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Saml A B. Abbott, Esq
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My dear Sir;

In answer to your
favor of aug 14th that part
by Express a copy of the
Memoirs of Matthew and
Alexander Baldwin which
I beg you will accept for
the use of your library.
I would like to receive

any public notice of the work that may come to your eye— Absence from home has prevented my sending the book sooner—

Yours respectfully
Saml Clarkson

Mr. Samuel Clarkson.

236 E. 13th St.

Mathew Clarkson
Philadelphia

ARTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

MEMOIRS OF

MATTHEW CLARKSON

OF PHILADELPHIA,

1735–1800,

BY HIS GREAT-GRANDSON

JOHN HALL,

AND OF HIS BROTHER

GERARDUS CLARKSON

1737–1790,

BY HIS GREAT-GRANDSON

SAMUEL CLARKSON.

1890

TWO HUNDRED COPIES PRINTED.

PRESS OF
THOMSON PRINTING COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA.

These twin memorials of brothers, by their great-grandsons, have been prepared independently, but with such mutual consultation, that it is hoped no important discrepancy or needless repetition will be detected, and that they will supply each other's deficiencies.

It affords me much gratification to assist in furnishing a large circle of relatives with this filial commemoration of our worthy ancestors; and it is a subject of devout acknowledgment that I am allowed to date this note upon the first day of the eighty-fifth year of my life.

J. H.

Trenton, N. J., August 11, 1890.

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MEMOIR OF MATTHEW CLARKSON.

I.

ANCESTRY.

In preparing a biography it is customary and natural to trace the ancestry of its subject so far as the facts can be ascertained and creditably remembered. This part of my undertaking has been performed to my hand, in a work that leaves nothing to be explored in that direction. I allude to the printing in New York, in 1875, of two sumptuous volumes copiously illustrated with portraits, views of public buildings and dwellings, fac-similes and genealogical tables, under the title of "The Clarksons of New York. A Sketch."

As only seventy-five impressions were made, the sketch has been seen by few out of the family; and as the New York and Pennsylvania houses are branches of the same English stock, I have only to avail myself of these laborious

researches to supply a proper introduction to my humbler purpose.

The family is traced to Bradford, in Yorkshire, and to the year 1544, in the reign of Henry VIII. There were also Clarksons in the county of Nottingham, who had the same coat-of-arms with those of Bradford, and which is still found on the plate and books of the families in New York and Philadelphia. Its description in heraldry is, "argent, on a bend engrailed sable, three annulets, or." The Yorkshire crest is "a griffin's head couped between two wings, ppr.;" the Nottingham crest is "an arm in armour, fessewise, holding a sword, from which flows a pennon."

Among the connections of the English house are several names of title and note, but none of the forefathers are more worthy of remembrance than the Rev. David Clarkson, B. D., 1621–1686. He was a Fellow of Cambridge University, and a tutor of the future Archbishop Tillotson, who succeeded him in the fellowship. His first wife was a daughter of Sir Henry Holcroft, a family of high pedigree. Mr. Clarkson was for a short time an incumbent of the church at Crayford, and it was probably his daughter Lettice who is registered in that parish as baptized May, 1652, and buried March, 1653; but he was rector of Mortlake, in Surrey, when he united his destiny with the famous two thousand beneficed ministers of the Church of England, who surrendered their livings rather than submit to the Act of Uniformity of 1662. A selection of his sermons was published

COPY OF BOOK-PLATE IN USE ABOUT 1724 BY DAVID CLARKSON,
SON OF THE SECRETARY

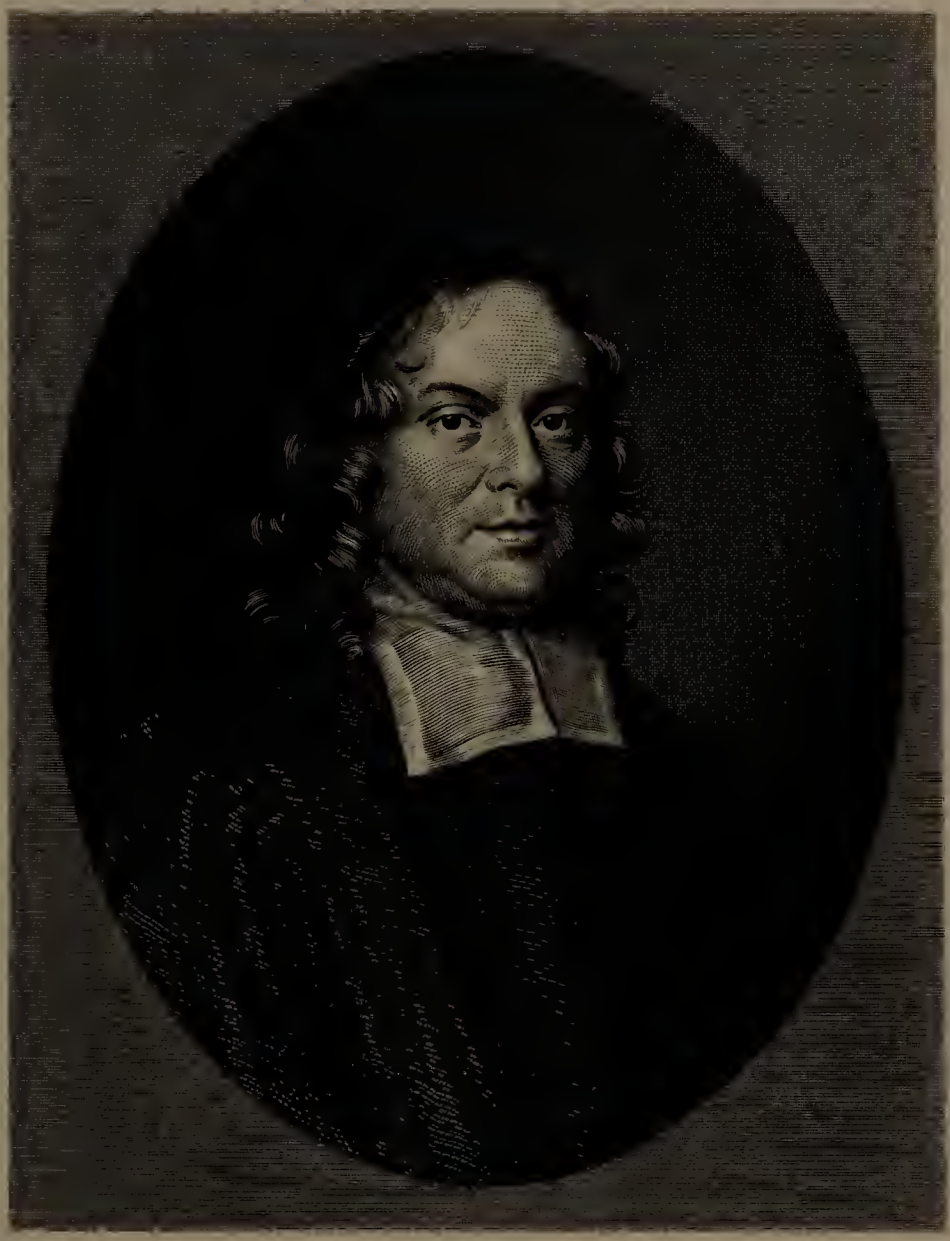
in London, 1696, in a folio of 1038 pages, and as late as 1864 they were republished in Edinburgh as part of his "Select Practical Works," in three volumes of "Nichol's Series of Standard Divines. Puritan Period." Besides this huge book, a volume of selections was published in 1846 by the "Wickliffe Society." The title of the first edition is "Sermons and Discourses on several Divine Subjects, by the late Rev. and learned David Clarkson, B. D., and sometime Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge." The publication was introduced by the following prefatory address, signed by the eminent John Howe and Matthew Mead.

"Christian reader, the Rev. Mr. Clarkson was so esteemed for his excellent abilities, that there needs no adorning testimony to those that knew him; and the following sermons, wherein the signatures of his spirit are very conspicuous, will sufficiently recommend his worth to those who did not know him. They are printed from the original papers, and with the Divine blessing, will be very useful to instruct and persuade men to be seriously religious." As late as after his conscientious secession from the National Church, he was colleague and successor of the eminent Dr. John Owen in the pastorship of his congregation in London. In 1662–3 Mr. David Clarkson married again, his wife being Elizabeth, widow of Wolrave Lodwick, and daughter of Matthew Kenrick, of London. The Kenricks have been seated at Woore Manor, Salop, for generations. It is a Welsh family of great antiquity, and claims a descent from David Kenrick, in the

time of Edward III, who was a companion to the Black Prince in the battles of Crecy and Poictiers. He formed the Church of Ashley, County Stafford, in which a brass bears an inscription to his memory. In the list of his children we first find the name of Matthew, which, with Cornelia for the other sex, became frequent in the following generations and their branches, to the present day. In the times when lotteries were resorted to for the benefit of churches, libraries and the best purposes, his grandson David (1764) drew a sum equivalent to twenty-five thousand dollars in gold, in a lottery for the foundation of the British Museum. Of one of his family we only know what is read on a tombstone in Hitchin, Herts: "M. Katharine Clarkson, died January 11th, 1757, aged eighty-four years. She was daughter of the learned and eminent David Clarkson, B. D., who was ejected from Mortlake, Surrey, in 1662, and died in 1686."

That my great-grandfather was actively engaged in seeking materials for the family history, appears in the following extracts from a letter of his, to his namesake in New York, dated December 13, 1793:

"The superscription of the letter which you enclosed warranted your breaking the seal. It is from Granville Sharp, Esquire, between whose family and ours a connection was formed many years ago. He hath furnished me with information concerning our ancestors, which will enable me to trace our pedigree in a respectable line through a period of upwards of two centuries.



REV. DAVID CLARKSON. B.D.

FROM AN ENGRAVING PREFIXED TO A FOLIO EDITION

OF HIS SERMONS PUB. IN LONDON 1696.

"I wish to be possessed of some information concerning my grand, your great-grand-father, Matthew Clarkson, the first of our family who came to America, who was, as you have been informed, Secretary of the Province of New York. . . . . I will undertake the compiling of the whole, and thank you for your assistance in procuring materials. Your approbation of my conduct on a late occasion [the yellow fever] and the assurances which you so affectionately express, are very pleasing to me. . . . . .

"I am, with real esteem, dear sir, your affectionate and most obedient servant,

MATTHEW CLARKSON.

"Gen'l. Matthew Clarkson."

Granville Sharp, whose letter was opened by mistake, was the philanthropist (1734–1813) so well-known in the anti-slavery movements in England. He was the son of Thomas Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, and grandson of John Sharp, Archbishop of York (1691–1714), who was a native of Bradford. The relationship of the Sharps that is referred to, began in the marriage of a brother of the Rev. David Clarkson, already mentioned, the Rev. William Clarkson (1613–1660), Vicar of Adel, near Bradford, patronized by Lord Fairfax, to a daughter of Thomas Sharp. Mary Clarkson, the vicar's daughter, was married in 1632 to John Sharp. Calamy says that Rev. Thomas Sharp, their son, and the

Archbishop were cousins. On the tablet of Abraham Sharp, a younger brother, in the Bradford church, is a long Latin inscription, in which he is said to have been "descended from an ancient family and united by the tie of blood relationship to the Archbishop of York of that name." He is further described as a skilful mathematician, "intimate especially with Flamsteed and the renowned Newton." He was in his ninety-first year at the time of his death in 1742.

Matthew, as mentioned in the letter before quoted, was the immediate ancestor of the American Clarksons. He made a visit to New England in 1685–6, and upon his return applied to the throne (William and Mary) for the Secretaryship of the Province of New York, which was given him. One of the signers of his recommendation was Daniel Foe, the author of "Robinson Crusoe," before he adopted the prefix of "De." Mr. Clarkson arrived in New York in the "Beaver," Thursday, January 29th, 1690–1, and two years later, on the 19th of January, married Catherina, a daughter of the Hon. G. Gerritse Van Schaick, of Albany. By his marriage, Mr. Clarkson became connected with many of the prominent families in the province, the Van Cortlandts, Van Rensselaers, Livingstons and Verplancks. In 1698 he was chosen one of the Vestry of Trinity Church, New York, and the pew-right which he bought in the first building has remained in the family to this day. He died in 1702. His son Matthew, who died in 1739, married Cornelia De Peyster, and from them descended six children, one of whom was

M. Clarkson

ARMS AND SIGNATURE COPIED FROM A CONVEYANCE

DELINEATED BY MATTHEW CLARKSON. FEBRUARY 18 1701

the subject of our memoir. Among the names of that family we find Matthew, Levinus, Gerardus and Cornelia, as perpetuated in every direction; the last two are found as far back as the DePeysters of 1651, besides a son Cornelius.

II.

BOUDE. GRIMSTONE.

This brings us to the more particular history of the Pennsylvania family and the special personage of this memorial. Matthew Clarkson, of Philadelphia, was a son of Matthew Clarkson and Cornelia DePeyster, both of New York. The father was baptized April 9, 1699; the mother December 15, 1695, and died May 23, 1753. Matthew Clarkson was born in New York April 15th, 1733. He was married June 13th, 1753 to Mary, daughter of Thomas and Sarah Boude (born February 14th, 1734–5), and grand-daughter of Grimstone and Mary Boude. Mr. Boude died at the home of his son-in-law, September, 1782. Dr. Boude, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who married Mary Bethel, was a brother of Mrs. Clarkson. Her sister, Henrietta, became the wife of Michael Hillegas, Treasurer of Pennsylvania, 1775. After the death of Clarkson's father, which occurred in his boyhood, his mother married the Rev. Gilbert Tennent an eminent minister of the Presbyterian Church, then a pastor in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The family removed to Philadel-

phia in 1743, here Mrs. Tennent died in 1753, her husband surviving until 1764. Matthew Clarkson's will, proved in 1739, made executors "his wife Cornelia, David Clarkson and Gerardus DePeyster."

An episode in the family story may be introduced at this point in connection with the Boude name. The histories of Hume, Burnet, Clarendon, and others mention Sir Harbottle Grimstone as a popular member of the House of Commons in the reign of Charles I, Speaker at the Restoration and Master of the Rolls. He was born in Essex, about 1596, and died 1683. In Ward's Edition of Pope's Works the following note is appended to the Imitation of Horace, book 2, satire 2: "Gorhambury near St. Albans, the seat of Lord Bacon was at the time of his disgrace conveyed to his quondam secretary, Sir J. Meantys, whose heir sold it to Sir Harbottle Grimston, whose grand-son left it to his nephew (William Lucklyn, who took the name of Grimston) whose second son was in 1719 created Viscount Grimston. This is the "booby lord" to whom Pope refers in this couplet:

"Shades that to Bacon could retreat afford
Become the portion of a booby lord." *

* For our consolation under this disparagement of an ancient relative, I have received this original epigram from the witty friend who had told me of the note;

"Pope's judgement carries little weight,
Too much a dog in wit;
According to his love or hate
He wagged his tail, or bit."

The Grimston or Grimstone (originally De Grymestone) house is traced in the English peerage to Normandy and the year 1066, and the granting of the Grimston estate by William the Norman. Many generations had notable members of the name. About 1589 Edward Grimston married a grand-daughter, maternally, of John Harbottle of Crossfield, in Sussex. A daughter of the first baronet was married to Adlord Boude and was the ancestress of the American name. Her son John was the father of Adlord and Grimston Boude, who came to America and settled at Perth Amboy as agents of the New Jersey Proprietors. In the "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey," (vol. iii) are papers relating to certain proceedings of Lewis Morris and others at Perth Amboy, one of which is a deposition of "Grimston Boude, merchant, age thirty-eight years, or thereabouts." The document is dated May 10, 1699; the name is so written in the opening sentence, but the signature has the final *e* to the first name. Grimston afterwards removed to Philadelphia, and the name of his son John is on the record of burials in the church-yard of the Swedes' Church of Gloria Dei, in that city, but spelled Bood, which was probably the pronunciation of the day, as Bowd became afterwards. Another son, Thomas, was the ancestor of Mrs. Matthew Clarkson, from the affiliations of which descended General Lewis Merrill, now of Philadelphia.

The children of Matthew and Mary (Boude) Clarkson (all

of whom, excepting the first infant, were like their mother, baptized at Christ church) were Cornelia, 1755–6; Thomas, 1756; Anna (or Nancy), 1758 (married to George Bringhurst by the future Bishop White, July 27th, 1780; died 1813); Matthew, 1761; Levinus, 1762, (married Miss Graves, of Maryland, and died at the house of William Graves, Kent Co., Md., aged fifty, January 18th, 1812); Cornelia, 1764; David Matthew, 1765; Sarah, 1766, (married to Robert Ralston, 1785); Gerardus (or Gerard), 1772, who graduated at the College of Philadelphia, before it became the University of Pennsylvania, in 1790, and died at St. Kitt's (St. Christopher's), in the West Indies, 1793. David Matthew, the seventh of the family, was born in Philadelphia, March 28th, 1765; married December 27th, 1787, at St. Kitts, Ann Amory, (born there July 7th, 1769). Their daughter Mary married Isaac Prince. Their other children were Robert, Matthew Amory, Benjamin Hartman and John William Truxton. Two of the sons-in-law of Matthew and Mary (Boude) Clarkson were prominent in the membership of their respective churches in Philadelphia. Mr. Bringhurst was a vestryman of Christ Church for many years, until his death in 1829.* Mr. Ralston was an elder of the Second Presbyterian Church from 1802 to his death, in 1836. Mrs. Ralston will always be known

* Dr. J. W. Alexander, writing of Mr. Bringhurst, says, "whom I well remember as the sweetest looking old gentleman I ever saw." (Cor. ii. 229.

as connected with the origin, support and management of the "Orphans' Asylum," and of the "Indigent Widows' and Single Women's Society," both of which have grown to be among the largest and best endowed charities of the city. Two of Mr. Ralston's sons bore the traditional names of Matthew and Gerard. In Grace A. Oliver's "Study of Maria Edgeworth," Boston, 1882, it is related that "Miss Edgeworth met Mr. [Gerard] Ralston, of Philadelphia," and in a letter of her's about 1812, she wrote "his father and mother are grand, and what is rather better, most benevolent people in Philadelphia; introduced him to Dr. Holland, Mackintosh and others." And in 1835, to Mr. Peabody, Boston, "I wrote orders to a bookseller in London, to forward to you by my friend, Mr. Gerald [Gerard] Ralston, a copy of my father's" books; and in 1841 "Miss Edgeworth visited her friend Gerard Ralston in Croydon."

A sister of Mr. Clarkson (Catharine), was married by Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton in October, 1739, to Samuel Hazard who were the parents of Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster General of the United Colonies, 1782–9, and grandparents of Samuel Hazard, so well known as the annalist and genealogist of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Hazard was born in New York January, 1720, died there 1788 at the house of her son Ebenezer, and is said to to be the first buried in the vault of the old Wall Street Presbyterian Church.

The following reminiscence of the Postmaster General's official life is of interest here:*

"On July 26, 1775, the New York Provincial Congress recommended *my grandfather*, Ebenezer Hazard, to the Continental Congress as a fit person for Postmaster, and on October 5, 1775, he was duly appointed by that body the first Postmaster of New York—nine months before the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Hazard was a merchant of this city, and his mother, Catharine Clarkson, was a daughter of Matthew Clarkson and Cornelia de Peyster, of New York. . . . Washington retreated from Long Island during the night of August 29, 1776. The next day the Committee of Safety ordered Mr. Hazard to Dobbs' ferry. For several months, the post-office, at least its Postmaster, was not in clover. Ostensibly it was kept at Hercules Cronks', next door to Mayor Abraham Storm's, a mile above the ferry. In fact it was peripatetic and might easily have been mistaken for a pedler on a tramp. It had to be near the Provincial Congress, then at Fishkill, and at the same time near Washington and his movable headquarters, as most of the letters were army letters. On November 28, 1783, three days after the evacuation, the post-office turns up alive and well at No. 38 Smith street, William Bedlow, postmaster. Mr. Hazard's first difficulties were with the anti-Federalist news-

* From the *New York Tribune*, December 3, 1884. Extract of a paper read before the New York Historical Society, "The Post-Office in Colonial Times," by Rev. Dr. Ashbel G. Vermilye.

papers, which he was accused of suppressing from the mails. But, by law, they were not mail matter; they made their own arrangements with the riders. Then contractors of stages (introduced in 1785) attacked him, since he would not pay their exorbitant prices. Mr. Hazard was able to say to the President that, with 1,500 miles of road under his care, on a salary of $1,250, without clerk hire, which he could not afford without the aid of the treasury, he had made the office pay its way—which it did not do afterwards."

In 1877 the Massachusetts Historical Society, in two volumes of its Collections, published the correspondence of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, with Ebenezer Hazard, from 1779 to 1800. The letters are full of allusions to the Philadelphia family, as may be seen hereafter. My present object in introducing the Hazard name, is to claim, however remotely, some kindred with the American painter, Benjamin West. A Joseph West married an Elizabeth Hazard, who died in Philadelphia, July 14th, 1758. John Clarkson, of the New York branch, married a Rachel West. "Elizabeth Shewell, wife of Benjamin West, died in London, December 6th, 1814, [according to Allan Cunningham, 1817], a native of Philadelphia." Whatever the connection may have been, it is evidently recognized in two letters from West to Clarkson, found among my ancestor's papers. One of these was long, and chiefly occupied with expressions of concern and offers of

advice for some wayward lad. I copy the other, the reference in which is to George III, the patron and friend of the artist. It is dated London, January 23d, 1772.

"Dear Sir—Your kind letter by Captain Falconer I have received, and permit me to return you my thanks for it. I am never made happier than when favoured with a letter from a friend, and I presume others are not without those sensations; but as writing and holding a regular correspondence is of so much difficulty to me, I am the oftener deprived of the above pleasure, and of course, deprive others of the same—so I hold it the kinder in your writing to me.

"In regard to what you mentioned to me in one of your former letters of a certain office, there are difficulties in obtaining a thing of that sort with me that are insurmountable. I am happy in having the countenance of a certain great person; some little abilities I have in the art have procured me that, but the giving of places under the crown comes from another quarter. When vacancies are in offices, administration strengthen themselves by bestowing them on their favourites, upon the principle that one good turn deserves another. Was I to hold a seat in parliament, a thing of that kind might be obtained with some ease.

"I have advanced with Mr. Penn's picture, and early in the Spring I expect to have it done, when I beg to receive your commands concerning the Indians' dresses. I am afraid they never can be disposed of at a price that is worth

attending to. Though they are great novelties, yet few there are that will give money for them. I should be happy if I could turn them to your advantage.

"I much rejoice for what has been done for——[the young relative], it does you great honour to take care of his education, for by that he may be of use in the world.

"I pray my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Clarkson, your brother and family, Mr. [Francis] Hopkinson and his.

"I am, dear sir, your obliged and most obedient and humble servant,

BENJAMIN WEST."

III.

PHILADELPHIA TO PITTSBURGH, 1766.

In the earlier part of his life, Mr. Clarkson was engaged in mercantile business in Philadelphia. In 1766 he was connected with the house of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, and in that year, went, in the interest of the firm, which, I presume, constitutes in whole or in part, what he calls "the company," to explore the prospects of the opening for trade on the Ohio, and the regions of the new West. Before entering on the account of his journey as given by himself, it may be well to peruse the description of the route of travellers in that day as given in McMaster's "History of the People of the United States." The contrast of the journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, with the present mode and rate of transit, will contribute much to the enjoyment of reading both our contemporary historian and the journal of the traveller, one hundred and thirty-four years ago.

Mr. McMaster writes:—"From Philadelphia ran out the road to what was then the far West. Its course, after leaving the city, lay through the counties of Chester and Lancaster, then sparsely settled, now thick with towns and cities, and penetrated with innumerable railways, and went over the Blue Ridge mountains to Shippensburg and the little town of Bedford. Thence it wound through the beautiful hills of western Pennsylvania, and crossed the Alleghany mountains to the head waters of the Ohio. It was known to travellers as the northern route and even declared to be execrable. In reality it was merely a passable road, broad and level in the lowlands, narrow and dangerous in the passage of the mountains, and beset with steep declivities. Yet it was the chief highway between the Mississippi valley and the East, and was constantly travelled in the summer months by thousands of emigrants to the western country, and by long trains of wagons bringing the produce of the little farms on the banks of the Ohio, to the markets of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

"His troubles over, the traveller found himself at a small hamlet known as Pittsburgh. The place bore no likeness to the great and wealthy city now standing on the same spot, and bearing the same name, whose streets are bordered with stately dwellings and stores, whose population numbers more than 150,000, and whose air is thick with the smoke and soot of a hundred foundries, machine shops and factories. Yet, small as the town was, many historical associations gathered

around it. At that very point where the Alleghany, sweeping from the north, and the Monongahela from the south, mingle their waters to form the Ohio, had stood, years before, Fort Duquesne, one of the long chain of posts the French erected from St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. Not far away was "Braddock's Fields," a little patch of land whereon the English general had sustained his memorable defeat, and whence the young Virginia captain had led the remnant of his troops. Just back of the town, and hard by the banks of the Monongahela, rose "Grant's Hill," on whose summit a detachment of Highlanders were surprised and massacred by the French and Indians. So late as 1784, the top was strewn with their whitened bones and with arrow-heads and tomahawks used in the battle. On the destruction of Fort Duquesne the place passed into the hands of the British, who built Fort Pitt. In 1764, at the end of the Indian war, Colonel Campbell laid out the town in four squares, just without the walls of the fort, and named it Pittsburgh, in honor of the great Commoner. It was the centering point of emigrants to the west, and from it the travellers were carried in keel-boats, in Kentucky flat-boats and Indian piroques, down the waters to the Ohio."

Mr. Clarkson made the journey from the city to Fort Pitt or Duquesne, on horseback, two years after the beginning of its conversion into Pittsburgh. From the hasty journal kept by him on the way, I proceed to condense a narrative which cannot be read without curiosity and

instruction, at this distance of time from its date.

On Wednesday, August 6, 1766, Mr. Clarkson with a servant left Philadelphia before seven in the morning, accompanied as far as "the ferry" (Gray's) by a Mr. Robert Levers. Soon afterward he met a wagon loaded with skins from the Indian country, and at the Spread Eagle Tavern found another with a load of pork for the garrison at Fort Pitt and then three more on the way from the Fort with skins for Dr. Bond in the city. At noon he dined at George Ashton's [Admiral Warren] twenty-three miles from town; met a load of skins from Virginia, "overtook our four Germantown wagons," and lodged at the "Ship," thirty-five miles. Next morning he breakfasted at Miller's forty-seven miles; met three loads of skins from the Fort for Baynton & Co., stopped at the Duke of Cumberland, fifty-seven miles; lodged that night at his kinsman, Joseph Boude's, in Lancaster. On the 8th he crossed the Susquehanna at Wright's ferry, and at sundown reached Greber's at York. On the 9th he crossed Conewaga creek, stopped at Stevenson's, half way between York and Carlisle, reached Carlisle for the night at Pollock's, and spent the Sabbath there, attending Mr. Steele's church. On Monday "had a long conversation with Colonel Armstrong about the Ohio scheme of Mr. Hazard, which he did not seem entirely to approve of." The 12th found the travellers at Shippensburgh for dinner, and seven miles further at Joseph Finley's for lodging. Thirty head of cattle were on the way from Pitt to the Baynton Company.

The next morning's breakfast was at Campbell's; eleven horse-loads of skins for the company were met at Conegojig creek, and at the Burnt Cabins thirty-two horse-loads of flour going to the fort, and then five of skins for the city company. At Fort Littleton, one hundred and eighty-two miles from Philadelphia, four soldiers were posted, who had been on duty there for nine months.

August 14th, the breakfast was at the foot of Sideling hill; dinner at the crossings of the Juniata, the night in Bedford, at George Wood's. "Entered into an agreement with George Wood about five tracts of land, three of them in Cumberland Valley, about seventeen miles from Bedford, on the road to Fort Cumberland; one on the waters of Dunning's creek, about three miles to the North-Eastward of Bedford, and the other in Woodcock Valley, about forty miles North of Bedford, and ten west of Standing stone, amounting to eighteen hundred acres, one-half of which I am to have on paying him £90, three months after they are warranted and accepted in the surveyor's office, provided Ed. Duffield, of Philadelphia, agrees thereto in that time."

On the 16th "baited at the foot of the Alleghany mountains at Higgins'; on the hill met a party of Indians encamped, under the command of Captain Green, gathering and drying huckleberries; got to Atkin's at Stony creek and lodged there."

The next day, though Sunday, found the traveller baiting at McMahon's, dining in Ligonier at Bonjour's, and lodging

at Wm. Proctor's at the Twelve-mile run. "Proctor gave me a location of some land upon the head-draughts of the Fifteen mile run from Ligonier, between that and Pittsburgh, about four miles up the stream from the road, above one thousand acres. I observed an excellent parcel of land in the Nine-mile run from Ligonier, which lies beyond the creek and extends along the road for a mile or more, and down the creek which runs to the southward from the road. On the creek Proctor tells me there is excellent bottom."

August 18. At Byerly's Brush-run, and crossing of Turtle creek. "About a mile after passing the first crossing of this creek you pass through the finest land I ever saw, being a continued bottom, prodigiously rich, covered with locust, black walnut, &c., and continues of that quality till after I passed the house where I dined." Fort Pitt was reached that evening, twelve days since starting from home. The fort or town seems to have been the main point of his business, and the concentration of "the Company's" plans for the Ohio trade. The entries on the journal tell of ship yards, four boats finished and three on the stocks. The officers named were Major Murray, Captain Belmeavis, Lieut. McCoy, McIntosh, Charles and George Grant, Hall, Dr. Murdoch, Mr. McCleggan the Chaplain, John Reid, Commissary. Mr. Clarkson was employed in examining and reporting the condition of the store and the general enterprise, making a draught of the Ohio, and inspecting the opportunities of securing the benefit of the probable rise in the price of land.

For example, he describes Mr. Croghan's place, four miles from the fort up the Alleghany, as an excellent piece of land or rich bottom, extending from the fort to the place, bounded by a ridge of hills of the distance of less than a mile from the river. "Above Mr. Croghan's is an Indian settlement of the Mingoes. On our return from Croghan's found Kayashuta, a Seneca chief, who had been with Mr. Jennings to the Illinois, and returned with a packet from the Commander at Fort Chartres to Major Murray. I find by the advices that provisions were very scarce and dear; Indian flour five pounds sterling per hundred, and ordinary meat three shillings a pound. The French, on the opposite side of the river in plenty. Indians somewhat unruly. The Ottowas had taken a soldier prisoner at half a mile from the fort. Kayashuta and his party had been after them and discovered their tracks, but could not come up to them."

Then we have an account of an altercation with some one who had given directions contrary to Clarkson's in appropriating a boat to his private use and fitting it up with a cabin. The position taken by Clarkson shows that he was superior in authority at the place and that any interference was a "calling in question the charge with which I am entrusted by the company."

On Sunday August 24th, Mr. Clarkson heard the Chaplain McCleggan preach to the soldiers in the Irse language which he used on alternate Sabbaths with the English.

The mail operations of the time may be conjectured by

such entries as: "delivered the letters from the Illinois with those I wrote, to the commanding officer to forward by the express who sets off directly with the monthly returns. They are forwarded by soldiers to Shippensburgh, where they are put in the Post Office and forwarded to Philadelphia. The returns are made up the 24th of every month."

On the 25th, "Kayashuta came to see me with Mitchell the interpreter. I inquired of him whether he would be willing to go down with me to Fort Chartres. He said he had no objection, but that he must first go and see his family at the White Mingo Town; he would go and warm the hearts of his nation and know how things stood with them. For this purpose he wanted a couple of bottles of rum. He says that the Indians along the river are friendly except the Ouatomies, who endeavour to make uneasiness. He will inform me of what passes among his people as soon as he returns, which will be shortly."

On the 26th the diary begins to speak of employing men for the batteau-service, and other preparations for loading the boats to go down the river. Among the freight were "a number of casks of liquors." The 28th found the cargo going into the two boats, and bakers making biscuit. "Much troubled with a set of unruly fellows of Ballcummen." The boats got off the next day "with a favourable current and plenty of water."

We meet with the Indians again on the 30th, when "Captain Murray had a conversation with Kayashuta, the white

Mingo, and sundry other Six-nation chiefs. They showed a couple of strings of wampum which they said Mr. Croghan had delivered at Scioto, and was sent to the Indians of the Six nations that are settled about the Ohio, desiring them to be strong and to sit still until he returned. Those strings, they said, they had accepted, and as they engaged not to stir, desired Captain Murray to furnish them with some powder, lead, &c. They likewise conversed about the white people who are settled on their lands at Redstone creek, of which they had formerly complained, and whom Murray had sent to remove, but was prevented by some of the Indians. He now told them that if they would send some of their people with such a detachment as he would order up to remove the intruders he would do it. This they at length agreed to, only four houses excepted, which the Indians desire may remain to furnish their young men and warriors with corn, &c., as they pass and repass."

On the 1st of September Clarkson rode with Murray, McCoy and Hall to view Braddock's field, but they "could discover nothing of the ruins of that campaign on account of the thickness of the weeds." Wagons came with fresh goods for transportation down the river; Clarkson prepared for going with them accompanied by Kayashuta and Chaquettite, allowing them forty bucks each for their service. Hugh McSwain, also was hired as an interpreter at twelve dollars a month. But going in a small boat to the lower end of Shortier's Island, to ascertain the depth of

water, it was found too shoal to get over. On his return he found the cooper's shop, with all the stuff and some barrels burnt up and leaving him without other means of procuring casks for the flour, or a barrel of provisions. This record was made Friday, September 5th, in the evening: "Mr. Beatty and Mr. Duffield arrived on a message among the Indians to preach the gospel. Supper with them at the mess."

These Missionaries were the Rev. Charles Beatty, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, and the Rev. George Duffield, pastor at Carlisle. Dr. Franklin who knew Mr. Beatty, as chaplain of the troops sent to the defence of north-western Pennsylvania in 1755, tells the story that when the chaplain complained of the men's neglect of his ministrations, the philosopher advised him to have their gill of rum served "only just after prayers," which proved a successful device, "so that" said the Doctor, "I think this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service." Mr. Beatty was present at the coronation of George III, (1760) and received from the new king a donation to the fund for the relief of poor Presbyterian ministers, for procuring aid to which his Synod had sent him to England.

Mr. Duffield, in conjunction with Bishop White of the Episcopal church, was a chaplain of the Colonial Congress in Philadelphia. He was at that time pastor of the Third

Presbyterian church there, and President John Adams was an attendant on his ministry. When (1766) the Synod determined to ascertain the religious condition of the Indian tribes on the western frontier, Mr. Duffield and Mr. Beatty were selected for the mission. They went as far as the chief town of the Delawares, on the Muskingum, one hundred and thirty miles beyond Fort Pitt, and returned in the end of September.

Mr. Clarkson's minute of Sunday, September 7th, is: "Mr. Beatty preached this morning in the fort, and Mr. Duffield in the town. Dined with them at the mess. Afternoon went to hear Mr. Beatty in the town." Mr. Beatty's memorandum in his own journal was: "At the invitation of Mr. McLagan, preached in the forenoon to the garrison in the fort, while Mr. Duffield, at the same time, preached to the people who live in some kind of a town without the fort, to whom I also preached in the afternoon. The audience were very attentive and much engaged." Both of the ministers wrote narratives of their mission. Mr. Beatty's was published in London 1768, and in Edinburgh 1798, extracts from which are given in the history of the Neshaminy church, by Rev. D. K. Turner, Philadelphia, 1876; also, in Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," vol. iii, 122-128.

To return to Mr. Clarkson's journal: on the 9th September, he "went with Mr. McCoy over the river, to Coal Hill, from which there is a most beautiful prospect of the fort and the land adjacent, with part of the Alleghany River.

On the top of the hill is a level spot of excellent land, the ground covered over with pea vines and plentifully timbered with hickory, etc." Here he again met and dined with the missionaries, and records "that in the evening Mr. Duffield preached in the town a very judicious and alarming discourse." The motive to the "alarming" feature of the sermon may perhaps be found in the next line, "sixteen kegs of spirits arrived on pack-horses."

IV.

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, 1766-7.

Here the diary ceases as to daily details. Nothing is told of the next two months besides "Tuesday, September 16, embarked from Fort Pitt." The next record is "November 26, Mons. Maisonville informs me that one Bolon, from Detroit, was at Pacontel (?) about thirty leagues from Fort Port Vincennes, where he had bought a parcel of goods, which he sold at the prices, or told Maisonville he had orders to sell at, a blanket of two and one-half points, for three raccoons or two beavers."

Then follow these short memorandums; they show some additional features of the old time: "December 11th, 1766. The boats arrived at Fort Chartres from the mouth of the Ohio. Boats went from Fort Chartres to Kaskaskia, December 13. I went to Kaskaskia December 16, returned December 21. December 16, a number of Osages and Mingo Indians came to the Fort; had some trade with them. December 23, another party of Osages came, about fifteen in number. Tawanahah, the chief Shakenah, an

old man, who interpreted into the Illinois language; Sakeshinga, another Indian."

"Mons. Geredot, the elder, who has been a trader for many years, among most of the Indian nations about the river Mississippi informed me that the Osages live on a river of the same name, which falls into the Missouri from the southward, at the distance of about sixty leagues from its conflux with the Mississippi; that they have about men capable of bearing arms. He says they have a feast which they generally celebrate about the month of March; then they bake a large cake of three or four feet diameter and two or three inches thickness. This is cut into slices from the centre, and the principal chief or warrior arises and advances to the cake, when he declares his valour and recounts his noble actions. If he is not contradicted, or none has aught to allege against him, he takes a piece of the cake and distributes it among the young boys of the nation, repeating to them his exploits and exhorting to imitate them. Another then approaches, and in the same manner recounts his achievements and proceeds as before. Should any attempt to take of the cake to whose character there is the least exception, he is stigmatized and set aside as a poltroon."

A set of looser notes gives some particulars that furnish incidental information of the state of what was then as a foreign country to the Atlantic coast. "January 13, 1767, I went to Kaskaskia. January 15, bought at Mons. La-

grange's auction, one snuff-box and spying glass, 44 liv. (livres); two Indian calumet staves and an otter pouch, 18 liv. January 22, agreed with Mons. Janies to furnish us with bread for the family use, that is to say, he is to give one hundred and twenty bread for one hundred flour, and I am to pay him besides, 5 livres a hundred. 23d, carried from Kaskaskia to Fort Chartres, six broad and fourteen narrow arm-bands. 27th, sent Shawang Jack and Capt. Greenway with letters to Capt. Smith at the mouth of the Ohio. 30th, went to Kaskaskia with Col. Cole. The boats from New Orleans, of the largest size, carry about eighty hogsheads of claret; twenty-two to twenty-four men who have 400 livres each, and three months are accounted a good passage. A hogshead of claret on freight pays 300 livres. February 17, John Irwin set off for Fort Pitt with Louis Richard, a Frenchman, who is to conduct him to the post for 150 livres. February 18, Mr. Pitman informed me that old Mons. Lacoudray told him this morning that he had heard the Indians designed to strike the English this spring."

Under February 28, is an inventory of what is called, "silver truck" left with him, which shows some of the materials of trade with Indians; they were small crosses, nose crosses, long and short drop nose and hair bobs, broaches, rings, armbands, scalloped and plain wristbands, half-moons, moons and large gorgets, hair plates. He filled several pages of his note-book with an Osage-English vo-

cabulary, other pages with a detail of distances from Fort Pitt to Pensacola, by the way of Muskingum, falls of Ohio, mouth of Ohio, Natchez, New Orleans, making two thousand, five hundred and forty miles.

It may not be without use to record the customary articles of trade at Chartres in the old time—certainly amusing when compared with those of our day at the same locality. We read of "four raccoons equal to two foxes or two cats," dressed buckskin, dressed does, otter, bear skin, fisher, minks, beaver. Peltry, to deal with the French, consisted of beaver, dressed leather, otter, red or short hair buckskins, muskrats, wolves, panthers, martins, fishers, minks. In the liquid line we find shrub, West India and New England rum.

Not that the people of that remote region were, any more than their opulent descendants, strangers to luxuries, even exotic ones, in their living and commerce. They had their olives, capers, mushrooms, Rhenish wines. The blending of the elegant with the essential, in the nascent civilization, might be thought symbolized in the miscellany of Mr. Clarkson's saddle bags at Pittsburgh, the inventory of which began with ruffled shirts, silk stockings, kid gloves, and ended with gimlet, pliers, pruning knife, screw driver, tinder-box, pistol.

V.

OCCUPATIONS.

In 1769, Mr Clarkson was engaged in some work which his memorandums call "viewing, levelling and surveying the ground between Chesapeake and Delaware bays." This employed him from May 23 to 30. The first entry is "May 23, 1769, Tuesday, left Philadelphia at quarter past six, in company with Mr. R. Hoopes; dined at Newcastle; at half-past seven arrived at Witherspoon's, where we met with John Lukens, Esq., Surveyor-General, John Sellers, of Darby and John Stapler, of Wilmington." He was often interested in work of this kind, as "February 7, 1774, Mr. Luke Morris and Artr. [Arthur] Donaldson measured from south side of Almond street on the ice to Windmill Island." His papers show that he was more than a mechanical surveyor, being abundant in mathematical, astronomical, navigation and gauging problems and calculations done in the neatest style of penmanship and drawing.

Mr. Clarkson must have been one of those prominent, practical and popular citizens, who are judged, in a better

than the modern political meaning, as "available" for responsible positions. Their character is their accepted credentials. He probably returned from his western expedition soon after the time of the latest quotations from his journal. I find in the newspapers of 1770, an advertisement showing that he had an office in Arch Street, and describing his employment as "Notary and Tabellion Public." The disused title of Tabellion is defined as that of "an officer in the civil law, whose functions are similar to those of the modern notary," (Burrill's Law Dictionary). It was, therefore a public appointment, and not merely another name for scrivener. In 1774 his name was on the list of six "Notaries Public." August, 20th 1771 he was commissioned a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions and Orphans' Court. April 27th, 1772, he is on Mr. Martin's List ('Bench and Bar') of "Justices, specially commissioned as Justices of the Common Pleas, as one of the Notaries Public, to assist them in their office." In 1776, by ordinance of the convention of Pennsylvania of September 3d, his name is on the same list of Justices of the Philadelphia county Courts, with Dr. Franklin, John Dickinson, John Cadwalader and others of like prominence. In 1773 and after, he was Clerk of the Philadelphia Contributionship Insurance Company, and a stockholder and director of the Library Company of Philadelphia, often called the Franklin Library from one of its most efficient founders. April 10th, 1776, he was appointed

Marshal of the Admiralty of the United States, for Pennsylvania, and in consequence of that appointment, he resigned another office—an Auditor of the Accounts of the Main Army. The invitations to the funeral of George Ross, Judge of the Admiralty, July 14th, 1779, are signed "Matthew Clarkson, Marshal, Andrew Robeson, Register." In 1780, he was one of the original stockholders of the Bank of Pennsylvania, his investment being two thousand, five hundred pounds, currency; the immediate object of the institution being "for furnishing a supply of provisions for the armies of the United States."

The following explanation of this measure is found in a Philadelphia newspaper of 1787:

"At a critical period of the revolutionary war when there was great difficulty in procuring supplies for the American army, and when there was great danger of dissolution for want of provisions to keep it together, a number of patriotic gentlemen gave their bonds to the amount of 260,000 pounds sterling, in gold and silver, for procuring them. The provisions were procured, the army supplied and kept together, and as a consequence of this act of patriotism, our independence was achieved.

"In order that the names of those choice spirits may not be forgotten, we select the present occasion to hand them down to this generation. Let their memories be cherished in the fondest recollection."

Then follow eighty-two names, and among them:

Matthew Clarkson, - - - -	£2500
Gerardus Clarkson, - - - -	2000

"It is a page in our national history, one most gratifying to the citizens of Philadelphia, and especially to those who inherit the names of these worthies."

On the 19th of February, 1785, the Legislature of the state elected two delegates to the Congress of the United States. In the journal of that body, New York, April 21st, 1785, is this minute: "Mr. David Jackson, a delegate from Pennsylvania, attended and produced credentials by which it appears that on the 19th day of February, 1785, the Hon. Matthew Clarkson and David Jackson, Esq's., were elected delegates to represent said State in the Congress of the United States for the present year;" but I find no record of Mr. Clarkson's taking his seat, nor of his name in the daily calls of ayes and nays. Mr. Jackson's name, as present, first appears in the journal of May 19th. I conclude that Mr. Clarkson declined the place; perhaps on account of holding the office of Marshal, and Congress having its sessions out of Philadelphia. Mr. James Wilson was elected from Pennsylvania, April 7, 1785, and appeared in Congress April 26th, having probably been chosen in Clarkson's place, and holding, as has been said of him, in that body, the first name "among the ablest men of the country."

In 1790 Clarkson was a Commissioner of Bankruptcy in his State, in association with Major Lenox, Richard Bache, Peter Baynton and George Hughes. In January, 1794, he was elected one of the Directors of the Bank of the United States.

In the history of the New York family, Colonel, afterwards General Matthew Clarkson is said to have entered into partnership with John Vanderbilt for the purpose of engaging in trade with Holland; and their correspondents in Amsterdam were the wealthy and highly respectable firm of Daniel Crommelin & Sons; and meeting with success, gradually extended their business to England, France and Spain. Two other mercantile houses in which different members of the family were interested, were established about the same time (1785), one of these, under the name of Van Horne & Clarkson, was composed of Garrit Van Horne and his brother-in-law, David M. Clarkson; the other, in which the brothers of the Colonel were associated, was known as Freeman, Streatfield & Levinus Clarkson. Colonel Clarkson's partnership was afterward dissolved, and he became connected with his brother's firm, subsequently known as S. & L. Clarkson & Co.

My great-grandfather had some connection with the business of these prosperous merchants, as his accounts show payments to Crommelin & Sons to the amount of more than $50,000. That he had some interest in foreign commerce transpires from such notes as these, made by a relative of his, a contemporary in the same business: In 1801 "the brig

Franklin, for St. Bartholomew's, was loaded by M. Clarkson for account of himself and two others. . . . Brig George, from St. Bartholomew's: by this and other vessels no less than $15,000 in drafts appeared for Mr. Clarkson. . . . "Drafts passed upon me by D. M. C. on the strength of property from the West Indies. . . ." "Mr. Treadwell, from St. Kitts, going to Washington to settle Mr. Clarkson's account with the public." Mrs. Drinker's "Journal," Philadelphia, November 12, 1780 (edited by Henry D. Biddle, 1889), tells of the robbery of "the store over ours, in which Matthew Clarkson had a large quantity of prize goods." Among the names occurring incidentally in the references of 1774, which disclose some of the men of business of the year, are Thomas Murgatroyd, Joseph Russell, Job Bacon, John Taylor, George Graham, Hugh Roberts, Joseph Sims, Thomas Penrose, Edward Bonsall, Redmond Conyngham, Charles Cox.

The Philadelphia philanthropist is probably the person referred to in an interleaved almanac of 1774: "Lent Mr. Benezet, at different times, thirty-two dollars," though there was a Daniel as well as Anthony of that name. I should not have mentioned this but for the coincidence suggested on a page of Appleton's Cyclopædia: "The worth of Benezet's writings is alluded to by the British philanthropist, Thomas Clarkson, who confesses that one of them enlightened his own mind and quickened his zeal in the early part of his life." I am sorry not to find any trace of a direct connection

with the great coadjutor of Wilberforce. In 1788 Dr. Belknap, referring to the "Essay on Slavery," asked of Mr. Hazard, "Is he a Clarkson of your kindred?" To which his correspondent answered, "I suppose Clarkson has sprung from the same root with our part of the family, but we have no knowledge of him, except from his treatise on slavery." It is certain, however, that in letters from him to several Clarksons of New York, he usually subscribed himself "your kinsman."

Mr. Clarkson's various offices during the eventful period of his public life, brought him into occasional correspondence with many prominent characters. A few of the letters addressed to him are extant, but they furnish little beyond business matters, of any general interest, but showing the surroundings of his public life. William Gordon writes to Arthur Lee, 1782: "By a private hand, I think Mr. Clarkson, of Philadelphia, I answered your letter that I received some time before" (Life of Arthur Lee, ii. 289). Some of the existing letters were from William Alexander, known as a claimant to the earldom of Stirling, which is his signature in these letters. Their subjects are of ephemeral official business. But here again comes up a family association through the marriage of General Matthew Clarkson, of New York, and a daughter of Walter Rutherfurd and Catharine Alexander, in May, 1785.

VI.

BELKNAP AND HAZARD.

I have mentioned the published correspondence of Dr. Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard. Some additional items may be gleaned from these two large volumes illustrative of our subject. As in other instances, I quote more than directly pertains to the individual subject of the memoir, because some of the literary and other details, local and personal, may be interesting as matters of history, that could not be preserved if we should be confined to the one name of our work.

Writing from New York, January 20, 1787, Hazard says to Belknap: "Mr. M. Clarkson and I laid our heads together about you. You must know that some time ago he wrote me that a magazine ["Columbian"] was established at Philadelphia, and the proprietors proposed to employ men of genius as writers, and to pay them for it, and asked me 'could not our friend Belknap be helped in this way?' I found upon inquiry that the proprietors could hardly form a conjecture how much they could afford to give

writers, as they could not yet judge what encouragement they themselves should meet with. When I was at Philadelphia I conversed with Mr. Clarkson upon this subject, and in the course of the conversation he suggested a new idea; that it would be worth while for the proprietors to have a proper person for editor of the magazine and make it worth his attention. This was a good thought, and it led to another; that it was very probable if you were the editor, we might find means to get you appointed keeper of the Library in Carpenters' Hall, which is about £60 Pennsylvania currency per annum. When we had so far digested the plan, I got Mr. C. to go at once to Mr. Carey, who seems to be the acting proprietor, and broach it to him. This produced an interview between Mr. Carey and me the next day. Mr. Clarkson had referred him to me for particular information about you. I informed him that I could not tell what your views and intentions were; but, from the attachment to Philadelphia you had discovered, I apprehended you might be removed thither if suitable encouragement were given, and that I thought you would be a valuable acquisition. He said they could hardly determine yet what encouragement they could give, but had thought of two guineas for each original piece of four or five columns (two pages or two and a half), and he supposed that would be their offer for one piece a month. However, when they met he would let me know what they had determined on, and at that time he would suggest to them the idea of an

editor. I told him that you were a perfect stranger to the whole of this business, and did not know that anything respecting you was in contemplation; that the matter had originated with Mr. Clarkson and myself, who, from the opinion he had of you, wished to make you a Pennsylvanian, and if the offer was such as I thought would be an inducement, I would see what could be done. He said that it could not be expected that the undertaking, especially in its infancy, would enable them to offer a sum equal to the support of a family, but if Mr. Belknap could follow some other employment too, this might be a valuable addition; however, whatever it was, he would let me know. I must add here that Mr. Carey proposes publishing a "Museum," upon the plan of Almon's Remembrancer, which is intended as a repository for good fugitive pieces, which would otherwise be lost. This is to be a distinct work from the magazine; and, indeed, I find Mr. Carey is not to be concerned in the magazine after March next."

Hazard then refers to two enclosed letters, and continues:

"You see, the proprietors offer £100 (266⅔ dollars) per annum, "writing included." This expression must either mean that if you write any pieces for the magazine you shall not make an extra charge for them, or that besides being the editor, you should be obliged to furnish a piece each month for that sum; of this I shall desire an explanation. Now think all over and make up your mind about it. All that is positively offered is £100 per annum. You

may perhaps get to be librarian—£60. This will assist you much both as a writer and editor. . . . The expense of living in a plain but decent style in Philadelphia, I suppose, will be about £400, that currency."

In his reply, Boston, February 2, 1787, Belknap writes:

"I thank you, sir: I thank Mr. Clarkson, and I beg you will communicate my thanks to him in your own words. I remember the benignity that beamed in his countenance during the very short and only opportunity I had of conversing with him at his house; and it led me to wish for a further acquaintance with him. There is something singularly good in that worthy family, and that peculiarly engages my affections and esteem."

Carey then offered Belknap £100 "for the editorship of the magazine per annum, including writing, compiling and revising," but he preferred the pastorship of the Congregational Church, Long Lane, Boston.

In January, 1791, Mr. Hazard writes to his friend in Boston: "Good Mrs. Finley, who has long been ripe for heaven, now lives with her brother, Alderman Clarkson."

Mrs. Anna (Clarkson) Finley deserves a place in our domestic sketches. She was married to Samuel Finley, D. D., in 1761, the year in which he succeeded Dr. Samuel Davies as President of Princeton College, and became his widow in 1766. She survived him until January, 1808.

For many years her home was with Mrs. Hannah Hodge, the widowed aunt of Charles Hodge, D. D. and Hugh Lenox Hodge, M. D. Dr. Ashbel Green and Dr. J. J. Janeway were the pastors of both these estimable Christian women, and one of them doubtless was the writer of an obituary notice of Mrs. Hodge, which testifies that Mrs. Finley's "company and conversation were the principal earthly solace of Mrs. Hodge in the last years of her life, and to whom the writer here begs leave to dedicate these memoirs of her dear departed friend."—(General Assembly's Magazine, 1806). As a note of the change of customs I quote from the diary of one of the family at the funeral of "Aunt Finley:" "Storm prevented the corpse being carried except in a hearse."

Two of Matthew Clarkson's great grandsons are now (1890) in the ministry of the Episcopal church, and a third in the Presbyterian. At the celebration of the Washington centennial in Trinity church, New York, 1889, one of the committees was selected, "in accordance with a desire to give prominence to the members of historical families." Among these were "David Augustus Clarkson, a descendant of Chancellor Livingston, Warden in 1785, and of David Clarkson, Warden in 1770; Banyer Clarkson, a descendant of Chief Justice Jay, Warden in 1789; and of General Matthew Clarkson, Vestryman in 1789; Dr. John Clarkson Jay, Jr., great-grandson of Chief Justice Jay."

VII.

MAYORALTY.

In the year 1790, Mr. Clarkson was chosen an Alderman, under the new charter of Philadelphia, an office held in those times of the chief city by many of the most prominent citizens. Franklin was one in 1774. From the body, at first the Aldermen themselves, and afterwards the City Council annually chose one for the office of Mayor. This honor fell, by selection of Council, to Mr. Clarkson, April 16th, 1792, and he was re-elected annually three times. The Mayor and Aldermen constituted the Mayor's court. In 1792 he presided at a meeting of citizens called to discuss the best mode of selecting candidates for Presidential Electors and Members of Congress. It was in his official term as Mayor that the city was desolated by the yellow fever, which made its appearance in the summer of 1793. In Matthew Carey's "Short Account" of the pestilence (4th edition, 1794), it is stated that "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 hauled away. These orders were repeated on the 27th, and similar ones given to the clerks of the market." Mr. Carey, who was a member of the committee he mentions, says " 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, which duty he punctually fulfilled during the whole time of the distress." On another page " the magistrates of the city, except the Mayor and John Barclay, Esq., were away." So in a letter of Mr. Hazard to Dr. Belknap, " the Mayor has stayed and been useful among us, though our Recorder and all our Aldermen have fled. His wife is not dead but getting well." (ii. 341). This was in October 1793, and Mrs. Clarkson lived to November 27, 1794. On the 28th, Mrs. Drinker's journal says: " Mrs. Clarkson, wife of our present Mayor, was buried this afternoon. She was a pretty girl, when Polly Boud [Boude], I went to school with her."

In 1848, the City Councils printed in a book of 250 pages, the " minutes of the proceedings of the committee appointed on the 14th, September 1793, by the citizens of Philadelphia, the Northern Liberties and the District of Southwark,

to attend and alleviate the sufferings of the afflicted with the malignant fever, prevalent in the city and its vicinity." These minutes show the almost uninterrupted presence and chairmanship of Mr. Clarkson, at the meetings, usually every day, of the committee from September 18th, 1793, to March 4th 1794. On the 8th March, he signed a report to the citizens of the committee's work. During the prevalence of the plague, from August 1st to November 9th, 1793, four thousand and forty-one burials were made in the grave-yards of the city. As the population of the city proper in 1790 was 45,250, it is probably true that nearly one-tenth of the inhabitants were victims of the pestilence. The committee, assisted by a sub-committee of 45, distributed money, provisions and fire-wood to more than a thousand families weekly. On the 8th March, 1794, a public meeting was held, at which resolutions were passed acknowledging "the important, hazardous and successful services which were rendered by the committee of health during the calamity." A committee, composed of such men as Thomas McKean, Alexander J. Dallas, Anthony Morris, Jonathan B. Smith, John Swanwick, Charles Biddle and Rev. Dr. Rogers, were directed to report to an early meeting of citizens, an appropriate expression of the gratitude of the community. The meeting took place on the 15th March, when it was resolved to present an article of silver of the value of one hundred dollars to each of the committee of twenty-one. The plate was to be "of such form as the

members chose." The Mayor's selection was a handsome urn for punch, with appendages for its use, with no inscription, but having his coat of arms engraved on one side.

A few particulars may be drawn from these "minutes," to give additional insight into this part of the Mayor's administration.

On the 10th September, 1793, the Overseer of the Poor called on the citizens to give their personal assistance to that body in the prevailing distress, and requested all who were so disposed, to apply to the Mayor for specific direction how to be most useful. Five days afterwards, at a meeting in the City Hall, at which the Mayor presided, ten persons offered their services and were requested to report the state of the sick and poor, and measures for their relief. At the instance of this committee, another public call was made in order to meet the distress they had discovered, and at the same time express the urgent need of more extensive provision for the sick poor than was then supplied by the hospital at Bush-hill, and the expediency of applying to the State Legislature to aid in some arrangement for the permanent separation, in the future, of cases of malignant disease. An unfavorable report of the condition of the Bush-hill hospital was made to the adjourned public meeting, and a committee of twenty-seven, with the Mayor at the head, was appointed to collect funds, procure physicians and nurses, and superintend the general measures for the emergency.

This was the committee whose record is published, and who

held their first meeting September 14, and thenceforth until the end of that year's calamity. Three members attended at the City Hall daily, for five hours, to receive and dispose of applications for relief. Stephen Girard and Peter Helm offered their services for personal superintendence of the hospital, which they faithfully executed. Such melancholy records begin to appear as the purchase of a horse and the hiring of two men "to attend *the cart*;" "last night they lost eight patients and required twelve coffins." A citizen complained of the route taken by the carters employed to remove the dead; others that "the coffins are not properly pitched." 1008 interments were made in the ground allotted to the poor. One of the physicians was Dr. De Veze from Cape Francois, sometimes confounded with Dr. Dewees, better known afterwards in the city, but who also became a professional helper in the benevolent work. Others than the indigent found help at the hospital, as we read of a French citizen, leaving there, at his death by the fever, silver buckles, ring, watch, etc.; a broach, the property of a person unknown; a Frenchman and his wife dying, leaving infant twins and "effects said to be of considerable value," as three gold watches, silver forks and spoons; a merchant of Kentucky executed his will before he died; watches, pocket-books and other articles of value were sold at the closing of the hospital in the absence of surviving claimants.

It became necessary to open a house for children made orphans by the death of one or both parents. The Mayor corresponded with the Minister of France in relation to French

soldiers and sailors, imprisoned as deserters, and in danger of spreading the pestilence; he attended to the admission of convalescents to the house of employment, and to the daily orders issued from the committee for interments, reception of patients and employment of assistants. The northwest public square was used for burials, besides the Potter's Field (now Washington Square); a house "lately occupied by the Loganian Library," was used as an orphan-asylum; a house was built in addition to the hospital, and to the barn which was used for the sick; 400 hand-bills were printed to obtain a supply of "a great want of the herb centaury;" the Bank of North America made loans to the committee at different times, amounting to many thousand dollars, in addition to large sums contributed by citizens and individuals in other places. The Common Council of New York sent the Mayor five thousand dollars, "And may you, sir, and those with you who have remained faithful to your trust and borne the heat and burden of the day, in the midst of surrounding and threatening dangers, be the peculiar care of heaven." Our Mayor replied:

"SIR: I am favoured with your letter of the 12th inst., which I have communicated to the committee for the relief of the poor and afflicted of this city.

"It is with peculiar satisfaction that I execute their request by making in their name, on behalf of our suffering fellow-citizens, the most grateful acknowledgments for the seasonable benevolence of the Common Council of the city of New York; their sympathy is balm to our wounds.

"We acknowledge the Divine interposition whereby the hearts of so many around us have been touched with our distress and have united in our relief.

"May the Almighty Disposer of all events be graciously pleased to protect your citizens from the dreadful calamity with which we are now visited, whilst we humbly kiss the rod and improve by the dispensation.

"The part, sir, which you personally take in our afflictions, and which you have so pathetically expressed in your letter, excites in the breasts of the committee the warmest sensations of fraternal affection.

"The refreshing rain which fell the day before yesterday, though light, and the cool weather which hath succeeded, appear to have given a check to the prevalence of the disorder; of this we have satisfactory proofs, as well in the decrease of the funerals as in the applications for removal to the hospital.

"I have, at your request, this day drawn upon you at sight, in favour of the President and Directors of the Bank of North America, for the sum of five thousand dollars, the benevolent donation of the Common Council of the city of New York.

"With sentiments of the greatest esteem and regard,

"I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"Matthew Clarkson.

"Philadelphia, October 17th, 1793.

"Richard Varick, Mayor of the city of New York."

Another specimen of the large correspondence which employed the Mayor, is subjoined:

"Committee Chamber, City Hall,

"Philadelphia, October 18, 1793.

"Sir: I am favoured with your letter of the 15th inst., covering a check for one hundred and fifty dollars, the donation of five or six gentlemen of Elizabethtown, to the suffering poor of this city, which I have presented to the Committee.

"This benefaction, in addition to the sympathetic and humane resolves passed by your town, at a period of our distress, when our terrified fugitive brethren were almost everywhere refused an asylum, have impressed upon our minds the most lively gratitude.

"Be pleased, sir, to communicate to our benefactors, the thankful acknowledgement of the Committee, for these instances of their attention to their suffering fellow citizens.

"I am, with great esteem, sir, your most obedient servant,

MATTHEW CLARKSON.

Elias Boudinot, Esq."

The following record on the minutes gives, probably, only one of many instances of the extent of the misery that prevailed, and the insufficiency of the means of meeting it:

"One of the carters in the service of the Committee, reports that in the performance of his duty, he heard the cry

of a person in great distress; the neighbours informed him that the family had been ill some days, and that being afraid of the disease, no one had ventured to examine the house. He undertook the task, went up stairs and found the father dead, who had been lying on the floor for some days, two children near him, also dead, the mother in labour; he tarried with her, and in a short time both she and her infant expired; he came to the City Hall, took coffins and buried them."

At the meeting of October 26th, the Mayor was warranted in informing the public "that the abatement of the disorder is beyond all expectation and affords the most flattering prospect of our being soon freed from it entirely." Among the contributions of the day, through the Mayor, were "6,245 gallons of vinegar, about 8,000 pounds of tallow candles, 270 jugs of lemon juice and $2,500 in money" from citizens of Boston.

Among his many official correspondents at that time, were Citizen Genet, Minister of the French Republic, and Citizen Bournonville, Secretary of Legation. In November, he signed a report to Governor Mifflin, in answer to inquiries made by him as to the work of the committee and with a view to legislative action, and in December an appeal to the Legislature on behalf of the orphan children. It may be noted here that in January, 1794, "a committee of three members from the society for promoting first day or Sunday schools, attended and offered to receive the orphans, to partake of the benefits of that institution."

Although the disorder had greatly abated, it was still necessary to maintain the hospital, orphan houses and other means of helping the sick and bereaved, including the finding of places and employments for those who were discharged and the daily relief of many destitute families. Contrbutions of money, food, wood and clothing were generally sent to the Mayor and acknowledged by him. One of the sad memorials of the ravages of the fever is found in a list of one hundred names of orphan children, directed to be published in order that their nearest connections might know of their surviving.

It appears that the publication of the Minutes of the Committee, with a history of the calamity, was contemplated at the time, and the Mayor was requested to undertake the service, with such assistance as he should find necessary, but nothing seems to have been accomplished until the publication of 1848.

The committee did not lose sight of the possibility of a return of the malignant disease, and made provisions for the future possession of Bush Hill. This was the well-known property of William Hamilton, whose country seat in its neighborhood was the Woodlands. It may gratify a local curiosity in Philadelphia to read a description of the place as made in 1793, when Mr. Hamilton conveyed "for the use of the citizens of Philadelphia and vicinity all that part of his interest at Bush Hill, comprised within the circular Ha-Ha on the south, bounded by a line extending

from the western end of the said Ha-Ha to the southeast of the graveyard, thence by a line to the new ditch which encloses the pine grove on the north, thence by the several courses of said ditch round the grove to the northeast corner of the old green-house foundation, thence along the northern side of the coach-house and stables, and the eastern side of the same to the gate on Callowhill street, with the use of the lane to the east end of the Ha-Ha wall, with the mansion-house, kitchen, stables, etc., now occupied by the committee." The lease was to March 25, 1795, "for the relief and accommodation of such persons as may be afflicted by a return of the yellow fever, or any other similar infectious disease, and for no other use or purpose whatever."

In the Summer of 1794, the fever again appeared. In a letter to the Mayor, September 2d, Dr. Benjamin Rush, his "sincere friend," reported nearly thirty cases that had come under his treatment, and in accordance with his theory, so much criticised, and by Cobbet libelled, the eminent physician affirms that "the only case in which those remedies failed, was where blood-letting was not used in the quantity nor at the time I prescribed it. Twelve bleedings in six days (amounting to about one hundred and forty-four ounces of blood) and nearly one hundred and fifty grains of calomel mixed with strong purgative medicines, were found necessary in one instance to subdue the fever. I mention this case only to encourage intrepidity in the practice of physicians in this city and in such other parts of the

United States as are at present visited by this powerful and obstinate disease. Dr. Say, Dr. Physick and Dr. Dewees (of New Street), have informed me that they have lately met with several cases of the yellow fever, and that they have treated it with success by means of plentiful bleeding and purging."

In 1793, Talleyrand came to the United States, a political refugee from both France and England. In Philadelphia he appeared before the Mayor for the purpose shown in the following document: when his autobiography, so long witheld, shall appear, those who live to see it may find some clearer explanation of the reason for his making the declaration than we can now offer.

"I, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Perigord, formerly Administrator of the Department of Paris, son of Joseph Daniel de Talleyrand Perigord, a General in the armies of France, born at Paris and arrived at Philadelphia from London, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and to the United States of America; that I will not at any time wilfully and knowingly do any matter or thing prejudicial to the freedom and independence thereof.

CH. MAU. DE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD.

Sworn on May 19th, 1794, before

M. CLARKSON,

Mayor."

In the year 1793 the following proclamation appeared, which will answer for itself;

"By the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia.

"A Proclamation.

"*City of Philadelphia, ss.*

"The daring outrages which were committed yesterday and this day, on board the ship Rebecca, Benjamin Wyatt, master, just arrived from Cape Francois, by a number of Frenchmen, who from their dress might have been taken for gentlemen, are scarcely to be paralleled. With premeditation, they assembled to sacrifice a passenger on board the said ship to their vengeance, for crimes which they alleged he had committed in the Island of St. Domingo; and with the basest treachery, after decoying him upon the deck of the vessel out of the cabin, by specious promises, attacked him with swords, sticks and fists, and knocked him overboard; and while in the water, attempted to accomplish the assassination by throwing stones and other things upon him, by which he hath received many dangerous wounds in his head and body, and would there inevitably have perished had not a number of the citizens, at the peril of their lives, come to his rescue.

"This insult offered to our laws, by a set of men to whom an asylum from fire and sword hath been so recently offered, indicates the basest ingratitude; and not content with what had just been perpetrated, many of them had the

superlative audacity to assemble at the city hall, where the wounded person had been brought for safety, and there insolently uttered threats of their future murderous intentions.

"In order, therefore, that the perpetrators of those nefarious acts may be brought to condign punishment, the good citizens who were witnesses to what passed, are requested for the public honour and the safety of themselves and fellow citizens, to point out every person who was concerned in the breach of the peace, wounding and threatening aforesaid; and in the meantime, vigilantly to attend to the conduct of persons so capable of insulting the laws of hospitality.

"MATTHEW CLARKSON,

"November 8th, 1793." "*Mayor.*

January 21st, 1794 being the first anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI., it was the intention of some French loyalists in Philadelphia, to commemorate the event by religious services, according to the Roman Catholic ritual, in favor of the departed martyr. Citizen Cassan, Vice Consul of the new Republic, remonstrated with Governor Mifflin against the allowance of what he considered a political demonstration. In reply, Alexander J. Dallas, Secretary of State, avowed the neutrality of this country in such matters, and adds "the Governor is happy to perceive by the publication of a paper under the signa-

ture of the Mayor of this city, that there is in reality, no ground for the dissatisfaction which you have expressed."

The paper referred to was a communication addressed to the editor of the *General Advertiser* of Philadelphia, as follows:

"Mr. Bache:—Your correspondent, 'A friend of Peace,' informs the public, in the *General Advertiser* of the 16th inst., that he hath seen, 'in a French paper published in this city, an invitation to French citizens, friends to the late king of France, to attend a service to be performed at the chapel, on the 21st, in honour and in commemoration of Louis XVI.'

"A notification of so extraordinary a nature, hath excited uneasiness in the minds of many citizens, who are apprehensive that disagreeable consequences might arise if such service should be performed.

"I have the satisfaction to inform my fellow citizens, that having conversed with one of the Rev. Clergy of St. Mary's Church, and with both of the gentlemen of the Holy Trinity, they unanimously declare that no application has been made to either of them for the purpose above mentioned, or for any similar purpose; that if such application had been made, they should undoubtedly have refused to comply therewith, declaring at the same time, that blending religion with politics is contrary to the principles of their church.

"Matthew Clarkson,

"Philadelphia, January 17th, 1794." "*Mayor.*

The Mayor was much distressed by the prevalence of disorder and vice among the subjects of his own authority, especially the young. "The evils do not only exist, but abound among us; not merely occur, but our city is remarkable for them." His sense of moral responsibility led to a publication in the Philadelphia *Gazette*, June 6th, 1795, of an appeal to the public, which was afterwards circulated in a pamphlet of twenty-four pages, under the title of "An Address to the Citizens of Philadelphia, Respecting the Better Government of Youth, by Matthew Clarkson, Esq., Mayor." The actual authorship of this paper is given in the autobiographical portion of Dr. Jos. H. Jones' "Life of Dr. Ashbel Green," then a Presbyterian pastor in the city, afterwards President of Princeton College: "I wrote, at the request of the Mayor of the city, Matthew Clarkson, an address to the citizens on the subject of restraining their children and apprentices from sports and practices trenching on law and morals. In availing himself, under his own name, of the pen of another for an official purpose, the Mayor did no more than is understood to be usual and justifiable with the highest, as well as humbler, dignitaries. It was his personal as well as official feeling that was expressed, and probably dictated, in the opening paragraph: "Having lately been appointed to exercise anew the office of Mayor in this city, I know not how I can make a more suitable return for the confidence reposed in me than by calling your attention to an object

with which both the comfort and the reputation of our city are connected, and for the attainment of which your concurrence and endeavours are essential. This object is the better government of youth." In the private diary of a contemporary, already quoted, I find at the date of 1798, an evidence of Mr. Clarkson's interest in public morals on its best foundation, after his retirement from office, and of his resorting to the same hand to diffuse his principles of national virtue, as before of the municipal. The hasty entry is, "Mr. Clarkson so pleased with Dr. Green's sermon on the national fast-day (May 9), that he asked it for publication." This was done under the title of "Obedience to the Laws of God, the Sure and Indispensable Defence of Nations."

The following memorial to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, adopted by the Committee of Citizens, December 24th, 1793, will give additional illustration of the condition of many of the orphan children mentioned on page 66.

"The Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met:

"The memorial of the committee appointed by the citizens of Philadelphia, for the relief of the sick, etc.

"Respectfully showeth that in the discharge of the trust committed to them by their fellow-citizens, a number of the children who were deprived of their parents by the late sickness, were presented to the consideration of the committee, for whom they have hitherto provided out of the

donations which have been so liberally handed to them by the generous and humane of this and other states.

"That the number of children who have thus come under the notice of the committee, amounts to one hundred and ninety-four, of whom eighty-two have been delivered to the surviving friends, nineteen have died, and ninety-three remain still under the charge of the committee, thirty-eight of whom are sucking infants.

"That the committee having nearly completed the business for which they were appointed, and feeling anxious for the future welfare of these innocents, so peculiarly placed by Divine Providence under the care of the public, request the General Assembly, as the fathers of the people, to take the case of these orphans into their serious consideration, and make such further provision for their maintenance and education as in their wisdom shall seem proper.

"Signed at the request of the Committee,

"MATTHEW CLARKSON,

"*President.*"

VIII.

DU SIMITIERE. CLOSE.

Mr. Clarkson's last residence was on Arch (Mulberry) street, near Fourth, according to the numbering then used, 109. One of his neighbours, at lodgings, was a person whose name deserves to be introduced as an intimate friend, as well as a somewhat historical character. This was Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, designated by Mr. Wm. J. Potts in an extended notice in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography." October, 1889, as "artist, antiquary and naturalist, projector of the first American Museum." Mr. Clarkson was one of the administrators of what property he had at his death in 1784. The other administrator was Ebenezer Hazard, who writes to Dr. Belknap, Philadelphia, November 13, 1784, "I have lately undertaken part of the administration of Mr. Du Simitiere's estate, with a view to prevent his museum, of which you have doubtless heard, from being scattered." Hazard was also a neighbour, for he writes to Belknap, July, 1784, "Lest I should forget it hereafter, I tell you now that I live in Arch street, No. 145, between Fourth and Fifth streets, and nearly opposite the Christ Church burial-ground

gate." In 1782, Belknap again, "I observe in your papers an advertisement by one Simitier, [not so blundering a misnomer as that of the Marquis de Chastellux, who for the sake of the pun or from ignorance called him *Cimetiere* [grave-yard], 'a name better suited to a physician than a painter']. Are you acquainted with him? Is he a man of genius and real solid knowledge in natural history? If so, I beg you will ask him a question in my behalf. There is a bird found on some of the mountains in New Hampshire, called the cross-bill. I understand one of them has been lately sent to him by a gentleman in these parts. I want to know, etc.," Hazard answers, "I am acquainted with Simitiere. He appears to me to be possessed of no extraordinary genius, but is a mere collector of curiosities." Mrs. Drinker's journal, November 6, 1784, mentions some of her family taking strangers "to Simiters to see Pele's paintings." Her editor adds, that "in 1782 he opened in Philadelphia, what he called the American Museum. He was also a clever artist and painted numerous portraits. He died in 1784." I inherit a folio volume of 530 pages in which he had begun to copy in alphabetical order, notes from his multifarious reading. The title page, in penmanship as regular as typography, is "Common-Place Book of Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, of Geneva. Philadelphia, MDCCLXX," with a coat of arms, two sabres crossed on a shield, the crest a helmet and motto "*J' espere.*" I have given to the Pennsylvania Historical Society, from Mr.

Clarkson's relics, five portraits, in black lead, which I believe to be his drawings, without name, but supposed to be likenesses of American or English personages of the revolution. The researches of Mr. Potts and Mr. Hildeburn show that Simitiere had made a collection of coins, medals, shells, Indian antiquities and botantical specimens, in the course of his travels, as an artist, in Europe, America and the West Indies. This collection was sold by his administrators in 1785, and it is probable that the "valuable cabinet, containing silver and copper coins, medals, etc., some of which are very ancient," which were sold as part of Mr. Clarkson's furniture after his death in 1800, were gifts or purchases from his friend's museum. Du Simitiere was a member of the American Philosophical Society 1768–1781. President John Adams wrote of him as "a very curious man," and as having begun to gather material for a history of the American revolution. A series of portraits, by him, of thirteen American patriots, including Washington, was engraved and published in London, 1783. He died in October, 1784, and lies buried in St. Peter's church-yard, Philadelphia. Twelve volumes of his manuscripts are in the Ridgway department of the Philadelphia Library, and it is conjectured that his cabinet was the nucleus of Peale's celebrated museum. During his residence on Arch street, it was publicly exhibited three days in the week. Some of the manuscript note-books are in the library of Congress.

Watson's Ms. Annals of Philadelphia, in the library of

the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, preserve a letter of his of 1766. Watson says his collections "may be deemed the curious gleanings of a curious mind, and among some rubbish may be found some day, some useful and unexpected elucidations of difficult points in our history." In the minutes of the Philadelphia Library, March 3d, 1785, it is recorded, "Matthew Clarkson, Esq., one of the administrators to the estate of Mr. Du Simitiere, returns to the library, Brown's Civil and Natural History of Jamaica, which has been a long time missing and which was found in the collection of the deceased."

Mr. Clarkson died at his residence in Arch Street, October 5th, 1800. In the newspapers of October 7th, is this notice: "Died on Sunday morning, in the 68th year of his age, Matthew Clarkson, Esq., formerly a respectable merchant, and of late years an enlightened and faithful servant of the public, in several important stations. His fortitude and humanity in the memorable and gloomy year 1793, as Chief Magistrate of the city, endeared him to thousands, and will long be remembered with gratitude and respect, by citizens of Philadelphia."

The burial was made in the old cemetery of Christ Church, Arch and Fifth Streets, where the grave is marked by a plain head-stone inscribed, "In memory of Mary, the wife of Matthew Clarkson, who departed this life November 27th, 1794, in the 60th year of her age; also, Matthew Clarkson, Esq., who departed this life the 5th day of October, A. D., 1800, in the 67th year of his age."

And near by, "Here lieth the body of Cornelia, the daughter of Matthew and Mary Clarkson, who departed this life the 9th of June, 1756, aged 1 year and 12 days."

On the 30th October, the administrators with the will annexed, who were George Bringhurst, his son-in-law and Ebenezer Hazard, his nephew, disposed of his furniture by vendue. The advertisement includes "silver and plated ware, a good eight day clock, a very curious bedstead, peculiarly constructed for the use of a sick person; an iron chest and a valuable cabinet, containing silver and copper coins, medals, etc., some of which are very ancient; also, a very excellent family horse and Berlin phaeton, at private sale." Of the few books retained by the family one was the first American edition of Blackstone's Commentaries, published by Robert Bell, Philadelphia, 1771–2. It has the unusual addition of a volume numbered V, containing controversial pamphlets caused by the commentaries. It is now in the Lenox Library, New York.

His will was dated April 19th, 1799. His sons-in-law, Bringhurst and Ralston, were appointed his executors, but, upon his death, both renounced the execution. In this instrument he calls himself "merchant." After bequeathing $2000 to each of his four children, Levinus, David M., Mrs. Bringhurst and Mrs. Ralston, the will directed the remainder of his property to be divided into four parts, an equal share to be distributed to each family of grandchildren. To his grandson Robert, the son of David, was left what I

suppose to be the public testimonial of his services in the fever year—1793, which the will described as "my silver punch-cup, on which the arms of my family are engraved, together with the punch-strainer, ladle and other things contained in the mahogany box or case in which they were imported." The careful transmission of this prescriptive token of the old-country alderman, was further provided for, by directing that if Robert should die in his minority, the articles should become the property of his grandson Matthew, son of Levinus, or on the failure of his coming of age, they must go to his grandson Matthew, son of David M.

According to a pastel portrait in my possession, taken when his hair was entirely white, but thick, and contrasting beautifully with the olive complexion, Mr. Clarkson's personal appearance must to have been dignified and attractive. The execution of the portrait is remarkably fine, but the artist is not known. It hardly seems to be in the line of Du Simitiere's pencil, but comes up rather to what is told of the superior workmanship of a James Sharpless, an Englishman mentioned in Mrs. Drinker's journal, 1800, "as a capable hand at the business" of pastel portraits, a number of whose productions were at the centennial exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. A photograph copy of the Clarkson picture is in the almost complete collection of likenesses of the Mayors of Philadelphia, on the walls of the City Hall, and the original has been copied for this memoir.

APPENDIX.

I.

Another of the letters mentioned on page 65 is now given:

"Philadelphia, February 14th 1794.

"Gentlemen:—

"I have received your favour of the 28th ultimo, covering a note of the Bank of New York for eight hundred and sixty-six dollars and 40 cents, a donation from a number of citizens of Albany, for the relief of the poor of this city. This testimony of sympathy for our distress, at a time when you are labouring under the effects of a dreadful calamity which hath reduced the most flourishing part of your city to ashes, enhances the value of the donation and of the obligation conferred.

"With sentiments of esteem and gratitude, I am, gentlemen,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Matthew Clarkson.

"To Messrs. Banyar, J. J. Lansing, Staats, Lush, Wendell, J. Lansing, Ten Eyck and Van Rensselaer."

II.

To the statements on page 44, it should be added that Matthew Clarkson was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society December 21st, 1768, elected Treasurer, March 19th, 1779, Councillor, January 5th, 1781.

III.

The following amendment of a sentence on page 55 is now made:

Five of Matthew Clarkson's great-grandsons have been clergymen: Charles R. Bonnell and George Bringhurst in the Protestant Episcopal Church; John Hall, Alexander Proudfit and Robert R. Proudfit in the Presbyterian.

GERARDUS CLARKSON.

1737-1790.

INTRODUCTION.

In compiling the records that are contained in the pages that follow, the almost entire absence in the family of material to make a "sketch" of our ancestors, is sensibly felt. After persistent effort in search of diaries and letters without success, the writer can do little better than bring to your notice the testimonies of those who lived in their day, or who have studied their honored lives.

I am indebted to Mr. Frederick D. Stone, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for information contained in the Belknap and Hazard Letters, edited by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the diary of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, published in Cincinnati in 1888. From both these works I have drawn largely.

I trust the work may prove acceptable to the members of the family for whose exclusive use it is published.

S. C.

Philadelphia, July, 1890.

MEMOIR OF GERARDUS CLARKSON.

I.

ENGLISH ANCESTORS.

The history of the Clarksons of Philadelphia begins with the Stuart period. During the reign of James I. the family were residents of Yorkshire and though tradition is silent on the subject there can be little doubt their ancestors had their homes in the same county. In the archives of Yorkshire the name may be traced 500 years.

Early in the 17th century, Robert Clarkeson was living at Bradford in a street called the Fayre Gappe, probably one of the oldest thoroughfares in the town. He had large estates and his family, it is said, were "possessed of high moral worth and social influence." In 1615 he was a warden of the Parish Church of S. Peter's and some years later served, in company with the Vicar and others, as trustee for the sale

of the Manor of Bradford. Little, however, is known of his life. His death is recorded as having occurred on the 10th March, 1631-2. He spent his last days where his first had been spent in the town of Bradford and his remains were laid to rest "among his own people" in the old Parish Church.

William was the son and next heir of Robert Clarkeson. He was born March 13, 1613-14 and was at the time of his father's death a lad of nearly eighteen. He was educated for the ministry and in 1645 became the Vicar of Adel, near Leeds. The Church at Adel was erected, probably, within the first century after the Conquest and was dedicated to S. John the Baptist. Clarkson held, doubtless by inheritance, as no provision was made for him in his father's will, "the Lordship of Idle" including the "Mansion House," called the "Smythies" at Windhill and the "Chappel" at Idle, besides the building wherein from time to time the Lords of the Manor of Idle used to hold their courts. In the exercise of his profession he remained at Adel until his death in April 1660 and was buried in the grounds adjoining the church. He was twice married. His first wife was Elizabeth, a daughter of Thomas Sharp, and sister of John Sharp, the Parliamentarian. John Sharp had married Mr. Clarkson's sister Mary, and was a relative of the once famous Archbishop of York of the same name. Clarkson's second wife was Frances, a daughter of Mr. Maud of Bierly.

PARISH CHURCH, BRADFORD.

Robert, a brother of the Rev. William Clarkson, was baptized at S. Peter's, Bradford, on the 15th February, 1617-18. He removed to London where he acquired a large property, the personalty alone being estimated at £40,000. At one time he was an alderman of that city. His wife was a Miss Taylor. Her mother was a daughter of the Rev. William Wilson, D. D. of Merton College, Oxford, who had married Isabel Woodhall, a niece of Edmund Grindall, Archbishop of Canterbury, *temp.* Elizabeth. One of Mr. Clarkson's daughters, Hannah, named after her mother, became the wife of Edward Hopton and had a son Richard who married Elizabeth Geers, great grand-daughter of the first Earl of Westmoreland. Clarkson's death occurred at his residence at Little Chelsea, in the Parish of Kensington, Middlesex, in 1695-6.

The youngest of the sons of Robert of Bradford was David Clarkson. He was baptized on the 3rd March, 1621-2. From the grammar school in his native town he went up to Cambridge University. His admission at Trinity College bears date October 22, 1641 where he took his degree in 1644-5. He was appointed, by the warrant of the Earl of Manchester, to a Fellowship at Clare-Hall, and had the honor of presiding over a community of which the eminent Ralph Cudworth had previously been made Master. The following letter, written by his brother-in-law John Sharp, of Horton, doubtless had considerable influence in obtaining the preferment. It bears the endorsement:

"Copy of ye letter to ye Earl of Manchester."

3rd October, 1644.

My Lord,

This gentleman show by these presents to yr. Lordship hath deserved for his sufferings to be pittyed, for his constancy to be rewarded, now since his condicon requires the one no less than it deserves the other. I thought it convenient to manifest that I pitty him by desiring yr. honorable assistance to reward him. He was a student in Cambridge till the beginning of this kingdom's troubles, when he was forced by the strict urging of some ceremonies to leave it. Coming into the country he resided at Bradford till that towne was taken and himself in it. Since then, for his affection to the Parliamt. he hath continued 10 months a prisoner by wh. he lost both his degree in the University and the benefit of his estate in the country, so that now he is rendered unable not only to provide for the expenses ordinary at the taking of a degree but also to mayntayne himself in the University as heretofore he had done. I desire therefore your Lordship in consideration of the promises you would confer on him such preferment in the College as may both enable and encourage him to continue his progress in his stud'ys, yet no other than what after examination he shall be thought worthy of; and I shall be further engaged.

(Signed)

JOHN SHARP.

David Clarkson left Trinity for Clare in 1645, and on the 5th May of that year received his Fellowship. At Clare the degree of B. D. was conferred on him and he held his position as Fellow until 1651, when he left the University. During his residence in the University he had placed under his care, among other pupils, John Tillotson, afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury.

It is not probable that Clarkson had possessed any preferment in the church before he was invited, about 1651-5, to become the minister of Crayford, in Kent. Subsequently, February 13, 1655 he received his appointment to Mortlake, not far from Battersea, in Surrey, and continued to hold this cure till his ejection by the Uniformity Act in 1662. For several years succeeding this date, his pen was constantly engaged in the religious controversies of the time, and his name is always enumerated among the chief literary champions of Non-conformity.

In 1682 he became the colleague of Dr. John Owen, as pastor of an Independent Church in London, and on Owen's death, in the following year, his successor. Clarkson did not long hold this office, dying rather suddenly at his residence in the Parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, on the 14th June, 1686, and was buried in Bunhill Fields Cemetery. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. William Bates.

Baxter, Ridgely, Howe, and Mead all bear testimony to his talents. Baxter speaks of him as "a divine of extraordinary worth for solid judgment, healing, moderate prin-

ciples, acquaintance with the fathers, great ministerial abilities, and a godly upright life." Birch, in his life of Tillotson, refers to the singular respect that the Archbishop entertained for him; and De Foe thought that the reasoning in two of Clarkson's works, though often attacked, had never been refuted.

His writings are very numerous, and many of his sermons and discourses were collected and published, in 1696, in one of those folios, at one time to be seen in old Dissenting chapels secured to the desk by a chain.

In 1651 Mr. Clarkson was married to a daughter of Sir Henry Holcroft, Knight, of East Ham, County of Essex, and of Long Acre, County of Middlesex. The Holcrofts were settled for centuries in Lancashire, and have been represented in the Royal Parliament as early as the reign of Edward III. One branch, known in history as that of Vale Royal, was greatly enriched under Henry VIII., at the time of the sequestration of the monasteries, and received an accession of dignity under Queen Mary, when Sir Thomas Holcroft was made Knight Marshal of England. Another branch of the family established itself at Basingstoke, in Hants; while still another settled at Hurst, in Lancashire. The Holcrofts at East Ham, Essex, came of the latter branch.

In 1662–3 Mr. Clarkson married again, his wife being Elizabeth, widow of Wolrave Lodwick, and daughter of Matthew Kenrick, of London. The Kenricks have been

seated at Woore-Manor, Salop, for generations. It is a Welsh family of great antiquity, and claims a descent from David Kenrick, who was standard-bearer to the Black Prince, *temp.* Edward III., in the battles of Crecy and Poictiers.

Before leaving his native village, Ashley, in the county of Stafford, to join his gallant countrymen, Kenrick, it is said, threw his spear into a hillock and vowed, "if the Almighty spared his life, he would build on that very spot a temple to the Most High God." His life was spared and on his return "he devoted the spoils of war and gave of his own substance to the erection of the sacred fane" which the people of Ashley now call their Parish church.

In the interior of the edifice, immediately over the pulpit, is a brass plate, which bears the following inscription :

"In perpetuam Rei memoriam
Manubias Deo,
David Kenricus Pietas ejus memoriæ
Hoc virtutis Praemiolum dicavit."

Mr. Clarkson is represented in his portrait with a round handsome face, with an ample forehead and long flowing hair. An expression of cheerfulness and good humor, confirm what his writings suggest, that he was blessed with great equanimity of temper and a natural gaiety of manners, that contributed much to his own happiness and to the pleasure of those who were privileged to be connected with him.

It appears that he had eight children, three sons and five daughters, but whether this number comprised his whole family is not known. His will gives no information on the subject. It is singularly brief and hurried, and as his decease was unexpected, it was only executed the day before he died.

The eldest child Letes (Lettice), who bore the name of her grandmother, the wife of Sir Henry Holcroft, was baptized on the 25th May, 1652, at Crayford, Kent, during her father's residence there, and died in March of the following year. Rebecca was married to a Mr. Combe. She died on the 20th November, 1744, aged seventy-nine, having outlived her husband, and was buried in Bunhill Fields Cemetery. There was no issue, it is believed, by this marriage. Another daughter, Mary, died young, in March, 1669, and the two other daughters remained unmarried. Gertrude died in London, April 23, 1701. Her pastor, Dr. Ridgley, preached her funeral sermon, which he also published and inscribed to Mrs. Elizabeth Clarkson, the venerable relict of Mr. Clarkson. The fifth daughter, Katherine, died at Hitchin, Herts, January 11, 1757, aged eighty-four years. Gertrude and Katherine were both baptized at Mortlake, the former on the 18th November, 1669, the latter on the 4th July, 1672.

Of the three sons—David, Matthew, and Robert—it is known that David married about 1690, Lady Sands, the widow of Sir William Sands. She survived her husband,

and died in 1714, providing by her will that she should "be carried to my grave at night, privately, but decently," and that the interment should be made in St. Warburgh's Church.

Of Robert, it is recorded that he was baptized at the Mortlake Church on the 8th February, 1670, and his father's will bequeaths to him all his books if he would prove a scholar, but neither tradition nor the records reveal anything of his after life.

The other son, Matthew, went to America, and after a short stay in the provinces returned to England. He then preferred a petition to the King for the position of Secretary of the Colony of New York. The petition was referred to the Right Hon. the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, and upon their recommendation, and as a testimony of his respect for the memory of the Rev. David Clarkson, the father of the petitioner, King William III. caused the commission to be issued. Matthew sailed from the Isle of Wight on board the *Beaver* on the 1st December, 1690, and arrived at New York on Thursday, January 29th, 1690–1. Two years later, on the 19th January, 1692, he married Catharina, a daughter of the Hon. G. Gerritse Van Schaick, of Albany, a family of Dutch descent, and became in this way connected with most of the prominent families in the province. Mr. Clarkson retained his office until his death. He and his wife both fell victims to an epidemic, supposed to have been the yellow fever, which

suddenly appeared in New York. The exact date of Mrs. Clarkson's death is not known. Her husband, it is said, survived her a few days only, and died July 20th 1702.

Many of his descendants have held high and responsible positions in America, the duties of which they have discharged with fidelity and ability.*

* Contributed by the compiler of "The Clarksons of New York." 2 vols., 1875–6.

II.

EDUCATION—PROFESSION.

Gerardus Clarkson, grandson of the Secretary, was born in the City of New York, in the year 1737. He was the youngest of six children of Matthew Clarkson and Cornelia De Peyster, his wife. At the age of 40 the father was removed by death, when Mrs. Clarkson, with her children, took up her residence at New Brunswick, N. J., and later on married Reverend Gilbert Tennent, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in that place. In 1743 Mr. Tennent, with his family, removed to Philadelphia, preaching to the First Presbyterian congregation, and afterwards founded the Second Presbyterian Church, situated at the northwest corner of Arch and Third streets. Their home in this city, is called in Watson's "Annals," Bedminster Country Seat, on the northeast corner of Fourth street and Brewers Alley (now Wood street).

Mr. Tennent took a lively interest in what was known as the *"Log College," founded by his father, the Rev.

* See notice of Centennial in September 1889.

William Tennent, about one mile south of the present village of Hartsville, in Bucks County, Pa. He was also one of the first Trustees of the College of New Jersey, his name occurring in the second charter granted to that institution in 1748.

There is no record of Gerardus or his brother Matthew having pursued their studies at either of the schools of learning mentioned, but it is said that the education of the brothers was conducted under the immediate supervision of their step-father, and the character of the training may reasonably be deduced from what is known of this pious and worthy man.

Mrs. Tennent died May 23d, 1753. Her husband survived until 1764.

Upon finishing his classical studies, the subject of this memoir entered upon the study of medicine in Philadelphia, with the celebrated * Dr. Thomas Bond, and on concluding the course, his desire of travel induced him to make the tour of Europe about the year 1759–60. After a prolonged absence, during which he visited the Hospitals of Edinburgh, Paris and Italy, he returned and settled in Philadelphia as a practitioner of medicine. As stated in the records of Christ Church, he was married May 13th, 1761, by Rev. Jacob Duché, to Mary, daughter of Samuel Flower, and his

* Dr. Thomas Bond, one of the physicians at the Pennsylvania Hospital, which was started in a rented house on south side of Market street, west of Fifth street (1752)—History of Pennsylvania Hospital, by Geo. B. Wood, M. D.

wife Rebecca, daughter of William Branson, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, another of whose daughters married Lynford Lardner, the Provincial Councillor of Pennsylvania, and another Richard Hockley, who succeeded Lardner as Receiver General of the Province. Mrs. Clarkson's sister Hannah, subsequently (in 1767) married Thomas Asheton, a relative of the Proprietaries.

Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, at the commencement of his career, had the advantage of refined and cultivated surroundings. From the record, we find that he was a religious man, amiable and generous, and endowed with a kindness of heart that stood for much in his profession.

He associated with men of intellect, character and education in a growing community. The population of Philadelphia in 1750, was estimated at 16,000.—in 1777, according to census made by Lord Cornwallis, it was within 24,000.*

We find him, in probably 1766 or 1767, with Dr. John Morgan and others joined in establishing the Philadelphia Medical Society, the first medical society in the city.† The compiler of the "*Lives of Eminent Philadelphians now Deceased,*" informs us that he was practising medicine as early as 1774. He was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society October 14th, 1768, and a Trustee of the University of the State of Pennsylvania July 21st, 1780. The minutes show that he was rarely absent from the

* Pennsylvania Letters Portfolio, vol. i., Philadelphia, 1813.

† Institution of College of Physicians, page 15—Ruschenberger.

meetings of the Board of Trustees. He attained eminence in his calling and was one of the founders of the College of Physicians, and the Treasurer of that society named in the charter granted March 26, 1789. As a matter of interest to the reader, we insert the form of the Constitution of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, as published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* and *Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 1st, 1787, p. 2.

"The College was to consist of twelve senior fellows, who were the only fellows eligible to office, and an indefinite number of junior fellows.

"At the date of publication of the constitution the list of members was printed as follows:

Senior Fellows.	*Junior Fellows.*
John Redman,	Robert Harris,
John Jones,	Benjamin Duffield,
William Shippen, Jr.,	John Foulke,
Benjamin Rush,	James Hall,
Samuel Duffield,	Andrew Ross,
James Hutchinson,	William Currie,
Abraham Chovet,	John Carson,
John Morgan,	William W. Smith,
Adam Kuhn,	Samuel P. Griffitts,
Gerardus Clarkson,	John Morris,
Thomas Parke,	William Clarkson,
George Glentworth,	Benjamin Say,
	John Lynn.

"All communications that are included in the objects of the College, specified in the preamble of the constitution, may be addressed to the Secretary (post paid, when they are sent by that conveyance), or to any fellow of the College.

"It is to be hoped the friends of medical science in every part of the United States will concur in promoting by useful communications the important designs of this institution.

"Published by order of the College.

"JAMES HUTCHINSON,
"*Secretary.*

"The present officers of the College are:

President,	*Treasurer,*
JOHN REDMAN,	GERARDUS CLARKSON.
Vice-President,	*Secretary,*
JOHN JONES.	JAMES HUTCHINSON.

Censors.

WILLIAM SHIPPEN, JR.,	JOHN MORGAN.
BENJAMIN RUSH,	ADAM KUHN.

"☞The different printers in the United States are requested to publish this in their papers."

III.

BELKNAP AND HAZARD.

Dr. Clarkson is frequently mentioned in the correspondence between Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard, covering a period of twenty years.* We propose to bring out certain points somewhat in detail, in order to show the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries.

Ebenezer Hazard was the son of Samuel Hazard, who in 1739 married Catharine, the oldest sister of Gerardus Clarkson. He was born at Philadelphia, January 17th, 1744, graduated at Princeton College in 1762 and devoted himself to a business career in New York. From 1775 to 1789 he was connected with the Post Office Department of the Government. In 1779 he was appointed Surveyor of Post Roads and Offices, throughout the United States, and until 1782, was accustomed, in performing the duties of his office, to travel on horse-back from New Hampshire to Georgia. In the year last named, he was appointed Postmaster General of the United States, as successor to

*Belknap Papers, published by Massachusetts Historical Society.

Richard Bache, who had succeeded Benjamin Franklin as first Postmaster General under the authority of Congress. He held the office seven years, until the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

The closest intimacy appears to have existed between uncle and nephew, there being but a few years difference in age.

The principal facts in Dr. Belknap's life are well known. He was the eldest child of Jeremiah Belknap and was born at Boston, June 4th, 1744. He graduated at Harvard College in 1762, at the age of eighteen. On February 18th, 1767, he was settled over the parish in Dover, New Hampshire, where he remained for twenty years a faithful and honored minister. In the autumn of 1786, at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Hazard, Belknap visited Philadelphia and made the acquaintance of many distinguished men in that city.*

In June 1783, Belknap writes to Hazard in reference to his son in his 14th year, whom he wishes to indenture to Mr. Aitken, the printer, at Philadelphia. For some unexplained reason Dr. Clarkson is often spoken of in the correspondence as "Ulysses."

On October 8th, Hazard writes to Belknap:—"I called to see (Ulysses) Clarkson the other evening, he asked me if I had heard lately from you," . . . . "I told him that I had and that one of your sons was coming to be apprentice to Mr. A. I then mentioned some difficul-

* Belknap Papers.

ties you labored under, about sending him here, particularly that he had not had the small-pox and what I had said about the expense of inoculating him. Ulysses immediately told me that from the opinion he had formed of Mr. B., he should be happy in rendering him any service in his power, and when his son was to be inoculated, he would cheerfully do it *gratis*."

October 15, 1783, Hazard writes, referring to Belknap's History of New Hampshire, printed by Robert Aitken, at Philadelphia. "Ulysses is at work for you. It popped into my head, that as his business at this season of the year, leads him to see many people, he might procure you a number of subscribers, and I asked him to carry a subscription paper in his pocket and produce it as occasion offered, to which he immediately consented in a way which convinced me he entered fully into my views. He was at my house the other evening and showed me subscriptions for twenty-two books. He told me 'he felt *an ambition* to procure these for one hundred and hoped to be able to do it.'" "He is not apt to be sanguine, and therefore I expect it."

October 27th, Belknap to Hazard:—"Since I wrote you last week, I received yours of the 8th, and beg you will return my most cordial thanks to Ulysses for his very kind and generous offer.

In due course, Joseph Belknap, his eldest son, arrived in Philadelphia and was installed in Mr. Aitken's family. The dread of small-pox, then so prevalent in the city, must have

been a source of great solicitude, on the part of the devoted parent, for he writes December 30th, 1783: "God be praised, that appearances when you wrote were so favorable, and that he has fallen into so good hands as Dr. C., to whom I am under sensible obligations, and wish you would give my most respectful compliments."

January 13th, 1784, Belknap to Hazard:

"My Dear Sir:" "Yours of the 19th and 21st of December, with Dr. Clarkson's and Mr. Aitken's and *Josey's*, coming all together, produced a flood of gratitude to our Divine Benefactor, and to the worthy instruments which he has been pleased to make use of in conferring benefits on me and mine.

"It would be vain for me to attempt to express the feelings of my heart on this occasion; but I shall not fail to return my thanks to the 'beloved physician,' as well as to the careful master, who seems to have the interest of my son so much at heart; and if I add that I am more than ever attached to my *first* friend, who introduced me to the others, I shall but do him justice, while I do myself peculiar honor."

The salary of Belknap was a very meagre one and could not be collected; he was often compelled to labor in the field to keep his family from want. At this point, January 16, 1784, Hazard writes to Belknap: "As Mr. A. and Dr. C. appear to feel an interest in what concerns you, I let them read your letter. They were astonished

and as much hurt as myself, at the thought that a man of your genius and education should be doomed to drag out a miserable existence among such savages. The Doctor immediately asked me if there were no vacancies within the bounds of the Synod. It would make him very happy, if you could be fixed in our neighborhood."

February 27th, 1784, Belknap replies:—"I am much obliged to you and Clarkson and Mr. Aitken, for your pity and good wishes. To live in a warmer climate and among a more polished people would be very agreeable; but could a man be a member of a synod without subscribing formularies?" Again, he says: "I cannot enough express my gratitude to the good Ulysses, for his superlative kindness to me and mine. How should I enjoy myself in the frequent company and conversation of such friends! but this is not the case. I have not one of the right sort within a dozen miles of me; I mean a sympathetic soul and congenial soul with whom I can *mix essences* and talk on *every subject* with equal ease and pleasure."

May 11th, 1784, he writes:—"I ought to have taken notice of one sentiment in one of your letters, viz; that Ulysses and you and I would, if together, enjoy congeniality. O, how desirable is such a situation! I cannot but hope it will some day or other be realized. I think on coming to Philadelphia, with as much earnestness as the crew of Æneas's ship did on Italy, Commodore Anson's on the island of Juan Fernandez; . . . ."

A year later Hazard's duties compelled him to remove to New York, and under date of April 16th, 1785, Belknap writes: "Your kind attention to my son is very pleasing to me and deserves my warmest gratitude. I am sorry, on his account, you cannot reside at Philadelphia. To lose one out of the few friends he has there, and the chief of them too, is a great loss." . . . . "I cannot help *dreaming* that I shall see Phiadelphia, and call on you on my way thither; but at present it is only a *dream.*"

On September 17th, 1785, Dr. Belknap left home on the journey to Philadelphia, which he had so long contemplated. He spent some time on the way at Boston, Providence, Newport and New York, where he saw his friend Hazard. At Philadelphia, he was the guest of Mr. Aitken, with whom his son Joseph was apprenticed. He made the acquaintance of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson and of other well known persons. He was absent seven weeks, reaching home on the 5th of November.*

On December 10th 1785, Hazard writes to Belknap: "Mr. Matthew Clarkson's daughter was married on the 24th ult., to Mr. Robert Ralston." Later on Belknap writes to Hazard: "I do so much rejoice in the connexion formed between us and that worthy family, for the introduction to which I am greatly obliged to *you.*" And again, June 21st, 1786: "Pray give my best regards to the worthy Ulysses,

* A full account of this journey, largely narrated by himself, is told in the admirable "Life of Dr. Belknap," by his grand-daughter, Mrs. Jules Marcou.

and thank him for the valuable books he sent me through your hands."

"I would write to him, and write largely on the subject of the Common Prayer, Articles, etc., on which we discoursed at his house,* but he must excuse me for the present and so must you, from being very particular and punctual, until the grand affair of my removal from hence is fully accomplished. The etiquette of removing a minister from a parish in New England, is as tedious as obtaining a divorce in the Spiritual Courts. . . ."

From the correspondence, up to this time, it seems that the effort to procure the removal of Dr. Belknap and family to Philadelphia, was still under contemplation. Hazard writes as follows: "You left a good name in Philadelphia, and there are some folks there who have almost as good an opinion of you as I have."†

Belknap in reply, expresses a fondness for Philadelphia, but nothing can exceed his attachment to his native Boston, and he therefore accepts the invitation of the Congregational Society to settle with them.

Within the next few months a difficulty arose between Aitken the master and Joseph (Belknap's son), the apprentice. Hazard, who executed the indentures, resided at this time in New York, and Dr. Clarkson was appealed to in the

* It was about this time, that the Proposed Book was under consideration.

† My colleague has given this letter in full, in the Memoir of Matthew Clarkson.

interest of peace. Belknap writes to Hazard: "By the last letters received from Aitken and Josey, I find the breach is grown so wide that they *both* desire a separation. A., by *his own* account, has made a very free use of 'the fist' and the 'knotted cord,' both very bad instruments of reformation in the hands of a perfervid Caledonian."

"This, with Master Bob's mode of correction, has entirely disgusted Jo, and alienated his affections. One cause of complaint is that Jo once absented from the afternoon and evening meeting. Jo says it was in consequence of a blow received from his master's fist, on the Sunday noon at dinner, which gave him a black eye, and unfitted him for a *decent* appearance in any worshipping assembly. Neglect of business, and company of *bad* boys, form another complaint. Jo says his almost only companions are Oswald's apprentices, and that they are *not* bad. He also says that A. has had six apprentices and that but *one* ever served his time out, and that he has shown his marks of the old man's cruelty. A. has appealed to Dr. Clarkson, and says that the Doctor thinks I had better remove Josey. In this state of the controversy, I feel myself very unhappy that *I* cannot be on the spot, that *you* are not on the spot, and that I am not able to converse with you but by this dilatory method of writing. To remedy as far as possible, these inconveniences, I have taken advantage of the permission which passed through your hands to me, from A., to let Jo make us a friendly visit. I have agreed

with a Captain Dagget, who is now under sail out of this port, to convey Jo hither. I have written to Dr. Clarkson and Mr. Ball, desiring their advice about Jo's returning to Philadelphia after he has been here, either to serve out his time with A., or go to some other master there. If they advise to his not returning at all, then I have desired them, after examination, to certify as much as they can in his favour, that he may be recommended to some person here. But I had much rather he would return to Philadelphia, if matters can be accommodated with A., or he can get another master. I have also written with great moderation to A., and have advised Jo to make all proper submissions and acknowledgments, and, if possible, part in peace. I should be very much obliged to you if you will write to Dr. C. and give him your ideas of what you deem best. I am sorry to trouble you or the Doctor with such a matter, but know not how to avoid it."

This consultation resulted in the indentures being cancelled.

From this date until 1788, the allusions to members of the Clarkson family are brief, and in connexion with this narrative, unimportant.

July 3, 1788, Hazard writes: "My mother continues very ill." July 17th: "My mother is so ill that I have thought it advisable to send for my sister from Philadelphia. August 7th: "My good mother still languishes, and from appearances, will leave us soon. Death will not find her

unprepared." August 21st, 1788: "Death has made a breach in my family, by removing my good mother from us. She died last Friday night, having set us a bright example of both faith and patience."

Two years later, from New York, under date of October 4th, 1790, Hazard writes to Belknap: "I have lately been informed of the death of the good Dr. Clarkson. He lived an ornament to the christian name and died the death of the righteous. No death has lately happened in which I have felt so great a loss. However, it cannot be many years before we shall be re-united, and the friendship begun on earth will be perfected in Heaven." Belknap in turn writes: "Dr. Rush has written me an excellent letter, giving me an account of the death and character of Dr. Clarkson, of whom he speaks in the most exalted terms, as one of the best of men, and to whom he was greatly indebted, especially on a religious account. One of his expressions is: 'He was twenty years ahead of me in his attention to the one thing needful.'" Hazard to Belknap, January 14th, 1791, writes: "Dr. Rush has not written in too exalted terms of Dr. Clarkson, for though his attachment to him was strong, the Doctor's merit was equally great."

IV.

PHILADELPHIA IN 1787.

We turn now from the Belknap papers and in our search for items of interest to make as complete as possible the record we have in hand, there has lately come to us a work published in Cincinnati (1888), that gives a glimpse of the social life and customs of our ancestors in Philadelphia in 1787.*

"Philadelphia in 1787."

"*Friday, July* 13. The Indian Queen Tavern is situated in Third Street, between Market Street and Chestnut Street, and is not far from the center of the city. It is kept in an elegant style, and consists of a large pile of buildings, with many spacious halls, and numerous small apartments, appropriated for lodging rooms. As soon as I had inquired of the bar-keeper, when I arrived last evening, if I could be

* The journal of Rev. Manasseh Cutler. We quote in full from the journal, vol. i, pages 253 to 285.

furnished with lodgings, a livery servant was ordered immediately to attend me, who received my baggage from the hostler, and conducted me to the apartment assigned by the bar-keeper, which was a rather small but a very handsome chamber (No. 9), furnished with a rich field bed, bureau, table with drawers, a large looking-glass, neat chairs and other furniture. Its front was east, and, being in the third story, afforded a fine prospect toward the river and the Jersey shore. The servant that attended me was a young, sprightly, well-built black fellow, neatly dressed—blue coat, sleeves and cape red, and buff waistcoat and breeches, the bosom of his shirt ruffled, and hair powdered. After he had brought up my baggage and properly deposited it in the chamber, he brought two of the latest London magazines and laid on the table. I ordered him to call a barber, furnish me with a bowl of water for washing, and to have tea on the table by the time I was dressed. My intention was to have taken a walk, and delivered some of my letters in the evening, but so much time was occupied in shifting my clothes, getting from under the hands of the barber, and taking tea, I found it too late, and besides felt myself not a little fatigued with my day's journey, which had been 43 miles since 10 in the morning. Distance from New York, 95 miles, and from home, 397.

"Being told, while I was at tea, that a number of the Members of the Continental Convention, now convened in this city for the purpose of forming a Federal Constitution,

lodged in this house, and that two of them were from Massachusetts, immediately after tea, I sent into their Hall (for they live by themselves) to Mr. Strong, and requested to speak with him. We had never been personally acquainted, nor had I any letter to him, but we had both of us an hearsay knowledge of each other, and Mr. Gerry had lately mentioned to Mr. Strong that he daily expected me, in consequence of a letter he had received from Governor Bowdoin. Mr. Strong very politely introduced me to Mr. Gorham, of Charlestown, Mass.; Mr. Madison and Mr. Mason and his son, of Virginia; Governor Martin, Hon. Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina; the Hon. John Rutledge and Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina; Mr. Hamilton, of New York, who were lodgers in the house, and to several other gentlemen who were spending the evening with them. I spent the evening with these gentlemen very agreeably. Mr. Strong and Mr. Gorham insisted on my sitting a while with them, after the other gentlemen retired, that they might inquire with more freedom and more minutely into state affairs in the Massachusetts. We sat until half after one. They both of them very politely offered to wait on me to any part of the city, and to introduce me to any gentlemen of their acquaintance I should wish to see. But I assured them that my business with Congress required so speedy a return to New York that I should be able to spend very little time in Philadelphia, and that my introductory letters were so numerous I doubted whether

I should be able to deliver them all. Mr. Strong proposed going with me in the morning to Mr. Gerry's, as early as I pleased, and so wished them good-night.

"I rose very early this morning, and the servant assigned me came into the chamber before I was dressed, to know my commands. Mr. Strong was up as early as myself, and we took a walk to Mr. Gerry's, in Spruce street, where we breakfasted. Few old bachelors, I believe have been more fortunate in matrimony than Mr. Gerry. His lady is young, very handsome, and exceedingly amiable. She appears to be possessed of fine accomplishments. I should suppose her not more than 17, and believe he must be turned of 55. They have been married about eighteen months, and have a fine son about two months old, of whom they appear both to be extravagantly fond. Mr. Gerry has hired a house, and lives in a family state. I was surprised to find how early ladies in Philadelphia can rise in the morning, and to see them at breakfast at half after five, when in Boston they can hardly see a breakfast table at nine without falling into hysterics. I observed to Mrs. Gerry that it seemed to be an early hour for ladies to breakfast. She said she always rose early, and found it conducive to her health. She was inured to it from her childhood in New York, and that it was the practice of the best families in Philadelphia. Mr. Gerry had received a letter from Governor Bowdoin, requesting that he would wait on me to Dr. Franklin's in person, when I arrived in the city. Although I had several

introductory letters to the Doctor, yet I wished for the company of some gentlemen of my acquaintance when I paid my respects to that venerable sage. Mr. Gerry expressed a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction in having the opportunity of introducing me to the Doctor, and supposed the best time would be about five in the afternoon—which was agreed on.

"Mr. Strong went with me, after breakfast, to Dr. Morgan's, in Pine Street, to whom I had letters from Dr. Warren, of Boston, and his brother, at Princeton. The Doctor received me with politeness, and I had the pleasure of introducing Mr. Strong to him, who had not been acquainted with him. But we were very soon interrupted with an urgent message to the Doctor to visit, instantly, a person in a desperate situation. The Doctor, however, while his carriage was getting ready, went with us to Dr. Clarkson's, in the same street, where he and Mr. Strong left me. Dr. Clarkson is one of those fine, accomplished, benevolent characters which inspire the most exalted ideas of human nature. I found him fully to answer the character I had received of him. My letters to him were from his much-esteemed friend, Mr. Belknap, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Hazard. When he had read my letters, he received me, not merely in the common formalities of politeness, but with the warm affection and friendship of an intimate acquaintance that had been long absent. When he found my stay in the city must be very short, he dis-

missed all his business, sent his servant to inform his patients that it was not probable he should be able to see them on that day or the next; if any thing special occurred, he must be particularly informed, and devoted himself entirely to wait on me. I was formally introduced to his son, who had just before received Episcopal Ordination from Dr. White, the Bishop of this State, and is about to be settled in one of the churches in this city; and to his three little daughters. Mrs. Clarkson was confined above stairs by a nervous weakness of long standing, which prevented my seeing her. After engaging me to dine with him, he ordered his Phaeton to be harnessed, that we might take a general view of the city, etc. We rode out of the city on the western side, toward the Schuylkill, and passed by the Hospital and Bettering-house.

"We continued our route, in view of the Schuylkill, and up the river several miles, and took a view of a number of Country-seats, one belonging to Mr. R. Morris, the American financier, and who is said to be possessed of the greatest fortune in America. His country-seat is not yet completed, but it will be superb. It is planned on a large scale, the gardens and walks are extensive, and the villa, situated on an eminence, has a commanding prospect down the Schuylkill to the Delaware.

"We returned to the northern side of the city, and passed through the principal streets in the longest direction of the city and parallel with the Delaware. We also passed up

and down most of the streets in the cross direction. This gave me an opportunity of seeing the whole of the city, of viewing it in several directions, and observing all the public buildings. In this tour I delivered most of my letters, but had only time to deliver them, for the Doctor waited for me in his carriage. I was therefore obliged to inform them that my stay would be very short in the city, and was obliged to decline all their invitations. We returned to the Doctor's house about twelve, having rode, by the Doctor's computation, near twenty miles. His horses were very large and fine, and he had as much as he could well do to rein them.

"After refreshing ourselves, we took a ramble on foot, called on Dr. Rush, whom we fortunately found at home. The Doctor is the complete gentleman, and one of the first literary characters in America. After reading my letter, and usual ceremony, he expressed much satisfaction in having an opportunity to see me, and told me he had for some time wished for a correspondence. He thanked me very particularly for my Botanical Paper in the Memoirs of the American Academy, and said that Dr. Franklin and he had desired the printers of the Columbian Magazine to publish the extracts from it, which had appeared in that publication. He approved of my plan, and appeared very anxious that I should pursue it. He observed that they were endeavoring to raise a fund for establishing a Botanical Garden in that city, which he hoped they should be able to

effect, and assured me that I was the only person who had been in nomination to take the superintendency, and give the Botanical lectures to the students in Physics of the University. This led me to inquire after Mr. Cox, the present Professor of Botany in the University here, and to observe that I was not so fortunate as to have a letter to him, but wished for the favor of being introduced, as I understood he had studied under the immediate instruction of the great Linnæus. Both of the gentlemen readily offered to introduce me, but both observed they believed it would afford me very little satisfaction; that he did not pretend to give lectures, had never attended to the practical part, and perhaps was not a very complete master of the theory. Finding that they seemed inclined to keep their Botanist out of sight, I did not insist on seeing him. But Dr. Rush observed that Mr. Bartram had much more botanical knowledge than Cox, and employed much of his time in the explanation of plants. He imagined I would be pleased with him, and wished I would find time to visit him. Dr. Clarkson proposed a ride early the next morning to Bartram's seat, two miles beyond the Schuylkill. Dr. Rush said he should be very happy to accompany us, but it was the day for his formal visit to the Hospital, which must commence precisely at 11 o'clock, and he had some special business to settle with the Directors, whom he had engaged to meet at seven in the morning, and was of such a nature that it could not be postponed. He asked me if I

had seen the hospital, or had any inclination to attend the visitation with him. I then concluded to go out to Bartram's with Dr. Clarkson in his Phaeton at six, and we were to meet Dr. Rush at the Hospital at 11 o'clock, and engaged to dine with him. We returned to Dr. Clarkson's and dined.

"Immediately after dinner we called on Mr. Peale, to see his collection of paintings and natural curiosities. We were conducted into a room by a boy, who told us that Mr. Peale would wait on us in a minute or two. He desired us, however, to walk into the room where the curiosities were, and showed us a long narrow entry which led into the room. I observed, through a glass window at my right hand, a gentleman close to me, standing with a pencil in one hand, and a small sheet of ivory in the other, and his eyes directed to the opposite side of the room, as though he was taking some object on his ivory sheet. Dr. Clarkson did not see this man until he stepped into the room, but instantly turned about and came back saying, 'Mr. Peale is very busy, taking the picture of something with his pencil. We will step back into the other room and wait till he is at leisure.' We returned through the entry, but as we entered the room we came from, we met Mr. Peale coming to us. The Doctor started back in astonishment, and cried out, 'Mr. Peale, how is it possible you should get out of the other room to meet us here?' Mr. Peale smiled. 'I have not been in the other room,' says he, 'for some time.' 'No!' says Clarkson, 'Did not I see you there this moment, with your pencil

and ivory?' 'Why, do you think you did?' says Peale. 'Do I think I did? Yes,' says the Doctor, 'I saw you there if I ever saw you in my life.' 'Well,' says Peale, 'let us go and see.' When we returned, we found the man standing as before. My astonishment was now nearly equal to that of Dr. Clarkson; for, although I knew what I saw, yet I beheld two men, so perfectly alike that I could not discern the minutest difference. One of them, indeed, had no motion; but he appeared to me to be as *absolutely* alive as the other, and I could hardly help wondering that he did not smile or take a part in the conversation. This was a piece of wax-work which Mr. Peale had just finished, in which he had taken himself. So admirable a performance must have done great honor to his *genius* if it had been that of any other person, but I think it is much more extraordinary that he should be able so perfectly to take himself. To what perfection is this art capable of being carried! By this method, our particular friends and ancestors might be preserved in perfect likeness to the latest generation. We seem to be able in some degree to disappoint the ravages of time, and prevent mortality itself, the common lot of man, from concealing from us in its dreary retreats our dearest connections. This room is constructed in a very singular manner, for the purpose of Exhibitions, where various scenery in paintings is exhibited in a manner that has a most astonishing effect. It is very long but not very wide, has no windows, nor floor over it, but is open

up to the roof, which is two or three stories, and from above the light is admitted in greater or less quantities at pleasure. The walls of the room are covered with paintings, both portrait and historic. One particular part is assigned to the portraits of the principal American characters who appeared on the stage during the late revolution, either in the councils or armies of their country. The drapery was excellent, and the likenesses of all of whom I had any personal knowledge were well taken. I fancied myself introduced to all the General Officers that had been in the field during the war, whether dead or alive, for I think he had every one, and to most of the members of Congress and other distinguished characters. To grace his collection, he had a number of the most distinguished clergymen in the middle and southern states who had, in some way or other, been active in the revolution. In other parts were a number of fine historic pieces, executed in a masterly manner. At the upper end of the room, General Washington, at full length and nearly as large as the life, was placed, as President of this sage and martial assembly. At the opposite end, under a small gallery, his natural curiosities were arranged in a most romantic and amusing manner. There was a mound of earth, considerably raised and covered with green turf, from which a number of trees ascended and branched out in different directions. On the declivity of this mound was a small thicket, and just below it an artificial pond; on the other side a number of large and small rocks of different

kinds, collected from different parts of the world, and represented the rude state in which they are generally found. At the foot of the mound were holes dug and the earth thrown up, to show the different kinds of clay, ochre, coal, marl, etc., which he had collected from different parts; also, various ores and minerals. Around the pond was a beach, on which was exhibited an assortment of shells of different kinds, turtles, frogs, toads, lizards, water snakes, etc. In the pond was a collection of fish with their skins stuffed, water-fowls, such as the different species of geese, ducks, cranes, herons, etc.; all having the appearance of life, for their skins were admirably preserved. On the mound were those birds which commonly walk on the ground, as the partridge, quail, heath-hen, etc.; also, different kinds of wild animals—bear, deer, leopard, tiger, wild-cat, fox, raccoon, rabbit, squirrel, etc. In the thickets and among the rocks, land-snakes, rattle-snakes of an enormous size, black, glass, striped, and a number of other snakes. The boughs of the trees were loaded with birds, some of almost every species in America, and many exotics. In short, it is not in my power to give any particular account of the numerous species of fossils and animals, but only their general arrangement. What heightened the view of this singular collection was that they were all real, either their substance or their skins finely preserved. I was much mortified that it was not in my power to see one of his exhibitions; but these can be performed to advantage only in the night,

require very considerable and expensive preparation, and this is not the season of the year in which they are given. This view seems to give some idea of what can be done, but Dr. Clarkson's account of them exceeds all credibility. Mr. Peale's animals reminded me of *Noah's Ark*, into which was received every kind of beast and creeping thing in which there was life. But I can hardly conceive that even Noah could have boasted of a better collection. Mr. Peale was very complaisant, and gave us every information we desired. He requested me to favor him with any of the animals and fossils from this part of America, not already in his museum, which it might be in my power to collect.

"From Mr. Peale's we went to the State House. This is a noble building; the architecture is in a richer and grander style than any public building I have before seen. The first story is not an open walk, as is usual in buildings of this kind. In the middle, however, is a very broad cross-aisle, and the floor above supported by two rows of pillars. From this aisle is a broad opening to a large hall, toward the west end, which opening is supported by arches and pillars. In this Hall the Courts are held, and, as you pass the aisle, you have a full view of the Court. The Supreme Court was now sitting. This bench consists of only three judges. Their robes are scarlet; the lawyers', black. The Chief Judge, Mr. McKean, was sitting with his hat on, which is the custom, but struck me as being very odd, and seemed to derogate from the dignity of a judge. The hall

east of the aisle, is employed for public business. The chamber over it is occupied by the Continental Convention, which is now sitting, but sentries are planted without and within—to prevent any person from approaching near—who appear to be very alert in the performance of their duty.

"We passed through this broad aisle into the *Mall.* It is small, nearly square, and I believe does not contain more than one acre. As you enter the Mall through the State House, which is the only avenue to it, it appears to be nothing more than a large inner Court-yard to the State House, ornamented with trees and walks. But here is a fine display of rural fancy and elegance. It was so lately laid out in its present form that it has not assumed that air of grandeur which time will give it. The trees are yet small, but most judiciously arranged. The artificial mounds of earth, and depressions, and small groves in the squares have a most delightful effect. The numerous walks are well gravelled and rolled hard; they are all in a serpentine direction, which heightens the beauty and affords constant variety. That painful sameness, commonly to be met with in garden-alleys, and other works of this kind, is happily avoided here, for there are no two parts of the Mall that are alike. Hogarth's 'Line of Beauty' is here completely verified. The public are indebted to the fertile fancy and taste of Mr. Sam'l Vaughan, for the elegance of this plan. It was laid out and executed under his

direction about three years ago. The Mall is at present nearly surrounded with buildings, which stand near to the board fence that encloses it, and the parts now vacant will, in a short time, be filled up. On one part the Philosophical Society are erecting a large building for holding their meetings and depositing their Library and Cabinet. This building is begun, and on another part, a County Court-house is now going up. But, after all the beauty and elegance of this public walk, there is one circumstance that must forever be *disgusting*, and must greatly diminish the pleasure and amusement which these walks would otherwise afford. At the foot of the Mall, and opposite to the Court-house, is the Prison, fronting directly to the Mall. It is very long and high, I believe, four stories, and built of stone. The building itself, which is elegant, would appear well, were it not for its unsavory contents. Your ears are constantly insulted with their Billingsgate language, or your feelings wounded with their pitiful complaints. Their long reed poles, with a little cap of cloth at the end, are constantly extended over into the Mall, in order to receive your charity, which they are incessantly begging. And if you refuse them, they load you with the most foul and horrid imprecations. In short, whatever part of the Mall you are in, this cage of unclean birds is constantly in your view, and their doleful cries attacking your ears.

"We next made a visit to the University. On our way we called at Dr. Ewing's, the Provost of the University, who

was gone with Mr. Rittenhouse and Mr. Hutchins to settle the line between New York and Massachusetts, and whom I had seen at New York. Dr. Ewing gave me a letter to his lady, which I delivered. She told me that she had already received a letter from the Doctor, informing her that I should be in the city that week, and that I had given him encouragement, if I spend the Sabbath in Philadelphia, of supplying his Pulpit, for the Doctor is not only the President of the University, but the minister of one of the largest congregations in the city. I assured Mrs. Ewing that it would not be in my power to supply his Desk, as I was absolutely obliged to leave the city the next day. The University is near the Doctor's house. It is a pretty large, but an old and odd-built fabric. It makes no appearance, and the accommodations are very indifferent. The hall is the most elegant part; it is pretty large, handsomely ornamented, and the inside work consists of considerable carving, in an old-fashioned style. There are very few students that reside within the walls, not more than fifty; but if you inquire the number of students that belong to the University, they will tell you between three and four hundred, for all the principal schools in the city come within the limits of the charter of the University, and are under its government, and scholars belonging to them are admitted to Degrees, after having made proper proficiency in science. This University was originally designed for educating students in Physics only, and was established by Episcopalians

and Quakers, but, since the Revolution, the charter and privileges are extended, and it furnishes many young gentlemen for the desk and the bar. The endowments are very ample, supporting a large number of professors. The shortness of my time did not admit my calling on any of them. We waited on only two of the tutors. The Library is very small, consisting only of a few antiquated authors, and the apparatus not much better. Mr. Rittenhouse's orrery is the only instrument worthy of notice; the Cabinet is trifling. But the want of these in the University is pretty well supplied by the large and valuable collection of books, instruments, and natural curiosities in Carpenters' Hall.

"From the University we went through those streets where the Meeting Houses and Churches are situated, and took a view of them. The principal are the two large Meeting Houses belonging to Dr. Ewing and Dr. Sproat; two Churches, the one where Bishop White officiates, and the other, that of the late Mr. Duché. There are a great number of other houses of Worship of different demominations, beside the Roman Catholic Church, and a Synagogue of the Jews. In our ramble we called a few minutes on Bishop White, who was just going out, and we did not detain him, for we had but a moment's time. I also called a minute on Dr. Sproat, to whom I had letters. He is between seventy and eighty, and the very picture of Father Rogers, of Ipswich. The old gentleman urged us exceed-

ingly to tarry, but it was not in our power. He is the minister of the Meeting House built for the famous Gilbert Tennent, and his immediate successor, but has now a colleague settled with him. Our next call was on Mr. John Vaughan, son of Samuel Vaughan, Esq., and the brother of my friends, Charles and Samuel Vaughan. I had letters to the old gentleman, but, very unfortunately for me, he was gone on a journey into the Ohio country. The young gentleman, however, received me with every expression of warmest friendship, urged me to take lodgings with him, and dismissed all business, to devote himself to me. He mentioned his brothers having often spoken of their acquaintance with me, and was acquainted with the correspondence which his brother Samuel and I had continued from our first acquaintance. He is not married, and, since his mother and sisters went to London in the Spring with his brother Samuel, he and his father keep bachelors' hall in a very elegant home in fore street. He is in a very large circle of trade, in partnership with another young gentleman. I informed him of my engagement to go with Mr. Gerry to Dr. Franklin's, and that the hour was then arrived. He could not be denied the pleasure, he said, of going with us, for Dr. Franklin he considered as his father, having lived a number of years with him, and the two families were so strongly connected that they considered themselves as one and the same.

"When we came to Mr. Gerry's he was waiting for us;

but, as he supposed we had time enough, and feeling myself much fatigued, we sat about half an hour. There were two young ladies by the name of Hamlinton on a visit to Mr. Gerry. They were dressed very rich indeed, but were entirely sociable and agreeable. Mr. Vaughan took a large share in the conversation, and with his easy and natural pleasantry, kept us in a burst of laughter. I knew that Mr. Vaughan was not acquainted with Mr. Gerry. I therefore introduced him, which Mr. Gerry likewise did to his lady and the company. But I immediately supposed the young ladies, from his instant and free sociability, were of his most intimate acquaintance. He appeared to me to know everything about them and every body else that was mentioned in the course of the conversation. But, on our way to Dr. Franklin's, he asked me if those young ladies were of my acquaintance, and what were their names, for they had slipped his memory. This excited my astonishment. I asked him if he had never seen them before. He said no, and he was sure they did not belong to Philadelphia, or he certainly should have had some knowledge of them. Mr. Mr. Gerry informed us they were from New York, and of Mrs. Gerry's particular acquaintance. What advantages are derived from a finished education and the best of company! How does it banish that awkward stiffness, so common when strangers meet in company! How does it engage the most perfect strangers in all the freedom of an

easy and pleasing sociability, common only to the most intimate friends!

"Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street, between Second and Third Streets, but his house stands up a court-yard at some distance from the street. We found him in his Garden, sitting upon a grass plat under a very large Mulberry, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies. There was no curiosity in Philadelphia which I felt so anxious to see as this great man, who has been the wonder of Europe as well as the glory of America. But a man who stood first in the literary world, and had spent so many years in the Courts of Kings, particularly in the refined Court of France, I conceived would not be of very easy access, and must certainly have much of the air of grandeur and majesty about him. Common folks must expect only to gaze at him at a distance, and answer such questions as he might please to ask. In short, when I entered his house, I felt as if I was going to be introduced to the presence of an European Monarch. But how were my ideas changed, when I saw a short, fat, trunched old man, in a plain Quaker dress, bald pate, and short white locks, sitting without his hat under the tree, and, as Mr. Gerry introduced me, rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy to see me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenance open, frank and pleasing. He instantly reminded me of the old Captain Cummings, for he is nearly

of his pitch, and no more of the air of superiority about him. I delivered him my letters. After he had read them, he took me again by the hand, and, with the usual compliments, introduced me to the other gentlemen of the company, who were most of them members of the Convention. Here we entered into a free conversation, and spent our time most agreeably until it was dark. The tea-table was spread under the tree, and Mrs. Bache, who is the only daughter of the Doctor and lives with him, served it out to the company. She had three of her children about her, over whom she seemed to have no kind of command, but who appeared to be excessively fond of their Grandpapa. The Doctor showed me a curiosity he had just received, and with which he was much pleased. It was a snake with two heads, preserved in a large vial. It was taken near the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware, about four miles from this city. It was about ten inches long, well proportioned, the heads perfect, and united to the body about one-fourth of an inch below the extremities of the jaws. The snake was of a dark brown, approaching to black, and the back beautifully speckled (if beauty can be applied to a snake) with white; the belly was rather checkered with a reddish color and white. The Doctor supposed it to be full grown, which I think appears probable, and thinks it must be a *sui generis* of that class of animals. He grounds his opinion of its not being an extraordinary production, but a distinct genus, on

the perfect form of the snake, the probability of its being of some age, and having been found a snake entirely similar (of which the Doctor has a drawing, which he showed us) near Lake Champlain, in the time of the late war. The Doctor mentioned the situation of this snake, if it was travelling among bushes, and one head should choose to go on one side of the stem of a bush and the other head should prefer the other side, and that neither of the heads would consent to come back or give way to the other. He was then going to mention a humorous matter that had that day taken place in Convention, in consequence of his comparing the snake to America, for he seemed to forget that every thing in Convention was to be kept a profound secret; but the secrecy of Convention matters was suggested to him, which stopped him, and deprived me of the story he was going to tell. After it was dark, we went into the house, and the Doctor invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high studded. The walls were covered with book-shelves filled with books; besides, there are four large alcoves, extending two-thirds of the length of the Chamber, filed in the same manner. I presume this is the largest, and by far the best, private library in America. He showed us a glass machine for exhibiting the circulation of the blood in the arteries and veins of the human body. The circulation is exhibited by the passing of a red fluid from a reservoir into numerous capillary tubes of glass, ramified in every direction, and

then returning in similar tubes to the reservoir, which was done with great velocity, without any power to act visibly on the fluid, and had the appearance of perpetual motion. Another great curiosity was a rolling press, for taking the copies of letters or any other writing. A sheet of paper is completely copied in less than two minutes, the copy as fair as the original, and without effacing it in the smallest degree. It is an invention of his own, and extremely useful in many situations in life. He also showed us his long artificial arm and hand, for taking down and putting books up on high shelves which are out of reach; and his great armed chair, with rockers, and a large fan placed over it, with which he fans himself, keeps off the flies, etc., while he sits reading, with only a small motion of his foot; and many other curiosities and inventions, all his own, but of lesser note. Over his mantel-tree, he has a prodigious number of medals, busts, and casts in wax or plaster of Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted characters in Europe. But what the Doctor wished principally to show to me was a huge volume on Botany, and which, indeed, afforded me the greatest pleasure of any one thing in his library. It was a single volume, but so large that it was with great difficulty that the Doctor was able to raise it from a low shelf and lift it on to the table; but with that senile ambition common to old people, he insisted on doing it himself, and would permit no person to assist him, merely to show us how much strength he had remaining.

It contained the whole of Linnæus Systema Vegetabilia, with large cuts of every plant, and colored from nature. It was a feast to me, and the Doctor seemed to enjoy it as well as myself. We spent a couple of hours in examining this volume, while the other gentlemen amused themselves with other matters. The Doctor is not a Botanist, but lamented that he did not in early life attend to this science. He delights in natural history, and expressed an earnest wish that I would pursue the plan I had begun, and hoped this science, so much neglected in America, would be pursued with as much ardor here as it is now in every part of Europe. I wanted for three months at least to have devoted myself entirely to this one volume. But fearing I should be tedious to the Doctor, I shut up the volume, though he urged me to examine it longer. The Doctor seemed extremely fond, through the course of the visit, of dwelling on Philosophical subjects, and particularly that of natural History, while the other Gentlemen were swallowed up with politics. This was a favorable circumstance to me, for almost the whole of his conversation was addressed to me; and I was highly delighted with the extensive knowledge he appeared to have of every subject, the brightness of his memory, and clearness and vivacity of all his mental faculties. Notwithstanding his age (eighty-four), his manners are perfectly easy, and every thing about him seems to diffuse an unrestrained freedom and happiness. He has an incessant vein of humor, accompanied with an uncommon

vivacity, which seems as natural and involuntary as his breathing. He urged me to call on him again, but my short tarry would not admit. We took our leave at ten, and I retired to my lodgings.

"The gentlemen who lodged in the house were just sitting down to supper; a sumptuous table was spread, and the attendance in the style of noblemen. After supper, Mr. Strong came in and invited me into their Hall, where we sat till twelve. Mentioning my engagement the next morning, Governor Martin, Mr. Mason, Mr. Strong, and several of the other gentlemen wished to be of our party, but would have preferred an earlier hour than six, on account of returning in season to attend the Convention. They wished to know if 5 o'clock would not be agreeable to us. As the matter lay with Dr. Clarkson, I sent a servant to know if it would be agreeable to go out of the city at five in the morning. He returned me an answer that he should on his own part prefer five to six, and would be happy to be favored with the company of the other gentlemen. We then agreed that the first who awaked in the morning should call the servants, the gentlemen having already ordered them to have two coaches harnessed by 5 o'clock, but were doubtful whether they would awake in season.

"*July* 14. As my chamber fronted to the east, and having my mind much engaged, I awoke just as the first dawning appeared and rung for a servant. When I had given him his orders, I took a walk to the Market, while

the carriages were getting ready. It was then so dark that I could not distinctly see a man but a few rods; but, to my astonishment, found more than 100 people in the market, and crowds coming from every street. The market is considered by many as the greatest curiosity in the city. It is a building of near half a mile in length, of one story high, supported by brick pillars at a small distance, the distance between them being open; but a vacancy is left for the cross streets, of equal width with the streets. The floor is raised about two feet above the level of the street. It is perfectly straight, in the center of Market Street, which is 100 feet wide, and is nearly in the center of the city. The part of the market near the river is devoted to fish of various kinds, the other parts to meat. The butter markets are next the houses, in several clusters. Along the sides of the houses in this, and for some distance in the cross streets, are arranged the vegetables and fruits. Every thing is adjusted in perfect order, and as neat and clean as a dining-hall. By the time it was fair daylight, the marketers seemed to be all in and every thing arranged. The crowds of purchasers filled every avenue so that it was almost impossible to pass. The stalls were furnished with excellent meat, and there was every kind of vegetable and fruit which the season afforded. The crowds of people seemed like the collection at the last day, for there was of every rank and condition in life from the highest to the lowest,

male and female, of every age and every color. Several of the market women who sold fruit, I observed, had their infants in their arms and their children about them, and there seemed to be some of every nation under Heaven. The ladies, indeed, are the principal purchasers, but are in a dress not easily to be known by their most intimate acquaintance, and are always attended by a servant with his basket. What would the delicate Boston ladies think, if they were to be abroad at this hour? There is, I presume, as much real delicacy in Philadelphia as Boston. All, by this time, was bustle and hurry. A buzzing murmur of voices resounded through the crowds, but no clamorous noise nor crying of wares of any kind. This scene was so novel that I could not deny myself the pleasure of attending to it for a little time. I made myself very busy in traversing from one end of the market to the other, viewing every thing that was going on, and gazing at the numerous strange faces which appeared wherever I turned my eyes. At length I found myself obliged to give up this pleasure for the enjoyment of another.

"When I returned, I found the gentlemen in their carriages and wondering what had become of me. I went on to Dr. Clarkson's, and desired them to follow. His carriage had just come out of the yard. We stepped in, and his son accompanied us on horseback. We crossed the Schuylkill, at what is called the lower ferry, over the floating bridge, to Gray's tavern, and, in about two miles, came to Mr. Bart-

ram's seat. We alighted from our carriages, and found our company were: Mr. Strong, Governor Martin, Mr. Mason and son, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. Hamilton, all members of Convention, Mr. Vaughan, and Dr. Clarkson and son. Mr. Bartram lives in an ancient Fabric, built with stone, and very large, which was the seat of his father. His house is on an eminence fronting to the Schuylkill, and his garden is on the declivity of the hill between his house and the river. We found him, with another man, hoeing in his garden, in a short jacket and trowsers, and without shoes or stockings. He at first stared at us, and seemed to be somewhat embarrassed at seeing so large and gay a company so early in the morning. Dr. Clarkson was the only person he knew, who introduced me to him, and informed him that I wished to converse with him on botanical subjects, and, as I lived in one of the Northern States, would probably inform him of trees and plants which he had not yet in his collection; that the other gentlemen wished for the pleasure of a walk in his garden. I instantly entered on the subject of botany with as much familiarity as possible, and inquired after some rare plants which I had heard that he had. He presently got rid of his embarrassment, and soon became very sociable, which was more than I expected, from the character I had heard of the man. I found him to be a practical botanist, though he seemed to understand little of the theory. We ranged the several alleys, and he gave me the generic and specific

names, place of growth, properties, etc., so far as he knew them. This is a very ancient garden, and the collection is large indeed, but is made principally from the Middle and Southern States. It is finely situated, as it partakes of every kind of soil, has a fine stream of water, and an artificial pond, where he has a good collection of aquatic plants. There is no situation in which plants or trees are found but that they may be propagated here in one that is similar. But every thing is very badly arranged, for they are neither placed ornamentally nor botanically, but seemed to be jumbled together in heaps. The other gentlemen were very free and sociable with him, particularly Governor Martin, who has a smattering of botany and a fine taste for natural history. There are in this garden some very large trees that are exotic, particularly an English oak, which he assured me was the only one in America. He had the Paw-paw tree, or Custard apple. It is small, though it bears fruit; but the fruit is very small. He has also a large number of aromatics, some of them trees, and some plants. One plant I thought equal to cinnamon. The Franklin tree is very curious. It has been found only on one particular spot in Georgia. His cider-press is singular; the channel for the stone wheel to run in for grinding the apples is cut out of a solid rock; the bottom of the press is a solid rock, and has a square channel to carry off the juice, from which it is received into a stone reservoir or vat. From the house is a walk to the river, between two rows of large, lofty trees,

all of different kinds, at the bottom of which is a summer-house on the bank, which here is a ledge of rocks, and so situated as to be convenient for fishing in the river, where a plenty of several kinds of fish may be caught. Mr. Bartram showed us several natural curiosities in the place where he keeps his seeds; they were principally fossils. He appeared fond of exchanging a number of his trees and plants for those which are peculiar to the Northern States. We proposed a correspondence, by which we could more minutely describe the productions peculiar to the Southern and Northern States.

"About nine, we took our leave of Mr. Bartram, who appeared to be well pleased with his visitors, and returned to Gray's tavern, where we breakfasted. This tavern is on the south side of the Schuylkill, at the foot of the floating bridge. The land near the river is broken and rocky, though the rocks are mostly large, and the soil excellent. These rocks seem to be a species of freestone, that may be easily wrought into any form. There we were entertained with scenes romantic and delightful beyond the power of description. I know not how nor where to begin or end, nor can I give the faintest idea of this prodigy of art and nature. I will, however, attempt some account of it, to assist my own recollection. Nothing appears from the house, or in passing the street, that would attract the attention of the most inquisitive traveler, unless it be a flight of steps cut out of the solid rock at the east end of the house, by

which you ascend to a beautiful grass plat, shaded with a number of large trees, in the rear of the house. This house in front is three stories, in the rear but two, for the back part of the lower story is underground. The house is a large pile of buildings, mostly old, but with some new additions. From this grass plat we went into a piazza one story high, next the street, very pleasant, as it is in full view of the river. Here we breakfasted. After breakfast, Mr. Vaughan invited us to take a view of the Gardens. We returned to the grass plat, from which we ascended several glaces by a serpentine gravel walk, and came to the Green-house. It is a very large stone building, three stories in the front and two in the rear. The one-half of the house is divided lengthwise, and the front part is appropriated to a green-house, and has no chamber floors. It is finished in the completest manner for the purpose of arranging trees and plants in the most beautiful order. The windows are enormous. I believe some of them to be twenty feet in length, and proportionably wide. There is a fine gallery next the other part of the house, where company may view the vegetables to the best advantage. At this time, the trees and plants were removed into the open air, and the room whitewashed and as neat as a parlor. The other part of the house, which communicates with the gallery, is divided into Halls and small apartments, for the accommodation of several large companies (who would not wish to have intercourse) at the same time. All these apartments are hand-

somely furnished. On the top of the house is a spacious walk, where we had a delightful view of the city of Philadelphia. We then took a view of the contents of the greenhouse, beautifully arranged in the open air on the south of the garden. Here were most of the trees and fruits that grow in the hottest climates. Oranges, lemons, etc., in every stage from blossoms to ripe fruit; pine-apples in bloom, and those that were fully ripe. The flowers were numerous and extremely fragrant. We then rambled over the Gardens, which are large—seemed to be in a number of detached areas, all different in size and form. The alleys were none of them straight, nor were there any two alike. At every end, side and corner, there were *summer-houses*, arbors covered with vines or flowers, or shady bowers encircled with trees and flowering shrubs, each of which was formed in a different taste. In the borders were arranged every kind of flower, one would think, that nature had ever produced, and with the utmost display of fancy, as well as variety. As we were walking on the northern side of the Garden, upon a beautiful glacis, we found ourselves on the borders of a grove of wood and upon the brow of a steep hill. Below us was a deep, shady valley, in the midst of which was a purling stream of water, meandering among the rocks in its way down to the river. At a distance, we could just see three very high arched bridges, one beyond the other. They were built in the Chinese style; the rails on the sides open work of various figures, and beautifully

painted. We saw them through the grove, the branches of the trees partly concealing them, which produced the more romantic and delightful effect. As we advanced on the brow of this hill, we observed a small foot-path, which led by several windings into the grove. We followed it; and though we saw that it was the work of art, yet it was a most happy imitation of nature. It conducted us along the declivity of the hill, which on every side was strewed with flowers in the most artless manner, and evidently seemed to be the bounty of nature without the aid of human care. At length we seemed to be lost in the woods, but saw in the distance an antique building, to which our path led us. It is built of large stones, very low and singular in its form, standing directly over the brook in the valley. It instantly struck me with the idea of a hermitage, and I found that so it was called. Every thing was neat and clean about it, but we saw no inhabitant. We ventured, however, to open the door, which was large and heavy and seemed to grate upon its rusty hinges, and echoed a hoarse groan through the grove. We found several apartments, and at one end a fine place for bathing, which seems to be the design of the building. At this hermitage we came into a spacious graveled walk, which directed its course further along the grove, which was tall wood interspersed with close thickets of different growth. As we advanced, we found our gravel walk dividing itself into numerous branches, leading into different parts of the grove. We directed our course nearly

north, though some of our company turned into the other walks, but were soon out of sight, and thought proper to return and follow us. We at length came to a considerable eminence, which was adorned with an infinite variety of beds of flowers and artificial groves of flowering shrubs. On the further side of the eminence was a fence, beyond which we perceived an extensive but narrow opening. When we came to the fence, we were delightfully astonished with the view of one of the finest cascades in America, which presented itself directly before us at the further end of the opening. A broad sheet of water comes over a large horizontal rock, and falls about seventy feet perpendicular. It is in a large river, which empties into the Schuylkill just above us. The distance we judged to be about a quarter of a mile, which being seen through the narrow opening in the tall grove, and the fine mist that rose incessantly from the rocks below, had a most delightful effect. Here we gazed with admiration and pleasure for some time, and then took a different route in our return through the grove, and followed a walk that led down toward the Schuylkill. Here the scene was varied. Toward the river the lands were more broken. The walks were conducted in every direction, over little eminences, or along their sides, or through a deep bottom or along a valley, with numerous other walks coming in or going out from the one that we followed. Indeed, the walks were nearly alike, only leading in different directions. This piece of ground in some parts is

extremely rude, but those parts are improved to the best advantage; for here we found Grottoes wrought out of the sides of ledges of rocks, the entrance almost obscured by the shrubs and thickets that were placed before them, and the passage into them by a kind of labyrinth. There were several other hermitages, constructed in different forms; but the Grottoes and Hermitages were not yet completed, and some space of time will be necessary to give them that highly romantic air which they are capable of attaining. We crossed the deep valley with the purling stream at the lower end, next to the river, where we had a fine view of the lofty Chinese bridges above us. Here is a curious labyrinth with numerous windings begun, and extends along the declivity of the hill towards the gardens, but has hardly yet received its form. At the bottom of the vale, and on the bank of the river, is a huge rock, which I judged to be at least fifteen feet high, and surrounded with tall spruces and cedars. On the top of it I observed a spacious summer-house, as I supposed, for I could see it only through the boughs of the trees. The roof was in the Chinese form. It was surrounded with rails of open work, and a beautiful winding staircase led up to it.

"From this valley we ascended a steep precipice on to the grass plat in the rear of the house from which we set out. During the whole of this romantic, rural scene, I fancied myself on enchanted ground, and could hardly help looking out for flying dragons, magic castles, little Fairies, Knight-

errants, distressed Ladies, and all the apparatus of eastern fable. I found my mind really fatigued with so long a scene of pleasure. This tract of ground, in some parts, consists of gentle risings and depressions; in others, hills and vales; and in others, rocky, rude, and broken. There is every variety that imagination can conceive, but the whole improved and embellished by art, and yet the art so blended with *nature* as hardly to be distinguished, and seems to be only an handmaid to her operations. On the side of the road opposite to the house is a high hill, which ends abruptly next the river, in a large extended rock, twenty feet high. In this rock a flight of steps is cut, in a winding or kind of lunette form, from the road to the top of the hill, wide enough for two or three persons to walk abreast, with little gutters on each side to conduct the water that runs down. At the summit of the hill you enter a grove of walnuts, oaks, and pines, under which are arranged benches for one hundred people to sit, several long tables, etc. This is the only work of art on this hill. But, under the trees and on the sides of the hill, are many blueberry, whortleberry, and bilberry bushes, raspberries, blackberries, and some other kinds of wild fruit. It affords a fine prospect down the Schuylkill and its opposite shore.

"This tavern used to be no more than a common Inn, but Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Sr., when he came from England a few years ago, was charmed with the situation, advised the present owner, who had just purchased it, and was an

ambitious young fellow, to undertake these works, assuring him he would soon reimburse his expenses and accumulate a large estate from the company he would draw from Philadelphia. Mr. Vaughan promised to plan the works and furnish him with a gardener from England who would answer his purpose. This gardener is now with him, and he constantly employs about ten laborers under the gardener's direction. The company from Philadelphia, we are told, far exceeded the Innkeeper's expectations, and he finds himself in a fair way to make a fortune. Mr. Vaughan was so generous as to insist on paying my bill. We returned to Philadelphia between ten and eleven. When we came to the Hospital, Dr. Clarkson left me, and went into the city on his son's horse. Young Mr. Clarkson conducted me into the hospital. Dr. Rush arrived in a few minutes after. This building is in the form, as you approach it from the city, of an inverted ⊥. It is surrounded with a high wall, and has back of it a very large kitchen-garden. The door in the center opens into a large hall. On each end are apartments for the nurses, cooks, etc. We ascended the stairway out of this hall into another hall in the second story, at one end of which is a large room, which contains a fine medical library, where the Directors were sitting, and a smaller room, where the medicine is placed. On the opposite end are the apartments for the attending Physicians. The third story is formed in the same manner. On one side of this hall is the Museum,

where there is a collection of skeletons and anatomies. . . . It is also furnished with a number of preparations and preservations relating to Physics and Surgery.

"After we had taken a view of the Museum, we returned to the upper Hall, where several Physicians and all the young students in Physic in the City were waiting. Dr. Rush then began his examination of the sick, attended by these gentlemen, which I judged to be between twenty and thirty. We entered the upper chamber of the sick, which is the leg of the T. It is a spacious room, finely ventilated with numerous large windows on both sides. There were two tiers of beds, with their heads toward the walls, and a chair and small table between them. The room was exceedingly clean and nice, the beds and bedding appeared to be of a good quality, and the most profound silence and order were preserved upon the Doctor's entering the room. There were only women, and about forty in number. Dr. Rush makes his visits with a great deal of formality. He is attended by the *attending* Physician who gives him an account of every thing material since he saw them last, and by the Apothecary of the Hospital, who minutes his Prescriptions. In every case worthy of notice, he addresses the young Physicians, points out its nature, the probable tendency, and the reason for the mode of treatment which he pursues. On this occasion the Doctor was particularly attentive and complaisant to me, and seemed to consider me as a Physician.

"From this room we went to the next below it, which is in every respect similar. It is appropriated to the men. He began, as before, on one side, and went around the room. Every patient is on his own bed or chair. Most of the cases were chronic, many of them swellings and ulcerations, and some of them very singular; but I have not time to describe them. Their dressings were all ready to be taken off and exposed to view the instant the Doctor came to them. These he imputed to their drinking spirituous liquors, and did not fail to remind them of it. He told me the greater proportion of his patients in the city were similar cases, and originated from the same cause. There were between forty and fifty in this room. We next took a view of the *Maniacs*. Their cells are in the lower story, which is partly underground. These cells are about ten feet square, made as strong as a prison. On the back part is a long entry, from which a door opens into each of them; in each door is a hole, large enough to give them food, etc., which is closed with a little door secured with strong bolts. On the opposite side is a window, and large iron grates within to prevent their breaking the glass. They can be darkened at pleasure. Here were both men and women, between twenty and thirty in number. Some of them have beds; most of them clean straw. Some of them were extremely fierce and raving, nearly or quite naked; some singing and dancing; some in despair; some were dumb and would not open their

mouths; others incessantly talking. It was curious indeed to see in what different strains their distraction raged. This would have been a melancholy scene indeed, had it not been that there was every possible relief afforded them in the power of man. Every thing about them, notwithstanding the labor and trouble it must have required, was neat and clean. From this distressing view of what human nature is liable to, and the pleasing evidence of what humanity and benevolence can do, we returned to the room where the Directors were. The scene I had now been attending upon was totally the reverse of that at Gray's; but such is the elegance of these buildings, the care and attention to the sick, the spacious and clean apartments, and the perfect order in every thing, that it seemed more like a palace than a hospital, and one would almost be tempted to be sick, if they could be so well provided for.

"We then took a view of the *bettering* house, which is a large and spacious building, with good rooms and well furnished. The Garden is large and laid out in a pretty form; abounds with fruit trees and kitchen vegetables. We returned to the city with Dr. Rush, and Dr. Clarkson and son and myself dined with him.

"Soon after dinner, the bell of the Church near Carpenter's Hall rang, which informed us that the Library of the Hall was open, for the purpose of receiving and delivering books. We immediately repaired to it, as it was a favorable

opportunity for viewing every part. It is a very large building, erected by a number of wealthy mechanics, principally Carpenters, for the purpose of holding meetings, depositing mechanic models, and a library of books. It is now grown into one of the most important depositories in America. The University literati and men of fortune are become proprietors. As we entered the Hall, we went into a spacious middle entry, and turned to our right into the part of the Hall where the models of mechanical instruments and various kinds of machines are deposited. The room was very high and large, and contained models of almost every kind of farming instruments, such as plows, harrows, hoes, spades, carts, wagons, etc., constructed in different forms, some in full size, others in miniature; models of all kinds of mills, machines for cleaning grain, dressing flax, hemp, etc.; models in the several orders of Architecture, and various other mechanical instruments, more than I am able to recollect. It is easy to conceive of the great utility of such a cabinet. Every ingenious man has a kind of bounty offered for the exertion of his inventive faculties, for here he may deposit his invention, which he may be assured will be received with particular attention and respect to him; and he has the prospect, if he is unable himself to carry it into experiment and use, that somebody else will do it, while he secures to himself the honor of the

invention, and satisfaction of rendering service, if it succeeds, to his fellow creatures.

"We passed from this room through the entry into the one opposite, which is of the same dimensions. This room will be famous as long as it is in existence; for in this room the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America was framed, signed, and declared by Congress. It is now improved as the depository of the Trophies of War which established and crowned that bold and glorious Declaration. These Trophies consist of pieces of Cannon, small-arms, side-arms of officers and men, Colors, standards, tents, military chests, and all the various accoutrements of officers and men; and many complete uniforms of different regiments, from field officers down to privates, collected principally from the two captured armies of Burgoyne and Cornwallis. There are also in this collection several trophies captured by partisans of the American Army, in bold and desperate attempts, displayed in honor to those Heroes who obtained them. We then ascended a staircase to the room over the trophies of war, which is the library. This is a large and excellent collection, and is now become the public library of the University and the city. Every modern author of any note, I am told, is to be met with here, and large additions are annually made. The books appeared to be well arranged and in good order. But the number of books, and the arrangement, are not so large nor

so ornamental as the library at Cambridge, but approaches nearer to it than any other on the continent. I was pleased with a kind of net-work doors to the book-shelves, which is made of a large wire sufficiently open to read the labels, but no book can be taken out unless the librarian unlocks the door. This is a necessary security from any persons taking books without the knowledge of the librarian. Here were a large number of gentlemen. I was introduced to a number of the members of the Philosophical Society.

"From the Library we were conducted into a Cabinet, which is a large room on the opposite side of the entry, and over the room where the Mechanical models are deposited. Here we had the pleasure of viewing a most excellent collection of natural curiosities from all parts of the globe. They are well arranged, and are contained principally on shelves which are inclosed, having glass casements in front, the panes of which are very large. Here is a tooth of the large animals found in the Ohio Country, which weighs five pounds, and a thigh bone, four feet and some inches in length, and very thick in proportion to its length. The articulations have a fine polish, and the body of the bone is smooth. It is of a dark color, as is also the greater part of the tooth, which is one of the grinders. The thigh bone was on a high shelf, where I could not well make the attempt to lift it; but, by the weight of one end, which I raised from the shelf, judged that it would scarcely be in

my power to take it up from the ground. There are several botanical volumes in this Museum, lately published. They are folios, and every plant is represented in large copper-plate cuts, colored from nature, very large and finely executed. The author's name I can not recollect. They were presents, and no person is to be permitted to take them out, but may examine them here as much as they please. For this reason they are in the Museum, and not in the Library.

After we had taken a view of this Hall, I took my leave of Dr. Clarkson and Dr. Rush. Young Mr. Clarkson accompanied me to my lodgings, and, in our way, I just called on several gentlemen to whom I had letters, and took my leave. At the Indian Queen I found Mr. Gorham, Governor Martin, Mr. Mason, and Dr. Williamson, of the Convention. They were so complaisant as to express much regret at my leaving the city so soon, and complained that I had spent no more time with them. Mr. Gorham said he could not conceive how I came to be in so great demand in Philadelphia, as I had never been there before, for that there had not been ten minutes in the day but somebody was inquiring for me, or letters or packets were left. This, however, was easily accounted for, from my having a very large number of introductory letters, many of which I had left with a card, without seeing the gentlemen to whom they were addressed, and they were so complaisant as to call at my lodgings. I found that the gentleman who was my com-

panion from Princeton to this city had frequently called, but I was not so happy as to see him, which I very much regretted.

"At half after six I left the city on my return. Through misinformation, I returned the same road to Bristol which I traveled when I went to Philadelphia, but afterward found I might have gone through Germantown, Bethlehem, and Easton, which would have been a more direct way to the part of the Jerseys to which I was bound, and would have been a very considerable gratification. My bill at the Indian Queen, 36*s.* 9*d.*

"Philadelphia is the capital city in America. It is large, elegant, and populous, situated on the River Delaware, about 150 miles from the sea, with a good harbor, in which there is a great number of large ships, besides numerous smaller vessels of every description. It contains 10,000 houses, and covers twice the quantity of ground to that of Boston. The State House, Hospital, and most of the other public buildings, are magnificent, but it is singular that there are only two steeples in the city, where there are upward of twenty houses for public worship. There is an Academy belonging to the members of the Episcopal Church, and an Infirmary which is said to be of more utility to the city than the Hospital. There is no public building for this institution, as it is of very recent establishment. There are a number of large houses contiguous to

each other, occupied as an Infirmary, where the sick, nurses, etc., are well accommodated. Dr. Clarkson showed me the houses, but we did not go into them. He assured me there were more than 400 patients. It is supported by an annual subscription, and attended by all the Physicians in the city. No person subscribes less than one guinea, and is allowed to recommend two persons, of their poor neighbors, who are provided with every thing necessary for a sick person, together with medicine, attendance, etc. A subscriber of two guineas may recommend four, and a great subscription is not limited to any particular number. Particular attention is here paid to persons who have been reduced from affluent circumstances by misfortunes. The situation of the sick in this Infirmary is said to be equal to that of the best private families in the city. Whatever may be said of the private benevolence of the Philadelphians, there is certainly a greater display of public charity here than in any other part of America. The streets in this city are at right angles, the buildings on a straight line. They are well paved, and, at a distance of ten feet from the house, is a row of posts, and in this range of posts are all their pumps. It is well furnished with lamps. The pavements between the posts and houses are laid with free-stone or large tile, and entirely smooth, which makes the walking on them delightful. They are kept perfectly clean, being washed every day, and here all the foot passengers pass.

While I was walking with Mr. Strong, I happened to step without the posts, and walked a few steps in the street. He desired me to come within the posts, for he said they would certainly call me a *New England man*, if I walked there. The middle part of the streets are generally very dirty, and the view of these extended streets interrupted frequently by piles of various kinds of lumber. The streets parellel with the Delaware are Water Street, next the river; then Fore Street, First Street, Second Street, and so on to Ninth Street, which is the furtherest yet built upon. The streets that intersect these are Market Street, which is near the center of the city; and each way from it, they are named after some tree, vine, or shrub. I rode to Bristol without making a stage, and arrived about ten. Lodged at Bissennet's. Stage twenty miles."

V.

CENTENNIAL OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS.

Having referred to the first Medical Society established in Philadelphia about 1766–7, by Dr. John Morgan, including Drs. John Kearsley, Jr., Gerardus Clarkson, James A. Bayard, Robert Harris and George Glentworth, we give, as of interest to the reader, an account of the proceedings on the occurrence of the Centennial of the foundation of the College, and extracts from the commemorative address of the President.*

"In accordance with the plan devised by a committee, appointed for the purpose Nov. 5, 1885, the president of the college, S. Weir Mitchell, M.D., LL.D., delivered a 'Commemorative Address,' Monday, January 3, 1887, at 7.30 P. M. in Association Hall (S. E. corner of Chestnut and Fifteenth Streets), in presence of the fellows of the college

* Transactions of the College of Physicians, Centennial volume, W. S. W. Ruschenberger, M.D.

and many distinguished guests. After the address, at nine o'clock, there was a general reception in the hall of the College of Physicians.

"A special meeting of the college was held at noon Tuesday, Jan. 4, 1887.

"Professor Alfred Stillé, M.D., LL.D., delivered an address, 'Reminiscences of the College.'

"Eleven recently elected associate fellows were individually introduced. The president, appropriately addressing each in turn, delivered to him a diploma of his associate fellowship.

"Then, Professor J. M. Da Costa, M.D., LL.D., welcomed them all to the college roll in an address.

"As soon as the meeting adjourned those present were entertained at luncheon in the department from which the Mütter Museum had been very recently removed.

"At seven o'clock in the evening a hundred and twenty fellows, associates and guests of the college assembled in a hall of the Union League (Broad and Sansom Streets) and dined. There were toasts, the loving cup was circulated, and speeches were made. The company separated at midnight.

"From ten o'clock A. M. till five o'clock P. M. on Wednesday and Thursday, Jan. 5th and 6th, a collection of portraits of eminent physicians and objects of professional interest, borrowed for the occasion, were exhibited in the hall of the college to hundreds of visitors.

"The demonstrations of satisfaction, and the interchange of cheering words about them, among the fellows and their friends, because the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, still of good repute, had attained the age of a hundred years, closed with this display. Attention of the local public had been attracted. The institution was published more widely than it had been. The centennial celebration, which in no sense affected the intrinsic worth of the college, simply made its existence more broadly known in the community, and in some degree spread knowledge of its value as an agency in fostering the cultivation of medical science in many ways—an object of much general importance, which is not justly appreciated, nor encouraged as it deserves to be outside of the profession.

"At the close of 1849, when the society had existed sixty-three years, including the founders, 180 fellows had been elected. As a rule, they were dignified men, without exuberant estimate of themselves, and therefore free from the littleness of self-commendation, notable for persevering and industrious ways, probity and frugality, discernment, caution, and professional ability, qualities which secured general confidence and respect, and enabled them to surmount obstacles which insufficient means from time to time opposed to the progress of the society. They laid the foundation of the respectability, the reputation of the college, and sustained it. Its present satisfactory condition is ascribable

largely to their acumen and wisely prudent management, without which occasion for a centennial celebration might have never come. The building fund, started in 1849, strengthened the attractions and ties of fellowship, and by its completion gave stability to the institution.

"More than twenty-eight hundred dollars, contributed by the fellows, were expended on this rare anniversary. A comparison of the state of the college a hundred years ago with its present condition may be interesting in this connection. The annual contributions paid by the fellows during the year 1787 amounted to $54, and the entrance fees to $216. With such moderate income the college willingly accepted the use of a room for its meetings in the Academy, rent free, during nearly five years. To obtain more convenient accommodations the entrance fee was increased to £10, or $26.66, and the annual contribution was doubled. In December, 1791, the college leased a room in the hall of the American Philosophical Society for three years and a half, ending June 10, 1794, paying the rent for the whole term in advance, $79.80, at the rate of little less than $23 a year. The furniture of that room cost the college $72.

"Neither Redman, nor Morgan, nor Shippen, nor Kuhn, nor any founder, ever dreamed of or foresaw the day when the college would willingly see expended in the celebration of one anniversary of the institution five or six times as much as the income of a whole year of that period. The

fellows of the olden time were careful that the slender income of the college should not be expended for any purpose unlikely to promote the objects for which the society was instituted—to increase and diffuse knowledge of the healing art. They did not consider that the intervention of college festivity on any occasion was necessary to ease the task or enhance the worth of the labors of the fellows, or promote the interests of the institution. Their acts and words, as the record shows, imply that such was their opinion. They were right; but changed conditions justify different conduct. Had they been present with us (wearing queues as of old), they might have called our attention to the ancient views of the college on temperance, and turned away; or they might have cheerfully acquiesced in the methods of the present day, and congratulated the college on its prosperity, the contents of its published *Transactions*, the possession of a great library and museum; and possibly have been pleased to join in rejoicing over the harvest grown from seeds of their planting."

Commemorative Address,

BY

S. WEIR MITCHELL, M.D., LL.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE.

[Delivered January 3rd, 1887.]

"We are met this evening to commemorate the hundredth birthday of the oldest medical society in America which is not a State organization. New Jersey and Massachusetts have State societies of older date, which of necessity met rarely, and were chiefly meant to give unity, force and discipline to a profession, the members of which were widely scattered over a thinly peopled country.

"One hundred years ago the grave and kindly man whose portrait hangs above me at our meetings, met the Fellows of this ancient College as their first President.

"In words which quaintly represent to-day my own feelings, John Redman expressed his sense of the honor then conferred upon him and of the responsibility created by such an audience; 'for,' said he, 'when I look around me I see so many gentlemen of character for learning, ingenuity, and integrity in the profession and practice of physick, and some whose talents have early called them forth into publick notice, and offices of dignity in the medical line, and who have conducted therein for many years so much to their own reputation, and to the advancement and satisfaction of their pupils and of their fellow-citizens.'

"At the close of his address he confesses that his mind has taken a more serious turn and says, 'I think it is very becoming in us at the commencement of this our Institution, to acknowledge the Supreme Being to be our sovereign lord and ruler,' and thus goes on into a simple and straightforward prayer, 'that through all the days of this College, they who sat about and all who are to come, publickly and privately serve their generation faithfully, according to God's will, that they may find rewards beyond the grave.'

"When John Redman thus seriously addressed the founders of what he called a 'collegiate society,' he was sixty-five years of age. He was born forty-one years after William Penn laid out this city. The men he so feelingly counselled were all his juniors. He looked back over the larger part of a century, during which his newborn country had leaped to sturdy life, and set an example that had helped to bring unthought-of changes to its great European ally—a century of disturbing political and social thought—fertile in revolutionary activities.

"To understand the men over whom he presided, to comprehend the inheritance of examples they left us, to realize above all how peculiar have been the relations of the physician to the social and political existence of Philadelphia, it is necessary to look back through the century which preceeded the foundation of this College.

"The history of any profession in connection with the progress and growth of a new country is of the utmost

interest, and of no profession is this more true than of ours. The bar, the army, the navy, and, in other lands, the church, have distinct natural relations to the government, but the physician has none, and in monarchial countries this fact has served to create for him annoying social limitations which are but too slowly fading as communities grow into intelligent disregard of feudal traditions. His position in any community is a fair test of its good sense. But in new lands, peopled by the self-selection of the fittest, by those who have the courage of enterprise, and the mental and moral outfit to win for it success, the physician is sure to take and keep the highest place, and to find open to him more easily than to others wealth, social place, and, if he desire it, the higher service of the State. Nowhere was this more true than in this city. In New England the clergy were for a long time dominant. In New York then, as now, commercial success was the surest road to social position. South of us it was the landholder who ruled with undisputed sway. But in this city—I may say in this State—from the first settlement until to-day the physician has held an almost unquestioned and somewhat curious pre-eminence. He is and always has been relatively a more broadly important personage here than elsewhere. . . . . .

"Says a learned historian, writing of the Philadelphia of 1828, 'Nothing struck me so much as the social force and influence of the physicians. I was familiar with other

cities, and nowhere else did they seem to me to be so distinctly the leaders of social life.' . . . .

"Who first suggested the formation of this College is unknown, but as many of our Fellows were educated in Edinburgh, it is likely enough that the success of its Society, which dated from 1733, may have led them to imitate it here. I have myself seen on its diploma the name of 'Caspar Wistar Præses annuus.'

"We know as little of the earlier steps taken toward the foundation of this College. John Redman, your first President, says that 'at the first meeting to organize ourselves by choosing proper officers and members so as to constitute a body,' he was elected President. He adds, 'I went home under a strong impression of the weight both of the office and my obligations to you.' Then he tells us that he was unable to attend the next meeting, and apparently it is at a third meeting that he delivers the address from which I have already quoted. Its faded ink and formal, patient writing seems to take one back to a less hurried era, and speak eloquently of the busy years which have come and gone since my serious-minded predecessor looked forward hopefully anticipating your future usefulness.

"It would seem that the College was organized some time in 1786, but as to this we have no record other than that just mentioned. The first meeting of which we have a minute took place on January 2, 1787, and to this date we have always referred as our natal day.

"On that 2d of January, 1787, in the evening, in a little house used by the University and known as Surgeons' Hall, on Fifth Street south of Library, assembled a portion of the notable group of men who then constituted this College. By the dim light of candles, for which I have found the modest bill, clad after the fashion of the day, some in Quaker dress and some in knee breeches, silk stockings, and low shoes with buckles, most of them carrying, I fancy, the gold-headed cane and the meditative snuff-box, some with queues or powdered wigs, a fading fashion, were John Jones, William Shippen, Jr., Adam Kuhn, Benjamin Rush, Thomas Parke, Gerardus Clarkson, Samuel Duffield, James Hutchinson, William W. Smith, Andrew Ross, William Clarkson, James Hall, William Currie.

"The full roll of Fellows and Junior Fellows in January, 1787, adds the names of John Redman, John Morgan, George Glentworth, Abraham Chovet, Benjamin Say, Samuel Powel Griffitts, Benjamin Duffield, John Morris, John Carson, John Foulke, Robert Harris.

"Before our charter was obtained in 1789, there were added Nathan Dorsey, John R. B. Rodgers, Caspar Wistar, Jr., James Cuningham, Charles Moore, Michael Leib, John H. Gibbons.

"They were in all twenty-four when they met in January, 1787, and thirty-one when they were incorporated in 1789. Only three of their names are to-day represented on our present list; but many more are familiar to your ears, and

if we include the men I have previously mentioned, you will find that a large share of the best known families of our city trace their lineage from one or other of this memorable group. It would, in fact, be easy to give you a long catalogue of families distinguished in our national and local history, or in our social life, who inherit the blood of one or more of the physicians I have named or have yet to name; but as some of those here present may have the misfortune not to be able to claim the honor of medical ancestry I generously refrain. . . . . .

"These as physicians assisted at the troublous birth of a great nation. I fancy that I can see in their resolute faces the lines left by the sorrows and trials of those eventful years when they road with the great Virginian, and shared with him the hardships of doubtful campaigns and the triumphs of the Princeton and Yorktown. Among them were the friends and physicians of Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Adams. They held to their medical opinions, as we shall see, with the same absolute belief that controlled their political action, and were nearly as ready to fight for the one as for the other. As to their medical ancestry, the best of them had been educated at Edinburgh, which school is the parent of our University. Genealogically, we might speak of our College and of the University as children of Edinburgh, and Grandchildren of Leyden.

"Linger with me a little, and learn who and what were these our medical forefathers; the men who had won fame and matured character on the field and in the hospital wherewith to face the yet darker hours of the deadly plague so soon to thin their ranks.

"The most illustrious of our profession are not always the most lovable. Your first president, John Redman, was a man whom all men respected and all men loved. He spent a year at Edinburgh, was graduated at Leyden, in 1748, under Albinus, and returned home to practice finally only medicine, declining midwifery and surgery. In his medical creed he was a sturdy follower of Sydenham. Like the most of his fellows, he bled without hesitation and believed that the American needed more positive treatment than his degenerate British ancestor. Except his thesis on abortion, a defence of inoculation, and his excellent account of the yellow fever of 1764, he left little behind him. A man gentle without lacking force, religious without a trace of bigotry, and finding in his faith only larger reasons for cheerfulness. Quick of temper and as quick to regret it; punctual, charitable, exact, a type of what the practice of our profession makes out of the best characters, he constantly declined political place. We are told 'that he suspended pain by his soothing manner or chased it away by his conversation.' One would like to possess the secret of this anæsthetic kindness. He died in 1808 at the age of eighty-six, and, we are told, was mourned and missed most

by the destitute, being like that physician of whom Somervile says

"For well thy soul can understand,
The poor man's call is God's command."

. . . . . .

"With reverent doubt of my powers to do justice to the greatest physician this country has produced, I approach the task of briefly recalling to your memories the vivid and emphatic personality of Benjamin Rush. His life invites a less hasty biographer, and is full of such seeming contradictions as can only be explained by the belief that the earnest, decisive, and mutinous nature of a man, proud, rather than conceited, got the better of the principles by which he honestly strove to guide his conduct. That he won at last in this contest, was shown by the grief with which a nation mourned his death, when the poor, in crowds, besought a sight of his face, or, at least, to touch his coffin. Look at his portrait by Sully, in our hall. It has the scholar's hands, the largely modelled head, the contemplative blue eyes of the observer, the nose and chin strong, firmness in the mouth, and a trace of too critical tendencies in the droop of the lines of the lips, withal a general expression of tranquil benevolence, a face like the man's life and character, full of dissimilars, with a grand total of good.

"How shall I briefly bring before you the career of this restless being? Relentless energy drove him through a life in which ardent sense of duty, large-minded philan-

thropy, love of country, devotion to his art and its science, immense belief in himself, were the motives to industry, which made note-books the companions of his student youth, and which failed not until the pen fell from a hand enfeebled by the close approach of death.

"He was a statesman, a scholar, an army surgeon, a punctual and careful physician, an actively religious man, a far-seeing and courageous philanthropist, and a sanitarian far in advance of his day. These are what I might call four careers, in all of which he excelled unaided by secretaries or modern means of condensing and relegating labor: one such suffices most men. He was a member of every important political assembly which met in this State while he lived. When timid men fell out of the Continental Congress, he was elected to that body, that he might sign the Declaration of Independence, and was the only physician whose name is on that energetic arraignment of the Crown. I have neither time nor desire to speak of his relations to Washington. He criticised him with his usual courage and with a severity in which at that time he was not alone, and, although later in life he somewhat relented, he never quite forgot the bitterness which arose out of his too famous letter, and to the end of his days looked upon the great leader as one not above the judgment of his fellows. As regards the patriotism of Rush there can be no doubt. It approached the earnestness of religion, and its very intensity made him unhappy and critical when others seemed to

him to be showing that want of energy which in the first years of the war he thought was seen in the Fabian policy of Washington.

"Rush was Surgeon-General to the Middle Department, and later Surgeon-General, and served faithfully in the New Jersey Campaign and in the dreary camp at Valley Forge. He resigned in 1778, after his difficulty with his chief, and declined pay for his services.

"As a broad-minded philanthropist, I view him with wonder. The higher education of women he urged as a special need of a Republic, and as boldly wrote of public punishments and against the penalty of death. With like courage he denounced slavery, or turned to demand legislation against the abuse of alcohol, or to implore care in the use of this agent in disease, and, although a scholarly man, eloquently represented the waste of time in the too general study by the young of the classical tongues.

"On his medical career I cannot linger. His views as to bleeding were extreme. They were greatly modified in his later years, but have been misrepresented by the enmity his positive nature excited, and can be fitly judged, not by his occasional vigor of statement, but also by the many tempering remarks to be found in his works. His ideas on the contagion of yellow fever and its domestic origin excited the hostility of commerce, and embittered his existence; but, although as to the former he changed his beliefs later in life, as to the latter he seems never to have faltered.

"I presume that he held his opinions tenaciously, and was so conscious of his own general superiority to those about him, that he found it hard to weigh their reasons justly. He says, 'I early discovered that it was impossible for me, by any reasonings, to change the practice of some of my brethren.' Then he adds, 'humanity was therefore on the side of leaving them to themselves, because what is done in these consultations is the ineffectual result of neutralized opinions; for the extremity of *wrong* in medicine, as in morals and government, is often a less mischief than that mixture of *right* and wrong which serves, by palliating, to perpetuate evil.' How interesting is this irritable confession, which tells so much more of the man than he meant to put into it. Let me add, as a thoughtful physician, that no one can read what he wrote—and I have read most of it—without a strong sense of his sagacious and intelligent originality, and admiration of his clear and often fervid style. His work on insanity is a masterpiece. A recent English writer calls his book on 'the bilious remitting yellow fever' a wonder, and says of that remarkable description of his sensations during the height of the epidemic, 'it is as if he were talking to you, a ghostly whispering through a veil of nine-tenths of a century.' He has been called the American Sydenham. He was not as I see it, so great a physician, but taking his whole career—and both were earnest republicans—Rush was the larger personage,

and surely, next to Franklin, the greatest citizen of Pennsylvania.

"His bitterest foes are best remembered because of the man they reviled. Even before death came to heal all wounds, he stood where few have stood in the estimate of men. He could not but feel this tribute. It gentled the positive and ardent nature, once ready to cross swords with all who dared to differ. He says, 'I was once an aristocrat, then a democrat, now I am a Christocrat.' Certain of his words should have been placed on his tombstone. With them we may leave him to his repose, near the yet greater Franklin. 'Posterity,' he says, 'is to the physician, what the day of judgment is to the Christian.'

"Still among honored Philadelphia names we find next that of Gerardus Clarkson, chief of the founders of the Episcopal Academy, and brother of the Matthew Clarkson, emigrant from provincial New York to this gayer capital, who earned as mayor, in the yellow fever of 1793, a character for manly courage and self-possessed official calmness.

. . . . . .

"To the physician epidemics are his battlefields. His daily life is hard enough, and, unlike the soldier, he lives amidst constant perils, of which habit has made him negligently forgetful. He is assisted to be unthoughtful as to risks by the fact that the community thinks little of those which are not, like the soldier's, occasional, or which it does not largely share. You must have lost sense of heroism if

you do not feel some thrill of pride when you look back with me over those sad years in which the Fellows of this College, amidst the contagion of terror, faced the storms of death which from 1793 to 1804 swept over this city and forever ruined its mere commercial supremacy.

"Let us see how well this College met it. Several of its Fellows could recall the epidemic of 1762—the Barbadoes Plague—the dreaded yellow fever. Rush, a student, made notes of it in his constant way, and Redman, an older man, described it with accurate skill. A few hundred died, and for thirty-one years the great town flourished undisturbed. For two years the College had at times been urgent as to quarantine, but selfish, shortsighted commerce had been more potent. On the 25th of August, 1793, a special meeting of the Fellows was called 'to consider their duty because of the fever of alarming nature.' Rush, Hutchinson, Say, and Wistar were to report on the 26th. Nothing, on the whole, could have been better than the calm, good sense of the letter of public advice which the Fellows, at the instance of their committee, addressed to the Mayor, Matthew Clarkson, and to the people at large. At this meeting, the President describes the fever of 1762. Tilton, our associate, advises tents as hospitals, and the College decides to meet every Monday. How simple it all sounds, the quiet councils, the talk as to treatment. The Fellows assemble on the 3d, 6th, 10th and 17th of September, and consider Alexander Hamilton's letter of inquiry as to the fever, and answer

Dr. Warren, of Boston. Meanwhile the plague is on the people, and the College meets no more until November.

"To speak of this awful summer, is to speak of the population degraded by the very insanity of fear. The rich fled first, and at last almost all who could go. In round numbers, Philadelphia had 6000 houses and 49,000 souls. Some 3000 houses were closed. 12,000 persons fled to the country—Carey says 17,000. Of those left behind, 11,000 took the fever, and one-third of these died. Before this appalling death-rate, all but a rare few gave way. In deserted streets, between rows of closed houses, where commerce had ceased, men walked down the middle of the causeways and declined to shake hands with friends, or turned aside from any who wore the badge of mourning. Thousands of both sexes smoked tobacco to avoid disease, or carried vinegar or camphor or bits of tarred rope for protection, while bonfires at night and firing of muskets to disperse contagion ceased only when the Mayor forbade them. The churches were shut; most of the weekly papers ceased to appear. For the laborer there was no work. Starvation drove him to crime, and thieves lived riotously in deserted houses. At last family ties were broken; men fled from their dearest; whole families deserted the bed where the father lay dying; nurses were hardly to be had; and still the sombre death-cart went its nightly round with its negro driver, and in answer to the dreary cry, "Fetch out your dead," corpses were lowered from open windows

on to the cart, backed up on to the sidewalk, or were carried out in haste, to be put across the shaft of what was called a chair, and hurried away for swiftest burial. So lower and lower men sunk, as the plague increased, until at times the dead lay unburied, corpses were found in the streets, and the climax of misery, neglect, and profligate riot was reached at Bush Hill Hospital for the poor. Amidst this horror of disease, of selfishness, of crime, there were men who grew morally stronger through that which enfeebled the mass. The most of the physicians of the blighted town went about their duties untouched by panic—undisturbed by fear. In our own ranks were none who failed. Their names are to be read on every record of those dreary hours. Theirs was what Ruskin speaks of as 'that constitutional serenity in danger, which, with the wise, whether soldier or physician, is the basis of the most fortunate action and swiftest decision of deliberate skill.'

. . . . . .

"I close with satisfied pride these annals of the past, and its dead. I see about me men whose books are in every tongue of Europe, whose works are known and honored among the learned of every land, men who wear by just degree of their fellows the unseen crowns of honorable estimate. I see, too, the young in work, the men who are to follow us. To them we shall soon consign this precious heritage, the record of a century of duty; an hundred years without one break in our meeting, save when pesti-

lence thrust upon us a more imperative service. There is that in these years to make them proud of a fellowship which in war and in peace has left us examples of single-minded workers unknown to fame, of the charity without taint of selfishness, of heroic lives lost in battle with disease, of gentle scholars, of daring surgeons, whose very fingers seemed to think, of physicians rich with every professional grace. The pride of lineage is valueless which does not secure to the future vitality of usefulness, and I must have told my story ill if to every physician who hears me its illustrations have not the invigorating force of moral tonics.

"I turn now from the present and face the silence of futurity. As earnestly as our first President, I pray with him that all those who sit around me, and all who are to come, do publicly and privately serve their generation.

"Feeling, like him, the weight and dignity of my office, and to-day more than ever, I look onward thoughtfully to that next centennial time. Every heart that beats in this hall to-day will have ceased to pulsate. Another will stand in my place. Reviewing our works and lives, he will be able, I trust, to say as confidently of us as I have said of your fathers,—these, too, belonged by right of dutiful lives and sincere work, to our great, undying brotherhood."

CORRESPONDENCE.

"1524 Walnut Street.

"Philadelphia, March 14th, 1885.

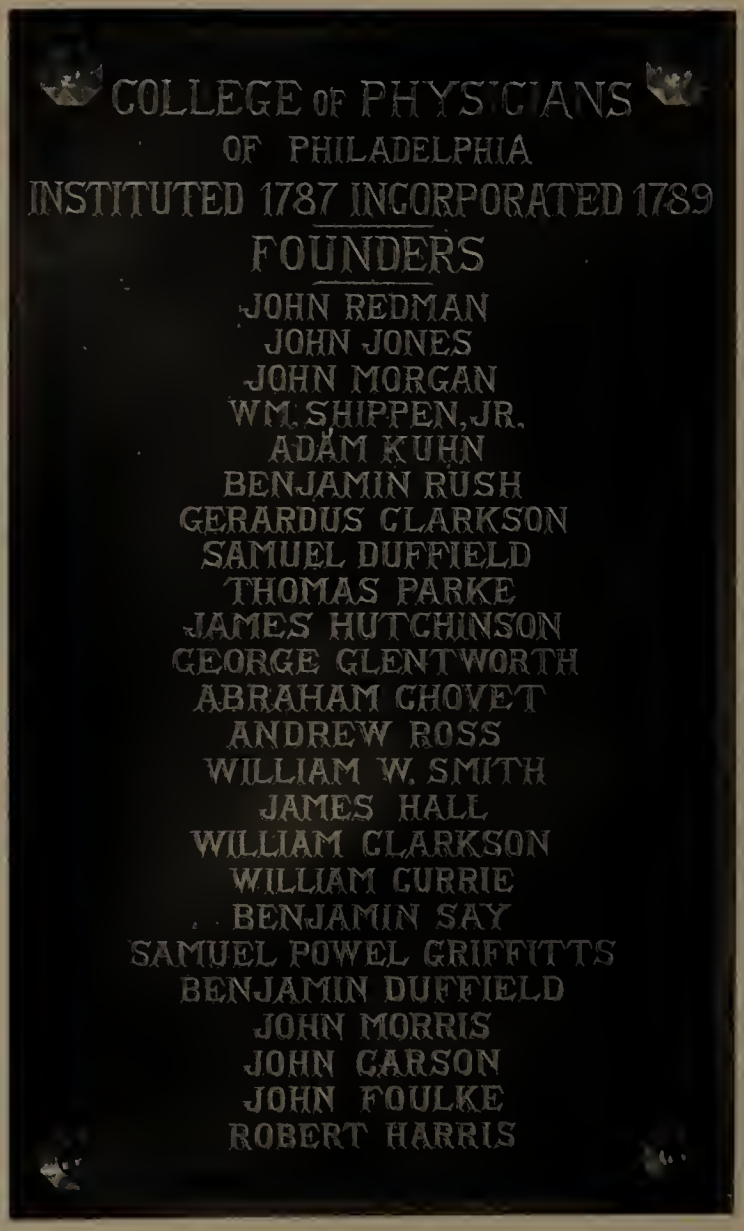
"My dear sir:

"Your ancestor, Dr. Clarkson, was one of the small group of distinguished physicians who in 1787 founded the Philadelphia College of Physicians, now the oldest of our Medical Societies.

"The Museum is very large and useful and its Library one of the half dozen greatest medical collections in the world.

"Books and Museum have out-grown the space for them in the building at Thirteenth and Locust. To enlarge it, the physicians who are fellows have given $15,000, we need $12,000 more.

"The College has decided to ask aid from the descendants of the original corporators, and that the names of the founders shall be placed on a tablet in our new hall, and on another those of the benefactors, their descendants. Several of these latter have liberally met our call, and I hope to add your own name to those who have shown their desire to help onward the noble purposes with which their forefathers founded the society of which I am proud to be



TABLET IN THE HALL OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS
OF PHILADELPHIA

1887

F. GUTEKUNST, PRINT, PHILA.

one of the officers. Please to let me know when you reply where there is to be seen a good portrait of Dr. Clarkson, and if one could in any way be had for the College.

"Yours truly,

"S. WEIR MITCHELL,

"Chairman of Committee on Building Fund.

"To Mr. Samuel Clarkson."

"Philadelphia, March 25th, 1885.

"My dear sir:

"Your esteemed favor to hand. It will give me much pleasure to make a contribution to the Building Fund of the College of Physicians of which my great-grandfather Dr. Gerardus Clarkson was one of the founders. . . . .

"Dr. Walter F. Atlee wrote me a year ago in reference to the portrait, of which I am sorry to say none can be found in possession of the descendants. If at any time one is discovered I will cheerfully donate a copy to the College.

"Yours very truly,

"SAMUEL CLARKSON.

"To S. Weir Mitchell, M.D.,

"Chairman of Committee on Building Fund."

"College of Physicians,

"N. E. Cor. Thirteenth and Locust Sts.

"Philadelphia, April 8th, 1885.

"My dear sir:

"I have the pleasure of transmitting to you the following copy of a resolution passed at the stated meeting of the College held April 1st, 1885.

"*Resolved*, that the thanks of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia be tendered to Mr. Samuel Clarkson for his liberal donation to the Building Fund of the College . . . in commemoration of his ancestor, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, one of the original founders of the College.

"I am yours, very sincerely,

"RICH'D A. CLEEMANN,
"*Secretary.*

"To Samuel Clarkson, Esq."

VI.

IN THE CHURCH.

After his return from Europe, Dr. Clarkson connected himself with Christ Church, and there he was married on May 13th, 1761, to Mary, daughter of Samuel Flower.

On September 4th, 1761, St. Peter's Church was opened on equal footing with Christ Church, and the Vestry resolved that henceforth "The congregations shall be styled the United Congregations of Christ Church and St. Peter's, in the City of Philadelphia."

The children of Gerardus and Mary Clarkson, eight in number, were all baptized in Christ Church, and four were buried either in infancy or mature years in Christ Church or St. Peter's grounds.

In 1776 Gerardus Clarkson was one of the vestry of Christ Church, and from the record we give this minute entire:

"At a meeting of the Vestry at the Rector's, July 4th, 1776:

"Present, Rev. Jacob Duché, Rector; Thomas Cuthbert, Church Warden; Jacob Duché, Robert Whyte, Charles Stedman, Edmund Physick, James Biddle, Peter De Haven, James Reynolds, Gerardus Clarkson, Vestrymen.

"Whereas, the honorable Continental Congress have resolved to declare the American colonies to be free and independent states, in consequence of which it will be proper to omit those petitions in the liturgy, wherein the King of Great Britain is prayed for, as inconsistant with the said declaration; therefore,

"Resolved, that it appears to this Vestry to be necessary for the peace and well-being of the churches, to omit the said petitions; and the Rector and Assistant Minister of the United Churches are requested in the name of their Vestry and their constituents, to omit such petitions as are above mentioned."

In 1783 William Pollard and Gerardus Clarkson were Wardens of Christ Church.

On October 27th, 1784 is this minute: "The Vestry being informed that many persons wish to see an Academy instituted in connection with these churches," appointed a committee, who at a subsequent meeting, November 8th, made the following report:

"The committee appointed at the last meeting of Vestry, report that the design of instituting an Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this city, is in their opinion expedient and practicable; and for carrying it into execu-

tion, they recommend that a subscription be encouraged by the Vestry; and that all persons who shall on the first day of January next have subscribed at least ten pounds to the intended seminary, be invited to meet in Christ Church on the day above mentioned, in the forenoon, immediately after divine service, to enact fundamental laws and elect visitors for the government of the same; and they further recommend that it be declared to the subscribers, as essential to the intended seminary, that it shall be under the government of sixteen persons, every one of whom shall either be a clergyman of some church of the Protestant Episcopal communion, now or hereafter being in this city or within five miles thereof—or he shall be qualified to be elected a vestryman in one or more of the said churches and have either subscribed the sum of at least ten pounds to the said seminary, or received his education therein, and left it with an honorable certificate of his conduct and proficiency." Signed:

William White,
Benjamin Wynkoop,
Matthew Clarkson,
John Chaloner,
Gerardus Clarkson.

The following is taken from "Dr. Dorr's History of Christ Church." "Whitsun Monday, May 28th, 1787." "Bishop White, having returned from England, he, this day held an

ordination in Christ Church, *for the first time,* and admitted Mr. Joseph Clarkson and Mr. Joseph Couden, to the holy order of Deacons. On this most interesting occasion, the Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rector of St. Paul's Church, and Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, preached the ordination sermon.

"In the dedication to Bishop White, the author remarks; 'that the occasion which required its being delivered was GREAT and DELIGHTFUL,' and at the conclusion of his discourse, he says: 'a new era hath opened in our church, that will be remembered for ever. Our Episcopal system is completed; the first fruits of so distinguished an event come forward on the present day. I join with thousands to meet and welcome the blessing.'"

We who survive can imagine the feelings that stirred the souls of our pious ancestors on this occasion.

Dr. Clarkson was a delegate to the convention of 1789, where was effected the Union of the Church in America, through the efforts of Bishop White and others.

His brother, Matthew Clarkson, had been a delegate to the Convention that met in New York, October 6th, 1784, and was a member of the Committee, of which Rev. Dr. William Smith was Chairman, "to frame and propose to the Convention a proper substitute for the State prayers, in the Liturgy, to be used for the sake of uniformity, until a further review should be undertaken by general authority, and consent of the church."

VII.

CLOSE.

Dr. Gerardus Clarkson died on September 19th, 1790, and was buried on the 21st in St. Peter's churchyard; Bishop White officiated at the funeral. Letters of administration on the estate were granted to his sons, Samuel and William Clarkson, and Robert Ralston, September 23d, 1790, John Wilcocks and his brother, Matthew Clarkson, being sureties in the sum of £3000. "Family pictures," are included in the inventory of his personal property. Unfortunately none of these remain at this date. As the estate was small, it was thought advisable for the family to separate. Two daughters, Cornelia and Rebecca, went to reside with their brother, Dr. William Clarkson, and the widow with another married son, Joseph, at the time assistant minister in the Swedish Churches, of which Rev. Nicolas Collin was Rector, and with whom she continued to reside until the 5th of Octocer, 1792, the time of his removal to Wilmington, Del., when she took up her abode with her son Samuel. She died January 18th, 1795, aged fifty-one years, and was buried in St. Peter's churchyard.

Mrs. Finley, widow of Rev. Samuel Finley, was at this time living with her brother Matthew Clarkson.

OBITUARY NOTES.

The following obituary notice occurs in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, of September 22d, 1790:

"On Sunday, September 19th, departed this life, Doctor Gerardus Clarkson, of this city, in the fifty-third year of his age; a gentleman beloved and regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His conduct as a husband, a parent, or a friend, was equally exemplary and distinguished. As a christian, he was devoutly sincere and pious. As a physician, exceedingly tender and humane, like the friendly Samaritan, pouring wine and oil into the wounds of his afflicted patients; and many of these were of the poorer class, who found from him gratuitous relief. As a member of public bodies, and as a citizen, he was liberal to the utmost extent of his abilities, and desirous to be useful in an eminent degree. To a character so elevated and amiable, death could only exhibit the gates of an happy immortality. No wonder, therefore, if he passed through them with uncommon firmness and dignity of mind, expressing in every motion to the last, that sure and certain hope of everlasting life, to which his whole existence here had been the most uniform introduction. He has left a numerous and respectable family to lament his loss, but also greatly

to repair it to society, by the excellent lessons derived from his venerable example, and the inestimable riches he gave them in a good and polished education."

Immediately after this beautiful encomium, are these lines on the decease of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson.

LINES OCCASIONED BY THE DECEASE OF DR. GERARDUS CLARKSON, OF THIS CITY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1790.*

Farewell, my friend, it seems we meet no more,
Amid the perils of this hostile shore;
These eyes no more thy form rever'd shall see,
Nor more thy friendly councils visit me,
Amid the gloom of sickness or of woe,
No further solace shall thy cares bestow,
Nor 'mid the mazes of this checquered scene,
Thy wisdom aid me or thy bosom screen!
Gone are the days of friendship so sincere,
Tho' once they sooth'd me, they now urge the tear,
As flowers of spring—so lovely once to view,
But now turned painful, what regrets pursue;
With unavailing grief, I seek thy urn,
And look for pleasures that are past return!
Thine now are joys beyond what thought can paint,
Such as the just console, and bless the saint,
Crown'd with rich fruits beneath autumnal skies,
The master saw thee and bestowed the prize;
He spared thee winter's desolating sway,
And took to regions of perpetual May!
There rest in peace—the Sabbath of the tomb,
For thee prepares an everlasting bloom;
Let not thy friend then foolishly repine
At pleasures lost to him, so well exchanged for thine

* By John Swanwick, Esq., one of the representatives in the Congress of the United States, from the State of Pennsylvania.

From an original manuscript, supposed to have been written about the time of Dr. Clarkson's death, by his venerable sister, Mrs. Anna Finley, we quote. . . .

"By a course of divine trials, did it please the Lord to bring this good man to the safe possession of the heavenly rest. He was a most constant observer of private devotion, his patience and thankfulness to God under trials of the most severe nature, was peculiarly eminent. He was universally esteemed by all whom he attended in his profession, as physician for the soul as well as the body; and frequently was the happy instrument of leading persons to think of their eternal state.

"As a parent he was eminently conspicuous in training up his children in the fear of the living God, in setting before them, both by precept and example, the power of that religion which he possessed.

"He entertained for some time a presentiment of his death and mentioned to his sister his apprehensions that the time of his departure was near. He was a constant attendant upon the means of *grace*, and frequently expressed to his children when on their way to the House of God, his desire to die on a Sabbath morning, as the people of God were going to the Militant Church. His desire was literally fulfilled, his death occuring about ten o'clock on the Sabbath morning.

"At the time of his death some of his children were married and settled at a distance from the city, but it was so

ordered that they should all be present at the dying exhortation of their father. He was much affected with stupor during his last illness.

"The Thursday before his death, apprehending his end approaching, and having frequently when in health expressed a wish that before his departure he should be able to speak to all his children, he was indulged in this desire. All his children were around him. In imitation of the dying patriarch, commencing with his first born, he proceeded to bless them *one by one*, exhorting them with his dying breath of the great importance of a christian life."

With this account so tender and sacred, we close the record of this good man's life. A century has passed and in it many of his descendants have added their testimony to his. Let those who remain and others who may come after "mark the perfect man."

Dr. Gerardus Clarkson had eight children, five sons and three daughters, as follows:

1. Samuel, born July 31st, 1762, married Sarah Gibbons and died August 14th, 1832, and left issue Joseph Gibbons, Mary Flower, George and J. Minor Clarkson.

2. William, born November 7th, 1763, married Catharine Floyd and died at John's Island, S. C., September 9th, 1812, and left issue.

3. Joseph, born February 27th, 1765, married Grace Cooke and died January 25th, 1830, and left issue.

4. Jacob, born April 13th, 1768, married Jane Stevenson and died September 24th, 1832, and left issue as follows:

Hannah Clarkson, born November 14th 1796, and died June 28th, 1848, unmarried.

Robert Stevenson Clarkson, born June 28th, 1798, married Catharine Howell Wheeler and died August 16th, 1881. Catharine Howell Wheeler, born June 5th, 1808 and died February 21st, 1887, leaving issue.

Gerardus Clarkson, born January 5th, 1800 and died at New Orleans, August 24th, 1817.

Jane Clarkson, born February 1st, 1802, married William Stewart Hill and died June 4th, 1872, leaving issue.

Mary Clarkson, born December 13th, 1803, and died December 31st, 1861, unmarried.

Susan Clarkson, born March 14th, 1806, married Robert Carmer Hill and died March 7th, 1872, leaving issue.

Jocob Clarkson, born October 2d, 1807, married Elizabeth Gardner Crowell and died May 24th, 1869, leaving issue.

Charles Clarkson, born October 6th, 1810, married Matilda Wyckoff Schureman, and died September 14th, 1873, leaving issue.

Archibald Alexander Clarkson, born September 12th, 1811, and died March 20th, 1882, unmarried.

5. Cornelia Clarkson, born 1770, married Isaac Snowden and died February 16th, 1834, and left issue as follows:

Isaac C. Snowden, born December 31st 1791, married Maria Meares, and died November 8th, 1843, leaving issue.

Cornelia Clarkson Snowden, married Dr. Hayes, no issue.

Mary Snowden, married Rev. Dr. How, and died leaving issue.

Rebecca Snowden, who died in 1876 unmarried.

6. George Clarkson, sixth child and youngest son of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, born March 30th, 1772, was a youth of bright promise and fine attainments. Dr. S. D. Alexander, in his work on "Princeton College in Eighteenth Century," says: "he graduated in his seventeenth year with the highest honors of his class" (1788).

His father lavished great affection upon him, owing in a measure, no doubt, to his qualities of mind and heart. On the fly-leaf of an old volume in my possession is this inscription: "George Clarkson having received the first honours of college at Nassau Hall in his seventeenth year, this handsome volume is presented to him in testimony of his good proficiency in learning and of his filial conduct, by his affectionate father, October, 1788."

It is worthy of notice here, that on the inside cover of the same volume, the book-plate of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson is placed, practically the same as that of David Clarkson,

which is illustrated in this work, and no doubt ordered by him when in England, and used as early as 1724. It was not until 1790 that any of these plates were produced by American engravers.

George Clarkson was admitted to the Philadelphia bar March 9th, 1793, and died at the age of thirty-two, April 3d, 1804. He was baptized at Christ Church, October 26th, 1772, and buried in St. Peter's churchyard, April 5th, 1804.

7. Rebecca Clarkson, born March 30th, 1773, married David Jackson and died leaving issue three daughters, Anna, Mary and Susan.

8. Mary Clarkson, born August 22d, 1775, baptized at Christ Church, July 1st, 1776 and died March 4th, 1777; buried in St. Peter's Churchyard.

WILLIAM CLARKSON.

William Clarkson, second child and son of Gerardus Clarkson, M. D., and Mary Flower, was born at Philadelphia, on the 7th of November, 1763. He received a liberal education, graduating from the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, and choosing the profession of his father, he continued his studies in the same institution of which he was an alumnus, and graduated as Bachelor of Medicine, May, 1785.

While attending his College course, he met the family of General William Floyd, a delegate to the Continental

Congress, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

In "W. C. Rives' life of Madison," the following appears:

. . . . . .

"The attraction of this circle was greatly enhanced to him, during the last winter of his residence in Philadelphia, by the presence of Mr. Jefferson, who, on his suggestion, had been again and unanimously appointed one of the Commission to treat of peace. . . . . To this new source of pleasure to Mr. Madison, was added a yet stronger fascination, in an attachment to an interesting and accomplished young lady, daughter of an old friend of Mr. Jefferson, who was a co-signer with him of the Declaration of Independence.

"This attachment, which promised at one time, the most auspicious result, terminated at last in disappointment. We cannot forbear to add the following extract of a letter addressed to him by Mr. Jefferson, (August 31st, 1783,) as connected with an event which is never without importance in the life of a man of virtuous sensibilities, and as affording a touching proof of the intimate and fraternal sympathies which united the two friends.

"'I sincerely lament' he said: 'the misadventure which has happened, from whatever cause it may have happened. Should it be final, however, the world still presents the same and many other resources of happiness, and you possess many within yourself. Firmness of mind and intermitting

occupation will not long leave you in pain. No event has been more contrary to my expectations, and these were founded on what I thought a good knowledge of the ground. But of all machines, ours is the most complicated and inexplicable.'"

It thus appears that the rivalry for the hand of Miss Floyd was earnest and well pressed by both aspirants; and that the subject of our sketch won the prize, for on the 2d of August, 1785, he married at Mastic, L. I., Catharine, the second daughter of General William Floyd and Hannah Jones, born April 24th, 1767.

Mr. Clarkson engaged in the practice of his profession and was quite successful, following his father who had become eminent as a physician. He was one of the founders of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, and a member of the American Philosophical Society.

In the Fall of 1791, he was confined to his house by indisposition, and during this illness his mind was directed to religious questions, which resulted in his conversion and in a fixed purpose that his energies should be actively engaged in labours for the souls of men.

From the diary he has left, beginning June 24th, 1792, we learn that the desire to be a clergyman became more and more the purpose of his life. Thus July 6th, 1792, he wrote: "O that I could persuade one single soul, now wallowing in the miry pit to come and taste of the unspeakable joys which flow from the love of God."

While attending to his duties as a physician, he began the study of theology, and to accomplish this he adopted rising at 4 A. M.; thus October 3d, the same year he writes: "I find that by rising at 4 o'clock, and husbanding precious time, I am enabled not only to attend to all the duties of my medical profession and relative duties, but am thereby enabled to devote six to eight hours daily to the prosecution of my study of divinity." He adds: "may that God, who by His Spirit has influenced me to this conduct, still carry on His divine work, that His unworthy servant may in God's own time and way, be enabled to go forth as a faithful watchman, to warn sinners of their danger and encourage saints to persevere."

Two days later, (October 5th,) he says: "O what a privilege, what an honour for me who persecuted the Lord Jesus, for so long a time, to be enabled by His grace to warn others of their danger, and to be enabled to invite them to accept of Jesus. May the Lord bless the conversation, and furnish his unworthy servant with many such opportunities of speaking for him."

On November 6th, he writes: "Though I rose an hour earlier than common, I am sorry to say that I have studied less than usual."

December 26th, he says: "See more and more clearly that I must withdraw from business for the purpose of prosecuting the study of divinity. May God, whose kind and wise directions have influenced me hitherto, still con-

tinue to direct me in this glorious undertaking of seeking qualifications to engage in the divine employment of being an ambassador for my Heavenly Master."

That he was subject to the temptations of the world and the flesh is evident by his writing under date of January 10th, 1793: "I have this day, as before, felt a disposition of mind coming on me, in which a little encouragement would probably have led me to have seriously wished for an honourable release from my undertaking to prepare for the sacred office of the ministry; not because the law of Christ was irksome, but because an indolence of soul would seem to intimate that God's cause could prosper without my feeble instrumentality; and that I was unnecessarily exposing myself to the labourious ministerial functions, and that by continuing in my present professional calling in which I was established, I might glide more smoothly along the probationary stream."

On February 20th, 1793, he writes: "Were I to go over the same ground I would certainly pay more attention to my precious Bible. I seem to thirst after an opportunity to give up myself almost wholly to its study, but am disagreeably prevented by a necessity imposed on me of reviewing my classical studies, &c., for a Presbyterial examination in April next."

April 20th, he says: "Returned last evening from a visit to Bridgeton, at which place I put myself under the direction of the Philadelphia Presbytery. I have reason to

thank God for his kind protection of me during my absence from home, and for the chain of favorable circumstances which have attended in this my first appearance in public as a candidate for the ministry."

Now that the time was rapidly approaching when he would be able to go forth as the accredited messenger of "good news," he writes under date of June 10th: "My soul pants for the time when I shall be honoured with a commission to declare the glad tidings of salvation;" and again on June 25th: "O that I could attain to that closeness of walk with God, which so greatly adorned the life of a primitive Christian."

His examination by Presbytery began April 16th, 1793, continued on April 17th, when an exegesis and a "Presbyterial exercise" were assigned him to prepare; and Presbytery adjourned to November 19th, 1793, when additional exercises were assigned, and on April 15th, 1794, his final examination was begun, and was completed the following day and he was duly licensed.

In August 1794, he was presented with a call from the First Presbyterian Church, at Greenwich, N. J. and the Presbyterian Church at Bridgeton, N. J., a joint call from those two churches, which were eight miles apart; this call he accepted, and on the 14th of November, 1794, he was ordained, and installed as pastor over these two churches by the Presbytery of Philadelphia.

His labours among the people of his charge seem to have been blessed, for he writes in his diary, October 4th, 1795, "Both my congregations considerably serious, some much affected. May His word be as good seed sown on good ground and bring forth abundantly to His glory. Oh! to be a winner of souls to Jesus."

Family cares and expenses increased and he found his salary from his charge was not sufficient, and gradually he expended several hundred pounds of the patrimony from his father and mother, and on February 22d, 1800, he writes: "I am now about to take a new and important step in life," for he found that he must assist his income by teaching school, or by resuming his profession of medicine. So with the consent of the physicians of the place, he announced from the pulpit his intention of resuming the practice of medicine and the reasons therefor; but after a trial of three months he found that the two callings were incompatible, and he relinquished the duties of a physician.

In October, 1801, he was called to the First Presbyterian Church of Schenectady, which call had been approved by the Presbytery of Albany, August 1801, and he was dismissed to the Presbytery of Albany October 20th, 1801. The records of the church show a marriage by Mr. Clarkson, December 19th, 1801.

In due course the Presbytery proceeded to the installation of Rev. Mr. Clarkson; Rev. Eliphalet Nott, then pastor of a Presbyterian church in Albany and two years after-

wards made president of Union College in Schenectady, delivered the charge to the people.

At the meeting of Presbytery, August 18th, 1803, two calls were placed in the hands of Mr. Clarkson; one from the congregation of Westmoreland and one from the congregation of Rome; and he made application for the dissolution of the pastoral relation with the church at Schenectady. At the meeting of the Presbytery, April 5th, 1804, Mr. Clarkson made answer to the two calls spoken of above, "That he did not deem it his duty to accept of either, but he desired that he be dismissed from his present charge," and the congregation having voted to unite in that request, the pastoral relations were accordingly dissolved. The records of the session show that during his pastorate twenty-three were added to the church. Mr. Clarkson informed Presbytery that he wished to travel southward, and that it was not improbable he would settle there.

He was accordingly given a certificate of good standing and the clerk was authorized to dismiss him to join any Presbytery, should he apply for it.

Travelling southward, Mr. Clarkson visited Savannah, Ga., where he was invited to supply the pulpit of the church now and then known as the "Independent Presbyterian Church."

The pastor, Rev. Robert Smith, was in declining health and absent, and died while Mr. Clarkson was the supply, which he continued, without a call, for nearly three years,

until during 1806, when he was called to the Presbyterian Churches of John's and Wadmalaw Islands.

In 1808, this church was reported as one of the seven churches, and Dr. Clarkson one of the five ministers belonging to the Presbytery of Charleston. Dr. Clarkson continued as the pastor of this church until September 9th, 1812, when death ended his labours. Rev. William Clarkson was greatly beloved by the people of his charge. As late as 1855, more than forty years after his decease, the older members of the congregation of John's and Wadmalaw Islands, always spoke of Dr. Clarkson to the then pastor of the same church, Rev. John R. Dow, with great affection, and esteemed him as a man of "deep-toned piety;" and as a preacher who had great earnestness, and as a labourer who was constantly sowing the precious seed "beside all waters." While loving his own church, he was very charitable and affectionate towards all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, so that he was not sectarian or narrow minded; but broadly catholic.

The congregation and church officers deeply mourned his departure. In "Dr. Ramsay's History of South Carolina," * the following notice is to be found:

"He had the affection of his congregation, and was well esteemed by his brethren in the ministry as a man of more than usual ability and worth. He was commonly known as Dr. Clarkson, his title being derived from his degree as

* Page 230.

Dr. of medicine." The following is the inscription upon his tombstone:

"In the memory of Rev. Wm. Clarkson, who during the last six years of his life, sustained the pastoral charge of the United Presbyterian Church on this Island and on Wadmalaw, and while zealously discharging the important duties of his ministry, was by a short illness summoned from his labours to enter into the joy of his Lord, on the 9th day of September, 1812, and in the fiftieth year of his age.

"He was a native of Philadelphia, and of very respectable parentage and connections. As a husband, a father, a friend, and in the various relations of life, he exhibited an amiable example of affectionate tenderness and christian integrity.

"In his public character, and service as a minister of Christ, he was simple, grave, sincere; in doctrine, uncorrupt; in language plain, and plain in manner.

"Much impressed himself, as conscious of his awful charge, and anxious mainly that the flock he fed might feel it too; affectionate in look and tender in address, as well became a messenger of grace to guilty men, 'for him to live was Christ, to die was gain.'"

Rev. William Clarkson had four children.

1. Harriet Ashton.
2. Hannah Floyd.
3. William Nicoll.
4. Samuel Floyd.

Harriet Ashton, married William Bedlow Crosby, of New York, February 7th, 1807. It proved a most happy union of fifty-two years. It is said of her, "that her first thought was to make a happy home for her children—more alluring to them than any other place—where every indulgence of a good tendency was granted, libraries filled with choice books, a fine organ suited to the musical taste of all the family, and one room set apart as the place where the utmost freedom of noise and merriment was allowed. She used to say, her boys must be gentlemen in the parlor, but they may be boys in the play-room. The order of the household was noticed by visitors, who often wondered whence it came, since all was so quiet and mother never seemed pressed with care, although as father remarked, he had never seen her unoccupied, and she wished us all to be so interested in work or book, that even a rainy day would not seem dull, and that we should not depend on out-door excitement for our happiness. One day in the week she thoughtfully set apart for sewing for the poor, and many a bundle was thus sent to church societies or individual poor. But her chief trait, was a sympathetic tenderness—she was the confidante of her children when at home, when away their most tireless correspondent."

The following obituary notice, at the time of her death, appeared in the *New York Observer:* "Died, on December 13th, 1859, Harriet A. Clarkson, the beloved wife of Wm. B. Crosby of this city, an eminently excellent Christian lady,

of whom one who was her pastor for sixteen and a half years, may speak with confidence. It was early in life that she connected herself by public profession with the people of God and onward, to the close of her pilgrimage in her seventy-fourth year, did she maintain a most consistent Christian course. She aimed to be useful in all the relations she sustained, and though from a retiring disposition she did not come out in public engagements, as many Christian ladies are enabled to do, she was always concerned in some good work in a quiet way, and made herself constantly felt in acts of benevolence. Her's was a very warm interest in ministers, as she was the daughter of the Rev. Wm. Clarkson, a Presbyterian clergyman, and she knew the trials and responsibilities of the ministerial life. She cherished a great sympathy for young females who were solicitous for a liberal education, which might give them a position in social life and open to them fields of usefulness as teachers, and numbers of such are now living to bless her memory.

"In her family she was the counsellor of all, and blessed have been the results, for she was over seventeen years since permitted to see all her children with her on the Lord's side, while the crowning joy of the closing days of her life was the seeing and hearing her youngest son, (Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby,) proclaiming as a preacher 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.' Through a married life of nearly fifty-three years she was the charm of the family circle gathered around her, and to the last hour of the possession

of her intellect, was the same cheerful, vivacious wife and mother, though beyond three-score and ten. She was from the moment of her attack by paralysis, unconscious, and lingered thus three days, when the Master was pleased to release her from her frail tenement. A great chasm has been made by her removal. A very large circle sympathize with the stricken household, and especially with him who is left in widowhood."

Children of William Bedlow Crosby and Harriet Ashton Clarkson:

William Henry, born June 28th, 1808, married November 4th, 1850, Josepha Matilda, daughter of John Neilson, M. D., of New York City; ten children.

John Player, born May 22d, 1810, married February 10th, 1835, Ellen Murray, daughter of John Murray, of New York. She died 1836. He married May 15th, 1840, Margaret, daughter of Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, of New York City. He was drowned at Fire Island, N. Y., September 19th, 1876; eleven children.

Catharine Clarkson, born May 5th, 1812, married November 9th, 1836, to Henry H. Stevens of N. Y. City; five children.

Clarkson Floyd, born May 17th, 1814, died November 20th, 1816.

Robert Ralston, born December 3d, 1815, married April 27th, 1859, Jane Murray, daughter of Henry

Livingston, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; six children.

Clarkson Floyd, born November 3d, 1817, married September 5th, 1838, Angelica, only child of John Schuyler, of West Troy, New York, he died February 22d, 1853; three children.

Eliza Smedes, born June 21st, 1819, married May 20th, 1840, to Wm. Rhinelander Renwick, of New York City. She died September 8th, 1877; five children.

Edward Nicoll, born March 12th, 1821, married January 26th, 1849, Elizabeth M., only daughter of James Van Schoonhoven, of Troy, New York. Died May 31st, 1865; eight children.

Mary, born December 11th, 1822, unmarried.

Anna Bancker, born August 16th, 1824, died July 30th, 1826.

Howard, born February 27th, 1826, married March 17th, 1847, Margaret Evertson, daughter of John Givan, of Westchester; seven children.

Rev. Howard Crosby, great-grandson of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, and seventh in descent from Rev. David Clarkson of England, graduated at the University of New York in 1844. Was Professor of Greek in the same University 1851–59. Professor of Greek in Rutgers College 1859–63. Pastor of First Presbyterian Church, New Brunswick, 1861–62. In 1863 he was installed Pastor of the Fourth Avenue Pres-

byterian Church, New York, where for twenty-seven years he has been the devoted minister to an equally devoted flock. He was Chancellor of the University of New York 1870–81. President of the New York Young Men's Christian Association 1852–55. Moderator Presbyterian General Assembly 1873. Member of the First Presbyterian General Council, in Edinburgh, 1877. One of the Bible Revisers 1872–81. President of the Society for the Prevention of Crime 1877. Member of the State Commission to frame a License Law 1888.

A voluminous writer, he is the author of the following works: "Lands of the Moslem," "Œdipus Tyrannus," with notes. "New Testament Commentary," "Life of Jesus," "Annotated New Testament," "Bible Manual," "Notes on Joshua," "Notes on Nehemiah," "Thoughts on the Decalogue," "Bible view of the Jewish Church," "The seven Churches of Asia," and a large number of pamphlets on the public questions of the day.

Harman Rutgers, born April 10th, 1828, died July 30th, 1830.

Hannah Floyd Clarkson, born at Philadelphia, Pa., January 31st, 1793; died at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., May 31st, 1870; unmarried.

Wm. Nicoll Clarkson, M. D., married Margaret O'Hare, daughter of John Fabian of St. Simon's Island, Georgia, with issue as follows:

Mary Catharine, born at Wadmalaw Island, December 25th, 1824, married December 25th, 1849, Theodore Dehone Müller, M. D., died June 7th, 1880; no children.

Samuel Eliphalet White, born at Wadmalaw Island, February 1st, 1828, married December 25th, 1849, Elizabeth, daughter of William Davis, of Wadmalaw. He died August 16th 1855; one child.

Sarah Caroline, born September 2d, 1830, died February 13th, 1832.

Harriet Hannah, born March 18th, 1833, died September 7th, 1833.

William John, born September 26th, 1834, married December 31st, 1865, Mary Jane, daughter of James David Gordon of Williamsburgh, South Carolina; eight children.

Emily Eliza, born December 6th, 1837, died April 23d, 1838.

Nathaniel Bowen, born at John's Island, September 23d, 1839, married December 31st, 1862, Laura Bernell, daughter of James David Gordon, of Williamsburgh, South Carolina. Licensed by Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina, March 14th, 1877,

and admitted to Conference, December 18th, 1880. Ordained Deacon July 4th, 1881, as Elder, December 21st, 1884; nine children.

Samuel Floyd Clarkson, fourth child and second son of Rev. William Clarkson, M. D., and Catharine Floyd, was born at Bridgeton, N. J., May 29th, 1797.

He was educated at Norristown, Pa. On the death of his father in 1812, in South Carolina, the widow with her three children came north and resided in New York City with her daughter, Harriet Ashton, who had married William Bedlow Crosby.

He studied law with Judge Harris Scovil and Samuel Blatchford, and was licensed in May, 1822, to practice law. He formed a partnership with Peter V. Remsen, under the firm name of Remsen & Clarkson, which continued until May, 1833.

Mr. Clarkson joined the Rutgers Street Presbyterian Church by profession of faith, December 28th, 1820, and was dismissed, February 18th, 1833, to the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church in Murray Street, with which he united, March 9th, 1833.

On the 14th of November, 1826, he married Amelia Ann, daughter of William Frederick Baker and Maria Elizabeth Sperry of New York City. Rev. Wm. Berrian, D. D., performed the ceremony. He always took an active interest in church matters; was ordained an Elder of the Associate Reformed Church, August 7th, 1836, and was a

delegate from the Presbytery of New York, to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church that met in Philadelphia, in 1837, and which took such action as led to the division of that body for several years. He was also elected a trustee, and when the church was moved to Eighth Street, he was the Chairman of the Building Committee.

Rev. Thomas Macauley, D. D., who had been called from the Rutgers Street Presbyterian Church, to the Associate Reformed Church in Murray Street, was still the pastor when the building was taken down and removed up town. On his resignation, Rev. Mr. Chapman was called from Boston, Mass., but after a struggle of two years he was forced to yield, and the church was sold.

Mr. Clarkson then united, in June, 1851, with the Collegiate Reformed (Dutch) Church, attending the Ninth Street Church, between Broadway and Fourth Avenue, (then the Bowery,) afterwards he went to the Lafayette Place Church, where he was the Superintendent of the Sunday School for several years.

His health and eye sight failing, he removed to Brooklyn, and united with the First Reformed Church on Jerolamon Street, in September, 1867: here he continued to live and worship until he died, December 31st, 1868.

His family removed to Flushing, L. I., in 1870, and there his widow died, September 7th, 1870.

Mr. Clarkson practiced law until about 1867; in his younger days making a specialty of Chancery practice, and

when the Code came into effect, followed more particularly Equity Pleadings.

He was a conscientious advocate, entering into the right of his clients with every talent he possessed; avoiding litigation if possible, but espousing what he felt was the wrong done his clients, and earnestly endeavoring to secure for them justice.

In all his church connections he was an active man; greatly gifted in extemporaneous prayer, he was invariably called upon to lead in that most important and blessed privilege; and having been a close student of the Bible, he continued a teacher in the Bible Class, until called to be the Superintendent.

Children of Samuel Floyd Clarkson and Amelia Ann Baker:

William Baker, born August 22d, 1827, died February 10th, 1828.

Julia La Roche, born October 8th, 1829, unmarried.

Floyd, born February 27th, 1831, married October 27th, 1857, Harriet Anna, daughter of John Van Boskerck, of New York City; had ten children.

Floyd Clarkson received a liberal education, and in 1859 embarked in business. On the call for troops by President Lincoln, in April, 1861, as a member of the Seventh Regiment National Guard of New York, he went to Washington, D. C., and from that time until the close of the war was identified with the

operations of the army in North Carolina. On November 11th, 1861, he was mustered as Major of the Sixth New York Cavalry, and on June 14th, 1864, was appointed Assistant Inspector General on the staff of Brigadier-General Edward Harland, commanding the sub-district of New Berne, N. C.

On the 21st of February, 1865, Major Clarkson resigned his commission as Major of the 12th New York Volunteer Cavalry. The resignation was approved by the Colonel of the regiment, and by Brigadier-General Edward Harland, but Brigadier-General Innis N. Palmer, commanding the district of North Carolina, placed upon it the following endorsement: "This cannot be approved at this time; Major Clarkson is too valuable an officer to be spared now." The resignation was returned from the head-quarters "Army of the Ohio" disapproved. Major Clarkson was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel on the 22d of April 1866, "for faithful and meritorious services."

Colonel Clarkson has always been an earnest Freemason, and has held many offices of trust in that Order. He is connected with the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and for some years served as Chancellor of the New York Commandery, and at this date is Department Commander of the G. A. R. for the State of New York. It is a coincidence that Thaddeus Stevens Clarkson, another great-grandson

of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, is in the same year Department Commander of the G. A. R. for Nebraska.

Colonel Floyd Clarkson is also a member of the "Veterans of the Seventh Regiment" N. G. S. N. Y., and of the society of the Army of the Potomac, and of the society of the Army of the Cumberland, and is President of the society of the War Veterans of the Seventh Regiment, N. Y. He is also, a life member of the New York Historical Society, and of the St. Nicholas Society; a member of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, and Vice-President of the society of the Sons of the Revolution.

Upon the appointment of the Citizen's Committee for the Centennial celebration of the inauguration of General George Washington as the first President of the United States, Colonel Clarkson was appointed one of that committee. He was selected by the committee on States as Marshal of the President's escort on his arrival in New York, and in a letter under date of May 9th, 1889, Elbridge T. Gerry, Esq., chairman of the Executive Committee, desires to "express the warm and hearty thanks of the Committee for the services rendered by Colonel Clarkson during the celebration."

Rutgers, born December 8th, 1832, married January 7th, 1858, Margaret Ann, daughter of Rev.

John Niel McLeod, of New York City; had eight children.

Catharine, born September 9th, 1834, died February 11th, 1836.

Varick, born May 14th, 1836, died January 19th, 1837.

Harriet Crosby, born October 20th, 1837, unmarried.

William Crosby, born December 9th, 1839, married September 5th, 1866, Sarah Augusta, daughter of Daniel S. Greene, of Brunswick, New York. He died December 23d, 1887, leaving two children.

Gerardus, born December 8th, 1843, married September, 1884, Ella Chandler; no children.

Samuel Floyd, born October 11th, 1845, married December 10th, 1879, Courtenay N., daughter of Cincinnatus W. Newton, of Norfolk, Virginia. He died at Nice, France, January 8th, 1883, being then a Lieut. U. S. Navy; no children.

Amelia, born October 12th, 1847, married June 19th, 1873, to John W. Clarkson, of Philadelphia. She died August 1st, 1880, leaving two children.

JOSEPH CLARKSON.

Joseph Clarkson, the third son of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, was born at Philadelphia, February 27th, 1765, baptized at Christ Church, April 18th, 1765, by Rev. Richard Peters, D. D. In his youth he attended a classical school, then of great repute, kept by Dr. Robert Smith, a Presbyterian clergyman, in Lancaster County, Pa. He graduated at the University of the State of Pennsylvania, at the age of seventeen, and received the degree of Master of Arts from the College of New Jersey, in 1785. A portrait of Joseph Clarkson copied from a miniature, supposed to be by Du Simitiere, is inserted in this memoir. Young Clarkson seems to have been imbued with serious impressions from early years, and with a desire to enter the ministry of the Church, though uncertain as to how or where he could receive orders, he placed himself under the guidance of Rev. Robert Blackwell, at the time Assistant Minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's. Mr. Blackwell thirteen years before had sailed for England, and at the little suburb of London called Fulham, at a "special ordination," was by the then Bishop of London, Right Rev. Richard Terrick, D.D., admitted to the holy order of Deacons, "according to the manner and form prescribed, and used by the Church of England." While reading divinity, it is more than probable that Rev. Mr. Blackwell encouraged his young student to whom he was greatly attached, to hope for like success in an application to the Bishop of London, for admission

JOSEPH CLARKSON

FROM A MINIATURE IN POSSESSION OF THE FAMILY

OLD SWEDES' CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

1700

into the holy order of Deacons. The sequel shows how if such was the plan it was over-ruled, when on May 28th, 1787, Bishop White, held in Christ Church, his first ordination, and Joseph Clarkson and Joseph Couden, were admitted to the holy order of Deacons." *

Upon his ordination, Rev. Joseph Clarkson became Assistant to Dr. Nicolas Collin, rector of the Swedish Churches, Wicaco, Upper Merion and Kingsessing, and continued in that capacity until 1792.

In 1789, Mr. Clarkson acted as Secretary to the House of Bishops, first convened at Philadelphia. "The meeting in Christ Church being found inconvenient to the members in several respects" adjournment was had to the apartments of the General Assembly in the State House.

† "While the Convention sat in Christ Church, the 'House of Bishops,' consisting of Bishops White and Seabury, sat in its 'Vestry Room,' a small place on the north of the pulpit, about seven feet wide by twelve feet long. The 'House' was a very small one, no doubt, but still large enough for the two persons who composed it and their Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Clarkson."

In 1791, the Rev. Lawrence Girelius, the last of the Swedish Ministers, resigned his charge at Wilmington, Del., and returned to Sweden. He was succeeded by Rev. Joseph

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* This service is referred to on pages 185-6 of this work.

† Life of Rev. William Smith, DD. Vol. II, fol. 289.

Clarkson, at which time the Church at Christina became connected regularly with the P. E. Church.

Rev. Dr. Collin, Minister of the Swedish Mission in Philadelphia and parts adjacent, always during his ministry, covering a period of forty-five years, used the prayer book of the Episcopal Church, and the many assistant Ministers that he had during his rectorship were of that Church.

As a matter of interest, a print of each of these venerable buildings, now Gloria Dei, Philadelphia, and Trinity Church, Wilmington, Del., is inserted. Both were erected about the year 1700.

On July 8th, 1799, Rev. Mr. Clarkson entered upon his duties as Minister of St. James' Church, Lancaster, Pa. At that date Hon. Jasper Yeates and Edward Hand were wardens. His field of labour embraced beside the town of Lancaster, the country parishes of St. John's, Pequea, and Christ Church, Leacock. The Rev. Thomas Barton, a Missionary appointed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was Minister in charge of St. James' Church in 1766. This church was of stone, and built about 1745; it was a small structure. The cash account for building kept in the MSS. of George Ross, the signer, is still in existence. All efforts to find a picture of the church have failed. Rev. Mr. Barton remained until 1778, and was succeeded by the Rev. Elisha Riggs, and he in turn by Rev. Joseph Clarkson. In 1818 measures were taken to re-build St. James' Church, and Robert Coleman, Charles Smith and Adam Reigart were

OLD SWEDES' CHURCH, WILMINGTON, DEL.

appointed a committee to fix upon a proper place for the new structure, and to superintend its erection. Subscriptions to the building fund were solicited from the citizens, and John Passmore was appointed treasurer.

* "On Sunday, the 15th of October, 1820, the Right Rev. William White, D. D., assisted by the Rev. Joseph Clarkson, Rev. Levi Bull and Rev. W. A. Muhlenberg, performed the ceremony of consecrating the new church in the presence of a large congregation of citizens, after which the Rev. Mr. Snowden was admitted to the order of priesthood.

"On Monday, October 16th, a confirmation took place when the Bishop confirmed thirty persons."

The Rev. W. A. Muhlenberg at this time was called to be co-rector. He remained until 1824, and was succeeded by the Rev. Levi Silliman Ives, who resigned to become assistant Minister at Trinity Church, New York. The Rev. Samuel Bowman succeeded Mr. Ives in 1827. Consecrated assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania on the 25th day of August, 1858, he continued to reside at Lancaster, and remained in the parish until his death on the 3d day of August, 1861. Bishop Bowman was in the western part of the Diocese on his way to meet an appointment at Butler, Pa. The destruction of a bridge compelled the passengers of the train in which he was journeying to make a walk of four miles. The Bishop lingered behind, and when the party had reached the end of the journey he was nowhere to be found.

* From the minutes of St. James' Church, Lancaster.

A workman returning with a hand-car to the broken bridge found him lying on his face by the roadside, quite dead.

The body was tenderly cared for, and at once returned to Pittsburg, and thence removed to Lancaster, where it was buried in St. James' Churchyard.

The Rev. Joseph Clarkson continued his charge until his death, which occurred at Lancaster, January 25th, 1830. For thirty years rector of this church "he was a man well beloved by his parishioners, and had during his long life a very peaceful ministry." A print of the church built in 1818-20 is here inserted.

On July 20th, 1788, Joseph Clarkson married Grace, one of the six daughters of Rev. Samuel Cooke, at that time settled at Frederickton, New Brunswick. An account of the life of this good man, so full of events and connected as he was with the early history of the Church and its struggles in America, we have reserved for another chapter.

The children of Joseph and Grace Cooke Clarkson were eight; four sons and four daughters.

Mary was born, Philadelphia, September 10th, 1790; married John Passmore, and died January 22d, 1856, and left issue, two sons and one daughter. These two sons became clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Gerardus was born, Wilmington, Del., October 13th, 1792; married Susan Trissler, December 1st, 1824, and died January 24th, 1857. Susan Trissler

ST. JAMES' CHURCH, LANCASTER, PA.

1818--1820

was born June 9th, 1803, and died May 9th, 1861, leaving issue.

Esther Cox was born, Wilmington, Del., June 3d, 1795; married George Louis Mayer, May 30th, 1816, and died December 29th, 1881, leaving issue.

Harriet Rumsey was born, Wilmington, Del., October 4th, 1797; married Rev. Samuel Bowman, June 28th, 1836, and died August 10th, 1852; no issue. The first wife of Rev. Samuel Bowman (Miss Sitgreaves, of Easton, Pa.), died leaving issue, one son now deceased, and a daughter, the widow of Bishop Vail.

Michael Cooke was born, Pequea, Lancaster County, April 5th, 1800; married Louisa Harper, of Gettysburg, Pa., September 5th, 1822, and died July 11th, 1871, leaving issue.

Robert Blackwell was born, Pequea, Lancaster County, Pa., January 18th, 1802; married Maria Booker, of Tennessee, and died in 1846, leaving issue.

Joseph was born, New Holland, Lancaster County, Pa., November 9th, 1804, and died in infancy.

Lydia Cooke was born, New Holland, Lancaster County, Pa., October 11th, 1806; married Dr. George Moore, of Columbia, Pa., in 1824, and died October 24th, 1842, leaving issue.

Grace Cooke Clarkson, died at Lancaster, Pa., August 25th, 1824, in the 58th year of her age.

Rev. Joseph Clarkson, died January 25th, 1830, in the 64th year of his age.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Clarkson are buried in St. James' Church Yard.

BISHOP CLARKSON.

Robert Harper Clarkson, great-grand-son of Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, and seventh in descent from Rev. David Clarkson, was born at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 19th, 1826. His father, Michael Cooke Clarkson, the son of Rev. Joseph Clarkson, began life as a clerk in the office of the late President Buchanan, at Lancaster, Pa. In 1822 he removed to Gettysburg, Pa., and married Louisa, daughter of Robert Harper, the founder and editor of "*The Adams Sentinel*," a paper that has passed its centennial and still is published.

He was a man of affairs in Adams County, and for many years a prominent politician in Pennsylvania, a contemporary and warm personal friend of the late Thaddeus Stevens. He was a genial, cheerful, Christian gentleman, with remarkable social qualities that endeared him to all with whom he came in contact.

An incident is worthy of record here. The battle of Gettysburg, to which all hearts will ever turn with grati-

tude and reverence, was fought and decided upon the farm where Robert Harper Clarkson was reared. The writer remembers well how the Bishop, upon a return from Europe, where he had been sojourning, recounted his experience when on going into a free reading room in the City of Florence, in the early evening, he found there on file, the American papers containing a detailed account of the battle on July 3d, 1863, and with what avidity he took in the story, going over the ground, every foot of which he had trod in his boyhood, from Cemetery Hill to Round Top, and along the Emmettsburg road. So absorbed was he that he knew not that midnight was come, and by payment of a coin to the janitor at intervals, he remained until the day dawned, having lived over again, in his once peaceful home, the days of his youth, amid scenes of blood, suffering and death.

*Bishop Clarkson's academic education was received at Pennsylvania College in the town of his birth, where he was graduated B. A., in 1844. Shortly afterward, he became tutor at the College of St. James', in Hagerstown, Maryland. The head of this interesting institution was the Rev. Dr. Kerfoot, afterward Bishop of Pittsburg. While there, young Clarkson studied theology, under Dr. Kerfoot, and was ordained Deacon, June 18th, 1848.

"In some of its circumstances, his early life was most

* This biographical sketch of Bishop Clarkson is taken largely from Bishop Hare's memorial sermon delivered at the Cathedral in Omaha, Sunday March 15th, 1884, and from the Omaha Herald March 11th, 1884.

happy. Far beyond what falls to the lot of most young persons, he enjoyed the advantage of the love and care and association of very rare men. While at the College of St. James' he learned to love, and was in turn greatly loved by, the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, whose memory still lives and will always live in St. Luke's hospital, New York, which he founded, and in the lines of the hymn, 'I would not live alway,' which he wrote. This eminent divine was co-rector with the elder Dr. Clarkson, of St. James' Church in Lancaster, and this strongly attached him to the young man, who through life was as a son to him. Dr. Bowman, also a rector of the same church and afterward assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, was his uncle. For his piety, learning and great labor, his name is a treasure in the Church to this day. He gave his kinsman his solicitous affection and assistance. Dr. Kerfoot lavished upon him the vast stores of his learning, and made known to him not only the beauty of godliness, but the power and joy of exquisite literary graces.

"He was, we are told, as a boy, just what those of us who knew him only as a man would have inferred—full of life and spirits, susceptible to every impression from without, endowed with a keen sense of the ludicrous, hungry for all sorts of fun, at the bottom of every piece of mischief that was current, but clever enough never to be caught.

"At about sixteen, the first crisis in his moral and religious life came, and under the earnest preaching of the Gospel,

he was awakened to the seriousness of life, and the sacredness of the claims of his Redeemer. He openly confessed His name, and soon began to consider whether it was not his duty to devote his life to the Master's special service in the ministry. This was his first overcoming, the overcoming of his boyish thoughtlessness.

"On May 8th, 1849, he was married to Miss McPherson, of Hagerstown, Maryland, and with little knowledge of men and no experience in affairs, he went to Chicago to become Rector of St. James' Church. It was a great venture. Hardly were they settled in their new home, before the cholera came to mercilessly scourge the city. Others in the sacred office fled before the terrors of the plague; they were steadfast through the whole period of its ravages. Day and night the young deacon held his way among the stricken; nursing the sick, helping the poor, holding up the hearts of the afflicted, holding the Cross before the eyes of the dying, and burying the forsaken dead. Stricken down himself, he conquered the disease by his indomitable spirit; and weak and weary as he was, he went out again to the utter misery all about, never stopping to rest, never heeding the cries of fear. The records of Christian heroism tell no more affecting tale of devotion and self-sacrifice. He came out of the ordeal a conqueror, for he had conquered a city. Known of all for what he had been in the hour of agony and trial, ever afterward men as he passed among them paid him a loving, almost worshipful homage.

"He was ordained priest, January 5th, 1851. Seventeen years he lived among that people. He built a great Church, in its beauty surpassing all others in the city. He gathered a great congregation from all conditions of men. He set on foot, and nursed, and made secure many charities. Every young man coming there, of whom he could hear, was sought out and helped, and encouraged, and put in the good way. Every poor, or sick, or afflicted, or friendless person found a hand stretched out, a heart opened wide for him; and the more he needed of any sort of help, the more was pressed upon him. The whole was a life of arduous work; a joy and a blessing to every one. The friendships then formed still live, their strength unrelaxed, and the gratitude to-day all it was when the service was rendered.

"In 1857, he received his Doctorate in Divinity from his alma mater and also from Racine College. And there, in that young school he had his place. It was he who named the sainted DeKoven for its head, and by much persuasion secured the appointment. In 1872, the University of Nebraska honored itself by conferring upon him the very first of its degrees of Doctor of Laws.

"In 1865, the General Convention of the Church elected him Missionary Bishop of Nebraska and Dakota. The announcement drove the blood from his cheek, and left him speechless for minutes. Thus he describes his emotions in the sermon in which he announced to his parish his decision: 'Entirely unexpected, without the slightest desire

on my part, and with scarcely the shadow of a training, the announcement of the Church came upon me. The very thought of the necessary severing of ties, and disturbing of the associations of seventeen years of a happy pastorate, was more than I could bear. And whilst I was enduring anguish and agitation in the balancing of inclination with duty, such as I pray God I may never again experience, I went to one of the Bishops, and told him that I could not and would not go, and laid before him the reasons for my decision, ultimate as I then thought. When I told him of my ministry here, commenced in the fervor and enthusiasm of youth, and deep-rooted in the spiritual services and pastoral experiences of so many years—of my flock united in a most remarkable degree, and precious to me, every one, without an exception, and of my delightful home, filled with numberless testimonials of your attachment,—and of my beautiful church, every stone of which was cemented by my anxieties and my prayers,—and of the city with which I had grown up, the only dwelling-place of my manhood's years, the birth-place of my children and the sleeping-ground of my dead,—I supposed this was enough to satisfy any reasonable man that I ought not to be asked to go. His only reply, as he laid his hand upon my shoulder and looked me calmly in the eye was: 'Your Master in Heaven left infinitely more than this for you. Life is short. The account you must give will be strict. Go where he has sent you.' What could I say? Shame and silence sealed my

lips. From that hour, the more I thought over the matter, and the more I prayed over it, and the more I discussed it with holy men, who believe that there is a God, and that there are such things as duty, accountability, necessary self-surrender, and the baptism of the Holy Ghost, the clearer grew the whole subject, and more insignificant and sinful seemed the thought of personal sacrifice, and the more imperative became the demand of conscience; and, although I reserved the right of final decision until I came home, and did not definitely determine until since my return, yet every day has settled me firmer in the wish best expressed in the lines of the text, 'What am I that I could withstand God?'"

It was a splendid triumph of duty over his tenderest affections and deepest love of friends.

"On the 15th of November, 1865, he was consecrated in his own Church. The services of that occasion are a memory still. The Rt. Rev. John Henry Hopkins, the presiding Bishop of the Church, was consecrator, assisted by Bishops Kemper, McCoskrey, Lee, Whipple and Talbot. In 1868, Nebraska was erected into a Diocese, and he was unanimously elected its first Bishop. He retained jurisdiction in Dakota for some years, when the western part of that territory was detached and made a separate district with a Bishop of its own. Last fall he was, at his own request, relieved of his missionary jurisdiction, the work having outgrown his strength. And he now looked forward to years of labor to be given wholly to Nebraska.

"He repeated in his higher office of Bishop his work as Priest. He came again to a new, raw land, whose prairies stretched out a vast waste, with a few little towns, where little Churches had been built, and a sparse and poor population. It was as un-toward a prospect as a Christian Bishop ever looked upon. But he was no more dismayed than when he first left the home of his fathers. With what heedlessness of self; with what buoyancy of spirit; with what resolute patience, despite great discouragements, with what abundant, trying, exhausting labors he has gone on and carried on the work none knew, or ever will know, who were not admitted to his inmost heart. He has built fifty churches. He has carried to success his two schools. He has been the head and moving spirit, and source of strength, to all the work of his Church. He has not kept himself to the places of ease, nor even to his own home; but has gone up and down all the country, preaching in school-houses, as well as Churches, to a few disciples wherever they could be gathered. No journey has been too long or too hard for him to travel in all seasons, so that he could reach, and help, and encourage any servant of the Lord. He has preached such sermons that men, who cared little for such things, have said they never heard him, but they longed to be better; and he has taught multitudes the very rudiments of our divine religion.

"Bishop Clarkson died at Omaha, March 10th, 1884. He had a presentiment from the first that this sickness was his

last, and immediately, on being taken ill, began to make preparations for his departure; but it would be a great mistake to suppose that his will-power gave way, that he died from want of endeavor and determination to get well, and that a man of stronger will and greater desire to live would have recovered. To the last, he was master of himself and the situation. To the last he was the director and the comforter of all. The physicians marvelled at the clearness and vigor with which he read and described his symptoms. He wrote daily in his journal, for ten days after he was laid upon his bed, and one entry reads, 'I am feeling better to-day. Perhaps I shall yet be up.' He kept the little details of business well in hand, and even was at pains to see that replies to telegrams, inquiring as to his condition, should be prepaid. Two days after he was declared by his physicians to be dying, he called for the daily paper and read the local items. When told that he could not live, he argued that he had 'too much vitality to die yet.' He proposed vigorous treatment, and thought that if it was resorted to he might yet recover. Five minutes before his death, he calmly and collectedly inquired, 'Do you see any great change?' His self-command—his self-possession, was complete. From his bed of sickness he sent a message first by the telephone, and then by a special messenger to a non-Episcopal minister in the city, asking the prayers of himself and his people. 'Some may criticise,' he said, 'a Bishop's asking the prayers of persons outside his own Church; but no matter. I value the prayers of all

good men.' While on a visit, once, to one of the towns of the state, he learned that an effort was being made to build a house for an aged Methodist minister, and at once enclosed a check for ten dollars, with the expression of his pleasure that there was a prospect that the good man would have a roof over his head in his old age. And since his death, a touching letter has come from a Baptist minister, residing now in Michigan, telling of the cheer which had been brought to his heart, when he was about to leave Nebraska for a strange field of labor, by receiving from the Bishop, whom he had frequently met in travelling, a note expressing his regret that he was about to leave the state, and wishing him God speed in his new sphere. There was nothing about your Bishop which you could measure in a bushel. He was too large-hearted to be entirely contained even within the bounds of our own comprehensive Church.

"From his sick-bed three days before his death, he telephoned his congratulations and best love to a young mother upon the birth of a daughter, asked that oranges might be sent to a little lamp-lighter who had broken his leg, and charged that one of the clergy should be sure to search out a sick man, almost a total stranger to him, of whose illness he had read in the newspaper, and who, he feared, might be friendless. But this tender concern to those who were bound to him by reason of his office never drew him from those who were united to him by the ties of nature. The moment he could break away from the ties of official duty,

he made for his home, like a carrier-pigeon set free. To reach it he would often take a caboose on a freight train on Sunday at midnight, rather than wait for the regular passenger train the next morning. Arrived at home, he was radiant with delight. Love exhaled from his soul, like perfume from a flower, toward every member of his family. And ere death clouded his faculties, he called them all to his bedside, spoke to each one an appropriate parting word, and poured forth his soul for each one before the Mercy Seat in passionate and specific supplication.

"One would have supposed that the approach of death to a man so wrapped up as he was, in wife and children, friends and home, would have been attended with peculiar terrors; that the loosening of the embrace of love would have been accompanied with exhibitions of uncontrollable anguish. There was nothing of the kind. For three weeks he lay in death's presence, but its presence did not disturb him in the least. It was then that the essential characteristic of his religion shone forth in its peculiar glory. He had implicit faith in God, the unerring, wise, loving, ever faithful Father and Redeemer. He was God's dear child. Throughout he behaved as a child in the house of his father. He did not act as if he felt that he was nearing a tremendous juncture and must brace himself; he acted as he always acted; was as natural as a child in a garden, unconscious of the presence of the asp. He was even playful sometimes. He talked of his interment without a shudder; of his being

shrouded in his robes of office without shrinking; he had his robes brought to his room, and asked that he might be buried in the robes in which for eighteen years he had done his work; not in his new ones, which might be given to another; chose the hymns to be sung at his funeral.

"With sublime composure he said a little before his death, 'I shall soon be with all the dead,' and again, 'I believe as I preached, I shall close my eyes on this world and open them on a better.'"

THE LAST RITES.

On the morning of March 13th, 1884, the funeral procession moved from "Overlook," the residence of the late Bishop, in order given:

The Mayor and City officers.
The vestries of Churches not of Omaha.
The vestry of St. Barnabas' Church.
The vestry of St. Mark's Church.
The vestry of the Cathedral.
The lay members of the chapter.

The visiting clergy, including delegations from the dioceses of Minnesota, Chicago, Quincy, Missouri, Kansas, North Dakota, South Dakota and Iowa.

The Diocesan clergy.
The Cathedral clergy.

The body was borne on the shoulders of eight strong men, most of whom had worked on the Cathedral, while the

others had been in the service of the Bishop. The casket of cedar wood, covered with black cloth, was draped with a large pall of royal purple, having through its centre a white cross.

The pall bearers were:

The Rev. Mr. Shaw,	The Rev. Dr. McNamara,
Mr. C. W. Mead,	Mr. H. G. Clark,
Mr. E. Wakely,	Mr. J. M. Woolworth,
The Rev. Dr. Oliver,	The Rev. Dr. Goodale.

Following them were the gentlemen of the family; (the ladies being in carriages), Bishops Vail, of Kansas; Spaulding, of Colorado; Hare, of South Dakota; Walker, of North Dakota; McLaren, of Chicago; Brewer, of Montana; Brown, of Fond du Lac, and Robertson, of Missouri, and distinguished gentlemen from abroad and of Omaha.

All places of business and the public schools were closed; and as the procession passed to the Cathedral, the streets were thronged with people, who reverently uncovered.

At the door of the Cathedral, the procession opened, and the body of the deceased prelate was carried into the porch, followed by the family and friends.

His Excellency the Governor, and other state officers, the General commanding the department, his staff, the Judges and officers of the Federal and State Courts, and the ministers of other denominations, occupied seats specially assigned to them.

The Bishops, having passed through the chapel and robing room, came down the aisle to the inner door of the Cathedral, and then returned, followed by the body, borne by the clerical and lay pall bearers.

Then came the family and friends, and those who were in the procession from the house, in inverse order, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Walker reading the sentences.

The burial chant was sung by the choir.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. McLaren read the lesson. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Hare said the prayers. The hymn, "Jerusalem, My Happy Home," was sung by the choir, when the Bishops passed down the aisle, followed by the clerical and lay bearers, carrying the body, and by the family and friends, and after them the clergy, the organ playing the dead march in "Saul."

The hymn "Jerusalem the Golden" was sung while the body was lowered into the grave.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Spaulding said the sentences. The Rev. Dr. McNamara said the committal to the ground, the Rev. Dr. Batterson casting in the earth. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Brown said the sentences after the committal, and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Robertson said the concluding prayers. The hymn, "O, Paradise, O, Paradise!" concluded the services.

A great concourse was assembled in the Cathedral yard, and before the grave was filled, multitudes looked down upon the heavy stone strewn with flowers.

The tomb is of hard brick laid in with Portland cement. A heavy stone is embedded in the walls just above the casket. The walls carried to the surface of the ground are covered again with another thick stone, which will form the foundation of the monument.

The resting-place is a spot selected by the Bishop for the purpose, and south of the south transept of the Cathedral. The place will be marked by a horizontal monument and a cross, like those at the graves of the Christian poet, Keble, and of the Rev. Dr. DeKoven, at Racine College; and it will be kept as a sacred spot, to which multitudes will resort to pay the tributes of a loving memory to their beloved Bishop.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

THE FAMILY OF DE PEYSTER.

The de Peysters were of Huguenot origin. Johannes, the ancestor of the family in this country, was born at Haarlem, Holland, in the early part of the seventeenth century.

After making a visit to America he returned to Europe, and in his native town married, on the 17th of December, 1651, Cornelia Lubberts. Two years later he was again in New Amsterdam, and finally established himself there in trade. He is said to have been posessed, by inheritance, of considerable wealth. Several pictures, costly articles of furniture, and massive pieces of plate, which he brought with him from Holland, are still preserved by his descendants. He held many offices of trust and honor under Dutch and English Colonial rule, and took a prominent part in public affairs. He was, at different times, Schepen, Alderman, Burgomaster, Deputy-Mayor, and on the 15th of October, 1677, he received the appointment of Mayor, but this latter office was declined in consequence of his imperfect knowledge of the English language. He died previous to 1686, after a long life of activity and usefulness. His widow survived him many years. He had issue, seven sons and two daughters. Of these seven children, two only will be noticed in this article.

Abraham, one of the sons of Johannes de Peyster and Cornelia Lubberts, was born on the 8th of July, 1657, and married at Amsterdam, on the 5th of April, 1684, Catharina de Peyster. On the 13th of the following September he returned to New York, where he held successively the offices of Alderman, of Mayor of the city, of a Judge of the Supreme Court, of Treasurer of New Jersey and New York, and was for a time the acting Governor of the latter Province, having for many years been a member of the King's Council. He died in August, 1728, aged 71 years. He had issue, eight sons and five daughters.

Abraham, one of the sons of Abraham de Peyster and Catharina de Peyster, was born on the 28th of August, 1696, and married, on the 1st of July, 1722, Margaret, the eldest daughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt (son of Hon. Oloff Stevens Van Cortlandt and Annetje Lockermans) and Eva Philipse.[1] Abraham was made Treasurer of the Province of New York on the 2d of June, 1721, and remained in office until his death, which occurred on the 17th of September, 1767, aged 71 years. He had issue, five sons and six daughters. One of his children, James, who married Sarah, a daughter of the Hon. Joseph Reade, was the grandfather of the late James F. de Peyster, and another child, Elizabeth, married Matthew Clarkson, and is now represented by the descendants of her grandchildren, John Charlton

Clarkson, and Maria Charlton, wife of John L. Holthuysen.

Johannes, another son of Johannes de Peyster and Cornelia Lubberts, was born on the 21st of September, 1666, and married on the 10th of October, 1688, Anna Bancker, eldest daughter of Garrett Bancker and Elizabeth Dircks. Bancker came to Beverwyck about 1656, probably from Amsterdam. Mr. de Peyster was an Assessor of the Dock Ward, an Assistant Alderman of the same, Mayor of New York, and a prominent member of the Provincial Legislature, acting as Chairman of several Committees. About the year 1710, he visited his relatives in Holland. He had issue, seven sons and five daughters. One of his daughters, Cornelia, married Matthew, a son of Matthew Clarkson, Secretary of the Province of New York, by his wife, Catharina Van Schaick, and had issue, who became the ancestors of the Philadelphia branch of the Clarkson family. Cornelia survived her husband Matthew Clarkson, and married Gilbert Tennent.

Extracted from the Pedigree of the de Peyster family by Maj.-Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, and from Valentine's Manual for 1861, *p.* 556.

NOTE—[1] See article, Frederick Philipse, in the "Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society," vol. 1, p. 362, and de Peyster pedigree, p. 117, and "Potter's American Monthly," vol. 4, p. 332.

APPENDIX B.

THE FAMILY OF FLOWER.

Enoch Flower came to America with the Proprietaries and was appointed by William Penn on the 26th of October 1683, the first schoolmaster in the Colony of Pennsylvania, "having exercised the like employment in England during a period of twenty years."

Henry Flower, the son of Enoch Flower, was born in 1660 and married Elizabeth Paschall in 1689. Of this marriage there was issue, seven children.

Enoch Flower, 2d, son of Henry, was born in 1705, married Ann, daughter of John and Elizabeth Jones. Of this marriage there were nine children. As shown on the records of the Pine Street Monthly Meeting, Enoch Flower, 2d, died January 21st, 1773. His will was probated February 2d, 1773. He signed the Provincial paper money for the year 1756, was one of the original contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1751, and number two of the original members of the Colony and State in Schuylkill, May 1st, 1732.

Samuel Flower, brother of the above, was born in 1711, and as before stated, married Rebecca, daughter of William Branson. Their daughter Mary married Dr. Gerardus Clarkson.

Samuel Flower died on December 14th, 1769 and was buried in Christ Church grounds.

He was a man of wealth, and there are many curious and entertaining papers on file in the courts of that period, growing out of the complications of a second marriage. Also an inventory of personal effects. The will with codicils was set aside by decree of court dated February 22d, 1770. This decree is signed by

BENJAMIN CHEW,
Pres. Gen'l.

Gerardus Clarkson and Thomas Asheton, his sons-in-law, and Daniel Williams, were appointed administrators of the estate. His son Samuel Flower, Jr., inherited what is now one of the most valuable sections of the City of Philadelphia, to-wit:—"All that certain messuage, plantation and tract of land situate in Blockley Township, in the City of Philadelphia, comprising fifty-eight (58) acres, extending from the River Schuylkill to the great road leading from Philadelphia to Lancaster, with the ferry-house, ferry-wharf, landings and landing-places, to the aforesaid last described messuage and tract of land, belonging as well on the west side of said Schuylkill river as on the other side thereof."

Mrs. Clarkson and her sister Hannah, the wife of Thomas Asheton, inherited real estate from their father, situated in what was known at that time as "Society Hill."

After diligent search I fail to find any of the name, who are descendants of this family of Flower.

APPENDIX C.

THE FAMILY OF COOKE.

This work would be incomplete as a record without mention of Rev. Samuel Cooke, whose strong character, loyalty to conscience, and devotion to his family under the most trying circumstances, is a precious heirloom handed down from the past to his descendants.

Samuel Cooke was born in London, in 1723, a graduate of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, he was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Ely, in the Chapel belonging to Caius College, June 5th, 1748. Ordained Priest by Thomas Haytee, Bishop of Norwich. His first charge was at Beccles, in Suffolk County, England, where he remained for two years, and preached his farewell sermon there on May 6th, 1751. In the same year he was licensed by the Bishop of London, (Dr. Sherlock,) to perform the ministerial office in Monmouth County, N. J., and was stationed at Shrewsbury, as a missionary of the society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, with churches at Middletown and Freehold, and the region round about, over which he had jurisdiction. It has been well said, that "nothing but the love of souls, and a desire to establish permanently on this continent the church they so strongly loved, could have induced the early missionaries of the mother church of England, to leave the comforts and

CHRIST CHURCH, SHREWSBURY, NEW JERSEY.

ERECTED 1769

congenial associations of their English homes, to spend a life of weariness and labour among rude and unaccustomed scenes." In 1766, such had been the growth of this mission that it was divided, and Mr. Cooke confined his labors to Shrewsbury and Middletown. Among the earliest of the Colonial Churches, is that of Christ Church, Shrewsbury, N. J. From the best information to be had, it is quite certain that the first church built in Shrewsbury, was between 1703 and 1705. The second 1748, and the present building 1769. On the corner-stone are Mr. Cooke's initials, S. C., with date 1769. At a meeting of the vestry on July 10th, of that year, it appears that in placing the new structure there was a difference of opinion as to where the north-east corner should be fixed. It was finally voted to place it two feet south of the front of the old building. The timber was given by Captain Haggerty. All the materials are yet sound, and, if well cared for will last another century. In its external form, the church to-day remains the same. It once had the high pulpit and sounding board, and high backed pews; the reader will find an illustration of the building as it stands to-day, also a canopied pew. These illustrations reproduced by kind permission of the Century Company, are taken from an article on Christ Church, Shrewsbury, N. J., by Edward Eggleston in Century Magazine, May 1888.

There are two of these canopied pews; one used on the right, then as now for the rector's family, the other is now

used as a Baptistery, in the olden time by the Governor and family.

The large Bible, still used, and in perfect preservation, was presented during the Rectorship of Mr. Cooke, in 1752, by Robert Elliston, at the time General Controller of his Majesty's Customs in New York. The old Prayer Book was presented in June 1752, by Hon. William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, and the last Royal Governor of New Jersey, who held the office from 1763 to 1776. In 1844, the recess chancel was added. The present windows were placed in 1867, the chancel window being presented in memory of the De Hart family, who were long identified with this church. The side windows were, in part, the gift of St. Thomas' Church, New York. On one occasion during the Revolutionary war, the church narrowly escaped destruction by fire. A company of soldiers was encamped in and around it, and entertained no friendly feeling in its favor, from the fact that the royal crown of George III, which is still there, adorned the steeple. They often fired their muskets at this emblem of British rule; but as this did not bring it down, they set it on fire. It was fortunately discovered and the building rescued from the flames.

At the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, in 1851, the Rev. Harry Finch, for thirty-four years the devoted rector of Christ Church, delivered an address in which I find the following: "In 1751, Mr. Thompson was succeeded by

CANOPIED PEW IN THE OLD CHURCH AT SHREWSBURY, NEW JERSEY.

Rev. Samuel Cooke, whose faithfulness and devotion in this parish, secured the love and esteem of his Parishioners. He remained here a much longer time, than any of his predecessors, and would no doubt have finished his days here, but for the troubles of the Revolutionary war. However he remained here until 1775, when his life was threatened on account of his loyalty to the government to which he had taken the oath of allegiance. Making his escape, he went from Long Branch on board a British man of war, and on his arrival in England, was appointed Chaplain in the army.

"It was his misfortune to live in troublous times, and nothing but the most conscientious scruples could have induced him to leave a family of small children and motherless, and flee to the arms of the mother country for protection."

The church of England in the colonies and the missionaries sent out by the venerable society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts were associated largely with England, and came in for a share of the odium merited by her rulers, and many of the missionaries, whose support was withdrawn, were compelled to abandon the country; of such was Rev. Samuel Cooke. So great was the depletion, that at the end of the war in 1784, but three clergymen remained in Pennsylvania.

In the first convention of the church, assembled at Philadelphia, April 30th, 1760, we find Rev. Mr. Cooke, and other

missionaries from New Jersey present, with the kind intention of giving advice and assistance.*

On October 1st, 1766, an important convention was held in the old church at Shrewsbury, for the purpose of discussing the necessity and importance of having an American Episcopate. The name of Dr. Chandler appears as President, and Jarvis, Seabury, Inglis and Cooke as being present.

In October 1767, at a meeting of the Clergy at Elizabethtown N. J., it was resolved to appoint a committee to frame some plan for the relief of the clergy and their families—and in pursuance of the appointment, the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church, N. Y.; the Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, President of King's College; the Rev. Samuel Cooke, of Shrewsbury, N. J., and the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the well known Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, drew up for the approbation of their brethren a scheme for a company to be known as "the corporation for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen in the communion of the church of England in America."

The Rev. Mr. Cooke, married Graham Kearney, daughter of Michael Kearney and Sarah Morris, his wife, of Burlington, N. J. Among the loose fragments of the early records of Christ Church, Shrewsbury, N. J., is this entry: "Buried, September 25th, 1771, Mrs. Graham Cooke, wife of Rev.

* Life, Dr. William Smith, vol. I, page 263.

Samuel Cooke, place of interment, Shrewsbury, officiating clergyman, her husband;" also the interment of a son Thomas, November 14th, 1763. Among the Baptisms, are those of their eight children.

It is said that when Mr. Cooke bid farewell to his five motherless daughters and only son, it was in full confidence that the war would soon be over, and that very soon he would return to his family, but alas, for his hopes ten long years of separation passed ere this devoted family became united once more. His children at this time were grown up, the youngest Lydia, being in her seventeenth year.

Here is a copy of an old letter, now yellow with age, its faded ink and formal patient writing seem to take one back to the time when this fond parent was able definitely to announce his return. During his absence, his second daughter Sarah, had married Dr. Elisha Newell, of Allentown, N. J.

"London, No. 10, John Street.

"Wednesday, June 1st, 1785.

"My Dear Michael:

"In my last letters to America, about three weeks ago, by Dr. Chandler, and by whom I sent a few things for your sisters, and a box of medicines to Dr. Newell, I then informed you that I intended taking my passage in a ship called the Warrior, but as she was to stop at Cork, considering the loss of time, as she may be detained there longer

than I should have wished—for these reasons, I altered my mind and have engaged my passage on board the Brig Chester, Captain Bell, bound to Halifax and St. John's River.

"I expect to embark some time next week, as the vessel is to fall down to Gravesend on Monday next. I am busy now in preparing my baggage, and shall put it on board to-morrow or next day, so that I am at present pretty much hurried, yet I thought it right to give you this intelligence, acquainting you that I hope very soon to be every day drawing nearer to you all, and that we shall ere long have at last a happy meeting.

"Major Frank Kearney, by whom, I mentioned in my last my intention of writing to you, has deferred his voyage to America for the present. If you see Dr. Chandler, remember me to him and tell him, that Dr. Cooper died at Edinburgh, the 10th of last month.

"My duty, love and respects, where due, and be assured that I am your most affectionate Father.

"Samuel Cooke."

Besides this manuscript letter, there is in the possession of a member of the family a manuscript sermon, from the text, "Blessed are they that mourn," written in clear bold hand, with ink fresh looking and legible, which Mr. Cooke preached in Beccles, England, 1750; Shrewsbury, 1761; and Fredericton, 1793.

The later career of Rev. Mr. Cooke, is so clearly stated by a citizen of the Province of New Brunswick, where he ended his days, that I avail myself of it to quote at length.*

THE REVEREND SAMUEL COOKE, D.D.

"Dr. Cooke, who has been justly styled 'The father of the English Church in New Brunswick,' received his education at the University of Cambridge, England, and after being admitted to Holy Orders, was sent out to New Jersey, U. S., by the S. P. G., in or about the year 1751. In 1774, he went to England and did not return to the United States. In 1785, he was appointed Missionary to New Brunswick. On 18th August of that year he landed at Halifax, N. S., where he received a hearty welcome from Governor Parr. Living in a time when there were no railways and steamboats, Mr. Cooke was obliged to come to St. John, N. B., by a circuitous route. To get there he travelled two hundred miles in a fortnight, landing on 2d September, 1785. In a letter to the S. P. G., Mr. Cooke speaks of the kindness he received from his congregation, who were for the most part 'very indigent.' About eighteen months before Mr. Cooke's arrival, a house, thirty-six feet by twenty-eight, had been purchased for a church; but, owing to the want of money and other

*A Historical sketch of the the first fifty years of the church of England, in the Province of New Brunswick, 1783 to 1833, by G. Herbert Lee, A. M., barrister at law, published at the request of "The New Brunswick Historical Society," 1880.

causes, it was in such an unfinished state as to be very inconvenient and uncomfortable for the performance of Divine worship. Dr. Cooke at once set to work to remedy the evil. A vestry was called and £90 raised from the principal inhabitants, with which they ceiled the house and erected a gallery in the front and at each end. This building was used until the opening of 'Old Trinity' in 1791. . . In addition to his regular pastoral work at St. John, Mr. Cooke visited in November, 1785, Campobello, St. Andrews and Digdeguash. He speaks of St. Andrews as being situated on the Bay of Passamaquoddy, about twenty leagues distant from St. John. The town was then well settled, and consisted of two hundred houses. Owing to the want of a Missionary to perform religious offices, there were no less than sixty children who had never been baptized, which gave their parents 'great uneasiness.' Influenced by the necessity of the case and desires of the people, coupled with the request of the Governor, who had just been there, Mr. Cooke undertook a long and somewhat perilous voyage in order to carry his ministrations where they were indeed required. He set out for his destination in a brig on the 6th November, 1785; but, owing to the severe weather and adverse winds, did not reach Campobello until the 13th. On this Island, distant five leagues from St. Andrews, he landed, read prayers and preached to the settlers. He baptized a woman forty years of age and her child of two years old, besides five other children. On the 16th of November, Mr.

Cooke reached St. Andrews, where he was kindly received and hospitably entertained by the people. During his visit he stayed at the house of Robert Pagan, Esquire. On the following Sunday he read prayers and preached to a 'very decent and respectable congregation,' and performed fifty baptisms. Mr. Cooke then crossed the bay to Digdeguash, where he baptized ten more. In this last named place he was detained three days in consequence of the cold weather. Returning to St. Andrews, he baptized twelve more children. More would have been baptized had not the extremely cold weather prevented those living in the country from bringing their children to the clergyman. Upon his return to St. John, Mr. Cooke found the work of the church quietly, but steadily progressing. The little Church, which had been temporarily erected had been pewed and furnished with a reading desk, a pulpit and stoves. In this work, Mr. Cooke says, that much credit is due Mr. Isaac Lawton. During the first four months of his stay in St. John, he baptized twenty-six white persons and six blacks; married ten persons and buried only four. Owing to the salubrity of the climate there were few deaths. On New Year's Day (1786,) Mr. Cooke had twenty-five Communicants at the administration of the Sacrament. Owing to the extreme cold upon that occasion, few women attended service; but the clergyman 'going warmly clothed stood it tolerably well.' On Easter Day (1786,) he had thirty-eight communicants, and on Whitsunday, forty-six. . . . The Society allowed Dr. Cooke £60 stg.

per annum. Owing to the seat of Government being changed from St. John to Fredericton, Mr. Cooke removed to the latter place in 1786. To use his own words, he left 'happy in the reflection that his unremitted endeavors to establish the Church at St. John had been so far effectual that he left his successor in possession of a decent, well-furnished Church, with a very respectable and well-behaved congregation.' During his period of labor in St. John, St. Andrews and elsewhere, he baptized one hundred and fifty-three persons, thirteen of whom were negroes. Mr. Cooke arrived at Fredericton in August, 1786, and preached the first Sunday after his arrival to sixty or seventy persons in the King's Provision Store, the only place in which a congregation could be accommodated; but being afterwards glazed and fitted up was thus rendered more commodious and comfortable. . . . . The congregation seldom exceeded one hundred persons. On Christmas Day, 1786, Mr. Cooke had only fourteen communicants. Before the conclusion of the year he had baptized twenty-three white, three black infants, and one adult; married five couples, and buried one person. In 1787, the Imperial Parliament made a grant of £2,000 for the purpose of building Churches in New Brunswick, a share of which was allotted to Fredericton. Mr. Cooke accordingly set about the erection of a Church: £500 being given towards that object by Government, and over £150 by Governor Carleton. Little was contributed by the people as they were

'very indigent.' Owing to this and other causes the Church was not completed until 1790. In addition to his money donation, Governor Carleton furnished the Church in a handsome manner. Mr. Cooke, who resided near the Nashwaak, opposite Fredericton, describes Fredericton as being in length upon the river about six miles, and in breadth, back into the woods, about three. Number of inhabitants (1790) four hundred; one hundred of whom attended Church. This number did not include the officers and soldiers of the 54th Regt., who were most regular and constant in their attendance. In 1788, Mr. Cooke baptized a family, a man and his wife and their two children; also another family of seven children; besides these, twenty-eight white children, two black adults and one black infant. He married nine couples and buried only one person, an Officer of the 54th Regt. During this year Mr. Cooke visited St. John upon the death of Mr. Bissett, administered the Sacrament to about forty persons, and baptized nine children. In 1789, thirty-one white and two black children and one black adult were baptized; thirteen persons married and four buried. In the year 1790, Mr. Cooke was appointed Ecclesiastical Commissary to the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and visited Nashwaak twice, where he performed several baptisms. In 1791, he instituted Mr. Price of Newfoundland to the parish of St. Mary's, Nashwaak, the largest in the County, extending twelve miles in front upon the river St. John and running back into the country upwards of twenty.

It was divided into four districts—one on the river Nashwaak, another on the Penneyock, a third on the river Nashwaaksis (Little Nashwaak), and the fourth on the river Madamekeswick. In 1790, Mr. Cooke, acting on behalf of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, summoned the clergy of the Province to Fredericton, and received reports from the various missions. All attended except Dr. Byles, who was ill. The meeting was highly satisfactory, it being found that the clergy were diligent and the missions in a flourishing state. In September, 1794, Dr. Cooke called them together for the second time, and reported to the S. P. G. 'the respectability and regularity of all their missionaries in the Province.' But the time was now approaching when this indefatigable and faithful missionary was to be removed from the scene of his labor. His death took place in the following manner. He had been making some parochial visits in Fredricton, and was returning to his home on the opposite side of the river with his son in a bark canoe. The night of Saturday, May 23d, 1795, was dark and windy; a sudden squall upset the canoe and both father and son were drowned, in spite of the manly efforts of the latter to save his aged parent. Bishop Inglis, in writiting to the S. P. G., said:—'Never was a minister of the Gospel more beloved and esteemed or more universally lamented in his death. All the respectable people, not only of his parish but of the neighboring conntry, went into deep mourning on this meloncholy occasion.'"

The following lines in memory of Mr. Cooke and his son may be seen in St. Ann's (Christ) Church, Fredericton, N. B:

"Sacred
to the memory of the
Rev. Samuel Cooke, D. D.,
the first Rector of this Church,
and first Ecclesiastical Commissary of the Province,
who, in crossing the river St. John,
to his own home,
from attending the duties of his office at Fredericton,
was unfortunately drowned,
on the 23rd day of May, MDCCXCV, in the 72nd year of
his age.
His philanthropy and those virtues which had secured
to him universal esteem, respect and affection
through life
occasioned his death to be as generally and sincerely
lamented.
Erected as an affectionate tribute of esteem
by
The Wardens and Vestry of this Church.
'A Tribute
to the filial affection and distinguished fortitude of
Mr. Michael Cooke,
son of the Rev. Saml. Cooke, D.D., Rector of this Church,
who in his manly efforts and persevering struggles
to preserve the life of his Venerable Parent
in the moment of drowning
added to the public calamity by the loss of his own
in the full vigor of health,
and 31st year of his age.
In him perished an example as worthy of
imitation in the various pursuits and conduct
of his life,
as in the virtuous sensibility and heroic piety
with which it closed.
MDCCXCV (1795.)"