



DAVID JAMES DOVE, Schoolmaster.

Drawn by BENJAMIN WEST.

ORIGINAL IN THE WEST COLLECTION  
OF THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A PHILADELPHIA SCHOOLMASTER OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY JOSEPH JACKSON.

DAVID JAMES DOVE, for some years, during the middle of the Eighteenth century, was one of the best known characters in Philadelphia. In spite of his eccentricities, and his inclination to flit from one political party to the other, as the tide turned, or as he had worn out his welcome, he was acknowledged an able schoolmaster and a man of expedients. He was a many-sided person, and always was ardently engaged in forwarding his own interests. In his efforts in this latter direction, he brought into play some of his remarkable talents for caricaturing, and pamphleteering. If he did nothing else, he seems to have kept the people of Philadelphia amused by his own, and by answering scurrilities, both of which kept the printing presses of Steuart and Armbruster rather busy during the excitement occasioned by the Paxton Insurrection and the elections of 1764.

Very little appears to be known, or at least accessible to the student, about this strange character, who taught the three Rs to many of the sons, and to some few of the daughters of prominent Philadelphians during the nineteen years this city was his home. It is curious, that many of the pamphlets in which he was attacked are to this day attributed to him! A little search among these old tracts and pamphlets and caricatures, gives a very lively idea of the general character of Dove, if it does not supply all that one desires to know about him.

The date of his interment in the burying ground of Christ Church is a matter of record, but the date of his birth is a matter of speculation. A letter written by Franklin to his old friend Dr. Samuel Johnson, under the date December 24, 1751, throws a little light upon this. "The English master of the Academy and College of Philadelphia" wrote

Franklin, "is Mr. Dove, a gentleman about your age, who formerly taught grammar sixteen years at Chichester, in England. He is an excellent master and his scholars have made a surprising progress." It may be pertinent to explain here that Dr. Johnson was born in 1709, and consequently if Dove were about his age, he must have been born about the same year.

Before Dove came to this country very little is to be learned of him, except the rather libellous statements about his orgies which appear in the pages of that remarkable, almost monstrous, book "The Life and Adventures of the Chevalier John Taylor." The stories that the quack physician, the "Chevalier" Taylor, relates may have been founded upon fact, and may give some inkling of the causes that led the excellent schoolmaster to leave Chichester and emigrate to America. These volumes in which appeared the Adventures of the Chevalier Taylor fortunately for him did not appear until ten or eleven years after Dove had proved himself to be an able teacher in Philadelphia. For the remainder of his life, however, they proved the bane of his existence, and kept him constantly denying the assertions as "lies."

Dove came to Philadelphia in the latter part of the year 1750. The records of the Academy and College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, are the authority for that assertion. He applied to the trustees of the Academy, and was given a place as English master, and as so little was known of his antecedents, except what he himself had told them, he was placed on probation for a year. At least, he was appointed for a year, at a salary of £150, which, excepting that of Dr. Smith, later the Provost, was the highest salary paid by the institution. This leads to the supposition that Dove was no ordinary schoolmaster, and, indeed, his actions while he was at the Academy showed that he was a man of force, of restless ambition, and tireless energy; a good educator, and had a sharp eye open to the main chance.

If one may be permitted to speculate a little about Dove's antecedents, it may be suggested that perhaps he was brother to that Nathaniel Dove (1710-1754) who was master of a school at Hoxton, near London, and who gained some celebrity as a calligrapher, and as author of "The Progress of Time." There is yet another Dove, who may have been an ancestor of both these gentlemen. This is the Dove who was the compiler of almanacs, during the Commonwealth. There are several of these old publications in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's collection; two of them are "Speculum anni a partu Virginis," etc., one for the year 1644 and the other for the year 1645. There is just the faintest suspicion that this old almanac maker and the David James Dove the schoolmaster and pamphleteer, belonged to the same family. In the *Speculum* the Dove of the Commonwealth attempts to predict the weather for the seasons, and it may be certain that he always was successful, for, of the spring of 1644, he says it will be forward and warm, and for the following winter he predicts "the winter is like enough to be cold," and he says that snow may be expected. There is to be seen a great deal of the mountebank that was to be found in David James Dove, and the same feverish desire for the printed page. That this Dove, whose *Speculum* was printed at Cambridge, for 1644, and in London, for 1645, was the grandfather of David James Dove, is offerered only as a suggestion, but it is likely to have been the case.

The masterful character of our Philadelphia Dove speedily became apparent to the trustees of the Academy. Dove had scarcely entered the institution until he had announced the launching of a private scheme. His scheme of life was to hold a mastership, and to have at the same time a private school, and a boarding house. So it will be seen had he lived in these times, he probably would have headed a trust, for he had all the ability for organization, and all the insight to appreciate the importance of grouping together under his single control all available money.

At the same time he entered the Academy he kept boarders, and one of them at least became a man of importance. This was Charles Thomson, who at the time was ready to enter the Academy as an instructor or usher. Whether Dove assisted the young man, who subsequently became famous as the Secretary of Congress, and also for his translation of the Greek Testament, is not known, but shortly after Dove had begun his work in the institution, Thomson was his assistant. It was about this time that Thomson desired to change his boarding house, but he had heard that Dove was accustomed to speak freely and not always truthfully about all persons with whom he came in contact, and in order to forestall any scandal being circulated after he left the Dove homestead, Thomson asked both Dove and his wife to sign a statement that he had conducted himself satisfactorily as a boarder while living under their roof. Dove was taken unawares, and readily signed the statement, and Thomson departed the next day.

Dove actually began his labors as Master of English in the Academy in January, 1751, and in August of the same year he announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, that he would open a school for young ladies, where the daughters of Philadelphians "might be instructed in some parts of learning, as they are taught at the Academy. Mr. Dove proposes to open a school at said Academy, for young ladies, on Monday next, in which will be carefully taught the English grammar; the true way of spelling, and pronouncing properly; together with fair writing, arithmetick, and accounts; so that the plan recommended by the Universal Spectator may be exactly pursued. Price ten shillings entrance and twenty shillings per quarter."

In view of the publicity thus given the plan, it is presumed that the trustees were agreeable to it. Certainly, Dove by his ability built up the Academy, for in December of the same year there were ninety pupils in the English Department, and Dove was given another assistant, Mr. Peisley. It was at this period that Richard Peters, Jr.,

nephew of Richard Peters, one of the trustees, and later owner of Belmont, and a Judge of the United States District Court, was one of his students. He describes Dove as a "sarcastic and ill-tempered doggerelizer, who was but ironically *Dove*, for his temper was that of a hawk, and his pen the beak of a falcon pouncing upon his prey."

Dove now had two assistants, and the trustees discovered that the real reason for so much assistance was because the English Master was spending virtually all his time instructing the young ladies in "the true way of spelling, and pronouncing properly, together with fair writing, arithmetick and accounts." It was found that Dove was accustomed to leave his class at eleven o'clock in the morning, and at four o'clock in the afternoon, so Mr. Franklin and Mr. Peters were appointed a committee by the trustees to speak to him about these unseemly actions.

There is just the least bit of humor to be found in the report of the committee, which indicates that they were powerless to bring Dove to their way of thinking. They said he had acknowledged his actions, but "seemed desirous of being indulged in that practice." This was the beginning of Dove's end in the Academy. He persisted, as he always did, for he was a law unto himself, and no board of trustees ever was able to do anything with him. Wherever it was tried it ended in failure, and in Dove retiring. He fought the question out with the trustees, and insisted in maintaining his private school, and in also continuing at the Academy, where he had trained two of the students to usher, and had an assistant as well. Dove would not reform so the trustees gave him a quarter's warning, after he had placed the matter in the light of either accepting his terms or of accepting his resignation.

Mr. Kinnersley took over the English Department in July, 1753, when Dove finally quitted the institution. And it now appears that Dove started a private school of his own. For the next seven years he seems to have been thus engaged, when he was not siding against the Academy and the

political party which it represented. For a part of this period at least he maintained a school in Videll's Alley, now called Ionic Street, a small, narrow thoroughfare below Chestnut Street, which runs from Second to Third. The last generation probably remembers the street as Carter's Alley, which name it bore for a good many years.

While he was here, we have another picture of the schoolmaster. Here, too, he had as pupils boys who became well known as men. One of these was the memoir writer Graydon. Although Graydon does not give the years when he attended the instruction of Dove, it may be placed as about 1759-60, for Graydon mentions that he was about eight years old at the time, and he was born in 1752.

"It was his practice in his school," writes Graydon in his "Memoirs of a Life," etc., "to substitute disgrace for corporal punishment. His birch was rarely used in canonical method, but was generally stuck in to the back part of the collar of the unfortunate culprit, who, with this badge of disgrace towering above his nape like a broom at the masthead of a vessel for sale, was compelled to take his stand upon the top of the form for such a period of time as his offence was thought to deserve. He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to dispatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell and lighted lantern, and with this 'odd equipage,' in broad daylight, the bell all the while tingling, were they escorted through the streets to school. As Dove affected a strict regard to justice in his dispensations of punishment, and always preferred a willingness to have an equal measure of it meted out to himself in case of his transgressing, the boys took him at his word; and one morning when he had overstayed his time, either through laziness, inattention, or design, he found himself waited upon in the usual form. He immediately admitted the justice of the procedure, and putting himself behind the lantern and bell, marched with great solemnity to school, to the no small gratification of the boys and the entertainment of the spectators. But this incident took place before I became a scholar. It was once my lot to be attended in this manner, but what had been sport to my tutor was to me a serious punishment.

"The school at this time was kept in Videll's Alley, which opened into Second street, a little below Chestnut street. It counted a number of scholars of both sexes, though chiefly boys; and the assistant, or writing master, was John Reily, a very expert penman and conveyancer, a man of some note, who, in his gayer moods, affected a pompous and technical phraseology. He is characterized under the name of 'Parch-

ment' in a farce written some forty years ago, and which, having at least the merit of novelty and personality, was a very popular drama, though never brought to the stage."

The "farce" alluded to was the comic opera called "The Disappointment," written by Col. Thomas Forrest, who himself was quite as much a "character" as was Dove.

After Dove left the Academy he seems to have devoted his attention to his school. If he had any interest in politics, it seems to have been at first entirely incited by his opposition to those in authority in the Academy.

For a long period of years, which roughly may be said to have been between 1756 and 1765, there was the greatest political excitement in the province of Pennsylvania. It is difficult, if not impossible to picture this period in a phrase or even a sentence. It would require a study of most complicated conditions, yet the chief figures and in general the parts they played may be indicated sufficiently for the purpose here, which is only to show how Dove became a political handyman and pamphleteer.

Affairs in the province were most unsettled in 1756. There was a determined attempt to get rid of the Quaker party. The war with the French and Indians was in progress, and in apprehension of an attempt on the capital city of the province, or on some of the territory of Pennsylvania, a Militia Law was passed, which while not compulsory, at least made it necessary for the Assembly to vote supplies. Naturally this placed the Quakers in a difficult position. They were glad enough to have troops to defend their property and their lives, but they did not intend to allow it to be said that Quakers voted supplies for military purposes. They did the only thing they could do under the circumstances, especially as they did not have the tact to admit that conditions required that they should at least temporarily lay aside their ideas and tenets which were at variance with the voting of supplies for military purposes. They removed themselves from their awkward position by declining reelection. But they took the greatest care to send to the Assembly men who would vote as they feared to do, and



thereby gave to public life a man who had a remarkable, but comparatively short career, Joseph Galloway. His ability was of so high an order that Franklin immediately selected him as his lieutenant, and when he went to Europe to represent the province, Galloway was given the reins of leadership of the Assembly party.

The Academy and College became identified with the Proprietary Party, and the provost, Dr. William Smith, became very active in its service. He not only defended the party from the assaults made on it in and out of the Assembly by the Quakers and their adherents, among whom should be regarded the German element in the Province, who were so much opposed to the meddling of the English Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge Among the Germans in Pennsylvania, which had for its chief exponent here, Dr. Smith, that they almost instinctively turned to the Quakers, whom they found also being opposed by the Proprietary Party, which was principally Church of England, and Presbyterian in its composition. The Society mentioned had for its object the teaching of the English language to the children of the Germans, who at this time had insisted upon remaining quite as much German as they were before they came to Pennsylvania. The Germans resisted this attempt to denationalize them, for it must be understood that they had no interest in America other than that of being allowed liberty of conscience. Also at that time, there really was nothing of what later has been alluded to as the American institutions.

Dr. Smith wrote a libel on the Assembly, and it had him arrested and placed in jail for his temerity. About the same time Judge William Moore, of Moore Hall, Chester County, a magistrate who had great wealth and great influence, was arrested for arraigning the Legislature for cordially entertaining of a petition asking for his removal on account of his tyrannous practices. He denounced the action as "virulent and scandalous." It was very generally rumored that Dr. Smith was the real author of this arraign-

ment of the Assembly. Moore lay in prison for many months, but Dr. Smith managed to be freed. The earliest specimen of Dove's political pamphleteering belongs to this period. It is a broad, vulgar, but intensely comic caricature, entitled, "Labor in Vain; or, An Attempt to Wash a Black-Moor White." Although J. Francis Fisher, in his "Early Poets of Pennsylvania," said that he did not know of a single copy of Dove's caricatures remaining, there is a copy of this rare print, which is an etching by Dove, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's collections. It is said that Dove to sell these prints hung them up in taverns, barber shops and other public places. There is no need to occupy much space with any consideration of Dove as an artist. In this rôle he is only a talented amateur, and it is more than probable he called to his aid some other and more practised hand to make the designs on the copper plates. The prints always have been attributed to Dove, but it should be understood that none of them bear his name, and there is no other evidence than contemporary rumor that he really etched the plates himself. In this connection it may be remarked that it is probable Dove suggested the designs, and may even have roughly sketched his ideas on paper, but that some engraver finished the work. There is, however, an individuality about these old caricatures that shows their inventor to have been something of a genius in this line, but they are so broad that Rowlandson becomes tame by comparison, and Gillray suitable for a child's album.

From later developments, it would seem that soon after Galloway entered the Assembly, he became acquainted with Dove. Whether this acquaintanceship was sought by the leader or by the schoolmaster, makes little difference, but it seems certain that Galloway appeared to believe that Dove might be useful to his party. It may have been that Dove hurled his venomous prints and pamphlets at the Proprietary party, and at the Academy and College, out of pure vindictiveness, which spirit he is known to have had well developed, and gratitude may have prompted Galloway to make use of this handy thunderbolt against his political

enemies. But speculations such as these where there is so little of fact to substantiate them, may be unprofitable.

Certain it is that Dove never during these times neglected an occasion to rail at the administration of the Academy and College. In 1758, when the Academy had announced a lottery to raise a sum said to be \$3000, Dove wrote and published a pamphlet entitled: "The Lottery. A Dialogue between Mr. Thomas Trueman and Mr. Humphrey Dupe." Copies of this little tract are very rare, and the one in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has endorsed upon its title page "31 December 1758. This was bought by C. Moore of Dove's Housekeeper, who says he sold them publicly." There is no name of printer or publisher, as was customary in those days in the pamphlet war. but it is probable that this, like others assigned to Dove and his side in the controversy, was from the press of Andrew Steuart, although it has been assigned to the Germantown printer Christopher Sower. "The Lottery" consists of 16 small octavo pages, the last four being filled with two doggerel poems, one entitled "The Lottery," and the other "The Academy Garland."

The author writes very bitterly about the morality of lotteries in general, but, in view of the estimate placed upon his moral character by his opponents, it is uncertain whether Dove wrote from conviction or from, which seems more likely, a desire to avenge himself on the authorities of the Academy and College. Trueman, in the dialogue says that lotteries are manifestly no better than public frauds and imposition, "solely calculated to enrich the Proprietors at the expence of those who are silly enough to adventure in them, viz, the *Credulous* and the *Covetous*."

Of course, it is the duty of Humphrey Dupe to defend the lottery scheme, who argues that "Our Lotteries is far different; they are designed to support a noble seminary of Learning, where a knowledge of the languages and every species of science and Philosophy are skillfully taught and explained; where youth are trained up in Virtue and Piety; fitted by the Precepts, and fired by the examples of their

Tutors to perform all the duties of civil, social and domestic Life; where zeal temper'd with Charity and Meekness, Love of Truth, and Liberty, Benevolence to Mankind in general, public Spirit, Gratitude to benefactors, Fidelity to Friends, Honour, Humanity, good breeding and politeness in every circumstance of conduct and carriage, are so effectively impressed upon their tender minds, as to render them when grown up, the strong pillars and shining Ornaments of their Country."

The "Garland" and the song about the Lottery, which was announced as "An excellent old ballad in the Tune of Furbelowes O, etc.," there is no suspicion of real poetic feeling. It is doggerel, but at least not below the standard of political arguments in verse of the period. If Galloway, and the Quaker or Anti-Governor's party did not inspire the tract, it may be imagined that they were not indifferent to its success. It may have been a purely private venture of the schoolmaster, or it may have been a work that was subsidized by opponents of Dr. Smith and the Academy.

It was about this time that the Germantown Academy was created, and it is now very well understood that that institution was in the beginning aimed at the successful Academy and College of Philadelphia. Galloway and Thomas Wharton were closely identified with the beginnings of the Union School in Germantown, as it was originally called. The Germans and the Quakers, while not holding anything in common but a common enemy, had on several occasions worked hand in hand. Both were lined up against the rapidly growing influence of the Governor's party, and seemed to feel that together they could withstand its inroads upon the things both Quakers and Germans held most dear.

When the Germantown Academy, and we may call it by that name, although it was not until nearly forty years later that it was so known, was opened Dove received the appointment as English Master. There were two departments in the Germantown institution, one the German School, whose first Master was Hilarius Becker, and the English

School, under Dove. The Academy was opened in the summer of 1761, and Dove was placed at the head of the English department at a salary of one hundred pounds a year.

Dove once more showed that he was only ironically Dove, almost as soon as he was warm in Germantown. He drove one or two assistants from the school by his ungovernable temper, and was soon in the thick of a dispute with the good German burghers, because he insisted on running the school in his own way, and in sending his students on private errands. He also showed that he still had an eye to the main chance by immediately contracting for the erection of a boarding school beside the Academy. It is plain that the good Germans were sadly unequal to the task of coping with Dove. He paid no attention to their requests, nor to the demands of the trustees. No sovereign on a throne was more unconcerned about what his subjects thought of him than was Dove of the opinions of the Germantowners. It was plain that the relations could not remain as they were. Even the party which was supporting him, and which owed something to his support, could not stand the strain forever. Galloway soon retired, and it is doubtful if even he would have been able to smooth over matters with the burghers.

There is something intensely comic in the picture of the good people of Germantown being walked over roughshod, of being ignored in their own school, of having their authority regarded as of no account, and Dove, all the while superintending the erection of his private school next door to the Academy. Under the circumstances, it may be assumed that Dove's ability as a tutor must have been very great, to have enabled him to continue at the Academy. But there comes a breaking point, and even in Germantown this point was reached, after a series of rebuffs entertained by the trustees from their English Master.

Early in 1763, there was presented a "Remonstrance" to the Trustees signed by a large number of Contributors. At the time the Trustees were acting on this remonstrance which had to do with the excessive charges for tuition, they

placed themselves on record as having informed Dove he must not send boys on errands and that he must not engage any more boarders. Dove at the time had twenty boarding pupils lodged in his house, and some of the washing and ironing was done in the Academy rooms. Dove appeared to look upon the whole institution as an enterprise run principally for his benefit, and as things went he was very successful financially.

Finally in June, 1763, the trustees adopted a minute setting forth that Dove had publicly declared that he would not obey the resolutions of the Board any longer than until he had his building finished. So it was unanimously resolved to remove the English Master. But here again they showed their ignorance of Dove's method. He listened, but he did not attempt to move. He continued to hold the fort, even after the Trustees, having advertised, had secured a new schoolmaster, who proved later to be a man of eminence,—Pelatiah Webster, the man who is credited with having been the architect of the Constitution of the United States. Webster was appointed, and was ready to take charge in September, of 1763, but Dove refused to budge. In this connection some interesting light on the situation is found in a letter in the Wharton Papers in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

There is no need to quote the whole of this letter, which already has been printed in the pages of this magazine. But it may be mentioned that it bears the date of September 26th, 1763, and is signed by eight of the contributors of Germantown Academy. It is evidently addressed to Galloway and informs him that a meeting has been held to devise a way of getting possession of the schoolhouse, which, it appears Dove held, and advising Galloway and Wharton that they are expected to meet the committee the following day at 10 o'clock. The letter concludes: "We pay so much respect to your citizens that we are determined to do nothing in the present affair without you which we cannot suspect should prove cowards in the day of battle. Until which time we shall subscribe your real friends." The letter is

endorsed probably as an answer by Galloway, saying that he will wait on Wharton the next day and both will go out to Germantown, "and convince those Gent. at Germt. we are not cowards."

The upshot of the matter was that Dove retreated under fire. He went to his own schoolhouse next door, and he took with him "an ax, a saw and a list of scholars" much to the chagrin of the trustees. The matter remained open until August of the following year, when some understanding seems to have been arrived at. Whether Dove had retained these valued possessions because of some unpaid account, or because he desired to be spiteful, cannot now be learned.

Dove's school in School House Lane, Germantown, appears to have been successful for some years. Certainly he remained there until 1767, when he returned to the city, and for some time seems to have been in retirement.

Just after he had retired from the English Mastership of the Germantown Academy, the Paxton boy disorders began to menace the peace of the Province, and Dove once again was in his element. He now had had his quarrels with both parties. He had been forced to leave the Academy and College of Philadelphia, and as a consequence had become its most determined hater, and likewise the determined opponent of the political party its authorities were understood to represent. Now, having gone over to the Quakers and the Germans, he had fallen out with them, and the only alternative left for so ardent a politician as Dove, was to immediately attach himself to his old love. It was simply impossible for a man of Dove's calibre to play politics as an independent, for he had no following. He was an able schoolmaster, a good, lively pamphleteer, but he had no following. He played politics but he was not a politician.

The action of the Quakers in the Paxton troubles came at an opportune time for Dove. It gave him an excellent theme, and he applied what was called his scurrility as vigorously against the Quakers as ever he had against their enemies. It is more than probable that on that eventful

Sunday morning when Franklin, Galloway, Benjamin Chew, and Thomas Wharton went out to Germantown to meet the determined backwoodsmen, and had that conference that influenced the Paxton Boys to return, without attacking the city, Dove was a spectator. The Paxton Boys halted not more than six hundred feet from Dove's school, and an energetic, curious person of his stamp would scarce let pass such an opportunity to gain information that would prove useful in his campaign.

Soon after there appeared a pamphlet entitled, "The Quaker Unmask'd, or, Plain Truth: Humbly Addressed to the Consideration of all the Freemen of Pennsylvania." The imprint gives Philadelphia as the place but omits the name of the printer, who is said to have been the unfortunate Andrew Steuart, an Irishman, who printed in Pennsylvania and in North Carolina, some controversial literature. That this little tract was written by Dove rests upon the inscription of a copy found in Bethlehem, which assigns the authorship to him. Heretofore it had been regarded as a work by Franklin. It pictures the Quaker as a very shifty person, and says the Frontier inhabitants have been both loyal and peaceable members of society and that the Quakers were glad to have these "Back Inhabitants" removed by the Indians, as "lessening a growing party against them."

These were very stirring times both in Philadelphia and throughout the Province of Pennsylvania. There was no dearth of pamphlets and caricatures. Dove himself, seems to have been the author of a few, but was the victim of many more. Looking at the conflict of this paper war down a vista of a century and a half, it will appear to the unprejudiced student that Dove seems to have had the best of the argument. All the pamphlets that are known to have come from his hand show a very clear and able understanding of the situation, and he was able to deal some powerful blows at his opponents in a generally legitimate manner, when he was not drawing caricatures. On the other hand the retorts against Dove were aimed solely at him, and only inferentially at the party he was supposed to serve. They were directed at his re-



puted immoral character, and in the light of present day usage, this is not an answer to an argument.

The majority of the pamphlets aimed at Dove were the work of Isaac Hunt, the father of Leigh Hunt, who had just retired from the Academy and College without his degree, because of his activity as a political pamphleteer. They are intensely comic, and a trifle indecent at times, but they show a wonderful power for satire and invective. Yet they are not argument. One of these productions is a broadside, headed "The Authentic One," evidently the work of Hunt, although, strange to relate, it has been over and over again catalogued as the production of Dove. This attack is in the form of an invocation to the Devil, whose majesty Dove is believed to worship. It is a clever bit of writing, but apart from its humor of a kind, could have had very little weight in the "war" then proceeding.

One of the most extended series of attacks of this kind leveled at Dove, was also the work of Hunt. This was a series of eight tracts with various titles, the first being entitled, "The Substance of an Exercise had this Morning in Scurrility Hall." These were issued in 1765, and the only complete set known to the writer is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The work is generally in the form of a dialogue, and represents Dove asserting that he will arise Phoenix-like and turn their arms against the scoundrels who have given currency to the lies told of him in the book of Chevalier Taylor. Franklin throughout is ironically referred to by Dove as the "Great Man," and his son William Franklin as "My Son," and as "Tweedle." The first number announces that it "is to be continued occasionally."

During the election of 1764, Hunt wrote a broadside of verses aimed at Dove, and the sheet was headed by a view of the old Court House at Second and Market Streets. The engraving seems to be the work of Dawkins. The sheet is entitled "The Medley." There is an answer to this, said to have been the work of Dove, entitled "The Counter Medley," in which a similar view is engraved. This is

described as "a proper answer to all the Dunces of the Medley and their abettors."

In a letter to William Strahan, William Franklin wrote under date of May 1, 1764, that the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland seem to be in a state of anarchy. The elder Franklin was vigorously attacked by Dove, now in the employ, or at least attached to the Proprietary Party, and his attacks became so annoying that William Franklin, in a letter to Strahan, which will appear in the October number of this Magazine, wrote that the Proprietary Party being unable to reply to the lashing they received by an answer to their ridicule by Hughes, they "employed one Dove, a fellow who has some talent, for the lowest kind of scurrility, to publish a print, with some verses annex'd, villifying my father & some of the most worthy men in the province. By way of revenge some writer has attack'd them in their own Way, & turn'd all Dove's verses against Mr. Allen, he being the Head of the Proprietary Party. This has enraged him excessively as those Verses & the Print had cost him upwards of £25. You will probably have seen before this reaches you, the Advertisement, Answer & Reply, as they were printed in Mr. Hall's Newspaper, & therefore I send you the enclosed Pamphlet, which is likely to put a stop to that kind of writing here for the future, as was the intention of the author."

This pamphlet, is that entitled "An Humble Attempt at Scurrility In Imitation of Those Great Masters of the Art, the Rev. Dr. S — th, the Rev. Dr. Al — n, the Rev. Mr. Ew — n, Esq., the Irreverend D. J. D — ve, and the Heroic J — n D — n, Esq. Being a Full Answer to the Observations on Mr. H — s's Advertisement. By Jack Retort, Student in Scurrility, Quilsylvania; Printed, 1765."

So far as can now be determined, this pamphlet did end the "war." Or it may be that all interest in the constant exchange of abuse had ceased to exert any influence. If any similar publications were issued after this time they are not now very easily identified, and it may be concluded that the Stamp Act, and its attendant excitement removed

the attention from the local politicians to those higher up in England.

Dove, as has been noted, retired from his school in Germantown in 1767, and came to Philadelphia to live in retirement. It would appear that either he found retirement irksome to one of his energies, or that he found himself in need of more money. At any rate, in the columns of the "Pennsylvania Chronicle," for October 26—November 2, of that year he published an advertisement announcing that at the "repeated solicitation of many gentlemen and ladies, whom Mr. Dove has formerly had the honor of instructing, he purposes, God willing, to open a school at his house in Front Street, near the corner of Arch Street, on Monday, November ninth, where youth of both sexes in separate apartments will be taught to read, cypher, and speak their own language according to the exact rules of grammar."

How long Dove kept this school may not now be known but from the language of his will it would seem that he was conducting it up to the time of his fatal illness, in February, 1769. His will bearing the date of February 5, 1769, notes the fact that he is sick, and indicates that while not in opulent circumstances, he at least had some small fortune. He bequeaths to Sarah Warfield, widow, £100, and to his faithful assistant, Joseph Rothwell, £10. To Dr. Kearsley, he gives his air pump "of Sir Isaac Newton," and his "rolin cone oppera glass and prism, and his diving bell." To his godson, William Jenkin, he leaves £10 in trust, and he releases his servant, Matthew McGuire, from his indentures.

The executors under the testament are Benjamin Condy, and Paul Isaac Voto, and to them he bequeaths £50. The residue of his estate is left to the children of his sister, Mary Meadows. The will is witnessed by Matthew Dillworth, and Allen McLean. There is a codicil dated March 1, 1769, in which the testator's books are left to Dr. Glentworth. It is witnessed by Joseph Rothell. Dove died a month later, and was buried in the burying ground of Christ Church on April 4, 1769. His will was admitted to probate the following day.