

ART. IV.—*History of Philadelphia.*

Annals of Philadelphia, being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of the City and its Inhabitants, from the Days of the Pilgrim Founders. By JOHN F. WATSON. Philadelphia. 1830.

Could we persuade ourselves by any effort of imagination that the Rev. Micah Balwhidder was still among the living, we should have no doubts respecting the authorship of this work, notwithstanding the name it bears. We see in it the same absence of perspective in the view, the same *deceptio visus*, by which the little object before his eye exceeded in magnitude the whole earth and heaven; and, above all, the same triumph of art, by which he contrived, without one spark of egotism, to give a full length portrait of his own simple-hearted character, while intent upon describing his favorite city. It is really refreshing to a reviewer, who is compelled to look upon so much display, effort, and pretension, to encounter such a page in the history of human nature; there is nothing like it, except perhaps the century sermons of some of our New England divines, who, in giving the annals of their village, paint with laborious finish every leaf on the genealogical tree. We regret that the work has not fallen under our observation before; but we hasten to make atonement for our seeming neglect, though we cannot promise to notice 'all and singular' the events here recorded. The work is certainly rather long: even now, though the author takes praise to himself for the forbearance which has restricted it to a single volume of not more than eight hundred pages, he directs us to notice particularly, that in most cases of recital from others, a smaller type has been used than the common text. We give him credit for his moderation; but, in this last instance, it reminds us of a student in one of our colleges, who, on submitting a poem to his professor, was told that some of the lines were too long by several syllables for the heroic measure; he replied that he was fully aware of the objection, and intended to obviate it by writing the lines in question in a smaller hand.

Though there is something which tempts one to smile both in the design and execution of this work, we can easily conceive that its minuteness may increase its value to many in-

habitants of the beautiful city which it describes. The author candidly admits, that it may be deemed *sui generis* in its execution; but, says he, 'it has powers to please apart from its style and composition,' inasmuch as it is a treasury of reminiscences, which no one else would have thought of collecting. He had determined, as he says, to rescue them from the 'ebbing tide of oblivion:' and it is no small consolation to us to learn from one whose attention has been devoted to the subject, that the above mentioned tide is actually falling: we had supposed that it was gaining fast, at least upon the literary world. However it may be with the 'fugitive facts,' which were the objects of his pursuit, we know that many works, which go forth like gallant barks, are constantly sinking where no diving-bell can reach them; but, if his philosophy be true, we need not mourn for them, our own among the number, as irrecoverably lost to mankind. On the whole, it is well that there are men who can engage with all their hearts in such labors as this; the local changes which they describe interest many beside those who were born among the scenes of their description, because they are signs of a mightier change which has been going on beyond their borders. The growth of a single place like Philadelphia, from the wilderness to the village, and from the village to the city, gives a concentrated and powerful impression of the vastness and rapidity of those changes from glory to glory, which our whole nation has hurried through. These fugitive facts, also, help to fill up the broad outlines drawn by the biographer and historian, which are often too indefinite to fix themselves in the mind; and answer the same purpose for one class of readers, which the imaginations of the poet and novelist serve for another, giving 'a local habitation' and reality to recollections, which would otherwise soon die away. But this writer claims too much for his undertaking, when he believes that it will 'transfer back the mind to scenes before:' which, as we understand it, is a kind of retrospective forecast not within the reach even of prophetic inspiration.

Every Philadelphian has a right to be proud both of the founder and the foundation of his state. Never was an enterprise more wisely and happily conducted; and its success must be ascribed to the disinterestedness and judgment of Penn, since the circumstances were no more favorable than in other cases, where the first results were discouraging. It was the first time the world had ever seen an individual of com-

manding influence and station acting so decidedly upon the Christian principle, that no man can serve his own interests so well as by serving others. It was remarkable that such a person should come from the halls of a slavish court and under the authority of an arbitrary king, and establish a state, with the single-hearted ambition to 'show men, as free and happy as they could be,' as an example to the rest of the world. The power of the chief Magistrate, that is, his own power, was cautiously limited and defined; the right of suffrage was given freely to all; the ballot-box, which, small as it is, holds the destinies of nations within it, was used probably for the first time thus extensively in the Western world; so far from securing to himself the means of profit and power, he declared that he would deprive both himself and his successors of the power of doing mischief, so that the authority of one man might never hinder the general good. His views for the welfare of his people were judicious as well as liberal; he required that all children should be taught to read and write, and after the age of twelve should be engaged in some useful employment. All prisons, he said, should be work-houses; the law and practice of primogeniture were abolished, and this at a time when a law which we could mention, nearer home, provided that parents should follow the 'order of nature,' and give a double portion to the eldest son. It may even be doubted whether his institutions were not more mild and free than his colonists were fitted to enjoy; certainly the privileges which he gave them were not always used in the way which gratitude would have directed.

One of the greatest triumphs of this extraordinary man was his influence with the Indians; and since our relations with this unfortunate race are likely to produce excitement for years to come, his example cannot be too often cited. The only charm by which he acquired so much influence over them, was by treating them with uniform justice; and perhaps it would be well for states and individuals, who complain of them as bad neighbors, to try the same novel experiment, and see whether it may not be attended with similar success. In his letter to the Free Society of traders, Penn gives an account of this unfortunate race, as descriptive as that which Tacitus gives of the Germans. After speaking of their habits and manners, he says, 'do not abuse them, but let them have justice and you win them.' He purchased from them the land to which he held

a title from the king of England, and strictly enjoined it as a duty of inhabitants and surveyors, not to take possession of any land which they claimed, till he had first, at his own cost, satisfied them for the same. The modern practice of assuming jurisdiction over them was then unknown; and had it been otherwise, his conscience might have been too unaccommodating to allow him to take advantage of that ingenious discovery: it is gratifying to reflect that he has lost nothing by his course, but on the contrary stands considerably higher than he otherwise would in the estimation of the world. The Indians always regarded him with respect and affection, and he kept up a frequent intercourse with them in order to confirm their good will. Thus palisades and block-houses, the usual defence of frontier settlements, were rendered unnecessary; so far from having any disposition to molest them, the Indians sometimes carried their kindness to excess. Thus we are told that Mr. Carver, the first settler at Byberry, was in distress for food. As none was to be had nearer than Newcastle, he prepared to go thither, and sent his children meantime to beg the hospitality of the Indians, which they not only granted, but took off the boy's trowsers, tied up the legs, and sent them back to the parents filled with corn. It is not till a comparatively late period, that the aborigines have disappeared. Tedyuscung, a Delaware chief, was a frequent visiter in Philadelphia so late as 1760. Governor Dickenson speaks of negotiating a treaty at Albany, on which occasion this chief undertook to address the assembly; his wife, who was present, spoke to him in the most gentle and silvery tones imaginable, in the Indian tongue, with her eyes fixed steadfastly on the ground; every one was enchanted with the sweetness of her voice and manner. On inquiring of Tedyuscung, who spoke English fluently, what his wife had said, he answered, 'Ho! she is but a poor weak woman! She told me it was unworthy the dignity of a great king like me, to present myself drunk before the great council of the nation.' The last chief of the Delawares near Philadelphia was Isaac Still, a man of sense and character, who had been much employed by the whites as an agent and interpreter among the Indians. He dwelt with his people in wigwams on Logan's place for a time, but as soon as he could, collected the remains of his tribe, to lead them to the Wabash, 'far away,' as he said, 'from war and rum.' A person who witnessed their march, with Still, a fine looking man, ornamented

with feathers, at their head, described it as an imposing scene : thus, in 1775, the last vestige of the Leni Lenape disappeared from the region. This writer however tells us that one, called old Indian Hannah, was living in the present century on the Brandywine, and retained a high and haughty spirit to the last.

This writer relates conscientiously, but with manifest reluctance, one piece of diplomacy on the part of Penn in his treaty with the Indians, which, to say truth, does not appear precisely in keeping with the tastes or habits of either party. A certain old lady, who was present, averred, that after eating their roasted acorns and homony with them, when they rose to testify their satisfaction by hopping and jumping, he rose with them, and jumped higher than they all. The figure of Penn, judging from his statue, was in no wise calculated for such exploits ; we see no other reason why it may not be true. The writer says, ‘I will not pretend to vouch for this story ; I give it as I received it from honest informants, who certainly believed it themselves. It was a measure harmless in the abstract.’ Certainly, and in the concrete also ; Penn doubtless thought that there was no more want of dignity in curvetting after the manner of the wigwam, where such was the fashion, than in bowing and kissing hands according to the usage of European courts. It is true that the sect to which he belonged are not distinguished for this kind of adaptation, but perhaps the reason is, that they will not be courteous upon compulsion. We have heard on good authority, that our early legislatures were constantly enacting laws requiring the Quakers to take off their hats in courts of justice, but not a single beaver could be brought low by either force or fear. After a time they repealed all those laws at once ; and from that moment, as if by magic, every quaker’s head was uncovered.

Our author quotes, from an ancient journalist, an opinion that may throw some light on the character of Penn ; ‘he was naturally too prone to cheerfulness for a grave public Friend.’ The truth probably was, that he conformed to that excellent sect, as nearest, in his opinion, to the original simplicity of religion, but could not be made a slave to the opinions or practices of any party. We may infer as much from his noble spirit of toleration, which made him in that respect one of the bright lights of that age ; we must confess that here he appears to more advantage than our pilgrim fathers, though it is true, at

the same time, that their exclusiveness may be strongly defended. It was a lesson which he learned not from tradition nor example; for we do not find that such men as Sir Thomas More, and the wisest and best of that or any former day, regarded intolerance as anything more than a fair and natural use of power. The losing side counted themselves unfortunate indeed; but the party that happened to prevail, whether Catholic or Protestant, distributed crowns of martyrdom with princely liberality, and all that the sufferers complained of as irreligious was, that they should be the victims. We honor those, and Penn was not alone, who rose above the general spirit and example, followed the dictates of Christianity and their own better feelings, and offered to all who were persecuted for righteousness' sake, an asylum, where they could be left to make up the great account of life with their consciences and their God alone.

But it would seem that the generous disinterestedness of his views did not save him from a large share of disappointments and vexations. This however was to have been expected. Such is human nature, that not even the smallest charity school can be established, without opposition from those who are habitually skeptical and despondent, as well as from that class of philanthropists, who always run for the engine when they see a spark of benevolent feeling likely to kindle and spread; but these obstacles, which discourage the feeble, are an inspiration to energetic minds; they never expect to accomplish anything great without meeting resistance from various quarters; and so far from giving up to those difficulties, they consider it little more than a healthful exercise to encounter and subdue them. Penn met with much that was irritating from those who had no confidence in his success, and, notwithstanding the placid calmness which we always associate with his character, he sometimes expressed himself in language tolerably emphatic to those whom it might concern. Antony Duché, a protestant refugee from France, ancestor of the well known clergyman of that name, came over with him in one of his voyages, and lent him twenty pounds by the way. When they arrived, Penn, who was disposed to do him a favor, offered him a square in the city by way of payment, telling him that the price was small, but that he would let him have a great bargain as an act of friendship. Duché thanked him courteously, but said he should prefer receiving the money; 'Blockhead!' said

Penn in wrath, 'thou shalt have the money; but canst thou not see that this will be a great city in a very little time?' Duché afterwards sorely repented his choice, and fully acknowledged the appropriateness of the term which Penn had applied. The rapid increase of the land in value is illustrated by an anecdote mentioned by our author. An aged female friend, who gained a subsistence by selling cakes, said that her grandfather had received the ground now occupied by the Bank of the United States, together with half the square, for his services as chain-bearer in surveying the city. She had lived to see the Bank erected on a part of it, bought for the purpose with one hundred thousand dollars.

But this incredulity, though provoking, was by no means the greatest of his evils. The writer has stated his most serious difficulty in short hand, saying, 'the truth was as in the days of yore, when the sons of God came together, Satan came also.' Vile persons, as he suggests, from Maryland and New-York, we are glad to see that New England was not implicated, came and contaminated the thriving settlement. Penn was also tormented by wrong-headed persons of his own sect, some of whom wished to enact that all young men should be compelled to marry at a certain age, and that only two sorts of clothes should be allowed;—one kind for summer and the other for winter. Moreover, his expenses were great, and his revenues small. 'I am night and day,' he says, 'spending my life, my time, my money, without being a sixpence enriched by my greatness.' His liberal expenditure for the benefit of the colony, and the necessary expense required to keep favor at court, where nothing could be done without money, involved him in continual difficulties. His rents were slowly and reluctantly paid. In a letter to R. Turner, dated 1681, he says, 'I have been these thirteen years the servant of truth and of Friends, and for my testimony's sake I have lost much: not only the greatness and preferments of the world, but sixteen thousand pounds of my estate, which I might have obtained long ago, had I not been what I am; but I murmur not.' In 1684 he embarked for England, and while there, was constantly engaged in endeavors to secure advantages for his province, and to resist those who tried to restore it to the immediate government of the crown. Having, as he thought, attained his object, he was preparing to return in 1690, when he was arrested on suspicion of disaffection to the new king, William,

and was compelled to live two years in retirement, while his government was entrusted to another, by which he lost, as he estimated, thirty thousand pounds. He says that his quit-rents were five thousand pounds a year, but he could not get one penny. In 1686, he says, 'in the sight of God, I may say I am five thousand pounds and more behindhand, than I ever received for land in this province; and to be so baffled by the merchants is discouraging, and not to be put up with.' Again, he says, 'as to a supply, I will sell the shirt off my back, before I will trouble them any more. I will never come into the province with the family to spend my private estate to discharge a public station, and so add more wrongs to my children. This is no anger, though I am grieved,—but a cool and resolved thought.'

In 1699, he returned to the province, resumed the cares of his official station, and renewed his friendly relations with the Indians. But the crown officers in England were still actively employed against the colonies, and in 1701, a bill was brought in to take them under the direct control of the crown. Penn's friends obtained an indulgence to stay proceedings till his return, for which he made preparations. Our author however assures us, that there was no pressing necessity for his presence there, and he would have remained, had the colony provided suitably for himself and his family. His last public act in the country was to give a charter to the city of Philadelphia. Some ancient records of the city, preserved by this writer, show a curious and edifying state of feeling with respect to public officers. Several instances are given of Aldermen who were fined thirty pounds each, for declining to accept the office of mayor; and so late as 1746, James Hamilton, mayor, requests the board to accept one hundred and fifty pounds, instead of the entertainment always expected from that officer, when his term of public service expired. We would suggest to the consideration of those who remember the scenes which our country exhibited four years ago, whether their recurrence might not be effectually prevented by returning to this primitive state of things. We hear of no effort on the part of one aspirant to supplant another,—no contest for the spoils of victory; so far from it, an unambitious reserve,—a generous surrender to the claims of others prevailed, which is almost without example. We read, that Alderman Morris, the Mayor elect, not being present at the meeting, a committee was ap-

pointed to wait on him, and inform him of the appointment with which he was honored; the committee reported, that they had been at his house, and were told by his daughter that he was out of town; afterwards, another messenger reported that he had called at Mr. Morris's house, and delivered the notice of appointment to his wife, who absolutely refused to receive it: at length, finding that the Mayor elect was not likely to appear, they found it necessary to confer the honor on another, who had not time to get out of the way. The office of contractor, also, was one by which no man was allowed to make a fortune. In 1753, Charles Stow prayed the Board to make him some allowance for firewood and candles supplied by him at the Mayor's court, for the space of twenty-two years. They agreed to allow him for firewood, candles, and his trouble, (with interest probably included,) the sum of seven shillings and sixpence a year.

William Penn returned to England in 1701, and his interests in the province do not seem to have been materially served by those who reigned in his stead. In 1704, John Evans came over as deputy governor, and one of his first official acts was to call for a militia 'for the service of the Queen.' It is easy to imagine what effect this must have had upon the Friends. He however did not believe in their aversion to war, and in order to surprise them into a desertion of their principles, devised a stratagem, the first and last of the kind ever resorted to by one in such a station. He had an express sent up from Newcastle, saying that twelve French ships had arrived there, and would at once make an attack on Philadelphia. The whole city was in an uproar; he rode through the streets with his sword drawn, calling on the inhabitants to take arms; the Friends did not answer to the summons, but plate was thrown into wells, and much valuable property injured and lost, in consequence of the alarm. This jest, however pleasant in its way, did not tend to increase his popularity, and after a time he was recalled. But a regular opposition was formed to the rights and claims of Penn; his friends in the province advised him in confidence to sell his title to the crown, and secure terms as favorable as he could, telling him that there were constant conspiracies against his interest, and that it would be impossible for him to retain his authority, as matters were then conducted. He took their advice and made advances, which we learn from his wife would have been read-

ily accepted, had he not insisted upon every possible security for the rights and welfare of his people. At last, in 1710, he wrote to them an expostulatory letter, in which are these words : ‘ when I reflect on all those heads of which I have so much cause to complain, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt out to me by those from whom I had reason to expect so much better ; nor can I but lament the unhappiness too many of them are bringing upon themselves ; who, instead of pursuing the ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and oversetting by party violence that foundation, on which your happiness might be built.’ This address was in fact a farewell ; for in 1712, his health failing, he sold his right for twelve thousand pounds, reserving the quit-rents and estates ; but a stroke of apoplexy so impaired his mind, that the business was never concluded. His speech and mind were both affected, but the care of his wife, who kept from him all matters of business that might have disturbed him, prolonged his life in comparative comfort till 1718, when he died, expressing to the last the most affectionate interest in his people. We know not how much they were to blame, but it is painful to think of the difficulties which such a man was obliged to encounter. He had however a firmness of purpose and principle which bore him triumphantly through, and the judicious view which he took of the subject of religion did much to sustain him ; he says, ‘ religion helps us above all other things, even in things of the world, clearing our heads, quickening our spirits, and giving us faith and courage to perform.’

The English Governors, while Penn was living, do not seem to have had the most harmonious intercourse with the people, nor was the state of things much altered in this respect after his death. We have already alluded to Governor Evans. After him, came Col. Gookin, who held the reins of government with a high hand. At one time he removed all the justices of the common pleas in Newcastle county, for deciding against his brother-in-law, leaving the county without a single magistrate for six weeks ; at another time, when the judges of the supreme court had refused to allow a commission of his to be published in court, he sent for one of their number and kicked him. He afterwards apologized for these things, and said that his physician had told him ‘ he had a

weakness in his head.' It was impossible to refuse to accept such an apology, for no one doubted the penetration of the physician, nor the fact that he was so afflicted. The intercourse between the Governor and the Assembly was equally pleasant and courtly in later times. In 1755, the Assembly say to Gov. Morris, that 'his offer was a mere idle illusion, intended to impose first on the Assembly and then on the people; and also to figure at home in the eyes of the ministry.' To which his Excellency replies, 'your very tedious message is of such an inflammatory nature, that did not the duties of my station and justice to the people require me to take some notice of it, I should deem it beneath my notice as a gentleman.'

It is matter of considerable interest, to know the history of the family of William Penn. His eldest son, the only one by the first wife, was named for himself, and was regarded as heir to his office and estate in this country. He was sent to the colony from England by his father in 1701, but his habits were too light to conciliate the grave tastes of the people: he did not like the society of Friends, nor did he attend their meetings. This was not the worst; for in 1704 we find him presented by the Grand Jury, with some others, for beating the constable and watch; this indignity was greatly resented, the more so, perhaps, because it appeared that he had received harder blows than he had given. When he returned to England he added much to his father's embarrassments, if we may judge from a passage in a letter, where, speaking of his son and his young wife, Penn says, that 'they living beyond their means, were much expense and grief to him many years, and many ways.' He joined himself to the church of England, but bad habits of life destroyed his constitution, and he died in 1720, leaving three children, none of whom ever came to this country, though one of them, William, was offered ten thousand acres of land near the forks of the Delaware by the Indians, if he would live in America; such was the affection which they bore to the name of William Penn.

The descendants of Penn, proprietaries as they were called, showed, one and all, a great reluctance to remain in this country. They probably had adopted the impression that the founder of the State was hardly treated; and so no doubt he was: though beside the natural jealousy of power, other circumstances may have operated to make the colonists illiberal in their

dealings with him. The colony seems to have been prosperous in all substantial respects, from its beginning, but money did not abound; in 1704 James Logan says, 'money is so scarce, that many good farmers scarce ever see a piece of eight of their own throughout the year : ' on another occasion, ' pay for lands sold near Newcastle to the amount of near three thousand pounds is due, and I have received but two hundred, and that in produce ; nor will one half of it ever be paid unless times should mend ; for the land, as in many other cases, will be cast back upon our hands.' Such was the veneration then felt for silver and gold, that without them, the colonists would have counted themselves in desperate poverty, even though all the comforts of life abounded, and probably felt as if the most just assessments were wrung from them by extortion. At the Revolution, the State of Pennsylvania compounded with the family, and gave them one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, with a confirmation of title to all the manor lands, in order to extinguish their title forever. Franklin estimated their estates to be worth ten millions sterling. Considering the changes effected by the Revolution, they probably thought themselves fortunate to gain such terms in exchange for their proprietary claims. John Penn, a grandson of the founder, was in this country since that event, and is still living in England. We are told that he has a large and valuable collection of papers belonging to his ancestor, in perfect order and preservation. Some branches of the family have applied to him for the use of them for historical purposes, but the proposal was declined, on the ground that he intended himself to make a similar use of them. If so, we hope he will remember that life is short, and that, if he does not execute his purpose, it can be of no great importance to him whether it is done by another while he is living or after his death ; while the materials contained in such a collection might be of great value to the public, who naturally feel an earnest desire to learn all that can be known of one of the most remarkable enterprises and remarkable men that the world ever saw.

All the letters of William Penn give the impression that he was a clear and accurate observer, and though he was evidently brought to this country by his religious feeling, there are no traces of enthusiasm in his conduct. He says that he wishes to try a holy experiment, and to serve the truth and people

of God ; and in his whole proceeding, he showed, that while mere commercial enterprises failed in several instances along our shores, those which were inspired by religious feeling, and directed by cool judgment, were sure to succeed at last. He finds time, with all the care of a new government on his shoulders, to make observations on the natural history, on the climate and resources of the country, and makes frequent suggestions respecting them, which show an active and ingenious mind. His remarks upon the climate could only have been the result of attentive observation, and he observes that however favorable it may be then, the cultivation of the country will soften and refine the air. He describes the vegetable productions of the forest and field, mentioning among other things that the Indians have the peach in great perfection, but whence it was obtained he does not know. He says, that he is doubtful whether it is best to improve the fruits of the country by cultivation, or to import from abroad those which have been so improved already, and expresses his resolution to try them both if his life should be spared. He is greatly struck with the beauty of the flowers, and transmits such varieties as he thinks most remarkable to England, taking every opportunity to ascertain by experience, and from the Indians, who are great botanists in their way, what are their peculiar properties and virtues.

What activity of mind was implied in all this, may be better estimated, when we reflect that he was to the colonists what Moses was to the Israelites, obliged to bear the blame of all their hardships and sorrows, and reminded of his agency in bringing them away from the flesh pots of Egypt, whenever a moment of privation came. These were not rare occasions: the settlement of a new country under the happiest auspices is very different from play, and his colonists, though not so severely tried as many others, were obliged to take their share. An old lady related their history, as she received it from her aunt, who came from England with William Penn. She told her niece, that they made their first abode in a cave, scooped from the river bank, which was the common resource of the colonists, till better dwellings could be constructed. Few of them were persons who had been used to labor, and, as aid was not to be hired, the women assisted their husbands; she helped her husband in his work with the saw, and brought water for him to make the mortar for his chimney. At one

time, when she was evidently exhausted by her labor, he begged her to leave it and think of dinner. She went home, weeping, for their provisions were almost entirely exhausted; but the question arose in her mind, 'Didst thou not come for liberty of conscience? hast thou not got it? hast thou not been provided for beyond expectation?' She said that she begged forgiveness on her knees in prayer, and never repined again.

This writer tells us that Rebecca Coleman, who died in 1770 at a very advanced age, was one of those who first came over. She was then a child. One day, when sitting at the door of the cave, eating her milk porridge, she was overheard to say, 'Now, thee sha'nt again.' On her friends going to ascertain the cause, they found her permitting a snake to eat with her out of the vessel, which rested on the ground. This story has an apocryphal sound, but probably the snake was present, without actually accepting her hospitality. One incident of those times is creditable both to the colonists and the Indians. A lady, whose husband died on the passage, was left with the charge of nine young children. She was provided with a cave by her companions; and the Indians, who took compassion upon her, made her frequent visits with supplies of food: afterwards a Friend, who had built a house, gave a shelter to her and her children. The latter never ceased to do kindnesses to their Indian friends, and extended their liberality to Old Hannah, who has been already named,—the last remnant of the race. At these times, all went on in perfect order; the hours for work and meals were fixed and made known by the sound of a bell: at nine in the evening the officers,—the citizens serving in turn,—went through the settlement, and suffered none to remain at the public house, except lodgers. This habitual order, which Penn established, was one of the secrets of his success.

Our readers would of course take little interest in an account of merely local changes; but it is pleasant to read the history of a prosperous community, increasing by means of its own resources, and sustained in its flourishing state, by the good spirit and habits of the people. They happily secured themselves against the Indians, without resorting to force or fear; and the Swedes and Dutch, whose fierce wars are fully related by Knickerbocker, had been fortunately disposed of before the grant was made to Penn. Even the Puritans from New Ha-

ven, who came to plant 'churches after a godly sort,' not to speak of 'trading and trafficking with the Indians,' though a most persevering race, had been put to flight in haste by William the Testy, many years before. The account which Gabriel Thomas gives of the settlement, to which he came in 1681, and in which he remained fifteen years, shows a growth almost unexampled, from the poor accommodations just described, to the comforts of civilized life. He mentions, that even then, Philadelphia was a city, though, we imagine, it was like those of scripture, 'a little city, and few men within it.' The streets were already named from the trees which grew in greatest abundance upon the spot where their lines were drawn: it had its two markets every week, and three fairs every year; fulling mills and corn mills were already built; iron works were in preparation, the country being rich in 'iron stone or oar;' great encouragement was given to laborers of all descriptions. He dwells with much delight upon the riches of the soil.

'There is curious building stone and paving stone; also tile stone, with which Governor Penn covered his great and stately pile, which he called Pennsbury house; there is also very good limestone, of great use in buildings, and also in manuring land; but nature has made that of itself sufficiently fruitful: besides, here are load stones, ising glass, and that wonder of stones, the salamander stone, having cotton in veins within it, which will not consume in the fire.' 'In the said city are several good schools of learning for youth, for the attainment of arts and sciences, also reading and writing. Here is to be had, on any day in the week, cakes, tarts and pies: we have also several cookshops, both roasting and boiling, as in the city of London; happy blessings, for which we owe the highest gratitude to our plentiful Provider, the great Creator of heaven and earth. The water mills are made by one Peter Deal.'

'They pay no tithes here; the place is free for all persuasions in a sober and civil way; there is no persecution for religion, nor even like to be. Women's wages are exorbitant; they are not yet very numerous, which makes them stand upon high terms for their services; moreover they are usually married before they are twenty years of age, and when once in that noose, are for the most part a little uneasy, and make their husbands so too, till they can procure them a maid servant to bear the burden of the work, and in some measure to wait on them too.'

Our author bestows much research upon the subject of the 'Treaty-tree,' under which William Penn negotiated his first treaty with the Indians. It was an Elm, of spreading branches, which was destroyed by a gale in 1810. It is a subject of regret, that the monument of so memorable a transaction should have been lost so soon; but after it had fallen, it appeared from its annual circles of wood, that its age was two hundred and eighty-three years. If so, the gale did but anticipate a little the decay of nature, for the Elm is not a tree, like the oak, to last for ages; it affords a grand and solemn shade, but is exceeded by many trees of the forest in strength and duration. The writer engages, *con amore*, in discussions concerning the Penny-pot house and Blue Anchor, Poole's Bridge and Pegg's Run; he also throws considerable light upon the 'Rising Sun,' which he holds to be identical with Penn's Cottage: this place he proposes to embalm, and to treasure within it all the relics that can be found of its first possessor. But these are 'the days of fact not fancy,' and we fear that few will be moved by his appeal. 'Why should we not retain for exhibition the primitive house of Penn? yea, whose foundation constituted the first cellar dug in Philadelphia?' We perfectly agree with him in his indignation at those who estimate such places only by the worth of the brick and mortar, and sympathize in his wish that the 'Slate House,' the residence of Penn, which still exists, should be preserved; for even now it would offer a greater attraction to the stranger, than any of the finest buildings of that beautiful city. It was tenanted by Penn during his residence in this country, and while he was absent, by his friend James Logan. In it Logan received Lord Cornbury, the well-known Governor of New York, and son of Clarendon, who came in great state with a retinue of thirty persons, being, as Penn described him, 'at once a man of luxury and poverty.' We know little of this personage except from the reminiscence of an old woman, 'who told the Parker family, that she remembered to have seen him at Chester; and having heard that he was a lord and a queen's cousin, she had eyed him with great exactness, but could see no difference in him from other men, except that he wore leather stockings.'

We think that our author is quite right in his opinion on another subject of a similar kind. Stupid and tasteless improvements are the pest of every city; the popular architect feels

glorious and happy, when he has removed every vestige of antiquity, and replaced them with original inventions, which are only recommended by the circumstance that there is nothing like them now existing, and not the least danger of their ever being imitated. The State House in Philadelphia, which has been standing about a century, contains the apartment in which the Declaration of Independence was signed, but no longer exhibiting the appearance which it did on that memorable day. The effacing fingers of modern improvement have removed what this writer calls its 'wainscotted and pannelled grandeur.' We think that it might be restored to its original form, at least so far as to be in keeping with the rest of the building. The steeple has been restored to its former character, and truly the house can have but little beauty except that which is borrowed from venerable and pleasing associations. We are told that, as if from some prophetic association, the bell, set up in colonial times, bore the motto, 'To proclaim liberty to the land and to all the people thereof.' We doubt whether the people, any more than the bell, anticipated that it should ever give notice, as it actually did, that the charter of freedom was signed in the hall below.

Many particulars, which this writer has collected concerning the institutions of former times, are curious and interesting. Some of these give us an idea of the administration of justice in that early day. In some, we trace the mild and forbearing spirit which public opinion ascribes to Penn, with whom all these institutions originated; but we cannot say this of all; for we read that in 1731, Catharine Bevan was sentenced to be burned alive in Newcastle, for the murder of her husband; they intended to strangle her by hanging over the fire before it could reach her; but the fire rose up at once, burned off the rope, and she fell into the flames and struggled there in agony till she died. We rejoice to say that this was a solitary example. This however was after Penn's day. While he presided, we read that Andrew Johnson and Hanse Peterson, having a difference depending between them, the council advised them to shake hands and forgive one another, and ordered them to 'enter into bonds for fifty pounds apiece, for their good abearance, which they accordingly did.' We have not heard that this precedent has been followed in any modern court of law. In some cases, there seems to have been an unusual spirit of accommodation in those who framed the laws.

Thus, we observe that the ancient lawgivers of the city, by reason, as they said, of the extreme difficulty of convicting those who suffer their chimneys to take fire, generously enact that ten shillings of the fine shall be given in to those who will come forward and pay the rest. In other instances, the laws were enforced with wholesome severity. John Smith was punished for 'being disguised in woman's clothes, walking the streets, against the laws of God and this province, to the staining of holy profession and against the law of nature.' John was not alone in the offence and condemnation, and such exhibitions were so effectually prevented, that they were not attempted again, till of late years a foreigner, who probably had not read the ancient records, made an attempt to get up a masquerade, but was interrupted by an act of the Legislature, which rendered it inconvenient to accept his invitations. Penn's legislation held no compromise with evil doers. In 1702, George Robinson was indicted for 'swearing three oaths and uttering two very bad curses;' either the said George was contumacious, or the habit was strong; for not long after, he was brought to justice again for 'uttering a grievous oath on the 13th day of the 7th month.' Many barbers are indicted 'for trimming on the first day of the week.' A butcher too was punished, for 'by color of his art blowing up the meat of his calf with his breath and wind, whereby the meat was made unwholesome to the human body.' The whipping-post was the common remedy on these occasions, and that it was in considerable use, appears from a grant allowing ten pounds a year to Daniel Pettitoe, whipper, and this in the days when Mayors served for nothing. It was afterwards urged with some force, that the public ought not to be burdened with charges for a service that was thus rendered to individuals, and an act was passed, requiring that those who were whipped should settle with Daniel, at their own expense, for the benefit received at his hands. That the Governor's office was no sinecure, appears from various records. N. Allen complained, that H. Bowman, for value received, owed him 6 cwt. of beef with the hide and tallow, and six pounds sterling, and prayed for redress of his grievances, the whole being unjustly detained; 'whereupon it was ordered, that William Clarke, John Simcoe, and James Harrison should speak to H. Bowman concerning this matter.' The simplicity of legal process was extreme. The first trial for murder took place in 1791. When the prisoner was brought forward, 'the clerk

asked, art thou guilty?' He answers, 'not of the murder, but of the felony.' When first apprehended, he was confronted with the corpse, and ordered to touch it, which he did, but it does not appear that any blood followed, though he afterwards confessed himself guilty. It does not appear that the prisoner had any counsel; and when the King's attorney demanded judgment, there arose a difficulty, inasmuch as the court were only justices of the peace, and had no power to pass sentence of death; but as the jury and others present joined in a petition to them to proceed, they determined to waive objections, and ordered him to the gallows. The writer has sought diligently to discover where the ancient prison stood, but in vain, till a few years ago, in digging a cellar, they discovered as they supposed, the walls of the old jail, of four inch poplar plank dovetailed at the corners. Old Isaac Parish, a *laudator temporis acti*, showed it to Judge McKean, who remarked, 'Times are altered now; once wood was sufficient; but now stone itself is no match for the rogues!'

The subject of imprisonment for debt had not then been agitated on any considerable scale; for we find a petition of forty-four poor debtors, stating their objection to the fee-bill for debts under forty shillings creating an expense of seventeen shillings each in case of sheriff's execution, which was formerly, when in the hands of magistrates, but three shillings; and they say, 'some of your poor petitioners have been kept in the common jail, until they could find persons to sell themselves to for a term of years to pay the same, and redeem their bodies.' The writer thinks, that this practice of selling single men for debt was a very wholesome restraint on prodigals; we should however doubt the expediency of such a provision; but he evidently thinks that in these respects and the habits connected with them, ancient times had greatly the advantage of ours. The vision of a golden age floats before his memory, 'when there was no such thing as attempts to conduct business in the present wholesale manner.' Then, every mechanic was a workman; they did not aspire to great wealth, but were satisfied with a competent subsistence; importers were retailers also; ruinous overstocks of goods were unknown; and as for bankruptcy, when it occurred, which was but rarely, the citizens met with faces expressive of general sympathy and concern. An aged person told the author, that when a certain man of business failed, the house was shut up for a week, as if in

deep mourning. We agree with him that the feeling on these subjects is not changed for the better, though the indifference to such calamities, which offends him, is owing rather to the increase of business, and of course of its hazards, than to any general decline of moral feeling. But we can forgive him the wrath which he expresses, at seeing men, who have failed in business, 'appearing abroad with expensive display, elbowing aside their suffering creditors.' He brings in his own experience; he says, 'I occasionally meet with such by whom I have been injured, who indulge in travelling equipage, with which they delight to pass by and dust me, and who nevertheless would feel their dignity insulted, at even a civil hint to spare me but a little of the disregarded debt. It might lower the dignity of such, to know that there was a time in our colony, when such desperate dealers and liveries were held for a term of years to pay their just debts.' We fear not; if conscience and honor are wanting, we doubt whether the recollection of ancient times would make any deep impression.

Our author is evidently deeply impressed with the conviction that the former times were better than these, though he is too candid, not to be willing to allow a fair chance to the moderns. He says, 'the old people all testify that the young of their youth were much more reserved, and held under much more restraint in the presence of their elders, than now. Bashfulness and modesty in the young were then regarded as virtues; and the present freedom before the aged was not countenanced. Young lovers then listened, and took sidelong glances before their parents or elders.' If it is any consolation to him, we think we can venture to assure him, that when his veteran informers themselves were young, their elders made the same complaint of their forwardness. It has been so ever since the flood; the children of Noah were no more distinguished by respect for age, than those of our day; and as for young lovers, the circumstance of their taking sidelong glances was not an imposition enforced by authority, but a natural consequence of the total blindness or partial obliquity of vision, which is thought to be inseparable from love. He was also informed by an old lady, that it was the custom in her day, for the younger part of the family to dress themselves toward the close of day, and sit in the street porches, where they conversed with their acquaintances, who happened to be passing. On this he remarks, 'those days were really

very agreeable and sociable. To be so easily gratified with a view of the whole city population, must have been peculiarly gratifying to every travelling stranger.' 'Afternoon visits were not made at night as now, but at so early an hour, as to permit matrons to go home and see their children to bed.' In this last particular, the times are indeed greatly altered: even the dinner hour would now interfere with such a display of maternal affection. But as the author is not an old man, he may live to see the old fashion restored. Holinshed tells us, that in his day the more fashionable people dined at eleven, while the vulgar were content to wait till noon; and as the hour for that solemnity is deferred still more and more, if the same process is continued, it will be pushed through the night at last, and be attended, as in former days, at an early hour in the morning.

On one subject, the author betrays a strong anti-republican leaning; but we know not whether to ascribe it to some lingering remains of toryism, or to an antiquarian preference for old times. He tells us, that he has heard aged citizens say, that tradesmen were formerly a different generation from the present; there was a marked difference between them and the acknowledged gentlemen. 'The tradesmen and their families had far less pride than now. While at their work, or in going abroad on week days, all such as followed rough trades, such as carpenters, masons, coopers, blacksmiths, &c., universally wore a leathern apron before them, covering all their vest. Dinky buckskin breeches, once yellow, and check shirts and a red flannel jacket, were the common wear of most working men; and all men and boys from the country were seen in the streets in leathern breeches and aprons, and would have been deemed out of character without them. In those days, taylors, shoemakers and hatters waited on customers to take their measure, and afterwards called with garments, to try them on before finished.' 'In the olden time, all the hired women wore short gowns and linsey woolsey or worsted petticoats. So true it is, that every condition of society is now changed from the plain and unaffected state of our forefathers!' Truly, if there was no pride and pretension before the Revolution, there has been a considerable change either in our country or in human nature; but good comes out of evil; and our author will hardly be able to find an ancient, who does not speak with as much delight of his escape from the leathern

integuments just mentioned, as the patriot does of our release from the house of bondage ; and again we must be permitted to doubt, whether those who lived in that age were conscious of their blessings, since they had the opportunity of comparing it unfavorably with an age older still. So obvious is this truth, that we grievously suspect the author to be of the class of those, who maintain that green peas have been a month later in the market ever since the Revolution. He says, ‘ Great sociability prevailed among all classes of citizens, till the strife with Great Britain sent every man to his own ways ; then discord and acrimony ensued, and the previously general friendly intercourse never returned.’ As for the ‘ glutton clubs,’ which he alludes to as one of the means and manifestations of this sociability, it is not the worst effect of the Revolution, that it swept them away.

We could mention several particulars, in which times, even taking his own account, are altered decidedly for the better. Thus, the wedding entertainments can hardly be thought of without dismay. The house of the parent would be filled with company to dine ; and the same company would think themselves deficient in proper attention, unless they appeared in the same capacity at tea and supper. For two days, fountains of punch were flowing for the benefit of all concerned ; the gentlemen paid their respects to the bridegroom, and then ascended to the second floor to salute the bride, who received that civility without power of retreat or resistance, sometimes to the amount of a hundred kisses in a day. But this was not all. For two entire weeks, the happy pair saw large tea parties at their own house, having the groomsmen and bridesmaids in constant attendance ; and after all, great offence might be given, unless punch, cakes, and meats were sent abroad in all directions, even to those who were not visitors in their family. The sternest mourner for old times would hardly wish that these practices should return ; certainly not, if there were any prospect of such a dispensation falling on himself or his children.

When the author approaches the subject of female dress, he seems conscious that the moderns may hold up their heads ; but he gives mysterious hints, which we do not pretend to understand, by which he intimates that our boasted simplicity is not unquestioned ; that there are extravagances which do not appear ; and that it might be found, on examination in the

right quarter, that absurd fashions were not confined to ancient times. We can only say that we think it a manifest improvement, if they follow the example of our grave citizens during the French Revolution, who wore the popular cockade, but placed it inside the hat. Here too he betrays circumstances which work against his cause; he shows that our forefathers were grieved in spirit at the excesses of fashion, and resorted to various efforts of practical waggery, to discourage the ambition of their wives and daughters. They wasted no time in words, which they had found by experience were thrown away; they were men of action, and their jokes were of a strictly practical kind. When the fashion required each lady to have an expensive red cloak, they provided such a dress for a woman who was sentenced to be hanged; she made her appearance in it at the gallows, and the same act of justice put an end both to her and the fashion. On another occasion, they were *exercised in mind* by an article of dress called a 'trollopee.' What it was which offended them in this piece of raiment, we are not able to ascertain; but they forthwith procured a dress of the kind, which they presented to the wife of Daniel Pettitoe, formerly mentioned, who, delighted with her bravery, made her appearance in all places, and put the fashion to flight with great expedition. Little however was gained by these successes; it was but 'stopping one hole in a sieve;' other fashions arose and reigned in their stead. 'The women wore caps, stiff stays, hoops from six inches to two feet on each side, high heeled shoes, and in the miry times of winter, clogs, gala shoes or pattens.' 'Ancient ladies have told me, that they often had their hair tortured for four hours at a sitting; some have had the operation performed the day before it was required, then have slept all night in a sitting posture, to prevent the derangement of their frizzle and curls. This formidable headwork was succeeded by rollers, over which the hair was combed, above the forehead; these again were superseded by cushions and artificial curled work, which could be sent to the barber's like a wig.' Once they wore the 'skimmer hat,' then the 'horsehair bonnet;' this was succeeded by various others, known by the names of 'bath,' 'muskmelon,' 'whalebone,' 'calash,' and 'wagon' bonnets, while the 'straw-beehive' was generally worn by old people. One fact is worth noticing; he tells us that the time was, when the plainest among the Friends wore their colored

silk aprons, though now they are so averse to fancy colors. In time, white aprons, once so fashionable, were disused by the gentry, and then the Friends left off their colored ones, and used the white. It is amusing to observe with what tenacity sects cling to their slight peculiarities of dress, manner or opinions; it is said that the Quaker dress was originally adopted, because it was the prevailing fashion of the day; but the fashion changed, and the Quaker refused to alter with it, condemning himself forever to a dress, which has no convenience to atone for its want of beauty. And thus it is with respect to opinions; the rank and file of every party, civil and religious, cling with desperate faith to opinions, which the founder of their sect, had he lived, and kept up with the changes of improvement, would long ago have cast away.

It does not appear how our forefathers could, with any decent consistency, have taken umbrage at the dress of ladies, when the fashionable coat had several large plaits in the skirts, wadding like a coverlet, to keep them smooth, large cuffs, reaching up to the elbow, with weights of lead, and the cape low, so as to display the stock buckle at the back of the neck. The shirts had sleeves, finely plaited, and hand-ruffles. The breeches were closely fitted with knee-buckles of stone, paste, or silver. Wigs were gray, white, or brown; but a blow was given to this fashion after the return of Braddock's army, who, as might be expected, had lost their wigs in the war, and its fate was confirmed by the bold action of the king of England, who, in spite of all remonstrances, cast the inconvenient ornament away. Swords were generally worn by men of fashion. Their cocked hats and vests were laced with gold; the vest had great depending pocket-flaps, and the breeches were low in the waistband, because suspenders were a luxury then unknown. Gentlemen carried little woollen muffs, called mufftees, in winter. Watches were very rare; spectacles were worn by the aged, but never by the young. These however were 'bridge spectacles,' which were kept in place by nipping the bridge of the nose. One would have thought, that a blade decorated in this way would have done well to hold his peace respecting excesses in female fashion.

We can hardly comprehend how the Friends, with their antipathy to superfluities, could reconcile themselves to the fashion of wigs, on those whom nature had furnished with hair. It is true they were not unanimous on the subject; but the wigs

had great authorities in their favor. In 1685, William Penn writes to his steward, to allow the Governor Lloyd to use his wigs; and Jonathan Dickinson, a Friend, writes to London, 'I want for myself and my three sons, each a wig—light good bobbs.' An ancient peruke-maker advertises 'full bot-tomed wigs, tyes, brigadiers, dress bobs, bags, cues, scratches, cut wigs, and tates and towers for ladies.' In 1722, a servant of the Rev. D. Magill, who had run away, is advertised as 'clothed with damask breeches and vest, a broadcloth coat of copper color, lined and trimmed with black, and black stockings;' and another as having 'leather breeches, glass buttons, black stockings and a wig.' From this, and several advertisements of the kind, it would seem that they were worn by all classes, and also that the aristocracy were not so much distinguished by the articles of their dress, as is generally believed. When the circumstance alluded to above had destroyed the reign of wigs, at least for a season, the peruke-makers saw nothing but utter ruin before them; but the transition to absolute simplicity was not so sudden as they apprehended; the hair was still to be dressed by plaiting, queuing, or clubbing, or by gathering it into a silk bag, adorned with a large black rose. But while the hair was so affectionately cherished, some other parts of the system were cruelly neglected. Dentists were unknown, and the only way of cleaning the teeth was by rubbing them with snuff or powdered chalk upon a rag; this was the practice of the most genteel; it was generally deemed effeminate to clean them at all. In these respects, the moderns certainly have the advantage, both in the knowledge of the tooth brush and the absence of the preposterous wigs, which are now hardly known, except from the grotesque pictures which Hogarth has preserved for the admiration of all coming time.

With all this display in dress, our ancestors were less solicitous for the comfort of their dwellings; or perhaps we should say, that many things essential to our comfort were not then wanted, because not known. Sofas they had none; the richest families had damask couches; but these were not common. The articles in common use were settees and settles, the latter containing a bed in the seat, which could be opened and spread; this, as well as the settle, had a high back of plain boards of white pine. That Cowper speaks truth, when he says 'restless was the seat,' many who are yet living are fully able to tell.

Neither was much gained by resorting to the chair of mahogany or red walnut, with its high perpendicular back, meant probably to recommend a solemn uprightness to the form. One corner of the room was occupied by the round mahogany tea-table, standing upright on its solitary leg; the other, by a closet with a glass door, in which the china was arranged, surmounted by a large punch-bowl, which was very often on duty. The tables were spread with pewter platters, and by many in the country with wooden trenchers. The furniture of the room was not complete without a chest of drawers, containing the linen and clothes of the family; and our author says, evidently with a sigh, 'It was no sin to rummage them before company.' The two remaining corners were appropriated, one to the clock-case, the other to the chimney. The floor was covered with sand, drawn into fanciful figures with the broom. The carpet was not introduced till the middle of the last century, and then was regarded as an ornament, covering only the central part of the room. The fireplace was ornamented with china Dutch tiles, on which scripture pieces were represented in a very artless manner, which certainly impressed the incidents of the Old Testament upon the memory, so as to make it quite impossible to forget them. But all these things are passed away; the familiar porch upon the street, in which the family used to assemble after the labor of the day,—the windows, with their diamond panes and leaden casements, opening like doors,—the bull's eye glasses over the front door, to give light to the entry, which is since contracted in its dimensions to six feet square, and called the hall,—the shutters, with the hearts cut through them, to let the light shine out, and tell of hospitality within,—the broad pannel and carved cornice,—all are so thoroughly removed by the relentless hand of modern improvement, that when our author wails to the present generation over the things that were, he finds it next to impossible to make them comprehend what he means.

We think we can observe in this writer a slight leaning toward the superstition of ancient times. Here the victory of modern philosophy has been complete; not a ghost is left to haunt a deserted mansion, nor to guard the Pirate's treasure. We find that William Penn, as might be expected from his strong and sagacious mind, was no patron of superstition; or perhaps we should give him credit for remarkable exemption from an infirmity, which debased many great minds of his day.

We find that two Swedish women were arraigned before him, as guilty of witchcraft, in 1683. It was testified, that one of them, Margaret Mattson, had bewitched calves, geese, &c. ; oxen were rather beyond her ; but her powers extended to all minor cattle. Governor Penn charged the jury, who thereupon brought in a verdict, in which they state that it is proved that the woman has the reputation of being a witch, but not that she is guilty of the reality ; and the offender was required to find security for her good behavior for six months. This certainly appears like a judicious attempt to save the innocent, without resorting to any process which would incense the public mind, and in that way expose them to more persecution and danger. But there appears to have been no lack of superstition in more harmless forms. Our author indulges in a strain of remark upon the subject, which, so far as one can gather its meaning, would seem meant to show that he does not believe anything ; but other observations indicate a suspicion, that some of these things may possibly be true. For example, he gives the following story on the authority of an old man ; ‘ Michael H—, Esq. well known in public life, gave out, in a mental delirium, it is hoped, that he had sold himself to the devil, and should be carried away after a certain time. Crowds actually assembled near the house to witness the catastrophe ! There must have been some truth in this relation, for I see by the Gazette of 1749, a public notice of this gathering, as offensive to the family. M. H. is vindicated from some reports, which said he was distracted, and witnesses appear before Judge Allen, and testify that he was then sane, &c. It was certainly on all sides a strange affair !’ He also gives an instance of what Captain Dalgetty calls the *deuteroscopia*, in the person of Eli Yarnall. When a lad of seven years of age, he burst into a laugh one day in the house, saying that he saw his father running down the side of the mountain, after a jug of whisky which he had let fall. The father was then distant from home, but when he returned, confirmed the story ; from which we should infer that he had overtaken it, or possibly that the whisky had overtaken him. The boy became the wonder of the neighborhood. He was visited by Robert Verreè, a public Friend, who asked him many questions concerning what was then going on at his own house in another county. When Verreè returned, he found that all circumstances answered precisely to the boy’s description. Some of the Friends became anxious

that he should be properly brought up, thinking that he might have a peculiar gift and a good spirit; he was accordingly committed to Nathan Harper of Frankford, where, after many wonderful exhibitions of his power, it gradually departed from him. On this the author remarks, 'These are strange things, evidencing matters "not dreamed of in our philosophy."' I give these facts as I heard them; I "nothing extenuate, nor ought set down in malice."' Perhaps some light might have been thrown upon the mystery by another story which he relates, of a negro in Philadelphia, who professed that he had sold himself to the devil, and had come to the city to receive the counsel and prayers of pious men. Hundreds went to see him, and found him in great distress of mind. The Rev. Dr. Pilmore took him to his own house, where he at last discovered, 'that his greatest calamity was laziness.' We apprehend that close investigation would be attended with the same result in all such cases, unless the spirit, as in the case of Eli, departs before such examination is made.

There is one department of this history, which we confess we should hardly have expected to find in a province settled under the auspices of William Penn. This is the military preparation for defence. Dr. Franklin, always active in such plans, procured an act establishing a militia in 1755, which met with considerable opposition; but it appears from this writer, that Penn, though one of the 'most peaceful of men,' did not reject the ordinary means by which colonies are defended. A letter from Penn himself, of 1703, says, that in order to quell the complaints of Col. Quarry and his party, the acting Governor Hamilton granted a commission to raise a militia; and then, with the natural instinct of opposition, Quarry and his party violently opposed it, because the Friends declined to bear arms! James Logan, writing to Penn at an earlier date, strongly recommends the measure, as absolutely necessary, on account of the perilous condition in which every infant settlement necessarily stood; he was a Quaker as well as Penn, and both seem thus to have admitted the right of defensive war. The measures adopted, however, seem to have been sufficiently pacific to satisfy the most determined advocate of non-resistance; for an order is found upon the records of the council, in which it is stated that an express has arrived from Maryland, bringing accounts that vessels, supposed to be French ships, have been seen upon the coast; it is therefore

ordered, 'that the watch of this city be carefully and duly kept, and that the constables, at their peril, take care of the same; and in case there appears any show of danger, that they give the alarm by ringing the market-bell; and further, that one of the Aldermen see the watch, &c.' This proceeding seems to have been founded on the advice of Dogberry to his watchmen; viz. that if such dishonest persons should be found breaking into a house, the less they had to do with them the better. It appears that, in 1718, there was some military organization, since Governor Keith, on receiving the news of the death of William Penn, solemnized it oddly enough with a military funeral. In 1748, great preparations were made, which were principally owing to the exertions of Franklin, who was offered the appointment of Colonel of volunteers; he declined the office, but entered into the business with great vigor, and was seconded by some of the Friends, among whom was James Logan. It was a part of the original grant to Penn, that he and his heirs should 'muster and train,—make war and vanquish, or put to death all enemies by sea and land.' He does not seem to have taken much advantage of this very liberal permission. But we cannot follow the author in his later reminiscences, which he says he has 'snatched like drift-wood from the stream of time, which would otherwise naturally seek the ocean of oblivion forever.' One fact is worth remembering, since it shows that peaceful feelings were associated with the city and the name of Penn. In 1778, John Penn, member of Congress, was challenged by Henry Laurens, president of that body. The parties were fellow boarders, and, after breakfasting together, they started to go in company to a duel-field near the city; on the way, in passing a deep slough, Penn offered to assist Mr. Laurens, who was much older, and finding that his hand was accepted, he told Laurens that they were engaged in a foolish affair, which it was better to end by reconciliation; Laurens assented, and the matter was settled without bloodshed: this we think honorable to both parties, though it might perhaps be condemned by the foolish laws of honor.

The writer has recorded in his vast miscellany, some particulars concerning Count Zinzendorf, and Whitfield, whose eloquence produced as great a sensation in Philadelphia as in any part of the country. A confidential letter of James Logan to a friend describes the Count as a knight errant in religion,

whose extravagances were such, that he was generally supposed to be insane. A pleasing specimen of his correspondence is here preserved, addressed to F. Vende, in Germantown, a person whose daughter had become one of his followers; 'To the cooper F. Vende:—I take you both, man and wife, to be notorious children of the devil, and you, the woman, to be a two-fold child of hell. Yet I would have your damnation as tolerable as possible.' Whether the winning address, of which this is a specimen, prevailed with the parents, does not appear; but it is recorded that Miss Vende followed him to Germany. When Whitfield appeared, immense crowds followed him; he sometimes preached to as many as fifteen thousand people, who were all able to hear him. The voice of this singular man seems to have been one of the great secrets of his power. The writer says, 'Col. Morris, now ninety years of age, told me that he was distinctly heard by persons at the distance over the water of two miles.' Perhaps this musical and commanding voice, a graceful and natural manner, which was not then common in the pulpit, together with an appearance of earnest devotion, are sufficient to account for all the effects which he produced; he gave no evidence of intellectual power; his sermons are not of a high order; his plans, various as they were, were almost all unsuccessful, and the effects of his preaching in most instances soon died away. His audiences doubtless were in the same error in which he confesses himself to have been; 'I have carried high sail, whilst running through a torrent of popularity and contempt. I may have mistaken nature for grace, imagination for revelation, and the fire of my own temper for the flame of holy zeal; and I find I have frequently written and spoken in my own spirit, where I thought I was assisted entirely by God.' His followers were equally zealous. Tennant affected eccentricity in dress; he wore a great coat, fastened round him by a girdle, and appeared without a wig, which was then very singular for a preacher. After his force was spent, he was afflicted with similar misgivings; and in a sort of recantation, published in the papers, he says, 'My soul is grieved with such enthusiastic fooleries.' It is difficult for us now to conceive of the excitement which prevailed throughout the country. Some of the States were so incensed, as to pass laws against the Revivalists. Connecticut enacted, that if any one were found within her territory, he should be arrested as a vagrant; and shortly

after, when Davenport made his appearance there, he was taken up without ceremony, and sent to Long Island. Certain students of Yale College were dismissed, for having attended some of these meetings while at home with their friends in the vacation. But after preaching against 'good works and Bishop Tillotson,' and succeeding so far as to close the dancing schools and assembly rooms, beside building the largest church then standing in the city, the zeal of the community subsided into the same dead calm as before. Tillotson and the *Whole Duty of Man*, a work particularly reprobated by Whitfield, were again read, and his followers were little distinguished, except by the name of *New Lights*, from other sects of Christians. The Methodism of Wesley, which came to Philadelphia in 1769, took a much firmer hold. Dr. Pilmore was its first preacher, but 'he was occasionally aided in preaching by Capt. Webb, the British barrack-master at Albany, who, being a Boanerges in declamation, and a one-eyed officer in military costume, caused attraction enough to bring many to hear, from curiosity, who soon became proselytes to Methodism. Our author gives a picturesque account of one of these preachers, old Benjamin Abbott from New Jersey. 'He was an old man, with large, shaggy eyebrows and eyes of flame, with a powerful frame and great extent of voice, which he exerted to the utmost, while preaching and praying, which, with an occasional stamp with his foot, made the church ring. It was like the trumpet sounding to battle, amidst the shouts of the victorious and the groans of the wounded. His words ran like fire-sparks through the assembly, and they who came to laugh, stood aghast upon the benches, looking down upon the slain and wounded, while, to use a favorite expression of his, the shout of the king was in the camp!' A singular instance of mental delusion is found in the account of Morgan Edwards, minister to the first Baptist Church in Philadelphia. He was under the persuasion, that the time of his own death was supernaturally foretold to him. He announced it from his pulpit, and took a solemn and affectionate farewell of his people. At the appointed time, his house was crowded with people, all waiting with silent expectation, while he himself breathed heavily, expecting every breath to be his last. His constitution however proved too strong for the delusion, and he did not succeed to die; but so great was the wrath and disappointment of the people, that he was obliged to depart into

the country, where he lived twenty years afterwards. This work affords materials which might serve the purpose of one who writes the history of enthusiasm. Some sects, which were violent in their beginning, throw off their accidental over-earnestness; and like the Baptists, and Methodists, become useful and important to society; while others, like the Mormonites, having nothing substantial under the enthusiasm, last only till the enthusiasm perishes by natural decay. The case of the latter may be compared to the history of a 'chalybeate spring,' which was discovered in Philadelphia many years ago; it was thought to possess unrivalled virtues; the newspapers sang its praises, and crowds came to be healed. At last, philosophy intruded with its severe investigation, and made it manifest to all, that it owed its peculiar flavor to the deposit of foul materials from the remains of a long covered and forgotten pit.

Everything is interesting that relates to the memory of Franklin. The incidental notices of him, scattered throughout this work, show how various were the employments of his active and powerful mind. First we see him as a printer, making his own ink, making successful experiments in founding types, carving wood cuts, engraving copperplate, and constructing his own presses. Then he acquired influence, as editor of an able print, and exerted himself to establish an academy, and to provide for the public defence by a military force and fortifications. At leisure moments he introduced the cultivation of the willow, which he chanced to find sprouting in some wicker-work brought from abroad; and happening accidentally to discover a grain of broom-corn, upon an imported 'corn-whisk,' belonging to a lady in the city, he secured and planted it, and made it the parent of those vast plantations of broom-corn, which are now found in so many parts of the country.* He then becomes eminent for his electrical discoveries, and amused himself with bringing a lightning rod into his chamber; where, by placing a chime of bells between the two ends of the divided rod, they were rung by the passing clouds, and remained, till Daniel Wister, who succeeded him, was obliged to remove them, to quiet the fears of his wife. When travelling, he

* Then he invented the well known Franklin stove, which was the first, and is still regarded as one of the best improvements upon the vast fire-place of old times.

stretched silken cords over crevices where the wind came into houses in which he sojourned, and thus provided himself with the music of the winds ; once, happening to pass one such house again, after a lapse of several years, he found it deserted on account of the strange and melancholy sounds heard within it, which it was thought could proceed from no mortal hand. Scarcely any mention can be found of Franklin in any quarter, which does not illustrate the practical and searching turn of his extraordinary mind. This writer seems to think that he had too much to lose by the Revolution, to be hearty in the cause of his country, and says that he was slow in making up his mind to sign the Declaration. He was habitually cautious no doubt, and not likely to share the overwhelming enthusiasm of the day ; but his country owes him too much to complain, if he did not anticipate all the success by which that bold measure has since been justified : and perhaps, if the prospect seemed to him less encouraging than to others, there was the more merit in his sacrifice than in theirs.

It is painful to read the account here given of ' Robert Morris's great mansion,' and to see how those financial talents, which were so important to his country, failed to save their possessor from ruin. He purchased a whole square for ten thousand pounds, on which his palace was to be erected. The estimates of his architect deceived him ; he spent immense sums upon the foundation only, and when the walls were completed, and the costly furniture already imported from abroad, he was a ruined man, and was often heard, as he looked upon the work, uttering imprecations upon his architect and his own folly. It was taken down by the creditors, and the materials sold, leaving the arches of the foundation, which were so massive and firm that they did not attempt to remove them. This distinguished man, upon whose ability his country leaned with confidence during so many years of trial, passed the close of his life in a jail !

An account is also here given of Charles Thompson, the well known secretary of Congress, to whom the Indians, who by sore experience have acquired much insight into character, gave the name of ' the man of truth.' His father, a widower, died upon the passage to this country, leaving him to the charge of the master of the vessel, who proved false to his trust. By persevering exertion, he contrived to get an education, and was employed by Dr. Franklin as teacher in the

academy, an employment which he afterwards abandoned for mercantile adventures. He was induced to study Greek, from having bought part of the Septuagint at an auction sale ; he did not know what it was, and all the auctioneer could tell him was, that it was printed in outlandish letters. When he was able to read it, he was anxious to procure the whole ; but the booksellers' shops afforded no copy ; it happened, however, that two years after, in passing the same auction room, he found the auctioneer engaged in selling the remnant of the same copy. It is well known that he afterwards published a valuable translation of the Septuagint, and collected materials for a history of the Revolution.

We have several incidental notices of Antony Benezet, so well known for his generous philanthropy. It would seem from an incident here mentioned, that his benevolence was by no means confined to the race of man. An old friend, who visited him one day, found him engaged in feeding rats in his area, where they would come at a call, and gather round him like chickens. The friend expressed his wonder at seeing him thus patronising such troublesome vermin ; 'Nay,' said Antony, 'I will not kill them ; you make them dishonest by starving them ; I make them honest by feeding them ; for being so fed, they never prey on goods of mine.' He carried this feeling so far as to abstain from animal food. When the French neutrals, as they were called, were banished by severe state policy from Acadia, and distributed among the colonies, where, to their latest day, the remembrance of their wrongs and sorrows was fresh in their souls, Benezet exerted himself to the utmost to relieve their wants and educate their children. The fervor of his written pleading in behalf of the injured, is universally known.

We have no room to follow the author in his notice of James Logan, the patriarch of the settlement and the friend of Penn, a man of liberal, enlightened, and accomplished mind ; nor of John Bartram, the self-taught botanist, a gentle lover of nature, whose establishment before the Revolution is described by Hector St. John ; the host, with family and slaves, all met at the same table, the Africans being arrayed at the foot, opposite to the guest and their master. His passion was first inspired by the sight of a daisy, on which his eye fell as he rested from ploughing under a tree ; from this time he devoted himself to the study, and acquired the distinction of being called, by

Linnaeus, the greatest self-taught botanist in the world. His employment was favorable to health and happiness, for he died at the age of seventy-six, and his son, who inherited his tastes, property and collection, lived to the age of eighty-three years. One of the oddest specimens of human nature which the city ever afforded, was Benjamin Lay, who, like Jonas Hanway in England, was so fanatical in his opposition to the use of tea, that in the time of the Friends' general meeting, he took a large box of china belonging to his wife into the market place, where he began to break the pieces separately with a hammer, bearing his testimony all the while. The people, thinking this a needless waste of property, fell upon him in a body, bearing their testimony in their own way, overset him, and carried away his ware, to be used by those whose conscience was less particular. The spirit of another Friend, Samuel Foulke, was equally stirred, when he saw an advertisement in 1743, by S. Kinnett, proposing to 'teach the noble art of defence, and also dancing.' Upon this friend Samuel took the pen, saying, 'I was surprised at his audacity and brazen impudence, in giving those detestable vices so high encomiums. They may be proved so far from accomplishments, that they are diabolical.'

Among the reminiscences which the author has collected from all quarters, are sundry local anecdotes of the Revolution. A lady of his acquaintance describes the entrance of the British under Cornwallis into Philadelphia. His suite took possession of her mother's house. She says, 'my mother was appalled by the numerous train which took possession of her dwelling; for a guard was mounted at the door, and the yard filled with soldiers and baggage, and I can well remember what we thought of the haughty looks of Lord Rawdon and the other aid-de-camp, as they traversed the apartments. My mother desired to speak with Lord Cornwallis, and he attended her; she told him how impossible it would be for her to stay in her own house, with such a numerous train: he behaved with great politeness, said he should be sorry to give trouble, and would provide other quarters.' We are told that General Howe, while he remained, seized a lady's coach and horses, and kept them for his own use. The old officers were uneasy at his conduct; but his companions, who had influence with him, were the most idle and dissipated officers of the army. Lord Howe was much more sedate and

dignified than his brother. Sir William Howe was a fine figure, six feet high, and well proportioned; in appearance he was not unlike General Washington; his manners were graceful and affable, and he was much beloved by his officers. Sir Henry Clinton was short and fat, with a full face and prominent nose; reserved in his manners, and not so popular as Howe. Lord Cornwallis was short and stout; his hair somewhat gray; his face well formed and agreeable, his manners remarkably easy; he was much beloved by his men. Col. Tarleton was rather below the middle size, strong, heavily made, but uncommonly active; his complexion dark, his eye small, black, and piercing. The British officers gave a splendid and fanciful *fête* on the occasion of Gen. Howe's return to England. Major Andre, who published an account of the 'Meschianza,' as it was called, was the life of the company.

We see one fact here recorded, which shows how attentive the fathers of this settlement were to everything that tended to public prosperity and improvement. So early as 1725, James Logan, writing to the proprietaries, recommends the culture of silk in the country, and speaks of attempts which had already been made, as promising great success. In a letter of the following year, he speaks of some which has been sent to England, and says he is glad that it proves so good: he doubts not that the country will in time be able to send large quantities abroad. Such was his reasonable expectation, and yet after the lapse of a century, the country is but just beginning to turn its attention seriously to the subject, which is treated as if it were almost entirely new. Governor Gordon, in 1734, says that the tree is natural to our soil, and the worm thrives well; he anticipates that silk will soon become an important article of trade. In 1770, the subject was taken up with much interest; and, as might be expected, Dr. Franklin, then in Europe, urged it upon the attention of his countrymen. Funds were subscribed, and a filature opened; in the next year, 2300 pounds were brought to it to reel. The Queen patronised it by wearing a gown of American silk, and everything promised well; but the interest seems afterwards to have declined, and those who are now endeavoring to recommend it to the public attention, are obliged to go over the whole ground again.

We feel bound to give credit to the industrious author, for the information which he has here collected. Much of it no

doubt appears trifling, but a great part of that which seems unimportant throws light upon the manners, fashions, tastes and feelings of the day, and therefore affords materials, which the future historian would find valuable in his estimate of character, which is after all the most important subject of historical investigation. We are glad that the fine city of Penn has found 'such an honest chronicler as Griffith;' but we trust that it will not prevent some other hand from giving a popular account, from its beginning, of one of the most judicious, happy and prosperous settlements, ever made in this or any other country.

ART. V.--*Law School at Cambridge.*

1. *A Lecture, being the ninth of a Series of Lectures, introductory to a Course of Lectures now delivering in the University of Maryland.* By DAVID HOFFMAN, Iur. Utr. Doct. Gottingen. Baltimore. July, 1832.
2. *Remarks on the Study of the Civil Law.* From the American Jurist, No. III. Boston. July, 1829.
3. *An Address delivered at the Dedication of Dane Law College in Harvard University, October 23, 1832.* By JOSIAH QUINCY, LL.D., President of the University. Cambridge, 1832.

We notice with pleasure the three pamphlets which we have placed at the head of this article, as promising evidences of an enlightened zeal in promoting the study of general jurisprudence, and particularly of the Roman Civil Law, in this country.

The first of these pamphlets contains one of the course of lectures on the various branches of the law, which the author has been delivering for a number of years to his students at Baltimore. The second, which appeared for the first time in the American Jurist, is a review of two foreign works on the Civil Law. The third is an Address by the President of Harvard University, delivered at the dedication of the Dane Law College. These three pamphlets, though they differ from each other in the special subject of which each of them treats, agree in spirit, in the great object to deliver the study of the Law from profes-