

A SHORT
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
M A L I G N A N T F E V E R,
L A T E L Y P R E V A L E N T I N
P H I L A D E L P H I A:
W I T H A S T A T E M E N T O F T H E
P R O C E E D I N G S
T H A T T O O K P L A C E O N T H E S U B J E C T I N D I F F E R E N T
P A R T S O F T H E
U N I T E D S T A T E S.

BY MATHEW CAREY.

THIRD EDITION, IMPROVED.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY THE AUTHOR.

November 30, 1793.

A SHORT
ACCOUNT
OF THE
MALIGNANT FEVER,
LATELY PREVALENT IN
PHILADELPHIA:
WITH A STATEMENT OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
THAT TOOK PLACE ON THE SUBJECT IN DIFFERENT
PARTS OF THE
UNITED STATES.

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November 30, 1793.

To the American Philosophical Society.

GENTLEMEN,

WITH due deference, I presume to dedicate to you the following pages, in which I have endeavoured to give as faithful an account as possible, of the dreadful calamity we have just experienced.

I am, gentlemen,

With esteem,

Your obedt. humble servant,

MATHEW CAREY.

NUMBER XLVII.

District of Pennsylvania, to wit—

(L. S.) **B**E it remembered, that on the fourteenth day of November, in the eighteenth year of the independence of the united states of America, Mathew Carey, of the said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit :

“ A short account of the malignant fever lately prevalent in Philadelphia, with a statement of the proceedings that took place on the subject in different parts of the united states. By Mathew Carey.”
In conformity to the act of the congress of the united states, intituled, “ An act for the encouragement of learning; by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.”

SAMUEL CALDWELL, Clerk of
the district of Pennsylvania.

P R E F A C E

TO THE

F I R S T E D I T I O N.

Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1793.

THE favourable reception given to the imperfect account of the fever which I lately published, and the particular desire of some of my friends, have induced me to undertake a more satisfactory history of it, in order to collect together, while facts are recent, as many of the most interesting occurrences as I could, for the information of the public.

I have not attempted any embellishment or ornament of style; but have alone aimed at telling plain facts in plain language. I have taken every precaution to arrive at the truth; and hope the errors in the account, will not be found numerous.

For the desultory plan of some part of the pamphlet, I have to offer the following apology; many of the circumstances and reflexions towards the conclusion, which would have come with more propriety in the beginning, did not occur, until some of the first half sheets were not only written, but printed. I had no choice, therefore, but either to omit them, or place them somewhat out of order. I preferred the latter.

Most of the facts mentioned have fallen under my own observation. Those of a different descrip-

tion I have been assiduous to collect from every person of credibility, possessed of information.

Desirous of having this account correct and complete, I have printed off but a small number of copies of the present edition: and shall esteem myself most particularly obliged to any person who will be so kind to point out errors, to be corrected in, or suggest facts, to be added to, a new edition, which I propose to put to press very soon, and which will, I hope, be found more ample than the present one.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

November 23, 1793.

WHEN I published the first edition of this pamphlet, it was my intention to have greatly enlarged it for a second one, and to have new modelled it, so as to preserve a connexion between its several parts, in which it is extremely deficient. But its speedy sale, and the demand for more copies, renders it impossible for me to do more, at present, than make such corrections as the kindness of a few friends has led them to point out.

In giving an account of the proceedings that took place on the subject of the disorder, thro' out the union, I have suppressed many a harsh comment, which was forcing itself on me; from the reflexion, that in similar circumstances we might perhaps have been equally severe. And to perpetuate animosities is performing a very unfriendly office. They are easily generated; but their extinction is a work of time and difficulty. Let us, therefore, (especially when we "hold the mirror up to nature" at home,) not only forgive, but even forget, if possi-

ble, all the unpleasent treatment our citizens have experienced.

I have heard more than one person object to the account of the shocking circumstances that occurred in Philadelphia, as pourtraying the manners of the people in an unfavourable light. If that be the case, the fault is not mine. I am conscous I have not exaggerated the matter. But I do not conceive it can have that effect; for it would be as unjust and injudicious to draw the character of Philadelphia from the conduct of a period of horror and affright, when all the "mild charities of social life" were suppressed by regard for self—as to stamp eternal infamy on a nation for the atrocities perpetrated in times of civil broils, when all the "angry passions" are roused into dreadful and ferocious activity.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

November 30, 1793.

THIS pamphlet comes before the public a third time, and, in some measure, in a new form. I have reduced it to as methodical a state, as in my power, but not as much so as I could wish, nor, I fear, as the reader may expect. To one merit only do I lay claim in the compilation; that is, of having meant well. If, on a fair perusal, the candid allow me that, I am satisfied to have the execution censured with all the severity of which criticism is capable. However, I beg leave to inform the reader, that this day ends one month, since the writing of the pamphlet commenced. I know that the shortness of the time employed is no justification of a bad performance;

but it may somewhat extenuate the defects of a middling one.

I have had several objections made to parts of it. Most of them I have removed. Some few, resting on the sentiments of individuals, directly contrary to my own judgment, I have passed over. For until my reason is convinced, I cannot change my opinion for that of any person whatever.

To those gentlemen who have been so kind to furnish me with facts to enlarge and improve the work, I profess myself under great obligations. I request them to continue their kindness; as, if public favour should give this trifle a fourth edition, I shall add all that may be communicated in the interim; otherwise I shall probably publish separately what may be worthy of the public eye.

I was misinformed respecting the opinion of the college of physicians, on the origin of the disorder. It was not unanimous. There were, I believe, three dissentients, among whom was the respectable president. This I mention to prevent the reader from being deceived by the unqualified assertion in page 16.

A SHORT ACCOUNT, &c.

Chap. I. State of Philadelphia previous to the appearance of the malignant fever—with a few observations on some of the probable consequences of that calamity.

BEFORE I enter on the consideration of this disorder, it may not be improper to offer a few introductory remarks on the situation of Philadelphia previous to its commencement, which will reflect light on some of the circumstances mentioned in the course of the narrative.

The manufactures, trade, and commerce of Philadelphia had, for a considerable time, been improving and extending with great rapidity. From the period of the adoption of the federal government, at which time America was at the lowest ebb of distress, her situation had progressively become more and more prosperous. Confidence, formerly banished, was universally restored. Property of every kind, rose to, and in some instances beyond, its real value: and a few revolving years exhibited the interesting spectacle of a young country, with a new form of government, emerging from a state approaching very near to anarchy, and acquiring all the stability and nerve of the best-toned and oldest nations.

In this prosperity, which revived the almost-extinguished hopes of four millions of people, Philadelphia participated in an eminent degree. Num-

bers of new houses, in almost every street, built in a very neat, elegant stile, adorned, at the same time that they greatly enlarged the city. Its population was extending fast. House rent had risen to an extravagant height; it was in many cases double, and in some treble what it had been a year or two before; and, as is generally the case, when a city is thriving, it went far beyond the real increase of trade. The number of applicants for houses, exceeding the number of houses to be let, one bid over another; and affairs were in such a situation, that many people, though they had a tolerable run of business, could hardly do more than clear their rents, and were, literally, toiling for their landlords alone*. Luxury, the usual, and perhaps inevitable concomitant of prosperity, was gaining ground in a manner very alarming to those who considered how far the virtue, the liberty, and the happiness of a nation depend on its temperance and sober manners.—Men had been for some time in the habit of regulating their expenses by prospects formed in sanguine hours, when every probability was caught at as a certainty, not by their actual profits, or income. The number of coaches, cochees, chairs, &c. lately set up by men in the middle rank of life, is hardly credible. Not to enter into a minute detail, let it suffice to remark, that extravagance, in various shapes, was gradually eradicating the plain and wholesome habits of the city. And although it were presumption to attempt to scan the decrees of heaven, yet few, I believe, will pretend to deny, that something was wanting to humble the pride of a city, which was running on

* The distress arising from this source, was perhaps the only exception to the general observation of the flourishing situation of Philadelphia.

in full career, to the goal of prodigality and dissipation.

However, from November 1792, to the end of last June, the difficulties of Philadelphia were extreme. The establishment of the bank of Pennsylvania, in embryo for the most part of that time, had arrested in the two other banks such a quantity of the circulating specie, as embarrassed almost every kind of business; to this was added the distress arising from the very numerous failures in England, which had extremely harrassed several of our capital merchants. During this period, many men experienced as great difficulties as were ever known in this city*. But the opening, in July, of the bank of Pennsylvania, conducted on the most generous and enlarged principles, placed business on its former favourable footing. Every man looked forward to this fall as likely to produce a vast extension of trade. But how fleeting are all human views! how uncertain all plans founded on earthly appearances! All these flattering prospects vanished "like the baseless fabric of a vision."

In July, arrived the unfortunate fugitives from Cape François. And on this occasion, the liberality of Philadelphia was displayed in a most respectable point of light. Nearly 12,000 dollars were in a few days collected for their relief. Little, alas! did many of the contributors, then in easy circumstances, imagine, that a few weeks would leave their wives and children dependent on public charity, as has since unfortunately happened. An awful instance of the rapid and warning vicissitudes of affairs on this transitory stage.

* It is with great pleasure, I embrace this opportunity of declaring, that the very liberal conduct of the bank of the united states, at this trying season, was the means of saving many a deserving and industrious man from ruin.

At this time, this destroying scourge, the malignant fever, crept in among us, and nipped in the bud the fairest blossoms that imagination could form. And, oh! what a dreadful contrast has since taken place! Many women, then in the lap of ease and contentment, are bereft of beloved husbands, and left with numerous families of children to maintain, unqualified for the arduous task—many orphans are destitute of parents to foster and protect them—many entire families are swept away, without leaving “a trace behind”—many of our first commercial houses are totally dissolved, by the death of the parties, and their affairs are necessarily left in so deranged a state, that the losses and distresses which must take place, are beyond estimation. The protests of notes for a few weeks past, have exceeded all former examples; for a great proportion of the merchants and traders having left the city, and been totally unable, from the stagnation of business, and diversion of all their expected resources, to make any provision for payment, most of their notes have been protested, as they became due*.

Besides what we have already suffered, we are menaced with another evil, which probably at any other period, would not very materially injure the city; but if it comes in addition to our present distress, will operate against us a very long time. I mean the removal of congress. The meeting of this body is fixed for the first Monday in December; and it is not improbable that attempts will

* The bank of the united states, on the 15th of October, passed a resolve, empowering the cashier to renew all discounted notes, when the same drawers and indorsers were offered, and declaring that no notes should be protested, when the indorsers bound themselves in writing, to be accountable in the same manner as in cases of protest.

be made, by appeals to their fears, to prevent their next session being held here. Already the New York papers announce, "that as congress cannot meet, agreeably to their adjournment, with any probability of safety, in Philadelphia, under its present calamitous visitation, there can be no doubt of their adjourning to sit in New York, where the air is perfectly salubrious, the markets plentiful, and every conveniency ready for their accommodation*." If, at the time of their meeting, any trace of the disorder remains, the Philadelphians will not urge their stay here. But if it be, as there is every probability, absolutely extinguished, we place too much reliance on their justice to suspect that they will add to the stroke we have already felt.

For these prefatory observations I hope I shall be pardoned. I now proceed to the melancholy account I have undertaken. May I be enabled to do the subject justice; and lay before the reader a complete and correct account of the most awful visitation that ever occurred in America. At first view, it would appear that Philadelphia alone felt the scourge; but its effects have spread in almost every direction through a great portion of the union. Many parts of Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, exclusive of the back part of Pennsylvania, drew their supplies, if not wholly, at least principally from Philadelphia, which was of course the mart whither they sent their produce. Cut off from this quarter, their merchants have had to seek out other markets, which, being unprepared for such an increased demand, their supplies have been imperfect; and, owing to the briskness of the sales, the prices

* Columbian Gazetteer, October 17, 1793.

have been, naturally enough, very considerably enhanced. Besides, they went to places in which their credit was not established—and had in most cases to advance cash. Business has, consequently, languished in many parts of the union; and it is therefore probable, that considering the matter merely in a commercial point of light, the shock caused by the fever, has been felt to the southern extremity of the united states.

Chap. II. First appearance of the disorder. Enquiry into its origin. Opinions extremely contradictory.

THE malignant fever, which has committed such ravages in Philadelphia, made its appearance here, about the end of July. Dr. Hodge's child, probably the first victim, was taken ill on the 26th or 27th of that month and died on the 6th or 7th of the next. A Mr. Moore*, in Mr. Denny's lodging house, in Water-street, was seized on Friday, the 2d of August, and died the following Sunday. Mrs. Parkinson, who lodged in the same house, caught the disorder, on the 3d, and died on the 7th of the same month.

On the origin of this disorder, there is a diversity of opinion. By some it is said to be indigenous—by others it is believed to have been imported, by the Sans Culottes privateer, by some of the French vessels that arrived from the cape with the emigrants, or by some vessel from one of the British islands. I shall lay before the reader, the strongest supports of these opinions, and let him judge for himself.

* This man had, in the morning, been walking along the wharves, where the coffee lay, and at which the Sans Culottes was moored; and on his return home, was so extremely ill as to be obliged to go to bed, from which he never rose again.

Dr. Hutchinson, late physician of the port of Philadelphia, maintained that it was not imported, and stated, in a letter which he wrote on the subject to Captain Falconer, the health officer of the port, that "the general opinion was, that the disorder originated from some damaged coffee, or other putrified vegetable and animal matters." To this opinion, though he did not give it absolutely as his own, he seemed strongly to incline; and mentioned, that at a wharf, a little above Arch-street, "there was not only a quantity of damaged coffee*, extremely offensive, but also some putrid animal and vegetable substances." The doctor rested his opinion, that the disorder was not imported, on two circumstances, which prove to be mistaken, viz. that no foreigners or sailors were infected on the 27th of August, the time of writing, and that it had not been found in lodging-houses. The doctor doubtless knew not that the second place in which it is known to have made its appearance, was a lodging house, and some of the earliest patients were French lads.

Dr. Rush is of the same opinion with dr. Hutchinson, and says he has in his possession sufficient documents to prove that the disorder is not an imported one, but of native growth. He has not as yet communicated his proofs to the public.

A writer on the subject in the Independent Gazetteer, of the 23d of November, gives the two following reasons in support of the opinion that the disorder has been generated here.

1st. The disorder did not spread whenever it was carried from the city, which, he hints, it would have done, had it been imported.

* The stench of this coffee was so excessively offensive, that the people in the neighbourhood could hardly remain in the back part of their houses.

2d. If the yellow fever was brought from the West-Indies; why did it not find its way into some other port, when the opportunities for its transmission were so frequent and numerous?

That this disease has been imported, is the prevailing opinion of the public, and the unanimous one, I am informed, of the college of physicians. But as the nature of the case renders it next to impossible to have positive proof on the subject, and the evidence can be no more than circumstantial or presumptive, the question is involved in considerable difficulty. A malignant fever, or, as some say, the plague*, raged in several of the West-India islands some time before ours began its havoc. Of this the most unequivocal testimony has been

* *Extract from a London paper, of August 13.*

“ The plague, brought from Bulam, which first made its appearance at Grenada, has spread most alarmingly. Eighty persons died in one day at Grenada of this epidemic. The hurricane months just coming on, are not likely to make it less violent in its effects.”

“ [It appears by a subsequent paragraph in the same paper, that the disease was ascertained to be the yellow fever.]”

Extract from the Courier, a London paper, of August 24.

“ Before the fleet left Antigua, so great was the apprehension entertained there of the plague, that all vessels from Grenada, were obliged to perform quarantine; and all letters from the latter island, were smothered at the former. The infection was reported to have reached Dominica.”

Extract from the Observer, a London paper, of August 25.

“ The plague, we are distressed to hear, has made its appearance in several of our West India islands. At Grenada, and Dominica, the symptoms are said to be highly alarming.”

Extract from a Kingston paper of October 12.

“ The islands of Barbadoes and Dominica continue to be afflicted with a malignant fever; about 300 white inhabitants have perished in the former, and near 500 in the latter.”

been received in many parts of the united states, so as to cause the establishment of a quarantine. That our disorder has been introduced by vessels from some of these islands, is highly probable, although it is, from the nature of the case, difficult to fix upon the exact time of its introduction.

The best statement on this side of the question is by dr. Currie and dr. Cathrall, who, among other gentlemen, were commissioned by the college of physicians to investigate the subject. I shall give it to the reader in their own words.

“ It appears from the entries made in major Hodgdon’s and mr. Vanuxem’s books, that the sloop *Amelia*, W. Williams, master, came to mr. Vanuxem’s wharf, directly back of his stores and those of mr. Lemaigre, between Mulberry and Sassafras streets, on the 23d of July, 1793, and immediately began to discharge her cargo, consisting entirely of coffee in bags, the lower tier of which, from the leaky condition of the vessel, was entirely under water, and found to be very rotten: and when thrown upon the wharf, occasioned a most intolerable stench for several days. This vessel brought several passengers from the cape, all of whom, as well as the crew, (which consisted of the captain, a white boy and three negro men) were apparently well on her arrival; but every one of the crew were taken sick while she lay at the wharf, were attended on board by the surgeon of the *Argonaut* frigate, and all got well. The captain was indisposed only two days. No information could be obtained respecting the passengers, as they dispersed themselves in different parts of the town.

“ A number of hides, imported from New Orleans, were also stored in dr. Foulke’s and another cellar on the west side of the street, about the same time.

“ The xebec privateer Sans Culottes, from Nantz, came to the same wharf where the Amelia lay, (after having rode at anchor in the stream for some days) on the 29th of July, with her prize, the Flora, of Glasgow; and removed to Kensington, to get repairs, on the 5th of August. The Sans Culottes was in a very foul condition; had taken several prizes on her way to this port, had several sick persons on board the prize ship Flora, at her arrival (as we are informed by mr. Lemaigre’s clerk) one of whom was visited by dr. Cathrall early in August, in company with dr. Caiton, surgeon of the Citizen Genet. This patient, who was a Frenchman, lay on the wharf along side mr. Ball’s store, bolstered up on spars, and had all the symptoms of a malignant fever. Dr. Caiton also informed dr. Cathrall, that there were other sick persons on board. Dr. Caiton died of the same disease a few days after.

“ John M’Kenzie, ship-joiner, who worked on board, asserts that when the Sans Culottes arrived at Kensington, she had all fresh hands: and mr. Vanuxem acknowledges, that she had dismissed part of her crew, and got others in their place.

“ A Danish ship, called the Henry, commanded by captain Swartz, from St. Thomas’s, lay at Race-street wharf, while the Amelia and Sans Culottes were moored at the one already mentioned. This ship removed to Kensington the 16th of August. Captain Swartz took sick two days after his arrival at Kensington, and two of the crew a few days afterwards. All three died with marked symptoms of the yellow fever, or the synochus of the West-Indies. The captain died the 10th day after the attack, and the other two at an earlier period of the disease.

“ The woman who kept the tavern where these

people died, took the disease some time after, and died also. From these people who died, and from a young woman of the name of Eccles, who left Mr. Vanuxem's with the disease, on the 21st of August, the disease appeared to have been introduced into Kensington; but from all the evidence we have been able to collect, the disease made its first appearance in Water-street, at Richard Denny's lodging house, who also kept an ordinary, frequented by a number of Frenchmen, who had lately arrived in some of the suspected vessels.

“ Mrs. Parkinson, who lodged at Mr. Denny's, took the disease on the 3d, and died on the 7th of August. Two French lads had taken lodgings at Denny's a few days before the death of Mrs. Parkinson, one of whom was soon after taken ill and died. Immediately after his death, Mr. Denny's daughter says the other one took lodgings higher up the street, and died soon after. Mr. and Mrs. Denny, and two of their next-door neighbours, also died of the same fever, about two weeks after the French lads. Both of Denny's daughters took the disease, and recovered. The youngest, who was under the care of Dr. Hodge, recovered after being dangerously ill.

“ For some time the disease was entirely confined to that part of Water-street where it commenced; and almost every case which occurred for the first two weeks could be traced to that source.

“ Among the first victims in that neighbourhood were Mrs. Lemaigre, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Berkhart.

“ Mr. Steinmetz's brig, commanded by Mr. Rush, which for some time was suspected of having introduced the contagion, did not arrive till the 5th of August, when the fever had made some progress.

“ From a comparative view of all the preceding

circumstances—from the contagious nature of the disease, and from the resemblance of its leading symptoms to those of the synochus occidentalis, or yellow fever of the West-Indies, there can be no doubt that the contagion, which gave rise to the disease here, was imported. And from its occurring in that particular part of Water street, in a few days after the Amelia, Sans Culottes and Flora arrived, there is the strongest presumption, a presumption amounting almost to a certainty, that it was introduced and communicated by some of the crew or passengers belonging to one or other of the said vessels.

“ That the fever originated from the rotten coffee, as has been suggested, is altogether chimerical : for though there are many instances on record of very malignant fevers being produced by the effluvia issuing from putrifying vegetable substances, in low, damp, unventilated situations, in sultry weather ; there is not one case to be found with the symptoms which characterise the disease under consideration, that can be fairly ascribed to that cause, nor any well-authenticated instance of a fever occasioned by damaged vegetables, when exposed to the open air, or, if occasioned, communicable from the sick to the sound.

“ That the dry and warm state of our atmosphere had no share in the generation of the disease, notwithstanding its supposed resemblance to the atmosphere within the tropics (which, by the by, is always salubrious there, during the prevalence of dry weather, which is generally the case during those months corresponding with our winter season) is reduced to a certainty, from the disease being at first confined to a few particular persons, and in that particular part of Water-street near to the suspected vessels ; from its being communicated from those

to others, and so on, in succession; from the prisoners in jail, where there were upwards of two hundred confined, the people in the poor-house, and the patients in the hospital, from whence intercourse with the sick was excluded, all escaping the disease; and from its not spreading in the country, and when it happened to be carried there, from its not being communicated to any person in the house where the sick person lay.

“ Dr. Lining, who has given a most accurate account of this disease, justly observes, that the yellow fever, as the disease is commonly called, does not take its origin from any particular constitution (or condition) of the weather, independent of *contagious miasmata*; as is evident from its having been epidemical in Charleston only four times within twenty-five years, viz. in the autumn of 1732, 39, 45, and 48, though neither of those seasons were either warmer, dryer, or more rainy, than several others which had preceded or intervened; and the last time of its appearing there, the weather was cooler than ordinary, owing to a long continuance of north-easterly winds. Besides the same reputable authority informs us, that each time the yellow fever appeared there, it could easily be traced to some person recently arrived from some of the West-India islands.

“ It appears also from the notes of dr. Redman of this city, that when the disease occurred here, A. D. 1762, it was introduced by a mariner, who arrived sick with it from the Havannah, and took lodgings near the New-market, on the hill, who communicated it to the family where he lodged, and from thence it spread to other parts of the city by contagion.

“ From the last mentioned circumstances, in conjunction with the preceding facts, which we have

faithfully stated, and the resemblance of the characteristic symptoms of the yellow fever of the West India islands, we are convinced that the disease was imported.

“ W^M. C U R R I E.

“ J. C A T H R A L L.”

Philadelphia, Nov. 18, 1793.

C H A P. III.—*Symptoms—a slight sketch of the mode of treatment.*

“ T H E symptoms which characterised the first stage of the fever, were, in the greatest number of cases, after a chilly fit of some duration, a quick, tense pulse—hot skin—pain in the head, back, and limbs—flushed countenance—inflamed eye, moist tongue—oppression and sense of foreness at the stomach, especially upon pressure—frequent sick qualms, and retchings to vomit, without discharging any thing, except the contents last taken into the stomach—costiveness, &c. And when stools were procured, the first generally showed a defect of bile, or an obstruction to its entrance into the intestines. But brisk purges generally altered this appearance.

“ These symptoms generally continued with more or less violence from one to three, four, or even five days; and then, gradually abating, left the patient free from every complaint, except general debility. On the febrile symptoms suddenly subsiding, they were immediately succeeded by a yellow tinge in the opaque cornea, or whites of the eyes—an increased oppression at the præcordia, a constant puking of every thing taken into the stomach, with much straining, accompanied with a hoarse hollow noise.

“ If these symptoms were not soon relieved, a

vomiting of matter resembling coffee grounds in colour and consistence, commonly called the black vomit, sometimes accompanied with, or succeeded by hæmorrhages from the nose, fauces, gums, and other parts of the body—a yellowish purple colour, and putrescent appearance of the whole body, hiccup, agitations, deep and distressed sighing, comatose delirium, and finally death. When the disease proved fatal, it was generally between the fifth and eighth days.

“ This was the most usual progress of this formidable disease, through its several stages. There were, however, very considerable variations in the symptoms, as well as in the duration of its different stages, according to the constitution and temperament of the patient, the state of the weather, the manner of treatment, &c.

“ In some cases, signs of putrescency appeared at the beginning, or before the end of the third day. In these, the black vomiting, which was generally a mortal symptom, and universal yellowness appeared early. In these cases, also, a low delirium, and great prostration of strength, were constant symptoms, and coma came on very speedily.

“ In some, the symptoms inclined more to the nervous than the inflammatory type. In these, the jaundice colour of the eye and skin, and the black vomiting, were more rare. But in the majority of cases, particularly after the nights became sensibly cooler, all the symptoms indicated violent irritation and inflammatory diathesis. In these cases, the skin was always dry, and the remissions very obscure.

“ The febrile symptoms, however, as has been already observed, either gave way on the third, fourth, or fifth day, and then the patient recovered; or they were soon after succeeded by a different, but much more dangerous train of symp-

toms, by debility, low pulse, cold skin, (which assumed a tawny colour, mixed with purple) black vomiting, hæmorrhages, hiccup, anxiety, restlessness, coma, &c. Many, who survived the eighth day, though apparently out of danger, died suddenly in consequence of an hæmorrhage*.”

This disorder having been new to nearly all our physicians, it is not surprising, although it has been exceedingly fatal, that there arose such a discordance of sentiment on the proper mode of treatment, and even with respect to its name. Dr. Rush has acknowledged, with a candour that does him honour, that in the commencement he so far mistook the nature of the disorder, that in his early essays, having depended on gentle purges of salts to purify the bowels of his patients, they all died. He then tried the mode of treatment adopted in the West Indies, viz. bark, wine, laudanum, and the cold bath, and failed in three cases out of four. Afterwards he had recourse to strong purges of calomel and jalop, and to bleeding, which he found attended with singular success.

The honour of the first essay of mercury in this disorder, is by many ascribed to dr. Hodge and dr. Carson, who are said to have employed it a week before dr. Rush. On this point I cannot decide. But whoever was the first to introduce it, one thing is certain, that its efficacy was great, and rescued many from death. I knew, however, some persons, who, I have every reason to believe, fell sacrifices to the great reputation this medicine acquired; for in some cases it was administered to persons of a previous lax habit, and brought on a speedy dissolution.

* For this account of the symptoms of the disorder I am indebted to the kindness of dr. Currie, from whose letter to dr. Senter, it is extracted.

I am credibly informed that the demand for purges of calomel and jalap, was so great, that some of the apothecaries could not mix up every dose in detail; but mixed a large quantity of each, in the ordered proportions; and afterwards divided it into doses; by which means, it sometimes happened that instead of 10 grains of calomel and 15 of jalap, the customary quantity, one patient had a double portion of calomel, and another of jalap. The fatal consequences of this may be easily seen.

An intelligent citizen who has highly distinguished himself by his attention to the sick, says, that he found the disorder generally come on with costiveness; and unless that was removed within the first twelve hours, he hardly knew any person to recover; on the contrary, as few died, on whom the cathartics operated within that time.

The efficacy of bleeding in all cases not attended with putridity, was great. The quantity of blood taken was in many cases astonishing. Dr. Griffiths was bled seven times in five days, and ascribes his recovery principally to that operation. Dr. Mease, in five days, lost seventy-two ounces of blood, by which he was recovered when at the lowest stage of the disorder. Many others were bled still more, and are now as well as ever they were.

Dr. Rush and Dr. Wistar have spoken very favourably of the salutary effects of cold air, and cool drinks, in this disorder. The latter says that he found more benefit from cold air, than from any other remedy. He lay delirious, and in severe pain, between a window and door, the former of which was open. The wind suddenly changed, and blew full upon him cold and raw. Its effects were so grateful that he soon recovered from his delirium—his pain left him—in an hour he became perfectly reasonable—and his fever abated.

A respectable citizen who had the fever himself, and likewise watched its effects on eleven of his family, who recovered from it, has informed me, that a removal of the sick from a close, warm room to one a few degrees cooler, which practice he employed several times daily, produced a most extraordinary and favourable change in their appearance, in their pulse, and in their spirits.

C H A P. IV.—*First alarm in Philadelphia. Flight of the citizens. Guardians of the poor borne down with labour.*

FROM whatever quarter the disorder came, it was some time before it attracted public notice. It had in the mean while swept off many persons. The first death that was a subject of general conversation, was that of Peter Aston, on the 19th of August, after a few days illness. Mrs. Lemaigre's, on the day following, and Thomas Miller's, on the 25th, with those of some others, after a short sickness, spread a universal terror.

The removals from Philadelphia began about the 25th or 26th of this month; and so much terrified were the public, that for some weeks, almost every hour in the day, carts, waggons, coachees, and chairs, were to be seen transporting families and furniture to the country in every direction. Many people shut up their houses wholly; others left servants to take care of them. Business then became extremely dull. Mechanics and artists were unemployed; and the streets wore the appearance of gloom and melancholy.

The first official notice taken of the disorder, was on the 22d of August, on which day, the mayor of Philadelphia, Matthew Clarkson, esq. wrote to the city commissioners, and after ac-

quainting them with the state of the city, gave them the most peremptory orders, to have the streets properly cleansed and purified by the scavengers, and all the filth immediately hawled away. These orders were repeated on the 27th, and similar ones given to the clerks of the market.

The 26th of the same month, the college of physicians had a meeting, at which they took into consideration the nature of the disorder, and the means of prevention and of cure. They published an address to the citizens, signed by the president and secretary, recommending to avoid all unnecessary intercourse with the infected; to place marks on the doors or windows where they were; to pay great attention to cleanliness and airing the rooms of the sick; to provide a large and airy hospital in the neighbourhood of the city for their reception; to put a stop to the tolling of the bells; to bury those who died of the disorder in carriages and as privately as possible; to keep the streets and wharves clean; to avoid all fatigue of body and mind, and standing or sitting in the sun, or in the open air; to accommodate the dress to the weather, and to exceed rather in warm than in cool clothing; and to avoid intemperance, but to use fermented liquors, such as wine, beer and cider, with moderation. They likewise declared their opinion, that fires in the streets were very dangerous, if not ineffectual means of stopping the progress of the fever, and that they placed more dependence on the burning of gunpowder. The benefits of vinegar and camphor, they added, were confined chiefly to infected rooms; and they could not be too often used on handkerchiefs, or in smelling bottles, by persons who attended the sick.

In consequence of this address, the bells were immediately stopped from tolling. This was a very expedient measure; as they had before been kept pretty constantly going the whole day, so as to terrify those in health, and drive the sick, as far as the influence of imagination could produce that effect, to their graves. An idea had gone abroad, that the burning of fires in the streets, would have a tendency to purify the air, and arrest the progress of the disorder. The people had, therefore, almost every night large fires lighted at the corners of the streets. The 29th, the mayor, conformably with the opinion of the college of physicians, published a proclamation, forbidding this practice. As a substitute, many had recourse to the firing of guns, which they imagined was a certain preventative of the disorder. This was carried so far, and attended with such danger, that it was forbidden by an ordinance of the mayor.

The 29th, the governor of the state wrote a letter to the mayor, strongly enforcing the necessity of the most vigorous and decisive exertions "to prevent the extension and to destroy the evil." He desired that the various directions given by the college of physicians, should be carried into effect. The same day, in his address to the legislature, he acquainted them, that a contagious disorder existed in the city; and that he had taken every proper measure to ascertain the origin, nature, and extent of it. He likewise assured them that the health officer and physician of the port, would take every precaution to allay and remove the public inquietude.

The number of the infected daily increasing, and the existence of an order against the admission of persons labouring under infectious diseases into

the alms house, precluding them from a refuge there*, some temporary place was requisite; and three of the guardians of the poor, about the 26th of August, took possession of the circus, in which Mr. Ricketts had lately exhibited his equestrian feats, being the only place that could be procured for the purpose. Thither they sent seven persons afflicted with the malignant fever, where they lay in the open air for some time, and without proper assistance†. Of these, one crawled out on the commons, where he died at a distance from any house. Two died in the circus, one of whom was seasonably removed; the other lay in a state of putrefaction for above forty eight hours, owing to the difficulty of procuring any person to remove him. On this occasion occurred an instance of courage in a servant girl, of which at that time few men were capable. The carter, who finally undertook to remove the corpse, having no assistant, and being unable alone to put it into the coffin, was on the point of relinquishing his design, and quitting the place. The girl perceived him, and understanding the difficulty he laboured under, offered her services, provided he would not inform the family with whom she lived. She accordingly helped him to put the body into the coffin, which was by that time crawling with maggots, and in the most loathsome state of putrefaction. It gives me pleasure to add, that she still lives, notwithstanding her very hazardous exploit.

* At this period, the number of paupers in the alms house was between three and four hundred; and the managers, apprehensive of spreading the disorder among them, enforced the abovementioned order, which had been entered into a long time before. They, however, supplied beds and bedding, and all the money in their treasury, for their relief, out of that house.

† High wages were offered for nurses for these poor people—but none could be procured.

The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the circus took the alarm, and threatened to burn or destroy it, unless the sick were removed; and it is believed they would have actually carried their threats into execution, had a compliance been delayed a day longer.

The 29th, seven of the guardians of the poor had a conference with some of the city magistrates on the subject of the fever, at which it was agreed to be indispensably necessary that a suitable house, as an hospital, should be provided near the city for the reception of the infected poor.

In consequence, in the evening, the guardians of the poor agreed to sundry resolutions, viz. to use their utmost exertions to procure such a house out of town, and as near thereto, as might be practicable, consistent with the safety of the inhabitants, for the poor who were or might be afflicted with contagious disorders, and be destitute of the means of providing necessary assistance otherwise; to engage physicians, nurses, attendants, and all necessaries for their relief in that house; to appoint proper persons in each district, to enquire after such poor as might be afflicted; to administer assistance to them in their own houses, and, if necessary, to remove them to the hospital. They reserved to themselves, at the same time, the liberty of drawing on the mayor for such sums as might be necessary to carry their plan into effect.

Conformably to these resolves, a committee of their body was appointed to make enquiry for a suitable place; and after strict examination, they judged that a building adjacent to Bushhill, the mansion house of William Hamilton, esq. was the best calculated for the purpose. That gentleman was then absent, and had no agent in the city;

and the great urgency of the case admitting no delay, eight of the guardians, accompanied by Hilary Baker, esq. one of the city aldermen, with the concurrence of the governor, proceeded, on the 31st of August, to the building they had fixed upon; and meeting with some opposition from a tenant who occupied it, they took possession of the mansion house itself, to which, on the same evening, they sent the four patients who remained at the circus.

Shortly after this, the guardians of the poor for the city, except James Wilson, Jacob Tomkins, jun. and William Sansom, ceased the performance of their duties, nearly the whole of them having removed out of the city. Before this virtual vacation of office, they passed a resolve against the admission of any paupers whatever into the alms-house during the prevalence of the disorder. The cause of entering into this order, was, that some paupers, who had been admitted previous thereto, with a certificate from the physicians, of their being free from the infection, had nevertheless died of it. The whole care of the poor of the city, the providing for Bush-hill, sending the sick there, and burying the dead, devolved, therefore, on the above three guardians. It must give the reader great concern to hear, that two of them, James Wilson, and Jacob Tomkins, excellent and indefatigable young men, whose services were at that time of very great importance, fell sacrifices in the cause of humanity. The other, William Sansom, was likewise, in the execution of his dangerous office, seized with the disorder, and on the brink of the grave, but was so fortunate as to recover.

CHAP. V. *General despondency. Deplorable scenes. Frightful view of human nature. A noble and exhilarating contrast.*

THE consternation of the people of Philadelphia at this period was carried beyond all bounds. Dismay and affright were visible in almost every person's countenance. Most people who could by any means make it convenient, fled from the city. Of those who remained, many shut themselves up in their houses, and were afraid to walk the streets. The smoke of tobacco being regarded as a preventative, many persons, even women and small boys, had segars constantly in their mouths. Others placing full confidence in garlic, chewed it almost the whole day ; some kept it in their shoes. Many were afraid to allow the barbers or hair-dressers to come near them, as instances had occurred of some of them having shaved the dead—and many of them had engaged as bleeders. Some who carried their caution pretty far, bought lancets for themselves, not daring to be bled with the lancets of the bleeders. Some houses were hardly a moment in the day free from the smell of gunpowder, burned tobacco, nitre, sprinkled vinegar, &c. Many of the churches were almost deserted, and some wholly closed. The coffee house was shut up, as was the city library, and most of the public offices—three out of the four daily papers were dropped*, as were some of the other papers.—

* It would be improper to pass over this opportunity of mentioning, that the federal gazette, printed by Andrew Brown, was uninterruptedly continued, and with the usual industry, during the whole calamity, and was of the utmost service, in conveying to the citizens of the united states authentic intelligence of the state of the disorder, and of the city generally.

Many were almost incessantly purifying, scouring, and whitewashing their rooms. Those who ventured abroad, had handkerchiefs or sponges impregnated with vinegar or camphor at their noses, or else smelling bottles with the thieves' vinegar. Others carried pieces of tarred rope in their hands or pockets, or camphor bags tied round their necks. The corpses of the most respectable citizens, even of those who did not die of the epidemic, were carried to the grave, on the shafts of a chair, the horse driven by a negro, unattended by a friend or relation, and without any sort of ceremony. People hastily shifted their course at the sight of a hearse coming towards them. Many never walked on the foot path, but went into the middle of the streets, to avoid being infected in passing by houses wherein people had died. Acquaintances and friends avoided each other in the streets, and only signified their regard by a cold nod. The old custom of shaking hands fell into such general disuse, that many were affronted at even the offer of the hand. A person with a crape, or any appearance of mourning, was shunned like a viper. And many valued themselves highly on the skill and address with which they got to windward of every person they met. Indeed it is not probable that London, at the last stage of the plague, exhibited stronger marks of terror, than were to be seen in Philadelphia, from the 25th or 26th of August till pretty late in September. When people summoned up resolution to walk abroad, and take the air, the sick cart conveying patients to the hospital, or the hearse carrying the dead to the grave, which were travelling almost the whole day, soon damped their spirits, and plunged them again into despondency.

While affairs were in this deplorable state, and

people at the lowest ebb of despair, we cannot be astonished at the frightful scenes that were acted, which seemed to indicate a total dissolution of the bonds of society in the nearest and dearest connexions. Who, without horror, can reflect on a husband, married perhaps for twenty years, deserting his wife in the last agony—a wife unfeelingly abandoning her husband on his death bed—parents forsaking their only children—children ungratefully flying from their parents, and resigning them to chance, often without an enquiry after their health or safety—masters hurrying off their faithful servants to Bushhill, even on suspicion of the fever, and that at a time, when, like Tartarus, it was open to every visitant, but never returned any—servants abandoning tender and humane masters, who only wanted a little care to restore them to health and usefulness—who, I say, can even now think of these things without horror? Yet they were daily exhibited in every quarter of our city; and such was the force of habit, that the parties who were guilty of this cruelty, felt no remorse themselves—nor met with the execration from their fellow-citizens, which such conduct would have excited at any other period. Indeed, at this awful crisis, so much did *self* appear to engross the whole attention of many, that less concern was felt for the loss of a parent, a husband, a wife, or an only child, than, on other occasions, would have been caused by the death of a servant, or even of a favourite lap dog.

This kind of conduct produced scenes of distress and misery, of which few parallels are to be met with, and which nothing could palliate, but the extraordinary public panic, and the great law of self preservation, the dominion of which extends over the whole animated world. Many men of affluent fortunes, who have given daily employ-

ment and sustenance to hundreds, have been abandoned to the care of a negro, after their wives, children, friends, clerks, and servants, had fled away, and left them to their fate. In many cases, no money could procure proper attendance. With the poor, the case was, as might be expected, infinitely worse than with the rich. Many of these have perished, without a human being to hand them a drink of water, to administer medicines, or to perform any charitable office for them. Various instances have occurred, of dead bodies found lying in the streets, of persons who had no house or habitation, and could procure no shelter.

A man and his wife, once in affluent circumstances, were found lying dead in bed, and between them was their child, a little infant, who was sucking its mother's breasts. How long they had lain thus, was uncertain.

A woman, whose husband had just died of the fever, was seized with the pains of labour, and had nobody to assist her, as the women in the neighbourhood were afraid to go into the house. She lay for a considerable time in a degree of anguish that will not bear description. At length, she struggled to reach the window, and cried out for assistance. Two men, passing by, went up stairs; but they came at too late a stage.—She was striving with death—and actually in a few minutes expired in their arms.

Another woman, whose husband and two children lay dead in the room with her, was in the same situation as the former, without a midwife, or any other person to aid her. Her cries at the window brought up one of the carters employed by the committee for the relief of the sick. With his assistance, she was delivered of a child, which died in a few minutes, as did the mother, who was ut-

terly exhausted by her labour, by the disorder, and by the dreadful spectacle before her. And thus lay in one room, no less than five dead bodies, an entire family, carried off in an hour or two. Many instances have occurred, of respectable women, who, in their lying-in, have been obliged to depend on their maid servants, for assistance—and some have had none but from their husbands. Some of the midwives were dead—and others had left the city.

A servant girl, belonging to a family in this city, in which the fever had prevailed, was apprehensive of danger, and resolved to remove to a relation's house, in the country. She was, however, taken sick on the road, and returned to town, where she could find no person to receive her. One of the guardians of the poor provided a cart, and took her to the alms house, into which she was refused admittance. She was brought back, and the guardian offered five dollars to procure her a single night's lodging, but in vain. And in fine, after every effort made to provide her shelter, she absolutely expired in the cart.

To relate all the frightful cases of this nature that occurred, would fill a volume. Let these few suffice. But I must observe, that most of them happened in the first stage of the public panic. Afterwards, when the citizens recovered a little from their fright, they became much less frequent.

These horrid circumstances having a tendency to throw a shade over the human character, it is proper to reflect a little light on the subject, wherever justice and truth will permit. Amidst the general abandonment of the sick that prevailed, there were to be found many illustrious instances of men and women, some in the middle, others in the lower spheres of life, who, in the exercise of the duties of humanity, exposed themselves to dangers, which

terrified men, who have hundreds of times faced death without fear, in the field of battle. Some of them, alas! have fallen in the good cause! But why should they be regretted! never could they have fallen more gloriously. Foremost in this noble groupe stands Joseph Inskip, a most excellent man in every of the social relations, of citizen, brother, husband, and friend—To the sick and the forsaken, whether he was acquainted with them or not, has he devoted his hours, to relieve and comfort them in their tribulation. Numerous are the instances of men restored, by his kind cares and attention, to their families from the very jaws of death.—In various cases has he been obliged to put dead bodies into coffins, when no other person could be had to perform that office. The merit of Andrew Adgate, Joab Jones, and Daniel Offley, in the same way, was conspicuous, and of the last importance to numbers of distressed creatures, bereft of every other comfort. Of those worthy men, Wilson and Tomkins, I have already spoken. The rev. mr. Fleming and the rev. mr. Winkhaufe, exhausted themselves by a succession of labours, day and night, attending on the sick, and ministering relief to their spiritual and temporal wants.

Of those who have happily survived their dangers, and are preserved to their fellow citizens, I shall mention a few. They enjoy the supreme reward of a self-approving conscience; and I readily believe, that in the most secret recesses, remote from the public eye, they would have done the same. But next to the sense of having done well, is the approbation of our friends and fellow men; and when the debt is great, and the only payment that can be made is applause, it is surely the worst species of avarice, to withhold it. We are always ready, too ready, to bestow censure—and, as if anxious lest

we should not give enough, we generally heap the measure. When we are so solicitous to deter by reproach from folly, vice, and crime, why not be equally disposed to stimulate to virtue and heroism, by freely bestowing the well-earned plaudit? Could I suppose, that in any future equally-dangerous emergency, the opportunity I have seized of bearing my feeble testimony in favour of these worthy persons, would be a means of exciting others to emulate their heroic virtue, it would afford me the highest consolation I have ever experienced.

The rev. Henry Helmuth's merits are of the most exalted kind. His whole time, during the prevalence of the disorder, was spent in the performance of the works of mercy, visiting and relieving the sick, comforting the afflicted, and feeding the hungry. Of his congregation, some hundreds have paid the last debt to nature, since the malignant fever began; and, I believe, he attended nearly the whole of them. To so many dangers was he exposed, that he stands a living miracle of preservation. The rev. C. V. Keating and the rev. Mr. Ustick have been in the same career, and performed their duties to the sick with equal fidelity, and with equal danger. The venerable old citizen, Samuel Robeson, has been like a good angel, indefatigably performing, in families where there was not one person able to help another, even the menial offices of the kitchen, in every part of his neighbourhood. Thomas Allibone, Lambert Wilmer, John Barker, Hannah Paine, John Hutchinson, and great numbers of others, have distinguished themselves by the kindest offices of disinterested humanity. Magnus Miller, Samuel Coates, and other good citizens, in that time of pinching distress and difficulty, advanced sums of money to individuals whose resources were cut off, and who, though accustomed to a life of independen-

dence, were absolutely destitute of the means of subsistence. And a worthy widow, whose name I am grieved I cannot mention, came to the city-hall, and out of her means, which are very moderate, offered the committee twenty dollars for the relief of the poor. John Connelly has spent hours beside the sick, when their own wives and children had abandoned them. Twice did he catch the disorder—twice was he on the brink of the grave, which was yawning to receive him—yet, unappalled by the imminent danger he had escaped, he again returned to the charge. I feel myself affected at this part of my subject, with emotions, which I fear my unanimated stile is ill calculated to transfuse into the breast of my reader. I wish him to dwell on this part of the picture, with a degree of exquisite pleasure equal to what I feel in the description. When we view man in this light, we lose sight of his feebleness, his imperfection, his vice—he resembles, in a small degree, that divine being, who is an inexhaustible mine of mercy and goodness. And, as a human being, I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot, to be a witness and recorder of a magnanimity which would alone be sufficient to rescue the character of mortals from obloquy and reproach.

C H A P. VI. *Distress increases. Benevolent citizens invited to assist the guardians of the poor. Ten volunteers. Appointment of the committee for relief of the sick. State of Philadelphia.*

IN the mean time, the situation of affairs became daily more and more serious. Those of the guardians of the poor, who continued to act, were quite oppressed with the labours of their office, which increased to such a degree, that they were utterly unable to execute them. The diseased

persons became daily more numerous. Owing to the general terror, nurses, carters, and attendants could hardly be procured. Thus circumstanced, the mayor of the city, on the 10th of September, published an address to the citizens, announcing that the guardians of the poor, who remained, were in distress for want of assistance, and inviting such benevolent citizens as felt for the general distress, to lend their aid. In consequence of this advertisement, a meeting of the citizens was held at the city-hall, on Thursday, the 12th of September, at which very few attended, from the universal consternation that prevailed. The state of the poor was fully considered; and ten citizens, Israel Israel, Samuel Wetherill, Thomas Wistar, Andrew Adgate, Caleb Lownes, Henry Deforest, Thomas Peters, Joseph Inskeep, Stephen Girard, and John Mason, offered themselves to assist the guardians of the poor. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to confer with the physicians who had the care of Bush-hill, and make report of the state of that hospital. This committee reported next evening, that it was in very bad order, and in want of almost every thing.

On Saturday, the 14th, another meeting was held, when the alarming state of affairs being fully considered, it was resolved to borrow 1500 dollars of the bank of North America, for the purpose of procuring suitable accommodations for the use of persons afflicted with the prevailing malignant fever. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to transact the whole of the business relative to the relief of the sick, and the procuring of physicians, nurses, attendants, &c. This is the committee, which, by virtue of that appointment, has, from that day to the present time, watched over the sick, the poor, the widow, and the or-

phan. It is worthy of remark, and may encourage others in times of public calamity, that this committee consisted originally of only twenty-six persons, men mostly taken from the middle walks of life; of these, four, Andrew Adgate, Jonathan Dickinson Sargeant, Daniel Offley, and Joseph In-keep, died, the two first at an early period of their labours—and four never attended to the appointment. “The heat and burden of the day” have therefore been borne by eighteen persons, whose exertions have been so highly favoured by providence, that they have been the instruments of averting the progress of destruction, eminently relieving the distressed, and restoring confidence to the terrified inhabitants of Philadelphia. It is honourable to this committee, that they have conducted their business with more harmony than is generally to be met with in public bodies of equal number.

Never, perhaps, was there a city in the situation of Philadelphia at this period. The president of the united states, according to his annual custom, had removed to Mount Vernon with his household. Most, if not all of the other officers of the federal government were absent. The governor, who had been sick, had gone, by directions of his physician, to his country seat near the falls of Schuylkill—and nearly the whole of the officers of the state had likewise retired.—The magistrates of the city, except the mayor, and John Barclay, esq. were away, as were most of those of the liberties. Of the situation of the guardians of the poor I have already made mention. In fact, government of every kind was almost wholly vacated, and seemed, by tacit, but universal consent, to be vested in the committee.

CHAP. VII. *Magnanimous offer. Wretched State of Bush-hill. Order introduced there.*

AT the meeting on the 15th, a circumstance to which the most glowing pencil could hardly do justice. Stephen Girard, a wealthy merchant, a native of France, and one of the members of the committee, touched with the wretched situation of the sufferers at Bush-hill, voluntarily and unexpectedly offered himself as a manager to superintend that hospital. The surprise and satisfaction, excited by this extraordinary effort of humanity, can be better conceived than expressed. Peter Helm, a native of Pennsylvania, also a member, actuated by the like benevolent motives, offered his services in the same department. Their offers were accepted; and the same afternoon they entered on the execution of their dangerous and praiseworthy office.

To form a just estimate of the value of the offer of these men, it is necessary to take into full consideration the general consternation, which at that period pervaded every quarter of the city, and which made attendance on the sick be regarded as little less than a certain sacrifice. Uninfluenced by any reflexions of this kind, without any possible inducement but the purest motives of humanity, they came forward, and offered themselves as the forlorn hope of the committee. I trust that the gratitude of their fellow citizens will remain as long as the memory of their beneficent conduct, which I hope will not die with the present generation.

On the 16th, the managers of Bush-hill, after personal inspection of the state of affairs there, made report of its situation, which was truly deplorable. It exhibited as wretched a picture of human misery as ever existed. A profligate, aban-

done set of nurses and attendants (hardly any of good character could at that time be procured,) rioted on the provisions and comforts, prepared for the sick, who (unless at the hours when the doctors attended) were left almost entirely destitute of every assistance. The dying and dead were indiscriminately mingled together. The ordure and other evacuations of the sick, were allowed to remain in the most offensive state imaginable. Not the smallest appearance of order or regularity existed. It was, in fact, a great human slaughter house, where numerous victims were immolated at the altar of riot and intemperance. No wonder, then, that a general dread of the place prevailed through the city, and that a removal to it was considered as the seal of death. In consequence, there were various instances of sick persons locking their rooms, and resisting every attempt to carry them away. At length, the poor were so much afraid of being sent to Bushhill, that they would not acknowledge their illness, until it was no longer possible to conceal it. For it is to be observed, that the fear of the contagion was so prevalent, that as soon as any one was taken ill, an alarm was spread among the neighbours, and every effort was used to have the sick person hurried off to Bushhill, to avoid spreading the disorder. The cases of poor people forced in this way to that hospital, though labouring under only common colds, and common fall fevers, were numerous and afflicting. There were not wanting instances of persons, only slightly ill, being sent to Bushhill, by their panic-struck neighbours, and embracing the first opportunity of running back to Philadelphia.

The regulations adopted at Bushhill, were as follow :

One of the rooms in the mansion house (which contains fourteen, besides three large entries) was allotted to the matron, and an assistant under her—eleven rooms and two entries to the sick. Those who were in a very low state, were in one room—and one was appointed for the dying. The men and women were kept in distinct rooms, and attended by nurses of their own sexes. Every sick person was furnished with a bedstead, clean sheet, pillow, two or three blankets, porringer, plate, spoon, and clean linen, when necessary. In the mansion house were one hundred and forty bedsteads. The new frame house, built by the committee, when it was found that the old buildings were inadequate to contain the patients commodiously, is sixty feet front, and eighteen feet deep, with three rooms on the ground floor; one of which was for the head nurses of that house, the two others for the sick. Each of these two last contained seventeen bedsteads. The last, designed for the convalescents, was calculated to contain forty,

The barn is a large, commodious stone building, divided into three apartments; one occupied by the resident doctors and apothecary; one, which contained forty bedsteads, by the men convalescents—and the other by the women convalescents, which contained fifty-seven.

At some distance from the west of the hospital, was erected a frame building to store the coffins, and deposit the dead until they were sent to a place of interment.

Besides the nurses employed in the house, there were two cooks, four labourers, and three washer-women, constantly employed for the use of the hospital.

The sick were visited twice a day by two physicians, dr. Deveze and dr. Benjamin Duf-

field *, whose prescriptions were executed by three resident physicians and the apothecary.

One of the resident doctors was charged with the distribution of the victuals for the sick. At eleven o'clock, he gave them broth with rice, bread, boiled beef, veal, mutton, and chicken, with cream of rice to those whose stomachs would not bear stronger nourishment. Their second meal was at six o'clock, when they had broth, rice, boiled prunes, with cream of rice. The sick drank at their meals porter, or claret and water. Their constant drink between meals was centaury tea, and boiled lemonade.

These regulations, the order and regularity introduced, and the care and tenderness with which the managers not only treated the patients, but obliged the nurses and attendants to observe, soon established the character of the hospital; and in the course of a week or two, numbers of sick people, who had not at home proper persons to nurse them, applied to be sent to Bushhill. Indeed, in the end, so many people, who were afflicted with other disorders, procured admittance there, that it became necessary to pass a resolve, that before an order of admission should be granted, a certificate must be produced from a physician, that the patient laboured under the malignant fever; for had all the applicants been received, this hospital, fitted up

* Very soon after the organization of the committee, dr. Deveze, a respectable French physician from Cape Francois, offered his services in the line of his profession at Bush-hill. Dr. Benjamin Duffield did the same. Their offers were accepted, and they have both attended with great punctuality. Dr. Deveze renounced all other practice, which, at that period, would have been very lucrative, when there was such general demand for physicians. The committee, in consideration of the services of these two gentlemen, have lately presented dr. Duffield with five hundred, and dr. Deveze with fifteen hundred dollars.

for an extraordinary occasion, would have been filled with patients whose cases entitled them to a reception in the Pennsylvania hospital.

The number of persons received into Bush-hill, from the 16th of September to this time, is about one thousand; of whom nearly five hundred are dead; there are now in the house about twenty sick, and fifty convalescents. Of the latter class, there have been dismissed about four hundred and thirty.

The reason why so large a proportion died of those received, is, that in a variety of cases, the early fears of that hospital had got such firm possession of the minds of some, and others were so much actuated by a foolish pride, that they would never consent to be removed till they were past recovery. And in consequence of this, there were many instances of persons dying in the cart on the road to the hospital. I speak within bounds, when I say that at least a third of the whole number of those received, did not survive their entrance into the hospital two days. But for the operation of these two motives, the number of the dead in the city and in the hospital would have been much lessened; for many a man, whose nice feelings made him spurn at the idea of a removal to the hospital, perished in the city for want of that comfortable assistance he would have had at Bush-hill.

Before I conclude this chapter, let me add, that the perseverance of the managers of that hospital has been equally meritorious with their original beneficence. During the whole calamity to this time, they have attended uninterruptedly, for six, seven, or eight hours a day, renouncing almost every care of private affairs. They have had a laborious tour of duty to perform—to encourage and comfort the sick—to hand them necessaries and medicines—to wipe the sweat off their brows—and to

perform many disgusting offices of kindness for them, which nothing could render tolerable, but the exalted motives that impelled them to this heroic conduct.

CHAP. VIII. *Proceedings of the committee—Loan from the bank of North America. Establishment of an orphan house. Relief of the poor. Appointment of the assistant committee.*

THE committee, on its organization, resolved that three of the members should attend daily at the city hall, to receive applications for relief; to provide for the burial of the dead, and for the conveyance of persons labouring under the malignant fever, to Bush-hill. But three being found inadequate to the execution of the multifarious and laborious duties to be performed, this order was rescinded, and daily attendance was given by nearly all of the members.

A number of carts and carters were engaged for the burial of the dead, and removal of the sick. And it was a melancholy sight to behold them incessantly employed through the whole day, in these mournful offices.

The committee borrowed fifteen hundred dollars from the bank of North America, agreeably to the resolves of the town meeting by which they were appointed. Several of the members entered into security to repay that sum, in case the corporation or legislature should refuse to make provision for its discharge. This sum being soon expended, a farther loan of 5000 dollars was negotiated with the same institution*.

* It ought to be mentioned, that on the payment of these sums, the directors generously declined accepting interest for the use of them.

In the progress of the disorder, the committee found the calls on their humanity increase. The numerous deaths of heads of families left a very large body of children in a most abandoned, forlorn state. The bettering house, in which such helpless objects have been usually placed heretofore, was barred against them, by the order which I have already mentioned. Many of these little innocents were actually suffering for want of even common necessaries. The deaths of their parents and protectors, which should have been the strongest recommendation to public charity, was the very reason of their distress, and of their being shunned as a pestilence. The children of a family once in easy circumstances, were found in a blacksmith's shop, squalid, dirty, and half starved, having been for a considerable time without even bread to eat. Various instances of a similar nature occurred. This evil early caught the attention of the committee; and on the 19th of September, they hired a house in Fifth-street, in which they placed thirteen children. The number increasing, they on the 3d of October, procured the Loganian library, which was generously given up by John Swanwick, esq. for the purpose of an orphan house. A further increase of their little charge, rendered it necessary to build some additions to the library, which are now finished, and are nearly half as large as that building. At present, there are in the house, under the care of the orphan committee, about sixty children, and above forty are out with wet nurses. From the origin of the institution, one hundred and ninety children have fallen under their care, of whom sixteen are dead, and about seventy have been delivered to their relations or friends. There are instances of five and six children of a single family in the house.

To these precious deposits the utmost attention has been paid. They are well fed, comfortably clothed, and properly taken care of. Mary Parvin, a very suitable person for the purpose, has been engaged as matron; and there are, besides, sufficient persons employed to assist her. Various applications have been made for some of the children; but in no instance would the committee surrender any of them up, until they had satisfactory evidence that the claimants had a right to make the demand. Their relations are now publicly called upon to come and receive them. For such as may remain unclaimed, the best provision possible will be made; and so great is the avidity of many to have some of them, that there will be no difficulty in placing them to advantage.

Another duty soon attracted the attention of the committee. The flight of so many of our citizens, the consequent stagnation of business, and the almost total cessation of the labours of the guardians of the poor, brought on among the lower classes of the people, a great degree of distress, which loudly demanded the interposition of the humane. In consequence, on the 20th of September, a sub-committee of distribution, of three members, was appointed, to furnish such assistance to deserving objects as their respective cases might require, and the funds allow. This was at first administered to but few, owing to the confined state of the finances. But the very extraordinary liberality of our fugitive fellow citizens, of the citizens of New York, and of those of various towns and townships, encouraged the committee to extend their views. And they increased the distributing committee to eight, and afterwards to ten.

Being, in the execution of this important service, liable to imposition, they, on the 14th of October, appointed an assistant committee, composed of

forty-five citizens, chosen from the several districts of the city and liberties. The duty assigned this assistant committee, was to seek out and give recommendations to deserving objects in distress, who, on producing them, were relieved by the committee of distribution, (who sat daily at the City Hall, in rotation,) with money, provisions, or wood, or all three, according as their necessities required. The assistant committee executed this business with such care, that it is probable so great a number of people were never before relieved, with so little imposition. Some shameless creatures, possessed of houses, and comfortable means of support, have been detected in endeavouring to partake of the relief destined solely for the really indigent and distressed.

Besides those who came forward to ask assistance in the way of gift, there was another class, in equal distress, and equally entitled to relief, who could not descend to accept it as charity. The committee, disposed to foster this laudable principle, one of the best securities from debasement of character, relieved persons of this description with small loans weekly, just enough for immediate support, and took acknowledgements for the debt, without ever intending to urge payment, if not perfectly convenient to the parties.

The number of persons relieved weekly, was about twelve hundred; many of whom had families of four, five, and six persons.

The gradual revival of business has rescued those who are able and willing to work, from the humiliation of depending on public charity. And the organization of the overseers of the poor has thrown the support of the proper objects of charity into its old channel. The distribution of money, &c. ceased therefore on Saturday, the 23d of November.

CHAP. IX. *Repeated addresses of the committee on the purification of houses.—Assistant committee undertake to inspect infected houses personally. Extinction of the disorder. Governor's proclamation. Address of the clergy. A new and happy state of affairs.*

THE committee exerted its cares for the welfare of the citizens in every case in which its interference was at all proper or necessary. The declension of the disorder induced many persons to return to the city at an earlier period, than prudence dictated. On the 26th of October, therefore, the committee addressed their fellow citizens, congratulating them on the very flattering change that had taken place, which afforded a cheering prospect of being soon freed from the disorder entirely. They, however, recommended to those who were absent, not to return till the intervention of cold weather or rain* should render such a step justifiable and proper, by totally extinguishing the disease.

The 29th they published another address to the public, earnestly exhorting those whose houses had been closed, to have them well aired and purified; to throw lime into the privies, &c.

The 4th of November, they again addressed the public, announcing that it was unsafe for those who had resided in the country, to return to town with too much precipitation, especially into houses not properly prepared. They added, that though the disorder had considerably abated, and though there was reason to hope it would shortly disappear, yet they could not say it was totally eradicated; as there was reason to fear it still lurked in different parts of the city. They reiterated their representations on the subject of cleansing houses.

* I shall in some of the following pages attempt to prove, that the idca here held out, was erroneous

The 14th, they once more addressed their fellow citizens, informing them of the restoration to our long afflicted city, of as great a degree of health as usually prevails at the same season; of no new cases of the malignant fever having occurred for many days; of their having reason to hope that in a few days not a vestige of it would remain in the city or suburbs; of applications for admission into the hospital having ceased; of the expectation of the physicians at the hospital, that no more than three or four would die out of ninety one persons remaining there; of the number of convalescents increasing daily. They at the same time most earnestly recommended that houses in which the disorder had been, should be purified; and that the clothing or bedding of the sick, more especially of those who had died of the disorder, should be washed, baked, buried, or destroyed. They added, that the absent citizens of Philadelphia, as well as those who had business in the city, might safely come to it, without fear of the disorder.

Notwithstanding all these cautions, many persons returned from the country, without paying any attention to the cleansing of their houses, thereby sporting not only with their own lives, but with the safety of their fellow citizens. The neglect of some people, in this way, has been so flagrant, as to merit the severest punishment. This dangerous nuisance attracted the notice of the committee; and after a conference with the assistant committee, they, on the 15th of November, in conjunction with them, resolved, that it was highly expedient to have all houses and stores in the city and liberties, wherein the malignant fever had prevailed, purified and cleansed as speedily and completely as possible; to have all those well aired, which had been closed for any length of time; to have lime thrown into the

privies; to call in, when the district should be too large for the members to enforce compliance with those resolves, such assistants as might be necessary; and when any person, whose house required to be cleansed, and who was able to defray the expence thereof, should refuse or neglect to comply with the requisition of the members appointed to carry those resolves into effect, to report him to the next grand jury for the city and county, as supporting a nuisance dangerous to the public welfare. The assistant committee undertook to exert themselves to have these salutary plans put into execution; they have gone through the city and liberties for the purpose; and in most cases have found a readiness in the inhabitants to comply with a requisition of such importance.

This was the last act of the committee that requires notice. Their business has since gone on in a regular uniform train, every day like the past. They are now settling their accounts, and are preparing to surrender up their trust, into the hands of a town meeting of their fellow citizens, the constituents by whom they were called into the unprecedented office they have filled. To them they will give an account of their stewardship, in a time of distress, the like of which heaven avert from the people of America forever. Doubtless, a candid construction will be put upon their conduct, and it will be believed, that they have acted in every case that came under their cognizance, according to the best of their abilities.

On the 14th, governor Mifflin published a proclamation, announcing, that as it had pleased Almighty God to put an end to the grievous calamity which recently afflicted the city of Philadelphia, it was the duty of all who were truly sensible of the divine mercy, to employ the earliest moments of

returning health, in devout expressions of penitence, submission, and gratitude. He therefore appointed Thursday, the 12th of December, as a day of general humiliation, thanksgiving, and prayer, and earnestly exhorted and intreated his fellow citizens to abstain, on that day, from all worldly avocations, and to unite in confessing, with contrite hearts, their manifold sins and transgressions—in acknowledging, with thankful adoration, the mercy and goodness of the supreme ruler of the universe, more especially manifested in our late deliverance; and in praying, with solemn zeal, that the same mighty power would be graciously pleased to instil into our minds the just principles of our duty to him and to our fellow creatures; to regulate and guide all our actions by his holy spirit; to avert from all mankind the evils of war, pestilence, and famine; and to bless and protect us in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty.

The 18th, the clergy of the city published an elegant and pathetic address, recommending that the day appointed by the governor, should be set apart and kept holy to the Lord, not merely as a day of thanksgiving, for that, in all appearance, it had pleased him, of his infinite mercy, to stay the rage of the late malignant disorder, (when we had well nigh said, hath God forgot to be gracious?)—but also as a day of solemn humiliation and prayer, joined with the confession of our manifold sins, and of our neglect and abuse of his former mercies; together with sincere resolutions of future amendment and obedience to his holy will and laws; without which our prayers, praises, and thanksgivings will be in vain.

The 26th the assistant committee passed several very judicious and salutary resolves, requiring their members in their several districts through the city

and liberties, immediately to inspect the condition of all taverns, boarding houses, and other buildings in which the late contagious disorder is known to have been; to notify the owners or tenants to have them purified and cleansed; to report the names of such as should refuse compliance, and also make report of every house shut up, in which any person is known to have lately sickened or died. They cautioned the vendue masters not to sell, and the public not to buy any clothes or bedding belonging to persons lately deceased, until they know that the same has been sufficiently purified and aired.

I have not judged it necessary to enter into a minute detail of the business of the committee from day to day. It would afford little gratification to the reader. It would be, for several weeks, little more than a melancholy history of fifteen, twenty, thirty applications daily, for coffins and carts to bury the dead, who had none to perform that last office for them—or as many applications for the removal of the sick to Bush hill. There was little variety. The present day was as dreary as the past—and the prospect of the approaching one was equally gloomy. This was the state of things for a long time. But at length brighter prospects dawned. The disorder decreased in violence. The number of the sick diminished. New cases became rare. The spirits of the citizens revived—and the tide of migration was once more turned. A visible alteration has taken place in the state of affairs in the city. Our friends return in crowds. Every hour, long-absent and welcome faces appear—and in many instances, those of persons, whom public fame has buried for weeks past. The stores, so long closed, are nearly all opened again. Many of the country merchants, bolder than others, are

daily venturing in to their old place of supply. Market-street is as full of waggons as usual. The custom-house, for weeks nearly deserted by our mercantile people, is thronged with citizens entering their vessels and goods. The streets, too long the abode of gloom and despair, have assumed the bustle suited to the season. Our wharves are filled with vessels loading and unloading their respective cargoes. The arrival in the city of our beloved president and several of the members of congress, gives us a flattering prospect of their next session being held here. And, in fine, as every thing, in the early stage of the disorder, seemed calculated to add to the general consternation; so now, on the contrary, every circumstance has a tendency to revive the courage and hopes of our citizens. But we have to lament, that the same spirit of exaggeration and lying, that prevailed at a former period, and was the grand cause of the harsh measures adopted by our sister states, has not ceased to operate; for at the present moment, when the danger is entirely done away, the credulous, of our own citizens still absent, and of the country people, are still alarmed with frightful rumours, of the disorder raging with as much violence as ever; of numbers carried off, a few hours after their return; and of new cases daily occurring. To what design to attribute these shameful tales, I know not. Were I to regard them in a spirit of resentment, I should be inclined to charge them to some secret, interested views of their authors, intent, if possible, to effect the entire destruction of our city. But I will not allow myself to consider them in this point of light—and will even suppose they arise from a proneness to terrific narration, natural to some men. But they should consider, that we are in the situation of the frogs in the fable—while these tales, which make the hair

of the country people stand on end, are sport to the fabricators, they are death to us. And I here assert, and defy contradiction, that of the whole number of our fugitive citizens, who have already returned, amounting to some thousands, not above two persons are dead—and these owe their fate to the most shameful neglect of airing and cleansing their houses, notwithstanding the various cautions published by the committee. If people will venture into houses in which infected air has been pent up for weeks together, without any purification, we cannot be surprized at the consequences, however fatal they may be. But let not the catastrophe of a few incautious persons operate to bring discredit on a city containing above fifty thousand people.

CHAP. X. *Extravagant letters from Philadelphia. Credulity put to the test.*

THAT I might not interrupt the chain of events in Philadelphia, I have deferred, till now, giving an account of the proceedings in the several states respecting the disorder. As an introduction thereto, I shall prefix a short chapter respecting those letters, which excited the terror of our neighbours, and impelled them to more severe measures than they would otherwise have adopted.

Great as was the calamity of Philadelphia, it was magnified in the most extraordinary manner. The hundred tongues of rumour were never more successfully employed, than on this melancholy occasion. The terror of the inhabitants of all the neighbouring states was excited by letters from this city, distributed by every mail, many of which told tales of woe, whereof hardly a single circumstance was true, but which were every where received with implicit faith. The distresses of the city,

and the fatality of the disorder, were exaggerated as it were to see how far credulity could be carried. The plague of London was, according to rumour, hardly more fatal than our yellow fever. Our citizens died so fast, that there was hardly enough of people to bury them. Ten, or fifteen, *or more*, were said to be cast into one hole together, like so many dead beasts*. One man, whose feelings were so composed, as to be facetious on the subject, acquainted a correspondent, in New York, that the only business carrying on, was *grave digging*, or rather *pit digging*†. And at a time when the deaths did not exceed from forty to fifty daily, many men had the modesty to write, and others, throughout the conti-

* The following extract appeared in a Norfolk paper about the middle of September :

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, to a gentleman in Norfolk, Sept. 9.

“ Half the inhabitants of this city have already fled to
 “ different parts, on account of the pestilential disorder that
 “ prevails here. The few citizens who remained in this place,
 “ die in abundance, so fast that they drag them away, like dead
 “ beasts, and put ten, or fifteen, or more, in a hole together. All the
 “ stores are shut up. I am afraid this city will be ruined : for
 “ nobody will come near it hereafter. I am this day removing
 “ my family from this fatal place.” I am strongly inclined
 to imagine that this letter was the cause of the Virginia pro-
 clamations.

† From a New York paper of October 2.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia, dated September 23.

“ The papers must have amply informed you of the me-
 “ lancholy situation of this city for five or six weeks past.
 “ *Grave-digging* has been the only business carrying on ; and
 “ indeed I may say of late, *pit-digging*, where people are
 “ interred indiscriminately in three tiers of coffins. From
 “ the most accurate observations I can make upon matters, I
 “ think I speak within bounds, when I say, eighteen hun-
 “ dred persons have perished (I do not say all of the yellow
 “ fever) since its first appearance.”

ment, the credulity to believe, that we buried from one hundred to one hundred and fifty*. Thousands were swept off in three or four weeks†. And the nature and danger of the disorder, were as much misrepresented, as the number of the dead. It was said, in defiance of every day's experience, to be as inevitable by all exposed to the contagion, as the stroke of fate.

The credulity of some, the proneness to exaggeration of others, and I am sorry, extremely sorry to

* *From the Maryland Journal, of Sept. 27th.*

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated Sept. 20th.

“ The disorder seems to be much the same in this place, as when I last wrote you : about 1500 have fallen victims to it. Last Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, there were not less than 350 died with this severe disorder !!! As I informed you before, this is the most distressed place I ever beheld. Whole families go in the disorder, in the course of twelve hours. For your own sakes, use all possible means to keep it out of Baltimore.”

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, of the same date :

“ The malignant fever which prevails here, is still increasing. Report says, that above one hundred have been buried per day for some time past. It is now thought to be more infectious than ever. I think you ought to be very careful with respect to admitting persons from Philadelphia into your town.”

† *From a Chestertown paper, of Sept. 10.*

Extract of a letter from a respectable young mechanic, in Philadelphia, to his friend in this town, dated the 5th inst.

“ It is now a very mortal time in this city. The yellow fever hath killed some thousands of the inhabitants. Eight thousand mechanics, besides other people, have left the town. Every master in the city, of our branch of business, is gone.” The “some thousands” that were killed at that time, did not amount to three hundred. The authentic information in this letter, was circulated in every state in the union, by the news papers. From the date, I suspect this letter to have been the occasion of the Chestertown resolves.

believe, the interested views of a few*, will account for these letters.

CHAP. XI. *Proceedings at Chestertown—At New York—At Trenton and Lambertton—At Baltimore.*

THE effects produced by those tales, were such as might be reasonably expected. The consternation spread through the several states like wild-fire. The first public act that took place on the subject, as far as I can learn, was at Chestertown, in Maryland. At this place, a meeting was held on the 10th of September, and several resolves entered into, which, after specifying that the disorder had extended to Trenton, Princeton, Woodbridge, and Elizabeth-town, on the post road to New York, directed, that notice should be sent to the owners of the stages not to allow them to pass through the town, while there should be reason to expect danger therefrom; that a committee of health and inspection should be appointed, to provide for the relief of such poor inhabitants as might take the disorder, and likewise for such strangers as might be infected with it. In consequence of these resolves, the Eastern shore line of stages was stopt in the course of a few days afterwards.

The alarm in New York was first officially announced by a letter from the mayor to the practising physicians, dated Sept. 11, in which he

* As this charge is extremely pointed, it may be requisite to state the foundation of it, for the reader to form his opinion upon. Some of the letters from Philadelphia about this time, were written by persons, whose interest it was to injure the city; and gave statements so very different, even from the very worst rumours prevailing here, that it was morally impossible the writers themselves could have believed them.

requested them to report to him in writing the names of all such persons as had arrived, or should arrive from Philadelphia, or any other place, by land or water, and were or should be sick; that such as should be deemed subjects of infectious diseases, might be removed out of the city. He notified them, that the corporation had taken measures to provide a proper place for an hospital, for such persons as might unhappily become subjects of the fever in New York. In this letter the mayor declared his opinion clearly, that the intercourse with Philadelphia, could not be lawfully interrupted by any power in the state. The 12th appeared a proclamation from governor Clinton, which, referring to the "act to prevent the bringing in, and spreading of infectious disorders," prohibited, in the terms of that act, all vessels from Philadelphia, to approach nearer to the city of New York, than Bedlow's island, about two miles distant, till duly discharged. The silence of this proclamation, respecting passengers by land, seemed to imply that the governor's opinion on the subject, was the same as that of the mayor.

The same day, at a meeting of the citizens, the necessity of taking some precautions was unanimously agreed upon, and a committee of seven appointed to report a plan to a meeting to be held next day. Their report, which was unanimously agreed to, the 13th, recommended to hire two physicians, to assist the physician of the port in his examination of vessels; to check, as much as possible, the intercourse by stages; to acquaint the proprietors of the southern stages, that it was the earnest wish of the inhabitants, that their carriages and boats should not pass during the prevalence of the disorder in Philadelphia; and to request the practitioners of physic to report,

without fail, every case of fever, to which they might be called, occurring in any persons that had or might arrive from Philadelphia, or have intercourse with them. Not satisfied with these measures, the corporation, on the 17th, came to a resolution to stop all intercourse between the two cities; and for this purpose guards were placed at the different landings, with orders to send back every person coming from Philadelphia; and if any were discovered to have arrived after that date, they were to be directly sent back. All persons taking in lodgers, were called upon to give information of all people of the above description, under pain of being prosecuted according to law. All good citizens were required to give information to the mayor, or any member of the committee, of any breach in the premises.

These strict precautions being eluded by the fears and the vigilance of the fugitives from Philadelphia, on the 23d there was a meeting held, of delegates from the several wards of the city, in order to adopt more effectual measures. At this meeting, it was resolved to establish a night watch of not less than ten citizens in each ward, to guard against such as might escape them by day. Not yet eased of their fears, they next day published an address, in which they mentioned, that notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, many persons had been clandestinely landed upon the shores of New York island. They therefore again called upon their fellow citizens to be cautious how they received strangers into their houses; not to fail to report all such to the mayor immediately upon their arrival; to remember the importance of the occasion; and to consider what reply they should make to the just resentment of their fellow citizens, whose lives they might expose by a criminal neglect, or infidelity.

They likewise declared their expectation, that those who kept the different ferries on the shores of New Jersey and Staten island, would pay such attention to their address, as not to transport any person but to the public landings, and that in the day time, between sun and sun. The 30th they published a lengthy address, recapitulating the various precautions they had taken—the nature of the disorder—and the numbers who had died out of Philadelphia, without communicating it to any one. They at the same time resolved, that goods, bedding, and clothing, packed up in Philadelphia, should, previous to their being brought into New York, be unpacked and exposed to the open air in some well-ventilated place, for at least 48 hours ; that all linen or cotton clothes, or bedding, which had been used, should be well washed in several waters ; and afterwards, that the whole, both such as had been, and such as had not been used, should be hung up in a close room, and well smoked with the fumes of brimstone for one day, and after that again exposed for at least twenty four hours to the open air ; and that the boxes, trunks, or chests, in which they had been packed, should be cleaned and aired in the same manner ; after which, being repacked, and such evidence given of their purification, as the committee should require, permission might be had to bring them into the city.

The 11th of October, they likewise resolved, that they would consider and publish to the world, as enemies to the welfare of the city, and the lives of its inhabitants, all those who should be so selfish and hardy, as to attempt to introduce any goods, wares, merchandize, bedding, baggage, &c. imported from, or packed up in Philadelphia, contrary to the rules prescribed by that body, who

were, they said, deputed to express the will of their fellow citizens. They recommended to the inhabitants to withstand any temptation of profit, which might attend the purchase of goods in Philadelphia, as no emolument to an individual, they added, could warrant the hazard to which such conduct might expose the city. Besides all these resolves, they published daily statements of the health of the city, to allay the fears of their fellow citizens.

On the 14th of November, the committee resolved, that passengers coming from Philadelphia to New York, might be admitted, in future, together with their wearing apparel, without any restriction as to time, until further orders from the committee.

The 20th, they declared that they were happy to announce to their fellow citizens, that health was restored to Philadelphia; but that real danger was still to be apprehended from the bedding and clothing of those who had been ill of the malignant fever; and that they had received satisfactory information, that attempts had been made to ship on freight considerable quantities of beds and bedding from Philadelphia for their city. They therefore resolved that it was inexpedient, to admit the introduction of beds or bedding of any kind, or feathers in bags, or otherwise; also, second hand wearing apparel of every species, coming from places infected with the yellow fever; and that whoever should attempt so high-handed an offence, as to bring them in, and endanger the lives and health of the inhabitants, would justly merit their resentment and indignation.

The inhabitants of Trenton and Lambertton associated on the 13th of September, and on the 17th passed several resolutions to guard themselves

against the contagion. They resolved that a total stop should be put to the landing of all persons from Philadelphia, at any ferry or place from Lambertton to Howell's ferry, four miles above Trenton; that the intercourse by water should be prohibited between Lambertton, or the head of tide water, and Philadelphia; and that all boats from Philadelphia, should be prevented from landing either goods or passengers any where between Bordentown and the head of tide water; that no person whatever should be permitted to come from Philadelphia, or Kensington, while the fever continued; that all persons who should go from within the limits of the association, to either of those places, should be prevented from returning during the continuance of the fever; and finally, that their standing committee should enquire whether any persons, not inhabitants, who had lately come from places infected, and were therefore likely to be infected themselves, were within the limits of the association, and if so, that they should be obliged instantly to leave the said limits.

The 12th of September, the governor of Maryland published a proclamation, subjecting all vessels from Philadelphia to the performance of a quarantine, not exceeding forty days, or as much less as might be judged safe by the health officers. It further ordered, that all persons going to Baltimore, to Havre de Grace, to the head of Elk, or, by any other route, making their way into that state from Philadelphia, or any other place known to be infected with the malignant fever, should be subject to be examined, and prevented from proceeding, by persons to be appointed for that purpose, and who were to take the advice and opinion of the medical faculty in every case, in order that private affairs and pursuits might not be

unnecessarily impeded. This proclamation appointed two health officers for Baltimore.

The people of Baltimore met the 13th of September, and resolved that none of their citizens should receive into their houses any persons coming from Philadelphia, or other infected place, without producing a certificate from the health officer, or officer of patrol; and that any person who violated that resolve, should be held up to public view, as a proper object for the resentment of the town. The 14th, a party of militia was dispatched to take possession of a pass on the Philadelphia road, about two miles from Baltimore, to prevent the entrance of any passengers from Philadelphia without license. Dr. Worthington, the health officer stationed at this pass, was directed to refuse permission to persons afflicted with any malignant complaint, or who had not been absent from Philadelphia, or other infected place, at least seven days. The western shore line of Philadelphia stages was stopped about the 18th or 19th.

The 30th, the committee of health resolved that no inhabitant of Baltimore, who should visit persons from Philadelphia, while performing quarantine, should be permitted to enter the town, until the time of quarantine was expired, and until it was certainly known that the persons he had visited were free from the infection; and that thenceforward no goods capable of conveying infection, that had been landed or packed up in Philadelphia, or other infected place, should be permitted to enter the town—nor should any baggage of travellers be admitted, until it had been exposed to the open air such length of time as the health officer might direct.

C H A P. XII. *Proceedings at Havre de Grace—At Hagerstown—At Alexandria—At Winchester—At Boston—At Newburyport—In Rhode Island—At Newbern—At Charleston—In Georgia.—Fasting and prayer.*

THE 25th of September, the inhabitants of Havre de Grace resolved that no person should be allowed to cross the Susquehannah river at that town, who did not bring a certificate of his not having lately come from Philadelphia, or any other infected place; and that the citizens of Havre would embody themselves to prevent any one from crossing without such a certificate.

At Hagerstown, on the 3d of October, it was resolved, that no citizen should receive into his house any person coming from Philadelphia, supposed to be infected with the malignant fever, until he or she produced a certificate from a health officer; that should any citizen contravene the above resolution, he should be proscribed from all society with his fellow citizens; that the clothing sent to the troops then in that town, should not be received there, nor suffered to come within seven miles thereof; that if any person from Philadelphia, or other infected place, should arrive there, he should be required instantly to depart, and in case of refusal or neglect, be compelled to go without delay; that no merchant, or other person, should be permitted to bring into the town, or open therein, any goods brought from Philadelphia, or other infected place, until permitted by their committee; and that the citizens of the town, and its vicinity, should enrol themselves as a guard, and patrol such roads and passes as the committee should direct.

The governor of Virginia, on the 17th of Sep-

tember, issued a proclamation, ordering all vessels from Philadelphia, the Grenades, and the island of Tobago, to perform a quarantine of twenty days, at the anchorage ground, off Craney island, near the mouth of Elizabeth river.

The corporation of Alexandria stationed a look-out boat, to prevent all vessels bound to that port, from approaching nearer than one mile, until after examination by the health officer.

The people of Winchester placed guards at every avenue of the town leading from the Patomac, to stop all suspected persons, packages, &c. coming from Philadelphia, till the health officers should inspect them, and either forbid or allow them to pass.

The legislature of Massachusetts happened to be actually in session, at the time the alarm spread; and they accordingly passed an express act for guarding against the impending danger. This act directed that the selectmen in the different towns should be authorized to stop and examine any persons, baggage, merchandize, or effects, coming, or supposed to be coming into the towns respectively, from Philadelphia, or other place infected, or supposed to be infected; and should it appear to them, or to any officers whom they should appoint, that any danger of infection was to be apprehended from such persons, effects, baggage, or merchandize, they were authorized to detain or remove the same to such place as they might see proper, in order that they might be purified from infection; or to place any persons so coming, in such places, and under such regulations as they might judge necessary for the public safety. In pursuance of this act, the governor issued a proclamation to carry it into effect, the 21st of September.

The selectmen of Boston, on the 24th, publish-

ed their regulations of quarantine, which ordered, that on the arrival of any vessel from Philadelphia, she should be detained at, or near Rainsford's Island, to perform a quarantine not exceeding thirty days, during which time she should be cleansed with vinegar, and the explosion of gunpowder between the decks and in the cabin, even though there were no sick persons on board; that in case there were, they should be removed to an hospital, where they should be detained till they recovered, or were long enough to ascertain that they had not the infection; that every vessel, performing quarantine, should be deprived of its boat, and no boat suffered to approach it, but by special permission; that if any person should escape, he should be instantly advertised, in order that he might be apprehended; that any persons coming by land from Philadelphia, should not be allowed to enter Boston, until twenty one days after their arrival, and their effects, baggage, and merchandize should be opened, washed, and fumigated with vinegar and repeated explosions of gunpowder. In the conclusion, the selectmen called upon the inhabitants "to use their utmost vigilance and activity to bring to condign punishment any person who should be so daring and lost to every idea of humanity, as to come into the town from any place supposed to be infected, thereby endangering the lives of his fellow men."

The 23d of September, the selectmen of Newbury port notified the pilots not to bring any vessels from Philadelphia, higher up Merrimack river, than the black rocks, until they should be examined by the health officer, and a certificate be obtained from him, of their being free from infection.

The governor of Rhode Island, the 21st of Sep-

tember, issued a proclamation, directing the town councils and other officers, to use their utmost vigilance to cause the law to prevent the spreading of contagious disorders to be most strictly executed, more especially with respect to all vessels which should arrive in that state, from the West Indies, Philadelphia, and New-York; the extension to the latter place was owing to the danger apprehended from the intercourse between it and Philadelphia.

The 28th of September, the governor of North Carolina published his proclamation, requiring the commissioners of navigation in the different ports, and the commissioners of the different towns in the said state, to appoint certain places, where all vessels from the port of Philadelphia, or any other place where the malignant fever might prevail, should perform quarantine for such number of days as they might think proper.

The commissioners of Newbern, on the 30th of September, ordered that until full liberty should be given, vessels arriving from Philadelphia, or any other place in which an infectious disorder might be, should, under a penalty of five hundred pounds, stop and come to anchor at least one mile below the town, and there remain and perform a quarantine for at least ten days, unless they should produce from the inspectors appointed for the purpose, a certificate that in their opinion the vessels might, with safety to the inhabitants, proceed to the town or harbour, and there land their passengers or cargo. The 18th of October, they ordered, that if any free man should go on board any vessel from Philadelphia, &c. or should bring from on board such vessel, any goods or merchandize, before she was permitted to land her cargo or passengers, he should, for every offence, forfeit five pounds; and if any slave should offend as above, he should be liable to be whipped

not exceeding fifty lashes, and his master to pay five pounds.

The governor of S. Carolina, published a proclamation, subjecting Philadelphia vessels to quarantine, the date of which I cannot ascertain. The inhabitants of Charleston, on the 8th of October, had a meeting, at which they resolved, that no vessel from the river Delaware, either directly or after having touched at any other port of the united states, should be permitted to pass Charleston bar, till the citizens have again assembled, and declared themselves satisfied that the disorder has ceased in Philadelphia. If any vessel, contrary thereto, should cross the bar, the governor should be requested to compel it to quit the port, and return to sea.

The governor of Georgia, on the 4th of October, published a proclamation, ordering all vessels from Philadelphia, which should arrive in Savannah river, to remain in Tybee creek, or in other parts at like distance from the town, until the health officer of the port should, on examination, certify, that no malignant or contagious disease was on board. All persons contravening this proclamation, were to be prosecuted, and subjected to the pains and penalties by law pointed out.

The people of Augusta, in that state, were as active and vigilant as their northern neighbours, to guard against the threatening danger.

The inhabitants of Reading, in this state, had a meeting the 24th of September, and passed sundry resolutions, viz. that no dry goods should be imported into that borough, from Philadelphia, or any other place infected with a malignant fever, until the expiration of one month from that date, unless permission was had from the inhabitants convened at a town meeting; that no persons from Philadelphia, or any other infected place, should be al-

lowed to enter, until they should have undergone the examination of a physician, and obtained his opinion of their being free from infection; that no stage-waggon should be permitted to bring passengers from Philadelphia, or other place infected, into the borough; and that all communication, by stages, should be discontinued for one month, unless sooner permitted by the inhabitants.

At Bethlehem, a meeting was held on the 26th of September, at which it was resolved, that persons from Philadelphia, should perform a quarantine of twelve days, before they should enter the town. A similar resolve was soon after entered into at Nazareth. But at neither place was it observed with any strictness. No guard was appointed. And the assertion of any decent traveller, apparently in health, with respect to the time of his absence from Philadelphia, was considered as sufficient to be relied on, without resorting to formal proof.

The calamity of Philadelphia, while it roused the circumspection of the timid in various places, excited the pious to offer up their prayers to Almighty God for our relief, comfort, and support. Various days were appointed for humiliation, fasting, and prayer, for this purpose. In New York, the 20th of September; in Boston, September 26th; in Albany, the 1st of October; in Baltimore the 3d; in Richmond, the 9th; in Providence, the same day; the synod of Philadelphia fixed on the 24th of October; the protestant episcopal churches in Virginia, November 6; the Dutch synod of New York, November 13; the synod of New York and New Jersey, November 20. At Hartford, daily prayers were offered up for our relief for some time.

CHAP. XIII. *Conflict between the law of self preservation and the law of charity. The law of charity victorious.*

WHILE our citizens were proscribed in several cities and towns—hunted up like felons in some—and debarred admittance and turned back in others, whether found or infected—it is with extreme satisfaction I have to record a conduct totally different, which cannot fail to make an indelible impression on the minds of the people of Philadelphia, and call forth the most lively emotions of gratitude.

At Woodbury, in New Jersey, at an early period of the disorder, a meeting was held for the purpose of determining on what steps were requisite to be taken. A motion was made to stop all intercourse with Philadelphia. But, only four persons having risen to support it, it dropped, and our citizens were allowed free entrance.

A respectable number of the inhabitants of Springfield, in New Jersey, met the first day of October, and after a full consideration of the distresses of our citizens, passed a resolve, offering their town as an asylum to the people flying from Philadelphia, and directing their committee to provide a suitable place as an hospital for the sick. The rev. Jacob V. Artsdalen, Matthias Meeker, and Matthias Denman, took the lead in this honourable business.

I have been informed, by a person of credit, that the inhabitants of Elizabeth town have pursued the same liberal plan, as those of Springfield; but have not been able to procure a copy of their resolves or proceedings on the subject.

At Chestertown, in Maryland, a place was appointed, at a distance from the town, for the reception of such travellers and others, as might have

the disorder: It was provided with every necessary—and a physician engaged to attend the sick.

An asylum has likewise been offered to Philadelphians, by several of the inhabitants of Elkton, in Maryland; and the offer was couched in terms of the utmost sympathy for our sufferings. A place on the same plan as that at Chester, was fitted up near the town.

At Easton, in Pennsylvania, the only precaution observed, was, to direct the emigrants from Philadelphia, to abstain for a week from intercourse with the inhabitants.

The people of Wilmington have acted in the most friendly manner towards our distressed citizens. At first they were a little scared, and resolved on the establishment of a quarantine and guards. But they immediately dropped these precautions, and received the people from Philadelphia with the most perfect freedom. They erected an hospital for the reception of our infected citizens, which they supplied with necessaries. Yet of eight or ten persons from Philadelphia, who died in that town of the malignant fever, only one was sent to the hospital. The others were nursed and attended in the houses where they fell sick. Humane, tender, and friendly, as were the worthy inhabitants of Wilmington in general, two characters have distinguished themselves in such a very extraordinary manner, as to deserve particular notice. These are doctor Way, and major Bush, whose houses were always open to the fugitives from Philadelphia, whom they received without the smallest apprehension, and treated with a degree of genuine hospitality, that reflects the highest honour on them.

The instances of this kind, through this extensive country, have been very few; but they are therefore only the more precious, and ought

to be held up to public approbation. May they operate on people, at a future day, in similar cases of dreadful calamity, and teach them to temper their caution with as much humanity and tenderness to the distressed fugitives, as prudence will allow—and not involve in one indiscriminate proscription the healthy and infected.

CH A P. XIV. *Disorder fatal to the doctors—to the clergy—to drunkards—to filles de joie—to maid servants—to the poor—and in close streets.—Less destructive to the French—and to the negroes.*

RARELY has it happened, that so large a proportion of the gentlemen of the faculty have sunk beneath the labours of their very dangerous profession, as on this occasion. In little more than a month, exclusive of medical students, no less than ten physicians have been swept off, doctors Hutchinson, Morris, Linn, Pennington, Dodds, Johnson, Glentworth, Phile, Graham, and Green. Hardly one of the practising doctors that remained in the city, escaped sickness—some were three, four, and five times confined.

To the clergy it has likewise proved very fatal. Exposed, in the exercise of the last duties to the dying, to equal danger with the physicians, it is not surprising that so many of them have fallen. Their names are, the rev. Alexander Murry, of the protestant episcopal church—the rev. F. A. Fleming and the rev. Laurence Graefsl of the Roman catholic—the rev. John Winkhaufe, of the German reformed—the rev. James Sproat, of the presbyterian—the rev. William Dougherty, of the methodist church—and likewise four noted preachers of the Friends society, Daniel Offley, Hufon Langstroth, Michael Minier, and Charles Wil-

liams. Seven clergymen have been in the greatest danger from this disorder, the rev. R. Blackwell, rev. Joseph Pilmore, rev. William Rogers, rev. Christopher V. Keating, rev. Frederic Schmidt, the rev. Joseph Turner, and the rev. Robert Annan; but they have all recovered.

Among the women, the mortality has not by any means been so great, as among the men*, nor among the old and infirm as among the middle-aged and robust.

To tipplers and drunkards, and to men who lived high, and were of a corpulent habit of body, this disorder was very fatal. Of these, many were seized, and the recoveries were very rare.

To the *filles de joie*, it has been equally fatal. The wretched debilitated state of their constitutions, rendered them an easy prey to this dreadful disorder, which very soon terminated their miserable career.

To hired servant maids it has been very destructive. Numbers of them fled away—of those who remained, very many fell, who had behaved with an extraordinary degree of fidelity.

It has been dreadfully destructive among the poor. It is very probable, that at least seven eighths of the number of the dead, were of that class. The inhabitants of dirty houses have severely expiated their neglect of cleanliness and decency, by the numbers of them that have fallen sacrifices. Whole families in such houses have sunk into one silent, undistinguishing grave.

The mortality in confined streets, small allies, and close houses, debarred of a free circulation of air, has exceeded, in a great proportion, that in

* In many congregations, the deaths of men have been nearly twice as numerous as those of women.

the large streets and well-aired houses. In some of the allies, a third or fourth of the whole of the inhabitants are no more. In 30 houses, the whole number in Pewter Platter alley, 32 people died: and in Market-street, in 170 houses, only 39. The streets in the suburbs that had the benefit of the country air, especially towards the west part of the city, have suffered little. Of the wide, airy streets, none lost so many people as Arch, near Water-street, which may be accounted for by its proximity to the original seat of the disorder. It is to be particularly remarked, that in general, the more remote the streets were from Water street, the less they experienced of the calamity.

From the effects of this disorder, the French settled in Philadelphia, have been in a very remarkable degree exempt. To what this may be owing, is a subject deserving particular investigation*. By some it has been ascribed to their despising the danger. But, though this may have had some effect; it will not certainly account for it altogether; as it is well known that many of the most courageous persons in Philadelphia, have been among its victims. By many of the French, the prevalence of the disorder has been attributed to the vast quantities of crude and unwholesome fruits brought to our markets, and consumed by all classes of people.

When the yellow fever prevailed in South Carolina, the negroes, according to that accurate observer, Dr. Lining, were wholly free from it. There is something very singular in the con-

* The frequent use the French make of *lavements*, at all times, may probably account for their escaping so very generally as they did. These purify the bowels, help to discharge the foul matter, and remove costiveness, which is one of the most certain supports of this and other disorders.

“stitution of the negroes,” says he, which renders
“them not liable to this fever; for though many of
“them were as much exposed as the nurses to this
“infection; yet I never knew one instance of this
“fever among them, though they are equally sub-
“ject with the white people to the bilious fever*.”
The same idea prevailed for a considerable time
in Philadelphia; but it was erroneous. They did
not escape the disorder; however, the number of
them that were seized with it, was not great; and,
as I am informed by an eminent doctor, “it
“yielded to the power of medicine in them more
“easily than in the whites.” The error that pre-
vailed on this subject had a very salutary effect; for
at an early period of the disorder, hardly any
white nurses could be procured; and had the ne-
groes been equally terrified, the sufferings of the
sick, great as they actually were, would have been
exceedingly aggravated. At the period alluded to,
the elders of the African church met, and offer-
ed their services to the mayor, to procure nurses
for the sick, and to assist in burying the dead.
Their offers were accepted; and Abfalom Jones
and Richard Allen undertook the former depart-
ment, that of furnishing nurses, and William Gray,
the latter—the interment of the dead. The great
demand for nurses afforded an opportunity for im-
position, which was eagerly seized by some of the
vilest of the blacks. They extorted two, three, four,
and even five dollars a night for attendance, which
would have been well paid by a single dollar. Some
of them were even detected in plundering the
houses of the sick. But it is wrong to cast a cen-
sure on the whole for this sort of conduct, as many
people have done. The services of Jones, Allen,

* Essays and observations, vol. II. page 407.

and Gray, and others of their colour, have been very great, and demand public gratitude.

On examining the books of the hospital at Bushhill, it appears that there were above fifteen blacks received there, of whom three fourths died. There may have been more, as the examination was made very cursorily.

CHAP. XIV. *State of the weather. Attempt to refute the opinion that cold and rain extinguished the disorder. Average table of mortality.*

THE weather, the whole of the months of August and September, and most part of October, was remarkably dry and sultry. Rain appeared as if entirely at an end. Various indications, which in hardly any former instance had ever failed to produce wet weather, disappointed the expectations, the wishes, and the prayers of the citizens. The disorder raged with increased violence as the season advanced towards the fall months. The mortality was much greater in September, than in August—and still greater in the beginning and till the middle of October, than in September. It very particularly merits attention, that though all the hopes of the inhabitants rested on cold and rain, especially the latter, yet the disorder died away with hardly any rain, and a very moderate degree of cold. Its virulence may be said to have expired on the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th. The succeeding deaths were mostly of those long sick. Few persons took the disorder afterwards. Those days were nearly as warm as many of the most fatal ones, in the middle stage of the complaint, the thermometer being at 60, 59, 71, and 72. To account for this satisfactorily is above our feeble powers. In fact, the whole of the disorder, from its first appearance to

its final close, has set human wisdom and calculation at a defiance.

The idea held up in the preceding paragraph, has been controverted by many; and as the extinction of malignant disorders, generated in summer or fall, has been universally ascribed to the severe cold and heavy rains of winter, it is asserted that ours must have shared the same fate. It therefore becomes necessary to state the ground of the contrary opinion.

The extinction of these disorders, according to the generally received idea on this subject, arises from cold, or rain, or both together. If from the former, how shall we account for a greater mortality in September, than in August, whereas the degree of heat was considerably abated? How shall we account for a greater mortality in the first part of October than in September, although the heat was still abating? If rain be the efficient cause of arresting the disorder, as is supposed by those who attribute its declension to the rain on the evening of the 15th of October, how shall we account for the inefficacy of the incessant rain on the terrible twelfth of October, when one hundred and eleven souls were summoned out of this world, and a hundred and four the day following? To make the matter more plain, I request the reader's attention to the following statement:—

		Thermom.			
		at 3 P. M. Deaths. Wind. Weather.			
Sept.	19	70	61	SW	fair.
	20	69	67	SE	hazy.
	21	78	57		fair.
	22	83	76		fair.
Oct.	10	74	93	NW	fair.
	11	74	119	W	fair.
	12	64	111	NW	rain.

Thermom.

		at 3 P. M.		Deaths.	Wind.	Weather.
Oct.	13	69	104	NW	fair.	
	23	60	54	W	fair.	
	24	59	38	NW	fair.	
	25	71	35	S	fair, high wind	
	26	72	23	SW	cloudy.	

An examination of this table, by any man unbiassed by the received opinion, will, I think, convince him of the justice of the hypothesis which I have advanced—that the increase or abatement of the violence of the disorder, depended on other causes than the degrees of heat, cold, rain, or dry weather. Here is the most palpable proof. The average of the thermometer, the four first quoted days, was 75° —the average of the deaths 65.5—the second four days, the thermometer averaged 70.25, although the frightful average of deaths was, 106.75.—and the last four days, the thermometer averaged 65.5, whereas the deaths were only 37.5. To facilitate the comparison, I subjoin an abstract of the preceding statement.

	therm.	deaths.
Average of Sept. 19, 20, 21, and 22,	75	65
of Oct. 10, 11, 12, and 13,	70.25	106.75
of Oct. 23, 24, 25, and 26,	65.5	37.5

Thus, those days on which the mortality was at its highest stage, were five degrees colder than those when the deaths were reduced to five eighths. And the difference of five degrees between the second and the third four days, will not be pretended to account for a decrease of very nearly two thirds. To try the system of heat, cold, and rain, still further, let us examine the four last days of August. On those days, the thermometer averaged 79.5; yet the deaths were only 20.75.

I here annex the weekly average of the thermometer, and of the deaths, from the first of August to the 7th of November, for the reader's inspection. Let him observe that I thought it needless to add the fractions; when they exceeded half, I added an unit; where they were below that, I rejected them.

	Average of thermometer.	Average of deaths.
August 1 to 7,	84	9
8 to 14,	85	7
15 to 21,	83	7
22 to 28,	77	15
29 to 31,	85	17
Sept. 1 to 7,	81	19
8 to 14,	74	35
15 to 21,	75	65
22 to 28,	76	70
29 and 30,	74	60
Oct. 1 to 7,	71	72
8 to 14,	71	100
15 to 21,	58	67
22 to 28,	58	39
29 to 31,	46	18
Nov. 1 to 7,	58	15

From the above it appears, that during the month of September, there was a rapid increase regularly of deaths, although the weather was growing cooler nearly the whole time. Let any advocate of the theory of cold and rain, compare the first week in September with the second week in October. He will see that the former was ten degrees warmer than the latter, yet the mortality in the one was only a fifth part of that in the other. If he will, after this, say that the difference of 13 degrees between the second week in October and the 3d and 4th, will account for a reduction of the mortality from 100 to 67, and then to

39, I can only answer, that an inveterate prejudice too often clouds the reason, and renders it impossible to see the truth, however evident.

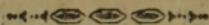
In opposition to what I have advanced, it has been observed, that the unfavourable effects of very sultry days were felt for several succeeding ones. This is a weak resource, as will appear from examining the table. The heat of the first and second week in October was the same; yet the mortality in the second was nearly one half more than in the first. The heat of the fourth was equal to that of the third, although in the former the deaths were nearly double what they were in the latter.

I hope, therefore, the reader will acknowledge, that the great disposer of winds and rains, took his own time, and without the means, either moral or physical, on which we placed our chief reliance, to rescue the remnant of us from destruction.

CH A P. XVI. *Desultory facts and reflexions.—A collection of scraps.*

THE want of a lazaretto, whither persons labouring under contagious disorders, might be sent, and of a proper law on the subject, empowering the civil authority to interpose with the necessary energy, at the first inroad of such a dreadful destroyer, has been the cause of our late sufferings; for, humanly speaking, had decisive measures been adopted any time before the 25th of August, while the disorder existed only in one street, and in a few houses in that street, there can be little doubt, that it might have been very soon extinguished. But the former sufferings of this place in 1762, were soon forgotten—and no steps taken to remove such an evil in future, after it had invaded the city. It is to be hoped our legislature, as well as that of

every state in the union, will see the propriety of giving this important subject the consideration it so amply deserves, and of making provision against like calamities in future. In Italy, at Spalato, where the plague raged fifteen or twenty years ago, it was made capital for every infected man, not to reveal his situation to the proper authority; and the same penalty was denounced against such as did not inform of infected persons, when they knew of them. This is too severe for the paternal mildness of our criminal code; but some penalties ought to be denounced in such cases. Indeed, were lazarettos on a proper establishment, it would be an object of desire with the sick, to be transported to them.

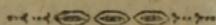


It is hardly conceivable that the funeral of an entire stranger could afford subject of satisfaction. Yet it has produced that effect. After being so long accustomed to behold the bodies of the dead, drawn to the grave on the shafts of a chair, the sight of a corpse carried by men to be interred, affords something like the appearance of former times; and I believe the satisfaction excited by that consideration absorbed every thought of the deceased person.



The appearance of most of the grave yards in Philadelphia is extremely awful. They exhibit a strong likeness of ploughed fields; and were any thing capable of stamping on our breasts indelible impressions of the uncertainty of the tenure by which we hold our very precarious existence, a turn through one of our burial grounds could not possibly fail to produce that effect. But it is to be feared that with the danger will vanish all recollection of the distressing scenes we have passed thro'.

It has been denied that a person is twice susceptible of the yellow fever. The opinion, as it has a good tendency, to inspire confidence in convalescents, and in those who have quite recovered, might perhaps as well be suffered to pass uncontroverted, were not truth the object. Several persons in this city, have been twice sick with this disorder. I know it is usual to call this a relapse. But relapse or not, those I mean, have been ill—have recovered entirely—and been a second time taken down. Some of them are now no more, witness Mr. Fleming. Mr. William Young was worse the second time than the first.

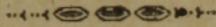


One observation, of great importance to the cause of humanity, escaped me in the former editions, and ought to be very particularly attended to in every such dreadful crisis as we have experienced. Of the very large number of persons who have fallen under this disorder, it is not improbable that a half or a third have perished merely for want of necessary care and attention, owing to the extraordinary panic. Almost all the remarkable cases of recovery are to be ascribed, under providence, to the fidelity of husbands, wives, children, and servants, who braved the danger, and determined to obey the dictates of humanity. There are various instances of persons who may be said to have been by these means dragged out of their graves; as they were so far gone, as to have their coffins made.—And for the encouragement of those who may at any other time, or in any other place, have friends or relatives in this disorder, let it be remarked, that few of those who discharged their duty to their families, have suffered by it. There are instances of individuals, who have nursed and attended

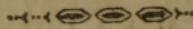
on six, eight, and ten persons unremittingly, in their own houses, without ever taking the infection. Others, before their own illness, and after their recovery, nursed and restored their families. William Young had no less than ten in his house sick, and nearly all at one time. He attended on them till he was taken ill; and, during his own sickness, gave directions for the management of them, as effectually as if he was well. After his recovery, he again attended them himself. Of his whole family, his wife only died; and it is supposed her death was accelerated by her being in an advanced state of pregnancy. There are cases of single persons having the disorder in large families of eight, ten, and twelve, and none catching it from them. In the family of David Clarke, who died of the malignant fever, there were no less than twenty-two persons, not one of whom caught the infection, altho' he had the same attention paid him as in any other disorder. Not one of the carters employed by the committee in the very dangerous office of removing the sick and burying the dead, ever had it*. The nurses at Bushhill have all escaped, except two; as have the worthy managers. Thomas Boyles, the tenant, who occupied the building at Bushhill, the time

* Let not the humble sphere of life in which he moves, prevent me from here mentioning a worthy and faithful man, Thomas Wilkinon, employed by the committee, in burying the dead, and removing the sick, from their organization till the extinction of the disorder. Such was the noxious situation of many corpses, that he has frequently returned vomiting from the performance of his duty. In one instance in raising the corpse of a woman several days dead, he was covered with putrescent blood. Yet he still persevered, in the most unwearied manner, through dangers, that render his preservation equally astonishing with that of Girard, Helm, Helmuth, and others. It is to be hoped the corporation will find some comfortable situation for him, in which to pass the remainder of his days.

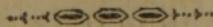
it was taken as an hospital, that is, the 31st of August, lived there until the 29th of October, with his wife and six children, none of whom were ever affected with the malignant fever. Let these instances suffice at all future times to prevent fear from totally overpowering the understanding, and producing scenes of cruelty that make a feeling being blush for his species.



Among the country people, large quantities of wild pigeons in the spring are regarded as certain indications of an unhealthy summer. Whether or not this prognostic has ever been verified before, I cannot tell. But it is very certain, that during the last spring, the numbers of those birds brought to our markets, were immense. Never, perhaps, were there so many before.



Several classes of people were highly benefited by the public distress. Coffin-makers had a large demand, and in general high prices for their work. Most of the retail stores being shut up, those that remained open, had an uncommon demand; as the whole of the business was divided among a few. Those who had carriages to hire, to transport families to the country, received whatever they pleased to demand. The holders of houses at from three, to twenty miles from the city, who chose to rent the whole or part of them, had high rents. The two notaries, who protested for the banks, profited highly by the absence of the merchants and traders.



I have learned with great pleasure, that a few landlords, commiserating the distresses of their te-

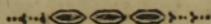
nants, have come to the very humane resolution of remitting the payment of rents due during the prevalence of the disorder. Were they to enter into resolutions generally to do the same, it would reflect honour on them. But there are some whose hardened hearts know no compassion, and who will have "the pound of flesh—the penalty of the bond." Indeed, when the disorder was at the highest stage, some landlords seized the small property of poor roomkeepers, who were totally unable to pay their rent. A man wrote to the committee informing them that the poverty of his tenants rendered it impossible for them to pay him; he therefore begged the committee would, as they were appointed to relieve the poor, pay the arrearages due him! Another person, a wealthy widow, produced recommendations for some poor roomkeepers, her tenants; and the committee gave them each a small sum. As soon as they had received it, she seized the money and their clothes!

A man lost his wife with the disorder. He had it himself, lost his sight totally, and was left penniless, with two infant children. Yet his landlord, before his convalescence was complete, seized his clothes and furniture, and turned him out of doors!!!

" You may as well use question with the wolf,
 " Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb,
 " As seek to soften that (than which what's harder?)
 " His flinty heart." ————— SHAKESPEARE.

I hope the reader takes as much more pleasure in perusing, as I do in writing, cases reflecting honour on human nature, than those of a different description. An amiable woman in New York, feeling for the situation of the numerous orphans in this city, wrote to a member of the committee to choose her one of them, as nearly resembling a child she

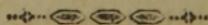
had lost, as possible. She particularly desired one without connexions, if such a one could be procured. She proposes to adopt it, and, with her husband, to bestow on it all the tenderness one of her own would have had. Would it not be unjust to withhold her name? Every reader answers, yes—and I will therefore reveal it—Susan Willet. Several applications of a similar nature have been made by some of our own citizens,



In the summer of 1791, the yellow fever prevailed in New York, in a part of Water-street; and, in proportion to the sphere of its action, was as fatal there as it has been here. It began in August, and continued till the middle of September, when it totally disappeared, and has never since visited that place. This should ease the fears of many among us, who, always viewing the black side of every thing, terrify people with their prognostications, that we shall have it again next spring or summer. All the symptoms were full as dangerous and alarming in New York, as in Philadelphia. Many persons died in three days; “stupor, delirium, yellowness, the black vomit, and death, rapidly succeeding each other.”† It spread no farther at that time, than the one street, although no precautions, as far as I can learn, were taken to prevent its extension. The same species of disorder raged in this city in 1762, with great violence. It disappeared in the month of November, and has not from that time until this year visited Philadelphia.

† Letter from a physician in New York, to his friend in New Jersey, Federal Gazette, Sept. 21, 1793.

The summer and fall of this year have been unhealthy in many parts of the union, as well as in Philadelphia. At Lynn, in Massachusetts, I have been informed, but have no means of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the report, that a malignant fever, not unlike ours, prevailed in August. In many of the towns of Virginia, intermittent fevers have been much more prevalent and mortal than they have been at former periods. Georgetown and its vicinity, which are in general very healthy, lost, in the course of a few weeks in summer, an unexampled number of people by the flux, which disorder has raged with great violence in many parts of America. The influenza has spread generally through the union, and been very fatal. It has been twice in Vermont, where likewise the putrid sore throat has carried off numbers. At Harrisburg and Middletown, in this state, the flux and a putrid fever have been extremely destructive, and swept away, I am credibly informed, a fifteenth part of the inhabitants. Delaware state, particularly Kent county, has suffered much from fall fevers, which have produced a very great mortality. At Pauling's Kill, in Sussex county, New Jersey, a bilious and remittent fever has made very great havoc. And various other places have experienced a mortality, very uncommon, and which, but for the calamity of Philadelphia absorbing public attention every where, and being the standard of comparison, would have created great alarms and uneasiness.

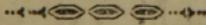


Of the number of citizens who fled away, it is difficult to form any accurate estimate. In the city, from Vine to South street, which has been surveyed by a man employed by the committee, of 21,000 inhabitants, the number of absent people is stated

to be 8600. But as this business was several weeks performing, considerable variations must necessarily have taken place. The emigration was not finished in those streets examined in the early part of his progress,—and towards the latter part, the returns had been already considerable. One may be supposed to balance the other, and the removals in the liberties to have been equal to those in the city. We shall therefore probably not err much when we estimate the number who left the city at about 17,000. This is not so many as I formerly supposed, having estimated them at 23,000. Which of the two is accurate, or whether either of them is so, I leave the reader to determine.



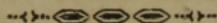
The effect of fear in predisposing the body for the yellow fever and other disorders, and increasing their malignance, when taken, is well known. The following exception to the general rule, for the truth of which I pledge myself, is curious and interesting. A young woman, whose fears were so very prevalent, as not only to render her unhappy from the commencement of the disorder, but even to interfere with the happiness of the family with whom she lived, had to attend on seven persons, all of whom were in a very dangerous state, and one of whom died. Her attendance was assiduous and unremitted for nearly three weeks. Yet she has never been in the slightest degree affected.



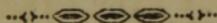
The watches and clocks in the city, during the disorder, were almost always wrong. Few of the watchmakers remained—and people did not pay much attention how time passed. One night, the watchmen cried ten o'clock when it was only nine, and continued the mistake all the succeeding hours.

The Hope, a vessel from Londonderry, arrived in our river towards the end of August. The passengers had a malignant disorder among them, in consequence of which, orders were issued to have them landed at State Island, that they might undergo examination. Nevertheless, several of them came to the city, and added to the dangers already existing. The mayor, on the 3d of September, issued a proclamation, calling upon the citizens not only to use their endeavours to detect such as had arrived, and to prevent others from coming, without procuring the proper certificates, but to make report to one of the magistrates, of the names of those by whom they were harboured, that they might be prosecuted according to the law. On this subject, an obvious reflexion arises, which I will not suppress. Our citizens have generally been in the habit of severely censuring the inhabitants of those places in which very strict precautions were taken, to prevent the spreading of the disorder that prevailed here; and yet we see that our own conduct, in a case nearly similar, has not been very different. I would not wish to be understood as if I meant to justify the whole of the proceedings that took place every where; far from it; some of them have been to the last degree severe, and unnecessarily so; for all the cautions requisite were compatible with a small degree of attention to the comfort and convenience of fellow citizens, in good health, travelling for business, for pleasure, or the preservation of health, and even of life itself.—Whereas, in many places it would appear as if the harshest mode of carrying harsh measures into effect, was purposely adopted. My intention is merely to show, that such as indiscriminately vilify those who have resorted to precautions dictated by prudence, do not weigh the matter in the scales of impartial justice.

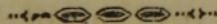
I have not been able to ascertain how long the malignant fever has prevailed in the West Indies: but it was there a very considerable time before it raged here; and this circumstance alone renders the opinion of its introduction extremely probable, to say no more. Governor Moultrie's proclamation, announcing its existence in the Grenadas, &c. and ordering a quarantine, which I have in my possession, is dated the 7th of June.



Some of the postmasters in the different states, used the precaution to dip Philadelphia letters into vinegar with a pair of tongs, before they handled them. Several of the subscribers for Philadelphia papers, made their servants sprinkle them with vinegar, and dry them at the fire, before they would venture to touch them.



Joseph Inskcep attended several sick persons in a family near him. When he was ill himself, he wanted assistance, and sent for some of them to attend him—but they ungratefully refused! O Shame! where is thy blush?

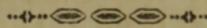


Many of our citizens who fled from the city, in their hurry forgot to leave their servants money enough for their support; so that some of these poor creatures had to depend for sustenance on the charity of the neighbours.

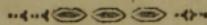


Some of our unemployed tradesmen wished to procure work at the new roads now making. But the people employed, agreed, if they were engaged, that they would all abandon their work; so that the overseers were obliged to renounce the idea.

The incautious security of the citizens of Philadelphia, at the first stage of the disorder, is highly to be regretted. Most of those who died of the malignant disorder, before the 26th of August, were carried to the grave, with the accustomed parade of attendants, which so generally prevails in this city. The chief of those who at that time carried the dead to the grave, and several of those who attended the funerals, were speedily taken sick, and hurried into eternity.



Sebastian Ale, an old grave-digger, who had long lost the sense of smelling, fancied he could not take the disorder, and followed his business without apprehension. A husband and wife who lay sick together, wished to be interred in the same grave. Their deaths happened within a few days of each other. When the latter of the two was to be buried, Sebastian was employed to dig open the other's grave. He struck upon the coffin, and in stooping down, received into his mouth, such an intolerable and deadly stench, that he was taken sick immediately, and in a day or two died.



The scourge of the yellow fever has fallen with extreme severity on some families. There are various instances of five and six, and some of eight, ten, and of Godfrey Gebler's family no less than eleven are swept off the face of the earth. Dr. Sproat, his wife, son and daughter—Michael Hay, his wife, and three children—David Flickwir and five of his family—Samuel Weatherby, wife, and four grown children, are no more. And there are numberless instances of a havoc equally great in particular families. There is one house in this city from which above twenty persons were carried,

some to Bushhill, but the most of them to the grave.



There is one fact respecting this disorder, which renders it probable, that the exercise of the duties of humanity towards the fugitive Philadelphians, would not have been attended with the danger universally imagined. In defiance of all the resolutions entered into by the inhabitants of various towns, many of our infected citizens evaded their vigilance, and took refuge among them; and in very few cases is it known that they communicated the infection.—Three persons from Philadelphia died of this disorder, in one house at Woodbury, in New Jersey; they had been attended during their illness by the family, none of whom caught the infection. Six or seven died at Darby, as many at Germantown, and eight at Haddonfield, without communicating it to any of the inhabitants. A man from Philadelphia, of the name of Cornell, died in New York, about two days after his arrival. The place of his death was a boarding house, in which were a number of boarders, one of whom slept in the same bed with him. Two of the family only were slightly affected—but not in such a degree as to require medical aid. Several other infected persons from our city, died there, and no one took the disorder from them. A man died at one of the principal taverns in Baltimore, of the same disorder. Many people had visited and attended him during the whole of his illness, without injury. No person was affected but his doctor, whose indisposition was not of long continuance. A great number of similar instances have occurred at Burlington, Bordenton, Lamberton, Princeton, Brunswick,

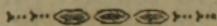
Woodbridge, Newark, Lancaster, and various other places.

Since the first edition appeared, I have had information from a number of creditable persons, that the idea of the disorder not having been communicated out of Philadelphia, is erroneous. A family, of the name of Hopper, took the disorder at Woodbury, from some of our infected citizens, and three of them died. A woman in Chester county, who had boarded and lodged some of the sick, died of the disorder. Three people, of one family in Trenton, took the disorder from a sick person from Philadelphia, and died of it. A negro servant belonging to mr. Morgan, of Pensaucon creek, in New Jersey, took up an infected bed floating in the Delaware, which spread the disorder in the family, and mrs. Morgan and her girl both died of it. It was introduced by his son from Philadelphia, into the family of mr. Cadwallader, at Abingdon, some of whom died with it. Some others in different places caught the infection, and died. But the cases of this kind have been extremely few, considering the numbers, who carried the disorder from hence, and died with it in the country.

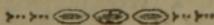
CHAP. XVII. *Another collection of scraps.*

THOSE who reflect on the many revolting cases of cruelty and desertion of friends and relations which occurred in Philadelphia, however they may regret, cannot be surpris'd, that in the country, and in various towns and cities, inhumanity should be experienced by Philadelphians from strangers. The universal consternation extinguished in people's breasts the most honourable feelings of human nature; and in this case, as in various others, the suspicion operated as injuriously as the reality. Many travellers from this city, exhausted with fatigue and with hunger, have been

refused all shelter and all sustenance, and have fallen victims to the fears, not to the want of charity, of those to whom they applied for relief. Instances of this kind have occurred on almost every road leading from Philadelphia. People under suspicion of having this disorder, have been forced by their fellow travellers to quit the stages, and perished in the woods without a possibility of procuring any assistance. At Easton, in Maryland, a waggon-load of goods from Philadelphia, was actually burned; and a woman, who came with it, was tarred and feathered*.



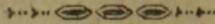
In a town in Jersey, an association was entered into to prevent all intercourse with Philadelphia, and the inhabitants agreed to mount guard alternately. One man refused to do duty, or join in the business. He was advertised, and all people forbidden to have any communication with him—indeed he was absolutely refused the necessaries of life—a butcher, who passed his door, told him, when applied to for provisions, that he had meat enough, but none for him. Having gone, for a short time, from home, the sentinel on duty stopped him on his return—and he persisting in his determination to proceed, the other presented his firelock, and it is supposed would have shot him, but for the interference of a third person.



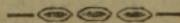
The son of a citizen of Philadelphia arrived at a town in Virginia fourteen days before the time of fixing the quarantine, which was for twenty days. However, he was still obliged to undergo the

* Through misinformation, this shocking circumstance was stated in the first edition to have happened at Milford, in Delaware state.

full quarantine after that time, notwithstanding the period he had been absent from Philadelphia.

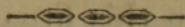


An emigrant from Philadelphia, who had been away nearly three weeks, had to cross a ferry in a neighbouring state, and was provided with proper certificates of the length of time he was absent. He got into the scow, with his wife, and carriage, and was rowed over to the opposite side. There he was refused permission to land, as he had not a certificate from a particular magistrate in that part of the country. He leaped on a rock, and the centinel swore he would blow his brains out, if he advanced a step farther. His wife, who was in the boat, was under the most dreadful apprehensions, as the ferrymen were drunk, the horses in the carriage fretful, and the wind high. In spite of his intreaties, and his offers to prove the length of his absence, he was obliged to go back in quest of the magistrate pointed out. When he arrived at his house, which was several miles from the ferry, the justice hid, for fear of catching the disorder. He then went to another some miles further back. By the time he returned at the ferry, it was nine o'clock, and he had to wait till next morning.

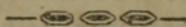


A poor man was taken sick on the road at a village not far from Philadelphia. He lay calling for water, a considerable time in vain. At length an old woman brought a pitcher full, and not daring to approach him, she laid it at a distance, desiring him to crawl to it, which he did. After lying there about forty-eight hours, he died, and the body lay in a state of putrefaction for some time, until the neighbours hired two black butchers to bury him, for twenty-four dollars. They dug a pit to wind-

ward—with a fork, hooked a rope about his neck—dragged him into it, and at as great a distance as possible, cast earth into the pit to cover him.



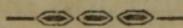
One of our citizens lost his brother in the country with the malignant fever; and owing to the fears of the neighbours, could not prevail on any person even to make him a coffin. He was obliged to wrap him up in a blanket, to dig a grave for him, and bury him with his own hands.



In a small town not far distant from Philadelphia, very arbitrary attempts were made to oblige one of our fugitives to mount guard against his own fellow citizens. He refused, and finding him resolute against every effort, they were obliged to desist.

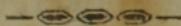


In one of the American ports, a Philadelphia vessel, just arrived, was forced to return to sea with only two gallons of water for each man. In the same port, one of the captains from our city had his boat stove to pieces.



The 17th of September the western shore Baltimore stage was stopped about two miles from that town, by an armed guard. The hour of arrival was about eight o'clock at night. There was a tavern at pistol-shot from the place. But the tavern keeper refused to receive the passengers, twelve in number. They were detained on the road all night without any shelter but the stage, in which they dozed a part of the time; the remainder they lay in the woods before a fire which they kindled. Next morning, the tavern keeper, one Murray, a Goth, when they sent to him for break-

fast, refused to give them any. But about two hours afterwards, he let them have some bread, cheese, wine, and cider, with which they breakfasted on the road. In this situation they remained until the afternoon, that is, for eighteen hours. A captain in the French navy, with his wife, and several respectable French gentlemen, were among the passengers.



A respectable citizen of Philadelphia, left the city the 17th of September, intending to reside on Long Island till the disorder ceased. He was taken ill on the road—and prevented from proceeding, somewhere near Newark. He took lodgings at a captain Littel's near Second river. The alarm spread of an infected man being in the house—the people in the neighbourhood assembled—run a fence on each side of Littel's house, and obliged the people to remove out of a house near to it, which the fence likewise enclosed. The road and river lay before Littel's door; the former was entirely cut off by the fence, which run clear to the river. At the distance of a hundred yards, was a church, in which public worship was intermitted for three or four weeks, through fear. Travellers took a circuitous route of above a mile, to avoid danger.

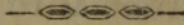
At length he died—and his son, about eleven years old, had to assist in performing the last melancholy rites for him. The fence remained for ten days after his death, to ascertain whether his family had taken the disorder.

Justice requires me to add, that they were not suffered to be in want of any necessaries; being directed to write what they had occasion for, on a paper, and fasten it on the fence, when they should be supplied by persons appointed for the purpose, which was faithfully done.

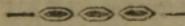
An artful girl, just from Philadelphia, completely deceived the centinel stationed at the bridge at Bordentown. She asked him, with much earnestness, as if afraid to venture in, was *that there* confounded yellow fever got into the town?—No, says he, you may go in with as much safety as to your own home. I need not add, that she went forward.



A Philadelphian in a small town near this city, lost his child in the fever, and went out to bury it. On his return he found all his furniture on the road, and the doors locked: and no intreaties could again procure him admittance.



When tar was in use among the various preventatives, a boy was determined to secure himself by night as well as by day; and accordingly tied a tarred rope twice about his neck, and afterwards buttoned his collar with some difficulty. He woke in the night, half strangled and black in the face. He may with justice be said to have nearly choked himself, to save his life.

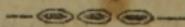


It would be extraordinary if so very favourable an opportunity for inventing marvellous stories, should have been suffered to pass over without some prodigies being recorded. Mankind are ever prone to the extravagant, especially when their passions are warmed in any uncommon degree. And pity and terror, two passions particularly calculated to foster this disposition, being roused into action to the highest degree, the miraculous stories, which were every where current, and which even stole into print, can be easily accounted for. Some of the Maryland papers relate, that “a voice had

been heard in the streets of Philadelphia, warning the inhabitants to prepare for their doom, as written in the prophet Ezekiel. ch. 27." The Marylander who heard this voice, was certainly gifted with a most extraordinary ear, as, at the distance of above a hundred miles, he heard what we could not hear on the spot. And it would appear his *sight* was equally good with his hearing; for he *saw* two angels conversing with the watch. It is true, he is too modest to say, he saw them himself—he only says "two angels were *seen* conversing with the watch at midnight, about the subject of what the voice had previously proclaimed." But as no person here ever saw them—it is fairly presumable, as it would be highly criminal to doubt of facts resting on such authority, that he must have been the eye witness himself.



A merchant of Philadelphia, who had been absent for several weeks, was returning to the city in the second week of November, having heard that the danger was no more. He met a man on the road going from Philadelphia; and naturally enquired into the state of affairs. The other told him that a coffin maker, who had been employed by the committee for-relief-of-the-sick, had found such a decrease of demand two weeks before, that he had had a large supply of coffins on hand. But that the mortality had again so far increased, that he had sold all, and had seven journeymen employed day and night. This so alarmed the Philadelphian, that he again returned with his family, to wait a more a favourable issue.

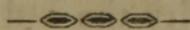


A drunken sailor lay in the street for a few hours asleep, and was supposed by the neighbours to be

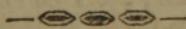
dead with the disorder ; but they were too much afraid, to make personal examination. They sent to the committee for a cart and a coffin. The carter took the man by the heels, and was going to put him in the coffin. Handling him roughly, he awoke, and damning his eyes, asked him what was he about ? the carter let him drop in a fright, and ran off as if a ghost was at his heels.



A lunatic, who had the malignant fever, was advised by his neighbours to go to Bushhill. He consented, and got into the cart ; but soon changing his mind, he flipt out at the end, unknown to the carter, who, after a while, missing him, and seeing him at a distance running away, turned his horse about, and trotted hard after him. The other redoubled his pace ; and the carter whipped his horse to a gallop ; but the man turned a corner, and hid himself in a house, leaving the mortified carter to return, and deliver an account of his ludicrous adventure.

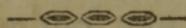


Several instances have occurred of the carters on their arrival at Bushhill, and proceeding to deliver their charge, finding, to their amazement, the carts empty.

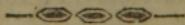


A woman, whose husband died, refused to have him buried in a coffin provided for her by one of her friends, as too paltry and mean. She bought an elegant and costly one—and had the other laid by in the yard. In a week, she was herself a corpse—and was buried in the very coffin she had so much despised.

The wife of a man who lived in Walnut-street, was seized with the malignant fever, and given over by the doctors. The husband abandoned her, and next night lay out of the house for fear of taking the infection. In the morning, taking it for granted, from the very low state she had been in, that she was dead, he purchased a coffin for her; but on entering the house, was surprised to see her much recovered. He took sick shortly after, and was buried in the very coffin which he had so precipitately bought for his wife, who is still living.



The powers of the god of love might be imagined to lie dormant amidst such scenes of distress as Bushhill exhibited. But we find that his sway was felt there with equal force as any where else. John Johnson, and Priscilla Hicks, two of the patients who had recovered, and officiated as nurses to the sick, were smitten with each other's charms—and procuring leave of absence for an hour or two, they came to the city the 23d of September, were joined in the bands of matrimony, and returned to their avocation at the hospital. A long chasm took place in the hymeneal records; for no adventure of the same kind occurred, until the 5th of November, when Nassy, a Portuguese mulatto, took to wife Hannah Smith, a bouncing German girl, who, as well as himself, was employed as nurse.



The state of the police and of society in Philadelphia, appears to no small advantage, when we consider one circumstance. Notwithstanding the absence of the magistrates, and the immense value of property left unprotected through the fears of the owners, and the deaths of the persons left to

take care of it, we have as yet heard only of one or two burglaries committed.—Another was attempted, but the plunderers were discovered and taken. A hardened villain from a neighbouring state, formed a plot with some negroes to plunder houses. He was a master rogue, had digested a complete system, and formed a large partnership for the more successful execution of his schemes. However, he was soon seized, and the company dissolved.



The jail of Philadelphia is under such excellent regulation, that the disorder made its appearance there only in two or three instances, although such abodes of misery are the places where contagious disorders are most commonly generated. When the yellow fever raged most violently in the city, there were in the jail one hundred and six French soldiers and sailors, confined by order of the French consul, besides eighty convicts, vagrants, and persons for trial; all of whom, except two or three, remained perfectly free from the complaint. Several circumstances have conspired to produce this salutary effect. The people confined are frequently cleansed and purified by the use of the cold bath—they are kept constantly employed—vegetables form a considerable part of their diet—in the yard, vegetation flourishes—and many of them being employed in stone cutting, the water, constantly running, keeps the atmosphere in a moist state, while the people of Philadelphia have been uninterruptedly parched up by unceasing heat. Elijah Weed, the late jailor, caught the disorder in the city, in the performance of the paternal duties towards his daughter, and died in the jail, without communicating it to any of the people confined. I hope I shall be excused for paying a

tribute to the memory of this valuable citizen, under whose government of the jail, and with whose hearty co-operation, most of the regulations in that institution have been effected, which, with the successful experiments made in England, prove that jails may be easily converted from sinks of human depravity and wretchedness, into places of reformation; so that, instead of rendering the idle vagrant, confined merely on suspicion, or for want of friends to protect him, obdurate, wicked, and ripe for rapine and spoil, the profligate and abandoned may be so reclaimed in them as to become useful members of society. For the honour of human nature, it ought to be recorded, that some of the convicts in the jail, a part of the term of whose confinement had been remitted as a reward for their peaceable, orderly behaviour, voluntarily offered themselves as nurses to attend the sick at Bushhill, and have in that capacity conducted themselves with great fidelity. Among them are some who were formerly regarded, and with justice, as hardened abandoned villains, which the old system was calculated to render every tenant of a jail, who remained there a few weeks. According to the same summary system, these men's lives would have been long since offered up as an atonement to society for the injury they had done it. That is, in plain English, because society had suffered one injury by rapine, it was necessary it should suffer another by law. But by the present improved and humane plan, they and great numbers of others are restored to society and usefulness once more. So much better, although a little more troublesome, is it to reform men, than to butcher them under colour of law and justice.

The sympathy for our calamities displayed in various places, and the very liberal contributions raised for our relief, reflect the highest honour on their inhabitants, and demand our warmest gratitude. The inhabitants of Gloucester county, in New Jersey, have the honour of being first in this laudable race. So early as the 30th of September, they had a considerable sum collected, with which they purchased a quantity of provisions for the use of the hospital at Bushhill. They have from that time regularly continued copious supplies twice a week. From a few citizens of Philadelphia, near Germantown, there have been received two thousand dollars; from others near Darby, fourteen hundred; from New York, five thousand; from a person unknown, five hundred; from Bucks' county, sixteen hundred; from Delaware county, twelve hundred; from Franklin county, nearly five hundred; from Boston, sundry articles, estimated at twenty-five hundred; and from sundry other persons and places, contributions equally liberal and honourable.



Shall I be pardoned for passing a censure on those, whose mistaken zeal led them, during the most dreadful stages of the calamity, to crowd some of our churches, and aid this frightful enemy in his work of destruction? who, fearful lest their prayers and adoration at home would not find acceptance before the Deity, resorted to churches filled with bodies of contagious air, where, with every breath, they inhaled noxious miasmata? To this single cause I am bold in ascribing a large proportion of the mortality—And it is remarkable that those congregations, whose places of worship were most crowded, have suffered the most

dreadfully. Will men never acquire wisdom?—Are we yet to learn, that the Almighty architect of the heavens and the earth does not require “temples made with men’s hands?” that going to a place of worship, against the great law of self-preservation, implanted in indelible characters by his divine hand, on the breast of every one of his creatures, constitutes no part of the adoration due to the maker and preserver of mankind? That a “meek and humble heart” is the temple wherein he delights to be worshipped? I hope not—I hope the awful lesson some of our congregations hold forth on this subject, by a mortality out of all proportion to their numbers, will serve as a memento at all future times, in the like critical emergencies!



Some of those who remained in the city, have, for reasons not very easy to justify, been in the habit of reproaching those who fled, with criminality, as deserters, who abandoned their posts. I believe, on the contrary, that as the nature of our government did not allow the arbitrary measures to be pursued, which, in despotic countries would probably have extinguished the disorder at an early period—it was the duty of every person to avoid the danger, whose circumstances and situation allowed it. The effects of the de-

† If they were even guilty of a crime, it brought its own punishment; as I am fully convinced that those who were absent, and a prey to the anxiety caused by the frightful reports current, suffered more than those who remained. I speak from experience. In a few days absence, when the disorder had not reached its summit, I heard more terrific accounts of it, than in as many weeks in Philadelphia, when it raged most violently, and carried off from eighty to a hundred daily.

fertion were, moreover, salutary*. The sphere of action of the disorder was diminished. Two or three empty houses arrested the disease in its progress, as it was slowly, but surely travelling through a street, and probably rescued a neighbourhood from its ravages. We shall long have to mourn the severe loss our city has felt, in being bereft of so many valuable citizens: and had the 17,000 who retired, been in the city during the prevalence of the disorder, and lost as large a proportion of their number, as those did who remained, we should, instead of 4000 dead, have lost nearly 6000; and perhaps had to deplore in the number, another Clow, a Kay, a Lea, a Sims, a Dunkin, a Strawbridge, men of extensive business, whose loss will be long felt—a Pennington, a Glentworth, a Hutchinson, a Sarjeant, a Howell, a Waring, men endowed by heaven with eminent abilities—a Fleming, a Graefsl, a Sproat, men of exalted piety and virtue—a Wilson, an Adgate, a Baldwin, a Carroll, a Tomkins, an Offley, citizens of most estimable characters. Let those, then, who have remained, regard their long-absent friends, as if preserved from death by their flight, and rejoice at their return in health and safety—let those who have been absent, acknowledge the exertions of those who maintained their ground. Let us all unite in the utmost vigilance to prevent the return of this fell destroyer, by the most scrupulous attention to cleansing and purifying our scourged city—and let us join in thanksgiving to that Supreme Being, who has, in his own time, stayed the avenging storm, ready to devour us, after it had laughed to scorn all human efforts.

* Perhaps had all our citizens remained, we should have had famine added to our calamity; whereas we had plentiful markets during the whole time. The prices, too, were in general not far beyond what they are usually at the same season of the year.

Committee for relieving the sick and distressed, appointed by a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, summoned by advertisement in the public papers, Sept. 13, 1793.

President.

MATTHEW CLARKSON, *Mayor of the city.*

Secretary.

CALEB LOWNES.

Treasurer.

THOMAS WISTAR.

Managers of Bushhill hospital.

STEPHEN GIRARD. PETER HELM.

Orphan committee.

ISRAEL ISRAEL.

JAMES KERR.

JOHN LETCHWORTH. J. SHARSWOOD.

Committee of distribution.

ISRAEL ISRAEL.

JAMES KERR.

JOHN HAWORTH.

JACOB WITMAN.

JAMES SWAINE.

J. LETCHWORTH.

MATHEW CAREY.

J. SHARSWOOD.

THOMAS SAVERY.

SAMUEL BERGE.

Superintendent of the burials of the dead, and removals of the sick.

SAMUEL BERGE.

Distributor of supplies.

HENRY DEFOREST.

Committee of accounts.

JAMES SHARSWOOD. JOHN CONNELLY.

Committee on the publication of letters.

CALEB LOWNES.

MATHEW CAREY.

Deceased members.

A. ADGATE.

DANIEL OFFLEY.

J. D. SARGEANT.

JOSEPH INSKELL.

Assistant committee, chosen October 14.

SAMUEL COATES, Chairman.

JOHN OLDDEN, Secretary.

Northern Liberties.

William Peter Spragues,
William Gregory,
Jacob Witman,
James Swain,
Joseph Burns,
George Forepaugh,
Casper Snyder,
Peter Smith.

Vine to Race-Street.

Richard Whitehead,
Joseph Kerr,
John Ettries.

Race to Arch.

Thomas Willis,
Daniel Dawson,
Peter Thompson,
Thomas Allibone,
Lambert Wilmer.

Arch to market.

William Sanson,
Justinian Fox,
Amos Wickersham.

Market to Chestnut.

Arthur Howell,
Alexander Cochran,
Thomas Dobson.

Chestnut to Walnut.

Jeremiah Paul,
James Cummins,
Casper W. Morris,
Thomas Castiere,

Walnut to Spruce.

George Rutter,
Benjamin W. Morris.

Spruce to Pine.

Samuel Pancoast, jun.
John Woodside,
Levi Hollingsworth,
William Watkins.

Pine to South.

John Wood,
Adam Brittle,
William Eckard,
Thomas Dicksey,
Fergus M'Elwaine.

Southwark.

William Innis,
Richard Mosely,
William Robinson, sen.
John Grantham,
John Savadge,
John Pattison.

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List of all the Burials in the several grave yards of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, as taken from the Books kept by Clergymen, Sextons, &c. from August 1st to November 9th, 1793.

AUGUST.

D A Y S.	Christ Church.	St. Peter's.	St. Paul's.	First Presbyterian.	Second Presbyterian.	Third Presbyterian.	Scotch Presbyterian.	Seceders.	St. Mary's.	Trinity.	Friends.	Free Quakers.	German Lutherans.	German Calvinists.	Moravians.	Swedes.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Universalists.	Jews,	Kennington.	Potter's field.	Total.
1	1																						1
2	2																						2
3		1			1																		2
4	1				1																		2
5	1				1		1																3
6	1						1																2
7	1		1								7					1							12
8				1				1					1										5
9	2		1	1	1	1					2	2											11
10	1	1		1	1						2	2											6
11						2						4											7
12									2		2												5
13					1				2		1	2	1		1						1	2	11
14						1																	4
15									3			2	1										9
16		1	1								1	1	1										7
17			1								1	1	1										6
18											1	1	1										5
19			1	1		1		1			3	1											9
20	1							3			1		1										7
21	2			1				2	1			1											8
22			1		2			4		3		1											13
23		1						2		2		3	1										10
24				3	1	1		2	1	5		1	1										17
25	1			2	1			2		1		3								1	1		12
26	2	2		1				3		1		4	1							2	1		17
27	1	1		2				2				3			1					1	1		12
28	5	3		1	2			3		1		2	3										22
29	4	2	1		2	2		2	1	3		4											24
30	1	1						4		4		3	3							1	3		20
31	2	1		1				3				7									3		17

S E P T E M B E R.

DAYS.	Christ Church.	St. Peter's	St. Pauls.	First Presbyterian.	Second Presbyterian.	Third Presbyterian.	Affiliate Presb.	Reformed.	St. Mary's.	Trinity.	Friends.	Free Quakers.	German Lutherans.	German Calvinists.	Moravians.	Swedes.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Universalists.	Jews.	Kennington.	Potter's field.	Total.
1	1				2	1		1					4								2	5	17
2						2			2		5		3	1							1	4	18
3	1	1			3	1							2									3	11
4	3		1	1	2			2	1		2		4	3							2	2	23
5		4		1	1	1	1				1		2	3							1	5	20
6		2		1	1	2		2	1		1		5	1							2	7	24
7	1			1	1	1		1	1		2		3								1	7	18
8	2	1		1	1	4	2	2	2		3		4	4							1	16	42
9		1	2				1				1		7	1	1		2				1	16	42
10	3		1	1	1			2	3	1	6		5	1							1	13	32
11	2	1			1				1		2		3								1	4	29
12	1	2	6		1		1		2		3		2	2	1						3	8	23
13	1	1		1	1	1		3	1	7	7		8	2		1					1	10	37
14	2	1	2	3	3	1		4	4	4	4		5	2							2	15	48
15	4	2		1	1	3	1	5	1	10	10		9	1	1						2	14	56
16	4	2	1	2	3	1		4	3	10	7		12	7							3	14	57
17	1	1	1	1	4	2		5	2	7	21		17	7							3	26	81
18	3	4		2	4	2		6	2	7	10		10	4							3	19	68
19	4	2		2	3	2		4		5	9		9	5							5	23	51
20	3	1	1	1	2	2		2	3	9	9		7	1		3					5	27	57
21	3	3		1	2	1		6	6	6	6		8	2							4	21	57
22	6	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	6		7	6	1	1					7	33	76
23	1	3	2		4			5	2	7	8		8	6							9	21	58
24		5	2	4	4	2				9	8		12	4							8	38	76
25	4	2	2	4	4	4		2	6		8		15	5		3					7	25	87
26	2		1	3	1			1	1	5	6		6	5		1					1	25	52
27	3	1	1	2	1	4	1	6		14	14		6	5							2	14	50
28	1	1	1	1	1	1				2	2		4	5		3					2	29	51
29	4	3	2	2	3			1	4	10	10		7	3		1					2	14	57
30	4	1	2	1	3			6	1	8	8		4	6		3					2	22	53

Returned in gross.

Returned in gross.

Returned in gross.

Returned in gross.

N O V E M B E R.

D A Y S.	Christ Church.	St. Peter's.	St. Paul's.	First Presbyterian.	Second Presbyterian.	Third Presbyterian.	Associate Presb.	Reformed.	St. Mary's.	Trinity.	Friends.	Free Quakers.	German Lutherans.	German Calvinists.	Moravians.	Swedes.	Baptists.	Methodists.	Universalists.	Jews.	Kennington.	Potter's field.	Total.
1									1		3		1	1							2	5	13
2		1				2			3		2		3	2							1	8	21
3	1	1							1				5	2							1	4	15
4	1	1							1				5								1	6	15
5		2									2		2									6	14
6			1						3		1		1									5	11
7		2		1					1		4			1							1	5	15
8		1							2	1			1									3	8
9										1				2								3	6

August	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	325
September	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1442
October	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1993
November	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	118
Jews, returned in gross	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Baptists, Do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
Methodists, Do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
Free Quakers, Do.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
German part of St. Mary's congregation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
Total																						4041	

Protestant Episcopalians	{	Christ Church	-	-	-	-	-	173
		St. Peter's	-	-	-	-	-	109
		St. Paul's.	-	-	-	-	-	70
Presbyterians	{	First	-	-	-	-	-	73
		Second	-	-	-	-	-	122
		Third	-	-	-	-	-	107
		Associate	-	-	-	-	-	12
		Reformed	-	-	-	-	-	33
Roman Catholics	{	St. Mary's	-	-	-	-	-	251
		German part of do.	-	-	-	-	-	30
		Trinity	-	-	-	-	-	54
Friends	-	-	-	-	-	-	373	
Free Quakers	-	-	Returned in gros.	-	-	-	-	39
German	{	Lutherans	-	-	-	-	-	641
		Calvinists	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moravians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Swedes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75
Baptists	-	-	Returned in gros.	-	-	-	-	60
Methodists	-	-	Do.	-	-	-	-	32
Universalists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Jews	-	-	Do.	-	-	-	-	2
Kenfington	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	169
Potter's field, including the new ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1334

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

MADE IN PHILADELPHIA, BY

DAVID RITTENHOUSE, Esquire.

AUGUST, 1793.

	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Wind.		Weather.			
	A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.		
1	29	95	30	0	65	77	WNW	NW	cloudy,	fair,
2	30	1	30	1	63	81	NW	SW	fair,	fair,
3	30	5	29	95	62	82	N	NNE	fair,	fair,
4	29	97	30	0	65	87	S	SW	fair,	fair,
5	30	5	30	1	73	90	SSW	SW	fair,	fair,
6	30	2	30	0	77	87	SW	W	cloudy,	fair,
7	30	12	30	1	68	83	NW	W	fair,	fair,
8	30	1	29	95	69	86	SSE	SSE	fair,	rain,
9	29	8	29	75	75	85	SSW	SW	cloudy,	fair,
10	29	9	29	9	67	82	W	SW	fair,	fair,
11	30	0	30	0	70	84	SW	WSW	cloudy,	cloudy,
12	30	0	30	0	70	87	W	W	fair,	fair,
13	30	5	30	0	71	89	SW	W	fair,	fair,
14	30	0	29	95	75	82	SW	SW	fair,	rain,
15	30	0	30	1	72	75	NNE	NE	rain,	cloudy,
16	30	1	30	1	70	83	NNE	NE	fair,	fair,
17	30	1	30	0	71	86	SW	SW	fair,	fair,
18	30	1	30	0	73	89	calm	SW	fair,	fair,
19	30	1	30	1	72	82	N	N	fair,	cloudy,
20	30	1	30	12	69	82	NNE	NNE	fair,	fair,
21	30	15	30	25	62	83	N	NNE	fair,	fair,
22	30	3	30	35	63	86	NE	SE	fair,	fair,
23	30	25	30	15	63	85	calm	S	fair,	fair,
24	30	1	30	1	73	81	calm	calm	cloudy,	rain,
25	30	1	30	1	71	66	NE	NE	rain,	great rain,
26	30	15	30	2	59	69	NE	NE	cloudy,	cloudy,
27	30	2	30	2	65	73	NE	NE	cloudy,	cloudy,
28	30	2	30	15	67	80	S	calm	cloudy,	clearing,
29	30	16	30	15	72	86	calm	SW	cloudy,	fair,
30	30	1	30	1	74	87	calm	SW	fair,	fair,
31	30	0	30	0	74	84	SW	NW	rain,	fair,

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER, 1793.

	6 Barometer.				Thermometer.				Winds.				Weather.			
	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	3 P. M.	6 M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	3 P. M.	6 M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	3 P. M.	6 M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	3 P. M.	6 M.
1	30	0	29	30	71	86			6	Calm	SW			fog,	fair,	
2	29	75	29	8	73	86				SW	SW			fair,	fair,	
3	80	0			60					NW	N			fair,	fair,	
4	30	15	30	15	55	75				W	W			fair,	fair,	
5	30	15	30	1	62	80				SE	S			fair,	cloudy,	
6	29	97	29	95	70	89				WSW	W			fair,	cloudy,	
7	30	0	30	0	65	77				WNW	NW			fair,	fair,	
8	30	1	30	1	64	70				Calm	Calm			cloudy,	cloudy,	
9	30	0	30	0	66	80				SE	NW			rain,	fair,	
10	30	0	30	0	64	72				N	NNE			fair,	cloudy,	
11	30	1	30	0	62	72				NNE	N			cloudy,	fair,	
12	29	96	29	9	58	76				NW	NNW			fair,	fair,	
13	29	95	30	0	57	72				NW	N			fair,	fair,	
14	30	0	30	5	58	79				NW	NW			fair,	fair,	
15	30	0	29	97	65	80				N	S			fair,	fair,	
16	29	9	29		70	84				S	SW			cloudy,	fair,	
17	29	8	29	85	66	67				N	N			cloudy,	cloudy,	
18	30	3			44					N				fair,		
19	30	4	30	35	45	70				Calm	SW			fair,	fair,	
20	30	3	30	15	54	69				Calm	SE			hazy,	hazy,	
21	30	0	29	0	59	78				Calm				cloudy,	fair,	
22	30	0	30	0	63	83				Calm				cloudy,	fair,	
23	30	1	30	1	62	81				Calm	SE			cloudy,	cloudy,	
24	30	2	30	2	65	70				NE	ENE			cloudy,	fair,	
25	30	15	30	0	61	68				NE	NE			cloudy,	cloudy,	
26	29	8	29	7	58	79				N	N			cloudy,	fair,	
27	29	7			64					NW	NW			cloudy,	fair,	
28	30	5	30	15	54	73				NW	NW			fair,	fair,	
29	30	3	30	3	56	74				NE	ENE			cloudy,	fair,	
30	30	35	30	3	57	75				Calm	SW			foggy,	fair,	

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER, 1793.

	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Winds.		Weather.	
	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.
1	30 15	30 5	64	80	SW	SW	cloudy,	fair,
2	29 9	30 5	70	72	W	NNW	cloudy,	fair,
3	30 2	30 15	50	72	W	SW	fair,	fair,
4	29 75	29 7	59	72	SW	W	cloudy,	cloudy
5	30 0	30 1	58	66	N	N	fair,	fair,
6	30 3	30 3	43	66	NE	W	fair,	fair,
7	30 45		46		calm		fair,	
8	30 6	30 6	53	68	N	N	fair,	fair,
9	30 5	30 4	53	70	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
10	30 2	30 2	49	74	E	NW	fair,	fair,
11	30 0	29 85	51	74	W	W	fair,	fair,
12	26 6	29 55	58	64	SW	NW	rain,	rain,
13	29 85	29 9	49	69	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
14	30 5	30 0	52	76	SW	SW	calm,	fair,
15	29 75	29 8	56	54	SW	N	fair,	rain,
16	30 0	30 0	37	53	NNW	N	fair,	fair,
17	30 1	30 1	37	60	NE	NE	fair,	fair,
18	30 1	30 1	41	62	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
19	30 0	29 9	51	66	N	N	cloudy,	fair,
20	30 0	30 0	44	54	NW	N	fair,	fair,
21	30 0	30 2	49	59	N	NW	fair,	fair,
22	29 6	29 5	51	65	NW	NW	fair,	fair,
23	29 8	29 8	47	60	W	W	fair,	fair,
24	30 3	30 4	36	59	W	NW	fair,	fair,
25	30 4	30 3	46	71	S	S	cloudy,	fair, high w.
26	30 2	30 2	60	72	calm	SW	cloudy,	cloudy,
27	30 3	30 3	44	44	NNE	NNE	cloudy,	cloudy,
28	30 2	30 1	34	37	N	N	cloudy,	cloudy,
29	29 85	29 85	28	44	NNW	NW	fair,	fair,
30	30 1	30 1	28	49	calm	SW	hazy,	hazy,
31	30 15	30 2	42	45	calm	NNE	cloudy,	rain,

NOVEMBER, 1793.

	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Wind.		Weather.	
	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.
1	30 1	30 1	40	41	NNE	NE	rain,	cloudy,
2	30 3	30 25	32	49	NNE	NE	fair,	fair,
3	30 1	30 0	43	56	Calm	SW	cloudy,	cloudy,
4	29 8	29 9	55	67	SW	SW	cloudy,	fair,
5	30 15	30 1	50	64	NE	NE	rain,	rain,
6	29 8	29 65	63	67	S	S	cloudy,	cloudy,
7	29 8	29 8	44	64	Calm	SW	fair,	fair,
8	29 8	29 85	43	56	SSW	SW	fair,	fair,
9	29 9	29 95	42	64	SW	SW	fair,	fair,

OF THE NAMES OF THE PERSONS
BURIED

IN THE SEVERAL GRAVEYARDS OF THE
CITY AND LIBERTIES OF PHILADELPHIA,

From August 1st, to November 9th, 1793.

[Before the reader begins the examination of these lists, I beg leave to inform him what he is to expect in them. They are taken from the books of the several sextons, where such books are kept, which unfortunately has not been done in every instance. In these books, many names are mis-spelled, which I have corrected as far as in my power. Some names are wholly omitted, and in the cases of two small congregations, the names have been collected merely from memory. It will therefore be readily perceived, that these lists must in various instances be both inaccurate and defective. But I believe they are as complete as the nature of the case will allow---and I am in hopes they will be found useful, in nine cases out of ten. My reason for drawing the reader's attention to the matter, is merely to prepare him for the real state of what is laid before him; lest he should expect what is absolutely unattainable, a complete and entire list of every person who died during the late calamity.

In every instance where I could do it, I have added the occupations of the parties, to remove the doubts of people at a distance. And for the same reason, I have classed the names separately according to the several burial grounds; as there are many instances of two persons of the same name belonging to different congregations.]

CHRIST CHURCH.

FRANCIS ANDERSON

Joseph Ashton
James Abbott
Joseph Abbott
Mary Allen
George, son of Joseph Bullock
Angelina, daughter of do.
Catherine Barr, widow of Thos.
Benjamin Bostock, gent.
William Brewster's son
Nathaniel Blodgett, merch.
John Barwell, livery stable keeper
Wife of do.
Thomas Barker
Burge's Ball
Mrs. Corran
Thomas Clark
Harriot Chamberlaine
Richard Chamberlaine's daugr.
- - - Crowley
Mary Crowley
Isaac Collins
Mary Clement
Frederick Christian, baker
Hannah Carter
William Cox
Eleanor Carrel
Robert Conckell
William Campbell
John Davis, upholsterer
Mary Deale
Ann Dunn
Thomas Devonald, merchant
Elizabeth Ellis
Samuel A. Ellis
Elizabeth Erenzeller
David Fenton, shoemaker
Margaret Fenton
William French
Margaret Fleim
William Favell
Elizabeth Follows
William Firm
John Fisher
David Franks, merchant
Margaret Fudge, senr.
Margaret Fudge, junr.
Elizabeth Fudge

Ann Flint
James Gilchrist, merchant
Elizabeth Glynn
Benjamin Glynn
John Herrill
John Hockley, ironmonger
John Hannas
Joseph Hannas
Christian Hannis
Andrew Hannis
Jane Harrifon
Mary Harrifon
James Hill
Harriet Heatly, wife of Chs.
Joseph Hicks, gluemaker
Elizabeth Hall
Thomas, son of William Holder-
nessle
William Jones
Charles Jones
Mary Jones, widow
Elizabeth Jones
- - - King
George Killinger
Joseph Keen
Thomas Kildrick
Peter Killenger
Catharine, wife of P. Lemaigre
Thomas Lea, merchant
J. T. Lea, son of do.
Edward Lowder
Sarah Lowder
John Letton
Aaron Lawrence
Sarah Lawrence
Thomas Miller, merchant
Phebe Miller, daughter of do.
Grace Moore
John Morgan
Jacob Morgan
Hannah Morgan
Rev. Dr. Murray
John Mullen
Robert Mullen and apprentice
John Marrow
Ann McDonald
Mrs. Magill

William Nichols, Æt. 73.
Mary Nichols, wife of do.
Mary Nagle
Thomas Owner
Henry Pratt's wife and child
Samuel Powell, speaker of senate
James Pickering, shoemaker
Frederick Phile, naval officer
Mrs. - - - Porter
Catharine Rice
William Rice
William Rice
John Rowe
Jane Robinson
William Rutherford
James Reid, Æt. 75
Sarah Reid, daughter of do.
James Reid
Alexander Reid
Samuel Reid's wife
Lucy Richardson
John Rudolph
Ann Roberts
Mary Ridge
Wm. Sellers } children of Wm.
Suf Sellers } Sellers, printer
Joseph Sellert
Hannah Streeton
John Steele
Mary Steele
Frederick W. Starman, merchant
Samuel Simpson
Mary Simpson
John Smith
Mary Smith
Rebecca Smith
George Sydes
Joseph Scull
Abraham Slater
John Stokes, bottler of liquors
John Stokes, junr.
York Sprögel
Ann, widow of Henry Stiles
Ann Sewell
Margaret Saturnfeld
John Towu
Mary Town
Henry Townsend

Richard Truſt
Ann Traſter
Mary Thomas
Ann Tolman
Joſeph Thornell, carpenter
Arabella Tudor
Samuel Tudor's child
Ann Willey

Ellinor Wabes
John Weſt
William Weſt
Margaret Weſt
James Weſt's brother
Charles Whitebread
Catharine Wadman
- - - Wigfall

Ann Wight
John White
Gurney Warr's ſon
Mary Willing
John Wilſon
George Wver
Solomon Webb,
- - -

St. PETER'S CHURCH.

HESTER ADAMS
Dr. John Alſton
Hen. Bowles's wife & two ſons
William, ſon of John Barry
Robert Black
Thomas Boone
Margaret, wife of John Burke
Daniel Baldwin, druggiſt
William Baker
Abraham Chaiwill
Margaretta, wife of Joſ. Conyers
James Craig, merchant, nearly 80
Elizabeth Cook
Chriſtopher Carefoot
John Cozens
Samuel Whiteeaſe Coburn
John Dickinſon
Maria, daughter of Patrick Dickinſon
Elifabeth, wife of Ths. Dickinſon
Hugh, ſon of John Donaldſon
Joſeph Davis
Sarah, daughter of Peter Dale
Robert Dannel
Catherine, daughter of John Dufour
John, ſon of William Edwards
Samuel Edwards
Joſeph Farren, junr.
Robert, ſon of Thomas Fox
Nathaniel Glover, merchant
Robert Graham
Henry Hambleton
Sarah, wife of Bernard Hanfell
Susannah Hartly
John Hall
Sarah, wife of Joſeph Huddle
Adam Hubley, auctioneer
Martha Hemphill

Rowland Jones
Elizabeth Jones
James Johnſon
Samuel, ſon of John Jenkins
Mary, daughter of John Inſell
Joſeph Kingsley
David, ſon of John King
Francis, daugr of George Kurts
James Lapsley, ſchoolmaſter
Elizabeth Lapsley, daughter of James
James, ſon of - - - Lennox
John Long & his ſon John
Philip Linion, bottler
Margaret Landreſ
Dr. John Lynn, late of New England
Abrm. Lott, mercht. late of Virga.
Susannah Lindley
John McClelland
Elizabeth, wife of John Morris
William, ſon of do.
Margaret, daughter of Henry McCormick
Susannah, wife of Edmond Miller, 80 years
Caroline, daughter of Thomas L. Moore
Joſeph, ſon of Thomas Miles
Samuel Penn, baker
William Paine
Thomas Pugh
Ann, daughter of John Pierce
Edmund, ſon of Edmund Potter
John Richardſon
George Rainsford
Lætitia, daughter of Daniel Robuſon
Maria, daughter of Peter Stoy

Wilhelmina, daughter of William Shepherd
Jane, daughter of John Stewart
Samuel Stewart
Elizabeth Smith
John Smith, merchant, Cheſnut-Street.
John, ſon of do.
Sarah, daughter of do.
Woodrop Sims, merchant
William Sheridan
Hannah, daughter of William Sheridan
John Scott
Andrew Scott
Margaret, wife of Lawrence Stance
Mary Still
Mary, wife of George Stokes
Joanna, wife of John Stair
John Todd
Jane, daughter of Thomas Thompſon
John, ſon of do.
John Vanducen
- - - Vanducen
James Wilkinſon, of Dublin
William Whitesides, tea-dealer
Warner Waſhington, ſtudent of medicine
Edward Walker, of Birmingham
Richard Ware
Waſhington, ſon of William Woodhouſe
Hannah, wife of Thomas Wiſe
Rebecca, daughter of G. Wood
Sarah, daughter of Sam. Walton
John Wilſon
One child, name unknown.

St. PAUL'S CHURCH.

JANE AMERAN
John Bright's ſon
John Beaty
Benjamin Bodger's ſon
Wm. Cameron, tavern-keeper
Mr - - - Cox's ſon-in-law
William Cathers
George Claypoole, joiner
William Claypoole's child
- - - Cromwell's wife.
James Dogherty's daughter
John Davis
Mrs. Davis
Elizabeth Davis
Richard Davy
Joſhua Dawson's child
Mrs. Dupleſſis
David Elders
David Elders
Edward Edwards's ſon
Thomas Finton, junr.
Mrs. Field

Francis Finley
Mrs. Fox's ſon
Dr Peter Glentworth
Mary Godin
Mrs. Holmes
George Hinton
Samuel Johnſton, printer.
Matthias Kean's daughter
Michael Lewis's ſon
Edward Langman
Mrs. Lobra
Thomas Lapsley's wife & child
Mrs Lane
William Morriſon
Michael Murphy's daughter
James Molineaux's daughter
Mrs. Muſkitts
- - - Muſkitts
Francis Marey
Joſeph Norman's wife
Matthew Parker & ſon
Mrs. Parker

Benjamin Pitfield
William Purvis's wife
Abraham Robinſon
William Stiles & his apprentice, ſtone-cutters
William Stiles, junior
Mrs. Stiles
Aſhfield Stevenſon
Mrs. Stevenſon's daughter
Captain Strong's daughter
Francis Shafner's wife
Chriſtopher Search
Zachariah Thomas
Zachariah Thorn
Andrew Tennick's wife
John Warton
Joſeph Whitehead & child
John Wood, watchmaker
Leighton Wood's wife
Ann Wilſon
Joſeph Wright's wife

THOMAS ALLIBONE's child	Rachel Davis, wife of Joseph,	Jacob Hillman, blacksmith
Nathaniel Ahby's child	currier	Caleb Hoskins, late of Burlington
Peter Alton, merchant, wife and son	James Davison's child	Dr. James Hutchinson & child
Joseph Alnton, bricklayer, wife & two children	Jonathan Dickinson, shoe maker	Joseph Holton, carpenter
Peter Alnton's child	Daniel Dickinson's daughter	Martha Holton
Alexr. Anderson, tavern keeper	Arthur Donaldson's son	Joseph Hopkins, hatter
Lawrence Allman, bricklayer & child	Daniel Dawson's wife Hannah	Joseph Hewling, bricklayer
John B. Ackley's child	Benedict Dorsey's daugr. Sarah	Charles Halden, hatter
Elisha Alexander, taylor	Sarah Dunn	Samuel, son of Job Harvey
Isaac Antrim, currier	Joseph Dubree's wife	Lydia Hatfield
Thomas Albertson's wife	William, son of John Drinker,	Benjamin Hickman's wife & son
Caleb Attmore, hatter	bricklayer	James Hunt, clerk
Samuel Beattie, senr. taylor	Francis Elcock	Isaac Hastings, attorney at law
Thomas Budden, taylor	Josiah Elfrith, joiner	Henry Hore
Joseph Burden's child	Richard Eiber's child	James Hendricks, blacksmith
Sufannah Burden, daughter of Thomas Kite	Margaret Elmdie of Scotland	William Hope
Catharine Beatty	Grace, sister of David Eastaugh	Daniel Jones
John Ballance, blacksmith	John Elliott's son Isaac	William Jones, merchant
Thomas A. Bryan	Rowland Evans, merchant	Owen Jones, senr. near 80 years
Sarah Bryant	Ann Evans	Patience Jones
Joseph Bum's daughter	Mary Evans	John M. Jones's wife Mary
Elizabeth Burngate, shopkeeper	Mary Evans	Joab Jones, taylor
David Bacon's wife	Joseph Evans	Sarah Johns
Joseph Budd's wife and child	Samuel Ferguson, chair maker	Mary Johns
Margaret Bond, late of N York	Elizabeth Ferguson, his sister	Mathew Johns's daughter
Widow Boulter	Charles Finney's daughter	Martha James
Nathaniel Baine's, (turner) wife	Elizabeth French, daughter of Charles	Widow Jackson's child
Hugh Bain's child	Philip Festham, druggist	Widow Jackson, late of Wilmington
Richard Blackham, iron-monger	Samuel Fisher, hatter	John Inkton, apprentice
Sarah Bird	Isaac Folwell, taylor	Joseph Inskip, tutor
Isaac Barnett, joyner	Elizabeth Fletcher	John Ingles, merchant, of York-shire
William Boswell's wife	William Finifter	Jonathan Kite, chair maker and son of Jonathan
Edward Brookes's (house carpenter) wife	Abraham Gordon, carpenter	Caleb Kimber, senr. tutor
William Brooks's daughter	Thomas Garrigues, hatter	Caleb Kimber's son, Aaron
Jemimah Bonshall	Samuel Garrigues's wife & son	George Kribbs shoemaker
Robert Bartram, son of Moses	John Gillingham, joiner	Sufannah Kribner, w. of Paul
Isaac Britton	Mary Gillingham, daughter of John	Richard Mason, engine-maker
Elizabeth Bristol's daughter	Richard Gardiner, clerk	Abraham C. Mason, son of do.
Widow Elizabeth Brogdon	Samuel Grifcom, carpenter	Stephen Maxfield's wife
William Boyce's (carpenter) wife & son	Rebecca Grifcom his wife	Richard, son of Peter Miller
Charles Bonnell's child	Joseph Gill) children of captain Sarah Gil) Gill	Sufannah Mitchell d. of Thoma
Owen Biddle's daughter Jane	Mary Good, late of Bucks county	Evan Meredith's wife Sufannah
Francis Byerley	John Guest, senr.	John Morrison, copper smith
William Brown	James Gorham, carpenter	John Morrison's daughter
Mary Boyle	Sarah Hoops	Sarah Middleton, widow
Isaac Buckbee, hatter	Mary Head, daughter of Samuel	Joseph North's child
James Butland's child	William Houck's child	Sarah Norton, widow
Thomas Coates's child	James Hill, chair maker	Hannah Naylor
Josiah Coates's daught. Margaret	Johanna Hill, junior	John Naylor
Josiah Coates's girl Eleanor	Peal Harris	Hannah Norris
Hannah Cadwallader	Sufanna Haga	Benjamin Oldden's wife, child & boy
Ann, wife of Cornelius Comegys	Joseph Harper's three children	Daniel Offley, anchor smith
Philip Care's wife & child	William Hunter, tavern keeper	Mary Ogiby,
Wm. Cox's (chairmaker) boy & girl	Martin Hildeburn, sievemaker	Mary Pepper, layer out of the dead
George Campbell, wife Sarah & daughter Mary	Ellis Hughes, black smith	Samuel Pemberton & child
Adam Chambers's child	Hannah Humphreys daughter of Joshua	Charles Palmer, house carpenter
Isaac Cathrall's son	Josua Humphreys, near 86 years	Tacy Palmer, his sister
Benjamin Cathrall's son	Richard Humphreys, shop keeper	Rebecca Palmer
Mathew Conard, tavern keeper	Sarah Harmer, late near Princet- ton	Aaron Palmer's child
Margaret, daugt. of John Conrad	Benjamin Hornor's d. Elizabeth	Isaac Parrish's son Isaac
Sarah Coltman, midwife	Sarah Hornor, seamstrefs	Isaac Parrish's son Edward
Abraham Comly, carpenter	John Hobson, sievemaker	John Pennington, physician
Isaac Cline, carpenter	Elizabeth Hobson, his mother	Isaac Pennington's daugr. Mary
Joshua Cresson, carpenter	Jacob R. Howell, attorney at law	William Preston's (bricklayer) wife & three children
Thomas Clifford, senr. merchant	Jacob S. Howell, merchant	Benjamin Poultnre, ironmonger
William Davis	Isaac Howell's wife Patience	Phebe, widow of do.
Elizabeth Davis	Jacob Harlman	Hannah, daughter of do.
Letitia Davis, widow	George Heiberger's son	Joseph Penol
	Thomas Henderfon's child	Josua Pearson, & wife Elizabeth
	Reuben Hains, senr. brewer	Elizabeth Pusey d. of William
	Margaret Hains, w. of Reuben	

Widow of William Pearson at Kensington	James M. Smith, card maker	Enoch Taylor, bricklayer, & three children
Hannah Parker, wife of Samuel	Charles W. Smithfield, tutor	Daniel Troller's child
Robert Paul's wife	Dr. Say's wife Ann	Jacob Tomkins, junr. merchant
Sydney Paul, widow, innkeeper	Dr. Say's daughter Mary	Henry Test, hatter
Ruth Peters	Rachel Starr	John Thatcher's child
Francis Pudgeley	Lydia Starr, jun. } daugr. of James	Peter Thompson, senr. scrivener
Sarah Palling	Sarah Starr	Thomas Topliff, grocer
Mary Purdue	Mary Sikes, about 15 years	Thomas Taggart
Eliza Richards	Elizabeth Sitz	Elizabeth Tittwood
Daniel Richards, lumber-merch.	Henry Shaw & wife	Hannah Whitesides
Samuel Richards's wife	Hannah Stow	James Whitehall's wife
Sarah Razor	William Shipley, grazier	Solomon White's daughter
James Robinson	Leticia Scroud's child	James Wood & two children
Aaron Roberts	Joseph Stansbury, junior	Isaac Wood's child
Robert Roberts, late of Merion	Isaac Samms, carpenter	William Waring, mathematician
Thomas Randal's child	Mary Samson	Mary Williams
Widow Rakestraw's child	John Smithson, of Dublin	Elizabeth Williams
Edward Rees, cabinet-maker	Robert Shepherd, shopkeeper	Charles Williams, grazier
Sarah Rodman, of Rhode-Island	Anthony Sharp, taylor	Mary Wilson, widow of Joseph
Jane Snowden, mother of Leonard	Nehemiah Sharp, taylor	McCalla Wilson and wife
Sufanna Stackhouse	Isaac Stewart	William Wilson's wife, Abigail
Thomas Stackhouse	John Stall, student of medicine	Jane Warner
Mary Shoemaker	Townsend Speakman, druggist	Lydia West
Samuel Shoemaker, junior, carpenter, from Cheltenham	Esther Squirel, 82 years	Emanuel Walker, wife and son
Joseph Shoemaker, hatter	John Todd, tutor, senr. & wife	Elizabeth Walker, wife of Sam.
Jonathan Shoemaker, cabinet-maker	John Todd, attorney at law	Matthew Walker
Benjamin Smith, merch. of Burlington	Robert Taylor, clerk	Charles Watson's wife & child
Nathan Smith's son	Abigail Taylor, widow	Thomas Waters's daughter
John Smith, cabinet-maker	Isaac Taylor, iron seller, his wife and sister Sarah	Ann Wagner
	Samuel Taylor, brushmaker, and daughter Mary	James Worshall, ironmonger
	William Trotter's wife	Mary, daughter of capt. Volance
		Jeremiah Vanhorne, board merchant.

D. John Morris & wife

METHODISTS.

JOHN ABRAMS, shopkeeper	Mary Dickinson	John Madden
Hugh Armstrong	Rev. William Dougherty	Deborah Morton
Isaac Andrews	James Evans	Abigail North
Robert Babby	Mary Griffen	Mrs. Parks
Honour Beale	Benjamin Gardener	Margaret Reid
Joseph Bowen	Mary Ganno	Ann Rankin
Mary Brown	William Harris	Jacob Rutter
Mr. Boon	William Harris	Margaret, wife of Joseph Rogers
Mary Carr	Sarah Harrison	John Smith
Rebecca Corron	Elizabeth Harvey	Sarah Thompson
Church Clinton and wife	Jacob Hawes	Mary Wolf.
Elizabeth Duna	Mary Knoufe	

HOLT TRINITY.

SARAH AMMON	Francis Dupail	Mary Mansfield
Peter Albring	Jacob Debre	John Baptist Maris
Lewis Albring	Elizabeth Debre	Leonard Madellen
Peggy Albring	Citizen Du Lac	John Miller
Augustus Albring	Dr. Dupac	Marquis Dupuis Montbrun
James Aubain	Elizabeth, a servant	Benedict Nefmos
Remiquis Azor	Mr. Florio	Miss Nefmos
René Beranger	George Fox	Catherine Nodler
Claudius A. Bertier, merchant	John Grub	Francis Nugue
Henry Beyer	John Horne	Charlotte Petit
Bartholomew, a sailor	Henry Horn, senr.	Mr. Praellet
Salaniah Bouman	Henry Horne, junr.	Joseph Ribaux's child
Francis Bastian	Catherine Horne	Christopher Shorti
Magdalen Bastian	George Hoochey	Mrs. Shorti
Francis Bingin	Barbara Krunholtz	Baptist Sicard
Francis A. Breinez	Joseph Koch	Jacob Shinney
John Carpentier	John Koch	Elizabeth Teysoz
Mary Francis Chabot,	John Mansfield, carpenter	John Wagner.

[5]
MORAVIANS.

ELIZ. TANNENBERG, senr.	John Peters, senr. biscuit baker	John Roman
Elizabeth Tannenber, junr.	John Peters, junr. tutor	Bernard Spees
Joseph Dean, vendue master,	Jacob Peters, biscuit baker	Elizabeth Thornhill
Mary Lindall	Sarah Peters, wife of do.	Charles Weifs, son of Lewis
John Mark, shopkeeper		

ASSOCIATE CHURCH.

KITTY AUSTIN, seamstress	Mrs. Gibson	John Steel's daughter
Mr. Anderfon's daughter	William Jameson's child	John Sutherland, merchant
David Clark, coachmaker	Samuel Paterfon's child	Mr. Thompson's son
Mrs. Craig	John Steel, carpenter	Agnes, wife of William Young.
Thomas Ferguson, printer		

REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN.

Dr. ANNAN's wife	John M ^c Ilroy	Peggy Rogers
--- Barron	Alexander M ^c Kibbin, Taylor	Captain Ritchie's wife
Campbell Dick, merchant	John Moore	--- Thompson
John Durker	Hugh Ross, blacksmith, his wife	Charles Willfon, clerk
Robert Jack, schoolmaster	and child	John Wilson, carpenter
Thomas Levey's wife	William Robinfon, labourer	--- Walker
Mrs. Lamond, her child and jour-	Thomas Robinfon do.	Elizabeth Young
neyman	William Robinfon, do.	A person and a child unknown.
--- M ^c Ilroy	Jane Robinfon	

BAPTIST CHURCH.

CORNELIUS BARNES, merch.	Mrs. Goff, wife do.	Stephen Shakespear.
Mary Beckner	--- Goff, child of do.	Mary Shewell, wife of Mr. Sals-
Thomas Bennet, labourer	Peter Gordon, shoe maker	lows Shewell, merchant
Lucy Bennet, wife of do.	Enoch Gordon, shoe maker	Frances Summers
Miss Bowers	John Hopper, joiner	Mary Swim
William Brown	John Jarman, junr.	Benjamin Thaw, junr.
Jacob Burkellow, junr.	Margaret Keene	Maria Thaw, sister of do.
Alexander Campbell	John Kline	Richard Towne
James Carter	Charles Knight	Aaron Vanhorne, taylor
Mrs. Clarke	Rachel Lawrence	John Wales
Miss Clark, daughter of do.	Joseph Lee	Mrs. Wales, wife of do.
William M ^c Cloud	Mary Lee, wife of do.	James Watkins, joiner
Mrs. Cohen	George Lee, son of do.	Samuel Weatherby, corder
George Cohen, son of do.	Elizabeth Lovell	Sarah Weatherby, wife of do.
Hester, wife of Sl. Davis, senr.	Capt. James Marsh	Thomas Weatherby)
Sarah Davis	Stephen Marsh, brother of do.	Samuel Weatherby) sons
Mary Denny	Ann Peckworth	Joseph Weatherby) of do.
Mary, wife of Joseph Engle	John Ridge, junr.	Benjamin Weatherby)
Elizabeth Ferguson	Mary Robinfon, widow	Elijah Weed, jail keeper
Jonathan French	Hannah Rogers, wife of Rev. Mary Wood.	
Morris Goff	Dr. William Rogers	

GERMAN CALVINISTS.

HENRY ABEL's child	Philip Clumberg, barber surgeon	Philip Enck, clerk, son to do.
John Abel, shoemaker	Margaret Cress	Hen. Enck, storekeeper, son to do.
Christian Alberger, skinner	John Diehl's son, porter	Peter Enck, taylor, son to do.
John Alberger, cedar-cooper	John Dietmar, labourer	--- Eckstein's child
George Becker's child	Maria M. Diehl	Catharine Eckstein, his wife
Widow Backer	John Diehl, carpenter	Jacob Ehringer, stockingweaver
Catharine Beck	Christopher Degenhard, taylor,	Mrs. Elfry, John's wife (Catha.)
Jacob Berk, labourer	and child	John Elfry, cooper
Christopher Birger, carter	Wilhelma. Degenhard, sister to do.	Catharine Elfry, mother of John
George Bantz, carter	William Dorr	John Elfry's child
John Baldy, tanner	John Daum, labourer	Philip Edenborn, flour merchant
George Bornhoufe, cabinetmaker	Christian Deshong's child	John Ecky's apprentice, shoem.
Jacob Bay, typefounder	Morris Deshong, clerk	Widow Feller's child
John Bretzel, baker	Widow Deshong, mother to do.	Felix Fenner, labourer
Mrs. Bakeoven, tavernkeeper	Mathew Deshong's child	Jacob Fleck's six children
George Berkenbein's wife and	John Doll, carpenter	George Fleck's wife
daughter	Robert Dorsey's servant girl	John Fritz, taylor
Margaret Burkhardts	Jacob Esler, blacksmith	Widow Fernglats
Peter Cooper's son, carrier	Jacob Enck, taylor	John Fink, portes

William Fufelback's child
 Margaret Ginther, tayloress
 John Gartner, labourer
 Adolph Gaul, butcher
 John Gamber's child
 Rachel Gebhard
 Elizabeth Gans
 Mrs. Gilbert
 Ludwig Graver's child
 Jacob Hill's wife
 William Hertzog, labourer
 Philip Hasenbach, labourer
 Wm. Hickenbottom, innkeeper
 William Hickenbottom's boy
 William Hautzel, weaver
 John Heiberger, baker
 Jacob Heiberger's child
 John Helm's child
 George Hinckel, watchman
 Elizabeth Held
 Mrs. Haller
 Philip Haller, cooper
 Mrs. Hef's
 George He's's sister
 Caleb Hughes's child and apprentice
 Catharina Hoff
 Elizabeth Herleman
 Christian Hautzel, carter
 Francis Johnston
 Mary Johnston
 Philip Ink, taylor
 John Jenny
 Dr. Janus's daughter
 Joseph Job, stocking-weaver
 John Jauch, taylor
 George Jost
 George Jones, blacksmith
 Magdalen Klady
 Catharine Klady
 Joseph Kayfer
 Daniel Kayfer, labourer
 Christian Kreider, tobacconist
 George Kock, labourer
 Catharine Kock, wife of do.
 George Kock, son of do.
 Jacob Kuehlein, butcher
 John Kline, labourer
 Mr. Koop, (John) harness maker
 John Keen's child
 Mr. Kennedy's servant girl
 Widow Kuhn
 John Lambback, labourer
 Paul Leck, labourer
 John Lees, taylor
 Catharina Lieft
 William Lohman, rope maker
 Christopher Luckarts, carter, & wife
 Jacob Macker's child
 Samuel Merian, merchant
 John Miller's child
 John Miller, labourer
 Henry Miller, printer
 George Miller, labourer
 Michael Miller, senr. shoemaker
 Michael Miller, junr. shoemaker
 Peter Merkel, butcher
 John Mintz
 Hannah Metzger
 Mr. Macks, labourer
 Joseph Mordick, labourer
 Sophia Mynick
 Anthony Metzger, merchant
 Adam May's child
 John M^r Near, taylor
 Widow M^r Clatchee's two children
 George Neifs, shoemaker
 Mr. Newling's son
 Christina Odenheimer
 Philip Odenheimer's wife
 Peter Odenheimer's wife
 John Pfeiffer's son, cooper
 John Porter's two children
 Anna Plaff
 John Plankenhorn labourer
 Jeremiah Philemon, barber
 Widow Philemon
 Elizabeth Peters, Philip's wife
 Philip Peters, sugar-boiler
 Charles Pine, weaver
 Philip Phyle, musician
 John Reidy's child
 Ludwig Reute's wife
 Elizabeth Ransh
 Philip Rummel, tobacconist
 Charlotte Richards
 John Reineck, baker
 George Reigner, tobacconist
 Widow Reigner his mother
 Jacob Rump's two children
 Mr. Ritter's daughter
 Lawrence Rice, bricklayer
 Matthew Saylor, painter, wife and sister
 John Schreiber, butcher
 Henry Schreiber's wife
 Henry Schreiber, baker
 Jacob Schreiner, Junr. skinner
 Christopher Schreiner, tutor
 Elizabeth wife of do.
 Nicolas Schreiner, skinner
 Frederick Schneider, stonecutter
 Henry Schneider's son, stonecutter
 George Schneider, carpenter
 Mr. Snyder
 John Stillwagen, hatter
 Adam Shaeffer, porter
 Bayney Schaeffer's child
 William Stein, clerk
 Caspar Sylvius, wheelwright
 Mary Schaff
 Charles Seitz and servant maid
 Widow Seitz's daughter
 John Stoltz, baker
 Lawrentz Swab, shoemaker
 Philip Schreit, stocking-weaver
 Nicholas Stadt carter
 George Smith and child, potter
 Widow Smith
 John Schmidt
 Margaret Schmidt
 Abraham Sheridan's child
 George Shocker, barber, & child
 Widow Shocker, mother of do.
 Matthew Shocker, barber
 Paul Sturmfels, storekeeper, and wife
 Mr. Schumo's wife
 John Steel's child
 Elizabeth Schader
 John Steinmetz, cooper, and mother
 Mrs. Simon
 Christina Schiefs's child
 John Spatter, plasterer
 Gottlib Shlatter's child
 Henry Senn's child
 Elizabeth Shaub
 David Taggart, carpenter
 John Thum's child
 Jacob Udree, storekeeper
 Conrad Verglafs, taylor
 Mr. Vanderlyse's boy
 Catherina Vonweyler
 Nicholas Weirick's child
 Adam Waf's two children
 Elizabeth Waafs
 Widow Wafsem's daughter
 Rev. Mr. Herman Winkhaufe & child
 Henry Wurtzler, barber
 Henry Wurtzler's child
 Widow Wurtzler's child
 Elizabeth Wheel
 Christina Weilin
 David Wiefaur's wife and child
 Adam Weber, brickmaker
 Christian Weber, musician, & daughter Lora
 William Weber, carpenter
 Mrs. Weber's child
 Adam Wetterstein, butcher
 John Wetterstein, his brother, butcher
 Jacob White, labourer
 Christopher Wyant's child
 Philip Weitzel, paperhanger
 Magdalen Warner
 Elizabeth Wolper
 Mr. Weaver's son
 George Weybel, baker
 Widow Weybel, his wife
 Peter Walter, shoemaker
 Elizabeth Wack
 Elizabeth Young
 A person unknown.

POTTERS FIELD.

JOHN ARMSTRONG
 Christopher Armfrong
 John Allen
 William Allen
 James Adair
 Grace Adair
 James Ager
 Priscilla Albertson
 Hester Alexander
 Mary Addington
 Amelia

James Broudwick
 William Baker
 Thomas Brown
 Mrs. Brown
 James Brown
 Elizabeth Brown
 John Brown, a Negro
 John Busyman
 Elizabeth Burs
 Mary Bullman
 Samuel Bullman's wife

Thomas Biven
 Hanna Brookes
 Francis Brookes
 Catherine Burke
 Almy Beck
 Mary Bock
 Oswald Bentley
 Elizabeth Bell
 Widow Bayle
 Mary Bare
 William Brickhouse

Mathias Barry
 James Barry
 Israel Bard
 Bridget Barrett
 Francis Barnes
 John Batey
 Rachel Buntin
 Matthew Bryan
 William Bryan
 - - - Bryan
 Elizabeth Bowen
 Sarah Connelly
 William Cook
 Henry Cook
 George Cook
 Sarah Clark
 Edward Clark
 Elizabeth Clark
 James Clark
 Nelly Clark
 Margaret Clark
 Thomas Cherry
 Mary Cherry
 Lewis Coffart
 Timothy Carrell
 Thomas Chavileen
 Chloc
 Lydia Craig
 Alexander Cambler
 Ann Campbell
 Catharine Cabler
 Mary Crofs
 Catherine Crofs
 Daniel Crofs
 Sarah Cable
 Phoebe Cane
 Mary Cone
 William Cowles
 Elizabeth Coleman
 Francis Cardill
 John Chatham
 William Clements
 Hanna Cunningham
 Sarah Commings
 John Cockran
 Hannah Carlwine
 John Carr
 James Carr
 Joseph Carr
 Mary Carr
 Francis Carfon
 William Claw
 George Clause
 Henry Creemer
 Barbara Conard
 James Criffwell's child
 Elizabeth Criffwell
 Margaret Clafpin
 Benjamin Clayton
 Adam Collins
 Elizabeth Day
 Ann David
 Widow Davis
 Elizabeth Davis
 William Davis
 Robert Davidson
 Mary Dove
 William Dennis
 Benjamin Delany
 John Dalton
 Joseph Duvet
 William Dillas
 George Dernberger
 James Derry
 William Dickinson
 George Denfell
 Thomas Debzel
 John Drum's child

Ann Dugan
 William Douglas
 Nathaniel Downing
 Mary Dawson
 Deborah Eckley
 Sarah Eastick
 Ann Eiler
 William Earl
 John Edmundson
 - - - Elfworth
 Isaac Freeman
 Robert Frafer & child
 Jane Fruger
 William Fitzgerald
 John Fisher
 M. Facundes
 Fortune Ford
 George Ford
 John Fugle
 George Fox
 Sufannah French
 Elizabeth Frost
 John Fitzimons
 Michael Finn's child
 Robert Ferguson
 Widow Fuller
 Arthur Falconer
 Thomas Goldrick
 Martha Goldsmith
 Joseph Good
 Joseph Gray
 Thomas Gray, junr.
 John Greenward
 John Green
 Margaret Gibson
 John Garrigue
 Caspar Gricum
 William Grant
 James Guthrie
 Mary Graham
 William Girtin
 John Hufey
 Lewis Hartman
 Mary Harman
 Sufanna Hoffman
 Isaac Hoffman
 Martha Harper
 Henry Harper
 John Hunter
 Mary Horndriver
 Catherine Hilner
 Margaret Henry
 Elizabeth Harvey
 John Haney
 Christopher Honey
 Joseph Higgins
 Eve Harding
 Hannah Harding
 Ann Hunter's child
 William Harklife
 Polly Hamilton
 Angel Higenbottom
 Jeffry Hornett
 James Hazelett
 Catherine Haynes
 Ruth Haynes
 Jane Harned
 Peter Hudson
 Thomas Hale
 John Haynes
 Sara Holmes
 Elizabeth Hedrick
 Caleb Hughes
 Thomas Harris
 Unity Hammel
 Miss Jackson
 Thomas Jackfon
 Jonas Johnson

Robert Johnson
 John Johnson
 Mary Johnson
 Barny Johnson
 John Jamefon
 Cornelia Julio
 Charles King
 Catherine King
 - - - Kenny
 Mrs. Kelly
 Prude Ker
 Moses Levy's girl
 Elizabeth Lock
 Mary Linn
 Margaret Linn
 Neal Linn
 Richard Lindall
 William Lloyd
 George Lovett
 Elizabeth Lancafter
 Ann Lyland
 Frederick Lauderb...
 Thomas M^cLane
 Samuel M^cLean
 - - - M^cClane
 Agnes M^cClain
 James M^cGuillen
 Edmund M^cGill
 Sarah M^cGlighen
 Elizabeth M^cIntofn
 James M^cDonald
 Alexander M^cDonald
 John M^cDonald
 Daniel M^cDanell
 Hugh M^cDowgal
 Sarah M^cCurdy
 - - - M^cCarty
 James M^cCutcheon
 John M^cCloud
 Malcomb M^cCloud
 - - - M^cCloud's girl
 James M^cCallifter
 John M^cGowan
 James M^cGraw
 Barny M^cGreen
 Elizabeth M^cBay
 Ann M^cLaughlin
 William M^cLaughlin
 Mary M^cNeel
 John M^cHahan
 Mary Morris
 John Morris
 John Morris
 Ann Morris
 Mary Morrisfon
 Mrs. Morraw
 Rosina Morraw
 Deborah Morton
 Margaret Miller
 Hannah Miller
 John Miller
 Charles Miller
 George Miller
 Dolly Miller
 Mary Miller
 Elizabeth Mills
 - - - Murley
 Rebecca Merunear
 Mary Millington
 - - - Mafs
 Joshua Mafon
 Charles Manfon
 Joseph Marfon
 Ann Moore
 Ann Murphy
 Thomas Micles
 Robert Moffat
 Robert Murray's wife

Michael Mynick
 James Mollineaux
 Augustus Niel
 Forbes Newton's wife
 Margaret Nicolay
 John Nick
 Robert Oare
 Nicholas Ottaway
 John Osborn
 James O Bryan
 Mary O Donald
 - - - Pickering
 John Park
 Mary Parks
 George Parker
 Mary Pratt
 John Pearce
 Levy Pierce
 Mary Perry's child
 David Parvin
 Robert Priestley
 Catherine Patch
 George Pack
 John Price
 Mary Poor
 Sarah Pearce
 Amos Pinquoit
 Phoebe Pinquoit
 Edward Paterfon
 Qua, a Negro
 Phillis Quando
 William Robinfon
 Jane Robinfon
 Elizabeth Richardfon
 Thomas Roberts
 Mary Robertfon's daughter
 Ann Read
 James Reid
 George Reid
 John Rofs
 John Rankin
 James Ringley
 Morris Roach
 Darby Rouck
 Johannes Relwick
 Catherine Ruckard
 - - - Renvalt
 Sarah Reddick
 James Riddle
 Jane Riddle
 Elizabeth Rippey
 Anthony Renard

James Steel
 Francis Seamore
 Peter Summer's child
 Julian Summers
 Henry Soden
 Hugh Schofield
 Adam Sifert
 Frederick Slicker
 Miss Slack
 David Slack
 - - - Sergeois
 David Sullivan
 Laura Sullivan
 John Smith
 William Smith
 Mary Smith
 Thomas Smith
 Mrs. Smith
 William Stulezer
 Martha Stutzer
 John Shakespears
 William Staratt
 John Sanders
 Christiana Starkey
 Elizabeth Starkey
 William Starkey
 Gulfer Snyder
 William Saintclaire
 Widow Speers
 William Stencape
 Amos Shoemaker
 Richard Skelly
 Benjamin Scott
 Mrs. Sprowles
 Charles Spinly
 John Sunnocks
 Tom
 Lewis Thomas
 - - - Thomas
 Margaret Thompson
 Sarah Thompson
 Anthony Turrett
 Mary Turner
 Temperance Taylor
 Eleonor Taye
 Hannah Taye
 Mr. Tacker
 Charlotte Tool
 - - - Tyfon
 Elizabeth Tyfon
 Elizabeth Tyfon
 James Tilford

Uvefs
 Mrs. Vilet
 Jane Vent
 Venoique, a Frenchman
 James Wadle
 Richard Walker
 Benjamin Wifter
 Henry Wealer
 Thomas Winer
 Nathaniel Weaver
 Sarah Welth
 Richard Welth
 Mary Welth
 Peter Welth
 Thomas Welth
 Catherine Whiteman
 Benjamin Watfon
 Mary Watfon
 Robert Watfon
 Robert Watfon
 William Wilfon
 John Wilkins
 Mary Wilkins
 Hugh Wills
 Hugh Wills
 John Waley
 Sarah Whily
 Robert Whily
 Sarah Warwick
 William Warnick, junr.
 Hannah Wrap
 Sarah Wrinkle
 Jane Whiteoak
 Matthew White
 Rodrick Wilkinfon
 William Warren
 Catherine Wood
 William Wood
 John Warren
 Aaron Walton
 John Warton
 Mary Warton
 William Wynn
 Rebecca Youst
 Phoebe York
 Jacob Young
 Tobias Zink's wife
 Jane Zagey

The above are exclusive of those sent from Bushhill, and of a very considerable number whose names are unknown.

From BUSH HILL in POTTERS FIELD and NEW GROUND.

JOHN ANDRE
 Peter Alyert
 William Alley
 Dr. Peter Agge
 Joseph Allen
 Mary Advulter
 Becky Alexander
 James Armstrong
 Susanna Anders
 Elizabeth Allegue
 Francis Bruckner
 Bulledet
 Robert Burrows
 Bernard Bravehouse
 Thomas Barry
 Lewis Barron
 Abraham Beates
 Samuel Bennett
 John Brailey
 John Burns
 Jacob Brant
 John Butter

William Brown
 Samuel Brelfin
 George Betenger
 Hugh Brady
 Thomas Bermingham
 John Bell
 John Baptist
 Jenny Bickledict
 Mrs. Burns
 Catherine Brislin
 Moses Burnet
 Elizabeth Bush
 Mary Bevans
 Polly Burn
 Bridget Barret
 Margaret Beeves
 Betsey Bliney
 Betsey Back
 Betsey, a black
 Kitty Britton
 Susanna Batey
 Eliza Blackley

Betty Beaufort
 George Backley
 Eliza Brelew
 Rose Bride
 Michael Brady
 Thomas Clamper
 George Cline
 Hugh Clyde
 George Craps
 Philip Crunkle
 Alexander Cox
 Michael Cunningham
 Matthew Cunningham
 Michael Corroy
 John Cocklin
 Charles Contant
 George Cope
 Caleb Cappy
 Daniel Crofs
 George Connelly
 Andrew Christie
 George Caphart

James Camus
Martin Callegan
Julian Catton
Maria Conrad
Fanny Clayton
Gilmet Cambay
Dorothy Coleman
William Corfy
William Carfs
Anthony Cradet
James Curry
David Cline
Pact Conly
Judith Collins
Sarah Clifton
Jane Conkey
Caris & child
Dorothy Chapman
Catherine Care
Polly Christie
Catherine
Elizabeth Clark
Pegers Church
Sarah Catherwood
Betsey Carens
Sophia Climer
Mrs. Currens & sons
Mary Carrol
Ann Cunningham
James Campbell
James Clarkson
Daniel Calley
Henry Cook
Eliza Chesher
Sarah Couley
Andrew Clow's girl
Barney Cox
Robert Condit
John Carner
William Dickinson
Charles Dunbar
Philip Durnick
James Doyle
Ezekiah Denum
Peter Doyle
William Doudney
Peter Durien
Samuel Delap
Ann Dugan's child
Peggy Dougney
Elizabeth Dixon
Bridget Daily
Charlotte Douglas
Sarah Dickinson
Peggy Dean
Rolana Durang
Eleanor Drum
John Dudman
Henry Dougherty
Ezenna Duffield
Rowland Evans
Adam Etner
John Elliot
Mary Elliot
Elfy, a black
Andrew Elwine
Sarah Estick
Sarah Elder
Mary Edenfield
John English
John Farren
Charles Field
Robert Fisher
Thomas Forrest
John Forgee
Tobias Febias
Samuel Fisher
Jacob Fielder

George France
Anthony Fiffer
Rebecca Francis
John Forfe
Catherine Fisher
Margaret Flour
Mary Faires
Catherine Fraim
Widow Fenton
Mary Flinn
Hannah Firmer
Garret Foyer
William Greenville
John Gibard
William Gauflin
Thomas Graham
John Griffin
William Griggen
Archibald Greenlap
William Gravenstone
Girard
John Green
Jonathan Gramer
Ferdinand Gabriel
Henry Guel
Sufanna Greens
Mary Gardener
Ann Gregg
Levander Griffee
Mary Gabriel
Margaret Grindle
Nancy Gibson
Sarah Gassner
Judas Guier
Andrew Garter
Sellwood Griffin
Malcolm Gregory
Robert Hill
Alexander Harne
Anthony Horman
James Harrison
James Hardy
Ludwick Hopler
Henry Hautten
Jacob Hayes
John Hotman
Andrew Hews
Joseph Hay
John Habear
Andrew Hanish
Michael Henszey
Thomas How
Gurnet Hughes
William Holklow
Christopher Hocknoble
Elizabeth Houchen
Diana Hulford
Sarah Holmes
Elizabeth Harris
Mary Henderson
Margaret Harrison
Hannal Harnsley
James Hamilton
Henry Horn
John, a farmer
James Hskin
Samuel Jordans
Mary Idleman
Matthew Jamefon
Edward Jamefon
Eleanor Jamefon
Sufanna Johnson
Juda, a black woman
Casper Kitts
Betsey Kites
Casper Kenfinger
Peter and Catherine Kenfinger
John Keannon

Elizabeth Kenten
Margaret Kinley
Lucy Ketting
Adam Knox
John Kerbeck
Peter Ligert
Patrick Laskey
Robert Lidleir
Richard Long
John Lee
James Lown
Thomas Lee
John Lowden
Abner Leonard
Frederick Long
Joseph Landre
Thomas Ludwick
Rebecca Lowden
Hannah Lorton
Mary Lasher
Catherine Loyd
Mary Lee
Latesha
William Lewis
John Ludwick
Samuel Leller
Roger M^cLane
John M^cCoy
Enos M^cFarden
William M^cLochlin
James M^cMorris
M^cLean
Jonathan M^cRudy
John M^cRaredy
John M^cCare
Peter M^cGarvey
Thomas M^cCormick
Daniel M^cCallister
John M^cClean
Jenny M^cCall
Alexander M^cLane
Milby M^cCrappier
Andrew M^cClure
William M^cEldown
Elizabeth M^cCtan
Jane M^cClean
Mary M^cGee
Elizabeth M^cClean
Ann M^cFarben
Mary M^cKlehaman
Elizabeth M^cKinzie
Elizabeth M^cGowery
Archibald M^cCowen
Francis M^cMurren
Alexander M^cCalpin
James M^cNamara
M^cGreegle
David M^cCee
Joseph M^cClee
John M^cKnal
Archibald M^cCary
James M^cCreary
Christian Motero
Christopher Miller
Mrs. Miller
Margaret Miller
Sufanna Miller
Mary Miller
John Moren
Thomas Masera
Richard Murphy
William Minor
John Mason
Timothy Murphy
Walter Mill
Francis Major
Elizabeth Madue
John Malowny

Michael Myers
 Adam Myers
 Elizabeth Maxfield
 Jane Moore
 Margaret Maxwell
 Rachel Mumford
 Juda Mafare
 Catherine Molliner
 Nelly Murray
 Catherine Mullen
 Arabella Mafon
 Patrick Mullen
 Philip Martand
 Charles Minfter
 John Myrietta
 Thomas Neaf
 Samuel Napp
 Anthony Newingham
 Navarre
 Thomas Nennerfon
 Timmons Nevil
 William Nunn
 John O Donald
 Catherine O Neal
 Dennis Oconne
 Edward Orange
 Ann Ofgood
 John Paterpager Shew
 William Perry
 John Preal
 Richard Paterfon
 James Pearce
 Charles Porter
 Samuel Palmer
 Thomas Price
 John Pea
 James Pike
 Martha Pallock
 Eleanor Parks
 Tency Price
 Sarah Perkins
 Elizabeth Pufey
 Ann Pepers
 Stephen Priflin
 Jonathan Reas
 Joseph Richardson
 John Richardson
 Thomas Richardson
 Barnaby Richardson

John
 William Roberts
 John Ridgway
 Christopher Rakeftraw
 John Reinacker
 Mary Rynolds
 Afelac Remer
 William Sheet
 Benjamin Stackhoufe
 John Scott
 James Smith
 John Seed
 Lewis Smith
 John Sims
 Lucas Stanch
 Daniel Sheegan
 Andrew Scott
 John Shearwood
 William John Siper
 Peter Summers
 Thomas Shriber
 Edward Sommers
 Henry Shreader
 John Steel
 James Stevenfon
 John Schreminger
 Matthew Smith
 Andrew Smith
 James Shankling
 John Simpson
 Anthony Suay
 David Stewart
 Jonathan Stormetz
 Spence
 Ann Sweeny
 Elizabeth Sooks
 Barbary Smith
 Mary Selewine
 Sophia Splitfpike
 Elizabeth Shearman
 Catherine Sickfon
 Elizabeth Summers
 Elizabeth Swan
 Joseph Silvas
 John Smith
 John Teteres
 A. Teiffer
 Jacob Tiefe
 Peter Tobo

William Turnbul
 Andrew Tula
 John Thompson
 Hannah Thomas
 Margaret Thomas
 Richard Thomas
 Nelly Trades
 Sarah Turean
 Timothy, a black
 Peter Uttenberger
 Henry Unis
 Peter Vicker
 Matthew Vandegrift
 George Walker
 William Walker
 Poblck Calvith Wanefcan
 John Williams
 James Williams
 Thomas Williams
 Vilet Williamfon
 James White
 John Witman
 Jeremiah Ward
 Thomas Welch
 James Wilfon
 Elizabeth Wilfon
 Jenny Wilfon
 William Wager
 Feney Warn
 Sarah Wilkins
 Thomas Wilkins
 William Wall
 Martin Wolf
 Mary Williaman
 Kitty and Peggy Webey
 Mary Warner
 Joseph Woodman
 James Watts
 Buly Waters
 Michael Yopes
 Plumber Young
 Catherine Young
 Nelly Yorks

The abovelift commenced Sep-
 tember 23d. Deaths prior to
 that date are not included.

St. MART'S CHURCH.

MICHAEL ARTERY:
 John Allan, soap boiler
 Elizabeth Abraham
 Benjamin Armand's child
 Philip B. Audibert, merchant
 Benjamin Armand
 Mr. Amand
 Henry Ball, fadler
 Nicholas Bertelet
 James Barrey's child
 John Bryan's wife and child
 David Burke, taylor
 Ann Bradshaw
 Benjamin Benoit's child
 Charles Brinhon
 Mary Brady
 Garret Barrey, type founder
 Elizabeth Burke
 Edward Barrington, grocer
 Ann Bigot
 Elinor Bigly
 Sarah Buller
 John Byrne, tanner, and wife
 James Barret's wife
 Boggs

Patrick Burke's daughter
 Anthony Blame
 Anthony Bricour
 John Balluffree's child
 James Cannon
 James Crawford's child
 Michael Corley, upholfterer
 John Crumpe's child
 Nicholas Corley, mill-stone ma-
 ker, and child
 Mary Crofs
 Peter Crofs
 Mary Clements
 James Crowley
 Elizabeth Corkrin
 John Carey's child
 Joseph Caffin
 Judith Corley
 Andrew Carney
 Barnabas Cavanagh, drayman
 Margaret Conry
 John Cotringer
 Honora Collins and child
 Ferdinand Clary
 Mary Conroy

Thomas Colbert, clerk
 Peter Curren's child
 Charles Carroll, merchant
 Patrick Campbell
 Margaret Collins
 Comfort Cuninghame
 Claudius Chat
 Lawrence Carrell, brafsfounder
 Mary Davis's child
 John Drouillard Baptist's child
 Patrick Delany's child
 Richard Denney
 Vincent Drouillard
 John Dunleevy
 Henry Delaney
 Jeremiah Daugherty, carpenter
 Christian Devir
 Thomas Dowlin
 Catharine Dardis
 Sufannah Dyes
 Mary Doyle
 John Joseph De Barth, gent.
 Margaret Donnelly

Johanna Donahue
 Christopher Dunleavy
 John Dougherty, carpenter
 Patrick Deary
 Abigail Dunahue
 John Devenny's child
 Cormick Dunleavy
 Ann Elmore
 Mary Eccles
 Elizabeth Eccles
 - - - - Eccles
 Peter Eck, grocer
 - - - - Eccles
 Stephen Eude's child
 James Eccles's daughter
 Hannah Ellis
 James Eccles's daughter
 Elizabeth Eccles
 Catharine Egan
 Christina Eling
 Edward Farren's child
 James Flinn
 Frederick Foy
 Catharine Fiete
 Barnabas Feris, clerk
 Francis Feris, clerk
 Joseph Fenney
 John Forester
 Michael Fatty's two children
 Rev. Francis A. Fleming
 George Forde's child
 Peter Gray's child
 Joseph Groves, taylor
 Daniel Gallagher
 Mary Ann Gally
 Catharine Grogan
 Ally Gallagher
 Michael Green
 Michael Gleefer's child
 Michael Gorran
 Rev. Lawrence Graefsl
 - - - - Guerre
 Molly, daug. of James Gallagher
 Daniel Gurney's child
 Michael Garcoin
 Mary Garret
 William Hopkins's child
 John Humphry's child
 William Hasfel, tavern keeper
 William Heitzer, painter
 Edmond Hogan's 2 children
 Dorothy Hall
 John Harragan, taylor
 John Honecker & wife
 Lawrence Hart
 Mary Hinan
 George Hughes & child
 Michael Harragan, smith
 John Hicks
 Mary Harper
 Roger Heffernan
 Patrick Henebery, coach maker
 Jane Hardey
 Winnefred Houghy's child
 Margaret Henebery
 Gabriel Hungary's child
 Susannah Higgin
 John Henan's child
 Richard Hicks
 John Heffernan, tutor
 Margret Henebery
 Mary Teresa Helffrich, senr.
 Mary Teresa Helffrich, junr.

Jacob James
 John Joblein
 Eleanor Jones
 F. Jauregui
 - - - - Jackson
 John Kean's 2 children
 Mary Kean
 James Kellenan
 Mary Koan
 Andrew Kearn
 Daniel Keelan
 Lewis Kedwick
 James Kellenan
 Ann Lee
 Catherine Lewis
 Herman Joseph Lombart, merch.
 John Leighy's child
 Francis J. Leckter
 Lydia Lewis
 Daniel Lafferty
 William Long, cabinet maker
 Mary Lyons
 Mathew Lafferty's child
 Archibald Lawrence's child
 - - - - Lewis's Child
 Joseph Lifpart
 - - - - Lamorron's child
 John Lob's child
 John Montgomery's 3 children
 Ann Miller
 James Miller's wife & 2 children
 Francis Monday's child
 John Morgan
 Cornelius M'Cormick
 John Mongrini's child
 Ann Mercier
 Helena Mageniz
 William M'Guire
 Mary M'Miniman
 Joseph Mercier & wife Anne
 Peter M'Guire
 Philip M'Manus
 M'Meniman, black-smith
 Michael M'Grath
 John Morris
 David Magner, carpenter
 Catherine, widow of John Mul-
 lowny
 Mary Mooney
 John Morris's child
 Edward Mullin
 Ann Mullin
 Michael Mullin's 2 children
 John M'Gontis's child
 Ann M'Menamin
 Mary Minio's child
 John Monday
 Mary Madden
 Edmond Mullery, grocer
 Susannah Murphy
 Hugh M'Swain & wife
 William M'Laughlin
 John M'Laughlin
 Jiels M'Laughlin
 Mary M'Wade
 Daniel M'Arthur's child
 James M'Guire
 Eugenia M'Cordy
 Martin M'Dermot, grocer
 Cornelius M'Cormick
 William M'Cowan
 Michael M'Grath
 John M'Grath

Debora M'Cartin
 John M'Keon
 Hugh M'Kinley, taylor
 Ann M'Ginley
 Catherine M'Crokey
 Ann M'Gregor
 Eugenia M'Closkey's child
 Edward Mullen's child
 John Morris's child
 Mary Munday
 Peter M'Garvey & wife
 Cormick M'Leavy
 Humphry O Leary, taylor
 Elizabeth O Hara
 Cornelius O Leary
 Thomas O Hara, clerk
 Edward O Hara, clerk
 William O Dear
 Henry O Heale
 William Oder
 Honora Parkinson
 Sarah Pollard
 - - - - Phillips
 Mrs. Phillips
 Eleanor Piper
 Mary Potts
 John Puracier
 Jacobus Quigly
 Catherine Quigly
 Maria Reily
 Maria Rean
 Franciscus Redmund
 Christina Redmund
 Mary Rusb
 John Reach's wife
 John Ready
 Thomas Roberts
 Michael Ready
 Francis Serres, staymaker
 - - - - Sweeny
 Johannes Scantling
 Richard Stack
 Catherine Sexton
 Henry Scott
 Edward Sweeny & child
 James Sequir
 Nicholas Steiner
 Henrietta Slater
 Stephen Steel's child
 John Scantling
 Dorothy Shall
 Ann Scott
 Margaret Scott
 Henry Sheerer
 Bartholomew Tool
 Peter Turner
 William Teirnan
 Mary Tobin
 William Vize's child
 John B. Vernies
 Mary Vesty
 Hamilton Walker's child
 Catherine Will
 Francis Wood's child
 - - - - Wade
 Mary Winkler
 Edward White
 Solomon White
 Miles Waish's daughter
 John Waish's child
 Sarah Ward
 Andrew Waldrick's child.

MICHAEL ALBRECHT's son Henry Charles Bauman, stocking
 Jacob Anderson's daughter weaver
 Henry Appel's daughter Adam Bausch, reed maker
 Jacob Anthony's wife Andrew Beck, senr. dyer
 Christopher Arpurth's wife Andrew Beck jaar dyer
 John Ash, breeches maker John Beck, senr. dyer
 Frederick Albrecht John Beck, junr. dyer
 Francis Anderson's child Elizabeth daughter of Andrew
 Jacob Anthony Beck
 Henry Appel, taylor George Buck, baker
 Stephen Aifton, labourer Samuel Christmann
 George Aihen Johann Christmann's son Johann
 Andreas Boshart, shoemaker George Christheff's daughter &
 Widow Blobeyer her child
 Jacob Blocher, shoemaker Maria Conde's son
 Widow Brunner Christian Clark's young man
 Bernard Buech's daughter John Christel's son
 Michael Breisch, taylor George Christhilf, musician
 Daniel Beckmeyer Bernard Carpenter
 Thomas Bogh, shoemaker Christopher Criel's son
 Jacob Bader, labourer Mr. Crall's son
 Jacob Blocher, labourer John Croll, barber
 Alexander Beicht's child Christian
 Lawrence Baff, labourer John Conrad, watchman
 Adam Bohl, carpenter Jacob Christler's wife
 Henry Bonn, labourer John Conrad and wife
 William Butts, shoemaker Ernst Christ
 Widow Bohn's son Andreas Cressman's servant
 Stacy Blockler Widow Conrad
 Jacob Blocker's wife Edward Diehl, smith
 Michael Babb Henry Depherwinn's son
 - - - Beifs, labourer Margaret Dewis
 Martin Braun, labourer Anna D. Deifs
 John Betz Maria Dietz
 - - - Blobeyer's daughter's child Conrad Dauenhauer's daughter
 Peter Bausan's son Catherine Dorothy Dirrick
 Charles Bartholome's wife John Dibberger, cutler, and wife
 Andreas Boshart's wife and son Maria Denzel
 Martin Brown's mother Charlotte Dibberger
 George Brunner, taylor Elizabeth Dietrich
 Samuel Brien's daughter Mr. Dingle's child
 John Breckel's wife Widow Deringer
 George Bock's sister Jacob Daderman's child
 Widow Bock Michael Dietrick's son
 Peter Beck, shoemaker David Damsen, shoemaker
 Catherine Bauchmann Henry Diberger, senr. and wife
 Anna Barbara Bauer Henry Dietz
 Peter Bob's daughter Frederick Dillman's wife
 George Bantleon's son George Daum's wife
 William Burghard's daughter Henry Drawiller
 Daniel Burghard's daughter George Danecker and wife
 John Burghard and son Catherine Dill's child
 William Burghard's son Maria Emelott
 Adam Bohl's daughter Martin Ehrhard's daughter
 Peter Batto, cooper Maria Echar
 Widow Bulem Baltzer Emmery's son
 Michael Benher, labourer Lawrence Ellers, labourer
 John Brown, brickmaker John Eysenbry, tavern keeper
 Adam Bohl's daughter Widow Emmert
 Andrew Boshart senr's wife Widow Ellers
 Bernard Beck, porter Baltzer Emerick's son
 Charlotte Bower Israel Everly, shoemaker
 Peter Betto Anthony Everhardt, labourer
 Henry Bierse, shoemaker Jacob Endres's brother in law
 Jacob Beck's wife and daughter Catherine Eger
 John Braun's wife Catherine Eger's child
 Jacob Binder Widow Filler
 Jacob Benner Christian Fox's mother
 Mr. Brandhoffer George Flauer's daughter
 Jacob Bilerder's child John Fauser's son
 Christlieb Bartling's wife and Michael Frick, carter
 daughter Anna Margaret Fidler
 Christopher Beverlin, labourer John Fasler
 Peter Barendtz, merchant Anthony Freeborn, waterman
 Samuel Baker, book-binder Adam I
 Catherine Burck's daughter Jacob I

Henry Fisher, starch maker &
 wife
 John Fugel's wife & 2 sons
 George Fox's 3 children
 Philip Flack, joiner
 Philip Fries, labourer
 Charles Fink, shoe maker
 Jacob Erlamer, labourer
 Jacob Filler, taylor
 David Flickwire, pastry cook,
 wife & son
 John Fisher's daughter
 Jacob Frank's wife
 John Fricz, tavern keeper
 George Flower's child
 Conrad Gilbert, s daughter
 Caspar Graiss's daughter
 Isaac Geyer's son
 Jacob Geyer, taylor
 George Gafner's son
 John Greisberger's wife
 Elizabeth Galler
 John Ginther, taylor & wife
 John Guts, plasterer & wife
 John Gelhar, labourer
 John Ginder's wife
 Widow Gebhard & daughter
 Christian Genfel, porter
 George Goodman's child
 George Genstin's child
 Thomas Grifner
 Caspar Gafner, shoe maker, son
 & daughter
 John Gotze, plasterer, & wife
 John Graf's wife
 Balty Graf's child
 George Gilbert's wife
 Valentine Gaffner's daughter
 John Griet's wife
 Catherine Gros
 Widow Grossings
 Hausman's daughter
 Widow Heil
 John Huber's child
 Michael Host's son
 Christopher Hauser's wife
 Anna Maria Heintzen
 John Hartraus's wife
 Anthony Hartman
 Anthony Hecht, labourer
 Dorothy Hains
 David Heiler, barber
 Andrew Heyd's son
 Matthew Hlaaf
 Anna Catharina Hoefflein
 Christopher Hertler, labourer
 Regina Hoffmann
 Perry Hall's daughter
 Simon Hagelgans, stocking wea-
 ver
 George Hermelin
 Christopher Hineman's daughter
 Peter Hartman's wife
 George Hishuter's wife
 John Heiser, hatter
 Frederick Hailer's wife
 William Hickert's wife
 John Hinkels' son
 John Hank's maid
 Christopher Hensner's daughter
 John Heil's child
 Mrs. Hirt
 Conrad Haafs's son & daughter
 Charles Halliek's sister

Jacob Haffner, schoolmaster	Frederick Kuhl's wife	Michael Miller's daughter
George Honigs, labourer	Joseph Kaernerle	Gottlieb Meinigung, rope maker
Valentine Hagner & son, cooper	John Kreutzer	Peter Meircken, sugar refiner
Christopher Kinsman's two chil-	Joseph Kannears's child	Peter Mack's wife
Andreas Haidt, smith [dren	Nicholas Klingeler, cooper	Widow Miller
- - - Hetnich, baker	Caspar Kint's wife	John Neu's daughter
John Henigel, baker	Christopher Kins, labourer	Henry Nagel's mother in law
Andreas Haft	Catherine Krotzen	Frederick Noltenius, schoolmas-
Anna Maria Hawan	Abraham Krup, carpenter	ter
John Haltzel, taylor	George Krebs's wife	Anthony Noll, rope maker
George Heck, cooper	Margaret Lapp	Frederick Newman's wife and
Michael Hay, store keeper, wife	- - - - Leibert	child
and children	- - - - Loeffler's wife	Lewis Pignol, clerk
Joseph Herman, baker	John Martin Ludwig, butcher	Christian Pierce, potter
Christopher Hensman's daughter	Michael Leiks	John Pilger, cooper
William Haft, shoemaker, and	Michael Leibbrand, brickmaker	Jeremiah Plan
wife	- - - - Letzinger's son	Mary Peister
Philip Hoffner, carter	George Letzinger's wife	Hannah Paekman
Jacob Jung's daughter	Philip Lothar's wife	Peter Paul's son
Catherine Jung	Widow Luring	Henry Pletterman's sister in law
Jacob	Miss Lisler	Barbara Poagnet
Henry Jordan's wife	John Loh and daughter	Andrew Pottentein's wife
Dr. Janu's bound child	Widow Lintz	John Ruger's friend
John Justus's child	John Loh's child	Jacob Rodel
Nicholas Jacob's son	Frederick Lauman	Adam Rockenberger, labourer
Widow Jones's daughter	Andrew Lapp's wife	William Rost, shoemaker
John Jacobs, porter	Margaret Lees	George Rex
Widow Koenner	Jacob Lanteshlage, shoemaker	Barbara Rüber
William Kerls, porter	Jacob Lackner's child	Frederick Ruke's son
Henry Krotto's child	John Lack's daughter	Christopher Reinholdt, book-
Peter Kraft's daughter	Jacob Lanterman's wife and two	binder, and daughter
Andrew Kerr, labourer	sons	Frederick Rine, labourer
Jacob Kitts's son	Frederick Lauterbrun, barber	Jacob Relchner
Elizabeth Kell	Widow Leybrandt	Joseph Roberfon, carpenter
James Kubber	John Lebering's wife	Lewis Reifele, butcher
Christian Keyfer, smith	Elizabeth Linkfeldt	Conrad Rink, labourer
Bernard Kuffler's daughter	George Linkinfer, labourer	Frederick Rieb, wheelwright
Ludwig Kuhn	George Lex, butcher	Jacob Rilt, shoemaker
Jacob Knier's wife	George Lantinhlager's sister	Jacob Reit, shoemaker
John Kuhn's child	Christian Licker	Jacob Richter
Martin Kunttler	Jacob Lex's child	Casper Rielb, labourer
Andrew Kline's wife	Francis Lesher, tavern-keeper	Jacob Rees's wife, daughter and
Christian Kiegeler	Andrew Leinaw, sadler	son
Widow Koch	John Lawrentz's wife	Mr. Reffert's child
Joachim Kronauer, labourer	Lewis H. Luring	Sufanna Roring
Godfrey Kartis, shoemaker	Catherine Lutz	George Ruhf's son
Widow Keppele	William Lehman's wife	George Reifer
Christian Klipky's child	Laurence Lapp, baker	Nicholas Roderwalter's daugh-
Mary Klingel	Francis Lesher's servant girl	ter
George Kiehr's daughter	Mathias Leigs, labourer	Jacob Roberdeau, printer
Joseph Kemel's son	John Luntz's daughter	Christian Rach's daughter
Hannah Kinsinger	John Leiber	Mary Rabelsh
John Kalkbrenner's daughter	Widow Leer's child	Leonard Ruff, taylor
Jacob Kauffmann's son	George Miller, labourer	Widow Resle
Jacob Kesler's wife	Elizabeth Minkamp	Christian Rettig
John Kriefel, cooper	Veronica Mitmann	George Reily
Michael Katz's child	Sebastian Meyer, baker	John Riehl's daughter
Jacob Kuhn's wife	Nicholas Muft's wife	Leonard Riebther's child
Michael Katz's child	Michael Miller's daughter	Magdalen Roon
Widow Katz	Joachim Mortig, labourer	Nancy Reiter
Christian Kliffie, lace weaver	Adam Meyer's daughter	John Rugan's daughter
Christopher Kucher's son	Widow Musterholt	George Rehs
Isaac Katz's wife	Andreas Miller's child	Elizabeth Richardson
John Kniefs, taylor	John Memminger, lawyer	Maria Rennolds
Widow Klepper	Thomas Meyer's wife & daughter	Rosina Runkel
Daniel Knodel, labourer	Peter Meyer, carter and his wife	John Rieb
George Kinsinger's wife	Gottlieb Meinisnug's child	John Reller
Peter Kraft's daughter	Christian Meinert, rope maker	John Rohr's daughter
Michael Kramer, labourer	John Miller's wife	Jacob Ravalie, labourer
George Kuhn's wife	Philip Mande, labourer	Philip Rodel
Leonard Kesler's son	Barbara Mettelburg	Charles Robert
Christopher Kucher and son	Jacob Mytinger, tavern keeper	Jacob Shocker, labourer
George Klingel's wife	and wife	Widow Speel
George Kintzinger	John Mesner's wife	Widow Spatzen
Jacob Kuhnle's son	John Metzker	Widow Shuben
George Krutz's wife	John Meyer's child	George Sneider, baker
John Katz's wife	Henry Meyer's apprentice	John Shreier, shoemaker
Jacob Kales, labourer	Adam Meyer's daughter	Widow Stock

Charles Snyder's wife	Jacob Seger, baker	Gottlieb Vogel's daughter
Peter Streicheifer	John Schultze, labourer	Frederick Vogel's wife & daugh.
Jacob Scheiniger	Caspar Schneiders, captain	Jacob Volker
Isaac Stine's child	John Sherb, baker	John Vetter, smith
George Swartz, carpenter	Caspar Strobel's wife	Margaret Winters
Henry Speel, baker, wife, servant man and woman	John Stuckart, baker, wife and daughter	Peter Witte's son
Catherine Sommers	John Schreier and wife	Walter's child
Widow Steel's daughter	Mr. Saubier's wife	Christopher Wilpert's daughter
John Steel, tavernkeeper	Paulus Seegift, weaver	George Weiman & child
Jacob Seitz	Christian Shimier's wife	Andrew Walker's son
Philip Sorter	Jacob Sneyder, butcher	John Ludwig Winkler, labourer
Peter Stuckardt, carpenter, wife and child	Benjamin & Christiana Seyfried	George Weifs, taylor
Margaret Schmidt	Widow Silvius	John Weifsman, smith, & daugh-
George Schleifer, cooper	Conrad Seybert's wife	Frederick Winters, sailor
Widow Sint's son	Adam Shenk's wife	John Weber's wife
Jacob Shubart, smith	Caspar Steinmetz' son	Mr. Witman's son
Peter Stuckard's wife	Martin Shreier, shoemaker	Charles Walter, labourer, & child
Mr. Shusflocker	Widow Swerens	Abraham Walter, smith
Jacob Schaeffer, labourer	Adam Stubert	George Weifsman, smith, & wife
Michael Shubart, distiller, son & daughter	George Stern, baker, and child	Adam Weber's wife
Adam Sheelbecker, shoemaker	Jacob Seiffer's daughter	Jacob Walter's wife
Charles Syng, weigh master, and wife	Widow Singeifen	Widow Wagner
Robert Saubier, smith	Martin Shaffer's mother	John Williams's son
Laurence Swall's wife	George Smidt's child	Michael Wartman
Henry Schmidt's wife	George Speel's daughter	Frederick Wing's wife & daugh.
Margaret Saylor	Jacob Shubart, labourer	Margaret Weber
Streich	Christian Sneider	Alexander Weber's wife
Jacob Schaeffer's son	Anthony Sin's sister	John Weber's brother
Henry Schmidt	Widow Schug	Widow Wyand's child
Frederick Schreiner's daughter	Peter Schwartz's son	Jacob Weifman, smith
Adam Schwaab, shoemaker	John Simmons's child	G. Wachinuth's maid
Michael Seip, taylor	Philip Sauerman, shoemaker, & wife	Michael Wolf, carter, wife, daughter & son
George Schaeffer	John Sharp's child	Godfrey Wackfel
George Schneider, baker	Jacob Shafer, porter	George Weckerly's child
George Schmidt	Judith Streckfuf	Widow Weyman's child
John Schwaab, shoemaker	Frederick Trott's daughter	Dolly Willberger
Frederick Sauber	Martha Trefs	Valentine War, chairmaker
Christian Sulger, baker	Wm. Truckenmiller, tobacconist	Margaret Wilfang
George Schimide's son	Michael Trinker's servant man	Peter Wagner's wife
Anna Maria Schneider	Frederick Tratt's child	Jacob Young's, (taylor) daugh- ter and son-in law
George Snellbecker, shoemaker	John Tehm, barber	Margaret Young
Michael Slesman's servant man	Frederick Tillman, taylor	Andrew Yenhood's 2 children
Peter Schwartz's son	Sufanna Ungar	Nicholas Young, labourer & wife
Michael Schoemaker, livery sta- ble keeper	George Utz, labourer, & wife	Jacob Young's son
Michael Schubart's daughter	William Ubet	Godfrey Zeyfinger, printer
Widow Shively	Christian Uhler, taylor	William Zill
Widow Schaffe's child	Christian Vilipovey's son	Mary Zentler
Abraham Salter	John Virumel	Phillip Zwoller
John Stow, turner	Charlotte Viempf	Two men } names unknown.
	Mathias Viempf	Two women } names unknown.
	Christopher Vrucher's son	One child }

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN.

REBECCA ALLEN, widow	William Hayes, merchant	William Moore's child
of Capt. Allen	Joseph Hogg	Mrs. Mann
Dugal Ballentine	Redmond Henderson	Sarah A. Otis
Joseph Burke, from the West- Indies	Joseph Irvine	John Parkhill
James Boylan's child	Samuel Johnston	Alexr. Pennman, coachmaker
John Caldwell, a child	Mifs Johnston	Robert Patton, bookbinder
Matthew Christie, senr.	Widow of Adam Kerr	John Richards
Matthew Christie, junr.	Widow of James Kerr	Rebecca Richardson
Mary Christie	David Key, merchant	William Steel
Andrew Ciow, merchant	John Kilgoure	William Stewart
George Connelly, a child	Thomas, son of Duncan Leech	James Stewart
James Clubb, a young Boy.	Mrs. Loud n	Jonathan D. Sargeant, attorney at law
John Dunkin, merchant	Alexdr. Lawrence, junr. merch.	William Tharp, merchant
James Davidson, merchant	Ann, wife of Mr. Maffer	Walter Traquair, stone-cutter
Darius Dawson	Isaac McKinby, a young man	George Thornton
David Elder	John McGlathry, do.	John Wallace, hatter
Robert George	Mary Millar	Robert Wallace junr.
John, son of Hugh Henry	William Moore	Widow Williams.
	Widow Moore	

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SECOND PRESBYTERIAN.

ANDREW ADGATE, card maker	Hannah Jodon Jacob Irwin	Philip Snyder Captain James Smith's child
Thomas P. Anthony, merchant	Mrs. Irwin	Samuel Swayne
Mr. Anderson	Sarah Irwin	Hannah Staggs
Sufanna Budd	John King	Ifabel Service
Thomas Ballentine	Ann Kinley	John Stevenfon
Clarissa Bushell	William Kennedy	Fanny Stephens
Elizabeth Bushell	Joseph Lefevre	Hannah Stewart
William Brown	Mrs. Lynn	John Strawbridge, merchant
Ann Brown	Mrs. Linton	Nancy Sproat
John Clackworthy	Mr. Lee	Rev. Dr. Sproat
Louisa Cowell	Mr. McIntire	William Sproat, merchant
John Calder, shop keeper, & wife	William M'Donald's child	Mary Sproat
Mrs. Craig	Wm. M'Dowell, tavern keep.	Amon Scott
Mary Craighead	William M'Dowall	Mr. Scott
David Chambers	Mrs. M'Dowell	Alexander Shaw
Hannah Chapman	John M'Nair, clerk	William Taggart
David Copeland, tavern keeper	Arthur Miller's child	Sarah Taggart
Dr. John Dodds	Mathias Meeker, clerk	Mrs. Thompson
Henry Derham	Jacob Mirwan & his 3 children	Mrs. Thompson
Mary Dawkeins	John Miller	Mrs. Thompson
James Engles's child	Walter M'Alpine	James Vanuxem's child
Thomas Ewing's two children	Mrs. M'Kenley	Mr. Van Sickle
Letitia Emuel	William Nash	John Wiley
Ann Fisher	Jane Niles	Peter Webber
Sarah Fisher	Edward Peyton's child	Mr. Weber
Jane Fry	Mr. Pattenfon	Catherine Weber
James Grumman's child	Ifabel Provost	Rebecca, wife of Pelatiah Web- ster
Mr. Gifu	William Parker	Mrs. Willet
Joseph Gaven	Mr. Pickering's child	Samuel Welsh
Dr. Graham	John Richards	George Walker
Dr. Hodge's child	Mrs. Richards	John Willfon
Andrew Hodge's child	Sarah Robinfon	James Willfon's child
Mrs. Hewit	James Robinfon's child	Thomas Wood
Azariah Horton, tutor	Margaret Rankin	Margaret Woodward
Anna Hazard	Mary Reid	Mary Waterman
Enelope Haley	John Reynold	Four men - - - five women - - - and a child, without names.
Mary Johnston	Mr. Ryan	
James Jackfon	William Ralston, merchant	
Peter Jodon	Mr. Ralston	

THIRD PRESBYTERIAN.

PETER ALLISON, fenn.	William Hunter's child	John Morton
Robert Allison's son	Mary Harris	John Matland
David Allen's fister	Hazell Harriott	Francis Marshall
James Alder, merchant	J. D. Hamelin, French tutor	James Martin's son
Thomas Bishop's child	Mary Hawthorne	Alexander Mortimer
Charles Beaumont	John Hannas's child	James Murray
Blair Barnes, hair-dresser	- - - Jamesfon	John Maxfield
Paul Barnes's child	Dr. Robert Johnston	Andrew Neilfon's wife and girl
Riley Bradford	Ralph Larremore's wife	Charles Ogden's wife
John Barclay's child	Kobert Lumfden	Alexander Philips's child
Mary Barclay	Daniel M'Cauley's daughter	Hannah Penton
Joshua Bann	Margaret M'Gehan	George Rice's child
James Cook	Edward M'Gehan	Catherine Ralph's child
John Cook	Daniel M'Callas's child	James Reid
John Calder's child	Murdock M'Kinzie	Rebecca Reid
Robert Cummings's child	John M'Leod	James Rowan
John Cowan	William M'Leod	John Rogers
- - - Chace, of Baltimore	William M'Leod	Judge Robinfon's young man
James Calbraith, junr.	Daniel M'Leod's wife	David Spark's child
James Calbraith's young man	Malcolm M'Leod	James Somerville's child
John Cooper's apprentice	William M'Dowel	Mary Sharp's child
James Ducan's child	Daniel M'Lane	Alexander Steen
Abigail Edwards's child	John M'Gregor's child	James Steenfon
George Eccles	John M'Cabe	John Smith's child
John Eborne's child	James M'Fadden's wife	Robert Taylor's wife and child
Joseph Fry's wife and son	Thomas M'Cormick	Adam Thompfon
- - - Ford	John M'Kinzie's child	Captain Vanvorus's child
David Fisher	Laughlin M'Intosh	Captain Wigton, wife & daughter
John Grier	Jacob Mitchell's child	Jacob Wymore's child
Elizabeth Green	Elizabeth Mitchell	Richard Wilfon
Elizabeth Green's child	- - - Murphey	Hugh White
Thomas Gregory	Samuel Moore	Three women and a child with- out names,
Andrew Gibfon's wife	Michael Miller	
Joseph Gowaa	Alexander Morrisfon	

FREE QUAKERS.

JOHN BARKER's son	Nicholas Hampstead and his son	Mary Murphy
Wade Barker, son of John	Samuel Hampton's son	John Mullin
Sarah Bright	William Jeffery	George Norton's daughter
James Carter junr.	Jacob Judea	Caleb Peddle
Joseph Cox	Andrew Leighton	Elihu Palmer's wife
John Carpenter's daughter	Edward Lowry 60 years	Joseph Pruett
Thomas Durnell's daughter	Mary Lowry	Joseph Peddrick's son
Ephraim Edwards	Ebenezer Lync's son John	James Robert's daughter
Philip Evans	Mary Lines	John Reedle and his daughter
Charles Eastwick	Jacob Lawrence's son	William Stroud
Sarah Galloway 75 years	Catherine Lawrence	Thomas Townend 69 years
Hannah Helm	Elizabeth M'Donald	Joseph Wright and wife
Jacob Halbertstott	Joseph Marshall	John Yates.
Elizabeth Hampstead		

KENSINGTON BURYING GROUND.

JOHN PETER BITTMAN	William Hannan	Jacob Shepherd's child
Joseph Bufington's daughter	Jacob Hanthaw's young woman	Jacob Shepherd's son
James Cowan & child	David Jackson	George Sink's child
Joseph Cox's wife	Robert Kessing	Jesse Smith
Widow Cownoust's child	Margaret Leak	Jacob Serick
- - - Clines	William Lawrence's child	Mathias Shittz's sister
Mrs. Down	William Lintley	Mathias Saylor's brother in law
William Edwards & child	Thomas Lintley's son	Richard Stocks's son
Margaret Evans' child	Barny Larington's gardener	Mr. Vanfes' child
Zachariah Fisher's child	Margaret Mollone's child	Sarah Vanfes
Samuel Fishinger's wife	Samuel M'Gilton's child	Jacob Vinckler's wife
John Ferris	Joseph Mintzer's child	James Walker's child
Edward Green	Margaret Molone's son	William Willson's child
Christian Gregory's child	Mrs. Mills	William Willson's child.
William Griffin	Moses Page's child	Richard Wright's daughter
Michael Gering's child	George Pope's child	William Wire's son
Philip Hager	Robert Robinson	Jacob Weaver's apprentice
Benjamin Huggins	George Rife's child	Charles West's young Woman
Thomas Hopkins	Joseph Robinel's child	Ezechiah Warner's sister
Samuel Harman's father in law	Daniel Richards's son	

SWEDES CHURCH.

JOHN ASHTON & his wife	Widow Ann Gregory 60 years	Amos Pinquite's wife
John Alleman	Widow Margaret Garner	John Parram's wife
Joseph Albertson's wife & daugr.	Jonathan Grice, shipwright	Thomas Parram, shipwright
John Brunstrom	John Hoover's wife	Thomas Parmer, shipwright and his daughter
Mary Berg 75 years	- - - Hughs	Richard Porter's wife
John Brown and wife, each 60 years	Thomas Harden	Rebecca Roberts
Jacob Bankson's widow	James Henderfon's wife	Frederick Smith
Martha Bogs	Thomas Hampton	John Sherwood's wife
James Carr's wife	Israel Hulings	James Shillingsford 60 years
James Duncan's wife	Henry Hoffman, Baker	Gustavus Soderffrom, sea captain
Isaac Daves	John Jones's wife	Joseph Swanfon's wife
John Edwards	Alexander Linch	Dunkin Grimes
Nicholas Forberg, clerk of the Swedish church	Robert Morphet and his wife	William Taylor's wife
Alexander Graves's wife	Robert Moody, bricklayer	Ralph Walker's wife
John Gartley	Thomas Mills	Andrew Weaver.
	William M'Gill 67 years	Twenty-four children
	Thomas Naves's wife	

J E W S.

DAVID FRANKS	Moses Homberg	Rachel Harr,
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