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SELECT PAMPHLETS

RESPECTING THE

YELLOW FEVER,

VIZ.

- I. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE MALIGNANT FEVER, prevalent in Philadelphia, in August, September, October, and November, 1793; with a statement of the proceedings that took place on the subject, in different parts of the United States To which are added, accounts of the plague in London, and Marfeilles. By MATHEW CAREY.
- II. AN ENQUIRY INTO, AND OBSERVATIONS UPON THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE EPIDEMIC DISEASE, which raged in Philadelphia, from the month of August till towards the middle of December, 1793. By JEAN DEVEZE, master in surgery, from Cape François, physician of the hospital at Bush Hill, surgeon-major and principal physician of the military hospital established by the French republic at Philadelphia.
- III. A TREATISE OF THE SYNOCHUS ICTEROIDES, OR YELLOW FEVER; as it appeared in the city of Philadelphia in 1793: exhibiting a concise view of its rise, progress, and symptoms, together with the method of treatment found most successful; also remarks on the nature of contagion, and directions for preventing the introduction of the same malady in future. By WILLIAM CURRIE, fellow of the college of physicians, and member of the American philosophical society.
- IV. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE YELLOW FEVER, that broke out in the city of Philadelphia, in July 1797: with a list of the dead; of the donations for the relief of the poor; and a variety of other interesting particulars. By RICHARD FOLWELL.
- V. HISTORY OF THE PESTILENCE COMMONLY CALLED THE YELLOW FEVER, which almost desolated Philadelphia, in the months of August, September, and October, 1796. By THOMAS CONDIE AND RICHARD FOLWELL.

PHILADELPHIA.

PUBLISHED BY MATHEW CAREY, NO. 118,
MARKET-STREET.

(Price Two Dollars).

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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LECTURE NOTES

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A SHORT
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
M A L I G N A N T F E V E R,
L A T E L Y P R E V A L E N T I N
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B Y M A T H E W C A R E Y.

F O U R T H E D I T I O N, I M P R O V E D.

P H I L A D E L P H I A:

P R I N T E D B Y T H E A U T H O R.

January 16, 1794.



To the American Philosophical Society.

GENTLEMEN,

WITH due deference, I presume to dedicate to you the following pages, in which I have endeavoured to give as faithful an account as possible, of the dreadful calamity we have just experienced.

I am, gentlemen,

With esteem,

Your obedt. humble servant,

MATHEW CAREY.

NUMBER XLVII.

District of Pennsylvania, to wit—

(L. S.) **B**E it remembered, that on the thirteenth day of November, in the eighteenth year of the independence of the united states of America, Mathew Carey, of the said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit :

“ A short account of the malignant fever lately prevalent in Philadelphia, with a statement of the proceedings that took place on the subject in different parts of the united states. By Mathew Carey.”
In conformity to the act of the congress of the united states, intituled, “ An act for the encouragement of learning ; by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.”

SAMUEL CALDWELL, Clerk of
the district of Pennsylvania.

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

F I R S T E D I T I O N .

Philadelphia, Nov. 13, 1793.

THE favourable reception given to the imperfect account of the fever which I lately published, and the particular desire of some of my friends, have induced me to undertake a more satisfactory history of it, in order to collect together, while facts are recent, as many of the most interesting occurrences as I could, for the information of the public.

I have not attempted any embellishment or ornament of style; but have merely aimed at telling plain facts in plain language. I have taken every precaution to arrive at the truth; and hope the errors in the account, will not be found numerous.

For the desultory plan of some part of the pamphlet, I have to offer the following apology; many of the circumstances and reflections towards the conclusion, which would have come with more propriety in the beginning, did not occur, until some of the first half-sheets were not only written, but printed. I had no choice, therefore, but either to omit them, or place them somewhat out of order. I preferred the latter.

Most of the facts mentioned have fallen under my own observation. Those of a different description, I have been assiduous to collect from every person of credibility, possessed of information.

Desirous of having this account correct and complete, I have printed off but a small number of copies of the present edition: and shall esteem myself most particularly obliged to any person who will be so

kind to point out errors, to be corrected in, or suggest facts, to be added to, a new edition, which I propose to put to press very soon, and which will, I hope, be found more ample than the present one.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

November 23, 1793.

WHEN I published the first edition of this pamphlet, it was my intention to have greatly enlarged it for a second one, and to have new-modelled it, so as to preserve a connexion between its several parts, in which it is extremely deficient. But its speedy sale, and the demand for more copies, render it impossible for me to do more, at present, than make such corrections as the kindness of a few friends has led them to point out.

In giving an account of the proceedings that took place on the subject of the disorder, throughout the union, I have suppressed many a harsh comment, which was forcing itself on me; from the reflexion, that in similar circumstances, we might perhaps have been equally severe. And to perpetuate animosities, is performing a very unfriendly office. They are easily generated; but their extinction is a work of time and difficulty. Let us, therefore, (especially when we “hold the mirror up to nature” at home,) not only forgive, but even forget, if possible, all the unpleasant treatment our citizens have experienced.

I have heard more than one person object to the account of the shocking circumstances that occurred in Philadelphia, as portraying the manners of the people in an unfavourable light. If that be the case, the fault is not mine. I am conscious I have not exaggerated the matter. But I do not conceive it can have that effect: for it would be as unjust and injudicious to draw the character of Philadelphia from the proceedings of a period of horror and affright, when all the “mild charities of social life” were suppressed by regard for

self, as to stamp eternal infamy on a nation, for the atrocities perpetrated in times of civil broils, when all the “angry passions” are roused into dreadful and ferocious activity.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

November 30, 1793.

THIS pamphlet comes before the public a third time, and, in some measure, in a new form. I have reduced it to as methodical a state, as in my power, but not as much so as I could wish, nor, I fear, as the reader may expect. To one merit only do I lay claim in the compilation; that is, of having meant well. If, on a fair perusal, the candid allow me that, I am satisfied to have the execution censured with all the severity of which criticism is capable. However, I beg leave to inform the reader, that this day ends one month, since the writing of the pamphlet commenced. I know that the shortness of the time employed, is no justification of a bad performance; but it may somewhat extenuate the defects of a middling one.

I have found several objections made to parts of it. Most of them I have removed. Some few, resting on the sentiments of individuals, directly contrary to my own judgment, I have passed over. For, until my reason is convinced, I cannot change my opinion for that of any person whatever.

To those gentlemen who have been so kind to furnish me with facts to enlarge and improve the work, I profess myself under great obligations. I request them to continue their kindness; as, if public favour should give this trifle a fourth edition, I shall add all that may be communicated in the interim; otherwise I shall probably publish separately what may be worthy of the public eye.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

Jan. 16, 1794.

THE uncommon degree of favour which this pamphlet has experienced, has impressed me with lively sentiments of gratitude. As the only proper return in my power, I have, in each successive edition, used every endeavour to improve it.

In the number of victims to the late calamity, there were many strangers,—among whom were probably some, by whose death, estates have fallen to heirs at a distance. It being, therefore, of great importance to extend and improve the list of the dead, and to remedy the extreme inaccuracy of the sextons' returns, I employed suitable persons to go thro' the city and liberties, and make enquiry at every house, without exception, for the names and occupations of the dead. The disobliging temper of some, and the fears of others, that an improper use would be made of the information they could have given, have, in various instances, defeated my purpose. Imperfect as the list still remains, I hope it will be found useful in removing anxious doubts, and conveying to persons in different countries, the melancholy information of the decease of relatives, which, but for such a channel of communication, would, in many cases, be difficult, if not impossible to acquire for years to come.

To the present edition, I have added a short account of the plague at London, and at Marseilles. On a comparison, the reader will be struck with astonishment, at the extraordinary similarity between many of the leading and most important circumstances that occurred in those two places, and the events of September and October, 1793, in Philadelphia.

A SHORT ACCOUNT, &c.

Chap. I. State of Philadelphia previous to the appearance of the malignant fever—with a few observations on some of the probable consequences of that calamity.

BEFORE I enter on the consideration of this disorder, it may not be improper to offer a few introductory remarks on the situation of Philadelphia previous to its commencement, which will reflect light on some of the circumstances mentioned in the course of the narrative.

The manufactures, trade, and commerce of this city, had, for a considerable time, been improving and extending with great rapidity. From the period of the adoption of the federal government, at which time America was at the lowest ebb of distress, her situation had progressively become more and more prosperous. Confidence, formerly banished, was universally restored. Property of every kind, rose to, and in some instances beyond, its real value: and a few revolving years exhibited the interesting spectacle of a young country, with a new form of government, emerging from a state which approached very near to anarchy, and acquiring all the stability and nerve of the best-toned and oldest nations.

In this prosperity, which revived the almost-extinguished hopes of four millions of people, Philadelphia participated in an eminent degree. Numbers of new houses, in almost every street, built in a very neat, elegant stile, adorned, at the same time that they greatly enlarged, the city. Its population was extending fast. House-rent had risen to an extravagant height; it was in many cases double, and in some

treble what it had been a year or two before ; and, as is generally the case, when a city is advancing in prosperity, it far exceeded the real increase of trade. The number of applicants for houses, exceeding the number of houses to be let, one bid over another ; and affairs were in such a situation, that many people, though they had a tolerable run of business, could hardly do more than clear their rents, and were, literally, toiling for their landlords alone*. Luxury, the usual, and perhaps inevitable concomitant of prosperity, was gaining ground in a manner very alarming to those who considered how far the virtue, the liberty, and the happiness of a nation depend on its temperance and sober manners.—Many of our citizens had been, for some time, in the imprudent habit of regulating their expenses by prospects formed in sanguine hours, when every probability was caught at as a certainty, not by their actual profits, or income. The number of coaches, coachees, chairs, &c. lately set up by men in the middle rank of life, is hardly credible. Not to enter into a minute detail, let it suffice to remark, that extravagance, in various forms, was gradually eradicating the plain and wholesome habits of the city. And although it were presumption to attempt to scan the decrees of heaven, yet few, I believe, will pretend to deny, that something was wanting to humble the pride of a city, which was running on in full career, to the goal of prodigality and dissipation.

However, from November 1792, to the end of last June, the difficulties of Philadelphia were extreme. The establishment of the bank of Pennsylvania, in embryo for the most part of that time, had arrested in the two other banks such a quantity of the circulating specie, as embarrassed almost every kind of business ; to this was added the distress arising from the very numerous failures in England, which had

* The distress arising from this source, was perhaps the only exception to the general observation of the flourishing situation of Philadelphia.

extremely harrassed several of our capital merchants. During this period, many men experienced as great difficulties as were ever known in this city*. But the commencement, in July, of the operations of the bank of Pennsylvania, conducted on the most generous and enlarged principles, placed business on its former favourable footing. Every man looked forward to this fall as likely to produce a vast extension of trade. But how fleeting are all human views! how uncertain all plans founded on earthly appearances! All these flattering prospects vanished "like the baseless fabric of a vision."

In July, arrived the unfortunate fugitives from Cape François. And on this occasion, the liberality of Philadelphia was displayed in a most respectable point of light. Nearly 12,000 dollars were in a few days collected for their relief. Little, alas! did many of the contributors, then in easy circumstances, imagine, that a few weeks would leave their wives and children dependent on public charity, as has since unfortunately happened. An awful instance of the rapid and warning vicissitudes of affairs on this transitory stage.

About this time, this destroying scourge, the malignant fever, crept in among us, and nipped in the bud the fairest blossoms that imagination could form. And oh! what a dreadful contrast has since taken place! Many women, then in the lap of ease and contentment, are bereft of beloved husbands, and left with numerous families of children to maintain, unqualified for the arduous task—many orphans are destitute of parents to foster and protect them—many entire families are swept away, without leaving "a trace behind"—many of our first commercial houses are totally dissolved, by the death of the parties, and

* It is with great pleasure, I embrace this opportunity of declaring, that the very liberal conduct of the bank of the united states, at this trying season, was the means of saving many a deserving and industrious man from ruin. No similar institution was ever conducted on a more favourable, and at the same time, prudent plan, than this bank adopted at the time here mentioned.

their affairs are necessarily left in so deranged a state, that the losses and distresses which must take place, are beyond estimation. The protests of notes for a few weeks past, have exceeded all former examples; for a great proportion of the merchants and traders having left the city, and been totally unable, from the stagnation of business, and diversion of all their expected resources, to make any provision for payment, most of their notes have been protested, as they became due*.

For these prefatory observations, I hope I shall be pardoned. I now proceed to the melancholy subject I have undertaken. May I be enabled to do it justice; and lay before the reader a complete and correct account of the most awful visitation that ever occurred in America. At first view, it would appear that Philadelphia alone felt the scourge; but its effects have spread in almost every direction through a great portion of the union. Many parts of Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, exclusive of the back settlements of Pennsylvania, drew their supplies, if not wholly, at least principally, from Philadelphia, which was of course the mart whither they sent their produce. Cut off from this quarter, their merchants have had to seek out other markets, which being unprepared for such an increased demand, their supplies have been imperfect; and, owing to the briskness of the sales, the prices have been, naturally enough, very considerably enhanced. Besides, they went to places in which their credit was not established—and had in most cases to advance cash. And many country dealers have had no opportunity of sending their produce to market, which has consequently remained unsold. Business, therefore, has languished in many parts of the union; and it is

* The bank of the united states, on the 15th of October, passed a resolve, empowering the cashier to renew all discounted notes, when the same drawers and indorsers were offered, and declaring that no notes should be protested; when the indorsers bound themselves in writing, to be accountable in the same manner as in cases of protest.

probable, that, considering the matter merely in a commercial point of light, the shock caused by the fever, has been felt to the southern extremity of the united states.

C H A P. II.—*Symptoms—a slight sketch of the mode of treatment.*

“ THE symptoms which characterised the first stage of the fever, were, in the greatest number of cases, after a chilly fit of some duration, a quick, tense pulse—hot skin—pain in the head, back, and limbs—flushed countenance—inflamed eye—moist tongue—oppression and sense of forencess at the stomach, especially upon pressure—frequent sick qualms, and retchings to vomit, without discharging any thing, except the contents last taken into the stomach—costiveness, &c. And when stools were procured, the first generally showed a defect of bile, or an obstruction to its entrance into the intestines. But brisk purges generally altered this appearance.

“ These symptoms generally continued with more or less violence from one to three, four, or even five days; and then gradually abating, left the patient free from every complaint, except general debility. On the febrile symptoms suddenly subsiding, they were immediately succeeded by a yellow tinge in the opaque cornea, or whites of the eyes—an increased oppression at the præcordia—a constant puking of every thing taken into the stomach, with much straining, accompanied with a hoarse, hollow noise.

“ If these symptoms were not soon relieved, a vomiting of matter, resembling coffee grounds in colour and consistence, commonly called the black vomit, sometimes accompanied with, or succeeded by hæmorrhages from the nose, fauces, gums, and other parts of the body—a yellowish purple colour, and putrescent appearance of the whole body, hiccup, agitations, deep and distressed sighing, comatose delirium, and finally, death. When the disease proved fatal, it was generally between the fifth and eighth days.

“ This was the most usual progress of this formidable disease, through its several stages. There were, however, very considerable variations in the symptoms, as well as in the duration of its different stages, according to the constitution and temperament of the patient, the state of the weather, the manner of treatment, &c.

“ In some cases, signs of putrescency appeared at the beginning, or before the end of the third day. In these, the black vomiting, which was generally a mortal symptom, and universal yellowness, appeared early. In these cases, also, a low delirium, and great prostration of strength, were constant symptoms, and coma came on very speedily.

“ In some, the symptoms inclined more to the nervous than the inflammatory type. In these, the jaundice colour of the eye and skin, and the black vomiting, were more rare. But in the majority of cases, particularly after the nights became sensibly cooler, all the symptoms indicated violent irritation and inflammatory diathesis. In these cases, the skin was always dry, and the remissions very obscure.

“ The febrile symptoms, however, as has been already observed, either gave way on the third, fourth, or fifth day, and then the patient recovered; or they were soon after succeeded by a different, but much more dangerous train of symptoms, by debility, low pulse, cold skin, (which assumed a tawny colour, mixed with purple) black vomiting, hæmorrhages, hiccup, anxiety, restlessness, coma, &c. Many, who survived the eighth day, though apparently out of danger, died suddenly in consequence of an hæmorrhage*.”

This disorder having been new to nearly all our physicians, it is not surprising, although it has been exceedingly fatal, that there arose such a discordance of sentiment on the proper mode of treatment, and even with respect to its name. Dr. Rush has acknow-

* For this account of the symptoms of the disorder, I am indebted to the kindness of dr. Currie, from whose letter to dr. Senter, it is extracted.

ledged, with a candour that does him honour, that in the commencement, he so far mistook the nature of the disorder, that in his early essays, having depended on gentie purges of salts to purify the bowels of his patients, they all died. He then tried the mode of treatment adopted in the West Indies, viz. bark, wine, laudanum, and the cold bath, and failed in three cases out of four. Afterwards he had recourse to strong purges of calomel and jalap, and to bleeding, which he found attended with singular success.

The honour of the first essay of mercury in this disorder, is by many ascribed to dr. Hodge and dr. Carson, who are said to have employed it a week before dr. Rush. On this point, I cannot pretend to decide. But whoever was the first to introduce it, one thing is certain, that its efficacy was great, and rescued many from death. I have known, however, some persons, who, I have every reason to believe, fell sacrifices to the great reputation this medicine acquired; for in several cases it was administered to persons of a previous lax habit, and brought on a speedy dissolution.

I am credibly informed that the demand for purges of calomel and jalap, was so great, that some of the apothecaries could not mix up every dose in detail; but mixed a large quantity of each, in the ordered proportions; and afterwards divided it into doses; by which means, it often happened that one patient had a much larger portion of calomel, and another of jalap, than was intended by the doctors. The fatal consequences of this may be easily conceived.

An intelligent citizen, who has highly distinguished himself by his attention to the sick, says, that he found the disorder generally come on with costiveness; and unless that was removed within the first twelve hours, he hardly knew any person to recover; on the contrary, he says, as few died, on whom the cathartics operated within that time.

The efficacy of bleeding, in all cases not attended with putridity, was great. The quantity of blood taken was in many cases astonishing. Dr. Griffitts was

bled seven times in five days, and appears to ascribe his recovery principally to that operation. Dr. Mease, in five days, lost seventy-two ounces of blood, by which he was recovered when at the lowest stage of the disorder. Many others were bled still more, and are now as well as ever they were.

Dr. Rush and dr. Wistar have spoken very favourably of the salutary effects of cold air, and cool drinks, in this disorder. The latter says, that he found more benefit from cold air, than from any other remedy. He lay delirious, and in severe pain, between a window and door, the former of which was open. The wind suddenly changed, and blew full upon him, cold and raw. Its effects were so grateful, that he soon recovered from his delirium—his pain left him—in an hour he became perfectly reasonable—and his fever abated.

A respectable citizen who had the fever himself, and likewise watched its effects on eleven of his family, who recovered from it, has informed me, that a removal of the sick from a close, warm room to one a few degrees cooler, which practice he employed several times daily, produced a most extraordinary and favourable change in their appearance, in their pulse, and in their spirits.

CHAP. III.—*First alarm in Philadelphia. Flight of the citizens. Guardians of the poor borne down with labour.*

IT was some time before the disorder attracted public notice. It had in the mean while swept off many persons. The first death that was a subject of general conversation, was that of Peter Aston, on the 19th of August, after a few days illness. Mrs. Lemaigre's, on the day following, and Thomas Miller's, on the 25th, with those of some others, after a short sickness, spread an universal terror.

The removals from Philadelphia began about the 25th or 26th of this month: and so great was the general terror, that, for some weeks, carts, waggons, coaches, and chairs, were almost constantly transport-

ing families and furniture to the country in every direction. Many people shut up their houses wholly; others left servants to take care of them. Business then became extremely dull. Mechanics and artists were unemployed; and the streets wore the appearance of gloom and melancholy.

The first official notice taken of the disorder, was on the 22d of August, on which day the mayor of Philadelphia, Matthew Clarkson, esq. wrote to the city commissioners, and after acquainting them with the state of the city, gave them the most peremptory orders, to have the streets properly cleansed and purified by the scavengers, and all the filth immediately hawled away. These orders were repeated on the 27th, and similar ones given to the clerks of the market.

The 26th of the same month, the college of physicians had a meeting, at which they took into consideration the nature of the disorder, and the means of prevention and of cure. They published an address to the citizens, signed by the president and secretary, recommending to avoid all unnecessary intercourse with the infected; to place marks on the doors or windows where they were; to pay great attention to cleanliness and airing the rooms of the sick; to provide a large and airy hospital in the neighbourhood of the city for their reception; to put a stop to the tolling of the bells; to bury those who died of the disorder in carriages, and as privately as possible; to keep the streets and wharves clean; to avoid all fatigue of body and mind, and standing or sitting in the sun, or in the open air; to accommodate the dress to the weather, and to exceed rather in warm than in cool clothing; and to avoid intemperance; but to use fermented liquors, such as wine, beer and cider, with moderation. They likewise declared their opinion, that fires in the streets were very dangerous, if not ineffectual means of stopping the progress of the fever, and that they placed more dependance on the burning of gunpowder. The benefits of vinegar and camphor, they added, were confined chiefly to infected rooms; and they could not be too often

used on handkerchiefs, or in smelling bottles, by persons who attended the sick.

In consequence of this address, the bells were immediately stopped from tolling. The expedience of this measure was obvious; as they had before been constantly ringing almost the whole day, so as to terrify those in health, and drive the sick, as far as the influence of imagination could produce that effect, to their graves. An idea had gone abroad, that the burning of fires in the streets, would have a tendency to purify the air, and arrest the progress of the disorder. The people had, therefore, almost every night, large fires lighted at the corners of the streets. The 29th, the mayor, conformably with the opinion of the college of physicians, published a proclamation, forbidding this practice. As a substitute, many had recourse to the firing of guns, which they imagined was a certain preventative of the disorder. This was carried so far, and attended with such danger, that it was forbidden by an ordinance of the mayor.

The 29th, the governor of the state wrote a letter to the mayor, strongly enforcing the necessity of the most vigorous and decisive exertions "to prevent the extension of, and to destroy, the evil." He desired that the various directions given by the college of physicians, should be carried into effect. The same day, in his address to the legislature, he acquainted them, that a contagious disorder existed in the city; and that he had taken every proper measure to ascertain the origin, nature, and extent of it. He likewise assured them that the health-officer and physician of the port, would take every precaution to allay and remove the public inquietude.

The number of the infected daily increasing, and the existence of an order against the admission of persons labouring under infectious diseases into the alms-house, precluding them from a refuge there*, some

* At this period, the number of paupers in the alms-house was between three and four hundred; and the managers, apprehensive of spreading the disorder among them, enforced the abovementioned order, which had been entered into a long

temporary place was requisite ; and three of the guardians of the poor, about the 26th of August, took possession of the circus, in which mr. Ricketts had lately exhibited his equestrian feats, being the only place that could be then procured for the purpose. Thither they sent seven persons afflicted with the malignant fever, where they lay in the open air for some time, and without any assistance†. Of these, one crawled out on the commons, where he died at a distance from the houses. Two died in the circus, one of whom was seasonably removed ; the other lay in a state of putrefaction for above forty eight hours, owing to the difficulty of procuring any person to remove him. On this occasion occurred an instance of courage in a servant girl, of which at that time few men were capable. The carter, who finally undertook to remove the corpse, having no assistant, and being unable alone to put it into the coffin, was on the point of relinquishing his design, and quitting the place. The girl perceived him, and understanding the difficulty he laboured under, offered her services, provided he would not inform the family with whom she lived‡. She accordingly helped him to put the body into the coffin, tho' it was, by that time, crawling with maggots, and in the most loathsome state of putrefaction. It gives me pleasure to add, that she still lives, notwithstanding her very hazardous exploit.

The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the circus took the alarm, and threatened to burn or destroy it, unless the sick were removed ; and it is believed they would have actually carried their threats into execution, had compliance been delayed a day longer.

The 29th, seven of the guardians of the poor had a conference with some of the city magistrates on the

time before. They, however, supplied beds and bedding, and all the money in their treasury, for their relief, out of that house.

† High wages were offered for nurses for these poor people, —but none could be procured.

‡ Had they known of the circumstance, an immediate dismissal would have been the consequence.

subject of the fever, at which it was agreed to be indispensably necessary, that a suitable house, as an hospital, should be provided near the city, for the reception of the infected poor.

In consequence, in the evening of the same day, the guardians of the poor agreed to sundry resolutions, viz. to use their utmost exertions to procure a house, of the above description, for an hospital, (out of town, and as near thereto as might be practicable, consistent with the safety of the inhabitants,) for the poor who were or might be afflicted with contagious disorders, and be destitute of the means of providing necessary assistance otherwise; to engage physicians, nurses, attendants, and all necessaries for their relief in that house; to appoint proper persons in each district, to enquire after such poor as might be afflicted; to administer assistance to them in their own houses, and, if necessary, to remove them to the hospital. They reserved to themselves, at the same time, the liberty of drawing on the mayor for such sums as might be necessary to carry their plans into effect.

Conformably with these resolves, a committee of the guardians was appointed, to make enquiry for a suitable place; and on due examination, they judged that a building adjacent to Bushhill, the mansion-house of William Hamilton, esq. was the best calculated for the purpose. That gentleman was then absent, and had no agent in the city; and the great urgency of the case admitting no delay, eight of the guardians, accompanied by Hilary Baker, esq. one of the city aldermen, with the concurrence of the governor, proceeded, on the 31st of August, to the building they had fixed upon; and meeting with some opposition from a tenant who occupied it, they took possession of the mansion-house itself, to which, on the same evening, they sent the four patients who remained at the circus.

Shortly after this, the guardians of the poor for the city, except James Wilson, Jacob Tomkins, jun. and William Sansom, ceased the performance of their duties, nearly the whole of them having

removed out of the city. Before this virtual vacation of office, they passed a resolve against the admission of any paupers whatever into the alms-house during the prevalence of the disorder*. The whole care of the poor of the city, the providing for Bush-hill, sending the sick there, and burying the dead, devolved, therefore, on the above three guardians.

C H A P. IV.. General despondency. Deplorable scenes, Frightful view of human nature. A noble and exhilarating contrast.

THE consternation of the people of Philadelphia, at this period, was carried beyond all bounds. Dismay and affright were visible in almost every person's countenance. Most of those who could, by any means, make it convenient, fled from the city. Of those who remained, many shut themselves up in their houses, and were afraid to walk the streets. The smoke of tobacco being regarded as a preventative, many persons, even women and small boys, had segars almost constantly in their mouths. Others placing full confidence in garlic, chewed it almost the whole day; some kept it in their pockets and shoes. Many were afraid to allow the barbers or hair-dressers to come near them, as instances had occurred of some of them having shaved the dead, and many having engaged as bleeders. Some, who carried their caution pretty far, bought lancets for themselves, not daring to be bled with the lancets of the bleeders. Many houses were hardly a moment in the day, free from the smell of gunpowder, burned tobacco, nitre, sprinkled vinegar, &c. Some of the churches were almost deserted, and others wholly closed. The coffee-house was shut up, as was the city library, and most of the public offices—three; out of the four, daily

* The reason for entering into this order, was, that some paupers, who had been admitted previous thereto, with a certificate from the physicians, of their being free from the infection, had, nevertheless, died of it.

papers were discontinued*, as were some of the others. Many were almost incessantly employed in purifying, scouring, and whitewashing their rooms. Those who ventured abroad, had handkerchiefs or sponges impregnated with vinegar or camphor at their noses, or smelling-bottles full of the thieves' vinegar. Others carried pieces of tarred rope in their hands or pockets, or camphor bags tied round their necks. The corpses of the most respectable citizens, even of those who did not die of the epidemic, were carried to the grave, on the shafts of a chair, the horse driven by a negro, unattended by a friend or relation, and without any sort of ceremony. People hastily shifted their course at the sight of a hearse coming towards them. Many never walked on the foot-path, but went into the middle of the streets, to avoid being infected in passing by houses wherein people had died. Acquaintances and friends avoided each other in the streets, and only signified their regard by a cold nod. The old custom of shaking hands, fell into such general disuse, that many shrunk back with affright at even the offer of the hand. A person with a crape, or any appearance of mourning, was shunned like a viper. And many valued themselves highly on the skill and address with which they got to windward of every person whom they met. Indeed it is not probable that London, at the last stage of the plague, exhibited stronger marks of terror, than were to be seen in Philadelphia, from the 25th or 26th of August, till pretty late in September. When people summoned up resolution to walk abroad, and take the air, the sick-cart conveying patients to the hospital, or the hearse carrying the dead to the grave, which were travelling almost the whole day, soon damped their spirits, and plunged them again into despondency.

* It would be improper to pass over this opportunity of mentioning, that the federal gazette, printed by Andrew Brown, was uninterruptedly continued, and with the usual industry, during the whole calamity, and was of the utmost service, in conveying to the citizens of the united states, authentic intelligence of the state of the disorder, and of the city.

While affairs were in this deplorable state, and people at the lowest ebb of despair, we cannot be astonished at the frightful scenes that were acted, which seemed to indicate a total dissolution of the bonds of society in the nearest and dearest connexions. Who, without horror, can reflect on a husband, married perhaps for twenty years, deserting his wife in the last agony—a wife, unfeelingly, abandoning her husband on his death bed—parents forsaking their only children—children ungratefully flying from their parents, and resigning them to chance, often without an enquiry after their health or safety—masters hurrying off their faithful servants to Bushhill, even on suspicion of the fever, and that at a time, when, like Tartarus, it was open to every visitant, but never returned any—servants abandoning tender and humane masters, who only wanted a little care to restore them to health and usefulness—who, I say, can think of these things, without horror? Yet they were daily exhibited in every quarter of our city; and such was the force of habit, that the parties who were guilty of this cruelty, felt no remorse themselves—nor met with the execration from their fellow-citizens, which such conduct would have excited at any other period. Indeed, at this awful crisis, so much did *self* appear to engross the whole attention of many, that less concern was felt for the loss of a parent, a husband, a wife, or an only child, than, on other occasions, would have been caused by the death of a servant, or even a favourite lap-dog.

This kind of conduct produced scenes of distress and misery, of which few parallels are to be met with, and which nothing could palliate, but the extraordinary public panic, and the great law of self-preservation, the dominion of which extends over the whole animated world. Many men of affluent fortunes, who have given daily employment and sustenance to hundreds, have been abandoned to the care of a negro, after their wives, children, friends, clerks, and servants, had fled away, and left them to their fate. In many cases, no money could procure

proper attendance. With the poor, the case was, as might be expected, infinitely worse than with the rich. Many of these have perished, without a human being to hand them a drink of water, to administer medicines, or to perform any charitable office for them. Various instances have occurred, of dead bodies found lying in the streets, of persons who had no house or habitation, and could procure no shelter.

A man and his wife, once in affluent circumstances, were found lying dead in bed, and between them was their child, a little infant, who was sucking its mother's breasts. How long they had lain thus, was uncertain.

A woman, whose husband had just died of the fever, was seized with the pains of labour, and had nobody to assist her, as the women in the neighbourhood were afraid to go into the house. She lay, for a considerable time, in a degree of anguish that will not bear description. At length, she struggled to reach the window, and cried out for assistance. Two men, passing by, went up stairs; but they came at too late a stage.—She was striving with death—and actually, in a few minutes, expired in their arms.

Another woman, whose husband and two children lay dead in the room with her, was in the same situation as the former, without a midwife, or any other person to aid her. Her cries at the window brought up one of the carters employed by the committee for the relief of the sick. With his assistance, she was delivered of a child, which died in a few minutes, as did the mother, who was utterly exhausted by her labour, by the disorder, and by the dreadful spectacle before her. And thus lay, in one room, no less than five dead bodies, an entire family, carried off in an hour or two. Many instances have occurred, of respectable women, who, in their lying-in, have been obliged to depend on their maid-servants, for assistance—and some have had none but from their husbands. Some of the midwives were dead—and others had left the city.

A servant girl, belonging to a family in this city,

in which the fever had prevailed, was apprehensive of danger, and resolved to remove to a relation's house, in the country. She was, however, taken sick on the road, and returned to town, where she could find no person to receive her. One of the guardians of the poor provided a cart, and took her to the almshouse, into which she was refused admittance. She was brought back, and the guardian offered five dollars to procure her a single night's lodging, but in vain. And in fine, after every effort made to provide her shelter, she absolutely expired in the cart.

To relate all the frightful cases of this nature that occurred, would fill a volume. To pass them over wholly would have been improper—to dwell on them longer would be painful. Let these few, therefore, suffice. But I must observe, that most of them happened in the first stage of the public panic. Afterwards, when the citizens recovered a little from their fright, they became rare.

These horrid circumstances having a tendency to throw a shade over the human character, it is proper to reflect a little light on the subject, wherever justice and truth will permit. Amidst the general abandonment of the sick that prevailed, there were to be found many illustrious instances of men and women, some in the middle, others in the lower spheres of life, who, in the exercises of the duties of humanity, exposed themselves to dangers, which terrified men, who have hundreds of times faced death without fear, in the field of battle. Some of them, alas! have fallen in the good cause! But why should they be regretted? never could they have fallen more gloriously. Foremost in this noble groupe stands Joseph Inskip, a most excellent man in every of the social relations of citizen, brother, husband, and friend.—To the sick and the forsaken has he devoted his hours, to relieve and comfort them in their tribulation, and his kind assistance was dealt out with equal freedom to an utter stranger as to his bosom friend. Numerous are the instances of men restored, by his kind cares and attention, to their families, from the very jaws

of death.—In various cases has he been obliged to put dead bodies into coffins, when the relations fled from the mournful office. The merit of Andrew Adgate, Joab Jones, and Daniel Offley, in the same way, was conspicuous, and of the last importance to numbers of distressed creatures, bereft of every other comfort. Of those worthy men, Wilson and Tomkins, I have already spoken. The rev. mr. Fleming and the rev. mr. Winkhaufe, exhausted themselves by a succession of labours, day and night, attending on the sick, and ministering relief to their spiritual and temporal wants.

Of those who have happily survived their dangers, and are preserved to their fellow citizens, I shall mention a few. They enjoy the supreme reward of a self-approving conscience; and I readily believe, that in the most secret recesses, remote from the public eye, they would have done the same. But next to the sense of having done well, is the approbation of our friends and fellow men; and when the debt is great, and the only payment that can be made is applause, it is surely the worst species of avarice, to withhold it. We are always ready, too ready, alas! to bestow censure—and, as if anxious lest we should not give enough, we generally heap the measure. When we are so solicitous to deter by reproach from folly, vice, and crime, why not be equally disposed to stimulate to virtue and heroism, by freely bestowing the well-earned plaudit? Could I suppose, that in any future equally-dangerous emergency, the opportunity I have seized of bearing my feeble testimony, in favour of these worthy persons, would be a means of exciting others to emulate their heroic virtue, it would afford me the highest consolation I have ever experienced.

The rev. Henry Helmuth's merits are of the most exalted kind. His whole time, during the prevalence of the disorder, was spent in the performance of the works of mercy, visiting and relieving the sick, comforting the afflicted, and feeding the hungry. Of his congregation, some hundreds have paid the last debt to nature, since the malignant fever began; and, I

believe he attended nearly the whole of them. To so many dangers was he exposed, that he stands a living miracle of preservation. The rev. C. V. Keating, the rev. mr. Ustick, and the rev. mr. Dickens, have been in the same career, and performed their duties to the sick with equal fidelity, and with equal danger. The venerable old citizen, Samuel Robeson, has been like a good angel, indefatigably performing, in families where there was not one person able to help another, even the menial offices of the kitchen, in every part of his neighbourhood. Thomas Allibone, Lambert Wilmer, Levi Hollingsworth, John Barker, Hannah Paine, John Hutchinson, and great numbers of others have distinguished themselves by the kindest offices of disinterested humanity. Magnus Miller, Samuel Coates, and other good citizens, in that time of pinching distress and difficulty, advanced sums of money to individuals whose resources were cut off, and who, though accustomed to a life of independence, were absolutely destitute of the means of subsistence. And as the widow's mite has been mentioned in scripture with so much applause, let me add, that a worthy widow, whose name I am grieved I cannot mention, came to the city-hall, and, out of her means, which are very moderate, offered the committee twenty dollars for the relief of the poor. John Connelly has spent hours beside the sick, when their own wives and children had abandoned them. Twice did he catch the disorder—twice was he on the brink of the grave, which was yawning to receive him—yet, unappalled by the imminent danger he had escaped, he again returned to the charge. I feel myself affected at this part of my subject, with emotions, which I fear my unanimated style is ill calculated to transfuse into the breast of my reader. I wish him to dwell on this part of the picture, with a degree of exquisite pleasure equal to what I feel in the description. When we view man in this light, we lose sight of his feebleness, his imperfection, his vice—he resembles, in a small degree, that divine being, who is an inexhaustible mine of mercy and goodness.

And, as a human being, I rejoice, that it has fallen to my lot, to be a witness and recorder of a magnanimity, which would alone be sufficient to rescue the character of mortals from obloquy and reproach.

CHAP. V. *Distress increases. Benevolent citizens invited to assist the guardians of the poor. Ten volunteers. Appointment of the committee for relief of the sick. State of Philadelphia.*

IN the mean time, the situation of affairs became daily more and more serious. Those of the guardians of the poor, who continued to act, were quite oppressed with the labours of their office, which increased to such a degree, that they were utterly unable to execute them. I have already mentioned, that for the city there were but three who persevered in the performance of their duty*. It must give the reader great concern to hear, that two of them, James Wilson, and Jacob Tomkins, excellent and indefatigable young men, whose services were at that time of very great importance, fell sacrifices in the cause of humanity. The other, William Sansom, was likewise, in the execution of his dangerous office, seized with the disorder, and on the brink of the grave, but was so fortunate as to recover. The deceased persons became daily more numerous. Owing to the general terror, nurses, carters, and attendants could hardly be procured. Thus circumstanced, the mayor of the city, on the 10th of September, published an address

* With respect to the guardians of the poor, I have been misunderstood. I only spoke of those for the city. Those for the liberties, generally, continued at their post; and two of them, Wm. Peter Sprague, and William Gregory, performed, in the northern liberties, the very same kind of services as the committee did in the city, viz. attended to the burial of the dead and the removal of the sick. In Southwark, the like tour of duty was executed by Clement Humphreys, John Cornish, and Robert Jones. Far be it from me to deprive any man of applause so richly and hazardously earned. I only regret, that want of leisure prevents me from collecting the names of all those who have nobly distinguished themselves, by their attention to the alleviation of the general calamity.

to the citizens, announcing that the guardians of the poor, who remained, were in distress for want of assistance, and inviting such benevolent people, as felt for the general distress, to lend their aid. In consequence of this advertisement, a meeting of the citizens was held at the city-hall, on Thursday, the 12th of September, at which very few attended, from the universal consternation that prevailed. The state of the poor was fully considered; and ten citizens, Israel Israel, Samuel Wetherill, Thomas Wistar, Andrew Adgate, Caleb Lownes, Henry Deforest, Thomas Peters, Joseph Inskeep, Stephen Girard, and John Mason, offered themselves to assist the guardians of the poor. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to confer with the physicians who had the care of Bush-hill, and make report of the state of that hospital. This committee reported next evening, that it was in very bad order, and in want of almost every thing.

On Saturday, the 14th, another meeting was held, when the alarming state of affairs being fully considered, it was resolved to borrow fifteen hundred dollars of the bank of North-America, for the purpose of procuring suitable accommodations for the use of persons afflicted with the prevailing malignant fever. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to transact the whole of the business relative to the relief of the sick, and the procuring of physicians, nurses, attendants, &c. This is the committee, which, by virtue of that appointment, has, from that day to the present time, watched over the sick, the poor, the widow, and the orphan. It is worthy of remark, and may encourage others in time of public calamity, that this committee consisted originally of only twenty-six persons, men mostly taken from the middle walks of life; of these, four, Andrew Adgate, Jonathan Dickinson Sargeant, Daniel Offley, and Joseph Inskeep, died, the two first at an early period of their labours—and four never attended to the appointment. “The heat and burden of the day” have therefore been borne by eighteen persons, whose

exertions have been so highly favoured by providence, that they have been the instruments of averting the progress of destruction, eminently relieving the distressed, and restoring confidence to the terrified inhabitants of Philadelphia. It is honourable to this committee, that they have conducted their business with more harmony than is generally to be met with in public bodies of equal number. Probably there never was one, of which the members were so regular in their attendance; the meetings, at the worst of times—those times, which, to use Paine's emphatic language, "tried men's souls," were composed in general, of twelve, thirteen, and fourteen members.

Never, perhaps, was there a city in the situation of Philadelphia at this period. The president of the united states, according to his annual custom, had removed to Mount Vernon with his household. Most, if not all of the other officers of the federal government were absent. The governor, who had been sick, had gone, by directions of his physician, to his country-seat near the falls of Schuylkill—and nearly the whole of the officers of the state had likewise retired.—The magistrates of the city, except the mayor*, and John Barclay†, esq. were away, as were most of those of the liberties. Of the situation of the guardians of the poor‡, I have already made mention. In fact, government of every kind was almost wholly vacated, and seemed, by tacit, but universal consent, to be vested in the committee.

* This magistrate deserves particular praise. He was the first who invited the citizens to "rally round the standard" of charity, and convened the meeting at which the committee for relief of the sick was appointed, as well as the preceding ones; of this committee he was appointed president, and punctually fulfilled his duty during the whole time of the distress.

† This gentleman, late mayor of the city, acted in the double capacity of alderman and president of the bank of Pennsylvania, to the duties of which offices he devoted himself unremittingly, except during an illness which threatened to add him to the number of valuable men of whom we have been bereft.

‡ The managers of the alms-house attended to the duties imposed on them, and met regularly at that building every week.

CHAP. VI. *Magnanimous offer. Wretched state of Bush-hill. Order introduced there.*

AT the meeting on Sept. 15th, a circumstance occurred, to which the most glowing pencil could hardly do justice. Stephen Girard, a wealthy merchant, a native of France, and one of the members of the committee, touched with the wretched situation of the sufferers at Bush-hill, voluntarily and unexpectedly offered himself as a manager, to superintend that hospital. The surprize and satisfaction, excited by this extraordinary effort of humanity, can be better conceived than expressed. Peter Helm, a native of Pennsylvania, also a member, actuated by the like benevolent motives, offered his services in the same department, Their offers were accepted; and the same afternoon they entered on the execution of their dangerous and praise-worthy office*.

To form a just estimate of the value of the offer of these men, it is necessary to take into full consideration the general consternation, which at that period pervaded every quarter of the city, and which made attendance on the sick be regarded as little less than a certain sacrifice. Uninfluenced by any reflexions of this kind, without any possible inducement but the purest motives of humanity, they came forward and offered themselves as the forlorn hope of the committee. I trust that the gratitude of their fellow-citizens will remain as long as the memory of their beneficent conduct, which I hope will not die with the present generation.

On the 16th, the managers of Bush-hill, after personal inspection of the state of affairs there, made report of its situation, which was truly deplorable. It exhibited as wretched a picture of human misery as ever existed. 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

* The management of the interior department was assumed by Stephen Girard—the exterior by Peter Helm.

(unless at the hours when the doctors attended) were left almost 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. In consequence, there were various instances of sick persons locking their rooms, and resisting every attempt to carry them away. At length, the poor were so much afraid of being sent to Bush-hill, that they would not acknowledge their illness, until it was no longer possible to conceal it. For it is to be observed, that the fear of the contagion was so prevalent, that as soon as any one was taken ill, an alarm was spread among the neighbours, and every effort was used to have the sick person hurried off to Bush-hill, to avoid spreading the disorder. The cases of poor people forced in this way to that hospital, though labouring under only common colds, and common fall fevers, were numerous and afflicting. There were not wanting instances of persons, only slightly ill, being sent to Bush-hill, by their panic-struck neighbours, and embracing the first opportunity of running back to Philadelphia.

The regulations adopted at Bush-hill, were as follow :

One of the rooms in the mansion house (which contains fourteen, besides three large entries) was allotted to the matron, and an assistant under her—eleven rooms and two entries to the sick. Those who were in a very low state were in one room—and one was appointed for the dying. The men and women were kept in distinct rooms, and attended by nurses of their own sexes. Every sick person was furnished with a bedstead, clean sheet, pillow, two or three blan-

kets, porringer, plate, spoon, and clean linen, when necessary. In the mansion house were one hundred and forty bedsteads. The new frame house, built by the committee, when it was found that the old buildings were inadequate to contain the patients commodiously, is sixty feet front, and eighteen feet deep, with three rooms on the ground floor; one of which was for the head nurses of that house, the two others for the sick. Each of these two last contained seventeen bedsteads. The loft, designed for the convalescents, was calculated to contain forty.

The barn is a large, commodious stone building, divided into three apartments; one occupied by the resident doctors and apothecary; one, which contained forty bedsteads, by the men convalescents—and the other by the women convalescents, which contained fifty-seven.

At some distance from the west of the hospital, was erected a frame building to store the coffins, and deposite the dead until they were sent to a place of interment.

Besides the nurses employed in the house, there were two cooks, four labourers, and three washer-women, constantly employed for the use of the hospital.

The sick were visited twice a day by two physicians, dr. Deveze and dr. Benjamin Duffield*, whose prescriptions were executed by three resident physicians and the apothecary.

One of the resident doctors was charged with the distribution of the victuals for the sick. At eleven o'clock, he gave them broth with rice, bread, boiled

* Very soon after the organization of the committee, dr. Deveze, a respectable French physician from Cape-Francois, offered his services in the line of his profession at Bush-hill. Dr. Benjamin Duffield did the same. Their offers were accepted, and they have both attended with great punctuality. Dr. Deveze renounced all other practice, which, at that period, would have been very lucrative, when there was such general demand for physicians. The committee, in consideration of the services of these two gentlemen, have lately presented dr. Duffield with five hundred, and dr. Deveze with fifteen hundred dollars.

beef, veal, mutton, and chicken, with cream of rice to those whose stomachs would not bear stronger nourishment. Their second meal was at six o'clock, when they had broth, rice, boiled prunes, with cream of rice. The sick drank at their meals porter, or claret and water. Their constant drink between meals was centaury tea, and boiled lemonade.

These regulations, the order and regularity introduced, and the care and tenderness with which the patients, were treated, soon established the character of the hospital; and in the course of a week or two, numbers of sick people, who had not at home proper persons to nurse them, applied to be sent to Bush-hill. Indeed, in the end, so many people, who were afflicted with other disorders, procured admittance there, that it became necessary to pass a resolve, that before an order of admission should be granted, a certificate must be produced from a physician, that the patient laboured under the malignant fever; for had all the applicants been received, this hospital, provided for an extraordinary occasion, would have been filled with patients whose cases entitled them to a reception in the Pennsylvania hospital.

The number of persons received into Bush-hill, from the 16th of September to this time, is about one thousand; of whom nearly five hundred are dead; there are now (Nov. 30,) in the house, about twenty sick, and fifty convalescents. Of the latter class, there have been dismissed about four hundred and thirty.

The reason why so large a proportion died of those received, is, that in a variety of cases, the early fears of that hospital had got such firm possession of the minds of some, and others were so much actuated by a foolish pride, that they would never consent to be removed till they were past recovery. And in consequence of this, there were many instances of persons dying in the cart on the road to the hospital. I speak within bounds, when I say that at least a third of the whole number of those received, did not survive their entrance into the hospital two days. Were it not for the operation of these two motives, the number of

the dead in the city and in the hospital would have been much lessened; for many a man, whose nice feelings made him spurn at the idea of a removal to the hospital, perished in the city for want of that comfortable assistance he would have had at Bush-hill*.

Before I conclude this chapter, let me add, that the perseverance of the managers of that hospital has been equally meritorious with their original beneficence. During the whole calamity to this time, they have attended uninterruptedly, for six, seven, or eight hours a day, renouncing almost every care of private affairs. They have had a laborious tour of duty to perform. Stephen Girard, whose office was in the interior part of the hospital, has had to encourage and comfort the sick—to hand them necessaries and medicines—to wipe the sweat off their brows—and to perform many disgusting offices of kindness for them, which nothing could render tolerable, but the exalted motives that impelled him to this heroic conduct. Peter Helm, his worthy coadjutor, displayed, in his department, equal exertions, to promote the common good.

C H A P. VII. *Proceedings of the committee—Loans from the bank of North-America. Establishment of an orphan house. Relief of the poor. Appointment of the assistant committee.*

THE committee, on its organization, resolved that three of the members should attend daily at the city hall, to receive applications for relief; to provide for the burial of the dead, and for the convey-

* I omitted in the former editions to mention the name of a most excellent and invaluable woman, Mrs. Saville, the matron in this hospital, whose services in the execution of her office, were above all price. Never was there a person better qualified for such a situation. To the most strict observance of system, she united all the tenderness and humanity which are so essentially requisite in an hospital, but which habit so very frequently and totally extinguishes: should the wisdom of our legislature decree the permanent establishment of a lazaretto, no person can be found more deserving, or better qualified to be entrusted with the care of it.

ance of persons labouring under the malignant fever, to Bush-hill. But three being found inadequate to the execution of the multifarious and laborious duties to be performed, this order was rescinded, and daily attendance was given by nearly all of the members.

A number of carts and carters were engaged for the burial of the dead, and removal of the sick. And it was a melancholy sight to behold them incessantly employed through the whole day, in these mournful offices.

The committee borrowed fifteen hundred dollars from the bank of North-America, agreeably to the resolves of the town meeting by which they were appointed. Several of the members entered into security to repay that sum, in case the corporation or legislature should refuse to make provision for its discharge. This sum being soon expended, a farther loan of five thousand dollars was negotiated with the same institution*.

In the progress of the disorder, the committee found the calls on their humanity increase. The numerous deaths of heads of families left a very large body of children in a most abandoned, forlorn state. The bettering house, in which such helpless objects have been usually placed heretofore, was barred against them, by the order which I have already mentioned. Many of these little innocents were actually suffering for want of even common necessaries. The deaths of their parents and protectors, which should have been the strongest recommendation to public charity, was the very reason of their distress, and of their being shunned as a pestilence. The children of a family once in easy circumstances, were found in a blacksmith's shop, squalid, dirty, and half starved, having been for a considerable time without even bread to eat. Various instances of a similar nature occurred. This evil early caught the attention of the committee, and on the 19th of September, they hired a house in

* It ought to be mentioned, that on the payment of these sums, the directors generously declined accepting interest for the use of them.

Fifth-street, in which they placed thirteen children. The number increasing, they on the 3d of October, procured the Loganian library, which was generously given up by John Swanwick, esq. for the purpose of an orphan house. A further increase of their little charge, rendered it necessary to build some additions to the library, which are nearly half as large as that building. At present, there are in the house, under the care of the orphan committee, about sixty children, and above forty are out with wet nurses. From the origin of the institution, one hundred and ninety children have fallen under their care, of whom sixteen are dead, and about seventy have been delivered to their relations or friends. There are instances of five and six children of a single family in the house.

To these precious deposits the utmost attention has been paid. They are well fed, comfortably clothed, and properly taken care of. Mary Parvin, a very suitable person for the purpose, has been engaged as matron, and there are, besides, sufficient persons employed to assist her. Various applications have been made for some of the children; but in no instance would the committee surrender any of them up, until they had satisfactory evidence that the claimants had a right to make the demand. Their relations are now publicly called upon to come and receive them. For such as may remain unclaimed, the best provision possible will be made; and so great is the avidity of many people to have some of them, that there will be no difficulty in placing them to advantage.

Another duty soon attracted the attention of the committee. The flight of so many of our citizens, the consequent stagnation of business, and the almost total cessation of the labours of the guardians of the poor, brought on among the lower classes of the people, a great degree of distress, which loudly demanded the interposition of the humane. In consequence, on the 20th of September, a committee of distribution, of three members, was appointed, to furnish such assistance to deserving objects as their respective cases might require, and the funds allow. This was at first adminis-

tered to but few, owing to the confined state of the finances. But the very extraordinary liberality of our fugitive fellow citizens, of the citizens of New York, and of those of various towns and townships, encouraged the committee to extend their views. In consequence, they increased the distributing committee to eight, and afterwards to ten.

Being, in the execution of this important service, liable to imposition, they, on the 14th of October, appointed an assistant committee, composed of forty-five citizens, chosen from the several districts of the city and liberties. The duty assigned this assistant committee, was to seek out and give recommendations to deserving objects in distress, who, on producing them, were relieved by the committee of distribution, (who sat daily at the City Hall, in rotation,) with money, provisions, or wood, or all three, according as their necessities required. The assistant committee executed this business with such care, that it is probable so great a number of people were never before relieved, with so little imposition. Some shameless creatures, possessed of houses, and comfortable means of support, have been detected in endeavouring to partake of the relief destined solely for the really indigent and distressed.

Besides those who came forward to ask assistance in the way of gift, there was another class, in equal distress, and equally entitled to relief, who could not descend to accept it as charity. The committee, disposed to foster this laudable principle, one of the best securities from debasement of character, relieved persons of this description with small loans weekly, just enough for immediate support, and took acknowledgments for the debt, without ever intending to urge payment, if not perfectly convenient to the parties.

The number of persons relieved weekly, was about twelve hundred ; many of whom had families of four, five, and six persons.

The gradual revival of business has rescued those who are able and willing to work, from the humiliation of depending on public charity. And the organization of the overseers of the poor has thrown the

support of the proper objects of charity into its old channel. The distribution of money, &c. ceased therefore on Saturday, the 23d of November.

CHAP. VIII. *Repeated addresses of the committee on the purification of houses.—Assistant committee undertake to inspect infected houses personally. Extinction of the disorder. Governor's proclamation. Address of the clergy. A new and happy state of affairs.*

THE committee exerted its cares for the welfare of the citizens in every case in which its interference was at all proper or necessary. The declension of the disorder induced many persons to return to the city at an earlier period, than prudence dictated. On the 26th of October, therefore, the committee addressed their fellow citizens, congratulating them on the very flattering change that had taken place, which afforded a cheering prospect of being soon freed from the disorder entirely. They, however, recommended to those who were absent, not to return till the intervention of cold weather, or rain* should render such a step justifiable and proper, by totally extinguishing the disease.

The 29th, they published another address, earnestly exhorting those whose houses had been closed, to have them well aired and purified; to throw lime into the privies, &c.

The 4th of November, they again addressed the public, announcing that it was unsafe for those who had resided in the country, to return to town with too much precipitation, especially into houses not properly prepared. They added, that though the disorder had considerably abated, and though there was reason to hope it would shortly disappear, yet they could not say it was totally eradicated; as there was reason to fear it still lurked in different parts of the city. They reiterated their representations on the subject of cleansing houses.

* I shall in some of the following pages attempt to prove, that the idea here held out, was erroneous.

The 14th, they once more addressed their fellow citizens, informing them of the restoration to our long afflicted city, of as great a degree of health as usually prevails at the same season; of no new cases of the malignant fever having occurred for many days; of their having reason to hope that in a few days not a vestige of it would remain in the city or suburbs; of applications for admission into the hospital having ceased; of the expectation of the physicians at the hospital, that no more than three or four would die out of ninety-one persons remaining there; of the number of convalescents increasing daily. They at the same time most earnestly recommended that houses in which the disorder had been, should be purified; and that the clothing or bedding of the sick, more especially of those who had died of the disorder, should be washed, baked, buried, or destroyed. They added, that the absent citizens of Philadelphia, as well as those strangers who had business in the city, might safely come to it, without fear of the disorder.

Notwithstanding all these cautions, many persons returned from the country, without paying any attention to the cleansing of their houses, thereby sporting not only with their own lives, but with the safety of their fellow citizens. The neglect of some people, in this way, has been so flagrant, as to merit the severest punishment. This dangerous nuisance attracted the notice of the committee; and after a conference with the assistant committee, they, on the 15th of November, in conjunction with them, resolved, that it was highly expedient to have all houses and stores in the city and liberties, wherein the malignant fever had prevailed, purified and cleansed as speedily and completely as possible; to have all those well aired, which had been closed for any length of time; to have lime thrown into the privies; to call in, when the district should be too large for the members to enforce compliance with those resolves, such assistants as might be necessary; and when any person, whose house required to be cleansed, and who was able to defray the expense thereof, should refuse or neglect to com-

ply with the requisition of the members appointed to carry those resolves into effect, to report him to the next grand jury for the city and county, as supporting a nuisance dangerous to the public welfare. The assistant committee undertook to exert themselves to have these salutary plans put into execution; they have gone through the city and liberties for the purpose; and in most cases have found a readiness in the inhabitants to comply with a requisition of such importance*.

This was the last act of the committee that requires notice. Their business has since gone on in a regular, uniform train, every day like the past. They are now settling their accounts, and are preparing to surrender up their trust, into the hands of a town meeting of their fellow citizens, the constituents by whom they were called into the unprecedented office they have filled. To them they will give an account of their stewardship, in a time of distress, the like of which heaven avert from the people of America for ever. Doubtless, a candid construction will be put upon their conduct, and it will be believed, that they have acted in every case that came under their cognizance, according to the best of their abilities.

On the 14th, governor Mifflin published a proclamation, announcing, that as it had pleased Almighty God to put an end to the grievous calamity which recently afflicted the city of Philadelphia, it was the duty of all who were truly sensible of the divine mercy, to employ the earliest moments of returning health, in devout expressions of penitence, submission, and gratitude. He therefore appointed Thursday, the

* The utmost exertions of the magistrates, and of the citizens generally, are necessary to guard against the deplorable consequences that may arise in the spring from the neglect of a few whole supineness renders them deaf to every call of duty in this respect. The beds secreted by the nurses who attended the sick, are likewise a fruitful source of danger, and demand the greatest vigilance from every person invested with authority to watch over the public safety.

12th of December†, as a day of general humiliation, thanksgiving, and prayer, and earnestly exhorted and intreated his fellow citizens “to abstain, on that day, from all worldly avocations, and to unite in confessing, with contrite hearts, their manifold sins and transgressions—in acknowledging, with thankful adoration, the mercy and goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, more especially manifested in our late deliverance; and in praying, with solemn zeal, that the same mighty power would be graciously pleased to instil into our minds the just principles of our duty to him and to our fellow creatures; to regulate and guide all our actions by his Holy Spirit, to avert from all mankind the evils of war, pestilence, and famine; and to bless and protect us in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty.”

The 18th, the clergy of the city published an elegant and pathetic address, recommending that the day appointed by the governor, “should be set apart and kept holy to the Lord, not merely as a day of thanksgiving, for that, in all appearance, it had pleased him, of his infinite mercy, to stay the rage of the malignant disorder, (when we had well nigh said, hath God forgot to be gracious?)—but also as a day of solemn humiliation and prayer, joined with the confession of our manifold sins, and of our neglect and abuse of his former mercies; together with sincere resolutions of future amendment and obedience to his holy will and laws; without which our prayers, praises, and thanksgivings will be in vain.”

The 26th the assistant committee passed several very judicious and salutary resolves; requiring their members in their several districts through the city and liberties, immediately to inspect the condition of all taverns, boarding houses, and other buildings

† The pious observance of this day, by an almost total cessation of business (except among the Friends, whose stores generally remained open) and by the churches being universally filled with people pouring forth the effusions of their gratitude for the cessation of the dreadful scourge, exceeded that of any other day of thanksgiving I have ever known.

in which the late contagious disorder is known to have been; to notify the owners or tenants, to have them purified and cleansed; to report the names of such as should refuse compliance, and also make report of every house shut up, in which any person is known to have lately sickened or died. They cautioned the vendue masters not to sell, and the public not to buy any clothes or bedding belonging to persons lately deceased, until they know that the same has been sufficiently purified and aired.

I have not judged it necessary to enter into a minute detail of the business of the committee from day to day. It would afford little gratification to the reader. It would be, for several weeks, little more than a melancholy history of fifteen, twenty, or thirty applications daily, for coffins and carts to bury the dead, who had none to perform that last office for them—or as many applications for the removal of the sick to Bush hill. There was little variety. The present day was as dreary as the past—and the prospect of the approaching one was equally gloomy. This was the state of things for a long time. But at length brighter prospects dawned. The disorder decreased in violence. The number of the sick diminished. New cases became rare. The spirits of the citizens revived—and the tide of migration was once more turned. A visible alteration has taken place in the state of affairs in the city. Our friends return in crowds. Every hour, long-absent and welcome faces appear—and in many instances, those of persons, whom public fame has buried for weeks past. The stores, so long closed, are nearly all opened again. Many of the country merchants, bolder than others, are daily venturing in to their old place of supply. Market-street is as full of waggons as usual. The custom-house, for weeks nearly deserted by our mercantile people, is thronged with citizens entering their vessels and goods. The streets, too long the abode of gloom and despair, have assumed the bustle suited to the season. Our wharves are filled with vessels loading and unloading their respective cargoes. And, in fine, as

every thing, in the early stage of the disorder, seemed calculated to add to the general consternation; so now, on the contrary, every circumstance has a tendency to revive the courage and hopes of our citizens. But we have to lament, that the same spirit of exaggeration and lying, that prevailed at a former period, and was the grand cause of the harsh measures adopted by our sister states, has not ceased to operate; for at the present moment, when the danger is entirely done away, the credulous, of our own citizens still absent, and of the country people, are still alarmed with frightful rumours, of the disorder raging with as much violence as ever; of numbers carried off, a few hours after their return; and of new cases daily occurring. To what design to attribute these shameful tales, I know not. Were I to regard them in a spirit of resentment, I should be inclined to charge them to some secret, interested views of their authors, intent, if possible, to effect the entire destruction of our city. But I will not allow myself to consider them in this point of light—and will even suppose they arise from a proneness to terrific narration, natural to some men. But they should consider, that we are in the situation of the frogs in the fable—while those tales, which make the hair of the country people stand on end, are sport to the fabricators, they are death to us. And I here assert, and defy contradiction, that of the whole number of our fugitive citizens, who have already returned, amounting to some thousands, not above two persons are dead—and these owe their fate to the most shameful neglect of airing and cleansing their houses, notwithstanding the various cautions published by the committee. If people will venture into houses in which infected air has been pent up for weeks together, without any purification, we cannot be surprized at the consequences, however fatal they may be. But let not the catastrophe of a few incautious persons operate to bring discredit on a city containing above fifty thousand people.

CHAP. IX. *Extravagant letters from Philadelphia.
Credulity put to the test.*

THAT I might not interrupt the chain of events in Philadelphia, I have deferred, till now, giving an account of the proceedings in the several states, respecting our fugitives. As an introduction thereto, I shall prefix a short chapter respecting those letters, which excited the terror of our neighbours, and impelled them to more severe measures than they would otherwise have adopted.

Great as was the calamity of Philadelphia, it was magnified in the most extraordinary manner. The hundred tongues of rumour were never more successfully employed, than on this melancholy occasion. The terror of the inhabitants of all the neighbouring states was excited by letters from this city, distributed by every mail, many of which told tales of woe, whereof hardly a single circumstance was true, but which were every where received with implicit faith. The distresses of the city, and the fatality of the disorder, were exaggerated as it were to see how far credulity could be carried. The plague of London was, according to rumour, hardly more fatal than our yellow fever. Our citizens died so fast, that there was hardly enough of people to bury them. Ten, or fifteen, or more, were said to be cast into one hole together, like so many dead beasts*. One man, whose feelings were so composed, as to be facetious on the subject, ac-

* The following extract appeared in a Norfolk paper about the middle of September :

*Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, to a gentleman in Norfolk,
Sept. 9.*

“ Half the inhabitants of this city have already fled to different parts, on account of the pestilential disorder that prevails here. The few citizens who remained in this place, die in abundance, so fast, that they drag them away, like dead beasts, and put ten, or fifteen, or more, in a hole together. All the stores are shut up. I am afraid this city will be ruined: for nobody will come near it hereafter. I am this day removing my family from this fatal place.” I am strongly inclined to imagine that this letter was the cause of the Virginia proclamation.

quainted a correspondent, in New York, that the only business carrying on, was *grave digging*, or rather *pit digging* †. And at a time when the deaths did not exceed from forty to fifty daily, many men had the modesty to write, and others, throughout the continent, the credulity to believe, that we buried from one hundred to one hundred and fifty*. Thousands were swept off in three or four weeks †. And the nature

† *From a New York paper of October 2.*

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia, dated Sept. 23.

“The papers must have amply informed you of the melancholy situation of this city for five or six weeks past. *Grave-digging* has been the only business carrying on; and indeed I may say of late, *pit-digging*, where people are interred indiscriminately in three tiers of coffins. From the most accurate observations I can make upon matters, I think I speak without bounds, when I say, eighteen hundred persons have perished (I do not say all of the yellow fever) since its first appearance.”

* *From the Maryland Journal, of Sept. 27.*

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia; dated Sept. 20.

“The disorder seems to be much the same in this place as when I last wrote you: about 1500 have fallen victims to it. Last Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, there were not less than 350 died with this severe disorder!!! As I informed you before, this is the most distressed place I ever beheld. Whole families go in the disorder, in the course of twelve hours. For your own sakes, use all possible means to keep it out of Baltimore.”

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, of the same date.

“The malignant fever which prevails here, is still increasing. Report says, that above one hundred have been buried per day for some time past. It is now thought to be more infectious than ever. I think you ought to be very careful with respect to admitting persons from Philadelphia into your town.”

‡ *From a Chestertown paper, of Sept. 10.*

Extract of a letter from a respectable young mechanic, in Philadelphia, to his friend in this town, dated the 5th inst.

“It is now a very mortal time in this city. The yellow fever hath killed *some thousands* of the inhabitants. Eight thousand mechanics, besides other people, have left the town. Every master in the city, of our branch of business, is gone.” The *“some thousands”* that were killed at that time, did not amount to three hundred. The authentic information in this letter, was

and danger of the disorder, were as much misrepresented, as the number of the dead. It was said, in defiance of every day's experience, to be as inevitable by all exposed to the contagion, as the stroke of fate.

The credulity of some, the proneness to exaggeration of others, and I am sorry, extremely sorry to believe, the interested views of a few*, will account for these letters.

CHAP. X. *Proceedings at Chestertown—At New-York—At Trenton and Lambertton—At Baltimore.*

THE effects produced by those tales, were such as might be reasonably expected. The consternation spread through the several states like wild-fire. The first public act that took place on the subject, as far as I can learn, was at Chestertown, in Maryland. At this place, a meeting was held on the 10th of September, and several resolves entered into, which, after specifying that the disorder had extended to Trenton, Princeton, Woodbridge, and Elizabeth-town, on the post-road to New-York, directed, that notice should be sent to the owners of the stages not to allow them to pass through the town, while there should be reason to expect danger therefrom; and that a committee of health and inspection should be appointed, to provide for the relief of such poor inhabitants as might take the disorder, and likewise for such strangers as might be infected with it. In consequence of these resolves, the eastern shore line of stages was stopt in the course of a few days afterwards.

The alarm in New-York was first officially announced by a letter from the mayor to the practising

circulated in every state in the union, by the news papers. From the date, I suspect this letter to have been the occasion of the Chestertown resolves.

* As this charge is extremely pointed, it may be requisite to state the foundation of it, for the reader to form his opinion upon. Some of the letters from Philadelphia about this time, were written by persons, whose interest it was to injure the city; and gave statements so very different, even from the very worst rumours prevailing here, that it was morally impossible the writers themselves could have believed them.

physicians, dated Sept. 11th, in which he requested them to report to him in writing the names of all such persons as had arrived, or should arrive from Philadelphia, or any other place, by land or water, and were or should be sick; and that such as should be deemed subjects of infectious diseases, might be removed out of the city. He notified them, that the corporation had taken measures to provide a proper place as an hospital, for such persons as might unhappily become subjects of the fever in New-York. In this letter the mayor declared his opinion clearly, that the intercourse with Philadelphia, could not be lawfully interrupted by any power in the state. The 12th appeared a proclamation from governor Clinton, which, referring to the "act to prevent the bringing in, and "spreading of infectious disorders," prohibited, in the terms of that act, all vessels from Philadelphia, to approach nearer to the city of New-York, than Bedlow's island, about two miles distant, till duly discharged. The silence of this proclamation, respecting passengers by land, seemed to imply that the governor's opinion on the subject, was the same as that of the mayor.

The same day, at a meeting of the citizens, the necessity of taking some precautions was unanimously agreed upon, and a committee of seven appointed to report a plan to a meeting to be held next day. Their report, which was unanimously agreed to, the 13th, recommended to hire two physicians, to assist the physician of the port in his examination of vessels; to check, as much as possible, the intercourse by stages; to acquaint the proprietors of the southern stages, that it was the earnest wish of the inhabitants, that their carriages and boats should not pass during the prevalence of the disorder in Philadelphia; and to request the practitioners of physic to report, without fail, every case of fever, to which they might be called, occurring in any person that had or might arrive from Philadelphia, or have intercourse with them. Not satisfied with these measures, the corporation, on the 17th, came to resolution to stop all intercourse

between the two cities; and for this purpose guards were placed at the different landings, with orders to send back every person coming from Philadelphia; and if any were discovered to have arrived after that date, they were to be directly sent back. Those who took in lodgers, were called upon to give information of all people of the above description, under pain of being prosecuted according to law. All good citizens were required to give information to the mayor, or any member of the committee, of any breach in the premises.

These strict precautions being eluded by the fears and the vigilance of the fugitives from Philadelphia, on the 23d there was a meeting held, of delegates from the several wards of the city, in order to adopt more effectual measures. At this meeting, it was resolved to establish a night watch of not less than ten citizens in each ward, to guard against every attempt to enter under cover of darkness. Not yet eased of their fears, they next day published an address, in which they mentioned, that notwithstanding their utmost vigilance many persons had been clandestinely landed upon the shores of New-York island. They therefore again called upon their fellow citizens to be cautious how they received strangers into their houses; not to fail to report all such to the mayor immediately upon their arrival; to remember the importance of the occasion; and to consider what reply they should make to the just resentment of their fellow citizens, whose lives they might expose by a criminal neglect, or infidelity. They likewise declared their expectation, that those who kept the different ferries on the shores of New-Jersey and Staten island, would pay such attention to their address, as not to transport any person but to the public landings, and that in the day time, between sun and sun. The 30th they published a lengthy address, recapitulating the various precautions they had taken—the nature of the disorder—and the numbers who had died out of Philadelphia, without communicating it to any one. They at the same time resolved, that goods, bedding, and

clothing, packed up in Philadelphia, should, previous to their being brought into New-York, be unpacked and exposed to the open air in some well-ventilated place, for at least 48 hours; that all linen or cotton clothes, or bedding, which had been used, should be well washed in several waters; and afterwards, that the whole, both such as had been and such as had not been used, should be hung up in a close room, and well smoked with the fumes of brimstone for one day, and after that again exposed for at least twenty four hours to the open air; and that the boxes, trunks, or chests, in which they had been packed, should be cleaned and aired in the same manner; after which, being repacked, and such evidence given of their purification, as the committee should require, permission might be had to bring them into the city.

The 11th of October, they likewise resolved, that they would consider and publish to the world, as enemies to the welfare of the city, and the lives of its inhabitants, all those who should be so selfish and hardy, as to attempt to introduce any goods, wares, merchandize, bedding, baggage, &c. imported from, or packed up in Philadelphia, contrary to the rules prescribed by that body, who were, they said, deputed to express the will of their fellow citizens. They recommended to the inhabitants to withstand any temptation of profit, which might attend the purchase of goods in Philadelphia, as no emolument to an individual, they added, could warrant the hazard to which such conduct might expose the city. Besides all these resolves, they published daily statements of the health of the city, to allay the fears of their fellow citizens.

On the 14th of November, the committee resolved, that passengers coming from Philadelphia to New-York, might be admitted, in future, together with their wearing apparel, without restriction, as to time, until further orders from the committee.

The 20th, they declared that they were happy to announce to their fellow citizens, that health was re-

stored to Philadelphia; but that real danger was still to be apprehended from the bedding and clothing of those who had been ill of the malignant fever; and that they had received satisfactory information, that attempts had been made to ship on freight considerable quantities of beds and bedding from Philadelphia for their city. They therefore resolved that it was inexpedient, to admit the introduction of beds or bedding of any kind, or feathers in bags, or otherwise; also, second-hand wearing apparel of every species, coming from places infected with the yellow fever; and that whosoever should attempt so high-handed an offence as to bring them in, and endanger the lives and health of the inhabitants, would justly merit their resentment and indignation.

The inhabitants of Trenton and Lambertton associated on the 13th of September, and on the 17th passed several resolutions to guard themselves against the contagion. They resolved that a total stop should be put to the landing of all persons from Philadelphia, at any ferry or place from Lambertton to Howell's ferry, four miles above Trenton; that the intercourse by water should be prohibited between Lambertton, or the head of tide water, and Philadelphia; and that all boats from Philadelphia, should be prevented from landing either goods or passengers any where between Bordentown and the head of tide water, that no person whatever should be permitted to come from Philadelphia, or Kensington, while the fever continued; that all persons who should go from within the limits of the association, to either of those places, should be prevented from returning during the continuance of the fever; and finally, that their standing committee should inquire whether any persons, not inhabitants, who had lately come from places infected, and were therefore likely to be infected themselves, were within the limits of the association, and if so, that they should be obliged instantly to leave the said limits.

The 12th of September, the governor of Maryland published a proclamation, subjecting all vessels from Philadelphia to the performance of a quarantine,

not exceeding forty days, or as much less as might be judged safe by the health officers. It further ordered, that all persons going to Baltimore, to Havre de Grace, to the head of Elk, or, by any other route, making their way into that state from Philadelphia, or any other place known to be infected with the malignant fever, should be subject to be examined, and prevented from proceeding, by persons to be appointed for that purpose, and who were to take the advice and opinion of the medical faculty in every case, in order that private affairs and pursuits might not be unnecessarily impeded. This proclamation appointed two health officers for Baltimore.

The people of Baltimore met the 13th of September, and resolved that none of their citizens should receive into their houses any persons coming from Philadelphia, or other infected place, without producing a certificate from the health officer, or officer of patrol; and that any person who violated that resolve, should be held up to the public view, as a proper object for the resentment of the town. The 14th, a party of militia was dispatched to take the possession of a pass on the Philadelphia road, about two miles from Baltimore, to prevent the entrance of any passengers from Philadelphia without license. Dr. Worthington, the health officer stationed at this pass, was directed to refuse permission to persons afflicted with any malignant complaint, or who had not been absent from Philadelphia, or other infected place, at least seven days. The western shore line of Philadelphia stages was stopped about the 18th or 19th.

The 30th, the committee of health resolved that no inhabitant of Baltimore, who should visit persons from Philadelphia, while performing quarantine, should be permitted to enter the town, until the time of quarantine was expired, and until it was certainly known that the persons he had visited were free from the infection; and that thenceforward no goods capable of conveying infection, that had been landed or packed up in Philadelphia, or other infected place, should be permitted to enter the town—nor should

any baggage of travellers be admitted, until it had been exposed to the open air such length of time as the health officer might direct.

CHAP. XI. *Proceedings at Havre de Grace—At Hagerstown—At Alexandria—At Winchester—At Boston—At Newburyport—In Rhode Island—At Newbern—At Charleston—In Georgia.—Fasting and prayer.*

THE 25th of September, the inhabitants of Havre de Grace resolved that no person should be allowed to cross the Susquehannah river at that town, who did not bring a certificate of his not having lately come from Philadelphia, or any other infected place; and that the citizens of Havre would embody themselves to prevent any one from crossing without such a certificate.

At Hagerstown, on the 3d of October, it was resolved, that no citizen should receive into his house any person coming from Philadelphia, supposed to be infected with the malignant fever, until he or she produced a certificate from a health officer; that should any citizen contravene the above resolution, he should be proscribed from all society with his fellow citizens; that the clothing sent to the troops then in that town, should not be received there, nor suffered to come within seven miles thereof; that if any person from Philadelphia, or other infected place, should arrive there, he should be required instantly to depart, and in case of refusal or neglect, be compelled to go without delay; that no merchant, or other person, should be suffered to bring into the town, or open therein, any goods brought from Philadelphia, or other infected place, until permitted by their committee; and that the citizens of the town, and its vicinity, should enrol themselves as a guard, and patrol such roads and passes as the committee should direct.

The governor of Virginia, on the 17th of September, issued a proclamation, ordering all vessels from Philadelphia, the Grenades, and the island of Tobago, to perform a quarantine of twenty days, at the an-

chorage ground, off Craney island, near the mouth of Elizabeth river.

The corporation of Alexandria stationed a look-out boat, to prevent all vessels bound to that port, from approaching nearer than one mile, until after examination by the health officer.

The people of Winchester placed guards at every avenue of the town leading from the Patowmac to stop all suspected persons, packages, &c. coming from Philadelphia, till the health officers should inspect them, and either forbid or allow them to pass.

The legislature of Massachusetts were in session, at the time the alarm spread; and they accordingly passed an express act for guarding against the impending danger. This act authorized the selectmen in the different towns to stop and examine any persons, baggage, merchandize, or effects, coming or supposed to be coming into the towns respectively, from Philadelphia, or other place infected, or supposed to be infected; and should it appear to them, or to any officers whom they should appoint, that any danger of infection was to be apprehended from such persons, effects, baggage, or merchandize, they were empowered to detain or remove the same to such places as they might see proper, in order that they might be purified from infection; or to place any persons so coming, in such places, and under such regulations as they might judge necessary for the public safety. In pursuance of this act, the governor issued a proclamation to carry it into effect, the 21st of September.

The selectmen of Boston, on the 24th, published their regulations of quarantine, which ordered, that on the arrival of any vessel from Philadelphia, she should be detained at, or near Rainsford's Island, to perform a quarantine not exceeding thirty days, during which time she should be cleansed with vinegar, and the explosion of gunpowder between the decks and in the cabin, even though there were no sick persons on board; that in case there were, they should be removed to an hospital, where they should be detained till they recovered or were long enough

to ascertain that they had not the infection; that every vessel, performing quarantine, should be deprived of its boat, and no boat suffered to approach it; but by special permission; that if any person should escape from vessels performing quarantine, he should be instantly advertised, in order that he might be apprehended; that any persons coming by land from Philadelphia, should not be allowed to enter Boston, until twenty one days after their arrival, and their effects, baggage, and merchandize should be opened, washed with vinegar, and fumigated with repeated explosions of gunpowder. In the conclusion, the selectmen called upon the inhabitants "to use their utmost vigilance and activity to bring to condign punishment, any person who should be so daring and lost to every idea of humanity, as to come into the town from any place supposed to be infected, thereby endangering the lives of his fellow men."

The 23d of September, the selectmen of Newburyport notified the pilots not to bring any vessels from Philadelphia, higher up Merrimack river, than the black rocks, until they should be examined by the health officer, and a certificate be obtained from him; of their being free from infection.

The governor of Rhode Island, the 21st of September, issued a proclamation, directing the town councils and other officers, to use their utmost vigilance to cause the law to prevent the spreading of contagious disorders to be most strictly executed, more especially with respect to all vessels which should arrive in that state, from the West Indies, Philadelphia, and New-York; the extension to the latter place was owing to the danger apprehended from the intercourse between it and Philadelphia.

The 28th of September, the governor of North Carolina published his proclamation; requiring the commissioners of navigation in the different ports of the said state, to appoint certain places, where all vessels from the port of Philadelphia, or any other place in which the malignant fever might prevail,

should perform quarantine for such number of days as they might think proper.

The commissioners of Newbern, on the 30th of September, ordered that until full liberty should be given, vessels arriving from Philadelphia, or any other place in which an infectious disorder might be, should, under a penalty of five hundred pounds, stop and come to anchor at least one mile below the town, and there perform a quarantine for at least ten days, unless their captains should produce from inspectors appointed for the purpose, a certificate that in their opinion the vessels might, with safety to the inhabitants, proceed to the town or harbour, and there land their passengers or cargo. The 18th of October, they ordered, that if any free man should go on board any vessel from Philadelphia, &c. or should bring from on board such vessel, any goods or merchandize, before she was permitted to land her cargo or passengers, he should, for every offence, forfeit five pounds; and if any slave should offend as above, he should be liable to be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and his master to pay five pounds.

The governor of S. Carolina, published a proclamation, subjecting Philadelphia vessels to quarantine, the date of which I cannot ascertain. The inhabitants of Charleston, on the 8th of October, had a meeting, at which they resolved, that no vessel from the river Delaware, either directly or after having touched at any other port of the United States, should be permitted to pass Charleston bar, till the citizens had again assembled, and declared themselves satisfied that the disorder had ceased in Philadelphia. If any vessel, contrary thereto, should cross the bar, the governor should be requested to compel it to quit the port, and return to sea.

The governor of Georgia, on the 4th of October, published a proclamation, ordering all vessels from Philadelphia, which should arrive in Savannah river, to remain in Tybee creek, or in other parts like distant from the town, until the health officer of the port should, on examination, certify, that no malignant or contagious disease was on board. All persons

contravening this proclamation, were to be prosecuted, and subjected to the pains and penalties by law pointed out.

The people of Augusta, in that state, were as active and vigilant as their northern neighbours, to guard against the threatening danger.

The inhabitants of Reading, in Pennsylvania, had a meeting the 24th of September, and passed sundry resolutions, viz. that no dry goods should be imported into that borough from Philadelphia, or any other place infected with a malignant fever, until the expiration of one month from that date, unless permission was had from the inhabitants convened at a town-meeting; that no person from Philadelphia, or any other infected place, should be allowed to enter, until they should have undergone the examination of a physician, and obtained his opinion of their being free from infection; that no stage-waggon should be permitted to bring passengers from Philadelphia, or other place infected, into the borough; and that all communication, by stages, should be discontinued for one month, unless sooner permitted by the inhabitants.

At Bethlehem, a meeting was held on the 26th of September; at which it was resolved, that persons from Philadelphia, should perform a quarantine of twelve days, before their entrance into the town. A similar resolve was soon after entered into at Nazareth. But at neither place was it observed with any strictness. No guard was appointed. And the assertion of any decent traveller, apparently in health, with respect to the time of his absence from Philadelphia, was considered as sufficient to be relied on, without resorting to formal proof.

Various precautions were observed in other places; but I am not able to give a statement of them, not having procured an account of their resolves or proceedings.

The calamity of Philadelphia, while it roused the circumspection of the timid in various places, excited the pious to offer up their prayers to Almighty God for our relief, comfort, and support. Various days were appointed for humiliation, fasting, and prayer,

for this purpose. In New York, the 20th of September; in Boston, September 26th; in Albany, the 1st of October; in Baltimore the 3d; in Richmond, the 9th; in Providence, the same day; the synod of Philadelphia fixed on the 24th of October; the protestant episcopal churches in Virginia, November 6; the Dutch synod of New York, November 13; the synod of New York and New Jersey, November 20. At Hartford, daily prayers were offered up for our relief for some time.

CH A P. XII. *Conflict between the law of self-preservation and the law of charity. The law of charity victorious.*

WHILE our citizens were proscribed in several cities and towns—hunted up like felons in some—debarred admittance and turned back in others, whether sound or infected—it is with extreme satisfaction I have to record a conduct totally different, which cannot fail to make an indelible impression on the minds of the people of Philadelphia, and call forth the most lively emotions of gratitude.

At Woodbury, in New Jersey, at an early period of the disorder, a meeting was held for the purpose of determining on what steps were requisite to be taken. A motion was made to stop all intercourse with Philadelphia. But, four persons only having risen to support it, it dropped, and our citizens were allowed free entrance.

A respectable number of the inhabitants of Springfield, in New Jersey, met the first day of October, and after a full consideration of the distresses of our citizens, passed a resolve, offering their town as an asylum to the people flying from Philadelphia, and directing their committee to provide a suitable place as an hospital for the sick. The rev. Jacob V. Artsdalen, Matthias Meeker, and Matthias Denman, took the lead in this honourable business.

I have been informed, by a person of credit, that the inhabitants of Elizabeth town have pursued the same liberal plan, as those of Springfield; but have not

been able to procure a copy of their resolves or proceedings on the subject.

At Chestertown in Maryland, a place was appointed, at a distance from the town, for the reception of such travellers and others, as might have the disorder. It was provided with every necessary—and a physician engaged to attend the sick.

An asylum has likewise been offered to Philadelphians, by several of the inhabitants of Elkton, in Maryland; and the offer was couched in terms of the utmost sympathy for our sufferings. A place on the same plan as that at Chester, was fitted up near the town.

At Easton, in Pennsylvania, the only precaution observed, was to direct the emigrants from Philadelphia, to abstain for a week from intercourse with the inhabitants.

The people of Wilmington have acted in the most friendly manner towards our distressed citizens. At first they were a little scared, and resolved on the establishment of a quarantine and guards. But they immediately dropped these precautions, and received the people from Philadelphia with the most perfect freedom. They erected an hospital for the reception of our infected citizens, which they supplied with necessaries. Yet of eight or ten persons from Philadelphia, who died in that town, with the malignant fever, only one was sent to the hospital. The others were nursed and attended in the houses where they fell sick. Humane, tender, and friendly, as were the worthy inhabitants of Wilmington in general, two characters have distinguished themselves in such a very extraordinary manner, as to deserve particular notice. These are doctor Way, and major Bush, whose houses were always open to the fugitives from Philadelphia, whom they received without the smallest apprehension, and treated with a degree of genuine hospitality, that reflects the highest honour on them. In the exercise of this virtue, they were not confined by a narrow regard to their particular friends or acquaintance—but entertained, with equal humanity, whole

families of persons who were utter strangers to them. This was of the more importance, and operated as a heavier tax on them, as, I believe, there was only one tavern-keeper, Brinton, whose house was open for people from Philadelphia: and it was consequently so crowded in general, as frequently to render it difficult to procure admittance.

The instances of this kind, through this extensive country, have been very few; but they are therefore only the more precious, and ought to be held up to public approbation. May they operate on people, at a future day, in similar cases of dreadful calamity, and teach them to temper their caution with as much humanity and tenderness to the distressed fugitives, as prudence will allow—and not involve, in one indiscriminate proscription, the healthy and infected.

CHAP. XIII. Disorder fatal to the doctors—to the clergy—to drunkards—to filles de joie—to maid servants—to the poor—and in close streets.—Less destructive to the French—and to the negroes.

RARELY has it happened, that so large a proportion of the gentlemen of the faculty have sunk beneath the labours of their very dangerous profession, as on this occasion. In five or six weeks, exclusive of medical students, no less than ten physicians have been swept off, doctors Hutchinson, Morris, Linn, Pennington, Dodds, Johnson, Glentworth, Phile, Graham and Green. Scarcely one of the practising doctors that remained in the city, escaped sickness. Some were three, four, and five times confined.

To the clergy it has likewise proved very fatal. Exposed, in the exercise of the last duties to the dying, to equal danger with the physicians, it is not surprising that so many of them have fallen. Their names are, the rev. Alexander Murray, of the protestant episcopal church—the rev. F. A. Fleming and the rev. Laurence Graefsl of the Roman catholic—the rev. John Winkhaufe, of the German reformed—the

rev. James Sproat, of the presbyterian—the rev. William Dougherty, of the methodist church—and likewise four noted preachers of the Friends society, Daniel Offley, Hufon Langstroth, Michael Minier, and Charles Williams. Seven clergymen have been in the greatest danger from this disorder, the rev. R. Blackwell, rev. Joseph Pilmore. rev. William Rogers, rev. Christopher V. Keating, rev. Frederic Schmidt, the rev. Joseph Turner, and the rev. Robert Annan ; but they have all recovered.

Among the women, the mortality has not, by any means, been so great, as among the men,* nor among the old and infirm as among the middle-aged and robust.

To tipplers and drunkards, and to men who lived high, and were of a corpulent habit of body, this disorder was very fatal. Of these, many were seized, and the recoveries were very rare.

To the *filles de joie*, it has been equally fatal. The wretched, debilitated state of their constitutions, rendered them an easy prey to this dreadful disorder, which very soon terminated their miserable career.

To hired servant maids it has been very destructive. Numbers of them fled away—of those who remained, very many fell, who had behaved with an extraordinary degree of fidelity.

It has been dreadfully destructive among the poor. It is very probable, that at least seven-eighths of the number of the dead, were of that class. The inhabitants of dirty houses have severely expiated their neglect of cleanliness and decency, by the numbers of them that have fallen sacrifices. Whole families, in such houses, have sunk into one silent, undistinguishing grave.

The mortality in confined streets, small allies, and close houses, debarred of a free circulation of air, has exceeded, in a great proportion, that in the large streets and well-aired houses. In some of the allies, a third

* In many congregations, the deaths of men have been nearly twice as numerous as those of women.

or fourth of the whole of the inhabitants are no more. In 30 houses, the whole number in Pewter Platter alley, 32 people died: and in a part of Market-street, containing 170 houses, only 39. The streets in the suburbs, that had the benefit of the country air, especially towards the west part of the city, have suffered little. Of the wide, airy streets, none lost so many people as Arch, near Water-street, which may be accounted for, by its proximity to the original seat of the disorder. It is to be particularly remarked, that in general, the more remote the streets were from Water street, the less of the calamity they experienced.

From the effects of this disorder, the French newly settled in Philadelphia, have been in a very remarkable degree exempt†. To what this may be owing, is a subject deserving particular investigation*. By some it has been ascribed to their despising the danger. But, though this may have had some effect, it will not certainly account for it altogether; as it is well known that many of the most courageous persons in Philadelphia, have been among its victims. By many of the French, the great fatality of the disorder has been attributed to the vast quantities of crude and unwholesome fruits brought to our markets, and consumed by all classes of people.

When the yellow fever prevailed in South Carolina, the negroes, according to that accurate observer, dr. Lining, were wholly free from it. “There is something very singular in the constitution of the negroes,” says he, “which renders them not liable to this fever; for though many of them were as much exposed as the nurses to this infection, yet I never knew one instance of this fever among them, though they are equally subject with the white peo-

† The French who had been long established here, were nearly as much affected as the natives.

* The frequent use the French make of *lavements*, at all times, may probably account for their escaping so very generally as they did. These purify the bowels, help to discharge the foal matter, and remove costiveness, which is one of the most certain supports of this and other disorders.

“ ple to the bilious fever*.” The same idea prevailed for a considerable time in Philadelphia; but it was erroneous. They did not escape the disorder; however, there were scarcely any of them seized at first, and the number that were finally affected, was not great; and, as I am informed by an eminent doctor, “ it yielded to the power of medicine in them more easily than in the whites.” The error that prevailed on this subject had a very salutary effect; for, at an early period of the disorder, hardly any white nurses could be procured; and, had the negroes been equally terrified, the sufferings of the sick, great as they actually were, would have been exceedingly aggravated. At the period alluded to, the elders of the African church met, and offered their assistance to the mayor, to procure nurses for the sick, and aid in burying the dead. Their offers were accepted; and Abfalom Jones, Richard Allen, and William Gray, undertook the management of these two-several services. The great demand for nurses, afforded an opportunity for imposition, which was eagerly seized by some of the vilest of the blacks†. They extorted two, three, four, and even five dollars a night for such attendance, as would have been well paid by a single dollar. Some of them were even detected in plundering the houses of the sick. But it is unjust to cast a censure on the whole, for this sort of conduct, as many people have done. The services of Jones, Allen, and Gray, and others of their colour, have been very great, and demand public gratitude.

On examining the books of the hospital at Bush-hill, it appears, that there were nearly twenty blacks received there, of whom about three-fourths died.

* Essays and observations, vol. II. page 407.

† The extortion here mentioned, was very far from being confined to the negroes: many of the white nurses behaved with equal rapacity.

C H A P. XIV. State of the weather. Attempt to refute the opinion that cold and rain extinguished the disorder. Average-table of mortality.

THE weather, during the whole of the months of August and September, and most part of October, was remarkably dry and sultry. Rain appeared as if entirely at an end. Various indications, which in scarcely any former instance had failed to produce wet weather, disappointed the expectations, the wishes, and the prayers of the citizens. The disorder raged with increased violence as the season advanced towards the fall months. The mortality was much greater in September, than in August—and still greater in the beginning and till the middle of October, than in September. It very particularly merits attention, that though nearly all the hopes of the inhabitants rested on cold and rain, especially the latter, yet the disorder died away with hardly any rain, and a very moderate degree of cold. Its virulence may be said to have expired on the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th of October. The succeeding deaths were, mostly, of those long sick. Few persons took the disorder afterwards. Those days were nearly as warm as many of the most fatal ones; in the middle stage of the complaint, the thermometer being at 60, 59, 71, and 72. To account for this satisfactorily, is above our feeble powers. In fact, the whole of the disorder, from its first appearance to its final close, has set human wisdom and calculation at defiance.

The idea held up in the preceding paragraph, has been controverted by many; and, as the extinction of malignant disorders, generated in summer or the early part of fall, has been universally ascribed to the severe cold and heavy rains of the close of the fall, or the winter, it is asserted that ours must have shared the same fate. It therefore becomes necessary to state the reasons for the contrary opinion.

The extinction of these disorders, according to the generally-received idea on this subject, arises from cold,

or rain, or both together. If from the former, how shall we account for a greater mortality in September, than in August, whereas the degree of heat was considerably abated? How shall we account for a greater mortality in the first part of October than in September, although the heat was still abating? If rain be the efficient cause of arresting the disorder, as is supposed by those who attribute its declension to the rain on the evening of the 15th* of October, how shall we account for the inefficacy of a constant rain during the whole terrible twelfth of October, when one hundred and eleven souls were summoned out of this world, and a hundred and four the day following? To make the matter more plain, I request the reader's attention to the following statement:—

Thermom.

		at 3 P. M.		Deaths.	Wind.	Weather.
Sept.	19	70	61	SW	fair.	
	20	69	67	SE	hazy.	
	21	78	57		fair.	
	22	83	76		fair.	
Oct.	10	74	93	NW	fair.	
	11	74	119	W	fair.	
	12	64	111	NW	rain.	
	13	69	104	NW	fair.	
	23	60	54	W	fair.	
	24	59	38	NW	fair.	
	25	71	35	S	fair, high wind.	
	26	72	23	SW	cloudy.	

An examination of this table, by any man unbiassed by the received opinion, will, I think, convince him of the justice of the hypothesis which I have advanced—that the increase or abatement of the violence of the disorder, depended on other causes than the degrees of heat, cold, rainy or dry weather. Here is the most palpable proof. The average of the thermometer, the four first quoted days, was 75 °—the average of the deaths 65.5. The second four days, the thermometer averaged 70.25, although the frightful average of deaths was, 106.75. And on the last four

* The rain on this evening was not by any means so great as that on the 13th.

days, the thermometer averaged 65.5, whereas the deaths were only 37.5. To facilitate the comparison, I subjoin an abstract of the preceding statement.

	therm.	deaths.
Average of Sept. 19, 20, 21, and 22,	75	65
of Oct. 10, 11, 12, and 13,	70.25	106.75
of Oct. 23, 24, 25, and 26,	65.5	37.5

Thus, those days on which the mortality was at its highest stage, were five degrees colder than those when the deaths had been only five eighths. And the difference of five degrees between the second and the third four days, will not be pretended to account for a decrease of very nearly two thirds. To try the system of heat, cold, and rain, still further, let us examine the four last days of August. On those days the thermometer averaged 79.5; yet the deaths were only 20.75.

I here annex the weekly average of the thermometer and of the deaths, from the first of August to the 7th of November, for the reader's inspection*.

			Average of thermometer.			Average of deaths.
August	1 to 7,	- -	84	- -		9
	8 to 14,	- -	85	- -		7
	15 to 21,	- -	83	- -		7
	22 to 28,	- -	77	- -		15
	29 to 31,	- -	85	- -		17
Sept.	1 to 7,	- -	81	- -		19
	8 to 14,	- -	74	- -		35
	15 to 21,	- -	75	- -		65
	22 to 28,	- -	76	- -		70
	29 and 30,	- -	74	- -		60
Oct.	1 to 7,	- -	71	- -		72
	8 to 14,	- -	71	- -		100
	15 to 21,	- -	58	- -		67
	22 to 28,	- -	58	- -		39
	29 to 31,	- -	46	- -		18
Nov.	1 to 7,	- -	58	- -		15

From the above table it appears, that during the

* When the fractions exceed half, an unit is added; when they are below half, they are rejected.

month of September, there was a rapid increase regularly of deaths, except on the 29th and 30th, although the weather was growing cooler nearly the whole time. Let any advocate of the theory of cold and rain, compare the first week in September with the second week in October. He will see that the former was ten degrees warmer than the latter, yet the mortality of the one, was only a fifth part of the other. If he will, after this, say that the difference of 13 degrees between the second week in October and the 3d and 4th, will account for a reduction of the mortality from 100 to 67, and then to 39, I can only answer, that an inveterate prejudice too often clouds the reason, and renders it impossible to see the truth, however evident.

In opposition to what I have advanced, it has been observed, that the unfavourable effects of very sultry days were felt for several succeeding ones. This is a weak resource, as will appear from examining the table. The heat of the first and second weeks in October was the same: yet the mortality in the second was nearly one half more than in the first. The heat of the fourth was equal to that of the third, although in the former the deaths were nearly double what they were in the latter.

I hope, therefore, the reader will acknowledge, that the Great Disposer of winds and rains, took his own time, and without the means, either moral or physical, on which we placed our chief reliance, to rescue the remnant of us from destruction.

C H A P. XV.—*Origin of the disorder,*

THIS disorder has most unquestionably been imported from the West Indies. As yet, however, owing to various obvious reasons, it is difficult to fix, with absolute precision, on the vessel or vessels, (for it is very probable it came in several, from the different infected islands) by which it was introduced. That it is an imported disorder, rests on the following reasons, each of which, singly, justifies the theory, but

all, collectively, establish it to the satisfaction of every candid and reasonable man.

1st. The yellow fever existed in several of the West India islands a long time before its appearance here*.

2d. Various vessels from those islands arrived here in July.

3d. Scarcely any precautions were used to guard against the disorder.

4th. A respectable citizen of Philadelphia, supercargo of one of our vessels, saw, in July, six or seven people sick of this fever on board a brig at Cape François bound for our port†.

5th. A vessel from Cape François, which arrived here in July, lost several of her people with this fever, on her passage.

* *Extract from a London paper, of August 13, 1793.*

“ The plague, brought from Bulam, which first made its appearance at Grenada, has spread most alarmingly. Eighty persons died in one day at Grenada of this epidemic. The hurricane months just coming on, are not likely to make it less violent in its effects.”

“ [It appears by a subsequent paragraph in the same paper, that the disease was ascertained to be the yellow fever.]”

Extract from the Courier, a London paper, of August 24.

“ Before the fleet left Antigua so great was the apprehension entertained there of the plague, that all vessels from Grenada, were obliged to perform quarantine; and all letters from the latter island, were smoaked at the former. The infection was reported to have reached Dominica.”

Extract from the Observer, a London paper, of August 25.

“ The plague, we are distressed to hear, has made its appearance in several of our West India islands. At Grenada, and Dominica, the symptoms are said to be highly alarming.”

Extract from a Kingston paper, of October 12.

“ The islands of Barbadoes and Dominica continue to be afflicted with a malignant fever; about 300 white inhabitants have perished in the former, and near 500 in the latter.”

† To any enquirer I am ready to communicate the name of the supercargo, and the name of the brig.

6th. A person from Cape François, died of this fever at Marcus Hook†—and another at Chester§-

7th. The vessels in which those persons arrived, and which were infected with the effluvia of the sick and dead, came freely to our wharves, and particularly to that very one where the disorder made its first appearance.

8th. Persons sick of the yellow fever have been landed in our city from vessels arrived from the West Indies*.

9th. Dead bodies have been seen deposited secretly on board some of those vessels.

10th. There is the strongest reason to believe, that the beds and bedding of the sick and dead were not destroyed, but, on the contrary, brought into our city.

11th. This disorder had every characteristic symptom that marked it on former occasions, when its importation was unquestioned.

Lastly, Of all the reasons advanced to support the opinion of its having been generated here, the only one, that has even the appearance of plausibility, viz. the influence of a tropical season, such as we had last summer, is unanswerably refuted by the concurring testimony of Lind, Lining, Warren, and Bruce, who, in the most unequivocal manner, have declared that it does not depend on the weather.

“ It does not appear, from the most accurate observations of the variations of the weather, or any difference of the seasons, which I have been able to make for several years past, that this fever is *any way caused*, or much influenced by them; for I have seen it *at all times*, and in *all seasons*, in the

† I do hereby declare, that I was at Marcus Hook late in July, when a woman, who had been landed there from one of the vessels lately from Cape François, died; that I was informed by a French person, a neighbour, that she died of the yellow fever; that this person burned a quantity of tar at the door, for the purpose, as he informed me, of purifying the air.

JOHN MASSEY.

§ My information of the death of this person is derived from a letter written by dr. William Martin to dr. Currie.

* Major Hodgdon and others can testify to the truth of this.

“ *coolest, as well as in the hottest time of the year.*”*

“ This fever *does not seem to take its origin from any particular constitution of the weather, independent of infectious miasmata, as dr. Warren has formerly well observed; for within these twenty-five years, it has been only four times epidemical in this town, namely in the autumns of the years 1732, 39, 45, and 48, though none of those years, (excepting that of 1739, whose summer and autumn were remarkably rainy) were either warmer or more rainy, (and some of them less so) than the summers and autumns were in several other years, in which we had not one instance of any one seized with this fever: which is contrary to what would have happened, if particular constitutions of the weather, were productive of it, without infectious miasmata†.*”

“ *In omni anni tempestate, sese effert hic morbus; symptomata autem graviora observantur, ubi calor magnus cum multa humiditate conjungitur‡.*”

C H A P. XVI. *Desultory facts and reflexions. A collection of scraps*.*

THE want of a lazaretto, whither persons labouring under contagious disorders, might be sent, and of a proper law on the subject, empowering the civil authority to interpose with the necessary energy,

* Hillary on diseases of Barbadoes, page 146.

† Lining, Essays and observations, political and literary, vol. II. page 406.

‡ Bruce, quoted by Lind on hot climates, 237.

§ This and the succeeding chapter calls for some apology. Many of the anecdotes herein related, are of little importance, except from their having a tendency to reflect light on the state of the public mind during a time in which men were most completely taken by surprise. Considering the subject in this point of view, hardly any occurrence, of so eventful a period, ought to be suffered to sink in oblivion. Some, of a ludicrous turn, are introduced as a relief to the sombre complexion of a narrative, in which the predominant characters are death and destruction, and a cold regard for self alone.

at the first inroad of such a dreadful destroyer, has been the cause of our late sufferings ; for, humanly speaking, had decisive measures been adopted any time before the first of September, while the disorder existed only in one street, and in a few houses in that street, there can be little doubt, that it might have been very soon extinguished. But the former sufferings of this place in 1762, were soon forgotten—and no steps taken to provide for the removal of such an evil in future, after it should invade the city. It is to be hoped our legislature, as well as that of every state in the union, will see the propriety of giving this important subject the consideration it so amply deserves, and of making provision against like calamities in future. In Italy, at Spalato, where the plague raged fifteen or twenty years ago, if the infected did not reveal their situation to the proper authority, they were subjected to capital punishment ; and the same penalty was denounced against such as did not inform of infected persons, when they knew of them. This is too severe for the paternal mildness of our criminal code ; but some penalties ought to be denounced in such cases. Indeed, were lazarettos on a proper establishment, it would be an object of desire with the sick, to be transported to them.

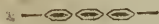


It is hardly conceivable that the funeral of entire strangers could afford subject of satisfaction. Yet they have produced that effect. After being so long accustomed to behold the bodies of the dead, drawn to the grave on the shafts of a chair, the sight of a corpse carried by men to be interred, afforded something like the appearance of former times ; and I believe the satisfaction excited by that consideration absorbed every thought of the deceased.



The appearance of most of the grave yards in Philadelphia is extremely awful. They exhibit a strong likeness of ploughed fields ; and were any thing capable

of stamping on our breasts indelible impressions of the uncertainty of the tenure by which we hold our very precarious existence, a turn though one of our burial grounds could not possibly fail to produce that effect. But it is to be feared, that with the danger will vanish all recollection of the distressing scenes we have passed through.



It has been denied that a person is twice susceptible of the yellow fever. The opinion, as it has a good tendency, to inspire confidence in convalescents, and in those who have quite recovered, might perhaps as well be suffered to pass uncontroverted, were not truth the object. Several persons in this city, have been twice sick with this disorder. I know it is usual to call this a relapse. But relapse or not, those people whom I mean, have been ill—have recovered entirely—and been a second time taken down. Some of them are now no more, witness Mr. Fleming. Mr. William Young was worse the second time than the first.

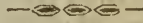


One observation, of great importance to the cause of humanity, escaped me in the former editions, and ought to be very particularly attended to in every such dreadful crisis as we have experienced. Of the very large number of persons who have fallen under this disorder, it is not improbable that a half or a third have perished merely for want of necessary care and attention, owing to the extraordinary panic. Almost all the remarkable cases of recovery are to be ascribed, under providence, to the fidelity of husbands, wives, children, and servants, who braved the danger, and determined to obey the dictates of humanity. There are various instances of persons who may be said to have been by these means snatched from the grasp of death; having been so far reduced, as to have their coffins made.—And for the encouragement of those who may, at any other time, or in any other place, have friends or relatives in this disorder, let it be

remarked, that few of those who discharged their duty to their families, have suffered by it. There are instances of individuals, who have nursed and attended on six, eight and ten persons unremittingly, in their own houses, without ever taking the infection. Others, before their own illness, and after their recovery, nursed and restored their families. William Young had no less than ten in his house sick, and nearly all at one time. He attended on them till he was taken ill; and, during his sickness, gave directions for the management of them, as effectually as if he was well. After his recovery, he again attended them himself. Of his whole family, his wife only died; and it is supposed her death was accelerated by her being in an advanced stage of pregnancy. There are cases of single persons having the disorder in large families of eight, ten, and twelve, and none catching it from them. In the family of David Clarke, who died of the malignant fever, there were no less than twenty-two persons, not one of whom caught the infection, altho' he had the same attention paid him by all his family, as if he had been in any other disorder. Not one of the carters employed by the committee in the very dangerous office of removing the sick and burying the dead, ever had it*. The nurses at Bush-hill have all escaped, except two; as have the worthy managers. Thomas Boyles, the tenant, who occupied the building at Bush-hill, at the time it was taken as an hospital, that is, the 31st of August, lived there until

* Let not the humble sphere of life in which he moves, prevent me from here mentioning a worthy and faithful man, Thomas Wilkinson, employed by the committee, in burying the dead, and removing the sick, from their organization till the extinction of the disorder. Such was the noxious situation of many dead bodies, that he frequently returned vomiting from the performance of his duty. In one instance, in raising the corpse of a woman several days dead, he was covered with putrescent blood. Yet he still persevered in the most unwearied manner, through dangers, that render his preservation equally astonishing with that of Girard, Helm, Helmutli, Mrs. Saville, and others. It is to be hoped the corporation will find some comfortable situation for him, in which to pass the remainder of his days.

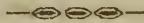
the 29th of October, with his wife and six children, none of whom were ever affected with the malignant fever. Let these instances suffice at all future times to prevent fear from totally overpowering the understanding, and producing scenes of cruelty that make a feeling being blush for his species.



Among the country people, large quantities of wild pigeons in the spring are regarded as certain indications of an unhealthy summer. Whether or not this prognostic has ever been verified before, I cannot tell. But it is very certain, that during the last spring, the numbers of those birds brought to market, were immense. Never, perhaps, were there so many before.



Several classes of people were highly benefited by the public distress. Coffin-makers had full employment, and in general high prices for their work. Most of the retail stores being shut up, those that remained open, had an uncommon demand; as the whole of the business was divided among a few. Those who had carriages to hire, to transport families to the country, received whatever they pleased to require. The holders of houses at from three, to twenty miles from the city, who chose to rent the whole or part of them, had high rents. The two notaries, who protested for the banks, profited highly by the absence of the merchants and traders.



I have learned with great pleasure, that a few landlords, commiserating the distresses of their tenants, have come to the very humane resolution of remitting the payment of rents due during the prevalence of the disorder. Were they to enter into resolutions generally to do the same, it would reflect honour on them. But there are some, whose hardened hearts know no compassion, and who will have “the pound of flesh—the penalty of the bond.” Indeed, when the disorder was at the highest stage, some landlords

seized the small property of poor roomkeepers, who were totally unable to pay their rent. A man wrote to the committee, informing them that the poverty of his tenants rendered it impossible for them to pay him ; he therefore begged the committee would, as they were appointed to relieve the poor, pay the arrears due him ! Another person, a wealthy widow, procured recommendations for some poor roomkeepers, her tenants ; and the committee gave them each a small sum. As soon as they had received it, she seized the money and their clothes !

A man lost his wife with the disorder. He had it himself, lost his sight totally, and was left penniless, with two infant children. Yet his landlord, before his convalescence was complete, seized his clothes and furniture, and turned him out of doors !!!

“ You may as well use question with the wolf,
 “ Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb,
 “ As seek to soften that (than which what’s harder ?)
 “ His flinty heart.” ————— SHAKESPEARE.

I hope the reader takes more pleasure in perusing cases reflecting honour on human nature, than those of a different description. An amiable woman in New York, feeling for the situation of the numerous orphans in this city, wrote to a member of the committee, to choose her one of them, as nearly resembling a child she had lost, as possible. She particularly desired one without connexions, if such could be procured. She proposes to adopt it, and, with her husband, to bestow on it all the tenderness one of her own would have had. Would it not be unjust to withhold her name ? Every reader answers, yes—and I will therefore reveal it—Susan Willet. Several applications of a similar nature have been made by some of our own citizens.

In the summer of 1791, the yellow fever prevailed in New York, in a part of Water-street, and in proportion to the sphere of its action, was as fatal there as

it has been here. It began in August, and continued till the middle of September, when it totally disappeared, and has never since visited that place. This should ease the fears of many among us, who, always viewing the black side of every thing, terrify people with their prognostications, that we shall have it again next spring or summer. All the symptoms were full as dangerous and alarming in New York, as in Philadelphia. Many persons died in three days; "stupor, delirium, yellowness, the black vomit, and death, rapidly succeeding each other."† It spread no farther at that time, than the one street, although no precautions, as far as I can learn, were taken to prevent its extension. The same species of disorder raged in this city in 1762, with great violence. It disappeared in the month of November, and has not from that time until this year visited Philadelphia.



The summer and fall of this year have been unhealthy in many parts of the union, as well as in Philadelphia. At Lynn, in Massachusetts, I have been informed, but have no means of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the report, that a malignant fever, not unlike ours, prevailed in August. In many of the towns of Virginia, intermittent fevers have been much more prevalent and mortal than they have been at former periods. Georgetown and its vicinity, which are in general very healthy, lost, in the course of a few weeks in summer, an unexampled number of people by the flux, which disorder has raged with great violence in many parts of America. The influenza has generally spread through the union, and been very fatal. It has been twice in Vermont, where likewise the putrid sore throat has carried off numbers. At Harrisburg and Middletown, in this state, the flux and a putrid fever have been extremely destructive, and swept away, I am credibly informed, a fifteenth

† Letter from a physician in New York, to his friend in New Jersey. Federal Gazette, Sept. 21, 1793.

part of the inhabitants. Delaware state, particularly Kent county, has suffered much from fall fevers, which have produced a very great mortality. At Dover, in the same state, a bilious colic raged with great violence, during last summer, and was extremely fatal. At Pauling's Kill, in Suffex county, New Jersey, a bilious and remittent fever has made very great havoc. And various other places have experienced a mortality, very uncommon, and which, but for the calamity of Philadelphia absorbing public attention every where, and being the standard of comparison, would have created great alarms and uneasiness.



Of the number of citizens who fled away, it is difficult to form any accurate estimate. In the city, from Vine to South street, which has been surveyed by a man employed by the committee, of 21,000 inhabitants, the number of absent people is stated to be 8600. But as this business was several weeks performing, considerable variations must necessarily have taken place. The emigration was not finished in those streets examined in the early part of his progress,—and towards the latter part, the returns had been already considerable. One may be supposed to balance the other, and the removals in the liberties to have been equal to those in the city. We shall therefore probably not err much, when we estimate the number who left the city at about 17,000. This is not so many as I formerly supposed, having estimated them at 23,000. Which of the two is accurate, or whether either of them is so, I leave the reader to determine.



The effect of fear in predisposing the body for the yellow fever and other disorders, and increasing their malignance, when taken, is well known. The following exception to the general rule, which may be depended on, is curious and interesting. A young woman, whose fears were so very prevalent, as not only to render her unhappy from the commencement of the disorder, but even to interfere with the happiness

of the family with whom she lived, had to attend on seven persons, all of whom were in a very dangerous state, and one of whom died. Her attendance was assiduous and unremitted for nearly three weeks. Yet she has never been in the slightest degree affected.



The watches and clocks in this city, during the disorder, were almost always wrong. Hardly any of the watchmakers remained—and few people paid attention how time passed. One night, the watchmen cried ten o'clock when it was only nine, and continued the mistake all the succeeding hours.



The Hope, a vessel from Londonderry, arrived in our river towards the end of August. The passengers had a malignant disorder among them, in consequence of which, orders were issued to have them landed at State Island, that they might undergo examination. Nevertheless, several of them came to the city, and added to the dangers already existing. The mayor, on the 3d of September, issued a proclamation, calling upon the citizens not only to use their endeavours to detect such as had arrived, and to prevent others from coming, without procuring the proper certificates; but to make report to one of the magistrates, of the names of those by whom they were harboured, that they might be prosecuted according to law. On this subject an obvious reflexion arises, which I will not suppress. Our citizens have generally been in the habit of severely censuring the inhabitants of those places in which very strict precautions were taken, to prevent the spreading of the disorder that prevailed here; and yet we see that our own conduct, in a case nearly similar, has not been very different. I would not wish to be understood as if I meant to justify the whole of the proceedings that took place every where; far from it; some of them have been to the last degree severe, and unnecessarily so; for all the cautions requisite, were compatible with a small

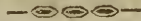
degree of attention to the comfort and convenience of fellow citizens, in good health, travelling for business, for pleasure, or the preservation of health, and even of life.—Whereas in many places it would appear as if the harshest mode of carrying harsh measures into effect, was purposely adopted. My intention is merely to show, that such as indiscriminately vilify those who have resorted to precautions dictated by prudence, do not weigh the matter in the scales of impartial justice.



Governor Moultrie's proclamation, announcing the existence of the malignant fever in the Grenadas, &c. and ordering a quarantine, is dated the 7th of June.



Some of the postmasters, in the different states, used the precaution to dip Philadelphia letters into vinegar with a pair of tongs, before they handled them. Several of the subscribers for Philadelphia papers, made their servants sprinkle them with vinegar, and dry them at the fire, before they would venture to touch them.



Joseph Inskeep attended several sick persons in a family near him. When he was ill himself, he wanted assistance*, and sent for some of them to attend him—but they ungratefully refused! O Shame! where is thy blush?



Many of our citizens who fled from the city, neglected or forgot to leave their servants money enough for their support; so that some of these poor creatures had to depend for sustenance on the charity of their neighbours.



Some of our unemployed tradesmen wished to procure work at the new roads now making. But the

* His wife was ill at the same time.

people who were employed, agreed, that if they were engaged, that they would all abandon their work; so that the overseers were obliged to renounce the idea.



The incautious security of the citizens of Philadelphia, at the first stage of the disorder, is highly to be regretted. Most of those who died of the malignant disorder, before the 26th of August, were carried to burial with the accustomed parade of attendants which so generally prevails in this city. The chief of the persons who at that time carried the dead to the grave, and several of those who attended the funerals, were speedily taken sick, and hurried into eternity.



Sebastian Ale, an old grave-digger, who had long lost the sense of smelling, fancied he could not take the disorder, and followed his business without apprehension. A husband and his wife who lay sick together, wished to be interred in the same grave. Their deaths happened within a few days of each other. When the latter of the two was to be buried, Sebastian was employed to dig open the other's grave. He struck upon and broke the coffin, and in stooping down, received into his mouth such an intolerable and deadly stench, that he was taken sick immediately, and in a day or two died.



The scourge of the yellow fever has fallen with extreme severity on some families. There are various instances of five and six, and some of eight, ten, and of Godfrey Gebler's family no less than eleven were swept off the face of the earth. Dr. Sproat, his wife, son, and daughter—Michael Hay, his wife, and three children—David Flickwir and five of his family—Samuel Weatherby, wife, and four grown children, are no more. And there are numberless instances of a havoc equally great in particular families. There is one house in this city, from which above twenty per-

sons were carried, some to Bushhill, but the most of them to the grave.



There is one fact respecting this disorder, which renders it probable, that the exercise of the duties of humanity towards the fugitive Philadelphians, would not have been attended with the danger universally imagined. In defiance of all the resolutions entered into by the inhabitants of various towns, many of our infected citizens evaded their vigilance, and took refuge among them; and in very few cases is it known that they communicated the infection.—Three persons died of this disorder, in one house near Woodbury, in New Jersey; they had been attended during their illness, by the family, none of whom caught the disease. Six or seven died at Darby, as many at Germantown, and eight at Haddonfield, without communicating it to any of the inhabitants. A man from Philadelphia, of the name of Cornell, died in New York, about two days after his arrival. The place of his death was a boarding house, in which were several boarders, one of whom slept in the same bed with him. Two of the family only were slightly affected—but not in such a degree as to require medical aid. Several other infected persons from our city, died there, and no one caught the infection from them. A man died at one of the principal taverns in Baltimore, of the same disorder. Many people had visited and attended him during the whole of his illness, without injury. No person was affected but his doctor, whose indisposition was not of long continuance. A great number of similar instances have occurred at Burlington, Bordenton, Lambertton, Princeton, Brunswic, Woodbridge, Newark, Lancaster, and various other places.

Since the first edition appeared, I have had information from a number of creditable persons, that the idea that the disorder has not been communicated out of Philadelphia, is erroneous. A family, of the name of Hopper, near Woodbury, took it from some of our infected citizens, and three of them died. A woman

in Chester county, who had boarded and lodged some of the sick, died of the malignant fever. Three people, of one family in Trenton, took it from a sick person from Philadelphia, and died of it. A negro servant belonging to Mr. Morgan, of Pensaucon creek, in New Jersey, took up an infected bed floating in the Delaware, which spread the disorder in the family, and Mrs. Morgan and her girl both died of it. It was introduced by his son from Philadelphia, into the family of Mr. Cadwallader, at Abington, some of whom died with it. Some others in different places caught the infection, and died. But the cases of this kind have been extremely few, considering the numbers, who carried the disorder from hence, and died with it in the country.

C H A P. XVII. *Another collection of scraps.*

THOSE who reflect on the many shocking cases of cruelty and desertion of friends and relations which occurred in Philadelphia, however they may regret, cannot be surprised, that in the country, and in various towns and cities, inhumanity should be experienced by Philadelphians, from strangers. The universal consternation extinguished in people's breasts the most honourable feelings of human nature; and in this case, as in various others, the suspicion operated as injuriously as the reality. Many travellers from this city, exhausted with fatigue and with hunger, have been refused shelter and sustenance, and have fallen victims to the fears, not to the want of charity, of those to whom they applied for relief*. Instances of this kind have occurred on almost every road leading from Philadelphia. People under suspicion of having this disorder, have been forced by their fellow travellers to quit the stages, and perished in the woods without a possibility of procuring any assistance. At Easton, in Maryland, a waggon-load of goods from Philadel-

* The fugitive Philadelphians were in general as strict in their precautions against them who fled later than they, as any of the country people.

phia was actually burned; and a woman, who came with it, was, it is said, tarred and feathered!



In a town in Jersey, an association was entered into to prevent all intercourse with Philadelphia, and the inhabitants agreed to mount guard, alternately. One man, who was principled against this severity, refused to do duty, or join in the combination. He was advertised, and all people forbidden to have any communication with him—indeed he was absolutely refused the necessaries of life—a butcher, who passed his door, told him, when applied to for provisions, that he had meat enough, but none for him. Having gone, for a short time, from home, in the direction towards Philadelphia, but not within thirty miles of the city, the centinel on duty stopped him on his return—and he persisting in his determination to proceed, the other presented his firelock, and it is supposed would have shot him, but for the interference of a third person.



The son of a citizen of Philadelphia arrived at a town in Virginia fourteen days before the time of fixing the quarantine, which was for twenty days. However, he was still obliged to undergo the full quarantine after that time, which made thirty-four days, exclusive of above six days spent on the road.



An emigrant from Philadelphia, who had been away nearly three weeks, had to cross a ferry in a neighbouring state, and was provided with proper certificates of the length of time he was absent. He got into the scow, with his wife, and carriage, and was rowed over to the opposite side. There he was refused permission to land, as he had not a certificate from a particular magistrate in that part of the country. He leaped out of the scow, on a rock, and the centinel swore he would blow his brains out, if he advanced a step farther. His wife, who was in the boat, was under the most dreadful apprehensions, as the ferrymen were drunk, the horses in the carriage

fretful, and the wind high. In spite of his intreaties, and his offers to prove the length of his absence, he was obliged to return in quest of the magistrate pointed out. When he arrived at his house, which was several miles from the ferry, the justice concealed himself, though fear of catching the disorder. He then went to another, some miles further back. By the time he returned to the ferry, it was nine o'clock, and he had to wait till next morning.



A poor man was taken sick on the road at a village not far from Philadelphia. He lay calling for water, a considerable time in vain. At length, an old woman brought a pitcher full, and not daring to approach him, she laid it at a distance, desiring him to crawl to it, which he did. After lying there about forty-eight hours, he died; and the body lay in a state of putrefaction for some time, until the neighbours hired two black butchers to bury him, for twenty-four dollars. They dug a pit to windward—with a fork, hooked a rope about his neck—dragged him into it—and, at as great a distance as possible, cast earth into the pit to cover him.



One of our citizens lost his brother in the country with the malignant fever; and, owing to the fears of the neighbours, could not prevail on any person even to make him a coffin. He was obliged to wrap him up in a blanket, to dig a grave for him, and bury him with his own hands.



In a small town not far distant from Philadelphia, very arbitrary attempts were unfeelingly made to oblige one of our fugitives to mount guard against his own fellow citizens. He refused; and finding him resolute against every effort, they were obliged to desist.



In one of the American ports, a Philadelphia vessel, just arrived, was forced to return to sea with only

two gallons of water for each man. In the same port, one of the captains from our city had his boat stove to pieces.



The 17th of September, the western shore Baltimore stage was stopped about two miles from that town, by an armed guard. The hour of arrival was about eight o'clock at night. There was a tavern at pistol-shot from the place. But the tavern keeper refused to receive the passengers, twelve in number. They were detained on the road all night without any shelter but the stage, in which they dozed a part of the night; during the remainder of it, they lay before a fire which they had kindled in the woods. Next morning, the tavern-keeper, one Murray, an inhuman Goth, when they sent to him for breakfast, refused to give them any. But about two hours afterwards, he let them have some bread, cheese, wine, and cider, with which they breakfasted on the road. In this situation they remained until the afternoon, that is, for eighteen hours. A captain in the French navy, with his wife, and several French gentlemen, were among the passengers.



A respectable citizen of Philadelphia left the city on the 17th of September, intending to reside on Long Island till the disorder ceased. He was taken ill on the road—and prevented from proceeding, near Newark. He took lodgings at a captain Littel's near Second river. The alarm spread of an infected man being in the house—the neighbours assembled—fixed a fence on each side of Littel's house, and obliged the people to remove out of a house near to it, which the fence likewise enclosed. The road and river lay before Littel's door; the former was entirely cut off by the fence, which run clear to the river. At the distance of a hundred yards, was a church, in which public worship was intermitted for three or four weeks, through fear. Travellers took a circuitous route of above a mile, to avoid danger.

At length he died—and his son, about nine years old, had to assist in performing the last melancholy rites for him. The fence remained for ten days after his death, to ascertain whether or not his family had taken the disorder.

Justice requires me to add, that they were not suffered to be in want of any necessaries. They were directed to write what they had occasion for, on a paper and fasten it on the fence. Persons were appointed to supply them with whatever was requisite.



An artful girl, just from Philadelphia, completely deceived the centinel stationed near Bordentown. She asked him, with much earnestness, as if afraid to venture in, was *that there* confounded yellow fever got into the town?—"No," says he, "you may go in with as much safety as to your own home." I need not add, that she went forward.



A Philadelphian, in a small town near this city, lost his child in the fever, and went to bury it. On his return, he found all his furniture on the road, and the doors locked : and no intreaties could again procure him admittance.

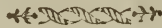


When tar was in use among the various preventatives, a boy was determined to secure himself by night as well as by day ; and accordingly tied a tarred rope twice about his neck, and afterwards buttoned his collar with some difficulty. He woke in the night, half strangled, and black in the face. He may with justice be said to have nearly choked himself, to save his life.



It would be extraordinary if so very favourable an opportunity of inventing marvellous stories, should have been suffered to pass over without some prodigies being recorded. Mankind are ever prone to the

extravagant, especially when their passions are warmed. And pity and terror, two passions particularly calculated to foster this disposition, being roused into action to the highest degree, the marvellous stories, which were every where current, and which even stole into print, can be easily accounted for. Some of the Maryland papers relate, that “ a voice had been heard in the streets of Philadelphia, warning the inhabitants to prepare for their doom, as written in the prophet Ezekiel, ch. 27.” The Marylander who heard this voice, was certainly gifted with a most extraordinary ear; as, at the distance of above a hundred miles, he heard what we could not hear on the spot. And it would appear that his *sight* was equally good with his hearing; for he *saw* two angels conversing with the watch. It is true, he is too modest to say, he saw them himself—he only says “ two angels were *seen* conversing with the watch at midnight, about the subject of what the voice had previously proclaimed.” But no person here having ever seen them—it is fairly presumable, as it would be highly criminal to doubt of facts resting on such authority, that he must have been the eye-witness himself.



A merchant of Philadelphia, who had been absent for several weeks, was returning to the city in the second week of November, having heard that the danger was no more. He met a man on the road going from Philadelphia; and naturally enquired into the state of affairs. The other told him, that a coffin maker, who had been employed by the committee for relief of the sick, had found such a decrease of demand two weeks before, that he had a large supply of coffins on hand; but that the mortality had again so far increased, that he had sold all, and had seven journeymen employed day and night. This so alarmed the Philadelphian, that he again returned with his family, to wait a more favourable issue.

A drunken sailor lay in the street, in the northern liberties, for a few hours asleep, and was supposed by the neighbours to be dead with the disorder; but they were too much afraid, to make personal examination. They sent to the committee at the city hall for a cart and a coffin. The carter took the man by the heels, and was going to put him into the coffin. Handling him roughly, he awoke, and damning his eyes, asked him what he was about? the carter let him drop in a fright, and ran off as if a ghost was at his heels.



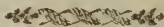
A lunatic, who had the malignant fever, was advised, by his neighbours, to go to Bushhill. He consented, and got into the cart; but soon changing his mind, he slipt out at the end, unknown to the carter, who, after a while, missing him, and seeing him at a distance running away, turned his horse about, and trotted hard after him. The other doubled his pace; and the carter whipped his horse to a gallop; but the man turned a corner, and hid himself in a house, leaving the mortified carter to return, and deliver an account of his ludicrous adventure.



Several instances have occurred of the carters on their arrival at Bushhill, and proceeding to deliver up their charge, finding, to their amazement, the carts empty.

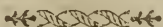


A woman, whose husband died, refused to have him buried in a coffin provided for her by one of her friends, as too paltry and mean. She bought an elegant and costly one—and had the other laid by in the yard. In a week, she was herself a corpse—and was buried in the very coffin she had so much despised.

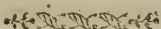


The wife of a man who lived in Walnut-street, was seized with the malignant fever, and given over by the doctors. The husband abandoned her, and

next night lay out of the house for fear of catching the infection. In the morning, taking it for granted, from the very low state she had been in, that she was dead, he purchased a coffin for her; but on entering the house, was surpris'd to see her much recovered. He fell sick shortly after, died, and was buried in the very coffin, which he had so precipitately bought for his wife, who is still living.



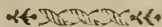
The powers of the god of love might be imagined to lie dormant amidst such scenes of distress as Bush-hill exhibited. But we find that his sway was felt there with equal force as any where else. John Johnson, and Priscilla Hicks, two of the patients, who had recovered, and officiated as nurses to the sick, were smitten with each other's charms—and, procuring leave of absence for an hour or two, they came to the city on the 23d of September, were joined in the bands of matrimony, and returned to their avocation at the hospital. A long chafin took place in the hymeneal records; for no adventure of the same kind occurred, until the 5th of November, when Nassy, a Portuguese mulatto, took to wife Hannah Smith, a bouncing German girl, who, as well as himself, was employed as nurse.



The state of the police and of society in Philadelphia, appears to no small advantage, when we consider one circumstance. Notwithstanding the absence of the magistrates, and the immense value of property left unprotected through the fears of the owners, and the deaths of the persons left to take care of it, there was only one or two burglaries committed.—One was attempted: but the rogues were discovered and taken. A hardened villain from a neighbouring state, formed a plot with some negroes to plunder houses: He was a master rogue, had digested a complete system, and formed a large partnership for the more successful execution of his schemes. However, he was soon seized, and the company dissolved.

The jail of Philadelphia is under such excellent regulation, that the disorder made its appearance there only in two or three instances, although such abodes of misery are the places where contagious disorders are most commonly generated. When the yellow fever raged most violently in the city, there were in the jail one hundred and six French soldiers and sailors, confined by order of the French consul; besides eighty convicts, vagrants, and persons for trial; all of whom, except two or three, remained perfectly free from the complaint. Several circumstances conspired to produce this salutary effect. The people confined were frequently cleansed and purified by the use of the cold bath—they were kept constantly employed—vegetables formed a considerable part of their diet—in the yard, vegetation flourished—and many of them being employed in stone-cutting, the water, constantly running, kept the atmosphere in a moist state, while the people of Philadelphia were almost uninterruptedly parched up by unceasing heat. Elijah Weed, the late jailor, caught the disorder in the city, and died in the jail, without communicating it to any of the people confined. I hope I shall be excused for paying a tribute to the memory of this valuable citizen, under whose government of the jail, and with whose hearty co-operation, most of the regulations in that institution have been effected, which, with the successful experiments made in England, prove that jails may be easily converted from sinks of human depravity and wretchedness, into places of reformation; so that, instead of rendering the idle vagrant, confined merely on suspicion, or for want of friends to protect him, obdurate, wicked, and ripe for rapine and spoil,—the profligate and abandoned may be so reclaimed in them, as, on their liberation, to become useful members of society. For the honour of human nature, it ought to be recorded, that some of the convicts in the jail, a part of the term of whose confinement had been remitted, as a reward for their peaceable, orderly behaviour, voluntarily offered themselves as nurses, to attend the sick at Bush-hill, and have in

that capacity conducted themselves with great fidelity. Among them are some who were formerly regarded, and with justice, as hardened, abandoned villains, which the old system usually rendered every tenant of a jail, who remained there a few weeks. According to the same summary system, these men's lives would have been long since offered up as an atonement to society for the injury they had done it. That is, in plain English, because society had suffered one injury by rapine, it was necessary it should suffer another by law. But by the present improved and humane plan, they and great numbers of others are restored to society and usefulness once more. So much better, although a little more troublesome, is it, to reform men, than to butcher them under colour of law and justice.



The sympathy for our calamities, displayed in various places, and the very liberal contributions raised for our relief, reflect the highest honour on their inhabitants, and demand our warmest gratitude. The inhabitants of Gloucester county, in New Jersey, have the honour of being first in this laudable race. So early as the 30th of September, they had a considerable sum collected, with which they purchased a quantity of provisions for the use of the hospital at Bush-hill. They have, from that time, regularly continued copious supplies twice a week. In addition to this, they have made, and are now making, considerable purchases of wood, for the relief of the poor during the winter. From a few citizens of Philadelphia, near Germantown, there have been received two thousand dollars; from others near Darby, fourteen hundred; from New York, five thousand; from a person unknown, five hundred; from Bucks' county, sixteen hundred; from Delaware county, twelve hundred; from Franklin county, nearly five hundred; from Boston, sundry articles, which have been sold for nearly two thousand; and from sundry other persons and places, contributions equally liberal and honourable.

There has been a very strong analogy between the state of Philadelphia, and that of an army. About the close of August, and till the middle of September, when the dangers were few, and, by prudent management, might have been easily surmounted, an universal trepidation benumbed people's faculties; and flight and self-preservation seemed to engross the whole attention of a large proportion of the citizens. Just so, with an army of recruits. Every breath of wind terrifies them. Vague rumours are heard with fear and trembling. In every tree at a distance is beheld a formidable enemy, to whom they are ready to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. But when the "din of arms, and cannon's rattle" have familiarized them with the horrid trade of death, the obstinate phalanx beholds, unmoved, its ranks mowed down, and death advancing, with rapid strides, to terminate their (as it is falsely termed) *glorious* career. — Even thus was it here. Towards the close of September, and during the first part of October, when the horrors of the scene were constantly increasing, and from fifty to a hundred were interred daily, then people cast away their various preventatives—thieves' vinegar, tarred ropes, garlic, camphor bags, smelling bottles, &c.—And then it was, that they assumed a manly fortitude, tempered with the sober, serious pensiveness, befitting such an awful scene.

A friend, to whom I communicated this idea, has endeavoured to explain the matter differently. He says, that those who were terrified at first, generally fled away—and left behind such as were possessed of a stronger frame of mind. This is an error; as many men, who were among the most striking instances of the influence of terror at first, behaved, in the end, with the most exemplary fortitude.



Shall I be pardoned for passing a censure on those, whose mistaken zeal led them, during the most dreadful stages of the calamity, to crowd some of our churches, and aid this frightful enemy in his work of destruction? who, fearful, lest their prayers and adora-

tion at home would not find acceptance before the Deity, resorted to churches filled with bodies of contagious air, where, with every breath, they inhaled noxious miasmata? To this single cause I am bold in ascribing a large proportion of the mortality—And it is remarkable, that those congregations, whose places of worship were most crowded, have suffered the most dreadfully. Will men never acquire wisdom? Are we yet to learn, that the Almighty architect of the heavens and earth, does not require “temples made with men’s hands?” that going to a place of worship, against the great law of self-preservation, implanted in indelible characters by his divine hand, on the breast of every one of his creatures, constitutes no part of the adoration due to the maker and preserver of mankind? That a “meek and humble heart” is the temple wherein he delights to be worshipped? I hope not—I hope the awful lesson some of our congregations hold forth on this subject, by a mortality out of all proportion to their numbers, will serve as a memento, at all future times, in the like critical emergencies!*



Some of those who remained in the city, have, for reasons not very easy to justify, been in the habit of reproaching those who fled, with criminality, as deserters, who abandoned their posts†. I believe, on the

* This paragraph, although erroneous, is retained, that I may have an opportunity, which I cheerfully embrace, of acknowledging the mistake I have committed. On a revision of the bill of mortality, it appears, that those congregations who kept up religious worship regularly, did not lose more than, and some not so many as, their usual proportions. In one year, ending July 31, 1793, the German Lutherans buried more than a sixth of the whole number of the dead in the city—the German reformed, a fifteenth—the Friends, a tenth—and St. Mary’s, an eighth. From August 1, to Nov. 9, 1793, the burials among the German Lutherans were not quite a sixth—among the German Reformed, nearly a sixteenth—among the Friends, an eleventh—and in St. Mary’s grave-yard, a sixteenth. These were the congregations I alluded to, in the above remarks.

† If they were even guilty of a crime, it brought its own punishment; as I am fully convinced, that those who were absent, and a prey to the anxiety caused by the frightful reports current, offered as much as those who remained in the city.

contrary, that as the nature of our government did not allow the arbitrary measures to be pursued, which, in despotic countries, would probably have extinguished the disorder at an early period—it was the duty of every person to avoid the danger, whose circumstances and situation allowed it. The effects of the desertion were, moreover, salutary*. The sphere of action of the disorder was diminished. Two or three empty houses arrested the disease in its progress, as it was slowly, but surely travelling through a street, and probably rescued a neighbourhood from its ravages. We shall long have to mourn the severe loss our city has felt, in being bereft of so many valuable citizens: and had the 17,000, who retired, been in the city during the prevalence of the disorder, and lost as large a proportion of their number, as those did who remained, we should, instead of 4000 dead, have lost nearly 6000; and perhaps had to deplore in the number, another Clow, a Cay, a Lea, a Sims, a Dunkin, a Strawbridge, men of extensive business, whose loss will be long felt—a Pennington, a Glentworth, a Hutchinson, a Sargeant, a Howell, a Waring, men endowed by heaven with eminent abilities—a Fleming, a Graefsl, a Sproat, men of exalted piety and virtue—a Wilson, an Adgate, a Baldwin, a Carroll, a Tomkins, an Offley, citizens of most estimable characters. Let those then who have remained, regard their long-absent friends, as if preserved from death by their flight, and rejoice at their return in health and safety. Let those who have been absent, acknowledge the exertions of those who maintained their ground. Let us all unite in the utmost vigilance to prevent the return of this fell destroyer, by the most scrupulous attention to cleansing and purifying our scourged city—and let us join in thanksgiving to that Supreme Being, who has, in his own time, stayed the avenging storm, ready to devour us, after it had laughed to scorn all human efforts.

* Perhaps had all our citizens remained, famine would have been added to our calamity; whereas, the markets were abundantly supplied during the whole time. The prices, too, were, in general not far beyond what they usually are at the same season of the year.

Committee for relieving the sick and distressed, appointed by a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, summoned by advertisement in the public papers, Sept. 13, 1793.

PRESIDENT.
Matthew Clarkson.

SECRETARY.
Caleb Lowncs.

TREASURER.
Thomas Wistar.

MANAGERS OF BUSHHILL HOSPITAL.
Stephen Girard.
Peter Helm.

ORPHAN COMMITTEE.
Israel Israël.

John Letchworth.

James Kerr.

James Sharfwood.

COMMITTEE OF DISTRIBUTION.
Israel Israël.

John Haworth.

James Swaine.

Mathew Carey.

Thomas Savery.

James Kerr.

Jacob Witman.

John Letchworth.

James Sharfwood.

Samuel Bengé.

SUPERINTENDANT OF THE BURIALS
OF THE DEAD, AND REMOVAL OF
THE SICK.

Samuel Bengé.

DISTRIBUTOR OF SUPPLIES.

Henry Deforcst.

COMMITTEE OF ACCOUNTS.

James Sharfwood.

John Conelly.

COMMITTEE ON THE PUBLICATION
OF LETTERS.

Caleb Lowncs.

Mathew Carey.

DECEASED MEMBERS.

Andrew Adgate.

J. D. Sargeant.

Daniel Oatley.

Joseph Inkecp.

Assistant committee, chosen October 14.

SAMUEL COATES, Chairman.

JOHN OLDEN, Secretary.

Northern Liberties.

William Peter Spragues.

William Gregory.

Jacob Witman.

James Swaine.

Joseph Burns.

George Forepaugh.

Casper Snyder.

Peter Smith.

Vine to Race street.

Richard Whitthead.

Joseph Kerr.

John Ettries.

Race to Arch.

Thomas Willis.

Daniel Dawson.

Peter Thomfon.

Thomas Alliboné.

Lambert Wilmer.

Arch to Market.

William Sanfom.

Justinian Fox.

Amos Wickerham.

Market to Chestnut.

Arthur Howll.

Alexander Cochran.

Thomas Debson.

Chestnut to Walnut.

Jeremiah Paul.

James Cummins.

Casper W. Morris.

Thomas Castiere.

Walnut to Spruce.

George Rutter.

Benjamin W. Morris.

Spruce to Pine.

Samuel Pancoast, jun.

John Woodside.

Levi Hellingfwerth.

William Watkins.

Pine to South.

John Wood.

Adam Brittle.

William Eckard.

Thomas Dicksey.

Fergus McElwaine.

Southwark.

William Innis.

Richard Mosely.

William Robinson, sen.

John Grantham.

John Savadge.

John Pattison.

APPENDIX.—No. I.

An account of the plague in London, in the year 1665.

ABOUT the close of the year 1664, the plague was brought over to London in some Levant goods, that came from Holland.

The narrowness of the streets and lanes in London, the closeness of the houses, and their being crowded with families, rendered the inhabitants very liable to suffer by infectious disorders in sickly seasons; and the plague was almost continually among the diseases enumerated in the bills of mortality. The goods above mentioned, were carried to a house in Long-acre, near Drury-Lane, where they were first opened. Here two Frenchmen died; the disorder communicated to other houses in the neighbourhood, and infected the parish officers who were employed about the dead. Another Frenchman, who lived near the infected houses, removed, for fear of the distemper, into Bearbinder-lane, where he died: and thus the plague got into the city.

The further progress of this cruel disorder was stopped during a hard frost which set in this winter, and continued till March, 1665,—when its virulence was revived, by the advance of the spring. At first it seized one here, then another a mile or more distant, after which it appeared again where it was observed before, just as accident furnished it with conveyance, and according to the time when persons contracted the distemper.

The usual symptoms of infection, for it is not proposed to enter into a strict medical consideration of the plague, are thus enumerated by dr. Hodges, who lived then in London, and attended patients in all stages of the disorder. First, a horror, vomiting, delirium, dizziness, head-ach, and stupefaction; then a fever, watching, palpitation of the heart, bleeding at the nose, and a great heat about the præcordia: but the signs more peculiar to the pestilence, were, those pustules, which the common people called blains,

buboes, carbuncles, spots, and those marks called tokens. The buboes were hard, painful tumours, with inflammation and gatherings upon the glands, behind the ears, the armpits, and the groin. These tumours, at their first appearance, were hard, and the event of the disorder was prognosticated from their sudden or slow increase, from their genuine or untoward supuration, and from the virulence of their contents. The pestilential spots appeared chiefly on the neck, breast, and back, and were not easily distinguishable from flea-bites. The genuine pestilential characters, commonly called tokens, as being the forewarnings of death, were minute distinct blasts, which had their origin from within, and rose up in little pyramidal protuberances, sometimes as small as pin-heads, other times as large as a silver penny, having the pestilential poison chiefly collected at their bases, gradually tainting the neighbouring parts, and reaching the surface as the configuration of the vessels and pores favoured their spreading. They were also derivable from external causes, as from the injuries of air, when the pestilential *miasmata* were pent up and condensed; and by that means their virulence increased, so that life was immediately extinguished when they reached the noble organs.

In the treatment of the sick, all the physicians agreed in throwing out the pestilential malignity as soon as possible by alexipharmics, and to these, as soon as the belly was loosened, recourse was had as to a sacred refuge: in extremity some had recourse to mineral preparations, as mineral *bezoar*, *sulphur auratum*, *aura vitæ*, &c. in order to drive out the pestilence by mere force. For external applications, they used blisters and cataplasms; the buboes were opened by incision; and the eschar formed by the virulent ichor, discharged by the carbuncles, was chiefly got off by actual cautery; nor were the blisters, ulcers, or incisions, suffered to heal until the malignity of the disease was spent. But such was the delusory appearance of this pestilence, that many patients were lost, when they were thought in safe recovery; whereas, others survived, who were,

given over for lost, much to the discredit of the medical art.

The apprehensions of the people were greatly increased, by the crafty predictions of fortune-tellers, cunning-men, astrologers, and quacks, who hung out their signs in every street, and found their account in heightening the general terror; nor was their trade stopped, until these men of superior knowledge in the decrees of providence, were themselves swept away in the common calamity. As soon as the magistrates found that the contagion extended into several parishes, an order was issued for shutting up infected houses, to stop the communication of the disorder. These houses had red crosses painted on the doors, with this inscription, *Lord, have mercy upon us!* and watchmen were placed before them, who were daily relieved, to hand necessaries and medicines into the confined families, and to restrain them from coming abroad until forty days after recovery. But though these regulations were strictly executed, the propriety of them was much controverted, and the hardship universally complained of; for if a fresh person was seized in the same house, but a day before this quarantine expired, it was again renewed; which intolerable tedious imprisonment of the healthy with the sick, frequently ended with the deaths of whole families. Neither did this confinement of the sick prove effectual; for each house having but one guard, and many houses having avenues behind, it was impossible to secure all passages; so that, some would amuse the watchmen with discourse on one side of the house, while the rest of the family made their escape at the other; until, at length, the men were left to watch empty houses. Some watchmen were publicly whipped through the streets, for taking bribes to let persons out privately; and where such opportunities did not offer, the watchmen were sometimes ill treated: one near Coleman-street was blown up by gunpowder; and while he lay disabled by the explosion, those who had strength, escaped out of the house. Some persons also would let themselves down from the windows, armed with swords

and pistols, in the sight of the watchmen, and threaten them with instant death, if they called out or stirred. Many of them were even killed in disputes with those they were charged with the care of guarding.

It is a sad, though true character of human nature, to remark, that there are always miscreants ready to take advantage of public calamities; and what greatly contributed to the loss of persons thus shut up, was the villainous behaviour of some nurses. These wretches from an inhuman greediness to plunder the dead, would not only strangle their patients, and charge their deaths to the distemper in their throats; but would secretly convey the pestilential taint from the sores of the sick to those who were well. Yet though they were without witnesses in these diabolical practices, they often felt themselves the just victims of their own unguarded presumption.

Dogs and cats, being domestic animals, apt to run from house to house, and being supposed to convey the noxious effluvia in their fur or hair; an early order was made by the lord-mayor and other magistrates, by the advice of the physicians, that they should all be immediately killed; and an officer was appointed for that purpose. It was computed that 40,000 dogs, and five times as many cats, were massacred in consequence of this prescription; and all possible endeavours were used to exterminate rats and mice by poison, on the same account.

It was inconceivable, as the plague increased, with what precipitation such inhabitants of the city as were able to leave it, deserted into the country; for some weeks it was difficult to get to the lord-mayor's door, for the throngs that crowded in to get passes and certificates of health; without which none were permitted to travel through, or lodge in, any towns on the road. The nobility, gentry, and richer tradesmen retired first, and in the broad streets leading out of town, nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts loaded with goods, and servants; coaches full of families—and horsemen, all hurrying away; with empty carriages returning for fresh loads.

Some families that had no country retreats, laid up a store of provisions, and shut themselves up so care-

fully, as not to be heard of nor seen, until the plague ceased; when they came abroad safe and well;—among these were several Dutch merchants, who kept their houses like garrisons besieged, suffering no one to go out or come in, and thus preserved themselves in health.—Many merchants and ship owners shut themselves up on board ships, and as the plague increased, removed down the river, nor was it heard that the disorder reached any vessels below Deptford. Poorer persons took refuge in hoys, smacks, and fishing boats; but these took the infection; others went up the river in boats, lodging by night in tents made of their sails, on shore; for though the country people would supply them with provisions, they would not receive them into their houses. The poor who ran abroad in their extremities into the country, were often ill used and driven back, which caused great exclamation against the cruelty of the country towns; but self-preservation extinguished humanity; and yet notwithstanding all their care, there was not a town within twenty miles but suffered more or less by the disorder.

Thus the distemper was felt chiefly to prey on the common people; which it did to such a degree as to obtain the name of the *poor's plague*. The lord-mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, or their deputies, with many of the common council, very humanely to compose the minds of the people as much as possible, published their resolution not to quit the city, but to be always ready at hand to preserve order, and to do justice on all occasions. The lord-mayor held councils every day, making necessary dispositions for preserving the public peace; the people were treated with all the gentleness circumstances would allow, while presumptuous rogues, housebreakers, and plunderers of the sick or dead, were duly punished, and severe declarations issued against them.

It was one of their principal concerns to see the regulations for the freedom and good supply of the markets, observed—and every market-day the lord-mayor, Sir John Lawrence, or the sheriffs, attended vigilantly on horseback; to see their orders executed. The necessity of going to market was greatly contributory to the

ruin of the city, as there the people caught the infection one of another, and it was suspected that even the provisions were tainted; all imaginable precautions were however used in these negotiations—for customers took the meat from off the hooks themselves, that they might not receive it from the butcher—and for his security dropped their money into pans of vinegar, always carrying small money with them, that they might receive no change. Every one that could procure them, carried scents and perfumes about them, while the poorest inhabitants were forced on all occasions to run all hazards.

The infection, notwithstanding every caution, continued through the months of May and June, with more or less severity—sometimes raging in one part, and then in another—about the latter end of June, above twenty parishes were infected, and the King removed from Whitehall to Hampton court. Government was not however inattentive to the distresses of the metropolis—for beside appointing a monthly fast for public prayer, the king commanded the college of physicians to compose and publish an English directory of general advice in this calamitous season. Some of the college were appointed to attend the sick on all occasions; and two out of the court of aldermen were required to see this hazardous duty performed: nor were there eminent physicians wanting who voluntarily and courageously gave their assistance in so dangerous an employment; eight or nine of whom were destroyed in the duty.

In the first week of July, the bill rose to 725, the next week to 1089, the third week to 1843, and the next week to 2010. About the middle of the month, the disorder, which had chiefly raged in St. Giles's Holburn, and toward Westminster, began to travel eastward, and over the river to Lambeth and Southwark; but kept principally in the out parishes which were fullest of poor. When it abated in the western parishes, it exerted its violence in Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, Whitechapel and Stepney. In the months of August and September the disorder made most terrible slaughter;

three, four, or five thousand died in a week, the deaths one week amounted to 8,000 and were believed to extend to 10,000! for the registers in such confusion were not kept with great accuracy.

Under these shocking circumstances, when the people were in the greatest want of spiritual consolation, they were in general forsaken by their parochial ministers; and sad as the minds of the people were, there were not wanting some who satirized them in lampoons, for this scandalous desertion of their distressed flocks. When on some church doors were written, *Here is a pulpit to let*, and on others, *A pulpit to be sold*, then it was that the ejected non-conforming ministers, showed that disinterested concern for the people, that constitutes the true essence of the clerical character; for, unmindful of their legal disability, and regardless of the surrounding danger, they resolutely mounted the vacant pulpits, often twice a day, and soothed the griefs of crowded audiences by their pious discourses and other religious exercises.

When deaths became so numerous, the church yards were unable to contain the bodies, and the usual modes of interment were no longer observed: occasional pits of great extent were dug in several parts, to which the dead were brought by cart-loads, collected by the ring of a bell, and the doleful cry of *Bring out your dead!* They were put into the carts with no other covering than rugs or sheets tied round them by their friends, if they had any surviving; and were shot down in promiscuous heaps! Sometimes the drivers of those carts would drop in their employments, and the carts would be found without any conductor; in the parish of Stepney, it was said they lost within the year, 116 sextons, grave-diggers and their assistants!

Trade was at a stand, shops were shut up, every day looked like a solemn Sabbath; few were to be seen in the streets, and neither cart nor coach appeared but such as were employed for immediate acts of necessity: grass grew in the most public streets, and in the Royal-Exchange,—and the broad street in Whitechapel might be mistaken for a green field. Those families who carried on retail trades, or subsisted by labour, were now sup-

ported by charity, which is recorded to have been worthily extended by those who had ability to bestow it. The king contributed 1000*l.* a week, and dr. Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, who remained at Lambeth the whole time, beside his own benefactions, procured great sums to be remitted from the dioceses under his jurisdiction, by his affecting letters to the bishops—Monk, afterwards duke of Albemarle, with lord Craven, remained in London, and exerted all their abilities to alleviate the distresses they were witnesses to. Though the city was in general abandoned by the rich, yet these did not forget those who were left behind—large sums were sent up by them to the magistrates, as well as from the trading towns in the remotest parts of England. The degree of general distress in the metropolis may be supposed void of exaggeration, when it is said that beside private charities, the lord mayor and aldermen were enabled to bestow 100,000*l.* a week for several weeks together to the poor!

That nothing might be left untried to disperse the contagion, large fires were ordered to be made in the public streets; yet the physicians were very diffident of the success of this expensive experiment; and the trial soon decided in favour of their doubts. Coals were then 4*l.* per chaldron; and two hundred chaldron were applied in making fires at the custom-house, Billingsgate, at the bridge-foot, three cranes, Queenhithe, Bridewell-gate, the corner of Leadenhall and Grace church streets, at the north and south gates of the Royal Exchange, Guildhall, Blackwell-hall, at the lord-mayor's door in St. Helens, at Bow church, and at the western end of St. Paul's cathedral.—These fires continued for three days—and were then almost extinguished by a smart rain: but the following night, from whatever cause it might proceed, was the most fatal of the whole; for more than 4000 then expired! and this unfortunate event was a discouragement to any farther attempts of that nature.

When the disease was at the greatest height, little regard was had to the giving medical assistance; for many of the most eminent physicians and surgeons were already dead: and it was in vain to keep houses

shut up, when they were mostly empty with their doors and windows open and shattering with the wind. At length the disorder, after having braved the art of man, gave way to the course of nature, at the decline of the summer season, when, though the numbers of the infected were not observed to lessen, yet the disorder grew weaker; more in proportion recovered, and the deaths insensibly diminished. When this began to be perceived, the dread that had invaded the minds of the people wore off, and contributed to their recovery; and whereas in the height of the disorder it usually killed persons in two or three days, and not above one in five recovered—now it did not kill in less than eight or ten days, and not above two in five perished; the nurses also grew either more cautious or more faithful; so that after a little while a dawn of health appeared as suddenly as it was unexpected. In the beginning of November, the face of affairs was quite altered: though the funerals were yet frequent, yet the citizens began to return without fear; and in December they crowded back as fast as they had fled in the spring. Such as were cautious, took great care in seasoning their houses; and abundance of costly things were consumed, which not only answered their own particular purposes, but filled the air with grateful smells, which were serviceable to their neighbours; some burnt pitch, brimstone, and gunpowder, to purge their houses and goods; while others, through eagerness and carelessness, entered their dwellings without any preparation. Earl Craven and the other justices of Westminster caused the bedding of infected houses, to be well dried and aired, the rooms to be new whitewashed, and the churchyards to be covered two feet thick with fresh earth; to prevent, as far as possible, any revival of the pestilential taint.

The winter gave the most effectual check toward suppressing this great enemy of mankind; and tho' some remains of the contagion appeared in the succeeding spring, it was no more than could be easily conquered by medicine; and the city thus got rid of the infection and returned to perfect health.

The bills of mortality computed the numbers of buri-

als this year at 97,306, of which 68,596 were attributed to the plague; but this estimate was universally received as very erroneous; as it was not difficult to show, from circumstances, that the account was manifestly defective. At the beginning of the disorder, there was great knavery and collusion in the reports of the deaths; for while it was possible to conceal the infection, they were attributed to fevers of all kinds, which began to swell the bills; this was done to prevent houses being shut up, and families being shunned by their neighbours. Add to this, that the dead carts working in the dark, no exact accounts were kept; the clerks and sextons being naturally averse to so dangerous a duty, and frequently falling sick themselves before such accounts as they had were delivered in. Quakers and Jews also, who had separate burial grounds, were not mentioned in the weekly bills; nor was any register taken of those who died on board vessels of all kinds in the river. It was well known, that numbers of poor despairing creatures wandered out of town into the fields, woods, and other remote places, where they died of the infection and of want. The inhabitants of the villages would carry food to these distracted refugees, and set it at a distance for them; and afterwards frequently found them dead with the victuals untouched. The country people would then dig holes and drag the bodies into them with long poles having hooks at the ends, carefully standing to the windward; and throw the earth over them as far as they could cast it. On the whole, it was the opinion of eye witnesses, that the plague destroyed 100,000 at least. The yearly bill mentions but one parish that remained quite exempt from infection, which was that of St. John the Evangelist in Watling-street.

As to foreign trade during this year, it was almost extinct; as no port in France, Flanders, Spain, or Italy, would admit London ships, or correspond with that city; the Turks only and the Grecian isles, to whom the plague was familiar, were not so scrupulous. The Flemings and Dutch had great advantage of this circumstance, by buying English goods in those parts of England that remained clear of infection, carrying them home, and then exporting them again as their own.

Account of the Plague at Marseilles, in 1720.

MARSEILLES has been several times visited by the plague, as in the year 1580, in 1630, 1649, and 1650.

In May, 1720, the citizens were informed, that the plague had made its appearance in Palestine, and Syria. On the 25th of that month, a vessel from Syria, and the island of Cyprus where the plague prevailed, arrived at the isles of Chateaudif, in the vicinity of the harbour of Marseilles. After performing a quarantine, the passengers were permitted to mix with the inhabitants. One of the crew, and a person placed on board as a guard, had in the mean time died; but the surgeon employed to examine the bodies, declared, that he could discover no mark of the plague. On the 12th of June, a ship, with a foul bill of health, as it is termed, cast anchor. On the 24th and 26th of June, four persons died. Three of these were porters, who had been entrusted with the care of purifying the merchandize on board of these vessels. The fourth was a boy belonging to the first vessel. Hence it appears that the progress of this contagion was in the beginning extremely slow. The surgeon again certified that there was no sign of the plague; but the magistrates began to distrust him. They caused the bodies to be buried in quick lime, and the vessels, from the cargoes of which the porters were suspected of having caught the contagion, were ordered to be removed to a greater distance. On the 7th of July, two other porters employed in the Lazeretto were taken ill, and on the 8th a third; on the 9th, the whole three expired. They were buried in quick lime, and their clothes were burned. Three other surgeons had been appointed to inspect their bodies; and it was at last confessed that they had died of the plague: from this time to the 31st of July, the contagion made feeble but gradual advances. The gentlemen of the faculty, who had declared the dangerous nature of the disease, were insulted by the rabble, who would not believe that the plague would have advanced so very slowly. The magistrates were afraid to injure the commerce of the city by the report spread that this infection had got into

Marseilles. Though they seem to have done their duty, yet they were so little aware of the gulf, which was yawning beneath them, that on the 15th of July, they sent letters to the health officers in the other ports of Europe, informing them, that though many persons were sick in the infirmaries, yet that the contagion had made no progress in the city. Indeed, from this day to the 25th, almost nothing was heard of it, and the people had begun to believe, that the danger was over. On the 26th, however, the magistrates were informed, that fifteen persons were taken ill, in the street of Lescalle. The physicians durst not venture to declare the fact, and assigned any other reason for their sickness, than the plague.

At the end of July, the magistrates became alarmed in earnest. Some of them began to be exhausted by the melancholy employment of attending the funerals of the dead, and the removals of the sick to the public hospitals, both which offices were performed in the night. The marquis de Pelles, governor of the city, examined the treasury, and found in it only the pitiful sum of eleven hundred livres. Corn, butcher's meat, and wood, were extremely scarce and dear. The wealthy part of the inhabitants had by this time fled. It was now certain that the contagion was fixed in the city; and it was readily foreseen, that, unless vigorous measures of prevention were taken, famine would complete the scene of calamity. All beggars from the country were commanded to leave the city; but it was immediately found impracticable, to carry this order into execution. The chamber of trade of the parliament of Aix, had published an arret, prohibiting the citizens of Marseilles from quitting the territories of the town. The other inhabitants of Provence were forbidden to hold any correspondence with them; and coachmen, carriers, or others, attempting to retire from Marseilles to the country, on any pretence whatever, were to return back under pain of death. It was, therefore, impossible to drive out of the city, two or three thousand beggars, and other strangers of different kinds. An attempt was made to dispel the infection by burning fire in the streets, but to no purpose. A variety of regulations were adopted to prevent the spreading of the

distemper, as well as the progress of famine. What fuel had been in the city, was already consumed in the experiment of making fires. A great quantity of sulphur was bought, and a part of it distributed to the poor, in every quarter of the town, to be burned in their houses by way of a perfume: the colleges and schools were shut up, to prevent the communication of the disorder; and the most pressing applications were made to the government of France, for immediate and substantial assistance, before the avenues of the city should be absolutely shut up. On the third of August, a mob assembled, demanding bread, which was given to them. On the fourth, the officers of the fort of St. John, waited on the magistrates, to acquaint them, that their soldiers were in want of corn; and if not supplied, would perhaps enter the city, and take it by force; the answer which they received was, that if the troops attempted to enter Marseilles, the magistrates, at the head of the citizens, would oppose them. On the 7th of August, the chamber of trade of Provence, permitted the sheriffs to have a conference with some of their agents, at the distance of six miles from the city. Precautions were taken to speak at a distance. An agreement was made, that a market should be established in that place, and a double barrier erected. Another market was to be fixed upon a high road, two leagues from Marseilles, in a different direction. A rendezvous for boats was likewise named, in a creek amongst the islands in the harbour of Marseilles. In all these places, the guards were appointed by the province, and paid by the city. On the 9th of August, it was found, that most of the physicians and surgeons had fled. It was thought necessary to select a house to which the sick might be carried. The house of convalescence was pitched upon for that purpose. But it was an object of the greatest difficulty to remove the sick. Horses, harness, and carts were all equally wanted. It became necessary to go into the country to seek them, and when they were found, no person would consent to serve as a porter in removing the dead—Exorbitant wages were offered with little effect. An immense number of cooks and sick nurses were likewise wanted, and it was not without the greatest exertions, that the ma-

giftrates could obtain persons for these employments. Three pits were dug without the walls of the city. They were sixty feet in length and twenty four feet deep, and the dead were buried in quick lime. Another large hospital was fitted up under the vaults of a rope yard, by the chevalier Rose, at his own expense; and he caused large ditches to be dug for burying the dead. The two hospitals were entirely filled in less than two days; but the patients did not remain there long. The distemper was so violent, that those who were brought into the hospitals at night, were cast into the ditches next morning. In every house where it entered, no person escaped the infection, and it seems that few or none survived it. On the 12th of August, two of the most eminent physicians of Montpellier were dispatched by the regent of France to the assistance of the citizens. The magistrates of health, the judges of the city, the rectors of all the hospitals and other charitable foundations, the commissaries who had been appointed for the different quarters of the city, but a few days before, with an immense number of people of all ranks, fled in the greatest hurry from Marseilles. The very centinels who had been posted to prevent the flight of others, deserted; while the captains of the militia, and their soldiers ran away by whole companies. The shops, houses, magazines, churches and convents were shut up. The public markets were empty, and nothing was any where to be seen, but the dying or the dead. Marseilles was supposed at this time to contain about one hundred thousand people. Carts and porters were kept in constant readiness to carry off the dead; but the difficulty of providing these augmented every day. Persons employed in that service very seldom lived more than forty eight hours. It is said that by only touching the body with an iron hook, at the end of a pole, the distemper was communicated. Fifteen livres or about three dollars per day was the hire offered, and it was refused by the very beggars. At last, the magistrates applied to the officers of the gallies, and obtained from them a supply of hands, selected from the criminals, who were promised their pardon upon condition of exerting themselves; but they did their work

with so much slowness and laziness, says our author, *that it was enough to make one mad.* The slaves were in want of every thing, and in particular of shoes, which it was impossible to get for them, as there was none in the city, nor any shoemaker, to manufacture them. These unfortunate beings, when they entered a house, to carry off the dead, hardly ever failed to plunder it, so that the perpetual danger of robbery was added to the other calamities of the citizens. The slaves were likewise unskilful as well as unwilling carters. They frequently overturned the carts, and broke the harness of the horses; a loss which was irreparable, for neither saddler nor cartwright was left in Marseilles. Besides, no tradesman would touch the carts or harness which were employed in that service; and the peasants in the territory belonging to the city, had carefully concealed their carts.

Multitudes of women, who were giving suck, died of the plague; and their infants were found some dead, and others dying in the cradles. An hospital and a convent, which were found empty, by the death or flight of their former possessors, served as an asylum for these noviciates in wretchedness. They were supplied with soup, and goats milk. Thirty or forty of them perished every day; yet there were never less than twelve or thirteen hundred of them surviving at one time. On the 21st of August, the number of the dead at once increased so prodigiously, that the magistrates found it impracticable to get them carried out of town, to be thrown into the pits. The quarter of St. John and some other parts of the old town, were, from the height of the ground and the narrowness of the streets, almost inaccessible to any wheel carriage. They were inhabited by the poorest classes of the people, who were worst lodged and worst fed, and therefore died fastest. The bodies, in heaps, blocked up the passages of the streets. It was to be apprehended, that if they were suffered to lie above ground, the infection would spread with augmented rapidity. The marquis de Pille and the magistrates, requested a meeting at the town house, with the officers of the galleys. This assembly came to the resolution of interring the dead bodies, belonging to the

higher parts of the town, in the vaults of the church yards in the neighbourhood. Quick lime and water were to be thrown upon them, and the vaults, when full, were to be closely cemented up. The bishop of Marseilles and the clergy opposed this measure; but the necessity of the case superceded every objection. On the 23d of August the magistrates began this task. The clergy had bolted the doors of their churches, which were broke open. In the mean time, the misery of the inhabitants augmented every day and almost every hour. Amongst other necessaries, linen was exhausted, and in the midst of this mass of wretchedness, the populace, from famine, despair, and madness, had become so turbulent, that it was found requisite to raise gibbets in all the public places of the city. From the 25th of August to the end of September, a thousand persons were computed to perish every day. The galley slaves, who had been called to assist the citizens, began to die like the rest. The shopkeepers had locked up their doors, so that the people could not buy, on any terms, the common necessaries of life. On the 27th, the board of trade published an order, for all shopkeepers and tradesmen, to set open their doors, within twenty-four hours, on the pain of death. Commands of this kind had little weight. Desertion, wherever it could be accomplished, was universal.

On whatever side the spectator cast his eye, nothing was to be seen but heaps of putrefaction. The streets, the public markets, the square of the play house, the harbour, and every other place, was strewed with dead bodies. In the original narrative, from which this abridgment is extracted, there are many circumstances related, of a nature so shocking, that to repeat them would be an act of inhumanity to the reader. Thousands fled on board the ships in the harbour, from a conceit, which proved very foolish, that the contagion could not reach them, when upon the water. The streets were heaped not only with dead bodies, but with furniture and clothes of persons infected, which were incessantly cast out of the windows. The dogs and cats were every where killed, and served to augment the mass of corrup-

tion. Ten thousand dogs were at one time computed to be floating in the harbour.

If you met any one in the streets, he looked as if half dead, and as if the distemper had affected his understanding. Many wandering about fell through weakness, and never rose again. Some, to put an end to their sufferings, cut their own throats, or jumped out of high windows, or into the sea. It was impossible for the hospitals to contain the crouds of patients who thronged into them. The instant that a person was observed to be infected, he became an object of horror to his nearest relations. He was either left deserted in the house, or driven out of it. This was the treatment of wives to their husbands, and husbands to their wives, of children to their parents, and of parents to their children. The hospitals were so far from being capable to contain the sick, that numbers could not even get access to the doors, on account of the vast crouds that lay on the pavement around them. This was the situation of Marseilles at the end of August. By the third of September, the surviving magistrates found the town house almost empty. Five hundred persons belonging to it had died. Amongst these were three hundred and fifty of the city guards. The religious orders likewise suffered extremely. The bishop was distinguished by the most active and intrepid benevolence. On the 6th of September, there remained, after every exertion, above two thousand dead bodies in the streets. A fresh supply of galley slaves was obtained with difficulty. From this time, to the end of September, the disease raged with unabated fury. In the month of October, it began to abate without any visible cause. The sick began to be cured. In November, the contagion continued to decrease, and by the 1st of December, the danger was in a great measure at an end. It was not, however, entirely ceased till the month of March. We are not informed as to the exact number of deaths; but they are estimated at not less than fifty or sixty thousand.

List of all the Burials in the several grave yards of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, as taken from the Books kept by Clergymen, Sextons, &c. from August 1st to November 9th, 1793.

AUGUST.

DAY S.	Christ Church.	St. Peter's.	St. Paul's.	First Presbyterian.	Second Presbyterian.	Third Presbyterian.	Scotch Presbyterian.	Seceders.	St. Mary's.	Trinity.	Friends.	Free Quakers.	German Lutherans.	German Calvinists.	Moravians.	Swedes.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Universalists.	Jews.	Kennington.	Potter's field.	Total.	
1	1			1																			9	
2	2				1	1			2												2	1	8	
3		1				1			2		2										1		9	
4	1					1			1		2		4										10	
5	1											1	1									5	2	10
6	1											2	2										3	
7	1		1								7		1			1					2	1	12	
8					1				1			1	1										5	
9	2			1	1	1					2	2	2								1	1	11	
10	1	1			1							2	2									1	6	
11						2						4	4									1	7	
12									2		2		2								1	1	5	
13					1				2		1		2	1		1					1	2	11	
14						1							2								1	2	4	
15									3				2	1							1	2	9	
16		1	1										1	1							1	1	7	
17				1							1		1	1									6	
18											1		1	1							2	1	5	
19			1	1			1		1		3		1									1	9	
20	1							3	3		1		1									1	7	
21	2			1				2	2	1		1	1									2	8	
22			1			2		4	4		3		1								2	1	13	
23		1						2	2		2	3	3	1								1	10	
24				3	1	1		2	1	1	5		1	1								3	17	
25	1				2	1		2	2		1	1	3								1	1	12	
26		2			1			3	3		1		4	1							2	1	17	
27	1	1		2				2	2			3	3			1					1	1	12	
28	3	3		1	2			3	3		1		2	3								2	22	
29	4	2	1		2	2		2	2	1	3		4									3	24	
30	1	1						4	4				3	3						1		3	20	
31	2	1	1					3	3				7									3	17	

S E P T E M B E R.

D A Y S.	Christ Church.	St. Peter's	St. Pauls.	First Presbyterian.	Second Presbyterian.	Third Presbyterian.	Associate Presb.	Reformed.	St. Mary's.	Trinity.	Friends.	Free Quakers.	German Lutherans.	German Calvinists.	Moravians.	Swedes.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Universalists.	Jews.	Kennington.	Potter's field.	Total.
1	1				2	1		1				4	3			1					2	5	17
2		1				2			2		5	3	4								1	4	18
3	1	1			3	1						2	2								1	3	11
4	3		1	1	2			2	1		2	4	3								2	2	23
5		4		1	1	1	1				1	2	2	3							1	5	20
6		2		1	1	2		2	1		1	1	1	1							2	7	24
7	1			1	1	1		1	1		2	5	3	5							1	7	18
8	2	1		1	4	2		2	2		3	4	4	4		2					1	16	42
9		1	2			1		1	3		1	7	1	1	1						1	13	32
10	3		1	1				2	3	1	6	5	1	1							1	4	29
11	2	1		1	1		1		1		2	3	3			1					3	8	23
12	1	2	6		1			2	2		3	2	2	2	1						2	10	33
13	1	1		1	1	1		3	1	7	7	8	2	2	1						1	10	37
14	2	1	2	3	3	1		4	4	4	4	5	2	2							2	14	48
15	4	2		1	1	3	1	5	1	10	9	12	1	1	1						2	14	56
16	4	2	1	2	3	1		4	4	3	10	12	7	1	1						3	14	67
17	1	1	1	1	4	2		5	2	7	7	21	7	10							3	20	81
18	3	4		2	4	2		6	2	7	7	10	4	4		2					3	19	58
19	4	2		2	3	2		4		5	9	9	5								2	27	61
20	3	1	1	1	2	2		2	3		9	7	1		3						5	27	67
21	3	3		1	2	1		6	6		6	8	2	2							4	21	57
22	6	1		2	3	1	1		1		6	7	6	1	1						7	33	76
23	1	3	2			4		5	2	7	8	8	6								9	21	68
24		5	2	4	4	2		9	9		12	12	4								8	38	96
25	4	2		4	4		2	6	6		8	15	5		3						1	25	87
26	2		1	3	1			1	1	5	6	6	5		1						7	25	52
27	3	1	1	2	1	4	1	6		14	14	6	5								2	14	60
28	1	1	1	1	1	1				10	2	4	5		3						2	29	51
29	4		3	2	2	3		1	4	1	10	7	3		1						2	14	57
30	4	1	2	1	3			6	1	8	8	4	6		3						2	22	63

Returned in gross.

Returned in gross.

Returned in gross.

Returned in gross.

NOVEMBER.

DAYS.	Christ Church.	St. Peter's.	St. Paul's.	First Presbyterian.	Second Presbyterian.	Third Presbyterian.	Associate Presb.	Reformed.	St. Mary's.	Trinity.	Friends.	Free Quakers.	German Lutherans.	German Calvinists.	Moravians.	Swedes.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Universalists.	Jews.	Kenington	Potter's field.	Total.
1									1		3		1	1									13
2		1			2				3		2		3	2							2	5	21
3	1	1							1			<i>Returned in gros.</i>	5	2							1	4	15
4	1	1							1			<i>Returned in gros.</i>	5								1	6	15
5		2									3	<i>Returned in gros.</i>	3	1								6	14
6		1							3		1		1									5	11
7		2		1					1		4		1	1							1	5	15
8		1							2	1			1									3	8
9										1				2								3	6

August	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	325
September	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1442
October	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1993
November	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	118
Jews, returned in gros	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Baptists, Do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
Methodists, Do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
Free Quakers, Do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
German part of St. Mary's congregation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30

Total 4041

Protestant Episcopalians	{	Christ Church	-	-	-	173
		St. Peter's	-	-	-	109
		St. Paul's.	-	-	-	70
Presbyterians	{	First	-	-	-	73
		Second	-	-	-	128
		Third	-	-	-	107
		Associate	-	-	-	12
		Reformed	-	-	-	33
Roman Catholics	{	St. Mary's	-	-	-	251
		German part of do.	-	-	-	30
		Trinity	-	-	-	54
Friends	-	-	-	-	373	
Free Quakers	-	-	Returned in gros.	-	39	
German	{	Lutherans	-	-	-	641
		Calvinists	-	-	-	261
Moravians	-	-	-	-	13	
Swedes	-	-	-	-	75	
Baptists	-	-	Returned in gros.	-	60	
Methodists	-	-	Do.	-	32	
Universalists	-	-	-	-	2	
Jews	-	-	Do.	-	2	
Kenington	-	-	-	-	169	
Potter's field, including the new ground	-	-	-	-	1334	
						<hr/>
						4041

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

MADE IN PHILADELPHIA, BY

DAVID RITTENHOUSE, Esquire.

AUGUST, 1793.

	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Wind.		Weather.	
	A. M.	P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.
1	29 95	30 0	65	77	WNW	NW	cloudy,	fair,
2	30 1	30 1	63	81	NW	SW	fair,	fair,
3	30 5	29 95	62	82	N	NNE	fair,	fair,
4	29 97	30 0	65	87	S	SW	fair,	fair,
5	30 5	30 1	73	90	SSW	SW	fair,	fair,
6	30 2	30 0	77	87	SW	W	cloudy,	fair,
7	30 12	30 1	68	83	NW	W	fair,	fair,
8	30 1	29 95	69	86	SSE	SSE	fair,	rain,
9	29 8	29 75	75	85	SSW	SW	cloudy,	fair,
10	29 9	29 9	67	82	W	SW	fair,	fair,
11	30 0	30 0	70	84	SW	WSW	cloudy,	cloudy
12	30 0	30 0	70	87	W	W	fair,	fair,
13	30 5	30 0	71	89	SW	W	fair,	fair,
14	30 0	29 9	75	82	SW	SW	fair,	rain,
15	30 0	30 1	72	75	NNE	NE	rain,	cloudy
16	30 1	30 1	70	83	NNE	NE	fair,	fair,
17	30 1	30 0	71	86	SW	SW	fair,	fair,
18	30 1	30 0	73	89	calm	SW	fair,	fair,
19	30 1	30 1	72	82	N	N	fair,	cloudy
20	30 1	30 19	69	82	NNE	NNE	fair,	fair,
21	30 15	30 2	62	83	N	NNE	fair,	fair,
22	30 3	30 35	63	85	NE	SE	fair,	fair,
23	30 25	30 1	63	85	calm	S	fair,	fair,
24	30 1	30 1	73	81	calm	calm	cloudy,	rain,
25	30 1	30 1	71	66	NE	NE	rain,	great r
26	30 15	30 2	59	69	NE	NE	cloudy,	cloud
27	30 2	30 1	65	73	NE	NE	cloudy,	cloud
28	30 2	30 15	67	80	S	calm	cloudy,	clear
29	30 16	30 1	72	86	calm	SW	cloudy,	fair,
30	30 1	30 1	74	87	calm	SW	fair,	fair,
31	30 0	30 0	74	84	SW	NW	rain,	fair,

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 1793.

	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Winds.		Weather.	
	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.
1	30 0	29 30	71	86	Calm	SW	fog,	fair,
2	29 75	29 8	73	86	SW	SW	fair,	fair,
3	80 0		60		NW	N	fair,	fair,
4	30 15	30 15	55	75	W	W	fair,	fair,
5	30 15	30 1	62	80	SE	S	fair,	cloudy,
6	29 97	29 95	70	89	WSW	W	fair,	cloudy,
7	30 0	30 0	65	77	WNW	NW	fair,	fair,
8	30 1	30 1	64	70	Calm	Calm	cloudy,	cloudy,
9	30 0	30 0	66	80	SE	NW	rain,	fair,
10	30 0	30 0	64	72	N	NNE	fair,	cloudy,
11	30 1	30 0	62	72	NE	N	cloudy,	fair,
12	29 96	29 9	58	76	W	NNW	fair,	fair,
13	29 95	30 0	57	72	W	N	fair,	fair,
14	30 0	30 5	58	79	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
15	30 0	29 97	65	80	N	S	fair,	fair,
16	29 9	29	70	84	S	SW	cloudy,	fair,
17	29 8	29 85	66	67	N	N	cloudy,	cloudy,
18	30 3		44		N		fair,	
19	30 4	30 35	45	70	Calm	SW	fair,	fair,
20	30 3	30 15	54	69	Calm	SE	hazey,	hazey,
21	30 0	29 0	59	78	Calm		cloudy,	fair,
22	30 0	30 0	63	83	Calm		cloudy,	fair,
23	30 1	30 1	62	81	Calm	SE	cloudy,	cloudy,
24	30 2	30 2	65	70	NE	ENE	cloudy,	fair,
25	30 15	30 0	61	68	NE	NE	cloudy,	cloudy,
26	29 8	29 7	58	79	N	N	cloudy,	fair,
27	29 7		64		NW	NW	cloudy,	fair,
28	30 5	30 15	54	73	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
29	30 3	30 3	56	74	NE	ENE	cloudy,	fair,
30	30 35	30 3	57	75	Calm	SW	foggy,	fair,

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1793.

	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Winds.		Weather.	
	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.
1	30 15	30 5	64	80	SW	SW	cloudy,	fair,
2	29 9	30 5	70	72	W	NNW	cloudy,	fair,
3	30 2	30 15	50	72	W	SW	fair,	fair,
4	29 75	29 7	59	72	SW	W	cloudy,	cloudy
5	30 0	30 1	58	66	N	N	fair,	fair,
6	30 3	30 3	43	66	NE	W	fair,	fair,
7	30 45		46		calm		fair,	
8	30 6	30 6	53	68	N	N	fair,	fair,
9	30 5	30 4	53	70	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
10	30 2	30 2	49	74	E	NW	fair,	fair,
11	30 0	29 85	51	74	W	W	fair,	fair,
12	26 6	29 55	58	64	SW	NW	rain,	rain,
13	29 85	29 0	49	69	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
14	30 5	30 0	52	76	SW	SW	calm,	fair,
15	29 75	29 8	56	54	SW	N	fair,	rain,
16	30 0	30 0	37	53	NNW	N	fair,	fair,
17	30 1	30 1	37	60	NE	NE	fair,	fair,
18	30 1	30 1	41	62	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
19	30 0	29 9	51	66	N	N	cloudy,	fair,
20	30 0	30 0	44	54	NW	N	fair,	fair,
21	30 0	30 2	49	59	N	NW	fair,	fair,
22	29 6	29 5	51	65	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
23	29 8	29 8	47	60	W	W	fair,	fair,
24	30 3	30 4	36	59	W	NW	fair,	fair,
25	30 4	30 3	46	71	S	S	cloudy,	fair, high w.
26	30 2	30 2	60	72	calm	SW	cloudy,	cloudy,
27	30 3	30 3	44	44	NNE	NNE	cloudy,	cloudy,
28	30 2	30 1	34	37	N	N	cloudy,	cloudy,
29	29 85	29 85	28	44	NNW	NW	fair,	fair,
30	30 1	30 1	28	49	calm	SW	hazy,	hazy,
31	30 15	30 2	42	45	calm	NNE	cloudy,	rain,

NOVEMBER, 1793.

	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Wind.		Weather.	
	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.
1	30 1	30 1	40	41	NNE	NE	rain,	cloudy,
2	30 3	30 25	32	49	NNE	NE	fair,	fair,
3	30 1	30 0	43	56	Calm	SW	cloudy,	cloudy,
4	29 8	29 9	55	67	SW	SW	cloudy,	fair,
5	30 15	30 1	50	64	NE	NE	rain,	rain,
6	29 8	29 65	63	67	S	S	cloudy,	cloudy,
7	29 8	29 8	44	64	Calm	SW	fair,	fair,
8	29 8	29 85	43	56	SSW	SW	fair,	fair,
9	29 9	29 95	42	64	SW	SW	fair,	fair,

LIST of the names of the persons who died in Philadelphia, or in different parts of the union, after their departure from this city, from August 1st, to the middle of December, 1793*.

A BIGAIL, a negrefs	Nathaniel Ashby's child
Joseph Abbot	John Ashton, labourer, and wife
John Abel, shoemaker	Joseph Ashton, bricklayer, wife
Henry Abel's child	and two children
John Abrahams, shopkeeper	Joseph Ashton, carpenter
Elizabeth Abraham	Joseph Ashtin
James Ackley, labourer, wife,	Stephen Aston, labourer
and three daughters	Kitty Austin, seamstres
John B. Ackley's child	Peter Aston, merch't, wife, & son
Widow Ackley	John Atkinson
Jas. Adair, labourer, wife, & son	Caleb Attmore, hatter and his
Hester Adams	apprentice
Moses Adams, carpenter	Jane Attractz, wid. & daughter
Robert Adams's two children	James Aubaine
Sarah Adams, servant girl	Phil. B. Audibert, merchant, Fr.
Andrew Adgate, cardmaker	Monfieur Auje, Fr.
Widow Adgate and 2 children	Julia Auler, servant girl
Mary Addington	Isaac Austin, currier
James Ager	Remiquis Azor
Peter Agge, physician	Priscilla Alberton
Mary Advulter	James Alder, merchant
John Ainey, stone-cutter	Thomas Allibone's child
John Alberger, cooper	Elisha Alexander, tailor
Christian Alberger, skinner	James Alexander, hatter
Jof. Alberton, wife, & 2 children	J. Alexander, weaver, & apprent.
Wife of Tho's Alberton, farmer	——— Alexander's wife, &
Frederic Albrecht	an apprentice
———Albrecht, skinner	Hester Alexander
Michael Albrecht's son Michael	Rebecca Alexander
———Antonio, clerk, Portugal	Nicholas Allaway, labourer
Andrew Apple, and child	Augustus Allbrink, and 3 chil.
Henry Apple, tailor	Elizabeth Allegue
Elizabeth Appleby, servant girl	Ann Allen
Henry Apfel's daughter	James Allen's child
Benjamin Armand and child	John Allen, soap-boiler
Christopher Arpurth's wife	Mary Allen, aged 70
Andrew Armstrong's child	Joseph Allen
Barney Armstrong, labourer	Mary Allen
Christian Armstrong, weaver	Widow Rebecca Allen
Hugh Armstrong, weaver	David Allen's sifter
Christopher Armstong, weaver	William Allen, servant
James Armstrong, weaver	William Alley
John Armstrong	George Allison, fadler
Michael Artery	Robert Allison, sen.
John Ash, breeches-maker	Lawrence Allman and child
George Athen	John Allman

* This list has been partly collected from the church-books of all the different congregations, and partly from the information received by several persons who have been employed to make enquiry at every house in the city and liberties. Though very great pains have been taken, and expense incurred, in its arrangement, still it is not given as fully complete and accurate. But, it is hoped, that its defects and errors are but few, and, considering the difficulty of the business, such only, as will meet the reader's ready indulgence.

- Jacob Aloorflock, brewer
 John Alton, medical student
 Peter Alyart
 Sarah Ammond
 ——— Amand
 Francis Anderfon
 Francis Anderfon's child
 Alexander Anderfon, innkeeper
 Hugh Anderfon, tailor
 James Anderfon's wife
 Sufanna Anders
 William Anderfon, aged 72
 Jacob Anderfon's daughter
 John Andre
 Thomas Andrews, shoemaker,
 and fon
 Ifaac Andrews
 Rev. Robert Annan's wife
 Jacob Anthony's wife, and fon
 Henry
 Thomas P. Anthony, merchant
 Michael Babb
 John Bacon's wife
 David Bacon's wife
 Mary Bacon
 Widow Backer
 Elizabeth Back
 George Backley
 John Badley, farmer
 Jacob Bader, labourer
 Hugh Bain's child
 M^s. Bakeoven, tavern keeper
 Adam Baker
 Samuel Baker, bookbinder
 Bartholomew Baker's child
 Catharine Baker
 Chriftiana Baker, widow
 George Baker, merchant
 Jane Baker, widow
 Michael Baker, shoemaker
 Sarah Baker
 Wallace Baker
 William Baker, fen.
 Wm. Baker, jun. apprentice
 George Baldy, tanner
 Daniel Baldwin, apothecary
 Burgefs Ball
 Henry Ball, or Bale, fadler
 Hannah Bales
 John Ballance, blacksmith
 Thomas Ballentine
 Dougal Ballentine
 James Balling, gunsmith
 John Ballustree's fon
 Mary Banks *
 Jacob Bankfon's widow & child
 George Bantteon's fon
 John Baptifte
 Barbara ———, a fervant
 Barbe, a black woman
 John Barber, carpenter
 Ifaac Barber, plasterer
 Jacob Barkelow's child
 John Barkley's child
 Mary Barclay and child
 Ifrael Bard
 Thomas Barker, chair-maker
 John Barker
 Wade Barker, an apprentice
 Mary Bare
 Margaret Barkett
 Blair Barnes, hair-dreffier
 Cornelius Barnes, merchant
 Sterman Barnes, merchant
 Francis Barnes
 Paul Barnes's fon
 Ifaac Barnett, joiner
 Garret Barrey, type-founder
 John Barret's child
 James Barrett's wife
 Bridget Barret
 Edward Barrington, grocer
 James Barry and child
 Matthias Barry
 Peter Bartho, apprentice
 Peter Barthol, cooper, and wife
 ——— Bartholomew, failor
 Elizabeth Bartholomew
 Charles Bartholomew's wife
 Chriftlieb Bartling's wife & dau.
 ——— Barren
 Alexander Barron, labourer
 Lewis Barron
 Thomas Barry
 William, fon of John Barry
 Robert Bartram, fon of Joseph
 John Barwell, livery-ftable-
 keeper, and wife
 John Bafs, apprentice
 Francis Baftian
 Magdalen Baftian
 Lawrence Baft, labourer
 William Baftin's fon
 Abraham Bates
 Peter Batto, cooper
 Catharine, widow of Tho's Batt
 Widow Batt's daughter
 Sufan Batty
 John Batty
 John Bauft, shoemaker
 Anna Barbara Bauer
 Catharine Bauchman
 Elizabeth Banck, a fervant
 Peter Baufan's fon
 Henry Charles Bauman, weaver
 Andrew Bauft
 Adam Bauft, reed-maker
 George Bautz, carter

Charles Bayman, wheelwright	Abraham Betts
Jacob Bay, type-founder	John Betz
Elizabeth Bayle	Peter Betto
James Beak, labourer	Thomas Bevans
Honour Beale	Mary Bevans
Nathaniel Baine's wife	Christopher Bevelin, labourer
William Beard, blacksmith	Jenny Bickledick
Bridget Bearet	Ann Bickley
John Bear's wife	Margaret Bideman
John Beattie, labourer, & wife	Owen Biddle's daughter Jane
John Beattie, porter of U. S. B.	Henry Pierre, shoemaker
Catharine Beattie	John Biggs, linen-draper, & wife
Elizabeth Beaufort	Eleanor Bigley
Charles Beaumont	Peter Bignall's wife
Andrew Beck, sen. dyer	Ann Bigot
Andrew Beck, jun.	Jacob Binder
Eliza. daugh. of Andrew Beck	Jacob Bilerder's child
Bernard Beck, porter	Anna Bird, servant
Catharine Beck	Francis Bingin
Jacob Beck's wife and daughter	Cornelius Bird
Almy Beck	Joseph Bird's child
John Beck, sen. dyer	Christopher Birger, carter
John Beck, jun.	Thomas Birmingham
Eliza. daughter of John Beck	Ann Birmingham
Peter Beck, shoemaker	Ann Bishop
Mary Beckener	Thomas Bishop's daughter
Rachel Beck	Thomas Biven
George Becker's child	John Peter Bittman
Jacob Beeker	Robert Black, bricklayer
Margaret Beeves	William Blake's child
—— Beifs, labourer	Anthony Blame, confectioner
Alexander Beicht's child	Widow Blosbeyer
Elizabeth Bell	Nath. Blodget, Virginia planter
John Bell	Stancy Blockler
Maria Antoniette Belvoire	Jacob Blocher, labourer
Catharine Benard	Jacob Blocher, shoemaker
Elizabeth Benge	Jacob Blocker's wife
Francis Benjie	—— Blosbeyer's grandchild
John Bennet, joiner, and wife	Elizabeth Eliney
Samuel Bennet	Eliza Blackley
Michael Benner, labourer	Robert Black
Jacob Benner	Rich. Blackham, ironmonger
Benjamin Benoit's child	Bernard Bravehouse
Thomas Bennet, labourer	Charles Boehm, apprentice
Lucy Bennet, wife of ditto	Charlotte Boehm, a servant
Oswald Bently	Adam Bohl, carpenter, and two daughters
John Benfon's child	Martha Eoggs, widow
Rene Berenger, Fr.	Thomas Eogh, shoemaker
Margaret Bergmeyer	—— Eogs
Mary Berg, Æt. 75	George Bounce, carter
—— Berry, tinker, and wife	George Bock's sister
Catharine Berry's child	Widow Bock
Colonel William Berry	Mary Bock
Nicholas Berkelet	Margaret Bord. spinster
Daniel Beskmeyer	Peter Bob's daughter
Claudius A. Bertier, merchant	Widow Bohn's son
Samuel Bettle, sen. tailor	Joshua Bonn, carpenter
Henry Beyer	Henry Bonn, labourer
George Betinver	

Jemimah Bonshall
 Sarah Bonnel, a child
 Sarah Bird
 Barney Book, and child
 Thomas Boone, carpenter
 Joseph Borde, sawyer
 Geo. Bornhouse, cabinet-maker
 John Bafs's wife
 Benjamin James Bostock
 Andreas Boshart, wife and son
 Wife of Andrew Boshart, sen.
 Wife of Wm. Boston, baker
 Elizabeth Boswell
 Jemimah Boswell
 Charlotte Bower
 Widow Boulter
 Salinia Bouman
 Catharine Bourke
 Peter Bourke, hatter
 Andrew Bower's wife
 Martha Bowers
 Stephen Bowers, shoemaker
 Mrs. Bowen
 Joseph Bowen
 Elizabeth Bowen
 Adam Bowles, carpenter
 Catharine Bowles
 Henry Bowles's wife and 2 sons
 Susannah Bowles
 Catharine Bowman, a servant
 James Bowman
 Frederic Bowman, doorkeeper
 Frederic Bowman
 Henry Bower's wife
 John Bowyer, gardener
 William Boyce's wife and son
 Elizabeth Boyd
 Martha Boyd, servant
 Anthony Boyer, store-keeper
 Catharine Boyer, widow
 Henry Boyer, coachmaker
 Michael Boyer's child
 Michael Boyer, butcher
 James Boylan's child
 Mary Boyles, widow
 Catharine Boynes
 Benjamin Bodger's son
 Mary Brackley, a servant
 Ann Bradshaw
 Riley Bradford, waterman
 Mr. Brandhoffer
 John Braint
 Jacob Braut, blacksmith
 John Braun's wife
 Martin Braun, labourer
 Widow Brayton's two children
 Francis A. Breinez
 William Brickhouse
 Paul Barnes's child
 Charles Brinhon
 Mary Brady
 John Breckel's wife
 Theresa Bristol
 Anthony Bricour
 Catharine Breslin
 Michael Briefsch, tailor
 Eliza Brelew
 Rose Bride
 Joseph Brewer, merchant
 Samuel Breslin
 John Bretzel, baker
 William Brewster's son
 Christian Bridig
 Samuel Brien's daughter
 Catharine Britton
 Isaac Britton
 Peter Bridnen, labourer
 John Bright's son
 Sarah Bright
 Fra. Brooks, gunsmith, & child
 Jacob Broener, tailor, and wife
 Edward Brookes's wife
 William Brookes's daughter
 Mary Brooks
 Francis Brookes
 Wife of ——— Brooks, invalid
 Hannah Brooks
 — Broomstone & 2 apprentices
 Widow Elizabeth Brogdon
 John Brother's apprentice
 John Brown, a negro
 Ann Brown
 Mary Brown
 Barbara Brown, a servant
 Conrad Brown and wife
 Wife of George Brown, tailor
 F. Brown, tailor, and wife
 Jacob Brown, jun.
 John Brown, carpenter
 John Brown, brickmaker
 Martin Brown and mother
 Thomas Brown, tailor
 William Brown, labourer
 Thomas Brown, shopman
 Thomas Brown, labourer
 James Brown
 Elizabeth Brown
 William Brown
 George Brownpere, labourer
 Francis Bruckner
 Barnabas Bruckholst and wife
 James Broudwick
 John Brunstrom
 George Bruner, tailor, & wife

Jacob Bryant, blacksmith
 John Bryan's wife and child
 Matthew Bryan, tailor
 Peter Bryan, shoemaker
 Thomas A. Bryan
 Thomas Bryan's wife
 William Bryan, labourer
 Isaac Buckbee, hatter
 George Buck, baker
 Bernard Buck's daughter
 Wife & child of Jos. Budd, hatter
 — Bolledet
 Susannah Budd, widow
 Sarah Bufier
 Widow Bulem
 Joseph Bullock's son George,
 and daughter Angelina
 Mary Bullman
 Samuel Bullman's wife
 Mary Bunting
 Rachel Bunting
 Joseph Buffington's daughter
 Joshua Bunn
 Joseph Burden's child
 Susanna Burden, in Almshouse
 Thomas Burden, tailor
 Catha. Burkhardt, widow, Æt. 80
 Margaret Burkhard's
 George Burdy, tailor
 Wm. Burkhard's daughter & son
 Daniel Burkhard's daughter
 John Burkhard and son
 Elizabeth Burke
 Peter Burke's daughter
 George Burke's child
 Catharine Burke's daughter
 Joseph Burke, clerk
 Margaret, wife of John Burke
 Joseph Burke, from W. Indies
 Thomas Burke's wife
 David Burk, tailor
 Sophia Burke
 Jacob Burkellow, jun.
 Joshua Burns, house-carpenter
 Mary Burns
 Patrick Burns, labourer
 Elizabeth Burngate, shopkeeper
 Mrs. Burns
 John Burns
 Thomas Burn's wife
 Moses Burnet, ferryman
 Robert Burrows
 Elizabeth Burs
 John Busyman
 William Butler, chairmaker
 Elizabeth Bush
 Robert Busby
 William Butts, shoemaker
 John Butler
 Francis Byerly, a lad
 John Burns, currier, and wife
 Sarah Cable, a servant
 Catharine Cabler
 Hannah Cadwallader
 Paul Cake's wife
 Susannah Cake
 James Calbraith, jun.
 James Calbraith's young man
 Jn. Calder, shopkeeper & wife
 John Caldwell, a child
 Mary Cale
 James Callagher, seaman
 Martin Callaghan
 Michael Calup's child & servant
 Daniel Calley
 William Cameron, innkeeper
 Charlotte Camp
 Matthias Camp
 Wife of Mr. Campbell, tailor
 Ann Campbell
 George Campbell, wife Sarah,
 and daughter Mary
 Christiana Campbell
 James Campbell, shoemaker
 John Campbell, servant
 Alexander Cambler
 Patrick Camble, labourer
 Alexander Cambell
 William Campbell and wife
 James Camus
 Gilmet Cambay
 Dan. Canaaen, smith, & child, Ir.
 John Candie
 Mary Cane, widow
 John Canner, baker
 Phebe Cane
 James Cannon
 Fanny Cannon
 George Capehart, tobacconist
 George Capehart and child
 Frederic Capehart, apprentice
 Caleb Cappey
 Christopher Carefoot
 Francis Cardell
 Eleanor Carrell
 Catharine Care
 Laurence Carrell, brass-founder
 Andrew Care, tailor
 Philip Care's wife and child
 Peter Carey, apprentice
 John Carey's child
 Peter Carey's child
 — Carey's wife
 Stelena Carl

Bernard Carpentier
 John Carpenter
 James Carper
 John Carner
 Hannah Carlwine
 James Carr, labourer, and wife
 John Carr
 Joseph Carr, joiner, and wife
 Joseph Carr, apprentice
 Rebecca Carr and mother
 Mary Carr
 Rob't Carr's wife, brass-founder
 Daniel Carrigan, bricklayer
 Charles Carroll, merchant
 Elizabeth Carrens
 Mary Carrol
 Sarah Carrowood, servant
 Timothy Carrell
 William Carfs, tailor
 William Carfs and child
 Ann Carson, house-wife
 Francis Carson, labourer
 Joseph Carson
 Joseph Cassin
 Hannah Carter
 Lewis Carter, harness-maker
 James Carter
 James Carter, jun.
 John Carpenter's daughter
 Jacob Cathrall, son of Isaac
 Benjamin Cathrall's son
 William Cathers
 Catharine — a servant
 Julian Catton
 James Cavelin, tailor
 Bar. Cavenagh, porter, & wife
 Elizabeth Caw
 Elizabeth Caw
 David Cay, merchant
 Christian Cent
 Frederic Cephers, joiner
 Mary Francis Chabot
 — Chace, of Baltimore
 Dorothy Chafferly
 Abraham Chalwell
 David Chambers, stone-cutter
 Adam Chambers's child
 Henrietta Chambers
 Harriet Chamberlaine's daugh.
 Richard Chamberlaine's daugh.
 Sarah Chambers
 Dorothy Chapman
 James Chapman, whip-maker
 Hannah Chapman
 Charles —, a drover
 John Chatham, blacksmith
 Nicholas Chart
 Thomas Cherry, cooper
 Mary Cherry
 George Ches's wife
 Eliza Chester
 Thomas Chevalier
 Michael Chew's child
 William Chipley
 Ernst Christ
 Jacob Christler's wife
 Elizabeth Christie
 Matthew Christie, sen.
 Matthew Christie, jun.
 Andrew Christie, printer
 Polly Christie
 Frederic Christian, baker
 George Christhelf's daughter,
 and her child
 Maria Christly
 Samuel Christman
 Johann Christmann's son Johann
 James A. Chubb
 George Christhelf, musician
 John Christel's son
 John Clackworthy
 Adam Clamper, and child
 Thomas Clamper
 Ann Clampton
 Ferdinand Claney
 Abijah Clark's child
 David Clark, coachmaker
 Ephraim Clark's wife
 Henrietta Clark, spinstrefs
 Elizabeth Clark
 James Clark, carpenter
 Nelly Clark
 Margaret Clark
 Christian Clark's young man
 Thomas Clark, brickmaker
 Edward Clark
 Sarah Clark
 William Clark, waterman
 James Clarkson
 Margaret Claspin
 John Clatworthy, tailor
 George Clause
 David Claypoole's two children
 George Claypoole, joiner
 William Claypoole's child
 Bartley Clayton's child
 Francis Clayton
 Benjamin Clayton
 William Claw
 Elizabeth Clements
 Chloe —, servant
 William Clements
 Jacob Clements, farmer
 Mary Clements and son

Thomas Cleverly, baker	Mary Commyns
Thomas Clifford, sen. merchant	Sarah Commyns
Sarah Clifton	Robert Conckell
Isaac Clime, carpenter	Barbara Conard
Sophia Climer	Margt. Conard, daugh. of John
Daniel Cline, baker	Mary Conard
David Cline and daughter	Maria Conde's son
Isaac Cline, carpenter	Matthew Conard, tavern-keeper
Devolt Cline	Robert Condit
George Cline	Margaret Conery
John Cline, labourer	Michael Conrad, a lad
John Cline, bricklayer	John Conrad, and wife
Philip Cline, baker	Mrs. Conrad, and girl
Mrs. Clingham	John Conrad, watchman
Mary Clingland	Widow Conrad
Church Clinton, house carpenter, and wife	Maria Conrad
Margaret Clofter	Jane Conkey
Andrew Clow, merchant	George Connelly, bricklayer
William Clow, printer	George Connelly's child
George Clowfe	John Connelly's child
James Clubb	Molly, daugh. of M. chael Conner
Philip Clumberg, surg. barber	Sarah Connelly
Christian Cluper	Patrick Connelly
Hugh Clymer	Margaret, wife of Jos. Conyers
Daniel Coarigan, bricklayer	——— Confer, tailor
Josiah Coates's daugh. Margaret	Charles Contant
Thomas Coates's child	Edward Cook's daughter
Wife and child of John Cobble, blacksmith	George Cook, labourer, & wife
John Coburn's child	Henry Cook
Samuel Whitease Coburn	Henry Cook
Child of James Cochran, house carpenter	George Cook, porter
John Cocklin	William Cook, stone-cutter
John Cochran, a seaman	James Cook
Mrs. Cohen and son George	John Cook
Thomas Colbert, clerk	William Cook's child
Joseph Coleman's wife	George Cowper's wife
William Coleman's child	Jacob Cowper, apprentice
Dorothy Coleman	John Cooper's apprentice
Adam Collins, tobacconist	James Cooper, labourer
Honora Collins and child	Peter Cowper's son, currier
Judith Collins, servant	William Cowper, currier
Nicholas Collins, trunk-maker	Charles Cope, shoemaker
Margaret Collins	Son of John Cope, butcher
Ralph Collins and wife	George Cope
William Collins, his wife, his two daughters, his second wife, his son James, his wife, & his child, all of one family	Margaret Conry
Isaac Collins	Jacob Coppas, labourer
Catharine Collyer	Patt. Conly
Sarah Coltman, midwife	Michael Corroy
John Colvill's child	James Cornelius, carpenter
Sarah Colway	David Copeland, tavern-keeper
Abraham Camby, carpenter	Mrs. Corns, and son
Cornelius Comegys' wife Ann	Mrs. Corran
	Mary Cone
	Lewis Cossart, apprentice
	William Corfy
	Michael Corley, upholsterer
	Nicholas Corley, mill-stone maker, and child

- Judith Corley
 Lewis Coul
 Elizabeth Corkrin
 John Cotringer
 William Roulson, sawyer
 Richard Courtney, tailor
 John Cousins, store-keeper
 Widow Cownouft's child
 John Cowen, store-keeper
 James Cowan and child
 John Coward, hemp-dresser
 William Cowles
 Samuel Cowty's child
 Louisa Cowell
 Barney Cox
 John Cox, shoemaker
 William Cox
 The boy and girl of William
 Cox, chair-maker
 Joseph Cox, currier
 — Cox's son-in-law
 Alexander Cox
 Charles Cox's child
 Joseph Cox, and wife
 Ann Coy
 John Cozens
 Jacob Craft, breeches maker
 James Coffee
 William Coffee
 Dennis Connor
 Rebecca Corron
 Anthony Cradet
 James Craig, merchant, Æt. 80
 Edward Crane
 John Craig's wife
 Lydia Craig
 Mrs. Craig
 Mrs. Craig
 Jacob Cramp, biscuit-baker
 Susannah Cramp
 George Craps
 James Crawford's child
 Chris. Crawlberg, joiner
 Margaret Craig, widow
 Mary Crayhead, seamstress
 Henry Creemer
 Casper Cress, and daughter
 Andreas Cressman's servant
 Margaret Cress
 Caleb Cresson's wife
 Joshua Cresson, merchant
 Peter Cresson
 Lewis Cressly's wife
 Christian Crisswell's child
 Elizabeth Crisswell
- Christopher Criel's son
 John Croll, barber
 — Cronow, sugar-boiler
 Catharine Cross
 — Cromwell's wife
 Daniel Cross, carpenter, & wife
 Daniel Cross, jun. carpenter
 Fanny Cross, washerwoman
 Peter Cross
 Mary Cross's child
 George Crow, brass-founder
 Henry Crowell's wife
 John Crowley, potter
 James Crowley
 Mary Crowley and daughter
 John Crubreux, drayman
 Mr. Crull's child
 Wife of John Crumb, bricklayer
 Philip Cruncle
 John Crump's child
 Paul Cuckot
 Catharine Cunan
 Ann Cunningham
 Robert Cunningham's child
 Comfort Cunningham
 Hannah Cunningham
 Michael Cunningham
 Matthew Cunningham
 Peter Curren's child
 Mrs. Currens, and two sons
 Mercy Currie
 James Currie
 Rebecca Currier
 Ann Curtain
 Thomas Custard, shoemaker
 Jacob Daderman's child
 Robert Dainty, plumber
 Bridget Daily
 Capt. Richard Dales's child
 Peter Dale's daughter Sarah
 Francis Dalmasé
 Thomas Dabriel, shoemaker
 John Dalton, clockmaker
 David Damsen, shoemaker
 Julian Danacker
 George Danecker, and wife
 Robert Dannel
 Catharine Dardis
 Henry Darroch, store-keeper
 John Daum, labourer
 Conrad Dauenhaer's daughter
 George Daum's wife
 John David, silversmith
 Ann David
 Robert Davidson
 James Davidson, merchant

James Davidson's child	Benjamin Delany, chair-maker
Isaac Daves	Henry Delany
Capt. Davis's two nephews	Dennis Delany's child
Elizabeth Davis	John Delany
Gilford Davis's wife	Patrick Delany's child
Isaac Davis's wife	Bridget Delap, cook
John Davis, wheelwright, wife and daughter	Samuel Delap, bookseller
Joseph Davis, labourer	John Demaffrand's daughter
Joseph Davis, soap-boiler	Andrew Denahaw, cooper
Mary Davis's child	Mary Denckla, a child
Michael Davis	Richard Denney
Robert Davis, anchor-smith	Mary Denny
Samuel Davis	Robert Dennet, groom
Hester, wife of Sam. Davis, sen.	Ezekiah Denura
Sophia Davis	William Dennis
Sufannah Davis	George Dennison
Rachel, wife of Joseph Davis, currier	George Denfell
Widow Davis	Henry Denfell's wife
Widow Davis	Maria Denzell
William Davis	Henry Depherwinn's son
John Davis, upholsterer	George Dernberger
Richard Davy	Henry Derham
Mary Dawkens	James Derry
Hannah Dawson	Widow Deringer
Joshua Dawson's child	Adam Detterick, shoemaker
Daniel Dawson's wife Hannah	John Devenny's child
Mary Dawson	Christian Devir
Darius Dawson	Thomas Devonald, merchant
James Day's wife	Margaret Dewis
Elizabeth Day	Campbell Dick, merchant
Sarah Days	John Dibberger, cutler, and wife
Edward Deal, blacksmith	Charlotte Dibberger
John Deal, blacksmith	Henry Dibberger, sen. and wife
Mary Deal, servant	John Dickz's son
Peter Deal's child	Dick —, a negro, aged 75
Margaret Dean	John Dickenson, bookbinder
Joseph Dean, vendue-master, a woman and child	Mary Dickinson
Patrick Deary	Jonathan Dickinson, shoemaker
Joseph de Barth	— Dickinson, drover
Mr. Deberger, his wife, and 6 or 7 of the family	Daniel Dickenson's daughter
Jacob Debre	Elizabeth Dickinson
Elizabeth Debre	William Dickinson
Thomas Debzel	John Dickinson's child
Christian Deckard	P. Dickinson's daughter Maria
John C. Deckard, musician	Thomas Dickinson's wife
Christ. Deckenhardt, apprentice	William Dickinson, farmer
Henry Decker, a servant	Michael Dignon and two sons
Jenny Degenhart	Edward Diehl, smith
Christopher Degenhard & child	John Diehl's son, porter
Wilhelmina Degenhard	Maria M. Diehl
William Deganhort	John Diehl, carpenter
Ann D. Deifs	Henry Dietz, baker
	John Dietmar, labourer
	Maria Dietz
	Elizabeth Dietrick

- Michael Dietrick's son
 William Dieu, a child
 Frederick Dillman's wife
 Catharine Dill's child
 Mr. Dingle's child
 Jane Dight, a servant
 Catharine Dorothy Dirrick
 William Dallas
 Christian Dishong, and child
 Maurice Dishong, clerk
 Matthew Dishong's child
 Sufannah Dishong, widow
 John Dixon's wife
 Elizabeth Dixon
 Patrick Dixon's child, labourer
 William Dixon, joiner
 Doctor John Dodd
 Jacob Dodelmah's wife and
 two children
 Dolly, a black woman
 Julian Doison
 John Doll, carpenter
 Hugh Donaldson, son of John
 Arthur Donaldson's son
 John Donahue
 Johanna Donahue
 Abigail Donahue
 Margaret Donnelly
 Philip H. Donneck
 William Dorr
 Sarah H. Dorsey
 Robert Dorsey's servant girl
 William Doudney
 Barnard Dougherty
 Jeremiah Dougherty, carpenter
 John Dougherty, carpenter
 Rev. William Dougherty
 Margaret Dougherty, servant
 Henry Dougherty
 Elizabeth Doughty
 Charlotte Douglass
 G. W. Douglass, silver-smith
 Joseph Douglass, hair-dresser
 William Douglass, carter
 Peggy Dougney
 Mary Dove
 Thomas Dowling
 Nathaniel Dowdry, carpenter
 Mrs. Down
 William Downey, whip-maker
 Nathaniel Downing
 Peter Doyle
 James Doyle
 Mary Doyle
 Henry Drawiller
 John Drieux, wife & daughter
- William Drinker
 Elizabeth Driscall and child
 John B. Drouillard's 2 children
 John Drum's child
 Eleanor Drum
 Cha. Fk. Dubois, watch-maker
 Joseph Dubreez's wife
 Erenna Duffield
 Lucy Duffield
 J. Dufour's daughter Catharine
 Nancy Dugan and child
 William Douglas
 DuLac, F. ambassador's secretary
 ——— Dull, hatter
 Charles Dunbar
 John Dunbury, servant
 John Dudman
 James Duncan's wife and child
 John Dunkin, merchant
 John Dunleavy
 Cormick Dunleavy
 Margaret Dunley, servant
 Ann Dunn
 Elizabeth Dunn
 Sarah Dunn
 Francis Dupail
 Doctor Joseph Dupac
 Elizabeth Dupleffis
 Francis Dupont, consul of
 French republic
 Philip Durnick
 John Durker
 Peter Durieu
 Rosanna Durang
 Joseph Duvet
 John Durney's child
 Thomas Durnell's daughter
 Sufannah Dyes
 William Earl
 Grace Easlaugh and child
 Charles Eastick
 Sarah Eastick
 John Eastick's wife
 George Eborne's child
 John P. Eck, grocer
 Elizabeth Eccles
 James Eccle's two daughters
 ——— Eccles
 George Eckel, linen-draper
 Mary Eccles
 Elizabeth Eccles
 Deborah Eckley
 John Ecky's apprentice
 ——— Eckstein's wife Catharine
 and child
 Maria Echard

Philip Edenborn, carpenter	John Engles, merchant
Phil. Edenborn, flour-merchant	John English
John Edmundson	Jacob Erringer, weaver
Edward Edwards's two children	Peter Erston, wife & 2 children
Ephraim Edwards, labourer	Anthony John Escorcio, clerk
John Edwards, sailor	Frederic Esker, baker
Abigail Edwards's child	Christian Estling
Morgan Edwards, hatter	Barbara Esky
John Edwards	Jacob Esler, blacksmith
Samuel Edwards and wife	Margaret Estling
W. Edwards, silversmith, & child	George Eswin's wife
Catharine Egan	Adam Etner
James Eggar	Elizabeth Ettrick
Martin Ehrhard's daughter	Matthew Ettrick's wife
Elizabeth Ehrenzellers	Etienne J. Eude's child
Jacob Ehringer	John Evans's child
Mary Eidenfield, servant	Magdalen Evans
Ann Eiler	Joseph Evans
John Eisenbrey, tavern-keeper	Mary Evans
Richard Elber's child	James Evans
Francis Elcock	Mary Evans, a hired girl
David Elder, clerk	Nancy Evans
Sarah Elder	Philip Evans, house-carpenter
David Elder and wife	Phillis Evans
John Element, coachman	Rowland Evans, merchant
J. Elfrey, cooper, wife & child	Rowland Evans
Catharine Elfry	Israel Everly, shoemaker
Josiah Elfrith, joiner	Widow Eberman
Laurence Ellers and wife	Anthony Everhardt, labourer
William Ellery	William Evil
Isaac Elliot	John Ewen's two children
John Elliot	Thomas Ewing's two children
Mary Elliot	John Eysenbry, tavern-keeper
Hannah Ellis	Henry Facundus, shoemaker, and wife
Elizabeth Ellis and child	John Fairus, ship-carpenter
Samuel A. Ellis	Mary Faires
Ann Elmore	Arthur Falconer, Jr.
Margt. Elmstie, from Scotland	Hannah Falkenburger, Germ.
Sarah Ellsworth	Casper Farners wife
Joseph Elum, merchant	Joseph Farren, jun.
Elfy, a black	John Farren
Andrew Elwine	Edward Farren's child
Hannah Elwins, a child	John Farrow, shoemaker
Baitzer Emerick's two sons	John Fasser
Lætitia Emuel	Michael Fatty's two children
Maria Emelott	John Faufer's son
Widow Emmeret	William Favel, baker
Jacob Enk, tailor, & 3 sons, viz.	Samuel Faringer's wife
Philip Enk, teller in B. U. S.	Charles Fearis, seaman
Henry Enk, linen-draper	Tobias Febias
Peter Enk, tailor	Widow Felles's child
Jacob Endre's brother in-law	Jacob Felty, Germ.
Catharine Enger, and child	Felix Fenner, labourer
Christian Englehot, labourer	Daniel Fenance, a child
James Engles's child	

- Joseph Fenny
 Dan. Fenton, shoemaker, & wife
 David Fenton, shoemaker, & wife
 Thomas Fenton, jun.
 Philip T. Fentham, druggist
 Widow Fenton
 Thomas Fenton, sail-maker
 Ferely, widow
 Widow Ferglas
 Elizabeth Ferguson
 Samuel Ferguson
 Robert Ferguson, brick-layer
 Thomas Ferguson, printer
 Barnabas Ferris, clerk
 John Ferris
 Francis Ferris, clerk
 Ann Margaret Fidlers, widow
 Barbara Field
 Charles Field, chair-maker
 Peter Field's wife
 Widow Filler
 Thomas Fielder
 Catharine Fiete
 William Finifter, farmer
 Francis Finley
 Charles Findley, grave-digger
 Jane Findley
 Michael Finn's child
 William Finn, hatter
 Charles Finney's daughter
 Joseph Finney
 John Fink, porter
 Charles Fink, shoemaker
 Hannah Firmir
 William Firm
 William Finifter
 Ann Fisher, servant
 Catharine Fisher, servant
 David Fisher, labourer
 Jabez, son of Miers Fisher
 John Fisher
 Robert Fisher
 Henry Fisher, starch-maker,
 and wife
 Patrick Fisher, shoemaker
 John Fisher and daughter
 Sam'l Fisher, button-plater, Eng.
 Zachariah Fisher's child
 Samuel Fisher, hatter
 Sarah Fisher, servant
 samuel Fishinger's wife
 Jacob Fisler, tailor
 Anthony Fisser
 Jacob Fitter, labourer, and wife
 Christo. Fite, shoemaker, Germ.
- Adam Fister, carpenter
 Margaret Fitzgerald
 William Fitzgerald, tailor
 Gerald Fitzsimmons
 Jeremiah Fitzsimmons, painter
 John Fitzsimmons
 Philip Flack, joiner
 George Flauer's daughter
 George Fleck's wife
 Jacob Fleck's six children
 Reverend Francis A. Fleming,
 catholic clergyman
 Margaret Fleim
 Hugh Fleming, tavernkeeper
 Hugh Fleming, son of do.
 Samuel Fleming, sen.
 Samuel Fleming, jun.
 Elizabeth Fletcher
 Charles Flick, wife and child
 David Flickwir, confectioner,
 wife, and son
 James Flinn
 Mary Flinn
 Anne Flint, widow
 Flora, a black girl
 Monf. Florio, Fr.
 Margaret Flour
 George Flowers's child
 Eliza. Faggle
 Mary Faggle, daughter of do.
 William Faggle
 Elizabeth Follows, widow
 Widow Folwell's child
 Isaac I. Folwell, tailor
 Daniel Ford, farmer
 George Forde's child
 George Ford, hostler
 Fortune Ford
 Alexander Foreman's daughter
 John Forester
 William Forester, labourer
 John Forse
 Thomas Forster, hatter
 Nicholas Fosberg, church-clerk
 Nicholas Fosberg, sen. painter
 Ann Foster
 Margaret Fossom, Germ.
 Wife of Geo. Founce, fisherman
 Lemuel Fowles and child
 George Fowme, fisherman
 William Fowles, musician
 Dorothy Fox
 Robert Fox
 George Fox and three children
 George Fox

- Sarret Foyer
 Frederic Foy
 James Frampton
 George France
 Joseph France
 Rebecca Francis
 Jacob Franks's wife
 David Franks
 David S. Franks, assistant cashier of the U. S. B.
 Catharine Fraim
 Elizabeth Frazer, in the Widows' Hospital
 Mary Frazer
 Robert Frazer
 John Frederick, labourer
 Anthony Freeborn, shoemaker
 Jacob Freeborn, tobaccoconit
 Tobias Freeborough
 Tobias Freebush, shoemaker
 Isaac Freeman
 Jacob Freneau
 Catharine Freeth, servant
 Philip Fries, labourer
 William French
 Sufannah French, nurse
 Charles French's daugh. Eliza.
 7 French strangers (names unknown)
 Michael Frick, carter
 Jacob Frilander, labourer
 Abry Friend, negro
 Elizabeth Friend
 John Fritz, tailor
 John Fritz, tavern-keeper
 Elizabeth Frost
 Joseph Fromp, apprentice
 James Fruger
 Jacob Fry, apprentice
 Jane Fry
 Mary Fry, wife of Joseph Fry
 Joseph Fry, junior
 George Fudge's wife, & daugh.
 John Fagle, wife, and two sons
 Jacob Fulton
 Widow Fuller
 Henry Furgurson, tailor, & wife
 William Fusselback's child
 Peter Gabriel, baker
 Ferdinand Gabriel
 Mary Gabriel
 Sarah Gainer
 Mary, daugh. of Ja's Gallagher
 Daniel Callagher
 Ally Gallagher
 Michael Gallimore, farmer
 Sarah Galloway, Æt. 75
 Mary Ann Gally
 Elizabeth Galler
 Catharine Gallinger
 John Gamber's child
 John Gambles's wife
 Mary Ganno
 Elizabeth Gans
 Drufilla Gardner
 Michael Garcoin
 Elizabeth Gardner
 Elizabeth Gardner, servant
 Wife of James Gardner, sailor
 John Gardner, shoemaker
 Mary Gardner
 Richard Gardner, tea-dealer
 Benjamin Gardener
 Widow Margaret Gardner
 Mr. — Garre
 Andrew Garter
 John Gartner, labourer
 Mary Garret
 Thomas Garrette, apprentice
 Elizabeth Garret
 Thomas Garrigues, hatter
 Samuel Garrigues's wife & son
 Andrew Gartley
 John Gartly
 Sarah Gassner
 Valentine Gassner's daughter
 Gasper Gassner, shoemaker, son and daughter
 George Gassner's son
 John Gartly
 Andrew Gatley
 William Gauslin
 Adolph Gaul, butcher
 Joseph Gaven
 John Gawn, tailor and child
 Widow Gebhard and daughter
 Rachel Gebhard
 Dorothy Geir
 Christian Gensel, porter
 John Gelher, labourer
 Wife of John Genter, tailor
 George Genslin's child
 Margaret Genter
 Robert George
 Michael Gering's child
 John Getts, plasterer, and wife
 Jacob Geyer, tailor
 Isaac Geyer's son
 Henry Gibert, cabinet-maker
 John Gibard
 Margaret Gibson, and child
 Andrew Gibson's wife

- Mary Ann Gibson
 Robert Gibson, cabinet-maker
 Nancy Gibson
 George Gilberts wife
 Michael Gilbert, potter
 Ruth Gilbert
 Sarah Gilbert, servant
 James Gilchrist, merchant, Eng.
 William Gilfrey's wife
 John Gill, tal. chandler, & child
 Joseph Gill
 Sarah Gill
 John Gillingham
 Mary Gillingham, spinster
 Mrs. Girard
 Mrs. Gilmore
 Margaret Ginther
 John Ginther, tailor, and wife
 William Girtin
 Fer. Gism
 Mrdinand Glancey, labourer
 Nathaniel Glover, merchant
 Elizabeth Glynn
 Benjamin Glynn
 Peter Glentworth, physician
 Michael Glegenon's child
 John Gobblegought, Germ.
 Mary Godin
 William Godfrey
 — Golden, hair-dresser, Bost.
 Martha Goldsmith, widow
 Thomas Goldrick
 Henry Goldson, apprentice
 Henry Golzer
 John Good, labourer, Germ.
 Joseph Good, wife and child
 Mary Good, from Bucks county
 Michael Good, brickmaker
 Moses Goodman, labourer
 George Goodman's child
 James Goodwin
 Abraham Gordon, carpenter
 Elizabeth Gordon
 John Gordon, Ir.
 Peter Gordon, shoemaker
 Enoch Gordon
 Richard Goren's child
 Michael Gorran
 James Gorham, carpenter and
 butron-aker
 Wm. Gosling, house carpenter
 Catharine Goshier, Germ.
 Joseph Gosier, jun.
 Sarah Gosier, servant
 John Gosier, plasterer, and wife
 James Gosier, sailor
 Morris Gough, ship-carpenter,
 wife and two children
 Joseph Gowan
 George Grace, labourer
 Jacob Grace's wife
 Rev. Laurence Graefsl, catho-
 lic pastor
 Batty Graff's child
 John Graff's wife
 Jacob Graff, mason
 Thomas Graham
 Dr. Graham, late of New York
 Robert Graham
 Dnncan Graham, carpenter
 Mary Graham
 John Graham, stone-cutter
 Casper Graist's daughter
 Jonathan Grammer
 William Grant, tailor
 Alexander Graves's wife
 Ludwick Graver's child
 William Gravenstone
 John Gray, rope-maker
 Peter Gray's child
 Joseph Gray
 Thomas Gray, jun.
 Robert Greaves, hair-dresser
 George Greble, cooper
 Elizabeth Green and child
 Edward Green, ship-carpenter
 Michael Green
 James Green's wife & daughter
 Susanna Greens
 John Green's child
 John Green, labourer, Ir.
 Isaac Green, labourer
 John Green
 Solomon Green, tobacconist
 William Grenville
 Levander Greff
 John Greenward
 Benjamin Greiner, nailor
 Archibald Greenlap
 John Greisberger's wife
 Ann Gergory, widow, Æt. 60
 Malcolm Gregory
 Thomas Gregory, cooper
 Christian Gregory's child
 Ann Gregg
 John Grehaut, labourer
 John Gribble
 George Gribble, cooper
 Jonathan Grice, shipwright
 Joseph Grieve's wife
 John Grier, and wife
 Thomas Griffiner

- Mary Griez, widow, Æt. 63
 Levander Griffee
 Mary Griffen
 Sellwood Griffin, blockmaker
 William Griffin
 Margaret Grindle
 John Griffin
 Samuel Griscam, carpenter
 Rebecca Griscam, wife of do.
 Casper Grifgam, sawyer, Ir.
 Ann Griggs
 William Griggen
 Sam. Griskel, carpenter, & wife
 Catharine Grogan
 John Gros's wife
 Widow Gross
 Widow Grossings
 Joseph Groves, tailor
 Jacob Groves, blacksmith
 Margaret Groves
 John Grubb, carpenter
 John Grubb, jun. carpenter
 James Grumman's child
 John Gryce, sail-maker
 Henry Guel
 Geo. Gueneau's wife, & child
 Mr. — Guerre
 John Gueft, sen.
 Judas Guier
 Marcus Gunn
 Neil Gunn, labourer
 Daniel Gurney's child
 William Gurton, and wife
 James Guthrie, carpenter
 John Gutts, plasterer, and wife
 Jacob Gueyer, son of ditto
 Frederic Haas
 Matthew Hafs
 Mary Hafs
 John Habea
 Catharine Haffine, spinster
 Daniel Haffine, blacksmith
 William Haft, shoemaker, wife,
 and apprentice
 Susanna Haga
 Catharine Hagar
 S. Hagelgans, stocking-weaver
 Valentine Hagner, sen. cooper
 Valentine Hagner, junior
 Elizabeth Hagner
 Andreas Haidt, smith
 Andreas Haft
 Wm. Haft, shoemaker, & wife
 Sam'l Hailagus, stocking weaver
 David Hailer, surgeon
 Frederick Hailer's wife
 Widow Hailey
 John Haltzel, tailor
 John Haines's wife
 Dorothy Hains
 Reuben Haines, sen. brewer
 Margaret Haines, wife of ditto
 George Hake, cooper
 Jacob Halberstott
 Charles Halden, hatter
 Sebastian Hale, or Ale, gr. digger
 Thomas Hale, bell-hanger
 Patrick Haley, labourer
 Penelope Haley
 Philip Hall, butcher, Germ.
 Dorothy Hall
 Parry Hall and daughter
 Elizabeth Hall
 John Hall
 Samuel Hall, labourer, Eng.
 Mrs. Haller
 Philip Haller, cooper
 John Hallet, hair-dresser, & wife
 Charles Hallick's sister
 Anthony Haman
 Charles Hambleton's wife
 Henry Hambleton
 Abraham Hambright's wife
 Joseph D. Hamelin, French tutor
 Alexander Hamilton's wife
 James Hamilton
 John Hamilton, apprentice
 Mary Hamilton
 William Hamilton
 Unity Hammel
 Margaret Hammon
 Jacob Hammond, sugar-baker,
 wife and child, Germ.
 Nic. Hampstead's son & daughter
 Elizabeth Hampstead
 Child of Sam'l Hampton, grocer
 Thomas Hampton
 Michael Hanaghan, servant
 John Hanks's maid
 Capt. Jacob Hand's widow
 Geo. Haney, carpenter, & wife
 John Haney, labourer, Ir.
 John Hannah and child
 Joseph Hanna, tailor
 Christian Hanna
 Andrew Hanna
 William Hannan
 Wife of Barnet Hansell, tailor
 Andrew Hanish
 Mr. Hansell, Germ.
 Wife of Christ. Hanseman, tailor
 John Haragel, baker

- Thomas Harden
 Eve Harding
 James Harding, sawyer
 Hannah Harding
 William Hardinefs's wife
 James Hardy
 Jane Hardey
 John Hare, labourer
 William Harklife
 Jacob Harlman and wife
 Joseph Harman, hair-dresser
 Mary Herman
 Temperance Harmer
 Sarah Harmer
 Alexander Harme
 Nicholas Harmstadt, & daughter
 Jane Harned
 Hannah Harnsey
 Christopher Harper's daughter
 Henry Harper, hair-dresser
 Mary Harper
 Joseph Harper's three children
 William Harper's wife and child
 John Harragan, tailor
 Michael Harragan, smith
 Thomas Harrell, farmer
 Edward Harris's wife
 John Harris and wife
 William Harris
 Peale Harris
 Thomas Harris, fadler
 William P. Harris, clerk
 Widow Harris
 Elizabeth Harris
 Hazel Harriot
 Mary Harrifon, nurse
 Jane Harrifon
 Sarah Harrifon
 Margaret Harrifon
 Jacob Hart, pilot
 Laurence Hart, storckeeper
 Rachel Hart
 Thomas Hart, shoemaker, Eng.
 John Hartford, coachman
 Sarah Hartley, Eng.
 Susanna Hartley
 Anthony Hartman
 Jacob Hartman, apprentice
 Peter Hartman's wife
 Lewis Hartman
 John Hartrau's wife
 Elizabeth Harvey
 Eliz. Harvey, schoolmistress, En.
 Samuel Harvey, apprentice
 Philip Hasenbach, labourer
 Wm. Hassel, sen. tavern-keeper
 Isaac Hartings, student
 Lydia Hatfield
 James Hattriotz, baker
 Jacob Hausshaw's young woman
 John Hauskins, shoemaker
 William Hautzel, weaver
 ——— Hausman's daughter
 Henry Hauften
 Christian Hautzel, carter
 Christopher Hauser's wife
 Jacob Hawes
 Anna Maria Hawan
 Hugh Hawthorn, tailor
 Mary Hawthorn
 William Hays, ironmonger
 Michael Hay, wife, and three
 sons, John, Peter, and Charles
 Joseph Hay
 Martha Hays,
 Jacob Hays
 Mary Hays, of Allentown
 Catharine Hayes, a stranger
 John Haynes, apprentice
 Catharine Haynes
 Ruth Haynes
 Hannah Hazard
 James Hazelot, weaver, Ir.
 Charles Hazzleton
 John Heartenough's wife
 Chris. Heatley, merchant's wife
 Harriot, wife of Charles Heatly
 George Heck, cooper
 Samuel Head's dangh. Mary
 ——— Hebert, a Frenchman
 Anthony Hecht, labourer
 Charles Heitberger, butcher
 John Helm's child
 Jacob Heiberger's child
 George Heiberger's son
 John Heiberger, baker
 Roger Hefferman
 John Hefferman, school-master
 William Heifzer, painter
 Widow Heil
 John Heil's child
 Anna Maria Heintzen
 John Heiser, hatter
 Francis Helfrick's wife & child
 Elizabeth Held
 Peter Helk's wife
 Catharine Hem
 James Hendrick, sen. cutler
 James Henderson's wife
 Redmond Henderson
 Thomas Henderson's child
 Mary Henderson

- Ann Hendrick
 Wilhelmina Hedrick, and four
 servants
 Elizabeth Hedrick
 Marcha Hemphill
 John Henna
 Patrick Hennabody, coach-ma-
 ker, wife and daughter
 John Henau's child
 Michael Hennafey
 John Henigel, baker
 John Henry, jeweller
 Margaret Henry
 Christopher Heufner's daugh.
 Wife of Henry Henson, brush-
 maker
 Michael Henszey
 George Hercules, a negro
 William Hercules, shoemaker
 Elizabeth Herleman
 George Herman, baker
 George Herlemin
 William Herman's wife
 William Hertzog, labourer
 Christopher Herrely, labourer
 John Herrill
 Wife of Nich. Hefs, blacksmith
 George Hefs's sister
 Isaac Heston
 — Hetnick, baker
 Israel Hewlings, shoemaker
 Joseph Hewlings, bricklayer
 Henry Hewmes, coppersmith
 John Hufon, sailer
 Mrs. Hewit
 Andrew Hews
 John Heyberger, jun.
 Mary Heyberger
 John Heyburn
 Andrew Heyd's son
 Benja. Hickman's wife & son
 David Hickman, clerk
 Joseph Hicks, gluemaker
 John Hicks
 Richard Hicks
 John Hierson, hatter
 William Hickert's wife
 John Jacob Hiertman, malster
 Angel Higgenbottom
 William Higgenbottom
 Joseph Higgins
 Mary Hightson
 Susannah Higgin, widow
 Martin Hilderburn, sieve-maker
 Wife of George Hill, clerk
 Robert Hill
 Wife of Jacob Hill, fisherman
 James Hill, bricklayer
 James Hill, clerk
 John Hill, chair-maker
 Johannah Hill, jun.
 John Hill's daughter
 Samuel Hill, Jr.
 James Hillman, apprentice
 Jacob Hillman, blacksmith
 Catharine Hillner
 Jacob Hilsinger, labourer
 William Hiltzheimer
 Mary Hinan
 George Hinckel, watchman
 John Hinckel's son
 Christop'r Hineman's daughter
 Jane Hiltridge
 George Hinton, cutler
 Mrs. Hirt
 Mary Hirtine
 George Hishatters
 Samuel Hampton's son
 Henry Haare, cardmaker
 John Hobson, sievemaking
 Barbara Hackensoffe
 John Hockley, ironmonger
 Elizabeth Hobson
 Jeffrey Hadnet, sadler, and son
 Christopher Hocknoble
 Catharine Hoff
 Catharine Hoffman
 Regina Hoffman
 Isaac Hoffman, sailer
 Henry Hoffman, baker
 Susanna Hoffman
 Jac. Hoffner, schoolmaster, Ger.
 Philip Hofner, carter
 Michael Hoft's son
 Edward Hogan's two children
 Dr. Hodge's child
 Andrew Hodge's child
 Joseph Hogg, carpenter, N. Jer.
 Anna Catharina Hefflein
 Jacob Holberstadt, labourer
 Charles Hold, hatter
 Benjamin Holden, mason
 Charles Holden
 Wm. Holderness's son Thomas
 Samuel Holgate
 William Holklow
 Barbara Hollard, widow
 Philip Hollard, cooper
 John Holmes, farmer
 Sarah Holmes, widow

- Sarah Holmes
 Thomas Holmes's wife
 Moses Homberg, innkeeper
 George Houigs
 Wife & child of William Honck,
 turner
 Christopher Honey
 John Honecker and wife
 George Honker's wife & child
 Joseph Holton
 Martha Holton
 Sarah Honor, widow
 George Hoochey
 Sarah Hoop
 John Hoover's wife
 Andrew Hope, jun.
 William Hope, tinman
 John Hopkins, jun. silver-smith
 John Hopkins's wife
 Joseph Hopkins, haater, Virg.
 Mary Hopkins
 Mary Hopkins, a servant
 Richard Hopkins
 Thomas Hopkins, ship-joiner
 Joseph Hopper, joiner
 Ludwick Hopier
 Christian Hospital, labourer
 Henry Hore
 Henry Horne, schoolmaster,
 and three children
 Mary Horne, Germ.
 Eliz. Hornor, daughter of Ben-
 jamin
 Mary Horndriver
 Philip Herslepaugh, shoemaker,
 Winchester
 William Houts
 Azariah Horton
 Caleb Hoskins, of Burlington
 Benjamin Houlton
 Anthony Hotman
 John Homtan
 Winnefred Houghay's child
 Catharine House, Germ.
 Elizabeth Houchen
 Abby Houseman
 Jacob Houseman, carpenter
 Joseph Houts, hair-dresser
 William Houtson, weaver
 John Hover's wife
 Mr. Howard
 John Howard, paper-maker,
 Eng.
 Thomas Howe, rope-maker
 Jacob R. Howell, notary public
 Jacob S. Howell
- Isaac Howell's wife Patience
 Mr. Howell
 Catharine Howsty
 Adam Hubley, vendue-master
 John Huber's child
 William Hudson, wool-comber
 Peter Hudson
 Joseph Hudell's wife Sarah
 Benjamin Huggins
 Ellis Hughes, whitesmith
 Caleb Hughes's child and two
 apprentices
 Garret Hughes and wife
 John, son of Hugh Henry
 Henry Hughes
 George Hughes's child
 William Hughes, breechesma-
 ker, Scotland
 Wife of Frederic Huler, sailor
 Diana Hulford
 Abraham Hulings' wife
 Oliver C. Hull, apothecary
 Joshua Humphreys, *Æt.* 86
 Hannah Humphreys, daughter
 of do.
 John Humphreys's child
 Rich'd Humphreys, storekeeper
 Gabriel Humphreys's child
 James Hunt, clerk
 William Hunt, tailor
 Ann Hunter's child
 John Hunter, carpenter
 William Hunter, tavern-keeper
 and child
 John Hunter's daughter
 John Hussey
 Charles Hunfman
 Mr. Hustick's child
 Elizabeth Huston, seamstress
 John Huston, print cutter, Eng.
 James Hutchinson, physician,
 his child and apprentice
 George Hutamn, hair-dresser
 Rebecca Hutman, a child
 John Hurcy
 Mary Hynin
 William Hyser, painter, Ger.
 Maria Hyson, Germ.
 Peter Hlett
 John Infell's daughter Mary
 ——— Inglis, storekeeper
 John Ingles, merchant, of York-
 shire
 Wife of Joseph Inglis, carter
 John Inkson, apprentice
 Joseph Irvine

Oliver Irvine, hatter
 Jacob Irwin
 Mrs. Irwin
 Sarah Irwin
 James Iskin
 Robert Jacks, schoolmaster
 Robert Jacks, shoemaker
 David Jackson
 Diana Jackson's child
 ——— Jackson
 James Jackson
 John Jackson, drayman
 Joseph Jackson's child
 Miss ——— Jackson
 Thomas Jackson
 Wid. Jackson, of Wilmington
 George Jacob's wife
 George Jacobs, blacksmith
 John Jacobs, porter
 John Jacobs, painter
 Nicholas Jacobs's son
 Jacob, a black man
 James, a black man
 Jacob James
 Margaret James, a child
 Martha James
 ——— Jameson, labourer
 Edward Jamison
 Helena Jamison
 John Jamison, cooper
 Matthew Jamison
 Wm. Jamison, carpenter
 William Jamison, tailor
 William Jamison's child
 Jane ———, a black woman
 Doctor Janus's daughter
 Martha Jafon, spinner
 John Jarman, jun.
 John Jauck, brushmaker
 F. Laurejai, Fr.
 William Jeffry
 John Jenkins's son Samuel
 Jacob Jennings, store-keeper
 John Jenny, ship-carpenter
 Elizabeth Jobards, widow
 John Jobb, painter
 Joseph Jobb, stocking-weaver
 John Jobline
 Hannah Jodon
 Peter Jodon
 ——— Johnson's wife & child
 Catharine Johnson's child
 James Johnson
 Jonas Johnson, tavern-keeper
 Mary Johnson, servant
 Samuel Johnson, printer
 Susannah Johnson
 Robert Johnson, physician
 Robert Johnson, shoemaker
 William Johnson, joiner
 Barney Johnson
 Francis Johnson
 John Johnson
 Margaret Johnson, widow
 Mary Johnson, widow
 Robert Johnson, baker
 Samuel Johnson, painter
 Ann Jones
 Charles Jones, conveyancer
 Daniel Jones
 Elizabeth Jones
 Child of Ely Jones, clerk
 Stelena Jones, day maker
 George Jones, blacksmith
 Jane Jones, mantua-maker
 Joab Jones, tailor
 John Jones's wife
 Mary Jones, widow
 Mary Jones's son
 Matthew Jones's daughter
 Owen Jones, sen. Æt. 82
 Patience Jones
 Rebecca Jones, widow of David
 Rowland Jones, clerk
 Ruth Jones
 Sarah Jones, widow
 Widow Jones's daughter
 William Jones, merchant
 William Jones, labourer, & wife
 Hannah Jordan, Ir.
 Henry Jordan's wife
 James Jordan, chairmaker
 Samuel Jordan, turner
 Joseph, a black man
 George Jost
 John Jourdan, coachman
 Jude, a black woman
 Jacob Judah
 Judith, a black woman
 Juliana, a mulatto
 Cornelia Julio
 Catharine Jung
 Jacob Jung's daughter
 David Justice, apprentice
 John Justice's child
 William M. Justice, printer
 Joseph Kaenerle
 Jacob Kales, labourer
 John Kalkbrenner's wife
 Godfrey Kartis, shoemaker
 Jacob Kares, labourer
 Elizabeth Katten, Carlisle

Catharine Kattz
 Elizabeth Kattz and 2 children
 John Kattz's wife
 Isaac Kattz's wife
 Michael Kattz's child
 Mary Karn
 Jacob Kauffman's son
 John Kean's two children
 Joseph Kean's child
 Hugh Kean's child
 Mary Kean
 Matthew Kean's daughter
 Elizabeth Keen and child
 John Keen's child
 Joseph Keen
 Mary Keen
 Susannah Keigen
 Elizabeth Kell
 James Kellenan
 George Kelly, harness-maker
 Mrs. Kelly
 Christopher Kellman and wife
 Joseph Kemel's son
 Henry Kemp
 William Kemp
 Martha Kemphill, servant
 — Kenny
 Mrs. Kepple
 John Keppler, shoemaker
 William Kennedy, labourer
 John Kennon
 Casper, Peter and Catharine
 Kensinger
 Thomas Kenrick, store-keeper
 Elizabeth Kenton
 John Kerbeck
 William Kerls, porter
 Adam Kerr's widow
 Andrew Kerr, labourer
 James Kerr's widow
 Prude Kerr
 Abigail Kessler
 Jacob Kessler's wife
 John Kessler, hair-dresser
 Leonard Kessler
 Michael Kessler, ship-joiner
 Lucy Keating
 Christian Keyser, blacksmith
 Daniel Keyser, labourer
 Joseph Keyser, grocer
 Jacob Kitchlien, butcher
 George Kichn's daughter
 Christian Kiegler
 Thomas Kildrick
 John Killgour
 George Killinger
 Peter Killinger
 Philip Killinger, carpenter
 Richard Killpatrick
 Caleb Kimber, schoolmaster
 Aaron Kimber, son of do.
 Jacob Kimely
 Wife of Casp. Kinck, shoemaker
 Catharine King
 Charles King
 Elizabeth King, widow
 ——— King
 George King, coach-painter
 Hugh King's two children
 John King and child
 Mary King
 Joseph Kingfley
 Margaret Kingfley
 Ann Kinley
 Joseph Kinnear's child
 Christopher Kinness, tailor
 Christopher Kinns, labourer
 George Kinsinger and wife
 Hannah Kinsinger
 ——— Kipsey, furrier
 Mrs. Kirk and child
 John Kirk, a lad
 Thomas Kirk, baker
 Catharine Kite
 Elizabeth Kite
 Jonathan Kite, chair-maker,
 wife and three children
 Casper Kitts
 Jacob Kitts, chandler, son and
 cousin
 Mrs. Kitts
 Catharine Klady
 Margaret Klady
 Widow Klepper
 Christian Kliffie, weaver and
 child
 Andrew Kline's wife
 John Kline, labourer
 Nicholas Klingeler, cooper
 Mary Klingle
 Charles Knight, biscuit-baker
 Hannah Knight
 John Knight, tailor
 John Knight, sailor
 Sarah Knight
 Daniel Knodle
 Elizabeth Knows, servant
 Mary Knows
 Adam Knox
 Richard Knox's child
 Mary Koan
 George Kock, labourer, his
 wife Catharine and son
 John Kock

Widow Kock
 Joseph Kock
 Widow Koenner
 George Koi's child
 Peter Krafter and daughter
 Christop'r Kreyder, tobacconist
 Wife of Geo. Kribbs, shoemaker
 Susannah Kribner, Æt. 70
 John Kettle, cooper
 John Kroll, hair-dresser
 Joachim Krenaver, labourer
 Henry Krotto's child
 Catharine Krotten
 Barbara Krunkoster
 Abraham Krup, carpenter
 John Kruteer
 James Kubber
 Christop'r Kucher, sugar-baker
 Philip Kucher, his son
 Bernard Kuffer
 Wife of Frederick Kuhl
 George Kuhn's wife
 Jacob Kuhn's wife
 John Kuhn's son
 Ludwig Kuhn, clerk
 Widow Kuhn
 Jacob Kuncle's son
 Martin Kernotler
 George Kurtz
 Daniel Kuren, labourer
 John Lack's daughter
 Lætitia ———
 Daniel Lafferty and child, Ir.
 Matthew Lafferty's child
 John Lambsbach, labourer
 ——— Lammoron's child
 Arch. Lamont's wife & children
 Mrs. Lamont, child, and jour-
 neyman
 Elizabeth Lancaster
 Wife and child of Joseph Lan-
 caster, labourer, Eng.
 Joseph Landre, labourer
 Margaret Landress
 Nancy Lane
 Mrs. Lane
 Margaret Lang
 Edward Langman
 Hufon Langstroth, paper-maker
 Jacob Laweshlag
 Andrew Lapp and wife
 Laurence Lapp, baker
 Michael Lapp, baker, and wife
 James Lapsley, steward to the
 British ambassador
 ——— Lapsley's wife & daughter

——— Lapsley, shoemaker
 James Lapsley, schoolmaster,
 and daughter Elizabeth
 Patrick Larken, clerk
 Ralph Larremore's wife
 Mary Lasher
 Patrick Lasky
 Fred. Lunderbruns, surg. barber
 Jacob Lonterman's wife & 2 sons
 George Lautinsliager's sister
 Jacob Lauderfliver, shoemaker
 Margaret Lauderfliver
 Frederic Lauman
 Aaron S. Laurence, clerk, and
 wife
 Alex. Lawrence, sen. merchant
 Alex. Lawrence, jun. merchant
 Archibald Lawrence's child
 Charles Lawrence
 Cherry Lawrence's wife
 Christopher Lawrence
 Jacob Lawrence's two children
 John Lawrence's wife
 Joseph Lawrence, apprentice
 Rachel Lawrence
 Sarah Lawrence
 Thomas Lea, merchant
 J. T. Lea, son of do.
 Thomas Leach, cabinet-maker
 Margaret Leake, mantua-maker
 Widow Lear's child
 John Lebering's wife
 Paul Leck, labourer
 Francis J. Lector
 Ann Lee
 George Lee, apprentice
 Joseph Lee, wife, and son Geo.
 Mary Lee
 Thomas, son of Duncan Leech
 George Lees, tailor, wife, three
 children, and two other per-
 sons (names unknown)
 John Lees, tailor
 Margaret Lees
 Joseph Le Feore
 William Lehman's wife
 Doctor John Leibert, junior
 Mc. Leibrand, breeches-maker
 Matthias Leigh, labourer
 Michael Leigh
 Robert Leigh
 John Leiphy's child
 Andrew Leinaw, sadler
 Samuel Lelier
 James Lenox, apprentice
 Abner Leonard

Sarah Leonard
 Francis Leshner, coach-maker
 Francis Leshner, tavern-keeper,
 and servant girl
 Philip Leshner's wife
 ——— Letzinger's wife
 George Letzinger's wife
 Andrew Letton, shoemaker
 John Letton
 Moses Levy's girl
 Thomas Levy's wife
 ——— Lewis's child
 Catharine Lewis
 Jonathan, son of Mordecai Lew-
 is, merchant
 Isaac Lewis, tailor, and wife
 Lydia Lewis, widow
 Maria Lewis, mulatto
 Mary Lewis
 Michael Lewis's son
 William Lewis, hairdresser
 George Lex, butcher
 Jacob Lex's child
 Widow Leybrandt
 Christian Lickett
 Robert Lidler
 Peter Ligert
 Samuel Lilly, sailor
 John Limeburner's child
 Mary Lindall
 Ruth Lindill
 Thomas Lindall, carter
 Elizabeth Lindsay
 Hester Lindsay
 Mary Lindsay
 Susannah Lindsay
 Philip Linton, bottler
 George Linkinson, labourer
 Elizabeth Linkfelt
 Margaret Linn, Scotland
 Neal Linn
 William Linnar, porter
 Wm. Linton, wife and sister
 Widow Lintz
 Hannah Lisburn, widow
 Miss ——— Lister
 James Lesper
 Joseph Lispar
 Catharine List
 William Lethworth's child
 John Littman, son, & daughter
 Catharine Lloyd
 Daniel Lloyd, apprentice
 William Lloyd
 Wood Lloyd, tiler
 Mary Loddell

John Lob's child
 Elizabeth Locke, widow
 ——— Loeffler's wife
 John Loh, and daughter
 William Lohman, rope-maker
 Wife of Peter Lohra, broker
 Ralph Loimer, sailor
 Patrick Lollar's boy
 Herman Jos. Lombaert, mer.
 Frederic Long
 John Long, labourer, & son
 Richard Long, apprentice
 William Long, joiner
 Joseph Lopez, servant to the
 Spanish ambassador
 Hannah Lorton, servant
 Abraham Lott, merchant
 ——— Louis, Fr.
 Elizabeth Lovett
 George Lovett's son
 John Lowden, ferryman
 Rebecca Lowden
 Thomas Lowden's wife
 James Lowne
 Edward Lowder
 Sarah Lowder
 William Lowman
 Agnes Lownes
 Ed. Lowry, labourer, & wife
 Hester Lucas
 Christo. Luckarts, carter, & wife
 John Martin Ludwig, butcher
 Thomas Ludwig
 Robert Lumsden, corder
 George Luntz's daughter
 Lewis H. Luring, wife, & child
 Widow Luring
 Jacob Lufely, labourer
 Elizabeth Lushinger
 William Lushworm, labourer
 Catharine Lutz, Germ.
 Christian Lutz's child
 Ann Lyland
 Benjamin Lyndall's child
 John Lynn, physician, of N. Eng.
 Mary Lynn
 Mrs. ——— Lynn
 Mary Lyons
 Michael Lyons, sailor
 Philip Maad, labourer
 Jacob Macker's child
 Peter Mack's wife
 John Maidseaw
 Daniel M'Allister
 James M'Allister, labourer
 Alexander M'Alpin, carpenter

- Daniel M'Arthur's child
 Elizabeth M'Bay
 Robert M'Bay
 John M'Cube, hairdresser
 Alice M' Cabin's wife
 Jenny M'Call
 Daniel M'Calla's child
 John M'Care
 Archibald M'Carey
 William M'Carty, soapboiler
 David M'Crea
 James M'Claskie
 Wilow M'Clatchee's 2 children
 John M'Cleland
 John M'Cleuane
 Andrew M'Clure
 Daniel M'Clin, rope-maker
 Alexander M'Cord
 Eugenia M'Cordy
 Cornelius M'Cornick
 Margaret, daughter of Henry
 M'Cornick
 Thomas M'Corinick, merchant
 Archibald M'Cowen
 John M'Coy
 Ann Coy
 Jonathan M'Creedy
 John M'Crealy
 James M'Creary
 Margaret M'Crever
 Catharine M'Crossie
 Eleanor M'Crossie, widow
 Elizabeth M'Cullen
 Sarah M'Curdy
 Deborah M'Curtain
 Thomas M'Curtain, school-
 master, and wife
 James M'Cutcheon
 Daniel M'Daniel
 James M'Daniel, shoemaker
 Daniel M'Darrel, aged 80
 Martin M'Dermot, grocer
 Ann M'Donald, a child
 Alexander M'Donald, labourer
 Child of Donald M'Donald,
 painter
 Elizabeth M'Donald
 James M'Donald, shoemaker
 John M'Donald, labourer
 John M'Donald's child
 Mary M'Donald
 William M'Donald, hatter
 Hugh M'Dougal, labourer
 William M'Dougal, tobacconist
 Mrs M'Dowel
 Wm. M'Dowel, tavern-keeper
 Wm. M'Dowel
 Edw. M'Echan, bricklayer, Ir.
- Wm. M'Elvee, labourer
 John M'Ewing, stone cutter
 Enos M'Faden, labourer
 James M'Faden's wife
 Mary M'Faden
 Ann M'Farben
 Peter M'Garvey and wife
 Edward M'Gechan
 Helen M'Gechan and child
 Margaret M'Gechan
 Mary M'Gee
 Edward M'Gill, drayman
 Mary M'Gill,
 Wm. M'Gill, school-master
 Ann M'Ginley, housewife
 Philip M'Ginnes's wife
 John M'Glabery, a young man
 Wm. M'Glochlin
 Thomas M'Goldrick
 John M'Gontis's child
 John M'Gowan
 Joseph M'Gowan, carpenter
 Wm. M'Gowan
 Barney M'Gran, labourer
 Daniel M'Grath, porter
 John M'Grath
 Mich. M'Grath
 James M'Graw
 John M'Graw, sailor
 Barney M'Green
 ——— M'Griegle
 Ann M'Gregor
 John M'Gregor's child
 Nancy M'Grotty
 James M'Guillen
 James M'Guire
 Mary M'Guire, widow
 Peter M'Guire
 William M'Guire
 John M'Hagan
 John M'Ilroy
 Andrew M'Intire, joiner
 Elizabeth M'Intosh
 Laughlin M'Intosh
 Edward M'Kegan
 ——— M'Kegan, bricklayer
 Anthony M'Kennely
 Elizabeth M'Kenzie
 Mary M'Kenzie, housewife
 Murdock M'Kenzie
 John M'Keon
 William M'Key, apprentice
 Daniel M'Kee, sailor
 Margaret M'Kigham
 Isaac M'Kinby
 Hugh M'Kinley
 Mrs. M'Kinley
 Isaac M'Kinley, hatter

- John M'Knall
 Alexander M'Lane
 Daniel M'Lane
 Jane M'Lane
 — M'Lane, a stranger
 John M'Lane's wife and two children
 Roger M'Lane
 William M'Lane, sailor
 Ann M'Laughlin
 Giles M'Laughlin
 John M'Laughlin
 John M'Laughlin's wife
 John M'Laughlin, merchant
 Margaret M'Laughlin & child
 Patrick M'Laughlin's son
 William M'Laughlin, labourer
 Wm. M'Laughlin, shoemaker
 Agnes M'Lean
 Elizabeth M'Lane
 Jane M'Lean
 John M'Lean, inspector
 Joseph M'Lean, tailor
 Martin M'Lean
 Samuel M'Lean, shipwright
 Archibald M'Leary, labourer
 Joseph M'Lee
 Mary M'Lenahan
 Angus M'Leod's child
 Daniel M'Leod's wife
 Dougal M'Leod, labourer
 John M'Leod
 Malcolm M'Leod, labourer
 Mary M'Leod
 William M'Leod and daughter
 Mary M'Linny
 Hugh M'Mann
 Philip M'Mannus, blacksmith
 Ja's M'Manyman, nailor, & wife
 Mary M'Manyman
 John M'Manyman
 Joseph M'Matlock, carpenter
 Mary M'Michael, widow
 Catharine M'Mullen
 Neil M'Mullen
 Francis M'Murren
 John M'Nab, shipwright
 John M'Nair, clerk
 James M'Namara
 Gordon M'Neal, sailor
 John M'Neal, tailor
 Mary M'Neal
 John M'Near, apprentice
 Felix M'Quid's wife
 James M'Quillon, labourer
 Sarah M'Rain
 Milby M'Raper
 Hugh M'Swaine and wife
 James Mabey
 — Mack, labourer
 Sarah Mack
 Elizabeth Madan
 John Madan, shoemaker
 Patrick Madan's wife
 Leonard Madelen
 Benjamin Mager, apprentice
 Helena Magenis
 David Magner, carpenter
 Michael Magraw, servant
 Francis Major
 John Maitland
 John Maloney
 Catharine, widow of capt. John McLowney
 John Mannefield, joiner
 Mary Mannefield
 Mrs. Mann
 William Mann, tailor
 Charles Manson
 Peter Marclay, cooper
 Susannah Mareday, widow
 Philip Mareland
 Francis Marey
 Laurence Marey, perfumer
 John Baptiste Maris
 John Mark, shopkeeper
 Peter Marker, butcher
 John Maronee, apprentice
 Capt. James Marsh and brother
 Curtis Marshal
 Francis Marshall, bricklayer
 Joseph Marshall, shoemaker
 Joseph Marson
 Philip Martan
 James Martin's son
 John Martin, saddler
 John Martin's son
 Sarah Martin, servant
 Judah J Masara
 Thomas Masara
 Abraham C. Mason, merchant
 Arabella Mason
 John Mason
 Joshua Mason, blacksmith
 Margaret Mason, Æt. 80
 Richard Mason, engine-maker
 — Maffs
 Samuel Maffey
 Anne Mastett
 J. Masters's wife and 3 children
 John Maufe's wife and child
 Ed. Mathias, wife, & daughter
 Elizabeth Maxfield
 John Maxfield, labourer
 Stephen Maxfield's wife
 Margaret Maxwell

Adam May's child
 Capt. Mead's wife & daughter
 Matthias Meeker, clerk
 Gottlieb Meineke, labourer
 John Meminger
 Gottlieb Meniguing, rope-maker
 John Mentz, a lad
 Ludwig Meo, of Amsterdam
 Mary Mercer, widow
 Joseph Mercier, and wife Ann
 John Merck, store-keeper
 Peter Merckel, butcher
 Evan Meredith's wife Sufannah
 Samuel Merian, merchant
 Jos. Merson, bridle-bit-cutter
 Peter Merson
 Miles Mervin, school-master, &
 wife
 John Mesner's wife
 Barbara Mettelbury
 Adam Meyers's daughter
 Henry Meyers's apprentice
 John Meyers's child
 Peter Meyer, carter, and wife
 Sebastian Meyer, baker
 Thomas Meyer's wife, & daug.
 Peter Miercken, sugar-refiner
 — Miers, wife and servant
 Sarah Middleton, sen. widow
 Sarah Middleton, jun. spinster
 Sarah Mifflin } children of
 Esther Mifflin } Charles
 Thomas Miller's son Joseph
 Andreas Miller's child
 Anne Miller
 Arthur Miller's child
 Catharine Miller, widow
 Charles Miller
 Christian Miller, porter
 Christo. Miller, brush maker
 Dorothy Miller
 George Miller, labourer
 Hannah Miller
 Henry Miller
 Jas. Miller's wife & 2 children
 John Miller and child
 Captain John Miller's widow
 John Miller, carpenter
 John Miller, carter
 John Miller, clerk
 John Miller, labourer
 Isaac Miller, merchant
 Margaret Miller
 Mary Miller
 Michael Miller, sen. shoemaker
 Michael Miller's daughter
 Richard Miller, student of law
 Sufannah Miller
 Widow Miller
 William Miller, shoe-maker
 Wife and child of Mr. Miller,
 rigger
 Mary Millington
 Philip Milligan's wife
 Elizabeth Mills
 Thomas Mills
 Walter Mills, shoemaker
 Edward Milner's wife & servant
 Christian Minehart, sugar-baker
 William Miner, servant
 William Minor
 Charles Minsster, labourer
 John Mintz
 Elizabeth Miscamp
 Elizabeth Mitchell
 Jacob Mitchell's child
 Mary Mitchell
 Mary Mittinton
 Veronia Mittman
 Jacob Mirwan, and 3 children
 William Modick's child
 James Moffat, tailor
 Rebecca Moffat
 Rob't Moffat, waterman, wife
 and child
 Catharine Molliner
 George Moir
 James Mollineux, and daug.
 John Mollineux's 2 children
 Francis Monday
 John Monday
 Mary Monday
 Elizabeth Montgomery
 Child of J. Montgomery, weaver
 John Montgomery's 3 children
 Dorothy Mood
 Robert Moody, bricklayer
 Mary Mooney
 Ann Moore
 Caroline, daug. of Tho. L. Moore
 David Moore
 Fanny Moore, servant, Germ.
 George Moore
 Maj. Jas. Moore, liv. stable-keeper
 Jane Moore
 John Moore, painter, and child
 Samuel Moore, blacksmith
 Thomas Moore's child
 Widow Moore
 Wm. Moore and two children
 John Moore
 Joseph Mordeck, labourer
 Eleanor Morgan, washerwoman
 Hannah Morgan

- Jacob Morgan, merchant
 John Morgan, jun.
 John Morgan's child
 Mary Morgan
 Robert Morphet
 Ann Morris
 Anth. P. Morris, china-merchant
 Brooke Morris
 George Morris, gardener
 John Morris, clerk
 John Morris, physician, & wife
 John Morris's child
 Luke Morris, Æt. 87
 Martha Morris
 Mary Morris
 Richard B. Morris
 Samuel W. Morris, apprentice
 Samuel Morris, cooper
 William Morris
 Alexander Morison, storekeeper
 John Morrison, copper-smith
 Wife and child of John Morrison, labourer
 John Morrison's daughter
 Isabella Morrison
 Mary Morrison's child
 — Morrison, labourer, Scotl.
 Widow Morrison's child
 William Morrison
 John Morrow, jun. gunsmith
 Mrs. ——— Morrow
 Rosina Morrow
 Alexander Mortimer, gardener
 Deborah Morton
 John Morton and apprentice
 Christian Moser
 Mary Moss
 Marq's Monbrun
 Philip Mountree, brewer
 Wife of Nic. Muff harnessmaker
 Ann Mullen, manua-maker
 Catharine Mullen
 Edward Mullen
 James Mullen, hatter
 James Mullen's wife
 John Mullen, chairmaker
 Mary Mullen
 Michael Mullen's two children
 Patrick Mullen
 Robert Mullen, house-carpenter, and apprentice
 James Muller, apprentice
 Edmund Muller, grocer
 James Mumford, blacksmith
 Major Henry Mumford
 Rachel Mumford
 Child of Rob. Murdoch, labourer
 Sarah Murdoch
 — Murley
 Ann Murphy
 John Murphy, black-smith
 Mary Murphy
 Michael Murphy's daughter
 Richard Murphy
 Susannah Murphy
 Timothy Murphy
 Margaret Murthwaite
 Mary Murthwaite
 Rev. Alexander Murray, D. D.
 Eleanor Murray
 James Murray, shoemaker, Ir.
 Robert Murray's wife and child
 Sarah Murray
 William Murray
 Mrs. ——— Musketts
 Rebecca Musgrove
 Widow Musterholt
 Adam Myers, baker
 Catharine Myers
 Hannah Myers, servant
 Margaret Myers
 Henry Myers, hair-dresser
 John Myers's child
 Margaret Myers
 Michael Myers
 Michael Myrick
 Sophia Myrick
 Adam Myon, labourer
 John Myrietta
 Jac. Mytinger, tavern-keeper
 and wife
 Henry Nagle's mother-in-law
 Mary Nagle
 Hannah Nailor
 John Nailor
 Samuel Napp
 William Nash, baker
 Lewis Nafs, blacksmith
 ——— Navare
 Thomas Nave's wife
 Thomas Near
 Hsrael Nedham, skinner, Engl.
 Robert Neeley, sailor
 Tho. Neeves, carpenter, & wife
 Margaret Neil
 Wife and girl of Andrew Nielson, tavern-keeper
 George Niefs, shoemaker
 Benedict Nefmos, son, & daugh
 Elizabeth Neman
 Thomas Neimerson
 Timmons Nevil
 Elizabeth New
 Anthony Newingham

- John Newling, a lad
 Elizabeth Newman
 Fred. Newman's wife & child
 Susannah Newman
 Forbes Newton's wife
 Margaret Nibley
 Magnus Nice, oyster-man
 Martha Nichols, spinster, Æt. 70
 Wm. Nichols, Æt. 73
 Mary Nichols, wife of ditto
 Wm. Nichols, wh. wright, & wife
 Thomas Nicholson, joiner
 John Nick
 Augustus Niel
 Jane, daughter of Wm. Niles
 Elizabeth Noble
 Catharine Nodler
 Anthony Noll, ropemaker
 Fred. Noltenius, school-master
 Cathar. Norley, washer-woman
 Joseph Norman's wife
 Wife of Adam Norris, huckster
 Abigail North
 Colonel North's wife
 Joseph North's child
 George Norton's child
 Sarah Norton, servant
 Sarah Norton, widow
 Francis Nugne
 Wm. Nunn
 Christiana Oatenheimer, Germ.
 Peter Oatenheimer's wife, Ger.
 Phil. Oatenheimer's wife, Germ.
 Daniel Offley, anchor-smith
 Bridget O'Bryant, Ir.
 James O'Bryant, carpenter, Ir.
 Dennis O'Connell
 John O'Dare
 John O'Donald
 Mary O'Donald
 — O'Dolph, a butcher
 Charles Ogden's wife
 Joseph Ogilby's wife
 Edward O'Hara, clerk
 Elizabeth O'Hara, housewife
 Thomas O'Hara, clerk
 Ann Oiler, Æt. 77
 Cornelius O'Leary
 Humphrey O'Leary
 Henry O'Niel, labourer, Ir.
 Catharine O'Niel
 John Onger's wife
 Edward Orange, blacksmith
 Michael O'Rourke's wife
 Robert Orr, Ir.
 Wife of Nich. Otway, nailor, Ir.
 J. Osborn
 Wm. Osborn, steward to the
 President
 Hannah Osgood
 Sarah A. Otis
 Thomas Owner, carpenter
 George Pack
 Hannah Packman
 Wife of John Packworth, shoe-
 maker, Eng.
 — Page's child
 William Paine
 Jacob Painter, apprentice
 Charles Palmer, house car-
 penter, and his two sisters,
 viz. Tacy Palmer, and
 Rebecca Palmer
 Aaron Palmer's child
 Elisha Palmer's wife
 Hannah, wife of Samuel Palmer
 Penelope Palmer
 Samuel Palmer, shipwright
 Thomas Palmer, shipwright
 Thomas Palmer's two children
 Sarah Palling
 Martha Pallock
 William Parham's wife & child
 Wm. Parham, jun. carpenter
 John Park
 Ann Parker, servant
 George Parker
 John Parker, shoemaker
 Jn. Parker, carpenter, & child, Ir.
 Joseph Pilmore Parker
 Mat. Parker, tailor, and wife
 Wife of S. Parker, brass-founder
 John Parkhill
 Honora Parkinson
 Eleanor Parks
 James Park's wife
 John Park's brother
 Mary Parks
 Wife of Matthias Parks, l. draper
 Edward, and Isaac Parrish, jun.
 sons of Isaac Parrish, hatter
 John Partkill, whitesmith, Ir.
 Daniel Parvin
 Catharine Patch and child
 John Patch
 Andrew Patterson, carpenter
 Edward Patterson
 Richard Patterson
 Sarah Patterson
 Samuel Patterson's child
 Jas. Pattison, student of physic
 Robert Patton, bookbinder
 George Paul, tailor
 Peter Paul's son

- Robert Paul's wife
 Sydney Paul, widow
 John Pea
 James Peale's two children
 James Pearce
 John Pearce
 Jos. Pearson, heelmaker, & wife
 Widow of Wm. Pearson
 Sarah Pearce
 Ann Peckworth
 Andrew Peddock and daughter
 Joseph Peddrick's son
 Mary Peister
 Vincent M. Pelosi, merchant
 Samuel Pemberton and child
 Doctor John Penington
 Mary Penington, a child
 Alexander Penman, coachmaker
 Mary Penny
 John Pennycook, apprentice
 Amos Penquoite
 Phæbe Penquoite
 Jemima Penrose, servant
 Hannah Penton
 Isaac Penton, farmer, and wife
 Samuel Penn, baker
 Joseph Pennel
 Ann Pepper
 Mary Pepper, layer-out of dead
 Foulard Perdue's daughter
 Mary Perdue
 Sarah Perkins
 Mary Perry's child
 Wm. Perry
 ——— Perry, shoemaker, Ir.
 Jac. Peters, baker, & wife Sarah
 John Peters, sen. biscuit-baker
 John Peters, junior, tutor
 Philip Peters, distiller, & wife
 Ruth Peters
 Thomas Pew
 Charlotte Pettit
 Edward Peyton's wife
 Stephen Peyton's child
 Son of John Pheiffer, cooper
 Wm. Phager, tailor
 Dr. Fred. Phile, naval-officer
 Jeremiah Philemon, barber
 Widow Philemon
 Andrew Philips's child
 Geo. A. Philips, & son, merchants
 ——— Philips
 Mrs. Philips
 Philip Phile, musician
 John Physick, porter
 James Pickering, shoemaker
 James Pickering, tailor
 James Pickering, store-keeper
 Son of Timothy Pickering
 Christian Pierce, cooper
 James Pierce, coach-maker
 John Pierce, ship-carpenter,
 and wife
 John Pierce's daughter Anne
 ——— Piercy, potter
 John Piercy, apprentice
 Mary Piercy, apprentice
 ——— Pierre, two of the same
 name, bakers
 Mary Pierfon
 Anne Pigot
 Lewis Pignol, clerk
 Benjamin Pike, and wife
 James Pike
 John Pilliger, cooper
 Charles Pine, stocking-weaver
 Eleanor Piper
 George Piper, tailor, and wife,
 John Piper, cooper
 Benjamin Pitfield
 Anna Plaff
 Jeremiah Plan
 John Plankinhorn, labourer
 Henry Plates, baker, Germ.
 Jacob Plucker and child
 Barbara Poagnet
 Hen. Petterman's sister-in-law
 Sarah Pollard
 Catharine Poop, Germ.
 Mary Poor
 George Pope
 Margaret Porkenbine, Eliza.
 her daughter, and a child
 Philip Port, labourer
 Charles Porter
 John Porter's son and daugh-
 ter, and two servant girls
 Rich. Porter, tallow-chandler
 Thomas Porter, labourer
 Andrew Pottenstein's wife
 Mrs. ——— Potter
 Edmond, son of Edmond Potter
 Mary Potts
 Benjamin Poultney, merchant,
 wife and daughter
 Elizabeth Pouse
 Samuel Powel, speaker of the
 senate, and servant
 Francis Powers, labourer, Ger.
 Isaac Powerston
 Mr. Prifflet
 ——— Pragers, merchant

- Henry Pratt's wife, and child
 James Pratt's wife
 Mary Pratt
 John Preal
 Barbara Preston, Germ.
 Wife and 3 children of Wm.
 Preston, brush-maker
 John Price
 Teney Price
 Thomas Price
 Robert Priestley, whitesmith
 Susannah Prince, spinster
 Stephen Prifling
 Isabella Provost
 Joseph Pruet, tailor
 Thomas Pugh
 Francis Pugley
 John Puracier
 Mary Purde
 George Purdy, tailor
 Wm. Purvis's wife
 Wm. Pusey's daughter Eliza.
 Qua, a negro
 Piillis Quando
 Catharine Quigley
 Ja's Quigly, carpenter, & child
 John Quilman, servant
 Gascoigne Raby and wife
 Rachel, a black girl
 Christian Bach's daughter
 Geo. C. Reinholdt & daughter
 John Rain's child
 George Rainsford
 Christopher Rakestraw
 Sarah Rakestraw's child
 Catharine Ralph's child
 Wm. Ralston, merch. & son John
 Mr. Ralston
 Thomas Rambaut, carpenter
 Child of Archibald Randall,
 ship-carpenter
 Thomas Randall's child
 John Randolph, tobacconist
 Ann Rankin
 Elizabeth Rankin
 John Rankin
 Margaret Rankin
 Hannah Rapp
 Eliza Rarich, widow, and daugh-
 ter Sarah
 Sarah Razor, Æt. 22
 John Ratler, porter
 Elizabeth Rauch
 Jacob Ravalie, labourer
 John Reach's widow
 John Ready
 Michael Ready
 Maria Read
 John Reap, shoemaker
 Jonathan Reas
 Jacob Reckther, labourer
 Sarah Reddick
 Francis Redman's wife, and a
 lodger, name unknown
 Jacob Reece, jun.
 Mary Reece
 John Reedle, tailor, and daugh-
 ter Sarah
 Casper Recl, baker
 Edward Reez, joiner
 Jac. Rees's wife, daughter & son
 Mr. Reffert's child
 George Reh
 Alexander Reid
 Andrew Reid, bricklayer
 Ann Reid
 George Reid and wife
 Henry Reid, merchant
 James Reid, silk-dyer
 James Reid, Æt. 75, and daugh-
 ter Sarah
 Margaret Reid
 Mary Reid
 Rebecca Reid, widow
 Samuel Reid's wife
 William Reid's child
 John Reidy's child
 James Reily, servant
 Maria Reily
 George Reigner, tobacconist
 Widow Reigner, his mother
 George Reily
 John Reinick, brickmaker
 John Reinick, baker
 Lewis Reifele, butcher
 George Refer
 Nancy Reiter
 Jacob Relchner
 John Reller
 Joannes Relwicz
 Aselae Reumer
 Anthony Renard
 Jane Renny
 — Renvalt
 Widow Resle
 Christian Reting's child
 Christian Rettig
 Ludwig Reuth's wife
 Adam Revely
 George Rex
 Christopher Rexrold, apprentice
 James Reynolds's wife

- John Reynolds
 Mary Reynolds
 Joseph Ribaux's child
 Catharine Rice
 George Rice's child
 John Rice, labourer
 Lawrence Rice
 William Rice
 Charlotte Richards
 Dan'l Richards, lumber-merch't
 Daniel Richards's son
 Eliza Richards
 John Richards
 Mrs. ——— Richards
 William Richards, butcher
 Samuel Richards's wife
 Steel Richards, shoemaker
 Barbara Richardson, house-wife
 Barnabas Richardson
 Elizabeth Richardson
 George Richardson's wife
 John Richardson
 Joseph Richardson, jun.
 Lucy Richardson
 Rebecca Richardson
 Thomas Richardson
 William Richardson's child
 George Richner, tobacconist
 Gotlieb Richter, labourer
 Jacob Richter
 George Riddle
 James Riddle and wife
 John Ridge, jun.
 Mary Ridge, milliner
 John Ridgway
 Frederic Reib, wheelwright
 John Rieb
 Leonard Riebfher's child
 Casper Riehl, labourer
 John Riehl's daughter
 George Rife's child
 George Riley, baker
 Mary Riley
 Jacob Rilt, shoemaker
 John Rilvit, sawyer
 Frederic Rine, labourer
 James Ringland
 George Rinhard
 Conrad Rink, shoemaker
 Elizabeth Riply
 Mary Riply
 Alexander Ritchie's wife
 John Ritchie
 Mary Ritchie
 Mr. ——— Rutter's daughter
 John Roach's wife & 2 children
 Morris Roach, hostler
 John Robeau
 Jacob Roberdean, printer
 Robert ———, a sailor
 Aaron Roberts
 Ann Roberts
 Charles Roberts
 Mrs. ——— Roberts, house-wife
 Oliver Roberts
 Rebecca Roberts
 Robert Roberts, late of Merion
 Thomas Roberts, labourer
 Thomas Roberts, silversmith
 William Roberts
 Joseph Robertson, carpenter
 Lætitia, daughter of Dan. Robins
 Susannah Robins
 Abraham Robinson
 James Robinson, carpenter, Jr.
 James Robinson's child
 Jane Robinson, widow
 John Robinson, blacksmith
 John C. Robinson's servant
 Joseph Robinson
 Judge Robinson's young man
 Mary Robinson
 Robert Robinson, shoemaker
 Sarah Robinson
 Thomas Robinson, weaver
 William Robinson, bricklayer
 ——— Rochbaud, Fr.
 Mary Rock
 Jacob Rodell
 Elizabeth Roderfield, widow
 Philip Roderfield
 Nicholas Roderwalter's daugh.
 Sarah Rodman, of R. Island
 Benjamin Rogers's child
 Gilbert Rogers, and child
 John Rogers, corder
 Margaret Rogers
 Hannah, wife of the rev. Wil-
 liam Rogers
 John Rohr's daughter
 John Roman, currier
 Elizabeth Roney, servant
 Magdalen Roone
 Susannah Roring
 Hugh Rofs, blacksmith, wife,
 and son
 John Rofs
 Wm. Rost, shoemaker
 Mary Rotherwalter
 Jacob Rix Rott, a lad
 Rosina Rott, a servant
 Henry Rouris's daughter
 Elizabeth Roush
 James Rowan, store-keeper

John Rowe, carpenter	Frederic Schreiner's daughter
John Rowe	John Schreminger
Barbara Ruber	Ann Schrider
Catbarine Ruckhard	John Schrieck
John Rudolph	John Schrier, shoemaker, & wife
John Rugan's daughter	Martin Schrier
John Rugers	Thomas Schriever, blacksmith
Frederic Ruhl's son	John Schultz, labourer
George Ruhl's son	John Schwaab, shoemaker
John Ruleford, labourer	Lawrence Schwaab, shoemaker
Jacob Rump's child	Adam Schwaadt
Rosina Runkel	Captain Schwartz, a Dane
Leonard Rush, shoemaker	Elizabeth Sclader
Mary Rush, widow	Aaron Scott
Wm. Rush's child	Andrew Scott
Thomas Ruffel, sailor	Ann Scott
Leonard Rust, tailor	Benjamin Scott
Wm. Rutherford	Henry Scott, labourer, & wife
Jacob Rutter	John Scott, tailor, and wife
Margaret Rutter	Margaret Scott
Samuel Rutter's 2 children	Mary Scott
Lucy Ryan	— Scott, clerk
Mr. ——— Ryan	Joseph Scull
Saberne, Fr.	Frederick Seaford, joiner
5 Sailors, (names unknown)	Francis Seamore
Abraham Salter	Christo. Search, wheelwright
Ifaac Samms	Jacob Sears, blacksmith, & child
Sampson ———, a negro man	David Seaven
Mary Sampson	Martin Seebole, school-master
John Sanders, button-maker	Paulus Seegist, weaver
Sarah, a young woman	Henry Seer's child
John Sattersfield's wife	Jacob Seger, baker
Elizabeth Saub	Jacob Seiffer's daughter
Frederic Sauber	— Sein's wife
— Saubier's wife	Michael Seip, tailor
Robert Saubiers, blacksmith	Widow Seitz's daughter
Ph. Sanerman, shoemaker, & wife	James Sekwire
Jacob Sawyer, baker	Jacob Seller, tailor, and wife
Wife & daughter of dr. Benj. Say	Joseph, Wm. & Sufanna, sons &
Leonard Sayer's wife	daughter of Wm. Sellers,
Matthias Saylor, painter, wife,	printer
and sister	Wife of Hen. Semler, shoemaker
John Scantling, porter	Jona. D. Sergeant, attorney
Jonathan Scantling	— Sergeois
Mary Schaff	Francis Serres, stay-maker, Fr.
Adam Schaffer, labourer	Wife of Benja. Servant, sailor
George Schaffer, cooper	7 Servants, (names unknown)
Jacob Schaffer	Isabella Service
Widow Scheiffells	Ann Sewell
Christiana Schieff's girl	Catharine Sexton
George Schmidt	Conrad Seybert's wife
George Schmidt's child	Christiana Seyfert
Henry Schmidt, and wife	Elizabeth Shabby, widow
John Schmidt	Widow Shaff's child
Margaret Schmidt	Adam Shaffer, porter
George Schneider, carpenter	Barny Shaffer's child
John Schreier, and wife	Francis Shaffner's wife

- John Shakespeare
 Martha Shakespeare
 Stephen Shakespeare, weaver
 Dorothy Shall
 Bernard Shamo's wife
 James Shankling
 Henry Shara
 Anthony Sharp, tailor
 John Sharp's child
 John Sharp, and daughter
 Nehemiah Sharp, tailor
 Mr.— Shaefflocker
 Henry Shaw, and wife
 Henry Shaw, ware-house man
 Henry Shawster's daughter
 Henrick Shear, tailor
 Elizabeth Shearman
 John Shearwood
 Daniel Sheegan
 Henry Sheerer
 Wm. Sheets, labourer
 Adam Shellbecker, shoemaker
 Frederic Sheller, blacksmith
 Jacob Sheniger
 George Shepherd
 Jacob Shepherd's child
 Robert Shepherd, shop-keeper
 Wilhelmina, daughter of Wm. Shepherd
 John Sherb, baker
 Elizabeth Sherman
 Abraham Sheridan's child
 Wm. Sheridan, & daughter
 John Sherwood, carpenter, and wife
 Sallows Shewell's wife
 Juliana Shewelly, widow
 Christian Shembler's wife
 James Shillingsford
 Richard Shilly, hatter
 Jacob Shiney
 Margaret Shingle
 Amos Shingleton
 Bernard Shiphar's wife
 Wm. Shipley, grazier
 Rebecca Shipping
 John Shippey, musician, and child
 Matthias Shiltz's sister
 Frederic Shneider, stone-cutter, and son
 Elizabeth Shocker
 George Shocker, and child
 Jacob Shocker, labourer
 Matthias Shocker, & mother
 Amos Shoemaker
 Jonathan Shoemaker, cabinet-maker
 Joseph Shoemaker
 Mary Shoemaker
 Michael Shoemaker, livery-stabler
 Samuel Shoemaker, jun. carpenter, from Cheltenham
 Henry Sheffield
 Adam Shordy
 ——— Shore, widow
 Christopher Short
 Mrs. ——— Short
 Matthew Short's child
 Henry Shreader
 Martin Shriar
 John Shriber, butcher
 Thomas Shriber
 Henry Shrider, baker & wife
 Jacob Shrince, comb-maker
 Christopher Shriner, tutor, and wife Elizabeth
 Jacob Shriner,
 Jacob Shriner, jun. skinner
 Nicholas Shriner, skinner
 Philip Shrite, stocking-weaver
 Elizabeth Shubart
 Jacob Shubart, blacksmith
 Jacob Shubert, labourer
 Michael Shubart, distiller, son, and daughter
 Sarah Shubart
 Widow Shuber
 John Shute, baker
 George Sibbald's child
 Baptiste Sicard
 Sarah Sichel
 Catharine Sickson
 Adam Sifert
 Casper Silver, wheelwright, and wife
 Joseph Silves
 Mrs. ——— Simmonds
 John Simmonds's child
 Wife of John Simmonds, tailor
 John Simpson
 Mary Simpson, widow
 Samuel Simpson
 John Sims
 Wooddrop Sims, merchant
 Elizabeth Singer, widow
 Thomas Singleton's child
 George Sink's child
 John Siper
 Charles Sitz and servant girl
 Elizabeth Sitz

- Henry Skeffold, apprentice
 Richard Skelly
 Rachel Skinner, and daughter
 Mary
 David Slack
 Miss Slack
 William Slade, store-keeper
 Abraham Slater, currier, Eng.
 Gottlieb Slater's child
 Henrietta Slater
 Michael Sleefinan's servant-man
 Frederick Slicker
 Widow Sliut's son
 Andrew Smith, labourer
 Ann Smith
 Barbara Smith
 Benjamin Smith, merchant, of
 Burlington
 Catharine Smith
 Charles Smith's child
 Conrad Smith, farmer, Germ.
 Dr. Smith's wife
 Elizabeth Smith
 George Smith, potter, & child
 Wife of Henry Smith, carpenter
 Henry Smith, labourer, & wife
 James L. Smith, factor of cards
 James Smith, merchant
 James Smith
 Jane Smith and child
 Jessè Smith and child
 John Smith, sen. merchant, his
 son John, & daughter Sarah
 John Smith, chair-maker
 John Smith, cabinet-maker
 John Smith, labourer, and child
 John Smith, shoemaker
 Lewis Smith
 Margaret Smith, house-wife
 Mary Smith
 Matthew Smith, painter
 Nathan Smith's son
 Rebecca Smith
 Tho's Smith, commiss'r of loans
 Thomas Smith, bricklayer, Ir.
 Widow Smith
 William Smith
 Child of Wm. Smith, sea-captain
 Charles Smithfield, tutor
 John Smithson, Ir.
 George Snellbecker
 James Snouder
 Leonard Snouder's mother
 Anna Maria Snyder
 Anthony Snyder and son
 Charles Snyder's wife
- Christian Snyder, farmer
 Gulfer Snyder
 Frederic Snyder, serjeant at
 arms to the senate of Penn-
 sylvania, and his son George
 George Snyder, baker
 Philip Snyder, coachmaker
 Henry Soden
 Gustavus Soderstrom, sea-captain
 Ann Solander
 John Sommervell, weaver, Ir.
 John and Isabella Sommervell,
 children of John Sommervell,
 cabinet-maker
 Elizabeth Sooks
 Philip Sorter
 Robert Sorter
 Robert Sowerbee, blacksmith
 Philip Sowerman and wife
 John Spalder, plasterer
 Widow Spatzen
 Townsend Speakman, apothecary
 George Speel's daughter
 Henry Speel, baker, wife, ser-
 vant man, and woman
 Widow Speel
 Widow Speers
 Eve Spence, servant
 George Spigle's wife
 Charles Spinley
 Sophia Spitzburgh
 Sophia Splitspike
 Margaret Spotts, Germ.
 Rev. James Sproat, D. D.
 Major Sproat and wife
 Nancy Sproat
 York Sprogel
 Andrew Sprowl
 Margaret Sprowl
 Hester Squirnel, Æt. 82
 Richard Stack, bricklayer
 Peter Stackard's wife
 Benjamin Stackhouse
 Susannah Stackhouse
 Thomas Stackhouse
 Hannah Staggs
 Joanna, wife of John Stair
 John Stall, student of medicine
 Joseph Stanbury's son
 William Stancape
 Lucas Stanch
 James Stanford, shoemaker
 William Stanker, tailor
 Margaret, wife of Laurence
 Stantz

- George Star and child
 Rachel, Lydia, and Sarah,
 daughters of James Starr,
 shoemaker
 William Starkley, labourer,
 wife, and child
 William Starrat
 Frederic William Starman,
 merchant, and apprentice
 William Statton, hatter
 William St. Clair
 James Steel
 John Steel, carpenter, and two
 children
 John Steel, tavernkeeper
 —Steel, cooper, wife, father,
 and daughter
 Mary Steel
 Stephen Steel's child
 Widow Steel's daughter
 William Steel, shoemaker
 Fred. Steelman, tailor, & wife
 William Stein, clerk
 James Steiner, storekeeper
 Nicholas Steiner, labourer
 Casper Steinmetz
 John Steinmetz, cooper, and
 Mary, his mother
 Peter Stenhyfter, last-maker
 Andrew Stenton, a child
 Daniel Stephens, servant, Ir.
 Fanny Stephens
 John Stephens, fadler
 Mrs. Stephens and daughter
 Ashfield Stephenson
 James Stephenson
 John Stephenson
 Mrs. Stephenson's daughter
 Catharine Sternkarl, serv't, Ger.
 David Stewart, clerk
 James Stewart
 John Stewart's daughter
 Isaac Stewart
 Samuel Stewart, tailor
 William Stewart, bookbinder,
 Edinburgh
 Wife of Henry Stiles, merchant
 William Stiles, jun. merchant
 William Stiles, sen. stonecutter,
 wife, and son William, Eng.
 Isaac Still, tailor
 Mary Still, servant
 John Stillas, watchmaker
 George Stiller, shoemaker
 John Stillie, watchman
 John Stillwaggon, hatter
 Isaac Stine's child
 Captain Sting
 James Stinton, servant
 Laurence Stintz's widow
 William Stirrets, blacksmith
 Geo. Stocks, hair-dresser, & child
 John Stocks, jun.
 — Stocker's child
 Ebenezer Stokes, silver-smith,
 Eng.
 Elizabeth Stokes, widow
 George Stokes and wife
 James Stokes's son
 John Stokes, bottler
 Richard Stokes's child
 John Stoltz, baker
 William Stone, merchant
 Luke Storch
 Jonathan Stormitz
 James Stinsen, servant, Ir.
 Ebenezer Stotts, apprentice
 Catharine Stouble
 Peter Steinhauser, servant
 George Stow, turner
 Hannah Stow
 John Stow's widow
 Peter Stow's daughter
 John Stranger
 Hannah Stratton, a child
 John Stratton, labourer
 Peter Streecheifer
 James Stretcher's wife and child
 John Stricker, clerk
 — Stritten, lace-weaver
 Paul Stromfultz, mealman, and
 wife, Gerin.
 Captain Strong's daughter
 Lætitia Stroud's child
 William Stroud, plaisterer
 Child of mr. Strutton, rigger
 Andrew Stuart's child
 Adam Stubert, clerk
 George Stubert, apprentice
 Hester Stubert, spinster
 Jacob Stubert, labourer
 Daniel Stubbs, carter
 Peter Stuckard, carpenter, wife
 and child
 William Stutt, cooper, and wife
 Martha Stutzer
 Anthony Suay
 Christian Sulger, baker
 David Sullivan, storekeeper
 Laura Sullivan
 Catharine Summers
 Edward Summers

- Elizabeth Summers
 ——— Summers, a young
 man, from Carolina
 Francis Summers
 Peter Summers, wife and three
 children
 Jacob Sunnock, labourer, Ger.
 John Sunnocks, trunk-maker
 and apprentice
 Simon Sunnock's wife
 Susannah Supple
 Charles Surtz, currier, and
 child
 John Sutherland, merchant
 Emon Sutt, keeper of a board-
 ing house
 Mary Sutton
 Samuel Swaine
 William Swaine
 Mrs. Swaine
 Laurence Swall's wife
 Joseph Swanfon's wife
 John Swanwick, ship-carpenter
 Margaret Swanwick
 Christiana Swartz, and two chil-
 dren
 George Swartz, carpenter
 Peter Swartz's son
 Ann Sweeny
 Edward Sweeny, labourer, and
 child. Ir.
 John Sweeny's child
 Morgan Sweeny, wife, and child
 Jacob Swin
 Mary Swin
 Hugh Swine and wife
 John Swoope
 Penelope Sword
 Edward Swordan
 George Sydes
 Elizabeth Sykes
 Mary Sykes, Æt. 15
 John Syler
 Casper Sylvius, wheelwright
 Widow Sylvius
 Charles Syng, weigh-master
 and wife
 Mr. Tacker
 David Taggart, carpenter
 Sarah Taggart
 Thomas Taggart
 William Taggart
 Elizabeth Tannenberg, sen.
 Elizabeth Tannenberg, jun.
 Sarah Tarcen
 Robert Tate, merchant, Scot.
- Joseph Tatem, tailor
 Eleanor Taye
 Hannah Taye
 Abigail Taylor, widow
 Elizabeth Taylor and child
 George Taylor
 Isaac Taylor, ironfeller, wife
 and sifter Sarah
 Margaret Taylor, servant
 Richard Taylor's child
 Robert Taylor's wife and child
 Robert Taylor, clerk
 Samuel Taylor, brush-maker,
 and his daughter Mary
 Temperance Taylor
 Thomas Taylor
 Thomas Taylor's child
 William Taylor's wife
 ——— Teeny, a young man
 John Teim, hair-dresser
 A. Teiffler
 William Teirnan
 Andrew Ten-Eyck
 Helen Terence
 Henry Test, hatter
 John Teteres
 William Tharp, merchant
 John Thatcher's child
 Benjamin Thaw, jun.
 Maria Thaw
 Enoch Thomas, bricklayer, and
 three children
 Hannah Thomas
 James Thomas, ship-carpenter
 John Thomas, tailor
 John Thomas, clerk
 Lewis Thomas, carter, & wife
 Margaret Thomas
 Mary Thomas
 Richard Thomas, brafs-founder
 and wife
 Rich'd Thomas, labourer, & wife
 Robert Thomas's wife
 Zachariah Thomas
 Adam Thompson, a young lad
 Elizabeth Thompson
 Jacob Thompson's child
 John Thompson's wife
 John Thompson, labourer
 Sarah Thompson
 Thomas Thompson's daughter
 Jane, and son John
 Andrew Thomson, blacksmith
 David Thomson, shoemaker
 Wife of James Thomson, inn-
 keeper, at the Indian Queen

- Margaret Thomson, Jr.
 Mary Thomson
 Peter Thomson, sen. scrivener
 Zaccheus Thorn, hatter, & wife
 Thomas Thornelly, jun.
 Wife of John Thornhill, shoemaker
 Jos. Thornhill, house-carpenter
 Nicholas Thornman's child
 George Thornton, carrier
 Mary Thornton
 Jacob Thumb, plumber, and Sufannah, his daughter
 John Thumb's child
 Jacob Tice
 Paul Tiggitz
 Jacob Till
 Frederick Tilman, tailor
 Dean Timmons, tavern-keeper
 William Timmons, apprentice
 Timothy, a black man
 Richard Tinker, drayman
 Richard Tittermary's wife
 Jacob Titty
 Elizabeth Titwood
 Peter Tobo
 Jacob Toby's wife
 John Todd, sen. teacher, and wife
 John Todd, jun. attorney at law
 George Togle, shoemaker
 Ann Tollman
 Tom, a negro
 Jacob Tomkins, jun. merchant
 Bartholomew Tool, storekeeper
 Charlotte Tool
 Thomas Topliff, grocer
 — Tourette, Fr.
 John Town
 Mary Town
 Richard Town
 Henry Townsend, a child
 Thomas Townsend, *Æt.* 69
 Peter Trabar
 Nancy Tracy
 Nelly Trades
 Walter Traquair, stone-cutter
 Elizabeth Traveller
 Henry Traveller, blacksmith
 Frederick Traven, labourer
 Elizabeth Traversé
 Martha Tress
 Michael Trinker's man-servant
 Fred. Trottr's daughter Mary
 Daniel Trotter's child
 William Trotter's wife
 Wm. Truckenmiller, tobacco-nist
 Richard Trufts, joiner
 Ann Trufter
 Richard Trufter
 Jacob Tryon, tinman
 Arabella Tudor
 Major Tudor's two daughters
 Sarah Tureau
 Mary Turner
 Peter Turner
 William Turner, baker
 Anthony Turret
 Elizabeth Tyson
 William Ubert
 Jacob Udree, tavern-keeper
 Christian Uhler
 Jacob Ultre, merchant
 Henry Unis
 Peter Uttenberger
 George Utts, labourer, & wife
 — Uvis
 Child of William Valentinæ
 Matthew Vandegrift
 John Vanderflyce's boy
 Ferdinand Vandigla, shoemaker
 John Vanduser, blacksmith, & child
 Adam Vanhorne, tailor
 Jere. Vanhorne, board. merch't
 Mr. ——— Vanier's child
 Hannah Vanludner
 Sarah Vanse
 Wm. Vannemond's child
 Mr. ——— Vansickle
 James Vanuxem's child
 Captain Van Voorhis's child
 Andrew Vanweller's wife
 John Vanunmell
 Adam Vass's two children
 Elizabeth Vass
 Captain John Vehall
 Jane Vent
 Conrad Verglass, tailor
 John B. Vernies
 Mary Vessie
 Lawrence Vest's wife
 John Vettar
 Peter Vickar
 Elizabeth Vickerly
 Lætitia Vickey, mantua-maker
 Phi. Vidfell, bandbox-maker, and wife
 Charlotte Viempft
 Matthew Viempft
 Henry Vierheller, sawyer, and child

Mrs. ——— Villet
 Christian Villiporey's son
 Jacob Vinckler's wife
 Violet, a black girl
 Fred. Vogel's wife and daughter
 Gottlieb Vogel's daughter
 Jacob Volker
 Catharine Vonweiller
 Elizabeth Wack
 Godfrey Wackfel
 G. Wachsmuth's maid
 James Waddle
 Thomas Wade
 Catharine Wadman
 William Wager
 Ann Wagner
 Christopher Wagner, tailor
 John Wagner
 Widow Wagner
 Peter Wagner's wife, & sister
 Abraham Walders, gunsmith,
 and child
 Andrew Waldrick's child
 John Wales, and wife
 Andrew Walker's son
 Alexander Walker, and son
 Edward Walker, merchant, of
 Birmingham
 Emanuel Walker, merchant,
 wife, and son John
 James Walker, a child
 Matnew Walker, clerk
 Ralph Walker's wife
 Richard Walker, labourer
 Robert Walker
 Samuel Walker's wife Eliza.
 William Waker
 William Wal, servant
 Robert Wallae, jun.
 John Wallis, attor
 Rebecca Wallis
 Richard Walsh's child
 Aaron Walton
 Abraham Walton blacksmith
 Captain Walters and daughter
 Catharine Walters and child
 Charles Walters, labourer
 George Walters, wife & daugh.
 Jacob Walters, a child
 Jacob Walters's wife
 Jeremiah Walters, m^{an}
 Peter Walters, shoem^{an}
 Mary Walton
 Samuel Walton's daughter
 Poblick Calv. Wanescan
 George War's son
 Valentine War, chair-maker
 Jeremiah Ward
 Benjamin Ware, turner
 Wm. Waring, mathematician
 John Warmington
 Teny Warn
 Alice, wife of Swen Warner
 Ephraim Warner, apprentice
 Hezekiah Warner
 Jane Warner, widow
 John Warner, clerk
 Mary Warner
 Magdalene Warner
 Wm. Warnick's wife & child
 Wm. Warnick, jun.
 John Warren
 Isaac Warren, sawyer, wife,
 and son
 Wm. Warren, blacksmith, and
 child
 Wm. Warren, sailor
 Michael Wartman
 Warner Washington, student
 of medicine
 Christopher Waffom, watch-
 man, and child Elizabeth
 Widow Waffom's daughter
 James Watkins, joiner
 Benjamin Watson
 Wife, and child of Charles C.
 Watson, tailor
 Elizabeth Watson
 Mary Watson
 Rob't Watson, labourer, & son
 Wife of Samuel Watson, cop-
 persmith
 Thomas Watters' daughter
 Ignatius Watterman's wife
 John Watters's child
 Wife of Nathan'l Waters, hatter
 Beulah Watters
 Margaret Watts
 James Watts
 Henry Wayland, weaver
 Jane Wayland
 Henry Wealler
 Sam'l Weatherby, cordier, & wife
 Thomas Weatherby
 Samuel Weatherby } sons of
 Joseph Weatherby } ditto
 Benja. Weatherby }
 Adam Weaver, brick-maker
 Andrew Weaver, tailor
 George Weaver, and daughter

Jacob Weaver, and 2 children
 Wife of John Weaver, painter
 Nathaniel Weaver
 Widow Weaver, and child
 Eleanor Webb
 Elizabeth Webb, widow
 Simon Webb, whitesmith
 Solomon Webb
 Pelatiah Webster's wife
 Elijah Weed, and daughter
 Edward Weir, book-binder
 Charles Weifs
 George Weifs, tailor
 Lewis Weifs's son
 John Weissman, blacksmith
 J. Weissman, chocolate-maker
 Philip Weissman, ditto
 Catharine Weissman
 John Wells, and wife
 Henry Welch's child
 James Welch, servant
 John Welch's child
 Mary Welsh
 Michael Welsh, labourer, Ir.
 Miles Welsh's daughter
 Peter Welsh
 Richard Welsh
 Samuel Welsh
 Tho's Welsh, tailor, wife & child
 Thomas Welsh
 George West, house-carpenter
 John West, chair-maker
 John West, apprentice
 Lydia West
 Margaret West
 William West, bookbinder
 William West's wife and son
 Henry Westler, hair-dresser,
 and two children
 Adam Wetterstein, butcher
 John Wetterstein, skin-dresser
 George Weybel baker, and wife
 George Weyman and child
 Aaron Wharton, tallow-chandler
 John Wharton
 Mary Wharton
 Peregrine Wharton, h. carpenter
 Nathan Wheeler and wife
 Elizabeth Wheel
 Robert Wily
 Edward White, labourer
 Hugh White
 Jacob White, apprentice
 James White
 James White's wife
 John White
 Maria White
 Martha White
 Matthew White
 Solomon White's daughter
 Charles Whitebread's child
 James Whitehall's wife Mary
 Joseph Whitehead, clerk, and
 child, Eng.
 Daniel Whitely's child
 Caspar Whiteman
 Catharine Whiteman
 Jane Whiteoak, Æt. 65
 Hannah Whitesides
 Wm. Whitesides, tea-merchant
 John Whitman
 Laurence Whitman's child
 George Wibble, baker, and wife
 Jacob Wickers, ferryman
 Abigail Wickham's child
 Jeremiah Wieser, drayman
 Michael Widner, tailor
 George Wier
 John Wigdon, school-master,
 wife and child
 Samuel Wigford, hatter
 Ann Wight
 William Wild
 Abel Wiley's wife
 John Wiley, shoemaker, & sister
 Ann Wiley
 John Wilkins
 Mary Wilkins
 James Wilkinson, Ir.
 Roderick Wilkinson
 Catharine Will, servant
 Charles Williams, grazier
 Elizabeth Williams
 James Williams, ailor
 John Williams and wife
 John Williams' child
 John Williams, coachman
 Mary, widow of Jos. Williams
 Thomas Williams, mariner
 Widow Williams
 Jeremiah Williamson, sailer
 Margaret Williamson
 Violet Williamson
 Mary W'ng
 Hugh W's
 Ann W'on
 Charles Wilson, clerk
 Elizabeth Wilson
 James Wilson, ferryman
 Jam Wilson

Jenny Wilson
 John Wilson, h. carpenter
 John Wilson, sailer
 John Wilson, wheelwright
 John Wilson, bricklayer
 Capt. John Wilson
 Joseph Wilson's child
 M·Calla Wilson
 Mrs. Wilson, school-mistress
 Richard Wilson, shoemaker
 Roderic Wilson, sailer
 Wife of Wm. Wilson, stationer
 William Wilson's child
 William Wilson, sailer
 Dorothy Wiltberger
 Wife and child of Alexander
 Windsey, sailer
 Rev. John Winkhaufe & child
 John Ludwig Winkler, labourer
 Mary Winkler
 — Winne, coachmaker
 Child of Jac. Winnemore, grocer
 Frederick Winter, sailer
 Wife of Jacob Winter, ship-
 carpenter
 Margaret Winser
 Alexander Winthrop's wife
 Daniel Wise, tailor
 Hannah, wife of Thos. Wise
 Widow Wiseman
 Benjamin Wislar
 John Witman
 Peter Wittes's son
 Christo'r Woelpert's daughter
 Elizabeth Wolf, widow
 Mary Wolf
 Elizabeth Wollard, servant
 Andrew Wood, currier
 Catharine Wood
 Cornelius Wood's wife
 Elizabeth Wood
 Francis Wood's child
 G. Wood's daughter Rebecca
 John Wood, watch-maker
 John Wood, coach-man
 Jona. Wood, carter, and wife
 Isaac Wood's child
 Leighton Wood's wife
 Mary Wood
 Thomas Wood, shoemaker
 William Wood
 Washington, son of William
 Woodhouse, printer
 Joseph Woodman
 Margaret Woodward
 Christian Wool, tailor
 James Wortfall, store-keeper
 Hannah Wrap
 Jacob Wright, chairmaker
 Jane Wright
 Jos. Wright, painter, & wife
 Mary Ann Wright
 Susannah Wright
 Richard Wright's daughter
 Catharine Wrightner
 Sarah Wrinkle
 Henry Wurfler, hair-dresser,
 and child
 Widow Wurfler and child
 Widow Wyand's child
 Child of Wm. Wyat, labourer
 George Wyner, shoemaker
 and two children
 Thomas Wyner
 William Wyun
 John Yates, servant
 Mary Yates, widow
 Catharine Yeiger
 Margaret Yeoman
 George Yopes, apprentice
 Michael Yopes, ditto
 Nelly Yorks
 Phebe York
 John Youch, grocer
 Catharine Young
 Elizabeth Young
 George Young's daughter
 Jacob Young's son
 Daughter and son-in-law of Ja-
 cob Young, tailor
 Jacob Young, shoemaker
 James Young and apprentice
 Margaret Young
 Mary Young
 Michael Young and wife
 Nich. Young, labourer, & wife
 Plumber Young
 Agnes, wife of William Young,
 printer
 William Young, apprentice
 Christopher Youst's wife
 Rebecca Youst
 Andrew Ysenhood's 2 children
 Jane Zagey
 Wm. Zanc's wife
 Mary Zentler
 John Geo. Zeyfinger, printer
 Wm. Zill
 Tobias Zisk's wife
 Philip Zwoller

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AN
ENQUIRY
INTO, AND
OBSERVATIONS
UPON
THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS
OF THE
EPIDEMIC DISEASE,
WHICH RAGED IN
PHILADELPHIA

FROM THE MONTH OF AUGUST TILL TOWARDS
THE MIDDLE OF DECEMBER, 1793.

BY JEAN DEVEZE,

MASTER IN SURGERY, FROM CAPE FRANÇAIS, PHYSICIAN OF THE
HOSPITAL AT BUSH-HILL, SURGEON-MAJOR AND PRINCIPAL PHY-
SICIAN OF THE MILITARY HOSPITAL ESTABLISHED BY THE FRENCH
REPUBLIC AT PHILADELPHIA.

“Nature is the first Physician.”
HYPOCRATES, Pop. Mal. b. 6, s. 5.

PRINTED BY PARENT, PHILADELPHIA.

1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE epidemic disease, of which so many of the citizens of Philadelphia fell victims, and which spread such a scene of terror around it by its ravages in the month of August, interested the feelings of the compassionate so forcibly, that at their own expence the hospital at Bush-hill was opened.

At this juncture I arrived on this continent, and was appointed to the medical direction of this hospital. As the patients multiplied in abundance, Dr. Benjamin Duffield, a member of the College of Physicians of this city, was associated with me by the committee. My first care was to communicate to him my mode of treatment, and my reasons for adopting the various methods I had chosen to encounter the destructive plague which depopulated the city, and overwhelmed it with melancholy and consternation. Dr. Duffield, after having examined my practice, and visited the patients with me in concert, assured me that his mode of treatment was entirely conformable to mine, and that he should coincide in the plan I had established without alteration.

The approbation of a professional man, whose reputation alone speaks his eulogy, and who to his intelligence in medicine joins the successful practice of surgery,

AVERTISSEMENT.

LES ravages qu'occasionnoit en Août dernier, dans la ville de Philadelphie, la maladie épidémique, dont tant de citoyens ont été les victimes, et qui a répandu tant de terreur, ont intéressé l'humanité de quelques âmes compatissantes qui ont fondé à leurs frais l'hôpital qui subsiste encore sous le nom de Bush-hill.

J'arrivais à cette époque dans ce continent; je fus choisi pour avoir la direction de cet hôpital, en qualité de médecin. Comme les malades y abondaient, le comté m'associa le docteur Benjamin Duffield, membre du collège de médecine de cette ville. Mon premier soin fut de lui communiquer la manière dont je faisais usage, et les motifs qui déterminaient mon choix pour chacun des moyens que j'adoptais afin de combattre le fléau destructeur qui dépeuplait la ville, et répandait partout la tristesse et la consternation. M. Duffield, après avoir examiné ma pratique et visité les malades avec moi, approuva ma manière, me dit que la sienne était entièrement conforme, et qu'il adoptait le plan de traitement que j'avais établi, sans proposer aucun changement.

L'approbation d'un homme de l'art, dont la réputation seule fait l'éloge, et qui joint aux connaissances de la médecine celles de la chirurgie qu'il exerce avec les mêmes succès, fut pour moi, je l'avoue, un motif d'encouragement; je me persuadai d'autant plus d'avoir saisi les vraies indications curatives. Je continuai donc les traitemens d'après mes principes, sauf les modifi-

was, I confess, to me a motive of encouragement. Besides, I had persuaded myself, that I had fallen upon the true indications of cure; and therefore continued my treatment according to my principles, excepting only in those cases in which particular circumstances required its modification.

The harmony which perpetually subsisted between, Dr. Duffield and myself, did not a little contribute without doubt, to the success we experienced in the management of a disease, one of the most destructive that the human race can be afflicted with. This success was another motive for me to be particular and exact in the observations I have now the honour to present to the public. They were originally destined to remain buried in my port-folio, for my own use, and to have recourse to in case of necessity, if ever the same disease should again appear with the same symptoms and variations.

But I could not resist the solicitation of some particular friends; and I moreover imagined that they might be useful to professional gentlemen who have not had an opportunity of following the disease through all its modifications, and to whom the danger of experiments and endeavours, always painful and afflicting to humanity, has been dispensed with. I had another motive, which was to incite those to whom the disease was already known, to execute better than myself the desire I had of being useful.

cations dont les circonstances déterminaient la nécessité. La bonne intelligence qui n'a cessé de régner entre le docteur Duffield et moi , n'a pas peu contribué , sans doute, aux succès que nous avons obtenus dans le traitement d'une maladie des plus meurtrières , dont l'espèce humaine puisse être affligée. Ces succès ont été pour moi un motif de plus pour mettre quelque clarté dans les observations que je présente aujourd'hui au public. Elles n'étaient d'abord destinées qu'à demeurer ensevelies dans mon porte-feuille, pour moi seul et pour les consulter au besoin , quant à l'usage des moyens que j'avais employés , si toute fois la même maladie venait à se reproduire avec les mêmes variations et les mêmes symptômes ; mais je n'ai pu me refuser à la sollicitation de quelques amis. J'ai pensé en outre que , d'une part , elles pourraient être utiles aux personnes de l'art qui n'auraient pas eu occasion d'étudier cette maladie et de la suivre dans toutes ses modifications , et qui seront dispensées du danger des expériences et des essais toujours fâcheux et toujours affligeans pour l'humanité, et que d'une autre part elles pourront engager ceux à qui elle serait déjà connue à remplir mieux que moi le désir que j'ai eu de bien faire.

De plus, quelques directeurs de cet hôpital , et le comité, à qui l'administration en a été confiée, m'ayant laissé entrevoir qu'ils verraient avec plaisir mes observations mises au jour , j'ai cru devoir céder à ce desir, et à la satisfaction que j'éprouve à leur en faire l'hommage. Si mon zèle a pu être utile , je le dois en partie à l'encouragement qu'ils m'ont inspiré et à l'exemple qu'ils m'ont donné , les ayant vu remplir avec la piété la plus religieuse , les actes de la bienfaisance et de la

Added to this, some directors of the hospital, and the committee to whom its administration was intrusted, have informed me, that they should with pleasure see my observations published. I therefore thought it a duty to yield to their request, and to gratify my own feelings in this testimony of my esteem for them. If my endeavours have been useful, it is in part owing to the encouragement they inspired me with, and to the example they placed before my eyes, in performing with the most religious pity, the most meritorious acts of benevolence and charity. I dare then to flatter myself, that these motives which have inspired me, rather than the desire of book-making, will be a sufficient excuse for the faults which will necessarily be found in this performance, and will obtain the indulgence of the reader, who will neither find that elegance and correctness of style so necessary in works of entertainment, and so superfluous when simple facts are to be narrated.

If these researches and observations on the causes, qualities, and treatment of the disease which was their object, should meet with any contradictions, or persons of a different opinion, I now, once for all, declare that I renounce all controversy.

charité la plus méritoire. J'ose me flatter que ces motifs auxquels j'ai cédé plutôt qu'à celui de faire un livre, feront pardonner les négligences qui doivent se rencontrer dans cet écrit, et m'obtiendront l'indulgence du Lecteur, qui n'y trouvera ni cette élégance, ni cette correction de stile, si nécessaire dans des ouvrages de pur agrément, et si superflues dans une simple narration de faits.

Si mes recherches et mes observations sur les causes, les qualités et le traitement de la maladie qui en fait l'objet, rencontraient quelques contradictions ou quelques personnes d'une opinion différente, je prévins que je renonce d'avance à toute discussion polémique.

E R R A T A.

- Page 4, line 20, of barley, *read* barley.
 — 28, — 8, complains, *r.* complained.
 — 30, — 10, her, *r.* his.
 — 32, — 26, and which, *r.* which.
 — 40, — 27, an dlimbs, *r.* and limbs.
 — 58, — 13, done, *r.* do no.
 — 58, — 26, mendicament, *r.* medicament.
 — 60, — 25, was renewed, *r.* renewed.
 — 108, — 15, at, *r.* an.
 — 136, — 10, includes, *r.* include.

E R R A T A.

- Page première, Epigraphe, Hipocrate, *lisez* Hippocrate.
 Page 3, ligne 6, quelques qualités, *lisez* des qualités.
 Page 11, ligne 4, l'instinct, *lisez* l'instinct.
Ditto, ligne 12, égoïsme, *lisez* égoïsme.
 Page 13, ligne 23, pillé, *lisez* pillés.
 Page 21, ligne 2, produise, *lisez* soit.
 Page 23, ligne 19, vérité, *lisez* variété.
 P. 25, l. 23, vertueux qui n'a, *lisez* et une vertu qui n'ont.
 Page 59, ligne 13, paraissent, *lisez* paraissent.
 Page 67, ligne 26, a bouche, *lisez* la bouche.
Ditto, ligne 32, vitriol, *lisez* nitre..
 Page 73, ligne 12, par, *lisez* pour.
Ditto, ligne 13, essentielles de, *lisez* essentielles à.
 Page 77, ligne 6, des felles, *lisez* les felles.
 Page 83, ligne 22, on, *lisez* son.
 Page 91, lignes 30 et 31, *retranchez* auparavant.
 Page 93, ligne 20, vitriol, *lisez* nitre.
 Page 133, ligne 5, éiaient, *lisez* étaient, et *retranchez* et.
Ditto, ligne 13, traité, *lisez* traités.
Ditto, ligne 31, suffisent-elle, *lisez* suffisent-ils.

RECHERCHES

ET

OBSERVATIONS,

Sur les Causes et les Effets de la Maladie
Épidémique qui a régné à Philadelphie,
depuis le mois d'Août jusques vers le milieu
du mois de Décembre de l'année 1793 ;

*Par JEAN DEVEZE, Maître en Chirurgie,
du Cap-Français, Médecin de l'Hôpital
Bush-hill, Chirurgien-major et Médecin
en chef de l'Hôpital militaire établi à
Philadelphie au compte de la République
Française.*

La Nature est le premier Médecin.

HYPOCRATE, Malad. popul., Liv. 6, Sect. 5.

A P H I L A D E L P H I E,

De l'Imprimerie de PARENT.

A N
E N Q U I R Y
I N T O , A N D
O B S E R V A T I O N S
U P O N
T H E C A U S E S A N D E F F E C T S
O F T H E
E P I D E M I C D I S E A S E ,

Which raged in Philadelphia from the month
of August till towards the middle of De-
cember, 1793.

A Few days after my arrival at Philadelphia, the seventh of August, 1793, it was reported many persons had lost their lives in consequence of a fore throat.

The rapid progress of the disease gave reason to suppose, it had some contagious property annexed to it; the death of many persons in the same quarter, and nearly at the same time, so far gave sanction to this opinion, that it was proved to a certainty to be very dangerous to approach those who were attacked with it.

The month of August had nearly elapsed before I had an opportunity of inspecting into the nature of this complaint, when I attended a girl about six or eight and twenty years of age, servant to Mr. Bohlen, merchant, in North Water-street. She was very robust and of a sanguine habit; the family physician, a respectable and well-informed practitioner, judging the case unfavourable, and supposing she would probably share the fate that had attended many of his patients, called in and engaged me, in case she sunk under it, to open the body. and endeavour to find out the cause of so fatal a malady.

R E C H E R C H E S

E T

O B S E R V A T I O N S ,

Sur les Causes et les Effets de la Maladie
Épidémique qui a régné à Philadelphie ,
depuis le mois d'Août jusques vers le milieu
du mois de Décembre de l'année 1793.

P E U de jours après mon arrivée à Philadelphie , le
7 août 1793 , j'appris par la voie publique , que plu-
sieurs personnes y étaient mortes des suites d'un mal
de gorge.

Les progrès rapides de cette maladie firent croire
qu'elle portait avec elle quelques qualités contagieuses.
La mort de plusieurs personnes dans le même quartier ,
et dans un tems très-rapproché , accrédita cette opinion
au point qu'il passait pour certain qu'il était très-dan-
géreux de s'approcher de ceux qui étaient attaqués de
cette maladie.

Ce ne fut que vers la fin du mois d'août que j'eus
occasion de connaître cette maladie , dans une fille
âgée d'environ 26 ou 28 ans , servante de M. Bollens ,
négociant , dans Water-street nord. Elle était très-
robuste et d'un tempérament sanguin. Le médecin
ordinaire de la maison , homme respectable et très-inf-
truit , n'en jugeant pas favorablement , et pensant
qu'elle subirait le sort de plusieurs malades qu'il avait
soigné , m'avait appelé et engagé , au cas qu'elle
succombât , à faire l'ouverture de son cadavre , afin
de connaître les causes d'une maladie si funeste.

I went with him to Mr. Bohlen's. We found the patient in extreme agitation, face red, eyes sparkling, skin dry and hot, tongue and lips also dry and red, the amygdalæ glands swelled, the uvula, palate, and inside of the throat inflamed; she swallowed with great difficulty and spoke with pain; respiration was strong, head and throat painful, pulse hard and frequent.

From these indications I proposed bleeding—the physician consented, and I immediately performed the operation, and prescribed lemonade and a gargle made with water and oxymel, or one of honey and spirit of vitriol. It was also agreed the patient should make use of the bath. On our return the next day she was infinitely better; the pulse had unfolded, and she spoke with more ease. As the fever continued, the heat was considerable, and the blood taken the preceding day indicated great inflammation. I proposed a second bleeding, which was performed by the consent of the physician. She was desired to continue the gargle and lemonade, to take creamed of barley or rice, a light mucilaginous diet, such as sago, tapioca, and the like. The next day we found she had quitted her bed, was in good spirits, without fever, and had no farther occasion for medical assistance. We advised her to take a common cathartic. I saw her no more, but heard her health was perfectly re-established, and she has not since felt the slightest indisposition.

I could cite many other cases of a similar nature, having seen and visited an infinite number of persons

Je me rendis chez M. Bollens avec lui. Nous trouvâmes la malade dans une extrême agitation , le visage rouge , les yeux étincellans , la peau sèche et brûlante , la langue et les lèvres aussi sèches et rouges , les glandes amygdales gonflées , la luette , le voile du palais et tout l'intérieur de la gorge enflammés. Elle avalait avec la plus grande difficulté et parlait avec peine ; sa respiration était forte ; elle souffrait de la gorge et de la tête ; enfin son pouls était dur et fréquent.

D'après toutes ces indications je proposai au médecin de la saigner ; il y consentit , et je fis de suite , moi-même , cette opération. Je lui prescrivis la limonade , un gargarisme fait avec l'eau et l'oximel scyllitique , et à son défaut du miel et de l'esprit de vitriol. Il fut convenu que la malade prendrait un bain. Nous y retournâmes le lendemain ; elle était infiniment mieux ; son pouls s'était développé ; elle parlait plus facilement. Comme elle avait de la fièvre , que la chaleur était considérable , et que le sang tiré de la veille annonçait une grande inflammation , je proposai une seconde saignée , ce qui fut exécuté du consentement du médecin. Nous lui ordonnâmes de continuer son gargarisme , de boire de la limonade , et de prendre de la crème d'orge ou de riz.

Le lendemain nous la trouvâmes levée , gaie , sans fièvre , et dans un état à pouvoir se passer des secours de la médecine. Nous lui conseillâmes de prendre une médecine ordinaire. Je ne l'ai plus vue , mais j'ai su qu'elle s'était parfaitement rétablie , et qu'elle n'avait pas eu depuis la plus légère indisposition.

Je pourrais citer beaucoup d'autres faits de ce genre. J'ai vu et visité une infinité de personnes attaquées de

attacked with the same disease, and had the happiness not to lose any, except a child that was placed under my care at the last extremity.

Let it not be supposed, these observations are made as an apology for bleeding. I acknowledge having cured many without that help; although it was generally requisite, have often observed symptoms which forbid its use. I then substituted glysters, gargles, baths, lemonade, chicken water, skimmed milk, emulsions, simples, and sedatives, and even sometimes have used them in conjunction with the lancet.

If in the beginning of this unfortunate malady recourse had been had to a similar treatment, I am convinced it would seldom have proved mortal.

But an ill-directed public often acted contrary to what was efficacious. The diseased were carefully shut up in close rooms, and covered with three or four blankets; their beverage was infusions of camomile, Madeira wine, and other inflammatory liquors, which increasing the disease brought the patient to extremity, having produced mortifications and over-charged the brain. After death, the victim of this fatal practice had a livid appearance, and the vessels of the head and brain were in the same state as those who die with a fit of the apoplexy.

la même maladie ; j'ai eu le bonheur de n'en perdre aucune , à l'exception d'un enfant qui n'a été entre mes mains que sur la fin de sa maladie.

Que l'on ne pense pas que ce soit pour faire l'apologie de la saignée que je cite ces observations. Je dois même convenir que j'ai guéri plusieurs personnes sans ce secours. Quoique ce moyen fût généralement très-bien indiqué, j'ai observé souvent de contre-indications qui m'ont empêché de le mettre en usage. Alors les lavemens , les gargarismes , les bains , la limonade , l'eau de poulet , le petit lait , les émulsions simples et sédatives , sont les moyens que j'y ai substitués , quelquefois même je les ai employés et mis en usage conjointement avec la saignée.

Je suis persuadé que cette maladie aurait été moins funeste , si dans le commencement on avait eu recours à un pareil traitement , auquel je pense qu'elle aurait rarement résisté.

Mais le public mal dirigé , faisait souvent le contraire de ce qui aurait été efficace. Les malades étaient renfermés dans des chambres closes avec le plus grand soin ; ils étaient chargés de trois ou quatre couvertures. Leur traitement était pour boisson de l'infusion de camomille , du vin de Madère , et autres liqueurs semblables et brûlantes , qui , agissant en sens égal avec la maladie , faisait périr les malades , après avoir produit la gangrène dans toutes les parties affectées , et des engorgemens dans le cerveau. Les victimes de cette pratique meurtrière devaient , après leur mort , avoir la figure livide , et les vaisseaux de la tête et de la poitrine dans le même état que ceux qui meurent d'une attaque d'apoplexie.

Some days after the fore throat appeared, the fever, which spread devastation through the city, carried mourning into families that were enjoying the purity of their manners in the bosom of peace, and under the protection of laws dictated by independence, wisdom, and virtue.

Affectionate wives! unfortunate mothers and orphans! your fate overwhelms me with heart-felt distress—Would to heaven I could assuage your sorrows, by accumulating them in my own breast, and thus restore you to the happiness inexorable death has deprived you of, in the objects of your dearest affection, and make you forget your misfortunes. But alas! my wishes are useless, and there remains to me only the hope, that by fulfilling the duties my profession and humanity require, I may soften your ills by diminishing their number.

The misfortunes you have experienced are great, but on looking back how dreadful must be the prospect to those who have to reflect, that in suffering their minds to be affected by vain fears, which I will not say extinguished, though it stifled the sacred sentiments Nature has graven in every heart; when they call to mind this terror was the cause of their forgetting the first of duties, and abandoning to all the bitterness of disease their nearest relations and dearest friends; yet error justifies, nay more, I will say, prescribed the conduct; the ideas suggested was the cause of your abandoning the unfortunate victims of this fatal malady,

Quelques jours après les maux de gorge , parurent les fièvres qui ont dévasté cette ville , porté le deuil dans les familles , qui jouissaient au sein de la paix , du bonheur de vivre dans la pureté des mœurs , et sous la protection des lois dictées par l'indépendance , la sagesse et la vertu.

Chastes époux ! mères infortunées ! orphelins malheureux ! ah ! combien votre sort m'attriste ? que ne puis-je vous secourir en accumulant dans mon cœur tous les chagrins qui vous dévorent. Que ne puis-je vous rendre le bonheur dont la mort inexorable vous a ravi les objets ? Que ne puis-je vous faire oublier que vous êtes malheureux ? mais hélas ! mes vœux sont impuissans , et je n'ai que l'espoir , en remplissant les devoirs que mon état et l'humanité m'imposent , de soulager et d'adoucir vos maux en en diminuant le nombre.

Les malheurs que vous venez d'éprouver sont bien grands ; mais combien ne vous paraîtront-ils pas affreux , lorsque faisant un pas en arrière, vous vous rappellerez que votre esprit affecté par une vaine crainte , contre laquelle il luttait sans cesse , cette terreur a, je ne dirai pas étouffé , mais fait taire en vous ces sentimens sacrés que la nature a gravée dans tous les cœurs ; lorsque vous vous rappellerez que cette crainte irréfléchie vous a fait oublier le plus saint des devoirs , quand vous vous rappellerez que vous avez abandonné à toute l'amertume de leurs maux , vos proches et vos amis les plus chers. L'erreur a justifié , je dirai plus , elle a pour ainsi dire prescrit votre conduite , et les malheureuses victimes d'une maladie funeste le sont devenues encore de ce sentiment qu'on vous a suggéré : elles

neglected and left alone to expire in all the horror of despair.

Children! mothers! husbands! think of the duty which God has prescribed to you. Instinct will dictate, give way to its impulse, and you will follow the road to virtue; but if deaf to the voice of nature, those for whom alone you ought to live are deprived of the cares they expect from you—think what will be your remorse when they are no more. But say you, the fear of sharing the same fate, without the possibility of saving another, was the only cause of your flight. This mode of reasoning proceeded from those only who gave way to prejudice, which prevented their seeing, that by such an example they justified a similar conduct in their children and servants.

But why should I endeavour to inspire you with sentiments that are already in your hearts. An hospitable and generous people cannot be inhuman. If this virtue, which does honour to your morality—if the exercise of humanity ceased for a moment amongst you, your hearts had no part in it—fear and error are an excuse; they, for a time, suspended your courage, yet you soon after was convinced your fears were ill-founded.

In short, the public papers inspired you with terror by pretending to declare the disease contagious. They went farther—they advised marking those houses where the epidemic had already sacrificed some victims. This was, no doubt, one of the principal causes of the rapid destruction, which spread devastation through this unfortunate city.

Honoured with your confidence, and that of your representatives united in the committee, which ap-

ont péri faute de soins , et expirées dans l'horreur du désespoir.

Epoux , mères , enfans , frères songez au devoir que Dieu vous a prescrit. Listinct. vous le dicte , cédez à cette impulsion et vous suivrez le chemin de la vertu ; mais si , sourds à la voix de la nature , ceux pour qui seuls vous devez vivre sont privés des soins qu'ils attendent de vous. Jugez de vos remords lorsqu'ils ne seront plus. Mais , dites-vous , la crainte d'éprouver le même sort sans pouvoir sauver mon père , me l'a seule fait abandonner. Ce raisonnement n'est que celui du plus aveugle égoïsme , et ne voyez-vous pas que votre conduite justifie d'avance celle de vos enfans et de vos serviteurs.

Mais à quoi bon chercher à vous inspirer des sentimens qui sont dans votre cœur. Un peuple hospitalier et généreux ne peut être inhumain. Si cette vertu qui fait le complément de votre moralité ; si l'humanité a cessé un instant d'être exercée par vous , votre cœur n'y a aucune part. La crainte et l'erreur sont vos excuses : elles ont anéanti votre courage ; mais ainsi que vous le verrez dans un instant , elles étaient mal fondées.

En effet , les papiers publics vous ont inspiré la terreur en affectant d'annoncer que la maladie était contagieuse. On a été plus loin , on a prétendu qu'il fallait marquer la porte des maisons où l'épidémie avait déjà immolé quelques victimes. Telle est , n'en doutez pas , une des principales causes du ravage rapide qui a dévasté cette ville infortunée.

Honoré de votre confiance et de celle de vos représentans , réunis en comité , qui m'a choisi pour diriger

pointed me to the care of the hospital at Bush-hill, the refuge of the destitute, unfortunate persons attacked with this epidemic; to you I owe the result of my observations—may I acquit myself of the duty by the production of useful ideas.

It will, perhaps, appear strange to many, that, contrary to the public opinion, I dare assert the malady was not contagious. But the truth *being unalterable*, could I refuse to believe circumstances proved to me by continual observations? It is to the well-informed, and those uninfluenced by party, I leave to pronounce upon the proofs I will give, and which seem to me to establish my opinion in an incontestible manner.

The first public report inconsiderately spread abroad, was that the disease had been imported in the brig Mary, Captain Rush, from Cape François, with many passengers on board, and that during the voyage several persons had died of the disease which afterwards raged in Philadelphia. I was myself a passenger on board the brig, and can affirm these pretended facts, so forcibly authenticated, are without foundation. It is true, after having been pillaged by the pirates,(1)

(1) How can I otherwise name men, who in contempt of every law and principle of humanity, could speculate on our misfortunes, and take from us the little we had saved from the devouring flames, and rage of the assassin; cannibals, whose deplorable victims we are. These men do not blush to call themselves privateers, possessing still more venom, or at at least accomplices by the deed with the wretches, who by flames forced to flight the few that had escaped the sword of the banditti; these men, I say, have failed in the first of all duties, humanity; they have violated every law, by first plundering us at sea, and then carrying us into an English port to

l'hôpital de Bush-hill, refuge destiné à recueillir les malheureux atteints de l'épidémie, je vous dois le fruit de mes observations ; je m'empresse de vous en faire l'hommage : puisse-je, en m'acquittant de ce devoir, vous développer des idées utiles.

Il paraîtra peut-être étonnant à quelques personnes que, frondant l'opinion publique, j'ose avancer que la maladie n'était pas contagieuse ; mais la vérité étant une, je ne puis me refuser à l'évidence que m'ont démontré mes observations. Je laisse aux hommes instruits et dégagés de tout esprit de système à prononcer sur les preuves que je vais donner, et qui me semblent étayer mon opinion d'une manière incontestable.

Le premier bruit public, que l'on s'est plu à répandre inconsidérément, a prétendu que la maladie avait été apportée par le brig le *Mary*, capitaine Rush, venant du Cap-Français avec beaucoup de passagers, et que pendant sa traversée plusieurs personnes étaient mortes de la même maladie, qui depuis a régné à Philadelphie. J'étais moi-même passager à bord de ce brig, et je puis assurer le contraire de ce prétendu fait, qui s'est si fortement accrédité. Il est vrai, qu'après avoir été pillé par les *pirates*, (1) nous

(1) Comment pourai-je qualifier autrement des hommes qui, au mépris de toutes lois et de tous principes, ont spéculé sur nos malheurs pour nous enlever le peu que nous avons soustrait aux flammes et à la rage assassine des cannibales dont nous sommes les déplorables victimes ? Ces hommes, ne rougissant point de s'appeler corsaires, plus criminels encore, ou au moins complices, par le fait, des scélérats qui, par la flamme, ont forcés à la fuite ceux de nous qui avaient échappés au fer assassin ; ces hommes, dis-je, ont manqué au premier de tous les devoirs, à l'humanité. Ils ont violé toutes les lois, en pillant en mer, et

we were reduced to a most pitiable state, when we were seen to disembark ill-clothed, pale, and with the most powerful expression of grief depicted on our countenances, (occasioned as well by our past misfortunes, as those that seemed to await us,) I am not surprised the inhabitants of Philadelphia, tormented from nearly that period with a malady, the origin of which was unknown, or that men in general little acquainted with the principles of natural philosophy should figure to their imaginations we were diseased, though in reality only unfortunate, having lost but one man during the passage, who, it is probable, might have escaped that fate could he have received the care and assistance we were all totally deprived of. On our arrival we had only three sick, a woman that had miscarried during the voyage, and who afterwards died of a dropsy at Bush-hill, and two ladies now in good health, and who had never the least symptom of the disorder that spread destruction through this city.

make their piracy lawful. They pillaged us as Frenchmen; but were we the belligerent French? Were we Frenchmen speculating on the sale of our merchandizes? Were we, in short, Frenchmen exposed to the chance of war? No: we were, and ought to have been to them, men---and men driven from their homes, without asylum or refuge, under the protection of colours which necessity had forced us to adopt. These pirates then have violated the rights of people and of nations, by neither regarding our misfortunes, or the neutral flag that had become ours. I shall not make any reflections on the tacit approbation of the court of London to this act of piracy; yet think, when it is told to future ages, it must be remarked as an infamy to the English name.

avons été réduits à l'état le plus pitoyable ; et je ne suis pas surpris qu'en nous voyant ainsi débarquer mal vêtus , pâles , les expressions de la douleur peintes sur nos figures , tant à cause de nos malheurs passés , qu'à cause de ceux que nous présentaient un avenir misérable , il n'est pas étonnant , dis-je , que les habitans de Philadelphie , tourmentés depuis cette époque d'une maladie dont on ignorait l'origine , les hommes peu éclairés dans les causes et les principes des événemens physiques , ne se soient figuré que nous étions malades lorsque nous n'étions que malheureux. La vérité est que nous n'avons perdu , dans la traversée , qu'un seul homme qui , sans doute , aurait échappé à cette destinée s'il avait pu recevoir les soins et les secours dont nous étions tous entièrement dépourvus. Lors de notre arrivée il n'y avait de malades que trois personnes ; une femme qui , pendant le voyage , avait fait une fausse couche , et qui est morte long-temps après ,

en nous conduisant ensuite dans un port anglais pour y faire légitimer leur piraterie. Ils nous ont pillés comme français : oui nous étions , nous sommes , et nous serons toujours , français ; mais étions-nous des français belligérans ? Etions-nous des français spéculant sur le trafic de nos marchandises et de nos denrées ? Etions-nous enfin des français exposés aux événemens de la guerre ? Non , nous n'étions et nous ne devons être pour eux , que des hommes , et des hommes chassés de leurs foyers , par conséquent sans asyle , et réfugiés sous la protection d'un pavillon que la nécessité nous avait forcé d'adopter. Ces pirates ont donc violé le droit des gens et des nations , en ne respectant ni nos malheurs , ni le pavillon neutre qui était devenu le nôtre. Je ne me permettrai aucune réflexion sur l'approbation tacite de la cour de Londres , à cet acte de piraterie et d'exécration , mais il me semble que dans les races futures , il ne pourra être cité qu'à la honte du nom anglais

The same uncertainty with respect to the cause of this epidemic, gave rise, with no greater foundation, to the report of its being brought in by the privateer Sans Culotte. Unless we disbelieve the captain and surgeon of this vessel, we must be convinced that neither the privateer, or the two prizes she brought into port, had any sick on board. I should never end if I was to relate all that had been advanced to prove the disease was imported; shall, therefore, pass on to those only which appear to me sufficient to demonstrate, that the complaint took its rise in this country.

The first cause of this scourge is the same which produces almost all other diseases, the alterations of the atmospheric air. This fluid, with which we are surrounded, is well known to be one of the elements that constitute the animal system; it is of all the most susceptible of modification; and which influences in the most powerful manner the animal economy, either by its weight or lightness, heat or cold, dryness or humidity, or the different qualities it is susceptible of, when charged with miasmata, which arise from every part.

As a particular enquiry into all the modifications of which air is susceptible would carry me too far, I shall content myself with hastily examining the effects it produces on the animal system, when too light or hot, and also when charged with heterogenous or putrid particles.

à Bush-hill, d'une hydropisie, enfin deux demoiselles qui sont aujourd'hui très-bien portantes, et dont la maladie n'a jamais eu rien de semblable, ni aucun symptôme de celle qui a fait tant de ravage dans cette ville.

Les mêmes effets de cette incertitude sur les causes de cette épidémie ont fait également et avec aussi peu de fondement, avancer qu'elle avait été apporté par le corsaire le *Sans-Culote*; mais, si nous nous en rapportons au capitaine et au chirurgien de ce bâtiment, nous nous convainçons que, ni dans ce corsaire, ni dans les deux prises qu'ils ont conduites dans ce port, il n'y avait aucun malade. Je ne finirais pas si je voulais rapporter tout ce qu'on a débité pour accrédi-ter cette opinion, que la maladie a été importée. Je vais passer aux preuves qui me paraissent suffisantes pour la faire rejeter et pour établir que l'épidémie a pris naissance dans le pays même.

La première cause de ce fléau et celle d'où dérivent presque toutes les autres, est l'altération de l'air atmosphérique. Ce fluide, dont nous sommes environnés, est, comme on le sait, un principe constituant des individus. C'est celui de tous les élémens le plus susceptible de modifications, et qui influe le plus puissamment sur l'économie animale, soit par sa pesanteur ou par sa légèreté, par son degré de froid ou de chaud, de sécheresse ou d'humidité, soit par les différentes qualités qu'il est susceptible d'acquérir en se chargeant des miasmes qui s'élèvent de toutes parts.

L'examen de toutes les modifications dont l'air est susceptible devant nécessairement m'entraîner trop loin, je me contenterai de parcourir rapidement les effets qu'il produit sur l'économie animale, lorsqu'il est trop

When the atmospheric air is too light, it does not counterbalance the effort of the elementary air. People then experience a degree of debility and lassitude, which ignorant persons attribute to a cause opposite to the true one : the air or the weather, they say, is too heavy ; whereas the uneasiness they feel is the result of a too great lightness of the fluids, which being rarified, augments the volume of blood, distends the vessels, forces them to give way by repletion, and prevents a free circulation ; the lungs on their part deprived of the action afforded them by the outward air, are incapable of exercising their functions.

A patient in this situation would feel a weight upon the breast, with a quick and painful respiration, that would soon be followed by a spitting of blood, and death from suffocation. Such has been the effect some travellers have experienced, whose zeal to make discoveries in natural history has sometimes carried too far, and who from the desire and glory of being useful, have climbed elevated mountains, without considering their strength, and uncautious of the danger to which they exposed themselves.

When the heat of the air is excessive, this elementary principle of life becomes equally pernicious ; the blood is inflamed by being deprived to excess of its ferrous particles, which evaporate through the skin ; the stomach is relaxed, and incapable of performing its functions ; the gastrick juice no longer retains the requisite qualities to promote digestion, or produce a

léger , lorsqu'il péche par excès de chaleur , et enfin lorsqu'il est chargé de parties hétérogènes et putrides.

Lorsque l'air atmosphérique est trop léger , il ne contre-balance pas l'effort que fait l'air principe , les forces sont abattues , l'on éprouve des lassitudes ; les personnes peu instruites des causes physiques , attribuent ces effets à une cause entièrement contraire. L'air , disent-elles , est lourd , le temps est pesant , et cependant le mal-aise qu'elles éprouvent n'est que le résultat de la trop grande légèreté de ce fluide , qui étant rarefié , augmente le volume du sang , distend les vaisseaux qui , forcés de céder , se trouvent engorgés , et incapables de réagir ; de là , les engorgemens sanguins , le poulmon , de son côté , privé de l'action que lui prête l'air extérieur est incapable d'exercer ses fonctions ; alors le sang , violemment agité , heurte en bouillonnant contre les parois des vaisseaux , souvent il les déchire et se fait un passage contre nature.

Un malade , dans cette circonstance , ressent un poids sur la poitrine , sa respiration est prompte et pénible , il crache le sang et meurt suffoqué. Tel est l'effet qu'éprouvent quelques voyageurs que le zèle de faire des découvertes dans l'histoire naturelle , emporte quelquefois trop loin et qui , cédant au desir et à la gloire d'être utiles , plutôt qu'ils ne calculent leurs forces , gravissent des montagnes élevés sans songer aux dangers auxquels ils s'exposent.

Lorsque la chaleur de l'air est excessive , cet élément principe de la vie devient également pernicieux ; alors le sang se trouvant dégagé à l'excès de sa partie cœreuse qui sort par les pores de la peau , s'enflamme ; l'estomac se trouve relâché , il ne fait plus ses fonctions ;

chyle proper to repair the extraordinary secretions of the body; hence crudities arise, which weaken every organ, and the machine becomes totally debilitated. Such is the origin of the acrimony from which a great number of diseases take their rise.

The air may become still more fatal when filled with infected miasmata, which arise from every part. This corrupted air, if I may so name it, carries with it, when introduced into the body, the cause of many maladies, with which individuals are more or less affected, as their habit or constitution gives way or resists its morbid quality, or even from their manner of living and immediate physical or moral situations, which more or less facilitate or oppose the action of the venom; nor do I think individuals are equally affected, because it may happen the putrid miasmata being unequally disseminated in the fluids, may accumulate more in one part than in another; their being rejected, or retained, may also proceed from situations, such as the borders of rivers, the country, or forests.

It is thus that the air, more or less adulterated or modified, produces different effects, relative to the situation of places and present state of individuals, inasmuch that those whose moral and physical temperament easiest give way to the morbid cause, will fall sick the first, while those in a situation totally opposite will escape the danger; because nature by a perfect arrangement of the different parts of animal organization, neutralises and annihilates the principal causes of the disease, which act more strongly in the former, whose

le suc gastrique n'a plus les qualités requises pour que le résultat de la digestion produise un chile propre à réparer les pertes extraordinaires que fait le corps ; il s'établit un état de crudité qui affaiblit tous les organes, et la machine se trouve dans un état de débilité totale. Tel est l'origine de cette acrimonie qui devient la cause d'un grand nombre de maladies.

L'air peut encore devenir plus meurtrier en se chargeant de miasmes infectés qui s'élèvent de toutes parts. Cet air corrompu , si j'ose m'expliquer ainsi , porte en s'introduisant dans les corps la cause de plusieurs maladies dont les individus sont plus ou moins affectés, suivant leur disposition et suivant que leur constitution prête ou résiste à la cause morbifique ou même suivant leur manière de vivre , et la situation présente de leur physique et de leur moral qui facilite ou s'oppose plus ou moins à l'action du venin : je pense aussi que les individus ne sont pas également frappés parce qu'il peut se faire que les miasmes putrides , étant inégalement disséminées dans ce fluide, s'accumulent plus dans un lieu que dans un autre , la situation des lieux favorise leur séjour ou les dissipe , tel que le passage sur les eaux , les campagnes et les forêts.

C'est ainsi que l'air plus ou moins altéré ou modifié, produit des effets différens relatifs à la situation des lieux et à l'état présent des individus ; de manière que tel dont le moral et le physique prêteront davantage à la cause morbifique tombera malade le premier , tandis que tel autre dans un état contraire échappera au danger ; parce qu'alors la nature , par le jeu parfait des différentes parties de l'organisation animale , neutralise et annihile les causes principes du mal qui agissent plus

animal system is disordered. Often also we remark in those patients who are not totally deranged, a certain desire for some particular food in preference to another, a desire which is often the effect of a natural instinct that rarely deceives, and which a prudent physician, accustomed to the study of nature, will never fail to profit by, with the wisdom that inspires him with the knowledge of his art.

All this proves that the body, as I said before, gives way or resists, more or less, the morbid cause. From whence it results, that some though they resist long, are attacked in their turn; others are affected lightly, whilst it acts seriously upon a great number; which is a natural effect of an epidemic, that, from the causes I have indicated, shews itself successively in individuals, and with different gradations.

It is for want of having paid sufficient attention to the variety of effects proceeding from the same cause, that epidemic diseases have been looked upon as contagious; nevertheless, I do not pretend to say there are no diseases of that kind, but am of opinion they are not so common as in general thought.

A contagious disorder is that which is communicated from one person to another, by an efflux of miasmata spread through the air, without touching the infected body. This kind of contagion is called contagion at distance: the plague, and other similar maladies, are of this number.

Diseases are also called contagious when they are communicated by an infected person touching one that

fortement dans le premier , dont les ressorts de l'économie animale sont dérangés. Souvent même nous remarquons dans des malades dont le dérangement n'est pas total , certain desir pour tel , ou tel aliment plutôt que pour d'autres , desir qui souvent n'est que l'effet d'un instinct naturel rarement trompeur , et dont un médecin prudent et accoutumé à étudier la nature , ne manque jamais de profiter avec la sagesse que lui inspire les connaissances de son art.

Tout cela nous prouve que les corps , ainsi que je viens de le dire , prêtent ou résistent plus ou moins à l'action délétaire de la cause morbifique , d'où il résulte que tel qui a résisté long-temps , est attaqué à son tour , et que tel autre n'est que légèrement affecté , tandis qu'une infinité d'autres le sont gravement : effets naturels des épidémies qui , d'après les causes que je viens d'indiquer , se développent successivement dans les individus , et avec des gradations infinies.

C'est faute d'avoir fait assez d'attention à la vérité des effets des mêmes causes , que l'on a souvent regardé comme contagieuses les maladies épidémiques , je ne prétends cependant pas qu'il n'y a point de maladies de ce genre , mais je suis d'avis qu'elles sont plus rares qu'on ne le croit communément.

On appelle maladies contagieuses celles qui se communiquent d'un individu à un autre , par une émanation des miasmes répandus dans l'air et sans l'attouchement des corps affectés. Cette espèce de contagion se nomme contagion par distance ; la peste et d'autres maladies semblables sont de ce nombre.

On appelle aussi maladies contagieuses celles qui se communiquent par l'attouchement immédiat de la per-

is not so, which goes under the name of contagion by immediate contact : such, among others, as the itch, &c. &c.

It results from this definition, that maladies, contagious at distance, are communicated to other bodies, surrounding the infected persons, by breathing the same air, which alternately passes into the lungs of those who live in the same place, particularly in close apartments ; and then the malady may very well be characterised under the title of contagious disease. But if in an epidemic disorder those who continually touch the sick, those who without any preservative listen only to their courage and love of humanity, give themselves up to the care of the diseased, live in the midst of them, and breathe the same air ; if these persons are not infected, it is clear the disease is merely epidemic, and not contagious. This was precisely the case in that we are now speaking of. I am the more pleased in relating my opinion, as it gives me an opportunity of doing homage to a citizen, who must be ever dear to his country for a zeal, courage, and virtue that has hardly an equal ; a fact from which I fear no contradiction, and that seems to me a certain proof that the malady, whose consequences were so fatal, was not contagious.

Mr. Stephen Girard, merchant of this city, and member of the committee, a man blessed with an affluent fortune, regardless of the injury he must sustain by abandoning his house of commerce, gave way only to

bonne affectée avec celle qui ne l'est pas. C'est ce que l'on désigne sous le nom de contagion par contact immédiat , tel entr'autre la gale , &c. &c. &c.

Il résulte de cette définition , que la maladie contagieuse par distance , se communique aux autres corps qui entourent les personnes infectées , et qui respirent le même air , lequel passe alternativement dans les poumons de ceux qui séjournent dans le même lieu et principalement dans les endroits fermés , et alors la maladie est bien caractérisée maladie contagieuse. Mais si , dans une maladie épidémique , ceux qui touchent continuellement les malades , ceux qui sans aucun préservatif , n'écoutant que leur courage et leur amour pour l'humanité , se livrent aux soins des malades , vivent au milieu d'eux et respirent continuellement le même air ; si , dis-je , ces mêmes personnes ne se trouvent point affectées , il est clair que la maladie est purement épidémique et nullement contagieuse : or c'est ce qui est arrivé dans celle dont il est ici question. Je me plais d'autant plus à rapporter ce fait , qu'en étayant mon opinion je rends à un citoyen qui doit pour jamais être cher à ce pays , par son zèle courageux et vertueux qui n'a peut-être pas d'exemple , l'hommage dû à son mérite ; fait sur lequel je ne crains pas d'être démenti , et qui me paraît victorieux pour prouver que la maladie , dont les suites ont été si funestes , n'était nullement contagieuse.

M. Stephens Girard , négociant de cette ville , et membre du comité , oubliant qu'il était riche et qu'il portait un tort considérable à sa fortune en abandonnant sa maison de commerce , n'écoute que son mouvement d'humanité. Non content de contribuer par son

the generous dictates of humanity ; not satisfied with contributing by his wealth alone to the relief of his fellow-citizens, he attended them in person also ; went every morning to the hospital at Bush-hill, where his first care was not only to direct, but to inspect into the provisions and arrangement of the house ; after which he visited the apartments of the sick : the unfortunate persons in the greatest danger were those who first attracted his attention. He approached them with that philanthropy that proceeds from the heart alone, and which must give the greater lustre to his generous conduct : he encouraged, took them by the hand, and himself administered the medicines I prescribed. I even saw one of the diseased, who having nauseated his medicine, discharged the contents of his stomach upon his benefactor. What did Girard then do?—entirely devoted to the public welfare, firm and immoveable, and forgetting himself to think only of the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, whom he wished to succour ; he wiped the patient's cloaths, comforted, and by the force of persuasion and patience, induced him to swallow the remedy. He did not stop here—before he quitted him to shew the same attention to another, he felt his feet and head, in order to judge of the degree of heat, that he might take from or add to his covering, according to the necessity of the case ; he arranged the bed, inspired him with courage, by renewing in him the hope that he should recover.—From him he went to another, that vomited offensive matter which would have disheartened any other than this wonderful man ; then seeing one at a distance at

naissance au soulagement de ses concitoyens , il voulut encore les servir lui-même. Chaque jour , dès le matin, il était rendu à l'hôpital Bush-hill ; son premier soin était d'ordonner et de suivre par lui-même les travaux et l'approvisionnement de la maison ; de-là il se rendait dans les salles auprès des malades. Les infortunés qui étaient les plus affectés étaient ceux qui attiraient ses premières attentions : il s'approchait d'eux avec cet air de bonté qui part du cœur , et qui relevait encore son action généreuse , leur serrait la main , les encourageait et leur présentait lui-même les remèdes que j'avais prescrit ; souvent même j'ai vu les malades , rebutés par le mauvais goût des médicamens , les rejeter et en couvrir leur bienfaiteur. Que faisait alors le vertueux Girard ? entièrement dévoué au salut public, ferme , inébranlable et s'oubliant pour ne songer qu'à l'être souffrant , son semblable , qu'il voulait secourir , il essuyait le moribond , l'exhortait au courage , il revenait à la charge , et à force de persuasion et de patience il parvenait à faire avaler le remède. Il ne se contentait pas de cela , avant de le quitter pour passer à un autre , et lui prodiguer les mêmes soins , il lui touchait les pieds, le front , afin de connaître le degré de chaleur et faire , suivant les circonstances , augmenter ou diminuer le nombre des couvertures , il arrangeait le lit et lui inspirait de nouveau du courage en lui faisant naître l'espoir de recouvrer la santé : de là il passait à un autre qui vomissait des matières infectes et qui auraient rebuté tout autre que cet homme inconcevable. Tantôt voyant de loin un moribond , les yeux et la figure jaunes , couvert d'un sang noir qui découlait de sa bouche , de son nez , et cherchant en tâtonnant avec ses mains trem-

the point of death, with the eyes and skin yellow, covered with black blood, that run from both mouth and nostrils, and feeling about with a bloody and tremulous hand for a vessel which he could not obtain; Girard ran to his assistance, gave him the vase, replaced him in his bed, which he set to rights, and only quitted him to shew the same attention to another. The hour of repast arrives—he is hungry, yet complains of the necessity he was under of recruiting his strength; ran, eat a morsel in haste, and re-appeared immediately, still more earnest, and full of zeal to pay over again the same attention; and never quitted but when forced by the calls of nature to take some few hours of rest.

Oh! you, who pretend to philanthropy, reflect upon the indefatigable Girard! take him for your model, and profit by his lessons; and you, citizens of Philadelphia, may the name of Girard be ever dear to you!—If you, like me, had witnessed his virtuous actions, his brows would have been long ago adorned with a civic crown. What man could be more exposed to the danger of catching this disease than Mr. Girard: from which we may very reasonably conclude it was not contagious, unless we are to think, that by the peculiar grace of divine providence he was preserved to serve as a model for others, or to soften the ills of the unfortunate victims of this epidemic.

But Mr. Stephen Girard was not the only one exposed to the same danger, for Mr. Helm, a virtuous citizen, and also one of the committee, found means to conquer the repugnance inspired by fear. Towards the end of the epidemic, he also visited the apartments and took care of the sick. He, as well as his intrepid colleague, remained free from infection. I must also

blantes et ensanglantées un pot de chambre qu'il ne pouvait atteindre , Girard court à son secours , le met lui-même sur le vase , le remet dans son lit , l'arrange , le soigne et ne le quitte que pour passer à un autre lui prodiguer les mêmes soins. L'heure du repas arrive , son estomac a des besoins , il se plaint de cette nécessité de réparer ses forces , il court manger un morceau à la hâte , et l'instant d'après il reparait encore plus ardent et plus zélé , prodigue les mêmes soins et ne quitte que pour céder de nouveau à la nature et prendre quelques heures de repos.

O vous humains qui vous prétendez philanthropes , considérez l'infatigable Girard , il est votre modèle , et c'est de lui que vous avez à prendre des leçons ! Et vous , citoyens de Philadelphie , que le nom de Girard vous soit à jamais cher ! Si comme moi vous eussiez été le témoin de ses actions vertueuses , déjà son front , depuis long-temps , serait ceint d'une couronne civique.

Quel homme a , plus que M. Girard , été exposé à gagner cette maladie ? et ne peut-on pas en conclure qu'elle n'était pas contagieuse , à moins qu'on ne veuille penser que , par un effet de la bonté divine , il ait été conservé pour servir de modèle ou pour adoucir les maux des infortunées victimes de l'épidémie ?

Mais M. Stephen Girard n'est pas le seul qui ait couru les mêmes dangers. M. Helm , citoyen vertueux , aussi membre du comité , a sçu vaincre la répugnance et la crainte. Vers la fin de l'épidémie il a aussi parcouru les salles et donné ses soins aux malades : il a , comme son intrépide collègue , été exempt de son atteinte.

mention the surgeons that assisted me, who lodged and eat at the hospital, and day and night visited the chambers of the sick, to dress their blisters and superintend the nurses: not any of them felt the least inconvenience. I seize with pleasure this opportunity to return to those fellow-citizens who seconded my cares and labours, the justice due to their zeal, and the activity with which they executed their duty. If the disease had been contagious, certainly some of them would have been attacked, but not one experienced the slightest indisposition.

Mrs. Saville, principal nurse of the hospital at Bush-hill, a valuable woman, and who deserves the gratitude of the public for the manner in which she acquitted herself in the charge assigned her, was the only one of all the principal attendants that was seriously attacked with the epidemic. She had been from her infancy in Philadelphia, and it is very possible there acquired the seeds of the disorder. It might equally happen, and I am induced to believe, though slightly infected from the first, her indisposition would have been trifling had there not been added to the first cause, that of the putrid miasmata spread throughout the hospital, where she continually remained. This person was the last patient seriously disordered I attended at Bush-hill, and was so fortunate as to cure her: shall give the history of this case as the subject of one of the observations at the end of this work.

Among the nurses for the sick, two only died: one contributed to her death by her intemperance, being

Je citerai encore les chirurgiens qui me servaient d'aides , qui logeaient et mangeaient à l'hôpital , et qui , la nuit comme le jour , entraient dans les salles pour faire les pansemens , visiter les malades et surveiller les infirmiers ; aucun d'eux n'a éprouvé la plus légère incommodité. Je saisis avec plaisir cette occasion , pour rendre à ceux de mes concitoyens qui ont secondé mes soins et mes travaux ; la justice due à leur zèle et à l'activité qu'ils ont mis à remplir leur devoir. Si la maladie eut été contagieuse , il y en aurait eu certainement plusieurs qui eussent été frappés de ce fléau ; pas un seul au contraire n'a été atteint du plus petit mal.

Madame Saville , ménagère de l'hôpital , femme très-estimable , à qui est due la reconnaissance publique pour la manière d'ont elle s'est acquittée du département qui lui avait été confié , est la seule de tous les employés à Bush-hill qui ait fait une maladie grave. Cette dame est depuis son enfance à Philadelphie , il est très-possible qu'elle eut prise en ville le germe de cette maladie , il peut également se faire , et je suis porté à le croire , qu'ayant été légèrement atteinte dans le principe , elle n'aurait éprouvée qu'une petite maladie si elle n'avait ajouté à cette cause première celle des miasmes putrides , répandus dans l'hôpital où elle restait constamment. Cette dame a été la dernière malade , gravement attaquée , que j'aie traité à Bush-hill ; j'ai eu le bonheur de la guérir. Je donnerai l'histoire de sa maladie , qui fera le sujet d'une des observations qui se trouvent à la suite de cet ouvrage.

Parmi les gardes malades , deux sont morts : l'un était souvent ivre et a beaucoup contribué par cette

often disguised by liquor. They were both of this country, and probably had the seeds of the disease previous to their going to the hospital; and those seeds would equally have unfolded themselves had they staid in town; which appears to me the more likely, that many of the other nurses were not at all indisposed, although they eat and slept in the chambers of the sick.

The importance of the subject shews me the necessity of advancing every proof in my power; and considering the motive to be for the public interest, imagine it will not be taken amiss if I cite myself an example.

At the time that I was accepted as physician to the hospital at Bush-hill, I had just experienced the most serious misfortunes, having fallen from affluence into the greatest misery; (and I should not forget to observe, that almost all the French who sought an asylum here, were in a similar situation.) I had, during the whole voyage, breathed the foul air in the hold of the vessel in which I came, and where after being upon deck for some time in the day was forced to return and pass the nights, and all the bad weather, in a kind of infected dungeon; had stinking water to drink, and was even deprived of the provisions I had carried on board, and which was taken from me by pirates of all kinds, in the hands of whom I was so unfortunate as to fall.

Man is easily capable of philosophising when his moral is supported by his physical strength; but when

intempérance à sa mort , tous deux étaient du pays : ils avaient probablement le germe de la maladie avant de venir à l'hôpital , et ce germe se ferait peut-être également développé chez eux en ville ; ce qui me paraît d'autant plus vraisemblable que plusieurs d'entre les autres gardes n'ont nullement été incommodés quoiqu'ils mangeassent et couchassent dans les salles dont les malades leur étaient couffés.

L'importance du sujet exigeant la réunion du plus grand nombre de preuves possibles , et attendu qu'elles ont pour motif l'intérêt général ; j'ai lieu de croire qu'on ne me saura pas mauvais gré de me citer aussi pour exemple.

Lorsque je fus nommé médecin de l'hôpital Bush-hill , je venais d'éprouver tout ce qu'a d'affreux le passage subit et inattendu de la plus grande aisance à la plus affreuse misère. J'avais pendant tout le passage , (je ne dois pas oublier de dire que tous ces faits sont communs avec la plûpart des français qui ont pris ici un asile) j'avais , dis-je , pendant toute la traversée respiré le mauvais air qui régnait dans la cale du bâtiment sur lequel j'ai passé , et après avoir pendant quelques instants changé d'air sur le pont , nous rentrions la nuit et dans le mauvais temps dans cette même cale , espèce de cachot infecté. L'eau que nous buvions était pourrie. Nous étions même privés des douceurs que nous avions embarquées et qui nous avaient été enlevées par les pirates de tout genre , aux mains desquels nous avions eu le malheur de tomber.

L'homme est aisément philosophe lorsque le moral est soutenu par le physique , mais lorsque ce dernier

the latter is deranged, the other is weakened in proportion. It is what I experienced; the feelings of the mind had so acted upon the body, that I have not recovered from the state of debility it had thrown me into. This state must have favoured in a singular manner the action of the miasmata, which I drew in with my breath at the hospital, where I often went with a most violent head-ach, and sometimes even with a slight fever. I paid my morning visit fasting, that in the afternoon immediately after dinner. I opened a great number of bodies, and consequently was under the necessity of dipping my hands in the black and corrupted blood that proceeded from their mortified entrails, and breathed the infected vapours that exhaled from them. I was, it must be acknowledged, one of the most exposed to the disease; had it been contagious without doubt it must have easily shewn itself in me, for, independent of the danger to which my duty exposed me, I was in a state of indisposition that made me likely to receive the action of the deleterious miasmata and to facilitate the operation: nevertheless I was exempted.

To all these undeniable proofs against the opinion of those who have advanced that the disease was contagious, I will add another fact, which of itself must be a perfect conviction of the truth of my assertions. Many persons attacked with diseases totally different to the epidemic, were taken care of at Bush-hill, at the same time and in the same apartments with those infected with the reigning malady. They recovered,

éprouve quelque dérangement , l'autre est affaibli en proportion : c'est ce que j'ai éprouvé. Les peines morales avaient tellement agi sur mon physique , que je me trouvais dans un état de débilité dont je ne suis pas encore revenu. Cet état favorisait singulièrement l'action des miasmes que je respirais à l'hôpital où j'allais souvent ayant un mal de tête des plus violens. Quelque fois même je me suis senti des mouvemens de fièvre. Je faisais ma visite à jeun tous les matins , celle du soir fitôt après mon diner. J'ai fait l'ouverture d'un grand nombre de cadavres ; j'ai par conséquent été obligé de tremper mes mains dans le sang noir et corrompu qui sortait de leurs entrailles gangrénées , et je respirais les vapeurs infectes qui s'en exhalaient. J'ai été sans contredit un des plus exposés : si la maladie eut été contagieuse , elle se serait sans doute plus aisément déclarée chez moi , car , outre les dangers auxquels je m'exposais par devoir , j'étais dans un état d'indisposition qui me rendait apte à recevoir l'action des miasmes délétaires , et je me trouvais dans une situation à en faciliter la propagation ; cependant j'en ai été exempt.

A toutes ces preuves bien sensibles réunies contre l'opinion de ceux qui ont avancé que la maladie était contagieuse , j'ajouterai un fait qui , lui seul , pourrait conduire à une conviction parfaite de ce que j'avance.

Plusieurs personnes attaquées de maladies entièrement différentes de l'épidémie ont été traitées à Bush-hill , et dans le même moment et dans la même chambre , avec des malades de la maladie régnante. Ceux-là guérissaient et voyaient mourir à droite et à gauche des individus attaqués de la maladie épidémique , et dont le lit était sur le champ occupé par d'autres ayant la

though they saw on all sides persons die of the epidemic, whose beds were immediately re occupied by others having the same disease as those whose places they supplied ; and it is principally to be observed, that the former were continually surrounded by those who were dangerously attacked, as well as with the atmosphere of miasmata, which the breath and perspiration spread through the room, receiving into their lungs the same air that had repeatedly passed and re-passed through those of the other sick, which had not only become more phlogisticated, but where it had also been impregnated with emanations fit to have communicated the disease, if it had possessed the power. What is very remarkable is, that I have not seen one example of these patients having the epidemic, unless previously attacked ; and never, notwithstanding these circumstances so favourable to contagion, did their disease change its character, since they were all restored. I made this remark upon so many, I can no longer doubt the disease that raged in Philadelphia was not at all contagious, but only epidemical.

This disease, then, was neither brought in by men or vessels ; it took its rise in the country ; the cause which produced it, had long been acting on the animal economy. What proves the truth of this assertion is, that very few persons newly arrived were infected with the sickness. It is true, these causes have had more or less action upon the individuals that were attacked ; but I have already given the reason from whence it resulted, that some were first attacked, others not till long after, that some had it very lightly,

même maladie que ceux qu'ils remplaçaient ; et ce qui est principalement à remarquer c'est que les premiers, constamment environnés de malades gravement attaqués ; plongés dans un atmosphère de mialmes que la respiration et la sueur répandaient dans l'appartement ; recevant dans leurs poulmons le même air qui avait mille fois passé et repassé dans ceux des autres malades , où , non seulement il s'était phlogistiqué , mais où il s'était chargé des émanations propres à développer une maladie semblable , si elles en eussent eu la faculté ; ce qui, dis-je , est à remarquer , c'est que je n'ai pas vu un seul exemple de ces malades avoir l'épidémie, qu'ils n'avaient pas auparavant, et jamais , malgré toutes ces circonstances favorables à la contagion , jamais leur maladie n'a changée de caractère , puisque tous ont guéri. J'ai fait cette observation sur un si grand nombre, qu'il ne m'est plus permis de douter que la maladie qui a régnée à Philadelphie , n'était nullement contagieuse , et qu'elle était simplement épidémique.

Cette maladie n'a donc été apportée ni par des hommes ni par des navires : elle a pris naissance dans le pays. Les causes qui l'ont produite agissaient depuis longtemps sur l'économie animale ; ce qui prouve la vérité de cette assertion , c'est que très-peu de personnes , nouvellement arrivées , ont été atteintes de ce mal.

Il est vrai que ces causes ont eu plus ou moins d'action sur les individus attaqués ; mais j'en ai déjà donné les raisons ; d'où il est résulté que tel a été le premier malade , tel autre ne l'a été que long-temps après : celui-là a été atteint de la maladie dans toute sa force et dans toute sa malignité , tandis que les symptômes

that the symptoms in many were more serious, whilst others had the disease in its full strength and malignity.

The constitution, age, sex, the manner of living, situation of the place in which they lived, the actual state of the humours, and passions of the soul, were the causes of the variations I observed during the epidemic.

I shall be asked, without doubt, from what cause the air and aliments were so far vitiated as to make them susceptible of engendering this disease? Although there often exists in nature effects, the causes of which are beyond the reach of human sagacity, I will nevertheless endeavour to present some, though without pretending to advance them as the only causes of the scourge which ravaged this city.

I will examine these causes under two heads—general and particular.

The general causes are known to all: the little cold during the preceding winter, and extreme heat of the succeeding summer, which was unaccompanied by the usual storms, to which may be added the fruit of the year being unusually bad.

Among the particular causes we may reckon burying grounds in the midst of the city. These places of interment are injurious from the vapours which exhale from them and corrupt the atmosphere, and also by the miasmata which the rain-water carries with it, as it filters through the earth and passes into the wells. This water, used by the whole city, must be pernicious, and should be particularly attended to, if in the end those dangers are to be avoided which result from it.

dans celui-ci n'ont pas été bien graves , et qu'un autre n'en a eu que de très-légers.

Le tempérament , l'âge , le sexe , la manière de vivre , la situation du lieu qu'on habite , l'état actuel des humeurs , celui des passions de l'ame : telles sont les causes des variations observées dans le cours de cette épidémie.

L'on me demandra sans doute par qu'elles causes l'air et les alimens ont pu être viciés au point de les rendre susceptibles d'engendrer cette maladie. Quoiqu'il existe souvent dans la nature des effets dont les causes échappent à la sagacité de l'esprit humain , je vais cependant essayer d'en présenter quelques unes , sans prétendre néanmoins les donner comme causes uniques du fléau qui a ravagé cette ville.

Je diviserai ces causes en causes générales , et en causes particulières.

Les causes générales et connues de tout le monde peuvent se rapporter au peu de froid qu'il a fait l'hiver précédent , aux chaleurs excessives de l'été qui lui a succédé , à l'absence des pluies et des orages , enfin aux mauvais fruits de l'année.

Parmi les causes particulières on peut faire entrer la situation des cimetières dans l'enceinte de la ville. Ces lieux nuisent d'abord par les vapeurs qui s'élèvent des tombes , et qui corrompent l'air ; puis par les miasmes que l'eau de la pluie entraîne avec elle , après avoir filtrée dans la terre où les corps sont enterrés , d'où elle pénètre dans les puits. Cette eau , dont toute la ville fait usage , ne peut être que pernicieuse , et mérite d'attirer la plus grande attention , si l'on veut éviter pour la suite , les dangers imminens qui en résultent.

There is another cause of corruption in the city—the tan-yards, and starch manufactories, and also the quays, where at low water the mud is uncovered, from which a quantity of pernicious vapours arise ; in short, the ditches with which the city is surrounded, from the earth being taken out to make bricks, where the water from stagnating during the summer, sends forth infectious exhalations, and also serves, as it passes through the earth, to carry with it corruption into the wells.

All these causes united must necessarily corrupt the blood, and give to the bile such a degree of acrimony as to become the principal cause of the epidemic.

All physicians and physiologists agree, that the bile when degenerated produces an irritation of the solids, and dissolution of the fluids, which I observed in this disease, the symptoms of which were almost always inflammatory in the beginning ; this state was followed by a dissolution of the humours, and with such rapidity, that the physician had not time to deliberate upon the choice he ought to make of the necessary remedies to combat the dangerous symptoms attendant in each of these states. Sometimes the patient felt a great lassitude for some days previous to the manifestation of the fever ; in others it shewed itself without warning ; in general it began with a violent head-ach, pains in the back and limbs ; the patients often complained of pains in their bones ; some had irregular shiverings ; in general the skin was hot, dry, and acrid ; sometimes

Il est une autre source de corruption qui se trouve dans la ville , ce sont , d'une part , les tanneries et les fabriques d'amidon , d'autre part, ce sont les quais qui, à mer basse , laissent à découvert une étendue de fange d'où s'exhale une quantité prodigieuse de vapeurs pernicieuses ; enfin les fosses qui ont servies à la fouille des terres pour faire la brique , et dont la ville est entourée , où l'eau , en séjournant , se corrompt dans l'été , répand dans l'air des exhalaisons infectes et finit, en filtrant dans la terre, par porter de nouveau la corruption dans l'eau des puits.

Toutes ces causes réunies ne pouvaient que porter la corruption dans le sang , et donner à la bile un tel degré d'acrimonie , qu'elle est devenue la cause matérielle du développement de l'épidémie.

Tous les médecins et les physiologistes conviennent que la bile dégénérée produit l'irritation des solides et la dissolution des fluides. C'est ce que j'ai remarqué dans cette maladie, dont les caractères étaient presque toujours inflammatoires à son invasion ; cet état était suivi de la dissolution des humeurs , et avec une telle rapidité, que souvent le médecin n'avait pas à délibérer sur le choix des moyens propres à combattre les symptômes violens dont ces deux états, étaient accompagnés. Quelque fois les malades éprouvaient des lassitudes plusieurs jours avant que la fièvre se manifestât : d'autre fois elle se montrait sans avoir eu d'avant-coureur : en général elle commençait par un grand mal de tête , par des douleurs aux lombes et aux extrémités : les malades se plaignaient des douleurs dans les os ; quelques-uns avaient des frissons irréguliers, en général tous avaient une chaleur sèche et aride à la peau :

that heat was concentrated in the inside, the patient complained of an internal fire which consumed him ; the thirst was proportionable to the degree of heat ; many had this heat, particularly about the body and breast ; the extremities were only warm, and sometimes even quite cold.

The respiration was sometimes obstructed, painful, strong, interrupted, and laborious. When I presented the back of my hand to their breath, I found the heat considerable ; the dryness it produced in the throat, tongue, lips, and nostrils occasioned an itching, and made swallowing difficult ; the tongue at first red, as well as the lips when become dry, were soon covered with a black crust, which also attached itself to the teeth in a manner difficult to remove ; a weight and considerable pain about the epigastric region announced and accompanied violent vomitings, which fatigued the patients ; the matter they threw up was of different qualities, sometimes white and acid phlegm, which set the patients' teeth on edge ; sometimes green or yellow bile, at others a matter black, and like the dregs of an ink-bottle imperceptibly mixed with glaucous matter, from which was commonly exhaled an odour like rotten eggs ; it was so acrid it excoriated the throat and lips ; the stomach, irritated by its action, rejected all kind of liquids, and the diseased, though tormented by thirst refused to drink, in order to avoid the pain of vomiting.

The patients were also often affected by diarrhœas of different kinds, usually accompanied by pains in the

d'autre fois cette chaleur était concentrée dans l'intérieur, les malades se plaignaient d'un feu interne qui les dévorait ; alors la soif était proportionnée au degré de chaleur ; dans plusieurs cette chaleur était extrême au tronc et vers la poitrine ; les extrémités n'en ressentaient qu'une médiocre, souvent même elles étaient froides.

La respiration était quelque fois gênée, pénible, forte, entrecoupée et laborieuse. Lorsque je présentais le dos de la main à l'air qui en sortait, je le trouvais d'une chaleur extrême. Il desséchait la gorge, la langue, les lèvres, et les narines auxquelles il occasionait une démangeaison, et rendait la déglutition difficile. La langue, d'abord rouge, ne tardait pas, après s'être séchée, à devenir, ainsi que les lèvres, couvertes d'un limon noir qui s'attachait aux dents et y devenait adhérent : une pesanteur et une douleur considérables, à la région épigastrique, annonçaient et accompagnaient des vomissemens dont les efforts violens fatiguaient les malades. Les matières qu'ils vomissaient étaient de différentes natures ; quelque fois c'était des phlegmes blancs, très-acides, qui agaçaient les dents des malades ; d'autre fois c'était de la bile verte ou jaune ; d'autre fois une matière noire, semblable au marc d'une bouteille à l'encre, mal délayée dans des matières glaireuses, desquelles s'exhalait communément une odeur d'œuf pourri : elles étaient si acres, qu'elles excoriaient la gorge et les lèvres. L'estomac irrité par leur action, rejetait toute espèce de liquides, et les malades, quoique tourmentés par la soif, refusaient de boire pour éviter les douleurs du vomissement.

Souvent les malades étaient affaiblis par des diarrhées de différentes natures qui étaient précédées et accom-

belly; sometimes the evacuations were frequent, liquid, watery, and began with the disease; at others it appeared some days after the fever; they were then bilious, greasy, and frothy; they were often white and glairous; in some green, yellow, inclining to red, bloody; and sometimes only black blood. The discharges from the patients were often unaccompanied by pain; at others the gripings were excruciating; sometimes the evacuations were without smell; at others cadaverous and fœtid.

The patients experienced an inability to sleep; if they slumbered by chance, their sleep was laborious, they felt themselves as fatigued when they awoke as if they had not slept at all; the urine assumed different appearances during the course of the malady; in general at the beginning it was crude, then in small quantity, excoriating, acrid, red, bloody, and black; sometimes without sediment and thick, at others it was covered with a thick film, or had dregs floating in it; occasionally it had sediments of different natures; sometimes it was suppressed, at others it came away involuntary.

An uneasy weariness was soon followed by a yellow appearance, which usually first shewed itself in the eyes, and soon after the whole body was of a deep lemon colour; in that state the veins opened again where they were bled, the wound was surrounded with a livid circle, and it was with very great difficulty the

pagnées en général par des douleurs aux lombes : quelque fois ces déjections étaient fréquentes , liquides aqueuses , et commençaient avec la maladie : d'autre fois elles se déclaraient après plusieurs jours de fièvre : elles étaient tantôt bilieuses , grasses et mousseuses , tantôt blanches et glaireuses ; il s'en trouvaient de vertes , de jaunes , de rougeâtres , de sanguinolentes et même de sang pur , et noires ; tantôt les malades allaient à la selle sans douleur ; tantôt enfin , ils avaient de violentes tranchées : quelque fois ces déjections étaient sans odeur , d'autres fois infectes et cadavéreuses.

Les malades éprouvaient des insomnies ; si par hasard ils dormaient , le sommeil était laborieux , ils se trouvaient aussi fatigués à leur réveil , que s'ils n'avaient pas dormi. Les urines étaient différentes dans le cours de la maladie. Dans le commencement en général elles étaient crues , puis elles devenaient rares , mordicantes , acres , rouges , sanguinolentes et quelque fois noires : quelque fois aussi elles étaient sans sédiment , et troubles ; d'autres fois il se formait à la superficie une pellicule ou une nubécule : il s'en trouvait avec un sédiment de différente nature ; quelque fois elles se supprimaient , et d'autre fois enfin , les malades les rendaient sans s'en appercevoir.

Des lassitudes inquiétantes étaient bientôt suivies de la jaunisse qui commençait ordinairement par les yeux ; et bientôt après , tout le corps était couleur de citron foncé. Dans cet état les saignées se rouvraient , les piquures s'entouraient d'un cercle livide ; ce n'était qu'avec la plus grande peine qu'on parvenait à arrêter

blood was stopped. I observed this accident happened only to those patients who were bled too late.

The tongue was covered with blood, at first red, then black, which issued from the pores of the tongue, inside of the mouth and gums; to this hemorrhage was joined that from the nose, which sometimes preceded and sometimes flowed at the same time.

If the remedy was inefficacious, and did not produce any change in the state of the humours, gangrene or livid spots appeared in different parts, and gradually extended in such a manner, that the whole body sometimes appeared mortified; the diseased, when in that situation, before they died had a putrid smell; if the back of the hand was then put to the mouth, a cold sensation was felt, from the contact of the air which proceeded from the lungs. Those who died in that state had experienced weakneses in the beginning of their sickness; the morbid cause, from having long acted, had perverted all the humours, and disposed them to putrefaction.

It was very seldom medicine had sufficient power in those cases to save the patient; when the disease was at its height, the elements which compose the formation of the fluids and solids being no longer retained by the glutinous particles which united them, made continual efforts to disengage themselves and join their original mass, in the same manner as the breath of life, which animated the matter, evaporates into space, and again joins the being from which it first came.

From all these symptoms which accompanied this epidemic, I consider it as a true colliquative fever,

le sang. J'ai remarqué que ces accidens n'arrivaient qu'aux malades qui avaient été saignés trop tard.

La langue se couvrait d'un sang d'abord rouge , puis noir : il suintait de toute part de la langue , de l'intérieur de la bouche et des gencives. A cette hémorragie se joignait celle des narines qui , quelque fois , précédait , et quelque fois coulait en même temps.

Si les remèdes étaient inefficaces et n'apportaient aucun changement dans l'état des humeurs , la mortification se développait dans quelques parties où des taches livides se montraient à divers endroits , et s'étendaient par gradation , de manière que quelque fois tout le corps paraissait gangrené. Le malade dans cet état , répandait , avant de mourir , une odeur infecte ; si l'on approchait de sa bouche le dos de la main , on éprouvait un sentiment de froid par le contact de l'air qui sortait de ses poulmons. Les malades qui sont morts dans cet état , avaient eu des faiblesses dans les commencemens de leur maladie. Les causes morbifiques ayant agi long-temps , avaient perverti toutes les humeurs et les avaient disposées à la pourriture.

Il est rare que dans des cas semblables , les secours de la médecine soient assez puissans pour sauver le malade. Alors le mal est à son comble ; les élémens qui concourent à la formation des solides et des fluides n'étant plus retenus par le gluten qui les unissait , font sans cesse des efforts pour se désunir et rejoindre la masse dont ils sont sortis , de même que le souffle de vie qui a animé la matière , s'élançait dans l'espace et se réunit à l'être d'où il avait été émané.

D'après tous ces symptômes qui ont accompagnés la maladie épidémique , je la considère comme une vraie

which is in the same class with the ardent fever, complicated, and joined to another very fatal disease which I had observed at St. Domingo, and known by the name of the Siam Disease, or Siam Fever. It seemed as if these two scourges had united their symptoms, and acted in concert, which may be judged of by the description I have given, and which is only the recital of my own observations.

The prognostics upon this malady were in general unfavourable, but more or less consoling according to the number and malignity of the symptoms, and adapted to the knowledge of the constitution, the sex, and age of the patient, the manner of living, state of the humours, and complication of other diseases, &c. each being a circumstance to serve as a touchstone to the physician, to fix the judgment he should pronounce.

This at least is what directed my conduct. Every symptom attracted my particular attention. I set myself about the study of it in order to prevent my acting against nature, when she was successively destroying the morbid cause; she often alone acts sufficiently to explode and destroy the cause which oppresses her; it is true she acts sometimes in certain cases with too much violence, and in others too slowly: it is then art should assist in increasing or diminishing strength, or in bringing it to a salutary crisis; in short, it is for art to produce this crisis, when nature, overcome by the force of the disease, remains without action. It is when nature is inactive, art should shew itself; but how difficult to seize the critical moment when the physician should only remain a spectator, or that when he

fièvre colliquative , dont l'espèce se rapporte à la fièvre ardente compliquée , et jointe à une autre maladie très-meurtrière , que j'ai observée à St-Domingue , et connue sous le nom de mal de siam ou fièvre de siam. Il semble que ces deux fléaux aient réunis leurs symptômes et agissaient de concert , ainsi qu'on peut en juger par la description que je viens d'en faire , et qui n'est que le récit de tout ce que j'ai vu.

Le pronostic que l'on pouvait porter sur une pareille maladie était en général fâcheux : mais il devenait plus ou moins consolant , d'après le nombre et la gravité des symptômes , adoptés à la connaissance du tempérament , du sexe , de l'âge du malade , de sa manière de vivre , de l'état de ses humeurs et des complications d'autres infirmités ou maladies , &c. : toutes circonstances qui devaient servir de pierre de touche au médecin pour asseoir et prononcer son jugement.

Tel a été : d'ailleurs ce qui a dirigé ma conduite chaque symptôme a fixé mon attention particulière ; je me suis attaché à l'étudier , afin de ne pas m'exposer à contrarier la nature , lorsqu'elle travaillait avec fruit à se débarrasser de la matière morbifique : elle seule fait souvent le travail nécessaire pour expulser et détruire la cause qui l'opprime. Il est vrai que quelque fois elle agit dans certains cas avec trop de violence , et dans d'autres avec trop de lenteur ; c'est alors que l'art doit agir , pour augmenter ou diminuer ses forces , ou pour l'aider à amener une crise salutaire , enfin c'est à l'art seul de produire cette crise , lorsque la nature , affaiblie par la force du mal , reste sans action.

C'est donc lorsque la nature est sans activité que l'art doit se montrer ; mais combien est difficile à saisir

ought to act. He is an excellent physician who has acquired that degree of knowledge—happy the mortal that possesses him. Being in the habit of seeing the diseased, and to observe nature, can alone guide the practitioner, and render medicine a really useful science ; but any one who, seduced by the brilliancy of a system, will force nature by the rules of the method he has adopted, he, I say, is a scourge more fatal to the human kind than the plague itself would be.

The public will find from the account I have given, it is impossible to lay down a mode of treatment applicable in every case ; nevertheless, though circumstances obliged me to vary the means I made use of, I will set down the most general cases, and the motive which determined my choice.

I should first observe, the patients were not carried to the hospital till reduced to the last extremity ; many expired six, eight, or twelve hours after their arrival, some even did not live two hours ; many had made use of very fatal medicines, such as drastic purges, composed of jalap or gumboage, and calomel ; they had taken these remedies in the beginning of the disease, in the moment of irritation, when the humours being yet crude, the morbid cause could not be carried off by cathartics.

The public being misinformed, added to these dangerous medicines the use of sordid and spirituous liquors ; many among the number that fell victims to

ce moment précis , où le médecin doit rester simple spectateur , et celui où il doit agir : celui-là est le vrai médecin qui est parvenu à ce degré de connaissance. Heureux le mortel qui le possède : L'habitude de voir les malades , et d'observer la nature , peut seule guider le praticien , et rendre la médecine une science vraiment utile ; mais celui qui , séduit par le brillant d'un système , veut assujettir la nature aux règles de la méthode qu'il a adoptée ; celui-là , dis-je , est un fléau plus pernicieux à l'humanité que ne pourrait l'être la peste elle-même.

Le public sentira que d'après les détails que je viens de donner , il m'est impossible d'indiquer un traitement généralement applicable dans tous les cas ; cependant quoique les circonstances m'aient obligé de varier les moyens que j'ai mis en usage pour combattre la maladie , je vais exposer les cas les plus généraux , ainsi que les motifs qui ont déterminé mon choix.

Je dois prévenir que les malades n'étaient en général portés à l'hôpital qu'à la dernière extrémité. Beaucoup y ont péri , six , huit ou douze heures après leur arrivée : quelques-uns même n'y ont pas vécu deux heures. Beaucoup avaient mis en usage des remèdes nourriers , tels que des purgatifs drastiques , composés de jalap , ou de gomme-gutte et de calomel : ils avaient pris ces remèdes dès l'invasion de la maladie , dans le moment de l'irritation , où les humeurs encore crues , ne pouvaient entraîner la cause morbifique par l'action des purgatifs.

Le public , mal instruit , ajoutait à ces purgatifs dangereux , l'usage des boissons sudorifiques et spiritueuses. Combien aussi dans le nombre de ceux qui ont

This incendiary practice perished by this fatal method. If there were any of those unfortunate persons that recovered, they owed their convalescence to the goodness of their constitution, and the little effect the malady had upon them; for mercurial preparations having the property to dissolve the humours, acted in these cases with the morbid cause, which itself produced this division: Soporifics also improperly taken hastened the loss of the patient, and often rendered mortal a disease that would have given way to proper treatment. It is true nature will sometimes itself expel the morbid cause by perspiration, but then these critical evacuations terminate the malady. It is not in the beginning of a disease that nature thus acts, and when it does happen, these sweats become symptomatic. It is the same with other evacuations, which only serve to enervate the patient, without carrying off the cause of the disease.

A skilful physician is not deceived by these evacuations. He lessens or favours them according to the time when they appear; but he can never take into his method of cure, that of either exciting or increasing them, when they are the symptoms of a serious disease; if he acted otherwise he would favour the malady to the destruction of the individual; then the strength of the patient's constitution could alone support him against the force of the disease, and inexperience of the practitioner.

In order to give a clear idea of the general methods I made use of to combat the malady, I shall divide its duration into three parts—that of the irritation of

péris de cette maladie , combien n'ont pas été victimes de cette pratique incendiaire ? S'il en est qui ont eu le bonheur d'y résister , ils ne doivent l'existence qu'à leur bonne constitution , et au peu d'effets qu'avaient produit sur eux les causes de la maladie ; car les préparations mercurielles ayant la propriété de dissoudre les humeurs , agissent , dans cette circonstance , de concert avec les causes morbifiques qui , elles-mêmes , opèrent cette décomposition : les sudorifiques , aussi mal indiqués , hâtaient la perte des malades , et ont rendu mortelle une maladie qui aurait cédé à un traitement convenable. Il est vrai que quelque fois la nature se débarrasse de la cause morbifique par les sueurs ; mais alors cette évacuation critique termine la maladie. Ce n'est pas dans les commencemens d'une maladie que la nature agit ainsi , et lorsque cela arrive , les sueurs deviennent symptomatiques ; il en est de même des autres évacuations qui ne servent qu'à énerver les malades sans extraire les causes du mal.

Un médecin instruit et praticien ne se trompe pas sur ces sortes d'évacuations. Il les réprime ou les favorise suivant le temps où elles paraissent ; mais il ne peut jamais entrer dans ses vues curatives de les exciter ou de les favoriser , lorsqu'elles ne sont que des symptômes d'une maladie grave. S'il agissait autrement , il travaillerait en sens égal avec le mal , à la destruction de l'individu ; alors l'heureuse constitution du malade peut seule le soustraire , et à la force de la maladie et à l'inexpérience du médecin.

Afin de donner une idée nette des moyens en général , que j'ai mis en usage à l'effet de combattre la maladie ; j'en diviserai sa durée en trois périodes : celui de l'irri-

crudity, that of the concoction, and that of its termination or crisis.

It is to be observed, these three periods followed each other so quick, as to require the most scrupulous attention to find out when they succeeded each other ; as they were often confounded. I was then obliged to pay more attention to the prevailing symptoms than to the time they made their appearance, in order to apply the proper remedies. Without this precaution I should have committed great errors, for I met with some who had arrived to the end of the first period on the fifth day, while others were at the expiration of the disease on the third.

In the first period, when the pulse announced a sanguinary plethora, when I perceived a considerable irritation, as well by the state of the pulse as the heat of the skin, the redness of the face, and violent vomiting ; when in particular an extreme thirst was joined to these symptoms, and pains in the head and other parts, I had the patients bled ; if the blood was inflammatory, and the symptoms did not diminish, if in short nothing forbid the remedy, I repeated it more or less according to the circumstances. In general I had but a small quantity of blood taken away, and that repeatedly, in preference to once bleeding more copiously, that I might preserve the patient's strength.

This precaution was the more indispensable when the sick were not brought into the hospital at the beginning of the disease. It was seldom bleeding could be used with success after the third day ; sometimes even I saw indications which prevented my doing

tation , ou si l'on veut de crudité ; celui de la coction ; enfin celui de la terminaison ou de la crise.

Il est bon d'observer que ces trois périodes parcouraient leur durée avec tant de rapidité , qu'il fallait la plus scrupuleuse attention pour saisir le moment où l'un finissait et faisait place à l'autre ; souvent même ils étaient confondus. J'étais donc obligé d'avoir égard aux symptômes existans , plutôt qu'à l'époque où ils paraissaient , afin d'employer les remèdes à propos. Sans ces précautions, j'aurais commis de grandes fautes, car j'ai vu des malades qui n'avaient pas encore atteint la fin du premier période le cinquième jour , tandis que d'autres étaient au dernier terme de la maladie , le troisième.

Dans le premier période , lorsque le pouls annonçait une plétore sanguine ; lorsque j'apercevais une irritation considérable , tant par l'état du pouls que par la chaleur de la peau , la rougeur du visage et les vomissemens avec effort , quand sur-tout , à ces symptômes , se joignaient une soif ardente, des maux de tête ou dans quelque autre partie , je faisais saigner les malades ; si le sang était inflammatoire , si les symptômes ne diminuaient pas ; si enfin rien ne contre-indiquait ce remède, je le réitérais plus ou moins souvent suivant les circonstances. En général je faisais faire les saignées petites , je préférais ce moyen réitéré à des saignées copieuses, afin de ménager les forces du malade.

Cette précaution était encore plus indispensable , lorsque le malade n'était pas amené dans les premiers jours de la maladie. Il était rare de pouvoir saigner avec succès après le troisième : quelque fois même j'ai aperçu des contre-indications qui m'ont empêché de le

it even the first. It must not be forgot I speak in general, there are exceptions to this rule, but to bleed at the moment the dissolution of blood takes place, becomes mortal, which I had opportunity of observing in those unfortunate persons brought to the hospital, after having been bled in that state.

Vomiting was symptomatic, and made frequent bleedings more necessary. I prescribed the bath and clysters with the same views. I gave antiphlogistic and diluting drinks, such as lemonade, chicken water, oxymel, barley water, gruel, and cold water, acidulated with dulcified spirits of nitre, which cooled the urine, made it more abundant, and acted as a sedative and antiputrescent.

I reaped considerable advantage from water acidulated with fixed air, which I prescribed as a common drink. Having fortunately saved from the wreck of my cabinet, which had become the pirates prey, an apparatus which served me at the hospital at Bush-hill. I every morning made a sufficient quantity of fixed air to serve all the patients, for whom it was necessary. This water, agreeable enough to the taste, remained on those stomachs that rejected other liquids. I made use of this remedy with great success at St. Domingo, not only in ardent, inflammatory, and putrid fevers, but also in many other maladies. This drink is also highly antiseptic and cooling.

When the vomiting resisted all these means, I prescribed simple emulsions; also made use of cooling and sedative draughts, in which I put vitriolic ether,

Faire le premier jour ; on ne doit point oublier que je parle en général : il est des exceptions à cette règle. Mais une saignée faite au moment où la dissolution du sang est établie , devient mortelle , ainsi que j'ai eu occasion de l'observer , sur des malheureux apportés à l'hôpital , après avoir été saignés chez eux dans cet état.

Les vomissemens étaient symptômatiques et exigeaient de multiplier les saignées. J'employais les bains et les lavemens dans les mêmes vues. Je donnais des boissons antiphlogistiques et délayantes , telles que la limonade , l'eau de poulet , l'oxicrat , l'eau d'orge , de gruau , l'eau froide. Toutes les boissons étaient en général acidulées avec l'esprit de nitre dulcifié , ce qui calmaït l'ardeur des urines , les rendait plus abondantes et agissait comme anti-putride et sédatif.

J'ai tiré un grand avantage de l'eau acidulée avec l'air fixe , prise pour boisson ordinaire. J'avais heureusement sauvé des débris de mon cabinet , qui est presque en entier devenu la proie des pirates , un appareil qui m'a servi à l'hôpital Bush-hill. Je faisais tous les jours une suffisante quantité d'air fixe pour l'usage des tous les malades à qui je le croyais nécessaire. Cette eau, assez agréable au goût, passait souvent chez des malades qui rejetaient toutes les autres boissons. Je me suis avantageusement servi à St-Domingue de ce remède , non seulement dans les fièvres ardentes , inflammatoires et putrides , mais encore dans beaucoup d'autres maladies. Cette boisson est un excellent antiseptique tempérent.

Lorsque les vomissemens résistaient à tous ces moyens, je prescrivais de émulsions simples ; je faisais également

Hoffman's mineral liquor, and sedative salts; I also gave to some, salt of tartar and lemon juice. If these means did not answer my purpose, I was not obstinate in continuing their use; I changed alternately from one to the other, till I found which best moderated and agreed with the immediate state of the solids. Such was my plan of conduct in every circumstance. It was an error to believe, what succeeded well in one case, would have the same success in all others, though they appeared alike; because often an infinite number of hidden circumstances produced a change in the animal economy. I have seen a remedy that has cured one, done good to a second, and hurt a third. The diversity of effects proceeding from the same cause will always prevent remedies being generally specific; and proves the scientific part of physic will not be so certain as the experimental.

When some of the liquids which I have mentioned were successful, I had it continued, and accompanied with camphire, in the form of bolusses, a manner least disgusting to the sick, and in which I could increase the dose as I pleased, or according to the exigency of the case. Every bolus was usually composed of two grains of camphire and three of nitre. I gave two or three every hour. If the patient was too ill to take the bolus, I gave it in a liquid form. (This mendicament I consider as an excellent sedative and antiputrescent, which inconsiderately used would be attended but with little inconvenience.) I allowed the sick to suck

usage des potions tempérantes , sédatives , dans lesquelles je faisais entrer l'éther vitriolique , la liqueur minérale d'Hoffmann et le sel sédatif ; je donnais quelque fois le sel de tartre avec le jus de citron. Si ces moyens ne répondaient pas à mon attente , je ne m'obstinais pas à en continuer l'usage , je passais alternativement de l'un à l'autre jusqu'à ce que je rencontrasse ce qui convenait au mode , à l'état présent où se trouvait le ton des solides. Tel a été mon plan de conduite dans toutes les circonstances. C'est être bien dans l'erreur que de croire que le moyen le mieux entendu , et qui réussit dans un cas , puisse avoir le même succès dans tous les autres , quoiqu'ils paraissent semblables , parce qu'une infinité de circonstances , souvent cachées , produisent du changement dans l'économie animale ; aussi voyons-nous souvent tel remède guérir une personne , devenir nul chez une autre , et quelque fois nuisible à une troisième. La diversité des effets dépendant de la même cause s'opposera toujours à ce qu'on trouve des remèdes généralement spécifiques : ce qui fait que jamais la médecine ne deviendra une science aussi certaine que la physique expérimentale.

Lorsque quelques unes des boissons , dont je viens de parler me réussissaient j'en faisais continuer l'usage en y ajoutant celui du camphre que je donnais en bols , manière moins rebutante pour le malade , et à l'aide de la quelle j'augmentais la dose à mon gré et suivant que le cas l'exigeait. Chaque bol était ordinairement de deux grains de camphre et trois grains de nitre : je les donnais toutes les heures , au nombre de deux , ou si les malades se trouvaient trop mal pour avaler les bols ,

slices of sweet oranges, and during the first period they rarely took any other food than creamed rice or barley.

When the violence of the symptoms were abated, and the patient arrived at the second period, which happened sooner or later, I endeavoured to find out the way nature seemed most to incline in endeavouring to expel the morbid cause ; and sought for what I judged most proper to second her.

I often made use of veal or chicken broth, creamed rice, panada, Bourdeaux wine sweetened, and in short more powerful cordials where the case required them ; and if nature seemed disposed to act of itself, I was careful not to disturb in endeavouring to strengthen. I only tried to second her when weak and trembling. Sometimes the disease got the upper hand, and triumphed over the efforts nature made to disengage herself, then the pulse became low, and sometimes convulsive, I had recourse to blisters, at which time I was particular in the use of nitrous draughts, in order to diminish the action of the cantharides upon the blister. Sometimes I found myself obliged to give the most powerful cordials to re-animate the action of the solids. When the blisters answered the end I proposed, or that alone, or with the help of cordials, the strength was renewed ; when in short the humours flew towards the part where they were placed, the malady usually terminated without any other crisis than the suppuration,

je leur donnais en boisson. Ce médicament, que je regarde comme un excellent sédatif et antiputride, est celui dont l'usage, même inconsidéré, entraîne le moins d'inconvéniens. Je permettrais aux malades de fuser des tranches d'oranges douces, et pendant le premier période il était rare qu'ils prissent d'autre nourriture que des crèmes de riz ou d'orge.

Lorsque la violence des symptômes était calmée et que le malade était parvenu à son second période, qui arrivait plus ou moins promptement, je m'attachais à étudier quel moyens la nature semblait prendre pour se débarrasser de l'humeur morbifique qui l'opprimait, et je cherchais ce qui me paraissait le plus propre à la seconder.

Souvent j'employais les bouillons de veau ou de volaille, des crèmes de riz, des panades, du vin de Bordeaux, sucré, enfin des cordiaux plus forts si le cas l'exigeait; et si la nature me paraissait disposée à agir elle-même, alors je me gardais bien de la troubler en voulant la fortifier; je ne cherchais qu'à la seconder lorsque je la voyais chancelante et faible. Quelque fois le mal prenait le dessus et triomphait des efforts que la nature faisait pour se débarrasser; alors le pouls devenait petit et quelque fois convulsif, c'est dans ce cas que j'avais recours aux vésicatoires. J'insistais sur l'usage des potions nitrées, afin de diminuer l'actions des cantharides sur la vessie. Souvent je me voyais contraint de donner les cordiaux les plus puissans, pour ranimer l'action des solides. Lorsque les vésicatoires remplissaient le but que je m'étais proposé, et que seules ou aidées des cordiaux, ils remontaient le ton, qu'enfin l'humeur se portait vers les parties où ils étaient appliqués, la

which I took great care to encourage as far as appeared necessary; for if the humours flew to the inside, I observed the blister was covered with a dry and mortified slough, the pulse became concentrated and low, the patient's extremities were sometimes cold, and respiration difficult.

Authors have prescribed in similar circumstances to put fresh cantharides upon the blister, but experience has proved to me this practice often produces very pernicious consequences; therefore I did not follow it; in short, in such a case the action of the flies draws the outside of the vessels upon which they are applied; these being deprived of the liquor they gave on the first application, their size was further contracted by the caustic nature of the flies, the fluids they contained flew back into the habit, and produced new disorders; the slough which already existed thickened still more from the contraction being greater. I have always preferred, and with success, dressing the blister with an unguent of storax, I made the patient take at the same time a strong decoction of bark, which was made a cordial in some cases by the addition of cinnamon water, or something similar.

If the danger was imminent I then applied fresh blisters, but not on the same places. In the first case, when the patient's stomach did not reject the decoction of the bark, I was almost certain the first dressing would shew a beginning separation of the mortified slough; by degrees it was detached, and at length fell entirely off: it is necessary to observe, that in this case

maladie se terminait assez ordinairement sans d'autres crises que la suppuration que j'avais grand soin d'entretenir autant qu'elle me paraissait nécessaire ; car si l'humeur venait à refluer dans l'intérieur, ainsi que j'ai eu occasion de l'observer ; dans ce cas les vésicatoires se couvraient d'un escare gangréneux et sec ; le pouls devenait petit et concentré ; le malade avait quelque fois les extrémités froides et la respiration laborieuse. Les auteurs ont prescrit dans de pareilles circonstances de remettre de nouvelles cantharides sur les vésicatoires, mais l'expérience m'a appris combien cette pratique était sujette à produire des effets pernicieux, aussi ne l'ai-je point suivie. En effet, dans un cas pareil l'action des mouches crispe l'embouchure des vaisseaux sur lesquels elles sont appliquées : ceux-ci étant déjà privés de la liqueur qu'ils avaient fournie lors de la première application, leur calibre se trouve resserré dans une plus grande étendue, par l'action caustique des mouches, le fluide qui s'y trouve contenu reflue dans la masse, y produit des désordres, et l'escare qui existait déjà, s'épaissit d'autant plus que la crispation a été plus grande. J'ai toujours préféré, et avec succès, de faire panser les vésicatoires avec l'onguent de styrax. Je faisais prendre en même-temps au malade, une forte décoction de quina, que je rendais cordiale dans quelques circonstances, par l'addition de l'eau de canelle, ou autre chose semblable : si le cas devenait pressant, alors je faisais appliquer de nouveaux vésicatoires, mais non pas dans le même endroit. Dans le premier cas, lorsque le malade ne rejetait pas la décoction de quina, j'étais presque assuré que le premier pansement laissait appercevoir un commencement de séparation des escars

the suppuration was great, it was also necessary to assist it, as it often put a period to the disease. If the immediate indications required cathartics, I gave them in reiterated, but small doses; a strong purgative would have retarded suppuration, by drawing the humours to the inside, and destroying the patient. If the matter from the suppuration was not good, I continued the use of the bark; sometimes the pus corroded the parts, and formed ulcers that assumed different appearances, which the more determined me to continue the discharge, endeavour to correct the internal humours, and assist nature in disengaging herself. In short, I made use of cathartics, more or less, when the blister healed of itself.

After what I have said, it must be understood the blister produced an artificial crisis. I have met with many cases where nature produced much better, although very rarely in the epidemic we are speaking of. I have sometimes observed the morbid matter fall upon some particular part, and produce disorders more or less considerable, as abscesses, mortifications, &c. Sometimes even this mass of humours went off by urine, an hemorrhage, or diarrhœa. I never saw the crisis act by perspiration in this epidemic, and those I have already mentioned were almost always imperfect.

When the morbid matter settled on a part little essential to life, I favoured the efforts nature made, by augmenting or supporting her strength, and diminishing the external resistance; for this purpose I made use of emollients, either in fomentations or cataplasms.

gangréneux, peu à peu elles se détachaient et finissaient par tomber entièrement. Il est bon d'observer que, dans ce cas, la supuration vient très-abondante, et qu'il est très-nécessaire de la faciliter, car elle termine souvent la maladie. Si des indications pressantes exigeaient des purgatifs, je les donnais à petite dose en les réitérant. Une forte purgation aurait fait sûrement tarir la supuration en l'attirant dans l'intérieur et aurait fait périr le malade. Si la matière de la supuration n'était pas belle, j'insistais sur l'usage du quina. Quelque fois la supuration rongeaient les parties et formait des ulcères qui prenaient divers caractères, ce qui me déterminait d'autant plus à entretenir l'écoulement; je m'attachais à corriger le vice interne et j'aidais la nature à se débarrasser; enfin j'avais recours aux purgatifs plus ou moins nombreux lorsque les vésicatoires se tarifiaient d'eux-mêmes.

D'après ce que je viens de dire, on voit que les vésicatoires produisaient une crise artificielle; j'ai rencontré plusieurs cas où la nature en produisait de meilleures, quoique très-rarement dans l'épidémie dont il est ici question. J'ai quelque fois remarqué que l'humeur morbifique se portait sur telles ou telles parties et y produisait des ravages plus ou moins considérables, comme la gangrène, des dépôts, &c. Quelque fois aussi cette même humeur se dissipait par les urines, par une hémorragie et par des diarrhées. Je n'ai jamais vu de crises s'opérer par les sueurs, dans cette épidémie, et les crises dont je viens de parler, ont presque toujours été imparfaites.

Lorsque l'humeur morbifique se portait vers quelques parties peu essentielles à la vie, je favorisais les vues de la nature, en augmentant ou en soutenant ses

This sort of crisis was also very rare ; I saw only one instance, which was in a suppuration of the parotides ; the patient recovered, but required great care and precaution.

Sometimes the venom, by attacking a particular part, destroyed the vital principle, and produced mortification ; then the patient could only be cured when the affected part was large enough to contain the mass of humours, and enable me by its extent and situation to cut away the mortified parts.

The urine, as I have already said, was one way nature took to relieve herself, but I seldom found this method sufficiently efficacious, notwithstanding I endeavoured to forward it by diuretics.

I have seen some critical hemorrhages. Women, whose periodical evacuations happened at the time of the crisis, usually recovered. A discharge of blood from the nose has also had good effects ; but it seldom alone produced a perfect crisis. If this hemorrhage was symptomatic, and joined to that of the mouth, the patient was in the greatest danger ; they always appeared to me to indicate a dissolution of the humours.

I then made use of antiputrescents, as camphire and nitre ; but found a much greater advantage from a strong decoction of bark, acidulated with spirits of vitriol. I gave this remedy in large doses ; also made use of broths, in which I had each time half a drachm

forces , et en diminuant les résistances extérieures ; pour cette effet , je faisais usage des relachans , soit en fomentation , soit en forme de cataplasme. Ces fortes de crises ont été fort rares ; je n'ai vu qu'une seule fois une parotide en supuration : le malade en a guéri ; mais il a fallu y apporter beaucoup de soins et les plus grandes précautions.

Quelque fois le venin , en se portant vers une partie , y détruisait le principe vital , et y produisait la gangrène , et le malade ne guérissait qu'autant que la partie affectée pouvait contenir la totalité de l'humeur , et ne permettait par son étendue et sa structure , d'emporter avec l'instrument tranchant la portion gangrénée.

Les urines , comme je l'ai déjà dit , étaient une voie dont la nature se servait pour se débarrasser ; mais j'ai vu rarement que ce moyen ait été entièrement efficace malgré les soins que je prenais à employer les diurétiques.

J'ai vu quelques hémorragies critiques. Les femmes dont l'évacuation périodique arrivait dans le temps de la crise , ont généralement guéries. L'hémorragie nazale a opéré de bons effets , mais il est rare que seule elle ait produit une bonne crise ; si cette hémorragie était symptomatique et qu'elle se joignait avec celle de la bouche , le malade était dans le plus grand danger. Ces hémorragies m'ont toujours parues être l'indice de la dissolution dans les humeurs.

Je faisais alors usage des antiputrides , comme le camphre et le nitre , mais je tirais un plus grand avantage d'une forte décoction de quina acidulée avec l'esprit de vitriol. Je faisais prendre ce remède à forte dose. J'employais aussi le bouillon dans lequel je faisais

of gum dragant, powdered ; I ordered creamed rice, and juice of sweet oranges ; if the case required it, I supported the patient with red wine, sweetened ; sometimes by cordial draughts : but I never used these means without the greatest circumspection. First, I had to prevent the patient sinking into a state of debility, from which I could not have recovered him ; then to take care not to raise him so high as to augment the hemorrhage, already too fatal of itself, and to which I could only oppose internal remedies, fit to give consistency to the humours that were dissolved by the nature of the disease.

I have already said the diseased were wearied with diarrhœs of different kinds ; in general these evacuations were symptomatic ; when they were crude, without smell, and in large quantities, I made use of cordials with astringents, but was cautious in the use of such remedies, in order to avoid the danger that must arise from a sudden suppression of the evacuation. My end in diminishing them was to save the patient's strength, that I might gain time for an endeavour to destroy or neutralise the morbid humour, or throw it upon a part that would not endanger the patient's life.

If the flux stopped of itself, it was a very serious circumstance, which should if possible have been foreseen ; for then the humours flew to the head, the patient became comatose, which was soon followed by death.

dissoudre chaque fois un demi gros de gomme adragante, en poudre. J'ordonnais des crèmes de riz, le jus d'oranges douces ; si le cas l'exigeait , je soutenais les forces du malade , par le vin rouge , sucré , quelque fois par des potions cordiales ; mais je n'usais jamais de ce moyen qu'avec la plus grande circonspection. En effet, je devais empêcher le malade de tomber dans un état de faiblesse , d'où il ne se ferait pas relevé ; mais d'un autre côté je devais prendre garde à ne pas donner trop de ton, qui nécessairement aurait augmenté l'hémorragie , alors funeste par elle-même , et à laquelle je ne pouvais opposer que des remèdes internes et propres à donner de la consistance aux humeurs , dont les causes de la maladie avaient opéré la dissolution.

J'ai déjà dit que les malades étaient fatigués par des cours de ventre de différentes natures. En général ces déjections étaient symptomatiques : lors qu'elles étaient crues , sans odeur et abondantes , j'employais les cordiaux mêlés avec les astringents ; mais je ne faisais usage de ces remèdes qu'avec la plus grande circonspection, afin d'éviter le danger auquel aurait exposé une suppression subite de cette évacuation. J'avais pour but, en la diminuant , de ménager les forces du malade , afin de gagner du temps pour travailler à détruire ou à neutraliser l'humeur morbifique , ou à l'attirer sur quelques parties peu essentielles à la conservation de l'individu.

Si le cours de ventre venait à se supprimer de lui-même , c'était un accident bien grave et qu'il fallait tâcher de prévenir ; car alors l'humeur se portait à la tête , et produisait le coma qui était suivi de la mort.

Diarrhœas of every kind were preceded and accompanied by a weight and pain in the loins ; when that suddenly ceased, and pain of the head followed, or increased after the suppression of that of the back, this change shewed the morbid matter was quitting the intestines, and attacking the brain ; a truth I was often convinced of by experience. In short, I have seen this case always followed by delirium, the diarrhœa stopped, and coma followed, the pulse became concentrated, small, convulsive, and death did not fail to put an end to this tragic scene. When a patient came to the hospital with these symptoms my efforts were always useless ; but when brought in time, that is before the humour had fixed in the head, I had blisters applied to the legs and thighs ; the irritation drew the humours to that part ; if the discharge was in quantity, it served as a crisis, and the patient recovered.

But as I have said already, the patients were seldom brought in time ; they were sent to the hospital at the last extremity, long after the humour had fixed its habitation in the head, and when it was no longer possible to draw it elsewhere ; yet as it was better to try uncertain means, than to let a patient die for want of an endeavour, however desperate the case might be. I tried the same method, I even applied larger blisters, administered cordials, and applied hot bricks to the extremities ; and was fortunate enough to save several by that means, who must otherwise have inevitably perished for want of such a trial ; and must confess this success, though rare, made me some amends for the uneasiness I felt in not having it in my power to

Les déjections de toute espèce étaient précédées et accompagnées d'une douleur et d'une pesanteur aux lombes. Lorsque cette douleur diminuait tout-à-coup, et que la tête devenait douloureuse à son tour, ou que le mal, dans cette dernière partie, devenait plus fort après la disparution de celle aux lombes, ce changement annonçait que la matière morbifique abandonnait les intestins et se portait au cerveau. Vérité dont l'expérience m'a convaincue. En effet, j'ai toujours vu, dans ce cas, que le malade, peu de temps après, avait le délire; le cours de ventre se supprimait, le coma s'en suivait, le pouls devenait concentré, petit et convulsif, et la mort ne tardait pas à terminer cette scène tragique. Lorsque les malades venaient à l'hôpital avec ces symptômes, mes efforts ont toujours été inutiles; mais s'ils étaient apportés assez à temps, c'est à-dire avant que l'humeur se fut fixée à la tête, alors je faisais appliquer les vésicatoires aux jambes et aux cuisses; l'irritation attirait l'humeur sur ces parties; si la supuration devenait abondante, elle tenait lieu de crise, et le malade guérissait.

Mais comme je l'ai déjà dit, je n'ai pas souvent eu le bonheur de voir ces malades assez à temps; on ne les envoyait à l'hôpital qu'à la dernière extrémité, long-temps après que l'humeur avait fixé son siège à la tête, et lorsqu'il n'était plus possible de l'attirer ailleurs. Cependant, comme il vaut mieux tenter des moyens incertains, que de laisser un malade sans secours, quelque désespéré qu'il fut; j'essayais ces mêmes moyens, je faisais même appliquer des vésicatoires plus amples; j'y joignais les cordiaux, je les faisais réchauffer avec des briques chaudes, mises aux extré-

be useful to be many others, who, I may venture to say, perished for want of succour and assistance.

After what has been said, think I have reason to conclude, that the appearance or augmentation of pain in the head, and diminution and cessation of it in another part where the disease had fixed it, shewed the patient was in imminent danger. This is also applicable to pain in any of the vital parts.

Before I finish this part of my enquiry, I cannot omit mentioning the use of one of the most powerful remedies in the materia medica; and not to deviate from my subject, will give as an example the effect it produces on the head. The head-ach, as I have already observed, increasing at the time in which the pain in the loins disappeared, announced the transition of the morbid matter to the brain; if in that case, to calm the pain in the head, and watching, I had made use of opium, I should have effectually calmed the pain, and put the patient to sleep; but what would have been the consequence? I should at the same time have diminished the strength of the organs, particularly that of the brain, and have favoured the overcharging of the part where the morbid matter had a tendency to settle; then there was no resource: the humour once fixed, the patient dies. In order to render this reasoning more clear, I shall beg leave to make use of a comparison; and will suppose two men fighting; an officious friend arrives, finds no other expedient to separate them than tying the hands of one, whilst he suffers the other to continue striking him. What must

mités. J'ai été assez heureux , par ces moyens , d'en sauver quelques uns qui auraient infailliblement périés sans ces tentatives , et je dois avouer que ces succès , quoique rares , m'ont dédommagé du chagrin que je ressentais de ne pouvoir être utile à beaucoup d'autres , qui , sans le dire , n'ont périés que faute de soins et de précautions.

Ce que je viens de dire me donne lieu de conclure que l'apparition d'une douleur dans la tête , lorsque celles du cou et du visage s'étoient fixées , disparaissent , meurt dans le plus grand danger. Ce qui peut s'appliquer par les mêmes douleurs , dans toutes les parties essentielles de la vie.

Avant que de finir cette partie de mes recherches , je ne puis me dispenser de parler de l'usage d'un des plus puissans remèdes que la médecine possède , et pour ne pas m'écarter de mon sujet , je vais prendre pour exemple les effets qu'il produit dans la tête. Le mal de tête , ainsi que je l'ai observé et que je viens de rapporter , augmentant au même instant que la douleur des lombes avoit disparue , et que l'humour morbifique au lieu de se porter dans ce cas , pour calmer les douleurs de tête et l'insomnie , j'eusse fait usage de l'opium , j'aurais effectivement calmé ces douleurs en procurant le sommeil ; mais qu'en seroit-il résulté ? J'aurais en même-temps diminué les forces organiques , et par conséquent j'aurais favorisé l'engorgement de la tête , vers laquelle la matière morbifique avoit une tendance à se porter ; alors plus de ressource ; l'humour une fois fixé , le malade doit périer. Afin de rendre ce raisonnement plus

occur? the interference of the officious friend is injurious to the one he prevents continuing the combat. The physician who administers opium in the above case, is precisely the officious friend, that instead of preventing an evil, by making it less pernicious, fixes it in a part from whence it is scarcely possible to expel it.

Although I am acquainted with all the virtues of opium, I think it absolutely hurtful in ardent, malignant, and putrid fevers, and principally at the crisis.

Having presented the general means I employed according to the circumstances, I pass on to some particular observations, which will prove at the same time that this disease was of a most serious nature, though not contagious; and leave the connoisseur to judge, if my method is founded upon the principle of medical practice.

FIRST OBSERVATION.

A man between thirty-six and thirty-eight years of age, middle sized, bilious temperament, hair and beard black, was admitted into Bush-hill hospital the 29th of September, 1793. He could not say how many days he had been ill, but was informed the first or second day of the fever he had taken a drastic medicine, composed of jalap and calomel. The tongue and lips were very black and dry, respiration painful, and excrements cold; he threw up with violence all he took,

sensible , qu'il me soit permis de faire une comparaison. Je suppose deux hommes en querelle et aux prises ; un ami officieux arrive , ne trouve d'autre expédient pour les séparer , que de lier les bras de l'un pendant que l'autre continue à lui porter des coups : qu'arrivera-t-il ? Que le service de l'ami est pernicieux à l'un des deux , mis hors du combat. Et bien , le médecin qui administre l'opium , dans le cas cité , est précisément l'ami officieux qui , au lieu de détourner un mal , pour le rendre moins pernicieux , le fixe dans une partie dont il n'est presque plus possible de le faire sortir.

Quoique je reconnaisse toute l'efficacité de l'opium , je pense qu'il est absolument contraire et nuisible dans les fièvres ardentes , malignes , putrides et principalement dans le moment des crises.

Après avoir présenté les moyens généraux que j'ai employé suivant que me l'indiquaient les circonstances , je passe à quelques observations particulières qui prouveront à la fois , que cette maladie était des plus graves , mais qu'elle n'était pas contagieuse. Elles metront aussi les connaisseurs à portée de juger si ma pratique est fondée sur les principes de la médecine clinique.

P R E M I E R E O B S E R V A T I O N .

Un homme âgé de 36 à 38 ans , de taille moyenne , d'un tempérament bilieux , barbe et cheveux noirs , est entré à l'hôpital Bush-hill , le 29 Septembre 1793 ; il ne put me dire depuis combien de jours il était malade ; mais j'appris que les premier et second jours de sa fièvre , il avait pris une dose de poudres drastiques , composées de calomel et de jalap.

La langue et les lèvres étaient noires et fort arides =

his belly was hard and painful, the abdominal muscles were in such a state of contraction as to flatten the belly in a manner that it almost touched the backbone; the fæces were black, of an ill smell, and mixed with blood; the urine in small quantity, also black and fætid; in short, the pulse was concentrated, and the tendons convulsed. I had blisters applied, and hot bricks to the extremities. I endeavoured to get some remedy down his throat, but in vain; nature was so weakened, art could not re-animate him. He died in the night of the 1st of October. The second I opened his body and found:

The membranes of the brain in their natural state, the sinews of the duramater contained a very little black blood, the brain firm, the cortical substance less red than it should have been, the medulla substance too white, the callous artery and plexus choroides discoloured and almost white, the ventricle scarcely containing any serosity.

The lungs in their natural state, the pericardium containing very little serosity, the heart withered and wrinkled, absolutely not containing any thing, pale, appearing as if it had been washed, and of a flabby consistency.

The stomach a little contracted, its thickness double what it ought to be, the internal membrane partly destroyed, what remained was red and inflamed, the duodenum and almost all the whole intestinal canal in the same situation, what remained of the internal mem-

la respiration pénible , et les extrémités froides. Il vomissait avec effort tout ce qu'il prenait : son ventre était douloureux et dur : les muscles de l'abdomen se trouvaient dans un état de contraction qui rendait le ventre aplati et rapproché de la colonne vertébrale ; les matières qu'il rendait par des selles , étaient noires, infectes et mêlées de sang ; les urines en petite quantité , aussi noires et fétides ; enfin son pouls était concentré et les tendons avaient des mouvemens convulsifs.

Je lui fis apposer les vésicatoires ; je fis mettre des briques chaudes à toutes les extrémités ; j'essayai de de lui faire avaler quelques remèdes ; mais le tout en vain. La nature était tellement affaiblie , que l'art ne pouvait plus la ranimer. Le malade mourut dans la nuit du premier Octobre. Le 2 je fis l'ouverture de son cadavre , et je trouvai :

Les membranes du cerveau dans l'état naturel ; les sinus de la dure-mère , contenant très-peu de sang , noir ; le cerveau ferme ; la substance corticale , moins rouge qu'elle aurait dû être ; la médullaire plus blanche ; l'artère calleuse , et le plexus choroïde décoloré et presque blanc ; les ventricules ne contenant presque point de sérosité.

Les poulmons dans l'état naturel ; très-peu de sérosité dans le péricardé ; le cœur flétri et ridé , ne contenant absolument rien , pâle , ayant l'air d'avoir été lavé , et d'une consistance molasse.

L'estomac un peu resserré sur lui-même ; son épaisseur double de ce qu'elle aurait dû être ; la membrane interne en partie détruite ; les lambeaux qui en restaient, rouges et enflammés ; le duodénum et presque tout le canal intestinal dans le même état : ce qui restait de

branes appeared blacker in proportion as I approached the larger intestines, the passages were lined with a black, glairous, bloody matter of a fetid smell; the liver, gall, bladder, pancreas, and kidneys in a natural state. In opening the liver I found a small quantity of black blood, the spleen black, withered, and of a consistence less firm than in its natural state; the mesentery black towards the spine, its membranes having opened formed a bag, that was filled with blood extremely black; that, contained in the largest abdominal veins was of the same colour; in short, the bladder was contracted, and contained but a small quantity of black fetid urine, and the internal membrane was spotted with a brown colour.

SECOND OBSERVATION.

The first of October, a man about thirty-three years of age was admitted into the hospital. He was insensible, cold, and almost without pulse; his mouth half open, and full of black blood; his respiration low, quick, and interrupted; his body deep yellow. Those who accompanied him told me, in answer to my questions, that he had been ill some days, but did not say how many, and that he had taken many medical powders similar to the preceding patient.

Every method I made use of to re-animate the vital powers, were useless: the patient died during the night. The second I opened him; the head shewed nothing different from the preceding body.

The lungs even appeared in their natural state, except some adhesions, but they were old and were found between the pleura and the right lobes.

membrane interne , se colorant en noir à mesure que j'approchais des gros intestins ; le canal tapissé d'une matière noire , glaireuse sanguinolente et d'une odeur fétide ; le foie , la vésicule du fiel , le pancréas , les reins dans un état naturel ; le mésentère livide du côté de la colonne vertébrale, ses deux feuilletés écartés dans cette partie formant une poche pleine de sang noir : le sang des veines cave et porte de la même couleur ; enfin la vessie contractée contenant un peu d'urine noire et fétide , et la membrane interne parsemée de taches brunes.

SECONDE OBSERVATION.

Le premier Octobre on apporta à l'hôpital , un homme âgé d'environ 33 ans ; il était sans connaissance, froid et presque sans pouls : sa bouche était à demi ouverte et pleine d'un sang noir ; sa respiration était petite , prompte et entrecoupée ; son corps , d'une couleur jaune foncée. Les personnes qui l'accompagnaient me firent dire , en réponse à mes questions , qu'il était malade depuis quelques jours , sans en fixer le nombre : mais ils me dirent qu'il avait pris plusieurs médecines en poudre , de la même nature que celles du précédent.

Tous les moyens que je mis en usage , pour ranimer les forces vitales , furent inutiles : le malade mourut pendant la nuit.

Le 2 , je fis l'ouverture de son cadavre : la tête ne m'offrit rien de plus que dans l'observation précédente. Les poulmons me parurent dans l'état naturel , à quelques adhérences près , mais qui étaient anciennes , et qui se trouvaient entre la plevre et le poulmon droit.

The pericardium contained a little serous matter of a deep yellow ; the heart withered, empty, and the right auricle full of very black blood.

The stomach, which I found more than double its natural thickness, contained also, as well as the intestinal canal, black blood, and bile also black, sometimes mixed together, and sometimes separate, the internal membrane of these parts almost entirely destroyed; the little that remained was mortified, detached, and floating in matter ; the mesentery, towards the intestines, was inflamed ; the glands very much swelled and black ; it contained yellow pus between its two membranes near the spine ; the gall bladder was empty, the liver, spleen, and veins in their natural state ; the pancreas, hard and inflamed, was about twice as large as it ought to be ; the urine was black and fætid ; the internal membrane of the bladder mortified.

THIRD OBSERVATION.

A man, thirty-four years of age, of a sanguine and robust habit, accustomed to drinking, fell sick the 11th of October, after a debauch in which he had drank brandy to excess. I saw him at the hospital the first day of the disease ; he had a burning heat, his skin was hot and dry, his face the colour of crimson, his eyes sparkling, he was extremely thirsty, his tongue very dry and covered with a fir that was pale yellow, his respiration high and difficult, he vomited with violent strainings green and yellow bile, his pulse was

Le péricarde contenant un peu de sérosité , d'un jaune foncé ; le cœur était flétri et vide ; l'oreillette droite pleine d'un sang très-noir.

L'estomac que je trouvai d'une épaisseur plus que du double de son état ordinaire , contenait , ainsi que le canal intestinal, du sang noir, et de la bile , aussi noire, tantôt mêlés ensemble , tantôt séparés : la membrane interne de toutes ces parties était presque entièrement détruite ; le peu qui en restait s'est trouvé absolument gangrené , détaché et flottant dans ces matières. Le mésentère était enflammé du côté des intestins ; les glandes en étaient très-engorgées et noires : il contenait du pus jaune entre ses deux feuilletts, du côté de la colonne vertébrale. La vésicule du fiel était vide ; le foie, la rate et les reins dans l'état naturel ; le pancréas dur et enflammé avait à peu près le double de son volume naturel. L'urine était noir et fétide , et la membrane interne de la vessie était gangrenée.

TROISIEME OBSERVATION

Un homme âgé d'environ 34 ans , d'un tempérament sanguin et robuste , qui avait l'habitude de s'enivrer , tomba malade le 11 Octobre , à la suite d'une débauche dans laquelle il avait bu de l'eau-de-vie à l'excès. Je le vis à l'hôpital le premier jour de sa maladie : il avait une chaleur brûlante : sa peau était sèche et aride ; sa figure d'un rouge cramôisi ; ses yeux étincellans. Il était extrêmement altéré ; sa langue , très-sèche , était couverte d'un limon d'un jaune clair ; sa respiration élevée et gênée : il vomissait , avec des efforts considérables , de la bile verte et jaune : son

hard and tight, he complained of pains in the epigastrick region, and in the head.

I had him bled in the arm, and ordered clysters made with a decoction of flax seed, a bath, and lemonade with nitre. In the afternoon, finding the symptoms not diminished, I had him bled again.

The day after, being the second, I had him twice bled, and prescribed the same remedy, but he threw up every liquid.

The third day he experienced lassitude, his pulse became intermittent, his eyes and skin yellow, his stools were glairous, mixed with blood, the abdomen was neither extended nor painful, the little urine that came from him was bloody; in short, he vomited green and glairous matter, mixed with blood.

In this melancholy situation I gave him water acidulated with dulcified spirits of nitre, and gave order at the same time to change his drink according to his fancy; they gave him that he wished, but he vomited every thing immediately, and nothing could remain on his stomach.

The fourth he experienced weakness, and the whole body was of a deep yellow, the extremities became cold, the pulse little and intermittent, his respiration more difficult, the fæces continued to be mixed with a glairous bloody matter, and strength wore away by degrees; in short, he died on the 15th of October, the beginning of the fifth day. He preserved his senses to the last.

By the opening of his body I found, that the serosity contained in the ventricle of the brain was very

pouls était dur et ferré ; il se plaignait de douleurs & la région épigastrique et à la tête.

Je le fis saigner au bras : j'ordonnai des lavemens faits avec une décoction de graines de lin ; un bain et de la limonade nitrée : l'après midi , les symptômes n'ayant pas diminués , je le fis saigner de nouveau.

Le lendemain , qui était son second jour , je le fis saigner deux fois et lui prescrivis les mêmes remèdes , mais il vomit toute espèce de boissons.

Le troisième jour il ressentit des lassitudes : son pouls devint intermittent , ses yeux se colorèrent de jaune , ainsi que sa peau : ses selles étaient des glaires mêlées de sang : le ventre n'était ni tendu ni douloureux ; le peu d'urines qu'il rendait étaient sanguinolentes , enfin il vomissait des matières glaireuses , vertes et jaunes , mêlées de sang.

Dans cet état fâcheux , je lui fis donner de l'eau acidulée avec l'esprit de nitre dulcifié , et je donnai ordre en même-temps de changer de boisson à sa volonté. On lui donna toutes celles qu'il désira ; mais il vomissait tout aussitôt , et rien ne pouvait rester dans son estomac.

Le quatrième il éprouva des faiblesses : tout le corps était d'un jaune foncé ; les extrémités devinrent froides ; le pouls fut petit et intermittent ; la respiration se gêna de plus en plus ; les selles étaient toujours mêlées de glaires sanguinolentes , et les forces allèrent en décroissant. Enfin il mourut le 15 Octobre au matin , entrant dans son cinquième jour. Il conserva sa connaissance jusqu'au dernier moment.

Par l'ouverture de son cadavre , je trouvai que la sérosité contenue dans les ventricules du cerveau était

yellow ; the rest of the head offered nothing remarkable.

The lungs on the outward parts were covered with black spots ; in dividing them I found they were gorged with a black frothy blood ; the humour of the pericardium was yellow, the heart absolutely empty, its right auricle contained black blood.

The stomach was extended by the air it contained, it was almost double the thickness it ought to be, and contained clots of black blood ; the internal membrane was inflamed but unequally, the red was in some places brighter than others, that of the duodenum and other intestines were in the same situation ; clots of black blood and glairous matter of the same colour lined the intestinal canal, the vessels of the mesentery were choaked and also contained black blood.

The bladder contained a little bloody urine, and the internal membrane was very much inflamed.

FOURTH OBSERVATION.

The 15th of October I saw a young man at the hospital, about twenty six years of age. He was brought the evening before, and had been sick five days, during which he had taken three doses of drastic powders, composed of jalap and calomel. He was of a bilious temperament, small made, and had chestnut coloured hair.

He had a great deal of fever, his skin was burning hot, breathing difficult, tongue dry and very red, he was very thirsty, and made many efforts to vomit ; he had violent pains in the abdomen, instead of faces

très-jaune. Le reste de la tête ne m'offrit rien de remarquable.

Les poulmons étaient couverts de taches noires à l'extérieur : lorsque je les divisai , je les trouvai gorgés d'un sang noir et écumeux : l'humeur péricardine était jaune : le cœur absolument vide : l'oreillette droite contenait du sang noir.

L'estomac distendu par l'air qu'il contenait , avait plus que le double de son épaisseur naturelle et renfermait des caillots de sang noir : la membrane interne était enflammée , mais inégalement : le rouge était plus ou moins vif par interval ; celle du duodénum et de tous les autres intestins était dans le même état : des caillots de sang noir et des glaires de la même couleur tapissaient le canal intestinal : les vaisseaux du mésentère étaient très-engorgés et contenaient aussi du sang noir.

La vessie renfermait un peu d'urine sanguinolente : la membrane interne était très-enflammée.

QUATRIÈME OBSERVATION.

Le 15 Octobre , je vis à l'hôpital un jeune homme âgé d'environ 26 ans. Il était entré la veille au soir. Il était malade depuis cinq jours , pendant lesquels il avait pris trois prises de poudres drastiques , composées de jalap et de calomel. Son tempérament était bilieux : il était d'une petite taille et avait les cheveux châtains.

Il avait beaucoup de fièvre ; sa peau était brûlante ; sa respiration gênée ; sa langue sèche et très-rouge : il était très-altéré et faisait des efforts pour vomir : son ventre était très-douloureux : il allait à la garde-robe et ne rendait que du sang pur ; son pouls était dur et

pure blood came from him, his pulse was strong and frequent, he made some few drops of urine, with great pain, and of a deep colour.

I ordered him lemonade with nitre, a simple emulsion, emollient clysters, cataplasms on the lower belly, and had him bled three times in the course of the day.

The 16th I saw no other change than the weakness he felt on going to stool; every thing he swallowed instantly came up again with most violent and painful efforts; his beverage returned from his stomach mixed with blood. I tried many methods to stop the vomiting, but in vain, he was in continual agitation till death, wished to lie on the ground, and said he had a fire burning within him; these agitations terminated in weakness, which carried him off the 18th, at the end of the seventh day.

On opening his body I made the following observations: the corroidal plexus was not as high coloured as in its natural state, the brain was firm, and the ventricles without serosity, the sinuses of the duramater contained very little blood, but of a brown red colour; the right lobes of the lungs were much inflamed, the left in a natural state, no serosity in the pericardium, the heart was empty, its right auricle contained a clot of blood that did not stick to it; when I took it out I saw another that followed, and came from the vena cava inferior; it was three inches long, and of two colours; the part that answered to the exterior of the auricle was white, and resembled the blood of those who have the pleurisy; the rest, as well as what came out of the vena cava, was of a red brown;

pressé ; il rendait avec douleur quelques gouttes d'urine d'un rouge foncé.

Je lui ordonnai de la limonade nitrée , une émulsion simple , des lavemens émoliens , des cataplasmes sur le ventre , et je le fis saigner trois fois dans la journée.

Le 16 , je n'apperçus d'autre changement que des faiblesses qu'il ressentait en allant à la garde-robe : tout ce qu'il prenait était à l'instant vomé avec des efforts douloureux : les boissons ressortaient de son estomac , mêlées de sang. J'essayai en vain différens moyens pour appaiser ces vomissemens. Tant qu'il vécut il se trouva dans une agitation continuelle , et voulait se coucher par terre ; il avait , disait-il , un feu qui le brûlait intérieurement. Cet état d'agitation se termina par des faiblesses qui l'emportèrent le 18 , à la fin de son septième jour.

A l'ouverture de son cadavre je fis les observations suivantes : le plexus choroïde n'était pas si coloré que dans l'état naturel ; le cerveau était ferme et les ventricules sans sérosité. Le sinus de la dure-mère contenait très-peu de sang d'un rouge brun.

Le poulmon droit s'est trouvé très-enflammé : le gauche était dans son état naturel : point de sérosité dans le péricarde. Le cœur était vide ; l'oreillette droite contenait un caillot de sang qui n'était point adhérent ; en le retirant j'en vis un autre qui lui était contigu et qui venait de la veine cave inférieure , il avait trois pouces de long , était de deux couleurs ; la partie qui répondait à la paroi antérieure de l'oreillette était blanche et ressemblait à la couenne du sang des plévretiques. Le reste , ainsi que ce qui sortait de la veine cave était d'un rouge brun.

the stomach contained blood as well as the intestines; the internal membrane was much inflamed, the pylorus mortified, and the intestines had inflammatory and gangrenous spots; the liver white on the outside, was gorged with very black blood, the spleen appeared in its natural state, the pancreas hard and inflamed, the bladder, which I found in its natural state, contained a very little red blood.

FIFTH OBSERVATION.

A woman, about thirty-four years of age, robust, of a sanguine habit, and that had been sick about six days, entered the hospital the 5th of October. She told me, the first day she was ill she had taken two doses of drastic powders, which took no effect; she was very red, and violently oppressed; her pulse intermittent, hard, and tight; her tongue red and dry, she was peculiarly thirsty, her skin hot, she felt a pain and tightness in the left hypochondria, she was uneasy and could not remain long in the same place. I had her bled in the arm, and gave her lemonade acidulated with dulcified spirits of nitre; also prescribed emollient clysters and a bath.

In the afternoon, the same symptoms remained; the blood that had been taken from her was absolutely without serosity. I ordered a second bleeding, which could not take place on account of an extreme faintness, that seized her at the moment the surgeon was about to open the vein, he had even much difficulty in bringing her to again: it seized her every time she rose to

L'estomac contenait du sang , ainsi que les intestins. La membrane interne était très-enflamée ; je trouvai le pilore gangrené , et les intestins parsemés de points inflammatoires et gangréneux ; le mésentère était enflammé ; le foie bleuâtre , et l'extérieur était gorgé d'un sang très-brun ; la rate m'a paru dans son état naturel ; le pancréas était dur et enflammé ; la vessie, que je trouvai dans son état naturel , contenait un peu d'urine très-rouge.

CINQUIÈME OBSERVATION.

Une femme âgée d'environ 34 ans , robuste , d'un tempérament sanguin et malade depuis six jours , entra à l'hôpital le 15 Octobre. Elle me dit que , dans les premiers jours de sa maladie , elle avait pris deux doses de poudres drastiques qui ne l'avaient pas purgée. Sa figure était très-rouge ; elle était violemment oppressée ; son pouls intermittent , dur et serré ; sa langue rouge et sèche. Elle était singulièrement altérée ; la peau était brûlante : elle ressentait à l'hypocondre droit une douleur avec tension ; elle avait des inquiétudes et ne pouvait rester à la même place. Je la fis saigner du bras et lui ordonnai de la limonade acidulée avec l'esprit de nitre dulcifié : je prescrivis aussi des lavemens émolliens et un bain.

L'après-midi , les mêmes symptômes existaient : le sang que je lui avais fait tirer était absolument sans férocité. J'ordonnai une seconde saignée , qui ne put avoir lieu , à cause d'une extrême faiblesse qui lui prit au moment où le chirurgien allait lui ouvrir la veine : on eut même beaucoup de peine à la faire revenir de cet état, qui reparaittait chaque fois qu'elle se soulevait

drink. The 16th I found her insensible, and she died shortly after. The 17th I opened her body and found :

The sinuses of the duramater full of blood and in a natural state, all the vessels of the brain in the same state, the corroidal plexus gorged and very red, not any serosity in the ventricle of the brain, the substances of the viscera appeared in their natural state.

In raising the integuments of the breast, I found blood spread under the large right pectoral muscle, it came from the internal mamillary artery, which had been tore by the violence of the blood that had extravasated behind the sternum, had opened the intercostal muscles, between the third and fourth of the long ribs, and spread as I have already said, without entering into the breast, that is on the outside of the pleura ; the inside of the breast was filled with clotted blood, the lungs were also swelled with it like sponges, there were crevices through which blood had passed, which filled the breast.

I found the liver a third larger than it ought to be, an elevation in the middle part of the great lobe, indicating to me an imposthume. I introduced my scalpel, there came out a pint of bloody matter : the other viscera were in their natural state.

SIXTH OBSERVATION.

A man about fifty years of age, of a bilious temperament, hair and beard grey, came into the hospital the 21st of October. He told me he had felt great weakness for some time, and had been very ill about six

pour prendre quelques boissons. Le 16 je la trouvai sans connaissance , et elle mourut bientôt après. Le 17 je fis l'ouverture de son cadavre et j'y trouvai :

Le sinus de la dure-mère plein de sang , de couleur naturelle ; tous les vaisseaux du cerveau dans le même état : le plexus choroïde engorgé et très-rouge ; point de sérosité dans les ventricules du cerveau : les substances de ce viscère me parurent dans leur état naturel.

En levant les tégumens de la poitrine , je trouvai beaucoup de sang épanché sous le muscle grand pectoral droit ; il provenait de l'artère mammaire interne , qui avait été déchirée par la violence du sang qui s'était extravasé derrière le sternum , avait écarté les muscles intercostaux entre la troisième et la quatrième des vraies côtes, et s'était répandu comme je l'ai dit , sans pénétrer dans la poitrine , c'est-à-dire au dehors de la plèvre ; l'intérieur de la poitrine était rempli de sang caillé ; les poulmons en étaient gorgés comme des éponges , et avaient des crevasses par où s'était épanché le sang qui remplissait la poitrine.

Je trouvai le foie plus volumineux d'un tiers qu'il ne devait être ; une élévation dans la partie moyenne et supérieure du grand lobe , m'indiquant l'endroit d'un dépôt , j'y enfonçai le scalpel , il en sortit une pinte de pus sanguinolent : tous les autres viscères étaient dans leur état naturel.

SIXIÈME OBSÉRVATION.

Un homme d'environ 50 ans , d'un tempérament bilieux , barbe et cheveux gris , entra à l'hôpital le 29 Octobre ; il me dit que depuis plusieurs semaines auparavant il était très-faible ; son pouls était lent et pres-

weeks previous. He was very weak, his pulse slow, and almost in its natural state; said he had occasion for food, and asked for something to eat. I gave him soup, and for drink Bourdeaux wine with water. He remained in the same state three days, and except the weakness seemed well, and said he felt no pain.

The 31st he was oppressed, his eyes became yellow, and pulse weak. I prescribed him as a remedy, a linctus of water, honey, and styllitic oymel; and for his common drink, water and honey. The 1st of November the whole body became yellow, his nose bled, his tongue was covered with blood, he spit a great deal in the afternoon, respiration became painful, and the extremities cold; his urine was black, as also the bile he vomited, his pulse became intermittent, he had a palpitation which very much incommoded him. I prescribed a decoction of bark, acidulated with spirits of vitriol, a camphorated cordial draught, and wine with sugar was given in table spoonfuls. The second he was worse; to the symptoms of the preceding day were joined black and bloody fæces; he vomited often, his strength insensibly decreased, and he died on the morning of the third. In the afternoon I opened his body, which was of a deep yellow, with mortified soots, his mouth was full of black blood, and had a very ill smell.

I did not find any blood in the sinuses of the duramater, the vessels of the brain were discoloured, the serosity of the ventricle yellow, and the brain firm.

The lungs entirely withered, and mortified next the spine, dissolved between my fingers and spread an

que dans l'état naturel. Il dit qu'il avait besoin de nourriture et désira d'avoir à manger : je lui fis donner du bouillon , de la soupe , et pour tisaune , du vin de Bordeaux , coupé avec de l'eau. Il est resté trois jours dans le même état , et , à la faiblesse près, il avait l'air de jouir de la meilleur santé ; rien , disait-il, ne lui faisait mal.

Le 31 il fut oppressé ; ses yeux devinrent jaunes ; il toussa beaucoup ; son pouls était faible : je lui prescrivis un lok composé d'eau , de miel , d'oximel scyllitique , et pour boisson ordinaire , de l'eau miellée.

Le premier Novembre tout son corps devint jaune ; son nez saigna ; sa langue se couvrit de sang : il en cracha beaucoup dans l'après-midi ; sa respiration devint pénible et ses extrémités froides. Ses urines étaient noires ainsi que la bile qu'il vomit ; son pouls devint intermittent : il eut des palpitations qui l'incommodaient beaucoup.

Je lui prescrivis une décoction de quina acidulé avec de l'esprit de vitriol , une potion camphrée et cordiale , et du vin sucré , pour lui être donné par cuillerées.

Le 2 il fut plus mal : aux symptômes de la veille se joignirent des selles noires et sanguinolentes ; il vomit très-fréquemment : ses forces diminuèrent insensiblement et il mourut le 3 au matin. L'après-midi j'ouvris son cadavre qui était d'un jaune foncé , parsemé de taches gangréneuses ; sa bouche était pleine d'un sang noir , et il répandait une très-mauvaise odeur.

Je ne trouvai point de sang dans le sinus de la dure-mère ; les vaisseaux du cerveau étaient décolorés ; la sérosité des ventricules était jaune et le cerveau ferme.

Les poulmons entièrement flétris et gangrénés du côté de la colonne vertébrale s'écrasaient entre mes

infectious smell; the pericardium contained a little yellow serosity, the heart of an extraordinary size, almost double that of the most robust man, the inside had the appearance of having been washed, and had not the least drop of blood; the right auricle was swelled, after having divided it there came out a clot that was not adhesive, but resembled the fat of the cellular membrane by its consistency and yellow colour, as well as the fat under the ligaments of the lower abdomen; these substances weighed three ounces and some grains.

I found the liver in its natural state, the gall bladder contained very little bile, the spleen was black, soft, and gave way between my fingers like jelly; the stomach, as well as the intestines, contained black and bloody matter, the internal membrane was inflamed, that of the duodenum still more, and that of the intestines mortified; the mesentery next the spine was livid; the bladder contained black urine.

SEVENTH OBSERVATION.

The 27th of October a man about thirty-eight was brought to the hospital. He was insensible, almost without pulse, cold, mouth half open, eyes yellow, open, and fixed.

I had large blisters applied to the legs, and hot bricks to the extremities; I ordered a cordial draught in case he should be able to swallow it; all these means united operated insensibly: the 30th he recovered his senses and speech, told me he had been ill eight days when brought to the hospital. I found him

doigts et répandaient une odeur infecte. Le péricarde contenait un peu de sérosité jaune ; le cœur était d'un volume extraordinaire et presque du double de celui de l'homme le plus fort : il avait l'air d'avoir été lavé, et ne contenait pas une goutte de sang : l'oreillette droite était distendue : après l'avoir divisée , il en sortit un corps qui n'était point adhérent , semblable au tissu cellulaire , graisseux par sa consistance et par sa couleur jaune , ainsi que l'était la graisse sous les tégumens du bas ventre. Ce corps pesait trois onces et quelques grains.

Je trouvai le foie dans l'état naturel : la vésicule du fiel contenait très-peu de bile : la rate noire , molle et s'écrasant entre mes doigts comme une gelée : l'estomac contenait , ainsi que les intestins , des matières noires , mêlées de sang ; la membrane interne était enflammée : celle du duodénum davantage , et celle des intestins gangrénée , le mésentère , du côté de la colonne vertébrale , était livide : la vessie contenait de l'urine noire.

SEPTIÈME OBSERVATION.

Le 27 Octobre , on apporta à l'hôpital un homme âgé d'environ 38 ans : il était sans connaissance , presque sans pouls , froid ; sa bouche à demi cuverte , ses yeux jaunes , ouverts et fixés.

Je lui fis appliquer de larges vésicatoires aux jambes , et des briques chaudes aux extrémités : j'ordonnai une potion cordiale au cas qu'il fut en état de l'avaler. Tous ces moyens réunis opérèrent insensiblement. Le 30 il recouvra la parole et la connaissance ; il me dit qu'il était malade depuis huit jours lorsqu'on le porta à l'hôpital ; je le trouvai assez bien pour espérer de le guérir ; en conséquence , le fis transporter de la salle des agonisants où il avait été mis , dans une autre salle.

so well as to give me the hope of curing him, consequently had him carried from the chambers of the dying into another room. The second, he refused the decoction of the bark which I had ordered, he took creamed rice and diet drinks, he continued tolerably well till the 5th, on which day his pulse became little and concentrated, the blisters dried up, the extremities became cold and livid.

I again ordered the decoction of the bark, and a draught, antiputrescent and cordial. I had the blisters dressed with the unguent of storax; his extremities were fomented, but all was useless—the progress of the mortification increased every day, the slough fell from the blisters; the 8th, suppuration was re-established, the patient took all they gave him, every function was perfect, and he said he felt no pain; he preserved his senses till the 11th, on which day he again became insensible, his pulse intermittent and scarcely perceptible, he had an infectious smell, the breath from his lungs was cold and stinking, he was at length in such a state as to be unable to swallow, he had convulsive motions in the tendons. He died the 12th in the morning; in the afternoon I opened him, and found:

Black blood in the sinuses of the duramater, the rest in its natural state, the lungs mortified, heart withered of a flabby consistency, and containing black blood; the stomach and viscera of the abdomen in its natural state, the mortification of the lower extremities extended to the middle of the leg, that of the hands had not passed the second joint of the fingers, but in both it had penetrated to the bone.

Le 2 , il refusa de prendre la décoction de quina que je lui avais prescrit ; il prit la crème de riz et les boissons : il continua d'aller assez bien jusqu'au 5 , jour où son pouls devint petit et concentré ; les vésicatoires se séchèrent ; les extrémités devinrent froides et livides.

Je le remis à l'usage de la décoction de quina et d'une potion anti-putride et cordiale : je fis panser les vésicatoires avec l'onguent stirax ; on fomenta les extrémités ; mais tout fut inutile : la gangrène faisait chaque jour de nouveaux progrès. Les escars des vésicatoires tombèrent. Le 8 , la supuration se rétablit : le malade prenait tout ce qu'on lui donnait : il faisait bien toutes ses fonctions , et n'éprouvait , à ce qu'il disait , aucune douleur. Il conserva sa connaissance jusqu'au 11 , jour où il retomba dans l'affaïssement : son pouls devint intermittent et à peine sensible ; il rendait une odeur infecte : l'air qui sortait de ses poulmons était froid et puant , il devint au point de ne pouvoir plus rien avaler. Il avait des soubre-sauts dans les tendons , des mouvemens convulsifs dans les muscles frontaux , et il mourut le 12 au matin. L'après midi je l'ouvris et je trouvai :

Du sang noir dans le sinus de la dure mère : le reste était dans l'état naturel.

Les poulmons gangrénés : le cœur flétri , d'une consistance molle et contenant du sang noir.

L'estomac et tous les viscères du bas ventre me parurent dans leur état naturel.

La gangrène des extrémités inférieures s'étendait jusqu'à mi-jambe : celle des mains n'avait pas dépassé les secondes phalanges des doigts ; l'une et l'autre pénétraient jusqu'aux os.

EIGHTH OBSERVATION.

The 17th of November I saw a young man about twenty-five years of age. He had been brought to the hospital the evening before, and told me he had been ill five days; he had a high fever, his skin was burning about the body, though his extremities had only their usual heat; he complained of a seeming fire in the inside; was thirsty, his tongue and lips black and dry, his respiration laborious and frequent, the breath from the lungs considerably hot, his eyes very yellow, his person livid and very thin, instead of fæces glairous yellow frothy matter came from him, his urine was red, he threw up all he drank, became worse and died the 19th, the seventh day of his disease. The 20th, I opened his body: the lungs were spotted with red and black, the pericardium contained a little yellow serosity, in the heart was found blood of a pale red colour.

The liver was of an olive green colour, in the interior as well as exterior parts; the gall bladder of an extraordinary size, it floated in the abdomen, extended to the inferior part of the iliac region, and was marbled with black; I took it out with care, and weighed it with the bile it contained; I found it twelve ounces three drachms; the bile when put in a vase was of a green black colour, and of the consistence of white of egg.

The spleen was hard on the outside, the inside resembled conserve of red roses by its consistency and red colour; the stomach was contracted, and did not

HUITIÈME OBSERVATION.

Le 17 Novembre, je vis un jeune homme d'environ vingt-cinq ans : il était à l'hôpital de la veille au soir. Il me dit qu'il était malade depuis cinq jours. Il avait une forte fièvre ; sa peau était brûlante au tronc, et ses extrémités n'avaient qu'une chaleur ordinaire. Il se plaignait d'un feu interne qui le brûlait ; il était altéré : sa langue et ses lèvres étaient noires et sèches : sa respiration laborieuse et fréquente : l'air qui sortait de ses poulmons était d'une chaleur considérable : il avait les yeux très-jaunes, la figure livide et décharnée ; il rendait fréquemment par les selles des matières jaunes, glaireuses et écumeuses ; ses urines étaient rouges : il vomissait toute espèce de boissons : son état empira et il mourut le 19, le septième jour de sa maladie. Le 20 je fis l'ouverture de son cadavre : les poulmons étaient tachés de noir et de rouge : le péricarde contenait un peu de sérosité jaune, et j'ai trouvé dans le cœur du sang d'un rouge pâle.

Le foie avait la couleur d'un verd d'olive, tant extérieurement qu'intérieurement : la vésicule du fiel était d'un volume extraordinaire : elle flottait dans le bas-ventre, et s'étendant jusqu'à la partie inférieure de la région iliaque : elle avait la couleur du marbre noir : je l'ai enlevée avec précaution, et je l'ai pesée avec la bile qu'elle contenait ; j'ai trouvé douze onces trois gros, ou quatre-vingt dix-neuf gros. Le bile mise dans un vase avait la couleur d'un gros verd noir, et la consistance du blanc d'œuf.

La rate était dure à l'extérieur : l'intérieur ressemblait à de la conserve de rose, rouge, par la consistance

contain any thing, the internal membrane was slightly inflamed, that of the duodenum in the same state ; the intestines contained glairous yellow frothy matter, the internal membrane had spots slightly inflamed ; the pancreas hard, red, and rather larger than in its natural state ; the internal membrane of the bladder inflamed, the urine extremely red, the mesentery and pylon contained no fat.

NINTH OBSERVATION.

A woman, about twenty-eight years of age, robust, and of a sanguine habit, entered the hospital the 30th of September. She was attacked with the fever two days before ; her respiration was short, quick, and hot ; pulse hard and tight, face red, eyes watery and bright, skin hot and dry ; she had pains in the head and epigastrick region, her urine was in small quantity and very red, she vomited white glairous matter of so strong an acid as to set her teeth on edge, her tongue dry and red, accompanied by excessive thirst.

I prescribed bathing, and bleeding in the arm, which I had repeated in the afternoon, and gave her as a beverage, water mixed with volatile concreted alkali, in each bottle I put ten grains and two ounces of simple syrup.

The next day, being the third, she was affected with the same symptoms, and felt such extreme uneasiness, as to be continually wishing to change her place ; the remedies were continued as before, with the addition of ten grains of salt of tartar, and lemon juice, to be

et par la couleur : l'estomac était referré et ne contenait rien : la membrane interne était légèrement enflammée : celle du duodénum était dans le même état : les intestins contenaient des matières glaireuses, jaunes et mouffeuses : la membrane interne avait de légères taches d'inflammation : le pancréas était dur, rouge et un peu plus gros que dans l'état naturel : La membrane interne de la vessie était enflammée : les urines extrêmement rouges : le mésentaire et l'épiploon ne contenant point de graisse.

NEUVIEME OBSERVATION.

Une femme d'environ 28 ans, robuste, d'un tempérament sanguin, entra à l'hôpital le 30 Septembre ; il y avait deux jours qu'elle avait la fièvre : sa respiration était petite, fréquente et chaude : son pouls dur et sec : son visage rouge ; ses yeux larmoyans et brillans ; sa peau sèche et brûlante. Elle avait des douleurs à la tête, et à la région épigastrique ; ses urines étaient rares et très-rouges : elle vomissait des glaires blanches et d'une acidité si forte qu'elle avait les dents agacées ; sa langue était rouge et sèche : elle était très-altérée. Je lui prescrivis une saignée du bras que je fis réitérer ; l'après-midi elle prit un bain. Je lui donnai pour boisson, de l'eau mêlée avec de l'alkali volatil concret, dont je faisais mettre dix grains dans chaque bouteille, et deux onces de sirop simple.

Le lendemain, qui était son troisième jour, elle fut tourmentée par les mêmes symptômes que la veille et par un mal-aise général qui l'obligeait de changer de place à chaque instant. Je lui fis continuer les mêmes remèdes, auxquels j'ajoutai dix grains de sel de tartre

taken at the moment of effervescence, and repeated twice a day, also every half hour a grain of camphire, with three grains of nitre in form of a bolus.

In the afternoon she was less agitated; her pulse a little dilated, the vomiting and pain in the epigastrick region ceased about noon; her tongue was moist, and a little white; she complained of pain in the reins. The bolus and alkalised water were continued as before.

The fourth day in the morning, her tongue was ash-coloured, and mouth clammy; she had two evacuations, of green, bilious, frothy, yellow matter. I prescribed half an ounce of cream of tartar, and two grains of emetic tartar, to be dissolved in a pint of water, and taken in three doses, at the distance of an hour each, observing not to repeat them, if either produced vomiting two or three times. In the afternoon she was without fever, with a moisture on the skin, had taken the whole of the remedy, and vomited five times white glair, mixed with green bile; she had also eight motions.

I ordered strong broth, creamed rice, and for the evening (as she had been deprived of sleep from the time she fell sick) a jalap, composed of fifteen drops of liquid laudanum, four ounces of common water, and an ounce of simple syrup.

The fifth day passed without fever; she took creamed rice, and the usual drink. The following day I gave her a cathartic. The seventh passed without fever.

avec du jus de citron , pour être pris au moment de l'effervescence. Ce remède devait être réitéré deux fois dans la journée , et elle devait prendre toutes les demi-heures un bol composé d'un grain de camphre et de trois grains de nitre.

L'après-midi elle se trouva moins agitée : son pouls était un peu développé : le vomissement et la douleur de la région épigastrique avaient disparus à midi ; sa langue était humide et un peu blanche : elle se plaignait d'une forte douleur aux lombes : je lui continuai les bols et l'eau alkalisée.

Le quatrième jour au matin, elle avait la langue d'un blanc sale , la bouche pâteuse. Elle avait rendu deux fois , par les selles , des matières bilieuses , jaunes et vertes. Je prescrivis une demi-once de crème de tartre et deux grains d'émétique , dans une livre d'eau, pour être pris en trois doses , à une heure de distance , en observant de ne pas donner la seconde ou la troisième, au cas que la première ou la seconde eut opéré deux ou trois vomissemens.

L'après-midi je la trouvai sans fièvre , la peau humide. Elle avait pris la totalité du remède , et avait vomi cinq fois des glaires blanchâtres , mêlées de bile verte : elle avait été huit fois à la selle. Je lui fis donner un bouillon fort, une crème de riz pour le soir. Comme elle avait été privée du sommeil depuis qu'elle était tombée malade, j'ordonnai un julep avec quinze gouttes de laudanum liquide , quatre onces d'eau commune et une once de sirop simple.

Le cinquième jour se passa sans fièvre : elle prit de la crème de riz, but de la tisane ordinaire , et le lendemain je l'ordonnai. Le septième se passa également

The eighth she again took an opening medicine, and was then sent among the convalescent, where she recovered, and left the hospital in perfect health.

TENTH OBSERVATION.

The 30th of September I saw a young man, about twenty years of age, of a sanguine habit, who had been ill two days, and was bled at home. His respiration was high, pulse quick and short, face inflamed, eyes sparkling, skin dry and hot ; he had pains about the heart and in the head, his tongue was red and dry, he was thirsty, and vomited yellow matter with violence ; for some days he had been costive, his urine was red and in small quantity.

I prescribed bathing, emollient clysters, water acidulated with fixed air for common drink, and bolusses of camphire and nitre. The following day, the third of the disease, the symptoms were the same, as was the remedy. The fourth, the symptoms had diminished ; his tongue was incruusted but moist, he had a disagreeable taste, and had not vomited since the night ; his abdomen was swelled, but not painful. I prescribed an ounce of cream of tartar in water and syrup, which remedy produced five or six evacuations of white glairy matter ; in the afternoon he took broth several times. The fifth day he was much agitated, changing his place continually ; the symptoms of the third returned with equal violence, and the same remedies were continued.

The sixth day he was much fatigued, had neither slept nor vomited ; he had a pain in the loins, that of

sans fièvre. Le huitième elle fut repurgée, et l'après-midi je l'envoyai aux convalescens, où elle s'est bien remise. Elle est sortie de l'hôpital jouissant d'une parfaite santé.

DIXIÈME OBSERVATION.

Le 30 Septembre je vis à l'hôpital un jeune homme d'environ 20 ans ; d'un tempérament sanguin : il était malade depuis deux jours et avait été saigné chez lui. Sa respiration était haute, son pouls vif et pressé, son visage enflammé, ses yeux brillans, sa peau sèche et brûlante ; il avait des douleurs aux précœurs, à la tête ; sa langue était rouge, sèche ; il était altéré et vomifiait avec efforts des matières jaunes. Depuis plusieurs jours il était constipé : ses urines étaient rouges et peu abondantes.

Je lui prescrivis un bain, des lavemens émoliens, de l'eau acidulée avec l'air fixe, pour boisson ordinaire et des bols avec le camphre et le nitre.

Le lendemain, son troisième jour, les symptômes se trouvant les mêmes, il continua les mêmes remèdes.

Le quatrième tous les symptômes avaient diminués : sa langue était chargée et humide : il avait la bouche mauvaise ; il ne vomifiait plus depuis la nuit ; son ventre était tendu, sans être douloureux. Je lui fis prendre une once de crème de tartre dans de l'eau et du sirop. Ce remède produisit cinq à six évacuations de matières glaireuses et blanches. L'après-midi il prit plusieurs bouillons.

Le cinquième jour il fut agité ; il changeait de position à chaque instant : tous les symptômes du trois, reparurent avec la même violence : il continua les mêmes remèdes.

the head and epigastrick region had left him ; the abdomen was swelled but not painful.

The seventh day he was very uneasy, vomited green and yellow bile, and almost all he drank ; with the abdomen painful, the head-ach returned, his breath was short and quick, pulse weaker, shewing an approaching state of debility.

In the afternoon he had an evacuation of white and glairous matter, the head-ach and vomiting ceased, respiration became easier, which determined me not to apply blisters ; but I ordered creamed rice, and wine with sugar to support his strength.

On the eighth he was oppressed ; I gave him wine and water, creamed rice, and wine with sugar. The ninth he was much agitated, with the abdomen swelled and painful, he threw up all he drank, his respiration was much confined ; about two in the afternoon a bloody flux appeared ; it was glairous and of a fœtid smell, then the vomiting ceased, respiration became free, and though he had several evacuations, was not so weak as in the morning. The tenth the flux continued.

The eleventh it was more considerable, swelling of the abdomen continued, the pulse was waving, and the skin moist.

The twelfth and thirteenth passed tolerably well, the flux being less ; his tongue was covered with a fir of a dirty white colour.

Le sixième jour il était très fatigué ; il n'avait point dormi : il ne vomissait plus : il avait une douleur aux lombes ; celle de la tête et des précœurs avait disparue ; son ventre était tendu sans être douloureux.

Le septième jour fut très-orageux ; il vomit de la bile verte et jaune , et presque toutes les boissons : il se trouva fort agité ; son ventre était douloureux ; le mal de tête revint : sa respiration était petite et fréquente ; son pouls, moins vif, annonçait un état prochain de faiblesse.

L'après-midi il fut à la garde-robe et rendit des glaires blanchâtres et jaunes : le mal de tête et les vomissemens disparurent : la respiration devint plus facile , ce qui me détermina à ne pas employer les vésicatoires. J'ordonnai du vin sucré et des crèmes de riz pour soutenir ses forces.

Le huitième jour il se trouva fort accablé ; je lui fis donner pour boisson ordinaire du vin et de l'eau : il prit aussi du vin sucré et des crèmes de riz.

Le neuvième jour il fut très-agité ; son ventre était gonflé et douloureux : il vomissait toutes les boissons : sa respiration était très-gênée : vers les deux heures après-midi il se déclara un cours de ventre sanguinolent, glaireux et infecté : alors le vomissement disparut , la respiration devint libre , et quoiqu'il allât souvent à la selle , il était moins faible que le matin.

Le dixième jour le cours de ventre continua.

Le onzième il devint plus considérable ; mais l'enflure du ventre diminua : le pouls devint ondulant, et la peau humide.

Les douze et treizième se passèrent assez bien ; les cours de ventre fut moins considérable ; la langue était épaisse et d'un blanc sale.

The fourteenth day passed without fever. I administered three drachms of rhubarb, and two ounces of manna. This medicine had a good effect; the blood totally disappeared after the two first evacuations, the fever also gave way, and did not return.

On the sixteenth he took a similar dose; and on the seventeenth was sent among the convalescent, from whence he went out in perfect health.

ELEVENTH OBSERVATION.

The seventeenth of October a man was brought to the hospital, about forty-five years of age. He was insensible, with his mouth open, tongue and teeth black, the body cold, and almost without pulse, respiration was short and slow: he was placed on his arrival in the chamber with the dying. I prescribed an antiputrescent, and cordial draught, ordered hot bricks to his extremities, and wine with sugar to be given him. He remained in the same state till the 19th, when I found the pulse raised, his senses returned, and tongue was moist. He complained of a pain in the genitals, which were much enlarged; the testicles, spermatic cords, and scrotum were much swelled, the latter was covered with blisters and gangrenous spots; the penis was four times as large as it ought to be, and covered with spots like the scrotum; the prepuce formed a phimosis.

I ordered a strong decoction of bark, acidulated with spirits of nitre; a quarter of a glass was taken every hour, and a table spoonful of a camphorated draught every half hour; his usual drink was water acidulated

Le quatorzième jour il était sans fièvre ; je le purgeai avec trois gros de rhubarbe et deux onces de manne, Cette médecine eut un assez bon effet, et après les deux premières selles , le sang disparut tout-à-fait. La fièvre céda également et ne revint plus. Le 16 il reprit une pareille médecine et je l'envoyai le 17 parmi les convalescens , d'où il est sorti bien portant.

ONZIÈME OBSERVATION.

Le 17 Octobre on apporta à l'hôpital un homme âgé d'environ 45 ans : il était sans connaissance ; la bouche ouverte , la langue , les lèvres et les dents noires ; le corps froid et presque sans pouls : la respiration était petite et rare. Je le fis mettre , en arrivant , dans la salle des agonisans. Je prescrivis une potion cordiale et anti-putride, et j'ordonnai qu'on lui appliquât des briques chaudes aux extrémités : je lui fis aussi donner du vin sucré. Il resta dans le même état jusqu'au 19 , que je trouvai son pouls élevé. La connaissance lui était revenue ; sa langue était humide ; il se plaignait d'une douleur aux parties génitales , qui se trouvaient d'un volume considérable. Les testicules et les cordons des vaisseaux spermatiques se trouvaient engorgés , ce qui rendait le scrotum tendu et luisant : il était , de plus , couvert de taches gangréneuses et de phlyctènes : la verge avait un volume quatre fois plus considérable que dans l'état naturel ; la peau qui la recouvre était comme celle du scrotum ; le prépuce formait un phimosis.

Je lui fis donner une forte décoction de quina acidulée avec l'esprit de nitre , pour prendre un quart de verre toutes les heures , avec une cuillerée , à bouche , de potion camphrée toutes les demi-heures : sa boisson

with fixed air ; his food creamed rice. An emollient cataplasm was put on the genitals.

The 20th I found him much better, but the mortification had fixed on the penis. I made an incision as deep as the part would admit, and had the poultices composed with spirits of turpentine, and camphorated spirits of wine ; the internal remedies were the same.

The 21st I took away the skin that was loose from the incision of the preceding evening ; the part was dressed with the unguent of storax, and cataplasms applied as before upon the testicles. The 22d the suppuration began ; as it gradually augmented the other parts decreased, and assumed their natural size. This patient left the hospital perfectly re-established, after having taken the decoction of bark, and water acidulated with fixed air for a length of time ; when he ceased their use the suppuration became bad, and fever returned. His cure was completed by cathartics, administered in proportion as the suppuration dried up, and the cicatrice formed.

TWELVTH OBSERVATION.

The third of November a young girl between twelve and thirteen was brought to the hospital. She told me she had been ill several days ; her eyes and skin were very yellow, the latter dry and of a burning heat ; she was thirsty, with a quick pulse, and interrupted perspiration ; she had an hemorrhage from both mouth and nostrils, the blood from the latter was very red, the drops that fell on the sides of the basin appeared composed of little globules which were not adhesive.

ordinaire était de l'eau acidulée avec l'air fixe , et sa nourriture , de la crème de riz. Un cataplasme émollient, et résolutif fut appliqué sur les parties génitales.

Le 20 je le trouvai assez bien , mais la gangrène était décidée sur toute la verge. Je fis des scarifications aussi profondes que le permettaient les parties sur lesquelles agissait mon instrument : je fis animer les cataplasmes avec de l'esprit de térébentine et l'esprit de vin camphré. Quant aux remèdes intérieurs ils furent les mêmes.

Le 21 j'emportai tous les lambeaux formés par les incisions de la veille , et cette partie fut pansée avec l'onguent stirax : on mit le même cataplasme que la veille , sur les testicules. Le 22 la supuration commença à s'établir ; à mesure qu'elle augmentait , les autres parties se dégorgèrent et reprirent leur volume naturel. Ce malade est sorti de l'hôpital très-bien portant : après avoir fait usage de l'eau acidulée avec l'air fixe et de la décoction de quina pendant long-temps. Dès qu'il en discontinuait l'usage, la supuration devenait d'une mauvaise qualité et la fièvre reprenait. Sa guérison s'est terminée par quelques purgatifs , pris à mesure que la supuration tarissait et que le cicatrice se formait.

DOUZIÈME OBSERVATION.

Le 3 Octobre , après-midi , on apporta à l'hôpital une jeune fille d'environ 12 ans. Elle me dit qu'elle était malade depuis sept jours. Elle avait les yeux et la peau très jaunes ; une hémorragie par le nez et par la bouche ; la peau sèche et d'une chaleur acre ; elle était altérée ; sa respiration était entrecoupée et son pouls pressé : les gouttes de sang qui tombaient sur les bords du vase, paraissaient composées de petits globules distans les uns des autres.

I prescribed a camphorated draught, and for common drink, water acidulated with fixed air. The following day the heat of the skin diminished, but the other symptoms remained; to the remedies already given, I added a decoction of bark, acidulated with spirits of vitriol; and as the patient was very weak, she had during the day four cups of veal broth, in each of which was infused half a drachm of gum dragant in powder; she also took some spoonfuls of sweetened red wine.

The 9th, she complained of a sore throat. I made her a gargle with a mixture of water, styllitic oxymel, and honey, acidulated with spirits of vitriol. The hemorrhage continued with the same force till the 13th, on which day it was more considerable; the 14th it entirely disappeared, as did the other symptoms; the remedies were then laid aside, and she continued to recover. I gave her a cathartic some days after, and sent her to the convalescent, from whom she went out perfectly recovered.

THIRTEENTH OBSERVATION.

The 27th of September a young woman, about twenty-six years of age, was brought to the hospital. She was of a phlegmatic constitution, and had a fit of sickness a short time before. She was attacked with the fever in the morning; her skin was dry, tongue and lips in the same state; she felt a lassitude and pain in the epigastrick region, she had a difficulty in breathing, and was thirsty; her urine was excoriating and in small quantity.

Je lui fis prendre une potion camphrée , de l'eau acidulée avec l'air fixe pour boisson ordinaire.

La chaleur de la peau diminua , mais les autres symptômes se laissaient encore voir. J'ajoutai aux remèdes de la veille , une décoction de quina acidulée avec l'esprit de vitriol ; et comme la malade était très-faible , j'ordonnai qu'on lui donnât , dans la journée , quatre bouillons de veau , dans chacun desquels je fis délayer demi-gros de gomme adragante en poudre ; elle prit aussi quelques cuillerées de vin rouge sucré.

Le 9 elle se plaignit d'un mal de gorge : je la fis gargariser avec un mélange d'eau d'oximel scylique et de miel acidulé avec l'esprit de vitriol. L'hémorragie continua avec la même force jusqu'au 13 : ce jour elle fut plus considérable. Le 14 elle disparut tout-à-fait , ainsi que les autres symptômes : elle cessa les remèdes et se porta de mieux en mieux : je la purgeai quelques jours après , et l'envoyai parmi les convalescens , d'où elle est sortie parfaitement rétablie.

TREIZIÈME OBSERVATION.

Le 27 Septembre on apporta à l'hôpital une fille âgée d'environ 26 ans , d'un tempérament pituiteux. Elle avait fait une maladie depuis peu : la fièvre l'avait prise le matin ; sa peau était aride , sa langue et ses lèvres sèches : elle ressentait des lassitudes , des douleurs à la région épigastrique : sa respiration était difficile : elle était altérée : ses urines rares , rouges et cuisantes.

I prescribed a cooling antiputrescent draught, and water acidulated with dulcified spirit of nitre, sweetened with simple syrup.

The second she became yellow, and vomited bile of different colours. The third the yellow was deeper, all the symptoms of the second day had increased with violence, the vomiting fatigued her very much; to avoid the pain she refused to drink: at night her tongue was covered with blood. The fourth a quantity came from both mouth and nostrils; she was excessively weak.

The fifth her pulse was low and intermittent, she lost much blood, and was greatly oppressed; her tendons were much convulsed. I ordered blisters to her legs, and prescribed decoction of bark acidulated with spirits of vitriol, wine with sugar, and broth with gum dragant, as in the preceding case. In the evening she was senseless, and almost without pulse; she mechanically applied her fingers to her nose, which she pinched, and covered her face with the black blood that came from both mouth and nostrils; her face was entirely yellow, mouth and eyes half open, which gave her a most hideous appearance. I had hot bricks applied to her extremities, which were cold, as also upon the blisters; and ordered a cordial draught to be given in spoonfuls, when she should be able to swallow.

The sixth I found her better, but her senses were imperfect and ideas confused; she swallowed mechanically all that was put in her mouth; the blisters rose

Je lui fis prendre une potion anti-puante et tempérante , de l'eau acidulée avec l'esprit de nitre dulcifié et édulcorée avec du sirop simple.

Le 2 elle devint jaune et vomit de la bile de diverses couleurs. Le 3 la couleur jaune était plus foncée : tous les symptômes des premier et second jours s'étaient développés avec violence : le vomissement la fatiguait beaucoup , et afin d'en éviter les douleurs, elle refusait toutes sortes de boissons. Le soir sa langue se couvrit de sang. Le 4 elle en rendit beaucoup par le nez et par la bouche : elle était d'une faiblesse considérable.

Le 5 son pouls était petit , intermittent : elle perdait beaucoup de sang et se trouvait très oppressée : les tendons avaient des mouvemens convulsifs. Je lui fis mettre des vésicatoires aux jambes : je prescrivis une décoction de quina acidulée avec l'esprit de vitriol, du vin sucré et du bouillon avec de la gomme adragante , comme dans l'observation précédente. Le soir je la trouvai sans connaissance et presque sans pouls : elle portait machinalement les mains à son nez , qu'elle pinçait : se barbouillait la figure avec le sang noir qui sortait de sa bouche et de son nez ; son visage était entièrement jaune ; la bouche était à demi-ouverte, ainsi que ses yeux ; ce qui lui donnait l'air d'un spectre hideux : ses extrémités étaient froides : j'y fis appliquer des briques chaudes , ainsi que sur les vésicatoires. J'ordonnai une potion cordiale , pour être prise par cuillerée , lorsqu'elle pourrait avaler.

Le 6 je la trouvai moins mal ; elle avait une connaissance très-imparfaite ; ses idées étaient diffuses ; elle avalait machinalement ce qu'on lui mettait dans la bouche : les vésicatoires qui avaient très-bien pris , don-

well, and discharged thick pus. I supported her with cordialised tincture of bark, wine, and broth.

The seventh she relapsed, and was as on the fifth; the blisters were covered with a dry gangrenous slough, and the hemorrhage continued. I found her in a desperate situation, and had her warmed with hot bricks as before.

The eighth, ninth, and tenth she was the same, and did not recover her senses till the eleventh; then the mortified slough fell from the blisters, and suppuration was great. She continued the acidulated bark till the twentieth, when the hemorrhage ceased; she also used a detergent gargle, to brace and cleanse the inside of the mouth, which was excoriated and covered with little ulcers, her lips were in the same state and swelled. I made use of means to support her strength, gave her cathartics when the blisters dried up, and sent her among the convalescent, where she entirely recovered.

FOURTEENTH OBSERVATION.

The third of December, a woman about thirty-eight years of age, robust, and of a sanguine habit, had been taken ill the evening before. She had pains in the head and back, her face was red, respiration short and quick, skin dry and of a burning heat, tongue also dry and red; she was thirsty, with a hard and tight pulse, her abdomen painful, but not swelled; she was bled twice that day, had emollient clysters, and chicken water with nitre.

nèrent beaucoup de férocité : je la fis soutenir avec une décoction de quina cordialisée , du vin sucré et du bouillon.

Le 7 elle tomba dans l'état du 5 ; les vésicatoires étaient couverts d'escars gangréneuses et sèches : l'hémorragie continuait : je la trouvai dans un état désespérant : je la fis chauffer avec des briques comme le 5.

Les 8 , 9 et 10 elle ne fut pas mieux ; ce ne fut que le onzième jour qu'elle recouvra sa connaissance : les escars gangréneuses des vésicatoires tombèrent , et la séparation devint très-abondante : je lui fis continuer l'usage de la décoction de quina acidulée, jusqu'au 20 , époque où l'hémorragie du nez et de la bouche disparut. Elle fit aussi usage d'un gargarisme détersif , afin de raffermir et nettoyer l'intérieur de sa bouche , qui était excoriée et remplie de petites ulcères : ses lèvres étaient gonflées et dans le même état. J'ai soutenu ses forces et l'ai purgée , lorsque les vésicatoires ont taris. Je l'envoyai aux convalescens et elle se rétablit parfaitement.

QUATORZIEME OBSERVATION.

Le 3 Décembre je vis a l'hôpital une femme âgée d'environ 38 ans , robuste , d'un tempérament sanguin. Elle était tombée malade la veille : elle avait des douleurs à la tête et aux reins : sa figure était rouge : sa respiration petite et fréquente : sa peau sèche , d'une chaleur âcre : sa langue aussi sèche et rouge : elle était altérée : son pouls était dur et sec : son ventre douloureux sans tension. Je la fis saigner deux fois dans la journée ; elle prit des lavemens émoliens et but de l'eau de poulet nitrée.

The third day she felt great uneasiness and general pain, she changed her position continually; the fever was very strong, her urine red and in small quantity; she continued the chicken water, to which I added water acidulated with dulcified spirits of nitre.

I found her better on the fourth; her tongue was covered with a white fir, her mouth clammy and bitter; the irritable symptoms appeared calmed. I prescribed half an ounce of cream of tartar, and two grains of emetic tartar, to be dissolved in two glasses of water, and taken in three doses at the distance of an hour each. She took only two-thirds of this remedy, as she vomited a quantity of green and yellow bile with glairous matter, and had three motions; she took some light broth, and in the afternoon continued the chicken and acidulated water; and in the evening had a clyster.

There was a sensible change on the fifth. On the sixth she was much oppressed; could not lie, but sat on the side of the bed; and was much weakened by frequent evacuations of liquid matter. In the afternoon the pulse became low and convulsive. I had blisters applied to her legs, and prescribed a draught composed of four ounces of common water, an equal quantity of rose water, thirty grains of prepared cachœ, an ounce and a half of spirituous cinnamon water, and two ounces of simple syrup. A table spoonful to be taken every half hour.

The seventh she was fatigued and agitated, changing her situation every moment, had pains in her bones, and an oppression so great as to be obliged to sit up in

Le troisième jour elle fut fatiguée par des inquiétudes et des douleurs générales ; elle changeait de position à chaque instant : la fièvre était très-forte ; ses urines rouges et rares. On continua l'eau de poulet : je prescrivis , de plus , l'eau acidulée avec l'esprit de nitre dulcifié.

Le quatrième je la trouvai mieux : sa langue était humide et couverte d'un limon blanchâtre ; sa bouche pâteuse et amère : tous les symptômes d'irritation paraissaient calmés. Je lui prescrivis demi-once de crème de tartre avec deux grains d'émétique dans deux verres d'eau , pour être pris en trois doses , à une heure de distance : elle ne prit que les deux tiers de ce remède ; vomit beaucoup de bile verte et jaune avec des matières glaireuses, et fut trois fois à la selle : elle but un bouillon léger et continua l'après-midi l'eau de poulet et l'eau acidulée avec l'esprit de nitre dulcifié ; le soir elle prit un lavement.

Le cinquième n'offrit pas de changement sensible. Le sixième elle fut oppressée au point qu'elle ne pouvait se tenir couchée : elle restait assise sur son lit. Elle était affaiblie par de fréquentes selles de matières liquides : l'après-midi son pouls devint petit et convulsif. Je lui fis appliquer des vésicatoires aux jambes, et prescrivis une potion composée de quatre onces d'eau commune , autant d'eau de rose , trente grains de cachou préparé, une once et demi d'eau de canelle spiritueuse, et deux onces de sirop simple , pour être pris par cuillerées toutes les demi-heures.

Le septième je la trouvai fatiguée et agitée : elle changeait de position à chaque instant : tout son corps était douloureux : elle ressentait des douleurs dans les

bed; she had a burning skin, and great thirst, took whatever was offered her; her urine was red and in small quantity; she had convulsive motions in the tendons, and the solids were in a state of irritation.

I prescribed a draught of eight ounces of common water, twenty grains of Homberg's sedative salts, thirty-six drops of Hoffman's mineral liquor, and two ounces of simple syrup, to be taken by the table spoonful every half hour; the blisters were taken off about four in the afternoon, there was a great deal of pus; the pain in the loins and evacuation ceased, her face was red, she had a violent head-ach and oppression, her nose began to bleed about six in the evening, and her pulse became centred. I gave her wine with sugar. At nine o'clock she became cold; hot napkins were applied to her extremities, and she swallowed some spoonfuls of a cordial draught, which was occasionally repeated till morning.

The next day, being the eighth, the patient was so bad as to be almost without pulse, was forced to press very close to feel it, it was intermittent; she had convulsive motions in the tendons, and had not recovered any warmth; her respiration was difficult, and the hemorrhage violent; her tongue was moist, and she was extremely weak.

I prescribed a decoction of four ounces of red bark in a pint of water, and added to it twenty drops of

os. L'oppression était si extrême qu'elle était forcée de se tenir assise sur son lit : sa peau était brûlante : elle était altérée et prenait tout ce qu'on lui présentait. Ses urines étaient rouges et en petite quantité : elle avait des soubre-fauts dans les tendons , et tous les solides paraissaient dans un état d'irritation.

Je prescrivis une potion composée avec huit onces d'eau commune, vingt grains de sel sédatif de Homberg, trente-cinq gouttes de liqueur minérale d'Offinan , et deux onces de sirop simple , pour être prise par cuillerées à bouche toutes les demi-heures. L'après-midi , vers les quatre heures , je fis lever les vésicatoires , qui rendirent beaucoup de sérosité : la douleur des lombes avait disparue : elle n'allait plus à la selle : sa figure était rouge : elle avait un violent mal de tête et était oppressée : son nez commença à saigner. Vers les six heures du soir son pouls devint concentré : je lui fis donner du vin sucré : à neuf heures du soir elle devint froide : je lui fis mettre des serviettes chaudes aux extrémités , et vers minuit je lui fis avaler quelques cuillerées d'une potion cordiale qu'elle continua jusqu'au jour.

Le lendemain , son huitième jour , fut très-mauvais. La malade était presque sans pouls : j'étais obligé d'appuyer fortement pour en sentir les battemens : ils étaient intermittens : des mouvemens convulsifs se faisaient appercevoir dans les tendons : elle n'avait pas recouvré la chaleur : sa respiration était très-laborieuse : l'hémorragie continuait avec force : la langue était humide , et la faiblesse extrême.

Je prescrivis une décoction de quatre onces de quinquina rouge , en poudre , dans une peinte d'eau : j'y

spirits of nitre. She took two table spoonfuls of this remedy every hour, and in the intervals red wine with sugar, broth, and creamed rice, or barley.

Towards eleven o'clock her pulse raised, respiration was easier; the hemorrhage continued as before. At four in the afternoon she became weak as in the morning, lost a great deal of blood, and breathed with difficulty; her urine was thick and of the colour of strong beer, it was put in glasses but did not settle; her pulse was scarcely to be felt; her senses continued perfect, though her weakness was so great. When the blisters were dressed, they were dry, and covered with gangrenous slough. I had unguent of storax applied. She continued the decoction of bark, wine broth and creamed barley.

The morning of the ninth I found her better, the oppression had ceased; but she fainted at four o'clock; the hemorrhage was considerable all night, but entirely disappeared in the morning; she had two fetid evacuations in substance; her urine was abundant, and had a cloud in it that did not settle; her skin was humid and of an equal natural heat; she felt easy.

The regimen and remedy of the preceding day were continued. The tenth she was rather stronger, and more easy in bed, had slept during the night; her pulse was expanded, and fever ceased, a natural heat

fis ajouter vingt gouttes d'esprit de nitre. La malade prit toutes les heures deux cuillerées à bouche de ce remède , et dans l'interval je fis donner du vin rouge avec du sucre , du bouillon et quelques cuillerées de crème d'orge.

Vers les onze heures son pouls se remonta : elle paraissait respirer avec moins de peine : l'hémorragie du nez continuait avec force. A quatre heures après-midi elle tomba dans un état de faiblesse pareille à celle qu'elle avait éprouvée le matin : elle perdait beaucoup de sang , respirait avec difficulté ; ses urines étaient troubles et ressemblaient par la couleur , à de la forte bière : je les fis garder dans des verres : elles ne déposèrent point : le pouls était à peine sensible ; mais quoiqu'elle fut très-faible , elle avait une parfaite connaissance. Je fis panser les vésicatoires qui se trouvèrent secs et couverts d'une escarre gangréneuse : j'y fis mettre l'onguent stirax ; j'insistai sur la décoction de quina , le vin , le bouillon et les crèmes d'orge.

Le neuvième , au matin , je la trouvai mieux : elle n'était point oppressée : elle avait eu une faiblesse à quatre heures du matin ; l'hémorragie avait été considérable toute la nuit , mais elle était entièrement disparue : son pouls se remonta insensiblement ; il devint ondulent : elle fut deux fois à la garde-robe , et rendit des matières liées et puantes : ses urines furent abondantes ; elles contenaient un nubécule suspendu , qui ne tomba pas au fond du verre : sa peau était humide , d'une chaleur naturelle et égale ; elle ne souffrait point.

Je fis continuer les remèdes et le régime de la veille. Le dix elle avait un peu plus de force et se remuait aisément dans son lit : elle avait dormi pendant la nuit :

only remaining; the urine was in quantity and thick, as was a white sediment it deposited; the slough began to detach itself from the blisters; the remedies were continued the same. The eleventh her tongue was firred, and had a disagreeable taste. She had no evacuation from the ninth. I gave her three drachms of g'-uber's salts, and two ounces of manna, dissolved in two glasses of water, which she took in three doses; the evacuation was great, and consisted of bilious, glairous matter of an infectious smell. At night she was without fever, and stronger notwithstanding the great evacuation.

The twelfth passed without accident. She took her food the thirteenth. On the fourteenth the slough was entirely detached; suppuration was abundant, and completed the cure. The patient took an opening medicine after the blisters had dried up. She had no relapse, and was perfectly re-established.

FIFTEENTH OBSERVATION.

A man about fifty years of age, entered the hospital the 29th of September, with a tetanus; his jaw was so very fast locked, it was very difficult to put a small spoon between his teeth to give him drink. The disease became worse, he was stiff in every part, and bent backward. He refused every remedy. I had him carried into the chambers of the dying. As he saw numbers expire on all sides, victims to the epidemic, and their beds immediately re-occupied by others, the terrifying spectacle no doubt suggested to him some very

son pouls s'était développé ; la fièvre avait disparue ; la chaleur était naturelle ; les urines furent abondantes et très-troubles : elles déposèrent un sédiment blanc , épais et abondant : les escares des vésicatoires commençaient à se détacher. Je continuai les mêmes remèdes. Le onzième elle se trouva bien , ayant dormi toute la nuit : sa langue était chargée ; elle avait la bouche mauvaise ; n'avait point été à la garde-robe depuis le neuvième jour. Je lui fis donner trois gros de sel de glober et deux onces de manne , fondus dans deux verres d'eau : elle prit ce remède en trois doses : il l'évacua beaucoup et lui fis rendre des matières bilieuses, glaireuses et d'une odeur infecte. Le soir elle fut sans fièvre et se trouva plus forte , malgré les abondantes évacuations que la médecine avait provoquée.

Le douzième se passa sans aucun accident ; elle ne prit que de la nourriture ; le treizième et le quatorzième , les escares des vésicatoires se détachèrent entièrement : la supuration devint abondante et a terminée la guérison. La malade a été purgée une fois seulement, après que les vésicatoires ont été sèches ; elle n'a pas eu de rechutes et s'est parfaitement rétablie.

QUINZIÈME OBSERVATION.

Un homme d'environ cinquante ans était entré à l'hôpital le 29 Septembre ; il avait le tétanos : ses mâchoires étaient si serrées , qu'il était difficile d'introduire entre ses dents le bout d'une cuillier afin de le faire boire. Son état empira ; il devint entièrement roide et courbé en arrière. Il refusait constamment toute espèce de remèdes. Je le fis porter dans la chambre agonisans. Comme il voyait périr à ses côtés beau-

serious reflections ; and he immediately asked for some drink. As my visits were as frequent in that room as in the others, I perceived the change, and having some hope from it, prescribed remedies suitable to the case. He found himself very soon relieved, the action of swallowing became free, and by degrees the disease gave way. At the end of twenty-five days he was well enough to sit upright, when he went into another apartment. His cure was not retarded though he was continually with those that had the epidemic ; he was perfectly re-established, and went out of the hospital the 19th of November, in a better state of health than he had previous to the disease.

SIXTEENTH OBSERVATION.

A young man, twenty five years of age, had for the space of nine months a callous ulcer, about three inches in diameter, upon the inner ankle bone. It was kept open by a mass of humours from excess of every kind, in his manner of living ; and to that he added the application of an improper unguent ; the suppuration, which had been abundant, stopped suddenly, and the reflux of this humour produced a disorder, the symptom of which was a high fever. In this state he was brought to the hospital the 22d of October, and placed in the midst of persons attacked with this epidemic. I prescribed remedies suitable to his situation ; the suppuration was quickly re-established, when I applied remedies to eradicate the cause of the ulcer, the only complaint that remained on the 10th of January, when the hospital at Bush-hill was replaced by the

coup de malades , victimes de l'épidémie , et aussitôt remplacés par d'autres , il fit sans doute quelques réflexions que lui suggéra ce spectacle effrayant ; il se détermina dès ce moment à prendre quelques boissons. Comme mes visites étaient aussi fréquentes dans cette salle que dans les autres , je m'aperçus de ce changement , et prenant un peu d'espoir , je lui prescrivis les remèdes analogues à son état ; il se prêta à les prendre , et s'en trouva si bien , qu'il ne tarda pas à se sentir soulagé : la déglutition devint libre , et peu à peu la maladie céda : au bout de quarante-cinq jours il fut en état de se tenir assis. Je le fis changer de salle , et quoiqu'il fut toujours à côté des épidémiques , les progrès de sa guérison n'en furent pas pour cela plus ralentis. Il s'est parfaitement rétabli , et le 19 Novembre il sortit de l'hôpital plus fort et plus frais qu'avant sa maladie.

SEIZIEME OBSERVATION.

Un jeune homme âgé de vingt cinq ans avait , depuis environ neuf mois , un ulcère calleux de près de trois pouces de diamètre , sur la molléole interne , entretenu par un vice des humeurs : aux excès de tous genres , du côté du régime , il avait ajouté l'application imprudente d'un dessicatif : la supuration qui était très-abondante , tarit tout-à-coup , et le reflux de cette humeur produisit dans son corps un désordre dont une forte fièvre était le symptôme. C'est dans cette état qu'on l'apporta à l'hôpital , le 22 Octobre. Il fut placé dans une salle au milieu des personnes attaquées de l'épidémie. Je lui prescrivis les remèdes propres à sa situation. La supuration ne tarda pas à se rétablir , et dès ce moment , cet homme n'a eu d'autre mal que l'ulcère : je m'attachai à en détruire la cause. Le 10 Janvier l'hôpital Bush-hill ayant été remplacé par l'hôpital français , cet

French hospital. This man was seventy-two days surrounded by those attacked with the epidemic, many of whom died by his side, whose places were immediately re-occupied by others infected with the same disease ; and yet he never experienced any symptoms that did not belong to his own complaint.

SEVENTEETH OBSERVATION.

A girl, about nineteen, was brought to the hospital the 23d of September. She had a high fever, and complained of pain in the head ; her face was red, eyes watery, and breath short ; she was thirsty, and felt a general uneasiness, with pain in the reins, and vomited liquids in the state she took them ; her pulse was waving, tongue red and moist ; she had had the fever about two days. I prescribed lemonade with nitre, part of which she threw up till the 24th, when the vomiting ceased, her pulse became calm, the fever left her, and respiration was natural, but she complained of a sore throat ; her face and breast were covered with red spots, and assumed the appearance of the small-pox, of a fine sort. The disease was favourable : and although the patient remained in the same room with those attacked by the epidemic, she went out of the hospital perfectly re-established the sixth of November.

Another girl about her age, and many children were in the same situation, and all recovered. I could relate many other instances of the same kind, of diseases cured with great success in the hospital during the

homme y resta. Pendant soixante dix-neuf jours qu'il est resté entouré de malades épidémiques, dont plusieurs sont morts à ses côtés et ont été remplacés par d'autres attaqués de la même maladie, il n'a ressenti ni éprouvé aucun symptôme si ce n'est ceux de la maladie qui lui était particulière.

DIX-SEPTIÈME OBSERVATION.

Une fille d'environ 19 ans fut apportée à l'hôpital le 23 Septembre : elle avait une forte fièvre et se plaignait d'un mal de tête : sa figure était rouge, ses yeux larmoyans, sa respiration haute : elle était altérée, avait des anxiétés générales, une douleur aux lombes : elle vomissait les boissons telles qu'elle les prenait ; son pouls était ondulant, sa langue rouge, assez humide : elle avait la fièvre depuis deux jours. Je lui prescrivis de la limonade nitrée, dont elle vomit une partie jusqu'au 24, que les vomissemens cessèrent : alors son pouls devint calme, la fièvre cessa, la respiration devint naturelle, mais elle se plaignait de la gorge. Sa figure et sa poitrine se couvrirent de petites taches rouges, qui prirent le caractère de la petite vérole discrète. Cette maladie a été des plus bénignes, et cependant la malade est toujours restée dans la même salle, environnée de personnes attaquées de la fièvre épidémique. Elle est sortie de l'hôpital le 6 Novembre très-bien rétablie.

Une autre fille de son âge et plusieurs enfans ont été dans le même cas : ils sont tous sortis bien portans. Je pourrais citer un grand nombre d'observations du même genre, et de maladies différentes traitées à l'hôpital avec le plus grand succès pendant le sort de l'épidémie ; mais je pense que celles que je viens de décrire, suffi-

height of the epidemic, but think those already given sufficient to prove it not contagious.

I must do homage to truth, and undeceive the public relative to a false report which increased the public fear, and that some people seemed to delight in gaining credit to ; and here declare, not any person from St. Domingo died of the epidemic at Bush-hill. One woman from the Cape died, but her complaint was a dropsy ; a negro also died, but not of the reigning disease. He came to the hospital the 29th of October, with a mortification occasioned by cold. This unfortunate man had lost both feet ; the vital principle being destroyed. As it had fixed below the calves, I amputated both legs, and expected the happiest success from the operation ; when he eat to excess of some victuals brought by one of his friends, who thought to serve him, but in reality put a period to his existence.

I did not know one inhabitant refugee from St. Domingo that died of this epidemic. An European who resided some time at Port au Prince may be reckoned as one victim to this scourge, but he had been near a year in Philadelphia.

EIGHTEENTH AND LAST OBSERVATION.

Though I have already proved the malady not contagious, another observation must establish my opinion without contradiction.

ront pour prouver que l'épidémie n'était pas contagieuse.

Je dois aussi , pour détromper le public sur un faux bruit qui tend à perpétuer les craintes que quelques personnes semblent prendre plaisir à accréditer ; je dois , dis-je , rendre hommage à la vérité , et avancer ici qu'il est faux qu'il soit mort à l'hôpital Bush-hill des personnes venues de St Domingue. Il y est mort une femme venant du Cap , mais qui n'avait d'autre maladie que d'être hydropique : il y est mort aussi un nègre qui n'avait nullement l'épidémie : il vint à l'hôpital le 29 Octobre , avec la gangrène aux extrémités inférieures , et qui avait été occasionnée par l'impression du froid. Ce malheureux avait perdu les deux pieds Par la gangrène qui avait détruit le principe vital. Comme elle s'était fixée au-dessous des molets , je lui fis l'amputation des deux jambes : j'attendais les plus heureux succès de ces opérations , lorsque ce nègre mangea avec excès des alimens que lui avait apportés un de ses amis qui crut lui rendre service , et qui lui donna la mort.

Je ne connais pas un seul habitant de St-Domingue, réfugié dans cette ville , qui soit péri de l'épidémie. Un européen qui était resté quelque temps au Port-au-Prince , peut être compté parmi les victimes de ce fléau , mais il était à Philadelphie depuis près d'un an.

DIX-HUITIÈME ET DERNIÈRE OBSERVATION.

Enfin quoique j'en aie dit assez pour prouver que cette maladie n'était point contagieuse ; une dernière observation achèvera de le déterminer d'une manière positive et sans réplique.

After the cessation of the epidemic, when the patients were convalescent and judged fit to return home, the committee gave up the place to the Minister from the French republic ; some French soldiers only remained, who had been there from the 20th of November. I purchased for the republic the beds, blankets, pillows, and other appendages made use of by those diseased with the epidemic. They were immediately, and are still occupied by new patients, though they have neither been washed or fumigated.

The French patients under my care at the time and since the epidemic, were attacked, some with symptomatic fevers, diarrhæes, dysenteries, inflammations of the lungs, or other internal diseases ; many had dangerous wounds, and other chirurgical complaints, which obliged me to perform the most serious operations ; and they were attended by the greatest success. There were also a great number of patients with diseases both external and internal, who occupied the same beds, blankets, pillows, and in short every thing made use of by the epidemic patients ; yet never knew any of them experience the slightest symptom of the disease that made such ravages in the city of Philadelphia, in America.

Facts so convincing must surely dissipate every remaining terror, occasioned by the idea of the epidemic being contagious, and that even at a future period the clothes made use of by the diseased might communicate the malady. Some incredulous persons may perhaps

Lorsqu'après la cessation de l'épidémie , les malades qui se trouvaient convalescens à l'hôpital , furent jugés en état de retourner chez eux , le comité céda le local à l'administration de la République Française. Il ne resta que des soldats français qui y étaient déjà ; et depuis le 20 Novembre , j'achetai , pour le compte de la République , les lits , les couvertures de laine , les oreillers et autres choses qui s'y trouvaient , tous objets qui avaient servi aux épidémiques. Ils furent sur le champ employés et le sont même encore pour les nouveaux malades, sans avoir été lavés, ni parfumés.

Parmi tous les malades français, au nombre d'environ deux cens , que j'y ai traité pendant, et depuis la maladie ; les uns étaient atteints de fièvres symptomatiques, d'autres de diarrhées et de dysenteries ; quelques-uns ont eu des fluxions de poitrine et autres maladies internes ; beaucoup avaient des plaies graves et autres maladies chirurgicales , qui m'ont forcé à pratiquer les opérations les plus importantes, et qui ont été suivies du plus grand succès ; enfin j'ai traité un très-grand nombre de maladies différentes , tant internes qu'externes. Les malades ont été dans le même lieu, dans les mêmes lits ; ils se sont servis des mêmes couvertures de laine , des mêmes oreillers , et enfin de tout ce qui avait été à l'usage des épidémiques , et je n'ai jamais reconnu chez aucun d'eux le plus léger symptôme du fléau qui à fait tant de ravages parmi les américains de la ville de Philadelphie. -

D'après tous ces faits , qui pourrait ne pas se tranquilliser sur les craintes où l'on est encore de la contagion de cette maladie , et ne fussent-elle pas pour rassurer et dissiper les vaines frayeurs qui portent à croire

say, these are no proofs of its not being contagious, since these patients, as well as those persons who escaped the epidemic, might not at that time be disposed to receive it. This objection might be easily answered, but I will content myself with observing, that among so many sick of other complaints at the hospital, and the great number of French who arrived here from the hospital at the Cape, where they were in want of every thing, and afterwards exposed to the greatest misery, it is more than morally impossible not even one should have been disposed to receive the epidemic disease.

After these observations, extracted from a number of others which I made at Bush-hill and in the city during the disease, a judgment may be easily formed; 1st, of the nature of the malady; 2dly, how far my remedies were efficacious; 3dly, the contrary effect of those made use of in the beginning; and 4thly, that it was not contagious.

This fact being proved, it can no longer be doubted the epidemic took its rise in this country; and it appears indispensibly necessary to seek the cause, and proper means to prevent its return, or render the effects less fatal.

I should not think my intentions sufficiently answered if I did not offer a few ideas upon this important subject, and the means likely to preserve the city from the dreadful consequences of such a scourge. Puerile and

que ce qui a servi à un épidémique peut , dans un temps même reculé , donner la maladie à ceux qui en feraient usage ? Quelques incrédules m'objecteront , peut-être , que ces malades , ainsi que ceux qui ont échappé à l'épidémie n'étaient pas disposés à la gagner , et que ce n'est pas une preuve qu'elle ne fut pas contagieuse. Quoiqu'il me serait facile de répondre à cette objection , je me contenterai d'observer qu'il est plus que moralement impossible que , dans le grand nombre des français arrivés ici , sortant de l'hôpital du Cap , où ils avaient manqué de tout , et après avoir été exposés à toutes les misères qu'ils ont éprouvées , et parmi tant de malades que j'ai traités à l'hôpital , il ne s'en soit pas trouvé un seul qui fut disposé à être attaqué de la maladie épidémique.

D'après ces observations , extraites d'un très-grand nombre que j'ai été à même de faire à l'hôpital Bush-hill et dans la ville , pendant le cours de l'épidémie , les hommes de l'art pourront juger , 1°. du caractère de cette maladie. 2°. de l'efficacité des moyens et des remèdes que j'ai employés. 3°. des effets des remèdes contraires qui ont été employés dans les commencemens. 4°. enfin ils pourront se convaincre qu'elle n'était point contagieuse.

Si ce fait est prouvé , il n'est plus douteux que l'épidémie a pris naissance dans ce pays , et il me paraît indispensable d'en rechercher les causes et les moyens propres à en éviter le retour , ou à en rendre les effets moins funestes.

Je croirais n'avoir pas entièrement rempli mon objet , si je ne présentais quelques idées sur cette matière bien importante , et sur les moyens qui me paraissent susceptibles de préserver cette ville des suites fâcheuses d'un

critical minds will perhaps exclaim against my observations, but flatter myself I shall be made amends by the opinion of the philosophic and sensible, to whom there is not any think extraordinary or superfluous when the object is the good of mankind. I only propose general means as preventatives, for if an epidemic again appears, it will most probably assume a different form, and consequently require another mode of treatment.

The methods requisite to be observed relate not only to society in general, but includes each individual in particular.

That which belongs to society in general and public order, seems particularly to require, first, that the interior part of the city be cleared of tan-yards and starch manufactories; secondly, that the police particularly attend to the cleanliness of the quays and streets, to prevent the water stagnating in the ditches that are in the environs of the city, in cavities where buildings are erecting, and streets not yet paved; the same attention should be paid to the markets, to prevent green and bad fruit being sold: last summer I observed peaches, melons, and other fruits so far from their maturity, they could not fail proving very injurious. There is another cause, which in my opinion acts infinitely more on the animal economy, the prodigious number of burial places (1) in the heart of the

(1) This truth has been sensibly felt for some time in Europe. The voice of an enlightened body of men has induced the French

pareil fléau. Des esprits , ou critiques ou puérils , s'élèveront , peut-être , sur quelques-unes de mes observations ; mais je me flatte d'être dédommagé par l'opinion des hommes vraiment philosophes , pour qui rien n'est ni superflu ni extraordinaire , lorsqu'il est question du plus grand bonheur de l'humanité. Je ne propose que des moyens généraux , parce qu'il me paraît très-possible que , si une nouvelle épidémie venait à paraître , elle se montrerait sous un aspect différent , et qui exigerait d'autres procédés.

Parmi ces moyens il en est de deux sortes : ceux qui intéressent et qui tiennent à la société en général , et ceux qui ne sont relatifs qu'à chaque individu en particulier.

Les premiers , qui tiennent à l'ordre public , semblent exiger impérieusement , 1°. que l'on purge l'intérieur de la ville , des tanneries et des fabriques d'amidon qui s'y trouvent. 2°. que la police veille à la plus grande propreté des quais et des rues ; à empêcher que l'eau ne croupisse dans les fosses qui entourent la ville , dans les emplacements bas et non bâtis , ainsi que dans les rues qui ne sont pas encore pavées. La même attention devrait s'étendre sur les marchés ; empêcher qu'on n'y vende des fruits verts et de mauvaise qualité. J'y ai vu l'été dernier , des pêches , des melons et autres fruits qui étaient bien loin du terme de maturité , si nécessaire pour les rendre aussi salutaires , qu'ils sont pernicieux avant que de l'avoir acquise. Mais une cause qui , à mon avis , influe plus puissamment encore sur l'économie animale , est le nombre prodigieux des cimetières (1)

(1) Depuis long-temps cette vérité a été sentie en Europe. C'est d'après l'avis des corps et des hommes les plus éclairés ,
S

city. The vapours continually attracted from these places of corruption by the sun, infect the air; whilst the rain penetrating, washes in the graves the putrid remains of the bodies, and carries with it into the wells detached, infected particles, from which it could not be disengaged by filtration, in the short space it has to go.

After this remark, which I can only think of with pain, may not an individual say before he drinks a glass of water, " I am about to feed upon a being like myself, to swallow particles from dead bodies, and perhaps those once dear to me, and whom I still regret." Independent of other inconveniencies from burial places in the city, this reflexion alone is surely sufficient to determine upon following the example of almost all the cities of Europe; where, I repeat, experience has

nation to banish burial grounds from their cities. Many persons here pretend, they could not at all affect the salubrity of the city, and advanced as a proof, the disease not being so frequent near those receptacles of the dead as in other places. If this assertion was true, it could not confute my opinion; however, I do not pretend to say, the cause of the epidemic proceeded from the burial grounds alone, but I declare and maintain, the putrid miasmata which continually exhale (however deep the graves might be) being mixed with miasmata proceeding from other causes, must render the city less healthy, and corrupt the air through which it passes; this air thus charged with vapours, might be spread abroad and affect persons at a distance, whilst those near the cimeteries escaped, from not having come into immediate contact with that air. To give full explanation of this assertion is foreign to my purpose; those already acquainted with the nature and properties of air, will not fail to add to, and feel the force of my reasoning.

que cette ville renferme dans son enceinte. Les vapeurs que la pompe aspirante du soleil élève sans cesse de ces lieux de corruption, en infectent l'air, tandis que les eaux pluviales y pénétrant, vont laver dans les tombeaux les restes pourris des cadavres qui y reposent, entraînent dans les puits des particules infectes qu'elles en détachent, et dont elles n'ont pas eu le tems de se dégager par la filtration dans le court espace qu'elles mettent à s'y rendre.

D'après cette vérité sur laquelle je ne m'appesantis qu'avec douleur, mais qui n'est que trop réelle, chaque individu ne pourrait-il pas se dire, avec raison, avant de boire un verre d'eau? je vais me nourrir de mon semblable; je vais mettre dans mon estomac des particules détachées des cadavres, et peut-être de ceux

que la France s'est déterminée à écarter de toutes les villes les cimetières. Plusieurs personnes prétendent ici, qu'ils ne peuvent apporter aucun obstacle à la salubrité de la ville, et ils en donnent pour preuve, que la maladie a été moins fréquente dans les environs des cimetières, que par-tout ailleurs. Quant ce fait serait vrai, il ne contrarie point mon opinion. En effet, je ne prétend pas dire que la cause de l'épidémie provienne uniquement des cimetières, mais je dis et je soutiens, que les miasmes putrides qui s'exalent continuellement (quelque soit la profondeur des fosses) de ces lieux funèbres, venant à se mêler avec d'autres miasmes produits par d'autres causes, contribuent à rendre la ville moins salubre, et corrompent d'autant l'air qui la traverse, que cet air, ainsi chargé de vapeurs putrides, et porté au loin, agit sur des individus éloignés des cimetières, pendant que ceux qui les avoisinent et qui n'ont pas respiré cet air n'en sont point atteints. Cette idée, pour être bien sentie, demanderait un développement très-étendu et étranger à mon objet; mais les personnes déjà instruites y suppléeront et sentiraient la force de ce raisonnement que je ne fais que présenter ici.

induced them to banish such places, as they are capable of injuring the healthiest constitution, and affecting them with the most fatal diseases. I have not dissembled, and am sensible how few will think with me. I expect the sarcastic laugh of the half-learned critic, and persons much attached to their own opinion; but as I have already said, philosophers will know how to value my reasons, and desire of being useful to society.

I think among other means proper to prevent this inconvenience, a fire-pump might be placed on the river Delaware, to raise water into the city, which should be conveyed into fountains properly situated, for the convenience of the necessaries of life. A quantity of healthy water might easily in future be procured from the Schuylkill, by means of the canal upon which they are now at work; whilst that from the pumps would be only used for domestic purposes and in cases of fire.

Before such establishments can be formed, or any good arise from them, I would advise those to whom it is convenient, to have the water they drink fetched from the river when the tide is down, and put in earthen vessels to settle, or, which would be better, let it pass through a filtering stone. Such are the general means that appear to me most necessary for the healthiness of the city.

qui m'ont appartenus et que je regrette journellement. Outre ces inconvéniens , de la position des cimetières dans les villes , cette réflexion seule ne suffit-elle pas pour déterminer à suivre à ce sujet l'exemple de presque toutes les villes de l'Europe , où , je le repète , l'expérience a déterminé à écarter ces lieux de leur enceinte , comme étant capables de porter dans les corps les plus sains et les mieux constitués , le germe des maladies les plus graves. Je ne me suis point dissimulé combien elle aurait peu de partisans ; je m'attends même au rire caustique de quelques demi savans , ou de gens attachés à leur opinion ; mais , comme je l'ai déjà dit , les vrais philosophes sauront apprécier et mes raisons et mes motifs d'être utile à l'humanité.

Entre autres moyens propres à écarter ces inconvéniens , je pense qu'on pourrait placer une pompe à feu sur la rivière de la Delaware. Cette machine monterait l'eau dans la ville où des fontaines placées à propos , la distribuerait pour les besoins de la vie animale : le canal du Schuylkill , auquel on travaille , pourra facilement , par la suite , y répandre l'abondance d'une eau salubre , et celle des puits ou des pompes , ne servirait plus alors que pour les besoins domestiques et dans les cas d'incendie.

Mais en attendant que ces établissemens , que l'humanité réclame , puissent opérer le bien qu'on doit s'en promettre , je conseille aux personnes à portée de la rivière , de ne boire que de son eau , prise à mer basse , épurée par le repos dans des vases de terre , ou ce qui ferait préférable , après l'avoir faite passer par des pierres à filtrer. Tels sont les moyens généraux qui me paraissent indispensables pour la plus grande salubrité de la ville.

The particular means which regard individuals only, consist in some precautions. The most necessary is to fortify the mind, and resist as much as possible the fears naturally inspired by epidemics. This emotion of the soul disorders the mind, effaces reason, and occasions in the whole machine such a commotion as to influence the animal economy, and injure the health. It is therefore highly necessary to resist this childish fear, which cannot cure, but may render the body more liable to disease. Excess of every kind must also be avoided; the air of houses and apartments continually changed, and every thing kept in the greatest state of cleanliness. This neatness consists in the frequent change of linen, bathing often in summer, washing the mouth every morning and after each meal with water and vinegar.

I cannot finish these reflexions, and pass unnoticed those little bags of camphire, and sponges filled with vinegar, that were so generally made use of last autumn; and do not pretend the means were not salutary, but the manner they were used in was pernicious: the mouth and nose were so closely pressed, as totally to interrupt respiration for a time, which must naturally produce the most fatal symptoms. The air, that humid and fluid substance, that serves for respiration, loses its elasticity, and is easily corrupted by the acrid humours drawn from the lungs; this humour mixed with it produces a stimulating quality, which excites in the bronchiæ, and other ærial vessels, a contraction that prevents a free dilation of the lungs, and circulation

Quant aux moyens particuliers et qui ne regardent que chaque individu, ils consistent uniquement dans l'usage de quelques précautions à observer : le plus essentiel ferait, s'il était possible de résister à ce mouvement involontaire, de se roidir contre la crainte et la frayeur qu'inspirent au premier moment les maladies épidémiques : cette émotion de l'ame trouble l'esprit et offusque la raison de ceux qu'elle saisit, et elle occasionne, dans toute la machine, une sorte de commotion qui influe sur l'économie animale et altère la santé.

Il faut donc, autant que faire se peut, résister à ces terreurs paniques et puériles, qui ne peuvent guérir le mal et qui, au contraire, mettent le corps dans une situation plus apte à être atteint de la maladie. Il faut aussi éviter les excès en tous genres ; renouveler l'air des maisons et des appartemens ; se tenir dans l'état de la plus stricte propreté, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec le luxe de la parure extérieure : cette propreté contribue au maintien de la santé ; elle consiste à renouveler le plus souvent possible le linge de corps ; à se baigner de temps-en-temps en été, et à se laver la bouche tous les matins et à l'issue de chaque repas, avec de l'eau et du vinaigre.

Je ne puis me déterminer à finir ces réflexions sans dire un mot de ces sachets camphrés et de ces éponges humectées de vinaigre, et dont on faisait, l'été et l'automne dernier, un usage si peu réfléchi ; je ne prétends pas dire que ces deux moyens ne pussent être salutaire, mais la manière dont on s'en servait ne pouvait être que pernicieuse. On s'en bouchait si fortement le nez, que la respiration demeurait long-temps comme entièrement interrompue, ce qui ne pouvait produire

of the blood, from whence the worst disorders may proceed. Those who place confidence in this means, should use it with moderation, to avoid finding a source of disease in the real principle of life.

Such are the reflexions I think a duty to lay before the public. From what I have seen, observed, and studied, I have acted agreeable to my knowledge and capacity. If my efforts and zeal have been crowned with some success—if the result of the observations I now present to the public is useful, my end is attained, and shall be happy in any opportunity I may have of being usefull to my fellow-creatures.

FINIS.

que l'effet le plus funeste. L'air , cette substance fluide et humide , qui sert à la respiration , perd son élasticité dès qu'elle est inspirée , et se corrompt aisément par les humeurs acres qui se dégagent des poulmons. Ces humeurs , venant à se mêler avec lui , lui donnent une qualité stimulante , laquelle excite dans les bronches et dans les autres vaisseaux aériens , un retrécissement qui nuit à la libre dilatation des poulmons , et gêne la circulation du sang dans tous ses viscères , d'où peuvent résulter les plus grands défordres. Il faut donc que ceux qui mettent de la confiance dans ces topiques , n'en usent qu'avec modération , afin de ne pas trouver une source de maladie dans ce qui fait le principe de la vie.

Telles sont les réflexions que je me crois obligé de donner au public ; j'ai vu , j'ai observé , j'ai étudié par moi-même ; j'ai agi d'après mes connaissances et mes faibles lumières ; mes efforts et mon zèle ont été couronnés de quelques succès ; si le fruit que j'en ai recueilli et que je soumetts aujourd'hui au public peut être utile à l'humanité , j'aurai atteint mon but , et je me trouverai heureux du bien même que j'aurai pu procurer à mes semblables.

FIN.

Enregistré au désir de l'Acte du Congrès.



A
T R E A T I S E
O N T H E
Synochus Icteroïdes,
O R
Y E L L O W F E V E R ;
A S I T L A T E L Y A P P E A R E D I N T H E
CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

EXHIBITING
A CONCISE VIEW OF ITS RISE, PROGRESS AND SYMPTOMS,
TOGETHER WITH THE METHOD OF TREATMENT
FOUND MOST SUCCESSFUL;

A L S O
REMARKS ON THE NATURE OF ITS CONTAGION, AND DIREC-
TIONS FOR PREVENTING THE INTRODUCTION OF THE
SAME MALADY, IN FUTURE.

BY WILLIAM CURRIE,
FELLOW OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, AND MEMBER
OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

PHILADELPHIA:
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M,DCC,XCIV.



HIS EXCELLENCY

THOMAS MIFFLIN,

Governor of Pennsylvania.

S I R,

NOT the splendor of your station, but the qualities of your heart, so conspicuously displayed during the prevalence of the late destructive malady in this city, induce me to inscribe the following
treatise

treatice to your excellency. You are therefore requested to accept it; not as a compliment, but as a tribute to which you are justly entitled, from

Your most sincere,

And very humble servant,

THE AUTHOR.

PHILADELPHIA, }
January 20th 1794. }

P R E F A C E.

AS every invention, discovery, or improvement, is more or less useful and interesting, in proportion as it contributes to the preservation of health, life, prosperity, and satisfaction; and as the author of the following pages is persuaded, that very material improvements were made in the treatment of the *synochus icteroides* or yellow fever, which lately prevailed in this city, and proved so destructive and distressing to its inhabitants, he thinks it his duty to lay the same before the public, together with his observations and sentiments on other circumstances, relative to that disease; that if it should ever appear here again (as there is too much reason

son

son to apprehend, unless much caution is observed to prevent it, from our constant intercourse with the West Indies, where strangers are seldom long exempt from it) physicians may not again be at a loss for a directory, derived from actual experience and observation. He however does not pretend to have been the improver of the treatment, or the discoverer of the means most effectual in the cure, which is recommended in the following pages. On the contrary, he believes they were adopted from the joint deliberations of the college of physicians, in consequence of some of its members having observed their good effects when the disease first appeared, and was mistaken for a *higher grade* of the bilious remittent fever of the autumnal season. Instead of attending to systematic arrangement in the following little production, he has contented himself with enumerating symptoms and circumstances as they occurred to him, while engaged in practice; and offering his sentiments in the order in which they happened to arise.

By

By this method he hopes to escape the imputation of pedantry : and though those who prefer the studied and formal arrangement of the schools, to the simplicity and order of nature, may condemn his manner, he hopes the matter it contains, and the importance of the subject, will secure him the approbation of all those who prefer utility to formality and fashion. To men of taste indeed, some apology is due for the imperfections of its style and composition ; but if want of leisure and frequent interruption are ever admitted as an apology for a trespass of this nature, he is certainly entitled to some indulgence on the present occasion ; especially as he can assure them, that truth has been his aim, his end the public good.

JANUARY 24th, 1794.

A
S K E T C H
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
D I S E A S E.

TH E disease which we are about to describe, made its first appearance in Water street between Mulberry and Sassafras streets, the beginning of August 1793, and appears to have been imported by a vessel which arrived in this port, and lay at a wharf in that neighbourhood the latter end of July.*

B

From

* See Mr M. Carey's account of the rise and progress of the disease, lately published.

From this source it spread gradually by contagion over the greatest part of the city ; and was more or less rapid in its progress, according as people had more or less intercourse with the sick, and according as the weather was more or less cold : for though it was propagated by contagion, the sensible qualities of the atmosphere had a surprising effect in rendering the contagion more or less active, as well as in its influence on the symptoms of those labouring under the disease.

The greatest number confined with the disease, was about the middle of October ; but as the weather became cold and frosty, its declension was so rapid that it appeared as if extinguished by a miracle : for by the tenth of November, there was scarcely a person to be found with it.

The whole number that died of this disease in the city, appears from the registers of deaths kept by the different religious societies, to have
 been

been about 3500. In the registers of the deaths which have been kept by those societies, there is no discrimination made between those who died of the yellow fever and of other diseases ; and the whole number of deaths appears to have been 4048, from the 1st of August to the 10th of November ; of which above 500 are supposed to have died of other diseases. At one period there appears to have been more than eight thousand persons confined by it at the same time ; though at that time near twenty thousand of the inhabitants had retired from the city.

That the long continuance of heat and drought which preceded this disease had no share in its generation, is certain, from its being confined for some time to that part of the city where it commenced : for almost every case which occurred for the first week or two, could be traced to that source, and was propagated to others in succession.

This fever corresponded in most of its leading and characteristic symptoms, with the *synochus icteroides occidentalis*, or yellow fever of the West Indies. A fever of the same kind has prevailed here three times before, viz. in the years 1740, 1747 and 1762.

In the year 1740, it was introduced by means of a trunk of wearing apparel, which had belonged to a gentleman who died of it in Barbadoes. The family to whom the trunk was sent first took the disease; and from them it spread into the town, and destroyed above two hundred people; as we are informed by the celebrated LIND, in his treatise on fevers and infection.

The only account I have been able to obtain respecting its appearance in 1747, is what is contained in Mr Lardner's letter, of which the following is a copy.

PHILADELPHIA, *Sept. 3d, 1747. (O. S.)*

“ SINCE my last, a contagious fever has raged amongst us, which admits of no relief, cure, or abatement ; never intermitting to the last moment of life. It has carried off three of my most intimate acquaintance ; among which are my dear friends Andrew Hamilton and Mr Currie. Philadelphia has been a melancholy place, and many whose business and family would permit them, have fled the city. But the air is now become much cooler, and those under the disorder revive. The symptoms (a pain in the head and back, vomiting, &c.) are less violent, and the fever gradually abates. Messrs. Allen and Turner’s family are yet under the disease ; the one having lost a near relation, and Mr Allen himself not out of danger.

“ September 24th. The yellow fever is still amongst us : yesterday was buried young Samuel Powell who died of it.”

It

It is astonishing that the physicians of that time left nothing on record respecting so destructive a malady. Perhaps if the notes of Doctors Zachary, Graham, Kearsley, and Cadwallader were inspected, some important facts might yet be discovered. Dr Griffiths' mother who had the disease at that time is still alive.

The third time of its appearance it was introduced (according to the notes of Dr Redman of this city) about the latter end of August, by a mariner from the Havanna: it came to its height about the 25th of September, and from that time gradually declined, and was entirely extinguished by the middle of October. Neither the state of the weather, nor the number of deaths which occurred at that time, are known, no register having been preserved.

The fever at that time was circumscribed to Pine or Union street Northerly, and three or four squares from thence Southerly, and
 extended

extended from Water street, to Third or Fourth street Westerly. Its first and greatest ravages were about the New Market, which lay near the source where the disease originated. It spread at that time, as the one we are about to describe did, from family to family, as they happened to have intercourse one with another.

A fever of the same kind, also prevailed at Charleston, South Carolina, in the years 1732, 1739, 1745 and 1748; an account of which has been given by Dr. Lining, and published in the second Vol. Physical and Literary Essays of Edinburgh. The disease each time that it prevailed in Carolina, was traced to some person lately arrived from some of the West India Islands.

We are also informed by Dr Lind, in his treatise on hot climates, that a similar disease occurred in Cadiz, in Spain, the latter end of the summer of 1764, of which an hundred persons

persons sometimes died in a day ; that its ravages were at that time entirely confined to that city, and that those who retired to the country escaped it.

Though the disease we are about to describe was highly contagious, the influence of the contagion was circumscribed to a narrow sphere, for none but those who approached near to the sick, or to such articles as had been in contact with them, or within the sphere of their effluvia so as to be impregnated thereby were affected.

All that shut themselves up in their houses, retired into the country, or avoided entering into infected houses, and all intercourse with the sick, or infected substances, or with those who visited the sick (for the idle curiosity of servants, particularly of the hired girls, was the means of propagating the disease more than any other circumstance), though constantly abroad in the open streets, escaped the
disease

disease without exception. The prisoners in the jail and work house—the pensioners in the poor house, and the patients and attendants at the hospital, from whence all intercourse with the infected was excluded, also entirely escaped the disease.

There was something however, in the state of the atmosphere in the city, or in the constitutions of the inhabitants, peculiarly favourable to the operation of the contagion, very different from that of the country; for when any person with the disease was removed a few miles into the country, and even died of it, there is scarce an instance of its having been communicated to any person in the same house, whereas when any one in a family took it and remained in the city, others, and sometimes the whole of the family, soon after took the disease*.

Those

* This was also the case the last time it occurred at Charleston, as recorded by Dr. Lining—and also at Cadiz in 1764, mentioned by Lind.

Those exposed to the contagion generally began to be affected between the third and eighth day; we recollect several that were certainly attacked on the fifth day, one on the third, and two not till the tenth day after exposure. These were ascertained by such circumstances, as could not have deceived us. Those who had retired into the country, and again returned to the city during the prevalence of the disease, were affected more readily and earlier than others, after such exposure.

The state of the mind seems to have had great influence, in hastening or retarding the effects of the contagion; those under the influence of fear, which was the case with the majority, were sooner affected after exposure to the contagion, than those who were less concerned. Every other debilitating power had a similar effect, such as an abstemious regimen, too much fatigue, frequent purging, blood-letting, and exposure to the night air,
without

without exercise sufficient to keep up a vigorous circulation. But a lax state of the bowels, and a moderate tone of the solids, appear to have contributed to render the disease more mild when it did attack those who were not greatly under the influence of terror. Neither age nor sex were exempt, not even infants at the breast—but those that were fat, corpulent and indolent, were most susceptible of the contagion, and suffered accordingly.

While this formidable disease was making such ravages in the city, the country for some miles around was never more healthy, especially in dry and elevated situations. In the low and marshy grounds, indeed, this was not the case; for at Harrisburgh on the Susquehanna, at Dover on the Delaware, and a few other places, bordering on rivers or large creeks, whose channels were almost exhausted of their waters, by the long continuance of heat and drought, bilious fever, choleras, dysenteries and cholics, were never known to be so prevalent and mortal.

The

The French West Indians, particularly those from St. Domingo, who had taken shelter here, from the storms of a sanguinary war, almost to a man escaped the disease, though they made no use of any precaution for the purpose; while those from France were as liable to it as the Philadelphians.

The reason that the West Indians were not liable to it, is perhaps owing to the resemblance of the season to that of the climate from whence they came; and to the effects produced by the frequent excretions of bile to which they are particularly subject, rendering the duodenum and biliary ducts insensible to the poison. For it is a singular though a notorious fact, that the disease seldom or ever affects any but strangers or new comers from a colder or more temperate climate, in the West Indies; as we are informed by almost all the writers on the subject. But we were strangers or new comers to it to all intents and purposes, with this difference, that it was brought to us instead of our
and

being taken to it ; and for that reason were subject to its influence. There are however some instances mentioned by Hillary of its being communicated by contagion at Barbadoes, and of a few Creoles being affected by it. But this he says was very rare, and after the disease had become very malignant.

* The negroes that were natives of America
ca

* The latest writer on this subject, Dr Jackson, informs us that no negro immediately from the coast of Africa has been known to be attacked by this disease ; neither have Creoles that have resided constantly in the Islands. Yet Creoles or Africans who have been absent a considerable time, and resided in colder climates, whether in Europe or the higher latitudes of America, are not by any means exempted from it when they return to the Islands. Europeans, particularly males, suffer from it soon after their arrival in the Islands ; but in general, after residing there a year or two, they are very rarely attacked by it. Nor has it scarcely ever been known to attack the same person twice, except accidentally, after his return from a different and colder climate. The remitting fever, on the contrary, attacks persons of all descriptions, whether natives or foreigners. Nor are those who have once had it exempt from its future attack : a fact which
proves

ca were also liable to it, though not in the same proportion as the whites. This was not the case, according to the observations of Dr Lining, when it prevailed in Charleston; for at that time there was not an instance of any negro being affected by it, though as much exposed to the contagion as the whites. This with some exceptions, is also the case with respect to the negroes in the West Indies; tho' Dr. Blane says he saw a black woman die with all the symptoms of it at Barbadoes, having caught it from nursing some seamen that were ill of it. The same author is of opinion, that the disease cannot be generated in any
place,

proves that there actually exists some essential difference between the two diseases; or at least it shews, that the revolution of a season or two destroys in the constitutions of foreigners, a certain aptitude or disposition for the one disease, which it still retains for the other. Perhaps this may be principally owing to the effects produced on the biliary ducts and duodenum, by the frequent and copious secretion of bile, to which the inhabitants of Tropical climates are particularly subject; whereby they are rendered insensible to the contagion of this disease.

place, unless the heat has been for some time above 75 degrees. It is asserted by Dr Lining, that those who have once had the disease, cannot take it a second time : but we have seen several instances of its occurring a second time here, where the circumstances were so unequivocal, that it could not be fairly ascribed to a relapse.

As soon as the contagion had reached the central part of the city, the disease spread with astonishing rapidity. In the course of August, there were more than 300 funerals ; towards the close of the month, twenty were buried of a day. During the greatest part of this month, the mercury in the thermometer ranged from 80 to 90°, in the afternoons ; the sky generally clear, and the winds Westerly. From the 25th to the end of the month the weather was cloudy, and a small quantity of rain fell.

In September, the disease increased amazingly.

zingly. In the course of the month, about 1400 citizens were added to the list of mortality; towards its close, from 50 to 90 were buried of a day, though the mercury now seldom rose above 80°. The weather was mostly fair; a few days were cloudy, but there was no rain. The wind still westerly. Throughout the month the heat was generally moderate, and the weather uniform, except from the 19th to the 23d, when it was unusually calm, "deprived of the refreshing breeze," during which the mortality was greater than at any other period in that month.

From this time to the middle of October, the disease proceeded with an increase of mortality, owing to the enlargement of the circle of contagion. From the 1st to the 17th, more than 1400 fell victims to the malady—but from the 17th, to the 1st of November, the bills of mortality lessened rapidly, though not regularly. The whole number of the deaths in this month, amounted to near 2000,

though one third of the inhabitants had for some time before deserted the city, and retired into different parts of the country, as choice or chance directed.

The thermometer was very variable all this month, generally below 80° , but above 50° until the 27th, from which time to the end of the month, it was always below 50° , and one day below 40° . The weather for the most part fair, though some rain fell on the 12th and 31st, and it was cloudy from the 25th to the end of the month. The wind generally from the N. and N. W. till the latter end of the month, but from that time N. N. E. Towards the last of the month, the contagion declined apace, the funerals being reduced to between 12 and 20 a day. From this time the weather became more wet, cold and frosty, and the disease declined so rapidly, that on the 9th of November, the funerals in all the grave yards only amounted to six. From this time every thing seemed to

sink into that kind of placid calm, which generally succeeds a dying storm. The citizens who had retreated from the danger, now ventured back, and the streets and various departments of business, immediately resumed their former life and energy—commerce again spread her white wings, and pensive mourning melancholy, has since given place to the cheerful face of joy.

D E F I-

DEFINITION.

The *SYNOCHUS ICTEROIDES* or *YELLOW FEVER*, derives its name from the inflammatory symptoms, with which it begins, becoming putrid in its progress; and from the yellowness in the eyes and skin, with which it is generally accompanied.

DESCRIPTION

OF

SYMPTOMS.

THE disease (whose symptoms are now to be delineated), was generally preceded by a slight indisposition, such as muscular debility, and sense of lassitude, on exercise or motion, drowsiness, slight pain and giddiness in the head, pain in the back and loins, defec-

tive appetite, dyspeptic symptoms, such as flatulent eructations, loss of appetite, &c. After this prelude, which seldom continued more than 6 or 8 hours, and sometimes without any such prelude at all, a chilly fit, alternated with glowing flushes of heat, came on, generally in the after part of the night, or fore part of the day; which, after a duration, for the most part short, though sometimes of 12 or 14 hours continuance, gave place to those symptoms which designate a confirmed fever of the inflammatory type, which increased in violence as the day advanced; and continued with little or no variation, till towards morning, when some alleviation with respect to violence was generally observable, but in scarcely any instance was there so much abatement as could be properly called a remission.

The pulse, after the feverish state became established, was generally quick and tense, and during the exacerbation, it was also full
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and strong. In the carotid and temporal arteries in particular, it was strong and throbbing; respiration hurried; the skin very hot and dry; and the face highly flushed; the eyes remarkably red, hot, and painful, as if irritated by small grit or sand; accompanied with a torturing pain in the head, back, loins, and large joints, shooting from temple to temple, and extending from the loins to the hips and down the thighs; the thirst considerable, but not insatiable; the tongue white, moist, and clammy; the bowels either costive, or discharging thin, watery, and sometimes bloody, stools; the urine high-coloured, cloudy, and small in quantity; the stomach distended, painful, tender, and irritable, especially after taking any kind of drink or aliment; frequently affected with sick qualms, and more or less propensity to puke, but seldom bringing up any thing; a sense of stricture and oppression at the precordia, as if tight bound with a belt; great restlessness, with moaning and sighing; and frequently shifting of posture in search of ease;

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some confusion of the intellects, attended with constant pervigilium ; but seldom so much derangement of the reasoning faculty as to amount to violent delirium ; frequent hemorrhages from one or both nostrils, during the afternoon exacerbations in young persons of both sexes ; and in those of one of the sexes at two different periods of life. In some the head was most affected ; in others the stomach. In persons under puberty, symptoms of hydrocephalus internus frequently occurred in the course of this stage. In men verging on old age, the disease usually began with symptoms resembling apoplexy, unless prevented by a discharge of blood from the hemorrhoidal vessels.

When stools were procured by art, the first were generally soft and white, but seldom bilious. The contents thrown out from the stomach were generally the drinks or aliment last received. Sometimes mixed with matter of a sea-green colour and bitter taste, but often

ten without either. The suffusion and inflamed appearance of the eyes, constantly increased in proportion to the violence of fever and date of the disease.

The preceding symptoms which may be considered as limiting the first stage of the disease, continued with more or less violence from one to three days, and sometimes longer; and then abated suddenly, succeeded soon after by the appearance of a yellow tinge in the eyes, face, and neck, or by a copious evacuation of bilious matter by stool; and the patient speedily recovered, except that his stomach remained weak, and his appetite defective for some time: or no bilious stools taking place at the time, or soon after the icteritious appearance became observable, the disease proceeded to the second stage, in which there was a diminution of force in some of the symptoms; an increase in others; and an accession of new ones. The inflammatory symptoms which before, in many respects resembled those of the *idiopathic gastritis*,

tritis, now became mixed more or less with symptoms of nervous affection. The pulse though still quick, was no longer full or tense; the respiration also continued quick and hurried; and the skin, though less hot, was more dry and parched, except during the act of vomiting, and then the moisture was only partial, chiefly about the neck and forehead. The tongue now appeared more dry and foul, particularly in the middle; the thirst became insatiable; the stomach so irritable, and the reaching and propensity to puke so constant, that nothing could be retained on it, but was cast up the instant it was swallowed, accompanied with violent straining and noise; but the matter thrown up appeared very little if any changed in appearance, except being mixed with mucus and more ropy than when drank: the stomach was also constantly affected with a constant burning heat, which occasioned the most excruciating agony and distress. The anxiety at the precordia also hourly increased, and soon became insupportable torture: the sighing, restlessness,

leffness, and tossing to and fro became perpetual ; the eyes and countenance were exprefive of the deepeft anguish and despair ; and a delirium refembling mania was by no means uncommon. As thefe fymptoms became more diftreffing, the yellownefs which before was faint and partial, affumed a deep orange or faffron colour, and extended itfelf over the whole furface of the body ; fo that the patient refembled one with an obftinate and invetorate jaundice. When thefe fymptoms had continued with increafing violence to the end of the fecond, or beginning of the third, day, fometimes earlier, and fometimes later, they all fuddenly vanifhed, and left the patient for a time perfectly eafy and tranquil. But this falacious truce, fo flattering to the inexperienced, as well as to the patient, was foon fucceeded by a different, and though lefs acutely painful, more hopelefs and desperate train of fymptoms, which marked the third and laft ftage of this domeftic tragedy. The whole furface of the body now became of a cadaverous coldnefs,

ness, with the pulse slow and soft, in some not exceeding 40 strokes in a minute, but as regular as in health. The respiration was slow and deep; and the yellowness of the eyes and skin appeared of a deep tawny or dull copper-colour; the tongue much cleaner and moister than in either of the former stages; the vomiting was also less frequent, but in a much larger quantity when it did occur; and the patient always had some respite after emptying his stomach, till a large quantity of fluid was again accumulated; when it was again spouted up in an enormous quantity, and generally of a dark colour and turbid consistence, resembling coffee-grounds; and when stools occurred at this time, they generally had the same appearance; but sometimes resembled tar or molasses. The patient was generally at this time affected with a kind of cheerful delirium, imagining himself well: he could seldom be retained in bed, but walked about till exhausted with fatigue. The delirium was generally succeeded, the day following, or the day after, by

by coma, from which the patient was occasionally roused by vomiting and uneasy dreams ; and when roused, started up, and attempted to get out of bed ; and when prevented, immediately sunk down again into a state of slumbering insensibility ; and if asked, when roused from his coma, how he did, his constant reply was “ very well ! ” As the debility increased, the face and breast became spotted, as if sprinkled with ink ; and a deep dusky yellow and purple colour, resembling blood settled in a bruised part, pervaded the whole surface of the body. The respiration now became deep and slow, frequently interrupted by a sobbing kind of sighing and constant hiccup. These were succeeded by dimness of vision—difficulty of swallowing—loss of speech—rattling in the throat—short and convulsive breathing—sunk and irregular pulse—cold sweats—and finally death.

But in more protracted and less violent cases, instead of the black vomiting and coma,

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ma, the patient frequently became affected with symptoms resembling those which are commonly met with in a protracted and inveterate scurvy: In these the countenance appeared bloated and livid, as well as yellow, and blood perpetually oozed from different parts of the body; particularly from the nose, gums, and hemorrhoidal vessels. Some had aphæ or superficial ulcerations, in the roof of the mouth, and in the throat, and parts which had been blistered; and some had a frequent vomiting, or rather gulping up of dark grumous blood from the fauces and stomach, or a discharge of it by stool. Several in this situation, lived many days without any other morbid appearance, except a constant and distressing watchfulness; sitting up or walking about constantly, but without any appetite or extraordinary thirst, or apparent delirium; till, exhausted by a sudden hemorrhagic discharge, or by a more gradual drain of blood, they sunk insensibly into the arms of death, without a struggle or a groan.

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When the disease terminated favourably, it was generally before the fifth day, frequently on the second or third; and when it terminated fatally, it was generally on the fourth, fifth, or sixth day; sometimes earlier and sometimes later; but when the patient survived the seventh day, without the accession of the black vomiting, coma, or scorbutic symptoms, or great and increasing debility, the disease generally terminated favourably.

This was the most usual appearance and progress of this formidable and too often fatal disease, through its several stages. But there were very surprising variations in the appearance it assumed, both in respect to the duration of the several stages, and the state of the symptoms, according to the particular constitutions and temperaments of different patients, the state of the weather, the manner of treatment, &c.

A sketch of these we shall now proceed to
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enumerate. In some cases signs of debility in all the functions, and a putrescent tendency in the whole system, were apparent at a very early period of the disease. In these cases the anxiety at the precordia was constant, the sighing frequent—the yellowness of the eyes and skin became conspicuous very early—the exacerbations and remissions of fever scarcely perceptible—the pulse quick and weak, skin dry and parched, restlessness and pervigilium great, vomiting constant, and on the second or third day of a black colour—the stools also black and gelatinous—the stomach constantly affected with a violent cardialgia, or a burning heat, which the miserable sufferer said felt as if scalded or burnt by a coal of fire; no posture gave ease, and whatever was swallowed, except very small draughts of toast and water, weak barley water, or simple spring water, increased the agony to the most exquisite torture. It was in this form of the disease, that the method published by Dr Kuhn, particularly applied. And it was the form

in which the disease most frequently appeared all the month of August.

In other cases the generality of the symptoms resembled those of the autumnal remittent, combined with jaundice—and in some no yellowness or black vomiting occurred at all; but in these the eyes were almost always highly inflamed for a day or two, but when a diarrhœa, accompanied with a discharge of bile spontaneously occurred, or was procured by purgatives or glisters, the yellowness or icteritious appearance was frequently prevented.

It was often difficult to distinguish this disease at the beginning from the influenza, which was prevalent in the city, and spread over all the Southern states and over the Western territory, before the yellow fever had made much progress in the city. The influence of terror also occasioned great variation in its symptoms. That the usual disease of the season,
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the remitting fever, was often blended with this disease, is by no means improbable. For though two epidemics arising from a change or alteration in the sensible qualities of the air, or from any invisible miasma diffused abroad to a considerable extent in the atmosphere, cannot exist together, yet there is nothing more certain than that a contagious disease, and a disease depending on climate, season, and soil, may exist at the same time and in the same place. Of this we have several examples in the works of Lind, Ruffel, &c.

A preternatural discharge of bile, was by no means a common circumstance in any form or at any period of the disease, as has been already observed. Dissections made not only at Cadiz and the West Indies, but also in this city, demonstrate that this is owing to an inflammatory affection of the stomach, duodenum and ductus choledochus: And it is more than probable, that the black matter brought up by vomiting, was the sphacelated surface of those parts mixed with coagulated
blood,

blood, bile, and the contents last taken into the stomach. The white colour of the stools so common in the beginning of the disease, also indicated an obstruction to the excretion of bile. When the fever was protracted, accumulations of bile frequently took place, as was evident from the tension of the right hypochondrium, and the fœtid and copious discharges coloured with that fluid, which frequently appeared after an active purge.

Dr. Jackson relates that while he resided in Jamaica, between the years 1774 and 1782, he opened several persons who died of this disease, and observed that the stomach and intestines had a dirty yellow appearance, and were highly putrefied, and much distended with wind—the liver and spleen generally enlarged in size, and the colour of the liver often of a deeper yellow than any other part of the abdominal viscera—the gall bladder for the most part moderately full, and of a thick consistence and black colour—the bilia-

ry ducts enlarged and filled with a similar fluid, while the vessels of the liver bore the marks of uncommon distention. A dark coloured turbid fluid was always observable in the cavity of the stomach, similar to that usually thrown up in the last stage of the illness; and the villous coat of that organ was also abraded in various places, and at the same time, spots were observed on different parts of its surface, which appeared to be incipient mortifications. The superior portions of the intestinal canal, had also frequently a similar appearance. From these and other dissections, much light has been thrown upon the seat, and nature of this disease.*

* See Jackson on the fevers of Jamaica, p. 265.

P R O G N O S I S.

I N T H E F I R S T S T A G E.

The favourable Signs were,

HEMORRHAGES from the nose, with relief of the head during the exacerbations. A gradual reduction of the pulse, heat, and oppression at the precordia. A diarrhœa or laxative stools, mixed with bile coming on before the third day.

When in the decline of this stage, there was a constant retching to vomit, without bringing up any thing or vomiting the drinks only, accompanied with a burning heat and tenderness at the stomach, with pain or oppression; it was almost a certain indication that the yellowness, or bilious effusion, would

soon make its appearance. When the alleviation of the symptoms, especially of the oppression and weight at the precordia or epigastric region took place, and were accompanied with, or succeeded by, a bilious diarrhœa, it always afforded a favourable prognostic.

Unfavourable Signs.

STRONG, hard, and quick pulse, with ferocious delirium, and pervigilium ; or quick, small and irregular pulse, with low delirium, great muscular debility, exquisite pain at the stomach, oppression and sense of stricture at the precordia, great thirst, constant nausea and retching, and restlessness ; obstinate costiveness, and the stools when procured of a soft consistence, in lumps, and of a whitish colour. A want of action in the bowels, and great insensibility to purges and glysters, also gave room for much apprehension.

IN THE SECOND STAGE.

The favourable Signs were,

AN abatement of the vomiting, anxiety and oppression at the precordia—relief from the burning pain at the stomach—natural heat in the forehead and limbs, open bowels and natural coloured stools—turbid urine, &c.

Unfavourable Signs.

AN increase of muscular debility, oppression, anxiety, incessant vomiting, a rapid increase of the icteritious aspect, restlessness and frequent sighing, costiveness or bloody stools, accompanied with a painful tenesmus; hollow eyes, shrunk countenance, and shrill feeble voice; an obstinate and painful pervigilium; the

the patient continuing wide awake, in a state of the most uneasy agitation, with his senses and reason but little impaired. But the symptoms expressive of the greatest danger were, an invincible irritability of the stomach, which prevented it from retaining any kind of drink, aliment, or medicines, and a gradual recession of heat from the surface of the body.

IN THE THIRD STAGE.

Favourable Signs.

A GRADUAL return of heat to the surface of the body, cessation of delirium, and change of colour in the matter vomited up.

Unfa-

Unfavourable Signs.

ALMOST all the symptoms in this stage indicated a fatal event, particularly the sudden cessation of pain and fever; coldness of the face and limbs, and the black vomitings, or black stools; constant singultus, coma, and hemorrhagy; a sense of great weight and stricture about the epigastric region; deep and frequent sighing; and great failure of strength denoted danger in every stage. When in this stage deep coma took place, it generally denoted a speedy dissolution.

OF THE
M E T H O D
O F
C U R E.

FROM the preceding account of the various forms in which the *synochus icteroides* appeared, the reader will at once perceive, that no one mode of treatment could be with propriety pursued; but that it was requisite to vary it, as the symptoms indicated an inflammatory or putrid type, as well as to adjust it to the several stages of the disease. But in all cases which began with inflammatory symptoms, whether they ended in those which indicated putridity or not, the following treatment was found most certain and successful. Blood-letting

ting generally afforded relief in all cases, when the activity of the arterial system was evident ; and the head and epigastrium were at the same time much affected : and this operation was found serviceable when repeated every six or eight hours, for the first twenty-four or thirty-six hours after the establishment of the paroxysm ; and in every subsequent exacerbation so long as those symptoms continued in any considerable degree *. To those who condemn bleeding under such circumstances, we may say with Sydenham, when speaking of the plague, “ they either did not bleed early enough, or too sparingly.” To those accustomed to see frequent cases of idiopathic gastritis, where the danger is seldom indicated fully by the pulse, the propriety of this practice will be at once obvious. In conjunction with

* The first blood drawn in the fever seldom shewed any white glutinous covering or size, but after the second bleeding, this appearance was seldom absent ; though it was never thick or very tough. The crassamentum was bulky, flat, and smooth, and never rose into that cup-like or sand-box form which is common in cases of pneumonic inflammation.

with blood-letting, mercurial purges were found more certain in their effects and more serviceable than any other kind; especially when exhibited in doses of from six to twelve grains, and repeated every six or eight hours till a copious discharge by stool took place; and more especially when their operation was promoted by mild laxative enemas, administered three or four hours after each dose of the mercurial purge. Those who have not had an opportunity of observing the good effects of this practice, will perhaps think it a very hazardous one. But when they consider the difficulty of retaining the saline and less active purges on the stomach, and the very great difficulty of procuring copious evacuations by stool, without which the topical affection which obstructs the passage of the bile could not be removed, nor the propensity to puke relieved; they will change their sentiments; for, notwithstanding the inflamed and irritable state of those parts, calomel in large doses, passed the pybones, and occasioned

ed less irritation till it had reached the intestines, and was less liable to be cast up than any other purgative.

But, however preconceived theories might influence others, we who were not prejudiced in favour of any particular hypothesis, and who had daily opportunities of seeing its effects, not only in our own practice, but in that of others, are convinced that it was more certain in its operation, and in general as safe as any other.

In a few persons of delicate or infirm constitutions, indeed it proved injurious; and particularly when administered after the inflammatory symptoms had subsided. When it proved injurious before the inflammatory symptoms were removed, it appeared to have induced an inflammation in the intestines, and a very painful and troublesome tenesmus. And when it proved injurious in a later stage, it was in consequence of the debility occasioned

ed by its operation or the ptyalism, which too frequently succeeded the too frequent and injudicious exhibition of it. Unless speedy and decided measures are taken in this stage of the disease, all our future endeavours to remove it, will generally be ineffectual. And surely, in a disease which had foiled every method formerly employed, some innovation was justifiable. These cases, however, were very rare in comparison with those wherein it operated gently, and to good effect. As we never administered it when putrid symptoms were prevalent or the debility very great, or in any stage of the disease, but the first; we cannot speak with any certainty of its effects, under any other circumstance or period.

We seldom had occasion, even in the first stage of the disease, when inflammatory symptoms were prevalent, to exhibit mercurial purges after copious evacuations were procured, but found those of a milder kind, such as sal. cath. crem. tart. or castor oil, generally
sufficient

sufficient to keep the bowels in a laxative state, when the stomach would bear them, and when it would not, glisters made of an infusion of senæ leaves, manna and common salt, with the addition of a little oil, generally answered the purpose. We found the most difficult part in the treatment, consisted in putting the stomach in a condition to retain any thing; the saline draught in the act of effervescence, so useful for that purpose in other fevers, seldom produced any permanent effect in this; magnesia taken in a draught of sweetened water, seemed to have a better effect when immediately followed by a draught of acid beverage; but there was nothing so certain as a copious diarrhœa when it could be procured.* When on the first or second day of the

* If in any case, the patient recovered by the means recommended by the West India writers, and adopted by several, particularly by the French physicians who practised here during the prevalence of the disease, this fortunate even appears to have been more owing to a favourable state of the constitution, or to a lower degree of the disease, than to the efficacy of their feeble and imperfect method of treatment.

the disease the face was greatly flushed, the vessels of the tunica adnata very red and turgid, and the patient was affected with ferocious delirium, resembling that which occurs in phrenitis, he generally died in a short time, unless immediately and copiously bled, purged and restricted to a cooling and abstemious regimen.

The antiphlogistic regimen was always found to agree better than that of the vinous or cordial kind ; not only while the pulse continued full and active, but when it was low and quick, previous to the accession of typhous symptoms. The patient was accordingly directed to drink toast and water, lemonade, tamarind-water, barley-water, and any other diluting, mild, sedative drink, that was grateful to the palate, and rested easiest on the stomach.

Fresh air was constantly admitted into the sick room, and cold vinegar and water frequently

quently sprinkled upon the floor. This was found much more refreshing than flashing gun-powder, or burning nitre and charcoal in the chamber ; as these latter, though they furnish a quantity of pure air, always increased its heat ; and thereby counterbalanced the good effects that might otherwise have been derived from them. The bed and body-linen were also directed to be changed every day, or every second day at farthest.

When a repetition of blood-letting during the first and second day of the complaint, did not remove the pain in the head and back, and the distress at the stomach, and when every thing was vomited up as soon as taken ; recourse was immediately had to purging clysters, and to the application of epispastics to the stomach and legs, or to the back and inside of the thighs : the latter method is preferred by Dr Hume of Jamaica, to any other ; from a supposition, that an inflammation raised on an inferior part, always relieves that
 subsist-

subsisting in a superior one. At present it is supposed to be owing to a change of action, from one part of the system to another.

Opium was also frequently employed in a solid form as directed by Hillary of Barbadoes, with a view of relieving the vomiting; but in general was found to aggravate it. The saline draught given in the act of effervescence, or magnesia as already mentioned, had a better effect, but was by no means certain: nor in fact was any thing else found to have any permanent effect on this symptom, except glysters, brisk purges, and blisters. But these when judiciously and early applied seldom failed of affording relief.

Baths of various kinds were occasionally employed, but seldom with such manifest effect as to induce us to say much in their favour, except washing the limbs with simple water of tepid warmth, to keep the skin soft, and take off stricture and resistance from the surface.

surface. When the topical affection of the stomach was relieved, a solution of Rochelle salts, in thin veal or fowl broth, with the addition of a little common marine salt, was in general more certain and less irritating than any other laxative. (A drachm of this salt requires about two ounces of boiling water to dissolve it perfectly.) The inflamed state of the stomach deterred us from employing emetics, or any antimonial preparations: but from the trials of others, we are convinced that they seldom were of service, but often the reverse. When purges produced copious, foetid and bilious stools early in the disease, it generally terminated favourably and speedily.

In the second stage of this fever, (which however, seldom took place when the remedies beforementioned were early and judiciously employed and duly persisted in), we found a very different treatment proper, from that which was necessary in the first stage; for the inflammatory state now, for the most

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part

part, rapidly verged towards gangrene; and the muscular weakness was such as to render bleeding inadmissible; and the irritable state of the stomach precluded all expectation from purgatives, as they were rejected as well as every thing else the instant they reached the stomach. Our only resource, therefore, was in warm antiseptic fomentations, applied by means of flannel cloths to the stomach, thighs, legs and hands, sinapisms to the feet, aromatic and essential oils, or spices stewed in brandy to the stomach; or the application of blisters, and the frequent exhibition of laxative glisters; and after a free evacuation, the injection of bark decoction, and a few drops of laudanum, with some farinaceous or mucilaginous liquor, into the intestines—(here perhaps, washing the patient's whole body with cold water, and afterwards wrapping it in a blanket wrung out of a hot decoction, and the subsequent application of blisters, would have been beneficial; but we were afraid to try them). Vinous and cordial drinks as well

well as all kinds of aliment, invariably aggravated this symptom, and increased or produced the cardialgia ; but small draughts of cold water generally gave instant ease. When by these means the topical inflammation of the epigastric region was removed, all the symptoms gradually subsided, and the patient recovered. But when these means failed, and the black vomiting came on, accompanied with coldness, and a cadaverous appearance of the extremities, and a dark yellow and purple aspect of the countenance, our practice was to employ a strong decoction of peruvian bark—an infusion of camomile flowers, and toast and water lightly acidulated with the elixir of vitriol, and in some cases a mixture of brandy and water—and to direct glisters composed of a strong decoction of bark, with the addition of fifteen or twenty drops of laudanum, to be administered every two or three hours ; applying at the same time, sinapisms and jugs of hot water, to different parts of the patient's body. We also directed all the

drinks to be given in a tepid state. Hot spiced wine, wine and water, and various other liquors were often tried, but in general with such bad success, that we cannot recommend them in such circumstances. Hot brandy toddy, however, with the addition of a large quantity of powdered nutmeg, in conjunction with external heat and acrid stimulating applications, often had evident good effects.

When indeed the disease began with great prostration of strength, and other symptoms which denote a typhous diathesis, we found wine not only safe, but more useful than any other article. In these cases also, the early use of the bark in various forms, together with the liberal use of laudanum and volatile salts were of service ; but that which was most particularly so, was the shower-bath of salt-water, applied quite cold three times aday, the patient sitting in an arm chair, in a large tub for the purpose, his head being previously shaved or covered with a thin bathing cap of oiled cloth.

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But after the accession of this stage, in which the black vomiting and coldness of the limbs were the most predominant symptoms, all attempts to relieve were generally ineffectual.*

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* The principal aim to be kept in view in this state of the disease, is to recal and support the determination of the fluids to the surface. Death may be prevented, even after black-vomiting has appeared with all its terrors, if a remedy can be found powerful enough to excite the action of the extreme vessels, and to recal the determination from the internal parts, to the surface of the body. For this purpose, we are told by Dr Jackson, that he has employed alternately warm and cold bathing with success: he has even wrapped the body in a blanket, soaked in water, in which a large portion of salt was dissolved; or which had been steeped in hot brandy or rum; enjoining at the same time the liberal use of wine or any other grateful cordial, to be taken as warm as possible in small and repeated draughts. He also mentions having heard of several well-attested instances of persons being relieved of the black vomiting and their lives saved, by plentiful draughts of rum and water. In other cases he thinks washing the whole body first with cold water, and then wrapping it in the blankets steeped in hot brandy or rum, and giving warm cordial drinks answered still better. (See his Treatise, p. 226.) We found brandy and water and beef-tea rested better on many stomachs, and strengthened them more than any thing else, after the removal of fever and pain, and all the other symptoms except debility and dyspepsia.

When the disease did not appear to be confined more particularly to any one part of the system than another, but was universally diffused ; and when nervous symptoms with great prostration of strength, were conspicuously predominant, which was frequently the case during the greatest part of the month of August, the treatment recommended by Dr Edward Stephens, a physician of great repute at St Croix, was employed with more success than any other ; of which the following is an abstract. “ The nausea and vomiting may be relieved by an infusion of camomile flowers, given frequently until the stomach is sufficiently emptied of all crude matters. Small doses of a cordial mixture composed of the oil of peppermint and compound spirits of lavender, may then be taken until the sickness abates. If notwithstanding, the irritability of the stomach should continue, recourse must be instantly had to the cold bath, which must be used every two hours or oftener if the urgency of the symptoms should require it : after each

each immersion a glass of old Madeira or a little brandy burnt with cinnamon may be administered.

Flannel cloths wrung out of spirit of wine, impregnated with spices, may be applied to the pit of the stomach and changed frequently. An injection containing an ounce of powdered bark, mixed with thin salep or fago, to which a tea-spoon-full of laudanum has been added, should be administered. These injections may be continued every two or three hours, omitting the laudanum after the first—as soon as the stomach can bear medicines and nourishment, the bark may be administered in small doses—and as much madeira wine may be given as the patient can bear, without affecting his head or heating him too much. All emetics and violent cathartics should be avoided. If the bowels should not be sufficiently open, a laxative clyster may be necessary, or a few grains of powdered rhubarb added to each dose of bark, until the desired effect is produced.

produced. If diarrhœa should prevail, it must be checked by starch injections, blended with laudanum, by the tincture E. kino, Japonica, or a decoction of cascarilla; for a diarrhœa, especially when profuse, is always injurious when the disease is in an advanced stage, or when the debility is great.

If stupor, coma, or delirium should come on, a large blister should be applied between the shoulders, small ones to the thighs, and stimulating cataplasms to the soles of the feet. When hemorrhages appear, the elixir of vitriol may be joined with the bark, but great care should be taken to prevent it from affecting the bowels.

If the pulse should be much sunk, the prostration of strength great, and subsultus tendinum take place, small doses of the liquor mineralis Hoffmanni, or even vitriolic æther, diluted with water may be given. Musk and camphor in this situation, have also proved
 effectual,

effectual. Upon the whole this outline may be summed up under the recited circumstances, by saying that the cold bath, bark and wine, a spacious well ventilated room, frequent change of bed and body linen, and attention to rest, and quiet if properly persevered, is all that can be done with any prospect of success."

We were led with other physicians of this city, to make trial of mercurial purges in the early stage of this disease, from having observed their good effects in bilious remittents, when symptoms of accumulated bile were present; and are surprized that the West India practitioners never made trial of it in a disease, which the generality of them acknowledge is the most desperate and mortal to which mankind are liable, and which has heretofore baffled all their skill; especially as some of them imagine it to be only a higher grade of the bilious remittent, of tropical climates; and as mercurial cathartics are recommended occasionally

caſionally for the removal of bilious accumulations, by ſeveral modern authors, particularly by Balfour, Blane and Clark. Dr. Williams indeed, (who published a treatiſe on the yellow fever at Jamaica in 1750), though he makes no mention of mercury, ſays he found jallap or ſcammony in doſes of 20 or 30 grains, given after an antiemetic draught, and repeated as often as it was thrown up till it operated freely by ſtool, more effectual, not only in relieving the inceſſant propenſity to puke at the beginning of the diſeaſe, but in mitigating every painful and febrile ſymptom, and adds that though he can adduce no modern authority in ſupport of his practice, he can recommend it from his own experience. We can ſay the ſame of mercurial purges, with this addition, that when they operated copiouſly, which was generally the caſe when a laxative glyſter was injected, a few hours after them, the vomiting or the propenſity thereto became more moderate, and in many caſes was entirely removed.

With

With respect to blood-letting, there is much contrariety of sentiment among the West India physicians ; the generality of them restraining the operation to the first and second days, from the commencement of the disease, and to a very sparing quantity : whereas Dr Mosely advises it without limitation, even ad deliquium, and a repetition so long as the pulse continues preternaturally quick, and the skin exhibits much feverish heat. And Williams advises opening the temporal artery, when the pain in the head is great, and the fever high. But though Mosely is of the same opinion with Williams, with respect to purging for relieving the irritability of the stomach, so long as the feverish heat is evident, without regarding the state of the pulse, he makes no mention of mercurial purges, but places his chief dependence on a solution of vitriolated tartar and emollient glysters ; and as soon as that is accomplished, has immediate recourse to the bark in various forms, as may be most grateful to the stomach.

Blane

Blane and Jackson have given a more accurate description of the disease, but Mosely certainly understood its nature and treatment better than either, though he may perhaps sometimes have carried his plan too far for the constitutions of the generality of citizens. For hardy athletic mariners we believe it was the best mode of treatment that was known at the time he practised in Jamaica.

OBSERVA-

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
ORIGIN AND NATURE
OF THE
CONTAGION.

THERE is no disease on which the influence of climate and season is so conspicuous as on the yellow fever.

In the islands and countries within the tropics, where the disease is generated, the physicians who practice in those parts have no idea of its being contagious; but because it rarely attacks the natives of that climate, and is confined to foreigners from a colder climate, they
ascribe

ascribe it to the effects of fatigue and heat, exposure to night air, or to some irregularity, &c. Numerous observations however prove, that it is highly contagious when conveyed to other countries, especially in populous cities with close built streets, when the heat of the weather is equal to, or exceeds that of, tropical climates. For examples of this, the reader is referred to Lind on Hot Climates ; to Lining's account of its several occurrences at Charleston, published in the 2d volume of the Physical and Literary Essays of Edinburgh ; and to the history of its rise and progress as it lately appeared in Philadelphia, published by Mr Carey. Former observations also shew, that the contagion has always been so effectually destroyed by cold and frosty weather, that it has never been known to revive the following spring or summer.

As the contagious miasmata, or deleterious corpuscles of this contagion, or whatever else it may be supposed to consist of, is neither visible nor can be rendered cognizable to the

ferences by any means hitherto invented, we can only determine its existence and judge of its nature from its effects. And as the source from whence it is derived, and the means by which it is generated, have never been investigated or even suspected as we know of, we can only form a judgment of that circumstance from analogy, which at best is but a problematical guide.

The yellow fever, though it agrees with the typhus, jail or hospital fever, and the pestilence in being capable of affecting sound persons under certain circumstances, who happen to approach within a certain distance of its source, or of substances which have already been within that distance, and imbibed the contagious effluvia, differs materially from the former, in not being capable of producing any morbid effect in cold and frosty weather, unless the heat of the chamber where it may chance to lurk, be raised and continued for some hours above fifty or sixty degrees, or according

ording to the learned and observing Blane, 75 degrees—and from the latter in not losing its power, and declining as the heats of summer, in countries where they are very hot come to their height, as well as by the cold of winter—and from both in the manner of its attack, and the appearance of the symptoms in the progress of the disease. And though it resembles the influenza in the suddenness of attack, it differs from it materially in the facility of communication, the rapidity of its progress, and the extensiveness of its sway—the one being confined to cities, and taking some months to finish its progress—the other spreading over whole continents, in the course of as many weeks.

Nor does it agree in its effects with the miasmata, which arise from putrefying substances, or from a marshy soil in any one circumstance, except being extinguished by cold and frosty, and perhaps rainy weather.* For the
miasmata

* See remarks on this subject, published in the Federal Gazette

miasmata of marshes, are diffused through the atmosphere to a considerable distance from their source, and affect numbers at the same time, and the diseases produced thereby, are not contagious; whereas the miasmata which occasion the yellow fever, are confined to a very narrow sphere, and only affect those that happen to come within that sphere, or in contact with, or near to such persons, or such substances as have been within that sphere, so as to receive the contagious effluvia; and the disease produced by these miasmata is contagious, and propagated in succession from one to another, in proportion as there is more or less intercourse between the sound and the sick, provided a state of the atmosphere, with respect to heat and some other circumstances, exist at the same time favourable for propagating the contagion. What these circumstances are, will be mentioned in the sequel. But if this disease is neither a modification of the

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pestilence

Gazette, dated November 18th, and Dunlap's American Advertiser, December 20th, 1793.

pestilence—the typhus—the influenza—or a higher grade of the bilious remittent fever.—What is it? From what source does it originate, or by what means is it generated? That it originates within the tropics, and seldom if ever in any other climate is generally admitted—but from what source or how generated, is the question.

It is well known to every one conversant with medical subjects, that other contagious miasmata are frequently generated in close crowded or unventilated places, particularly in jails, hospitals and ships of war, unless the body and bed clothes are frequently changed and kept clean, and the air frequently renewed, in consequence of the effluvia constantly issuing from the lungs and pores of the skin, at the same time that a portion of the pure and vivifying principle of the air, is gradually exhausted by the same circumstance. It is also a fact well established, that persons thus circumstanced, frequently communicate

municate a disease to those who chance to come into the same place, or in contact with such substances as have been within a certain distance of them, so as to imbibe a quantity of the effluvia issuing from them, especially when rendered volatile by heat, without being in any apparent degree affected in their health themselves.*

May not the contagion of the yellow fever therefore be generated in the dirty, confined, and suffocating cabins of the unfortunate slaves, (who are deprived of the means as well as the relish for cleanliness and agreeable appearance, which actuates the minds of independent freemen), exalted into a pestilential quality by long continued heat ; and may not the constitutions of the inhabitants from the same cause, in conjunction with the purity of the air from constant ventilation, be rendered incapable of

F 2

being

* For examples of this the reader is requested to consult the works of Pringle, Lind and Blane, writers deservedly of the highest authority in medicine.

being affected by it ; while strangers, whose constitutions are differently disposed, seldom escape ?

The putrefaction of dead animal matter can, have no share in generating the disease, as it gives out nothing but a little hydrogen or inflammable air different from vegetable substances in that process.

To suppose with Drs Warren and Desportes that the contagion by which the disease is produced and propagated, was first introduced into the Islands by a crew of sick persons that arrived there about the year 1730, from Siam in the East Indies ; and that it has been fostered there ever since, as the small pox has been in other countries, would have some appearance of plausibility, if like that disease it made no distinction between natives and foreigners ; and a greater or less number of the inhabitants were always affected by it : but as that is not the case, such an opinion must be
ground-

groundless. For instead of affecting the natives, it is almost entirely confined to mariners from long voyages, and foul and crowded ships; and to soldiers confined in hospitals, or crowded together in huts or barracks. And when it happens to be conveyed to other countries, its influence is entirely exerted upon the inhabitants of cities; and is observed to be most contagious in those parts where the air is most confined and impure—when the days are very hot and the nights cool. Hence it appears, that in order to give effect to the contagion of this fever, it is necessary that there should be a certain constitution of the air, in conjunction with great heat.

Let us therefore enquire into the circumstances which give this morbid constitution to the atmosphere, that if the contagion should ever be introduced here again, we may not only escape its effects by retreating into the country, but if possible, disarm it of its power, and prevent it from spreading, and affecting those who remain in the city.

That

That all contagious diseases receive their full force from a particular constitution or condition of the atmosphere, appears certain, from a multiplicity of concurring observations made by different authors at different periods and in different countries. In what this particular constitution of the atmosphere consists, which in one year and in the same situation favours the spreading of contagion, and in another year in the same season and in the same place, checks or extinguishes it, has been variously explained by different writers : but as no explanation hitherto attempted is perfectly satisfactory, we beg leave to offer one which we think less exceptionable.*

During a long continuance of dry and hot weather, the atmosphere becomes more or less charged with exhalations from various sources, in proportion to the moisture of the soil, &c. which are more or less injurious to health,
in

* See on this subject particularly the works of Sydenham, Ruffel, and Lind.

in proportion to the quantity of animal and vegetable substances in a state of putrefaction, which cover or are mixed with the soil, the respiration of animals, the combustion of fuel, &c. while it is at the same time robbed by these processes of a considerable portion of its vivifying principle, at present known by the name of oxygen gas, or pure air.. It is certain that the air is saturated by some other substance, or deprived of a portion of its vivifying principle by some means or other ; otherwise we know from the most unquestionable observations, that it would always neutralize, correct, dissipate, or precipitate the matter of contagion, however minute and subtle the corpuscles may be of which it consists. For it is well known that no contagious disease can spread, or become epidemic, on mountains, or on open and extensive plains, where the soil is dry, cleared, and cultivated ; whereas it is with difficulty it can be prevented in populous cities, with close built streets and narrow alleys, or in low champaign countries, where ventilation is obstructed by surrounding woods.

In

In populous cities in fultry weather the exhalations, from the vaults, privies, sinks, sewers, gutters, shambles, slaughter-houses, tanyards, from respiration, and the combustion of fuel, and a variety of other processes of nature and art, are inconceivably great. Nor can such exhalations fail of filling the air with a noxious mass of invisible corpuscles ; at the same time that the process by which they are generated spoliates the same atmosphere of a principle, on the presence of which, both life and flame depend for their continuance.

“ It is not air
 That from a thousand lungs reeks back to thine,
 Sated with exhalations rank and fell,
 The spoil of dunghills, and the putrid thaw
 Of nature ; when from shape and texture, she
 Relapses into fighting elements :
 It is not air, but floats a nauseous mass
 Of all obscene, corrupt, offensive things ;
 Which still ranker grows with sickly rest,
 And poisons the balsamic blood.”

ARMSTRONG on Health,

MEANS

M E A N S

FOR PREVENTING THE INTRODUCTION OF

C O N T A G I O N

I N T O

SEA-PORT TOWNS.

THE most effectual means of preventing the introduction of contagious diseases into any sea-port town, is to erect at a convenient distance therefrom, four separate hospitals, with large airy apartments. One of these hospitals to be appropriated for persons with dubious symptoms. A second for persons manifestly infected. A third for convalescents from the disease. A fourth for purifying the body, the wearing apparel, and bed clothes :
this

this last should be provided with bathing tubs, and materials for fumigating. A bathing chamber and fresh clean apparel should also be provided near to each hospital, for each patient, before his admission into either ; except his weakness or fever should make the bath hazardous. Each apartment should be separated by means of a partition, to prevent any effect from each other ; and should have windows that will both slide up and down, for the admission of fresh, and expulsion of foul, air. (For the manner of constructing these, see Mackiterick's Medical cautions.)

These hospitals should be at some distance from each other, on as elevated and dry a situation as can be conveniently found. When a suspected ship arrives, the whole crew should be compelled by law to perform quarantine for 14 days at least ; the sound to remain on board ; the sick or indisposed in a marine hospital or infirmary. By this it would be ascertained with certainty, whether there was contagion on board or not.

MEANS

M E A N S
FOR PREVENTING THE SPREADING OF
CONTAGIOUS DISEASES,
WHEN THEY HAPPEN TO BE IN-
T R O D U C E D I N T O A
C I T Y.

WHEN a contagious disease breaks out in a city, the most certain means of preventing it from becoming epidemic, or from spreading, is to prohibit all intercourse between the sound and the infected; and to commit the diseased to the care of persons commissioned for that purpose. As soon therefore, as the disease appears in any family, both the sound and the sick should be immediately separated and removed to other apartments, at some distance from the town,
and

and a considerable distance from each other, and the house where the disease appeared should immediately be purified by the means hereafter directed.

Infirmaries for this purpose should be built at the public expence, on dry and elevated situations, particularly on the high and gravelly banks of rivers or constant streams of water, open on all sides to the free access of the air, provided with every necessary, and supported at the public expence. But persons in affluent circumstances though compelled to leave the city, should be allowed to retire to private infirmaries at their own expence, provided they conformed to the rules of the public infirmaries, in every other respect.

Every family in the neighbourhood where the infection prevailed, should also be obliged under a heavy penalty, to remove to another part till all danger from contagion be over; and no person be permitted to return to an
infected

infected house, or to use any article where the contagion existed, till purified by the means hereafter directed. Nor should any person who has recovered from the disease be permitted to return to the city, or to his own house, till he has after such recovery, repeatedly undergone the ablution of both the warm and cold bath, changed every article of his cloathing, and performed a quarantine of at least 14 days, so as to render his return perfectly safe to the community.

If proper attention had been paid to these directions, which have been collected from the most respectable sources ; and the substance of which was earnestly advised by the college of physicians, the calamity by which all descriptions in this city so lately suffered, would have been prevented. And that a strict and punctual observance thereof in future, will prevent the like calamity, we are as certain as we are of any axiom in natural philosophy.

In

In a letter from Dr Waterhouse, the present respectable professor of the theory and practice of medicine in the university of Cambridge, Massachusetts, dated September 28th, 1778, we find the following information respecting the means which have been found effectual for preventing the small pox from spreading among the inhabitants of Newport, the capital of Rhode-Island, when it happened to be introduced there, by means of any vessel ; and will apply equally well in preventing any other contagious disease from becoming epidemic.

“ When a vessel arrives in the harbour with the small pox on board, every person with the disease is immediately taken by officers appointed for the purpose, to Coaster’s harbour, a little island about three miles from Newport, where there is an hospital and every necessary provided for their reception and accomodation. And the vessel having a jack hoisted in her shrouds, is obliged to perform quarantine.

“ None

“ None of the bedding or wearing apparel made use of by the patients during their stay at the hospital, are permitted to be brought away ; nor are the patients who recover from the disease, allowed to leave the hospital, till they have undergone several ablutions in warm water, and till at least one week has elapsed after their recovery, let the disease be ever so light.

“ When any person in the town is suspected of having taken the infection, the family is obliged, under a heavy penalty, to give immediate notice to one or more inspectors. If these, in conjunction with a physician, pronounce the disease to be the small pox, the family has little more to do with the patient ; but he is from that time to the termination of the disease, wholly under the direction of these officers, who remove him to Coaster’s harbour. Formerly they carried the sick person on a sleigh in a box in form of a large chest, with a small bed in it ; the cover of which was perforated with holes sufficient to supply the patient

tient with air. But the inhabitants perceiving that this formidable apparatus had all ill effect on timorous minds, discontinued the box, and substituted a sedan chair. It has happened more than once, that the disease was so far advanced before it was known to be the small pox, that the patient could not be removed without the greatest hazard. In that case the street was boarded up; an advertisement published in the news-papers, and guards placed to prevent any person from approaching within a certain distance of the house."

M E A N S

FOR DESTROYING

C O N T A G I O N .

HEAT, fumigation and lime-washing appear to be the most effectual means of destroying the contagion adhering to the walls, floors, and

and furniture of houfes, and to bedding, wearing apparel, and to other materials which have been expofed to it.

For this purpofe the bedding and wearing apparel being hung on lines acrofs the room, iron pots placed on bricks in the centre, and at each corner of the chamber or apartment fhould be nearly filled with alternate layers of powdered fulphur or nitre, and charcoal; and a piece of oakum dipt in tar, to ferve as a match, being placed in each pot, the fire-place being previoufly closed, and the windows fhut down, is to be fet on fire, and then the door to be fhut; obferving to let in frefh air occafionally, and to relight them when extinguifhed; but cautiously avoiding going in till the door and windows have been for fome time opened to prevent fuffocation.

When this procefs has been continued for three or four days, the door, windows, and chimney are to be opened, and left open day and

G

night

night for at least a fortnight. By this time every particle of contagion will be perfectly extinguished, especially if the air of the room had been greatly heated immediately before the admission of fresh air: for by great heat it is attenuated and dissipated, and by cooler and pure air entirely changed in its nature and qualities, if there is any faith to be put in the experiments of the committee of physicians appointed by the empress of Russia, to superintend the hospitals, when a pestilential fever prevailed at Moscow in the year 1771, related by Mertens in his medical history of that disease: or if the observations of the experienced Lind, and the intelligent Ruffel, are to be credited.

For greater security, the walls of the house where infected persons have lain, should always be white-washed with lime, and a quantity of the same article should be thrown into the privies, as it is a certain corrector of contagion and putrefaction, as well as destructive to every species of animalcule.

A P P E N D I X.

Copy of the report of the College of Physicians, in answer to the Governor's enquiries, respecting the origin of the late epidemic; and their directions for extinguishing latent infection.

SIR,

IT has not been from a want of respect to yourself, nor from inattention to the subject, that your letter of the 30th ult. was not sooner answered; but the importance of the questions proposed, has made it necessary for us to devote a considerable portion of time and attention to the subject, in order to arrive at a safe and just conclusion.

No instance has ever occurred of the disease, called the *Yellow Fever*, having been generated in this city, or in any other part of the United States, as far as we know; but there have been frequent instances of its having been imported, not only into this, but
into

into other parts of North America, and prevailing there for a certain period of time; and from the rise, progress, and nature of the malignant fever, which began to prevail here about the beginning of last August, and extended itself gradually over a great part of the city; we are of opinion that this disease was imported into Philadelphia, by some of the vessels which arrived in the port after the middle of July. This opinion we are further confirmed in, by the various accounts we have received from unquestionable authorities.

TO PURIFY THE CITY FROM LATENT INFECTION,

WE beg leave to recommend, that every house, particularly those in which there have been any sick, should be thoroughly cleaned and kept open for some weeks, so as to admit fresh air through every aperture. The walls should be white-washed, and gun-powder burned in all the apartments. The beds
and

and woollen apparel of the infected, should either be destroyed or smoaked with gun-powder in a close room, and afterwards exposed to the open air and rain. Unslaked lime should be thrown down the necessaries; the streets should also be kept clean, especially in the confined parts of the city.

In answer to your last question, permit us to observe, that we trust the early attention of the legislature will be directed to the port, with respect to the officers and other necessary arrangements, and on such an occasion the College will ever cheerfully co-operate with them, in their endeavours to prevent the introduction of contagious maladies in future.

By order of the College of Physicians.

JOHN REDMAN, *President.*

NOVEMBER 26th, 1793.

SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
YELLOW FEVER,
THAT BROKE OUT
IN THE
CITY OF PHILADELPHIA,
IN JULY, 1797:
WITH
A LIST OF THE DEAD;
OF THE
DONATIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR,
AND A
VARIETY OF OTHER INTERESTING PARTICULARS.

SECOND EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY RICHARD FOLWELL,
No. 33, Carter's-Alley.

1798.

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SHORT HISTORY OF THE YELLOW FEVER,

That broke out in Philadelphia in

1797.

ABOUT the end of July, 1797, the yellow fever again made its appearance in Philadelphia. It continued to extend through various parts of the City and Liberties, for about three months. Towards the close of October, some days of cold weather, or perhaps some natural cause beyond the reach of human conception, by degrees, abated its violence. Its ravages have now ceased; or, if a few remaining patients can be found, they are only to be considered as convalescents, and rare exceptions to the general statement, that the city is now restored to its usual proportion of healthiness.

The citizens became more early aware of their danger than in 1793; and the speedy flight of many thousands of them into the country, seems to have been the chief cause why the mortality of this contagion has been so much less violent than that of the former. By the way, though not so generally known as to create alarm, it is true, that in the fall of 1794, Philadelphia had a transient visit from this fatal scourge. A small number of persons, perhaps twenty or thirty, died of it. The unexpected intervention of one or two days of a wind more than usually cold for that season of the year, was the apparent cause of its abrupt extinction. Perhaps the infection might be less violent in its nature than that of the former year. It is well known, that the plague, while remaining identically the same disease, hath yet very different degrees of violence in its suc-

cessive visitations. In 1794, the sickness was kept a secret by those who had an opportunity to be acquainted with its having reached the city. The news was, on every account, unwelcome; and, happily, there did not occur any positive occasion for its being generally divulged.

As the consequences of the present fever have been much less dreadful than of that in 1793, an account of it will be far less interesting; besides, the subject has lost much of novelty. The silent desolation of our streets in one year, displays a close resemblance to the same scene in another year. But still it may be proper that some compendious account should be given of this calamity, that hath again so abruptly swept away so many of our relations and acquaintances.

On the 11th of August, 1797, the governor of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation. He mentioned the intelligence of a contagious disease existing in the West-Indies. He enjoined that every vessel from the Islands, from New-Orleans, or from any French, Dutch, or Spanish ports on the Main, should perform quarantine for five days, at the health-office, on State-Island; or for such longer time, as the resident physicians and officers of the health-office should advise.

A second copy of this proclamation was issued on the 15th of August, with the addition of "*British*" ports on the Main. On the 14th, the governor wrote a letter to Dr. John Redman, president of the college of physicians, requesting a state of facts as to the origin and progress of the contagion. The answer, dated August 16th, said, in a few words, that "a malignant contagious fever has lately appeared in Penn-street, and its vicinity, of which ten or twelve persons have died." He promised to communicate, as speedily as possible, the advice of the college.

The following piece appeared, on the 16th of August, in the newspapers:

To the Citizens of Philadelphia.

HEALTH-OFFICE, STATE-ISLAND,

August 16, 1797.

A considerable alarm having been created in the city, respecting the prevalence of the yellow fever, in consequence

of the death of some persons in the neighbourhood of Penn and Pine-streets; and as some have attempted to trace the disease to certain vessels from the West-Indies, it is necessary for me to assure the citizens, that as every vessel entering the port of Philadelphia from a foreign port, undergoes an examination at their arrival off this place, I will pledge my reputation, that no person, ill with the *yellow fever, or other contagious disease*, has passed through my hands from sea into the city, during the present summer.

The armed ship *Hinde*, from Cape Nichola Mole, has been accused of importing the disease,* although that vessel lay at a distant part of the city from Pine-street wharf. It has been asserted publicly (and by those whom I should have expected would have ascertained the fact, before circulating a report, so absurd in its nature, and injurious to my character) that the above vessel was never examined previously to her arrival, but permitted to pass, after enquiring where she was from!! The falsity of this story may at once be proved by referring to the files of the health-office, Philadelphia, where the usual official interrogatories of the captain of the *Hinde* are preserved, which are proposed to the masters of all foreign vessels, at their arrival at the health-office, State-Island.

The ship *Arethusa*, from Havannah, in ballast, arrived healthy, and continued so after five days quarantine, on the 24th of July, when she came up to the city. She has also been accused of infecting the people of Penn-street; but it has never been proved that any of the citizens who have died were nigh that ship. The pilot, it appears, from imprudently sleeping on deck during the quarantine, was seized with a fever on his way up to the city. Dr. Currie, his physician, informed me, that it was attended with inflammatory bilious symptoms, and that he was well in five days. For the satisfaction of the public, I shall make a future statement of the deaths on board this ship during the voyage, before her arrival at the Havannah.

JAMES MEASE,

Resident Physician of the Port.

* The ship *Hinde* arrived at Philadelphia on the 3d inst. and lay in the stream till Sunday the 6th, the day *after* the decease of Mr. Nathaniel Lewis.

On the 16th of August, a proclamation was issued from the health-office. Citizens, in general, and especially those keeping lodging-houses for sailors, and passengers from vessels, were advised to give notice of any such persons, if seized with indisposition, having the appearance of the yellow fever, to the health-office; to Dr. Samuel Duffield, No. 12, Chestnut-street; to captain William Allen, No. 2, Key's-Alley, or to any of the inspectors of health in the City or Liberties, that the patients might be removed to the city hospital, where every accommodation was provided for their reception.

On the 18th, the Board of Health published the following account of patients supposed to be ill of the contagion:

Friday, 18th August, 1797.

In consequence of circular letters addressed to the physicians, for the purpose of obtaining information of the number of patients who may be afflicted with fevers of a malignant or contagious nature, the following reports have been received yesterday and to-day, viz.

Drs. Seybert, Pascalis, Cutbush, Gofs and Parks—no case of a contagious nature.

Dr. Thompson—one patient, with every symptom of a malignant nature.

Dr. Dorsey—two do. in a bilious yellow fever.

Dr. Griffiths—one case, suspicious only.

Dr. Currie—three cases, two recovering, the other removed.

Dr. Gallaher—one case, suspicious only.

Dr. Budd—one do.

Dr. Woodhouse—one, recovering.

Dr. Caldwell—one, in a bad way.

Dr. Annan—one, do.

Dr. Dewees—one, suspicious only.

Dr. Wistar—two, suspicious only, and those under a consultation.

Mr. Brown.

From wrong information, I stated in my note to the public of to-day, that the Hinde armed ship, hauled in to a

wharf distant from Pine-street; and that the pilot of the *Arethusa* caught cold by sleeping on deck during the quarantine of the vessel. I have since found, that the *Hinde* lay very near to Pine-street wharf, and that the pilot of the *Arethusa* attributes his cold and subsequent fever to sleeping in the cabin the evening before going to town, in a hammock, and to the rain which beat in through four windows upon him. Neither of these facts, however, will tend to prove, the above vessels were concerned in producing the disease of Penn-street.

JAMES MEASE.

Health-Office, Aug. 16, 1797.

The following letter, from Dr. Currie, appeared in reply to those above inserted from Dr. Mease. They deserve to be printed entire, as tending to throw light on the origin of the contagion :

To the Citizens of Philadelphia.

August 18th, 1797.

Doctor Mease, in his address to the inhabitants of this city, has pledged his reputation, that “no person ill of the yellow fever, or any other contagious disease, has passed through his hands, from sea, into this city, during the present summer.”

He has also mentioned, that I informed him, that the pilot who brought up the ship *Arethusa*, “had a fever, attended with *inflammatory bilious* symptoms.”

From my knowledge of doctor Mease’s conduct, and from the character he has hitherto supported, with so much credit, and even eclat, I have not the most distant doubt that he has stated facts precisely as they are, or at least as he believes them to be. But, from the general propensity of mariners to smuggle; from the ridiculous and farcical period prescribed by law for performing quarantine; from the nature of infection; from the various articles of clothing and bedding being capable of retaining infection for a long time; from the neglect of masters of vessels, (who are not aware of the consequences) to throw overboard the clothing and bedding of seamen that die on board their

vessels ; from the time, the place and the manner that the disease (which has lately appeared in this city) commenced and has progressed, and from the most perfect resemblance of the fever to the yellow fever of the West-Indies, there can be no hesitation with those that have a competent knowledge of medical history, in pronouncing the disease, or the contagion which gave rise to the disease, to have been imported in some vessel from the West-Indies, though no person ill of the disease had arrived from sea with it.

And that the disease was introduced by some articles on board the *Arethusa*, the following circumstances render more than probable :

The ship *Arethusa* transported fifty-seven slaves from Jamaica to the Havannah, some time in June last ; and lost three men on the passage with the yellow fever : to the truth of this, Mr. Philip Kingston, who was passenger on board, has subscribed : nor is it pretended to be denied by the captain or mate. The captain also omitted making report to the physician of the health hospital, of a boy that died on board after Mr. Kingston left the vessel. The vessel arrived at the fort on the 18th or 19th of July, with eleven hands, all apparently healthy ; performed five days quarantine ; left the mate at the hospital, where he remained twelve days, with symptoms of diarrhœa, or dysentery.

The pilot was conveyed to his lodgings in Shippen-street soon after his arrival : I visited him the next morning, and found him labouring under symptoms of high fever, resembling those of the inflammatory kind, with a pain in his head and back ; red eyes, tinged with yellow ; had been delirious in the night ; all these symptoms subsided the day following, succeeded by great debility and sickness at stomach. These gave way to evacuating remedies, and he had no more complaint of fever after the 5th day. I suspected the case, at the time, to be the same as the yellow fever of the West-Indies, which has been usually, but very improperly, called the inflammatory bilious fever ; and in compliance with common language, in conversation with Dr. Mease, did mention that the fever was attended with inflammatory bilious symptoms, instead of inflammatory

symptoms, succeeded by those of a bilious nature, which I declare was the fact, and ought so to have been stated to express my precise meaning.

Five days after the arrival of the *Arethusa*, while lying along side of her, five of the crew of the *Iris* were attacked with symptoms of the yellow fever; all on the same day, or within one day of each other, and a few days after, two more of the crew: one of these, whose name was Flood, died with unequivocal symptoms of the yellow fever; among other symptoms, he had the black vomiting to a high degree.

These facts can be substantiated by unquestionable evidence. I, therefore, have thought proper to make this hasty statement, for the information and satisfaction of those concerned.

WILLIAM CURRIE.

P. S. The disease almost invariably gives way to judicious bleeding and mercurial purges, when application is made soon after the attack. The attack is generally sudden, and begins with pain in the head and back, accompanied with chills. The patient, though uneasy at stomach, seldom has any puking before the end of the second day. The disease terminates on the third or fourth day when properly treated. This disease may be effectually escaped, by avoiding all communication with the sick, and the houses where they have been sick.

The following letter was transmitted from Dr. Redman, to governor Millin, in answer to his request for the advice of the college of physicians:

S I R,

The college of physicians having attentively considered your request "of giving an opinion on the best mode of averting the calamity which threatens us," have directed me to communicate to you the following methods: 1st. For preventing the spreading of contagious diseases when introduced amongst us, and 2dly. For preventing the introduction of such diseases.

1st. To prevent the spreading of contagious diseases when introduced;—we recommend the most scrupulous attention to cleaning and watering the streets, particularly washing out the gutters, habits of temperance, caution as

to cloathing, fatigue of body, and exposure to the sun and night air. When it is ascertained that such diseases exist, let the physicians of the city be enjoined to give information to the board of health, to whom they should daily report such cases as may occur. Let all unnecessary intercourse be suspended with that part of the city where the disease first appears. Let such of the sick and their families, who reside in any part of the city where their residence may prove hurtful or dangerous, be immediately removed. When the disease is ascertained to exist in several houses near to each other, in any part of the city, let all the neighbouring families who have escaped infection, be removed, and all communication between the infected families and the city be suspended, by preventing any persons, except those whose visits are essentially necessary to the sick, previous to their removal, from entering into that part of the town. For this purpose, mercantile business must, of course, be suspended there, and the vessels removed from the adjoining wharves. All suspected wharves and houses, particularly such as have been occupied by the sick, should be purified by order of the board, in the manner formerly recommended by the college.

2dly, To prevent the introduction of contagious diseases, we recommend, that a new law on this subject be made, constituting a board of health, consisting of five persons, including two physicians, of whom three shall be citizens of Philadelphia, one an inhabitant of the Northern Liberties, and one an inhabitant of Southwark; who shall meet daily during the months of June, July, August, and September. They shall have full power to do every thing necessary respecting the quarantine to be performed by vessels arriving in this port, as well as to direct the removal of any vessels, after their arrival at the city, which may be found or suspected to be unhealthy. A consulting and a residing physician should be appointed; the former to dwell in the city, and the latter to be generally at the health-office, on State-Island, from which he is never to be absent during the above-mentioned months. Every vessel which arrives from the West-Indies, from the American Main to the southward of Florida, or from the Mediterranean, during these months, should perform a qua-

quarantine of not less than thirty days ; and all suspected vessels should have every article, wrought or unwrought, which is used for cloathing or bedding, or which may be supposed to contain infection, particularly those which are composed of cotton, wool and silk, unladen and purified at the island.

By order of the college of physicians of Philadelphia,

JOHN REDMAN, President.

THOMAS C. JAMES, Secretary.

August 17th, 1797.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, *Esq.*

Governor of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Hopes were still entertained that the progress of the contagion might be checked. On the 21st of August, the inspectors of the health-office published an address to the citizens. They began with assuring the public, that the infection which had made its appearance in Penn-street and its vicinity, was so limited in its extent, that by proper exertions, it might, in their opinion, be entirely removed. They next published a series of resolutions, to which was subjoined a note signed by Mr. Dallas, as secretary of Pennsylvania : he signified the approbation of the governor. The resolutions directed, that every person infected with the yellow fever, and whose case would admit of removal, should be conveyed by his friends, or the health-officer, to a proper situation distant from Philadelphia. The adjoining inhabitants were directed immediately to remove ; a yellow flag was to be placed to houses containing, or which had recently contained, the sick. No person, the needful attendants excepted, was to enter any such house, till it had been properly cleansed. Physicians were requested to give notice of such contagious cases as came under their observation. The board farther announced, that a number of houses and tents had been procured for accommodating the healthy people who might remove from the city. At the same time, there was published a list of the inspectors, being twenty-four in number, with the respective places of their residence. A note, of the 21st of August, from their chairman, John Miller, jun. stated, that since the 17th inst. ten cases of fever had occurred south of

Pine-street, and mostly in Penn-street, of which several had been sent to the hospital. Two others in the city had been traced back to Penn-street.

The newspapers now began to be crowded with publications respecting the yellow fever. Dr. Caldwell, in a letter of the 21st, said, that the report of the committee of health, exhibited but "a very faint and imperfect image of the health of the city, relative to the prevailing malignant fever." On the 22d, Drs. Dobel, Cox, Pleasants, and Church, were appointed to visit the City and Liberties, in quest of new cases. On that day, only three were reported to the board of health. The Wigwam Tavern, out Race-street, near Schuylkill, some years since converted into an hospital, was made use of for the reception of the sick. It was said that some dead bodies were removed from it about this time, back into the city, for interment. If it were intended to spread the disorder, a more apt method could not have been contrived. The idle parade of a number of people at burials, ought to have been forbidden, as also the custom of ringing bells for the dead, which served only to alarm the sick. However irreligious it may seem, places of worship ought to have been universally shut up. To assemble a thousand or fifteen hundred people, of all ages, and from all parts of the city, into one place of meeting, in weather which was moderately warm, and during the prevalence of such a distemper, was certainly imprudent, as it could not fail to promote the disorder.

Another mistake was, the enduring of a public market in the midst of the city. This spot was frequently, upon market days, so crowded, that one could not walk twenty yards through it without jostling against persons on every side. Their very breath and clothes were sufficient to convey contagion. This fever may well be termed a younger branch of the plague. In countries where the latter prevails, if as little attention were given, as has lately been exhibited in Philadelphia, to keep people at a distance from each other, the human race would, perhaps, in these parts of the world, be extirpated. It would have been very easy to adjourn the market to a spot on the commons, where people should not have been under the necessity of squeezing each other in this way. Taverns, as another vehicle of

infection, should have been discouraged from being kept open, unless such as were designed for the reception of travellers from the country. The latter exception would have been necessary for securing subsistence to the inhabitants.

The alarm continued gradually to increase: on the 23d of August, the board of health reported that fifteen new cases had occurred since the day before, and that the utmost diligence would be necessary to prevent the disorder from spreading. The inhabitants began to move into the country; and, in a short time, they emigrated in such prodigious numbers, that the city was said to be half empty. On every road from Philadelphia were seen waggons conveying families and their effects to the country. Many merchants removed to Wilmington, where they began business. Germantown, Chester, Wilmington, Frankfort, Darby, Trenton, Bordenton, Easton, and Burlington were more or less crowded with fugitives, who fled in every direction. Sometimes they carried the disease along with them; as in the instance of Mr. Robert Cary, glazier, who died at Burlington of the disorder; which, almost at the same time, cut off his son, Mr. James Cary, a clerk in the office of the Philadelphia Gazette. He had remained in the city, and was universally lamented, as a young man of uncommon merit. So greatly was Philadelphia thinned, within the space of a week or two, that scarce a person was to be seen upon the streets. Even, of those who staid in town, many shut themselves up in their houses, as in so many castles, and entertained no commerce with their neighbours, unless when they ventured out to market; and that, as above noticed, was a dangerous service. Among other misfortunes, the markets grew dearer than usual, and some of the bakers it is said, made their bread as light, as when flour had been at fifteen dollars per barrel. We must, however, take into account, the very great risk which they ran, by staying, upon any terms, in the city.

The appearance of the streets was not, upon the whole, so exceedingly dismal as in the fall of 1793. Sometime, one met a cart driving at considerable speed to Potter's field. The man who took care of it was frequently singing. The dead bodies were not, on every occasion, very decent-

ly put into coffins ; but this is a topic too delicate to be enlarged upon. One cart broke down, above the corner of Chestnut and Seventh-streets ; and the body, which was not removed for several hours, annoyed the neighbourhood with a most intolerable smell.

An alarm had now spread over the continent. On the 18th of August, the governor of New-York published a proclamation, directing that all vessels from Philadelphia should, till further orders, perform quarantine. On the 23d, the governor of this state issued a proclamation. He therein ordered that all communication should be cut off with the wharves, houses, and inhabitants situated between Spruce and South-streets, to extend from the river to the west side of Front-street. Necessary attendants only were to be admitted within this spot. Poles or fences were to be placed across the streets and avenues leading to it. The shipping were to be removed from the wharves, and yellow flags to be placed at the corner of each of the streets leading to the rest of the city. An injunction was added, for the removal of the sick, if the case would admit of it, and the inhabitants were also to remove upon orders from inspectors of the health-office. Yellow flags were to be placed before the houses, wherein the sickness had appeared. The physicians were requested to give notice to the health-office, of all cases within their knowledge. A fine of three hundred dollars was to be imposed on any person obstructing the execution of this order, or neglecting to pay obedience to it.

The latter part of this proclamation met with an immediate refusal ; for, on the very next day, the 24th of August, the inspectors informed the public, that they could no longer tell whether any new cases had occurred, because the physicians had not given them any communications. A misunderstanding had taken place : The doctors declined to name the number of their patients, because the latter were liable, when discovered, to be hurried off to the Wigwam in carts. This treatment gave general offence. Had a coach been employed for that end, as it was in the sequel, the scheme would have succeeded much better.

Mr. William Fleetwood, an English gentleman, who died at the hospital, was said to be hurried off from his lodgings, although the lady with whom he lodged was wil-

ling to keep him. This statement appears not to be true. His friends had sufficient time and privilege to remove him to any place they or he choosed out of Philadelphia, and the carriage that went for him in the morning, by his request, did not take him away till evening. In the hospital every attention was rendered to him. The steward's private room was given up for his sole accommodation.

An instance is generally reported and believed, of a woman being hurried off, as in a yellow fever, and who next morning was delivered of a child. Very strong objections were made to the peremptory orders of removal, as both inhuman and impracticable. Dr. Caldwell, in a letter to the printer of the Philadelphia Gazette, of the 28th of August, inveighed severely against it. He related, that he had on Saturday, the 26th, been called to a patient. This man was seized with an illness on the Wednesday preceding, and had forborne, as he said, to call in assistance, for fear of being conveyed to the hospital. He mentioned another case of a man, who, when dying, sent for him to enquire if any thing could be given to alleviate his pain. He did not expect to be cured, but had merely sent for aid, in the hope of obtaining a mitigation to the agony of his last moments. Dr. Caldwell added, that many other cases of this sort had occurred. He farther said, that he had lately observed in the crowd of the court-house in Chestnut-street, three persons who, a few hours before, had been visiting patients ill of the fever. He had them called out, and persuaded them to go away. On the 28th, the inspectors advertised that a coachee was kept in readiness at the constable's office, at the corner of Front and Almond-street, for the removal of those who *desired* to be sent to the hospital, as also that a hearse was kept at the same place. But it was more easy to raise an alarm than to suppress it.

The inclosure recommended by the governor, and likewise the yellow flags, were pulled down, in spite of the threatened penalty of three hundred dollars. Indeed, the best safe-guard was the removal of the inhabitants into the country, which, of course, crippled the progress of the contagion. Much of its violence may be ascribed to the wretched practice common in Philadelphia, as well as in all other large towns, of jamming and heaping houses together, as if the surface of the country did not afford room

for holding them. Nothing can be more completely ridiculous, than that, in a continent twelve hundred leagues wide, and where land is so extremely plenty, contagion should be promoted by the narrowness of the streets. In 1793, only thirty-nine persons died in the whole extent of Market-street, from the Delaware to the Schuylkill; whereas, in Pewter-Platter-Alley, containing perhaps forty houses, thirty-two persons died; in Elfrith's-Alley, twenty-three; in Combes's-Alley, twenty-nine; and in Moravian-Alley, thirty-seven. These make, in whole, an hundred and twenty-one deaths in only four alleys. If each of them had been as wide as Market-street, the chance is, that at least half of these lives would have been saved. If Water-street, and several others, were near an hundred feet broad, the ravages of this dreadful disorder would surely have been less fatal; as ventilation is an evident preventative. This appears from the distemper having made such very small progress in the country. It would have saved many lives annually, if every street in the City and Liberties had been thirty or forty yards broad, even if there never had been a yellow fever. In the hot summer months, Philadelphia is far from being a healthful situation, and to children it is extremely fatal. Two or three hundred additional acres of ground, which at the planning of the city was not worth twenty dollars per acre, would have saved, by this time, thousands of lives. It is well known, that previous to the great fire in London, in 1666, the plague had seldom, if ever, been entirely out of that city. But after it was burnt, the streets being rebuilt on a wider plan, that distemper has never since been known to infest it.

The assembly of the state met on the 29th of August, and, on the same day voted ten thousand dollars to be appropriated for the accommodation, employment, and relief of the sick and indigent, during the prevalence of the fever. The money was acceptable and useful; yet, if the sum given had been even considerably larger, there was no want of objects of charity to receive it. The state is worth some millions of dollars, and an additional donation could scarcely have injured its interest.

A committee from the health-office were appointed to

visit the hospitals, at State-Island, and the Wigwam, which they did on the 26th of August. They reported, that at the former place they found only thirteen patients; all of whom appeared to be on the recovery. At the Wigwam, forty-eight had been received, of whom sixteen were dead, and most of the remainder either cured or in a state of convalescence.

It has already been hinted, that a misunderstanding had arisen between some of the physicians and the inspectors of the health-office, in consequence of which, the former had declined giving in any further reports of their patients.* On the 1st of September, 1797, the board published a narrative of their proceedings, in consequence of the governor's proclamation. They denied that force had been employed, or even contemplated, for the removal of the sick to the hospital; and that no such removals had taken place, unless when the attending physician declared the measure to be necessary. As to the former assertion, the general belief is otherwise: force undoubtedly was used by some agents of the board, though perhaps without their authority. If the physicians had in every case been consulted, they could have had no reason to be offended, as they certainly were, when they declined the reporting of cases. The board further said, that all persons near the sick, necessary attendants excepted, had been earnestly advised to remove. They mentioned, that the City-Hospital had been kept in a state of complete preparation for the receiving of patients; and that five physicians, Drs. Cox, Dobel, Pleasants, Church, and Leib, had been appointed in different parts of the city, to seek out and administer relief to such persons as required assistance.

After giving this view of the subject, the inspectors ex-

* On the 29th of August, a letter appeared in the newspapers from Dr. Currie. He therein stated, the reason for the physicians not giving in lists of their patients to the board of health, as arising from want of time to do so. He said, that it was the duty of the board to send for such a list. He subjoined a catalogue of all persons who had been infected, from the 22d of July to the 25th of August. On the 1st of September, the number of houses shut up, was supposed to be thirteen hundred and sixty-five, besides those in the inclosures of Penn-street, &c. to which access had been forbid by the governor's proclamation.

pressed a hope, that all sick or indisposed persons, as well as those employed in the care of them, would see the propriety of an early application either to their family-physician, to Dr. Duffield, consulting physician of the port of Philadelphia, or to some of the medical gentlemen above named. There was a postscript at the bottom of this notice, which must have been the consequence of some hesitation among the members of the board themselves. It was signed by four members, who said, that during the consideration of this address, they had requested and obtained leave to withdraw. The burials at this time began to be more numerous. An account appeared in the Philadelphia Gazette, stating, that during the forty-eight hours preceding Monday, the 4th of September, at noon, there had been thirty-six interments. This was a greater number of dead than had yet occurred within an equal period.

The commissioners appointed by the governor to carry into effect the law for alleviating the distresses of the poor, by the expenditure of ten thousand dollars, attended punctually to their appointment. Their names are as follow, viz.

FOR THE CITY.

Robert Wharton, (Chairman) South Third-street.

No. 135.

George Krebs, North Fifth-street, No. 17.

John James, (Treasurer) do. do. No. 18.

Israel Israel, corner of Chestnut and Third-streets.

Thomas Savery, North Fifth-street, No. 20.

Edward Garrigues, Cherry-street, No. 39.

FOR THE NORTHERN LIBERTIES.

Samuel Wheeler, Vine-street, No. 99.

John Wagner, Noble-street.

George Inglis, New Market-street.

FOR SOUTHWARK.

Samuel Church, corner of South and Water-streets.

William Linnard, South Second-street.

Robert M'Mullin, Swanson-street.

They invited the inhabitants to recommend in writing such indigent persons as might come within their knowledge. These were to be assisted by applying at the state-house from three to nine o'clock in the evening, of Wednesday, the 6th inst. and thereafter, on "every 2d, 4th,

and 6th days of the week, called Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, while necessary." The commissioners, as above, were twelve in number, and their names and respective places of residence were printed, that people, during the recess of their meetings, in want of employment or relief, might know where to apply. Numbers of persons were immediately set to work upon the streets and high-roads near the city. The funds were not adequate to give them full wages; and some of the overseers told them that a whole day's work was not, of course, to be expected from them. The reader may suppose that no such hints were necessary, for idleness is natural to man. But relief was essential, and it was proper to find them employment, if only to divert them. Should their performances not have been equal to the expense which they cost, still it was fit that they should have something to do. Even supposing that only ten of them were dishonest, the temptation to robbery might have proved more detrimental to the citizens, than the whole amount of the expenditure; for some of them, after getting their wages, actually robbed one another. On South-street and Broad-street, the indulgence was taken in its utmost latitude; but when it is considered that some were emaciated, others delicate—and that many soon got blisters on their hands, no great exertions could be expected.

The contagion continued to extend. For the twenty-four hours preceding Saturday the 9th, at noon, the Philadelphia Gazette reported thirty-two deaths; being about double the amount of any former single day. From that time, till Monday at noon, the deaths were by the same newspaper, fifty-seven. On September 7th, the inhabitants of the Northern Liberties appointed a committee to assist the board of health. On the 12th, the commissioners for assisting the poor, sent a letter to the governor, giving an account of their proceedings. They stated that, from the 4th to the 9th instant, two hundred and eighty-four persons, chiefly heads of families, had been relieved, at an expense of two hundred and sixty-nine dollars and sixty-five cents, besides a quantity of bread, the cost of which an account had not been received. Two hundred and fifty men, at seventy five cents per day, had been employed on the roads, and to open the courses of water in South-wark, so as to drain the grounds. Provision was further

made for about two hundred people, who had removed to the tents on the Schuylkill.

On the 22d of September, a note appeared in the newspapers, signed by James Oldden, No. 1, South Sixth-street; John Gardiner, jun. No. 28, Strawberry-alley; Franklin Wharton, No. 268, South Second-street; John Clifton, No. 74, Swanston-street, Southwark; and Thomas Anderson, No. 63, Shippen-street, do. They stated, that the guardians of the poor having generally left the city, they had voluntarily undertaken to superintend the poor near Schuylkill; and had appointed David Thomas to be steward, who constantly resided there. They notified, that those who desired to remove from the neighbourhood of the sick, to the tents, were to apply to them for an order, before they could be admitted. They requested contributions of straw, of old blankets, of children's clothes, &c.

In a second letter to the governor, from the commissioners, appointed to inspect the distribution of money, dated September the 18th, they related, their having, during that week, relieved six hundred and fifty-eight persons, chiefly heads of families, with five hundred and ninety-five dollars and fifty cents, besides a considerable quantity of bread; that above 520 persons, who were thrown out of employment, and destitute of subsistence, had been paid at the rate of seventy-five cents per day, for labouring on the high-roads, &c. They had been obliged, from the state of their funds, to lower the wages to fifty cents.

In a third letter to the governor, dated September 25th, the commissioners mentioned, that, since their last, they had relieved eight hundred and fifty-five persons. They had paid six hundred and thirty-nine men for labour on the roads; and including provisions for the people in the tents, and forty six dollars and fifty four cents for incidents, their whole expenditure came to five thousand seven hundred and eighty-one dollars and forty-nine cents. Some accounts were likewise unsettled. Hence the total outlay came to upwards of two thousand dollars per week; and, consequently, the whole money granted by the legislature, being ten thousand dollars, would last only for five weeks, or to the end of the one then current.

To remedy this deficiency, the mayor of Philadelphia was authorised, by an ordinance, to borrow on the credit

of the Corporation, from either of the banks in the city, ten thousand dollars ; one thousand were to be applied to the repairing of the high roads, and the remainder for the hiring of patrols, and such other measures as might be necessary for the protection of the city.

On October 4th, the commissioners for taking care of the poor, addressed a fourth letter to the governor. They stated, that the weekly expense of supporting them, came to upwards of two thousand five hundred dollars. They had since their last publication, relieved a number of men, by employment on the roads, at fifty cents per day, to the amount of fifteen hundred dollars ; other distributions had come to the amount of twelve hundred dollars more. They earnestly recommended private subscriptions for the relief of the poor, and subjoined a catalogue of donations already made. This is reserved for a separate article, including the whole of such donations, as far as it shall be found possible to collect them.

The Merchants' Advertiser of October 10th, contained another address from the commissioners. They began by stating, that, on September 1st, they had accepted of their appointment. They then received the ten thousand dollars bestowed by the legislature, and which had generally been supposed more than sufficient for the purpose. They found, upon examination, upwards of three thousand people, of all ages, destitute of work or subsistence. The number had since greatly increased, and the whole yet remained in the same suffering condition. They next, in pathetic terms, addressed the richer class of their fellow-citizens for aid ; and considerable supplies were gradually procured.

By the 15th of October, sixteen physicians had been affected with the disorder. Of these, *eight*, whose names are in *Italic*, fell its victims : the names of the whole are as follow :

<i>Dr. Way.</i>	Dr. Reynolds.
<i>Dr. Thompson.</i>	Dr. Physick.
<i>Dr. Annan.</i>	Dr. Caldwell.
<i>Dr. Dobel.</i>	Dr. Church.
<i>Dr. Jones.</i>	Dr. B. Duffield.
<i>Dr. Plcafants.</i>	Dr. Haworth.
<i>Dr. Clement.</i>	Dr. Boys.
<i>Dr. Hunt.</i>	Dr. Strong.

If a generous contempt of danger and of death, in those trying times, merits the gratitude of mankind, that tribute is unquestionably due to the physicians of Philadelphia. The most laborious, hazardous and disagreeable task was, in almost every instance, to be performed gratuitously. Dr. Dobel, with a view to this contagion, had previously made his will. He was of independent circumstances; had been married but a few months before, and could have no temptation for the office which he undertook, but what arose from pure benevolence.

Mrs. Beatty, who keeps a genteel Lodging-House, No. 71, Penn-street, ought not to be neglected in our narration. Her pots were boiling, night and day, to supply the sick-poor of Southwark, with soups, panada, and every other article of diet. The traveller or stranger, under her roof, will always find a comfortable asylum, which, we hope, may requite her for this instance of charity.

Apprehensions had been, for some time, entertained by the steward of the city hospital, that illicit practices were carried on at that place; after some vigilance, one of the attendants was, on the 12th of October, taken with a bag full of sundries belonging to the public. On a promise of forgiveness, he confessed that property, to a considerable amount, had been secreted in the house of a certain John Brown, another of the attendants. A search-warrant was issued; and the fact being proved, Brown was directly committed to prison.

Before the middle of October, the mortality in the city began to abate. On the 13th of that month, the inspectors of the health-office addressed a note, signed by William Montgomery, as chairman, to such of their fellow-citizens whose families were then out of town. They were advised not to return for a few days longer, because, altho' there was an appearance of the fever having begun to subside, still they did not think it advisable to return at so early a period. They particularly cautioned citizens resident in the country from yet entering Southwark, and the lower parts of the city. They further advised, that proper persons should, in the mean time, be employed to ventilate and clean their houses.

Nothing, however, could exceed the impatience of some citizens to return. There had been complaints of extortion in those small towns and places in the country to which

many had retired. This is worthy of observation, that we may be cautioned, in case Providence should permit Philadelphia to be again visited by a similar misfortune. That quadrupeds, birds, and aquatic animals, should prey upon each other, seems, in many classes, to have been the previous destination of nature ; but that human beings should practice the same rapacity against their fellow-creatures, is a very poor illustration of the pretended sanctity so pompously displayed by some of them. Many of the country people have gained largely by the city ; yet when its inhabitants came into their power, they discovered what small reliance should be placed on their gratitude. Both lodging and provisions were often unconscionably enhanced in price. This extortion was sometimes attended with much affected concern for the sufferers, and many pleas of merit for giving them admittance on any terms whatever. To this account, exceptions were to be found, and this contrast added still more to the shame of the inhospitable.

As a relief to the sameness of this detail, we shall here insert a few anecdotes which have come within our information.

Soon after the commencement of the fever, and while the inhabitants kept a guarded distance from each other, the bar-keeper of Mr. Wucherer's tavern, in Chesnut-street, happened to be abroad, fell into company, came home inebriated, and went to bed. Suspicion immediately took the alarm : a young doctor was sent for, who pronounced his case to be the yellow fever. The neighbours were under apprehensions for their safety, and began to pack up their furniture for a retreat to the country. But next morning unfolded their mistake, by the patient's resuming the duties of his station. Several loungers about Market-itreet wharf, were, like the bar-keeper, considered as having caught the contagion, and, consequently, conveyed to the hospital. Some of them, perhaps, got infected in that place by the disease, as one or two paid their last debt to nature. During this time, a volunteer patrol guarded the city. One night, some of them took up three foreign sailors ; and in accompanying them to their vessel, one of them, ei her

to escape from the patrol or by accident, fell into the river, and was drowned. His body was found and buried next day. The committee of health requited each of the patrol with twenty-two dollars per month; and the latter have since been raising a contribution from individuals by subscription, as a further reward for their own vigilance.

Tricks were played by some of the prisoners in the city gaol. They feigned to have the disorder, were conducted to the hospital, and after partaking of a warm supper, and a good night's lodging, disappeared on the wings of the morning. Several who had been really attacked by the fever, and others who had been sent to the hospital against their will, by virtue of the governor's proclamation, in consequence of the medical verdict of a suspicious case, fled, as soon as they were able.

A Mr. Horn, a young German, had been about five days from Philadelphia, when he was taken ill in Northumberland county, and died of the yellow fever. A remarkable circumstance is here stated respecting his illness, on the authority of his landlord, a Mr. Rittenhouse. Such was the deceitful and flattering state of the disorder, that within two hours of his exit, he had no apprehension of the approach of his dissolution: he appeared sensible, though his continual theme was love; and he was planning his happiness in a connubial life; but Death, in so short a space, triumphed over the fascinating desires of Cupid.

A Mr. Barry visited the city, during the calamity. He had been advised to keep his body open, as a preparative, in case that he should be attacked. Accordingly, he went to an apothecary, and bought a box of thirty-two purgative pills.—From ignorance, he swallowed the whole immediately, and was suddenly taken unwell in the street, opposite to the bank of N. America. A sick cart happened to pass by empty, and the drivers believing him attacked with the disorder, forced him into it, and were proceeding to the hospital. At the corner of Twelfth and Chestnut-streets, one of the drivers quitted the cart. Anger or fright perhaps

had stopped the operation of the pills ; for he summoned strength, got loose, and beat the driver that remained. He led the man, his horse and cart to the City-hall, where he left them with many complaints of bad treatment.

Mr. Robert Longdon, a carpenter, at the beginning of the sickness, had gone to Darby to work for Mr. Jesse Sharples. Having come to town upon a Sunday, he was, on the following Thursday, seized with a chill, at Darby, and on Friday, the black vomit appeared. The family where he was lodged, left the house, and he must have died, if he had not with the fever, for want of necessaries, but for the humanity of David Ross, a young man who attended in the store of Mr. Sharples. Two physicians visited him on the ensuing Monday, and pronounced it to be a case of the yellow fever : salivation was recommended ; but the patient became delirious, and died on the same afternoon.

Mr. Sharples bespoke a coffin, and got his grave dug in the Friends' burying-ground, near Darby. The people of that town became alarmed : the grave-digger and coffin-maker fled through fear ; and there was some danger that the corpse might be suffered to putrify in the street. James Ryan and David Ross, clerks to Mr. Sharples, along with that gentleman and a stranger, went through Darby to the burying-ground, with the hearse, every door in the place being shut. This was about nine o'clock at night. The horse stumbled, and fell, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the place of interment. Both the shafts of the hearse were broken ; and it was with great difficulty that these four persons contrived to drag the hearse forward. On their return, every door was shut against them, except that of Mr. Sharples. His two clerks, who had assisted at the funeral, found it necessary to return to the city. Such were the difficulties which occurred not only to the sick, but to the healthy.

The landlord of the Golden Swan, North Third-street, hired a horse and carriage to the board of health, for the purpose of conveying the dead to the burying-ground. One day, the driver stopt at a tavern : the horse, not being properly fastened, ran off with an empty coffin that happened to be in the carriage ; and returned, with full speed,

homeward. In passing through the yard of the inn, towards the stable, he was espied by the cook and bar-keeper. They instantly raised an alarm that the horse brought home a dead body, instead of conveying it to the place of interment. Fame or calumny soon after reported that two or three persons were dead at the Golden Swan.

Two persons employed by the committee of health, pursued a man into the War-Office, whom a physician had condemned to the hospital. The patient had been an old foldier. He held in his hand a rusty bayonet, and kept them off. He had only been too free with his bottle, and would not be made a prisoner.

Some have imagined themselves to be attacked by the contagion, when they had only been intoxicated. One young man, an apprentice in Philadelphia, drank too much port wine. It returned from his stomach: he mistook it for the black vomit; and when he got sober, he became delirious, through fear he should be sent to the hospital.

One of the most affecting circumstances of death, was, in the case of Dr. Jacob Thompson. 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 day, leaving his unfortunate wife, “at once a widow and a bride.”

Dr. Pleasants had removed to the country: philanthropy actuated his return, whereby he also perished. Dr. Annan, another physician, who lost his life, had, like Dr. Thompson, been but newly married. David Thomas, of Southwark, fell an early and much lamented victim to this scourge. In the different and successive capacities of constable, deputy-sheriff, and as steward to the poor at the tents, on Schuylkill, he had served with integrity, vigilance and humanity. Mr. Peter Helm, so distinguished in 1793, and who, upon this occasion, again offered his services at the City-Hospital, was likewise attacked, but has since recovered.

During this contagion, Wilmington became the general mart for trade over Philadelphia: merchants notified, in a joint advertisement, their removal to that place. Many country customers, however, went elsewhere for their

fall affortments ; in consequence of which, we fear some will feel themselves embarrassed to preserve that promptitude, which has hitherto generally characterised the mercantile houses of our metropolis.

Some of those who were most courageous in 1793, were timid, and fled among the most early, in 1797. They had witnessed such distress then, that their resolution now faultered. At the commencement of the attack, more or less of panic seized every one ; but those who procrastinated a flight, and saw "Death's shafts fly thick," were like soldiers in a battle, who, as we are told, cannot, at its commencement, dispossess themselves of terror ; but, after balls have, for some time, flown over their heads, feel less apprehension for personal safety, and composure and firmness generally succeed.

No such instances of general fatality occurred now, as in 1793. Then, according to Mr. Mathew Carey, a man of the name of Collins, buried his wife, his two daughters, his son, and his son's wife, with her child ; after all this, he got married a second time, before the close of the fever, buried his new wife, and, to wind up the scene, died himself. Such fatal occurrences being rife in the mind, people were happily impressed with the danger of remaining in the city.

Drs. Hunter and Stafford distinguished themselves by benevolence. The poor were invited to call at their stores for medicines, which, with the general prescriptions for the relief of those infected, they actually supplied, free of expense. Such instances of philanthropy should be recorded not only here, but in the grateful minds of our citizens.

Among other persons meriting public notice, for their liberality during the disorder, two bakers, Christopher Ludwick and Frederick Frailey, ought not to be forgotten. They baked, gratis, for the poor, several thousand loaves of bread, of flour furnished by the commissioners.

On the Saturday previous to the meeting of the assembly of the state, the Mayor expressed his apprehension of the progress of the contagion, to an association of Friends, who styled themselves, " a society for improving the condition of the poor." John James, Thomas Wistar, Edward Garrigues, Thomas Savery, George Pennock, Sa-

muel Garigues, jun. and Peter Barker, were appointed to apply to the assembly, as the funds of the society itself were not adequate to the necessities of the case. Henry Drinker, sen. and Thomas Wistar, who were not members of that society, joined themselves to the committee. They waited on the Tuesday following upon the legislature, and the ten thousand dollars were granted on the same day. The promptness of this grant merits considerable encomium. The Mayor had, from his office, peculiar opportunities of learning the public distress. People's necessities impelled them to sue for debts, while those who were sued, pled in defence, the general languor of business, in consequence of the desertion of the citizens. Jonathan Penrose, late magistrate of Southwark, and now sheriff, in a struggle between sympathy and the duties of his office, actually refused to grant a warrant against a person in distress, and absented himself, to avoid the pain of being importuned to bring suits for creditors. Towards the more advanced periods, however, of the calamity, the courts of justice were suspended.

A grateful mind will recur with singular pleasure to the recollection of those gentlemen, who, after having encountered, in 1793, every degree of toil and hazard, returned in 1797, to the same arduous and alarming duty. Among these were, Israel Israel, John Letchworth, Thomas Savery, Stephen Girard, Caleb Lownes, and John Connelly. Mr. Israel had, in 1793, first suggested, and afterwards assisted in promoting the plan of an orphan committee, of which he and Mr. Letchworth were active members. The latter also served in the committee of distribution. On the late emergency, they again officiated with eminent usefulness; as did likewise Mr. Savery; who, in 1793, had been also a member of the committee of distribution. Messrs. Girard, Lownes, and Connelly now superintended the City-Hospital. In 1793, Mr. Girard had volunteered as one of the managers of Bush-hill hospital. Mr. Lownes, at the same awful period, was secretary to the committee for relieving the sick and distressed, while Mr. Connelly acted in various capacities. In 1793, he twice caught the contagion, and, as soon as he recovered, returned to his charge.

The prudence of the commissioners, in providing em-

ployment, as well as subsistence for the poor, should ever be respectfully remembered. The necessitous who were relieved, doubtless feel gratitude ingrafted in their hearts, to those gentlemen who stood to their respective posts, at the imminent hazard of their lives, to be their guardians and benefactors. What must have been the feelings of the Board of Health—the Commissioners—the Committee, and Inspectors of the Hospital and Tents—the Overseers of the Poor*, when they were relieving the needy—easing the sorrows of their fellow-creatures, and drying up the tears of a parent, and of numerous and helpless children? ***** To many of them crowds often flocked with children in their arms.—Perhaps one-half of the family were lying sick at home:***** Was it interest which actuated them? The heart which can feel for another's woe, will answer, that it was sympathetic benevolence.

Names of the inspectors of the health-office.

John Miller, jun.	William Sansom
John Savage	James Oldden
Thomas W. Francis	Leeson Simmons
Jacob Clarkson	Jonathan Jones
Edward Rufiel	James Whitehead
William Montgomery	Standish Forde
Thomas Morgan	John Starr
Abraham Kintzing, jun.	James King
John Gardiner, jun.	William Doughty
Jacob Sperry	Joseph Marsh, jun.
Samuel Meeker	Franklin Wharton
William Smith, jun.	David Evans, jun.

One of the most lamented victims of the disorder, was Dr. Nicholas Way, who, during 1793, resided at Wilmington, and was remarkable for his hospitality to the fugitive citizens of Philadelphia. He had since re-

* Joseph Galley, Michael Baker, John Smith, and David Graham, were the only persons, out of fourteen of the Overseers for the City and Liberties, who adhered to their posts. Their funds, by the number of applicants, at an early period, got exhausted; and, to the honor of the Bank of Pennsylvania, they lent them four thousand dollars, on the private credit of Mr. John Inskeep, Treasurer of the Guardians of the Poor, and Isaac W. Morris, one of the Managers of the Alms-House.

moved to our metropolis, where his talents as a physician, and philanthropy as a man, which his fortune enabled him to support, introduced him to extensive practice. Few men either lived or died with a greater number of friends, or a smaller number of enemies. It was by his suggestion, that, during the late calamity, five physicians were appointed to search for and attend such of the poorer citizens as might be affected with the disorder. He was treasurer of the mint.—While the public lament his departure, they will be pleased to hear, that that office is now filled by a gentleman, to whom they owe an equal respect;—one, who, like him, could feel for the distressed, and always exerted himself to benefit his fellow-creatures.

The Committee of Enquiry, appointed on September 7th, for the Northern Liberties, consisted of the following gentlemen, viz.

First District.

James Pentland		John Graul
John Kunckle		Jacob Souder.

Second District.

Jesse Groves		Christian Kunckle
John Kessler		John Goodman, jun.

Third District, or Spring-Garden.

Thomas Kehrom		John Breish
John Alberger		William Lawrence.

Fourth District.

Casper Snyder		Charles Fleming
Samuel Lehman		William M ^c Intire.

Fifth District.

Henry Sommers		Conrad Rohram
George Forepaugh		Jacob Zigler.

Sixth District.

William Coats		Albertus Sherlock
Daniel Groves		Samuel Brown.

Seventh District.

Daniel Miller		Frederick Wolbert
Conrad Seybert		Simon Shugart.

Eighth District.

Peter Gabel		John Fisher
Jacob Keen		Peter Smith

Ninth District.

Samuel Macferran		John Kehr
John Bender		Joseph Baker

Tenth District.

Lewis Deets		Adam Upperman
Jacob Toy		Christian Shitz.

William Coats, Esq. officiated as Chairman.

The following list of patients, who were copiously bled in the fever, and recovered, we give on the authority of Dr. Redman Coxe:

Charles Burrel	120 oz.	David Evans	126 oz.
Horace Hall	120	Mr. M'Gahan	124
Thomas Smith	96	Dr. Physick	176
George Eyre	100	Mrs. Lewis	96
Stephen Thompson	110	Mrs. Elliot	90

Mr. David Evans, jun. was twice attacked. In the first illness, he lost an hundred and twenty-six ounces of blood, and in the second, twenty-four. This account is given by himself.

About the middle of October, the Board of Commissioners, having considered that the distresses of the poor would be likely to continue through the ensuing winter, opened a subscription, to raise money for the purchase of wood and provisions, to be distributed in the rigour of the season; and appointed agents to buy up five hundred cords of wood, which has been purchased, and is daily distributed to them.

As an instance of the malignity of this disease, we shall mention, that a man from Baltimore, in a convalescent state, called, during this time, at a store in Newcastle, kept by Clay, Bond and Co. Mr. Clay and Mr. Shelly, of the firm, and Mr. Ruth, an accidental purchaser, received the contagion, and expired within twenty-four hours of each other.

At Philadelphia, a dead body, said to be thrown from the Arethusa, was found in the Delaware, sewed up in a bag. Another body of a man was picked up, that had a note about him, signifying that he had spent his whole money upon the doctors, without recovering from his

complicated infirmities, and that he thought Death was the most certain relief. No evidence appears, however, that he was the writer of the note. Possibly he might have been murdered, and that the perpetrator wrote it to elude suspicion.

The College of Physicians recommended, in preference, as nurses to the sick, Negroes who were natives of Africa. This produced an inconvenience; for, the blacks of this country became alarmed, and generally refused to attend; while the scarcity of Africans, made people bid high for them, and raised, to exorbitance, the price of their attendance.

The practice of burning the clothes of the infected, must, on serious reflection, be viewed as highly improper. For, the pestilential air, arising with the smoke, it is more than probable, aided by wind, might have a tendency of communicating the fever to any one who inhaled such noxious effluvia. One gentleman, who was at a considerable distance from the Hospital, observing the practice, imagined that from them proceeded a disagreeable smell: be this as it may, he was soon after seized with the contagion, and now imputes it to that cause.

A gentleman in this city, who was attacked with the disease, immediately sent for his physician. By the application of the usual remedies, he was, in a short time, out of danger. But, though relieved from the fever, he still remained under a deep affection of the salivary glands. In consequence of this, a basin was provided, which received the saliva that fell from his mouth. One day, two young cats entered the room, unperceived by him, at first, and licked up part of the contents of the basin. They were seized, within an hour afterwards, with violent chills, and continued to waste away to mere skeletons, loathing all kinds of food. On the fourth day, one of them died. The person having experienced the good effects of mercury, in relation to himself, supposed it might be of some service to the surviving cat, and accordingly gave her twelve grains. In a short time, to his expectations, it operated, and the cat, before to appearance nearly dead, seemed to recover, and was, during the day, much revived. The medicine was not continued, and the

next day she drooped as before. The day after (the seventh) it died. The mother of the cats never left them while in this situation!—She appeared slightly diseased, but did not die.

On the 13th of August, a man of the name of Peter Molifis, late a seaman of the ship *Hinde*, was sent to the Marine Hospital, from Love-lane; and died in two or three days. This was eleven days after the vessel was examined. Also, on the 14th, another man, a Portuguese, was taken from the corner of Penn and South streets, to the Hospital, who had the fever, and said he had been landed about five days from the same ship; another man, belonging to the *Hinde*, was also landed sick, and lodged at the corner of Almond and Front streets, at Mrs. O'Connor's.—He was, by the alarm of the neighbours, and his landlady, carried off from thence.

On the 24th of August, a meeting of a few citizens was held; who appointed a committee, consisting of the following gentlemen:—Dr. William White, Dr. Nicholas Way*, Nathaniel Falconer, John Connelly, Samuel Coates, and Caleb Lownes. The object of this association was, to visit the houses of the sick, and, generally, the sick and distressed, for the purpose of administering such relief, as their suffering situations required. Samuel Coates was appointed treasurer; and, besides answering the orders drawn by the gentlemen of the committee, he visited with them the houses of the sick, during the prevalence of the fever. This early association had not contemplated the extensive duties which the different recesses of distress unfolded to their view. The unwearyed and disinterested labours of these gentlemen, their posterity may hear with gratification:—It may bring in view the unexampled character of the philanthropic Howard. With their pecuniary aid, they raised a fund, without any solicitation, to the amount of about three thousand six hundred dollars. With this sum, the sick were assisted without distinction to the City or Liberties.

An association of young ladies, of the sect called Friends, under the name of "*The Female Society*," a considerable

* Stephen Girard was appointed in the place of Dr. Way, after he died.

time since formed in our city, for the purpose of relieving the *poor without discrimination*, at this awful period, amidst the frowns of Providence, continued that goodness, which, in more tranquil hours, inspired their tender souls. The last mentioned committee gave them, to aid their views, two hundred dollars; thirty pair of childrens' shoes, and sixty blankets. They procured numerous donations from other sources. Distress plead not here in vain:—The charitable—the virtuous—the religious, yet left in a corrupted city, may, we hope, avert the correction of Heaven.* * * * May the recording angel drop a tear, and blot out many of the faults inherent in our natures, that we may, by repentance, be spared like Nineveh!

Mr. James Smith, merchant (brother to one of the firm of Gurney and Smith) resided, at the beginning of the sickness, in the most infectious part of the city. He assisted strangers that were sick, and particularly the poor, who were forsaken by their *friends*; helped many patients to the Hospital, and many bodies to their graves. He defied all danger that could ease the patient, or could render respect to the dead. He offered his gratuitous service to the Board of Health, to superintend the cleansing of infectious houses. As soon as he got his commission, the Board furnished him with tubs, buckets, brushes, lime, &c. and he recruited a black company, consisting of twenty or thirty, and entered on his office. Every house, in which he could get access, where people had died, he purified. While he left some of these people in one house, to see how others came on elsewhere, they broke open and robbed the store belonging to it, of a quantity of goods, the property of the late house of Richard & James Smith, the former of whom had died. Here Mr. Smith had new trouble on his hands, in pursuing, with constables, this sable, light-fingered groupe, and in arraigning them before Hilary Baker, our Mayor; whose name we cannot pass over, without signifying to distant readers, that he did not flinch from his station; but daily evinced himself to be that mild arbiter, which, in more tranquil hours, was a conspicuous trait in his character. Mr. Smith requested that no address or application on the subject of his office should be sent to his house, that his family might not feel uneasy apprehensions for his personal safety.

Mr. Thomas Annesly undertook to cleanse several houses in Southwark, where people died, free of expense, except what actually accrued to him.

Mr. Samuel M. Fox, President of the Bank of Pennsylvania, wrote a letter to the Board of Health, on the 22d of August, offering to lend them any sum of money that they might want. This offer, which is like other instances of liberality that has distinguished the Directors, was accepted; and they obtained from them 12,000 dollars.

At the close of the fever, the Board of Health appointed "a committee to purchase and transfer to Dr. Edward Stevens, to Dr. John Church, to the heirs of Dr. Benger Dobel, to the heirs of Dr. Samuel Pleasants, to Dr. John Redman Coxe, to Dr. Michael Lieb, and to the heirs of Dr. William Annan, each one share of the stock of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and that the transfers so made express, that they are in consideration of the high sense the Board of Health entertain of the service of those gentlemen, during the calamity of 1797."

Dr. Stephens wrote a letter to the Board, politely declining the acceptance of the bank share granted to him.

The Board, on the 10th of November, resolved, That their thanks should be presented to Dr. John Duffield, for his services, and that, as an acknowledgment for them, he should be presented with a share in the bank of Pennsylvania, transferred as those to the other physicians.

On the 23d November, they also "resolved, that their thanks should be presented to Mr. James Smith, late of New-York, for his voluntary, disinterested and benevolent services during the late contagious fever, and that the same be published."

The Chairman of the Board, in notifying to the Governor certain resolutions, expressed to him, that the Board are so strongly impressed with the extraordinary labour and attention of Dr. John Church and Dr. Benger Dobel, in consequence of their being seated where the disorder raged with most violence, that they would cheerfully have voted for each of these physicians a further compliment of a bank share, had their funds warranted such an appropriation.

The Board of Health estimated their expenses at about two hundred and fifteen dollars and forty-four cents per

day; and, during the whole calamity, their aggregate disbursements were 19,100 dollars.

Physicians to the Hospital.

Samuel Duffield, Edward Stephens.

Assistant Physicians.

Michael Lieb, John Redman Coxe,

Benger Dobel, John Church,

William Annan, Samuel Pleasants.

Resident Physician, John Duffield.

The impropriety practised by the drivers of the carriages that conveyed the dead to the burying-grounds; should be noticed; so that, in case any such calamity might visit us hereafter, we may learn to improve by the blunders of others. Those particularly who conveyed the dead from Southwark, frequently drove the carriage along the most central parts of the city, in conveying them to the Hospital burying ground, instead of taking a direction towards the Commons.

While this is issuing from the press, the river is frozen over, wood is dear, and trade is almost stagnant. The necessaries of life, are, generally speaking, at a higher rate than in 1793. Bankruptcies are as numerous as they were at the close of the American revolution. When links to a chain are thus broken, we are, literally, on a boisterous sea. Thousands suffer by the failure of hundreds. Our trade, being long cramped by the aggressions of two opposite powers, has rendered money scarce, and increased the number of poor to an unexampled amount. Hence, though Death has not snatched away from us more than one-quarter so many souls as in '93, yet we cannot, on a cursory view, find much contrast in the picture of the two periods.*

* The following letter will afford an idea of the sufferings of some of the poor of the City of Philadelphia :

“ Sir,—Once more I find myself called upon to give you a few lines on as disagreeable a subject as ever occurred in human life. My situation is such, that, without relief, I shall perish. As Mrs. S—— has given me no relief, by wood or any thing else, and perhaps will not, as she is a hard-hearted woman, I would still hope to find others that would cheerfully act a contrary part. My situation is of a peculiar kind.—I have got work to do :—I am both *able and willing*, nay, *anxious* to do it—but daily prevented for some

The difficulty of collecting authentic information, has caused an unexpected delay in the publication; and by constantly receiving information while the work was at press, has prevented that degree of system and arrangement which we contemplated to observe. The work is now submitted to the public, with diffidence; and it is sincerely hoped, that another opportunity may never occur of re-suming the pen on a similar subject.

We obtained liberty from the Board of Health, to have access to all their proceedings on the subject of the calamity; and, with the information which we have here presented, we had printed affidavits and letters from the crew of the ships *Hinde* and *Arethusa*. Previous, however, to the publication, Judge M'Kean suggested to the editor the impropriety of publishing evidence, on which suits are pending. However interesting these documents may be, we are, for these reasons, induced to suppress them. Eight pages are, therefore, unavoidably omitted, which were immediately to follow here.

days past, and yet, from attending to it as I could wish, by being obliged, by the call of nature, at this season, of providing something to burn, to warm an almost-exhausted woman. The trifling things I pick up are insufficient. Last night I experienced as severe a cold night as I ever felt, and one or two more such nights, without relief, will certainly prevent me from ever complaining again. One of the neighbours said, this morning, that he would not have laid in that house (meaning where I am) in the situation it is in, for fifty pounds. Having mentioned *my* situation, and as your business is connected with me by your employ, which I would wish to do to your satisfaction, as well as to my credit, I would beg to suggest a method that would afford me relief, and give me full liberty to prosecute what business I have on hand with alacrity, and without obstruction. The method I would intimate is, that you would spare me a little wood, during the present work I am on—a wheel-barrow load will last me three days; and that you would advance me two dollars a week, in two half-weekly advances, for subsistence. This sum is certainly but barely sufficient for two persons for a week—persons who have not the least article beforehand, except a little salt. Last week I received but $1\frac{1}{3}$, (not accounting what I received Saturday afternoon) and therefore I had to suffer part of the time, as we lived three days on only $3/9$.

Phila. Dec. 5, '97.

Your well-wisher,

J. H. H."

Two days after this letter was wrote, his wife was no more!

Error in Pagination:

p. 38-45 omitted in numbering

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

MADE IN PHILADELPHIA,

BY MR. THOMAS PRYOR.

AUGUST, 1797.

	Thermo- meter.	Barometer.	WINDS and WEATHER.
1	73 to 75	30 0	S. E. E. Rain in the forenoon & afternoon.
2	72 to 76	30 0	N. E. by E. Cloudy with rain in the afternoon and night. Wind E. by N.
3	72 to 78	30 6	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. Rain in the morning, and all day and night.
4	72 to 78	30 4	E. Rained hard all day and at night.
5	74 to 79	29 84	Wind light—S. W. Cloudy. Rain this morning. The air extremely damp; wind shifted to N. W. This evening heavy showers, with thunder.
6	73 to 76	30 86	W. N. W. Cloudy.
7	70 to 76	30 4	N. W. Close day. Rain in the evening and all night. Wind to E.
8	72 to 76	29 95	E. Rain this morning.
9	72 to 76	29 86	S. W. Cloudy morning.
10	69 to 73	30 16	N. W. Clear.
11	70 to 73 $\frac{1}{2}$	30 25	N. W. Clear. Rain all night.
12	71 to 74	30 5	S. W. Cloudy. Rain in the morning.—Cloudy all day.—Rain at night.
13	73 to 75	29 87	S. W. Cloudy. Rain all day.
14	70 to 74	29 9	N. W. Clear fine morning.
15	56 to 60	30 15	N. W. Clear fine morning.
16	60 to 64	30 24	N. W. Clear fine morning.
17	60 to 65	30 24	N. W. Air damp.
18	68 to 75	30 4	S. W. Cloudy. Rain, with thunder at night—a fine shower.
19	72 to 78	29 7	N. W. Clear. Cloudy in the evening, with thunder.
20	70 to 77	29 8	W. N. W. Fine clear morning.
21	74 to 76	29 9	N. W. Clear to E.
22	68 to 76		E. Small shower this morning.—Hard shower at 11, A. M. Wind N. E.
23	71 to 76	29 92	E. Cloudy. At noon calm.
24	71 to 75	29 95	Calm morning and clear.
25	70 to 75	30 5	N. E. Clear. Rain in the afternoon, with thunder.
26	70 to 75	30 5	S. E. Rain in the morning. Rained hard in the night, with thunder. N. W.
27	68 to 76	29 9	N. W. Fine clear morning.
28	64 to 75	29 96	N. W. Clear.
29	59 to 70	30 0	E. Clear.
30	70 to 76	30 1	E. by S. Rain in the morning.
31	68 to 74	30 14	S. E. Cloudy. Damp air and sultry.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 1797.

Thermo- meter.	Barometer.	WINDS and WEATHER.
1 73 to 80	30 6	S. W. Cloudy. Damp air. Rain in the morning.
2 79 to 80	29 9	N. W. Clear. Cloudy in the evening, with lightning to the southward.
3 68 to 74	30 0	N. by W. Cloudy. Clear in the afternoon and night.
4 66 to 74	30 7	W. N. W. Clear fine morning.
5 58 to 72½	30 1	N. W. Clear. Cloudy in the evening.
6 58 to 72	30 13	Fresh at E. Clear. Rain in the evening.
7 56 to 76	30 28	E. Clear, Cloudy in the evening.
8 54 to 65	30 1	N. E. Clear and cool morning.—Flying clouds at noon.
9 56 to 65	30 1	E. N. E. Clear.
10 58 to 63	30 26	N. E. Clear fine morning. Wind fresh at N. E. all day.
11 53 to 64	30 13	N. to E. with flying clouds.
12 51 to 62	30 6	W. N. W. Clear cool morning.
13 56 to 67	30 3	S. W. Cloudy. Clear in the afternoon.
14 64 to 70	29 98	S. W. Clear.
15 66 to 73	29 85	S. W. Rain in the morning. Cloudy in the afternoon.
16 62 to 70	29 95	N. W. Clear.
17 56 to 67	30 0	N. W. Clear.
18 58 to 63	29 88 to 29 62	E. Cloudy. Rained all day, and thunder: Rained very heavy at night.
19 55 to 63	29 75	W. N. W. Clear fine morning.
20 47 to 63	30 8	W. N. W. Clear fine morning. ☽ Moon at 9 50 morning.
21 46 to 60	30 0	N. E. Clear fine morning;—to S. E. in the evening. Cloudy at night.
22 56 to 65	30 4	N. W. Rain in the morning. Rain at night.
23 56 to 66	30 0	N. N. E. Cloudy.
24 52 to 66	29 9 to 29 78	E. by S. Clear fine morning. Cloudy at night.
25 56 to 68	29 37	W. N. W. Clear fine morning—clear all day.
26 58 to 68	29 95	E. In the morning flying clouds.
27 48 to 63	30 2	N. W. Clear fine morning—clear all day.
28 54 to 63	30 2	W. N. W. Clear fine morning—clear all day.
29 54 to 63	30 15	E. Clear fine morning.
30 60 to 65	30 26	E. Fresh. Cloudy morning, Rain in the night.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1797.

	Thermo- meter.	Barometer.	WINDS and WEATHER.
1	55 to 65	30 16	N. E. Rain this morning and great part of the day.
2	55 to 66	30 0	N. W. Clear.
3	60 to 70	29 9	S. E. Clear. Air damp.
4	60 to 70	29 5	W. N. W. Rain this morning.
5	46 to 60	30 0	W. N. W. to S. by W. in the evening. Clear all day. White frost this morning.
6	55 to 65	30 0	S. W. Clear fine morning. White frost.
7	56 to 76	30 0	S. W. Cloudy. Rain in the night.
8	56 to 70	30 29	S. Cloudy this morning—air damp. Wind shifted to W. N. W. Blows fresh.
9	52 to 60	29 85	W. N. W. Clear morning. Fresh at N. W. in the evening.
10	40 to 58	30 1	W. N. W. Clear. Frost this morning.
11	38 to 56	30 2	W. N. W. Cloudy.
12	34 to 52	30 38	W. N. W. Clear. Ice this morning.
13	35 to 55	30 5	N. Clear fine morning. Ice this morning.
14	40 to 60	30 28	N. E. Cloudy.
15	50 to 65	30 16	W. N. W. Clear.
16	36 to 56	30 2	W. N. W. Clear fine morning.
17	37 to 56	30 18	W. N. W. Clear fine morning.
18	47 to 60	29 86	W. N. W. Clear fine weather.
19	48 to 60	30 6	N. W. Clear fine day.
20	42 to 55	30 8	N. E. Cloudy. Rain in the afternoon and night. Blows fresh at N. E.
21	42 to 50	29 92	N. E. Blows fresh, (with a little rain.)—Thunder in the night, with rain.
22	44 to 56	29 57	N. W. Rain in the morning.
23	41 to 56	29 95	S. W. Clear fine morning.
24	42 to 54	30 5	N. E. Cloudy. A great deal of rain in the night.
25	40 to 52	30 15	N. E. Clear fine morning.
26	36 to 48	30 29	W. N. W. Clear.
27	34 to 46	30 23	Fresh at S. W. Clear.
28	40 to 52	29 95	W. N. W. Cloudy.
29	34 to 46	29 82	W. Cloudy.
30	32 to 42	29 93	N. W. Clear. Hard Frost this morning.
31	38 to 48	30 12	W. S. W. Cloudy part of this day; clear the remainder.

LIST OF BURIALS

In the several Grave-Yards of the City and Liberties of
PHILADELPHIA,

During the Months of August, September, and October, 1797.

From the Records of Clergymen, Clerks, Sextons, &c.

CHRIST-CHURCH BURIAL GROUND.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Aug. 7. Alexander Allaire. | Sept. 14. Thomas Noy Oswald. |
| 8. A child of Jacob Vanscyver. | 18. Elizabeth Oswald. |
| 10. Wife of William Golt. | 19. Hannah Marshall. |
| 13. James Campbell. | 22. A child of Joseph Reed. |
| A child of William Mafon. | 23. A child of David Hayfield
Cunningham. |
| 15. A child of Thomas Smith. | 24. Cristiana Cormick. |
| A child of John Cloer. | Abraham Penrose. |
| 18. A child of William Bond. | 27. William Heysham. |
| 19. A child of Peter Fritz. | |
| 22. Robert Dickson. | Oct. 2. Wife of Eli Vallette. |
| A child of James Wilson. | 6. Dr. Benger Dobel. |
| A child of Thomas Amos. | A child of John Cloer. |
| 24. Wife of James Ash. | 10. Sufannah Hopkins. |
| Joseph C. Fisher. | 11. William Dunwick. |
| | 13. William Sheerof. |
| Sept. 1. A child of Peter Grining. | A child of Jacob Earnest. |
| 3. A child of William King. | 25. A son of Andrew Bonner. |
| 4. John Harrison. | William Cox. |
| 7. A child of Thomas Mil-
lard. | 26. John Witt, Printer. |
| Joseph Reed. | 27. Robert Fearisf. |
| 9. Wife of Charles Williams. | 30. Thomas Leaning. |
| 12. A child of Richard Mar-
lowe. | |

Total 48.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH BURIAL GROUND.

- | | |
|---|--|
| Aug. 3. Mrs. Smith, widow of Mr.
Thomas Smith—yellow
fever. | Aug. 8. An infant son of Mr. Hatt-
ly. |
| 4. John Brufter—y. fever.
A still born. | 10. James Sennett—yellow fe-
ver.
A boy named Stuart. |
| 5. A boy of Capt. Croch's—
said to be the scurvy.
Elizabeth Murry, daughter
of Alexander Murry—
said to be the hives. | 13. William Mafon, from Ed-
ward Thomson's, Ver-
non-street—yellow fe-
ver. |
| 6. Nathaniel Lewis—yellow
fever. | 14. Capt. Staunton—from the
gaol.
Richard Peter Smith—yel-
low fever. |
| Aug. 8. James Searle—decay. | |

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Aug. 16. Mary Rufon—decay.
 17. A son of Mr. Smith, porter—flux.
 19. Hannah Stackhouse—yellow fever.
 21. A still-born
 22. Catharine Much, wife of Jeremiah Much—child-birth.
 24. A son of Anthony Cuthbert—yellow fever.
 25. George Harris; a lad—yellow fever.
 26. Robert Watson, son of Samuel Watson—yellow fever.
 27. Elizabeth Pollard—old age.
 James M'Dugan—yellow fever.
 30. A son of Daniel Smith—flux.
 Samuel Cummings—yellow fever.</p> <p>Sept. 2. Mrs. Wain, mother of John Wain—y. fever.
 3. Catharine Mafon, daughter of Philip Mafon—decay.</p> | <p>Sept. 4. Achild of Jeremiah Much—12 days.
 5. A son of Peter Cooke—hives.
 7. Clementine Loyons, wife of Patrick Loyons—decay.
 10. Elizabeth Cole—y. fever.
 13. Robert Biddison—y. fever
 18. Mrs. Bufter, wife of Henry Bufter—yellow fever.
 22. A widow, daughter of Col. Nichola—yellow fever.
 30. A daughter of Captain West—yellow fever.</p> <p>Oct. 2. Benjamin Smith, son of James B. Smith—yellow fever.
 4. Arthur Stewart—y. fever.
 10. John Wilcocks—dropfy.
 14. John Morgan—y. fever.
 18. Dr. John Hunt—y. fever.
 29. George M. Key—y. fever.
 A still-born
 A daughter of John Harland.</p> |
|---|--|
- Total 43

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH BURIAL GROUND.

From August 9 to October 28.

AUGUST.

Edward Drafé.
 James Ferguson's wife.
 Francis Duchamp's child.
 Conrad Eckard.
 John Kollock.
 A son of Thomas Bowen.
 Dr. Jacob Thompson.

SEPTEMBER.

Mrs. Thompson.
 Thomas Bowen.

SEPTEMBER.

James Smithers, jun.
 Daughter of Anthony Fannan.
 Dr. Samuel Shober.
 Matthew Parks's child.
 Mr. Burk.

OCTOBER.

William Colly's child.
 Hannah Woodin.
 Capt. Thomas Kenney's child.

Total 17.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN BURIAL GROUND.

Aug. 4. Susanna Savage.
 5. Eliza H. Hall.
 6. Joseph Taggart.
 7. William Patton—a child.
 17. Ann Wilson.
 18. John Ahmead—a child.
 20. Caroline Valance; a child.

Aug. 22. Martha Campbell; a child.
 23. John M'Pharland—a child.
 Elizabeth Sutter.
 25. Capt. John Meafe, jun.
 27. Catharine Alexander.
 31. Martha Lindze.

- Sept. 2. John Smith—a child.
 5. Robert Patton—a child.
 9. Capt James Ewing.
 10. Sarah Galaway—a child.
 Ann Waters.
 11. Mary Alexander—a child.
 12. Edw. Thompson—a child.
 19. Martha Hoover—a child.
 John M'Crea.
 21. James Cary.

Sept. 27. Stuart Wood.

- Oct. 2. William Thompson.
 3. Ann Miller—a child.
 8. Ann M'Crea.
 9. John Marshall—aged 10
 years.
 28. Catharine Ballanton.

Total 29.

Twelve of this number died of the Fever.

SECOND PRESBYTERIAN BURIAL GROUND.

AUGUST.

- Elizabeth Robinson, 10 months.
 Elizabeth Gaw, 10 months,
 William Watson, 19 months.
 Sarah Jones, 2 years.
 Benjamin Smith, 24 years.
 Mrs M'Inoch, 34 years.
 James Wright, 44 years.
 Thomas Nevil, 76 years.

SEPTEMBER.

- Mrs Morchen, 45 years.
 Mrs. Morchen's daughter, 9 years.
 Lucie M'Gaw, 40 years.
 William Kirkpatrick, 37 years.
 Matthias Slaymaker, 50 years.
 Margaret Fenno, 15 years.
 A child of Thomas Mullin, 11 mo.

SEPTEMBER.

- Ruth Fenno, 19 years.
 William Hall, (Stranger) 25 years.

OCTOBER.

- Mrs. Smith, 3 years.
 Joseph Newark, (Stranger) 4 years.
 Mrs. Hall, (Stranger) 23 years.
 A child of Mrs. Lacom, 4 years.
 Samuel Fenno, 49 years.
 Hugh Sterling, (Stranger) 23 years.
 A child of Mr. Davis, 4 weeks.
 A child of James Whithed, 3 years.
 Thomas Hunter, 9 years.
 A child of Mr. Buchanan, 6 days.
 John Clark, 38 years.
 Joan M'Fail.

Total 29.

THIRD PRESBYTERIAN BURIAL GROUND.

- Aug. 1. Wife of Alexander Brady.
 2. James Lumsden.
 5. Peter Slingbar—fever.
 6. A child of Widow Bellos.
 10. William Pinkerton.
 11. A child of Samuel M'Cler-
 nan.
 A child—named Mary No-
 ble.
 Wife of Conrad Been.
 13. Henry Smith—fever.
 16. Nelly ---; from Mr. La-
 timer's—fever.
 A child of Elihu Meeker.
 17. A daughter of Nelly ---;
 (Mr. Latimer's house-
 keeper.)
 Mary M'Culloh.
 19. A child of David Titter-
 mary.

- Aug. 22. A child of Francis Jaek.
 23. William Pinkerton, son
 of John Pinkerton, iron-
 monger.
 Mr. Calpin—consumption.
 26. Mary Ewing—fever.
 29. Margaret Noble.
 30. Margaret Scott, widow—
 fever.
 Mr. Smith—brother to
 John Smith, Lombard-
 street.

- Sept. 5. A daughter of the late Wi-
 dow Scott—fever.
 10. Mrs. Thompson—fever.
 13. Paul Barns—fever.
 18. Daniel Boyd—fever.
 21. John Blair, New-Market--
 fever.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Sept. 21. Murdoch M'Kinsey—
fever.
A child. | Oct. 4. A child of James Cummings-
fever. |
| 23. Conrad Been—fever.
Hannah Donagan—fever. | 6. Wife of Thomas Cochley--
fever.
Agnes M'Creary—fever. |
| 24. Son of Conrad Been—
fever. | 9. Richard Beetts—fever. |
| 25. Wife of John M'Mullin--
fever.
Daniel M'Donnold.
A child of Capt. Hughes. | 10. Mary Perkeson.
David Thomas—fever. |
| 26. A son of David Thomas--
fever. | 14. Wife of William Causey. |
| 27. Mrs. Spinlove, Fifth-str.
fever. | 15. Thomas Nilson—fever. |
| 28. A child of Capt. Hughes. | 16. David White—fever. |
| 29. Andrew Wilson—fever. | 17. Son of Robert Dunlap—
fever. |
| 30. George Thomas—fever. | 18. Samuel Davison—fever. |
| Oct. 3. Captain Huble—confump-
tion. | 20. James Cordner.
A child. |
| | 21. Wife of John Serah. |
| | 23. Sister-in-law to Capt. Ro-
bert Shields. |
| | 25. Catharine Skellenger—
fever. |
| | Total 56. |

SCOTS PRESBYTERIAN BURIAL GROUND.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Aug. 12. Capt. Bell's wife. | Oct. 1. Thomas Forsyth. |
| 14. Mrs. Duncan. | 4. Mr. Gibb's child.
Dr. William Annan. |
| Sept. 11. John Somerville. | 7. John Logan's wife |
| 16. Mrs. Boyd | 8. A child of John M Pherfon. |
| 19. John Somerville's daugh-
ter. | 12. John M'Pherfon's wife. |
| 20. Michael Somerville. | 15. A child of Hugh Scrachton. |
| 25. Mr. Davison. | 22. John Cowan. |
| | Total 15. |

ASSOCIATE CHURCH BURIAL GROUND.

AUGUST.

John Bain, aged 32.

SEPTEMBER.

Mrs. Cooper.

Mrs. Jamison, aged 36.

Elizabeth Colvil, aged 45.

OCTOBER.

James Patterfon, aged about 40.

A young man—name unknown.

Total 6.

ST. MARY'S CHAPEL BURIAL GROUND.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Aug. 1. Catharine Colnan. | Aug. 8. Adam Haufman. |
| 3. Terence Flanagan. | 9. Sarah Dyer—a child. |
| 4. Philip M'Dede.
Geo. Pigott. | 10. Ann Mullovyuy—a child. |
| 5. John E. Clark—a child.
Affelin Deiffables. | 14. William M'Fee—a child.
Mary Raffey |
| | 16. Bridget Welsh—a child. |

- Aug. 17. Owen M'Kervy.
John Hurley—a child.
Martha Guinemert—a
child.
18 Catharine Anderfon—a
child.
21. Patrick Boyle—a child.
24. Jane Williams.
Jerome Walnut.
25. Cornelius Rogers.
27. Frances—a child.
Sally M'Cabe.
28. John Conner.
29. Daniel Steiler.
30. Mary Melun.
- Sept. 1. Eliz. Sawyer—a child.
William Eoyle.
2. Catharine M'Cauly.
3. Hugh M'Cauly.
Ann Timony.
4. Valentine Peacan.
7. William Guiry—a child.
9. Miles Rourke.
11. Francis Revel.
Eliz Carroll.
John Bethridge.
Sarah Robinson.
12. Eliz Smith.
Edward Barry—a child.
13. Margaret Burns.
14 Eleanor Riley.
Eliza Dunn—a child.
18. John Victor Journal.
20. Mary Carroll.
Matt. M'Grane—a child.
23 Patrick Miller.
John Green.
24. Maurice Burns.
25. Sulanna Bonell.
Henry Snyder.
- Sept. 26. Eliz. Hungary.
28. Cath Copia.
Michael Gallagher.
Cornelius Boyle.
29. Patrick M'Cauley.
William Harkins.
John Griffin—a child.
Eliza M'Cabe—a child.
30. John Scully.
John M'Enclis.
- Oct. 2. John Kelly.
Lewis Sardon.
3. Isabella White.
Mary Kean.
Barney Boyle.
4. Florence M'Carthy.
5. Hippolite Anglais.
6. Ann Stewart.
7. Bridget Ward.
Catharine Lynam.
8. Grace Boyle.
Catharine Ward—a child.
9. Mary Sarzen—a child.
Owen M'Anetry.
10. Louisa Myers.
Rose Monday.
11. Mary Mullen.
12. Jane Lawless.
13. Dominick Monday.
14. Sarah Arnold.
16. William Lawless.
Margaret M'Farlane.
19. William Milly—a child.
Timothy Tamalby.
20. James Kean.
Jeremiah Mahony.
21. William Snyder.
26. Bernard Caffry.
Mary Ann M'Carthy.
Total 89.

TRINITY CHURCH BURIAL GROUND.

- Aug. 5. John Deip.
7. John Lanpau.
19. Francis Calateau.
Wm. Burjeley Sermaise—a
child.
Maria Bouvier.
25. Christopher Lambert.
29. John Heedler.
Catharina Vican—a child.
- Sept. 1. George Bastian—a child.
Henricus de Beavois—a
child.
4. Francis Hamelin—a child.
9. Jeremi G'evardan.
- Sept. 10. Catharine Smeul.
13. Francis Lourniere.
14. Catharine Preinich.
17. Anthony Basty.
- Oct. 1. Nicholas Lering.
4. Clara Mole.
Catharine Omelon.
14. John Pardons.
15. George Radix.
24. John Duval.
29. Charles Morel.
Laurens Smith.
Catharine Standel.
Total 25.

FRIENDS BURIAL GROUND.

8th Mo. (called August.)

1. A child of Thomas Cowperthwaite.
5. A child of Mætitia Davis.
8. A child of William Hart.
10. A child of Samuel Bonfal.
12. Widow Lydia Hanlon—an ancient woman.
13. A child of Samuel Harmar.
14. A child of John Corbit.
15. A child of Joseph Justis.
16. A child of William North.
A child of James Rowland.
17. A child of Jonathan Willis.
19. Daniel Williams.
24. William Oran's wife.
25. Caleb Ash. [This person was the first of this Society who died of the fever—those that follow, in this list, died generally of the same.]
26. Hannah Howell.
A child of Joseph Conro.
27. A child of Morris Dickinson.
28. A child of John Wilson.

9th Mo. (called September.)

1. A child of Peter Barker.
2. John West
3. Dr. Nicholas Way.
Joseph Allen.
7. John Davis.
11. Mary Hendricks.
14. John Finester.

9th Mo. (called September.)

15. Patrick Ogilby.
19. Esther Nuttle.
20. John Stockdale.
22. Joshua Gibborn.
26. A child of Fabius Brown.
27. A child of Lewis Taylor.
30. Mary Means.
Elizabeth Wood.

10th Mo. (called October.)

1. Tamafon Clifford
2. A daughter of Hugh Roberts.
5. Rachel Johns.
6. William Millward.
Abigail Wooddrop.
8. Abraham Roberts.
12. A daughter of Wm. Vaughn.
13. Richard Johns.
Sarah Moran.
Joseph Gerwood.
15. Dr. Samuel Pleasants.
17. Sevus Smith.
18. Capt. Benjamin Loxley. [Died near Darby.]
19. A child of Samuel Fisher.
29. Haannah Williams.

11th Mo. (called November.)

4. Sarah Pennington.
5. Hannah Rhoades.
Robert Jordan.
9. A child of Joshua Tyson.

Total 52.

FREE QUAKERS.

SEPTEMBER.

9. Isaac Wickerham, about 9 or 10 years of age, son of Abraham Wickerham—of a dysentery.

OCTOBER.

- John Wetherill, son of Isaac Wetherill, aged 21 years—died of the malignant fever.
- John Goale, architect by profession; a native of Great-Britain.—Died of the yellow fever.
- James Logan, labourer, aged about 22 years.—His death occasioned

by suffocation in a well.—A native of Ireland, but served his time in Jersey.

Peter Barrier, a mariner; a native of Bourdeaux, in France; aged 45 years.

Richard Hand, Printer.—Died of a fever.

James Taylor Thomas, son of Samuel Thomas, aged 14 months. Died of teething.

John Laver, son of John Laver.—Died of a consumption.

Total 8

SWEDISH CEMETERY.

Grown Persons.

- Aug. 3. A seaman, name not given, 24 years—billion fever.
4. Margaret, widow of David Gonaway, 49 years—decay, with fluid diarrhea.
8. William Bowes, 35 years—decay.
11. Robert Batten, 30 years—pleurisy, with long previous debility.
14. John Crofman, 16 years—fever, said to have arisen from frequent swimming.
26. Catharine, wife of William Scott, 40 years—sick three weeks with a kind of jaundice.
28. Elizabeth, widow of Isaac Middleton, 36 years.
- Sept. 16. Elizabeth, wife of Laurence Justis, p. 40; died in child bed.
17. Mary, wife of James Williams, 28 years—sick two weeks, from walking too much on a hot day.
21. Mary, wife of John Fealany, 37 years—sick 6 days of the fever; unwell a while before.
22. Wife of Asa Smith, 31 years; sick 5 or 6 days; fever; weakly before. William Stow; sick a few days in a fever; had got wet in the river.
23. William Hutton, sixteen years; fever.
24. Mary, widow of John Hutchinson, 62 years. Wife of Doctor Goss, of a long consumption.
29. Hannah, wife of Nicholas Collin, 48 years; died on the 9th day in the fever.
30. Mary, daughter of the late John Sherwood, 13 years; ailing for 4 years, but died of a fever in 8 days.
- Mary, wife of Joseph Pinnore, 20 years; died in child-bed.

Grown Persons.

- Oct. 2. William Holden, 30 years; sick a year, with delirious complaint.
4. William Taylor, 21 years; sick a week; came from Ireland two years ago. John Potter, between 30 and 40 years; sick a few days.
8. Laurence Justis, 42 years; fever in 5 days.
13. James Bowden, 34 years; sick 7 days; took cold in the water. Martha, wife of George Cooper, 37 years; sick 6 days.
17. Samuel Howard, near 30 years; sick 7 days. Isabella, daughter of David Witel, 22 years; died of fever.
18. Henry Miller, 25 years.
29. David Witel, father of Isabella, 60 years; sick 8 days in fever. This family from Ireland 2 or 3 years ago.
30. Mary, widow of Capt. David Semple, 40 years; decay.

Children.

- Aug. 1. A stillborn son of George Cooper.
4. Mary, daughter of John White, 18 months.
6. William, son of Widow Hammil, 19 months.
7. John, son of Hugh Macbride, 3 months.
8. John, son of — M'Kare, 4 months.
14. Andrew, son of Abel Anderson, 2 years.
18. Isaac, stillborn son of Isaac Hozey.
28. A son of John Selx, 16 m.
30. Thomas Newlin, 8 years; rash fever. A daughter of Nehemiah Agers, 2 years.
31. A son of James Snell, 1 year.
- Sept. 11. Thomas, son of William Van Neuman, 3 years.

- Sept. 12. John, son of — Bassett.
 17. Martha, daughter of Samuel Carpenter, eight years; inflammation in the head.
 24. Mary, daughter of Ezekiel German, 10 years; sick 4 days in the fever.
 30. A son of Robert Litle, 2 months.
- Sept. 30. A child of — Poulnot, 5 weeks.
- Children of Capt. Francis Grice.
 Sept. 23. George, 3 years.
 28. Rebecca, 10 months.
 Oct. 6. Elizabeth, 8 years; died in fever.
- Total 49.

GERMAN LUTHERAN BURIAL GROUND.

AUGUST.

Balthasar Emrick's child.
 Peter Kuhn's child.
 Jacob Hantz's child.
 Widow Best's child.
 Gottlieb Myer's child.
 Conrad C. Timanus's child.
 John Norton's child.
 Stephen Lippincott's child.
 Henry Keel's child.
 Isaac Keller's child.
 Peter Rose's child.
 John Hutz's child.
 John War's child.
 Lewis Treichel's wife.
 William Buckius's child.
 Widow Rittlefon.
 John Hefs's child.
 John Diamond's child.
 Peter Miller.
 Adam West.
 Widow Young.
 Henry Deemer.
 Widow Roth.
 Daniel Burkhart's child.
 Jacob Senderling's child.
 John Fifer's child.
 Martin Trosl's child.
 Caspar Wali's wife.
 Godfrey Lentz's child.
 George Reiche's child.
 W.dow Ott.
 William Mudgeon's child.
 George Bantlion's child.
 Lewis Uber—drowned at Frankford.
 Christopher Hartranft's child.
 Widow Buck.
 John Ubel's child.
 George Schneider's child.
 Adam Mitts.

SEPTEMBER.

Godfrey Zargebel.
 John Frysmuth.

SEPTEMBER.

Elivan Dickinon's wife.
 A servant girl of Mr. Loxley.
 James Baker's child.
 Abraham Stewart's child.
 John Peck's mother.
 Godfrey Rapp's daughter's child.
 George Will, butcher.
 John Plum's child.
 Frederick Kefsler's mother.
 Baltus Grove's mother.
 Adam Weaver's child.
 Martin Will, butcher.
 Nicholas Day's child.
 Conrad Deal,
 John Kerr's child.
 Peter Grove.
 Baltus Kantzler.—Ran over by a cart.
 Nicklain Gracey.
 John Griner's child
 John Lingcor's child.
 Jacob Louden's child.
 Henry Roorman's child.
 John Dobelbower, Printer; son of Frederick Dobelbower.
 Baltus Clymer.

OCTOBER.

Mrs. Clymer.
 William Really, blacksmith.
 Widow Sansfelter.
 Peter Herz.
 Jacob Schifler's child.
 John Garrison.
 — Mockberger.
 Adam Foulke, blacksmith.
 Widow Plum.
 Jesse Friend.
 John Miller, blacksmith.
 Michael Lutz.
 John Griner's child.
 Jesse Turner's child.
 Barbary Sent.
 Ludwick Cloufe's child.

OCTOBER:

Frederick Gash.
Jacob Greor's child.
Ludwick Cloufe's child.
Elias Keel's child.

OCTOBER.

John Peck's child.
Widow Mause, (Harrowgate.)
Peter Dick's child.
Total 88.

German Reformed Presbyterian Burial Ground.

August, September, and October.

Jacob Neip's wife,
George Freytag,
Ludwick Hiepf,
Robert Macfield,
Susanna Paul,
Peter Deal's daughter,
Daniel Walter,
Widow Werner,
Christian Fals's daughter,
Mr. Baker's child,
Jacob Shermer's child,
Widow Wind,
Nicholas Knauff,
George Heans's child,
Michael Kinsinger's child,
Mr. Dealman's child,

Widow Knauff,
Christina Murdick,
David Maesser,
John Murdick,
Widow Hesh,
Michael Kinsinger's child,
Widow Smith,
Anthony Balte's child,
Anthony Balte's wife,
Jeremiah Deal's child,
Jacob Gaerdner's child,
Anthony Balte's child,
William Christi,
John Stubert,
John Stup's child.

Total 31.

UNITED BRETHREN, (known also by the name MORAVIANS.)

AUGUST.

John Meerwein, a child.

OCTOBER.

Eleonora Sibylla Claus, a child 6 weeks old.

SEPTEMBER.

Sibylla Claus, a married woman.
Sarah Payran, a married woman.

Total 4.

BAPTISTS BURIAL GROUND.

Aug. 5. Esther Jones.
15. Nathaniel Dickeson.
17. Hannah Spong.
Sept. 3. Margaret Jackway—a child.
11. Wife of John Grigery—fever.
12. Son of Widow Baffet—a child.
Peter Briler—fever.
15. Son of Thomas Steward; a child—fever.

Sept. 17. Dr. Samuel Jones—fever.
19. William Davis—fever.
24. William Robenson.
29. John S. Holmes; a child—fever.
30. Elizabeth Holmes—fever.
Oct. 4. Widow Penrose's child.
5. Samuel Burkalow, jun.—fever.
8. John Merriam—a child.
20. Martha Davis.
24. Stephen Engel.

Oct. 24. Jonathan Rose.	formerly Mayor of this
25. Catharine Miles, wife of Colonel Samuel Miles, of Cheltenham township—	city.
	Total 20.

METHODISTS BURIAL GROUND.

AUGUST.	
Daniel Reeve's child.	Elizabeth Burns.
William Stubbs's child.	John Davison.
Mrs. Williams's son.	Elizabeth Bradley.
Abigail Adams's son; a young man.	Alley Mills.
Abisha Chattin's child.	
James Gates's child.	OCTOBER.
Isaac Jackson, sexton of Ebenezer, the Methodist Church in Second- street, Southwark.	David Landreth's child.
	Catharine Burk's son; a young man.
	James Wallace.*
	Ann Wallace.
	Sarah Carrel's child.
	Jacob Knoufe's servant girl.
SEPTEMBER.	Total 18.
Isaac Gordon.	

* James Wallace was buried on the 7th of October; his wife followed his remains to the place of its interment; on the 11th of the same month (four days after) she was a corpse and buried.

UNIVERSALISTS BURIAL GROUND.

Capt. Drisdale—fever.	A child of Mr. Bangor.
The wife of Mr. Webb.	Widow Van Nefs.
	Total 4.

AFRICAN CHURCH (St. Thomas's) BURIAL GROUND.

Elizabeth Jackson.	Cuffe Jordan.
John Richman.	Total 3.

AFRICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH (Bethel) BURIAL GROUND.

Grown Persons.	Adult.
Grace Nuby—consumption.	A child of Charles Stewart.
Catharine Lancaster—fever.	Total 3.

JEWS BURIAL GROUND.

Myer Hart.	Nathan Barnett.
	Total 2.

POTTERS' FIELD.

☞ The names are not mentioned, as they were not taken at the time the persons died.

	Whites.	Blacks.	
August	19	20	
September	13	8	
October	9	6	
	—	—	
	41	34	Total 75.

KENSINGTON BURIAL GROUND.

AUGUST.

Joseph Bowers, shipwright.
 Jacob Stiner.
 Peggy Lins.
 George Washington, of North-Carolina.
 John Fry's child.
 Mr. Baker.
 Capt. Frankling's wife.
 Andrew Himes's child.
 Mr. Wilfon.
 Thomas Rile.

SEPTEMBER.

Mrs. Bowers's son.
 A Man, (name unknown) by trade a blue-dyer.
 Enoch Morgan's child.
 Charles Mathews.
 Polly Himes.
 Jonathan Eaton's child.
 John Keays's child.
 John King.
 Peter Kene.
 A poor Woman. [Name not mentioned.]
 James Johnson's wife.
 George M'Donnald.
 Charles Fleming's son.
 George Bakoven.
 Henry Apt.
 Henry Apt's wife.
 John Haron's child.
 Jacob Peaster's wife.
 Nelly Langue's child.

SEPTEMBER.

Yolington Sork.
 Lewis Garlinger's child.
 Mr. Broomfield's child.
 Sophia Shripe.
 Charles Renseimer.
 Mr. Andrews.
 Christopher Painter.
 John Brown's child.
 Elizabeth Taylor.
 John Carey.
 Isaac Matlock.
 John Jessy's child.
 John Rile.
 Matthias Sheets.
 Mr. Pennel's wife.
 Christian Frail.
 Isaac Starr.
 Joseph Bamont.
 John Shepherd's child.

OCTOBER.

Kitty Siders.
 Andrew Heyfinger's wife.
 William Dougherty's child.
 Edward Sutton.
 Matthew Cramer.
 Daniel Freehouse's wife.
 John Murel.
 Mrs. Hitner.
 Samuel Penick's child.
 John Douglafs.
 Benjamin Robinfon,
 Hannah Hager.

Total 60.

COATS'S BURIAL GROUND.

Mrs. Dennis, widow of Richard Dennis, dec. of Southwark. Jacob Miller, shipwright, of Kensington.

Total 2.

PFEIFFER'S BURIAL GROUND, in Poplar-Lane, Northern-Liberties; belonging to the Family of Dr. Pfeiffer.

A grandchild of Dr. Pfeiffer.

Total 1.

CITY HOSPITAL BURIAL GROUND.

AUGUST.

Patrick Thomas,
John Foulth,
Andrew Caldwell,
Henry Philips,
Patrick M'Gahy,
Christiner Sutherland,
Joseph White,
James Steward,
Maurice Wurts,
Daniel Packer,
Mary Tate,
John T. Woods,
John Scharlot,
John Fleetwood,
John M'Laughlin,
Mary Fercheson,
John Wiggins,
Charles Malone,
Robert Rattoon,
William Hubbs,
Mary Chatham,
William Aulhorn.

Report from the 31st of August to
the 1st of September,

Christian Honn,
John Corris,
James Simpson.

From the 1st to the 2d of September,
in the morning,
Dead—None.

From the 2d to the 3d of September,
in the morning,
Robert Parks,
George Trimble,
Sufanna—Mr. M'Cleod's Negro.

From the 3d to the 4th of September,
in the morning,
Margaret M'Cleod.

From the 4th to the 5th of September,
in the morning,
William Henderson,
Jacob Shoemaker,
Robert M'Gowan.

From the 5th to the 6th of September,
in the morning,
Nathaniel Foster,
Mary Ellis—aged 16 months.

From the 6th to the 7th of September,
in the morning,
James Mecklin,
John Toy,
Thomas Butt,
John Brown.

From the 7th to the 8th of September,
in the morning,
Henry Hamilton,
Mary W. Farland,
Adam Gaslinger,
William Collins.

From the 8th to the 9th of September,
in the morning,
James Reynolds,
Francis Dougherty,
Peggy Silcox.

From the 9th to the 10th of September,
in the morning,
Elizabeth Ellis,
Nelly Corral,
Samuel Peoples,
Stufil Ryentult.

From the 10th to the 11th of September,
in the morning,
William M'Donald,
Paul Long,
Catharine Turner,
Hugh Parry,
Joseph Azani.

From the 11th to the 12th of September,
in the morning,
Daniel Rourke,
Peter Smith,
William Silby,
Leonard Brown,
William Robertson,
Sarah Black,
Abner Cartwright.

From the 12th to the 13th of September, in the morning,

Thomas Ledy,
John Chapman,
Joseph Wood,
Israel Vanlieur.

From the 13th to the 14th of September, in the morning,

Jane M'Farland,
Hannah Jackson,
Samuel Bell,
Ann Jane Fottrill.

From the 14th to the 15th of September, in the morning,

William Hartran,
Patrick Rowe,
Lyman Cady,
Luke Williams,
Elizabeth Hitner,
Elizabeth Boyd,
Henry Fitt.

From the 15th to the 16th of September, in the morning,

Christian Schultz,
Henry Snyder,
John Lindon,
Eliza Gibson,
Thomas Marshall,
Ben—a Negro,
George Wilkins.

From the 16th to the 17th of September, in the morning,

James Field,
Alexander Fowler,
John Cowans,
Andrew Prenhou,
Mary Kifney,
John M'Farland.

From the 17th to the 18th of September, in the morning,

Elisha Vagur.

From the 18th to the 19th of September, in the morning,

John Dally,
Elizabeth Schryht,
Mary Maglone,
Benjamin Johnson.

From the 19th to the 20th of September, in the morning,

Arnold Craigh,
John Fletcher,

Patrick Dougherty,
Daniel M'Carter,
James Johnson,
Mary—a Negro.

From the 20th to the 21st of September, in the morning,

Died—None.

From the 21st to the 22d of September, in the morning,

Died—None.

From the 22d to the 23d of September, in the morning,

Elizabeth Smith,
Elizabeth Cotter,
Caty Culmel,
Barney O'Neal,
Richard Davis,
James Sutton,
Edward Mager.

From the 23d to the 24th of September, in the morning,

George Speice,
Robert Shaw,
Andrew M'Kew,
Anthony Jose.

From the 24th to the 25th of September, in the morning,

Cuffe Jordan,
Patrick Fleming,
Rachel Tennet,
Nelly Duncan,
Ann M'Laughlin,
Thomas Rossiter,
Elizabeth Miller.

From the 25th to the 26th of September, in the morning,

Laurence Huddlestone,
John Chapman,
William Hamilton.

From the 26th to the 27th of September, in the morning,

Mary Dennis,
Richard Jones—a Negro.

From the 27th to the 28th of September, in the morning,

Elizabeth Dickey,
Francis Ward,
Cannon Maffey,
Peter Polifton,
William Charles.

- From the 28th to the 29th of September, in the morning,
Mary Carwell,
Mary Neal,
Letty Smith.
- From the 29th to the 30th of September, in the morning,
Guy Blakely,
Tabitha Walton,
Rebecca Hubbard,
— Modestienne—a Frenchman.
- From the 30th of Sept. to the 1st of October, in the morning,
Michael Kenner,
Theobald M'Mahon,
Hugh Dougherty,
Mary Patterfon,
Thomas Morrison,
William Norris.
- From the 1st to the 2d of October, in the morning,
Andrew Ridsley,
William M'Creery.
- From the 2d to the 3d of October, in the morning,
Jane Montgomery—consumptive,
James Moore,
Clarissa Graham,
Margaret Gueron.
- From the 3d to the 4th of October, in the morning,
David Smith—a Negro.
Sufanna Reily—a child.
Neal Gallaspie.
- From the 4th to the 5th of October, in the morning,
Herman Schas.
- From the 5th to the 6th of October, in the morning,
Died—None.
- From the 6th to the 7th of October, in the morning,
Christian Overflag,
William Cofgrave,
Sarah Rofs,
Elizabeth Morgan,
M. Vanteville,
Mary Read,
H. Campbell.
- From the 7th to the 8th of October, in the morning,
Died—None.
- From the 8th to the 9th of October, in the morning,
Jane Rusk,
Michael Toy.
- From the 9th to the 10th of October, in the morning,
Died—None.
- From the 10th to the 11th of October, in the morning,
Elizabeth Rowe,
Donald M'Kenzie,
Benjamin Charles—an Indian.
- From the 11th to the 12th of October, in the morning,
Elizabeth O'Neal,
Maria Franks.
- From the 12th to the 13th of October, in the morning,
James Colhoun.
- From the 13th to the 14th of October, in the morning,
Died—None.
- From the 14th to the 15th of October, in the morning,
Died—None.
- From the 15th to the 16th of October, in the morning,
Daniel Rofs,
Henry—a Negro,
Ann Reilley.
- From the 16th to the 17th of October, in the morning,
Catharine Cooley,
Daniel Rofs.
- From the 17th to the 18th of October, in the morning,
James Fairchild.
- From the 18th to the 19th of October, in the morning,
John Rowe,
Mary Ellis.

From the 19th to the 20th of October, in the morning, John Curran.	From the 23d to the 24th of October, in the morning, Edward Edwards.
From the 20th to the 21st of October, in the morning, Hugh M'Mullin, Lætitia Hall, Catharine Buchanan, Peggy M'Donnald, Daniel M'Kenzie.	From the 24th to the 25th of October, in the morning, Died—None.
From the 21st to the 22d of October, in the morning, Elizabeth White.	October 25—the Board of Health did not meet this forenoon.
From the 22d to the 23d of October, in the morning, Dead—None.	From the 26th to the 27th of October, in the morning, James Wood. Jacob Side.
	Total 184.

DIED in the MARINE HOSPITAL, on *State-Island*.

Sept. 4. Patrick Cassidey, ship Hinde, at the Fort.	
5. William Brown, Philadelphia.	
6. William Hornsby, ship Johanna, Lisbon. French girl, Mr. Riault, New-Jersey.	
7. Joseph Mattis Stoppih, ship America, Philadelphia.	
8. Joseph Unsworth, brig Peggy, bound out.	
15. John Brown, Philadelphia.	
22. Thomas Elliot, ship Columbus, Havanna.	
23. Alexander Sutherland, brig Welcome-Return, Savanna.	
26. Henry Miller, schooner Nancy, George-Town, South-Carolina.	
Oct. 2. James Rogers, ship Commerce, St. Bartholomew's.	
6. Erich Strombourge, Barque Guitavus Adolphus, Philadelphia.	
8. Peter Sundstrum, do. do.	
13. Frederick Taylor, brig Concordia, Italy.	
17. Thomas Scott, schooner Peggy, Savanna.	
	Total 15.

DEATHS not mentioned in any of the foregoing Lists.


Aug. Mr. M'Dowell.	Sept. 11. John Turner; a native of England.
Sept. 5. Archibald Cumming Craig.	12. Mr. Lockwood, sailing-matter of the U. States Frigate.
8. Lewis List, Messenger of the War-Office of the United States.	In the Pennsylvania Hospital. Manus M'Gee.
9. A man (to all appearance a seafaring man) died suddenly in a fit in the street.	21. At Bordentown, Robert Cary, of this city.
Timothy Ruffel, Printer.	22. At Cheltenham, Ann Carnick, of this city.
10. Nathaniel Barnett. George Dormon, of the Custom-House.	At Social-Hall, Alexander Watt.

Oct. 4. Charles Davies.
7. At Haddonfield, Dr. Evan
Clement, Druggist.
John Potter, of this city, late
of London.

Oct. 11. William Gould.
John Horn.
Mr. Fleming, of Lamber-
ton, New-Jersey.
Total 19.

*Total of the Burials in the several Grave-Yards of the City
and Liberties of Philadelphia.*

Christ Church — — 41	Total brought forward 582
St. Peter's Church -- 43	Baptists — — — 20
St. Paul's Church — 17	Methodists — — 18
First Presbyterian — 29	Universalists — — 4
Second Presbyterian -- 29	St. Thomas's African } Church } 3
Third Presbyterian — 56	African Episcopal Church, Bethel — — — 3
Scots Presbyterian — 15	Jews — — — — 2
Associate Church — 6	Potters' Field — — 75
St. Mary's Chapel — 89	Kenfington — — 60
Trinity Church — 25	Coats's — — — 2
Friends — — 52	Pfeiffer's — — — 1
Free Quakers — — 8	City Hospital — — 184
Swedes — — — 49	Marine Hospital, on } State-Island } 15
German Lutheran — 88	Deaths not mentioned in any of the foregoing lists — — — 19
German Reformed } Presbyterian } 31	
United Brethren, (known also by the name Mo- ravians) — — 4	
<hr/>	
Total carried forward 582	Aggregate Total 988

 *The List of DEATHS, during the months of August, Sep-
tember, and October, the period within which the Fever was more
or less violent, we have been careful to obtain, from the records of Mi-
nisters, Sextons, &c. and though we have lists from some grave-
yards not noticed, through hurry, in the public papers, still we do not
find so many victims to the contagion, as appeared to be the ag-
gregate reported by the public papers.—We refer to the different sources
from which we obtained our information, for the authenticity of ours,
in preference to others. Not, however, without liberally admitting, that
it was owing to the confused state of the people who rendered lists—the vast
trouble and time necessary for daily receiving them—and blunders of
grave-diggers, particularly their reporting that bodies would be buried at
one time that perhaps would not be interred for several hours after-
wards; and so, perhaps, were enumerated twice. These observations
we make, as a justification for our accuracy, that naturally, by com-
parison, might be called in question.*

DONATIONS RECEIVED

By the Commissioners appointed to alleviate the Distresses

OF THE CITIZENS OF
PHILADELPHIA, &c.

1797.

	Dols.	Cts.		Dols.	Cts.
Mordecai Lewis	100		Thomas Moore	100	
Thomas M'Euen	100		Montgomery and New-		
Thomas Hale	20		bold	50	
William Buckley	40		Abraham Kintsing, junr.	10	
John Nixon	20		Charles Wharton	100	
Robert Bridges	20		James Sawyer	10	
Joseph Cruikshank	50		James Martin	20	
Jonathan Dawes, &c.	11		Cash	10	
William Bingham	300		Joseph D. Drinker	20	
Dr. Luff	8		Charles Bitters	20	
Cash	5		Nathan Shepherd	35	
Samuel Blodget	200		Dr. Adam Kuhn	100	
William Davidfon	20		George Davis	20	
Josiah Hewes	100		Clerks of the Bank of the		
Dr. Heylin	8		United States	130	
William Dawson & Son	30		John Nixon (additional)	100	
James Wills	10		Stephen Beasley (South-		
Cash	20		wark)	20	
Clerks of the Bank of N.			Archibald M'Call	100	
America	50		Cash	20	
Henry Toland	50		William Rawle	50	
James Yard	100		William Bell (a labourer)	50	
John Miller, stone cutter	50		Sarah Lea	30	
Clerks of the Bank of N.			Edward Burd	50	
America	3		Curtis Clay	20	
Joshua Byron	50		William M'Mutrie	20	
Benjamin Wilfon	20		George Irwine	10	
Thomas M. Willing	100		Cash from a friend (per		
Daniel Hartung	25		Mr. Dawson)	30	
Hannah Pemberton	40		Nathan Baker	10	
Robert Dawson	20		Samuel Merrick	10	
Stephen Girard	100		Dr. John Redman	20	

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE

From the Vicinity of Frankford.		Dols. Cts.
Isaac Wharton	100	William Bell 20
Pattison Hartshorne	100	James Read 50
Robert Smith	100	John Simpſon 30
Robert Waln	100	Cash 14 10
Nicholas Waln	100	Matthew M'Connel 15
Godfrey Haga	50	Alexander Fullerton 15
Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co.	100	Peter Wykoff 50
Miers Fiſher	50	George Weed 10
Samuel Howell	50	John D. G. Wachsmuth 50
Samuel M. Fox	50	Leopold Nottmagell 50
David Lewis	50	John M. Soullier 10
Jeffe Waln	50	Thomas Leiper 25
William Bell	50	Jacob G. Koch 100
Thomas Greaves	50	Ann Bartram 5
Samuel Breck	50	William I. Smith 50
James Aſh	50	John Palmer, junr. 5
Benjamin R. Morgan	50	Jacob Beninghove, junr. 10
George Roberts	50	Simeon Reynolds 5
Ebenezer Large	50	Zeba Barton 5
Daniel Smith	30	John Dougherty 5
Abraham Van Beuren	20	Jacob Carver 5
John Waddington	20	Benjamin Paſchall 10
John Barry	20	James Millegan 10
Abijah Dawes	15	Francis Markoe 20
Isaac Auſtin	5	Cash 10
Joſeph P. Norris	50	William Levis 20
DARBY,		Cash 23
George Latimer	50	Curtis Lewis 3
Jeffe Sharples	30	George Aſhton 20
Benjamin Say	50	Joſiah Matlack 5
Isaac Lloyd	40	James Humphreys 8
S. York	20	Samuel Williams 10
H. Sparks, junr.	20	William Sargeant 50
Captain Williams	5	William Crammond 100
H. Sparks, ſen.	5	Charles Minifie 50
Isaac Price	30	George Emlen 50
David Rawn	10	Cash from 3 Perſons 45
James Strawbridge	50	Cash 5
James S. Coxe	20	Cash 30
Peter Brown	100	Abraham Markoe 100
Robert Revetts	10	Eliza Powell 100
Thomas Randall	5	Ambroſe Vaſſe 50
		United Society of Dun- kers in and about Germantown. 83

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

	Dols.	Cts.		Dols.	Cts.
The African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas	43	91	William Sheaff	100	
Benjamin Fuller			50	Levi Hollingsworth & Son	50
Cash	10		Committee of Northern Liberties, Donations received by them.	50	
Samuel Wetherill	50				
John B. Boardley	100				
Jonathan T. Mifflin	20				

Certain Citizens in and about Trenton, viz.

Inhabitants of Mount Holly, and Citizens of Philadelphia, then in and about there	300		William Innes	30	
Conrad Hanse	20		Joseph Higbee	50	
Elisha Gordon	10		Robert Rainey	20	
Cash	3		John Harrifon	20	
Ifaac Austin (additional)	20		Joseph Brown	25	
John Coburn, rigger	20		D. C. Claypoole	20	
George Schloffer	50		Michael Roberts	20	
Thomas & John Clifford	50		Samuel Baker	20	
Christopher Marshall (additional)	60		David Jackson, junr.	10	
John Rofs	100		William Innes, junr.	10	
Cash	5		Philip M. Laughlin	8	
Cash (per William Moulder)	5	18	John Lindsay	4	
Asheton & George Humphreys	50		John Patten	2	
Bickham & Reefe	60		Cash	2	
Edmund Burns	25		Esther Cox	24	
Thomas Biggs	20		Ebenezer Cowell	2	
David Jackson	20		Mary Cowell	3	
Sharp Delany	100		Joseph Habershham	15	
William Sanfom	200		Cash	5	
Ellifon & John Perot	100		James Thorn	1	
			Cash	3	
			Olivia Sprout	5	
			Timothy Pickering	25	
			Samuel Boys	10	
			Inhabitants of Trenton (per James Ewing)	370	

The Charity Sermons preached at Germantown by Dr. Blair and Mr. Abercrombie (per Robert Hare & P. F. Glentworth)	422	91	The Indian Corn gevin by C. Marshall, sold	24	
Thomas W. Francis	100		Ebenezer Hazard	20	
Elizabeth Dawfon, Vine-street	2		Cash	10	
			Dr. William Rogers	10	
			Clerks of the Bank of the United States (additional)	3	

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE

	Dols.	Cts.		Dols.	Cts.
<i>Certain Inhabitants of Chel-</i>			James Pemberton	5	0
<i>tenham.</i>	61	35	Samuel Morris	5	0
Thomas H. Leuffer	25		Isaac Parrish	2	0
Cash	10		James Cresson	2	0
Robert Coleman, Lan-			Thomas Morgan	3	0
caster County	100		Andrew Lenau	5	
<hr/>			Frederick Haylor	2	
<i>From Adam Lechler, & Work-</i>			John E. Cresson	8	
<i>men upon the Roads, under</i>			John Care	6	
<i>him, viz.</i>			Luke W. Morris	2	0
Adam Lechler	1		Thomas Shoemaker	2	0
Archibald Curry	1		William Pritchett	1	0
Samuel Shaw	1		Israel Morris, junr.	2	0
Hugh Roy	5	0	Alexander Wilcocks	4	0
James Carr	5	0	<hr/>		
Philip Ankerman	1		<i>From Citizens of Carlisle, viz.</i>		
James Reily	5	0	John Montgomery	1	0
Casper Sheffmeyer	5	0	James Hamilton	1	5
Christopher Diel	5	0	T. Duncan	1	5
<hr/>			D. Watts	1	0
Hilary Baker (Mayor)	2	0	William Lyon	1	0
Thomas Snowden's wife	1	0	Robert Davidson	1	0
George Nelson	6	0	James Duncan	1	0
<hr/>			John Creigh	1	0
<i>Inhabitants of Haddonfield and</i>			Robert Miller	1	0
<i>Citizens of Philadelphia</i>			Samuel A. M'Cosky	1	0
<i>there (per Thomas Red-</i>			Dr. C. Nisbet	6	
<i>man)</i>	409	55	George Kline	4	
From said T. Redman,			Samuel Postlethwaite	6	60
a Balance of money			Charles Cooper	3	30
subscribed in 1793,			John Hughes	6	
'and not then received	20	21	James Armstrong	1	0
<hr/>			Ephraim Steel	4	
<i>Inhabitants of Wilmington and</i>			Thomas Foster	2	20
<i>Brandywine, received in a</i>			George Logue	3	
<i>letter from Joseph Warner,</i>			Samuel Laird	4	
<i>and John White</i>	411	38	James Given	2	
<hr/>			John Douglas	3	
John Guillemard, Esq.			William Miller	3	30
(per P. Nicklin & Co.)	100		Edward Magauran	3	
<hr/>			Hugh Wilson	3	
<i>Certain Citizens of Philadel-</i>			Charles Bovard	2	20
<i>phia, residing in Montgo-</i>			Joseph Hays	3	30
<i>mercy County, viz.</i>			John Holmes	6	
			Charles M'Clure	6	
			David Irvine	4	

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

	Dols.	Cts.		Dols.	Cts.
Samuel Gustine	5		Jonathan Tyfon, junr.	5	
Jacob Crever	1		Samuel Scholfield	5	
James Lamberton	4		Joseph Shoemaker	5	
John Noble	1		William Jones	4	
William Levis	2		James M ^c Calla	4	
William Irvine	10		Dominic Sheridan	1	
Cash	2		John C. Wells	10	
From Radnor (per Simeon Matlack)	10	32	Cash (by the hands of William M. Smith)	30	
Henry Hill	50		Phineas Bond	100	
In a letter, signed a Negro	5		Samuel Wilcocks	20	
Huizinga Neffchett	40		Inhabitants of Germantown and Citizens of Philadelphia there, by the hands of Gideon H. Wells (additional)	480	
Collection for Wood (per T. Wistar and G. Pennock)	1104	10	—————		
<i>Inhabitants of Abington and Citizens of Philadelphia there.</i>			<i>Citizens of Philadelphia, in Blockly and Merion townships, and Inhabitants of said townships, as follows.</i>		
William Sirgreaves	30		Charles Biddle	50	
James Whitehead	30		Richard Peters	50	
Ralph Peacock	30		Col. Francis Johnson	20	
Leefon & Joseph Simons	30		David Jackson	15	
John Maybin	30		Mrs. Harland	10	
Isaac Potts	30		Algernon Roberts	15	
John Sitgreaves	20		David Roberts	10	
John R. Smith	20		Edward Roberts	10	
James Gibson	20		Hugh Knox	10	
William Flentham	20		John Heaton	10	
William Redwood	20		Thomas & Hugh Cooper	10	
Lydia Gilpin	20		Mary Roberts	50	
Robinson & Paul	20		Thomas George	20	
Samuel Noble	15		Jonathan Jones	20	
Cash (from a Lady)	10		Rachael Wharton	20	
Thomas Barnes, junr.	10		Jacob Jones	10	
William Shannon	10		James Jones	10	
Isaac Rich	10		Charles Jervis	8	
Abraham Colladay	10		Jacob Zell	6	
Richard Noble	10		William Govett	6	
William & Jonathan Leedom	10		William Roberts	6	
Samuel Jones	10		Thomas Cochran	5	
Robert Hiltzheimer	5		Enoch Thomas	5	
Thomas Baker	5		William Huzey	5	
Richard Robinson	5				

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE

	Dols.	Cts.		Dols.	Cts.
George Helmbold	5		Abington, by Thomas Barnes, junr.	11	70
Robert Roberts	5		Inhabitants of the Borough of Lancaster,		
John Price	5		by Paul Zantzinger	720	4
Rebecca George	5		—		
Richard Crane	5		<i>From a number of Citizens then at Lancaster, as follows.</i>		
William Jones	4		Philip Wager	50	
Joseph Price	4		Samuel Hayes	50	
Abel Thomas	4		Aaron Levy	50	
Jesse Thomas	4		Michael Keppele	50	
Henry Helmbold	4		W. Barton	20	
John Thomas	4		Hyman Marks	20	
Mary Streper	3		George Lauman	20	
George Hirts	3		Henry Miller	20	
Isaac Bond	3		Benjamin S. Barton	10	
Thomas Goucher	4	20	Aaron Joseph	5	
David Zell	2	50	John Carrell	14	
Phineas Roberts	2		S. Gottshalkson	9	
Benjamin Tunis	2		Isaac Roush	5	
Jacob Latch	2		Elizabeth Helm	20	
Mrs. Sheets	2		Mrs. Rhea	10	
Jonathan Walton	2		Josiah H. Anthony	20	
John Thomas	2		James Furze	5	
Jacob Morris	2		Mark Kaennel	5	
John Frailey	2		Cash	3	10
Lewis Thomas	2		Cash	15	
Mary Gamble	2		Christopher Marshall (additional)	20	
Alexander Hoffman	1	55	Joseph Hutchins	10	
Jacob Johnson	1	10	John Singer	20	
George Marshall	1		Cash (by Col. James Read)	20	
David Latch	1		Jonathan B. Smith	30	
John Rowland	1		Israel Pleafants	25	
George Grove	1		Cash (from Manheim, Lancaster County)	4	71
Frederick Grove	1		Owen Jones	20	
Isaac Hayn	1		Caleb Carmalt	20	
Hannah Moore	1		Jonathan Carmalt	20	
Jacob Huffman	1		Richard Rundle	100	
Christopher Leech	1		Crook Stevenfon	20	
Cash from sundry persons	18		—		
James M ^r . Henry, Secretary of War	50		John Barnes	10	
Jacob Beninghove	10		Cash (by said Barnes)	20	
Robert Haydock (additional)	12				
Benjamin Price	20				
Certain Inhabitants of					

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

	Dols	Cts.		Dols.	Cts.
Cash (additional from Cheltenham)	9	67	Cash from Horsham and part of Bucks county, by said Smith	65	52
Cash (additional from Germantown)	50		Do. from Cocolico, Lancaster county	15	
Cash (by Israel Israel)	20		Do. from upper Springfield, by J. Sanfom	100	
Alexander J. Dallas	20		Do. from Whitemarsh, &c. by Jos. Potts	104	40
Joseph Reed	20		Daniel Broadhead	20	
<hr/>			Cash from Strasburg, by G. Duffield	56	15
<i>Inhabitants of Middletown, New-Castle county, by John Merrit and Robert Maxwell</i>	120	87	From Abington, collected by T. Fletcher, O. Hallowell, & W. Doughty	153	85
P. W. Gallaudet, omitted in the list from Trenton,	25		Cash, by the chairman	2	
Zaccheus Collins	50		<hr/>		
Sundry inhabitants of Monmouth county, New-Jersey, by M. J. Rhees,	68		<i>From citizens of Philadelphia at Chester, and inhabitants of that place:</i>		
Benjamin Loxley	20		William Martin	3	30
Morgan J. Rhees	12		And for Chester Lodge	10	
Rachael Richards, (by S. Bettle)	50		Seth Willis	5	
Cash from West Nantmill township	10	58	Joseph Russell	20	
Do. from Plymouth, Montgomery county	35		Mary Norris	5	
Do. from Charlestown township, Chester county	45		Joseph Ashbridge	5	
William Tilghman	50		John Wall	10	
Capt. Billis	2		Edward Russell	10	
M. Lankanaye	2		Cash	2	
Mrs. Brown	2		Jonas Eyre	5	
Dr. Ulmo	2		John Harrison	5	
M. Rayner	2		Isaac Fitzrandolph	5	
M. Brockman	4		Abraham Dicks	2	
M. Sevene	2		John Scully	1	
Capt. Ruffel	2		Cash	1	
Capt. Roliff	2		Edward Engle	1	
Capt. Mafon	3		Peter Stimble	1	
Capt. Whelan	2		Capt. M. Giddis	5	
Robert Corry	40		William Budden	5	
Ann Corry	10		John Odenheimer, jun.	2	
William Smith	25		Raper Hoskins	20	
			Cash	2	
			Do.	20	
			M. Harris	5	

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE

	Dols.	Cts		Dols.	Cts.
W. Anderfon	5		Additional from Co-		
Jonas Sharples	2		lumbia, Lancaster		
Capt. Shotten	1		county, forwarded		
From Charlestown			by Joseph Smith	86	
township, Chester			A donation was recei-		
county, sent per			ved from John		
Matthias Penne-			Young, attorney at		
becker	7		law in Greensburgh		
From West Nantmel,			by the hands of Ni-		
Chester county, re-			cholas Collin	30	
ceived by Michael			A donation was recei-		
Graham	4	81	ved from Dromore		
Doct ^r Robert David-			township, Lancaster		
son, the contribu-			county, by the hands		
tions of the Presby-			of Philip Wager	46	13
terian congregation			Inhabitants of Upper		
at Carlisle	130	40	Dublin township,		
David Lapsley	20		Montgomery coun-		
Henry Helmuth	20		ty, by Joseph Lukens	62	34
By the hands of Tho-			Cash by the hands of		
mas Wistar	12		Robert Wharton,	200	

DONATIONS OF FLOUR,

VEGETABLES, &c. &c.

Received by the Commissioners appointed to alleviate the Distresses

OF THE CITIZENS OF

PHILADELPHIA, &c.

1797.

From Citizens of Philadelphia now in and about Germantown, received in a letter from Robert Hare, John Dunlap, John McCulloch, Benjamin Chew, jun. Henry Pratt, Peter Baynton, Gideon Hill Wells and William Wistar, (omitted in the list of Cash Donations,) Dollars 389 70 Cents.

Sufanna Jones, 3 1-2 hundred rye meal.

Charles Harris, 100 loaves of bread, 1 barrel of cheefe, 1 keg of sugar, and 1 keg tea.

George Pennock, for Caspar Wistar, sen. 40 bushels potatoes.

Christopher Marshall, 32 bushels of Indian corn.

Widow Taylor and son, Strawberry-alley, 100 loaves of bread.

William Zane, by James Oldden, 40 bushels of potatoes.

From New-Jersey, 4 do.

Joseph Tatnall, 15 barrels flour.

James Jack, 3 tierces of rice.

John Bedford, 3 sheep, 8 bushels of potatoes, 100 loaves of bread, and 49 cabbages.

Balzer Emerick, 100 loaves of bread.

John Haworth, 4 loads of potatoes.

Jonathan Meredith, a waggon load of potatoes and turnips.

Certain inhabitants of Roxborough township, by Peter Robeson, 3 barrels flour, a quantity of potatoes, turnips and cabbages.

Inhabitants of Cheltenham, 40 bushels potatoes, 100 and 3 quarters of rye flour, 2 bushels of Indian meal, and of 96lb. bacon and beef.

Sundry persons in the neighbourhood of the Gulph Mill, in Upper Merion, 9 half barrels of buckwheat meal, 2 ditto of rye meal, 24 bushels of potatoes and 4 of turnips.

John Haworth, 1 additional load of potatoes.

John Jones, of Montgomery, 12 bushels of potatoes and turnips,

Inhabitants of Radnor, 22 bushels of potatoes, 6 do. of turnips, 18 fowls, 1 piece of bacon, 1 sheep, 4 1-2 cwt. of buckwheat meal. 1 1-2 do. of rye flour, 3 do. of corn meal.

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE

Inhabitants of Wilmington and Brandywine, 15 barrels of middlings, and 2 of Indian meal.

Charles West, of New-Jersey, 102 lbs. mutton, and 47 lbs. beef.

Inhabitants of Radnor, additional, 15 bushels potatoes, 4 1-2 C. buckwheat meal, 3 bushels turnips, 1 1-2 do. rye flour.

Widow Lukens, 3 C. buckwheat meal, 15 bushels potatoes, 6 bushels turnips.

Pearson Hunt, 3 barrels rye flour.

Inhabitant of New-Castle, 1 barrel superfine flour, 1 barrel potatoes, 1 keg pearl barley, and 1 bag turnips.

Charles Shoemaker, 5 barrels flour.

By the hands of Joseph Bringhurst, jun. a bundle of new clothes for women.

Inhabitants of Manheim township, Lancaster county, 12 barrels flour.

Inhabitants of Cheltenham, additional, 1 1-2 C. rye flour, 2 C. buckwheat meal, 2 bushels Indian meal, 30 bushels potatoes.

Inhabitants of Strasburg township, Lancaster county, 8 barrels wheat flour, and 6 of rye.

Clerks of the market, collected by them, 2 cart loads provisions.

Charles Biddle, Esq. 1 side of beef.

Inhabitants of Roxborough, additional, by Peter Robeson, 1 waggon load of potatoes, cabbages and turnips.

Dr. Edwards, 22 bushels potatoes.

Sundry inhabitants of West Nantmill township, Chester county, by D. Denny, 8 barrels rye, buckwheat and Indian corn flour.

Plymouth, Montgomery county, by William Sheppard, 4 barrels and 158 lbs. common flour, 2 do. buckwheat meal, 5 bushels potatoes and 2 do. of turnips.

Leacock township, Lancaster county, by Abraham Gibbons, 29 C. buckwheat meal, 17 C. 2 quarters rye do. 6 C. 2 quarters, 14 lb. wheat flour.

Cocolico township, Lancaster county, by Peter Murten, 29 barrels wheat, rye, and buckwheat flour.

Earl township, Lancaster county, by Frederick Seiger and William Smith, 15 barrels wheat, rye and buckwheat flour, and 4 pieces of bacon.

Salsbury township, Lancaster county, by David Buckley, 784 lb. wheat; 343 lb. rye; and 967 lb. buckwheat flour.

Columbia, Lancaster county, by Emanuel Reigart, 8 barrels wheat flour, and 4 of rye.

Abington, 1 C. flour; 1 bushel of buckwheat meal; 37 bushels of potatoes; 21 do. of turnips; and 12 cabbages.

Donegal township, Lancaster county, by Paul Zantzinger, 9 barrels of wheat, and 1 of rye flour.

Earl township, do. by John Senfenig and John Smith, 11 barrels rye flour.

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

Manheim township, Lancaster county, 12 barrels wheat flour.

Earl township, Lancaster county, additional, 2 barrels wheat, 150 lb. rye flour, forwarded by Frederick Sieger and Wm. Smith.

Charlestown township, Chester county, additional, 7 barrels buckwheat meal, 6 do. rye, by Matthias Pennebecker.

George Moore and Bernard Kart, a quantity of provisions collected in High-street market.

West Nantmill township, Chester county, by the hands of Michael Graham, 2 C. 1 qr. 26 lb. wheat, 3 C. 1 qr. 27 lb. rye, 14 C. 1 qr. 27 lb. buckwheat flour.

Salsbury township, Lancaster county, by Archibald Henderson's team, per Samuel Smith, 8 C. 1 qr. 5 lb. wheat; 14 Cwt. rye; 18 C. 1 qr. 11 lb. buckwheat flour, forwarded by Daniel Buckley.

Hempfield township, Lancaster county, 20 barrels of flour, forwarded by Paul Zantzinger.

Manor township, Lancaster county, 19 barrels flour.

Salsbury township, Lancaster county, forwarded by Daniel Buckley, additional, 724 lb. wheat, 183 lb. buckwheat flour.

Earl township, Lancaster county, additional, 5 barrels wheat and rye meal, forwarded by Frederick Seeger.

Earl township, Lancaster county, additional, 3 barrels and a bag of wheat, rye, and buckwheat flour, forwarded by Fred: Seeger.

Lancaster township, additional, by Andrew Graff's waggon, forwarded by Paul Zantzinger, 7 barrels flour.

Earl township, additional, by Michael Kinfer's waggon, 3 barrels and 3 quarters of rye, wheat and buckwheat flour.

Strasburgh township, Lancaster county, additional, by Nicholas Walter's waggon, 10 barrels flour.

Mount-Joy township, Lancaster county, 26 barrels of wheat, rye, and buckwheat flour, forwarded by Paul Zantzinger.

Lampetre township, Lancaster county, forwarded by Edward Hand, 28 barrels of wheat and rye flour.

Earl township, Lancaster county, additional, forwarded by Frederick Sieger, 6 barrels flour.

Little Britain township, Lancaster county, forwarded by Vincent Stubbs, 7 barrels flour.

Conestogo township, Lancaster county, 15 barrels wheat and rye flour, manufactured at Shenks, Wengers and Ehrbach's mills.

Charlestown township, Chester county, 6 barrels of flour, manufactured at Abraham Haldeman's mill.

Lancaster township, 5 barrels wheat and rye flour, sent by Michael Rine's waggon.

Leacock township, Lancaster county, forwarded by Peter Eckart, 2 barrels of flour, delivered to John Smith, overseer of the poor, through mistake, and by him sent to the board of commissioners.

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE

Cocolico township, Lancaster county, additional, by the hands of George Whiteman, 4 barrels of flour.

Mount-Joy township, Lancaster county, additional, by the hands of Philip Frederick, five barrels of flour.

DONATIONS received by SAMUEL COATES, for the use of the Sick Poor suffering by the yellow fever in 1797 ; and paid by him to the order of the Committee appointed to distribute the same.

	Dols. Cts.
PHILIP NICKLIN, of Philadelphia,	100
Michael Kepele, ditto	8
James Gibson, ditto	8
Samuel M. Fox, ditto	8
Joseph P. Norris, ditto	8
James Strawbridge, ditto	20
Thomas M' Euen, ditto	10
Anna Palmer, ditto	20
Mordecai Lewis, ditto	30
Sundry Exiles from Philadelphia, and inhabitants of Chester, per Captain Harrison,	158 30
Stephen Girard, Philadelphia,	20
John Ashley, ditto late of G. Britain,	200
Simon Walker, ditto	50
Peter Blight, ditto	100
Elias Boudinot, ditto late of N. Jersey	50
Robert Ralston, the subscription of sundry inhabitants of Philadelphia now at Wilmington, in Delaware	300
Subscription of 5 ladies of Philadelphia at Wilmington,	12
Nathaniel Falconer, Philadelphia,	20
Ifaac & Edward Penington, ditto	100
Henry Philips, ditto	100
Jared Ingersol, ditto	166 66
John Travis, ditto	100
Cash, ditto	10
Ditto, of James Tiffin, ditto	20
Jacob Shoemaker, the subscription of several Philadelphians at Wilmington,	100
Michael Prager, Philadelphia	100
Benville, Burlington	100
Samuel Chew, Chester-Town, Maryland	10
Unknown, from New-York, per post	10
Benedict Dorsey, Philadelphia	35

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

	Dols. Cts.
Samuel Coates, remitted him by the Citizens of New- bury-Port, New-England	66 ⁰⁰
Richard Harrison, Philadelphia	20
Samuel Meredith, esquire, ditto	50
Thomas Willing, esquire, ditto	100
John Taggart, ditto	30
Isaac Hazlehurst & Son, ditto	50
John Elliott, ditto	30
Joseph Swift, esquire, ditto	50
Benjamin Buck, ditto	10
Edward Simmons, ditto	20
The Inhabitants of the Village of Frankfort, by Isaac Worrell	112 93
John Redinger,	3
The Inhabitants of Portsmouth in New-Hampshire,	220
Independents, a religious society at Portsmouth, do.	44 25
The South Parish of Portsmouth, New-Hampshire	50
The Parish of Greenland, near do.	35
A Gentleman of Northampton, in do.	13 38
Matthew Clarkson, Philadelphia, (late Mayor)	35
Huy Cr. Vanvagenen, of Newtown, Long-Island, per Hilary Baker, Mayor of the city	50
Thomas Leacock, per Thomas Parker	3 34
Religious society of St. Ann's Church near Middleton, on Delaware	50
Total	3577 49
Deduct overpaid Samuel Coates, by a subscriber being an error,	136 66
Total is	3440 83

DONATIONS received by the Committee at the Tents.

Andrew Hannis, 1 hundred bundles of straw, 1 barrel of flour,
1 bushel of potatoes, and half a bushel of onions.

Benjamin Nones, 1 tierce of rice.

Richard Peters, Esq. bacon, bread, Indian meal, cabbage, beans
and milk.

Francis Johnson, 1 quarter of beef.

Robert Ansley, 1 bullock.

Caleb Lippincott, (New-Jersey) 1 cord of wood.

Israel and D. Jones, 1 1-2 cwt. sugar, and a quantity of coffee.

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE

John Clenin, Berks county, 1 keg of butter.

Shubart Armitage, 1 load of straw.

Richard Wells, a quantity of potatoes and straw.

John M'Elroy, 11 bushels of potatoes, 2 1-2 bushels of buck-wheat meal, and 5 gallons of milk, beets and carrots.

Inhabitants of Darby, viz.

Richard Lloyd, 4 half barrels flour.

Edward Horne, 3 bushels potatoes, 4lbs. butter, and 22lbs. beef.

Samuel Ash, 1 side beef, 27lbs.

John Hurt, 1 quarter do. 125 do.

Aaron Oakford, 1 do. 135 do.

Jonathan Haycock, 1 sheep, 45 lb. 1 bushel turnips, and straw.

John Rively, 6 pair shoes.

Isaac Oakford, 5 bushels potatoes.

Jacob Serrell, 1 cwt. middlings.

The inhabitants of Radnor, collected by Simeon Matlack, Nathan Evans, and Joseph Hoskins, as follows:—34 bushels potatoes, 4 bushels turnips, 1 quarter beef, 7 quarters mutton, 1 quarter veal, 14 fowls, 27lbs. butter, 70 lbs. rye flour, 3 bushels buck-wheat meal, 4 cwt. Indian do.

Enoch Edwards, 18 bushels potatoes.

Samuel Coates, 40 pair shoes, valued at 30 dollars.

Thomas Parker, 1 load of straw.

Jeremiah Warder, 3 fat cattle.

Elias Boudinot, a quantity of potatoes and vegetables.

Conrad Hanse, 8 bushels of potatoes.

Willet Smith, 58 loaves of bread.

Samuel Cooper, a quantity of sweet potatoes and cabbage, and 3 quarters of mutton.

Joseph Burroughs, 8 1-2 C. rice, 12lb. tea, and 4lb. chocolate.

M. R. Peters, 1 sheep, 8 bushels of potatoes, and a quantity of bread and vegetables.

From different persons living on the five mile round, 54 bushels potatoes, 46 heads of cabbage, 4 bushels onions, and 96 beets, collected by Nicholas Pickle.

James Cruksbank, jun. 100 bundles of straw.

Benjamin Chew, jun. 14 bushels potatoes, and a load of oat straw.

Mr. Lloyd, a load of straw.

John Kerwin, 10 bushels potatoes, and a number of cabbages.

Dr. Logan, a load of straw, a quantity of potatoes, turnips, apples and old clothes.

Thomas Leiper, a waggon load of potatoes.

Carlalader Foulke, 10 bushels potatoes.

David Breintnall, 2 sheep, 8 bushels potatoes, 12 heads cabbage, and 100 loaves of bread.

Sundry inhabitants of Haverford township, Delaware county, forwarded by colonel Richard Willing, a quantity of potatoes, and 5 barrels of rye, Indian and buck-wheat meal.

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

Jacob Downing, 2 barrels of flour.	
Richard Folwell, 1 barrel of flour.	
William Brown's three sons, 500wt. pilot bread.	
William Lippincott, 20 bushels potatoes.	
George Latimer, 1 load of straw.	
Thomas Cuthbert, 1 do.	
Peter and Henry Miercken, 1 barrel fugar.	
William Hunter, 1 load of straw, 4 bushels potatoes.	
William Johnston, a quantity of vegetables.	
George Sterling, 100 loaves of bread.	
Richard Footman and Isaac Jones, the subscrip- tion of a number of citizens residing at Burling- ton,	Dollars 358 20 Cts.
Resolve Smith, Southwark,	50
James Stewart, jun.	30
B. Sims,	40
Andrew Kennedy, by Archibald M'Elroy,	50
Captain William Jones,	30
Cash,	40
Archibald M'Elroy, being the donations of a number of the inhabitants of Bristol, and citizens of Philadelphia residing in and about Bristol,	470
Cash,	40
John Davis and Co.	50
Dr. Preston, Newtown township, 3 quarters beef.	
Sundry persons of the same place, through Thomas Inch, 59 bushels of potatoes, 5 cwt. rye and buckwheat meal, 1 cheese.	
Major Jackson do. 20 bushels of potatoes, 2 sheep, wt. 84 lb.	
Mr. Faron, Northern-Liberties, 1 quarter of beef, 14 bushels of potatoes and turnips.	
Michael Kunkle, 344 lbs. bread.	
William Davidson, 20 bushels potatoes, 2 cwt. rye flour.	
Samuel Pleasants, 40 bushels of potatoes, 10 do. turnips, 100 cabbages.	
Joseph B. Bird, 1 fat cow.	
From the inhabitants of Evesham, New-Jersey, a quantity of provisions, valued at 82 dollars, 45 cents. Cash 162 dollars, 82 cents.	

DONATIONS received by the Committee of Southwark.

John M'Ciellan, of Frankford, by the hands of John Jones,
250 lb. prime beef, and 12 heads of cabbage.
Joseph Williamson, 1 cart-load of potatoes.

DONATIONS.

Andrew Hannis, 10 bushels potatoes.
 Mrs. Gardiner, 100 loaves bread.
 Thomas Ferguson, 2 barrels ship bread.
 L. Morris, 1 barrel flour.
 Levi Hollingsworth and son, 1 barrel middlings.
 Peter and Jonathan Robeson, 1 do. do.
 A citizen of Philadelphia, half a tierce of rice.
 Henry Bell, 1 cwt. rice, 6lb. chocolate, and 3lb. bohea tea.
 Butchers at High-street market, 3 barrow loads of meat.
 Butchers at Newmarket, 3 do. do.
 Thompson and Lyle, 6lb. tea.
 A citizen of Southwark, six dollars worth of loaf bread.
 Captain Eldridge, 10 dollars cash.
 A Citizen of Philadelphia, 5 do.

Donations received by the Committee of the Northern-Liberties.

The committee of enquiry have received, since their establishment, from sundry persons, residents of the township, the following donations, for the use of the poor, viz.

	<i>Dolls.</i>	<i>Cts.</i>
From sundry inhabitants, at the Town-house	94	54
From the first district, collected by Mess. Pentland, Souder and Kunkle,	133	25
From the second district, collected by Messrs. J. Groves and Goodman,	113	90
From the sixth district, collected by Mess. D. Groves, Browne and Sherlock,	25	87
From the seventh district, collected by Messrs. Miller and Wolpert,	22	25
From the eighth district, collected by Mr. Keen,	9	
From the ninth district, collected by Messrs. Macferran and Kher,	22	12
Total,	<i>Dolls.</i> 420	93

Of which sum they have expended as follows, viz.

Cash presented the commissioners	50	
Relief granted sundry poor sick persons	11	
Paid for provisions distributed to the poor	29	43
Paid incidental expences	37	49
	<i>Dolls.</i> 127	92

HISTORY
OF THE
PESTILENCE,
COMMONLY CALLED
Yellow Fever,
WHICH ALMOST
DESOLATED PHILADELPHIA,
IN THE MONTHS OF
AUGUST, SEPTEMBER & OCTOBER,
1798.

BY THOMAS CONDIE & RICHARD FOLWELL.

Philadelphia:
FROM THE PRESS OF R. FOLWELL.

1860

1861

1862

1863

1864

1865

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HISTORY

OF THE YELLOW FEVER.

Sketch of the situation of Philadelphia—State of the city—Remarks upon the weather and diseases of man and other animals previous to the appearance of the Yellow Fever, in 1798.

PHILADELPHIA, the metropolis of the United States of America, is situated in 39 degrees 56 minutes of North latitude, and 75 degrees 9 minutes of longitude, West from London; is upon the West bank of the river Delaware, and about 120 miles, by the course of the river, from the Atlantic Ocean, and is 6 miles above the junction of the Schuylkill with the Delaware.

Agreeable to its original plan, it extends from the Delaware, which is on the East, to the Schuylkill, on the West, making a plot of about two miles in length, and about one mile in breadth, North and South. The ground is level, and generally moist; its medium height, above the level of the two waters, is thirty-four to forty feet.—The principal part of the surrounding country is level, generally cleared of woods, and under cultivation: a considerable portion of that between the city and confluence of the rivers, commonly called the Neck, is meadow ground, low

and consequently moist ; in the vicinity of the rivers, it is frequently overflowed, and subjects the inhabitants to *fever-and-ague*. But, towards the North and North-West, the situation is much higher. The river Delaware, opposite the city, is about one mile broad; the tide rises six feet perpendicular, and flows at the rate of four miles an hour ; its opposite shore, in the state of Jersey, is level ; the soil dry and sandy.

The buildings do not at present extend over half the ground designated in the original plan ; as the inhabitants, from obvious commercial advantages, have preferred the Delaware front rather than the Schuylkill : hence, at present, the houses extend nearly three miles North and South along the Delaware, and about three-quarters of a mile due West toward the Schuylkill. They are chiefly built with bricks, from two to five stories high ; the streets are regular, wide and airy, except Water-street, which occupies the space between the bank upon which Front-street is built, and the river, which was originally designed for stores. It is the narrowest, yet one of the most populous in the city : the street is only thirty feet wide, and but a little above the surface of the tide : the houses are high, and the greater part of them have no yards, particularly those situated on the West or bank side ; an inconvenience which tends much to render the street more nauseous. It is much confined, ill-aired, and, in every respect, is a disagreeable street. There are several alleys in the city, which are also narrow, confined and filthy.

The river, for nearly the whole extent of the city, is indented with forced wharves, made, as is usual, of square caissons, with logs, and filled with earth, vessels-ballast, stones, &c.

Where Dock-street is now built, in former years, was a swamp or canal, with a small stream of water running through it, extending from the river to Third-street, which became a general nuisance, and a common reservoir for the filth of a large part of the city. It now forms a handsome, airy, serpentine street, having an arch underneath, covered with earth, and paved. This concave sewer begins beyond Sixth-street, in Potter's-Field, and is carried under ground below the jail to Walnut-street, and down Walnut street to Dock-street, between Second and Third-streets, and from thence down Dock-street to the river. At necessary distances, there are apertures left to receive the water from the gutters of the adjacent streets : these openings, in the intense

heat of summer, emit a very disagreeable stench. There are several sinks dug, to receive the water from the gutters, in those parts of the city, where there is no other declivity to carry it off. Two of these, which are the most remarkable, are situated in Market-street, at the corner of Fourth-street. They, like the apertures to the Dock-street sewer, exhale the most noxious effluvia; for, dead animals and every kind of nausea, are thrown into them, and there remain till they become putrified. During the sickness in summer 1797, Dr. Pascalis mentions, that being frequently called out during the night, he could strongly perceive the smell issuing from these sinks in Market-street as far as Mulberry-street on the one side, and Chestnut-street on the other.

A few years ago, there were numbers of marshes and ponds of stagnant water, in the out-lots of the city, which periodically subjected the inhabitants surrounding them to fever-and-ague. These public nuisances are now either drained, filled up, or built upon; since which, but few are troubled with this complaint. There are, still, some remaining in Southwark and the Northern Liberties: there are also many vacancies on the bank of the river, which are covered with a thick bed of mucky filth; the wharves, likewise, at times, become filled up with impure substances from the adjoining streets; and, during the summer, emit, at low water, a very offensive smell. A small stream of water, called Pegg's Run, passes through Spring-Garden and the Northern Liberties, the bottom of which is wide and mucky; its banks are unimproved, and rendered offensive by the offals which are thrown upon them from the slaughter-houses, tan-yards, &c. adjoining. Beyond this, upon the Delaware, the improvements called Kensington, are situated. A great part of which, at high water, is nearly surrounded by the tide, which, when low, leaves a broad, muddy marsh, more than a quarter of a mile round its south and west parts.— Upon this, the heat in summer, as might be expected, produces similar effects. One other source of putrid animal exhalation, which very forcibly attracts the notice of strangers, is most sensibly discovered in thickly inhabited places during the summer months. Most every dwelling of the city has a privy-house, situated generally at the farthest end of the yard; but the houses on the bank side of Front-street, have them in their cellars: many of the sinks, over which they stand, are dug to the depth of between twenty to thirty feet, and built round with bricks: They are not

cleaned till nearly full, which is once in ten or twelve years, and then, in many cases, it is considered easier to cover them over, and dig others. After many years fermentation, these sinks exhale a very putrid and offensive effluvia, which is abundantly emitted when the air is moist, calm or sultry, particularly towards the end of summer, or after the action of severe heat has excited the putrefactive fermentation.—The inhabitants are still so well apprised of its consequence, and knowing that the depth of their wells is not a sufficient preventative against this offensive exhalation, that they generally provide their necessaries with an air-pipe, rising a few feet from the top; but still, under particular circumstances of the atmosphere, the ascending effluvia is frequently diffused round the houses, alleys, &c. where it is highly nauseous. Some idea of the noxious quality of this gas may be formed from the effects which it produces upon combustion. If a lighted candle is let down one of these sinks, it will frequently be extinguished.

There are many grave yards in the city, and perhaps some other sources of putrid exhalation, which are in a manner incident to all large cities. It is not supplied with running water or fountains; but with pump-wells, in distributive number, through the city and suburbs; many of which, perhaps, from a communication with the adjacent necessaries, have already become unfit even to wash the houses.

The foregoing description is chiefly confined to those circumstances which are more particularly connected with the object of our undertaking; for, notwithstanding these inconveniencies, still there are few cities that can vie with Philadelphia in point of elegance or even cleanliness: the streets intersect each other at right angles, and are open to the winds from all points; which, together with their width, regular pavement, conveniency of foot-ways, and the practice of the inhabitants of frequently washing the outsides of their houses, give to the city a singular appearance of regularity and neatness, highly admired by foreigners.

The City and Liberties are estimated to contain about ten thousand houses, and the number of inhabitants is not over-rated when we estimate the total between fifty-five and sixty thousand souls. But, notwithstanding this increase of population, the prosperity of the city has not equalled that of former years. The European wars, at an early period, produced considerable changes on the trade, property and necessaries of life in Philadelphia. The first influx of

foreigners from Europe and the West-Indies raised the markets, house-rents, &c. and gave to the city, in general, a flourishing appearance; property rose above its accustomed value. But the same cause has, of late years, been productive of very different effects; and our once flourishing trade has suffered very considerable diminution: Citizens over-reaching their capitals, the general failure of land speculation, the depredations committed upon our commerce, together with the general stagnation of trade in almost every department, has of late been followed by an increased number of bankruptcies, that at least equal any period since the revolution. Such a combination of untoward circumstances could hardly fail of producing numberless distresses. But evils of a more serious nature followed: That malignant scourge of mankind, the Yellow Fever, again appeared in the city, marking its path with unprecedented horror and devastation. Scarcely recovered from the baleful effects which it produced, last year, in the months of August, September and October, which dispersed more than two-thirds of the inhabitants; cut off near thirteen hundred of those that remained, and added to the already general distress a number of helpless widows and orphans, formerly in affluence, but then reduced to want and poverty, in a severe and inclement winter, Philadelphia was this year again doomed to experience a repetition of these baneful consequences, in a degree far beyond any former period, when mediocrity of circumstances enabled citizens, by a timely flight, to escape from a premature Death. Before, however, we enter upon the detail of these melancholy events, we shall state a few primary observations on the state of the weather and the antecedent diseases.

Our climate is supposed, within the few last years, to have undergone very considerable changes: the winters are experienced to be less cold, and the summers less warm than they were 40 or 50 years ago. It is also said, that the climate has become more favourable to the generation of epidemic diseases, particularly fevers of the bilious type; and that the late recurrence of the Yellow Fever, is, in part, to be ascribed to this cause. The Academy of Medicine, in their observations, last year, upon the origin of this pestilence, addressed to the Governor of Pennsylvania, mention, that "at present a constitution of the atmosphere prevails in the United States, which disposes to fevers of a highly inflammatory

character, and that it began in the year 1793.* The want of meteorological observations during former years, renders it difficult to decide upon the first opinion; but, there is reason to believe, that the changes observed in the temperature of the atmosphere are not so considerable as is imagined: The cutting down of woods and the partial cultivation of the soil may have somewhat contributed more to equalize it.— But we do not discover that the change produced, even in consequence of cultivation, is in any respect equal to what has been produced from the same cause in other countries. History informs us “that when Germany and Scythia abounded in forests, the Romans often transported their armies across the frozen Danube; but, since the cultivation of these regions, the Danube rarely freezes.” Nor have we reason to believe that the climate is, in any degree, more favorable to the generation of bilious or epidemic diseases; for, if it is gradually becoming more temperate and equal, and a great proportion of the stagnant marshes in the neighbourhood of the cities are drained and cultivated, the cause, which produced these diseases are, of course, every day decreasing, and the climate becoming more healthy than in former years.

There are but few climates more changeable or irregular than that of Pennsylvania; scarcely two successive years, or even days, are alike.

The heat in summer and the cold in winter are intense. The mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, has been known to rise to 96° in summer, and to fall 5° below 0 in winter. There is not, however, more than one month in summer or winter in which the mercury rises above 80° in the one, or falls below 30° in the other. The barometer is but little affected by the changes of the atmosphere in this climate; its medium height is 30 inches. The warmest weather is generally about the end of July and beginning of August; altho' intensely warm days are frequently felt in May, June and September. “The warmest part of the day in summer is at two, in ordinary, and at three o'clock in the afternoon in extremely warm weather. From these hours, the heat gradually diminishes till the ensuing morning. The coolest part of the four-and-twenty hours is at the break of day. After the warmest days, the evenings are generally agreeable, and often delightful. The higher the mercury rises in the

* Dr. Rush's works, vol. 4, p. 47.

day time, the lower it falls the succeeding night. The mercury at 80° generally falls to 68° while it descends, when at 60° only to 56° . This disproportion between the temperature of the day and night in summer, is always greatest in the month of August. The dews at this time are heavy in proportion to the coolness of the evening; they are sometimes so considerable as to wet the clothes." It is seldom that two or three successive warm days occur without being succeeded with showers of rain, accompanied sometimes by thunder and lightning, and afterwards by a North-West wind, which produces a coolness in the air, that is highly invigorating and agreeable. The transitions from heat to cold are often sudden and considerable. After a day in which the mercury has stood at 86° and even 90° , it sometimes falls in the course of a single night to the 65th, and even the 60th degree. The frost generally begins to show itself about the end of October or beginning of November; but the intense cold seldom sets in till about the middle of December, and the coldest weather is commonly in January. The mean temperature of the air in Philadelphia during the whole year is $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which is the temperature of the deepest wells, and of common spring water. The wind in winter generally blows from the N. W. in fair, and from the N. E. in wet weather. The N. W. winds are uncommonly cold and dry. S. W. and W. N. W. winds generally prevail during the dry warm weather in summer, while the wind from N. E. is frequently accompanied by rain. Thunder and lightning are less frequent than in former years.

To the preceding observations, we may add that May and June are usually the healthiest months in the year. The excessive heat in summer has frequently been known to prove fatal to persons who are much exposed to it. Its morbid effects discover themselves by a difficulty in breathing, a general languor, and, in some instances, by a numbness and an immobility of the extremities. The excessive cold likewise proves fatal to many, particularly old persons. The night air is always unwholesome in the summer and fall months, particularly during the state of sleep. The frequent and sudden changes of the air from heat to cold, renders it unsafe at any time to sleep with open windows.

Notwithstanding what has been said of the variable nature of the climate of Pennsylvania, it does not necessarily result that it is unhealthy; perhaps no climate is unhealthy

where the inhabitants acquire, from experience, the arts of accommodating themselves to it.

We are indebted to Dr. Rush's ingenious and elaborate essay, upon the climate of Pennsylvania, for many of the above general remarks. In addition to which, we are induced to make a few observations upon the state of the weather previous to the last appearance of the yellow fever; for, an opinion prevails with many, that it and other pestilential diseases in general, are connected with a particular state of atmosphere, and may be prognosticated prior to their appearance. A similarity observed to exist between the constitution of man and many of the domestic animals, has also led some to suppose that certain pestilential fluids, acting upon the system, produce particular and nearly similar effects upon both. They likewise trace a similarity between animal life and vegetation, from having observed, that the seasons in which mortal sickness has prevailed among men and animals, has also proved unfavourable to vegetables.

Spring set in this year with very promising appearances; the ice broke up early, and it being followed by plentiful rains, soon dissolved. Vegetation commenced: but this premature aspect was not of long duration. It was succeeded by cold weather, North-West winds, frequent showers of hail and slight frosts in the night, which were dissolved by the heat of the sun on the succeeding day. During the whole spring, the sudden changes of the weather, from heat to cold, were more frequent and extreme than have been known for many years past. Even after the season was so far advanced that the fruit-trees had put forth their blossoms, there was a smart shower of hail. A few days preceding it, the weather was warm and sultry, inasmuch, that many persons put off their winter cloathing, and afterwards caught cold by the sudden change of weather. The flower buds, blossoms, and young fruit, in many places, received considerable injury.— During the months of May and June, white frost, more than once, occurred; and, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, in the afternoon of the 14th July, there was a shower of hail, and upon the morning of the 19th, there was a slight frost.

The weather, during the months of July and August, merits particular attention; for, if a state of atmosphere favourable to the generation of the Yellow Fever ever prevails, it must be during those months; as the first cases occurred in

July; and, towards the end of August, it was general over the whole city. In the years 1793 and 1797, as well as this year, the fever made its appearance nearly about the same period, viz. the end of July and beginning of August, although, by comparing the meteorological registers for each of those years, we do not find that the weather during this period has been in any two years alike.* The month of July, this year, commenced with remarkable hot weather. The middle of the month was cold, and the weather in the end, like the beginning, was warm. On the 2d, 3d, 27th, 28th and 29th days, Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the shade, stood from 88 to $92\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and in many places it stood at 95° and even at 96° . A number of other phænomena have occurred this year, which attracted the attention of the curious observer; and, as these appearances are supposed, by many, to be connected with that state of weather, which they suppose produces the disease, it may be proper to notice them. Thunder and lightning appeared earlier this year, and less frequent than usual. The middle of spring and of summer was remarkably dry: the grass meadows produced but a scanty crop of hay, and, towards the end of summer, whole fields of grass were, in many places, entirely withered up. Many tribes of insects were uncommonly numerous; as musquitoes, ants, crickets, cockroaches, &c. The grasshoppers were scarcely ever known to appear in such vast quantities. In the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, they ate up all the grass, even to the roots, scarcely any kind of herbage escaped them; whole fields of cabbage and potatoes were almost entirely devoured. They were succeeded by myriads of black crickets; the different species of caterpillars were also uncommonly numerous this season; the trees, in many places, lost their foliage by them; but in September they put forth a second crop of leaves. Instances have likewise occurred of fruit-trees blossoming a second time, and producing fruit late in the fall. The different classes of mushrooms were found in great abundance during their season. Purslane, during the dry hot weather, continued to grow without putting forth leaves, while the jamison weed flourished luxuriantly. The crop of apples was greatly injured by worms; this was so general all over the country that the cyder this year is tainted with their acrid taste. These, and other similar phænomena, have occurred in former years

* See Journal of the state of the weather, annexed hereto.

when this disorder was unknown, without attracting any particular notice; but, since the appearance of it in the United States, every uncommon occurrence in nature has been observed with an anxious wish to discover in it a connection with the cause of this fatal evil.

A short time previous to the appearance of the fever, a remarkable disease occurred among the cats and rats in Philadelphia, which carried off many hundreds of them. After the commencement of the sickness, the dogs also were affected. The disease which raged among the cats was similar to that which attacked these animals previous to the appearance of the yellow fever in Philadelphia last year, and in New-York in 1796. Little attention has been paid to ascertain the precise symptoms of this disease, so far as we know. In general, the animal was without appetite, but thirsty; and, at first, much inclined to sleep; of a dull, melancholy turn, and soon began to look weak and thin. Many died in a numb and torpid state, while others, in the last stage of the disease, were seized with a delirium, puking, and an uncommon flow of frothy saliva from the mouth. A moaning or groaning noise was also very common—These are the general symptoms, so far as we have observed them. In former periods, very little attention was paid to the study of the diseases incident to the brute creation. But, of late years, and particularly since the repeated appearance of the yellow fever in different parts of the United States, it has produced more observation; and, it is to be hoped, that a further and more minute examination of the nature of the epidemic diseases of the brute animals, will add much new and useful information to the healing art, particularly so far as it relates to epidemic diseases among mankind.

As distempers among domestic animals have more than once been observed to precede the yellow fever among the human species, and, by many, are now looked upon as their sure harbinger, it is made use of as an argument to corroborate the idea of domestic origin, and to strengthen the theory of the prevalence of certain pestilential fluids.

In order, therefore, to prevent the adoption of any wrong or hasty conclusions upon this interesting subject, in the present imperfect state of our knowledge of its cause, or circumstances attending these diseases, we shall state what information we have been able to collect, in hopes, that it may be of use in some future period, to direct us to more just and certain conclusions.

During the months of March and April 1797, a remarkable disease occurred among the cats in London, and extended over several other parts of England. In three parishes in London, upwards of 5,000 cats were computed to have been destroyed by it within a fortnight. The common period of the disorder is said to have been six or seven days.—The following is extracted from the “Account of the diseases in London, for the months of March and April, 1797,” published in the Monthly Magazine, on this subject :

“After the abatement of the epidemic catarrh, a violent disease fell among the cats, by which many hundreds of those domestic animals perished : the particular symptoms of their malady, I had not sufficient opportunity of ascertaining : but, from dissections, it appears, that the bowels had been drawn together by a violent cramp or spasmodic constriction, involving likewise the omentum, and preventing any passage. In some, the intestines were partially red, or blackish ; but, in the greater number of instances, the contraction and extraordinary twisting of the bowels, had taken place, without any marks of inflammation.”

This is probably the same disease which has appeared among the cats, in various parts of the United States. It made its appearance in Philadelphia in the latter end of May or beginning of June, 1797, when it was computed to have destroyed four or five thousand cats. In New-York it was first observed in August, 1797. During its continuance there, a number of the cats, as was said, left the city, and took refuge in the neighbouring country houses. The number that died, was supposed to be three or four thousand. In two instances, it was observed that lap-dogs, which were wont to play with the cats in the houses to which they belonged, were affected with a similar complaint. A distemper appeared among the cats in Hartford (Connecticut) about the end of July or beginning of August, 1797, where it carried off the greater part of these animals. It appeared in Portsmouth (N. H.) about the same period ; at Boston in September ; at Albany in October, and at Poughkeepsie, state of New-York, towards the end of November. The same year it was also observed in many of the other towns in the United States. We do not know of any instance of its being observed in any of the country places ; but it was chiefly confined to the large cities. From a Bourdeaux newspaper of October, 1797, it appears that France has been visited by a similar epidemic amongst the cats. One of the health of

ficers had opened the body of a cat to discover the cause, and found in it a knot of worms. The name of the place is not mentioned, nor is there any other important information added to the account.

Many other animals, besides the cats, have of late been subject to the influence of similar epidemics: Hydrophobia, or canine madness, has prevailed in many parts of the country, particularly in the states of New-England. It prevailed in the town of Hartford, Connecticut, in October, 1797, to such an alarming degree, that the magistrates of the town were induced to exert the authority vested in them by a law of the state, for the confinement of all the dogs. Several other places were visited about the same period with this dreadful disease. In Rhode-Island, several persons and cattle were bitten by mad dogs and died. The same circumstance took place in Berkshire, Massachusetts, and in many of the towns in the state of Connecticut. The Rabies, another dreadful distemper, prevailed among the dogs, in the same districts and about the same period. It first appeared in the town of Berlin, about 12 miles from Hartford, (Con.) in the beginning of March, 1797. Shortly after, the same disease appeared at Hartford, New-Haven, Salem, Springfield; and, in many neighbouring parts in the state of Massachusetts, where it proved fatal to some children, who were bitten by infected dogs. Numbers of cattle also died from the same cause. A peculiar distemper prevailed among the dogs in Philadelphia, this summer, at the beginning of the sickness; perhaps it was produced from a want of sustenance among those who were left by their owners in the city. It is not in our power to state the precise symptoms, nor even the period of the disease. In the generality of cases, the animal appeared pensive and dejected; did not refuse food; but made no exertions to procure it; gradually became lean, and, in the last stage, would run to distant places, as if seized with canine madness; but, fortunately, when in this state, they never attempted to bite any person or to do harm; nor would they even enter the house; but, when exhausted, laid down in the fields and died. At a farm house, about six miles from Philadelphia, we are informed, that three or four dogs came sick from the city, in one day, and expired in the farm yard.

A very violent pestilential disorder prevailed among the cattle in many parts of Germany in the year 1796. Professor Reich, of the university of Erlangen, has wrote a small

tract upon the subject ; and, we understand, he accounts for it upon the doctrine of pestilential fluids, as laid down by Dr. Mitchell, of New-York. A disease of a very singular nature has prevailed among the cattle in many parts of the state of Connecticut, for ten or twelve years past ; an account of which is inserted in the Medical Repository, published at New-York, vol. 1, page 335.

In some parts of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, the foxes, during the winter of 1797-8, have been affected with a disorder which rendered them an easy prey to the hunters. Of the particular symptoms, we have not been able to obtain any correct accounts. We are also informed, that geese, in some of the eastern states, have been affected in a singular manner. Many have been known to seize some living objects with their bills, and adhere to them till they died.

Nor are the land animals, alone, the objects of these diseases. In the beginning of August 1797, a great mortality prevailed among the fish in James river, Virginia ; the dead fish were seen floating down the river in astonishing quantities. In the summer of 1795, a similar mortality occurred among the fish in Saratoga lake ; and, some years ago, a disease is said to have destroyed great numbers of fish in a pond near the town of Brookfield, in the state of Massachusetts.

What references are to be deduced from these circumstances, we leave for the medical Philosopher to determine. But it does not appear very probable, that they are in any measure connected with the cause which produced the yellow fever among the human species ; as they do not always appear in those seasons or places when and where that prevails, but generally in the most remote parts of the country, which is free from this human scourge.

We shall close this part of our subject with an account of the diseases which prevailed in Philadelphia previous to its general calamity, as appeared in the Philadelphia Monthly Magazine for July, 1798.

“ July commenced with uncommonly hot weather ; the city being pretty free from sickness. The cholera infantum prevailed and carried off many children. On the 8th of the month, much rain fell, and the air became suddenly moist and cool. Many cases of cholera and several of dysentery occurred immediately afterwards. The subduſion of heat from the skin, the torpor of its vessels, and the accumulation of blood in the internal parts, in consequence of the appli-

cation of cold to the body, might have been circumstances favourable to the production of these diseases.

“A number of days, about the middle of the month, were extremely cool; especially in the morning and evening: some of them very much resembled autumnal weather. Towards the close of the month, some cases of bilious fever, of a malignant nature, appeared; the weather was showery and became warmer.

“In treating the cholera infantum, bleeding, calomel, and blisters, were used with advantage. Sometimes any one of these remedies would cure the disease. At other times, the whole of them would prove ineffectual, when it was very violent, or when medical assistance was delayed. The cold bath cured some slight cases, and was employed with advantage in the convalescent state of this disease.

“In the dysentery which occurred, the usual remedies were successful; such as salts, castor-oil, laudanum, &c. The laudanum, combined with antimonial wine, and given in the first and latter part of the night, proved most serviceable. In a violent case of the complaint, bleeding, blisters and salivation were used with success.”

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

MADE IN PHILADELPHIA BY

DAVID RITTENHOUSE, Esquire.

AUGUST. 1793.

	Barometer.				Thermometer				Wind.				Weather.			
	A.	M.	3 P.	M6	A.	M.	3 P.	M6	A.	M.	3 P.	M6	A.	M.	3 P.	M6
1	29	95	30	0	65	77	WNW	NW.	cloudy,	fair,						
2	30	1	30	1	63	81	NW	SW.	fair,	fair,						
3	30	5	29	95	68	82	N	NNE.	fair,	fair,						
4	29	97	30	0	65	87	S	SW.	fair,	fair,						
5	30	5	30	1	73	90	SSW	SW.	fair,	fair,						
6	30	2	30	0	77	87	SW	W.	cloudy,	fair,						
7	30	12	30	1	68	83	NW	W.	fair,	fair,						
8	30	1	29	95	69	86	SSE	SSE.	fair,	rain,						
9	29	8	29	75	75	85	SSW	SW.	cloudy,	fair,						
10	29	9	29	9	67	82	W	SW.	fair,	fair,						
11	30	0	30	0	70	84	SW	WSW	cloudy,	cloudy,						
12	30	0	30	0	70	87	W	W.	fair,	fair,						
13	30	5	30	0	71	89	SW	W.	fair,	fair,						
14	30	0	29	95	75	82	SW	SW.	fair,	rain,						
15	30	0	30	1	72	75	NNE	NE.	rain,	cloudy,						
16	30	1	30	1	70	83	NNE	NE.	fair,	fair,						
17	30	1	30	0	71	86	SW	SW.	fair,	fair,						
18	30	1	30	0	73	89	calm	SW.	fair,	fair,						
19	30	1	30	1	72	82	N	N.	fair,	cloudy,						
20	30	1	30	12	69	82	NNE	NNE.	fair,	fair,						
21	30	15	30	25	62	83	N	NNE.	fair,	fair,						
22	30	3	30	35	63	86	NE	SE.	fair,	fair,						
23	30	25	30	15	63	85	calm	S.	fair,	fair,						
24	30	1	30	1	73	81	calm	calm.	cloudy,	rain,						
25	30	1	30	1	71	66	NE	NE.	rain,	great rain						
26	30	15	30	2	59	69	NE	NE.	cloudy,	cloudy,						
27	30	2	30	2	65	73	NE	NE.	cloudy,	cloudy,						
28	30	2	30	15	67	80	S	calm.	cloudy,	clearing,						
29	30	16	30	15	72	86	calm	SW.	cloudy,	fair,						
30	30	1	30	1	74	87	calm	SW.	rain,	fair,						
31	30	0	30	0	74	84	SW	NW.	rain,	fair,						

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

MADE IN PHILADELPHIA,

BY MR. THOMAS PRYOR,

AUGUST, 1797.

	Thermo- meter	Barome- ter.	WINDS and WEATHER.
1	73 to 75	30 0	E. S. E. Rain in the forenoon & afternoon.
2	72 to 76	30 0	N. E. by E. Cloudy with rain in the afternoon and night. Wind E. by N.
3	72 to 78	30 6	E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. Rain in the morning, and all day and night.
4	72 to 78	30 4	E. Rained hard all day and at night.
5	74 to 79	29 84	Wind light—S. W. Cloudy. Rain this morning. The air extremely damp; wind shifted to N. W. This evening heavy showers, with thunder.
6	73 to 76	30 86	W. N. W. Cloudy.
7	70 to 76	30 4	N. W. Close day. Rain in the evening and all night. Wind to E.
8	72 to 76	29 95	E. Rain this morning
9	72 to 76	29 86	S. W. Cloudy morning.
10	69 to 73	30 16	N. W. Clear.
11	70 to 73	30 25	N. W. Clear. Rain all night.
12	71 to 74	30 5	S. W. Cloudy. Rain in the morning.— Cloudy all day.—Rain at night.
13	73 to 75	29 87	S. W. Cloudy. Rain all day.
14	70 to 74	29 9	N. W. Clear fine morning.
15	56 to 60	30 15	N. W. Clear fine morning.
16	60 to 64	30 24	S. W. Clear fine morning.
17	60 to 65	30 24	N. W. Air Damp.
18	68 to 75	30 4	S. W. Cloudy. Rain, with thunder, at night a fine shower.
19	72 to 78	29 7	N. W. Clear. Cloudy in the evening, with thunder.
20	70 to 77	29 8	W. N. W. Fine clear morning.
21	74 to 76	29 9	N. W. Clear. to E.
22	68 to 76	29 9	E. Small shower this morning.—Hard shower at 11, A. M. Wind N. E.
23	71 to 76	29 92	E. Cloudy. At noon calm.
24	71 to 75	29 95	Calm morning and clear.
25	70 to 75	30 5	N. E. Clear. Rain in the afternoon, with thunder.
26	70 to 75	30 5	S. E. Rain in the morning. Rained hard in the night, with thunder. N. W.
27	68 to 76	29 9	N. W. Fine clear morning.
28	64 to 75	29 96	N. W. Clear.
29	59 to 70	30 0	F. Clear
30	70 to 76	30 1	E. by S. Rain in the morning.
31	68 to 74	30 14	S E. Cloudy. Damp air and sultry.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

MADE IN PHILADELPHIA,

BY MR. THOMAS PRYOR.

JUNE, 1798.

[Fahrenheit's Thermometer in the shade.]

	Thermo- meter.	Barome- ter.	WINDS and WEATHER.
1	62 to 68	29	9—S. W. clear morn. all day clear.
2	62 to 70	29	85—S. W. clear all day
3	66 to 75	29	87—S. W. fine morning
4	70 to 80	29	87—S. E. cloudy, rain in afternoon
5	70 to 80	29	83—S. E. to W. S. W. cloudy, rainy morn:
6	72 to 81	29	83—S. E. cl. m. E. N. E. to N. E. af. rain, and thunder
7	72 to 80	29	9—Cloudy, N. E. light to S. E.
8	68 to 78	30	0—W. clear day.
9	64 to 78	30	0—E. light. clear all day.
10	62 to 74	30	2—E. by N. fresh, clear all day
11	62 to 67	30	8—E. fresh—rain in morn.
12	60 to 78	30	0—N. E. in morn.
13	60 to 69	30	8—N. E. cl. to S. E. rain aft. N. W. in eve.
14	60 to 76	30	22—E. S. E. foggy morn. clear aft.
15	68 to 78	30	1—E. light, clear.
16	70 to 80	29	98—W. N. W. cl. N. E. to E S. E. cold eve.
17	61 to 68	30	2—E. N. E. fresh, clouds flying in morn.
18	61 to 75	30	2—N. E. cloudy.
19	62 to 76	30	21—S. by E. rain at night.
20	70 to 78	29	96—S. E. rainy morn.
21	70 to 78	29	92—S. E. clear all day
22	72 to 84	29	94—S. by W. clear day, W. N. W. aft.
23	72 to 84	29	97—S. W. cloudy morn. clear aft.
24	72 to 82	30	5—S. W. clear morn. rainy afternoon
25	74 to 82	30	6—S. W. rainy morn.
26	68 to 76	30	6—W. N. W. cloudy.
27	65 to 75	30	6—N. by E. cloudy morn. to W. N. W. eve.
28	65 to 76	30	1—S. W. clear morn.
29	68 to 78	29	9—S. W. cloudy.
30	66 to 81	30	6—W. N. W. clear morn.

JULY, 1798.

Thermo- meter.	Barome- ter.	WINDS and WEATHER.
1 70 to 86	30 7	—Wind S. W. clear.
2 72 to 88	30 6	—Wind S. W. clear.
3 74 to 91½	29 97	—Wind W. N. W. clear, in the morning S. W. rain in aft.
4 74 to 84	29 88	—Wind N. W. clear, A. M. N. N. E. clear P. M.
5 72 to 81	29 85	—Wind N. E. & S. E. with rain at noon.
6 66 to 80	29 92	—Wind N. W. clear, A. M. N. N. E. clear, P. M.
7 62 to 78	30 1	—Wind N. W. N. E. & S. E. clear. Fresh at S. E. P. M.
8 64 to 80	30 to 29 8	—Wind S. W. fresh in the morning, rain with thunder, P. M.
9 64 to 76	29 97	—Wind N. W. clear all day.
10 62 to 78	30 8	—Wind N. W. clear, S. W.
11 64 to 74	29 98	—Wind S. W. rain, clear in the evening.
12 67 to 78	29 96	—Wind N. W. clear.
13 64 to 70	30 0	—Wind N. E. cloudy, rain A. M. clear P. M. new ☾ 10h. 51m. A. M.
14 58 to 70	30 0	—Wind W. N. W. clear, N. E. with a little rain, P. M. at Germantown a shower of hail.
15 54 to 72	30 1	—Wind N. E. clear.
16 66 to 76	30 5	—Wind S. E. cloudy.
17 70 to 76	29 96	—Wind S. W. cloudy, rain in the evening and at night.
18 70 to 78	29 98	—Wind S. W. rain in the morning.
19 62 to 72	30 0	—Wind N. W. clear morning, very cold.
20 60 to 72	30 6	—Wind W. clear A. M. E. P. M. dog days began.
21 60 to 76	30 1	—Wind N. W. morn. clear, even, calm.
22 64 to 77	30 25	—Wind S. W. clear.
23 64 to 81	30 1	—Wind S. W. clear all day.
24 68 to 83	30 1	—Wind S. W. clear, at 10h. 25m. P. M. rain with thunder.
25 70 to 82	30 12	—Wind W. N. W. clear A. M. cloudy P. M.
26 70 to 82	30 7	—Wind S. W. light rain, A. M. cloudy, calm & fultry, P. M. air damp.
27 74 to 90	30 6	—Wind light at S. W. air damp, ☾ 1h. 35m. P. M.
28 84 to 91½	30 0	—Wind light, and air damp, fultry P. M.*
29 83 to 90	30 0	—Wind S. W. fultry, air damp, P. M. rain.
30 79 to 82	30 0	—Wind S. S. W. cloudy A. M. rain with thunder, P. M.
31 67 to 79	30 0	—Wind W. S. W. to N. W. cloudy.

* The warmest weather we have had since the battle of Monmouth.

AUGUST, 1798.

Thermo- meter.	Barome- ter.	WINDS and WEATHER.
1 68 to 81	30 8	—Wind N. W. clear, fine morn. varia- ble in the afternoon.
2 70 to 80	30 18	—Morning calm and foggy. The wind in the afternoon S.
3 72 to 82	30 25	—Morn. foggy. Wind S. afternoon.
4 74 to 82	30 2	—Morn. foggy, wind light S. shower afternoon. Rain all night,
5 74 to 83	30 7	—Wind W. clear morn. Rain afternoon with thunder. Wind S. W.
6 74 to 82	30 0	—Wind N. by W. clear all day.
7 70 to 83	30 1	—Wind N. E. clear, fine morn. to N.W
8 68 to 86	30 14	—Wind S. W. clear morn. eve fultry.
9 78 to 90	30 0	—Wind W. S. W. clear, air damp in the evening, calm and fultry.
10 80 to 93	29 85	—Wind S. W. clear, fultry morning, air damp, warmest day.
11 86 to 89	29 78	—Wind light at S. W. fultry morning, air damp, rain in the afternoon and night, with thunder. New moon at 6 23m afternoon.
12 76 to 82	29 96	—Wind W. N. W. clear morn. cloudy at noon, wind at N.
13 74 to 83	30 17	—Wind W. N. W. cloudy, to S. E.
14 76 to 83	30 17	—Wind E. S. E. cloudy, fultry. Rain at night.
15 76 to 81	30 17	—Wind light at S. much rain in the morning early, cloudy in afternoon.
16 76 to 82	30 2	—Wind W. N. W. cloudy at S. E. a little rain in the afternoon with thunder.
17 76 to 85	30 1	—Wind W. N. W. cloudy, fultry.
18 79 to 87	30 4	—Wind S. W. clear and fultry.
19 76 to 86	30 6	—Wind N. E. clear, air damp, fultry.
20 76 to 82	30 15	—Wind E. foggy morn. dry, fultry.
21 78 to 84	30 1	—Wind S. W. cloudy, fultry, air damp.
22 76 to 86	30 7	—Wind N. N. W. clear and fultry.
23 69 to 76	30 3	—E. N. E. fresh.

	Thermo- meter.	Barome- ter.	WINDS and WEATHER.
24	69 to 77	30 15	—Wind S. W. clear, thunder at night, fultry.
25	76 to 87	30 7	—Wind S. W. clear and fultry.
26	81 to 91	30 0	—Wind S. W. clear and fultry, full moon at 4 28m. A. M.
27	80 to 86	30 4	—Wind W. N. W. clear in the morning, to N. E. in the evening, with rain in the night.
28	70 to 78	29 9	—Wind S. W. rain in the morning, cloudy all the latter part of the day.
29	67 to 78	30 0	—Wind N. W. clear.
30	62 to 77	30 0	—Wind E. to S. W. clear, to S. fine day and night.
31	64 to 78	30 0	—Wind W. N. W. clear, fultry evening.

SEPTEMBER, 1798.

1	62 to 81	30 17	—Wind N. N. E. clear fine morning.
2	62 to 78	30 2	—Wind N. E. clear fine morning. Wind E. S. E. fresh in the afternoon, clear.
3	60 to 76	30 2	—Wind N. E. clear fine morning, cloudy in the afternoon, rain at night, with thunder.
4	62 to 76	30 0	—E. S. E. heavy rain from 12 to 5 o'clock, A. M. with thunder and rain in eve.
5	62 to 73	29 78	—Wind W. N. W. clear, air damp.
6	60 to 74	29 78	—Wind N. in the morning, air damp.
7	60 to 74	29 97	—Wind N. E. morn. air damp, to S. W.
8	56 to 72	30 3	—Wind W. clear fine day.
9	56 to 72	30 7	—Wind W. N. W. clear fine morning. Dog days end.
10	59 to 72	30 8	—Wind W. N. W. clear, new ☾ at 2 A. M.
11	64 to 78	30 1	—Wind W. N. W. clear to E. by S.
12	60 to 74	30 33	—Wind E. S. E. cloudy.
13	56 to 68	30 26	—Wind in the morn N. W. clear to S. E.
14	58 to 73	—	—Wind S. by W. clear.
15	60 to 78	30 12	—Wind S. by W. cloudy.
16	62 to 80	30 1	—Wind S. by W. clear.
17	66 to 80	30 1	—Wind N. E. clear.
18	70 to 81	30 1	—Wind light at E. by N. foggy morning rain in the afternoon and night.
19	72 to 82	30 1	—Wind variable, rained hard at 10 A. M. heavy showers all day, air damp.

Thermo- meter-	Barome- ter.	WINDS and WEATHER.
20 72 to 78	30	1—Wind N. E. to S. E. foggy morn. cloudy in the afternoon, air damp.
21 74 to 72	30	0—Cloudy and calm.
22 57 to 70	30	1—Clear fine morn. Wind N. W. sun crossed the line at 5h 57m. P. M.
23 60 to 72	30	c—Wind S. W. clear and dry air.
24 62 to 74	30	0—Wind N. W. clear in the morn. cloudy at night. Full ☾ at 9h 4m P. M.
25 54 to 65	30	0—Wind fresh, N. N. W. and cold.
26 49 to 58	30	29—Wind W. N. W. clear and dry air.
27 61 to 71	29	9—Wind fresh, S. W. clear fine morn. rain in the evening and night.
28 50 to 61	30	0—Wind W. N. W. clear and dry air.
29 40 to 56	30	25—Wind N. W. clear fine morning, air dry.
30 39 to 54	30	3—Wind W. N. W. clear morn. dry air.

OCTOBER, 1798.

1 44 to 61	30	45—Wind S. W. air dry.
2 50 to 65	30	44—Calm and foggy morning, clear aftern.
3 55 to 70	30	35—Calm and foggy.
4 53 to 68	30	2—Calm and clear. Wind in the eve E. S. E.
5 50 to 65	30	8—Wind variable from N. W. to N. E. to E. by S.
6 54 to 63	30	0—Wind variable.
7 58 to 63	29	94—Wind N. W. in the morn. light rain, and at night.
8 54 to 62	29	8—Wind W. N. W. rain in the morn. wind continued all day at W. N. W. with intervals of rain.
9 49 to 66	30	1—Wind S. W. clear fine morning.
10 52 to 66	30	19—Calm and clear morning.
11 54 to 66	30	2—Foggy morning, clear in the afternoon.
12 52 to 65	30	4—Cloudy morn. wind E. S. E.
13 50 to 60	30	5—Wind N. E. fresh, cloudy.
14 50 to 60	30	46—Wind E. N. E. cloudy all day.
15 51 to 60	30	45—Wind S. W. clear fine day.
16 45 to 60	30	45—Calm and clear all day.
17 50 to 62	30	4—Calm all day.
18 49 to 61	30	18—Wind fresh in the morning at N. by W. clear to N. E. fresh of wind at night.
19 50 to 60	30	28—Wind fresh at N. E. cloudy.
20 50 to 60	30	1—Wind N. E. cloudy.
21 50 to 61	30	0—Wind N. W. clear, little rain at night.
22 52 to 62	29	9—Wind S. W. clear.
23 60 to 61	29	6—Wind S. W. a little rain in the morn. to N. W. fresh in the afternoon.

Thermo- meter.	Barome- ter.	WINDS and WEATHER.
24 44 to 57	29 6	Wind W. S. W. clear. Full ☾ at 2h. 32m. afternoon.
25 45 to 60	30 0	Wind S. W. clear.
26 48 to 62	30 0	Wind S. clear, fine day.
27 49 to 58	29 9	Wind in the morn. S. W. to N. W. to N. E. with rain in the afternoon.
28 46 to 57	29 83	Wind W. S. W. cloudy, fresh at N. W. at night.
29 32 to 47	30 0	Wind W. N. W. fresh. Ice this morn.
30 26 to 41	30 0	Wind fresh W N. W. snow in the night. Ice half inch thick in morn.
31 28 to 40	28 82	Wind W. N. W. clear and cold morn. Ice.

NOVEMBER, 1798.

1 28 to 33	30 13	E. with snow, froze in shade
2 32 to 43	29 85	N. W. cloudy
3 35 to 42	30 0	W. N. W. cloudy
4 33 to 42	30 0	N. W. clear day
5 26 to 42	30 13	N. W. clear morn.
6 26 to 43	30 36	W. by S. clear morn.
7 26 to 44	30 45	W. clear, new ☾ 9 in eve.
8 26 to 44	30 4	S. E. cloudy.
9 28 to 42	30 4	W. clear.
10 24 to 40	30 45	Wind N. E. fresh and clear.
11 22 to 40	30 5	E. clear and cold
12 34 to 42	30 28	W. cloudy
13 34 to 42	30 48	S. W. clear, rain at night
14 36 to 48	30 25	S. W. to W. N. W. cloudy, rainy morn.
15 34 to 54	29 93	W. to S. W. thunder and rain
16 36 to 55	30 7	S. W. fresh
17 24 to 48	30 16	E. S. fresh, cloudy
18 34 to 50	26 92	E. foggy, rain at night
19 38 to 46	29 98	N. E. cloudy, rain, thunder; rain at eve
20 30 to 34	29 9	N. W. fresh; snow, deep snow
21 26 to 33	29 7	W. N. W. clear
22 20 to 35	29 95	W. N. W. clear
23 24 to 42	29 9	N. W. clear day, full ☾ 7h. 44m. A. M.
24 26 to 41	30 13	N. W. clear day
25 26 to 33	30 46	N. N. E. clear
26 26 to 34	30 65	N. W. clear morn.
27 26 to 36	30 65	S. W. clear
28 32 to 40	30 1	S. W. hazey
29 38 to 48	30 0	W. hazey
30 36 to 46	30 0	S. W. hazey morn.

CHAPTER II.

First appearance of the Disease—General alarm—Flight of the inhabitants, &c.

WE now proceed to the task of recording the rise, progress and attendant circumstances of the late Yellow Fever, the most tremendous scourge, perhaps, ever experienced in the United States.

Its origin is still as much a subject of controversy as in 1793. Those who support the idea of its domestic growth, insist much on the long duration of moist, sultry weather, the filth and stagnant water collected in our streets, inattention of scavengers, foul air discharged from the holds of vessels, with their cargoes, ballast, &c. The disciples of this system are, the *Academy of Medicine* and their adherents. The arguments brought forward in support of the above doctrine, are strongly opposed by the *College of Physicians*, and their adherents. They insist that it has been, most unequivocally, imported; that the weather has not been more sultry this season than in many other years, in which not even a sporadic case of the disorder was met with; that the police of our streets is vastly better than formerly, especially during the period that the British troops were here, and immediately subsequent to their abandonment of the city. With respect to the construction of a city, very few are equal, hardly any superior, to Philadelphia; the ventilation of which, is completely secured, let the wind blow in whatever direction it may, by its streets intersecting each other at right angles.

Independent of these general arguments, it is contended, that the disease can be as satisfactorily traced to the vessel or vessels that introduced it, as the nature of the case will admit. For, it has been observed, that it is one of those cases, which will hardly admit of positive or judicial proof.

The examination of the nature and origin of the disease, we shall treat, at large, in another part of this work; and, at

present, confine our inquiry only to the narration of those circumstances which occurred, and excited general alarm in the city during the period of its prevalence; but, it is necessary to remark, that a difference of opinion also exists respecting the *nature* of the yellow fever: Those in favour of its importation, assert that it is a distinct and specific disease, of itself, and highly contagious. Those in favor of its domestic origin, affirm, that it is only a higher grade of the common bilious fever of this country, and that it is seldom or never contagious.

Some cases of highly bilious fever occurred so early as the month of June; and, perhaps, some even of yellow fever may have occurred during the months of June and July. The Academy of Medicine, in a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, dated December 3, 1793, mention eight cases of the fever, which occurred between June 2d and July 12th; but, it does not appear, that the disease was communicated by infection from any of the cases they mention; nor was any alarm excited till after that period.

Many of the inhabitants suspected, that, in certain places, the poison might remain during the winter, in the houses, beds and apparel of those who died with, or who had, the fever the preceding year, and that the heat of the sun might again bring it into action this summer, perhaps from a suspicion, founded upon a reference to the transient recurrence of a few cases of the yellow fever, in the fall which succeeded 1793. Upon which account, it was natural to expect, that the inhabitants would be upon their guard, and use every means in their power to prevent the return of so dreadful a calamity; and, if it should be found impossible to prevent it, that they would, upon its first appearance, sound the alarm.

The legislature of Pennsylvania, having found, by experience, that the existing "laws, for preventing the importation of infectious or contagious diseases into the port of Philadelphia, and the Health-Office system thereby established, were defective and inadequate," in April, 1798, passed "an Act to alter and amend the same, and to extend the powers of the Board of Health." Agreeable to the tenor of this law, a Board of Health was instituted. They entered upon the important and arduous duties of their office in the beginning of May last; and, although they were convinced that the new one was still defective, and inadequate to the purposes contemplated by its framers, they

were determined to make up for its deficiency, if possible, by their own vigilance.

On the 1st of May, the following extract from An act to alter and amend the health laws of Pennsylvania, passed the 4th of April, was published by order of the Board of Health, viz. "Sec. 8. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every house-keeper within the city of Philadelphia, the townships of the Northern Liberties and Moyamensing, and district of Southwark, within one mile of the limits of the city, taking in boarders, arriving by sea or by land, from any foreign port or place, and having any boarder in his or her family, who shall be taken sick of any disease whatsoever, between the first day of May and the first day of November, in any year, within twenty days next after such boarder shall come to lodge in his or her house, shall, within twenty-four hours next after the knowledge of such sickness, make report at the Health-Office of the name of such sick person, the time of his or her arrival at the house, and of his or her being taken sick, and of the name and place of abode of such housekeeper; whereupon the Physician of the Health-Office shall forthwith visit the patient, and report to the Office his opinion of the nature of such disease, that measures may be taken to prevent the spreading of infection; and if any house-keeper shall neglect to give information in the manner and within the time aforesaid, and shall be thereof convicted, in any court of criminal jurisdiction within this commonwealth, upon indictment or confession, he or she shall forfeit and pay a fine to the use of the said hospital, not less than twenty dollars, nor more than one hundred dollars, to be imposed at the discretion of the court, according to the circumstances of greater or less aggravation attending each particular case."

The 5th section of the same law enacted, "That all vessels arriving at the port of Philadelphia, during the months of May, June, July, August, September, October and November, from any port in the Mediterranean, or waters connected therewith to the eastward of the Straits of Gibraltar, or from the coast of Africa without the Straits, other than the Cape of Good Hope, and from the main land of North or South-America, or the West-India Islands, between the latitude of the river St. Mary in Georgia, and the beginning of the latitude of thirty degrees south of the equator, shall be subjected to ride quarantine before the Marine Hospital on State-Island (about five miles below the city)

for a term not exceeding ten, nor more than twenty days." In consequence of which, it was the uniform practice of the Board of Managers to subject all unsuspected vessels to a quarantine of ten days only.

At a meeting of the Board, on the 28th of the same month, it was represented that the health laws had been frequently violated and evaded, by persons landing from vessels under quarantine, and that the resident physician and other officers of the institution, had been obstructed and grossly insulted in the legal exercise of their duties, in open and avowed contempt of the laws, and to the great danger of the health of the city. The board, therefore, "resolved, "That the resident physician, or health-officer of the marine hospital, inform all persons under quarantine, that the 2d Section of the act to alter and amend the health laws, passed April 4th, 1798, will be strictly enforced, and that no person under quarantine be permitted to land, except in case of imminent distress, or absolute necessity, agreeably to the said Section." This resolution, together with the section alluded to, was published for the benefit of all concerned. The following is a copy, viz.

"Sec. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every ship or vessel, coming from any foreign port or place, bound to the port of Philadelphia, between the last day of April and the first day of December, in every year, shall come to anchor in the river Delaware, as near to the Marine Hospital as her draft of water and the state of the tide and weather will reasonably admit, before any part of the cargo or baggage be landed, or any person who came in such ship or vessel, shall leave her; and shall submit to the examinations, and obtain the certificate hereafter specified: And if any master, commander, or pilot, shall leave his station before the said hospital, or if any master or commander shall permit or suffer any part of the cargo or baggage, or any person or persons arriving in such ship or vessel, from any port beyond the limits of the United States, to be landed on either shore of Delaware Bay or river, before such examination be duly had, and certificate obtained, the person or persons so permitting, and the person or persons so landing, except in case of imminent distress, or absolute necessity, being thereof convicted upon indictment, under this act, by verdict, confession, or standing mute, in any court having criminal jurisdiction within this commonwealth, shall be sentenced to, and suffer confinement in the gaol of the county

of Philadelphia, for any space not less than one, nor more than three years."

The board, likewise, directed the Health-Officer residing at the Marine Hospital, to visit every vessel, riding quarantine, at least once every twenty-four hours, at irregular times, to call the roll of the crew and passengers, and to satisfy himself that they were all on board; and, if any others should be found on board, to subject them to remain until the termination of the period of the vessel's quarantine. But, notwithstanding these precautions, on the 12th of June, the Board received information that two persons had been on board one of the vessels then under quarantine; which persons were accordingly prosecuted. The law was also evaded by a mode still more dangerous to the health of the city and its neighbourhood: both persons and goods were landed in the state of Delaware, previous to the vessel's reaching State-Island; which persons, together with their goods, proceeded to the city. Information of this nature was communicated to the Board on the 16th of July; and, on the same day, representations of another nature, drew, from the Health-Office, the following advertisement: "Whereas, representations have been made to the Managers of the Marine and City-Hospitals, that frequent communication is had between citizens of Philadelphia and elsewhere, and persons on board of vessels under quarantine, by means of boats going along side, to the great danger of the health of the city: Therefore, resolved, that every vessel with which such communication has been permitted, shall perform an additional quarantine of five days."

There is great reason for supposing that communications between the city and the vessels under quarantine were carried on to a very great extent. It is said, that persons from these vessels frequently came to the city in the night, and returned again next morning. We are more particular in mentioning these circumstances; for, it is possible that some of the earlier cases of the fever were thus introduced.

About the end of June, a very great influx of foreigners from the West-Indies took place, which created the alarm of government, from a representation, that their views were hostile to the peace of our country; but this proved to be premature. It was caused by the evacuation of Port-au-Prince by the British troops. Eight vessels arrived at the port of Philadelphia on the 5th of July, from the ports of Cape-Nichola-Mole, Jeremie and Port-au-Prince, bringing two

hundred and twenty-seven passengers, and one hundred and sixteen seamen. The sudden death of the Marquis de Rouvray, shortly after his arrival in one of these vessels, gave ground for suspicion, that the seeds of the disease might have been thus early imported.

The period of quarantine, prescribed by law, was generally supposed to be insufficient. The Board of Health, in order to obviate bad consequences from this defect, on the 2d July, procured six of Wynkoop's ventilators; the use of which had been strenuously recommended, in 1797, to the governor and legislature of Pennsylvania, by the Academy of Medicine, as being admirably adapted for expelling the foul air from the holds of vessels, and preserving the cargo and timbers from putrefaction. These ventilators, the Board directed the resident physician to use in all vessels that he suspected might require them.

While the Board of Health were thus employing every means, which they could devise, to prevent a return of the fever by importation, the select and common councils, and many other citizens, were equally vigilant, both by private example and public authority, to guard against its domestic generation. The streets and alleys were kept clean; the police-officers were enjoined to be vigilant in their duty, and the inhabitants cheerfully gave them aid. The following paragraphs, from the newspapers, will convey a more perfect idea how far these precautions were respected, viz.

—
From the Philadelphia Gazette.

“The present very warm weather, naturally reminds many citizens of the watering carts, which are deposited in the large wooden-building at the corner of Walnut and Sixth-streets.

“There can be no season of the year in which they might be used to greater advantage; and it is the earnest wish, I believe, of all Philadelphia, that they were immediately applied to the purposes for which they were made. As to difficulties, expense, &c. surely these are no objects in a city, which has too often experienced the fatal effects of dry, heated air.

“As the great danger is from a collection of dirt, and consequent putrefaction in our gutters, I would further propose, that the persons appointed to clean the streets, instead of sweeping off the loose, dry dirt, which had much better be left where it is, should be employed in pumping the water

into the gutters, and giving them, at least, a daily cleansing. Besides the public pumps, there are a great number of private ones, whose owners would be glad to have them used in this manner, not only for the general good, but for their own sakes; as it is well known nothing contributes more to mending the water, than frequent pumping.

“ July 2.

A CITIZEN.”

—
 “ *Advice to the inhabitants of Philadelphia and other cities in the United States.*

“ The summer season is the season of fevers, and of those inflammatory diseases which attack man. It is principally large cities that are subject to these misfortunes.

“ The effervescence of the bile is one of the most common causes of those diseases in the warm weather. I think it will be rendering humanity service to point out some means of preservation against the destroying pestilence.

“ One of the general causes of epidemical diseases, is the noxious quality of air, which becomes vitiated by a variety of circumstances to which the magistrates should pay the closest attention :

“ 1. The streets often strewed, for days together, with the putrefying carcases of dead animals, should be cleansed.— These streets should be daily watered, and the gutters swept.

“ 2. A watchful superintendance should take place over several kinds of manufacturies, particularly breweries, sugar-houses, and others liable to have heaps of fermenting materials.

“ 3. A severe penalty should be inflicted on keeping putrid substances in the city.

“ I will mention an instance : A few days ago, several barrels of putrid beef were buried a very few inches under ground, and on the outskirts of the city. Putrid substances should be thrown into the river, at a considerable distance below the city.

“ It would also be very adviseable to bury the dead, at least during the hot weather, at a distance from the city, and a considerable depth.

“ A stop put to the abuses I have been speaking of, would certainly contribute to the preservation of the cities of the United States from that dreadful disease, known by the name of the yellow fever.

“ As a preservation for individuals, I would recommend the use of acids and vomits to those who have the stomach

loaded with bile. The difuse of animal food, and of fpiritu-ous liquors, a vegetable and plain diet; in a word, what-ever can cool down the heat of the blood and the effervef-ence of the bile, are recommended.

“ July 5.

AN EUROPEAN.”

In the Select and Common Councils, July 19, 1798 :

“ Resolved, That the city commissioners be enjoined and required forthwith to employ a fufficient number of fuitable persons, and to caufe them, at leaft three times in every week, during the prefent and the two fuc-ceeding months, to cleanfe and wash the gutters of the ftreets, lanes and alleys, within the paved parts of the city; and that they be ftrictly enjoined to a moft vigilant and fcrupulous attention in keeping the ftreets, lanes, alleys and gutters of the city constantly free and clear of all noxious matter and filth of every kind.”

From Porcupine's Gazette.

“ It gave me pleasure in obferving in this morning's paper that the Select and Common Councils had enjoined and re-quired the city commissioners to have the ftreets, lanes, al-leys and gutters kept free and clear of all noxious matter and filth; but I am forry they did not fee the neceffity of paying fome attention to the different docks, and having them clea-ned and kept fo; as I am of opinion there is as much danger to be apprehended to the health of the city from the putrid filth and noxious matter that lays, for feveral hours in the day, expofed to the fun, in many of the docks, and particu-larly at Market-ftreet, as from any other fource. If the com-miffioners were to give themfelves the trouble of examining the docks at low water, I am perfuaded they would fee the neceffity of having them cleared, without a request from the councils to do what is their duty, as I am informed the power already lays with them.”

“ Auguft 1ft, 1798.

A CITIZEN.”

In confequence of the extraordinary vigilance of the city commissioners, in junction with the inhabitants, the ftreets, lanes and alleys, within the city, were never known, in any former period, to be kept cleaner, or in better order. The board of health, the refident and confulting phyficians of the port, and the other phyficians of the city, were equally watch-ful and vigilant in their departments.

On the 2d July, Drs. Wistar and Duffield communicated to the board of health, the death of Mr. Mark Miller (one of the eight cases formerly mentioned,) with the yellow fever, at the house of Mr. Mark Reeve, merchant, Callowhill-street, between Front and Second-streets; whereupon, the board ordered the house in which he died to be cleansed and white-washed; his bedding and apparel to be taken to the city-hospital, and buried, for purification; and that Mr. Reeve's family, and those who attended Mr. Miller, be recommended to remove from the city. All this was punctually complied with, and no person was afterwards known to have taken the fever from Mr. Miller. There was not a doubt, among the physicians, respecting the nature of the disease of which Mr. Miller died. Drs. Hodge and Wistar, who attended him, declared it to have been a true case of yellow fever: the black vomit, one of its most sure and violent characteristics, appeared previous to death. This being one of the earliest cases which created alarm, or apprehension in the city, this summer, we shall be particular to ascertain the precise circumstances of the case. Dr. Currie, in his *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever of 1798*, states the particulars thus: "June 27th, cool, thermometer only 76° at two P. M. Mark Miller died to-day under the care of Drs. Wistar and Hodge, with symptoms of the yellow fever, at Mrs. Reeves's, in Callowhill-street. He had been much fatigued and debilitated, from loading a vessel at Almond-street wharf, a mile from his lodgings, in the heat of the day, to which he had walked daily for some time. He had, also, according to the account of Mrs. Reeves, slept on the bed in which her son had died of the fever the preceding autumn." By comparing Dr. Currie's statement with our narration, it will appear evident, that he has been misinformed respecting some of the particulars of this case. Mr. Reeve informs us, that last fall, after the fever had so far subsided, that the citizens were returning to the city, a boy in his employ was taken ill with what was supposed to be the yellow fever. He had a mild attack, and recovered. During his illness, a thick bed-quilt was constantly kept between the bed-linen and the bed, and that, after his recovery, the bed was, according to advice of the physician, laid in an open field amongst the grass, and there suffered to remain for a week or ten days exposed to the cold air and white frost. The bed was afterwards brought home, and, from that period, was in constant use in

the family. Mr. Miller slept upon it for many months previous to his death. On the night of June 5th, Mr. Miller sat up to watch the corpse of Benjamin Jones, taylor, in Fromberger's court. Mr. Jones had been but six or seven weeks resident in Philadelphia. About seven or eight months previous, he had been bit by a dog supposed to be mad. He was delirious and attempted to bite his attendants. These circumstances produced suspicion that he had the hydrophobia; but his physician, Dr. Physick, who opened his body after death, asserted it to be the yellow fever. Mr. Miller was taken sick on the night of June 20, some days previous to which, he had fatigued himself in shipping some goods at Almond-street wharf, upwards of a mile from his lodgings; to which he walked daily. Whether he caught the infection from Benjamin Jones, whose body had been opened, or from any remaining contagion in the bed, or any other local cause, it will be difficult to determine; the probability is, that he had imbibed the infection from one or the other of these first-mentioned causes, and that it was excited into action by over-fatiguing himself in the heat of the day.

It is said that two other persons, who were taken sick after they went to the country, suppose that they caught the infection from the above-mentioned Mr. Jones. They were attended in the country by Dr. Isaac Huddleston, of Norristown. They, however, recovered.

On the evening of the 8th July, the armed ship Deborah, captain Edward Yard, arrived at the fort from Jeremie. By the following answers to the official questions, prescribed by law, it appears that she buried eight persons during her stay there and passage home, and that the harbour of Jeremie was sickly.

Q. 1. What is the name of this vessel?

A. Ship Deborah.

Q. 2. What is the name of the captain?

A. Edward Yard.

Q. 3. Where does your vessel belong to?

A. Philadelphia.

Q. 4. How many men belong to this vessel?

A. Thirty-seven.

Q. 5. How many passengers have you brought with you? Are they now all on board? And if not, where were they landed?

A. Fifty-eight, on board, landed none.

Q. 6. When did the vessel enter on her voyage?

A. February 7th.

Q. 7. At what port have you taken in the cargo, which you have now on board? And when did you sail from the same?

A. Port-au-Prince and Jeremie; left Jeremie 24th of June.

Q. 8. What does your present cargo consist of?

A. Sugar, coffee and cocoa.

Q. 9. What ports or places have you touched at since you have taken your last cargo? And when did you leave them?

A. None.

Q. 10. Have you touched at any sickly ports, places or islands, during your voyage?

A. None.

Q. 11. How were the inhabitants and the people belonging to the shipping of the port you have left or touched at, during your voyage? Were they healthy, or not?

A. Healthy on shore, but sickly in the harbour.

Q. 12. Have you brought with you all the crew, which you have taken out? If not, what has become of them?

A. Brought all the crew back but 13, Eight left me.

Q. 13. Have you lost any persons by diseases during your voyage? If so, when, in what place, and what was his or their complaint?

A. Lost 5 with the dysentery: the first at Jeremie and the last 24th June, seamen and three passengers.

Q. 14. Have you any wearing apparel or bedding belonging to deceased persons on board?

A. Part of the wearing apparel of the above-mentioned 5 persons, the rest was sunk at sea.

Q. 15. What vessels have you met at sea, during your last passage? What port were they from? Have you sent your boat on board of them, or did they send their boats on board of your vessel? Had they any sick on board?

A. Boarded the sloop Friendship: all well.

Q. 16. Yourself, your people and passengers, are they all now in good health?

A. All well on board, but one Negro woman, with a fever and lax.

EDWARD YARD.

July 8th, 1798, 6 o'clock, P. M.

SWORN.

James Hall, Residt. Phyn. Port.

Two ventilators were used on board the ship Deborah for 8 days.

JAMES HALL.

Mr. William Allen, Health-Officer, }

No. 32, Walnut-street. }

While the ship Deborah rode quarantine, the following sick persons were landed from her at the Marine Hospital, viz.

A French black girl, admitted July 8th, died July 14.
 John Lincoln, a seaman, admitted July 9th, died Aug. 2.
 Robert Stone, do. admitted July 9th, discharged July 12.
 Wm. Wallworth, do. admitted July 10th, do. July 19.
 Jonathan Farnham, do. admitted July 11, do. July 20.
 Robert Price, do. admitted July 11th, do. July 12.

On the 16th of July, the Board of Health directed the resident and consulting physicians, to examine the ship Deborah, and report to them their opinion respecting her condition previous to the expiration of her quarantine, and to cause the bedding and apparel of those who had died, to be landed at the marine hospital for purification; accordingly, on the 17th of the same month, Dr. Samuel Duffield, the consulting physician, and Dr. James Hall, the resident physician, reported, that they had visited and carefully examined the state of the ship Deborah, captain Yard, from Jeremie; and had found the same remarkably clean, and the people on board, in perfect health: Captain Yard informed them, that he lost three of his people in Hispaniola, and two on his passage home; the last on the 24th of June, besides three passengers; one was a lady just from Europe: she died on the 2d of July, of a fever, which terminated in constant purging, but without vomiting, or any uncommon yellowness of the skin. A white child died on the 26th of June, and a Negro child died on the 7th of July. The latter supposed to be occasioned by a wound which it had received on the head, by running against one of the pikes. That the captain was of opinion, that all his people who died, brought on their diseases by intemperance, and by exposing themselves, when in that state, to the rain and night air. That he further declared to them, that none of the people who died, either of his crew or the passengers, had any thing like black vomiting, extraordinary yellowness of the skin, or, as far as he was able to judge, with any of the striking symptoms of the yellow fever; and that their diseases were not communicated to any other persons from any of those that died. That upon considering the report of captain Yard, and comparing it with the present very healthy appearance of the people on board, none of whom appeared to them to have been affected by the diseases of those who died, and the number of persons now on board (ninety-five) they were of opinion, that

the diseases of which the before-mentioned persons died, were not of a contagious nature: That they were more confirmed in this opinion, from the state of the four persons belonging to that ship, who were then in the marine hospital, none of whom exhibited any symptoms whatever of a contagious or malignant nature: That they were also of opinion, that the ship was now in a perfect and wholesome state; that the people were free from every appearance of contagion: that the bedding and cloathing of all the persons who died in the vessel, had either been thrown overboard, or landed at the hospital.

In consequence of this report, the Deborah was permitted to proceed to the city; where she arrived on the 18th of July, and discharged her cargo near Race-street wharf.

Many circumstances have occurred to excite strong suspicion that the contagion was imported in the ship Deborah. In consequence of which, we have endeavoured, as far as is in our power, to acquire a just knowledge of the most important facts relative thereto; and to state them with all possible precision, that the public may be the better enabled to form a correct judgment upon this important question.

The Deborah sailed from Philadelphia in February, 1798, for Cape Nichola-Mole; where she arrived in March; in April she sailed from thence to Port-au-Prince, from Port-au-Prince to Jeremie, and from thence back to Philadelphia.

These places, which are in the island of Hispaniola or St. Domingo, had long been garrisoned by British troops. In consequence of which, they were more peculiarly adapted to the generation of pestilential diseases.

Dr. Currie was informed by Mr. Lewis, the mate, that previous to the Deborah's taking in her cargo, at Jeremie, she was employed as a transport in the British service. That the yellow fever prevailed in those places to which the Deborah went is ascertained by captain Yard's answer to the official question, No. 11. He also acknowledged "in conversation
" with a gentleman shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia,
" that while he lay at Jeremie, a very mortal disease was pre-
" valent there, which the natives called the *Maladie de Siam*
" (a name by which the yellow fever is known in many parts
" of the West-Indies, particularly the French Islands) of
" which the captain and the chief part of the crew of an
" English ship, from Liverpool, died."*

* Currie's Memoirs, p. 132.

The prevalence of the yellow fever in St. Domingo, at that period, is further confirmed by the following letter to Dr. Griffiths, from Dr. Edward Stevens, who was there shortly after; and who is well acquainted with the disease, viz.

“ Sir,

“ During my residence at Santo-Domingo and the Cape, I received frequent information that the yellow fever prevailed in almost all the sea-port towns in the French part of Hispaniola, particularly at Cape Nichola-Mole. It raged so violently at this latter place, and the mortality was so great, that it obliged the British to abandon the post sooner than they intended. About the same time this disease made its appearance in the harbour of St. Thomas, and was so destructive to foreigners, that it obtained the name of *the plague* from all those who spoke of it. At Santo Domingo I saw several cases of it, during the months of August and September. These were entirely confined to American seamen, while the native inhabitants of the city were altogether exempt from it. The privateers which frequented this port lost also several of their crew by this fever, while they remained at anchor.

“ I mentioned to you that a similar disease had broke out on board of the schooner Swift, at Porto-Rico. The following are the facts respecting that vessel, viz. On the 11th of last March, she sailed from the Delaware, and, after touching at Tortola and St. Thomas, arrived at the city of Santo Domingo on the 13th of April, where she continued until the 26th of June, when, she went to the Cape, and returned again on the 1st of August, without touching at any other port. She remained at Santo Domingo until the 28th of October, and then sailed for Porto-Rico, where she arrived on the 5th of November. She anchored at the entrance of the harbour, at a considerable distance from any other vessel. A short time before she left the city of Santo Domingo, she took on board, from a French privateer that had been dismantled, a quantity of rigging, sails, guns and ammunition. From the time that she left Philadelphia until her arrival at Porto-Rico, the crew were healthy, except two of the sailors, who were affected with venereal complaints. The second day after she anchored at this latter port, the mate and one of the sailors began to complain; and the greatest part of the crew, together with the captain, were successively attacked. The two first died after a short illness, and one

of the others during her passage to America. The captain escaped, in consequence of being brought on shore and carefully attended, at the commencement of the disorder. When she arrived at Porto-Rico, and during her stay there, both the harbour and city were remarkably healthy, and her crew had little or no communication with either the shore or the shipping. These are all the facts which have come to my knowledge respecting the existence of this disease in the West-Indies, during the last summer and fall.

EDWARD STEPHENS.

Walnut-street, December 26, 1798."

Deposition of Mr. John Boden, carpenter of the ship Deborah :

State of New-Jersey, city of Burlington, ss.

On the 27th August, 1798, before Joseph Bloomfield, mayor of the city of Burlington, appeared John Boden, of said city, ship-carpenter and free-holder in the same; and being duly sworn, deposed and saith, that on the 1st Dec. 1797, this deponent shipped himself as carpenter on board the Deborah, Edward Yard, commander: that said ship sailed from Philadelphia in February last, for Cape Nichola-Mole, and arrived at said Cape about the middle of March; from whence the said ship, in April last, went to Port-au-Prince; while at Port-au-Prince, Henry Philips, one of the sailors of said ship, was taken very ill with what is called the yellow fever: that, during his illness, the said Henry Philips told this deponent (and often times since) that he had taken the yellow fever, in attendance upon a man of his acquaintance, who had the yellow fever, and died on board an English brig at Port-au-Prince, while the said Philips was on board said brig, and with his said acquaintance. This deponent further saith, that said Henry Philips has a wife in Philadelphia; but is now on a voyage to Europe. That this deponent assisted in nursing said Philips, while in the yellow fever, as aforesaid, at Port-au-Prince, until this deponent was seized (on the voyage of the Deborah to Jeremie) with the same yellow fever, which this deponent believes he caught of Philips: That, while at Jeremie, several of the crew of the Deborah had the yellow fever; that Esdell, Ross and several others of the crew died: That in June the Deborah left Jeremie; that on her passage to Philadelphia, Miller, the boatswain, Brown, Smith and one other sailor, with three passengers, died, as was generally believed, of the same

fever : That while said ship was under quarantine at Fort-Mifflin, no person of her crew died, to this deponent's knowledge ; nor was any person permitted to go on board, or on shore, to this deponent's knowledge, while riding quarantine, except the Health-Officers and bargemen of the yawl, which brought said Health-Officers on board : That while the said ship was discharging her cargo, at Smith's wharf, in Philadelphia, George Streeton, ship-carpenter, visited this deponent, and was about half an hour on board said ship : That said George Streeton has lately lost a son, as this deponent has been informed, of the present prevailing sickness in Philadelphia : That the said George Streeton has removed from Philadelphia with his family, and now resides in the Falls' township, in Bucks county ; and further this deponent saith not.

JOHN BODEN.

Sworn, as aforesaid, before

JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD, Mayor of Burlington.

" The Deborah remained ten days at Smith's wharf, near Race-street, discharging her cargo ; and, on the 25th of July, she was removed to Mr. Eyre's wharf, in Kensington, to be repaired. It was currently reported, and is generally believed, that Alexander Philips, late of Water-street, taylor, with some other persons, from pecuniary motives, went down in a boat, while the Deborah was riding quarantine, and brought one or two sick persons from her to Philips's house*. But, after a candid and judicial enquiry, we are of opinion, that the assertion is unfounded, as will appear by the following documents, viz.

Declaration of Thomas Town, as published by the College of Physicians.

" Mr. Thomas Town, citizen of the Northern Liberties, Philadelphia, related to Dr. Wistar, that on the 1st of August, 1798, he saw Alexander Philips, late of Water-street, taylor, in Second street, and inquired of him, whether it was true (as reported) that he had brought up privately some sick men from the ship Deborah, soon after her arrival in the river, and had received ten dollars for so doing ; and, that Philips replied, that he had brought up two or three in one or two boats. Mr. Town believes he said that he had

* Currie's Memoirs of the Yellow Fever, page 130 and 132.

gone down as low as Marcus Hook. Philips said he had taken some of them to his own house, and that one was dead. He added, that he was sorry it had been done; that he was sick himself, but hoped his complaint would turn out a cold.

“ He stated that he had done it as an act of friendship, in return for favours received.

“ On the Sunday morning following, Mr. Town was invited to Philips’s funeral.

“ THOS. TOWN,

“ CASPER WISTAR, Jun.

“ Nov. 16th, 1798.”

The following paper was given to Doctor William Currie, by Mr. John Purdon, and published by the College of Physicians.

“ Mr. Purdon says, that, on the afternoon of the 1st or 2d day of August, being at the house of Mr. Alexander Philips, in Water-street, he was informed, in the course of conversation, by Mr. Philips, that he himself had gone down to a ship at the fort, and brought from thence one of his old lodgers, then sick, to his own house in Water-street. Mr. Purdon observed to him, with horror and astonishment, that he had acted very wrong, and immediately departed from his house. Mr. Philips, on that day, was apparently in perfect health; on the Saturday night following he was a corpse. Mr. Purdon was not informed by Mr. Philips from what ship he had conveyed the sick man, but by Mr. Isaac Milnor, a few weeks after, that it was from the ship Deborah, and on the ninth night of her quarantine.”

A letter from Mr. Edward Yard, late master of the ship Deborah, to a member of the Academy of Medicine, published by the Academy.

Philadelphia, January 11, 1799.

SIR,

“ In answer to your request, I can assure you, that no person, sick or well, were landed from the ship Deborah, on her passage to this port, until her arrival off the marine hospital, when those who were indisposed were taken on shore by the resident physician.

“ I arrived in the bay of the Delaware on the 7th of July, in the afternoon; and anchored near the buoy of the brown. I got under way from that place at four o’clock, on the

morning of the 8th, with a fine breeze at S. S. E. and did not anchor in the Delaware until half past five o'clock, P. M. of the same day, nearly a-breast of the marine hospital. No boat was along side of the ship, nor did any boys come on board during that time; nor did any boys or men ever come inside my ship during my quarantine, or since that time.

I am, Sir, &c.

EDWARD YARD."

Deposition of Abraham Snell, published by the Academy of Medicine, viz.

Philadelphia, ff.

Personally before me, John Jennings, one of the aldermen of the said city, appeared Abraham Snell; who being duly sworn, doth depose and say, that on or about the 10th day of July last, he went down the river in a boat, in the company of the late Alexander Philips, with a view of taking some articles to John Linkin, on board the ship Deborah, then performing quarantine: when arrived within hailing distance, we were informed that Linkin had been taken on shore to the marine hospital. That neither he nor Mr. Philips went on board the ship; nor did they bring up any persons out of her. Further, that he boarded with Mr. Philips from the 8th to the 18th of July, during which time he knew of no sick persons having been brought to the house.

ABRAHAM SNELL.

Sworn and subscribed before me, }
the 27th day of Dec. 1798. }

JOHN JENNINGS, ALDERMAN.

Deposition of Jane M'Farlin.

Jane M'Farlin, being sworn as aforesaid, doth depose and say, that she lived with A. Philips, from 8th November, 1797, to 5th August, 1798, and knew of no sick persons being brought into the house, during that time.

her

JANE X M'FARLIN.

mark.

Sworn and subscribed before me, }
the 27th day of Dec. 1798. }

JOHN JENNINGS, ALDERMAN.

Deposition of Mary Philips.

Mary Philips, widow of the late Alexander, being also sworn, doth depose and say, that no sick persons were brought into her house by her husband, or any other person, during the last summer. Farther, that no person from the Deborah boarded in her house, except Jonathan Farthingham, who had been sick and discharged (cured) from the Marine Hospital, after the ship arrived in the city.

MARY PHILIPS.

Sworn and subscribed before me, }
the 27th day of Dec. 1798. }

JOHN JENNINGS, ALDERMAN.

Extract from Dr. Currie's defence of the opinions of the College of Physicians.

“To weaken, and, as far as in their power, to invalidate the opinion of the College respecting the origin of the disease in Philadelphia last year, the Academy have brought forward the testimony of several persons in some degree interested in disguising, or at least withholding some part of the truth. These go to prove that the declaration of Alexander Philips, who told Messrs. Towne and Purdon, severally, and at different times, that he had brought sick persons to his house, was false. Mr. Purdon had called on Philips to request payment of an account he owed him—Philips assured him that he would pay him in a few days, as he had been down the river and brought up an old lodger, whom he had occasion for as a witness, but that he was then sick.”

“That Philips had a man, belonging to the Deborah, sick in his house, at the time he was sick himself, is certain from the testimony of Dr. Griffiths, who prescribed for him.”

There was no instance of the fever being in Kensington until the Deborah went there, nor was it in any case known to be contagious before her arrival. The people belonging to her, labourers who assisted to unload her, carpenters who repaired her, and others who visited her, were the first who were attacked with the disease; indeed, a very considerable proportion of the first cases have been traced to this vessel. [See the recapitulation at the end of this chapter.]

It is probable that the contagion was imported from the West-Indies in other vessels besides the Deborah. On the 21st of July, the schooner Aurora, with eleven passengers,

and fourteen seamen, and the Ariel, with twenty-two passengers, and twelve seamen, arrived at the fort from Cape-Nichola-Mole. Two passengers died on board the Aurora, during her passage. She was boarded in the bay of Delaware, on the 16th of July, by James Nagglee, pilot. Then it rained. He got wet, and in that state, he slept upon the deck. He also slept upon the deck on the 19th, exposed to the sun; and on the 22d, he complained of pains in his legs and feet. He was taken to the Marine Hospital, on State-Island, on the 23d, and died (July 28th)—the *fifth* day after his admission. Previous to his death, he became delirious, vomited blood, and bled at the nose.

The mate of the Aurora also died at the Marine Hospital. When he was admitted, he had a swelling in his groin, accompanied with sores in sundry other parts of his body—particularly his head; but, upon examination, he denied that it was *lues venerea*. When landed, he walked up to the hospital, and did not appear to have a high fever; but, the day after, he was suddenly taken with a convulsion fit, and died delirious on the *sixth* day after his admission.

The Ariel was boarded by James Roland, pilot, on the 16th of July; he slept in the mate's berth, and was not exposed to the bad weather. He was a very temperate, sober man. On the 25th, he complained of a severe pain in the head, and was sent to the Marine Hospital on the 26th. When admitted, he had a slow fever, and complained of great weakness. He died on the *third* day after his admission. Previous to death, he was affected with the hickup, oppression of the breast, and heavy breathing. He bled once at the mouth, and his skin was yellow.

These circumstances induced the Board of Health, to prolong the quarantine of the Aurora and Ariel to twenty days; during which, they were well cleansed, washed with vinegar, white-washed, and had two of Wynkoop's ventilators working on board. They came to the city on the 10th of August.

On the 19th of July, the brig Mary arrived at the fort from Kingston, Jamaica, with six passengers and twenty-two seamen. After ten days quarantine, she came up to the city, (July 29) and began to discharge her cargo, consisting of coffee and cocoa, at Ross and Simpson's wharf, below Walnut-street. Part of the cargo was much damaged, and in a putrid state. Several sudden deaths occurred about this time in the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants were alarmed.

In consequence, information was lodged at the health-office, purporting that the coffee and cocoa, landed from said brig, and stored at Rofs and Simpson's, was in a putrid state, and extremely offensive. Likewise, that a store in the same block of buildings, belonging to Mr. Dawson, contained a quantity of hides, in a putrid and offensive condition. That Mr. Dawson had died that morning of a fever, which had excited great alarm in that neighbourhood, and that his daughter was ill of the same fever. In consequence of this report, the mayor, by request of the board, caused all the coffee to be returned on board the brig; and ordered, that she should be removed from the wharf opposite to the Wind-Mill island; from whence she was, together with all the hands who worked on board, removed to State-island, where the articles were landed for purification, and the vessel carefully cleansed.

The Academy of Medicine, in their communication to the Board of Health, of the 8th of August, say, that they *derive* the rapid progress of the fever, during the first week of August, to the foul air of several ships lately arrived in the port, and from the damaged coffee of the above vessel. But, as the disease had made some progress before the arrival of the brig *Mary*, it could not, therefore, have proceeded from her alone.

The consulting physician, on the 25th of July, intimated to the Board of Health, that two strangers, who had arrived at a tavern in Front-street, were lying sick; and, on the 30th of the same month, Christopher Holmes, from Penn-street, was sent to the Marine hospital; that the house was ordered to be cleansed, and the bedding and apparel removed to the City Hospital for purification. The same day, a report was made to the board, by Mr. James Yard and Dr. Samuel Duffield, stating, that George Ralston, who had laboured on board the *Deborah*, died that day, after a short illness. A letter from Dr. Hall, the same day, mentioned the death of a person, who was taken to the Marine Hospital from the ship *Nestor*.

The number of deaths and new cases of the fever, which daily increased from the 28th of July to the 6th of August, alarmed the citizens, and became a general topic of conversation. The college of Physicians met on the sixth of August: at which time about 26 cases of the fever were known to exist in the city. After conferring together, they unanimously agreed to the following resolutions; which were immediately communicated to the Board of Health:

“ Resolved, That the College inform the Board of Health, that a malignant contagious fever has made its appearance in Water-street, between Walnut and Spruce-streets, and in the vicinity thereof: and

“ That the College recommend to the Board of Health to procure the removal of all the families that are situated between Walnut and Spruce-streets, and the east side of Front street and the river; and to have all the shipping, lying between Walnut and Spruce-streets removed to a proper distance from the city.”

In consequence of this communication from the College, the Board of Health met, and on the 7th, they published the following recommendation, viz.

“ *Health-Office, 7th August, 1798.*

“ Whereas, the Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals of the port and city of Philadelphia, having received information from the College of Physicians, “ that a malignant contagious fever has made its appearance in Water-street, between Walnut and Spruce-streets, and in the vicinity thereof;”—and the reports of Dr. Samuel Duffield and Dr. Parke, appointed particularly to examine that part of the city, specifying the particular cases found therein—Therefore, resolved, that in order to prevent, as much as possible, all communication with that part of the city, that the health-officer cause the vessels now lying at the wharves between Tun-alley and Jesse and Robert Waln’s wharf, including the said wharf, to be removed, and that no vessel of any description whatever be suffered to come to the said wharves until the further order of the board.

“ The board also earnestly recommend to the inhabitants of that part of the city, included between Walnut and Spruce-streets, and the east side of Front-street and the river, and also those immediately in the vicinity thereof, to remove without the bounds of the city and Liberties as speedily as possible.

“ By order of the Board of Managers,

“ WILLIAM JONES, President.

“ ATTEST,

“ TIMOTHY PAXSON, Clerk.”

The vessels were accordingly removed from the wharves above specified. But, instead of being “ removed to a proper distance from the city,” as recommended by the College, they were distributed to the other wharves. Most of them

were sent to the upper parts of the city. The brig Mary, who brought the damaged coffee, &c. was the only vessel which was removed from the city. Perhaps from this cause it was, that the disease, soon afterwards, so rapidly spread, and produced such a general depopulation. Another circumstance which may have aided its spreading, ought not to pass unnoticed: a quantity of the damaged coffee, before mentioned, was scattered on the wharf, which the itinerant poor unfortunately gathered up; and thus, probably, carried home the instrument of their destruction!

The removal of the inhabitants, from the city, was earnestly recommended in the daily papers; nor was any time lost in communicating the cause for alarm. The following communication, recommending provision for the removal of the poor, is extracted from *Percupine's Gazette*, of August 7th, viz.

“The yellow fever is in this city. It is now come out, that it made its appearance about a week ago. Several persons are dead with it, and, according to all the accounts I have heard, it spreads with greater rapidity than it did last year.

“A number of stories, with regard to its origin, are, as usual, on foot; but, I believe, the best way would be to lay aside all vain disputes on this subject, and prepare, as quick as possible, to make provision for removing those who have not the means of removing themselves, to situations more healthy.”

The Philadelphia Gazette, on the same day, contained the following

“*Communication*—An immediate attention to the advice of the board of health, in evacuating the infected quarter is, perhaps, the only measure by which our unfortunate city can be rescued from increasing affliction. Individual interest should yield to a temporary sacrifice, in order to avert the public calamity. It is a duty every citizen owes to the community, as well as to himself, to be vigilant in removing the objects, and thereby impeding the progress of contagion.

“To those who necessarily remain in the city, it is almost superfluous to intimate the necessity of avoiding those parts where the contagion prevails. A sentiment of self-preservation, if not of duty to society, will be a sufficient restraint.—Under the favor of heaven, and our own precaution, we may then hope to be soon restored to health, prosperity, and happiness.”

The Academy of Medicine met on the 8th of August, to communicate their sentiments to the Board of Health: they presented the following document, which was published for the information of the public, viz.

“ THE Academy of Medicine of Philadelphia, having taken into consideration the existence of a malignant bilious fever in this city, have conceived it to be their duty to lay before the managers of the Marine and City Hospitals, the following facts respecting its origin, and the means of checking its progress.

“ We have, upon inquiry, discovered that a case of this fever existed in the city on the 6th of June, and that several cases of it existed in July, in parts of the city remote from the river, and wholly unconnected with each other. They appeared to originate from the putrid exhalations of alleys and gutters, and docks, and from the stagnating water in the neighbourhood of the city. We derive the late rapid increase of the fever from the foul air of several ships lately arrived in the port, and from some damaged coffee which arrived in a brig from Jamaica on the 29th of July. In the course of our inquiries into the origin of the fever, we did not meet with a single fact that could support the opinion of contagion being imported in the bodies or clothes of sick people in the ships or vessels which lie between Walnut and Spruce streets, where the disease has prevailed most. Many respectable modern authorities assert that the yellow fever is *not contagious* in the West-Indies, and repeated observations satisfy us, that it is rarely so during the *warm weather* in the United States. None of the cases we have as yet seen, have propagated it, and we conceive it to be an error as absurd, in its nature, as it has been fatal in its operation upon the city of Philadelphia, that the contagion of a disease should adhere to the timber of a ship after a sea voyage, and should spread from the timber of the ship without contact through an extensive neighbourhood, and cease to communicate itself afterwards by long and close connection of the sick with their families and attendants. We lament that this fact, together with many others upon the nature and origin of the yellow fever, which were stated in our letter to the Governor, on the 1st of December, 1797, and by him laid before the legislature of the state, have been treated with total neglect in the present health law: the distress we felt upon seeing that law is, however, much alleviated by the reflection, that we have not con-

tributed, in any degree, by supporting an erroneous opinion, to reproduce the present alarming calamity of our city.

“ We beg leave to recommend for the purpose of checking the progress of the fever, an attention to the following directions :

“ 1st. The removal of all the families from those parts of the city where the disease, from the contamination of the atmosphere, appears chiefly to exist, and the preventing those parts being visited by the citizens.

“ 2dly. The removal of all ships and putrid articles of commerce from the wharves and stores of the city.

“ 3dly. The cleaning of the docks, wharves, yards and cellars; also the washing of the gutters every day, and of the streets and alleys three times a week, by means of pumps and fire engines.

“ 4thly. The appointment of a sufficient number of physicians to take care of such of the poor as may be affected with the fever.

“ 5thly. Publicly to advise the citizens to avoid all the usual exciting causes of fever, such as intemperance, fatigue, excessive heat, the night air, all violent and debilitating passions of the mind.

“ 6thly. To advise them, in every case of indisposition, however slight in appearance, to apply immediately for medical aid.

“ *Signed by order of the Academy of Medicine of Philadelphia,*

“ PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK, President.

“ FRANCIS BOWES SAYRE, Sec'ry.”

The City Hospital was now opened for the reception of the sick, and, on the 9th, the board of health gave public intimation, “ that on a certificate being presented to the Health-officer, from any regular practising physician, stating any person to be afflicted with a contagious disorder, he is directed to grant an order, and have them removed to the City Hospital.”

From the 1st to the 8th of August, the total number of deaths in the City and Liberties, was fifty-three: four sick persons were admitted into the City-Hospital on the 8th; nine persons on the 9th, and eleven on the 10th. The deaths and new cases daily became more numerous; the alarm increased, and the slight of the inhabitants was now general.

Recapitulation of the principal occurrences previous to the 9th of August, and dates of the first cases.

1798.

April 4. Health Law enacted.

May 1. Board of Health elected—the law commences.

28. The Board are informed that persons and goods are landed from the vessels under quarantine, in violation of the law.

June 5. Benjamin Jones died—See page 36.

6. Mary Wrigglesworth has the fever—See appendix, page xx.

11. Rebecca Trested has the fever—See append. p. xx.

12. Two persons violate the Health law, by going on board a vessel under quarantine.

16. The Board are informed that persons and goods had been landed from vessels, in the state of Delaware, previous to reaching the place of quarantine, and from thence brought to the city.

27. Eliza Curran has the fever—See appendix, p. xx.

July 2. Mark Miller died of the yellow fever. See p. 35.

Molly Zeller has the fever—See appendix, p. xx.

5. *Three hundred and forty-three* persons arrive in the city, from places in the West-Indies, where the *yellow fever* raged—See pages 31 and 39.

8. Ship Deborah arrived at the fort.

11. Miss Byrne has the fever—See appendix, p. xx.

12. Mr. Vannost has the fever—See appendix, p. xx.

18. The Deborah arrives at Race-street wharf.

25. George Ralston, a labourer on board the Deborah, attacked with the fever—died.

26. A ship carpenter, who worked on the Deborah, and lodged at A. Thompson's, Water-street, dies of the yellow fever.

28. Another of A. Thompson's lodgers dies of the yellow fever—*The fever was not in any instance known to be infectious previous to this date*—The Deborah removes to Kenlington.

31. Mr. David Jamie, another of A. Thompson's lodgers, takes the fever—and on the 5th of August A. Thompson's child was attacked.

Aug. 1. A. Philips, next house to A. Thompson, attacked—died the 4th—James Porter, next door to George Streeton, attacked—died.

- Aug. 2. John Butcher, who worked on board the Deborah, attacked—James Ashmore, apprentice to Mr. Yard, worked on board the Deborah, attacked—died.—James Kerr, George Adams, and — Simons, also apprentices to Mr. Yard, were all attacked a few days after Ashmore.
3. Two labourers from the Deborah, named Sutton, attacked—one died.—Samuel Baker, Daniel de Benneville, Catherine Pecky, Mrs. Benneville, Joshua Baker, and Jacob Miller, were attacked previous to the 9th August, and had either been by the Deborah, or nigh some persons sick of the fever—three of them died.—John Saunders, near where the brig Mary was unloading the damaged coffee, attacked.
6. The Colleg^e of Physicians meet, and report 26 cases of the yellow fever.
7. The Board of Health make public, the existence of the yellow fever in the city—City Hospital opened.
8. The Academy of Medicine present their opinion to the Board of Health, see page 50—four persons admitted into the City Hospital.
9. Nine persons admitted into the City-Hospital.

CHAPTER III.

The disease increases—City deserted—Arrangements for the removal of the sick to the City Hospital—Burial of the dead—Care of the sick poor in the City—Want of success at the City Hospital—Removal of the poor to tents—Respect of the City at the crisis of the disease—Decline of the disease, &c.—State of the City from the commencement to the decline of the calamity.

ABOUT the beginning of August, the news-papers announced the uncommon healthiness of the city; a circumstance which has occurred towards the beginning of that pestilence in almost every city of the United States, where it has appeared. It was the case with Philadelphia, New-York, and Baltimore, in 1797; and with Philadelphia, Boston, New-York, and some other towns, this year. Even, on the first appearance of the disease, we have been congratulated for the uncommon health of the city. Declarations of uncommon health, at this season, will, perhaps, hereafter, be looked upon as an omen of disease.

The publications of the College of Physicians, the Board of Health, and the Academy of Medicine, on the sixth, seventh, and eighth days of August, produced the most serious alarm amongst all classes of citizens. Numbers fled, and crowded into the surrounding towns and country, to the distance of twenty, thirty, and even fifty miles from the city, to provide refuge for their families and friends. The removals from the city were much more general and more rapid than in 1793. It is probable, that at least twice, if not three times the number of persons fled this year, as at any former period. Many who had been witnesses to the distresses of 1793 and 1797, and appeared then the most undaunted, were now the first to remove from danger. For the first three weeks after the alarm, the streets were crowded with waggons and carts, loaded with goods and furniture. Forty or fifty waggons, besides carts, have been seen in their route to the coun-

try, in one direction. One square, in the centre of the city, where, in 1793, there removed only about twenty-five persons, in 1798, there were above one hundred and forty. The dispersion began about the sixth and eighth of August, and, altho' most numerous in the two succeeding weeks, they continued partially until the middle of September. Many, who at the beginning, when the disease was confined to particular parts of the city, had adopted the resolution of staying, and confining themselves to their houses, were afterwards induced to remove; because, the disease approached either their doors or neighbourhood. The number who fled from the city have been estimated at *three-fourths* to *five-sixths* of the whole inhabitants: the total number of inhabitants have been estimated at fifty to seventy thousand. We have estimated them* at fifty-five to sixty thousand; and we think it probable, that about forty thousand may have removed from the city.

In 1793, our citizens complained of inhospitality in the country, arising principally from the terror created by the novelty of the disorder. Then it was believed to be as contagious in the country as in the unfortunate city, which poured forth its fugitives in every direction. It was not, therefore, to be wondered, that our citizens were shunned, as if even their approach carried inevitable destruction. To repel supposed dangers, guards were stationed, with arms, to stop the flight of the wanderers. They were then refused the necessaries of life; and, in many instances, they died for want. Many could not always procure a comfortable lodging. The case was rather different this year. An idea, now prevailed, grounded upon the experience of 1793 and 1797, that the disorder was not communicable in the country; in consequence of which, there was less difficulty made to the reception of our citizens. Throughout the country, the houses were generally open for them: accommodations were furnished at reasonable rates: the extortions practised were few. There were some however, signalized by avarice.

Altho' accommodations were generally afforded reasonable still the sufferings of our citizens were very considerable. Many persons, accustomed to spacious houses, and all the comforts and luxuries which Philadelphia could furnish, were obliged to content themselves with, perhaps, one small room, wherein two, three or four beds were crowded together; besides this, in some situations remote from markets, the fare

was very coarse ; and, in some places, not abundant. Instances have occurred, of women, in a state of parturition, in bleak, desolate rooms, almost without assistance.

The Health Office was removed from Walnut street to the City Hall, where it was kept open, night and day. The City-Tavern was shut up, and the different public offices, banks, &c. were removed, either to the remoter parts of the city, to Germantown, Trenton, Chester, &c. &c.

Meantime, the disease continued to increase, and appeared in parts of the city, remote from where it first was discovered. The number of deaths in the city and suburbs was collected for the newspapers, and published daily. The returns of the City-Hospital were also regularly reported ; and, after the 15th of August, a daily report of the new cases was published, collected from the different physicians, by Mr. JOHN JARVIS, who was employed by the Board of Health for that purpose. These reports were an index by which the citizens were enabled, with some degree of certainty, to judge of its progress, extension and decline. The arrangements of the Board of Health, for the removal of the sick, interment of the dead, &c. were judicious and early. They empowered all the regular practising physicians to grant orders for admission into the City Hospital, and coaches were provided by the Board for that purpose.—At the Hospital burying-ground, graves were always ready: the grave-diggers remained day and night in the yard.—When a person died, it was only necessary to make application at the Health-Office, where hearses and coffins were in readiness to convey the corpse to the grave. The patients in the City-Hospital were placed under the management of Dr. Philip Syng Physick, and Dr. Samuel Cooper. They resided there constantly, and were furnished with two assistants ;—a competent number of nurses and attendants, with medicine, and every thing necessary for the comfort and relief of the sick ;—nor were the poor, who were sick in the city, neglected : skilful physicians were appointed to attend them, and medicines provided for their use, at the expense of the public. The north part of the city, and the Northern-Liberties, were placed under the care of Dr. Francis Bowes Sayre, Dr. James Mease, and Dr. Kinlaid: Southwark, and the south part of the city, were attended by Dr. John Church and Dr. Benjamin Duffield ; and the poor of the city were attended by Dr. Samuel Duffield :

In the early period of the calamity, the disease assumed a

more malignant form, than it did in '93 or '97, and very great mortality took place: not *one* in *six* cases now recovered. Several of the physicians announced their intention of leaving the city—perhaps, urged by the recollection of the great mortality among physicians the year previous.—An idea that it was the plague, and incurable, was generally propagated and believed: Nurses were with difficulty procured, perhaps from the experience of '97, which proved, that the native blacks were not more exempt from the disease than the whites.—An almost universal antipathy to the City Hospital prevailed. The terror of being forceably sent there, prevented many from acknowledging their sickness, until they were unable to conceal it; and scarcely *one* patient in *ten* would acknowledge that his disease was the prevailing fever. This operated in producing a delay in calling for medical assistance, until that period, when it was difficult to overcome it by the power of medicine. A want of confidence likewise prevented many from applying to a physician for advice. They were convinced, from experience, that in jarring opinions, humanity is often lost sight of, by an obstinate adherence to error: in the former years, the medical pen was, in many instances, dipped in gall. “The several combatants took their peculiar grounds, and disdained, in too many cases, to save the life of a human being, by following any other suggestions than their own. They distracted the public mind, and shook all confidence in medical assistance.”

But, the reverse of this was exhibited this season; and it was truly agreeable, to observe the harmony that prevailed among the physicians in this period of sickness and distress. They all agreed in advising their friends to leave the city; altho' they “*derived*” the disease from different causes. The practice of the one, therefore, became more assimilated to that of the other.

The Board of Health, impressed with a sense of the consequences of delaying to apply for medical aid, on the 13th of August, published the following recommendation:

“*Health-Office.* The Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals have observed, with deep regret, the fatal consequences of delay in the applications for medical aid, to persons afflicted with the prevailing malignant fever, and that the removal of patients to the City Hospital, in many cases, is procrastinated until they are literally sent there to die.

“They recommend, in the most earnest manner, the early removal of patients to the City Hospital, — where, the pub-

lic may be assured, that every possible comfort and accommodation will be afforded.—The public are informed, that the care of the patients, and management of the City-Hospital, is committed to Doctor Physick and Doctor Cooper, who reside constantly there, and whose professional eminence, it is presumed, will ensure a just confidence.

“ An apothecary also resides at the Hospital, with an ample store of the best medicines.

“ The Board consider this recommendation as of the highest importance, and entreat the attention of their fellow-citizens.

“ By order of the Board of managers :

“ Wm. Jones, President.”

Notwithstanding this recommendation, the fatal effects of delay in calling in the aid of medicine, daily became more numerous ; in consequence, the Board, on the 18th of August, repeated their admonition in the following publication :

“ The malignity of the prevailing fever, and its insidious approaches, are such, as to resist the power of medicine, unless application is made in the first instance of complaint.—The Board lament that their recommendation has not been attended to ; as, in most instances, the patients have been ill three or four days previous to application for medical aid ; to which, in a great degree, is to be attributed, the deaths of many valuable members of society. The Board reiterate their call to their fellow-citizens, and earnestly request, that not a moment may be delayed in obtaining medical assistance.”

The unparalleled mortality which occurred in the City Hospital, the first five days after it was opened, alarmed Doctors Physick and Cooper, the resident physicians. Thirty-one patients had been admitted, of which ten died, and none had as yet recovered ; in consequence of which, they addressed the following letter to doctor Rush :

City Hospital, August 12, 1798.

DEAR DOCTOR,

Our want of success in treating the prevailing disease, makes us anxious to hear from you, in hopes you may have added some new and useful remedy to those heretofore in use. It is true, all our patients have been sick, at least two, and some of them nine days previously to their admission. Is there any mode of relieving these unfortunate people, which you can suppose we are unacquainted with ? We recollect your

observing, that an emetic had been useful, after the disease appeared to be mitigated by bleeding. If you can spare a few minutes to write to us, on these subjects, you will much oblige your sincere friends, &c.

PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK.
SAMUEL COOPER.

Dr. Benjamin Rush.

T H E A N S W E R.

My dear and worthy Friends,

I am sorry to discover, by your letter, your want of success in the treatment of our malignant fever, at the City Hospital. I do not wonder at it: you seldom see the disease in its first stage; and, when you do, you meet it in an aggravated state, by the motion your patients undergo in being conveyed to the Hospital.

In answer to your request, I have sat down to inform you of the practice which I have adopted in our present epidemic. In the treatment of the yellow fever of last year, I have occasionally lamented the loss of patients after reducing the pulse by bleeding, and by the liberal use of purging medicines. I have suspected that death occurred in those cases, from the stagnation of acrid bile in the gall-bladder, or its close adherence to the upper bowels, in the manner described by Dr. Mitchell, in his account of the yellow fever in Virginia, in the year 1741. The slow pulse which occurs about the 4th day, I suspect further to be the effect of this bile. Its effects in a much less morbid state in the jaundice, in reducing the pulse, is well known. Mr. John Hunter says, he once met with an instance in which it fell to thirty-two strokes in a minute in that disease. Revolving these facts in my mind, I resolved to try to remove this bile, by exciting an *artificial cholera morbus*, about the 4th day of the fever. I was the more disposed to attempt this method of cure, from believing, as I have done for several years, that a Cholera Morbus is nothing but the first grade of billious fever thrown in upon the bowels, just as the Dysentery and Diarrhoea are the internal forms of a common billious or intermitting fever.

I began this mode of treating the fever eight days ago. My solicitude for the issue of it was very great. Thank God, it has succeeded to my wishes; and thereby lessened, in a great degree, the anxiety and distress which accompany our attendance upon this ferocious disease. The medicines I use for *shaking* the gall-bladder and bowels, and *discharging* the

contents are, tartar-emetic, gamboge, jalap and calomel, combined, or given separately, and in small or large doses, according to circumstances. Perhaps Turpeth mineral might be added to this list of vomiting and purging medicines with advantage. In one case, I gave four grains of tartar-emetic, and twenty of calomel. It operated freely upwards and downwards, and brought away a large quantity of green and black bile, but without exciting the least cramp or pain in the stomach or bowels. At the time I gave it, death appeared to be creeping upon the patient. The next day he was out of danger. The person thus rescued from the grave, was the son of Mr. Richard Kenshaw. Indeed, I have not, as yet, lost a single patient to whom I have given this powerful remedy. In one instance I fear it will fail. It is in a boy of sixteen years of age, to whom I have given near thirty grains of tartar-emetic in the course of a few hours, without producing the least evacuation from his stomach or bowels. I have observed the same increase of strength after its operation, that we observe after bleeding and purging in the beginning of the fever.

Vomits are old remedies in the yellow fever of the West-Indies. I gave them on the first day of the disease in the year 1793, and always without success. They uniformly did harm, when given in the beginning of the fever, in its worst grade, in 1797. The reason of this failure in their efficacy, I now perceive was, because they were given before the violent morbid action in the system was reduced or moderated by bleeding and purging. After this change is induced in the disease, they are perfectly safe. The time for exhibiting them should be regulated by the pulse, and other symptoms. In moderate cases of the fever, they are as proper in its first stage, as on the fourth day. As there is a blistering point in all fevers, so there appears to be an *emetic point* in the yellow fever. It may occur on the second, and it may be protracted to the sixth or seventh day of the disease. I have not given the medicine I have mentioned in any case where the patient complained of pain or burning in the stomach; but, I have considered a nausea, and a moderate degree of puking, as no obstacle to its use; for, Dr. Physick has taught me by his dissections, that these symptoms may exist without the least inflammation in the stomach, and that they have been absent where the stomach has appeared after death to have been highly inflamed.

The cure of the fever should not rest upon a single dose of

the medicine. I have given two doses of it in a day in several cases, and have given it in one case, every day for three successive days.

It has often been remarked, that no two epidemics are exactly alike. They vary not only in different climates, but in the same climate in different years. They even vary with the changes of the weather in the same season. The fever of 1797 differed in several particulars from the fever of 1793, and the present epidemic differs materially from both. In many of the cases I have seen, it exceeds the fever of last year in its malignity. These variations in diseases call for corresponding changes in our practice.

I have communicated an account of the *time* and *manner* of discharging the contents of the gall-bladder and bowels to several of our brethren. I ardently hope it may be universally successful in their hands!

If any thing new occurs in your practice in the Hospital, do me the favor of informing me of it.

With best wishes for your health and success in your present arduous situation, I am your sincere friend,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

Doctors PHYSICK and COOPER.

August 13, '98.

The following remarks, attempting to prove that the disease is contagious, is taken from the Philadelphia Gazette :

“ The present alarming situation of our city, is, alas! truly deplorable—almost in a general state of infection with a disease, to whose virulence, medicinal skill is lamentably compelled to acknowledge its inferiority! Former experience is rendered, in a great measure, useless, by the very material difference in the nature of the disease.—The most copious bleeding, and the most violent purgatives have been found ineffectual; and the success that will attend the new system of emptying the gall-bladder, is, at least, problematical. With regard to the opinion of the non-contagion of the disorder, I have very great reason to doubt it. I have known, lately, several instances, that could not be accounted for upon any other principle than that of contagion. The most striking of the cases I allude to, is, where several of a family, living in a healthy and uninfected part of the city, took the disorder from a person in the family, whom they had for several days closely attended; without having themselves been in any part of the city that could even have been supposed to be infected. I

would caution my fellow-citizens not to trust too implicitly to this fatal opinion, which has been so industriously propagated. A confidence in it, in case it should happen to be erroneous, may prove the destruction of thousands, while, by acting under a disbelief of it, and using every possible precaution, many lives may be preserved. It is at least doubtful whether it is, or is not, contagious; and there being a doubt, I think the wisest course to be pursued is obvious: I would advise my friends, to avoid, as much as possible, exposing themselves to the night air, or morning fogs; nothing tending more effectually to predispose the body to infection."

Many persons who had gone into the country for safety, were afterwards seized with the fever. It is more than probable that they had imbibed the contagion before they left the city. In consequence, the Board of Health, on the 22d of August, authorised the physicians to receive into the Hospital, all such persons as came from the country. There were now about fifty patients in the Hospital: the new cases amounted to about forty, and the deaths, to above thirty, per day.—The difficulty of procuring nurses to attend the sick, induced the Board of Health, to solicit such persons, of good character, as were willing and qualified for that office, to leave their address at the Health Office; where citizens, who required them, were invited to apply.

The sufferings of the poor, and, indeed of many others in middling circumstances of life, were extreme: deprived, as they were, of all employment, and unable to procure money from those who owed them;—a stagnation to trade and other causes, rendered them incapable of removing their families to the country; and many of them were almost, literally, starving: even the resources of credit were not left; as there were very few stores open, or bakers who remained in town. In this crisis, the Guardians of the Poor liberally stepped forward; and, in junction with the Board of Health, erected tents on the east bank of the river Schuylkill; to which they invited the citizens to remove with their families. There were also tents afterwards erected at Masters' Place, for the same laudable purpose; and provision was made for the relief of the poor in the city, whose situations prevented them from removing.

The following are the names of the physicians who remained in town, at this trying period:

Dr. Rush,

Dr. Mease,

Dr. Griffiths,

Dr. Wistar,

Dr. Gallaher,	Dr. B. Duffield,
Dr. Caldwell,	Dr. Park,
Dr. Harris,	Dr. Stuart,
Dr. Connover,	Dr. Strong,
Dr. Proudfit,	Dr. Biglow,
Dr. Leib,	Dr. Kinlaid,
Dr. Church,	Dr. Pfeiffer,
Dr. Boys,	Dr. Yeatman,
Dr. S. Duffield,	Dr. Trexo.

French Physicians.

Dr. Munges,	Dr. Laroche,
Dr. Pascallis,	Dr. Devivier.

Names of the members of the Board of Health, who continued to meet and transact business:

William Jones,	Isaac Price,
William Penrose,	John Watson,
William Linnard,	John Inskeep,
William Dawson,	Timothy Paxson,
James Oldden,	Joseph Eastburn.

William Allen, Health-Officer.

William Nesbitt, Clerk to the Health-Office.

The two latter gentlemen were in this dangerous occupation in the years 1793 and 1797.

The increased malignity of the disease, together with the extreme distresses of the poor, induced the Board of Health to present the following pathetic address to the public:

Health-Office, September 1, 1798.

Fellow-Citizens,

Impelled by the awful progress and unparalleled malignity of the prevailing fever, we are constrained to address your feelings, as well as your reason, in order to avert the fatal destruction, which, with rapid strides, is pervading our ill-fated city and suburbs.

The best skill of our physicians, and all the powers of medicine, it must be acknowledged, have proved unequal in the contest with this devouring poison.

With the most affecting sympathy, and anxious solicitude, we have, to the best of our judgments, endeavoured to employ, as circumstances appeared to require, the power and the means entrusted to us, in arresting its progress, and alleviating its concomitant miseries. We shall continue to employ them with unremitting zeal; but, we have neither the power nor the means to accomplish ALL THE MEASURES necessary to check its extension, or provide for the pressing exigencies of

the moment. The powers delegated, and appropriations made by law, to the institutions under our direction, are impotent, indeed, when compared to the magnitude of the occasion.

It remains for our fellow-citizens to attain, by their energy, the ends, which, alone, can stop its progress and diminish its horrors.

We have, in conjunction with the Guardians of the Poor, caused tents to be erected on the east bank of the Schuylkill, for the accommodation of the indigent; where near twelve hundred are already provided for, out of the fund appropriated for the ordinary relief of the poor. This is but a partial mitigation of the evils which *environ* thousands who have a claim upon the philanthropy of those who are in more fortunate circumstances.

The difficulty of procuring a place of refuge, at present, in the country, is too well known; and the expense attending the removal of a family, has discouraged many from the attempt, who are in circumstances to live comfortably at home.

What remains to be done? Citizens of respectability and influence!—come forward, and form yourselves into a committee for the purpose of erecting, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, all the tents that can be collected: let the tents be floored with boards, and made as comfortable as possible.—If tents cannot be had, boards, in abundance, may be procured for the erection of sheds. Admonish those citizens who have no place of refuge, to take shelter there,—particularly those from the east part of the city, the district of Southwark, and the Northern Liberties.—In short, ALL who can leave their homes, without manifest injury;—except those who are necessary for the protection of the city and liberties.

The committee should have the general superintendance and regulation of the tents, and authority to preserve order; contract for certain supplies of bread, meat, vegetables, wood, &c. at the lowest possible rates. Those who are not in circumstances to pay, must be supplied by public bounty.

It is at least an unequal, perhaps an unjust mode of raising money by an appeal to the humanity of generous individuals; but, if on any occasion, it may be justified, the present may be assumed without hesitation.

We call your attention to the actual and undisguised state of our city. Consider the mortality and rapid increase of the sick at so early a period.—View the list of your physicians, and *mark how few are at their posts*; and we believe you will think, with us, that the preservation of health is only to be attained by flight.

Do not flatter yourselves, fellow-citizens, that this picture is too highly coloured: we speak from conviction, and a knowledge of facts; and doubt not, but that the lives of hundreds, perhaps of thousands, may be preserved, by the adoption of these or similar measures.

WILLIAM JONES, President.

Much merit is due to the framer of this elegant, feeling, and pathetic address, which, in a very ample manner, produced the contemplated relief. The Board of Health were, however, aware, that it could not produce the immediate supply which their exigencies presently required. To obviate which, they requested their committee, which was appointed to act in junction with a committee of the Guardians of the Poor, for the purpose of raising means for the relief and assistance of persons desirous of removing from the City and Liberties, to procure, if possible, the necessary aid. They accordingly met, and agreed to the following resolutions:

“ *Resolved*, That a general subscription be solicited on loan; the sums to be subscribed to be reimbursed out of any fund which the Legislature may hereafter appropriate for the purpose.

“ *Resolved*, That Peter Mierken, William Jones, Isaac Price, James Oldden and Jonathan Robeson, be appointed to receive the monies so raised, to be applied under the directions of the Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals, and the Guardians of the Poor.

“ Approved by the Board of Guardians of the Poor,
“ PETER MIERKEN, President.

“ *Alms-House*, Sept. 3, 1798.

“ Approved by the Board of Managers of the
“ Marine and City Hospitals,
“ WILLIAM JONES, President.

“ *Health-Office*, Sept. 4, 1798.”

Scarcely had the above-mentioned address, and resolutions of the joint committees, made known to the public the deplorable state of the city, and sufferings of the poor, than the citizens of Philadelphia, then residing at Germantown, actuated by the characteristic philanthropy and benevolence, for which they are so eminently distinguished, met, and came to the following resolutions, viz.

Germantown, September 3, 1798.

“ The citizens of Philadelphia at present residing in and near Germantown, being deeply affected at the accumula-

ting distress of their fellow-citizens who remain in the city of Philadelphia, and particularly impressed (from the address of the Board of Health of the 1st instant, and the resolutions of the Committee of the Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals and the Guardians of the Poor, dated this day) of the necessity of immediately affording all the relief in their power, convened this afternoon at the Union School-House, for the purpose of advancing the objects designated in the address and resolutions—

The Hon. Thomas Mifflin, Esq; in the chair.

James Gibson, Sec'y.

“ The chairman read to the meeting the address of the Board of Health, as published in the papers—and the resolutions of a committee of the Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals, and a committee of the Board of Guardians of the Poor.

“ The chairman then proceeded to mention the extent to which the Board of Managers and the Guardians of the Poor were authorized by law to provide funds for defraying the expenses of these establishments; and information being given, by other members, of the expenditures and appropriations of these funds already made, which rendered them inadequate to the demands of the present exigency—the meeting came to the following resolutions :

“ *Resolved*, That a subscription for a loan, not exceeding 30,000 dollars, for the assistance and relief of our suffering fellow-citizens, be forthwith opened.

“ That Robert Wain, Richard Hill Morris, General Morgan, Isaac Morris, Richard Peters, Robert Smith, Charles Shoemaker, William Rawle, Daniel Smith, Henry Pratt, Charles Biddle, Samuel W. Fisher, George Latimer, John Wall, Robert Hare, William Sanson, Robert Ralston, and William Buckley, be a committee to procure subscriptions to the said loan.

“ That the committee be authorized to borrow of any of the Banks, such sum, not exceeding the sum now agreed to be raised, as it may be necessary to advance for the purposes of these resolutions.

“ That the committee shall appoint one of their number treasurer, to whom each member shall, from time to time, pay over his collections; and the treasurer shall, on receipt thereof, deposit the same in the Bank of Pennsylvania, in an account to be opened for that purpose, and subject to the drafts of the Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals,

and the Guardians of the Poor, after deducting the amount of any monies advanced on the credit of the fund.

“ *Resolved*, That the Secretary cause the proceedings of this meeting to be published in one or more of the newspapers of the city of Philadelphia. Adjourned.

“ Signed by order of the meeting,
“ THO'S. MIFFLIN, Chairman.”

The prospect which the city now afforded was truly deplorable. Accounts, from almost every quarter east of Seventh-street, furnished the most gloomy pictures of disease and death. The City Hospital contained about 100 sick persons, and the daily admissions amounted to about 22. One hundred and seven new cases, and sixty-seven deaths, per day, had been reported*—and to add, if possible, to the general distress, the sons of rapine and robbery were availing themselves of the unguarded state of the city, to enhance themselves by their ignominious plunder. On the night of the 2d of September, the bank of Pennsylvania was opened, and robbed to the amount of *one hundred and sixty-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-one dollars and sixty one cents*, in cash and notes, the particulars of which we will hereafter relate. Every thing seemed to portray ruin and desolation: even the persons employed to drive the hearses and coachees, for the conveyance of the sick, by their bad behaviour, were aiding the mass of perplexity. In consequence of which, the Board of Health were induced to advertise for sober and well-recommended persons to fill this office.

To alleviate, in some degree, the sufferings of their fellow-citizens, Drs. Rush and Griffitts published the following salutary

MEDICAL ADVICE

TO THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA.

The following directions for the prevention and treatment of the prevailing fever, are affectionately recommended to those citizens of Philadelphia, who are unable to procure the regular attendance and advice of physicians, by

BENJAMIN RUSH,
SAMUEL P. GRIFFITTS.

September 3d. 1799.

THE seeds of the disease may exist in the body, for a considerable time, without doing any harm. It is generally excited by one or more of the following causes, which of course,

* See table, at the end of this chapter.

ought to be carefully avoided, viz. fatigue, a long walk, standing in the sun, or in a current of air, intemperance in eating and drinking, costiveness, violent passions, or sudden emotions of the mind, thin dressed, light bed clothes, and, above all, the night air.

It is of consequence for our citizens to know, that we have but one fever in our city at present, and that every febrile indisposition partakes of the prevailing malignant epidemic. Hundreds have died from mistaking the first stage of the fever for a common cold. The mistake is a natural one; for, it comes on like a cold, and is frequently excited by cool, or cold air. This remark is intended to produce applications for medical aid as soon as possible after feeling the least symptom of indisposition at the present juncture.

In the forming state of the fever, when the patient feels slightly indisposed, and before he is confined to his bed, the following remedies generally check the disease:

A purge of salts, castor oil, or a dose of jalap and calomel. If these fail of giving relief, a gentle sweat should be excited in the usual way. If there be much pain in the head or back, and the pulse be full, or tense, ten or twelve ounces of blood should be lost, before the use of the sweat, and either before or after taking the purge. Entire rest from business and exercise of all kinds will be necessary to give efficacy to the above remedies.

If the existence of the disease were more early, and more generally admitted, and the remedies which have been recommended, used before the fever was completely formed, there are the strongest reasons to believe there would be much less mortality from it.

After the disease is formed, and appears with more or less of the following symptoms, viz. chills, great heat, head-ache, a redness in the eyes, sickness at the stomach, vomiting, pains in the back, limbs and bowels, &c. the following remedies are proper.

1. The loss of ten or twelve ounces of blood, two or three times a-day, while the pulse continues to be full, or tense. If the pulse should be slower, and apparently weaker than natural, it calls for bleeding as much as it does when it discovers preternatural fulness and tension.

2. The bowels should be purged, at the same time, with calomel mixed with jalap or rhubarb, in powders or in pills.—The operation of this purging medicine should be aided, when practicable, by clysters, composed of half an ounce of

glauber salts, dissolved in half a pint of warm water, or of half a pint of warm water with sweet oil, molasses, and common salt, of each a table-spoonful, in it.

The bowels should be kept gently open through the whole course of the disease, by means of the above clysters, and any other gently purging medicine.

3. If the stomach should be sick and oppressed with bile, a vomit of ipecacuana, or tartar emetic, may be given at any time on the 3d or 4th day of the disease, provided the pulse has been reduced by previous bleeding and purging. From five to ten drops of laudanum may be given, to compose the stomach, if the vomit should operate more than three or four times.

4. Calomel should be given from the beginning, in doses of from two to five grains, every two hours, in order to excite a salivation. If the calomel should purge more than two or three times a-day, four or five drops of laudanum may be given two or three times a-day, in order to confine the calomel to the bowels, and thereby to determine it to the mouth and throat. We have seen no death where this medicine has produced a salivation.

5. After the pulse is reduced by bleeding and purging, if the disease has not yielded, a profuse sweat should be excited, by wrapping the patient up in blankets, with five or six hot bricks, wetted with vinegar, applied to different parts of his body, and giving him, at the same time, large and repeated draughts of hot camomile or sage tea, hot lemonade or weak punch, or any other hot liquor that is agreeable to him, to drink. This sweat should be continued *but FOUR OR FIVE* hours at a TIME, and but *ONCE* in the twenty-four hours. If the patient should become fainty, during the use of this excellent remedy, it should be discontinued for a few hours, but renewed (under the circumstances above mentioned) if the disease should continue.

6. Blisters should be applied to the wrists and ankles, in common cases, about the third or fourth day of the fever, if the pulse be reduced, or the sickness at stomach is troublesome. If the head be much affected, a blister should be applied to the neck or to the crown of the head, first cutting off the hair and shaving it, and if the stomach should be much affected after the third or fourth day, a large blister should be applied to it.

7. In case of delirium with a languid pulse, poultices of raw garlic, with a little mustard, should be applied to the feet

8. Fresh air should be admitted into sick rooms at all times, and cool air in the beginning of the fever when the skin is hot, and the pulse full and tense. In this state of the fever, the hands, feet and face should be washed, ten or twelve times a-day, with cold water. In a cool state of the skin, or when the body is covered with sweat, cool air and cold water are improper.

9. The body and bed linen of the sick should be frequently changed, and all offensive matters discharged from them, should be instantly removed.

In cases of great weakness the patient should not be permitted to rise from his bed when under the operation of purging physic, nor upon any other occasion.

10. The drinks of sick people in the beginning of the fever, should be toast and water, tamarind water, lemonade, currant jelly dissolved in water, apple water or barley water. In the latter stage of the fever, the drinks may be porter and water, claret and water, milk and water, or camomile tea.

Weak tea and coffee may be taken in the beginning of the fever. In its second stage the patient may eat bread and milk with roasted apples or soft peaches, chocolate, sago, tapioca, ripe fruits, weak chicken or veal broth, and a little boiled chicken.

It will be improper to depend exclusively upon any one of the above remedies. The combined force of them all is barely sufficient, in many cases, to overcome this formidable disease.

The following which we suppose to be the production of Dr.

Currie, was published in the Gazette of the United States :
DIRECTIONS

How to escape the Yellow Fever now prevalent in Philadelphia.

Addressed particularly to those citizens whose circumstances will not permit them to comply with the recommendations of the Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals.

The fever which at this time prevails in our unfortunate city and suburbs, is the very same in kind as that which prevailed in '93 and '97, occasioned by imported contagion, and was introduced into it for want of efficient health-laws, and the proper regulation of quarantines ; as I propose to make appear in a future paper.

This contagion, however, appears, from numerous observations, and the most authentic facts, to be capable of producing fever, only under *particular* circumstances : these cir-

circumstances, removed or avoided, the contagion becomes inactive and harmless.

This fever had not been observed to exist in Philadelphia, for more than thirty years, before the year '93—and has never been known to exist in the winter season in this climate; differing in this respect, from those contagious fevers that are bred in jails, hospitals and prisons ships; but perfectly resembling the plagues which have been introduced at different times into different maritime towns in Europe from certain parts of Africa, and the Turkish dominions in Europe bordering upon Asia.

The circumstances which render the contagion of the yellow fever active, and favour its spreading or becoming epidemic, appear to be, hot, rarified and stagnant, or confined air, more especially when replete and altered in its salutary quality by putrid exhalations from dead vegetable and animal substances. Under the recited circumstances the majority of those who approach very near to, or come in contact with the sick, so as to receive the exhalations emitted by the lungs or skin, become in the course of a few days, most commonly on the fifth or sixth day after such exposure, affected with the same kind of fever, but as all that approach within the same distance to the sick do not afterwards take the disease, though they have received the contagious particles into their bodies, it implies that their constitutions are not disposed to favour its operation, that is, that they are possessed of a power to resist its action or impression, or that the contagion mixing with the fluids in the stomach, or with those in the arteries passes out again, with some of the usual excretions.

The circumstances which, in most cases, appear to give effect to the contagion, so as to produce fever, after it has been received into the circulation, through the medium of the stomach, lungs or skin, appear to be such as have the power of inducing sudden and great debility in the several functions of the body, and consequent spasm or constriction of the extreme vessels, &c.

Among the chief of these, may be reckoned, sudden exposure to cold, after great fatigue, or after being greatly heated by exercise, and exposure to the scorching rays of the sun.

Intemperance, succeeded by abstinence, frequent blood letting, purging, fasting, and constant terror or dread of the disease, have all a similar effect. Whereas moderate and refreshing exercise, the temperate use of such nourishing food as has no tendency to stimulate or inflame, and rather to preserve

the bowels, laxative than otherwise, and the temperate use of diluted fermented liquors, particularly found bottled porter and claret, have the most salutary effect in preventing the operation of the contagion, and also of rendering the disease milder and more manageable by the physician, when it does attack, than when it occurs in those previously debilitated.

The air, in the open streets, I believe, never becomes sufficiently contaminated by the contagious particles (let the patients be ever so numerous in the houses) to communicate the disease to any person walking in the middle of the street, or even on the pavements, when the wind blows from the opposite side. This is a fact not only confirmed by the observations of the judicious and accurate Dr. Russel, in his account of a pestilential fever at Aleppo, and by all the physicians that have published an account of the disease, as it has appeared in different parts of Europe, but is also established by the events of last year, and by those of '93.

In the year '93, all the prisoners in the jail of Philadelphia, amounting to more than 200, the prisoners in the almshouse, and the patients in the Pennsylvania hospital, escaped the disease, owing to the precaution of preventing the admission of any sick or suspicious person, as well as every infected article into those places.

All the families, also, that remained in the city, and confined themselves and their domestics strictly to their own houses, and suffered no sick person, or any one lately recovered from the disorder, or any material from an infected house, to come near them, and employed some trusty person to furnish them with marketing and other necessaries, from sources free from infection, escaped the disease, without exception. This was also the case with all the farmers that attended the market, that cautiously avoided sleeping at, or going into, any of the chambers of the taverns, or places where they put up. This could not have been the case, if the whole atmosphere of the city had been tainted, or replete with noxious exhalations.

By observing the preceding rules and cautions, therefore, those inhabitants who cannot procure a retreat in the country, may certainly preserve themselves from taking the fever.

These are consolatory facts, drawn from experienced observers; and they are facts that may be fitly opposed to the popular notions of contagion, so apt to affect the imagination in moments of consternation and dismay.

Before I conclude, I think it proper to add, that I have

frequently seen persons, whose office it is to attend the sick, escape the disease in large airy apartments, without observing any precaution at all; but have seldom observed this to be the case in small confined places, unfavourable for ventilation, especially where the circumstances of the patient would not admit of daily changes of the bed and body linen. Cleanliness, daily changes of apparel, and free ventilation appear, therefore, to be essential for preventing the contagious and malignant effects of the fever.

Perhaps if physicians and nurses were studiously to guard against breathing, when near the patient, and were never to swallow their saliva, (by which it is probable the contagion is more frequently conveyed into the body than by any other means) were careful to rinse their mouths with cold water and vinegar, brandy and water or wine, and frequently to chew some agreeable aromatic substance; were never to approach the sick with an empty stomach, and were to rub half a drachm or a drachm of mercurial ointment upon their limbs every night till it occasioned tenderness of the mouth, it would prevent the contagion from operating, or at least render the disease much more mild and manageable when it did occur.

As opinions require facts, and not names for their support, I shall conceal mine under the signature of

MENTOR.

In consequence of the robbery, on the 2d of September, the banks of North-America and Pennsylvania, removed to Germantown on the 4th, and were soon afterwards followed by the bank of the United States. About this period, the corporation caused a number of stalls to be erected at the Centre House Tavern, on Market-street, for the accommodation of the citizens who had retired to the vicinity of the city, that they might be supplied with the necessaries of life, without exposing themselves to the disease, by going into the heart of the city.

The salutary effects of the address of the Board of Health, of September 1st, began now to be discovered—liberal donations, for the relief of the poor, from all the neighbouring towns, in cash, provisions, &c. were daily received.—The citizens of Baltimore were among the first who engaged in this very humane duty. The following notification appeared in the Federal Gazette, of that city, so early as Sept. 6th.

“ To the Citizens of Baltimore.

“ The alarming and distressed situation of our brethren, of

the city of Philadelphia, calls loudly for the benevolent assistance of all.

“ For the purpose of devising ways and means, to relieve and comfort, as far as may be, all such persons as are afflicted by the present fore visitation, a meeting of the citizens of Baltimore is requested, at the court-house, to-morrow morning, at nine o’clock.

“ It is not thought necessary to add further on this subject, referring to the melancholy and affecting detail, published from the Health-Office, at Philadelphia, on the 1st instant, September.

“ *Baltimore, September 7.*

“ TOWN MEETING.

“ In consequence of the notice yesterday, given in the Federal Gazette, a number of the respectable inhabitants of this city, met at the court-house, when James Calhoun, mayor, was appointed chairman, and Joseph Townsend, secretary.

“ The meeting proceeded to take into consideration the distressed circumstance of a number of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, occasioned by a malignant disorder raging in that city and suburbs, as being movingly represented by the communication of the Board of Health of that place, on the 1st instant—and being desirous to afford some assistance to alleviate their present awful calamity,

“ *Do unanimously resolve,* That a subscription be opened by the members of the City Council in each ward, for the purpose aforesaid, and the money, when received, be paid into the hands of the mayor of the city, to be forwarded by him to the Board of Health at Philadelphia.

“ It is also earnestly recommended, that the city council aforesaid, proceed to solicit the donations of their fellow citizens with all possible expedition, and that the inhabitants manifest a liberal disposition on the occasion.

“ *Ordered,* That the foregoing resolution and recommendation, be published in the different newspapers of this city for information.

“ JOSEPH TOWNSEND, Sec’ry.”

In consequence of the preceding laudable resolutions, the Board of Health published the following address.

Health-Office, September 11th, 1798.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

“ Our address of the 1st inst. was intended to present to

your view, the deplorable state of our city, and to excite into active exertion, the philanthropy and benevolence so eminently characteristic of the citizens of Pennsylvania. The same generous sentiments which you have displayed has influenced the worthy and benevolent citizens of Baltimore; who always alive to the feeling of humanity, have, it appears by the public papers, agreed to a subscription, for the relief of our distressed fellow citizens.

“ We return them all the gratitude and respect to which dispositions so amiable are entitled; but it becomes our duty publicly to state, that a fund has been provided for the purpose, upon the principle of a loan in anticipation of the liberality and justice of our Legislature, which precludes the necessity of donations in money, from the humane citizens of our sister states. Contributions of provisions from our fellow citizens in the country, as well in New-Jersey, as in our own state, have been forwarded for the use of the distressed, with a liberality which does honor to the donors.

“ We flatter ourselves that similar donations will be continued by those generous individuals, who are contiguous to the city, and can with convenience spare a part of their produce for the relief of suffering humanity.

“ By order of the Board of Managers,
“ Wm. JONES, President.”

The following letter, inclosing fifty dollars, was received by the President of the Board of Health, on the 18th Sept.

Boston, September 12, 1798.

To Wm. Jones, esq. President of the committee of Health at Philadelphia.

I have somewhere read that the widow's mite was received into the treasury, accept mine in the cause of humanity; 'twas a trifle, but alas! A trifle is my store—Would those who wallow in prosperity, but feel the miseries of your devoted city, and offer in proportion to their abilities; your distresses would not be so severely felt. My only unhappiness is, that my power is not equal to my wish.

Your's,
A YANKEE SEAMAN.

About the 12th or 14th of September, the disease began to appear among the convicts in the criminals' jail. One died on the 17th, and two more on the 18th, and several were lying sick; in consequence of which, the vagrant and untried

criminals, male and female, were removed to Morris's Buildings. The whole number of prisoners in the jail, at this time, including debtors, was about three hundred.

On the 18th, several of them attempted to make their escape by force, in absence of the jailor. Perhaps they were partly led to this rash act, to avoid the contagion, which was then raging in the jail, and perhaps because there was little danger of being taken, from the unprotected state of the city. But, in this project, they were frustrated, by the undaunted vigilance of Robert Wharton, Esq; then one of the aldermen of the city, now mayor, with a few assistants; two of the criminals were shot, and one wounded with a bayonet before the rest surrendered.

In consequence of the above proceedings, and the several robberies, which had been committed, a number of the citizens formed themselves into an association, for the protection of the city. Their proceedings will be noticed in the next chapter.

The Board of Health, in order to remove, if possible, the aversion retained against the City Hospital, and to induce the sick, who were destitute of the conveniencies which their situation required, to consent to be taken to the Hospital, published the following comparative statement, between the mortality at the City Hospital, and that of the City and Liberties :

Health-Office, September 21, 1798.

“ The Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals present to public view, the following simple statement of comparative facts, in order to remove prejudices, and justly appreciate the importance and utility of an institution, which, from the dreadful mortality of the prevailing disease, has been viewed with a jaundiced eye.

“ 'Tis not enough that the City Hospital is amply provided with every thing which can contribute to the comfort and cure of the sick, and is under the direction of a resident physician, whose medical skill is no less an ornament to his profession than his benevolent and DISINTERESTED services are a blessing to society—'Tis an Hospital, and that is an insuperable objection with the weak and the prejudiced.

“ Let incontrovertible facts speak for themselves—and take notice, that a vast majority of the cases are sent there in the most desperate and protracted state of the disease.

COMPARISON

Between the mortality at the City Hospital and that of the City and Liberties, from August 9, to September 19, inclusive*.

Number of cases reported by the physicians	-	2472
Of which have been sent to the Hospital	-	535
		<hr/>
Number of patients attended in the city	-	1937
		<hr/>
Total number of deaths from Brown's Gazette		1700
Of which number died at the Hospital, something more than one half the number sent there	-	276
		<hr/>
No. of deaths in the City and Liberties nearly three-fourths the number attended there		1424
		<hr/>

“ These facts cannot affect the well-earned reputation and meritorious services of the physicians, in the City and Liberties, who have nobly remained at their posts.

“ The great number of patients, widely extended—confined situations—bad nursing—negligence in applying the prescriptions, &c. are insurmountable obstacles in a disease so virulent.

“ There will be completed, to-morrow, a spacious and airy building, in addition to the comfortable accommodations already at the City Hospital.

“ What is the obvious deduction from the preceding facts? Remove the sick immediately to the hospital, and the well to the encampments, and the excessive mortality will, of course, subside.

By order of the Board of Managers,
WILLIAM JONES, President.”

The many valuable donations which had been received, and which were daily pouring in to the encampments, and to the poor in the city, together with the money procured by loans, and the voluntary subscriptions of individuals, now enabled the Board of Health, Overseers of the Poor, and the different committees, to render the situations of the indigent tolerably comfortable.

The following persons were appointed by the joint resolutions of the Board of Health and the Guardians of the Poor,

* For remarks on this statement—see Appendix, page XVI.

for the purpose of relieving such of their fellow-citizens, whose situations rendered it improper for them to remove to the encampments.

John Kehr,	Peter Barker,
Peter Mierken,	John Hutchinson,
Alexander Steel,	William Stevenfon,
Thomas Allibone,	John James,
Edward Garrigues,	Thomas Savery,
Stephen Maxfield,	Rhea King,
Nathan A. Smith,	Pascal Hollingsworth,
Daniel Doughty,	John Teas.

They met at the Senate Chamber, in the State House, on the Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, of each week, from three to six o'clock in the afternoon; where they invited the indigent to apply for relief, and to bring with them certificates from one or more respectable inhabitants, to evidence that their families were in such a situation as to render it improper to remove to the tents.

About the 21st of September, the fever first appeared in the Pennsylvania Hospital. It is supposed to have been introduced by one of the nurses, who brought some clothes from the city a few days previous.

The repeated robberies and thefts, induced the corporation to double the number of ordinary watchmen; who, in junction with the patrols, appointed by the citizens, continued to guard the city both day and night.

On the 22d of September, a number of the members of the society of Friends held their annual meeting; but adjourned, on account of the fever, till December. About fifty Friends, from different parts of the country, attended this meeting. Of these, seventeen were soon after attacked with the fever, twelve of whom died. The majority were attacked within five days after leaving the city, tho' many of them resided here but one, and others only two days.

About the end of September and the beginning of October, the disease attained to its crisis. The greatest number of new cases, reported in one day, during the whole period of the calamity, was, *one hundred and twenty-seven*. This was on the 7th of September. On the 21st, there were one hundred and twenty-six new cases reported. On the 19th of September, thirty-two sick persons were admitted into the City Hospital; and, on the 26th of the same month, sixteen died. These were the greatest number of admissions and deaths that occurred. The highest number of patients, remaining in the Hospital, was 164. This was on the

22d of Sept. On the evening and night of the 27th, there was a great fall of rain, which suddenly cooled the air. Probably, in consequence of this, the mortality on the succeeding day was greater than at any other period of the fever. One hundred and six persons were interred.

By comparing the tables of new cases, and of mortality, &c. as annexed, with the register of the weather, it will be found, that both new cases and deaths were augmented in consequence of either rainy, damp, or sudden cool weather; but, that in a day or two afterwards, both were diminished.

About the 24th of September, the following hand-bill, without either date or signature, was published, distributed and posted up throughout the City and Liberties:

“ REFLECT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

“ FELLOW-CITIZENS! reflect upon your danger before it is too late. One hundred of us are attacked with the fever every day. One half of that number is daily carried to the grave. If we remain in town, it is probable that the fever will continue five or six weeks longer; and, by that time, one-half of our number will have been sick!—and one-fourth of us will be no more!

“ How different is the situation of our friends in the country and in the tents!

“ Two thousand persons in the tents have lost but seventeen in twenty-five days, while the same number in Philadelphia have lost one hundred and seventy-eight.

“ At the encampments, there is great plenty of good food:

“ In town it is resolved to give nothing to the poor who are able to go.

“ WHY DO YOU PREFER FAMINE, SICKNESS AND DEATH, TO HEALTH AND PLENTY?

“ It is not yet too late to remove.

“ GO, BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!”

From the 1st of October, the disease gradually abated.—The annual election of representatives was held at the State-House on the 9th, when many hundreds of citizens came to the city to give their votes.—On the 10th, only 14 interments occurred. In consequence of which, many families returned to their homes; but, in order to prevent the fatal consequences which might accrue from a premature return of the exiled, the Board of Health published the following:

Health-Office, October 11, 1798.

The Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals, felicitate their fellow-citizens on the rapid decline of the prevailing fever since the 1st inst.—the prosperous state of the City Hospital, and enlivening prospect of a speedy termination of the calamity, which has overwhelmed our city. None can more assiduously desire the return of their fellow-citizens, *in safety*, to the comforts of their own fire-side ; but they deprecate the consequences of precipitation, where so much caution and prudence is required.

The apprehension of the Board has been awakened, by the too-hasty return of many individuals, who have inconsiderately hazarded their own health and the public welfare : several of whom, the Board are sorry to add, have been seized with the fever shortly after their return.

The weather, since the 6th inst. has been extremely unfavourable, and the number of the sick have considerably increased ; which would evidently be augmented by the accumulation of persons, particularly those from a pure atmosphere. The Board earnestly solicit public attention to considerations so important ; and entreat the forbearance of their fellow-citizens, until returning health shall invite them home.

The Board cannot too strongly impress the propriety and necessity of cleansing and purifying, (previous to the return of the inhabitants,) the bedding, cloathing, and houses, in which the disease has existed ; for which purpose, they recommend *the liberal use of lime*. They also repeat their recommendation to the Commissioners, to have the pumps frequently and copiously worked, as the water is now extremely offensive and unwholesome.

The Board assure their fellow-citizens, that whenever the health of the City and Liberties shall be so restored, as to admit the return of the inhabitants with safety, not a moment shall be delayed in announcing the glad tidings.

By order of the Board of Managers,
WM. JONES, President.

Notwithstanding this exhortation of the Board of Health, many families, whose situations in the country, was, perhaps, not very agreeable, returned to the city. It was doubtless in consequence of this, that both the new cases and deaths sustained an increase. Many paragraphs appeared in the newspapers, dissuading the citizens from returning, until the

Board of Health should notify to them that the danger no longer existed. Even examples were mentioned: the most striking of which was the case of the family of John Lightbody, bookbinder. They returned to the city about the 15th of October, together with another family, each consisting of three persons: the whole were taken sick, and five died. The daughter of Mr. Lightbody, only, survived.

Towards the end of October, a remarkable change of weather took place; frost and snow appeared, and put a sudden check to the disease. On the 1st of November, the Board of Health discontinued their daily reports. The City Hospital was closed, and the following consolatory address, invited citizens to their homes:

—
 “ *Health-Office, November 1, 1798.*

“ *Fellow-Citizens,*

“ THE period so ardently desired, by us all, has at length arrived.—Our best information and judgment, corroborated by the opinion of the physicians, we believe, warrants us in announcing to you, the restoration of general health to our afflicted City and Liberties; and, that the citizens may return with safety, if proper precautions are taken in cleansing and airing the houses, bedding, and clothing; correcting the exhalations from the privies, by the plentiful use of lime, and working copiously the private, as well as public, pumps.

“ In the termination of a painful duty, we cannot repress our sentiments of respectful veneration for the unexampled benevolence and charity which you have displayed—the suffering sick, the widow, and the fatherless have been cherished; and hundreds of grateful fellow-creatures have been wrested from the grasp of disease and death, by your bounty.—These virtues are a certain pledge, that the objects which you have safely conducted through the tempest of disease, will not be abandoned to the miseries of an inclement winter.

“ By order of the Board of Managers, .

“ WM. JONES, President.”

CHAPTER IV.

Summary of the proceedings at the City Hospital—Encampments on the Schuylkill, and Masters's place—Association for the protection of the city—Robbery of the bank—Proceedings in the jail—and at different parts of the union, during the calamity.

HAVING, in the preceding pages, traced the rise, progress, and decline of the disease, we now proceed, in a summary manner, to mention some occurrences, which could not be previously noticed, without interfering with the general connection of subject.

The most important proceedings of the Board of Health, we have thought proper to notice, as they are replete with information to the various stages of the calamity.—No class or body of men were of more service to the city, throughout the whole gloomy period, than these individuals.* Their indefatigable exertions—their arrangements in the city, and at the City Hospital, with those of the Overseers and Guardians of the poor, for alleviating distress, were judicious and salutary. It was the general custom of the Board to meet and deliberate every morning at 11 o'clock. They framed the regulations for the management of the City Hospital, and saw that they were properly executed. Messrs. William Jones, William Dawson, and (previous to his death) Isaac Price, were the members who most frequently visited the Hospital for this purpose. The burial of the dead was likewise conducted by the regulations of the Board: they provided coffins, hearses, &c. Most of the coffins (rough pine boxes) were made in the jail by convicts. In the height of the disease, the deaths were so numerous, that the Board found it necessary to employ common carts: the number of

* The members who remained at their posts, and who merit the gratitude of the public, are recorded in page 63. It includes the whole Board, except Messrs. John Newbold, and James Wood. After the establishment of tents at Masters's place, Mr. John Inskip presided there.

hearses were inadequate; and even, with this assistance, they were frequently under the necessity of conveying the dead to the grave in the same coaches which carried the sick to the Hospital. Two, and even three bodies were often carried together: about twelve hearses and carts, and three coaches, were in constant employ. An improvement was made, for the more easy conveyance of the sick patients, in the advanced stage of their sickness. They could not be removed, without injury, in the coaches. The Board caused three swing carriages to be made, by which the sick could lay at their whole length in a bed, suspended from the shafts, between the wheels. Thus, they were conveyed with such ease, as ameliorated some of the former consequent distresses, without being disturbed by the jolting of the carriage. The carriages, with horses, stood always ready, in the *old* Potter's Field.

For the receipts and expenditures of the Board, together with a sketch of their proceedings, as detailed in their letter to the governor, *see appendix, page XXV.*

The City Hospital stands on a low, flat piece of ground, on the east bank of the Schuylkill, in Sassafras-street, with a tract of marshy ground in front: The situation cannot be healthy. Formerly it was occupied for a tavern, when the summer-houses, in the garden, were erected.—The buildings, for the accommodation of the sick, consist of two large frame houses: their form is an oblong square, two stories high. The largest was erected, during the prevalence of the last calamity, when the other was inadequate to contain the number of sick. The summer-houses were covered with canvass, and a few small sheds were erected for the convalescent. There are also stables and other out-houses.—The management of the hospital was entrusted to the physicians, a steward and a matron, under the inspection of the Board of Health. It was opened for the reception of the sick about the 8th of August. They were placed under the care of Drs. Physick and Cooper; gentlemen, eminent for medical skill and goodness of heart.—They made a voluntary offer of their services to the Board.—There Dr. Cooper died, a victim to the contagion, much regretted. Dr. Rush assisted as consulting physician, and Drs. May and Watt were appointed to compound the medicines, &c. From the 6th of September, and to the 6th of October, there were never less than one hundred patients in the Hospital, nor more than one hundred and fifty-four.—Medicine, fruit, wine, changes of linen, and

every other article, necessary for relief, comfort, and accommodation, were amply provided.

The scenes of distress which the Hospital exhibited, were truly dismal:—there we could hear the groans—the moanings—and the heavy sighs of “the hundreds sick.” No connexions were near to view their distress, or to soothe, with the tear of friendship, their “little hour.” When the coaches, which brought out the sick, arrived, often might be seen an affrightened patient enter, supported by strange Nurses, and bedewing his or her cheeks with tears. The nurses were often obliged to hold the patient in bed by force, when struggling with delirium, and others seemed to sleep out their life without any feeling, while the screams of many were heard at a distance. Some bled from the mouth and nose, and the black vomit issued, in streams, from others. Two, and frequently three, were placed in one coffin.

The men and women occupied different wards. Particular attention was paid by the nurses to the sick, both day and night.—No complaints have been made; but letters of thanks have frequently been sent to the physicians and managers for kind treatment and attention.

Few of the nurses at the Hospital were attacked with the disease, although exposed to concentrated contagion. It was often customary for them to sleep on the same bed with the sick, and some have been known to swallow a portion of the juices of the sick, without experiencing any injury.—Dr. Physick informed us, that he has frequently seen a nurse helping a patient to a spoonful of food, and taking another, herself, alternately: that he has also seen them eat the fruit that has been gnawed by the sick. One or two instances occurred of wives nursing their husbands in the Hospital, and mothers their children; none of which took the disease, tho’ lying on the same bed. During the whole period of the sickness, there were 899* persons admitted into the Hospital, of which 518 died.

The City Hospital burial-ground, was the general receptacle for the dead, from the beginning of August to the first of November. Graves were dug, at the commencement of the calamity, for every corpse; but, afterwards, two or three were put into one pit. The accumulated mortality, which commenced about the end of August, rendered this mode

* See the tables of daily returns.

impracticable. A more expeditious method of interment was adopted. A large trench was dug, in which the coffins were piled upon each other. It was conducted in such a manner, that the fresh mould, dug from one end, covered the dead in another; while the hearses were drove to the bottom of the trench, where they deposited the bodies. In two of these trenches, upwards of fifteen hundred were interred; twelve or fourteen diggers were employed. They remained, as observed before, in the field, night and day. Sheds were constructed for their accommodation. Some were buried in this ground, who are not mentioned in our list. It was not unfrequent for the grave-diggers to find a dead body in the morning, which had been thrown over the fence during the preceding night.

After most of the citizens, whose circumstances would permit, had fled to the country, the poor began, generally, to suffer, and the disease sustained no abatement. It rather continued to spread, and little hope remained that it would terminate, until it should be destroyed by frost. A removal of the healthy was the only hope left for its mitigation. The Board of Health, in junction with the Guardians of the Poor, concerted measures for the construction of temporary tents. These were soon afterwards erected on the banks of Schuylkill, between Spruce and Chestnut-streets. They were ready by the 24th of August, where fugitives crowded. A certificate was necessary, to gain admission, from some respectable citizen, with an application to any of the following gentlemen, who were appointed a joint committee from the Board of Health and Guardians of the Poor to superintend this encampment: Peter Mierken, Isaac Price, James Oldden, John Kehr.

They crowded, in the greatest abundance, from the south parts of the City and Southwark: They were accommodated with every necessary of life, principally from the donations of the opulent. The tents were made of canvass, and floored with boards. Here nineteen hundred and fifty persons were fed, and some of them clothed! While we admire the liberality of the public, which was displayed on this occasion, we are induced to mention, that in many instances, advantages were taken. Many fordid souls removed, and were fed and clothed, who possessed independent resources. The names of freeholders, who hold real property, to the amount of several thousands of dollars, could be mentioned, who here

robbed the poor of their pittance. The liberal hand must move reluctant, under an idea of such a diabolical practice. Credit is due to the committee who superintended this establishment, for both their attention and trouble. The rules which they framed were judicious, and well adapted to the situation and manners of each class. Some, as might naturally be supposed, were not the most orderly; such were either sent to Morris's Buildings, or confined in a temporary prison, at the encampment. Guards were stationed with arms, to preserve order, and prevent any individuals from trespassing the rules. Schools, for the instruction of children, were instituted; at which 137 male, and 143 female children, attended. The hearty men were employed, in digging the canal. Public worship was performed on Sundays; and medical advice, and attendance was given by Dr. S. Duffield.

About the beginning of November, the committee were in need of cloathing for infants. They published the following:

The Committee appointed for the superintendance of the Tents, on Schuylkill, acknowledge with gratitude and sincere satisfaction, the generous liberality of donations that they have experienced. It is with deference to public opinion and public compassion, that they inform their feeling fellow-citizens, that they have near seventy pregnant women, who will, 'ere they leave the encampment, stand in not only need, but necessity of cloathing for their infants. To mothers, whose hearts can beat with fondness to their offspring—to those amiable young ladies, whose best and benevolent affections are extended to the smiling babe—to fathers, who have it in their power, this respectful request is addressed.

By order of the Committee,

PETER MIERKEN, Chairman.

October 3d.

The liberality of ladies, on this occasion, was ample, as appears from the following address:

The Committee, who superintend the Tents, on the banks of Schuylkill,

Beg leave to acquaint their amiable *female donors*, that their prompt industry, and unparralleled liberality, have been so abundantly bestowed, as to enable them to request no further marks of their benevolence, in the article of infants' and small childrens' cloathing: Other donations will be thankfully received, so as to provide for the ages of from four to twelve years.

They cannot find language energetic enough to thank them; but, when they are informed, that they have put it in the power of the committee, to cloathe the naked, to save the shivering child from perishing, and to send the *infant warm*, and the *mother* happy away, their own benevolent and feeling hearts, will afford them the best of gratifications.

By order of the committee,

PETER MIERKEN, chairman.

Tents, 24th October, 1798.

	Dolls. Ct.
The expenses of this encampment amounted to	18,537.29
Donations received in cash,	3,537.29
Ditto in produce and cloathing, valued at	5,000.00
Cash, being part of 29,000 dollars borrowed from the Banks, on the faith of being reimbursed by the legislature,	10,000.00
	-----18,537.29

Eight hundred and seventy-nine persons were relieved at this encampment, for nearly nine weeks.

About the beginning of September, another encampment was erected at Masters' Place, near the Mill-Pond, on the road to Germantown, about two miles from the city, for the same benevolent purpose as that on the Schuylkill; to which the fugitives, principally from the Northern-Liberties and Kensington, flocked. John Inskoop, Jonathan Robeson, and Isaac W. Morris, were appointed a committee for its superintendance. It was composed of wooden sheds, comfortable, convenient, and, in every respect, adapted to the occasion; especially when it is considered that they were erected in eight or ten days, and accommodated upwards of *two thousand persons*. Besides the lodging-sheds, there were erected an hospital, a large store-house, and office, a bake-house and oven, and five kitchens, with eight large fire-places. This encampment was situated on a well-chosen spot, and laid out in regular order: the streets intersected each other. The rules and regulations, which were printed and posted up in different places in the encampment, do honour to the committee. Spirituous liquors were prohibited, except in cases of supposed necessity. Slight offences were punished, by withholding provisions for a reasonable time; and, for those of a more aggravated nature, the offender was expelled. All

intercourse with the city was cut off, except on urgent occasions. This was enforced, by placing centinels, at proper distances, around the encampment. Scavengers were appointed, whose duty it was, every morning, to remove all the filth, and to throw fresh earth into the necessaries; and, in every other respect, the utmost attention was paid to cleanliness. They were abundantly supplied with provisions of every kind; the arrangement for the delivery of the rations was well planned, and the most scrupulous regard to justice observed in the distribution. The decorum, which was so eminently maintained in the encampment, amongst characters, too, some of which were not the most amiable, reflect great honour both on the superintendants, and the example of many virtuous families, who resided there. The first public address of the superintendants was on the 10th of September: they informed the public, that they stood in need of vegetables, straw, &c. for the use of the distressed citizens, who had taken refuge there; and they hoped that they would experience the same liberality which had been extended to the Schuylkill encampment; having the same laudable object in view. This public intimation produced an abundant supply. On the 28th of the same month, the committee publicly acknowledged, that the liberality which they had experienced, surpassed all expectation: that several villages and neighbourhoods in New-Jersey, had been eminently bountiful on this occasion; that the supplies which they had occasionally received, had been abundant, *except in articles of cloathing*: they had received some very handsome donations in that line; but not in sufficient abundance to supply their pressing and numerous wants: that the number, under their care, was daily encreasing, and already amounted to upwards of *thirteen hundred persons*, composed of both sexes, from one hour to eighty years old; but, that the greater proportion of them, were helpless women and children. About two hundred of the children were at the breast, the mothers of whom were generally without shoe or stocking. The committee suggested, that linsley, flannels, and woollen stockings, would be particularly acceptable, as well as every description of second-hand and ready-made cloathing. From this period, the lists of donations swelled with individual bounty. Our citizens seemed to vie with each other who should be the most liberal. Drs. Currie and Dewees, gratuitously offered their services to the committee. Great attention and care was bestowed upon the sick in this encampment, which

was numerous. A few had the yellow fever. These gentlemen received a public declaration of thanks from the committee.

The inhabitants of this encampment returned to their homes, generally, about the 1st of November; but not before they had published a grateful and affectionate tribute of laudable praise to their meritorious committee.

	dols.	cts.
The expenses of this institution amounted to	18,822.	49
Donations in cash	dols. 3,254.	27
Ditto in produce and cloathing, valued at	6,568.	22
Cash being part of the 29,000 dollars borrowed from the banks, on the faith of legislative reimbursement	9,000	
	—————	18,822.49

There were about two thousand and twenty-four persons supplied at this encampment from the 15th and 20th of September to the 1st of November.

It is a melancholy truth, that the most awful afflictions which befall our fellow-creatures, are not sufficient to awaken, in some minds, even the feelings of sympathy. Callous to every sentiment of humanity, and dead to every principle of virtue, some wretches, who, to the eternal disgrace of the human character, were so totally depraved, that while walking even "in the valley of the shadow of death," meditate and commit the most abominable crimes. While every virtuous mind was filled with sympathetic sorrow for that general gloom, which hovered over the city, there were villains lurking about, watching every opportunity, during the absence of the citizens, to commit robbery on their deserted houses. Notwithstanding, that the number of ordinary watchmen had been augmented, and patrols appointed to watch it during the day, several robberies were committed; the bank of Pennsylvania, as observed before, was robbed, and attempts were made by the prisoners in the criminals jail to escape. A consideration of these circumstances, and the general unguarded state of the city, induced a number of private citizens, to associate for the purpose of affording it better protection.

Of this association, the following gentlemen were chosen officers :

John D. De Lacy,	} in the city.
Edward Pole,	
Joseph Wright,	
William Mansfield,	in the Northern Liberties.
George Young,	Southwark.

The association informed the public, that their intentions were merely to have a body of men ready to turn out, armed and equipped, on any sudden emergency, or to mount guard at any of the prisons, or elsewhere, if necessary ; by thus being ready with arms and ammunition, to repair, at the first notice, to their respective alarm posts, that they might act with the greatest promptitude and efficiency, and that the civil magistrates and other good citizens might know where to find a body of men, prepared, to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and preserve order and tranquility.

The citizens were informed that in cases of fire, or riot in the city, the *old Potter's-Field* was chosen as the alarm post, or rallying point, from its central situation, and contiguity to both jails and *Morris's Building*, then the place of confinement for vagrants ; in the Northern Liberties, the city-hall or town-house ; and in Southwark, *Little's school house*, to which all the members of the association were to repair equipped, and there await the orders or presence of their own officers, a magistrate, or other civil officer.

The alarm was to be given by firing a field piece.

Robbery of the Bank of Pennsylvania.

On the night of the 4th of August, some villains entered the bank, and made an unsuccessful attempt to force open the doors of the cash vault, and to pick the lock of an iron chest ; but the institution sustained no loss ; as it was apprehended that the attempt would be renewed, and considering the insecurity of the building, and the impossibility of making such repairs to it as would render it safe, the porters were armed, and directed to sleep in the banking-house, in order to guard against the success of future attempts. The immediate removal of the bank to *Carpenter's-hall* was proposed. This building, from its construction, and the improvements which had been made to it, when in the occupancy of the Bank of the United States, was thought perfectly secure ; but previously to the removal, which took place on the Saturday following, a new patent lock was put to the outer door, and two

iron doors were fitted to the cash vault, with locks which had been used for the book vault, and which were of a better construction than any which could at that time be procured in the city. The precaution of obliging the porters to sleep in the Bank was continued, and the watchmen were charged to be particularly vigilant.

Thomas Cunningham, the porter, who is since dead, slept there alone, and early in the morning of Sunday the 2d of September, Mr. Annesley, the runner, having occasion to go to the Bank, found the back door of the banking house open; and looking into the banking room, he discovered the doors of the back vault likewise open. He immediately roused Cunningham, who was asleep up stairs; they found all the windows secured, the back door unbarred, and the doors of the cash vault unlocked. Upon an examination of the house, it was found that the locks had been opened by false keys, for no injury was done to the wards of any of them, nor was there any appearance of force having been used.

The loss which the institution had sustained, amounted to *one hundred and sixty-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-one dollars and sixty-one cents.*

Every exertion was made to discover the perpetrators of this flagrant robbery. Advertisements were published throughout the United States, cautioning the public against the receipt of the post-notes stolen. Considerable rewards were offered for the apprehension of those concerned in the robbery, in addition to that of *one thousand dollars*, promised in the governor's proclamation. "Several persons were arrested upon suspicion, and amongst those was Patrick Lyon, the smith, who was employed in fitting the iron doors of the cash vault, *and without whose privity it is believed this robbery has not been committed.*"

After unceasing vigilance they had the satisfaction to discover the perpetrator of this daring robbery, so that the whole amount of the property stolen was recovered, except about three thousand two hundred dollars.

One Isaac Davis, a carpenter, had an account open in this bank: The first circumstance which excited suspicions against him, was a deposit of 16,000 dollars. Enquiry was made respecting his circumstances and character, which were found to be such, as to induce the officers of the bank to watch his conduct. On the 17th of November, he made another deposit of 3,910 dollars. The suspicions were now increased, and it was thought proper to enquire at the other

banks, whether he had made any deposits with them ; when such information was obtained, as left no doubt but that he was the robber. He was then apprehended, and, partly by threats, and partly by promise of an intercession with the governor for his pardon, the confession of his guilt was extorted from him.

His disclosures criminated only Thomas Cunningham, the late porter and himself ; for, he repeatedly declared, that they alone were concerned in the robbery. It was remarked, that Thomas Cunningham slept in the bank the night that the robbery was committed, and that he was taken ill of the yellow fever the day after—and died in the course of the week. Davis said that they had divided the money stolen, and that the deposits he had made in the different banks, were part of his share. He assured them that he had returned all he was possessed of, and that the remainder of the property stolen, would be found at the house where Cunningham died. They searched the house described, but without success. Davis was informed that unless he made a full disclosure, he would be committed to prison, and his house searched : By threats and promises, he acknowledged that he had visited Cunningham the day he was taken ill, and had received from him the remainder of the money stolen, a great part of which he had still secreted. They had then recovered in all 158,999 dollars and 53 cents : Davis also assigned over property which had cost him a short time before 300 dollars.

Davis declared that the plan of the robbery originated with Cunningham, who procured the false keys, and that he does not know who made them.

The tenor of this is taken from the report of the committee, of the State Assembly, who were appointed to make enquiry on the subject. They received their information from the officers of the bank. The attempt on the 4th of August, and the robbery on the 1st September, were supposed to be committed by the same persons. It does not appear evident that Cunningham, the porter, had any concern in the robbery. He was found asleep in the bank next morning ; neither his conduct nor countenance discovered the least symptoms of guilt, even to make him suspected. None of the money was found with him, when he died. No evidence but that of Davis, appears to criminate him ; and his death prevents his pleading in his own defence. It is not uncommon, in criminal cases, for the innocent to suffer punishment for the guilty : That Mr. Lyon, who fitted the doors

to the cash vault, should, at first, be implicated, was, perhaps, natural; but, after the perpetrator was discovered, and after Mr. Lyon was discharged, by a grand jury, from the charges alleged against him, an idea should not be impressed upon the public mind, founded upon *presumption* only, that he is the man, "*without whose privity, it is believed, this robbery has not been committed.*" This is cruel, and injurious to an ingenious, industrious tradesman, who required the preservation of character, to render his talents useful to himself, and to the public.

A convict, named Bradley, was the first person attacked in the criminals' jail. He was confined in a cell. At this time, it raged in an alley that runs from Fifth-street, near to the jail-wall, opposite to the cells; from whence it is supposed to have reached Bradley, whose window it fronted.—He was removed on the 8th of September, and died in a few hours after. From him, the disease communicated to other prisoners; the number of which, including debtors, amounted to upwards of three hundred. Shortly afterwards, the vagrants, and prisoners confined for petty offences, were removed to Morris's-Buildings, and the debtors to Norristown: The convicts, amounting to about one hundred and sixty, and untried of prisoners, near an hundred, then, only, remained in gaol. Mr. Smith, the jailor, on the appearance of the disease, became alarmed. He relinquished his charge on the 8th of September, and removed to the country. Robert Wharton, Esq. a vigilant and active magistrate, now mayor of our city, then assumed it. He resided there, and performed all the duties of jailor, until shortly after the 17th of September, when he was assisted by Mr. Peter Helm; who, afterwards, took upon himself the charge. The services rendered by Mr. Helm, during the calamity in 1793, when he presided at Bush-Hill-Hospital, and in 1797, when he superintended the City-Hospital, at the Wigwam, together with his services this year, justly entitle him to thanks. He was active in these different capacities, and zealously and undauntedly run into danger—but, the palm seems to rest upon other characters: Like the peacock in the fable, which other birds wished to vie with, some have been plucking his feathers.

After Mr. Helm took charge of the jail, he resided there day and night—watched the convicts, and attended the sick, alternately. Some of the keepers left the jail shortly after

Mr. Smith. Others were taken sick. Their places were supplied by constables, &c. The sick prisoners were attended by Dr. Benjamin Duffield. He caused every humane and salutary measure to be adopted for their accommodation. They were removed from the healthy, to a ward in the east wing, which was converted into an hospital. The convalescents were kept in a separate apartment. Strict attention was paid to cleanliness, for the better security against the spreading of the disease. The green wood was removed from the yard; all rubbish and putrifiable materials, were carried off: The obstructed water-channel was cleared: The pavement was frequently washed, and kept wet and cool, by means of the pump; and the sleeping wards, were, as usual, constantly ventilated. To these precautions, which were adopted by direction of Mr. Caleb Lownes, with their simple healthy diet, and the entire prohibition of every kind of liquor, is, perhaps, to be ascribed, the successful escape of so large a proportion of the prisoners. The disease spread through every quarter of the jail. '*Dutch Hannab*', a convict, was the first victim in the west wing, where the females are kept. Several of the convicts voluntarily offered their services as nurses, and attended the sick with tenderness and attention. One John Brown was the first that made this laudable offer.—He was taken sick, and died. There were, in all, forty-four cases in the jail; of which, twenty-seven paid their last debt to Nature. Nine were sent to the City Hospital; two of which, only, recovered. Thirty-five were attended in jail; twenty of these survived.

On the 18th of August, some of the prisoners in the east wing attempted to escape. Perhaps they were instigated from a consideration of the unguarded state of the city—the absence of the jailor—and a wish to escape from the fever. They took the advantage of a visit from the physician. They seized upon the key of their apartment—forced their way out, knocked down Mr. Evans, a constable, then one of the assistant-keepers, and called to the convicts in the yard to come to their assistance. Mr. Wharton, who was in a different part of the jail, on hearing the alarm, went immediately to the assistance of the keepers. Miller, the ring-leader, had an axe lifted to *dispatch* Mr. Evans, which Mr. R. Wharton, and Mr. G. Gats, an assistant-keeper, observing, prevented, by well-directed balls from their muskets, which broke the bone of his right arm, and entered his body.—Mr. Wharton and Mr. Gats fired at the same time: the ball from the latter, it was generally supposed, proved fatal.

Another of the assailants, of the name of Vaughan, struck Mr. Evans with a bar of iron. He then retreated to his apartment. Evans pursued him, and lodged a ball in his lungs. He survived it about twenty-four hours. A Negro convict wounded another by a bayonet. They eventually drove the gang into their apartments. During the disturbance, the convicts behaved well: They did not even show a wish to aid the offenders. The bravery and prompt exertions of Mr. Wharton, deserve a high encomium.—Joined by Mr. Evans and Mr. Gass, the designs of these incorrigible villains were happily frustrated, and the city, in all probability, only thus preserved from devastation and pillage.

An unsuccessful attempt was afterwards made by two of the criminals, who were confined in the east dungeon.—They had nearly effected their escape, by undermining the wall, when first discovered.

On the night of the 18th of October, seven of the prisoners were successful in making their escape. They undermined the wall of the east wing, and got off; and only two of the banditti were taken.

Several sea-port towns in the United States, besides Philadelphia, have been afflicted with the same calamity this summer. It visited New-York about the 28th or 30th of July, nearly at the same period as it did here. The first public intimation of its introduction there, was made on the 6th of August. The citizens did not generally leave the town till the end of August, and towards the beginning of September. Then the disease had made considerable progress. The deaths amounted from twenty-three to twenty-five a-day.—It is estimated, that one third to one-half of the whole inhabitants left that city. It continued to rage till the 8th or 10th of November. During this period, the deaths amounted to two thousand and eighty-six. One thousand five hundred and twenty-four, of these, fell victims to its rage. The enquiries made, to ascertain its cause, have generally been directed to those objects which tend to prove its domestic origin. Hence, perhaps, it is, that this idea is the most prevalent there.

Its introduction in Boston happened about the first of July. On the 4th of August, the selectmen had a consultation with the physicians: From whose reports, it appeared, that only sixteen persons had died with that disease since its first appearance; and that there were but ten persons then sick: That in all the cases, the probability was, that

“the infection was taken in or near the Town-dock.” That the disease did not appear, in any instance, to be communicated from one person to another; “no physician, nurse, or attendant on the sick, having, at that time, taken the disorder.”

At the same consultation, the physicians gave their opinion, that lobsters and oysters, at that season of the year, and until the middle of September, were extremely pernicious to the health, and predisposed the body to putrid disorders.

From this time, a regular report of the number of deaths and of the sick was published, by order of the selectmen, signed by Wm. Cooper, town-clerk. On the 20th of August, there were twenty sick; on the 31st, they increased to thirty-two, and continued to increase until the 26th of September, when there were ninety seven cases. Afterwards, it gradually abated until the 6th of October; when it was checked at the approach of frost, and a succession of cold weather.— On the 18th, the inhabitants were invited to return from exile.

It made its appearance at Portsmouth, (N. H.) about the 20th of July, and raged until the beginning of October. Previous to the 20th of August, eleven persons died, seventeen were sick on the 24th, five on the 10th of September; and but only one case appeared on the 5th of October. A committee of health was instituted: they made their first report on the 20th of August. Whether its inhabitants generally ascribe this scourge to importation, or to domestic origin, cannot be determined by us, nor, perhaps, by them.

A few cases occurred in Newport, (R. I.) which excited alarm; but, upon investigation, made by the town-council, they traced the cause to the shipping, or to persons who had taken the contagion in New-York. It did not generally spread, nor was the mortality great.

New-London, in Connecticut, was also partially visited. On the 18th of September, forty-six were sick. The greatest number of new cases occurred between the 20th and 25th of September. It ceased about the end of October.

Some cases appeared in Portland, Maine. It did not there rapidly spread.

Shortly after its commencement in Philadelphia, it extended to the neighbouring towns. At Wilmington, (Delaware,) it raged, at least with equal violence, if not superior, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, than it did in our city. They traced its origin to a communication with Philadelphia. It subsided nearly at the same time as here. Two

hundred and fifty-two died. Fifty died at Chester, and at Marcus Hook, fifty-two—at Chew's Landing, a small village in New-Jersey, ten miles from Philadelphia, twenty-six died—and at Cooper's Ferry, opposite to the city, about the same number. There were also many cases at Menton, Lamberton, Frankford, Bristol, &c. Many fell victims.—In Germantown and its neighbourhood, fifty-eight cases occurred, of which thirty-three died: thirty-seven of the cases were actually in Germantown: of these, twenty died.

Some went from the city with the disease on them; others were out but one day previous to being attacked, but, generally, at about three, and sometimes six days after. In some instances, it was not taken till they had been out ten, twelve, sixteen, and even twenty one days. The period between receiving it, and its coming into action, varied in different constitutions. In the full and vigorous, it was less than in the debilitated. Intemperance, a dread of it, fatigue or exposure to the sun, facilitated its action. Its violence was, in some cases, as great as in the city, and its termination in death as speedy; but, in general, the cases were protracted. Some had the black-vomit, and expired in convulsions, and a great number of the successful, as well as unsuccessful cases, assumed a yellowish colour.

The following paragraphs, from newspapers, state that it raged in several other parts of the continent; but, we are not, however, in possession of any other evidence:

“ One-sixth part of the usual number of inhabitants, residing at City-Point (V.), have been swept off in the course twenty-odd days”—“ that the fatal malady was spread by the ship Nestor, of Portland, captain Wait, which vessel arrived at City-Point, from Philadelphia, on the 24th August, having thrown four dead hands overboard on her passage.—Being without hands to load with tobacco, Negroes were called upon; and, out of eleven, thus employed, ten have died. Almost every case can be traced to this vessel.”

“ Bilious fevers are unusually numerous and obstinate in many parts of the country; and, in several interior towns, very fatal. At New-Milford, great sickness prevails, and the fever has the essential symptoms of yellow fever. At Royalton, on White-River, in Vermont, and on the Grand-Ule, in Lake Champlain, the yellow fever prevails with considera-

ble mortality. The disease has the characteristic symptoms of the genuine yellow fever, and terminates fatally in about six days. Royalton is situated on the bend of White-River, on a dry, gravelly soil, but enclosed by very high mountains, which really make the position of the town, a deep valley.

“ At Windsor, in Vermont, a similar fever prevails. This is on Connecticut river; the banks of which are high in that neighbourhood, and make little or no marsh; but, the town is almost surrounded by mountains. In such positions, there is a great accumulation of heat, from the reverberated rays of the sun in hot weather; and, in all such situations, the human race are more exposed to autumnal fevers and dysentery, than on hills which overlook the surrounding country.”

“ Baltimore has happily escaped this year. Their sufferings, in 1797, convinced them of the propriety of an efficient quarantine law, and a strict attention to cleanliness. Their care and their success is a good example to other cities. Their mayor enforced a strict compliance with the ordinance for clearing the gutters, and removing every kind of filth, not only from the streets, but from the houses and lots. He also solicited the different fire-companies, to have their engines frequently exercised in watering the streets. This was complied with, as it was deemed necessary to guard against its domestic generation. On the 10th of August, the Board of Health ordered that all vessels, arriving from any of the West-India islands, laden with certain cargoes, which they particularly specified, should be prohibited by the health-officer from coming up into port; but, that the cargo thereof should be discharged into another vessel, while it remained in the river, and that necessary care should be observed to purify the same, before it should be admitted into the city. Communication between Baltimore and the cities of Philadelphia, New-York, Wilmington, &c. was prohibited, under certain restrictions, by proclamations of the mayor, bearing date August 18th, and September 15th.”

The governor of South-Carolina issued a proclamation, directing that all vessels which should arrive at Charleston, from Philadelphia, or any port or place on the river Delaware, should be brought to, under the guns of Fort-Johnson, and perform quarantine.

Many other places in the United States adopted similar measures. In the different ports of Great-Britain, our vessels were also obliged to ride quarantine.

CHAPTER V.

Desultory remarks—Incidents during the calamity.

THE following is taken from a newspaper of August 6th : “ Humanity must surely recoil at the circumstance, but the fact is certain, that a poor, distressed object of human woe, was forcibly landed, on the morning of Friday last, from a vessel, at the public wharf at the hay-scales, in the district of the Northern-Liberties, at 11 o’clock ; and lay exposed there, without shelter, the same night, and remained under the debilitating heat of Saturday, until one o’clock, when the poor sufferer expired, without receiving the friendly aid of humanity to support him in the last moments of life. His corpse was afterwards suffered to be interred at the expense of a few charitable citizens.

Query—Whence, and from what cause, does this apathy of the police of the district of the Northern Liberties arise ? Are, or are not, the funds, established by law, adequate to discharge common acts of humanity ?

“ August 6.

VERITAS.”

It is almost impossible to conceive the miseries which some of our unfortunate fellow-mortals were doomed to sustain. We give the following incidents as a picture, though imperfect :

“ About the middle of August, a German, a stranger in the place, applied to be admitted into the Pennsylvania Hospital. His case did not come strictly within their cognizance, and he was refused. He then solicited an entrance into the alms-house ; but having the dysentery, and not being entitled to a place of residence there, he was unsuccessful. His next application was to the Health-Officer of the port ; but he conceiving himself unauthorized to send him to the City-Hospital, the poor wretch was turned away, without any hope of relief. What became of him, is not known ; but

the despondency depicted in his countenance, produced a correspondent sentiment of sympathy in the minds of many, all of whom seemed to regret his unhappy condition, though none knew in what manner to grant him the aid he required."

The body of a man was found in the house of captain Stevens, which was almost ate up by vermin. The family had left the house about a month previous. Three days after which, it was opened to get out some goods, and shut up again till the end of September; when a captain Skaidmore procured the key to take out a chest. As soon as he opened the door, such an offensive stench issued out of it, as induced him, and a boy who accompanied him, to retreat. They were both, shortly after, taken sick. The body was suffered to remain till evening; when two negroes were hired, for sixteen dollars, to throw the corpse into the river. No trace was left to distinguish whether it was the remnant of a white or of a black man, excepting his having long brown hair.— It is true, though very extraordinary, that the family do not know how he got in, nor what soul had possessed the body. They left no person, to their knowledge, in the house. It was well secured, and they found it so. He lay under a cot-bedstead, and had nothing on but a shirt. Even a woman who afterwards cleansed the house, took sick and died.— Hence, a father, a mother, a wife, or perhaps his children, will, daily, hope to find him; but, while this anticipation may lull their minds from too-deeply grieving at his loss, no trace remains of him. They do not know that he is gone to "that bourne from whence no traveller returns."

A man was found dead in a house in Front, near Walnut-street. The corpse was first discovered, by an offensive smell. From the time that elapsed after the family left the house, it is thought, it laid there, at least, a month. It was in so high a state of putrefaction, that it was removed by pieces to the coffin in which it was deposited.

A man was found dead in a sail-loft, who was seen, apparently hearty, only three days previous.

A French gentleman was found dead in a house in Vine, near Front-street. The corpse was discovered only by a putrid effluvia. No person lived in the house with him.

A woman was found dead in Water-street. The corpse laid one day before it was discovered. Her young child was alive upon the same bed with her.

The corpse of a woman was found on the commons, also of two men at No. 171, North Second-street.

The corpse of a man was found in Water-street. It was carefully laid out, and wrapped in a sheet, ready for the coffin.

September 23—A person was found dead in Eighth, between Race and Vine-streets. On the 25th, a child was found dead, on the commons, near Potter's-field. On the 27th, the body of a man was discovered on the wharf below Mr. Wharton's counting-house.

October 16—A dead woman was found in a house at the corner of Eighth and Shippen-streets.

About the 16th of August, a person, passing through Union, between Second and Third-streets, perceived a noxious effluvia, of the nature of that which is emitted by coffee, in a state of putrefaction. He was next day seized with a severe illness, and died in a few days.

About the 24th of August, a person went home in a fright, from having seen a yellow-looking man. He took sick, and died in eight days.

The case of Jane Doron, at the City-Hospital, is somewhat remarkable: She was, to all appearance, dead. A coffin was brought, and other preparations for her interment pursued. But some doubt remained in the mind of Dr. May, the physician. He returned—and, upon examining her body, he felt a warmth, near the heart, yet without any palpitation. Urged by this, he then resolved to try his utmost efforts. He began to rub her arm, in order to bring on a pulse by friction. The steward, who was also present, laid hold of the other arm, and followed the example. In two hours, she shewed symptoms of life, first, by a quivering at the region of the heart, and a few hours afterwards, by an hysterical fit, which went off with a copious effusion of tears. She recovered.

Mr. J. Conchy's son died of the calamity. The same day his daughter went to the river to bring water: She fell in, and was drowned.

A person entered the house of Mr. M^cP——. He mentioned that he had just put a body in a coffin. This alarmed Mrs. M^cP——. She immediately took sick. Distress, unusually accumulated, soon followed. Mrs. M^cP—— and a child were attacked. Mrs. M^cP——'s mother and brother went to assist them. They were likewise seized; and all died but Mr. and Mrs. M^cP——: nor did distress end here:—Whilst they were in state of convalescence, they were recommended to move to a more airy, and less-infected situation. On their removal, they hired a white nurse; having previously experienced the negligence of several black ones. But, she proved to be more abandoned. She let in some persons during the night. Their noise alarmed Mr. M^cP——, who was but just able to walk. He went to inquire what was going on; but, he found them gone, and fire on the floor in several places. They were robbed of cash, plate, &c.—Even the body-clothes of the two patients, who were in bed, were carried off.

In many families the mortality was general. Three bodies have been taken out of *one* house at *one* time. Whole families were, in several instances, swept off. Mr. Wiles's wife died on the 26th of September. By the time the hearse came for the corpse, his son was dead; his journeyman died the same day; next day Mr. Wiles died, and his brother-in-law next day after.

Mr. Scott, a stout, robust man, in delirium, ran into the street in his shirt and night-cap; and walked up several squares, before he was overtaken. A patient made his escape from the Hospital with nothing on but his shirt, and went to his lodgings, in Water-street, (a distance of two miles); when he arrived, he was covered with blood: It was caused by his removing the bandages from the orifice, where he was bled at the Hospital.

The screams of a woman, who died at No. 32, Carter's-alley, were heard to the distance of Strawberry-alley, on the one side, and Dock-street on the other. The wall of the room was sprinkled with blood, that issued from her mouth, upwards of two feet from where her head lay.

Some were attacked in the street, others on the commons, and there generally laid till a coach came to carry them to the Hospital.—Drunkards, lying in the street, have also been sent to the Hospital, supposed to have the fever.

Many scenes occurred to the drivers of the sick coaches, which were calculated to soften hearts the most hardened! Fathers and mothers delivered to them their sick children, children their parents, wives their husbands, husbands their wives, &c. &c. but most frequently, masters their servants and landlords their lodgers.

A gentleman who remained in the city during the calamity, principally from an intention of assisting his suffering fellow-creatures, in taking his rounds one morning, met with a man lying in a gutter; who, in his agony, had much bruised himself and torn his cloaths. A number of people at a distance were viewing him; but none ventured to his assistance. His own son had deserted him! Shocking to humanity! Had it not been for the interference of the above gentleman, he must have died, to the reproach of human nature, like a beast! He was removed to the Hospital, where the last moments of this afflicted man were somewhat assuaged by the lenient hand of attention. He lived but a few hours after he was removed from the gutter.

A gentleman of New-Jersey, went to Germantown. When arrived, he felt overcome by heat and fatigue; but, notwithstanding, he transacted his business; and immediately set off to return home. On his way in the road, which leads from Frankford to Germantown, perceiving a pleasant place under the shade of a tree, he laid down, with an intention of resting himself. Several persons, who passed by, expressed their pity for his situation, supposing him ill with the fever, but took good care to keep on the other side of the road. At length, a lady, with her daughter, who happened to be riding by, perceived him, and supposing him ill of the fever, ordered her servant to drive up to the fence. The gentleman, surprized, raised himself up, and the lady in a sympathizing tone of voice, desired to know if he was unwell. He informed her he was not. But she supposing he was unwilling to confess it, pressed him, that if he had the fever, and no friends near, she would take him to her house, which was close by, and nurse him herself. The gentleman, im-

pressed with gratitude, arose, thanked her, and declared that he was only fatigued, and had not been in Philadelphia.

A person from Philadelphia, travelling in west New-Jersey, stopped at the house of Mr. Craig, a miller, where he was attacked with the fever; he died in a few days. During his illness, he was nursed by Mrs. Craig both day and night, who would not let any others go nigh him. She remained with him till he died, and even assisted to lay him in a coffin.

A woman of Wilmington, after losing one of her family with the fever that raged there, fled with her five children to the house of her father, a few miles from Chester.— He possesses a large house, farm, &c. On their approach, her father's house-keeper came to the gate, and forbid them to enter, at the same time fastened it. The fugitives took shelter in a school-house, nearly opposite, and received daily support, for near three weeks, from the neighbours generally, the father's family excepted.

During the height of the calamity, it was difficult to procure nurses. The hire was from one to five dollars per day! Richard Allen and William Gray, two men of colour, were very serviceable in assisting to procure nurses. They recommended none but those whom they supposed could be trusted.

A young man, of the name of Henry Bullyberger, of Philadelphia, moved to Upper-Providence, Delaware county, about fifteen miles from Philadelphia. Contrary to the injunctions of his friends, he secretly visited Philadelphia to see his relations. He went to the Hospital burying-ground: he there saw seventeen interred. His sister and her husband, whom he visited, took the fever, with himself, who all died in the space of nine days.

Many facts appear, which evidence that the yellow fever is contagious in country places, distant from tide-water, marshes, &c. In Germantown, the infection was, in several cases, communicated from one to another,

Table of daily returns for August.

Days.	New Cases.	City Hospital.				Total Deaths in 1798.	Total Deaths in 1793.
		Admitted.	Died.	Cured.	Remaining.		
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8					53	66	
9		4	1		12	11	
10		9	1		10	6	
11		11	2		19	7	
12		7	6		18	5	
13		9	4		23	11	
14		3	4		22	4	
15		6	6		22	9	
16		7	2		27	7	
17		10	3	2	32	6	
18	15	3	3		32	5	
19		9	7	2	32	9	
20		5	5	1	30	7	
21	50	11	3		38	8	
22	38	11	3		46	13	
23	42	11			20	10	
24	49	10	11	2	54	17	
25	37	8	6	1	55	12	
26	111 } }	18	7	1	65	17	
27		19	10		65	12	
28	60	8	6	1	67	22	
29	69	13	8		65	24	
30	53	12	8	4	67	20	
31	81	18	6	3	77	17	
	605	222	112	17	626	325	

Table of daily returns for September.

Days.	New Cases.	City Hospital.				Total Deaths in 1798.	Total Deaths in 1793.
		Admitted.	Died.	Cured.	Remaining.		
1	107	18	12	2	81	48	17
2	} 130	22	7	1	95	41	18
3		8	9	5	84	28	11
4	87	18	8	3	91	65	23
5	100	17	10		98	67	20
6	93	25	4	2	116	50	24
7	127	17	13	3	117	52	18
8	110	14	8	2	122	63	42
9	} no re- port.	16	7	13	120	73	32
10		11	13	2	115	74	29
11	91	14	8	5	117	73	23
12	105	15	9		122	71	33
13	85	16	9	3	125	57	37
14	92	10	8	3	112	61	48
15	97	18	7	4	117	60	56
16	} 198	} 27	} 14	} 7	} 121	} 128	67
17							17
18	105	32	9	1	151	58	61
19	84	20	9	6	154	69	67
20	72	16	13		158	78	57
21	126	15	7	1	164	68	76
22	86	15	10	26	142	71	68
23	} 194	18	15		145	63	96
24		85	25	8	12	149	80
25	95	14	16	6	140	77	52
26	96	13	7		146	86	60
27	54	13	10	13	136	106	51
28	67	9	8	4	133	75	57
29		10	11			85	63
30							
	2486	483	276	124		2004	1442

Table of daily returns for October.

Days.	New Cafes.	City Hospital.				Total Deaths in 1798.	Total Deaths in 1793.
		Admitted.	Died.	Cured.	Remaining.		
1	* 100	11	15	22	116	85	74
2	39	19	9		116	83	67
3	41	16	3	12	117	49	78
4	22	8	7		118	46	58
5	25	5	4	16	101	36	71
6	18	9	8	17	85	38	76
7	} 48	8	2			25	82
8		2	2	6	85	29	90
9	27	6	3		88	20	102
10	32	6	2	14	78	14	93
11	47	7	3		82	43	119
12	36	14	8		87	41	111
13	23	9	2	12	82	27	104
14	} 48	8	8		82	40	81
15		8	5		85	34	80
16	22	7	4	12	76	32	70
17	27	4	4		76	25	80
18	27	4	3		77	25	59
19	17	4	5	24	52	34	65
20	13	4	2		54	19	55
21	} 26	4	1		58	14	59
22		3	4		57	20	82
23	16	1	4		40	22	54
24	10	5	1	14	44	17	38
25	12	5	1		48	16	35
26	12	2	1		49	20	23
27	5	3	1	12	39	20	13
28	} 18	3	3		39	16	25
29		3	5	7	30	22	17
30	8	3	3		30	15	16
31	10	2	3		29	16	22
	729	193	126	168		943	1999

* This 100 also includes the new cafes of the day previous.

Table exhibiting the number of interments in each
Burying-Ground.

NAMES.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Total 1798	Total 1793
Christ Church - - - - -	12	44	12	68	173
St. Peter's - - - - -	25	25	14	64	109
St. Paul's - - - - -	14	21	9	44	70
First Presbyterian - - - - -	18	17	12	47	73
Second Presbyterian - - - - -	18	32	17	67	128
Third Presbyterian - - - - -	19	33	1	69	107
Scots Presbyterian - - - - -				19	33
Associate Church - - - - -				18	12
St. Mary's Church - - - - -	52	147	38	237	281
Trinity Church - - - - -	12	34	15	61	54
Friends - - - - -	24	71	24	119	373
Free Quakers - - - - -	10	6	7	23	39
Swedes - - - - -	21	40	18	79	75
German Lutheran - - - - -	54	192	128	374	641
German Reformed - - - - -	29	97	66	192	261
Moravians - - - - -		6	7	13	13
Baptists - - - - -	5	29	11	45	60
Methodists - - - - -	9	21	16	46	32
Universalists - - - - -				9	2
Jews - - - - -				00	2
African Episcopal and Methodist -	5	9	5	19	
City Hospital - - - - -				716	1334
Kenfington - - - - -				235	169
Coates's - - - - -				9	
Total from the 1st to the 5th Nov.	-	-	-	3573	4041
				72	
				3645	

The above table makes the total of deaths amount to 3645. Our list of the names of the deceased only amounts to 3521; but, we think it probable, that the total mortality, occasioned by the pestilence, this year, including those who died in the country, exceeds 4000.

APPENDIX.

LETTER

From a gentleman of experience and respectability,

TO

THE EDITORS.

I APPROVE your design of publishing a history of the malignant fever which has ravaged our city, and divers other parts of America. I hope it will be useful to the citizens of the United States, and profitable to yourselves. Such light as may be in my power to throw upon this subject, you shall have. I propose, therefore, to answer your queries according to the best of my judgment, in the order you have stated them.

Query 1. "Is it" (the disease) "of domestic origin, or imported? If one, or the other, be pleased to state the reasons for your opinion."

Answer. I believe the disease, this year, as in the years '93 and '97, to have been imported; and, I will add, contagious: (this being still doubted by some, and denied by others). My reasons are as follow. In the years '93 and '97, the disorder broke out near the river, and spread, with remarkable regularity, up and down the river; going from house to house and from street to street, until it extended, from the river, quite to the westward part of the city. In the present year, it appeared in several parts of the city, distant from each other, nearly at the same time: From this circumstance, those gentlemen who had entertained a belief that the disease we had in '93 and '97 was of domestic origin, appeared confirmed in their opinion; and concluded that others,

must now agree with them, that the disease, both then and now, originated in this city. If the regular manner in which the disorder spread over the city, in the years '93 and '97, furnished an argument in favour of its being imported and contagious, so does the manner in which it appeared among us in the present year, furnish an argument, equally strong, that it was imported and contagious. Its spreading over the whole city, in the present year, has been as uniform as it was before; although it appeared in different parts of it nearly at the same time. Two flat-men, who lodged near the sign of the Cross-Keys, were among the first who died of this disorder. Two young men, of the names of Ralston and Beaty, lodged together near the hay-scales, up town; they had worked on board the ship Deborah; were both seized with the fever, and died. A young man, of the name of Idell, came from Burlington, went on board the Deborah to see an acquaintance, was soon after seized with the fever, and died. Doctor Kheimly attended a young man who died with the fever; the Doctor was informed this man belonged to the Deborah. A young man, who belonged to the family of the gentleman who owned the Deborah, died of the fever. It has been repeatedly asserted, that Ely Shoemaker, and 'squire Servofs, were on board the Deborah; they died of the fever. A gentleman, who lives at Kensington, has assured me, that they were in health until the Deborah was taken there, to be repaired; that several of the carpenters, who worked on board her, were seized with the fever and died; and, from them, it spread through the place. Doctor Bennewell happened to be near this vessel when she was there; he was soon after seized with the fever; it spread through his family, and some of them died. It is asserted, that a man, of the name of Philips, who lived in Water-street, between Walnut-street and the Draw-bridge, went down the river and brought up one, or more sick men, from the Deborah; they died: Philips was seized with the disease, and died.—About the same time, the disorder appeared in the family of the next neighbour of Philips, and soon after, in divers other places in the south part of the city, all of which could have been traced to the neighbourhood where Philips had died. It now made its appearance up town, about the hay-scales, where Ralston and Beaty, who had worked on board the Deborah, died; and at the Cross-Keys, where two shallop-men had died. In consequence of my profession, as an apothecary, and persons coming from various parts of the town

for medicine, I had an opportunity of discovering that, although the disease raged violently in many parts of the city at the same time, yet there were many other parts entirely free from complaint; but, by degrees, the healthy parts diminished in magnitude, and the sickly parts increased until they met; after which, again, and before the disease had searched out every part of the town, some parts, where the disorder had raged violently, became free from disease; whilst other parts of the town were visited that before had been healthy. Near thirty persons have died in a few houses, opposite this city, in the Jerseys. The case of the vessel, mentioned in the newspapers, sailing from this city to City-Point, in Virginia, is a striking proof of the contagion of this disease; from this vessel the disorder spread, and great numbers of the inhabitants died. About 12 persons, who came to the annual meeting of the Friends, died. A man came from Wilmington to this city; was in Water-street, near Philips's; was taken ill soon after he returned home, and died. Sometime after, a quantity of rags, for a paper-maker, was sent from this city to Wilmington; several young persons, who handled them, were taken ill and died: from them, some say, it spread.

Those who hold that the disorder is of domestic origin, have said that many places have been visited with as great mortality, in proportion to their numbers, as this city; and who have had no intercourse with any place, so as to have taken the disorder by infection; that the first who died among them, had never been from home. This has been asserted by some, and contradicted by others. It would be an arduous task to ascertain the facts, neither is it material. If this should even be granted, it does by no means prove what is endeavoured to be inferred from it. If handling a few rags communicated the disease, as at Wilmington, and opening a chest of clothes, as was the case at Bordentown, might not the disorder have been carried, in some such way, where it has been supposed to have originated, and at the same time unnoticed? Has it not been frequently carried in bales of goods and clothing, from one country to another? Is it then to be wondered at, that it should appear in some places where its communication could not be traced or accounted for?

In the year '94, this city, Boston and New-London, were clear of the disease; and New-York and Baltimore, were afflicted with it: In the present year, this city, New-York,

Boston, New-London, and other places, have had it, and Baltimore was healthy. Now, it is scarcely possible that an epidemical disease, originating in some peculiar state of the atmosphere, could appear so singular. What extraordinary phenomenon has appeared, in the elements, to produce such astonishing effects? Had some deadly exhalation arisen from the bowels of the earth—or such a blast of air, as, at times, appears in some parts of the world, where men are suddenly smitten with disease—had the heavens assumed an appearance very unusual, we might, then, have had some reason to conclude this disorder of domestic origin; but when the weather has been remarkably serene and pleasant—when the inhabitants of Philadelphia and Baltimore all breathe the same common air (unless, indeed, at Baltimore it is less salubrious)—that, at the same time, a most mortal epidemic, as it is called, should visit us, and they all enjoy good health! This cannot be: The disease we have had among us, I believe, has arisen from no such cause. It is the opinion of some gentlemen of the faculty, that coffee and grain, in a state of putrefaction, will generate a putrid fever; but they do not agree in saying, how far such a fever is contagious: Some, who admit that they would generate a putrid fever, deny such a fever would be contagious; others do not admit that a putrid fever would arise from such a cause. If coffee or grain, in a state of putrefaction, will, at any time, generate a contagious putrid fever, it will at all times do so, the state of the atmosphere being the same, because the operations of nature are uniformly alike; but, among the farmers and millers in America, no instances of the kind has appeared.

The late doctor Chauvett, who had resided many years in the West-Indies, always gave it as his opinion, that the fever, commonly called the West-India fever, from its prevailing there, was not natural to the climate, but was imported from Africa. Doctor Letson, of London, in a letter to a gentleman of the faculty in this city, informs him, that a vessel sailed from Africa in the year '93, and arrived in the West-Indies, having a malignant fever on board; that this fever spread among the king's troops with great mortality; that one remarkable circumstance attending the disease was, that those who died seldom survived the fifth day. It is now further well known, that, from the year '93 to the present time, the fever in the West-Indies has been worse than usual. A master of a vessel, who has sailed to the West-Indies for some years past, assured me, that, in the year '96, he lay

near a British man of war of 74 guns, that the fever appeared among the crew, and that 30 persons were buried from her in twenty-four hours. A medical gentleman, with whom I am acquainted, has further informed me, that he was on the coast of Africa, in the year 1788, when the vessels that were there, had on board a disease resembling the one we have had, in all respects. We see, then, in the year '88, this disorder was in Africa; doctor Letfom has traced it from Africa to Philadelphia, in the year '93; and that it has been in the West-Indies from '93 to the present year. Is it not then more than probable, that it has been repeatedly brought from thence to the United States of America?

That this disease is the plague, or a plague, is evident, if we attend to the symptoms and circumstances attending it. In the first place, great prostration of strength attended the sick from the first attack; some died in a few hours after they were taken ill; many died within 24 hours after; but generally on the fifth day. Many were raving and distracted, and would have got away from their nurses if they could. They frequently bled at the mouth and nose, and died with the black vomit. There is a great resemblance, in other respects, between the disease we have had, and those plagues which has visited other countries.

Under the article of plague, in the Encyclopedia, we are told of a plague that killed scarce any women, and very few except lusty men. Another plague, mentioned by Boterus, which assaulted none but the younger sort. Cardon speaks of a plague at Basil, with which the Switzers were infected, and the Italians, Germans and French, exempted; and a dreadful one at Copenhagen, which, though it raged among the Danes, spared the Germans, Dutch and English, who went with all freedom, and without the least danger, to the houses of the infected. During the plague which ravaged Syria in 1760, it was observed, that people of the soundest constitutions were the most liable to it, and that the weak and delicate were either spared, or easily cured: it was most fatal to the Moors; when it attacked them, it was, generally, incurable.

The disease we had in the years '93 and 97 was more mortal among men than women; and was still more so among the strong and vigorous than among the weak and delicate; and rarely attacked any under 14 years of age; the West-Indians escaped it altogether. In the present year, it seems to have seized all ages and both sexes, except the West-Indians.

dians, and they have escaped it as heretofore; persons lately from Europe took it readily, and it was generally mortal.

From the foregoing resemblance between the plague, which has desolated other countries, and the sickness we have had, we may safely pronounce it a plague. If, then, this is its proper appellation, it has not generated in America; no cause, adequate to the generating such a disease, having appeared among us. To say that the elements have undergone some extraordinary change, is merely an assertion that does not appear to have any foundation. Is there not a great degree of uniformity in the temperature of the air and elements, from Massachusetts-Bay to Virginia? and, yet, how different has been the fate of the inhabitants, in particular places, between the one and the other. What salubrity in the air and elements has Baltimore been blessed with beyond Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, and other places in the present year, and which it was deprived of in the year '94, and Philadelphia enjoyed in preference?

The foregoing are reasons to induce me to believe the disease we have had, was not an epidemical disease, occasioned by any peculiar state of the atmosphere, nor occasioned by any stagnated filth in or near, our city. The disorder we have had is no less than a plague; and, as no sufficient cause has appeared to generate a plague, so, of consequence, it must have been imported.

It is generally agreed that the plague was never bred, or propagated, in Britain; but was always imported there: and if it be so, may we not, with as much reason, conclude it was never bred or generated in America? I do not say this is impossible, but only contend it hath never yet happened, although we have had a disease, in the last war, approaching thereto, viz. the camp fever.

To what cause, then, shall we attribute the origin of such a disease? Not to a few bags of damaged coffee, or vegetable substances, in a state of putrefaction; this, in my opinion, would not do it. Although persons approaching such a source of polluted air might get a fever, yet I cannot believe such a fever would be contagious. My suspicions are, that this disease takes its origin from human nature.

There are frequent plagues among the brute creation, and which are confined to one particular species. I suspect, then, that those plagues originate in some peculiar manner among the particular species which are afflicted, whether dogs, cats, horses, or horned cattle. Plagues, therefore,

among men, originate not by means of damaged grain, coffee, or any vegetable substances, in a state of putrefaction; but by means of human nature in a state of peculiar disease, death and putrefaction. A number of persons crowded together, in a narrow apartment, although in perfect health, will soon generate a disease; and it will be more malignant the longer they are confined. A large encampment, if provisions are bad, and the men not kept clean, and impurities not removed, will generate disease—these are the jail and camp fever, and resemble a plague in some degree; but to render them so virulent, as to become highly contagious, for they are contagious in some degree, it may possibly require that most offensive and deadly exhalation, which arise from the human corps in a state of putrefaction; this combination of causes, together with a particular state of the atmosphere, produces, as I suppose, what is properly, and distinguishedly, called the plague. This effluvia operates upon persons of a peculiar habit of body, as a poisonous leaven, so as speedily to reduce them to that state of disease, in which they transmit the same pestilential miasmata, as persons in the small-pox, and some other diseases, propagate the same disease. I have either read, or heard, of a plague, arising from a grave having been opened, when the corps was in a state of putrefaction; the grave-digger being first seized, and dying; from him it spread. That such a cause might produce a malignant fever, there is no doubt; how far it would be contagious, depends upon known facts: that the jail and camp fevers are contagious, in some degree, is true; and that human corps, in a state of putrefaction, will communicate a malignant and putrid fever, is also true; that they may unite together, and, under a peculiar state of the atmosphere, constitute a malignant, putrid and contagious fever, is almost certain; and I very much doubt whether any thing short of either one or other of those causes, or these combined, would produce such a fever. We are told, that an immense swarm of locusts dying has occasioned a plague. I do not doubt the story; yet I do not believe that this disease was contagious or catching from man to man; an immense number of locusts, in a state of putrefaction, might contaminate the air, so as to render it almost fatal for any person to breathe it. Thousands might die from such a cause; yet this is a different thing from contagion; every man being seized with such a sickness, derives his disorder immediately from a great mass of contaminated air; but a contagious, putrid fever is

where the disease communicates an effluvia; which, being received by persons of a peculiar habit of body, produces, in them, the same disease. It is highly probable, as I have before observed, that every contagious disease with which mankind are afflicted, arises from some peculiar cause among the species.

Those gentlemen who believe the disease we have had was neither imported nor contagious, advance the following reasons, viz. that very few of those who nursed in the disease took it; and many others escaped who were much exposed to the contagion, and that it did not spread in the country. It is, indeed, one consoling circumstance attending the disease, that there did not appear that danger in nursing in it, as might have been apprehended from so malignant a disease; but it does not therefore follow that it is not, or was not, contagious. It is true, there are some persons of that peculiar habit of body which do not take the disease, let them be ever so much exposed to it; were not this the case, the world would soon be depopulated.

It has been said, that some of those who nursed at the hospital, in the midst of great contagion, enjoyed their health; but leaving the hospital, and coming into town, they caught the disorder. From this, it is inferred, that the disease was not contagious in itself; but that the danger arose from the peculiar state of the atmosphere in the city. Admitting the facts to be as above stated, I account for the nurses escaping the sickness at the hospital, and taking it in the city, upon other principles. The hospital is a building which stands alone, and well aired, and was kept clean; the miasmata, arising from the sick, was speedily extinguished, or carried away by the free admission of the air: this, together with the contiguous vegetation, and the salubrious exhalations arising therefrom, rendered it much safer, than where buildings erected, with brick, are crowded together, and the streets paved. By those means, the air must have been much more disposed to spread contagion, and to add virulence to the disease.

I have now answered your query with respect to the origin of the disorder, and, have further given you some reasons why I believe it to be contagious, many others might be advanced.

2dly, You request to be informed of "the time when the first case appeared, and where?"

On the 2d of July, Mark Miller died, as has been re-

ported, with the usual symptoms of the yellow fever. And as this case could not be traced to any vessel from the West-Indies, it has been used as an argument in favour of its domestic origin: But, it is said, the bed on which he slept, at his lodgings in Callowhill-street, was one on which a young man laid, while he had the yellow fever in the year '97. If this be true, as I believe the disease to be of the pestilential kind, it accounts for his having taken the disorder, and points out the necessity of well cleansing houses. There were divers other persons who died in the month of June and July, (whose names I have forgot) with symptoms, as it was said, very much resembling the yellow fever; and those gentlemen who hold that the fever originated among us, advance these cases as additional arguments in favour of their hypothesis: But, might they not have died in consequence of contagion remaining, either in beds or cloathing from the preceding year, or from some vessels from the West Indies? for, the disease is there, and no doubt has been brought by other vessels besides the Deborah and Mary; or might not those persons have died of a billious fever, such as that which sometimes prevails in the summer season, which is not contagious, yet, in its symptoms, is very much like the malignant fever we have had among us? It may be said, that if those persons had received the disorder either by a vessel from the West-Indies, from pestilential miasmata, remaining in beds or cloathing, the disorder would have spread from them over the city. This does not follow, neither. There is no doubt but that a certain pre-disposition, in the air, is necessary, in order for it to spread, and a pre-disposition of body also to receive it. A warm summer produces this effect: it both renders the atmosphere disposed to spread the disease, and the habits of bodies among the people to receive it, and also it may require the summer season to produce this effect, so as for it to spread generally, yet some individuals may take it earlier. This sentiment seems corroborated from a great number having had the disorder since it has generally abated; for, as some have taken the disorder since the weather has been so favourable as to have very much extinguished it, so some might have taken it from previous contagion, before the season was such as to promote a general infection.

Your third query is, "What were the general appearances of the disease? Were they any way different from the year '93." Answer. The general appearances of the disease

so nearly resembled the appearances in the year '93, as evidently shewed it to be the same disease, yet more malignant and mortal. In the year '93, scarce any took the disorder under 14 or 15 years of age: it was less mortal among women than men. In the present year, it has been very mortal among all ages, and both sexes.

4th. You query, "What were the successful modes of treatment? did they differ from former practice?"

Answer. The most successful mode of treating this disorder, appeared to be, either by salivating the patient as speedily as possible, or by promoting a copious sweat, on the first symptoms appearing; then to open the body well, and by keeping it open with moderate purges, and frequent clystering. Altho' the lancet was not so frequently used as heretofore, yet, in some cases, it was, in my opinion, very proper. The regimen should be of the cooling kind; such as that generally known and practised in malignant fevers. If the patient should be seized with a pain in the stomach, which is sometimes the case, and it is an unfavourable symptom, I have known extraordinary good effects produced by fomenting the part with a decoction of flaxseed. There is no disease which depends more upon the nurse; for, if your physician is ever so skilful, if your nurse is inattentive, you may, nevertheless, lose your friend; and, it is on this account, that this disease has been more mortal than otherwise it would have been. I have been informed by a young man, who nursed in the disorder, at Wilmington, that the mortality was considerably less among those who were laid under tents, and upon the ground, with only straw under them, than among those who were attended in the usual way in dwelling houses.

5th. You query, "Was the disease in any case infectious, when carried into the country, distant from tide-water?"

Answer. This disease was infectious at Germantown: eight or ten persons took it in two or three families. This disorder will be most mortal in cities that are large, and populous, (whether they are on tide-water or not,) on account of houses depriving each other of a free admission and circulation of the air, the increased heat of cities, and their being deprived of the salubrity of vegetation, and the occupation of many citizens confining them within doors.

6th. You ask, "What estimate do you make of the num-

ber who have died in the country? How long were they out? Or whether, with them, it assumed such fatal or violent appearances as here?"

Answer. I have taken no pains to ascertain the numbers who have died in the country; but they are much greater than the numbers were in the year '93; neither have I taken any pains to ascertain what length of time they were out. With respect to those who were seized with the disorder in the country, it appeared to be as fatal as in the city, although it did not spread as it did in the city: the reason for which, I conceive to be, country houses are better aired, and the advantages they have of the salubrious effects of vegetation.

7thly. "What are the best means of preventing its introduction or generation, or to prevent its attack, when generated, besides that of flight?"

Answer. As this disorder is unquestionably imported from the West-Indies, the best means of preventing its introduction is, to stop all trade there for a few months in the year, or to oblige vessels to perform a more effectual quarantine than has been observed heretofore. The best way to prevent an attack of the disease, when introduced among us, besides that of flight, is, to keep your person and your habitation sweet and clean, use moderate exercise in the open air, not to stand still in the sun, and avoid taking cold; to live temperately, yet by no means too abstemiously, nor to take purgatives by way of prevention; and, above all things, to acquire, if possible, a magnanimous mind that does not fear death. I know of no better preventatives than the foregoing; yet, as the disease is the plague, I believe many would take it, if exposed to the contagion, let them use whatever precaution they may.

8thly. "What are the best means of cleansing houses, clothes, &c. of the infected, and of destroying contagion?"

Answer. Gunpowder flashed in an infected room will expel the foul air, and replace it with air free from contagion; but, that every closet and crevice may be searched, shut your room close up, stop the fire-place, set a pan of coals in the middle of the room, on which throw a quantity of brimstone, and fill your room with the fumes; or, take a handful of common salt, or salt-petre, and with it, about half a pound of oil of vitriol, hanging, at the same time, wearing apparel, or any other article which you may apprehend is infected, in the room. These fumes will penetrate every thing thoroughly, and cleanse them from infection. Linens

may be cleansed by steeping them in ley, and woollens in soap suds. White-wash your walls with lime, and wash your floors with ley. To bury an infected article in the ground ten days will cleanse it.

9thly. "Are there any particular classes of persons more subject to it than others?"

Answer. It appears that some persons are more liable to take it than others. In this respect, it corresponds with some other plagues which have appeared at different times. I know of no instance of a West-Indian taking the disorder, although there was many in the city during the whole sickness. Europeans have taken it very readily, and it has been generally mortal among them. Of the Americans in the year '93, I know of but few who took it under 14 or 15 years of age, and as I have observed before, it was more mortal among men than women; and it has been more mortal then and the present year, among the robust and sanguinary, than among persons of a spare habit of body. Of hard drinkers, scarce one in twenty have recovered. S. W.

TO THE EDITORS

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE YELLOW FEVER.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your circular letter of the 9th of November, containing queries relative to the epidemic, which lately ravaged our city and other places on this continent. The good that may result from your undertaking is obvious, if it only contributes to propagate those opinions which will lead us to efficacious measures for the preservation of a great population. Many old countries have protected themselves against plagues and malignant fevers, and why should we not imitate their improvements to obtain the same blessings? I have now but little to say on the various topics of so interesting a subject, yet, I think it is the duty of every in-

dividual, to submit to the public any observation that he may deem conducive to relieve us from one of the greatest calamities. That duty I endeavoured to fulfil last year, and I would be obliged to repeat what I have already published, if I were to answer all your queries. I shall, however, content myself with a few observations that have occurred during one year more of experience.

“Is the yellow fever of domestic origin?” Men wishing for speculative demonstration, might perhaps be satisfied with what has been already said in the affirmative of this question, and chiefly by the opinion of the majority of the learned in the United States; but, if a proof of another kind is acceptable—a proof of fact and of experimental demonstration, such a proof has been offered to me by a singular circumstance; and I beg your readers will weigh it with impartiality, while their candour will require no further evidence than that which is in the power of one witness to give.

A gentleman from a foreign country, who arrived during our late epidemic, informed me, that although he was quite healthy, and had lived many years in one of the West-India islands, he did experience a disagreeable impression from our atmosphere chiefly during the first days of his arrival; and that he had even felt some fever, which justly alarmed him. In consequence, he fixed his residence at two miles distant from town, where he never suffered any kind of indisposition; yet, as he frequently came into the city, he then always discovered that our atmosphere was impregnated with corrupted effluvia, which he could assimilate to nothing better than to the effluvia from rotten wood. This effect was very surprising to him; for he admired the regularity and the cleanliness of this town in general. I answered, that if I could add to his observation a greater evidence than that of a single individual, I could derive from it a convincing proof, that the origin of our epidemic was a contagion abundantly floating in our atmosphere, and incessantly renewed in it. It was obvious to suppose that this gentleman was endowed with a particular degree of acuteness in his olfactory organs, which power, however, is not very uncommon, and which many among us do not perceive, being accustomed to live in a vitiated atmosphere. But how could an imported disorder produce such an alteration in it? Are not populous towns in Europe productive of much more corrupted vapours, than those that can arise from a few patients scattered about? and yet none of them, except in the Le-

vant, are productive of pestilence. Moreover, all the houses here, few excepted, were shut up during the last prevalence, and almost none could produce the usual share of corruption which must continually arise from inhabited places. It rested with me to collect as much evidence as I could of an important fact, because the assertion of the above gentleman extended to all the minutes which he passed in town, and at every time of his coming into it from the house where he lodged in the country. It was consequently agreed between us that he would submit to a trial, by which I could render both his unprejudiced veracity, and the acuteness of his smelling power, unquestionable proofs of an existing contagion in our atmosphere. I then desired him to come with me, while I visited my patients. If I stopped at any place or house where there was no sick, I would leave to him to discriminate whether effluvia or corrupted miasma could be smelled in the neighbourhood or in the entries around. This observation was very difficult to make; but I thought it could not be impossible to a man who could distinguish such alterations in the atmosphere: it was besides grounded on the opinion and the fact of noxious vapours sensibly arising from the beds or bodies of patients in the yellow fever, and possibly diffusing at a great distance. The man accepted the task, and fulfilled it wonderfully well. At every place where I stopped or went in, he was able to tell whether a patient was in it or not: he could also discover when I had put myself too much in contact with the sick. But I objected that the contagious miasma, which he perceived so strongly in the neighbourhood and in the houses of the sick, might be supposed to be the cause of the corrupted vapours, which he had observed in the atmosphere. He could not think so, he said, because they were quite different, and he was now smelling a new sort of human or animal putrefaction which he had not yet in any degree smelled in the general currents of the air, within the avenues and the streets of the city. For a last trial, I took with me a clean white pocket handkerchief, and left it a few minutes in the bed of a patient. I wrapped it up again in a sheet of paper. At the first interview with the gentleman, I suddenly unfolded it, and shook it in his presence, and pretty near him, when he suddenly complained of my diffusing very strong and corrupted vapours, such as he had smelled before at my patients' houses. I finally remained satisfied of the extreme acuteness of the senses of the observer, and of his veracity in ascertaining that our

atmosphere was contaminated with corrupted vapours. That the air is constantly renewed and purified of any kind of impure emanations, even without wind, is a fact that experience teaches us, in every populous town, and at any season of the year; but, such effects cannot take place, when the local sources of corruption, as the wharves, &c. are in a continual fermentation. This was doubtless the case of Philadelphia. Then, it is not surprising, that our atmosphere should breed fevers, contagion and death!

To unprejudiced people, it will appear impossible that an imported disorder could contaminate the whole atmosphere during three months, and when so few people remain in it.

The other point to which I may advert, in answer to your letter, is the proportion of those who recovered by the benefit of medical art, and by the method of treatment which has been generally employed by the greatest number of our physicians. In giving such estimate, however, I wholly confine it within my own opinion, and those of a few medical friends. Owing to the greater degree of malignancy of the last epidemic, it should seem that the success of our practice has not surpassed that of the year '97, although the best remedies were more generally employed. It is true, that it is the peculiar character of a contagious disorder to increase its deplorable effects in proportion to the degree of alarm that it spreads; for, patients altogether given up to the most shocking despair, and destitute of proper assistance, must necessarily soon become victims of the sickness. These considerations, oblige us, gentlemen, to limit our reckoning among or from the patients who were timely and properly assisted; and of those, I think, that six recovered out of seven. If it was made known that this just and true proportion of the sick recovered, by more respectable authorities than that of an individual, instead of so many dreadful accounts of deaths incessantly published, certainly the people at large would at least be supported by a consoling and relieving hope, and in fact, they would be more careful of themselves; for, those who cannot conveniently remove from the seat of the infection, would be more attentive in procuring medical assistance, for which they apply too late or not at all, for want of confidence in its remedies, and because they are not at all apprised of their effectual applications. I shall also take the liberty to suggest, that the public authority might easily obviate the disadvantage of the absence of many of our regular physicians, by granting to those who choose to remain in the infected places, the

means of attending as many patients as they could, if they are not used to keep the accommodation of a carriage.

One objection may be made against the above proportion of the patients recovered under the help of medical art, if we attend, without explanation, to a comparative statement on that subject, published by the health office, the 21st of September. So it stood;

Number of cases reported by physicians,	2472
Of which have been sent to the hospital,	535
Of which number died, only	276

Whilst the number of deaths, in the City and Liberties, had been nearly three-fourths, that is to say, out of 1935 cases in it, died

1424

The health office was solicitously impelled to publish the above statement, in order to convince the people, that there was a great danger for them to stay in town, and that the assistance prepared for them in the city-hospital was far better than any they could procure in the city: in all respects that intention was laudable; and, in many, the consequences were true; but it behoves a physician to explain, why such a great number as the half of the sick died in the hospital, and why three-fourths have fallen victims in town.

I never granted to a sick person an order for admission into the city-hospital, but I lamented that it was too late, because one or two days had been lost, by the patient indulging himself in the opinion, that his case was not the yellow fever, or trying some remedies recommended by their neighbours; or foolishly delaying to take a resolution, which ignorance and prejudice rendered very painful to every one of them. To that delay, one or two days were added before the patient would be admitted into the hospital, owing to neglect in transmitting the order to the officers of the board of health, or to the want of some body who could be sent for the carriage, or to accidental delays of other kinds. Thus, it may be justly observed, to the honour of the physicians employed in the city-hospital, that most of the patients they received were taken sick three or four, and many four or five days previous to their admission; yet, at that time, they had cured half of them.

We were in town witnesses to almost the same neglects, delays, and prejudices, among the sick who called for our assistance. Many refused to be sent to the hospital, who died destitute of nurses and the most necessary remedies; while they surely were not benefited by our atmosphere. They

were also injured by the heat, narrowness and uncleanness of their houses and clothes. As the yellow fever has often the surprising effect of suspending any kind of painful sensation, many felt as if nothing of consequence ailed them, till the approach of death. If, on the contrary, they were attacked with violent symptoms, they were abandoned even by their nearest relations; but few charitable and judicious nurses could be found; of the remaining physicians, many were sick and confined. In short, I have seen about sixty or seventy patients, all of the above description; the greatest part died; and it surely will be granted, that if they had received proper assistance, the greater part must have recovered; and, for the truth and justness of these observations, I can, I believe, with confidence, call upon the candor and experience of the other physicians. It will then be understood, why so many patients died in town with the yellow fever, without derogating from the estimate I have given of those who recovered under medical assistance.

Every body is now investigating what are the best means of preventing the return of that calamity. We must congratulate ourselves on the laudable and numerous exertions of our fellow citizens. The introduction of pure waters, will, no doubt, prove one of the most beneficial improvements; for, it equally answers the purpose of cleansing the streets, as refreshing the atmosphere. The poor people also will have an easier and more convenient means for washing their clothes, which they are used to keep dirty, during the summer, until they can gather some rain water; but that is not all: many other causes did appear to me very obnoxious to the wholesomeness of the town. The casements and logs of our wharves are old, and their surface is rotten; at low water, when a scorching sun dries them up, they produce very infecting and dangerous effluvia. The vicinity of the docks has always appeared to be the seat of many deaths; because, at the periodical return of the tide, their filthy waters are also returned, and the most corrupted and black mud is left again on the bottom. Too many crowded buildings are unfortunately erected upon the wharves. The whole east side of Philadelphia is walled by a double, thick and high range of houses, through which the air has but few streets opened to circulate. The conveniencies of the shipping and mercantile business, have thus deprived the metropolis of the refreshing and moist currents of air, that must necessarily rise from one of the largest rivers*. The

* There are about ten thousand houses in Philadelphia; the ground also contains ten thousand deep ditches or privy necessa-

streets of the suburbs, and many of the city, are left in a surprising state of degradation, and without pavement, while the numerous carriages and great intercourse with the country, render them still worse; no declivity is given to their waters; no police law is enacted to compel the inhabitants to clean their foot-ways. There the rains, and the common sewers of houses, empty, form ponds, and cover the surface with a thick stratum of animal and vegetable putrefaction. There is nobody in those parts, and even South street, who could not, when he pleases, manure his little garden with the black mud which surrounds them. I never could think, gentlemen, as many do, that the numerous burying-grounds inclosed in the city, were of no bad consequence. I believe quite the reverse, and I supported it in my account of the yellow fever in '97, by reasons and arguments which I do not think easy to refute. All those burying-grounds are situated on the most elevated points of the city; and as the highest part of the city is forty feet above the river, and as the ditches are dug only six feet deep, I calculate that the bed of all our dead, lie between 20 and 30 feet above the lowest ground. How many streets, consequently, and how many cellars are lower than the lowest bottom of a burying-ground? I ask now, whether the constant moisture and vapour of the ground can be infiltrated from any where but from the high surrounding parts, and whether waters washing thousands of dead bodies, renewed every year, do not retain the most noxious particles, although these waters, under the whole ground of Philadelphia, do circulate through the most homogeneous clay.

These are, gentlemen, the points of observation which have constantly fixed my opinion, on the origin of our malignant fever; from which nothing now can preserve us, except a cool summer, and frequent N. W. winds. Other remedies or preventatives against such a calamity, will, I hope, be found in the liberality and experience of our enlightened fellow-citizens; but it would be useless to stress upon any other conjecture or hypothesis. It was always known, and never objected but here, that the vicinity of effluvia from corrupted

rics: many of them contain the animal filth of several generations, and, for the cleaning of them, no law was enacted; no means were provided! Where is not the number of privy ditches, and the cubic solidity of this filth, in a proportionate ratio for the corruption of all our waters, and for poisoning every point of exhalation on our ground?

animal or vegetable substances were pestilential, and produced fatal diseases; and whenever such sources of contagion surround us, and exist with us, it would be injudicious to dwell upon mere suppositions; for the importation of a fever will always be a supposed doctrine, since it is generally granted, that during the heat of summer, the same causes can produce it on board of vessels, at sea or in our ports, and often carries off the whole of their crews. It is also very extraordinary, that we should receive, by importation, a disorder which proves so terrible among us, while it is but occasionally in the countries from where we dread to receive it, and where it is hardly thought contagious, and never threatens, to an alarming degree the population nor the prosperity of the inhabitants.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen, Yours, &c.
F. O. P.

Letter to Thomas Mifflin, Esq.

Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,
From the Academy of Medicine of Philadelphia, on the origin and means of preventing the return of the Yellow Fever.

SIR,

IN order to comply with your request to the Academy of Medicine, communicated by Dr. Samuel Duffield, consulting Physician of the port, respecting the means of preventing the return of the epidemic fever, which has lately afflicted our city, the Academy have conceived the history of its origin, necessarily connected with their answer.

We believe it was derived from the following sources :

1. The exhalations of the alleys, gutters, docks, and common sewers of the city; and from stagnating water in its neighbourhood.

2. The foul air discharged with the ballast of the ship Deborah, and the cargo of the brig Mary; the former of which arrived from Hispaniola on the 18th July, and the latter on the 29th of the same month. We reject the opinion of an imported human contagion in either of the above vessels. It has not been asserted that any person died of the yellow fever on board the Mary, during her voyage: and if it be said,

that several persons died on board the Deborah of that disease, on her passage to this city, we cannot admit that they contaminated the timbers or contents of the ship in such a manner, as to spread the disease to persons at several hundred feet distance from the wharf at which she was moored. The improbability of this opinion will appear from two considerations.

First—The disease is not contagious in the West-Indies; and rarely, if ever so, in the United States in hot weather, at which time only it makes its first appearance in our country. So general is this opinion, that some physicians have unfortunately refused to admit the existence of the fever in its commencement in our city, only because it was not contagious.

Second—The disease was in no instance propagated by those persons who were supposed to have derived it from human contagion adhering to the timbers or contents of the Deborah and Mary, and who died with it in parts of the city remote from the influence of the foul air of those vessels.

If it be said that the contagion of the yellow fever is not uniform in its effects, it ought at least to be admitted, that it acts with most certainty where it exists with most force; but the reverse of this took place in the supposed origin of our late fever from imported contagion. We are the more determined in our opinion of the foul air of the Deborah and Mary being the cause of many cases of our fever, from similar cases of fever having been often produced from similar causes, instances of which were mentioned in our letter to you of last year.

In support of our opinion of the disease being derived from the exhalations of our city before enumerated, we shall mention the names of the following persons, who had the fever before the arrival of the Deborah or Mary, in our port, viz. Benjamin Jones, Fromberger's Court, June 2d; Mary Wrigglesworth, near the corner of Walnut and Tenth-streets, June 6th; Rebecca Trested, in Front between Spruce and Union-streets, June 11th; Elizabeth Curran, Fourth below South-street, June 27th; Mark Miller, Callowhill-street, and Molly Zeller, Race-street, July 2d; Miss Byrnc, Spruce between Second and Third streets, July 11th; Mr. Vannost, Shannon-street wharves, July 12th. We observed, moreover, and heard of a considerable number of persons who had the disease in the western parts of the city, and in Southwark and the Northern Liberties, who had not been exposed to contagion, nor breathed the air in the neighbourhood of Water-

street for many weeks, and in some instances for several months, before they were attacked by that fever.

In addition to the arguments in favour of the domestic sources of the fever, that had been mentioned in our former letter, we shall add four more, that we think cannot be refuted.

1. The atmosphere of our city, during the prevalence of the fever, produced sensations of pain or sickness in many people who came into it from the country; the same atmosphere became the cause of the disease and death in others who visited the city, and who carefully avoided lodging, or any intercourse with persons infected by the fever.

2. The disease prevailed in many inland towns of the United States, which had no intercourse with those sea-port towns in which it was epidemic. Those towns were, in every instance we have heard of, situated near to putrid substances, or stagnating water.

3. The disease was rarely contagious, even when it terminated in death, when carried into the country, or into towns not exposed to putrid exhalations.

4. The general extinction of the disease by frost, clearly proves that it exists chiefly in the atmosphere; and that it is not derived, in the first instance, from human contagion; for frost, it is well known, does not act in the autumnal months upon the bodies of the sick, nor upon their beds, clothing, or any other supposed receptacle of contagion.

We wish to direct the attention of our fellow-citizens to the history of the causes and remedies of pestilential diseases in foreign countries: In the ages of medical superstition, when those diseases were believed to be imported, they nearly depopulated cities for many successive years. Frequent and accumulated suffering at last begat wisdom. The causes of pestilence were discovered to exist in all countries, and domestic remedies were applied to remove them. The effect of this change in the opinion and conduct of the nations of Europe has been the almost general extirpation of malignant fevers from their cities and sea ports. We have many documents to prove that the recurrence of the yellow fever has been prevented in the cities of Europe by cleanliness. It formerly prevailed in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Holland, and, occasionally, in Britain and Ireland, under the names of putrid, malignant, and bilious fevers, also of the *gall sickness* and of the *black fever*. The last name was derived from the

black vomiting, which is so often the symptom of approaching death in bilious fevers.

We are the more confirmed in the opinion we have delivered, that the yellow fever is a native disease of our country, by discovering that the same opinion is held by most of the physicians and citizens of our sister states. We lament the prevalence of an opinion, that the admission of truth upon this subject, will injure the credit of our city. Truth, upon all subjects is ultimately friendly to general interest and happiness, while the remedies of the evils of error, are always of a partial and transitory nature. We conceive that the report of the existence of a disease of a nature so subtle as to elude the utmost force of the health laws, and the greatest vigilance of health-officers, will be much more injurious to our city, than a belief of its being derived from causes which are obvious to our senses, and which, by active exertions, might be easily and certainly removed, without oppressing or injuring our commerce.

We shall repeat, in this place, the means recommended by us in our former letter, with the addition of some others, for preventing a return of the disease.

1. "Removing all those matters from our streets, gutters, cellars, gardens, yards, stores, vaults, ponds, &c. which, by putrefaction in warm weather, afford the most frequent cause of the disease in this country. For this purpose, we recommend the appointment of a certain number of physicians, whose business it shall be, to inspect all such places in the city, the Northern Liberties and Southwark, as contain any matters, capable by putrefaction, of producing the disease, and to have them removed.

2. "We earnestly recommend the frequent washing of all impure parts of the city in warm and dry weather, by means of the pumps, until the water of the river Schuylkill can be made to wash all the streets of the city: a measure which we conceive promises to our citizens, the most durable exemption from bilious fevers of all kinds, of domestic origin.

3. "To guard against the frequent source of yellow fever from the noxious air in the holds of vessels, we recommend the unlading such vessels, as contain cargoes liable to putrefaction, and the discharging the ballast of all vessels at a distance from the city, during the months of June, July, August, September and October. To prevent the generation of noxious air in the holds of vessels, we conceive every vessel should be obliged, by law, to carry and use a ventilator, and

we recommend in a particular manner, the one lately invented by Mr. Benjamin Wynkoop. We believe this invention to be one of the most important and useful that has been made in modern times, and that it is calculated to prevent not only the decay of ships and cargoes, but a very frequent source of pestilential diseases of all kinds in commercial cities."

4. The filling up, or cleaning the docks in such a manner, that no matters, capable of putrefaction, shall be exposed to the rays of the sun at low water.

5. The closing the common sewers, so as to admit water only, and the daily removal of the filth of the city, destined to flow into them, by means of covered carts or waggons made for that purpose.

6. The prevention of the filth of the city from being accumulated, and stagnating in its neighbourhood.

7. The prohibition of alleys and narrow streets in the future improvement of the city.

8. An alteration of the present health law, which, by detaining vessels with perishable cargoes for ten days at the hospital, in hot weather, is calculated to increase the foul air in their holds; and we recommend also, that no vessel, owned by a citizen of Philadelphia, be permitted to leave or enter our ports, that is not provided with a ventilator.

We shall conclude our letter by deprecating, in the most solemn manner, the continuance of a belief in the supposed importation of our fever, an opinion which has led to the total negligence of the means of preventing its return; also by humbly hoping that a merciful Providence may not correct our ignorance and prejudices, by frequent returns of a calamity, which has in five years swept away ten thousand of our inhabitants, and which in a few years may, if not obviated by the only proper remedies, (under the influence of the present inflammatory constitution of the atmosphere) annihilate our city.

Signed by order of the Academy of Medicine, of Philadelphia.

PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK, President.

JOHN C. OTTO, Secretary.

Dec. 7, 1798.

LETTER *from the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, by direction of the Governor, relative to the late Malignant Fever, to the Board of Health.*

GENTLEMEN,

THE Governor is desirous of submitting to the legislature, a comprehensive view of the mortality and expenditure, produced by the calamity, which has recently afflicted the city and its suburbs. He, therefore, directs me to request, that you will favour him with a report, and the necessary documents, upon the subject. The information contemplated may be properly embraced, perhaps, by the following enquiries.

1st. At what time, in what place, and in what manner, was the malignant fever introduced into the city and suburbs?

2d. How long did the fever continue to rage, and what is the number of its victims?

3d. What was the general police pursued by the Board, the overseers of the poor, and their agents, to subdue, or mitigate the disease, to aid the sick, to inter the dead, and to maintain the poor?

4th. What sum has been raised on this occasion, by taxes, by voluntary loan, and by gratuitous contributions; what sum has been expended, and what balance remains on hand?

5th. What is the number and condition of the citizens who have been relieved, and will any extraordinary aid be necessary, on the part of the legislature, for the support of the poor during the ensuing winter?

6th. What precautions ought to be taken to prevent the recurrence of so dreadful a calamity?

- Permit me to add, that it is the governor's wish, that the overseers of the poor, and, particularly those active citizens, who superintended the business of the camps, should be consulted in forming your report. As the legislature meets on the 4th of December, I hope it will be convenient for you to comply with the governor's request, in the course of the present month.

I have the honour to be, with sentiments
of sincere respect and esteem, gentlemen,
your most obedient humble servant,
A. J. DALLAS, Secretary.

Secretary's Office, Philadelphia, 8th November, 1798.

To the President and Managers of the
Marine and City Hospitals.

REPLY to the foregoing Letter.

Health-Office, 1st December, 1798.

SIR,

THE secretary of the commonwealth, in a communication of the 8th ult. by your direction, having propounded certain queries relative to the late dreadful calamity, a sense of duty, common interest, and a poignant retrospect of the past scenes of misery and wretchedness, which came more immediately under our care, have excited an intense solicitude and assiduity, on our part, to answer satisfactorily your enquiries, and devise means for the prevention of so terrible a scourge in future.

We regret that the continuance of the disease to so late a period has delayed the adjustment of the accounts of the institutions under our direction, and will consequently deprive us of that accuracy which is desirable. We believe, however, that the report will not ultimately be found materially incorrect.

A few preliminary remarks, relative to the precautions which have been taken in order to prevent the importation of disease, may not be superfluous.

The law, in respect to quarantine, has been construed and executed in the strictest sense. Every power and effort which the board, or the officers under their direction, were capable of exercising, has been employed to cut off all communication with the vessels under quarantine.—Every possible mode of purification, which a law so manifestly defective would permit, has been adopted, and the most rigid scrutiny had, before the vessels were permitted to proceed to the city.

At the Marine Hospital, the fences were extended into the river, the more completely to enclose the premises, and all intercourse therewith precluded.

For the sake of perspicuity we shall conform, as near as possible, to the order in which you have presented the several subjects of enquiry; and

1st. The malignant fever, according to our information, first made its appearance in Water-street, between Spruce and Walnut-streets, about the first of August. Several respectable physicians declare that it appeared in the month of June; and, that many unequivocal cases occurred early in July.

Unshackled by prejudice, and diffident of opinion, we have endeavoured to trace the disease to its origin, but without success. Those objects which have been pointed to with the greatest confidence as the foreign source of the disease, on investigation, afford no such proof.

Thus situated, it would be indecorous, in an official report to the chief magistrate, to substitute opinion for fact. We deem a question, on which the lives of thousands and the prosperity or annihilation of our flourishing city may depend, of too much importance to rest upon the *exclusive speculation* of either foreign or domestic origin.

In our answer to your 6th query, we shall endeavour to designate such general measures as, when properly digested by legislative wisdom, are, in our judgement, best calculated to guard against the recurrence of so fatal a malady from either domestic or foreign sources.

2d. The disease continued to rage until about the first of November; and, partially, until about the 5th. The whole number of victims, exclusive of those who died in the country, are three thousand six hundred and forty-five.

3d. The City Hospital was opened on the 7th August—all vessels were immediately removed by order of the Board from all the wharves included between Mr. Levi Hollingsworth's and Tun Alley.—The Board publicly admonished the inhabitants of the infected neighbourhood to remove without delay.—A quantity of damaged coffee and cocoa, imported on the 30th July, and stored in Ross's stores, was reported on the 3d August to the Board to be in a putrid state. It was immediately put on board the vessel in which it was imported, and sent down to the Marine Hospital for purification.

Two skilful physicians and two assistants were appointed to reside at the City Hospital, with a competent number of nurses and attendants, and every thing necessary for the comfort and relief of the patients was provided. All the powers of reasoning, persuasion, and authority, which the Board possessed, short of absolute coercion, were assiduously employed to induce the sick to remove instantly to the Hospital; for which purpose carriages constantly attended, and litters were constructed as speedily as possible, to convey them with ease and convenience.

All the regular practising physicians of the city and liberties were authorized to grant orders for admission into the City Hospital.—Hearses and persons were employed for the speedy removal and interment of the dead, and the Health-

Office kept open day and night, for the purpose of receiving applications and executing the duties of the office with promptitude.

In order to ascertain the progress of the disease and form some criterion by which to judge of its extension or decline, as well as to mark those parts of the city and liberties in which it raged with the greatest violence, a suitable person was appointed to obtain from the physicians the daily reports of new cases which occurred in their practice severally, together with the names and residence of the patients.

Skilful physicians were appointed to attend the poor of the city and liberties, and medicines provided for their use at the expence of the institution.

The buildings at the City Hospital being found insufficient, a house contiguous thereto was rented; the summer houses were covered with canvas, a number of sheds, and a new frame building 60 by 20 feet, two stories high, were erected for the better accommodation of the sick.

The alarming progress of the disease, and frightful increase of mortality; the apparent temerity or apathy of some, and the indigence and distress of others, impelled the Board to reiterate in terms the most impressive, their admonitions to the inhabitants who were in circumstances to abandon their homes; and, in conjunction with the Guardians of the poor, to provide a retreat for the indigent.

Tents were accordingly erected on the east bank of Schuylkill, to which they were invited to resort, and ample provision was there made for their comfort and support. These measures being inadequate to the urgency of the occasion, temporary buildings for the accommodation of near two thousand persons were erected on Masters' ground, two miles above the city.

The regulation and superintendance of each encampment was confided to a committee of respectable and humane citizens, who voluntarily undertook the arduous task.

By the joint authority of the Board of Managers and the Board of Guardians of the poor, a committee of respectable citizens were appointed for the distribution of relief to the poor of the city and liberties, whose situation rendered it improper to remove to the tents.

The infected houses and bedding were cleansed and purified, by order of the Board, so far as was found practicable. This, however, was but partial, owing to the inevitable difficulties and confusion occasioned by the calamity.

4th. The amount raised by taxes and by loan in anticipation of the taxes to be levied the present year for the support of the Marine and City Hospitals, viz.

Borrowed on account of the taxes for the year 1797,	D. 7268 09	
A tax of 10,000 dollars has been levied for the present year; the sum collected on account thereof, is	676 87	
Received of the Bank of Pennsylvania, on the credit of the taxes of the present year,	20,000 00	
		<u>27,944 96</u>

Private Loan.

Borrowed of the several Banks, on security of certain individuals, for the relief of the poor, under the joint direction of the Board of Managers and the Board of Guardians of the Poor, which sum was borrowed on the faith of Legislative reimbursement,	29,000 00	
Total raised by taxes and loans,		<u>56,944 96</u>

GRATUITOUS CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FOR THE USE OF THE POOR.

By the Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals.

In Cash,	D. 14040 05	
In produce and cloathing valued at	2000	
		<u>16,040 05</u>

By the Committee of the Tents on the Banks of Schuylkill.

In Cash,	D. 3537 29	
In produce and cloathing valued at	5000	
		<u>8,537 29</u>

By the Committee of the Encampment at Majors' place.

In Cash,	D. 3,254 27	
In produce and cloathing, valued at	6,568 22	
		<u>9,822 49</u>

By the Committee for the relief of the poor in the City and Liberties.

In Cash,	D. 420 00	
In produce and cloathing valued at	1,178 68	
		<u>1,598 68</u>

Total,	Dolls. <u>35,998 51</u>
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SUMS EXPENDED BY THE SEVERAL INSTITUTIONS.

By the Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals.

In cash, for the relief of the sick

poor, D. 9,782 56

In produce and cloathing, valued at 2,000 00

Paid the distributing committee 4,257 49

Paid on account Marine and City

Hospitals, 20,975 20

37,015 25

By the Committee of the Tents, on the Banks of Schuylkill.

In cash; of which 10,000 dollars

was a part of the 29,000 loan, D. 13,537 29

In produce and cloathing valued at 5,000

18,537 29

By the Committee of the Encampment at Master's place.

In cash, of which 9000 dolls. was

a part of the 29,000 dollars loan, D. 12,254 27

In produce and cloathing valued at 6,568 22

18,822 49

By the Committee for the relief of the poor in the City and Liberties.

In cash, of which 10,000

dollars was a part of the

29,000 dollars loan, D. 14,677 49

Deduct so much charged
in the expenditures of the
Board of Managers, of the
Marine and City Hospitals,
paid to this committee for
distribution,

4,257 49

10,420

In produce and cloathing valued at 1,178 68

11,598 68

Total, Dollars, 85,973 71

Recapitulation of the preceding statement.

Total amount of taxes and loans 56,944 96

Total amount of gratuitous con-
tributions

35,998 51

92,943 47

Total amount expended by the
several institutions.

85,973 71

Balance in the hands of the treasurer of the
Marine and City Hospitals

Dollars 6,969 76

Note. The above balance is on account of the Marine and

City Hospitals. This sum, however, will be inadequate to the discharge of the debts now due by the said institutions.

Number of persons relieved, viz.

At the City Hospital,	879
By the physicians appointed by the Board of Managers of the Marine and City Hospitals to attend the poor of the City and Liberties, about	3000
At the tents on Schuylkill and the vicinity thereof,	1950
At the encampment on Masters' place and its vicinity,	2024
By the Committee for distributing relief in the city and liberties, about	3500
	<hr/>
Total	11,353

Exclusive of the above expenditures and numbers of persons relieved, the guardians of the poor have incurred a very great and extraordinary expence for the relief of orphans and persons distressed by the calamity.

5th. The poor will, doubtless, require extraordinary aid from the legislature the ensuing winter, in consequence of the suspension of labour during the prevalence of the disease, the extraordinary expences incurred by sickness, or removal from the city, and, in all probability, a short interval from the return of the citizens to the closing of the navigation for the exercise of industry.

6th. No question can be more interesting, none more entitled to serious consideration, than that which shall determine the precautions to be adopted, in order to prevent the recurrence of a calamity so destructive. Accordingly, we find our fellow citizens generally engaged in the contemplation and discussion of the subject.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to its origin, all appear to agree in the general system of police necessary to guard against its introduction in future.

The idea of resorting to the legislature of the union, for an act to interdict the commerce from the Mediterranean and West-Indies, during the summer months, appears to be general, and if attainable, would certainly be most desirable, at least until some effectual system shall be devised and completely ready for execution.

The great diversity of sentiment which appears to prevail in the different states, relative to the origin of the disease, together with the powerful influence of commercial interest and rivalry, may create insurmountable obstacles to the attainment of an efficient law from the general government.

Under these circumstances, we think it will be prudent to persevere with energy in an application to the state legislature, for effectual quarantine and health laws, with liberal endowments for the support of the several institutions. It may here be proper to observe that a well digested quarantine law of this state will be necessary (even in the event of a law of the general government) to provide for the ease of vessels which may enter our port from stress of weather, or other casualty during the period of interdiction.

We take the liberty of suggesting the propriety of an application to the governments of the states of Delaware and New-Jersey for their co-operation. The principles of common interest and self-preservation, and their participation in the late calamity, must dictate to them the necessity of such a coalition.

A quarantine law to be effectual should make provision for the following objects.

An insular situation, remote from the city, should be selected, if practicable, for the place of quarantine; if none such can be obtained, forty or fifty acres on some convenient part of the Delaware shore should be secured by a high and strong enclosure—wharves, ware houses, and other suitable buildings should be erected for the reception and purification of cargoes and accommodation of persons.

All vessels from the Mediterranean and West-Indies, from the first of June to the first October, should there discharge their cargoes, which, together with the vessels, should be thoroughly purified, and perform a quarantine of at least 20 days. Guards should be constantly posted at all the avenues, and guard boats stationed around the fleet.

The law should provide for the prohibition of intercourse by land or water with such of our sister states as may not adopt efficient quarantine laws; and interdict all communication with infected places.

Having designated those general regulations, which we conceive are best adapted to guard against the importation of disease, we shall take the liberty of adverting to measures, which appear to us no less necessary to the health and prosperity of our city.

If the domestic origin of the disease is denied, yet it must be allowed that local causes have a potent effect in its diffusion, and increasing its malignity; of this, fatal experience has furnished an irrefragable proof in the excessive mortality, and number of the diseased, in particular parts of the city and liberties.

We believe that these dreadful consequences would be greatly mitigated, if not wholly averted, by a judicious reformation in the police of the city and liberties.

The introduction of wholesome running water for domestic purposes, and for washing the streets, and common sewers, is in our judgment, an object of primary importance; the cleansing of all the docks to a depth below the level of low water mark, a strict attention to the removal of all filth and putrifying substances, and correcting the noxious effluvia from the privies in the commencement of the hot season, would, we conceive, be productive of the happiest effects.

The great attention which has been paid to the cleansing of the best improved parts of our city, and the obvious neglect of remote and confined situations, has long been a subject of serious complaint.

Any work, however great, will be but partial whilst the stagnant pools, and filth of the narrow lanes, alleys and yards, in the extremities of the city, and particularly in the districts of Southwark and the Northern Liberties, are suffered to exist.

We beg leave to call your attention to a subject which we consider as deeply interesting.

The establishment of a City Hospital upon an enlarged plan, permanently provided with every thing necessary for the comfort and relief of the sick, and skilful professors, nurses, &c. provisionally engaged in the event of a recurrence of the disease, would excite public confidence, and greatly diminish the evils of the calamity. The situation of the present City Hospital, we consider as highly improper for the purpose, from its contiguity to the marshes of the Schuylkill. The lots and improvements thereon, if sold, would, probably produce a sum equivalent to the purchase of an elevated situation, and the completion of buildings better adapted to the purpose.

We have been led into unavoidable prolixity from the magnitude of the subject, and a wish to contribute the result of our experience and observations. Should they produce, in any degree, the desired effect, it will alleviate the recollection of those painful scenes which it was our lot to witness, and our duty to relieve.

By order of the Board of Managers
of the Marine and City Hospitals.

WILLIAM JONES, President.

Attest, TIMOTHY PAXSON, Clerk.

*Thomas Mifflin, Esq. Governor of the }
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. }*

NAMES, of the PERSONS

WHO DIED IN PHILADELPHIA,

And the neighbourhood, from the 1st of August, to the 1st of November, 1798.

ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

Carefully collected from the records of Clergymen, Clerks, Sextons, &c.

A.

Aaronster Matthias, Oct. 31.	German Lutheran.
Abbitch Andreas, Oct. 8.	ditto.
Abbot Abel, Sep. 4.	Friends.
Abbot Juley, ditto 13.	Trinity.
Abbot Frederick, ditto 16.	ditto
Abbot George, ditto 25.	ditto
Abbot George, ditto 29.	ditto
Abbot George, Sep 5.	City Hospital.
Abel Daniel, his daughter, Oct. 26.	St. Peter's.
Abington Jane, Aug. 26.	City Hospital.
Abraham Mrs. her child, Sep. 2.	Methodists.
Ackley Mordecai, Oct. 19.	Friends.
Adams Joseph, his child, Aug. 14.	German Lutheran.
Adams John, Sep. 4.	City Hospital.
Adams John, Aug 30.	ditto
Adams Susan, Sep. 5.	ditto
Adams Mrs. Sep. 15.	ditto
Adams John, September 24	ditto
Adams Mrs. Sept. 24	ditto
Adams widow, Sep 13.	3d Presbyterian.
Ditto her daughter, Sep. 18.	ditto
Addison Thomas, Sep 4.	City Hospital.
Agin Charles, Sep 12.	ditto
Agnew Felix, Oct. 28.	St. Mary's.
Aikins Lawrence, Sep. 23.	City Hospital.
Aikins Mrs. ditto 26.	ditto
Aikin Benjamin, Oct. 7.	ditto
Alberger Philip, Sep.	German Reformed.
Alberger Christina, Oct.	ditto
Albright John, his child, Sep. 17.	2d Presbyterian.
Alexander Charles, Sep. 8.	Kensington.
Alexander Joseph, Sep. 16.	City Hospital.
Alexander Samuel, Aug. 12.	ditto
Aline Victoire, Sep. 29.	St. Mary's.
Aoskin Robert, Sep. 13	City Hospital.
Allanson Elizabeth, Sep. 7.	ditto
Allardice Samuel, Aug. 26.	1st Presbyterian.
Allen Margaret, wife of John, Oct. 10.	Christ Church.
Allen Margaret, Oct. 10.	City Hospital.
Allen Chamless, his wife. Aug. 11.	Friends.

Allen David, Sep. 20.	City Hospital.
Allen James, Aug. 31.	ditto
Allen John, Oct. 15.	ditto
Allen Charles, Nov. 4.	ditto
Almack Daniel, Sep. 27.	Free Quakers.
Armstrong Mary, Sep. 11.	City Hospital.
Ambrose William, Sep. 29.	ditto
Austin Rose, Sep. 9.	ditto
Ambruster Peter, his child, Sep. 8.	German Lutheran.
Ambruster Peter, ditto 12	ditto
Astuth Henry, Sept. 8.	City Hospital:
Anderfon Abel, Sep. 20.	
Anderfon Mary, Sep. 9.	ditto
Anderfon Susan, Nov. 2.	ditto
Anderfon William, Sep. 18.	ditto
Anderfon Wm. his wife, Sep. 28.	ditto
Anderfon Ann, Sep. 20.	ditto
Anderfon William, Oct. 3.	ditto
Andreas Philip, Sep. 22.	ditto
Anderfon Lio, Sep. 6.	ditto
Andreas Christian, his wife, Oct. 15.	German Lutheran
Armstrong Nancy, Oct. 10.	City Hospital
Andreas John, Oct. 22.	German Lutheran.
Astton Joseph, Oct. 13.	City Hospital.
Andrews Abraham, Aug. 23.	ditto
Ashem John, Nov. 1.	ditto
Annelly Sarah, Sep. 10.	ditto
Austin Alexander, Aug. 25.	ditto
Anthony Charles, Sep. 16.	St. Thomas.
Arte Sarah, Sep. 15.	Friends.
Attmore Thomas, his child, ditto 11	ditto
Anthony Nicholas, Sep. 30.	Kennington.
Appleton Charles, his daughter, Sep. 14.	Baptists.
Armstrong John, Sep. 16	City Hospital.
B	
Babian Polly, Sep. 13.	Trinity.
Bache B. F. printer, ditto 15.	Christ Church.
Bacley Mary, ditto 11.	City Hospital.
Badford Nerietta, ditto 10.	ditto
Bassins Matilda, her child, ditto 30.	ditto
Baker Hilary, ditto 25.	German Lutheran.
Bake William, ditto 7.	City Hospital.
Baker Jacob, his daughter, Oct. 5.	German Lutheran.
Baker Moses, ditto 4.	City Hospital.
Baker Bartholomew, joiner, Sep. 8:	St. Mary's.
Baker Lawrence, Aug. 30.	ditto
Baker Peter, son of John, Sept. 9:	ditto
Baker Bartholomew, sep. ditto 9.	ditto
Baker Joseph, ditto 15.	ditto
Baker Juliana, a child, ditto 13.	ditto
Baker Samuel, his son, Aug. 25:	Coates's.
Balderfon Mary, Oct. 11.	City Hospital.
Balderfon Thomas, ditto 12.	ditto
Baltantine Robert, Sep. 5.	Kennington.
Balt Joseph, Oct. 3.	City Hospital.
Balte Susan, Sept. 4.	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(B)

Balton Benjamin, 2 of his children, Sep. 30.	City Hospital,
Bamouth Mrs. her daughter, ditto 30.	Kenington.
Bandy John, ditto 4.	City Hospital,
Banning Joseph, his child, Oct. 14.	Kenington.
Baptian Polly, Sept. 3.	Trinity.
Baptiste John, Aug. 18.	City Hospital.
Baptiste John, ditto 20.	ditto
Barand Mr. Sept. 24.	ditto
Barclay Samuel, his son, ditto 20.	3d Presbyterian.
Barfort John, his son, Aug. 6. aged 14.	Swedens.
Bark John, Oct. 27.	City Hospital.
Barker John, ditto 21.	Swedens.
Barnes Stephen, Aug. 31.	City Hospital.
Barnes Thomas, ditto 24.	ditto
Barnet Jacob, Sept. 18.	ditto
Barnholt John, his child, ditto 10.	German Lutheran.
Barrington Ann, ditto 12.	City Hospital.
Barry Mrs. Aug. 16.	ditto
Barry Catherine, a child, Sept. 27.	St. Mary's.
Barry John, Oct. 13.	City Hospital.
Barry Mary, ditto 2.	ditto
Barry Mary, ditto 18.	St. Mary's.
Bartlen William, a child, Sept. 23.	ditto
Bartley Jane, ditto 16.	City Hospital.
Barts John, his wife, ditto 20.	Christ Church.
Basset David, ditto 15.	City Hospital.
Basset Mrs. ditto 12.	ditto
Bassnett Eleanor, ditto 25.	St. Mary's
Batchelor John, ditto 12.	City Hospital.
Bates John, ditto 3.	ditto
Bates John, Nov. 3.	ditto
Bates Samuel, Oct. 10.	ditto
Batz William, son of Christian Batz, Oct. 2.	Moravian.
Batz John, Sept. 24.	ditto
Ditto his wife, ditto 29.	ditto
Bauer George, Aug. 13.	German Lutheran.
Baumanin Barbara, Sept. 24.	Trinity,
Bayard John, ditto 29.	City Hospital.
Bayley, Mr. ditto 13.	Kenington.
Bayley John, a child, Oct. 12.	St. Mary's.
Bayley Robert, ditto, Aug. 22.	3d. Presbyterian.
Baxter Mary, Sept. 16.	City Hospital.
Beard Lydia, ditto 24.	ditto
Beard Margaret, ditto 22.	ditto
Beates Conrad, ditto 30.	German Lutheran.
Beatty Archibald, Aug. 13.	City Hospital.
Beatty William, ditto 8.	ditto
Beatty William, his daughter, Oct. 1.	St. Peter's.
Ditto ditto ditto 15.	ditto
Ditto his son, ditto 16.	ditto
Beaufort George, Sept. 2.	City Hospital.
Beavens William, ditto 27.	ditto
Bebel Sarah, child, Oct. 20.	St. Mary's.
Bechler, Mr. Sept. 20.	German Lutheran.
Beck Barbara, her child, ditto 9.	ditto
Beck Joseph, Oct. 27.	City Hospital.

Beck Paul, sen. October 4.	German Lutheran.
Becker Peter, his son-in-law, Sept.	German Reformed.
Beckman Garrett, Aug. 23.	City Hospital.
Bedford Samuel, Oct. 31.	ditto
Bedford Thomas, Sept. 24.	ditto
Bee Molly, ditto 25.	ditto
Bee Susanna, ditto 25.	ditto
Beeley Jacob, ditto 27.	ditto
Bæetner Godfrid, Oct. 12.	Trinity.
Bekriter Mary, Sept. 7.	Friends.
Bell Alexander, ditto 5.	City Hospital.
Bell Alexander, ditto 5.	St. Paul's.
Bender Abraham, Aug. 22.	German Lutheran.
Bender Valentine, Sept. 30.	City Hospital.
Bene Mr. his child, do. 30.	Swedes.
Benevil Dr. his servant maid, Catharine, Aug. 19.	Kensington.
Benks, Azer Keden, Sept. 13.	Swedes.
Benner Thomas, his child, Oct. 23.	Methodist.
Bennett Alexander N. Sept. 7.	City Hospital.
Bennett Elizabeth, ditto 1.	Christ Church.
Bennett James, ditto 13.	City Hospital.
Bennett John, ditto 5.	Christ Church.
Bennett Mary, ditto 24.	City Hospital.
Bennett Sarah, ditto 4.	Friends.
Benson Catherine, ditto 24.	City Hospital.
Berg Peter, ditto 11.	ditto
Berghman Hannah, ditto 17.	ditto
Berrish Rosina, Oct. 6.	German Lutheran.
Bessy Mary, Sept. 11.	Kensington.
Bethary Cecy, do. 10.	City Hospital.
Betsy, a black child, Oct. 23.	ditto
Bettle Philip, ditto 18.	ditto
Beynroth William, Sept. 10.	German Lutheran.
Bickham Caleb, Oct. 16.	Friends.
Biddle Thomas, Aug. 12.	City Hospital.
Bickerton Charles, Aug. 3.	Swedes.
Bigly Susan, Oct. 23.	City Hospital.
Bietner Godfrid, Oct. 11.	Trinity.
Biglow Josiah, M. D. Oct. 1.	2d Presbyterian.
Bigham Mrs. Sep. 4.	
Bigham Mary, Sep. 24.	City Hospital.
Bignell Mary, Oct. 10.	Kensington.
Bigwood Polly, daughter of James, Oct. 2.	Methodists.
Bitter John, Oct. 2.	Swedes.
Bitters John, Sep. 16.	City Hospital.
Bitz Peter, Sep. 15.	ditto
Black James, Aug. 24.	ditto
Black Mrs. Sept. 27.	Associate.
Black James, Sept. 20.	City Hospital.
Black-boy, Sept. 23.	ditto
Blackburn Uriah, Sept.	Bethel.
Blair Samuel, his child, Sept. 2.	3d Presbyterian.
Blair Jane, Oct. 14.	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(B)

Boller William, Sept. 1	City Hospital.
Blaney Jacob, Sept. 3.	ditto
Blewer John, Oct. 15.	ditto
Bobmen John, Sept. 23.	ditto
Blis's Michael, his wife, Sept. 14.	German Lutheran;
Boch John, his daughter, Sept. 1.	ditto.
Bogart John, Sept. 28.	City Hospital.
Bond Thomas, Sept. 24.	ditto.
Boggs Daniel, Sept. 27.	ditto.
Bock Mary, widow, Oct. 1.	Moravian.
Bohlen Rebecca, Nov. 6.	City Hospital.
Bonfall Elizabeth, Sept. 20.	ditto.
Boils Hannah, Sept. 21.	ditto.
Boley Elizabeth, Sept. 7.	ditto.
Bolton Edward, Sept. 3.	ditto.
Bolton Fanny, Sept. 28.	ditto.
Bolton Edward, Sept. 2.	St. Mary.
Bonner John, Oct. 12.	Methodists.
Boney Elizabeth, Sept. 11.	German Lutheran.
Bonfall Jesse, Sept. 4. and his wife, ditto. 23.	Friends.
Bontzer Nicholas, his wife, Sept. 22.	German Lutheran.
Boodell Sarah, Oct. 3.	City Hospital.
Boomer John, Sept. 22.	ditto.
Bories Mr. his child, Sept. 22.	ditto.
Bormer Mr. his child, Oct. 12.	German Lutheran.
Boshill Daniel, Sept. 2.	City Hospital.
Bolton Francis, Sept. 30.	ditto.
Bostick Henry, Sept. 7.	ditto.
Bore John, Sept. 1.	ditto.
Boslick Henry, ditto. 7.	ditto.
Boston Daniel, ditto 6.	ditto.
Bostick Elizabeth, ditto 7.	ditto.
Boucher John, Oct. 31.	ditto.
Bouchman John, Sept. 15.	ditto.
Bougie Anthony, Nov. 4.	ditto.
Bousch Henry, Sept. 29.	German Lutheran.
Bowder William, ditto 5.	City Hospital.
Bower Philip, ditto 7.	ditto.
Bower Joseph, Aug. 12.	Kensington.
Bower William, Sept. 5.	City Hospital.
Bower Margaret, Oct. 14.	Kensington.
Bower Mr. his friend, a French lady, Aug. 15.	ditto.
Bowers Paul, his wife, Oct. 1.	City Hospital.
Bowers Peter, Sep. 11.	ditto.
Bowker John, his child, Aug. 15.	Kensington.
Boyd Catherine, daughter of John Boyd. Sept. 1.	St. Peter's.
Boyd Samuel, Sept. 5.	2d. Presbyterian.
Boyd Ann, ditto 27.	St. Mary's.
Boyle John, Aug. 12.	City Hospital.
Boyer Elizabeth, Oct. 4.	Kensington.
Boyle Bidy, Aug. 17.	City Hospital.
Boyle John, Sept. 19.	ditto.
Boyle John, ditto 20.	ditto.
Boyle Ann, Nov. 1.	St. Mary's.
Boyle Edward, Oct. 31.	St. Mary's.
Boyston George, Sept. 9.	City Hospital.

(B) LIST OF DEATHS.

Braden George, Aug. 28.	
Bradley Andrew, his child, Sept. 27.	Swedes.
Bradley James, Sept. 8.	City Hospital.
Bradley, Andrew, Oct. 3.	ditto.
Bradley Neal, Oct. 10.	ditto.
Brady widow, Sept. 22.	Kensington.
Brady widow, ditto 27.	ditto.
Brady Henry, his child, Oct. 14.	ditto.
Brady James, Sept. 2.	City Hospital.
Brady John, ditto 1.	ditto.
Brangers Clelman, ditto 27.	ditto.
Branner Elizabeth, ditto 22.	Friends.
Branner George, his daughter, Oct. 4.	ditto.
Bray William, Sept. 10.	City Hospital.
Bredan Henry, ditto 1.	ditto.
Braun widow, Oct.	German Reformed.
Breintnal Jane, Sept. 3.	Friends.
Breish John, his child, Aug. 14.	German Lutheran.
Breish Widow, her daughter, ditto 17.	ditto.
Breneman, Christian, Oct. 1.	City Hospital.
Brennan Edward, Sept. 21.	St. Mary's.
Brennan William, ditto 29.	ditto.
Brenner George, his daughter, Oct. 27.	Friend's.
Brenner Peter, Oct. 18.	City Hospital.
Brereton James, Sept. 25.	ditto.
Brewster Samuel, Aug. 29.	St. Peter's.
Brightwell Benjamin, Sept. 15.	Kensington.
Brightwell widow, Oct. 7.	ditto.
Ditto her daughter, Nov. 4.	ditto.
Brimmer Mr. Oct. 1.	City Hospital.
Bringhurst William, Oct. 17.	Baptists.
Bringhurst William, his son-in-law, Sept. 27.	ditto.
Briffington Sarah, Sept. 5.	City Hospital.
Broadhead Jemima, Sept. 23.	ditto.
Brobet, son of Mr. Sept. 24.	ditto.
Brooks John, Aug. 27.	3d Presbyterian.
Brooks Thomas, Sept. 28.	Friend's.
Broom Thomas, his child, Sept. 28.	St Pauls.
Broom Thomas, ditto Oct. 8.	ditto.
Broomfield Elijah, his child, Sept. 3.	Kensington.
Brozy Catherine, Sept. 2.	City Hospital.
Brown William, ditto 29.	Christ Church.
Brown Samuel, Aug. 28.	Friends.
Brown Joseph, his child, Aug. 26.	Kensington.
Brown Thomas, his child, Aug. 5.	2d Presbyterian.
Brown Mrs. Sept. 17.	ditto.
Brown Francis, Aug. 29.	Trinity.
Brown Charles, Sept. 6.	City Hospital.
Brown Mr. his child, Oct. 29.	1st Presbyterian.
Brown Mary, Sept. 24.	St. Mary's.
Brown John, child, Oct. 4.	ditto.
Brown Elizabeth, Aug. 28.	Swedes.
Brown Rachel, her mother, Aug. 1.	Methodists.
Brown Ludwick, Sept. 13.	German Lutheran.

LIST OF DEATHS.

(B)

Brown John, his wife.	Oâ. 10.	
Brown John, his child,	Oâ. 12.	
Brown Thomas,	Sept. 14.	City Hospital.
Brown Susannah,	Sept. 15.	ditto
Brown Henry,	Sept. 26.	ditto
Brown Catherine,	Oâ. 3.	ditto
Brown Benjamin,	ditto 30.	ditto
Brown Jacob,	Aug. 27.	ditto
Brown Isaac,	ditto 26.	ditto
Brown Peter,	Sept 7.	ditto
Brown Lawrence,	Oâ. 11.	ditto
Brown William,	ditto 14.	ditto
Bryan Sarah,	Sept. 6.	ditto
Bruce John, his wife,	ditto 15.	ditto
Bruce John,	ditto 19.	ditto
Bryan Mealy,	Aug. 27.	ditto
Brunot Felix, his child,	ditto 29.	German Lutheran.
Bryson Mary, daughter of James,	Sept. 20.	Christ Church.
Bubroon, Mr. his wife,	Aug. 21.	German Lutheran.
Bucher Jacob, his son,	Sept. 2.	ditto
Bucher Jacob, his child,	ditto 30.	ditto
Bucher Jacob,	Oâ. 2.	ditto
Bucher Mary,	ditto 9.	City Hospital.
Bucker Richard,	Sept. 17.	ditto
Buckley Samuel,	Aug. 27.	ditto
Buckley Isaac, his child,	Sept. 24.	Christ Church.
Buckley Isaac, his daughter,	Oâ. 2.	ditto
Bull Jacob,	Aug. 25.	City Hospital.
Buffum James,	Oâ. 1.	ditto
Bullay Isabella, child of Andreas,	Sept. 24.	St. Mary's.
Bullburger Henry,	ditto 27.	City Hospital.
Bulleaux John,	ditto 2.	ditto
Bulleaux Mary,	ditto 2.	ditto
Bunker Elizabeth,	Oâ. 1.	ditto
Buntin John, his child,	Aug. 4.	Friends.
Burk, Augustus Loir,	ditto 23.	City Hospital.
Burk Edward, his wife,	Oâ. 9.	ditto
Burk Eleanor,	ditto 13.	ditto
Burkhard John,	ditto 10.	ditto
Burling John, his child,	Sept. 10.	Trinity.
Burn Thomas,	ditto 26.	St. Mary's.
Burns Paul, his son,	Oâ. 2.	3d Presbyterian.
Burns George, his child,	ditto 10.	St. Thomas's.
Burns Hannah,	Sept. 8.	Swedes.
Burns Mary,	Nov. 1.	City Hospital.
Burnside Mr.	Sept. 15.	3d Presbyterian.
Busch, widow,	Oâ. 11.	German Lutheran.
Busby Sarah,	Sept. 22.	City Hospital.
Bush Hannah, wife of William,	ditto 30.	St. Thomas's.
Bush Ann,	ditto 30.	City Hospital.
Busher Daniel, his child,	ditto 27.	Kensington.
Busher John,	Oâ. 3.	City Hospital.
Butcher John, son of Job,	Sept. 10.	Friends.
Butcher David,	Oâ. 7.	City Hospital.
Butler James,	Sept. 18.	Kensington.
Butler Daniel, his child,	ditto 27.	ditto

(C)

LIST OF DEATHS.

Buyer William, a child, Aug. 21.	City Hospital.
Byrne, Mrs. Rose, Sept. 14.	St. Mary's.
C.	
Cabe Mrs. her child, Sept. 24.	City Hospital.
Cahile Eleanor, Aug. 16.	ditto
Cain James, Sept. 22.	ditto
Cairns Patrick, Aug. 29.	ditto
Caldwell John, Sept. 11.	German Lutheran.
Caldwell Charles, ditto 11.	ditto
Caldwell Samuel, ditto 8.	City Hospital.
Calhoon Hetty, ditto 20.	ditto
Call Edward, son of John, ditto 21.	Swedes.
Call John, his daughter, ditto 30.	City Hospital.
Callaghan Edward, Aug. 29.	ditto
Callender Fanny, Oct. 11.	ditto
Callier Mary, Sept. 24.	ditto
Call Mary, ditto 9.	ditto
Cameron John, his child, ditto 9.	3d Presbyterian.
Cameron Dongal, ditto 2.	Friends.
Camp Robert, ditto 7.	Kenfington.
Campbell Mrs. Aug. 24.	City Hospital.
Campbell, Mr. joiner, ditto 28.	3d Presbyterian.
Campbell John, Sept. 25.	City Hospital.
Campbell John, sexton, ditto 15.	Methodists.
Campbell Elizabeth, ditto 27.	City Hospital.
Campbell Sarah, ditto 19.	ditto
Campbell Margaret, ditto 18.	ditto
Campbell Jane, ditto 20.	ditto
Campbell William, Aug. 28.	ditto
Camphouse Hannah, Sept. 14.	ditto
Canady Mary, Aug. 31.	ditto
Canning Rachel, Sept. 15.	Kenfington.
Cannon Hugh, Oct. 1.	Swedes.
Cappavel Mrs. Sept. 19.	City Hospital.
Capper Michael, ditto 21.	ditto
Carban Daniel, his son ditto 30.	ditto
Carberry Daniel, Oct. 5.	ditto
Carberry Isabella, ditto 12.	ditto
Carberry Philip, ditto 1.	ditto
Carberry Isabella, ditto 9.	ditto
Carey Nathaniel, Aug. 29.	ditto
Carey Mary, daughter of Charles, Oct. 4.	Friends'.
Carefoot Maria, Sept. 28.	City Hospital.
Carger Henry, ditto 23.	ditto
Carigar Deborah, Oct. 6.	ditto
Carner Elizabeth, Sept. 30.	ditto
Carney Jane, Aug. 20.	ditto
Carpenter William, Sept. 16.	Friends'.
Carson Elizabeth, ditto 14.	City Hospital.
Carper John, ditto 5.	ditto
Carper John, ditto 20.	ditto
Carr James, ditto 15.	ditto
Carr Alexander, ditto 24.	3d Presbyterian.
Carr Bernard, ditto 5.	St. Mary's.

LIST OF DEATHS:

(C)

Carragher Philip, a child, Oct. 6.	St. Mary's.
Carrell John, Aug. 26.	1st Presbyterian.
Carrell Paul, Sept. 21.	St. Mary's.
Carroll Rebecca, her child, ditto 30.	German Lutheran.
Carson Elizabeth, ditto 14.	City Hospital.
Cart Mary, ditto 22.	ditto
Carter Sarah, ditto 2.	ditto
Carter John, his child, Aug. 30.	Kensington.
Carter Jacob, Oct. 1.	City Hospital.
Carter Miss, Aug. 27.	ditto
Carter James, Sept. 25.	ditto
Cash Cynthia, widow, ditto 12.	Christ Church.
Casser Jacob, September 30	ditto
Cassidy Patrick, printer, ditto 13.	St. Mary's.
Cassidy Widow, ditto 19.	Swedes.
Cassidy Charles, Oct. 10.	City Hospital.
Cassidy Edward, Aug. 13.	ditto
Cassidy John, ditto 19.	ditto
Casteline Anthony, Sept. 27.	ditto
Cat Polly, ditto 23.	ditto
Catherine Ketty, Oct. 10.	ditto
Catherine Charles, ditto 12.	ditto
Cathers William, Aug. 4.	St. Paul's.
Causey William, his child, ditto 17.	3d Presbyterian.
Cavenough Hugh, September 27	City Hospital
Cauley George, ditto 7	ditto
Chace John, a child, August 10	St. Thomas's
Chaloner Samuel, clerk Bank U. S. Sept. 17	Christ Church
Chambers Ann, ditto 7	City Hospital
Chambers William, a child, August 21	St. Mary's
Chambers William, his child, September 26	Kensington
Chandler Rachel, October 5	City Hospital
Charlton Daniel, ditto 3	Methodists
Chat Claudius, August 22	City Hospital
Chase Edward, November 5	ditto
Chateaudun, an infant, September 24	St. Mary's
Chatham Joseph, aged 87 years, October 4	Friends
Chatham John, his child, September 28	City Hospital
Cheefeman Benjamin, ditto 7	Friends
Cherry James, ditto 18	City Hospital
Chesnut Margaret, ditto 15	ditto
Chefson John, ditto 26	ditto
Chefson Adam, October 5	ditto
Chester Samuel, his wife, September 19	Kensington
Chin Peter, September 15	City Hospital
Chivenes John, ditto 5	Baptists
Chriffey William, ditto 24	City Hospital
Christer Catherine, ditto 30	ditto
Christie Alexander, painter, ditto 14	1st Presbyterian
Christie James, October 7	German Lutheran
Christie William, September 23	City Hospital
Christy William, his child, ditto 3	St. Paul's
Christy George, his wife, October 1	ditto
Christman William, his two children, ditto 18	Trinity
Christman John, his wife, September 21	Swedes

(C) LIST OF DEATHS.

Church Mary, September 4	Swedes
Churchman Mary, ditto 8	Friends
Cimsley Phoebe, ditto 11	City Hospital
Clark Deborah, August 29	ditto
Clark Moses, September 3	ditto
Clark William, ditto 7	ditto
Clark Joseph, ditto 22	ditto
Clark Mrs. ditto 22	ditto
Clark John, ditto 29	ditto
Clark Bathsheba, ditto 23	ditto
Clark Thomas, son of Joseph, August 27	Christ Church
Clark Joseph, September 21	Friends
Clark Thomas, son of Joseph, ditto 27	ditto
Clark Cornelius, August 25	City Hospital
Clark Joel, September 23	ditto
Clark Thomas, his son, August 21	Swedes
Clark Mr. September 29	ditto
Clark John, ditto 23	City Hospital
Clark William, ditto 7	ditto
Claypoole Daniel, ditto 2	ditto
Clarkham John, ditto 8	ditto
Clauser widow, October 16	German Lutheran
Clarkson Mary, August 30	Kenington
Clauser Jacob, his wife, October 2	German Lutheran
Clauser Jacob, his child, ditto 10	ditto
Clendening Robert, ditto 9	City Hospital
Cline Peter, August 30	ditto
Clifton William, September 16	Christ Church
Clifton Elizabeth, ditto 10	Friends
Clinton Ann, ditto 1	Methodists
Cloufe William, ditto 25	City Hospital
Cline Susannah, October 4	ditto
Clymer John, ditto 17	ditto
Cline Christiana, September 3	ditto
Coal William, ditto 17	Kenington
Coan Sarah, November 10	City Hospital
Coates Abraham, his child, September 8	Kenington
Coates Thomas, October 12	City Hospital
Coates William, ditto 12	Coates's
Cobbs Rebecca, August 19	City Hospital
Cockburn Mrs. wife of Philip, Aug. 26	St. Peters
Cockburn Philip, August 18	ditto
Ditto, his child, ditto 26	ditto
Cochran, John, September 27	City Hospital
Cochler George, ditto 15	St. Mary's
Coffin Catherine, daughter of capt. Aug. 1	2d Presby.
Cole Maria, September 8	City Hospital
Cole Richard, ditto 3	St Mary's
Cole Robert, ditto 16	City Hospital
Cole Joseph, ditto 19	ditto
Cole Andrew, his wife, ditto 22	ditto
Coleman Mrs. ditto	German Reformed
Coleman Philip, October 1	German Lutheran
Coleman Philip, September 21	ditto
Colinton John, ditto 27	City Hospital

LIST OF DEATHS.

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Collard James, his daughter, September 24	Methodists
Collard James, his child, Aug. 11	ditto
Colley John, September 14	City Hospital
Collins Joseph, ditto 3	ditto
Collins Mary, ditto 27	ditto
Collins Philip, August	Bethel
Colton Antipass, September 23	City Hospital
Condon William, October 8	St. Mary's
Conkly Benjamin, August 26	1st Presbyterian
Conky Miss, September 11	Associate
Connell John, October 8	City Hospital
Connell Bridget, September 13	ditto
Connelly Margaret, October 1	ditto
Connelly Elizabeth, September 14	ditto
Connels John, October 9	ditto
Condie Eliza, a child, September 4	Univerfalists
Connor John, ditto 7	2d Presbyterian
Conry Edward, ditto 12	City Hospital
Conson Elizabeth, August 19	ditto
Conyer John, September 5	ditto
Conway Mary, ditto 3	ditto
Cook Samuel, August 11	ditto
Cook Betty, September 10	ditto
Cook Elizabeth, ditto 14	ditto
Cook Levy, October 15	ditto
Cook Conrad, ditto 8	ditto
Cook Christian, September 14	Kensington
Cook Christina, ditto 14	ditto
Cook Silence, August	Bethel
Cook Ann, September 10	City Hospital
Cook Eliza, ditto 30	ditto
Cook Eleanor, August 28	ditto
Cook Elizabeth, her child, September 28	Swedes
Coomps Ann, ditto 11	City Hospital
Coop Rachel, October 6	ditto
Cooper Michael, September 2	ditto
Cooper Rachel, October 5	ditto
Cooper Samuel, M. D. September 4	one of the phy- sicians at the City Hospital
Cooper George, his wife, October 2	Friends.
Cooper George, October 9	German Lutheran
Cope Gottlieb, his child, August 6	ditto.
Copper Hannah, September 3	ditto.
Copia John, his daughter, August 27	City Hospital
Coram John, October 26	St. Mary's
Corbet Alexander, his wife, November 1	City Hospital
Corbet James, September 29	ditto.
Cordos Anthony, September 11	St. Mary's
Corens Ann, ditto 24	Baptist
Corneles Matthew, his wife, August 22	City Hospital
Costie Davis, September 21	3d Presbyterian
Coulton Hugh, September 10	City Hospital
Coulthart Mrs. October 11	ditto.
Coulton David, September 13	ditto.
Couram John, October 21	ditto.
Courtney Susannah, a child, ditto. 27	ditto.

(C)

LIST OF DEATHS.

Cowen George, August 31	City Hospital
Cowperthwaite Mr. September 21	St. Peter's
Cowperthwaite Mr. his widow, ditto 22	ditto.
Coyle Michael, October 15	City Hospital
Coyle Philip, September 11	St. Mary's
Coward James, ditto 2	City Hospital
Cox Widow, ditto 28	St. Paul's
Cox Sarah, October 2	City Hospital
Cox Moses, August 8	Friends
Cox Gabriel, September 28	City Hospital
Cox William, a child, October 19	ditto.
Craig John, August 15	ditto.
Craig Comfort, ditto 28	ditto.
Craig James, ditto 20	St. Peter's
Craig George, September 3	Methodists
Craig George, his wife, August 3	ditto.
Cramp Catherine, September 21	Kensington
Crampshire John, ditto 26	City Hospital
Crea Mrs. ditto 6	ditto.
Crea Mary, ditto 23	ditto.
Creamon John, ditto 14	ditto.
Cremer Mr. October 11	Swedes
Creneman Elizabeth, September 23	City Hospital
Cresson, son of widow, ditto 21	Friends
Crew Ann, ditto 10	City Hospital
Crippin Mrs. Mary, ditto 4	St. Peter's
Crippin Betsey, ditto 10	City Hospital
Crispin Michael, his child, August 14	Kensington
Croker John, September 26	City Hospital
Cromley Thomas, August 16	German Lutheran
Cromwell John, his wife, October 5	St. Paul's
Crosell Martha, her child, August 4	Kensington
Cross Mr. his son, 14 years, October	Universalists
Croton Betsey, October 1	City Hospital
Crow John, August 27	ditto
Crowden Mary, September 10	Christ Church
Crowell Rachel, ditto 29	2d Presbyterian
Crozier Miss, August 27	City Hospital
Cummings Joseph, September 2	ditto
Cummings Thomas, his child, ditto 20	Friends
Cummings Joseph, ditto 2	ditto
Cunningham Peter, August 31	City Hospital
Cunningham John, September 1	ditto
Cunningham Ann, August 26	2d Presbyterian
Cunningham Ann, September 8	1st Presbyterian
Cunningham Jane, ditto 3	Christ Church
Cunningham Thomas, ditto 8	Associate
Cunningham Robert, ditto 8	City Hospital
Curgees Mr. his daughter, ditto 23	3d Presbyterian
Curiett Thomas, his son, ditto 22	St. Peter's
Currie John, ditto 20	German Lutheran
Currie Susan, August 28	City Hospital
Curtis Elizabeth, September 4	ditto
Curtis Joseph, his son, October 3	St. Thomas's
Curtis Mary, September 27	St. Mary's

L I S T O F D E A T H S.

(C D)

Cushing John, September 4	City Hospital
Cushing Samuel, ditto 27	2d Presbyterian
Cuffell Jane, October 7	City Hospital
Cuffit Jane, ditto 6	ditto
Custis Abigail, ditto 20	St. Thomas's
Cuthbert Robert, son of Anthony, October 7	St. Peter's

D

Daily John, October 10	City Hospital
Dally Catherine, September 7	ditto
Dally Gifford, August 29	ditto
Dandler ———, ditto 26	ditto
Dane Mrs. ditto 25	ditto
Dane George ditto 16	ditto
Danly Charles, a child, ditto 17	St. Mary's
Dannaker Samuel, September 22	German Lutheran
Darnley Mr. 47, Penn ft. ditto 11	City Hospital
Dartnell Thomas, son of Thomas, August 14	St. Peter's
Dartnell Thomas, shoemaker, September 12	ditto
Daffin John, ditto 25	City Hospital
Dauterman Jacob, his child, August 3	German Lutheran
Davidson Ann, September 20	St. Mary's
Davidson Margaret, ditto 7	City Hospital
Davidson Ann, ditto 4	ditto
Davie Adam, October 9	Associate
Davie Adam, his child, ditto 4	ditto
Davis Jane, November 2	Methodists
Davis John, September 10	City Hospital
Davis Mary, ditto 19	ditto
Davis Margaret, ditto 17	ditto
Davis Abner, October 12	ditto
Davis Mary, ditto 2	ditto
Davis John, August 24	ditto
Davis Margaret, September 5	ditto
Davis Stephen, August 11	ditto
Davis Sarah, October 9	ditto
Dawns William, September 24	St. Peter's
Dawson George Henry, August 3	City Hospital
Dawson Charlotte, September 17	ditto
Day Thomas, August 26	ditto
Day John, September 5	ditto
Deads Sarah, ditto 14	ditto
Deal John, October 1	ditto
Deal John, his daughter,	German Reformed
Deal James, November 3	City Hospital
Deal William, August 21	ditto
Deal George, a child, September 2	ditto
Death Jacob, his wife, ditto 11	Kensington
Death Jacob, his child, ditto 26	ditto
Debakewill Thomas, ditto 2	Baptist
De Berey Joseph, his wife, ditto 4	St. Mary's
Decoster Christiana, ditto 8	Trinity
Deeden Jacob, ditto 3	City Hospital

(D) LIST OF DEATHS.

Deemer Lewis, his daughter, August 28	3d Presbyterian
Deavor Conrad, his child, September 29	German Lutheran
Dehart Samuel, October 27	City Hospital
Deihl Maria, ditto	German Reformed
Deil William, August 21	City Hospital
Deil John, September	German Reformed
Deimting Francis, his child, August 5	ditto Lutheran
Dekerieth John, September 23	City Hospital
Delamar Margaret, August 10	St. Mary's
Delau Barbara, October 1	German Lutheran
Delavu Jane, ditto 10	Christ Church
Demer Rachel, September 11	City Hospital
Demer Mary, ditto 16	ditto
Demiss Ann, ditto 12	ditto
Demot Charlotte ditto 15	ditto
Demont Catherine, a child, ditto 12	St. Mary's
Denickson Joseph, August 30	City Hospital
Denning Mary, September 29	ditto
Denning Patrick, August 15	ditto
Dennis John, August 21	ditto
Dennis Augustus, ditto 30	ditto
Dennis Dolly, October 20	Kensington
Dennis John, his child, ditto 9	ditto
Denny George, August 31	St. Mary's
Denny Daniel, his son, September 20	City Hospital
Denny William, ditto 9	German Lutheran
Denny Dennis, August 31	City Hospital
Derkin Widow, September 11	German Lutheran
Derrickson William August 25	City Hospital
Dermot Elizabeth, September 1	ditto
Derres George ditto 11	Kensington
Defey Charles, October 10	City Hospital
Devette Patrick, August 25	St. Mary's
Deykman Peter, September 20	City Hospital
Diamond Mary, September 9	St. Mary's
Dezay Philip, his child, ditto 19	German Lutheran
Diamond Conrad, ditto 27	ditto
Dibert Philip, August 18	City Hospital
Diamond Widow, November 8	German Lutheran
Dickson Sarah, August 29	City Hospital
Dickson Samuel, ditto 21	ditto
Dick Ann, September 12	ditto
Dickson Catherine, ditto 28	ditto
Dice, 45 South Water-street, ditto 19	ditto
Dick Mrs. M. August 30	St. Peter's
Ditto her daughter, September 8.	ditto
Dickson John, his child, August 16	Kensington
Dickens Elizabeth, September 26	Methodists
Dickens Rev. Mr. John, ditto 27.	ditto
Diel Peter, ditto 27	German Lutheran
Diel John, his daughter, October	German Reformed
Dickson Ann, August 31	City Hospital
Dietmer Conrad, October	German Reformed
Diebrich Michael, his wife, ditto 4	German Lutheran
Diebrich Michael, October 6	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(D)

Dietz Simon, his child, September 25	German Lutheran
Dietz Mr. Schoolmaster, his wife, ditto 27	ditto
Dietz Frederick, ditto 24	City Hospital
Dietz Margaret, ditto 24	ditto
Digner Charles, his wife, ditto 5	St. Mary's
Dillman Ann, ditto 25	City Hospital
Dillon Isabella, a child, ditto 29	St. Mary's
Dillon Elizabeth, August 5	ditto
Dillon Martha, ditto 13	City Hospital
Dinkle Catherine, ditto 24	ditto
Diver Patrick, ditto 14	ditto
Dixey William, September 14	ditto
Dixey William, ditto 18	Friends
Dobbins Mary, October 15	ditto
Dobelbower J. Henry, at Wilmington	
Dobelbower Jacob, October 2	German Lutheran
Dobelbower Frederick, ditto 6	ditto
Dobson John, ditto 16	City Hospital
Dogle John, September 25	ditto
Doll Mrs. ditto 9	ditto
Donahower Jacob, October 3	German Lutheran
Donald John, his child, September 2	Kensington
Donaldton Captain Nathaniel, August 14	2d Presbyterian
Doney Mrs. September 8	City Hospital
Doney John Gottlieb, ditto 1	German Lutheran
Donnaker Widow, ditto 9	Kensington
Donnelly James, ditto 7	City Hospital
Dorin William, August 14	ditto
Dorffer Susannah, October	German Reformed
Dorr Catherine, ditto	ditto
Dorrness George, ditto 13	German Lutheran
Dorfey Matthew, ditto 2.	City Hospital
Dorfey William, ditto 1	ditto
Dorfey Dr. his two children, August 25	St. Paul's
Dougall Christina, September 18	City Hospital
Dougherty Mary, August 14	ditto
Dougherty James, November 3	ditto
Dougherty Sarah, September 4	ditto
Dougherty Hugh, ditto 29	ditto
Dougherty Madge, ditto 7	St. Mary's
Doughten Christian, August 1	St. Peter's
Douglas John, September 26	City Hospital
Douglas Elizabeth, November 1	2d Presbyterian
Douglas William, September 20	City Hospital
Douglas Ann, ditto 7	ditto
Douglas Cooper, ditto 13	ditto
Douglas William, ditto 17	ditto
Dowdishell Barbara, ditto 1	Kensington
Dowell Elizabeth, ditto 28	City Hospital
Dowlan James, ditto 17	St. Mary's
Dowling Widow Elizabeth, October 1	St. Peter's
Dowling Elizabeth, daughter of John, August 14	ditto
Dox George, his child, ditto 28	German Lutheran
Doyle Dennis, a child, ditto 13	St. Peter's
Doyle George, September 17	City Hospital

(D) LIST OF DEATHS.

Draper Charles, September 23	City Hospital
Dring Silas, ditto 10	ditto
Droz Charlotte Humbert, 4 years, ditto 28	Free Quakers
Dry John, ditto 4	City Hospital
Dubois Mrs. ditto 27	ditto
Duce Mr. Coombes's Alley, ditto 15	ditto
Dudman Widow Mary, ditto 16	Baptists
Duff Polly, ditto 20	Methodists
Duff Dawson, his child, August 5	St. Peter's
Duff Henry, September 30	City Hospital
Duffy Grace, August 14	ditto
Duffy John, October 26	ditto
Duffy Catherine, August 28	ditto
Duffy Jane, September 17	St. Mary's
Duffy John, ditto 30	ditto
Duffy Elizabeth, ditto 27	City Hospital.
Dugali Christina, ditto 18	ditto
Dugan Adam, October 8	ditto
Duabar Widow, ditto 21	Swedes
Duncan Matthew, his wife, August 26	Scots Presbyterian
Dunigar Catherine, October 8	City Hospital
Dunlap John, September 24	ditto
Dunman Catherine, August 27	ditto
Duan David, November 5	ditto
Dunn Nancy, September 20	ditto
Dunn Mary, October 29	ditto
Dunn John, August 19	ditto
Dunworth Catherine, ditto 24	ditto
Dupray Peter, September 8	ditto
Durang Mr. ditto 13	ditto
Durfenille Mr. his child, October	ditto
Durham James, September 3	St. Mary's
Dufepia ———, ditto 14	City Hospital
Dufhane Mrs. August 30	2d Presbyterian
Dutton Widow, September 25	Coates's
Dyer Amelia, ditto 2	City Hospital
Dyhart Prine, ditto 11	ditto

E.

Ealy Nelly, September 19	City Hospital
Easby William, ditto 25	Baptist
Easby William, his widow, October 2	ditto
Easby John, ditto 16	ditto
Easby John, his daughter, ditto 28	ditto
Easton Douglas, son of David, August 2	Christ Church
Eckert George, September 7	City Hospital
Eckert George, his wife, ditto 16	German Lutheran.
Eckert Elizabeth, August	ditto Reformed
Eckert Catherine October 1	ditto
Eckford Walter, September 23	City Hospital.
Ederton Samuel, November 2	ditto
Edward Rosannah, September	Bethel
Edwards Mary, October 6	Friends
Ehman Anna Maria, ditto 2	City Hospital
Ehrenzeller Hilary, son of Jacob, ditto 7	Christ Church

LIST OF DEATHS.

(E)

Ehrenzeller Jacob, his son, September 16	Christ Church
Ehrenzeller Jacob, October 27	ditto
Ehrhart Martin, August 25	German Lutheran
Ehrhart Michael, his child, September 4	ditto
Ehrman Rebecca, October	German Reformed
Elbele Jacob, September 15	German Lutheran
Eldridge Jane, November 3	City Hospital
Elfry Christina, October	German Reformed
Elhart Peter, his child, August 24	Kenfington
Eliza, November 4	City Hospital
Elliot Robert, October 20	ditto
Elliot Mrs. corner of Shippen & Crab-street, Sept 21	ditto
Elliot Ann, ditto 9	ditto
Elliot Thomas, his child, November 9	German Lutheran
Elliot Robert, September 18	1st Presbyterian
Elliot William, October 6	City Hospital
Elliot John, August 13	City Hospital
Elliot John, ditto 29	ditto
Elkin Martha, wife of Angel, September 19	Swedes
Ellis Hannah, September 13	Christ Church
Ellison John, August 28	City Hospital
Emerich Frederick, October 17	German Lutheran
Emerich Frederick, ditto 28	ditto
Emery Jabez, ditto 20	Moravians
Emery Arthur, son of Jabez, ditto 21	ditto
Emery Jabez, son of Jabez, ditto 25	ditto
Emery Elizabeth, September 3	City Hospital
Enck, widow, ditto	German Reformed
Enck Johannes, October	ditto
Ennifs Alexander, September 15	City Hospital
Ennifs Ann, a child, August 31	St. Mary's
Ennifs Rev. Mr. Michael, pastor of St. Mary Chapel,	ditto
Erffer George, a child, August	German Reformed
Erlich George, his son, September 27	German Lutheran
Esher Frederick, his child, ditto 26	ditto
Esler John, October 17	City Hospital
Esler Maria, September	German Reformed
Esling Paul, ditto 21	St. Mary's
Eslerife John, ditto 20	City Hospital
Eter Adam, ditto 19	German Lutheran
Etres George, his daughter, August	German Reformed
Etres Johannes, September	ditto
Evans Margaret, October 3	City Hospital
Evans George, September 11	ditto
Evans Joseph, son of Isaac, August 6	St. Peter's
Evans Margaret, her child, September 9	Kenfington
Evans Mrs. October 12	Coates's
Evans Margaret, wife of Jacob, September 26	Moravians
Evans Ebenezer, August 10	City Hospital
Evans Mary, September 2	ditto
Evans Elizabeth, ditto 3	ditto
Everhart George, ditto 30	ditto
Everhart John, his child, August 22	German Lutheran
Everhart, widow, October 8	ditto
Everhart Martin, September 14	City Hospital

(E F)

LIST OF DEATHS.

Everly Adam, his child, August 13	German Lutheran
Everly Jacob, his child, September 15.	Kensington
Evilt Mary, August 29	City Hospital
Ewalt Jacob, his child, October 6	German Lutheran
Ewing Mary, September 6	3d Presbyterian
Ewing George, ditto 29	2d. Presbyterian
Ewing Mary, ditto 4	City Hospital
Eyler Catherine, ditto 9	German Lutheran
Exly Helen, ditto 26	Kensington
F	
Fabridge Peter, September 27	City Hospital
Fagundus Margaret, ditto 18	ditto
Fagundus John, ditto 5	ditto
Fairweather Alexander, October 1	Scots Presbyterian
Falby John, son of Timothy, September 19	Swedes
Fallier Catherine, October	German Reformed
Fan Christian, his wife, September 30	City Hospital
Fanning Rachel, ditto 21	ditto
Farmer George, ditto 27	ditto
Earns Moses, ditto 12	ditto
Farrady John, ditto 11	ditto
Farrell Diana, October 12	ditto
Farrell Patrick, a child, September 12	St. Mary's
Farrety Joseph, ditto 10	City Hospital
Faulkner George, ditto 29	ditto
Fausinger David, ditto	German Reformed
Faus Mr. ditto	ditto
Fearon Mary, ditto 28	St. Peter's
Fearon Richard, ditto 24	City Hospital
Feeds Cupit ditto 15	ditto
Fede ——— ditto	ditto
Fegan John, October 13	St. Mary's
Feigs Mary, September 11	Christ Church
Fengey Mary, October 3	Swedes
Fennell Mrs. upholstres, Front-street	
Featherbridge John, his wife, August 27	Methodists
Ditto his daughter, ditto 28	ditto
Fenner, widow, September	German Reformed
Fenno John, his wife, ditto 4	2d Presbyterian
Fenno John, his child, ditto 16	ditto
Fenno John, Printer, ditto 14	ditto
Ferguson James, his wife, ditto 10	St. Paul's
Ferguson Ebenezer, his young man, ditto 10	3d Presbyterian
Ferguson James, ditto 13	Methodists
Ferry Sarah, August 28	City Hospital
Fethorn John, October 12	Trinity
Fetter James, his child, August 27	Kensington
Field James, September 18	City Hospital
Field Joseph, ditto 19	St. Mary's
Field Patrick, ditto 7	ditto
Fite, Elizabeth, ditto 3	City Hospital
Fight Henry, October 13	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(F)

Finnel Jacob, October 18	German Lutheran
Fink Major John, September 22	Kenfington
Finlay John, August 23	City Hospital
Finny John, his child, September 11	Kenfington
Finny Thomas, ditto 20	City Hospital
Fisher Zachariah, ditto 10	ditto
Fisher Sebastian, ditto 26	ditto
Fisher Mary, ditto 6	ditto
Fisher Elizabeth, ditto 7	ditto
Fisher Elizabeth, ditto 15	ditto
Fisher Thomas, son of Miers, August 19	Friends
Fisher Zachariah, his child, ditto 22	Kenfington
Fisler William, November 1	City Hospital
Fis Peter, October	German Reformed
Fister Mary, ditto 19	Kenfington
Fitzgerald Elizabeth, September 21	City Hospital
Fitzpatrick Edmund, August 17	ditto
Flagg Jonathan, his child, ditto 20	2d Presbyterian
Flanagan Mr. September 8	City Hospital
Flanagan Phœbe, wife of Stephen, October 21	St. Peters
Fleck Christopher, September 14	City Hospital
Fleming John, August 18	ditto
Fleming Mrs. September 21	2d Presbyterian
Fletcher Elizabeth, ditto 13	City Hospital
Fletcher Elizabeth, her child, ditto 27	ditto
Fletcher Mrs. her son, October 9	Universalists
Flick George, ditto 16	Kenfington
Flick Widow, August	German Reformed
Flicker Elizabeth, October 14	City Hospital
Flicker Michael, his wife, ditto 3	ditto
Flood Ezekiel, ditto 26	ditto
Flyhocker Henry, September 23	ditto
Fogie Mrs. ditto 28	ditto
Fogie, William, ditto 5	Swedes
Fogle Mr. his child, August 29	German Lutheran
Fogle Jacob, October 2	ditto
Fogle Jacob, his child, ditto 15	ditto
Fogle Albrecht, his child, ditto 13	ditto
Fogle Albrecht, his wife, ditto 14	ditto
Folier Ann, September 15	City Hospital
Folwell Samuel, his child, August	German Reformed
Fongey Mary, October 3	Swedes
Fonsef Mrs. September 12	City Hospital
Ford Curtis James, August 25	ditto
Ford Theophilus, ditto 31	ditto
Ford Mary, September 27	Christ Church
Fordham John, his wife, October 12	Kenfington
Forrich Tobias, September 27	Trinity
Forsberg Nicholas, ditto 5	Swedes
Forthner Frederick, son of widow, ditto 22	St. Mary's
Forthner Elizabeth, daughter of ditto, ditto 24	ditto
Forthner George, son of Nicholas, ditto 20	ditto
Foster Hannah, ditto 7	City Hospital
Foulke Mary, August 25	ditto
Foulke George, September 30	ditto

(F G)

LIST OF DEATHS.

Foulke George, October 1	City Hospital
Foulke Adam, August 17	German Lutheran
Fournier Mr. September 28	City Hospital
Fow Peter, ditto 30	Kenfington
Fowler Dennis, ditto 30	City Hospital
Fox Christian, his son-in-law, ditto 29	German Lutheran
Fox George, his child, August 25	Kenfington
Fox Robert, his wife, September 7	2d Presbyterian
Fox Robert, ditto 15	ditto
Foxall Agnes, wife of the Rev. Mr. Fox- all, October 6	Methodists
Foy Anna Maria, September 14	German Lutheran
Foyberry Nicholas, ditto 5	City Hospital
Foy James, ditto 12	ditto
France Jacob, October 31	German Lutheran
Francis Jacob, his wife, September 22	ditto
Francis Jacob, his daughter, ditto 24	ditto
Franck Henry, October 24	Kenfington
Franck Christian September	German Reformed
Franklin Ann, ditto 24	City Hospital
Frafer Daniel, August 30	ditto
Frafer Daniel, a child, September 23	ditto
Frafer David, ditto 30	ditto
Frafer Catherine, November 6	ditto
Frafer Ludwick, October 14	German Lutheran
Fraunces Samuel M. ditto 25	City Hospital
Frederick John, son of Jacob, shoemaker, Sept. 26	Kenfington
Frederick George, ditto 21	City Hospital
Fredericks Mr. his wife, September 23	German Lutheran
Freed Mrs. ditto 24	City Hospital
Freish Mr. ditto 24	ditto
French Thomas, ditto 14	ditto
Fresnel John, ditto 19	ditto
Frey Jacob, his son, ditto	German Reformed
Freytag Catherine, October	ditto
Freytag, widow, November	ditto
Freytag Peter, ditto	ditto
Friend Daniel, September 14	City Hospital
Friebs, brother of Jacob, October 25	Kenfington
Frieze Mr. his wife, ditto 30	ditto
Frinden Salome, September 23	Trinity
Fritz William, his child, August 30	Kenfington
Frompo Andrew, ditto 23	City Hospital
Frondez Mr. his wife, September 27	German Lutheran
Fry Thomas, ditto 17	City Hospital
Fry Jacob, ditto 29	ditto
Fryburgh John, his child, ditto 6	German Lutheran
Furchill Daniel, ditto 11	City Hospital

G

Gallagher Edward, October 6	City Hospital
Gallagher Ann, August 6	St. Mary's
Gallagher James, (porter) September 28	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(G)

Gallagher Miles, October 4	City Hospital
Gallagher Catherine, September 24	ditto
Gallagher Mary, ditto 20	ditto
Gallagher William, ditto 25	ditto
Gallagher Edward, October 5	ditto
Gambas Sarah, September 14	Kensington
Gamber Jacob, October 27	ditto
Gamber Johannes, September	German Reformed
Ganett Margaret, August 29	City Hospital
Gano William, his son, October 13	2d Presbyterian
Gardner William, his child, August 6	Kensington
Gardner Mr. his child, September 10	St. Paul's
Gardner Mr. do. do. ditto 8	ditto
Gardner Mrs. ditto 23	City Hospital
Gardner John, his daughter, August 9	2d Presbyterian
Garlany Henry, October 15	City Hospital
Garwood John, his child, ditto 30	Swedes
Gasper John, his child, September 2	Kensington
Gaul John, a child, August	German Reformed
Gaul Elizabeth, ditto 20	Trinity
Gaynor Thomas, October 6	St. Mary's
Geitz Reinhart, September 22	City Hospital
Genore Leonard, ditto 15	ditto
Genet John, October 2	ditto
Gentry Robert, his son, August 25	Kensington
Gentzler Baltzer, his wife, September 25	German ———
G—— John, October 4	City Hospital
George John, ditto 10	ditto
George John, September 28	ditto
Germain Peter, October 1	ditto
Getts Andrew, his child, August 11	German Lutheran
Geyer Christina, October	German Reformed
Gibbons George, September 25	Friends
Gibbs Ann, October 19	City Hospital
Gibbs Margaret, ditto 14	ditto
Gibson William, September 6	Christ Church
Gilbert John, ditto 7	City Hospital
Gilbert John, October 29	Friends
Gilbert John, Penrose's wharf, September 7	City Hospital
Gilbertson Mary, August 31	ditto
Giles Ann, October 17	ditto
Gilfry John, September 10	Swedes.
Gillam George, October 4	City Hospital
Gillaspie Henry, September 3	ditto
Gillaspie Francis, ditto 1	ditto
Gillaspie James, ditto 22	St. Mary's
Gillet John Ludwick, August 25	German Lutheran
Gillin John, ditto 14	St. Peter's
Gilman Martin, September 14	German Lutheran
Ginner Michael, August 26	City Hospital
Girard Mary, September 23	ditto
Givin Margaret, ditto 5	ditto
Cloufe Elizabeth, October 2	ditto
Glenn James, September 8	ditto
Goble Peter, ditto 27	Kensington

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LIST OF DEATHS.

Godfreid John, November 3	German Lutheran
Goldsmith William, October 11	City Hospital
Gontzar George, his wife, November 4	German Lutheran
Goodwin Elizabeth, September 10	City Hospital
Goom Henry, October 10	Kensington
Gordon Phoebe, September 28	City Hospital
Gordon Charles, his child, August 10	Kensington
Gordon James, September 4	City Hospital
Gosler Philip, his wife, ditto 30	Kensington
Gosner Mr. ditto 12	German Lutheran
Gost John, October 21	ditto
Gould David, August 23	City Hospital
Goulden Eleanor, ditto 22	ditto
Goulding Jane, October 8	ditto
Grace John, September 6	German Lutheran
Grace Philip, ditto 14	ditto
Grace Lucy, November 4	City Hospital
Grace Jacob, his child, October 28	German Lutheran
Grafar Madam, September 10	St. Mary's
Grafort Alexander, a child, ditto	German Reformed
Graham John, his child, ditto 19	Swedes
Graham Daniel, October 5	Kensington
Grandson Abraham, August 14	City Hospital
Grant William, his child, September 29	German Lutheran
Grant William, his child, October 11	ditto
Grant Alexander, September 11	City Hospital
Grant James, October 16	ditto
Grant Francis, September 17	ditto
Grattan Andrew, ditto 13	Christ Church
Grael Johannes, his child, August	German Reformed
Grael Johannes, his child, September	ditto
Graventine widow, October 3	ditto Lutheran
Gray Joseph, his child, September 19	Friends
Gray Joseph, his wife, ditto 23	ditto
Gray Samuel, his two children, ditto 27	St. Paul's
Gray Nathaniel, his child, ditto 7	St. Thomas's
Gray Sarah, ditto 5	City Hospital
Gray —, Second, near South-street, ditto 20	ditto
Gray Thomas, August 16	ditto
Gray William, September 6	ditto
Greaves Robert, his wife, September 27	Swedes
Greaves Robert, his wife, October 11	ditto
Greaves Robert, his child, ditto 15	ditto
Green Mr. his wife, November 7	Kensington
Green John, August 1	Swedes
Green Philip B. September 25	German Lutheran
Green John, September 16	Kensington
Green Anna, ditto 13	German Lutheran
Green Anna, ditto 30	City Hospital
Green Catherine, ditto 8	ditto
Green Mary, ditto 20	ditto
Greenleat William, ditto 28	ditto
Greig Charles, ditto 11	ditto
Grelanit Eleonorz, ditto 10	St. Mary's
Grenolds John, ditto 30	City Hospital

LIST OF DEATHS.

(G H)

Greston Carl, September 6	City Hospital
Griffiths Eleanor, ditto 29	ditto
Griffiths Elizabeth, October 3	ditto
Griffiths Eliza N. ditto 3	ditto
Grimes James, September 10	ditto
Grimes Joseph, son of John, September 23	St. Peter's
Grimes Patrick, ditto 11	City Hospital
Grimes Peter, ditto 14	ditto
Grifgom Rebecca, August 21	Friends
Grifwold Elizabeth, October 2	St. Mary's
Gross Frederick, September 16	German Lutheran
Grouss John, his child, October 21	ditto
Growth Elizabeth, ditto 17	City Hospital
Grubb Elizabeth, September 13	German Lutheran
Grubb Elizabeth, ditto 25	City Hospital
Grysinburger Mr. his wife, October 17	German Lutheran
Gryson William, his wife, September 22	City Hospital
Gnesford George, August 29	ditto
Gnier Baltus, September 23	German Lutheran
Gunterman Christina, October	ditto Reformed
Gurling George, September 21	City Hospital
Guy Jane, November 6	3d Presbyterian
Guy Richard, his niece, September 30	ditto
Gwin David, ditto 15	St. Peter's
Gwin Margaret, ditto 4	City Hospital
Gwinup George, ditto 9	German Lutheran
Gwinne Michael, August 26	City Hospital

H

Hadfield Samuel, September 26	City Hospital
Haffner Andrew, ditto 27	Trinity
Hagerty George, August 12	City Hospital
Hahn Jacob, September 20	ditto
Haines James, ditto 12	ditto
Hainey Margaret, ditto 15	ditto
Halberstadt John, ditto 19	ditto
Hall Elizabeth, October 13	ditto
Hall George, his child, August 19	Kensington
Hall Samuel, his child, October 28	3d Presbyterian
Hall Esther, October 2	City Hospital
Hall William, October 7	ditto
Halley John, September 30	St. Mary's
Hamble Sarah, ditto 22	3d Presbyterian
Hamilton James, October 14	City Hospital
Hamilton Margaret, September 18	ditto
Hamilton Franks, August 14	Christ Church
Hamilton Robert, September 26	City Hospital
Hamlain Hannah, October 2	St. Mary's
Hampstead Martin, September 1	St. Paul's
Mainmet John, his child, August 13	Kensington
Hammond Henry, September 9	City Hospital
Hampton Mary, ditto 14	ditto
Hampton John, November 5	Swedes

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LIST OF DEATHS.

Hance Jacob, August 26	3d Presbyterian
Hancock John, grocer, September 27	Baptists
Hancock Mary, October 16	City Hospital
Handle Adam, ditto 20	German Lutheran
Handy Mrs. September 26	City Hospital
Hannet Antonietta, August 3	Trinity
Hanlon Bridget, ditto 25	St. Mary's
Hannah John, September 15	City Hospital
Hannah Edward, his child, August 23	3d Presbyterian
Hannah John, September 24	ditto
Hannah John, his daughter, October 6	ditto
Hannah William, September	German Reformed
Hans Mr. August 26	City Hospital
Hanfey Mary, October 13	ditto
Hanson Henry, ditto 9	St. Mary's
Hanson Mary, ditto 31	City Hospital
Hantley Thomas, ditto 23	ditto
Harberger Philip, September 2	ditto
Harbeson Joseph, his son, August 5	2d Presbyterian
Harden Elizabeth, September 30	City Hospital
Harden George, ditto 22	ditto
Hardie Thomas, October 1	ditto
Hardie Christiana, ditto 15	3d Presbyterian
Hardie, captian, his daughter, ditto 23	Scots Presbyterian
Hardie Alexander, his daughter, August 20	Swedes
Harding Sarah, September 23	Friends
Harding Margaret, ditto 27	City Hospital
Hardwick John, August 17	ditto
Harewson Jacob, his son, October 22	Swedes
Harewson Jacob, his child, ditto 29	ditto
Harewson Jacob, ditto 30	ditto
Harewson Jacob, his wife, ditto 30	ditto
Harken Ludwick, September 15	City Hospital
Harken Jolin, October 23	St. Mary's
Harken Edward ditto 24	ditto
Harken James, a child, September 9	ditto
Harkens Sarah, ditto 25	ditto
Harlen John, his wife, ditto 15	Swedes
Harling Michael, August 8	City Hospital
Harpeger Catherine, September 25	St. Mary's
Harper Benjamin, August 22	Friends
Harper Benjamin, his child, September 12	ditto
Harper Mrs. ditto 23	City Hospital
Harris Walter, October 1	ditto
Harrisburgh James, August 21	ditto
Harrison John, ditto 4	St. Paul's
Hart Toney, ditto 9	City Hospital
Hart Charles, October 1	ditto
Hart John, September 8	St. Mary's
Hart John P. his child, August 2	German Lutheran
Hart Margaret, September 12	ditto
Hart William, October 14	City Hospital
Hart Mary, ditto 19	ditto
Hartford John, September 4	Methodists
Hartline John, ditto 25	City Hospital

LIST OF DEATHS.

(H)

Hartung Daniel, October	German Reformed
Hartung Hannah, November	ditto
Hartwick James, August 16	2d Presbyterian
Hartwick James, his son, September 20	ditto
Harvie Samuel, October 6	City Hospital
Hassett Frances, ditto 2	Methodists
Hasslanger Widow, September 30	German Lutheran
Hassner Jacob, his child, August 25	ditto
Haslings John, October 20	City Hospital
Hatchler Charles, September 24	ditto
Hatfield Mary, August 31	Friends
Hatfield Catherine, September 3	ditto
Haughey Paul, August 28	City Hospital
Haut Antonietta child, ditto 3	Trinity
Hautzel John, November	German Lutheran
Hawkins Robert, August 30	City Hospital
Hawkins Anna, ditto 28	German Lutheran
Hawood Mr. his child, ditto 10	Methodists
Haws Henry, his child, September 7	German Lutheran
Hayes Anna, ditto 18	City Hospital
Hayes Jeremiah, October 8	ditto
Hayes John, September 23	ditto
Haynes Joseph, October 3	ditto
Head Charlotte, September 2	ditto
Headliten Barnet, ditto 22	ditto
Heaman Jane, ditto 21	St. Mary's
Heck Widow, November 4	German Lutheran
Hefferman John, son of John, October 25	St. Peter's
Heimberger Frederick, his child, Sept. 18	German Lutheran
Heirs Pritz, August 29	City Hospital
Heisemer Jacob, September 24	ditto
Heller Joseph, ditto	German Reformed
Heller, Widow, ditto	ditto
Heller Mr. his daughter, ditto	ditto
Heller Frederick, ditto	ditto
Heller Adam, ditto	ditto
Heller Frederick, ditto 10	German Lutheran
Hellot Mr. his son, October 31	Universalists
Helm John, son of Christian, September 30	Moravians
Helm Johannes, October	German Reformed
Heltz William, son of Peter, September	ditto
Heltz Johannes, ditto	ditto
Hendel Abraham, apothecary, ditto	ditto
Hendel Rev. Dr. William, Pastor of the Ger- man Reformed Church, ditto	ditto
Henderson John, August 26	City Hospital
Henry Mary, September 4	St. Mary's
Henry John, August 25	City Hospital
Henry John, October 11	ditto
Henry John, his wife, August 22	German Lutheran
Henry John, his child, ditto 26	ditto
Henry James, his son, September 27	ditto
Henry Mr. his child, ditto 13	1st Presbyterian
Henry David, ditto 2	St. Mary's
Henry George, his child, October 1	Scots Presbyterian

Henry George, October 3	Scots Presbyterian
Henry George, his widow, ditto 9.	ditto
Henry John, ditto 7	St. Mary's
Henry David, September 2	City Hospital
Henzel Maria, October	German Reformed
Hepler Catherine, September 17	German Lutheran
Herbeg Michael, ditto 11	City Hospital
Herbert George, August 28	ditto
Herbert Richard, September 3	ditto
Henberger Justina, August	German Reformed
Heron Lankford, his child, ditto 18	German Lutheran
Heron James, his wife, October 24	ditto
Hertzog Catherine, October 11	Trinity
Hertzog Christina, ditto 11	ditto
Herschfelt Margaret, ditto 18	City Hospital
Hesler Andrew, September 21	St. Mary's
Heson Benjamin, October 24	German Lutheran
Hess Charles, his wife, August 11	ditto
Herrick Mathew, his wife, September 27	3d Presbyterian
Hetteman, Mr. his son, ditto	German Reformed
Hetteman John, his son-in-law, ditto	ditto
Hettlem John, his wife, ditto 3	German Lutheran
Heydel George, his wife, August 5.	ditto
Heyser Barbara, ditto 15	City Hospital
Hickey Jane, ditto 29	ditto
Hickey Mary, October 2	St. Mary's
Hickleys John, November 3	City Hospital
Hickman Ann, October 27	Friends
Hickman Sarah, ditto 30	ditto
Hickman Catherine, September 22	ditto
Hickman John, October 6	ditto
Hicks John, September 16	ditto
Hider William, a child, October 8	City Hospital
Hierly John, ditto 18	ditto
Higgins Pres, his child, ditto 18	Methodists
Higgins Mary, ditto 5	City Hospital
Hiley Elizabeth, September 15	St. Mary's
Hill John, August 31	City Hospital
Hill Richard, a black, September 6	ditto
Hill John, his daughter, ditto 5	Swedes
Hill Alice, ditto 27	City Hospital
Hill Adam, ditto 30	ditto
Hill Henry, ditto 16	Friends
Hill John, his son, ditto 2	ditto
Hill Robert, ditto 7	Scots Presbyterian
Hill Margaret, widow of Robert, ditto 16	ditto
Hill George, his child, August 23	St. Mary's
Hill Sarah, September 22	City Hospital
Hilleston Robert, ditto 16	ditto
Hilligas Henry, ditto 26	Christ Church
Hilter Elizabeth, ditto 29	City Hospital
Hilton Ann, October 9	ditto
Hiltzheimer Jacob, September	German Reformed
Himebach Mathias, ditto 17	German Lutheran
Hinkle John, his child, October 7	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(H)

Hinckle John, his child, ditto 13	German Lutheran
Hinckle John, his child, September 30	ditto
Hinckle John, his wife, October 20	ditto
Hinckle Margaret, September 21	ditto
Hinckle John, his child, October 2	ditto
Hochstetler John, August 31	ditto
Hocroft Elizabeth, October 21	City Hospital
Hocroft Elizabeth, ditto 21	ditto
Hocroft Frederick, November 3	ditto
Hoff Christian, October 10	ditto
Hoffman James, his child, September 14	German Lutheran
Hoffman John, a child, October 3	City Hospital
Hoffman Margaret, ditto 13	German Lutheran
Hoffman Grace, September 9	City Hospital
Hoffman Adam, his son, ditto 20	St. Mary's
Hoffner Jacob, October 17	German Lutheran
Hoffner Andrew, September 8	City Hospital
Hoglegnutz Simon, ditto 30	German Lutheran
Hoglegnutz, widow, October 18	ditto
Holmes John, August 18	City Hospital
Holmes Joseph, September 10	ditto
Holmes Josiah, October 31	ditto
Holfey Samuel, September 8	ditto
Holstein Elizabeth, October 21	ditto
Holster John, September 21	ditto
Holtine Alexander, his wife, ditto 24	German Lutheran
Holtine Alexander, ditto 26	ditto
Holwell Thomas, ditto 30	City Hospital
Homaffell Charles, his wife, August 18	St. Peter's
Homer John, September 15	City Hospital
Homaffell Charles, his son, ditto 1	St. Peter's
Hookerman Betsey, ditto 2	Kensington
Hopcard Lewis, ditto 6	City Hospital
Hopkins Charles, August 4	Christ Church
Hopkins Philip, a child, ditto 1	St. Mary's
Hopkins William, September 7	City Hospital
Hopkins Margaret, October 4	ditto
Hone Mr. August 26	ditto
Horman Ebenezer, a child, October 19	ditto
Horn Johannes, ditto	German Reformed
Horn William, ditto	ditto
Horn Benjamin, captain, ditto 22	City Hospital
Hortman Deitmak, September 20	ditto
Houghman Hambleton, ditto 5	ditto
House Joseph, ditto 16	Kensington
Houser John, ditto 18	German Lutheran
Howard Jane, October 14	City Hospital
Howell Agnes ditto 1	ditto
Howell Joseph, August 10	Friends
Hozey Rhoda, September 16	City Hospital
Horrish Nicholas, ditto 25	ditto
Huber John, his child, ditto 3	German Lutheran
Huber Frederick, ditto 20	ditto
Hubert, South street wharf, September 14	City Hospital
Hughes Mary, daughter of John, ditto 13	Swedes

(H I J)

LIST OF DEATHS.

Hughes Hannah, October 9	City Hospital
Hughes Mary, September 25	ditto
Hughes captain, his child, October 2	3d Presbyterian
Hughes John, September 6	City Hospital
Huil Peter, ditto	German Reformed
Humphreys Molly, ditto 16	City Hospital
Hulmer George, ditto 7	Kensington
Humphreys William, ditto 30	ditto
Humphreys Catherina, ditto 26	German Lutheran
Hunt Henry, ditto 29	City Hospital
Hunt Eleanor, ditto 25	Free Quakers
Hunter Mrs. ditto 3	City Hospital
Hunter Margaret, August 26	St. Mary's
Hun Jacob, September 28	City Hospital
Haron John, August 27	Trinity
Hurth Mary, ditto 24	City Hospital
Hunter Daniel, November 1	ditto
Hutz John, his child, September 13	German Lutheran
Hutz John, November 3	ditto
Hutz John, his child, August 22	ditto
Huxburgh Rebecca, October 11	City Hospital
Hyde John, ditto 1	German Lutheran
Hynes Elizabeth, September 27	City Hospital
Hynes Nicholas, October 13	ditto

I

Innes James, colonel, August 3	Christ Church
Innes John, September 11	City Hospital
Irwing David, his wife, August 19	St. Paul's
Irwing David, his son, ditto 28	ditto
Irwing James, his wife, September 6	Swedes
Irwine Catherine, September 14	City Hospital
Ising Juliana, October 10	ditto

J

Jackey, a negro, September 27	City Hospital
Jackson Sarah, August 25	ditto
Jackson William, ditto 26	ditto
Jackson Elizabeth, September 27	ditto
Jackson, August 25	ditto
Jacobs Catherine, September 9	ditto
Jacobs Nicholas, his daughter, October 5	German Lutheran
Jacobson Matthias, ditto 31	ditto
James Mr. ditto 9	City Hospital
James Joseph, ditto 10	ditto
James John, ditto 12	ditto
James Rachel, ditto 28	Friends
James Rebecca, September 21	City Hospital
Jamieson Elizabeth, August 28	ditto
Jamieson John, September 30	ditto
Jamieson John, his child, ditto 24	1st Presbyterian
Jamieson Margaret, ditto 29	Christ Church
Jani.tee 127 Race street, ditto 7	City Hospital

LIST OF DEATHS. (JK)

January William, September 5	2d Presbyterian
Jatricken Johannes, October	German Reformed
Jentzer Johannes, ditto	ditto
Jeremiar Mary, September 24	City Hospital
Jetter Henry, ditto	German Reformed
Jedries Mary, October 23	City Hospital
Jobson Catherine, September 14	ditto
Joiner Lydia, ditto 10	ditto
Johns Thomas, ditto 11	St. Peters
Johns Richard, August 26	Friends
Johnson Alexander, October 4	City Hospital
Johnston John, September 25	ditto
Johnston Andrew, October 27	ditto
Johnston John, ditto 6	Methodist
Johnston Maria, November 19	City Hospital
Johnston George, August 3	Christ Church
Johnston Robert, September 19	ditto
Johnston Mrs. October 15	2d Presbyterian
Johnston Culph, September 14	City Hospital
Johnston——, ditto 11	ditto
Johnston Thomas, ditto 15	ditto
Johnston Samuel, ditto 18	ditto
Johnston Willian, October 11	Swedes
Johnston Ann, September 27	City Hospital
Johnston Henry, ditto 27	ditto
Jones Mrs. Hannah, September 26	Baptist
Jones Rebecca, ditto 23	Friends
Jones Ann, ditto 30	ditto
Jones Isaac, his child, ditto 27	German Lutheran
Jones Benjamin, his child, October 1	ditto
Jones Catherine, ditto 19	City Hospital
Jones Johannes, a child, August	German Reformed
Jones Catherine, September	ditto
Jones Sarah, November 1	Friends
Jones Margaret, September 7	City Hospital
Jones Margaret, ditto 9	ditto
Jones John, his wife, ditto 28	ditto
Jones Elizabeth, ditto 5	ditto
Jones Benjamin, ditto 27	ditto
Jones——August 21	ditto
Jordan Susannah, October 18	German Lutheran
Jourdan Mary, August 21	City Hospital
Jordan W. C. September 27	Swedes
Josiah William, ditto 12	City Hospital
Justice George, October 5	German Lutheran
Justis Thomas, captain, August 2	Friends
Justis William, September 9	ditto
Justis John, October 4	German Lutheran
Justis Ann, ditto 21	City Hospital
Juling Henrietta, ditto 1	German Lutheran
Justis Rachel, ditto 14	Friends

K

Kæffer Mary, September 21	Trinity
Kahl Christopher, his child, September 23	German Lutheran

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LIST OF DEATHS.

Kairnes Patrick, August 28	City Hospital
Kammar Sermen, September 18	ditto
Kammerer Mrs. ditto	German Reformed
Kammerer Henry, jun. ditto 6	German Lutheran
Kammerer Henry, his wife, ditto 3	ditto
Kane Eleanor, a child, ditto 25	St Mary's
Kane James, ditto 30	ditto
Katts Michael, ditto 25	German Lutheran
Kaucher Mathew, ditto	German Reformed
Kea Jane, ditto 13	City Hospital
Kean Ann, ditto 13	ditto
Kean Ann, ditto 30	ditto
Kean Mary, her child, ditto 18	German Lutheran
Kean Jane, ditto 19	City Hospital
Kean Elizabeth, ditto 25	ditto
Kean Mrs. her daughter, ditto 20	ditto
Keemer John, ditto 14	Swedes
Keen Johannes, his wife, ditto	German Reformed
Keefe William, ditto 16	City Hospital
Keith Thomas, ditto 9	3d Presbyterian
Keith Thomas, ditto 27	City Hospital
Keith Phebe, October 3	ditto
Keith William, ditto 20	ditto
Keller Johannes, ditto	German Reformed
Keller Adam, his son, September 13	German Lutheran
Keller Ludwick, ditto 22	ditto
Kellin John, August 26	City Hospital
Kelly George, September 24	German Lutheran
Kellin George, ditto 23	City Hospital
Kelly Josiah, ditto 24	ditto
Kelso Thomas, ditto 29	ditto
Kelso Joseph, ditto 20	ditto
Kemp William, ditto	German Reformed
Kemp Alexander, October 1	City Hospital
Kench Christian, September 16	German Lutheran
Kennedy Joseph, his daughter, August 30	ditto
Kennedy Hugh, September 13	City Hospital
Kennedy David, November 9	
Kennedy, a black, ditto 11	ditto
Kennell Mr. September 2	German Lutheran
Kenny Mary, ditto 10	St. Mary's
Kenny Hugh, ditto 5	City Hospital
Kepple James, ditto 29	ditto
Kepple George, ditto 24	German Lutheran
Kercher Samuel, ditto	German Reformed
Kerner William, ditto 20	German Lutheran
Kerr Nathaniel, August 29	City Hospital
Kerr Isabella, ditto 18	ditto
Kerr James, September 12	ditto
Kerr Elizabeth, ditto 30	ditto
Kerr Elizabeth, her child, October 1	ditto
Kerr Joseph, his child, ditto 10	1st Presbyterian
Kessler Catherine, September 11	St. Mary's
Kessy John, ditto 6	City Hospital
Kesslerin Juliana, October 12	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

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Keys John, August 13	City Hospital
Keys John, October 29	ditto
Keys George, ditto 31	ditto
Keyser Michael, September 19	German Lutheran
Keyser Mr. ditto 28	City Hospital
Keyser———, ditto 28	City Hospital
Kidd William, ditto 5	Free Quakers
Kidd Mr. ditto 2	German Lutheran
Kiefe Mary Ann, ditto 8	City Hospital
Kiesman Mrs. October	German Reformed
Killingworth Luke, his child, September 15	Methodist
Kaller Catherina, ditto 11	St. Mary's
Killingworth Lake, his son, August 14	Methodist
Kimber Phebe, October 18	Friends
King John, September 4	City Hospital
King Joseph, ditto 11	ditto
King William, 3	Scots Presbyterian
King Joseph, ditto 12	City Hospital
King Mary, October 30	ditto
King Ann, September 5	ditto
Kinley Nancy, ditto 17	ditto
Kintzinger Michael, ditto 11	ditto
Kirkpatrick Mary, ditto 4	ditto
Kisselman Frederick, August 29	St. Peter's
Kittler John, his wife, October 20	German Lutheran
Klein Mr. his child, August 14	ditto
Klein Catherina, October 4	ditto
Klein Peter, ditto 19	City Hospital
Kline Mary, September 5	Trinity
Kline Philip, ditto 19	German Lutheran
Klue Philip, ditto 27	ditto
Kneill Ann, ditto 26	Trinity
Knight Mary, wife of David, ditto 3	Christ Church
Knight Isaac, October 14	Friends
Knight Elizabeth, August 27	City Hospital
Knight Elizabeth, September 19	German Lutheran
Knight Philip, October 10	ditto
Knight Philip, his wife, September 30	ditto
Knile Peggy, ditto 30	Trinity
Knile Fanny, October 7	ditto
Knodle John, his child, August 30	German Reformed
Kochler Mary, September 30	City Hospital
Koller Michael, his wife, ditto 3	German Lutheran
Koogan Joseph, ditto 29	City Hospital
Kraft Jacob, his son, ditto 29	German Lutheran
Kreider Frederick, September	German Reformed
Kremer John, ditto 14	Trinity
Kremer Barbara, ditto 8	ditto
Kreutzbergher John, his child, ditto 25	German Lutheran
Krewier Frederick, a child, August	German Reformed
Krey Patrick, October 8	German Lutheran
Krimbich Christiana, ditto	German Reformed
Krites John, ditto 23	German Lutheran
Kruse Nicholas, ditto 7	ditto
Kuln Philip, his child, ditto 4	ditto

(K L)

LIST OF DEATHS.

Kunkle George, his wife, October 1	Friends
Kunkle John, his child, September 9	German Lutheran
Kunkle John, September 10	ditto
Kunkle John, his son, ditto 15	ditto
Kyffer Peter, his child, August 26	ditto

L

Lace Elizabeth, daughter of William, Sept. 23	St. Peter's
Laford Benjamin, ditto 11	2d Presbyterian
Langrange, Reverend Joseph, a French catholic clergyman, ditto 1	St. Mary's
Laird Enos, August 17	German Lutheran
Lake Richard, jun. ditto 5	3d Presbyterian
Lake Richard, his daughter, ditto 17	ditto
Larlor James, child, ditto 31	St. Mary's
Lamb Mary, September 27	City Hospital
Lambert John, August 29	ditto
Lambert Mrs. September 22	ditto
Lambert Mrs. her mother, ditto 20	ditto
Lambertus Christian, his wife, ditto 8	German Reformed
Landenschleager Wm. his sister-in-law, do. 4	ditto Reformed
Lane Margaret, August 18	City Hospital
Lang John, September 24	ditto
Lang Charles, his wife, September 30	ditto
Langall Ann, ditto 25	Friends
Lapp Andrew, October 3	City Hospital
Langall Margaret, September 26	Friends
Larger Henry, ditto 24	City Hospital
Lafables Edward, ditto 4	German Lutheran
Laffer John, August 30	City Hospital
Lathman Catherine, September 30	ditto
Lauck Joseph, August 30	German Lutheran
Laughlin Catherine, September 25	City Hospital
Laughlin Mary, ditto 25	ditto
Laville Peter, his child, ditto 17	German Lutheran
Lawler Elizabeth, a child, August 17	St. Mary's
Lawrence John, ditto 8	Friends
Lawrance John, ditto 27	German Lutheran
Lawrance William, September 11	City Hospital
Lawrance James, ditto 12	ditto
Leag James, October 25	ditto
Lear Adam, ditto 9	ditto
Leary William, ditto 29	ditto
Leary James, September 20	ditto
Leary Timothy, October 19	ditto
Leaton John, September 20	ditto
Lechler Maria, child, August 3	Trinity
Lechler George, ditto 23	ditto
Lechler Joseph, September 12	ditto
Lechler, widow Barbara, October 3	ditto
Lechler Hannah, September 26	City Hospital
Lechler John, ditto 18	Trinity
Ledlie Margaret, October 16	City Hospital
Lee Ann, September 21	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(L)

Lees Samuel, August 31	Free Quakers
Leeson Elizabeth, September 22	City Hospital
Leeson Samuel, ditto 24	ditto
Legay Henrietta, ditto 17	ditto
Legee Jacob, ditto 16	ditto
Lehr Christian, October 23	German Lutheran
Lieb George, ditto 10	ditto
Lieb George, his widow, November 6	ditto
Leisly Philip, his son, September 24	ditto
Leisner Samuel, ditto 30	City Hospital
Lentz Mary, ditto 15	Trinity
Lentz Henry, his child, August 3	German Lutheran
Lentz George, his child, September 1	ditto
Lentz Martin, ditto 7	ditto
Leonard Catherine, ditto 3	City Hospital
Leonard Michael, ditto	German Reformed
Leonard Elizabeth ditto 13	City Hospital
Leslie, Mrs. ditto 25	ditto
Lester John, August 31	St. Mary's
Letfield Letitia, September 30	City Hospital
Letherman Andrew, ditto 23	St. Mary's
Letherman Catherine, October 1	ditto
Letts, widow, August 10	Baptist
Leviere Thomas, September 5	City Hospital
Levy Philip, October 11	ditto
Lewis Jonathan, ditto 5	Friends
Lewis Curtis, September 3	Swedes
Lewis Sarah, August 25	ditto
Lewis James, September 12	German Lutheran
Lewis Ann, daughter of Joseph, ditto 16	City Hospital
Lewis Ann, October 1	ditto
Licky Jacob, a Child, September	German Reformed
Light Sarah, ditto 27	City Hospital
Lightbody John, October 14	City Hospital
Lightbody John, ditto 21	ditto
Lightcop Michael, September 2	Kensington
Lilly Margaret, ditto 23	City Hospital
Likes Henry, ditto 29	ditto
Lindsay, Mrs. ditto 26	Associate
Lindsay Richard, October 25	City Hospital
Linganfelter Jacob, September 10	ditto
Link George, his daughter, October 3	German Lutheran
Link John, ditto 11	ditto
Lisengan Conrad, September 18	City Hospital
Liter Jacob, ditto 21	German Lutheran
Little Susannah, October 1	City Hospital
Little Elizabeth, daughter of John, September 8	Swedes
Lockhart Mary, October 29	City Hospital
Logan John, September 29	ditto
Logan Mary, ditto 22	ditto
Logan William, his wife, ditto 26	ditto
Logan William, his daughter, ditto 28	ditto
Logan James, ditto 13	ditto
Loesh George, October 10	ditto
Logee Anthony, his twin child, August 9	St. Paul's

Lohra, widow, October	German Reformed
Long Sarah, September 28	City Hospital
Long Captain, ditto 8	ditto
Longacre Isaac, son of Isaac, August 2	2d Presbyterian
Lorigan William, September 15	City Hospital
Lotier Joseph, ditto 26	St. Mary's
Louden John, ditto 2	City Hospital
Lourman Maria, ditto 2	ditto
Louper John, his child, August 12	Kensington
Love William, October 14	City Hospital
Lovell, Mr. September 2	ditto
Loyd Isaac, merchant, August 11	Friends
Loyer Jacob, ditto 26	Trinity
Lovier Evan, October 19	City Hospital
Lucas Mary, September 22	ditto
Lucas Seth, ditto 16	St. Paul's
Lucas William, October 24	City Hospital
Ludwick, from north-alley ditto 21	ditto
Ludwick William, September 14	German Lutheran
Luffborrow John, ditto 1	Kensington
Luffborrow Nathan, his child August 2	2d Presbyterian
Lukins Sarah, October 21	City Hospital
Lutz Adam, September 5	ditto
Lutz Elizabeth, October 22	ditto
Lutz Polly a child, ditto 7	ditto
Lutz Abraham, his child, September 27	ditto
Lutz John, ditto 25	ditto
Lutz Leonard, October 22	German Lutheran
Lutz Susannah, September 24	City Hospital
Lutz John, his child, October 10	German Lutheran
Lutz, widow, ditto 11	ditto
Lutbet John, September 24	ditto
Lybrant George, his child, October 23	ditto
Lycett William, August 24	City Hospital
Lycett William, his wife, September 9	ditto
Lyndan James ditto 7	St. Mary's
Lynne Richard, a child, August 27	City Hospital
Lyle, Mr. his child, ditto	German Reformed
Lynch Eleanor, September 15	St. Mary's
Lynch Edward, his child, ditto 22	ditto
Lynch Hannah, ditto 30	City Hospital
Lynch John, October 3	ditto
Lynch Elfy, September 25	3d Presbyterian
Lynch Elfy, her son, ditto 29	ditto

M.

Maa Nicholas, September	German Reformed
M'Adam Barney, ditto 3	City Hospital
M'Afee James, October 4	ditto
M'Allister John, August 31	ditto
M'Allister William, September 24	Associate
M'Bride William, October 25	City Hospital
M'Cabe James, August 29	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(M)

M'Call Catherine, November 12	St. Thomas's
M'Carer Garret, his child, September 20	Baptist
M'Carer Garret, October 7	ditto
M'Carer Garret, his child, ditto 18	ditto
M'Carer Garret, his widow, ditto 20	ditto
M'Carty Daniel, September 22	City Hospital
M'Cathey Dennis, August 13	ditto
M'Cauley Mary, a child, ditto 7	St. Mary's
M'Cauley Winifred, September 8	ditto
M'Celery Martha, her child, ditto 26	City Hospital
M'Clay Mary, August 25	ditto
M'Clay Christina, September 25	ditto
M'Clellen John, October 21	3d Presbyterian
M'Clellen John, his child, November 1	2d Presbyterian
M'Clellen John, October 6	City Hospital
M'Connell Mary, September 2	ditto
M'Connell Mrs. her daughter, ditto 12	St. Peter's
M'Cormick Jane, ditto 29	St. Mary's
M'Cormick Frederick, his child, August 29	ditto
M'Cormick Mary, September 3	ditto
M'Cormick Isabella, ditto 24	City Hospital
M'Conike Bridget, ditto 9	ditto
M'Coy Margaret, a child, August 28	St. Mary's
M'Connell Mrs. October 2	2d Presbyterian
M'Coy Joseph, September 19	City Hospital
M'Cormick Elizabeth, August 28	ditto
M'Coy Daniel, September 19	ditto
M'Conly Peggy, October 2	ditto
M'Coy Catherine, September 23	ditto
M'Coy John, November 6	ditto
M'Coy Daniel, his child, ditto 1	ditto
M'Coy Mary, August 28	ditto
M'Crea Elizabeth, September 6	ditto
M'Crea ———, South, between Fifth & Sixth streets, do. 13	ditto
M'Crea James, his wife, ditto 17	ditto
M'Crea Matthew, ditto 23	ditto
M'Crea Robert, his child, August 21	2d Presbyterian
M'Crea Mrs. September 27	ditto
M'Crea widow, October 26	City Hospital
M'Crosley Hugh, August 29	ditto
M'Cue Daniel, September 23	ditto
M'Culloch John, a child, August 31	ditto
M'Cullom Margaret, September 24	ditto
M'Culloch John, his child, November 10	Friends
M'Cullom Archibald, September 14	City Hospital
M'Curdy Sarah, October 17	ditto
M'Dade William, a child, ditto 1	St. Mary's
M'Daniel Catherine, September 21	City Hospital
M'Dermot Catherine, August 19	St. Mary's
M'Dermot Michael, October 18	City Hospital
M'Devitt Neil, September 10	ditto
M'Devitt Robert, October 30	ditto
M'Donald Alexander, September 25	ditto
M'Donald Margaret, October 29	ditto
M'Donald Alexander, September 10	ditto

(M)

LIST OF DEATHS.

M'Donald Mary, September 11	City Hospital
M'Donald John, ditto 23	ditto
M'Donald William, ditto 27	ditto
M'Dowell Benjamin, ditto 14	ditto
M'Dowell Maria, ditto 15	ditto
M'Dunn James, ditto 26	ditto
M'Elroy Jane, ditto 16	ditto
M'Elroy Mrs. October 20	ditto
M'Elroy John, his child, September 27	Kensington
M'Elwee James, ditto 20	City Hospital
M'Elwee Daniel, ditto 15	ditto
M'Elwaine Alexander, ditto 10	ditto
M'Ewen John, November 10	ditto
M'Fall Margaret, September 23	ditto
M'Farlane James, ditto 17	Methodists
M'Farlane Mary, daughter of Andrew, August 14	1st Presbyterian
M'Farlane Elizabeth, September 6	City Hospital
M'Farlane James, ditto 8	ditto
M'Farlane Michael, ditto 18	ditto
M'Farlane Sarah, ditto 24	ditto
M'Farlane Andrew, August 23	1st Presbyterian
M'Farrell Robert, September 27	City Hospital
M'Fann Isabella, ditto 2	ditto
M'Fee Thomas, ditto 21	ditto
M'Feely Ann, October 14	St. Mary's
M'Ferran Mrs. September 7	Kensington
M'Garegal John, October 14	St. Mary's
M'Garvey Rebecca, daughter of John, Sept. 19	Christ Church
M'Gee Robert, October 6	St. Mary's
M'Gill Martha, September 1	City Hospital
M'Gill John, October 2	ditto
M'Gavern John, September 24	ditto
M'Gilson Catherine, October 12	ditto
M'Gilton Samuel, September 21	ditto
M'Ginnis Sarah, ditto 15	Kensington
M'Glafky James, his son, ditto 24	St. Peter's
M'Glafky Isaac, October 26	City Hospital
M'Goven Thomas, September 1	ditto
M'Gowan James, ditto 14	ditto
M'Grane Patrick, ditto 30	St. Mary's
M'Grigor John, August 9	ditto
M'Grigor John, October 19	City Hospital
M'Grigor John, ditto 25	ditto
M'Grath James, a child, August 17	St. Mary's
M'Hughan Allan, September 12	City Hospital
M'Intosh Mary, October 25	ditto
M'Intosh Isaac, September 8	ditto
M'Intosh Alexander, October 1	ditto
M'Intosh Mrs.	ditto
M'Intyre Andrew, August 24	Swedes
M'Kean John, September 21	City Hospital
M'Kean James, August 27	ditto
M'Kean William, November 9	ditto
Mackie William, September 7	ditto
Mackie Margaret, ditto 10	St. Mary's

LIST OF DEATHS.

(M)

M'Kee John, October 30	3d Presbyterian
M'Kehan John, his widow,	Free Quakers
M'Kenzie Elizabeth, September 21	Swedes
M'Kenzie William, August 23	City Hospital
M'Kenzie Isabella, September 21	ditto
M'Kenzie Charles, his child, ditto 14	1st Presbyterian
M'Kinlay James, October 13	City Hospital
M'Lair Susan, ditto 13	ditto
M'Laughlin Francis, September 3	St. Mary's
M'Laughlin Mary, August 7	ditto
M'Laughlin Michael, October 21	City Hospital
M'Laughlin Mary Ann, August 17	ditto
M'Laughlin Hugh, ditto 20	ditto
M'Laughlin Mary, September 12	ditto
M'Laughlin Elizabeth, ditto 13	ditto
M'Laughlin John, ditto 17	ditto
M'Laughlin William, ditto 17	ditto
M'Laughlin Alexander, his wife, ditto 27	St. Paul's
M'Laughlin Elizabeth, August 15	City Hospital
M'Laughlin James, September 5	ditto
M'Laughlin Daniel, ditto 29	ditto
M'Lean Daniel, August 23	ditto
M'Lean Isabella, ditto 31	ditto
M'Lean William, September 21	ditto
M'Lean David, ditto 11	Associate
M'Luen Mary, ditto 16	City Hospital
M'Mahon Michael, October 10	St. Mary's
M'Mahon Edward, September 24	City Hospital
M'Mahon Mrs. August 20	ditto
M'Mahon ———, ditto 23	ditto
M'Manus John, ditto 29	St. Mary's
M'Manus Barney, September 29.	City Hospital
M'Manus John, August 29	ditto
M'Manus Barney, ditto 25	ditto
M'Mullin Sarah, September 10	Kenfington
M'Mullin Margaret, October 21	City Hospital
M'Mullin John, ditto 13	Kenfington
M'Mullin John, his child, August 11	2d Presbyterian
M'Neill Neil, September 30	City Hospital
M'Nitt Robert, October 22	ditto
M'Pherson Alexander, September 16	ditto
M'Pherson Elizabeth, ditto 15	ditto
M'Pherson captain, his child, October 11	St. Paul's
M'Shane Barnabas, August 25	St. Mary's
M'Shane Mrs. September 16	3d Presbyterian
M'Tear Leonard, August 16	City Hospital
M'Williams Helen, September	ditto
Macx Catherina, ditto	German Reformed
Madan Hugh, August 9	City Hospital
Madan Hugh, ditto 9	St. Mary's
Maees Elizabeth, September 23	City Hospital
Magers Philip, his daughter, ditto 23	ditto
Maggs Catherine, ditto 29	ditto
Maggs Catherine, October 29	ditto
Maggs John, November 2	ditto

Magonogill John, September 4	City Hospital
Mahaffey James, August 28	Kenfington
Mahaffey Robert, October 10	City Hospital
Mahaffey James, ditto 13	ditto
Mahan John, ditto 25	St. Mary's
Maiger Philip, his child, October 18	City Hospital
Maiger Philip, ditto 18	ditto
Mail Patty, her child, ditto 8	Kenfington
Maine James, his child, ditto 6	ditto
Mallick John, September 19	City Hospital
Maley captain, his wife, ditto 19	2d Presbyterian
Malsy James, August 25	City Hospital
Malony Thomas, ditto 25	St. Mary's
Manakipper Dorothy, September 30	City Hospital
Mann Conrad, ditto 29	ditto
Mansfield Joseph, October 7	ditto
Maniny Elizabeth, September 21	St. Mary's
Maquell Henry, ditto 13	City Hospital
Mangolt Frederick, and son, October	German Reformed
Marchback John, September 4	City Hospital
Marewine Isaac, grocer, October 17	Moravians
Maries Jane, September 19	Christ Church
Marklaith John, ditto 5	City Hospital
Marks James, his wife, ditto 30	Kenfington
Marland George, his child, ditto 29	St. Mary's
Marley Richard, his child, August 6	Christ Church
Marks Jacob, September 19	Trinity
Marr John, his child, ditto 30	2d Presbyterian
Marr John, do. do. October 14	ditto
Marfell Joseph, September 10	City Hospital
Marsh Jasper, ditto 21	Friends
Marsh John, ditto 22	City Hospital
Marsh Charlotte, October 10	ditto
Marshall Francis, his child, August 28	St. Mary's
Marshall Elizabeth, September 22	Christ Church
Marshall Margaret, ditto 15	City Hospital
Marshall Susan, her daughter, October 4	Free Quakers
Martin Charles, September 27	City Hospital
Martin Andrew, his wife, October 11	ditto
Martin Peter, ditto 17	ditto
Martin Robert, September 10	ditto
Martin Edward, ditto 27	St. Mary's
Martin Patrick, ditto 21	City Hospital
Martin Rose, October 13	ditto
Martin John, ditto 17	Friends
Martin John, September 2	City Hospital
Mary, from Love Lane, ditto 22	ditto
Martin William, ditto 13	1st Presbyterian.
Mash Hannah, ditto 19	City Hospital
Mason capt. William, his son, August 23	St. Peter's
Ditto do. his wife, September 4	ditto
Mason widow, mother of Philip, October 3	ditto
Mason Jacob, his child, ditto 10	City Hospital
Massey captain, his child, September 26	3d Presbyterian
Match John, ditto 18	City Hospital
Matthews Ann, ditto 26	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(M)

Matthews James, October 17	3d Presbyterian
Mauchest Paul, ditto 28	St. Mary's
Maxfield Stephen, his wife, August 26	Friends
Maxwell Abigail, daughter of John, October 1	Scots Presbyterian
Maxwell Mary, do. do. ditto 6	ditto
Maxwell Hugh, son of do. ditto 12	ditto
May Adam, his child, November 4	German Lutheran
Meads Elizabeth, August 20	City Hospital
Mealy Thomas, October 1	ditto
Meary Thomas, September 19	ditto
Meeker Mrs. August 31	ditto
Meeker Elias, ditto 31	ditto
Megunigal John, September 4	St. Mary's
Meginty James, ditto 30	ditto
Meeker Mrs. August 31	City Hospital
Mehon Eliza, September 7	Friends
Mehon Margaret, ditto 23	ditto
Meonson John, ditto 18	St. Mary's
Meredith Wheeler, August 24	St. Peter's
Mendenhall Adam, his wife, October 22	Friends
Merfrool Mr. September 7	Kensington
Merritt widow, her child, ditto 25	City Hospital
Merfson Stephen, his son, ditto 30	ditto
Messinger Simon, ditto 5	ditto
Meyer widow, ditto 26	ditto
Metzger Johannes, August	German Reformed
Metzger Johannes, September	ditto
Meyer Adam, his daughter, ditto 23	German Lutheran
Metzger Johannes, ditto	German Reformed
Meyer Henry, his son, ditto 29	German Lutheran
Ditto ditto ditto ditto 28	ditto
Ditto ditto his daughter, October 3	ditto
Ditto ditto his wife, ditto 7	ditto
Meyer George, ditto 11	ditto
Meyer Jacob, ditto 8	ditto
Ditto ditto September	German Reformed
Meyer George, ditto 10	City Hospital
Meyer John, ditto 13	ditto
Meyer Sarah, ditto 14	ditto
Meywerth John, ditto	German Reformed
Michael Adam, August 29	City Hospital
Miller Robert, October 19	1st Presbyterian
Miercken Peter, his daughter, ditto 13	St. Peter's
Miller Ann, ditto	German Reformed
Milgo Charlotte, ditto 3	City Hospital
Miller Christina, ditto	German Reformed
Millard Thomas, shot at the prison, September 18	City Hospital
Miller John, ditto 3	ditto
Miller Samuel, August 14	ditto
Miller Charles, his wife, September 18	German Lutheran
Miller John, August 14	City Hospital
Ditto ditto September 19	German Lutheran
Miller Mary, August 26	City Hospital
Miller Michael, September 22	German Lutheran

M) LIST OF DEATHS.

Miller Ann, September 5	Trinity
Ditto Michael, his wife, ditto 24	German Lutheran
Ditto David, his mother, ditto	German Reformed
Ditto Michael, his daughter, October 5	German Lutheran
Ditto John, September	German Reformed
Ditto George, ditto 28	Kensington
Ditto Johannes, ditto	German Reformed
Ditto Henry, his wife, October 6	German Lutheran
Ditto George, September 22	City Hospital
Ditto Margaret, ditto 17	ditto
Ditto Mrs. October 12	Cones's
Ditto do. from Kensington, September 19	City Hospital
Ditto Jacob, ditto 30	ditto
Ditto ditto, labourer, October 9	Kensington
Ditto Matthew, ditto 5	City Hospital
Ditto Jacob, his wife, ditto 9	Kensington
Ditto ditto August 16	ditto
Ditto Daniel, October 14	ditto
Millis John, his daughter, ditto 15	Christ Church
Do. do. September 24	ditto
Do. do. son of John, ditto 28	ditto
Do. do. October 24	City Hospital
Mills Francis, September 5	Kensington
Do. ditto ditto 5	City Hospital
Minx widow, her child, October 1	German Lutheran
Mills William, his wife, September 30	ditto
Minders Socrates, November 6	City Hospital
Minnis Joseph, October 29	ditto
Minx Catherine, her child, September 24	German Lutheran
Miltacher Mr. his daughter, ditto 23	ditto
Misty John, August 31	City Hospital
Miseman Catherine, September	German Reformed
Mitchell widow, ditto 11	City Hospital
Mimy Rosalia, ditto 25	St. Mary's
Mitchell Samuel, ditto 26	City Hospital
Mitchell George, his daughter, ditto 15	Swedes
Mitchell captain, August 6	3d Presbyterian
Mitchell Catherine, September 29	City Hospital
Mitchell Andrew, ditto 26	ditto
Mitty Paul, ditto 26	ditto
Mills Elizabeth, ditto 27	ditto
Moaxham James, son of William, ditto 23	Free Quakers
Moilet Elizabeth, ditto 7	City Hospital
Molit John Baptist, August 3	Trinity
Mollin Margaret, October 3	City Hospital
Monday Maria, a child, September 25	St. Mary's
Molly Catherine, ditto 23	City Hospital
Monday Francis, ditto 12	St. Mary's
Molly, a black, ditto 7	City Hospital
Monaghan Catherine, August 26	St. Mary's
Molly ———, September 9	City Hospital
Monday Charles, August 28	ditto
Montgomery George, ditto 23	ditto
Montgomery Andrew, his wife, September 14	Swedes

LIST OF DEATHS.

(M)

Moodie captain, his child, August 30	Swedes
Moon Samuel, October 6	City Hospital
Moodie captain, his son, September 6	Swedes
Money Michael, October	German Reformed
Moore John, August 27	City Hospital
Money widow, November	German Reformed
Moore Robert, August 26	City Hospital
Moore William, October 14	ditto
Moore John, ditto	Kennington
Moore William, ship carpenter, August 27	ditto
Moore Mary, September 15	ditto
Moore Thomas, September 26	City Hospital
Moore Elizabeth, a child, October 10	ditto
Moore Martha, October 11	ditto
Moore Rachel, August 29	ditto
Moore William, his wife, September 14	German Lutheran
Moore Samuel, ditto	City Hospital
Moorpole John, his child, ditto 17	Kennington
Morgan Benjamin, his son, August 4	Christ Church
Morgan widow, September 4	Friends
Morgan John, October 11	City Hospital
Morgan Enoch, September 30	ditto
Morgan John, ditto 28	ditto
Morland John, joiner, August 4	Baptists
Morris Robert, son of John, September 20	Free Quakers
Morris Anthony, ditto	Friends
Morris William, son of Robert, October 9	Christ Church
Morris Sarah, October 6	City Hospital
Morris Thomas, ditto 2	ditto
Morris John, carver, September	ditto
Morris Hugh, September 15	ditto
Morris James, his daughter, ditto 24	ditto
Morris Robert, ditto 1	ditto
Morris Catherine, ditto	Bethel
Morris Ketty, ditto	ditto
Morse Rachel, August 29	City Hospital
Morton George, September 27	Swedes
Morton Sarah, ditto 22	City Hospital
Mosely George, ditto 29	St. Paul's
Mosely George, his child, October 16	ditto
Moser Christian, ditto 4	City Hospital
Moser widow, her child, November	German Reformed
Moser Christian, September 19	German Lutheran
Moser George, country.	
Moser Jacob, September 22	German Lutheran
Moulin Anna, August 31	Trinity
Moss Judith, September 16	City Hospital
Moullia Cherry, ditto 21	St. Mary's
Mouport William, ditto 19	City Hospital
Moylan John, ditto 7	St. Mary's
Much Jeremiah, his step daughter, ditto 9	St. Peter's
Muckling William, November 2	City Hospital
Mullin Peter, September 6	ditto
Mullin Elizabeth, October 4	Kennington

(M N) LIST OF DEATHS.

Mullin William, September 9	City Hospital
Mullin Patrick, ditto 26	ditto
Mullin James, ditto 1	ditto
Mullin Henry, August 10	St. Mary's
Mulligan James, September 13	ditto
Mulligan Owen, ditto 8	ditto
Mulry Elizabeth, ditto 13	City Hospital
Munges Almantine, a child, ditto 19	St. Mary's
Murgatroyd Thomas, his daughter, ditto 16	Christ Church
Mure Bridget, ditto 19	City Hospital
Murphy Nicholas, ditto 19	ditto
Murphy Nicholas, ditto 19	St. Mary's
Murphy Mr. his wife, ditto 2	Scots Presbyterian
Murphy Owen, his child, ditto 2	St. Paul's
Murphy William, labourer, ditto 5	Kensington
Murphy Terence, August 28	St. Mary's
Murphy Terence, ditto	City Hospital
Murphy Michael, ditto 25	St. Paul's
Murphy Henry, October 1	City Hospital
Murphy Edward, September 19	ditto
Murphy John, August 29	St. Mary's
Murphy Patty, September 21	City Hospital
Murray Daniel, September 19	Methodists
Murray Daniel, his child, October 12	ditto
Murray James, August 19	City Hospital
Murray Daniel, his child, October 15	Methodists
Murray William, his daughter, September 22	City Hospital
Murray Francis, ditto 22	St. Mary's
Murrell John, September 17	City Hospital
Murrell Joseph, August 31	ditto
Murren Eleanor, September 17	ditto
Myers John, ditto 16	ditto
Mylander William, ditto 14	German Lutheran
Mufgrove Charles, August 30	Swedes
Mylinger William, September 20	City Hospital
Myrtetus Christopher, his daughter, ditto 13	Moravian
Myers Catharine, October 17	St. Mary's
Mynnich Conrad, August	German Reformed
Mynnich widow, her daughter, September	ditto
Mynnich Christina, November	ditto

N.

Naglee Mary, September 15	City Hospital
Naglee John, his child, ditto 10	Kensington
Naglee Mr. his child, ditto 28	ditto
Ditto do. ditto October 13	ditto
Nail Conrad, his wife, September 16	Methodists
Do. ditto, his child, ditto 20	ditto
Napier David, ditto 16	City Hospital
Nash Elizabeth, ditto 7	ditto
Nash John, August 31	ditto
Needler Barbara, September 12	Trinity
Negel Elizabeth, October 12	German Lutheran

LIST OF DEATHS. (NO)

Neise Eleanor, October 19	City Hospital
Nelson William, August 13	ditto
Nelson David, joiner, October 13	3d Presbyterian
Neinand George, September 4	City Hospital
Nenthinger Christina, October	German Reformed
Netherwood Catherine, September 16	City Hospital
Netherwood John, ditto 13	ditto
Neutral Maria, ditto 20	Trinity
Newcamp ———, a woman, ditto 29	City Hospital
Newdie Patrick, ditto 13	ditto
Newman Frederick, October 14	German Lutheran
Newman Sarah, daughter of Benjamin, August 25	Coates's
Newman Elizabeth, September 1	2d Presbyterian
Newman widow, ditto 4	ditto
Newman John, October 16	Methodists
Newton Elizabeth, ditto 19	City Hospital
Newton Mrs. ditto 15	ditto
Nichols Hoover, August 22	Swedes
Nichols Mary, ditto 21	City Hospital
Nichols John, son of colonel N. October 6	Christ Church
Nigkoop John, September 3	City Hospital
Nixon James, ditto 24	ditto
Noble Thomas, August 18	ditto
Nongary Lewis, marquis of Modena, September 22	St. Mary's
Norbeck Daniel, his child, ditto 19	Trinity
Norkway Mary, October 11	City Hospital
Norman Philip, September 20	ditto
Norton John, August 23	ditto
Norris John, October 17	Scots Presbyterian
Ditto do. ship-carpenter, September 16	Kensington
Nory Jacob, ditto 25	City Hospital
Nue Peter, his child, October 4	Kensington
Nugent Eleanor, September 5	St. Mary's
Nugent Francis, ditto 8	ditto
Nugent Elizabeth, ditto 15	ditto
Nugent Patrick, October 12	ditto

O

Oblinger Barbara, August 27	City Hospital
Oakford Charles, his wife, September 25	Baptists
Ditto ditto his daughter, ditto 27	ditto
Oblinger Barbara, August 27	St. Mary's
Obaire Mr. ditto 28	City Hospital
O'Brian Timothy, a child, ditto 3	St. Mary's
O'Brian Simon, September 9	City Hospital
O'Brian Robert, ditto 16	ditto
O'Brian Eleanor, ditto 17	ditto
O'Connell Charles, ditto 2	ditto
Odair Catherine, August 26	Kensington
O'Dounnell Connell, September 11	St. Mary's
Ohler Johannes, October	German Reformed
Ohler Andreas, ditto 10	German Lutheran
Oliver William, August 23	City Hospital

Oliver Charles, September 17	City Hospital
Oliver Andrew, ditto 7	ditto
Onet Peter, August 1	Kensington
O'Neal James, ditto 29	St. Mary's
Oner Elizabeth, September 24	Christ Church
Opperman Adam, ditto 4	St. Mary's
Omer John, October 27	German Lutheran
Orr Hugh, September 6	3d Presbyterian
Orr Hugh, ditto 4	City Hospital
Osburn Sarah, October 17	ditto
Osburn Samuel, ditto 13	ditto
Ott Appolonia, September 26	St. Mary's
Ott John, August 26	City Hospital
Ottington Matthew, his child, October 27	St. Paul's
Ousford John, September 24	Christ Church
Overman John, ditto 17	City Hospital
Owen John, sen. October 10	ditto
Owen John, jun. ditto 10	ditto
Owens Mr. August 17	ditto

P.

Paine Prince, September 15	City Hospital
Palmer William, T ditto 27	ditto
Palmer Joseph, November 15	ditto
Pancake Philip, his daughter, September 11	German Lutheran
Ditto do. ditto, October 28	ditto
Parenbach Maria, September	German Reformed
Parish Mary, ditto 16	City Hospital
Park David, August 21	ditto
Parker Mary, ditto 26	Baptists
Parker Mrs. her child, September 23	City Hospital
Ditto do. ditto, August 20	St. Paul's
Parks Mrs. September 26	City Hospital
Parr Cabb, October 15	Christ Church
Parr Hetty, ditto 13	City Hospital
Parrain Susannah, September 6	Swedes
Farry John, August 11	Free Quakers
Partridge Sarah, September 9	City Hospital
Partridge Thomas, August 29	ditto
Paschall Jonathan, September 27	Friends
Pasgill ———, ditto 2	City Hospital
Paslands ———, corner of Lombard and Fifth. streets	ditto
Pasfield George, August 30	Baptists
Pastor Peter, ditto 31	City Hospital
Pastoris Samuel, September 6	Friends
Pastoris Sarah, ditto 11	ditto
Paties Oliver, August 8	City Hospital
Patrick Ann, wife of Alexander, September 20	ditto
Patrick Alexander, his son, ditto 26	ditto
Patterson John, October 27	ditto
Patterson William, ditto 29	Swedes
Patterson Samuel, September 11	City Hospital

LIST OF DEATHS.

(P

Patton William, a child, August 24	St. Mary's
Paukermaster Thomas, November 7	Kenington
Paul captain, his son, August 28	St. Paul's
Paul Ann, ditto 21	City Hospital
Paxson Robert, November 6	ditto
Peacock Alexander, September 6	ditto
Peak Elizabeth, ditto 4	ditto
Peale Rebecca, ditto 12	ditto
Pearson Jane, ditto 22	Friends
Pearson Amos, August 29	City Hospital
Pearson William, September 6*	ditto
Pechin John, his child, August 28	St. Paul's
Peck Elizabeth, September 4	City Hospital
Peckham Mary, ditto 22	ditto
Pee John, August 30	3d Presbyterian
Peltz Ann, October	German Reformed
Peltz Corporal, September 8	City Hospital
Pemberton John, ditto	German Reformed
Ditto do. a black, November 2	City Hospital
Pennington Alexander, October 11	ditto
Pepper Philip, November 8	German Lutheran
Perey John, house-carpenter, his wife, September 19	Baptists
Ditto do. his son, ditto 22	ditto
Perey Samuel, house-carpenter, ditto 24	ditto
Perey John, his daughter, ditto 25	ditto
Ditto do. house-carpenter, ditto 27	ditto
Ditto do. his daughter, ditto 28	ditto
Perkeson Martin, his child, October 22	3d Presbyterian
Perkins Jacob, his child, August 14	2d ditto
Permer Catherine, September 15	City Hospital
Peters Elizabeth, ditto 1	Methodists
Peters John, his child, November 4	German Lutheran
Peters Miss, sifter of Mr. Little, Sept. 27	Scots Presbyterian
Peterham Christian, ditto 14	City Hospital
Phillips David, ditto 7	ditto
Phillips Alexander, taylor, August 5	3d Presbyterian
Phillips Hannah, ditto 20	Swedes
Phillipson Catherine, September 14	City Hospital
Pie Mary Ann, ditto 18	St. Mary's
Picken Mary, ditto 24	City Hospital
Pickering Samuel, ditto 14	ditto
Pickering Rachel, ditto 23	ditto
Piderman Charles, ditto 28	German Lutheran
Pierce Jacob, his child, ditto 8	Kenington
Pieffeman Christina, October	German Reformed
Pifer Jacob, his wife, ditto 18	Kenington
Pifer Catherina, ditto 16	German Lutheran
Pifer John, his wife, August 31	ditto
Platay Henry, September 21	ditto
Platz Barbara, October 27	Trinity
Plin Paul, his daughter, September	German Reformed
Do. do. a child, October	ditto
Pisich Christina, September	ditto
Plowman Joseph, October 18	St. Peter's
Plumb Peter, ditto 2	St. Mary's

P Q) LIST OF DEATHS.

Polany William, September 20	City Hospital
Pollard Richard, ditto 12	St. Peter's
Ditto ditto, his mother, ditto 20	ditto
Ditto ditto, his widow, ditto 28	ditto
Ditto ditto, his daughter Eliza, ditto 28	ditto
Polling Jefferin, his child, August 1	Kensington
Pollock James, ditto 25	City Hospital
Pollock Elizabeth, ditto 31	ditto
Polly, from Christian between 3d & 4th streets, Sept. 16	ditto
Polly Robert, his child, October 23	Trinity
Poney ———, August 12	City Hospital
Pooly Elizabeth, September 20	ditto
Pope Christopher, October 23	German Lutheran
Porter James, August 9	City Hospital
Porter John, ditto 12	ditto
Porter Mary, ditto 9	Scots Presbyterian
Poth Adam, October 13	Trinity
Potlens Elizabeth, September 5	City Hospital
Pottem Elizabeth, September 14	ditto
Potter Thomas, ditto 20	ditto
Potter James, ditto 24	ditto
Potter Nathaniel, ditto 6	3d Presbyterian
Potts Edward, August 18	Friends
Pouffich Poutice, September 8	City Hospital
Powder William, August 24	ditto
Power John, ditto 24	St. Mary's
Ditto do. ditto 26	City Hospital
Ditto do. his child, September 3	German Lutheran
Poynter James, ditto 19	City Hospital
Pratt Richard, ditto 25	ditto
Fraupert Mr. his child, October	German Reformed
Precker John, August 23	City Hospital
Prederse Henry, September 2	ditto
Prendergrafs captain, August 28	Kensington
Preston Rebecca, daughter of James, September 2	Swedes
Preston William, his son, August 29	St. Peter's
Ditto ditto, his wife, September 18	Friends
Preston John, ditto 20	ditto
Preston Joseph, ditto 18	ditto
Price Isaac, watchmater, member of the board of health, ditto 16	ditto
Price widow, her son, ditto 1	German Lutheran
Price David, ditto 15	City Hospital
Price Mary, ditto 1	ditto
Primmell Benjamin, his wife, August 24	Swedes
Provoost William, September 21	City Hospital
Purphil Joseph, his child, October 2	Kensington
Purtich Mr. his son-in-law, ditto	German Reformed
Pye Rebecca, September 14	City Hospital

Q

Quain Thomas, his son, September 24	St. Peter's
Queen Booker, ditto 7	City Hospital

LIST OF DEATHS.

(QR)

Quin Christina, September 16	Kenington
Quin Patrick, ditto 2	City Hospital
Quin William, ditto 6	St. Mary's
Quinlain Ann, a child, ditto 15	ditto

R

Rain John, his grand child, September 23	1st Presbyterian
Ralston Mrs. wife of William, October 14	2d ditto
Ralston Alexander, August 26	City Hospital
Ralston James, October 20	ditto
Ramfay Alexander, his daughter, August 25	Swedes
Rampart Benjamin, September 5	City Hospital
Rannels Rebecca, ditto 7	ditto
Rape Nicholas, October 27	ditto
Raphune John, his child, ditto 27	German Lutheran
Ray Mrs. September 13	Scots Presbyterian
Ray Oliver, ditto 4	St. Mary's
Reach William, ditto 15	City Hospital
Read Peter, October 6	ditto
Read Elizabeth, ditto 22	ditto
Read Peter, September	Bethel
Read Peter, his wife,	ditto
Read Eleanor, ditto 27	City Hospital
Reb Nicholas, his wife, October 13	German Lutheran
Rebel Adam, August 25	St. Mary's
Records Mrs. her daughter, September 26	City Hospital
Recud Peter, his mother, October 4	ditto
Rees George, September 28	ditto
Rees George, ditto 16	ditto
Regan William, ditto 11	ditto
Regan Hannah, ditto 11	ditto
Regan Abigail, ditto 28	St. Mary's
Regins Ann, October 16	City Hospital
Reid Andrew, September 30	ditto
Reid John, August 25	ditto
Reefe Joseph, September 30	ditto
Reihle John, ship-carpenter, ditto 7	Kenington
Reihle John, fisherman, his wife, ditto 29	ditto
Reineck Jacob, October 5	City Hospital
Reineck Catherina, September	German Reformed
Reinhart William, a child, October	ditto
Reily Mrs. September 5	St. Mary's
Reilly Henry, ditto 30	City Hospital
Reifer Martin, his son, August 23	German Lutheran
Reik Frederic, September 18	City Hospital
Do. ditto, his wife, ditto 20	ditto
Remington Clement, his child, August 4	Friends
Renow ———, ditto 19	City Hospital
Rencke Frederick, his wife, September 3	German Lutheran
Renshaw Charles, his child, August 21	St. Paul's
Renfey Susan, ditto 30	City Hospital
Reynolds William, ditto 26	ditto
Reynolds John, ditto 22	2d Presbyterian

Reynolds Charles, September 6	City Hospital
Rible Jacob, ditto 15	ditto
Rice Anthony, ditto 1	ditto
Rice Jacob, ditto 4	ditto
Rice George, his child, August 28	St Paul's
Richard Stephen, ditto 24	City Hospital
Richard Mary, September 29	ditto
Richards Sarah, her child, October 2	ditto
Richards Matthew, ditto 1	ditto
Richards Thomas, ditto 17	ditto
Richards John, a child, September 20	St. Mary's
Richards Mark, ditto 30	ditto
Richards Gasper, October 10	ditto
Richards Elizabeth, ditto 14	ditto
Richards Mrs. her daughter, September 23	City Hospital
Richards George, October 19	ditto
Richardson George, August 23	ditto
Rickets Nancy, September 7	ditto
Rickets Lucy, October 13	Friends
Riddell James, ditto 2	City Hospital
Riddell John, ditto 12	ditto
Rider Rachel, August 23	ditto
Ridgway John, ditto 22	ditto
Ridgway Allen, his wife, October 31	Friends
Riebel widow, September	German Reformed
Ries Miss, October 24	City Hospital
Rifers widow, her daughter, August 21	Kensington
Riff Johannes, October	German Reformed
Riffits Edward, ditto 3	Free Quakers
Rigley Thomas, August 11	City Hospital
Riidesheim Anthony, October 21	Trinity
Rine Ann, August 5	Baptists
Riol Israel, September 25	Friends
Rion Peter Jacobus, ditto 27	City Hospital
Ritchie Francis, ditto 10	ditto
Rittenhouse Christian, his child, August 21	Kensington
Ritchie Martha, ditto 29	City Hospital
Ritter Henry, a child, September	German Reformed
Rittner Philip, ditto 9	German Lutheran
River Bastian, ditto 12	ditto
Rivel Catherine, ditto 28	St. Mary's
Ditto ditto, ditto 22,	ditto
Rivel Jacob, ditto 27	ditto
Rivel William, ditto 24	ditto
Rizer Christian, October 5	City Hospital
Rhea George, ditto 8	ditto
Rhea Mrs. ditto 23	ditto
Rhoades Sarah, August 26	ditto
Rhoades William, his wife, October 30	German Lutheran
Ditto ditto, his child, September 16	ditto
Robert Isaac, August 8	City Hospital
Robertshaw Charles, September 7	ditto
Roberts John, ditto 26	ditto
Roberts Sarah, daughter of widow, August 19	St. Peter's
Roberts Hannah, ditto, ditto 21	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(R)

Roberts Israel, September 21	City Hospital
Roberts widow, her daughter, August 23	St. Peter's
Roberts Charlotte, October 4	City Hospital
Roberts widow, her daughter, August 26	St. Peter's
Roberts Mary, September 11	Free Quakers
Ditto do. ditto 7	Christ Church
Roberts Joseph, August 31	City Hospital
Robertson John, September 17	ditto
Ditto do. ditto 19	ditto
Robeson Joseph, his son, ditto 4	Swedes
Robinet Allen, ditto 7	Kennington
Robeson Joseph, ditto 10	Swedes
Robinet Richard, his child, October 24	St. Paul's
Robins John, ditto 14	ditto
Robins Thomas, September 4	City Hospital
Robinson widow, her child, ditto 27	ditto
Robinson John, October 13	2d Presbyterian
Robinson Ann, September 14	City Hospital
Robison Mr. October 27	1st Presbyterian
Ditto do. his child, September 25	ditto
Robison Margaret, ditto 18	City Hospital
Robison Ann, August 19	ditto
Robison —, opposite Mr. Miercken's, September 17	ditto
Robison Ann, August 29	St. Mary's
Robison Joseph, September 10	Swedes
Ditto do. his son, ditto 4	ditto
Roche John, ditto 24	City Hospital
Roche Edward, ditto 23	St. Mary's
Rody Neill, a child, August 16	ditto
Rody Catherine, September 12	ditto
Rody Neill, August 19	ditto
Roes Anthony, September 1	Trinity
Rogers Hugh, ditto 3	St. Mary's
Rogers Francis, ditto 12	City Hospital
Rogers Francis, a child, ditto 13	St. Mary's
Rollington Mrs. wife of John, ditto 8	St. Peter's
Ronaldson Andrew, October 11	City Hospital
Rose David, his child, September 9	St. Paul's
Ronnion William, ditto 17	City Hospital
Roop John, his son, ditto 2	German Lutheran
Rose David, sen. August 5	St. Paul's
Rorhman Conrad, his daughter, September 10	German Lutheran
Rofs William, his child, ditto 21	Methodists
Rofs Sarah, ditto 12	City Hospital
Rofs Margaret, ditto 5	ditto
Rofs William, ditto 22	Methodists
Roth Elizabeth, August 24	German Lutheran
Rowen John, October 3	1st Presbyterian
Rose David, his child, September 9	St. Paul's
Royton George, September 25	City Hospital
Rowe Sarah, ditto 29	ditto
Ruddach William, ditto 14	1st Presbyterian
Rudy widow, a friend of her's, ditto	German Reformed
Rugan John, his apprentice, ditto 20	City Hospital

Rule Andrew, September 17	City Hospital
Rumford Rebecca, ditto 28	ditto
Rummell Charlotte, October 24	ditto
Rummell George, his child, September 28	German Lutheran
Runner Charles, October 5	ditto
Rush Elizabeth, daughter of B. Rush, August 21	1st Presbyterian
Rush Nathan, September 25	Kensington
Rush Andrew, ditto 30	City Hospital
Ruff captain Conrad, ditto	German Reformed
Ruffel Margaret, October 6	City Hospital
Ruffell Michael, ditto 7	ditto
Ruffell David, September 2	ditto
Rutchillier Mary, ditto 11	St. Mary's
Rutherford Jane, ditto 24	City Hospital
Rutter George, sign-painter, ditto 25	Friends
Rutter Peter, October 16	City Hospital
Ryan Patrick, September 23	ditto
Rybold John, October 23	Kensington

S.

St. Clair Joseph, September 19	City Hospital
St. Martin Catherine Adine, ditto 17	St. Mary's
St. Clair Mrs. October 10	City Hospital
St. Felix Mr. August 21	St. Mary's
Salmon David, September 25	City Hospital
St. Clair William, ditto 26	ditto
Sampson John, ditto 26	Associate
Sanamater George, October 21	City Hospital
Sanford Sarah, wife of William, September 11	Christ Church
Sauder Maria, ditto	German Reformed
Saunders John, October 2	St. Peter's
Ditto do. ditto 14	Kensington
Ditto William, September 24	City Hospital
Ditto Elizabeth, October 26	ditto
Ditto John, drowned, ditto 24	ditto
Savage Joseph, ditto 4	ditto
Saverito George, September 27	Kensington
Sayer Rebecca, her child, October 19	City Hospital
Sayre Francis Bowers, M. D. September 2	Christ Church
Scantlin Mary, ditto 14	City Hospital
Ditto Abraham, ditto 2	ditto
Scattergood Thomas, his daughter, ditto 4	Friends
Scheiler Conrad, August	German Reformed
Scherer Conrad, ditto	ditto
Schlemmer Catherine, ditto	ditto
Schmidt George, September 17	German Lutheran
Ditto ditto, his wife, ditto 17	ditto
Ditto Michael, ditto, August	German Reformed
Ditto William, his child, ditto 25	German Lutheran
Schneider Mr. below South-street, Sept. 30	City Hospital
Schoedt Peter, ditto 21	St. Mary's
Schoeffler Bernard, ditto 17	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(5)

Schoenburgh Godfrey, October 6	City Hospital
Schroeder Frederick, September 22	German Lutheran
Schrupp Mr his son, ditto	German Reformed
Schuler Peter, son of Christina, November 3	German Lutheran
Ditto Mr. his wife, September 4	ditto
Schull Maria, ditto	German Reformed
Scott John, a child, August 4	St Mary's
Do. Mrs. September 6	2d Presbyterian
Do. Sarah, ditto 12	ditto
Do. Sufannah, October 4	City Hospital
Do. John, September 27	3d Presbyterian
Do. Benjamin, ditto 9	City Hospital
Do. Stephen, ditto 14	ditto
Do. James, ditto 15	ditto
Do. Ann, October 14	ditto
Sculthorp James, September 23	ditto
Seahart Hannah, ditto 11	ditto
Seargill Hannah, August 29	ditto
Seckel George David, September 29	German Lutheran
Do. Hannah, ditto 26	City Hospital
Do. Rebecca, ditto 28	ditto
Do. Henry, his widow, ditto 23	German Lutheran
Seed Mary, ditto 22	City Hospital
Seguin Peter, a child, October 11	St Mary's
Service Ann, September 27	City Hospital
Ditto Thomas, a child, ditto 12	1st Presbyterian
Ditto John, jun. ditto 20	ditto
Ditto Elizabeth, ditto 14	ditto
Servofs Jacob, August 27	2d ditto
Seybert Peter, October 9	German Lutheran
Ditto Adam, his daughter, ditto 21	ditto
Ditto Peter, his wife, ditto 22	ditto
Ditto Margaret, ditto 31	ditto
Ditto Peter, his daughter, September 29	ditto
Seyfferheldt Eliza, October 1	City Hospital
Ditto Casper, September 23	German Lutheran
Ditto Elizabeth, her child, ditto 27	ditto
Seyffert Andrew ditto 30	City Hospital
Seyffert Sarah, ditto 7	ditto
Ditto Jacob, August 26	German Lutheran
Ditto do. his child, ditto 28	ditto
Seyfred Catherine, September 30	Kensington
Sewell Clement, August 8	City Hospital
Shaddock Hannah, September 24	ditto
Shaffer Henry, his wife, ditto 30	German Lutheran
Ditto Jacob, ditto	German Reformed
Ditto Catherine, a child. October	ditto
Ditto Martin, September 2	German Lutheran
Ditto do. his child, ditto 16	ditto
Shaffin Norman, ditto 7	City Hospital
Shaffner Dabney, ditto 17	ditto
Shallus George, ditto	German Reformed
Ditto Hassenclever, ditto	ditto
Shane Mrs. ditto 18	City Hospital

Shannon William, October 29	City Hospital
Sharron Stephen, November 8	German Lutheran
Sharp Nancy, a black, October 4	City Hospital
Ditto Peter, his daughter, September 29	ditto
Ditto Hannah, ditto 26	ditto
Shaw Samuel, ditto 11	ditto
Do do ditto 11	Kenlington
Do. ———, ditto 16	City Hospital
Do. John, October 23	ditto
Do. Archibald, ditto 22	St. Mary's
Shea John, son of Mrs. Walters, October 4	ditto
Sheaff Peter, his son, ditto	German Reformed
Shearman John, August 16	City Hospital
Shell Elizabeth, November 7	German Lutheran
Shelleman Rachel, September 1	City Hospital
Shenegen Peter, ditto 30	ditto
Shenied James, his wife, October 2	Kenlington
Suppard widow, her grandchild, September	German Reformed
Ditto Rachel, ditto 14	City Hospital
Ditto Joseph, ditto 28	ditto
Ditto Stephen October 18	ditto
Ditto Mrs September	German Reformed
Ditto, widow of John, ditto	ditto
Sheridan Abraham, a child, October	ditto
Shibe'y Mr September	ditto
Shields John, ditto 5	City Hospital
Ditto do. ditto 20	ditto
Shilling Caroline, October 2	ditto
Shimer Ann, ditto 1	Trinity
Shingel Nicholas, September 18	City Hospital
Ditto Frederick, his daughter, August 20	Christ Church
Shippen Mr. his child, October 2	City Hospital
Shively Ludwick, his wife, ditto 1	
Shmidt Michael, his wife, August	German Reformed
Ditto Christina, September	ditto
Ditto Michael, a child, October	ditto
Ditto widow, a child, ditto	ditto
Ditto Christopher, ditto	ditto
Shnider Catherina, September	ditto
Ditto Jacob, October	ditto
Ditto do. his widow, ditto	ditto
Ditto John, ditto 8	Trinity
Ditto Ludwick, September 14	City Hospital
Shober widow, her child, ditto 6	St. Paul's
Ditto ditto, ditto, ditto 15	ditto
Shoemaker Eli, August 9	Friends
Ditto Joseph, his child, ditto 13	ditto
Shook George, September 17	City Hospital
Short Mary, October 3	ditto
Shotwell Eden, his daughter, August 31	Friends
Ditto do September 4	ditto
Shrank George, October 7	Kenlington
Shriner Peter, September 13	German Lutheran
Shriner Elizabeth, ditto 25	St. Mary's

LIST OF DEATHS.

(5)

Shriner George, September 12	City Hospital
Shrum Christopher, ditto 4	ditto
Shugher Conrad, ditto 22	German Lutheran
Shuster Andrew, his daughter, August 26	ditto
Shweitzer Mr. September	German Reformed
Ditto Maria, ditto	ditto
Ditto John Gottlieb, his daughter, ditto 1	German Lutheran
Sillicks John, his daughter, August 10	Swedes
Simeles Michael, a child, September 27	Trinity
Simkins Martha, August 20	Methodists
Simmons Conrad, September 29	City Hospital
Simon August, August 14	ditto
Ditto Christina, October	German Reformed
Ditto John, September 5	German Lutheran
Ditto Casper, ditto 15	Kensington
Sim ———, a black, ditto 5	City Hospital
Simpson John, his wife, ditto	German Reformed
Ditto do. ditto 19	City Hospital
Ditto Mary, ditto 14	Kensington
Sims William, ditto 11	City Hospital
Singleton captain, ditto 10	ditto
Ditto Nancy, daughter of Thomas, August 22	Swedes
Sitgreaves Mary, October 9	City Hospital
Skates William, September 27	ditto
Skeats Elizabeth, ditto 26	ditto
Skerrett Susannah, October 17	ditto
Skinner widow, her daughter, September	German Reformed
Ditto William, August	ditto
Slay Mr. his child, September 26	Swedes
Slinghoff Joseph, ditto 2	German Lutheran
Slicker Frederick, ditto 21	City Hospital
Slimmer Maria, October	German Reformed
Sluyter John, his child, ditto 10	German Lutheran
Ditto ditto his wife, ditto 15	ditto
Sloane James, September 25	City Hospital
Small John, August 26	St. Mary's
Smiley Henry, October 14	St. Paul's
Ditto John, September 4	City Hospital
Ditto Mary, ditto 11	ditto
Ditto Samuel, ditto 4	ditto
Smile Joseph, ditto 27	ditto
Smith Reuben, August 26	ditto
Ditto Henry, ditto 26	ditto
Ditto Thomas, September 6	ditto
Ditto James, ditto 22	ditto
Ditto William, October 13	ditto
Ditto Bernard, ditto 29	ditto
Ditto James, ditto 29	ditto
Ditto John, September 4	ditto
Ditto do. ditto 24	ditto
Ditto do. ditto 5	ditto
Ditto George, ditto 25	ditto
Ditto Jacob, ditto 25	ditto

Smith Edward, a child, September 28	City Hospital
Ditto John, a child, October 2	ditto
Ditto Mary, ditto 1	ditto
Ditto widow, corner of Eighth and Spruce-streets	ditto
Ditto Catherine, October 4	ditto
Ditto Grace, ditto 13	ditto
Ditto Ana, September 4	ditto
Ditto John, ditto 4	ditto
Ditto do. ditto 5	ditto
Ditto Sarah, August 18	ditto
Ditto John, ditto 25	St. Mary's
Ditto Aaron, September 21	Friends
Ditto Amelia, three of her children, ditto 18	Kennington
Ditto captain Samuel, August 21	2d Presbyterian
Ditto Mr. his child, September 8	St. Paul's
Ditto Jacob, ditto 7	Kennington
Ditto Henry, October 4	Trinity
Ditto Amelia, ditto 30	Methodists
Ditto Jeremiah, ditto 5	ditto
Smothers Ralph, September 30	City Hospital
Ditto Henry, October 26	African Church
Snell Matthias, his wife, September 23	City Hospital
Snick Mrs. ditto 12	ditto
Snyder Catherine, ditto 26	ditto
Ditto John, son of John, ditto 23	St. Peter's
Ditto Elizabeth, ditto 22	Kennington
Ditto George, ditto 27	ditto
Ditto John, ditto 28	ditto
Ditto Matthew, October 8	ditto
Ditto Elizabeth, her child, September 9	German Lutheran
Ditto Mary Ann, a child, October 27	St. Mary's
Ditto George, August 21	German Lutheran
Ditto Casper, his son, September 10	ditto
Ditto Jacob, ditto 9	City Hospital
Ditto Valentine, ditto 12	ditto
Socundum John, August 31	ditto
Solfey Ace, September 4	ditto
Sones Jacob, ditto 30	German Lutheran
Sorg William, October 18	Kennington
Do. ditto his wife, ditto 18	ditto
Sork Sarah, August 30	ditto
Sower John, September 20	City Hospital
Ditto Henry, his child, ditto 20	German Lutheran
Sowerman Martin, his child, ditto 6	ditto
Ditto do. ditto ditto 2	ditto
Sowerwalt Lawrence, ditto 3	St. Mary's
Ditto Mary, ditto 22	ditto
Ditto Mark, October 26	ditto
Speck Louisa, September 27	City Hospital
spongler George. his daughter, August 22	1st Presbyterian
spray Mary, September 10	City Hospital
Springer Jacob, ditto 5	ditto
Sproul Alexander, ditto 9	3d Presbyterian

LIST OF DEATHS.

(5)

Sparhawk John, his child, September 4	Kensington
Spurrier John, ditto 9	Christ Church
Sroope Michael, August 31	City Hospital
Stret John, September	German Reformed
Stafford Mrs. August 24	City Hospital
Ditto James, ditto 25	ditto
Ditto Margaret, September 26	ditto
Stanley Johannes, October	German Reformed
Ditto Thomas, his wife, September 17	St. Peter's
Start Mr. ditto 1	Kensington
Staurt Maria, October	German Reformed
Staut William, ditto	ditto
Steel Philip, September 27	City Hospital
Do, Stephen, ditto 28	German Lutheran
Steinmetz Casper, ditto 19	ditto
Steigmiller Daniel, ditto 24	City Hospital
Stenbach Abraham, ditto 17	ditto
Stephens Thomas, October 3	ditto
Ditto Elizabeth, ditto 5	ditto
Ditto major, ditto 5	ditto
Ditto do. his son, ditto 11	ditto
Ditto Mary, August 24	ditto
Ditto Henry, his daughter, ditto 11	Baptists
Stercher Justus, September	German Reformed
Stevens Christiana, October 29	City Hospital
Stewart Sarah, August 26	ditto
Ditto Margaret, ditto 27	ditto
Ditto Charles, ditto 27	ditto
Ditto ditto, September 11	ditto
Ditto Zachariah, ditto 18	ditto
Ditto Mr. clerk in war-office, ditto 20	ditto
Ditto Sarah, ditto 26	ditto
Ditto Robert, ditto 30	ditto
Ditto Charles, his son, ditto 30	ditto
Ditto Alexander, October 1	ditto
Ditto John, ditto 15	ditto
Ditto Anne, November 1	ditto
Ditto Jane, ditto 5	ditto
Ditto Joseph, September 26	ditto
Ditto Margaret, October 30	1st Presbyterian
Ditto Mr. his daughter-in-law, ditto 18	Methodists
Ditto Mrs. August 10	Swedes
Ditto captain, his child, October 19	3d Presbyterian
Ditto Zachariah, September 16	Baptists
Ditto ditto, his widow, ditto 24	ditto
Stiff John, October 3	City Hospital
Sciten Christian, August 22	ditto
Still Amelia, September 20	ditto
Stille Gustavus, August 20	2d Presbyterian
Stiller Margaret, her child, September 17	German Lutheran
Ditto Rebecca, her child, ditto 18	ditto
Stock George, ditto 21	City Hospital
Stokes James, his daughter, October 15	Christ Church
Stone Charles, August 11	City Hospital
Ditto Mary, October 1	ditto

Stockert William, September 12	City Hospital
Stoneburner David, October 11	City Hospital
Stoneman Susan, August 6	Free Quakers
Stoufs George, his daughter, October 4	City Hospital
Stoufs Joseph, September 3	German Lutheran
Stoves Frederick, August 31	City Hospital
Straten George his child, ditto 4	Kenfington
Stow Eleanor, November 20	City Hospital
Stowesberry Peter, September 20	German Lutheran
Strart Henry, his child, August 7	Methodists
Stricker Elizabeth, September 26	City Hospital
Stricker captain, ditto	German Reformed
Stricker captain, his wife, August	ditto
Strife Christina, October 2	City Hospital
Strong Margaret, wife of Valentine, September 13	Swedes
Stuberfield William, October 2	City Hospital
Stume Francis, August 26	Trinity
Sturm widow, September	German Reformed
Sturrier Justis, October	ditto
Stuz widow, ditto 12	German Lutheran
Sullentine, his child, ditto 27	City Hospital
Sullivan Daniel, September 23	ditto
Sullivan Cornelius, ditto 25	ditto
Sullivan Dennis, ditto 18	ditto
Summer Henry, August 26	German Lutheran
Suter Mr. ditto 13	Kenfington
Suter David, September 10	German Lutheran
Suttle John, October 2	City Hospital
Sutton Mrs her child, September 27	Kenfington
Sutton John, his child, August 22	ditto
Swain Ebenezer, October 18	Methodists
Swain Nezer, son of James, September 29	Christ Church
Swan Stacy, August 23	City Hospital
Swan John, September 18	ditto
Swanwick John, August 1	St. Peter's
Swartz Sarah, October 18	Trinity
Sweeny Miles, September 25	St. Mary's
Sweeney Henry, ditto 3	Swedes
Sweitzer Michael, his wife, October 1	German Lutheran
Swelbachs Henry, ditto 2	ditto
Sykes Jacob, October 14	City Hospital
Sylvain Daniel, his child, November 1	Kenfington

T

Taggart Elizabeth, October 18	City Hospital
Taggart Mary Ann, September 2	ditto
Taggart Robert, October 12	1st Presbyterian
Tanner Philip, ditto	City Hospital
Tanner Mary, September 29	City Hospital
Tanzev Morgan, ditto 7	St. Mary's
Taper Benjamin, his child, October 9	Kenfington
Ditto ditto ditto ditto 25	ditto

LIST OF DEATHS.

(T)

Tar George, his wife, October 15	Kensington
Tarrant Thomas, his child, September 2	3d Presbyterian
Tatton John, ditto 24	City Hospital
Tauterman Philip, October	German Reformed
Taylor Godfrey, September 27	City Hospital
Taylor Fanny, October 28	ditto
Taylor Andrew, August 13	ditto
Taylor Francis, October 31	ditto
Taylor Lewis, his child, September 9	Friends
Taylor George, his child, August 15	Kensington
Taylor Elizabeth, daughter of John, August 1	2d Presbyterian
Taylor Abigail, September 27	St. Mary's
Taylor John, his child, August 17	German Lutheran
Terry Sarah, ditto 29	City Hospital
Tharnhill Joseph, October 28	ditto
Thackara John, son of William, August 6	St. Peter's
Thibien John, ditto 25	City Hospital
Third John, his wife, September 18	Baptists
Thomas Jane, August 30	African
Thomas Catharine, September 21	German Lutheran
Thomas widow, her child, ditto 27	ditto
Thomas Elizabeth, November 11	City Hospital
Thomas widow, her son, September 13	3d Presbyterian
Thomas Samuel, a black, August 25	City Hospital
Thomas Robert, ditto	ditto
Thomas Henry, ditto 31	ditto
Thomas John, ditto 16	ditto
Thomas —, ditto 22	ditto
Thompson Eleanor, October 20	ditto
Thompson Mary Ann, August 26	1st Presbyterian
Thompson Samuel, September 22	ditto
Thompson John, his child, ditto 28	ditto
Thompson Jane, ditto 4	Christ Church
Thompson Peter, ditto 5	Friends
Thompson Thomas, ditto 9	ditto
Thompson John, of the Indian Queen, ditto 13	2d Presbyterian
Thompson John, son of John, blacksmith, ditto 20	ditto
Thompson —, labourer, October 30	Universalists
Thompson Thomas, ditto 3	1st Presbyterian
Thompson Margaret, November 4	ditto
Thompson Mrs. August 24	City Hospital
Thompson Sarah, wife of captain, October 27	St. Peter's
Thorburn James, September 14	City Hospital
Thornton John, his child, October 17	Kensington
Thornton Hermanus, September 20	City Hospital
Tiepo widow, ditto	German Reformed
Till John, August 30	Kensington
Tillotson Catharine, ditto 15	Free Quakers
Tilton Lydia, October 22	City Hospital
Timanus Conrad, his wife, September 3	German Lutheran
Tinklemire Rosannah, ditto 16	City Hospital
Tobin David, August 22	St. Mary's
Tobin Eleanor, September 14	City Hospital
Poland Margaret, ditto 24	ditto
Tolly Ann, August 28	ditto

(T V) L I S T O F D E A T H S .

Tomlinson Hannah, September 26	City Hospital
Toy Jacob, ditto 8	Swedes
Tranfon Jacob, ditto 12	City Hospital
Trapp George, ditto 15	ditto
Travers Ann, October 2	ditto
Trautwine William, his child, September 26	German Lutheran
Trein Peter, October 19	Trinity
Triefs John, October 8	German Lutheran
Trefeler David, his child, ditto 29	ditto
Tribet Simon, September 29	City Hospital
Tribet Simon, October 1	ditto
Tribut Simon, his child, September 27	Kensington
Trimbles Jch 1, October 4	3d Presbyterian
Tripolet Jacob, September	German Reformed
Trompo Andre, August 24	City Hospital
Trotle Martin, his child, August 30	German Lutheran
Trumble Francis, September 11	Friends
Trumble Hannah, ditto 7	ditto
Trumble Elizabeth, ditto 30	City Hospital
Trump Daniel, his son, October 19	1st Presbyterian
Trump Mary, September 18	City Hospital
Tryer Peter, August 26	German Lutheran
Tryer widow, September 15	ditto
Tully Ann, August 23	St. Mary's
Tully William, September 29	ditto
Turner Mrs. her child, August 13	3d Presbyterian
Turner Ann, September 13	Christ Church
Turner Peter, ditto 15	St. Mary's
Turner Mary, ditto 30	Swedes
Ditto ditto August 18	City Hospital
Turner Margaret, September 14	ditto
Tutton Robert, August 20	ditto

V

Vait Wilmas, September 29	City Hospital
Valentine Mrs. her child,	
Valentine, October 1	ditto
Vallance captain Nicholas, August 15	3d Presbyterian
Vallance Mrs. October 4	1st Presbyterian
Vallance Matthew, August 31	City Hospital
Vance Jacob, September 17	2d Presbyterian
Vandergrift Jacob, ditto 27	City Hospital
Vandere Elizabeth, October 11	ditto
Vanderhuval Frederick, ditto 19	ditto
Vandersuft Abraham, August 27	ditto
Vanderslaug John, ditto 19	ditto
Vandine Elfy, September 22	ditto
Vandines George, a black child, October 10	ditto
Vandiver Grace, September 5	St. Paul's
Vanhorn Benjamin, September 16	Kensington
Vanhoven Frederick Jacobus	
Van Kempen Johannes Roque, a child, August 6	St. Mary's
Vanleer Dr. his son, October	Univerfalists

LIST OF DEATHS. (V W)

Van Phul William, Esq. September	German Reformed
Van Phul William, Esq. his son, ditto	ditto
Vanfeiver Jacob, his widow, ditto 5	Kensington
Varden William, a child, ditto 11	St. Mary's
Varner Sarah, October 14	ditto
Vauclery Gabriel, August 13	City Hospital
Vaulbach Jacob, October	German Reformed
Vaughan John, September 20	City Hospital
Vegneran Amelia, October 26	St. Mary's
Venack Thomas, September 19	City Hospital
Vining Catherine, August 31	ditto
Vizer Susannah, September 21	German Lutheran
Voight Henry, ditto 28	Trinity
Voight Christian, ditto 29	ditto
Voight Barbara, October 1	ditto
Volgrath Mrs. her child, ditto	German Reformed
Volkrant Mr. September	ditto

W

Waine Thomas, his child, August 17	3d Presbyterian
Wainwright Samuel, his daughter, November 3	Friends
Walker Joseph, September 18	ditto
Walker Tacy, ditto 26	ditto
Walker James, his child, August 30	Kensington
Walker John, his wife, October 10	ditto
Walker John, his child, September 21	St. Mary's
Walker John, corder, ditto 3	Baptists
Walker Bridget, August 17	City Hospital
Walker John, his wife, September 5	Baptists
Wall Charles, his wife, ditto 8	ditto
Do. ditto, his son, ditto 10	ditto
Wallace Samuel, October 14	Friends
Wallace Mary, September 7	City Hospital
Wallace Robert, his grand-child, ditto 18	1st Presbyterian
Ditto ditto, ditto ditto 22	ditto
Walsh Richard, ditto 4	St. Mary's
Walsh Ann, ditto 22	ditto
Walsh Patrick, a child, ditto 28	ditto
Walsh James, ditto 30	City Hospital
Walsh Mary, August 29	ditto
Walsh Elizabeth, September 16	ditto
Walsh Mary, ditto 6	ditto
Weaver Abraham, ditto 11	ditto
Watkins William, ditto 16	ditto
Weaver Henry, ditto 16	ditto
Weyfenfield Elizabeth, ditto 10	ditto
Walton Sarah, August 26	ditto
Walton Samuel, a child, September 9	Friends
Ward Mark, ditto 1	City Hospital
Webster ———, ditto 17	ditto
Ward Elizabeth, ditto 27	Christ Church
Warnek James, ditto 8	City Hospital
Waring Isaac, ditto 22	Friends

(W) LIST OF DEATHS.

Warner John, October 26	Friends
Waters James, his child, August 11	ditto
Watt Aaron, September 14	City Hospital
Watters James, publisher Weekly Magazine, do. 1	St. Mary's
Watkins Sarah, ditto 2	City Hospital
Watson captain, his wife, ditto 9	3d Presbyterian
Way George, jun. August 25	Christ Church
Watson Mr. his wife, September	German Reformed
Way Jane, ditto 28	Christ Church
Wetherill Francis, August 29	City Hospital
Weaver Matthias, September 18	ditto
Weber John, his son, ditto	German Reformed
Ditto widow, her son, ditto	ditto
Ditto Jost, ditto	ditto
Weilds Hannah, ditto 3	City Hospital
Weber Jost, ditto	German Reformed
Ditto do. his wife, ditto	ditto
Weisbach Mary, ditto 25	Kensington
Weldon Alexander, his wife, October 12	ditto
Welcome Joseph, September 19	St. Mary's
Wells Lydia, ditto 2	City Hospital
Wetterflim Catherina, ditto	German Reformed
Wells Edward, his daughter, ditto 1	Friends
West Thomas, August	German Reformed
Wheaton Amos, sen. his wife, September 30	Baptists
Wheeler William, October 3	City Hospital
Whelan John, September 9	St. Mary's
Warton George, ditto 13	City Hospital
White Richard, ditto 28	ditto
White William, his child, ditto 4	3d Presbyterian
Ditto ditto, ditto 14	City Hospital
White Mr. ditto 20	3d Presbyterian
White Isaac, ship-carpenter, his sister, ditto 9	Baptists
White William, of U. S. frigate, his daughter, do. 17	Christ Church
White Mrs. ditto 11	2d Presbyterian
White Thomas, merchant, ditto 2	Associate
Ditto ditto, ditto 12	City Hospital
Whitehead William, ditto 3	ditto
Whitehead John, grocer, ditto 2	Scots Presbyterian
Ditto do. his wife, ditto 4	ditto
Wild Thomas, August 26	City Hospital
Wicker Ann, ditto 30	ditto
Whiteman Stophel, September 12	Kensington
Whitlock John, August 23	City Hospital
Wiefeman George, September	German Reformed
Wickersham William, ditto 16	Friends
Wieler John, his child, ditto	German Reformed
Widerspriger John, ditto 4	City Hospital
Wieler John, a child, ditto	German Reformed
Wild Joseph, his wife, ditto 26	Friends
Wild Mrs. August 21	City Hospital
Wild Joseph, his son, September 26	Friends
Wild Joseph, ditto 27	ditto
Wilds Miss, ditto 9	Methodists
Wildworth Elizabeth, ditto 30	City Hospital

LIST OF DEATHS.

(W)

Wiley Richard, his daughter, Sept. 30	Christ Church
Wilkes James, October 5	City Hospital
Will Nancy, ditto	German Reformed
Wilkins captain, his daughter, September	Universalists
Williams David, his wife, ditto 15	Swedes
Williams Christopher, ditto 26	St. Mary's
Williams Thomas, November 8	Friends
Williams Robert, his wife, September 20	Swedes
Williams Jacob, August 30	City Hospital
Wilkin William, ditto 27	ditto
Williams Adam, September 8	ditto
Williams Mary, ditto 11	African Church
Williams Henrietta, October 4	City Hospital
Williams Joseph, his daughter, September 30	Friends
Williamson Sarah, (Eastburn) August 26	ditto
Wills Mary, widow of Seth, September 22	Friends
Wilson Hugh, ditto 21	3d Presbyterian
Wills Mary, August 24	City Hospital
Wilson Hugh, his wife, September 27	3d Presbyterian
Wilson —, from Shippen-street, October 1	ditto
Wilson Hugh, his child, October 12	ditto
Do. do. do. ditto 18	ditto
Wilson Mr. his child, ditto 5	1st Presbyterian
Wilson George, September 11	City Hospital
Wilson Henrietta, ditto 8	St. Peter's
Wilson Mrs. ditto 26	2d Presbyterian
Wimer Mr. October 6	Swedes
Winkler Frederick, his wife, August 27	Kensington
Winkloe Frederick, ditto 26	City Hospital
Winkler Mary, September 10	Kensington
Wind John, a child, August	German Reformed
Wolfe Michael, September 10	City Hospital
Wisdom William, August 28	St. Paul's
Witt Francis, August 25	City Hospital
Wood Benjamin, September 6	St. Paul's
Wolfe Michael, ditto 7	City Hospital
Wood George, August 16	Swedes
Wolverton George, September 8	City Hospital
Wood Mary, August 19	ditto
Wood William, September 10	ditto
Woodside Sarah, ditto 14	ditto
Woodward Anthony, October 14	African Church
Wooden Sarah, September 11	City Hospital
Woos Mr. October 5	ditto
Work Mary, September 2	ditto
Works George, ditto 10	ditto
Wray Andrew, his daughter, August 22	3d Presbyterian
Wray Andrew, his wife, ditto 26	ditto
Wright Mary, September 7	St. Mary's
Wright John, ditto 8	ditto
Wright Thomas, ditto 9	ditto
Wright William, August 22	Free Quakers
Wyet John, ditto 26	Kensington

Y

Yakart Sarah, September 10	City Hospital
Yard Sarah, wife of Edward	Universalists
Yard Mary, October 13	City Hospital
Yard John, September 11	ditto
Yarwood Mary Ann, ditto 28	ditto
Yesterday Catherine, October 17	ditto
Yeckel Anthony, August 2	Trinity
Yondez Francis, September 21	German Lutheran
Yondez Elizabeth, ditto 23	ditto
Yorkson Francis, ditto 8	St. Paul's
Yost Justis, October 13	City Hospital
Young William, his wife, ditto 3	3d Presbyterian
Young George, September 30	Baptists
Young Catherine, August 28	Trinity
Young Jacob, September 15	ditto
Young Francis, ditto 25	ditto
Young Ann, ditto 17	ditto
Young Francis, ditto 2	ditto
Young widow, August 26	German Lutheran
Young Philip, his child, August 30	ditto
Young Philip, October 1	ditto
Young Christian, his wife, ditto 13	ditto
Young Daniel, ditto 28	ditto
Young Elizabeth, ditto 26	ditto
Young Peter, his daughter, ditto 21	ditto
Young Elizabeth, ditto 26	ditto
Young Catherine, ditto 17	City Hospital
Young Rogers, September 25	ditto
Young Rogers, ditto 17	ditto

Z

Zellinger Elizabeth, October 21	City Hospital
Zean Rebecca, wife of Jonathan, August 21	Friends
Zeller Philip, October	German Reformed
Zerban Wendel, his daughter, September 27	German Lutheran
Zerban Wandel, inn-keeper, ditto	German Reformed
Zimmerman John, October	ditto
Zimmerman George Henry, ditto 16	City Hospital

Interments of persons whose names are unknown.

AUGUST.

A French child, August 4	St. Mary's
A woman from John Peckworth's, ditto 9	Baptist
Richard (a black) ditto 13	City Hospital
Apprentice of Joseph Wright, ditto 16	St. Peter's
A grown person, ditto 22	Swedes
A young male child, ditto 24	ditto

S E P T E M B E R.

Three persons, August 24	City Hospital
A twin child from North-Alley, ditto 25	St. Peter's
Adelaid, a child, ditto 26	St. Mary's
A grown person, ditto 26	Swedes
Two negro children, ditto 27	City Hospital
A woman from Joseph Clarks, ditto 28	Christ Church
Apprentice of John Naglee, ditto 28	German Lutheran
Catherine, from Pear-street, ditto 28	City Hospital
Catherine, a grown person, ditto 30	ditto
Two persons from North Water-street, ditto 31	ditto
John, from the Dispensary	ditto
Apprentice of Daniel Hartung	German Reformed
A child	ditto

S E P T E M B E R.

Elizabeth, from No. 235, South Second-st. Sept. 1	City Hospital
Apprentice of Daniel Cartright, ditto 1	St. Paul's
A woman from No 78, Spruce-street, ditto 2	City Hospital
A woman found dead on the commons, ditto 2	ditto
Robert, from Water below South-street, ditto 3	ditto
Daughter of Mr. Bingham's housekeeper, ditto 3	St. Peter's
Polly from Mr. Bingham's, ditto 3	City Hospital
Charles, ditto 3	ditto
Thomas (a black), ditto 3	ditto
James from No. 93. South Second-street, ditto 4	ditto
A person from Masters' Place, ditto 5	ditto
Charlotte, ditto 5	ditto
Apprentice of John Naglee, ditto 5	German Lutheran
A young man from the Dispensary, ditto 6	3d Presbyterian
Michael, from Elbow-Lane, ditto 7	City Hospital
Sarah (a black), ditto 8	ditto
A drowned man, ditto 8	ditto
A woman from the Pennsylvania Hospital, ditto 9	ditto
Mate of a vessel from German-street, ditto 10	3d Presbyterian
A man from Germany, ditto	German Reformed
A French child, ditto 12	City Hospital
A grown person, ditto 13	ditto
A black woman from Mrs. Richards', ditto 14	ditto
A child from the Orphan-house, ditto 15	ditto
A person from the Schuylkill tents, ditto 16	ditto
A man from the Alins-house, ditto 7	ditto
A woman from ditto, ditto 13	ditto
Two children from ditto, ditto 16	ditto
A man from ditto, ditto 17	ditto
A mulatto child from ditto, ditto 18	ditto
A child from ditto, ditto 18	ditto
A person from No. 142, North Third-street, ditto 17	ditto
A person from the Northern Liberties, ditto 16	ditto
A child from the Orphan-house, ditto 17	ditto
Thomas from Second below Christian-street, ditto 16	ditto
A man from Thomas Rhoads', ditto 17	ditto
Kattie, ditto 19	ditto
Chloe from Bloody-Lane, ditto 19	ditto
Hannah (a black) ditto 20	ditto

S E P T E M B E R.

A man found dead at No. 171, N. Second-st. Sept. 20	City Hospital
Another man found dead at ditto, ditto 21	ditto
A child from the Alms-House, ditto 21	ditto
A person from No. 82, North Fourth-st. ditto 20	ditto
A woman, ditto 20	ditto
A person from Schuylkill tents, ditto 20	ditto
Charlie from the city, ditto 23	ditto
A woman from the Alms-House, ditto 23	ditto
A woman from the city, ditto 23	ditto
A person found dead in Eighth-street, between Race and Vine, ditto 23	ditto
A child from Schuylkill tents, ditto 22	ditto
A woman from the Alms-House, ditto 25	ditto
A child found dead near Potter's field, ditto 25	ditto
A person from the city, ditto 25	ditto
A sailor from Humphreys' wharf, ditto 25	ditto
A child from the Orphan-House, ditto 24	ditto
Apprentice from Catherine Cooper's, ditto 26	ditto
Frances from Mr. Low's, ditto 26	ditto
A child from Schuylkill tents, ditto 26	ditto
A person from the Alms-House, ditto 27	ditto
A child from Noble-street, ditto 27	ditto
A man from a shallop near the Swedes' church, ditto 27	ditto
A man found dead on the wharf below Mr. Wharton's compting house, ditto 27	ditto
A man from Cherry-Alley, ditto 27	ditto
A person from the Orphan-House	ditto
A foldier from Pennsylvania Hospital, ditto 27	ditto
A woman from Hannah Fritz's, ditto 27	ditto
Servant man of George Lefsher, ditto 27	ditto
George (a black boy), ditto 28	ditto
Jeanie, ditto 28	ditto
A child from the Alms-House, ditto 29	ditto
A child from the Orphan-House, ditto 29	ditto
Mary, servant of Mr. Deanes, ditto 29	ditto
A lad from widow Henderson's, ditto 29	ditto
Victor, a French child, September 29	ditto
A woman from Anthony Morris', ditto 30	ditto
A grown person, ditto 30	ditto
A man from Frankford road, ditto 30	ditto
A person from Schuylkill tents. ditto 30	ditto

O C T O B E R.

Peter (a black), October 1	ditto
Rossannah (a mulatto), ditto 1	ditto
A child from Frankford,	ditto
A man from the corner of 4th and Plumb-street, do. 1	ditto
A child from Schuylkill tents, ditto 1	ditto
A child from the Orphan-House, ditto 2	ditto
Apprentice of Jacob Weaver's, ditto 2	ditto
Apprentice of Valentine Hoffman's, ditto 3	Kensington German Lutheran
Nancy from Polly M'Cartey's, ditto 4	City Hospital
A child from the Orphan House, ditto 5	ditto
A child from the Alms-House, ditto 3	ditto
A man from ditto, ditto 5	ditto

O C T O B E R.

A child from the Alms-House, October 5	City Hospital
A woman from ditto, ditto 7 (aged 106 years)	ditto
Two women from ditto ditto 7	ditto
A child from ditto, ditto 9	ditto
An old man from ditto, ditto 10	ditto
A child from ditto, ditto 13	ditto
Hannah from 8th above Chesnut street, ditto 11	ditto
A child from Schuylkill tents, ditto 13	ditto
A child from the Orphan-House, ditto 14	ditto
A woman from the city, ditto 13	ditto
A woman from the Northern Liberties, ditto 18	ditto
A woman found dead in a house, corner of 8th and Shippen street, ditto 16	ditto
A child from the Alms-House, ditto 20	ditto
An apprentice of William Coates, ditto 22	ditto
Hannah, (a negro) ditto 23	ditto
Hannah, (a black) ditto 20	ditto
John, a child, ditto 23	ditto
A servant girl of Peter Och, Robert, from Camptown, ditto 22	German Lutheran City Hospital
Woman from Chales Telghman's, ditto 25	ditto
Jane, (a black) ditto 27	ditto
A person from Masters' place ditto 28	ditto
A child from Schuylkill tents, ditto 29	ditto
A child from the Orphan-House, ditto 25	ditto
A black woman from the Alms-House, ditto 27	ditto
A child from the Orphan-House, ditto 31	ditto
Isaac, from the Pennsylvania Hospital,	ditto

N O V E M B E R.

A child from Schuylkill tents, November 1	ditto
A woman from the Alms-House, ditto 1	ditto
A man from ditto, ditto 1	ditto
An apprentice of Daniel Hartung, ditto	German Reformed City Hospital
A person from John Mearns's, ditto 4	ditto
Robert, (a black man) ditto 5	ditto
A child from the Orphan-House, ditto 2	ditto
Ditto ditto, ditto 9	ditto
A woman from Schuylkill tents, ditto 3	ditto
A child from ditto, ditto 7	ditto
A person from the city, ditto 6	ditto
A black child from Southwark, ditto 15	ditto
A woman from the Alms-House, ditto 2	ditto
A child from ditto, ditto 9	ditto
Three persons from ditto, ditto 10	ditto
A child from ditto, ditto 15	ditto
A black woman from ditto, ditto 15	ditto

The mate of the Aurora, July 27th.
 A negro girl from the Marine Hospital, July 14th.
 A person from the Ship Nestor, July 29th.

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## NAMES OMITTED.

|                                           |                  |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Benjamin Jones, June 2                    |                  |
| Mark Millar, July 2                       |                  |
| John Naglee, pilot, ditto 28              |                  |
| James Roland, pilot, ditto 29             |                  |
| Hugh Dowel, printer, ditto 29             | Free Quakers     |
| George Ralton, ditto 30                   |                  |
| Frederick Snyder, August 15               | German Reformed  |
| John Lincoln, ditto 2                     |                  |
| Sarah Newton, ditto 2                     |                  |
| William Adams's son, ditto 4              | Free Quakers     |
| Elizabeth Dewalt, ditto 6                 | German Reformed  |
| John Morris's daughter, ditto 7           | Free Quakers     |
| Magdalane Bernhart, ditto 9               | German Reformed  |
| Eliza Crumpfield, ditto 10                | ditto            |
| John Ash, ditto 11                        | ditto            |
| Solomon Steneman's child, 16              | Free Quakers     |
| John Tutton, ditto 20                     | St. Peter's      |
| Joseph Douglafs, August                   |                  |
| William Griffiths, bookfeller, ditto      |                  |
| Mr. North, clerk in the war-office, ditto |                  |
| James Stewart's son, ditto                | 1st Presbyterian |
| James Dunn, ditto                         | ditto            |
| James Wilson, stone-cutter, ditto         | ditto            |
| Ditto, his wife, ditto                    | ditto            |
| David Hampton, stone-cutter, ditto        | ditto            |
| Widow Gentle, ditto                       | ditto            |
| Ditto, her daughter, ditto                | ditto            |
| Mrs. M'Klentick's daughter, ditto         | ditto            |
| George Wilson, baker, ditto               | ditto            |
| Martin Haws, ditto                        | ditto            |
| Mr. Kennard's son, ditto                  | Universalists    |
| Mrs. Kingston's daughter, ditto           | ditto            |
| John Sitgrieves, September 3              |                  |
| Frederick Kammerer, ditto 5               | German Lutheran  |
| Henry Underwick, ditto 5                  | Kensington       |
| Henry Heineman, ditto 7                   | German Reformed  |
| Widow Mynnich, ditto 17                   | ditto            |
| Mrs. Taylor, ditto 17                     | City Hospital    |
| Elizabeth Utchell, ditto 21               | ditto            |
| James Johnston, baker, ditto              | ditto            |
| Mrs. Kerr wife of James, ditto            | 1st Presbyterian |
| Thomas Ryan's child, ditto                | ditto            |
| Alexander Urquhart's child, ditto         | 2d Presbyterian  |
| Mary Fogie, widow, October 3              | Swedes           |
| Orpheus Reemer, ditto 4                   | ditto            |

NAMES OMITTED.

|                                  |                  |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| Edward Yard's wife, October 21   | Free Quakers     |
| John Gould's widow, ditto 25     | ditto            |
| Richard Mofely's child, ditto 27 | St. Paul's       |
| John Merriam's child, ditto 29   | Baptist          |
| Jacob Stinemeyers, ditto 31      | German Lutheran  |
| Mathias Baltz                    | German Reformed  |
| Ditto, his wife,                 | ditto            |
| James Crawford, printer,         | City Hospital    |
| Margaret Corbet, November 1      | Christ Church    |
| David Todd, ditto                | and Presbyterian |
| Edward Carrol, ditto             | ditto            |
| Samuel Chambers, ditto 15        | ditto            |
| Alexander Bilsland, ditto        | ditto            |
| Margaret Emery, ditto 4          | Moravian         |
| Henry Townsend's child, ditto 5  | Baptist          |
| John M'Donald, ditto 8           | Free Quakers     |
| Isaac Wetherill's son, ditto     | ditto            |
| Captain Refside's son, ditto 26  | St. Peter's      |

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*In all 3,521 Names.*





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