Historic Resource Study

Independence Mall

The 18th Century Development

Block Three

Arch to Race, Fifth to Sixth Streets

by

Anna Coxe Toogood
Historian
Cultural Resources Management
Independence National Historical Park
January 2004

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
143 S. 3rd Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106

IN REPLY REFER TO:

MAR 19 2004

H30(INDE)

TO: Regional Director, NER

From: Superintendent, INDE

Subject: Historic Resource Study, Independence Mall, The Eighteenth Century Development, Block Three, Arch to Race, Fifth to Sixth Streets

Enclosed is the final copy of Anna Coxe Toogood's report entitled Independence Mall, The Eighteenth Century Development, Block Three, Arch to Race, Fifth to Sixth Streets. This study is the third and final in a series concerning the three blocks of Independence Mall. The report is part of the background work for the current laboratory and report phase of the Dexter Site and National Constitution Center field excavations. I have nominated Ms. Toogood for a 2004 Region Cultural Resource Award for this series of Historic Resource Studies.

The institutions listed on the attachment were very helpful in assisting Ms. Toogood with her research. We thank everyone for their assistance.

attachments

ATTACHMENTS

Cc: Mark Shaffer, Compliance Archeologist State Historic Preservation Office

Philadelphia Historic Commission

Rebecca Yamin, Principal Archeologist, John Milner Associates

Department of Interior Library

Harpers Ferry Center Library

Smithsonian Institution Library

National Trust for Historic Preservation Library

Library of Congress

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Library Company of Philadelphia

American Philosophical Society

Free Library of Philadelphia

Philadelphia Urban Archives, Temple University

Doug Mooney, Supervisory Archeologist; Kise, Staw & Kolodner

City Archives, Philadelphia

Robert Weible, Historian Pennsylvania, Historic and Museum Commission

Mr. Richard Stengel, President, The Natiional Constitution Center

Rev. Jeffrey Leath, Pastor, Mother Bethel AME Church

Dr. Arthur Sudler, Director, Historical Society The African Episcopal Church of Saint Thomas

ERRATA

Illustrations:

#1 p. 121, The missing caption should read: "William Parson's 'Plan of Philadelphia,'1741-1748."

#10 p. 130, 141 N. Sixth Street is missing the photograph. The photograph is located at Appendix A, facing p. 92.

TABLE Of CONTENTS

Management Summary

Background and Purpose i
Methodology and Scope of Project ii
Summary of Significance iii

Acknowledgments viii

Chapter I: Original Patents and Lots, Parsons Survey of c.1745 1

Chapter II: Speculators and Settlers Prior to the Revolution, 1757-1775 5

Arch Street Lots 7
Cresson Family and their Lots 14

Chapter III: The Revolution, Nationhood and Rapid Development, 1775-1801

The American Revolution, 1775-1781 21
Post-War Development of Cresson's Square, 1781-1801 26
Cherry Street and Cresson's Court 27
Cresson's Alley 35
Hoffman's Alley 37
Starr Alley 39
Fifth Street 40
Sassafras or Race Street 47
Sixth Street 53
Summary 59

Post-War Development of the Arch Street Lots, 1781-1801 60
177 to 203 Arch Street 60
Presbyterian Burial Ground 67
Fifth Street 72
Sixth Street 75
Cherry Street 77
Summary 79
1810 Census 80
Suggestions for Further Research 81

Bibliography 83
Appendices 90
A. Block Three in Census and City Directories, 1790, 1791, 1795, 1801 91
Arch Street 92
Fifth Street 93
Sixth Street 96
Cherry Street 98
Race Street 101

Cresson, Hoffman and Star Alleys and Cressons Court 103
B. Arch Street in 1810 107
C. Tradesmen on Block Three, 1785-1802 108
D. Deeds to "Great Lot" at Sixth and Arch Streets 111
E. Transcript of Certificate in behalf of James Oronoque Dexter, 1787 113
F. James Dexter, a Biographical Sketch 114
G. Chain of Title for Dexter Lot, 134 N. Fifth Street 117

Illustrations 120

1. William Parson's "Plan of Philadelphia," 1741-1748 121
2. Clarkson-Biddle, "Plan of the City of Philadelphia," May 30, 1762 122
3. John Hills, "Plan of the City of Philadelphia," 1796 123
4. "Old Lutheran Church, in Fifth Street, Philadelphia," William Birch, 1800 124
5. "Plan of the Arch Street Burial Ground belonging to the Second Presbyterian Church, 1835." Map Case 2.49, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia 125
6. Fifth Street between Cherry Street and Quarry facing West. By Kehoe July 1953 (INDE1028) 126
7. Northwest corner of Arch and Fifth Streets. By Kehoe, July 1953 (INDE 1018) 127
8. Cherry Street at Fifth Street, looking West. By Kehoe July 1953 (INDE 1022) 128
9. 515 Cherry Street-North side. By Koehler Summer 1952 (INDE 2365-F) 129
10. 141 North Sixth Street-East side between Race and Cherry Streets. By William Koehler Summer 1952 (INDE 2364-A) 130

City Surveys, Philadelphia City Archives 131

1. "Deed Robt Morris to Wm Rolston—31s Jany 1777" at Mulberry & Fifth Streets & Delaware 5th and Cherry Street 132
2. Survey for Peter DeHaven 6th Street near Mulberry Sept 6th 1791 133
3 Godfrey Minicks Lot, March 7, 1785 and John Clawges lot June 2, 1785 134
4. Survey for Peter Browne April 11, 1803: Arch Street lots from 5th To Sixth Streets 135
5. Francis Zenss NE corner of Sixth and Cherry Streets, Surveyed Augt 2lst 1797 136
6. Andrew Lex Regulated Sept 23rd 1789; Survey for Geo. Webel April 2d 1793; Survey for Isaiah Evans July 18th 1797: Sixth and Sassafras or Race Streets 137
7. Regulation of a lot for John Long North side Cressons Alley 138
8. George Weibel Survey'd March 27th 92 139

Index 140

Management Summary

Background and Purpose

Block Three of Independence Mall, between Arch and Race and Fifth and Sixth Streets, has been set aside for the National Constitution Center, in accordance with Independence Park's General Management Plan. This historic resource study was scheduled to inform the archeological work that the National Historic Preservation Act (1966) requires prior to construction on federal property. This report still has the potential to provide insights on the results of those field investigations, completed in 2002 by the firm Kise Straw and Kolodner.

The historical summary of Block Three's development given in Kise Straw and Kolodner's *Archeological Sensitivity Study of the National Constitution Center Site Block 3, Independence Mall Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (April, 1999), pp. 11-17, provides an introduction to the 18th century story. It summarizes settlement, beginning with the first known dwelling in c.1756 through to 1795, when the city directory, *Hogan's Prospect of Philadelphia,* lists residents by streets. *Hogan's Prospect* will be integral to this study, as well, but heavily augmented with a variety of other period sources to furnish some depth to the 18th century life on the block.

This report is the third and final historic resource study prepared by this writer for Independence Mall's three blocks. Each block has demonstrated unique aspects of Philadelphia's growth in the eighteenth century. Block One has the distinction of having residents of note in local, state and national history. Financier of the American Revolution, Robert Morris, and the first two United States presidents, George Washington and John Adams, for instance, each in turn lived at 190 High Street. Block Two is distinguished by prominent patriots, early national manufacturers, and numerous United States Congressmen, who took rooms on Sixth Street when Philadelphia served as the nation's capital. Block Two is also noted for its ownership by one prominent Quaker family, that of William Hudson, whose heirs divided up and sold the block in the late eighteenth century.

The strong Quaker presence on Block Two is carried over to Block Three with the Cresson family who were intermarried with William Hudson's heirs. Presumably this familial connection gained Caleb and Joshua Cresson ownership of the northern half of Block Three designated as S. Emlen's in the c. 1745 Parsons survey of Philadelphia.[1]

Block Three's eighteenth century historical record is less accessible than the documentation for Blocks One and Two, largely due to its location farther from the government center. The record does show the settlement pattern, the type of occupations of the residents, and something of interest on the few late 18th to early 19th century individuals of note on the block. Together with the reports for the other

---

[1] Nicholas B. Wainwright explains the plan of the city drawn up by William Parsons, Pennsylvania's Surveyor General, 1741-1748, in "Plan of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 80* (1956), 164-169. Hereinafter cited *PMHB*. For the survey on block 3, see p. 218.

blocks, this comparative and detailed look at Philadelphia as it spread west beyond Fifth Street in mid-century will form a base line of research for studying the city and the significant people who populated it during the century.

Methodology and Scope of Project

The city directories (1785, 1791-1801) and the U.S. Census of 1790 were key tools in the analysis of the block. The street-by-street listing in *Hogan's Prospect* (1795) for Philadelphia served as a key to identifying cross street markers for the block. The 1790 federal census provided a head count of slaves and free blacks on each street, but omitted their names. Hogan's 1795 directory marked Af., for African, before households occupied by black citizens. However, since the city directories charged a fee, many residents may have chosen not to be listed. Obviously, in the narrow back alleys, in the simple, often overcrowded two-story dwellings on Block Three many individuals remained unlisted.

Block Three, like Block Two, was settled by the working class, predominantly craftsmen, during the middle to late eighteenth century. On this block several families occupied their properties for as long as two decades. A check of the 1785, 1795 and 1801 city directories made this point evident. City surveys, land deeds, insurance surveys and city directories helped to locate these residents. Knowing the names and addresses of occupants proved critical in the effort to identify Block Three in the South Mulberry Ward tax assessments.

Tax assessment records are difficult to use effectively because they list names without indicating where each block begins or ends within the multi-block ward, or what route the assessor took. Cracking the mystery of the tax assessors' record, however, is well worth the effort, as it provides information not otherwise available. The assessor indicated the prior landowner if he still received ground rent, and the current owner, useful in deed searches. The assessor listed the resident, if different from the owner, his occupation and race (if not white), the dwelling value, the presence of other than family members in a household, including slaves and servants, and, finally, whether the owner had horses or cows. Some assessors made note if dwellings or shops on the property were wooden. From this layered evidence, certain tentative conclusions and assumptions can be drawn that help to understand the life styles and development patterns on the block.

The South Mulberry Ward tax assessments, while rewarding, also were problematic. From year to year the sequence of names listed changed, or the spelling of names varied wildly. Spelling in the 18th century typically followed a phonetic system, so accents could alter the record. In this study German names were the hardest to verify in other sources.

An effort to expand the biographical story of individuals listed on the tax assessments had limited success. When checking the taxpayers' names against the index to Pennsylvania wills, 1682-1834, it became evident that some names were also common in several outlying counties, making it questionable which, if any, will related to the Block Three person taxed. [2] Sometimes this confusion was cleared by

[2] This research was done on a CD, titled "Family Tree Maker, Genealogical Records: Pennsylvania Wills, 1682-1834," available for sale at the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania. The software allows a name search that retrieves information from all the Pennsylvania counties in that period.

the will's reference to family members, executors, or witnesses, who also were associated with Block Three through mention in deeds, city directories and the tax record.

Time did not allow for a thorough deed search for Block Three. Additional work in Philadelphia land records might shed light on the extent of early construction and the occupations of the individuals buying and selling. The deeds inspected for this report gave no interesting landscape details. Research efforts proved particularly frustrating for the Arch Street lots, because the majority of owners were absentee landlords. The city surveys did not provide enough information to identify when and to whom the lots changed hands, so that the history of property development remains relatively general.[3]

To prepare for the creation of Independence Mall State Park during the 1950s and 1960s, all the buildings and inner streets or alleys on Block Three were obliterated. Block Three also lost footage on its east and west sides with the planned widening of Fifth and Sixth Streets. Thus, surviving foundations from the 18th century on those street fronts were largely covered over by the widened street and sidewalk surfaces. Back buildings and yards with their buried privy pits, however, remained in the way of the current construction, and in selected situations, the uncovered artifacts from these areas will be the subject for archeological analysis.

Summary of Significance

Like the two other Independence Mall blocks, the combined historical research and archeological investigation of Block Three provides an unprecedented focused study of Philadelphia's initial growth patterns. While there is no evidence of nationally significant individuals on the block, the research gives insights on the families who settled there. It confirms previous evidence that German immigrants tended to reside north of Arch Street, and that a heavy influx of craftsmen at mid-century gravitated to the edge of town, where real estate typically was more affordable. At that date only the first graves in the Second Presbyterian Church's burial ground on Arch Street above Fifth Street stood in the way of the housing boom of mid-century.

The real estate developers and owners on Block Three built numerous plain two-story dwellings with a low average tax assessment. It was a block of the middling to lower sorts, and as such, offers a rare opportunity to analyze the archeological remains of their trades or domestic lives. With this analysis we can better appreciate the largely hidden lives of these individuals who contributed to Philadelphia's formative years.

The Cresson family developed the northern half of the block. In preparation of lot sales they laid out public alleys that made a significant difference in the rapid settlement of the block. The many opportunities for construction along these interior throughways seemed to draw carpenters, bricklayers, brick makers, painters, and others who served the building trades, to be long-term residents on the block. As the

[3] The city surveys that show property ownership for this block from the Third Survey District are reproduced in the illustrations of this report. The originals are in the Philadelphia City Archives.

century closed, the progress toward concentrated development had evidently nearly reached saturation.

The Cresson real estate is where a significant pattern of both Quaker and African American settlement emerged. Family and religious connections are evident in many of the Cresson land sales, particularly on Cherry and Sixth Streets. Deeds and wills together record that the Cressons were intermarried with the prominent Quaker families, Hudson and Emlen, who owned Block Two. Caleb Cresson insured a large three-story house on the north side of Cherry Street at Hoffman's Alley where he lived until his death. While one of the richest residents on the block, he followed the Quaker preference for a simple lifestyle, as indicated by his house insurance and the simple pleasures recorded in his short diary. [4]

Cresson's neighbors along Cherry Street, the Robinson, Smith, Cathrall and Hewlings, were practicing Quakers with a tradition of tolerance and good works. Two of these residents, Ebenezer Robinson and Benjamin Cathrall, signed the 1783 address to the Continental Congress that petitioned the nation's new leaders to "discourage and prevent so obvious an Evil" as the slave trade to the African Coasts. These were people who had freed any slaves in their ownership. In 1775, prior to the Revolution, Quakers had elected to ban slavery and work "for the relief of an oppressed part of our fellow Men." Likely this explains the sizeable number of African American households resident in Quaker-owned properties in the Cresson section of the block. [5]

Altogether the census of 1790 listed a total of 58 black residents on the block, 45 of whom lived in the Cresson section between Cherry and Race Streets. The census for Block Three listed no slaves, probably because of the high occupancy of Quakers and Germans. As real estate values rose with the rapid development during the capital city decade, the poorer families on the block likely moved to new, less expensive neighborhoods. In 1821, South Mulberry Ward running west from Fourth Street between Arch and Race had over 1300 tax paying residents, only 99 of whom were people of color, one of them the aged Robert Venable.[6]

Robert Venable, James Dexter and Israel Burgoe are three African Americans on Block Three who left further mark of their lives in the historical record. All three distinguished themselves as founding members of the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas in 1794. Robert Venable was resident on Sixth Street as early as 1779 and

---

[4] Caleb Cresson insured his dwelling and three other houses adjoining on Cherry Street on Nov. 7, 1786. Contributionship Book 2, 218 (hereinafter cited CBk2). Cresson often took note of his care of the fruit trees and vines in his yard. He showed appreciation that he did not need to "labour for outward bread." *Diary of Caleb Cresson, 1791-1792*, (Philadelphia, 1877), 13.

[5] My thanks go to Sharla Azizi at Kise, Straw and Kolodner for the information sharing that led to the "1783 Quaker Anti-Slavery Petition" page at the web site http://www.rootsweb.com. This title is something of a misnomer. The Quaker petitioners submitted a signed document titled, "The Address from the Yearly Meeting of the People Called Quakers" dated October 4, 1783. Their appeal, as noted in the text, solicited Congress to ban the slave trade, not slavery, no doubt with the latter goal as the ultimate intent.

[6] County Commission, Enumeration of Taxables and Slaves and deaf and dumb persons, Volume 3, South Mulberry Ward, 1821, #1222-1321, Venable is #1308, Philadelphia City Archives (PCA). Venable died at 98 in 1834.

remained at this address for over three decades. The 1795 *Hogan's Prospect* listed him as a white washer and African. Venable was able to purchase the property, 79 North Sixth Street, sometime before 1813, when a city survey identified him as owner of the lot.

W.E.B. DuBois, in *The Philadelphia Negro*, recorded that Robert Venable had served as a slave for a better family and was a man "of some intelligence."[7] Dubois cited the antiquarian, John Fanning Watson, who interviewed Venable in 1830, when he was in his nineties. Venable then recalled attending Christ Church as a child, which may suggest that wealthy and white Thomas Venable, buried at the church in 1731, was once Robert Venable's owner. Robert Venable's connection to Nicholas Rash, brewer, who purchased the lot from the Cressons in 1772 and built and insured the simple house where Venable lived, is yet to be understood. [8]

Like Venable, James Dexter was a founding member of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church, but he also was a leader in its creation. At his plain two-story house on Fifth Street in 1792 Dexter chaired the first meeting of organization for the church and went on to take charge of the building committee and serve on the first vestry. His leadership in the establishment of St. Thomas' Church in 1794 drew such interest during the preparation of this report that his house site on Fifth Street received a special archeological study in 2003.

Dr. Daniel Rolph, Head of Reference Services at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, shared his earlier research on Dexter's life. In his youth James Dexter was called Oronoko as a slave of Henry Dexter, and then of his son, James Dexter. Prominent Quakers assisted Oronoko to purchase his freedom in 1767. By 1787 he had taken the name James Dexter, when his life was intertwined with such Quaker leaders as John and James Pemberton, and Isaac Zane. Isaac Zane and James Pemberton testified in behalf of James Orongue Dexter that year. They vouched for his "sobriety and steadiness," and his "humanity in assisting and Relieving those of his own Colour." They concluded that "his conscientious principles" rendered him "a Truly worthy Character." [9]

James Dexter's devotion to church and community received significant recognition in the will of John Pemberton, probated in 1795. One of the wealthiest and devout Quakers of his generation, Pemberton gave generously to schools and the support of the poor, including African American, Native American and women. Among his bequests he left "To James Oronoke Dexter, Absalom Jones [In Trust] for Society of Black People for support of the Poor." James Dexter thus shared this

---

[7] W.E.B. Dubois, *The Philadelphia Negro A Social Study* (Philadelphia, reprint 1996), 17. Dubois cites John F. Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania I* (Ed. 1850). INDE's library edition has a publication date of 1844, but the page numbers for Venable are the same, 101-103. Volume 2 (1870 ed.) 276-277. Watson contradicts himself in his different Venable entries: in vol. 1, 101, he says Venable died at 94; in vol. 2, (edit. 1870), 276, he says 98.

[8] Third Survey District, South Mulberry Ward, Arch to Race, Fifth to Sixth Street, pre-1814. Philadelphia City Archives (PCA)..

[9] "Certificate on behalf of James Oronogue Dexter of Philadelphia, 16th 8 month 1787," Pennsylvania Abolition Society Manuscript Collection, Vol. 1, 1748-1789, p. 69, HSP.

honor with one of the foremost civic and spiritual leaders of the black community, Absalom Jones, first pastor of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church.[10]

James Dexter spent eight years at 84 North Fifth Street living as a coachman. In 1790 he shared the plain-two-story house with seven others. Ebenezer Robinson, signer of the 1783 Quaker petition to Congress against the slave trade, owned the property. Dexter in 1798 moved to 34 North Fifth Street, to Independence Mall's Block Two, where he set up as a fruiterer. This move may have been made possible by the comfortable lifetime annuity John Pemberton left him by his will.

Benjamin Smith Barton, MD (1766-1818), famed naturalist and botanist, lived next door to James Dexter from 1795 to 1797, at 86 North Fifth Street. From this address he published a memoir on the rattlesnake and other serpents. In 1800, some two years after moving a block away, he published his *Elements of Botany*, said to be the first of its kind in the Western World. In 1803 President Thomas Jefferson arranged for Barton to tutor Merriweather Lewis in how to collect specimens prior to embarking with William Clark on the expedition across the American continent.[11]

Redding Howell, prominent surveyor and mapmaker, lived at 88 North Fifth Street for over two decades. The Pennsylvania government commissioned Howell to prepare a map of the state, which President George Washington purchased while resident in Philadelphia.[12]

Robert Evans, house carpenter, was Howell's Fifth Street neighbor to the north. Evans presumably practiced his trade on his own large lot by building three substantial brick houses along Fifth Street and small tenements on both sides of the 10-foot alley at the back end of his lot. He stood out among the many carpenters and men in the building trades on Block Three by his longstanding residency and his large real estate holdings at Fifth Street and Cresson Alley.[13]

When Philadelphia served as the nation's capital, United States Congressmen and office holders lived on Block Three while serving their office. In 1796 three House members and one senator, all from New England, boarded at 81 North Sixth Street, at the south corner of Cressons Alley.[14] City directories show that six clerks lived on the block, a few of them in the employ of the federal government. John Harper, a blacksmith and sawmaker, may have struck the first coins for the newly established U.S. Mint (April 1792). As recalled in 1844 by Chief Coiner for the Mint during the War of 1812, John Harper produced dismes (an early coin, variation of a

---

[10] John Pemberton, City of Philadelphia, Merchant, April 1, 1794, July 2, 1795. X267, Pennsylvania Wills, 1682-1834, Family Tree Maker's Family Archives, Genealogical Records, CD #209, hereinafter cited PA Wills 1682-1834.

[11] Barton was at 44 North Fifth in 1802 when tutoring Lewis. James Robinson, *The Philadelphia Directory, City and County Register for 1802* (Philadelphia, 1802), 24.

[12] Stephen Decatur, Jr., *Private Affairs of George Washington From the Records and Accounts of Tobias Lear, Esquire, his Secretary* (Boston, 1933), 33. Redding Howell

[13] Evans did not insure his Fifth Street dwellings, although they clearly were substantial, based on the tenants they served and the tax assessors' estimations.

[14] The 1796 city directory gives a partial listing of addresses for the U.S. Congressmen serving in Philadelphia that year. *Stephens's Philadelphia Directory for 1796* (Philadelphia, 1796), 207-212.

dime) in the cellar of his shop "at the corner of Cherry and Sixth Streets" before the building to house the Mint at Seventh and Filbert Streets was ready for service.[15]

Women ran several households on the block during the 18th Century. Out of a count of 113 dwellings in the 1795 tax assessment, fourteen heads of household were women. Some of these were widows or spinsters, while the rest had no particular heading. The tax assessment indicates that several of these women took in boarders, a typical livelihood for widowed or unmarried women.

In 1760 owners of an Arch Street lot advertised their property as "pleasant and airy" and "convenient for building." This call for development quickly found a market. In the 1795 tax assessment only one Arch Street lot remained vacant. Surveyor John Hills' map of Philadelphia in 1796 shows the block completely built in the Cresson section, and with only four gaps along the four frontages of the Arch Street lots.[16] By 1801, there were no vacant lots left and many of the original lots had been subdivided. The 1857 *Hexamer Insurance Atlas* (see Kise Straw and Kolodner, *Archeological Sensitivity Study*, figure 7) indicates how little physical change had occurred to the lot divisions from the turn of the 18th century. The relatively few changes on this block worked in the favor of the archeological investigations. A wealth of artifacts uncovered during the extensive dig remain to be studied and analyzed to enrich our awareness of the complex social history on Block Three during the 18th Century.

---

[15] President Washington's Fourth Annual Address of November 6, 1792 corroborated this recollection by noting that "There has been a small beginning in the coinage of half-dismes, the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them." John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor, *The Writings of George Washington 32 March 10, 1792-June 30, 1793* (Washington, 1939), 210. Tim Grant to Clifford Tobias, Sept. 23, 1999; Frank H. Stewart, *Ye Olde Mint. Being a brief description of the first U.S. Mint* (Philadelphia, c. 1909), 13, 14.

[16] See figure in illustrations.

Acknowledgments

Over the extended period of research and writing for this report many contributions to my understanding and information have been offered by colleagues in and outside this office. From the firm Kise Straw and Kododner, who completed the massive archeology project on Block Three, I'd like to extend my heartfelt thanks to Sharla Azizi and Doug Mooney. Both shared generously their insights on the archeology and their research on persons who occupied the block in the eighteenth century. Similarly, I'm indebted to Jed Levin, Block Three monitoring archeologist for the National Park Service, who provided me a full copy of the Cresson diary and other key pieces of his document research. At the Historical Society of Pennsylvania I fortunately found Daniel N. Rolph, Ph.D., Head of Reference Services, who shared his research on James Oronoko Dexter, a free African living on Fifth Street in the 1790s. Dr. Rolph's research revealed that Dexter had begun life in slavery, that he had shown great integrity during the transition to freedom, and that he had made some important connections with affluent Quaker families before moving to Block Three.

My research benefited from the helpful assistance offered by the staff at the Presbyterian Historical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia City Archives, the Library Company of Philadelphia and the library of Independence National Historical Park. Finally, I'd like to thank James Mueller, Ph.D., Chief Historian at Independence for his encouragement and careful reading of this report, and Doris Fanelli, Ph.D., Chief of Cultural Resources Management at the park, for her support and patience during this oft-interrupted project.

Chapter One: Original Patents and Lots: Parsons Survey of c. 1745

William Penn assigned bonus lots in the city to large land purchasers in his new colony. The First Purchasers, however, varied in their interest in these city lots. William's son Thomas Penn, as Proprietor in 1740, determined to straighten out the property record. He wanted to know exactly the status of city lots, so that the Penn family could be "exceedingly exact in granting out the remainder of them, and in preserving every foot we have a right."[1] Richard Peters, secretary of the land office, turned to William Parsons, surveyor general of Pennsylvania, to prepare a plan of Philadelphia. Parsons studied land titles and laid out a plan (sometime during his office, 1741-48, but likely c. 1745) that defined the size of the lots and named the First Purchaser. Parsons' plan surveyed 49 Philadelphia squares owned by nine corporate bodies and 381 individuals. In some cases, Parsons named settlers who had bought the title from the First Purchasers. The city plan, then, provided a tool to trace deeds. This became increasingly useful to the Penn family, because by 1740 many of the original bonus lots had already been subdivided many times to multiple owners.[2]

On this block between Arch and Race, Fifth and Sixth Streets, the Parsons plan shows seven large lots along Arch Street, all of them 49 ½ feet, except one 100-foot lot at the corner of Fifth. All these bonus lots measured 306 feet in depth, extending beyond the future Cherry Street. The 100-foot lot at the corner was co-owned by Ralph Ward and Joseph Coleman. According to the Exemplification records, Ralph Ward, a shoemaker, patented a lot on Fifth Street on November 9, 1688, and on the very same day Joseph Coleman, a cooper, patented one on Arch Street. While neither description is definitive, together they place the lot at Fifth and Arch Streets.[3] By September 1711, Coleman's lot on Arch already had changed hands twice, ending in the ownership of Toby Leech. Leech left the lot to his sons by his will in 1724, and two of them, Isaac and John, called for the sale of the land in 1744-1745. Thomas Leech and other members of the family sold the Arch Street lot, measuring 50 by 306 feet, to the Trustees of the Second Presbyterian Church on October 22, 1750. The Trustees in turn set aside the property by deed poll of January 1, 1752 as the church's burial ground.[4]

Parsons identified Thomas Rutter as the owner of the next lot to the west. Thomas Rutter, an early Germantown settler, was a wealthy English Quaker and first

---

[1] As quoted in Nicholas Wainwright, "Plan of Philadelphia," *PMHB 80* (1956), 165; "Thomas Penn," in Dumas Malone, ed. *Dictionary of American Biography 14* (New York, 1934), 432.

[2] Wainwright, "Plan of Philadephia," *PMHB 80*, 164-168.

[3] James M. Duffin, *Guide to the Philadelphia Exemplification Records Series, Being True Copies of Philadelphia County Land Records in the Master Rolls Office and its Successors, 1669-1838* (City Archives, 1994), 74, 420.

[4] "Brief of Title to a Lot of Ground Situate on the North side of Arch Street, ..." a document prepared in 1874 at the sale of one of the lots within the closed burial ground. Second Presbyterian Church records, Presbyterian Historical Society. Hereinafter PrHS. The heir Thomas Leech was a sea captain in the West Indies trade. He went on to be elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1756, and become Speaker of the House in 1758. He died in 1762. *Pennsylvania Gazette* Dec. 19, 1754, Jan 7, Mar. 11, 1755, June 24, 1756, Jan. 18, 1758, June 3, 1762. Hereinafter *PG*.

iron master in the province.[5] Jonathan Dickinson in a letter of 1717 remarked that "This last summer one Thomas Rutter, a smith, who lived not far from Germantown, hath removed farther up in the country, and of his own strength hath set upon making iron."[6] Rutter and his partner, Samuel Nutt, second son of an English nobleman, opened the first iron works in the Schuylkill Valley.[7] At his death in 1729, Rutter left his two-thirds interest in a furnace and in a forge. His will placed him in Philadelphia County, at Amity. His daughter Anna was married to Samuel Nutt, his partner, or his partner's son and namesake. Rutter left his estate to his wife, Rebecca, and their five married daughters and three sons, John, Thomas and Joseph.[8] Whether he still owned the lot on Arch Street at his death requires further research. The Exemplification records identify Thomas Rutter as a blacksmith, but do not list any city lots in his property holdings.[9] This might indicate that he sold his bonus lot soon after he received it. This research did not identify how he acquired the lot, nor to whom he disposed it.

By 1750, Thomas Rutter's lot had changed ownership. The property was cited in a 1750 deed as the ground "now or late of" William Oxley.[10] A decade later, In 1760, John Oxley and Benjamin Callender, "of the islands of Barbados," advertised a 49 ½ by 306 feet lot on the north side of Arch between Fifth and Sixth Streets for sale. In that year, the empty ground stood "high, which makes it pleasant and airy, and convenient for building." [11]

---

[5] Arthur Cecil Binning, Ph.D., "The Iron Plantations of Early Pennsylvania," *PMHB 57* (1933), 135.

[6] As quoted in Morris L. Montgomery, "Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Pennsylvania," *PMHB 8* (1884), 62. Montgomery dates the iron works as c. 1720 and places it at the Colebrookdale furnace, founded by Thomas Rutter and several partners.

[7] Binning, "Iron Plantations," *PMHB 57*, 132.

[8] Thomas Rutter, March 20, 1729, E, 127, in the CD-ROM, "Family Tree Maker, Genealogical Records: Pennsylvania Wills, 1682-1834," (herinafter cited, "PA Wills, 1682-1834"). Thomas Rutter's will is probated March 20, 1729, but Montgomery in "Early Furnaces," 58, says he died in 1730. Montgomery cites the contents of the will (not provided in the "PA Wills"), and conjectures that the Colebrook Furnace and Pool Forge are the two properties Rutter refers to in his will.

[9] Duffin, *Exemplification,* 353.

[10] Quoted from deed, Thomas Leech, et. al. To John Faires, Joseph Hall, Elias Boudinot, Andrew Read and John Redman, [Church Trustees], Oct. 22, 1750, "Brief of Title," PrHS.

[11] *PG* Sept 18, 1760; Toby Leech, owner of the adjoining property to the east, left his "lot in Philadelphia near John Oxley's lot," as part of his estate in 1727. This suggests that John, not William Oxley, owned the Arch Street lot in 1750. William, the evidence suggests, was John's son and John was the landowner during these years. A John Oxley of Barbados left an undated will that identified him as the father of a son named William. William Oxley of Barbados provided for a school age son named John in his will probated in 1785. John Oxley also had a daughter, Ann Callender of Barbados, presumably the wife of Benjamin Callender, who advertised the lot with John Oxley in 1760. Will of John Oxley, 4, 256; Will of Ann Callender, July 21, 1768, 4, 253; Will of William Oxley, Jan. 31, 1785, 4, 257; Will of Toby Leech, Apr. 29, 1727, D, 462. "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

Parson's survey named Thomas Howard on the lot to the west of Thomas Rutter. Howard patented his Arch Street property on June 22, 1706.[12] No other information has been found on this lot prior to the late 18th century. Philip Roman of Chester County patented the next two lots to the west on March 1, 1714.[13] The history of this 100-foot stretch in the middle of the block remains blank until the first city directories, beginning in 1785. Oliver Cope and John Buckley from New Castle, Pennsylvania both patented a 49 1/2-foot lot at the corner of Sixth Street on March 10, 1716.[14] Likely these men knew each other, worked together, and possibly even were related. The Cope family remained owners of the eastern half of their lot until the late 18th century, when city surveys identified John Cope as owner. Since the family apparently never lived on the property, further research has not been gathered. The corner lot under John Buckley appears from city surveys to have been sold to Anthony Wilkinson and later, to Peter De Haven, who retained ground rents into the 19th century. According to a city survey, Wilkinson in 1765 owned a 99 by 306-foot lot at the corner of Sixth Street. [15]

Arch Street's development as far to the west as Fifth and Sixth Street was comparably slow. The blocks to the south along Chestnut and Market Streets attracted the principal commercial and social activity as the most frequented east-west thoroughfares. While settlement beyond Fifth Street had begun by mid-century, no construction had taken place on this block between Fifth and Sixth Streets, leaving the landscape empty, perhaps open for grazing or orchards, although no record of the terrain in this pre-settlement period was located.

William Parsons' survey in the 1740s marked the northern half of the block to Sassafras or Race Street as belonging to S. Emlen. This is presumably Samuel Emlen, scion of a large and prosperous Quaker family, long intermarried with Philadelphia's elite families, the Powell, Hudson, and Morrises among them. The genealogy of the Emlens, who named their children after their fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, leaves in question the exact family tree of S. Emlen, owner of the property. It is clear, however, that Samuel Emlen (1697-1783) married Rachael Hudson, daughter of William Hudson, who owned the entire adjoining block, commonly referred to in the mid-eighteenth century as "Hudson's Square."[16]

---

[12] Duffin, *Exemplification,* 188. Thomas Howard left a will, City of Philadelphia. Joyner. December 28, 1748. J.30, PA Wills 1682-1834.

[13] Duffin, *Exemplification,* 348. Philip Roman left a will, Chichester, yeoman, January 21, 1729/30. A. 312, PA Wills 1682-1834.

[14] *Duffin, Exemplification, 41, 81.*

[15] Survey for Peter Browne, 1803, identifies *"Copes lot" as* 22' 31/2 wide. Surveys in 1791 and 1795 and 1802 for Peter De Haven, however, identify the same lot as belonging to "heirs of Fredrick Walters." Further research is needed on when the original Cope lot was divided in two and on the sequence of ownership. Third Survey District, pre-1814 surveys, Philadelphia City Archives, (PCA).

[16] Samuel's life dates come from *PMHB Index to 1-75* (Philadelphia, 1954). A copy of Hudson's will, Dec. 26, 1742, is in this writer's file. Other wills that named both Cresson and Emlen families: Samuel Powell; Samuel Emlen, son of Joshua and Deborah Emlen, Jan. 10, 1800; Mary Armitt, sister of Sarah Cresson, Apr. 6, 1791, W. 98; Elizabeth Armit, neice of Samuel Emlen, May 27, 1808, 2.301, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." The Emlen family connection to Block Two of Independence Mall is related in this writer's report, "Historic Resource Study, Independence Mall, The Eighteenth Century Development, Block Two, Market to Arch, Fifth to Sixth Streets," (Independence National Historical Park, 2000).

By the mid-1760s the S. Emlen tract had come into ownership of Joshua and Caleb Cresson. Caleb Cresson gave an account of family history in 1793 that explained that his father, James Cresson, chairmaker, married Sarah Emlen, daughter of George Emlen, the elder around 1736. The Cressons had four sons, George, Caleb, Joshua and James.[17] The father James Cresson died at 36 in 1746 and his wife Sarah died in 1752, at 42, leaving the two middle sons, Caleb (1742-1816) and Joshua (d. 1793), who evidently inherited the Emlen parcel.[18]

Further information about family connections comes from Emlen family wills. George Emlen of Philadelphia, died in 1710/11, leaving as heirs his children George, Samuel, Caleb, Joshua and Sarah. James Cresson and Sarah (Emlen) his wife named their first three sons after Sarah's brothers George, Caleb and Joshua. Sarah Cresson's will (1752) identified her brothers George, Samuel and Joshua and her sisters. Samuel Emlen, who died in 1783 at age 86, named Caleb and Joshua Cresson and their children as heirs. This Samuel Emlen married Rachel Hudson and was a resident on Market Street in Block Two. Samuel's will named as executors his daughter, Sarah Moore, William Hudson's granddaughter, and Joshua Cresson. This Samuel Emlen, then, likely was Sarah Cresson's brother and an uncle to Joshua and Caleb Cresson.[19]

Caleb and Joshua Cresson began advertising lots in "Cressons Square" in the 1760s, when their cousins, William Hudson's heirs, began to sell property on Hudson's Square a block south. Until that time, both blocks remained largely unsettled.

---

[17] "Family History," *Diary of Caleb Cresson. 296.* "Notes and Queries," *PMHB 14* (1890), 214; Harold E. Gillingham, "The Philadelphia Windsor Chair," *PMHB 55* (1931), 307; Sarah Cresson, Aug. 24, 1752, K.6; Samuel Emlen, Nov. 24, 1783, S.305. "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[18]Will of James Cresson, chairmaker, June 2, 1746, H.126, and Sarah Cresson, August 24, 1752, K.6. "PA Wills, 1682-1824." "Family History," *Diary of Caleb Cresson,* 198. Caleb Emlen, likely Sarah Emlen Cresson's brother, likewise was a windsor chair maker. Caleb Emlen died in 1748, two years after James Cresson. Gillingham, *Ibid.* Joshua Cresson's will was probated in November 1793, suggesting he may have died in the yellow fever epidemic. He left a wife, Mary, and 7 children. W602, "PA Wills, 1682-1824."

[19] Samuel Emlen, City of Phila., Nov. 24, 1783, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." Appendix A of the Block Two study unfortunately contradicts the text by naming a different Samuel Emlen (1730-1799) as husband of Rachel Hudson. The Samuel Hudson who died in 1783, however, named one child, Sarah Moore, as heir and executor. Sarah Moore, widow of Thomas Moore, merchant, died a very wealthy woman in 1813. Her will named Hudson Emlen as her brother (making the two of them William Hudson's grandchildren) and John Elliot Cresson and Caleb Cresson Jr. as cousins and heirs. Sarah Moore was the Sarah Emlen named as a granddaughter in William Hudson's will of 1759. Sarah Moore, Dec. 21, 1813, 5.140, "PA Wills, 1681-1834;" Toogood, "Historic Resource Study, Independence Mall, Block Two," 44 & App. A.

Chapter Two: Early Speculators and Settlers, 1757-1775

At mid-eighteenth century Fifth Street still roughly marked the western edge of the settled part of Philadelphia. The construction of the Pennsylvania State House on Chestnut Street west of Fifth in the 1730s and 1740s sparked development on the block north of it. State and local politicians and wealthy merchants began to build and reside on Market Street, while inns, stables, boarding houses and other commercial enterprises opened to serve those doing business in the State House. On Arch Street, however, real estate development showed a noticeable drop off, reflecting the distance from the center of commercial and political life and the inconvenience of travel over unpaved streets. After the French and Indian War, the blocks west of Fifth Street began a brisk market in lot sales to fill a need for housing to accommodate the large number of artisan families who were pouring into the city from overseas. William Hudson's heirs began selling lots on Hudson's Square in 1760 (after the death of Hudson's widow), and a few years later speculators began developing the adjoining block to the north. Rapidly the neighborhood transitioned to a community of residents from largely German and English backgrounds.[1]

The rapid development of Hudson's Square to the south, between Market and Arch Streets, likely helped to trigger the sale of real estate on Block Three, especially in the section north of Cherry Street controlled by relatives of the Hudson heirs. Similar to the pattern on Block Two, the first sales began along Fifth Street, closest to the center of town. While the earliest located deeds for the block were dated in the 1760s, a directory of Friends or Quakers in Philadelphia 1757-1760 indicates that at least two Quakers, Benjamin Morgan and Isaac Phipps, already lived "in Cherry Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets".[2] The 1762 Clarkson-Biddle map, commonly considered one of the more accurate maps of the 18th century, shows two houses on Cherry Street, one on the south side near Sixth and one mid-block on the north side.[3] Joshua Cresson insured the latter house in 1767. The surveyor estimated that the two-story house and kitchen on the north side of Cherry Street was from eight to ten years old, which would date it to 1757 to 1759.[4]

Cherry Street evidently was part of an early plan for the square. The proper opening of the street, including its paving, was obstructed, however, throughout the late 18th century by the Second Presbyterian Church's burial ground located fifty feet west of Fifth Street. The church was using the full 306 feet of the Arch Street lot, which included part of the Cherry Street right-of-way. On June 3, 1790 Edward Lynch informed Dr. John Redman, President of the church trustees, that the burial ground projected about eighteen feet into Cherry Street, creating a bar to getting the street paved between Fifth and Sixth Streets. Lynch represented a number of respectable inhabitants and freeholders "in that Square" to ask whether the church

---

[1] Anna Coxe Toogood, "Historic Resource Study, Independence Mall, Block Two, Market to Arch, Fifth To Sixth Streets," prepared for the Cultural Resource Management Office, Independence National Historical Park, 2000.

[2] "A Directory of Friends in Philadelphia 1750-1760," *PMHB 16* (1882), 235.

[3] See Kise Straw & Kolodner, "Archeological Sensitivity Study," Figure 5, Project Area in 1762, detail from *Plan of the City of Philadelphia,* Clarkson and Biddle, 1762. See information on Nicholas Scull, Pennsylvania's Surveyor-General, who created this map, in Snyder, *City of Independence*, 36, 62

[4] Joshua Cresson, Feb. 3, 1767, Contributionship Loose Survey (CLS) 1143, on microfilm, INDE.

was "disposed to sell that part of sd. Ground and on what terms." He hoped they'd ask "as moderate as possible," a price for the sale, as it had "little value in itself," and it would serve a "public utility." [5] The Church did not rush to satisfy their civic duty. The Corporation Minutes recorded that in April 1799 they rejected the asking price for the part of their ground that extended into Cherry Street, claiming it unacceptable for the most "valuable part of the lot." Fortunately, an agreement was reached within a few weeks. The church accepted the offer of L950, or $2533 for the ground. Likely the burials in that part of the yard, however, did not all get relocated before Cherry Street was improved, as some bodies were discovered within the street right-of-way in the recent archeological investigations on Block Three.[6]

The church's sale of 18 feet from the original Arch street lot likely widened Cherry Street to its 40-foot width recorded on the 1875 Philadelphia Atlas. It appears that half of the street was taken from the Arch Street lots and the other from the Cresson ground to the north. The Cresson deeds regularly specified the free use and privilege of Cherry Street, as well as the three alleys they created for the lots sold. Evidently until the Second Presbyterian Church released their section of the right of way, however, Cherry Alley remained a narrow and unpaved cross street within the block.[7]

The real estate north of Cherry Street showed an early settlement pattern. Many of the first land deeds for the northern lots went to Quakers who in some cases retained their lot titles for generations. Stephen Phipps, likely Isaac Phipps' relative, purchased a lot on Sixth Street from the Cresson brothers in 1772. In his will Stephen Phipps instructed the family to sell another lot in the city to pay off the mortgage on the house in Sixth Street, an investment he left to his eldest daughter, Mary Phipps.[8]

Caleb and Joshua Cresson owned a large block of property that measured over 396 feet between Fifth and Sixth Streets, and 280 feet from Cherry to Sassafras Street. They took pains to see that it developed in an orderly and, for them, lucrative fashion. They set aside in their initial deeds of the 1760s a 20-foot right-of-way called Cressons Alley that ran between Fifth and Sixth Streets mid-way in their lot, creating two equal 130-foot deep pieces of ground. They also created two ten-foot alleys running north-south (in the 1795 directory called Star and Hoffmans Alleys), which divided the property further into convenient 80-foot-deep lots on Fifth and Sixth Streets, and opened up desirable deep lots along Cherry Alley and Sassafras Street. This symmetrical grid of public alleyways facilitated the rapid development of the northern end of the block. With this plan, lot purchasers could subdivide their

---

[5] Lynch to Redman, Record Group (RG) 33, 7-7, PrHS.

[6] Entries for 13 and 24 Apr. 1799, Second Presbyterian Church, Minutes of the Corporation, 1772-1805, Volume 3, PrHS. At this writing, the report describing the archeological sites has not been completed by the firm Kise, Straw and Kolodner.

[7] See Kise, Straw & Kolodner, "Archeological Sensitivity Study," Figure 8, Project Area in 1875, for a copy of the *City Atlas of Philadelphia*, published by Hopkins in 1875. This atlas makes clear the Arch Street lots measure 288 feet, 18 feet less than the original granted lot depth of 306.

[8] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Stephen Phipps, taylor, Aug. 1, 1772, Dd Bk D-44, 70. Isaac Phipps, July 1, 1807, 2.128; Stephen Phipps, City of Philadelphia, taylor, Aug. 20, 1805, I.356, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." The assumption that these men were related is based on name only. Stephen predeceased Isaac, but made no mention of him in his will.

properties so that all new owners faced out onto an interior public cartway that made their homes and businesses accessible.[9]

Clarkson and Biddle's map of 1762 shows only Cherry Street, indicating that the Cresson brothers' plan to lay out alleys had not yet actually taken form. The map shows one house on the north side of Cherry, logically the 2-story house Joshua Cresson insured, alluded to above, and another on the south side of Cherry, closer to Sixth Street, which no other record turned up during research to explain. The only other construction on the block stood on the Fifth and Arch Street lot east of the Presbyterian burial ground. Insurance policies cover several of these Fifth and Arch Street houses, but none were dated before 1761, when Scull was surveying the block.[10]

Arch Street Lots

By mid-century a certain pattern of construction had been established in the city. Attached brick row houses of two or three stories lined the streets east of Third Street near the heart of the city's lucrative maritime commerce. West of Third Street development was more scattered. An advertisement to sell property at Fifth and Arch Streets in 1756 appears to pre-date any sales on Block Three, but described what was to be built thereafter on the intersection's northwest corner. Thomas Lacey's estate consisted of a two-story house with a good kitchen and cellar under it, on a 15 by 50-foot lot on Arch Street. On its west side an alley running into Fifth Street bordered land of Thomas Bartholomew. Five years later Thomas Bartholomew invested in several lots on the west side of Fifth Street and developed the corner lots with a three-foot alley running into Fifth Street. The close similarity between construction patterns at the two corners illustrates the repetitive architecture style in the city that at times foreign visitors found tedious.[11]

Thomas Bartholomew invested in real estate on Block Three with family connections. He bought property from his brother Austin's partner, Richard Hall, who was also Austin's brother-in-law.[12] In March 1760, Richard Hall and Austin Bartholomew, a Philadelphia merchant, advertised two houses for sale in the neighborhood, one next to the Sign of the King Hendrick in Arch, and the other in Block Three, on the west side of Fifth Street, opposite the Dutch Church.[13] In

---

[9] Review of several Cresson deeds that mention the 10-foot alleys never referred to them by any name.

[10] Snyder, *City of Independence*, 36.

[11] *PG* Mar. 4, 1756. The earliest deed identified for Block Three was 1761, five years later. See David Montague Erskine Letterbooks, Alderman Library, U of VA, #2176, Jan 1, 1799, as cited by INDE notecard, as example of foreigners' complaints.

[12] Austin Bartholomew and Richard Hall were partners in a store near Tuns Tavern. *PG* Nov. 13, 1760 notes the partnership was "near expired," and Apr. 9, 1761, that it "had been for some Time expired." Austin's will of June 13, 1765, named Richard Hall as a brother-in-law, but it did not name Thomas as a brother. Thomas' will of June 17, 1766 does not refer to Austin's widow Mary or son Edward. The many close associations between Thomas and Austin Bartholomew and Richard Hall did not reveal the exact relationship between the former two men. Neither of the Bartholomew wills had a book and page citation in "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[13] The Dutch Church was a local landmark on the east side of Fifth Street, at Apple Tree Court, between Arch and Sassafras or Race Streets. Also known as St. Michael's Lutheran, this church was built 1743-1748. Because of the large German

September 1760 Thomas Bartholomew advertised for sale three new two-story brick houses on the west side of Fifth Street opposite the Dutch Church and a three-story brick house on Arch between Fifth and the Second Presbyterian Burial Ground. These houses likely were constructed by Richard Hall, house carpenter, on speculation. Hall purchased the entire corner lot --50 feet on Arch and 293 feet on Fifth Street-- in two parcels on December 4, 1761.[14] Hall sold four lots within this parcel to Thomas Bartholomew the day after his purchase. These two men, clearly familiar with one another and with the property, continued to promote the real estate development for this easternmost Arch Street lot. [15]

Richard Hall purchased the corner lot from the heirs of Richard Hill, a prominent Quaker gentleman. Hill had left his estate in 1729 to his wife, Mary, and to his three brothers, four sisters, and several nephews and nieces. In 1751 Hill's estate finally was partitioned. Samuel Preston Moore and his wife Hannah inherited the northern end of the lot with 156 ½ feet on Fifth Street, while the other heirs -- several merchant families in Philadelphia, two others couples in London and two on the island of Madeira-- received the Arch Street end with 136 ½ feet on Fifth Street. All parties agreed to sell to Richard Hall in March 1759, when the overseas owners gave legal responsibility to Dr. Samuel Preston Moore and wife, Hannah, to carry out the transaction in their behalf. In the time between the agreement of sale and the actual deed transfer, Hall evidently proceeded to develop some of the real estate. [16]

---

immigration mid-century, the congregation outgrew the building, prompting the construction in 1769 of the "New Lutheran Church" on Fourth Street. Today the U.S. Mint takes up the entire block where Old Lutheran stood. See Snyder, *City of Independence*, fig. 142 for William Birch's "Old Lutheran Church in Fifth Street Philadelphia." S. Robert Teitelman, *Birch's Views of Philadelphia With Photographs of the Site in 1960 & 1982. (Philadelphia, 1983), Plate 7.*

[14] Samuel Preston Moore et ux to Richard Hall, Dec. 4, 1761, Philadelphia County Deed Book (DBk) H15, 263; Robt. Bisset, et. al. To Richard Hall, Dec. 4, 1761, DBk H15, 259.

[15] Richard Hall to Thomas Bartholomew, Dec. 5, 1761, DBk H15, 513-516.

[16] Ownership history for the two large lots is recited in the deeds from Samuel Preston Moore et. ux to Richard Hall, Dec. 4, 1761, H15, 263; Robt. Bisset & al to Richard Hall, Dec. 4, 1761 H15, 259; and Richard Hall to Thomas Bartholomew, Dec. 5, 1761. H15, 513. Ralph Ward, the original patentee, sold the Fifth and Arch Street lot in March 1688 to Edward Emont whose son sold it in 1718 to Richard Hill. The other Richard Hill heirs named in the deed were: Henry Hill and Robert Bisset and Deborah his wife, from Madeira, Thomas and Mary Lamar and John and Harriot Scott of London, Richard Hill, late of Madeira now of Philadelphia, Richard and Rachel Wells, William and Margaret Morris, George and Sarah Dillwyn, and Milcha Hill, spinster, all of Philadelphia. These are Hill's nephews and nieces. Samuel Preston Moore's will identified Henry Hill as his brother-in-law. This Henry Hill, who died in November 1798, Y.52, must be the son or nephew of the Henry Hill who is identified as a brother in Richard Hill's 1729 will. Hannah Moore's will of Mar. 1, 1799, Y.142, named Henry Hill as her brother and Rachel Wells, Sarah Dillwyn, Mary Lamar, Margaret Morris and Milcah Martha Moore as sisters. Richard Hill, Merchant, Sept. 8, 1729, E 112, and Samuel Preston Moore, Aug. 3, 1785, T.178. "PA Wills, 1682-1834." The *PMHB Index* lists Richard Hill, councillor, 1673-1729, and Henry Hill, merchant, 1732-1798, indicating that Henry Hill, brother of Hannah Moore, wasn't born when Richard Hill left his 1729 will. Richard Hill named three brothers, Henry, Isaac and Samuel, but this research has not identified which of these is the father of

Thomas Bartholomew purchased this Block Three real estate from profits made from his diverse background. In 1753 he ran a tavern, the sign of the White Horse in Elbow Lane east of Third Street. There he helped secure runaway servants and slaves and also sold slaves. In 1758, during the French and Indian War, he announced that Brigadier General Forbes had appointed him Superintendent of the Horses under his command and Bartholomew advertised for drivers. By February 1760 he had moved west to the upper end of Arch Street, near the sign of King Hendrick, where he sold imported Madeira, teneriffe, wine, all sorts of shops goods, and young Negro boys and girls as house servants. In March 1761 he offered for sale "A Parcel of likely young Negroes and a large quantity of Carolina Soal Leather, in Hides or Half Hides; also some Rice and Indigo" imported from Charleston, South Carolina. He continued to submit similar advertisements through the year. [17]

By August 1762 Bartholomew had moved to a residence on Arch Street in Block Three. There he advertised that his "Mulattoe Man Slave named Joe, alias Joseph Boudron" had run away. Boudron, Bartholomew noted, was born in Guadeloupe and had lived in New York and South Carolina before coming to Philadelphia. He was a good cook and could speak English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Bartholomew concluded that Boudron was "much used to the seas where he is thought to have gone."[18]

All Bartholomew's efforts to capitalize from the slave and import trade and his investment in real estate appear to have fallen short of his mark. In 1764 he once again became a tavern keeper when he took over the old establishment of Musgrove Evans, the Sign of King Hendrick, on the southwest corner of Fifth and Arch Streets. He encouraged back his old customers with assurances that the inn had "plenty of good stables." He intended as well to keep horses for gentlemen "at the lowest rates and best manner." The following year he tried to rent or sell the 20 acres and saw mill in Chester County, which he co-owned with his son, Benjamin Bartholomew, and John Cloyd. The boards from the mill he had been marketing in the city. All the while he continued to offer new houses on Fifth, Arch and Cherry Streets for sale, but evidently none of these efforts kept Bartholomew solvent. After his death in 1766, all his lots and properties on Block Three were purchased at a sheriff's sale by Robert Morris, later to be famous as a principal financier of the Revolution.[19]

Henry Hill. Samuel Preston Moore's wife also had a sister who married into the Moore family, as Richard Hill's will named a sister, Deborah Moore.

[17] *PG* July 25, 1751, Feb. 20, Apr. 19, 1753, Aug. 9, Oct. 14, 1756, June 20, 1758, Oct. 4, 1759, Feb. 7, Sept. 4, 1760, Mar. 12 (quoted), July 30, Oct. 1, 1761, July 15, 1762. The reference to teneriffe could not be found in the dictionary. It may refer to some product then imported from Tenerife, the largest Canary Island, off the coast of Africa.

[18] *PG* Aug. 26 1762.

[19] *PG* Mar. 12, 1760 offers Musgrove Evan's Sign of King Hendrick up for sale and describes it at the southwest corner; Aug. 9, 1764 advertises Bartholomew as tavern keeper at the Sign of the King Hendrick; Ap. 25 (sawmill & lumber sale), July 18, 1765. Robert Morris' purchase of the five lots occurred on Mar. 2, 1767, as recited in City Survey titled, "Deed Robt Morris to Wm Rolston-31 Jany 1777 for 5 lots of ground and the building on them." Third Survey District, folder 43, pre-1814. This recital notes that Robert Morris also bought up the ground rents in 1768 and extinguished them.

Thomas Bartholomew's property can be further described from lot sales in 1766, by his insurance on certain houses, and by a recital of his lot ownership before and after his death. Bartholomew owned lots on both sides of Fifth Street, typical of other new owners on the block between Fifth and Sixth Streets. A survey of tax records during the late 18th century shows that several persons migrated west to be first settlers on Block Three. Bartholomew, however, invested as a real estate speculator. He owned a lot on Arch near the corner that measured 16'8 by 65 feet. Adjoining on the north he acquired a large lot that extended 112 feet north along Fifth Street and in depth the full 50 feet to the Presbyterian burial ground. Further north he purchased a 28 by 50-foot lot on Fifth and a 33-foot lot on Cherry with a depth of 60 feet along Fifth Street. Less than a year later, in October 1762, he purchased from Richard Hall another lot on Cherry, 16'8 by 60 feet deep that ran along the burial ground's east property line, thus consolidating under his ownership the Cherry Street end of the original Arch Street lot. Richard Hall provided that a 3 ½-foot alley running 30 feet into Fifth Street behind the Arch Street lot remain open for "the common use and benefit" of the two owners.[20]

In April 1762, Bartholomew insured a 3-story house at the northwest corner of Arch and Fifth. David Kinsey, Bartholomew's in-law and estate executor, occupied the house. In October 1763 Bartholomew insured his own dwelling "on the north side of Mulberry Street, it being the third above fifth street." The surveyor described the 3-story house as "quite new," 17 by 30 feet, with a kitchen and piazza 23 by 13 feet, two stories high. That survey also insured a 6-year old tavern on the east side of Fifth Street. Two months later he took out another policy on a two-story house about two years old, on the west side of Fifth Street opposite the Lutheran Church. Perhaps when Bartholomew took over as tavern keeper at the Sign of the King Hendrick in 1764, he chose to move across the street as resident and lease his dwelling to a tenant. The record is vague about such specifics, but quite clear as to the amount of real estate he owned on Block Three at his death. [21]

In October 1766 Bartholomew's widow Catherine and the other executors put his properties up for sale. The estate sale advertised a total of eight lots, each with structures. Two lots stood on the west side of Sixth Street, two on Arch, two on Fifth and two on Cherry. Oddly, the sale listed a 3-story brick kitchen and piazza on a lot measuring 16 feet 8 by 65 feet on Arch Street near Fifth Street, and on the adjoining lot, another 3-story brick kitchen with a wash house and the privilege of a 3-foot alley into Fifth Street. These two kitchens as described had no house, but must have been the same properties Bartholemew insured in 1762-63. The advertisement also listed:

No. 5: A two-story house and kitchen, on Fifth Street, near Cherry Street, the

---

[20] Quote from Richard Hall to Thomas Bartholomew, H.15, 513, that recites both purchases, Dec. 4, 1761 and Oct. 30, 1762; City Survey recital, "Deed Robt Morris to Wm Rolston" 31st Jany 1777. See copy in City Surveys section of this report.

[21] Policies #707, dated April 19, 1762 and #885-6, Oct. 25, 1763, and #923, Dec. 20, 1763, on microfilm, INDE, and as recorded in Hannah Banner Roach File, American Philosophical Society (Roach file, APS). Thomas' son, Benjamin, was married to Kinsey's daughter. Thomas' will, probated June 17, 1766, cites Benjamin as a son; Benjamin's will of Nov. 22, 1774, names David Kinsey as his father-in-law. Neither of the abstracts give a will book source. PA Wills, 1682-1834.

lot 14 feet by 50-feet
No. 6, A lot, 14 feet on Fifth street, by 50 feet back, on which are erected two tenements, 14 by 16 feet, with the privilege of an 8 feet alley into Fifth Street.
No. 7 A lot, 14 feet on Cherry street. by 39 feet back to the 8 feet alley, on which are erected two tenements, 14 feet by 11 and a half feet each, with the privilege of the 8 feet alley, and an alley of 4 and an half feet wide into Cherry Street.
No. 8 A lot 15 feet on Cherry street by 89 feet back, on which is erected a framed building, divided into three tenements, two stories high, also the privilege of said alleys. The houses are well finished, and cellars under the whole. [22]

Bartholomew's heirs apparently faced debt, for the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in February announced a sheriff's sale. This advertisement described the two adjoining properties on Arch Street as three-story brick houses. The February sale also made better sense of the Cherry Street property. It specified that five small frame tenements stood on two lots along the 50 feet of Cherry Street east of the burial ground. This clarified the fact that all the construction in this section of Cherry Street was wooden. For the two tenements on Fifth Street, the sale offered the added information that each stood 14 feet wide on 50-foot-deep lots, with an 8-foot alley along the northern property line.[23]

As earlier noted, Robert Morris bought up these five lots on Arch, Fifth and Cherry Streets in March 1767. He held them for nearly ten years, while tenants came and went, most of them unknown. During that decade David Kinsey died. In 1770 his three-story brick house, kitchen and its 16'8 by 60 foot lot on the corner of Fifth and Arch Streets, next door to the "house and lot late of Thomas Bartholomew, deceased" went up for sheriff's sale. Evidently his family suffered financial hardships, too. [24]

Other land developers began to advertise property along Fifth Street early in the decade. Andrew Edge by 1767 owned four houses on Fifth Street near the corner of Arch. In 1763 he offered for sale a good two-story brick house, 17 by 18 feet, and a kitchen, 12 by 15 feet, "pleasantly situated on Fifth Street, near the Lutheran Church." The house came with "a handsome chamber" and a good cellar. It currently was under lease to Daniel Evans for 24 pounds per year.[25] In 1765 Edge offered for

---

[22] *PG* Oct. 16, 1766 and Feb. 12, 1767 as quoted in Accessible Archives. Bartholomew's estate also owned property on the next block west, at Arch and Sixth Streets, that included a 20-foot lot on Arch Street bordered by a 10-foot alley into Sixth Street, with the use of the alley and the barn and stable there, as well as two unfinished 3-story brick tenements on Sixth Street, with the privilege of the 10-foot alley.

[23] *PG* Feb. 12, 1767.

[24] *PG* June 14, 1770. Robert Morris likely purchased Thomas Bartholomew's properties at Sixth and Arch Streets as well. An advertisement in July 1767 selling the lots, "the late property of Thomas Bartholomew," referred interested parties to Morris' business address, Willing and Morris, merchants. *PG* July 23, 1767.

[25] *PG* Oct. 27, Nov. 17, 1763. Daniel Evans, the tenant, evidently was a toolmaker sufficiently prosperous to have an indentured servant girl. In 1763 he advertised her remaining three years to serve for sale, perhaps in expectation of having to move if Edge sold the house he lived in. *PG* Aug. 4, 1763; The *PG* Nov. 2, 1769 issue printed

sale "a compleat small House, two stories high, genteely finished, with a two Story Kitchen and Cellar under all, a Pump of extraordinary Water by the Door, pleasantly situate on the West side of Fifth street, near Arch street, now in the tenure of Mr. Jonathan Phillips, at Twenty four Pounds per year." In 1766 he again advertised this property, adding that it was located two doors from Arch and had the use of a 3-foot alley. Times appear to have been hard, for he dropped the rent down to 20 pounds annually.[26]

By the spring of 1767 Edge, living "three doors from Arch Street" on Fifth Street, clearly wanted to rid himself of his city property and he put it up for public sale. He offered to exchange his four houses for a good farm within 15 or 20 miles of the city. In August the property was advertised as a public sale. The property descriptions made clear that the houses were built in pairs, one set two-story and the other 3-story, all of them located near the corner of Arch Street. Edge informed the public that the houses were "all new, well built, and neatly finished inside and out." [27]

Further research on Andrew Edge not surprisingly uncovered his familial connections in these real estate transactions. His father's will indicates that Richard Hall (see above) was his uncle, and it is likely that Edge purchased his lots along Fifth Street from him. In 1765 Edge advertised one of the houses on Fifth Street for sale and referred questions to Thomas Bartholomew. In that same advertisement and another that year, he referred to Richard Hall as innkeeper at "a Commodious public house" that Edge owned near Newtown. These developers advanced their interests through ongoing ties with family, friends and associates. In the case of Bartholomew and Edge, however, the financial risks appear to have outweighed the profit margin.[28]

---

a public announcement signed by Evans that vouched for the locally-made steel. Some of the signers had made "the very best of edged Tools" with it and found the quality equal if not superior to English made steel.

[26] *PG* June 20, 1765, Oct. 30, Dec. 11, 1766,

[27] *PG* Mar. 26, 1767 (for the quote), Mar. 3, Apr. 14, Aug. 18, 1768. Andrew Edge took out insurance on three houses. Policy July 6, 1762, Contributionship Loose Survey (CLS) 741 and 742; July 4, 1769, CBk 2, 15, INDE microfilm. On July 6, 1762 Edge also insured a rental house on Fifth between Sassafras and Vine Streets. CLS 701. While his property was up for sale, Edge apparently had Susanna Gartman as a paying tenant. She advertised that she lived a few doors above Arch on Fifth, opposite the Lutheran Church, and that she took in wash for ladies, taking care to keep the colors perfect for callico, cotton and chintz pieces. *PG* Mar. 19, 1767.

[28] The will of Andrew Edge, tanner of the Northern Liberties, Dec. 7, 1748, J.1, lists a son, also named Andrew Edge, as well as Richard Hall, a son-in-law and co-executor with Robert Shewell. The estate sale for Andrew Edge was announced in *PG* Mar. 21, 1749. When Edge (the younger) advertised a small two-story house near Arch for sale in 1765, he named Thomas Bartholomew in Arch or Edge near Busseltown, Lower Dublin Township, as contacts. *PG* June 20, 1765. The same advertisement referred to Richard Hall as innkeeper. Edge put the inn up for sale in *PG* Apr. 25, 1765 and referred questions and sales to Hall and himself. From 1769 through 1777 Edge advertised with no success the sale of a tract of land in West New Jersey. In 1773, apparently feeling especially strapped, he offered the tract "exceeding CHEAP." *PG* May 11, 1769, Feb. 7, 1771, Sept. 22, 1773, Nov. 20, 1776, Feb. 19, 1777.

At least two other houses were erected on Fifth Street south of Cherry during the decade. In June 1763, Plananigh (Hananiah) Pugh advertised the sale of "a GOOD two Story Brick House" on Fifth opposite the Dutch Lutheran Church. The house spanned 14 feet front on a 14 by 50-foot lot. Pugh lived next door, in the 3-story house bordered by a 2'9" alley that he insured that year. Pugh's dwelling also was where he apparently ran a paint business, for the surveyor noted "a painthouse in front."[29]

Lazarus Pine likely responded to Hananiah Pugh's advertisement in June 1763, for he insured a two-story house with a paint house in front situated on the west side of Fifth Street "opposite the Dutch Lutheren Church" in October. The surveyor estimated the house to be about five years old, or built quite early for this block, around 1758. Lazarus had a son, Lazarus Pine, Jr., who opened a school in January 1767 in the house. Pine and several other teachers in the city opened night schools at pre-set rates per pupil the following fall. Merchants and tradesmen may have sponsored this citywide endeavor to educate their young apprentices or servants in math and writing after normal work hours so as to render them of better service in their business. Late the next year Pine moved his school one block south, to Fifth Street a few doors above Market Street (on Block Two), perhaps suggesting his need to be closer to the population center. After the Revolution he briefly reopened the school, this time on Fourth Street two doors above Market Street, once again closer to the middle of town.[30]

While the Fifth Street lots filled up rapidly during the 1760's, the rest of the Arch street lots on this block had scarce development, although an effort was made. In August 1769 John Knowles and Bryan (Brian) Wilkinson announced a public sale of nine lots on the east side of Sixth Street between Arch and Cherry Streets, seven of which measured 17 feet on Sixth by 74 feet in depth and two lots at 19 by 79 feet. The advertisers were brothers-in-law. John Knowles married Mary Wilkinson, sister of Brian Wilkinson, eldest son and heir of Anthony Wilkinson.[31] Wilkinson and Knowles acquired this 157-foot expanse of Sixth Street real estate through inheritance, as Brian's grandfather, Gabriel Wilkinson, received a patent for the Great Lot, measuring 99 by 306 feet at Arch and Sixth Streets, from William Penn in

---

[29] *PG* June 30, 1763; Pugh insurance policy, Sept. 5, 1763, CLS 860; Benjamin Randolph also insured a 2-story house on the north side of Arch "near Fifth" on Feb. 3, 1766, but it is not clear if the house was west of Fifth. CLS 1138, INDE microfilm.

[30] *PG* Jan. 29, Oct. 8, 1767, Sept. 29, 1768, Oct. 3, 1778. Lazarus Jr. 's funeral fell on Dec. 1, 1778, less than two months after his last school announcement. "Genealogical and Personal Notes from the Journal of Rev. James Sproat, 1778-1780," *PMHB 27* (1903), 505. Lazurus Pine, the father, advertised real estate for sale in Gloucester, west New Jersey, in 1767. *PG* Nov. 12, 1767. Perhaps coincidentally, Caleb Cresson sold a lot within Block Three the same year while living in Gloucester, West New Jersey. Cresson to Ebenezer Robinson, Jan. 1, 1767, Dd Bk I-8, 539.

[31] *PG* Feb. 28, 1765 (Anthony Wilkinson estate), Aug. 17, 1769; family ties are revealed in Phila. Deed Bk I-7, 55-56, Brian Wilkinson and wife and John Knowles and wife to Peter De Haven, Oct. 26, 1769. Presumably this is the same Bryan Wilkinson, stone cutter, who died in 1794 in Oxford Township. Oct. 15, 1794, X.128; Other wills give family relationships: Peter Knight, merchant, Mar. 4, 1802, Y.657; Gabriel Wilkinson, Yeoman, Mar. 3, 1732 (father of Anthony, grandfather of Bryan), E.221; John Knowles, Aug. 2, 1804, (mentions property with Bryan Wilkinson, decd.), I.220.

1715/116. Later city surveys listed Bryan Wilkinson as the owner of the entire Sixth and Arch Street lot.[32]

These nine lots created along Sixth Street represent over half the full distance from Arch to Cherry, but there is only one known reference to their exact location. City surveys tell us that Bryan Wilkinson and John Knowles did sell a piece of real estate on Sixth Street to Ludwick Karacher in March 1771. Karacher purchased a lot 80 feet on Sixth by 74 feet along the south side of Cherry. Late in 1775 he insured two new two-story houses with kitchens on Sixth Street near Cherry. Each house stood 16 by 30 feet, and the kitchens 12'5 by 13 feet.[33]

Cresson Family Lots

S. Emlen owned all the land on this block north of the Arch Street lots according to the Parsons survey of c.1745.[34] When the real estate began to sell in the 1760s, Caleb and his brother Joshua Cresson owned this section. Presumably Caleb and Joshua, sons of James Cresson, chairmaker, and his wife, Sarah Emlen, received title to the real estate by inheritance. Both the Emlen and Cresson families shared a strong religious affiliation with the Friends Society and their good works, which evidently continued through to the children of Caleb and Joshua Cresson.[35]

---

[32] John Knowles at his death was married to Sarah Kearkpatrick, whose mother left funds for the Trustees of the Second Presbyterian Church in her will. Elizabeth Kearkpatrick, City of Phila. Widow, July 27, 1801, Y.547. PA Wills, 1682-1834." Knowles and Brian Wilkinson both administered to the estate of Anthony Wilkinson, stonecutter of Philadelphia, in 1765. Knowles and Wilkinson later owned adjoining lots in Northern Liberties. *PG* July 29, 1789. The Gabriel Wilkinson patent, said to be in Patent Book A, Vol. 5, 413, is referenced in Phila. DdBk I-7, 55. City Surveys, Division 2T, Folder 43, Mulberry to Race, 5th to 6th Streets, pre-1814, PCA.

[33]The 1771 transaction is noted on "Draught of lots on East side of 6th street from Mulberry street to Cherry alley," July 16, 1782. This survey regulated several other lots deeded in the 1780s, after the Revolution, to be discussed below. Insurance Policy for Ludwick Karigar, Dec. 5, 1775, on Sixth Street near the corner of Cherry Alley, CBk 2, 141; the published tax records of 1774, 1779,1780 and 1781 for Mulberry Ward, west part, were checked for the Karacher property. The 1781 Effective Supply Tax listed two properties with tenants for the Karacher estate. "Provincial Papers, Proprietary, Supply and State Tax Lists of the City and County of Philadelphia, for the years 1769, 1774 and 1779," *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, XIV* (Harrisburg, 1897), 830-32. Hereinafter sited *PA Archives, 3rd S.*; the same taxes for 1779, 1780 and 1781, published in *PA Archives, 3rd S., XV* (Harrisburg, 1897), 658-662.

[34] Parsons Survey, c. 1745 as published in Wainwright, "Plan," *PMHB 80* (1956), 218.

[35] James Cresson, Philadephia, chairmaker, June 2, 1746, H.126, cites Joshua Emlen as Sarah Emlen Cresson's brother. Joshua Emlen, Northern Liberties, tanner, date and book not given, in PA Wills, 1682-1834, cites Sarah Cresson as a sister and Samuel Emlen as a son and grandson. Several wills were consulted to piece together the Emlen-Cresson genealogy. See James Cresson, H.126; Samuel Emlen, Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1783, S.305; Mary Armit (Samuel Emlen's sister), Philadelphia, widow, Apr. 6, 1791, W.98 (aunt to Annabella and Mary Cresson); Mary Gray (sister of Annabella Cresson, Caleb's first wife); Caleb Cresson, Sr., Philadelphia, Oct. 30, 1816, 6.342 (this will names his son Caleb Jr. and the seven children of his deceased son, John Elliot); Caleb Cresson, Jr., Philadelphia, Sept. 8, 1821, 7.415; Joshua Cresson, Nov. 15, 1793, W.602, names Mary his wife and seven

Caleb Cresson began advertising to develop this large piece of real estate as early as 1764, and in not much more than a decade most of the property had been deeded to new owners. Initially Caleb advertised the land for rent, rather than sale. He offered lots on that "Half Square of Ground, nearly opposite the Dutch Lutheran Church," bounded by Sixth, Sassafras, Fifth and Cherry streets. He announced that a 20-foot alley would be opened through the ground east to west and assured prospective tenants that he would offer lots "of such Width as may best suit those that take it up." At that time he lived on Front Street, near Chestnut, a very prestigious neighborhood, and well positioned to carry out his business as a merchant. The rent, it appears, was intended as ground rent, for advertisements in 1766 and 1773 specified land to let, on ground rent forever.[36]

By 1766 Joshua Cresson, a carpenter, began to be included in the land sales. Likely due to the income from the real estate, Joshua soon after began advertising himself as a merchant on Front Street.[37] In 1770 he and Benedict Dorsey joined forces as partners in a store on Third Street where they sold imports from the French West Indies. By 1772 he was married (Mary), and had opened a new store selling imported sugars, tea, coffee, spices, etc., at the upper end of Second Street. He also had purchased the brigantine *Charleston Packet* that tied his trade with Charleston, South Carolina, and had moved his family to a fashionable address on Market Street between Front and Second Streets. Certainly his rapid rise in social status was tied to his co-ownership in the real estate on Block Three, and in the ground rents arising from lots sold.[38]

---

children, one of whom, Ebenezer Cresson, left funds in his will in 1800 for the Indian Natives, the Negro School for Schooling, for the Yearly Meeting of Friends to fund their boarding schools for the religious teaching of youth, and for the Philadelphia Dispensary. Philadelphia, Sept. 10, 1800, Y.401. "PA Wills, 1682-1834." Elliot Cresson, (1796-1854), Caleb's grandson of by his son John, was an American philanthropist, according to Charles Henry Hart, ed., "Thomas Sully's Register of Portraits, 1801-1871, *PMHB 32* (1908), 426. Caleb himself served with James Pemberton, Joseph Lukens, James Moon and Joseph West on the Committee of the Meetings for Sufferings in 1781. Anna Wharton Morris, "Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher, of Philadelphia, 1779-1781," *PMHB 41* (1917), 424.

[36] *PG* Jan. 19, 1764, Apr. 3, 1766, Mar. 10, 1773. Caleb is identified as a merchant and his brother as a carpenter in the deed to Ebenezer Robinson, Feb. 19, 1766, Deed Bk I-3, 482. Ground rents, an English tradition, were especially common in Philadelphia. For a better understanding of ground rents, see Edward P. Allison and Boies Penrose, "Ground Rents in Philadelphia," *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* Volume 2, Issue 3 (Apr., 1888), 297-313. My thanks to James Duffin at the University of Pennsylvania Archives for sharing with me this article.

[37] See deed to Ebenezer Robinson, Feb. 19, 1766, Deed Bk I-3, 482, and advertisement in *PG* Apr. 3, 1766.

[38] The earliest deed researched that named Mary, his wife, was dated June 1, 1772, to Zachariah Lesh. Deed Bk 40, 481. Mary Cresson left no will. This research did not identify her maiden name. *PG* Jan 7, 1768, Sept. 13, 1770, Feb. 27, May 28, Sept 2, 1772, Apr. 21, 1773. Joshua Cresson, for instance, was still due 15 dollars yearly ground rent in 1789 on a lot in Race Street that had been subdivided in two. *PG* May 27, July 29, 1789.

Only a sampling of the many deeds listed in the grantor index under Caleb Cresson were consulted in this research.[39] The earliest deed noted, dated February 19, 1766, went from Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Ebenezer Robinson, a brush maker. He purchased a large corner lot on Fifth Street, 20 feet by 80 feet on the north side of Cherry Street. Robinson must have bought it as a prospective resident, for in May 1768 he insured his dwelling, a one-story structure with a broken pitch roof that stood 18'6 by 44 feet at the corner of Fifth and Cherry Alley. Robinson may have found financial success, for he (or perhaps another of the same name?) while living on Second Street near Race Street in 1774 advertised "a new pump" suitable for "middling sized vessels." This address closer to town and the seaport broadened his chances of selling within the brisk maritime market. By 1790, however, Robinson again lived on Fifth Street running a business as a brush maker.[40]

Up Cherry Street, due west of Robinson, Joshua Cresson insured a two-story house in 1767, where he already had a tenant, John Lawrence. At some point thereafter John Lawrence, porter, purchased this house and lot which extended from Cherry to Cressons Alley and measured 16'6 on those alleys.[41]

Robert Evans, a carpenter, also bought a large 32-foot lot on Fifth Street, at the south corner of Cresson's Alley early in 1767. The lot depth ran the full 80 feet west to the 10-foot alley. Caleb and Sarah Cresson of Haddonfield in Gloucester County, Province of West New Jersey, and Joshua Cresson of Philadelphia granted the sale.[42] Evans in 1760 owned real estate across the street on Fifth Street, a stable in Apple Tree Alley near the church. He likely retained this investment after his purchase on Block Three to assure an additional source of income in case his trade as a carpenter met hard times. Robert Evans remained at Fifth and Cressons Alley for decades to come and densely developed his piece of property.[43]

---

[39] Christine Hoepfner assisted this writer by compiling a list of 54 names from the Recorder of Deeds grantor index under Caleb Cresson.

[40] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Ebenezer Robinson, Feb. 19, 1766, Deed Bk I-3, 482; Policy dated May 2, 1768, CBk 2, 1; *PG* Nov. 16, 1774.

[41] Policy of Feb. 3, 1767, which noted the house to be 8 to 10 years old (1757-59). CLS 1143; Lawrence is identified as a porter in the Provincial Tax for Mulberry Ward, 1774, *PA Archives, 3rd Series, XIV*, 297, and Mulberry Ward, West Part, Tax Assessment Ledger, 1779, PCA. He retains the title in later sources, too.

[42] Cresson to Robinson, Jan. 1, 1767, Deed Bk I-3, 539.

[43] Caleb and Sarah Cresson to Robert Evans, Jan. 1, 1767, DdBk 1-3, 539; *PG* May 22, 1760. This deed cites the only reference to Caleb and Sarah Cresson. As Caleb explained in his family history, he married Sarah Hopkins of Haddonfield in 1767, but she died two years later. Shortly after, Caleb returned to Philadelphia, his native city, and lived with his aunt, Mary Armitt, until he married Annabella Elliot, daughter of John Elliot of Philadelphia, in 1772. Together they had seven children, only two of whom, John and Caleb, were alive when he wrote his family history in 1793. "Family History," *Diary of Caleb Cresson,* 196-200. In 1775 they had a son, Caleb Cresson, Jr. The life dates of Caleb Sr. (1742-1816) and Jr. (1775-1821) are given in the cumulative index to the *PMHB 75*. Annabella's marriage to Caleb Cresson may have raised some moral issues within his religious circle, as her father, although a Quaker, indicated by his 1791 will that he owned a Maryland plantation with slaves. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting after 1774 forbade their members to own slaves. The will of Caleb Cresson, Jr., Philadelphia, Sept. 8, 1821, 7.415, and of John Elliott, Philadelphia, Dec. 29, 1791, W.199, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, 24.

Another large corner property at Fifth and Race Streets was sold early to Jacob Williams, whose estate was advertised at sheriff's sale in May 1766. The property contained 36 feet on Fifth and the customary 80 feet depth back to the 10-foot alley. Evidently Jacob Kaisor, a taylor, purchased the lot to settle there or to develop, for he purchased an adjoining lot from the Cressons and built a house. In March 1769 Willing and Tod [sic], the assignees of his estate, advertised the property for sale, this time having 56 feet on Fifth Street with a 2-story brick house.[44]

In 1770 Henry Nail (Neal), a shoemaker, purchased a 20 by 80-foot Fifth Street lot near Kaisor's, where he resided for many years. The lot adjoining to the south already had been sold to Adam Eckhart, and to the north had been promised to Frederick Grasler. Together these lots nearly ran the full 130 feet on Fifth between Race and Cresson's Alley, as laid out originally by Caleb and Joshua Cresson. [45]

In the summer and fall of 1772 the Cresson brothers enjoyed a real estate boom, selling numerous lots along Sixth Street and at least one on Sassafras. Five or more Sixth Street lots were sold between Cherry and Cresson's Alley that year. On September 1, Stephen Hossmer, a house carpenter, bought the corner lot at Sixth and Cherry Streets measuring 22 by 61 feet.[46] A month earlier Christlieb Bartling, another house carpenter, had arranged to buy the adjoining 22-foot lot on Sixth Street and a smaller one, 14 by 41 feet east of Hossmer's, at the corner of Cherry and the 10 foot alley (later Starr).[47] To Bartling's north, Martin Waltz owned a lot referenced in the deed for the adjoining property to the north, an 18 by 80-foot lot issued to Nicholas Rash, a Philadelphia brewer, on August 1, 1772. Stephen Phipps, a local taylor, purchased the same day a Sixth Street lot of the same size next to the north, at the corner of Cresson's Alley.[48]

Bartling, like the several house carpenters listed in the first sales, no doubt bought to develop his Sixth Street property. He lived there for a few years, but then leased out the houses that he probably had built. Nicholas Rash, on the other hand, never lived on his property, according to tax records. He built a house on the lot, which he insured in 1774. The surveyor described the two-story dwelling as a new tenement. By 1779 Robert Venable, identified as an African American, had taken up residence in the house. Possibly Rash gave Venable his freedom during the Revolution and provided him with a home. Venable remained through the century and by 1813 owned the property. He later listed himself as a white washer in city directories and won local recognition as a founding member of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church. [49]

---

[44] *PG* May 29, 1766, Mar. 16, 1769; J. Keiser is listed as a purchaser in the Caleb Cresson index, Deed Bk. I-17, 462, but time budgeting did not allow for reading the deed.

[45] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Henry Neal, Mar. 10, 1770, Phila. Co. Deed Book (DdBk) D39, 331, which names the owners of the adjoining lots. If the adjoining lots also measured 20 feet on Fifth, they together with the 56 feet for the large corner lot, adds up to 116 feet, which leaves room for one other lot of 14 feet on Fifth.

[46] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Stephen Hossman, Sept. 1, 1772, DdBk D-59, 24.

[47] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Christlieb Bartling, Sept. 1, 1772, DdBk D-40, 474-5.

[48] Caleb and Joshua Cresson et. ux. to Nicholas Rash, Aug. 1, 1772, DdBk D-40, 478.

[49]The only biographical note on Bartling is that he was listed as a member of the German Society for the Relief of distressed Germans in PA when they submitted a bill

Frederick Walter, a bricklayer, purchased a 20 by 80-foot lot at the north corner of Sixth and Cressons Alley on June 1, 1772, and the same day John Gartley, a schoolmaster, took up a similarly-sized lot closer to the Sassafras corner. Gartley's deed indicated that Leonard Kessler had already purchased the 20 by 80-foot lot on the corner of Sassafras. On Sassafras Street, Zachariah Lesh, a house carpenter, bought a 20 by 130-foot lot from Race to Cresson's Alley, on June 1, 1772, the same day as Frederick Walter's purchase. The lot to Lesh's east had already been purchased by Jacob Groce (Gross). Lesh and Gross still lived on their property in 1780, when the former continued to work as a carpenter and the latter identified himself as a laborer. Considering their long residence in one location, it is a surprise to find no early insurance policy for either property.[50]

The Cressons also sold lots on Fifth Street in the early 1770s. Two carpenters, Jesse Rowe (Roe) and John Harrison, each purchased a lot side by side between Ebenezer Robinson's property at Cherry and Robert Evans' at Cresson Alley. On March 1, 1774 they both insured their own new two-story house that measured 15 by 19'6. The provincial tax that year indicated that the two men lived on the block, near each other on Fifth Street, but Harrison for some unexplained reason was not assessed for property. Harrison may have taken his profit and moved on to new, lucrative investments, for he advertises as board merchant at Vine and Water Streets after the Revolution. Jesse Rowe evidently did not live to enjoy any profit on his investment. After his death the property went up for sheriff's sale in May 1775. The estate included the two-story brick messuage or tenement on Fifth bounded by John Harrison's property. Perhaps the family failed to sell, however, as Thomas Roe lived there in 1790-91.[51]

Other long-term residents on the block appear in a deed of January 1, 1774 for a lot on Sassafras. Caleb and Annabella Cresson sold John Hinchman, carter, a 20-foot lot about 40 feet west of the 10-foot alley. Tobias King's lot bordered it to the east and Jacob Sulgar's to the west.[52] These three owners retained a presence on

---

to incorporate. *PG* Jan 12, 1780; insurance policy for Nicholas Rash, Mar. 24, 1774, CBk 2, 110; Venable appears in the Tax Assessment Ledger, Mulberry Ward, West Part, 1779, p. 48, PCA; his name marks the lot in a city survey made for him on Mar. 23, 1813, Division 2T, Race to Arch, folder 43, pre-1814, Unidentified, PCA; Rev. Wm. Douglass, Rector, *Annals of the First African Church in the United States of America Now Titled The African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, Philadelphia.* (Philadelphia, 1862), 108.

[50] Caleb and wife Annabella Cresson, Joshua and wife Mary Cresson to Frederick Walter, June 1, 1772, Deed Bk D39, 335; to Zachariah Lesh, June 1, 1772, Deed Bk D-40, 481.

[51] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Jesse Roe, May 1, 1772, Dd BK EF 26, 553 and 556. The grantor index also lists a deed to John Harrison, yet to be researched, Deed Bk I 11, 366. The insurance policies for Jesse Roe and John Harrison, dated March 1, 1774 are sequential, in CBk 2, 107 and 108. The location of Roe and Harrison on the block is determined by their listing in the tax record near neighbor Robert Evans, who purchased at the corner of Cresson's Alley. Provincial Tax, City of Phila., Mulberry Ward, *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, XIV*, 296. *PG* May 3, 1775, June 11, 1788. Their properties were listed as 86 and 88 N. 5th Street in Clement Biddle's 1791 City Directory.

[52] Cresson to Hinchman, Jan. 1, 1774, Dd Bk D39, 447; on Apr. 3, 1819 John Henchman (sic) of this family had one of two adjoining lots on Sassafras Street 39

their lots for a decade or more. The 1779 tax identifies Hinchman again as a carter. Tobias King is also named a carter, while Sulgar (spelled Sulcher) is listed as a baker. These men evidently did not have the means or inclination to insure their properties. Sulgar, however, is taxed for a dwelling of considerable more value than his neighbors', suggesting that food was a more reliable source of income than services tied to economic trends. His financial stability eventually led him to insure the property twenty years after he purchased the lot. Sulgar actually took out two insurance policies in 1793 to cover two plainly-finished two-story houses with back buildings. One policy included a bake house "built agreeable to law," in other words designed to prevent fires. Like many other property holders on the block, Sulgar built a rental property for additional income. The presence of the other house adjoining his own may explain Sulgar's high tax assessment in 1779.[53]

Caleb and his wife sold another Sassafras lot on the same day as Hinchman's to a joiner, Isaac Barnet. Barnet's 18-foot lot bordered the western 10-foot alley and on its east had a lot still in Joshua Cresson's possession. Barnet appears on the 1779 tax record with a very modest dwelling valued at 900 (compared to Sulgar's 2400). Evidently Barnet built a simple house, what he could afford, but did not remain on the block past 1779. Considering his trade as a joiner, Barnet may have gained sufficient trade to move east, closer to the center of commerce. The will of merchant Isaac Cox names Isaac Barnet (spelled Barnett) as a nephew, which suggests that he may have come from a moneyed background. He apparently left no will.[54]

While transacting all these land sales, Caleb Cresson decided to develop his own real estate. He built five adjoining tenements along the south side of Cresson Alley, at the corner of the eastern 10-foot alley, and took out insurance on them in September 1774. The row of rentals presented very modest, plain housing. Together they ran 58 feet along the alley, providing only 11 feet 6 inches in width for each two-story house and 14'4 in depth. These tenements remained in Caleb's ownership throughout the century and helped this researcher to find the south side of Cresson's alley in the tax records. Caleb Cresson a decade later chose to build four three-story houses on Cherry Street, one for himself, and three adjoining to the west. Cresson may have set the pattern that developed among lot owners in this section between Cherry and Cresson Alleys: the more prominent homes stood on Cherry, while low-income rentals or tenements lined the south side of Cresson Alley.[55]

Insurance policies indicate that other buyers in the Cresson section built new housing. Arnold Mitchenor and William Hancock purchased adjoining lots on the east side of Sixth Street north of Cresson's Alley in January 1774. Mitchenor at the close of the same year insured a new, plain two-story house on his lot and the following March John Bell took out a policy for a two-story back building on his lot on

---

feet west of the easternmost 10-foot alley surveyed. Div 2-T, Race to Arch, Fifth to Sixth Streets, 1815-1855, PCA.

[53] Tax Assessment Ledger, 1779, PCA; index for Contributionship Insurance and Mutual Assurance policies, INDE; Mutual Assurance Policy 383 and 384 to Jacob Sulgar, Sept. 9, 1793, in Anthony N. B. Garvan, General Editor, *The Mutual Assurance Company Papers Volume I, The Architectural Surveys 1784-1794.* (Philadelphia, 1976), 248-249.

[54] Cresson to Barnet, Jan. 1, 1774, Dd Bk D-3, 424; Tax Assessment, 1779, p. 43, PCA; The will of Isaac Cox, Phila. Merchant, Jan. 30, 1776 names Elizabeth Barnett as daughter-in-law and Isaac as nephew. "PA Wills, 1682-1834,"

[55] Caleb Cresson, Sept. 5, 1774, CBk 2, 117; Nov. 7, 1786, CBk 2, 218.

Sassafras Street. Neither of these men appeared in the tax records, suggesting they were both investing in city real estate for rental income or a favorable resale.[56] On at least one occasion a new owner, Uriah Former (?) insured a modest two-story house on the west side of the 10-foot alley leading into Sassafras or Race Street. If this reference applies to the eastern 10-foot alley, Former's subdividing of the Sassafras Street lot proved to be an early example of the multiple housing uses within the original lots that typified the real estate transactions during the closing decades of the century.[57]

Summary

The pre-Revolutionary sales on Block Three helped to change the dynamic of the city. A writer for the *Pennsylvania Gazette*[58] noted in 1775 that Race Street "is now become almost as much frequented as any in town," and some of that traffic must have been bringing supplies to the new residents on Block Three. The sales also reveal a general pattern at the inception of the real estate development. The earliest houses lined Fifth Street, the closest vantage point to downtown. Many of the original lot purchasers were in the building trades, carpenters, bricklayers, joiners. These men purchased lots to build plain, two-story brick row houses. Three-story houses were scarce. Only three stood at the corner of Arch Street and Fifth Streets. The vast majority of new construction reflected speculative and modest investments. Immigrants were pouring into the city at mid-century and looking for affordable housing on the outskirts of town. Reflecting the trend north of Arch Street, many of the purchasers, especially in the Cresson section, were German by descent. Developers like Richard Hall, Thomas Bartholomew and Andrew Edge, and large-scale real estate speculators such as Robert Morris, Bryan Wilkinson on the Arch Street lots, and the Cresson brothers in "Cresson's Square," found the market a fast-moving and potentially promising place to be. [59] Insurance surveys document that the individuals who chose to build and also live on the block often put a few more embellishments into their new dwellings. Fortunately, the large landowners/builders also created alleys and rights of way for their investments to accommodate the tenants or themselves. These alleys remained intact until the demolition of the block for Independence Mall in the 1960s.

---

[56] Caleb Cresson et. ux to William Hancock, Phila., house carpenter, Jan. 1, 1774, Dd Bk D-35, 323; to Arnold Mitchenor, Jan. 1, [torn deed, year 1774 inferred by circumstantial evidence], Dd Bk D-37, 122; Mitchenor policy, Dec. 6, 1774, CBk 2, 126; John Bell policy, Mar. 25, 1775, CBk 2, 134.

[57] Uriah Former (sp?), Feb. 6, 1776, CBk 2, 145.

[58] *PG* Feb. 15, 1775.

[59] At least once, in the policy for Uriah Former (see preceding footnote), the term "Cresson's Square" was used in reference to the Cresson family tract on this block.

A comparison of the relatively light development evident on the Clarkson-Biddle map of 1762 with the map prepared by John Hills in 1796 (see Fig. 3) shows the astonishing change on Block Three over thirty-four years. Hills, an accomplished surveyor and mapmaker, recorded the Cresson tract at the north end as densely settled, with only the slightest sense that some properties retained open back yard spaces. Hill's record of the Arch Street lots to Cherry Street, however, marked more than half the acreage as open space. The burial ground and the lot to its west remained clear of structures, whereas Fifth and Sixth Streets and the western half of Arch Street had been improved. The south side of Cherry also looked relatively open, which indicates that the Arch Street lots had not yet been heavily subdivided. The documentary evidence from deeds, wills and city surveys, as well as newspaper advertisements, helps to give some life and pattern to what proved to be a remarkable spurt of growth on this block.

Logically, more information turned up in the research for residents who remained at the same address for ten years or more and for those who prospered enough to enroll in the early city directories. People at the lower end of the economic ladder, who crowded into the small tenement houses that lined the alleys of the Cresson end of the block, remained anonymous, as the majority of current urban dwellers would. On Arch Street, the most fashionable address, only a few individuals could be identified. Fifth and Cherry Streets and Sassafras or Race within the Cresson section attracted the most stable residents or property owners. In numerous occasions neighbors were related to one another, or belonged to the same church denomination. Like immigration today, people seemed to locate among familiar families or in neighborhoods that promised work.[1]

The American Revolution, 1775-1781

Even a decade before the Revolution, Mulberry Ward between Arch and Race from Front to Seventh Streets showed the highest rate of growth. Of the city's ten wards, it was the most populated. Typical of construction throughout the city, the new homes and shops were modest two or three-story brick row houses. At the eve of the Revolution, however, the amount of real estate development on Block Three remained moderate and would not intensify until after the war, even though Caleb and Joshua Cresson advertised lots for lease in 1773 along Sassafras, Sixth and Cherry Streets.[2]

---

[1] John Hills was a British army mapmaker who remained in America after the Revolution and advertised himself as a "Surveyor, Architector & Draftsman." His map of Philadelphia, first published in May 1796, has been estimated "the most complete eighteenth-century map of the city." Snyder, *City of Independence*, 160. Kise Straw & Kolodner, "Archeological Sensitivity Study," Figure 6, dates Hill's Plan of the City of Philadelphia in 1797. Peter Dehaven appears in the 1780 tax record just before the recognizable listings for Block Three residents, which suggests he lived on the east side of Fifth Street, between Arch and Race. Effective Supply Tax, City of Philadelphia, Mulberry Ward, West Part, 1780, *PA Archives, Third Ser., XV*, (1897), 300.

[2] Russell F. Weigley, ed. *Philadelphia A 300 Year History.* (New York: 1982), 99; *PG* Mar. 10, 1773.

Philadelphia records give us faint indication of the owners and residents during the Revolution and how the war effort impacted their world. Only three houses on the block were insured during the war, suggesting a slow down in building. Ludwick Karigar, who had purchased a large lot at Sixth and Cherry Streets, insured two two-story houses near the corner in December 1775, soon after the outbreak of war in Massachusetts. At the north end of the block, Uriah Former two months later insured a nearly new two-story house on an alley near Sassafras or Race. The following November, William Thomas took out a policy on a house on Fifth Street, a little above Arch Street where Widow Jane Peters lived.[3] Perhaps these three examples represent just a small percentage of the new housing completed during the Revolution, but left uninsured due to the strained economic times. More likely, however, the market for new construction opened up again after the war.

Seven heads of household were listed as African American in the tax list for 1780. This number increased the following decade as African Americans began to settle in North and South Mulberry Wards west of Fourth Street.[4] In 1780 some of those individuals identified as Negro may have taken up residence because the block still was lightly settled, and predominantly a laboring class neighborhood with more affordable housing. Perhaps some were attracted by the Quaker presence on the block. In 1774 Quakers were mandated to free any slaves in their ownership. In 1775 the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully held in Bondage organized with a majority Quaker representation in its founding membership. Caleb Cresson as the real estate principal for the northern section where most of the families lived, and a leading Quaker resident on the block may have assisted some of these individuals.[5] Others may have been household servants, free or not, entrusted to keep watch over city property while the owners took temporary refuge in the country. Or perhaps some may have been living on the block to work for military suppliers. The 1780 effective supply tax identified the following seven people as "a negroe" or "a negroe man" or "a negroe woman." Presumably each person named also had other family members or associates living in the household with them. The record indicates that all these people lived in property owned by someone else.

John Brown, for Henry Meyer's estate (corner of Sixth and Sassafras)

---

[3] Karrigar, Dec. 5, 1775, CBk 2, 141; Former, Feb. 6, 1776, CBk 2, 145, Thomas, Nov. 30, 1776, CBk S #1, 80. Karacher was an alternative spelling for Karrigar.

[4] Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, ed. *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville, 1983), 40, credits the settlement to the fact that the neighborhood was a relatively poor section of the city with a concentration of German and Irish laboring class families.

[5] Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, 24, notes that in 1774 Quakers forbade their members to buy or sell slaves and ordered that they prepare to liberate any bondsmen in their ownership. See also Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community 1720-1840*, 33-59. Nash analyses tax lists to furnish figures on the decrease in slaveowners in Philadelphia from 1400 in 1767 to only 442 in 1779. Nash sites the ardent anti-slavery publications of Benjamin Rush and Thomas Paine, as well as the efforts of Quakers and other denominations to educate the public to ban the institution. Nash, "The Black Revolution in Philadelphia," paper presented to the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, 1985. The complexity of the abolitionist effort in the region and state is presented well in Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York, 1991).

Cyrus, for William Todd's estate (also near corner of Sixth and Sassafras)
Nock, for Robert Evans' estate (corner of Fifth and Cresson's Alley)
Sarah, for James Guest's estate (Cherry Street, west end)
a negroe woman (unnamed) for William Ralston's estate (Fifth Street below Cherry Street)
Ann Pounder, for Ludwig karacher's estate (Sixth below Cherry)
Robert Venable, for Nicholas Rash's estate (Sixth, two lots south of Cresson's Alley)

All the men listed were assessed 1200, indicating they earned a salary and were free persons. John Brown, and possibly Cyrus next door to the south, may have worked in the inn Henry Meyers ran on the corner of Fifth and Sassafras Streets. Nock probably served as a journeyman level carpenter in Evans' shop, as his tax was exactly the same as Joseph Clark's nearby on Cherry Street, who was identified as "carpenter, jour'yman." Robert Venable, after fifteen years residence on Sixth Street, finally was listed as a white washer, beginning in the city directory for 1795.[6]

In 1782 Sarah, Nock and Robert Venable were again on the tax list, identified as Negroe, while John Brown's racial identification was left off (the only such case this research found). Cyrus and the woman at William Ralston's property no longer were listed. Ann Pounder remained at the same place in 1781, but the assessor dropped her surname. The use of surnames among African Americans began to spread with the Revolution and the emancipation of local slaves. Brown, Pounder and Venable all are surnames that reflect white families in the city or outlying areas, suggesting that those families may have once owned or assisted them, or won their admiration.[7]

The Effective Supply Tax for 1780 indicates that a "gun manufactory," stood at Sixth and Arch Streets on a lot in the estate of Peter Dehaven and Richard Wells. [8]

---

[6] Effective Supply Tax, 1780, 301-4; Edmund Hogan, *The Prospect of Philadelphia and Check on the Next Directory,* (Philadelphia, 1795), 55. Hereinafter cited *1795 Directory.*

[7]Effective Supply Tax, 1781, 658-9, 661; There is only one Venable (Richard) and one Pounder (Jonathan) listed in the Index to "PA Wills, 1682-1834." The former was a resident of Chester County, a locale well populated with Quakers who served the Underground Railroad to freedom.

[8]A gun manufactory is listed under "Peter DeHaven & Richard Well's est." in the Effective Supply Tax, 1780, *PA Archives, Third Series, XV*, 304;Earlier DeHaven had played an active role in arming for the Revolution. The Committee of Safety resolved on March 6, 1776 that DeHaven and three army officers (Meredith, Wilcocks and Peters) be appointed to superintend the location and construction of "the Provincial Manufactory of Gun Locks" in Philadelphia. That operation ended up on Cherry between Third and Fourth Streets. *PG* Apr. 17, 1776; Charles R. Barker, "The Gulph Mill," *PMHB 53*, 178. De Haven also set up a gunpowder mill on the French Creek near Phoenixville. Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D., "The High Water Mark of the British Invasion," *PMHB 31*, 398. De Haven voted on July 4, 1776 as a vestry man of Christ Church and St. Peter's Episcopal Church to omit from the liturgy the plea to pray for the King of Great Britain. C.P.B. Jeffreys, "The Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, 1753-1783," *PMHB 48*, 191; The Rev. Edward Duffield Neill, "Rev. Jacob Duche The First Chaplain of Congress," *PMHB 2*, 67. In 1782 Peter De Haven lived on Fourth near the College. *PG* Feb 13, 1782.

Two gunsmiths, Thomas Elton and Isaac Johns, lived on the block and likely worked in some capacity with the plant. They operated as gunsmiths from a William Ralston property on Fifth Street below Cherry. Johns also appeared on the tax list as a gunsmith on the south side of Cresson's Alley. Little is known about this gun manufacturing or its owners. Peter Dehaven didn't live on the block, nor did Richard Wells, but Joseph Dehaven did, in a house leased from the William Ralston estate on Fifth Street. Joseph, perhaps Peter Dehaven's brother or son, may have been managing the gun factory works. His landlord, William Ralston, purchased the former Thomas Bartholomew lots from Robert Morris in 1777. His real estate was part of the larger Arch Street lot originally owned jointly by Richard Wells' brother-in-law, Samuel Preston Moore, a prominent Philadelphia Quaker, one unlikely to approve of the gun factory.[9]

The same tax rolls list eight butchers on the block, three clustered along Sixth Street above Arch, two on the south side of Cherry Street, and another three in the Cresson section, two on Sixth and one on Sassafras Street. This concentration may have been due to the block's location and state of development. Butchering operations tended to be foul and messy, not often established near densely residential neighborhoods. That these butchers were all situated close to the gun manufactory Peter Dehaven and Richard Wells owned at the corner of Sixth and Arch Streets might indicate that military contractors for munitions and meat supplies located near each other for the convenience of ready transport. [10]

The block in 1780 also showed fourteen textile workers, seven weavers and seven taylors. Such a high count suggests another case where location was determined for proximity to the relevant war effort. Samuel Wetherill, ardent patriot and active promoter of manufacturing in South Alley one block to the south, supplied the Continental Army with military uniforms.[11] He relied on individuals who worked at home, like a cottage industry. The weavers Adam Knoblock, John McInnis, William Johnson, Paul Kingston, Charles Walbert, William Houtsell, and Thomas Watson, and the taylors, John Frees, Jacob Henrigle, Henry Sheerer, John Motshitler, Jacob Cooper, George Everhard and Leonard Rust all may have been part of Wetherill's extended effort. Four of the taylors were on Fifth between Arch and Cherry, one on Cresson, one on Cherry and one on Sixth Street just above Cherry. The weavers lived near the taylors, one on Fifth, three on Cressons, and two on Sixth Street below Cherry. By 1781, at the close of the war, five of these men had moved to new

---

[9]Will, Samuel Preston Moore, City of Phila., Practitioner in Physick, Aug. 3, 1785, T. 178, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." The family tie between Wells and Moore suggests tension over the gun factory. See Chapt. Two, Arch St. lots, above for background on Moore.

[10] The locations are determined by landowners given in the 1780 supply tax in corroboration with insurance policies and existing lot surveys for this block in the pre-1814 folder. PCA. Butchers named: Daniel Ensley for William Brown's estate, Jacob Ubehind, both on Cherry; Philip Grumel for Peter Dehaven's est. and Bernard Welty for Widow Christler's est. on Sixth above Arch; Martin Burrough, for Stephen Phipps's est., and John Wager, for Christopher Wegeman's est., both Sixth above Cherry; Andrew Lex, Sassafras. Jacob Ubehind is listed as Unbehind in 1781, and in the 1790 census and 1791 city directory, he still is a butcher on Cherry Street. His name is then spelled Umpchant.

[11] Wetherill is discussed in this writer's "Historic Resource Study, Independence Mall, The 18th century Development, Block Two, Market to Arch, Fifth to Sixth Streets," (November 2000), 17-19.

locations. No later record in the remaining years of the 18th century named such a large number of textile workers on this block, which may argue that these artisans had located their work near the military supplier, Samuel Wetherill, or to be near shipping stations while the war provided them business. [12]

Another possible connection to the military effort on the block is raised by the brief presence of Alexander Quarrier and William Hunter, coachmakers, in the tax record. The coachmaking shop stood either on or adjoining Robert Evan's large lot at Fifth and Cresson's Alley. In 1780 their business registered the second highest evaluation on the block --35,200— even higher than Caleb Cresson's at 27,500, who evidently had already built and moved to his home on the corner of Cherry and the eastern 10-foot alley. Quarrier and Hunter the following year showed a marked drop in their tax assessment. Their valuation fell to less than half Cresson's suggesting that their income may have declined with the prospect of peace. Quarrier also served as captain in the Second Troop Philadelphia City Calvary during the Revolution. Earlier in the war (1778) Quarrier advertised from his business "next door to the Indian Queen in Fourth Street" that he had an elegant coach for sale. After the war his partnership with Hunter dissolved and Hunter returned to his former shop in Market Street. [13]

Another coachmaker, George Way, did business on Fifth Street near Arch in 1780. A few doors away James Porter, saddler, earned a comparatively modest income. Perhaps one or both of them filled military supply requests. George Way did not appear in the next year's tax record for this block, suggesting that like Quarrier and Hunter, he moved closer to the center of town and the marketplace after the war ended. [14]

Considering all overland traffic relied on horsepower, it is not surprising to find four blacksmiths on the block in 1780. John Greus leased ground on Peter Dehaven's large lot at the corner of Sixth and Arch streets, close by the gun manufacturing plant. James Brown leased space on Robert Evans' large lot at the corner of Fifth and Cresson's Alley and Solomon Taylor operated from one of William Todd's estate lots on Fifth Street near the corner of Race or Sassafras Street. Valentine Hoffman, around the corner from Taylor on Sassafras Street, was the only one who owned the lot where he worked. Hoffman remained for the duration of the century and in 1801 still did business from 166 Sassafras Street. John Greus appeared on the 1781 tax roll, but by the first census of 1790, he no longer was in business on the block. Solomon Taylor and James Brown moved away before the

---

[12] Effective Supply Tax, 1780, 301-304; the 1781 tax did not list resident's work titles, but a check of the names with the property owners indicated that nine of the listed tradesmen had remained.

[13] Effective Supply Tax, Mulberry Ward, West Part, 1780 and 1781, *PA Archives Third Ser., XV*, 302 and 659; the same tax for 1782 again raised Quarrier & Hunter's assessment higher than Cresson's, suggesting their business had resumed strong after the war. *PA Archives Third Ser., XVI,* 459. *PG* Dec. 8, 1778; W. A. Newman Dorland, "The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," *PMHB 50* (1926), 187. Cresson insured his house on Cherry Street on Nov. 7, 1786, Street, but the 1780 tax record indicates he already lived on the property, presumably in the same residence. CBk 2, 218.

[14] Effective Supply Tax, 1780, 303; 1781, 660. Way leased a William Thomas house near the corner of Arch.

assessor took account for 1781, suggesting that they relocated to another neighborhood after the war.[15]

John Lawrence, a porter who lived mid-block on the north side of Cherry Street, recorded one of the highest tax valuations in the 1780 effective supply tax. Perhaps he profited, too, from the wartime demand for local transport of goods. Lawrence may have been the logical porter to move the guns, beef or military uniforms that the Continental Army possibly procured from Block Three.[16]

Besides those who may have served the war effort, the block in 1780 also supported the normal quotient of civilians, especially numerous widows (10), but also laborers, carters (2), bakers (2), a chandler, schoolmaster, clerk, porter, sailmaker and shopkeeper. Only one merchant, William Davy, was listed that year. Davy lived in one of the only three-story houses then on the block, early built by Thomas Bartholomew on Arch Street at the corner of Fifth. By the close of the century Davy had formed a partnership with Josiah Roberts to market printed calicoes "equal to any in London." Evidently he had profited from the numerous English textile artisans who settled in the area after the Revolution, but in 1780 he may also have taken residence near the fourteen weavers and tailors living on Block Three. Finally, the block still showed a healthy representation in the building trades—carpenters (5), bricklayers (2) a joiner, and a painter. Some of these men, like Robert Evans, Jesse Roe, and Christlieb Bartling, had been on the block for up to thirteen years and from this location had built their careers. With the close of war, construction on the block mushroomed.[17]

Cresson's Square, 1781-1800

As the new nation recovered from the Revolution, the city began to grow, especially on its western borders. When Philadelphia became the nation's temporary capital during the decade of the 1790s, the building boom accelerated to accommodate the government personnel, Congressmen and new businesses seeking space in the city. Insurance policies typically inform the pace and extent of real estate development, but on this section of the block, they were relatively few. The building boom can be inferred, however, by the seventeen carpenters resident on the block in 1787, all but one of who lived on "Cresson's Square" north of Cherry Street. Six of the seventeen had purchased their property -- Jesse Roe, Robert Evans, Samuel Goodman, Benjamin Thornton, Nathaniel Smith and Zachariah Lesh. These six remained for a range of years, clearly setting up shop on their property. The others may have been working for these men, or perhaps moved according to the

---

[15] Effective Supply Tax, 1780, 302-305; 1781, 658-662.

[16] Effective Supply Tax, 1780, 302 lists Lawrence with 18,800, topped only by Quarrier and Hunter (35,200) and Caleb Cresson (27,500) and Jacob Sulgar (21,300) on the block. One of the vacant lots on Arch Street was assessed high, at 36,000 for Samuel Sansom.

[17] Effective Supply Tax, 1780, 301-305; 1781, 658-662. The rise in widows and women as heads of household during the late 18th century is described as the "extension of the feminine sphere," in Ronald W. Fuchs II, "The Working Class of Federal-Era Philadelphia," Hobart G. Cawood Internship, Independence National Historical Park, August 1997. Davy, Roberts & Co. advertisements for calico in 1798 given in Harold E. Gillingham, "Calico and Linen Printing in Philadelphia," *PMHB 52* (1928), 109-110.

job underway. Besides carpenters, numerous support artisans for the building trade, as well as construction suppliers -- plasterers, bricklayers, brickmakers, joiners painters, carvers, turners, and lumber merchants - were heavily represented on the block in 1787. The spike of construction citywide to prepare Philadelphia for the federal government is suggested by the forty pages that Alexander Coxe Prime compiled of local carpenters named in city directories from 1785 to 1800.[18]

Cherry Street and Cresson's Court

The 1780 tax record indicates that Caleb Cresson had built and moved into his home on the northwest corner of Cherry Street and Hoffman's Alley. Cresson then developed several of the lots along Cherry to his west. He had risen in wealth through judicious use of his land and rentals. He stood among roughly 20 per cent of the city's population as owner of his own house.[19] In 1792, the year of his 50th birthday, Cresson replaced his title as merchant with gentleman, indicating his financial stability. By then he was landlord for nearly half the north side of Cherry Street in the middle section. In 1786 he insured five separate houses, beginning with his own residence. Reflecting his prominence as a Quaker, his home was a large 3-story brick house, but "plainly finished". It stood 35 feet front on Cherry by 36 feet deep for 20 feet and 26 feet deep for 15 feet. The surveyor noted "plain, common winding stairs" and a way out to the roof, with a flat, railed-in roof deck. Cresson had "lately painted" the house inside and out, suggesting that he had corrected years of wear. A city survey listing all the lot widths in this section shows Cresson's house lot as 58 feet in width, with an adjoining lot of 32 feet 6 inches. This neighboring lot was regulated for Samuel Emlen in 1783 as two separate lots with 15'4 and 17'6 width. Evidently two houses already stood on these lots, because the 1782 tax record listed Mary Jennings and George Garrole living there. "S. Emlen" owned the entire north section of the block on the 1743 Parsons survey. This remnant of the Emlen ownership came to Caleb Cresson, no doubt by inheritance (his mother was an Emlen), sometime after the 1783 survey. His 1786 insurance policy included three three-story brick houses adjoining his residence, two with 11' 8 fronts and the westernmost with 18 feet, together exceeding by an inch or two the lot width regulated for Emlen in 1783. Beyond these three houses, Cresson insured one more 3-story brick house measuring 16 feet on Cherry, including half of a 3-foot alley. The house extended over the alley in wood and likely connected with John Lawrence's residence, the house built c. 1757 by Joshua Cresson, as noted in its insurance policy dated 1767. This row of Caleb Cresson houses together covered over 90 feet of Cherry Alley, nearly half the street facade within the middle section of the block.[20]

Caleb Cresson's impact on the block once he took up residence can only be conjectured. He continued to be a top taxpayer on Cherry Street after the war. The 1787 tax assessment record makes it clear he served as landlord for numerous tenants living on his still extensive property. In addition, many lot owners paid him annual ground rent. On the north side of Cresson's Alley he owned a house where widow Lehman lived, and on the south side. He got rent for his five small row houses. At that date the tenants were four men -- a carver, painter, plasterer and

---

[18] Phoebe Coxe Prime, compiler, "The Alfred Coxe Prime *Directory of Craftsmen, Two Volumes*," ([Philadelphia,] 1960), 1, 71-111.
[19] Weigley, ed., *Philadelphia*, 99.
[20] Caleb Cresson, Nov. 7, 1786, CBk 2, 218; City Surveys, Div. 2T, Race-Arch, pre-1814, Unidentified, PCA; Effective Supply Tax, 1782, *PA Archives, Third Ser., XVI,* 459; Joshua Cresson, Feb. 3, 1767, CLS 1143.

sailor -- and one woman head of household. On Cherry Street his rentals included tenants such as Rowland Sanderford, coachmaker, Thomas Lloyd, clerk, and Isaac Stroud, merchant—clearly a prominent set of neighbors.[21]

The directory of 1791 numbered Caleb Cresson's residence 43 Cherry Street. His household by the census of 1790 had 6 people, two men over 16, one under, and three females. He and his wife Annabella had two sons, John Elliot and Caleb Jr., who was 25 in 1790. A record of deaths in the yellow fever epidemic that devastated Philadelphia in 1793 lists "Caleb Cresson's wife" and Joshua and Peter Cresson. The wife may have been Annabella (nee Elliot), married to Caleb, Sr., or it may have been Caleb Jr.'s. spouse. John Elliot Cresson's diary for 1795 and 1796 indicates that his mother died in 1795, rather than 1793. The diary poignantly records his lingering grief over her death and his subsequent dismay when his father courted and married Jane Evans the next year. He felt "wounded and distressed" because he found his mother's memory painfully touching and sad. John started the diary while living at his father's house, but in 1796 he married and moved to a house his father built for him. The city directory for that year indicates his address as 49 Cherry and his occupation as conveyancer. John Elliot and his wife "Molly" often visited with their Moore and Vaux cousins, besides his own immediate relatives. John often felt morose and sickly. When low he was inclined to contemplate his own death. Nonetheless, he and Molly had at least seven children before his untimely death. Caleb Cresson, Sr. provided for John Elliot's widow and children in his will of 1816.[22]

The 1810 directory continued to list Caleb Cresson, Sr at his 43 Cherry Street address. That year, for the first time, son and namesake, Caleb Cresson, Jr., is listed as a merchant at 202 Mulberry Street. Perhaps the death of John Elliot brought Caleb's only remaining heir back to Philadelphia. Caleb Sr. died in 1816, possibly still living on the block he was instrumental in developing from a sparsely to a densely settled property over a span of half a century. Caleb Cresson Jr. died five years later at only 46 years old. There is no indication he had taken any interest in the real estate investments his father had spent decades in managing.[23]

---

[21] Tax Ledger, 1787, PCA. Cresson insured this row of five tenant houses on the north end of his future house lot in 1774. CBk 2, 117.

[22] *1790 Census*, 232; Clement Biddle, *The Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia, 1791), hereinafter cited *1791 Directory; Stephen's Philadelphia Directory for 1796* (Philadelphia, 1796), 41, hereinafter cited *1796 Directory*; by 1798 he had moved to the socially more distinguished address, 51 High Street. Cornelius William Stafford, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1798* (Philadelphia, 1798), 41; Caleb Cresson, Sr., Oct. 30, 1816, "PA Wills, 1682-1834;" John Elliot did not survive his father, but his date of death is not known. Caleb's will of 1816 leaves part of his estate to John Elliot's widow and seven children. The codicil names six living children, Elliot, Warder, Annabella, Deborah, Sarah and Clement, and adds that "little John having passed away." Caleb Cresson, Sr., Oct. 30, 1815, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." Elliot Cresson (1796-1854) won acclaim as an American philanthropist, activist in the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and sat for a portrait at least three times for artist Thomas Sully. Charles Henry Hart, ed. "Thomas Sully's Register of Portraits, 1801-1871," *PMHB 332* (1908), 426.

[23] James Robinson, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1810* (Philadelphia, 1810), 72. Hereinafter cited *1810 Directory*. The birth and death dates for both Calebs are given in the index to the *PMHB*.

Caleb Cresson owned and leased several adjoining dwellings that eventually were numbered 45, 47, 49 and 51 Cherry Street. The 1787 tax shows Rowland Sanderford, coachmaker and Thomas Lloyd, clerk, were his immediate neighbors in two similarly assessed houses. Isaac Stroud, merchant also leased from Cresson. In 1791 Jane Thomas, who ran a boarding house at 45 Cherry Street, and Joseph Thomas, perhaps her son, a shoemaker, at 47 Cherry Street likely had moved into the same two dwellings, as the assessments for the dwellings again were identical. By 1790-91 Cresson had two more rental dwellings, 49 and 51 Cherry. Elizabeth Roberdeau, a gentlewoman, sister of the prominent patriot, Daniel Roberdeau, was living with one other woman at the former address. She continued in residence until 1795, a few years before her death. John Elliot Cresson, Caleb's son, served as witness to her will. Henry Brame, (Bream) painter, and David Jenkins, brush maker, with their combined household members numbering nine, lived together as Cresson tenants at 51 Cherry Street. The tax record indicates that John Clore, a cabinetmaker, and John Braither, a watchman, were among the occupants of the house.[24]

As mentioned above, Caleb Cresson built a house for his son John Elliot in 1795, which the 1796 directory listed as 49 Cherry. Whether it was the same house numbered 49 Cherry that Elizabeth Roberdeau had occupied in 1791 is not clear. Because she appears again in the 1795 tax record and John Elliot doesn't, it seems that he may have replaced her at the house that year. Numbers 45 and 47 Cherry in 1795 stood empty, but the addresses were listed in the directory. Ashley Bower, laborer, had taken the lease for 51 Cherry. In 1801 Caleb's neighbors at 45, 49 and 51 Cherry Street had changed (and there was no listing for 47 Cherry). The clerk in the United States Mint, George Ehrenzeller, lived next door to him at 45, followed by Jacob Dehart, shipmaster at 49 Cherry and Daniel Carson, driver of the mail stage at 51 Cherry. [25]

The 1795 directory identifies Cresson's Court "between Cherry and Cresson's Alley" for the first time. Caleb Cresson's will of 1816 mentions "two tenements in the court" that formed the western border of his house lot. The entrance to the court likely was on Cherry Street along the western property line. The court in 1795 was home to five artisans—Jonathan Pencoath, bricklayer, Joseph Stockton, bottler, Mason Smith, house carpenter, Benjamin Crohen, shoemaker and John Fox, millwright. The directory indicates the last two lived together, suggesting four dwellings. The tax record, however, shows only two of the men, Smith and Crohen, occupying two Caleb Cresson dwellings with matching valuations. Likely, the five men all managed to live together in the two tenements. By 1801 the court had an entirely new list of occupants. That year the number dropped to four men, two shoemakers, a tin plate worker, and a watchman. The survey of the 1811 directory

---

[24] *1790 Census*,232; Tax Ledger, 1787, ; *1791 Directory*

[25] *1790 Census*, 232; *1791 Directory* lists Cresson at 43 Cherry and the tax ledger shows that the occupant of 45, 47, 49 and 51 Cherry were his tenants. Elizabeth Roberdeau, City of Phila., spinster, Apr. 3, 1799, and Mary Keighly, March 27, 1771, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." Widow Keighly named both Elizabeth and Daniel Roberdeau as her children in her will. "PA Wills 1682-1834." General Daniel Roberdeau's wives are named in "Diary of James Allen, Esq., of Philadelphia, Counsellor-At-Law, 1770-1778," *PMHB* 9 (1885), 278-9n. The 1780 and 1781 Tax Ledgers for South Mulberry Ward list the Cresson tenements valued at only half what the Cherry St. rentals commanded. In 1791 and 1795 the tax ledgers valued the two tenements at 110 each, and Caleb Cresson's house at 400. PCA

turned up at least five listings for the court, three of them women. Mrs. Walter ran a boarding house, Elizabeth Miller titled herself simply a widow, and Mrs. Jacob laid out the dead. The occupations of the men were bookbinder and laborer. The additional residents may have reflected what the 1815 will described as the "new tenement I sometime since built" near the other two in the same court.[26]

The section of Cherry Street from Caleb Cresson's property west to the 10-foot alley was sold off as lots before and after the Revolution. John Lawrence, a porter, was an early land purchaser. His appearance on the 1774 provincial tax and the 1787 tax ledger indicates he owned both the lot and ground rent. Lawrence remained on his lot until at least 1791, when the property was numbered 53 Cherry Street. The 1795 directory listed a huckster, John Amos, at Lawrence's address, but the tax record shows that Lawrence still owned the property. Lawrence died in August 1798, perhaps from the yellow fever that summer. In 1801 Hugh Smith, house carpenter, had taken residency, but this research did not identify the property owner at that date.[27]

Three properties west of John Lawrence's were bought up by members of the Smith family during the 1780s. The 1782 tax indicates that Widow Armit held title to the first lot west of Lawrence's. Mary Armit was Samuel Emlen's sister and Caleb Cresson's aunt. She evidently inherited the lot at Samuel's death in 1783. By 1787 Armit (spelled Armatt in the tax record) had sold the property to Thomas Smith, a carpenter, retaining the ground rent.[28]

Benjamin Cathrall, a schoolteacher, lived that year on a lot further west on Cherry as a tenant of Joshua Smith. By 1791 he had purchased the lot, still paying ground rent to Mary Armit, Caleb Cresson's aunt. His house was numbered 55 Cherry Street. Cathrall remained on this 16'6 by 130-foot lot through 1801, retaining his profession as schoolmaster. As a signer of the 1783 Quaker Anti-Slavery Petition to the Continental Congress, Cathrall affirmed that his fellow worshipers had already voluntarily freed their slaves and asked the new national government to interpose "to discourage and prevent so obvious an evil." Possibly Israel Burgoe, his free black tenant on Cresson Alley at the north end of the lot had once served Cathrall in bondage. A different possibility might be that Cathrall played a role in assisting Burgoe to become free or leased to him to demonstrate his intent to assist the free black community. Burgoe remained on Cresson's Alley for two decades, and listed himself in the 1811 "Coloured Persons" directory as living "near 19 Cresson's Alley." Burgoe's presence has special import, because the recent archeology on Block Three turned up many artifacts of African American origin at or near his Cresson Street address.[29]

---

[26] Extract from the Will of Caleb Cresson Sr., July 20, 1815, Proved Oct. 30, 1816, Third Survey District, pre-1814, folder 43 G, PCA; *1795 Directory*, 84; *1801 Directory*,134; 1811 Directory; Tax Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1795, 61, PCA.

[27]

[28]

[29] Tax Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 49; 1791, 48; 1795, 61; *Directory 1795*, 69; *Directory 1801*, 77; "1783 Quaker Anti-Slavery Petition" found on line at http://www.rootsweb.com. The original as cited can be found on microfilm M247, Papers of the Continental Congress 1774-1783, roll 57, p. 337, item 43. See below section on Cresson's Alley for Israel Burgoe.

Nathaniel Smith, like Thomas Smith, a carpenter, owned and occupied the next lot to the west in 1787, his dwelling valued at 275. He remained on the 16'6 foot lot in 1791 when it received the address 57 Cherry. In 1795 Deborah Smith, gentlewoman lived there, perhaps Nathaniel's widow. John Lohra, ironmonger, moved his hardware store from 41 Cherry Street, just east of Hoffman's alley, to 57 Cherry Street by 1801. The 1811 city directory suggests Lohra's financial success. He listed himself a hardware merchant at 73 Cherry (west of Sixth Street) and 139 High Street, the latter likely his residence.[30]

Joshua Smith, a bricklayer, owned the next lot to the west by 1787 and rented it to the schoolmaster Benjamin Cathrall. By 1789 Smith had moved into the house and by 1791 bricklayer Richard Smith, perhaps his son, was at the house numbered 59 Cherry Street. Four years later it appears Joshua Smith had died, for Rebecca Smith owned the lot and Hugh Smith, a carpenter, lived there. In 1801 bricklayer Dallapham Ridgeway was at 59 Cherry, probably as a tenant.[31]

Joseph Hewling (Hewlings, Hullings, Huling, Hurlings, Husling) another bricklayer, was resident on the street as early as 1779, and his name remained on the lot in city surveys after his death. The tax ledger of 1787 listed him as owner of the property with a dwelling valued at 250. He also had built two modest dwellings, each valued at 75, on the Cresson Alley end of his lot, one occupied by Fincher Hellings, a plaisterer, and the other by Michael Clime, a bricklayer. By 1790-91 Joseph Hurlings, bricklayer, lived at 61 Cherry Street, and had two dwellings on Cresson's Alley, with only one tenant, Robert Fullerton, a painter. Joseph Hewlings died in October 1793, likely struck down by the yellow fever, and his widow continued at the house in 1795. (The directory that year misspelled her name as Ann Hastings, gentlewoman). Early in 1800 Ann Hewlings died and by 1801 Jane Chapman had opened a boarding house at 61 Cherry.[32]

Finally, in 1787 James Guest owned the last two lots east of the 10-foot alley. He had purchased the western lot from Joshua Cresson and his wife and the other lot from Caleb and his wife in 1774.[33] By 1780 he had built a dwelling where "Sarah, a Negroe woman" lived. The house appears to be a Cherry Street property (based on the house valuation and place in the listing.) By 1787 he had two dwellings on the Cresson Alley side of his lots, one of them occupied by a black man named Joseph Martin and the other by Sampson Davis, a carpenter.[34] Next door, the estate owned

---

[30] Tax Ledgers, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 49, 1789, 54, 1791, 48, 1795, 61;*1795 Directory*, 69; *1801 Directory*, 77; *1811 Directory*.

[31] Tax Ledgers, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 49, 1789, 54, 1791, 48, 1795, 61; *1795 Directory*, 69; *1801 Directory*, 77. The Effective Supply Tax in 1780 identified this lot as vacant, belonging to Caleb Cresson. *PA Archives, Third Ser., XV*, 302.

[32] Tax Ledgers, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 49, 1789, 54, 1791, 48, 1795, 61; *1795 Directory*, 70; *1801 Directory*, 77; Joseph Hewlings, City of Phila. Bricklayer, Oct. 2, 1793. W.482 and Ann Hewlings, City of Phila., Jan. 11, 1800, Y.269, "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[33] Caleb and Annabella Cresson and Joshua and Mary Cresson to James Guest, Jan. 1, 1774, DdBk D-22, 334, 336-7, microfilm, HSP.

[34] Joseph Martin had moved to the south side of Race Street towards Ninth Street by 1790, but in 1789 he may have been the "Negroe Man" listed on James Guest's property. Tax Ledgers, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 49, and 1789, 53. 1790 Census, 229. My thanks to Joseph Becton, INDE Ranger, who shared the list he compiled of African Americans in Philadelphia during the 1790s.

an unfinished house, a vacant lot and a frame building, together valued at 150. James Guest himself, listed as a tailor, lived on Cherry Street in 1789, and his tenants besides the "Negroe Man" included two carpenters, Sampson Davis and Joseph Bartholomew, who likely were busy improving the property. Guest may have sold the Cherry Street dwelling the next year, as Edward Lynch, surveyor, lived there for the census, numbered 63 Cherry Street in 1791. The tax record lists him as owner of the property. (A city survey prior to 1814, however, showed James Guest as owner of a 38'13/4 stretch of Cherry Street, suggesting he may have only mortgaged the property.) Lynch had a household of eleven people, three adult men, two boys 16 or younger, and six women. In 1795 Edward Lynch again was recorded in the tax record at this location, but when the city directory was compiled that year William Davidion, Teller of the Bank of the United States, had taken his place. In 1801 yet another occupant, merchant James Todd, lived at 63 Cherry. The address number continued to be the last before the alley, while 67 was the first after the alley, indicating that a lot for 65 remained vacant. Perhaps the side yard of 63 Cherry had been reserved as open space and that airy aspect attracted the higher-end professionals as renters.[35]

Two Cherry Street addresses, 41 and 67 Cherry Street, actually were located on the back end of Fifth and Sixth Street lots, the former east and the latter west of the north-south 10-foot alleys. Ebenezer Robinson built two 3-story brick tenements, each 13'4 by 15', on the north side of Cherry back of his dwelling and insured them July 7, 1792. He had occupied his lot at Fifth and Cherry Street for nearly thirty years (see Fifth Street below) and likely built the houses as rentals in anticipation of the ten-year residency of the federal government in Philadelphia. In 1790, two individuals shared the address, shopkeeper Jacob Ackley who apparently did not live in the house, and Abraham Ackley, cedar cooper. The tax record lists only one clerk, Frederick Miller, living in a house owned by Ebenezer Robinson. Five years later the 1795 directory listed John Lohra, ironmonger, at 41 Cherry, but before his name without an address Sarah Sims, widow, ran a boardinghouse and John Sims, painter and glazier, shared the property. The tax record clarifies the 1795 directory listing by showing that John Sims and John Lohra each occupied a dwelling and lot assessed the same and owned by Ebenezer Robinson. As Robinson built his two Cherry Street houses exactly the same size, it figures they would be taxed the same. William Robinson, carpenter, perhaps Ebenezer's son, Thomas Pickens, another carpenter, and George Vanleer, clerk, all lived under John Sim's roof. Evidently John lived with widow Sarah Sims, likely his mother (but not named in the tax), who ran a boarding house. Widow Sims and John Sims appear at 39 Cherry in the 1793 Directory, confirming the conjecture that they lived together in one of the two tenements. John also listed himself that year with Henry Sims, a cabinetmaker, on the east side of Fifth, just above St. Michael's Church. Their joint business continued at that address, eventually numbered 35 and 37 North Fifth through 1803, while their residences apparently remained on Block Three. In 1796 John Sims was listed in the directory at 54 Cherry, across the street from Sarah Sims' boardinghouse. Henry Sims was listed on Cresson's Alley in 1796, where he remained at least until 1800, when his address was 11 Cresson's. The 1801 directory didn't show Sarah Sims at 41 Cherry, but John Sims was there with the same occupation. Also listed at 41 Cherry were William Garrigues, measurer of carpenters work, and James Ralph, grocer, corner of Fifth

---

[35] Mary Armitt, City of Phila., widow, April 6, 1791, W.98; Samuel Emlen, City of Phila., Nov. 24, 1783, "PA Wills, 1683-1834;" Tax Assessment Ledgers, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, pp. 49-50, 1791, , 1795, 61, PCA; Third Survey District, Pre-1814, unidentified, PCA; *1791 Directory*, *!795 Directory*, 69, *1801 Directory*, 77.

Street. In this case, the grocery store actually seems to have been part of Robinson's house at the corner. [36]

The property numbered 67 Cherry Street west of Starr alley was not part of the Cherry and Sixth Street lot, like 41 Cherry Street was at the Fifth Street end. Carpenter Christlieb Bartling developed the property after he purchased two lots from the Cressons prior to the Revolution. One of the lots faced Cherry and connected with the back end of the second lot above Cherry on Sixth Street. According to the 1780 effective supply tax Bartling was living on his Cherry Street property and may have been building the two adjoining houses on 14-foot lots that were noted on a pre-1814 city survey. The tax of 18,300 for his property that year exceeded most of the others for the block, suggesting he already had built a house on the Sixth Street lot, which did not receive a separate tax listing. Bartling evidently prospered, for the tax assessor listed him as a board merchant in 1787. His last appearance on the tax list for this block was in 1789, and by 1791 he had opened a tavern, the Sign of the Buck, in Second above Race, where he kept the best liquors and boarded travelers. Sadly, relocation near the waterfront probably exposed his wife and daughter to yellow fever brought to the nation's capital in the summer of 1793 by French refugees fleeing a slave rebellion in today's Haiti. Although the wife and daughter escaped the city, both died, victims of the most devastating tragedy to hit Philadelphia during the decade.[37]

Jacob Hoffner, Senior, gentleman, was listed at 67 Cherry Street in the 1790 census/1791 directory. This likely was the same man who in 1767-68 operated the sign of the Sun in Race near Fourth Street. The 1791 tax ledger located him on a lot owned by Christlieb Bartling. A 1792 city survey shows the lot with two brick houses side by side. Jacob Hoffner, schoolmaster, was listed among the victims of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. In 1795, however, either he or his son and namesake, continued at the same location as schoolmaster. The tax assessment for that year gave a separate entry for "Jacob Hoffner's estate, frame school house." Hoffner continued at 67 Cherry as schoolmaster in the 1796 and 1797 directories. The following year he appeared as keeper of the Prune Street debtors' prison, where he apparently died. The 1799 directory found only a listing for Lucy Hoffner, widow, on South Third Street. His schoolhouse no doubt quickly found use in the hands of other tenants, as did 67 Cherry, which by 1801 had a gentlewoman, Catherine Riddell, living there. That year, too, the directory added a 69 Cherry Street with John Weaver, an accountant, and Francis Zenss, grocer. In 1797 the city surveyed the lot at the corner of Cherry and Sixth Streets for Francis Zenss, which indicates that his grocery and the accountant both occupied the house on the corner. Whether the

---

[36] Robinson, July 7, 1792, CBk 2, 261-62; 1790 Census, 232; *1791 Directory*, *!795 Directory*, 69;*1793 Directory*, ; *1794 Directory*, 141; *1801 Directory*, 76-77.

[37] Effective Supply Tax, 1780, 303; the only residents of higher value were Quarrier & Hunter (35,200), Caleb Cresson (27,500) and John Lawrence, porter (18,800). Bartling's adjoining Sixth Street lot appears to have been vacant, as there is no separate listing for it in the tax record. A city survey depicting the first four lots on Sixth Street north of Cherry indicates the two lots Bartling owned on Cherry with brick houses on them. Undated. Div 2T, Race-Arch, pre-1814, Unidentified, PCA. Tax Ledger, 1787, 50, and 1789, 54, PCA; J[ohn] H[arvey] Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead, The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793* (New York, 1949, 1965), xiii; "Yellow Fever Deaths in Philadelphia, 1793, 1797, 1798," pp. 79 and 83, Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, HSP. Hereinafter cited, "Yellow Fever Deaths, 1793."

second of the two houses built by Bartling ever received a street address prior to 1800 has not determined.[38]

Clearly the 1780s brought numerous men of the building trades to Cherry Street, several from the Smith family. Many if not all the residents either were intermarried or shared a common religious background as Quakers. Benjamin Cathrall, the schoolmaster, who first rented from a Smith and then purchased 55 Cherry Street from a Smith family member, likely was married to a Smith. Benjamin's will of 1805 names Sarah his wife and sister, Hannah Cathrall. Sarah Cathrall's death followed two weeks after her husband's. She named Nathan Allen Smith --perhaps her brother—as executor, while Sarah Smith and Jane and John Elliot Cresson served as witnesses to her will. Benjamin Cathrall may have been the son of Edward Cathrall, a Quaker from Burlington, New Jersey, where Samuel Emlen, Sr. was a member of Meeting. Edward Cathrall was a founding member in 1757 of the New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians. Samuel Smith drew up the original document for the Association and several other Smith family members participated in this Quaker-only effort. Benjamin Cathrall followed this example by signing a 1783 "Address from the Yearly Meeting of the People Called Quakers," a petition earnestly soliciting the Continental Congress to "discourage and prevent so obvious an Evil" as the slave trade. By 1787 Cathrall lived on Cherry Street at Joshua Smith's house, and by 1791 had purchased the lot a few doors east formerly owned by carpenter Thomas Smith. These several family associations suggest that all the neighbors' families had known each other for several generations. [39]

Joseph Hewlings, (Hellings, Hulings, Huling) long-term neighbor on Cherry Street also had interconnections with the Smith and Cathrall families. He died in October 1793, likely a victim of the yellow fever epidemic. His will, like Sarah Cathrall's, named Nathan Allen Smith as an executor. Ann Hewling, perhaps his wife or sister, named Joshua R. Smith as executor and Benjamin Cathrall as witness. Since neither Hewlings mention a Smith or Cathrall as relatives in their wills, the ties may stem from the Friends Society, rather than kinship. A William Henlings, along with Edward Cathrall and Samuel Smith, was a founder of the New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians in Burlington, New Jersey in 1757. Considering the variance in the spelling from Hewlings, Hulings or Hellings during the 18th

---

[38] 1790 Census, *1791 Directory*; *1795 Directory,* 70; South Mulberry Ward Tax Ledger, 1795, PCA; *PG* Oct. 22, 1767, Oct. 20, 1768; "Yellow Fever Deaths in Philadelphia," 118; *Stephen's Philadelphia Directory for 1796* (Philadelphia); Cornelius William Stafford, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1797; The Philadelphia Directory for 1798; The Philadelphia Directory for 1799* (Philadelphia 1797, 1798, 1799); Survey for Francis Zenss, NE Corner of 6th and Cherry, 1797, Third Survey District, Pre-1814 Unidentified, folder 43, Div. 2T, PCA.

[39] Amelia Mott Gummere, "Friends in Burlington," *PMHB 8* (1884), 10. This conjecture about the familial tie with Edward Cathrall was prompted by the recent information provided by Doug Mooney, archeologist for Kise, Straw and Kolodner, that many trade beads were evident near the lot where Benjamin lived. Phone conversation, Mooney-Toogood, Dec. 17, 2001; "1783 Quaker Anti-Slavery Petition," at http://www.rootsweb.com; Tax Ledger, 1787, 49, and 1791, 48, PCA; *1790 Census*, 232.

century, it seems likely that the Hewlings family also originated from the same Quaker Meeting across the river from Philadelphia.[40]

John Lawrence, porter, another long-term resident on Cherry Street (# 53), also had family ties on the street. When he died in August 1798 (perhaps from yellow fever that year), he named a daughter, Sophia Umbehend, possibly the daughter-in-law of the butcher, Jacob Umbehend (Umpchamp), who had lived for many years across the street on the south side of Cherry Street.[41]

Cresson's Alley

Cresson's Alley to the north of Cherry Street typically provided tenement income for the owners of Cherry and Race Street properties. Usually the owners built dwellings on the back end of their properties and leased or sold them with their lots to artisan or laboring class families. The 1790-91 census and directory compiled by Clement Biddle, and the tax assessment ledger of 1791 together provide an idea of the extent of development by that date and something of the demographics in the tenant houses along the alley.

The census lists twenty-three households, seventeen of them given an address number in the directory. Those who had no Cresson's Alley street number included one Race Street lot owner, whose address was Race Street in the directory, and five African American households. Eight even numbers ran along the south side of the alley -- 2, 6,18, 20, 26, 28, 30,and 32 -- and nine on the north - 1, 5, 9, 19, 21, 27, 29, 31 and 33.[42] Most of the residents were artisans -a tailor, two shoemakers, a carpenter, plasterer, brick maker, currier, two silversmiths, a watch maker and two blacksmiths. Near Fifth Street there was a tobacco store (Daniel Robelet's), and mid-block, a biscuit baker (Barney Shank). Ann Marshall at 26 Cresson's Alley was the sole spinster.

The tax ledger indicates who lived in Caleb Cresson's row of five small tenements at the southwest corner of Hoffman's Alley: Ann Marshall, John Balance [Barnes in census], plasterer, Mahlon Clothier, breeches maker, Charles Mase [Hayes in census], laborer, and Thomas Meyer, currier. On the north side of the alley three of the properties owned by two blacksmiths, David Reese and Valentine Hoffman, and carpenter John Logg registered no inhabitants because these men owned the entire Race Street lot to Cresson's alley, and had set up their business in the back lots. Together these Cresson Alley households by the 1790 census numbered ninety men, women and children.

In addition to these ninety, the census indicates that five households on Cresson's Alley were occupied by 25 African Americans headed by Jane Kimble, Cuff, Joseph Williams, Moses Moore and Israel Burgaw. The 1791 tax ledger places

---

[40] Joseph Hewlings, City of Phila. Bricklayer, Oct. 1, 1793, W.482; Ann Hewlings, city of Phila., Jan. 11, 1800, Y.269, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." Third Survey Dist., pre-1814, PCA.

[41] John Lawrence, City of Phila., porter, Aug. 29, 1798, X.756, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." Jacob Umbehend appears in the Provincial Tax for 1774, 1779, and 1780 and in the *1791 Directory* at 60 Cherry. He no longer is listed in 1795.

[42] At least one number, 19, for Mathew Armbristow is possibly wrong, based on the tax ledger for 1795, which identifies his landlord as Joseph Hewlings, a Cherry Street lot owner. He does not appear on the 1791 tax ledger.

Burgaw in a very modest dwelling on property owned by Benjamin Cathrall, presumably at the north end of his Cherry Street lot. The other four African American households were grouped together between addresses numbered 6 and 18. It seems likely that most lived on the north side of the alley, because in 1795 African Americans George Tapsies, waitingman, Hester Vandergrief, cook, and Isaac Timber, sweep, were specifically listed on that side, toward the western end. None of these individuals can be further identified: they are absent from the 1791 and 1795 tax ledgers, as well as the 1795 and 1801 city directories, suggesting that they had moved away or that they fell below the tax level and directory entry fee.[43]

Israel Burgaw (Bergo, Burge), however, lived on Cresson's Alley for many years. The 1795 directory lists him as a sawyer, again on the south side of Cresson's Alley. The 1801 directory appears to place Burgoe, "woodsawyer," on the north side of the street, next to 17 Cresson's Alley. (Biddle's 1791 directory established the rule that odd numbers fell on the north and east side of city streets.) The 1811 directory of "Coloured Persons" listed him a wood sawyer "near 19 Cresson's alley." The address suggests that he may have lived in a back building, rather than directly on the alley. As a wood sawyer in Philadelphia Burgoe's life was hard. Like men working in the other occupations heavily populated by African Americans (waggoner, carter, draymen, porter, and chimney-sweeps), Burgoe faced arrest and a dollar fine to be paid before the Mayor or Aldermen, anytime he refused to work when "unemployed in actual services." The city officers also set the price of wood per cord, assuring him no incentive for personal advance. While he continued in a humble occupation and home, Burgaw won distinction in the African American community as a founding member in 1794 of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church. This church, an outgrowth of the Free African Society, was the first organized and built by African Americans in this city. Its 264 founding members established an institution that would serve as a pillar of self-respect and self-help in the troubled racial climate of the late 18th and 19th century.[44]

The 1795 directory makes no attempt to number any of the listings for Cresson's Alley. It names twelve individuals along the north side of the alley, including the three African Americans mentioned above. Andrew Lex, butcher, owned the entire Race Street lot along the western ten-foot alley.[45] His dwelling on Race this year was rented out, and he evidently lived near his butcher shop on the alley end of the lot. Heading east along Cresson's Alley his neighbors were a blacksmith, laborer, French upholsterer, a doctor, shoemaker, joiner, seamstress and scrivener. It was a rising mix, as three on the list clearly fit into the middling class. By 1801 the occupants had once again changed. Israel Burge is the only recognizable African American in a list that gave no racial identification. Others on the north side of

---

[43] 1790 Census, 232; *1791 Directory*; *1795 Directory*, 83-84; *1801 Directory*, 133-34. Israel Burgue in the 1791 tax ledger lives in a house assessed at only 40, whereas Cresson's small tenements next door all received a 70 assessment. Tax Ledger, S. Mulberry Ward, 1791, p. 47, PCA.

[44] 1790 Census, 232; The *1791 Directory* published the act signed by Samuel Miles, Mayor, "For Sawing Firewood," dated Feb. 28, 1791. *1795 Directory*, 84; *1801 Directory*, 134; [Jane Aitken], *Census Directory for 1811 Containing the Names Occupations, & Residence of the Inhabitants of the City, Southwark & Northern Liberties, A Separate Division Being Allotted to Persons of Colour...* (Philadelphia, 1811), 368. Hereinafter cited *1811 Census Directory*. Douglass, *Annals of the First African Church*, 109-110.

[45] City Survey for Isaac Barnet, Mar. 27, 1792, pre-1814, folder 43, Div. 2-T, PCA.

Cresson's can be inferred by the odd-numbered address: two carvers and gilders (#5 and 7 Cresson's Alley), a gentlewoman (#9), a cabinetmaker (#11), shoemaker (#13), house carpenter (#15), sailor (#17), and, unnumbered, Burge and Sarah Smith, "tayloress."

The south side of Cresson's Alley in 1795 had a similar display of craftsmen, shopkeepers and women. In Caleb Cresson's five tenements running west from Hoffman's Alley widow Ann Marshall still was in residence (see above listings for 1790-91), but now had an occupation as a huckster, or fruit seller. Robert Carr, a brass founder, Margaret Roney, mantua maker, Charles Mease, a laborer, and Charles Hollick, shoemaker, all paid rent in this Cresson row. Robert Carr among them lived nearly a decade on Cres0son's Alley. He listed himself as a brassfounder there from 1793 to 1801.[46] Living further west, also on Caleb Cresson property, were house carpenters Lambert Smith and James Sterling, whose houses were both valued at 110, higher than the Cresson row of five. Benjamin Smith, who the directory named a sawer, likely instead, was a tailor, as given in the 1791 directory and 1795 tax ledger. Smith owned his lot, and next door to him were three tenants renting from the Joshua Smith estate, possibly Benjamin's father. West of that, Robert Fullerton, a glazier or painter, and Matthew (Mattias) Amherst (Armbuster) lived on property owned by Joseph Hewling's estate, and next door two other renters leased houses from the James Guest estate. All of these alley dwellers lived in modest dwellings assessed in the 50 to 80 range. Israel Bergo appeared next to Benjamin Smith in the 1795 directory, but was noticeably missing in the tax record that year, as was any entry for Benjamin Cathrall's property, probably because the assessor when going down Cherry noted, "dwelling and Back house," to include the Cresson Street side.[47]

By 1801 Cresson's Alley had witnessed nearly a complete turnover of residents. Nine women, three of them under one roof, lived on the alley working as as seamstress, spinners, washerwomen, hucksters or in one case, as a tayloress. Israel Burge remained the sole identifiable African American. Some of the properties now had been assigned numbers, 6 and 12 for the south side, and 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, and 17 next, on the north side. Those on the north side seemed to have more status by occupation—a minter, two carver and gilders, a gentlewoman, cabinetmaker, house carpenter and "tayloress," all suggesting a solid middle rank. John Bierbourn, the minter, likely worked at the United State Mint then located on Seventh Street below Arch, just over a block away.[48]

Hoffman's Alley

Hoffman's Alley, as officially called in the 1790 census, was named after Valentine Hoffman, who owned the adjoining Sassafras or Race Street lot. The

---

[46] The 1793 directory listed him at 12 Cresson's Alley. The 1798 Directory and 1800 Trade Directory gave the address as 13 Cresson's Alley, which would have been across the street. The directories apparently show errors in their address records.

[47] Tax Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1795, 62 and 64, PCA. Matthew Amherst showed up in the census as Matthew Ambristow, shoemaker and in the 1791 Directory as Mattias Ambruster, cordwainer, at 19 Cresson's Alley, or on the north side of the street. This is one of several cases where the numbering seems to be in error, as the tax record locates him on the south side by the lot owner where he rented.

[48] Weigley, ed, *Philadelphia*, 240, locates the Mint at Seventh and Filbert streets.

census listed eleven heads of household on the alley, one of whom, Joseph Lewey, was African American. Seven free black people beside himself lived with Lewey. Nothing more is known about Lewey or his several other residents, nor about where on Hoffman's Alley he lived. Nine of the eleven listed in the census showed up in the 1791 directory with Hoffman's Alley addresses numbered l, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. Lewey fell between numbers 1 and 3, suggesting he lived at the back end of the Fifth and Race lot. Laborers, the lowest class of workers, occupied most of the houses. Their families/friends, in one case numbering as many as nine other people, crowded into the small dwellings. A shoemaker, wheelwright, saddler, and tobacconist also lived on the alley. Daniel Reblett, tobacconist, at 6 Hoffman's Alley, had an another listing as Daniel Roblet, tobacconist, at 2 Cresson's Alley in the 1791 city directory. The two combined numbers indicate he occupied a house near the southwest corner of the two alleys. None of the eleven named individuals on Hoffman's Alley, however, showed up in the 1791 tax ledger, a fact that is both confusing and unclear in its meaning. [49]

By 1795, after more than twenty years on Fifth Street, Jesse Roe, carpenter, had moved to the back or west end of his lot that fronted on Hoffman's Alley. Roe simultaneously rented his Fifth Street house to Doctor Benjamin S. Barton, perhaps to recoup financial loss through rental income. The 1795 tax described his new situation as a dwelling and "frame shop opposite." In 1787 Roe had purchased another lot across Hoffman's Alley next to Caleb Cresson's home lot, where he evidently ran his carpentry shop until 1805, the last year he was listed in the directories.[50]

John Heiss lived next door to Jesse Roe on Hoffman's Alley in 1795, on the back end of Reading Howell's Fifth Street lot. In 1794 Howell had insured a substantial new building on Hoffman's Alley that measured 16 by 17-foot and stood five and a half stories high, with two cellars deep. That building also had two back buildings, a 3-story 18 by 10 ½' and another 2-story that measured 15 by 10 feet. Considering the size of this building, Heiss' occupancy may have been the first of several tenants planned for the space.[51]

Nine other Hoffman Alley listings are given in the 1795 directory, at one of which three laborers lived together. The 1795 directory names no African Americans on Hoffman's Alley, but the noticeable demographic change is the addition of seven women, titling themselves huckster, schoolmistress, seamstress, widow, and in two cases, omitting any title. The tax ledger lists "Widow Kiggins" –the directory's "Hannah Keegan, schoolmistress,"— in a dwelling owned by Robert Evans, the carpenter who purchased and developed a large lot on Fifth Street at Cresson's Alley. Hannah Keegan likely lost her husband, moved to a small affordable house on Hoffman's Alley, and supported herself as a teacher, perhaps in Jacob Hoffner's schoolhouse on Cherry Street.

A printer, Samuel Cremmings (Cumings in the 1795 tax ledger) lived in a modest dwelling on Robert Evans' ground facing Hoffman's Alley. The directory also listed Charles Guyer, a shoemaker and John Siscar, stage driver, but these two did

---

[49] *1790 Census*, 234;

[50] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Jesse Roe, May 1, 1772, Dd Bk EF26, 553; Caleb and Arrabella Cresson to Roe, Feb. 9, 1787, Dd Bk D18, 377, microfilm, HSP; Tax Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1795, p. 60, PCA.

[51] 1795 Tax Ledger, p. 60, PCA; Reading Howell, Jan. 6, 1794, CBk 2, 286.

not appear in the tax ledger. Most interestingly, Hoffman's Alley was home in 1795 to a pump-maker, Isaac Dixy, a fact that might explain recent archeological evidence of 18th century pumps and pump parts in this vicinity on Block Three. Dixy was one of only three individuals with a street number, 8 Hoffman's Alley, an address on the west side of the alley. Unfortunately, the tax record that year does not corroborate Dixy's presence on the block, which may suggest his temporary occupancy.[52]

The rapid turnover on Hoffman's Alley is emphatically illustrated by the 1801 directory, which yields only two of the occupants' names from the 1795 directory listings. Jesse Roe, house carpenter and Apolomo Hickner (Apollono Hiltner), huckster, are the two, and all the rest of the individuals replaced the former residents. Several of the artisans now catered to a more educated or middle income audience. They offered skills as cabinetmaker, mantua maker, picture frame maker, bookbinder and coachmaker. The bookbinder, John Craft, may have been on the back end of Ebenezer Robinson's Fifth Street lot, if the 1800 Trade Directory's listing for Duncan Robinson, printer, at 19 Hoffman's Alley reflected the same printing business. Another house carpenter, Nicholas Weirick, may have worked with Jesse Roe, or Robert Evans at Cresson's Alley. Only two laborers in 1801 recalled the alley's character in 1790. Sarah Dexter, listed as a washerwoman, likely was the widow or daughter of James Dexter, African American coachman and community leader, who had lived for most of the decade (1790-1798) on Ebenezer Robinson's property at 84 N. 5th Street. Sarah's dwelling apparently faced the alley, at the back end of that Fifth Street lot.[53]

By 1811 Hoffman's Alley supported three women, one a widow and two teachers. There were still two carpenters living on the alley, although Jesse Roe no longer was among them. Not a single name gleaned from the 1811 directory matched the directory listing from a decade earlier. The rotation of residents continued.[54]

Starr Alley

Starr Alley, like Hoffman's, most often was simply labeled a ten-foot alley in the deeds and surveys. On its west side Starr Alley was bordered by the back end of the Sixth Street lots. A sale advertisement as early as 1778 showed that on two Sixth Street lots at the corner of Race, the only buildings faced onto "an alley ten feet wide." Philip Hall described them as tenements, both two-stories high, with good cellars, the southern one of frame construction. The 1795 directory is the first to name and include Star alley (research did not identify anyone of that name owning property on the block). The 1795 directory simply gave its location as between Cherry and Race Streets, while the 1801 directory located the alley "from Cherry Street between 63 & 67." Although set out by the Cresson brothers when they began developing their property in the 1760s, Starr Alley had no separate entry in the 1790 census or first directories.

---

[52] *1795 Directory*, 60-61; 1795 Tax Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, PCA; Toogood and Mooney phone conversation, Dec. 2001.

[53] *1795 Directory*, 52; *1800 Trade Directory*, 19; *1801 Directory*, 133; James and Sarah Dexter were listed among the founding members of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church in 1794. Douglass, *Annals*, 110. A check in city directories for 1796-1800 revealed that James Dexter's last year of residency at 84 N. Fifth Street was 1798. See section on 5th Street below for more information on James Dexter.

[54] 1811 Directory, 133.

The 1795 directory listed eight entries on the alley, Isaiah Evans, a plaisterer, Adam Boyer, tinman, Mary Wynemore, washer, Jacob Grace, laborer, Catherine Chrise, knitter, Albright Fogel, stocking weaver, and two shoemakers, Jacob Crager and Jacob Book. Two of these names are recognizable. Isaiah Evans owned the second Sixth Street lot south of Sassafras Street, but evidently lived on the alley end of it. Adam Byard, tinman, lived in a frame house on property owned by William Martins. Martin's name did not appear in the deed research to identify which lot he had purchased along Starr Alley, but the tax assessor suggests the answer. An earlier entry next to Widow Abington indicates that William Martins also owned and leased out a house on Sixth Street numbered 87 in the directory, or the second lot on Sixth above Cresson's Alley. The frame house, then, likely stood on the alley end of the lot.[55]

In 1801 only four people were entered in the directory for Starr Alley, three men and a woman, a huckster, or fruit seller. As no number addresses are given, it is difficult to be sure where on the alley these properties stood. Matthew Walker ran a soap boiler and tallow chandler shop, a business notorious for its repugnant odors. In 1795 Walker had listed himself at 73 North 6th Street, the second lot above Cherry Street, and evidently in the intervening six years had opened the soap and candle shop at the Starr Alley end of the lot. Robert Sharp, tin plate worker, apparently kept the business that tinman Adam Boyer ran in 1795. Stephen McGill, the third man, made a living as a blacksmith. In 1811 the directory assigned numbers to some of the buildings on the alley. A rapid check of that alphabetized listing found five addresses -- 2, 4, 6, 16 and 20 -- all situated on the west side of the alley, where a tailor, hatter, laborer, widow, and shoemaker resided.[56]

Fifth Street

Fifth Street between Cherry Street and Cresson Alley supported several stable, middle class families or their tenants through the quarter century following the Revolution. Ebenezer Robinson, brushmaker, was one of the earliest residents on the street. In 1766 he purchased a large lot (20 by 80 feet) at the corner of Cherry Alley from the Cresson brothers and by the spring of 1768 his sizeable one-story house (18'6 by 44') with a broken pitch roof was ready to be insured. Robinson was resident for the census of 1790 when he lived with two women, presumably his wife and a daughter. The 1791 directory numbered his house 82 N. 5th Street.[57]

Robinson left evidence that he was a committed Quaker, civic-minded and enterprising. In 1783 he signed the Quaker Petition to Congress that implored the legislators to "so obvious an evil" as the "iniquitous trade for slaves to the African Coasts." Robinson joined other Friends attending the Yearly Meeting from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia who signed this petition against the slave trade. In 1786 Robinson showed his concern for the public health when he advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* that he was drilling a well and figured a method to extinguish the "very dangerous" damps, or sulphurous fumes that delayed the completion of wells. He offered to prepare a

---

[55] Tax Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1795, 84, PCA; *1795 Directory*, 85; *1801 Directory*, 134; Third Survey District, pre-1814, folder 43, PCA.
[56] *PG* Oct. 24, 1778; *1795 Directory*, 85; *1801 Directory*, 134; *1811 Directory*.
[57] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Robinson, Feb. 19, 1766, Dd Bk I-3, 482; May 2, 1768, CBk 2, 1; Census 1790, 223; *1791 Directory*.

machine for public use for other city wells, to be transported from his Fifth Street house by wheelbarrow. Like others on the block, he invested in real estate and built tenant houses for income. In 1791 he insured a "very plain," two-story house, measuring 20 by 15 feet with a one-story kitchen, 10' by on Fifth Street "two doors above Cherry" or next door to him. Robinson had purchased the lot from the Cresson brothers in 1772 and at some point had built this house, eventually numbered 84 N. Fifth Street. By 1790 a free black named James Dexter lived in the house, perhaps a sign of Robinson's commitment to gaining a better future for local African Americans. The following year Robinson took out a policy on two three-story houses (each 13' by 15') with kitchens behind his house, facing Cherry Street. These together were numbered 41 Cherry Street in the directory.[58]

Robinson listed himself as a brushmaker in each year's directory through 1798, except in 1796, when his title as gentleman suggested his success, and perhaps retirement from managing the business. He had developed his lot profitably, as the insurance and tax record indicate. In 1795 Christian Clementz ran a grocery in the house where he lived, while his two three-story rental houses on Cherry rented to several businesses, one a printing establishment on Hoffman's Alley. At his death in 1810 he was living in Bristol Borough outside Philadelphia, but still owned the Fifth Street property, which he left to his widow. At that juncture the property was defined as the "tenement and lot on the northwest corner of Fifth and Cherry Street." Whether the Duncan Robinson who ran the printing business in 1800 was his son, or whether the James Robinson who published the directories in the early 19th century was his relation has not been determined in this research.[59]

African-American James Dexter, coachman, occupied Robinson's "very plain" two-story tenement next door at 84 N. Fifth Street.[60] Dexter lived there with seven other free Africans in 1790, according to the federal census.[61]. In 1794 Dexter was a founding member of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church, along with Sarah and

---

[58] "1783 Quaker Anti-Slavery Petition," an online transcription of at http://www.rootsweb.com. *PG* Aug. 2, 1786; Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Ebenezer Robinson, brushmaker, Jan. 1, 1770, Philadelphia Deed Book GWR 6, 275; Robinson policies of Nov. 1, 1791, Aug. 7, 1792, CBk 2, 253, 261-2.

[59] Robinson, May 2, 1768, CBk 2, 1; *Heads of Families 1790*, 223; *1795 Directory*, 51; Tax ledger, 1795, South Mulberry Ward, p. 60, PCA. The printing business likely was in the westernmost Cherry Street house which ran along Hoffman's Alley. The Cherry Street houses were insured July 7, 1792. CBk 2, 261-2. Ebenezer Robinson, June 5, 1810, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." The will names Mary his wife and two daughters, but no sons. Robinson's purchase and development of his large corner lot extended over a 30-year period, and yet little information turned up on his long life.

[60] Dexter is listed as a coachman at 84 N. 5th in the city directories from 1794 to 1798. James Hardie, *The Philadelphia Directory and Register*, (Philadelphia, 1794), 39; Hogan, *Prospect*. 52; Stephen's *Directory for 1796*, 48; Stafford, *Directory for 1797*, 57; Stafford, *Directory for 1798*, 46; James Robinson, *Philadelphia Register and City Directory* (Philadelphia, 1799). Dexter began his life as a slave called Oronoko, owned by Henry Dexter. He gained his freedom in 1767, assisted by prominent members of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. See Appendix E and F on Dexter's life. In 2003 the National Constitution Center provided the funds to complete an archeological investigation of his house lot. Kise, Straw and Kolodner is currently working on the laboratory portion of this project.

[61] *Heads of Families 1790*, 223.

Diligent Dexter, presumably his family members.[62] Dexter in fact had been instrumental in the church's founding. The very first organizational meeting was held at his home on December 12, 1792, when he served with Absalom Jones and four others as elders. Dexter was active on the building committee for the church, and in 1796 accepted a position on the vestry. Clearly he was among the elite of his community in a time when racial relations in Philadelphia were beginning to disintegrate.[63]

By 1799 James Dexter no longer occupied this property. Considering the fifty pounds annually bequeathed to him in 1795 by the will of John Pemberton, it seems likely that Dexter finally had the means to go into business for himself. He, then, may be the James Dexter, fruiterer, listed in the 1799 *Directory* and the *New Trade Directory for Philadelphia 1800* at 34 North Fifth Street, half a block to the south. James Dexter is no longer listed in city directories after 1800. No death notice has been found for him. In 1801 Sarah Dexter is listed as a washerwoman on Hoffman's Alley, suggesting that she may have been living with him and at his death returned to the old neighborhood. In 1801 Widow Elizabeth Helm occupied 84 N. 5th Street. She perhaps was the mother or wife of Peter Helm, a German cooper and one of the heroic volunteer managers of the public hospital at Bush Hill during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793.[64]

The third lot above Cherry Street, 86 North Fifth, was originally purchased from the Cressons in 1772 by house carpenter Jesse Roe. In 1774 he insured a new two-story house on Fifth Street where he still was in residence in 1790-91, but by 1795 he had moved to the west end of his lot, on Hoffman's Alley.[65] That year his former home on Fifth Street was leased to Benjamin Smith Barton, MD, (1766-1818) professor of natural history and botany at the University of Pennsylvania at Arch and Fourth Streets, a block to the southeast. Barton won acclaim as a naturalist through his teaching and several publications. While living on Fifth Street he published *Memoir concerning the Fascinating Faculty which has been ascribed to the Rattle-Snake, and other American Serpents* (February, 1796). He may also have already begun work on his *Elements of Botany* published early in 1800, said to be the first textbook on the subject in the Western World. Barton's writings were translated into several foreign languages and won him the title, "Father of American Materia Medica." By 1798 Barton had moved a block south, to 44 N. Fifth Street, where, at his friend President Thomas Jefferson's request, he tutored Merriweather Lewis on how to collect botanical specimens for the planned expedition across the continent

---

[62] Douglass, *Annals*, 107, 108, 109. This research did not establish what relationship Sarah and Diligent Dexter had to James Dexter. The 1787 testimony on his life, (see Appendix E), stated that he had married, but his wife had died. Perhaps these women, then, were his daughters.

[63] Douglass, *Annals,* 48 & 49; Nash, *Forging Freedom,* chapters 5 and 6, "A City of Refuge" and "Establishing a Color Line," discusses the complex and disintegrating race relations in Philadelphia.

[64] Stafford, *Philadelphia Directory for 1801;* Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead*, 153-4. tells the story of Stephen Girard and Peter Helm as managers at Bush Hill hospital.

[65] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to Jesse Roe, May 1, 1772, Dd Bk EF 26, 553 and 556, and Caleb and Annabella Cresson to Roe, Feb. 9, 1787, Dd Bk D18, 377, on microfilm, HSP; Jesse Roe, March 1, 1774, CBk 2, 108. See Hoffman's Alley section above for Roe's residence there.

launched in 1803 with William Clark. At his death in 1815, Barton ranked among Philadelphia's best known citizens.[66]

By 1801 Mary Reinholdt, gentlewoman, resided at 86 North Fifth Street, while Roe still lived on the Hoffman's Alley end of the lot. Widow Reinholdt still was in residence in 1810. If there were other tenants after that, they have not been identified here, but Jesse Roe at his death in 1814 was still recognized as a house carpenter from Philadelphia. Two daughters survived him, but whether he left the property to his heirs has yet to be determined.[67]

Reading Howell, prominent Philadelphia mapmaker and surveyor, moved to the next lot to the north, 88 N. 5th Street, as early as 1787. This was the companion lot originally purchased by John Harrison, another house carpenter, who likely partnered with Jesse Roe to build two adjoining two-story new houses exactly alike, both of which were insured on the same day, March 1, 1774. By 1794 Reading Howell had purchased the property and had the means to improve it. He added a third story to the house and at the same time insured a substantial new building "adjacent to the westward," or along Hoffman's Alley, that measured 16 by 17-foot and stood 5 ½-stories high, with two cellars deep. That building also had two back buildings, a 3-story 18 by 10 ½' and another 2-story that measured 15 by 10 feet. Such a large investment evidently served his mapmaking business, as well as his rentals.[68]

Reading Howell was son of John Howell, of Germantown Township. His wife, Mary Buzby, was daughter of Abraham Buzby, one of the first property owners on this block along Fifth Street below Cherry Street. Possibly this familial association prompted Howell to settle down and run his mapmaking enterprise from 88 N. 5th Street.[69] Before he moved to town, he lived in Chester County. During that time he spent several years surveying and exploring in Pennsylvania with Timothy Matlack

---

[66] Edgar Fahs Smith, "Early Science in Philadelphia," *PMHB 51* (1927), 17; Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "Benjamin Smith Barton, M.D." offprint from *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, XXVI* (April 1971), 197. Bell here writes a provocative article on Barton's character and medical degree. Notes on Barton's parentage are found in a footnote of Benjamin Smith Barton, "Historical Notes," *PMHB 9* (1885), 334. City Directories for 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801 and 1803 all listed Barton at 44 N. 5th St. Frank Muhly, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition's Ties to Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Heritage* (Summer, 2001), 15-17. Muhly notes that Barton also loaned Lewis his copy of Le Page Du Pratz' *The History of Louisiana,* which Lewis returned with an enclosed note of thanks. This book is now at the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[67] *1801 Directory*, 133; Robinson, *Directory* 1810; Mary Reinholdt may have been the widow of George Reinholdt, bookseller, who until his death in 1793 ran his shop on the Mall's Block Two, at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets, "two doors above Fifth." *PG* March 1, 1786; Jan. 1, 1794. Jesse Roe, Mar. 7, 1814, "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[68] John Harrison's insurance measured the house at 15 by 19'6, the exact dimensions of Howell's 3-story house in the Jan. 6, 1794 insurance. CBk 2, 107 and 286. Howell in 1787 rented from Peter LeMaigre, and in 1789 John Dundas, clerk, lived there. Tax Ledger, S. Mulberry Ward, 1787, 48, and 1789, 52.

[69] John Howell, Germantown Township, City of Philadelphia, August 8, 1808, 2.351; Abraham Buzby, Oxford Twp., Phila. Co. Yeoman, Nov. 13, 1813, 5.116, "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

and William Dean and buying up land in Chester, Luzerne and Northumberland Counties.

In the spring of 1790 Howell was commissioned by the state to explore the headwaters around the Delaware, East Branch of the Susquehanna, Lehigh, and Schuylkill Rivers. He also got advance funds to continue with his project (which he had been working on for at least two years) to complete a map of Pennsylvania. In August 1789 he advertised his intent to publish the map and called for private subscriptions to support the effort. At that date, before numbers had been assigned as address guides, he notified the public he was living in Fifth Street above Arch. The year before the map's debut, Howell offered a small map of Pennsylvania for sale. When published in 1792, the full-sized rendition (59 by 31 inches) provided the first map of Pennsylvania after the Revolution and introduced several cartographic features for the first time. President Washington wasted no time buying the large format version, for which he paid 7 pounds 88. Even so, the sale of his map evidently had some difficulties. In 1793 he published a long article in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* explaining that any errors would be corrected, but that the map had taken "the constant labour of six years" during which time he spared "neither money nor labour" on the project. He explained further that he had worked from "detached surveys from all over the state," which accounted for some errors. He encouraged the public to bring all corrections to him at 88 North Fifth Street so that he could enter them on the next edition. Evidently undaunted, Howell produced a map of New Jersey for sale the following year.[70]

Howell and his long-time neighbor, Robert Evans, were appointed to the odious task of local sanitation after the devastating yellow fever epidemic in the summer of 1798. They were directed "to apply for and search out all infected houses, bedding, clothing, &c." in their ward (South Mulberry) and to take what measures were necessary to purify the infected households. Howell continued at 88 N. 5th Street to 1801, but perhaps due to problems or success with his business, he moved to N. Third Street in 1802 and in 1811 lived on Spruce Street. Whether he sold or rented his Fifth Street property was not covered by this research. According to one record, he died in 1827 married to Catherine Y., having had eight children.[71]

By the close of the Revolution the long-term resident carpenter Robert Evans had already built up his large lot at the corner of Cresson's Alley. The 1780 tax divided Roberts Evans' 32 by 80-foot Fifth Street property into eight separate entries. He as carpenter was one, and the others included two widows, a joiner, blacksmith, schoolmaster and the "negroe," Nock. The tax assessment record helps to visualize how Evans improved his property. In 1787 he rented to three tradesmen--a silversmith, limner and carpenter--and a single woman, in three

---

[70] Hazel Shields Garrison, "Cartography of Pennsylvania Before 1800," *PMHB 59* (1935), 281, 283; Washington purchased the Howell map in November 1792. Stephen Decatur, Jr., *Private Affairs of George Washington From the Records and Accounts of Tobias Lear, Esquire, his Secretary* (Boston, 1933), 300; *PG* Aug. 1, 1781, Nov. 20, 1782, Aug. 1, 1789 (gives map dimensions and description), July 13, 1791, Jan. 9, 1793.

[71] *PG* Jan. 9, 1799, lists a total of 17 men appointed from South Mulberry Ward. Howell and Evans probably just covered their block. *1811 Directory*, 170; a quick check of post-1801 directories listed Howell as R. Howell, surveyor, not mapmaker, possibly because during that time he was the Philadelphia County surveyor. "Notes and Queries," *PMHB 16* (1897), 382-3.

houses valued only at 50. His dwelling and shop, in comparison, were valued at 300. He also rented to three other middle class men, John Dundas and Charles Lyon, both clerks, and Nicholas Shultz, a musician, each living in a house valued at 300. The city directories indicate that the latter homes lined his lot along Fifth Street, while the smaller units were located somewhere on the back or west end of the lot. The 1791 directory, the first to establish a permanent numbering system for the city, identified his four Fifth Street houses as 90 to 96 N. Fifth Street. By that date Evans had secured even better tenants, a merchant, Cadwallader Evans (no doubt a relative) and two gentlemen, Robert Taggert and Samuel Hudson, heir to real estate on Block Two. Evans' success as a house carpenter gained him by 1801 the where withal to trade as a lumber merchant from the same property.[72]

Robert Evans' household in 1790 included three other men besides himself, two boys under 16 and four women and girls. With ten mouths to feed, Evans needed to be enterprising and his long career as a house carpenter proved him a success. His likely constructed all the buildings on his lot, but seemingly never insured them. His tenants increasingly reflected his own prosperity. In 1790 and 1795 merchant Cadwalader Evans and gentlemen Robert Taggart and Samuel Hudson were examples. Cadwalader Evans, likely a cousin, may have been boarding on Fifth while serving as a member of the Pennsylvania legislature representing the Welsh settlement of Gwynedd, Montgomery County, from 1790 to 1800. In 1792 the legislature appointed Cadwalader Evans as one of several Philadelphia commissioners for the Philadelphia to Lancaster "Artificial Road," the first extensive turnpike completed in the United States. The breadth of Cadwalader Evans' knowledge and acquaintance while he lived on Fifth Street may be suggested by his initiative begun after the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 to collect annual weather data to try to understand the cause of the outbreak. He continued this careful record over seventeen years and his findings recently were published from the collections of the American Philosophical Society. In 1800 Evans was unanimously chosen Speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. His connections with the state government must have added to Robert Evans' comforts during these years. [73]

By 1801 the Evans properties showed a complete turnover in tenants. Robert Taggert had died in November 1798, perhaps a casualty of the virulent yellow fever epidemic that summer and early fall.[74] There were still two gentlefolk, John Buvet and Hannah Tulley, in 90 and 92 N. 5th, and a shopkeeper, Catherine Parker, in 96 N. 5th. Although Evans remained at 94 N. 5th for over a quarter century, little of substance is known about him or his property. At his death in 1808, he listed himself a lumber merchant, a logical business to cap his career. His will named Martha Ann

---

[72] Tax Ledger, 1787, p. 47, 1789, p. 52, PCA; *Directory 1791;* see Toogood, HRS for Block Two, about the original Samuel Hudson and his family.

[73] *PG* Aug. 13, 1800; Greville Bathe and Dorothy Bathe, *Oliver Evans A Chronicle of Early American Engineering* (Philadelphia, 1935), 97;Howard M. Jenkins, "The Welsh Settlement of Gwynedd," *PMHB 8* (1884), 182-3. Cadwalader Evans' offered wet goods and spices for sale at his store on the south side of Market Street, second door below Fifth, in the *PG* Jan 8, 1789. For Evans' study of weather pattern as it pertained to yellow fever is discussed in, Susan E. Klepp, "Appendix I: `How Many Precious Souls are Fled'?: The Magnitude of the 1793 Yellow Fever Epidemic," in J. Worth Estes and Billy G. Smith, editors, *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic* (1997), 177-179.

[74] Robert Taggert, City of Phila. Merchant, Nov. 10, 1798, Y.21, "PA Wills 1682-1834;" Scharf and Wescott, *History of Philadelphia, I*, 495.

and Sarah Evans, child and widow of his recently deceased son, Robert, and John Evans, another son, and John's daughter, Mary.[75]

The section of Fifth Street from Cressons Alley to Race Street was numbered 98 to 108 North Fifth Street in 1801. All the lots had a depth of 80 feet to the ten-foot alley created by the Cresson brothers. This section developed quite differently from the former group between Cherry and Cresson's Alley, with few individuals of note and little record of the physical setting, except through advertisements. In 1781, for instance, a 28-foot lot near Race Street had "four frame tenements, two stories high, with good garrets and cellars to each." Considering the breadth of the lot, these four wooden houses likely stood two on Fifth and two on Hoffman's Alley. [76]

In 1790-91 the census and directory showed only four addresses, 98, 100, 102, 108 N. Fifth Street. Two or more may have been the wooden tenements. The gap in the address sequence indicates that two lots in this section had not yet been developed. A barber, Jacob Seyfried, lived at 98 N. 5th, replaced in 1795 by a shoemaker, J. Christian Rittenhouse. Henry Nail (Nagel, Neil, Nagel, Nall), at 100 N. 5th moved onto his property during the Revolution. In 1784 Nagel purchased the adjoining lot to the south from Adam Eckhart who had bought it in 1765 from the Cressons. Henry Nagel died in 1796, leaving a widow, Christina, and five nephews and nieces in his estate. By 1801 Widow Nail had moved to 98 N 5th and had taken in boarders, Peter Deal, a laborer, and Daniel Vandershee, a hairdresser. John Dennis, another shoemaker, lived at 102 N. 5th Street throughout the decade.

Henry Meyer (Myer, Meyers), innkeeper, purchased the large corner lot (56 by 80 feet), and ran his establishment at 108 N. 5th for most of the decade. Meyer's property was regularly the tax assessor's first stop on the annual tour of the block as early as 1779. (Perhaps when the inn opened some grog helped the collector to make his rounds.) Very likely Meyer purchased the lot that year, after William Tod advertised it for sale. Tod first described the property as "A large lot of ground situated at the corner of Fifth and Race streets, with five good dwelling houses thereon; the lot has three fronts, a great part of which is vacant; it is well adapted for a tavern, or any kind of public business." Having failed to sell it, Tod again offered the lot at public sale in September 1779, when he noted that he planned to sell the property as three separate lots. The whole contained 56 feet on Fifth Street and 80 on Race, and had "five well finished tenements." Tod some years earlier had advertised the same property for sale with only a two-story brick dwelling, so he evidently oversaw the lot's further development. [77]

Henry Meyer likely won the bid at the public sale in 1779. That year he was identified as a carpenter in the tax record, which suggests he may have made further improvements on the property after buying it. During the Revolution Meyer himself did not show up on the tax record for this block, but an African American, John Brown, lived on the property in 1780-81, possibly watching over the investment and improving it (he received a personal tax, presumably on his trade). In 1781 Brown

---

[75] His address from 1791 to 1801 was 94 N. 5th St. Robert Jr was listed in 1801 as a hatter living with his father on Fifth Street. Robert Evans, City of Phila., Lumber Merchant, July 5, 1808, 2.515, "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[76] *PG* Feb. 21, 1781. There was no owner or name attached to this public sale.

[77] *PG* Oct. 8, 1778, Sept. 1, 1779. Ten years earlier Tod, as one of the assignees of the estate of Jacob Kaisor, tailor, advertised the same lot for sale, when it had only one brick two-story house on it. *PG* Mar. 16, 1769.

shared Meyer's property with five other people, four men and a woman, and the next year Brown was gone but six people still lived on Meyer's lot, including the same woman, Catherine Soust. These may have been tenants in the "five good dwelling houses" Tod had described on the lot. By 1787 Meyer had definitely established his inn, built stables and another house facing the ten-foot alley. His name continued in the directories through 1802 as innkeeper at 108 N. Fifth Street. That year it appears that he had retired as a "gentleman," living on North Third Street, while his son of the same name ran the inn. Henry Jr. first appeared at this address in 1793 as a hatter and continued to live at the address through 1797, exposing him to the operational needs of the inn. The family continued to hold the lot for many more years, for Henry Meyer appeared as owner in an 1829 survey of the adjoining lot to the south for Andrew Cash.[78]

Sassafras or Race Street

By 1775 Race Street had become "almost as frequented as any in town," partly due to a flurry of recent building on this block.[79] The lots along Sassafras Street between the two ten-foot alleys that ran north-south 80 feet from Fifth and Sixth Streets were sizeable. They all measured 130 feet in depth, or the distance south to Cresson Alley and had varying widths along Race, but averaged twenty feet. By the close of the century nearly every lot had been subdivided along its length, and either sold or leased as separate properties. While the record of sales and leases have not been fully researched, the tax ledgers, correlated with city directories, insurance policies, city surveys and newspaper references help to indicate the process of land development on the Race Street lots.

Sassafras Street underwent several ownership or occupancy turnovers during the 1790s. When the first city-sanctioned street numbers were given in 1791, the addresses for Race on this block ran from 164 to 190. Both these extreme numbers, however, were not included in the street-by-street directory of 1795, indicating that the structures at the back ends of the Fifth and Sixth Street corner lots did not always have a separate business address. The 1790 census and 1791 directory, for instance, listed Joseph Deimer's flour factory at 164 Sassafras. Deimer's place in the census record for Sassafras Street came before Valentine Hoffman's property that stood on the west side of the 10-foot alley. Apparently the factory was located in a

---

[78] Effective Supply Tax, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, Mulberry Ward, west part, *PA Archives, 3rd Ser., XIV*, 554, *XV*, 301, 638, *XVI*, 458; Tax Assessor's Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 44, PCA; 1790 Census, 223; *1791 Directory*; *1795 Directory*, 52, only lists one number, 102, for John Dennis and places Henry Meyer, innkeeper, across Race St., but this location does not line up with the tax record for 1795, which typically lists Henry Meyer, innkeeper, as the first entry on the block. Survey, "Henry Meyer & Val Hoffman lots April 21st, 1785," Pre-1814 Unidentified, folder 43, and Survey June 27, 1829, 1814-1855, Third Survey Dist., Race-Arch, 5-6, PCA; Eckhart to Nagel, June 14, 1784, DdBk IC-17, 622, microfilm, HSP; *1793 Directory*, 34, *1794 Directory*, 111; *1797 Directory*, 127; *1798 Directory*, 99 only lists Henry Meyers, Jr., hatter, at 133 N. 3rd St., the same address as 1802, when Myer as gentleman occupied that property. Maybe the son retired and the father is the one in 1802 at Fifth and Race; *1801 Directory*, 56. The 1801 Directory also lists Meyer as tavernkeeper, on Race St. the first address above Fifth St. Henry Nagel, City of Phila. Cordwainer, June 2, 1796, X.457, "PA Wills, 1682-1834.

[79] PG Feb. 15, 1775.

building at the back end of Henry Meyer's corner lot. The assessment tax for that year and surrounding years, however, made no mention of Deimer, nor did he list himself in either of the 1785 city directories. Joseph Deamer [sic] does appear once more, in the 1793 directory, which located his grain and flour store at the corner of Fifth and Sassafras Streets. Henry Meyer in 1791 is taxed for a dwelling, stable and frame building. Perhaps the latter structure temporarily housed the factory/store, but there is no further mention of the business or building. By 1795 Meyers evidently had taken the entire property for the inn's use (the directory lists no 164 Sassafras and lists Meyer as the first entry above Fifth on Race), but by 1801 the address reappears as an engraving shop run by Frances Shallus.[80]

Valentine Hoffman ran a blacksmith shop on the first property west of the ten-foot alley. The alley eventually was named for him, Hoffman's Alley. Hoffman owned the 19-foot lot numbered 166 Sassafras Street from the Revolution through 1801. Hoffman never took out insurance on his improvements, possibly because the house was too close to his shop, making the danger from fire too high for a policy. His property by 1795 included "dwelling and back houses" which suggests he had also built on the Cresson's Alley end of his lot. Hoffman likely lived out his life on this property, as he still listed himself as blacksmith there in the 1811 Directory. At his death in 1812, he left his estate to wife Susanna, and to his seven children after her decease.[81]

In 1790 laborer Jacob Gross lived next door to the west, at 168 Sassafras, having bought the property from the Cressons in 1772 or before. By 1795 Caleb Cresson had purchased the lot back and leased it to a watchman, Mark Bower. The assessed value on the property remained low in comparison with his neighbors. In 1801 the directory listed no house number, but a man by the name of Kinney (with no occupation given) seems to have been in residence.[82]

The neighbor to his west, Zachariah Lesh (Lesher, Leschler) a carpenter at 170 Sassafras, had purchased the 20 by 130-foot lot prior to the Revolution and lived at this address at least until 1801. Like Robert Evans on Fifth Street, he arrived when the block needed development and remained for over 25 years, no doubt because the city nearby continued to expand at a rapid rate during the decade when Philadelphia was the national capital. In 1790 he shared his house with nine other

---

[80] 1790 Census, 229; White and MacPherson 1785 Directories; 1791, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1801 Directories; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1789, 1791, 1795, PCA; an intriguing lead on Shallus was published in the *PMHB 1* (1877) under "Notes and Queries," 228, that he was the compiler of the Chronological Tables.

[81] The first year Hoffman appeared on the local tax lists was 1779. Tax Ledger, Mulberry Ward, West Part, 44, PCA; Hoffman was listed both on Hoffman's Alley and Sassafras Street in the 1811 Directory; Valentine Hoffman, Philadelphia, Smith. Feb. 10, 1812, 4.76, "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[82] Gross owned and lived on the lot to the east of Zachariah Lesh when he bought his lot from the Cressons on June 1, 1772. DdBk D-40, 480, HSP; Census 1790, 229; *Directory, 1791*; *Directory, 1795*, 76; Gross may have moved to a frame house on Sixth Street, if a "Jacob Grace, Porter" is the same man. Tax Ledger, 1795, South Mulberry Ward, 57 and 59; *Directory, 1801*, 80.

people. In his will of April 1802 Lesh left his estate to his wife Maria and eleven children.[83]

In 1774, Caleb and his wife Annabelle sold the next lot west to Tobias King, a carter, who sold it to John Long (Lang), a tallow chandler, in 1788, when the property included a brick messuage, tenement and kitchen. Long was still living at this property as a tallow chandler (or soap boiler) in 1790-91 and 1795, when his property was numbered 172 Sassafras. Long by 1799 had built and insured a three-story house on the Cresson's Alley end of his lot, the rent for which may have allowed him to open a grocery store on Sassafras Street. He continued to operate as a soap-boiler, too, at 172 Sassafras through 1810, so that he managed two businesses on the property. Long also had opened a grocery on Vine Street by 1802, which a son of the same name evidently ran. In 1830 that John Long reinsured 172 Sassafras Street, indicating that the family retained the property for over four decades. The first John Long, however, left no will to further illuminate his life.[84]

John Hinchman (Hindman, Hersman, Henchman, Hentzman, Hinnman, Hanchman) at 174 Sassafras bought his lot from Caleb Cresson a few months before his neighbor T. King did in 1774. He, like King, was a carter by trade, but by 1787 he listed himself a brickmaker. In 1790 the census counted him as John Hersman a bricklayer, which may have been a misnomer, as the 1795 directory again listed John Hindman, brickmaker. John Hanchman in 1801 remained at 174 Sassafras as a brickmaker, with his relative (son?), Michael Hanchman, also a brickmaker. That the tax assessor assigned a Sr. to John Hindman's name in 1795 suggests that he had a son of the same name. The 1800 Trade Directory confuses the issue by having a John and Nicholas Hanchman as brickmakers at 174 Race St. and a brickmaker John Henchman at 200 Race Street on the next block west. The 1802 and 1803 directories, however, indicate that the father had retired and a namesake continued the business: John Henchman Sen., gentleman, 174 Sassafras, and John Henchman, brickmaker, at 198 Sassafras (Race) Street. No record of Henchman's death could be found (perhaps because of the wide variant of surname spellings), but he is not listed after 1804 in the city directories. He and neighbor Lesh, both with German names, shared a long record of residency on the street. His descendant, John Henchman, had the lot surveyed in 1819 and again in 1826, when it still measured 20 by 130 feet. The family had owned the property for more than half a century and had never sold off the southern half as a Cresson Alley lot.[85]

---

[83] Cresson to Lesh, June 1, 1772, DdBk D-40, 480, HSP. 1790 Census, 229; Lesh had six boys and five girls. Zachariah Lesh, City of Phila. Carpenter. Apr. 7, 1802. Y.672. "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[84] Tobias King to John Long, July 25, 1788, DdBk EF-10, 398; Tobias King may have been the Tobey King, bricklayer, or his son of the same name, living on the south side of Cherry Street in the 1790 Census, 232. John Long, Jan 16, 1799, CBk 3, 78 and 79; John Long, Jan. 29, 1830, Contributionship Survey Book (CSB) 1824-1839, S4731; James Robinson, *The Philadelphia Directory 1802*, 150; *1803*, 153; *1810*, 173; *1811*, 211, only lists John Long, grocer, Vine and Fifth, with no Sassafras address, whereas the earlier years included both John Long listings.

[85] Caleb and Annabella Cresson to John Hinchman, Jan. 1, 1774, DdBk D39, 447; 1790 Census, 229; *1791 Directory*, 1795 Directory, 52; *1801 Directory*, 80; 1800 *New Trade Directory*, 14; *1802 Directory, 1803 Directory* and *1810 Directory*; 1795 Tax Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 59, PCA; April 3, 1819 survey, Third Survey Dist., Race-Arch, 5-6, Pre-1814, and March 22, 1826 survey, 1814-1855, PCA.

Jacob Sulcher (Sulgar, Sulger), a baker listed in 1791 at 176 Sassafras Street, appears to have been one of the original purchasers from the Cresson brothers, along with his neighbors to his east. (The original deed was not located in this research). He is listed on the 1774 and 1779 effective supply tax, along with the before mentioned Race Street owners. In 1779 and 1780 his property is among the higher assessments on this block, and the latter list indicates that he already had a tenant on the Cresson's Alley end of his lot. His comparative financial success may have influenced his decision to return to his "native country, Wirtemberg" in 1780, a plan that evidently fell through, despite his initial preparations. When he finally insured the property on Sassafras in 1793, the policy found two two-story dwellings side by side, each 20 by 20 feet. One featured an old broken-pitch roof. The backbuilding measured 16 by 40 feet, and the bake house was "built agreeable to law," or with the appropriate fire prevention.[86]

Jacob Sulger died in 1795, apparently an alcoholic, if John Elliot Cresson's diary can be trusted. His will named his wife Margaret as heir and executor, and at her death the estate went to the two children, Jacob Jr. and Dorothy Cooper. Ironically, Sulger wrote a codicil to the will only months before his death that protected his daughter's interest in the inheritance by excluding her alcoholic husband as part of the heirs. His wife renewed the insurance on the house in 1800, but may not have lived there, as there was no listing for 176 Sassafras in 1801. Margaret Sulger died in 1822 and her son Jacob Sulger, Jr. finally cancelled the policy in 1847, after more than seventy years of family ownership.[87]

The 1795 city directory listed Philip Cly, baker, at Sulger's 176 Sassafras property, and Margaret Zolliker, huckster, at the same address. This Margaret likely was Jacob's widow, with a more Germanic spelling of her surname. The tax assessment ledger that same year (likely before Cly took over the bakery), listed Jacob's son, Jacob Sulger, a barber. The tax also listed Richard Harper, Turner, in an adjoining dwelling owned by Jacob Sulger's estate. The two Sulger properties on Race may be explained by the misfortunes of the neighbor to the west, David Neas.

David Neas (Nice, Neiss, Neese, Kneis) appeared in the 1779 tax list as a nailor and in 1785 as a shopkeeper on Race Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets. In 1791 he listed himself a grocer (David Neese) at 178 Sassafras. Neiss, however, in 1789 had struggled with debt. His property was advertised for sheriff's sale as two lots, one on Race, the other on Cresson's Alley. The Race Street lot, measuring 20 by 65 feet, included a two-story brick house, a new back building and a smith's shop. The Cresson Alley property, also 20 by 65 feet, offered a two-story brick house with

---

[86] 1774, 1779, 1780 Effective Supply Tax, Mulberry Ward, West Part, *PA Archives 3rd Ser., XIV*, 295, 553, *XV*, 301; 1779 Tax Assessment Ledger, Mulberry Ward, West Ward, 43, PCA; Sulger's public announcement and effort to collect all debts before departing came out in *PG* June 7, 1780; Jacob Sulgar, Sept. 9, 1793, MAS 383 and 384, Garvan, ed., *The Mutual Assurance Company Papers, 1*, 248-9.

[87] Caleb Cresson's son wrote on June 17, 1795: "Our old neighbour Jacob Sulger put in the ground to day-poor man he has shortened his Days by that execrable thing called Rum. I lament the final Exit of these poor souls from time --& can ten thousand Worlds redeem one of them, No!" Diary of John Elliot Cresson, Three Volumes, 1795-1796, 1, HSP. Garvan, ed., *The Mutual Assurance Company Papers, 1*, 248-9; Jacob Sulger, City of Phila., Baker, June 19, 1795. X. 264; Margaret Sulger, Widow, Oct. 25, 1822, 7.551; Margaret was the stepdaughter of a baker, John Jacob Scheppach, who died in 1818. "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

a kitchen and frame stable. A few months later another advertisement by Sheriff Ash described the Cresson's Alley property as "a certain Frame Blacksmith's Shop and Lot" for sale, which suggests that Neiss may have had such a shop on both ends of his property. He evidently pulled through this predicament, but not without losing some social status, for the 1789 tax list shows that although he still owned the lot, he was identified a laborer, the lowest work rank in the hierarchy. To help correct the problem, it appears that he shared the house with three boarders in 1787 and 1789. The 1790-91 census and directory show that David Neiss ran a grocery on Race and a blacksmith shop at 9 Cresson's Alley. By 1795, however, Neiss had evidently sold his lot to Jacob Sulger, for the directory that year listed Richard Harper, oval turner and engine maker, at 178 Sassafras and the tax record listed Harper living in a dwelling owned by the Sulger estate. David Cossart, cedar cooper, lived at 178 Sassafras in 1801, but without further research it is not evident whether he was Sulger estate tenant or the new owner. [88]

The next property to the west, eventually numbered 180 Race Street, had for some years belonged to the Fiss family. In 1779 Martin Fiss and John Fiss both appeared on the effective supply tax, the former next to Jacob Sulger. The next year John Fiss, sailmaker, alone was listed, this time one away from Sulger (Sulker). The 1787 tax assessment records list three John Fiss dwellings. John Fiss, sailmaker, had David Nice on one side in the record and John Ash, butcher and Fiss tenant on the other side. Several entries beyond John Fiss, the tax record noted another Fiss tenant, George Bruner, tailor. Evidently two of the three houses stood on Cresson's Alley, based on their low dwelling valuation. By 1789 John Fiss owned four houses near to each other, with one (presumed to be on Sassafras) assessed more than twice the value of the others.

The 1790 census placed Joseph Fiss, doctor, next to David Neese and the 1791 city directory gave Dr. Fiss' address as 180 Sassafras Street. Prior to moving into the house, Joseph Fiss had been boarding nearby with Archibald Woodsides, in a house not owned by the Fiss family. City surveys help to explain the property and various name associations. Two Race Street lots were regulated in 1790 for Martin Fiss. The surveyor noted that it had previously been surveyed for John Fiss, and marked the property adjoining to the east as "John Fiss house and lot". Martin Fiss, grocer, appeared as owner of a Sassafras dwelling and lot in the 1795 tax assessment, but the city directory that same year did not list him at 180 Sassafras Street. The same tax suggested he had sold one of the lots to Thomas Allibone whose estate rented the property to Lambert Wilmer, a flour merchant, who was listed in the city directory at 180 Sassafras Street that year. Martin Fiss died the following year. His will named John Fiss as his brother and Sarah as daughter, wife of Dr. Joseph Fiss. No member of the Fiss family appeared again in the directories until 1798, when they lived to the north and south of Race Street. Likely the widow and children sold the property. By 1801 the house at 180 Sassafras had been taken by James Bennett, bricklayer.[89]

---

[88] Francis White, *The Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia, 1785), hereinafter cited White, *1785 Directory*; *PG* May 27, July 20, 1789; 1790 Census, 229; *1791 Directory*; Tax Ledgers, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 45, 1789, 48 and 1795, 58, PCA.

[89] Effective Supply Tax, 1779, *PA Archives, 3rd Ser., Vol. 14*, 553; Tax Assessment, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 45; 1789, 49-50; 1795, 58, PCA; 1790 Census, 229; 1791, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, and 1801 Directories; Martin Fiss' will named John Fiss as his brother and Joseph Fiss, MD, as his son-in-law, which suggests cousins

Martin Fiss may have sold his lot, 182 Sassafras, to Jacob or John Greiner, gentleman and merchant, who are listed at that address in the 1795 directory. The Greiner family (John, the merchant) continued through 1801 at that address.

As early as 1779 Samuel Goodman occupied the next lot, eventually numbered 184 Sassafras. The 1780 tax list identifies Goodman as a laborer, joiner, evidently one of the numerous residents on this block in the building trades that year. By 1787, still at the same location, he had earned his title as carpenter. By 1789 Goodman had moved away and sold to George Weibel, baker, who by 1795 had leased his two dwellings, identified as "front and back" by the tax assessor, to a fellow baker, George Harman. (The directory misnumbers his address that year as 186, which belonged to Andrew Lex, not Weibel). In 1801 George Harman continues at 184 Sassafras, indicating that he, like fellow baker Jacob Sulger, a few doors to the east, prospered providing bread at this location.[90]

Andrew Lex, a butcher, owned and occupied the next lot on Race Street adjoining the western ten-foot alley as early as 1779. A city survey noted that Lex bought the lot from Isaac Barnet, a joiner, who had bought it directly from Caleb Cresson and wife in January 1774. In 1791, when the lot received the address as 186 Race Street, Lex must have been very busy. At the same address he had three men in the building trades - Harman Snyder, joiner, Adam Beyer, tinman, Josiah Cahoon, bricklayer - as well as a shoemaker. The 1795 tax assessed Lex for "dwellings fronting on Race Street and Alley," which might explain where these others lived. In that year the tax record still listed Andrew Lex as a butcher on his lot, but the city directory gave him no mention. Instead, the directory listed Jacob Vanseyver, bricklayer and George Herman, yet another baker, at 186 Sassafras, but this listing evidently was an incident of directory mistake (see above, indicating Harmon lived at 184). The 1801 Directory may help to explain Andrew's absence in the 1795 directory, for it lists Richard Lex,[91] butcher, at 186 Race, suggesting that Andrew had retired and his son took over the business. However the property was divided, it is clear that the lot had been developed to accommodate a variety of tradesmen and their shops.[92]

The two addresses west of the ten-foot alley (eventually known as Starr Alley) stood on the Sixth and Race Street corner lot. In 1790-91 a school keeper, Mariah Sharp, who lived with one other woman, listed at 188 Sassafras, and a sailmaker, William Smallwood, with a household of seven occupied 190 Sassafras. William Smallwood also was listed on Race Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets in

---

intermarried. Martin Fiss, City of Phila., Aug. 3, 1796, X.473, "PA Wills, 1682-1834;" the reference to the Fiss lots appears on a survey for Andrew Lex, Regulated Sept. 23, 1789. 3rd Survey Dist, Folder 43, pre-1814, PCA.

[90] Effective Supply Tax, Mulberry Ward, West Part, 1779, 1780, *PA Archives, 3rd Ser., Vol. 14,* 553 and *Vol. 15*, 305;Tax Assessment, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 45; 1789, 50, 1795, 58, PCA; survey for Andrew Lex, Regulated Sept. 23, 1789, and George Weibel Survey, March 27th, 1792, 3rd Survey Dist., Folder 43, pre-1814, PCA.

[91] Richard Lex has no listing in the Genealogical Society's Family Archives CD index of PA Wills, 1682 to 1834.

[92] Caleb and Anabella Cresson to Isaac Barnet, Jan. 1, 1774, Dd Bk D-3, 424; 1790 Census, 229; George Weibel Survey, March 27th 1792, 3rd Survey Dist., Folder 43, PCA; Effective Supply Tax, Mulberry Ward, West Part, 1779, *PA Archives, Third Ser., Vol. XIV*, 553, lists Andrew Leeks next to David Neese.

the 1785 city directory, but as a shoemaker. The 1795 directory listed two businesses at 188 Sassafras, James Cassin, a soapboiler, and Joseph Johnson, a printer. This soap production may have been in place as early as 1780, when Jacob Winehart, chandler, was carrying on a prosperous business (based on his high tax valuation) next door to Andrew Lex, butcher. In 1787, as well, a tallow chandler, Christopher Mooney, occupied a William Smallwood property. The tax assessor in 1795, however, did not find James Cassin, soapboiler, in residence, but instead Widow Rudolph lived on a William Smallwood property that included both a dwelling and soap house. Her name came in a list that appears to be along Starr Alley, on the back end of the Sixth Street lots. The New Trade Directory for 1800 listed among the soap boilers William Cooper at 188 Sassafras. The 1801 directory assigns no street number for Joseph Arentrue, soap boiler and tallow chandler, but it is clear from his placement in the list for Race Street, south side, after Richard Lex (186 Sassafras) and before Sixth Street, that he had taken over the same soap manufacture. Thus it appears that the first structure west of the alley retained the same use for two decades. [93]

Despite the confusion over the street numbers, the directories make clear that separate tradesmen shared the Sixth Street corner lot and enjoyed Race Street addresses. The 1857 Hexamer and Loch atlas plan for this block shows the corner lot divided into three structures, one facing Sixth Street and two to the east facing Race, conveniently laid out as it appears to have been listed in 1790-91.[94]

Sixth Street

The real estate along North Sixth Street in the Cresson section falls into two blocks, between Cherry and Cresson's Alley and from Cresson's Alley to Race Street. The former six or seven lots were sold by the Cresson brothers before the Revolution and by 1790 appear to have been developed. Nicholas Rash's insurance for a new, plainly finished two-story dwelling with a cockloft issued two years after he purchased the lot in 1772 is the only policy found for the buildings. This property became the long-term residence of African American Robert Venable, and finally, his own property.[95]

The city directories beginning in 1791 record the residents of North Sixth Street as a typical mix of tradesmen, widows (who likely took boarders), and school teachers or office workers. Ten years earlier, in 1780, the tax assessment only seems to show four residents along the stretch of Sixth between Cherry and Cresson's Alley. Widow Thompson and Catherine Spence lived together on Widow Thompson's lot. George Thompson originally owned the lot, so the surveys tell us,

---

[93] 1790 Census, 229; 1791, 1795, 1800 Trade, 1801 Directories; the 1800 Trade Directory, 169, also lists William Arentrue as a soapboiler, corner of 9th and Arch Streets, possibly a son/father of the Joseph Arentrue who took over the soap business on Race in 1801. Tax Assessment Ledger, West Mulberry Ward, 1787, 1795, PCA; Effective Supply Tax, Mulberry Ward, West Part, 1780, *PA Archives, 3rd Ser., Vol. XV*, 305.

[94] See Figure 7, Project Area in 1857, in Kise, Straw & Kolodner, *Archeological Sensitivity Study, Block 3* (April 1999).

[95] Nicholas Rash, Mar. 25, 1774, CBk 2, 110. The deed research was not done, but the city survey of 1813 for this lot and its neighbor lots indicates Venable owned the property by that year. Third Survey District, pre-1814, PCA.

the third above Cherry Street. Thompson, a chandler, was listed in the 1774 tax record next to Christlieb Bartling, the carpenter on the lot to his south. Widow Thompson evidently was leasing in 1791 to a joiner, Thomas Hallowell, and by 1795 had sold the lot to Matthew Walker, who listed himself as a chip-hat maker at 73 North Sixth Street. Walker took steps to insure his future on the property. He had the lot surveyed and seems to have taken over Thompson's former business, as he remained at the same address in 1801 but titled himself "soapboiler and candle manufacturer." Walker's apparent switch of occupations suggests the versatility of some tradesmen.[96]

During the 1780s only a few landowners appeared on the tax record to identify the Sixth Street lots, thus making this research inconclusive as to the physical development of the lots prior to the capital city decade. The corner lot at Cherry Street appears to have stood vacant during and just following the Revolution. The 1787 and 1791 tax records indicate that widow Brown owned the lot and leased it out. In the former year her tenant was a joiner, who may have been making improvements, and the latter year John Harper, blacksmith, was in residence, listed in the 1791 directory at both 69 Cherry and 69 North Sixth Street, a clear corner address. John Harper more often advertised himself as a saw maker. On July 4, 1788 he led the saw-makers and file-cutters in the Fourth of July parade in Philadelphia.

John Harper's shop at Sixth and Cherry Streets may have struck the very first coins for the U.S. Mint. In April 1792 Congress authorized the creation of the U.S. Mint and funds to purchase property to erect the mint on North Seventh Street. On July 31 the cornerstone of the building was laid. On July 9 President Washington officially acknowledged the appointment of Mr. Voigt as Coiner and authorized him to commence coining "the cents and half cents of copper and dismes and half dismes of silver." In the same letter he approved "the procurement of fifteen tons of copper," clearly already on stock.

Apparently while the Mint buildings were under construction, Mr. Voigt took the available copper and silver on hand to strike some coins. In April 1844 Jacob Eckledft, Chief Coiner for the Mint during the War of 1812, recalled that John Harper struck early dismes for the Mint in the cellar of his shop. "The coining machinery was in the cellar of Mr. Harper's, saw maker, at the corner of Cherry and Sixth Streets, at which these pieces were struck," he told Treasury official J.R. McClintock when interviewed. Harper listed himself as saw maker at 69 Cherry in the 1793 directory, but must have moved shortly thereafter. He makes no appearance again in the directories until 1796, when he listed as a saw-maker at 15 North Eighth Street. Harper didn't turn up in the two 1800 directories. Likely he was the John Harper identified as a gentleman at his death in Philadelphia in 1813. No other reference has been found in the letters of Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State at the creation of the Mint, or secondary sources on the history of the Mint and its first director, David Rittenhouse, that suggests Harper's interesting role in the first coinage of the United States.[97]

---

[96] Survey May 29, 1800, on lot marked "late of George Thompson, now of Matthew Walker," Third Survey Dist., pre-1814, PCA; "Provincial Tax, Mulberry Ward, 1774" *PA Archives, Third Ser., XIV*, 297; *1801 Directory*, 35.

[97] Tax Ledger, Mulberry Ward, 1787, 50, and 1791, 49, PCA; *PG* July 8, 1788; 1790 Census, 232, lists Harper on Cherry Street, north side; *1791, 1793, 1795, Stephen's 1796, 1800 and 1801 Directory*; John Harper, Philadelphia, Gentleman, June 25, 1813, 5.12, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." My thanks to Cliff Tobias, Park History Program

A city survey indicates that Adam Foulke sold the 22 by 52 1/2-foot lot on the north corner of Cherry to Francis Zenss in 1796. Zenss at that date ran a grocery at 76 N. 6th, on the west side of Sixth street, but the 1801 directory listed Francis Zenss, grocer, on the east side of Sixth Street, "at the corner of Cherry alley," presumably on the lot he purchased from Adam Foulke. Because he did not receive an address number, the record remains confusing. Zenss' listing falls between 63 and 71 N. 6th Street in the 1801 directory, but the 1795 directory identified 71 N. 6th as the last number *before* Cherry Street. The Thompson-Walker lot address was consistently numbered 73 N. 6th Street during the decade 1791-1801, and it is represented on a survey as the third lot north of Cherry, which would mean that the corner lot Zenss purchased logically would be 69 N. 6th Street. Regardless of the conflicting evidence, Zenss bought the corner lot and moved his business there in 1798 or sooner.[98]

Robert Cunningham occupied the 17'9 ½-foot lot that became 75 North Sixth Street from at least 1787, when he made a living as a tavern keeper, through the close of the century. In 1787 he owned the lot with a dwelling and three small buildings next to Robert Venebald (Negro). The 1791, 1795 and 1801 city directories listed Robert Cunningham as a weaver at 75 North Sixth Street, two addresses from Robert Venable's lot, or the second lot south from Cresson's Alley.[99]

John McConnell, laborer, moved next door to Cunningham, to the property listed as 77 North Sixth. He owned the lot in 1780, when Leonard Rust, a taylor, lived there, and he himself occupied the lot in 1787 when the property had a dwelling and back building. The 1791 tax only recorded a dwelling, which suggests he sold off the back end of his lot (facing Starr Alley) with the building on it. McConnell's household in 1790 included only two women beside himself. He remained through the 1795 directory, but by 1801 a schoolmistress, Martha James, had taken up residence at this address.[100]

Robert Venable, a free black man, occupied for more than twenty years the next lot north, which finally received a street number, 79 North Sixth Street, in the 1801 directory. According to the tax record in 1780 Venable lived on a lot owned by

---

Leader, Philadelphia Support Office, National Park Service, for providing the Jacob Eckfeldt recollection, which is corroborated by President Washington's Fourth annual address of November 6, 1792, that noted "There has been a small beginning in the coinage of half dismes." On Sept. 23, 1999, Tim Grant, employee at the Mint, wrote to Tobias, "Although we can't confirm through official Mint documents that the first coins were struck off the premises, there are indications that the half dismes were struck at a different location." He then mentioned a Treasury document that reported Eckfeldt's recollection given in 1844 to J.R. McClintock, a Treasury official. Frank H. Stewart, *Ye Olde Mint. Being a brief description of the first U.S. Mint* (Philadelphia, c. 1909), 13,14; George Washington to David Rittenhouse, July 9, 1792, John Catanzariti, Editor, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Volume 24, 1June to 31 December 1792* (Princeton, 1990), 205.

[98] The survey gives the transfer date of the Foulke-Zenss lot as June 11, 1796. The survey is dated Aug. 21, 1797. Third Survey Dist., pre-1814, PCA.

[99] Survey for Mathew Walker in 1800 shows Cunningham's lot adjoining. Third Survey Dist., pre-1814, PCA; 1790 Census, 223; 1791 Directory, 1795 Directory,

[100] Effective Supply Tax, Mulberry Ward, west part, 1780, *PA Archives, Third Ser., XV*, 304; 1790 Census, 223; 1791, 1795, 1801 Directory

Nicholas Rash, a Quaker. Rash had purchased the property from the Cressons prior to the Revolution, possibly to provide Venable and his family with their own home. Quakers at this point were mandated to free any slaves in their possession and many took an active role in the abolitionist movement. Further research may disclose more on Rash's motivations, but he clearly retained title to the land while Venable remained its occupant. In 1790 Robert Venable had four other free blacks in his household and in 1794 he was a founding member of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church. Venable made a living as a white washer in 1801, the first time a directory identified his trade. Evidently he eventually purchased the lot and had it surveyed on March 22, 1813. He did list himself in the 1811 directory at 79 North Sixth Street as whitewasher, but for some reason did not appear in the 1811 census directory of "Persons of Colour." The stability and resourcefulness he demonstrated suggests that further research would reveal more on the particulars of his life.[101]

Stephen Phipps purchased the adjoining lot at the corner of Cresson's Alley prior to the Revolution and maintained ownership throughout the century, giving this research a tool to identify the tax assessor's location in the record. Phipps never lived on the property but kept it as a real estate investment. In 1780-1 a butcher lived there. In 1787 a carpenter occupied the lot, suggesting some improvements in the works. The 1790 federal census showed a coachmaker, Rowland Sandiford, with a household of three women in residence. Sandiford had appeared on the 1787 tax ledger in a Caleb Cresson property nearby. Perhaps he expanded his business and needed more space which Phipp's 18 by 80-foot lot would have provided. The 1791 directory numbered this property 81 North Sixth Street.[102]

By 1795 David Mandeville, a scrivener (scribe or notary) had moved into the dwelling at 81 North Sixth and the following year four United States congressmen shared the residence. Three were members of the House Representatives: Benjamin Goodhue, Massachusetts, James Hillhouse, Connecticut, and Henry Glen, New York. Caleb Strong from Massachusetts was the only senator. This listing is the only record found that located federal congressmen in residence on the block.[103] In 1800-1801 David Mandeville worked as a clerk for the Bank of the United States, perhaps having made the right connections through his acquaintance with these four politicians. Evidently Agnes Carson, a gentlewoman, lived with him. She may have been running a boarding house there, for the next year she no longer was on North Sixth, but a Mrs. Carson ran a boarding house at 129 Arch Street. Oddly, the 1801 directory listed this address as 83 N. 6th, but the 1797 to 1800 and the 1805 to 1811 Directories all showed David Mandeville at 81 N. 6th. [104]

---

[101] Caleb and Joshua Cresson, et. Ux, to Nicholas Rash, August 1772, Dd Bk D-3, 424; 1780 and 1781 Effective Supply Tax, Mulberry Ward, west part, *PA Archives, Third Ser., XV*, 304 and 661; *Census Directory For 1811...A Separate Division Being Allotted to Persons of Colour...*(Philadelphia, 1811).

[102] Caleb and Joshua Cresson, et.Ux., to Stephen Phipps, Aug. 1, 1772, DdBk D-44, 70; 1790 census; 1791 City Directory.

[103] Mandeville may have had a family tie to William Falconer, minister for the Second Presbyterian Church, because he served as executor for William Falconer's widow. Mary Falconer, Relict of William Falconer, Phila. May 25, 1814, 5. 267 "PAWills, 1682-1834."

[104] 1795, 1796, 1797, 1800, 1801 City Directories; this research in the directories turned up an inconsistency in addresses. Mandeville was given 89 N. 6th as his address from 1802 to 1804. Checking other residents on Sixth Street indicated that the numbers had been changed, so that Robert Venable, Mandeville's neighbor to the

North of Cresson's Alley four or five addresses were listed along Sixth Street by 1791, numbered 83 to 91 N. 6th Street. In 1772 Frederick Walter, a bricklayer, purchased the first lot north of the alley, later numbered 83 N. 6th. In 1790-91 a watchman lived there, and in 1795 and 1801, a blacksmith. By 1774 William Hancock, a carpenter, John Yardley and Arnold Michenor had also purchased lots in this section.[105] Late that year Michenor insured a new, plain two-story house, still partially unfinished. His was the only policy found for this section of Sixth Street, but the dwelling was typical of construction on the block during the 18th century.[106]

An undated pre-1814 city survey shows that four adjoining lots at the corner of Race Street measured 20, 20, 18 and 18 feet on Sixth Street. The survey named as the lot owners Kruger (Krieger?) [sic] at the corner, Isaiah Evans, Jacob Hansel and George Felker.[107] These names helped to trace the four corner properties. George Felker, owner of the fourth lot below Race Street, listed himself as a shoemaker at 89 N. 6th in the 1795 and 1801 directories, but those same directories listed 91 North Sixth Street as this block's last address on Sixth Street. Counting backwards from 91 to the fourth lot, Felker would have received 85 N. 6th, and Evans and Hansel 87 and 89.

Isaiah Evans, plasterer, owned the lot one below the corner, according to the same city survey. Evans purchased the 22 by 80-foot property in 1775 from school master John Gartley, who had purchased it directly from the Cresson brothers in 1772.[108] The 1791 tax assessment recorded that Isaac [sic] Evans' lot had two dwellings with Herman Snyder, a joiner, as tenant. The 1795 directory listed Isaiah Evans on Starr Alley, instead of Sixth Street, whereas the 1795 tax assessment recorded that Josiah [sic] Evans had only one dwelling, where he lived, apparently on Starr Alley. It is not clear why the 1795 tax assessed for one dwelling and the 1791 tax for two, but it appears that a second dwelling did exist on the Sixth Street side of the lot. In 1800, Isaiah Evans advertised for journeyman plasterers to apply to work with him at 93 North Sixth Street. For the Trade Directory that year,

---

south at 79 N. 6th, was listed in 1802 as 87 N. 6th. David and Sarah Mandeville were mentioned in the will of Mary Falconer, suggesting that Sarah was born Falconer. Mandeville was an executor to the will and received from the estate the works of Reverend Mr. Flavel. No concrete information on Flavel could be found in Scharf and Wescott's *History of Philadelphia* or other bibliographic sources. He may have been Presbyterian, as a Rev. Thomas Flavell -- perhaps a relative-- was pastor in 1849 at the Fifth Reformed Presbyterian Church. Rev. Wm. P. White, D.D. and William H. Scott, *The Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1895), 79.

[105] Caleb and Joshua Cresson, merchants to Frederick Walter, bricklayer, June 1, 1772, Dd Bk D39, 335; Caleb Cresson et ux. to William Hancock, house carpenter, Jan. 1, 1774, Dd Bk D35, 323 (refers to John Yardley owning lot to the north and Arnold Michenor to the south); Caleb Cresson et ux to Arnold Mitchenor [torn] 1774, Dd Bk D37, 122.

[106] Arnold Mitchenor, Dec. 6, 1774, CBk 2, 126.

[107] This undated survey is in Third Survey District Div 2T, Folder 43, pre-1814 unidentified, PCA.

[108] Caleb and Joshua Cresson to John Gartley, June 1, 1772, refers to the deed transfer on Nov. 1, 1775 to Isaiah Evans. Dd Bk D-72, 404-5, PCA. John Gartley, stayed in the field of education at least to 1790 when he, along with several others, vouched for a new spelling book for school children prepared by John Barry, Master of the Protestant Episcopal Free School. *PG* Feb. 24, 1790.

however, Isaiah Evans listed himself as a plasterer on Starr Alley. Journeymen were evidently directed to his home, rather than his business located on the alley end of his lot. His Sixth Street address remains confusing, however, because both the 1795 and 1801 directories listed the last address before Race Street as 91 N. Sixth.[109]

Prior to the Revolution Leonard Kessler purchased the corner lot at Race Street from the Cressons. Two or more dwellings stood on this lot by 1790, likely one facing Sixth and the other(s) Race Street. The 1790 federal census and 1791 city directory listed two Race Street addresses west of Starr Alley, 190 Race occupied by William Smallwood, sailmaker, and Mariah Sharp, school keeper, at 188 Race Street. The 1795 tax record indicated that William Smallwood owned the corner lot and Widow Randolph lived there. The 1795 directory, however, did not reference 190 Race, but only listed James Cassin, soap boiler, and Joseph Johnson, printer, at 188 Race Street. That year the directory listed 91 North Sixth Street as the last property before Race Street, where Hannah Clark, widow and schoolmistress,[110] and Samuel Faulkner, china manufacturer, lived. In 1801 the listing for 91 N. 6th Street again showed two individuals, Sarah Fletcher, mantua maker, at the "corner of Race Street," and John Cress, a customhouse officer. The directories for 1800 and 1801 also continued to list a soap manufacture (soap boiler) at the east end of the lot, on Race Street west of Starr Alley. The undated city survey for this section of Sixth Street showed that Kruger or Krieger purchased the lot before 1814. [111]

The tax and city directory listings for the decade indicate that this section of Sixth Street had a frequent turnover of tenants, but the same records sometimes give conflicting evidence. In 1790-1791 several tradesmen lived at 83 to 91 N. 6th Street: James Guest, tailor, John Lambert, chair maker,[112] Philip Hasselback, a shoemaker, and Jacob Hansell, blacksmith. Hansell was the only of these also listed on the undated pre-1814 city survey as a lot owner, the third one south of Race Street. However the 1791 directory located Hansell at 91 N. 6th Street and 183 Race Street, suggesting a corner property, but the Race Street number, being odd rather than even, indicated a property on the north side of Race Street. Regardless, it is clear that Jacob Hansell, who was intermarried with the neighboring Lex family on Race Street,[113] occupied a property on or near the south corner of Sixth and Race.[114]

---

[109] *PG* May 14, 1800; 1791 Tax Ledger, 45; 1795 Tax Ledger, 57-58, PCA; the *1800 Trade Directory*, 133.

[110] Likely this is the Quaker lady Hannah Clark, widow of Samuel Clark, who died in Philadelphia in 1817. Apr. 2, 1817, 6. 416. "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[111] Leonard Kessler was referenced in the 1775 deed to Isaiah Evans as the lot owner bordering to the north. Dd Bk D72, 404-5, PCA; 1790 census and 1791 directory; 1795 Tax Ledger, 57-58, PCA; *The New Trade Directory* 1800 and 1801 Directory; Third Survey District Div 2T, Folder 43, pre-1814 unidentified, PCA. Analysis of the 1780, 1787 and 1791 tax records did not give enough familiar property owners to definitively identify the lots in this section.

[112] John Lambert, Windsor chair maker, died in Philadelphia during the fall of 1793, likely from the yellow fever epidemic. Nov. 19, 1793, W.609, "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[113] Hansell named his brother-in-law Peter Lex as an executor to his will. Jacob Hansell, Phila., Blacksmith, Jan. 15, 1810, "PA Wills, 1682-1834." See the Race Street section for the Lex lot adjoining Starr Alley to the east.

[114] City Survey of four lots, Sixth and Race Streets, no date, Third Survey Dist., pre-1814, PCA; *PG* May 14, 1800; 1791 Tax Ledger, 45; 1795 Tax Ledger, 57-58, PCA.

By 1795 three widows, Susannah Abington, Angela Joujoutte and Hannah Clark, occupied 85, 87 and 91 N. 6th. Clark. a schoolmistress, shared the address with a china manufacturer, Samuel Faulkner, who likely was her boarder. In 1801 Abington still was in residence at 85 N. 6th Street, but all the other addresses had new tenants. Joseph Tucker, a house carpenter, replaced Joujoutte at 87, George Felker, shoemaker, occupied 89, two lots away from the one he owned at the time of the city survey, and Sarah Fletcher, mantua maker, and John Cress, a customhouse officer, lived at 91 N. 6th Street. [115]

Summary:

The Cresson tract developed rapidly and must have been a vibrant place to live with its mix of tradesmen during the last quarter of the century. Fifth and Cherry Streets attracted the most affluent residents, the alleys the least. By 1796 Sixth Street had gained sufficient appeal to attract four U.S. Congressmen as boarders at 81 North Sixth Street.

Joshua and Caleb Cresson were good planners to lay out the alleyways, as they facilitated the convenient development of the lots. Many of the property owners had cows, horses and other four-legged animals not tallied in the tax record. The tax records show that numerous early builders had chosen to construct frame, rather than brick dwellings. After several extensive fires, frame construction was finally outlawed within the city at the end of the century, but at these western limits the wooden buildings were tolerated for many years. Some of the lots probably enjoyed shade and fruit trees and small kitchen or flower gardens, such as Caleb Cresson wrote about in his diary. Likely the cross streets and alleys were not paved until late in the century, if the treatment of Fifth and Sixth Streets adjoining the more prominent State House area is any indication.[116]

The strong presence of Quakers on the block no doubt lay behind the instances of long-standing African-American residency (Dexter, Burgoe and Venable) within the Cresson section, and may have had further beneficial affect for the several other black families living along the alleys. In 1790 a joint committee of members from the Society for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery and the Free African Society took a census of free blacks in Philadelphia. They counted "about 250 families in the City, Northern Liberties and Southwark, making nearly 1000 persons of both sexes, almost 400 of whom were minors." [117] Free blacks, a clear and present minority in Philadelphia, faced increasingly virulent racial discrimination from that year forward into the mid-nineteenth century. Their lives on this block, in what may have been a pocket of tolerance, warrants further study.

Many of the families were inter-related, either by blood or through church circles. German names dominate the census, directory and tax lists of residents in the Cresson section. Considering the density of population, it is surprising to find

---

[115] 1790 Census, 223; *1795 Directory*, 54; *1801 Directory*, 57.

[116] The park research note card file includes a section on Philadelphia Streets. Beginning in the 1790s the city made a strong effort to pave streets and correct sewer problems. The Minutes of City Council show the progress of this program, based on a 1791 ordinance directing the civic improvements. The Council resolved to pave Fifth between Chestnut and Walnut in the spring of 1791. March 28, 1791, "Minutes of City Council 1789-1793," microfilm, INDE.

[117] As quoted in Douglass, *Annals*, 40.

only two listings for grocers -at Sixth and Cherry and on Race -- and a baker on Race as suppliers of food. The several market sheds nearby on High or Market Street must have been the communal market for the residents. Tradesmen flourished, with as many as nine different shoemakers, and scores of men in the building trades. Martha Washington while First Lady in Philadelphia made note of the difficulties and rewards faced by local tradesmen, particularly shoemakers, after the 1793 yellow fever epidemic. She wrote her niece: "the trades people suffered very much in the yellow fever-the shoe makers complain of the want of journeymen—I hope it will be better now the Congress is gone—every man must have some thing either to send or carry home - which constantly imployed the trades people." Life was a struggle, too, for many other city dwellers. When widowed, women often took in boarders to make ends meet. Some women worked for a living, teaching, sewing, or shopkeepers. The schoolhouse near Starr Alley and Cherry Street indicates a neighborhood with a healthy number of children. The stories about all these hard working people and their families have been largely lost to time, but the archeology of recent date may raise some conjectures when the artifacts are analyzed.[118]

Arch Street Lots, 1781-1801

177 to 203 Arch Street[119]

Research on the Arch Street lots after the American Revolution has been less fruitful than on the Cresson section of Block Three. For the most part, the Arch Street residents during the post-war period were transitory, so that few directories list the same tenant year to year. Sometimes different records for the same year give two different residents. This mobility was not unusual in Philadelphia in the eighteenth century. Many short-term residents had homes and extensive property in outlying counties and needed to find temporary housing in the city on certain occasions. Often property owners leased out their city dwelling and rented another house. Thus the documentation for this block showed such an important local figure as Peter Muhlenberg as tenant in one of the three houses on Arch at the corner of Fifth Street in 1787, but did not find him there in any subsequent records.[120]

---

[118] Washington to Fanny Bassett Washington, Philadelphia June 15, 1794, Joseph E. Fields, compiler, *"Worthy Partner" The Papers of Martha Washington* (Westport, 1994), 268-9.

[119] When the city adopted Clement Biddle's numbering system provided in his directory for 1791, the addresses along Arch Street ranged from 177 at the corner of Fifth Street, to 203 at Sixth Street, as laid out in Hogan's *Prospect* of 1795.

[120] "Peter Muhlenberg (one of Council)" rented one of Joseph Donaldson's three houses at the corner in 1787. A former Lutheran minister and major general at the close of the Revolution, Muhlenberg was a son of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. After the war he rose rapidly in political circles, from the state to national levels. While in residence at Fifth and Arch, he was serving as Vice President of Pennsylvania within the Supreme Executive Council under Benjamin Franklin. Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography, 13* (1934), 312. Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 53, PCA. Joseph Donaldson died a gentleman in 1806. When he purchased this real estate is not known. Of interest, however, is that his mother-in-law Sarah Wilkinson may have been heir to Anthony Wilkinson who once owned a 99 by 306 foot lot on this block at Sixth Street, suggesting one more link among the property owners. No will, however, could be found for Anthony. Sarah Wilkinson, of Phila., Widow. Oct. 14, 1776; Joseph Donaldson, Franklin Park, Co. of Burlington, N.J.,

The earliest development along Arch Street clustered within the 49-foot bonus lot along Fifth Street to Cherry, which was bordered on the west with the Second Presbyterian Burial Ground. Documentation for the real estate west of the cemetery, however, has remained less defined. The title search for the properties has not been done, making it difficult to know when the structures were built and who built them. Only four city surveys prior to 1814 survived for the Arch Street lots and they give confusing information by recording different property owners. Only one city survey showed an Arch Street lot divided in two, with one property on Arch and the other on Cherry. Tax records, on the other hand, clearly indicate that Cherry Street supported different property owners from their Arch Street counterparts. Another city survey indicated that the 49 ½-foot lot on Arch at Sixth Street had multiple sub-divisions along Sixth Street, as its Fifth Street counterpart had.[121]

Only one insurance survey for a property on Arch Street, dated 1785, could be found.[122] The Francis White directory for 1785 listed ten residents of the block between Fifth and Sixth streets on Arch, but only three (to be discussed later) could be confirmed as being located on the north side.[123] Directories and the census in the 1790s specify residents' location, but very little from this research could be determined about their lives. None of the residents' names turned up interesting articles in the newspaper, or verifiable wills.

The searchable CD-Rom with summaries of Pennsylvania wills from 1682 to 1834, however, did confirm that several Arch Street property owners had associations with one another. Property owners' wills turned up family ties with the Society of Friends or the Second Presbyterian Church, which located its burial ground on a large Arch Street lot.[124] Deborah Morris, identified on a 1782 city survey as owner of a lot, named in her will Isaac and Hannah Cathrall, and Joshua Cresson (residents and landowners in the Cresson section) to be trustees for her bequest to

---

Gentleman, Apr. 19, 1806. 1.503, PA Wills, 1682-1834. The commentaries about real estate turnover and property ownership come from this and earlier research.

[121] Pre-1814 surveys for 2T, Folder 43, Race to Arch, 5-6, PCA.

[122] Robert McGee, Policy No. 132, Dec. 26, 1785, in Garvan, *The Mutual Assurance Company Papers*, 98-99. Garvan explains that Widow Fox's name was Elizabeth when McGee in 1785 transferred the policy and that she was a wealthy gentlewoman, widow of Joseph Fox Esquire. Conflicting or additional information – perhaps a second wife—is found on a city survey that notes on the lot, Robert McGee "in 1802 of Sarah Fox (widow of Jos Fox, Esq.)."Garvan records that the policy expired in 1837, the probable date that the property sold and possibly enlarged in the mid-19th century commercial style.

[123] Gleaning residents of Arch in White's 1785 directory requires a scan of the entire alphabetical listing, which may not have caught every resident. The three known for the north side of the block are John Clauges, painter, Robert McGee, lumber merchant, and John Grace, blacksmith.

[124] Sarah Fox and Joseph Fox, both listed as owners of a lot near Sixth Street on different undated city surveys, were father and daughter-in-law. Samuel Mickles' will of 1765 names Joseph Fox his son-in-law and Samuel Mickle after him, presumably his son. Samuel Mickle Fox left his estate to his wife Sarah Fox in 1808. 2.295 Pennsylvania Wills, 1632-1834. The Fox family lot on Arch Street stood adjoining ones owned later by other Quakers, Dr. Caspar Wistar, John Hart, druggist, and Peter Brown, Esq.

the Poor in Friends Alms House and the Free Negro School.[125] One city survey showed property owners Peter Brown, John Hart, druggist, and Caspar Wistar on adjoining lots. The first two named appeared together as executors for Catharine Hollingshead's will in 1813, and the latter two were mentioned in the will of Anthony Fothergill, M.D., probated in 1814. Finally, Robert Ralston, an Arch Street property owner, and David Mandeville, who lived on this block, on North Sixth Street below Cresson's Alley, both appeared together in a will of William Falconer, forty-five years a deacon of the Second Presbyterian Church.[126] The various connections to the Arch Street real estate may someday make an interesting sidelight for the block's history.

The residents at the corners tended to be widows or middle class businessmen, temporarily leasing or staying at a boarding house, whereas those who occupied the mid-block lots (rarely the owners of the property) were largely tradesmen. In 1790, two widows[127] and a wine merchant occupied the three houses at Fifth Street, 177, 179 and 181 Arch Street. The 1791 tax assessment shows these properties valued at 370, 300 and 370, whereas it valued the Arch Street addresses in mid-block only 170, 150, 75, 170, 40 and 85. In 1795 a gentleman, coachmaker and merchant were in residence at 177 to 181 Arch Street, and in 1801, a grocer, two gentlewomen and a merchant. Little of substance, however, has been found about any of these individuals.[128]

---

[125] "Draught of lots on east side of Sixth," 1782, City Surveys, Div. 2T, Race-Arch, Fifth-Sixth, pre-1814, PCA; Deborah Morris, Spinster, Ap. 6, 1793, W.367, PA Wills 1682-1834, Family Tree Maker.

[126] Catharine Hollingshead, Phila., Dec. 7, 1813, 5,131; Anthony Fothergill, M.D., Feb. 26, 1814, 5.96; William Falconer, Phila., Aug. 16, 1810, 3.231, PA Wills 1682-1834: "Inscriptions on tombstones in the Second Presbyterian Church Cemetery (5th and Arch Streets) c. 1867," 1 vol., MS, Presbyterian H.S. hereinafter cited, "Inscriptions on tombstones".

[127] Ann Frazier, a widow, lived at 181 Arch in 1790-91. She may have been related to Nalbro Frazier, merchant, whose 1811 will named as his sole heir Ann Frazier, his wife. Nalbro Frazier, a New Englander, joined in partnership with Tench Coxe to open a large mercantile house in Philadelphia in 1783, with most of their trade in the British West Indies and later, the China Trade. In January 1786 the firm sent to sea the *Canton*, the second American ship to sail to the Orient. One of their partners in this expedition was John Donnaldson, probably a brother of Joseph Donnaldson who in 1791 owned the two adjoining houses at the corner of Fifth and Arch. Nalbro Frazier, September 19, 1811. 3.532 PA Wills 1682-1834; Tax Assessor's Ledger, S. Mulberry Ward, 1791, 50, PCA; Jacob E. Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill, 1987), 62-79.

[128] For the residents' names, see the Arch Street chart in appendices. An 1857 photograph of the corner house at Fifth Street as the Henderson Publishing Company likely depicts the original building erected nearly a century earlier. The photo is in the Free Library of Philadelphia collections and published in Robert F. Looney, *Old Philadelphia in Early Photographs 1839-1914* (New York, 1976), 100. Mary Weed at 181 Arch in 1801 was the widow of Elijah Weed, owner of this property from at least 1787. Weed was a local tavernkeeper at Fourth and Arch prior to the Revolution and on Sixth Street in 1783, and in 1791, the able gaoler at the Walnut Street prison. *PG* Apr 28, May 26, 1768, Nov. 9, 1774, Oct. 15, 1783, Nov. 1, 1791; E. Graham, "Philadelphia Inns and Taverns, 1774-1780," Graduate Paper, University of Pennsylvania, copy in Box 22, INDE Archives; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, p. 53, PCA.

Near the corner of Sixth Street property values were similarly higher than mid-block. James Duncan at 201 Arch Street appeared on the federal census and again in the 1791 directory as a mariner. Duncan, however, told the tax assessor in 1791 that he was a clerk. The house he rented from Widow Fox's estate was valued at 400.[129] Widow Fox had received the property in 1789 from Robert McGee, a lumber merchant. McGee had insured the 3-story brick house (16' by 20') with its backbuilding (20'by 12, 2 ½ stories) and a frame structure, in 1785 and that year appeared as resident on Arch Street in the White city directory. While simply finished, McGee's house featured "genteel winding stairs," a mark, perhaps, of his rising status as a merchant.[130] In 1794-1795 Samuel Lewis, Geographer and clerk for the War Department, lived at 201 Arch Street, Because he had status in the War Department, Samuel Lewis' life and record might be amplified with further research. Although two published books on Timothy Pickering, the Secretary of War, turned up no reference to Lewis, Pickering's published papers might offer some basic biographical information.[131]

In 1801 William Sanford, gentleman, replaced Samuel Lewis at 201 Arch Street. This individual may present an intriguing story for Block Three. He does not appear in the 1798, 1799, 1800 or 1803 city directories, which suggests he was visiting the city. An intriguing possible lead to his story turned up in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for February 8, 1792, when William Sanford was listed as one of the directors for the Sierra Leone Company, which advertised, "Free Settlement on the Coast of Africa." The directors offered passage and free acreage - "not less than twenty acres of land for himself, ten for his wife, and five for every child"-- in Sierra Leone to anyone who applied with a certificate that vouched for his character. Both black and white settlers could go. The directors offered "the full assurance of personal protection from slavery for all such Black settlers," and quoted the company's charter of incorporation that forbade all its agents or servants to traffic, deal, or employ slaves. William Sanford was one of thirteen directors, along with Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson, all notable Friends and abolitionists in England.[132] If this William Sanford happened to be in town on business for the company or general abolitionist activity in 1801, he found good company in the several Quaker residents on this block who had taken a stand against slavery. He also may have wanted to recruit the resident free blacks on the block as likely prospects for the company's mission.

---

[129] Directory for 1791; tax assessment, South Mulberry Ward, 1791, p. 5, PCA.

[130] Policy No. 132 for Robert McGee, Dec. 26, 1785, in Garvan, *Mutual Assurance*, 98-99.

[131]Robert McGee still lived in this house in 1787 when he advertised the sale of the Indian Queen tavern. *PG* Aug. 1, 1787. No will could be found, but he and his wife Hannah and sons Samuel and Gilbert were named in the will of John Little of Princeton in 1794. "PA Wills 1682-1834." Hardie, *The Philadelphia Directory*; *Hogan's Prospect*. Neither Gerard H. Clarfield, *Timothy Pickering and American Diplomacy, 1795-1800.* (Columbia, 1969), or Clarfield, *Timothy Pickering and the American Republic*. (Pittsburgh, 1980) referenced Lewis in the index. Perhaps Lewis can be found within the 69 microfilm reels of the Pickering papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[132] *PG* Feb. 8, 1792; *PG* Nov 16, 1796 provides an update on the Sierra Leone Colony, which at that date still had the full determination of the directors, despite depredations from a French squadron that had caused damage up to 40,000L. See Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, 429-430, 436 for reference to the abolitionists of London. Davis did not cite Sanford in his index.

Thomas Willis, turner, lived at 203 Arch Street throughout the entire decade according to the census record and 1791, 1795 and 1801 directories. In 1803 the directory listed him as a city commissioner at the same address, suggesting that he finally retired from his trade.[133] Unlike other tradesmen on Arch Street, he lived a comfortable lifestyle. The tax assessor in 1791 noted that he rented from Widow Walters' estate in a house valued at 300. Frederick Walters, bricklayer, had occupied a residence on Arch Street valued at 300 in the 1787 tax assessment. A pre-1814 city survey places the Widow Fox and Widow Walters lots 45 feet east of Sixth Street. Each of the lots measured 80 feet deep to a 3-foot alley, which ran eastward from Sixth Street approximately 80 feet.[134]

Thomas Willis evidently played an active role in local politics. Beside his election as a city commissioner in 1803, he served in the militia during the Revolution and rose to be one of the leading figures in the Republican Party during the 1790s. When the French Minister Edmund Charles Genet arrived in Philadelphia in 1793, Willis as one of a large committee delegated to present an address to Genet from the Citizens of Philadelphia. The committee marched from the State House with "an immense body of citizens" to the City Tavern, where the ceremony took place. At the close of the address, "the house and the street again resounded with congratulations and applause." Willis responded to this high-spirited time in America's founding years by participating. [135]

Because Willis had the last Arch Street address on this block, the 45-foot lot at the corner of Arch and Sixth Streets evidently had buildings oriented with addresses towards Sixth Street. The 1785 Francis White Directory compared to the John MacPherson directory of the same year indicates that John Grace, blacksmith, occupied the corner lot. White located him at the corner of Arch and Sixth, whereas MacPherson gave him a numbered address, 134 Sixth Street. Likely his operation did not face onto Arch Street, but continued to have a street address on Sixth. The 1787 tax assessment notes that John Graves, smith, leased a property owned by Peter

---

[133] James Robinson, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1803.* (Philadelphia, 1803). The writer checked all city directories through 1803 for Thomas Willis. Between 1791 and 1802 only one, Stephen's for 1796, listed Thomas Willis, turner, elsewhere, at 155 South Front St. For some reason the tax assessment in 1795 lists a Musgrave Willis, rather than Thomas Willis, living with Samuel Lewis, which indicates he may have been Thomas' relative and boarding next door with Lewis. Further record of Thomas Willis might be found in Pennsylvania military records, as he served in the Philadelphia Militia during the Revolution.

[134] Tax Assessment Ledger, 1787, South Mulberry Ward, p. 54, PCA. The 1789 tax assessment, p. 62, showed Robert Magie (McGee), Board Merchant (see footnote 2) and Widow Walter living in adjoining dwellings valued at 400 and 300. By 1791, however, James Duncan, clerk, leased Widow Fox's Estate and Thomas Willis rented Widow Walters'. Both houses were valued the same as in 1789. City surveys, Div. 2T, pre-1814, PCA. No will was found for Thomas Willis. "PA Wills 1682-1834."

[135] During the Revolution, Willis served as a captain in the Pennsylvania militia and as an elected representative for the City and Northern Liberties. *PG* Aug.4, 1779 and Nov. 27, 1782. Several people he served with then were in the committee to greet Genet. *PG* May 22, 1793.

DeHaven's estate and that it included a dwelling, shop and lot adjoining, all valued at 250. [136]

Development along Arch Street seemed to move from the corners gradually towards the center of the block. In mid-block a painter, coachmaker,[137] brush and black ball manufacturer, blacksmith, soapboiler and turner were typical listings at the addresses between 187 and 203 Arch in the 1791, 1795, 1801 city directories featured in this research. Perhaps the earliest resident in this section was painter John Clawges. The census of 1790 shows that he lived with a family of eight other free white men and women on the north side of Arch Street, numbered 187 Arch by the 1791 *Directory*. Francis White's *Philadelphia Directory* in 1785 listed John Clauges, painter, on Arch between Fifth and Sixth, and in 1793 the directory listed him as painter and glazier at 187 Arch Street. A city survey drawn in 1785 shows that John Clawges had a 175-foot-deep lot regulated on Arch Street that backed up to Nathan Smith's lot facing Cherry Street. Clawges' lot stood 199 feet from Fifth Street, which when measured off, put it just west of the 49 1/2-foot lot originally identified on the Parsons map of 1747 as William Oxley's. Oxley's 491/2 foot lot bordered the burial ground's west side. John Clawges also leased the next lot to the west from a man named Morris. This Morris likely was an heir of Anthony Morris, as another city survey showed that Anthony Morris' heirs owned a lot on Arch Street east of the Fox lot at 201 Arch. [138] By 1787, John Clawge's lot and brick kitchen

---

[136] White, Philadelphia Directory, 1785; *MacPherson's Directory for the City The Suburbs of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1785) has a numbering system which followed a method that allowed a rough idea which side of the street the address fell; Peter DeHaven is owner of a large lot at Sixth and Arch Streets on two pre-1814 city surveys of this block. In 1778 De Haven and Elijah Weed, another Arch Street property owner on this block during the 1790s, both signed as witnesses to the will of Ebenezer Kennersley, which indicates that they knew one another prior to purchasing property on this block. Kennersley, Late Professor of English and Oratory. Aug. 3, 1778, R.82. PA Wills, 1682-1834. Peter DeHaven purchased part of the Great Lot at Arch and Sixth Street from the Wilkinson family in the 1760s, but apparently only as an investment. Philadelphia Deed Book I-7, 55-56. See deed summary in Appendices. In 1782 De Haven lived in Fourth Street near the College. *PG* Feb. 13, 1782.

[137] James Simmons, coachmaker, appeared on the 1789 tax assessment and in the 1790 census mid-block on Arch Street, but was located on Chestnut Street in the 1791 directory. The tax showed that he occupied a house owned by John Smith's estate, next door to John Clawges, painter, who is discussed below. Apparently another coachmaker took over the shop. A few facts on his life suggest that Simmons was a talented coachmaker and a patriotic citizen. He was the son-in-law of John Bringhurst of Germantown who fashioned a carriage for George Washington. He served in 1799 as secretary of a volunteer cavalry troop under Captain Robert Wharton, elected that year mayor of Philadelphia. Tax Assessment Ledgers, South Mulberry Ward, 1789, p.5, PCA; *PG* March 13, 1799; John Bringhurst, Germantown, Coachmaker, Apr. 4, 1795, X.221, PA Wills 1682-1834; John Bringhurst lived in the Germantown house now owned by Independence NHP as part of the Deshler-Morris House complex. Anna Coxe Toogood, "Historic Structure, Furnishings and Grounds Report, Deshler-Morris House and Bringhurst House, Historical Data Section," (Independence National Historical Park, June 1980), 99.

[138] The June 2, 1785 survey did not give the footage on Arch Street, but an 1809 survey indicated that the lot, then owned by Joseph Morris, was 23 ½-feet across. Another city survey sheet dating to the-mid 1780s listed the heirs of Anthony Morris as the owner of a mid-block lot on Arch Street. Pre-1814 Unidentified, Div 2T, Race-

together were valued at 200, indicating a better than average property value on this block. Business may have flagged, though, because the tax assessment for 1791 shows that Thomas Mason owned the lot and John Clauges, painter, rented, suggesting a property sale or mortgage.[139]

In 1794, Daniel Clawges, presumably a son or brother, continued the same business at 187 Arch Street, the first number address west of the Presbyterian Burial Ground. The 1795 tax assessment added to the slim portfolio by recording that Clawges (then spelled Glauges) still rented from Thomas Mason, and that the property included a dwelling, painter shop and lot adjoining (to the north) with a brick stable on Cherry Street. In 1799 another painter and glazier, Alexander Thomson, had taken over the property. Thompson listed himself at 187 Mulberry until 1804, when he disappeared from the record.[140] Thus for nearly fifteen years a painter and glazier occupied this 23 ½-foot lot.

Three new street addresses, 189, 195 and 197 Arch Street, appear in Hogan's 1795 *Prospect*. This might indicate that these properties had changed hands and were subsequently developed.[141] Jacob Gideon listed himself at 189 Arch as a "Brush and Blackball Manufacturer, and blower of the horn for the City Light-Horse."[142] While Gideon gave an interesting set of titles, little more could be found to flesh out his life, except that he advertised in August 1795 while living in Northern Liberties, that he would not pay any debts accrued by his wife, Polly. The tax assessment record for 1795 indicates that Richard Moore's estate owned the property that Gideon leased, but unfortunately no pre-1814 city survey showed Richard Moore as an owner of an Arch Street lot on this block. [143]

Thomas Hardy, soapboiler, listed himself in 1795 at two of the new street addresses, 195 and 197 Arch Street, mid-way in the block. The process of soap making traditionally has been recognized for its noxious odors, which may have influenced Hardy to build the business at the back end of the lots, away from the residences.[144] The tax list that year only assessed him for a dwelling and lot,

---

Arch, 6-5, PCA. Nathan Smith paid ground rent to John Clawges in the 1787 tax assessment, indicating that he purchased the entire lot to Cherry and sold half to Smith. Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, p. 51.

[139] Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, p. 53, and 1791, pp. 50 and 51, PCA.

[140] Stafford, *Directory*, 1799-1801; Robinson, *Directory,* 1803-5; the 1801 Directory simply listed his address as "next" after 181 Arch. After 1798 Daniel Clawges received no listing, but John Clawges appeared in the directories through 1800 at 110 N. 6th Street and Daniel reappeared in 1802 as a painter, etc., at 188 Vine Street, at a more remote, less valuable piece of real estate. Presumably Arch Street had become too expensive for their profit line.

[141] As late as 1788 an advertisement offered "a convenient three story brick House...pleasantly situated in Arch between Fifth and Sixth Streets," which suggests a still bucolic setting. *PG* Ap. 2, 1788.

[142] Hogan, *Prospect*, 1795; black ball, currently a term for voting against a membership, then was a product manufactured for shoes. *Oxford English Dictionary.*

[143] The Moore estate was assessed only 200 for a dwelling and lot. South Mulberry Ward, 1795, p. 66.

[144] An Act for regulating, pitching, paving and cleansing the Highways, Streets, Lanes and Alleys...," in 1769 lumped soapboilers with tallow chandlers and distillers who ran businesses that discharged "foul or nauseous Liquor" into the streets. *PG* May 11, 1769.

however, which suggests he ran his business in the house. Hardy rented the property from Richard Moore's estate.[145] This property evidently changed hands and Hardy took a partner by early 1797, as Kennedy and Hardy, soap boilers, that year operated on a 24 foot 8 inch by 306-foot deep lot in the estate of Benjamin Shoemaker at this location.[146] By 1801 Abraham Phillips had taken over at this address (only at 197 Arch) as a tallow chandler and soap boiler.[147]

The nearest neighbor to the west in 1795 was a blacksmith, John Mingle, who evidently took over the business from Christopher Schreiner. Mingle's blacksmith shop in 1795 came between 197 and 201, but without a number, which may support the conjecture that the shop did not stand right along Arch Street. The tax assessor valued his frame shop at 40 and also taxed him another 100 for a dwelling and lot owned by the Thomas Cope estate. The Cope family had patented a large 49 ½-foot lot 49 1/2 feet from Sixth Street in 1716 and continued to hold Arch Street lots on this block for most of the century.[148]

Presbyterian Burial Ground

Seven years after its founding in December 1743, the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia purchased a 52 by 306-foot lot on Arch Street fifty feet west from Fifth Street for their burial ground. Early in 1752 the church officially set aside the parcel for that purpose on a city block otherwise vacant.[149]

---

[145] Richard Moore did not leave a will, but there is room for conjecture that he was related to other property owners on this Arch Street section. Samuel Preston Moore, landowner within the Fifth and Arch lot, named a Richard Moore as his brother and another as his nephew in his will. Samuel Preston Moore, City of Phila, Practitioner in Physick, Aug. 3, 1785. T. 178. "PA Wills, 1682-1834."

[146] Pennsylvania Wills list several generations of Benjamin Shoemaker in the region. One of them who died in 1807 named four Morris grandchildren, perhaps part of the Anthony Morris heirs who owned an Arch Street lot according to a city survey. Benjamin Shoemaker, Late of Philadelphia, now of Germantown, September 22, 1808, 2.369, "PA Wills 1682-1834." "Draught of Lots on East side of 6th Street from Mulberry Street to Cherry alley July 16th 1782, Third Survey District, folder 43, pre-1814, PCA.

[147] *PG* Feb. 15, 1797; 1801 directory.

[148] See Chapter 1, footnote 14.

[149] E.R. Beadle, Pastor, *The Old and the New, 1743-1876. The Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia Its Beginning and Increase*, 1876, 21, at Presbyterian Historical Society (PHS). Beadle explains that converts inspired by the evangelical preaching of George Whitefield formed the Second Presbyterian. The church's first minister, Rev. Gilbert Tennent, assisted Whitefield until he left Philadelphia in 1740 and then accepted the calling in 1743 to be the pastor for the new congregation. Tennent served for 23 years. He and his family were interred in the Arch Street burial ground. In the nine years that elapsed between the founding of the church and opening of the cemetery, burials evidently were made in the schoolyard at Fourth and Arch Streets. Beadle, *The Old and the New*, 20- 21. 23 and 161. The latter page is an account by Samuel Hazard in 1864. Hazard mentioned a record he'd seen that part of his grandfather's family had been buried in ground attached to the "new building in Fourth Street." Another account of the church's founding in *The Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia* Compiled and Edited by Rev. Wm. P. White, D.D. and William H. Scott (Philadelphia, 1895), xvi-xvii, states that a surge of immigration

The burial ground was laid out to extend the complete lot depth of 306 feet prior to the opening of Cherry Street. As maps later indicated, Cherry Street was laid out 288 feet north of Arch Street, so that the back 18 feet of the burial ground obstructed Cherry Street's right-of-way. By 1790 numerous houses lined both sides of Cherry Street and the intrusion of the burial ground interfered with the street's improvement. Edward Lynch, speaking in behalf of several "respectable Inhabitants and Free holders in that Square," raised the issue in a letter to Dr. John Redman, then president of the Second Presbyterian Church corporation. He requested that the church sell the back end of the burial ground, explaining that this intrusion presented "a bar to getting that street paved" between Fifth and Sixth Streets. Lynch hoped that the Trustees would offer terms "as moderate as possible," since the ground had "little value" and the sale would be a public service.[150]

Nearly a decade passed before the church elders agreed to sell. Finally in May 1799, after rejecting several overtures, they sold the piece of ground. Prior to the deed transfer, however, the church had to remove the burials in that section and re-inter them further to the south. That same year the Trustees voted to set aside funds to purchase ground for another burial ground. In the fall of 1804 the Church Corporation decided that as soon as the new ground opened on Noble Street, they would close the Arch Street lot to further burials, except for relatives of people already laid to rest there. Thus at the turn of the eighteenth century the Arch Street burial ground had begun to be phased out of use. It appeared as an open space, likely enclosed with a fence or wall with some light landscaping around the headstones and vaults.[151]

Surviving burial records dating from 1783 to 1799 provide a stark reminder of the high death rate, particularly among children in the eighteenth century. The list of burials reads "A child of..." for the Bayard, Westcot, Taylor, Mathews, Caruther, Magee, Esprey, Skags, Kennedy, Butler, Fosset, Trimble, Eastburn, Thompson, Ralston, Smith, Dickenson, Nicholson, Du Ponceau, Hazzard, Blanchard and Rush families. Benjamin Rush, the foremost physician of his era, and his wife Julia Stockton, buried two children in 1782 and 1783 and erected a stone in their memory. In 1785 Joseph Reed, patriot and President (or governor) of Pennsylvania from 1778 to 1781, was buried at the same time as his daughter Mary in 1785. Reed's wife, Esther De Berdt, preceded him in death only five years earlier. On September 18th, 1780, graveside services for her, a 33-year-old mother of five small children, were attended by "the Members of Congress and of their principal Boards,

---

to Philadelphia and church dissension led to the creation of the Second Presbyterian Church establishment.

[150] "A Register of the Burying-Grounds of Philadelphia" compiled by Charles R. Barker, 1942-1944. (A copy of the Presbyterian/Reformed materials in Volumes 1-4, 6. (Originals at the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania). PHS; Edward Lynch to Dr. John Redman, Presdt, 3d June 1790, RG 33, 7-7, PHS.

[151] Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia PA, "Minutes of the Corporation, 1772-1805, v. 3, May 9, 1799, 228, May 27, 1799, Sept. 19, 1804, 232. The May 27 entry noted that William Sansom, owner of the lot to the west of the burial ground, objected to the fence erected on the property line. Barker, *A Register*, also noted that a sketch of the Arch Street burial ground in David Kennedy's "Views of Philadelphia" was at the HSP. A high brick wall around the cemetery would be typical of 18th century practice, as seen today at Christ Church and Friends Society cemeteries in Old City.

the General Assembly and Supreme Executive Council, officers of the Army and of the State and a great concourse of numerous friends and acquaintance." Her broken-hearted husband gave way to tears.[152]

Several other notable burials took place at this cemetery. The first two pastors for the Second Presbyterian Church, Dr. Gilbert Tennent and Dr. James Sproat, were buried here. The Rev. Sproat, his wife, his eldest son, William, and youngest daughter all died together during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. Because many in the city had fled to the countryside, only about fifty people and "some pious negroes" attended the procession from the church to the burial.[153] Dr. William Shippen, arch-enemy of Dr. Rush during the Revolution, was laid to rest here in 1808. The inscription on his grave read that "He was a teacher and Founder of the Medical School in this City, in which he presided with honor near 40 years." Another prominent man of medicine, Dr. John Redman, president of the College of Physicians when yellow fever struck in 1793, received burial the same year as Shippen. He followed his wife to the grave by less than a year, having shared fifty-seven years together. Col. Francis Johnston and Christian Febiger were among the patriots and officers of the Pennsylvania government buried at the Arch Street cemetery. [154]

In the spring of 1792, during an official visit to Philadelphia by forty-seven chiefs of the Six Iroquois Nations, Peter Jacquette, one of the Oneida chiefs, died. The First City Troop escorted the funeral march from Oellers Hotel on Chestnut above Sixth Street to the Fifth and Arch Street burial ground. So many Pennsylvania Assembly members attended that a quorum for business could not be reached. The newspaper account claimed that a crowd of 10,000 witnessed the cortege, likely because six of the chiefs, all the visiting warriors, all the city clergy, and officers of the Army and War Department walked in the funeral parade.[155] Likely no such display occurred at the burial for William Knox, 38, from Boston, who died in 1795 while working under his brother, Secretary of War Henry Knox. John Nicholson, Jr., once comptroller general of Pennsylvania and a high-profile real estate tycoon with partner Robert Morris, died in 1800 at forty while under emotional duress. Nicholson struggled against public censure and debt in his final years. The family made public their grief and anger by way of his gravestone inscription. "The widowed mother and orphan child may drop a tear to his memory but many whom chance or idle curiosity

---

[152] *PG* Sept. 27, 1780. John F. Roche, *Joseph Reed* (New York, 1955), 282; William C. Armor, *Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania, With the Incidental History of the State, from 1609 to 1872. (*Philadelphia, 1879), 216, gives Joseph Reed's dates of service, Dec. 1, 1778-Oct. 8, 1781, and his birth date as Aug. 27, 1741, making him only forty-four at death.

[153]William B. Sprague D.D., Annals *of the American Presbyterian Pulpit, or Commemorative Notices, Vol. 1* (New York, 1860), 35-37, 125-127.

[154] "Inscriptions on tombstones in the Second Presbyterian Church Cemetery (5th and Arch Streets," c. 1867, 1 vol., PHS.

[155] Jacob Cox Parsons, ed., *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, 1765-1798* (Philadelphia, 1893), 174, 235; Marion Nelson Winship, "`Indians Now in This City' – Philadelphia, 1792 The Negotiation of Diplomatic Visits by Indian Guests and Their Official White Hosts," June 1, 1990, History 700 Seminar, (Professor Drew Gilpin Faust), University of Pennsylvania, 32 gives a descriptive quote about Jaquette's funeral from the Worcester, MA *Spy*, April 12, 1792.

may lead to this tomb will sink with shame and confusion when they reflect upon their sordid ingratitude."[156]

George Bryan, who more than any other Pennsylvania legislator deserves credit for the passage of the 1780 Gradual Emancipation Act in Pennsylvania, was laid to rest in the Second Presbyterian burial ground. Bryan recognized the significance of the abolition legislation when he wrote to Samuel Adams "Our bill ... astonishes and pleases the Quakers. They looked for no such benevolent issue of our new government, exercised by Presbyterians." [157] For his lifetime promotion of human rights Bryan received a tombstone inscription that sang his praise:

> In memory of George Bryan, who died 27th January, 1791, aged sixty years. Mr. Bryan was among the earliest and most active and uniform friends of the rights of man before the Revolutionary war. As a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and of the Congress of New York in 1765, and as a citizen, he was conspicuous in opposition to the Stamp Act and other acts of British tyranny. He was equally an opponent of domestic slavery. The emancipation of the people of color engaged the feelings of his heart and the energies of his mind, and the Act of abolition [which] laid the foundation of their liberation issued from his pen. He filled several important offices during the Revolutionary contest, and for the last eleven years of his life was one of the judges of the Supreme Court. In this private deportment he was exemplary, --a Christian in principle and practice. [158]

Although this study focuses on the 18th Century, for purposes of understanding possible archeological resources and because the record was well preserved by the Presbyterian Historical Society, the nineteenth century record will also be outlined here.

Around 1835 the church elders decided to move their place of worship to Seventh Street to secure a quieter location.[159] While the new church was under construction, the congregation worshipped in a brick building they called the session room that the church had already built on Cherry Street at the north end of the

---

[156] "Inscriptions on tombstones," PHS. The wording of Knox's inscription suggested some issue surrounding his death: " Here lies the mortal part of..." Such impersonal definition of the dead may indicate that Knox committed suicide or showed poor character somehow, However, this phrasing may simply refer to the fact that he was from Boston, as Samuel Cotesworthy's tombstone carried similar wording and he, too, was a "native of Boston." Both men died in 1795, only 3 months apart, one at age 38, the other only 29. The coincidence in timing and circumstances also might suggest a homosexual relationship.

[157] As quoted in Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, I,* 405. See also Bryan's biography, Joseph S. Foster, *In Pursuit of Equal Liberty George Bryan and the Revolution in Pennsylvania* (University Park, 1994), 109-14. Foster posits "Perhaps no other achievement in his political career was more significant than his unrelenting determination to abolish slavery in the state."(109)

[158] As quoted in Scharf and Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, I,* 405.

[159] Beadle, *The Old and the New*, 39. Beadle noted here that Benjamin Franklin had warned the original church elders not to build on an intersection, but to seek a building site in the middle of the block to avoid the noise of carriages and other street distractions. They ignored his advise and built their church at the northwest corner of Third and Arch Streets.

burial ground.[160] That year also, the church prepared a plan of the burial ground that showed all the existing family vaults under a central 9-foot wide walkway the length of the burial ground to the "Session Room, etc." The plan marked the Session room measurements as 52 feet 9 inches wide-- three feet more than the full width of the 49 ½ foot lot -- by 40 feet 7 inches.[161] This brick building (with 19 feet of ground) was sold from the Arch Street burial ground in 1852, after many years in use as a schoolhouse and meeting hall for societies. Prior to the sale, the remains of the dead within that property were relocated, most to the front yard further south in the burial ground, and a few to Monument Cemetery or Laurel Hill Cemetery.[162] The church records indicate that the graves were "much more numerous than previously anticipated." Based on remaining stones, they dated them as late as 1834, and many 50 to 70 years earlier. A plot plan of gravesites within the walls of the session building in 1852 survives. The plan also provides grave inscriptions, which sometimes indicated that more than one person had been interred in that grave.[163]

The pace of burials slowed considerably after the turn of the 18th century, but the ground remained open until 1867. In February of that year the congregation voted to sell the burial ground. The Trustees appointed a committee to supervise the removals "to a more suitable and permanent location." [164] Church records showed that as of 1851, about 3,650 persons "of all ages" had been interred in their Arch Street lot, which then measured 52 feet on Arch by about 245 feet in depth.[165] That year prominent families began moving their loved ones to fashionable rural cemeteries outside the city, among them the heirs of John Strawbridge and Dandridge Tucker. The remains of explorer Elisha Kane and his family and John Kintzing Kane were removed from the Thomas Leiper vault, while the body of Rev. Gilbert Tennant, the first pastor for the Second Presbyterian Church, was taken from the Chauncey vault to be reburied at the Lemon Hill Cemetery. Other families chose to relocate their family dead to Woodlands and to New Brunswick, New Jersey.[166] For the rest, the Trustees in August 1867 purchased a 5,121 square-foot plot of ground

---

[160] "Burying Grounds in Arch Street and in Noble Street Mr. Samuel Hazard, in a communication to the Board of Trustees, upon his retirement from that Board, in 1864," in Beadle, *The Old and New*, 161.

[161] "Plan of the Arch Street Burial Ground, belonging to the Second Presbyterian Church, 1835," Map Case 2.49, PHS. A phone interview with Eileen Skar, reference librarian, PHS, Oct. 15, 2002, revealed that the Session referred to the church body of elders responsible for theological matters.

[162] "Detailed Account of removals from Arch St Ground between 11th & 19th October 1852," Thos M. Hughes, undertaker. RG 33, Box 7, PHS. Hughes noted where he found the bodies and where they were reinterred. His explanation divided the Session House lot into Ranges A to F, the latter being along the eastern fence, where the new privy was located. Another untitled document at PHS records new coffins made at the time, each called a "small case," furnished as needed for the reinterred bodies, all of whom are identified by name. RG 33, Box 7, PHS.

[163] Hazard, "Burying Grounds in Arch Street in 1864," in Beadle, *The Old and New*, 161.

[164] Beadle, *The Old and New*, 165. Time did not permit a search to determine whether city legislation banning burial grounds in the city had prompted this vote.

[165] Charles McAllister, President of the Board of Trustees, to Health Office, March 1, 1851, in response to a questionnaire sent by that office in January 2, 1851, RG 33-7-8, PHS.

[166] Certificates authorizing Sexton to Remove Remains, 1851-1856, 1867, RG 33-7-19, PHS.

in Mount Vernon Cemetery along Ridge Road just outside Philadelphia.[167] The project, however, was immense. Family members of the deceased needed to be notified and then agree to the removal. The committee arranged for 1,479 removals. They built six new vaults, one monument, fifty tombs, one tablet, and 253 head and footstones in the new burial ground at Mount Vernon. They also arranged for five new vaults to be built at Laurel Hill Cemetery and saw to the removal of the remains there from the five original vaults in the Arch Street ground. At the close of the year the Trustees reported that all bodies had been relocated. [168]

In 1869 the Trustees began selling the Arch Street burial ground in parcels. An undertaker, William Hill Moore, purchased an 18-foot-wide lot in July. Another 24-foot lot was sold to Richard J. Dobbins in 1874, leaving 7 feet which appears to have been made into an alleyway to the back of the eastern lot. Certainly neither party knew that at least 98 burials had been left behind in the first relocation project when the church sold off the Cherry Street end in 1852, nor whether that would suggest other internments were left behind in the burial ground during the final removal of burials. The General State Authority's "Plan of Buildings to be Demolished" completed in 1958 for Block 3 showed the two Arch Street lots filled with buildings, but a large area under the backbuildings had no basements. As no archeology was necessary for this area (since the National Constitution Center did not plan construction there), it is not known whether a similar incident of burial ground vestiges remain behind under ground. Very likely there are, based on the findings at the north and east sides of the burial plot.[169]

Fifth Street

As documented earlier in this report (see pp. 12-13), the easternmost Arch Street lot began to be subdivided prior to the Revolution. Thomas Bartholomew, Andrew Edge and Plananigh Pugh purchased lots along the west side of Fifth Street in the 1760s and then built several two and three-story houses. Bartholomew lived near the corner of Arch in a house he insured in 1763, and advertised others along Fifth for sale. Edge insured two two-story and two three-story houses in a row on Fifth Street just above Arch Street, which he advertised for sale or exchange for a country farm. Edge was tied in with other real estate developers on this section of the block, one being Richard Hall, his uncle. Closer to Cherry Street Pugh owned a two-story house, which he rented, and a three-story house, his residence in 1763, both of which he soon after sold.

---

[167] Today's address for Mount Vernon Cemetery is Ridge and Lehigh Avenues, Philadelphia.

[168] Beadle, *The Old and New*, 166. The deed for the Mount Vernon plot is dated August 20, 1867. They paid $2176 for the land. "A Register of the Burying-Grounds of Philadelphia Compiled by Charles R. Barker, 1942-1944." PHS.

[169] Deed to Richard J. Dobbins, 30 March 1874, Map Case, drawer 30.25, PHS. Figure 4 in Kise, Straw & Kolodner, *Archeological Sensitivity Study*. Recent archeology for the US Constitution Center uncovered the burials, many of them under the Cherry Street right-of-way. The remains were reinterred in a church ceremony at Woodlands Cemetery in 2001. Burial information from phone interview with Jed Levin, National Park Service archeologist, Oct. 16, 2002. Of the 3654 burials recorded as of 1851, only 1,479 went to Mount Vernon cemetery, leaving over 2000 unaccounted for at this date. Some of that 2000-odd were moved by prominent families to other grounds, but some bodies likely remain buried on this block.

By the decade of the 1780s this section of Fifth Street had a diverse mix of people, mostly small shopkeepers and tradesmen, but an occasional clerk or gentleman. The White directory of 1785 lists two dozen or more people on Fifth between Arch and Race streets, but few can be identified as living on the west side of Fifth Street and south of Cherry Street on this block. With a cross-check with the numbering system from MacPherson's directory the same year, Thomas Randall, gentleman, can be located south of Cherry on the west side of Fifth. The one piece of interest about him is that his children showed up in Samuel Emlen's will of November 1783. S. Emlen owned the Cresson section according to the Parson's survey of 1747, which suggests that Randall may have leased at this location to be in the neighborhood of friends or family. Typically, Randall's stay at this site must have been brief, however, as he did not appear in the 1785 tax assessment for this block.[170]

The tax assessments give other particulars about the residents and physical growth along Fifth Street south of Cherry. William Ralston's estate adjoining Cherry in 1787, for instance, included two lots, one where George Ralston (a son, presumably), lived, and according to the 1791 directory, ran a customs house office at 70 N. Fifth Street. James Cunningham, cordwainer, Johnson McCown, shopkeeper, Oliver Ross, combmaker, and Thomas Darrock, saddler, shared the property, which included two houses and "sundry framed." The other adjoining Ralston property had only one dwelling valued at 125 and was leased to Captain Clam (sp?) of the Invalids.[171] Next door to the south Christian Keen, a joiner, rented a dwelling valued at 250 from the Jabez Busby estate. Judging from his occupation and the property valuation, this lot likely had a three-story house. John Davis, upholsterer and Samuel Wainwright, hatter, shared a dwelling rented from the David Miller estate. Thomas Hannaberry, a fishmonger, later listed at 62 North Fifth Street, occupied his own dwelling and lot next door, valued at 250. His household included Charles Woelpert, fishmonger, and James Parker, staymaker. Henbury, as spelled in 1791, or Hennelry in 1795, remained at this location selling fish for close to a decade, likely because he owned the property.[172]

Next door Robert Parrish, plainmaker, rented the dwelling of William Thomas' estate. Parrish was a Quaker, like so many others living on this block, and was named among many Friends in John Pemberton's will of 1795. The Thomas estate also owned the adjoining house where James Carter, merchant, rented. Both houses were valued at 300. The last two houses before the corner property on Arch were occupied by widow Cooper who owned her dwelling valued at 225, and Lewis Busay, clerk, in a house valued at 200, rented from the John Williams estate. John Williams, it turns out, was a brother-in-law to Margaret and Thomas Bartholomew. In her will of 1777, Margaret left Williams and his wife her Philadelphia house, which might explain this lot being in his estate in 1787.[173]

---

[170] Samuel Emlen, Gentleman, November 24, 1783, PA Wills 1682-1834. Tax Assessment Ledger, 1787, South Mulberry Ward, p. 52, PCA.
[171] Tax Assessment Ledger, 1787, South Mulberry Ward, p. 52, PCA.
[172] Tax Assessment, 1787, p. 52-53; Biddle, *Directory*, 1791; Hogan, *Prospect*, 1795;
[173] William Thomas insured a house on the west side of Fifth "a little above Mulberry Street," on November 30, 1776. CBk 1, 80; Tax Assessment, 1787, p. 52-53; Biddle, *Directory*, 1791; John Pemberton, City of Philadelphia, merchant, July 2, 1795, and

Eight years later the tax assessor found a new roster of residents (with the exception of the fishmonger, Thomas Hanneberry) along this section of Fifth Street. The property owners remained in the Ralston, Busby, Pugh, Thomas and Williams families. The city directory that year made evident that the typical resident continued to be in the trades (shoemaker, bandbox maker, cabinetmaker and joiner and French hairdresser). The French hairdressers may well have been among the refugees from Santo Domingo who arrived in the city the summer of 1793, fleeing a bloody slave revolt on the island. A rise in the number of clerks or scriveners perhaps reflected the federal government's presence in the city during the decade. "Charles Thompson," scrivener, at 54 North Fifth Street (listed as "Charles Thomkins" in the 1795 tax record) is of possible interest if he is the famous patriot Charles Thomson, who served nearly fifteen years as secretary to the Continental Congress. While it is an intriguing coincidence of name and occupation, the sixty-six year old Thomson evidently had retired from public and private service, but may have had a son or other relative who followed in his profession.[174]

Besides change in residents, the tax assessor also made note of physical improvements that apparently had been made in the interim at the Ralston property. In 1787 a Ralston lot supported "sundry frame," and in 1795, there were no frame, only three brick dwellings. The 1795 tax record also suggests that the Ralston lot at the corner of Cherry stood empty, perhaps having been cleared of its frame buildings. Such an improvement would have been timely, considering that the city outlawed the construction of frame buildings within the city limits east of Tenth Street in the spring of 1795 to cut down on real estate loss from fire.[175] This indication of an empty lot at the southwest corner of Fifth and Cherry is implied, as well, by the addresses, which stop at 72 below Cherry and pick up north of Cherry with Ebenezer Robinson at 82 North Fifth. Throughout the decade four addresses are missing, 74, 76, 78 and 80, which suggests a large double lot yet to be developed.[176]

A comparison of the directories for 1791, 1795 and 1801 also indicates that while the residents changed locations, the business or trade at that address sometimes remained the same. At 68 North Fifth Street a joiner or cabinetmaker occupied the property for the national capital decade, as recorded in all three directories. At 64 N. Fifth a variety of small manufacturers took the lease, in 1791 a cardmaker, in 1795 a band box maker and in 1801 a bonnet box maker. Likely they all used similar equipment and had little to do to alter the shop for their different

---

Margaret Bartholemew, widow of Thomas, Willistown, Jan. 14, 1777, PA Wills, 1682-1834.

[174]The likelihood that Charles Thompson was the Charles Thomson who served as secretary of the Continental Congress is slim, because when he retired in 1789, Thomson moved to "Harriton," his country house near Philadelphia, where he evidently lived out his long life. (1729-1834). Dumas Malone, *The Dictionary of American Biography 18* (New York, 1936), 481.

[175] The Pennsylvania Assembly passed an act defining the ban on building in wood in April 1795 and City Council passed an ordinance to that effect on June 6, 1796. Acts of Assembly, No. XXVII, and Chapter XVI, "Acts and Ordinances, 1702-1812," INDE Micro 475, pp. 89 and 126.

[176] Tax Assessment, 1787, p. 52-53 and Tax Assessment, 1795, South Mulberry Ward, p. 65, PCA. The ships from the West Indies also likely brought *Aëdes aegypti* mosquitoes infected with yellow fever that decimated the Philadelphia population that summer.

products. Finally, the listings for the residents from 52 to 72 North Fifth Street in these directories show a clear progression in social rank. By 1801, after the national capital moved to Washington, D.C., the neighborhood at Fifth had become more gentrified. The city was moving steadily westward. Thus while the 1795 directory listed one gentlewoman, Mary Thomas, in this section of Fifth Street, the 1801 directory listed four gentlewomen near Arch Street. Other residents included a wine merchant, two carpenters and a cabinetmaker, a lawyer, tobacconist and a China store operator, providing luxury commodities for a wealthier clientele in the neighborhood.[177]

Sixth Street

Sixth Street between Arch and Cherry Streets experienced a burst of development in the post-Revolution period. As mentioned earlier (see p. 23 above), Peter De Haven's property during the Revolution supported a gun factory. A city survey in 1782 measured his lot as 99 feet on Arch and 107 feet on Sixth Street. The 1787 tax listed two tenants on De Haven property, John Graves, a blacksmith, who leased a dwelling, shop and adjoining lot valued at 250, and William Bruner, a carter. Bruner rented a dwelling valued at 175 and was taxed for one horse and four cows, which suggests that the property included a stable. Possibly some of the structures remained from the gun factory.[178]

The tax assessment for 1791 had two tenants sharing a Peter De Haven dwelling, George Carlisle, coachmaker, and William Brunner, the carter who was listed in the 1787 tax. This dwelling was valued at 210. Brunner appeared in the census on North Sixth Street as William Branger, laborer, with a household of 7 others, five of them women, and in the 1791 city directory at 41 North Sixth Street, next to George Brinner, tailor, at 47 North Sixth Street. The tax record spelled Brinner as Brunner, suggesting that George and William shared a family connection. George Carlisle's name did not turn up in the 1791 directory. That year De Haven constructed two new two-story brick tenement houses on Sixth Street. The insurance described them as square, each 16 by 16-foot, with kitchens in the cellar. These were built on a 32 by 45-foot lot on Sixth Street, some 49 feet north of Arch Street.[179]

In 1795 De Haven asked for a survey of his large lot at the corner (45 by 48 feet 7 along Sixth Street) in preparation for the construction of two more houses. That year the Hogan's directory listed two carpenters and a cabinetmaker living at 61 and 63 North Sixth Street, the first addresses above Arch. Likely they were busy putting up his new houses. In November De Haven insured one on Arch Street and the other adjoining on the corner of Sixth Street. The tax assessment that year listed William Brunger (variant of the William Brunner in 1791?) on a Peter De Haven lot with 3 brick dwellings and one frame structure. Jacob Phimple, a tailor, also leased a dwelling and lot valued at 125 from De Haven. How these four brick buildings and frame actually were situated is not clear. Oddly neither Brunger nor Phimple appear

---

[177] See Appendix for chart showing North Fifth residents in 1790-91, 1795, 1801.
[178] "Draught of lots on East side of 6th Street from Mulberry Street to Cherry alley, July 16th 1782, Third Survey District, Pre-1814, folder 43, PCA. Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, pp. 53-4.
[179] Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1791, p. 52; *Heads of Families*, 1790, 223; "Survey for Peter De Haven Sixth Street near Mulberry," September 6, 1791, Third Survey District, Pre-1814, folder 43, PCA. Peter De Haven policy, Jan. 7, 1792, two brick tenements, CBk 2, 248.

in Hogan's *Prospect* that year. Finally De Haven had surveyed a 23 -foot lot on Sixth Street at the north end of his property for his son Hugh De Haven, leaving a 3-foot alley between the father and son lots.[180]

A composite city survey of the lots along the east side of Sixth Street from Mulberry to Cherry dated 1782-1788 shed light on some of the other properties on this section. De Haven's portion of Sixth Street extended north from Arch Street 107 feet in two lots, one 90 feet and the other 17 feet. To the north stood four 17-foot lots and one 16-foot lot. Two of these were owned by Cristler, one by Edward Jones, and two by Captain Daniel Joy (deeded by Richard Jones). The last 80 feet to Cherry Street contained a lot Ludwick Karacher had purchased in 1771. (An insurance policy in 1775 recorded that Karacher built two two-story houses on this property). North of Karacher was a 32-foot lot set aside for Amy & E. Humphreys. Two shallow 19 ½-foot lots facing Cherry Street right on the corner appeared to make up the last Sixth Street lot.[181]

The two Christler lots just north of De Haven had unassuming dwellings by 1787 each assessed at 125. The tenants were two butchers and a widow. The 1791 tax marked Widow Christler's estate with tenants George Brunner, taylor and Jacob Grier, butcher, in two adjoining properties valued each at 100. According to the census and 1791 directory, Jacob Greer, butcher, lived at 49 North Sixth Street in a household of five. Two tenants continued to occupy the houses in 1795, but it is impossible to be sure whether they are numbered because only one tenant, Stephen Sheremuth, hostler, appeared in Hogan's *Prospect* that year, and without an address number. In fact Hogan's gave few street addresses for this section of Sixth, making it difficult to check it against the 1791 directory. Even more confusing, the 1801 directory listed a different numbering sequence and all new tenants, with the exception of Joseph Gray.[182]

Godfrey Minig, baker, was taxed in 1787 for a dwelling and bake house that neighbored Widow Christler's two lots. Godfrey Minick had a Sixth Street lot surveyed on March 17, 1785. According to an explanatory annotation, it was the (17-foot) lot labeled for Edward Jones in the plan. The 1790 census, as well as the 1791 and 1795 directories listed Godfrey Miney (1790 and 1791), Meeny (1795), baker, on North Sixth. In 1791 his address was 53 North Sixth, and his tax listed a house adjoining, which likely was occupied by Martha Walker at 51 North Sixth. In February that year Minnick insured a "nearly new" three-story house on north Sixth street that measured 18 feet, 6 inches, including a 3-foot alley, by 28 feet deep, with a small shop in the lower front room, which possibly was his own residence and bakery

---

[180] "Survey for Peter De Haven Sixth Street near Mulberry," September 6, 1791, Third Survey District, Pre-1814, folder 43, PCA ; Hogan, *Prospect*, 54; Peter De Haven policy 2727 and 2728, Nov. 28, 1795, CBk 3, 30.

[181] "Draught of lots on East side of 6th Street from Mulberry Street to Cherry alley, July 16th 1782. Regulated lot for Capt. Danl Joy Godfrey Minick March 16 1785 May 29th 1782 Deborah Morris ..." Third Survey District, Pre-1814, folder 43, PCA; policy for Ludwick Karigar, Dec. 5 1775, CBk 2, 141. The policy states that both of the two tenements were new.

[182] The Christian name of the Christler property owner was not given in surveys or tax records. Five male Christlers are listed in the index to Philadelphia County wills. Deed work would provide the name, if needed. Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 54, 1791, 52, and 1795, 66; *Heads of Family*, 1790, 223; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, Stafford, *Directory 1801*.

outlet. Each floor had two rooms and the policy noted that the back parlor and front chamber were finished. In 1795 Godfrey Meeny was listed on Sixth above Arch with no number. That year he was taxed for two properties adjoining the widow Christler's estate, one where he lived, valued at 425, and a rental (to a shoemaker) that merely was valued at 125. Minick by 1801 was gone, but at "51 next" North Sixth in the directory, another baker, John Dankwerth, continued the business.[183]

Capt. Daniel Joy also had developed his property next door to the north. In 1787 Leonard Rust, innkeeper, paid rent for a dwelling and vacant lot adjoining valued at 200. The 1791 tax listed Leonard Rust, innkeeper, still in residence, but he then only leased a dwelling valued at 170. The 1791 directory placed Leonard Rust at 55 North Sixth Street as a meal seller. Evidently Capt. Joy sold off this lot to Capt. Stiles by 1795, when a wheelwright occupied the dwelling. Joy evidently sold his other lot to Joseph Gray, brewer, who was listed as 61 North Sixth in the 1791, 1795 and 1801 directories. In 1801 Gray identified himself as a gentleman, indicating his financial success and retirement. [184]

The 1787 tax assessment listed Ludwick Kerger's (Karacher in the survey record) two lots with dwellings after Daniel Joy's entry. The Kerger tenants were Mrs. Pomorada and George Keely, merchant. Keely's listing noted that the Kerger estate was assessed for a dwelling and two vacant lots at the corner. Those vacant lots at Cherry Street were sold the following year to Tobias King who in turn sold them to two single women, sisters, Elizababeth and Amy Humphreys. The 1791 tax assessment listed Elizabeth Humphreys living next door to Joseph Gray with a vacant lot adjoining. The 1791 directory, however, named Amy Humphreys, spinster, at this location, giving the address as 63 North Sixth. Amy died in 1794 naming Elizabeth as one of her executors. The 1795 tax assessment noted that the Elizabeth Humphreys estate had "Negroes" in residence. The Humphreys dwelling and adjoining lot were valued at 250. The directory that year, however, listed two carpenters in residence at 63 North Sixth Street. Likely some building was under construction nearby, perhaps in the vacant lot adjoining. A carpenter occupied 63 North Sixth in 1801, but it's not definite whether that address still was for the Humphreys property.[185]

---

[183] "Draught of lots on East side of 6th Street," July 16, 1782, Third Survey District, Pre-1814, folder 43, PCA; policy for Godfrey Minnick, [sic] Feb. 1, 1791, CBk 2, 248; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 54, 1791, 52, and 1795, 66; *Heads of Family*, 1790, 223; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, Stafford, *Directory 1801*. No will could be found for Godfrey Minnick. Some 12 Minnicks appeared in the master list, however.

[184] "Draught of lots on East side of 6th Street," July 16, 1782, Third Survey District, Pre-1814, folder 43, PCA; policy for Godfrey Minnick, [sic] Feb. 1, 1791, CBk 2, 248; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 54, 1791, 52, and 1795, 66; *Heads of Family*, 1790, 223; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, Stafford, *Directory 1801*.

[185] "Draught of lots on East side of 6th Street," July 16, 1782, Third Survey District, Pre-1814, folder 43, PCA. This survey notes on a lot adjoining Humphreys that Ludwick Kercher sold to Tobias King on August 13, 1788, and that King sold to the Humphrey sisters on April 29, 1788, indicating King made an earlier purchase from Kercher. In 1790 Amy Humphrey's household included a teenage boy and three other women, one who likely was Elizabeth. *Heads of Family*, 1790, 223; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 54; 1791, 52; and 1795, 66; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, Stafford, *Directory 1801;* Amy Humphreys, City of Phila., Single Woman, Mar. 14, 1794, X.19, PA Wills 1682-1834.

Cherry Street

The corner property at Cherry Street owned by Tobias King as of 1788 became a Cherry Street address in the 1791 directory when "Tobey King" was listed at 66 Cherry Street, the last address on the south side of the street going west. The tax that year recorded Tobias King as a laborer, whereas the census and directory named him a brick maker. He didn't remain long at this address. The 1795 directory listed Richard Sands, a carter, at 66 Cherry, although Tobias King remains at a Cherry location according to the tax record for that year. In 1801 Casper Trimble, a shopkeeper, occupied the address. The directory that year added that Cato Collins, brush maker, lived at the corner of Sixth Street, but did not give a street number.[186]

Jacob Shippack, baker, (Sheppack in the tax) occupied and owned the next dwelling to the east, 64 Cherry in 1791. The census listed 8 others in his household, mostly adults. He remained at this address as a baker in 1795 (spelled Jacob Skipbeck in the directory and Sheppack in the tax), but by 1801 George Ohle had taken over the bakery at that street number and Jacob Scheipeck ran a bakery next door, at 62 Cherry. Likely the Jacob Scappack, baker, at 62 Cherry in 1811 is the same man. The spelling variations very possibly indicate that he had a very thick accent.[187]

John Baugh, shoemaker, lived at 62 Cherry in 1790-1791, with a household of eight. By 1795 Mary Swoop, a widow and seamstress, lived at the address (but she was not listed in the tax record) and in 1801, as mentioned, Scheipeck had opened up his bakery there.

Jacob Umpchant, butcher, (Umbehend in the tax record), occupied 60 Cherry in 1790-91, with five others in the household. He did not appear again, nor did the address in the 1795 and 1801 directories. Umbehend lived on Cherry in 1787, as recorded by the tax assessor, who listed him as a laborer in a dwelling valued only at 40, evidently his own property. The 1795 tax listed a butcher, George Sonleiter, as having a dwelling and lot valued at 75, at approximately the same location near Jacob Sheppack. The directory, however, listed George Sunlighter, laborer, after 58 Cherry Street, but assigned him no number, perhaps suggesting that the 60 Cherry was slated to be abandoned. The 1801 directory not only listed no 60 Cherry Street but had no butchers as residents on this side of Cherry Street.[188]

In 1790-1791 another butcher, John Greer, lived next door to Umpchant, at 58 Cherry, with 8 others and was still there in the 1795 directory and tax record. Greer may have been on Cherry Street as early as 1787, when the tax assessment listed a butcher next door to Umbehend, in a dwelling valued at 130, but his name

---

[186] "Draught of lots on East side of 6th Street," July 16, 1782, Third Survey District, Pre-1814, folder 43, PCA. Heads of Family, 232; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1791, 50; 1795, 68; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, 71; Stafford, *Directory 1801, 77.*

[187] Heads of Family, 232; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1791, 50; 1795, 68; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, 71; Stafford, *Directory 1801, 77;* Robinson, *Directory 1811.*

[188] Heads of Family, 232; ; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 51; 1791, 50; 1795, 68; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, 71; Stafford, *Directory 1801, 77.*

was John Greiner, perhaps another spelling fluctuation. By 1801 Michael Pepper, laborer, was in residence at 58 Cherry.[189]

A weaver, James Esprey, lived at 56 Cherry in 1790-91 with five others. The tax assessor listed him as Ashbey, and identified the property as Thomas Oliver's estate, with a dwelling valued only at 75. This likely is the same property assessed to Oliver in 1787 when Bernard Mayer, tallow chandler, rented and was also taxed for a horse. Esprey continued there in 1795 (with spelling as James Esby), but a shingle shaver, William Cornelly, occupied the property in 1801.[190]

Nathan Smith's property next door, numbered 54 Cherry in 1790-1791, had occupants by 1787, when (old) Ralph Smith occupied one dwelling valued at 75 and Jacob Hitz, brewer, lived in a dwelling valued at 115. In 1789 Hitz was still in residence, while Nathan Smith, carpenter, lived on his own property. His tax included a dwelling and two small houses valued at 125, a carpenter shop, a horse, cow, and his occupation, worth 35. The census taker found David Smith, carpenter, in residence with no other people, but another carpenter, Thomas Isdel, took over the house sometime in 1791, as given in the tax record. He and John Mornington are both listed in 1795 as house carpenters after 52 Cherry, which Susanna Wiggins, "tayloress," occupied. The 1795 tax indicates that Wiggins also lived on Nathan Smith's lot. Other directories from 1794 to 1797 listed Thomas Esdall, house carpenter, as "back 52 Cherry." The 1801 directory reverses the order, placing John Mornington, house carpenter, at 52 Cherry and Susanna Wiggins, "tayloress," back of 52, along with a bricklayer, two blacksmiths, a laborer and possibly a turner. It was a crowded property and the last one listed on Cherry Street's south side before the Presbyterian Burial ground and the William Ralston lots at Fifth at Cherry.[191]

Summary

The Arch Street lots as originally laid out extended 306 feet north from Arch Street but the creation of Cherry Alley (or Street) reduced the depth eighteen feet, to make the lots 288 feet in length. Arch Street developed slowly, from the corners toward the middle of the block. Three brick houses stood at the corner of Fifth Street by 1770. Including an alley, they filled the frontage (491/2 feet) of the easternmost Arch Street lot. Prior to the Revolution this larger lot was subdivided and lots sold. Fifth Street witnessed a flurry of construction mid-century, mostly two-story brick houses put to use as shops for tradesmen and residences. During and after the Revolution development continued. Most of the construction was brick, but several outbuildings were listed as frame.

The Presbyterian Church set aside the next 99-feet of Arch Street the full length of 306 feet for a burial ground. Late in the century the church agreed to sell

---

[189] Heads of Family, 232; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 51; 1791, 50; 1795, 68; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, 71; Stafford, *Directory 1801, 77.*

[190] Heads of Family, 232; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 51; 1791, 50; 1795, 68; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, 71; Stafford, *Directory 1801, 77.*

[191] Heads of Family, 232; Tax Assessment Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787, 51; 1789, 56; 1791, 50; 1795, 68; Biddle, *Directory 1791*; Hogan, *Prospect, 1795*, 71; Stafford, *Directory 1801, 77.*

18 feet of ground at the north end so that Cherry Street could be widened and paved. This sale caused the Church to relocate several interments further south. By the 1830s the Church had erected a Sessions house at the Cherry Street side of the burial ground. In 1852 The Second Presbyterian sold the Session building and once again bodies had to be relocated. Some went into the same burial ground further to the south, while others were moved outside the city. The burial ground closed in 1867, after the church had spent several years working on relocating the remains to cemeteries of family choice. Those that remained went to a special church plot in the Mount Vernon cemetery on Ridge Pike, Philadelphia. Modern archeologists recently discovered that all the burials had not been removed, and those located were reinterred at a special service at Mount Vernon Cemetery in 2002.

Tradesmen leased property in mid-block and set up business towards the end of the century. In some cases the 288-foot lots were divided to develop the south side of Cherry Street. Only in one case did one of the Arch Street owners actually live on the street; that was lumber merchant Robert McGee who passed his three-story brick dwelling to widow Fox in the late 1780s. After he departed a series of tenants of a more middle class nature—a clerk-- occupied the house.

The Sixth and Arch Street lots with 99 feet on Arch Street and 288 feet to Cherry began to be sold off prior to the Revolution, but few buildings were completed before the war. During the Revolution a gun factory was established on the Peter Dehaven lot, likely near the corner. In the late 1780s and 1790s further development with two and three-story houses gradually filled most of the lots.

Cherry Street's south side would have been the logical location for stables and coach houses to accommodate wealthy residents living on Arch Street. This pattern occurred more regularly on the south side of Arch and on either side of Market Streets, but only one carriage house and stable was recorded on Thomas Mason's lot just west of the burial ground. Except for a few short-term wealthy tenants on this block of Arch Street, there was little sign of prominent residents, with the exception of Peter Muhlenberg, who leased the westernmost of the houses at the Fifth And Arch Street location in 1787, when he was serving on the Council.

The property and ground rent owners, however, represented leading Quakers and Presbyterians who had made real estate investments on this section of the block. Morris, Shoemaker, Smith, Wister, Cope, Savery, De Haven and Ralston are some of the prominent names with large Arch Street lot landholdings. After the Revolution more modest investors purchased small properties on the Fifth, Sixth and Cherry Street sides and erected or occupied brick dwellings, shops and "sundry frames."

Even as the early settlers on the Arch Street section predominantly favored tradesmen, many of whom lived at the lower end of the social spectrum, by the close of the 18th century the residents increasingly showed a rise in status. By 1801 the several butchers had departed, replaced with a greater frequency of gentlemen and gentlewomen, merchants and upper-end tradesmen, like turners and graziers. Finally, the frequency of house carpenters, bricklayers and shingle shavers resident in this section speak to their contribution to the city during the burst of construction that marked the coming of the federal government to Philadelphia in 1790.

The 1810 Census

A website[192] has been posted out of the University of Delaware that lists findings in the 1810 United States census. An appendix in this report shows a sample of how that source, which gives the street address and structure style, interfaced with the city directory for that year. The Arch Street addresses from 177 to 205/207 (note that two addresses have been added since 1800) matched up in the two sources in all but five cases. The dwellings (except one) were 3-story brick houses. The occupations of the residents had changed to reflect a more prosperous community, with only two artisans still working on Arch Street, both continuations from the pre-1800 period. A painter/glazier had been occupying 187 Arch Street from before the 1790 census, perhaps as long as a quarter century. That address happened to be the only two-story brick house, a more typical style for the mid-eighteenth century construction on the block. The coachmaker's address at 199 Arch had earlier been a blacksmith shop, but adjoining the coachmaker James Simmons property in 1790. Another point of interest concerned the large and diverse households for some of these properties. Ten to nineteen people lived under one roof in seven of the fourteen households, and a total of sixteen free black people lived in a different set of seven houses, but none of the fourteen households included enslaved people. Without further study, it is not clear whether or not this free black presence on Arch Street in 1810 represents continuity with the pre-1800 presence of free black people in the Cresson section of the block.

Suggestions for Further Research:

Joshua and Caleb Cresson, the key property owners on the northern half of the block, deserve further research. This research did not include the large Cresson family collection at Haverford College, within the Morris-Wistar Wood Collection, 1718-1979. A diary written by Caleb Cresson in 1791-92 turned up late in the research phase.[193] Caleb Cresson's grandson published the diary with a family history written in 1793 by Caleb Cresson. Caleb recorded that his grandfather, Solomon Cresson, was French and his wife, Anna Watson, German or Low-Dutch. Other Cresson family papers are in the Morris Wistar Wood Collection at Haverford College. The strong representation of families of German descent and Quaker faith within the Cresson real estate invites further research at the German Historical Society and in the Quaker collections at Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges. Likewise, the Carpenters Company library and other repositories in the city might turn up added information on the numerous carpenters (at least 12 in 1787), bricklayers, and other building trade individuals from the middling ranks.

The interconnectedness of the white and black communities on the Cresson section north of Cherry Street suggests many possibilities for future research. What was the relationship between these African families and their white neighbors? Did this community bind together to resist the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 passed by Congress and signed by President Washington here in Philadelphia? If so, did their quiet stand strengthen the roots for the 19th Century Underground Railroad? This small pocket of interracial residents appears to have been an exception to most other

---

[192] www.math.udel.edu/~RStevens/datasets/smul1801.xls

[193] *Diary of Caleb Cresson 1791-1792* Printed from his Original Manuscripts for Family Distribution by Ezra Townsend Cresson and Charles Caleb Cresson (Philadelphia 1877), 196.

blocks studied by this writer. Was this an experiment in eighteenth century living? Further analysis will be needed to assess its importance in the city's history.

Further research in the tax records (particularly the 1798 federal tax), city probate, deed and court records, as well as city council and street commissioners' records and African American sources might reveal more the demographics on Block Three.

For the Arch Street lots additional deed research would be useful for creating a more concise composite of how the Arch Street lots evolved. This deed search could proceed with the names of Arch Street property owners listed on city tax records and on city street surveys.

Further research in on-line databases might prove useful. This writer heavily relied on the Accessible Archives to search topics in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* to 1800. Other Internet sites, like ancestry.com, might shed light on key or longstanding residents of the block. Unfortunately during part of the research time for this report, the Department of Interior's Internet was inoperable.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP)

Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, "Yellow Fever Deaths in Philadelphia, 1793, 1797, 1798."
Diary of John Elliot Cresson, 1795-1796, Three Volumes
Perkins Collection
Philadelphia County Deeds (microfilm)
Philadelphia County Wills (microfilm)

Independence National Historical Park (INDE)

Roll 475, Philadelphia Acts and Ordinances, 1701-1812
Rolls 15-18, Contributionship Insurance Surveys

Library Company of Philadelphia (LCP)

Graphic Collections, City Streets

Philadelphia City Archives, Philadelphia, PA (PCA)

County Commission, Enumeration of Taxables and Slaves and deaf and dumb persons, 1821, Microfilm, Latter-Day-Saints
Tax Assessor's Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1787-89, 1791
Tax Assessor's Ledger, South Mulberry Ward, 1792-1795
Third Survey District, 2-T Division, Race-Arch, Fifth to Sixth, pre-1814 and 1815-1855

Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA (PrHS)

Minutes of the Corporation, 1772-1805, Volume 3
RG 33, Second Presbyterian Church Records
"Inscriptions on tombstones in the Second Presbyterian Church Cemetery (5th and Arch Streets," c. 1867, 1 vol.
Deed to Richard J. Dobbins, Mar. 30, 1874. Lot on north side Arch 77 feet west of Fifth Street.

Secondary Sources

"A Directory of Friends in Philadelphia 1747-1760," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 16* (1892), 219-238.

Aitken, Jane. *Census Directory for 1811, Containing the Names, Occupations & Residence of the Inhabitants of the City, Southwark & Northern Liberties, A Separate Division Being Allotted to Persons of Colour...*Philadelphia: Jane Aitken, 1811.

Allison, Edward P. and Boies Penrose, "Ground Rents in Philadelphia," *Quarterly Journal of Economics, Volume 2, Issue 3* (April, 1888), 297-313.

Armor, William C. *Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania, With the Incidental History of the State, from 1609 to 1872.* Philadelphia: James K. Simon, 1879.

Barker, Charles R., "The Gulph Mill," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 53*, 168-183.

Barton, Benjamin Smith, "Historical Notes," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 9* (1885), 334.

Bathe, Greville and Dorthy Bathe. *Oliver Evans A Chronicle of Early American Engineering.* Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1935.

Beadle, E.R., Pastor. *The Old and the New, 1743-1876. The Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia Its Beginning and Increase*, 1876.

Bell, Jr., Whitfield J., "Benjamin Smith Barton, M.D." offprint from *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, XXVI* (April 1971), 197-203.

Berlin, Ira and Ronald Hoffman, eds. *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1983.

Binning, Arthur Cecil, Ph.D., "The Iron Plantations of Early Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 57* (1933), 117-137.

Birch's Views of Philadelphia A Reduced Facsimile of The City of Philadelphia . . . as it appeared in the Year 1800, With Photographs of the Sites in 1960 & 1982, by S. Robert Teitelman. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Catanzariti, John, Editor. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Volume 24, 1 June to 31 December 1792.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Clarfield, Gerard H. *Timothy Pickering and American Diplomacy, 1795-1800.* Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1969.

-----. *Timothy Pickering and the American Republic.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980.

Cooke, Jacob E. *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Crist, Ph.D., Thomas A.J., Douglas B. Mooney, M.A., Patrick W. O'Bannon, Ph.D., and Philip E. Scott, AIA, *Research Design and Workplan for Phase II Archeological Investigations, National Constitution Center Site, Block 3, Independence Mall, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, 2000.

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1775-1823.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Decatur, Stephen Jr., Private *Affairs of George Washington From the Records and Accounts of Tobias Lear, Esquire, his Secretary*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933.

Diary of Caleb Cresson 1791-1792. Printed from his Original Manuscripts for Family Distribution by Ezra Townsend Cresson and Charles Caleb Cresson. Philadelphia: 1877.

"Diary of James Allen, Esq., of Philadelphia, Counsellor-At-Law, 1770-1778," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 9* (1885), 278ff.

Dorland, W. A. Newman. "The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 50* (1926), 79, 179 (continued.)

Douglass, Rev. Wm. Rector. *Annals of the First African Church in the United States of America Now Titled The African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: King & Baird, Printers, 1862.

Dubois, W.E.B. *The Philadelphia Negro A Social Study.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1899, reprint 1996.

Duffin, James. *Guide to the Philadelphia Exemplification Records Series, Being True Copies of Philadelphia County Land Records in the Master Rolls Office and its Successors, 1669-1838.* Philadelphia: City Archives, 1994.

Engle, Paul. *Women in the American Revolution.* Chicago: Follet Publishing Company, 1976.

Estes, J. Worth and Billy G. Smith, eds., *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic*. Published for the College of Physicians of Philadelphia and the Library Company of Philadelphia by Science History Publications, 1997.

Family Tree Maker's Family Archives, Genealogical Records: Pennsylvania Wills 1682-1834, Broderbund Software, CD # 209, 1998.

Fields, compiler, *"Worthy Partner" The Papers of Martha Washington.* Wesport: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Fitzpatrick, John C. Editor, *The Writings of George Washington 32 March 10, 1792-June 30, 1793*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1939.

Foster, Joseph S. *In Pursuit of Equal Liberty George Bryan and the Revolution in Pennsylvania.* University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

Fuchs II, Ronald W., "The Working Class of Federal-Era Philadelphia," Hobart G. Cawood Internship, Independence National Historical Park, August 1997.

Garrison, Hazel Shields, "Cartography of Pennsylvania Before 1800," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 59* (1935), 255-283.

Garvan, Anthony N. B., General Editor. *The Mutual Assurance Company Papers*

Volume I, The Architectural Surveys 1784-1794. Philadelphia: The Mutual Assurance Company, 1976.

"Genealogical and Personal Notes from the Journal of Rev. James Sproat, 1778-1780," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 27* (1903), 505-506.

Gillingham, Harold E. "Calico and Linen Printing in Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 52* (1928), 97-110.

Gillingham, Harold E. "The Philadelphia Windsor Chair," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 55* (1931), 301-332.

Graham, E. "Philadelphia Inns and Taverns, 1774-1780," Graduate Paper, University of Pennsylvania, n.d.

Gummere, Amelia Mott. "Friends in Burlington," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 8* (1884), 3-16.

Hardie, James. *The Philadelphia Directory and Register.* Philadelphia: 1794.

Hart, Charles Henry, ed., "Thomas Sully's Register of Portraits, 1801-1871," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 32* (1908), 385-432.

Heads of Families At the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790 Pennsylvania. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908.

Hogan, Edmund. *The Prospect of Philadelphia and Check on the Next Directory.* Philadelphia: John Turner, Printer, 1795.

Jeffreys, C.P.B., "The Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, 1753-1783," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 48* (1924), 181-192.

Jenkins, Howard M. "The Welsh Settlement of Gwynedd," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 8* (1884), 174-183.

Kise, Straw and Kolodner, *Archeological Sensitivity Study of the National Constitution Center, Block 3 Independence Mall, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*. April 1999.

"Lewis and Clark in Historic Philadelphia, Making Ready, 1802-1803," Philadelphia Chapter Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., [brochure, c. 2001].

Looney, Robert F. *Old Philadelphia in Early Photographs 1839-1914.* New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1976.

MacPherson's Directory for the City The Suburbs of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1785.

Malone, Dumas. *The Dictionary of American Biography 13 and 18.* New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1934 and 1936.

Montgomery, Morton, "Early Furnaces and Forges of Berks County, Pennsylvania,"

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 8 (1884), 56-81.

Morris, Anna Wharton. "Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher, of Philadelphia, 1779-1781," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 41* (1917), 145-197 274-333, 399-457.

Muhly, Frank, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition's Ties to Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Heritage* (Summer 2001), 15-21.

Nash, Gary B. "The Black Revolution in Philadelphia," paper presented to the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, 1985.

_____. *Forging Freedom The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community 1720-1840.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Nash Gary B. and Jean R. Soderlund. *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Neil, Rev. Edward Duffield, "Rev. Jacob Duche The First Chaplain of Congress," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 2* (1878), 58-73.

The New Trade Directory for Philadelphia Anno 1800. Philadelphia: Way and Groff, 1800.

"Notes and Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 1* (1877), 228.

"Notes and Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 14* (1890), 214.

"Notes and Queries," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 16* (1897), 382-3.

Parsons, Jacob Cox ed. *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, 1765-1798.* Philadelphia: William F. Fell & Co., 1893.

Powell, J[ohn] H[arvey]. *Bring Out Your Dead, The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793.* New York: reprint of University of Pennsylvania edition of 1949, 1965.

Pennypacker, LL.D., Hon. Samuel W. "The High Water Mark of the British Invasion," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 31*, 393-405.

The Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, Rev. Wm. P. White, D.D. and William H. Scott, compiler and editors. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, publishers, 1895.

Prime, Phoebe Coxe compiler, "The Alfred Coxe Prime *Directory of Craftsmen, Two Volumes,*" [Philadelphia]: 1960.

"Provincial Papers: Proprietary, Supply, and State Tax Lists of the City and County of Philadelphia for the Years 1769, 1774 and 1779," *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, XIV.* Harrisburg: William Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1897.

"Provincial Papers: Proprietary, Supply, and State Tax Lists of the City and County of Philadelphia for the Years 1779, 1780 and 1781," *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, XV.* Harrisburg: William Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1897.

"Provincial Papers: Proprietary, Supply, and State Tax Lists of the City and County of Philadelphia for the Years 1781, 1782 and 1783," *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, XVI.* Harrisburg: William Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1897.

Record of Pennsylvania Marriages Prior to 1810. Pennsylvania Archives, Series II, Volume 9. Harrisburg: 1880.

Robinson, James. *Philadelphia Register and City Directory for 1799.* Philadelphia, 1799.

_____.*The Philadelphia Directory, City and County Register for 1802* Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1802.

_____. *The Philadelphia Directory for 1803.* Philadelphia, 1803.

_____. *The Philadelphia Directory for 1804.* Philadelphia, 1804.

_____. *The Philadelphia Directory for 1805.* Philadelphia, 1805.

_____. *The Philadelphia Directory for 1810.* Philadelphia, 1810.

_____. *The Philadelphia Directory for 1811.* Philadelphia, 1811.

Roche, John F. *Joseph Reed A Moderate in the American Revolution.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

Scharf, J. Thomas and Thompson Westcott. *History of Philadelphia 1609-1884 Three Volumes, 1.* Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1884.

Smith, Edgar Fahs, "Early Science in Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 51* (1927), 15-26.

Snyder, Martin P. *City of Independence Views of Philadelphia Before 1800.* New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.

Sprague D.D., William B. *Annals of the American Presbyterian Pulpit, or Commemorative Notices, Vol. 1.* New York: Robert Carter & Bros., 1860.

Stafford, Cornelius William. *The Philadelphia Directory for 1796.* Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1796.

_____ *The Philadelphia Directory for 1797.* Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1797.

_____. *The Philadelphia Directory for 1798.* Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1798.

_____. *The Philadelphia Directory for 1799.* Philadelphia: William

W. Woodward, 1799.

_____. *The Philadelphia Directory for 1801.* Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1801.

Stephens's Philadelphia Directory for 1796. Philadelphia: Thomas Stephens, 1796.

Stewart, Frank H. *Ye Olde Mint. Being a brief description of the first U.S. Mint.* Philadelphia, c. 1909.

Teitelman, . S. Robert. *Birch's Views of Philadelphia With Photographs of the Site in 1960 & 1982.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Toogood, Anna Coxe. "Historic Resource Study, Independence Mall, The 18th Century Development, Block Two, Market to Arch, Fifth to Sixth Streets," Independence National Historical Park, August 2000.

_____. "Historic Structure, Furnishings and Grounds Report, Deshler-Morris House and Bringhurst House, Historical Data Section," Independence National Historical Park, Pennsylvania. Denver: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Mid-Atlantic Team, Branch of Historic Preservation, June 1980.

Wainwright, Nicholas B. "Plan of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 80* (1956), 164-226.

Watson, John Fanning. *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Two Volumes, I.* Philadelphia: Jonn Penington and Uriah Hunt, 1844.

Weigley, Russell F. *Philadelphia A 300 Year History.* New York: W.W. Norton & Co.,1982.

White, Francis. *The Philadelphia Directory.* Philadelphia: Young, Stewart and McCullouch, 1785.

White, Rev. Wm. P., D.D. and William H. Scott, *The Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1895.

Winship, Marion Nelson, "`Indians Now in This City' – Philadelphia, 1792 The Negotiation of Diplomatic Visits by Indian Guests and Their Official White Hosts," June 1, 1990, History 700 Seminar, (Professor Drew Gilpin Faust), University of Pennsylvania

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Block Three Street Listings in the 1790 Census
and
City Directories for 1791, 1795 and 1801

1790 CENSUS: NORTH SIDE ARCH STREET

Head of Household	Occupation	No. of People	1791 Directory Address
Hazelground, Susannah	Widow	3 females	177
Metzgar, Francis A.	Wine merchant	7	179
Franzier, Ann	Widow	2 females	181
Presbyterian Funeral Ground			
Catherill, Benjamin	School Masr; S	-----	57 Cherry
Clawges, John	Painter	9	187
Simmons, James	Coach maker	9	
Schreiner, Chrisr	Blacksmith	2	199
Duncan, James	Mariner	4	201
Willis, Thomas	Turner	8	203

1795 PROSPECT: NORTH SIDE ARCH STREET

Samuel Israel	Gentleman		177
Umrick House	Coach-maker		179
Joseph Kirkbride	Merchant		181
Daniel clawges	Painter & Glazier		187
Jacob Gideon	Brush and Black-ball Manufacturer, and blower of the horn for the City Light-horse		189
Thomas Hardy	Soap-boiler		195 & 197
John Mingle	Blacksmith		--
Samuel Lewis	Geographer & Clerk at war office		201
Thomas Willis	Turner		203

Cross Sixth Street

1801 CITY DIRECTORY: NORTH SIDE ARCH STREET

Elias Dawson Jane Kelsey	Grocer Gentleman		177
Mary Weed Richard Milne	Gentleman Merchant		181
Alexander Thomson	Painter & glazier		Next
Jacob Gideon	Black ball and brush maker		189
Francis Douglass	Bricklayer		193
Samuel Fisher	Grazier		195
Abraham Phillips	Tallow chandler & Soap boiler		197
John Mingle	Blacksmith		199
William Sanford	Gentleman		201
Thomas Willis	Turner		203

1790 CENSUS: NORTH FIFTH STREET

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD	OCCUPATION	NUMBER IN HOUSEHOLD	1791 DIRECTORY ADDRESS
Elwin, Hugh	Shoemaker	4	50
Weaver, William	Laborer	4	52
Noah, Emanuel	Trader	6	54
Hartung, William	Scrivener	4	56
Robins, Isabella	Widow	5	58
Dawson, Elias	Merchant	7	60
Henbury, Thomas	Fishmonger	10	62
Newman, Frederick	Card maker	5	64
Kein, Christian	Blacksmith;S.	4	64
Lawrence, Phillip	Joyner	4	68
Rawlston, George	Custom House Officer	4	70
Ross, Oliver	Comb maker	5	72
Dougherty, Daniel	Shoe Maker	6	74
Wayne, John a& Labrs		11	74
Miller, Jacob	Carter	2	78
Robinson, Ebenezar	Brush Maker	3	82
Dexter, James (Negroe)		7	
Roe, Thomas	Taylor	6	86
Howell, Reading	Surveyor	11	88
Evans, Cadwallader	Merchant	4	90
Taggart, Robert	Gentleman	4	92
Evans, Robert	House Carpenter	10	94
Hudson, Samuel	Gentleman	4	96
Seyfreid, Jacob	Barber	4	98
Nall, Henry	Shoemaker	4	100
Dennis, John	Shoemaker	6	102

1795 PROSPECT: NORTH FIFTH STREET

CROSS ARCH ST.			
Samuel Israel	Scrivener		
Charles Thompson	Scrivener		54
William Weaver	Laborer		--
Hugh Irvan	Shoemaker		--
William Harting	Scrivener		56
Jacob Hoffman	Scrivener		58
Mary Thomas, Widow	Gentlewoman		60
Thomas Hennelry	Fishseller		62
Christian Bloomer	Ban-box maker		64
John Cloer	Cabinet-maker & Joiner		68
John Lacave	French hairdresser		70

John Morel	French hairdresser		
John Graham	Cabinetmaker		72
CROSS CHERRY ST			
Ebenezer Robinson	Brush manufacturer		82
Af. James Dexter	Coachman		84
Benjamin Smith Barton, M.D.	Professor in the University		86
Reading Howel	Surveyor		88
Cadwallader Evans	Merchant		90
Robert Taggart	Gentleman		92
William Hutson Gamaliel Clothier Robert Evans	Merchant Bricklayer Carpenter		96
CROSS CRESSON'S ALLEY			
J. Christian Rittenhouse Samuel Carter	Shoemaker Watchman		--
Henry Nall	Shoemaker		--
John Dennis Mary Madden, widow Sophia Cresson	Shoemaker Seamstress Gentlewoman		103
Henry Meysers, Junr. Cutlip Behme	Hatter Soapboiler		--
CROSS RACE ST			

1801 CITY DIRECTORY: NORTH FIFTH STREET

Henry Weaver	Boot and Shoemaker		52
Matturine Mouillie	Wine Merchant		54
Jacob Mansfield	House Carpenter		56
Ann Lyon Sarah Williams Mary Joy	Gentlewoman Gentlewoman Gentlewoman		58
Molly Thomas	Gentlewoman		60
William L. Blair Thomas Cooper Edward Blackburn	Lawyer Carpenter		62
John Christian Bloomner	Bonnet box maker		64
Frederick Weaver	Cabinet maker		68
John Newman	China store		70
Peter Shaffer	Tobacconist		72

James Mulligan	Blacksmith		
James Rolph	Grocer		82
Elizabeth Helm	Grocer		84
Mary Reinholdt	Gentlewoman		86
Reading Howell	Surveyor		88
John Buvet	Gentleman		90
Hannah Tully	Gentlewoman		92
Robert Evans Robert Evans, jun.	Lumber Merchant Hatter		94
Catherine Parker	Shopkeeper		96
Peter Deal,	Labourer		98
Daniel Vandershee Widow Nail	Hair dresser		
John Dennis	Shoemaker		102

1790 CENSUS: NORTH SIXTH STREET

Head of Household	Occupation	No. of Persons	1791 Directory Address
Brinner, George	Taylor	3	47
Greer, Jacob	Butcher	4	49
Walker, Martha	Widow	2	51
Miney, Godfrey	Baker	8	53
Rust, Leonard	Meal Seller & Inn keeper;S.	4	55
Gray, Joseph	Brewer	5	61
Humphries, Amy	Spinstr	4	63
Harper, John	Bl. Smith; S.	---	69 & 69 Cherry
Hallowell, Thomas	Joyner	6	73
Cunningham, Robert	Weaver	6	75
McConnell, John	Lab	3	77
Venables, Robert	Negroe	4 free persons	No listing
Sandiford, Rowland	Coach Makr	4	81
Deitz, Henry	Watchman	6	83
Guest, James	Taylor	4	84
Lambert, John	Chair Makr	2	87
Hasselback, Phillip	Shoemaker	6	89
Hansell, Jacob	Bl. Smith	5	91 &183 Sassafras (a n. side no.)

1795 PROSPECT: NORTH SIXTH STREET

Cross Arch Street			
James Lanning	Cabinet-maker		61
Samuel Lanning David Knight	Carpenter Carpenter		63
John Banks	Scrivener		--
Jacob Temple Augurth Freeburh Michael Pepers	Taylor Watchman Labourer		67
John Fisher	Labourer		--
Stephen Sheremuth Mary Dearinger John Crol John Esher Godfrey Meeny	Hostler Washer Shoemaker Ban-box-maker Baker		--
Jacob Fora	Wheelwright		?
Joseph Grey	Brewer		61
Madam Voyer			68 (even no.)
William Smith	House Carpenter		--
Jacob Hoffner	Schoolmaster		71
CROSS CHERRY-STREET			
Isaac Ryal	Cryer with a bell		73

Matthew Walker	Chip-hat maker		73
Robert Cunningham	Weaver		75
John McConnell			77
Af. Robert Venable	White-washer		--
David Mandeville	Scrivener		81
Christian Lawrence	Blacksmith		83
Susanna Abington, widow	Gentlewoman		85
Angela Joujoutte, widow			87
George Felker	Shoemaker		89
Hannah Clark, widow Samuel Faulkner	Schoolmistress China Manufacturer		91

Cross Race Street

1801 DIRECTORY: NORTH SIXTH STREET

Andrew Baban	Gentleman		61
Henry Sherer	Hair dresser		63 next
John Esher Mary Fisher, widow			
John Dankwerth	Baker		51 next
Edward Farris	School master		
Joseph Gray	Gentleman		61
James Norris	House carpenter		63 next
H. Henry Francis Zess	Shoemaker Grocer, corner of Cherry alley		
William Lee	Schoolmaster		71
Matthew Walker	Soap and candle manufacturer		73
Robert Cunningham	Weaver		75
Martha James	School mistress		77
Robert Newell	White washer		79
David Mandeville Agnes Carson Philip Maguire	Clerk in the bank of the U. States Gentlewoman Blacksmith corner of Cressons alley		83
Susannah Abington	Gentlewoman		85
Joseph Tucker	House carpenter		87
George Felker	Shoe maker		89
John Cress Sarah Fletcher	Custom house officer Mantual maker, corner of Race St.		91

1790 CENSUS: CHERRY STREET, FROM FIFTH TO SIXTH STREET

Head of Household	Occupation	No. of Persons	Directory Address (1791)
[North side]			
Miller, Jacob	Shoemaker	----------	41
Ackley, Abraham	Cedr Cooper	5	41
Crisson, Caleb	Mercht	6	43
Thomas, Jane	Board.House	4	45
Roberdeau, Eliza	Gent.w.	2	49
Brame, Henry	Painter	3	51
Jenkins, David	Brush maker	6	51
Lawrence, John	Labr	2	53
Cathers, Benjamin	School Mast.	7	55?
Smith, Nathan	Carpr	14 (1 listed as "other free person")	57
Smith, Richard	Bricklayer	6	59
Hurlings, Joseph	Bricklayer	4	61
Lynch, Edward	Surveyor	4	63
Hoffner, Jacob, senr	Gentleman	5	67
Harper, John	Bl. Smith	3	69 & 69 N. 6th St.
[South side]			
Neilly, John	Labr	2	40
Nicholas, Joseph	Negroe	4 (other free)	No listing
Hights, Jacob	Labr	8	52
Smith, Anthony	Negroe	6 (other free)	No listing
Smith, David	Carpr; S.	---------	54
Esprey, James	Weaver	5	56
Greer, John	Butcher	9	58
Umpchant, Jacob	Butcher	5	60
Baugh, John	Shoemaker	7	62
Shippack, Jacob	Baker	8	64
King, Tobey	Brickmaker	3	66

1795 PROSPECT: CHERRY STREET, NORTH SIDE, Cross Fifth Street

Sarah Sims, widow John Sims	Boarding-house Painter & glazier		--
John Lohra	Ironmonger		41
Caleb Cresson	Gentleman		43
			45
			47
John Elliot Cresson	Conveyancer		49
Ashley Bower	Labourer		51
John Amos	Huckster		53
Benjamin Catherine	Schoolmaster		55
Deborah Smith	Gentlewoman		57
Hugh Smith	House carpenter		59

Ann Hastings, widow	Gentlewoman		61
William Davidion	Teller of the Bank of the U.S.		63
Jacob Hollner (?)	Schoolmaster		67
			69
Cross Sixth St.			

1795 PROSPECT: CHERRY STREET, SOUTH SIDE, Cross Fifth Street

Susanna Wiggins, Widow Jacob Walker (?) John Mornington Thomas Esdall John Repham	Tayloress Bricklayaer House Carpenter House Carpenter Taylor		52
James Esby	Weaver		56
John Greer George Sunlighter	Butcher Labourer		58
Mary Swoop, Widow	Seamstress		62
Jacob Skipbeck	Baker		64
Richard Sands	Carter		66
Cross Sixth St.			

1801 DIRECTORY: CHERRY STREET
[North Side]

William Garrigues James Ralph John Sims	Measurer of carpenters work Grocer, corner of Fifth St Painter and glazier		41
Mary Robinson	Gentlewoman		41
Caleb Christian	Gentleman		43
George Ehrenzeller	Clerk in the mint		45
Jacob Dehart	Shipmaster		49
Daniel Carson	Driver of the mail stage		51
Hugh Smith	House carpenter		53
Benjamin Cathrall	School master		55
John Lohra	Ironmonger		57
Dallapham Ridgeway	Bricklayer		59
Jane Chapman	Boarding house		61
James Todd	Merchant		63 (& Starr Alley)
Catherine Riddell	Gentlewoman		67
John Weaver Francis Zenfes Catherine Jones William Rianhard	Accomptant Grocer, corner of Sixth St Boarding house corner of Sixth St House carpenter		69 May be west side of Sixth St.

1801 DIRCTORY: CHERRY ST, con't.

[South Side]

John Mornington Susannah Wiggins Jacob F. Walters Jacob Noble Philip McGuire Hugh McCurney John Rouey	House carpenter Tayloress, Bricklayer Blacksmith Blacksmith Labourer Turner		52 back of 52 ditto ditto ditto ditto
William Cornelly	Shingle Shaver		56
Michale Pepper	Labourer		58
Jacob Scheipeck	Baker		62
George Ohle	Baker		64
Casper Trimble Cato Collins	Shopkeeper Brush maker		66 corner of Sixth St. (may be west side)

1790 CENSUS: SOUTH SIDE RACE STREET

Head of Household	Occupation	Number in household & Address in 1791 Directory
Deimer, Joseph	Flour factory	5 164
Hoffman, Valentine	Blacksmith	9 166
Grosse, Jacob	Laborer	3 168
Lesher, Zachariah	House Carpenter	9 170
Long, John	Tallow Chandler	13 172
Hersman, John	Brick layer	8 174
Sulger, Jacob	Grocer baker (1791)	5 176
Neese, David	Grocer	9 178
Fiss, Joseph	Doctor (Doctor of Physic)	7 180
Weedman, George	Baker	5 184
Lex, Andrew	Butcher	4 186
Snyder, Harman (Herman)	Joyner (joiner)	4 186
Trigger, Jacob	Shoe maker	6 186
Beyer, Adam	Tinman	6 186
Cahoun, Josiah (Cahoon)	Brick layer	6 186
Sharp, Mariah (Maria)	Shop keeper	2 188
Smallwood, William	Sail maker	7 190

1795 HOGAN'S PROSPECT OF CITY OF PHILADELPHIA: RACE STREET

Head of Household	Occupation	Address number
Henry Meyer	Tavernkeeper	--
Valentine Hoffman	Blacksmith	166
Mark Bowers	Watchman	168
Zachariah Leschler	Carpenter	170
John Lang	Tallow chandler	172
John Hindman	Brickmaker	174
Philip Cly Margaret Zolliker	Baker Huckster	176 176
Richard Harper	Oval turner & Engine-maker	178
Lambert Wilmer	Flour merchant	180
John Greiner Jacob Greiner	Merchant Gentleman	182 182
Jacob Vanseyver George Herman	Bricklayer Baker	186 186
James Cassin Joseph Johnson	Soap boiler Printer CROSS SIXTH	188 188

PHILADELPHIA DIRECTORY FOR 1801	SOUTH SIDE RACE STREET	
Head of Household	**Occupation**	**Address**
Francis Shellas	Engraver	164
Valentine Hoffman	Blacksmith	166
B. Kinney		
Zachariah Lesh	House carpenter	170
John Long	Grocer	172
John Hanchman Michael Hanchman	Brickmaker Ditto	174
David Cossart	Cedar cooper	178
James Bennett	Bricklayer	180
John Greiner	Merchant	182
George Harman	Baker	184
Richard Lex	Butcher	186
Francis Arentrue,	Soap boiler and tallow chandler	Corner of Sixth Street

1790 CENSUS: CRESSONS ALLEY, FIFTH BETWEEN ARCH AND RACE
[North Side odd and South Side even street address]

Head of Household	Occupation	No. in Household	Directory Address (1791)
Reinhart, John	Labr	5	1
Roblet, Daniel	Tobacconist	5	2
Hoffman, Valentine	Bl.smith; S.	------	166 Sassafras
Snyder, Jacob	Shoemaker	5	5
Logg, John	Carpr; S.	---------	6
Kimble, Jane	Negroe	4 (other free persons)	No listing
Reese, David	Bl.smith; S	---------	9
Cuff	A Negroe	4 (other free persons)	No listing
Williams, Jos.	Negroe	3 (other free persons)	No listing
Moore, Moses	Negroe	5 (other free persons)	No listing
Eplen, Michael	Labr	3	18
Ambristow, Matthew	Shoemaker	14	No listing
Shank, Barney	Bisc. Baker	13	20
Smith, Benjamin	Taylor	8	21
Burgaw, Israel	Negroe	3 (other free persons	No listing
Marshall, Ann	Spinster	3	26
Barnes, John	Plaisterer	3	27
Clothier, Mahlon	Brick Makr	5	28
Hayes, Charles	Labr	5	29
Meyers, Thomas	Currier	5	30
Burdock, George	Silver Smith	8	31
Limburner, John	Watch Mak.	6	32
Dalton, John	Silver Sm.	3	33

1790 CENSUS: HOFFMAN'S ALLEY

McConnell, Arthur	Labourer		1
Flaughter, Fergan	Labr		1
Festor, John	Labr		1
Lewey, Joseph	Negro	7 (other free people)	No listing
Seneter, John	Labr	3	3
Merrion, John	Shoemaker	7	4
Kinner, Jacob	Wheelright	7	5
Reblett, Daniel	Tobacconist	3	6
Seice, John	Labr	9	7
Swaver, John	Labr	2	8
Busherherd, William	Sadler	6	9 Sterling Alley

1795 PROSPECT: CRESSON'S ALLEY
North side:

Andrew Lex	Butcher		--
Georce Vice	Blacksmith		--
Af. George Tapsies	Waitingman		--
Af. Hester Vandergrief	Cook		--
Barnet Shrunk	Labourer		--
Af. Isaac Timber	Sweep		--
John Baptist Anthony	French Upholsterer		--
William Penn Chandler Martin Gatler Henry Sims	M.D. Shoemaker Joiner		--
Mary Garrigues	Seamstress		--
John Cling	Scrivener		--

1795 PROSPECT: CRESSON'S ALLEY
South side:

Elizabeth Titus, widow John Limburner	Seamstress Trimmer & Harness maker		--
Jacob Kinner	Wheelwright		--
Charles Hollick	Shoemaker		--
Charles Mease	Labourer		--
Margaret Roney	Mantua-maker		--
Robert Carr	Brass Founder		--
Anne Marshall, Widow	Huckster		--
Lambert Smith	House carpenter		--
James H. Sterling	House carpenter		--
Af. Israel Bergo	Sawer		--
Benjamin Smith	Sawer		--
George Plumb	Coach maker		--
Hugh Courtney	Labourer		--
Robert Fullerton	Painter		--
Matthew Amherst	Watchman		--
Elizabeth Steiner	Mantua-maker		--
Susanna Reed, Widow			--
Rowland Sandiford	Coach maker		--

1795 CRESSON'S COURT: lies between Cherry-Street and Cresson's Alley.

Jonathan Pencoath	Bricklayer		--
Joseph Stockton	Bottler		--
Mason Smith	House carpenter		--
Benjamin Crohen John Fox	Shoemaker Millwright		--

1795 STARR ALLEY: runs North and South from Cherry to Race-Street, between Fifth and Sixth streets.

Isaiah Evans	Plaisterer		--
Jacob Crager	Shoemaker		--
Adam Boyard	Tinman		--
Mary Wynemore, Widow	Washer		--
Jacob Grace	Labourer		--
Catherine Chrice	Knitter		--
Albright Fogel	Stocking weaver		--
Jacob Book	Shoemaker		--

1795 Hoffman's Alley: is about ten feet wide, running North and South between Cherry and Race-streets, and between Fifth and Sixth-streets; it was deserted in the time of the Yellow Fever

Jesse Roe	Carpenter		--
Ann Williams, Widow			
Samuel Cremmings	Printer		--
Apollona Hiltner	Huckster		--
Hannah Keegan	Schoolmistress		--
Barbara Wood			--
Ann Feeran			--
Mary Madden Christiana Greeger, Widow Charles Guyer John Siscar	Seamstress Shoemaker Stage-driver		4
Isaac Dixy	Pump-maker		8
Leonard Rolher Henry Peeler Arthur McConnolly	Labourer Labourer Labourer		9

1801 Directory: Cresson's Alley, from north Sixth street between 96 to 98*

Hannah Sowers, Sarah White Jane Wilson	Seamstress Spinner spinner		
John Fletcher	Shipmaster		12
Charles Hollick	Grocer		5
Hannah Crocie Samuel Reed Philip Jenkins James Quive Peter Cook William Richards Rudeman Robinson Hugh McKinley Patrick Walters	Washerwoman Harnessmaker Labourer Coachman Brewer Shipmaster Accomptant Shoemaker Currier		6

Matthew Armbrusher	News carrier		19 next
Agnew Campbell			Next
Catherine Francis Ann Smith	Washerwoman huckster		Next
John Bierbourn	Minter		Next
Mary Earinfighter	Huckster		Next
John Seithoof	Carver and gilder		5
Charles Laak	Carver and gilder		7
Catherine Jones	Gentlewoman		9
Hugh Andrews	Cabinetmaker		11
John Walker	Shoemaker		13
Lambert Smith	House carpenter		15
Reuben Owens	Sailer		17 next
Israel Burge	Woodsawyer		Next
Sarah Smith	Tayloress		

1801: Cresson's Court from Race street between 186 & 188

John Miller	shoemaker		
Jacob Kreiger	Shoemaker		
Adam Bayard	Tin plate worker		
Henry Ambrusler	Watchman		

1801: Star alley from Cherry street between 63 & 67

Matthew Walker	Soap boiler and tallow chandler		
Robert Sharp	Tin plate worker		
Stephen McGill	Blacksmith		
Catherine Price	Huckster		

1801: Hoffman's alley from Race street between 164 & 166

Nicholas Weirick	House carpenter		
Conrad Solden	Cabinet maker		2
John Sunlighter	Labourer		3
Mary Maden	Mantua maker		4 next
John Cling	Accomptant		Next
John Dodge	Picture frame maker		Next
Sarah Dexter	Washerwoman		Next
Jesse Rowe	House carpenter		Next
John Craft	Bookbinder		Next
John Sharpless	Coachmaker		Next
1801 Hoffman's			
Apolomo Hickner	Huckster		Next
Mary Duncan	Seamstress		Next
Mary Hester	Boarding house		8 Next
Frederick Coultouch	Labourer		

Appendix B

Arch Street Properties in 1810

1810 Census Information: w.w.w.math.udel.edu/~Rstevens/datasets/smul1810.XLS				
Arch St. St. # or location	**Structure Type**	**Surname & # in Household (/#of Free Black people)**		**Listing in James Robinson's *The Philadelphia Directory 1810.***
177 NW5th	3-story brick	Johnston, John, dry goods	2	John Johnston, dry goods store, 249 S. 2nd St.
179	3-story brick	Conway, Bernard, dry goods	5	Bernard Conway, storekeeper, 179 Mulberry
181	3-story	Fletcher, Sarah, boardinghouse	16 1	Rebecca Fletcher, boardinghouse, 181 Mulberry
Adj. Presb. Burial ground	3-story brick	Chauncey, Elihu, gentleman	6 3	No listing
Back of 181	3-story brick	Longstreth, Joshua, merchant	0	Joshua Longstreth, merchant, 7 Church Alley
187	2-story brick	Fisher, David, painter and glazier	11	David Fisher, printer, 187 Mulberry
189	3-story brick	Ralston, Robert, merchant	19 4	Robert Ralston, merchant, compting house 103 S. Front; dwelling 189 Mulberry
195	3-story brick	Hart, John, druggist	15 2	John Hart, druggist, 195 Mulberry
197	3-story brick	Brown, Peter, alderman	10 4	Peter Browne, late shipsmith, 197 Mulberry
199	3-story brick	Ruhl, George, coachmaker	17	George Rhule, coachmaker, 199 Mulberry
201	3-story brick	Church, Samuel, gentleman	9 1	No listing
203	3-story brick	Parker, Lydia, lady	3 1	Sarah Parker, widow, 203 Mulberry
205	3-story brick	Carl, Maskell, teacher	7	No listing
207 NE 6th	3-story brick	Dehaven, Hugh, dry goods	10	Hugh Dehaven, merchant, 207 Mulberry

TOTALS: 13 3-story brick 11 men, 2 women 116 white /16 free black
1 2-story brick as head of household

Appendix C
Block Three Tradesmen
Based on
Alfred Coxe Prime, "Directory of Craftsmen, 1785-1800"
The New Trade Directory for Philadelphia, 1800
James Robinson, *The Philadelphia Directory*, 1802

Artists, Limners, Painters, (3 pages in Prime)
Elouis, Henry, limner, 201 Mulberry, 1793

Blacksmith (26 pages in Prime)
Bunton, Jos. Hoffmans Alley, 1797
Coleman, Thomas, C herry, b. 5-6, 1794
Eberle, Frederick, nr. 5th in Cresson's Alley, 1799, 1800
Egfeu, Adam, 5th nr. Race,
Hansell, Jacob, 91 N. 6th * 183 Sassafras, 1791
89 N. 6th 1793; 183 Sassafras, 1794
Hanson, Jacob, 91 N. 6th, 1794
Harper, John, 69 N. 6th, & 69 Cherry, 1791
Sawmaker, 69 Cherry, 1793, (15 N. 8th, 1795, 96)
Hoffman, Valentine, 166 Sassafrass, 1791, 93, 94, 95
5th St. near Race, 1795
Hoffman's alley, 1797
Hoffman, Vallence, Race b. 5-6, 1785
Maguire, Philip, cor. Of (Cherry) Cressons alley, No. 6th St., 1799, 1800
Reese, David, 9 Cresson's alley, 1791, 1793
Shannon, 69 N. 6th, 1794
Vice, George, Cresson's Alley, 1795, 96, 97
Yeakley, Henry, 67 Cherry, 1793

Boarding Houses
Chapman, Jane, 61 Cherry St.
Weed, Mary, 181 Arch

Box Makers (1 page in Prime)
Bloom, Christian, ban box maker, 64 N. 5th, 1794,
Bloomer, Christian, ditto, ditto, 1795, 96
Bloomer, John Christian, bonnet box maker, 64 N. 5th, 1801
Esher, John, ban box maker, 67 N. 6th St., 1795
, 51 N. 6th , 1796
Newman, Frederick, card maker, 64 N. 56th, 1791
Playing card maker, 66 N. 5th, 1793
Ban box maker, 64 N. 5th, 1797, 98, 99

Brassfounders (6 pages in Prime)

Boyer, Joseph, Cresson's alley, 1800 Suppl.
Carr, Robert, 14 Cresson's alley,1793, 95, 96, 97,
13 Cresson's alley, 1798, 99, 1800

Brickmakers (12 pages in Prime)
Hinsman, John, Race b. 5-6, 1785

Hanseman, John 174 Sassafras,1793
Hinchman, Hinsman, Hanchman, Hinsman, John, 174 Sassafras, 1794-97
Hansman, John 200 Sassafras, 1795-97
King, Toby, 66 Cherry, 1791

Brushmakers (3 pages in Prime)
Gideon, Jacob brush & black ball mafr. (& blower of the horn for the city Light Horse, 1795), 189 Arch, 1795-97, 1800
Jenkins, Davis, brush maker, 51 Cherry, 1791
2 Hoffmans, 1793
Robenson, Robinson, Ebenezer, 5th b. Arch & Race, 1795, 82 N. 5th, 1791, 93, 95, 97, 98

Brewers
Graff, Joseph, 61 N. 6th

Butchers
Fry, Ellis, near 6th in Cherry

Cabinetmakers and Chair makers (17 pages in Prime) all these are cabinetmkrs.
Cloer, John, 66 N. 5th, 1794
68 N. 5th, 1796-98
Graham, John, 72 N. 5th, 1795; N. 5th nr. Cherry, 1796
Jones, William, 70 N. 5th
Kearns, Christian, 5th b. Arch & Race, 1785
Lanning, James, 61 N. 6th, 1795, 96
Lawrence, Philip, joiner, 68 N. 5th, 1791, & 216 Sassafras
Sims, Henry, joiner, Cresson's alley, 1795-97
Cabinet maker, 11 Cressons St. & 37 N. 5th, 1799
Snyder, (Schneider), Herman, joiner, 185 Sassafras, 1791
Weaver, Frederick, cabinetmkr., 68 N. 5th, 1799, 1800
66 N. 5th, 1799

Carpenters (41 pages in Prime)
Bartley, Chrostopher, ho. Carpenter, Cherry Alley, b. 5-6th
Beel, Penvel, ho. Carp., 12 Cresson's Alley, 1793
Cresson, James, ho. Carp., Cressons Alley, 1785
Esdall, Thomas, ho. Carp., back 52 Cherry, 1794-97
Evans, Robert, carp., 5th b. Arch & Race, 1785,
Near 96 N. 5th, 1797
94 N. 5th, 1791, 93, 94, 95
Fagan, Michael, ho. Carp. 75 N. 6th, 1799
Goodman, Samuel, ho. Carp. Race b. 5-6, 1785, 1800
Harvey, Benjamin, ho. Carp., Cherry Alley, 5th-6th, 1785
?King, Christian, ho. Carp, Race b. 5th-6th, 1785
Laning, Samuel, carp., 63 N. 6th, 1795-6, [Arch-Cherry]
Leschler, ho. Carp., 170 Sassafras, 1795-97
Lesher, Zachariah, ho. Carp., 170 Sassafras, 1791
Lesh, Zachariah, ho. Carp. 170 Sassafras, 1794
Lish, Zachariah, ho. Carp., 170 Sassafras, 1793
Logg, John, carp., 6 Cressons Alley, 1791
Lush, Zachariah, ho. Carp., Race b. 5-6, 1785
Mansfield, Jacob, ho. Carp. Cresson's court, 1798
Meakes, carp. Arch b. 5-6, New Trade, 1800

Mornington, John, ho. Carp. Cherry near 5th, 1795, 1799
Powley, John, ho. Carp., 178 Sassafras, 1794
Reinhart, William, ho. Carp., near 6th in Cherry, 1800
Roe, Jesse, ho. Carp., 5th b. Arch & Race, 1785, 1799
Rowe, Jesse, ho. Carp., Hoffman's Alley, 1794, 1795
Smith, Mason, ho. Carp., Cresson's Court, 1795, 1798,
Thomas, Martin, ho. Carp., 5th & Arch Strs, 1795-96

Coopers (16 pages in Prime)
Ekley, Abraham, cooper, 67 N. 6th, 1793 (70 N. 6th, 1798, 99)
Snyder, Anthony, near 5th in Cressons Alley
Stonemetz, Conrad, Race b. 5-6, 1785

Engravers & Copperplate Printers & Enamel Workers (3 pages in Prime)
Bowes, Jos., architect & engraver, 25 Cressons Alley, 1797-98

Lumber Merchant
Evans, Robert, 94 N. 5th St. & 198 N. 5th, 1802 Robinson

Painters, Glaizers and Japanners (16 pages in Prime) listings below are painters
Fullerton, John, Cresson's Alley, 1797
Fullerton, Robert, 17 Cresson's Alley, 1794-5

Appendix D

Deeds related to the "Great Lot" at the northeast corner of Arch and Sixth Streets

Daniel Wilkinson,
And wife Sarah
To
Sarah Wilkinson, widow
March 28, 1764
I-7, [54]

Lot or piece of ground on east side Sixth Street, 45 feet on the said street and in length or depth 45 feet Bounded
West by 6th Street; North and east by a great lot whereof this was part, now of Anthony Wilkins and said Daniel Wilkinson; and South by a lot of Thomas Wilkinson [part of a great lot whereof Gabriel Wilkinson who was the grandfather of the said Daniel Wilkinson died and his will left (on or about 13 September 1728) unto his son Gabriel and his lawful male issue and Gabriel died and left to Daniel his eldest son and heir- in court for common recovery

****

Sarah Wilkinson, widow, of the city of Phila.
To
Peter DeHaven, yeoman, of the city of Phila.
March 22, 1769
I-7, [55?]

Sells same lot as above for L75
This deed explains Great lot in more detail: Part of a Great Lot 99 feet by 306 feet which Richard Hill, Isaac Norris and James Logan Commissioners of William Penn, Esq., ...patent date March 10, 1715/16. Patent Book A, vol. 5, p. 413.

****

Brian Wilkinson,
And wife Esther
And John Knowles, Merchant
And wife Mary [daughter of Anthony Wilkinson]
To
Peter DeHaven, Yeoman
Oct. 26, 1769
I-7 [55-56]

Lot on east side of Sixth Street between Mulberry and Race for L42
17 feet on Sixth by 74 feet to John Cope's ground
Bounded
Southward partly by Wilkinson and Knowles and partly by the lot of Peter DeHaven purchased from Sarah Wilkinson

This deed adds new family information:
The 1728 will of Gabriel Wilkinson left to son Thomas 45 feet fronting Arch and Sixth Street and to son Gabriel a 45 foot lot fronting Sixth Street and to
Grandson Brian a 45 foot lot fronting Arch Street

And ordered the remainder of the Great Lot sold to pay his debts.
Son Gabriel died and no lots yet sold
Gabriel's issue Anthony, his oldest son, Rebecca, Mary, Margaret, Gabriel, by his first ventor and Thomas, Vashti and Mildred by second ventor to inherit, share and share alike
Rebecca and Thomas soon died intestate without issue; Mildred married Edmond Allen
Brian, eldest son of Anthony petitioned to Orphan's Court
Brian Wilkinson and John Knowles [brother-in-law] buy out others (as I understand it)
Note: I did not copy the text that stated that John Knowles married Anthony's daughter Mary Wilkinson, but it did come from this deed.
Recorded Jan 3, 1770

Peter De Haven, Gentleman
To
Peter De Haven, Jr., Esquire, grandson
Oct. 14, 1800
E.F. 10 [271?] (the Grantor index cites p. 271, but no page nos. visible on microfilm)

All those new 3-story brick messuage or tenement and 2 story brick kitchen & lot or piece of ground thereunto...situated at the Northeast corner of Mulberry Street and Delaware Sixth Street in breadth on Mulberry 22'6 (including the westernmost ½ of a 3-foot alley which extends from the said Mulberry St. the full depth of the said Messuage extending the further depth of 6 feet north sloping on each side to a post fixed or to be fixed for hanging of gates which said alley at all times hereafter forever is to be and remain open as the same now is for the common use of the owners and occupiers of this and the messuage & lot to the eastward & in length or depth along the said Sixth St. 49 feet ½ more or less from the said Mulberry St. to & in a line with the middle of the northern wall of the said Kitchen Bounded

Northward by a messuage & ground of said Peter Dehaven & partly by the easternmost moiety of the said 3-foot wide alley

Southward by Mulberry Street

Westward by 6th St. and also a slip of ground 3 feet in width extending from the hereby granted lot from the northeast corner thereof and in a straight continuation of the back line eastward 4 feet and then northward c. 5 feet to the brick necessary or House of Office together with the exclusive use of the South eastern apartment of the said necessary and the common use at all times hereafter for ever of the well over which the said necessaries are erected...from time to time a quarter part of the expenses for keeping and maintaining the said well in clean and good order.
****
Peter De Haven Jr. Esquire, of the Township of Radnor, Delaware Co.
To
Hugh De Haven, Farmer, of the same place
December 16, 1800
E.F. 10, [272?] (this deed follows in sequence the one above)

Sells above property to him for $3000

Appendix E

Transcript of Certificate on behalf of James Oronoque Dexter
Of Philadelphia, July 16, 1787

Pennsylvania Abolition Society MS Collection, Vol. 1, 1748-1789, p. 69
Historical Society of Pennsylvania
[James Dexter lived at 84 N. Fifth Street from 1790-1798. A copy of the certificate was provided by Dr. Daniel Rolph, HSP; the transcription is by this writer.]

James Oronoque Dexter a Black Freeman, when young and in Slavery was hired by his master to the Keeper of a Tavern in this City, and being of an obliging behavior gained the good will of those who frequented the house so that by presents he Renewed from them in the space of four years he had saved to the amount of fifty Pounds; his master dying in debt, he became the property of his Creditors, who being acquainted with his good Character for sobriety & honesty, & his desire of freedom, agreed he should be put into possession of it on payment of one hundred Pounds within two years which he engaged to do in the space of nine months, and with punctuality performed. After which being desirous of settling in life, and inclining to marry he fixed on a young woman of reputation, and obtained the Consent of her possessor who held her in so high estimation that he rated the price of her redemption from Slavery at so great a rate that Oronoque could not comply with the terms, and therefore for some time declined further proceeding until at length through the interposition, and influence of a friend he was prevailed upon to take fifty Pounds for her freedom, which was paid to her possessor by Oronoque having by his industry gained thirty pounds of the money, and the other part was lent by two of his friends, whom he carefully repaid declining to marry until he had done it; after which he settled and they lived together many years with reputation being Industrious and worthy of Confidence, and Since the decease of his wife he has Conducted with Sobriety, & Steadiness; having known him more than ten years I have had much opportunity of observing his behaviour, and proceedings, & do not know a labouring man whom I should prefer to employ, or who in more to be confided in, his humanity in assisting and Relieving those of his own Colour and difficulty is also conspicuous as far as is in his powers which with his conscientious principles render him a Truly worthy Character

Philadelphia 16th 8 month 1787 Isaac Zane

Being well acquainted with the above named James Oronoque Dexter, I can freely testify my concurrence with the character given of him in the foregoing narrative, and as he has lived in the family of my brother John Pemberton several years at annual wages, frequent opportunities have occurred to my observation of his steady prudent conduct, diligence in business, & faithful attention to the Interest of his master Since, as before his late long absence from home.

Philadelp 16 8 mno 1787 James Pemberton

Appendix F

JAMES ORONOKO DEXTER

Note: Most of the primary research for this biographical sketch was generously provided by Dr. Daniel Rolph at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Dr. Rolph had taken a personal interest in Dexter and had a research file on him. His initial interest focused on the name Oronoko, which, he explained, became popular in Abolitionist circles after 1688 when Aphra Behn published her novel, Oroonoko or, The Royal Slave *in London. In James Dexter's manumission papers, dated 1767, he was called "Oronoko royal Slave."*

James Oronoko Dexter until recently remained an obscure 18th century African American in Philadelphia. Gary Nash referenced Oronoko Dexter in his *Forging Freedom The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community 1720-1840* (Harvard University Press, 1988) as one of six Philadelphia free blacks who petitioned the State of Pennsylvania in 1782 "to fence in the Negroes Burying Ground in the Potters field." This reference later fit in with material gathered from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers by Dr. Daniel Rolph at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Henry Dexter left "Oronoco," his Negro boy, to his son James by his will of 1749. (WPA-Ph4-Will Books I-K, 44) Henry Dexter had invested in real estate just before his death by building several houses on Elbow Lane "within 2 doors of the White Horse" and opposite the Presbyterian burying-ground, where he lived. He was buried at Christ Church on February 5, 1750.

The estate of James Dexter manumitted Oronoko in August 1767, presumably in his early manhood. The legal document, witnessed by Asheton Humphreys, Charles Thomson and Christopher Marshall, named Joseph Yeates and "Oronoko royal Slave" as the two parties who provided 100 pounds to the executors to pay off James Dexter's creditors. According to the certificate that Isaac Zane left in 1787, James Dexter died in debt, so that the executors possibly required Oronoko, who had been hired out to a local tavern keeper, to buy himself. Joseph Yeates, referenced with Oronoko on his manumission, was a well known tavern keeper in 1767 with a license to run the "Three Tun" on Chestnut Street between Second and Third Street, later called "Fountain Inn."

By the 1790 census James Dexter, a free black man with seven other household members, lived on the west side of North Fifth Street. While he was not recorded in Clement Biddle's 1791 directory, he did appear in the 1791 tax assessment (identified as a Negroe) in the same location, next to Ebenezer Robinson, a brushmaker, listed in the 1791 directory at 82 N. Fifth Street. Robinson purchased the corner 20 by 80-foot lot at Fifth and Cherry Streets from Caleb and Joshua Cresson in 1766, (Ph Co Deed Book I, 3, 482) and settled there. Three years later he purchased the adjoining 20-foot lot to the north, again from the Cresson brothers (Ph Co Deed Book GWR 6, 275). He insured a new, "very plain" two-story house "two doors above Cherry" in 1791, possibly built for James Dexter. (Contributionship Book 2, 253) Robinson signed an anti-slavery petition in 1783 and may have had personal connections with Dexter. To date, however, no such connections, other than the physical proximity, have been found.

From 1794 to 1798 James Dexter listed himself as a coachman at 84 N. Fifth Street. It is not clear whether he served as coachman for Robinson. Dexter disappeared with no further record after 1798. Dr. Rolph's efforts to find a death notice for him came to naught.

John Pemberton, a wealthy Philadelphia Quaker merchant and traveling religious preacher, by his will probated in 1795, bequeathed 50 pounds a year for James Oronoko Dexter during his natural life. A month before his death in Germany, Pemberton wrote a codicil to his will that added 35 pounds to the 15 pounds he originally allocated to Dexter. Thus he more than doubled the annual bequest, which suggests the special place Dexter had assumed in Pemberton's final thoughts. In his will, recorded in April 1794, Pemberton noted that Dexter was living with him. At first this was confusing: did Dexter live in two places? Likely not: John Pemberton probably drafted his will in the 1780s, when Dexter, as noted in the 1787 testimony of James Pemberton, was living with John Pemberton. When preparing for his extended missionary trip overseas in 1794, Pemberton probably officially recorded his will. This precaution was a wise one, as he died in Germany in 1795.

John Pemberton also left money in trust for James Dexter and Absalom Jones for the "Society of Black People for support of the Poor," possibly also known as the Free African Society. Pemberton had known Dexter for many years, at least since the year of his manumission in 1767. John's brother, James Pemberton, had vouched for him in 1787, in a certificate in behalf of James Oranque Dexter. This revealing document was authored primarily by John Pemberton's father-in-law, Isaac Zane who stated that he had known Dexter for more than ten years and could vouch for "his humanity in assisting and Relieving those of his own Colour under difficulty." James Pemberton vouched for Zane's testimony and added that Dexter "has lived in the family of my brother John Pemberton several years at annual wages." During that time he observed Dexter's "steady prudent conduct, diligence in business, & faithful attention to the interest of his master since, as before his late long absence from home." (PA Abolition Society (PAS) Papers, PAS MSS Collection, Vol. 1, 69)

Isaac Zane also revealed that after establishing his freedom in 1767 Dexter "fixed on a young woman of reputation" to marry, he "being desirous to settle." The unnamed owner of this woman gave his consent for their marriage, but he held her "in so high estimation" that Dexter could not afford to buy her from slavery. Zane explained that "for some time" Dexter "declined further proceeding, until at length through the interposition, and influence of a friend [John Pemberton?] he was prevailed upon to take fifty Pounds for her freedom, which was paid to her possessor by Oronoque having by his industry gained thirty pounds of the money, and the other part was lent by two of his friends, whom he carefully repaid declining to marry until he had done it;..." Dr. Rolph's research showed that "Noake of the Said City" [short for Oronoke?] purchased from William Jones, grazier, a woman "named Priss, aged about 25 years," on December 23, 1767. John Pemberton stood as a witness.

Besides the petition in 1782 signed by "Oronoko" Dexter, there is one more surviving document that shows that he persisted for some time with his boyhood name. A letter from Phineas Bond to "Oronoake" in January 1784 was addressed "Oronoko at Mr. John Pemberton's." (Both spellings are on the document.) Bond starts "I received your letter and immediately made inquiry of several Persons formerly acquainted with Polydore, whom you wrote about..." This suggests that Dexter had learned to read and write, presumably at a Quaker school. John Pemberton's 16-page will endowed the "Schooling for People of Colour," among his

many philanthropic entries. (Dr. Rolph also located information on Polydore and his wife Rose, not included in this summary.)

The 1787 certificate noted that James Dexter lived with his wife for many years before her death. The 1795 tax record and city directory indicate that a Sarah Dexter lived on Hoffman's Alley. Her placement in the tax assessment listing suggests that she may have lived at the back end of the lot listed as 84 N. Fifth Street, James Dexter's address for most of the decade (1790-1798). The 1801 Directory listed her as a washerwoman, a common occupation for poor single women. Whether Sarah Dexter or Richard Dexter, shoemaker, who lived elsewhere according to city directories, were children of James Dexter has not yet been determined.

Coxey Toogood
Revised August 2003

Appendix G

Chain of Title for 134 North Fifth Street (formerly 84 N. Fifth St.),
The address for James Dexter, 1790-1798

NOTE: The record has not yet been found entitling Caleb and Joshua Cresson to the half block north of Cherry Street, but the likelihood is strong that they inherited the real estate from Samuel Emlen, their relative (grandfather?).

Caleb Cresson and Joshua Cresson, Merchants, City of Philadelphia
To
Ebenezer Robinson, brushmaker
January 1, 1770 Lot 20 by 80 feet, to a certain 10 foot alley
GWR 6, 275 [Robinson insures a plain two story brick house, 1791
James Dexter, coachman, on record as tenant 1790-98]

Phineas Buckley and Joshua R. Smith
Executors to Estate of Ebenezer Robinson
To
John Jenkins, shoemaker
November 22 1823

Mary Jenkins, Administratrix
To
John Bechtel, shoemaker
20 June 1831 lot with a two-story brick messuage or tenement
AM 10, 666-669

Ann Wharton
To
John Bechtel
Nov. 15, 1833 for purchase of ground rent ($200)
AM 44, 164

John Bechtel, shoe dealer
To
George Neale
May 22 1834 lot with two-story brick messuage or tenement
AM 47, 247

George Neale, et ux,, farmer, Brandywine Hundred, Newcastle Co., Delaware
To
George F. Lee, brickayer, Northern Liberties
12 Oct. 1842 two-story brick messuage and lot
GS45, 206

George F. Lee of Northern Liberties
To
Philip Doflein, Patternmaker, Phila.
14 August 1846 two-story brick messuage or tenement and lot
AWM 12, 510

Philip Doflein, pattern maker, and Helena his wife
To
Andrew Engelke, shopkeeper
Oct. 31, 1891
TG102, 118
This deed transfers a four-story brick messuage or tenement and lot 19'8 from Cherry Street. The deed recites that Philip Dolfein "hath taken the said two-story Brick messuage and Built & erected thereon the 4-story brick messuage," but does not give a date. The 4-story building, which survived until the pre-demolition photographs of Block Three, therefore was built sometime between 1846, when Dolfein took the title to the property, and 1891, at the next deed transfer.]

Andrew Engelke died intestate 21 Dec 1896, leaving wife Katherine & 2 children

William F. Gibbons and John Engelke
To
Katherine Engelke
6 May 1905 brick tenement & lot
W.S.V. 490, 26

Katherine Engelke Regenspurger and
Max Regenspurger
To
M. Hanson & Co.
17 October 1927
JMH 265, 4

E.M. Hanson & Co., Inc., a PA corporation
To
General State Authority
December 1, 1958 lot with brick tenement
?

CITY DIRECTORIES, 1844-1900

Philip Doflein

McElroy's Philadelphia Directory, 1844-1845: chaser*, 84 N. Fifth St.
McElroy's 1847-1848: chaser, 84 N. Fifth St.
McElroy's 1855: chaser, 84 N. Fifth

*Chaser: "One who chases or engraves metal." *Oxford English Dictionary*

McElroy's 1857: trimming store & chaser, 84 N. Fifth St.
McElroy's 1858: trimming store & chaser, 134 N. Fifth St.
McElroy's 1860: no listing
McElroy's 1865: mouldmaker, 134 N. Fifth St.

Gospills Philadelphia City Directory for 1870: mouldmaker, 1 Clyde pl; home 134 N. Fifth St.
Gospills 1875: moulder, h 446 N. 7th Street
Gospills 1880: h. 410 Green Street

Gospills 1885: bottlemoulds, 1 Clyde pl. h. 524 N. 4th St.
Gospills 1890: moulds, 118 Clyde pl.
Gospills 1895: moulder, 1 Clyde pl. h. 524 N. 4th St.
Gospills 1900: Dolfein, Helen, wid Philip, h. 524 N. 4th
Dolfein, P. carpenter, 101 N. Reese

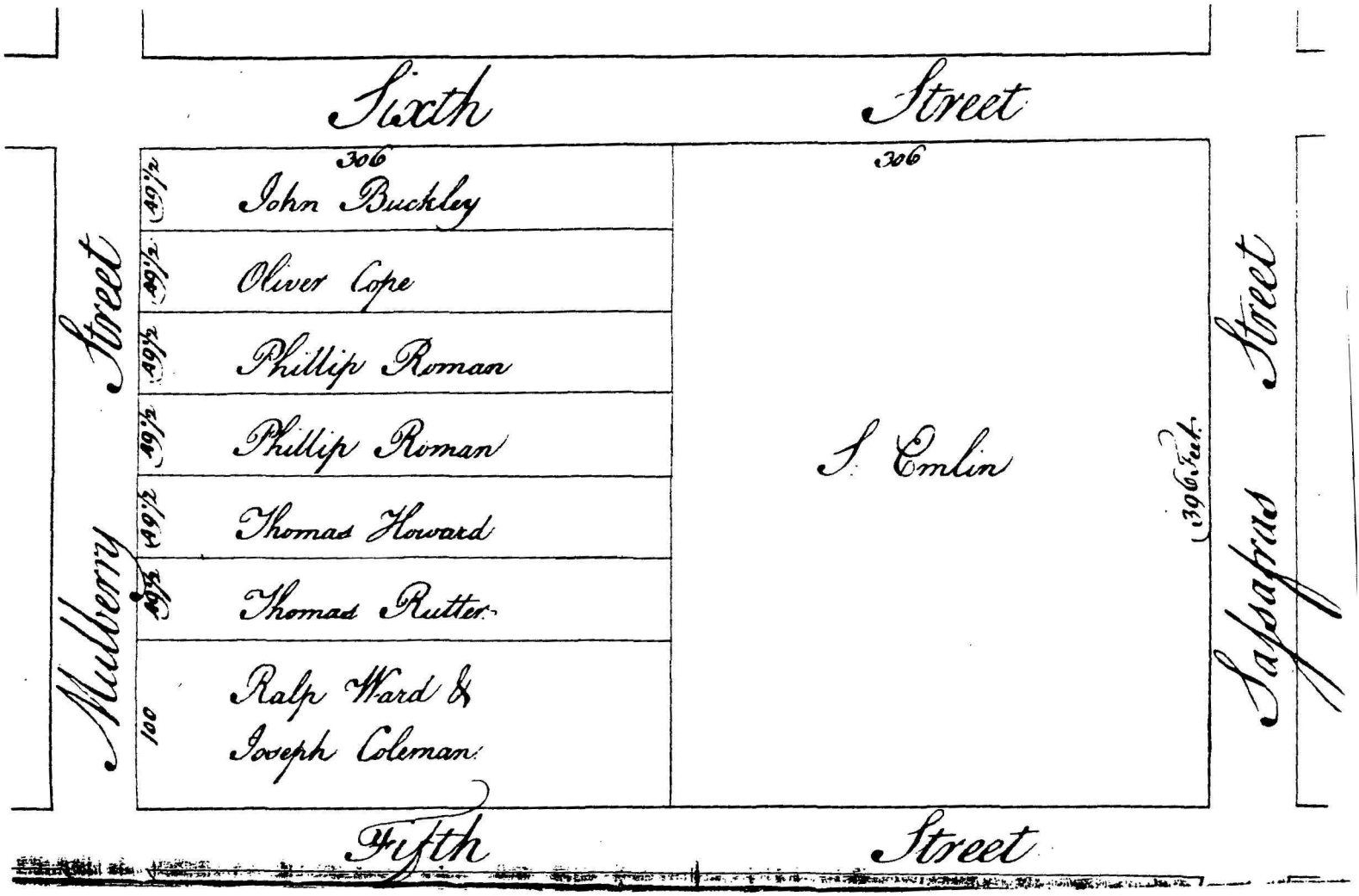
Andrew Engelke [pays Dolfein a mortgage in 1891 for the 4-story building and lot at 134 N. Fifth St.]

Gospills Directory, 1890: liquors, 134 N. 5th
Gospills 1895: fruit, 134 N. 5th St. h. 524 N. 4th St.
[the home address is same as Doflein's listing, 1885 ff, which suggests that they have a family tie. Andrew Engelke died intestate in Dec. 1896; Catherine Engelke is his widow and perhaps Dolfein's daughter.]
Gospills 1900: Catherine Engelke, fruit, 134 N. 5th St.
Gospills 1905: Katherine Engelke, fruit, 134 N. 5th St.
Gospills 1910: Katherine Engelke, fruit, 134 N. 5th St.
Gospills 1915: Katherine Engelke, cigars, 134 N. 5th St.
Katherine Engelke Regenspurger and Max Regenspurger, cigars, 134 N. 5th St. sell to M. Hanson & Co., Oct. 17, 1927

Hanson & Company

Polk's-Boyd's Philadelphia Directory 1925, 1930, and 1934 list Hanson & Co., electrotypers, 233 S. 8th St. [This was the only Hanson & Co. listed; perhaps they invested in real estate and leased this building and lot out until Dec. 1, 1958, when sold to the Pennsylvania General State Authority.]

ILLUSTRATIONS


Sixth Street
306
John Buckley
49½
Oliver Cope
49½
Phillip Roman
49½
Phillip Roman
49½
Thomas Howard
49½
Thomas Rutter
49½
Ralp Ward &
Joseph Coleman
100
306
S. Emlin
396 feet
Mulberry Street
Sassafras Street
Fifth Street

2. Clarkson-Biddle, "Plan of the City of Philadelphia," May 30, 1762.

Matthew Clarkson and Mary Biddle published the "Plan of the City of Philadelphia" late in 1762, the year after the death of its creator, Nicholas Scull, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania. Mary Biddle, Scull's daughter and executrix, worked with Matthew Clarkson, the engraver, to publish Scull's work, considered the first detailed map of Philadelphia. (see Snyder, *City of Independence*, 62)

Scull's survey of the block between Arch and Race from Fifth to Sixth Streets marked the location of the Presbyterian Burial Ground and a few pioneer houses along Fifth Street and Cherry Street.

SASSAFRAS or RACE STREET

MULBERRY or ARCH STREET

HIGH or MARKET STREET

CHESNUT STREET

WALNUT STREET

EIGHTH STREET

SEVENTH STREET

SIXTH STREET

FIFTH STREET

FOURTH STREET

THIRD STREET

SECOND STREET

FRONT STREET

Alley

Quarry Alley

Church Alley

Bowling Ground

Lodge Alley

Market Alley

Fair Alley

Hillage Alley

Gearhart's

Parrock's

Austins Ferry

Old Ferry Slip

Crooked Billet

Kings Morris's

Flowers's

Carpenter's

Meredith's

Fashbourn's

Dickinson's

Penrose's

South East Square containing Penns Plan

3. John Hills, Surveyor and Draughtsman, "Plan of the City of Philadelphia and its Environs," May 30th, 1796

Martin P. Snyder in *City of Independence*, ranked Hills' map as "most important," citing its detail and quality of work. City Council approved it with a written commendation.

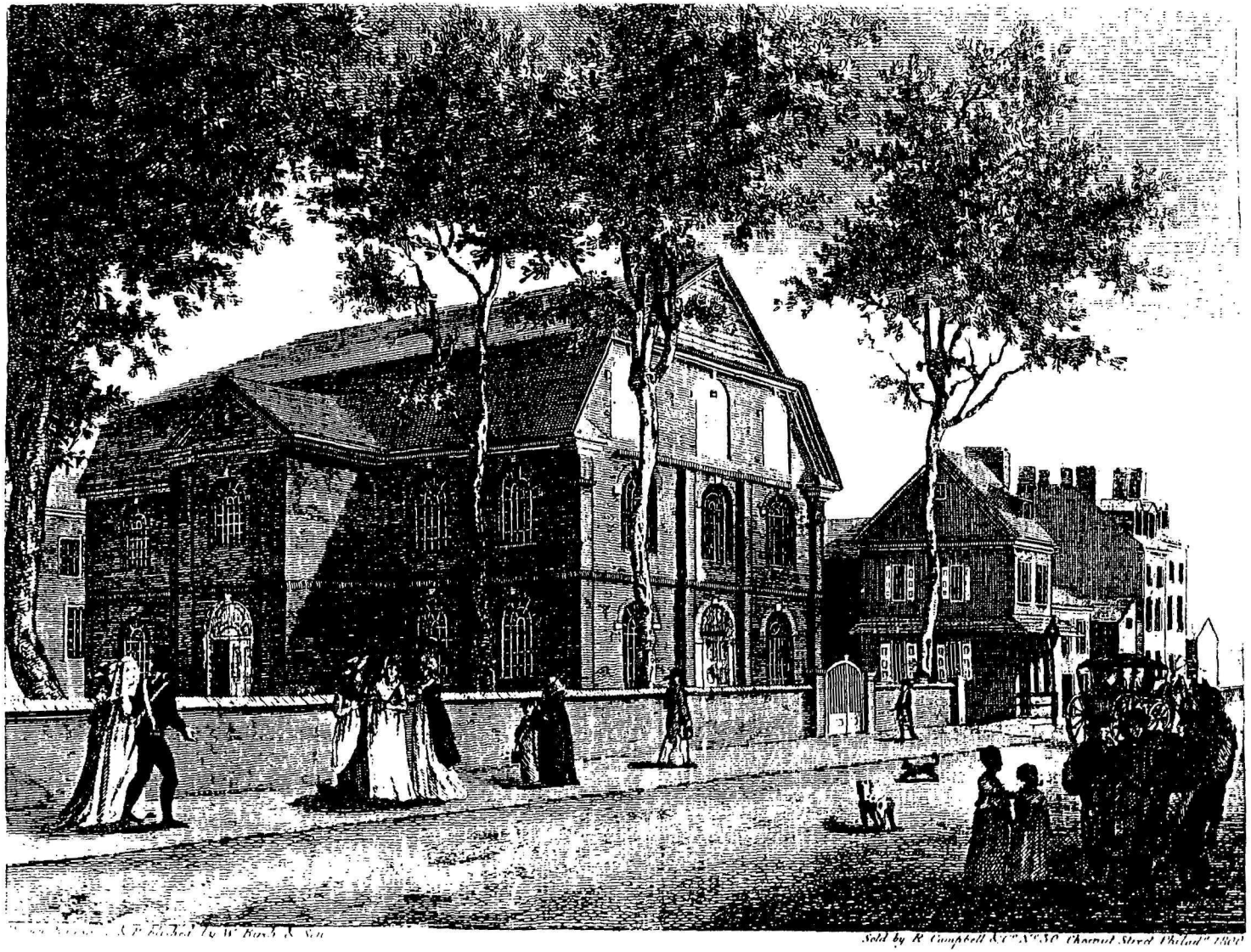
John Hill served as an engineer in the British Army during the Revolution and after the war set up business in New Jersey as a surveyor and mapmaker. By 1790 he had moved his business to Philadelphia, where he remained for more than two decades. (Snyder, 106)

Hills' survey for Block Three clearly demonstrates the rapid development of real estate in the neighborhood after the Revolution, particularly in the northern half of the block, the Cresson family section.



4. "Old Lutheran Church, in Fifth Street, Philadelphia," William Birch, 1800

St. Michael's Lutheran Church was constructed in 1743-1748 midway between Arch and Race streets, on the east side of Fifth Street. When real estate began to sell across Fifth Street in Block Three twenty years later, the church provided a ready landmark for developers' advertisements. Today the United States Mint covers the entire block where the church stood.



Sold by R. Campbell & Co.ª N.º 30 Chesnut Street Philad.ª 1800

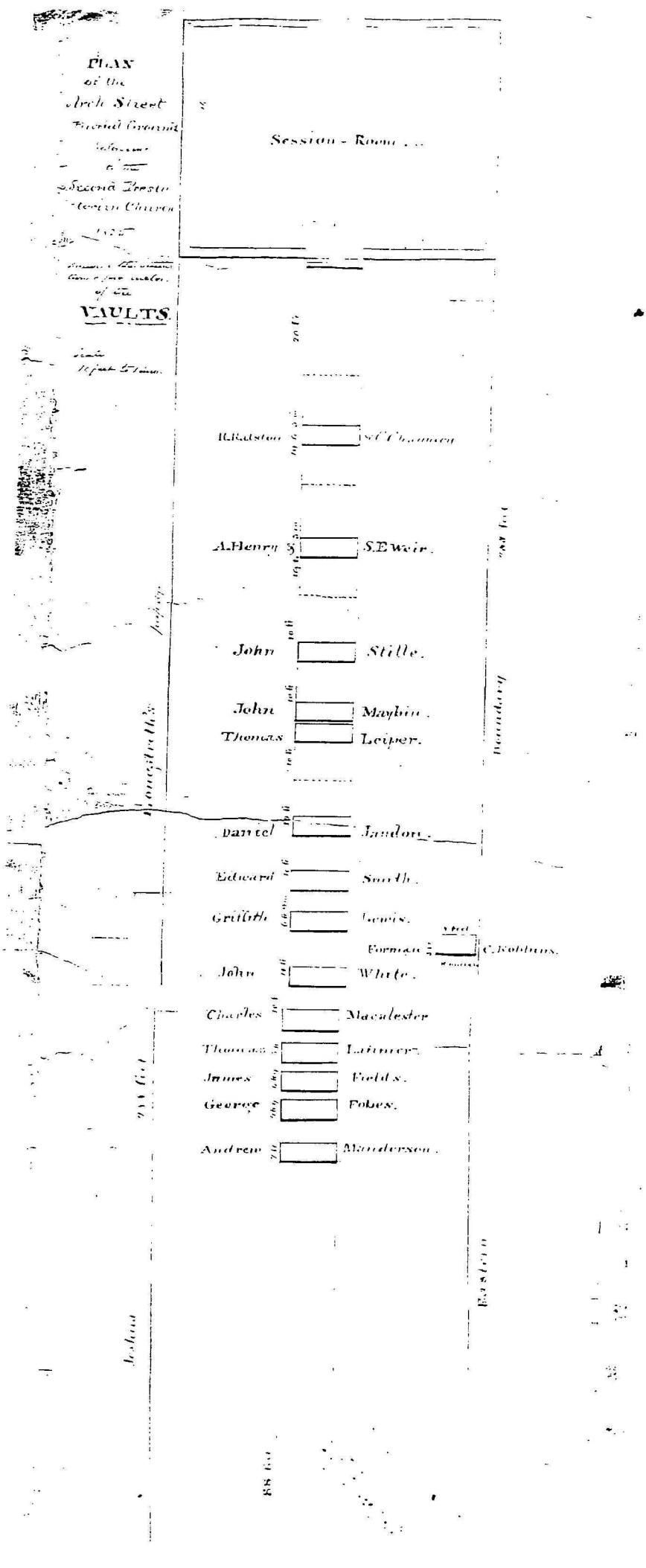
OLD LUTHERAN CHURCH, in Fifth Street PHILADELPHIA

5. "Plan of the Arch Street Burial Ground belonging to the Second Presbyterian Church, 1835."

Map Case 2.49, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia
(The plan has been reduced in size for the convenience of this report.)

This 1835 plan of the burial ground lists the major family burial vaults along the central walkway within the yard. The construction of the Session Room facing Cherry Street required the reburial of numerous graves within its perimeter. The archives for the Second Presbyterian Church has another plan documenting (with name, age at death and date of burial) the graves within that space, presumably all relocated.

When the church moved its Arch Street burial ground in the 1860s, those families with vaults sometimes moved their ancestors to different cemeteries within the region, but the task of moving all the bodies fell short of completion, as the recent archeology by Kise Straw and Kolodner clearly demonstrated.


PLAN
of the
Arch Street
Session - Room
VAULTS.
R.Ralston
A.Henry
S.E.Weir.
John
Stille.
John
Maybin.
Thomas
Leiper.
Daniel
Landon.
Edward
Smith.
Griffith
Lewis.
Forman
C.Robbins.
John
White.
Charles
Macalester
Thomas
Latimer.
James
Fields.
George
Fobes.
Andrew
Mendenson.
Longworth's
Boundary
Ashland
Eastern

6. Fifth Street between Cherry Street and Quarry facing West. Photo By Kehoe July 1953 (INDE1028)

This photograph was taken in the 1950s as part of a documentary series to record the buildings about to be demolished for the creation of Independence Mall State Park.

James Dexter, a free African and one of the founders of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church, occupied a plain, two-story brick house on the second lot above Cherry Street, 84 North Fifth Street. There he lived with seven other people, according to the 1790 census, and made his living as a coachman. His reliable service and good works were recognized by prominent Quaker merchant and preacher, John Pemberton, who left Dexter an annual annuity, as well as money in trust for the local African community, in his will probated in 1795.

Sometime after his purchase of this property (then 134 N. Fifth Street) in 1846, Philip Doflein replaced the two-story building with this four-story brick structure, as explained in a deed of 1891. Recently the National Constitution Center hired Kise Straw and Kolodner to excavate the site to search for evidence of James Dexter. The analysis of that archeology will provide some insights to the 18th and 19th century history of the property.



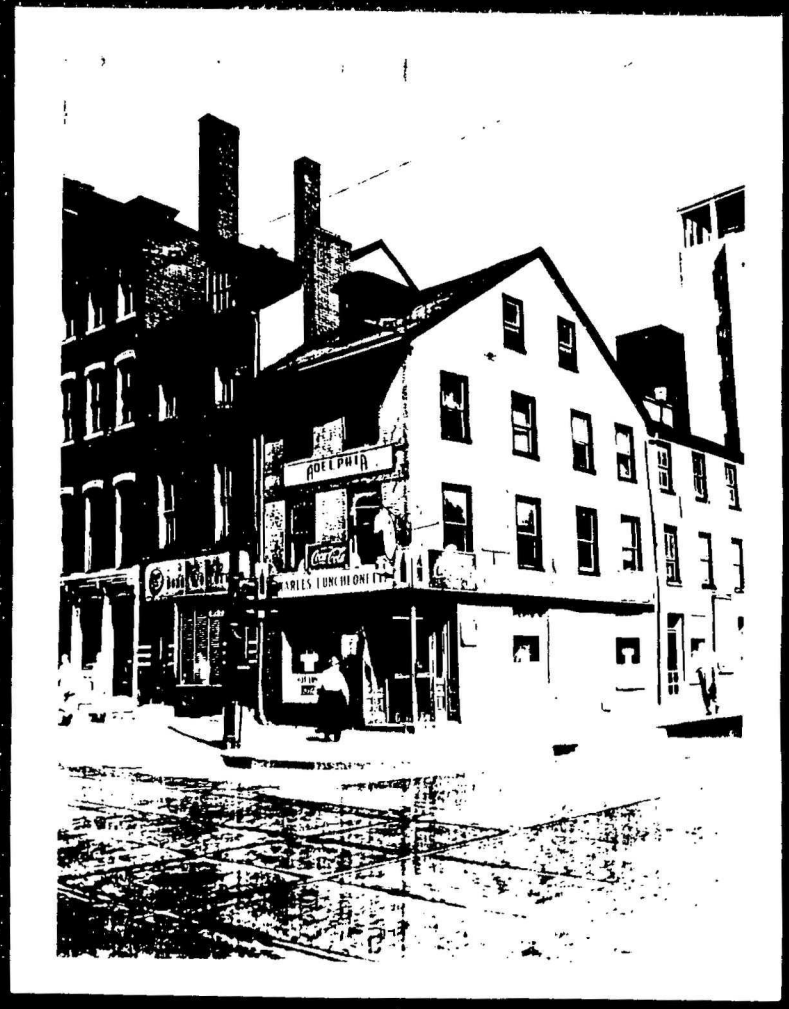
Proposed Mall - Block 3

5th Street between Cherry and Quarry facing West.

(By) Kehoe, July 1953
1028

7. Northwest corner of Arch and Fifth Streets. Photo by Kehoe, July 1953 (INDE 1018)

The mid-eighteenth century brick houses at the corner survived until the demolition of Block Three. These had once been among the highest valued houses on the block.



Proposed Mall - Block 3

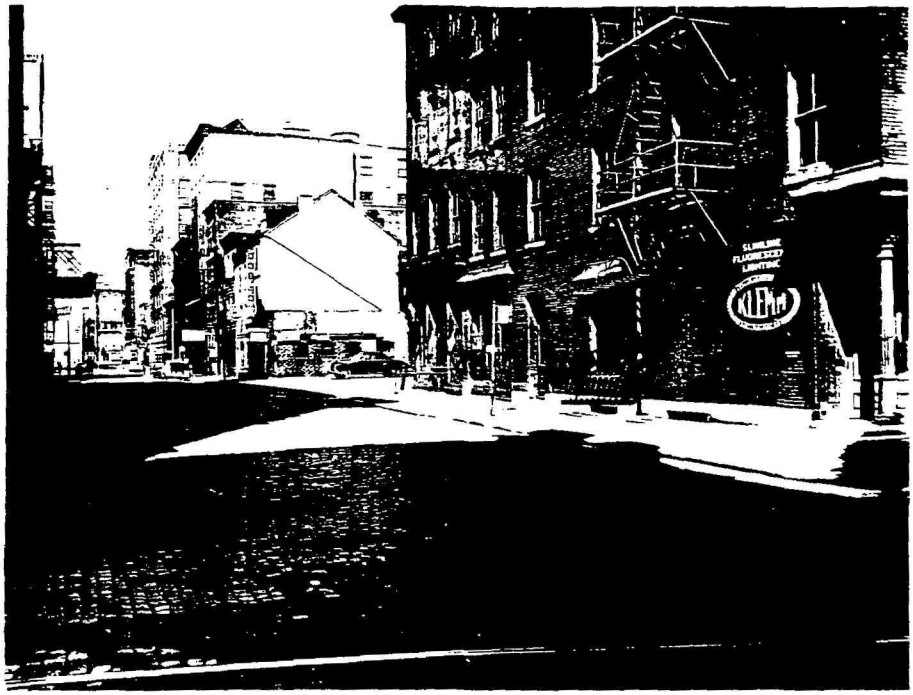
Northwest corner of Arch and 5th Streets.

(By) Kehoe, July 1953
1018

8. Cherry Street at Fifth Street, looking West. Photo by Kehoe July 1953. (INDE 1022)

The parking lot on the north side of Cherry Street is the site of Caleb Cresson's home. He insured his three-story brick house that fronted 35 feet on Cherry Street in 1786 and lived there until his death in 1816. Cresson's diary of 1791-1792 offers a window into the simple pleasures he enjoyed when working in the small walled garden behind his house.

Caleb Cresson's will left his house and three others he had built adjoining to the west, to his son Caleb Cresson Jr., amounting to some 91 feet of real estate frontage on Cherry Street.

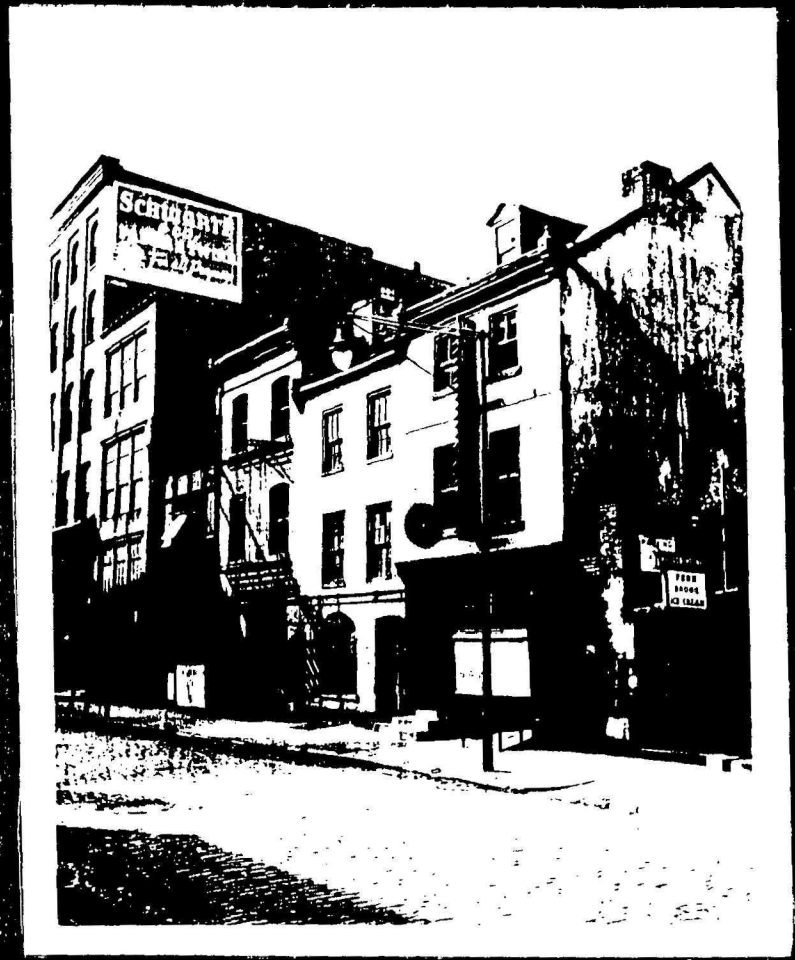


Proposed Mall - Block 3

Cherry Street at 5th Street, looking West.
(By) Kehoe, July 1953
1022

9. 515 Cherry Street-north side. Photo by Koehler Summer 1952
(INDE 2365-F)

Two of the houses that were still standing west of the parking lot on Cherry Street appear to be eighteenth century construction and thus may have been the houses Cresson insured in 1786 with his own home at the corner of Hoffman's Alley.



BLOCK 3 2365-F

515 Cherry St. - Northside

By: Wm. Koehler - Summer 1952

10. 141 North Sixth Street-East side between Race and Cherry Streets. Photo by William Koehler Summer 1952 (INDE 2364-A)

The shadow of a smaller two-story house built for the hordes of working tradesmen who settled on this block can be seen in the facing side wall of the surviving house at 141 North Sixth, which appears itself to be of late 18th century construction.



BLOCK 3 2364-A

141 N. 6th St. - East Side between Race and Cherry Sts.

By: Wm. Koehler - Summer 1962

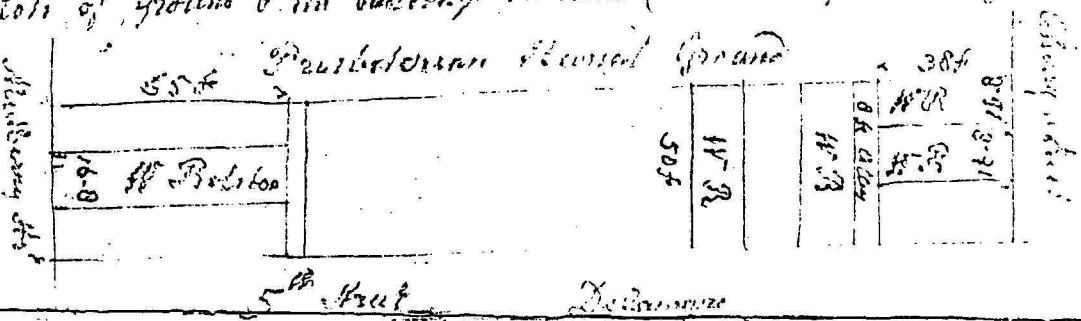
Philadelphia City Surveys

Division 2T, Folder 43, pre-1814,
Race to Mulberry, 5th to 6th, Philadelphia City Archives

These city surveys have survived in a fragmented condition. They are usually double-sided, evidently done so to conserve paper or cost or both. Thus several lots surveyed at different times and at different places on the block might fill one sheet. Sometimes these surveys provide information from former deeds and wills that explain land ownership. Together they provide a composite of measurements and context for only a few sections of Block Three in the eighteenth century.

1. "Deed Robt Morris to Wm Rolston—31s Jany 1777" at Mulberry & Fifth Streets & Delaware 5th and Cherry Street

Dean Bed[d] Street to Ph[a] Rodgers — 31[f] 6[in] front — for
5 lots of Ground & the buildings on them (Demolished as of the Draft



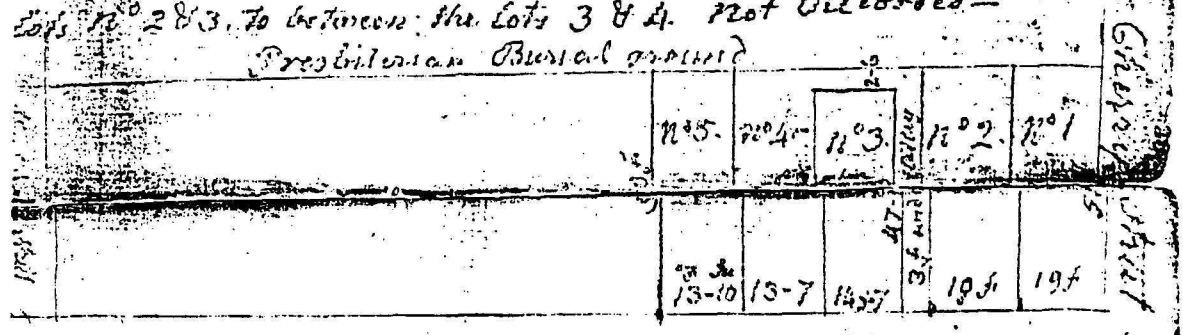
5th Street Delaware

4th Dec[r] 1761 Rec[d] Book H Vol 15 fo 263 &c
In s[d] Deed is recited Deed Sam[l] Powers & Hannah his wife to Richard
Peart for a lot on the West side of Fifth street & South side of Cherry
Street for a lot on the West side of Fifth street & South side of Cherry St
on breadth E & West 50 f[t] in length N & South 156 f[t] 6 on s[d] Fifth street
Bounded South by three ground granted by the Governors of Rich[d] Hill
Deceased to Richard Peart
Also recited Deed (same Decem[r] 4th 1761) Rec[d] H Vol 15 fo 259 &c of
the Decem 5th Between Rob[t] Bethel & others to said Rich[d] Peart
a great Lot 50 f[t] on Mulberry street and 136 f[t] 6 on the West side of
Fifth to Cherry street thence [illegible] 15 Feet left of the Original grant of
30 f[t] towards the breadth of Cherry Street) These lots were subject
to Certain ground rents that were purchased off by Robert Morris in the
year 1768 March 25th & extinguished. 25 Ap. 1768
Rich[d] Peart by Deed 5th Decem[r] 1761. Record[d] in H Vol 15, fo 513 &c granted
Rev[d] Bartholomew a lot on Mulberry street 165 f[t] front by 65 f[t] in length
north & Southerly adjoining 42 f[t] front on 5th street by 50 f[t] to the Burial ground & another
lot 28 f[t] on 5th street & 50 f[t] to s[d] Burial ground Bounded North with the next
Described lot also another lot 33 f[t] 4 on Cherry Street by 62 feet South on
5th Street to the East described lot — & by another Deed 30th October 1770
granted to Rev[d] Bar Bartholomew another lot Eight Feet on Cherry Street &
Seventy Feet to Bounded West with s[d] Burial ground North & East with
other ground of s[d] Rev[d] Bartholomew — (not found recorded) on which
Lots appears to have been built & on the 2d March 1785 Rev[d] Bar Bartholomew
sold s[d] 5 lots to Robert Morris who sold them to Wm Craddock the
31st of Jan[y] 1787 as above. Plan for 1354 —
Wm Craddock the 12th Novem[r] 1806 assigned s[d] lots to Charles
Chauncey in Trust to sell — Record[d] in Deed Book G Vol 25 fo. 1806
G Chauncey to Shoemaker Boys by 2 Deeds of Lease & Release Record-
in D. Book PC Vol 1 Page 224 & 226 Grants the Messuages & Lots
Marked Nos 1, 2 & 3 on a Plan (made by Reading Howell) 2040.
The Boys to Rev[d] Bean - June 14th 1811 for Recorded) ground Rented
3 50 f[t] Rent under $360 p[r] annum — (see the Plan on other side)

132A

Chas Crawley to Michael Wallace for the use of [illegible]

Extract of Agreement between Jno Dean & Michael Baker Dated 20th March 1813 for the removal of the alley from between the Lots No 283. To between the Lots 3 & 4. not Recorded —



Delaware 5th street

Grant of Jno Dean to Mich[l] Baker "of an Alley five feet six Inches wide "clear" from & on a line with the North side of the South Gable end wall of the within granted Messuage or Tenement & to extend from Front street to the Presbyterian Burying ground along & Parallel to the Northward of the [illegible] Alley is for the Common [illegible] area & 246 Feet Alley that were in Common between the Grantor & the Grantee & the Heirs & Assigns of the Grantee & the Heirs & the said 3d alley Grantee not granted to Grantor

† This agreement as endorsed on the Deed Fredk Bast to John Dean & duly executed by Michael Baker —

CA
21
Folder 43
pre-1814

2.Survey for Peter DeHaven 6th Street near Mulberry Sept 6th 1791

Survey for Peter De Haven
6th Heut near Mulberry
Sept 6th 1791
2 ms J Pearson
chas Connelly

p each 6/3

Also Survey of the Corner
Lot April 5th 1795

July 4th paid 2/6 J Pearson
J Mc Clock

Survey of the remaining 9 feet of
the 2 lots of 45 f each and the 17 f
lot on the North for Hugh De
Haven May 6th 1802 J Pearson
paid

133A

Thos. Mc Gee

in 1802 of Sarah Fox (Widow of the late Joseph Fox Esq.)

heirs of Fred.k Walters

other grounds of

Peter De Haven

Mulberry Street

Peter De Haven late deceased 1791

Peter Delaware by Deed to Wm. Delaware

Part of Lot 17 ft

Part ground of Peter Delaware

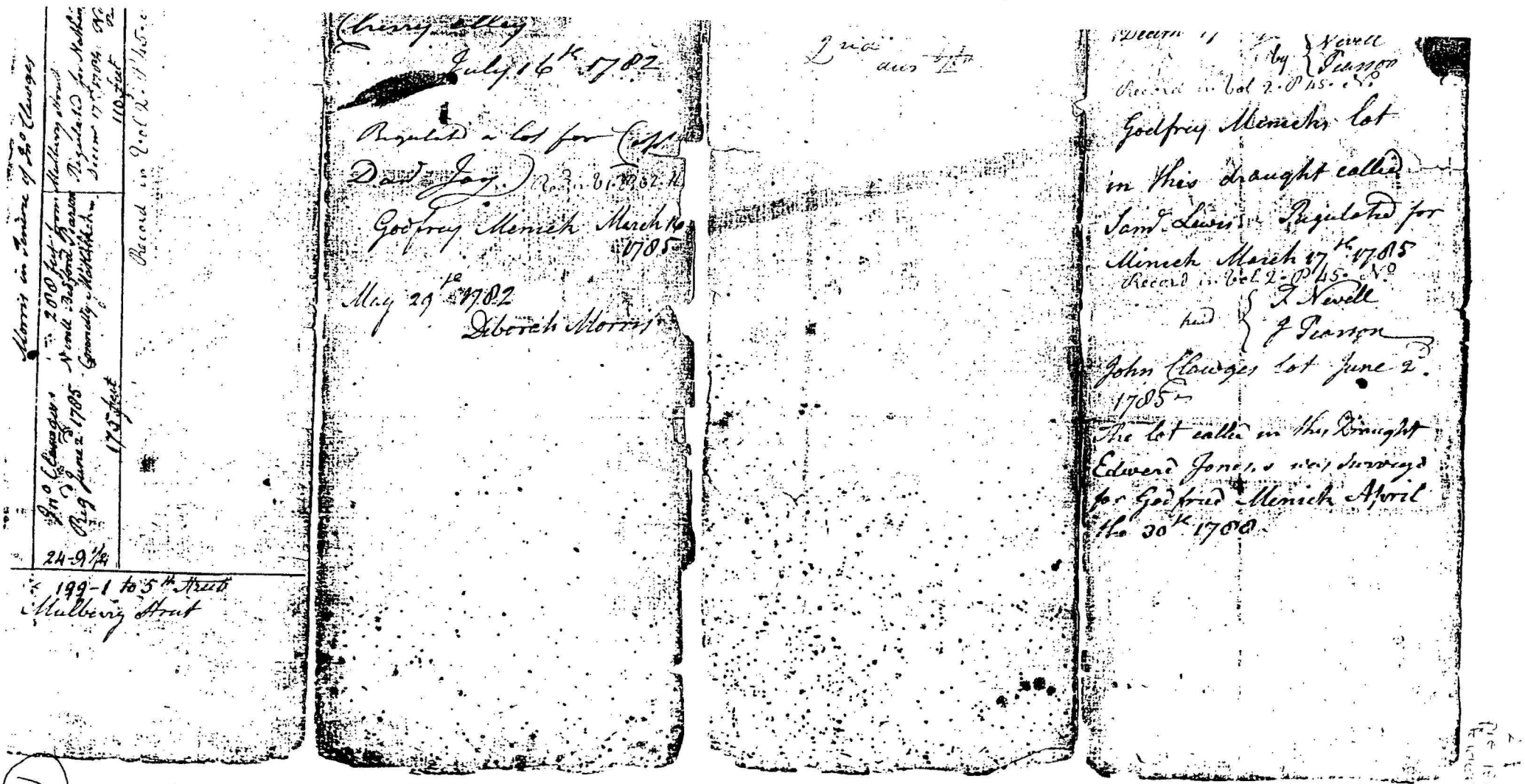
3 ft Alley in Common

Part lies in 3½ St. Quarter in Ward Delaware Let one Sheet May 6th 1802

23 51

48 57

3.Godfrey Minicks Lot, March 7, 1785 and John Clawges lot June 2, 1785


Cherry Alley
July 16th 1782
Regulated a lot for Capt
Godfrey Menich March 16
1785
May 29th 1782
Deborah Morris
Recd in Col 2. P 45. No
Godfrey Menecks lot
in this Draught called
in this Draught called
Sam'l Lewis's Regulated for
Menich March 17th 1785
Recd in Col 2. P 45. No
John Cloudges lot June 2.
1785
The lot called in this Draught
Edward Jones's was surveyed
for Godfrid Menich April
the 30th 1768
Morris in Trust of Geo Clymer
Jno Cloudges 2000 feet from Mulberry Street
Reg June 2 1785 West 330 feet from Front
Granted 1 Northerly
175 feet
Recorded in Col 2. P 45. c
Reg'd 16 ft to Nelson
Street 17 feet 6 In
110 feet
24-9 1/2
199-1 to 5th Street
Mulberry Street

134

Cherry street

19 1/2

19 1/2

80 feet

Peter Jones & John Dey to Henry Remsen 13th August 1788 - Deed Book 20 No 435 - 39 ft front 98 ft deep Rental Value 32 £ 10 Annually 29th Sept 1788

74

Bryan Hillyer & Benjamin Seaman to Daniel Ludlow 18th March 1771 - Recorded in Book F Oct 16 No 9

Rich Jones

Rich Jones

Edward Jones

17

Costler

17

Costler

17

Peter Debevoise

Mulberry street

90

Peter De heroon

By deed 76 ft 8½ in

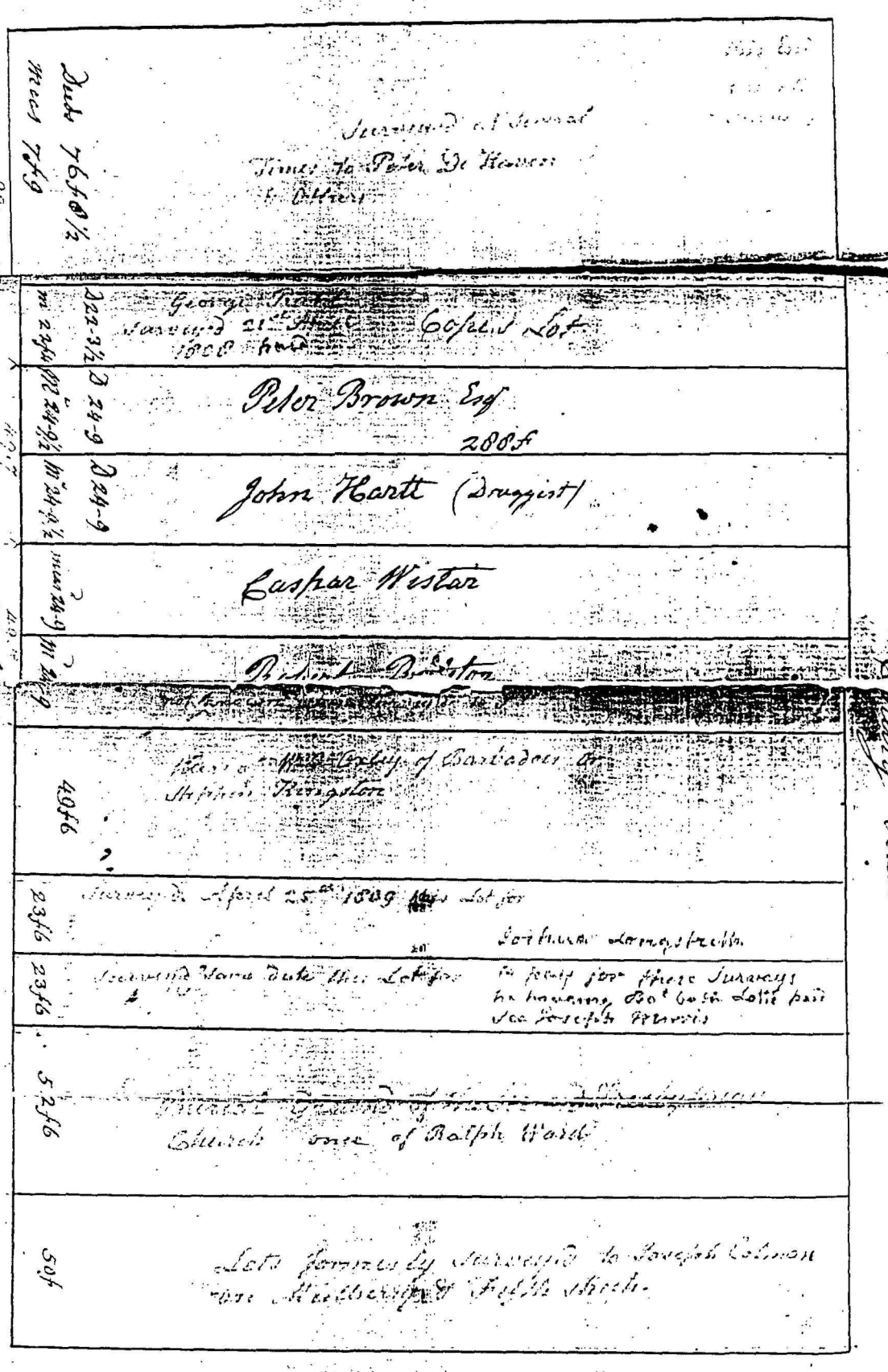
Measures 76 ft 9

99 feet to Mulberry street

4. Survey for Peter Browne April 11, 1803: Arch Street lots from 5th To 6th Streets

Survey for Peter Browne
of his Lot as within April 11
& Right marked the 22 1803
same dates Surveyd the
Lot within marked John
Hartt - paid J Pearson
Joshua Longstreth paid

Sixth Street from Delaware


Surveyed & Granted
Times to Peter De Haven
& others
Dub 764 0½
Recd 764
George Fisher
Surveyed 21st March 1808 60 feet Lot
D22-3½ W 24-9½
Peter Brown Esq
280 f
D24-9 W 24-9½
John Hartt (Druggist)
D24-9 W 24-9½
Caspar Wistar
D24-9 W 24-9½
Richard Bruston
Sold to
Mary Bell
Mary Bell
Sold to
Mary Bell
Sold to
Mary Bell
Sold to

5. Francis Zenss NE corner of Sixth and Cherry Streets, Surveyed Augt 2lst 1797

Francis Jones
N.E. corner of Sixth and
Cherry Streets Delaware
Survey'd Aug 21st 1797
J Pearson
paid

2nd Sheet

South Street

Delaware

Rob[t] Cuningham

Dud 18f more or less
meas 17-9 1/2

Late of Geo Thompson, now of
Mathew Walker surveyd May 29th 1800 — paid

Dud 20f meas 20f

Dud 52 feet

Christ[b] Bartling

Dud and meas 22 feet

Adam Fouike to Frances Zeigs June 11th 1796

Survey[d] Aug[t] 21st 1797

Dud 66f meas 52f 1/2

Dud 22 Feet meas 22f

4 4/12 Brick house

m[s] 13f 8 1/2

alley 3f

14f

Christ[b] Bartling

Brick house

meas 14f 6 1/2

41f 6

Ten feet Public Alley

Cherry Street

6. Andrew Lex Regulated Sept 23rd 1789; Survey for Geo. Webel April 2d 1793; Survey for Isaiah Evans July 18th 1797: Sixth and Sassafras or Race Streets (3 sides)

10 Feet Alley

Deed & Mean 20f	Deed & Mean 20f	Deed & Mean 18f	Mean 18f 0½

Isaiah Evans
Survey'd July 18th 1797 J. Pearson

Jacob Wagner

George Fenner

Lot No 2

Deed & Mean

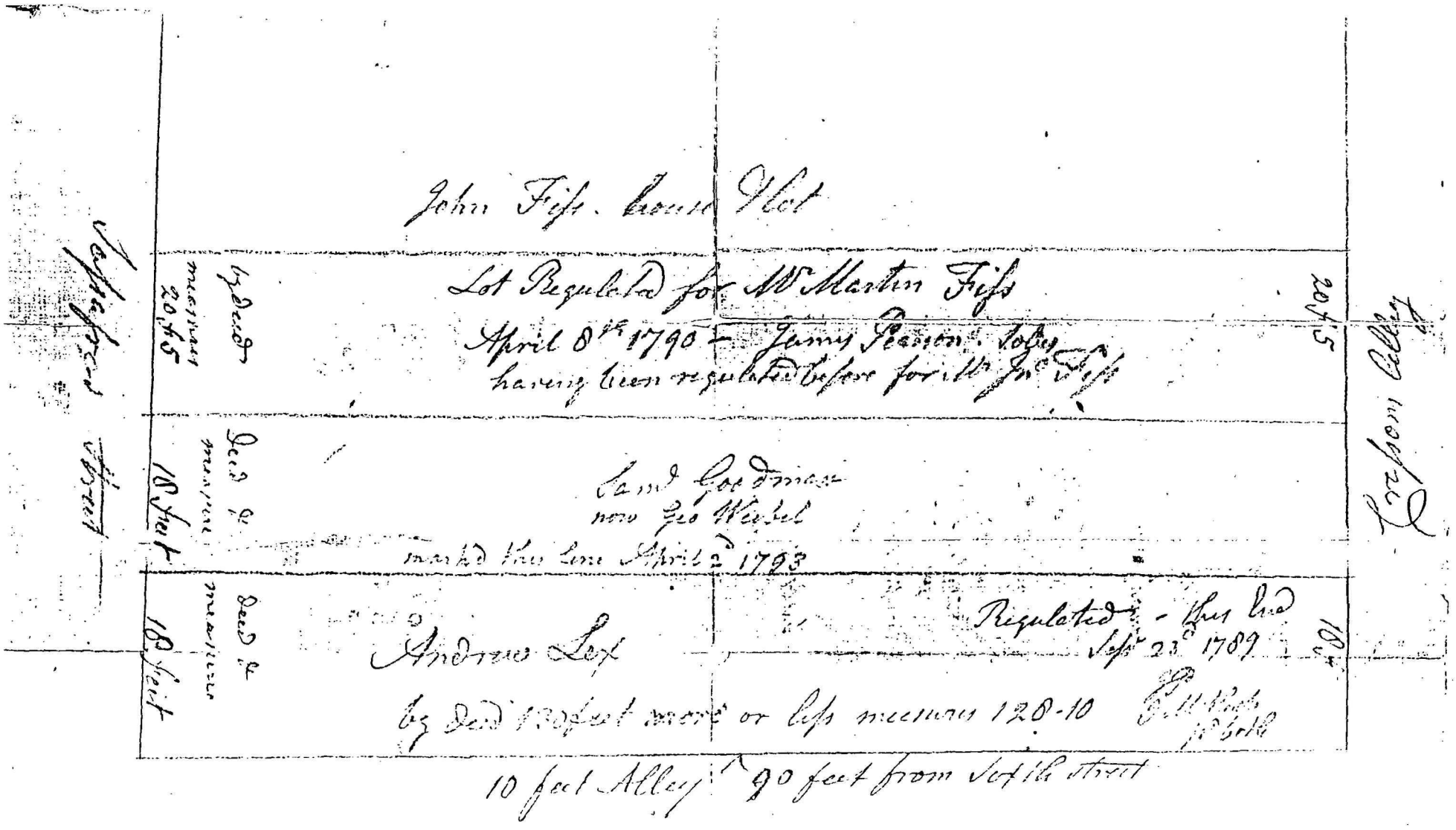
Lot No 1 Street from Delaware

Andrew Lex
Regulated Sept 23d 1789
J Pearson
Jno Mallach
Jno Hall

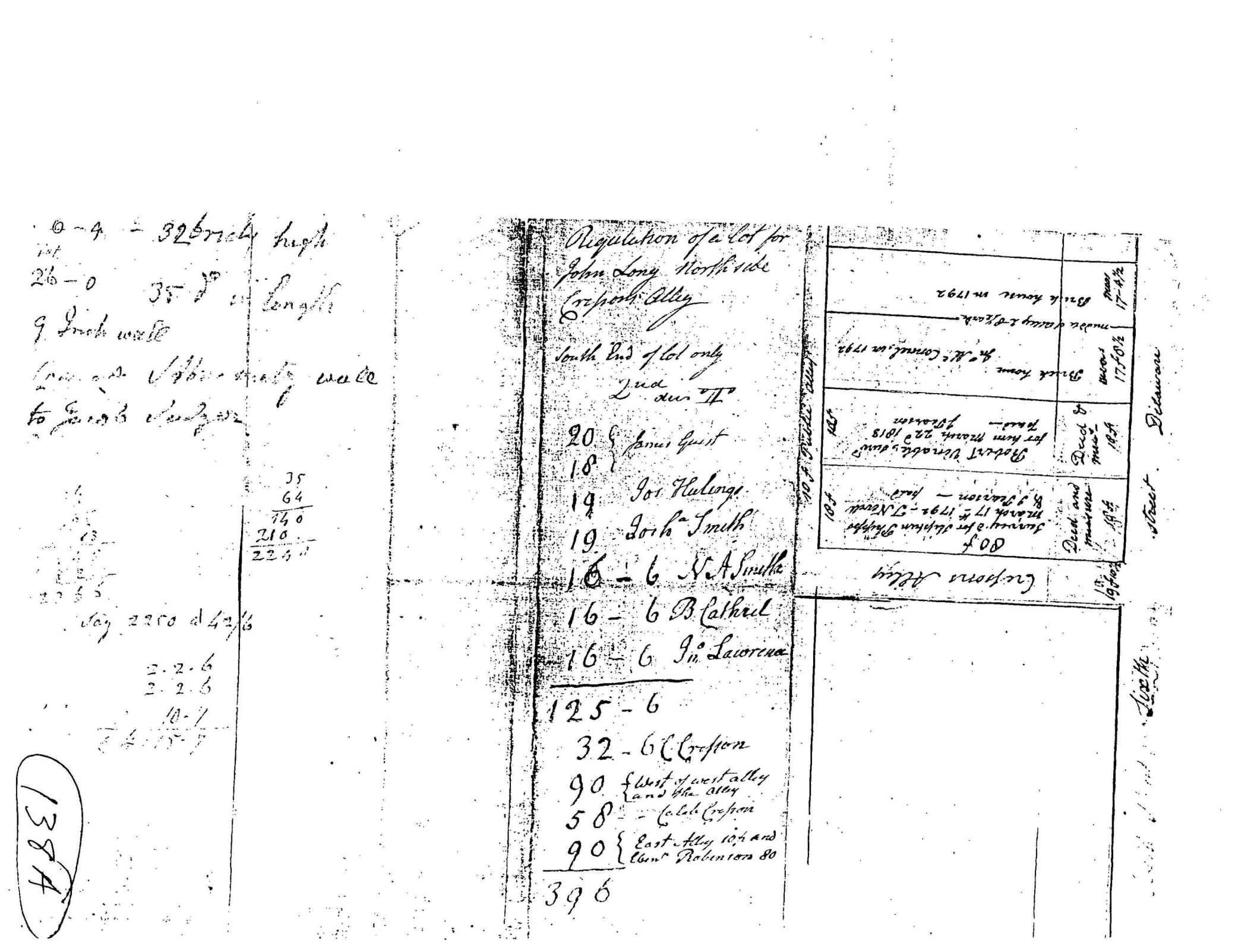
Martin Fifer's Lot
Survey'd April 8th 1790
Paid — H. Pearson Dr
Survey for Geo Hebel
April 6th 1793
Geo Hebel by Pearson 12
Paid
1793
Survey for Isaiah Evans
July 18th 1797 Ex. J. Pearson
Paid July 18th 1797
Deed

Lot No 2

1374


John Fish. Lower Plot
Lot Regulated for Abraham Fish
April 8th 1790 — Jenny Pearson. Joseph
having been regulated before for the Lot
Land Ordered
now Geo Weibel
Surveyed this Land April 2 1793
Andrew Lex
Regulated — this land
Sept 23d 1789
by Deed 1 Rod 1 Perch more or less measure 120-10
10 feet Alley
90 feet from North Street
Deed of measure 20 feet 5
Deed of measure 18 feet
Deed of measure 18 feet
20 feet 5
10 feet
Lafayette Street
Fayette Alley

7. Regulation of a lot for John Long North side Cressons Alley



Regulation of a lot for
John Long North side
Corporation Alley

South End of lot only
2nd Ave "A"

20 { James Guest
18 {
19 Jos. Hulings
19 Jos.h Smith
16 - 6 N.A Smith
16 - 6 B Cathrel
16 - 6 Jn.o Lavorena

125 - 6

32 - 6 C Croson
90 { West of west alley and the alley
58 - - Caleb Croson
90 { East Alley 10ft and Elen.r Robenson 80

396

Corporation Alley

80 f
Surveyed for Abraham Shipley
March 17th 1792 - 7 Acres
& 9 Quarters — Pole

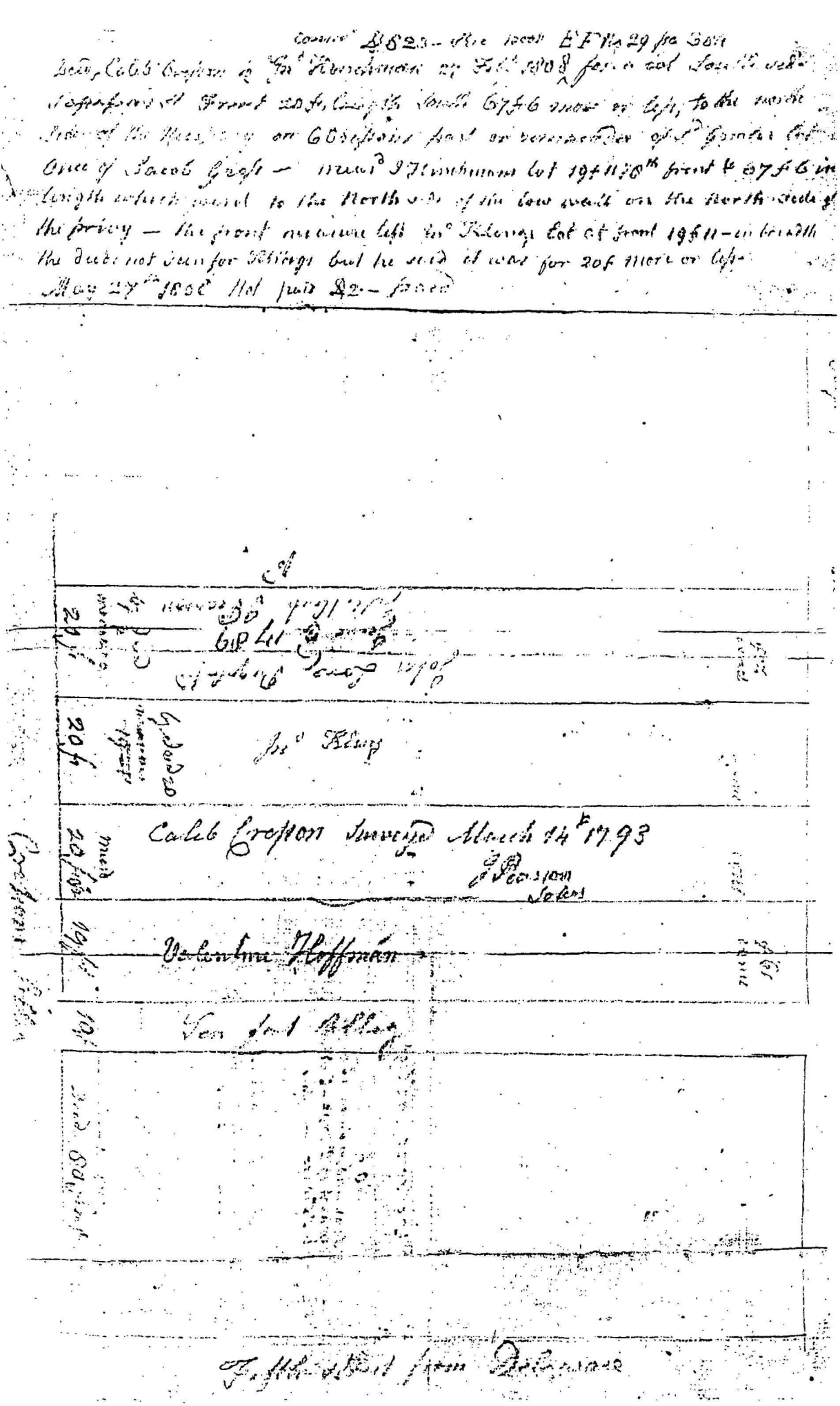
Deed and Survey 1792

Abraham Shipley & Mary his wife to John Long 17 Nov.r 1792 Lot on the North side of Public Alley Corporation Alley 80 feet front and 396 feet deep to Second Street

Deed 24 March 1824

Abraham Shipley & Mary his wife to Abraham Shipley Jun.r

Course S 82 – W 100 L E No 29 to Sam
Beg. Caleb Croston & Jn° Hershman at S.E. cor of Lot No 28 on
Susquehanna & Front road & runs S 67 6 rods to left, to the north
side of the Road & on Godefroi Land or boundary of Jacob Groff
Dec'd of Jacob Groff — then° N Hershman Lot 194 N 38° front 67 6 in
length which point is the North side of the low water on the North side of
the ferry — the front measure left by Kleinz Lot 67 front 1961 — in breadth
the Dutch not seen for Kleinz but he said it was for 20 f more or less
May 27th 1806 Rod pair 82 – paced



8. George Weibel Survey'd March 27th 92

21913
421
22334

44 2
8
353 4
13 1/4
1059
3534
88
4681

67
56
54
177
124
708
354
177
2×9468

14-5
12-2½
11-6½
30-2
44-2
6-4 6
7-4
18 2
152
1685 = 8
18 ½0
5055
1685
21905
8
21913
34
21947

Gaylord Alley

18 ft

Gaylord 16 ft

18 ft

Safford Street

#1571

CA
2T
Folder 43
pre 1814

Index

African, vi, 17,18, 22, 23, 30-41, 46, 53, 55, 59, 81
Barnet, Isaac, joiner, 19
Bartholomew, Thomas, 9, 10, 11, 12, 24, 26, 72, 73
Bartling, Christlieb, carpenter, 17, 26, 33, 53
Boudron, Joseph, "mulatto man," 9
Burgoe, Israel, "negroe," v, 30, 36, 59
Burton, vi
Cathrall, Benjamin, school teacher, iv, 30, 31, 34, 36, 37, 61
Cresson, Caleb i, ii, iv, v, vii, 3-7, 13-42, 44-47, 52, 56-62, 73, 81, 128 129
Cresson, Joshua, I, 5, 6, 7, 14-19, 21, 27, 31, 38, 40, 41, 42, 56, 57
Cresson's Square 20, 26
DeHaven, Peter, 21, 23, 24, 64, 65, 133
Dexter, James Oronoko, negro, vii, 39, 40, 41. 42. 59, 126
Dexter, Sarah, 39
Dubois, W.E.B., v
Edge, Andrew 11, 12, 20, 72
Emlen, Samuel, i, iv, 3,4, 14, 27, 30, 73
Evans, Cadwalader, 45
Evans, Isaiah, 40, 57, 58
Evans, Robert, carpenter, vii, 23, 25, 26, 38, 39, 44, 45, 48
Hall, Richard, 7, 8, 10, 12, 20, 72
Hewlings, Joseph, iv, 31, 34, 35
Hills, John, 21, 123
Hinchman, John, carter, 18, 19, 49
Hoffner, Jacob, schoolteacher, 33, 38
Howell, Reading, surveyor and mapmaker, vi, 38, 43, 44
Hunter, Robert, 25, 26, 33
Jones, Absalom, vi
Karrigar (Karacher), Ludwick, 14, 22, 23, 76, 77
King, Tobias, carter, 19
Lawrence, John, carter, 26, 27, 30, 33, 35
Lesh, (Lex), Zachariah, house carpenter, 15, 18, 26, 48, 49, 137
Mitchenor, Arnold, 19, 20
Negro, 15, 22, 23, 31, 32, 44, 55, 61, 69, 77
Parsons, William, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, 1,3,14, 27,65, 121
Pemberton, John and James, v, vi, 15, 42, 73
Phipps, Isaac 5, 6
Phipps, Mary, 5
Phipps, Stephen, 5, 56
Pine, Lazarus, 13
Pugh, Hananiah, 13, 72, 73
Quarrier, Alexander, 25, 26, 33
Rash, Nicholas, 17, 18
Robinson, Ebenezer, brushmaker, iv, 13, 15, 16, 18, 32, 39, 40, 41, 74
Roe, (Rowe), Jesse, carpenter, 38, 42, 43
St. Thomas African Episcopal Church, v, vi, 17, 36, 39, 41, 55
Second Presbyterian Church, iv, 1,5,6,8,14, 56,62,67,68,69,70, 125
Sulgar, Jacob, baker, 18, 19, 49, 50
Thomas, William, 22