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Historic Site Survey

Third and Scots Presbyterian Church

Philadelphia, Pa.

Prepared by:
William C Everhart
Supervising Park Historian

Independence National Hist. Park
National Park Service

October 30, 1956

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Historic Site Survey

THIRD AND SCOTS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Description, Identification:

The Third or Pine Street Presbyterian Church, more familiarly known by its friends as "Old Pine Street," is located on the south side of Pine Street between Third and Fourth Streets, and is "the only pre-Revolutionary Presbyterian Church standing today in Old Philadelphia."[1] Surrounded on three sides by a tree-shaded cemetery with lines of weathered slab grave markers, the church provides a placid retreat from the crowded, dingy structures of this section of Old Philadelphia.

Old Pine Street Church today is considerably changed from the original structure. In its 188-year history, the church has undergone three major renovations as well as intermittent minor alterations. The modern church presents an appearance more characteristic of mid-19th century architecture than its original colonial style. (Contrast Figures 1 and 3.)

The original Pine Street Presbyterian Church, as constructed in 1768, was the work of Robert Smith, architect and master carpenter who designed St. Peter's Church, across Fourth Street, Nassau Hall of Princeton University, and most probably, Carpenters' Hall.[2] The original church was a plain, brick, one story, rectangular structure without a steeple or any distinctive architectural features. (See Figure 1.) The north and south walls were similar, each with a

central door, three windows above and two below; the east wall had a central door flanked on each side by a pair of windows, with five windows above. The west wall was blank, except for a window immediately behind the pulpit.[3]

The interior of the church was without galleries.[4] From the east wall, a central door opened into the broad, brick-paved aisle, flanked by pews so high "that children's heads are below the top."[5] The pulpit was on the west side, "an unpretending piece of architecture, after the box fashion," with steps leading up one side and surmounted by a "'sounding board' looking like a wooden extinguisher."[6]

By 1792 minor alterations of the building had begun. In that year the central door on the east wall had been replaced by two doors, one at each corner.[7] (See Figure 1.) Because of the increase in the size of the congregation after the Revolution galleries were built along the south, east, and north walls in 1793.[8] Despite its Scotch heritage, the church was apparently becoming a trifle less dour and in 1794 an "elaborate and elegant glass chandelier" was purchased from London and suspended from the center of the ceiling by a heavy ornamented pediment.[9] By 1820 a "fine, new pulpit" had replaced the original "unpretending" one.[10]

In 1762 an addition was made to the original grant of land with the purchase, for 13 pounds, of a large plot 178 by 39 feet at the corner of Fourth and Pine Streets, which probably gave the church

all the land it now holds between Addison and Pine Streets, eastward from the church to Fourth Street.[11] In 1834 a brick wall was built around the south and east sides of the churchyard and an iron railing along the north side. The wall remained until 1903 when it was removed. A more substantial wall was built upon the original foundation on the south side of the cemetery at that time and a new iron fence on a granite base was erected along Fourth Street matching the 1834 fence still standing on Pine Street.[12]

The first major restoration of the Pine Street Church took place in 1837, when the single-story building was converted into a two-story structure. Without disturbing the original walls and foundation, the top of the church was "raised bodily" and a new and larger roof built over the old one.[13] The interior was remodelled, the windows modernized, a lecture room, study and committee room provided, and the brick walls were stuccoed.[14] It seems likely that the removal of the pulpit---from the west to an alcove built into the south wall, its present position---took place at this time.[15]

As a result of this addition of a second story, the ground floor was converted into a Sunday School room and the upper floor was used for the church auditorium. A new entrance was provided from Pine Street.[16]

A former member of the congregation later remembered the

church interior as it looked before the 1837 alterations.[17]

> We entered the church mostly by two eastern doors. The floor was two steps from the ground....The galleries extended along the north, south, and east sides of the church. The stairways were near the eastern doors.
>
> The pulpit was on the west side of the church: a niche in the wall back of it. It was entered by two high flights of stairs....Immediately under the pulpit, a little elevated above the floor, was the precentor's desk...In front of the gallery opposite the pulpit was the clock.
>
> The pews were high-backed, and were entered from three aisles runnings east and west, the broad aisle in front of the pulpit. The floors were now of wood, and in the broad aisle near the pulpit was a marble slab, with its inscription, which covered the grave of Dr. Duffield.

Apparently because of his distaste for the unpretentious design of the original building, the church pastor, Rev. Thomas Brainerd, in 1857, directed a major alteration of the building, which in his words, transformed the "unsightly and unattractive building" into a "beautiful and classic temple; uniting the associations of a venerated antiquity with the demands of modern taste."[18] Four double Corinthian columns were placed over a front entrance, a vestibule to the church auditorium provided as well as additional rooms on the basement level; and a roof was built "over the entire church, enclosing the gable ends and roof of the original building."[19]

This alteration greatly changed the character of the original building from one of simple colonial appearance to the

neo-classic style, in keeping with the Greek Revival then in flower in Philadelphia. (See Figure 5.)

Although no major alterations were made for another 100 years, by 1951 the building was in a general state of disrepair and was seriously lacking in modern conveniences. However, the architectural firm which was called in to survey the building reported it in "surprising good condition, considering its age," with the original walls still sound. In reporting its findings and recommendations for restoration, the architects noted,

> There were several major alterations to Old Pine Street Church which completely changed its character. Since consideration is being given to the restoration of the Church, a decision must be made as to the most appropriate and desirable period to which it could be restored. To facilitate this decision the following factors have been considered for three different architectural periods.[20]

The architects considered restoring the building to (1) its 1768 appearance, (2) its 1837 appearance and (3) its post-1857 appearance. Their observations on each and final recommendations were:

1) Restoration of the building to its original, one-story appearance. This was not recommended because it would require tearing down and almost completely rebuilding the church, the cost of which would have been excessive. In addition, "details of the interior could only be approximated since there are no drawings or prints of the inside of the [original] church

and therefore must be modeled on other churches of the period." It was also pointed out much space, including the Sunday School room, and the whole of the first floor, as well as the needed utilities, would be lost.

2) Returning the church to its 1837 appearance---a two-story colonial church. This would require removal of the 1857 additions---front entrance, vestibule, eight Corinthian columns, modern windows and roof---and the colonial treatment of the interior would have to be restored. It was noted that this also would be an expensive job.

3) The architects instead recommended remodelling of the present structure without attempting restoration to any previous period because of the extra space needs for church activities and for utilities, and because "Renovation of the interior and exterior would preserve a building which has been a landmark in the City for almost a hundred years and which is a clever and ingenious conversion of the original colonial church." It was also pointed out in the report that the development of Independence National Historical Park as originally planned would have carried Area "B" to Pine Street (Under present authorization Area "B" ends at Manning Street, about one and one-third blocks from Pine Street), thus placing the Second Bank of the United States and the Pine Street Presbyterian Church, both Greek Revival structures, at opposite ends of the Area "B" axis. It was estimated remodelling

of the present building would be by far the most economical treatment. In view of the financial situation of the church, the latter must have been an important factor.

The architects' recommendation to keep the present style was accepted by the church and the work was completed this year. No structural changes were made in the building but it was completely renovated: new roof, floors, woodwork, the exterior walls re-stuccoed, interior walls re-plastered and both interior and exterior painted, new heating system, complete plumbing and wiring systems, and extensive improvements in the cemetery.[21] Although the preliminary estimate for the work was $150,000, the total cost, which may include some additional services, will be nearly double the estimate.[22] The completion of the restoration work was celebrated with special services at the church on May 20, 1956.

History of the Third and Scots Presbyterian Church:

The movement to establish the Third Presbyterian Church began in 1761.[23] Certain members of the First Presbyterian Church, expecting the stream of Presbyterian immigration to continue, and noting that Presbyterian families in southwestern Philadelphia were rapidly multiplying, resolved "That proper measures shall be taken to procure as much ground on Society Hill as will suffice for a church."[24] George Bryan, a member of the committee appointed to investigate the matter, was later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.[25]

The First Church petitioned the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, Thomas and Richard Penn, for a building site and in 1764 a lot on Pine Street was received, "to the intent that a Church or Meeting House should be erected thereon, and a burial lot laid out for the use of the said society of Presbyterians forever."[26] Construction, financed by the First Church, was begun early in 1766 but a lottery was necessary before sufficient funds could be raised to complete the building.[27] On February 23, 1768, members of the new Third Church (most of whom were formerly of the First Church) met in the new church to select pews, 100 being taken at that time. On June 12, 1768, "the first songs of praise and the first sermon were heard in the new church."[28]

At this time the First Church and Third Church were one corporate body, sharing ministers, with the First Church ostensibly the legal owner of the Third Church building. But two congregations, perhaps not unlike two women, seldom live together in peace under one roof for very long. The explosion, in this case, came a few years later.

In 1772, as a result of theological divisions which had appeared within the Presbyterian communion, open conflict developed between the First and Third Churches. The First Church was "Old Light" Presbyterian, orthodox and conservative; the Second Church, which had flatly refused the First Church's request for financial

aid to help build the Third Church,[29] was "New Light" Presbyterian, liberal, and evangelical. The "Old Light" First Church was thus greatly chagrined, perhaps enraged, when its offspring, the Third Church, summoned the Rev. George Duffield, a prominent "New Light," to the pastorate of the Third Church.[30]

Indignant, the First Church, which claimed ownership of the building, locked the doors of the Third Church against the congregation. The result was a scene not unknown in Presbyterian history. Duffield and his congregation managed to gain entry to the church and began the service, but were interrupted by the King's Messenger. Summoned at the First Church's behalf, he came down the aisle to the pulpit, ordered the people to disperse, and when they refused began to read from the Riot Act. At that moment Robert Knox, later an officer in the Revolutionary War, rose "in all the might and dignity of a layman in the Presbyterian Kirk, than whom there is indeed none greater even in the Kingdom of Heaven." He seized the minion of the law and hurled him bodily through the door, turned to the minister and said, "Go on, Mr. Duffield."[31] The controversy over the question of ownership of the church went through several courts and was finally settled and the two congregations officially separated with the payment of 750 pounds by the Third Church to the First Church, thus establishing the independence of the Third Presbyterian Church.[32]

The chief concern of this report on the history of the

Pine Street church is its historical relationship with the period of the American Revolution and the establishment of the new nation. This brief survey will be concerned for the most part with that period. But to assess the place of the Pine Street Church in the Revolution, it will be necessary first to glance at the role of the Presbyterian Church generally during that critical era of American history.

From 1720 up to the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the largest part of the immigration to the American colonies was made up of Scotch from the north of Ireland who had been colonized there during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.[33] Largely the result of economic discontent resulting from Ireland's colonial status, with the accompanying severe restrictions on trade and commerce, the movement was also motivated by religious grievances. These British policies, also the cause of American discontent, brought more than half the Presbyterian population of Ireland to America during the middle of the 18th century.[34] It is believed as many as 10,000 arrived in Pennsylvania in one year.[35]

With this inborn dislike of British authority, the vigorous Presbyterian support of the Revolution can be appreciated. Holding a "natural inclination for politics,"[36] which their well educated ministers were seldom unwilling to express, Presbyterians were regarded with suspicion by defenders of the Crown. During the Stamp Act agitation in Pennsylvania James Pemberton declared, "the Presbyterians would have turned to violence as in Massachusetts if they had not been

held down by people of moderation."[37] James Galloway wrote to Benjamin Franklin at this time, (January 1776)

> A certain sect of people, [the Presbyterians] if I may judge from all their late conduct, seem to look on this as a favorable opportunity of establishing their republican principles and of throwing off all connection with their mother country. Many of their publications justify the thought.[38]

The record of the Pine Street Presbyterian congregation during this period is one of whole-hearted enthusiasm for the American cause, to which it contributed a proportion of its members which few colonial churches could surpass. On the official call to George Duffield in 1771 appears the names of 110 men of the congregation. Of this number 67, or more than 60%, are known to have participated in the Revolution. And 35 of the 67 were officers, many of whom achieved important military positions.[39] Included on Gibbons' incomplete list of participants are three generals and six colonels, as well as Dr. William Shippen, appointed Director-General of all hospitals by the Continental Congress, and Dr. Samuel Duffield, a member of the Continental Congress. (Most of these men are believed to be buried in the churchyard.) Duffield described the congregation as being composed of "zealous, ardent men from the north of Ireland, whigs in politics, lovers of liberty, opposed to the union of church and state and to 'tory' rule."[40]

Perhaps the exemplary record of the congregation was in part stimulated by the pastor, who once noticed a number of men in

his congregation on Sunday morning, and promptly told them "he was very, very sorry they were not abroad serving their country."[41] For as he had been in peace, George Duffield, a man of "vigorous personality and aggressive courage" was the leader of his congregation in time of war, and as the conflict approached Duffield "identified himself with the boldest advocates of independence."[42] Four months before the Declaration of Independence was adopted Duffield, speaking to a group of Pennsylvania militia companies as well as several members of the Continental Congress, declared, "... Heaven designed this Western world as the asylum for liberty, and that to raise its banner here their forefathers had sundered their dearest ties..."[43] Immediately after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence Duffield was commissioned chaplain of the Pennsylvania militia. He served with Bishop William White as chaplain to the Continental Congress, and his activities in behalf of American independence were such that the British placed a price on his head.[44]

Duffield attracted many leading figures of the day to the Pine Street Church. When the Continental Congress was in session, "John Adams and other delegates sat regularly under his patriotic preaching."[45] Although not a member of the congregation, Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, attended services at this time. Adams, a frequent visitor, was especially impressed with Duffield's abilities, noting in his diary after hearing another preacher that the man was "totaly destitute of the

genius and eloquence of Duffield."[46]

On Sunday morning, May 17, 1776, during that momentous Spring when the decision for Independence was gradually being forged in the State House, three blocks away, John Adams attended services at the Pine Street Church. That night he wrote to his wife Abigail, reporting the message of the sermon. "I have this morning heard Mr. Duffield, upon the signs of the times. He ran a parallel between the case of Israel and that of America,and between the conduct of Pharaoh and that of George."[47] Adams then developed upon Duffield's theme at length. It is not unlikely that the fire and eloquence of Duffield made a deep impression upon other members of the Continental Congress at this critical time.

The church suffered considerable damage from the British occupation of Philadelphia during the winter of 1777-78, it being "peculiarly obnoxious to the British, from the resolute patriotism of the pastor and known whiggery of the members."[48] The pews were torn out for firewood, the windows and pulpit stripped and the sanctuary used as a stable for horses. A considerable number of Hessian soldiers were buried in the churchyard at that time, in unmarked graves.[49]

Although no evidence was found to associate closely the Constitutional Convention to Pine Street Church, it seems likely that at least some of the members may have attended services. Jared Ingersoll, a member of the Convention and a signer of the Constitution, was a member of the Pine Street congregation and is buried in the cemetery there.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Pine Street Church, while engaged in no extraordinary activities, had a sizeable congregation and an active church program. Its future seemed secure. But the Pine Street Church was to become a near-victim of the extensive shifting of populations in the Society Hill section, which became less and less fashionable and more and more a focus of low-income families and foreign-born peoples. Those persons from whom the Pine Street Church had drawn its congregation, gradually moved away.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the area attracted a heavy influx of Russian Jewish immigrants. Gibbons[30] notes that during the period from 1860 to 1895, within a radius of one mile from Pine Street Church, more than 30 Protestant churches were given over to secular uses or sold to Catholic or Jewish organizations. In some way, Old Pine Street has survived, although greatly weakened. Meeting the existing situation it today has two "missionaries," one working among the neighborhood children, the other conducting Sunday evening services in the Polish language for adults.

Status, Condition:

Until a few years ago, legal ownership of the building and cemetery grounds was vested in the Board of Trustees of the church. Since that time all assets, properties and endowments have been transferred to the Presbytery of Philadelphia. The income from investments is devoted to the continuation of the work

of the church and the preservation of the historical building. While the Board of Trustees of the Presbytery controls the investment of the church assets, all income comes directly to the church. The Presbytery has no voice in the breakdown of these funds. This is done by the Board of Trustees of the church, which allocates the monies for current expenses, cemetery upkeep and the like.[51]

Physically the church building is in excellent condition, as a result of its complete renovation this year, and the cemetery grounds are extremely well kept. But as a church congregation, Old Pine Street has in recent years been largely dependent upon friends of the church who love and respect its tradition.

In 1953 the congregation of Holland-Scots Presbyterian Church merged with the Third Church under the corporate name of "The Third and Scots Presbyterian Church in the City of Philadelphia." Despite this merger, the Church in 1955 counted only 118 communicant members.

Probably only the devoted efforts and sacrifices of men such as its present minister, Rev. Clarence Shannon Long, who has been pastor since 1914, have saved Old Pine Street from the fate of so many of its sister churches. The principal support of the Pine Street Church today is an organization founded largely through the efforts of its president, Dr. Alexander Mackie, a prominent Presbyterian clergyman and President of the Presbyterian Ministers'

Fund. "The Friends of Old Pine Street," as this incorporated organization is known, raised the considerable sum needed for the present renovation of the church, even a fraction of which the church itself could not have raised. This organization, no doubt, will insure the continued life of this venerable Presbyterian landmark of Old Philadelphia.

Pine Street Presbyterian Church is located three blocks South of Area "A" and one and one-third blocks south of Area "B" of Independence National Historical Park. It is accessible by foot from the Park and by car or public transportation from all points of the city.

CONFIDENTIAL DATA

A. Suggested Boundaries, Development:

If Pine Street Presbyterian Church should be designated for Federal recognition, it is recommended that property between Manning Street and Spruce Street and along the east side of St. Lawrence Street, between Spruce and Pine Streets, (as shown on Map NHP-IND-2393) be acquired as a means of developing a more adequate approach to the Pine Street churches---St. Peter's and Third Presbyterian---from Project "B" of Independence National Historical Park. The churchyard property is bounded by 424 Pine Street on the west, by Addison Street on the south and by Fourth Street on the east. (The churchyard is 290 feet by 140 feet.)

Suggested Development:

None.

B. Management and Protection:

It is recommended that provision be made and required in a Cooperative Agreement between the government and the Board of Trustees of the Presbytery of Philadelphia that the church will assume exclusive responsibility for the future management, maintenance and protection of the site without cost to the government. [Above Sections A and B prepared by Superintendent Anderson.]

C. Evaluation of Historical Significance of Site:

Although substantially altered in appearance, both in exterior and interior, by the physical changes of 1837, 1857 and 1956, the present church is the "original" church as that term

is generally, and too often loosely, used. But while the structure does provide physical association with the Revolutionary period, the figures of that day would have considerable difficulty in recognizing the present church building. On the inside windows, pews, and pulpit have been replaced, galleries added, and the structure changed from one to two stories. Outside, an imposing Greek Revival front has been added, the roof extended, and the original brick walls stuccoed and painted.

However, and possibly of more importance, is the historical association of this church with the movement for Independence. The role of its pastor, George Duffield, was an important one. This "ardent supporter of the American Revolution" was, during the grim war years, an inspiration to his congregation, to the soldiers whom he served faithfully in the field as Chaplain, and to those members of the Continental Congress who came regularly to the Pine Street church to hear "his patriotic teaching," which John Adams believed was a rich blend of "genius and eloquence." Following his leadership, and as Presbyterians vigorously opposed to British authority, the congregation of Pine Street Church volunteered for war service in such numbers---of a partial list of 110 members, 67 took part in the Revolution---as few churches could equal. Certainly Old Pine Street had close association with and was a staunch supporter of the movement for Independence.

But the association of the Pine Street Church with the American Revolution does not approach the level of historical

importance necessary to qualify it for national recognition. Throughout the American colonies in that period a very great many organizations---political, religious and social---had just as close ties with the Revolution. Although the contribution of Pine Street Church to the American cause was substantial, it was not consequential to the outcome. Therefore, it is not recommended that Pine Street Presbyterian Church be considered on its own merits for inclusion in Independence National Historical Park.

But the story of Independence as represented through the buildings and sites included in the Independence National Historical Park covers a broad sweep of American History during the critical years 1774 to 1800. While it encompasses primarily the political or governmental theme; it includes also the military, economic, diplomatic, learned and religious themes, each of which buttresses and enriches the grand theme of Independence and the establishment of the government under the Constitution.

Should it be determined to fully interpret the religious theme, the addition of those 18th-century churches and sites close by the Park (a maximum of 10 churches and 3 sites) should be given serious consideration. Individually these churches are illustrative of local or denominational history, taken together they are expressions of an important phase of the Independence story.

If it is decided to treat as a unit the churches shown on the map "Historic Church Sites---Old Philadelphia---Drawing NHP-IND-2397, 5/21/56" and to consider the group for recognition in relation to Independence National Historical Park, Pine Street Presbyterian Church should be included.

NOTES

1
Rev. Alexander Mackie, "The Presbyterian Churches of Old Philadelphia," in Historic Philadelphia From the Founding Until the Early Nineteenth Century (issued as Vol. 43, Part I, of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1953) 226.

2
Although Smith was "one of the moving spirits of the project," positive proof that he designed Carpenters' Hall is lacking. See Charles E. Peterson, "Carpenters' Hall," ibid. Rev. Clarence S. Long, present pastor of Old Pine Street, believes that both St. Peter's and Pine Street Presbyterian followed the same basic plan. The original churches were quite similar in size and appearance. Conversation between Rev. Long and the writer, October 11, 1956.

3
Richard H. Allen (ed), Leaves From A Century Plant. (Philadelphia, 1920), 114-5.

4
Ibid.

5
Ibid., 24-5.

6
Ibid.

7
Ibid., 115-6

8
Hughes O. Gibbons, A History of Old Pine Street (Philadelphia, 1905), 104. The cost of the gallery construction was $7,500.

9
Allen, 116-7.

10
Gibbons, 191

11
John W. Scott, A Historical Sketch of the Pine Street or Third Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia, 1837), 28

12
Gibbons, 192-3

13
Ibid., 193, 211

14
Thomas Brainerd, "A Brief History of Pine Street Church," in Manual of the Third Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia, 1859), 9. The improvements cost $19,000.

15
Gibbons, 193

16
Mackie, "The Presbyterian Churches of Old Philadelphia," 227.

17
An account by Rev. John McLeod, in Allen, 116-7.

18
Brainerd, 9

19
Gibbons, 211-12. The restoration work cost $11,500.

20
The Philadelphia firm of Kneedler, Mirick and Zantzinger, Architects, submitted a multilithed report to the church in 1951, entitled "A Report on Old Pine Street Church." It includes the findings of the physical investigation of the building, historical information and recommendations for renovation of the building, along with photographs and drawings. The discussion of the recommendations is taken from this report.

21
"Specifications for Alterations and Additions to Third and Scots Presbyterian Church," as prepared by and under the supervision of Kneedler, Mirick and Zantzinger, February 19, 1954 (In the Library of the Presbyterian Historical Society).

22
A mimeographed report dated May 31, 1956 to the "Friends of Old Pine Street," noted that $200,108 had been paid the contractor, $17,009 had been paid the architect, and that approximately $66,000 remained to be paid. This would indicate the total cost was about $283,000.

23
The "First Church" was established on Market Street shortly before 1700; the "Second Church" was organized in 1743; the "Third Church" began its career at Fourth and Pine Streets in 1768.

24
Guy S. Klett, Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania, (Philadelphia, 1937), 44; Gibbons, 21-2.

25
Ibid.

26
Brainerd, 3-4; Gibbons, 22-3. The site selected for the Third Church was an historic one for here George Whitefield often preached from a stage built there by his supporters. John F. Watson, Annals of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1909), III, 308.

27
Gibbons, 25-6. The Second Church, theologically at odds with the First Church, refused to contribute to the new church. Ibid., 23-5.

28
Gibbons, 26.

29
Ibid., 23-5.

30
Mackie, "The Presbyterian Churches of Old Philadelphia," 228.

31
Similar accounts of this unusual display of Christian charity are found in Gibbons, 42-7 and Mackie, "The Presbyterian Churches of Old Philadelphia," 228.

32
Scott, 25-7.

33
William W. Sweet, Religion in Colonial America (New York, 1942) 25.

34
Ibid., 25-6

35
R. J. Ferguson, "Scotch-Irish," in Dictionary of American History, V, 45.

36
Ibid., 46

37
Theodore Thayer, "The Quaker Party in Pennsylvania, 1755-1765," in Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. VI, 41.

38
Ernest H. Baldwin, "Joseph Galloway, The Loyalist Politician," in Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 26, 292.

39
Gibbons, 90.

40
Allen, 41.

41
Brainerd, 6

42
Harris E. Starr, "George Duffield," in Dictionary of American Biography, V, 489.

43
Gibbons, 64-5.

44
D.A.B., V, 490.

45
Ibid.

46
Charles Francis Adams, The Works of John Adams (Boston, 1856), II, 424. Adams frequently referred to having attended "Duffield's Meeting."

47
Peter Force, ed., American Archives... a Documentary History of ... the North American Colonies (Washington, 1837-53), Fourth Series, VI, 488.

48
Brainerd, 6

49
Mackie, 228, Brainerd 6.

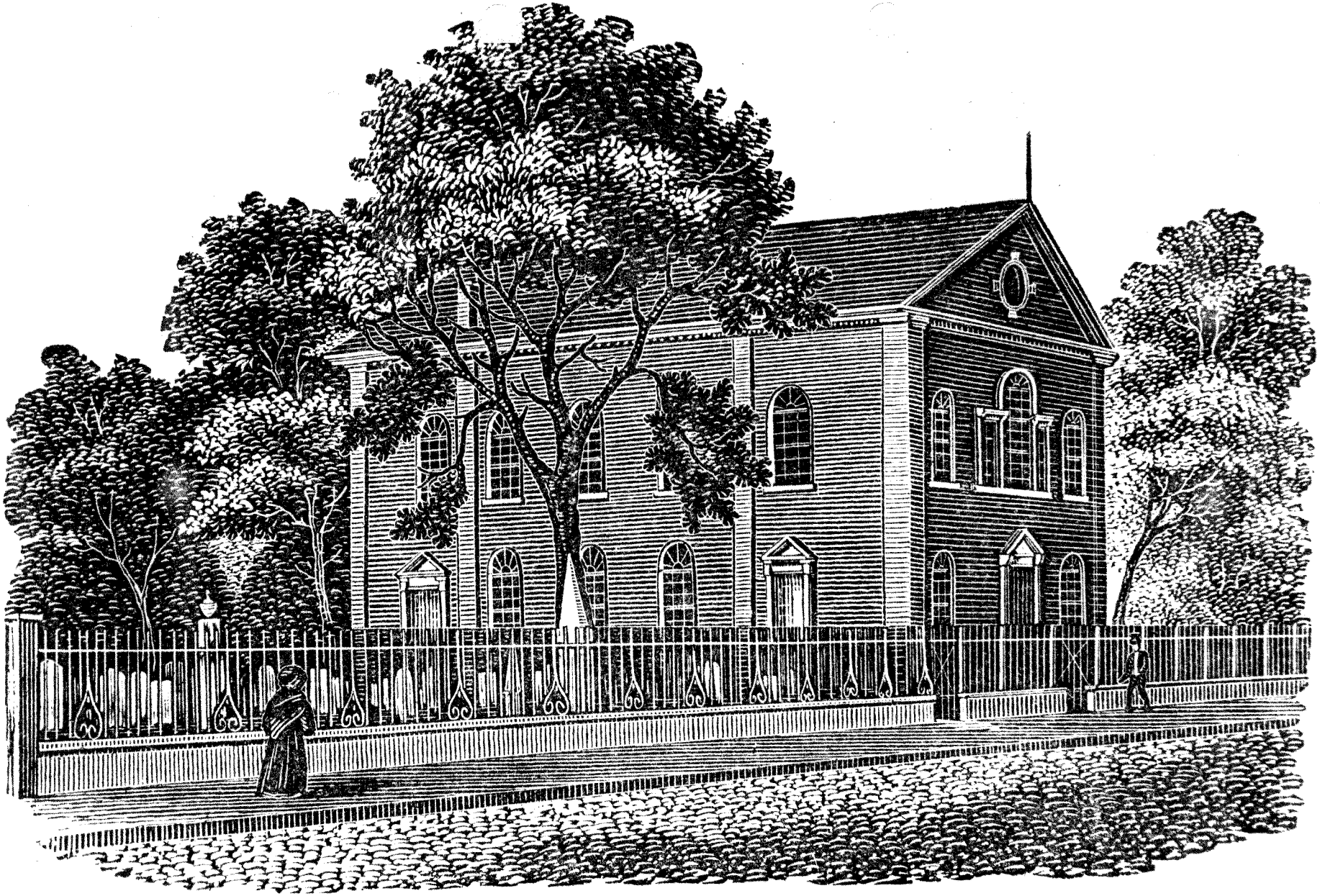
50
Gibbons, 258-60.

51
Conversation between Rev. Long and the writer, October 24, 1956.

APPENDIX

PHOTOGRAPHS

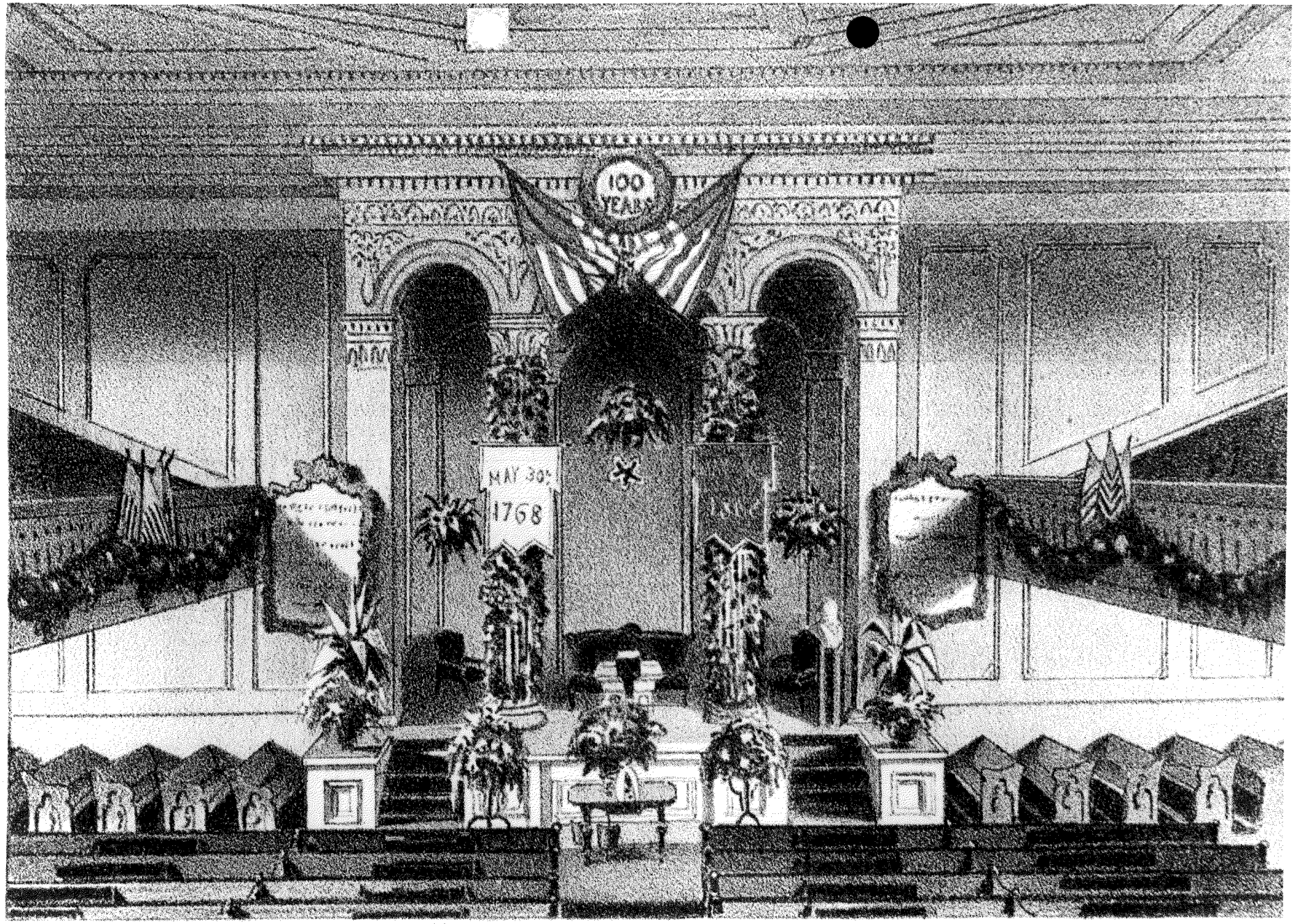
Fig. 1. Pine Street Presbyterian Church, (c.1834-1837) before first major alteration in 1837. View is from Pine Street, showing front and east wall. This woodcut is the earliest known likeness of the church. Although Mackie ("The Pennsylvania Churches of Old Philadelphia," 226) gives the date of this picture as 1768, the year of construction of the building, the well-filled graveyard obviously has had many years of use. The two doors at either end of the east wall replaced a central door in 1792. The iron railing fence shown along Pine Street was built in 1837; the early window scheme shown here was "undersized" in 1837.



OLD PINE STREET CHURCH,

S. W. corner 4th and Pine, Philadelphia, Pa.

Fig. 2 Pulpit of Pine Street Presbyterian Church, 1868, during celebration of 100th anniversary of the church, 1768-1868.



INTERIOR & PULPIT VIEW.

Fig. 3. Pulpit of Pine Street Presbyterian Church, after 1956 restoration.


PSALTER
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PSALTER
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1206 Walnut St. Phila., Pa.
Commercial Photographers

Fig. 4. Pine Street Presbyterian Church, about 1865, possibly during Civil War. View is from Pine Street, looking southeast.

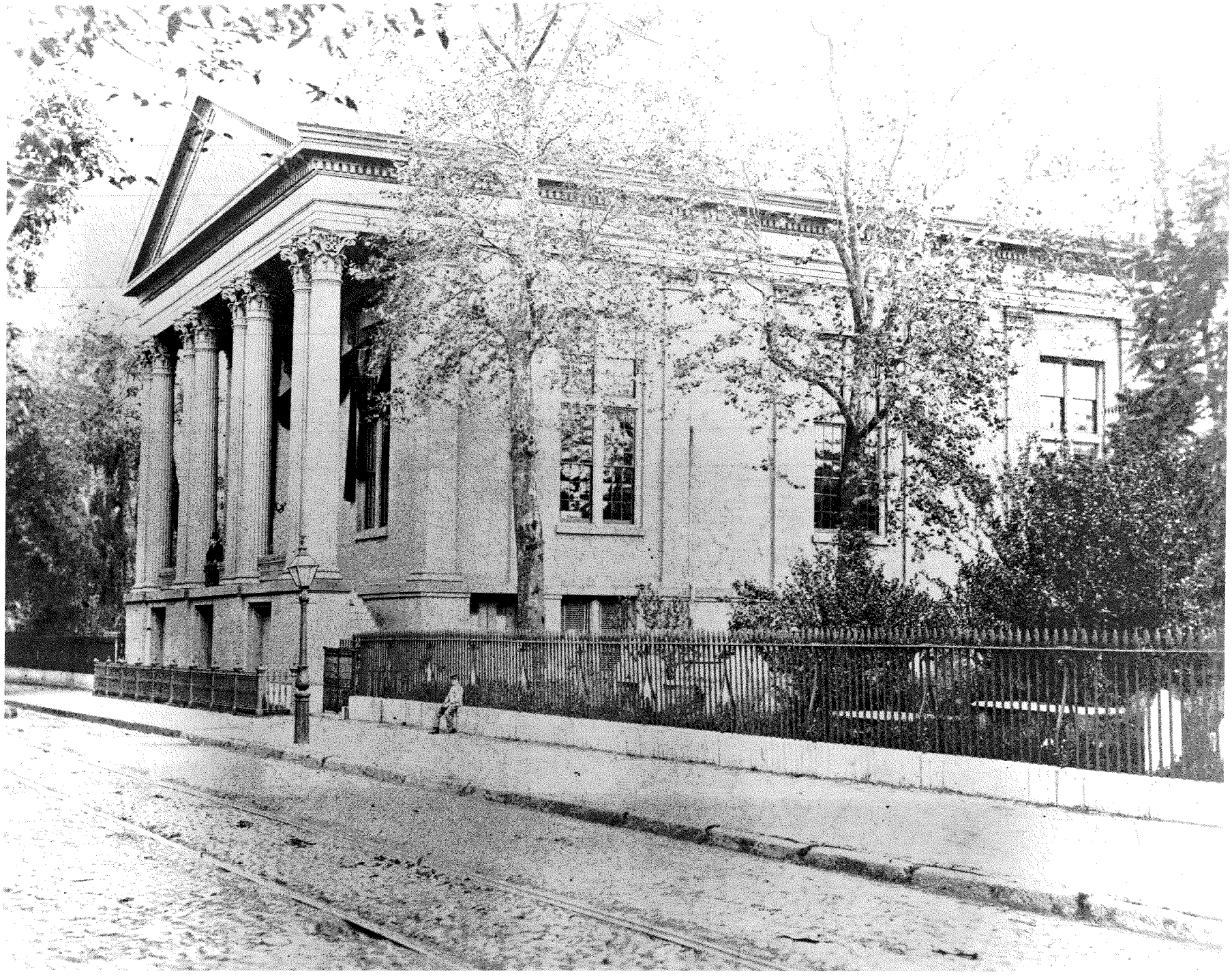


Fig. 5 Pine Street Presbyterian Church, after 1956 restoration. View from Pine Street looking southeast.


ONE WAY

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Fig. 6. Interior, Pine Street Presbyterian Church, after 1956 restoration. View is from rear gallery toward pulpit.



Fig. 7. Old Pine Street Cemetery. Portion of burying ground lying east of the church. View is westward, from Fourth Street. Many of the grave markers are 18th century. The cemetery has been "closed" to burials, except for a person of unusual prominence in the church, for nearly 50 years.



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