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SOME ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1760-1790

EXAMINE THIS flourishing province, in whatever light you will, the eyes as well as the mind of an European traveller are equally delighted; because a diffusive happiness appears in every part: happiness which is established on the broadest basis. The wisdom of Lycurgus and Solon, never conferred on man one half of the blessings and uninterrupted prosperity which the Pennsylvanians now possess: the name of *Penn*, that simple but illustrious citizen, does more honour to the English nation than those of many of their kings."[1] So that keen observer, Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, wrote of Pennsylvania in 1782. To consider some few of the aspects of the social life of this blessed and happy people—their number and origin, the basis on which their economic system rested, the general diffusion among them of education and knowledge of the arts and sciences, their leisure life, and finally some facets of their mind and their habits of thought—is the object of this paper.

Pennsylvania's population in this period was rapidly increasing and the several racial groups had not yet been completely amalgamated. "There is no part of america in a more flourishing Condition than pensilvania," wrote a French agent in 1765; "great numbers of people abound to it, in some years more have transported themselves

[1] *Letters from an American Farmer* (London, 1782), 247.

into this province, then [*sic*] into all the others besides";[2] and twenty years later another traveller observed that the population of Pennsylvania and especially of Philadelphia "has had a more rapid increase than that of any other of the States, owing to the amazing multitudes which flock to it from Europe."[3] Immigration, however, was only half the picture: the natural increase of population was great. Thus Hannah Milner, who died near Philadelphia in 1769 at the great age of one hundred years and ten months, had fourteen children, eighty-two grandchildren, and one hundred and ten great grandchildren;[4] and a table of births and deaths of a Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia, covering the fourteen-year period between 1774 and 1787, showed the proportion of births to deaths as 2.15 to 1.[5] Burke in 1761 set the population of the colony at 250,000; Proud held the same figure for 1770; the figure in the Congressional quota of 1780 was 300,000; while the first census gave the state a population of 434,373.[6] Philadelphia, largest city in colonial America, had a population variously estimated between 20,000 and 30,000 before 1765, a population which grew in twenty-five years to more than 40,000.[7] Lancaster, the largest inland town in America, with "180 taverns or licensed houses of all descriptions," contained nearly 7,000 souls in 1790. Reading during the war had about 400 houses, indicating a population of 2,500; while the inhabitants of York numbered between 2,000 and 3,000. Until 1785 Harrisburg was only a ferry-house; Carlisle, an important point, had a population of somewhat more than 1,500 in 1788; while Pittsburgh in 1783, just before the movement to the Ohio, contained only about 500 persons.[8]

[2] "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 80 (1921).

[3] John Willock, *Voyages and Adventures* (Philadelphia, 1798), 75.

[4] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, July 10, 1769.

[5] J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America. Performed in 1788* (New York, 1792), 201.

[6] E. B. Greene and V. D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), 115-16.

[7] *Ibid.*, 118; *The Works of John Adams*, C. F. Adams, ed. (Boston, 1850-1856), VII. 304; Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation* (Philadelphia, 1911), I. 55-56, 61; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Jan. 15, 1770; R. W. Pettengill, trans., *Letters from America, 1776-1779* (Boston, 1924), 188, 258; Elkanah Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution* (New York, 1856), 241.

[8] Thomas Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (Boston and New York, 1923), II. 175, 179; W. P. Cutler and J. P. Cutler, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (Cincinnati, 1888), I. 398, 400, 428,

"The City of Philadelphia," thought Lord Adam Gordon, "is perhaps one of the wonders of the World, if you consider its Size, the Number of Inhabitants, the regularity of its Streets, their great breadth and length, their cutting one another all at right Angles, their Spacious publick and private buildings, Quays and Docks, the Magnificence and diversity of places of Worship . . . the plenty of provisions brought to Market, and the Industry of all its inhabitants, one will not hesitate to Call it the first Town in America, but one that bids fair to rival almost any in Europe."[9] At the other extreme was Uniontown, a typical western settlement, described in 1788 as consisting of "a lovely little family, a courthouse and school-house in one, a mill, and consequently a miller, four taverns, three smith-shops, five retail shops, two Tanyards, one of them only occupied, one saddler's shop, two hatter's shops, one mason, one cake woman, we had two but one of them having committed a petit larceny is upon banishment, two widows and some reputed maids. To which may be added a distillery."[10]

The population was a heterogeneous one, with large racial minorities and wide divergences between social classes. The Swedes were a rather inconsiderable group numerically and seem for the most part to have been taken into the predominantly English culture of the Delaware settlements.[11] The Irish and the Scots-Irish, settled largely west of the Susquehanna, built a society not radically different from that on the coast, a society which, at least, used the same language. The Germans, however, an unabsorbed population estimated in 1765 at more than 60,000, constituted a serious problem and created a well-founded fear that Pennsylvania would become "wholly foreign in language, manners, and perhaps even inclinations." In addition to these groups, there was after the War of Independence an influx of other foreigners, particularly of French.[12]

429; *Journal of Du Roi the Elder*, Charlotte S. J. Epping, trans. (New York, 1911), 142, 143; "John Penn's Journal . . . ," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., III. 290 (1879); Charles W. Dahlinger, *Pittsburgh: A sketch of its early social life* (New York, 1916), 9; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 214, 243-44; II. 10, 20; Watson, *op. cit.*, 31-32; Greene and Harrington, *op. cit.*, xxiii, 119.

[9] N. D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 410-11.

[10] Ephraim Douglass to General James Irvine, Uniontown [1784], PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., I. 50 (1877).

[11] Schoepf, *op. cit.*, II. 4.

[12] *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*, J. C. Parsons, ed. (Philadelphia, 1893), 102; F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 23,

Between the well-established eastern communities and the embryo western settlements, between Philadelphia and Uniontown, there was a wide cleavage in character, outlook, and culture. The Shippens of Lancaster and Philadelphia and the unnamed frontiersmen whom Crevecoeur described as half civilized and half savage[13] had little in common, save that all called themselves Americans. In the older communities there was growing wealth and leisure and culture; on the western fringe these things were unknown.

The bases of the economic system were agriculture, trade, and free labor, and, later, manufacturing. Pennsylvania was a colony of farmers. From the land came most of the colony's wealth—wheat and other grains, vegetables, beef, pork, flaxseed, lumber[14]—and from the land, too, thought Crevecoeur, came the spirit of independence of the people.[15] Well-kept fields lined the main traveled roads, and the line of prosperous farmers was constantly moving a bit farther west. The very fertility of the soil, however, was dangerous, for it encouraged—Dr. Schoepf particularly made the charge—improvident methods. Many of the farmers, wrote Alexander Thomson from Franklin County, did "not so much as draw out to the land the dung which is made by their cattle. When I came to this land there was lying, in several heaps at the house, all the dung that had been made in the space of eleven years."[16] The consequences of this carelessness far-sighted farmers had begun to see and they began to spread, first through the American Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge and later through the Agricultural Society, the propaganda of crop rotation, fertilization, improved breeding, and other

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109-10; M. C. Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783* (New York and London, 1897), I. 371 n.; Mereness, *op. cit.*, 411; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 203.

[13] *Letters from an American Farmer*, 63-67.

[14] John Entick, *The Present State of the British Empire* (London, 1774), IV. 436; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 255; "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *loc. cit.*, 79; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 117; Willock, *op. cit.*, 75.

[15] Crevecoeur, *op. cit.*, 23, 25-26, 46-48.

[16] Letter of Alexander Thomson, Corkerhill, Pa., Aug. 16, 1773, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., VIII. 321 (1884). *Letters of John Adams, Addressed to his Wife*, C. F. Adams, ed. (Boston, 1841), I. 230-31; *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777* (New York, 1924), 153; Anburey, *op. cit.*, II. 162-63; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 138; Du Roi, *op. cit.*, 141, 143, 144; Mereness, *op. cit.*, 410; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 94-95, 123-24, 131, 211, 212, 273-74, 307-308; II. 20; Watson, *op. cit.*, 62.

scientific methods; and several attempts were made to introduce new crops, especially silk.[17]

"Every body in Philadelphia deals more or less in trade," declared an English visitor in 1765.[18] So it must have seemed when in that very year 300 vessels entered and cleared the port; when the colony imported £327,314 worth of goods from England alone; when youths decided to follow mercantile pursuits as "the only road in Pennsylvania to honours and distinction"; and when a few years later the total exports of Pennsylvania amounted, at an average of three years, to £705,500 sterling. Merchant vessels carried the products of Pennsylvania farms and forests to the West Indies, England and Ireland, Holland, France, and Spain; and merchant houses sent their pack trains into the western settlements and the distant Indian country. The War of Independence temporarily dislocated foreign trade, but with the Declaration of Peace commerce sprang to life again: in April, 1784, a French immigrant in Philadelphia named Stephen Girard, sent his own vessel to Le Cap.[19]

Pennsylvania touched New York and Virginia by post roads; eastern Pennsylvania the western settlements by tenuous lines of pack horses. As for New England and the far South, Philadelphia seemed

[17] *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799*, J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed. (Boston and New York, 1925), III. 226; H. W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1879-1880), I. 456; Edward Shippen to Col. James Burd, Lancaster, Feb. 24, 1779, in Thomas Balch, ed., *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1855), 271-72; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Mar. 7, April 4, Nov. 28, 1768, April 10, June 5, 12, 19, 1769; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 132-33; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 20, 77, 78, 83, 86, *et passim*; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 130, 196, 379; II. 3; Crevecoeur, *op. cit.*, 256-57; Rev. Jeremiah Belknap to Rev. Manasseh Cutler, Dover, Nov. 18, 1785, PENN MAG. HIST. BIOG., XXXVII. 492 (1913); Isaac Van Horne to Dr. Reading Beatty, June 8, 1788, *ibid.*, LIV. 174 (1930); Alexander Mackraby to Sir Philip Francis, Philadelphia, May 4, 1770, *ibid.*, XI. 493-94 (1887).

[18] Mereness, *op. cit.*, 412.

[19] Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of a Life, Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania* (Edinburgh, 1822), 32, 107; J. B. McMaster, *The Life and Times of Stephen Girard* (Philadelphia, 1918), I. 12, 54; Gage to Hillsborough, New York, June 16, 1768, same to same, Aug. 12, 1769, in *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, C. E. Carter, ed. (New Haven, 1931-1933), I. 177, 234; S. Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America* (Indianapolis, 1915), I. 194; Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days* (New York, 1906), 338; Alice Morse Earle, *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days* (New York, 1930), 245; "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *loc. cit.*, 79; "The Correspondence between William Strahan and David Hall," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., X-XII (1886-1888); *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March 6, 1769; Entick, *op. cit.*, IV. 436; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 117; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 179.

almost as near London as it was to Boston or Charleston. At the beginning of the period between 1760 and 1790, the first Philadelphia-New York stage, "The flying-machine, a good stage-wagon set on springs," required 36 hours to cover the distance; but after the war stages made the trip regularly in less than 30 hours. Communications with the South were less frequent and less regular. Chief among the commercial means of transportation was the famous Conestoga wagon, developed along the Conestoga Creek in Lancaster County and reborn almost a century later as the prairie schooner. First used in considerable numbers shortly before 1760, five years later it was said there were 10,000 of them in use in the colony.[20] Enthusiastically called by some "the finest wagon the world has ever known," drawn by its six-horse team, it was a familiar sight along Pennsylvania roads as it bore its freight to Philadelphia.[21] People living beyond the Susquehanna, because of the poor roads—"scarcely passable" even in good seasons, according to one critic—and because of the high ferry rates, preferred to use that stream as a highway, and in consequence agitated for its improvement, much to the discomfiture of the Philadelphia merchants, who saw the western trade thus diverted to Baltimore. Following the war came a great exodus into the Ohio Valley, and in 1785 the inhabitants of Pittsburgh were living chiefly by traffic and entertaining and outfitting immigrants, "mad to git afloat on the Ohio."[22]

Labor throughout the period was scarce. Great numbers of indentured Germans and Irish were brought to the colony, especially before the war, but after serving their time and acquiring experience, they generally moved off on their own accounts, to prove the truth

[20] Cutler, *op. cit.*, I. 228-29; Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, 333, 338-39, 345; Earle, *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days*, 245; Dunbar, *op. cit.*, I. 194, 201; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 58; "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *loc. cit.*, 79; "Memoirs of Brigadier-General John Lacey," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XXV. 6 (1901); Mereness, *op. cit.*, 411; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 6, 1767; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 204, 242; II. 22; F. J. Turner, *op. cit.*, 17-18.

[21] Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, 339; Crevecoeur, *op. cit.*, 96; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 121.

[22] Israel Shreve to Caleb Shreve, Forks of the Yough, Dec. 26, 1789, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., LII. 203 (1928); *American Museum*, II. 351 (Oct. 1787) quoted in F. L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York, 1930), 16 note 16; Adams, *Works*, II. 436; William Allen to Col. James Burd, Philadelphia, July 10, 1762, in T. Balch, *op. cit.*, 192; Dahlinger, *op. cit.*, 9; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 106, 117, 119, 140-41; Mereness, *op. cit.*, 586-87; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Jan. 26, 1767; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 116, 244.

of Alexander Thomson's statement that "there are many people in Pennsylvania and the neighboring Provinces who had to work here to pay their freight, who have good plantations, and are in wealthy circumstances."[23] Youngsters apprenticed to tradesmen sometimes remained to be employed by their former masters as journeymen, but the period of such service was certain to be short. Negro slaves were hardly profitable, even in the Philadelphia and Chester counties area where they were concentrated—indeed "A Likely Negro Wench," twenty-two years old, an excellent cook, was advertised for sale "for no other Fault but having Children."[24] Moreover, the moral principles of the community made slavery unpopular, forbidding the extension of the system. Charles Biddle, for example, refused to captain a vessel when he learned that its owners proposed to send it to Africa for slaves. The results of these conditions are apparent: labor was well paid and generally well treated.[25]

Under the impetus of oppressive imperial measures before 1775 and of the nationalistic feeling which followed the war, the period between 1760 and 1790 saw an increase in the number and extent of manufactures. "Great Quantitys of home made Cloths, Linnens, Blankits & various other articles," wrote Benjamin Marshall to a

[23] Letter of Alexander Thomson, Corkerhill, Pa., Aug. 16, 1773, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., VIII. 320-21 (1884). Charles Biddle, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia, 1883), 53; Crevecoeur, *op. cit.*, 99; "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *loc. cit.*, 84; Willock, *op. cit.*, 75; *Passages from the Diary of Christopher Marshall*, William Duane, ed. (Philadelphia, 1849), 159; *Passages from the Diary of Christopher Marshall, with manuscript additions*, Oct. 14, 1774. Pennsylvania State Library; Benjamin Marshall to Barnaby Egan, Philadelphia, Nov. 9, 1765, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XX. 210 (1896); Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington, 1930-1935), III. 454; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (New York, 1896), 23; M. W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783* (Chicago, 1931), 55.

[24] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Feb. 22, 1768. E. R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania* (Washington, 1911), 12, 13, 14, 24 note 22, 253; Biddle, *op. cit.*, 5; "A Philadelphia Merchant in 1768-1791," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XIX. 398 (1895); "Selections from the Diary of Christiana Leach," *ibid.*, XXXV. 345, 346, 347 (1911).

[25] U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1929), 113; *Our Revolutionary Forefathers: The Letters of François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois During his Residence in the United States*, E. P. Chase, ed. and trans. (New York, 1929), 156-57; Biddle, *op. cit.*, 43; Crevecoeur, *op. cit.*, 99; DuBois, *op. cit.*, 21, 51; James Pemberton to Moses Brown, Philadelphia, Nov. 16, 1787, quoted in Donnan, *op. cit.*, III. 342 n.; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 99; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 4, May 9, 1768; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., VIII. 318 (1884); Pettengill, *op. cit.*, 189-90; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 198-99; E. R. Turner, *op. cit.*, 15, 38, 40-42, 44-47, 51-52, 96.

London merchant following the passage of the Stamp Act, "are daily brought to this City & Manufactorys erecting."[26] Home work, of course, continued, indeed was preferred by some; but to it were added newly-erected manufacturing establishments. Iron and steel were made, although the latter product was not developed; shipbuilding remained significant; textiles became increasingly important, and with the coming of the War of Independence a publicly-supported woolen manufactory was founded in Philadelphia.[27] The tendency to establish home industries at the consequent expense of the mother country caused imperial statesmen alarm, and General Gage addressed Lord Shelburne on the question:[28]

> During my Stay at Philadelphia, I could not help being surprized at the great Increase of that City in Buildings, Mechanicks and Manufacturers. The Emigrations from Great Britain and Ireland and the Importation of Germans every year from Holland, contribute to the constant Increase of Mechanicks and Manufacturers in this Province beyond any of the rest, The discharged Soldiers too have not contributed a little to this Increase in Philadelphia, as well as in other Cities of the Continent. Instead of clearing uncultivated Lands, which it was expected they would do, they have for the most part crowded into the Towns to work at Trades, and help to Supply the Inhabitants with Necessarys, which should be imported from the Mother Country. I would take the Liberty to propose to your Lordship, that no Soldier who has any Trade should receive his Discharge in America. . . . The People of Pennsylvania . . . are silently stealing in Mechanicks and Manufacturers; and if they go on as they have hitherto done, they will probably in a few years Supply themselves with Many Necessary Articles, which they now import from Great-Britain.

When finally the rupture between England and the colonies came and America had won political independence, domestic manufactures were encouraged in the will to make Pennsylvania less economically dependent on the workshops of Europe.[29]

The cultivation of the arts and sciences in Pennsylvania in the

[26] Letter to John Scott, Dec. 14, 1765, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XX. 211 (1896). See also Mereness, *op. cit.*, 412.

[27] N. G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush* (Philadelphia, 1934), 46; William Guthrie, *A New Geographical, Historical, and Commercial Grammar* (12th edition, London, 1790), IV. 809; Cresswell, *op. cit.*, 155-56, 265-66; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 141; "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *loc. cit.*, 78-79; Marshall, *Diary*, 16, 61; Mereness, *op. cit.*, 412; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Feb. 20, March 20, Nov. 16, 1769; Joseph Hewes to Samuel Johnson, July 24, 1776, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XLIII. 263 (1919); Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 119-20, 122, 201-202, 220-21.

[28] *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, C. E. Carter, ed., I. 160-61.

[29] Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 179; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 130, 131, 143; Isaac Van Horne to Dr. Reading Beatty, June 8, 1788, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., LIV. 174 (1930); Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 119.

period between 1760 and 1790 met with varying success. The diffusion of education offers an example of the contrasting elements of the Pennsylvania society of the time. On the one hand, General John Lacey, looking back on a childhood passed in Bucks County, could say that the Bible and Testament and Dilworth's Speller were the only books allowed in the "hum Drum" Quaker school he attended there; and a close observer of those people declared that the "universal German farmer's library" consisted of the almanac, a song-book, a prayer-book, the *Garden of Paradise*, and the Bible. A member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1776 unblushingly moved that no action be taken by the assembly in any matter without its first being printed for the use of the members, as several of them could read print better than handwriting. On the other hand, Brissot de Warville said of Philadelphia in 1788 that he found there "more men of information, more political and literary knowledge, and more learned societies" than anywhere else on the continent, and that no town in America equaled Philadelphia in the amount of printing done; while an English traveler thought the language spoken by all ranks in Philadelphia was equaled in purity only in the better parts of London.[30] Travel had given some an education: the best doctors had studied at Edinburgh or, after the war, in France; some of the lawyers had been trained in London; and most of the merchants had been to the Indies, and some to Europe. Many of the finest English and French works of fiction, history, and government were published at Philadelphia, and even greater numbers were imported. Newspapers were available in all fairly well settled areas, and magazines appeared at the end of the period. On the one hand, in Pennsylvania were persons of education and culture and on the other, people who could hardly scratch out their names. But some of these, at least, were sufficiently intelligent to realize their deficiency.[31]

[30] Mereness, *op. cit.*, 411; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 172, 177. "Memoirs of Brigadier-General John Lacey," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XXV. 3, 4 (1901); Thomas Smith to Arthur St. Clair, Philadelphia, Aug. 22, 1776, W. H. Smith, *The St. Clair Papers*, I. 373, quoted in B. A. Konkle, *The Life and Times of Thomas Smith* (Philadelphia, 1904), 79; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 104.

[31] Anna Rawle to Mrs. Samuel Shoemaker, Nov. 4, 1780, in Thomas Willing Balch, *The Philadelphia Assemblies* (Philadelphia, 1916), 84; Charles J. Stillé, "The Life and Times of John Dickinson," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, XIII (Philadelphia, 1891), 21; E. P. Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1906), 84-85, 87-88; K. W. Rowe, "Mathew Carey," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Baltimore, 1933), LI. 438; Adams,

Elementary education was generally secured in private schools and academies, where a master and perhaps one or two teachers and several ushers taught the rudiments of arithmetic, Latin, French, and English. Philadelphia and the more populous communities boasted a number of such schools, perhaps the best known schoolman in the capital before the war being David James Dove; while the residents of Pittsburgh in 1761 pooled their resources to hire a teacher for the 20 children at that settlement. General John Lacey suggests what must have been the average quality of instruction throughout Pennsylvania when he says that the master of the school he attended "could neither read nor write correctly, as he knew nothing of grammar it was not to be expected he could teach it to others, Grammar never was taught at any school I went to. . . ."[32] Some schoolmasters offered definitely practical courses in applied mathematics and particularly navigation, "the grand Source of Riches and Power (under Providence) to the British Nation";[33] and these courses were well patronized of evenings. Coeducation being little practised, girls' schooling consisted of an uncertain but genteel acquaintance with French, drawing, and music. However, Mrs. Joseph Garner in 1767 advertised more substantial offerings in her "School for the Instruction of young Ladies and Children, the former of whom have the Advantages of being taught Writing, Accounts, and English grammatically, under her Inspection, and the greatest Decorum, in Point

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Works, II. 427; Goodman, *op. cit.*, 29, 31; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 80; Marshall, *Diary*, 5; T. Balch, *op. cit.*, xxxiii-xxxv, lxxiv-lxxv; Mott, *op. cit.*, 96-97, 787-89; Biddle, *op. cit.*, 50; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 177; Dahlinger, *op. cit.*, 14, 16; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Mar. 28, May 2, July 18, 1768; *Freeman's Journal*, July 25, 1781; Adams, *Letters to his Wife*, I. 145; Diary of Anna Rawle, *Sally Wister's Journal*, A. C. Myers, ed. (Philadelphia, 1902), 39; William Strahan to David Hall, London, Feb. 13, Oct. 23, 1768, Nov. 7, 1770, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., X. 328, 461 (1886); XI. 353 (1887); Samuel Powel to George Roberts, London, Dec. 5, 1761, Feb. 14, Sept. 1, 1763, Nov. 24, 1764, *ibid.*, XVIII. 35-36, 37, 39-40 (1894); John Macpherson, Jr., to William Patterson, London, Sept. 30, 1771, *ibid.*, XXIII. 58 (1899); Benjamin Rush to John Adams, April 20, 1780, *ibid.*, XXIX. 22 (1905); Letter from a French Officer, Easton, Oct. 23, 1777, *ibid.*, XXXV. 97 (1911); Hugh Roberts to Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, 29, 4 mo, 1780, *ibid.*, XXXVIII. 301 (1914).

[32] "Memoirs of Brigadier-General John Lacey," *ibid.*, XXV. 3 (1901). Adams, *Works*, II. 321; Entick, *op. cit.*, IV. 426; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 13, 16, 17, 85; *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 29, 1781; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Jan. 26, 1767, March 7, 1768, April 10, 1769; "Journal of James Kenny," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XXXVII. 29 (1913).

[33] Advertisement in *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Aug. 24, 1767. See also issues of April 6, 1767, and Nov. 28, 1768.

of prudential Behaviour becoming the Sex, will be strictly adhered to."[34]

Before the war opportunities for higher education were available only at the College of Philadelphia, which the personality of Provost William Smith succeeded in making a cultural center, but its influence was essentially narrow, the total number of graduates in the twenty years between 1757 and 1776 amounting to only 141. Doctors, lawyers, and ministers continued for the most part to begin the practice of their professions after a scanty formal education and several years' apprenticeship. The war disrupted education, as it disrupted everything else; and patriotic zeal suspecting the Provost's political principles, the College of Philadelphia was destroyed by legislative action in 1779. A puppet college was created but it never enjoyed popular confidence, and in 1789 the College of Philadelphia was restored to its trustees and estates. Meanwhile, however, the western people had become conscious of the lack of higher education in their society and, led by Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, a group of Scots-Irish Presbyterians in 1783 established Dickinson College at Carlisle, which Rush hoped would prove "the best bulwark of the blessings obtained by the Revolution."[35]

One of the most remarkable facts of the cultural history of the period is the practically exclusive use of literature as a vehicle for the expression of political or social philosophy. Provost Smith, who had a real appreciation of the artistic, ironically enough won great reputation with his political *Letters of Cato*. Rush, who had a pleasing style, employed letters as a means to propagate his ideas of medical and social reform; and the sweet-souled Woolman used his pen to spread abroad the doctrine of peace and love. Only in his personal letters and in the *Autobiography*, written in minutes snatched from a busy diplomatic career, did Franklin reveal to the fullest the charm

[34] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 6, 1767; *ibid.*, Oct. 5, Nov. 16, 1767, Sept. 26, 1768, Jan. 16, April 17, 1769; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 131.

[35] Goodman, *op. cit.*, 321. *Ibid.*, 8, 10, 17, 83; *Cambridge History of American Literature*, W. P. Trent, *et al.*, editors (New York, 1917), I. 123; *General Alumni Catalogue of the University of Pennsylvania, 1917*, W. J. Maxwell, compiler, 17-23; M. C. Tyler, *A History of American Literature during the Colonial Period* (Students' edition, 2 vols. in one, New York, 1904), II. 234; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 79-80, 107; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 151; Konkle, *op. cit.*, 172; Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, 43, 60-63; John Macpherson, Jr., to William Patterson, Mount Pleasant, Dec. 10, 1766, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XXIII. 52 (1899); Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 84-85; Smith, *op. cit.*, II. 21-23, 305-306, 315.

and delicious wit of which he was master. Even Philip Frenau, the nearest approach to literary genius of the period, and that literary and artistic dilettante Francis Hopkinson—"one of your pretty, little, curious, ingenious men," John Adams thought him[36]—although they produced some fine lyric works, were chiefly concerned with political satires. Of lyric poets unmoved by the fateful times in which they lived, only two had merit: Thomas Godfrey, author of the first American drama, and the Reverend Nathaniel Evans; both of these were imitators. Wrote a Philadelphia editor and publisher in 1775: "Those whose leisure and abilities might lead them to a successful application to the muses now turn their attention to the rude preparations for war. Every heart and hand seems to be engaged in the interesting struggle for American liberty. Till this important point is settled the pen of the poet and the books of the learned must be in a great measure neglected. The arts and sciences are not cultivated but in the fruitful soil of peace."[37] The times were too big to let a man retire to an ivory tower.

An additional contribution to the cultural life of the period were libraries and museums. Individuals throughout Pennsylvania had small but fine collections of books, and in Philadelphia circulating libraries were established. Several were privately operated; but the largest collections were held by their managers more in the spirit of a public endowment, although not as a free endowment, for an entrance fee and yearly dues were required for the privilege of withdrawing books. By 1790 the Library Company of Philadelphia, which Franklin had founded in 1731, had absorbed the Union, Association, and Amicable Companies and the Loganian Library; and a building was erected to house its 6,000 books. "People of all classes," reported Dr. Schoepf in 1783, made use of the Library's collection, then kept in Carpenters' Hall. In addition to the books at Carpenters' Hall, there was a jumble of curiosities, sometimes dignified with the title of museum. A similar collection of unusual items was preserved in a building near the Falls of Schuylkill. Despite these instances, however, scientifically arranged museums were unknown in Penn's land, and

[36] *Letters to his Wife*, I. 157.

[37] Robert Aitken, quoted in Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, 87. *Ibid.*, 112-13, 114; "Extracts from the Diary of Dr. James Clitherall," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XXII. 469 (1898); Smith, *op. cit.*, I. 479-82; Tyler, *History of American Literature*, II. 234, 245-46, 251: Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I. 5, 6, 11, 157-58, 487; II. 273-74, 365.

whatever specimens were exhibited seem to have been regarded as curiosities without meaning.[38]

The lack of purpose characterizing the museums marked much of the popular interest in science. However, John Adams, conceding that Pennsylvania outshone Massachusetts in the sciences, declared: "They have societies, the philosophical society particularly, which excites a scientific emulation, and propagates their fame."[39] In this statement Crevecoeur would have concurred. Peter Markoe, on the other hand, satirized the scientifically-minded,[40]

> Th' unwearied traveller, whose daring mind,
> Genius has bless'd, and gen'rous art refin'd,
> Relinquishing each social joy at home,
> Delights o'er seas and howling wilds to roam.
> Intent the works of nature to explore,
> And add his humble mite to learning's store,
> With equal joy and wonder he surveys
> The glitt'ring insect and volcanos blaze.

Pure science commanded the talents of some few serious persons, but appears to have impressed itself upon the age in many instances merely as a curiosity. The American Philosophical Society, whose members constituted the intelligence and leadership of Philadelphia, organized in 1769 by the union of two earlier groups and rejuvenated after the War of Independence, encouraged practically applied science, scientific agriculture, investigation into natural history, and the general advancement of useful knowledge.[41] In botany John Bartram won more than a local reputation, as did also Humphrey Marshall, who published in 1785 a catalogue of American trees. David Rittenhouse and his colleagues of the American Philosophical Society received the acclaim of European scientists by their observation of

[38] Adams, *Works*, II. 379; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 133; Cresswell, *op. cit.*, 154; Cutler, *op. cit.*, I. 264, 281-83; "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *loc. cit.*, 78; S. G. Fisher, *The True Benjamin Franklin* (2nd edition, Philadelphia, 1899), 194; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 86; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Sept. 14, 1767, March 21, 1768, July 31, 1769, Jan. 8, 1770; *Freeman's Journal*, Sept. 12, 1781.

[39] *Letters to his Wife*, I. 145.

[40] *The Times, a Poem* (Philadelphia, 1788), 11.

[41] "The American Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XXIV. 1-16 (1900); Rev. Jeremiah Belknap to Rev. Manasseh Cutler, Dover, Nov. 18, 1785, *ibid.*, XXXVII. 492 (1913); Hugh Roberts to Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, May 30, 1765, *ibid.*, XXXVIII. 294 (1914); *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March 7, 1769; Cutler, *op. cit.*, I. 263; Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, 59-60; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 78.

the transit of Venus in 1769. On the other hand, despite evidences of popular interest in science—the Pennsylvania Assembly, for example, bought the reflecting telescope used in observing the transit of Venus and bore other expenses connected with the experiment—it appears that the majority of people looked upon natural phenomena chiefly, almost solely, as curiosities. The crowds laughed at John Fitch's steamboat; they jested about balloons with scarcely a thought of their potentialities; they saw in electricity only a child's toy; and telescopes and the movement of the stars in their courses were interesting and little more.[42]

Nurtured and encouraged by amateurs in art like Francis Hopkinson and by two or three professionals, the beginnings of an appreciation of secular music appeared in Philadelphia after mid-century. Following the war, which temporarily retarded the immediate progress of music, came an influx of foreign musicians, through whose efforts several concert series were given annually in the city and who, presenting not only works of their own authorship but also some of the best of the contemporary European composers, aided materially in laying the foundations of the future development of their art. Beyond the capital city, music seems to have belonged chiefly to the Germans, and especially to the Moravians at Bethlehem.[43] In architecture Pennsylvania made a more real contribution: the colony developed a distinctive type of farmhouse and erected some massive mansions at Philadelphia which successfully broke away from slavish aping of the English styles. In painting, Henry Benbridge, who has been called "the best-trained American painter of his time," although

[42] Francisco Rendon to Margaret Marshall, Philadelphia, May 17, 1784, Margaret Armstrong, *Five Generations: Life and Letters of an American Family, 1750-1900* (New York, 1930), 26; Adams, *Works*, II. 397; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 131; Cutler, *op. cit.*, I. 273; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 17, 26, 64, 132, 156; Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, 106-108; "Extracts from the Journal of Miss Sarah Eve," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., V. 198 (1881); Alexander Mackraby to Sir Philip Francis, Philadelphia, Jan. 2, 1770, *ibid.*, XI. 492 (1887); "Journal of James Kenny," *ibid.*, XXXVII. 20 (1913); John Beatty to Reading Beatty, Annapolis, April 2, 1784, *ibid.*, XLIV. 241-42 (1920); *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, July 11, Oct. 17, 1768, March 27, Oct. 30, Nov. 6, Dec. 25, 1769; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 85, 90-93, 407; Smith, *op. cit.*, I. 437, 440-41, 566; Washington, *op. cit.*, III. 222.

[43] O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)* (Leipzig, 1907), 65-87, 93-94, 103-18, 123-36, 152-54, 156-57; J. T. Howard, *Our American Music* (New York, 1931), 25-26, 34, 36-38, 70-71, 75-77, 105-12; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 90. See, however F. J. Mather, Jr. *et al.*, *The American Spirit in Art* (New Haven, 1927), 322 (Vol. XII of *The Pageant of America*, R. H. Gabriel, editor).

a native Philadelphian, worked chiefly in the South; Matthew Pratt, a really creditable artist who had done some fine portrait work—and even Benjamin West before he went to Europe—was reduced to the necessity of painting signboards for country taverns. William Rush, America's pioneer sculptor, found that carving figureheads for ships brought him more fame and certainly more fortune than his "Nymph." Charles Willson Peale capitalized his talents by becoming a showman.[44]

The beginnings of education and culture existed in Pennsylvania in 1760, but the manifestations were still embryonic. Nor were these scant opportunities within the reach of all. An unknown versifier appealed to the wealthy to use their means to establish schools for the education of the poor:[45]

> Thine is the power, fair science, to display,
> And ope of knowledge the exhaustless store,
> To chace the mists of ignorance away,
> And deal out priceless treasure to the poor.

And public instruction was necessary if the purpose of education as a safeguard of liberty was to be realized.

A great number of people had by 1760 won a measure of leisure and were spending at least a part of it in various sports and amusements and in pleasant social intercourse. While there are dangers in attempting to determine from records at best fragmentary how completely a society was given to lighter pleasures, there is no doubt that after mid-century the theater, the races, the Assemblies, and the groaning board commanded the interest and time of an increasing number of people. Philadelphia in this, as in so many other ways, called the tune, teaching the colony how to play.

The history of the theater in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century may be divided into three periods: a period when the stage was tolerated but not wholly accepted by the entire community; a second period during and after the War for Independence when the theater was banned as unbecoming republican virtue and frugality, but when,

[44] T. F. Hamlin, *The American Spirit in Architecture* (New Haven, 1926), 65, 70-72 (Vol. XIII of *The Pageant of America*, R. H. Gabriel, editor); Mather, *op. cit.*, 12, 13, 15, 181; Cutler, *op. cit.*, I. 260-61; Earle, *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days*, 143, 144; "Autobiographical Notes of Matthew Pratt, Painter," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XIX. 462, 466-67 (1895); Rev. Jeremiah Belknap to Rev. Manasseh Cutler, Dover, Nov. 18, 1785, *ibid.*, XXXVII. 493-94 (1913); Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 89.

[45] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Aug. 31, 1767.

nonetheless, plays were presented although under disguises; and lastly the act of legalization which removed all interdicts except that of reasonable censorship. The early attempts of Pennsylvania to forbid theatrical productions had been repeatedly vetoed by the home government, so that whatever prohibition may have existed prior to 1779, when the State government acted, was one of public opinion or of a law whose disallowance had not yet been received from England. Opposition to the stage was particularly strong among the Quakers, who especially in 1766 and 1767 filled the papers with attacks based on the immorality of plays, the financial extravagance entailed by attending them, or the opinion of the ancients in the matter.[46] "I believe I shall not stand single in the opinion," affirmed *Eugenio*, "when I assert, that PLAYS have an evil tendency to corrupt and debauch the mind."[47] And *Amator Virtutis* called upon theater-goers to picture themselves standing before God's judgment seat, called upon to confess to the Almighty "that the vanities already recited, among which [are] the vain and ungodly theatrical entertainments, those corrupters of morals, those engines of the devil," had engrossed too great a part of their time.[48] A professional company played in Philadelphia in 1749, in 1754, and again in the 1759-1760 season. Returning in 1766, the company erected a playhouse at Southwark, just outside the city limits, where it gave performances annually until 1773. Discountenanced by the Association of 1774, and by a resolve of Congress of 1778, and forbidden by an Act of the State legislature in 1779, the theater nonetheless continued, plays being presented by amateurs throughout the state and even in Philadelphia, and by soldiers at military posts. With the Declaration of Peace the professionals returned to Philadelphia but until 1789, when the State prohibition was finally repealed, had to disguise their offerings as concerts, lectures, and moral dialogues. *Richard III*, for example, was advertised as "a serious Historical Lecture in five parts—on the Fate of Tyranny"; *She Stoops to Conquer*, as "A Lecture on the Disadvantages of Improper Education"; and *Hamlet*, as "a

[46] T. C. Pollock, *The Philadelphia Theater in the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1933), 4, 27, 73, 74, 77, 84; A. H. Quinn, *A History of the American Drama, from the Beginning to the Civil War* (New York, 1923), 15; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Feb. 2, 9, 16, Nov. 9, 1767.

[47] *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Feb. 16, 1767.

[48] *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1767.

Moral and Instructive Tale called Filial Piety: Exemplified in the History of the Prince of Denmark." It is significant, however, that each season the disguises were a little thinner and that no one was sufficiently interested to enforce the law against the company. In 1789, however, the opponents of the theater called for the enforcement of the old Act, but a concerted effort of those who wanted the stage legalized prevailed, and the Act of 1779 was repealed.[49]

Slightly comparable to the theater and offering diversion of similar nature was public pageantry. Parades and military escorts welcomed arriving delegates to the two Continental Congresses; there were always great displays when General Washington entered a city or town; escorts and the pealing of bells marked Dr. Franklin's two homecomings, as well as the arrival of distinguished Frenchmen after the Alliance. Bells and fireworks hailed the birthdays of George III and, after 1776, Independence Day. Military victories, the ratification of the Articles of Confederation and of the Constitution, the French Alliance and the birthday of the Dauphin in 1782, the repeal of the Stamp Act were occasions of illuminations, *feux-de-joie*, and other manifestations of enthusiasm. Military reviews were special events, as were also public hangings, which, supposed to point a moral to the young, were probably interludes for the old as well.[50]

Practically the only exclusively spectator sports popular in Penn-

[49] Pollock, *op. cit.*, 6-7, 9, 17-18, 36, 38-48, 134, 137, 141, 143; Quinn, *op. cit.*, 16, 32, 59, 61; O. S. Coad and E. Mims, Jr., *The American Stage* (New Haven, 1929), 31 (Vol. XIV of *The Pageant of America*, R. H. Gabriel, editor); H. A. Muhlenberg, *The Life of Major-General Peter Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia, 1849), 426; "Extracts from the Letter-Books of Lieutenant Enos Reeves," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XXI. 83 (1897); James McMichael to Dr. Reading Beatty, Lancaster, Feb. 16, 1783, *ibid.*, LIV. 170 (1930); Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 381-82.

[50] Adams, *Works*, II. 357-58; Adams, *Letters to his Wife*, I. 41-42, 47; Joseph Burd to Col. James Burd, Philadelphia, April 30, 1789, T. Balch, *op. cit.*, 291; Barbé-Marbois, *op. cit.*, 128; Biddle, *op. cit.*, 194, 198, 225-28; *The Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen*, G. A. Ward, editor (4th edition, Boston, 1864), 28, 29; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 11, 45, 46, 50, 56, 60-61, 98, 126, 146, 152, 155; Konkle, *op. cit.*, 136, 200; Marshall, *Diary*, 28, 83, 142, 156; Washington, *op. cit.*, III. 216; "Diary of the Hon. William Ellery," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XI. 477-78 (1887); William Ellery, "Journal of Route and Occurrences in a Journey to Philadelphia," *ibid.*, XII. 195 (1888); "Extracts from the Diary of Hannah Callender," *ibid.*, XII. 455-56 (1888); "Extracts from the Journal of Mrs. Henry Drinker," *ibid.*, XIII. 308 (1889); "Incidents in the History of York, Pennsylvania, 1778," *ibid.*, XVI. 435, 436 (1892); "Extracts from the Records of the Moravian Congregation at Hebron, Pennsylvania, 1775-1781," *ibid.*, XVIII. 459, 460, 462 (1894); *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Oct. 28, 1767, April 11, June 6, 1768; *Freeman's Journal*, Sept. 12, 1781.

sylvania in the years after 1760 were horse-racing and—a very poor second—cock-fighting. How considerable was the interest in the track may be judged from the existence of a small group of professional breeders and trainers of fine horses and from the fact that the Philadelphia papers published the results of races in Maryland and London and did so on at least one occasion even when political news from the mother country had to be excluded for lack of space. Races were held upstate while the Philadelphia races, run annually in the years before the war, attracted great numbers of the wealthy sporting class and even larger crowds of the poorer people. Not the least value of these races to the society of Pennsylvania was that they drew to the city prominent Virginians, Marylanders, and New Yorkers like Governors Eden, Sharpe, and DeLancey, and Colonel Washington, with the consequent interchange of ideas. Frequently, in addition, informal races were held on a bet between two or three friends. A very small sporting group in Philadelphia bred fighting cocks and held occasional secret fights in barns beyond the city limits. The most prominent figure in this sport seems to have been Colonel James DeLancey, son of the lieutenant-governor of New York, whom a Philadelphia poet saluted as the "first Cock-Fighter in the Land."[51]

Hunting could be a sport chiefly where it was not an economic necessity and in consequence sportsmen were confined largely to settled areas, where they kept their dogs, shot ducks and reedbirds on the Delaware, and, especially before the war, rode to hounds in the fields beyond the city. Fishing seemed a more popular sport: several angling clubs flourished in friendly rivalry on the Schuylkill and mixed groups of fishermen and fisherwomen gathered on the waters of the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Lehigh. Dr. Franklin had called attention to the healthful values of swimming, Graydon enjoyed rowing, and skating was always a popular winter sport. Generals Mifflin and Cadwalader and Charles Willson Peale were reckoned expert skaters and Benjamin West exhibited to delighted Londoners a bit of fancy skating called the "Philadelphia Salute." Some young men played billiards, but not without a feeling of half-

[51] J. A. Krout, *Annals of American Sport* (New Haven, 1929), 22 (Vol. XV of *The Pageant of America*, R. H. Gabriel, editor); Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 11, 17, 18, 20, *et passim*; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Feb. 29, March 28, May 9, 23, June 6, 1768, May 15, 1769; "Diary of James Allen," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., IX. 180-81 (1885); L. B. Walker, "Life of Margaret Shippen," *ibid.*, XXIV. 411 (1900); Francis Hopkinson, "The Cock-Fighter," *ibid.*, XLIV. 73-76 (1920).

wrong. House-raisings and frolics continued to be useful diversions in the country, but in the cities had lost much of their utilitarian character.[52]

A pleasant recreation for young and old alike and especially for parties of both sexes, was driving. Indeed Brissot de Warville wrote in Philadelphia in 1788 that "they never walk here: they supply the want of walking, by riding out into the country."[53] To the Philadelphian short drives along the Schuylkill were possible, while each Sunday the streets of Germantown were filled with the carts and coaches of pleasure-seeking Philadelphians. A day's excursion to a more distant place of unusual interest or beauty could easily be taken, the Susquehanna, for example, being a resort favored by "little parties of pleasure" from York, and Chester being similarly frequented by groups from Philadelphia; and whenever there was a battle near the capital many drove out as on a sightseeing trip to watch the armies. Longer trips of a week's or ten days' duration from Philadelphia to Bethlehem were always popular. With the fall of snow sleighing superseded driving and merry sleighing parties drove out of the city to dine and dance at a tavern in the country. Alexander Mackraby attended one of these parties, "a very clever one." "Seven sleighs," he wrote, "with two ladies and two men in each, preceded by fiddlers on horseback, set out together upon a snow of about a foot deep on the roads, to a public house a few miles from town, where we danced, sung, and romped and eat and drank and kicked away care from morning till night, and finished our frolic in two or three side-boxes at the play."[54]

[52] T. Balch, *op. cit.*, xx note; Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, Philadelphia, May 12, 1760, *ibid.*, 177; Biddle, *op. cit.*, 82; Crevecoeur, *op. cit.*, 110-11; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 49-51, 53-55, 76; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 9, 10, 13, 14, 22, 28, *et passim;* J. Holliman, *American Sports (1785-1835)* (Durham, N.C., 1931), 38-39, 96; "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *loc. cit.*, 78, 79; Krout, *op. cit.*, 14; Washington, *op. cit.*, III. 230, 231; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 228; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 27, May 4, 1767, July 11, 1768, March 20, 1769; "Extracts from the Journal of Miss Sarah Eve," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., V. 33 (1881); "A Summer Jaunt in 1773," *ibid.*, X. 208 (1886); XI. 286 (1887); XVIII. 461 (1894); XXIII. 55 (1899); XXV. 4 (1901); XLIV. 200 (1920).

[53] *Op. cit.*, 173.

[54] PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XI. 286 (1887); Barbé-Marbois, *op. cit.*, 167; Biddle, *op. cit.*, 85; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 105; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, *passim;* "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," *loc. cit.*, 77; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 122, 138, 143; *Sally Wister's Journal*, 74-75; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., I. 17, 18, 19, 27, 29 (1877); III. 292 (1879); X. 208 (1886); XI. 277-78 (1887); XII. 448, 453-54, 456; XIII. 84-85 (1889); XVII. 448, 449, 456 (1893); XVIII. 58 (1894); XXIX. 147 (1905).

Balls and dancing won many followers, particularly among the sophisticates of the capital city. The first of the famous Philadelphia Assemblies was held in 1749 and with a brief interruption during the war years, when such unbecoming frivolity was frowned upon, these brilliant social events continued throughout the period. Other communities, while retaining their own native, less sophisticated, less formal kinds of dancing, nonetheless aped the capital or had their manners modified by the large temporary influx of refugees during the winter of 1777-1778. There were foreign dancing and fencing masters in Philadelphia, one of them offering special evening classes for the benefit of gentlemen whose business prevented attendance at the regular classes. Two of the great colonial balls, one of them probably the most extravagant entertainment of its kind ever presented in America, the fabulous Meschianza, and the French ambassador's ball in honor of the birthday of the Dauphin in 1782 were presented in Philadelphia, but neither of these, it is significant to remember, was a product of American genius.[55]

The art of friendly social intercourse was well-developed in Pennsylvania in the last half of the century. Over the dinner table, in private homes or at the clubs, men and women entertained friends and acquaintances with great frequency. Although allowance must be made for the fact that he was a distinguished visitor to the city, Colonel Washington, in the fifty-two days he was attending the first Continental Congress, breakfasted or dined in private homes not less than thirty-six times, and John Adams at the same time complained of the endless round of feasting he was subjected to. "I shall be killed with kindness in this place," he wrote his wife. "We go to Congress at nine, and there we stay, most earnestly engaged in debates upon the most abstruse mysteries of state, until three in the afternoon; then we adjourn, and go to dine with some of the nobles of Pennsylvania at four o'clock, and feast upon ten thousand delicacies, and sit drinking Madeira, Claret and Burgundy till six or seven, and then

[55] Francisco Rendon to Margaret Marshall, Philadelphia, Jan., 1785, Armstrong, *op. cit.*, 28; T. W. Balch, *op. cit.*, 82, 89-90; Barbé-Marbois, *op. cit.*, 168; Du Roi, *op. cit.*, 143; John Durand, editor, *New Materials for the History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1889), 166-67; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 64, 135, 316; Marshall, *Diary*, 58-59; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 20, Sept. 28, 1767, June 13, 1768, Sept. 18, 1769; *Freeman's Journal*, May 16, 1781; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 247; Diary of Anna Rawle, *Sally Wister's Journal*, intro., 39; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XIII. 303 (1889); XVI. 433 (1892); XXI. 83-84, 236, 257-62 (1897); XXIV. 417 (1900); XLIV. 228-29 (1920); XLIV. 257 (1920).

go home fatigued to death with business, company, and care. Yet I hold it out surprisingly."[56] The breakfast table was the scene of many business conversations, but those invited to dinner came chiefly for pleasure. Guests were numerous, twelve being a not unusual number; the dinners were elegant—in the homes of the wealthy almost regal. Men met socially for dinner at the various taverns, especially at those where shad, turtle, beefsteak, or other delicacies were specialties; and almost every club, even those of utilitarian character like the fire companies, had a social purpose and held frequent dinner meetings.[57]

There was much visiting between friends and acquaintances, and each afternoon philosophy or common chat flowed freely with the tea or wine invariably served a caller. The custom of paying visits seems to have been informal among the gentlemen, but women imposed a more rigid etiquette upon themselves, until one of them complained that no sooner had she completed one round of visits among her friends than she must begin again. While mere neighborliness prompted most of the calls, marriages and births always brought a host of visitors to congratulate and toast the new couple or the new parents.[58]

Numerous men's clubs, whether or not their purpose was primarily social, nevertheless had social aspects. The Schuylkill fishing houses and the Gloucester Hunt Club, sporting groups all, were largely social; while the St. George's Society, the Tammany Society, and the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick were frankly so. Immigrant-aid groups like the German Society, the Hibernian Society, and the St. Andrews Society, and business organizations like the fire companies, afforded their members opportunities for social intercourse over a fine dinner or a bowl of punch.[59]

[56] *Letters to his Wife*, I. 31.

[57] Adams, *Works*, II. 358-64, 370, 381; "Extracts from the Diary of Mrs. Ann Warder," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XVII. 450-51, 459-60 (1893); XVIII. 55 (1894); Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Washington, *op. cit.*, II. 162-69.

[58] Barbé-Marbois, *op. cit.*, 155-56; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Marshall, *Diary*, 73, 79, 84, 85, 112; "Extracts from the Journal of Miss Sarah Eve," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., V. 200 (1881); XVII. 444-61 (1893); XVIII. 51-63 (1894); XXI. 81-82 (1897).

[59] Adams, *Letters to his Wife*, I. 100-101; Biddle, *op. cit.*, 213; Holliman, *op. cit.*, 39; Krout, *op. cit.*, 14; Rowe, *op. cit.*, 445; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 110; Smith, *op. cit.*, I. 466 note, 503-504; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 19, 38, 52, 73, 86, 148, 157-58; Washington, *op. cit.*, III. 219, 225, 227, 228; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March 27, 1769; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., IX. 178, 185-86 (1885); XI. 493 (1887); XLIV. 234 (1920).

Of sports and amusements in Pennsylvania in the late colonial period, three things may be said. First, every recreation, with the exception of the theater, which stands in a class by itself, drew together large numbers of people: the races, the clubs, driving, dancing, visiting, and dining were all carried on by large numbers of persons mingling freely among themselves. "We spent the day very happily," wrote Sarah Eve. "There were nineteen in company, how much happier one is with this number than a greater."[60] Second, the attitude of the Revolutionary governments which regarded games as unbecoming republican virtue, aided by the stand of some church people who held amusements repugnant to Christian morality, was successful in delaying the full development of some amusements, but was unable to eradicate them completely. The theater and dancing are cases in point. And finally, leisure and sports were most prevalent in Philadelphia, less so in cities like Lancaster, Reading, and York, and seemingly non-existent in communities less densely settled.

Two factors profoundly affected the thought of Pennsylvania during the three decades between 1760 and 1790: the influence of the teachings of the Friends, and the liberalizing, democratizing, and disruptive influences set in motion by contact with other people and by the war. The period opened with the Quaker influence flowing strong; when it closed the hold of the Friends had been measurably weakened and a host of new and foreign ideas had been unleashed.

Finding expression in numerous privately supported but semi-public benevolent institutions, the spirit of peace and love of the Quakers still largely dominated the thought of Pennsylvania and particularly of Philadelphia in the years before 1790. John Adams admitted that Pennsylvania surpassed Massachusetts in one respect: the matter of charitable, public foundations; and the Reverend Manasseh Cutler made a similar observation, declaring, "There is certainly a greater display of public charity here than in any other part of America."[61] The Philadelphia Dispensary, the first in America, was established in 1786 by the voluntary subscriptions of citizens, who thereby secured the privilege of recommending two poor persons to receive free medical attention and medicines. Treating 7,613 persons in the first five years of its existence, the Dispensary became of greater public value than the Pennsylvania Hospital, also privately endowed and similarly served gratis by the physicians of Philadelphia. A

[60] "Journal," *ibid.*, V. 197 (1881).

[61] Cutler, *op. cit.*, I. 285.

Quaker institution was the Bettering House, an establishment where the poor, crippled, orphaned, vagabond, and disorderly were received and put to work until such time as they could be released. And when, during the war, the Bettering House was requisitioned by the army, the Friends gave up their Fourth Street Meeting-house to shelter the poor. But the supreme triumph of the Quaker principles was the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania in 1780, a moral reform brought about in large measure by their quiet but persistent efforts.[62]

The habit of voluntary association for mutual benefit or in the interest of a desired reform or end was deeply ingrained in the people. The fire companies and fire insurance companies were voluntary mutual protective groups. The Benevolent Institution, designed to supply midwives to poor women, the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, particularly interested in the debtors' jail, and the proposed Society of Inoculating for the Small Pox were definitely associations of individuals to bring some benefit within the reach of their less fortunate fellows. Experiments in silk culture were encouraged by private subscription, associations of their countrymen supplied newly-arrived immigrants with aid and funds, prizes for improvements in agriculture and industry were offered by groups of citizens interested in those problems. The extent of public charity and of the habit of private organization for philanthropy and mutual benefit are two remarkable facts of Pennsylvania history during the period.[63]

"There is nothing more common," Dr. Benjamin Rush told the people of Philadelphia in 1787, "than to confound the terms of *American revolution* with those of *the late American war*. The American war is over: but this is far from being the case with the American revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the

[62] Adams, *Works*, II. 395; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 112-14, 116, 180; Cresswell, *op. cit.*, 156; Cutler, *op. cit.*, I. 284-85; Goodman, *op. cit.*, 153, 158; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 115-16, 144; Mereness, *op. cit.*, 411; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XIII. 302 (1889); XXXVIII. 291 (1914); *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 18, May 16, 1768; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 71-72; E. R. Turner, *op. cit.*, 59-76, 209-10.

[63] T. W. Balch, *op. cit.*, 1-2; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 180, 181; Goodman, *op. cit.*, 299; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 20, 127-28; Marshall, *Diary*, 5, 68; Marshall, *Diary, with MS. Additions*, Feb. 7, 1776; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Dec. 14, 1767, Nov. 28, 1768; Alexander Mackraby to Sir Philip Francis, Philadelphia, May 4, 1770, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XI. 493-94 (1887); Rowe, *op. cit.*, 445; Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 110; Smith, *op. cit.*, I. 456, 466 note, 503-504.

great drama is closed."[64] For the American Revolution not only set new political institutions in motion, but wrenched the whole social system out of joint. In Pennsylvania, the proprietary government was replaced in 1776 with a radical State Constitution which made the voice of the people supreme; Loyalists found it necessary to flee and conservative Whigs saw the seats of the mighty usurped by irresponsible demagogues. The years between 1775 and the final establishment of authority in the Federal Government—years of virtual anarchy—were the heyday in Pennsylvania of the common man, of "the bawling populace."[65]

The State Constitution of 1776 was an expression of extreme thought. Providing for a unicameral house, a weak executive elected in part by the legislature, and only a mockery of veto power, the new basic law went into effect at the end of the year, without ever being submitted to the people for ratification. Thomas Smith, who came from the western part of the State and who might reasonably have been expected to support liberal tendencies, spoke sharply of the manner in which the Constitution had been drafted. Inspiration, not experience, he said, had guided the draftsmen.[66] "We are determined not to pay the least regard to the former Constitution of this Province, merely because it was part of the former Constitution," Smith wrote of the Convention. "We are resolved to clear every part of the old rubbish out of the way and begin upon a clean foundation. You know that experimental philosophy was in great repute fifty years ago, and we have a mind to try how the same principle will succeed in politics."[67] How extreme was the thought which guided the Convention may be judged from the remarks of one of the leaders, Professor James Cannon, of the College of Philadelphia, who, addressing a public meeting, is reported to have denounced "all learning as an artificial constraint on human understanding:—he had done with it

[64] H. Niles, compiler, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America* (Baltimore, 1822), 402.

[65] "Diary of James Allen," PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., IX, 185, 191, 196, 282 (1885); Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty, Philadelphia, May 18, 1784, *ibid.*, XLIV. 248 (1920); Thomas Smith to Arthur St. Clair, Philadelphia, Aug. 3, 1776, quoted in Konkle, *op. cit.*, 75-76.

[66] Adams, *Works*, VI. 274; Goodman, *op. cit.*, 55; Thomas Smith to Arthur St. Clair, Philadelphia, Aug. 22, 1776, W. H. Smith, *The St. Clair Papers*, I. 373, quoted in Konkle, *op. cit.*, 79.

[67] Thomas Smith to Arthur St. Clair, Philadelphia, Aug. 22, 1776, W. H. Smith, *The St. Clair Papers*, I. 373, quoted in Konkle, *op. cit.*, 79-80.

and advised our sovereign lords, the people, to choose no lawyers or other professional characters called educated or learned, but to select men uneducated, with unsophisticated understandings. He should be glad to forget the trumpery which had occupied so much of his life."[68]

With some leaders of the State during the war years espousing such doctrines as this, the more conservative elements of the community were naturally in a position almost intolerable. Their opposition to the regime, or their suspected opposition to it, led the radicals to resort to intimidation and persecution to bring about the appearance of unanimity. Joseph Galloway is said to have received a hint of his unpopularity in the form of a halter coiled up in a box; tar and feathers were the lot of some who opposed the revolutionists; and many others suffered petty annoyances and persecution at the hands of spiteful neighbors or inflamed partisans. Those Quakers who remained loyal to their principles of non-resistance were in danger of having their homes and shops wrecked, while Friends who took up arms by so doing weakened the Society and undermined the position which it held. "Farewell education, principles, love of country, farewell," cried Crevecoeur as he considered his position in the vortex of the revolution.[69]

As America as a whole became conscious of its strength in the war, so with the Revolution the common people became conscious of their power. "I am told that the landed gentry of this place," wrote an anonymous correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal* in 1781, "have begun to threaten, and sue their tenants for past arrearages since 1777, which has occasioned great inconveniences and distress, and must naturally excite the interposition and attention of the assembly, who can't suffer so great and considerable a part of the community (generally active and uniform whigs) to fall a prey to their wealthy and worthless landlords."[70] Those whom the Revolution put in power were too frequently ignorant and uneducated. One traveler thought that the Supreme Executive Council in 1778 "from their appearance

[68] Quoted in Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, 98.

[69] Crevecoeur, *op. cit.*, 279. Adams, *Works*, IX. 347; Biddle, *op. cit.*, 72-73, 82-83, 103; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 115, 122-24, 300, 306-307, 342; Marshall, *Diary*, 25, 46-47, 80, 87, 137; Marshall, *Diary, with MS. Additions*, May 31, July 20, 1775; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., IX. 186, 196, 296 (1885); XVIII. 451-52 (1894); XXV. 10 (1901); XLIV. 309 (1920); Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 64-65.

[70] *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 15, 1781.

and capacity, seemed such a club of tradesmen as commonly assemble at an Ale-house, in the borough of Southwark."[71] Levelling principles prevailed, as many sought to break down all distinctions between social classes. Thus John Penn, traveling through the western section of the State in 1788, was annoyed by the familiarity which tavern-keepers observed towards him. The equality of man became more than a philosophical nicety. The Quakers and Germans had always associated with their laborers on terms of equality, and Negro workers sat at John Bartram's table. Now, probably as a result of some of the liberal thought unchained by the Revolution, several mixed marriages took place, and there seems to have been a willingness in some quarters at the close of the period for Whites and Negroes to associate on a plane of equality.[72]

A further consequence of the war was the acceleration of lawlessness. Throughout the whole period between 1760 and 1790 and particularly after the beginning of the war, the people of Pennsylvania were in an unsettled state; and this unrest encouraged the rise of lawless elements. The period opened with what was almost an armed clash between the eastern and western sections of the colony over the murder of some friendly Indians at Lancaster; it closed with serious anti-Federalist rioting by 800 frontiersmen at Carlisle. Such conditions, rendering law enforcement agencies impotent, resulted in an increased number of burglaries and highway robberies, first noticeable about 1767 when the Governor's home at Philadelphia was entered and when several robberies occurred on roads near the capital city. Particularly between 1765 and 1767 armed banditti infested western Pennsylvania, waylaying traders and especially plundering supply trains destined for the garrison at Fort Pitt, so that even the expresses had to proceed with caution and by stealth. Throughout the period these crimes prevailed; houses were increasingly more frequently broken into; and in 1789 William Hamilton refused to travel from Lancaster to his home near Philadelphia without an escort.[73]

[71] Dr. John Berkenhout, "Journal," Mereness, *op. cit.*, 576.

[72] Barbé-Marbois, *op. cit.*, 156-57; Crevecoeur, *op. cit.*, 71-73, 249-50; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 131-32, 146-47; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., III. 284-85, 291 (1879); XVII. 460-61 (1893); E. R. Turner, *op. cit.*, 143, 194; Willock, *op. cit.*, 76; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 115.

[73] Col. Joseph Shippen to Col. James Burd, Philadelphia, Feb. 9, 1764, John Shippen to Col. Joseph Shippen, Carlisle, March 3, 1788, in T. Balch, *op. cit.*, 204, 288-89;

The war, bringing Pennsylvania into contact with large numbers of foreigners, accentuated the tendency toward luxury which had earlier manifested itself in the society. The original impetus towards the fashionable vices had come, probably, from association with English soldiers and officers in the French and Indian War and subsequently in garrisons throughout the colony, and from the wealth and leisure which made possible foreign travel and foreign books. Stern old Romans cried out against the rage for pleasure and extravagance, inveighed against "the high relish and greedy appetite for the *Play*, the *Tavern*, the *Miss*, and the *Song*"; but the dissipation—a favorite word—continued, hardly chastened by the war. Affectation, airs, and mimicry characterized the women, declared one critic; the acme of gentlemanly politeness, asserted another in 1781, was "knowledge of a few military terms, a few phrases on the common topics in politics, . . . the fashionable *reserve*, an important walk, and a Devil-daring beaver."[74] A satirical versifier took up the cudgels in 1788:[75]

> Genius of *Penn!* couldst thou thy mansion quit,
> And hear sound sense abus'd by flimsy wit;
> Couldst thou behold by fops thy habit mock'd,
> And view the doubtful hat, half-flapp'd, half-cock'd;
> Locks, which the useful comb have seldom known,
> And cheeks, which glow with roses not their own;
> Stays, which distress the fashionable belle,
> Producing more than nature's graceful swell;
> Whilst art, the foe of genuine beauty, spreads
> Hoops from their waists, and cushions on their heads;
> Struck by the scene, less wicked than uncouth,
> How wouldst thou pity our degenerate youth!

Particularly were French manners adopted. Young Benjamin Rush, traveling in France in 1769, wrote home from Paris, "Here is everything that is instructing in *portraiture, history, poetry,* and *religion*

Earle, *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days*, 377-78; Gage, *Correspondence*, I. 26, 57-58, 62, 91, 170; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 39-42; Hiltzheimer, *op. cit.*, 90, 143; Konkle, *op. cit.*, 197-99; Muhlenberg, *op. cit.*, 427-28; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, May 30, Aug. 17, 1767, Sept. 19, Oct. 3, 1768, Jan. 16, 1769; *Freeman's Journal*, April 25, June 20, 1781; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., V. 66, 67-68, 69-71 (1881); XVIII. 41 (1894); XXIV. 409 (1900); XXIX. 154, 155 (1905); XLI. 275, 282, 287 (1917); Watson, *op. cit.*, 63.

[74] *Freeman's Journal*, May 16, 1781. Graydon, *op. cit.*, 43-47, 72, 76; *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Jan. 26, Nov. 16, Dec. 14, 1767, April 24, 1769; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., V. 23 (1881); XVII. 451 (1893); XVIII. 53 (1894); Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 99; Thomas Coombe, *Fast Day Sermon*, July 20, 1775, p. 13, quoted in Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, II. 286; *Sally Wister's Journal*, 125-26.

[75] Peter Markoe, *The Times*, 15-16.

represented to the very life";[76] and fifteen years later Elkanah Watson in Philadelphia "was gratified to observe an infusion of French manners and habits in the social amusements of the people, and in the aspect of their refined circles."[77] Men adopted during the war years the European custom of duelling, which by 1778 became an accepted part of the social code. Significant of the appeal of French thought to at least some of the people of Pennsylvania is the fact that a circle of young Quakers—for many of the members of that sect were being weaned away from the strict simplicity of the original Society—affected classical names when referring to one another, after the manner of the *Precieuses*.[78] On the other hand, however, Senator William Maclay characterized the long debates in the Federal Senate on titles as "idolatrous business"; and the inhabitants of Lancaster refused to purchase the "French frippery" which shopkeepers displayed. If Philadelphia were to give itself over to wealth and leisure, luxury and vice, the western settlements at least would retain some sanity.[79]

Writing to a friend in Germany, Captain Johann Heinrichs in 1778 described Pennsylvania society: "Certain it is that there is no nation living in this good world, embracing such a hodge-podge of civilization and semi-barbarism and where therein is found side by side such learning and stupidity, virtue and vice, shortcomings and accomplishments as are to be found among the Pennsylvanians."[80] For the picture of any society, if it is to be true, must be painted with clashing colors.

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[76] Goodman, *op. cit.*, 20.

[77] Watson, *op. cit.*, 241.

[78] Col. Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, May 18, 1789, T. Balch, *op. cit.*, 291-92; Biddle, *op. cit.*, 151, 205, 231; Brissot de Warville, *op. cit.*, 175, 208, 210; Durand, *op. cit.*, 187; Graydon, *op. cit.*, 61, 109-10; PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XVII. 445 (1893); XVIII. 57 (1894); XXIX. 17 (1905); XXXIX. 466-68 (1915); Schoepf, *op. cit.*, I. 63, 66.

[79] Anburey, *op. cit.*, II. 176; William Maclay, *Journal*, C. A. Beard, ed. (New York, 1927), 36.

[80] Captain Johann Heinrichs to the Honorable Counsellor of the Court, H., Philadelphia, March 21, 1778, PENN. MAG. HIST. BIOG., XXII. 141 (1898).