THE
Pennsylvania
Magazine
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Historic Hope Lodge

IN THE village of Whitemarsh, where the old Bethlehem Pike skirts the bank of Wissahickon Creek, stands a stately Georgian residence known today as Hope Lodge. Set back as it is from the highway and lacking the embellishments with which houses of the Gingerbread Age arrest the eye, it seldom attracts a glance from passing motorists. Such obscurity is a pity, for Hope Lodge is one of the best examples of colonial architecture in Pennsylvania, and is, at the same time, a treasure house of historical memories.

There is a tradition that the house was built from designs by Sir Christopher Wren. While no specific evidence has been found to support the tradition, Wren's general influence, diffused through the best of the early Georgian style in domestic architecture, is everywhere apparent. It is seen in the use of brick instead of stone for the walls of so ambitious a residence, and it is seen throughout the interior, where convention and invention, the familiar and the unexpected, are so delightfully blended. The touch here and there of magnificence, as in the entrance hall with its superbly proportioned arches, does not conflict with but rather emphasizes the comfortable, homelike atmosphere of the place.

Ingenuity is seen in the main stairway, which is completely within the house (that is, touching no outside wall), but which is neverthe-

less well lighted by means of a balustrade in the passageway above, through which light falls from an upper window. The spacious room in the attic, which formerly extended over the whole floor except for the servants' room, is said to have served at different times as a ballroom, a hospital for the wounded during the Revolutionary War, and a station on the Underground Railroad. The well-lighted cellar is divided into meat room, vegetable cellar, "springhouse" (with no spring, but with a channel said to be for pumped water), and a wine cellar that could be locked off from the servants' quarters.

The history of a house, especially one like Hope Lodge which has undergone very little alteration, can be no more than the history of the people who lived in it and saw the world from its windows. The story of Hope Lodge is, therefore, the story of Edward Farmar, pioneer aristocrat; Samuel Morris, Quaker miller and farmer; William West, Philadelphia merchant; William West, Jr., Revolutionary soldier; James Horatio Watmough, gentleman; Jacob Wentz, first of a long line of good farmers; and William L. Degn, millionaire, from whose estate the house passed to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for preservation as a historic property.

It is the first five—Farmar, Morris, the two Wests, and Watmough—who underwrite Hope Lodge's title to the word *historic*. None of these men won status as a popular hero, but, taken all together, their careers open such a wealth of historic retrospect as few houses in Pennsylvania can match. William Penn is said to have marked with his own hand the first corner of the estate on which the house was later built.[1] The Delaware Indians met Governor Charles Gookin here and showed him the tributary wampum they were taking north to their Uncles, the Iroquois. Members of the Fermor-Farmar family, well known in English literary and political circles, made a home here. Samuel Morris, a distinguished Quaker whose mother upheld women's rights on both sides of the Atlantic, lived and died in this house. William West, who withdrew from Philadelphia to this retreat when the British occupied the city, earned the gratitude of General Washington for some services not yet fully understood. James Horatio Watmough named the house Hope Lodge in honor of his cousin, Henry Hope, American-born banker of Amsterdam, Holland, whom Robert Gilmor, business partner of

[1] *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, XIX (1890), 433, and *Third Series*, I, 196–197.

Philadelphia's Senator William Bingham, described as "in his day the greatest merchant the world had seen."[2]

Among the several mysteries that enliven the story of Hope Lodge is that of its origin. It is not known with certainty when it was erected, or by whom. There is a strong local tradition, which hitherto has been generally accepted, that it was built by Samuel Morris over a three-year span, 1721–1723, for a girl in England to whom he had become engaged while on a visit there. It is said that she broke the engagement on learning of a remark attributed to him at the housewarming: "Here is the pen. All we need now is the sow."

Whatever crumbs of truth there may be in that tale, it would not do to swallow it whole. For one thing, Samuel Morris was born on February 16, 1708 (New Style),[3] and so can have been only fifteen years old in 1723 when the house is said to have been built. For another, no evidence has been found that he crossed the ocean. His mother, who could quite possibly have made the match for him, went to England in 1728, 1744, and 1752, but this was much later than the date traditionally assigned to the house building. Samuel Morris, furthermore, was not in possession of the land on which the house stands until the 1740's. He was deeded a half interest in Farmar's mill and the "mill tract" of one hundred and fifty acres (which included the site of the mansion) on December 29, 1740, and he completed the purchase on December 10, 1746.[4] If he built the house, it is unreasonable to suppose that he did so before he was in full possession of the ground on which it stood. In a word, if the house was built in the 1720's, Samuel Morris cannot have been the builder.

According to a version of the legend printed by Frank Willing Leach in the Philadelphia *North American*, September 27, 1908, the house was built by some unnamed person for his fiancée, a Philadelphia girl of good family who, having seen him tipsy, broke off the

[2] See the note written by R. Gilmor on the back of a letter from H[enry] Hope to Monsieur Wickham, n. d., Dreer Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

[3] Abington Monthly Meeting, Births and Deaths (1682–1809), 9, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

[4] Not found of record, but recited in Joshua Morris to Samuel Morris, Philadelphia County Deed Book D-20, 356. The Philadelphia deeds and wills hereinafter cited are in the Department of Records, Philadelphia City Hall, except those which, as individually noted, are in Room 764, the City Archivist's office.

engagement. "The unfortunate wooer, finding his suit unavailing, disposed of the property and left the neighborhood forever."[5]

At first sight, this latter version would seem to point to Edward Farmar, who until his death in 1745 owned the site of Hope Lodge, and who was indeed jilted by Sarah Goodson, a Philadelphia girl, in 1693, as the minutes of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends all too unhappily disclose.[6] But this legend can no more be trusted than the other. There is no architectural sanction for dating the house as early as 1693, and Edward Farmar certainly did not leave Whitemarsh. Instead, he operated a mill, built a church, married, and brought up a family of eight children, all in this neighborhood; and his bones were laid to rest within a few hundred yards of the site of Hope Lodge.

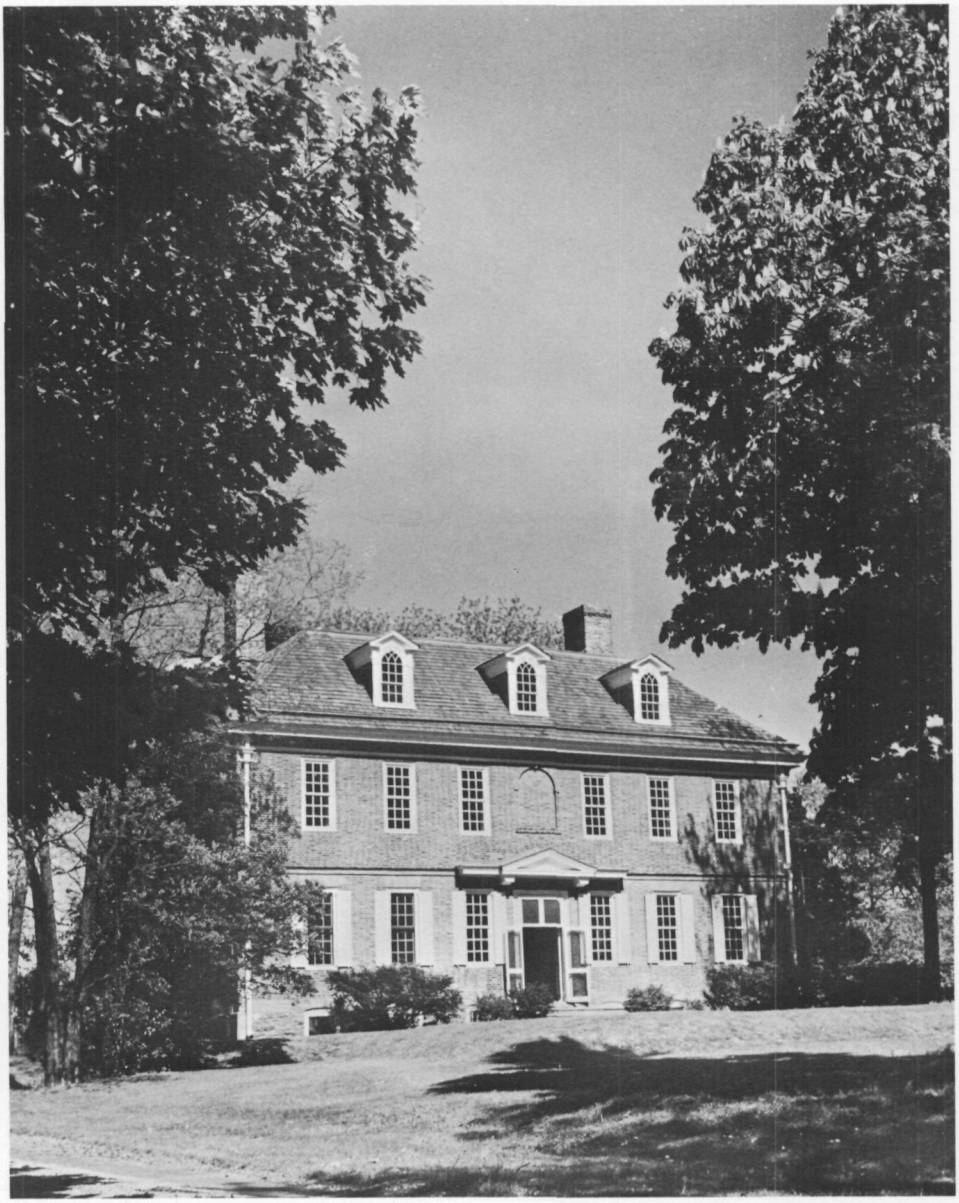
Nevertheless, *if Hope Lodge was built in the 1720's*, it must have been built by Edward Farmar, who owned the land and who, from all appearances, was just the man to build such a house. He had money, ambition, a position to sustain in the world, and the right family connections. His first cousin once removed, Sir William Fermor (created first Baron Leominster in 1692), built a house at Easton Neston "after designs by Sir Christopher Wren,"[7] whose intimate friend he was.

But that early date, although it has long been accepted, has of late come into question. A special report on the age of Hope Lodge prepared for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in October, 1961, by Miss Penelope Hartshorne, an architectural historian with the National Park Service at Independence National Historical Park, proposes a much later date than the traditional 1723. The report compares details of construction and ornamentation at Hope Lodge with corresponding details found in other houses of the vicinity whose dates of origin are known. It finds the fashions followed at Hope Lodge to correspond in general with those of 1745–1765 in this area. "Cumulatively this evidence, in my opinion," writes Miss Hartshorne, "points to a mid-eighteenth century period for most of the details of Hope Lodge. . . ."

[5] Frank Willing Leach, "Old Philadelphia Families, LXIX: West," *North American*, Sept. 27, 1908, hereinafter cited as Leach, "West."

[6] See minutes for Oct. 28 and Nov. 25, 1692, and Jan. 27 and Mar. 31, 1693, in *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, IV, 164, 166–169.

[7] Charles Farmar Billopp, *History of Thomas and Ann Billopp Farmar* (New York, 1907), 8.



Courtesy of Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

HOPE LODGE

Courtesy of Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

HOPE LODGE INTERIOR

Edward Farmar died in 1745. The inventory of his estate makes it clear that his home at that time was not Hope Lodge.[8] He had, moreover, since 1738 been in serious financial difficulties which would have precluded the erection of so ambitious a residence.

In 1740, Samuel Morris acquired a half interest and in December, 1745, full title to the property. By June, 1753, he is known to have been living in the house, a passing traveler having recorded the fact.[9] The inference is clear. *If the house was built after 1746*, as the Hartshorne report proposes, the builder must have been Samuel Morris and the date of erection must have been between 1747 and 1753: in other words, *about 1750*.

Such a date seems the more plausible when it is remembered that this was the period when Samuel Morris departed from the stricter Quaker usage and accepted appointment in 1745 and 1749[10] as justice of the peace for Philadelphia County, which then embraced the Whitemarsh area. Perhaps he designed both the mansion and the justiceship as but two faces of the same coin: the proffer of social position to the lady of his choice.

Edward Farmar

The documented history of Hope Lodge begins on January 31, 1683/4. On that day, William Penn conveyed a tract of five thousand acres, the greater part of the present Whitemarsh Township, under the name of Farmerstown, to "Major Jasper ffarmer, and his two sons Richard and Jasper Farmer."[11] The tract contained the Delaware Indian town of Umbilicamence or Umbolekemensin, which was situated, according to William J. Buck, "within the rich valley of the Wissahickon and not more than a mile from the centre of the township."[12] Arrangements for the purchase appear to have been made a year or two earlier. The minutes of the Board of Property, October 19,

8 Inventory of Edward Farmar's Estate, Will No. 43 (1745), Room 764, Philadelphia City Hall.

9 *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (*PMHB*), XVII (1893), 122–123.

10 *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, IX, 708–709.

11 Patent Book A-1, 5, Bureau of Land Records, Harrisburg.

12 William J. Buck is the author of the section on Whitemarsh in Theodore W. Bean's *History of Montgomery County* (Philadelphia, 1894). See page 1138.

1767, note that "Major Jasper Farmer agreed with William Penn Esq'r for the purchase of 5000 A's of Land in Pennsylvania A. D. 1682."[13]

The Farmars represented a class of settler not always remembered in accounts of Penn's colonial policy. They were not downtrodden refugees, but men of large estates and large vision like William Penn himself. Their experience in business and public affairs was needed to get the social experiment in his colony well started. Penn knew something of the high quality of the Farmars, for they had been his neighbors in the vicinity of Shanagarry Castle, halfway between Cork and Youghal in Ireland. Penn's diary in 1669 and 1670 mentions an exchange of visits with "Major fformer."[14]

There is some evidence that Jasper Farmar, the son, was sent to Pennsylvania as early as 1683 to look over the property and bring back a report on it. From "Phyladelphia the 1st. 12 mo 1683," James Claypoole wrote to Robert Rogers in England: "I might give thee a large account of the countrey and trade and matters relating thereunto but thou may have it wth more satisfaction from Jasper Farmer by whom I send this. . . ."[15] There is no question that John Scull had been sent on ahead with a body of servants to administer the property and to prepare for the coming of Major Jasper Farmar with his family and entourage.

On the *Bristol Merchant* (John Stephens, captain) when it arrived at Philadelphia, November 10, 1685, were the families of Jasper Farmar, Sr., and Jasper Farmar, Jr., with nineteen servants.[16] On the same boat were Nicholas Scull, father of the Nicholas Scull who was to become surveyor general of Pennsylvania, with seven servants, and Thomas Webb with seventeen servants—a tidy addition to the population of the colony.

But though their wives and children survived the voyage, the two Jasper Farmars, father and son, did not live to see the family settled in the New World.[17] Major Jasper Farmar, according to the minutes of the Board of Property, died "On his passage over."[18] His will,

13 *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*, I, 196.

14 *PMHB*, XL (1916), 59 ff.

15 *Ibid.*, X (1886), 403.

16 "A Partial List of the Families Who Arrived in Philadelphia Between 1682 and 1687," *ibid.*, VIII (1884), 336.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*, I, 196.

dated September 25, 1685, was proved in Philadelphia, January 2, 1685/6. Jasper, the son, died either on the voyage or soon after arrival. Letters of administration for his estate were dated January 19, 1685/6.[19]

The outcome of the Farmar family's New World adventure now depended on Mary Farmar, the major's widow. For a few months she carried on bravely. Already possessed of her deceased husband's half of the Farmerstown tract, totaling 5,000 acres, she added to it by purchasing, on December 24, 1685, from Thomas Webb the quarter share which her son Richard in England had sold to him.[20] On this part of the property, which adjoined Penn's Manor of Springfield and included what is now the village of Whitemarsh, a gristmill had already been built on Wissahickon Creek. Close by, she developed a limestone quarry. Dr. Nicholas More, young Edward Farmar's guardian, wrote to William Penn, September 13, 1686: "Madame *Farmer* has found out as good *Lime-Stone*, on the *School-kill*, as any in the World, and is building with it; she offers to sell ten Thousand Bushels at six Pence the Bushel, upon her Plantation, where there is several considerable Hills, and near to your manner of *Springfield*."[21] These limekilns were at what is now the village of Whitemarsh and close to the Hope Lodge property.

Madame Farmar tried to meet the terms of the contract with William Penn, which, in return for "the Priviledge of two Fairs every year and Market once a Week," called for the placing within five years of twenty families on the tract.[22] But her strength gave out. On October 31, 1686, "being weak in health," she made her will. It was proved July 1, 1687.[23] Letters of administration were granted to Dr. John Goodson of Philadelphia, "during the minority of Edward Farmer being aged 14 years."

Edward Farmar now had the family fortunes on his young shoulders. By his mother's will he had inherited not only three town houses, but also the "plantation at Farmertown, and mill bought of Thomas Webber [*Webb?*]."[24] He had come into possession of 3,750

19 *PMHB*, VIII (1884), 336 (note 1).
20 Philadelphia County Deed Book F-3, 136.
21 "A Letter from Doctor More," *PMHB*, IV (1880), 431.
22 Minutes of the Board of Property, *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*, I, 53.
23 *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, I, 58.
24 *Ibid.*, 59.

acres, which included the mill at Whitemarsh and the site of what was to be Hope Lodge.

After 1692, Edward Farmar's name appeared not infrequently in contemporary records, for he threw himself wholeheartedly into business and public affairs. A man of wide interests, he mastered the language of the Delaware Indians, who were his neighbors at Whitemarsh, and became a noted interpreter. In May, 1701, he traveled with John Sotcher, William Penn's steward at Pennsbury Manor,[25] to the Lehigh River to examine the Indian situation there.[26] In the same year, he was commissioned a justice of the peace, i. e., a member of the county court. In March, 1702, he conferred with Francis Daniel Pastorius and Justus Falckner about putting through a road from his mill at Whitemarsh to Philadelphia,[27] and next year a court order called for the laying out of a road from the limekilns near the mill to Chestnut Hill. In 1710, he was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly.[28]

That was the year he built a stone church, St. Thomas', Anglican, at Whitemarsh, on a hill a quarter of a mile south of Hope Lodge. Inside the present edifice a plaque has been erected to his memory:

> To the Glory of God and to the memory of Edward Farmar, Esq., who departed this life the 3rd day of November, 1745.
>
> He donated this ground for church purposes from the tract of 5000 acres granted in 1683 by William Penn to his father, Major Jasper Farmar of England.
>
> Edward Farmar built the first log church, which was destroyed by fire. In 1710 he replaced it with one of stone, which was ruined during the War of the Revolution. . . .

For a time, Edward Farmar was prominent in Indian affairs. He was interpreter at a conference held by Chief Sassoonan, his speaker Scollitchy, and a dozen other Delawares with Governor Gookin and his Council "at White Marsh, ye 19th of May, 1712, at ye House of

25 *Ibid.*, IV, 264.

26 Bean, 1139.

27 Edwin C. Jellett, "Gardens and Gardeners of Germantown," *Germantown History, Consisting of Papers Read Before the Site and Relic Society of Germantown* (Germantown, 1915), I, 260.

28 J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), I, 187.

Edwd. ffarmer." The description of that conference, at which the Indians "laid on the floor 32 Belts of Wampum of various ffigures," provides one of the most colorful passages in Pennsylvania's *Colonial Records*.[29]

Edward Farmar's gristmill at Whitemarsh was a landmark, as may be seen from a petition of June 2, 1713, asking for a road from Skippack to "the 'wide marsh,' or Farmar's Mill."[30] That the mill here referred to was the one at the present village of Whitemarsh and within a few hundred yards of Hope Lodge is made clear by a confirming report the following year: ". . . the true return of the Road from Skippack creek, in Bebber township, by Edward Farmar's mill, into the North Wales road. . . ."[31] The present mill, which occupies the original site, is on the Skippack Road close to its junction with the Old Bethlehem Pike, which at this point was formerly known as the North Wales Road.

To judge from the advertisements that appeared every now and then in the newspapers, offering rewards for the capture of a slave or an indentured servant belonging to Justice Edward Farmar,[32] he was living in a style befitting a cousin of the first Earl of Pomfret, whose daughter was to marry Thomas Penn. Unfortunately, his finances were soon in a tangle. He caught the prevailing real estate fever, and when Hannah Penn, May 22, 1724, wrote to James Logan requesting "That thou will press James Steel[33] to use his utmost diligence to get in all the arrears of quit-rents and what other money is, or shall be due to us," the screws began to tighten on Edward Farmar. There followed some years of uneasy trading, as indicated by his land sales, purchases, mortgages, petitions to the Board of Property, and pleas to his creditors for patience. To James Steel he wrote, February 7, 1737:

Concerning the ps. of land in the Mannor I have some flower some barley &c. to raise money, but I have it not in hand Just now, but shall soon,

29 *Colonial Records*, II (1838), 571.

30 *Historical Sketches: A Collection of Papers Prepared for the Historical Society of Montgomery County*, I (1895), 32.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *American Weekly Mercury*, Oct. 6, 1720; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 6, 1738.

33 Steel was receiver general and clerk of the Land Office. See Sophie Hutchinson Drinker, *Hannah Penn and the Proprietorship of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1958), 67, 163.

besides I know not how much the Quantity is, but Nicholas Scull I do expect up soon & shall then muster up the money. . . .[34]

The crash came in 1738. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for January 31 and February 7, 1737/8, Edward Farmar gave notice that he was settling his accounts, and he called on all who owed him money to pay at once. In order to cover his own obligations, he offered for sale thirteen tracts of land, amounting to more than 1,300 acres, together with his share of the Colebrookdale Furnace and "a third part of Rutter's Forge, with a third of all the land thereunto belonging."

To Nicholas Scull, on August 14, 1738, he wrote a sad letter about suits pending against him: "I want to know my doom. . . . I find thear is like to be no favour nor mercy shown to me. . . . I am in a deplorable Condition in my old age."[35]

On July 18, 1745, "Edward ffarmer of Whitemarsh . . . Gentleman, being very Sick and weak in Body but perfect mind and Memory," made his will. In it there is no particular mention of Hope Lodge or, indeed, of any other of his "Messuages and Tenemts."[36] His body was brought to St. Thomas' Church for burial on the hill overlooking the mill and the mansion.

That Edward Farmar was not living at Hope Lodge at the time of his death is made clear by the inventory of his estate. The following list of rooms, as given in that document, does not correspond with those at Hope Lodge: Parlour, Bigg Room above Stairs, Sellar, Cock Loft, Shopp, Kitchen, little Room at the Head of the Stairs, Cheese Room, Room next the Cheese Room, Nigroes' Room.

The viewers' report, September 1, 1746, of a road which at one point takes direction from "the Dwelling house of Edward Farmer late of Whitemarsh Deceased," is further evidence that he was not at Hope Lodge when he died. The map accompanying the report indicates a house on Stenton Avenue, apparently about a fifth of a mile south of its present junction with Mill Road.[37]

Meantime, as has already been noted, Edward Farmar, on December 29, 1740, about five years before his death, had sold a half interest

34 Provincial Council Records, HSP.

35 Gratz Collection, HSP.

36 Philadelphia County Will Book H, 71.

37 Road petitions (photostats), September, 1746, Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.

in his gristmill at Whitemarsh and "mill tract" of one hundred and fifty acres attached to it, the latter containing the site of Hope Lodge. The purchaser was Samuel Morris, a prosperous Quaker who was already operating a gristmill higher up the Wissahickon Valley at what is now Ambler. The original deed has been lost and was never recorded, but it is cited in several later deeds.[38]

Samuel Morris

Samuel Morris gave Hope Lodge the Quaker touch, and with it the personal cult of inconspicuousness. This, though a commendable thing in itself, is of small help to a biographer. Morris lived a useful, orderly, and, for the most part, unpublicized life.

He was the third of twelve children born to Morris Morris (1677–1764) of Caernarvonshire, Wales, and his wife Susanna (Heath) Morris (1682–1755) of Staffordshire, England.[39] Samuel's grandfather, Evan Morris, was a glover, a member of the Society of Friends in Wales, who had at one time been imprisoned for his faith.[40] In 1690, Evan left Wales and brought his wife and two children, Morris and Catharine, to Pennsylvania, making a home in Abington Township,[41] a few miles east of Whitemarsh. To "the limits of Abington Monthly Meeting" also, in 1701, came Robert and Susanna Heath with their six children, among whom was a junior Susanna.[42]

Morris Morris and Susanna Heath were married on September 27, 1703.[43] Samuel was born to them on February 16, 1708/9.[44] His father, through inheritance from Evan Morris, who died that same year, came into possession of some four hundred acres of land in Abington Township, which remained his residence and the family

38 Joshua Morris to Samuel Morris, May 27, 1781, Philadelphia County Deed Book D-20, 356; and Samuel Morris to John White, Nov. 11, 1783, *ibid.*, 358.

39 Abington Monthly Meeting, Births and Deaths (1682–1809), 9, Friends Historical Library.

40 See his certificate of removal in Albert Cook Myers, *Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia, 1682–1750* (Baltimore, Md., 1957), 17.

41 Clarence V. Roberts, *Early Friends Families of Upper Bucks* (Philadelphia, 1925), 389.

42 Horace Mather Lippincott, "Susanna Morris" (1952), manuscript in the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

43 Minutes of Abington Monthly Meeting (1682–1746), I, 45, Friends Historical Library.

44 Abington Monthly Meeting, Births and Deaths (1682–1809), 9, Friends Historical Library.

headquarters until 1744.[45] In 1728, Morris Morris was granted letters patent to a thousand acres at what is now Quakertown, but it was not until about sixteen years later that he transferred his personal residence to that locality.[46]

Both Morris Morris and his wife were prominent in religious activity; but, whereas Morris devoted himself principally to Abington Monthly Meeting, Susanna bore her preaching gift fearlessly over land and sea. She journeyed on horseback and by boat to New England, Virginia, and the Carolinas. On November 11, 1728, she embarked on the ship *Sizargh* (Nathan Cowan, captain) for England. On Christmas Eve she was shipwrecked off the coast of Ireland. We are told that she saved the captain and one or two others by persuading them, against their own judgment, to move to the lower side of the ship, which was half sunk and leaning against the rocks. Her wisdom appeared when the ship suddenly rolled over in a way that would have killed them had they remained where they were.[47]

Under such parental auspices Samuel Morris grew up a responsible, if unexciting, citizen, observant of his religious duties, serving the community as county assessor and justice of the peace, serving the Society of Friends in Abington, Gwynedd, and Philadelphia Monthly Meetings. He is said to have been at one time an overseer of Plymouth Meeting.

It is a tradition that for a time his mother lived with him at Hope Lodge, for Samuel Morris never married. Gwynedd Monthly Meeting on June 29, 1742, announced to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting his clearness "from all engagements of Marriage."[48] Two years later, on September 25, 1744, a few days after his mother's departure for England, there was read in Gwynedd Meeting a certificate from Philadelphia Meeting "giving an account of his sober and orderly Conversation and clearness from any Marriage engagement."[49]

Over Hope Lodge hangs the shadow of unrequited love. The story of Edward Farmar's rejection by Sarah Goodson has already been

45 Roberts, 389.

46 *Ibid.*

47 "John Griffith's account of Susanna Morris," *Friends Miscellany*, I (1831), 146.

48 Certificates of Removal, Philadelphia Monthly Meeting (1681–1758), Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 302 Arch St., Philadelphia.

49 Minutes of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

told. A similar disappointment befell Samuel Morris, who did not recover so easily. As early as 1753, the melancholy tale was recorded by an anonymous poet in verses entitled "Journey from Philadelphia to Bethlehem, June, 1753." Save for the poem's failure to identify the lady as English, it comes close to the popular tradition still circulating.

. . . Hence our way to fair White-marsh we came,
White-marsh, the mansion of the Morris name,
Where the high Hill its humble Temple[50] shows,
And thro' the Vale where Wissahickon flows.
But lo! what lofty structures yonder rise,
O'erlook the plain and tower to the skies,
Yet why's there such a solitude profound,
Why hangs a hov'ring melancholy round?
Fair Amaryllis, fairest of the plain,
The grave Amyntor lov'd, but loved in vain.
Yet still fond hope, th' unhappy Swain deceives,
Still flattering Love the fairest prospect gives.
For her the Spring its earliest bloom prepares,
For her the Bark inscriptive Letters wears,
For her alone, these Lofty Structures rise,
And Art with Nature, to attract her, vies.
Mistaken Swain! too late, alas, you'll prove
That Groves and fountains are the Seats of love,
For thee, tho' Nature lavish all her stores,
And Peace and plenty smile around thy doors,
Ah, what avail thy rural wide domains,
Thy flow'ry meadows, and thy fertile plains?
What all the plenty that thy harvest boasts,
What all the treasures of Peruvian coasts,
While restless Woe usurps these happy Seats,
And disappointed Love each joy defeats?
These scenes but serve each torment to renew,
The hapless Owner sickens at the view,
In rooms of State his cruel lot bemoans,
And lofty chambers echo to his groans,
Or, lonesome, stalks in a deserted Hall,
While sighs repentant whisper round the wall.
Touch'd with such woe, we the sad scene forsook,
And, Wissahickon, cross thy chrystal brook.[51]

50 St. Thomas' Church.
51 *PMHB*, XVII (1893), 122–123.

Samuel Morris died on November 30, 1770, attended only by a servant boy and a local innkeeper, Peter Adams, who had been hastily summoned. Morris' last moments seem to have been spent trying to explain about a will he had started to write but had never finished. On March 30, he had got as far with this document as to bequeath to his nephew, Samuel Morris, tanner, an acre and a half beside "the Tale Race of my Mills." He directed that about half an acre be conveyed to trustees "for the use of a School forever free for all the Inhabitants within one Mile & a half of the school." "I also order," he wrote, "that my Servant Boy James Nettle shall be put to a Trade such as he may like. . . ."[52]

The circumstances of his death are best known through the deposition of Peter Adams, innkeeper, made before Benjamin Chew, registrar general:

> . . . he was sent for to the house of Samuel Morris late of the Township of Whitemarsh deceased when he was . . . suddenly taken ill, that it was about three OClock in the Morning when he came to the House of the said Samuel Morris, and that he was in the same Room with the deceased from the time of his first Coming to him till he died which was to the best of his Knowledge about four OClock the same Morning. That the said Samuel Morris about half an hour before his Death repeatedly said [he was not] long for this World and desired this deponant and the [*word illegible*] in the Room to take Notice that the last writing he had . . . as far as it went . . . was drawn stand for his will. . . .[53]

The official inventory of Samuel Morris' personal estate is something of a jumble, attesting, if not to the means by which those appointed to the sad task revived their spirits, then to the disorder of a bachelor's housekeeping in a dwelling many sizes too big for him. Hither and yon were seven beds (chaff beds and "newish feather beds"), three chests of "Draws," three dressing tables, twenty-seven chairs, twenty-six tablecloths, ten sheets, four pillowcases, six tables, one desk, and one eight-day clock.

There was a good deal of value in this furniture, as Miss Hartshorne explains: "Mr. Frederick B. Hanson, of the Museum Division of Independence National Historical Park . . . noted that the value of a number of the items showed them to be quite elaborate, and in

52 Philadelphia County Will Book P, 25.
53 *Ibid.*

proportion to this grand house: (Chest of drawers £6.0.0 . . . Half dozen Damasked Bottom chairs 3.0.0 . . . To Feather Bed & Furniture 13.0.0 . . . Case of Draws & Drawing Table 7.5.0 . . . Looking Glass 3.10.0 . . . Quantity of Plate 28.8.0 . . .)." Of pictures and tapestries, there is no mention; of books, only this: "a Bible & a number of other books," worth, in all, three pounds.[54]

Samuel Morris died intestate with regard to the greater part of his estate. The mansion, mill, and farm, accordingly, went to the heir at law, his elder brother Joshua.

Joshua Morris, a substantial citizen who owned a sawmill near Germantown and for a number of years was a member of the provincial Assembly, did not make Hope Lodge his home. On his father's death in 1764, he succeeded to the family homestead in Abington and there spent the remainder of a long and useful life.[55] His principal contribution to the history of Hope Lodge was his signature to a deed dated October 8, 1776,[56] by which the "plantation" of two hundred eighty and a half acres passed into the possession of William West, a Philadelphia businessman who succeeded, with the help of General George Washington and General William Howe, in bringing world affairs to the mansion's door.

William West

William West was born on June 1, 1724, at Urlar, near Sligo, Ireland, the son of William and Ann (Osborn) West.[57] With his elder brother Francis, he came to Pennsylvania about 1750, settling as a merchant in Philadelphia while his brother moved west to Carlisle and later (1763) to Tyrone.

Being interested, among other things, in the Indian trade, William journeyed in 1753 with Thomas McKee and John Carson to the Allegheny River and the Ohio.[58] His report of distances from Three Springs (in Huntingdon County) to "Shanoppin's Town" (Pitts-

54 Inventory of Samuel Morris' Estate, Will No. 67 (1770), Room 764, Philadelphia City Hall.

55 Roberts, 391.

56 Philadelphia County Deed Book D-1, 416.

57 Leach, "West."

58 Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), II, 328.

burgh) and Logstown, which was presented in Council, March 12, 1754,[59] gives a good trader's-eye view of Pennsylvania geography.

He bought land at Carlisle and Tyrone (both then in Cumberland County), and in 1756 was elected to represent Cumberland County in the provincial legislature, although his residence remained in Philadelphia. With Benjamin Chew, Alexander Stedman, and Edward Shippen, he went in April of the same year to Lancaster to inquire into and report on a flurry of popular unrest there.[60] In 1757, he married Mary Hodge, daughter of William and Mary (McCullough) Hodge of Philadelphia.

William West was a generous and public-spirited man, a member of the Hibernia Fire Company, which Frank Willing Leach calls "the earliest known Irish Association in Philadelphia," and a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital.[61] He was one of the twenty-four first members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, founded in 1771, a society composed of well-to-do Pennsylvania merchants, and he served as the Society's third president, 1774–1776. In 1768, he was elected a member, the seventy-ninth, of the American Philosophical Society. Prior to the Revolution, he had established himself as one of the leading figures in the business, social, and political life of Philadelphia.

John Adams, attending the first Continental Congress, spent the evening of September 20, 1774, with "Mr. Dickinson, Mifflin, Dr. Rush, Mr. West, Mr. Biddle, and Captain Allen, and Mr. Mease's brother; a very agreeable company."[62] They discussed "the conduct of the Bostonian merchants, since the year 1770, in importing tea and paying the duty." Three weeks later, Adams "Dined at Mr. West's, with the Rutledges and Mr. Middleton; an elegant house, rich furniture, and a splendid dinner."[63]

William West had a nephew, son of Francis West, who had come as a child with his father to Pennsylvania. This nephew, William, was usually known as William West, Jr., to distinguish him from his uncle, for he lived with the latter in Philadelphia and was trained in

59 *Colonial Records*, V, 761–762.
60 *Ibid.*, VII, 96.
61 Leach, "West."
62 Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850), II, 381.
63 *Ibid.*, 400.

his countinghouse. When war appeared imminent between England and the colonies, the younger William West became one of the founders of the famous Light Horse of Philadelphia. On January 5, 1776, he was commissioned captain in Colonel John Shee's Third Battalion, which was sent north the same summer to New York. A few months later, on October 25, he was advanced to the rank of major.[64]

Meanwhile William West, Sr., whose business suffered from the war and who no doubt anticipated a British stroke at Philadelphia, took time to look about for a convenient retreat, not too far from the city, where he and his family might ride out the storm when it came. On October 8, as has been noted, he bought the Morris mansion at Whitemarsh.[65] During the anxious months before the capture of the city by the British, he had the house repainted, as his accounts show, and otherwise prepared for his occupancy.

Hope Lodge was to be the home also of his nephew, Major William West, during the British occupation. How the major came to be a prisoner of war on parole at Whitemarsh is an interesting story in itself and one that belongs to the Hope Lodge perspective. It began on November 16, 1776, when the Third Battalion, in which he held his commission, was captured almost to a man in the disaster at Fort Washington on Manhattan Island. Major West was paroled in the city of New York with a group of American officers who found accommodations in Mrs. Carroll's boarding house on Queen Street.[66]

Early in July, 1777, Major William West, with Colonel Samuel Miles and Captain Alexander Graydon, received permission to return to Philadelphia and Whitemarsh on parole, thanks to the personal intercession of Captain Graydon's mother. Traveling in a coal wagon, they passed through Morristown, where they met and conversed with General Washington.[67] We do not know with certainty when Major West reached home, but, since his military pay terminated on July 13, 1777,[68] it may be supposed that that was about the time he resumed his place in his uncle's business.

64 *Pennsylvania Archives, Fifth Series*, II, 126.

65 Philadelphia County Deed Book D-1, 416.

66 Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of a Life, Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania Within the Last Sixty Years* (Edinburgh, 1822), 229.

67 *Ibid.*, 291–292.

68 Leach, "West."

It was at this point that Major West, still on parole, entered the most dramatic episode in his career. Since his contribution to the American cause while he was in residence at Whitemarsh was not of a kind to be recorded in public papers, it is impossible to document his activities fully. It can, however, be said that there is evidence connecting him with the American intelligence service, skillfully organized by General Washington in advance of the local emergency, during the British occupation of Philadelphia.

It would appear that General Howe, after his ill luck at Whitemarsh in December, suspected something of the sort. Colonel Miles, whose home was at nearby Spring Mill, and Major West at Hope Lodge were summoned to appear before him in Philadelphia and explain themselves. Alexander Graydon records the incident in his memoirs:

> It had been given out that these gentlemen had not observed all the passiveness which had been enjoined upon them by their parole. . . . The situation of Miles and West, in the neighbourhood of the army at White Marsh, was, perhaps, the circumstance which gave colour to the accusation against them; but they were not long detained.[69]

Despite Howe's inability to prove anything against them, it is difficult, in the light of the available evidence, not all of which was in Howe's hands at the time, to escape the conclusion that West played a part in the underground campaign that nullified the initial British success at Philadelphia.

Hope Lodge was for the best part of three months, October to December, 1777, in the center of military activity. For some days, Washington's headquarters were at Dawesfield, a house situated four or five miles northwest of Whitemarsh village. In the early morning of October 4, troops passed close by the West mansion on their way toward Germantown. Later in the day, in retreat before pursuing British cavalry, the Americans crossed the Wissahickon again, less than a quarter of a mile from Hope Lodge, and made their way up the Skippack Road.

Early in November, Washington moved his troops to strong positions on the hills that formed a half-moon around Hope Lodge: Militia Hill, Fort Hill, and Camp Hill, as they are now named.

[69] Graydon, 321.

When on December 5 Howe's army came out of the city to test the American position and, if possible, to trap Washington's army and destroy it, the West house was on the edge of the conflict. After American forces had been driven from Church Hill, Hope Lodge was directly in line of fire. The British, however, were disappointed. They captured, it is true, a few prisoners, and Cornwallis, under cover of the main British army's advance, conducted efficient forage operations. But the American forces were everywhere found to be too strongly posted, and too well forewarned, to encourage serious attack. On December 8, accordingly, after four days of maneuvering, Howe withdrew into the city. The American army a few days later went into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

George Washington seems to have had better knowledge than Howe of the activities of Hope Lodge's residents. Before moving his headquarters across the Schuylkill, the generalissimo offered the elder William West a "protection" for his property:

> His Excellency the Commander in Chief having grant'd a Protection for Mr West's Woodland when the Army encamp'd at this place—He is further pleas'd to direct that such Parties of the Standing Army or Militia as may from time to time Encamp at or near Church Hill, Cut no Wood belonging to Mr West, but Supply themselves out of the Woods adjoining to his Land
>
> Given at White Marsh Decr 25th
> 1777 by order of his Excellency
> John Fitzgerald
> Aide de Camp[70]

Legend has been busy assigning officers to quarters at Hope Lodge. The rumor that it served as Washington's headquarters during the Whitemarsh campaign may be dismissed at once, for it is well known that Washington was at the Emlen house about a mile away on Sandy Run. Also to be questioned, for lack of evidence, is the popular tradition that Washington on a convivial visit to Hope Lodge rode his horse in at the back door and out at the front. The tradition that General Nathanael Greene was quartered at Hope Lodge is unsound. His letter of November 14, 1777, dated "At Mr. Morris,"[71] does not refer to Samuel Morris of Hope Lodge (he had

70 Facsimile in Society Collection, HSP.

71 Edward W. Hocker, "Day by Day Record of the American Army's Encampment at Whitemarsh, Pa.: November 2, until December 11, 1777," 31, manuscript in the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

died in 1770), but to his nephew, Samuel Morris the tanner, who in 1777 was living in a small house on the Wissahickon by the tailrace of the mill. It is difficult to substantiate the tradition, although there is nothing implausible about it, that Dr. John Cochran, surgeon general in the Middle Department, had his headquarters there and used the large room in the third story as a hospital.

The old mill attached to Hope Lodge overlooked the Skippack Road. For that reason it played a decisive role, on at least one occasion, in the American intelligence service. It is recorded in Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*—on information supplied by Samuel Maulmsby of Plymouth Meeting, who got it from his uncle Captain Davis of the Pennsylvania militia in the Revolutionary War—that on May 20, 1778, Lafayette was alerted *from the mill at Whitemarsh* in time to save his detachment of over two thousand men at Barren Hill from capture by the British:

> . . . the British made their approach with all possible quietness and secrecy, in the night (as before mentioned, through Germantown, &c.) They turned at Mather's [*formerly Farmar's and later Morris*'] mill to go on to Plymouth. At that mill lived a Capt. Stoy, who having occasion to get out of bed, chanced to see the army passing his door. He immediately ran across the fields and nigh cuts, to give La Fayette the alarm; but his breath failing him, he called up one Rudolph Bartle, who ran on to Barren hill and gave the intelligence. La Fayette immediately sent off his artillery to the other side of Schuylkill, at Madson's ford, and going himself to the same place by the way of Spring mill.[72]

The parole of William West and Samuel Miles ended when they were exchanged on April 20, 1778.[73] Major West did not resume his rank in the army. The unlucky Third Battalion, captured at Fort Washington, had by now been blotted out of existence and virtually out of memory. Reorganized as the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment, it had been entirely reconstituted and filled with new officers, so that those with earlier commissions in the Third had now no unit to return to and had lost their seniority. "They were considered extinct,"

[72] John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time. . . .* (Philadelphia, 1898), II, 62.

[73] See Elias Boudinot, commissary of prisoners in Philadelphia, to Henry Hugh Fergusson, Apr. 20, 1778, Boudinot Papers, I, HSP: "I have enclosed to Mr Loring an Exchange of officers for those sent in & one from you, in Consequence of which I shall expect Coll Miles & Major West will be sent out immediately."

wrote Captain Graydon, "and their places had been supplied by others."[74]

But William West, Jr., was not long unoccupied. After the British withdrawal from Philadelphia, he served for a few months in that city as deputy to James Mease, the clothier general. In 1779, he joined his uncle in an important venture which they called the "Eustatia Concern."

The Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies, thanks to a flourishing black market, was a prime source of American military supplies. Four men—William West, Sr., his nephew, Benjamin Fuller, and John Donaldson—entered into an agreement whereby each contributed £1,250, "Which Stock by the Terms of the said Agreement was to be under the Direction of William West Junior aforesaid now Resident in the Island of St. Eustatia. . . ."[75] William West's work in the West Indies was interrupted for a time by an investigation of irregularities committed by Benedict Arnold in Philadelphia and by his two subordinates, James Mease and William West, Jr. They had bought large stocks for the army at regular rates, sold what the army did not need to merchants at higher prices, and accounted to the army only for the sum originally paid.[76]

When, subsequent to Arnold's treachery at West Point, this sleight of hand came to light, a proclamation was issued accusing William West and others of treason, and summoning West to return from the West Indies and stand trial.[77] If he had indeed been guilty of treason, he might easily have made his escape from the Dutch island. Instead, he returned at once and presented himself, four weeks earlier than the deadline given him, before the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.[78]

The charge of treason was dropped. The Congress of the United States, to which the matter had been referred, on January 9, 1781, advised the Supreme Executive Council to prosecute West and Mease "in the ordinary course of law, for the abuse of office and breach of trust complained of."[79]

74 Graydon, 318.
75 Philadelphia County Will Book S, 217.
76 Carl Van Doren, *The Secret History of the Revolution* (New York, 1941), 169.
77 *Colonial Records*, XII, 496–497.
78 *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, VIII, 631.
79 *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIX, 40–41.

Shortly thereafter, young West returned to the West Indies, not this time to the island of St. Eustatius, for that source of supplies had been captured by the British admiral Rodney, but to the French island of Martinique. There he purchased a valuable prize containing clothes and ammunition. Attempting to bring it to Philadelphia, he was, as Frank Willing Leach writes, "captured by the British, carried to New York, and there placed on board a prison ship. The war coming to a close not long after, he was liberated and returned to Philadelphia."[80]

William West, Sr., died at Whitemarsh on Saturday, October 28, 1782.[81] On the Wednesday following, his funeral in Philadelphia was attended by "many worthy and respectable inhabitants," as the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported a few days later:

> On Monday the 28th ult. died at his seat at Whitemarsh, Mr. William West, after a short fit of illness, which he bore with the greatest firmness and equanimity, and on Wednesday morning his remains were interred in this city, attended by many worthy and respectable inhabitants. He was certainly a gentleman of very unblemished reputation; amiable and gentle in his disposition; affable and courteous in his dep[ortment]; [cheer]ful in his temper, though grave in his aspect; generous and polite in his manner of living; sincere, and deservedly happy, in his family connections; and to the highest degree upright and exact in his dealings. He was long an eminent and principal merchant in this city. In his conduct the integrity of his heart, and the candour of his principles were so distinguished and conspicuous, that his loss is most universally regretted by the public, and all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.[82]

After the war, William West, Jr., removed to Baltimore, established a mercantile house there, and took into partnership his cousin James West, son of William West, Sr. He died in Baltimore on September 17, 1795.[83]

James Horatio Watmough

A year and a half after the death of William West, Sr., the mansion and grounds at Whitemarsh were purchased from his estate by Henry

80 Leach, "West."
81 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 13, 1782.
82 *Ibid.*
83 Leach, "West."

Hope of Amsterdam, Holland, not for himself, but in trust "to the Use and behoof of James Horatio Watmough a Relation by blood of the said Henry Hope for and during the Term of the natural life of the said James Horatio Watmough. . . ."[84]

The fact that the deed was dated April 7, 1784, less than five weeks after the marriage of James Horatio Watmough and Anna Christiana Carmick, makes it seem likely, in view of the previous intimacy between Watmough and Hope, that the gift was a wedding present. Certainly, the mansion was thereafter known as Hope Lodge. By a conveyance of July 23, 1807, the property was made over to Watmough in fee simple.[85]

James Horatio Watmough was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on January 26, 1754, the youngest of the four sons of Captain Edmund Watmough of Kent, England, and his wife Maria, daughter of a Boston physician, Dr. Edward Ellis, who had been surgeon general of the Massachusetts troops raised for the Louisbourg expedition in 1744.[86] The boy's mother dying shortly after his birth and the father's regiment being moved to another station, little James Horatio and his brothers went to live with their aunt, Elizabeth (Ellis) de Les Dernier. When he was eight years old, he was sent to England for his education,[87] and at the age of fourteen was received by his mother's cousin, Henry Hope, who took him into his banking house.[88]

Henry Hope no doubt saw in this young cousin a reflection of his own early years. Henry's mother, a daughter of Edward Willard of Jamaica, was a sister-in-law of Dr. Ellis of Boston.[89] Henry himself was born in that city in 1730, and, on the death of his parents, was cared for by his Ellis aunts. In 1760, he joined his uncles,[90] Thomas and Adrian Hope, of the famous banking house which had

84 Philadelphia County Deed Book D-8, 522.

85 Montgomery County Deed Book 25, 353. The Montgomery County deeds and wills hereinafter cited are in the Court House, Norristown, Pa.

86 Leach, "Old Philadelphia Families, LXIII: Watmough," *North American*, Aug. 6, 1908, hereinafter cited as Leach, "Watmough."

87 James H. Watmough, U. S. N., ed., "Letters of James H. Watmough to His Wife, 1785," *PMHB*, XXIX (1905), 31.

88 Harold Donaldson Eberlein, *Portrait of a Colonial City, Philadelphia, 1673–1838* (Philadelphia, 1939), 164.

89 Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1882), II, 252.

90 *Catalogue of Engraved National Portraits* (London, 1895), 249.

been established by Archibald Hope at Amsterdam in 1720. In 1762, Thomas and Adrian took into partnership John, son of Thomas, and the American cousin, Henry, the house thereafter being known as Hope and Company.[91] On the death of Adrian Hope in 1781, Henry Hope became head of the firm, a position he held until his death thirty years later. It was to Henry Hope, then at the pinnacle of the financial world, that Adam Smith dedicated *The Wealth of Nations*.

In Hope and Company, under the tutelage of its world-renowned head, James Horatio Watmough began his business career. It is said that Henry Hope planned to make Watmough his heir, and proposed that the youth marry Henrietta Goddard, the daughter of his only sister. As the story is told, however, James Horatio declined the match, left his patron, and in 1782, sailing in one of Henry Hope's ships, put the sea between himself and Amsterdam. The war between England and the United States being still unsettled, the young man spent a few months in his birthplace, Halifax, before going first to Boston and then to Philadelphia, which was at that time the financial center of the country.[92]

After his brief adventure in the great banking house, Watmough settled down, except for a trip to Great Britain and Ireland in 1785–1786, to a quiet life with his wife at Hope Lodge.[93] So anxious was he to preserve the memory of his benefactor that he named his first son, born in 1788, Henry Hope; and, the boy dying at the age of five, he gave the same name to his last child, born in 1801, who lived only a year.[94] In Watmough's will, dated November 9, 1810, occur these words:

> Imprimis: My estate of Hope Lodge farm Situated in White Marsh township Montgomery County in this state, provision being made for it by deed of gift to me by my ever beloved and respected friend (and more than father to me) and relative Henry Hope Esqr. late of Amsterdam but now of No. 1 Harly Street Cavendish square of the City of Westminster in the Kingdom of Great Britain shall Say nothing respecting it only if possible to Keep it in the family out of veneration and respect to the truly venerable Worthy, and to me beloved Donor.[95]

91 Information supplied to the writer by Marten G. Buist of Groningen, The Netherlands, who is writing a history of Hope and Company.

92 Leach, "Watmough."

93 See "Letters of James H. Watmough to His Wife," *PMHB*, XXIX (1905), 31 ff.

94 "Family Records: The Ancestors of George Meade and Elizabeth Morris Lewis," manuscript in possession of Mrs. Horace H. Francine, Dawesfield, Montgomery County.

95 Philadelphia County Wills (1827), Book 9, 98.

When James Horatio Watmough died on January 23, 1812, the will was found to be so confused that he was legally declared to have died intestate. In the document he gave no specific directions about the Whitemarsh property, although he stated that his son John G. Watmough had already received two shares in it and that his wish was, "as I equally love my beloved Children to place them if possible all on a footing."[96]

Among his children, Maria Ellis Watmough married Joseph Reed, Jr., son of the president of the Supreme Executive Council; and Margaretta Watmough married John Sergeant, Philadelphia lawyer, member of Congress, and vice-presidential candidate on the Whig ticket with Henry Clay in 1832.[97]

The eldest son, John Goddard Watmough, lived for some years at Hope Lodge. During the War of 1812, he served first as a militia corporal in the Fourth Company (Captain Condy Raguet), City of Philadelphia.[98] As a lieutenant in the artillery, he was severely wounded, on August 15, 1814, in the Battle of Fort Erie, when, as General Edmund P. Gaines reported, the enemy's "Pikes, Bayonets and Spears fell upon our gallant Artillerists . . . [and] our bastion was lost."[97]

In December, 1817, he embarked for England as secretary to his brother-in-law, John Sergeant, on a mission for the Second Bank of the United States, a mission which involved negotiations with Alexander Baring, who had formerly been an agent for Henry Hope and was now senior partner in the great house of Baring Brothers.[100] John Watmough was elected to Congress in 1830 and again in 1832. "His elegant and impressive manners," wrote a biographer, "and his still open wound, more than thirty years afterwards, made him sheriff of the county, and sent him as a Representative to Congress."[101]

When on June 16, 1832, the four children of James Horatio Watmough, his heirs, deeded the Hope Lodge farm of two hundred and three acres (containing the mansion) to Jacob Wentz,[102] in whose

96 *Ibid.*

97 Leach, "Watmough."

98 *Pennsylvania Archives, Sixth Series*, VIII, 286.

99 *PMHB*, XXI (1897), 264.

100 Julian P. Boyd, "John Sergeant's Mission to Europe for the Second Bank of the United States, 1816–1817," *ibid.*, LVIII (1934), 222.

101 Leach, "Watmough."

102 Montgomery County Deed Book 48, 274.

family it was to remain for close to a century, Hope Lodge's historic years came to an end.

The house passed out of the Wentzes' hands in 1921.[103] A year later, it was purchased by William L. Degn, who wished to save it from destruction by a commercial firm.[104] Degn and his wife Alice, recognizing the beauty of the building and its historical interest, established the Hope Lodge Foundation, with George A. Landell and Nathaniel B. Groton as trustees.[105]

On November 15, 1957, the Orphans Court of Montgomery County authorized the trustees of the estate of Alice S. Degn, deceased, to

> . . . transfer part of the Trust Property Known as "HOPE LODGE ON THE BETHLEHEM PIKE" to an appropriate Organization in Pennsylvania to wit, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania acting through the Historical and Museum Commission of the Commonwealth to continue to administer and operate "HOPE LODGE" as a Museum and Permanent Exhibit typical of the Architecture and furnishing of the Colonial Period of America for the enjoyment and education of the People of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and others.[106]

There it stands for all to enjoy, lovely as when it came from the hands of the artisans in the first flush of Pennsylvania's youth, and with a beauty now matured by the richness of its historical memories.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission PAUL A. W. WALLACE

103 Henry L. Wentz to Keasby and Mattison Company, Montgomery County Deed Book 832, 228.

104 Montgomery County Deed Book 867, 594.

105 Montgomery County Will Book 124 (1953), 513.

106 Orphans Court of Montgomery County, "Decree sur Petition for Transfer of Certain Assets from the . . . [Alice S. Degn] Estate to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Nov. 15, 1957.