WASHINGTON IN PHILADELPHIA

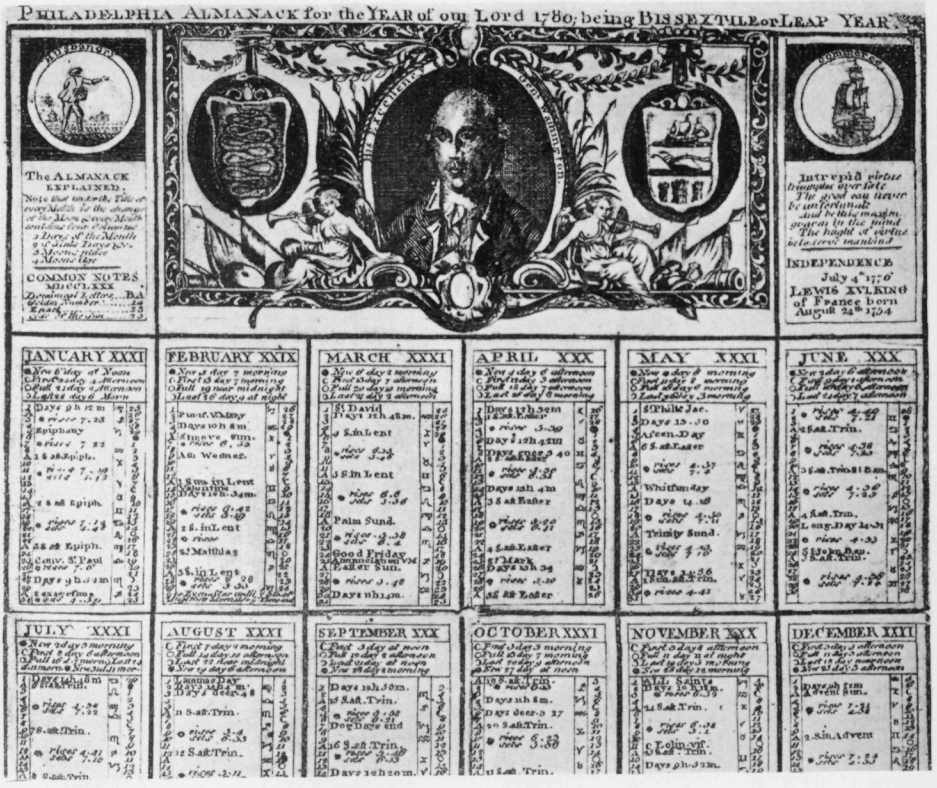
A paper read before The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 14, 1932, with the parts then omitted restored

By JOSEPH JACKSON

When it is realized that Washington has been dead for more than one hundred and thirty-two years, the fact that there are still standing in Philadelphia no fewer than eighteen buildings which are authentically associated with him, seems to be little short of the marvelous.

There are, of course, two ways to view this circumstance: the sentimental and the commercial. On the former score we feel very proud to be so fortunate as to possess so many structures which the greatest American actually visited; on the other hand, some pessimist might remind us that we are very unprogressive as a city, since no other in this country can show half so many buildings associated with the name of Washington.

On a venture that all of these buildings may not readily occur to one's mind, I shall remind you that they comprise Carpenters Hall; the old State House, which we now call Independence Hall; Congress Hall; the Pennsylvania Hospital; Christ Church; St. Peter's Church, Third and Pine Streets; St. Mary's Catholic Church, on Fourth Street; the Powel residence, 244 South Third Street, now being restored; Stenton; the Chew House, Germantown; the Morris House, Germantown; Lemon Hill and Belmont in Fairmount Park; Solitude, in the Zoological Garden; the Woodlands; the Bartram house; Dr. William Shippen's house, Southwest corner of Fourth and Locust Streets; and, John Ross' residence, at the southeast corner of Second and Pine Streets. It is a matter of record



FIRST ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

Upper part of the sheet of the *Philadelphia Almanack for 1780*
The engraving is the work of John Norman

that Washington was in every one of these; but there may be a few others where he is said to have been, but which statements rest upon very unsatisfactory evidence.

Another feature connecting Washington with this city more than with any other, is the fact that half of the portraits of him made from life were posed for here; and the first engraved portrait of him appeared in the *Philadelphia Almanac* for the year 1780. It is impossible to describe these briefly, but further on I shall allude to a few of them.

Washington first saw Philadelphia as a very young man, and from that time until forty-two years later, when he finally left it, he spent the greater part of his public life here. All of this is known, of course, although it may not have been fully appreciated. In Philadelphia, Washington spent some of his most pleasant days, and, here also, were some of his most anxious ones endured.

When Colonel George Washington rode into Philadelphia on February 8, 1756, accompanied by his aide, Captain Mercer, who in the Revolution was distinguished as General Mercer, he lacked some days of being twenty-four years of age; but already he was a personage, and important enough to have his visit mentioned in the following week's issue of *The Pennsylvania Gazette.*

Washington was on his way to Boston to confer with General Shirley, that the latter might determine the right of command between himself and Captain Dagworthy, who acted on a commission of the Governor of Maryland. It was decided by the Commander-in-chief of the British forces in America that Colonel Washington, as a Provincial field officer would be in command at Fort Cumberland. That decision gave him the supreme satisfaction of having his contention ratified by authority.

A long and expensive journey was required to settle this disagreement; but Washington footed the bills for his aide and himself, and appears to have enjoyed his sojourns in Philadelphia and New York, on his way; and, of course, in Boston.

Philadelphia, as indeed, the remainder of the country, knew of young Washington's gallant conduct in the western part of this Province; of his mission to the French commander two years before, and of his conduct after the defeat of General Braddock, to whom he had been an aide. The so-called French and Indian War was still dragging its weary course, but there was no need for Washington to hasten. Even wars seemed to be less impatient in those days.

So methodical a man as Washington could be depended upon to keep strict account of his expenditures on the journey. What causes us some little curiosity, however, in looking over his journal, is the number of visits he made to tailors. This city was the first large town he visited, and here he remained for about a week, but the first day he was in Philadelphia we find he spent twenty-one pounds and nine shillings with a tailor; a hatter was paid two pounds, four shillings; a jeweler, one pound, seven and six; a sadler, one pound, nine and seven, and a washerwoman received sixteen shillings, eleven pence. Evidently Washington did not have the tipping habit, for he might have let the laundress have the additional penny to make seventeen shillings.

He started on February 14th for New York, where he paid a tailor's bill of three pounds, three and seven. He also lost eight shillings at cards there. But at Boston he seems to have spread himself during the fortnight he spent in the New England capital. He must have admired the Boston tailoring for he paid a tailor's bill of ninety-five pounds, seventeen shillings and one pence. Silver lace was extra, and he bought

a quantity that cost him ninety-four pounds, seventeen shillings and one pence. In Boston they played cards better than they did in New York, too, for he lost three pounds, eighteen shillings and nine pence in games, in the home of Puritanism.

Philadelphia evidently was not so hard on his purse, and on his return journey to Virginia, he stopped here from March 14th to the 23d, buying a ticket for the Dancing Assembly for the very reasonable charge of seven shillings, six pence.

For the next forty years Washington's career was destined to become more closely associated with Philadelphia than it was with any other American city. Some years ago Governor Pennypacker said of Washington in an address: "Though he was born and died in Virginia he spent in great part his military and official life in Pennsylvania."

That only was a statement of fact; but Governor Pennypacker was the first speaker to call it to our attention; and when one takes even a cursory view of Washington's contacts with Philadelphia, he is surprised to find how large a share this city had in providing the scene of his glorious career.

When Washington first looked upon Philadelphia it had a population of about eighteen thousand persons, but already was recognized as the largest city in the Colonies. In 1754, Nicholas Scull and George Heap's immense engraving, "An East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia", was published, and it shows a rather modest skyline for a metropolis; but it is ambitiously ornamented by the tall spires of Christ Church, the State House, the Academy, the Second Presbyterian Church at Third and Arch Streets, and the Dutch Calvinist Church at Fourth and Race Streets.

The built-up part of the city was bounded on the west by Fourth Street, although there were scattering buildings as far as Eighth Street. Front Street was

favored by the merchant princes as a place of residence, and some of them even lived on King, now Water Street, from which vantage ground they could see their ships come and go by merely looking out of an upper window.

In *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 18, 1756, we read the simple statement that "Yesterday Colonel George Washington arrived here from the northward." But this was what newspapers call a typographical error when they find they are mistaken. Washington really was back in this city several days earlier, according to his journal; and we know some impediment prevented him from being untruthful.

Lord Loudoun, who had come over to take command of the military forces in the Colonies, summoned all the governors of the southern provinces to meet him in Philadelphia in the spring of 1757. There was no one in the Colonies at the time who was so familiar with the military situation, then rather exasperating, as young Colonel Washington. He had developed into an expert Indian fighter, and Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, granted him permission to go to Philadelphia to consult with the new commander-in-chief, although it is evident that the governor thought the trip unnecessary. The young Colonel not only visited the city but wrote a lengthy letter, which might be regarded as an unofficial report of the military situation here so far as it related to the back country where the Indians and French were still menacing; and Lord Loudoun, like every one who met the young Virginian, was pleased with his personality, and impressed with his thorough knowledge of the subjects upon which he talked or wrote.

We have the evidence of this high regard for the young Colonel in the letter sent him by James Cunningham, aide-de-camp of the Earl of Loudoun. He wrote to Washington: "His Lordship seems very much

pleased with the accounts you have given him of the situation of affairs to the southward."

We might add that his Lordship also was to be congratulated upon receiving this account from the only man in the country who really was informed on the subject.

Unfortunately we have very little further knowledge of this visit, although it appears that Washington went to a concert in April, and was in the city as early as March 2d. On March 17th, he bought tickets which cost him fifty-two shillings, six pence. Paul Leicester Ford suggests that these were for the theatre but we know the playhouse was not then open. It is probable that they were for the lottery set afoot for the benefit of the College and Academy.

Although Washington did not see Philadelphia again until 1773, he did order a ring at a cost of two pounds, sixteen shillings, from a Philadelphia jeweler, early in May, 1758. As he had become engaged to the young widow of Daniel Parke Custis, late in March of that year, it is not difficult to place a construction on these events that shows them to be connected.

Mrs. Martha Custis was married to Colonel Washington on January 6, 1759, and from being a bachelor and a soldier, Washington was translated to a life of domestic felicity, and to becoming foster father to his wife's two small children, John and Patsy, then aged six and four years respectively. No children ever had a father who was so solicitous or considerate of their welfare, or more kindly disposed than this foster parent; and it was due to this care about the future of his stepson, Jack Custis, that Philadelphia owed its fortune of entertaining Washington again.

In May of 1773, the Colonel started out from Mount Vernon for New York, where he intended to enter his stepson in King's College, now Columbia University. They arrived in Philadelphia on May 16th, and having

breakfasted in Chester, they dined the same afternoon with Governor Richard Penn, who was three years Washington's junior, and who had married Mary Masters the preceding year. The Governor and Mrs. Penn occupied the mansion on Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, a site now covered by the properties numbered 526 to 530, which had been Mrs. Penn's bridal gift from her mother. In passing it might be mentioned that that dwelling was destined to shelter Washington several times under very different circumstances.

On this visit to Philadelphia Washington and his stepson remained a whole week, not leaving for New York until May 23d. They had an immensely busier social sojourn than Colonel Washington had when he was here in 1757. Washington took his stepson everywhere, for he was a young man of twenty, and his stepfather intended that he should experience life befitting his position.

While Washington mentions his lodgings in Philadelphia he gives no clue to their whereabouts. During the first two days he dined with the Governor, and under date of May 18th, he wrote in his journal: "Dined with several gentlemen at our own lodgings and went to the Assembly in the evening." As he notes on his return to this city on June 2d, "Got to Philadelphia by nine o'clock to my old lodgings and spent the evening there." it must be literally interpreted.

It is evident that a very pleasant week welcomed Washington. Among his varied recreations were horse racing and fox hunting. He was a good rider and knew horses. Governor Penn was President of the Jockey Club, which he had assisted in forming in Philadelphia in 1766, and we read in Washington's Journal under date of May 17, 1773, "Dined again at

Governor Penn's and spent the evening at the Jockey Club."

Washington was in his element among the Jockey Club members, and every day he dined with one or another of them. Thus he dined with John Cadwalader, vice president of the club, on May 20th; with Samuel Meredith, on May 21st, and with Mr. Morris, on May 22d. As both Gouverneur Morris and Robert Morris were members, and both friends of his, one must decide for himself at whose table Washington sat on that afternoon—for dinner in those days was an afternoon meal among people of fashion, and a noontime meal for those who were regarded as plebeian. The evening meal was either tea or supper. With Washington it seems to be referred to as tea.

The day Washington dined with Mr. Morris, he accompanied his host to the club in the evening; evidently meaning the Jockey Club. The meeting of the latter on May 17, when the visitor was first introduced to the horsemen of Philadelphia, was held at Michael Duff's tavern, on Second Street; and there the following day, at four in the afternoon, the club sat down to dinner, it being race day, when the Club's purse of £100 was contested on the race course, at Broad and Market Streets. Dinners lasted as long as the wines in those days, and it is probable that Washington found many Jockey Club members still enjoying themselves when he arrived. While one would be willing to make a wager that the Colonel attended the races, his journal is silent upon the subject.

On the evening of May 19th, Colonel Washington spent the evening at the home of Chief Justice William Allen; and on the 20th, after dining with Mr. Cadwalader, he attended a ball. It should be understood that Mr. Custis always accompanied him to these social functions. On the evening of the 21st, they spent the evening with Mr. Mease, and once more we are un-

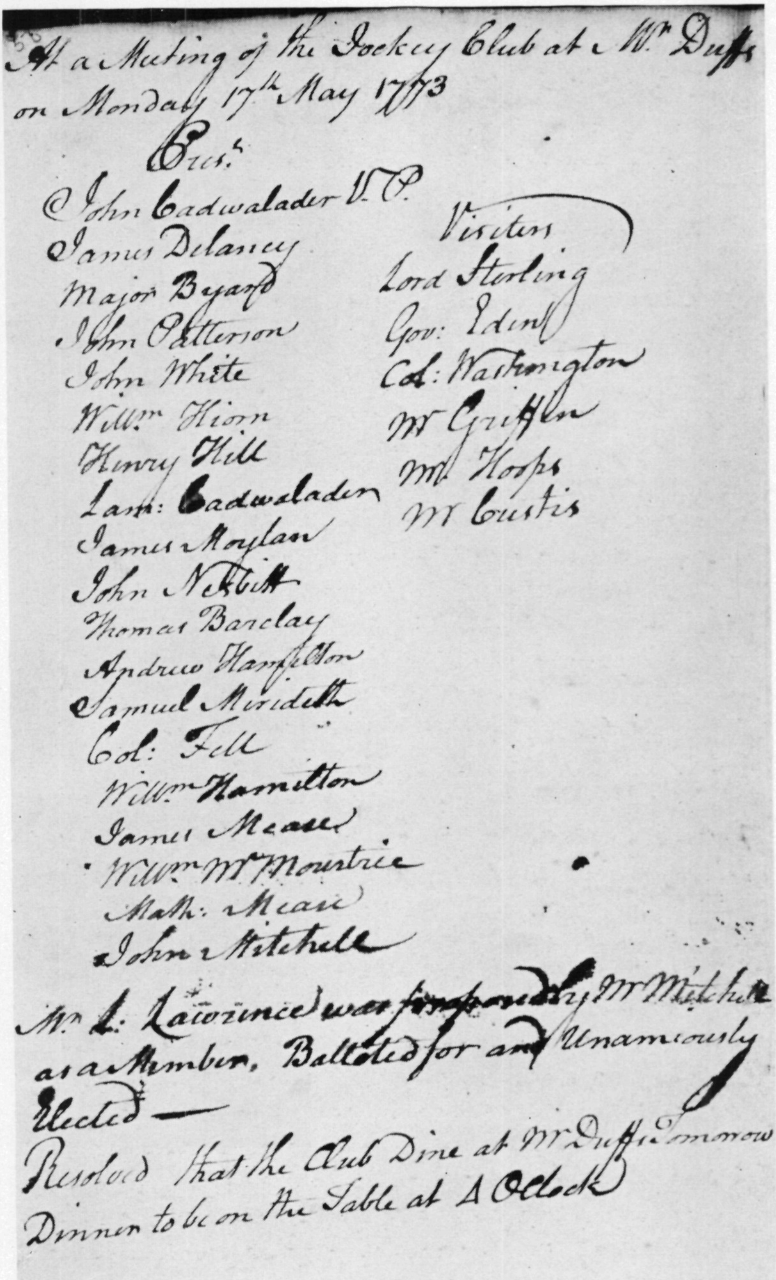
certain which Mr. Mease had the honor, for both M. and J. Mease were members of the Jockey Club.

At the Club, Washington met Lord Sterling and Major R. Bayard, the latter a member; and when he, with his stepson set out for New York on May 23d, the party was joined by these two. Washington and young Mr. Custis breakfasted with Governor Penn that day, and leaving the city immediately afterward, the party reached Burlington, New Jersey, in time to have dinner with Governor Franklin.

Entering his stepson at King's College, and making him comfortable in lodgings, and also depositing a sum of money for his needs, Washington, who arrived on the evening of May 26th, remained until May 31st, when he started southward.

He arrived in Philadelphia at nine o'clock at night on June 2d, or just after dark, but only spent the night here. The next morning he rode to the meadows along the river before breakfast, evidently meaning the Schuylkill River; and about eleven o'clock left the city by the Middle Ferry, at Market Street, and proceeded out the Lancaster Road to the Sorrel Horse, thirteen miles from Philadelphia, where he dined. The Sorrel Horse is now the residence of Mr. George McFadden.

In little more than a year, Washington was back in Philadelphia. Political clouds were gathering over the country and the demand for a Continental Congress which had arisen in the Colonies was about to be satisfied. Virginia sent seven delegates, and Washington was one of them. It was a serious business therefore, which brought him to Philadelphia this time. He was not a carefree tourist, although there was no necessity for him to shut out the usual social pleasures; and being fond of society, he enjoyed them. The Jockey Club was not very active, although there was a club which met at the City Tavern, on Second Street, which


At a Meeting of the Jockey Club at Mr. Duffs
on Monday 17th May 1773

Pres.t

John Cadwalader V. P.
James Delancey
Major Byard
John Patterson
John White
Willm. Hiorn
Henry Hill
Lam: Cadwalader
James Moylan
John Nesbitt
Thomas Barclay
Andrew Hamilton
Samuel Merideth
Col: Fell
Willm. Hamilton
James Mease
Willm. McMoutrie
Math: Mease
John Mitchell

Visiters
Lord Sterling
Gov: Eden
Col: Washington
Mr Griffen
Mr Hoops
Mr Custis

Mr L: Lawrence was proposed by Mr Mitchell as a Member, Balloted for and Unamiously Elected —

Resolved that the Club Dine at Mr Duffs tomorrow Dinner to be on the Table at 4 OClock

WASHINGTON AT THE JOCKEY CLUB
A page from the original Register in The Historical Society

had been built the year before and now opened under the management of Daniel Smith. Washington dropped in occasionally at this house which was on Second Street, north of Walnut, and it became the headquarters for members of the Congress.

On Sunday, September 4, 1774, Washington rode into the city, crossing the Schuylkill at the Lower Ferry, and went to the City Tavern for his supper; after which he lodged with Dr. William Shippen, whose residence was on the west side of Second Street, north of Spruce. After breakfasting with the Doctor next morning, he went to Carpenters Hall, where the delegates organized by electing Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, President, and Charles Thomson, who was not a delegate, Secretary of the Congress. That afternoon Washington dined with his host, and spent the evening at the City Tavern, which was the rallying point for all the delegates. It was generally referred to as the New Tavern.

By this time Washington secured lodgings for himself, and thereafter dined with various prominent Philadelphians. On the rare occasions when he did not have a dinner engagement he took his meal either at the New Tavern, or at Bevan's tavern, or in his own lodgings. Usually he spent his evenings in his rooms, and it is an interesting subject for speculation where these were. One editor of Washington's Diaries tells us in a footnote that he lodged in the house of Edmund Fitz Randolph, father of the surgeon, Jacob Randolph. It is rather difficult to reconcile this statement, and it is quite possible that Washington found lodgings with Benjamin Randolph, a successful cabinet maker, who lived on Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, and who was an original member of the First Troop of City Cavalry. Jefferson not only lodged there when he first came to Philadelphia as a delegate, the following year, but he had Randolph

make him a writing desk after his own design; and it was upon this piece of furniture that he penned the historic Declaration of Independence, and thus achieved immortal fame.

Washington's duty as a delegate to this First Continental Congress detained him in Philadelphia from September 4th to October 27th. A list of his dinner hosts would be a long one. We get a picture of an average day of the delegates from a letter of John Adams and it is pleasing enough to convince us that time did not hang heavily on their hands.

"I shall be killed with kindness in this place" wrote Adams to his wife.

> We go to Congress at nine, and there we stay until three in the afternoon; then we adjourn, and go to dine with some of the nobles of Pennsylvania at four o'clock, and feast upon a thousand delicacies, and sit drinking madeira, claret and Burgundy till six or seven, and then go home fatigued to death with business, company and care. Yet I hold it out surprisingly.

So did Washington, if we may judge from the brief records in his diary. As the proceedings of the Congress were secret, nothing of its work is found in the pages of his journal. This is characteristic of Washington's early journals. Even when, in the following year, he was elected General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised or to be raised by the Congress, his little pocketbook diary is silent on the subject.

Washington's diaries are lacking in that very human quality which those of Samuel Pepys had in such luxuriance—gossip. Evidently the American's diaries were not kept for posterity, but for his own use. He spells names incorrectly, fails to sufficiently identify his hosts, and leaves a great deal of flesh to be supplied to the skeleton of events he furnishes. Yet we should congratulate ourselves that we have so much of his career outlined for us by the man who lived it.

His average day while attending Congress was to

go to the meeting at nine in the morning, and remain until three. Four o'clock was the dinner hour, and he was constantly asked out. In the evening he remained in his lodgings, or went to the City Tavern, where there was a club. Usually he spent his Sundays visiting, although when he stayed in town he went to church; and he was very broad minded in this duty. The first place he attended religious services in Philadelphia, was the Quaker Meeting—which meeting house he attended we are in ignorance. It may have been in Pine Street, or it may have been at Second and Market Streets. He went there on the morning of September 25th, and that afternoon he attended St. Peter's at Third and Pine Streets.

On Sunday, October 2d, he went to Christ Church, and dined that afternoon at the City Tavern. The following Sunday he went to the Presbyterian Church at Third and Arch Streets in the morning, and to St. Mary's Catholic Church, on Fourth Street, the same afternoon, which indicated that he enjoyed contrasts. He dined at Bevan's tavern that day.

The next Sunday he went again to Christ Church (October 16), and after service rode to the Ferry house tavern on Province Island, formerly kept by the Penroses, and then kept by Joseph Rudolph. There he dined, and in the evening came back to town to sup at John Byrne's, whose tavern was on Second Street.

As he arrived in the city on a Sunday, and spent seven other Sundays in Philadelphia during this visit, Washington could scarcely be alluded to as an enthusiastic churchgoer.

During the seven weeks he spent in Philadelphia he had visited nearly every part of it, and this knowledge of its topography and local geography was of much use to him when he became head of the American army. He visited William Hamilton at the Woodlands;

he dined with Joseph Wharton, Jr., at his estate in the southern part of Philadelphia, "Walnut Grove," destined three years later to be the scene of the great pageant, The Meschianza; he dined with John Dickinson, at his place near Fair Hill; he rode out to John Ross's place, "The Grange," or Grange Farm, near Frankford. He also dined one afternoon with Chief Justice Chew, probably at his city house on Third Street. Three years later, General Washington's troops were doing their best to wreck Mr. Chew's house in Germantown. That, however, was in the line of patriotic duty, and was no reflection upon the chief justice's dinner or wines.

Before he left the city he went to the Governor's Club, which we are told met at Peggy Mullen's Beefsteak House, on Water Street, at the corner of Tun Alley, below Chestnut Street. This historic hostelry was long known as the Tun Tavern; and there, in 1732, when it bore that sign, the first Masonic Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania was accustomed to hold its meetings. For nearly, or quite half a century the Mullens, who had the fate of seldom having their name spelled correctly, were popular tavern keepers in Philadelphia. Peggy, whose name, of course, was Margaret, was the wife of Thomas Mullen. She died, in 1774, and was buried in Christ Church burial ground. In 1775, Thomas Mullen opened a summer tavern on the banks of the Schuylkill in Passyunk, near Rope Ferry, which he called Vauxhall. Washington made one or two visits to this place. Robert Mullen, possibly a son, had a Beefsteak and Oyster House on Walnut Street, between Front and Second Streets, in 1785; but the spirit of Peggy did not hover over it. It is quite possible that the Governor's Club held sessions in Mullen's Passyunk House, for Washington mentions having dined there.

It is needless to relate that the Virginia delegate was

not absent from the great banquet which was given for the Congress by the City of Philadelphia September 16, 1774. It also was the custom for the delegates to hold a weekly dinner at the City Tavern. Before the first Continental Congress completed its work, the Pennsylvania Assembly entertained the delegates at dinner at the City Tavern, October 20, 1774. A ball followed the dinner, and being fond of dancing, Washington attended.

To glance at his diary for this period one gets the very exaggerated notion that the great man divided his time between attending Congress and dining. As a matter of fact he was interested in going about the city. The day he dined with the elder Doctor Shippen, he accompanied his host to the Pennsylvania Hospital where he heard him lecture on anatomy. On September 29th, after dining with the Attorney General of the Province, Andrew Allen, he went to a ball.

Washington was a real tourist. He not only enjoyed, or, at least, did not complain, of travelling, but wherever he went he did some shopping. The present day tourist does the same thing, and it has become one of the joys of strolling away from home. Washington bought, among many other things, a pocketbook for Mrs. Washington, a riding chair for Mary Washington, and a cloak for her, to quote his accounts. His literary purchases, however, were neither extensive or interesting, consisting of a few volumes and pamphlets concerning the Congress, bought from John Bradford. On Friday, October 27th, he set out for Mount Vernon.

It might be pointed out that each visit had shown Washington beset with heavier responsibilities; but none of them equalled the burdens which were to be placed upon his generous shoulders when he returned as a delegate to the second Continental Congress, in May, 1775.

He set out from Mount Vernon to ride northward,

on May 4th, and on this journey, by the time he had reached the suburbs of Philadelphia, on May 9th, he had other Southern delegates riding with him. Before he left Virginia he had heard the news from Lexington, and had volunteered to raise and equip at his own expense a force to aid Boston. He then donned his uniform, that of an officer of the Virginia militia, and in it attended the meeting of the Congress.

Although he makes no mention of his companions, nor of their reception in his diary, merely recording that he breakfasted at Chester, dined at the City Tavern, and supped with Joseph Reed, our own local diarist, Christopher Marshall comes to the rescue by filling in the picture.

After mentioning the arrival of some Southerners in the brig, *Charleston Packet,* that morning, he adds:

> N.B.—This day arrived these sundry delegates, viz., Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison and Richard Bland, Esquires, from Virginia; Richard Caswell and Joseph Hewes, Esquires, from North Carolina; Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson and John Hall, Esquires, from Maryland; Caesar Rodney and George Read, Esquires, from the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on the Delaware.
>
> It is said they were met, about six miles from town by the officers of all the companies in the city, and by many other gentlemen, on horseback, to the amount of five hundred. Within two miles of the city, the company of riflemen and infantry, with a band of music, met them, and conducted them through the city with great applause.

From this entry it appears the party must have been met on the banks of the Schuylkill at Passyunk, at the Rope Ferry, which at that time was Rudolph's Ferry; although the militia and the band, which escorted the cavalcade into the city evidently only marched from Passyunk and Buck Roads—approximately in the vicinity of the present Twelfth and Morris Streets, which would be about two miles from the City Tavern, at Second and Walnut Streets.

Washington found that events had been moving rapidly in New England since his last visit. The people of Philadelphia, by the enthusiastic welcome they gave the delegates showed they realized the seriousness of the situation, and while news did not travel very swiftly in those days, all of the delegates had learned of the crisis which had been forced upon the colonists by the engagements at Lexington and Concord during the preceding month.

Once again Washington is said to have lodged with Randolph, and again he constantly was being entertained at dinner by those gentlemen whom John Adams gratefully alluded to as "the nobles of Pennsylvania." He was a weekly attendant to the dinner given by the delegates at the City Tavern, and occasionally rode out to Mullen's on the Schuylkill, or to Province Island—usually on Sundays. There were six Sundays during his stay in the city, and on one of them he went to Church, although he did not specify where. There was another tavern, in addition to the City Tavern, which was the headquarters of the delegates, which Washington visited frequently; and this was Byrne's, probably that of James Byrne, whose tavern was on Market Street, above Eleventh, the site of the Reading Terminal. Washington refers to it as "in the Fields," indicating the suburbs, which proves it was not the house of Patrick Byrne, who in 1785, had the Sign of the Cock, on Front Street, between Walnut and Spruce Streets, and before that, on Second Street. His place was the scene of the early meetings for the merger of the American Philosophical Society and of the American Society held in Philadelphia, in 1768. Still another favorite haunt of Washington at this time was Bevan's tavern, but Bevan has eluded all historians; we know nothing about him.

A Committee of the Congress, of which Washington was a member, held meetings at The Conestoga

Wagon, a tavern kept by Major Samuel Nichols, on Market Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, on the site of the present No. 410. It might be mentioned that here, in 1782, General Charles Lee, who had been dismissed from the Continental Army, died a broken and ruined man, attended only by his friend and former aide, Colonel Eleazer Oswald. On May 19th, one committee met in the State House.

Washington attended the commencement of the College of Philadelphia, on May 17th, an institution which was to become the University of Pennsylvania. On Sunday, June 4th, he went to Robert Morris's country seat, *The Hills,* known to modern generations as Lemon Hill, in Fairmount Park. On Friday, June 9th, he wrote in his diary, "Dined at Mr. Samuel Pleasants and went to hear Piercy preach." This was the Rev. William Pearsey, chaplain to the Right Honorable, the Countess of Huntingdon, who preached in the Second Presbyterian Church at Third and Arch Streets.

June 15, 1775, probably was the most important date in Washington's life. As it happened, it also may be regarded as one of the important dates in the history of the United States.

On that day the Continental Congress elected him General of all the Armies of the United Colonies in the field or to be raised. The election was not altogether easy for there was sectional feeling to be combatted. Washington did nothing to assist the selection, and felt, when he accepted, that he was only doing his duty. Throughout his career this word duty was always before him—the duty of a gentleman, and the duty of a patriot. No other call was so strongly felt by him.

When he returned to his lodgings that evening, after having dined at Byrne's in the Fields, and in conference with his Committee, he made this simple entry in his diary:

May 15th—Dined at Burns in the Fields. Spent the evening in the Committee.

Aware that the Congress would select a commander that day, he very properly did not attend the session. But he wrote a long letter to his wife, and in it gave us the description we vainly seek in his daily journal.

I am now set down to write you on a subject, which fills me with inexpressible concern, and this concern is greatly aggravated and increased when I reflect upon the uneasiness I know it will give you.

It has been determined in Congress, that the whole army raised for the defence of the American cause shall be put under my care, and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the command of it.

You may believe me, my dear Patsy, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home, than I have in the most distant prospect of finding it abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years.

He added,

I shall feel no pain from the toil or danger of the campaign; my unhappiness will flow from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone.

Washington continued to keep his diary for a few days—June 19th, to be exact, the day he received his commission, and then ceased his daily journal until the last phase of the Revolution—the Yorktown Campaign had been begun. He now dined out, as before, either at a friend's or at Byrne's tavern in the Fields, or at Mullen's, on the Schuylkill, and his evenings were spent in his lodgings. From the pages of his daily accounts of where he went, one obtains no glimpses of the activity in which he was engaged. His evenings were occupied partly in writing letters to his family and friends, and in none of them does he take

any gloomy view of what was before him, but it should be said that his views always were serious.

On June 22d, he was given a farewell supper at the City Tavern by the military officers and the delegates to the Congress.

In addition to appointing Washington to the chief command of the army, the Congress also commissioned Artemis Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler and Israel Putnam, Major-Generals; and appointed Horatio Gates Adjutant-General. Washington appointed Major Thomas Mifflin, of Philadelphia, to be his Aide-de-camp. The Commander-in-Chief remained in Philadelphia until June 23d, spending part of the time reviewing the local troops. When he started off to take command of the American Army, then at Cambridge, he was accompanied by General Lee, and they were escorted by the troop of light horse, which we recognize today as the First City Troop, and by all the officers of the city militia on horseback. This escort left the Generals at Frankford, but the light horse continued as body guard as far as New York. It might be suggested that the *Jolly Post Boy* tavern at Frankford was the point where the militia officers retired.

Although Washington visited Philadelphia several times during the Revolution, he made but one lengthy stay here, in the next ten years. He paid a hurried visit from New York in May, 1776; arriving here on May 23d, and leaving to return to the Army on June 5th. He had many problems to discuss with the Congress, and as he wrote to the President of that body, John Hancock, "there were many matters which could be better explained in a personal interview than in whole volumes of letters."

During this visit he was joined by Mrs. Washington, who arrived in the city the day before the General reached it. On May 24th, he attended Congress and on the following day conferred with a committee of

that body. On May 27th, he reviewed four battalions of militia, the local light horse and the artillery regiment. While Mrs. Washington was in Philadelphia she had herself vaccinated against the smallpox, which, with camp fever was then epidemic in Philadelphia. Therefore, as she was still nursing the effects of inoculation when the General left, it was deemed wise for her to remain behind for a short time.

Although Washington appears to have been a voluminous letter writer, as he observed in one of his messages to the Continental Congress, a great deal more could be accomplished by personal interviews, and to have such a meeting the Commander-in-chief returned to Philadelphia in August 2, 1777, remaining until the afternoon of August 4th. As we have seen that he was not in Philadelphia between June 5, 1776, and August 2, 1777, it would seem that this fact rather disposes of the pretty story that he visited Mrs. Elizabeth Ross and showed her how to design the American Flag.

When he left he went to the Falls of Schuylkill, which, for many years has been a part of the city, and there made his headquarters in Carlton Mansion, the home of Henry Hill, on Indian Queen lane. Washington knew Mr. Hill, whom he probably met at the Jockey Club, when he was here in 1773. Certainly his diary for 1774 records that he spent a Sunday dining "at Mr. Hill's about six miles from town." For the curious it might be mentioned that the date of this visit was September 18th. Mr. Hill was the owner of race horses, and had a private race course on his plantation, but I believe all trace of the place has been obliterated by the Indian Queen reservoir.

As Carlton should be included as in Philadelphia, it might be mentioned that, on this occasion, Washington remained there from August 4th to 9th, with his army encamped at the Falls. On the latter date

the army moved to the Neshaminy, but on August 24th, Washington, riding at the head of his army, marched back to Philadelphia, and through it, along Market Street to the Schuylkill, where they passed over the floating bridge, which General Putnam had provided at the Middle Ferry. The American forces were headed South, but we need not follow them to Wilmington, or to the Brandywine, where they fought the unfortunate engagement on September 11th. All were back again at the Falls on the 12th, remaining until the 14th, with Washington again making his headquarters in the spacious, handsome old mansion, Carlton. On the 14th the General and his army retired to Pennypacker's Mills, and on October 4th, all came quietly back to surprise the British at Germantown. Owing to the hazy nature of the weather, what might have been a rout of the King's troops, resulted in a sad defeat of the American Army. But if the American tactics were as faulty as certain military critics have told us they were, what is to be said of the British strategy, which made no effort to prevent the Americans from retiring, nor any move to follow up the retreating hosts?

As Franklin is said to have observed, the British did not take Philadelphia—but Philadelphia took the British.

On October 5th, Washington and his army were back at Pennypacker's Mills, and in December of the same year went into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

More than a year passed before Philadelphia saw Washington again. Then, on December 22d, he came quietly and unheralded into the city. It was late in the day, and there was no time to provide a formal reception.

Henry Laurens, then President of the Continental Congress, invited the General and Mrs. Washington, who came to the city at the same time, to make his residence their home during their stay, which they did.

Although Washington was kept busy with the public business during his visit which lasted from December 22, 1778, to February 2, 1779, it was the first period of relaxation the General had enjoyed since assuming command of the American Army.

On December 28th, which was St. John's Day, Washington headed the procession of Free Masons, which walked to Christ Church, from their hall. There they heard the reverend William Smith preach the sermon. On January 6, 1779, the General and Mrs. Washington attended a dance at Mrs. Powel's, on Third Street, and the General there danced with Mrs. Bache, daughter of Franklin, who has left us the only glimpse of the entertainment we have.

In a letter to her distinguished father, then in Paris, she wrote, referring to Washington,

> We danced at Mrs. Powel's on your birthday, or night, I should say, in company together, and he told me it was the anniversary of his marriage. It was just twenty years that night.

Franklin, like Washington, always celebrated his birthday under the old style, for the calendar indicated January 6th, when he was born in the year 1706, and not January 17th, as the new style corrected the date. Until he became President, Washington always celebrated his birthday on February 11, and not on the 22d of that month.

With Washington the important business of this visit was many conferences with Congress, or a Congressional Committee, regarding the design of the new campaign, in which the long expected help of France could be counted upon.

For us, the most interesting business probably was his sittings to artists to have his portrait painted. On January 18, 1779, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania passed a resolution, desiring the President to wait upon the General and request that he give

a sitting to Charles Willson Peale, for a portrait to be hung in the Council chamber. Two days later the General granted the request, sending a letter to that effect, and arrangements were quickly made with the artist, who, having painted three portraits of Washington before this, had an excellent idea of his sitter. The portrait was painted, probably in the artist's studio, then on Market Street.

Mr. Peale copied the painting in a mezzotint engraving he made the following year, and these prints now are very rare. From what Mr. Baker has written we get the impression that they are all we have to remind us of the original painting, which, while it hung in the State House, was defaced on the night of September 9, 1781, by some vandals who never were detected. The painting is of a full length figure, and pictures Washington at Princeton. The engraving is a half length, but is regarded as a striking likeness. This painting is now in a Philadelphia collection.

On February 1st, the day before he returned to the camp at Middlebrook, New Jersey, Washington visited the studio of Pierre Etienne du Simitière, who made a profile sketch of him in lead pencil. From this sketch engravings were made, and they are now all that are left to remind us of the portrait, which is said to have been lost.

Although Washington did not again visit Philadelphia until August, 1781, he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society in June, 1780. He contributed twenty-five dollars to the Michaux Fund of that organization for the purpose of enabling François André Michaux to make discoveries in the little known Western country; but it may come as a surprise to learn that there is no record of Washington ever having attended a single meeting, or even, having once visited the Society's hall. It is true that he attended the meeting held in the German Lutheran Church at

Fourth and Cherry Streets, on March 1, 1791, to hear the Rev. Dr. William Smith pronounce his historic eulogium on Franklin. At that time Washington was President of the United States and he did not walk in the procession from the Society's hall on Fifth Street, but attended in his carriage, in state.

When the scene was all set for the last act in the Revolution, in the summer and autumn of 1781, Washington came to Philadelphia for more conferences with Congress and Congressional committees. He arrived on August 30th, and departed for Head of Elk on September 5th, having attended the dinner of the French Minister, M. de la Luzerne, on September 4th, in honor of the French officers.

Washington had come from Trenton, accompanied by the French officers, Generals Rochambeau and Chastellux, and their suites. They were received in the suburbs, in the neighborhood of Frankford, by the militia Light Horse, which included the historic First Troop. When he arrived in the city, the American Commander-in-chief went to the City Tavern, which was the Waldorf-Astoria of that day, and then went to the home of Robert Morris, on Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets. The mansion then was practically a new one, for the building once occupied by Governor Penn, was destroyed by a fire in 1780, and the ruins were taken over by Mr. Morris, who erected a new structure on the original charred walls. However, Washington must have regarded it as practically the same house he had stopped in on a previous visit. This mansion was his headquarters during his brief stay in Philadelphia. On the evening of his arrival the city was illuminated, and various other evidences of enthusiasm and welcome were given.

On September 2d, Washington reviewed a large detachment of the army passing through Philadelphia on its way South, and on the 3d and 4th, the French

legions, attired in their bright and fresh-looking uniforms, passed through the city; their line of march being west on Chestnut Street to the Commons—an indefinite term, meaning in this instance, the banks of the Schuylkill river. As they marched past the State House, Thomas McKean, then President of the Continental Congress, reviewed the Allies from the stone steps in front of the building, wearing his black velvet suit, and carrying a sword at his side. On his left were Washington and Rochambeau, and on his right, M. de la Luzerne, the French Minister.

The elaborate dinner given by the French Minister, on September 4th, at the French Embassy, which was on the north side of Chestnut Street between Sixth and Seventh Streets, was a gay one, the festivities being enhanced by the news, which arrived during the entertainment, that the French fleet, under Count de Grasse, had arrived in the Chesapeake. This welcome news was quickly communicated to the crowds in the streets, and they cheered for the King of France.

The following month the country was excited by news that Cornwallis had surrendered after the Siege of Yorktown. Then, on November 26th, Washington was back in Philadelphia, being alluded to as "the Savior of his country," by *The Pennsylvania Journal.* Next day he had an audience with Congress; and Charles Willson Peale, at his studio, at Third and Lombard Streets, exhibited transparencies to celebrate his triumphal return.

In the State House, on November 28th, the hero received an address from the President of Congress, John Hanson, whom, it may be recalled, was, by a mental process not easy to understand, described a few years ago as the first President of the United States.

During this visit Washington was the recipient of numerous addresses. As a matter of fact for a while they were almost daily occurrences, and to all of these

he was punctilious enough to make appropriate and, evidently, agreeable responses. On November 30th, Speaker Muhlenberg, and several members of the Pennsylvania Assembly, waited upon him to deliver an address. On December 10th, he received an address from the Trustees and Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania; on December 19th, the Magistrates of the city presented an address; and, on the 29th of the same month he received an address from the Vice President, Mr. Bond, of the American Philosophical Society. The same day he received two stands of colors taken from the British at Yorktown, the gift of Congress. General Lincoln made the presentation speech.

His time, however, was not devoted to this business, for we find him and Mrs. Washington attending a concert given by the French Minister, in their honor, and in that of General and Mrs. Greene, at his residence. On this occasion there was sung an oratorio, entitled "The Temple of Minerva," "composed and set to music by a gentleman whose taste in the fine arts is well known," to quote from the paper of the time. Francis Hopkinson was the writer of the libretto and composed the musical score, and in the piece, which a recent writer desires to regard as the first American opera, occurred the germs of Hopkinson's son's immortal song, "Hail Columbia." There for the first time occurs the phrase, "Hail Columbia," and also the phrase, "If her sons united stand," which it will be admitted is somewhat reminiscent. One may imagine Washington's embarrassment when he was forced to hear the chorus sing:

> Hail Columbia's godlike son,
> Hail the glorious Washington!

Washington and his wife dined with Robert Morris on Christmas, and on January 1, 1782, the General was dined by the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, in the

City Tavern; and, although he had not a drop of Irish blood in his veins, he was given a badge of the society and adopted as an honorary member.

On January 2d, he went to the Southwark Theatre, where a performance was given in his honor by the pupils of a French teacher, Alexander Quesnay de Glouvay, who conducted a French language school "The Academy of Polite Science," on Second Street, below Chestnut. The principal play was a comedy by Beaumarchais, entitled, "Eugenie," which the great man scarcely could enjoy because we are told his knowledge of the French language was confined to the use of the word *faux pas,* which occasionally he used in writing, but which he did not know how to spell, being, like many persons of the eighteenth century, a phonetic speller. However, Garrick's farce, "The Lying Valet" also was played, and no doubt he got a laugh out of that.

He seems to have remained in Philadelphia until March 22d, when he left, attended by the Vice President of the State, James Potter, General Reed, and Captain Morris with his Light Horse, and went to Trenton. In the meantime Washington wrote to the Governors of all the States advising them of the necessity of continuing the war, but on March 18th he received news that the British had banished all thought of continuing to fight. On March 21st, he attended the commencement of the University of Pennsylvania and the following day left for northward points.

Returning to Philadelphia, with his suite, on July 14th of the same year, Washington was an honored guest at the great entertainment given by the French Minister at his mansion, on Chestnut Street, to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin of France. There was a concert, with a remarkable display of fireworks on the lot opposite the embassy, that is, the south side of Chestnut Street, west of Sixth, and finally a ball. Ten

days later the General was off again, this time he struck out for Bethlehem.

After a tour of the northern posts and forces, principally in New York State, Washington returned to Philadelphia on December 8, 1783. His coming was known in advance and consequently he was met at Frankford by John Dickinson, President of Pennsylvania, Generals Sinclair and Hand, and the Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse. His arrival in the city was announced by the firing of a salute, which in those uncertain days seems to have been one of thirteen guns, evidently one for each State. The bells of Christ Church also joined in the welcome.

And now, he was in for another batch of addresses, for some bodies had been unable to get to the Commander during some of his previous visits. On December 9th, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania presented an address to him, and the next day he listened to one from the President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. December 11th was a day of public thanksgiving, and he had a respite from speechmaking.

But on December 12th, the merchants of Philadelphia gave a dinner for the guest of the city, at the City Tavern, and followed it with a ball. Washington ought to have been tired the next day; however, he had to listen to addresses from the Magistrates of Philadelphia; the American Philosophical Society; the Trustees and Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania; the clergy; the gentlemen of the law, as the newspapers neatly described the lawyers; and the physicians of Philadelphia. To all of these he was expected to respond in kind. The University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

What he did the next day is not known, but as he was to start for Mount Vernon on December 15th, he

should have spent the day in bed. When he left the city on the 15th, he was escorted a little way out of town by the Ambassador of France, President Dickinson, the City Troop of Horse, and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Morris, who rode in their carriage at the head of the procession.

Philadelphia was not to look upon Washington's face again for six months, and circumstances almost prevented him from then coming here. The General Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was President-General, was scheduled to hold its first convention in Philadelphia on May 1, 1784. As the day approached Washington had an attack of what he called rheumatism. It affected one of his arms, and he was carrying that member in a sling. In some manner he managed to start in time and arrived in Philadelphia during the day of May 1st, going at once to Robert Morris's for dinner, and making the financier's residence his headquarters during his visit.

On the day he arrived, the Sons of St. Tammany were holding their May Day festivities, at Mr. Powel's seat on the Schuylkill, on the west bank near the Upper Ferry. News of the General's arrival reached the diners and they marched, with music, to Washington's stopping place, where they cheered him thirteen times, and serenaded him with music. It is rather curious how the circumstance of thirteen commonwealths combining in a union gave impetus to a delight in the number thirteen. We have seen that Washington was saluted with thirteen guns, and now with the same number of cheers; at the same time there was a thirteen gun salute on the Schuylkill. Evidently, thirteen had not yet been regarded as an unlucky number.

There were other reasons why it looked for a time as if Washington would not be able to attend the meeting. He was summoned to the bedside of his mother, and learned also that his only sister, Betty, was not

expected to live. Fortunately, the alarm was unfounded. Notwithstanding these depressing circumstances, he made the long journey and presided over the Convention, which was held in the State House. The State Society of the Cincinnati was in session when he arrived, but it adjourned to Carpenters Hall to give the National body the larger hall for its deliberations. At that meeting the fate of the society, for a time, wavered in the balance, for there were objections to some of the designs of the organization, which was regarded as undemocratic. Washington was of great service in ironing out these creases, and the Convention continued until May 18th, when it emerged with a form of institution, and adjourned. Washington left the city the following day.

When he returned to Mount Vernon this time, he was firmly convinced that he had retired from public life, and could follow his inclination to be a Southern planter; but his retirement lasted only a few days less than three years. The growing feeling throughout the union that a confederation of States is not a Nation, caused a call to be issued to devise a more suitable form of Government, and on May 14, 1787, a new Convention of delegates from all of the States was to meet in Philadelphia. Virginia, naturally selected General Washington to head its list of delegates, and on May 13th, after dining at Chester, he was met at Gray's Ferry by the City Light Horse and by the officers of the City Artillery; and these accompanied him into the city, escorting him to the door of the dwelling of Mrs. Mary House, at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets, where he intended to lodge. His friend, Robert Morris, who lived close by would not hear of it, and aided by the persuasive powers of Mrs. Morris, he was induced to lodge with them. His baggage was sent there while he paid a ceremonial visit to Benjamin Franklin, then President of Pennsylvania. As he

reached Market Street, convoyed by the cavalcade, the bells of Christ Church again were rung in welcoming the distinguished visitor.

Delegates arrived slowly, and for nearly two weeks Washington had no official work to occupy his time, the Convention not being organized until May 25th. This gave him abundant opportunity to dine and drink tea again with the "nobles" of Pennsylvania. He arrived in the rain and for a week the weather was either overcast or rain fell. On Sunday, May 20th, he dined with the Morrises at their farm, "The Hills," known to recent generations as Lemon Hill in Fairmount Park. He returned in time to drink tea with the Powels, on South Third Street.

During Washington's stay in Philadelphia as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention he was a frequent visitor to the Powels; indeed Third Street saw him rather often, for he attended the Binghams' mansion, Third and Spruce Streets, more than once. He mentions having "Dined and drank tea at Mr. Bingham's in great splendor." But he also drank tea with Franklin in his house in Franklin's Court; with John Lawrence, the Mayor of Philadelphia, on Chestnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth; with Miss Cadwalader; with Doctor Shippen, and with Francis Hopkinson. He dined with Franklin, with Jared Ingersoll, who lived on the north side of Market Street next to the corner of Fourth; with John Ross, at his home still standing at the southeast corner of Second and Pine Streets; with Tench Francis, John Vaughan, George Clymer, Major Thomas Lloyd Moore, Samuel Meredith, Dr. Thomas Ruston and Robert Milligan.

The Convention adjourned on July 27th until August 6th, and this permitted Washington to vary his monotonous round of dinners and teas, by making trips out of the city in the expectation of sport and fishing. He admits the fishing was poor, and once again established his reputation for truth telling. He

House of John Ross, southeast corner of Second and Pine Streets, as it appears today

went with Gouverneur Morris to Jane Morris's, in the neighborhood of Valley Forge, for trout, and with the Morrises to Trenton for more fishing.

Robert Morris and his wife were his hosts, and naturally he dined with them frequently. He went to Gray's Ferry occasionally to dine, and once he dined at Mrs. House's boarding establishment, where several delegates had lodgings, and where he had expected to reside during his stay.

On May 23d, he rode out to General Mifflin's place at the Falls of Schuylkill to breakfast, after which, with Mr. Madeira, Mr. Rutledge and others, he crossed the river above the Falls and visited Mr. Peters at Belmont; Mr. John Penn, at Lansdowne, now in the Park, and whose site is occupied by Horticultural Hall; and William Hamilton at *The Woodlands.*

On Sunday, May 27th, he writes in his diary, "Went to the Romish Church to high mass," and spent the remainder of the day in his lodgings. The church mentioned was St. Mary's, on Fourth Street above Spruce. On May 29th, he accompanied Mrs. Morris to the benefit concert of a Mr. Julian, at the City Tavern. On June 1st, he dined with Mr. John Penn, after which he spent the evening at a superb entertainment at Bush Hill, given by Mr. Hamilton, and at which there were more than a hundred guests.

The Convention members formed a club of their own, and on June 7th, Washington was one of their company dining at the Indian Queen Tavern, Fourth Street below Market, a building long known to recent generations as the Model Coffee House, and only removed two or three years ago.

But this was not the only club which attracted Washington. Although usually he is regarded as having been an austere and dignified personage, there is every indication that in private life he was genial and clubbable. When there was no engagement to prevent him, he often dined with the so-called club which dined at

the City Tavern; and he became quite infatuated with the club which gave entertainments on Saturday afternoons at Springettsbury, a place referred to by Washington as Springsbury. He describes this delightful party as "consisting of associated families of the city. The gentleman," he explained, "meet every Saturday afternoon accompanied by the females of the families every other Saturday." He first attended on June 30th, which he noted was "Ladies Day." The club was known as the Cold Spring Club, and Washington was there every Saturday in July, 1787, on two Saturdays in August, and once in September, or eight times in all, from which it might be inferred that he thoroughly enjoyed himself.

While Washington was dining with Robert Morris, on June 28th, when there was a large company present, his hosts' financial troubles were beginning. In his diary for that date Washington noted: "news of his bills being protested arrived last night a little mal apropos."

About this time the great man was sought by painters for sittings, and, in his obliging way, he put himself at their disposal. On July 2d, when he attended one of the monthly dinners at the Indian Queen, he wrote in his diary: "Set this morning for Mr. Pine who wanted to correct his portrait of me." This was the one painted at Mount Vernon in May, 1785. Pine's studio was at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets. The next day, he noted: "Sat before the meeting of the convention for Mr. Peale who wanted my picture to make a print or mezzotinto by." So it was a very busy day for him, for after a dinner with the Morrises, he drank tea at Mrs. Powel's and accompanied by Mr. Powel, attended the meeting of the Agricultural Society in Carpenters Hall.

Another busy day followed, for it was the Fourth of July. He began the day by visiting Doctor Abraham Chovet's anatomical figures. The doctor resided in

Race Street, above Second. Then he went to the Reformed Calvinist Church, on Race Street below Fourth, to hear an oration on the anniversary of Independence. Washington wrote the orator was "a Mr. Mitchell, a student of law," and the *Pennsylvania Journal* states the orator was James Campbell.

On the mornings of July 6th and 9th, he gave sittings to Charles Willson Peale, whose studio then was at Third and Lombard Streets. He rode out to Doctor Logan's at Stenton, where he dined, on July 8th; and on July 10th, he went to the play at the Southwark Theatre, which, owing to the prohibition against theatrical performances, was denominated the Opera House, Southwark, and the plays announced as a concert. The plays on the night Washington attended, were the farce, "High Life Below Stairs," and the musical farce, "Love in a Camp," a sequel to "The Poor Soldier," which always was a favorite with the General. He attended another performance on July 21st, when the tragedy, "Edward and Eleanora," was performed.

During the latter part of July, 1787, there were more dinner engagements, although now we find him dining with his hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Morris, more frequently. We find him at the bachelor quarters of John Penn, the younger, "Solitude," now in the Zoological Garden; and at Dr. Benjamin Rush's. He dined at the Binghams, at John Swanwick's, and with Mr. William Hamilton at Bush Hill, in August; and the same month he attended a tea given by Franklin's daughter, Mrs. Bache. The same month we find him a dinner guest of Oliver Pollock, and of Chief Justice Thomas McKean.

On Sunday, August 19th, of this year, Washington went to White Marsh, to see his old encampment. He dined that day with Blair McClenachan, who then occupied the Chew House, in Germantown. After dinner he went to Belmont, and took tea with Mr. Peters.

On August 22d, a historic event took place in Phila-

delphia that had far reaching results. John Fitch, who then was regarded as a mentally deficient person, successfully operated the first steamboat, a product of his own invention, between Philadelphia and Burlington. Even after the crowds along the wharves saw his quaint craft making way against the tide, they still referred to Fitch as a crazy man. Many members of the State Assembly, and nearly all the members of the Convention watched the experiment and agreed that Fitch had conquered with his steam propelled boat.

Washington, however, was not interested in mechanical contrivances, and instead of going to the Delaware to witness a world event, he went to Robert Morris' farm, The Hills, where he dined; and visited the Powels for tea, at their country place, on the other side of the Schuylkill. This was in contrast to the great man's interest in anything pertaining to agriculture; and it might be added, to real estate. When he visited William Bartram's botanical garden, in June, he went to see one of the botanist's neighbors, a farmer named Jones, who had been experimenting with plaster of paris. He noted that he found its effect upon the crops "obviously great." He also attended a meeting of the Agricultural Society, but evidently was little interested in anything so novel as a steamboat.

Yet, about ten days later, he visited Franklin and seemed enthused when the ingenious doctor showed him a mangle for pressing clothes from the wash. He noted this invention in his diary, observing,

> from the facility with which it dispatches business is well calculated for table cloths and such like articles as have no pleats and irregular foldings, and would be very useful in all large families.

This reads very like a testimonial of the present day.

And these two examples give us a fair measure of Washington's interest in mechanical inventions. Evi-

dently if they were for domestic use, he instantly appreciated them; and evidently, too, he had little faith in steamboats.

His health must have been suffering from his series of dinners and entertainments, added to the long sessions of the Convention, for he occasionally notes that he took long rides into the country for exercise, which speaks volumes for the hospitality he enjoyed in Philadelphia, and shows him to have been a believer in the reducing of the figure.

On September 9th, Washington visited Don Diego Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, who came over from New York especially to see the great American General. Two days later Washington notes that he dined at home in a large company with Mr. Gardoqui, and on September 14th, he was guest at a dinner given for him at the City Tavern by the City Light Horse. The Convention was drawing to a close, and there was much work to be done, but the President of that body managed to attend social functions. He dined again with Franklin; was a dinner guest of the Vice President, Charles Biddle, and on September 15th, he was able to write in his diary:

> Concluded the business of the Convention all by signing the proceedings to effect each. The House sat 'till 6 o'clock and adjourned to Monday, that the Constitution which it was proposed to offer to the people might be engrossed and a number of copies struck off. Dined at the Morrises and spent the evening there. Mr. Gardoqui set off for New York this afternoon.

On the following day he notes:

> The Constitution received the unanimous assent of 11 States and Col. Hamilton's from New York, and was subscribed to by every member present, except Governor Randolph and Col. Mason of Virginia, and Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts. The business being closed the members adjourned to the City Tavern and dined together, after which I returned to my lodgings—did some business with and received the papers from the Secretary of the Convention, and retired to meditate on the momentous work

which had been executed after not less than 5, for a large part of the time 6, and sometimes 7 hours sitting every day except Sundays and the 10 days adjournment to give a committee opportunity and time to arrange the business, for more than four months.

Presiding over the Convention for four months for long hours must have made his social activities, numerous as they were appear all the more a welcome relaxation to Washington; it also showed what a fine physique he must have had at that time to have successfully braved all the work and play he experienced in that period. But the work being ended, September 18th found him making ready to start for Mount Vernon. Punctiliously he spent the morning paying calls and taking leave of those families with whom he had been most intimate. He dined early with Robert Morris, and accompanied by him and Gouverneur Morris, set off for the South. In his carriage was John Blair, whom he invited to a seat until he should reach Mount Vernon. Thus Cincinnatus again attempted to return to his plow—but the retirement was not to be permanent.

On June 21, 1788, New Hampshire ratified the Constitution of the United States, and being the ninth State to ratify, under the terms of that instrument, the latter was ready to be put into operation. In this city the ratification of the new Constitution was celebrated in a large way by a great procession on July 4th, which was the most important street pageant this country had witnessed up to that time. Virginia ratified the Constitution June 26th, and that was the tenth commonwealth to express its views. There was no other name than Washington's spoken of for the office of President, and when the new Congress met in New York, on April 6, 1789, he was named for that high office, and John Adams for the office of Vice President.

Congress should have been busy long before, but

everything moved slowly in those days. Washington was notified of his election by Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, who had been despatched to Mount Vernon as a special envoy. He reached the General's place on the Potomac on the morning of April 14th, and presented the President-elect with the official notification, signed by President Langdon of the Congress. After Washington read the communication, he retired and wrote a reply, in which he announced that he would set out for New York "on Thursday morning, which will be the day after to-morrow." This was April 16th, and on that day the new President began his journey northward. His tour was one continuous progress of cheering, applause, dinners, salutes and formal receptions. Each town through which he passed with his suite, tried to excel itself in its display of enthusiastic welcome, and when he arrived in Philadelphia, the welcome continued throughout the day.

It was about 10 o'clock on the morning of April 20th that Washington arrived in this city. He had been expected the day before, and as every honor and courtesy was to be shown him, Governor Mifflin, and Richard Peters, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, proceeded from Philadelphia to the State line, to be ready to greet the new President, when he should cross the boundary from Delaware, a short distance below Marcus Hook, on the old King's Highway, or Southern Post Road. They were accompanied by the City Light Horse, recognized today as the First City Troop, under the command of Captain Miles. The following day, when the State and City's guest actually appeared, the welcoming party was augmented by Captain Bingham's Troop of Horse.

The ceremonies there or the halt at Chester, where the President stopped for breakfast, need not detain us here; although it is of interest to mention that when he arrived at the boundary, Washington was riding a

post chaise. Seeing the immense welcoming party standing at the salute, and the military, he alighted, sent his carriage to the rear, and mounted a large white charger. In this style he rode into Philadelphia after he had breakfasted.

According to the writer in the *Pennsylvania Gazette,*

> His Excellency rode in front of the procession, on horseback. The number of spectators who filled the doors, windows and streets, which he passed was greater than on any other occasion we ever remember.

On this occasion Washington crossed the Schuylkill River at Gray's Ferry, where there was a floating bridge. This structure, which was nothing more than a military pontoon bridge, was decorated with laurel and other evergreens, "provided by Mr. Gray, and designed by the ingenious Charles Willson Peale, and others, and," observed the same newspaper,

> in a style as to display uncommon taste in these gentlemen. At each end there were erected magnificent arches, composed of laurel emblematic of the ancient triumphal arches used by the Romans, and on each side of the bridge a laurel shrubbery which seemed to challenge even Nature herself for simplicity, ease and elegance. And as our beloved Washington passed the bridge a lad beautifully ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by certain machinery, let drop above the Hero's head, unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel.

By the time the Presidential party reached the city, which it did about 10 o'clock, the procession was augmented by the county troop of horse, a detachment of artillery, a body of light infantry, and a numerous concourse of citizens on horseback and on foot. Among these was Arthur St. Clair, then Governor of the Western Territory. The contemporary observer of the scene at Gray's Ferry, according to Lossing, was mistaken in one particular. The "lad" who let drop the laurel crown on Washington's unsuspecting head, in reality was Angelica Peale, daughter of the painter,

Charles Willson Peale, and then about thirteen years of age. The contemporary who wrote the account in the *Gazette,* asserted that "20,000 free citizens" were lined up between the bridge and the city. As there were then only 54,000 persons in the entire county, the number must be regarded as an extraordinary representation.

Washington was escorted to the City Tavern, where for the time being he was the guest of the City. "At three o'clock," to use the phrase of the old chronicler,

> His Excellency sat down to an elegant entertainment of 250 covers at the City Tavern, prepared for him by the citizens of Philadelphia. A band of music played during the entertainment, and a discharge of artillery took place at every toast, among which was the State of Virginia. The ship Alliance and a Spanish merchant ship, were handsomely decorated with the colors of different nations.

Evidently the old chronicler regarded the useful English word dinner far too feeble to convey the impression of the bountiful entertainment of 250 covers, which would seem to have been the largest banquet ever given in this city up to that time.

Washington spent the night at the house of Robert Morris, on Market Street, and the following morning continued his journey to New York, where he was inaugurated first President of the United States. Before Philadelphia would let him go, however, the illustrious man was presented with formal addresses from the President, and Supreme Executive Council of the State; from the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City; from the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State; from the Trustees and Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and from the State Society of the Cincinnati.

Philadelphia did not again see President Washington until September of the following year. A great deal of history was made in the meantime, Congress

having made this city the capital of the country for ten years, while the Federal City should arise on the Potomac. Washington, as we have seen, was perhaps better acquainted with Philadelphia than with any other town in the United States, and when it was decided to make it the capital for ten years, being a far-seeing real estate buyer, Washington sought to buy property here. For some reason or other, the project never bore fruit, it being said that the property which the President desired to purchase could not be bought. At that time there still was opportunity to make Philadelphia the permanent seat of the Government, although Washington was the strong influence for placing the capital city on the banks of the Potomac.

Congress had completed its exciting work in New York, and Washington, accompanied by Mrs. Washington, her two grandchildren, Major William Jackson, ten servants, and sixteen horses, rode into Philadelphia about two o'clock in the afternoon of September 2, 1790. The President was on his way from New York to Mount Vernon. The party was escorted by the City Troop of Horse, artillery, and companies of light infantry, which met it on the outskirts of the city. This procession went to the City Tavern, while bells were rung, and the citizens turned out in large groups to see the great man.

Washington and his party were put up at the City Tavern, and at four o'clock that afternoon, the President was guest at a large dinner given in his honor at the tavern, by the Corporation of Philadelphia. Among those present were President Thomas Mifflin, and the members of the Pennsylvania legislature. In the evening there was a display of fireworks in Market Street.

That day the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, which had just finished its business, adjourned, but in honor of the city's distinguished visitor, ad-

journment was made until the following day, when the delegates assembled to meet the President. On September 4th, a *fête champêtre* was given at Gray's Ferry, and while the President graced the affair with his presence, Mrs. Washington did not, for she had been indisposed since her arrival in Philadelphia. On Monday, September 6th, the President and his party left for the South.

On November 27, 1790, President Washington returned to Philadelphia as a resident; with two and a half years of his first term as the nation's chief executive yet to run; but as he was re-elected, and served another full term of four years, it will be apparent that the greater part of his life as President was passed in Philadelphia. What he did during this period, when the new nation was being guided into shape need not detain us here because much of it only incidentally concerned this city.

During this period, in addition to the numerous political and foreign activities which troubled him at times, such as the actions of Citizen Genet, the Jay Treaty, and the attacks of the Anti-Federalists, Washington spent a good deal of his time and thought upon the laying out and building of the new Federal City, which later bore his name. From the year 1793 onward, during his Presidency, Philadelphia was yearly the victim of yellow fever epidemics, and as he also objected to the severity of Philadelphia's summers, Washington leased a house in Germantown, then owned by Colonel Isaac Franks, for $201.60 a season. This house still stands at 5442 Germantown Avenue, and is known as the Morris House. It was built, in 1772, by David Deshler. Washington occupied it during part of the summers of 1793 and 1794.

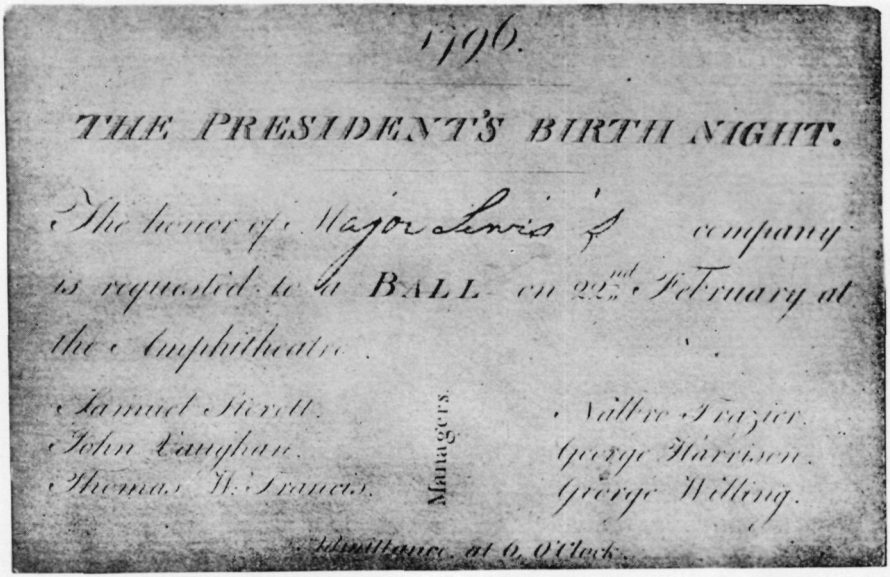
In Philadelphia, also, during his term as President, Washington courteously sat for his portrait to many artists and sculptors, American and European. At

that time Europe was filled with engravings, sketches and stories about Washington, who was a new world figure, and whose name was only excelled in the universality of his poplarity by that of Franklin; and it even may be that his name was known in circles that of Franklin's had not penetrated. To the Europe of his time he typified the American republic. Therefore, there was considerable demand abroad for portraits of this new genius, and artists felt assured that to paint his portrait from life, would give them a lasting reputation. Thus it came about that probably half of the portraits from life made of Washington were posed for in Philadelphia.

While he was President his birthday, which then first was celebrated on February 22d, was a ceremonious occasion. Members of both Houses of Congress formed at Congress Hall, Sixth and Chestnut Streets, and walked in procession to the Presidential Mansion on Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth. There they personally paid their respects. The New Year's Reception by the President, which was established when he was in New York, was also a ceremony, but one in which the humblest citizen then, as now, might join.

Probably the two outstanding events in Washington's life while he was President and Philadelphia was the nation's capital, was his second inauguration, on March 4, 1793, in Congress Hall; and the presentation of his so-called Farewell Address to the People of the United States, which was issued on September 17, 1796, and which was published in Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser,* September 19, 1796.

On November 11, 1795, the President and Mrs. Washington were present at the marriage of Major William Jackson and Miss Eliza Willing, daughter of Mr. Thomas Willing. On February 11, 1796, Washington entertained Doctor Priestley at a tea in the Executive Mansion, and thereby must have embar-


1796.

THE PRESIDENT'S BIRTH NIGHT.

The honor of Major Lewis's company is requested to a BALL on 22nd February at the Amphitheatre.

Samuel Sitgreaves. John Vaughan. Thomas W. Francis.

Managers.

Walter Fraziers. George Harrison. George Willing.

Dancing to commence at 6 O'Clock.

From the original in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

rassed William Cobbett, who supported Washington but who was a bitter enemy of Priestley.

Attacks against Washington became frequent and biting about this time, and the great man was just a little mortified when he went in state to The Theatre on February 29, 1796, to find the house was only partly filled. However, it was a disagreeable, rainy night; but the President saw more in the circumstance than could be attributed to the weather. He was tired of office, and all his friends knew he wanted to retire, and to those who intimated that the growing opposition to him was responsible for his Farewell Message, the answer is that it is very well established that as early as 1792, the President had expressed a desire to give up public life, and had consulted with James Madison as to the psychological moment when his desire might be given to the public, and also the character of the message itself. Madison drew up a paper for him, and from this he prepared his immortal document.

However, the last Birthday anniversary, during his term as President, February 22, 1797, was made an event in Philadelphia. There was a ball in Rickett's Circus; a parade of the militia, firing salutes, bells were rung and there were ceremonial visits from both Houses of Congress and the Pennsylvania legislature, to say nothing of the Society of the Cincinnati, the Governor and the high city officials.

Indeed, the last few days of his public life in Philadelphia were memorable ones for the amount of social activity they evoked. On March 3d, the President gave a Farewell dinner, and in the evening Mrs. Washington gave her final drawing room. The following day, after Washington had seen his successor, John Adams inaugurated, and he once more a plain citizen, he was guest at a great public dinner given in Rickett's Circus by the merchants of Philadelphia. He did not leave for Mount Vernon until March 9th, for when he

moved it was something like a caravan on the march. In his executive Mansion he had secretaries and their families, a steward, and fourteen servants. It required time to prepare for such an exodus.

Even now, he enjoyed the much desired retirement for only a short time. In the summer and autumn of 1798, events shaped themselves so that it was feared this country could not be kept out of war with the French Revolution, whose ships were boldly capturing American as well as British vessels. To be prepared, Washington was summoned from Mount Vernon, and made a Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the United States. He arrived in the city on November 10th, when he was escorted by the military to his lodgings, at Mrs. Rosannah White's boarding house, at No. 9 North Eighth Street.

Washington had few military duties to perform, but from the round of formal dinners he was called upon to attend from November 11th to December 14th, the wonder is that he survived. Perhaps another person would have succumbed, but Washington not only enjoyed every form of social activity, but had the physique to endure it. Exactly one year after he left Philadelphia, he died in his home on the Potomac.

Washington made thirty-six visits to Philadelphia during a period of forty-two years. They variously lasted from one day to eight months. The following list of these visits has been compiled from Washington's Diaries, and from Baker's Itineraries.

1756—February 8th to 14th
March 14th to 23d
1757—March 2d to April ?
1773—May 16th to 23d
June 2d to 3d
1774—September 4th to October 27th
1775—May 9th to June 23d
1776—May 23d to June 5th
1777—August 2d to 9th
August 24th
September 12th to 14th
October 4th. (Battle of Germantown)

1778—December 22d to
1779—February 2d
1781—August 30th to September 5th
November 26th to
1782—March 22d
July 14th to 24th
1783—December 8th to 15th
1784—May 1st to 19th
1787—May 13th to September 18th
1789—April 20th to 21st
1790—September 2d to 6th
November 27th to
1791—March 21st
July 6th to September 15th
October 21st to
1792—July 11th
October 13th to
1793—April 1st
April 17th to June 24th
July 11th to September 10th
November 1st to
1794—June 17th
July 7th to September 30th
October 28th to
1795—April 14th
May 2d to July 5th
August 11th to September 8th
October 20th to
1796—June 13th
August 21st to September 19th
October 31st to
1797—March 9th
1798—November 10th to December 14th.