lasts until the end of February. The subjects treated of are materia medica and botany, at present under the charge of John M. Maisch, Ph.D., the dean of the faculty; the Theory and Practice of Pharmacy, under Professor Joseph P. Remington, Ph.G.; and Chemistry, under Professor Samuel P. Sadtler, Ph.D., F.C.S. A recently-introduced feature in the instruction is the reviews of the lectures, which are conducted by assistant professors appointed from the alumni, one assistant being granted to each of the three professors. The fee for the review for junior students is two dollars, and for senior students three dollars, in each of the three branches. Practical instruction is given to the student in pharmaceutical manipulations in the new pharmaceutical laboratory, which contains accommodations for over one hundred students, and is supplied with tables, each of which has a gas, water, and steam-bath attachment. Each student is assigned one of these tables. Before proceeding to work a short lecture is delivered by the professor describing the operation to be attempted and the difficulties likely to be encountered, after which the student is expected to make a practical application of his knowledge upon the subject. In the senior year considerable attention is devoted to extemporaneous pharmacy. The fee for the junior course is fifteen dollars, and for the senior twenty dollars, and for special students taking both courses twenty-eight dollars.

Instruction in practical chemical annalysis has been inaugurated for the senior class, and in the more elementary principles of chemical manipulation for the junior, Professor Henry Trimble being in charge. The course for each class comprises twenty lessons, and the fee is twelve dollars for each course. A school of practical chemistry, also under Professor Trimble's direction, is held in the commodious and well-lighted laboratory on the first floor, and students are there given an opportunity to obtain a thorough knowledge of chemical analysis and pursue more advanced scientific research. The fee for daily practice is fifteen dollars for the first month and ten dollars for every month thereafter, and practice during portions of the week is charged at reduced figures, according to the time employed.

As many of the students are so busily engaged in stores as to have but a limited amount of time for study, partial examinations are allowed, which give them the opportunity to pass on two or more studies, leaving the rest for examination at some other time.

Several prizes have been offered to encourage students to diligence in their work at the college. The "Procter prize," founded by Professor William Procter, Jr., deceased, and consisting of a gold medal and certificate, is awarded annually to the most meritorious graduate in pharmacy, provided such a reward is, in accordance with the terms laid down by the founder, thought to be deserved. A prize of one hundred dollars is awarded to the student preparing the best thesis upon graduating, if deserved. An "alumni gold medal," established, as its name implies, by the alumni in 1871, is awarded to the student passing the best examination for the degree of Graduate in Pharmacy. A prize of one hundred dollars has been awarded since 1880 for the best thesis presented by a member of the graduating class, if worthy. A number of other prizes of more or less value have also been offered to the completion of ambitious students. There are two scholarships, known as the Peter Williamson and Robert Bridges scholarships.

A candidate for graduation must be at least twenty-one years of age, have attended two courses of each

of the lectures delivered in the college, or one course in the college and one other in some other respectable school of pharmacy, the last of which, however, must be in the college. He shall have served out an apprenticeship of at least four years with a person engaged in, and qualified to conduct, the drug business. The time actually spent in attendance upon lectures and practical class instruction in pharmacy, and practical class instruction in chemistry in the college will be considered part of the time of apprenticeship required for graduation, it being understood that but two courses in the college shall be counted in nine and a half months. The student must also produce in his own handwriting an original dissertation on some subject in materia medica, pharmacy, chemistry, or one of the related brances of science. He must also be recommended by the committee on examinations and the professors jointly, and if his application be finally approved of by the board of trustees, he shall be entitled to receive the degree of Graduate in Pharmacy (Ph.G.). The degree of Master of Pharmacy is conferred on candidates who are graduates of the college of not less than five years' standing, who have been engaged in the practice of pharmacy for the period named since graduation, and who are of good moral character and professional repute. An original dissertation of a satisfactory character must also be presented to the dean of the faculty by the candidate upon some subject connected with the branches taught in the college, together with suitable specimens of the results of his investigations. The qualifications of the candidate are then passed on, in the same manner as in the case of a student seeking to graduate.

The Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery was an outgrowth of the Philadelphia College of Dental Surgery, an institution which was chartered in May, 1850, and had its headquarters in a room at the corner of Twelfth and Chestnut Streets, which is now (1884) occupied by S. S. White's dental depot. This college commenced operations in 1852, and completed four sessions, during which time there were sixty-three graduates. A rupture having occurred between the faculty and the trustees, because the latter had conferred honorary degrees on three students who, the faculty thought, were undeserving of the distinction, the faculty resigned and the college ceased to exist. The charter for the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery was then obtained, April 3, 1856, mainly through the efforts of the gentlemen composing the old faculty. The first board of corporators contained the following gentlemen: Henry C. Carey (president), William Elder, Washington L. Atlee, Elisha Townsend, George Truman, Benjamin Malone, Alfred Stillé, Daniel Neall, Thomas Wood, William W. Fouché, John R. McCurdy, and T. S. Arthur. At the first meeting of the corporators, held at the house of Elisha Townsend, on the 6th of April, 1856, the following faculty was elected:

Elisha Townsend, D.D.S., M.D., professor of Operative Dental Surgery and Special Dental Pathology; Robert Arthur, D.D.S., M.D., professor of the Principles and Practice of Dental Surgery; J. F. B. Flagg, D.D.S., M.D., professor of Anatomy and Physiology; Ely Parry, D.D.S., M.D., professor of Chemistry, Materia Medica, and Special Therapeutics; Thomas L. Buckingham, D.D.S., M.D., professor of Mechanical Dentistry.

The first location of the college was at 528 Arch Street. In 1863 it was removed to the southeast corner of Tenth and Arch Streets, and about 1868 was established in its present location, at the corner of Twelfth and Filbert Streets. Its career has been prosperous but uneventful. From the time of its commencement to 1883, it has graduated one thousand and thirty-four students. The number of students in attendance annually averages between fifty and sixty. Owing to the development of the dental science, higher educational standards have been adopted from time to time, and many radical changes in the curriculum of the school have been made in the past five years.

The regular session of the college, at first four months in duration, has been lengthened to five months; preparatory spring and fall sessions, four months in all, have been instituted, with daily lectures by the professors of the several branches taught.

The winter session commences about the 1st of October, and continues until the 1st of March. Twenty lectures are delivered during each week, embracing the following branches: chemistry and metallurgy, mechanical dentistry, materia medica and therapeutics, dental physiology, dental pathology and operative dentistry, physiology and general pathology, and anatomy and surgery.

The fall course commences about the 1st of September, and continues until October. It is free of charge to students entering for the regular or winter session. The spring course, which is also free to matriculates, commences on the third Monday in March, and continues until the 1st of June. Practical lectures are given daily in both these courses, and students are enabled to acquire knowledge and skill in the clinic rooms and mechanical and chemical laboratories.

Seven hours are daily spent by the student in actual practice, under the supervision of the professors and demonstrators.

At all times there is a large excess of patients presenting themselves for treatment at the clinics, so that each student has ample opportunity of acquiring practical knowledge and skill in manipulation. The clinics of the college are open and in active operation ten months in the year.

The present large, commodious, and centrally located college building affords more space than any building in the world, perhaps, devoted to the purposes of a dental college.

In addition to the anatomical room and chemical laboratory, it contains a large, light, airy, and fully-equipped dental laboratory and two commodious and

brilliantly-lighted operating-rooms, fitted up with comfortable operating-chairs and all necessary appliances, and also two large, well-lighted, and well-ventilated lecture-rooms.

In order to graduate, the candidate must be twenty-one years of age. He must have studied under a private preceptor at least two years, including his course of instruction at the college. Attendance on two full courses of lectures at the regular, or winter, sessions in this institution is required, but satisfactory evidence of having attended one full course in any respectable dental or medical school is considered equivalent to the first course of lectures in this college. Also, satisfactory evidence of having been in the study and practice of dentistry for five years previous to entering is considered equivalent to the first course of lectures.

The candidate for graduation must prepare a thesis upon some subject connected with the theory or practice of dentistry. This thesis, accompanied by the graduation fee, must be handed to the dean, with his application for the degree, on or before the first day of February. He must treat thoroughly some patient requiring all the usual dental operations, and bring such patient before the professor of Operative Dentistry. He must also take up at least one artificial case, and after it is completed, bring his patient before the professor of Mechanical Dentistry. He must also prepare a specimen case, to be deposited in the the college collection. He must also undergo an examination by the faculty, when, if found qualified, he is recommended to the board of trustees, and, if approved by them, receives the degree of Doctor of Dental Surgery.

The fees are: matriculation, $5; for the course (demonstrators' ticket included), $100; diploma, $30. For the spring and fall courses $50 are charged, which is deducted from the fee for the following regular session.

The present faculty is as follows: Henry Leffman, M.D., professor of Chemistry and Metallurgy; J. Ewing Mears, A.M., M.D., professor of Anatomy and Surgery; C. N. Pierce, D.D.S., professor of Dental Physiology, Dental Pathology, and Operative Dentistry; Henry C. Chapman, M.D., professor of Physiology and General Pathology; Wilbur F. Litch, M.D., D.D.S., professor of Mechanical Dentistry, Materia Medica, and Therapeutics; J. N. Farrar, M.D., D.D.S., lecturer on Operative Dentistry; Eben M. Flagg, D.D.S., lecturer on Mechanical Dentistry.

There is, besides, a large corps of demonstrators and assistant demonstrators, and fifteen clinical instructors. Prof. Samuel D. Gross, M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., is the president of the college.

The Philadelphia Dental College and School of Oral Surgery.—During the winter of 1862 the subject of establishing a dental college in addition to the the one already existing was earnestly and carefully considered by a number of dentists and gentlemen outside of the profession, and it was determined to petition the next Legislature for a charter for such an institution. Accordingly, a bill having this end in view was introduced into the Legislature in the early part of 1863, and, notwithstanding the fact that petitions were brought against its passage by those who feared that such a result might be detrimental to the college then in existence, it passed both houses, and, in April, 1863, received Governor Curtin's signature.

The first session of the new institution began on the first Monday of November following, and continued until the close of the ensuing year. The original location was at 108 North Tenth Street, the same which is occupied at present. The first faculty consisted of the following gentlemen, all of whom, with the exception of the last, were well-known dentists of the city: C. A. Kingsbury, M.D., D.D.S., professor of Dental Physiology and Operative Dentistry; Thomas Wardle, D.D.S., professor of Mechanical Dentistry and Metallurgy; J. H. McQuillen, M.D., D.D.S., dean of the faculty and professor of Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene; J. Foster Flagg, D.D.S., professor of the Institutes of Dentistry; and Henry Morton, A.M., professor of Chemistry. George W. Ellis, D.D.S., was demonstrator of Operative Dentistry, and William Gorges demonstrator of Mechanical Dentistry. The first board of trustees was composed of the following gentlemen, who had been active in promoting the establishment of the college: Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., president; R. Shelton Mackenzie, D.C.L., secretary; and Peter F. Rothermel, William Dulty, George J. Ziegler, M.D., George Williams, Robert L. McClellan, D.D.S., Oliver Lund, Colson Heiskell, S. Fisher Corlies, James L. Claghorn, Lewis D. Harlow, M.D., Charles S. Beck, M.D., and Henry Crumsley.

The college was organized without any endowment, and had to rely on the fees received from tuition for its maintenance. During the first session the faculty were compelled to pay seven hundred dollars each for the privilege of delivering a course of lectures to a class of eleven students. This money was cash advanced, and did not include the cost of appliances, valuable specimens, and apparatus belonging to the individual members of the faculty, nor the loss of time from their practice. In the second term they fared better, the assessment being only fifty dollars apiece. Subsequently the college was self-sustaining. From various sources it acquired in each succeeding year specimens and apparatus, and, in anticipation of the eighth session, the faculty made additions and improvements to the institution which cost four thousand dollars. They lectured that year without compensation. A move has lately been made by members of the Alumni Association looking toward the establishment of an endowment fund, which has met with some success.

The number of graduates in 1864, at the end of the

first session, was six; in 1865, fifteen; in 1866, fifteen; in 1867, thirty; and in 1883, fifty-five. The number of students during the session of 1882-83 was one hundred and seventy-nine.

Of the original faculty, only one member, Professor J. Foster Flagg, holds a chair in the college at present. For several years after the school was started changes in the faculty were numerous; but as the institution became fixed on a more solid basis their frequency diminished. On Dr. McQuillen's death, in the spring of 1879, the faculty was reorganized. The corps of demonstrators has been increased from time to time as the college increased in ability to provide for them. The present faculty is as follows:

Henry Morton, A.M., Ph.D., emeritus professor of Chemistry; C. A. Kingsbury, M.D., D.D.S., emeritus professor of Dental Histology and Operative Dentistry; S. H. Guilford, A.M., D.D.S., professor of Operative and Prosthetic Dentistry; J. Foster Flagg, D.D.S., professor of Dental Pathology and Therapeutics; Henry I. Dorr, M.D., D.D.S., professor of Clinical Dentistry; S. B. Howell, M.D., D.D.S., professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica; Thomas C. Stellwagen, M.D., D.D.S., professor of Physiology; James E. Garretson, M.D., D.D.S., professor of Anatomy and Surgery, surgeon to the Oral Clinic; M. H. Cryer, M.D., D.D.S., anatomist, demonstrator of Oral Operations; S. Eldred Gilbert, D.D.S, demonstrator of Clinical Dentistry; Clarence Archer, D.D.S., demonstrator of Clinical Dentistry; John B. Roberts, M.D., demonstrator of Anatomy; S. Parker Cottrell, M.D., D.D.S., assistant surgeon and physician to the Oral Clinic and Dispensary Service; Claude Browning, M.D., second assistant physician to Dispensary Service; L. Greenbaum, D.D.S., demonstrator of Chemistry and Materia Medica.

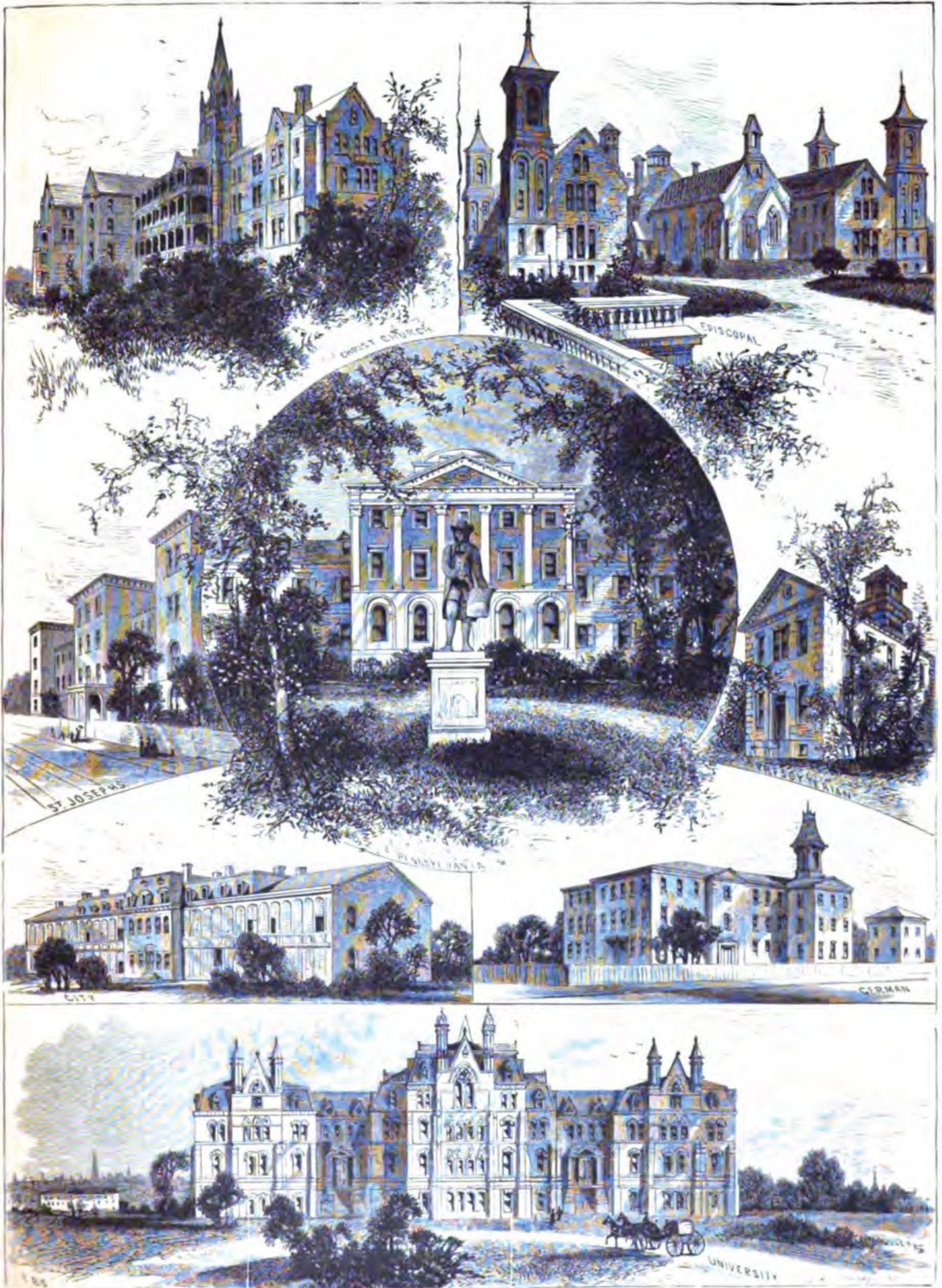
The manner of instruction in the college is by means of a laboratory and clinical teaching joined with lectures. The laboratory of the college is a great workshop, seventy feet in length, fully equipped with lathes, furnaces, forge, rolling-mill, vulcanizers, celluloid apparatus, and other articles of necessity or convenience in dental work. In the laboratory the student commences his career, and receives instruction and demonstration in every process of value known to mechanical dentistry. The clinical department consists of two large operating-rooms, furnished with forty comfortable chairs, which can be connected, when desired, with batteries for the use of the electro-magnetic engine or mallet. There is also a separate room for the administration of anæsthetics and the extraction of teeth.

In order to obtain a degree, a student must have had two years' private tuition and have attended two winter courses of lectures in a reputable dental or medical college, the last of which shall have been passed in the institution itself. The college provides spring and fall courses of study, which are regarded as equivalent to private tuition. The regular course commences on the 1st of October of each year, and lasts until the end of February of the next. The fees for the spring, fall, and winter courses, including the demonstrations, is one hundred dollars, and for the spring and fall courses alone, fifty dollars. The matriculation fee is five dollars, and a diploma thirty dollars.

A hospital of oral surgery was established in connection with the college three years ago, of which Dr. James E. Garretson became surgeon in charge. It was established with a view to founding a pure specialty in the field of medicine, having as its field the study and treatment of all surgical conditions of the mouth, jaws, face, throat, and associate parts, inclusive of dental diseases. Students who desire to obtain a certificate of graduation in this department are required to attend a three years' course of study and take degrees both in medicine and dentistry. A dispensary service, which is medical and surgical at large, is held in the north lecture-room of the college every day at noon.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.

Quarantine Hospitals.—Philadelphia being a place which could only grow up in its earlier years by immigration, the natural increase of the settled population being limited, it was found necessary at an early period to regulate the reception of persons who came in ships. The accommodations for passengers were small. The necessities of storing cargoes were more important than the accommodation for persons brought over. Long voyages, poor ventilation, and improper food produced among the persons closely crowded into the cabins of small vessels fevers and other dangerous sicknesses. The evil made itself appear at a very early period, so that in 1700 the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania passed "An act to prevent sickly vessels coming into this government." By this act, among other things, it was directed that unhealthy or sickly vessels or vessels coming from unhealthy or sickly places should not come nearer than one mile to any town or port of this province or territories without bills of health, and that they should not land goods or passengers without license. Under this law no place was provided to which sickly persons could be removed from vessels arriving near the port of Philadelphia. The object seemed to be to quarantine them on board the vessels, and to keep there the healthy, although they were in constant danger of infection from the sick. Therefore there was great temptation to remove sick persons secretly to the shore in order that their fellow-passengers who were well might gain their liberty. Under this practice dangerous diseases were taken into the settled portions of the city and county, and epidemics were assisted. Some provision was made before 1726 for the establishment of a hospital. George Warner, who arrived in 1726, came on board of a vessel in which the smallpox was raging on the arrival at Philadelphia. He says that the people on shore assembled and ordered the vessel off. The ship retired to the legal one mile distance, and the passengers were landed near the Swedes' Church, Gloria Dei. One Barnes, who received them, led them by a circuitous route through swamps and forests and high streets, to the Blue House Tavern, South Street. This was upon the property, at Tenth Street, after-



PRINCIPAL HOSPITALS IN PHILADELPHIA.

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ward occupied by the Emlens as a country-seat, and called Lebanon, which became the Lebanon Tavern. Here the passengers were kept until they had recovered from the smallpox. Then they were conducted to the Blue Anchor Tavern, afterward the Boatswain and Call, at the corner of Front Street and the Drawbridge. This refuge at the Blue House was temporary, and fell into disuse.

In 1742, Lieutenant-Governor George Thomas sent a message to the Assembly in which he said the most substantial German inhabitants of the province had joined in a petition to him, in which they set forth "that for want of a convenient house for the reception of such of their countrymen as on their arrival here labored under diseases contracted in a long voyage, they were obliged to continue on board the ships which brought them, where they could get neither attendance nor conveniences suitable to their condition, from whence many have lost their lives." The Governor recommended the erecting of a proper building at the public expense, "not only to accommodate such as shall arrive hereafter under the same circumstances, but to prevent the future importation of diseases into this city, which has more than once felt the bad effects of them." Upon this the Assembly resolved that a committee should be appointed to procure a piece of ground suitable for a pest-house. They purchased Fisher's Island, containing three hundred and forty-two acres, with some buildings. Some negroes who belonged to the plantation were also purchased as appurtenant to the tract upon it, costing altogether seventeen hundred dollars. So, probably this was the first occasion upon which the province of Pennsylvania became the owner of slaves. John Fisher was the owner of the island which was originally composed of the Sayamensing and Schuylkill Islands, but which had in effect become one by the dwindling away of the stream which divided them. The purchase was made by Joseph Harvey, Thomas Tatnal, Joseph Trotter, James Morris, and Oswald Peel. They were directed, by a subsequent act of Assembly passed in 1743, to hold the ground in trust for the use of the province of Pennsylvania, and forthwith the name of the island was changed to Province Island.

Some of the buildings already upon the island, and six acres of ground nearest the Delaware, were reserved for immediate use, and for a site for a new hospital or pest-house. The rest of the land was authorized to be leased. Under this act authority was given to the Lieutenant-Governor or any two justices of the peace to order all sick and infectious persons imported into the province to be transported to the island for nursing, physic, maintenance, etc. The cost of such attendance was assessed upon the importer, master, or owner of the vessel in which the sick persons were brought. This was an easy method of collecting the hospital dues from persons of responsibility. The owners or persons paying the charges were granted authority to collect the hospital charges from the effects of the passengers, if they had any. The temporary arrangement by which buildings on Province Island were occupied for hospital purposes were soon found to be insufficient. In 1750 the trustees were ordered to, as soon as conveniently they could, "build pest-houses on that island to the value of one thousand pounds." In 1774 a new act of Assembly "to prevent infectious diseases being brought into this province" was passed. Under this statute provision was made for the appointment of the keeper of the hospital erected on Province Island, whose duty it was also to take care of the sick inmates. Vessels bound to Philadelphia which brought more than forty passengers, or which had on board sick persons, or which came from some infected port, were prohibited from coming nearer to the city than Little Mud Island until after examination and permit by a proper officer. Vessels were to be inspected by this officer and a skillful physician or physicians. There were also provisions as to the number of passengers allowed to a vessel, the space they should occupy, the character of the food that should be supplied them, and other matters of importance, as well as to the health of passengers as in preventing the spread of infectious diseases which they might bring with them. To Province Island, in 1763, were sent the Indians who had fled from the fury of the Paxton "boys." Fears were entertained that they were in danger there, and the Council in the latter part of December ordered that "three flats and three small boats should be sent without delay to the Province Island for the use of the Indians that they might, on any intelligence of the approach of the rioters, make their escape, till more effectual measures should be fallen upon for their protection."

In November, 1775, Dr. Duffield and Dr. Rush made an arrangement on behalf of the crews of the Pennsylvania armed boats, by which it was agreed that the overseer would attend to the sick and wounded, and "furnish them with provisions, drink, and wash for them, at the rate of ten shillings per week for each man, and two shillings for firewood." The two physicians attended at the pest-house every other day. In February, 1777, Fergus Purdon was appointed steward of the Province Island Hospital, upon an allowance of twenty-six dollars per month. After the Declaration of Independence Province Island began to be called State Island. An act was passed March 25, 1780, to authorize the striking of one hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit, for the support of the army, and authority was given to the President of the State and the Council to sell State Island, and to appropriate the money realized toward the redemption of the loan. The sale took place, and the ground was divided into lots.[1] The sales were made out of

[1] The following persons were purchasers in 1781: John Telles (or Selles), for John Holker, consul-general of France, John Bromberger,

the surplus ground upon the island outside of the reservation for the hospitals. Those buildings remained for some years. In September, 1783, the health-officer was notified by Council to secure supplies for the bedding there. Repairs were made in 1783 by Gunning Bedford. In 1790, George Bryan, Samuel Miles, and Peter Dehaven were appointed trustees of "that part of Province Island which belongs to the State, and of the hospitals thereon." In 1794, Governor Mifflin recommended to the Legislature the adoption of a better system for the preservation of the public health than had yet been adopted. The result was the passage of a general health law, the establishment of a health office, with twenty-four inspectors, appointed by the mayor and corporation of the city and justices of the Northern Liberties and Schuylkill. There was a health officer and a consulting physician and a resident physician, who was to remain constantly at the pest-house. These officers composed the Board of Health, and they were specially directed to put the hospitals on State Island in a condition of repair.

The yellow fever of 1797 tested the power of the Board of Health to deal with infectious diseases with such a strain that it was evident that the system was by no means perfect. The authority of the Legislature was again appealed to, and in 1798 the Board of Health was again reconstructed, with more extensive jurisdiction. The buildings at State Island, and others that were authorized to be built, were directed to be used for hospitals and store-houses, to be known as "the Marine Hospital of the Port of Philadelphia." During the fever of the previous year the Wigwam property, on Race Street and Schuylkill Front [now Twenty-second], had been used for a yellow fever hospital, and was known at one time as "the Hospital of the French Republic," and in 1797 was the City Hospital. The old Board of Health was abolished, and in its stead was erected a new corporation, called "the Managers of the Marine and City Hospital." They were to have the general powers of the old board, with authority to levy a hospital tax, regulate the length of quarantine, to borrow money for public use in case of emergency, and to do other needful things. The twelve managers were to be appointed, as the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Philadelphia, and the justices of the peace of Southwark, Moyamensing, and Northern Liberties. In 1799 these managers bought a piece of ground on Tinicum Island, on the Delaware, north of Darby Creek, about ten miles from the city. The plot was bounded by Darby Creek, Plumb Hook Creek, and the Delaware River, and was in the jurisdiction of the county of Delaware. The original plan was that the buildings should consist of a steward's house, fifty feet square and three stories high, on the right and left of which were to be the lazaretto buildings for the diseased and convalescent, each sixty feet long by twenty-two wide. At convenient distances, on the same line, were apartments for the resident physician, quarantine-master, and other houses. Subsequently other buildings were erected, including a temporary lodging-house for emigrants who were not sick. Adjoining the lazaretto the United States government has established an inspection station, occupying about nine acres of ground, a building for the storage and examination of goods, and warehouses in which property can be placed which is brought in sickly vessels, in case it shall be necessary to detain them. Little Tinicum Island lies in front of the lazaretto, and the channel between is a good place for anchorage, and has the additional advantage of being out of the general course of river traffic, which is east of Little Tinicum. Surrounded by fine shade-trees, and open to the breezes from the Delaware River, the quarantine station is cool and attractive in summer, and by its natural advantages compensates, in some degree, for the detention which passengers by vessels are sometimes compelled to undergo.

The Board of Health was reorganized in 1806. It was to consist of five members, appointed annually by the Governor of Pennsylvania, two of whom might be physicians. It was requisite that three of the members should reside in the city, one in Southwark, and one in Moyamensing. The Governor also appointed a quarantine-master to reside at the lazaretto, a resident physician at the same place, and a consulting and health officer to reside at Philadelphia. This body made a very material change in the system connected with the management of health affairs. By act of Jan. 29, 1818, the Board of Health was reconstructed and directed thereafter to be composed of twelve members. Of this number, City Councils were to elect six, Commissioners of Northern Liberties two, Penn township one, Southwark one, Moyamensing one, and Kensington one, annually. Under this act the Governor of Pennsylvania appointed the lazaretto physician, port physician, health officer, and quarantine-master, who, as to the manner of discharging their duties, were under direction of the Board of Health.

Various changes have been made in the health laws from time to time. In 1882 the power of appointing the principal remained with the Governor, but members of the Board were elected by City Councils.

PORT PHYSICIANS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Name	Month	Date
Dr. Thomas Graeme,[1] in office	———	—, 1718
Dr. Zachary Lloyd, appointed	Sept.	14, 1741
Dr. Thomas Bond, appointed	Sept.	22, 1741
Dr. James Hutchinson, consulting	———	—, 1790
Dr. Benjamin Rush, resident	———	—, 1790
Dr. James Mease, resident	———	—, 1795
Dr. Samuel Duffield, consulting	———	—, 1795
Dr. James Hall, appointed	———	—, 1799
Dr. Samuel Duffield, appointed	Jan.	27, 1800

Philip Wager, Francis Baily, George Hobacker, John Wilcox, Maj. William Armstrong, Elijah Weed, Joseph Allston, George Henry, Charles Miller, William Turnbull. The full amount of these sales amounted, as reported in 1782, to £117,381 4s. 11d. Continental.

[1] See 1 C. R., 524. Dr. Graeme died Sept. 4, 1772, aged eighty-four.

Dr. John Syng Dorsey, appointed ———— —, 1813
Dr. Alexander Knight, appointed April 15, 1814
Dr. Josiah Stewart, appointed July 24, 1827
Dr. William Carll Brewster, appointed March 21, 1831
Dr. John A. Elkinton, appointed March 26, 1836
Dr. Isaac N. Marselis, appointed Feb. 9, 1839
Dr. Henry D. Dietrich, appointed March 5, 1845
Dr. William Henry, appointed Dec. 14, 1848
Dr. David Gilbert, appointed Feb. 6, 1852
Dr. J. Howard Taylor, appointed Feb. 16, 1855
Dr. Eliab Ward, appointed May 31, 1856
Dr. S. F. Brown, appointed March 9, 1858
Dr. John D. Trenchard, appointed Jan. 30, 1861
Dr. H. Ernest Goodman, appointed Jan. 21, 1867
Dr. Walter Atlee Hoffman, appointed Feb. 11, 1873
Dr. Philip Leidy, appointed Oct. 7, 1874
Dr. Thomas B. Reed, appointed Nov. 8, 1882
Dr. Philip Leidy, appointed Nov. 13, 1882
Dr. Robert H. Allison, appointed ———— —, 1883

LAZARETTO PHYSICIANS FOR THE QUARANTINE STATION AT TINICUM, ON THE RIVER DELAWARE, IN PENNSYLVANIA.

From the Philadelphia Directories.

Dr. Michael Lieb, appointed Sept. 19, 1800
Dr. Nathan Dorsey, appointed ———— —, 1805
Dr. George Buchanan, appointed July 4, 1806
Dr. Edward Lowber, appointed ———— —, 1808
Dr. Isaac Hiester, appointed ———— —, 1809
Dr. Thomas Mitchell, appointed May 27, 1813
Dr. Joel B. Sutherland, appointed May 1, 1816
Dr. George F. Lehman, appointed March 4, 1817
Dr. Joshua W. Ash, appointed March 29, 1836
Dr. Wilmer Worthington, appointed Feb. 9, 1839
Dr. Jesse W. Griffiths, appointed April 5, 1842
Dr. Joshua Y. Jones, appointed March 5, 1845
Dr. James S. Rich, appointed Dec. 14, 1848
Dr. T. J. P. Stokes, appointed ———— —, 1854
Dr. Henry Pleasants, appointed Feb. 16, 1855
Dr. J. Howard Taylor, appointed May 31, 1856
Dr. L. S. Filbert, appointed March 18, 1858
Dr. D. K. Shoemaker, appointed Jan. 30, 1861
Dr. Thomas Stewardson, appointed May 21, 1864
Dr. George W. Fairlamb, appointed May 3, 1865
Dr. William S. Thompson, appointed Jan. 21, 1867
Dr. J. Howard Taylor, appointed Aug. 11, 1870
Dr. D. K. Shoemaker, appointed Nov. 4, 1873
Dr. W. T. Robinson, appointed ———— —, 1878
Dr. D. K. Shoemaker, appointed ———— —, 1879
Dr. W. T. Robinson, appointed ———— —, 1880

QUARANTINE-MASTERS FOR THE LAZARETTO STATION, TINICUM.

Thomas Egger, probably in office ———— —, 1800
Capt. William Lake, in office April —, 1809
Christopher O'Conner, in office May 1, 1816
Capt. Thomas Moore, in office May 19, 1818
Henry Kenyon, in office Aug. 16, 1819
Joseph M. G. Lescure, in office March 31, 1831
Stephen Horne, in office March 29, 1836
Benjamin Martin, in office Feb. 9, 1839
Alexander McKeever, in office April 6, 1842
Capt. John H. Cheney, in office March 13, 1848
William V. McKean, in office Feb. 12, 1852
Matthew Van Dusen, Jr., in office ———— —, 1854
Jacob Pepper, in office Feb. 16, 1855
Lewis R. Denin, in office March 9, 1858
Robert Gartside, in office Jan. 20, 1861
Nathan Shaw, in office April 15, 1864
Thomas O. Stevenson, in office April 20, 1867
Robert Gartside, in office Feb. 28, 1870
Dr. John H. Gihon, in office Aug. 11, 1870
Dr. A. W. Mathews, in office ———— —, 1874
Dr. C. C. V. Crawford, in office ———— —, 1879
Horace R. Maneely, in office June 5, 1883

The United States Naval Asylum[1] and the United States Naval Hospital (the latter of quite recent erection) are on the site of the old Pemberton mansion, occupying a tract between the Gray's Ferry road, Bainbridge Street, Sutherland Avenue, and the Schuylkill River. The place was known as the "Plantation," and British officers, under Lord Howe, occupied it, when, in 1777, the owner, James Pemberton, was at Winchester, Va., where he had been banished. James Pemberton left behind him a plucky and loyal wife, Phœbe Pemberton, who wrote several fiery letters to Howe, protesting against the depredations upon her farm by his troops. The property passed out of the hands of the Pembertons into those of the Abbott family, and in 1826, Surgeon Thomas Harris, of the United States navy, was authorized by Mr. Southard, then Secretary of the Navy, to purchase it for seventeen thousand dollars. The house, as we see by the pictures that have been preserved, was then a small and cosey family mansion of the colonial type, the front door reaching to the cornice below the dormer-roof, and the square balustrade above the roof commanding a long vista of the Schuylkill. The money that satisfied the purchase was derived from the naval fund, and an unexpended balance of fifty thousand dollars from the Marine Hospital fund. These moneys were mainly the accumulation of the assessment of twenty cents a month laid upon each person in the naval service. The legislation upon the subject dates back to 1810, when Congress passed the act appointing the Secretaries of the Navy, the Treasury, and of War a board of commissioners of naval hospitals, and gave them large powers of action. During the year 1826 the old hospital at the navy-yard (now all swept away) was abandoned, and the mansion on the Schuylkill was occupied in its place. Of this hospital Dr. Harris had charge, and continued there until 1833, when the asylum building was nearly finished. Among his patients were the late Admiral Farragut, Twiggs (who was afterward killed at the storming of Chapultepec), Bainbridge, Hull, Levy, Izard, Newell, Ogden, Howard, Philip Voorhees, Engle, and Mercer,—some of the greatest naval fighters of the United States. The new asylum building was commenced in 1827, when Dr. Harris and Mr. Strickland were commissioned to superintend it. Dr. Harris was a native of Pennsylvania, and was surgeon of the United States sloop-of-war "Wasp" when she defeated and captured the English ship "Frolic" in the gallant action of Oct. 18, 1812.

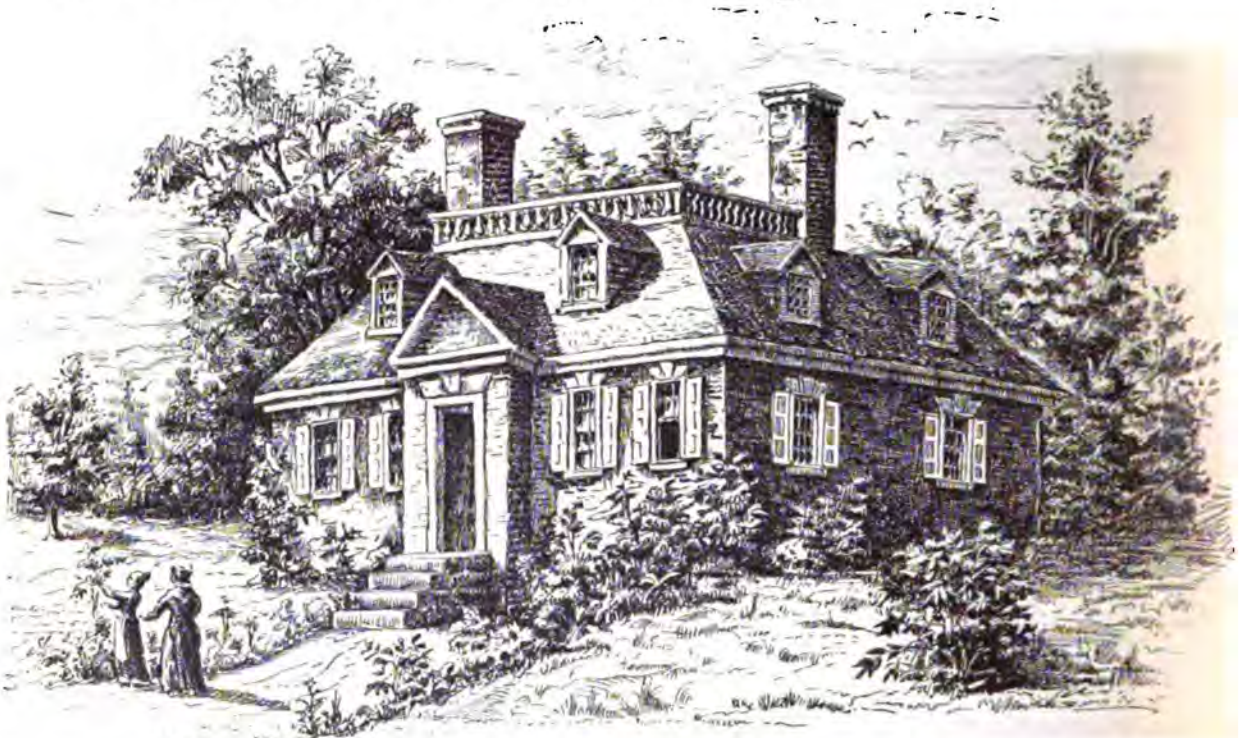
During the cholera period of 1832 he was conspicuous for his active general practice, as well as for his attention to his naval duties. In 1832 the asylum was under roof, and as the hospital fund had been exhausted, Congress made a considerable appropriation to complete it. In 1833 the powers of the commissioners of hospitals were transferred to the Secretary of the Navy, and the asylum building was occupied, although it was by no means completed. The edifice and the land have cost two hundred and twelve thousand six hundred dollars, of which four-ninths were appropriated by Congress, and the rest came from the hospital fund. It faces nearly east, and is constructed of a grayish-white marble, with a granite basement. It is three hundred and eighty feet in length, and consists of a centre, with a high, broad flight of marble steps and imposing abutments and a marble colonnade and pediment in the bastard classic style, which was all the fashion at the period of its

[1] The main facts are derived from "Some Account of the Origin of the Naval Asylum at Philadelphia," by Edward Shippen, medical director United States navy, and published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

erection. The first pensioner or beneficiary received into the asylum after its opening was Daniel Kliess, and the second William Williams. In the winter of 1836-37, which was a very cold one, the fruit-trees surrounding the house were cut down by order of Commodore Barron, to furnish firewood. This act, which was much deprecated at the time, was in the end productive of good, as it led to the planting of the noble trees now adorning the place. On Aug. 1, 1838, Commodore James Biddle was made governor of the asylum, on account of complaints that had been made of its previous administration. Biddle had entered the navy in 1800, and was conspicuous for his gallant services, which included the capture of the British sloop "Penguin," in 1813, by the American sloop "Hornet," of which he was the commander. During his term as governor the classes of midshipmen who were preparing for their examination were placed in the asylum, and remained there until the Naval Academy was established at Annapolis, about 1845.

The various uses to which the building was at this time put, and the quartering there of a number of officers, professors, and employés, and an unfortunate difference between the executive and medical authorities regarding the quantity of room occupied, produced a state of things which led to the division of the building into two parts by a wall of lath and plaster, giving the north half to the beneficiaries and the southern to the hospital proper. It is not necessary to revert further to the causes which led to this curious state of things, but only to state the fact as a part of the history of the institution. The division of the building did take place, but the arrangement did not last very long.

Commodore Barron was ordered to the asylum about this time, but, owing to these difficulties, would not remain. Better counsel at last prevailed, and the arrangement of the building was restored to its former condition, and so remained until the erection of the new hospital gave up the whole establishment to the pensioners.



"The Plantation". Pemberton's. Site of the Naval Asylum.

During the course of the late war the necessity for a separate naval hospital became manifest, and it was therefore determined to remove the bodies of those buried in the cemetery, on the back part of the premises, and to place the hospital there. Medical Director Shippen says that in his opinion it was the very worst of situations for a hospital, but a large and expensive building was erected there that has never been filled to one-half its capacity. He adds,—

"As to the asylum, time prevents me from entering into the anecdotal history of the place, but I may say that many curious characters have been inmates of the institution, while hundreds of old men, who have deserved well of their country, have here passed their declining years in tranquillity and comfort, and many of them have attained a very great age.

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"At present the number of the beneficiaries ranges from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty, and they die (either from accident or the diseases of old age) about as fast as the new ones come in.

"Under the regulations no one is eligible for the place who has not passed twenty years in the naval service, although there are many exceptions to this rule in cases of serious disability in the line of duty.

"Upon coming into the establishment a beneficiary has to give up to the hospital fund any pension of which he may be in receipt, as is eminently right and proper. The beneficiaries in our asylum have each a separate room and three wholesome meals a day. They have also sufficient clothing and washing, with one dollar per mouth for spending-money and one and a half pounds of tobacco. Many have saved money before they came there, and fit themselves out with much taste, while all are comfortable. Some, indeed, among the prudent are quite capitalists on a small scale. They have quite a fair library and four reading-rooms, with daily and weekly papers, a good open fire in each, and liberty to smoke as much as they please. No restraint is put upon their liberty during reasonable hours, so long as they behave themselves properly. Many who are not past all service, after coming to the house and establishing themselves, obtain formal leave of absence, generally for a year at a time. They are apt to go to sea again, or fishing, or some other congenial employment. If the beneficiary withdraws from the asylum he is allowed to resume any pension to which he may have been entitled before coming there."

UNITED STATES NAVAL ASYLUM.

OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVAL ASYLUM.

SUPERINTENDENT.

1833.—Lieut. James B. Cooper, U.S.N.

GOVERNORS.

1839.—Commodore James Biddle.
1840.—Commodore William W. McKean.
1842, Oct. 1.—Commodore James Barron.
1842, Nov. 30.—Lieut. A. H. Foote.
1843, Feb. 23.—Commander W. W. McKean.
1844, May 15.—Commodore George C. Read.
1744.—Commodore Charles W. Morgan.
1845.—Commodore Jacob Jones.
1850, June 15.—Commander H. A. Adams.
1851, May 1.—Commodore George C. Read.
1853.—Commodore David Geisinger.
1854, July 9.—Commodore George W. Storer.
1857, Sept. 1.—Capt. W. W. McKean.
1861, May 18.—Commodore George C. Read.
1862, Aug. 25.—Commander Peter Turner.
1862, Sept. 14.—Commodore Frederick Engle.
1866, June 22.— Rear-Admiral Hiram Paulding.
1869, June 28.—Rear-Admiral James L. Lardner.
1872, June 3.—Rear-Admiral Melanchthon Smith.
1873, April 1.—Commodore George B. Balch.
1876.—Rear-Admiral J. R. Madison Mullaney.
1879.—Commodore Dunken McN. Fairfax.
1881, Oct. 1.—Vice-Admiral Stephen C. Rowan.
1883, March.—Commodore A. C. Rhind.
1883, Nov. 1.—Commodore Francis A. Roe.

Pennsylvania Hospital and Male and Female Hospital for the Insane.—It was towards the close of 1750 that the first step was taken toward the establishment of a hospital in Philadelphia. The credit of originating the movement is due to Dr. Thomas Bond, who began his efforts by endeavoring to obtain subscriptions. He solicited among others his friend Benjamin Franklin, who, highly approving of the project, engaged heartily in furthering his views. Franklin first prepared the public mind by writing in the newspapers, and thus succeeded in increasing the number and amount of the subscriptions; but it was soon ascertained that the enterprise was beyond individual ability, and that legislative aid would be necessary to success. A memorial signed by William Plumstead, Luke Morris, Stephen Armitt, Samuel Rhoads, William Coleman, Edward Cathrall, Samuel Smith, Samuel Shoemaker, Samuel Hazard, Samuel Sansom, Amos Strettell, John Armitt, John Reynell, Charles Norris, William Griffitts, William Attwood, Anthony Morris, Thomas Graeme, William Branson, Israel Pemberton, Joshua Crosby, William Allen, Joshua Fisher, Nathaniel Allen, Reese Meredith, Joseph Richardson, Joseph Sims, A. Morris, Jr., Jonathan Evans, Joseph Shippen, John Inglis, John Mifflin, and George Spafford, was addressed to the Provincial Assembly on the 23rd of January, 1751, setting forth the urgent necessity then existing for a hospital, and asking for a charter to the contributors and for pecuniary assistance. After some objection, especially on the part of the country members, who maintained that the cost of medical attendance would alone be sufficient to consume all the money that could be raised, which was promptly met by an offer on the part of Dr. Lloyd Zachary and of the two brothers Dr. Thomas and Phineas Bond to attend the patients gratuitously for three years, a bill was unanimously passed on the 7th of February, incorporating "the Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital." The bill also appropriated two thousand pounds currency toward the building, to be paid when an equal amount should be subscribed by individuals to a permanent fund. The charter further provided that it should be lawful for all who had contributed, or might contribute, ten pounds or more toward the hospital, or any number of them, to meet on the first Monday of May, yearly, forever, to elect twelve managers out of their own number, and a treasurer, and to make rules for the government of the institution, to be obligatory when approved by the chief justice, the Speaker of the Assembly, and the attorney-general.

As soon as the terms of the charter were made known considerable more than the amount required was subscribed, and at a meeting of the contributors, held at the State-House, the following board of managers was chosen: [illegible] Benjamin Franklin,

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Thomas Bond, Samuel Hazard, Richard Peters, Israel Pemberton, Jr., Samuel Rhodes, Hugh Roberts, Joseph Morris, John Smith, Evan Morgan, and Charles Norris. John Reynell was elected treasurer.

The managers sent to Thomas and Richard Penn, the proprietaries of the province, in England, an address narrating what had been done, and suggesting that, as the Assembly had granted a charter and a sum of money for the erection of a building, and the people had subscribed and were still subscribing largely toward a permanent fund, it might please the proprietaries to grant a plot of ground on which to erect the hospital. In a letter to Thomas Hyam and Sylvanus Bevan, the managers bespoke their favorable intercession with the proprietaries, and pointed out as a suitable place for the building the unappropriated portion of the square on the south side of Mulberry, between Ninth and Tenth Streets. In reply to this application, the proprietaries sent out an elaborate charter emanating from themselves and an order to their Lieutenant-Governor, James Hamilton, to convey to the corporation, in the same instrument, a lot of ground lying on the north side of Sassafras Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets, being a portion of the ground afterward known as Franklin Square. These grants did not please the wishes of the managers, and they were both refused.

In the mean time, in order to carry the benevolent design of the subscribers into immediate effect, the mansion and grounds of Judge John Kinsey, situated on the south side of Market, west of Fifth Street, was hired as a temporary hospital at a rental of forty pounds per year. Rules and regulations for the management of the institution were adopted, and the following physicians and surgeons appointed: Drs. Lloyd Zachary, Thomas and Phineas Bond, Thomas Cadwalader, Samuel Preston Moore, and John Redman. The temporary hospital was opened in February, 1752, when two patients were received; and it continued to be occupied for about four years. In December, 1754, the managers purchased, for five hundred pounds, the whole of the square of ground on which the hospital now stands, bounded by Eighth and Ninth, Spruce and Pine Streets, except a depth of sixty feet on Spruce Street, which, eight or ten years later, was granted by the Penns, together with an annuity of forty pounds. On May 28, 1755, the corner-stone of the east wing, facing Eighth Street, was laid, with the following inscription by Franklin:

"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 the 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."

The house was so far completed in December, 1756, that patients were admitted, and the first regular meeting of the managers to inspect the wards took place on the 27th of that month.

Medicines were at first furnished gratuitously by the physicians of the hospital; but this was felt to be an unreasonable burden, especially as they were giving their professional services without charge. It was therefore determined to hire an apothecary to attend daily at the house and prepare the medicines, and an allowance of fifteen pounds per annum was made him for his trouble. At this time drugs and medicines had to be imported from London.

From the first the hospital proved a success, and subscriptions poured in for its support both from this country and Europe. Among its early benefactors were Chief Justice William Allen, Matthew Koplin, Dr. John Fothergill, Thomas Hyam, David Barclay, Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Edward Shippen, Samuel Coates, Dr. Lettsom, Samuel Cooper, William West, Charles Nichols, John Keble, Paul Siemen, Stephen Girard. Dr. George B. Wood mentions notable citizens,—Jones, Griffitts, Fox, Roberdeau, Greenleaf, Richardson, Mifflin, Lewis, Wharton, Morris, Logan, and others who acted as managers in the provincial times; Shippen, Evans, Morgan, and Moore, who served as physicians and surgeons; Allen, Crosby, Denny, Emlen, Hamilton, Norris, Neat, Osborne, and Pemberton, who, during the first ten years, contributed most largely to its funds.

Purchases were made at different times, on reasonable terms, of the square of ground lying east and of the half-square lying west of the proper hospital lot. In April, 1776, according to a statement entered on the minutes of the board of managers, the whole capital stock, independently of the buildings and the lot upon which they stood, estimating the real estate at cost, was somewhat over £21,000, or about $56,000, and the annual income from the productive capital was £1318, or about $3500.

The number of patients admitted annually into the hospital increased gradually from 53, in the second year of its operations, to 153 in the year 1760–61, 382 in 1770–71, and 435 in the year preceding the declaration of independence, the average proportion of pay-patients throughout this period being only a little more than one-sixth. The average numbers in the hospital at the same time, in the years mentioned, were, respectively, 17, 45, 117, and 89, the last number indicating some falling off consequent upon the Revolutionary troubles.

So early as 1766, Dr. Thomas Bond proposed to deliver a course of clinical lectures to the students, and, the proposition being approved by the managers, commenced in November with an introductory lecture, which was so highly thought of by the board that it was copied into their minute-book. From that time clinical lectures have been given more or less regularly in the hospital, either in the form of remarks

at the bedside as the students were conducted through the wards, or, when they have been too numerous to be thus conducted, by regular lectures in the amphitheatre, to which the patients were conveyed.

Another interesting event in the early history of the hospital was the establishment of the medical library, at present one of its greatest boasts. This event followed directly from the system of clinical instruction. The managers having referred to the physicians and surgeons for the subject of fees from medical students attending the hospital, the latter met in May, 1763, and agreed to propose that a certain sum should be demanded from every attending student not an apprentice of one of the medical officers of the hospital, to be applied to the establishment of a mediical library. This appropriation met the approval of the board, and thus began that splendid collection of medical books, unequaled probably on this continent, and surpassed by few libraries exclusively medical in the world.

The internal business of the house was superintended by a steward and matron, and the direct care of the patients under the physicians was intrusted to students or apprentices living within the institution, who were supposed to derive from the experience acquired a full compensation for their services.

The British army upon entering Philadelphia during the Revolution took possession of its wards, appropriating the bedding, medicines, instruments, etc., to their own uses, and, though the building was restored by them to the managers, the mischief done was not repaired, and no compensation made for the losses inflicted.

The institution received from time to time pecuniary aid from the Legislature amounting in 1796 to over seventy thousand dollars, applicable to the erection of additional buildings. At a meeting in 1794 it was determined to provide accommodations as soon as possible for the insane, and the western wing, with the wards connecting it with the central portion, was first undertaken. This was so far completed as to be opened for the reception of patients in 1796. In consequence of the great rise in the price of materials and the slow incoming of portions of the legislative grant, the progress with the remainder of the house was less rapid than had been anticipated, and it was not till 1805 that the central portion was finished and the original plan carried into effect.

In January, 1803, a lying-in department for poor and deserving married women went into operation, and in December, 1807, a regular dispensary for outdoor patients was established, and physicians were appointed to attend it at a small salary. Upon the establishment of the Philadelphia Dispensary the hospital dispensary was abandoned in January, 1817.

In September, 1800, the managers wrote to Benjamin West, the celebrated artist, soliciting a contribution from his pencil. This request received a favorable answer from West, who suggested as the subject of the painting the text of Scripture "And the blind and the lame came to Him in the temple, and He healed them." In August, 1810, it was announced that the picture was ready to ship to America, but it excited so much admiration in England that West could not resist the liberal offer made to him to allow the painting to remain. He, however, immediately engaged in the preparation of a copy, which he said should excel the original. This famous picture of "Christ Healing the Sick" reached this country in October, 1817, and was immediately placed in a building which had been specially erected for its reception, upon the hospital lot on Spruce Street. Having been opened for exhibition, at the price of twenty-five cents for admission, it attracted for many years throngs of visitors, which yielded to the institution more than fifteen thousand dollars profit. About 1851 the painting was removed to the Academy of Fine Arts, where it still remains, and the building was leased to the College of Physicians. When the college removed to their new building, the picture-house, as it was called, was leased to the Historical Society.

A marble bust of William Penn, supposed to be the first executed in this country, was presented by James Traquair in June, 1802, and the leaden statue of the same great man, which has long stood in front of the hospital, was received as a gift from his grandson, John Penn, in September, 1804.

The productive capital, which, at the lowest period of its depression, in 1783, was, in round numbers, twenty-seven thousand dollars, gradually increased in the several decades after that year to forty-five thousand in 1793, sixty-two thousand in 1803, one hundred and twenty-four thousand in 1813, one hundred and seventy-two thousand in 1823, and two hundred and sixty thousand in 1833. The income from capital, during about an equal period, rose by corresponding gradations from one thousand dollars, its lowest point, in 1796, to nearly fifteen thousand in 1835. The operations of the charity, of course, corresponded with the means, and the number of annual admissions increased from 78 in 1790 to 176 in 1800, 368 in 1810, 749 in 1820, and to 1130 in 1830, after which the average for several years was somewhat over 1000.

In the first hundred years which elapsed after its foundation the hospital received and treated 51,116 patients, of whom 29,863 were upon the poor list.

For the first ten years after the separation of the two branches, 13,829 were admitted to the City Hospital, of whom 9800 were poor, and 1878 into the Hospital for the Insane, of whom 466 were poor.

In the year ending in May, 1851, the number received into the City Hospital was 1935, of whom 1416 were on the charity list, and the average population of the house was 158, with 120 poor. In the Hospital for the Insane, 206 were admitted during the year, 53 of them poor, and the average population of the

house was 216. From the foundation of the hospital in 1751 to the date of the report, Jan. 1, 1851, 6062 insane patients had been admitted and treated, of whom 1000 were on the charity list.

In the five years from 1851 to 1855, inclusive, the whole number of patients received into the wards was 8845, of which number 6117 were on the free list and 1728 were pay-patients, making a percentage of 72 free. From 1872 to 1876, inclusive, the whole number received was 9250, of which 7088 were free and 2163 pay, or 76 percentage of poor.

At their meeting in May, 1831, it was decided that a separate asylum for the insane was expedient, and in May, 1832, the managers gave authority to sell the vacant grounds east, west, and southwest of the hospital, in order to raise money for the new buildings. These lots had been purchased originally for $8917.27, and were sold for three hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, and the sum expended upon the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, which was erected on a farm extending from the Haverford to the West Chester road, west of Forty-third Street. The corner-stone of the building was laid June 22, 1830, and the house was opened for the reception of patients upon the first day of the year 1841. In 1851 the west wing of the hospital, which, before 1841, was devoted to the insane patients, was completely remodeled, so as to make two wards,—the lower story devoted to the women's surgical, the upper to the women's medical wards. The centre building was also greatly modified. Among other changes, the new library had been built from what had been previously the women's medical wards. The east wing was being remodeled. The long ward, connecting the centre with the wing fronting on Eighth Street, was taken down, and the two long wards erected as they now stand. These wards have no alcoves like those of the west wing. The east wing was not taken down, but considerable changes were made in it. This part of the house was devoted to the male patients, the lower stories to surgical, and the upper to medical patients. The repairs to, and other changes made in the centre building and the east wing in 1851 and 1852 cost $59,949.59. The cost of repairing the west wing, in 1846–48, was $17,865.28, and that of fitting up the library was $3146.35. The latter expense was paid out of the medical fund.

Another change, made in 1851, was the closing of the lying-in ward, at first for the purpose of making room for the other patients during the repairs to the main buildings. The ward was finally closed by a vote of the board in 1853. It had cost twenty thousand dollars more than its whole fund, principal and interest.

In 1864, at the annual meeting of the contributors in the month of May, the managers applied for, and received authority to "appeal to our fellow-citizens in the endeavor to raise an amount sufficient to cover the encroachment on our capital of previous years (which necessity compelled) of some forty thousand dollars, as well as the probable deficiency of the present year, of at least an equal sum, it being supposed there would be an increased expenditure necessary in the cost of living, and the result has shown the correctness of this opinion."

The appeal was made, and, though the applications for money at this time, in consequence of the war, were innumerable, the managers obtained the sum of $65,055 by contributions. Soon after this a strong appeal was made by the medical and surgical staff, several thousand copies of which were distributed. Aided by this renewed invitation to the charitable, the committee raised $34,948.27 additional. Out of this total, $100,003.27, the indebtedness to the capital of $40,000 was refunded, and, after paying the year's (1865) deficiency of $42,000, the surplus of $18,000 was merged in the capital.

In 1866 the managers were still struggling for the support of the hospital, and, in concert with a committee of the contributors, issued a strong appeal to the public, stating that "the present current expenses of the institution require about fifteen thousand dollars per annum more than its income from investments and pay-patients." The number of patients in the hospital at this time was one hundred and seventy-one, and of these, one hundred and thirty-three were on the free list. The cost of the hospital for the fiscal year (1865) was $57,481.32, while the income from investments and from pay-patients had been $42,122.77.

In the following year, ending May, 1867, under the appeal just referred to, there was received $20,400, to be added to the capital fund, and $136,556, to be paid by instalments running through periods of three, four, and five years, as contributions to the annual expenses.

To afford every facility for instruction to the students of medicine and surgery, a new room for clinical and operating purposes was erected to the north of the centre building, to accommodate about five hundred seats. This room cost $27,072.10, of which $12,742.80 were raised by subscription. It was formally opened on the 9th of January, 1869.

In the autumn of 1869 the dean of the faculty of the Female Medical College applied to the board of managers for the admission of their students to the regular clinical courses. The managers gave their permission on the ground that, by the rules of the hospital then in use, all students of institutions recognized by the State laws were to be admitted to the common benefits of the hospital clinical instruction. The women came to one of the lectures very soon after this, taking their seats in the amphitheatre in the midst of the regular men's class. There was a scene of considerable disorder, both during and after the lecture. The event caused a good deal of agitation in the medical schools of the city and among the medical students, which extended in a slight degree to the general public.

In the following clinical session, 1870–71, the whole number of students in attendance was two hundred and six, and of these thirty-two were women, while in the previous year the number had been five hundred, of which number forty-two were women.

The matter was arranged at the meeting of the contributors in May, 1871, on the plan of having separate clinics for the two sexes, and, accordingly, the staff agreed to give, in addition to their regular semi-weekly lectures to the male students, one lecture a week to the women students. The consequence of this step was that the classes increased at the next session to the number of five hundred and eighty, the men counting five hundred and twenty, and the women sixty.

In 1861 the Pathological Museum was located in the building on Spruce Street, afterward occupied by the Historical Society. In 1869, when the new lecture-room was opened for use, the museum was transferred to the basement room of that building. Under the care of several gentlemen it has became very valuable. In 1875 a course of lectures on pathologicol anatomy, the only one in the city, was given by the pathologist and curator of the hospital. This course was illustrated by specimens in the museum.

About the year 1870 it was thought that many of the slighter surgical cases, which had been hitherto kept in the hospital at a great expense, might be treated as well on the dispensary plan, the patient coming as often as necessary to the hospital for the proper dressing. The rapid growth of this plan induced the managers, in 1873, to make it a separate department, and one physician and one surgeon were assigned to be on duty each day, except Sunday, at a certain hour, to prescribe for all who might apply. Two rooms, those to the north of the gateway in Eighth Street, were assigned to this purpose. During the year the number of applicants had risen to fifteen hundred and fifty-five, of which twelve hundred and thirty were surgical, and three hundred and twenty-five medical.

In 1876 the managers inaugurated for the department of the sick and wounded a plan which had already been introduced into the insane department. This was the institution of a system of free beds for the poor. Any one, by a gift to the hospital of the sum of five thousand dollars, secured a bed in the hospital always to be occupied by a poor patient.

To provide accommodations for the insane, a new building was begun on the 7th of July, 1856, and opened for the reception of patients on the 27th of October, 1859.

"It is situated," says the report of that year, "in full view and on the western side of the buildings previously in use, at a distance in a right line of six hundred and forty-eight yards, and in the midst of fifty acres of pleasure-grounds and gardens, the whole of which are surrounded by a substantial stone wall, covered with flagging, and of an average height of ten and a half feet. The gate of entrance is on Forty-ninth Street (an avenue intended to be one hundred feet wide), between Market and Haverford Streets, and by each of which, by means of horse railroads, easy access to Forty-ninth Street can be had at all seasons.

"This new hospital faces the west, and consists of a centre building, with wings running north and south, making a front of five hundred and twelve feet; of other wings, connected with each of those just referred to, running each a distance of one hundred and sixty-seven feet, all three stories high, and these last having at their extreme ends communications with extensive one-storied buildings. All the exterior walls are of stone, stuccoed, and the interior are of brick.

"The centre building is one hundred and fifteen by seventy-three feet. It has a handsome Doric portico of granite in front, and is surmounted by a dome of good proportions, in which are placed the iron tanks from which the whole building is supplied with water. The lantern on the dome is one hundred and nineteen feet from the pavement, and from it is a beautiful panoramic view of the fertile and highly-improved surrounding country, the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, and the city of Philadelphia, with its many prominent objects of interest."

The new building had cost, with its various fixtures and arrangements, up to 1859, $322,542.86, and $30,000 additional were required to meet other liabilities that had been incurred.

The next step taken by the managers was the repair and improvement of the original building, which had now become the department of females. It was put in thorough repair, and cost about twenty-five thousand dollars. In 1867 a new building was commenced, and finished in 1868, for a new ward to the women's department. It was opened for use in December, 1868, and was called the "Fisher Ward," in honor of Joseph Fisher, who died in 1862, leaving to the hospital $57,511.57, to be devoted to this purpose. Some years later, in 1873, when a second building of the same kind was erected from the funds of the same estate, the former was called the "South Fisher Ward," and the latter the "North Fisher Ward." The South Fisher Ward cost $24,850; the North Fisher Ward building $31,250.01.

In 1864 there was erected, by the generous liberality of some friends, for the special benefit and amusement of the patients, a new building, called the Gymnastic Hall, near the north return wing of the department for females.

On the 6th of May, 1882, the Mary Shields Ward in the female department of the insane was opened. It cost $29,058.58, and was named after Mary Shields, a liberal benefactor of the hospital. During 1882 the wards on the second and third floors of the north house, which was rebuilt in 1881, designed for the treatment of offensive surgical cases, was brought into use.

The work of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the year ending April 28, 1883, is shown in the following exhibits taken from the records of the institution:

In the Pine Street Hospital the new cases admitted during the year were	1,967
The number of beds occupied	2,136
The number of recent accidents (or surgical cases brought to the hospital within twenty-four hours after their occurrence)	718

The out-patient department makes the following report of visits, viz.:

Surgical	20,716
Medical	2,735
Eye and Ear	3,846
Gynæcological	88

In the department for the insane the number of patients treated during the forty-second year of organization in its present locality, distinct only as a branch of the institution of the contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital, was	591
The expenditure of the department for the insane as reported for their last fiscal year ending Jan. 1, 1883, were, for both males and females	$182,313.26
Their receipts were	181,622.40
The number of free patients maintained was forty-four, at a cost of	18,859.50
The Pine Street hospital expenses for surgical, medical, and out-patient wards were	61,732.37

It appears that the large sum of $58,975.21 was expended in gratuitous relief to the sick and wounded, while the whole work of all departments has been performed at a cost of $244,045.63.

Since the foundation of the hospital, in 1751, there have been admitted 108,118 patients, of whom 72,823 were poor persons, supported at the expense of the institution. Of these 108,118 patients there have been

Cured	69,469
Relieved and improved	15,293
Left the hospital without material improvement	8,114
Discharged for misconduct or eloped	2,361
Pregnant women safely delivered	1,338
Infants born and discharged in health	1,258
Died	10,116
Total	107,949
Remaining	169
Grand Total	108,118

William Biddle, the president of the board of managers of Pennsylvania Hospital, was born in Philadelphia, May 17, 1806. He is the son of John and Elizabeth Canby Biddle, and is fifth in descent from William Biddle, of Bishopgate Street, London, who emigrated to West Jersey, and settled at Burlington about the year 1680.

William Biddle took a deep interest in the affairs of the new colony, was a member of the Governor's Council, of the Assembly, and of the Council of Proprietors of West Jersey, of which latter body he was for a long time president. From him is descended the large family of the name of Biddle so well and favorably known in Philadelphia.

In the war of the Revolution, Owen Biddle, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, took an active part, holding among other colonial offices that of a commissary in the army. Owen Biddle was by birth a Friend, and when the war came to a successful close he returned to the faith of his fathers.

William Biddle was educated in the Friends' schools, and from his early manhood has been identified with the educational and benevolent institutions of this city. In 1834 he was elected director, and later controller of the public schools, serving in this capacity for many years. In 1840 he became a manager of the Magdalene Asylum, serving for more than forty years. In 1840 he was elected a director of Girard College, and was among the foremost in the organization of this institution, which was first opened for scholars Jan. 1, 1847. He held this position for fourteen years, and was also a member of the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Prisons.

In 1849, Mr. Biddle was elected a manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, a post he has since continued to hold, embracing a period of thirty-five years, the last twelve of which he has been president of the board. In 1855 he was chosen secretary of the Mine Hill and Schuylkill Haven Railroad Company, and in the year 1883 was appointed its president. In 1858, Josiah Dawson, a wealthy citizen of Philadelphia, named as executors of his estate Thomas Williamson, Mordecai L. Dawson, and William Biddle. After devising nearly two hundred thousand dollars in private legacies, the remainder, amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was to be distributed at the discretion of the executors among the hospitals and other charitable institutions and the deserving poor of Philadelphia. This distribution was made in the most judicious and catholic manner by Mr. Biddle and his associates. In the religious Society of Friends, of which he is a consistent member, Mr. Biddle holds a prominent place, and has for many years taken an active part in matters connected with the education of its younger members.

The mere enumeration of the various associations with which Mr. Biddle has been and is connected gives but a very imperfect estimate of the public services rendered by him. In each of these he was always very energetic. This was seen in the zeal he displayed in the establishment of the Northwest Public School, in his services upon the committee of instruction and household on which so much devolved in the opening of Girard College, and in the active interest he has so long taken in all departments of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

In private life Mr. Biddle is a delightful friend, full of generous sympathies, yet firm in his convictions and fearless in their maintenance. A life thus spent in public service has been rich in its results, and Mr. Biddle, now in his seventy-eighth year, has lived to see many of the institutions in which he was interested in early life, grown to an extent which he and his associates could hardly have expected. This has been noticeably the case with the Girard College, the Pennsylvania Hospital in both its departments, and in the vast development of the public schools in this city.

Still in vigorous health, Mr. Biddle has in the evening of his life a full reward for his labors in these results, in the gratitude of those whom he has helped, and in the respect and affection with which he is universally regarded by his fellow-citizens.

Officers of the Pennsylvania Hospital.—Managers, William Biddle (president), Samuel Welsh, Wistar Morris, Jacob P. Jones, Benjamin H. Shoemaker (secretary), Alexander Biddle, Joseph B. Townsend, Joseph C. Turnpenny, T. Wistar Brown, John B. Garrett, John T. Lewis, Charles Hartshorne (treasurer), Henry Haines.

Hospital on Pine Street.[1]—Steward, Richard Cadbury; Clerk and Librarian, Benjamin Hoopes; Apothecary, Jacob K. Hecker; Matron, Ade-

[1] William G. Malin, who had been in the service of the hospital for fifty-nine years, resigned March 29, 1883. In 1824 he was elected clerk, in April, 1825, librarian, and January, 1841, steward, which office he continued to hold until his resignation.

laide S. Thomas; Superintendent of Nurses, Annie B. Bunting; Physicians, Jacob M. Da Costa, M.D., James H. Hutchinson, M.D., Morris Longstreth, M.D., Arthur V. Meigs, M.D.; Surgeons, William Hunt, M.D., Thomas George Morton, M.D., Richard J. Levis, M.D., D. Hayes Agnew, M.D.; Resident Physicians, Edward S. McIlvaine, M.D., George T. Lewis, M.D., Charles M. P. Grayson, M.D., William Johnson Taylor, M.D.; Pathologist and Curator, Morris Longstreth, M.D.; Microscopist, Joseph G. Richardson, M.D.

Out-Patient Department.—Physicians, Joseph J. Kirkbride, M.D., Joseph S. Neff, M.D., Henry M. Fisher, M.D., John J. Owen, M.D.; Surgeons, Charles T. Hunter, M.D., William Ashbridge, M.D., William C. Cox, M.D.; William B. Hopkins, M.D.; For the Eye and Ear, George C. Harlan, M.D.; Gynæcological Department, Elliott Richardson, M.D.

Hospital for the Insane.—Physician-in-Chief and Superintendent, Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D. (elected 1840, died Dec. 16, 1883). Department for Males: First Assistant Physician, J. Preston Jones, M.D.; Second Assistant Physician, William H. Bartles, M.D.; Third Assistant Physician, Henry M. Wetherill, M.D.; Steward, George Jones. Department for Females: First Assistant Physician, William P. Moon, M.D.; Second Assistant Physician, Henry B. Nunemaker, M.D.; Steward, Joseph Jones; Matron, Anne Jones; Solicitors, George Biddle and A. Sydney Biddle.

The following are the names of the gentlemen who have served the institution as physicians and surgeons in the order of their appointment, together with the date of their resignation or death, and their respective periods of service:

Lloyd Zachary, elected 1751; resigned 1753; served one year and five months.
Thomas Bond, elected 1751; resigned 1784; served thirty-two years and six months.
Phineas Bond, elected 1751; died 1773; served twenty-one years and eight months.
Thomas Cadwalader, elected 1751; resigned 1777; served twenty-five years and six months.
Samuel Preston Moore, elected 1751; resigned 1759; served seven years and six months.
John Redman, elected 1751; resigned 1780; served twenty-eight years and six months.
William Shippen, elected 1753; resigned 1778; served twenty-five years and two months.
Cadwalader Evans, elected 1759; died 1773; served fourteen years and one month.
John Morgan, elected 1773, resigned 1777; re-elected 1778, resigned 1783; served eight years and eleven months.
Charles Moore, elected 1773; resigned 1774; served ten months.
Adam Kuhn, elected 1774, resigned 1781; re-elected 1782, resigned 1798; served twenty-two years and six months.
Thomas Parke, elected 1777; resigned 1823; served forty-five years and nine months.
James Hutchinson, elected 1777, resigned 1778; re-elected 1779, resigned 1793; served fifteen years (died).
William Shippen, Jr., elected 1778, resigned 1779; re-elected 1791, resigned 1802; served eleven years and eleven months.
John Jones, elected 1780; died 1791; served eleven years and one month.
Benjamin Rush, elected 1783; died 1813; served twenty-nine years and ten months.
John Foulke, elected 1784; died 1794; served ten years.
Caspar Wistar, elected 1793; resigned 1810; served sixteen years and five months.
Philip Syng Physick, elected 1794; resigned 1816; served twenty-two years and one month.
Benjamin Smith Barton, elected 1798; resigned 1815; served seventeen years and ten months.
John Redman Coxe, elected 1802; resigned 1807; served four years and nine months.
Thomas C. James, elected 1807; resigned 1832; served twenty-five years and ten months.
John Syng Dorsey, elected 1810; died 1818; served eight years and six months.
Joseph Hartshorne, elected 1810; resigned 1821, served eleven years and two months.
John C. Otto, elected 1813; resigned 1835; served twenty-two years and four months.
Samuel Colhoun, elected 1816; resigned 1821; served five years.
Joseph Parrish, elected 1816; resigned 1829; served twelve years and eight months.
Thomas T. Hewson, elected 1818; resigned 1835; served sixteen years and five months.
John Moore, elected 1820; resigned 1829; served nine years.
William Price, elected 1821; resigned 1823; served one year and ten months.
John Wilson Moore, elected 1821; resigned 1827; served five years and three months.
Samuel Emlen, elected 1823; died 1828; served five years.
John Rhea Barton, elected 1823; resigned 1836; served thirteen years and five months.
John K. Mitchell, elected 1827; resigned 1834; served seven years.
Benjamin H. Coates, elected 1828; resigned 1841; served twelve years and nine months.
Thomas Harris, elected 1829; resigned 1840; served eleven years and nine months.
Charles Lukens, elected 1829; resigned 1839; served ten years and three months.
Hugh L. Hodge, elected 1832; resigned 1854; served twenty-one years and three months.
William Rush, elected 1834; resigned 1837; served three years and five months.
George B. Wood, elected 1835; resigned 1859; served twenty-three years and six months.
Jacob Randolph, elected 1835; died 1848; served twelve years and ten months.
George W. Norris, elected 1836; resigned 1863; served twenty-seven years.
Thomas Stewardson, elected 1838; resigned 1845; served seven years.
Charles D. Meigs, elected 1838; resigned 1849; served ten years and ten months.
Edward Peace, elected 1840; resigned 1861; served twenty years and one month.
William Pepper, elected 1842; resigned 1858; served sixteen years and seven months.
William W. Gerhard, elected 1845; resigned 1868; served twenty-three years.
George Fox, elected 1848; resigned 1854; served six years.
Joseph Carson, elected 1849; resigned 1854; served four years and ten months.
John Neill, elected 1852; resigned 1859; served seven years and one month.
Joseph Pancoast, elected 1854; resigned 1864; served nine years and eleven months.
James J. Levick, elected 1856; resigned 1868; served twelve years and five months.
John Forsythe Meigs, elected 1859; died 1882; served twenty-three years.
Edward Hartshorne, elected 1859; resigned 1865; served five years and nine months.
Francis Gurney Smith, elected 1859; resigned 1864; served five years and seven months.
Addinell Hewson, elected 1861; resigned 1877.
William Hunt, elected 1863.
Thomas George Morton, elected 1863.
Jacob M. Da Costa, elected 1865.
D. Hayes Agnew, elected 1865; resigned 1871; served six years and two months.
James H. Hutchinson, elected 1868.
J. Aitken Meigs, elected 1868; died 1881.
Richard J. Levis, elected 1871.
D. Hayes Agnew, elected 1877.
Morris Longstreth, elected 1881.
Arthur V. Meigs, elected 1882.

The successive presidents of the board of managers have been as follows:

	Years.		Years.
Joshua Crosby	4	Samuel Coates	13
Benjamin Franklin	2	Thomas Stewardson	16
John Reynell	23	John Paul	3
Samuel Rhoads	1	Mordecai Lewis	5
Peter Reeve	5	Lawrence Lewis	6½
Samuel Howell	3	Mordecai L. Dawson	16¾
Reynold Keen	1	William Biddle, since 1872.	
Josiah Hewes	22		

The City Hospital.—The Board of Health was organized in 1794, and purchased the Fish Tavern on the west side of the floating bridge at Market Street, on premises now occupied by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. This was used for hospital purposes. The first hospital established by the city was in 1796 or 1797. This was the Wigwam tavern, a famous resort at the foot of Race Street, on the Schuylkill. This hospital retained the name of the Wigwam Hotel for several years, but in 1805, in consequence of the complaints made by the citizens in the neighborhood against the institution, it was removed to the Wissahickon road, near where the Ridge road and Wallace Street now intersect. This place was occupied two years, when the citizens again rebelled and demanded its removal. For a time the city was without a hospital.

In 1805 the Board of Health was reorganized and given power to erect a new hospital. Under this authority the board, in 1807, purchased a lot of ground on the east side of Schuylkill Fourth [Nineteenth] Street near the intersection of Francis Lane [Coates Street, now Fairmount Avenue]. Here was erected and finished, in 1809, a very complete building for the purposes designed. The hospital extended from east to west, was placed at some distance from the line of Francis Lane, so as not to expose the public to undue danger. The whole front was two hundred and sixty-six feet in extent. In the centre was the mansion house, fifty feet front, forty-two feet deep. The wings were each one hundred and eighty feet long by twenty-two feet deep, and two stories high. There were twenty rooms in the main building and thirty-six in the wings, exclusive of cellars and garrets. A piazza twelve feet broad and two stories high extended along the whole length of the building. It was inclosed by Venetian blinds so that air and light might be excluded from the rooms when necessary, and also that the patients might be screened from public observation. These verandas were so unlike the appendages to American buildings, outside of the West India islands, that they always attracted attention. The grounds were laid out with trees, grass, shrubberies, and flowers. The apartments were well ventilated, and there was accommodation for four or five hundred persons. The principal front was to the south. But as there was no street on the Bush Hill property at that time nearer than Callowhill Street, the principal front seen by the public was on Francis Lane. By the act of 1818, reorganizing the Board of Health, it was directed that this hospital should continue for the use of the city, and the districts and townships of Northern Liberties, Moyamensing, Southwark, and Penn township, for persons residing therein who shall be afflicted with any pestilential or contagious disease, measles excepted. Subsequently the exception in the case of smallpox was repealed.

By the consolidation act of 1854, all the property, real and personal, belonging to the Board of Health, was vested in the city of Philadelphia. The laws governing the board were continued. The members of the board were to be elected annually by citizens, a provision that was afterward changed. The city hospital, under the management of the Board of Health, was city property. By ordinance of May 19, 1866, the board was directed to receive in the Municipal Hospital, which was the new name given to the establishment, all persons afflicted with any contagious or infectious disease who would otherwise be a charge upon the Guardians of the Poor, smallpox patients from the almshouse, and persons afflicted with any contagious or infectious disease sent from the county prison. In time the continuation of the City Hospital at Coates and Schuylkill Fourth [now Nineteenth] Streets became objectionable to the residents of the neighborhood, and finally a new site was chosen, which at that time was supposed to be so far out of town as to be safe from invasion for many years. The place chosen was upon Hart Lane, near Twenty-first Street. Here was erected a substantial structure of brownstone, consisting of a main building and wings, with a front of two hundred and eighty feet, two stories in height, with a mansard roof. The new municipal hospital was opened for patients on the 27th of April, 1865, under the management of the Board of Health, which elects the resident physician and other officers. The present hospital is erected on the square of ground bounded by Lehigh Avenue, Huntingdon, Twenty-first, and Twenty-second Streets.

Christ Church Hospital.—Christ Church Hospital was founded by Dr. John Kearsley, who made provision for it in his will. Dr. Kearsley died Jan. 16, 1772, and this charity was soon after begun. His widow died in 1778, and Christ Church received the remainder of the bequest. It is not a hospital in the now received meaning of the word, but a "home for poor, distressed women" (widows of clergymen being preferred before all others), communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1784 eight pensioners were kept in the old building on Arch Street, above Third, which in Dr. Kearsley's lifetime had been fitted up as an infirmary, and twelve others boarded out. In 1785 the hospital was rebuilt on Arch Street. Afterward it was removed to Cherry Street, south side, between Third and Fourth, where a stately, comfortable brick building was erected for the special use of the hospital, and where the institution remained for several years. The fund becoming enlarged by judicious care and by a legacy from Joseph Dobbins, of South Carolina, the trustees purchased a large tract on Belmont Avenue, West Philadelphia, near the park, and erected a new building, with accommodations for one hundred inmates. The corner-stone was laid in 1856, and the building occupied in 1861. It is two hundred and thirty-seven feet long, fifty feet deep, and four stories in height, with a chapel and infirmaries.

Three of the trustees are chosen annually by Christ Church, and the remaining three by St. Peter's Church. The Rev. Edmund Roberts is at present chaplain of the hospital.

The Episcopal Hospital.—The erection of the "Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia" was first decided upon at a meeting of clergy and laity, convened by Bishop Potter, on March 14, 1851. John Welsh was secretary of the meeting. The principles on which this charity has ever been conducted were declared immediately upon its organization, viz., the hospital should be distinguished by religious influence, applied systematically to all its inmates, both patients and attendants, its managers to be communicants, and not less than one-third of them to be clergymen; patients to be received without distinction of creed, country, or color; regular religious ministrations in the hospital by a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, under the directions of the bishop, with the understanding that the private services of other ministers should not be excluded when conscientiously sought for by patients.

Moved thereto by a sermon preached by Dr. William Bacon Stevens in St. Andrew's Church, Mrs. E. H. L. Stout and Miss Ann Leamy, daughters of Mrs. Elizabeth Leamy, gave to the hospital about five acres of ground near Front Street and Lehigh Avenue, together with the family mansion house thereon. The hospital was opened in this house (which is still standing) and was afterward used as the "Bishop Potter Memorial House") on Dec. 11, 1852. Additional ground was purchased, giving the hospital two entire blocks.

The corner-stone of the present hospital was laid on May 24, 1860, the Diocesan Convention, then in session, taking a recess to attend the ceremonies. Miss Hollingsworth gave ten thousand dollars for the erection of a memorial chapel, and Miss Wilhelmina Smith ten thousand dollars for the endowment of a chaplaincy. The chapel was opened on May 27, 1862. The hospital was opened on July 31, 1862, to receive at once two hundred sick and wounded United States soldiers, and five hundred and seven soldiers were admitted as patients before the government hospitals were prepared to meet the emergencies.

About 1874 the eastern wing was erected, completing the hospital after its original plan. In 1883 a handsome mission building was erected on the hospital grounds, to give accommodations for the extensive missionary work, schools and meetings, carried on in connection with the hospital.

On Thanksgiving day each year an offering is made in all the parishes for the hospital, and averages about fifteen thousand dollars per annum. The annual expenses of the hospital are now about fifty thousand dollars a year. It has a considerable invested fund, and is in receipt of frequent legacies and donations. Among the long list of those who have aided the hospital by devoted labors, magnificent gifts, or bequests, mention can here only be made of Miss Grasby, who endowed the "Hannah Ward;" Bishop Hare, who secured subscriptions of thirty thousand dollars for "incurables;" George Washington Smith, who gave five thousand dollars a year for a considerable time before his death; John Welsh, a continuous and generous friend of this institution; and the Misses Biddle, who have been indefatigable in their Christian labors in the hospital.

The following are the board of managers of the Episcopal Hospital:

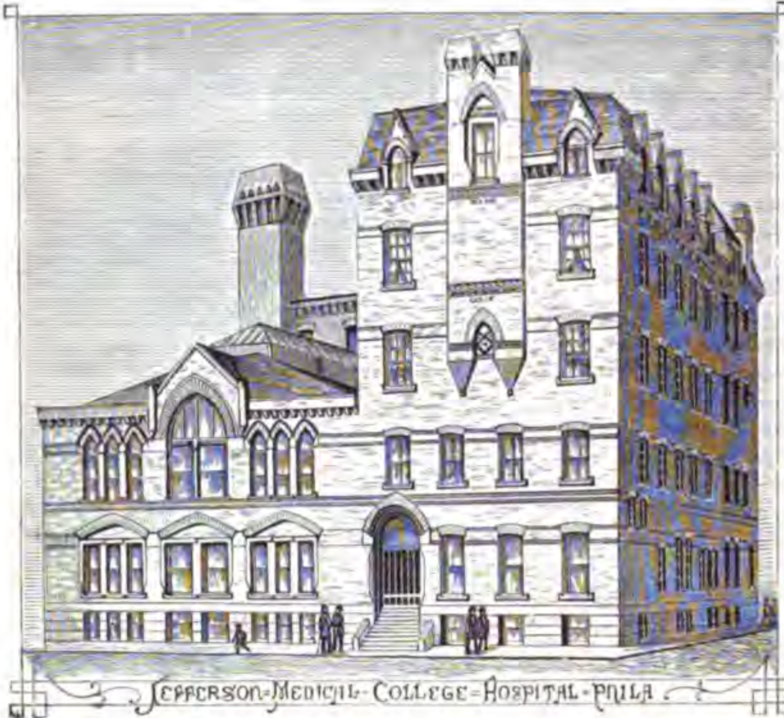
Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., LL.D., president *ex officio*; term of service expiring January, 1885, Rev. B. Watson, D.D., Rev. Thomas F. Davies, D.D., Rev. E. A. Foggo, D.D., B. G. Godfrey, John C. Browne, Charles C. Harrison, Oliver Landreth, William C. Houston; term of service expiring January, 1886, Rev. Henry J. Morton, D.D., Rev. Daniel S. Miller, D.D., Caspar Morris, M.D., George Blight, William R. Lejée, Andrew H. Miller, Charles Spencer, John Ashhurst, Jr., M.D.; term of service expiring January, 1887, Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., Rev. Edward Y. Buchanan, D.D., Rev. C. George Currie, D.D., Edward Hartshorne, M.D., John Welsh, Alexander Brown, William P. Pepper, J. Vaughan Merrick; Treasurer, W. W. Frazier, Jr.; Secretary, Rev. J. A. Childs, D D.

Medical Board.—Physicians, Dr. Morris J. Lewis, Dr. Frederick P. Henry, Dr. Henry M. Fisher, Dr. Louis Starr; Surgeons, Dr. Charles B. Nancrede, Dr. William S. Forbes, Dr. Charles T. Hunter, Dr. John H. Packard; Ophthalmic and Aural Surgeons, Dr. Albert G. Heyl, Dr. B. Alexander Randall. Dispensary Staff: Physicians, Dr. A. K. Minich, Dr. James M. Anders, Dr. D. J. Milton Miller; Surgeons, Dr. J. Henry C. Simes, Dr. William Barton Hopkins, Dr. Thomas R. Nelson, Dr. Charles M. Seltzer. Resident Physicians, Dr. George M. Boyd, Dr. Charles Claxton, Dr. W. Wharton Hollingsworth, Dr. J. Kearsley Mitchell; Curator of Pathological Museum, J. Henry C. Simes, M.D.; Chaplain, Rev. Alexander B. Crawford; Superintendent, S. R. Knight, M.D.; Matron, Miss E. A. Lehman.

The Friends' Asylum for the Insane is an incorporated institution at Frankford, supported by members of the Society of Friends. It was founded in 1811, and a constitution adopted in June, 1813. The buildings were finished and occupied on the 15th of June, 1817.

Jefferson Medical College Hospital.—Clinical demonstrations have been regarded as one of the most valuable adjuncts of instruction in the Jefferson Medical College from its earliest history. In fact, an infirmary had been established within the walls of the college in May, 1825, in advance of the first session, and on the 9th of that month, Dr. George McClellan performed the first surgical operation in the amphitheatre. The clinical system was further developed after the reorganization of the faculty in 1841, and the clinics came to be considered the "right arm of the college." In addition to the clinics at the college itself, the students were allowed admission to the Pennsylvania Hospital and to Blockley Almshouse. In 1843 or 1844 one or two rooms were rented, located over the shop of a stove-maker, on the southwest corner of Tenth and Sansom Streets, and grave cases operated on before the class were afterward conveyed thither and treated. These accommodations becoming insufficient, two floors were rented in a bottling establishment standing on the ground now occupied by the laboratories of the college. In the course of a few

years this place was remodeled, and a comfortable miniature hospital was created capable of accommodating from fifteen to twenty beds. The hospital thus organized served its purpose for over twenty years. The necessity for larger accommodations for a clinical hospital became more and more apparent as the college increased in size and importance, and in December, 1872, at an informal meeting of the Alumni Association, it was determined to make an effort in this direction. In order to obtain an idea of the success which might be expected from the undertaking subscriptions were called for then and there, and fifteen thousand dollars were promised. This action, on being reported to the trustees, was approved by them, and they determined to seek an appropriation from the Legislature of one hundred thousand dollars. The appropriation was granted, and received the Governor's approval April 9, 1873. The grant was conditioned on the raising of an equal sum from private sources.


JEFFERSON-MEDICAL-COLLEGE-HOSPITAL-PHILA.

As the result of a conference between a joint committee from the faculty and the alumni with a committee from the board of trustees, in April, 1874, Henry M. Phillips, Asa Packer, and James Campbell were appointed a finance committee to receive subscriptions and the payment of subscriptions for the projected hospital, and to invest the funds received in the manner they should deem most advantageous, subject to the further action of the board of trustees. A liberal donation, by I. V. Williamson, of fifty thousand dollars, in October, 1874, on the condition, among others, that the hospital should be finished in three years from the date of his subscription, infused new activity into the work. A committee on site shortly afterward reported in favor of the present location of the hospital, in the rear of the college, and on April 21, 1875, a lot was purchased on the site recommended, having a frontage of eighty-six feet, and a depth of one hundred and seven feet six inches, the price being forty-five thousand dollars. In March, 1876, the adjoining lot, extending east twenty feet to Sansom Street, was bought for eight thousand dollars.

A committee on building and finance, which superseded the old finance committee in June, 1875, adopted the plans for the new building proposed by Messrs. Furness & Hewitt, architects, in the latter part of the same year. On the 4th of November, 1875, the contract for the erection of the building, exclusive of the heating and plumbing arrangements, was let to John Ketchum for $94,787.93. This sum was afterward increased by the adoption of changes in the plans, occasioned principally by the acquisition of the eastern lot bordering on Sansom Street. By the end of November, 1876, the whole building was under roof, and on the 27th of April, 1877, the structure having been entirely completed, was formally transferred by the building and finance committee to the trustees. On the 1st of May it was thrown open to the inspection of the public. The formal opening was deferred until Sept. 17, 1877, when the inaugural address was delivered by Dr. E. B. Gardette, president of the board of trustees of the college, before the trustees, the faculty, members of the alumni, and the invited public, and Dr. Joseph Pancoast, the emeritus professor of Anatomy, also made an address.

The cost of the building, fully equipped and furnished, up to the time when it was occupied by patients was $132,991.83, and the cost of the two lots was $53,000, making a total expenditure of $185,919.83. On the 4th of November, 1875, a request was made for an additional appropriation of $100,000 from the State, and on the 17th of June, 1878, nearly three years afterward, the act appropriating the sum was passed. By the terms of the act the money was to be paid over at the rate of ten thousand dollars a year, and at the present time (1884) the payment is still progressing.

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Among the large subscriptions from private sources or corporations may be mentioned the following: Henry C. Lea, $5000; Thomas A. Scott, $5000; A. Whitney & Sons, $5000; Asa Packer, $5000; A. J. Drexel, $5000; Joseph Pancoast, M.D., $5000; estate of Jesse George, deceased, $5000, to which was afterward added $2500; Dr. Thomas D. Mütter, $5000; I. V. Williamson, $50,000; the Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Losses by by Fire, $5000; the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, $10,000.

The hospital is a fine brick building, immediately west of the college, and is bounded on three sides by streets, and on the fourth side by a private passageway. It is one hundred and seven feet square, five stories in height, and is designed for the easy accommodation of one hundred and twenty-five patients. The amphitheatre, for clinical lectures, is one of the largest and most convenient in the United States. A museum, containing casts and wax models of interesting cases treated in the hospital, was established in the latter part of 1878, and is maintained at an expense of three hundred dollars a year. In connection with the hospital is an out-patient or dispensary department of the college, which furnishes much valuable material for clinical instruction. The hospital building contains a marble bust of Dr. George McClellan, founder of the college, and portraits of many of the members of the different faculties.

During the peried from Sept. 17, 1877, to Sept. 30, 1878, the first year in which the hospital was open, there were four hundred and forty-one patients treated, at an expense of $11,803.95, the receipts from the board of patients and the sale of drugs being $7000.12. From Oct. 1, 1878, to Sept. 30, 1879, there were 639 patients treated, and from Oct. 1, 1879, to Sept. 30, 1880, 943 patients. During 1883 the total number of cases treated was 1193, of whom 607 recovered, 426 improved, 43 did not improve, 71 requested discharge, and 46, or only 3.7 per cent., died.

In the dispensary service, or out-patient department, the total number of visits was twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and twenty, and the number of physicians employed, twenty-one. The officers of the hospital at present are as follows:

Surgeons, Richard J. Levis, M.D., O. H. Allis, M.D., Joseph Hearn, M.D., J. M. Barton, M.D.; Physicians, James C. Wilson, M.D., Oliver P. Rex, M.D., J. T. Eskridge, M.D., Joseph S. Neff, M.D.; Ophthalmic Surgeon, Professor William Thomson, M.D.; Gynecologists, John C. Da Costa, J. Ewing Mears, M.D.; Aural Surgeon, L. Turnbull, M.D.; Pathologist, Morris Longstreth, M.D.; Resident Physicians, Malcom E. Parrott, M.D., surgeon; Orville Horwitz, M.D., physican; John A. Thomson, M.D., physician of the United States Marine Hospital Service; Superintendent, John L. Kite.

Wills Hospital for diseases of the eye, south side of Race Street, between Eighteenth and Nineteenth, opposite Logan Square, owes its foundation to the benevolence of James Wills, a grocer, who died in 1823, and by his last will bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia a sum of money, which at the completion of the building had accumulated to one hundred and twenty-two thousand five hundred and forty-eight dollars. Several other legacies have been added to the fund, which is under control of the Board of Public Trusts. The corner-stone was laid April 2, 1832, and the hospital opened March 3, 1834. The pavilions were dedicated Oct. 11, 1875. The hospital has eighty beds, all free.

It was originally intended for the relief of the indigent blind and lame, but has gradually become the most extensive hospital in the State of Pennsylvania for the treatment of diseases of the eye. During the year 1881 nearly six thousand patients were treated at the Wills Hospital, where they daily receive the gratuitous services of eight of the most skillful eye surgeons of the city.

The surgical staff consists of the following:

Emeritus Surgeons, S. Littell, M.D., T. G. Morton, M.D., R. J. Levis, M.D., W. Thomson, M.D.; Attending Surgeons, H. E. Goodman, M.D., A. D. Hall, M.D., G. C. Harlan, M.D., P. D. Keyser, M.D., W. W. McClure, M.D., W. F. Norris, M.D., G. Strawbridge, M.D., H. S. Schell, M.D.

St. Joseph's Hospital is located on the south side of Girard Avenue from Sixteenth to Seventeenth Streets. The design of establishing a Catholic hospital in Philadelphia originated with the late Bishop Kenrick. On Feb. 11, 1846, he appointed an executive committee to be called the Council of the Hospital of St. Vincent de Paul, to establish an hospital. This effort failed. On Jan. 30, 1848, Rev. F. J. Barbelin, S.J., pastor of St. Joseph's Church, called a meeting of that congregation for that evening to devise means of relieving the distressed emigrants from Ireland, and to establish a hospital. The society was formed,—Father Barbelin, president; Father McMullen, treasurer. Property on Locust Street, above Eleventh, was purchased, but the sale for legal reasons was not consummated. On Nov. 22, 1848, the title for the institution was adopted as St. Joseph's Hospital. On Jan. 9, 1849, a "Ladies' Catholic Hospital Society" was organized to cooperate with the managers. On March 12, 1849, a charter was obtained by the managers. On April 17th, the site now occupied was purchased for fifteen thousand dollars, but additions have been made since to the original purchase. On June 18, 1849, the Sisters of St. Joseph took charge of the hospital. Then the two-story double house which was then on the ground was purchased. In the first year one hundred and eighty-five patients were cared for. In May, 1852, a building for fever patients was erected. On July 19, 1860, Bishop Wood laid the corner-stone of extensive buildings. He and Very Rev. Dr. Moriarty, O.S.A., delivered discourses. On April 27, 1864, an act of incorporation was granted to the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph's Hospital.

The cost of the buildings at the time of their erection was as follows: West wing, in 1861, cost $24,000; Central wing, in 1867, cost $67,000; East wing, in 1876, cost $56,000.

According to the annual report for 1883, the num-

ber of patients admitted to the medical and surgical wards was 775. Of these 478 were pay patients, and 297 were treated without any charge. The results of the treatment of the cases were as follows: Discharged cured, 597; relieved, 19; removed before any definite result, 15; died, 49; remaining in the hospital, 95. The records of the dispensary attached to the institution show that during the year 1883 the number of persons supplied with gratuitous treatment amounted to 3130. The number of free prescriptions given was 6310. St. Joseph's Hospital is under the care of the Sisters of Charity, who are skillful and well-trained nurses, making a specialty of hospital service. Sister Mary Rose is the sister in charge.

This hospital will favorably compare with any similar institution in the city, being noted for the healthfulness of its location, pleasant surroundings, thorough ventilation, and handsome appointments. The wards, numbering eight, are large, airy, and cheerful, accommodating comfortably one hundred and twenty-eight patients. The private rooms, sixty-four in number, handsomely furnished, some connecting with private baths, and all affording every comfort, are a prominent feature of the house. The hospital is catholic in the broadest acceptation of the term, admitting all without regard to nationality, creed, or color, and according to every one the consolation of his own spiritual adviser, no matter what the religion he may profess. It is also catholic in its charities, giving to all who may apply for relief as far as its means will allow.

Board of Managers.—President, —— ——; Vice-President, Very Rev. Maurice Walsh; Treasurer, Charles A. Repplier; Secretary, Robert B. Cruice, M.D.; Managers, Joseph A. Donnelly, Francis A. Drexel, Henry Preon.

Under the Direction.—The Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph; Sister Cornelia McDonnell, Sister servant.

Medical Board.—Physicians, Dr. William V. Keating, Dr. George Morehouse, Dr. John J. Reese, Dr. J. M. Keating; Surgeons, Dr. John H. Brinton, Dr. John H. Packard, Dr. Charles S. Boker, Dr. Robert B. Cruice; Obstetrician, Dr. A. G. Bournonville; Pathologist, Dr. Joseph Leidy; Physician and Surgeon in Charge, Dr. Robert B. Cruice, Dr. John J. Alexander; Solicitor, Henry P. Coleman, Jr.

Woman's Hospital, corner of North College Avenue and Twenty-second Street, was established in 1861, in connection with the Woman's Medical College, and for the purpose of affording clinical facilities to students of the institution. It occupied until 1874 a portion of the college building, but since the erection of the new building for the latter the premises formerly occupied by the college have been assigned to the hospital. Over four thousand patients are treated annually in this hospital, which is under the supervision of a board of twenty-four managers.

Officers.—President, Mrs. E. C. Griffith; Treasurer, Mrs. Rachel C. Bunting; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Sarah T. Price; Recording Secretary, Mrs. E. F. Halloway; Physician in Charge, Anita E. Tyne, M.D.; Matron, Elizabeth T. Evans.

In 1872 the Training School for Nurses was endowed and a course of nursing instituted, to be given by the resident physician in the spring and autumn of each year, to supplement the practical training in the wards. A diet-kitchen was also established for instruction in the preparation of food for the sick. In addition to the regular course of Woman's Hospital lectures on nursing, lectures on special subjects are given by Philadelphia physicians, among whom may be mentioned Drs. S. Weir Mitchell, Albert H. Smith, Harrison Allen, W. W. Keen, James Tyson, James C. Wilson, Edward E. Montgomery, John H. Ashhurst, Jr., Edward T. Bruen, William Pepper, and others.

The Lying-in Charity and Nurse Society (No. 126 North Eleventh Street, corner of Cherry) was founded in 1828. The institution is supported wholly by private subscription. The objects of the society are the instruction of nurses, attendance upon indigent women at their own homes in their confinement, and the treatment of diseases peculiar to women at the bi-weekly clinic, with hospital care where it is required.

Officers.—President, Ellwood Wilson, M.D.; Vice-Presidents, Dillwyn Parrish and Isaac S. Williams; Treasurer, Passmore Williamson; Secretary, John T. Ward; Managers, John Carrow, Henry A. Moore, Henry M. Laing, Samuel L. Fox, Thomas L. Gillespie, T. P. Conard, Thomas T. Child, Louis Dedlow, Margaret Fulton, Anna M. Child, Elizabeth F. A. Cooper, Gulielma M. Jones, Sarah McIlvain, Rebecca Conard, Katherine M. Phillips; Lady Visitors, Mrs. M. Fulton, Mrs. E. F. A. Cooper, Mrs. A. M. Child, Mrs. Sophia M. McElroy, Mrs. Mary E. Carrow, Mrs. Eliza B. Hill, Mrs. Sarah McIlvain, Mrs. Elizabeth S. Haines, Mrs. Katherine M. Phillips, Mrs. Rebecca Conard, Mrs. Gulielma M. Jones, Mrs. Sarah K. Taggart, Mrs. Anna M. Hunt, Mrs. J. Tatum, Mrs. R. Horner, Mrs. M. Bayard, Mrs. Hannah H. Jenks, Miss Elizabeth Baeder, Miss Rebecca Gobrecht.

Medical Staff.—Consulting Physician, Ellwood Wilson, M.D.; Principal Physicians, Joshua G. Allen, M.D., Albert H. Smith, M.D.; Senior Assistant Physicians, Alfred Whelen, M.D., Washington H. Baker, M.D., S. B. McDowell, M.D., John C. Da Costa, M.D.; Junior Assistant Physicians, J. Wilks O'Neil, M.D., Charles F. Wirgman, M.D., Daniel Longacre, M.D., E. W. Holmes, M.D., H. D. Thompson, M.D.

The Preston Retreat (Hamilton Street, between Twentieth and Twenty-first Streets) was founded in 1836. It is supported by income from an estate left by Dr. Jonas Preston, who died in 1836, and is a lying-in charity for married women of good character but in indigent circumstances. The use of the building was for many years allowed to the managers of the Foster Home Association. It was first opened as a lying-in hospital in 1866, and during that year received forty patients.

Officers.—Managers, Crawford Arnold, William C. Biddle, Charles Bullock, Frederick Collins, B. B. Comegys, Frederick Fraley, Joseph C. Fraley, Henry Haines, Charles M. Hill, Jacob P. Jones, Edward H. Ogden, Eli K. Price, Galloway C. Morris, John Rommel, Jr., Samuel R. Shipley, Joseph B. Townsend, Henry C. Townsend, Joseph H. Trotter, George Thomas, M.D., J. Preston Thomas, John C. Uhle, Edward N. Wright, Charles W. Wharton, J. Price Wetherill; President, Eli K. Price; Secretary, John C. Uhle; Treasurer, J. Sergeant Price; Physician in Charge, Dr. William Goodell; Consulting Physicians, Louis Rodman, R. A. F. Penrose, Ellwood Wilson, Edward L. Duer, Ellerslie Wallace, Albert H. Smith.

The German Hospital.—As early as 1850 the citizens of German birth and descent in Philadelphia determined to establish a hospital. On April 2, 1860, a charter was obtained from the Legislature, and the first meeting was held under it on May 12th of the same year. The German Hospital of the City of

Philadelphia was duly organized with the following officers: Joseph M. Reichard,[1] president; Jacob Mueller, vice-president; Francis M. Drexel, treasurer; M. Richards Mucklé, secretary; and Frederick R. Heyer, attorney.

A committee was appointed to select a suitable location for the hospital, which shortly afterward recommended the country residence of the Norris family, corner of Twentieth and Norris Streets, which was bought for twenty thousand dollars, the deed being signed on the 20th of May, 1861. Its extent was nearly three acres, and the building on it seemed well suited for the necessary wants of a hospital. In August, 1864, one hundred and thirty-eight and eight-tenths perches of land were bought of Peter Van Pelt for four thousand dollars, in order to secure an unbroken front on Twentieth Street.

The corporation received at that time its first legacies, namely, from the estate of F. M. Drexel two thousand dollars, F. L. John one thousand dollars, J. H. Ullman two thousand dollars, and a donation from Mary de B. Brown of one thousand dollars. A Ladies' Aid Society was organized in April, 1861, whose efforts were most effectual in assisting in raising a portion of the purchase money. The managers had at that time finished their preparations for throwing doors open to the sick and wounded, when the civil war broke out, and for the purpose of assisting the government in its need for comfortable hospital accommodations, the entire establishment was leased to the United States for a nominal sum, for the duration of the war. The corporation did not get possession of its property until July 31, 1866, and in the same year, on Thanksgiving day, Nov. 29, 1866, its doors were opened to the sick. It soon became apparent that the building, being old, would soon need extensive repairs, and at the same time the locality did not appear to be central enough. It was then thought wise to look out for a better location. The handsome mansion of the Misses Davidson, at the corner of Corinthian and Girard Avenues, being then offered for sale, was purchased in the spring of 1872 for thirty-five thousand dollars.

In October of the same year possession was taken, and over fifty patients were domiciled in the house. It was decided to remodel the house, and at the same time enlarge it very considerably. In May, 1874, the new plans were submitted to the managers and universally approved. Building was soon commenced, and at the end of the year was so far advanced that part of the new building could be utilized. The very extensive outlays for the building and for its improvement were partly defrayed by donations and legacies which the hospital was favored with, among which may be mentioned the very liberal endowments for two beds, presented by Isaiah V. Williamson.

[1] Resigned Jan. 27, 1869, and John D. Lankenau was nominated and elected in his stead.

On the 26th of October, 1875, the formal dedication of the finished buildings took place, and since that time the hospital has been steadily advancing in favor, and anxious and willing to afford relief to the poor and wounded, as far as the limited means of its treasury would allow. The old hospital lot, on the corner of Twentieth and Norris Streets, was sold at auction on the 2d of November, 1879, to the highest bidder, the amount realized being fifty-five thousand dollars, which sum enabled the managers to pay off the mortgages on the new hospital lot, and with the balance of the fifteen thousand dollars to make the first permanent investment.

A considerable piece of ground, bought from the city, has been given to the hospital corporation, and additional buildings are likewise in contemplation, which will also be presented to the corporation.

At the meeting of the corporation on the 11th of January, 1882, it was determined to adopt a new charter, and, after several preliminary meetings, the new charter was duly signed and approved Dec. 2, 1882. This new charter went into effect on the 8th of January, 1883.

Officers for 1883.—President, John D. Lankenau; Vice-President, M. Richards Mucklé; Secretary, William N. Mencke; Treasurer, C. A. Woerwag; Solicitor, Joseph G. Rosengarten; Board of Trustees, Rev. Dr. W. J. Mann, Rev. Dr. A. Spaeth, Rev. F. Wischan, J. C. File, Christian Gross, J. Henry Tilge, John D. Lankenau, William N. Mencke, Charles H. Meyer, M. R. Mucklé, H. D. Justi, Joseph Neumann, G. A. Schwarz, A. Weihenmayer, Anton Winters, John C. Yeager. Medical Board, Physicians, Adam Trau, M.D., J. Solis Cohen, M.D., George W. Vogler, M.D., Frank Woodbury, M.D.; Surgeons, Ferdinand H. Gross, M.D., Marcus Franklin, M.D., James Collins, M D., James M. Barton, M.D.; Oculist and Aurist, Charles S. Turnbull; Resident Physicians, J. S. Miller, M.D., A. B. Hirsch, M.D.; Steward, Richard Naumann; Matron, Henriette Naumann.

The officers of the Ladies' Aid Society of the German Hospital are as follows:

President, Mrs. John Bower; Vice-President, Mrs. C. Benkert; Treasurer, Mrs. M. Hassold; Secretary, Mrs. B. G. Stephan; Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Chr. Ludy; Directors, Mrs. Schwartz, Mrs. Berlinger, Mrs. Newman, Mrs. Dauber, Mrs. Nier, Mrs. Schmidt, Mrs. Kaiser, Mrs. Fischer, Mrs. Maisch, Mrs. Platzer, Mrs. Oppermann, Mrs. Kolb, Mrs. Engel, Mrs. Mann, Mrs. Wolters.

The Philadelphia Hospital (Woodland Avenue [Darby road], below Walnut Street) is a branch of the Blockley Almshouse, and is under the charge of the Board of Guardians for the relief and employment of the poor of the city of Philadelphia. It embraces medical, surgical, and obstetrical wards, together with a children's asylum. The insane hospital is under the charge of a medical superintendent, with assistants.

The appropriation of the Guardians of the Poor for 1882 was as follows:

Hospital department, $29,615; insane department, $13,598; children's asylum, $1467; house generally, $316,069; manufacturing department, $20,730; farm and Blockley estate, $11,527; out-door expenses, $26,410; deficiency bill, 1876–77, $1150; cost of Marston Street sewer, $1552; total, $422,118.

Officers of the Board.—President, Edward F. Hoffman; Treasurer, John Ruhl; Secretary, Robert C. Floyd; Members, Thomas Biddle, M.D., William R. Chapman, Patrick K. Daly, John Huggard, Edward

F. Hoffman, Thomas S. Keyser, William McAleer, Richard C. McMurtrie, Joseph Paxson, James Stewart, John Ruhl, William H. Zeigler. Officers: Superintendent, George H. Smith; Physician-in-Chief, insane department, D. D. Richardson, M.D.; Chief Clerk and Storekeeper, A. F. Randolph; Out-Door Agent, A. D. M. Caldwell; House Agent, Oliver P. Bohler; Apothecary, William F. Bender; Overseer of the Manufactory, John B. Snyder; Hospital Warden, T. N. McLaughlin. Attending Physicians, Surgeons, and Accouchers of the Hospital: Surgeons, Dr. W. H. Pancoast, Dr. N. L. Hatfield, Jr., Dr. J. W. White, Jr., Dr. W. S. Janney, Dr. George McClellan, Dr. A. S. Roberts, Dr. Joseph F. Hearn, Dr. C. H. Thomas, Dr. William G. Porter; Accoucheurs, Dr. E. E. Montgomery, Dr. John B. Keating, Dr. W. H. Parrish, Dr. S. S. Stryker, Dr. M. D. Musser, Dr. Clara Marshall, Dr. W. W. Bernady, Theophilus Parvin; Physicians, Dr. J. L. Ludlow, Dr. William Pepper, Dr. James Tyson, Dr. Edward T. Bruen, Dr. James C. Wilson, Dr. Roland G. Curtin, Dr. J. B. Walker, Joseph Neff; Curator and Pathologist, Dr. E. O. Shakspeare; Dermatologist, Dr. Louis A. Duhring; Neurologist, Dr. Charles K. Mills; Microscopist, Dr. H. T. Formad.

The Howard Hospital and Infirmary for Incurables (No. 1518 and 1520 Lombard Street) was founded May 1, 1853, and incorporated May 8, 1854.

The object of this institution is the medical and surgical treatment of the sick and infirm deserving poor. It is unsectarian, and depends for its support upon the voluntary contributions of the benevolent. It receives no aid from the State.

Its medical department is organized on the specialty system; each physician devoting himself to the treatment of a special class of diseases, and experience has shown the great value of this method.

Officers.—President, William P. Cresson; Treasurer, Henry D. Sherrerd; Secretary, William R. Claxton; Physicians, Drs. Joseph Klapp and B. F. Nicholls, diseases of digestive organs; Drs. T. Hewson Bradford, Robert H. Hamill, T. C. Rich, and John M. Taylor, diseases of chest and throat; Dr. William B. Atkinson, diseases of females; Drs. Alfred T. Livingstone, Charles K. Mills, and J. T. Eskridge, diseases of brain and nerves; Dr. Thomas S. Harper, fevers; Drs. Laurence Turnbull, Charles S. Turnbull, and Franklin D. Castle, diseases of the eye and ear; Drs. H. W. Stellwagon, John W. Barr, and Henry Morris, diseases of skin; Surgeons, Oscar H. Allis, M.D., George McClellan, M.D.; Resident Physician, George W. Miel, M.D.

The Charity Hospital (1832 Hamilton Street) was chartered in 1858, and is supported by private subscription. Daily clinics are held in the hospital, where advice and medicine are given gratuitously to the worthy poor.

The Jewish Hospital (Olney road, near York pike, in the Twenty-second Ward) was organized in 1865, and admits all sufferers from bodily disease, regardless of religious beliefs, sex, or nationality. The institution occupied for many years buildings at Westminster Avenue and Haverford road. The lot of ground now occupied was purchased in 1872, and the corner-stone of a hospital building laid October 9th of the same year. It was ready for patients in 1874. The association also has under its charge and supports a home for aged and infirm Israelites. The cost of the hospital buildings was about one hundred thousand dollars, and is supported by yearly subscribers and voluntary donations. The building is surrounded by fourteen and a half acres of beautiful rolling ground, and is in one of the finest parts of the city. The officers of the association are as follows:

President, William B. Hackenburg; Vice-President, Abraham Goldsmith; Treasurer, August B. Loeb; Secretary, Simon A. Stern; Corresponding Secretary, Simon Pfaelzer; Directors, Mayor Sulzberger, Abraham Wolf, Solomon Gans, Alfred T. Jones, Abraham Sulzberger, Alfred E. Massman, Isaac Kohn, Aaron Lichten, Lucien Moss, Henry S. Frank, Simon Muhr, Louis Saller.

The Presbyterian Hospital (corner of Powelton Avenue and Thirty-ninth Street, West Philadelphia) owes its foundation to the appointment of a committee on hospitals by the Presbyterian Alliance in 1870. At that time Professor Courtland Saunders offered to the institution, if it should be formed, an entire square of ground, upon which were his mansion and the Courtland Saunders Institute. The gift was not absolute, but the offer was so liberal that a valuable property, worth at least fifty thousand dollars, came into the possession of the managers of the hospital for a small sum. In 1871, obtaining a charter, John A. Brown, of this city, made a liberal donation of three hundred thousand dollars to the hospital, the interest to be applied to its support. The hospital was formally opened July 1, 1872. It provides medical and surgical aid and nursing for the sick and disabled, without distinction as to creed, country, or color, and is managed by the following officers:

President, Rev. Charles A. Dickey, D.D.; Treasurer, John D. McCord, Esq.; Secretary, William L. Mactier; Attending Surgeons, Oscar H. Allis, M.D., Thomas B. Reed, M.D., DeForrest Willard, M.D., William G. Porter, M.D.; Attending Physicians, John L. Ludlow, M.D., James V. Patterson, M.D., Joseph G. Richardson, M.D., D. Flavel Woods, M.D., James Markoe, M.D.; Physicians for Diseases peculiar to Women, Robert M. Girvin, M.D., Edward L. Duer, M.D.; Ophthalmic Surgeons, W Wallace McClure, M.D., George Strawbridge, M.D.; Aurist, Charles H. Burnett, M.D.; Pathologists, H. Augustus Wilson, M.D., Carl Seiler, M.D.; Resident Physicians, Alexander Marey, Jr., M.D., J. P. Crozer Griffith, M.D.

Out-Patient Department.—Surgeons, H. M. Perry, M.D., Charles W. Dulles, M.D; Physicians, Abner F. Chase, M.D., W. C. Barrett, M.D.; Apothecary, Charles T. C. Gerhard; Chaplain, Rev. Francis Hendricks; Superintendent, John A. E. Walk; Matron, Mary E. Fondersmith.

St. Mary's Hospital (corner of Frankford Avenue and Palmer Street) is conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis, and is entirely supported by voluntary contributions. It was founded in 1866, and patients of all creeds are received. In connection with the hospital there is a dispensary, which gives relief to outdoor sick.

Officers.—Medical Director, Dr. Andrew Nebinger; Physicians, Dr. W. R. D. Blackwood, Dr. Michael O'Hara, Dr. Napoleon Hickman, Dr. J. Eskridge; Surgeons, Dr. J. H. Grove, Dr. J. E. Mears, Dr. W. W. Keen, Dr. John B. Roberts. Dispensary Department: Surgical Diseases, Dr. Addinell Hewson, Jr.; Eye and Ear Diseases, Dr. Charles A. Oliver; Throat Diseases, Dr. George McCracken; Resident Physicians, Dr. George Seifert, Dr. C. L. Codding, Dr. Richard Wetherill; Sister Superior in Charge, Sister Mary Borromeo; Solicitor, Hon. Benjamin H. Brewster.

Under the care of Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis.

The Germantown Dispensary and Hospital (Shoemaker Lane, near Chew Street, Germantown) was opened in 1870, for the benefit of the sick poor of Germantown and Chestnut Hill. The hospital has forty beds, and beside the usual cases treated at dispensaries there is a special surgeon for diseases of the eye and ear. It is supported by public contributions.

Officers.—President, James E. Rhoads, M.D.; Secretary, Galloway C. Morris; Treasurer, S. Harvey Thomas; Managers, James E. Rhoads, M.D., John S. Haines, Elliston Perot Morris, Owen J. Wister, M.D., Charles Spencer, F. Mortimer Lewis, Thomas Stewardson, Amos R. Little, S. Harvey Thomas, Galloway C. Morris, Philip C. Garrett, Francis B. Reeves, T. Charlton Henry, William H. Haines, William E. S. Baker; Attending Physicians, Auguste F. Muller, M.D., R. W. Deavor, M.D., Edward F. Garrett, M.D., C. S. Witherstine, M.D.; Resident Physician, McCluny Radcliffe, M.D.

The Orthopædic Hospital and Infirmary for Nervous Diseases was organized in October, 1867, and incorporated in December of the same year. The institution occupies a large building, purchased in 1872, at the northwest corner of Seventeenth and Summer Streets, and at the time of its organization was the only one of the kind in America. The hospital was originally established on South Ninth Street.

Officers.—President, Edward Hopper; Secretary, Alfred Jones; Treasurer, A. B. Williams; Managers, Edward Hopper, Dillwyn Parrish, Joseph C. Turnpenny, Edward B. Green, M.D., Richard K. Betts, Alfred Jones, Franklin Taylor, Enoch Lewis, William C. Smyth, Samuel Fisher Corlies, Robert R. Corson, Edward Hoopes, Albert B. Williams; Attending Surgeons, Thomas G. Morton, M.D., H. Ernest Goodman, M.D., William Hunt, M D.; Attending Physicians, S. Weir Mitchell, M.D., Wharton Sinkler, M.D., Robert H. Alison; Assistant Surgeons, Washington H. Baker, M.D., Joseph M. Fox, M.D., M. Frank Kirkbride, M.D.

The Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania (on the south side of Spruce Street, between Thirty-fourth and Thirty-sixth Streets) was formed at a meeting of the University of Pennsylvania on the 12th of June, 1871. On the 3d of April, 1872, the State Legislature appropriated one hundred thousand dollars for the purpose of constructing the hospital, on condition that two hundred and fifty thousand dollars should be raised by subscription, and that two hundred free beds should always be maintained. The prescribed amount was raised, and on April 9, 1873, one hundred thousand dollars more was appropriated, on condition that the University would give one hundred thousand dollars and support two hundred more free beds. This amount was also raised, and, with two hundred thousand dollars from the State and three hundred thousand dollars from subscriptions, the sums were taken to begin the building. In May, 1872, City Councils granted a lot of ground for the site, and work was soon after begun. On June 4, 1874, the main building and west pavilion, capable of accommodating one hundred and forty-six patients, were completed, and formally dedicated. The hospital occupies a lot of ground fronting seven hundred feet on Spruce and Pine Streets, and three hundred and twenty on Thirty-fourth and Thirty-sixth Streets. It is directly south of the collegiate building of the University. The exterior walls are of green serpentine, with stone of other colors. The hospital is entirely free to all patients needing its services who are residents of Pennsylvania.

The officers of the board of managers are Eli K. Price, president; Samuel R. Shipley, vice-president; Richard Wood, secretary; and Wharton Baker, treasurer. Officers of the contributors: Alfred G. Baker, president; Cadwalader Biddle, treasurer; and Horace T. Evans, secretary.

Hospital Staff.—Alfred Stillé, M.D., LL.D., professor of Clinical Medicine; William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., professor of Clinical Medicine; D. Hayes Agnew, M.D., LL.D., professor of Clinical Surgery; William Goodell, M.D., professor of Clinical Gynæcology; James Tyson, M.D., professor of General Pathology and Morbid Anatomy; John Ashhurst, Jr., M.D., professor of Clinical Surgery; William F. Norris, M.D., clinical professor of Diseases of the Eye; George Strawbridge, M.D., clinical professor of Diseases of the Ear; Horatio C. Wood, M.D., LL.D., clinical professor of Nervous Diseases; Louis A. Duhring, M.D., clinical professor of Skin Diseases; Roland G. Curtin, M.D., Edward T. Bruen, M.D., Louis Starr, M.D., assistant physicians; Charles T. Hunter, M.D., J. William White, M.D., H. R. Wharton, M.D., Richard H. Harte, M.D., assistant surgeons; Frederick C. Sheppard, M.D., assistant gynæcologist; Samuel D. Risley, M.D., assistant ophthalmic surgeon; Walter M. L. Ziegler, M.D., assistant aural surgeon; Henry W. Stelwagon, M.D., assistant dermatologist; Benjamin F. Hamell, M.D., superintendent of the hospital; Charles W. Dulles, M.D., surgical registrar; William E. Hughes, M.D., medical registrar; Henry F. Formad, M.D., pathologist; Judson Daland, M.D., curator; Gwillym G. Davis, M.D., surgical anæsthetizer; B. C. Hirst, M.D., Edward Martin, M.D., Joseph Stokes, M.D., resident physicians; Joseph C. Rogers, apothecary.

Dispensary Service.—Charles T. Hunter, M.D., chief of the Surgical Dispensary; Samuel D. Risley, M.D., chief of the Dispensary for Diseases of the Eye; Walter M. L. Ziegler, M.D., chief of the Dispensary for Diseases of the Ear; Benjamin F. Baer, M.D., chief of the Dispensary for Diseases of Women; De Forrest Willard, M.D., A. Sydney Roberts, M.D., surgeons in the Orthopædic Dispensary; J. William White, M.D., chief of the Dispensary for Venereal Diseases; John H. Musser, M.D., chief of the Medical Dispensary; Louis Starr, M.D., chief of the Dispensary for Diseases of Children; Carl Seiler, M.D., chief of the Dispensary for Diseases of the Throat; Francis X. Dercum, M.D., chief of the Dispensary for Nervous Diseases; H. W. Stelwagon, M.D., chief of the Dispensary for Diseases of the Skin; Lewis H. Kirk, M.D., William E. Hughes, M.D., assistant physicians in the Medical Dispensary; Hollingsworth Neill, M.D., William Barton Hopkins, M.D., Richard H. Harte, M.D., Charles W. Dulles, M.D., assistant surgeons in the Surgical Dispensary; William L. Taylor, M.D., William A. Davis, M.D., assistant physicians in the Dispensary for Diseases of Women; James Wallace, M.D., G. E. De Schweinitz, M.D., assistant physicians in the Dispensary for Diseases of the Eye; James Hendrie Lloyd, M.D., assistant physician in the Dispensary for Nervous Diseases; Robert H. Hamill, M.D., assistant physician in the Dispensary for Diseases of the Ear; J. Madison Taylor, M.D., Thomas R. Nelson, M.D., assistant surgeons in the Dispensary for Venereal Diseases; James Sheets, M.D., W. R. Hoch, M.D., assistant physicians to the Dispensary for Diseases of the Throat.

The Home for Consumptives, designed for the accommodation of the destitute and homeless afflicted with that terrible and fatal malady, consumption, was established by the Philadelphia Protestant Episcopal City Mission in March, 1876, and since that time nearly six hundred patients have been adopted as beneficiaries. The House of Mercy, No. 411 Spruce Street, the greater portion of which is devoted to the purposes of a home, was opened April 1, 1877.

The home is not so much a hospital, confining its beneficence to the inmates actually within its walls, as a central ministering agency, from which, through its system of out-door relief, the poor consumptives in all parts of the city may be properly cared for. The sphere of this good work is thus capable of indefinite expansion, with no limit save of the funds provided it.

No fee is charged for admission to the home, and no discrimination is made by reason of nationality, creed, or color, but it is expected that those who avail themselves of the charity thus bestowed will

conform to the ministrations of the Protestant Episcopal Church. This rule does not apply to patients at their own homes. The superintendent is Rev. Samuel Durborow; Treasurer, William M. Runk.

The Home for Incurables (No. 4700 Woodland Avenue) was incorporated Nov. 14, 1877, to provide a home for that class of sufferers whose diseases are pronounced incurable. It was opened Nov. 8, 1877, and is managed by the following officers:

Officers.—Board of Managers: President, Mrs. Seth B. Stitt; First Vice-President, Mrs. C. K. Inglis; Second Vice-President, Mrs. Israel Maule; Treasurer, Mrs. Henry C. Townsend; Secretary, Mrs. Edward R. Fell; Mrs. M. B. Trevor, Mrs. G. Albert Lewis, Mrs. Benjamin Griffith, Mrs. Nathan H. Sharpless, Mrs. John A. Lewis, Mrs. Samuel A. Harrison, Mrs. Edward H. Ogden, Mrs. J. Eastburn Mitchell, Miss Augusta Taber, Miss Susan Gorgas, Miss Helen V. Wriggins, Mrs. Samuel B. Shipley, Mrs. Benjamin J. Crew, Mrs. Horatio Gates Jones, Mrs. J. Lewis Crozer, Mrs. Charles H. Caldwell, Mrs. C. G. Hunsworth, Mrs. H. S. Hoffman, Mrs. C. A. Dickey, Mrs. W. A. Griswold, Mrs. Thomas Roberts, Mrs. T. G. Wormley, Mrs. Gideon Stoddart, Mrs. H. M. Dechert, Mrs. J. F. Keen, Miss E. C. Egner; Board of Advisors, William S. Peirce, Horatio Gates Jones, S. Weir Lewis, Benjamin J. Crew, J. Eastburn Mitchell, J. E. Gillingham, Daniel M. Fox, John Baird, Henry C. Townsend, John M. Collins, Caleb J. Milne; Medical Advisers, W. W. Keen, M.D., Thomas G. Morton, M.D., Charles P. Turner, M.D., W. C. Dixon, M.D.; Attending Physicians, H. B. Rockwell, M.D., J. P. Crozer Griffith, M.D.

Children's Hospital (Twenty-second Street, above Locust) was founded in 1855. This institution is supported by voluntary contributions of the benevolent, by legacies, and to a small extent by board of patients. Children under twelve years of age, suffering from non-contagious diseases or from accidental injuries, are admitted on application to the attending physicians and surgeons, who visit the hospital daily at 11 A.M. Since its opening in November, 1855, three thousand four hundred and fifty-four in-door cases have been admitted into the wards, and ninety-six thousand two hundred and fifty-nine out-patients prescribed for at the dispensary. The expense for their maintenance and treatment has been $159,090.58, exclusive of repairs and improvements to the hospital building.

Officers.—President, F. Mortimer Lewis; Vice-President, W. R. Lejee; Treasurer, Robert W. Ryerss; Secretary, Francis W. Lewis, M.D.; Managers, W. Heyward Drayton, Richard Wood, Francis W. Lewis, M.D., William R. Lejee, Morton P. Henry, Henry Winsor, T. H. Bache, M.D., G. A. Wood, Edward S. Clarke, F. M. Lewis, Emlen Hutchinson, N. Burt, Robert Ryerss, John S. Newbold, Thomas Stewardson, Jr., W. Brockie, O. A. Judson, M.D., Clarence H. Clark. Officers elected by the Managers: Attending Physicians, James H. Hutchinson, M.D., D. Murray Cheston, M.D., Louis Starr, M.D., Arthur V. Meigs, M.D.; Attending Surgeons, John Ashhurst, Jr., M.D., H. Wharton, M.D., Samuel Ashhurst, M.D., H. S. Schell, M.D., ophthalmic and aural surgeon; Consulting Physicians, J. Forsyth Meigs, M.D., J. M. Da Costa, M.D.

St. Christopher's Hospital for Children (No. 132 Diamond Street, opposite Norris Square) was incorporated in November, 1875. It is intended for the treatment of sick and injured children of the poor, without regard to creed, color, or nationality, and is supported by voluntary contributions. The dispensary for children is at 552 East Dauphin Street.

Officers.—Physician-in-Charge, Dr. W. H. Bennett; Secretary, James S. Whitney; President, J. Shipley Newlin; Treasurer, Edward A. Sibley.

The Sanitarium Association.—The object of the association is to provide a place where fresh air, wholesome food, and cleanly surroundings may be enjoyed by the very poorest class of sick and helpless children. The Sanitarium buildings are situated on Windmill Island, Delaware River, and are open during the summer months for the reception of destitute children. During the season of 1882 there were received and cared for 46,124 persons; of these there were 9471 infants, 12,620 children under five years of age, 9893 between five and ten years, 4874 over ten years, and 9266 adults. The average cost of maintenance has not exceeded six cents per day for each person.

Officers.—President, Daniel Baugh; Vice-President, Dr. William B. Atkinson; Secretary and Treasurer, Dr. Eugene Wiley; Managers of Sanitarium, Dr. William H. Ford, George C. Thomas, Francis R. Abbott, William H. Hart, Jr., George D. McCreary, William Barnett, John T. Bailey, Samuel M. Bines; Solicitor, Joseph R. Rhoads, Esq.

German Eye and Ear Infirmary (No. 441 North Fifth Street) was founded July 3, 1876. Its objects are the gratuitous treatment of patients in indigent circumstances suffering from diseases of the eye and ear, and the advancement of medical science, in particular the branches of ophthalmology and otology.

The Homœopathic Hospital (1116 Cuthbert Street, in the rear of Hahnemann Medical College) was incorporated in 1873, and is supported by voluntary contributions. It is open for the reception of the sick and suffering requiring medical or surgical aid. The dispensary is open daily. W. Hobart Brown, president; Dr. John E. James, secretary.

The Children's Homœopathic Hospital (No. 914 North Broad Street) is open for sick children between the ages of two and fourteen and those suffering from non-contagious diseases. The dispensary for the treatment of children and adults is open daily.

Officers.—President, Capt. Enoch Turley; Vice-President, Thomas F. Brock; Treasurer, William H. Allen; Secretary, M. S. Williamson, M.D.; Resident Physician, J. T. Ridge, M.D.; Board of Directors besides Officers, S. L. Kirk, C. S. Middleton, M.D., J. E. James, M.D., B. W. James, M.D., W. H. H. Neville, M.D., Pemberton M. Dudley, M.D., Aug. Korndoefer, M.D., T. F. Brock, J. B. Roney, D. A. Waters, W. M. Shoemaker.

Pennsylvania Homœopathic Hospital for Children (southwest corner of Forty-third Street and Oregon Avenue, West Philadelphia) receives infants and children with acute and chronic diseases other than contagious. Special provisions are made for the reception of surgical cases. A dispensary for the treatment of children is open daily.

Officers.—Board of Counsel: William H. Furness, D.D., president; Enoch Lewis, treasurer. Board of Directors: Mrs. William H. Furness, president; Mrs. William E. London, secretary; Resident Physician, Edward Everett Davis, M.D.

Maternity Hospital (No. 734 South Tenth Street), formerly the "State Hospital for Women and Infants," was established for "the care, nurture, and maintenance of destitute women, married or single, during childbirth."

Officers.—Board of Governors and Medical Staff: President, J. W. White, M.D.; Treasurer, W. H. Ingham; Secretary, W. H. Staake. Board of Governors, J. W. White, M.D., W. H. Ingham, W. H. Staake,

R. W. Clay, John P. Verree, J. V. Watson, C. C. Febiger, Andrew Gray, Charles M. Lea, William B. Robins, L. Clarke Davis, J. V. Ingham, M.D., T. Morris Perot, Charles Bullock, N. C. Mitchell; Obstetricians, W. H. Baker, M.D., B. F. Baer, M.D., John B. Deaver, M.D., Robert H. Hamill, M.D.; Surgeons, Edward L. Duer, M.D., John A. McArthur, M.D., J. William White, M.D., John M. Keating, M.D.; Consulting Obstetricians, R. A. F. Penrose, M.D., Ellerslie Wallace, M.D.; Consulting Physicians, Alfred Stillé, M.D., S. Weir Mitchell, M.D.; Consulting Surgeons, H. Earnest Goodman, M.D.; D. Hayes Agnew, M.D.

The Church Dispensary of Southwark (at No. 1719 South Ninth Street) was incorporated in 1873. It was established to afford medical assistance to the sick poor living in the southern part of Philadelphia.

The Southern Sick-Diet Kitchen is located in this building, enabling the sick to be supplied with the necessary food, under the direction of a physician.

The results of the work at the dispensary since its establishment, in 1872, by the Philadelphia Protestant Episcopal City Mission, have been very encouraging.

Officers.—President, Henry R. Edmunds; Secretary, Rev. Thomas L. Franklin, D.D.; Treasurer, Rev. A. D. Heffern; Executive Committee, Henry R. Edmunds, Rev. Thomas L. Franklin, D.D., Rev. A. D. Heffern; Medical Director, B. F. Nicholls, M.D.

The Franklin Reformatory Home for Inebriates (on Locust Street, between Ninth and Tenth) was organized and incorporated in 1872. The object of this institution is the thorough and permanent reformation of inebriates, and in it are combined church privileges and home comforts.

Officers.—Board of Directors: President, Samuel P. Godwin; Vice-Presidents, Richard Wood, Isaac Welsh, William G. Warden; Treasurer, Isaac Welsh; Secretary, Thomas N. Boyd; Attending Physician, James Graham, M.D.; Solicitor, Hon. John K. Valentine.

The Philadelphia Dispensary for the medical and surgical relief of the worthy poor was founded in 1786, and is the oldest dispensary in the United States. It is located at 127 South Fifth Street, between Library and Walnut, and is supported by private contributions, and by income from investments. It has in connection with it an obstetrical and eye and ear department, at the corner of Thirteenth and Chestnut Streets. The managers are Rev. H. J. Morton, D.D. (president), T. Wistar Brown, George Harrison Fisher, Joseph P. Smith, Dr. Thomas Wistar (secretary), William Hacker, A. E. Harvey, C. W. Trotter, Lewis Rodman, M.D., John Hockley, Jr., Richard Wood, Henry Bettle.

The benefits of the dispensary are bestowed upon all applicants whose circumstances do not admit of their employing a physician, except those suffering from delirium tremens or venereal disease, and mere paupers. All medicines are furnished gratuitously.

Twenty-five thousand and twenty-six patients were treated in 1882, as follows: House and district cases, 21,115; obstetrical, 727; eye and ear, 3184.

The Northern Dispensary (at 608 Fairmount Avenue) was instituted Oct. 1, 1816, and chartered March 26, 1817, amended June 4, 1855, and Sept. 21, 1868. It has a lying-in department.

The Southern Dispensary (318 Bainbridge Street) was founded March 24, 1817.

The Episcopal Hospital Dispensary.—This is a department of the Episcopal Hospital, which affords medical relief to an immense number of out-door patients.

The Episcopal Hospital Training-School for Nurses.—This department of the Episcopal Hospital is a part of its original design. It has been quite useful, and plans are laid for its development on a more extended scale.

The Dispensary for Skin Diseases (216 South Eleventh Street) was incorporated in January, 1871, and has for its object the gratuitous relief of the sick poor afflicted with diseases of the skin.

Pennsylvania Free Dispensary for Skin Diseases (No. 923 Locust Street) was established in November, 1876. The daily clinics are open to graduates and medical students.

CHAPTER XLI.

PROMINENT WOMEN IN PHILADELPHIA HISTORY.[1]

EXACTLY when the first woman of European birth came to the Delaware River cannot be certainly known. It might have been when the Dutch reached Fort Nassau, in 1623, or at the settlement of Swanendall as early as 1631, or in Ployden's strange territory of Albion. In the Epistle and Dedication of Beauchamp Plantagenet, after describing the great advantages of the Albion settlement, he speaks of "The Lady Winefrid, Baroness of Uvedale, the pattern of mildness and modesty," also of "The Lady Barbara, Baroness of Ritchneck, the mirror of wit and beauty," and also of a Lady Baroness whose title is unfortunately lost by a break in the page, but who was expected to come to America, as Plantagenet hopes, "to get them, as they promised to goe with us." There can be little doubt that when the Swedes came, in 1638, women came with them. It was to be a colony permanent in character. A settlement of men only, without women to take care of their domestic interests, would have been a failure. That John Printz, the Swedish Governor, brought his wife with him in 1642, can scarcely be doubted; and in 1660, Mrs. Printz made complaint—the account of which is contained in the Albany records—that she could not vacate her residence (at Tinicum) without much inconvenience. Armgard Printz, daughter of Governor John, married John Pappegoya, who came over with letters of introduction in 1643. Madame Armgard Pappegoya was living under the Dutch rule in 1656, and she appeared as plaintiff in a law-suit before Upland Court in 1672. Among the English who came early were the women of the family of William Crispin and Nathaniel

[1] This chapter was prepared for this work by Miss May Forney.

Allen and Thomas Holme, who arrived some time before Penn's arrival. Among the women who came over with Penn, Watson[1] mentions Elizabeth Hard. Her story is told to us in the will by which Mrs. Deborah Morris, a Quakeress, who died early in the present century, bequeathed a silver tankard to her heirs. Watson's "Annals" says that Mrs. Morris came into possession of the tankard as a legacy from Elizabeth Hard, who was the aunt of her mother. In the bequeathing document she speaks of Elizabeth Hard as

"a worthy, good woman, she being the first orphan ever left in charge of George Fox's Society of Friends, 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 moving to Philadelphia they removed thither also, and just got settled in a cave on the banks of the river, where is now called the Crooked Billet Wharf (so named from an ancient tavern on the wharf, about one hundred feet northward of Chestnut Street, having a crooked billet of wood for its sign), when my dear aunt (Hard) arrived, which she esteemed a divine providence thus to find her sister, whom she had not seen for some years, thus ready to receive her in the cave. There they dwelt together until they could build."

Mrs. Morris continues with a very realistic pen-picture of the work of the new colonists in providing themselves with dwellings. "They lovingly helped each other," and "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." Elizabeth Hard seems to have been an energetic and muscular woman. She "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." She was not easily discouraged. The construction-work was going on, and her husband rebuked her one day for excessive labor. "Thou hadst better," he said, "think of dinner." She was willing enough to think of dinner, but there was nothing in the larder but a little bread and cheese. The dolefulness of Mistress Hard's reflections is put into sombre language by the writer in the "Annals:"

"Thus she walked on toward her tent (happy time when each one's treasure lay safe therein), but was a little too desponding in her mind, for which she felt herself closely reproved and as if queried with 'didst thou not come for liberty of conscience? hast thou not got it? also been provided for beyond thy expectation?' which so humbled her, she on her knees begged forgiveness and preservation in future, and never repined afterward. When she arose, and was going to seek for other food than what she had, her cat came into the tent, and had caught a fine large rabbit, which she thankfully received, and dressed as an English hare. When her husband came into dinner, being informed of the facts, they both wept with reverential joy, and ate their meal, which was thus seasonably provided for them, in singleness of heart."

The cat and the rabbit were not forgotten in the family, and among the pieces of silver bequeathed by Deborah Morris to her uncle, Luke Morris, was a curious tureen, on which was a device representing a cat bearing off a plump rabbit.

In December, 1699, when William Penn made his second visit to Pennsylvania, he brought with him his second wife, Hannah Callowhill Penn, and Letitia Penn, his daughter by his first wife. Hannah Penn was so gracious and pleasant in her manners that she at once became a social favorite, and the liking of the people became all the stronger when she gave birth to John Penn, son of the proprietary, and the only one of his children born in this country. To her social qualities she united a keen intellect and a dominating will. After the proprietary returned to England in broken health, and Sir William Keith intrigued to get the government of Pennsylvania into his own hands, she wrote a letter in defense of her husband's rights, that was nearly contemporaneous with the defeat of Keith. Mrs. Penn died about the year 1727.

Her step-daughter, Letitia Penn, was, so far as history tells us, a sober, quiet, and admirable Quakeress. Her mother was Gulielma Maria Penn, who died Dec. 23, 1693. More than a hundred and eighty years ago, on July 7, 1701, the women members of the Friends' Meeting in Philadelphia gave to Mistress Letitia a certificate, in which occurs the subjoined language:

"These may certify that Letitia Penn, etc., has, for good order sake, desired a certificate from us, and we can freely certify to all whom it may concern, that she hath well behaved herself here, very soberly and according to the good instructions which she hath received in the way of truth, being well inclined, courteously carriaged, and sweetly tempered in her conversation among 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."

When William Penn came to Philadelphia, in 1699, with his wife Hannah and his daughter Letitia, "they went to live in the Slate-Roof House, corner of Second Street and Norris Alley," a brick building erected by Samuel Carpenter. While they were residents there the proprietary made over to his daughter a deed for "all that half-square laying on High Street," between Front and Second Streets, including thereon the little cottage, the first brick house built in Philadelphia, which has recently been removed to Fairmount Park. As the court grew, that being the most conspicuous house standing in it, it was given the name of Letitia Court.

Neither Hannah nor Letitia Penn found themselves altogether at home in the colonies, and in 1701 the husband and father wrote to his friend, James Logan, that, "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with Tishe." Surely there was not much attraction in Philadelphia at that time for women who had grown up among English luxuries. Gabriel Thomas, writing of the state of society in the first decade of the last century, says that "women's wages were particularly 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 time. Old maids were not to be met with, neither jealousy of husbands. The children were generally

[1] Watson's "Annals," 47. It is necessary to add that the name of Elizabeth Hard does not appear in Edward Armstrong's list of passengers by the "Welcome." She might have come in some other early vessel.

well-favored and beautiful to behold." Thomas was speaking of the Swedish population of the inchoate city, and in the same line of conviction is the judgment of Penn, who noted, on his arrival, that in the houses of the Dutch and the Swedes he found a "lusty and fine-looking race of children."

Although Hannah and Letitia Penn seem to have regarded themselves as unfortunate exiles during their sojourn on American shores, it is not to be judged that there was no society worthy of the name. Austere as were the Friends, they were men and women of decided culture and knowledge, and they were somewhat fairly matched in both respects by the higher class of the German and Swede pioneers. Now as the burden of making society falls upon the women, it is a worthy tribute to the matrons and maidens of Philadelphia in its early days that they were entirely equal to the demands made upon them. A ripple on the current was made evident when, in the year 1707, Sarah Eckley, a Quakeress, and heiress to a great estate, eloped with Col. Coxe. They were married in the Jersey woods, with the pine torches blazing around them, and the chaplain of Lord Cornbury, then Governor of New Jersey, as the officiating minister. Margaret Preston wrote of the wedding that "The news of Sarah Eckley's marriage is both sorrowful and surprising."

The first challenge to a duel known to have been sent in Philadelphia was traceable to an affair in which a lady was concerned. In the year 1715, Peter Evans, gentleman, challenged the Rev. Francis Phillips, and wrote in his missive belligerent that "you have basely scandalized a gentlewoman that I have profound respect for." No duel occurred, and a few years afterward Mr. Phillips was dismissed from his church. Five years later Martha Hunt was, with her husband, put to death on the charge of making and passing counterfeit coin,—the first instance in the American colonies in which the extreme penalty was required and exacted for such an offense.

Witchcraft and other phases of superstition appear to have been nearly as rife on the shores of the Delaware as on the banks of Boston Bay in the eighteenth century. In 1683, Margaret Mattson and Yeshro Henderson, two Swedish emigrants, were tried for witchcraft, and, although their lives were saved, the jury brought in the verdict "that Margaret Mattson was guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in the manner and form as she stands indicted." The woman went to the jail instead of to the gallows.

It is not doubtful that the ancient English tradition in regard to the marriage of a widow was carried into practice in Philadelphia in or about the year 1734. The tradition runs that the lady, clad in a single and most intimate garment, was stationed behind the door of her room; her arm was protruded through an opening in the door, and the minister officiated with that barrier between the bride and the groom. The arrangement was in consonance with the vulgar idea that a widow could only be held responsible for the debts of her deceased husband to the extent of what she carried upon her person when she was married a second time,—hence grew the custom of "marrying in the shift." Kalm, writing in 1748, cites an instance of a widow affecting to leave all to her husband's creditors, and "going from her former house to that of her second husband in her chemise." Her new husband met her upon the way, and throwing his cloak about her, cried out, "I have lent her the garments." The ceremony was most curiously like the marriage investiture that prevails to the present time in the eastern provinces of Hindostan.

"Peggy" Mullen was a woman who in the colonial period was the proprietress of the "Beef-Steak House," on the east side of Water Street, at the corner of Wilcox's Alley. Governor Hamilton and many of the political magnates of the time met there, and the house was used as a rendezvous by the Masons and other societies.

Mrs. Jones kept the "Three Crowns," the house where Richard Penn and his friends frequently met. A famous boarding-house was kept by Mrs. Graydon in the year 1768, at the corner of Front Street and Drinker's Alley, and she was at one time mistress of the Slate-Roof House. Her house was a favorite resort for the British and other foreign officers, and among her guests were the Baron de Kalb, Lady Moore, Lady Susan O'Brien, and Sir William Draper, the last of whom was the noted opponent of Junius.

After the year 1742 the Widow Roberts, the Widow Lawrence, the Widow Martin, and Mrs. Jenkins kept coffee-houses and restaurants. Mrs. Jenkins made a tremendously bold move "up-town" when she located in the neighborhood of Market and Fourth Streets. Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Martin owned handsome private coaches in 1761, and it is quite probable that their equipages were swallowed up in the confiscation during the *régime* of Lord Howe.

It has been represented that a certain Mr. Horton was the first daring innovator upon the rule that boys and girls should be taught together, and Poor's Academy for Young Ladies, on Cherry Street, was the first female school of celebrity.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Quakers, the descendants of Penn and his companions, were the sober and quiet element of society; the opposition was composed of the later settlers from England. Among the staid and sombre Quakers were these families: the Shippens, Lloyds, Logans, Morrises, Walns, Norrises, Pembertons, and Benezets. The other and, socially, more prominent class surrounded within its circle the Chews, the Allens, the Hamiltons, the Lawrences, the Conynghams, the Tilghmans, the Inglises, the Simmses, the Bonds, and the Plumsteds. Later on, when the spirit of the Revolution brought in another class, the names of Biddle, Butler, Bradford, Reed, Mifflin, Boudinot, and McKean became

familiar. In each of these families there was at least one representative woman.

When the City Dancing Assembly was organized, in 1748, an acknowledged leader of society was Mrs. Jeykell, the wife of a brother of Sir Joseph Jeykell, and, on her father's side, a granddaughter of the first Edward Shippen. The Jeykell house was on Second Street, just south of Edward Shippen's great mansion, and Mrs. Jeykell made it a nucleus of the social world. She was the grandmother of George Chalmers. The Assembly demonstrated its exclusiveness by refusing admission to its meetings to a daughter of Esquire Hillegas, who had married "in trade," that is to say, that she had been wedded to a jeweler. Two dancing assemblies were in existence during Washington's presidency, and it is related that, when invited to both balls, he chose the humbler one, and danced with the pretty daughter of a mechanic.

Sarah Franklin, the only daughter of Benjamin Franklin, was a stellar light in Philadelphia a hundred years ago. She was born in 1744, and although there is no record of her education, the letters that she wrote to her father when he went abroad in 1764 are evidence of her wit, her observation, and her literary industry. Sarah was intensely incensed when some of the parishioners of Christ Church condemned the appointment of her father as the colonial agent of the province, and wrote to her father that she would leave the church. He was then on his way to Europe, and when he received at Reedy Island his daughter's letters, he rebuked her intention, and instructed her: "Go constantly to church, whoever preaches. The act of devotion in the Common Prayer-Book is your principal business there, and, if properly attended to, will do more toward amending the heart than sermons generally can do, for they were composed by men of much greater piety and wisdom than our common composers of sermons can pretend to be, and therefore I wish you would never miss the prayer days. Yet I do not mean that you should despise sermons, even of the preachers you dislike, for the discourse is often much better than the man, as sweet and clear waters come through very dirty earth." Mr. Franklin was very much of a skeptic in his religious views, but he had a liberal regard for all pulpits.

Sarah Franklin was twenty-three years old when, in 1767, she married Richard Bache, an Englishman, who had gone into business in Philadelphia. The young couple lived with Mrs. Franklin while Benjamin Franklin was in Europe, and the domicile was comfortable, even luxurious. The war and the approach of the British army exiled them, and in October, 1778, Mrs. Bache was back in Philadelphia, and wrote a doleful narrative to her father,—"There is," she said, "hardly such a thing as living in town. If I was to mention the prices of the common necessaries of life it would astonish you."

As the war of the Revolution progressed Mrs. Bache and other patriotic women formed an association for the relief of the American soldiers. When the Marquis de Chastelleux saw her he wrote that he had paid her a visit in the morning, "according to the Philadelphia custom," and that "she was simple in her manners, like her respected father." Mrs. Bache died in October, 1808, and was interred in the burial-ground of Christ Church.

Deborah Logan was born in October, 1761, at the handsome residence of the Norris family, on Chestnut Street, near Fifth, where the Custom-House now stands, and by birth a Norris, by marriage a Logan, she united two streams of the best blood in the colony. She was a child fifteen years of age when the Declaration of Independence was read in the State-House yard, and she heard the reading. These are her own recollections of the eventful morning:

"How a little time spreads the mantle of oblivion over the manner of the most important events. It is now a matter of doubt at what hour or how the Declaration was given to the people. Perhaps few remain who heard it read on that day. Of those few I am one, being in the lot adjoining to our old mansion on Chestnut Street, that then extended to Fifth. I distinctly heard the words of that instrument read to the people."

Sally Wister, another piquant and demure Quakeress, was an intimate friend of Deborah Norris, and kept her informed of events in the city after the Norris family had sought refuge and seclusion away from peril and alarm. Miss Wister lived, it might almost be said, among the troops; and the diary that she made from day to day for her "Saucy Debby Norris" is a naïve confession of the likings of the girls for the soldiers. "I feel," she writes, "in good spirits, though surrounded by an army, the house full of soldiers, the yard alive with soldiers. Very peaceable sort of people though. They eat like other folks, talk like them, and behave themselves with elegance, so I will not be afraid of them, that I won't. Adieu. I am going to my chamber to dream, I suppose, of bayonets and swords, sashes, guns and epaulets." After Deborah Norris' marriage to Dr. Logan they returned to the ancestral home, as the Logan family at "Stenton," in the neighborhood of Fisher's and Nicetown Lanes. Among her guests were Kosciusko and the Abbe Correa, the witty Portuguese monk, many of whose sayings have become proverbs. We are indebted to him for the apt designation of Washington as "a city of magnificent distances." Dr. Franklin was occasionally Mrs. Logan's guest, so in later years was Robert Walsh, the editor of the *National Gazette*, who published her anonymous poems. But the visitor whom Mrs. Logan mentions with most pride is "the father of his country," then in Philadelphia, officiating as president of the Federal Convention. Returning from Mount Vernon, Dr. Logan and his wife stopped at Fredericksburg, to call upon the mother of Gen. Washington.

"She received us," Mrs. Logan says, "with great kindness, in her humble, decayed-looking dwelling, within which she appeared to have things comfortable. She was quite old, but of a fine majestic presence,

and polite manners, and the general so much resembling her that she might be known for his mother. She did not live apart for want of an invitation to live with him at Mount Vernon, as both himself and Mrs. Washington informed us, but she preferred her humbler home. She spoke of his kindness, and of her hope that things would continue to go well with him, but not the least exultation was apparent in having such a son. For the general himself never did feel such veneration and respect for any one clothed with mortality as I felt for his person and character."

Mrs. Logan developed considerable literary activity, and after being widowed, in 1821, she devoted most of her time to collecting or writing events of the past. She died at Stenton in 1838 or 1839.

Esther De Berdt, who in 1770 became the wife of Joseph Reed, was of English birth, but her patriotism was not surpassed by any of the natives of America. She met her future husband while he was a student of the Temple (London), and they were married at St. Luke's Church in that city. The next year they made their home in Philadelphia. She maintained a regular correspondence with her brother in England, and her letters are a most graphic delineation of the Philadelphia of her day.

In June, 1771, Mrs. Reed's first child, a delicate and sickly daughter, was born, and thus the ties were strengthened that bound her to her new home. Her husband being a lawyer, she was very thankful in 1772 that—

"out of the four greatest lawyers in this city three have resigned practice. Mr. Galloway being a good deal advanced in life, and having a very large fortune, cares very little about it. Mr. Dickinson, also, married a wife worth thirty thousand pounds, is improving and building on his estate, and Mr. Waln, whom you may remember in the Temple 56 with Mr. Reed, is, on a sudden, turned Quaker preacher. He had very great business, they say nearly two thousand pounds a year, but he has resigned on principle, as he says no good man can practice law. However wrong these sentiments, I cannot say I am sorry they influence him just at this time. Mr. Chew has recovered his health perfectly and practices as usual, but he cannot be on both sides of a question."

Mrs. Reed's sympathies were entirely with the Americans, and she noted with clear judgment the approach of the troubles with the mother-country. In 1775 she wrote to her brother that "civil war with all its horrors stains this land, and whatever our fellow-subjects may think, the people here are determined to die or be free. Indeed everything in this city wears a warlike aspect. Two thousand men in the field, all in uniform, make a very military appearance." When Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, Joseph Reed was one of the Philadelphia citizens who accompanied him part of the distance to Boston, and from New York he wrote to his wife that Washington had prevailed upon him to accept service upon his staff as aid and military secretary. This sudden decision caused his wife much suffering, and to her brother she lamented the separation. She says,—

"I wrote, my dear Dennis, about a fortnight ago, since which an event has taken place which I little thought of, and which I assure you my dear Mr. Reed as little suspected when he went from home,—that is, his appointment as secretary to the general, in which station he stays at Cambridge till a fixed appointment is made, as he does not intend to take upon himself the constant business. However, I don't expect him home for two months at least. I confess it is a trial I never thought I should have experienced, and therefore am the less prepared to bear it; but I am happy that his character does not expose him to personal danger, and he is as secure as he can be amid so much war. What do you think—what do the people in general think—of our distresses and conduct? The whole continent is so engaged now that they will never give up. Georgia has joined the Congress; every heart and every hand almost is warm and active in the cause. Certainly, my dear brother, it is a glorious one. You see every person willing to sacrifice his private interest in this glorious contest. Virtue, honor, unanimity, bravery, all conspire to carry it on, and sure it has at least a chance to be victorious. I believe it *will* at last, whatever difficulties and discouragements it may meet with at first."

Mrs. Reed was mistaken as to her husband's office being a temporary one. She accepts, however, the fact that he was to remain with the general philosophically, and writes,—

"His service has proved of so much consequence in the camp that he has devoted himself to the service of the public, and I doubt not it will give him as much pleasure in the recollection as any occurrence in his life. Indeed, my dear Dennis, the cause in which he is engaged is the cause of liberty and virtue, how much soever it may be branded by the names of rebellion and treason. But I need not vindicate or explain the motives of our conduct to you. I think it must be plain to every person who thinks justly and is unprejudiced. We have a powerful enemy to contend with, if they are united heartily against us, which I fear is but too likely."

As the enemy gathered around Philadelphia, Mrs. Reed, with her children, took refuge first at Burlington, and afterward at Evesham. The wife of a prominent and trusted member of Washington's military household could scarcely live at peace among British soldiers and Pennsylvania Tories. Her life in the New Jersey retreats was a severe trial. Her physical health was broken down, and the perils to which her husband was subjected were a constant source of mental perturbation. She appears to have occasionally met Col. Reed in or near Philadelphia whenever his duties allowed him to absent himself from headquarters, and of the risks of these meetings she speaks thus in a letter to a friend:

"It has already become too dangerous for Mr. Reed to be at home more than one day at a time, and that seldom and uncertain. Indeed, I am easier when he is away from home, as his being here brings danger with it. There are so many disaffected as to the cause of their country that they lie in wait for those who are active, but I trust that the same kind presiding Power which has preserved him from the hands of his enemies will still do it."

In 1777, Mrs. Reed, with her mother and little children, went to Flemington, in the upper part of New Jersey, and there they remained until after the evacuation of Philadelphia and the battle of Monmouth, in 1778. It was there that a new calamity befell her. Smallpox broke out in the family, and one of the children died of it; a bereavement which the mother's sensitive heart, in its loneliness, traced to her own failure of duty:

"Surely," she writes, "my affliction has its aggravation, and I cannot help reflecting on my neglect of my dear lost child. For, thoughtful and attentive to my own situation, I did not take the necessary precaution to prevent that fatal disorder when it was in my power. Surely I ought to blame myself. I would not do it to aggravate my sorrow, but to learn a lesson of humility and more caution and prudence in the future. Would to God I could learn every lesson intended by the stroke! I think sometimes of my loss with composure acknowledging the wis-

dom, right, and even the kindness of the dispensation. Again, I felt it overcome me and strike the very bottom of my heart, and tell me *the work is not yet finished.*"

In 1778, Joseph Reed was chosen President, or, as we should now say, Governor of Pennsylvania, and when the family returned to Philadelphia, Mrs. Reed was indefatigable in the work of supplying clothing for the troops and in other relief measures. She was at the head of the Ladies' Association, formed in May, 1780, and her husband writing to Washington said,—

"The ladies have caught the happy contagion, and in a few days Mrs. Reed will have the honor of writing to you on the subject. It is expected she will have a sum equal to one hundred thousand pounds, to be laid out according to your Excellency's direction, in such a way as may be thought most honorable and gratifying to the brave old soldiers who have borne so great a share of the burden of this war. I thought it best to mention it, in this way, to your Excellency for your consideration, as it may tend to forward the benevolent scheme of the donors with dispatch. I must observe that the ladies have excepted such articles of necessity as clothing which the States are bound to provide."

And now we have Esther Reed's promised letter to Washington, and such a brave and devout act of writing it is:

"PHILADELPHIA, July 4, 1780.

"SIR,—The subscription set on foot by the ladies of this city for the use of the soldiery is so far completed as to induce me to transmit to your Excellency an account of the money I have received, and which, although it has answered our expectations, does not equal our wishes, but I am persuaded will be received as a proof of our zeal for the great cause of America, and our esteem and gratitude for those who so bravely defend it. The amount of the subscription is $200,580, and £625 6s. 8d. in specie, which makes, in the whole, in paper money, $300,634.

"The ladies are anxious for the soldiers to receive the benefit of it, and wait your directions how it can best be disposed of. We expect some considerable addition from the country, and have also wrote to other States in hopes the ladies there will adopt similar plans, to render it more general and beneficial.

"With the utmost pleasure I offer any further attention and care in my power to complete the execution of the design, and shall be happy to accomplish it agreeable to the intention of the donors, and your wishes on the subject.

"The ladies of my family join me in their respectful compliments and sincerest prayer for your health, safety, and success.

"I have the honor to be,
"With the highest respect,
"Your humble servant,
"E. REED."

The number of the contributors, of whom Mrs. Reed speaks, was 1645, thus apportioned: the city, 1099; Southwark, 152; Northern Liberties, 171; Germantown, 152; and Bristol, 13. All ranks of society seem to have united. The extremes were gauged by Phillis, a colored woman, who subscribed seven shillings and sixpence, and the Marchioness de Lafayette, who contributed one hundred guineas in specie. The offer of the Countess de Luzerne was six thousand dollars in Continental money, worth one hundred and fifty dollars at a gold valuation. In a late edition of the "Life of Washington," Judge Marshall said that "this instance of patriotism on the part of our fair and amiable countrywomen is far from being single. Their conduct throughout the war was uniform. They shared with cheerfulness and gayety the privations and sufferings to which the distress of the times exposed their country. With a ready acquiescence, with a firmness always cheerful, and a constancy never lamenting the sacrifices that were made, they not only yielded up all the elegancies, delicacies, and even conveniences to be furnished by wealth and commerce, relying on their farms and on domestic industry for every article of food and raiment, but consenting to share the produce of their own labor, they gave up without regret a considerable portion of the covering designed for their own families to supply the wants of the distressed soldiers, and heroically suppressed the involuntary sigh which the departure of their brothers, their sons, and their husbands for the camp rended from their bosoms."

On July 20, 1780, Washington wrote to Mrs. Reed that it might be better to deposit the money in bank and receive bank-notes for it, to be distributed among the soldiers. She replied to him, July 31st, that the ladies had proposed that the sum should "be changed into hard dollars," of which each soldier should be given two. His answer, August 10th, was that the generous bounty of two hard dollars in specie would be the means of bringing punishment on soldiers "whose propensity to drinking, overcoming all other considerations, too frequently leads them into irregularities and disorder, which must be corrected." The eventual disposition of the fund was the employment of the major portion of it in the manner suggested by Washington, as is evidenced by Mrs. Reed's letter of August 10th to him, saying that "the ladies had not the most distant wish that their donation should be bestowed in any manner that did not perfectly accord with your opinion."

Many of the loyal American women sold their jewelry and used the money for the good of the cause. When Sally Franklin Bache wanted a contribution from Mrs. Meredith, of Trenton, she claimed the latter as a Philadelphian, and insisted that as such she must make a donation. Esther Reed died in September, 1780, in the full tide of her labors, and her remains were laid to rest in the Arch Street Presbyterian burial-ground. On her tomb was placed this epitaph:

"In memory of Esther, the beloved wife of Joseph Reed, president of this State, who departed this life on the 18th of September, A.D. 1780, aged thirty-four years.

"Reader! If the possession of those virtues of the heart which make life valuable, or those personal endowments which command esteem and love, may claim respectful and affectionate remembrance, venerate the ashes here entombed. If to have the cup of temporal blessings dashed in the period and stations of life in which blessings may be best enjoyed demands our sorrow, drop a tear, and think how slender is that thread on which the joys and hopes of life depend."

Upon Mrs. Reed's death the control of the Ladies' Association passed into the hands of an executive committee, comprising Mrs. Sally Bache, Mrs. Francis, Mrs. Clarkson, Mrs. Blair, and Mrs. Hillegas.

The Widow Mifflin was a contemporary with the women mentioned, but she was scarcely so prominent in social or public circles. Born Sarah Fishbourne, daughter of William Fishbourne, mayor of Philadel-

phia from 1718 to 1722, she spent a large proportion of her girlhood at West River, Md., with her stepfather, John Galloway, her mother's second husband. In 1745 she was back in Philadelphia, and at school, where she had placed herself and her young stepsister, Jane Galloway, who became the wife of Joseph Shippen. Mrs. Mifflin sold the handsome mansion at the corner of Chestnut and Front Streets, bequeathed her by her husband, and resided with her son, John F. Mifflin, and her stepson, Thomas Mifflin, in a house on Union Street that she inherited from her father. There she devoted herself to the education of the two boys; but she was not so entirely occupied with them but that she could spare some time to a select social coterie that included Mrs. Ann Penn, Miss Allen, Mrs. Benjamin Chew, Mrs. Hester White, and the Cadwalladers, the Clymers, and the Shippens. Very many of her associates were Quakers, but she persistently refused to join the faith, and when they implored her to wear the Quaker cap, because it was "so becoming," she silenced them with the reply that "for that reason I ought not to put it on." In October, 1776, she was married by Bishop White to John Beale Bordley, who had made her acquaintance in visiting Philadelphia to see his daughter Henrietta Maria, then at school under the care of Mrs. John Cadwallader. They spent their winters in Philadelphia and their summers at Wye Island, a charming rural home, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Their only child, Elizabeth, was born at Annapolis in 1777. When Philadelphia was made the seat of the general government, they permanently established themselves in the city, where a quaint biographical notice says of them that "their house became one of the favorite places of friendly resort to some among the excellent of all descriptions."

Mr. Bordley's daughter Henrietta Maria, by his first wife, had married Maj. David Ross, of the Western Shore of Maryland. They had an interesting family of children, and in 1800 removed from their home at Bladensburg, and came to live in Chambersburg, Pa., from whence they frequently visited the homestead in Philadelphia, the presence of the children brightening the declining years of their grandparents.

The old Carpenter mansion on Chestnut Street was occupied during the war as a hospital, and there the members of the Ladies' Association tended with untiring care the sick and wounded soldiers. Elizabeth Graeme, daughter of Dr. Thomas Graeme and Anne Keith Graeme, grew into maturity in the Carpenter house. Born in 1739, she was perhaps the most scholarly woman of her epoch. She was scarcely more than a girl when she translated Telemachus into English verse, and she afterward spent a year in Europe under the guardianship of Rev. Dr. Richard Peters, of Philadelphia. On her return home she met Hugh Henry Ferguson, a young gentleman lately arrived from Scotland, and a wedding was the result, although she was some ten years his senior. They resided upon a country-seat in Montgomery County, a legacy from her father, until the opening of the war, when Mr. Ferguson went into the British service, and she consequently fell into disfavor with her American friends, although it seems that she was at heart a loyal American, and appearances to the contrary were simply caused by her devotion to her husband. While the British were in possession of Philadelphia, Mrs. Ferguson is said to have gone to Gen. Washington with a letter from Rev. Mr. Duché, the purport of which displeased the commander-in-chief, and provoked him to reprimand her for the intercourse she appeared to have had with the writer. Yet Washington granted her a pass to Philadelphia when she proposed to bid farewell to her husband, and it was while she was in the city that she met Governor Johnstone, the British Peace Commissioner, who suggested to her that if the influence of such a leader as Gen. Joseph Reed, for instance, could be secured there might be an end to the shedding of blood. But Johnstone was foolish enough to believe that Reed, the right-hand man of Washington, could be bribed to betray his country.

"If you could see Gen. Reed," he said to Mrs. Ferguson, "and, conformably to his conscience and his view of things, get him to exert his influence to settle the dispute, he might command ten thousand guineas and the best post in the government." Mrs. Ferguson did communicate with Gen. Reed three days after Philadelphia had been evacuated by the British, and his answer to Johnstone's proposal was, "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." Gen. Reed laid the question before Congress; suspicion was directed toward Mrs. Ferguson as the emissary of Johnstone, and the Executive Council of Pennsylvania demanded her name. Mrs. Ferguson's indignation was growing, and it rose to its climax when she was denounced in an article in Towne's *Evening Post*. Taking it for granted that Gen. Reed had exposed her, she wrote him a scorching letter. "I own I find it hard," she said, "knowing the uncorruptness of my heart, to be held out to the public as a tool to the commissioners, but the impression is now made, and it is too late to recall it. How far at this juncture of time this affair may interfere with my property is uncertain; that, I assure you, is but a secondary thought." There is no actual proof that Mrs. Ferguson was disloyal to the republic, but she was undoubtedly the victim of circumstances. It is extremely improbable that if her husband had not been a British soldier she would have been a participant in these covert and not precisely honorable negotiations. Johnstone exonerated her from all blame in a speech that he made before the British House of Commons, and endeavored to clear her fame by accusing Gen. Reed of misrepresentation. She then published, under oath, a statement affirming the

purity of her own motives, and challenging Johnstone to sustain or deny her. From this time onward Mrs. Ferguson led a quiet and uneventful life. She grew in religion as she grew in years, and she is credited with making a manuscript of the Bible in order to impress it upon her memory. She died at Graeme Park, Feb. 23, 1801, leaving a nephew and niece, her adopted children.

Society was only lively by fits and starts in Philadelphia in the war days, and the fifty American maidens and matrons who accepted invitations to Lord Howe's Meschianza fête, May 18, 1778, may be excused for seeking almost any relief from the prevailing monotony. But they would have escaped much hostile comment if they had absented themselves from that memorable festival,—a comment

MRS. BENEDICT ARNOLD (MARGARET SHIPPEN).

which they resented by appearing at the ball to the French and American officers in the high powdered head-dresses of the extreme of the British fashion. Margaret Shippen, who was the youngest daughter of Edward Shippen and became the wife of Benedict Arnold, was at this time one of the finest women in society, and a standing toast with the British officers. Miss Vining was another beauty, and was so highly praised by the French officers in their letters home, that Queen Marie Antoinette expressed to Mr. Jefferson a wish that she might see her at the Tuileries. Miss Vining entertained and corresponded with Lafayette, the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke de Liancourt. Before her death in seclusion and poverty she wrote to Governor Dickinson "that the removal of Congress had taken away from the gayety of Philadelphia."

Rebecca Franks, the beautiful daughter of David Franks, a wealthy Jewish merchant, was the sister of Abigail, the wife of Andrew Hamilton, and niece of Phila Franks, who married Gen. Oliver De Lancey, of the British army. During the war Rebecca spent some time on Long Island, from whence she wrote some caustic observations on New York women and New York society. Speaking of the former, she said that "I don't know a woman or girl who can chat above half an hour, and that on the form of a cap, the color of a ribbon, or the set of a hoop, stay, or jupon. I will do our ladies—that is, the Philadelphians—the justice to say that they have more clearness in the turn of an eye than those of New York have in their whole composition." Miss Rebecca goes on to say that in New York it might be always leap year, judging from the forwardness of the young women in courting the young men, and she adds, "Indeed, scandal says that in the cases of most who have been married the first advances came from the lady's side, or she got a male friend to introduce the intended victim." Miss Rebecca had much more to say concerning the vanity of the officers, who imagined "that a red coat and smart epaulette is sufficient to secure a female heart." But, for all her sprightly sarcasm at the expense of the soldiers, she was captured in matrimony by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Johnson, of the British army. She was one of the belles of the Meschianza, and never made any concealment of her Toryism, which she most prominently displayed at the ball which celebrated the alliance of France and the United States. She was daring enough to fasten the emblematic white and black cockades around the neck of a dog and turn it loose in the ball-room. She was becoming an old woman when Gen. Scott saw her in England, in 1816. The story of their meeting is pathetic. "Is this," she asked, "the young rebel?" And then she hastily added, "Yes, it is he. And so you have taken the liberty to beat his Majesty's troops?" Then her hand crept into his, and in a quavering voice she exclaimed, "I have gloried in my rebel countrymen; would to God I, too, had been a patriot!" But she remembered that her husband was present, and she turned to him with the earnestness of truth and affection. "No," she ejaculated, "I do not. I have never regretted my marriage. No woman was ever blessed with a kinder or better husband. But I ought to have been a patriot before marriage." When Gen. Scott related this incident, as he often did, he said Lady Johnson's eyes were the only ones undimmed by tears. She died in 1823.

Israel Israel and Joseph Israel were two brothers, who resided in Philadelphia at the outbreak of the war, and the latter entered the American army. They unexpectedly met at the family mansion during the British occupation, and Israel Israel foiled the search of a party of the enemy, led by a burly Hessian sergeant, for his brother. But the soldiers seated themselves at the supper-table of the family, where they compelled the ladies to join them and listen to their brutal jests. Mr. Israel was about to provoke a con-

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flict with them, when his youngest sister fell into his arms in a swoon, and bloodshed was thus prevented. On his way to his home, outside the lines, he and his wife's brother were arrested and imprisoned on the British frigate "Roebuck" on the charge of being spies. From her position on the lookout his wife, a delicate but courageous woman, saw a British detachment marching toward their meadows to seize the cattle of the Israel farm. She drove the animals off with a hail of British bullets falling around her, and the foraging party returned disappointed to the ship. Her husband was released by Masonic influence. Mrs. Israel's maiden name was Hannah Erwin, and her ancestors came over with William Penn.

Mary Redmond, a Philadelphia girl, whom some of the British officers had christened "the little black-eyed rebel," taught a boy who carried provisions into market to also exchange letters between American soldiers and their wives and sweethearts in Philadelphia. The letters were sewed up in the back of his jacket, and one day, when Miss Redmond had reason to believe that he was suspected, she sought him in the market and, pretending to romp with him, filched his jacket, and so saved the precious missives from confiscation.

Toward the close of the last century the women of Philadelphia acquired a fame in two continents for their personal graces and mental accomplishments. Mrs. William Bingham, born Anne Willing, was one of the fairest. The Marquis de Chastellux, writing of a ball in Philadelphia, said,—

"Strangers have generally the privilege of being complimented with the handsomest women. The Comte de Dumas had Mrs. Bingham for his partner, and the Vicomte de Noailles Miss Shippen. Both of them, like true philosophers, testified a great respect for the manners of the country by not quitting their handsome partners the whole evening. In other respects they were the admiration of all the assembly from the grace and nobleness with which they danced. The ball was suspended toward midnight by a supper, served in the manner of coffee on several different tables. On passing into the dining-room the Chevalier de la Luzerne presented his hand to Mrs. Morris, and gave her the precedence, an honor pretty generally bestowed on her, as she is the richest woman in the city, and, all ranks here being equal, men follow their natural bent by giving the preference to riches."

Mrs. Bingham was unquestionably at the head of American society, because the style in which she lived illustrated the highest refinement and splendor known in the country. Her beauty, her influence, the elegance of her house, the taste and aristocratic distinction of the assemblages which frequently adorned it, were as household words in this city at the time of her dazzling career, and are now historical of the higher social life of America. "Her beauty," says Mr. Griswold, "was splendid. Her figure, which was somewhat above the middle size, was well made. Her carriage was light and elegant, while ever marked by dignity and air. Her manners were a gift. Sprightly, easy, winning are terms which describe the manners of many women, but while truly describing hers, they would describe them imperfectly, unless they gave the idea that they won from all who knew her a special measure of personal interest and relation. Her entertainments were distinguished not more for their superior style and frequency than for the happy and discreet selection of her guests, and her own costume abroad was always marked by that propriety and grace which, while uniting costliness, rarity, and an ex-

MRS. WILLIAM BINGHAM (ANNE WILLING).

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quisite refinement, subordinates the effect of them in a way which never invites comparisons. In all this she had had the advantage of a wise and courtly and affectionate education. She owed much, however, to the command of great wealth, and to a combination of friendly and family advantages, which her wealth enabled her to illustrate and profit by." As a child she had been much at home in the family of Washington.

Her father, Thomas Willing, and his associate in commerce, Robert Morris, as well as his brother-in-law, Mr. Clymer, were all members of the Congress of 1776. During a part of the war the headquarters of the general were in a house built on Mr. Willing's estate for his son-in-law, Col. Byrd, of Westover, in Virginia, and only separated from his own by the intervening grounds of his garden. In this way, as well as from her domestic relations and immediate connections with the families of Clymer, Francis, Powell, McCall, Shippen, and others, forming in that day, with the Chews, Allens, and two or three more, a large portion of the only society with which the chief was intimate, Miss Willing, even as a young girl, was very frequently an object of Washington's notice and regard. On Oct. 26, 1780, she was married by Rev. William White to William Bingham, who possessed larger estates than any other person in the colony.

Mrs. Bingham, with her husband, went to Europe in 1784, and remained abroad five years. As the representative of American beauty, grace, and elegance, she was the cynosure of all eyes. She received marked attentions at the court of Louis XVI., and was welcomed with delight by her old French acquaintances of Revolutionary war days. Miss Adams, who was in Paris at the time with her father, makes frequent mention of Mrs. Bingham in her diary. She says, "Mrs. Bingham gains my love and admiration more and more every time I see her; she is possessed of greater ease and politeness in her behavior than any person I have met." She thus describes the dress worn by Mrs. Bingham at a dinner given by Gen. Lafayette: "Her dress was of black velvet, with pink satin sleeves and stomacher, a pink satin petticoat, and over it a skirt of white crape spotted all over with gray fur; the sides of the gown open in front, and the bottom of the coat trimmed with taste. It was superb, and the gracefulness of the person made it appear to peculiar advantage."

The Binghams went to London, and the Philadelphia beauty created quite a sensation there. The "lady from America" was much talked of and admired. The London hair-dresser, who attended to the ladies' *coiffures* on court days, speaking of her and of Miss Hamilton, said to Mrs. Adams, "with a twirl of his comb, 'Well, it does not signify, but the American ladies do beat the English all to nothing.'" Miss Adams, who tells this story, enters in her journal, in 1787, after an interview with Mrs. Stewart, "I think, from the observation I have made upon those ladies from Philadelphia whom I have been acquainted with, that they are more easy in their manners, and discover a greater desire to render themselves acceptable, than the women of Boston, where education appears to be better, and they seem to be sensible of their consequence in society. I have seen some good specimens of their brilliancy, first in Mrs. Bingham, and now in Mrs. Stewart."[1]

While abroad, Mrs. Bingham was everywhere admired, and the immense wealth at her command enabled her to maintain a style of life without which beauty stood only a slight chance of recognition. Soon after their return home the Binghams built their palatial residence, on Third Street, above Spruce. Its width was spacious, its height not extended above a third story, and it stood perhaps forty feet from the ordinary line of the street, being approached by a circular carriage-way of gravel, the access upon both ends of which opened by swinging gates of iron with open tracery. A low wall, with an elegant course of baluster upon it, defended the immediate front, and connected the gates which gave admission. The grounds about the house, beautifully diversified with walks, statuary, shade, and parterres, covered not less than three acres. The entrance to the house was not raised, but it brought the visitor by a single step upon the wide pave of tessellated marble. Its self-supporting, broad stairway of fine white marble,—the first of that description probably ever known in America,—leading to the second story, gave a truly Roman elegance to the passage. On the left hand, as the visitor entered, were parlors; on the right, a room designed for a study; and opposite, separated by a lateral hall, a library. In the second story, on the the south, were a drawing-room and card-rooms, the windows of which, looking down on an extensive conservatory, adjacent to the lower parlors on the same side, revealed a delicious prospect. Various and extensive domestic offices adjoined the house on the west. Much of the furniture, including the carpets, which were remarkable for their elegant richness, had been made in France. The halls were hung with pictures, of which the greater number had been selected in Italy, and the library was filled with the best authors of the day.

In addition to this town establishment, Mrs. Bingham possessed the elegant retreat of Lansdowne, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, formerly belonging to the Penns, a place which she laid out with great taste, and at which she passed her summers. At both places, particularly at Lansdowne, Washington was a frequent visitor. In both she lived with an elegant hospitality. Her youth, beauty, rank, and wealth, with the frequency, rarity, and tasteful richness of her entertainments, made her acquaintance highly desirable; and her husband's public character as a

[1] Griswold's "Republican Court."

member of the United States Senate, her father's long and honorable career in the service of the country, her connection, Maj. Jackson's, intimate associations as one of the private and confidential secretaries of the President, and her own residence in France, England, and other parts of Europe, conspired to draw around her a circle of men and women of the very first class in rank, elegance, and accomplishment. Louis Philippe d'Orleans was intimate with Mr. Bingham's family, and offered himself to one of his daughters. The senator declined the royal alliance. "Should you ever be restored to your hereditary position," he said to the duke, "you will be too great a match for her; if not, she is too great a match for you." Mrs. Bingham was a patron of Wignell's Theatre, which was opened in 1794, and where the principal actresses were Mrs. Oldmixon, Mrs. Whitlock, Mrs. Morris, and Mrs. Marshall. Mrs. Oldmixon was the wife of Sir John Oldmixon, known in England as the "Bath beau," and of equal stamp with Nash and Brummel. Mrs. Whitlock was a sister of Sarah Siddons, and Harwood, one of the actors, was the husband of Miss Bache, a granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin. Wignell's Theatre was eminently fashionable until he affronted Mrs. Bingham by refusing to permit her to furnish her own private box and keep the key, whereupon she placed it under a social ban.

THE MARCHIONESS D'YRUJO (SALLY McKEAN.)

Mrs. Bingham, while on a visit to the Bermuda Islands for the benefit of her health, died there on the 11th of May, 1801, aged thirty-seven years. Her husband, overwhelmed with the loss of such a wife, went afterward to England, and died at Bath about the year 1804. His monument, in the abbey church there, attracts the notice of the American traveler. Mrs. Bingham left three children.[1]

One of her dearest friends was Mrs. Robert Morris, wife of the great financier and sister of Bishop White. At Mrs. Washington's receptions she usually occupied the seat of honor at her right hand, and she was a society queen until misfortunes overwhelmed Robert Morris. The pretty young Quakeresses were seen everywhere, and the Duke De Liancourt wrote of them that ribbons pleased them as well as others, and were the great enemies of the sect.

At Mrs. Washington's first levee in Philadelphia the Misses Allen were "among the constellation of beauties." Of the Allen sisters, the eldest, who became Mrs. Greenleaf, is historically renowned as "one of the most splendid beauties this country ever produced." Miss Sally McKean wrote to a New York friend of this reception: "You never could have had such a drawing-room. It was brilliant beyond anything you can imagine, and though there was a great deal of extravagance, there was so much of Philadelphia taste in everything that it must have been confessed the most delightful occasion of the kind ever known in this country."

Miss Sally McKean was remarkable for her great beauty. She was the daughter of the chief justice of Pennsylvania, and married Don Carlos Martinez, Marquis D'Yrujo. Her son, the Duke of Sotomayer, who was born in Philadelphia, became prime minister of Spain.

Dolly Payne was a young Quakeress, whose first husband was John Todd. Left a widow when quite young, she married in 1794, being then twenty-four years of age, James Madison, who was at that time a member of Congress from Virginia. They lived at his homestead of Montpelier most of the time until he was elected President of the United States. Her aim, in which she was thoroughly successful, was to make her husband's administration a socially brilliant one, and when the war of 1812 occurred she evinced indomitable courage amid peculiarly trying complications. As she advanced in years she was described by one of her old Philadelphia friends as—

"a very gay lady, with much rouge on her cheeks, and always appearing in her turban. She was fond of bright colors and the elegancies of the toilet, yet she generally wore inexpensive clothing, preserving always the simplicity of a Quaker with the elegance of a Southerner."

Dolly Madison used snuff, and carried a box about wherever she went. She once tendered it to Henry Clay, and when he accepted she first drew from her pocket a bandanna that she said was for "rough work," and next a fine lace handkerchief which she called her "polisher." She survived the President thirteen years, dying in Washington, July 12, 1849.

[1] Griswold's "Republican Court."

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Margaret, Sophia, and Harriet Chew were the daughters of Benjamin Chew, chief justice of Pennsylvania. Margaret married John Eager Howard, of Maryland, Harriet married Charles Carroll, Jr., also of Maryland, and Sophia became Mrs. Henry Phillips. Gen. Washington treated these young ladies almost as if they were his children. Harriet accompanied him several times when he sat to Gilbert Stuart for his portrait, and the commander was wont to say that the agreeable expression on his face was due to her interesting conversation. She and Mrs. Hamilton and Mrs. Bradford were the last surviving ladies of the Republican court. Mrs. Bradford, the wife of the attorney-general of the United States, outlived the others. Richard Rush wrote of her when she was over eighty years of age, that her years had "not impaired the courtesy, the grace, the habitual suavity or kindness, or even that disciplined carriage of the person, all made part of her nature by her early intercourse and the school in which she was reared." Susan Wallace, the sister of Horace Binney, wife of John Bradford Wallace, and mother of Horace Binney Wallace, was the niece of Mrs. Bradford. It was of Susan Wallace that Rev. Dr. Herman Hooker said, "Her virtues were so numerous and so marked that any just mention of them will seem to border on exaggeration." She died July 8, 1849.

MRS. CHARLES CARROLL, JR. (HARRIET CHEW).

Mrs. Knox, daughter of Thomas Flucken, the last secretary of the province of Massachusetts Bay, was another of Mrs. Washington's close friends. When she married Henry Knox he was captain of the Boston Grenadier Guards, and when he afterward rose to the proud position of Gen. Knox, of the Revolutionary army, she was nearly as well known as he was in the camp. They resided for a while in Philadelphia, and she was another of the county dames whom De Liancourt has so pleasantly gossiped of. Talleyrand was her guest, and Lafayette was the godfather of her son. In 1795, Gen. Knox retired from the office of Secretary of War, and they moved to their rural home at Thomaston, at the head of the St. George's River, in Maine. Among their visitors were Louis Philippe and his exiled brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and the Comte de Beaujolais.

Martha Jefferson, the eldest daughter of Thomas Jefferson, was educated partly in Philadelphia and partly in Europe. John Randolph called her "the sweetest young creature in Virginia." In 1783, while she was at school in Philadelphia, and residing with Mrs. Trist, her father wrote her from Annapolis a touching and tender letter, in which he instructed her to consider Mrs. Trist as her mother, and laid out for her a routine of study. She married Thomas Mann Randolph, of Virginia. Her youngest sister became the wife of John W. Eppes, and their daughter married Nicholas P. Trist, a grandson of the very Mrs. Trist in whose family Martha Jefferson had lived. Mrs. Graydon, Mrs. Peters, and the other McCall sisters are mentioned in the local annals for their loveliness. Miss Moore, a sister of Col. Thomas Lloyd Moore, married, in 1784, the Marquis De Marbois, who was secretary of the French Legation. Their daughter became the Duchess De Plaisance, being married to a son of Le Brun, a colleague of Napoleon in the consulate.

In speaking of Mrs. Dr. James Rush, we seem to be turning the pages of a story of to-day. Many intimate friends of this remarkable woman still survive, and a sister, Mrs. Dr. Barton, is still living in her house on South Broad Street. Every one who passes by what is now the Aldine Hotel, on West Chestnut Street, knows something of the woman whose residence it once was. A miniature portrait of Mrs. Rush, evidently taken when she was in her teens, hangs in the Ridgway Library, and shows a face of rare beauty; but it is quite well known that in later years she was more noted for her personal magnetism than for her good looks. She delighted to assemble around her men and women of genius and intellect. Grisi and Mario were once her guests. In Europe, Dr. Rush and his wife were shown the most flattering attention by Lord Lansdowne, Lord Bathurst, Sir Astley Cooper, and others of the nobility. All reports to the contrary, it would appear from the correspondence between Mrs. Rush and her husband that their domestic relations were most amicable. Most of these letters have been preserved, and, although their tastes differed, it is not doubtful that Dr. Rush had the most profound respect and tender affection for his accom-

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plished wife. In the will by which he founded the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library, he states that one of his objects was to express his respect and regard for Jacob Ridgway, and for Jacob Ridgway's daughter, Phebe Ann Rush. Her eventful life came to an end in a Saratoga hotel Oct. 28, 1857, and the remains of herself and her husband are entombed in a vault in the Ridgway Library.

During the late civil war the women of Philadelphia did enormous and glorious work in the Sanitary Commission, the women's branch of the Freedmen's Commission, the refreshment saloons, the soldiers' homes, and the hospitals. Mrs. John Harris, corresponding secretary of the Ladies' Aid Society, spent much of her time with the troops in the field. Mrs. Clara J. Moore, corresponding secretary of the Sanitary Commission, was such an indefatigable laborer in the hospitals that when ill health compelled her to seek a respite, nine young ladies found their time fully occupied in filling her place. Other ladies whose services were given in the Pennsylvania branch of the Sanitary Commission were the president, Mrs. Maria C. Grier, and Mrs. E. D. Gillespie, Mrs. W. H. Furness, Mrs. A. D. Jessup, Mrs. Joseph Parrish, and the two Misses Blanchard. The Ladies' Aid Society, and the Penn Relief Association, which was organized in 1862 by members of the Society of Friends, to contradict the current talk that because of their peace principles they would do nothing for the soldiers, were both managed by leading ladies of Philadelphia. In the same year the Soldiers' Aid Association was formed mainly through the efforts of its president, Mrs. Mary A. Brady. She went again and again to the hospitals in the field, and her death on May 27, 1864, was directly due to her labors there after the great battles that Grant had just fought in Virginia. She was as truly a martyr to the Union as any soldier or officer who was killed in the ranks.

LUCRETIA MOTT.

One of the women prominent in the Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon of Philadelphia, an institution which fed four hundred thousand men as they passed to and from the battle-fields, was Mrs. Mary W. Lee, and among her co-workers were Mrs. Eliza G. Plummer, Mrs. Mary B. Wade, Mrs. Margaret Boyer, Mrs. Priscilla Grover, Mrs. Mary Grover, Mrs. Ellen P. Barrows, and Mrs. Eliza J. Smith. The Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon, which also fed many thousands of troops, was managed by Mrs. William M. Cooper, Mrs. Grace Nichols, Mrs. Sarah Emory, Mrs. Elizabeth Vansdale, Miss Catherine Vansdale, Mrs. John Coward, Mrs. Susan Turner, Mrs. Sarah Mellen, Miss Catherine Alexander, Mrs. James D. Grover, and Mrs. James M. Moore. The mother of the lamented Lieut. Greble, who fell at the battle of Big Bethel, was one of the unceasing workers in the national cause, and gave both of her sons to the army. An earnest friend of the Union refugees from the South was Mrs. M. M. Hallowell, who, with a committee of ladies, visited Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Huntsville, distributing money and provisions among them. When the great Sanitary Fair was held, there was a ladies' committee working in conjunction with the gentlemen in each important branch.

The name of Lucretia Mott is one widely respected and beloved. She was a Coffin by birth, and was born of Quaker parents on the island of Nantucket in 1793. In her eighteenth year she married James Mott, the son of the superintendent of the school in Dutchess County, N. Y., where she was being educated. They came to live in Philadelphia, where her parents had removed previously, and she was about twenty-five years of age when she began to preach in meeting, soon becoming a regular preacher of the Society of Friends. She was one of the original members of the Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1833. To such an extreme did she and her husband carry their views that they refused to use any of the products of slave labor, and Mr. Mott, who was engaged in a remunerative cotton business, relinquished it on that account. At one time Mrs. Mott made a journey into the South as far as Virginia, preaching against slavery in each meeting that she attended. Next to this subject, that which most interested her, was the granting of suffrage and equal rights to women. As an evidence of her advanced opinions she would write in albums, when asked for her autograph, this sentiment, "In the true marriage relation the independence of the husband and wife is equal, their dependence mutual, and their obligations reciprocal." Another move-

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ment in which she participated was that of the Peace Society, an organization of which she was an active member until the close of her life. She was nearly eighty-seven years of age when she died, on Nov. 11, 1880, and she retained to the end her mental and physical powers. To extreme benevolence and kindness of heart she united remarkable intellectual gifts and a rare sweetness of disposition. She denied herself many of the comforts that belonged to her station in life in order that she might be able to extend her charities. Her eloquence and the vigor of her writings are memorable.

Anna Maria Ross was prominently identified with the Cooper-Shop Hospital, a branch of the Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon. Night and day she nursed the suffering soldiers. In the spring of 1863, seeing the necessity of a permanent home for discharged soldiers, she canvassed Philadelphia and the counties of Pennsylvania and New Jersey to raise funds for the establishment of the Soldiers' Home. She died on the day of its dedication, Dec. 22, 1863, while the people were praising and blessing her name. On her tomb, in Monument Cemetery, a tablet bears the figure of a woman ministering to a sick soldier. In reviewing the list of Philadelphia women who did such noble service in the hospitals at home and at the front we find the names of Mrs. Abigail Horner, Miss Cornelia Hancock, Miss Hetty A. Jones, and Mrs. Mary Morris Husband (a granddaughter of Robert Morris). Mrs. Husband was on one of McClellan's transports at Harrison's Landing, on the James River, in July, 1861, and stood the Confederate fire with all the coolness of a veteran. In the army hospitals the boys knew her as "Mother Husband," and as the troops marched through Richmond, after Lee's surrender, she stood upon the sidewalk, and a cheer for "Mother Husband" ran along the line. President Lincoln would grant almost any request that she made, and she once obtained from him the pardon of a soldier whom she believed to have been unjustly condemned to death.

The now prosperous School of Design was founded by Mrs. Sarah Peter, daughter of Hon. Thomas Worthington, of Ohio, and wife of William Peter, British consul at Philadelphia. Particularly fond of art, and a firm friend of her own sex, she conceived the idea of forming classes for young girls, in which they might be instructed in the useful branches. These classes steadily increased, and developed into the School of Design, which was opened Dec. 2, 1850.

At Miss Mary McHenry's home, No. 1902 Chestnut Street, there was organized, in February, 1856, the Church Home for Children, in 1866 the Lincoln Institute, and in 1871 the Educational Home. The leading spirit in all these undertakings was Miss McHenry, whose entire life has been devoted to the care of friendless children. The greatest of her works is perhaps the Lincoln Institute, which was established to provide a home for the orphans of soldiers. These having grown to manhood and womanhood, the institute is now training some seventy Indian girls, under an arrangement with the government of the United States. Miss McHenry is the sister of James McHenry, well known as associated with railroad interests in this country and England, and lately married John Bellangee Cox. During the Sanitary Fair she was chairman of the restaurant department, which she managed so efficiently that it cleared thirty thousand dollars.

Caroline Earle was the daughter of Thomas Earle, who was one of the first members of the Anti-Slavery Society, and the dominating instincts of her life are hatred of the "peculiar institution" of the South and an intense love for animals. The day she was twenty-one years of age she was married to Richard P. White, and two years later she was received into the Catholic Church. When the women's branch of the Freedmen's Society, an organization for the aid of the emancipated slaves, was formed, in 1863, she was elected its secretary, in which position she remained five years. She was the leading spirit in the founding of the Philadelphia Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, having previously consulted with Henry Bergh upon the subject, and received encouragement from him, and was chosen president of the women's branch. When the Woman's Centennial Committee was called together by the wish of the parent organization, Mrs. White was one of the thirteen ladies selected in commemoration of the thirteen original States, and was its treasurer for a year. Included in her philanthropic efforts are also the foundation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and the American Anti-Vivisection Society, of which latter she is president.

Mrs. Henry Cohen, who, by birth, was Matilda Samuels, a native of Liverpool, England, was a Jewish lady, and an earnest laborer in public enterprises. In 1844 she married Henry Cohen, and was an official of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Jewish Foster Home and Orphan Asylum, and the Hebrew Sunday-school Society. Her connection with the Foster Home continued for almost a quarter of a century, and for many years she was its president. In 1862 she was appointed delegate from the Portuguese Jewish Congregation Mikve Israel to the United States Sanitary Commission, and at once formed a "Hebrew Women's Aid" to the commission. As a musician and reader she was unstinted in the employment of her talents for the cause of the Union. She was a member of the Women's Centennial Executive Committee, and is still one of the vice-presidents of the New Century Club, an organization for the advancement of women, without the distinction of race or creed.

It is difficult to compress within these limits the life of Anna Dickinson. Born of Quaker ancestors, who were early settlers in Pennsylvania and Maryland, she exhibited in her girlhood days the mental

power and radicalism with which all Americans are acquainted. One Sunday, in January, 1860, when she was a young school-teacher, she attended a meeting of the Association of Progressive Friends, when the subject of discussion was "Women's Rights and Wrongs," and there she made her first speech in public. She spoke frequently afterward at these same meetings, and in controversial argument she subdued all her antagonists. She was only eighteen years old when she attacked slavery in the speech that she delivered at Kennett Square in 1861. The reporter of the *Press* said of her, that she was "handsome, of an expressive countenance, and eloquent beyond her years." "Those who did not sympathize with her remarks were silenced by her simplicity and solemnity." She secured a position in the mint, and lost it because of a bold speech made after the battle of Ball's Bluff. Thenceforth she continued her career as a lecturer. Her lecture upon Abraham Lincoln earned a thousand dollars, which she gave to the committee that erected in Fairmount Park the statue of the martyred President, but she was never accorded the proper recognition due to her generosity. At the first meeting called to enlist colored troops in Philadelphia, she and Frederick Douglass and William D. Kelley were the speakers who succeeded in putting blue coats upon thousands of the faithful and courageous blacks. In campaign after campaign she threw her splendid energies into the service of the Union Republican party, and from the rostrum captivated her audiences with the music of her voice, the charm of her diction, and the noble elevation of her ideas. It is frequently enough said that she was and is impracticable in many of her views, but that is the common complaint against those daring spirits who are so much in advance of their time.

In 1876, Miss Dickinson first appeared on the stage in her own play of "Anne Boleyn." She seems to have mistaken her vocation in attempting the work of either actress or playwright. After writing "Anne Boleyn," she composed "Aurelian," and although both plays are remarkable for their scholarship and literary polish, they are not technically adapted to the requirements of the stage. Miss Dickinson has earned very large amounts of money, but her charitable disposition forbids that she could acquire a fortune. She has given away fully fifty thousand dollars of the income that accrued from her hard work.

Mrs. John Drew, the present proprietress and manager of the Arch Street Theatre, is also the most impressive personator in this country of the old comedy parts. Born in London, Jan. 10, 1820, she was on the stage when three years old, as Louisa Lane, and in 1827 she came to America with her mother (Mrs. Kinloch), and played at the Walnut Street Theatre as the *Duke of York* to the elder Booth's *Richard III.* In Baltimore, New York, and elsewhere she was starred as a "theatrical prodigy," and in the former city Edwin Forrest presented the child with a large gold medal for her performance of *Albert* in "William Tell." She played also in Kingston, Jamaica, after having been wrecked on the shores of that island, where Mr. Kinloch died. She and her mother then filled engagements in all the principal theatres of the Eastern and Southern cities, and in 1836 she married Henry Hunt, who died shortly afterward. Three years later, when she came back to the Walnut Street Theatre, she was one of the three members of the company who could command as liberal a salary for those days as twenty-five dollars per week. In 1850 she married, in Albany, John Drew, and in 1852 they were at the Chestnut Street Theatre, from whence in a few months they transferred themselves to the Arch Street Theatre. At the close of the season of 1852, Mr. Drew and William Wheatley leased the Arch Street Theatre, with a capital that was very diminutive. But their administration of the house was marked with so much tact and knowledge that their accounts at the box-office soon enabled each of them to buy a comfortable residence. Mrs. David P. Bowers, then in the flush of her lovely youth, was the leading lady, and Mrs. Drew was the comedienne. Mrs. Drew and her husband were unfortunate in 1855–56 with their starring ventures, and to clear themselves of debt they were obliged to sell their home, after which their financial resources amounted to but fifteen dollars. In 1860, Mr. Drew having meanwhile gone abroad, Mrs. Drew became the sole lessee of the Arch Street Theatre. For several years it was a most difficult task for her, and when she finally enlarged the theatre, and engaged for the company a number of the best American actors and actresses, her friends predicted that what they styled her rashness could only eventuate in failure. Still she overcame all difficulties, and in 1863 the owners rebuilt the house for her, and she remains at this date (1884) its sole lessee. John Drew died in Philadelphia May 21, 1862.

Mrs. Annis Lee Wister, whose German translations are so popular, is the daughter of Rev. Dr. Furness, and sister of the portrait-painter, William Furness, of the Shakespearian commentator, Horace Howard Furness, and of the architect, Frank Furness. She has translated into English about twenty-five of the German classics of fiction. She is married to Dr. Caspar Wister, and is one of the managers of the School of Art Needlework, in which enterprise are also interested Mrs. J. Dundas Lippincott, Miss F. Clark, Mrs. W. H. Fraley, Mrs. C. H. Hart, Mrs. Thomas Hockley, Miss L. T. Merrick, Miss F. Roberts, Mrs. Thomas A. Scott, Mrs. F. R. Shelton, and Mrs. Charles Wheeler. Mrs. Wister's sister-in-law, Helen Kate Furness (Miss Rogers), the wife of Horace Howard Furness, published a concordance of the poems and sonnets of Shakespeare. Mrs. Furness died in 1883.

The Women's Executive Committee of the Centennial Exhibition contributed largely to its success. As originally constituted the committee was as follows:

Mrs. E. D. Gillespie, president; Mrs. John Saunders, vice-president; Mrs. J. Edgar Thomson, treasurer; Mrs. Aubrey H. Smith, secretary; and Miss McHenry, Mrs. Charles J. Stillé, Miss Elizabeth Gratz, Mrs. John W. Forney, Mrs. Emily R. Buckman, Mrs. Richard P. White, Mrs. Henry Cohen, Mrs. Matthew Simpson, and Mrs. A. H. Franciscus. Many of these ladies have recently formed themselves into the Associate Committee of Women of the Trustees of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, of which Mrs. Gillespie is chairman. She is descended from Revolutionary stock, and began her work for the soldiers of the late civil war in the old Christian Street Hospital. She and Mrs. William C. Patterson were the matrons of that hospital, and afterward were transferred to the hospital at Broad and Cherry Streets. Mrs. Gillespie was also chairman of the committee organized for the purpose of caring for the widows and mothers of the dead soldiers. She was at the head of the post-office department of the Sanitary Fair, and returned a net profit of one thousand and sixty dollars to the general fund.

One incident among many illustrative of the energy of the women who took part in the hard work of the Centennial Exposition may be recalled. Mrs. Gillespie and Mrs. Frank M. Etting were in Washington in February, 1874, and were summoned back to Philadelphia, to be told by members of the Board of Finance that the project might fail unless they could show Congress an appropriation of a million dollars from the City Councils of Philadelphia. By telegraph Mrs. Gillespie at once assembled the chairmen of the women's wards, to whom were distributed the petitions for the appropriation, and in forty-eight hours the papers were returned with the signatures of so many citizens that Councils granted the money. Senator Allison, of Iowa, met Mrs. Gillespie a few days after this occurrence, and told her that the Exposition would scarcely get an appropriation from Congress unless they could prove an interest in it by all the people of the United States. She went to Washington with representative women from fourteen States, and took them before the Senate Committee on Appropriations to prove that the whole country had an interest in the Exposition. As the committee was about to adjourn, Senator Morrill said, "Ladies, it is due to you to tell you that after the proofs which you have brought us the international feature of the exhibition will not be taken away by the committee."

Outside the ladies found awaiting them the agent from the Board of Finance, who came to ask what success they had met with. "All success," replied Mrs. Gillespie: "the international feature of our exhibition will be allowed to remain." His answer was, "I have been here for weeks, trying to get that assurance, and a parcel of women get it in ten minutes." That was a proud moment for the women of Philadelphia.

Mrs. Mary Rose Smith, wife of Aubrey H. Smith, and daughter of Justice Robert C. Grier, of the Supreme Court of the United States, was chairman of the industrial committee of the Sanitary Association, and organized three societies of colored people for the relief of the soldiers. She was a member of the executive and amusement committees of the Sanitary Fair, and superintended many of the dramatic representations that were given in the Amateur Drawing-Room, on Seventeenth Street. From 1866 to 1873 she was chairman of the Women's Branch of the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Commission, and she has also been concerned with the Newsboys' Home, the Bridgwater Home for Colored Soldiers' Orphans, the Centennial Executive Committee, and the committee on charities, of which last named she is chairman at the present time. It was through her that the Empress of Germany sent the album containing views of the charitable institutions of Berlin to the committee. She is also vice-regent of the Valley Forge Centennial Association, a member of the board of directors of the New Century Club, vice-president of the women's visiting committee of the University Hospital, chairman of a sub-committee for the organization of a training-school for nurses in connection with the hospital, and is interested in the Indian Commission, the object of which is the education of Indian children.

Mrs. Matthew Simpson, the wife of Bishop Simpson, is one of the most esteemed women in Philadelphia. She has been for many years president of the Ladies' and Pastors' Christian Union, a Methodist association which has a membership numbering several thousand, and she is also on the board of managers of the Reformatory Home. Through the efforts of Mrs. Simpson has been established the Philadelphia Home for the Aged and Infirm, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a charitable organization that is steadily increasing in influence. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society and the Christian Temperance Union also engross much of Mrs. Simpson's time and attention. She was one of the Women's Centennial Executive Committee, and has recently organized an orphanage, under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church. She is actively engaged in furthering the interests of the "Silk Culture Association," and, notwithstanding these many outside industries, Mrs. Simpson is essentially a "home woman."

To Mrs. Emmeline Claridge, daughter of William Fisher and wife of Dr. William Claridge, must be given the credit of organizing the Old Ladies' Home of Philadelphia. She had previously been president of the Pennsylvania Widows' Asylum, for which she secured from the State an appropriation of five thousand dollars and an annual gift of two thousand dollars. She represented the Eighteenth Ward in the Sanitary and Centennial Commissions, and has been for nine years president of the Old Ladies' Home. One of her colleagues is Mrs. Seth B. Stitt, who is,

however, better known in connection with the Philadelphia Home for Incurables, of which Mrs. C. K. Inglis and Mrs. Israel Maule are vice-presidents; Mrs. Henry C. Townsend, treasurer; and Mrs. Charles H. Caldwell, secretary. Another noble institution recently established is the Nivison Home, at Hammonton, N. J., a sanitarium for children, organized by the benevolence of Miss S. S. Nivison, a graduate of the Philadelphia Women's Medical College.

In the roll of Philadelphia artists who have raised themselves to distinction are Miss Emily Sartain, Miss Ida Waugh, Martha Dunbar Ramsey, Edith Loring Pierce, Mrs. E. O. Hoyt, and Sarah Dodson. Miss Waugh is the only female member of the Philadelphia Society of Artists. The city possesses many ladies whose work on the newspapers and magazines has been and is of the most praiseworthy kind. Mrs. Lucy M. Hooper, wife of the American vice-consul at Paris, and Miss Anna H. Brewster, sister of the Attorney-General of the United States, are two of the brightest writers that Philadelphia has sent abroad. Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, author of "The Woman's Record," was another Philadelphia woman of literary fame.

Noted for her business, as well as her social qualities, is Mrs. Sarah Catharine Hallowell, daughter of Hon. Frederick Fraley, and wife of Joshua L. Hallowell. By her marriage she was closely identified with the anti-slavery propaganda, and became a manager of the Woman's Hospital, and chairman of the Training-School for Nurses. Before the Constitutional Convention, in 1872–73, Mrs. Hallowell joined with the ladies of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh in asking full representation for women in the commonwealth,—that they might have equal property rights before the law, equal voice in the management of schools, and choose their own representatives whenever they were taxpayers. She is a member of the Women's Congress, and a corporator of the Woman's Medical College, organized in 1850, and the oldest and foremost medical school for women in the world. In the centennial work Mrs. Hallowell was unceasing in her efforts. She was a member of the Centennial Ward Committees, and accepted the invitation of the "Woman's Executive" to take charge of the newspaper printed in their building, and which was one of their most striking exhibits. The whole staff of the paper, which was called *The New Century*, editors, reporters, compositors, and correspondents, were women.

It was during the centennial year that Mrs. Hallowell combined with other prominent women in forming the New Century Club, an organization of ladies that has its rooms on Girard Street. Outgrowths of the club are the cooking-school and the evening classes for teaching working-girls practical branches of industry. The committee of legal protection for working-women is one of its important features, and it has a large staff of volunteer counsel in the junior bar. Mrs. Hallowell has written and published many works of fiction, and is now a member of the staff of the *Philadelphia Ledger*.

Miss Lily Macalester, daughter of Charles Macalester, was appointed vice-regent for Pennsylvania of the Mount Vernon Association, when it was organized by Miss Cunningham, for the purchase of the home of Washington. Miss Macalester was very young at the time, but she raised ten thousand dollars for the association. She became Madame Bergmanns by marriage, and in 1873, Miss Cunningham having resigned, was elected regent of the association by its Grand Council. She made a suggestion to some of her friends in the Senate and House of Representatives, which has borne fruit in the passage by Congress of the resolution making Washington's birthday a national holiday. She conducted the visit of the emperor and empress of Brazil to Mount Vernon, in the summer of 1876, when Dom Pedro planted a tree at the tomb. Madame Bergmanns, after being a widow for several years, was married to Mr. J. Scott Laughton, and was soon after widowed a second time. She spends her summers at the beautiful Macalester estate at Torresdale, near Philadelphia, and her winters in Washington, where, by reason of her culture, intelligence, and personal attractions, she is a great social favorite.

Mrs. Robert K. Wright was descended on the paternal (Price) side and the maternal (Fisher) side from the colonists who came over with William Penn. The Prices settled, in 1682, upon some thousands of acres of land on the west of the Schuylkill, the title of which is to this day in the family. On Feb. 19, 1846, she married Robert K. Wright, a grandson of Peter Wright, and in the civil war she was chairman of the Field Hospital Association of Germantown. The organization was supported by contributions from the ladies of the city, and from this fund were paid living prices to the women who manufactured clothing for the troops. In the centennial, Mrs. Wright was chairman of the committee on machinery, and in that capacity formed the department of silk, carpet, shawl, and stuff-looms. It was in accordance with her views that the engine which ran that department had a woman engineer.

Mrs. John Lucas is the president of the Woman's Silk Culture Association, which was incorporated May 31, 1880. She was first attracted to the work by the fact that it appeared, and has since been demonstrated, that in silk culture there was profitable employment for the women of the rural districts. Mrs. Lucas is assisted in this work by a committee of ladies, composed of Mrs. Bishop Simpson, Mrs. C. D. Thum, Mrs. W. B. Eltonhead, Mrs. Phœbe Horne, Mrs. W. T. Reynolds, and Mrs. S. G. Flagg, vice-presidents; Miss E. T. Van Rensselaer, recording secretary; Miss S. Gibbons and Mrs. V. C. Haven, corresponding secretaries; and Mrs. H. P. Taylor, treasurer.

In 1882, Mrs. Lucas organized the first class of Chinese for instruction in the Episcopal Church, and several other classes have since been started under the impetus of her influence. She has also been engaged in the Infants' Home, the Newsboys' Home, the reformation of inebriate women, and the establishment of a general Homœopathic Hospital, which is to be connected with the management of the Children's Homœopathic Hospital of West Philadelphia. Mrs. Lucas is chairman of the building committee, and preparatory to the opening of the permanent edifice two private houses have been rented, at a merely nominal rent, by Miss Jeanes, of Philadelphia.

It was known during the lifetime of Mrs. Frank Drexel, the wife of the banker, that her charitable works were numerous, but it was not until her death that the extent of her labors could be even guessed at. Mrs. Drexel died less than a year ago, and it was then found that she had been paying the rent of more than a hundred houses for poor people, and at a rough estimate it is thought that she expended more than forty thousand dollars annually in charity.

Although married to an Englishman, and living abroad for the past few years, Mrs. Hughes-Hallett, better known in Philadelphia as Miss Emilie Schaumburg, is not to be omitted. To know Miss Schaumburg was to cease to marvel at her social success, attained both in this country and in Europe. Her beauty is of a rare order, added to which her natural talents are numerous, and they have been subjected to the highest degree of cultivation. Mrs. Hughes-Hallett is a remarkable linguist, a brilliant conversationalist, and an accomplished musician and actress. The little Amateurs' Drawing-Room, on Seventeenth Street (now no more), was the scene of many of Miss Schaumburg's triumphs. Here she would give amateur representations,—French and English comedies and bright operettas of the highest order,—and distribute cards of invitation to them among her friends.

In other parts of this work will be found in greater detail mention of many of the more prominent women who have taken part in the leading public charities of the city. Among them we may instance Mrs. Elizabeth E. Hutter, who by her ministrations to the Union soldiers during the civil war, her untiring labors in the hospitals, and her connection with local benevolent institutions, has become so widely known and honored.

It is of course not to be inferred that the writer has been able to bring within the limits of this chapter even the names, much less the achievements, of all the distinguished women of Philadelphia. The subject has so grown upon the writer that she has been restricted to the selection of a comparatively few of the most eminent representatives of the highly honored classes as illustrations of all. The women who dignified the earlier history of the city, and were conspicuous in all the good works of their days, have innumerable and worthy successors in their daughters of our own times. In this concluding quarter of the nineteenth century, we may view with gratification and pride the pre-eminence of the mothers and daughters, wives, and sisters of Philadelphia in a cultured and admirable society, in art and literature, and in those missions of ministry to the poor, the sick, and the distressed, where women's gentleness and piety meets the most exacting demands.

END OF VOLUME II.