High Street Market
Original Water Color by W. Birch & Son, 1799
SUMMER HOURS

The Society wishes to inform its members, other institutions of learning, and researchers of its summer schedule.

From Sunday, June 12, through Sunday, September 18, the Society will be open from nine until four, Monday through Friday.

From Friday, August 5 (4 P.M.), to Wednesday, September 7 (9 A.M.), the building will be closed.
In 1698 Gabriel Thomas, writing for Europeans one of the first accounts of Philadelphia, predicted optimistically that “in a very short space of time she will, in all probability, make a fine Figure in the World, and be a most Celebrated Emporeum.” One hundred years later, a volume of engraved plates was published there which demonstrated to the world that his prophecy had been fulfilled.

This work, The City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania North America; as it appeared in the Year 1800, was the idea and the product of William Russell Birch, who had been born in England in 1755 and had come to Philadelphia in 1794. An artist by profession, he was celebrated in the painting of miniatures in enamel, an art then very popular in the mother country. At the height of his powers and possessed of an established reputation, he was in the frame of mind for a new venture.²

¹ Gabriel Thomas, An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey in America (London, 1698), 37.

² Birch had been persuaded to settle in America after the death of three of his closest friends, Sir Joshua Reynolds, the Earl of Mansfield, and Nathaniel Chancy, Esq. See Birch’s Autobiography, bound typescript copies of which are available in the manuscript collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and elsewhere. Although undated and incomplete, the two volumes seem to have been written not long before his death on August 7, 1834. Many sources recount the basic facts of his life, perhaps the best being the Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1929) and Joseph Jackson, Encyclopedia of Philadelphia (Harrisburg, 1931–1933). The latter cites other accounts.
It is probable that the idea for the engravings, which have since become recognized as uniquely valuable among American historical prints, arose simply from Birch's enthusiasm for the vitality and the beauties of his adopted city. He had arrived in a time of intense activity at the then capital of the United States: The population of Philadelphia proper increased almost fifty per cent from 1790 to 1800. Washington was in residence on Market Street and an executive mansion was being erected. Congress and the United States Supreme Court convened at what is now Independence Square. The magnificent Pennsylvania Hospital was being completed. The Philadelphia Library had just moved into its own building in 1790. New Lutheran and Presbyterian churches, among others, were erected during the following decade. Trade was increasing, new markets were being constructed, and the United States Bank building on Third Street below Walnut opened its doors in the mid-nineties. In 1797, plans were formed to replace the public pumps with drinking water pumped from the Schuylkill to Centre Square and then piped to private homes. Birch's eye was trained for the visual aspect of life around him, and its impact upon him was such that he determined to record it.

He had no similar venture in America to guide him. The first engraved view of a Philadelphia building had made its appearance as late as 1750, and while sporadic views of the city had begun to appear by the 1790's, they lacked life and interest. No attempt had been made to picture in the round either the national capital and center of American culture where Birch now found himself, or indeed any other American city.

But Birch did have his own experience in engraving to draw upon and to suggest what could be done in reproducing a unified group of the scenes he saw. This experience was by no means inconsiderable. In 1791 he had published a book of thirty-six engravings of English town and country scenes under the title "Delices de la Grande Bretagne. All of these he had reproduced from paintings by himself and others in a uniform small size, the rough equivalent of the miniatures in

4 Joseph Jackson, Iconography of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1934), 11. See also note 55.
which he worked. His engraving was in stipple, combining or in some cases entirely replacing the usual lines of copperplate work with dots. This he later referred to as a "stile somewhat new, Etching and dotting." The high artistic quality of these engravings is immediately apparent on examination. The scenes depicted were of the widest variety, and both a shipping scene from the bank of the Thames at London and a country-town market seem to have been close forerunners of the type of spirited subject he later engraved in Philadelphia.

From the first, Birch exhibited a specific approach to his task. He wanted to portray not architectural subjects alone, but the whole "feel" of life in the city, its texture and personality. The spirit and purpose behind his volume is obvious when it is reviewed as a whole, and the water color sketches preceding his engravings strongly support this thought. In many of his plates the people and their activities burst through and beyond the then-accepted bounds in city views and dominate the scene portrayed. The pictures at their best retain to this day a vivid quality of civic accomplishment, which Birch cast into words in his introductory page of explanation:

The ground on which it stands, was, less than a century ago, in a state of wild nature, covered with wood, and inhabited by Indians. It has, in this short time, been raised, as it were, by magic power, to the eminence of an opulent city, famous for its trade and commerce, crouded in its port, with vessels of its own producing, and visited by others from all parts of the world. . . . This Work will stand as a memorial of its progress for the first century. . . .

But this concept of dynamic activity was not an end in itself. It was to be carried into the pictures as a part of a particular and

5 Autobiography, I, 11. This personal technique is of importance in tracing the history of the Philadelphia Views.
6 Although this was the only series published by Birch in any way comparable to the Philadelphia Views, it represented only a portion of his English engravings. For a description of various other plates executed there, see W. M. Hornor, Jr., "Men and Things," The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, December 15, 1927. In the light of Birch's engravings and enamel miniatures, it is there concluded that he "had achieved a notable place in English art" before he came to this country.
7 Of course architecture had to play an important part in the undertaking. As Jackson says (Encyclopedia, I, 120): "Philadelphia may well claim to have been the most advanced and architecturally-minded of any of the colonial cities. Its citizens and leaders had, for so young a country, a remarkable thirst for culture, and culture was more or less associated with good taste in building in those days. . . . It is significant that in 1800, William Birch found in Philadelphia sufficient good architectural material to make a set of twenty-eight engravings."
8 Philadelphia Views, first edition. See the collation appended.
broader purpose which Birch later expressed when he described his publication as "a work of duration . . . as no other work of the kind had ever been published, by which an idea of the early improvements of the country could be conveyed to Europe, to promote and encourage settlers. . . ."

This plan led Birch to the execution of the twenty-seven pictorial plates which appeared in the first edition of his book. In pursuit of his goal, he examined the entire built-up portion of the city for subjects, later inserting an engraved map which showed this area as bounded by Vine Street on the north and Cedar (South) Street on the south, tapering westward from its lifeline, the Delaware, roughly in a triangle reaching to the neighborhood of Arch Street at Eleventh. After his initial inspection, he apparently determined approximately the number of plates which would be required, for he inserted in a pocket-size book prepared for the listing of his subscribers an announcement that the work would consist of "about 25 or 30 of the principal Buildings and Views" of the city. His conception of the project at this time is further shown by the title he proposed to use, *Philadelphia Dissected or the Metropolis of America*.

Birch was joined in the work by his son Thomas, later to achieve independent artistic recognition. Thomas was about fifteen when the family arrived in America, and, as in the case of Copley and other children in the homes of artists, he was early trained in that field. It is said to have been the son who made the original water colors from which the plates were engraved, and one of those which has survived appears to bear Thomas' initials.

9 *Autobiography*, I, 46-47. In this basic purpose the efforts of Gabriel Thomas and Birch, though a hundred years apart and in different media, were akin.

10 This book, in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, bound in leather and erroneously stamped "Subscribers to Philadelphia Second Edition," covers the enterprise from about 1798 to 1827 by listing the editions and their general composition; and it contains the autographs of the subscribers for each. Apparently, it is the only part of Birch's contemporary business records relating to the *Philadelphia Views* which has survived.

11 This is in private hands. Others of the original water colors are at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company of Philadelphia. The latter are reproduced photographically in Julius F. Sachse, *Pictures of Old Philadelphia from the Originals in the Collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1901).

A large (39¼ x 50 inches) oil painting by Thomas Birch, in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, depicts the same scene as is portrayed in the engraving "The City & Port of Philadelphia, on the River Delaware from Kensington." Whether this preceded or followed the engraving is not known. It is the only oil of one of the engraved subjects which has
The drawings of the son are not in any case to be viewed as independent artistic productions, either as to choice of subject matter or execution, for they were a part of his course of training. Birch indicates this when he says of the project in retrospect, "I superintended it, chose the subjects, instructing my Son in the Drawings, and our Friend Mr. Seymour in the Engravings." Nonetheless, the fullest credit was given to Thomas in the first edition, for the title page and every plate but the frontispiece stated that the prints were both drawn and engraved by "W. Birch & Son."

The creating of the engraved plates was by no means confined to a first drawing on paper followed by a transfer to copper. The surviving drawings reveal that scenes were worked and reworked in varying studies of the subject, one thing leading to another. Thus, the plate "New Lutheran Church, in Fourth Street Philadelphia" grew out of a study of the "Hon. Frederick Muhlenberg pointing out to visiting Indians the German Zion Church," and the street scene depicted in "Second Street North from Market Street with the Christ Church" was first the subject of a close-up sketch. Drawings such as these emphasized the human element appearing in the final plate. Others are extant showing the Bank of the United States, the unfinished Robert Morris mansion, the State House Yard and High Street Market (see frontispiece), very much as they appeared in the engravings, but whether these are the first drawings of the scenes, it is impossible to say.

The earliest of the drawings have been dated 1798, the same year as that appearing on the first engravings. This, then, would seem to be the year in which the work was actively begun. Birch was by this time living at Neshaminy Bridge, near Bristol, Pennsylvania, where been located. A large oil (30½ x 45 inches) of the Pennsylvania Hospital, owned by the Hospital, is said to be the work of William Birch, but it depicts the scene engraved by Exilious in 1814 rather than that engraved by Birch.

12 Autobiography, I, 47. Samuel Seymour was engaged in engraving portraits in Philadelphia from 1797 to 1822, according to David McN. Stauffer, American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel (New York, 1907), I, 244. Jackson, Encyclopedia, II, 628, gives a somewhat different account.

13 See the photographs in Sachse. Judging from the water colors extant, the sketches were made on a small pad about four and one-half inches square, while the final drawing was almost exactly the size of the engraving made from it. Jackson, Iconography, 12, implies that the inclusion of the Indian delegation in the "New Lutheran Church" followed upon an earlier state of the engraving, but no support for this theory has been found.
he says he moved in part to "forward the work of my Philadelphia views." Here he set up his studio in an old toll house on a pier of an abandoned bridge on his property. In its two small rooms the perfecting of the sketches, engraving of the plates, and printing of the engravings is said to have taken place.

The first plates to be produced were four in number, each dated 1798. They show no concentration of effort on one district: one depicted Market Street west from the country market place at Fourth Street; a second included the United States Bank in a scene on South Third Street; the other two dealt with the Chestnut Street façade of the State House and the State House Garden along Walnut Street.

None of these first prints was long-lived, for the work of revising and improving did not stop even when a copperplate was produced. The Market Street scene was reworked on the same plate in order to remove certain errors of perspective and to show the procession commemorating the death of General Washington in December, 1799. As revised, it appeared in the first edition with the date 1800. Apparently the impressive new bank building was not considered to have been justly treated, for the second plate was abandoned and a completely new view of this subject executed. Published under date of 1799, it became one of the most popular of all the prints. The two scenes at the State House appeared in the first edition, but were soon afterward abandoned and replaced with revised plates.

Meanwhile, the work gathered momentum, and the bulk of the plates bear the imprint 1799. During that year fifteen engravings were produced, including the reworked view of Market Street. In 1800 came seven more. With three additional subjects bearing no date of imprint, the work was now felt to be complete. Birch's thought, as he expressed it in the volume, was that "the buildings, of any consequence, are generally included, and the street-scenes all accurate as they now stand; the choice of subjects are those that give the most general idea of the town. . . ."

14 Autobiography, I, 46.
15 Sketch of Thomas Birch, Philadelphia Art Union Reporter, January, 1851. A water color of this old building and its surroundings, long since disappeared, is at the Library Company of Philadelphia (reproduced in Sachse), and a vignette engraving of it appears on the title page to Part the First of Birch's Country Seats of the United States of America (Neshaminy, 1808).
In the light of present-day survivals a few scenes seem conspicuously absent, such as Carpenters’ Hall and Saint Peter’s Church. But the absence of these and the inclusion of such views as the department store at Third and Market Streets, the inside of the market shed, and the Morris mansion, only underline more vividly the contemporary viewpoint and the sincerity of the undertaking.

The entire work was published December 31, 1800. A few copies of the two reworked and abandoned views also appeared, although they were not listed as a part of the volume. The capital of the nation had been moved to Washington a few months earlier, but the scenes depicted are the more valuable as a record of the city when it had had that distinction. The plates were presented roughly in geographical order: four views on the northern side of the town; seven scenes along its Market Street artery from Second to Ninth; and, finally, a treatment of the southerly section, including four prints devoted to what is now Independence Square. All were preceded by a “Frontispiece” showing the port of Philadelphia, the first sight to greet the settler whom Birch sought to encourage.

The pictures warranted and received the finest method of presentation. First in the volume came a handsome title plate, the title being executed in the best calligraphic style and complemented by an artistic vignette of the coat of arms of Pennsylvania. Next, as a sample of the pictorial plates to come, appeared the “Frontispiece” view. After these came a single page of introduction, prepared by Birch and set up in interesting large type, with a numbered list of the plates which served as an index. These three pages were followed by the engraved map of the city. The series of views was then presented.

Both the title page and the map were prepared for Birch by William Barker, “a capital script engraver,” who also had extensive experience in engraving maps and whose polished work would add to the elegance of the volume.

After the engravings, which were not marred by numbers corresponding to the index, a list of the subscribers was added on a page which gave the prices of the work. In some cases a sheet which served as the separate advertisement was also inserted.

16 Stauffer, I, 17. Stauffer credits this title page as being “one of his best examples” of script engraving.
The size both of the plates and the book must have been determined largely by the expectation that they would be taken to Europe. Clearly Birch wanted his new prints to be more impressive than his small engravings of the English views, and their increased size made inappropriate the minute rendering in stipple which he had used earlier. Such a technique may also have been impracticable for Seymour. Accordingly, the new views were done in line only. The plates, approximately 11 x 13 inches, were impressed on pages 15½ x 18½ inches over-all, providing an ample margin for handling the leaves.

Matters of binding and coloring followed the contemporary practice of giving the purchaser his choice of boards or leather binding, tinted or black-and-white plates. Although the use of leather increased the price only $3 a copy, the hand-tinted views cost an additional fifty cents per engraving or $13.50 a copy. In view of their increased charm to the modern eye, it is fortunate that a considerable number of subscribers were willing to make the additional investment.

The result was a truly handsome volume, probably the handsomest produced in America to that time. It is noteworthy that the Birches, Seymour, and Barker were all Philadelphians, that at least part of the copperplates were secured from Jesse Oat of that city, and that the printing was almost certainly done by Richard Folwell, a local printer. Although it has not been determined whether the paper was also secured from local makers, the project was essentially a local one.

Both a laid and a woven paper of good grade were used in the first edition. Although they appear to have been unwatermarked, part of the paper used four years later in the second edition bears the watermark of "T Gilpin & Co Brandywine." The Gilpin Company had been established on Brandywine Creek in the late 1780's and was to produce in 1816 the first machine-made paper in this country.

17 Oat appears as a coppersmith in the Philadelphia directories of this period. On one of the extant copperplates engraved by Birch in 1800, and on another engraved in 1804, there is stamped on the reverse J'OAT. It is of interest that Oat, Barker, and Folwell each subscribed to the first edition.

18 Other sheets of the paper used in the second edition are watermarked either J WHATMAN or J RUSE. The James Whatman mill in Kent, England, was known everywhere for the quality of its paper.
The quality and scope of the work kept the cost of production high. Birch sold the volume with colored plates at $41.50 in boards and $44.50 bound. In black and white, the set was $28 in boards and $31 bound. Later he complained that “It was with difficulty at that time I could get materials to publish it at any decent rate.” These prices not only reimbursed Birch and his son for their creative work—they covered the efforts of Seymour, Barker, and Folwell, the materials, and the services of Birch’s bookseller, R. Campbell & Co., whose shop was in the heart of town at 30 Chestnut Street.

Particularly when its price is considered, the work was clearly well received. The subscription book contains the signatures of such public figures as Thomas Jefferson, Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Mifflin and William Hamilton, and totals 156 first edition purchasers. This may be assumed to represent the minimum number of impressions of each print in the first state.

Whether any of the prints were sold separately does not now appear. As a general rule each bore the notation that it was published or sold by Campbell. It had obviously been the plan to publish them in pairs, since the subscription book stated that the work was “To be published by Numbers; 2 plates in each Number, at Two dollars each Number, plain; and Three dollars coloured. A Title page to the whole, will be delivered, with the last Number. The Money to be paid on delivery of each Number.” But it may be surmised that the last sentence was the most important in this thought, in view of the expense necessarily incurred over a lengthy period before completion of the plates; all the subscriptions were for the entire set. After publication the volume also appears to have been sold only as a unit.

Birch supplemented personal solicitation with an unique advertising scheme: He made an engraving of one of the subjects appearing in the book, much larger in size than the others. Wherever this print was seen, it would serve to illustrate the interest and the excellence of the whole series; in the drawing room it would help the host by

10 Autobiography, I, 47.

20 W. M. Hornor, Jr., “Men and Things,” The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, December 12, 1927, says, “No set, complete in the fourteen numbers, has been located, although they were first issued in this manner, and some odd parts, bound in paper wrappers, are still in existence.” Default by the subscriber, or failure to have the complete set bound, could bring about such a result.
directing attention to an interesting topic of conversation. As Birch quaintly expressed this in his printed advertisement:

In order to make these Works complete, and that they shall afford a source of amusement, he is now about to publish two large Plates, 21 3/4 by 25 1/2 inches, of the general Views of the two Cities,\textsuperscript{21} which he flatters himself will surpass any thing of the kind yet published in this country. . . . These two large Prints are intended as elegant furniture for a drawing or setting room, which will serve as references for amusement to the two volumes, when conversation or entertainment of more consequence should cease to be the subject of a party.

Although the large print did not appear until May, 1801, certainly one of the most appealing of the subjects was chosen for the purpose: the waterfront view of the city from the great elm at Kensington, known as Penn's Tree, which was to live only ten more years. The contemporary popularity of this view is perhaps best shown by the number of times it was copied within the next few years both at home and in London. It appears to have been on this large plate that Seymour received the only public recognition of his work in engraving the series—the plate recites that it was "drawn" by Birch's son, "published" by Birch (who is described as an engraver), and "Engraved by Samuel Seymour."

The assistance which Birch actually received from his bookseller is conjectural. The advertisement sheet, which apparently was compiled in 1801, omits all reference to Campbell and gives only Birch's own Neshaminy address as the place where the prints could be had. His arrangement with the retailer must, in fact, have ended at about the date of publication, for the year 1800 is the last in which Campbell's name appears in the Philadelphia directories.

The first edition of Birch's views was soon scattered throughout the cities of Europe and copied by engravers there. Janson's *The Stranger in America* was published in London in 1807, and was illustrated with engraved reproductions (with minor changes) of five of the first edition plates. In 1824, Klinckowstrom issued a volume of aquatints in Stockholm showing several of the views. Some thirty years after publication Birch told of the dispersal of his prints,

\textsuperscript{21} I.e., Philadelphia and New York. Birch projected a similar series of engravings for the latter city, but only one New York view appeared. See the collation of the printed advertisement appended, and *Autobiography*, II, 7.
mentioning in particular one volume purchased by his friend Thomas Jefferson:

it will be found there is at this time scarcely one sett of the work in Philadelphia that was not sent to Europe. It may be easily conceived what the opinion was of this work with our late Friend and best wisher to mankind that formed the constitution of the Country, while it is recollected that during the whole of his presidency it layed on the sophia in his visiting Room at Washington till it became ragged and dirty, but was not suffered to be taken away.

The publication of the first edition was, however, by no means the end of Birch’s creative work in the field of Philadelphia views. Although his only reference in that volume to a later production was limited to mention of “the next edition” of the page listing the subscribers, his own high standards called for further improvements in the plates, and he must also have had an eye for the subscribers, old and new, who would presumably be interested in copies of any further engravings enlarging the series. In any case, he was soon busy revising his work.

The project early assumed definite shape. The subscription book was given a new title page under which signatures were to be placed as subscribers to “Birch’s Views of Philadelphia. Second Edition. With Alterations, New Plates, &c. To consist of Twenty Views.” No date was assigned for publication, but even the make-up of the twenty views must have been fairly clear to Birch, for he stated that the work was “To be delivered in three Numbers, coloured. N° 1. To be ten dollars. N° 2. ten dollars & a half. N° 3. ten dollars & a half. Each Number to be paid for on delivery.” The tentative decision to publish only in color is of interest, for it indicates Birch’s own opinion of the extent to which color enhanced his plates.

The “new plates” numbered seven, of which six were revisions of first edition views. One of them which badly needed to be redone was the barren scene inside the High Street Market. Many more figures and much of the colorful activity of the market were brought into the new engraving, and since it bears the date 1800, it may be that Birch realized the need and made this his first project in looking toward a new edition.

22 Autobiography, I, 47.

23 Apparently the engraving did not turn out as Birch anticipated, for the water color which preceded it (remarkably fresh and in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania) avoids the drabness of the print.
In further revisions, Chestnut Street with the façade of the State House was replaced by a more animated scene including Congress Hall. Minor changes were made in the view of the State House garden, but the new effort was in the spirit of the earlier one. The Bank of Pennsylvania was made to dominate a handsome new plate, although this was done at the expense of the local color of the adjacent City Tavern, which had been shown in the first edition. The new Jail received similar treatment. These revisions may be ascribed to the period 1801-1804; they bear no date, except for the "Bank of Pennsylvania," which is inscribed with the latter year.

The revision of the sixth of the first edition plates brought into Birch's project a new and interesting personality, Gilbert Fox. In the first edition, Congress Hall had been shown with the new Chestnut Street Theatre in the background. Now all the buildings forming the State House group had been joined in one view. The early plate, furthermore, showed the Theatre in an unfinished state, and such a rendering of the subject was no longer either impressive or exact enough for Birch, who prided himself on the accuracy of his views.

A new plate of the Theatre was thus clearly in order. Birch drew the scene himself, following his new policy of making the building more imposing and dominating, and had it etched by Fox, a man of parts, with a most unusual tie to the subject depicted. Fox had been born in England and had learned engraving there and in the United States. But he was also an actor, and in 1798 had joined the company at the Chestnut Street Theatre. In that year, feeling the need to introduce a new song, he had prevailed on Joseph Hopkinson to write new words to a marching tune then in vogue. The result was "Hail, Columbia." Fox's singing of it at the old Theatre launched it upon a career which took the country by storm. It is fitting, therefore, that Birch's new view of the Theatre, dated 1804, bears the notation "Gilbert Fox Aquafortus."

Along with his recasting of subjects already shown in the first edition, Birch was impelled to execute a completely "new plate" depicting Market Street Permanent Bridge. This structure was truly a landmark in the city, and Birch's conclusion that it warranted a place in his work was certainly justifiable. The floating bridges which

24 Jackson's enthusiasm for this event carried him to the painting of a picture of the scene inside the Theatre, reproduced in Encyclopedia, III, 743.
this structure replaced had several times been carried away by storms, and in 1798 a corporation had been formed to undertake the new venture. The cornerstone had been laid in October, 1800, just before the first edition appeared, and the bridge was opened for use on January 1, 1805. Although Birch here showed the bridge covered, it was apparently then still roofless, for he so depicted it in other plates.25

On each of the new plates (except that of the Theatre, in which Fox had shared), Birch reverted to the description of himself which he had used uniformly on the engravings in *Delices de la Grande Bretagne*—he stated that the work was that of "W. Birch Enamel Painter." Even without this imprint, however, it is evident from the technique of the new views that at this time Birch no longer had the assistance of his son, who had embarked on his own artistic career,26 or that of Samuel Seymour. Each of the plates was rendered in Birch's personal style of engraving. For the first time in any of his Philadelphia views, dots appeared along with the engraved lines in order to render a broad expanse of wall or sky. Even in the Gilbert Fox etching this style was carefully followed. The difference in technique between these and the earlier plates is unmistakable.

With his seven new views Birch combined almost half of the plates used in the first edition, thus bringing the second edition to a total of twenty. It was to these thirteen old plates chosen for reissue that the "alterations" he announced to his subscribers were made. Of the thirteen, almost all bore the reference to the bookseller Campbell and to the firm of "W. Birch & Son." In every case but one, they bore the date 1799 or 1800. Each dated plate was now altered to show the uniform date 1800, the reference to Campbell was entirely removed, and in practically every case the plate became the work of "W. Birch Enamel Painter."27 This brought them into a rough uniformity with the new plates, and the "Enamel Painter"

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25 See the plates described in the check list of engravings not contained in the *Philadelphia Views*, appended. Jackson, *Encyclopedia*, III, 872, says the bridge was roofed in 1806. It is to be noted that this particular plate was left undated; Birch's desire to show the structure only in its completed form is understandable.

26 As early as 1802, Thomas Birch is listed in the directories as a "portrait painter" with his separate establishment on South Third Street, Philadelphia.

27 The exceptions are the plates of "The City & Port of Philadelphia," "Arch Street Ferry," and "The Water Works, in Centre Square." The first of these was also reworked by darkening portions of the sky.
designation became an identifying characteristic of the engravings of
the second and later editions.

But with all the scenes on copper ready for the press, there were
still many other minor matters to be attended to before publication.

The title page was to be retained, but for accuracy the reference to
"Twenty-eight Plates" had to be changed to "Twenty Copper-
Plates," and the legend "Second Edition 1804" inserted. The name
"W. Birch & Son" was replaced by "W. Birch Enamel Painter." All
this was done on the original copperplate, producing a second state.

The view of the harbor retained its earlier position following the
title page, but was no longer designated the "Frontispiece," and this
word was removed from the plate.

The printed page of introduction was reset so as to list the plates
as they would appear in the new edition; this sheet was labeled
"Second Edition, 1804" to avoid confusion with the first. Obviously
done by the same person whose type had been used in the first
edition, it gave credit to "R. Folwell, Printer."

The engraved plan of the city had shown the exact location of the
built-up portions in 1800, but with the normal growth which had
taken place in the city this plan was no longer accurate. Instead of
altering the plate to portray the new buildings, it was left as it was
with the date "1800" inserted before reissue.

Lastly, the subscription page was revised to include more than
120 names of new purchasers, among them such public figures as
Stephen Girard and Robert Fulton. Many of these had been induced
to buy during the course of at least one trip by Birch south through
Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia. In
other respects, too, the list was brought up to date—for example, the
description of Thomas Jefferson was changed from the old listing of
"Vice-President of U. States" to "President of U. States."

In his Autobiography, II, 4-6, Birch gives a detailed account of one of his trips by gig to
Baltimore, Washington, Mount Vernon and the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In Baltimore,
"My subscription met with encouragement. Mr. Carroll of Carrollton took great pains to
secure a subscription for the Baltimore Library and took one for himself, though I had not
succeeded in one for the Philadelphia Library." In Washington, "Mr. Law . . . did me the
favor of allowing me to attend him in his morning rambles . . . I succeeded here in my
subscription to the Phila'a views." And in Anopulas (sic), "I found many friends, and was
successful in the purpose of my rout." These subscriptions appear in the list for the second
edition.
With the make-up of the new volume complete, the marketing problem had to be met. Rather than choose a new bookseller to replace Campbell, Birch had determined to open his own shop in the city where suitable display could be made. By this time he had changed his decision (announced earlier in the subscription book) to limit the edition to colored copies, and in his book now stated that:

This Work may be had at Birch's Store, in Philadelphia, or at Springland, on Neshaminy near Bristol, Pennsylvania. The price in Boards, plain, is Twenty-two Dollars, bound Twenty-five:—If coloured, in Boards, Thirty-two Dollars, bound Thirty-five Dollars.

The price had gone up a dollar from that announced in the subscription book, but was still approximately a dollar per plate in black and white, and an additional fifty cents, colored. It was the reduced number of plates which made this edition cheaper and, as a result, more accessible than the first.

Despite the limitation to twenty views, the second edition was generally the equal of the first in elegance. The bindings and size of the volume gave the same impression, although actually the marginal space on the pages was slightly reduced so that their over-all size came to about 17 1/4 x 14 3/4 inches.

The subscription book shows that there was not only a second edition, but also a "Second Edition with Suppliment Containing Fourteen Plates." Apparently at this time further copies of the fourteen remaining and now discarded plates from the first edition were sold with Birch's authorization—his own good business sense undoubtedly had led him to believe that new subscribers might want to own the complete series. In keeping with his basic price policy, the supplement sold for "Fourteen Dollars Plain, & Twenty one Coloured." These fourteen plates can be no other than the first edition group, distinguishable as "supplement" plates by their watermarked paper; some of the prints left over from the printing for the first edition on the old unwatermarked stock probably were also used. The scheme apparently bore little fruit, for only twelve buyers for the supplement are listed.

It may be that copies of first edition plates other than those in the supplement also made their appearance unchanged at this time. The presence in a copy of the second edition, apparently still complete in the original binding, of two unchanged first issue plates on first
edition paper, suggests that Birch may have been hurrying to meet his production date and had used extra copies of the prints in their first state and on the old paper as a part of the new volume.

Publication of the second edition of the *Philadelphia Views* brought the work to its high point. Nearly three hundred copies had been distributed throughout most of the centers of culture in this country and also to many places in Europe. The copy displayed by the President in his waiting room must have been the most potent kind of advertisement, backed as it was by the highest endorsement. Birch was still in full vigor, he must have grossed a substantial sum from the enterprise, and he had plans for the future. In the second edition he had placed three stars before the announcement that “The work will be continued in Supplements, as the City shall increase in public Buildings, and other ornamental elegancies.” Here was a promise not limited, as it had been in 1800, to further editions of the list of subscribers. His mood of enthusiasm was kindled by success.

Yet as time went on it became clear that the zenith of the enterprise had already been reached.

At first the cause of this may have rested with Birch himself, for during the next few years a new project of engraving claimed his attention. In 1808 he published twenty views of estates under the title *Country Seats of the United States*. The scenes were scattered from Long Island to New Orleans. Producing such a series could have left but little time for anything else.

After this came the period of the War of 1812, during which Birch seems to have combined with his specialty as an “Enamel Painter” large numbers of silhouette portraits, then a new vogue. He even issued, in 1812, a large engraving of Mount Vernon, practically a reproduction in increased size of that already appearing in the *Country Seats*, and in the patriotic spirit of the times it enjoyed a good sale.

About this time there appeared an isolated Philadelphia view, clearly not a part of any plan for a new edition, entitled “Phila-

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30 This is inscribed “Mount Vernon, the Seat of the late Genl G. Washington. / Drawn by W. Birch. / Engraved by S. Seymour. / Philadelphia, Published March 15, 1812.” The subscription book lists numerous buyers of this plate under the listing “M. V. Sheet.” In making it more than 13 x 16 inches at the color line, Birch may have been influenced by the new style of more “elegant” prints then coming into fashion.
delphia Bank in Fourth Street.” The work is both undated and without indication of authorship, a most unusual fact suggesting that it was executed upon some special order or for some special use. This Bank was one of the first public buildings in the city to be designed in the “Gothic” style of architecture, which may have accounted for its being reduced to copper. Erected in 1809, it followed by ten years the private mansion “Sedgeley,” in which Latrobe had introduced the new style into the United States. Ample evidence that the print was not at the time considered a part of the Philadelphia series lies in its size, the plate being only approximately 9 3/8 x 7 3/4 inches. While inferior in concept and execution to any of the plates then in the Philadelphia Views, this print eventually did find its way into the series.31

After the War of 1812 new influences were felt. Many large and impressive prints of naval engagements appeared. Since a number of these were reproduced from paintings of Thomas Birch, William Birch was surely quite familiar with them. It may have been that type of print which he had in mind, in 1828, when he said that it was a “day of a more correct stile of publishing” in which many of the “miner subjects” and “inferior plates” of his first edition “would not be thought praiseworthy,” and that complaints had developed “that the engravings are not sufficiently elegant.”32

For these reasons, if for no others, Birch felt no inducement to reissue his Views at this time. Nevertheless, his name did appear on two other engravings of Philadelphia buildings which were later included in them. While that of the Gothic “Philadelphia Bank” had somehow retained a bit of the feeling for the contemporary scene shown in his earlier plates, it had lacked most of the life and interest Birch had been able to capture on copper. Even so, it was far superior to either of the other two.

The first of these was done by Birch. That much can be said. Entitled “The New Theatre in Chesnut Street” and dated 1823, Birch achieved in it slightly more than an architectural elevation.

31 Still another engraving was done by Birch in this period, but it did not even later become a part of the Views. This is the “Masonic Hall in Chestnut Street Philadelphia,” again unsigned. See check list appended. Although the building burned in 1818, the first state of the plate carried only the date 1810, the year of erection; it must have been executed about that time.

32 Philadelphia Views, third edition. See the collation appended.
A few figures indicated the scale of the building. The characteristic
dots appeared in the clouds. But all the life and feeling for the subject
had gone. Issued in plate size $10^{11}/16 \times 95/8$ inches, this last work of
Birch in the field was not a happy one from any viewpoint.

The second plate was not a Birch print at all. This is clear from its
style and purpose, and Birch made no claim to it except to say that
he had "published" it. It depicts the "Bank of the United States" on
Chestnut Street, now known as the Customs House. The Bank,
finished in 1824, was the first important design of the architect
George Strickland, and since he also executed the engraving, this
print has some importance. But it was not intended to be more than
an architectural rendering and as such compares even less favorably
with Birch's Philadelphia series. It was published by Birch in 1827,
plate size $13^{7}/16 \times 11^{11}/16$ inches.

In that and the following year there appeared the third and last
edition by Birch of his Philadelphia Views. Its appearance at this
time was due more to a resurgence of popular interest in the subject
generally, than in the Birch Views in particular. In that year Cephas
G. Childs began publishing parts for his engraved Views in Phila-
delphia. The project continued until 1830, when the full book of
twenty-five plates was offered. The subjects which Childs reduced to
copper were all new, and although the plates were small, they repro-
duced drawings by such well-known artists as Birch's son, Thomas.
Here was an opportunity for Birch to resell the old, as well as for
Childs to sell the new.

The subscription book shows the scope of Birch's ambition at this
time in a new page designed for the signatures of "Subscribers To
Eleven of the Principle Views of Birch's Philadelphia" at the "Price
Plain" of $5.50, "Coloured" $7.50, and "Advanced" $9.50. The
eleven plates to be reissued included such popular ones as "The City
& Port of Philadelphia," "Christ Church," the "Bank of the United
States," "High Street, with the First Presbyterian Church" and the
"Back of the State House," all of which had appeared in both the
first and second editions, as well as the re-engraved "Bank of Penn-
sylvania" and the Gilbert Fox etching of the Chestnut Street
Theatre, which had made their appearance in the second edition
only. But combined with these were the three views issued in varying
sizes during the intervening years.
The appearance of the city had greatly changed since 1804, and, in keeping with Birch's desire for accuracy in his plates, alterations had to be made. The Treaty Tree had blown down during a storm in 1810; this fact was inscribed on the plate. The First Presbyterian Church had been “taken down” in 1820, and a notation was inserted on the plate to that effect. The old Theatre had been replaced by the new structure shown in the separate print of 1823, and the view of the old building was marked to show that it had been “Destroy’d by Fire in 1820.” The Bank of the United States was now known as “Girard’s Bank,” and the plate was suitably inscribed “Girard’s Bank, late the Bank of the United States.” The Water Works was taken down during 1827, and while the building had remained unaltered, its surroundings had by then changed to such an extent that the plate was made to reflect the Rush fountain (some figures being removed for that purpose) and to state that the whole had been “Taken down in 1827.”

The reason for the issuance of such a miscellaneous group of the engravings would seem simply to be that the remainder had by 1827 been mislaid or lost. This supposition is strengthened by the consideration that the 1827 volume was almost certainly published for competitive reasons, as soon as it could be prepared from the plates available and before it could be supported by the inclusion of other “principle views” which Birch had in mind. For the eleven plates only one supporting page was prepared, a paper title and cover page combined in one, and the volume was put on the market without being bound in boards or leather. But in order to include the other views, Birch planned to add two plates, each showing four of them in reduced size. Had the original engravings of these subjects been available, there would have been no need for such a program.

Pursuant to that plan, Birch at this time apparently re-engraved in miniature much the same views which had already appeared of the Library, the Hospital, High Street Market and Old Swedes’ Church (the last from a different vantage point). They were all put on one plate as vignettes, in Birch’s own style of engraving, and entitled as a group “First Plate of Four Subjects.”

The projected “Second Plate of Four Subjects” never appeared.

It was listed on the separate title page which was now printed, but the edition was otherwise ready, and so was published without it. The new Childs prints were continually being added to, and time must have been of the essence.

This completed form of the third edition was published in 1828, and made a much closer approach to the mode of presenting the prints used in the editions of 1800 and 1804, than did the offering of 1827. A separate cover page printed on heavy blue-gray paper replaced the engraved title page of the earlier editions and boasted a vignette of a statue of William Penn in place of the Pennsylvania coat of arms. The format of this page was then repeated on a sheet which listed not only the eleven engravings published in the previous year, but also both the first and second plates of four subjects. A page of introductory comment next appeared before the plates themselves. Even the title was changed from *Eleven of the Principle Views of Birch's Philadelphia* to a form as near the original as could be had: *The City of Philadelphia. State of Pennsylvania. Published by William Birch since 1800.*

Yet the two publications, 1827 and 1828, are variants of the same edition. The plates are alike in both, except for the addition of the one containing the four small subjects, and both use a good grade of hard paper bearing the watermark of the Amies mill in Montgomery County. Further, the 1828 introduction rather clearly contrasts the new edition not with the offering of the previous year, but with the editions of many years earlier, claiming that the new "work is a revisal of its several editions from the year eighteen hundred, and is formed of its best Plates, improved and supported by several new ones; but as the first edition contained many of minor subjects and inferior Plates, . . . they have been left out to lessen the price of the work; but every caution has been taken, to retain or add to those old subjects, which in any case might be thought desirable to save. . . . The portraits of the subjects are correct, and have their full effect."

34 This watermark consists of AMIES plus the dove and branch—the latter as illustrated by Dard Hunter in *Papermaking Through Eighteen Centuries* (New York, 1930), 330—or occasionally a star. The Philadelphia directories for 1825 and 1828 list Thomas Amies' mill at "Lower Merion, Montgomery County." Birch's 1828 paper cover approximates 14\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 18\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches, but the pages are not of uniform size, the largest being somewhat smaller than those dimensions.
In this statement Birch also set out his real reason for believing that his prints, showing for the most part scenes then already gone, were deserving of purchase along with the new Childs series, to which he obliquely refers:

... every caution has been taken, to retain or add to those old subjects, which in any case might be thought desirable to save, such as by fire or removals deprived the City of anecdote or ornament, and which may be considered an acquisition to the work as a basis to any new work that may follow. . . . As this work is of full size, it can be interleaved with guards in the binding, for the reception of other subjects illustrative of the city, as they may be published, and so form an interesting and more extensive work for history. . . . It would be useless for the proprietor to say anything about the historical part or further descriptive of the city, there are other works that have taken that up largely, this is intended as a book of reference, that will stand in future ages as correct.

The good sense in the suggestion to use the Birch prints as the basis for a continuing collection of Philadelphia views is at once apparent. Yet here again is evidence of the loss of most of the old plates, for were there not in the earlier editions many more of "those old subjects such as by fire or removals deprived the City of anecdote or ornament?" They can hardly all have been considered "miner subjects and inferior Plates . . . left out to lessen the price of the work." And still a further inference of the loss or destruction of many of the earlier plates lies in the curious comment that the earlier editions were of greatly increased value in 1828, at the same time that they were less highly regarded than when they were published: "The proprietor has added to the work a list of subscribers to the former editions, which prove there approbation of its originality and correctness, when the work was of much less value, though higher prized than at present."

The price of the 1827 set of eleven plates, uncolored, was half that of the earlier editions, i.e., fifty cents each, and colored copies were now sold for less than the earlier charge of half again the basic price per plate. Still, the subscription book lists only eighteen buyers. This discouraging number may well be incomplete, for the book itself was discontinued at that time and makes no reference to the 1828 title or its purchasers. It must have been sold at the same basic prices,

35 Italics not in original. The Childs plates were each accompanied by several printed pages of description and history of the subject depicted. Birch probably also had in mind John F. Watson, who published the first edition of his *Annals of Philadelphia* at this time.
and with its more complete format, especially the introduction, it may have enjoyed a relatively good sale.

While the 1827–1828 edition is without doubt inferior to the first and second, it is surprising that it was brought out at all. Birch was seventy-two in 1827. Naturally at this age, with Childs in the field and almost forty years his junior, he did not attempt any genuine reappraisal such as he had made in 1804. The last edition must be regarded as a competitive venture only.

Seven years later, in 1834, Birch died in his eightieth year. But his death did not bring the end of restrikes from his copperplates, which in fact are still being produced today. From the known later history of the plates a curious and interesting pattern can be discerned.

At least one of those used in the second edition, but not in the third, "An Unfinished House, in Chesnut Street," came into the hands of Robert Desilver, a local stationer and bookseller who inscribed on it the further legend "Republished by Desilver 1841." Presumably, it was this fact which led Stauffer to state that the Views as a whole were republished by Desilver in that year, but no trace has been found of any volume or full edition published by him, nor does any other plate appear to have been similarly inscribed.

In place of such a simple explanation of the disposition of the plates after Birch's death, it appears that at that time those plates used only in the first edition of 1800 had been intentionally defaced, that those used in the second edition of 1804, but not later, had been mislaid or lost, and that those used for the third edition of 1827–1828 were still at hand. But even the last group were scattered in a short time, and they have never been wholly retrieved.

By 1860, John McAllister, Jr., who amassed an important library on the history of Philadelphia, had acquired six of the plates used in the third edition, plus that of "An Unfinished House" which had been owned by Desilver. In that year, Mr. McAllister prepared a printed list of these plates, among others, and had each one numbered to correspond to the list by the insertion of an arabic figure at the top right-hand corner. He then drew a number of impressions from the plates, creating a further state of each.

Four of these seven plates had been altered, between the publication of the third edition and their coming into McAllister's hands, by

36 Stauffer, II, 35.
the insertion of references to the dates of erection and removal of the buildings shown. Since Desilver is the only person known to have offered impressions from the plates commercially in the intervening years, it may be concluded that he sold restrikes from each of these at the minimum.\textsuperscript{37}

Later Mr. McAllister, or possibly his son, acquired five more of the plates for the \textit{Philadelphia Views} from which he drew impressions without inserting numbers and without revising his printed list. Two of these had also appeared in the third edition,\textsuperscript{38} bringing to eight the number of such plates to be accounted for at that time. The other three are more significant.

Two of them had appeared in the second edition of 1804, but had not been later used by Birch.\textsuperscript{39} While this was also true of "An Unfinished House," formerly in the hands of Desilver, the presence of the two additional plates confirms the conclusion that those employed for the second edition were not destroyed or defaced by Birch, but rather were mislaid during his lifetime.

The third plate, the first rendering of the "Bank of Pennsylvania," which appeared only in the first edition, had been intentionally defaced with the engraving tool. This justifies the inference that after the fourteen discarded first edition views were resold to a few purchasers as the supplement to the second edition, the plates were all defaced by Birch so that no further copies could be taken from them.

Mr. McAllister died in 1877, and his copperplates were bequeathed to his son, John A. McAllister. Two years later the son sent a copy of the printed list to the Library Company of Philadelphia in a letter stating that he would have impressions made from the plates and would give a set to the Library.\textsuperscript{40} This letter further says, "I am sure

\textsuperscript{37} These are "An Unfinished House," "The New Theatre," "Philadelphia Bank," and the "First Plate of Four Subjects." See the check list. The other three plates obtained by McAllister were "Back of the State House," "High Street, with the First Presbyterian Church," and "Girard's Bank." It seems probable that all seven plates were secured from one source and that that source was Desilver. He would have had no need to alter the last three.

\textsuperscript{38} The second rendering of the "Bank of Pennsylvania" and "The Late Theatre in Chestnut Street." While the numbered restrikes had been impressed on a crackly, unwatermarked woven paper, for the unnumbered ones a much softer and duller paper, also unwatermarked, was used.

\textsuperscript{39} "Arch Street Ferry" and the second plate of "High Street Market."

\textsuperscript{40} The letter appears in a volume containing restrikes not only from the numbered plates on the list, but also from the later acquisitions. This volume was received by the Library Company at about that time.
Dr. Rush had three plates of Birch's—there is a memorandum about these plates of Dr. Rush's among my Father's papers, but I cannot at this time find it—Possibly these plates may be at Quigg's the copperplate printer."

It now seems probable that all twelve plates inherited by John A. McAllister were themselves given to the Library Company, for two of them have just been found there. In addition, two more of Birch's plates, which were used in all three of his editions, but were not acquired by Mr. McAllister, have also reappeared and are in private hands. Except for these two, from which restrikes are still being drawn, the McAllister restrikes appear to have been the last to be taken from Birch's plates.

Despite the disappearance of the plates, interest in the prints has never lagged, and many sets of reproductions have carried on from the point where actual restrikes from the plates stopped.

In 1879, the year of the John A. McAllister letter, the final volume of a new, three-volume edition of Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* was published. In that volume, containing supplementary material by Willis P. Hazard, the plates of Birch's first edition were reproduced in small size. About this time, also, John W. Kline announced a republication by the heliotype process of forty to forty-five of the Birch prints in uniform size 6 x 4½ inches, each to be accompanied by a description of the scene prepared by Thompson Westcott, the series to be issued in monthly parts of three prints each. Presumably somewhat later, there appeared a series of reproductions, by a photographic process, of early Philadelphia scenes, including Birch's first edition. These are many times larger than the originals.

In 1908 came the celebration of the 225th anniversary of the founding of Philadelphia, at which time a book of views of Old Philadelphia was published in colors by Adelbert Kohn, including reproductions of ten of Birch's engravings. At the same time, a

41 "The late Theatre in Chestnut Street" and the second plate of the "Bank of Pennsylvania."
42 The view of "The City & Port of Philadelphia" and "Second Street north from Market Street."
44 Westcott was, of course, well known as the author of a long series of articles on the history of Philadelphia and co-author with J. Thomas Sharf of a standard history of the city.
paper-bound booklet was printed and distributed by various banks and merchants during "Founders' Week," which reproduced in small size a complete volume of the first edition, including the title page, introduction, and map of the city, but substituting a few of the second edition plates and omitting the list of subscribers.\textsuperscript{46}

Since that time reproductions have ranged from one extreme to the other. A series of postcards of the prints has been marketed, slides showing them have been made and used by lecturers, and advertisers have even presented modernized versions of them in color for national consumption. They have always been popular as illustrations, a substantial group appearing as late as 1948 in \textit{Diary of Independence Hall}.\textsuperscript{47} In the case of one of the plates, modern facsimiles in the exact size of the originals have been made by a lithographic process on fine paper and colored with care, recapturing much of the spirit of the original engraving.

Critical evaluation of the prints has shown a steady increase in the appreciation of their historic and artistic worth. Birch himself indicated that after a quarter century they were not as highly looked upon as at their first publication. While Desilver thought it profitable to market restrikes in the 1840's, it was not until the sixties and seventies that an effort was made to retrieve those of the plates that could then be located. By 1879, the comment was only that the prints were "coarsely" but "accurately" done, "valuable for their accurate views of the buildings, streets, and costumes of the period."\textsuperscript{48}

The first carefully considered appraisal of the series was made by Sharf and Westcott in 1884, who found the work to be "of great value for its excellent execution" and to be engraved "in the best style." Here for the first time the vitality of the plates was pointed out\textsuperscript{49}:

The occupations of persons who ply their callings in the streets are shown, and even the amusements of the time, life, animation, industry, and the social differences


\textsuperscript{47} Harold D. Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, \textit{Diary of Independence Hall} (Philadelphia, 1948).

\textsuperscript{48} Watson, III, 504.

between artisans, laborers, and people of fashion are clearly distinguished. The Birch views are actual panoramas of street life in the city, and the more valuable on that account.

By 1908, Birch's Views were classified as "unique," and with their first hundred years behind them it was said that:

... the individual prints have become extremely valuable, the books being cut up and the prints framed and scattered, one party having one and another possibly two or three.

The costumes of the period, the general views of the buildings, street scenes, historical landmarks, then the show features of the city, etc., compared with the present, make the phenomenal strides in advancement now achieved seem almost incredible. 50

Since then, more detailed investigation into early American pictorial records has shown that the Birch prints are truly a treasure. Stokes included a full volume in his collection described in American Historical Prints. 51 In the 1930's, print collectors were writing of their "pleasure in the possession of a set of Birch's Philadelphia views." 52 By 1940, there emerged in fuller perspective "the noble figure of William Birch, who during the years 1798–1800 turned out a series of thirty etchings, the like of which was done in no other city in the country. Not only are the Birch views unique in that respect, but they form a great historic monument, the importance of which cannot be overstated." 53

By this time superlatives were the rule, resulting in such descriptions as "one of the greatest pictorial records of 18th century America" and "the finest volume of early American views issued." 54 Most recently, the volume has been characterized as the early American colorplate book "most in demand, next only to the Hudson River Portfolio by Hill" and, together with Birch's Country Seats, as one of "the two initial masterpieces of American color plate pub-

50 Reproduction of Birch's Celebrated Historical Views, I.
51 J. Phelps Stokes, American Historical Prints (New York, 1932), 77.
54 The Rosenbach Company, Selections from Our Shelves (New York and Philadelphia, 1942), 17. Although these statements were made with sale of the volume in mind, from the present vantage point they seem a very fair characterization of the work.
lishing . . . entitled to the greatest collector esteem." As the sesqui-centennial of the publication of the *Philadelphia Views* approaches, their true significance is at long last being grasped by many.

*Bryn Mawr, Pa.*

Martin P. Snyder

55 Whitman Bennett, *A Practical Guide to American Nineteenth Century Color Plate Books* (New York, 1949), 13, 15. Bennett stresses Birch's pioneering in the field: "Among the first color plate artists, Birch was second in importance only to J. Hill and was the earlier by almost a quarter of a century. . . . His position in the community and the state was that of a man of consequence and his endeavors established a respect for his craft."

**APPENDIX**

The collations of the three editions of Birch's *Philadelphia Views* which follow are designed to serve also as a check list of the various states of each of the plates. They are supplemented by a listing of further states either attributed to Desilver, unassigned, or created by McAllister. For a graphic key to the editions and states in which each plate appeared, there is then supplied a table relating each to the check list numbers assigned below, which will be found bracketed in the margins of the collations and lists. Lastly appears a check list of other Philadelphia views by Birch which did not appear in any edition of his *Views*.

The symbol "/" denotes, as usual, the end of a line, but since widely separated legends appear on certain of the plates on the same line or level, these have been separated by the symbol "+." Where raised letters appear, they should be understood as surmounting one- or more periods, in some cases combined with a line.

The sizes of the plates (as taken from the prints) and of their engraved surface are given in inches, but it is emphasized that these dimensions are approximate only, since the prints were taken from the plates on damp paper which shrinks in varying degrees in drying, and since different papers were used for the different editions.

all these are incomplete and contain inaccuracies. It is believed that the lists here given represent the first assembling of substantially all the plates and states.

COLLATION OF THE FIRST EDITION, 1800

(All plates and printed pages are on unwatermarked laid or woven paper.)

[1a] Plate No. 1, Title Page:

The / City of Philadelphia, / in the State of Pennsylvania / North America; / as it appeared in the Year 1800 / consisting of Twenty Eight Plates / Drawn and Engraved by W. Birch & Son. / (vignette design depicting coat of arms of Pennsylvania) / Published by W. Birch, Springland Cot, near Neshaminy Bridge on the Bristol Road, Pennsylvania. Decr 31st 1800. + W. Barker sculp.

Plate size 13¾" x 10¾".

[2a] Plate No. 2, Frontispiece:

Frontispiece. / The City & Port of Philadelphia, on the River Delaware from Kensington. / Published as the Act directs by W. Birch, Springland Cot, near Bristol. 1800.

(The word “Frontispiece” appears above the engraved portion of the plate.)

Plate size 13¾" x 10¾"; color size 11¾" x 9¾".

Printed page of Introduction:

PHILADELPHIA

The ground on which it stands, was, less than a century ago, in a state of wild nature, covered with wood, and inhabited by Indians. It has, in this short time, been raised, as it were, by magic power, to the eminence of an opulent city, famous for its trade and commerce, crowded in its port, with vessels of its own producing, and visited by others from all parts of the world. Its situation on the bank of the Delaware, lies about 40 degrees north from the equator, and about 75 degrees west from London, on the west side of the river, about 40 leagues from the sea. Its plan was laid out by William Penn, and was confirmed by charter, on the 25th of October, 1701. This Work will stand as a memorial of its progress for the first century; the buildings, of any consequence, are generally included, and the street-scenes all accurate as they now stand; the choice of subjects are those that give the most general idea of the town; the scenery is confined within the limits of the
city, excepting the first and last views: the frontispiece represents, with the city at large, a busy preparation for commerce, and the last plate, with the Swedish church, the exertion of naval architecture to protect it; each subject terminating at the opposite extremities of the suburbs, on the bank of the river.

The above title and 14½ printed lines are followed in smaller italicized type by the explanation:

The Plates in this Work are arranged as is most convenient to review the City; after the Title, the General View of the City, the River, and Port; this page next, then the Plan of the City, and the Dissections as follow:

Then appears a list of the individual plates which is given in three columns—the first listing plates 4 to 12 inclusive, the second, plates 13 to 21 inclusive, and the third, plates 22 to 29 inclusive—the title of each plate, italicized, being in the form quoted below:

[3a] Plate No. 3, Plan of the City:

Plan / of the / City of Philadelphia / W. Barker sculp.
Plate size 12¾" x 10¾".

[4a] Plate No. 4, "Arch-street Ferry, a commercial scene, with shipping, &c."

Arch Street Ferry, Philadelphia. / Drawn, Engraved, & Published by W. Birch & Son. + Sold by R. Campbell & Co No 30 Chesnut Street Philad & 1800.
Plate size 13½" x 11½"; color size 11¾" x 8¾".

[5] Plate No. 5, "Arch-street, with the Second Presbyterian Church."

Arch Street, with the Second Presbyterian Church. / Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son. + Sold by R. Campbell & Co No 30, Chesnut St Philad & 1799.
Plate size 13½" x 10½"; color size 11" x 8½".

[6a] Plate No. 6, "New Lutheran Church, in Fourth-street."

New Lutheran Church, in Fourth Street Philadelphia. / Drawn & Engraved by W. Birch & Son. + Published by R. Campbell & Co No 30 Chesnut Street Philad & 1799.
Plate size 13¾" x 11½"; color size 11¾" x 8¾".
Plate No. 7, "Old Lutheran Church, in Fifth-street."
Old Lutheran Church, in Fifth Street. Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son. + Sold by R. Campbell & Co No 30 Chesnut Street Philad 1800.
Plate size 13½" x 11"; color size 11⅝" x 8½".

Plate No. 8, "South east corner of Market and Third street."
South East Corner of Third, and Market Streets. / Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son. + Sold by R. Campbell & Co No 30, Chesnut Street Philad 1799.
Plate size 12¾" x 11"; color size 10¾" x 8¾".

Plate No. 9, "New Presbyterian Church, in Market-street."
High Street, with the First Presbyterian Church. / Philadelphia. / Drawn, Engraved, & Published by W. Birch & Son + Sold by R. Campbell & Co No 30 Chesnut Street Philad 1799.
Plate size 12¾" x 10¾"; color size 11¾" x 8½".

Plate No. 10, "Perspective View of the inside of the Market-place."
Plate size 13" x 11½"; color size 11¾" x 8¼".

Plate No. 11, first of two variants:
High Street, From the Country Market-place Philadelphia. / Drawn & Engraved by W. Birch & Son. + Published by R. Campbell & Co No 30 Chesnut Street Philad 1798.
Plate size 13¾" x 11½"; color size 11¾" x 8½".

Plate No. 11, "High-street from the Country Market-place."
Plate size 13" x 11½"; color size 11¾" x 8½".

Plate No. 12, "High-street from Ninth-street."
High Street, from Ninth Street. Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son. + Sold by R Campbell & Co No 30 Chesnut Street Philad 1799.
Plate size 13" x 11½"; color size 11¾" x 8½".
Plate No. 13, "The house intended for the President of the U. S. in Ninth-street."

The House intended for the President of the United States, / in Ninth Street Philadelphia. / Drawn & Engraved by W. Birch & Son. + Published by R. Campbell & Co. No. 30, Chesnut Street Philad. 1799.

Plate size 13¾" x 11½"; color size 10⅞" x 8¾".

Plate No. 14, "An unfinished house, in Chesnut-street."


Plate size 13¾" x 10¾"; color size 10¾" x 8⅛".

Plate No. 15, "Second-street north from Market-street, with Christ Church."

Second Street North from Market St. Christ Church. / Philadelphia. / Drawn & Engraved by W. Birch & Son. + Published by R. Campbell & Co. No. 30 Chesnut Street Philad. 1799.

Plate size 13¾" x 11¼"; color size 11¾" x 8½".

Plate No. 16, "New-Market, in South Second-street."

New Market, in South Second Street Philadelphia. / Drawn, Engraved, & Published by W. Birch & Son. + Sold by R. Campbell & Co. No. 30, Chesnut Street Philad. 1799.

Plate size 13¾" x 11¾"; color size 11¾" x 8½".

First Plate of United States Bank, replaced for first edition by Plate No. 17, but found as an added plate in some copies:


Plate size 13¾" x 11¼"; color size 11¾" x 8¼".

Plate No. 17, "Bank of the United States, in Third-street."


Plate Size 13¾" x 11⅛"; color size 11¾" x 8½".
[18] Plate No. 18, "View in Third-street from Spruce-street."

View in Third Street, from Spruce Street Philadelphia. / Drawn, Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son Neshaminy Ferry.

Plate size 13¼" x 10⅞"; color size 11⅝" x 8½".

[19a] Plate No. 19, "Library and Surgeons' Hall, Fifth-street."

Library and Surgeons Hall, in Fifth Street Philadelphia. / Drawn & Engraved by W. Birch & Son. + Published by R. Campbell & C° N° 30 Chesnut Street Philad 1799.

Plate size 13¾" x 11"; color size 10⅞" x 8½".


Congress Hall and New Theatre, in Chesnut Street Philadelphia. / Drawn, Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son Neshaminy Bridge. 1800.

Plate size 13¾" x 10¾"; color size 11¼" x 8½".


Plate size 13⅞" x 11⅝"; color size 10¼" x 8½".

[22a] Plate No. 22, "Back of the State-House."

Back of the State House, Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son + Sold by R. Campbell & C° N° 30 Chesnut Street Philad 1799.

Plate size 13" x 11"; color size 11¼" x 8½".


Plate size 13⅞" x 11⅝"; color size 10¼" x 8½".

[24] Plate No. 24, "Gaol, in Walnut-street."


Plate size 13⅞" x 11"; color size 10⅞" x 8½".

Plate size 12 2/3" x 11 3/8"; color size 11" x 8 3/8".

[26a] Plate No. 26, "Pennsylvania Hospital, in Pine-street."

Pennsylvania Hospital, in Pine Street Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son + Sold by R. Campbell & Co. No. 30, Chesnut Street Philad. 1799.
Plate size 12 2/3" x 11"; color size 10 7/8" x 8 3/4".

[27a] Plate No. 27, "Pennsylvania Bank, in Second-street."

Bank of Pennsylvania, South Second Street Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son Neshaminy Bridge.
Plate size 13 5/8" x 10 15/16"; color size 11 3/8" x 8 3/4".

[28a] Plate No. 28, "Water-Works in Centre Square."

The Water Works, in Centre Square Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son Neshaminy Bridge.
Plate size 13 1/2" x 10 9/16"; color size 11 3/4" x 8 3/4".

[29] Plate No. 29, "Swedish Church, Southwark, with the building of a frigate."

Preparation for War to defend Commerce. / The Swedish Church Southwark with the building of the Frigate Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son. + Sold by R. Campbell & Co. No. 30 Chesnut Street Philad. 1800.
Plate size 13 3/8" x 11 3/8"; color size 11 5/8" x 9 5/16".

Printed page entitled "Subscribers to Birch's Views of Philadelphia." containing in small type four columns listing the subscribers by name and city of residence, the respective columns beginning and ending with the names: Abeen-Dunderdale; Eckfeldt-Magaw; M'Ewin-Siemen; and Sims-The Chevalier d’Yrujo. The lists are followed in italics by the legend, "An additional List of Subscribers will be added to the next Edition of this Page." The page is completed by the following nine lines in large type:

The Publisher of this Work informs those Ladies and Gentlemen who wish to be / possessed of the Philadelphia Views, that, by sending a line directed to William Birch, at / Springland-Cot, near
Neshaminy-Bridge, on the Bristol road, Pennsylvania, shall be supplied, to whatever place they may direct. The price of the Work, in boards, is 28 Dollars; bound, 31 dollars; if coloured, in boards, 41½ Dollars; bound, 44½ Dollars. Also may be had, a large Print of the Frontispiece, 25½ inches by 21½ engraved in an elegant and bold style, for the purpose of framing: Price 6 Dollars plain, and 9 coloured. A companion to which is now engraving, to be the City of New-York, which will, toge-ther, compose an elegant pair of Prints of the two principal Cities of North-America.

Collation of Prospectus for First Edition of Birch’s Views

Philadelphia and New-York.

William Birch thus informs the Public of his intentions to picture the two principal Cities of North America, subjects hitherto totally neglected by the Arts, yet by no means of small importance, as the works will tend to show to foreigners the spirit of improvements in this country, as well as to point out to the inhabitants the beauties of their Cities. He has already completed a part of his undertaking in a work of Philadelphia, which consists of an elegant volume, containing a beautiful Title Page, with the Pennsylvania Arms, a general view of the City from Kensington, one page of Observations, &c. a plan of the City, and 26 Sections, showing the Public Buildings, Street Scenes, &c. Size of the Plates, 13 by 11 inches.

New-York will be its companion volume, to be published the same size and in the same stile, but will have only 19 Sections, the Drawings of which are nearly completed, and the Plates in hand. In order to make these Works complete, and that they shall afford a source of amusement, he is now about to publish two large Plates, 21½ by 25½ inches, of the general Views of the two Cities, which he flatters himself will surpass anything of the kind yet published in this country. The large Plate of Philadelphia is also finished; the view is taken from the great elm at Kensington, called Penn’s Tree, on account of a treaty for lands formed under it by William Penn with the Indians, respecting the settlement of the State of Pennsylvania. This view contains a portrait of that beautiful Tree, with a splendid appearance of the City and Port, on the river Delaware. The Drawing of New-York is from the opposite shore of the Sound, as it appears from a great eminence, forming a chaste and grand subject, very similar to the choice of subject formerly made use of by the celebrated Salvator Rosa; the Bay is seen, and the opposite bank of the North River over the busy town at sunset, contrasted in the foreground with the quiet grazing of a horse under the wreck of an ancient tree, upon a sequestered lawn on Long-Island: This Plate is also in hand. These two large Prints are intended as elegant furniture for a drawing or setting room, which will serve
as references / for amusement to the two volumes, when conversation or
entertainment of more consequence / should cease to be the subject of a
party. These articles are thus complete together, or each / in itself com-
plete; and may be had by directing a line to William Birch, Springland Cot,/
Neshammany, near Bristol, Pennsylvania, or by subscribing their names
to any of the under- / neath subscription papers, held for that purpose,
with the article or articles repeated under / those divided for the pur-
pose of a list.

PRICES.

The volume of Philadelphia in boards, plain, 28 dollars; bound, 31 dollars;
if coloured, / in boards, 41½ dollars; bound, 44½ dollars.
The volume of New-York will be in boards, plain, 21 dollars; bound, 24;
if coloured, in / boards, 31 dollars; bound, 34 dollars.
The two large prints, 21¼ by 25½, of Philadelphia and New-York,
6 dollars each, plain, / and 9 dollars coloured. (Then follows in italics):

We the underneath Subscribers, do agree to take, at the above-mentioned
Price or Prices, what / we have named in this Subscription Paper.

+ Large Prints of Philadelphia and New-York.

COLLATION OF THE SECOND EDITION, 1804

(All plates and printed pages on watermarked woven paper. Plate and color
sizes are not given where the same plate used was in first edition.)

[1b] Plate No. 1, Title Page:
The / City of Philadelphia, / in the State of Pennsylvania / North
America; / as it appeared in the Year 1800 / Second Edition 1804.
/ consisting of Twenty Copper-Plates / Drawn and Engraved by
W. Birch Êamel Painter. / (vignette) / Published by W. Birch,
Springland Cot, near Neshaminy Bridge on the Bristol Road;

[2b] Plate No. 2, Frontispiece:
The City & Port of Philadelphia, on the River Delaware from
Kensington. / Published as the Act directs by W. Birch, Spring-
land Cot, near Bristol. 1800.

Printed page of Introduction:
This page contains the same title and the first 10½ lines appearing
in the first edition, but the lines are broken as follows:
The ground . . . wild nature; about 40 . . . confirm-
covered with wood . . . as it ed by charter . . . memorial of
were . . . trade and com-
merce, . . . from all and the . . . are those that
parts of . . . degrees north give the . . . limits of the
from the . . . the river,

The above title and lines are followed in smaller type by the ex-
planation:

The Plates in this Work are arranged as is most convenient to
review the City; after the Title, the General View of the City,
River, and Port; this page next, then the Plan of the / City, and
the Sections as follow:

Then appears a list of the individual plates which is given in
three columns—the first listing plates 5 to 11 inclusive, the second
plates 12 to 18 inclusive, and the third plates 19 to 23 inclusive—
the title of each plate, italicized, being in the form quoted below.

At the bottom of the page, on the right-hand side, appear the
legends:


[3b] Plate No. 4, Map of the City:
Plan / of the / City of Philadelphia / 1800. / W. Barker sculp.

[4b] Plate No. 5, “Arch-street Ferry, a commercial scene, with shipping,
&c.”:
Arch Street Ferry, Philadelphia. / Drawn, Engraved, & Published
by W. Birch Springland near Bristol Pennsylvania 1800

[15b] Plate No. 6, “Second-street north from Market-street, with Christ
Church.”:
Second Street North from Market St. to Christ Church. / Philadel-
phia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter 1800.

[9b] Plate No. 7, “New Presbyterian Church, in Market-street.”:
High Street, with the First Presbyterian Church. / Philadel-
phia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter 1800.

[31a] Plate No. 8, “Perspective View of the inside of the Market-place.”:
High Street Market, Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by
W. Birch Enamel Painter 1800.
Plate size 13½" x 10½"; color size 10½" x 8½".
Plate No. 9, "High-street, from the Country Market-place."

Plate No. 10, "New Lutheran Church, in Fourth-street."
New Lutheran Church, in Fourth Street Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter. 1800.

Plate No. 11, "High-street from Ninth-street."
High Street, from Ninth Street. Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter. 1800.

Plate No. 12, "An unfinished house, in Chesnut-street."
An Unfinished House, in Chesnut Street Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter. 1800.

Plate No. 13, "Library and Surgeons' Hall, Fifth-street."
Library and Surgeons Hall, in Fifth Street Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter. 1800.

Plate No. 14, "The Theatre, in Chesnut-street."
The Theatre in Chesnut Street Philadelphia. / Drawn & Published by W. Birch near Bristol 1804. + Gilbert Fox Aquafortus
Plate size 11½" x 8½"; color size 10½" x 8½".

Plate No. 15, "Old State-House, Congress Hall, and Town-Hall."
Old State House, Congress Hall and Town Hall, / Chesnut Street Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter.
Plate size 13" x 11½"; color size 11" x 8½".

Plate No. 16, "Back of the State-House."
Back of the State House, Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter. 1800.

Plate No. 17, "State-House Garden."
State House Garden Philadelphia. / Designed Engraved & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter
Plate size 13½" x 11¼"; color size 10¾" x 8¾".

Plate No. 18, "Gaol, in Walnut-street."
Jail in Walnut Street Philadelphia / Designed Engraved & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter
Plate size 13½" x 10½"; color size 10½" x 8½".
[26b] Plate No. 19, "Pennsylvania Hospital, in Pine-street."
Pennsylvania Hospital, in Pine Street Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter 1800.

[17b] Plate No. 20, "Bank of the United States, in Third-street."

[36a] Plate No. 21, "Pennsylvania Bank, in Second-street."
Bank of Pennsylvania, South Second Street Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter. 1804.
Plate size 12½" x 10½"; color size 10½" x 8½".

[28b] Plate No. 22, "Water-Works in Centre Square."
The Water Works, in Centre Square Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch near Neshaminy Bridge.

[37a] Plate No. 23, "Schuylkill Bridge."
Schuylkill Bridge High Street Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter.
Plate size 12½" x 11"; color size 11¼" x 8½".

Printed page entitled "SUBSCRIBERS TO BIRCH'S VIEWS OF PHILADELPHIA.", containing on the obverse four columns in small type listing the subscribers by name and city of residence, the respective columns beginning and ending with the names: Abeen-Driver; Duffield-Johnson; Kaighn-Penington; and Physick-Vasse. The list of subscribers is concluded in four short columns on the reverse beginning and ending respectively with the names: Varick-Wager; Wager(continued)-Walter; Warde-Wilkins; and Wilson-El. Marquis Casa de Yrujo. On the reverse, following upon the conclusion of the list, are three paragraphs as follows:

This Work may be had at Birch's Store, in Philadelphia, or at Springland, on Neshaminy near Bristol, Pennsylvania. The / price in Boards, plain, is Twenty-two Dollars, bound Twenty-five:—If coloured, in Boards, Thirty-two Dollars, bound Thirty-five Dol- / lars.

* * * The work will be continued in Supplements, as the City shall increase in public Buildings, and other ornamental elegancies.
The city of New-York is now in hand as a companion volume to the Philadelphia.
COLLABORATION OF THE THIRD EDITION, 1827–1828

(All plates and printed pages on watermarked woven paper. Plate and color sizes are not given where the same plate used was in an earlier edition.)

Heavy paper cover sheet, grey, printed as follows:

The / City of Philadelphia. / State of Pennsylvania. / (Vignette statue of Penn, beneath which appears) William Penn. / Founder of the City. / (Below) Published by William Birch, since the Year 1800.

Title page repeats the format of the cover sheet, but adds on the sides of the page opposite the Penn statue the following:

Contents.

Penn’s Tree with the City. 
Second Street.
Philadelphia Bank.
Pennsylvania Bank.
Girard’s Bank.
United States Bank.

State House.
New Theatre, (Chesnut Street.)
Late Theatre, (Chesnut Street.)
Presbyterian Church.
Water Works, (High Street.)
First Plate of Four Subjects.
Second Plate, Ditto.

Printed page of Introduction:

BIRCH’S
PHILADELPHIA.
1828.

This work is a revisal of its several editions from the year eighteen hundred, and / is formed of its best Plates, improved and supported by several new ones; but as the first edition / contained many of miner subjects and inferior Plates, which in this day of a more correct stile of / publishing, would not be thought praiseworthy, they have been left out to lessen the price of the / work; but every caution has been taken, to retain or add to those old subjects, which in any case / might be thought desirable to save, such as by fire or removals deprived the City of anecdote or / ornament, and which may be considered an acquisition to the work as a basis to any new work that / may follow. It has been reported that the engravings are not sufficiently elegant, it can only be said / that if the lovers of the arts wish to indulge a gratification in the higher powers of the tool, or / polygraphic art, they should seek it as more worthily bestowed upon the fine arts, of which this is / not considered a branch—they are only mechanical, and more labour on such large plates would / make them less useful by the unnecessary expense that would attend it. The portraits of the / subjects are correct, and have their full effect. As this work is of full size, it can
be interleaved / with guards in the binding, for the reception of other subjects illustrative of the city, as they may / be published, and so form an interesting and more extensive work for history.

The proprietor has added to the work a list of subscribers to the former editions, which prove / there approbation of its originality and correctness, when the work was of much less value, though / higher prized than at present. It would be useless for the proprietor to say anything about the / historical part or further descriptive of the city, there are other works that have taken that up / largely, this is intended as a book of reference, that will stand in future ages as correct.

[2c] Plate No. 1, first variant: “Penn’s Tree with the City”:
Penn’s Tree, with / The City & Port of Philadelphia, on the River Delaware from Kensington. / Published as the Act directs by W. Birch, Springland Cot, near Bristol. 1800.

[2d] Plate No. 1, second variant: “Penn’s Tree with the City”:
Penn’s Tree, with / The City & Port of Philadelphia, on the River Delaware from Kensington. / Decayed & blow’d down in 1810. / Published as the Act directs by W. Birch, Springland Cot, near Bristol. 1800.

[15c] Plate No. 2, “Second Street”:
(Same inscription as 15b, Plate No. 6 of Second Edition, but distinguishable by paper.)

[38a] Plate No. 3, “Philadelphia Bank”:
Philadelphia Bank in Fourth Street Philadelphia.
Plate size 9¾" x 7¾"; color size 7¼" x 5¾".

[36b] Plate No. 4, “Pennsylvania Bank”:
(Same inscription as 36a, Plate No. 21 of Second Edition, but distinguishable by paper.)

[17c] Plate No. 5, “Girard’s Bank”:
Girard’s Bank, late the / Bank of the United States, in Third Street Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter. 1800.

[39] Plate No. 6, “United States Bank”:
Bank of the United States, / Chesnut Street Philadelphia. / Published by Wm Birch 1827. / George Strickland Arch Del
Plate size 13¾" x 11¼"; color size 11¼" x 7¾".
[22c] Plate No. 7, "State House":
(Same inscription as 22b, Plate No. 16 of Second Edition, but distinguishable by paper.)

[40a] Plate No. 8, "New Theatre (Chesnut Street)":
The New Theatre in / Chesnut Street Philadelphia. / Published by Wm Birch 1823.
Plate size 10\(\frac{1}{2}\)" x 9\(\frac{3}{8}\)"; color size 8\(\frac{3}{8}\)" x 6\(\frac{3}{8}\)".

[32b] Plate No. 9, "Late Theatre (Chesnut Street)":
Destroy’d by Fire in 1820. / The late Theatre in Chesnut Street Philadelphia. / Drawn & Published by W. Birch near Bristol 1804. + Gilbert Fox Aquafortus

[9c] Plate No. 10, "Presbyterian Church":
High Street, with the First Presbyterian Church. / Taken down in 1820. / Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter 1800.

[28c] Plate No. 11, "Water Works, (High Street)":
Taken down in 1827. / The Water Works, in Centre Square Philadelphia. / Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch near Neshaminy Bridge.

[41a] Plate No. 12, "First Plate of Four Subjects":
First Plate of Four Subjects. / for Birch’s Philadelphia. / Franklin Library in 1800. / Pennsylvania Hospital in 1800. / Swedes Church Southwark / High St Market House in 1800.
Plate size 12\(\frac{7}{8}\)" x 10\(\frac{5}{16}\)"; no color size: the four subjects are vignettes.

**DESILVER AND UNASSIGNED RESTRIKES**

[14c] An Unfinished House:

[14d] An Unfinished House:
An Unfinished House, in Chesnut Street Philadelphia. / Designed & Published by W. Birch Enamel Painter. 1800. / Built for the late Robert Morris Esq / Begun 1794. / Taken down 1799. / Republished by Desilver 1841.
[38b] Philadelphia Bank:
Philadelphia Bank in Fourth Street Philadelphia. / Built 1809. +
Taken down 1837.

[40b] New Theatre in Chesnut Street:
+ Taken down 1856. / Published by Wm Birch 1823.

[41b] First Plate of Four Subjects:
First Plate of Four Subjects / for Birch's Philadelphia. / Philadel-
phia Library in 1800.—Built 1790. / Pennsylvania Hospital in
1800.—Founded 1751. / Swedes Church Southwark—Built 1700. /
High S't Market House in 1800.

[37b] Schuylkill Bridge:
The Schuylkill Permanent Bridge High Street Philad*
(Apparently a second state of Plate 23, Second Edition, reduced in
size to color size 10½" x 6½"; all Birch identification removed.)

McAllister Restrikes

[14e] An Unfinished House:
(Same inscription as 14d, but with arabic figure “1” at top right
corner beyond color line.)

[22d] Back of the State House:
(Same inscription as 22b and 22c, but with arabic figure “2” at top
right corner beyond color line.)

[40c] New Theatre in Chesnut Street:
(Same inscription as 40b, but with arabic figure “3” at top right
corner beyond color line.)

[41c] First Plate of Four Subjects:
(Same inscription as 41b, but with arabic figure “4” at top right
corner.)

[9d] High Street, with the First Presbyterian Church:
(Same inscription as 9c, but with arabic figure “5” at top right
corner beyond color line.)

[17d] Girard's Bank:
(Same inscription as 17c, but with arabic figure “7” at top right
corner beyond color line.)
### TABLE OF STATES OF BIRCH'S *Views of Philadelphia*

(By means of the numbers inserted in the table, the states of each print are shown, together with the time of their appearance. Each number refers to the full description of the corresponding state in the check list above.)

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<tr>
<td>Library and Surgeons' Hall</td>
<td>19a</td>
<td>19b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Congress Hall, New Theatre</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>State House in Chesnut Street</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Back of the State House</td>
<td>22a</td>
<td>22b</td>
<td>22c</td>
<td>22d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State House Garden (1st Plate)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaol in Walnut Street</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Alms House in Spruce Street</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Hospital</td>
<td>26a</td>
<td>26b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania Bank (1st Plate)</td>
<td>27a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Works</td>
<td>28a</td>
<td>28b</td>
<td>28c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish Church Southwark</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bank of United States with View 3d Street</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Street Market (2d Plate)</td>
<td>31a</td>
<td></td>
<td>31b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Theatre in Chesnut Street</td>
<td>32a</td>
<td>32b</td>
<td>32c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Old State House, etc</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>State House Garden (2d Plate)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jail in Walnut Street</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bank of Pennsylvania (2d Plate)</td>
<td>36a</td>
<td>36b</td>
<td>36c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schuylkill Bridge High Street</td>
<td>37a</td>
<td></td>
<td>37b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia Bank</td>
<td>38a</td>
<td>38b</td>
<td>38c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bank of United States Chesnut St</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Theatre in Chesnut Street</td>
<td>40a</td>
<td>40b</td>
<td>40c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>First Plate of Four Subjects</td>
<td>41a</td>
<td>41b</td>
<td>41c</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[38c] Philadelphia Bank:
(Same inscription as 38b, but with arabic figure “8” at top right corner beyond color line.)

[32c] The Late Theatre in Chesnut Street:
(Same inscription as 32b, but on soft, unwatermarked paper.)

[27b] Bank of Pennsylvania (First Plate):
(Same inscription as 27a, but struck off after defacing of engraved surface.)

[36c] Bank of Pennsylvania (Second Plate):
(Same inscription as 36b, but on soft, unwatermarked paper.)

[31b] High Street Market (Second Plate):
(Same inscription as 31a, but on soft, unwatermarked paper.)

[4c] Arch Street Ferry:
(Same inscription as 4b, but on soft, unwatermarked paper.)


[42a] The City of Philadelphia:
The City of / Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania North America. / Published May 1st 1801 by Wm Birch Enamel Painter, on Neshaminy, near Bristol Pennsylvania. / Drawn by Tho* Birch + Engraved by Samuel Seymour
Plate size 24½" x 21½"; color size 24" x 18½".

[42b] The City of Philadelphia:
(Same inscription as 42a, but with the addition between “Drawn by Tho* Birch” and “Engraved by Samuel Seymour” of the legend):
Wm H. Morgan, 100 Arch St

[43a] Schuylkill Bridge:
Schuyllkill Bridge, High + (Inset entitled: The Bridge as it will appear when covered.) + Street, Philadelphia. / Drawn by W. Birch + Engraved by S. Seymour / Published and sold by W. Birch, No 22, South Sixth Street, Phila. May, 1805.
Plate size 18½" x 15⅛"; color size 16½" x 11⅝".
[43b] Schuylkill Bridge:
(Same inscription as 43a, but with the addition of the legend):
Reprinted 1806
(As described by W. M. Hornor, Jr., "Men and Things," The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, December 12, 1927.)

[43c] Schuylkill Bridge:
(At top of plate inside color area): Schuylkill Bridge High Street Philadelphia. (Inset in lower center of color area): The Bridge as it appears now Covered
Plate size reduced to 13³/₆" x 9¹⁵/₁₆"; color size reduced to 13⁹/₁₂" x 9³/₈", by reductions from left side and top of plate, foreground figures of first state replaced by inset.

[43d] Schuylkill Bridge:
(Same inscription as 43c, but on soft, unwatermarked paper. McAllister restrike.)

[44a] Masonic Hall:
Masonic Hall in Chesnut Street Philadelphia.— / 1810
Plate size 8¹⁵/₁₆" x 7¹⁷/₈"; color size 7¾" x 5³/₁₂".

[44b] Masonic Hall:
Masonic Hall in Chesnut Street Philadelphia.— / Built 1810 + Burnt 1818.
(Attributed to Desilver.)

[44c] Masonic Hall:
(Same inscription as 44b, but with arabic figure "6" at top right corner beyond color line. McAllister restrike.)