

Wrestling the “Pale Faced Messenger”: The Diary of Edward Garrigues During the 1798 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic

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“On passing through a sick neighborhood,” Edward Garrigues confided to his diary in 1798, “the cries of a child arrested my progress by its moans for its departed mother and in vain I offered to Console this poor orphan. And surely the cries ‘Oh my mother is dead, my mother is dead’ vibrating in my heart at present ought to excite thankfulness on my part that this language has not been applicable in my own house.” Philadelphia endured a host of epidemics during the initial century and a quarter of its existence, but few exacted a greater toll in lives and suffering than the yellow fever attack of 1798. During this outbreak, Garrigues, a devout Quaker and wealthy carpenter, kept a diary, a portion of which is reprinted below, which recorded his feelings, thoughts, and actions as well as the horror the pestilence caused as it spread throughout the city. The diary remains a frightening and intensely personal first-hand account of a city under siege by a micro-biological enemy.¹

Yellow fever ravaged Philadelphia sporadically after the city’s founding in 1682. The worst attack transpired in 1699 when one-third of the white residents and numerous slaves died. The disease appeared at least five more times during the colonial era, and mortality rates mounted to extraordinary heights in 1741 and 1762. After an absence of more than three decades, yellow fever again struck in 1793, tripling mortality and attracting national concern. The city’s inhabitants endured death rates as high as one of every ten inhabitants during the 1793 epidemic (although not all fatalities resulted from yellow fever). Among residents who did not or could not take sanctuary outside the city during the epidemic, the carnage was considerably higher: perhaps one of every five died. Yellow fever continued to claim lives in the Quaker City nearly every year for the next dozen years. The disease also attacked other northern urban centers, including New York and Boston, during the 1790s and the first decade of the nineteenth century.²

The 1798 outbreak, during which Edward Garrigues kept his diary, took a sensationally heavy toll. Mortality was startlingly elevated, even greater than in 1793. Of those who remained in the city throughout the epidemic, one of every three died.³ The primary cause of this great devastation was that so few people stayed in the city to aid the afflicted. Adequate nursing care, especially providing the stricken with sufficient water, was (and remains even today) the major factor in saving the lives of infected patients. But convinced that they

could offer little effective medical treatment, and not unaware of the great mortality physicians suffered during previous epidemics, most doctors left the city. African-Americans, who constituted many of the nurses during previous epidemics, also departed in large numbers, convinced by their experience in the preceding years that blacks did not enjoy a special immunity to the disease, as some whites had erroneously contended.⁴

Just as the greater movement of people and commodities in our own time has spread diseases rapidly and potentially on a global scale, so migration and trade bore similar ghastly consequences for the Atlantic World during the eighteenth century. In that era, Philadelphians engaged in brisk overseas commerce, primarily with Europe and the West Indies. Ships docking from Ireland, England, and Germany often disembarked passengers with typhoid, typhus, smallpox, various “ship fevers” and other ailments which spread to and killed many of the city’s residents.⁵

Vessels arriving from the Caribbean or the coastal South occasionally carried people infected with yellow fever as well as the *Aedes aegypti*, the only species of mosquitoes capable of transporting the virus. A disease commonly found in the tropics and initially conveyed to the New World from Africa, yellow fever is transmitted from one sick person to another through the bite of the *Aedes aegypti*. Mosquitoes aboard ships docking in Philadelphia discovered a congenial home along the waterfront and in Dock Creek, a stream so polluted in the 1790s that it barely oozed through the southern center of town to the Delaware River. The *Aedes aegypti* adapts particularly well to urban conditions, since it breeds in tiny pools contained in water casks aboard ships and in rain barrels stored next to homes. The mosquito’s limited range explains why yellow fever usually occurred near the waterfront in port cities but rarely in the countryside. Like other diseases spread by insects, yellow fever appeared seasonally, usually beginning in late July or August in Philadelphia, peaking in September and October, then subsiding quickly in November as freezing weather incapacitated and then killed the messengers of death.⁶

The yellow fever virus invades the liver, producing a yellow color in its host and giving the disease its name. Victims commonly suffer fever, headaches, abdomen pain, yellow skin and eyes, red blood flowing from their mouth and nose, and black vomit (from blood that hemorrhages into the stomach). The disease frequently is fatal within a few days. Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, two black Philadelphians who nursed many of the afflicted during the 1793 epidemic, described how their patients:

were taken with a chill, a headach, a sick stomach, with pain in their limbs and back, this was the way the sickness in general began, but not all were affected alike. . . . what confirmed us in the opinion of a person being smitten was the colour of their eyes. In some it raged

more furiously than in others—some have languished for seven and ten days . . . while others were cut off in one, two, or three days.⁷

The Reverend Nicholas Collin, the rector of Gloria Dei Church, conveyed the ordeal of such a death, noting that Elizabeth Ervin vomited for nine days and “bled from nose and mouth a quart” before succumbing to the disease. Understandably, these symptoms produced intense horror among healthy Philadelphians, causing many to flee in panic. Indeed, Collin believed that Nicholas Forsberg, one of his parishioners, “got sick [and died] by fright after imagining that he saw a man very yellow.”⁸

Physicians hotly debated the nature and treatment of yellow fever in 1793. But by 1798 most doctors, except a few associated with the prominent Benjamin Rush, correctly concluded that the disease was imported from tropical areas, that it was not contagious, and that heroic measures such as excessive bleeding and strong purgatives were inappropriate since the illness was all but incurable. The medical community and city officials consequently were nearly unanimous in recommending that people should evacuate the city until the disease subsided.⁹

As a result, Philadelphians responded to the 1798 epidemic considerably differently than they had to earlier yellow fever outbreaks. The vast majority of citizens—as many as 80 percent, by a contemporary estimate—fled in 1798, compared to about 40 percent of the inhabitants who left the city five years earlier. Affluent Philadelphians rented, often at outrageous prices, rooms in homes in nearby villages, the occupants of which now accommodated Philadelphians in their communities since they no longer believed that yellow fever was contagious. For families of the middling and lower classes who lacked such financial resources, officials and ordinary citizens constructed several makeshift “tent camps.” The western encampment along the Schuylkill River and the northern one in Masters’ Fields each drew approximately 2,000 desperate refugees. The citizens also established a temporary hospital near the western camp, to which 899 afflicted people were brought in carts during the epidemic. Philadelphians dreaded being admitted to the hospital, since 58 percent of its patients perished. The grim reaper was so active at the hospital that the dozen grave diggers initially buried two or three people in a grave, but eventually dug several long trenches to inter 3,000 of the dead.¹⁰

Although numerous affluent people fell victim to yellow fever, the virus was class specific, taking an especially heavy toll among Philadelphia’s laboring people. When the tent camps filled, many poorer citizens were left with no place of escape—the sole successful prophylactic measure available to the inhabitants. As one newspaper essayist recognized during the 1797 epidemic, departing the city was impossible for “the poor who have neither places to remove to or funds for their support, as they depend on their daily labour, for

daily supplies.” For the thousands confined in the Quaker City, economic activity virtually ceased. Shops closed, construction halted, the main market moved outside of town, ship captains declined to dock their vessels, and farmers refused to carry food into the city. Nearly all employment disappeared. Poorer residents thus found themselves trapped in the city, vulnerable to the ravages of the malady. The inferior diets, overcrowded housing, and substandard sanitary conditions that characterized the lives of many destitute people further intensified their susceptibility to yellow fever. Even if they did not contract the disease, they suffered from unemployment, poverty, and, in some cases, deprivation of the necessities of life. As a result, the “sufferings of the poor, and, indeed of many others in the middling circumstances,” lamented one contemporary, “were extreme.”¹¹

Admirably, Edward Garrigues was dedicated to alleviating that suffering. Like the biblical Jacob who wrestled the angel, Garrigues envisioned himself as wrestling the “pale faced messenger” of death. “Believing this City my proper place,” he decided to remain there throughout the 1798 epidemic, in part, to help “better the situation of some of my fellow creatures who are now suffering under poverty and disease.”¹² He spent many of his days nursing the ill, comforting their loved ones, and arranging for interments. October 30 was typical: “This day has been nearly [totally] occupied by attending on the sick.” Besides his commitment to aiding the afflicted in a private fashion, Garrigues served on a committee of a dozen men appointed by the Board of Hospitals and the Guardians of the Poor to relieve citizens “not in a situation to remove” from the city. While “publicly attending to the wants of the infirm poor in Company with my Colleagues on this appointment,” he prayed, “May my heart be always ready to attend to their wants with alacrity.”¹³

Garrigues was born in 1756, probably in the Philadelphia region, the tenth of twelve children of Samuel and Mary Ralph Garrigues. In 1779 he married Margaret Price, a fellow Quaker who lived in Darby (a small town southwest of Philadelphia), when both were twenty-three years old. Their first child was born in 1780, and Margaret bore five more children during the next fifteen years. Hannah (born 1780) and Mary (born 1782)—both mentioned in the diary—lived long lives, while Benjamin, three years old in 1798, lived another 18 years. As was characteristic of the times, though, three of the children did not survive their infancy: James and Martha died when only a few months old, and Edward Junior barely reached his third birthday. When yellow fever struck in 1793, 1797, and 1798, Edward Garrigues was thus already far too familiar with death.¹⁴

Shortly after marriage, Edward and Margaret moved into the Cherry Alley home which they continued to occupy two decades later, during the 1798 epidemic. Located in the center of town, just south of the major market and only a block from the primary Quaker meetinghouse, the neighborhood was

one of the city's wealthiest and most desirable areas. It reflected Edward's elevated status at the end of the century. He was a carpenter and "master builder" (a building contractor), "elected to the Carpenter's Company in 1793," a mark of considerable prestige. In 1798 he numbered among the richest ten percent of Philadelphia taxpayers, owning his home and an outbuilding, a riding coach and structure in which to store it, and a horse, cow, and several adjacent houses which he rented to laboring men and their families. Garrigues added four more properties to his holdings the following year. His extraordinary success may help explain his continual struggle between his quest for material goods and spiritual fulfillment. In various diary entries he alternated between taking pleasure "that I have not been pursuing the World much today," and condemning himself because the "greater part [of the day] has been employed in too great a desire after temporals."¹⁵

As a young man, Edward's spirited personality caused some to question the depth of his religious convictions because he did not appear to exemplify the "mild and subdued character of a Friend."¹⁶ During the War for Independence, for example, Edward engaged in a brief physical altercation with an officer in the Revolutionary Army who accused the Quakers in general and his father-in-law in particular of sympathizing with the Tories. Such behavior contradicted the Quaker commitment to pacifism. However, his 1798 diary (written while in his forties) demonstrates the depth of his dedication to both God and humanity. Indeed, the journal frequently reads like a series of daily prayers as Garrigues praises God for "His Abundant Mercy," groans about "my own nothingness," and strives to prepare "to meet the Bridegroom of Souls."¹⁷

Garrigues began keeping his diary on August 2, 1798, just a few days after the first cases of yellow fever occurred that summer. Like many other Quakers, he intended his journal "for my own instruction." Through daily reflection and introspection, Garrigues hoped to "lastingly profit by [identifying] my many mistakes and errors" and thereby to "advance" on "the Heavenly Journey."¹⁸

Garrigues's diary instructs us about the horror involved in an epidemic and the ways in which people and their community responded to that crisis. It also reveals a great deal about life in America's capitol and premier city at the close of the eighteenth century. The nature of power relationships among men and women, as only one example, is evident in the journal. Edward agonized about whether he and his family should flee Philadelphia. Besides mitigating the suffering, he decided to remain in the city both as a test of his own faith and out of a sense of martyrdom—"to suffer with the sufferers." Apparently, however, this important decision was a highly personal one which Garrigues made without consulting his wife. Much like Elizabeth Drinker, another wealthy Quaker whose husband made the decision to send her out of the city,

Margaret Garrigues seemingly waited patiently while her husband made a potentially life-and-death decision for her. Although she contracted yellow fever, Margaret fortunately survived and lived for another fourteen years. Edward remarried in 1814 and had two more children before dying in 1845.¹⁹

We have selectively edited the journal, deleting approximately half of the text (much of it spiritual reflection) of the hundred-day diary. For ease of reading, we occasionally silently altered punctuation and spelling, did not include ellipses, and highlighted the date of entries.

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The Diary of Edward Garrigues

August 2nd, 1798: Returned from New York where I had been to offer to accompany my dearest friends Mary Prior and Elizabeth Foulke to [Philadelphia]. I concluded to return to our own [Quarterly Meeting]²⁰ in company with my sister Haydock, Hannah Jackson and her companion Phebe Smith of Long Island whose company was very acceptable. As however unworthy to attend those solemn opportunities, yet it appears needful to offer to sit with my betters in hopes of partaking of the crumbs that may be dispensed. **3rd:** Since my return home I find an increasing alarm in many minds respecting the progressing of an Epidemic Fever with which our city has been of latter years more frequently visited.

5th: First day²¹ attended two meetings at our North house,²² which to me proved consoling, hoping even though we of this City have so backslidden. May this prove as a further excitement to my mind and when disposed to indifferency or lukewarmness be instructively remembered.

6th: This day our Quarterly Meeting impending. May Thou, O my Soul, seek for and strive to obtain a suitable qualification to sit in those meetings appointed for Church Discipline so as to be profited by the many Blessed opportunities offered in Mercy.

7th: The meeting of business yesterday closed at one satisfactory sitting to me and I hope my mind reduced in some degree under the apprehension of a nomination to attend our approaching yearly meeting. May this still serve as a prompter to walk more circumspect, knowing my own great proneness to wrong things. Attended the meeting appointed for the youth, which was a favoured one, towards the close of which my endeared friend Ruth Anna Rutter appeared qualified to approach the Throne of Grace in humble supplication which proved very consoling to my mind. In the afternoon attended a meeting for the Blacks which was on the whole satisfactory, but would have been more so could those poor people be brought to more punctuality in attendance.

8th: This day the apprehension of the prevalence of an Epidemic Fever being now in our City since confirmed to many by those appointed as Caretakers

issuing directions to vacate certain parts of the city and wharves.²³ May this, O my Soul, lead thee to examine on what ground thou stands, and however it may be the lot of any to either stay here and suffer with the sufferers, or remove with those who may be indulged with that liberty,²⁴ remember that no man is thy pattern; but that thou may be preserved attentive to that still small voice which will preserve in resignation, if not departed from, is the anxious desire at present. But Alas! for me how unstable is my poor mind. When I desire to do well, evil is present with me.

Rode this afternoon to the Upper Ferry²⁵ to attend to a small order of my valued friend Martha Rutter. It dwells on their virtues with delight. May this also prove as a stimulus to virtue that thou art often permitted to be as a companion to thy betters. On my return from the Ferry, by a fall of my horse which so affected me that I enjoyed very little time when awake without great pain in my head. If this be preparatory to my more serious illness and the Great Master will but Savour with resignation, I yet hope it may prove a blessing. **9th:** Continued poorly but not so as to prevent going to Darby²⁶ meeting this morning to suffer with my bretheren by a gainsaying spirit—which plainly exemplified the truth of that saying “That when our Sight becomes dark, great is that darkness indeed.” All things prove the necessity of a right preparation for Death, who is carrying dread through our City in different directions, None knowing who will be next, perhaps myself.

10th: This morning rather better in health. Called on to attend the last of offices to one of my former schoolmates, J. H., who hath been possessed with extensive talents as a man, which that he may have improved in best things in his latter time is my desire for him. This ought to be an additional warning and caution to my mind to prepare also for the Solemn scene which is approaching to all mankind. On retrospecting the different engagements of the day I find that the greater part has been employed in too great a desire after temporals, it being a time which to the prudent in the world’s estimation seems desirable to have their outward affairs settled. And no doubt if going to proceed on any long voyage it would be proper to provide therefore, yet how sorrowfully deficient am I in providing for the momentous one hour before me, being launched on the ocean of the world and at times doubtful, yea very doubtful whether I ever shall arrive at the Haven of Eternal Rest where I believe all that is really desirable is attained. Be thou aroused then, O my Soul, to diligence.

11th: This morning appears awful to the mind disposed to view the Solemn Scene which is apparent in our graveyard, where are actively employed several men in preparing for the reception of the bodies of those departed in the course of the night. Many minds seem more alarmed than yesterday. But to observe those who have abundantly enjoyed the goods of this life, now nearly abandoned by their connections and acquaintance, instead of the pompous

parade too frequent at burials, now behold the hearse or [riding] chair wheels bearing the body to the ground nearly unattended except by the driver thereof. Surely all those things ought to tend towards serious reflection on our situation as poor Finite Beings and Humble the mind under a sense of our own nothingness.

12th: This being the first of the week, I felt desirous though more than commonly poorly to attend our meeting, which was consoling and pleasant to observe that there were so many attending considering the circumstances of our city, which today appears much more favourable as to the outward prospect, the contagion not evidencing that malignancy which is common in this Epidemic.

14th: Our North Meeting not entirely deserted neither by the Blessed Head nor by members, though the latter much thinner than usual. It appears from the observations I have made respecting the prevailing epidemic that its virulence is not remarkable on those who are members of our Religious Society, as I believe there has not been any adult buried in our graveyard since [August] 7th.²⁷ May this space perhaps allotted for repentance be accepted with reverence by us who are yet continued on this stage of action and that our Fruits may so appear to the praise of Him who Liveth forever.

This afternoon the whole visible creation appears refreshed by a kindly rain which continued until night. May this blessing be rightly accepted, it being generally believed to be favourable to the sick, and the means of dispersing the vast numbers of Grass-hoppers in the country and near the City which have in many places nearly destroyed the vegetable productions of the earth.

15th: This morning the rain continues and the preceeding night which raised the water in the Schuylkill [River] so as to occasion the Bridge to be loosened. This seems to be generally acknowledged as a favour after so long a drauth. May we look beyond the Gift to the Great Giver of every good and perfect Gift. The minds of many, notwithstanding several continue to remove to the Country, appear to be settling down, I hope, to a quiet resignation respecting the Malignant Fever, as there appears but few in comparison with the many that have staid that have been taken with this afflictive disorder. May we be enabled to put our confidence in the Munition of Rocks is at present my anxious desire.

16th: After a night of anxiety on account of my Beloved wife's indisposition, which until after midnight was alarming, my mind was composed so that I attended High Street Meeting,²⁸ the early part of which was Satisfactory but the last public appearance savoured so much more of the man's part than the necessity of the Gospel being preached through him, that I felt burdened. In the afternoon my dear Margaret appeared somewhat relieved. May her patient suffering as it is instructive prove profitable to me.

17th: The late night like the former proved a trying one with my dear Margaret whose indisposition increased after the usual hour for bed to such a degree as to cause her great pain of body, and no small concern to my mind to see her thus afflicted, which although her patience under it is exemplary, yet to know that the beloved object of our affections is suffering without the means of mitigating it, is affecting. May it please the Great Physician of Value to assist with his healing virtue. And if in Inscrutable Wisdom I can be allowed the pleasing hope of her restoration to bodily health it would be very desirable. But what would add thereto if I could with propriety adopt the language of “not my will but Thine be done.” In the evening my dear Margaret appeared somewhat easier. May the favour of her being restored to me in health be granted is the evening prayer of her afflicted husband.

18th: This morning to my great satisfaction my beloved wife’s health was so improved as to lead to expect her being soon again in her family. May this renewed favour so humble my mind as to lead to more circumspection and religious care. Received a letter from my friend Elizabeth Foulke in which she kindly invites me to meet them at Burlington [New Jersey] Quarter [meeting]. The prevalence of the Epidemic seems now pretty generally spread and with it an idea that none really affected therewith recover. May our Confidence be placed on that Immovable Rock against which nothing can prevail; which I hope will mercifully be granted to the *pure in heart*. Oh, for more refinement of my very corrupt nature which I find retains such a powerful hold as to make it doubtful whether I do not go backward in Best things.

19th: The last evening and this morning appear awfully alarming to the mind not rightly centered as it appears to corroborate the sentiment of none who have received this putred fever recovering again, which in many instances appear like that of 1793, seizing on those who are in the prime of life and health, evidently proving that here we have no Continuing City.²⁹ I observe by the certain criterion in my own breast that I am abundantly more ready to attend to Temporals than Spirituals—for when any thing offers, as yesterday evinced, that required immediate attention in the world’s estimation, how ready the mind was disposed to unite with the body to act with vigour. When the great spiritual business for which I was created offers and with abundant more necessity pending, Oh how languid and feeble are my endeavors to press forward for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, without whose Divine interposition I certainly perish.

This being the first day attended morning meeting where yet appear more professors than I expected. May we excite one another to become *possessors* of what we appear outwardly striving for—To worship Him who Lives forever. May this additional favour excite to renewed diligence, *remembering* that some who had the means of attending Divine Worship one week since are now summoned to the *silent grave*—The Rich, the Strong not exempt. In the evening

called on to attend a poor afflicted fellow creature of the African race, now needing care, being loaded with the Smallpox. Dr. Parke kindly offered his assistance. May his benevolence meet its reward here and forever as at this time doctors are men of account in the world's estimation, more to the solid satisfaction of this one devoted to his duty.

20th: This morning attended to a small act of duty in visiting two or three widows, one of which being [a] relict³⁰ of one of the Carpenters Corporation, and it falling to my lot to attend to her.³¹ May I be enabled to do it faithfully is at present my anxious desire. Essayed a few lines to my endeared sister (who suffers me thus to call her) Ruth Anna Rutter to whom I feel as nearly united as my fleshly heart can unite with her, who I believe is rightly aspiring after everlasting righteousness. May her example stimulate to more exertion on my part to obtain the one thing needful.

21st: The apprehension of this dreaded Epidemic has now become so general as nearly to depopulate one third part of this highly favoured city,³² which appears sorrowfully loaded with disease. By the reports of the visiting physicians there are about three times as many sick today as on any day heretofore. May this urge the necessity of a right preparation on my part to meet the Awful Judge of Quick and dead Who will surely render unto every man accordingly to his works. Attended our North Meeting where those [who] met appeared more united for the purpose intended than any former sitting, or at least it so felt to me, more like the feelings which attended during the sickness in 1793 and 1797 when the Master's Presence was eminently manifested to the humbling of many minds.

22nd: This morning I felt a desire to attend Pine Street Meeting³³ where the little few met sweetly solaced with the President of all our rightly gathered assemblies. This day I have felt my mind frequently engaged in the course thereof to retrospect my past manifold deliverances and preservations. May I possess a grateful heart as I am abundantly convinced that The Sin of Ingratitude is far more prevalent than that of Witchcraft. The prevalence of this dreadful disease which pervades our City is now so general that few neighbourhoods are exempt.

23rd: This morning on considering that my family and myself are all mercifully preserved in health, an aspiration was raised in my mind. Lord, Help with a little of Thy help and let nothing divert my attention from Thy Holy Law placed in my heart. In the afternoon went to Frankford³⁴ on business with N. Waln,³⁵ who I find much better from a hurt he received from his carriage oversetting some time since.

The number of citizens now removed appears to have left a solemn quiet in our City as the streets are now become considerably thinner of inhabitants and worldly business nearly done for the present.³⁶ May this suspension have a weaning effect from pursuing it with that avidity as heretofore if the opportunity should be granted to our affrighted citizens.

24th: The continuance of the Epidemic seems somewhat stationary this few days past. But surely there never was more occasion than the present to seek for Divine Help when nearly the whole of the active members of our Religious Society are removed and going. May Thou, O My Soul, take heed on what ground thou stays when so many of thy more experienced brethren believe it right to remove from this devoted place.

25th: This day I agreed at the instance of one of my friends to assist them by going up to convey them some distance in the country on account of their own and their child's health. The evening spent in striving to mitigate the difficulty some appear likely to pass through. And on meeting my dear Stephen Grellett³⁷ about 9 in the evening, he gave up to my entreaty to spend but this night at his usual lodging but stay altogether with us as I feel uncommonly concerned for him. He appeared very much tendered under a sense of something humbling likely to ensue. This has been the most mortal day with respect to the epidemic that we have had this year, about forty persons, nearly all adults, having been interred in the course of the last twenty four hours.

26th: Soon after I arose a physician called on me to inform that our dear Stephen Grellet was taken with this dire disorder, which now seems as if it was giving the pale faced messenger full employ in our devoted City who is carrying Death throughout in almost every direction. Went as soon as I possibly could and procured assistance for my friend who now informed me that he has had a sense of his suffering with this disorder before he returned from his late religious visit to Jersey, but found his peace concerned to come and stay with us. May his exemplary patience and resignation excite in me a desire to attend to my duty with promptness. But surely this is a morning of suffering in spirit as I have not felt that even in our little meeting that which at times my soul longs after. May this also prove as a stimulus to wrestle as Jacob did.

How humbling at meeting! No women in either gallery and but four men friends of any description in the men's. May this absense of many of the forefront excite some of us to industry lest we should be found inadequate to hold our Religious Assemblies. The outward prospect of things amongst us this day appears sufficient to excite some to diligence. The contagion has been doubted by many until now, which sentiment I believe is likely to be abandoned as it is apparent in many instances. Called to visit some of those afflicted in body, to my own satisfaction, and I hope no disadvantage to the sick.

27th: Called amongst the rest to see my dear friend Stephen [Grellett], who for the present is apparently better. May, if consistent with Divine Wisdom, this humble Christian be retained yet a little longer with us is my anxious desire.

28th: This morning arose with an aspiration after Best things and never felt my mind more disposed to acknowledge the mercy of the Most High, which surely is unmerited by me. Went round in the morning before our monthly meeting visiting the sick with peculiar satisfaction. May this be an instructive lesson to me: "Be Thou also ready."

My fears have been of late that the little few would scarcely be able to conduct the business of the monthly meeting when the time came for holding it, in which I am glad to find my error. In the evening on viewing the past day I am glad to find less of the day spent in following my own way than trying to serve my sick friends who stand in need of assistance, the Fever having now manifestly increased. It behooves some of us while their tender connections are promulgating the glad tidings of the Glorious Gospel of Christ that at least We, sons of earth, should strive by acts of humanity that remain in us to mitigate the severity of this epidemic, which is apparently more mortal than in the year 1793, considering the numbers now in the City.

29th: This morning, although sensible of the satisfaction resulting from even one day being spent not serving myself, yet I find I am utterly incapable of feeding on yesterday's manna to any profit. May I, like the good old Jacob, wrestle until I obtain that Blessing which surely will not be withdrawn without good cause, being manifestly requisite to strive to obtain. I find my dear friend Stephen continues so poorly as to create some anxiety for his preservation in mutability. His doctor has been taken ill the last night, which makes it trying to have an entire stranger who attends him today. Several of those I have visited this morning appear as if they may recover.

In the afternoon was pleased to find our kind friend Dr. Griffiths has attended dear Stephen, who is now lying in his usual resigned state, which appears the general situation of the families I have been with. Called on the mother in law of S. Savery's nurse to attempt to prepare her mind for the approaching dissolution of her late son's widow, Ann Pursell, who to assist her ancient mother has shared her earnings with her to support her drooping frame, now much debilitated by old age, being 74. And no visible means of support but by the assistance of this daughter, who lived but a few hours after my information to the distressed mother. Surely the bitterness of some of the cups now offered cannot be partaken of by flesh and blood without shrinking. In the evening, being called to attend to a small duty, my mind on passing the streets was instructed by the solemnity that appeared even at an early hour. The streets by no means crowded with passengers but such a quiet as to lead silently to inquire the cause within myself which tended not unprofitably to my own mind.

30th: Another morning has appeared with considerable calm on the mind and a small aspiration, "Lord preserve as hitherto now in this time of general sickness." When the Blessing of health is continued the mind is more likely to value this favour, as it really ought at all times. But when the many are taken daily and I am thus far preserved it enhances the obligation to my God that I walk consistent with His Holy requirements. This day has been nearly occupied by attending on the sick, except a small space at High Street meeting which I was inclined to attend, not knowing how soon the means may be withheld.

After which I received an affectionate letter from my very dear friend R. A. Rutter, who with her valued mother appeared to have their trials renewed by one of their near and dear relatives being taken ill with this dreadful contagious disorder and which put a period to his life.

My anxiety on account of dear Stephen has increased this day although the doctor's report as yet favourable. But I may acknowledge I apprehend a removal from works to rewards, and when attempting a visit in the evening, he discouraged the nurse from admitting me under an apprehension that his situation would be likely to communicate the disease—which now seems to have augmented greatly through the City.

31st: This morning appeared with the favour of health to my whole family. Early in the morning was called on to assist or care for the interment of one of the children of a friend. This now seems nearly a daily occupation. Our dear Stephen Grellet appears somewhat better this evening. May this innocent, valued brother in mercy to us be raised again. In the course of this day my mind, as I have proceeded through the habitations of the sick and hearing them call upon the name of the Lord for help, was sadly affecting and humbling.

September 1st: Once more the morning approached without disease in my family. May I rightly praise this favour. Was called before quite day to attend to providing for the body of one of our members—Cut off, like a beautiful flower, from this stage of action. She being now about her 20th year. May this still continue the warning to my mind “Be Thou also ready.”

Now is the latter part of the evening I may thankfully acknowledge that I have been mercifully helped far beyond my deserts, Death having triumphed over Nature in an awful manner this few days past. And if it please not the Great Arm to stay his ravages ere long, I conceive this once favoured City will become a resort for other than the Human species. In the course of the day I have been glad to feel my heart tendered on seeing the accumulated distress which I have witnessed, and even glad that I am here, believing this City my proper place, Even if greater suffering be in addition to my present sensations, which from any outward observation is likely, yea very likely to be my portion. May the Lord sustain in every trying hour.

2nd: This morning appeared again with health in my family. The night past being much disturbed in my sleep under an apprehension of the distress of my fellow creatures of this neighbourhood, Being several times raised up in the night under this idea.

It is now one month by this date since I made a beginning of these Remarks. The greater part of this time has been under heavy affliction of sickness in our City—and what advance have I made on the Heavenly Journey? Verily but small, if any. Lord, quicken to more diligence.

At noon my dear Margaret appeared so indisposed as to cause some anxiety on her account. The trying scenes of the day, wherein I have not dared to ask

my own life, but a desire raised that if I die it may be near the feet of a Merciful Redeemer, for surely vain is the help of man. It evidently appears at present that we of this City are in nearly equal jeopardy with the Israelites of Old when their enemies pursued behind, the Sea before, and no human prospect of escape.³⁸ And verily now with us it will be a real favour if we are enabled to praise Him who rescued them on the Banks of Deliverance. As I hope the awful scenes which I have witnessed this day may be deeply imprinted on my mind and never erased therefrom.

3rd: This morning called on about the third hour to pay the requisite attention to the interment of one of whom the care of late seems in some measure to rest on me, she being a widow and her relatives removed from the city. May I be willing to aid the distress of such with my feeble endeavours with alacrity of heart.

The addition of new cases of this prevailing Epidemic augment daily, and it appears awfully impressive on my mind to be in readiness, whether it be at midnight or the cockcrow—my brother being taken therewith in the course of yesterday and he alone, I desire to do what I can to mitigate his afflictive dispensation, and crave the Father of Mercy that it may be sanctified to him. On calling on him this morning at sunrise he appeared, though not in apparent imminent danger, yet with considerable fever. It is with great satisfaction that I observe that my dear friend Stephen Grellet is recovering his strength daily, as are some other of our friends who were afflicted with this contagion.

In the afternoon attended my dear friend S. Savery to Darby where she was cordially received by Dr. Shallcross, her relative. I find that many of our fellow citizens, Friends [Quakers] and others that have left this City, have not escaped this dread disorder, among whom Jonathan Evans³⁹ and family have had their provings with others. My dear sister in the neighborhood of Darby as well as my honored parents were glad to see me once more while clothed with mutability.

In the evening spent with a disconsolate woman whose oldest child was interred a few days since, and now her husband expiring. Oh the trying hour! As it approached how did my desires raise that both this sufferer and myself might be qualified to meet a Merciful Saviour. His struggles for a considerable time with death were strong. And the poor wife left alone by her relatives. Dear N. A. Smith,⁴⁰ the sympathizing friend of the distressed, spent the latter part of the evening until midnight there when the awful scene closed. And as soon as day I [arranged] for the interment, which engaged my attention the early part of the morning.

4th: My mind appeared clothed with a desire to assist my suffering friends, and indeed my natural rest at night is almost constantly broken by the weight on my mind so as to chase away sleep nearly from my eyes. This being our week-day meeting, strove to be industrious to get through the visits to the sick

before the usual time for meeting, and leaving my dear friend S. Scattergood and her dying daughter, my mind was much affected. A solemn day this—In the course thereof seven interments in our ground, one of which Dr. J. Cooper, at this juncture a very great loss to the public, being engaged at their hospital, generally believed from a sense of duty. May he now enjoy the unmixed felicity of the Saint.

5th: This morning called up as usual about day dawn to attend to the decease of a person who had quietly departed this life. Alas how frequent! Attended my sick friends as usual. On my return home I found our brother Isaac [Price]⁴¹ ill of the Fever, which being expected to invade our habitation for some time, now when it appeared was received without surprise. Moved our dear Stephen Grellet here for his better accomodation. The afternoon spent in striving to alleviate the distress of the Sick.

6th: This morning early attended to the wants of the sick. May the attending on them serve to soften my heart so that lasting impressions of good be made thereon. Our brother Isaac Price's disorder does not evince that marked virulence that is sadly too often apparent in this disorder.

In the afternoon with others went to visit a family at Kensington,⁴² where the head of the house appeared on first entering his apartment as if just going to his everlasting home. On my being pressed, undertook to write his will. The pleasing resignation in his beloved wife and daughter affected my heart with gratitude to the Father of Mercy in his abilitating to put their trust and confidence in Him alone. Dear N. A. S[mith] who accompanied and myself, I believe, were ready to conclude we were glad to have been there, as before we departed he appeared much more composed. Spent the evening visiting the sick and now about to retire to rest, if the Lord permit. I am glad to find that I have not been pursuing the World much today.

7th: This morning arose with a desire to maintain the watch and early attended to answer some of my dear friends tender inquiries respecting us. And on seeing my brothers who are Sick, am pleased to find they are both in a hopeful way of being restored to their families. May it be with thanksgiving if so permitted.

Went my usual visits to the sick and to one other where I found such a fixedness to this world and the things there that my feelings were much wounded, hoping they may be aroused with my own soul to prepare for an awful change. Early this day the solemn scene was closed with the head of the house whom my dear friend N. A. Smith and myself visited yesterday, and whose tender affectionate wife and daughter nursed him without the least fear and with the most tender assiduity possible. Waited on the dear relict and her beloved child [the] great part of the afternoon when not attending to others that required aid.

Our innocent A. Sower being evidently loaded with disease, I called in the evening to attend him. He appeared in a quiet resigned state that was very comfortable. Indeed this is most generally the case in the chambers of the sick, except in the case above alluded to—which is cause of thankfulness to feel my heart tendered in the manner I have frequently of latter time. The evening to a late hour spent in writing, but I am glad I feel no inclination to attend to any outward concerns of a pecuniary nature.

8th: This morning on rising felt a degree (though much too small) of thankfulness to find my family and self preserved as hitherto in health—save my brother Isaac, who appears not so loaded with the disease as many. It is not a little consoling to my mind to find that the family generally are preserved from slavish fear and no disposition to withhold that attention towards him which is evidently needful.

In the afternoon went to Germantown⁴³ and while there visited a young man from England who had lately removed from this city, was taken with the epidemic, and was likely to be abandoned in this time of trial, only for the interference of a Friend. On my return, spent the evening in providing for the return of this young man and visiting the sick to my satisfaction. Passing a little time in my endeared friend S. Scattergood's room (now on the recovery) very comfortably.

9th: This morning first day meeting impending. May I strive for a preparation to meet the Bridegroom of Souls. Assisted early this morning in despatching a wagon for the young man sick at Germantown. And before meeting visited the sick, whom I am glad to find generally getting better as I hope my brother is.

Before afternoon meeting was sent for in haste to attend the family at Kensington—The beloved daughter being indisposed and desirous of my accompanying N. A. Smith there. We attended, to our mutual satisfaction. After meeting rode on account of this family up [the] Schuylkill [River] about four miles and then to Kensington after night. Was glad to feel while alone on this errand that it was not to serve myself. This dear young woman at night appeared better. May I now at the close of the day offer up Thanksgiving for the many preservations and acknowledge with a degree of reverence Holy, Holy Lord God Almighty.

On passing through a sick neighbourhood, the cries of a child arrested my progress by its moans for its departed mother and in vain I offered to Console this poor orphan. And surely the cries "Oh my mother is dead, my mother is dead" vibrating in my heart at present ought to excite thankfulness on my part that this language has not been applicable in my own house.

10th: This morning after a trying night to my mind, which seemed to prepare for suffering as my brother was very poorly in the night. This aspiration presented "Lord, qualify that Thy Rod and Thy Staff may comfort us." Surely

I have been sustained far beyond my expectation to be thus long kept from the bed of sickness, which has been the lot of many of my betters. This day I have strove some little to keep the mind staid, but not altogether with the success desirable, being so prone to evil.

In the afternoon went to Kingsessing⁴⁴ where I was indulged with the Company of many of my kindred, and apparent joy at meeting again in mutability. In the evening the painful situation of my brother Isaac, who still continues ill, is rather alarming. On calling on the doctor, I found there was reason therefore, he believing with me that he is in a very critical situation. Tried to depend on that Never failing Arm which has so often helped—and retired to bed.

11th: This night our trials continued as dear Isaac was very poorly. Near midnight was called in an uncouth manner to assist the family of a deceased member—Which with the exercise of mind before on Isaac's account and things generally with us, humbled my mind and led to a desire that if I am spared a little longer I hope more acceptable fruits may appear. Spent the evening in trying to better the situation of some of my fellow creatures who are now suffering under poverty and disease.

13th: In the evening was engaged with others devising means for relieving the distress of the poor which has increased to a great degree. Yet while I am striving to accomodate the body, I must be careful to improve my own mind which is essentially necessary.

14th: The latter part of last night and early this morning was a good deal exercised on account of my brother Isaac who is apparently more poorly. May this again prove the propriety of my leaning on nothing human, as yesterday I was pleasing myself with the expectation of his getting bravely along and now again all the anxiety alive. Surely I am as unstable as water.

15th: This morning my mind appears feelingly alive to the awful scene which seems now hastening with my brother Isaac. Many anxious desires respecting both Isaac's family and our own. Spent part of the day visiting the sick. In the afternoon felt myself poorly, but the appearance of my dear brother's speedy dissolution kept me about when about the 8th hour he quietly departed—I hope to Everlasting Rest. In the course of this day I have had many doubts respecting myself being rightly prepared.

17th: This morning favoured again to meet my family together. The greater part of this day spent at our father Price's, which, after the trying separation of one of our family, they seemed most easy we should be with them.

18th: Was called on to assist one in great distress and have desired that I may be willing with promptness to exert my public endeavours to serve the afflicted. Surely this disorder is carrying many hastily to the grave. This day was called on to grant an order for the interment of a mother and her son—a man grown—and left two more of the family apparently at the point of death. This great

mortality is believed never to have been equalled in this city, considering its numbers.

Met in the afternoon with some others to devise means of relieving the sick poor publicly, with a good degree of satisfaction. And now being evening, on retrospecting the occurrences of the day, have to observe that my mind has been too much encumbered to feel that sweet peace that is so desirable.

19th: When I began a few remarks, now more than a month since, for my own instruction, I scarcely expected to have seen this day and been preserved without sickness, which now to my humbling admiration is vouchsafed. And now finding my small book in which I began those remarks is now filled, I have opened a new one this day, desiring that I may profit, lastingly profit by my many mistakes and errors heretofore.

21st: This morning called early to attend one where I had spent the last evening—The son quietly departing in the night and there being only women in the house. I was glad to give attention to his interment, which my dear S. Grellet was very assistant in.

22nd: In the course of last night I have been called on several times to attend to the interment of the deceased, which with visiting the Sick seem to occupy now nearly all my waking hours and many of those formerly devoted to rest. Surely the solemnity of the present day ought never to be erased from my heart.

In the morning I was again cheered with the Company of all the remainder of my family for a short space—but very soon my precious [wife] Margaret showed such apparent signs of this dread epidemic as to put it out of doubt that she had received a portion of the disorder. This trial of the little grain of Faith remaining is perhaps as proving as almost any that can approach. May He in His condescending Goodness hearken to my most earnest entreaty that If consistent with His Will, she may be continued as a blessing to me. In the course of the day my mind has been much tried with the repeated calls for help from those in great distress, which with my own situation is deeply humbling to my mind.

23rd: Once more I am permitted to behold the approach of morning, after a conflicting night, wherein as usual I had to attend to the calls of distress. My dear Margaret's patience, how Consoling to my mind, she sweetly expressing her entire dependence on Divine Help—In which that I may be enabled to unite with her is my very anxious desire. The disorder not being yet to a crisis, no judgment can be formed how it may result. But of this I have been very Solicitous, that I may be favoured with a subjection of my will to the Lord—for as He giveth, He surely hath a right to take away. Blessed be His name.

Our yearly meeting impending and few but striplings (and not many of them) left in this City, and it appears sorrowfully obvious that but few in comparison of our dear friends from the Country are disposed to give us their

aid. Yet those that have is very consoling. My dear Margaret appears to have a large share of this afflicting disorder, but her mind is evidently stayed on Him in whom the Fullness of Glory dwelleth.

24th: After an anxious night on account of my dear Margaret. Went to meet my brother[-in-law] Benjamin [Price] this morning to inform him how my beloved Margaret was—That her dear parents might know and in some measure relieve their affectionate solicitude for her. In the afternoon was informed that our worthy colleague N. A. S[mith] was taken down with the prevailing fever, which appears no way abated, but otherwise, it having generally spread in every direction and is generally believed more mortal than was ever known here before. In the evening my dear Margaret expressed her desire that her connections should know that she enjoyed such sweet peace while lying on this bed of sickness—which makes it very pleasant and Consoling to be with her.

28th: In the course of last night my mind was so sweetly consoled while reflecting on the situation of my dear wife as she lay quietly resigned to the Lord's Will that I dare not ask anything for myself respecting her continuance, though her precious company to me is now more desirable after living near 20 years together than at first, however gratifying then. This morning she appears somewhat relieved. May she, if consistent with the Divine Will, be restored to her usual health is my anxious desire. Met at the post office with our brother Benjamin Price to send information to our dear parents respecting my Margaret.⁴⁵ He was accompanied by my brother Haydock, who has kindly offered to bring our daughter Hannah⁴⁶ home, and our beloved brother Philip also came as far as the office to meet me, his anxious solicitude urging thereto. The meeting of those dear connections was pleasant and it feels now perhaps as if it would be the last time we may be permitted to do so.

Strove to attend in a small degree to the difficulties of some of the sick, and it being our meeting day, the little few met together to offer up to the Most High that worship which is His due, and in the riches of This Mercy He graciously owned us by the breaking of bread.

October 4th: Now after an interval of nine days am I again permitted to use my pen, being since last note made on the 28th ultimo⁴⁷ led down, by reason of great sickness, to the side of the grave. And as it has pleased Divine Goodness in His Infinite Wisdom again to raise me up therefrom, I am anxious at present it may be with memorials of His Abundant Mercy and my own nothingness and entire dependence on Him from day to day. As surely it is in His Mercy that I am not consumed, and I have felt desirous of being qualified to adopt this language of Job's: "Thou has granted me life and favour and Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit."⁴⁸ My precious Margaret yet continues more poorly than myself though much more quiet in her spirit, and I may acknowledge with a degree of thankfulness that during my sickness the Lord's great Love

and kindness was vouchsafed beyond my expectation, and under the heaviest part I was willing to own that I was glad to be here and feel His Life-giving Presence in preference to having removed [from the City] to try to avoid this bodily suffering.

6th: This morning was pleased to find my dear Margaret's returning strength, she being able to sit up a little and evidently better.

7th: This being our meeting day, first of the week, and feeling desirous of attending, not having had the like opportunity for some time, and being in hopes that which has been withdrawn for some days past would be mercifully experienced in a more public offering, which I find upon trial my own mind is not prepared to receive—as I have experienced such a portion of poverty of spirit as to be more painful than all the bodily sickness I have undergone. The afternoon being wet, I did not attempt to go to meeting but strove to meet Him who would delight my soul in quiet retirement. But I am fearful that nearly all good is withheld and my mind left unsupported. Surely some secret sin has shut up my way to the Fountain as it has been Sealed to me now for several days.

8th: This morning we were cheered with the company of my dear Margaret down stairs once more, and the blessing of health restored to all our family. Surely this ought to excite gratitude in my hard heart and enable me to offer up the tribute of thanksgiving with some degree of contrition, which I find very needful, but poverty is yet my lot.

9th: This morning the oppressive load yet on my spirit. Surely this must be continued for some wise purpose and if it should prove the means of purging away a part of the abundant dross which is apparently the greater proportion of my composition, I shall in time rejoice therefore. Being our week day meeting, attended with my dear Margaret. How very pleasant to have her Company once more with me at public meeting. Our dear N. A. S[mith] livingly engaged to strengthen the feeble minds present—Surely none more so than my poor self.

10th: This day my dear Margaret being so much restored to health as to be enabled to go to Kingsessing to visit our beloved parents and connections there, which was very Comfortable both to them and to us to enjoy each others Company after the doubts entertained of this ever again being permitted in mutability.

12th: This morning supposed I would strive to be more watchful and went round to visit some of the poor sick, and ever glad to find any abatement of my late suffering while pursuing this employ, which I find serves to humble my mind. The afternoon spent with my Colleagues in striving to mitigate the suffering of some of the distressed of those now labouring under poverty and disease. This seems a further stimulus to humility that I should be exempt from the painful circumstance of making thus a public application for relief.

14th: This morning being the first of the week and our meeting impending. Of that I may be enabled rightly to prepare an acceptable offering.

15th: Being desirous of my dear Margaret's removing to her father's for the establishment of her health, I accompanied her there. In the afternoon and evening attended with my Colleagues to the necessities of the indigent of the present day who have suffered in consequence of the prevailing epidemic, which notwithstanding it hath pleased the Father of all our Sure Mercies to stay in some measure, yet there still remains many affecting instances of mortality amongst us. There being about 3000 of the inhabitants of the City and suburbs removed by this dreadful disorder to their silent graves.⁴⁹

17th: This morning feeling my mind engaged to attend a family of poor Sick, I was humbled under a sense of their sufferings and led to return in a small degree thanks that I have been mercifully preserved the more poignant part of this trying sickness in my own particular. In the afternoon attended with my brethren on appointment to alleviate the distress of those who required public notice.⁵⁰ When there was an affecting instance of the instability of anything appertaining to mortality, which I was much comforted to find claimed and obtained the sympathy of the Board, who directed me to hand a handsome sum to the disconsolate widow of a benevolent husband for the accommodation of his family.

18th: This morning or rather last night I find my fears verified respecting my dear daughter Mary⁵¹ having taken the Epidemic is Confirmed, and she is now very poorly. May it, if Consistent with the Divine Will, be my lot with hers and her dear mother to place our entire dependence on that *Almighty Arm of Power* which has hitherto so Mercifully sustained in and through every trying exigency. After attending to some cases wherein there appeared Considerable distress in the families, I proceeded to Kingsess[ing] to bring my dear Margaret home and had an opportunity of sitting with Friends at Darby Meeting which proved a Comfortable one to me. I find my dear Child is not worse than in the morning and am glad to find such a happy acquiescence and restoration in her dear Mother.

19th: This morning a little before the dawn my attention was excited by the Cries of distress which I found came from one of the adjoining poorly accommodating buildings where a poor fellow creature lay dying alone—Which with the increase of my dear Mary's sickness made it a morning of anxiety. I find there yet continues a great mortality in the northern and western parts of the City and [Northern] Liberties.⁵² And this evening I am rejoiced to find some mitigation to my dear Mary's disorder. In the attention to the necessities of the distressed this day, have been somewhat Comforted in Spirit.

20th: This morning appeared more favourable to our dear Mary which was Cause of rejoicing, and her apparent Composed mind very Consoling. The relapse of our girl⁵³ seems trying, but yet hope she may recover.

21st: On seeing my dear little Mary this morning, am rejoiced to find that she is apparently better, as is also the girl. After meeting, visited several yet remaining Sick, to my satisfaction. It may be observed that it hath pleased Divine Providence to stay this destroying Epidemic in some measure, and I believe it may be acknowledged that all human endeavours have not been adequate to the Cause. But when He who Commanded the Sea and was obeyed Says "It is enough," then and not till then shall we of this City be relieved from this Scourge which has now been the means of removing more than three thousand of the inhabitants of this City and Suburbs to the place from whence no traveller returns.

22nd: Once more I am indulged with the light of another day. May it be appropriated to the Giver of every good and perfect gift. Our dear Mary appears recovering from her late severe fever. In the afternoon attended to the wants of the distressed in a public manner with my Colleagues at the Senate Chamber,⁵⁴ where at times my mind has been affected with beholding my betters, no doubt, suffering under poverty and disease.

24th: The early part of this day was spent much more in temporals than Spirituals and what seems more Sorrowful is the latter not rightly improved. The afternoon being employed publicly with my brethren relieving the wants of the distressed. This employ does not feel near so grateful to my mind as when I am enabled to handle a small matter for the relief of Suffering humanity in a private way.

26th: The early part of this day I was interested in attending to a distressed young family where the head thereof appears fast approaching the Silent grave. His affectionate wife—being only about one year married—being much affected therewith so arrested my feelings as to prevent my attending the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, which I had prepared to do. In some of the visits to the Sick today I was pleased to feel something like the sensations attending some weeks past. The afternoon employed publicly attending to the wants of the infirm poor in Company with my Colleagues on this appointment. May my heart be always ready to attend to their wants with alacrity. In the evening spent some time in attending the habitation of distress.

27th: By the dawn of the day I attended at the house where the master thereof had laid these last two days so very low, and found now he had quietly departed about one hour [before], leaving a young widow of about 20 years of age to mourn her great loss in an amiable husband and I hope a good man.

28th: This being the first of the week, intending for our Public Meeting, I early attended at the house of a friend with whom I have been united to offer any assistance in my power, his valued wife being near her close, and thought her patience was very exemplary. Yet it was very affecting to see the effort of nature struggling for life, which peacefully closed pretty soon after I went there, and her meek spirit released to enjoy the peace prepared for the Righteous.

29th: Once more I am favoured to have all my family that have been sick restored to a Considerable degree of health. May I be *grateful* for the multiplied Blessings I enjoy when at this present time many better, no doubt, are suffering under poverty and disease. Spent the morning from an early hour in visiting the sick to my own satisfaction, there yet remaining many of this description, amongst whom are some who have lately returned from the Country, one of whom was interred in our ground this morning. There being frost this morning so severe as to cause Ice, it appears to enliven the minds of many persons with hope that this dreadful Pestilence will subside, there being fewer new Cases today than heretofore.

30th: The greater part of this day devoted to the care of the few suffering cases now under my notice.

31st: Observing this morning by the Continuance of the frost that many of our fellow citizens are returning to their homes in hopes that the Cold has destroyed the force of the Pestilence.

November 2nd: This day some little desire raised in my mind to be more attentive than heretofore. But Alas, how weak are my endeavours. Surely my own *great lack* of strength is owing to my own unwatchfulness. Lord Help with a little of Thy Holy Help or I perish.

3rd: The return of our citizens has revived a hope that our friends will be favoured to attend our approaching General Meeting, which begins this day for the Select Members.

4th: This being the first day of the week, attended both meetings, which to me were pretty satisfactory tho' a fear possessed my mind that I am not enough in earnest to prefer things truly excellent and everlasting in duration.

5th: In the afternoon attended to the public relief of the indigent which appears to increase daily.

7th: This morning engaged in caring for the poor and afflicted in a private way. This feels grateful to my mind, much more than in the Public Manner which engaged my attention in the afternoon at the Senate Chamber, where many who apply for pecuniary aid appear to have lost part of that delicacy which characterizes the female sex.⁵⁵

Notes

1. Quotation from the September 9, 1798 entry of a copy of the diary of Edward Garrigues, transcribed by his great nephew Thomas Garrigues, deposited at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
2. The most thorough assessment of mortality is by Susan E. Klepp, "How Many Precious Souls Are Fled': The Magnitude of the 1793 Yellow Fever Epidemic," in J. Worth Estes and Billy G. Smith, eds., *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation: The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic* (Philadelphia: Science History Publications, 1997), 163-76; and Klepp, "Zachariah Poulson's Bills of Mortality, 1788-1801," in Billy G. Smith, ed., *Life in Early Philadelphia: Documents from the Revolutionary and Early National Periods* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1995), 221-26.
3. These calculations are based on population (62,752) and burial (4,463) figures contained in Billy G. Smith, *"The Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 206. Contemporaries estimated that between three-fourths and five-sixths of residents fled the city, and that from 3,446 to more than 4,000 died during the epidemic months. William Currie, *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever . . . of the Present Year, 1798* (Philadelphia: John Bioren, 1798), 71, 129; Thomas Condie and Richard Folwell, *History of the Pestilence, Commonly Called Yellow Fever, which almost Desolated Philadelphia, in the Months of August, September and October, 1798* (Philadelphia: R. Folwell, 1798), 108.
4. The medical treatment of yellow fever is discussed in J. Worth Estes, "Introduction: The Yellow Fever Syndrome and Its Treatment in Philadelphia, 1793," in Estes and Smith, eds., *Melancholy Scene of Devastation*, 1-17. On the flight of doctors and black Philadelphians, see Currie, *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever*, 57.
5. On the disease environment of Philadelphia during the eighteenth century, see Smith, *"The Lower Sort"*, chap. 2.
6. Klepp, "Zachariah Poulson's Bills of Mortality," 226-27.
7. Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People, during the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia, in the Year 1793*. . . (1794; reprint, Philadelphia: Franklin Court Print Shop & Bindery, 1979), 21. See also Estes, "Introduction: The Yellow Fever Syndrome and Its Treatment in Philadelphia, 1793," 1-6.
8. Collin's notations are from Burial Records, Old Swedes Church, Gloria Dei, Sept. 6 (Ervin) and 9 (Forsberg), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
9. Condie and Folwell, *History of the Pestilence*, 57.
10. Currie, *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever*, 34, 71, 88-92, 113; Condie and Folwell, *History of the Pestilence*, 55, 57, 83-87. Elizabeth Drinker, a wealthy Philadelphian, complained about the difficulty of finding housing outside the city and its high cost, in Elaine Forman Crane, ed., *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, 3 vols. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), 2:1072-1110.
11. Quotes from "A Useful Hint," *Mercury Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), August 19, 1797; and Condie and Folwell, *History of the Pestilence*, 62. On the daily circumstances of laboring people, see Smith, *"The Lower Sort"*, chap. 4.
12. Quotes from diary entries dated Oct. 26, and Sept. 1 and 11. Jacob wrestled an angel, who renamed him Israel; *Genesis* 32:34.
13. Quotes from diary entries dated Oct. 30 and 26. The appointment of Edward Garrigues to the committee is noted in Currie, *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever*, 83.
14. Some of this genealogical information was recorded by Edward Garrigues's great nephew Thomas Garrigues at the end of the diary. Also see Edmund Garrigues, comp., *A Genealogy of Matthew and Suzanna Garrigues*. . . , 2 vols. (Madison, Ohio: Garrigues, 1938), 1:206. Edward Garrigues is listed in the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families of the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Pennsylvania* (Washington, D.C., 1908), 226; and the U.S. Census Office, *Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States: Second Census* (Washington, D.C., 1800), Reel 9, page 68.

15. Quote about Carpenter's Company from Sandra L. Tatman and Roger W. Moss, *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700-1930* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1985), 297. Quotes from diary entries dated August 10 and Sept. 6. Garrigues appears in Edmund Hogan, *The Prospect of Philadelphia and Check on the Next Directory* (Philadelphia, 1795); Stafford, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1800* (Philadelphia, 1800); and on the 1780, 1797, 1798, and 1799 Provincial Tax Lists, located in the Philadelphia City Archives.
16. Eli K. Price and Philip M. Price, *Memoir of Philip and Rachel Price* (Philadelphia: Price and Price, 1852), 29.
17. *Ibid.*, 31. Quotes from diary entries dated Oct. 4 and Sept. 9.
18. Quotes from diary entries dated Sept. 2 and 12.
19. Crane, ed., *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, 2:1072-1110. Garrigues, comp. *Genealogy of Matthew and Suzanna Garrigues*, 1:206.
20. Quaker meetinghouses held these gatherings once every three months.
21. Sunday.
22. Philadelphia contained five Quaker meetinghouses in 1798. The "North house" stood at Fourth and Arch Streets, about one block from Garrigues's home.
23. By one contemporary estimate, three-fourths of the inhabitants in the section bounded by Chestnut and South Streets and between Water and Fourth Streets left the city by August 15. Currie, *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever*, 23.
24. This refers to the thousands of inhabitants—mostly affluent ones—who fled the city during the epidemic months each summer and fall.
25. Located a short distance northwest of Philadelphia, it lay on the east side of the Schuylkill River across from the present Fairmount Park.
26. A small town on the Schuylkill River southwest of Philadelphia where the family of Edward's wife, Margaret Price Garrigues, lived.
27. Fewer Quakers apparently died from yellow fever in 1798, when interments in their cemetery accounted for 5 percent of the city's total, than in 1793, when 9 percent of all burials were in Quaker graveyards. See Susan E. Klepp, "Zachariah Poulson's Bills of Mortality 1788-1801," 236.
28. This meetinghouse stood at Second and High Streets, about four blocks from the Garrigues residence.
29. It is likely that during the 1798 epidemic, like in the 1793 yellow fever outbreak, young and middle-aged adults died in disproportionately large numbers. See Klepp, "Zachariah Poulson's Bills of Mortality 1788-1801," 227.
30. A "relict" was a widow.
31. As a member of the Carpenters' Corporation, Garrigues was responsible for aiding certain widows and children of its members.
32. Approximately 40 percent of the inhabitants had fled the city.
33. Standing on Pine Street between Front and Second Streets, this meetinghouse was about eight blocks from Garrigues's home.
34. A small town northeast of Philadelphia.
35. The city directories list Nicholas Waln as a "gentleman" who lived on Front Street.
36. According to the *Philadelphia Gazette*, between three-fourths and five-sixth of Philadelphians fled the city by September 13. Currie, *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever*, 71.
37. Grellet was a French Quaker living in Philadelphia.
38. The story of Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt is recounted in *Exodus*.
39. Evans was a house carpenter who lived at 102 Union Street, about five blocks south of Garrigues.
40. Smith, a carpenter, lived on Fifth Street between Race and Vine Streets.
41. The brother of Edward Garrigues's wife, Price earned his living as a watch and clock maker. His shop was on High Street and his dwelling in Grindstone Alley. Price also served on the Board of Health during the 1798 epidemic. Price and Price, eds., *Memoir of Philip and Rachel Price*, 29.
42. A small town on the Delaware River northeast of Philadelphia, where shipyards and ropewalks abounded.
43. A small town northwest of Philadelphia, where George Washington, among others, took refuge during the 1793 epidemic.
44. A village southeast of Philadelphia.

45. On August 13, the post office moved to the more remote location on Market Street, west of Eleventh Street. Crane, ed., *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, 2:1066.
46. Hannah was born in 1780, and she died in 1866.
47. "Ultimo" refers to the preceding month.
48. *Job* 10:12.
49. Contemporary estimates of the burials during the months of the epidemic vary from 3,446 to more than 4,000, although not all of the deaths resulted from yellow fever. See Currie, *Memoirs of the Yellow Fever*, 129; and Condie and Folwell, *History of the Pestilence*, 108.
50. Distressed citizens could receive aid if they presented a certificate of need signed by a "respectable citizen" and passed the inspection of an official committee established to dispense food, clothing, firewood, and other support. See the *True American* (Philadelphia), Sept. 28 and 30, Nov. 8, 1799.
51. Mary was born in 1782 and died in 1849.
52. A northern suburb of Philadelphia.
53. Although unclear who Garrigues meant as "our girl," it most likely was a servant.
54. The Senate Chamber was a meeting room for the United States Senate in Congress Hall, west of Independence Hall, which, at that time, served as the nation's capitol.
55. Garrigues may be suggesting that prostitutes suffered disproportionately from the disease, probably because they were less able to leave the city and they often resided close to the waterfront. Mathew Carey argued that during the 1793 epidemic many "*filles de joie*" died "because the wretched debilitated state of their constitutions rendered them an easy prey to this dreadful disorder, which very soon terminated their miserable career." *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever, Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia* (1794; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1970), 61.