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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

INDEPENDENCE MALL

THE 18TH CENTURY DEVELOPMENT

BLOCK TWO

MARKET TO ARCH, FIFTH TO SIXTH STREETS

by

Anna Coxe Toogood
Historian
Cultural Resource Management
Independence National Historical Park
November 2000

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Memorandum

To Regional Director, NER

From: Superintendent, INDE

Subject: "Independence Mall, Historic Resource Study, Block Two"

Enclosed is the final copy of Independence Mall, Historic Resource Study, The Eighteenth Century Development, Block Two prepared by Anna Coxe Toogood of my staff. This report has contributed, and will continue to contribute to the final analysis of the archeological investigation at the Gateway Visitor Center site. A similar report for Block One of Independence Mall will be distributed soon.

Many of the institutions listed on the attachment were very helpful in assisting Ms. Toogood with her research and will receive a copy of the correspondence. We thank everyone for their assistance.

Martha

Martha B. Aikens
Superintendent

Attachment

ATTACHMENT

cc: Keith Everett, Support Office Superintendent
John Robbins, Assistant Director, National Center for Cultural Resources
Dwight Pitcaithley, Chief Historian, NPS
Technical Information Center, Denver Service Center
Brent Glass, State Historic Preservation Officer
Philadelphia Historical Commission
Rebecca Yamin, John Milner Associates
Department of Interior Library
Harpers Ferry Center Library
Smithsonian Institution Libraries
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National Archives
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American Philosophical Society
Free Library of Philadelphia
Philadelphia Urban Archives, Temple University
Clifford Tobias, Philadelphia Support Office

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Preface

The biography of a great city is a temptation for any historian. Philadelphia, with its rich tradition as the seat of government during the eighteenth century founding of the nation, has been the focus for scores of books and articles. The actual detail of its physical and residential complexity, however, remains an open area for study. This historic resource study for block two of Independence Mall provides a piece of this complex story. It contains information for archeologists, sociologists, historians, urban planners, architects and the public at large. While specific data on the lives of the majority of residents who peopled the streets of old Philadelphia remains relatively skeletal, sufficient written documentation survives to flesh out some of the individual residents to indicate their associations, their social position or their mobility in the community. The compilation of such detailed research on Philadelphia life in the eighteenth century can provide the stepping stone into the 19th century, when the written and pictorial record expand exponentially our knowledge of the city's evolution.

Sharon A. Holt, Ph.D., completed a resource study for Independence National Historical Park in 1997 which looked at the broad sweep of development from the city's founding through to the mid-nineteenth century for the area on either side of Market Street within Independence Mall.[1] Her study, enhanced by the research of Jefferson Cohen, a long-time student of the 19th century city,[2] provides a compelling picture of the changes to this portion of the Mall over a century and a half.

Holt's study and this report both were prompted by the decision in the general management plan (1997) that a new regional visitor center (Gateway Visitor Center, or GVC) will be built at the south end of block two.[3] Archeology, required by law before any

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[1] Sharon Ann Holt, Ph.D., "Occupation and Use of the 500 block of Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1680-1850: A Historic Resource Study conducted for Independence National Historical Park," Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1997.

[2] Jefferson Cohen has created a website featuring scanned 19th century images of Philadelphia architecture. See, WWW.brynmawr.edu/Acads/Cities/iconog/frdr.html.

[3] "Abbreviated Final General Management Plan Environmental Impact Statement" Independence National Historical Park,

construction begins on federal property,[4] needs historical context to analyze findings that may have survived the construction of the Mall in the 1950s and 1960s. Since this report got underway, John Milner Associates have located several archeological features in the Sixth and Market Street area and it is this writer's hope that the following research will help to provide clues to their contents.

Besides its potential value to archeologists, this report also strives to describe the dynamics of the second block's transformation from its "pasture" condition of the mid-eighteenth century to the late eighteenth century urban lot plan. What began as the remote outskirts of the settled town grew into one of the most desirable residential and commercial locations in the city. During the American Revolution and the 1790s, when Philadelphia served as the nation's capital, men of national and local prominence chose Market, Arch, Fifth and Sixth Streets on this block as their address. Government offices and congressmen found it a convenient distance from the State House Square, the seat of government. Crowded in with these distinguished residents were the small, cramped businesses/homes of the working class -- artisans, laborers and shop keepers who served the community at large. Here, on the second block of the Mall is a microcosm of Philadelphia's growth from natural landscape to urban living in a span of half a century. As other studies emerge of this nature, comparative insights will be available to understand better the course of Philadelphia's urban development during its formative century.

Pennsylvania, February 1997, 1-13.

[4]See sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1996(P.L. 89-665, 80 Stat. 915 and the excellent explanation by National Park Service archeologist, Paul Y. Inashima, "Draft Guidance for Archeological Work Independence Mall," Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1998.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, my heartfelt thanks go to Christine Hoepfner, an assistant researcher for Paul Inashima, Denver Service Center, for her assistance with this report. Christine collected deeds, third survey district records and wills from the Philadelphia City Archives, foraged the map collection at the Library of Congress and copied numerous tax assessment records from microfilm for this report. She also helped to compile information for the third block of the Mall. Her research was truly invaluable to this study.

I would like to thank John Nagy, the creator of the CD-Rom and now internet site for Philadelphia's Pennsylvania Gazette, a newspaper which spanned nearly the entire eighteenth century. John's transcription and indexing of these newspapers made this research more fascinating, complete and fun.

My research was supplemented and assisted by the research files Sharon Holt submitted with her report on the north and south sides of Market Street in 1997. These records gave an excellent starting point for further research on the eighteenth century aspects of the block's development.

Roy Goodman and Scott De Haven at the American Philosophical Society, James Green and Sarah Weatherwax at the Library Company of Philadelphia, Jefferson Moak at the Philadelphia City Archives, and Nancy Powell at the CIGNA Museum and Art Collection all went out of their way to locate materials pertinent to this research. I'd like to thank them, as well as Maria Thompson, a local research historian working on the Free Quaker Meeting House, who generously shared her research findings and leads with me. James Duffin, an authority on early Philadelphia records, gave generously of his knowledge and advice whenever I asked. Finally, I greatly appreciate the patience, moral support and numerous suggestions from Chief Historians Diann Jacox and James Mueller, Ph.D., during the research and writing of this report.

Introduction

In 1974 Independence National Historical Park accepted the donation from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania of Independence Mall, the three blocks lying between Fifth and Sixth streets from Chestnut Street north to Race Street, on the terms that the title to the land would transfer only after the bonds were paid off in 1999. The official transfer of the Independence Mall deed took place on April 8, 1999.[1]

Independence Mall was first established in 1945 as Independence Mall State Park. The three blocks of the mall were densely constructed with buildings, many dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the 1950s and 1960s Pennsylvania and the City of Philadelphia jointly took on the creation of the mall. First, some 143 buildings were razed to make way for a designed landscape on the 15.44 acres of land. Fifth and Sixth Streets were widened to improve the vehicular approach to Independence Hall. Independence Mall was designed to show case the Independence Hall complex of structures, while providing them fire protection by removing old buildings along the north side of Chestnut Street. In the patriotic spirit following World War II, Chestnut Street was also widened to allow for bigger parades past the home of liberty.[2]

The only structure on Independence Mall to survive demolition was the Free Quaker Meeting House on block two, at the southwest corner of Fifth and Arch Streets. To allow for the widening of Fifth Street, the building was moved 33 feet to the west and eight feet to the south. The Commonwealth commissioned a research study of the building and restored the meeting house to its eighteenth century appearance. In 1971 it was listed on the National Register of Historic Places.[3] The Free Quaker Meeting House will remain at

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[1]"Donation Deed," Independence Mall, Accession No. 4131, Independence National Historical Park Archives.

[2]Deirdre Gibson, Mary Whelchel Konieczny, Kathy Schlegel, and Anna Coxe Toogood, "Cultural Landscape Report Independence Mall," National Park Service, Denver Service Center, June 1994, pp. 3-4. The latter page explains that the agreement of transfer in 1974 gave the National Park Service full title to 2.11 acres of block one for the construction of the new Liberty Bell Pavilion.

[3]Ibid., p. 4; Charles E. Peterson, FAIA, "Notes on The Free Quaker Meeting House Fifth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Built 1783-4," Compiled for Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson,

its relocated site where, according to the new general management plan, it will be "better integrated into the park through interpretation, signs, and marked pathways." The Free Quaker Meeting House thus will continue to be the only historic structure from the eighteenth century on or around the periphery of Independence Mall.[4]

In 1993-94, the National Park Service prepared for a new general management plan for Independence National Historical Park by completing a cultural landscape report on Independence Mall. This study concluded that Independence Mall, then less than fifty years old, did not have historic integrity or significance. The report thereby cleared the options for the future planning of the three block mall.[5]

After years of public meetings and study, the National Park Service and regional city planners have agreed on a new design for Independence Mall. Construction of the principal visitor facilities on blocks one and two will be located along the Sixth Street border of the mall. A regional visitor center, the Gateway Visitor Center (GVC), will be on block two. Most of this building will be constructed over the large underground parking garage, part of the original Independence Mall design. That garage, operated by the Philadelphia Parking Authority, lies three levels deep spanning from Fifth to Sixth Street across the 200 feet between what had been the two interior streets of block two, Commerce and Cuthbert streets. The sections of the GVC that fall outside the garage area have a likelihood to contain features dating from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In fact, John Milner Associates have recently identified during preliminary research and on-site probing six archeological features between Market Street and the former Commerce Street near Sixth Street. Having adjusted for the widening of Sixth Street, these features have been located according to their Market or Sixth Street lots as laid out in the 18th and early 19th centuries.[6]

Architects to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania from a Study of the Documents and of the Fabric, September 1966.

[4]"Abbreviated Plan," p. 3-7.

[5]Gibson, et.al., "Cultural Landscape Report," pp. 7-8. This determination excepted the Free Quaker Meeting House, already identified as a National Register site.

[6]Rebecca Yamin, Ph.D. "Phase III Excavation Plan and Research Design (revised November 15, 1999), Gateway Visitor Center, Block 2, Independence Mall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania," John Milner Associates, Inc., 1999, p. 1; Gibson, et. al., p. 88; Olin Partnership, landscape architecture urban design, "100%

William Hudson owned all of block two by the early 18th century. By his will, probated in 1743, he created two 32-foot-wide public streets and several large lots for his descendants. He named the streets South and North Alley and located them so that they divided the square evenly into three parts, each running 200 feet north-south and 396 feet the east-west length between Fifth and Sixth streets. Hudson's heirs followed his wishes exactly, as evidenced by the measured street surveys of the 1780s completed by the city regulators under the direction of John Reed, Surveyor General.[7]

Most of the streets contiguous to the Mall's second block have changed names from their original nomenclature. Today's Market Street originally was called High Street on the 1683 city plan. Because the bi-weekly country markets operated from sheds in the middle of High Street, the name Market Street was readily recognized by the close of the eighteenth century. High Street, however, remained the official name until 1853, when city council passed an ordinance changing the name to Market Street.[8] William Penn named most of his east-west streets after local trees. Thus, he named today's Arch Street Mulberry Street. By the close of the eighteenth century, Arch Street came into common usage, in reference to the arched bridge crossing the embankment at Mulberry Street near the Delaware River. The two interior streets, South Alley and North Alley, were renamed Commerce and Cuthbert streets in the nineteenth century, the former as early as 1836 and the latter in 1898.[9]

Design Development Independence Mall," 15 March 1999, Project Site Plan, Block 2, Sub Sheet No. G2.2.

[7]"Extracts from John Reed's Book and Measures of the most principal Streets Squares &c., taken by the Regulators since the year 1782, collected by Thomas Nevell," Board of Surveyors, 90.43, Philadelphia City Archives.

[8]The north-south streets, Fifth and Sixth, have remained the same throughout the city's history. Joseph Jackson, Market Street Philadelphia The Most Historic Highway in America Its Merchants and Its Story. (Philadelphia, 1918), 586.

[9]Henry S. Tanner's map of Philadelphia published in 1836 in his Tanner's American Traveler showed Commerce Street continuing from the block east of Fifth Street into what was originally South Alley on the second block of the Mall. The same map shows North Alley still so named. Copy of the map provided by research assistant Christine Hoefner from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania section of Geography and Maps, Library of Congress. Jefferson M. Moak, "Philadelphia Street Name Changes," The Chestnut Hill Almanac, Genealogical Series, Publication No. 2, 1996.

The second block of Independence Mall has a rich eighteenth century history. This resource study will detail the diversity of eighteenth century residents, many of whom were artisans characteristic of the flood of immigrants recruited to Pennsylvania during mid-century. The study will point out the significance of some of the block's occupants and discuss the unique family origins of this block. It will make manifest the importance of the block's location near the Pennsylvania State House, today's Independence Hall, and the seat of law and government for three levels of authority -- state, local and federal -- during the last decade of the eighteenth century. The study identifies early industrialists and patriots Nathan Sellers and Samuel Wetherill, who believed in the importance of providing the new nation with its own manufactured products. Samuel Wetherill's house on South Alley (renamed Commerce Street) was the meeting place for the Free Quakers while they selected the second block as the location to build their first and only meeting house for worship in Philadelphia. The Free Quaker Meeting house remains as a testimony to a Revolutionary War commitment from a handful of Friends Society members. Finally, this resource study will profile how Philadelphia's growth spurts in the 1760s, the 1770s and 1790s took form on the second block and will give some interesting details about those who chose this area to build or reside.

Panoramic views, scrapbooks, photograph collections and other records tell how the second block continued into the nineteenth century as a highly commercialized section of town. The industrial revolution that made Philadelphia the leading manufacturing center in the nation left its mark on the block with enlarged warehouses and a mercantile emphasis in the use of the structures. By the mid-twentieth century, however, planners with a vision found this block and the other two now part of Independence Mall as decaying sections of town. In the post-World War II rush to clean up the nation's cities, the three blocks north of Independence Hall became prime targets for urban renewal. Thus two centuries of history went before the bulldozer with almost no preliminary historic research or study. Only the Free Quaker Meeting House as a relic of earlier times survived to help interpret the vibrant eighteenth century history of this area. This study hopes to revive some of the interest in the first fifty years of urban development on block two of Independence Mall.[10]

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[10]The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania contracted one history study for block one: Hannah Benner Roach, "Historical Report First Block Independence Mall, Bounded by Fifth, Sixth, Market and Chestnut Streets for the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, Work No. 610, 18 July, 1952." For an excellent study of the post-World War II period in the Independence Square neighborhood, see, Kathleen Kurtz Cook, "The Creation of Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall," Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1989.

Significance Summary

Independence Mall's block two in the eighteenth century was home to some of the city's leading fathers who made themselves known both on the local and national level. William Hudson, one of the earliest mayors and wealthy entrepreneurs, acquired the entire square and named it "Hudson's Square" in his will, which subdivided the acreage into streets and large lots for his heirs. Market Street during the Revolution found local patriots Charles Thomson and Owen Biddle in residence at confiscated Tory properties. Biddle, along with Samuel Wetherill and members of the Matlack family, longstanding residents on the block, saw to the construction of the Free Quaker meeting house that still stands at the corner of Fifth and Arch streets. During the 1790s, when Philadelphia was the nation's capital, Robert Morris, Walter Stewart and William Shippen were among the prominent names on Market Street, while U.S. senators and congressmen found space at three boarding houses along Sixth Street. Federal government offices also rented space at Sixth and Arch during the decade, as well as on North Alley. Nathan Sellers near Sixth on Market Street, became a leader in the new nation's manufacturing development so critical for economic independence.

Block two represents a microcosm of Philadelphia during its emerging century. While Market and Arch streets were designed for homes of the prominent, the secondary streets and alleys were settled by hard-working artisans, builders of Philadelphia into the largest, most cosmopolitan city in the British colonies and the political center for the new nation. In this population mix free or enslaved African Americans lived and worked as an integral part of the community.

Independence Mall's creation in the 1950s and '60s led to the destruction of the densely-built block, save for the Free Quaker Meeting House. The design included a multi-level underground parking garage in the space between the two original alleys, then called Commerce and Cuthbert streets. This garage destroyed below ground features within most of the proposed Gateway Visitor Center site, but north and south of the garage, eighteenth and nineteenth century remains may survive in the cellars of the razed buildings. Although the garage erased Sixth Street sites where U.S. Congressmen boarded, evidence may survive of the households where significant national or local figures resided on Market Street near Sixth during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Also artifacts of daily life, commercial and residential, may be forthcoming.[1]

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[1] "Independence Mall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Layout and Grading," Work No. 610, Harbeson Hough Livingston and Larson, Registered Architects, 10/11/54, INDE architectural files.

Chapter One: William Penn to William Hudson

William Penn's city plan for Philadelphia, executed in 1683 by Thomas Holme, shows a very orderly pattern of blocks between the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, with not a hint of the hilly, heavily wooded terrain that the first settlers experienced. Nor does it adequately suggest how much water influenced the development of the city. John Fanning Watson, 19th century chronicler of Philadelphia's beginnings, described numerous water sources cited in early city records and recollections of first settlers and their families. These accounts refer to ponds, springs, streams and the Dock or Dock Creek, also called the Swamp. Dock Creek flowed westward from the Delaware River as a tidal creek, beginning at a large estuary between Walnut and Spruce Streets. One branch headed southwest, the other northwest. The latter branch crossed Chestnut Street near Fourth Street, where the ground dropped into "'a deep valley.'" It flowed beyond High and Fourth streets with enough water, according to some old timers' accounts, that shallops could reach there at high tide. Others recalled seeing evidence of wharfs when digging out cellars at the northwest corner of Fourth and High. Farther northwest, the Dock ended at "a great pond, filled with spatterdocks and surrounded with natural shrubbery." This pond, fed by the Delaware tides, was a source for anglers, as well as hunters of wild duck and geese. The Dock's other branch headed southwest between Third and Fourth streets below Chestnut Street, flowing through Beek's Hollow just above Walnut Street, and continued southwest through the city's Southeast Square, again ending at a duck pond on the square's southern border.[1]

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[1]John F. Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, In the Olden Time;...Vol.1 Enlarged with a many revisions and additions, by Willis P. Hazard, (Philadelphia, 1909), 38, 432-3, 435, 489, 495. Watson notes that Penn registered surprise at the number of brooks he found during his visit to Philadelphia. Ibid., 495. In 1712 the Grand Jury reported, according to Watson and Hazard, that High Street at Fourth was very much out of repair "for want of water courses." Ibid, 434. A c. 1690 map by Robert Longshore clearly marks the Dock's path and shows bridges crossing it. Hannah Benner Roach reproduces part of the map in "The Planting of Philadelphia, A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 92 (1968), 173. Hereinafter cited PMHB. Roach cites the Albert Cook Myers Collection, Chester County Historical Society, as a source for a photographic copy of the map. A 1786 survey of Philadelphia also indicates the route of Dock Creek's branches. "No. 4 A Plan with the Measures of all the Squares, Streets, Lanes and Alleys between Chestnut and Walnut Streets and from Delaware to Schuylkill, 1786," and No. 5, the same title, between Chestnut and High streets, Map Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia

Water courses through the western part of the city in fact presented an obstacle for the early landowners and travelers. In 1707 City Council appointed a committee to visit the hollow at the head of Chestnut Street crossing Fifth Street to find a way to give "free passage" to the water. The next year Grand Juries indicated the problem remained -- that a great quantity of standing water at the low place at Fifth and Chestnut streets made it unsafe for horse or cart. In 1740 the Grand Jury complained that the upper end of High (Market) Street, near John Kinsey's, (above the corner of Fifth Street), was nearly impassable after great rains, and that other sections of the road were very gullied and dangerous. Timothy Matlack (c. 1734-1829) told Watson he recalled as a young man wading through water waist-high at Fourth and High streets when it flooded. This problem finally was corrected after the city put in a new, better arched sewer down Fourth to Walnut Street in 1789.[2]

Water plagued early adventurers elsewhere on High Street."At the northeast corner of Sixth and High streets," Watson recorded, "there was a raised footwalk, as a kind of causeway, of two feet elevation, to keep the traveller from the water which settled on the lot on the north side of High street." Evidently John Bradley was found drowned at this crossing in 1731, having accidentally fallen off the boardwalk. At times of flood, Watson related, the water ran down the middle of High street, and drained into "a considerable pond of water" located "about sixty feet from the northwest corner of Fifth and High streets, in a northwest direction." This pond, identified as "Hudson's pond" after the mid-eighteenth century owner of the square, evidently was four feet deep and a favorite place to skate for some of Philadelphia's boys. Watson recorded that another pond --"Kinsey's pond"-- stood across High Street and further west, on the site of the future President's House. Such wet terrain thus defined the real estate at the south end of Independence Mall's second block and north end of the first

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(FLP). "Recollections of Philadelphia Near Seventy Years Ago," PMHB 19 (1895), 264-5. By 1739 the Dock was foully clogged by tanners' refuse and other waste. Critics claimed then that the Dock earlier had been navigable to Third Street. Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 30, 1739. Hereinafter cited PG. For more on the Dock's pollution: A. Michal McMahon, "'Small Matters': Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia and the 'Progress of Cities'," PMHB 121 (April 1992), 157-182.

[2]Watson and Hazard, Annals, 1, 52, ("free passage" as quoted from Minutes of City Council, 13 Jan'y. 1707), 60, 215, 434-5, and on ponds, 495. Matlack, made famous by his role in the Revolution, likely experienced this flooding after his parents moved to Philadelphia from New Jersey in 1745. See Matlack's entry in Dumas Malone, Dictionary of American Biography. (New York, 1933).

block.[3]

Probably the wetness of High Street between Fourth and Sixth streets slowed the development along its frontage, and favored the westward expansion along Chestnut Street. William Penn's plan reserved High Street lots for the largest and most prominent investors in Pennsylvania real estate (1000 acres or more), but use of the lots west of Third Street came slowly. Holme's 1683-4 "Portraiture of Philadelphia" shows three houses already built on Chestnut Street west of Third Street, whereas High Street had none. Samuel Carpenter, wealthy merchant and first purchaser, erected a country house on Chestnut Street half a block west of Sixth Street at the turn of the 17th century. Around 1729, George Emlen (the second) opened a malt house at the northwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, not far from Samuel Clark's inn further west on the block. In 1731 the Pennsylvania Assembly purchased land on Chestnut Street opposite the inn to build a new State House. By contrast, High Street between Fifth and Sixth streets didn't develop until the mid to late 18th century, when streets and sewers were better regulated and land fill covered over the ponds.[4]

From the outset, Philadelphia's growth as a vibrant river port determined its development pattern. The city pushed north and south along the shores of the Delaware River. Thus Penn's distribution of bonus lots and sale of vacant land at the western outskirts of town did not bring immediate use of the property. The first owners of the land fronting the north side of High Street between Fifth and Sixth streets left no record of their use of the property. The "Warrants and Surveys of the Province of Pennsylvania 1683-1759, Volume 2" shows three lots assigned to John Bezer, John Reynolds and Daniel Smith (lot no. 60), Moses Charas (lot 63), and, on a narrow piece of ground at the corner of Sixth Street, to William Bowman (lot 4).[5] Other research suggests that Francis Cook and Richard Davies held patents for the larger lots (60 and 63), both

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[3]Watson and Hazard, Annals I, 231-2; 495; on 232, Watson twice records an accidental drowning at Sixth and High streets. Besides Bradley he refers to a time when a drunken man crossing the gully fell off the foot log into shallow water and drowned. It's not clear if he was one and the same with Bradley.

[4]"Warrants and Surveys of the Province of Pennsylvania 1683-1759, Volume Two," 146-7, Philadelphia City Archives (PCA). Russell F. Weigley, ed. Philadelphia A 300-Year History (Philadelphia, 1982), 8-9; Roach, "Historical Report," pp. 47, 61. The tavern, recorded by Elizabeth Drinker as having a 1690 date in its eve, became known as the State House Inn.

[5]"Warrants and Surveys of the Province of Pennsylvania 1683-1759, Volume Two," 146-7, PCA.

of which measured 132 feet on High Street by 306 feet north.[6] As of 1706/7, William Hudson held a warrant (or survey) on a strip of vacant land in the center of the square, between the Mulberry and High Street lots, measuring 48 feet in breadth by 396 feet in length. According to the index to the city's exemplification records, Hudson patented six different properties on Fifth, Sixth, High and Arch streets in 1714, which suggests that he acquired the rest of the block in that year.[7]

William Hudson (1664-1742), Sole Owner of "the Pasture"

By 1718 William Hudson owned the entire block defined today as the second block of Independence Mall. He acquired the property partly from first purchasers and partly by patent. In his will, probated 1742, Hudson mentioned that the block he owned between Fifth and Sixth and Market and Mulberry (Arch) was commonally referred to as "the Pasture."[8]

William Hudson arrived in Philadelphia from Yorkshire, England, around 1683 or 1687. Son of a prominent English tanner and activist Quaker minister of the same name, William sought to make his own fortune in the new Province of Pennsylvania.[9] Although a

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[6]Holt, "Occupation and Use," provides a sketch of the block indicating the Davies-Cook patents, in the folder, "Northside General". Holt cites "Warrants, Vol. 2," 36.

[7]A sketch of Hudson's warrant is in RG 27, Land Records, Pennsylvania State Archives (hereinafter PSA), Harrisburg. Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Plan of Philadelphia," PMHB 80 (1956), 164-170, explains the early city land purchases. James M. Duffin, Guide to the Exemplification Records Series, Being True Copies of Philadelphia county Land Records in the Master of Rolls Office and its Successors, 1669-1838 (Philadelphia, 1994), 190; for an explanation of exemplification records, see 1-11.

[8] Roll 25.1, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Land Records Bound Volumes Copies of Surveyor General Warrants 1700; Patent Register, 1701-1728, with Register of Surveys, 12-N of Hughes List; RG 27, Land Records, Survey of Warrant from the Commissioners of Property to William Hudson, Nov. 31, 1706/7, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg. Philadelphia City Archives, (PCA), Will of William Hudson, 1742, #4; Wainwright, "Plan of Philadelphia," pp. 191 and 210, shows the land patents or warrants owned by William Hudson as compiled by William Parsons, Pennsylvania's surveyor general from 1741 to 1748.

[9]Craig W. Horle, Jeffrey L. Scheib, David Haugaard, Joy Wiltenburg, Marianne S. Wokeck, Joseph S. Foster, Rosalind J. Beiler, Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania A Biographical

young man and single, Hudson soon proved to have the means and energy to become a large landowner. He purchased over a thousand acres in Chester County and other sizeable tracts in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, as well as numerous city lots from the Delaware waterfront west to Sixth Street.[10]

In 1688-9, at age 25, William Hudson married into one of Philadelphia's leading families by taking Mary, daughter of Provincial Councillor Samuel Richardson, as his wife before Quaker meeting. The Governor and his Council attended the wedding, suggesting the political opportunities that soon opened for William Hudson.[11]

Like his father, Hudson set up trade as a tanner after purchasing land along Dock Creek in Philadelphia. Nearby, he bought up three lots along the east side of Third Street between the Dock and Chestnut Street, where he erected a three story brick house for his family. The house is said to have had a brick portico and subsidiary buildings to the rear, within a paved court set back from Third Street and surrounded by a high brick wall. Hudson

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Dictionary, Volume One 1682-1709, (Philadelphia, 1991), 456 concludes that Hudson arrived 1687 or later. Thomas Allen Glenn, "William Hudson, Mayor of Philadelphia, 1725-1726," PMHB 15 (1891), 336, 338-9. Glen's article, while not annotated, cites specific documents. He concludes that Hudson set sail for Pennsylvania around the time he received a certificate of removal dated 1683 from the meeting in York. That year, also, 183 acres were surveyed for him in Chester County. 338. Inexplicably, Hudson does not show up on the first tax list for Philadelphia County in 1693. "The First Tax List for Philadelphia County. A.D. 1693," PMHB 8 (1884), 85-101. Howard Williams Lloyd, "Hudson Family Records," PMHB 16 (1892), 108-109 cites annotations in William Hudson, Jr.'s family Bible. William is recorded there to have been born in the City of York, England, rather than Yorkshire. John Fanning Watson's account of the Hudson family, which draws on information provided by descendant William Howell's "table of family descent," claimed that William Hudson had been an Episcopal clergyman prior to becoming a Friend by convincement. This writer suspects that that applied to William's father, William Hudson. Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, 1, 547.

[10]Horle, et. al., Lawmaking and Legislators, 456-7; Glenn "William Hudson," 339, notes that Hudson's land conveyances were so frequent as "to render even a partial list impossible here." See, Duffin, Guide to the Exemplification Records, 190, for a partial list of his city land patents and deeds and Hudson's Will, 1742.

[11]Glenn, "William Hudson," 339.

reportedly enjoyed a "charming view of the Delaware" River from his gardens, which sloped southeast toward the Dock. Here he probably lived out most of his life, despite the stenches from his and other nearby tanneries and the open sewer of the Dock. He died in December 1742 and was laid to rest in the Friends' burial ground at Fourth and Arch Streets.[12]

William Hudson lived a useful life, serving his religious and political community. He was a devout Quaker who gave generously, both of his finances and personal time, to the poor and disinherited. He visited the sick and prisoners in gaol and was an early promoter of prison reform. In 1706 Hudson served as a delegate to the Provincial Assembly, but his political career predominantly remained local. William Penn appointed him to Common Council of Philadelphia by the 1701 Charter of Liberties. He also served as alderman and associate justice of the City Court and as mayor from 1725-26. Between 1704 and 1737 he left an 80 percent attendance record while in office. He was, it has been conjectured, one of the last mayors to represent the powerful Quaker hegemony that ruled Philadelphia during the colony's first decades.[13]

Hudson's wife, Mary, died in 1708 at the early age of 36, bearing their fourteenth child. The following year Hudson married Robert Barber's widow, Hannah, nee Ogden. Little is currently known

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[12]William Hudson purchased three lots on South Third Street (today's 109-115 S. Third), lying between Chestnut Street and the Dock, from Anthony Morris in March of 1697 and evidently erected the house at 115 (old no. 55) S. Third. See Chain of Title files, INDE, and Wainwright, "Plan of Philadelphia," 190. Glenn, "William Hudson," 341; a glimpse of Hudson's lifestyle can be gleaned from an inventory of his household in January 1743, William Hudson Will, 1742, PCA. Watson, Annals 1, 541; McMahon, "'Small Matters'" PMHB 116, 163 and 167-8, and Benjamin Franklin's petition to remove the tanyards because of their "offensive and unwholesome Smells" in PG August 30, 1739, indicate the pollution created by the six tanneries bordering the Dock. Several springs and tidal flows watered the creek. Milton Allen, "Age of Dock Creek," Arthur Cecil Bining Seminar in History 702, April 26, 1951. Although there is no known account of it, Hudson likely had a country house as well, to escape the sickly summers in the city.

[13]Glenn, "William Hudson," 339; Horle, et. al., Lawmaking and Legislators, 456-458; see also, 208, 307, 636, 669, 707, 730, 818, 820, for Hudson's political and social influence. Despite his work with the poor and religious persuasion, Hudson was a slave holder. He left Daphne to his wife and the annual rent from his Negro man's labor to his son-in-law, John Langdale, also a tanner. Hudson's will, 1742, PCA.

about his second wife, other than that her brother David's son, John Ogden, married one of Hudson's granddaughters, Hannah Owen, who later, when widowed, married Joseph Wharton. Their son Robert Wharton, like Hudson, rose to be mayor of the city. William Hudson thus established himself as a well connected scion of a prominent first family of Philadelphia. As a biographical sketch pointed out, he also remained "one of the largest manufacturers, shipping merchants and shipowners in Philadelphia," for nearly half a century.[14]

William Hudson's father-in-law, Samuel Richardson, died in 1719 and by his will named eight Hudson children, Samuel, William, John, Mary, Elizabeth, Susannah, Hannah and Rachel. Twenty years later, when he wrote his own will, William Hudson named four living children (he outlived 10 of his offspring by Mary), as well as 24 grandchildren. Only one of his sons, William, Jr., and three of his daughters, Hannah Medcalf, Susannah Burr, and Rachel Emlen, inherited at his death. Each of his 20 female and four male grandchildren received a piece of his landed estate, mostly in the division of his property on either side of Fifth Street between Market and Mulberry (Arch) streets. Other properties on the Bank of the Delaware, on Front, Chestnut, Walnut and Third streets in the city, as well as his other personal assets, were also divided among his heirs.[15]

William Hudson's Plan

William Hudson's will of 1738 specified that after his wife Hannah's death, the block then known as the Pasture -- Independence Mall's middle block -- be called Hudson's Square. He then divided the 396 by 660-foot block "into three equal parts by two Streets of thirty feet wide each" to run parallel with High Street and be named North and South streets. His will portioned the block's three sections into 23 large lots for several of his grandchildren, but it reserved the two most valuable lots, at the corners of High and Fifth and Sixth streets, for his daughter Rachel Emlen, wife of Samuel Emlen, and surviving son William Hudson, Jr. Fortunately, the executors had a plan made up showing the layout of the lots

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[14]Lloyd, "Hudson Family Records," 110; Glenn, "William Hudson," 339-342.

[15]"A Copy of Will of Samuel Richardson, of Philadelphia, 1719," PMHB 33 (1909), 373. For a partial family chart compiled from family records cited in this research, see Appendix A. The son-in-laws were: John Burr, Jacob Medcalf and Samuel Emlen. Glenn, "William Hudson," 343.

with their designated heirs.[16] (See Map No. 8).

All the High Street lots ran 200 feet north to South Street, except two, which extended 306 feet north. The will excluded from these latter lots the 30-foot set aside for South Street. The 396-foot frontage along High or Market Street was divided into nine lots. Daughter Rachel Emlen received a 100 foot, 3 inch lot at the corner of Sixth Street. Two grandchildren, Hudson and Sarah Emlen, equally divided another lot of the same size immediately to the east. Hudson's will left the next three lots on High Street to three granddaughters all named Mary (two Hudsons, daughters of William, Jr. and Samuel Hudson, and Mary Howell, of unidentified parentage, wife of Jacob Howell, a tanner). Mary Hudson, William's daughter, and Mary Howell each received a 32 foot, one inch lot, whereas Mary, daughter of Samuel, got the parcel that extended 76 feet beyond South Street, which was divided into two adjoining 27 foot 8 inch wide lots. (Lots 12 and 13). Hudson's will noted that these lots had been given to Mary by her father before he died. Evidently William Hudson had given the lots to Samuel who had passed them on to his daughter, either by gift or by his will. This research did not attempt to locate Samuel's will and so the origins and date of this land transfer remain unknown. Hannah and Rachel Owen, daughters of William's daughter, Susannah (who in 1742 was married to John Burr), and Robert Owen, deceased, together shared a 26 foot, 8 inch lot adjoining Mary Hudson's. Finally, at the corner of Fifth Street, son William Hudson, Jr., received a 52 foot, 1 1/4 inch lot. This large corner lot already had "appurtenances" according to William's will.[17]

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[16]Hudson's will remains in the Wills Office, City Hall; a copy of the partition map is in Folder 67, Division 3-T, Arch-Market, 6-5 Streets, Philadelphia City Archives, hereinafter cited PCA.

[17]A deed from William Hudson to William and Hannah Tidmarsh and Sarah Emlen dated May 15, 1730, identifies Sarah as Hannah's daughter from her first husband, George Emlen. This is confusing, as genealogical accounts say William's daughter Hannah married Jacob Medcalf. William Hudson's will identifies Hudson Emlen as his daughter Rachel's child, but only refers to Sarah Emlen as granddaughter, leaving it in question which Emlen parents were hers. Deed Book H13, 320, PCA, and Hudson will, 1742. At Hudson Emlen's death in 1768, Sarah Emlen handled Hudson Emlen's estate, by one account, as his widow. PG May 5, 1768. That information seemingly conflicts with a deed from Sarah Emlen, spinster, to Samuel Wetherill, Jr., in 1762. Deed Book D24:351, PCA. Some genealogical work survives on the family of Samuel Hudson, in "Replies," PMHB 7 (1883), 495. Mary Hudson went on to marry John Head, merchant, in 1746; Samuel's other two daughters, Elizabeth and Hannah, married also, Elizabeth to ? Jones and Hannah to Joseph Howell. Their son, Arthur Howell, became "a celebrated

It's not surprising to find the easternmost High Street lot as the only one with structures. Philadelphia's early 18th century growth spread north and south along the Delaware River to remain close to the port's commercial activity. High Street with its twice weekly markets east of Third Street and its central location on the city plan, early became a socially desirable address for Philadelphia's merchants and shopkeepers. By the 1740s, settlement along High Street had begun to creep west beyond Fourth Street. When William drafted his will in 1739, however, the structure at Fifth Street likely stood alone on the block, in a landscape of vacant lots. At least the appurtenances on the corner lot were the only structures on the block mentioned in Hudson's will.

Hudson divided the Mulberry (today, Arch) Street frontage, into only four lots of generally the same size. Mulberry Street did not have the same importance as the High Street frontage, and thus William no doubt compensated by allotting larger pieces of real estate. He willed to his granddaughter Elizabeth, daughter of William Hudson, Jr., the Sixth Street corner lot, measuring 96 feet, 2 3/4 inches by 200 feet depth to North Street. (lot No. 1) Going east toward Fifth Street he left three 100 foot, 3 inch lots to granddaughters Mary Burr and Hannah Moode (wife of William Moode, executor of the will), and to grandson William Medcalfe. (lots 2, 3 and 4)[18]

The middle section, between South and North streets, was divided into eight lots, seven of which went to William's grandchildren --Jane, Susannah and Rachel Hudson, daughters of William, Jr., Rachel Burr, and Susanna, Rachel and Matthew Medcalfe. The Medcalfe children were offspring of Hudson's daughter Hannah and husband, Jacob Medcalf. William's son, William, Jr., received the eighth lot, at the corner of South and Fifth streets. When added to his corner lot on High Street, his property extended 300 feet along Fifth Street. The Fifth and Sixth street frontages in this section were divided into two large, nearly square lots, each 100 feet by 96 deep. William Jr.'s lot on Fifth, however, had 27 feet less in depth where Mary Hudson's Market Street lot (no. 13) extended 76 feet beyond South Street.[19]

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minister among Friends." The Howell family, like Hudsons, were tanners. See "Chestnut, Third to Fourth" folder, in Anna Coxe Toogood files, INDE.

[18]Hannah Moode was a daughter of William Hudson's daughter, Elizabeth Corkfield, according to a deed of gift given Hannah and William Moode at their marriage. William Hudson and wife Hannah to William Moode, cordwainer, August 5, 1742. Deed Book H8, 321, PCA.

[19]Plan of Hudson Will, 1741; Jacob Medcalf predeceased William Hudson, as his executors in 1740, Joseph and William

As the above explanation suggests, the Hudson family showed their sense of tradition by giving their children similar names, causing some confusion in this research. Girls were repeatedly named Mary, Susannah, Hannah, Elizabeth, Jane, and Rachel, echoing the generation that preceded. Ten unmarried Hudson granddaughters at the time of the will -- three daughters of Samuel's, two of John's, and five of William's -- had grown up and some had married by the time Hudson's Square real estate began to go on the market. This presents a task of ascertaining whether surnames among new property owners on the block later in the century mask married Hudson heirs. This research has identified some of the granddaughters' married names. Samuel's three daughters married into the Jones, Head and Howell families. Of William's daughters, Jane died in 1759, and Rachel, Elizabeth and Mary married into the Jory, Morris and Emlen families, again prominent Quaker lineage. Further deed and genealogical research may shed more light on the 18th century heirs and purchasers of the real estate on block two.[20]

One other piece of the puzzle for this block at the time of Hudson's will also remains to be researched: Hudson left to his wife Hannah the ground rent from a lot of land "situate on the West Side of Fifth Street," but the will does not mention where. If this lot is part of Hudson's Square, it does not get referred to in the will's partition of the block into 23 lots, to be carried out after Hannah's death.

Cooper and William Hudson, advertised his estate in Gloucester County New Jersey for sale. In 1746 they again advertised the property, noting it was a 92-acre plantation in the town of Gloucester with an almost new brick house. PG Nov. 20, 1740, Aug. 21, 1746.

[20]Rachel Jory appears as the eastern property owner bordering the Sixth and South Street lot on Aug. 19, 1761. Deed Book 52, 383, PCA; "Marriages Authorized, Philadelphia Monthly Meeting," Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Volume 9, p. 206, 208; "Notes and Queries," PMHB 7 (1883), 495; Ibid., 75, Index, John Head.

Chapter Two: Hudson's Square Development, 1745-1800

William Hudson's heirs finally received their share of Hudson's Square when Hannah Hudson died in 1759 at age 99, on the eve of a phenomenal housing boom in Philadelphia. The boom, which lasted for two decades, took place in the city's "fringe" wards to the west or north and in the suburbs of Southwark and Northern Liberties. Hudson's Square during the seventeen years since William Hudson's death had remained largely undeveloped. The block had earned the local name of Hudson's Square, as Hudson had intended, as well as income from its rental. An advertisement for 1746/7 offered to rent about four acres opposite John Kinsey, and between High and Mulberry Streets. Timothy Matlack recalled paying L8 to lease the entire block for pasture. Old-timers remembered the square also as Hudson's Orchard, referring to the family's apple trees. By the mid-1750s the record indicates at least two people lived on the block, one a Mr. Hudson (probably William's corner property), who had his house broken into several times in 1754, and the other, Anthony Ottman, who advertised his house and 16 by 100 foot lot on the north side of South Street for sale in 1757.[1]

Survey of 1759 and Its Modification, 1789

Nicholas Scull (Surveyor General of Pennsylvania), Joseph Fox and Jacob Lewis prepared the survey of the square for William Hudson's heirs in 1759 to delineate the several lots and their owners. Thirty years later (1789), the Market Street lots were resurveyed and a note made that all the lines as laid down in the 1759 survey were modified: "The whole distance 1 foot more than is mentioned in Wm. Hudson's will is proportioned among the lots as under." A comparison of the two surveys, however, shows that the difference to the lots was negligible.[2]

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[1]Horle, et. al., Lawmaking and Legislators, 1, 458; Gary Nash and Billy G. Smith, "The Population of Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," in Notes and Documents, PMHB 99 (July 1975), 367-8; Watson and Hazard, Annals 1, 231; see PG Feb. 24, 1746/7, for an advertisement run by Isaac Williams and William Moode, the latter married to Hannah, William Hudson's granddaughter, to lease Hudson's Square, which had about 4 acres "very suitable for pasture." PG Mar. 19, 1754, Jan. 24, 1757. Ottman's goods and property were again advertised for sale ten years later, when there was a almost new two-story brick house and kitchen with a cake baker's oven on the 16 by 100 foot lot, north side South St. PG Jan 29, 1767.

[2]Hand drawn copy made by Sharon Ann Holt of the resurvey of July 2, 1789, which dates the original Scull survey of Hudson's Square as Nov. 10, 1759. Holt research materials, "Northside General, Hudson's Square," file, INDE Archives. Holt does not

The Secondary Streets:

During the 1760s several heirs began selling off or developing their lots on Hudson's Square, particularly along the north-south and inner block streets. Hudson's two inner streets, South and North, had been laid out and were interchangeably called street and alley in the deeds and other public records of the period. As mentioned, Anthony Ottman already by 1757 had built a house on his 16 by 100 foot lot on the north side of South Street.[3] In 1760 William Hudson began to sell off lots at the north end of his High Street lot. On October 16 he deeded 20 by 52 feet on Fifth Street to Casper Yeager. The deed mentioned the property was part of a larger lot, 52 by 200 feet, and that to its south was a lot Hudson recently had deeded to H. Welsey.[4] Two years later, the Pennsylvania Gazette advertised for sale another 20 by 52 foot lot adjoining Casper Yeager's to the south, part of the estate of Jacob Rabsom and wife. Clearly William was systematically parceling off his corner lot.[5]

William's brother-in-law, John Burr (sister Susannah's second husband), advertised in 1761 six lots for sale between South and North streets in Hudson's Square. Four of these lots measured 17 by 100 feet and two measured 16 by 100-- like William's sales, clearly intended for modest developers. Together the six lots had a breadth of 100 feet. Numbers 6, 7 and 8 on the partition sketch for Hudson's will each contained a breadth of 50 feet. Thus, Lot 7, willed to Burr's daughter, Rachel, likely contained half the land for sale, and the other half probably was part of one of the adjoining lots willed to Rachel, William Jr.'s daughter, or Susannah Medcalf, Hannah's daughter. Burr appears to have been a successful entrepreneur who was quick to exploit the upswing of the

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cite a source, but the 1789 resurvey likely came from Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA. Scull served as Pennsylvania's Surveyor General from 1748 to 1761. Martin P. Snyder, City of Independence Views of Philadelphia Before 1800 (New York, 1975), 36.

[3]PG Jan. 24, 1757; William Hudson's property distribution map for the block called the inner block thoroughfares North and South Streets, as did most deeds, but the 1790 Census called them alleys.

[4]Deed Book IW9, 82, PCA.

[5]PG Nov. 6, 1762. The (Jacob and Cleophia) Rabsom property remained in the family. In 1775 Rabsom advertised it with a house then in tenure of Mrs. Humphreys. Pennsylvania Packet Mar. 13, 1775, as cited in Roach Index, APS. Herinafter cited PP. A sheriff's sale again advertised Rabsom's Fifth Street property in 1782. PG Nov. 6, 1782.

real estate market. [6]

In 1760 Thomas Wharton, (probably Hudson's great-grandson), offered three large lots for lease on Hudson Square. One on the west side of Fifth Street measured 100 by 100 feet, and two others, which together measured 100 feet by 200 feet, stretched between North and South streets. The lot on Fifth probably was the southern half of the 100 by 200 foot lot at the corner of Fifth and Arch streets bequeathed to Hudson's grandson, William Medcalf, on the condition that if he died without issue, the lot would be divided between granddaughters Hannah Owen and Mary Burr. Evidently this clause went into effect by 1760 and prompted the sale or lease of his ground by the new heirs. Hannah Owen (daughter of Susannah and Robert Owen) by that date was married to Joseph Wharton (her first husband, John Ogden, died in 1742), and, presumably, Thomas Wharton was their son and heir. The next year a corner lot measuring 48 by 45 feet at Fifth and Arch streets, the late estate of Ralph Brock, was offered for sale, and by June 1765, Thomas Barth may have lived on the lot, in a two-story house with a pump of extra water on the west side of Fifth "near Arch Street," where Jonathan Phillips lived.[7] Meanwhile, Thomas Wharton had put much of the property he

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[6]Glen, "William Hudson," 343; Lawmaking and Legislators, 1, 456; PG April 2, 1761. Most of the PG references cited in this report were found through the CD-ROM and Web Site research tool, Accessible Archives, created by John Nagy. This program allowed specific searches, such as John Burr. The eight "hits" for him indicated he was a part owner of the Mount Holley Iron Works in Burlington County, New Jersey (July 12, 1744), a contributor to the establishment of a "Hospital for Relief of the Sick, Poor..." in Philadelphia (May 29, 1755), and, at the time of sale, had a fashionable address on the south side of High Street near the Court House. (April 2, 1761, April 18, 1765). On Jan. 28,1768, however, the PG posted a bankruptcy notice for John Burr, Jr., likely his son. Rachael Owen, Burr's step-daughter, married Samuel Kemble, whose name also appeared on the April 2, 1761 advertisement to sell the lots. See Deed Book D, 351, for reference to Rachel and Samuel's marriage. Deed research, done mostly by research assistant Christine Hoepfner, covered as many Hudson names as possible in the time available. Unfortunately, the deed indexes are sometimes damaged and difficult to read on microfilm.

[7]PG Mar. 6, 1760, Mar. 12, 1761, June 20, 1765 and Hudson's will, 1742. It is not clear if Barth and Philips lived on this block or on the north side of Arch Street. An advertisement of property on the north side of South Street shows Thomas Wharton as owner of the property to the east. Ibid., Oct. 20, 1768. It is not clear whether this is Thomas Wharton Sr. or Jr. The latter, aged 25 in 1760, went on to become first governor of Pennsylvania under the Constitution of 1776. See his biographical sketch Anne

had been leasing up for sale. Still in possession of considerable real estate in 1768, he again advertised the same three sizeable lots in Hudson's Square for rent with the promise that he would erect "such buildings...as may best accommodate the Persons who shall rent them."[8]

Deeds from the 1760s refer to neighboring owners or leasers of Hudson Square property, suggesting that lot sales moved well. The 1762 Clarkson-Biddle map of Philadelphia shows several buildings already constructed on the block, on the north end of William Hudson's Fifth and Market street lot, as well as along the eastern half of the High Street frontage. A number of structures are indicated on the north side of South Street, especially at the western end where John Burr had advertised lots for sale. A few buildings line Fifth street north of South Street, and two buildings are situated on the south side of North Street, near Sixth Street. There are no structures between North and Mulberry (Arch) streets. This map, the first that details the improved part of Philadelphia, is based on the surveys of streets and lots completed by Nicholas Scull, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, during the decade before his death in 1761. His daughter and executrix, Mary Biddle, joined with Matthew Clarkson to publish his valuable work the following year.[9]

Newspaper advertisements and insurance surveys indicate that Hudson's Square saw a steady development after 1762. In 1764 Peter Parker advertised the sale of his new two-story wood house on a 20 by 52 lot on the west side of Fifth Street.[10] The lot dimensions indicate it stood on William Hudson's Market Street lot. Three years later the premises of blacksmith Peter Barker on Fifth Street between Market and Arch were advertised for sale at his death. Barker's house with a one story kitchen and two small stores were to be sold with all his kitchen and household furniture.[11] It seems

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H. Wharton, in PMHB 5 (1881), 426-439.

[8]PG Feb. 3, 1763 and Mar. 6, 1768.

[9]Snyder, Independence, 62 and Fig. 67 gives an explanation of the map's history. Surveyor General Benjamin Eastburn's 1776 map of the city, by contrast, marks only the square's two interior streets and leaves the entire block devoid of buildings. See "A Plan of the City of Philadelphia, the Capital of Pennsylvania, from an Actual Survey," London, November 4, 1776, as printed in Snyder, Ibid.

[10]PG Aug. 2, 1764.

[11]PG Mar. 19, July 23, 1767. The ad included an interesting list of furniture: feather beds, bedsteads, leather bottom chairs, tables, a neat desk, a book case, pewter brass copper,

likely that Parker and Barker are the same individual, a misspelling being the difference in their names. In August 1764 another advertisement to sell a 20 by 52 foot lot on Fifth Street, again within William Hudson's Market Street lot, included a "very good two-story wooded tenement" on it.[12]

Frame or wooden construction often was the choice for the smaller lots in the western section of town, especially along the alleys and north-south streets. In 1762 a sheriff's sale offered Jacob Brand's unfinished small (16 by 14 feet) two-story frame house and lot on the east side of Sixth Street between North and South streets.[13] In 1764 Benjamin Swett listed four lots on Hudson's Square for sale, one of which stood on the south side of South Street with a "new well built frame building designed for a stable and chaise house," which, he observed, could easily be converted into a tenement.[14] Two years later a two-story "Frame house," 13 feet by 26 feet, and Jacob Bechler's "frame messuage and tenement," both on 16'8" by 100 foot lots on the south side of North Street, went up for sale. Frederick Waggoner's lot adjoining Bechler's, with its "unfinished two story frame dwelling house," was advertised for sale in 1768 by sheriff's sale. Michael Herbert, who lived on Hudson's Square near Market Street in 1766, may have purchased Bechler's lot and finished the structure, for when his property went up for sale in 1774, it included a two-story frame house. His North Street lot adjoined the lot at the south corner of North and Sixth streets, as a 1797 survey of the corner property shows.[15] The two-story wooden structure on the north side of North Street insured by Reuban Haines in 1767 is the only building known

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smith tools, and a large parcel of new hooks and hinges, with "sundry other Smith work." Barker may have been a Quaker, based on the fact that Peter Barker, presumably his son, signed a petition in 1797, as a member of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, against the "wanton dissipation and licentiousness" in the city. PG Jan. 3, 1798.

[12]PG Aug. 4, 1763 and Aug. 2, 1764.

[13]PG, July 1, 1762. The lot size was 18 feet by 96. The 1762 map shows only one Sixth Street structure, on the north corner of South Street, evidently not Brand's because the map recorded buildings completed by 1761.

[14]PG Jan. 5, 1764. The four lots Swett advertised were back to back between Market and South streets. Two Market street lots each measured 16 by 120, and the South Street lots, each measured 16 by 80.

[15]PG June 26, Aug. 7, 14, Dec 18, 1766, May 7, 1767, Dec. 1, 1768, and Nov. 9, 1774; Survey dated 1797, Third Survey Dist., pre-1814, PCA

to be on that side of the street during the decade. It was occupied by Titus Matlack, perhaps a brother of Timothy Matlack, who made his mark during the Revolution as a locally active politician and a founder of the Free Quaker Meeting.[16]

Many of the first buyers of Hudson's Square properties were tradesmen, artisans and small shopkeepers looking for an affordable place to do business. As Major General Gage observed in January 1768, Philadelphia had witnessed a great surge of immigrants from Great Britain, Ireland and Germany, most of them "Mechanicks and Manufacturers" and people who wanted to "work at Trades."[17] The Hudson heirs met this demand by selling or leasing city lots with a typical breadth of 16 feet, 8 inch curbside. William Hudson deeded his Fifth Street lots to cooper Casper Yeager and cordwainer Henry Welsing; Rachel (daughter of William) Jory sold a lot on the north side of South Street to weaver Jacob Young, and Susannah Hudson deeded lots on the east side of Sixth Street to single woman Elizabeth Empson, baker William Nushank and cooper, Jacob Brand. Joseph Beam, painter, moved west to Fifth Street, next to John Ottenheimer's (on the corner of High) in 1765, and advertised his talent for "all sorts of painting and Gilding," especially with signs, chaise, and other vehicles.[18]

Several of these artisans and tradesmen purchasers built small brick buildings, mostly plain, two-story houses crowded with shop and residential use. Philip Etter's on Sixth Street near the south corner of North Alley, built around 1767, measured only 14 feet by 28 for two tenements.[19] Evidently each shop occupied a 14-foot

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[16]CLS 1181; entry in Dictionary of American Biography. Titus Matlack may also have been a brother of Timothy's father, or his uncle. Accessible Archives turned up no entries for Titus, other than he advertised "a Likely hearty Negroe Woman" for sale in April 1767, when he was living in Seventh Street near the corner of Arch. PG April 9, 1767.

[17]General Thomas Gage as quoted in, Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "Some Aspects of the Social History of Pennsylvania, 1760-1790," PMHB 62 (July 1938), 288. According to an INDE note card which also quotes Gage, this letter survives in the Bancroft Collection at the New York Public Library (NYPL).

[18]William Hudson to Wesling, Mar. 10, 1760, Deed Book D11:337; Jory to Young, Aug., 22, 1761, D28, 306; Susannah Hudson to Empson, Aug. 19, 1761, H14, 354; to Nushank, Aug. 18, 1766, D52, 383, PCA; Empson's deed noted that Jacob Brand's lot bordered hers to the west, but the deed was not located in this research. PG Feb. 7, 1765.

[19]His insurance policy, dated June 4, 1771, noted the house was four or five years old. Contributionship Book 2, p. 54.

square room. Abraham Peters insured his two-story brick house on the south side of the street in 1765; it had one room and two small shops on the first story and adjoined an alley.[20] On the north side of the street a 1767 sheriff's sale advertised Anthony Ottman's goods, chattels and property including an almost new two-story brick house with a two-story kitchen and cake baker's oven on a 16 foot, 8-inch lot.[21] Another such sale the next year offered the two-story brick house and lot of Francis Forster on the north side of the street. Nearby Samuel Wetherill, Jr. owned a lot and two-story brick house he had insured new in 1762.[22]

South and North Alleys:

Samuel Wetherill Jr. (1736-1816), American patriot and a pioneer in American manufacturing, had purchased the land from Sarah Emlen on the north side of South Alley in 1762 and immediately built the house, 18 by 32 feet, with a two-story kitchen 17 by 14 feet, and a piazza 8 by 5 feet. The insurance survey for his property mentioned a carpenter shop adjoining the house. His lot was larger than average, with a street frontage of 33 feet and depth of 100 feet. Based on the deed's reference to Susannah Medcalf as the property owner to Wetherill's east, the lot began 200 feet west of Fifth Street, or about half way up the north side of South Street. Here he lived and ran a manufacturing business for over twenty years. In 1782 he put the property up for sale and moved east towards the commercial district. The family evidently retained ownership of the South Street property, however, as Samuel M. Wetherill had a resurvey made in 1831 which recorded that the back buildings had been raised to three stories and the house then operated as a tavern. An 1814 survey showed one 33 by 100-foot lot on the north side of the street, at what later became 517 South Street.[23]

Hereinafter cited CBk. Nearly every insurance survey of the 1760s describes the structures on this block, both wooden and brick, as plain.

[20]Abraham Peters, Dec. 3, 1765, Contributionship Loose Survey (CLS) #1056.

[21]PG Jan. 29, 1767.

[22]PG Oct. 10, 1768. Forster's property was bounded by ground of Thomas Wharton, Peter Taylor, Susannah Medcalf. The first and last were William Hudson grandchildren.

[23]Sarah Emlen to Samuel Wetherill, Jr., Apr. 1762, Deed Book EF1, 238; Sarah Emlen the year before (May 7, 1761) had purchased the property from her cousin Rachel (Owen) Kemble and husband,

Wetherill's English Quaker family, it is said, settled in Jersey prior to the arrival of William Penn. Wetherill started off in Philadelphia as a carpenter, which evidently led to his appointment in the mid-1760s as a policy surveyor for Contributionship Insurance Company.[24] By 1773 he had a different tact: that year he advertised his livery, put the carpenter shop up for rent and sold vinegar from his South Street address. In 1776, on the eve of the Revolution, he was elected manager for the American Manufactory, and the next year began to produce woolen and cotton clothes.[25] Wetherill may have been the first supplier of jeans and fustians in America, from his property later numbered 9 South Alley.[26] In 1776 and 1777, he advertised jeans, shalloons, woolens, linens and cottons, "particularly Corded Demities" and, appealing to patriotic sentiments, noted that "at a great Expense" he had attempted to improve manufacturing in America, a fact he hoped would prompt the "Public's Encouragement." His business went well and by 1779 the assortment included "Coatings, Blanketing, Saggathies, Jeans, Everlastings, &c" and the need for spinners remained constant. When the war was over, Wetherill had already relocated to Second Street near the Baptist Meeting house, where he sold a general assortment of ironmongery, window glass, painters coulours and dye stuff, and a variety of cloth, some from his own manufacture. Wetherill had enlarged his scope and eventually would open a fashionable store with his sons, selling "Drugs, Medicines, Painters Colours & Dying Stuffs," among other goods, at 65 North Front Street.[27]

Samuel Kemble. Deed Book H12: 406. CLS 756; PG Oct. 2, 1782, Dec. 10, 1783; J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott. History of Philadelphia 1609-1884, in Three Volumes, Volume 1 (Philadelphia, 1884) 294; "Addresses Old and New" calculated by Sharon Holt, 1997, Maps General File, Holt Research Files, INDE. Holt here shows the lot dimensions according to the 1814 survey in Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA.

[24]Wetherill signed the Contributionship surveys during the 1760s and '70s, including that of neighbor Abraham Peters across the street. CLS #1056. Abraham Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants As Constituted Fifty @ Seventy Years Ago... (Philadelphia, 1860), 138.

[25]PG Aug. 4, 1773; PP Mar. 20, 1775; EP Aug 15, 1776, as cited in Roach file, APS. Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, I, 294.

[26]Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 138.

[27]Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 138-9. Ritter records that Samuel Jr. was said to have been "the original in the manufacture of White Lead in this Country," which, if true, began after he moved from South Street. 140. For Wetherill ads,

Samuel Wetherill, Jr.'s supply of clothing to the Continental Army during the Revolution contributed to his being disowned by the Society of Friends. In 1779 the Philadelphia Meeting found that he had "deviated from our ancient testimony and peaceable principles by manifesting himself a party in the public commotions prevailing."[28] Refused access to worship, he led in the establishment of the Free Quakers. On February 20, 1781, Isaac Howell, James Sloane, Robert Parrish, White Matlack, Owen Biddle, Moses Bartram and Benjamin Say joined him at his house on South Street and organized the society they identified "The Monthly Meeting of Friends, called by some Free Quakers, distinguishing us from those of our brethren who have disowned us." Funds raised by subscription purchased a lot at the southwest corner of Fifth and Arch streets, where the Free Quaker Meeting House was erected in 1783, "Of the Empire 8."[29] Samuel Wetherill, said to be a man of "very proper orthodox religious views," and the "incorporation of the better feelings of humanity," preached regularly at this

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see PG Aug. 4, 1773; Aug. 21, 1776; Jan. 17 and May 21, 1777; Aug. 8, 1778; Nov. 24, 1779; May 10, Sept. 20, 1780; Oct. 2, 1782 puts up for sale "Sundry looms, reeds and Gears, A very curious Cotton Spinning Machine, and several Spinning Wheels, a Pair of Woolcombers Combs of the best kind," suggesting Wetherill intended not to continue the cloth manufacturing business, but in the PG for Jan. 14, 1784, he runs an advertisement proposing the formation of a large company to build a 5-story mill to start a cotton manufacturing. In PG Dec. 10, 1783, he advertised the South Street property for sale and Ap. 25, 1792, he ran an ad for the Front St. store. A print of the Front St. store and reference to the Wetherill & Brothers 12th and Cherry Streets White Lead Manufactory and Chemical Works can be found in Nicholas Wainwright, Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography, (Philadelphia, 1958), #450-451. Samuel Wetherill signed his name with a junior in the 1762 deed from Sarah Emlen, but some confusion has arisen in the record, as the PMHB index lists two Samuel Wetherills, and gives the younger one the junior.

[28] As quoted in Robert H. Wilson, Philadelphia Quakers 1681-1981 A Tercentenary Family Album (Philadelphia, 1981), 66.

[29] Quote from building's date stone. Henry R. Biddle, "Owen Biddle," PMHB 16 (1892), 315. Contributors to the subscription included Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. Edwin B. Bonner, "Quaker Landmarks in Early Philadelphia," in Historic Philadelphia, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 43, Pt. 1, 1953, 212. Isaac Howell likely was a direct descendant of William Hudson through his son, Samuel. See Appendix A.

meeting until the year of his death in 1816.[30]

South Alley in the Francis White's city directory of 1785 still listed Wetherill as a shopkeeper, along with at least nine others, including George Hoff, tavern keeper for the Sign of American Soldier; Philip Syderman, a clock and watch maker; Christian Waynt, blacksmith; Charles Snyder, painter; Joseph Stride, cordwainer; Michael Goodman, shopkeeper, and Jacob Sloucher, a stocking weaver. These names were listed in alphabetical order, however, and were located only by the street and block. There is no way to know, also, if William Gray, bricklayer, who located himself on South Alley in a November 26, 1782 Pennsylvania Gazette advertisement, still lived there.[31]

In the 1791 city directory, compiler Clement Biddle introduced street numbering to Philadelphia, with the odd numbers on the north and east and the even numbers on the south and west sides of the street. Biddle, who also conducted the first census in preparation for his directory, numbered South Alley houses 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 15, 25 and 29 on the north side of the street, and 6, 10, 12, and 14 on the south side, leaving spaces when lots had not yet received structures. In the odd numbered houses he counted a school mistress, huxter, hatter, druggist (Wetherill), gentleman, shoemaker, blacksmith and taylor. In the houses on the south side, there were two shoemakers, a laborer and weaver. Whether one of these workers had moved into the new, small and plain three-story brick house surveyed for cordwainer Charles Chamberlain in February 1790 on the South Alley end of his Market Street lot cannot be determined.[32]

The 1790 census also listed three African American households where 16 blacks lived on South Alley. John Baish, "Negroe," had eight free blacks under his roof; Ishmael, again a "Negroe," had

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[30]The quotes about Wetherill from Ritter, Philadelphia and Her Merchants, 140-141; Wetherill showed his humanity in 1793 as a volunteer during the yellow fever epidemic. Mathew Carey, A Short Account of the Malignant Fever Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia: With A Statement of the Proceedings That Took Place on the Subject in Different Parts of the United States Third Edition, Improved, (Philadelphia, November 30, 1793), 40.

[31]The tavern may have been in the "very plain" three story brick building on the south side of South Alley insured as a tavern on Jan. 2, 1801 by Christopher Kughler. CBk 3, 113.

[32]Anthony N.B. Garvan, The Mutual Assurance Company Papers Volume I, The Architectural Surveys 1784-1794. (Philadelphia, 1976), 149. Chamberlain was the seventh listing west of Fifth Street in the 1787 North Ward tax assessment. He listed in the 1785 city directory as a cordwainer.

five; and Peter Sharp, a white man with no trade given, headed a household of seven whites, both male and female of different age brackets, and four free blacks. The locations of their homes can only be conjectured by comparing their listing in the census with the house numbers given in the 1791 directory. Baish listed between numbers 12 and 14 on the south side of South Alley,; Ishmael came between 15 and 25, and Sharp between 25 and 29, both on the north side of the street. Biddle, however, did not list these black heads of households in his directory, nor did he, for the census, give their occupations. The story of these people thus remains blank at this juncture.[33]

As noted earlier, North Alley (or Street) in the 1760s had several frame buildings on the south side of the street and one, where Titus Matlack lived, on the north side. Just prior to the Revolution, four new houses were added on the south side of the street. On May 3, 1774, William Ritter and Casper Yager -- the latter perhaps the purchaser of a Fifth Street lot from William Hudson a decade earlier -- both insured their two-story brick houses, each measuring 16 feet, 8 inches by 16, connected by a wooden partition over a three-foot alley between them. How these men knew each other and built side by side is not evident. The following year, Adam Zantzinger built two sizeable three-story houses, each 33 by 19 feet, perhaps on the 20 by 96 foot Fifth Street lot at the south corner of North Street he had purchased from Jacob Eckfeldt. Likely Eckfelt and Zantzinger, both of German descent, had more than adjoining properties in common. Zantzinger, however, appeared as a merchant on High Street between Third and Fourth in White's 1785 directory, indicating that these brick houses were real estate investments.[34]

While no listings could be found in Francis White's 1785 directory for North Alley, the 1790-91 census and first directory made clear that North Street had experienced a burst of growth. On the south side of the alley the addresses ran 2, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, and on the north side, 1, 11, 21, 25, 27, 29, and 31. On the former side, there lived a coach maker, two weavers, a hatter, and three laborers; on the latter, a harness maker, blacksmith, shoemaker, innkeeper (George Sonfitt, #25), a laborer, porter and

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[33]Heads of Families of the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Pennsylvania (Washington, 1908), 232; Clement Biddle, The Philadelphia Directory (Philadelphia: 1791).

[34]CBk 2, 112 (Ritter), 113 (Yager) and 139 (Zantzinger); In 1791 Jacob Eckfeldt ordered a survey for his property which indicated the Zanzinger lot. The deed (and thus, date) for the land transfer was not located by this research. Third Survey Dist., pre-1814, PCA. Francis White, The Philadelphia Directory, (Philadelphia, 1785), 83.

butcher. Like on South Alley, there were black households: Samuel Thomas, "Negroe," with two free blacks; Seb Silas, with one free white female and 3 free blacks, and George Grenish with six free blacks. Their location on the census suggests that Thomas and Silas may have lived side by side on the north side of the street, near 11 North Alley, and that Grenish may have lived on the western end of the street, but which side of the street is impossible to know. Again, the story of their lives is veiled by the lack of records.[35]

The 1795 directory records all the residents of South Alley with numbered addresses, whereas North Alley residences mostly lack street numbers, so that listings cannot be definitely located as to the south or north side of the street. South Alley's south side only had six numbers -- 4, 6, 10, 12, 14, all on the eastern end of the block, and 26 -- likely because the wealthy property owners on Market Street often owned the full 200 foot depth of their original lots. Each resident had an occupation: a shoemaker, fishmonger, wood huckster, stone cutter, gentlewoman, taylor, and a widow who laid out the dead. The north side was far more developed: numbers 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, and 25, 29 indicated there was a mid-block opening of undeveloped land. Occupying this row of houses were a schoolmistress, trunkmaker (William Davis), laborer, two hatters, oil and colour man (Samuel Wetherill), taylor, two shoemakers and a livery stable keeper.

North Alley had similar occupants. The numbered houses on the south side -- 20, 22, 26, and 28 -- had a stocking weaver, potter, fire engine maker (Samuel Briggs), and joiner. The north side -- numbers 25, 27, 31 -- were occupied by an innkeeper (George Senfft), house carpenter (George Snowden), and boarding house, run by James Bryson. William Galt, gentleman, was in residence. The unnumbered addresses listed a harnessmaker, taylor, blacksmith, shoemaker, rushbottom chair maker (Humphry Donoghus), nailor, stocking weaver, drayman, and schoolmaster. Among these unnumbered listings were African Americans Sip Silas, laborer, and Phoebe Anderson, widow and huckster.[36]

The United States Department of State moved its offices to the north side of North Alley, third door above Fifth Street, on October 29, 1796, where they remained ten months, until August 31, 1797. Research remains to be done on the staff and operations of this federal agency at the time. Considering the tense relations with European allies during the decade, the staff and officers likely worked long hours. The department moved temporarily to

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[35]Heads of Families, 232; Biddle, Philadelphia Directory 1791, 232. Both Silas and Grenish were also listed as "Negroe."

[36]Edmund Hogan, The Prospect of Philadelphia and Check on the Next Directory, (Philadelphia, 1795), 86-87.

Trenton, NJ, in August 1797 to escape an outbreak of yellow fever. At its return to Philadelphia that November, the State Department moved again to a building across Fifth Street, numbered 13 South Fifth Street.[37]

The compilation of tradesmen completed by Alfred Coxe Prime and city directories for 1800 and 1801 together indicate that stonecutter John Sadler remained at 10 South Alley for at least 1795 to 1798 and in 1801 another stone cutter, John Sidleman, had taken his place at that address; that the trunkmaker William Davis was in residence at 5 South Alley from 1794-97, replaced by 1800 with John Slough, a paint grinder, and in 1801, by the colour man, John Hough; that Samuel Briggs, engine maker, remained on North Alley at least to 1801, but at some point before 1800 moved to number 11, on the north side of the street. Brigg's move may have coincided with his purchase of an Arch Street lot. A city survey completed in April 1792 named Samuel Briggs as owner of a 22 foot 9 1/8 by 200 foot lot on Arch Street between lots owned by Reuban Haines and William Garrigues, about mid-block. Briggs by then may have built on speculation an Arch Street residence to rent out, probably no. 110 Arch.[38]

The same records show that North Alley had three boardinghouses by 1800, at 15, 31 and 59, all on the north side of the street. Jemima Carson, perhaps the controversial evangelical preacher, ran the boardinghouse at the latter number. Two French language teachers at 5 and 10 North Alley in 1801 suggest the infusion of French refugees in Philadelphia during the 1790s, fleeing the Reign of Terror in France. A taylor, two stocking weavers, two coachmen, a porter and a potter indicate the mix of artisan and service men on the block. In 1801 the city directory dropped the African label in its listings, but North Alley's Sibb Silas, laborer, and a Moses Anderson, sail maker, likely represent the same black families listed in the 1795 directory.

Most of the alley occupants at the turn of the century were service people, in the business of accommodating the swell of population Philadelphia experienced as the nation's capital. During the decade at least eight blacksmiths set up shop on the two alleys, but only John Stewart in North Alley remained listed for

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[37]Lee H. Burke, Homes of the Department of State 1774-1976 (Washington, D.C., 1977), 22-23.

[38]Phoebe Coxe Prime, compiler, "The Alfred Coxe Prime Directory of Craftsmen, Two Volumes." ([Philadelphia], 1960), 1, by trade; The New Trade Directory for Philadelphia Anno 1800, (Philadelphia, 1799); Cornelius William Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory for 1801, (Philadelphia, 1801); Survey for Samuel Briggs, William Garrigues, H. Gideon Wells, Apr. 17, 1792, 3T, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA. See surveys in this report.

more than a year (in 1795 and 1797). Other metal workers settled on the alleys -- Alexander Helmuth and Alexander Henry, coppersmiths, at 4 South Alley in 1799, and James and Thomas Ellis, brassfounders, also in South Alley in 1798-99. Three stonecutters worked on the alleys in the second half of the decade: Sethenia Davis at 13 North Alley in 1799; John Sadler, at 10 South Alley from 1795-98, and John Sidleman at 11 South Alley in the 1793, '94, and '99, and 1801 directories. Finally, a search of the 1811 city directory shows stocking weaver Benedict Snyder still at 20 North Alley and George Senoff (spelled Sonfitt in 1790 and Senfft in 1795) still across the street from him, at 25 North Alley, who as early as 1801 listed himself as a tavern keeper, rather than innkeeper.[39]

Directories do not identify backbuildings such as stables, carriage houses, barns which no doubt lined part of South Alley's south frontage and North Alley's north side. Some insurance policies and advertisements for the properties that lined Market and Arch streets indicate these utilitarian structures for the gentry who could afford them on the full 200-foot lots. John Hill's Map of Philadelphia in 1796, which gives some idea of the concentration of structures on the block, shows South Street on both sides as solidly built up, whereas North Street has only two buildings indicated mid-block behind Arch Street residences, likely carriage houses and/or stables. No doubt these were the first buildings to go during the 19th century evolution of the block into a commercial and manufacturing center, especially along South Street which was renamed Commerce Street to reflect the trend of the early 19th century.[40]

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[39]Prime, Directory of Craftsmen, 1, by trades; The New Trade Directory 1800; Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 124; James Robinson, The Philadelphia Directory for 1811 (Philadelphia, [1811]). Philadelphia's population, including the adjoining suburbs of Southwark and Northern Liberties, rose from 44,096 in the federal census of 1790 to 67,787 in 1800. Heads of Families, 10; Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 218, for 1800 census statistics.

[40]See Snyder, City of Independence, 204 and fig. 121 for a description of Hills' map whose unlikely title runs, "This Plan of the City of Philadelphia and its Environs, (showing the improved Parts), is Dedicated to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens thereof, By their most obedient Servant, John Hills, Surveyour and Draughtsman. May 30th 1796, by John Hills." Snyder judges that this map was "most important," because its size allowed Hills to provide detail from his city surveys.

Fifth Street

In 1775 Jacob Rabsom insured a plain three-story brick house and kitchen on the west side of Fifth Street between Market and Arch streets. The roof already was about ten years old, or put up about 1765. This house was substantial, with a width of 22 feet, including a three-foot alley, and depth of 20 feet. The kitchen stood 21 by 13 feet and was two stories high. It could not be readily determined where this structure was on the block, as no Rabsom or Robinson (as one index spelled it) was found at this location in the 1785, 1790 and 1795 sources consulted. Perhaps it was built as a rental.[41]

Fifth Street had some early buyers who also resided there for a long duration. Around 1765 Samuel Clark purchased a lot and built a substantial three-story brick house, where he lived for at least three decades. An insurance policy for March 3, 1767, records that the house was about two years old and measured 20 feet across, including a three-foot alley, by 27 feet deep, with a two-story kitchen 22 by 12 feet--a sizeable investment at this date in this area. Evidently the surveyor considered the house a risk in its incomplete state, however, and specified that the insurance would be void if a fire occurred before the remaining work was completed. The policy also recorded that on March 25, 1774, the carpentry and plastering finally had reached completion, leaving today's reader to puzzle over the seven-year delay. If construction had been slowed by a financial set back, Clark recovered handsomely, for in 1791 he insured a new, finely appointed 3-story house and kitchen at the same location in Fifth Street, presumably adjoining his first house.[42]

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[41]Jacob Rabsom, April 21, 1772, CBk 2, p. 72. The INDE insurance survey index lists Rabsom as Robinson at the same citation under the name category. Macpherson's Directory for the City and Suburbs of 1785 lists a Jacob Rabson at 500 Front Street; whether there's a connection with the 1772 Rabsom is not evident. Other sources included the 1785 Francis White city directory, 1790 census and 1795 Hogan directory. An insurance survey for Capt. John Elliot in November 1807 fits the description of this house, including an alley to its south, but there is no way to know without deed work, if the two houses were the same. The policy evidently was passed from John Knight's heirs through Daniel Dawson. MAS Policy 1523.

[42]The deed for his property purchase was not collected for this research. Clark's 1767 house survey is recorded twice, in CLS #1150 and CBk 2, 111; the Nov. 11, 1791 survey, CBk 2, 254-5. While Clark chose "plain Mantles" for his new house, the first floor rooms were adorned with pilasters, wainscotting, surbase and skirting, and a single cornice round.

Little is known about Samuel Clark other than he was a Quaker board merchant who evidently enjoyed this uncrowded setting, far from the shores of the busy, often dirty port, for he remained at this address, later numbered 38 N. Fifth Street, a few doors north of North Alley, for 30 years. In 1771 he was partners with neighbor Samuel Wetherill, Jr., in a board yard on Sixth Street, near the corner of Market Street, probably at the north end of the corner lot left to William Hudson's daughter, Rachel Emlen.[43]

During the Revolution, Clark served as city assessor (1775) and as manager of the "Society for assisting distressed prisoners" (1776). The historian Robert Proud boarded with Clark at his Fifth Street home in 1779. After the Revolution, with partners Richard Jones and a man named Cresson, Clark supplied boards for the 1790 renovation of the County Court House in preparation for the U.S. Congress. In 1797 he joined with other local Quakers in protest to the "profanity, oaths, and execrations" on the rise in the city.[44]

Clark's son, John L. Clarke, also a merchant, listed himself at 32 N. 5th in the 1811 city directory. Other Clark family members settled on the block by that date: Mrs. Clark, a nurse, lived at 15 South Alley; Joseph Clark, a teacher, at 12 North Fifth; Charles Clark, painter, at 19 North Sixth Street; Catherine Clark, gentlewoman, at 42 North Fifth and Hannah Clark, gentlewoman -- likely Samuel's widow -- at the original house, 38 North Fifth. Michael Clark, perhaps another son of Samuel's, continued to develop real estate on the block in the next decade: in 1829 he built a store on Sixth above High Street, and in 1830 a three-story brick house at 31 North Sixth Street, "second house south of North Street." Clearly the family identified with each other and the

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[43]Heads of Families, 223; Edmund Hogan, The Prospect of Philadelphia and Check on the Next Directory (Philadelphia, 1795), 50, indicates that Clark's was the first numbered residence north of North Street. Joseph Clark lived at the address in "1800 Census, Pennsylvania, Index," p. 53, typescript volume, Mid-Atlantic Region Branch, National Archives. PG Jan. 31, 1771.

[44]PG Oct. 11, 1775 and Sept. 25, 1776; "Autobiography of Robert Proud, the Historian," PMHB 13 (1889), 434; Jones, Clark & Cresson received 25-7-1 for boards in 1790. See Item 135 on a list of contractors for the Congress Hall work. Photostat copy from PA State Archives in INDE library (no number assigned). See also, "Furnishing Plan for the Second Floor of Congress Hall," Appendix A, p. 2, Independence National Historical Park, October 1963. Contractors for Congress Hall located in Biddle, The Philadelphia Directory. PG Jan. 3, 1798. Further research may connect this Samuel Clark with the Samuel Clark who opened a tavern on Chestnut Street west of Fifth Street early in the 18th century. See section on first block of Independence Mall.

neighborhood.[45]

Clark's neighbor on Fifth Street, Jacob Eckfeldt, made "a neat assortment" of sickels at his shop "opposite the [Christ] Church Burying ground." The earliest found advertisement for the "Sign of the Sickel" in April 1772 may not be when Eckfeldt moved to a 60 by 96 foot lot at the south corner of North alley and Fifth Street.[46] Like Clark, he remained in business for many years, selling his hardware well into the 1790s, including four shoe scrapers for the renovation of the County Court house for Congress in 1790 and 300 tomahawks for the War Department in 1792.[47] In the First Census he was listed as a blacksmith, with 21 people in his household. Around 1791 Eckfeldt had a survey made of a 20 foot lot carved out the northern end of his 60 foot frontage on Fifth Street. The survey showed that a fellow German, Adam Zantzinger, then owned the 20 by 96 foot lot at the south corner of North Street.[48]

Eckfeldt continued to list himself as a blacksmith at 30 N. Fifth Street in the city directories through at least 1802, and in 1798 added innkeeper as a second occupation. In 1802 he insured a three-story brick house on the south side of North Street and by 1812 owned several properties between North and South streets, but #30 North Fifth appears to have continued as his family home. In 1811 the city directory lists Jacob Eckfeldt as a blacksmith, (perhaps a son?) at new numbers -- 46 North Fifth Street and 31 North Alley. An 1833 city map identifies Eckfeld Court leading from

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[45]Robinson, The City Directory, 1811; CSBk, #4690; MAS #4898, INDE Reel 32a; Clark's 1830 house adjoined the corner where portrait painter Jacob Eicholtz lodged from 1828 to 1830. Rebecca Beal, Jacob Eicholtz 1776-1842 (Philadelphia, 1969), x, cites the city directories.

[46]PG Apr. 30, 1772, May 12, 1773, May 20, 1789, May 17, 1796; PP May 17, 1775; Sept 23, 1779; Freeman's Journal (FJ) Apr. 27, 1785, in part as recorded in Hannah Benner Roach Index, American Philosophical Society (APS). In 1789 his advertisement specified that his manufacturing featured reaping sickles, but he also made "all kind of other edge tools, both in small and large quantities." PG May 20, 1789. Eckfeldt's lot is included in a 1783 survey for Evan Owen's lot adjoining to his south. Both lots extended west to a four foot alley. Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA. The deed for this lot has not been researched.

[47]"Furnishing Plan, Congress Hall," App. A, p. 2; Ordnance Ledger A 1780-1795, p. 114, United States for Stores Purchased, 1792, Record Group (RG) 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780-1917, National Archives (NA).

[48]Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA. This shows ownership of five lots going south from North Street.

South Street north to one of the family's interior lots.[49]

In the 1770s and 1780s, numerous lots were developed along Fifth Street. William Davis insured his two-story brick dwelling house and kitchen in 1770, evidently as his residence. While the 1790 census lists no Davis, the 1795 directory locates merchant John Davis, perhaps a son, living on Fifth Street in an unnumbered residence, the second door north of North Street, adjoining Samuel Clark.[50] In 1779 Thomas Bourne advertised a lot 30 by 78 feet with two tenements next door to his residence on the west side of Fifth Street between Market and Arch streets.[51] After his death, Bourne's property went up for sale. The 1782 advertisement described a two-story house with a one-story kitchen on a 15 by 78 foot lot, the whole having an alley along its side. With the purchase went ground rent the estate was due on the two adjoining lots, one of which may have been purchased by wool-comber Charles Connor, whose estate in 1784 included a "wooden frame tenement and back buildings" on a 15 by 78 foot lot. Bourne's property thus likely began as a 45-foot lot on Fifth Street, which he divided into three 15 by 78 foot lots.[52]

Thomas Bourne was a man of means who invested in real estate. Nearly forty years earlier, he advertised a house for rent on Market Street, describing it as a large dwelling with a lot and garden, which suggests he came from a prosperous background.[53] In

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[49]Heads of Families, 223. Biddle, The Philadelphia Directory. James Robinson, The Philadelphia Directory...for 1802 (Philadelphia, 1802); James Hardie, The Philadelphia Directory and Register (Philadelphia, 1793); a 1794 advertisement lists Jacob and Adam Eckfeldt selling sickles at their shops in Fifth near Arch and at Race near Fifth. PG May 21, 1794; Prime, Directory of Craftsmen, 1, provides a compilation of Eckfeldt's city directory listings. Third Survey District, Pre-1814 folder, PCA; Adam Eckfeldt insured #30 Fifth Street, a 3-story brick house, in December 1831, Mutual Assurance Survey (MAS) #5138. "A Plan of Philadelphia, or the Stranger's Guide..." Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1832, in Library of Congress (LC) Maps, PA, Phila., 1833, 1:14200, Drayton.

[50]May 1, 1770, CBk 2, policy #1394; Hogan's directory doesn't give the Davis listing a number.

[51]PG Apr. 14, 1779.

[52]PG Jan. 23, Mar. 6, 1782, June 16, 1784. Samuel Clark, the lumber merchant on Fifth Street, served as an executor to Bourne's estate.

[53]PG Sept. 4, 11, 1746.

the 1750s he had a store on Market Street near the wharf. In the 1760s he was in Abington Township and the manager and subscriber for a lottery to raise a steeple on the Second Presbyterian Church on Arch Street.[54]

Bourne's three lots on Fifth Street can be located by their 78 foot depth at the northwest corner of South Alley. The same lot dimensions remain in 19th century city atlases for 1860 and 1885. These properties stood on William Hudson Jr.'s 100 feet of Fifth Street frontage as willed to him by his father. William's Fifth Street lot had the 78 foot depth, instead of the usual 100 feet, because one of the two Market Street lots that extended beyond South Street shortened the depth of his lot 27 feet, 6 inches for a distance of 76 feet. Bourne's house and tenements may have been the structures located on Fifth Street at the northwest corner of South Alley on the 1762 Clark & Biddle map. The three 78-foot deep lots appeared as numbers 14, 16 and 18 North Fifth Street in the 1885 atlas, whereas in 1790-91 these properties were 12, 14 and 16.[55]

From at least 1785 to 1801 Joseph Clark, school master, (perhaps a son of lumber merchant Samuel Clark), resided on the northwest corner of South Alley, at 12 North Fifth Street. The school evidently continued under Jacob Pearce into the 19th century, for George Escol Sellers left recollections of attending classes there as a boy, when he lived in the neighborhood.[56] Jacob Enck, taylor, and then his widow, Catherine, occupied No. 14 North Fifth according to the 1791 and 1795 directories. In the latter year, Catherine had opened a business as huckster and had taken in two boarders, Roseanna Jones, a nurse, and Jesse Lorton, a brassfounder.[57] In the 1791 directory 16 North Fifth, likely Bourne's house, had two tenants, Thomas Randell, clerk, and Burton Wallace, brick layer and mason. The 1795 directory listed French West Indies emigre, Arnaud De Saa, gentleman, at that address. De

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[54]PG Mar. 3, 1757, June 28, 1758, Mar. 12, 1761; Mar. 31, Apr. 30, 1763;

[55]Ernest Hexamer and William Locker, "Map of the City of Philadelphia, Volume 1, 1860," as copied for this research from the original at the Free Library of Philadelphia (FLP); Bromley, Atlas of Philadelphia, xerox copy of the block as provided from files of John Milner Associates, 1998; Heads of Families, 223; Hogan, Prospect, 50.

[56]Macpherson's Directory for the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1785), 23; Heads of Families, 223; Hogan, Prospect, 50; Stafford, Directory...1801. "Memoirs of George Escol Sellers, Book IV, 3, Sellers Collection, APS.

[57]Heads of Families, 223; Hogan, Prospect, 57.

Saa insured the property in 1793, when it was described as a large, three-story frame house, 19 by 33 feet.[58]

Elezer Field constructed another large house on Fifth Street in 1789. The insurance policy covered a new three-story brick house finished plainly, with dimensions-- 19 feet 3 inches by 30 feet, with a 12 by 15 foot two-story kitchen--only slightly greater than others on the block.[59] By that date, the city had moved west enough to have one property owner near Fifth and Market advertise that the locale was "a good place for business, in a public and very improving part of the city."[60] Certainly the decade as the nation's capital made Fifth Street a convenient, even social address. Another French West Indies gentleman, Peter Sequind, lived at 28 North Sixth, five doors from Arnaud Desaa, and James Rees, merchant and scrivener (?), lived at 22 North Fifth Street, in a large, costly new house built and insured in 1793 by Martin Thomas, a house carpenter. The policy described the property as a 20 by 40 foot three-story brick house with a large cistern in the yard. James Rees took over the policy in 1795, but transferred it the next year to Henry Beck, merchant, who in turn passed it to merchants Nathan Barnett and Eliazer Cohen, who owned it through the end of the decade.[61]

The 1795 directory indicates that the section north of North Alley, where Samuel Clark had been in residence since the mid-1760s, had filled in with prominent local and federal officers, as well as with more merchants. James Read, the first address above the alley, served as the inspector of flour for Philadelphia, and five doors to his north, at 44 N. 5th, lived Richard Harrison, Auditor General of the United States. Clark's neighbors on either side were merchants -- Samuel Wilcocks and Garrett Cottringer to the north, and John Davis to the south. The corner lots were occupied by a blacksmith's shop, chip-hat weaver's shop and the Free Quaker Meeting House. Six years later, in 1801, Samuel Clark still resided at 38 N. Fifth, but now signed himself a gentleman in retirement. His neighbors continued to be distinguished: John Gerbier, gentleman, merchants Samuel Wilcocks and E. Cohen, and physician Benjamin Barton. Mariner John Cannon, perhaps a son of James Cannon, core leader in Philadelphia during the Revolution,

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[58]Garvan, The Mutual Assurance Company Papers, I, 238.

[59]Nov. 3, 1789, CBk 2, 233.

[60]PG Dec. 7, 1785.

[61]Garvan, The Mutual Assurance Company Papers, I, 245; Heads of Families, 223; Biddle, The Philadelphia Directory.

lived near the Free Quaker Meeting.[62]

The 1790 census and 1791 directory list seventeen separate street addresses on the west side of Fifth Street; by 1795 the number had climbed to twenty-four. Several individuals remained at the same address throughout the decade: Louis (Lewis) Wolfe, hairdresser, at 10, Joseph Clark, at 12, John James, merchant, at 18, Jacob Eckfeldt at 30, and Samuel Clark at 38-40 N. 5th Street. Two of these listings -- Clark and Eckfeldt -- remained constant on this street for up to three decades. In 1795, with the exception of the two gentleman and several merchants, this block of Fifth retained its characteristic trades, such as cooper, shoemaker, tailor, blacksmith, bricklayer and mason, barber, baker, teacher, and single women living side by side on the street. By 1801 the number of middle class residents had risen --two lawyers and two merchants joined the ranks south of North Alley.[63]

Sixth Street

Available records suggest that development along Sixth Street before the Revolution was restricted to the 200 feet of property between South and North Streets. Only two insurance policies for Sixth Street on this block pre-date the war -- John Garrigues' and Philip Etter's. Susannah Hudson's 1761 sale of the lot just north of South Street to single woman Elizabeth Empson appears to be the same lot on which Garrigues's several buildings were built in the mid-1760s. In 1766 he insured a three story brick house and kitchen, (18 by 26 feet and 14 by 15 feet) and an adjoining two story framed building (16 1/2 by 14 feet, two stories high). The brick house was about four years old and the wooden one was five or six years old, or c. 1760, making it one of the first structures on the block. In September 1770, Garrigues put the property up for sale. The brick house was described as 19 feet on Sixth Street and 26 feet back in South Street, with a 14 by 15 foot kitchen. Cellars were dug under the whole building. Garrigues assured buyers that the good supply of water which ran under a vault in the cellar could supply a pump out in South Street. The wooden tenement next door on Sixth Street measured 16 feet, 9 inches front with a cellar under it, and included a brick kitchen, piazza and wash house set

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[62]Hogan, Prospect, 50-51; Stafford, Directory for 1801, 36; David Hawke, In the Midst of a Revolution The Politics of Confrontation in Colonial America (Philadelphia, 1961), 170, explains Cannon's key role in the city's politics during the critical years leading to the Revolution, while acknowledging a scarcity of information about the man.

[63]Hogan, Prospect, 51; Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 35-6.

back 35 feet from the street. The two adjoining South Street tenements Garrigues described as two-story wooden buildings on a lot 31 foot 2 inch front and 36 feet back. All this property was seized and advertised as subject to a sheriff's sale in September 1772. At that date, the property simply was described as three messuages or tenements and four lots on Sixth Street north of South Street, each measuring 18 by 96 feet.[64]

A December 1793 city survey of the first three lots north of South Street identifies the one deeded to Elizabeth Empson, measuring 18 by 96 feet. The survey shows that two framed houses belonging to John Erwin stood on the eastern 33 feet of the lot facing South Street. The 18 by 96 foot Sixth Street lot adjoining Empson's to the north is recited as that deeded by Susannah Hudson to Jacob Brand. Brand had a two-story frame house under construction on the lot as early as 1762, when a sheriff's sale of the property was advertised. Brand's lot, the survey tells us, was left by Robert Erwin's will to Martha Brand, who was then living there. Erwin very likely was related to Jacob Brand by marriage -- probably his father-in-law.[65]

The 1793 survey gives some other interesting specifics. A water course crossed the Empson lot's South Street line 49 feet, 6 inches east of Sixth Street and crossed its northern property line 41 feet 9 inches from Sixth Street. That gives today's surveyor exact points where the water flowed across the lot. The 1771 description of this property by John Garrigues mentions that the house on the corner had a good supply of water under a vault in the cellar, perhaps the water course referred to in this survey.

The fact that this 1793 survey lists John Erwin as owner of the Empson (Garrigues) lot and that Robert Erwin had willed property to Margaret Brand, suggests that the various individuals, Garrigues, Empson, Erwin and Brand all were inter-related. Tax assessment records for 1783 list three adjoining properties belonging to Robert Irwin [sic]. In 1785, 1786 and 1788 Robert Erwin, Gentleman, owned and resided on the first property and Alexander Elmsely, carpenter, lived in the next dwelling valued at half the amount. Likely Erwin occupied the brick house on the corner and Elmsely lived next door, in the frame house adjoining

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[64]Garrigues policies, April 1766, CLS 1121-2, INDE microfilm roll 18; PG Sept. 20, 1770 and Sept 22, 1773.

[65]Etter policy June 4, 1771, CBk 2, 154; Hudson to Empson, Aug. 19, 1761, H14, 354; to Nushank, Aug. 18, 1766, D52, 383, PCA; Survey for Martha Gardner Brandt, December 9, 1793, Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814. Perhaps Erwin purchased Jacob Brand's property at the sheriff's sale and held title to it while his daughter's family lived there.

that Garrigues insured in 1766.[66]

The 1790 census and 1791 directory locate Robert Erwin, Gentleman -- evidently a son -- at 11 North Sixth, three doors north from Market Street, in a household of four, and carpenter Elmsley still next door, at 13 North Sixth.[67] By 1796 Robert Erwin (also spelled Irwin) was running a boarding house where, according to the 1798 directory, Representative James Schureman of New Jersey and Senator John Brown of Kentucky boarded. That year two other Congressmen, Senator Samuel Livermore of New Hampshire and House member Hezekiah Hosmer of New Jersey, had taken lodgings at 9 North Sixth Street. Up the street, at 39 North Sixth Street, senators Nathaniel Chipman (VT), Richard Stockton (NJ) and Henry Latimer (DE) shared quarters with representatives Lewis R. Morris (VT), James Cochran (NY), and James Bayard (DE).[68]

So popular was 39 North Sixth Street that young British visitor, David Montagu Erskine, took a room there in 1798. On January 1, 1799, he described life in the local boardinghouse: "I am lodged in a house called North Sixth Street, the custom of which is to receive lodgers at so much a week. 10 Dollars is the price in this, & I find wood to burn. There is a parlour appropriated to sit in when you please, & another for those who are in the house to dine in." Erskine further made note of Congressman James Bayard, who, he explained, "is reckoned their first Orator and Statesman, a Lawyer ...& a very well informed sensible man...in my opinion one of the best bred men amongst them." Besides himself and the several Congressmen, Erskine observed there were two judges, three lawyers, one doctor, and two merchants, making a total of twelve boarders. It was clearly a genteel, and presumably, affordable, place to lodge. In 1801 11 North Sixth still was operating as a boarding house, but Elizabeth Hughes then ran the establishment. Perhaps with the removal of the national capital to Washington, D.C. the year before, the Erwin family no longer had incentive to be in the business.[69]

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[66]The tax assessment records for North Ward are on microfilm at INDE.

[67]Heads of Families, 223. This Robert Irwin must be a son, because the PG July 23, 1790 announced the estate of the senior Robert Erwin, with Robert Erwin one of the executors.

[68]Cornelius William Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory for 1798 (Philadelphia, 1798). Both 9 and 11 North Sixth Street appear to be on the north corner of South Alley, based on an 1802 directory which locates South Alley at 7 Sixth Street. Robinson, The Philadelphia Directory...1802, 278.

[69]Erskine notes the street number of his lodgings in a letter to his father on Dec. 9, 1798. Patricia Holbert Menk,

Number 39 North Sixth Street, it appears from the 1802 directory, adjoined North Alley on its south side. Neither the 1791 or 1795 directories list the address; the 1798 directory gives the first reference to the address in its listing for U.S. Congressmen. Hogan's 1795 directory lists 25 North Sixth as the last numbered address on this side of the block, and the last address before North Alley. A 1791 city survey locates 25 North Sixth 60 feet south of North Alley.[70] That 60 feet, according to a 1787 advertisement, belonged to Richard Humphreys, who as early as 1770, described himself as a taylor on Sixth Street between Market and Arch streets. Humphreys was selling off the large and "valuable piece of ground," which measured 60 feet on Sixth by 96 feet on North Street, and had on it four tenements and two stables. Evidently the sixty feet had been divided into four 15-foot properties, each with a house, while two stables accessed at the rear by a four-foot alley on North Street, were shared between them. The house closest to the corner presumably became the fashionable boarding house at 39 North Sixth.[71]

Philip Etter, coach maker, occupied the plain, two-story brick house at 25 North Sixth Street from around 1767, when he purchased a forty-foot lot sixty feet south of North Alley and built the house.[72] In 1785 and 1788 his widow occupied the Etter property. In the latter year, she had opened a store. The 1790 census listed the Etter household under (son?) George Etter, also a coach maker, and the 1791, 1795 and 1801 city directories, all showed Etter as a coach maker at 25 North Sixth Street. In 1795, Solomon Marache, possibly a French immigrant, ran a boardinghouse out of 25 North

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"D.M. Erskine: Letters from America, 1798-1799," The William and Mary Quarterly VI (April, 1949), 251 and 258; Letterbook: David Montagu Erskine #2176, MSS Dept., Alderman Library, U. of VA., as cited in INDE note card file; Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory...1801, 37.

[70]Christian Houck survey, 1791, Third Survey Dist., Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA. The Etter family long owned 25 North Sixth.

[71]PG Oct. 11, 1770 and Ap. 18, 1787. Humphrey's 1770 advertisement offered to buy and sell American made clothing "to promote the industry and wealth of the colonies." See Holt pencil sketch for Commerce to North Streets, based on an 1816 city survey which shows four 15 foot lots and the four-foot alley. Holt, Green Box, General file, INDE. Unfortunately, 39 N. 6th Street is included in the underground parking garage.

[72]June 4, 1771, Contributionship Survey Book 2., 54. Etter's lot was part of the 100 foot Sixth Street frontage south from North Street willed to Jane Hudson, daughter of William Jr. Christian Houck survey, 1791, Third Survey Dist., Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA, locates the lot 60 feet south of North Alley.

Sixth, where besides George Etter, hatter John Cresson, and the cook for City Tavern, James German, also lived.[73]

Local baker William Charles Nushank likely settled at 19 North Sixth Street shortly after purchasing a 16 by 96 foot lot from Susannah Hudson in 1766.[74] The 1780 city tax assessment record shows Nushank's baking trade valued at 600 and his dwelling at 2700, indicating he had invested a substantial sum in his business and real estate. Nushank appeared on all the tax records viewed for the 1780s, as well as the 1790 census, where his surname is spelled Nusshag, and the 1795 directory, where it's Nassau. By 1801, Nushank has retired; another baker, Henry Young, appears at 19 North Sixth, along with a gilder, Charles Vivant.[75] A 1791 survey locates Nushank's lot 116 feet (the fifth lot) south of North Street. That survey was made for Christopher Kouck, who that year owned the 30-foot lot at the corner of North Street.[76]

The tax assessments of the 1780s list Abraham Wills as the owner of two properties adjoining Nushank. One was rented by Conrad Steinmetz, a cooper, and the other by John Stout a shopkeeper, both houses valued at 360. This may be the properties listed as 15 and 17 North Sixth in the 1791 city directory, where for the 1790 census, Fred Link, drayman and Michael Albright, cedar cooper, lived. On Nushank's north side, according to the 1783 tax record, William Hudson, a wool comber, occupied a house valued at 450, on Jannet Jones' Estate, which paid ground rent to Susannah Hudson, marking it as within the lot she inherited which stretched 100 feet north of South Street on Sixth Street. William Hudson had an occupation that year worth only 20 pounds. (It appears he didn't enjoy the resources of his ancestors.) In 1790 William Hudson is head of household with four white males over 16, 3 under 16, and eight free white females, including heads of family. The next year, in the first city directory, Hudson is listed as an occupant of 21 North Sixth Street, along with laborer, Sampson Davis, who added 3 boys and 4 females to the people under one roof. The 1795 directory, however, dropped William for Jennet Hudson, gentlewoman, who, it seems, shared the house with Henry Henson, brushmaker, Alexander McIntosh, woodsawer, and several others. In 1801 no

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[73]Heads of Families, 223; Biddle, Directory 1791; Hogan, Prospect, 54; Stafford, Directory 1801.

[74]Susannah Hudson to Charles William Nushank, Aug. 18, 1766, Deed Book 52, 383;

[75]Tax Assessment records, Philadelphia, North Ward, on Microfilm, INDE; Heads of Families, 223; Hogan, Prospect, 54; Stafford, Philadelphia Directory.

[76]Christopher Kouck survey, 1791, Third Survey Dist, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA.

Hudsons lived on the street, and 21 North Sixth was occupied only by John Bonnett, copper plate engraver.[77]

At least two new structures were built after the Revolution on Sixth Street south of South Alley, both by William Moore, a Hudson heir through marriage. In 1785 he insured a two-story brick stable on the south corner of Sixth and South Alley that measured 19 feet front and 36 feet deep. According to a notation on a 1783 city survey of the properties at Sixth and Market streets, Thomas Moore, husband of Sally Emlen, a Hudson heir, owned the 20' by 68'2 lot at the corner of South Street as of April 12, 1784. Perhaps William is Thomas's son. In 1789 William insured a new three-story brick house and kitchen "between High Street and South Street" that measured 14 feet 9 inches by 28 feet with two rooms to a floor. This may be the address numbered 7 North Sixth Street in the 1791 directory, where William Simmonds, principal clerk in the U.S. Auditor's office, lived. In 1795, however, Simmons, then an accountant, lived at an unnumbered address between 7 North Sixth and South Alley, and Josiah Biglow, MD, and George Rutter, a "sign and ornamental painter of more than ordinary ability," lived at 7 North Street. Rutter's artistic talent was recognized in 1788 by John Penn, who observed that his depiction of Benjamin Franklin on a tavern sign had "a strong likeness." During the Revolution, Rutter, with Martin Jugiez, also painted and gilded the new state arms which replaced the King's Arms in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.[78]

City directories show changing addresses and conflicting information for the properties between Market Street and South Alley. The 1790-91 census and directory listing shows only Joseph Donaldson, gentleman, at 1 North Sixth, followed by William Simmons at 7, which may be the house mentioned above insured in 1789 by William Moore. The 1795 directory adds 5 North Sixth, where Peter

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[77]See Tax Assessment Record, North Ward, for 1783, INDE micro. Heads of Family, 223; Biddle, Philadelphia Directory; Hogan, Prospect; and Stafford, Philadelphia Directory.

[78]Nov. 1, 1785, CLS 2213 and April 7, 1789, CBk 2, 237; Heads of Families , 54; Biddle, Directory 1791; Hogan, Prospect, 54; Charles Henry Hart, "Notes and Queries," PMHB 29 (1905), 505, includes the diary quote about Rutter's Franklin, as does "John Penn's Journal of a Visit to Reading, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Lancaster, in 1788," PMHB 3 (1879), 285; The Petition of George Rutter and Martin Jugiez, 1785, Petitions, General Assembly Papers, PA State Archives and INDE photostat #1080. This petition was resubmitted to the legislature nearly ten years later, when it was published in the Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser, Mar. 8, 1794, p. 2. City directories for the 1790s indicate that Rutter must have kept his shop elsewhere, as his directory listings and advertisements refer to South Fifth or to South Fourth Streets.

Lohra, notary public, lived, followed by 7 and the unnumbered address, occupied by William Simmons. The 1801 directory lists Joseph Donaldson at 3 -- perhaps the small lot reserved in 1810 by Donaldson's widow, Mary, when she sold off the corner lot[79] -- Josiah Matlack, city surveyor, at 5, Catherine Simmons, widow (of William), at 7, and Robert Gill, at 9, presumably the address assigned for the unnumbered listing in 1795. The 1802 directory, however, lists South Alley at 7 Sixth Street, which suggests that 9 Sixth Street was across the alley. This seems to be an error, as the 1795 city directory, the only one that specifies cross-street locations, clearly places 11 North Sixth there and the other city directories throughout the decade show Robert Erwin at that address, the owner of two lots directly north of the alley.[80]

A city survey plot plan for the section from Market to South Street, presumably a composite of individual surveys to 1814, gives no street numbers, but does lay out the probable 3, 5, 7, and 9 sequence. It shows the 94.6 foot lot at the Market and Sixth Street corner, followed to its north by a small 46-foot lot that adjoined a 10 foot court, which Mary Donaldson reserved for her family when she sold the original corner property. From the court to South Street are three lots, likely 5, 7 and 9. This lot pattern appears different, however, on the 1860 Hexamer and Locher map of the block, which shows 3 and 5 Sixth Street south of the court and two unnumbered buildings between the court and South Street, presumably 7 and 9.[81]

The 200-foot stretch between North Street and Arch Street also has ambiguities about its development during the 1790s. The 1795 city directory indicates that merchant Samuel Sterrett lived on Sixth between North Alley and Arch Street, but no number is assigned for the address. The 1801 directory, which also gives addresses by streets, lists 61 as the next number on Sixth after 39 North Sixth Street. According to the 1795 directory, 61 is the first address on the north side of Arch Street. It's possible that Sterret was listed in this section of Sixth Street as a resident of one of the new houses erected in 1794 at the corner of Sixth and Arch Streets, but in 1801 there seems to be no equivalent

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[79]Survey of northeast corner of High and 6th Street, M Donaldson to S. North, Apr. 15, 1810, Third Survey Dist., Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA.

[80]According to a city survey dated Dec. 20, 1793, Robert Erwin died on June 30, 1793, and John Erwin and Martha Gardner Brand together inherited the two adjoining lots directly north of South Street. Third Survey Dist., Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA.

[81]Third Survey Dist., 1814, PCA; "Map of the City of Philadelphia, Volume 1," Surveyed by Ernest Hexamer & William Locker, (Philadelphia, 1860).

address.[82]

Between South and North Alleys, the directories once again give confusing information. The 1791 Biddle directory gives a sequence of 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 25 and 27, whereas the 1794 directory omits 23 and 27 North Sixth, leaving only seven numbered addresses -- 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, and 25 -- and one unnumbered. Godfrey Hawker, a bisquit maker, occupied the unnumbered house [no doubt #23 in Biddle's 1791 listing] between 21 and 25 North Sixth. The 1801 Stafford directory doesn't list 17 North Sixth, making the sequence 11, 13, 15, 19, 21, 25 and 39 North Sixth. As mentioned, 39 was on the south side of North Street, on a 60-foot lot which a 1787 advertisement said had three buildings and two stables already on it. Why these various property numbers are not listed in the city directories cannot be readily solved.[83]

Market Street:

Laid out at the city's outset as a prominent 100-foot street, High or Market Street emerged in the 18th century as a commercial center bordered by residences of many of the city's wealthy merchants and store owners. The city's development westward, toward the Schuylkill River, spearheaded along this central corridor. By the mid-nineteenth century, when visuals of this block are available, the solid commercial nature of the neighborhood was evident. An 1854 Devereux sketch of the new five-story granite-faced store erected for Caleb Cope at 183 Market Street shows a mix of 18th century three-story row houses with four and five-story buildings. A fire in 1856 destroyed the structures at the northeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets, all of which were replaced immediately. What followed, then, as seen in a c. 1859 photograph looking down Market Street from Sixth Street, was a concentration of five-story buildings to mid-block, where a scattering of more modest scaled buildings, possibly vestiges from the 18th century, stood on either side of the Cope building (now number 513 Market), at the Fifth Street end of the block.[84]

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[82]Sterret served as clerk for the General Assembly in 1780-81. See Sterret's listings, PG, Accessible Archives, and PJ Nov. 21, 1781. There are no insurance surveys for this section of Sixth Street in the 18th century, but Daniel Richards insured three new houses at Sixth and Arch in August 1794. CBk 3, p. 8.

[83]Hogan, Prospect, 54; Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 37.

[84]Gleason's Pictorial, Feb. 18, 1854, p. 112, described the Cope building as "new and truly beautiful" and "one of the most massive and imposing edifices" in Philadelphia. Photograph

Early in the 1760s the north side of Market Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets had a scattering of development. In March 1763 Joseph Pratt, cabinet maker, notified his customers that he'd moved his business from Fourth Street to Market between Fifth and Sixth, at the "Sign of the Coffin."[85] Four months earlier Jane Hudson, in the year her father (William Hudson, 2nd) died, insured a new three story brick house "at the north corner of High and Fifth" where her tenant, John Obenhainer, dwelled. The house measured 17 by 36 feet with a 2-story kitchen behind, 10 by 12 feet. Next door to the west, Jane's brother, Samuel Hudson, and neice, Mary Hudson, leased a lot 17 by 96 feet back to a four foot alley to Adam Ekert (Ekhart), a board merchant and Elder in the Dutch Reformed Church. Jane's sister, Susannah Hudson, owned the third lot west of Fifth.[86] A city survey dated 1791 shows these three corner lots all measuring 17 by 96 feet to a four-foot alley into Fifth Street; likely they had been laid out in the 1760s by William Hudson's heirs.[87]

Most of the other lots sold on Market Street were larger, to appeal to wealthier and more fashionable buyers, befitting the prominence of Market Street. At some date prior to 1764, Benjamin Swett, a prosperous Newcastle tanner and local Quaker, acquired 32 feet of frontage on the north side of High "a little above Fifth" -- probably the 32 by 200 foot lot willed to Mary Howell in Hudson's will. In 1764 Swett divided the property into two lots, each 16 feet breadth on High and 120 feet back. He took the back ends of these lots to create two South Street lots, each 16 by 80. On one of the back lots, as mentioned earlier, he had already erected a "new well built frame building designed for a stable and Chaise house." The High Street lots, as laid out in Hudson's will, extended 200 feet north to South Street, where the buyers of means logically would locate their stables. In the interest of selling the property, however, Swett offered an option to convert the outbuilding to a residence and sell it as a separate property.

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printed in Jackson, Market Street. The fire occurred April 30, 1856. Views of the ruins of the Sixth and Market buildings can be seen in the Library Company collections.

[85]PG Mar. 17, 31, 1763.

[86]CLS #764, Dec. 6, 1762; Mary and Samuel Hudson to Adam Ekert, Mar. 1, 1766, Deed Book D15, 308, PCA; PG Aug. 4, 1763. Samuel Hudson advertised imported clothing and textiles at his store at Third and Chestnut, no doubt on property his grandfather purchased in 1695. PG Apr. 14, 1763.

[87]Survey for William Guier, 1791, shows all three lots and the four foot alley. Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA.

Swett likely hoped that the stables would tempt a future buyer to build on High Street, but in case that failed, it seems Swett was hedging his bets.[88]

In 1762 leather worker Henry Welfling (also spelled Welsling) purchased a High Street lot, 18 by 200 feet, from Philadelphia merchant John Head, husband of Mary Hudson, (daughter of Samuel) who had inherited two 27 (+) foot lots on High Street some 78 feet west of Fifth Street. Benjamin Swett's lot bordered Welfling to the west, which indicates that Welfling bought the western end of Mary and John Head's large lot. In September 1779 the Pennsylvania Gazette listed Welfling as a traitor and his property forfeited. The paper announced the pending public sale of his two-story brick house and kitchen and its 18 by 110-foot lot on the north side of High Street. Welfling also lost his yearly ground rent from the two-story brick tenement on the 90-foot deep South Street lot which Welfling had sold off in 1765 to Abraham Peters.[89]

In 1768 sheriff Redman seized and put up for sale George Klein's property on Market Street. The messuage (house) sat on a lot 18 by 200 feet (or to South Street) and was bounded east with John Head and west with Henry Wolfing (also spelled Welfling).[90] As Welfling had purchased the westernmost 18 feet of John Head's 57-foot frontage, George Klein's lot evidently was the middle of three

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[88]PG Jan.5, 1764. Benjamin Swett received 13 hits on the Accessible Archives index. His tanyard, "Convenient Brick House," his garden, bark and mill houses, stable and several other buildings were advertised after his death, first for rent, and then for sale. PG Apr. 5, 1775, Aug. 28, 1778. Swett is mentioned in the company of prominent Philadelphia Quakers, (Henry Drinker and Samuel Samsom), in correspondence between George and Sarah Dillwyn. "Correspondence of George and Sarah Dillwyn," PMHB 17 (1893), 97.

[89]Unrecorded deed recited in a property survey of 1800.Third Survey District, Volume 67, pre-1814, #33, PCA; for references to John Head, see PG Oct. 3, 1754 and July 8, 1762. PG Sept. 1, 1779. A 1750 deed for a Fifth Street lot from William Hudson, identified Welsling as a cordwainer. His trade working in leather may have made him a business associate of tanner Hudson. William Hudson to Henry Welsling, Mar. 10, 1750, Deed Book 11, p. 337, PCA.

[90]PG Nov. 3, 1768; "Notes and Queries," PMHB 7 (1883), 495; Welfing is listed as subject to estate forfeiture in 1780. Roland M. Baumann, compiler and editor, Guide to the Microfilm of the Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments 1775-1790 in the Pennsylvania Archives (Harrisburg, 1978), 347.

Head family lots, each about the same size. [91]

Mary Hudson Howell (married to Jacob Howell, deceased), deeded c. 1767 her large lot situated about 132 feet west of Fifth Street and 232 east of Sixth Street, to Quaker merchant, John Pemberton (1727-1795). The lot measured 32 feet, one inch on Market Street and 200 feet north to South Street. At the same time, Pemberton acquired an adjoining South Street lot (16 by 83 feet) to the west from Mary Hudson (single woman, daughter of William II) that had been rented the year before by George Fisk, a city watchman.[92] On May 28, 1767, Pemberton laid the foundation of his "New ho in high Street," and in January 1769 received an insurance policy on his sizeable, "Quite new" three-story brick dwelling, 28.5 feet by 42 feet, with a one-story piazza and small room, 15 by 20 feet, and two-story wash house and kitchen, 38 feet by 16.5 feet. John F. Watson in his Annals of Philadelphia called it the first brick house on Hudson's Square, a declaration this research can refute (see above, Jane Hudson's new 3-story brick house insured in 1762). Certainly it was one of the earliest and the largest. In the tax assessments for 1787, his dwelling was valued at L2300, more than any other on the north side of High between Fifth and Sixth Streets, and therefore likely the finest on the block.[93]

John Pemberton, brother of the "King of the Quakers," Israel Pemberton, began his career as a West Indies trader, while actively participating in the founding (1756) and promotion of the "Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures." His work often took him to frontier settlements where he showed his faith in divine protection during dangerous

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[91]Mary Hudson inherited two 27-foot lots which gave her 54 feet on Market Street. She and her husband evidently divided the frontage into three lots instead, each measuring close to 18 feet on Market. Time did not allow a thorough deed search for these properties. The deeds, only available on microfilm, are often difficult to read, and the machines, operated by quarters for 15 minutes, frequently are occupied or broken.

[92]Mary Howell was the daughter of William Hudson II. PMHB Index, 790; The deed was not located in this research. The grantor-grantee is referred to on #30 survey, and the distance from Fifth Street is determined by survey for William Sheaff, 1800, Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA; Mary Hudson to George Fitz, Aug. 30, 1767, Deed Book D36, 172, PCA.

[93]Quotations from "John Pemberton's Copy of the Pennsylvania Pocket Almanack for 1767..." Notes and Queries, PMHB 29 (1905), 251; CBk 2, 6; Watson and Hazard, Annals, 1, 230; Historical Base Map, 1787, compiled by Anna Coxe Toogood, 1986; Philadelphia County Tax Assessments, 1787, on microfilm at INDE.

encounters and where he developed a profound and outspoken respect for the Native American chiefs.[94]

Shortly after his move to Hudson's Square, Pemberton advertised ironmongery and metal for sale from his house, a few doors from Samuel Emlen. A renowned Quaker minister by this time, Pemberton zealously led the anti-war group to passive resistance at the outbreak of the Revolution and was held responsible for the publication of a testimony in 1777 "declaring their attachment to the British government." Thomas Paine reacted with scorn in his Crisis paper with, "O! ye fallen, cringing, priest-and-Pemberton-ridden people!" Patriots came to arrest Pemberton in September for his active resistance, but he refused to submit. "A file of musketeers" took him forcibly while Charles Willson Peale, in charge of the arrest, broke into his desk and seized many of his papers relative to Quaker meetings. Pemberton and numerous other Quaker leaders were banished to Virginia. En route, in Reading, John Pemberton and James Starr were attacked and badly beaten by a mob before their guards could rescue them. In Winchester, Virginia, the Quaker passivists suffered further hardships, until finally in 1778, they were released to return to their families in Philadelphia.[95]

Pemberton's prominence may have saved his property on High from forfeiture, but it did not spare him loss in more personal ways. Strained and elderly, his sister-in-law Mary Pemberton and husband Israel both died soon after the Winchester ordeal. Perhaps with their harsh treatment still in mind, John Pemberton announced to the Pennsylvania Council in 1782 his intention to go traveling "to call sinners to repentance." He probably was still absent in 1785 when Mrs. Pemberton, gentlewoman, was listed at "Market b. Fifth and Sixth-streets" in Francis White's directory. During the next decade John Pemberton listed himself as a gentleman at 213 High Street until 1794, just prior to his death. From 1795 through

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[94]As quoted in Theodore Thayer, Israel Pemberton, "King of the Quakers," (Philadelphia, 1943), 5, 20, 106-7, 152; "Historical Notes," by Benjamin Smith Barton (in 1789), PMHB 9 (1885), 334-5.

[95]John Pemberton with Daniel Stanton also collected a Friends directory for the Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia. "A Directory of Friends in Philadelphia, 1757-1760," PMHB 16 (1892), 219-238, from the Pemberton Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereinafter cited HSP); Thayer, Israel Pemberton, 216-7, 222, 225-31; Robert P. Falk, "Thomas Paine and the Attitude of the Quakers to the American Revolution," PMHB 63 (1939), 307.

1800 Hannah Pemberton, his widow, appeared at the same address.[96]

Samuel Emlen (1697-1783), Pemberton's neighbor three doors to the west, was married to William Hudson's daughter, Rachel. Advertisements in 1753 and 1761 locate him at his store, Sign of the Golden Heart, on High Street opposite the Market, or near Second Street. Samuel moved west to Hudsons Square in the Spring of 1771, only months before Rachel died of a "lingering and tedious illness."[97] The Pennsylvania Gazette announced his new house to be a few doors from John Pemberton and nearly opposite to Widow Masters (in the 1790s known as the Executive Mansion). At his new location Emlen continued to sell medicines, a few of which he specifically mentioned as "BATEMAN pectoral drops, Turlingtonbalsam, Godfreygeneral cordial, Daffeyelixir, British oil, Frauncisstrengtheining elixir, Chasepills, Andersonditto, Bostockelixir, Hooperpills, Radcliffelixir, Squiregrand elixer, Hillbalsam of honey, and tinctures of centuary and golden rod." Evidently he moved into one of the two new adjoining (but separated by a three-foot alley) brick houses that his neice(?), Sarah Emlen, insured in 1770. Each of these well-appointed three- story houses measured 21 feet front and 41 feet back with two story kitchens and piazzas. Samuel Emlen remained there until his death in 1783, at 87 years old. That final year, Emlen was still in business selling medicines from his home.[98]

Samuel Emlen's son-in-law, Thomas Moore, owned the two houses

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[96]Thayer, Israel Pemberton, 230-32; PG June 13, Nov. 14, 1771; May 1782,; Pennsylvania Packet (hereinafter PP) Mar. 10, 1789, Roach file, APS; PA. Archives IX, 551.

[97]PG June 13, Sept. 19, 1771.

[98]Glenn, "William Hudson,"PMHB 15, 343; PMHB Index, 303; another Samuel Emlen, whose dates are 1730-99, perhaps a son, became a noted Quaker minister. Ibid.; Sarah Emlen's policy dated Sept. 3, 1770. Each of the two-story piazzas measured 86' by 10' and kitchens, 20'6" by 14'. CBk 2, 39; PG May 24, 1753, April 9, 1761, June 13, 1771, June 4, Nov. 8, 1783; two of Sarah Emlen's executors were family members, Sarah and Thomas Moore. Could Sarah Moore be the married daughter of Samuel Emlen? Could the Sarah Emlen who insured the Market Street houses in 1770 be Samuel's daughter, or was she a niece, daughter of Hannah and George Emlen? Samuel Emlen's death notice printed in PG Nov. 5, 1783, recorded that he was interred at the Friends burial ground. The obituary described him as a man who, through temperance and exercise, lived a long life, free from sickness. He was affluent but generous to the indigent. "His good nature, and universal love to mankind, engaged the esteem of all who knew him--he avoided the busy scenes of public life, and chose to travel in the path of peace."

and lived in the easternmost one of them in the 1787 tax assessment, and merchant Amos Foulke lived in the other. Moore identified himself as a gentleman, kept a charriot, wagon and two horses on the property. Both houses were assessed at 1300, the second highest assessment figure (Pemberton's being the highest) for this block of Market Street, indicating the houses were maintained for high-end living. Moore owned property on Sixth and on Arch Streets on this block as well, likely only a part of his real estate holdings.[99]

Another of William Hudson's heirs lived on Market Street during the Revolution, at the corner of Fifth Street. In 1779 grandson Samuel Hudson, advertised the sale of "Bottled Cyder, of an excellent quality." Interested persons could bring their bottles to have them filled, or, upon request, Hudson would send someone to fetch them. On the 1787 tax assessment Samuel Hudson still lived on the corner, in a house which, like the two adjoining his to the west, was valued at $900.[100]

In 1783 Samuel's neighbor three doors west of the corner, Andrew Carson, advertised the three-story brick house and kitchen with a room over it, and stables with a hay loft, for sale. The lot dimensions, 17 feet, 6 inches by 100 foot to a four foot alley, clearly indicated its place as part of the original William Hudson 52 foot corner property. Carson had been on the premises for several years, but after his advertisement he appeared on the next block west, as a grocer. The property may have continued as a rental, with Doctor Dunlap there in 1787, shopkeeper John Cline in 1790, and John Cline in partnership with Jacob Miller, as grocers, in 1795.[101]

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[99]See historic base map for Market Street, 1787, prepared by Toogood, 1986, from information in North Ward tax assessments for 1787.

[100]PG June 9, 1779; Samuel's widow may have been there in 1800, as a Mrs. Hudson, Widow, appears in the Pennsylvania U.S. Census for that year, p. 148, the only Hudson listed in Philadelphia. Joseph Jackson notes that Samuel is the last of the male line of Hudsons. This may not be true, as another advertisement in the PG for 1779 places Christian Hudson on Arch between Fifth and Sixth, or, likely, at the north end of Hudson's Square. Jackson, Market Street, 96; PG June 9, 1779.

[101]PG July 23, 1783. Andrew Carson, living on the premises, advertised the property, but it's not clear that he owned it. There is no mention of the Hudson heirs in his advertisement. Roach also lists PP May 12, 1779, July 22, 1783 as Carson entries on Market Street. Carson went on to serve in 1787 on the electing committee of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the relief of Free Negroes, having earlier been a

The Revolution brought forfeitures for two Market Street property owners. In 1779 the Pennsylvania Gazette announced that long-time Philadelphia merchant and community leader, Thomas Yorke, had been deemed a traitor for carrying on trade with the enemy, and his "elegant three story brick messuage and kitchen, frame stable and chaise house," on Market Street, with its 18 by 200-foot lot, would be sold at public auction. Yorke's earlier public service in 1759-61 as a manager of the lottery for paving Philadelphia Streets and as commissioner for the Pennsylvania Assembly to protect the Provincial trade and sell the Provincial Ship of War, did not weigh in his favor.[102] This research did not reveal when and from whom Yorke purchased the property, but based on the lot size, it may have been the fourth lot west from Fifth Street, part of the 26-foot lot left to Hudson's granddaughters, Hannah and Rachel Owen, which retained its 18 by 200-foot dimensions into the 19th century.[103]

When Yorke's house was put up for sale in September 1779, "the Honourable Charles Thompson [sic], Esquire," secretary to the Continental Congress, was in residence. The tax assessment records for North Ward from 1780 to 1782 show Thomson in the house owned by William Bell, Esq., with ground rent to Thomas Moore. It probably was no accident that Thomson occupied Bell's house, for Bell, like Yorke, had been attainted a traitor by the Pennsylvania Assembly. His neighbors adjoining to the west were Thomas Moore and Samuel Emlen. Charles Thompson, Esq., as the tax records listed him, demonstrated his wealth in the valuation of his trade at L1800, and his two Negroes at L1200. Thomson, the "Sam Adams of Philadelphia," probably was as knowledgeable about the politics of the Revolution as any man, and his proximity to the State House where Congress met may have made his Market Street home a gathering place for men of state. Certainly Thomson had political connections and influence.

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contact for the sale of a mulatto slave for Robert Robinson of Bucks County. PG Oct. 12, 1774, May 23, 1787. Carson then was at Seventh between Market and Arch. White, Philadelphia Directory 1785, 13. The deed work has not been done for these lots.

[102]PG Apr. 25, 1745, Sept. 5, Nov. 28, 1751 (at store in Water Street, selling iron goods and good Pennsylvania rum), May 1, 1755, June 23, July 5, Aug. 9, 1759, Mar. 5, May 7, 1761, Oct. 8, 1761, Oct. 7, 1762, Sept. 8, 1763, Apr. 30, 1767, Sept 1, 1779; Votes 8/6624, Feb. 2, 1771, as cited by Roach, Index, APS. Yorke lived in Berks Co. and was elected a Representative from there in 1756-7. PG Oct. 7, 1745, Oct. 6, 1757. In 1771 he was jailed as a debtor, indicating his unstable circumstances. He fled the city during the Revolution, but was captured in 1781. PJ June 30, 1781, from Roach, Index, APS. Yorke for some reason did not insure this elegant house. Insurance Survey Index, INDE.

[103]Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, #33, PCA.

His title of secretary was not just as recorder, but more as a state department head. Thus John Jay in 1783 pressed him to write a political history of the Revolution, because he was confidant that Thomson could deliver a work "highly important to the Cause of Truth with posterity." [104]

Another distinguished patriot who lived on this block of Market Street during the Revolutionary War was Owen Biddle, who remained in residence for four years, from 1778, when he was collecting demands on the late Quarter Master General for Forage, to 1780 and 1781, when he is listed on the tax assessment records at the house of Andrew Carsons. Carsons advertised the property for rent in 1783, locating it three doors west of the corner of Fifth Street.[105]

An East India merchant with a store at Fourth and Market streets, Owen Biddle had a history as an active civic leader, serving as manager and promoter of a domestic silk manufactory in Philadelphia (1771), as a street commissioner (1774) and a committee member to superintend the construction of a salt petre manufactory (used to make ammunition) early in the war. In 1776, he was elected Justice of the Peace for the State of Pennsylvania and member of the Council of Safety, and in 1777, President of the Pennsylvania Board of War. Brother to Clement Biddle and a Quaker, Owen joined with Samuel Wetherill, Jr. and others in 1781 in the formation of the Free Quaker Meeting and subscribed to the construction of its meeting house at Fifth and Arch streets.[106]

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[104] PG Sept. 21, 1779; Philadelphia County Tax Assessment Ledgers, North Ward, 1780, 1781, 1782, INDE Reel 12; Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council, Mar. 12, 1783, Colonial Records of Pennsylvania XIII, (Harrisburg, 1853), 529. Jay to Thomson, July 19, 1783, as quoted in Kenneth R. Bowling, "Good-by 'Charle': The Lee-Adams Interest and the Political Demise of Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, 1774-1789," PMHB 100 (1976), 314-315. Charles Thomson served as secretary to the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1789, and in retirement translated the New Testament. Albert J. Edmunds, "Charles Thomson's New Testament: A Description of Three MSS. In the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," PMHB 15 (1891), 327.

[105] PG Oct. 31, 1778. Biddle's advertisement only gave the block on Market, making it impossible to locate which house Biddle occupied. The tax assessments for North Ward, roll 531, INDE, however, show him in Andrew Carson's house which, according to Carson's advertisement, was three doors from Fifth Street. PG July 23, 1783. Holt numbers this property old 203 and new 503 Market Street."Addresses, old and new,"

[106] PG Jan. 31, 1771, May 22, Nov. 17, 1773, Feb. 23, 1774, July 5, 1775, Sept. 4, 1776, Apr. 23, 1777. Ritter, Philadelphia

Lewis (also spelled Ludwig/Lodwick) Karcher, kept an office on this block of Market Street (but not specifically located) while serving as Commissary of the Province in 1776. Karcher outside the military seems to have resided on Fifth Street between Race and Vine streets, owned a stable in Fifth Street, and other property at Sixth, near the corner of Cherry Alley, and ended his career bankrupt in 1789.[107]

At the Sixth Street end of Market Street Adam Ekart had acquired by 1775 the corner lot, the westernmost piece of the 100-foot frontage on High Street left by William Hudson to his daughter, Rachael Emlen. (It's not clear if he was the first purchaser). In February 1776, Ekart insured two three-story brick houses. The house on the corner measured 17 by 33 feet with an 11 by 18-foot kitchen two and a half stories high. Adjoining to its east stood a new house measuring 20 by 48 feet, with a 19 foot, 6 inch by 12 foot two-story kitchen and a piazza enclosed with wood. Ekart that day also insured a house where Uriah Woolman lived, described as on the north side of High Street between Fifth and Sixth streets. This three-story house, like the one on the corner of Sixth, measured 17 by 33 feet. Possibly Ekart, the board merchant and elder in the Dutch Reformed Church who, ten years earlier, had leased a lot on High Street from the Hudsons near the corner of Fifth Street, at the east end of the block, had built both of these structures at that date, and added the larger, new house near Sixth Street, in 1776.[108]

A 1783 city survey for neighbors Charles Syng and Michael Gunkel of the northeast corner at Sixth and Market Streets indicates that Ekart's corner property had been sold. It then belonged to Jacob Spiers (Sprues?) and N[athan] and D[avid]

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and Her Merchants, 140-141. Jonathan Potts, M.D., "Death of Major Anthony Morris, Jr.," PMHB 1 (1877), 177, ft. nt. 1. Biddle also served as secretary to the prestigious American Philosophical Society. PG Jan. 12, Mar. 15, 1780. Early in his career, Biddle advertised himself as a clock maker, which no doubt helped his nomination to the A.P.S. PG Nov. 15, 1764.

[107]PG June 28, 1764, PP Jan. 16, 1779, July 25, 1780, Aug. 22, Oct. 3, 1789; Colonial Records X, 638, 698, 712,; CBk 2, 141-5, for two houses in Sixth near corner of Cherry ally. All above as cited in Roach Index, APS.

[108]Ekart's three policies all date, Feb. 6, 1776. CBk 2, 145, 147. Accessible Archives showed that Uriah Woolman was a merchant in partnership with William Sykes, owners of the Brigantine Charlestown Packet, Samuel Wright, Master. Their ship made regular runs to Charleston, South Carolina, carrying passengers and/or freight. PG July 21, 28, Oct. 27, Dec. 22, 1773; Apr. 27, June 8, Aug. 17, Oct. 5, 1774; Mar. 1, 1775.

Sellers. The lot east of Sellers' lot, according to the survey, belonged to Charles Syng.[109] Spiers' lot on the corner and the Sellers and Syng lots all extended north 140 feet, to a Sixth Street lot also owned by Syng, which extended north 40 feet and east the width of the three Market Street lots, or some 70 feet. Adjoining Syng's Sixth Street lot to the north, the survey showed that Thomas Moore, husband of Sally Emlen, a Hudson heir, owned the 20' by 68'2 lot at the corner of South Street.[110]

The first two city directories of 1785 and 1791 listed Joseph Donaldson, gentleman, at the Sixth Street corner house, numbered 1 Sixth Street in the latter directory.[111] In 1787 Donaldson's tax assessment was valued at L1250, including a coach house, indicating he had purchased the property, presumably from Jacob Spiers. Donaldson's widow Mary Donaldson, lived there until 1810, when she had a survey of the lot made before selling the Market Street property to druggist, Stephen North. The survey indicates that she deeded only 94 feet 3 inches of the 140 feet depth shown on an earlier survey, leaving a 45-foot lot for herself on the north end. She also reserved the westernmost of two adjoining privies at the back of North's lot; Stephen North got the other.[112]

Towards the close of the Revolution, patriot Nathan Sellers (1751-1830) moved into the adjoining three-story brick house described as "one door east of" Sixth Street, numbered 231 High Street (modern 533) in the 1791 city directory, where he and his

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[109]Syng lived a block east on Market Street according to PG Apr. 10, 1782; five years earlier, Syng advertised his imported liquors, coffee, and other goods at his store in Market Street, "a few doors above the Black Horse." PG Apr. 23, 1777. Syng's death notice appears in PG Jan. 22, 1794.

[110]Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA; Thomas Moore married Sally Emlen in 1773. PG Jan. 20, 1773.

[111]Presumably this is the son of Joseph Donaldson, hatter, who advertised Wicacoa lots for sale in the 1750s. During the Revolution Col. Joseph Donaldson was appointed to Congress and advertised land for sale in Chester County. In 1770 and 1771 he advertised passage to Dublin on board a ship he co-owned with other Philadelphians. PG July 11, 1751, May 16, Oct. 4, 1754, Dec. 13, 1770, June 20, 1771, Sept. 1, 1778. Biddle, City Directory...1791, ; Hogan, Prospect...1795, gives no address, but lists Donaldson as part of Sixth Street.

[112]The Survey is dated Apr. 15, 1810. Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA. This survey indicates that Mary Donaldson's and Stephen North's privies were encased in one building, with a wooden partition between them. Mary got the smaller of the two sides. See also, Holt files for 535 Market.

brother David continued their newly established trade making paper molds and wool cards. Family recollections estimated their arrival at the property as 1782, and the 1783 city survey for Syng and Gunkles locate them on the 24 foot 3 inch lot that year. The Sellers house must have been the eastern of the two houses Ekart insured on the corner in 1776. Ekart's policy measured the house as 20 by 48 feet, with an 19 foot 6 inch by 12 foot two-story kitchen, but in 1806, when Nathan and David insured the property for the first time, the house dimensions were different. The Sellers may have widened the house, as it then measured 24 feet on High by 48 feet, with a three-story backbuilding measuring 15 by 41 feet, containing family living space and kitchen. Possibly the Sellers modified the front building and rebuilt the back to accomodate the family. That might explain why family memoirs repeatedly mention that Nathan constructed the house. The Sellers policy also noted that there was one tree on the property (presumably in front) and Schuylkill water introduced.[113]

Nathan Sellers manufactured wire products on Market Street until 1817, when he retired to the country for his health. Brother David died in 1813, only four years before Nathan's family moved back to Chester County, but Nathan's son, Coleman, and his family moved into the house, and the business continued and diversified under the sons, grandsons and nephews. Sellers insurance policy add-ons, dated 1829, 1839 and 1855, give a concise description of how the property was enlarged, diversified in business, and retained as a residence throughout the early 19th century. The survey for March 9, 1839 notes that the property was bordered east and west by three-story brick houses, and to the north, continuing out to South Street, by a five story factory, part of the Sellers operation. The property remained in the family until 1855, when the insurance policy was cancelled, only months prior to the wind-swept fire of April 30, 1856 that razed all the buildings at the northeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets. So concluded more

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[113] "Addresses, Old and New numbers," calculated from land surveys by Sharon Holt, 1997, Holt files, Market Street, North Side, INDE Archives. All modern street numbers for Market Street herinafter cited come from Holt's calculations. In 1779 Nathan and David (brother) Sellers, partners, advertised the sale of "Wool Cards, Esteemed equal to English cards," made & Sold in Sixth Street between Market and Arch. PG Aug. 4, 1779. The first advertisement locating their business on Market was found in PG May 21, 1793. In his 1817 diary, Nathan wrote that he removed with his family from Philadelphia, where he'd lived about 36 years, or 1781. Diary or Journal of Nathan Sellers, June 1817-Oct. 7, 1829, Peale-Sellers Collection, APS. Nathan and David Sellers insured their Market St. property in August 1806, then numbered 231. MAS #2285, Reel 29, INDE. Horace Wells Sellers to Joseph Willcox, Esq., Nov. 27, 1895, p. 12, George Escol Sellers Memoirs, Sellers Papers, APS.

than seventy years of Sellers family presence on Market Street.[114]

George Escol Sellers' memoirs in the family papers left to the American Philosophical Society help to picture the house's use, surroundings and changes. Son of Coleman, George Escol, like his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, became an engineer and inventor. He grew up in the Market Street house from the age of ten and remembered the time his father added a fourth story in the back for his private shop and as a sleeping room for the boys. He also sketched the house at 231 Market from memory, which Joseph Jackson redrew and published in his history of Market Street.[115]

Nathan and David Sellers, the original owners, were born and raised as Quakers in Chester County. Nathan learned the wire working trade from his father, John Sellars, who counted himself the "original inventor and institutor" in America of the branch of business supplying wire works, particularly for flaxseed and

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[114]Horace Wells Sellers to Willcox, November 27, 1895, pp. 12-14, Ibid., APS. This letter is particularly helpful because of its many quotes from Nathan Seller's papers, as well as from grandson George Escol Seller's voluminous (but sometimes rambling) recollections. Pages 12-13 lists Nathan and David Sellers' paper mould customers between 1782 to 1797, when they were located on Market Street. George, one of two sons of Coleman, remembered moving to the Market Street house when he was ten, in 1818. "Memoirs of George Escol Sellers, Book IV," p. 4, Sellers Papers, APS. The RLIN entry on his memoirs gives his life dates as 1808-1899. For Nathan and David Sellers' first recorded insurance survey on the house in August 1806, see MAS #2285, Reel 29, and for the 1829-1855 additions and alterations, see MAS #4739, Reel 21, INDE. The latter included an 1829 policy on a 3 story building behind 231 Market, which faced north onto a 10 foot court off Sixth Street. Fire described on "View of the Ruins..." Fig. 13, McClees, 1856-66, LCP.

[115]C.C. Sellers prepared an index to the George Escol Sellers Memoirs which lists several entries for the Market Street House in volumes I, IV, and XVI. APS. Included in these are room by room descriptions of the house. Book I, 17-25; Book XIII, 3-4. George delivered these recollections in a clear and detailed way, suggesting that George Escol retained a very sound mind. He also recalled that at the time of "the first Presidency," [Thomas?] Pinckney and [Alexander] Hamilton boarded in the house on the corner, presumably with Joseph Donaldson, mentioned above. This writer did not take the time to validate this possibility. See also, the RLIN listing for the George Escol Sellers collection. Jackson, Market Street, opp. p. 98. Coleman Sellers patented a motion picture machine. "Philadelphia and the Genesis of the Motion Picture," PMHB 65 (1941), 442.

wheat.[116] The eldest son, Nathan was taught surveying as a boy and apprenticed to a scrivener. During the Revolution the Continental Congress pulled Nathan out of active duty to make paper molds. Paper was critically scarce and the molds used to make Continental currency badly worn. Local paper makers petitioned for Nathan's service, indicating that he was the one with the talent for this highly technical work. Evidently paper molds prior to this point all had been imported from England, so Nathan is said to be the first to establish the trade in America.[117]

Nathan's Revolutionary War contributions also included drilling local troops (the Associators), signing and numbering Continental paper money, producing a form to make paper money and a survey of the Delaware River between the Schuylkill River and Christiana Creek.[118] After the war Sellers continued to survey for the city streets and the Delaware-Schuylkill canal project. His inventions won international recognition, especially for his method of annealing and straightening wire.[119] During the first years on Market Street with brother David, the Sellers manufactured the only paper molds in America and were one of only three suppliers of wool

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[116]John Sellers advertised his wire work from Darby in 1767. PG Aug. 6, 1767. For family genealogy, see, Sellers Family Papers, APS, especially the George Escol Sellers Memoirs, 1887-1898, 2v.

[117]In August 1776 local paper makers submitted a petition that Nathan Sellers, an associator in Colonel Paschall's battalion, be allowed to return home to make and prepare "suitable molds, washers, & utensils for the carrying on the paper manufactory." as quoted in Horace Wells Sellers, "Extracts from the Diary of Nathan Sellers, 1776-1778," PMHB 16, (1892), 192. On December 28, 1775 the Darby Meeting disowned Nathan for his support of the war effort. Ibid., 191. He never showed the proper regret for his war effort, and thus remained outside the membership, although he lived a "plain Quaker style." Charles Coleman Sellers, Charles Willson Peale, Volume II, Later Life, (1790-1827) (Philadelphia 1947), 197. Eugenie Andruss Leonard, "Paper as a Critical Commodity During the American Revolution," PMHB 74 (1950), 488-9.

[118]Sellers, "Extracts,"PMHB 16 (1892), 192-3. Nathan's work was based in Chester County through 1778, as his petition of February 23 clearly indicates. Ibid., 193; research on Nathan Sellers provided by historian Thomas McGuire, 1997.

[119]"Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltsheimer, of Philadelphia, 1768-1798," PMHB 16 (1892), 169, 175; Sellers to Wilcox, Nov. 27, 1897, 21. The Guide to the Sellers Family Papers, 12, lists Nathan Sellers' specifications for a patent for an invention, dated July 21, 1820. APS.

and cotton cards in the nation. As a commentator in 1790 noted, the American card manufacturers had assumed the supply needs for the country and their product was "not only superior in quality to the British but cheaper..."[120]

Nathan Sellers also subscribed to humanitarian organizations and served on City Council. His son Coleman married Charles Willson Peale's daughter, Sophonisba, which expanded his family ties and circle substantially. At his death in 1830, Councils showed their appreciation for Nathan Seller's long years of service to the community in an obituary published in the local press:

> . . . so universally was he esteemed by all rank and all Political parties, all religious sects, by all ranks and conditions of people, that during the greatest time of party excitement he was elected to the City Councils without opposition and was always reported one of the most useful and industrious members thereof.[121]

To Sellers' east, Charles Syng treated 229 High (531) Street as a rental. In 1787 Joseph Redman, Gentleman, was in residence, and in 1788 James Wilson, the acclaimed Philadelphia attorney and signer of both the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, lived there. The census and city directory for 1790-91 list William Shippen Sr. and Walter Stewart, Esq. (1756-1796)

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[120]W. Barton, "Remarks on the State of American Manufactures and Commerce," [Museum, June 1790], 288. Nathan Sellers, according to family tradition, was the one in charge of paper molds, and for 55 years exclusively took charge of the "delicate operation" of forming the water marks. Sellers to Wilcox, Nov. 27, 1897, 16-18. Sellers also points out here that some of the operations in the early 19th century were run from another Sellers property on the west side of Sixth Street, at St. James Street. See these pages, also, for the evolution of the business in the 19th century.

[121]As quoted in, Horace Wells Sellers to Joseph Willcox, Esq., Nov. 27, 1895, 25, Sellers Family Papers, APS; see Guide to the Sellers Family Collection for references to Nathan's certificate as member in the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery (1792) and the Humane Society of Philadelphia (1805), 4, 7, APS. Horace Wells Sellers in the letter above, noted (p. 24) that Nathan and David Rittenhouse together surveyed and advised the Pennsylvania government on inter-state canal navigation and that the Sellers Straightener, as his invention was known abroad, was introduced in English manufacturing. Ibid., 21. Sellers, Peale, Vol.2, 196-7. Peale, after much persuasion, painted portraits of Nathan and his wife, Elizabeth Coleman Sellers, in 1809, a copy of which is in Lillian B. Miller, ed., Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, Volume 2 (New Haven, 1988), 865.

together at 229 Market Street. Shippen, a former member of the Continental Congress and retired physician, had a household of eight in the census, including one free and two enslaved blacks. He was of the old Philadelphia family of that name and father to William Shippen, Jr., first professor of anatomy in the nation.[122]

General Walter Stewart, "the handsome Irishman," was a colonel during the Revolution, commanding the Pennsylvania Regiment at camp. He was said to be General Washington's favorite officer. By the close of the war, he had attained the rank of Brigadier General, and was later (1795) appointed Major General of the first division of the Pennsylvania militia.[123] As resident on Market Street he was a prosperous merchant, member of the Hibernian Society (for relief of emigrants from Ireland), and an active member of the Society of Cincinnati. In 1792 he was among an august group of men, including Samuel Powel, David Rittenhouse and Robert Morris, who were elected managers for the ambitious company formed to run a canal between the Delaware and Schulykill Rivers. The following year he was elected director of the Bank of Pennsylvania and, in 1795, the Insurance Company of North America. At a booming time in the city's economy, from 1793 to 1796, Stewart served as Inspector of the Revenue and Surveyor of Customs at Philadelphia. In the latter year, Stewart died prematurely, at forty years old, leaving his "beautiful wife, Blair McClanachan's daughter," and seven children his heirs.[124]

Nathan Sellers' grandson remembered Timothy Pickering as the resident of 229 Market Street during Washington's presidency. This recollection may have some merit, as Pickering lived in Philadelphia during most of Washington's administration, as well as Adams', and served as the Secretary of State in 1795-96 when the

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[122]Tax assessment, North Ward, 1787, INDE microfilm; Julie S. Berkowitz, The College of Physicians of Philadelphia Portrait Catalogue (Philadelphia, 1984), 193; Heads of Families, 226. Shippen, Sr., referenced in biographical sketch for Shippen Jr., in Dictionary of American Biography.

[123]Quoting Townsend Ward, "Griffith Evans," PMHB 6 (1882), 342; Stewart took command of the regiment in 1777. John W. Jordan, "Orderly-Book of the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot, May 10 to August 16, 1777," PMHB 22 (1898), 57.

[124]PG Oct. 29, 1783; July 14, Dec. 15, 1790; July 4, 1792; June 19, 1793; Jan. 21, 1795. Stewart's prestige is eloquently stated in his obituary, PG June 22, 1796. Stewart's family Bible gives the names and dates of his wife, Deborah, and his children. "Notes and Queries," PMHB 22 (1898), 381-2; quote about his wife from Ward, "Griffith Evans," 343; a biographical sketch is given in W.A. Newman Dorland, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S., "The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," PMHB 47 (1923), 275, ft.nt. 231.

State Department rented office space one block north, at Arch and Sixth Streets, an easy stroll from 229 Market. To date no record has been located to confirm Sellers' memory. Pickering's overextended financial situation may have made it difficult for him to afford, at least for long, rental in the expensive neighborhood of his president. Also, Hogan's Prospect for 1795 places ironmonger David McCormack at this address, while the directory for 1801 lists merchant John Glenn. Nonetheless, Sellers' apparently keen memory of the neighborhood and its residents gives reason to give credence to his Pickering recollection.[125]

Michael Kunkle (also spelled Gunkle), who appeared in 1787 (before street numbering), as a merchant, and in 1790-91, as a grocer, owned and lived at the property to the east of Charles Syng's, numbered 227 (529) High Street. Gunkle probably owned other real estate, as he was also a millstone factor and mill owner. He held title to 227 (529) Market Street until 1822.[126] Robert Morris, one of the city's wealthiest merchants and most accomplished public servants, was on the verge of his slide to financial ruin in 1794, when he first rented 227 High Street, near the corner of Sixth Street, for his counting house. Morris rented the house until 1797, the year before he landed in debtor's prison. He lived at 192 High across the street at the corner of Sixth Street, next door to the executive mansion, which had been his own residence until he offered it to the city for his friend, President Washington when the U.S. capitol relocated from New York in 1790. By 1801 Richard Humphreys, china merchant, had taken the lease on 227 Market Street.[127]

William Sheaff purchased the lot to the east, a 24 by 200-foot lot through to South Street, according to the 1781 tax assessor who

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[125]"Memoirs of George Escol Sellers, Book XVII," p. 2, APS; see Arch Street below; Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, The Age of Federalism The Early American Republic, 1788-1800 (New York, 1993), gives an analytical profile on Pickering's career, 623-27; Pickering in Dictionary of American Biography. Pickering was in Philadelphia during the devastating yellow fever epidemic of 1793, when he and his wife recovered from the illness, but his six year old son, Edward, died, despite Pickering's valiant efforts to save him. Gerard H. Clarfield, Timothy Pickering and the American Republic (Pittsburgh, 1980), 147; Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12.

[126]County Tax Assessment, North Ward, 1787, Roll 571, INDE; "523 Market," folder, Green Box, and "Addresses, Old and New," Holt files, INDE.

[127]Hogan, Prospect, 6; Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12.

noted him as the owner of a vacant lot paying ground rent to Thomas Moore. It was the fifth lot east of Sixth Street in the assessment and the 1783 city survey which showed Sheaff's as a little more than 92 feet from the corner. The 1787 tax assessments noted that Sheaff's Market Street lot had a vacant dwelling on the property. In November 1790, Sheaff insured a large, new and well-appointed three-story brick house which the surveyor described as on the north side of Market "near Sixth Street," where Joseph Anthony lived. The 24 by 46-foot house had fourteen and nine inch walls, suggesting that one side was a party wall and the other freestanding. The policy also covered a store and stables at the back end of the lot, or on South Street. The census for 1790 and 1791 directory listed Joseph Anthony, merchant, at 225 Market, in a household of seven people, one a free black, presumably, a servant.

Family papers reveal that Joseph Anthony was a Merchant-Captain from Newport, Rhode Island, until he settled in Philadelphia around 1782. Anthony lived at 225 High Street from at least 1790 to 1794, after which he moved to the west, to 335 Market Street. Anthony's arrival in Philadelphia in the 1770s may have been prompted by the families of the "merchant princes" who sailed with him in the summers from 1767 to 1775, when he captained his sloop Peace and Plenty as a weekly packet service between Philadelphia and Newport. In 1775 he joined with Reuban Haines in a purchase of 4300 acres of land in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. Anthony's wealth and prestige by the 1790s is indicated by his election as one of twenty-five directors to the Bank of the United States and by three Gilbert Stuart portraits of him, one of which now resides at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Anthony not only grew prosperous, but also proved a civic-minded Philadelphian. In the Federal Procession celebrating the U.S. Constitution in 1788, Anthony rode in the Grand Edifice as one of 10 citizens who represented the citizens at large.[128]

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[128]"Draught of lots NE Corner of High & 6th Streets Regulated May 28, 1783, a lot for Charles Syng and one adjoining for Michael Gunkel," and "Regulation of Wm Sheaff's lot July 11th 1783," Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA; North Ward Tax Assessments, 1787, as researched for Philadelphia 1787 base map by Toogood. William Sheaff policy, Nov. 2, 1790, CBk 2, pp. 245-6. Sheaff had two survey numbers, 2421-2422, for the property elements. Harold E. Gillingham, "Old Business Cards of Philadelphia,"PMHB 53 (1929), 208-9; Freedmans Journal,(FJ) Dec. 18, 1782 announces that Anthony, in partnership with Josiah Hewes, moved his dry goods store to the north side of Chestnut St. wharf. Rouch file, APS; as quoted in Dr. Carl Bridenbaugh's essay on Captain Anthony's packet service, "Notes and Queries," PMHB 59 (1935), 93-4; PG Oct. 26, 1791; Mantle Fielding, "Paintings by Gilbert Stuart Not Mentioned in Mason's Life of Stuart," PMHB 38 (1914), 315; PG July 9, 1788, October 21, 1791,

By 1795, the prominent and much beloved doctor, Caspar Wistar (1761-1818), had taken Anthony's place at 225 Market. Scharf and Westcott, 19th century chroniclers for the city, opined that "the city of Philadelphia never had a citizen more alive to all its interests, more intelligent and active, and influential in their development." Wistar's career and his delightful personality made him "an ornament and a blessing" to his community.[129] Grandson of the Caspar Wistar, glass manufacturer, Wistar enjoyed early success and prominence. He received his degree in medicine in 1786 from the University of Edinburgh, where he served two terms as the president of the Royal Medical Society before returning to Philadelphia. Besides serving as a physician for the charitable Philadelphia Dispensary and Pennsylvania Hospital, he taught under Benjamin Rush and William Shippen at the College of Philadelphia. Wistar's abilities and interests soon won him membership to the College of Physicians and the American Philosophical Society, where he served first as curator, and then, in 1795 (while in residence at 225 Market), as vice-president. Wistar went on to become renowned as an anatomist, as the succeeding president to Thomas Jefferson of the American Philosophical Society, and the originator of the locally popular intellectual gathering, the Wistar Party, that continues to meet in modern times. By 1801 Dr. Wistar had moved from 225 Market and merchants Henry and Bogg occupied the building as a commercial enterprise.[130]

Next door, at 223 Market, Henry Sheaff, grocer, perhaps William Sheaff's son, adjoined Joseph Anthony in 1790-91. William Sheaff by then may have owned two adjoining properties, the one Anthony rented and the one Henry Sheaff occupied, which may have been the dwelling that was vacant in the 1787 tax record. Little is known about Henry Sheaff. Perhaps he was the Baltimore merchant who advertised in the Pennsylvania Gazette in 1778 and later moved to Philadelphia. A merchant, Lewis Neill, was in residence at 223 Market by 1801, suggesting the property offered a comfortable living style.[131]

Jan. 1, 1792, July 17, 1793. The last reference is to Anthony's appointment as a High Street representative to arrange supplies for the refugees who arrived by ship from Jamaica's Cap Francois, fleeing a slave rebellion.

[129]Scharf and Wescott, History of Philadelphia, 2, 1594;

[130]Wistar entry in Dictionary of American Biography; Wolf, Philadelphia, 127; Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12.

[131]PG July 23, 1778. William Sheaff was a prosperous wine merchant whose shop was located at the southeast corner of Fifth and Market Streets. Toogood, 1787 Base Map; Heads of Families, 228; He, like many other Philadelphians, invested and developed city real estate.

According to a May 28, 1783 city survey (for Charles Syng and Michael Gunkle), Caleb Foulke owned a lot 25 feet (+) by 200 feet just east of Sheaff's, later numbered 221 High. The tax assessment for 1781 lists Caleb Foulke next to Sheaff, and notes that laborer Leonard Lesher lived in the dwelling valued with the lot at 600. In 1787 the valuation remained 600, but John Cope, Grocer, occupied the dwelling. Next door, Amos Foulke, merchant--perhaps Caleb's son-- rented one of Thomas Moore's two houses. The city directory for 1791 lists Susannah Binney, widow, at 221 Market Street, and the 1795 directory has Ann Giles, gentlewoman. It makes sense that single women would rent a modest property, at least in comparison with the two owned by Thomas Moore next door. In 1801 Joseph Shoemaker, insurance broker, was in residence.[132]

Thomas Moore, gentleman, was listed as owner and resident of one of two houses on Market Street from 1780 to 1791. The house was numbered 219 (521) Market in Biddle's 1791 directory. Moore assumed ownership of these two properties in 1773, when he married Sarah Emlen, granddaughter of William Hudson and heir to the Market Street property. Sarah Emlen had first insured these houses in 1770, before most of the development on this block of Market. Samuel Emlen, her father, also was a resident in the house during the early 1780s (until his death in 1783). Emlen (as noted above) moved to this property just after his wife's death in 1771. The tax assessment for 1787 shows Thomas Moore's house valued at L1300, and the coach house and stable at L400, ranking his property second only to John Pemberton's three doors east.

Fragments of Thomas Moore's life survive in newspaper accounts. He owned in partnership with Joseph Clark a brewery in the 1760s, presumably the same one which Thomas Moore advertised for sale or lease while living in the Market Street house in 1786. The property included "A commodious Dwelling-house, Brewery and Malt-house," near the corner of Race and Fourth Streets. During the same decade Moore's wealth and prominence were made public by his appointment as a manager to the Pennsylvania Hospital and as a member to the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of the Episcopal Clergy. Reverend Benjamin Moore, likely a relative, was first on the same list of new members. Thomas and Sarah evidently had a son, Thomas Moore, who was killed in 1794 when serving as a Kentucky Volunteer.[133]

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[132]Susannah Binney may have been a young widow: the PG for Dec. 31, 1788 notes that Susannah Binney won an award for exceptional reading at Mr. Poore's Academy in the city, which would suggest she was in her early twenties in 1791, if this is the same Binney. Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12.

[133]Thomas Moore's wedding announcement in PG Jan. 20, 1773. Tax Assessments, North Ward, 1780-90, Roll 571, INDE. PG Aug. 1,

By 1795 Moore had moved and another gentleman, Thomas W. Smith, had taken up residence at 219 Market. Nothing definite is known about this Smith, but he possibly was the Thomas Smith who in the 1750s and 1760s advertised imported goods, often silks, linens and other London wares, from his stores near the Delaware River. The city directory for 1801 continues a gentleman at the house, William Phillips, otherwise unidentified.[134]

During the late 1780s William Bell, merchant, lived in the dwelling adjoining Thomas Moore's to the east, which was valued in 1787 at L1100. In the 1791 and 1795 city directories William Bell still lived in this house, then numbered 217 (519) Market Street. After more than a decade as owner, city surveys show that Bell sold the property to John Craig, sadler, in 1801. Little has been learned about William Bell, other than he was attainted a traitor during the Revolution, but evidently survived the accusation to prosper in the next two decades. He owned a ship, Minerva, in 1792, and partnered after the Revolution with John Steinmetz, who himself moved to Market Street, three doors west of Bell, (William Sheaff's) 223 Market, according to the 1795 directory. Bell was well connected during the capital decade, when he transacted business with neighbors President Washington and Robert Morris.[135] By 1801 Bell had moved and in his stead Lewis Neill, merchant, listed himself at the premises.[136]

Henry Sickle, grocer, occupied 215 (515) Market in 1790-91, as well as in 1795, when he identified himself as a wine merchant.

1765; Feb. 11 and Oct. 24, 1784; March 22 and May 4, 1785; Oct. 1, 1794; PJ July 28, 1784; Pennsylvania Evening Herald (PEH) Sept 30, 1786. Moore advertised in the last entry his property on Market for lease. Roach Index file, APS.

[134]Accessible Archives turned up nothing on Thomas W. Smith, but 150 items on Thomas Smith. Perhaps as the city grew in population, Smith took to adding his middle initial to distinguish himself from other Thomas Smiths. PG Sept 27, 1753, June 19, 1760, June 18, 1760, Nov. 18, 1762, Sept 13, 1764. Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12. The index for the PMHB shows a General William Philips who died in 1781 and a William Philips who was in President Washington's account book for repairing his harness and bridle in 1797.

[135]Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council, Mar. 12, 1783, Colonial Records XIII, 529; PG Dec. 20, 1775; Feb. 10, 1779; Oct. 10, 1792; Mar. 16, 1796; "Notes and Queries," PMHB 56, 364; "Washington's Account Book, 1793-1797," 30, 32; survey of the west line of John or Seth Craigs lot, Oct. 1801, Third Survey Dist., Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA.

[136]Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12.

Sickle acquired the property around 1787 from Thomas Palmer, a gunsmith, who had purchased it the year before from Mary Hudson. The 1786 deed to Palmer included a two-story frame tenement, a building which may have been the location for Joseph Pratt's "Sign of the Coffin" advertised in 1763, or the structure coachmaker John Johnson occupied in 1772, when he publicized his business on the north side of Market between Fifth and Sixth Streets. The 1787 tax assessment names Sickels (spelled Seckels) as owner of a dwelling valued at L900 under lease to James Stacks, innkeeper.[137]

Around 1790, Sickels appears to have erected a large three-story brick building, 33 feet front by 52 feet, with a 40 by 18 three-story back building and a kitchen. Evidently he replaced the frame building at 215 (515) Market Street with a more permanent structure and moved in with his grocery store. In either 1796 or 1797, Sickels sold the property to George Cooper, a skinner by trade, who had moved up the economic ladder by opening a store with imported goods before the Revolution and by 1784 had relocated to a more fashionable address at the southwest corner of Market and Fourth Streets. In 1797, Cooper took out insurance on the 215 Market Street building. The policy noted that it was seven years old and that the first story served as a wet goods store and the second, a wine store. Only the first floor was finished, indicating the commercial nature of this investment. The backbuilding housed the parlour and kitchen where the residents lived, rather than over the store, as in earlier days.[138] By 1801 the property had only one

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[137]Mary Hudson to Thomas Palmer, July 16, 1786, Deed Book 21,128, PCA. This deed gives the only mention of a frame structure on High Street during the block's development. PG Mar. 17, 1763, May 21, 1772; Toogood, Base Map 1787, based on Philadelphia Tax Assessment, North Ward, 1787, on microfilm, INDE. Johnson advertised in PG May 21, 1772 at Market between Fifth and Sixth, but never specified north or south side of the road. That time he was selling a chariot, pleasure wagon and a phaeton; in 1773, a handsome four wheel chaise and a chariot, and in 1776, a light chariot with a pair of harness. In 1794, John Johnson of Germantown had died and a son, John Johnson, was serving as an executor. PG June 9, 1773, May 15, 1776; Mar. 26, 1794.

[138]Policy for George Cooper, Feb. 3, 1797, CBk 3, p.56, roll 19, INDE. File for 515 Market Street, Green Box, Holt files, INDE; Accessible Archives listed 13 "hits" for George Cooper. He kept his skinner shop in Northern Liberties in the 1760s, moved it to Second, near Christ Church, sometime in the 1770s, when he added a West Indies-based store, and insured two structures at the southwest corner of Fourth and Market on Apr. 20, 1784. In 1786, Cooper advertised real estate for Adam Ekart, a property owner on the north side of Market as referred to in this text, and located himself at the Fourth and Market address. PG Apr. 23,

occupant, Thomas Passmore, tin plate worker and japanner.[139]

John Pemberton's residence at 213 High Street (see earlier description), remained in the family through the 1790s on its original 32-foot lot. One can imagine the full grown trees and other landscaping that set this property off as a residence of one of Philadelphia's most prominent Quaker families. In 1801 Pemberton's widow still resided at the address.[140]

Andrew Sommers, a broker, occupied 211 (511) High Street in 1790-91. The 1787 tax assessment lists a rope maker, James Lang, at the property. Lang served as a captain in the Pennsylvania militia during the Revolution. By 1795, Frederick Heifz, (also Heiss), Gentleman, and William Beynroth, shop keeper, listed themselves at this address. Frederick Heiss probably was in residence as owner, for he took out insurance on the house in June of that year, when it was described as 18 feet front, including half a 3-foot alley, by 28 feet, three stories high, with a two-story backbuilding 35 by 11 feet, finished plain. The roof was half worn for both the front and back sections, suggesting it may have been laid down in the 1770s. Whether it was the first or second roof, however, cannot be established. Certainly 211 Market's location near Fifth Street would make it a logical candidate as one of the earlier houses on Market Street. In 1801 Frederick Eckstein, another German, listed himself as a merchant living at 211 Market Street. [141]

Possibly two vacant lots or buildings adjoined 211 to the east, as there is no listing for 207 and 209 Market in 1790-91. At least one of the two houses may have existed then, however, because the first federal census (1790) lists Peter Baltis, tobacconist, between the residents listed for 205 and 211 Market Street in the 1791 directory, but Baltis does not appear in that directory. The 1795 directory does register both 207 and 209 Market, with Samuel Fulton and John Arrison, grocers, in the former, and Conrad Bates,

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1767; Mar. 17, 1773; Apr. 5, 1786. Cooper, like several others on the block, owned land in Northumberland County. PG Apr. 9, 1783.

[139]Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12; Passmore had no listings in Accessible Archives.

[140]Stafford, Ibid.

[141]Heiss policy, June 6, 1795, CBk 3, 21 3/4, Roll XIX, INDE; Heiss was still owner when a city survey was made for William Sheaff on June 3, 1801, Third Survey District, pre-1814, PCA. Historical Architect Penelope Batcheler estimated the life of roof in the late 18th century as 30 to 40 years. The roof being half worn in 1795, thus dated the possible construction to the mid-to-late 1770s. Phone conversation, Toogood with Batcheler, Feb. 2, 1999.

tobacconist, and Anthony Reslin, fruiterer, in the latter. Evidently, then, another tobacconist replaced Peter Baltis at 209 (509) High in 1795. This likely was the property owned and lived in by Charles Chamberlain, cordwainer, in the 1781 and 1787 tax assessments, at which time the dwelling was valued at L1100, or on the higher end of the range for this block's Market street frontage.[142]

Adjoining Chamberlain in the 1787 tax assessment was another grocer, Jacob Stein. Stein was tenant on property owned by Jacob Esler, who in 1781, ran a blacksmith shop valued only at L300 at this location. The 1790 census and 1791 city directory do not list 207 High Street, or occupants on the property, but the 1795 directory finds two grocers, Samuel Fulton and John Arrison, as well as a blacksmith, John Simpson, at that street address. Likely, the grocers were tenants on Market Street, while the blacksmith shop stood back of it.[143]

The next listing in the 1787 tax assessment shows that the estate of Widow Wharton, later numbered 205 Market, had two modest houses, each assessed at only L350. This is the 26-foot lot originally left by William Hudson to his two granddaughters, Rachel and Hannah Owen, step-daughters of Robert Wharton. In 1787, reedmaker Adam Boush and papermaker, Simon Stedicorn, were tenants. By 1790-91, 205 (505) Market Street appears to include both houses as one, where George Staley ran an inn. A survey of the corner of High and Fifth streets for William Guier on July 5, 1791 shows Robert Wharton on the fourth lot west of Fifth Street, suggesting he either boarded at the Staley's inn, or lived in the easternmost house. By 1795 John Guier, (William Guier's son?) wine merchant, had established himself at the address, where he remained at least until 1801.[144]

The 50-foot lot left to William Hudson's son, William, at the corner of Fifth Street had been divided into three properties, each valued in 1787 at L900. These properties, later numbered 203, 201 and 199 Market, all measured 17 feet on Market and 96 feet to an alley running into Fifth Street. James Dunlap, MD., who lived in

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[142]The tax assessments indicate ground rent to John Head, the husband of Mary Hudson, whose allotment in Hudson's will was two 27 foot (+) lots about 79 feet east of Fifth. Tax Assessments, 1781, 1787, North Ward, reel 571, INDE.

[143]Tax Assessment, North Ward, 1787, roll 571, INDE; Heads of Families, 225; Hogan, Prospect, 6.

[144]Philadelphia County Tax Assessment, North Ward, 1787, reel 571, INDE; Third Survey District, pre-1814, PCA; Heads of Family, 226; Biddle, City Directory, 1791; Hogan, Prospect, 1795, 6; Robinson, City Directory, 1801.

the third house from the corner, published an advertisement in 1785 which suggests the property's advantages:

> A GOOD three story BRICK HOUSE, with a two story kitchen, stable and convenient lot of ground, very pleasantly situated on the north side of Market Street, the third house above Fifth street: It is a good place for business, in a public and very improving part of the city. For further information, apply to James Dunlap, on the premises.

Evidently, Dunlap still had not sold the property in 1788, when he again ran the advertisement which added, "Its situation, in the most busy and improving part of Market street, will sufficiently recommend it to any person who wishes for an excellent stand for business in a very pleasant part of the city."[145] William Sheaff, the wine merchant who owned a lot at the western end of the block, acquired Dunlap's lot sometime before July 1791, when his name appears on a city survey of the corner properties.[146]

Perhaps James Dunlap's inviting advertisements influenced the relocation in 1786 of George Reinholt's stationary store to the house adjoining, later numbered 201 (503) Market Street. Besides his paper goods, Reinholt sold Doctor Hill's American Balsam, acclaimed as a "rich, comforting, nourishing and healing medicine," for the stomach, rheumatism, gravel, cholic, jaundice and "all kinds of weakenesses." Reinholt must have done well with his sale of balsam, as he carried it from 1782 to at least 1789, when the listings in the paper ended. By 1795 Reinholdt had moved and ironmonger (hardware shop owner) Alexander Bilstand was in residence, after which Joseph Dilsworth continued in the same line of work at this address in 1801. [147]

At the corner house Samuel Hudson (see above) continued until late in the 1780s. By 1790 William Guier, (spelled Geyer in the

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[145] PG Dec.7, 1785 and Apr. 23, 1788. See William Guier Survey, Corner of High and Fifth streets, July 5, 1791, Third Survey District, PCA and No. 2 in Surveys in this report.

[146] W Guier Survey, corner of Fifth & High Street, July 5th 1791, Third Survey District, pre-1814, PCA. Sheaff still owned the lot in an 1806 survey. Survey for John Guier Oct. 26, 1806, Ibid. See city surveys #2 in this report.

[147] PG June 12, 1782; Reinholt's store was one of several in the city and Germantown that sold the balsam. Reinholt was located on the south side of Market below Fifth in a 1785 advertisement, and at 502 in a 1786 one. PG Sept. 14, 1785; Sept. 20, 1786. The last balsam advertisement in the PG, as given by Accessible Archives, was Nov. 4, 1789; Hogan, Prospect, 6; Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12.

1790 census), had opened his grocery shop at 199 Market Street, where he also was listed in the 1795 directory. Presumably he was kin to the John Guier a few doors west. In 1801 the family still occupied the property as Guier and Diebl, merchants.[148]

This block of Market Street in the post-Revolutionary period developed steadily as a commercial and industrial strip, from Sellers' manufacturing on the west end, to the grocer, wine, stationary and tobacco shops on the east end, in a neighborhood, as Dunlap phrased it, "the most busy and improving" on that already very busy street. The 1795 directory indicates that several wealthy individuals lived here, but that the majority of properties were businesses. The 1790 census lists at least seven African Americans residing with their employers, two of whom were slaves at William Shippen Sr.'s near Sixth Street. By the close of the decade there likely still were black servants but few, if any, enslaved in residence. The 1801 directory lists eleven merchants, two gentlemen, widow Pemberton and William Bell on the block occupying more than half the twenty addresses given. Only two addresses indicated occupants pursuing an artisan livelihood -- at Nathan Sellars' wireworks near Sixth Street and at Thomas Passmore's tinplate and japanning shop at 215 High Street. The trend to gentrify westward thus had reached this block of Market Street. However, an ongoing influx of immigrants and the westward migration of the city's fashionable center reshaped this block with a solid commercial character by mid-century.[149]

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[148]Heads of Household, 226; Biddle, Philadelphia Directory; Hogan, Prospect, 6; Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12.

[149]The five free blacks lived as follows: 2 with John Pemberton's household; 1 with Joseph Anthony; 1 with Henry Sheaff; and 1 with William Shippen. Heads of Families, 226; Hogan, Prospect, 6; Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 12. For an excellent pictorial coverage of the city's move west, see Edwin Wolf 2nd, Philadelphia Portrait of an American City (Philadelphia, 1975).

Arch Street:

William Hudson left the Arch Street frontage in his will to four grandchildren -- Elizabeth Hudson (William Jr.'s daughter), Mary Burr (Susannah and John Burr's daughter), Hannah (wife of William Moode), and William Medcalfe (son of Hannah and Jacob Medcalfe). Elizabeth's lot at the corner of Sixth had 96 feet on Arch, while the other three heirs each received 100 feet. Existing records suggest that the Hudson family erected the first building on the south side of Arch Street on this block after the Revolution. In 1779 Christian Hudson, probably a great-grandson of William Hudson's, advertised in the Pennsylvania Gazette, giving his address as the south side of Arch Street between Fifth and Sixth streets. Where on the 396-foot frontage his residence stood has not been determined.[150]

Real estate development on adjoining blocks to the north and west of Hudson's Square had definitely gotten underway by the early 1760s.[151] Hudson's heirs, it appears, chose to keep their options open to live on the property themselves, rather than sell off their land. Besides Christian Hudson, Samuel Emlen, the widely known Quaker preacher, evidently son of the Samuel Emlen "the Elder," of Market Street and brother of Sarah [Emlen] Moore, had purchased some of the family's property on Arch Street by 1771. The advertisement that year for the Sixth Street corner lot (still 96 by 200 feet) placed Samuel Emlen's property on Arch, at the lot's eastern border. Francis White's 1785 city directory gives the earliest reference to his living on this block at the corner of Arch and Sixth Streets, presumably 96 feet from the corner. The 1790 census and 1791 directory together show that Samuel Emlen resided on the south side of Arch Street, numbered 114 Arch. A city lot survey completed in April 1791 for Thomas Moore further locates Samuel Emlen's house 96 feet east from the corner, adjoining on the east a 30-foot lot Moore had purchased from Samuel Emlen.[152]

No Hudson family deed transfers for Arch Street in the 1760s

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[150] See first section on Hudson's Square for family relationships and the division of William Hudson's estate. PG Mar. 12, 1761; Dec. 19, 1771; Oct. 13, 1779.

[151] Thomas Bartholomew advertised several new properties in the block north. PG Feb. 7, Sept. 4, 1760; Aug. 9, 1764; June 20, 1765; for properties west of Sixth on Arch, see PG Feb. 19, 1761; Jan. 28, 1762; Aug. 1, 1765.

[152] White, Directory...1785; Heads of Families, 228; Biddle, Directory; Survey for Thomas Moore, April 25, 1791, Third Survey District, pre-1814, PCA.

and 1770s were found, with the exception of the corner lot on Fifth Street, where the Free Quaker Meeting House later was erected. This property changed hands before William Hudson's death, according to the several deeds collected by a Free Quaker building committee. On May 8, 1734, William Hudson sold half of his grandson's future inheritance, a lot 48 feet on Mulberry and 100 feet on Fifth Street, to John Price, Jr., a carpenter in Philadelphia. The next month Price sold part of his purchase as a Fifth Street lot, measuring 15 by 48 feet, to bricklayer Peter Turner, and the following year granted Ralph Brock (later identified as a carpenter) the corner lot, 48 feet on Mulberry by 45 on Fifth. In 1760-61, William Price, one of John Price's five sons, purchased the rights to the corner lot from his brothers after his father's death, and to the Fifth Street lot from Peter Turner's son, Samuel, and then sold the whole original lot, 48 by 100 feet, to William Clinton, blacksmith. To clear Ralph Brock's claim to the corner property, Clinton bought Brock's lot as highest bidder at the sheriff's estate sale in June 1761 and a year later sold the whole property to John Ross, Esquire, of Philadelphia. Ross' executors sold the property in 1779 to John Dunlap, printer, whose executors (Henry Gurney, gentleman, and others) in turn sold it, on July 3, 1783, to Samuel Wetherill for the Free Quaker Meeting House site. That summer the Society Trustees sold off forty feet at the south end of the lot, in two 20 by 48 foot Fifth Street lots, one of which had a two-story "good Frame Tenement." The next year Wetherill formally deeded to the Trustees (Christopher Marshall, gentleman, and others) the southwest corner lot, now 48 by 60 feet, just as the new meeting house was reaching completion. Although the chain of deeds all refer to hereditaments or tenements on the property, there is no evidence that any of the owners actually occupied the meetinghouse site, although it is possible. If a structure stood on the southwest corner of Arch and Fifth Street in 1783, however, the Free Quaker receipts and bills make no mention of demolition costs. And the very deep cellars and vaults dug to provide future income rental space for the meeting house would have destroyed any foundations of earlier structures on the lot.[153]

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[153]Indentures, William Hudson to John Price, jr., May 18, 1734; unrecorded deed, John Price Jr. to Peter Turner, June 9, 1734; John Price Jr. to Ralph Brock, Sept. 13, 1735, Samuel Turner & wife to William Price, Mar. 7, 1760; Thomas, Joseph, Samuel, John and Benjamin Price to William Price, Oct. 16, 1760; William Price to William Clinton, April 13, 1761; Samuel Morris, High Sheriff, to William Clinton, June 4, 1761; William Clinton, and wife, to John Ross, Esquire, July 20, 1762; Henry Gurney, Gentleman & other executors, to John Dunlap, Mar. 18, 1779; [copy of] deed, John Dunlap & wife to Samuel Wetherill, Jr., July 3, 1783; Samuel Wetherill and Sarah, his wife, to Christopher Marshall, Senior, Gentleman, and other trustees, July 10, 1783, Box 1, 7 and 9, Society of Free Quakers Collection, (hereinafter cited SFQC), APS. Construction receipts for the Free Quaker

The Free Quaker Meeting House

The Free Quaker Meeting House, today the oldest meeting house in downtown Philadelphia, was constructed on the southwest corner of Fifth and Arch Streets in 1783-84. It serves as a vivid reminder of the wrenching and divisive issues faced by the Society of Friends during the American Revolution. Samuel Emlen as a spiritual leader of the Philadelphia Meeting, must have lamented the location of the "Fighting Quakers" only yards from his own door. Emlen likely voted to disown several of the prominent Quaker patriots, including his neighbor Samuel Wetherill, who was instrumental in the founding and construction of the new meeting. He also must have felt the sting when some of the nation's highest officials, members of Congress and signers of the Declaration of Independence, became financial backers of the building's construction, including Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, John Dickenson, Samuel Meredith, James Wilson, Francis Hopkinson, Charles Thomson and Robert Morris.[154]

Samuel Wetherill held the first meeting of the disowned local Quakers in his house on February 20, 1781. Timothy Matlack, high-profile patriot and newly-elected delegate to the Continental Congress, hosted the next meeting at his house on Market Street, but within the week, the meetings had returned to Wetherill's house, (presumably on South Street), where they gathered on a regular basis. In attendance at the initial planning forums were Timothy's brother, White Matlack, watchmaker; Benjamin Say, a Philadelphia "Practitioner in Physick;" Isaac Howell, brewer, Esquire; druggist Moses Bartram; Robert Parrish, plane maker; Jehu Elridge, tailor, and William Crispin, Collector of Excise. The group together adopted "several weighty rules," as Christopher Marshall's diary noted, which followed the same principles that

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meeting are in Box 4, SFQC. PG Mar. 12, 1761 (advertises sale of Ralph Brock lot). For an excellent account of the meeting house construction history see, Charles E. Peterson, FAIA, "Notes on THE FREE QUAKER MEETING HOUSE Fifth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Built 1783-4," Compiled for HARBESON, HOUGH, LIVINGSTON AND LARSON, Architects to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania from a Study of the Documents and of the Fabric, September 1966, pp. I-A-1-5, which includes footnotes. Copy in INDE Archives.

[154]Wilson, Philadelphia Quakers, 66; Bonner, "Quaker Landmarks," 213. Joseph Carson, #185, Free Quaker Meeting House, Wetherill Papers, Carson Collection, Library of Congress, includes a subscription list for the construction of the meeting house. George Washington reportedly contributed as well, but his name does not appear on the subscription list. John T. Faris, Old Churches and Meeting Houses in and Around Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1926), 226.

"Friends first established." Their tenants went counter to the Friends, however, by supporting the Revolution and by subscribing to the premise that no members should be disowned for any reason, including marriage outside the church.[155]

Construction of a meeting house for worship came to the Free Quakers by default. Originally they addressed the three Philadelphia Monthly Meetings stating their right and intent to use "the meeting house in this city in common with them," as well as the Quaker burial ground. Failing even to get a reply, the Free Quakers filed a petition with the Pennsylvania Assembly asking for an order that would recognize their right to use the meeting houses for worship. Congress considered the petition over three sessions, but finally denied it. While they awaited word and later, during planning and construction, the Free Quakers worshiped in one of the University of Pennsylvania's class rooms at Fourth and Arch Streets, where they held service until July 5, 1784.[156]

The campaign to build a meeting house took a group effort and tapped diverse neighborhood resources. By August 1783 public subscriptions had raised "very considerable sums," making it possible to enlarge the plan of the building to 36 feet on Mulberry by 48 feet on Fifth Street.[157] By that summer trustees had been appointed for the meeting who included new members, Christopher Marshall, the Elder, Joseph Warner, Peter Thomson, and Abraham Roberts. Receipts show the active involvement of Timothy Matlack, who designed the vast underground vaults with the concurrence of friend, David Rittenhouse.[158] Brothers Timothy and White Matlack

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[155]Loose Minutes, Box 1, and Box 7, Correspondence and Meeting records, SFQC, APS; As quoted in Faris, Old Churches, 226. Accessible Archives provides references for each of these founding members of the Free Quakers, most of whom were long-term civic leaders in Philadelphia. The Free Quakers reached out to similar seceders in other newly-established states, but the movement to broaden the affiliation faltered. Arthur J. Mekeel, "Free Quaker Movement in New England During the American Revolution," Bulletin of Friends Historical Association 27 (Autumn 1938), 72-81.

[156]As quoted in Faris, Old Churches, 226.

[157]Minutes, Aug. 7, 1783, Box 1, SFQC, APS.

[158]Peterson, "Notes," pp. I-B-1, 2, 4, citing Brooke Hindles's biography of David Rittenhouse (Princeton, 1964), 238, mentions that Matlack and Rittenhouse were close associates in Pennsylvania politics during the Revolution as leaders of the Constitutional Party. Matlack's cellar drawings are marked with "TM" and are part of the Seymour Adleman Collection, HSP. Phone conversation, Roger Moss, Feb. 24, 1999.

arranged for supplies and workers. Free Quaker and neighborhood tradesmen appeared among the contractors for the building: Matlack and Sadler; Wetherill and Immes; Jones, Clark and Cresson, (suppliers of boards and scantling), and Jacob Eckfeldt, the blacksmith who settled decades before on Fifth Street just yards south of the construction site. William Stiles, stonecutter, probably etched the inscription stone for the north gable which still reads:

By General Subscription
for the
Free Quakers
Erected in the year
of OUR LORD 1783
of the EMPIRE 8[159]

At the October 1783 roof raising, Samuel Wetherill hosted sixty people at a feast noted in Christopher Marshall's diary as "all pleased quiet & Sociable." Wetherill, in fact, proved to be a driving force for the congregants, the man who located and purchased the corner lot, collected the property deeds and records, served as the clerk of the society and planned and supervised (by committee) the construction of the meeting house. According to nineteenth century Society of Free Quaker records, the congregation from the society's foundation, had been "composed largely of the family or descendants" of Samuel Wetherill, Jr.[160]

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[159]Box 4, Receipts, SFQC, APS; a release deed for the meeting house property dated 7 Sept. 1786, adds Dr. John Redman to the trustees, and identifies Marshall as a Gentleman, Browne, a blacksmith, Thomson, a conveyancer, and Warner, a last maker. Box 9, Ibid. Date stone quoted in Bonner, "Quaker Landmarks," 212; Peterson pointed out that the fourteen work weeks to put the meeting under roof was astonishing, and would be "hard to match today." "Notes," I-B-1-3. Samuel Wetherill, Samuel Clark and Jacob Eckfeldt, residents on the this block who were suppliers for the meeting house, have been discussed earlier in this study.

[160]Peterson, "Notes," I-A-2 and 3. Peterson refers to at least three other local buildings Wetherill measured and studied while preparing to design the Free Quaker meeting. Original architectural elevations of the meeting house have survived, in private ownership. Phone call with Roger Moss, Director, Philadelphia Athenaeum, Feb. 24, 1999. Minutes, 24 April, 1781, July 5, 1784, Box 1, SFQC, APS. Wetherill's family ties to these men is not self-evident from the record, except possibly with Isaac Howell who was executor with Wetherill in the estate of James Young. PG Apr. 7, 1779. Howell owned a brewery across Sixth Street from Hudson's Square from the mid-1760s to 1791, when he put the property up for sale. PG June 6, 1765, Ap. 16, 1767; Ap. 20, 1791. He insured the property on May 12, 1775. Hannah Benner

The first worship service in the new meeting house, on June 13, 1784, filled the pews to capacity, with an estimated 200 people. According to the Society's record, it was a "solemn meeting" that included "divers of our fellow Christians of other denominations."[161] Wetherill next took on the project to provide the "back windows" (west?) with Venetian blinds, and by September the gallery was reconfigured to make a convenient space to store fire wood. With the principal construction completed, there seems to have been a lull in further planning. In February 1785, the members formally listed themselves as part of the religious society "called by some 'Free Quakers.'" The list included only twelve men and eleven women. Some of their members may have rejoined the Society of Friends, but the majority of those 200-odd who attended the first service six months earlier must have been supporters and the curious, not members of the Free Quaker meeting.[162]

The Society met problems in February 1786 when a shortage of cash in the city slowed the collection of subscriptions for the meeting house and proposed burial ground. That summer, however, enough funds were on hand to fence the meeting house yard and to sink a privy "in the cheapest Manner" and with the "least expence," near the meeting house and within the board enclosure. Perhaps the funds became available when wine merchant Francis Anthony Metzker renewed his lease on the cellar and vaults for another year, or

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Roach Index, APS.

[161]As quoted in Peterson, "Notes," I-E-1 from Society minutes of July 5, 1784. Ibid, I-E-3 bases the date of first worship on the diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, and the estimated crowd on Christopher Marshall's diary. This writer had noted July 5 as the date of the first worship. Minutes, July 5, 1784, Box 1, SFQC, APS.

[162]The members listed on Feb. 17, 1785 were: Isaac Howell, Peter Thomson, Thomas Renshaw, Samuel Crispin, Nathaniel Browne, Moses Bartram, Samuel Wetherill, Jr., Jehu Eldridge, John Piles, Edward Griffetts, Benjamin Say, Joseph Stiles, Lydia Darragh, Sarah Wetherill, Elinor Karcher, Ann Darah, Suzanna Darragh, Ann Lewton (?), Isabella Renshaw, Sarah Paschall, Elizabeth Parry, Esther Parry, Susan Smallwood. As compiled by Maria Thompson, researcher for Free Quaker Society, from FQSC, APS. William C. Kashatus, III, "A Quaker Testimony to the American Revolution," Pennsylvania Heritage (Spring 1990), 18-20, points out that Wetherill was the one founder of the Free Quakers specifically disowned by the Friends for his allegiance to the patriot cause. Others were disowned for marrying out of meeting or for discrediting their faith through such activities as gambling or failing to pay debts. He also notes that over the years Free Quaker attendance for worship averaged between thirty and fifty. Ibid., 23.

when local widow, Anna Dorothea Walker, agreed to extend a large loan. Finally in September of that year the Pennsylvania Assembly granted the Free Quakers land for a burial ground on Fifth Street below Walnut Street, completing the original goals of the society.[163]

Finances continued to weigh on the Free Quakers. To provide more rental income, the Society added a second floor to the meeting house in 1788. John Poor's School for Young Ladies was the first tenant, followed in 1790 by the Masons, and still later, by another school for girls. The members of the congregation, however, continued to dwindle, until the fall of 1834, when John Price Wetherill and Elizabeth Claypoole (Betsy Ross) worshiped together at the last meeting.[164]

Although Free Quakers disbanded in 1834, a committee, still led by Wetherills, has continued as a philanthropic organization which distributes Free Quaker endowments. After the Society dissolved, the meeting house paid for itself through leases of the building to such organizations as the Apprentices' Library Company. More recently, the meeting house remained as the only building to survive the demolition of three city blocks to create Independence Mall State Park. In June 1961, Pennsylvania razed two 19th century additions to the meeting house before moving it 33 west and 8 feet south, to accommodate the widening of Fifth Street as part of the

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[163]Minutes, Feb. 9, 16, Apr. 6, 14, 1786, Box 1, SFQC, APS. In the last mentioned meeting the Society agreed to borrow L1000 from widow Walker to pay off the meeting house debts, including L141 owed to Samuel Wetherill. In the same minutes authorization was given to construct a "boarded fence" around the yard, although a week earlier the initiative was for "repairs to fences." Evidently the loan helped fund a complete new fence. Accessible Archives had no listing for Metzker; Peterson identified him as Franz Anton Metzger, a Philadelphia wine merchant, when writing about the cellars and vaults. He also mentions that Philadelphia merchant Clement Biddle, a "Fighting Quaker," was the first to apply for use of the cellars, before the building was even completed. Biddle's name, however, was not found on the 1785 list of Free Quaker members. "Notes," I-E-2. Scharf and Wescott, History of Philadelphia, 2, 1259, notes that the Society asked for a lot on Spruce Street between Seventh and Eighth Streets for the burial ground, but instead got the lot on Fifth. As of November 1793, the Free Quaker burial ground had accepted 39 bodies, since August 1, during the city's devastating yellow fever epidemic that took the lives of some 5000 people. PG Nov. 20, 1793.

[164]"The Free Quaker Meeting House, Built 1783-4," in Misc. Free Quaker file, 610F, Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson, Architects (H2L2) Archives. Kashatus, "A Quaker Testimony," 18.

plan for the Mall. Several years later the state let contracts to study and restore the building. Today Samuel Wetherill's heirs continue to oversee the interpretation and protection of the meeting house under the direction of Independence National Historical Park. The park's recent general management plan retains the meeting house on the second block, with options to interpret its history.[165]

Capital City Expansion

The 1790 census for Philadelphia lists two other occupants besides the Free Quakers and Samuel Emlen on this block of Arch Street-- Samuel Briggs, a pump maker, and James Simmonds, a coachmaker. The latter within the year moved to Chestnut Street, according to the 1791 directory, but Briggs, who also appeared on this block in the 1785 directory, was in residence in 1791 at 108 Arch Street. A city survey of three lots in 1791 locates Briggs' 22-foot 9 inch lot about 178 feet west of Fifth Street. In 1786 Briggs was appointed by the city to care for the public pumps from the north side of Market to the south side of Vine Street. Briggs evidently had recently moved to Arch Street, as a 1784 advertisement he submitted found him at Sixth Street near Market.[166]

Arch Street, a main thoroughfare, only a block north of Market Street, had long been a fashionable street for the merchant class, especially of German descent. Arch Street, however, moved westward slower than Market, perhaps because much of the real estate was reserved for the Quaker and Episcopal burial grounds, the Second Presbyterian Church, Christ Church Hospital and the College of Philadelphia. The capital city decade of the 1790s created a pressing need for housing which led to rapid real estate development on Arch Street. When John Hills, a British map maker, published his map of Philadelphia in 1796, said to be "the most complete eighteenth-century map of the city," the entire south side

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[165]Kashatus, "Quaker Testimony," 23; Wilson, Philadelphia Quakers, 66. Peterson, "The Free Quaker Meeting House," I-K, 1-2. Peterson notes here that the cellars and vaults were retained under the new road bed. "The Free Quaker Meeting House," file 610 F, H2L2 Archives.

[166]The 1785 White directory does not indicate what side of the street a person lives on. The locating of Briggs and Johnson is by process of deduction, including comparing the list with the 1790 census, which indicates the street side, and the 1791 directory. Johnson is only listed in the census. The 1785 directory lists another coachmaker on this block of Arch, William Hunter, who presumably occupied a shop Johnson took over by 1790. PG Mar. 24, 1784, Sept. 13, 20, 27, 1786.

of the street had been built upon, with exception of an alley leading south approximately at Samuel Emlen's property.[167]

Insurance surveys indicate that most of the new houses were meant for prominent Philadelphians. Hudson family descendants were in the lead for new construction when Thomas Moore, gentleman, purchased part of his father-in-law's (Samuel Emlen's) Sixth and Mulberry lot in 1791 and built a three-story house that measured 30 feet front by 42 deep with a frontispiece at the door and four dormers across the front--presenting a handsome, sizeable residence for any location in Philadelphia.[168]
The 1795 city directory locates him just west of Samuel Emlen, in a still unnumbered house. Perhaps the family had intended to move to Arch Street for some time, as Mrs. Moore's chestnut horse strayed from her property on North Alley in 1780. Two years before the house went under construction, in December 1791, Thomas Moore insured a stable and coach house on the north side of North Alley. Like Market Street, the back end of Arch Street lots faced on the alley, the logical location for a gentlemen's stables and coach houses.[169]

Insurance and lot surveys document that other wealthy Philadelphians invested in real estate by building substantial three-story houses on this block during the decade. In August 1794 Daniel Richards insured three houses on the south side of Arch and the east side of Sixth Street. A later survey map shows three 20-odd-foot lots of irregular depths on the corner, likely those that Richards had developed.[170] Three months later, William Garrigues, a prominent Philadelphia Quaker, took out policies on two new houses with a three-foot alley between them. A city survey locates

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[167]Arch Street to Sixth, in Campbell Collection, Volume 1, p. 24, HSP. Jane Campbell maintained in her scrapbook that at the close of the 18th century, Fourth and Arch was about as far west as "fashionable society cared to live." Vol. 1, p. 33; quote on Hills map from Martin P. Snyder, City of Independence, 160. Snyder also noted that City Council was so pleased with it, they gave Hills a written commendation. Ibid., 204.

[168]"Survey Thomas Moore on Mulberry near 6th Street, April 26th, 1791," 3rd Survey Dist, pre-1814, PCA; Thomas Moore policy, 1794, CBk 3, S#2634-2636, p.1, INDE microfilm coll.

[169]Hogan, Prospect of Philadelphia, 1795; PG June 28, 1780; Thomas Moore, stable and coach house, Dec. 6, 1791, CBk 2, S #2478, p. 257.

[170]Daniel Richards, August 1, 1794, CBk 3, p. 8; Untitled plot plan, Mulberry to North Street, Fifth to Sixth, Survey 1814 Book, 3-T Division, CA.

Garrigues' 22'9 1/8 lot about 155 feet west from Fifth Street and south 200 feet to North Alley. Gideon Wells, merchant, owned and surveyed a 25 by 200-foot lot adjoining Garrigues to the east in 1794, and the following year insured his new, three-story house and kitchen where, according to the city directory, he then lived. The next year, Wells also insured a coach house and stable on North Alley, at the back end of his lot. Martin Thomas insured the "westernmost of his three [new] houses" in August of 1795. Martin listed himself as a house carpenter in the city directory that year, when he lived at Fifth and Arch streets. Martin's two lots (52'2 1/2 on Arch and 40' by 100 on Fifth Street) adjoined the Free Quaker Meeting House to the west and south. West of Martin's Arch Street lot, Samuel Ashton, another house carpenter, owned a 30 foot frontage lot surveyed in June 1796. According to the 1793 city directory, Ashton lived at 112 Arch Street, undoubtedly the same property later surveyed. Evidently Ashton, like Martin, built houses during the real estate boom. Isaac Ashton, also a cabinetmaker and likely a brother, lived with him at 112 Arch Street in 1793. Perhaps Ashton had already subdivided the lot into two properties, for in 1799 and 1800 another cabinetmaker, John Meeks, lived near 114 Arch Street.[171]

By 1795 the south side of Arch Street was peopled with some notable local names. Sarah Road, widow and gentlewoman, lived just west of house carpenter Martin Thomas, and next to Samuel Ashton. Between merchant Gideon Wells and Samuel Emlen were neighbors William McPherson, gentleman, (no street number) and John H. Brinton, attorney, at 108 Arch Street. Samuel Emlen's house at 114 Arch was east of Thomas Moore and David Lenox, both gentlemen. Lenox, a Revolutionary War veteran who won national recognition in 1794 when taken prisoner while serving as marshall during the Whiskey Insurrection, lived at a house that received the number 118 Arch Street. In 1805 his standing in the community won recognition with his appointment to the board of the Bank of the United States, where he served until the charter expired in 1811.[172]

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[171]William Garrigues, Nov. 25, 1794, CBk 3, p. 13; Martin Thomas, Aug. 19, 1795, CBk3, p. 25; Gideon Wills, Dec. 3, 1795, CBk2, p. 284. Third Survey District, F67, pre-1814, PCA; Garrigues appears as a member of the Philadelphia Meeting appointed to sign a document against the theater and other vices, such as gambling, according to PG Jan. 3, 1798; Hardie, The Philadelphia Directory, (1793); Hogan, Prospect; Prime, Directory of Craftsmen, cabinetmakers and house carpenters.

[172]Hogan, Prospect, 1795; Lenox was a major in the Continental Army and a merchant, and the Marshall for the Pennsylvania District in 1794. After the war he partnered with Arthur St. Clair as the Philadelphia auctioneer. PG Jan. 5 and July 17, 1779; Feb. 24, 1784; Aug. 13, 1794, Apr. 15, 1795; Lenox's bank appointment noted in David Jack Cowen, "The Origins

William Bradford, Esq., attorney general of the United States, listed his address as Sixth and Mulberry streets in Hardie's 1794 city directory. The United States Department of State also that Spring moved into "the New Buildings, [at] the corner of Sixth & Mulberry Streets," (shown by Hogan's 1795 city directory to be the southeast corner, but with no street number assigned), where it remained for two and a half years, from mid-May 1794 to October 1796, paying a monthly rent of $108.33 to a lumber merchant, Nathan Sheppard. Edmund Randolph and Timothy Pickering served as secretary while at this address. The latter's office staff consisted of only nine men -- three clerks, a translator, messenger and chief clerk. With all the business at hand, Pickering did much of the clerical work himself. In 1795 the office messenger, Samuel Crosby, lived at this location, presumably upstairs.[173]

In 1801 two names from the 1795 directory still remained on this block, merchant Gideon Wells and gentleman, Thomas Moore. Similar to Market Street, Arch had become gentrified over the capital city decade. Dr. James Mease, son of the wealthy shipping merchant, member of the First City Troop and port physician lived at 102 Arch Street. Mease had married the sister of Pierce and John Butler of South Carolina, and their son, Butler, married the great actress, Fanny Kemble.[174] Besides Mease, the residents all were merchants, gentlemen, cabinetmakers, a government official (Samuel Hodgson, intendant of naval stores) and a sea captain.[175] Again, the city leading figures restlessly moved to greener pastures westward, so that this block assumed a commercial character by mid-century.

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and Economic Impact of the First Bank of the United States, 1791-1797," Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, January 1999.

[173]Hardie, The Philadelphia Directory...1794; Burke, Homes of the Department of State, 21. Burke cites the Gazette of the United States May 17, 1794, as reporting that the house the department rented stood "next to the corner of Sixth in Arch Street. ." The "new" buildings at Sixth and Arch no doubt were those Daniel Richards insured in August 1794. CBk 3, p. 8.

[174]Campbell Collection, vol. 1, p. 37, HSP; Butler Mease eventually changed his name to Pierce Butler to inherit the Butler fortune. See Fanny Kemble entry in Dictionary of American Biography (DAB).

[175]Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801, 72, does not make clear, as the 1795 directory does, where the Sixth Street corner falls. There are five listings after number 120 Arch followed by 130. It is a guess that these unnumbered listings represent the buildings erected during the decade at the southeast corner of Sixth and Arch Streets.

More generally, with the introduction of street cars in the city in the early 19th century, Arch Street became the chosen parade ground for local fire companies. According to a scrapbook on Philadelphia, the last of the great firemen's parades marched by this block of Arch in 1870.[176]

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[176]Campbell, Vol. 1, Arch Street, p. 17.

Conclusions

The second block of Independence Mall has multiple levels of historical interest. It tells us about the development of one of the blocks at the western limit of the city during the period when Pennsylvanians actively were recruiting artisans from the Old World. As Major General Gage reported in January 1768, "The People of Pennsylvania ... are silently stealing in Mechanics and Manufacturers," from Great Britain, Ireland and Germany. This influx of artisans, he warned, would probably soon lead to their supplying many of the necessaries that Great Britain then was providing. The new immigrants settled on the city's fringes, including the blocks west of Fifth Street.[1] The 1760s saw many small brick or frame structures completed on block two, mainly on the secondary streets -- Fifth and Sixth, South and North Alleys -- where real estate cost was most affordable.

The development of block two before the 1760s does not follow the general pattern for older sections of the city. By 1720 William Hudson, a prominent Quaker, civil servant, large landowner and tanner, purchased the entire block and held it open as leasable pasture. Hudson's total control of the second block makes an exception within the usual pattern of multiple deed turnover during the city's first half century. Also, his decision not to sell the land, but to keep it by his will within two generations of his large family further delayed the diversification of the block's land use. His will left all the property to his wife until her death, which kept the block off the market until the 1760s, when the immigrant boom went into full swing.

Hudson was a man with vision. His will laid out the square into twenty-one family lots within three sections defined by two interior east-west streets which he named South and North alleys. Hudson's plan divided the block into three 200-foot-long strips on a north-south axis, separated by the two 30-foot-wide alleys between Fifth and Sixth streets. Perhaps no other block in the city had its own master plan like this one. Individual property owners in early Philadelphia regularly laid out streets within their real estate tracts, but few retained rights to an entire block and had their improvements last over two centuries. Only with Independence Mall's construction in the 1950s did Hudson's interior streets, then called Commerce and Cuthbert streets, get erased from the city plan.

When Hudson's widow died, his heirs gradually began to sell off lots, often in small working-class size lots (16 feet across on

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[1]General Thomas Gage as quoted in, Bell, "Some Aspects," PMHB 62, 288. According to an INDE note card which also quotes Gage, this letter survives in the Bancroft Collection at the New York Public Library.

the average) on the secondary streets. On the principal streets, Market and Arch streets, the real estate boom came a decade later, during the Revolution and early national period, when wealthy buyers were ready to move to this more settled section of the city, where the air and setting offered improvement over the crowded neighborhoods along the Delaware River.

William Penn set aside large lots along High or Market Street as a bonus for the first purchasers who acquired the largest land tracts in his colony of Pennsylvania. Hudson's heirs continued this tradition by selling larger lots on High Street to often wealthy, prominent citizens, mostly Quakers, like Benjamin Swett and John Pemberton. Hudson heirs also lived on Market Street in the 1760s and 1770s: Samuel Hudson at the corner of Fifth Street, and mid-block, Samuel Emlen and Thomas Moore. Advertisements in the newspaper indicate there were smaller, more modest properties on the east end of the block.

The community on this block during the Revolution and early national period was politically charged by its very proximity to the seat of government. Down its streets walked or paraded the enthusiasts who supported the concept of independence from Great Britain. Market Street residences gave political activists a convenient location only a block from the State House Square where the Continental Congress met during the Revolution. The "Fighting Quakers" chose the southwest corner of Arch and Fifth streets to erect their Free Quaker meeting house, the only structure to survive demolition in the 1950s and 1960s for the creation of the three-block Independence Mall State Park.

The American Revolution brought forfeiture of at least two loyalist properties on Market Street. Thomas Yorke's "elegant three story brick" house and outbuildings on the eastern end of the block were taken in 1779 and subsequently occupied by the Secretary to the Continental Congress, Charles Thomson. In 1780 Thomson moved a few doors west to the large house of William Bell, Esq. another attainted traitor. William Bell, merchant, perhaps a son of Bell Esq., owned the property until 1801, when it was listed as 217 Market (modern, 519, the tenth address from the corner of Fifth). Owen Biddle, another office holder in the revolutionary government, lived on Market Street closer to Fifth Street. He was also a founding member of the Free Quakers and contributed to the construction of their meeting house at the north end of the block.

The American Revolution also changed the lives and property use for artisans resident on block two. Samuel Wetherill on the north side of South Street (now under the parking garage), originally a carpenter, committed himself to the manufacture of uniforms for the American soldiers. Besides, he led the local campaign to develop domestic manufacturing as a means to build the nation's independence. Wetherill's commitment to independence also impacted on his religious life. Banished from the Society of

Friends for his support of the war, Wetherill led the movement for a Free Quaker denomination and was the principal manager for the construction of the meeting house at Fifth and Arch streets. Until his death, Wetherill remained a spiritual leader for the Free Quaker Meeting.

Nathan and David Sellers, who moved to block two, at the west end of Market Street late in the Revolution, made an important contribution to the national effort. Recognized early in the hostilities both by paper makers and the Continental Congress as indispensable to the war effort, Nathan Sellers was called by Congress from the front lines to make paper molds needed for paper making. Paper became critically scarce early in the Revolution, complicated by the fact that hitherto colonists had always relied on imports from Great Britain for their paper molds. Nathan Seller's business producing paper molds, which continued at the Market Street address, is said to be the first of its kind in the nation. The Sellers made the form for producing Continenal paper money as well. Once made, Nathan Sellers signed and numbered the currency. The Sellers' manufacture of wool and cotton cards also won national acclaim. As one writer observed in 1790, three American card manufacturers supplied the nation's market, and the Sellers' product proved both superior in quality and cheaper than the British equivalent. Nathan Sellers' invention of a new method for annealing and straightening wire contributed to that reputation. The Sellers family continued to produce molds and wire works at 231 (new 533) Market Street well into the 19th century, selling the property only months before the fire of April 1856 destroyed the buildings at the west end of the block.

During the decade when Philadelphia served as the nation's capital, 1790-1800, block two became part of the political and bureaucratic neighborhood of the federal government. When President Washington took residence on the south side of Market Street, just east of Sixth Street, the north side of Market Street housed prominent local and national figures -- such as gentleman Joseph Donaldson, industrialist Nathan Sellers, merchant William Bell, General Walter Stewart and Doctor William Shippen-- who were familiar to the president. A number of Congressmen lived in three different boarding houses on Sixth Street and the Auditor General of the United States took up residence on Fifth Street, near the Free Quaker Meeting House. The State Department under secretaries Edmund Randolph and Timothy Pickering located their office at Sixth and Arch streets and then on the north side of North Alley. In 1794, United States Attorney General William Bradford also kept his office at Sixth and Arch streets, while further east on the street that year, David Lenox, Revolutionary War veteran, won local fame for his service as marshall on duty in Western Pennsylvania during the Whiskey Rebellion. Arch Street over the decade experienced the city-wide housing boom with the construction of several handsome new brick residences occupied by gentlemen, merchants and doctors.

Artisans on block two supplied the Pennsylvania government with needed products to remodel the county court house for the use of the U.S. Congress in 1790 and for the enlargement of Congress Hall in 1793, after the census count raised the number of representatives. The block was a vital, diverse and fashionable place to locate during this precedent-setting decade. Shortly after the capital moved to the District of Columbia in 1800, block two began its gradual change into a commercial neighborhood, after the center of residential fashion moved west towards Broad Street.

The tax assessment records for the 1780s, the federal census of 1790 and the annual city directories launched in the 1790s furnish important information about the ethnic and social diversity of the block's residents. Although difficult to use with certainty[2], the tax assessments provide valuable insights as to the relative wealth and human property ownership on the block. The 1787 tax assessor found on Market Street three slaves in the household of Joseph Redman, gentleman, and one in the rope maker James Lang's. One free black then was listed on the block. The assessor noted "James Gress, Negroe" on land owned by Widow Tilburys Estate in a dwelling valued only at L150, which indicates the structure likely was quite small and frame. The listing came before a property owned by Rachel Hunt, a Hudson landowner on the north side of South Alley, which suggests Gress' general location. Butcher Edward Lasky on Fifth Street owned a negro girl worth L30. On Sixth Street just north of South or Commerce Street, Robert Erwin also owned a Negro who was valued at L50.

The modest number of slave owners on the block may tie into the fact that William Hudson and his heirs sold numerous properties to other Quakers, a religious group who banned slavery in their membership in 1774. Also, Pennsylvania in 1780 passed a gradual abolition act which suppressed, but did not banish, the practice of slave holding. Only one free black, likely a family servant asked to occupy the property, could be found on the 1787 tax assessment for this block, but the numbers grew as opportunities for work opened up during the 1790s, when Philadelphia served as the nation's capital for the decade.[3]

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[2]The tax assessment records are arranged by wards, but without any street indications. The assessor simply went from house to house collecting the necessary information, usually in a methodical pattern. This writer could usually identify the path of the assessor from other research sources-- like deeds, insurance surveys, newspaper advertisements-- which placed individuals on certain street locations on or near the year of the tax assessment. South and North Alleys were the most difficult to discern.

[3]David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823 (Ithaca, 1975), 24; as Nash, Forging

The 1790 federal census counted a total of 612 free blacks and seventy-one slaves in the district running north-south between Race and Chestnut Streets and east-west between the Delaware and Schulykill Rivers. On the streets within block two the census showed a total of 50 African Americans, mostly free, living on the block. Six black heads of household on South and North Alleys contained a total of thirty four blacks and two black heads of household on North Fifth Street together had a count of six. Two of these households are particularly striking, where the head of household is marked "negroe" and the occupants of the residence are both white and black. Seb Silas on North Alley had one white female and four others labeled "other free persons," a title that indicated free blacks. The record does not indicate whether Seb Silas' mixed household represented a bi-racial marriage. The census counted only two slaves on the block, both owned by William Shippen senior, living on Market Street near Sixth.

A few city directories during the 1790s continued to indicate if listings were non-white, using the term "African" to identify his or her race. Edmund Hogan's The Prospect of Philadelphia for 1795 and 1796 (both give the same information) is the only directory during the decade to list residents street by street and to indicate block locations by marking street crossings. This directory showed Sip Silas still in residence on North Alley (south side), occupation laborer. Only one other free black person was recorded on the block: Phoebe Anderson, a widow on North Alley, who made her living as a huckster, or seller of fruit.[4] More than likely the numbers of blacks had not changed substantially from the 1790 census; only the means to record them had. Unfortunately, the population count of African Americans in Philadelphia during the late 18th century has been difficult to determine accurately because of the dearth of written record.[5]

Freedom, 142, notes, the population of free blacks in Philadelphia during the decade more than tripled, rising from 2000 to 6000 people. The 1795 Pennsylvania Abolition Society census of free blacks in the city counted 381 independent black households. Nash adds, however, p. 145, that job opportunities declined after 1799, while the price of living sharply rose, which may have forced some of the free blacks on this block to move to less central neighborhoods.

[4]The low representation of free blacks in 1795/6 may have resulted from the fee charged for directory listing.

[5]By the close of the century, directories no longer identified listed residents by race. Nash in Forging Freedom, 136-142, discusses population discrepancies for the eighteenth century and some sources he used to expand the numbers provided by official census records.

Phoebe Anderson's occupation as huckster told less about her race than about her socio-economic status. Other female heads of household on block two in 1795 listed themselves as hucksters: Catherine Eak, a widow at 14 N. Fifth, and Charlotte Dick at 15 N. Sixth. Both lived in the smaller, probably two-story houses on these secondary streets. The block had a surprising variety of women listed in the 1795 directory. Martha Bren at 13 N. Sixth was a doctress, Charlotte Bowers a few doors north on Sixth was a midwife and Roseanna Jones, widow, living with Catherine Eak, listed herself as a nurse for the sick. Nearby at 1 North Alley, Elizabeth Connell was a schoolmistress, only four doors from Elizabeth Guyer, 11 North Alley, a widow and gentlewoman. On South Alley another widow and gentlewoman, Mary Diver, lived near widow Rachel Summers, who laid out the dead. Charity Murray at 21 North Sixth may have had a nickname, for she lived crowded in under the same roof with six other adults. Perhaps her presence in such tight quarters with four male laborers and two artisans, and another woman, Jennet Hudson, gentlewoman, was an act of charity. On Market and Arch streets, women household heads were typically rich widows or spinsters -- Hannah Pemberton at 213 High, Ann Giles at 221 High, and Sarah Rhoads on the east end of Arch Street, all listed themselves as gentlewomen. In contrast single women without such status on North Fifth -- Rebecca Williams and Peggy Connelly near the corner of High Street -- only listed themselves as widows. The indication that some single women made a living in the field of medicine and education shows the powerful effect of the early national period when the emphasis on learning and self-improvement spread optimism and hope to a larger circle of society.

While the majority of prominent men living or doing business on Market and Arch Street during the 1790s were of English stock -- for example, Robert Morris, Thomas W. Smith, Thomas Moore, Samuel Emlen, John Brinton, Esq. -- many of the store owners showed German descent -- Conrad Bates, John Guier, Jacob Miller, and John Steinmetz. These were the two largest national groups represented in Philadelphia during the eighteenth century and by their co-mingling on Market Street, it is evident that at least in the higher economic range, the barriers between the groups were eroding.[6] German artisans are well represented on the secondary streets --Jacob Eckfeldt, Martin Sowerman, George Senfft, Frederick Steiner, George Etter, Henry Ritter, Nicholas Rottenwalter -- but the majority of artisan businesses and stores on the block were run by men with English-sounding names.

Two householders, Arnaud DeSau and Peter Sequind, who listed themselves as French gentlemen on North Fifth Street in the 1795 directory, were immigrants to Philadelphia from France or the West Indies. Their presence suggested the political turmoil in Europe

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[6]Hawke, In the Midst, 44-5, notes the barriers were high at the outbreak of the Revolution.

and in the islands. The French Revolution and a drastic slave rebellion in today's Jamaica in 1793 made Philadelphia a haven for many wealthy French property owners, as well as their French-speaking slaves. The French presence on North Fifth Street on this block, among six nearby neighbor merchants, reflects the social stability of the street.

When the state government moved to Lancaster in 1799 and the federal government to Washington, D.C., in 1800, the city of Philadelphia closed a chapter in its history. A new century dawned on an age of commerce and industrialization. Philadelphians continued to excel in both, but the city no longer ranked as the political center of the nation and commonwealth. As the population grew, the city pushed steadily westward. By 1816 the market sheds beginning at Front Street extended to Sixth Street. By the 1820s store owners were raising their buildings along Market Street to four or five stories. The gentile, quieter days before the busy markets, the street cars and faster pace that came with industrial progress, had passed. Hudson's Square had swept from pasture to mixed residential/commercial in less than fifty years in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century major fires and new construction further reconfigured the buildings. By the early twentieth century the mall neighborhood had developed into the center of the book arts industries in Philadelphia.[7] Before the demolition of all the block in the 1950s, (save the Free Quaker Meeting House), a photographic record of the street scapes was compiled (see illustrations) which shows that architecture survived from both the earlier centuries. Plans for the block in the new millennium will give a final opportunity to find the treasures of our past on block two.

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[7]My appreciation to James Green at the Library Company of Philadelphia for sharing literature from the exhibit, "Making A Case for Cloth Publishers' Cloth Case Bindings, 1830-1900," May 16 through December 22, 1995. The intriguing story of the city's book arts center remains a subject for future research. See No. 7 in Maps, indicating market sheds to Sixth in 1819.

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Campbell Collection Scrapbooks
Perkins Collection, 1900-1912
Society Photograph Collection

Independence National Historical Park (INDE)

Architectural Files
Contributionship Insurance and Mutual Assurance Surveys (microfilm)
History Note Card File
Photograph Collection
Photostat Collection

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APPENDICES

Appendix A
William Hudson and Heirs

William **Hudson** (1661-1742) married (1689) Mary Richardson d. 1708
married (1709) Hannah Barber (Ogden),
d. 1759

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*Samuel, died before William, m. Mary Holton
Elizabeth, m. **Jones**; Mary m. John **Head**; Hannah m. Jos. **Howell**; Robert (?)
*Mary, married Joseph **Cooper**, Jr.
*Sarah, 1718-1780, m. John **Langdale**?
*Elizabeth, b. 1721
*William Jr., 1696-1759
Mary, Rachel, Susannah, Jane and Elizabeth
*Susannah, m. 1) Robert **Owen** 2) John **Burr**
Rachel Owen m. ? Kemble; Hannah Owen m. John **Ogden**, 1720-91
Mary and Susannah Burr
*John, died before William,
Rachel and Deborah
*Hannah m. Jacob **Medcalf**
Susannah, Rachel, Matthew, William
*Rachel, b. 1723, m. Samuel **Emlen**, 1730-1799

This information has been compiled from the Hudson Square plan of 1759, deeds, wills and secondary sources; it does not give a full genealogical coverage.

Hudson named the following twenty-four grandchildren, most of them minors, in his will:

Elizabeth Hudson
Mary Hudson
Jane Hudson
Hannah Hudson
Rebecca Hudson
Deborah Hudson
Elizabeth Hudson
Samuel Hudson
Rachel Medcalf
William Medcalf
Matthew Medcalf
Rachel Owen
Hannah Owen
Rachel Hudson
Mary Hudson (dau. of Wm.Jr.)
Sarah Langdale
Susannah Hudson
Susannah Medcalf
Mary Burr
Susannah Burr
Hannah Moode
Hudson Emlen
Sarah Emlen
Mary Howell

Appendix B

Block Two Street Locations

As recorded in, James Robinson, The Philadelphia Directory, City and County Register, for 1802. Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, [1802].

Fifth street (North), from 197 High, to Vine Alley, and between Fourth and Sixth streets
Sixth street (North), from 233 High, to Vine Alley, and between Fifth and Seventh streets
South alley, from 10 North Fifth, to 7 Sixth street
North alley, from 36 North Fifth, to 39 Sixth street

[Based on the street numbers, the directory located Fifth and Sixth streets by giving the last number on the east side of Fifth and Sixth streets, and, correspondingly, located South and North alleys by naming the Fifth or Sixth Street address on the south side of these streets.]

Appendix C

Congressmen at Boarding Houses, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1800*

Stephen's Philadelphia Directory for 1796

39 North Sixth
Samuel Smith, Representative, Maryland
Richard Brent, Representative, Virginia

Cornelius William Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory for 1797

39 North Sixth
Same two members as in 1796 directory

Cornelius William Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory for 1798

9 North Sixth Street
Samuel Livermore, Senator, New Hampshire
Hezekiah Hosmer, Representative, New York

11 North Sixth Street
James Schureman, Representative, New Jersey
John Brown, Senator, Kentucky

39 North Sixth Street
Mr. Chipman, Senator, Vermont
Richard Stockton, Senator, New Jersey
Henry Latimer, Senator, Delaware
Lewis R. Morris, Representative, Vermont
James Cochran, Representative, New York
Hezekiah L. Hosmer, Representative, New York
James A. Bayard, Representative, Delaware

Cornelius William Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory for 1800

7 North Sixth Street
Samuel Livermore, Senator, New Hampshire
William Cooper, Representative, New York

39 North Sixth Street
Nathaniel Chipman, Senator, Vermont
William Hill Wells, Senator, Delaware
Henry Latimer, Senator, Delaware
Theodore Sedgwick, Speaker, [Massachusetts]
Lewis R. Morris, Representative, Vermont
Franklin Davenport, Representative, New Jersey
James A. Bayard, Representative, Delaware

* City Directory Listings of Congressmen's residences under section, "Government of the United States"

Appendix D

Philadelphia Directory Listings, Block Two, 1795 and 1801

Edmund Hogan, The Prospect of Philadelphia, 1795

p. 6, High or Market Street, North Side, Nos. 199 to 231
pp. 50-51, North Fifth Street, Nos. 2 to Free Quaker Meeting house
p. 54, North Sixth Street, Nos. -- to -- or Joseph Donaldson to Cross Arch Street
p. 67, Arch or Mulberry Street, South Side, Cross Fifth to bottom of page
pp. 86-87, South Alley and North Alley

Cornelius William Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801

p. 12, Market Street, north side, no. 199 to listing for Hugh and John Jackson, merchants, after no. 231
pp. 35-36, North Fifth Street, nos. 2 to 48
p. 37, North Sixth Street, nos. 3 to 39
p. 72, Arch Street, south side, no. 100 to series of "next" following no. 120
p. 124, South alley and North alley

THE PROSPECT OF PHILADELPHIA, AND CHECK ON THE NEXT *DIRECTORY.*

PART I.

GIVING, AT A SINGLE VIEW,

THE NUMBERS OF THE HOUSES, NAMES OF THE STREETS, LANES, COURTS, AND ALLEYS; WITH THE NAMES OF THE PRESENT INHABITANTS, AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS: TOGETHER WITH OTHER INTERESTING OCCURRENCES, AND USEFUL OBSERVATIONS.

BY EDMUND HOGAN.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY FRANCIS & ROBERT BAILEY, AT YORICK'S HEAD, No. 116, HIGH-STREET.

M.DCC.XCV.

[Entered according to Act of Congress.]

SOUTH, HIGH OR MARKET-STREET. CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Occupation.
144	*Rev. Henry Helmuth, Minister of the*	*German Lutherian Con.*
146	John Service,	Merchant,
148	Lewis Walker,	Hatter,
150	John Richie,	Tobacconist,
152 & 154	*George* Bickham & *Jacob* Reese,	Merchants,
156	Eleazar Oswald,	Printer Indepen. Gazet.
158	John N. Hagenau,	Merchant,
	Susannah Hedengran,	Boarding-house,
160	George Heyl,	Tobacconist,
162	Joseph Lawson,	Sadler,
	Wm. Elliott,	Blacksmith,
	Nicholas Fortberg,	Painter and Glazier,
164	Ebenezer Branham,	Innkeeper,
166	Charles & David Evans,	Grocers
168	William Sheaff,	Wine Merchant,

Cross Fifth-Street.

170	James Dunn,	Boarding-house,
172	William Jones,	Gentleman,
174	Robert E. Jones,	Wine Merchant,
176	Jacob Stein,	Flour Merchant,
178	Abraham Kintzing,	Grazier,
180	*Henry* Sheaff,	Wine Merchant,
190	George Washington,	President of the U. States,
192	Robert Morris,	Merchant,

Cross Sixth-Street.

194	Peter Gravensline,	Dealer in Fruit,
198	Samuel Ottis,	Sec. of the Senate of U. S.
200	George Strayley,	Innkeeper,
202	John Moale,	Huckster,
204	Benjamin Rogers,	Shoemaker.
206	Henry Clause,	Grocer.
208	James Anderson,	Sadler,
	George Lechler,	Reed maker,
210	Jacob Thompson,	Grocer,

St. CLYMER'S-ALLEY opens here.

	Baltzer Clymer,	Carter,
212	Wm. Turner,	Gentleman,
214	Martha Archer widow,	Boarding-house,
216	Alexander Greenwood,	Shoemaker.
	Adam Roth,	Labourer,
	Lawrence Lowery,	Labourer,
218 & 220	George Weed,	Innkeeper,

NORTH, HIGH OR MARKET-STREET. CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Occupation.
187	Benjamin Wetherell,	Tinman and Coppersmith.
189	Elizabeth Cottringer, widow	Shopkeeper.
191	Jacob Barge,	Gentleman.
193	Jacob Speery,	Merchant.
197	Robert Shaw,	Drygood Merchant.

Cross Fifth-Street.

199	William Guier	Grocer.
201	Alexander Hilfland,	Ironmonger.
203	*Jacob* Miller and *John* Cline,	Grocers.
205	John Guier,	Wine Merchant.
207	*Samuel* Fulton and *John* Aitson,	Grocers.
	John Simpson	Blacksmith.
209	Conrad Bates,	Tobacconist.
	Anthony Redin,	Fruiteller.
211	Frederick Heise,	Gentleman.
	William Reynolds,	Shopkeeper.
113	Hanna Pemberton, widow,	Gentlewoman.
215	Henry Seckel,	Wine Merchant.
217	William Bell,	Grocer.
119	Thomas W. Smith,	Gentleman.
221	Anne Giles, widow,	Gentlewoman.
223	John Steinmetz,	Merchant.
225	Casper Wistar,	Doctor of Physic.
227	Robert Morris's, Counting house.	
229	David M'Kormick,	Ironmonger.
231	Nathan and David Sellars	Wire-Workers.

Cross Sixth-Street.

233	John Grandom,	Shopkeeper.
235	William Hunter,	Coach-maker.
237	Peter Croft,	Harness-maker.
	Cainer Jones,	Coach-maker.
239	Susannah Stanley, widow,	Boarding-house.
	James Gallagher,	Doctor of Physic.
241	John Capp,	Grocer.
243	Charles Biddle, Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas.	
245	John Stein,	Gentleman.
247	*Martin* Dubs and *Charles* Marquedant,	Grocers.
249	John Sebastian Conitz,	Barber.
251	George Eddy,	Broker.
253	John Parker,	Shopkeeper.
	Daniel Siever,	Meat-smoaker.
255	*William* Miller and *John* Grant,	Grocers.
257	John Fenton,	Coach-maker.
259	*John* Regan and *Mark* Rodes,	Grocers.
	Christopher Byerly,	Cooper.
261	Samuel Claphamson,	Cabinet-maker.

NORTH FIFTH-STREET, EAST SIDE, CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Occupation.
--	Valentine Hoffman,	Blacksmith.
--	Joseph Norman,	Grocer.
	Cross Race-street.	
--	Elias Dawson,	Grocer.
--	Adam Eglen,	Blacksmith.
--	Wollery Gross,	Trader.
--	Jacob Whiteman,	Dealer in Corn & Flour, &c.
69	Lewis Phips,	Nailor.
--	Robert Parrish,	Gentleman.
--	Peter Le Grange,	French Printer.
	Madame Piadolph,	French lady.
77 79	Jacob Sheblea,	Blacksmith.
81	Jacob Myrick,	Painter.
	Lewis Shell,	Huckster.
83	Curtis Hyatt,	Bricklayer.
85	Daniel Fielhmott,	Baker.
87	Peter Ornbrosser,	Labourer.
	Henry Stiller,	Painter.
89	Edward Graham,	Taylor.
91	Philip Firong,	Taylor.
	Thomas Crow,	Windsor Chair-maker.
	John Elfrey,	Shoemaker.
93	David Perry,	Flour factor.
	Nathan Smith,	Carpenter.
	Henry Atherton,	Schoolmaster.
	George Harland,	Carpenter.
	Sarah Williams,	Gentlewoman.
--	Joshua Smith,	Bricklayer.
--	Thomas Walker,	Sea Captain.
115	Joseph Lamy,	French gentleman.
	Vine-street.	

NORTH FIFTH-STREET, *West Side.*

2	Rebecca Williams, Widow.	
4	Peggy Connelly.	
6	Isaac Katz,	Cedar cooper.
	Samuel Shrock,	Shoemaker.
8	Christian Derrick,	Labourer.
	Philip Derrick,	Painter.
	Jacob Belgerback,	Labourer.
10	Louis Wolfe,	Hair-dresser.
	Cross South Alley.	
12	Joseph Clark,	Schoolmaster.
14	Catharine Euk, Widow,	Huckster.

NORTH FIFTH-STREET, WEST SIDE, CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Occupation.
	Rosanna Jones, Widow,	Nurse for the Sick.
	Jesse Lorton,	Brass-founder.
16	Arnaud Defan,	French Gentleman.
18	John James,	Merchant.
20	Thomas Savery,	Carpenter.
22	James Reive,	Scrivener.
24	Henry Ritter,	Baker.
26	John Bugh,	House Carpenter.
	Henry Apple,	Cooper.
28	Peter Sequind,	French Gentleman.
30	Jacob Eckfeldt,	Blacksmith.
--	Thomas Herman Leuffer,	Merchant.
	Cross North Alley.	
--	James Read,	Inspector of flour for this Port.
--	John Davis,	Merchant.
38	Samuel Clark,	Lumber Merchant.
40	Samuel Wilcocks,	Merchant.
42	Garret Cottringer,	Merchant.
44	Richard Harrison, Auditor General of the United States.	
46	Blacksmith's Shop.	
48	George Apple,	Hair-dresser.
	John Crawley,	Chip-hat Weaver.

The Free Quaker's Meeting house is built here; it is 48 feet by 36, two stories high, a cellar and vault under the whole.
Founded in the year 1783, by the contribution of a great number of the citizens of Philadelphia of all denominations, as a compensation to the members of the society for the loss they sustained in consequence of having been disowned by their Brethren.

	Cross Arch-street.	
	Samuel Hearl,	Scrivener.
54	Charles Thompson,	Scrivener.
--	William Weaver,	Labourer.
--	Hugh Irvan,	Shoemaker.
56	William Harting,	Scrivener.
58	Jacob Hollinan,	Scrivener.
60	Mary Thomas, Widow,	Gentlewoman.
62	Thomas Hennelry,	Fishmonger.
64	Christian Bloomer,	Pan-box-maker.
68	John Cloer,	Cabinet-maker & Joiner.
70	John Lacave,	French Hair-dresser.
	John Morel,	French Hair-dresser.
72	John Graham,	Cabinet-maker.
	Close Cherry-street.	
82	Ebenezer Robinson,	Brass manufacturer.

NORTH SIXTH-STREET, *East Side.*

No.	Name.	Occupation.
--	Joseph Donnaldson,	Gentleman.
5	Peter Lahn,	Notary Public.
7	George Ritter,	Painter.
	Josiah Bigelow,	M. D.
--	William Simmonds,	Accomptant.
	Crost South Alley.	
11	Robert Irvin,	Boarding-house.
13	Martha Bren,	Dofkeefs.
15	Richard Manley,	Shoemaker.
	Charlotte Lickey,	Huckster.
17	Michael Albright,	Cooper.
	James & Joseph Dilworth,	Brickers.
19	Charles William Naffau,	Baker.
21	Henry Henfon,	Brush-maker.
	Jennet Hudfon,	Gentlewoman.
	Alexander M'Intosh,	Wood Sawer.
	Andrew & Robert Patterson,	Labourers.
	Charity Murray, Widow,	Spinster.
	John Cunningham,	Labourer.
--	Godfrey Hawker,	Biscuit Baker.
	Charlotte Bowers,	Midwife.
	James Gorman,	Cook at City Tavern.
25	George Etter,	Coach-maker.
	John Creft,	Hatter.
	Solomon Maraches,	Boarding-house.
	Crost North Alley.	
--	Samuel Sterett,	Merchant.
	Crost Arch-street.	
61	James Lanting,	Cabinet-maker.
63	Samuel Lawing,	Carpenter.
	David Knight,	Carpenter.
--	John Banks,	Scrivener.
67	Jacob Timple,	Taylor.
	Augurth Freeburgh,	Watchman.
	Michael Pepers,	Labourer.
--	John Fisher,	Labourer.
--	Stephen Sheremath,	Hoftler.
	Mary Dearinger,	Washer.
	John Crol,	Shoemaker.
	John Usher,	Ban-box-maker.
	Godfrey Meeny,	Baker.
	Jacob Fore,	Wheelwright.
61	Joseph Grey,	Brewer.
68	Madam Voyer.	
--	William Smith,	House Carpenter.
71	Jacob Hoffner,	Schoolmaster.

NORTH SIXTH-STREET, East Side, Continued.

No.	Name.	Occupation.
	Crost Cherry-street.	
73	Isaac Ryal,	Cryer with a bell.
	Mathew Walker,	Chip-hat maker.
75	Robert Cunningham,	Weaver.
77	John M'Connell.	
--	*Aff.* Robert Venable,	White-washer.
81	David Mandeville,	Scrivener.
83	Chriftian Lawrence,	Blackfmith.
85	Sufanna Abington, Widow,	Gentlewoman.
87	Angela Joujoutte, Widow.	
89	George Felker,	Shoemaker.
91	Hannah Clark, Widow,	Schoolmiftrefs.
	Samuel Faulkner,	China Manufacturer.
	Crost Race-ftreet.	
	John Smith & *John* Plumb,	Coach-makers, their fhop.
--	Elizabeth Herbert.	
--	Frederick S. Getz,	Scrivener.
--	Francis Barrier,	Weaver.
--	Nathan Sutherough,	Scrivener.
--	Henry Chrifman,	Shoemaker.
--	Frederick Stall,	Rope-maker.
--	William Robinfon,	Carpenter.
--	Frederick Miller,	Scrivener.
--	Jacob Smith,	Plaifterer.
--	Conrad Beckman,	Taylor.
--	Samuel Johnfon,	Houfe Carpenter.
	John Houck,	Shopkeeper.
123	John Evans,	Carpenter.
	Andrew Bower,	Stone-cutter.
131	John M'Kichan,	Labourer.
133	Joseph Meredith,	Plaifterer.
--	Philip Roller,	Butcher.
--	Frederick Baugh,	Shoemaker.
--	Chriftian Helm,	Shoemaker.
--	Samuel Mitchel,	Carter.
--	Polly Weft.	
	Vine-ftreet.	

NORTH SIXTH-STREET, *Weft Side.*

--	Francis and Anna Maria Clifton,	Gentlewomen.
--	Mary Armftrong, Widow,	Waiher.
--	George Swarts,	Blackfmith.
--	David Sellers,	Card-maker.

Mulberry Court opens here; the following are its inhabitants.

	Benjamin Stevens,	Surveyor.
	Joseph Hartifon,	Gentleman.

ARCH OR MULBERRY-STREET, NORTH SIDE, CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Occupation.
37	Nathaniel Parker,	Brass founder.
39	Andrew Marcher,	Taylor.
41	Edward Mulloch,	House Carpenter.
43	Thomas Poultney,	Gentleman.
45	Ebenezer Hazard,	Gentleman.
49	Elizabeth Robertdeau,	Gentlewoman.
51	Margaret Crosier, Widow,	Boarding-house.
53	Mary Miller, Widow,	Boarding-house.
55	Frederick Jenkins,	Gentleman.
57	Daniel Jurdon,	Schoolmaster,
159	James North,	Teacher of Mathematics.
61	John Dewitt,	M. D.
171	John Hall,	Gentleman.
--	Thomas Proctor,	Gentleman.
173	James Fleming,	Hair-dresser.

Cross-Fifth-street.

177	Samuel Head,	Gentleman.
179	Durrick House,	Coach-maker.
181	Joseph Kirkbride,	Merchant.
187	Daniel Clauger,	Painter & Glazier.
189	Jacob Gideon, Brush and Black-ball manufacturer, and blower of the horn for the City Light-horse.	
195 197	Thomas Hardy,	Soap boiler.
--	John Mingle,	Blacksmith.
101	Samuel Lewis, Geographer & Clerk at war office.	
103	Thomas Willis,	Turner.

Cross Sixth-street.

211	Nathaniel Brown,	Innkeeper & Whip-maker.
215	David Evans,	Cabinet-maker.
217	Don Joseph Jadanes,	Spanish Ambassador.
223	William Barton,	Attorney at Law.
225	James Ait,	Sea Captain,
227	Joshua Dawson,	Scrivener.
229	Sarah Bains, Widow,	Gentlewoman.
	James Finley,	Schoolmaster.
	Samuel G. Clendenin,	Scrivener.
235	John Grace,	Coppersmith & Brazier.
237	William Johnson,	Coach-maker.
	John Flint,	Coach-maker.
239	Jervi Clare,	French Gentleman.
	Charlotte Cadie,	French Gentlewoman.
241	Eli Vallette,	Scrivener.
243	John Eichman,	Shoemaker.

Cross Seventh-street.

245	David Rittenhouse,	Gentleman.

ARCH OR MULBERRY-STREET, SOUTH SIDE, CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Occupation.
	George & John Benner,	Bottlers.
41	Samuel Walker,	Grocer.

Cross Second-street.

46	John Grimes, Innkeeper Sign of the George—New-York and Baltimore Stage-office.	
48	Joseph Drinker,	Cooper.
	Frances Nesbitt,	Schoolmistress.
50	Lucey Mathers, Widow,	Boarding-house.
52	William M'Ilhenney,	Taylor.
54	Lewis Hammer,	Hair-dresser.
56	Jacob Rodrigues Persyra,	Pedlar.
58	William Yarley,	Flour merchant.
60	—— Williams,	Merchant.
62	John Clarke,	Store-keeper.
66	Samson Harvey,	Ship chandler.
68	George Goodman,	Biscuit baker.
70	John Woodside,	Scrivener.
	Elizabeth Woodside,	Milliner.
72		
74	Mary Head, Widow,	Boarding-house.
76	Robert Seaborn,	Taylor.
78	Kennet Jewel,	Taylor.
80	Enoch Wright,	Taylor.
82	William Flack,	Baker.

Cross Third-street.

84	Edmund Milne,	His Shop Warehouse.

Cross Fourth-street.

86	*Revered John Ewing, D. D. Provost of the University.*	
96	George Bringhurst,	Coach-maker.

The burying ground of Christ church is situated here; it is 400 feet long, and 300 broad.

Cross Fifth-street.

--	Martin Thomas,	House carpenter.
--	Sarah Rhoads, Widow,	Gentlewoman.
--	Samuel Alton,	Cabinet-maker.
--	*Gideon H. Wells,*	Merchant.
--	William M'Pherson,	Gentleman.
108	John H. Brinton,	Attorney at Law.
114	Samuel Emlen,	Gentleman.
--	*Thomas Moore,*	Gentleman.
118	David Lewis,	Gentleman.
--	Sampson Vosbey, Messenger to the office of the Secretary of State, which is kept here.	

NICHOLSON's COURT

Runs from Race to Cherry Street, and between Sixth and Seventh-ſtreets, the following are the Inhabitants, viz.

Nicholas Heſs,	Blackſmith.
John Brown,	Cooper.
Benjamin Biles,	Carpenter.
William Boſtic,	Carpenter.
Griffith Comb,	Houſe Carpenter.
William Powell,	Houſe Carpenter.
Peter Miller,	Bruſh-maker.
Jacob Kern,	Carpenter.
Abraham Woolford,	Turner.

SOUTH ALLEY

Runs Eaſt and Weſt from Fifth to Sixth-ſtreets, and between High and Arch-ſtreets. The following are the name of the Inhabitants, viz.

No.	Name.	Occupation.
1	Elizabeth Connel,	Schoolmiſtreſs.
4	Cornelius Wood,	Huckſter.
	Patrick M'Cormick,	Fiſhmonger.
5	Anthony Lygen,	Labourer.
	William Davis,	Trunk-maker.
6	John Brown,	Shoemaker.
7	Forbes Newton,	Hatter.
	Martin Sowerman,	Hatter.
9	Samuel Wetherill, Junr.	Oil & colour man.
10	John Sadler,	Stone cutter.
11	Elizabeth Guyer, Widow,	Gentlewoman.
12	Paul Beck, ſenior,	Gentleman
	Mary Diver, Widow,	Gentlewoman.
13	John Simon,	Taylor.
14	Hugh Niſbit,	Taylor.
15	Jacob Jones,	Shoemaker.
25	Robert Adams,	Livery ſtable keeper.
26	Rachel Summers, Widow,	Lays out the dead.
29	John Frower,	Shoemaker.

Two perſons died in South Alley in 1793.

NORTH ALLEY

Runs Eaſt and Weſt from Fifth to Sixth-ſtreet, and between High and Arch-ſtreets. The following are the inhabitants—

North Side.

--	John Fiſher,	Hatter's maker.
26	Samuel Briggs,	Fire engine-maker.
--	Frederick Steiner,	Taylor.

NORTH ALLEY CONTINUED.

South Side.

No.	Name.	Occupation.
--	John Stewart,	Blackſmith.
--	*Aſ.* Sip Silas,	Labourer.
20	Benedict Snyder,	Stocking-weaver.
--	Jacob Apple,	Shoemaker.
	Humphry Donoghue,	Rush bottom chair-maker.
22	Nicholas Rottenwalter,	Potter.
--	*Aſ.* Phœbe Anderſon, W.	Huckſter.
--	John Dialogue,	Nailor.
25	George Senſſt,	Innkeeper.
--	Jacob Finch,	Stocking-weaver.
27	George Snowden,	Houſe carpenter.
28	Joſeph Boger,	Joiner.
--	Jeſſe Waterman,	Schoolmaſter,
--	Andrew Tryer,	Drayman.
31	James Beyſon,	Boarding-houſe,
	William Galt,	Gentleman.

Two perſons died in North Alley in 1793.

SUGAR ALLEY.

This Alley opens between No. 34 and No. 36, North Sixth-ſtreet and runs to Seventh-ſtreet. The names of the inhabitants are as follows—

North Side.

4	David Aronſitey,	Wheelwright.
	Catherine Young, Widow,	Seamſtreſs.
5	Thomas M'Kay,	Bricklayer.
	Henry Scott,	Bricklayer.
9	Maria Laughman, Widow,	Gentlewoman.
11	John Shuſton,	Potter.
--	Philip Warner,	Shoemaker.
--	Edward Glide,	Labourer.
17	Henry Hoſner,	Bricklayer.
--	James Stirk,	Stone maſon.
	Caſper Zollinger,	Coachman.
--	Frederick Ling,	Stone cutter.
--	Jeremiah Harriſon,	Stone cutter.

South Side.

--	Daniel Blew,	Labourer.
--	William Green,	Labourer.
8	John Clark,	Blackſmith.
12	Anne Maguire, Widow,	Mantua-maker.
14	Peter Stringer,	Labourer. 63 years old.
--	Mary Tims,	Mantua-maker.
18	Rebecca Riding, Widow,	Huckſter.

Philadelphia Directory,

FOR 1801.

CONTAINING

THE NAMES, OCCUPATIONS, AND PLACES OF ABODE OF THE CITIZENS,

ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER:

ALSO

A REGISTER

OF THE

Conſtitution of the United States—Miniſters, Conſuls, &c. from Foreign Powers to the United States; and from the United States to Foreign Powers.

WITH

AN ACCURATE TABLE

OF THE

Duties on Goods, Wares, and Merchandize; and other Information respecting the Cuſtom-Houſe.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An Alphabetical Liſt of the Streets, Lanes, and Alleys.

By CORNELIUS WILLIAM STAFFORD.

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR, BY
WILLIAM W. WOODWARD, No. 17, Chefnut Street.

1801.

199 Guier and Diehl, merchants
201 Jacob Dilworth, ironmonger
203 Henry Zantzinger, merchant
205 John Geer, wine merchant
207 Jacob Hallinger, merchant
209 William Bates, tobacconift
211 Frederick Eckstein, merchant
213 Widow Pemberton,
215 Thomas Paffmore, tin plate worker and japanner
217 William Bell,
219 William Phillips, gentleman
219 Thomas Smith, gentleman
221 Jacob Shoemaker, infurance broker
223 Lewis Neill, merchant
225 Henry and Bogg , merchants
225 Alexander Lindsay, merchant
227 Richard Lumdaeys, china merchant
229 John Glen merchant
231 Nathan and David, fellers wire workers
Hugh and John Jackfon, merchants corner of Sixth &
Hugh Jackfon, merchant
233 John Grandin, gentleman
235 Joseph Reed, attorney at law
235 Thomas Parfon Zantzinger, attorney at law
235 Sufannah Stanly, boarding houfe
237 Peter Crefs, Tailer
239 John Smith, gentleman
241 John Capp, grocer
243 Charles Biddle, prothonotar of the court of common pleas
245 James Knox, grocer
247 Dubbs and Earl, merchants
249 John Smith, ironmonger
251 Jacob Reefe, merchant
253 Joseph Warner, houfe-carpenter
Gideon Cox, cooper, back of 253
255 James N. Taylor, grocer
259 Rugan and Rhodes, grocers
261 Adam Haina, grocer
263 Elizabeth Fehiger, gentlewoman
265 Samuel Fulton, grocer
271 Philip Stein and co. merchants
273 Henry Steever and co. grocers
275 Owen and Charles Foulke, merchants
277 John Kibler, flour ftore
277 Martin Oldenburgh, hair-dreffer
279 John Perot, merchant
281 J. H. Brinton, attorney at law
283 Peter Lex, grocer
285 John Dunwoody, innkeeper
287 Jacob Trafel, grocer
289 Richard North, ftone cutter

North Fifth Street.

3 M. F. G. Delmling, clerk
5 Joseph Blume, butler
7 Edward Giblon, grocer
9 George Etherrich, baker
11 Charles-Frederick Hugueain, watch and clock maker
13 Christian Helm, cordwainer
15 James Steward, house carpenter
17 George Kreps, brick maker
19 Ann Patchal, gentlewoman
Horace Binney, attorney at law
21 Thomas Rogers, brass founder
next George Bringhurst, coach maker
25 Pearson Parvin, school master
27 William Davidson,
31 Joseph Sherner, grocer
35 Hannah Kirby, widow
Francis Sellers,
37 Henry Sims, cabinet maker
John Sims, painter and glazier
39 Valentine & Daniel Hollman, blacksmiths for the U. S.
next Jacob Horn, collector of the direct tax, & cooper
79 Jacob Shoble, dry good store
81 Jacob Mysich, painter and glazier
83 Kitty Catman,
85 Charles G. Truchel, clerk
George Conkle, taylor
85 Daniel Frellments, baker
91 William Oliver, hardware merchant
93 Isaac Heylin, M. D.
Sarah Feeley, boarding house
111 Joshua R. Smith, bricklayer
113 Jacob Hoffman, scrivener
J. P. Riviere, gentleman
115 Sophia Hoffman, gentlewoman
Philip Claridge, grocer corner of Vine st
2 John Reily, grocer and china store
4 Adam Snyder, grocer
6 Jacob Stine, dry good store and dealer in flour and grain
10 Lewis Woolf, hair dresser
12 Joseph Clark, school master
14 Charles Eberle, cutler
18 John James, merchant
20 Thomas Savery, house carpenter
26 John G. Wells, lawyer
Elizabeth Jervis, boarding house
28 William Lewis Sonntag, merchant
John B. Wallace, attorney at law

30 Jacob Eckfeidt, innkeeper
32 John Gerbier, gentleman
38 Samuel Clarke, gentleman
40 Samuel Wilcocks, merchant
42 E. Cohen, merchant
44 Benjamin Barton, M. D.
48 John Cannon, mariner
52 Henry Weaver, box and flute maker
54 Matturine Mouillie, wine merchant
56 Jacob Mantzkil, house carpenter
58 Ann Lyon, gentlewoman
Sarah Williams, gentlewoman
Mary Joy, gentlewoman
60 Molly Thomas, gentlewoman
62 William L. Blair, lawyer
Thomas Cooper, carpenter
Edward Blackburn
64 John Chriſtian Blumner, bonnet box maker
68 Frederick Weaver, cabinet maker
70 John Newman, china store
72 Peter Shaffer, tobacconiſt
James Mulligan, blackſmith
82 James Rolph, grocer
84 Elizabeth Helm, grocer
86 Mary Reinholdt, gentlewoman
88 Reading Howell, furveyor
90 John Duvet, gentleman
92 Hannah Tully, gentlewoman
94 Robert Evans, lumber merchant
Robert Evans, jun. hatter
96 Catherine Parker, ſhopkeeper
98 Peter Deal, labourer
100 Daniel Vanderſlice, hair dreſſer
Widow Nail,
102 John Dennis, ſhoemaker
108 Henry Myers, innkeeper
110 Catherine Eafenbury, innkeeper
112 Widow Rudy
114 Nathan Coulton, innkeeper
118 John Richard, labourer
120 Widow Rothlaker,
122 John Care, Cedile tree maker
124 Edward Graham, taylor
126 Henry Rees, baker
next Jacob Burckbach, brewer
128 Chriſtiana Ezris,
130 William Ezris,
146 Philip Miller, ſhoemaker
148 Widow Boeach, butcher

154 Mary Upman,
156 Abraham Woglom, bricklayer
158 Samuel B. Eyres, hatter
162 David Gray, carpenter
166 Chriſtian Lawyer, porter
168 Jacob Flake, taylor
172 Widow Lowry,
174 Hannah Howell, gentlewoman
176 C. Ludwick, gentleman
178 Lewis Heſs, blackſmith
F. Kalhafer, innkeeper corner of Vine ſt

North Sixth Street.

3 Joſeph Donaldſon, gentleman,
5 Joſiah Matlack, city ſurveyor
7 Catherine Simmons, widow
9 Robert Gill, ſea captain
11 Elizabeth Hughes, boarding houſe
13 Martha Brand,
15 Richard J. Marley, boot and ſhoe maker
19 Charles Vivant, gilder
Henry Young, baker
21 John Bennett, copper plate printer
25 George Etter, coach maker
39 H. Miller, ſupervisor
61 Andrew Baban, gentleman
63 Henry Sherer, hair dreſſer
next John Fiſher,
Mary Fiſher, widow
51 John Dankwerth, baker
next Edward Farris, ſchool maſter
61 Joſeph Gray, gentleman
63 James Norris, houſe carpenter
next H. Henry, ſhoemaker
Francis Zeſs, grocer corner of Cherry alley
71 William Lee, ſchool maſter
73 Matthew Walker, ſoap and candle manufacturer
75 Robert Cunningham, weaver
77 Martha James, ſchool miſtreſs
79 Robert Newell, white waſher
83 David Mandeville, clerk in the bank of the U. State
Agneſs Carſon, gentlewoman
Philip Maguire, blackſmith corner of Craſſons alley
85 Suſannah Abington, gentlewoman
87 Joſeph Tucker, houſe carpenter
89 George Feiker, ſhoe maker
91 John Creſs, cuſtom houſe officer
Sarah Fletcher, mantua maker corner of Race ſt
97 Mrs. Owen
101 Sophia Wilhame, ſeamſtreſs
103 John Hart, turner

South alley running from Fifth to Sixth street next to

Rose Peters, washerwoman
Reuben Moore, chimney sweeper
Christiana Reel, shopkeeper
Grotius Woods, huckster
Mary Wells, book folder and sewer
John Hough, colour man
6 John Brown, shoemaker
8 Forbes Newton, tin plate worker
Samuel Wetherill, druggist
10 Casper Sidleman, brush maker
John Sidleman, bone cutter
11 Elizabeth Guier, gentlewoman
11 Mary Williams, gentlewoman
13 John Simon, taylor
14 William Elliott, blacksmith
15 Arnels Suanes, shopkeeper
25 John Warner, innkeeper
Burner Viena, gentleman

North alley running from Fifth to Sixth st. between 36 & 38
James Read, gentleman
5 J. M. Thomas, teacher of the French language
10 Francis Gallet, teacher of the French language
11 Samuel Briggs, engine maker
12 Jesse Waterman, schoolmaster
Frederick Steiner, taylor
Jemima Carlon, boarding house
next James Nichol, waiter
next Silas Silas, labourer
20 Benedict Snider, flocking weaver
22 Nicholas Roundenwater, potter
23 Moles Anderson, sail maker
24 John Dialogue, blacksmith
25 George Scullt, tayernkeeper
26 Jacob Fink, flocking weaver
27 Valentine Fleckier, labourer
28 Christian Benedict, coachman
Owen Owens, blacksmith
Jacob Grace, brewer
29 Andrew Dryer, shopkeeper
30 John Conrad, porter
31 James Cupleville, distiller

Arch Street continued.

84 Thomas and Hugh Cooper, grocers
86 Thomas W. Armat, merchant
88 Edward Thornton, merchant
90 Thomas Stewardson, merchant
92 Andrew Hodge, merchant
94 Samuel Magaw, D. D.
96 William Sanson, merchant
98 B. Tucker, school master
100 James Paul, merchant
102 J. Reed, merchant
104 James Mease, M. D.
106 Gideon D. Wells, merchant
108 Thomas Mugan, merchant
110 Abraham Kintzing, merchant
next John Meeks, cabinet and chair maker
114 P. Pattison Hartshorne, gentleman
116 Thomas Moore, gentleman
118 *John Allmead, sea captain*
120 Philip S. Physick, M. D.
next *Jacob Baker*, merchant
next Cornelius Conegys, merchant
next Samuel Hodgdon, intendant of naval stores
next William Montgomery, merchant
next Augustine Frederick Keicher, cabinet maker
130 Daniel Thomas, gentleman
134 Joseph Simmons, ironmonger
136 *Abraham Colladay, house carpenter*
Daniel Colladay, do do
William Colladay, mariner
Rebecca Rakestraw, gentlewoman
138 Charles Evans, gentleman
140 Robert Ralston, merchant
142 Robert S. Becklay, gentleman
Abraham Becklay, gentleman
144 Richard Gernon, merchant
146 *Robert E. Griffith, merchant*
152 Mrs. Abercrombie, gentlewoman
154 Bell Neill, gentlewoman
170 Joseph Ogilby, measurer of carpenters work
172 Andrew Vanleffe, marble carver and stone cutter
Elizabeth Gilloux, washerwoman & clear starcher
174 Ann Brown, mantua maker
176 Reuben Topham, copper smith
178 Hannah Speakman, widow
180 Mary Emlen, gentlewoman
182 P. F. Glentworth, M. D.
184 *Thomas Gilford*, merchant
186 B. Henry Latrobe, engineer
188 Elizabeth Garrick, washerwoman

Arch Street continued.

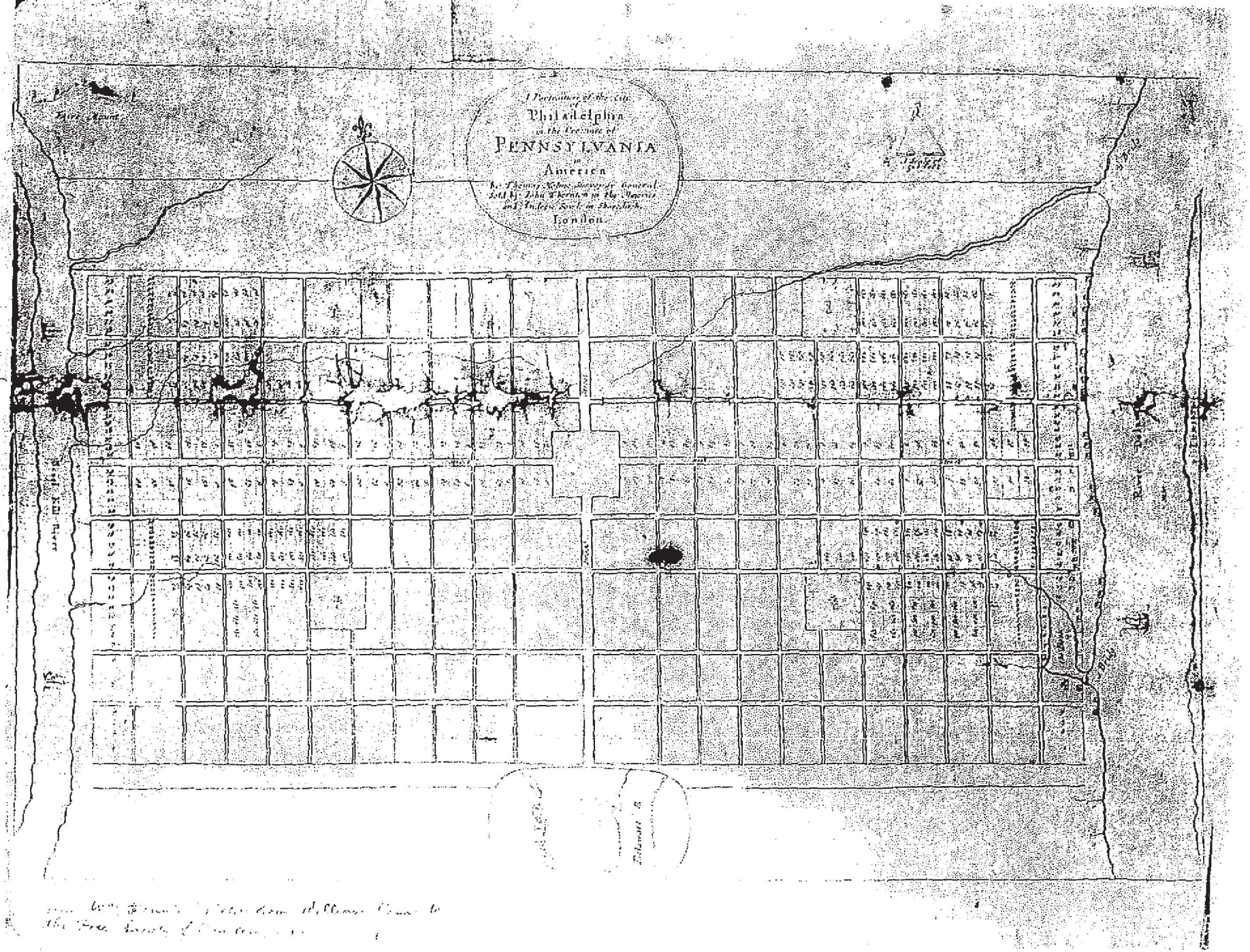
192 Widow Clarke,
194 Christian Groves, bricklayer
198 Ebenezer Gaskill, *boarding house*
200 William C. Hall, mahogany merchant.
202 James H. Wadsworth, merchant
204 T. Hockley, ironmonger
210 *John Flint*, coach maker
John Worrall, coach maker
212 Edward Davis, coach painter
Major Butler,
218 Susannah Bradford, gentlewoman
Elias Boudinot, *president of the mint*
224 Widow M'Loughlin, gentlewoman
226 John Hounman, *music master*
228 Mr. Andaulle, sea captain
232 Benjamin Buzby, *lumber* merchant
246 Widow Clayton,
next Michael Sagar, baker
John Oman, boot and shoemaker, corner of Tenth st
next Andrew Buzzarth, carter
James S. Vance, cabinet maker
Matthew Willon, tobacconist
Henry Cremer,
William Stull, wood sawyer
Christian *Franklin, painter and glazier*
Adam Beck, wood sawyer
Widow *Knoble*,
1 Baffett and Owen, tavernkeepers
3 Joel *Miller*, grocer
5 Baize Newcomb, grocer
7 Isaac Auflin, watch maker
Philip Roker, merchant
15 Mary Sowerby, huckster
next Savage Stillwell, *merchant*
19 John Claxton, ship chandler
21 *James C. Fisher, merchant*
23 Samuel W. Fisher, merchant
25 *James Newport, distiller*
James Reeve, cabinet maker
27 Asa Elkinton, taylor
29 Ambrose Vaffe, merchant
31 Benjamin Gibbs, jun. attorney at law
Benjamin Gibbs, merchant
33 John Inskeep, mayor
35 Benjamin Ferguson, taylor
37 Benjamin Shaw, taylor
41 Benjamin R. *Morgan, attorney* at law
43 Peter Thomson, conveyancer

Maps and Plans

1. A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia, Thomas Holme, 1683. (Library Company of Philadelphia)
2. Map of Philadelphia, Robert Longshore, c. 1690. (Chester County Historical Society)
3. Survey of Philadelphia, William Parsons, c. 1747. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as published in Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Plan of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 80 (1956), 164-226).
4. Hudson Square Survey for William Hudson Heirs, [1759]. (Third Survey District, Philadelphia City Archives)
5. Plan of Philadelphia surveyed and laid down by Nicholas Scull, editors Matthew Clarkson & Mary Biddle, 1762. (Free Library of Philadelphia)
6. Plan of the City of Philadelphia, Benjamin Easburn, 1776. (Library of Congress)
7. New Map of the City of Philadelphia for the Use of Firemen, John A. Paxton, c. 1819. (CIGNA Museum and Art Collection)
8. Plan of the City of Philadelphia Compiled by Actual Surveys, J.H. Young S.C, E.L. Carey and A. Hart, [1833]. (Library of Congress)
9. Philadelphia, [Anon.], pocket map for Philadelphia City Guide, H.S. Tanner and (F.J.) Roberts, [Philadelphia, 1843]. (Library of Congress)
10. Map of the City of Philadelphia surveyed by Ernest Hexemer & William Locher, 1860. (Free Library of Philadelphia)
11. Atlas of the City of Philadelphia, 11th Ward. George W. and Walter S. Bromley, 1885. (John Milner Associates)
12. Block Code No. 1600, Independence National Historical Park, 1986. (Independence National Historical Park)

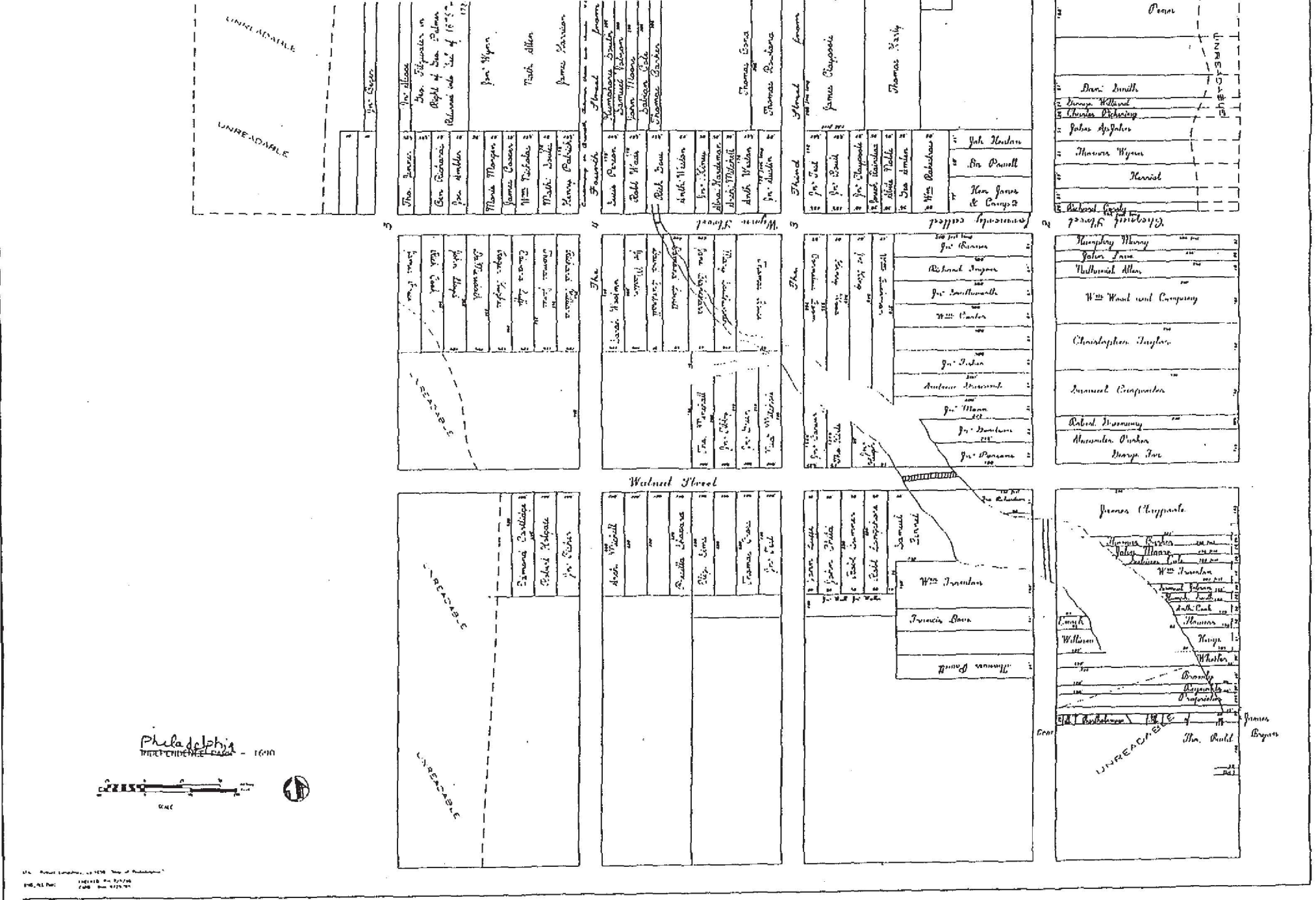
1. A Portaiture of the City of Philadelphia, 1683, Thomas Holme

Thomas Holmes' city plan for William Penn's Philadelphia showed the wide tidal estuary named the Dock. Although the water line is marked only as far as Third Street, recollections of the early city indicate that Philadelphia's Dock flowed beyond that point, meeting with ponds of water to the south and north, west of Fourth Street. Old timers recalled one such pond on block two, near the corner of Fifth and Market Streets.


A Portraiture of the city of
Philadelphia
in the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA
in
America
Delaware R.

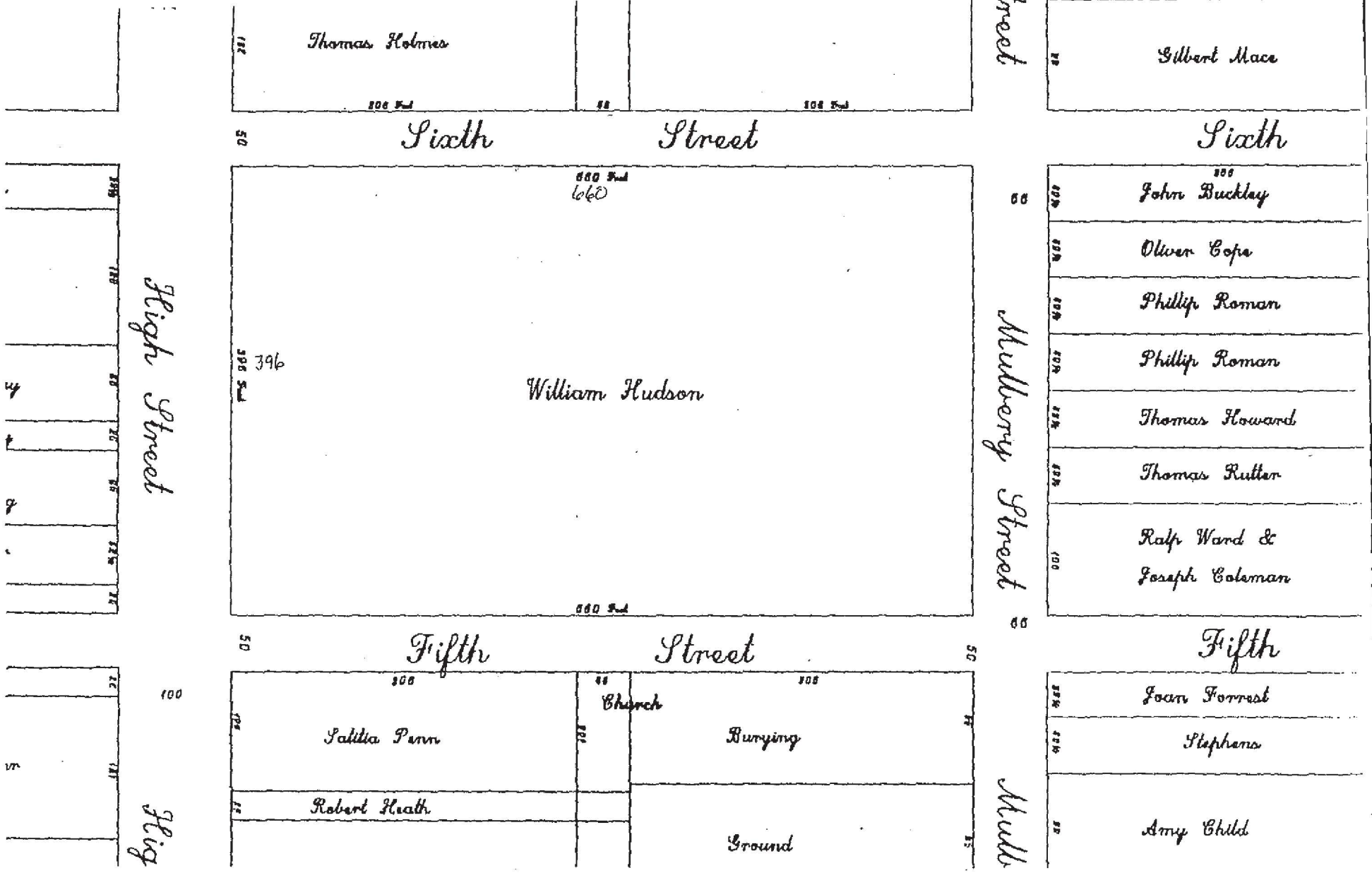
2. "Map of Philadelphia," Robert Longshore, c. 1690 (Chester County Historical Society)

Robert Longshore's survey of Philadelphia in c. 1690 shows the Dock beyond Third Street, where it forked, with the northern branch crossing Chestnut (formerly called Wynne Street), below Fourth. Note the bridges across the Dock at Second, Walnut and Chesnut Streets.


UNREADABLE
UNREADABLE
Jno. Cooper
Jno. Ellicott
Jno. Fitzwater in Right of Jno. Palmer Patroon who Died A.D. 16[illegible]
Jno. Wynn
Tuth. Allen
James Harrison
Jno. Barnes
Ben. Richards
Jno. Walker
Mark Morgan
James Cassey
Wm. Nicholas
Math. Lindle
Henry Pratchett
Samuel Palmer
John Moore
Solom. Cole
Thomas Barker
Thomas Cook
Thomas Redman
Jno. Hudson
Sir Powell
Hon. Jones & Comp.
Thomas Varley
Dan. Smith
Geo. Willard
Charles Pickering
John Ap John
Thomas Wynn
Harriet
Richard Cooley
Pemr
Wynne Street
Fourth
Third
Walnut Street
Chestnut Street
Humphry Murray
John Jones
Nathaniel Allen
Wm. Wood and Company
Christopher Taylor
Emanuel Carpenter
Robert Greenway
Alexander Parker
Geo. Jones
Jno. Barnes
Richard Soyer
Jno. Smallwood
Wm. Carter
Jno. Dixon
Andrew Bowcott
Jno. Mann
Jno. Dawkins
Jno. Parsons
Jno. Gibbons
Jno. Field
Jno. Chapman
Jno. Read
Jno. Wade
Jno. Cheston
Samuel Sansom
Wm. Standen
Francis Love
Illegible Powell
Edmund Cartlidge
Robert Wharton
Jno. Cox
Andrew Worrell
Priscilla Hopkins
Mary Lewis
Thomas Cook
Jno. Field
James Claypoole
Thomas Potter
John Maris
Solomon Cole
Wm. Standen
Samuel Johnson
Joseph Paul
Edith Cook
Thomas
Henry
Whetter
Enoch Williams
Broomly
Proprietors
Charlestown
Jno. Redd
James Bryan
UNREACHABLE
UNREACHABLE
UNREACHABLE
Philadelphia
THOMAS HOLME SURVEY - 1683
SCALE

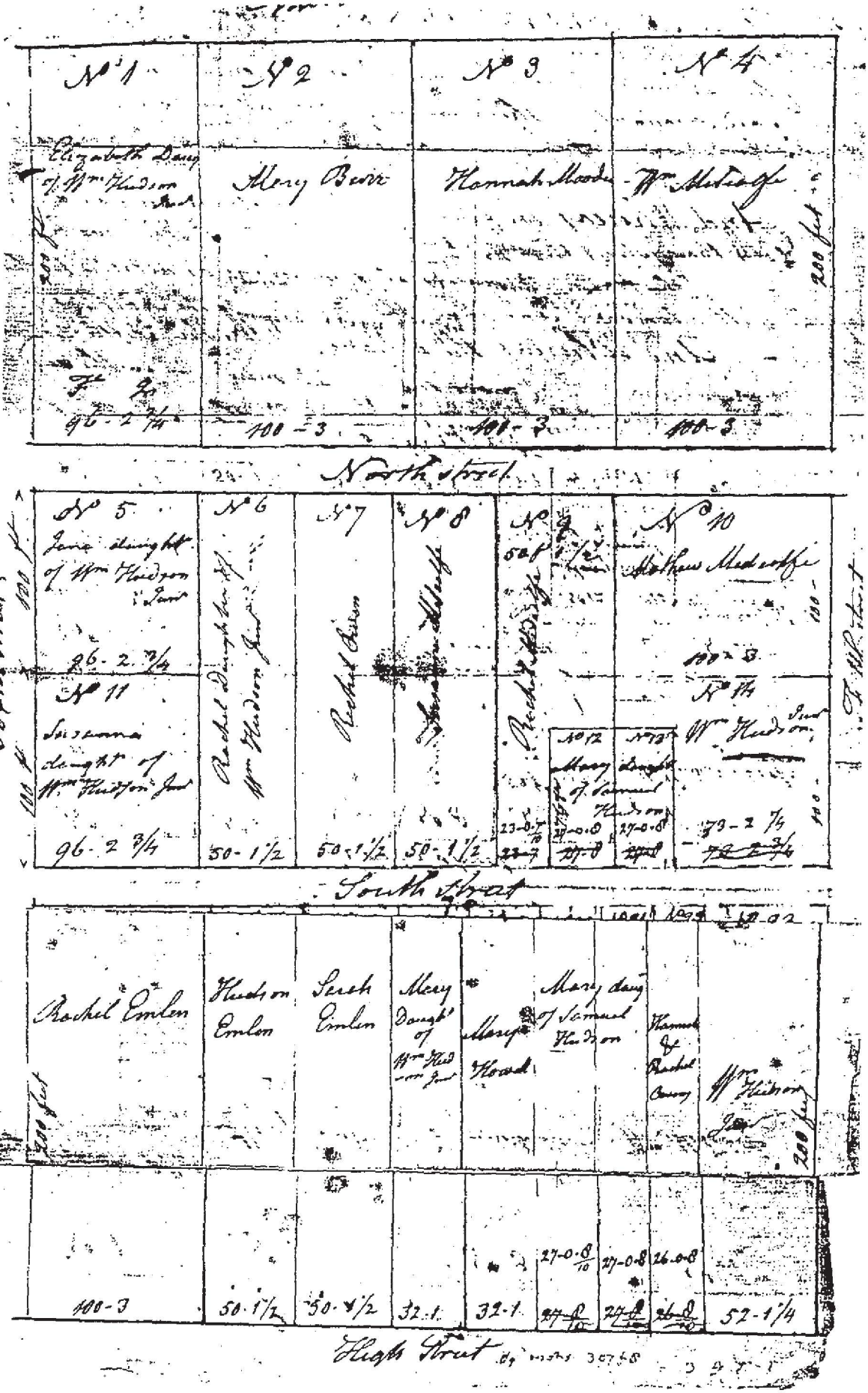
3. Survey of Philadelphia, William Parsons, c. 1747

William Parsons surveyed the city mid-century, when William Hudson owned all of block two and rented it out as pasture. His block also was remembered for its orchards and a skating pond near the corner of Fifth and Market streets.


Thomas Holmes
Gilbert Mace
Sixth Street
Sixth
660
John Buckley
Oliver Cope
Phillip Roman
Phillip Roman
Thomas Howard
Thomas Rutter
Ralp Ward &
Joseph Coleman
396
William Hudson
High Street
Mulberry Street
Fifth Street
Fifth
Salitia Penn
Church
Burying
Ground
Robert Heath
Joan Forrest
Stephens
Amy Child

4. Hudson Square Survey for William Hudson Heirs, [1759] (Philadelphia City Archives)

William Hudson's heirs had this plan of Hudson's will drawn up after widow Hannah Hudson's death. The square was divided by his will into three even parts by two thirty-foot streets he named South and North Streets. Four surviving children and twenty-four grandchildren received portions of his estate.


N° 1
Elizabeth Davy of Wm Hudson Jun
96-2 3/4
N° 2
Mary Beer
100-3
N° 3
Hannah Moore
100-3
N° 4
Wm Medcalf
100-3
North Street
N° 5
Jane daughr of Wm Hudson Jun
96-2 3/4
N° 6
Rachel Daughr of Wm Hudson Jun
50-1 1/2
N° 7
Rachel Elton
50-1 1/2
N° 8
50-1 1/2
N° 9
N° 10
Mathew Medcalfe
100-3
N° 11
Susanna daughr of Wm Hudson Jun
96-2 3/4
N° 12
Mary daughr of Samuel Hudson
27-0-8
N° 13
27-0-8
N° 14
Wm Hudson Jun
79-2 3/4
South Street
Rachel Emlen
Hudson Emlen
Sarah Emlen
Mary daughr of Wm Hudson Jun
Mary Wood
Mary daughr of Samuel Hudson
Hannah & Rachel Davy
Wm Hudson Jun
100-3
50-1 1/2
50-1 1/2
32-1
32-1
27-0-8/10
27-0-8
26-0-8
52-1 1/4
High Street

5. Plan of Philadelphia, 1762, editors, Matthew Clarkson & Mary Biddle

Mary Biddle, with the help of Matthew Clarkson, compiled and published this city plan based on the careful surveys of her deceased father, Nicholas Scull, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania. The surveys showed early development on Hudson's Square, along Fifth, South and Market Streets. Deed transfers and newspaper advertisements indicate that artisans and shop keepers first settled the block, living in frame or small brick houses.

SASAFRAS 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

Goodman's

Parrock's

Russells

Hodges

James's

Shoemakers

Wilkinsons

Okills

Austins Ferry

Warners

Old Ferry Slip

Rawles & Peels

Cliffords

Says

Bickleys

Potts

Hoops

Masters

Henrys

Allens

Laurences

Sims's

Crooked Billet

Pemberton's

Kings

Morris's

Flowers's

Carpenters

Merediths

Fishbourns

Dickinsons

Fenwicks

Church Alley

Burying Ground

Quakers

Burying Ground

Market Street

Cedar Alley

Penn Square

According to Holmans Plan

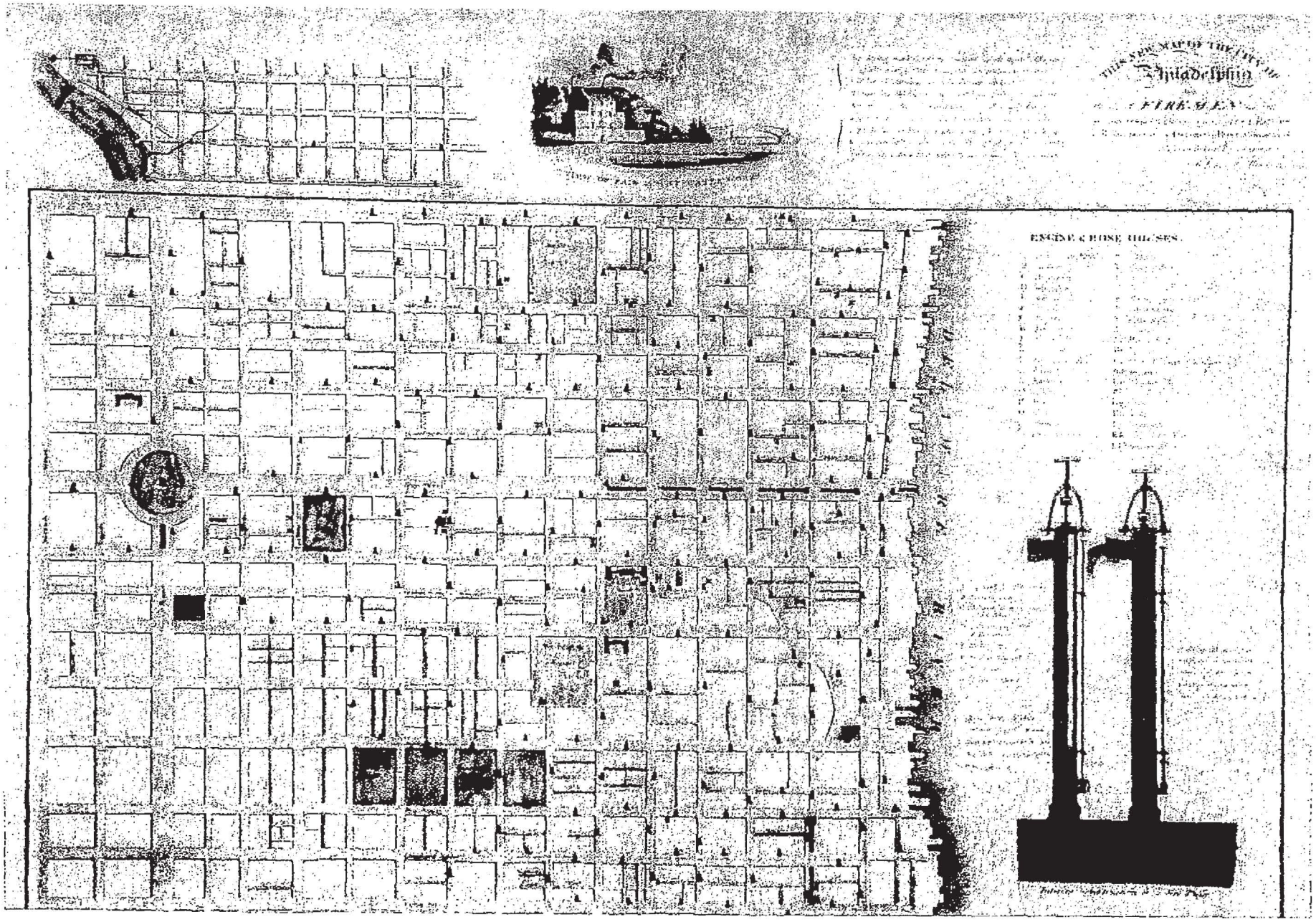
6. Plan of the City of Philadelphia, Benjamin Easburn, 1776

Surveyor General Benjamin Easburn's plan of the city shows no structures on Hudson's Square, even though nearly fifteen years of real estate development had been added to what Scull's surveys indicated.

A
PLAN
OF THE
CITY
OF
PHILADELPHIA,
the CAPITAL of
PENNSYLVANIA,
from an ACTUAL SURVEY
BY
BENJAMIN EASBURN,
SURVEYOR GENERAL;
1776.
LONDON
Publish'd, as the Act directs, 4th November 1776,
by Andrew Dury, Duke's Court, St. Martin's Lane.
HIGH OR MARKET STREET
NORTH EAST SQUARE
SCHUYLKILL
Church Burying Ground
The College and Academy
Quakers Burying Ground
The German Calvanist Ch.
The Work House
The Anabaptist Meeting Ho.
Quakers Meeting H.
NEW MARKET
MARLBOROUGH STREET
Wood
Sassafras
Callowhill
Sycamore
Mulberry Ship
Old Billet

7. New Map of the City of Philadelphia for the Use of Firemen, John A. Paxton, c. 1819 (CIGNA Museum and Art Collection)

The Paxton firemen's map of c. 1819 shows the market shed to Sixth Street and two fire hydrants on Market Street. Water lines from the Center Square tanks run down Market and appear to connect as well with properties on all the block's streets, even North and South Streets.


ENGINE & HOSE HOUSES

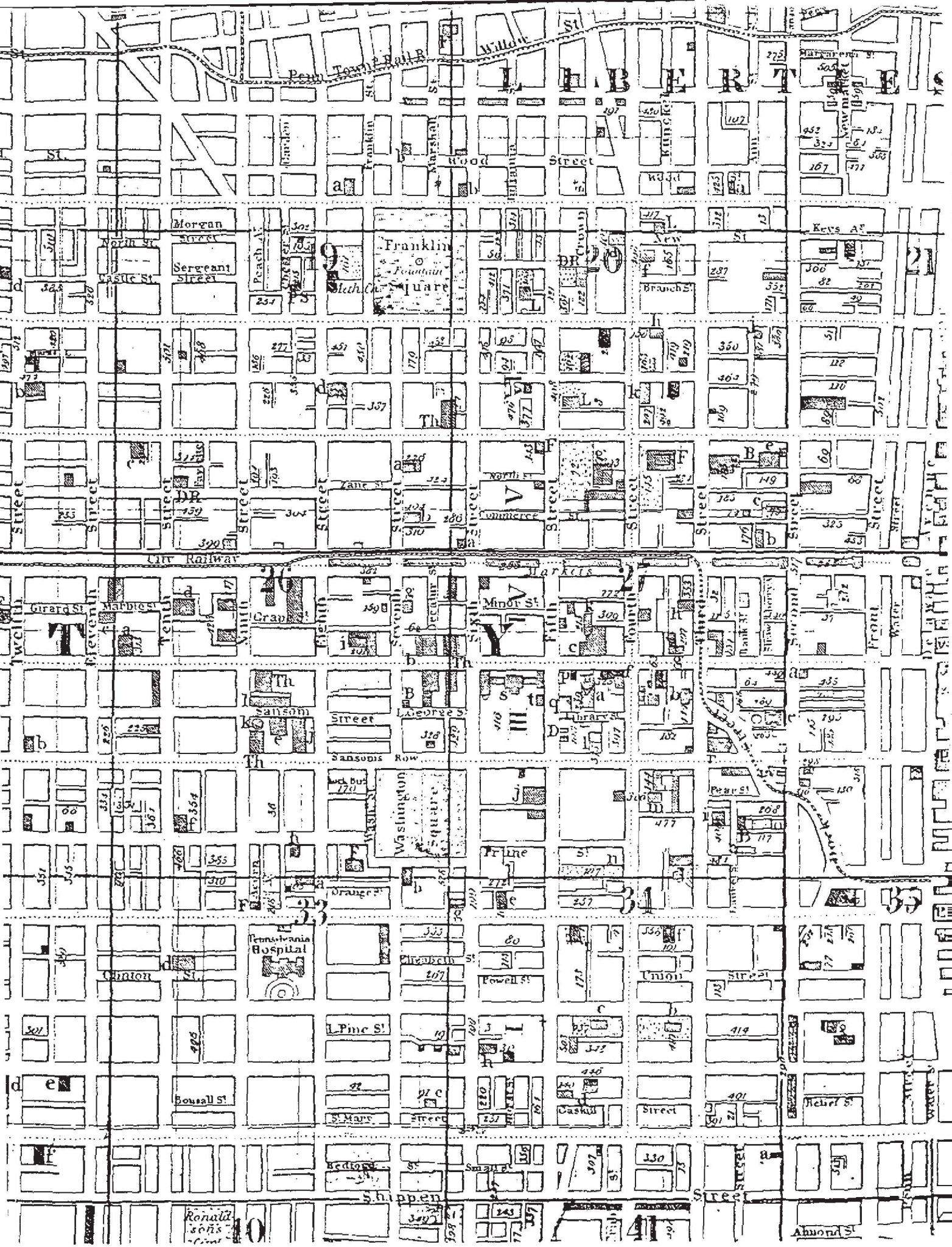
8. Plan of the City of Philadelphia, Compiled from Actual Surveys, J.H. Young S.C., E.L. Carey and A. Hart, [1833]. (Library of Congress)

No. 139 on this plan identifies Eckfeldt Court, named after blacksmith Jacob Eckfeldt who settled on Fifth Street below North Street before the Revolution and became a prosperous landowner on the block.

Note that as the city moved west, market sheds did too. By 1833, Market Street's sheds extended to Eighth Street.

9. Philadelphia, [Anon.] pocket map for Philadelphia City Guide, H.S. Tanner and (F.J.) Roberts, [Philadelphia, 1843]. (Library of Congress)

This map indicates the city railway that traveled down Market Street, passing between the market shed and the north side of the street between Fifth and Sixth streets. The regular rumble and clang of these public conveyances reflected the transformaton of the neighborhood into a busy commercial center.


Penn Towns Rail R
Wallace St
Market Street
Wood Street
Franklin Square
Fountain
Morgan Street
North St
Sergeant Street
Castle St
Peach Alley
Cherry St
Sixth St
Franklin
Marshall
Indiana
Crown
Ann
Keys Alley
New St
Branch St
Zane St
North St
Commerce St
Street
City Railway
Girard St
Marbles
Grape St
Mifflin St
Minor St
Market
Chestnut
Walnut
Water
Front
Dock
Bank St
Library
Sansom Street
Sansoms Row
Washington Square
Pear St
Prune St
Orange St
Jacoby
Pennsylvania Hospital
Union Street
Powell St
Pine St
Bonsall St
St Mary Street
Gaskill Street
Relief St
Bedford St
Small St
Shippen Street
Almond St
Ronald sons
Twelfth
Eleventh
Tenth
Ninth
Eighth
Seventh
Sixth
Fifth
Fourth
Second
DR
Th
Ch Bur
Library
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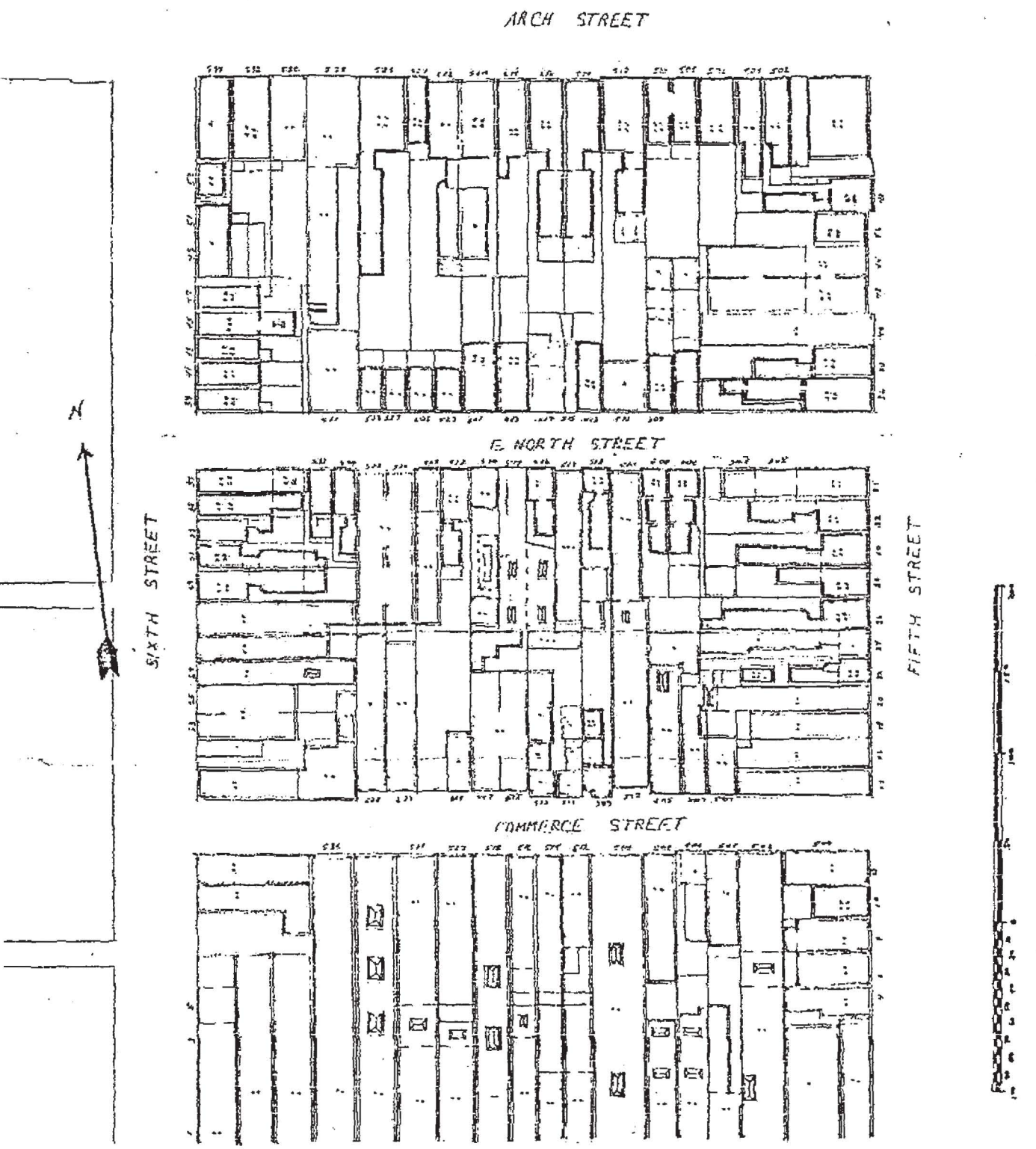
Ob Ho Ch Bur Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch Ch
Ob Ho Ch Bur Ch

10. Map of the City of Philadelphia surveyed by Ernest Hexamer & William Locher, 1860. (Free Library of Philadelphia)

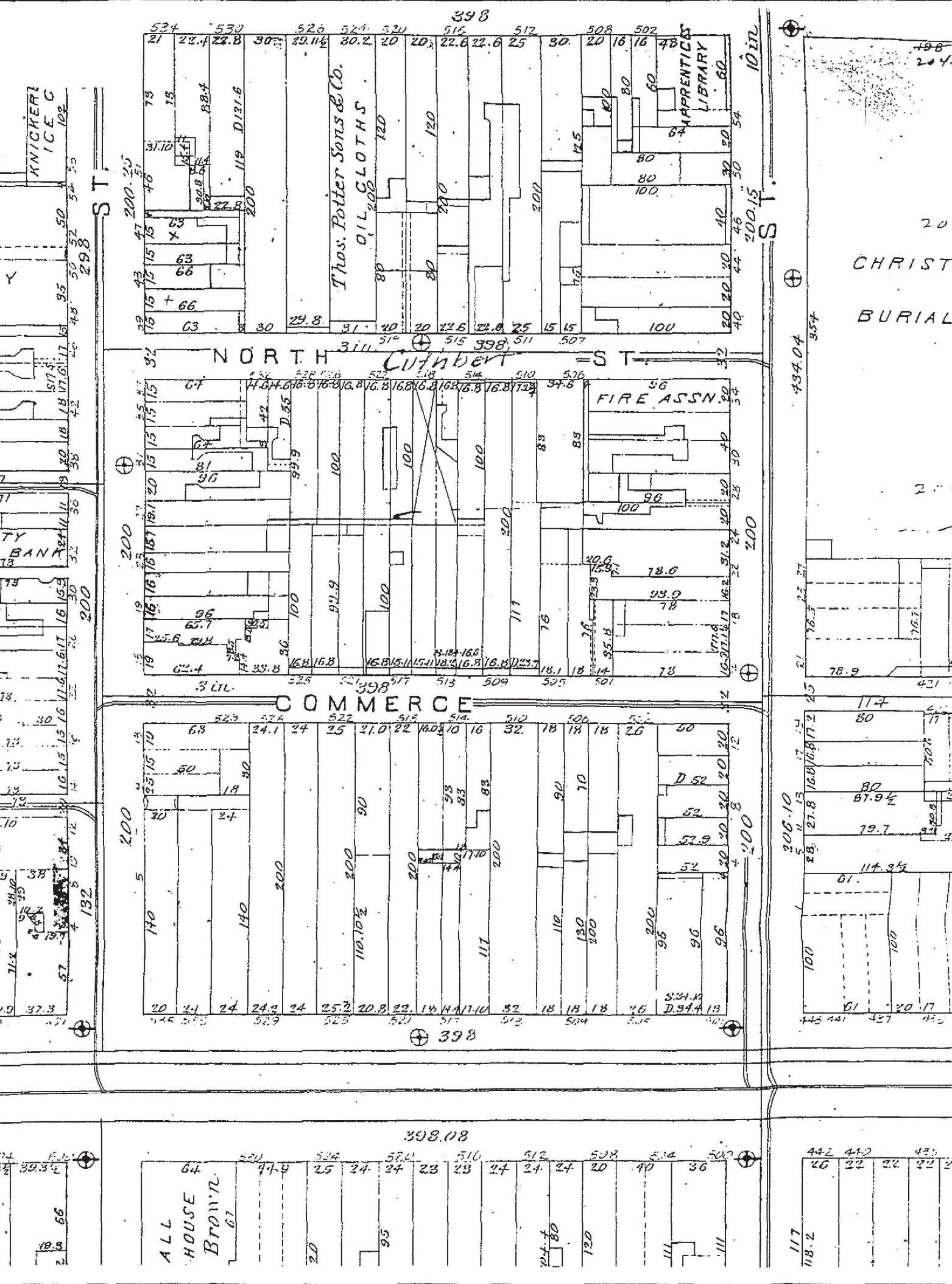
The Hexamer and Locher atlas of Philadelphia in 1860 details structures at the dawn of the city's emergence as the leading industrial center in the country. Market Street properties are massive, often running the 200 feet length to South Street within the early established lot lines. The north end of the block has changed the least: North Street has yet to be renamed Cuthbert Street and the Arch Street houses retain much of their eighteenth century floor plans. The section between the two interior streets also appears to have suffered only modest modification over the first half of the nineteenth century.



INFORMATION TAKEN FROM:
MAP OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA
SURVEYED BY
ERNEST HEXENER & WILLIAM LOCHER
VOLUME 1, COMPRISING THE 5TH & 6TH WARD
PUBLISHED BY E. HEXENER & W. LOCHER
1860

11. Atlas of of the City of Philadelphia, 1885, by George W. and Walter S. Bromley (courtesy of John Milner Associates)

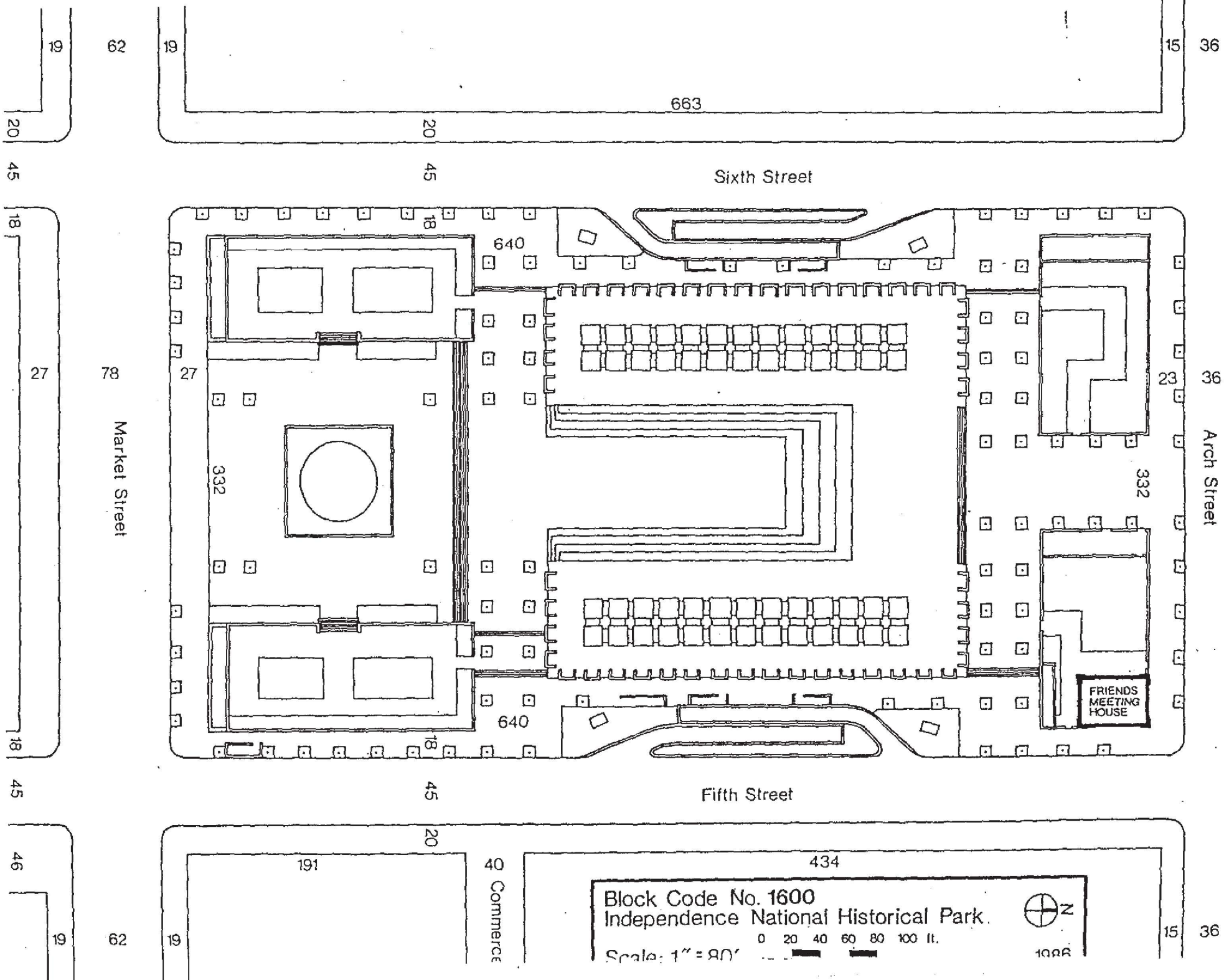
Bromley's atlas for 1885 shows the name transition from North to Cuthbert Street and carefully indicates each lot size. When compared to the eighteenth century Third District surveys, not much has changed in lot widths. Conveniently, Bromley also gives most street addresses under the new numbering system introduced with the incorporation of the city and county in 1854.


398
NORTH Cuthbert ST
COMMERCE
Thos. Potter Sons & Co. OIL CLOTHS
APPRENTICES LIBRARY
FIRE ASSN
CHRIST
BURIAL
KNICKERBOCKER ICE CO
BANK
ALL HOUSE
Brown
398.08

12. Block Code No. 1600, Independence National Historical Park, 1986

Between 1950 and 1967 the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and City of Philadelphia collaborated in the demolition of the three densely constructed blocks north of Independence Hall to build Independence Mall State Park. The design for block two preserved the Free Quaker Meeting House at Fifth and Arch Streets (after moving it 33 feet to the west and 8 feet south) and provided an arcaded open amphitheater for public gatherings and fairs. The circle represents the Judge Lewis Fountain, dedicated to the man who spearheaded the mall's development. Both Fifth and Sixth streets were widened by cutting into block two. The National Park Service took over management of the mall in 1974 by cooperative agreement with the state, but the deeds did not transfer until 1999, when the bonds issued to finance the mall, came due.

Independence National Historical Park's recent general management plan anticipates a redesign for this block.


19
62
19
663
15
36
20
45
20
45
Sixth Street
18
640
27
78
27
332
Market Street
23
36
Arch Street
332
FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE
640
18
18
45
45
Fifth Street
46
20
191
40
Commerce
434
19
62
19
15
36
Block Code No. 1600
Independence National Historical Park
0 20 40 60 80 100 ft.
N
Scale: 1" = 80'
1986

City Surveys
Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814
Third Survey District, 1814-1855
Philadelphia City Archives

1. "Survey for John Guier, June 3, 1794, Survey for Christopher Keighler, Sepr 27th 1800...Survey for John Siegmund Riehl, April 9th 1802,...Survey for John Guier, Oct 28th 1806 of the north end of his Lot on the High street & fronting on South street..."

On the flip side of the surveys, the Third Survey District provided the deed history from the Hudson family heirs (John Head and wife) to the 1800 property transfer to Keighler. The second owner, Welfing, a tanner, sold off the northern end of the lot facing onto South Street as early as 1765. Subdividing the Market Street lots to provide commercial frontage on South Street continued into the 19th century, as the Guier survey of 1806 indicates.

Fifth Street from Delaware

Heirs of — Buckhardt

Heirs Geiss

96 ft

Geiss

Deed 17-0 1/2

Deed 17-0

Deed 17-0

Deed 17-0

2. "Wm Guier Survey Corner of High & Fifth streets July 5th 1791"

William Guier's survey for the corner lot to a four-foot alley appears to have been made to correct property discrepencies. All three lots represent the south end of the fifty-foot lot William Hudson bequeathed to his son, William. William Hudson Jr. lived at the corner during the 1760s.

3 4 9 ½
17 6 ½

Rob[t] Wharton

By deed 1744 measures 17 F 9 ½

by deed 96 ft more or less to the 4 ft alley & priveledge thereof in common with the Owners & Occupiers of the Alley on sd lott
Wm Shuttz

4 ft

17 F 9 ¼

By deed 17 feet 11 F 9 ½

by deed 96 ft to 4 feet Alley & priveledge thereof
Geo. L Bienholett

17 F 9 ¼

Alley

By deed 18 F measurement 17 F 8 ½

Wm Guier
by deed 96 ft to 4 ft alley

18 F 9 ½

4 ft

High Lomax

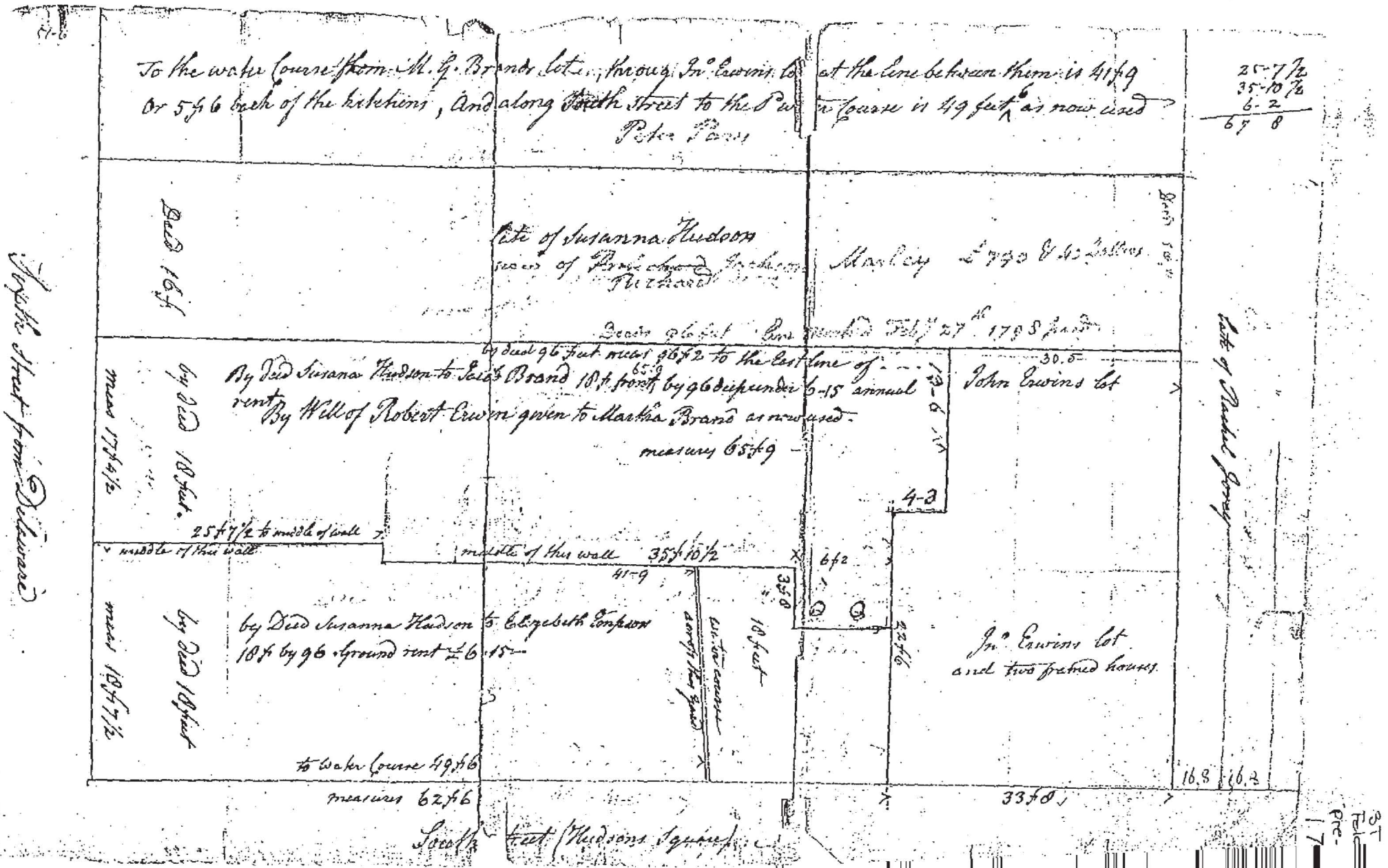
2 Inches on the street 50

Fifth Street from Delaware

124

3. "Martha Gardner Brand, Survey and Draught Decemr 20th 1793," Sixth and South Street, with written explanations

This 1793 survey of the three lots at the northeast corner of Sixth and South streets provides fascinating detail, such as the water course running across the back yard of the first lot, 49 feet six inches from Sixth Street. The surveyors note two frame houses on the South Street lot adjoining. Two small circles probably indicate the outdoor privy, positioned so that it may have been shared by two property owners.


To the water Course from M.G. Brand Lot, through Jn° Ewins Lot
or 5 f 6 back of the kitchens, And along South Street to the Pub
Peter Pain
at the Line between them is 41 f 9
n Course is 49 feet as now used
25-7 1/2
35-10 1/2
6-2
67 8
Dec'd 16 f
Late of Susanna Hudson
Decd
Richard Hudson
Marley
Dec'd
by Deed 96 feet near 96 f 2 to the East Line of
By Deed Susana Hudson to Sela Brand 18 f front by 96 depending
rent By Will of Robert Ewin given to Martha Brand as now used
measure 65 f 9
65-9
13-6 1/2
6-15 annual
John Ewins Lot
30.5
4-3
by Deed 18 feet
mean 17 f 4 1/2
25 f 7 1/2 to middle of wall
middle of this wall
middle of this wall 35 f 10 1/2
41-9
6 f 2
35 f 9
by Deed 18 feet
mean 19 f 7 1/2
by Deed Susanna Hudson to Elizabeth Simpson
18 f by 96 Ground rent £ 6 15 —
18 f 6
22 f 6
Jn° Ewins Lot
and two framed houses
to Water Course 49 f 6
measures 62 f 6
16.8
16.2
33 f 6
South f feet (Hudsons Square)
Late of Rachel Gray
Joseph Hurst from Delaware)
37 Field Pre- 17

4. Fifth and North Street, 1785-1800

All six of these Fifth Street lots below North Street belonged at the end of the century to Philadelphians with German descent. Jacob Eckfeldt, a blacksmith specializing in sickles, continued at this location from 1772 to at least 1802. In 1798 he expanded his business at 30 N. 5th Street by opening an inn at that address. Eckfeldt supplied the federal government with tomahawks and other equipment to trade with the Native Americans. By 1833 the family owned sufficient real estate in this section of the block that a city map noted Eckfeldt Court cutting north from South Street.

Penn Square

Broad Street

Chestnut Street

Market Street

Penn Square

Broad Street

Chestnut Street

Market Street

Penn Square

Broad Street

Chestnut Street

Market Street

5. "Survey Thomas Moore on Mulbery near 6th Street, April 25, 1791"

   Thomas Moore, husband to Sarah Emlen, a Hudson grandchild, lived on Market Street at the south end of block two until the early 1790s, when he moved to Arch Street. The large lot adjoining his brother (?)-in-law Samuel Emlen's house perhaps offered him some relief from the growing commercialism of Market Street.

Survey Thomas Moore
on Mulberry near 6th Street
April 26th 1791

T Farrell
B Barron

p[d] both

Survey for [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

3d Dist

3d Dist

Sam[l] Smith,
Surv[r] & Cert

200 feet

Thomas Moore Pet[r] for Certificate

T Farrell
B Barron
Plots

30 f 2 by
more or less

Surveyed May 25th 1792
Pet[r] for Certificate

Rifle ground by Wood Smith

Pet[r] for Wood Patent & Delivered

30 f 7/8

66 f 2 1/4

6. "Christian Kouck Survey Decr 20th 1791," North Street and 6th Street, (two surveys).

One of these surveys gives the Sixth Street lot sizes and owners between South and North alleys in 1791. Other sources record that Nushak ran a bakery on his lot for many years and that the Kouck lot contained two houses, one of which was the popular boarding house at 39 North Sixth Street occupied by several federal Congressmen in the late 1790s.

The flip side survey focuses on the three lots below North Street, providing the name Philip Etter as the family who owned the 40 foot lot unnamed in the other survey. Etter, a coach maker, lived and worked here on Sixth Street from 1767, when he insured a small, two-story brick house.

North Hall

Hudsons Quart

by division of Wm Hudson's Est. 1964 2 1/4

Christian Kouch

Peter Croft

Dwl & Mouse 30 f

Dwl & Mill 30 f

40 f

Wm Hall

Dwl & Mouse 16 f

Rushael Hall

Dwl & Mill 15-6

Daniel

Dwl & Mill 16 f

Richard Jackson Warden

17-4 1/2

North Hall 199 - 6

Home Delaware

North Street — Hudson Square

96 f 2 3/4

92 f 2 3/4

Christian Kouch
Surveyd Decemr 26th 1791
J Pearson
Jr

92 f 2 3/4

30 feet

4 f 4 Inches Partridge Alley

Orec. of Mitchell Hunter
now of
Snyder

92 f 2 3/4

30 feet

Peter Crops

Peter Crops

96 f 2 3/4

Heirs of Philip Etter

6th Street from Delaware

CA
3T
Folder 67
Pre-1814

7. North Street Lots, south side, 1801-1812

Jacob Eckfeldt, blacksmith, advertised his sickles from his Fifth Street address as early as 1772. His rights to a 10-foot alley into South Street noted on the 1812 survey likely developed into Eckfeldt Court shown on the 1833 map of the city published in a city guide book. (See maps and plans) As this early 19th century survey composite clearly shows, Eckfeldt purchased land on the interior of the block to supplement his large 40-foot Fifth Street lot.

Jacob Colefelt

Deed 28 feet front

Deed 28 feet front

Jacob Colefelt

Wharton to Adam Landzeger for
33 f 4 In. on front Sept 1st 1774

Jacob Colefelt

Deed

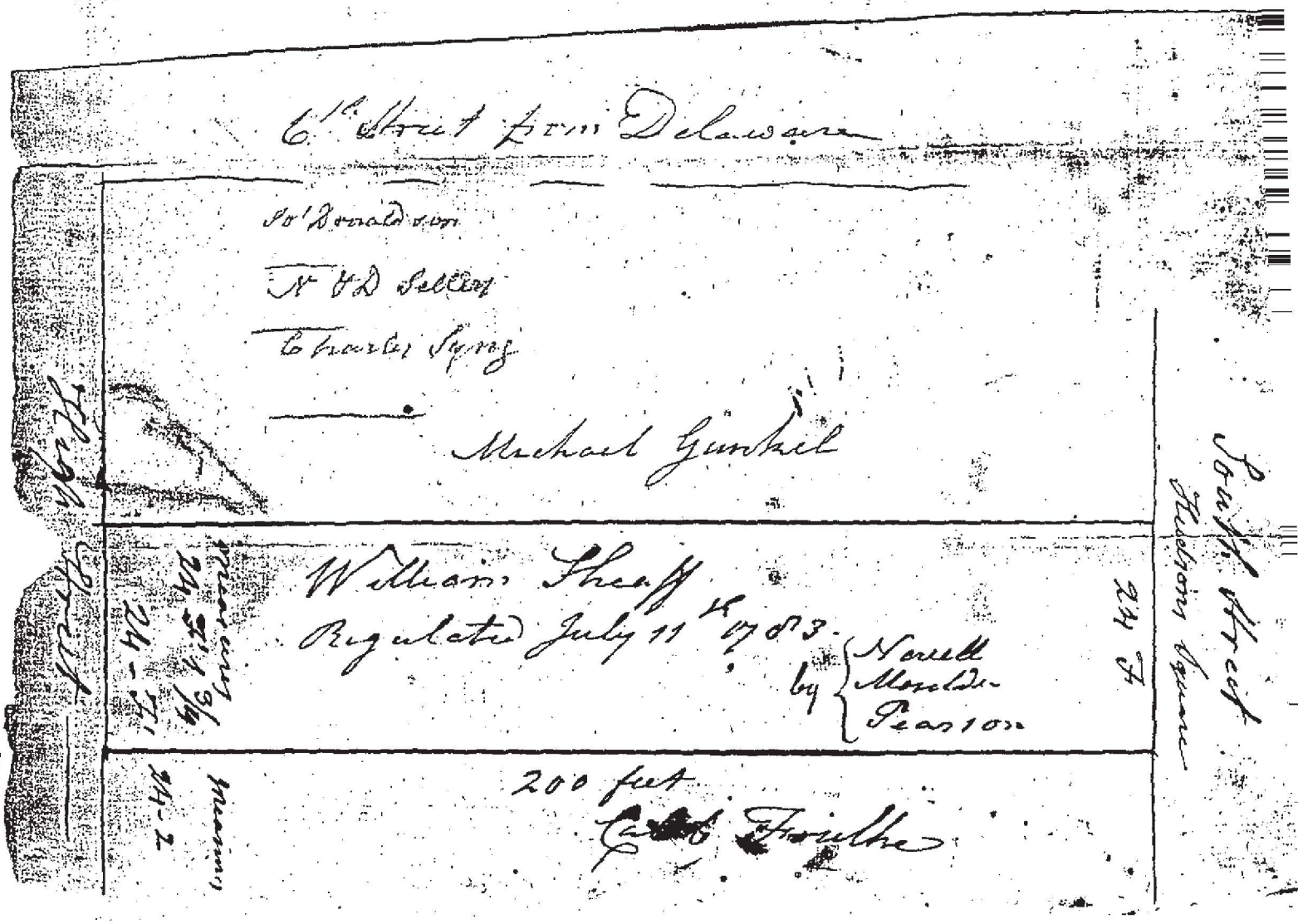
Deed

North Street

Pre-1814 Block C7

8. "Regulation of Wm Sheaff's lot, July 11, 1788," Sixth and High Streets

William Sheaff, a wealthy wine merchant at the southeast corner of Fifth and Market streets, purchased the lot prior to 1781 and left it vacant for several years. His 1790 insurance policy identified a large new and well-appointed three-story brick house on the property, where prominent Philadelphia merchant, Joseph Anthony, lived.


6th Street from Delaware
So Donaldson
N 40 Selden
Church Square
Michael Gunkel
William Sheaff
Regulated July 11th 1793.
by {Norell Moulder Pearson
24 F
Fourth
Mercury 3/4
24 - 11
24 - 2
200 feet
Carter Foulke
South Water
Hudsons Square

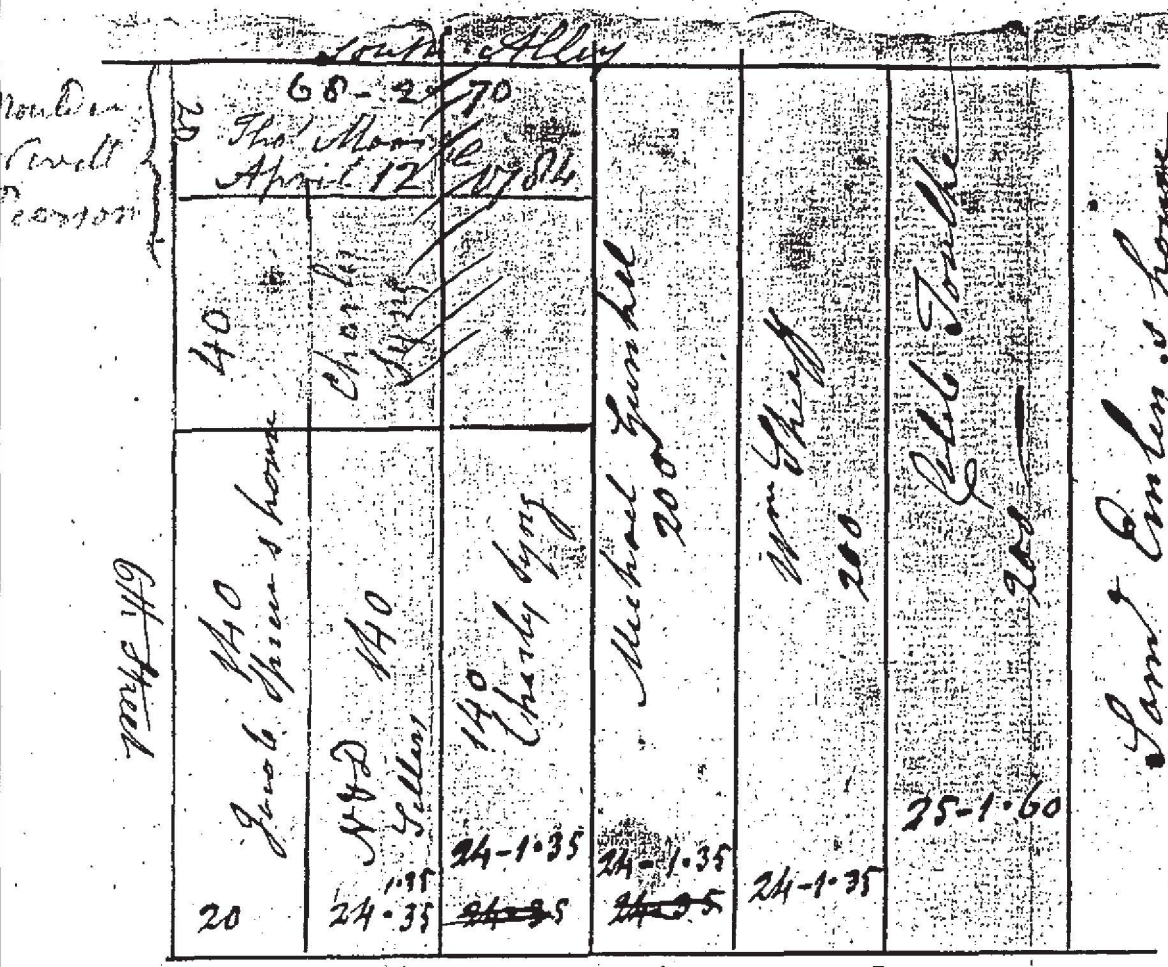
9. "Draught of lots NE Corner of High & 6th Streets, Regulated May 23d, 1783, a lot for Charles Syng and one adjoining for Michael Gunkel."

The survey of the corner at Market and Sixth streets at the close of the Revolution shows the break down of three 200-foot-long Market Street lots into 140-foot depth to accommodate two Sixth Street lots. Thomas Moore, a Hudson heir by marriage, owned the choice lot along South Street, where he later, in 1789, constructed and insured a three-story house and kitchen as a rental.

Charles Syng used his Market Street property (modern 531) as a rental. Joseph Redman, gentleman, James Wilson, famous attorney and signer of the nation's founding documents, senior William Shippen, MD, and General Walter Scott, one of General Washington's favorite officers during the Revolution, took turns living there between 1787 and 1791. Scott may even have located here in 1790-91 to be near President Washington, who lived directly across the street.

Robert Morris, the nation's brilliant financier, rented Michael Gunkle's Market Street house (today's 529) as a counting house during his declining years before bankruptcy and debtors' prison. Morris' residence was across the street, at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market, next to his close friend, President Washington.

3T
Folder 67
Pre-1814
1783



Regulated these 2 Lots May 23 } N. side of High street

#9

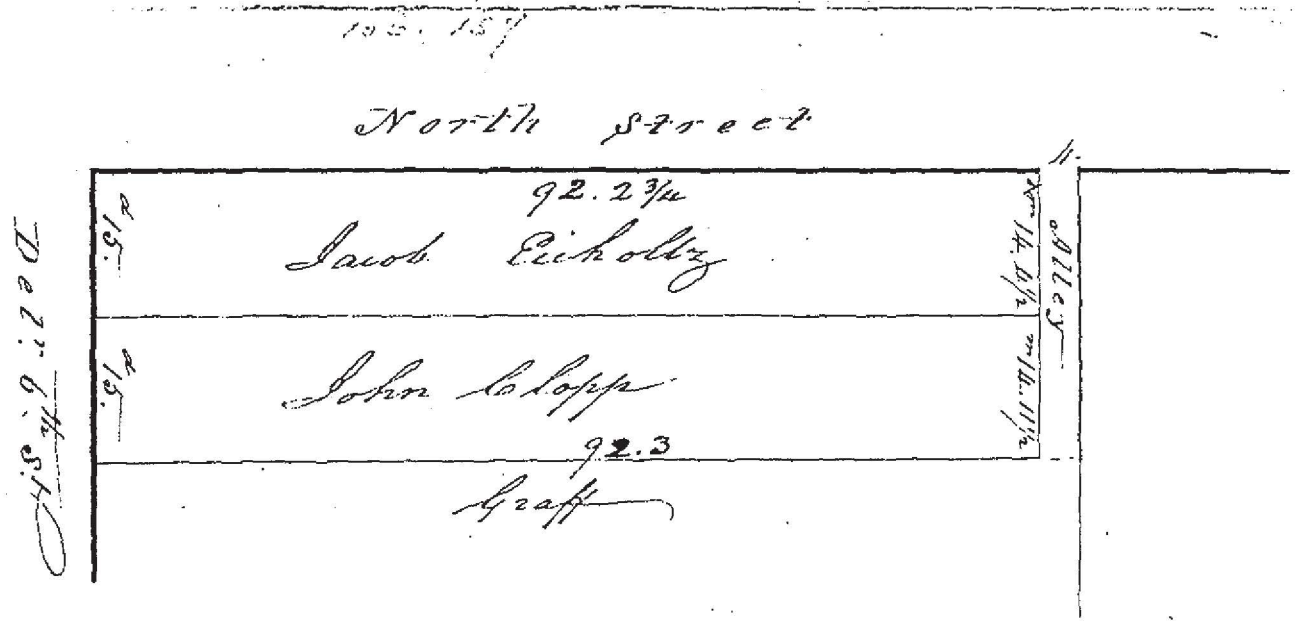
20
24-1.35
24-1.35
24-1.35
~~24-35~~
92.40
49.3
141 7

20-
24- 1.3⅓
24- 1 ⅔
68-2 ⅔

10. Survey for Jacob Eicholtz & John Clopp, September 12 and 20, 1828, Sixth and North Streets

Jacob Eichholtz, noted portrait artist from Lancaster, PA, lived at the corner of Sixth and North streets from 1828 to 1830.

Eichholtz's property may have dated to 1787, when an advertisement described four tenements, each on 15-foot lots, at the corner of Sixth and North Alley. The four properties, all on a 60-foot lot, also had two stables, likely on the alley at the rear of the lots, where they would have been convenient for the residents at 39 North Sixth Street, a popular boarding house for Congressmen during the decade Philadelphia served as the nation's capital.



Two Lots of ground on the South east corner of late South and North Street ——— as described and set forth in the above draft.—Surveyed for Jacob Eicholtz & John Clopp the 12th & 20th day of September 1828

Jno Samuel Haines

Illustrations

1. "High Street, from Ninth Street, Philadelphia" W. Birch & Son, 1799. (Independence National Historical Park)

2. "The Sellers House, 231 High Street, 1785-1820." from Joseph Jackson, Market Street Philadelphia The Most Historic Highway in America Its Merchants and Its Story (Philadelphia, 1918)

3. "Panorama of Philadelphia, From the State House Steeple. J.C. Wild, View to the North, 1838. (Independence National Historical Park)

4. "View of the ruins caused by the great fire Northeast corner of Sixth and Market St., which began on the night of Wedy. April 30, 1856-From the Northwest." (Library Company of Philadelphia)

5. "Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory," Market Street from Sixth to Fifth Street, 1859. (Prints and Pictures Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, as scanned for web site, "Places in Time," http://www.brynmawr.edu/Acads/Cities/iconog/frdr.html)

6. Free Quaker Meeting House, s.w. cor. 5th and Arch Streets, watercolor by C.W. Wells. (Library Company of Philadelphia)

7. Corner of Sixth and Commerce streets, 1952, before demolition. (Independence National Historical Park)

1. "High Street, from Ninth Street, Philadelphia." W. Birch & Son, 1799. (Independence National Historical Park)

   Birch's view looking east towards the Delaware River from Ninth Street includes a market shed in the distance. The scale of the neighborhood and the large, brick Georgian row houses typified Market Street in the 18th Century.

Drawn Engraved & Published by W. Birch & Son.

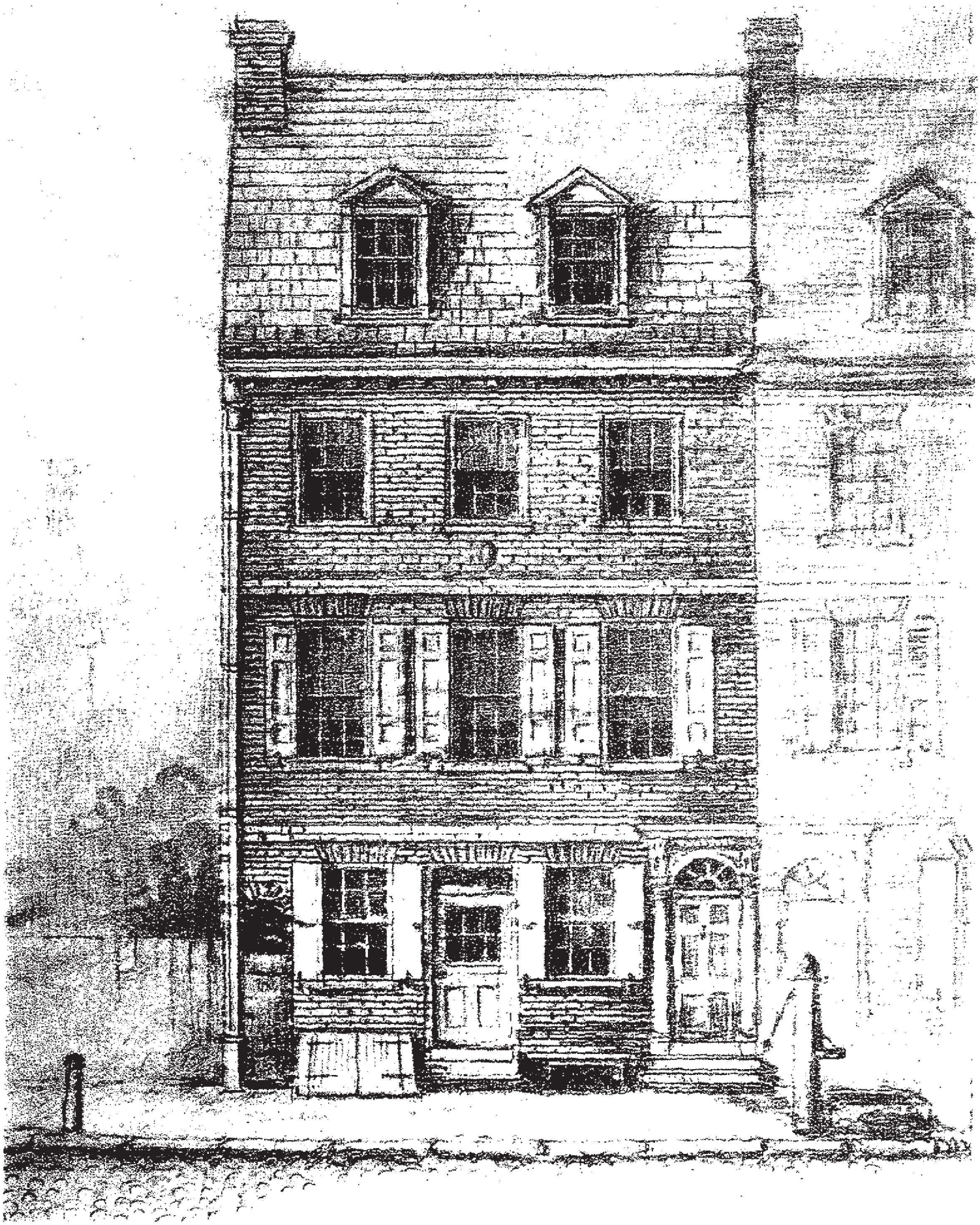
Sold by R. Campbell & Co.ª N.º 30 Chesnut Street Philad.ª 1799.

HIGH STREET, from Ninth Street. PHILADELPHIA.

2. "The Sellers House, 231 High Street, 1785-1820," from Joseph Jackson, Market Street Philadelphia The Most Historic Highway in America Its Merchants and Its Story (Philadelphia, 1918).

Joseph Jackson published this sketch of the house where Nathan and David Sellers ran a wire works industry on Market Street from the close of the Revolution until after the turn of the century. The family continued and expanded the manufacturing operations at this address until the mid-nineteenth century, when the fire of 1856 destroyed the property. Jackson's Market Street also provides a c. 1859 photograph from Sixth Street that shows the site after the fire, including the market sheds centered on the street.

Nathan Sellers is considered the first paper mold manufacturer in the country. After the Revolution the Sellers won a reputation as the best of only three American suppliers of cotton and wool cards, products formerly furnished exclusively by British manufacturers.



THE SELLERS HOUSE, 231 HIGH STREET, 1785–1829

3. "Panorama of Philadelphia, From the State House Steeple" by J.C. Wild, View to the North, 1838

J.C. Wild's panorama from the State House steeple, looking out over what today is Independence Mall, reinforces the awareness of how slowly Philadelphia moved from its 18th century Georgian row house environment. Generally structures remained three to four stories in height for as far as the eye could see.

NORTH

Pl. 2.

Drawn from Nature and on Stone by J. C. Wild.

Lith. of Wild & Chevalier, N° 42 Dock St. Ph.ª

1 St. Augustines Church
2 Girard College
3 Town Church

PANORAMA of PHILADELPHIA,

FROM THE STATE HOUSE STEPLE.

4 Franklin Square.
5 Pennsylvania Hall

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1838 by Wild & Chevalier in the Clerk's office of the District court for the Eastern District of Pa.

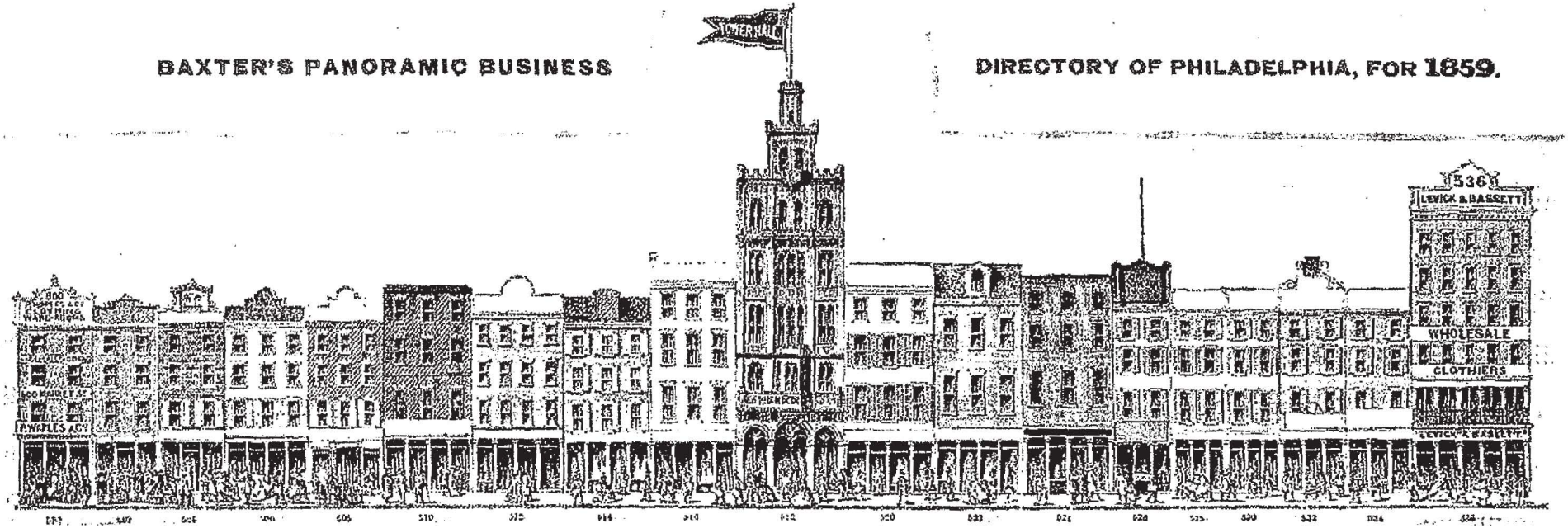
4. "View of the ruins caused by the great fire Northeast corner of Sixth and Market St., which began on the night of Wedy. April 30, 1856-From the Northwest" (Library Company of Philadelphia)

   Only a general sense of devastation can be gleaned from this faded photograph taken after the 1856 fire on block two. The Public Ledger noted that 44 buildings were destroyed at the Sixth Street end of the block. The fire began on North Street and moved south under a strong wind, destroying all the Market Street buildings from Sixth Street east to 521 Market Street (formerly 219). (Yamin and Pitts, "A Documentary Study and Archeological Assessment," 13)

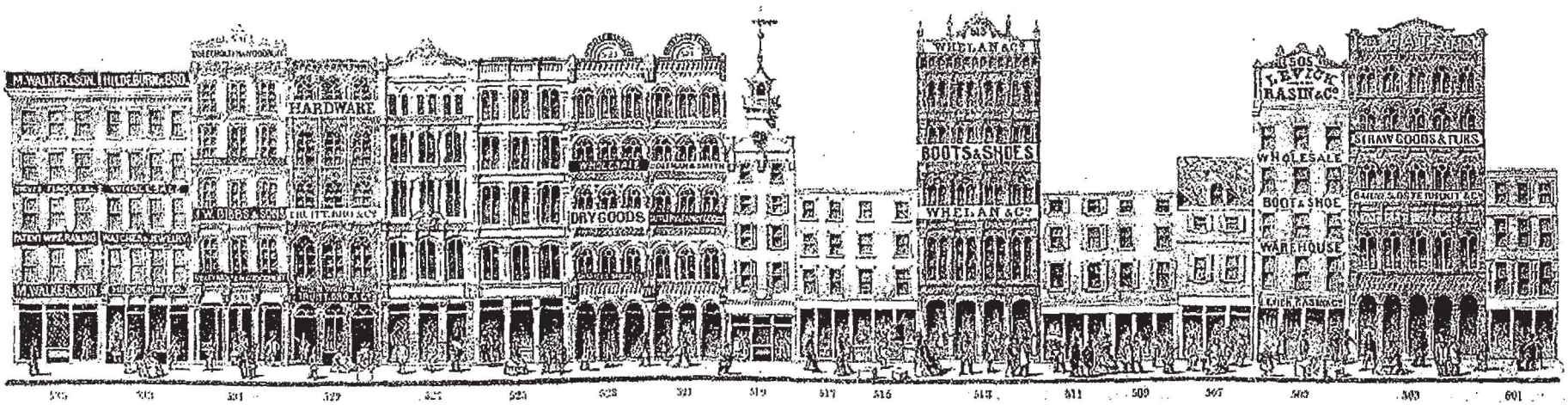
5. "Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory," Market Street from Sixth to Fifth Street, 1859 (Free Library of Philadelphia as scanned for web site, "Places in Time," http://www.brynmawr.edu/Acads/Cities/iconog/frdr.html)

Within three years of the devastating fire, Market Street's east end had been rebuilt with handsome Victorian businesses. Beginning at 519, the first structure that survived the fire, the architecture reflects an earlier, more modest commercial vision.

BAXTER'S PANORAMIC BUSINESS DIRECTORY OF PHILADELPHIA, FOR 1859.



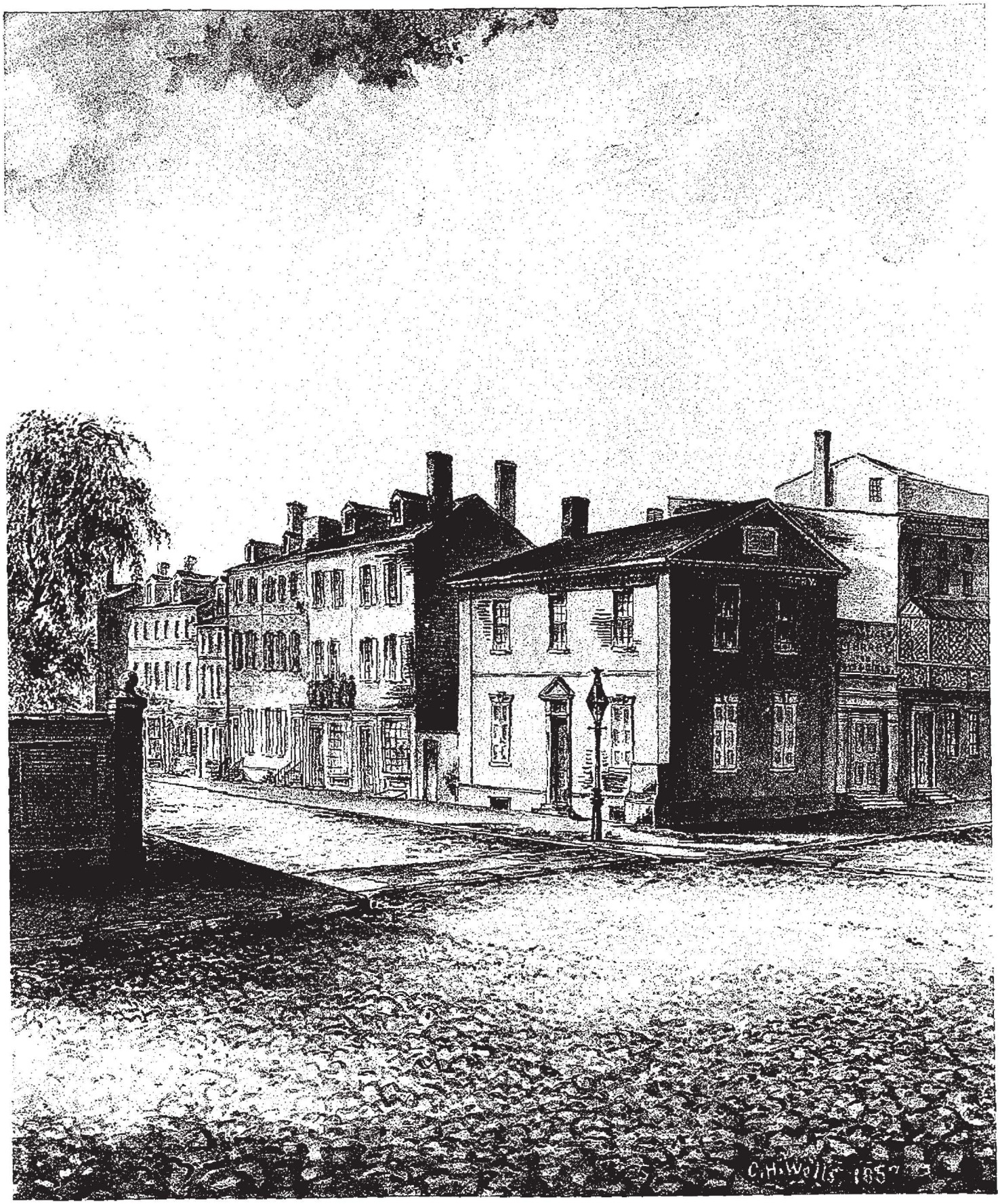
MARKET STREET, SOUTH SIDE, FIFTH TO SIXTH, 1859



MARKET STREET, NORTH SIDE, FIFTH TO SIXTH, 1859

6. Free Quaker Meeting House, s.w. cor. 5th and Arch Streets, watercolor by C.W. Wells. (Library Company of Philadelphia)

After the Revolution the majority of the Free Quaker congregation dispersed. A few members, however, continued to worship at Fifth and Arch streets until 1834, when the building was leased out in its entirety. From 1841 to 1896, it served as the Apprentices Library. (Peterson, "Notes on the Free Quaker Meeting House," I-H-1 and I-J-1)


C. H. Wells 1857

7. Corner of Sixth and Commerce Streets, 1952, before demolition. (Independence National Historical Park)

The photographic record of block two made prior to demolition for the creation of Independence Mall State Park gives proof that some of the 18th century structures survived to modern times. This house at the northeast corner of Commerce (formerly South) and North Sixth Streets served as a boarding house for U.S. Congressmen during the 1790s.