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Title: TRACING TIES AMONG CHRIST CHURCH MEMBERS IN REVOLUTIONARY PHILADELPHIA: TOWARDS A PROSOPOGRAPHY

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Tracing Ties Among Christ Church Members in Revolutionary Philadelphia: Towards a Prosopography of Pews

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Candidate for the degree

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Introduction:

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich and Francis Fox are instructive practitioners of prosopographic research. A prosopography is the study of a group of persons in a historical context that focuses both on the details of their lives and the social traits and experiences they have in common. Both Ulrich and Fox use this type of research in their books *A Midwife's Tale* and *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Ordeal of the American Revolution in Northampton County*, respectively. Thatcher traces the life of Martha Ballard, a midwife in Hallowell, Maine in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Ulrich uses the diaries of Martha, and those she cared for, to expand on Martha's story and experiences to offer a richer picture of the time. Her notes consist of interactions that Ballard had with those she tended to. Francis Fox offers text from a variety of people. Their occupations, political agendas, and social status' were all different, but they did share one thing: Northampton County. Fox studies their lives and networks in their social, religious, and economic lives during the Revolution.

This type of research is a way for researchers to make sense of all the differing and contrasting primary source material that they have collected over a period of time and organize the hundreds of stories they have transcribed. It is a way to understand multiple persons and the place from a collection of

primary sources. They can then make the story one very detailed account of what happened during a particular time among a group of people. The story at length can seem somewhat incoherent and chaotic at times because there are clashing stories, thoughts, and opinions but somehow in the end primary sources are making the argument while the researcher puts them together to make sense for a particular context. I attempt to do the same with members of the Anglican parish at Christ Church, in Philadelphia, starting from the beginning of the Anglican presence in the city.

Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn as a Quaker refuge, and throughout the colonial period many of Philadelphia's leading citizens were Quakers. But because Penn encouraged religious liberty, other denominations, including Anglicans, gained a foothold and grew. Anglicans used this opportunity in Philadelphia to erect a small parish that would grow in numbers and prestige. That small parish would soon be known as Christ Church.

By the mid-18th century the small Anglican church had a roster of wealthy and prominent Philadelphians, and this trend continued throughout the Revolutionary era. As the church's reputation and influence spread, people of other religions often converted to Anglicanism. Some Quakers, for example, considered association with the Anglican community if they felt their

social status reflected that of the non-Quaker elite. This gesture of inclusion allowed Christ Church to serve as a "Big Tent," which sheltered a mixed crowd. The Big Tent of Christ Church saw itself as a traditional parish obligated to include the full range of the town's population, unlike other denominations that aspired to doctrinal purity or shared values.

As the Revolution approached, fissures marked Christ Church. The tent was filled with political, social and economic diversities. The membership at Christ Church reflected some of those divisions, and it raises an important question: how did a shared religious affiliation coexist with disparate and shifting political and economic goals? My senior honors thesis will attempt to trace these shifts by identifying parishioners' affiliations inside and outside the church especially during the period of upheaval caused by the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1777-1778. These social groups will be collected into a larger prosopographical study. Using primary sources from members of Christ Church, the church itself, and findings from scholars of colonial America and the Revolution, I hope to bring a new perspective to the place of Christ Church in colonial Philadelphia and America.

While searching through archival materials at Christ Church, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP), and other repositories in the area it became clear that these raw archival materials include a wide range of topics

that could be mined further in time moving towards a prosopography. I uncover and analyze materials that encompass an entire city with so many people from different angles; studying the lives of church members and pew renters in this one place, one cannot help learning the whole of the Revolutionary City.

Anglicans in a Quaker City:

> I doe hereby Grant and Declare that noe person or persons Inhabiting in this Province or Territories who shall Confesse and Acknowledge one Almighty God the Creator upholder and Ruler of the world and professe him or themselves Obliged to live quietly under the Civill Governement shall be in any case molested or prejudiced in his or theire person or Estate because of his or theire Conscientious perswasion or practice nor be compelled to frequent or mentaine any Religious Worship place or Ministry contrary to his or theire mind or doe or Suffer any other act or thing contrary to theire Religious perswasion And that all persons who also professe to beleive in Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world shall be capable (notwithstanding theire other perswasions and practices in point of Conscience and Religion) to Serve this Governement in any capacity both Legislatively and Executively he or they Solemnly promiscing when lawfully required Allegiance to the King as Soveraigne and fidelity to the Proprietary and Governour And takeing the Attests as now

> Establisht by the law made at Newcastle in the yeare [1]

In the Pennsylvania Charter of Privileges in 1701, Penn made it clear that he expects there to be no punishment or judgment based on a person's religious decisions and/or practices. Although Penn's immediate correspondence and influence is with Quakers, other religions flourished in the ability to worship in any way they wish under the condition that there be tolerance and no prejudice towards others. This is the first privilege to be acknowledged in the charter and we can assume that this was an important quality that Penn strived for in Philadelphia.

Under authorization of the Pennsylvania charter, thirty-nine Anglicans exercised their right to religious freedom which William Penn guaranteed.[2] Of the thirty-nine chartering members, information has been compiled for twenty-six of them. Some include: six merchants, one lawyer, one physician, two bakers, three carpenters, two surgeons, and one dyer.[3] Christ Church was

[1] "Charter of Privileges." American Philosophical Society. Accessed April 20, 2015. http://www.amphilsoc.org/exhibits/treasures/charter.htm.

[2] Deborah Mathias Gough, *Christ Church, Philadelphia: The Nation's Church in a Changing City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995). p 9. This point is very interesting because in the beginning of the Anglican church in Philadelphia they were not fighting for superiority over the Quakers but they did strive to be more elite in the community. This is much different than in Boston where Anglicans were not accepted and were unable to become a prominent group while the Congregationalists were taking charge. It was less of a secret in Philadelphia, and they were able to overcome from being in the shadows of William Penn's Quaker state.

[3] Ibid, p 10.

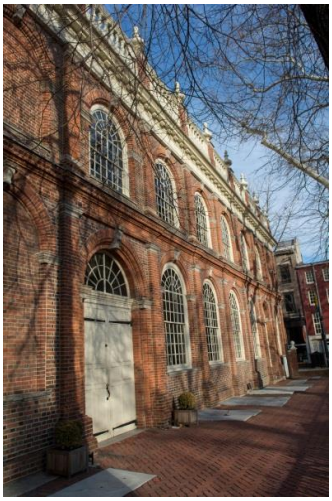
established in 1695, located at Second and Market Streets. Initially, there was no minister, little financial support, and no hierarchy to guide them.[4] Although religious tolerance was a goal that William Penn proposed, those loyal to what was the established church (the Church of England) in the metropolis remained a minority in the Quaker colony in the years prior to the Revolution. Christ Church often found itself in financial crisis and at doctrinal crossroads.

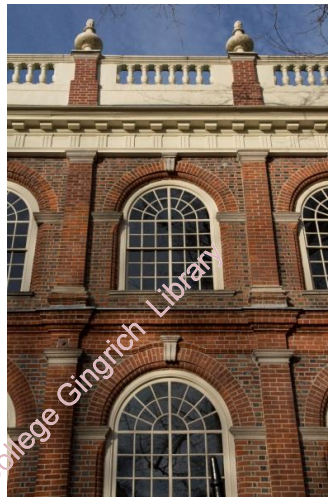
After several years without a minister, Evan Evans arrived as the permanent minister of Christ Church in 1700 ready to declare Pennsylvania a royal colony.[5] The charter of privileges was to eliminate the fighting between the religions, but it motivated the constant battle between the Quaker and Anglican communities because of the differing ideas of power. Over time Penn was supposedly finished with listening to this constant bickering and was ready to comply, but suffered a stroke before signing it over. As the city grew and both Anglicans and Quakers practiced tolerance of other religions that was preached by Penn, Christ Church grew in membership and popularity.

This increase in popularity well before the 1770s meant an increased size of the congregation. This small church had little room for expansion. No record of the architectural details of the original church exists, but it is

[4] Ibid, p 9.
[5] Ibid, p 12.

believed to have been a small brick structure with a modest gallery.[6] Deborah Gough, using the accounts of two travelers who refer to the church, notes it was: a "'very fine church' and a 'great church,' but it could not have been very large; after it was [first] enlarged in 1711 it still has only forty-two pews."[7] In 1744 the small church was reconstructed under the supervision of John Kearsley into a beautifully symmetrical example of Georgian architecture. After the addition of the steeple in 1757 it also became the tallest building in colonial Pennsylvania.





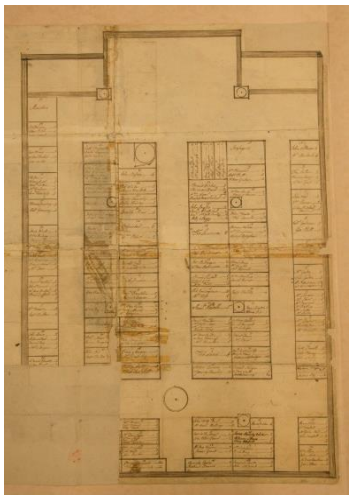
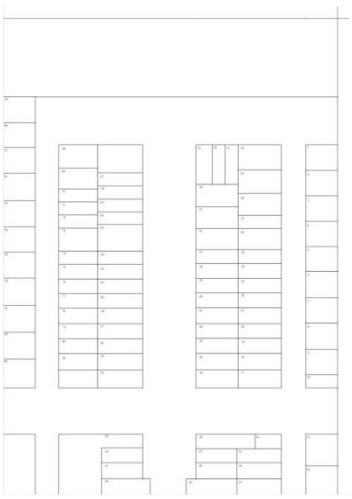
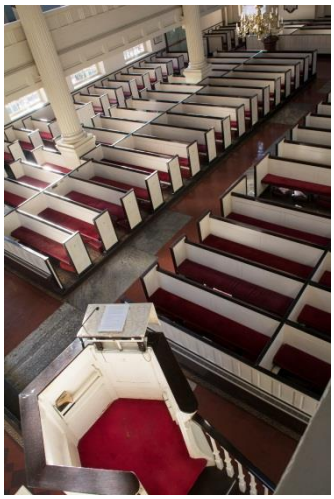
[6] This is only speculation. There are only assumptions that are made by the staff at Christ Church that there was a small brick building. There was a smaller building but its size and materials that constructed it are completely unknown as of this point in time. There are other accounts of the structure, but no concrete evidence.

[7] Ibid, p 10.

When expanding the church to meet the needs of the growing city and Anglican population, the decision was made to use box style pews. A box pew was a space much larger than its contemporary slip pew. With seating around the interior perimeter rather than on exclusively one side or the other, a box pew utilized space differently than the slip pews that would be built in the church a century later. In the images below, note the seating arrangement and the hinges in box pews from St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.

The box pew arrangement opens up the opportunity for families to share a space with one another. Although St. Peter's pews are not exact replicas of those in Christ Church, they are an example of the style. The images below provide representation of the transition of Christ Church pews. The first image is a hand drawn floor map of the church in 1762; the second

image is a computer graphic that I created with the dimensions of the church and the guidelines from the 1762 map; and the third image is of Christ Church today with slip pews and the occasional box pew.[8]

Pews, at Christ Church, were more than just where a person sat. They represented entitlement and connection that someone had financially or familially. This is not to say that all parishioners were able to choose the pew they desired based on the concentration of their acquaintances outside of the church, they may have had a list limited to what was available to rent. Anglican families had close bonds among one another during both good and bad times

[8] Christ Church Archives, "Christ Church Historical Collection Online," Christ Church Philadelphia Preservation Trust. http://www.philageohistory.org/rdic-images/ChristChurch/index.cfm.

proving that it did not matter where they sat because political, economic, and social boundaries were crossed in the church.

Christ Church's pews were somewhat of a reflection of the social world of Philadelphia because, like Philadelphia's citizens, members comprised varying social, economic, and even religious, and political groupings. Members' numerous affiliations were an unavoidable presence in the city. In his dissertation "Changes in the Composition and Structure of Philadelphia Elite Groups, 1756-1790," Stephen Brobeck identifies the affiliations among the non-Quaker elites.[9] Although Brobeck's lists are extensive and varying in activities, there is a commonality among many members of the non-Quaker elite: they are Anglican, and pew renters at Christ Church.

To cover the cost of debt of the French and Indian war, the British instituted new taxes, such as the Stamp Act (which was not so uncommon in England) and, restrictions on overseas trade. This sense of dependency on England caused revolts such as the Boston Tea Party. Because of high levels of loyalism in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia the people who inhabited that

[9] Stephen Brobeck, "Changes in the Composition and Structure of Philadelphia Elite Group" (Ph.D diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1973). p. 286-372. Brobeck's dissertation supplies a great deal of information on what members of the non-quaker elite members were socially and politically involved in by supplying charts. This is a great source because there are a great deal of non-quaker elites who are either pew renters or spouses of Christ Church members.

space did not resist as quickly.[10] The Continental Congress, a group that represents individual states and districts, met at Independence Hall, only four blocks from Christ Church, to draft, debate, and encourage or discourage independency from England. War was declared and the British occupied several places along the coast. Pennsylvania, especially Philadelphia, may not have seemed as hostile, because of the variations socially, politically, and economically. The British occupied the city from September of 1777 to May of 1778.

The American Revolution was a kind of civil war within Pennsylvania, with the peace churches (Quaker, Moravians, Anabaptists) refusing to fight, several prominent leaders with strong imperial connections favored the British side, and political newcomers used the upheaval to supplant the former elites.[11]

Abiding Connections: Familial Bonds

Some of the names that persist on the pew floor plan between 1762 and 1778 are Phineas Bond, David Franks, and a Thomas Coombe.[12] The Thomas Coombe that is handwritten on the 1762 floor plan is not the same

[10] Randall M. Miller and William Pencak, ed. "The Promise of Revolution," *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonealth* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 202) p 116. This particular section is written by William Pencak. He draws on the idea of Revolution from the beginning until well after the occupation of Philadelphia.
[11] Francis S. Fox, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Ordeal of the American Revolution in Narthampton County, Pennsylvania* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000). p xvii.
[12] See Appendix for lists.

Thomas Coombe that served as minister between 1775 and 1779. The Coombe written on that original record was the future minister's father. Thomas Coombe, the latter, was a Christ Church member as a child and grew up in the Anglican community of Philadelphia. We will learn in a later section that Reverend Thomas Coombe expressed misgivings about returning to the colonies, even his home city of Philadelphia or Christ Church, as a minister. The Coombe family would leave a mark on the records of Christ Church with marriages, pew rents, and deaths. After Reverend Thomas Coombe was exiled behind British lines in New York in 1778, his wife Sarah went into labor and gave birth to twins Anne and Thomas Badger. Anne and Thomas were healthy and lived to see their baptism, but Sarah suffered from complications during childbirth and died. We are unsure for how long Sarah's children lived but we do know that the children survived birth because of their baptismal records at the church, and we know of poor Sarah's death from a letter from Thomas to his father. Thomas writes that sadly he has not written of his wife's death.[13]

> My dear and ever Honest Father, I rely upon your tender affection to excuse my not having written to you before since my arrival. On the twenty second of December last I received the account of my blessed Angel's death, and since that time I

[13] Thomas Coombe, "Letter to Father," (April 9, 1779) Coombe Family Papers, 1751-1805. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

> have scarcely felt or acted as an inhabitant of this world.[14]

Grief over the loss of a loved one was a common feeling but frequently mothers lost their infants and young children, and this was a shared bond among mothers. Though contemporary thought stresses split allegiances during war time parents could share this sense of heartache even if there were differing political parties. Being members of the same religious institution made it easier to exhibit that mutual understanding of loss. Those connections are unseen relationships that were within the crowded pews.

Christ Church's archive and preservation team created a searchable database of pew rental, marriage, baptismal, and burial records that help to track lineage. What is fascinating to note given this information is the often relatively short period of time in between the date of baptism and the date of death. Anglicans of Christ Church kept the standard of infant baptism and so when a baptism is listed on the online database we can assume that it was an infant or young child. Oftentimes there are burials that are months or years after the date of baptism that is listed with the same name with the same parents. For example, Mary Maddox was baptized in August of 1729 of

[14] Ibid

Joshua and Mary Maddox.[15] Just three years after that baptismal date another Mary Maddox was baptized listed of the same parents. This is not the same person, the second is literally a double, and she was born after the first Mary was buried in 1731.[16] Young children were the next generation and the ones to represent the family and its fortune and virtue. In a broad sense if there was a loss of a child that chain was potentially broken.

If a child died, the practice of literally replacing the deceased child with a new one was not so uncommon. This practice of necronymy or the replacing of a child by naming a new infant the same name was not unusual but was in general becoming less common. This says a great deal about the importance of lineage within a family. It is almost as if the individual did not matter. The concern was the representation that the person would have brought to the family.

A person sitting or renting a pew in 1762 may have rented the same pew in 1778. After transcribing the names from the 1762 map, some of those names appeared in the same pews. There is also a good chance that the person listed, usually a man, was the son or son-in-law of the earlier renter: a

[15] Christ Church Archives, Christ Church Historical Collection Online, These sources have been extremely helpful when searching for family members, because under several of the burial and baptismal records the parents are provided, especially if the subject was a young child. They also provide spousal information.
[16] ibid

representation of lineage by physical and materialistic means. The representation of what was inherited either after death or through marriage was of great concern and importance to parents. For example, John Read had a daughter named Deborah Read and Deborah married a printer name Benjamin Franklin. In years after 1762 there is no longer record of a pew rented by John Read, but by Benjamin Franklin and his descendants.[17] In the case of the Read family Deborah married a man who could support her and the lineage would continue to be prosperous in fortune. The family name and reputation was meaningful to the future. Some marriages among the elite and well known church members include Charles Willing and Mary Shippen, Thomas Willing and Ann McCall, John Benezet and Hannah Bingham, and John Penn and Ann Allen.[18]

Marriage between Christ Church members was not uncommon. There was often intermarriage in the pews. This would not be an unusual phenomenon because certain Anglicans were of the higher class. Like men, young ladies in the church, were expected to find a mate of equal or higher wealth and reputation. For example, merchant David Franks owned a plot of land and a gorgeous house: Woodford estate. This is where he lived with his

[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid. This is just a small sample of some of intermarriages within the church pews.

wife, Margaret Evans who was the daughter of the former Christ Church minister Peter Evans, and their daughter Rebecca Franks. David's choice in wife was further disappointment to his parents after his sister's marriage outside of the Jewish community.[19] David's Jewish heritage stayed with him and his daughter Rebecca, even though Rebecca was baptized and brought up in the Anglican church. Rebecca was no stranger to the life of the elite. She was accustomed to a life of luxury and exposure to the finer things and people. In 1778 there was a grand ball that was thrown in honor of General William Howe. Captain John Andre was in charge of all the arrangements and the invitation list. Rebecca Franks and her circle of other Christ Church ladies were among those invited and honored as beautiful belles. This was not the first interaction that Franks had with the Captain and his fellow soldiers, but they interacted at the Woodford estate while David Franks and William Howe discussed business.

Rebecca was a well-known figure in the city of Philadelphia among the elite, and regarded as one of the most beautiful ladies. David was in possession of a plot of land in the Northern Liberties (approximately 12 acres

[19] Mark A. Stern, " 'Dear Mrs. Cad:' A Revolutionary War Letter of Rebecca Franks, *"American Jewish Archives Journal* 57. (2005). p. 16. This particular article emphasizes the "Jewishness" of David Franks, or at least the perceived. It also clearly defines that religion or religious affiliation, like political allegiance, was a brand on someone. Stern also discusses that it was a great tragedy that both David and his sister marry outside of the Jewish faith. This background sticks with him and will be known as a Jewish merchant in Philadelphia.

in 1771) and was a devoted pew renter at the church.[20] Naturally, Rebecca would be expected to marry someone who could match the inheritance that she would at some point receive.

Sociability

Marriages and friendships are found often among Christ Church members, but that is not to say that members exclusively associated with their fellow Anglicans and pew renters: people of elite status tended to be affiliated with overlapping social groups. Stephen Brobeck has done extensive work in this area of sociability among the non-quaker elite.[21] Many of the names that he comments on are the same names that are in the records at Christ Church. This realm of social groups led to friendships, business partnerships, and marriage.

While, during the war, politics might have divided parishioners, those lines were often crossed and taken lightly, as if they didn't exist. In an analysis of Rebecca Franks, Mark A. Stern explains too the devotions of elites, who lived similarly to the Franks family by stating,

[20] University of Pennsylvania Archives, "Mapping West Philadelphia: Land Owners in October 1777," University of Pennsylvania Archives, March 27, 2015. http://www.archives.upenn.edu/WestPhila1777/map.php. This is also great source material. It is literally a google map with an overlay of the owned property in 1777. What makes it even more helpful is the search function.

[21] Brobeck, "Changes." Much of what I know about the subscribers and members of the non-Quaker elite in the social and political sphere are taken from Mr. Brobeck's wonderful wide-angle look at the group.

> Clearly, social standing and personal affection superseded political leanings before, during, and after the war. True, many loyalists were punished severely after hostilities ended, but not by their friends or relatives.[22]

Stephen Brobeck wrote a dissertation tracing the changes in the composition and structure of the elite groups of Philadelphia between 1756 and 1790. Brobeck's lists of elite groups reveal members of Christ Church associating with the College of Philadelphia, the Anti-Quaker Petition, the Dancing Assembly, St. John's Lodge, the Philosophical Society Hall, the University of Pennsylvania, Franklin College, the Episcopal Academy, the Bank of North America, the Commercial Committee, the Society of Manufacturers, the Society Promoting Agriculture, the Poor Relief 1788, the Dancing Assembly Hall, Mt. Regale Fishing Company, the Jockey Club, the Hand-in-Hand Fire Company, the Philadelphia Corporation, and the Republican Society all as trustees, signers, members, and subscribers.[23] Though some of these affiliations are political, they are more business, education, and social opportunities.

Some of those prominent Philadelphians and Christ Church members that affiliated themselves with the establishments above were William Allen,

[22] Stern, "'Dear Mrs. Cad'" p. 18.
[23] Brobeck, "Changes" p. 286-372

Daniel and Philip Benezet, William Bingham, Phineas and Thomas Bond, Benjamin Chew, Benjamin Franklin, David Franks, Michael Hillegas, Francis Hopkinson, John Kearsley, Samuel Meredith, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Edward, William, and Edward Jr. Shippen, Buckridge Sims, William White, and Thomas Willing.[24] Not all of the listed were members of the same groups, nor did they always communicate with one another, but there is a strong presence of Christ Church in a good amount of the city's most prominent social establishments.

One of the most well-known and popular of these establishments was the City Tavern. The Tavern is where the Dancing Assembly would meet and participate in their events. These gatherings were often seen as reserved for those of the elite and higher classes, and with some of the subscribers with names like Hamilton, Bond, Shippen, McCall, Plumstead, Burd, Allen, Franks, Levy, Willings, Mifflins, "The Governor and Mrs. Penn," Chews, Tilghmans, Powells, and Reverends Duche and Peters it was is to no surprise that these assumptions were made.[25] Many of the names listed above are pew renters at Christ Church and members of the non-quaker elite. Lynn Matluck Brooks

[24] Ibid. p. 286-372

[25] Lynn Matluck Brooks, "The Philadelphia Dancing Assembly in the Eighteenth Century," Congress on Research and Dance, 1989. p.1. his focused study on Dancing Assemblies was extremely helpful because these occasions were perfect to learn etiquette for high society which I needed to know for the Mischianza case study.

writes extensively on the topic of Dancing Assemblies in her article, "The Philadelphia Dancing Assembly in the Eighteenth Century." She states:

> Although documentation indicates that Assembly subscribers were a select group, this exclusivity was apparently based on economic and civic status rather than on religious considerations.[26]

Brooks suggests that subscribers may not be connected by religious institutions, but the names that she becomes familiar with are nearly all pew renting parishioners of Christ Church. She attempts to make her point using the Franks and Levy family names to break the Anglican trend, but the David Franks is the Franks that subscribed to these occasions and he was a Christ Church member, even if he was of Jewish descent.[27] David Franks associated with those of equal social status. There is no doubt that there are networks in other places than simply Christ Church, but that connection cannot be ignored. The fact that the non-quaker elite and subscribers to the same social clubs were largely Christ Church members is significant. It seemed that there was not a moment or group that a Christ Church member was not involved.

These gatherings were a perfect opportunity for those elite to rise to the standard of lady and gentleman. Dancing was a skill that was fancied among those of higher class society and it was at these occasions this skill

[26] Ibid. p 1-2
[27] Ibid. p 2

might be perfected. Along with dancing other activities included card-playing and conversational etiquette.[28] These opportunities were not strictly for men either. Women were permitted and encouraged to join in the festivities. Men needed to have a dance partner so there were moments when admission fees were waived for females to attract their interest and increase their participation.[29] The young ladies of Christ Church were expected to be ladies and therefore dancing was a preferred skill to have. These occasions also aided the ladies in conversation with men and educated them in local affairs.

Oaths and Allegiances: Anglican Clergymen of Christ Church:

The Anglican church, and its loyalties, is quite complicated. The Anglican church was the church of England, and so then assumed loyalty to the crown in regular prayers to the royal family. In a city frustrated with their representation in Parliament; constraints on imports and exports; and taxes on tea, paper, and others, what were the clergymen supposed to do? Were they going to remain loyal to the oath they made when they were ordained, or would they take the side of the patriots and transition away from the loyalties of the services? They made that Oath of Loyalty upon ordination, and abandoning it could prove itself a difficult decision. In this section, we will

[28] Ibid. p 1
[29] Ibid. p 2

explore the clergy of Christ Church through personal correspondence with their families, friends, colleagues, and the church vestry discussing their concerns for the rising revolution, the nation, and its future.

In the compilation of essays in *Pennsylvania's Revolution* edited by William Pencak, Pencak himself writes on this topic of allegiance and the difficulties that the clergymen of Pennsylvania Anglican churches faced.[30] He has a wide-angle on the different clergymen, but there is an intense focus on those of Christ Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia. St. Peter's is another Anglican parish not far from Christ Church on Pine Street which was founded in 1758 by former Christ Church members who were established in newly built Society Hill, and held the same values as Christ Church members; higher class and often exchange of conversation with wealthier citizens of Philadelphia. Both St. Peter's and Christ Church made up the United Churches and made decisions together as a whole. Pencak discusses the differences between all of the Pennsylvania Anglican ministers, but mentions William White, William Smith, Jacob Duche, and Thomas Coombe. Thomas Coombe and Jacob Duche will be at the heart of my analysis as well.[31]

[30] William Pencak, ed. Pennsylvania's Revolution (Philadelphia: Penn State Press, 2010). p 97-117.
[31] Ibid. p 97-117

Thomas Coombe was an assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's from 1772-1778. Coombe grew up in Philadelphia, and Christ Church, and returned after his ordination in England. At Christ Church and the United Churches is where he took pride in becoming an Anglican minister. Coombe states this in his letter to the vestry of the United Churches, which was Christ Church and St. Peter's together, before leaving for the British lines. He travelled to England for his ordination where he would make an oath to the King and England. William Pencak provides a small excerpt from this oath,

> Upon their ordination, they had to swear to adhere faithfully to the church liturgy, which obliged them to pray for their sovereign and maintain that 'it is unlawful upon any pretense whatever to take up arms against the king,' and to 'abhor that traitorous position.[32]

This was an oath that ministers took very seriously and it laid a heavy burden on them when independence was declared. This is the oath that most stayed so faithful to when faced with the oath of loyalty to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Reading through Thomas Coombe's personal correspondence between his family and that of the church vestry we get a good sense of his attitude and thoughts of the idea of independence and revolution. Samuel Powell, James

[32] Ibid. p 104

Reynolds, Townsend White, Richard Rundle, William Morrell, James Sparks, Tench Coxe, Peter Knight, Alexander Tod, Joseph Redman, Joseph Swift, Jonathan Browne(e), John Morris were members of the 1778 United Churches vestry.[33] Coombe, like many of the other Anglican clergy, had a difficult time deciding his allegiance in the colonies during the revolution, and especially during the occupation of Philadelphia. Coombe was a native to the city, but travelled to England to be ordained. Coombe decided to leave his family behind after the British troops left the city. He writes with great sorrow, but we learn through Pencak's analysis and reading that this was more of a mutual decision; he was not a good fit for an Anglican church if he would be battling with a decision to keep his oath to the Anglican church rather than take an oath to Pennsylvania.

On his journey returning from England after making this oath, he wrote to his sister with orders and directions. There was a trunk with letters, books, and his robes. He made her aware that the letter was to be delivered to Mrs. Ord along with explicit details of how to care for his robes.

> Brush him and smooth him, gentle sister, for the owner's sake. In unfolding the gown however, I must desire you to be cautious, that you do not

[33] Christ Church Archives

> demolish a glazed print of Lord Rockingham, which I have put within the folds.[34]

Coombe went to great lengths by trusting his sister with his beloved and expensive robes. Taking so much of an interest in his robes he does show himself to be worried about his appearance and what others will think of him. Robes were required to be worn and because they were extremely expensive he needed to make sure that they were maintained properly. Later in the section we will discover that Coombe was insecure about his placement in Philadelphia, because he may be nervous for those around him. Why should a group of people who disagree with what the British were doing listen to what a minister was preaching to remain loyal to the King and apprehend any activity that could be threatening to the King's command and ownership of the colonies.

Pencak suggests that Coombe, at one time, like other Anglican ministers with the exception of William White, did preach backing independence at St. Peters. When independence was declared he became not so much of an ally for the cause, but against it. When the prayers for the royal family were omitted from the service he seemingly agreed, but this was not the case as the British came in and out of the city. Though Coombe quickly

[34] Thomas Coombe, "Letter to his Sister," (1771) The note of Lord Rockingham of England. Coombe wanted to make sure that the cherished print was safe and protected.

changed his mind on the decision to omit the prayers, because he had too much respect for the oath that he had already made. He says that going against an obligation would have been "the most Criminal Duplicity."[35] After the British left the city he took great consideration to the idea of leaving. He writes to the vestrymen

> Gentlemen, I have given you the trouble of this meeting to inform you of my having applied to obtain have from the Council to proceed within the British lines at New York; to from thence to England. The step I have taken is to me a most important one, including a great variety of affecting circumstance and therefore it was not entered upon without come heart ashes, too many a sorrowful anticipation. I go into voluntary banishment from my native City, where it was where my first pride to be established at a Clergyman's[36]

Coombe goes on in his letter to explain that it was not the thought of independence that worried him but the act of declaring independence without the King initiating it. If the King was to allow for the colonies to become independent Coombe would not have to deny his first allegiance because it was the King's choice and he would have been honoring his decision.

> I have for some time had the present event in prospect, but was determined to tread with Caution. Accordingly I remained in Town after

[35] Pencak, ed. Pennsylvania's Revolution. p 104.
[36] Thomas Coombe, "Letter to the Vestry," (1778).

> the departure of the Kings Army. to give myself the further chance of continuing in my living, if it were to be done consistently with my principles. Or if Great Britain had judged it proper to subscribe to the Independence of America my path would have been plain. But since the Sovereign still keeps up his claim of right upon this country, and every inhabitant is called upon by the late [Test] law to renounce all allegiance to him, I had only to choose between my duty and my interest.[37]

Coombe states that it would be an easy decision for him to stay if the King complied with the independence of the colonies, but that was not the case and the Revolutionary War persisted. The King agreeing to independence did not look hopeful and Coombe knew that the only way to keep his oath was to go somewhere where his oath was not threatened.

Coombe's letter to the vestry gave the reader a sense that the minister was very conflicted by his oath and the colonies renouncing the power of the King, but in another letter he doesn't seem so conflicted. Coombe was not pleased with being placed in the United Churches to begin with and has a sort of bitterness in his tone. He writes to an unknown "Sir" in, (we are assuming) America (because he makes it clear that he has yet to arrive in Philadelphia) and is worried about being a minister in the city. This passage of a letter to the

[37] Ibid

"Honest and Dearest, Sir" from Coombe gives a different tone to his personality:

> What my fate will be, should I live to arrive safe in America, I am not very anxious to know. If my choice were to be consulted, I should prefer a settlement in the United Church, at least (where) I could look around me. But I own to you Sir, that I think the place of an assistant-minister in the Philadelphia churches is but a poor security for a life subject to casualties. Whilst popularity continued-whilst as the merry Dean said, 'a preacher can hit off your gospel-gossips with voice and action.' things no doubt would go on smoothly, and he would receive his salary regularly. But change the scene- suppose the tide of popularity to turn- suppose his voice broken in the services of those people who called themselves his admirers.[38]

Coombe clearly is worried about what people would think of him, and that he would have nowhere to go. He is not as privileged at Jacob Duche. He makes it clear that his father was not able to provide a great fortune for him to leave the city and live from the land as Duche had done. Remembering that Thomas Coombe was a child of Christ Church we can assume that he was most likely very privileged already.

As revolution and independence became normal talk in the city, patriots and other political leaders were requiring oaths to be taken for the

[38] Coombe, "Letter to his Father."

Commonwealth in 1776. This can be understandably difficult to the Anglican ministers in the state. Most felt uncomfortable with making an oath because it contradicted their oath as an Anglican minister. Thomas Coombe continually rejected the oath, like others who refused to take up arms such as Quakers, Moravians, and Mennonites; and could not be trusted by the Assembly who required such promises of loyalty. Many of those who were suspected of being a Loyalist or neutral were considered a threat to America. Coombe, and some others, were allowed to stay in their homes if they promised to be loyal to the cause, but Coombe refused.[39] Jacob Duche, with the United Churches, attempted to persuade the Supreme Council to allow him to stay, saying that it would be an infringement to his religious and civil liberties. The Council agreed to this argument stating that "the removal of a Minister upon a general charge, without suffering him to his know his accusers, or being heard in his own defense, cannot but be deem'd an infringement of religious as well as civil liberty."[40] Coombe was permitted to stay in the city after he promised that he would remove himself from the state when the American troops returned, but he remained in the pulpit while the British occupied the city. He still refused

[39] Pencak, ed. Pennsylvania's Revolution. p 104.
[40] Ibid. p 104

to take the oath and was authorized to leave for New York for the British lines.

He writes to the vestry with his thoughts on his decision to depart from the patriot side. This letter would have been read after he arrived in New York and was safe with the British. He left his wife and children behind, and wrote to her often. He was in England by the time his last children were born, and his wife died in childbirth, he wrote to his father saying that he was so distraught that his "angel" has been taken from this earth.

Like Coombe, Duche had difficulties leaving his oath to the Anglican Church for one supporting the Commonwealth and the patriots. Duche's story is very similar to Coombe's with struggling to decide where his loyalties lay. Duche also preached, like Coombe, backing independence. This view changed very quickly when the British were near. Duche was popular among the people of the Philadelphia, and if had not already declared his loyalty to the crown he may have been a patriot himself. Even John Adams trusted Duche as a friend and ally. He wrote to his wife Abigail that Duche is

> one of the most ingenious men and best characters and greatest orators in the Episcopalian order upon this continent; yet a zealous friend to the liberty of the country.[41]

[41] Ibid. p 98

Duche's love by the people allowed for him to create relationships with people in high places. George Washington was a person that both Coombe and Duche looked to for comfort because he was a Virginian, where Anglicanism thrived. Duche had a great relationship with Washington from his time with the Continental Congress in 1774 appointed by John Adams. Duche wrote to Washington in October 1777 with his concerns of the idea of independence and the thoughts of others in the city.

> Upon the declaration of independency, I called my vestry, and solemnly put the question to them, whether they thought it best for the peace & welfare of the congregations to shut up the churches, or to continue the service without using the petitions for the royal family. This was the sad alternative. I concluded to abide by their decision, as I could not have time to consult my spiritual superiors in England. They deemed it most expedient, under such critical circumstances, to keep open the churches, that the congregations might not be dispersed, which we had great reason to apprehend.[42]

Duche is debating with his loyalties to the crown and his ability to relate to his members. While there was discussions on what to do with the church during political upheaval, the choices came down to either open the doors to the church but omit the prayers to the King and the royal family, or close the doors until peacetime. He complied with the congregation's decision to keep

[42] Rev. Jacob Duche, "Letter to General George Washington," (1777)

the doors open and omit the prayers, but may have been skeptical not being able to ask about this decision to his superiors in England.

Duche does eventually declare his independence from the crown, England, and his original oath as an Anglican minister. He made the oath to the Commonwealth, but was taken prisoner by the British and spent a night in jail and changed his allegiance very quickly. With his new look on the British he could not be trusted, and so banished himself from the city and lived from the funds that his father had left him.

It was not only Christ Church members that were split in their thoughts, it was the leaders. Christ Church was a place that reflected the difficulties and splits of the city, but it was also a place that everyone came together without fighting, that we know of yet, even if the leaders were not able to make a solid decision on what they needed from the church.

<u>To The Ball and Back: Christ Church Members at the Mischianza Ball, 1778:</u>

In the midst of a Revolution, American loyalists and British soldiers wined and dined, danced and dueled in honor of British General William Howe. A grand scale example of these varying activities of Christ Church members when Stephen Brobeck introduced to us, includes an invitation to the Mischianza Ball. This was a grandiose party that was held at the Wharton estate in May of 1778, just as the British were ready to pick up their things and

move on from Philadelphia. Many pew-renting Anglicans of Christ Church were invited to this extravaganza and some with high honor.

Revolutionary Philadelphia had obvious splits between political, social, and economic groups. In a war-torn city, who could have been invited to this party? There were groups that were reserved for those of a particular party, those who came from the right family, or those who made a lot of money to boost their economic status such as the Dancing Assemblies, but Christ Church was the centerpiece of those affiliations that elite Philadelphians had in common.

Assuming curiosity was drawn by the music, the procession, the decorations, and the number of people in attendance, this lavish display of British ships and the audacity of the troops to hold a ball while American rebel troops huddled at Valley Forge, was a sight that those excluded could not look away from. This again was a way that Christ Church members were set aside from the ordinary Philadelphia citizen. The prestige of most Christ Church members opened up opportunities for them to polish their etiquette in high class dining and entertainment.

Captain John Andre took great care in making sure that the pseudo-Medieval duel was as to be the main event of the evening. He personally invited the women who were to be on the arms of the officers and designed

the dresses they would be wearing. The women were a main focus of the entire evening because they were well known ladies (daughters) of the most prestigious men, and they were educated. They attended several events, they were not unfamiliar with the etiquette that came with speaking with men who were also prestigious. Their status in the community were factors in Andre's decision for invitation along with his own personal bias towards women who were attracted to him. The ladies chosen were among some of the most beautiful of the city. Although fighting for their beauty and what the women represented, the officers likely found the wealth of their father, and their political affiliations of more interest than their aesthetic appeal.

Nearly all the young ladies were affiliated with Christ Church. Among the women honored were Miss Auchmuty, Misses Becky and Wilhelmina Bond, Misses Peggy and Sarah Chew, Miss Janet Craig, Miss Rebecca Franks, Misses Becky and Nancy Redman, Misses Mary, Peggy and Sarah Shippen, Miss Williamina Smith, and Miss Nancy White.[43] All of these names came with prominent and well connected families of Philadelphia, and mentioned as part of Miss Rebecca Frank's friends who were at Woodford when Howe and Andre came visiting.[44]

[43] MISCHIANZA WEBSITE!! HOW DO I CITE?!
[44] Stern, "'Dear Mrs. Cad,'" p.1

As the women sat watching the knights tip their hat to honor and salute them duelers raced towards one another, with no intention of harm, there were three instances that the knights charged. The first pass was with spears, the second with pistols, and the third with swords. Although these men are trained professionals it was a surprise that all of the men left without even a scratch.

In 1800 there was an article in the *Washington Federalist* from the *Lancaster Journal* that mentions another parishioner that was in attendance of the dance, Tench Coxe.[45] Coxe guided the General into the city which he would occupy for months to come. It is not mentioned to what extent he went to helping the Brits, but it is implied.

> The writer of this article has in his possession a copy of verses, which (as it was generally understood at the time) were presented by Coxe to the British general. They were intended to be spoken at the 'Mischianza' performed in this city in honor of Sir William Howe. Sir William Howe however rejected them as too *fulsome* and *adulterous.*[46]

Though the women were being honored at this ball, Coxe had to be sure nothing was going to be said that could harm him in anyway, physically or to his reputation. What would Philadelphia patriots think if they knew he had

[45] "More of the Knight of the Mischianza!" *Washington Federalist* (Georgetown, District of Columbia, Washington Federalist, 1800)
[46] Ibid

aided the British by guiding them into the city? This was something not even Sir William Howe wanted to make publicly known. Merchants kept their relationships based on trust; if there was no trust, there was no business and no money and without money there is no prominence.

But the women were not being ridiculed at the ball; they actually played a very important role throughout the evening. They were chosen not only based on their physical appeal but also on the rank of their families, more specifically their fathers, had within the city limits and the colonial community with one identical connection among them all, they were Christ Church members and pew renters. They were the center of the attention, which was not unexpected because they were accustomed to being the center of attention throughout the city. Although many of the adornments were put in honor Sir William Howe for his service, they were the belles of the evening. They were well known among the attendants and were treated with much respect, with pampering, and with accommodations that most of the others invited did not enjoy. But did this pampering come at a cost? Could these conversations and favors from the British officers become a hindrance to their, and their families reputations?

And yet, as the city returned to patriot control, no one seemed to hold the Mischianza against these young participants. Their subsequent careers

suggest how divided and how tolerant of divisions Christ Church was. After the ball some of the ladies who were damsels to the British knights persisted in loyalism by marrying a loyalist or a Brit; some married patriot leaders. One married a patriot-turned-traitor, and several left the continent. Miss Peggy Shippen married Benedict Arnold in a ceremony performed by Christ Church's William White on April 8th, 1779. After letters, carried by John Andre, were found as evidence of Arnold's and Shippen's betrayal of the American cause, she fled with him to England. Miss Rebecca Franks was the daughter of David Franks, a loyalist jewish merchant and member of Christ Church, and Margaret Evans, a descendant of Peter Evans. Rebecca married Lieutenant- Colonel Henry Johnson in 1782 in New York. They later moved to Bath, England. On the other hand, Miss Peggy Chew married Colonel John Eager Howard, an American officer, and later congressman, senator and governor of Maryland. Their wedding was held at Christ Church on March 18th, 1787.

The Mischianza ball is just one event under this "Big Tent." What these parishioners were involved in is all exemplified at this party. There were differing political parties and allegiances, career opportunities, family lines, and religious affiliations. Again, this is just the beginnings of a much larger scale project and there are other occasions to delve deeper into.

Conclusion

These stories and observations are just a mere sample of what is available, and the connection that can be made among the members. With the country in political upheaval, the absence of political disruption in the church is interesting. Christ Church becomes, almost, a neutral zone. The diversity of the parishioners sharing a space under one roof is proof of that. In the social, economic, and political realms of the city these members were prestigious and well known. Others saw these non-Quaker, Anglican, elite as a goal and joined the Anglican parish to forward their reputation and connectedness in the city.

Moving forward with the project I hope to take what I have already explored and expand on the notes I have taken. Mining individual stories would help to clarify on the positions of particular members rather than a lot of small individual briefs. There is so much out there ready to be uncovered and examined, I have simply scratched the surface.

Appendix:

Document A. A letter from Thomas Coombe to his Father:

Hon.d and dearest Sir

I wrote you a long letter last week by Cap.n Ormon, and the particular purpose of this scrawl is to acquaint you, that I shall write again at large by kind Cap.n Osborne, who, they say, will sail within 4 weeks. All the vessels belonging to NYork which are here at present, will certainly sail before I shall be ready; but I am told that others are daily expected to arrive from that port. As soon as I shall have come to a fixed determination in what vessel to embark, I shall seize the first opportunity to acquaint you of it. I hope and pray there may be a good ship in readiness about the latter end of October- for I am very home-sick. Absence and Death are cousin-germans.

What my fate will be, should I live to arrive safe in America, I am not very anxious to know. If my choice were to be consulted, I should prefer a settlement in the United Churches, at least [while] I could look around me. But I own to you Sir, that I think the place of an assistant-minister in the Philad.a churches is but a poor security for a life subject to casualties. Whilst popularity continues-whilst as the merry Dean said, "a preacher can hit your gospel-gossips with voice and action," things no doubt would go on smoothly, and he would receive his salary regularly. But change the scene-suppose his voice broken in the service of those very people who called themselves his admirers- and his action rendered spiritless by desire; need I say how completely wretched must be the situation of such a Man as this? No. You have already anticipated my reflections upon a subject, which has often drawn a silent tear from my eye. Duche has a father who can leave him a large fortune; so that if it should be his hard fate to be neglected in the winter of his age, he can [unclear] himself in his virtue and independency. But I will remember the fare old Dr Jenny me from his congregation, who considered their praying him his salary during his sickness and decline, as a very vigorous effort of charity on their part. And the same I suppose will be always the case, when a Clergyman's support arises from subscription- subscription the most unworthy of all supports- These things are necessary to be considered; and in the consideration of them, I have spent some anxious days, and sleepless night. My heart allows me to declare, that money is not my grand object in any one action of my life; but I confess, my dear Father, I am willing to rely as little as possible upon the caprice of a congregation. True speaks the old dramatic land-

"A Friend may change, a Friend may die."

As it is your desire that I let not Packet sail without a letter, I shall write you again next Wednesday. In the meantime be pleased to remember me most affectionately to my ever-dear Mother and Sisters, and accept the love and duty of

Your affectionate and [unclear] son,
Th: Coombe
London August 29, 1771

Document B. A letter from Thomas Coombe to his Sister in Philadelphia:

My Dear Sister

Tho a good deal hurried at present, yet I cannot omit this last opportunity of dropping you a letter, and assuming you of the very sincere joy I feel in the thought of embarking for America within a month. There is no ship at present bound for NYork, but I entertain strong hopes of one offering ere it be long; and if it should be my good fortune to get clear of the English

coast early in November, I may perhaps have the pleasure of seeing you soon after Christmas.

Inclosed you have a letter for Miss Ord, which you will be so good as to deliver immediately upon receiving it.

I have sent by this conveyance a large box, and a sea-chest, in the former of which is (at the bottom of the box) a sealed packet, which I commit to your particular care, desiring it may not be opened. There are also in the chest two packets directed for Dr Rusk, which be pleased to send him. As there are other packers in the chest, I must beg you to observe that the two for the Doctor are marked with his name. In order to be ready to embark with the first good vessel that shall offer after the 23d of October; I have sent all my lumber before me, under this article not excepting my gown, which I recommend to your kind patronage. Brush him, and smooth him gentle sister, for the owner's sake. In unfolding the gown however, I must desire you to be cautious, that you do not demolish a glazed print of Lord Rockingham, which I have put within the folds. Snug as a country vicar, his Lordship rests there secure at present. It is a summer gown, and therefore I can dispense with the want of it.

Among my Books, you will find on entitled the "man of feeling," in the reading which, you will find a noble entertainment. It possesses all the humanity, and the sentiment of [Sterne], without his too notorious indelicacy. Read it, and let me have your opinion of it, when I see you.

The inclosed little hymm was put together for the occasion, by the person whose name is at the head of it. It was well set to music by a gentleman here, and tolerable sung by the children.

I have nothing to add but my love to my dear Polly and Hannah, and the name of your affectionate brother and friend.

Th: Coombe London September 26, 1771

Document C. A letter from Thomas Coombe to the United churches Vestry:

Gentlemen,

I have given you the trouble of this meeting, to inform you of my having applied and obtained leave from the council to proceed within the British lines at New York; and from thence to England. The Step I have taken, is to me a most important one, including a great variety of affecting circumstances and therefore it was not entered upon without some heartaches,

and many a sorrowful anticipation, I go into voluntary banishment from my native City, where it was my first pride to be established as a Clergyman; to quit a decent Competency among a People whom I affectionately respect and Love, and [launches] out upon the Ocean of the world, unknowing what shelter may hereafter be afforded me, is a hard trial for Nature. By the uncandid my determination will be censured as precipitate, and [every] persons disposed to form the most favorable judgement, will find it difficult to justify a Conduct so different from their own. Thus situated I have only the integrity of my own heart to support me. Having that I was capable of placing it; having read such Books, I conferred with such wise and good Men as I thought might throw light upon the subject. I found that I could not take the Oath to the new Government without the [sadder] violation of my own peace of mind, I have taken this oath whilst under the smallest doubt concerning its Carefulness, might prove a source of much future anxiety to a retrospective [unclear]; but to have done so, under the full conviction of its repugnancy to prior obligations would have been the most criminal duplicity.

I have for some time had the present event in prospect, but was determined to tread with Caution. Accordingly I remained in Town after the departure of the Kings Army. to give myself the further chance of continuing in my living, if it were to be done consistently with my principles. Or if Great Britain had judged it proper to subscribe to the Independence of America my path would have been plain. But since the Sovreign still keeps up his claim of right upon this country, and every inhabitant is called upon by the late [Test] law to renounce all allegiance to him, I had only to choose between my duty and my interest.

[Unclear] I am to pass, in consequence of the part I have resolved upon, he only knoweth who is the Providential Ruler of the world; when I consider my little family when I have behind, and the difficulties to be encountered in providing them a heritage in a distant Country many painful [unclear] crowd into my Bosom.

Gracious God, who art the Guarder of the Innocent, to thee I commit them. In following what I believe to be the clear light of Duty. I trust I shall not want his Blessing; and whilst I encourage the hope that a door will be opened to me in some more hospitable region, I shall labor to prepare my mind for the humblest [dispensations].

As to you Gentlemen, and the Congregations you represent, everything that is due from a Minister to a generous and worthy People belongs to you. Accept my poor thanks for all your kindness. You, I know will do me the justice to believe that nothing but Conviction of my higher obligations, would

have received such liberal encouragement. I recommend you and all my dear connection to the protection of the best Masters. Daily and fervently shall my prayers ascend to him for your temporal and eternal happenings. He hath told us that in the world we shall have tribulation, but bids us [unclear] of good cheer, for that He hath overcome the world.

Finally Brethren, farewell, live in peace, and the God of love and peace be with you.

I am most affectionately yours
Th: Coombe
July 7. 1778

Document D: A letter from Thomas Coombe to his Father:

My dear and ever Hon.d Father

I rely upon your tender affection to excuse my not having written to you before since my arrival. On the twenty second of December last I received the account of my blessed Angel's death, and since that time I have scarcely felt or acted as an inhabitant of this world. But notwithstanding my deep and unavailing distress, I bless God that I remain in good health, and that I am able to preach and do my duty; at the same time I encourage the

hope that Time and the influence of Religion will bring me to a state of tranquility and acquiescence in the disposals of that Almighty Being, who doth not afflict willingly the children of men. Much comfort is afforded me by the hope that my dear Parents and Sisters are all well, and that we shall yet meet and embrace again ere it be long; for I should not now think of settling at this distance from home, or removing my sweet babes to a land of Strangers, let my prospects be flattering or otherwise. In the meanwhile I am thankful that I shall have sufficient to maintain myself and the lovely innocents till I can see them face to face. It was the dying desire of my Angel that her Mother should take our babes, and to act contrary to her wish would wring my soul. Sure I am then will not want anything which my tender Parents and Sisters can do for them in my absence. They are my little earthly idols, and heaven I trust will be there and your Protector. I shall take the first convenient opportunity of writing again, till when excuse this short letter, and attribute it to my reluctance.

Chart 1. Transcription of 1762 Floor Plan

Pew Number						
1	John Wilkenson		William Murdock		Widow Gant	
2	Thomas Mullen		Francis Manny		Widow Pritchard	
3	John Wood		William Clemm			
4	Walter Goodman		George Okill			
5	Illegible					
6	Mrs. Gordon		Thomas Gordon		Gr. Father	J. McMurtice
7	Mrs. Morgan	Mrs. Stow	Mrs. Shaswood		Mrs. Fielding	Mrs. Mills
8	Mrs. Dexter		Alex Forbes		Abraham Skinner	
9	Capt. Dowell		Capt. Roney		John Neigley	Mrs. Shute
10	Mathew Usher		Andrew Doz			
11	Henry Stiles		William Wardell		Mrs. Govin Poor	John Chappell
12	William Allen		John Avis		Andrew Bankson	George Allen
13	Jeremiah Smith		John Malcomb			(Empty)
14	William Nicholson		Sarah King		John McCuer	
15	Sarah Bersely and Sister		William Sellers		Mary Wakefield	
16	James Dushee				James Palmer's Wife	
17	Howell Morgan		Widow Weeks			
18	Samuel Austin's Wife		Hanah Boyd		Cross Out	Mr. Richards
19	Robert Davis		Mrs. Prior			
20	Septima Lesbe		Daniel Benezett		Mrs. Lithgoe	
21	Isaac Stretch		William West			
22	Capt. Childs					
23	Widow Bowling		Daniel Harrison		Mrs. Howell	
24	Edward Jones		Mrs. Venable			
25	John Stamper		Illegible		Widow Bingham	
26	Joshua Maddox					
27	John Yeates		Thomas Coombs			
28	Widow Leech		Bryan Wilkenson		Widow Graham	
29	William Plumsted		Robert Tuitt			
30	Strangers					
31	Alexander Stedman		Hugh Davy			
32	Benjamin Price		Doctor Thompson		Alexander Allaire	
33	Widow Dugdall		William Vanderspeigle			
34	Edward Hicks		Phineas Bond		William Moore	Doctor Kearsley
			Samuel McCall Senior		Samuel McCall Junior	Junior
35	John Inglis					Polly and Peggy
36	Thomas Lawrance					
37	Illegible		Thomas Hopkinson			
38	Joseph Redman		Widow Robinson			
39	Atwood Shutes		John Graves		Robert Owen	William Parr
40	Red: Cuningham		Mrs. Ellis			
41	Samuel Hasell					
42	David Franks		Mrs. Robinson		Mrs. Armand	Buck Sims
43	Widow Bully		Widow Howard		Mrs. Hueston	
44	Thomas Leech					
45	Arthur Burrows		Young Bayley			
46	John Till Junior		Michael Huling			
47	Capt. Joseph Faulkner		John Ellis Glasier			

48	Widow Erwin	Jane Grant			
49	Warrick Coates	Richard Dennis			
50	George Claypool	Francis Garrick			
51	John Knowles	Thomas Wells	John Denton		
52	Mrs. Donaldson	Widow Moss	John Little	Joseph Donaldson	
53	Capt. Conyers	Capt. Bound	Thomas York		
54	Philip Syng	Thomas Campbell			
55	Evan Morgan	Mrs. Kinersley			
56	Daniel Dupree	Peter David	Widow Dupree		
57	Peter Bard	Archibald Andrews			
58	Mrs. Mankins	Widow Annis	Mrs. Erwin		
59	Benjamin Franklin	Mary Andrews			
60	Jacob Dushee				
61	Oswald Peel	Townsend White			
62	Widow Bradford	James Worrall			
63	Proprietor	William Peters			
64	Joseph Sims				
65	Doctor Kearsley	Polly Hainey			
66	Thomas White	Sarah Hunlock			
67	John Clifton				
68	Capt Glentworth	Doctor Sonmans	Capt. Cuozins		
69	Widow Clymer	Capt. Harrison	Jonathan Beer	Samuel Hall's Wife	Mary Parkhouse
70	Widow Robinson	Ephraim Bowen			
71	Peter Hilly				
72	John Nelson	Samuel Holt			
73	Doctor Grame		John Sober		
74	James Benezett	Widow Hyatt	Alex Barclay		
75	John Ross	John Boynton			
76	Mrs. Mason	Capt (Skinner, Hinkley)			
77	George Sheed				
78	Widow Doz				
79	George (Illegible)				
80	Robert Moore	James Murgatroyd			
81	John Ord	Capt. Childs			
82	Missing				
83	Missing				
84	Missing				
85	Missing				
86	Missing				
87	Missing				
88	Missing				
89	Widow Wilkenson	Widow Peart			
90	John Seers	Andrew Reed	Daniel Rees	Molly Tongue	
91	William Preston	Capt. Budden			
92	Margrett Buttler	Joseph Stinnard	Widow Rutter	Edward Duffield	
93	Caleb Cash	William Bromage	Francis Sewer	Mrs. Dove	
94	Mark Khull	Widow Hurduge	Mary Williams		
95	Thomas January	Robert Greenway			
96	Thomas Stamper	Widow Smith	Banjamin Fuller	Mrs. Thompson	Samueal Fisher's Wife
97	Capt. Elwes	Widow Forrter	Catherine Cox		

98 A. Wilkenson
99 Ministers

Widow Pickle

Thomas Cuthert

Image 1. Original Floor Plan from 1762:

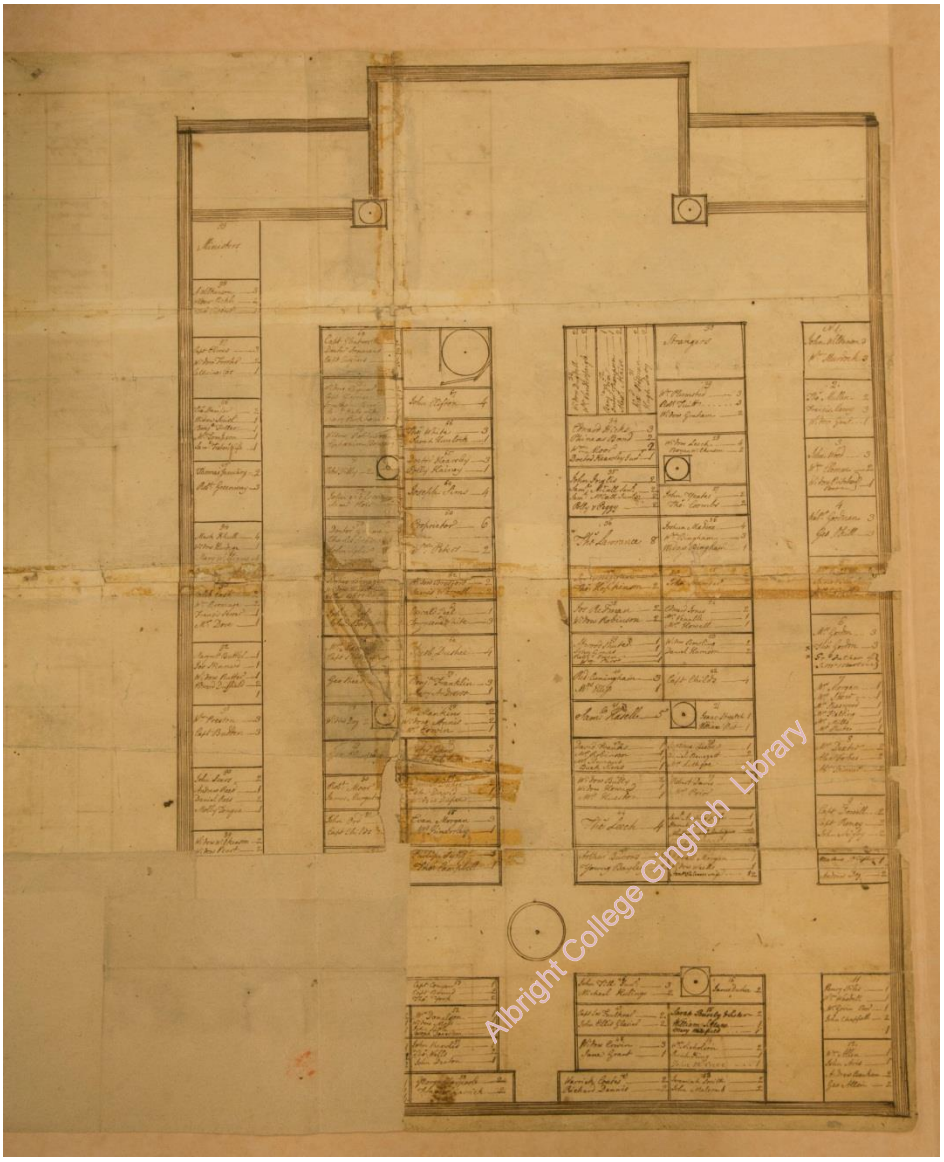


Image 2. Digitized floor map with renters from 1778:

Image 3. Digitized Floor Plan using the dimensions from both the original and current floor plans.

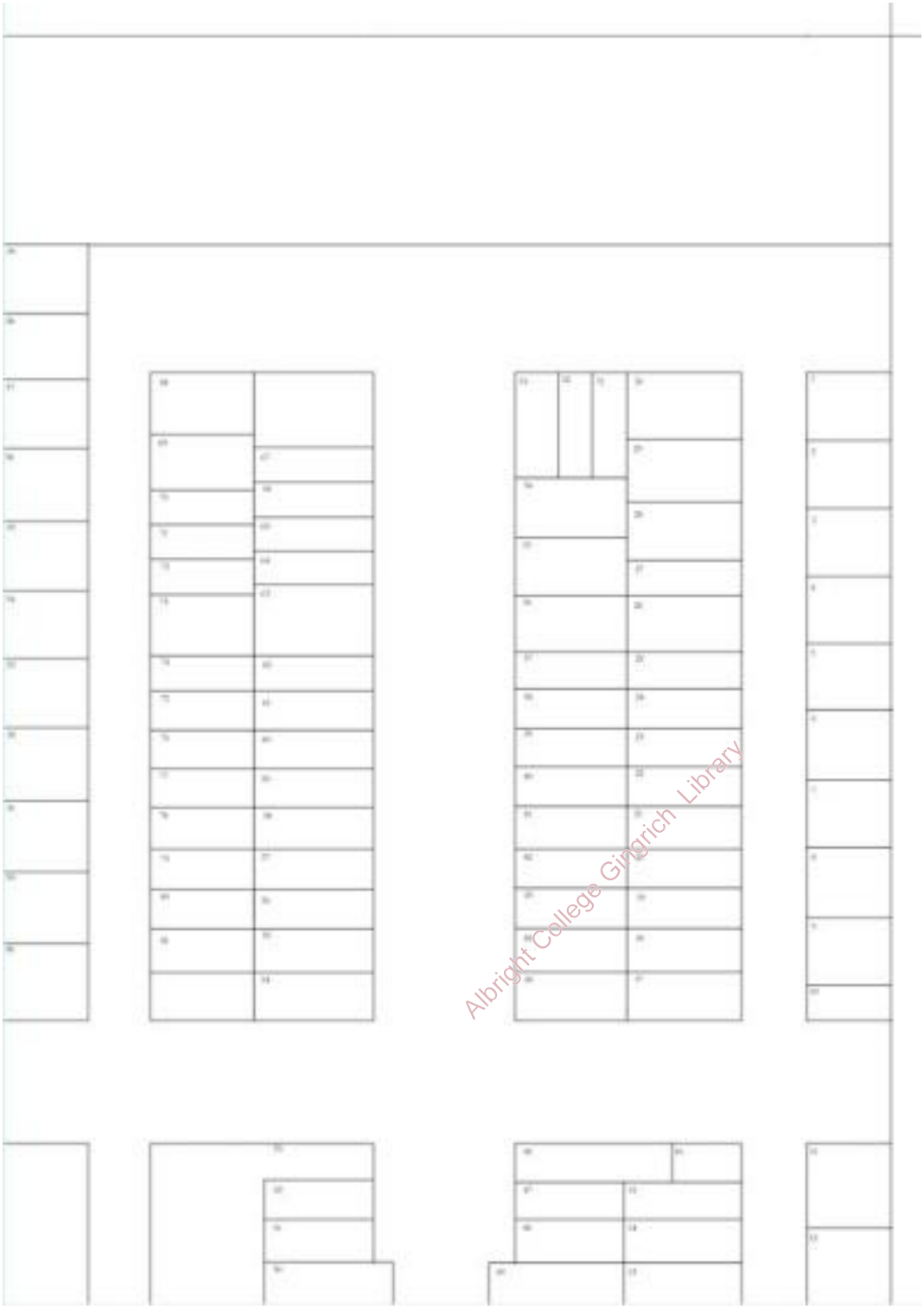


Image 4. Christ Church, today.

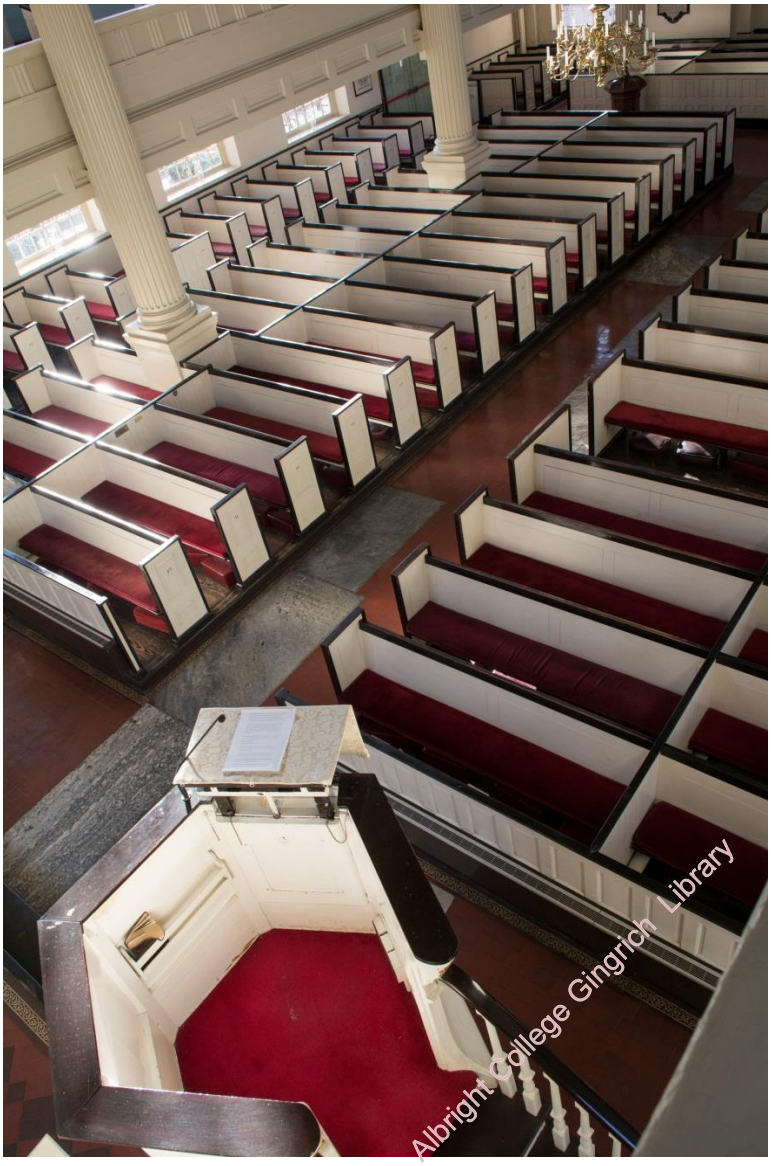


Image 5. St. Peter's Box Pews.

Image 6. St. Peter's Box Pews.

Image 7. Outside of Christ Church. Example of Georgian Architecture.

Image 8. Outside of Christ Church. Example of Georgian Architecture.

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