

391/D-239

Independence

**HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY  
INDEPENDENCE MALL  
THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY DEVELOPMENT  
BLOCK ONE  
CHESTNUT TO MARKET, FIFTH TO SIXTH STREETS**

Anna Coxe Toogood  
Historian  
Cultural Resource Management  
Independence National Historical Park  
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## ERRATA

p. viii, par. 2, foot note 1, cites two plans in the park archives. The park recently acquired from the Philadelphia City Planning Commission the approved design (1949) and the "as-built" plan (1966) for the perimeter streets around Block One of Independence Mall. They together confirm that the approved street widening was executed as designed. See "Plan to Revise the Lines and Grades of that Portion of Independence Mall Bounded by the South Side of Chestnut St., the East Side of Fifth St., the North Side of Market St., and the West Side of Sixth St., 6<sup>th</sup> Ward, Philadelphia, Portion of City Plan No. 307," Authorized by Ordinance of Council Approved January 18, 1949, and "Compilation of a Portion of City Plan No. 307 Bounded by Chestnut Street, 6<sup>th</sup> Street, Vine Street and Delaware River, Fifth Ward," by Barton & Martin, Engineers, October 25, 1966, in the park archives.

p. viii, par. 3, change Gateway Visitor Center to Independence Visitor Center and Liberty Bell Pavilion to Liberty Bell Center.

p. xi, par. 2, change kinsey to Kinsey.

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## Management Summary

### Background and Purpose:

On April 8, 1999 Independence National Historical Park officially accepted the deed for the three-block landscaped Independence Mall stretching north from Independence Hall to the Benjamin Franklin Bridge. Constructed between 1950 and 1968, Independence Mall replaced three dense blocks of urban architecture. Its design, planning and execution by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and City of Philadelphia ran simultaneously with the creation of Independence National Historical Park. Together they culminated a four-decade effort to preserve and properly display the birthplace of the nation, Independence Hall. The history of this planning has been well documented by the National Park Service in *Cultural Landscape Report, Independence Mall* (1993), Constance Greiff, *Independence The Creation of a National Park (Philadelphia 1987)*, and Kathleen Kurtz Cook, "The Creation of Independence National Historical Park and Independence Mall," Master of Science Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1989.

By 1954 the buildings on Block One of the Mall, from Chestnut and Market Streets between Fifth to Sixth Streets, had been torn down and the new landscaping completed on a block narrowed by the widening of all its surrounding streets. The plan trimmed 65 feet from the east-west measurement of the block by widening Fifth and Sixth Streets, while the north-south measurement lost 53 feet by widening Market and Chestnut Streets. Market Street gained 16 feet in the widening, which presumably meant eight feet from Block One and eight from Block Two. Chestnut Street widened from 26 to 44 feet curb to curb, taking 18 feet from the Mall's southern end. Fifth and Sixth Streets each gained around 33 feet: the street widened from its original 26 feet for vehicles with 12-foot sidewalks, to 45 feet with 18 and 20-foot sidewalks. This street widening, as with block two, put some of the 18<sup>th</sup> century ground under pavement and outside of the current Mall acreage. The exact location where these street widenings occurred - only on the Mall property, or also on the opposite side of Market, Fifth and Sixth streets, is not indicated on the available site plans. This information will be needed to make accurate archeological calculations for the lots along Sixth Street on block one.<sup>1</sup>

In 1992 a general management plan for Independence National Historical Park identified Independence Mall as the future site for a Gateway Visitor Center. After years of public meetings, the city, national park, state and local planners approved a plan that locates a new Liberty Bell Pavilion on the first block, at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets. The design runs along Sixth Street the length of the block to Market Street. This report documents the 18<sup>th</sup> century history of the construction site, and will be useful in identifying archeological objects in the eventuality that any artifacts from that early period have survived nineteenth century construction. The foundations of the new pavilion, however, are not expected to reach a depth that will contain 18<sup>th</sup> century features, except, perhaps, in the court and alleys which appear to have dated from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These open spaces possibly were created for one or two of the large stables established prior to

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<sup>1</sup> "Lease Boundary, Independence Mall Improvements, Block No. 1" Jan. 16, 1961, and "Layout & Grading," Independence Mall, Approved Feb. 2, 1952, in INDE archives. Jefferson Moak at the Philadelphia City Archives (PCA) pointed out that the road records in the Philadelphia Bureau of Surveys record exact road changes.



the Revolution for the visitors to the State House and the inn opposite. These same stables, advertised as "nearly opposite the State House" and "on Sixth Street above Chestnut Street," serviced both American and British troops during the war.

### Methodology and Scope of Project

During the physical transformation of the block into Independence Mall, the state did not carry out any archeology, but did contract with local genealogist and historian, Hannah Benner Roach, to research and write, "A 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." Her research has substantially informed this report.

Independence Park's detailed research for the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution also gave structure to the research for this report. With a knowledge of the lots and the residents of the block in 1787, as compiled onto an historic base map for that year (see Appendix N, Acc. No. 3883), the tax assessment records for the 1780s and 1790s could be analyzed to interpret the address locations and city directory listings. In fact, the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth have been the most closely documented in this report. For the first half of the century this researcher relied on Philadelphia city surveys, which sometimes quoted from deeds and wills that transferred a property, on newspaper articles from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* researched through the internet program, Accessible Archives, and on published sources describing some of the principal characters. Research from collections in the Library of Congress and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania compiled and shared by Edward Lawler, a private student of the Executive Mansion on Market Street, also provided good insights for the 190 High Street property.

Besides being a vehicle for archeologists, this report will present several historical themes and stories that relate to the principal and secondary themes for Independence National Historical Park. The research provides a springboard to further inquiry into the significance of the patriots and statesmen who lived and worked on this block during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, the demographic information contributes to an expanding base of knowledge on the complexity of social interactions during this first century of Philadelphia history.

### Summary of Significance

Block One possesses the most historic associations of the three blocks of Independence Mall. Its location opposite the Pennsylvania State House and its Market Street "great lotts" made it early a place for the socially prominent to build. The layout of the block and the early families who settled on Chestnut and Market Streets remained in place for many generations. This research focuses on the 18<sup>th</sup> century origins of the block's history, ending in 1811. The directory for 1801, which records street by street rather than alphabetically, gives a clear picture of the demographics of the locale as the city began to push further west, leaving this section of town to shift into an ever-more commercial setting. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century this block had emerged as a hub for the book trade—printers, publishers, lithographers and book binders, to name a few.

Block One has strong eighteenth century ties with the role of its neighboring State House Square. Parades and demonstrations often originated at the State House or passed down Chestnut and Market Streets. Prominent residents on the block served their state government as councilors, governors and loan officers. The large house of one of these leading men (John Kinsey) provided the first home for the Pennsylvania Hospital—the first hospital in the colonies—after his death in 1751. Men who served as mayor, as attorney or justices in the state and local courts also made their home on this block. During the years that the Continental Congress sat in Philadelphia, several members took rooms in boarding houses on the block, most notably Mrs. House's at the southwest corner of Market and Fifth Streets. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison became enthusiastic part of the "family" there. One of the House boarders, Robert R. Livingston, accepted the office as the first Secretary of Foreign Affairs, when he rented a house and office diagonally across the block, at Sixth and Chestnut Streets. During the decade when Philadelphia served as the nation's capital, the Treasurer of the United States, Samuel Meredith, lived on Chestnut Street next door to British consul Phineas Bond. Prominent civic and political men of the times attended meetings and socialized at the State House Inn on Chestnut Street. Robert Morris, the first Secretary of Finance in the new nation lived on Market Street during most of his official duties and gave up his home to Presidents George Washington and John Adams as the Executive Mansion. By 1800 both the federal and state governments had moved from Philadelphia, leaving the State House Square to local and county offices and courts, as well as to the federal district and circuit courts. The heyday for Block One had passed, but the prominent continued to reside on Chestnut Street well into the next century, including Nicholas Biddle, Peter Du Ponceau, Jared Ingersoll and Jacob Ridgway.

Sections of Fifth and Sixth Streets, the record shows, provided ground for the burgeoning artisan population. Early in the eighteenth century, Fifth Street had the Emlen malt house. Later, in the 1770s, Joseph Pott's opened a brewery and malt house further north on Fifth, near Market Street. Under the management of Henry Pepper the latter business continued into the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the building into the age of photography. Emlen's Fifth Street property came to be a busy center for blacksmithing, coachmakers, and modest businesses like shoemakers and hairdressers. Mid-block on Fifth Street a brickmaker and grocer occupied two lots beginning in the 1780s. Similarly Sixth Street had small properties rented out to coachmakers and a sign painter, indicating that the business maintaining and building vehicles for clients in that prosperous location sustained them for many years. After all, the nation's richest citizen, Robert Morris, was a resident and property owner on Market Street as of 1781-2, and in little over a decade had purchased much of the real estate on the block before his financial ruin.

Block One provides some interesting insights on the ethnographic patterns during the century. Early wills and newspaper advertisements for runaways and slaves for sale make clear that African Americans lived on the block from the first half of the century. Tax assessment records and the 1790 federal census, which identify residents by race, indicate that a few African Americans were recognized as heads of household in the latter part of the century. On Chestnut Street a free black ran a shop during the 1780s across from the State House, and on Minor Street (based on an educated guess) Lionel Brittain built a house mid-century specifically for his slaves, Quan and Dinah (see p. 12 of this report). Because this block had several wealthy property owners, the number of enslaved persons recorded in the post-Revolutionary records is higher than on Block Two of the Mall, but decreases dramatically in the last two decades covered in this report. Only a recollection

printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* suggests the lives of these people. Jacob Mordecai gave his fond impressions of nameless African American vendors of sweet cakes on Chestnut Street.

Another interesting pattern emerges by studying the property ownership over the century. This block had several prolonged residencies by owners or tenants, and in some cases a family kept their stake in the real estate over several generations, finally cashing it in for profit during the prosperous 1780s and 1790s. Thus the surnames Odenheimer, Potts, Morris, Emlen, Hamilton, Lawrence, Kinsey and Jones mark certain sections of the block for up to half a century or more.

Finally, the physical landscape beyond the buildings has very little definition in this report. While an occasional wall or fence is referenced, the record gives little about the gardens, trees and other visual outdoor features which would have beautified or blemished the block's setting. Street treatment and condition have been referenced through the records of the city council and street commissioner records and the published diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, who served on the street commission during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

When studied in detail, Block One becomes a vehicle for interpreting many facets of Independence National Historical Park's theme, the founding and growth of the nation: Starting with the Revolution, the block contains the story of Joseph Galloway, long-time Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, who chose to be a Loyalist and fight with the British. His house at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets was confiscated and converted into the Governor's mansion. Afterwards Robert Morris purchased the property and lived there in his years of financial ruin. During the British occupation, General William Howe lived in Governor Richard Penn's House next door on Market Street, the very same house Benedict Arnold moved into when the American Army marched back into the blighted city in 1778. John Holker, French consul to the United States, followed Arnold, who departed for West Point and the treason that tarnished his name forever. Finally, Robert Morris and the first two American presidents left their historic presence on this house, then identified as 190 High Street, and later, following its demolition, 526-530 Market Street. At the Fifth Street end of Market Street, the boarding house run by Mary House and her daughter, Eleanor Trist, became home to leaders of the Continental Congress, Federal Convention of 1787, and Republican Party that formed during the first Congresses of the United States. The battles and issues of the young nation were rehearsed and considered in the rooms and parlors of this gracious home away from home.

On a local level this study will help to indicate the impact of the State House on the outskirts of town. The lively politics of the century and the several judicial courts run from the State House Square, the proximity of Peale's Museum, the Library Company of Philadelphia and the American Philosophical Society's Philosophical Hall, all made this block popular as a place to live for prominent civic leaders. These attractions in turn drew innkeepers, boarding house keepers, stable keepers, artisans and shopkeepers to the block to provide the needed accommodations and services. The details mirror a microcosm of the city's growth pattern with a special political twist that makes Block One an especially significant place in the national drama that unfolded during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

## Acknowledgments

The research and writing for the block one report provided this writer with many new insights on the park story, particularly the era of the Revolution and its aftermath. Because the history of the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century lies outside of the park mandate, the analysis and writing about important early Pennsylvania leaders who lived on block one during that period took more time than expected. I am deeply grateful for the patience and support given me by James Mueller, PhD., Chief Historian, who extended the original deadline. I also want to thank Karen Stevens and Andrea Ashby, Library Archivist and Technician, for their assistance finding particular sources for this report.

Edward Lawler, a private researcher who collected information on 190 High Street, the house that served as Executive Mansion during the precedent-setting years of the first two presidencies, graciously offered considerable documentation from his files, some of which has been incorporated in this report. His conversations and analysis of the house site and plan greatly facilitated this report.

The staff at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the City Archives of Philadelphia, particularly Jefferson Moak, the Library Company of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society and Margo Szabunia, archivist for the Pennsylvania Hospital Historical Library gave me consistently reliable assistance, for which I am very grateful.

Finally, I'd like to acknowledge the research of Hannah Benner Roach, who developed a deep knowledge of the first families of Philadelphia. A genealogist, her research brought many family details to the historical record, giving the story more context and relativity. The deeds, wills and other city records she so carefully cited in her report now are only available on microfilm. My research often resulted in a frustrating dead end, when the deed cited in Roach's history of block one could not be located on the microfilm. Thankfully, her reputation for careful research allowed this writer to limit the time and expense otherwise set aside for the laborious microfilm record.

## I: Early Land Divisions, 1682-1747

### Topography on The Outskirts of Town

For the first half century of Philadelphia's history, the property beyond Fifth Street continued to be the outskirts of town. On Block One of Independence Mall, between Fifth and Sixth, Chestnut to High (Market) Streets, a scattering of structures were erected by 1747 (to be discussed below), but these remained outposts, along with Councilman Joshua Carpenter's country seat, built c. 1705 just one block to the west.<sup>1</sup> In 1705, when the city was divided into ten wards, the western ward line was Seventh Street, but beyond Third Street, according to one poet of 1729,

"The forging shops of sooty smiths are set—  
And wheelwrights' frames—with vacant lots 'to let'—  
A neighborhood of smiths, and piercing dins  
From trades—from prison grates—and public inns!"<sup>2</sup>

As late as 1745 the block just to the east of Fifth between Chestnut and Market was so lightly built upon, that Timothy Matlack could readily walk diagonally across the square.<sup>3</sup> Even in the following decade William Graydon recalled that Fifth Street, except for an occasional house, marked the western extremity of the city.<sup>4</sup>

The western lands or suburbs beyond Fifth Street often provided pasture for city dwellers' cattle and horses. In 1705 the Council moved to have the lands between Broad Street and the Delaware River "grub'd and clean'd from all its rubbish, in order to produce English grass" which they expected would be of "great use and advantage" for those "keeping cattle therein."<sup>5</sup> Three years later Grand Juries recorded that fencing had been erected along the streets from Fourth to Sixth Streets, presumably to keep the grazing cattle from residential properties and street traffic.<sup>6</sup> The western streets evidently were barely defined during the first three decades. In 1719 the Council ordered Jacob Taylor "to run out the Seven Streets of this City, and that they cause the same to be staked out, to prevent any Incroachment that may happen in building, for ye want thereof."<sup>7</sup> Even such regulation, however, did not promise passable roads, especially after rain or arid weather. Many are the recollections of vehicles bogging down in the streets of Philadelphia. As late as 1790, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* editorialized that Fifth street, by then a common thoroughfare through the city and bordering the newly landscaped State House Square, still remained unpaved between Chestnut and

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<sup>1</sup> John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time; Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of the City and Its Inhabitants, Vol. I*, (Enlarged, with many Revisions and Additions, by Willis P. Hazard, Philadelphia, 1909), 376, hereinafter cited Watson and Hazard, *Annals*.

<sup>2</sup> As quoted in Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 3; Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Ph.D., *Philadelphia A History of the City and its People A Record of 225 Years* (Philadelphia, [1912]), 96.

<sup>3</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 236.

<sup>4</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 237.

<sup>5</sup> 2 February 1704-5, *Minutes of the Common Council, of the City of Philadelphia 1704 to 1776* (Philadelphia: 1847), 18. Hereinafter cited *MCC*. Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 59.

<sup>6</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 215.

<sup>7</sup> 14 Dec. 1719, *MCC*, 170; Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 61.

Walnut Streets. The writer scolded that this neglect left the street there "little better than that of an unreclaimed swamp."<sup>8</sup>

While the brisk trade along the Delaware River kept the city's expansion close to that business hub, some of the slow development in the western parts hinged on the need to amend the physical terrain. Early court records for Philadelphia, as well as collected memory, refer to the wet, hilly landscape on or adjoining block one. Old timers recalled a pond on the south side of High Street near Sixth Street, on ground later known as the site of the Executive Mansion. It was remembered as "Kinsey's Pond," because John Kinsey in the 1730s and 1740s owned nearly the entire High Street frontage between Fifth and Sixth Streets and lived several lots to the east, near Fifth Street.<sup>9</sup> As late as 1740 the Grand Jury recorded the complaint that the upper end of High street, between John Kinsey and the widow Kenmarsh's as nearly impassable after great rains.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps this problem originated at the northeast corner of Sixth and High Streets, where early settlers recalled that so much water accumulated during heavy rains that a boardwalk was built for pedestrians to pass over safely. Evidently a gulley was also dug down the center of the street to channel the water to another pond at the northwest corner of Fifth and High Streets.<sup>11</sup> Not all the water got so diverted, however, because Timothy Matlack recalled that when he was a young man, (c. 1745-50) he waded through water up to his waist at Fourth and Market Streets during one flood. Perhaps the high ground at the southeast corner of Fifth and Market Streets contributed to channeling the "immense" floods of water that rushed down Market to that intersection during and after storms.<sup>12</sup>

This high ground on the south side of High Street evidently dropped down to a troublesome hollow at Fifth and Chestnut Streets. In January 1706 City Council appointed a committee "to view the Hollow in the head of Chesnutt Street, Crossing the fifth street, and take the Best methods for making good the same, and giving the water a free passage." The following year Grand Juries learned that the problem persisted, leaving so much standing water in the hollow that neither horse nor cart could pass safely.<sup>13</sup> Such obstacles to travel were long corrected in 1730 when the Pennsylvania legislature selected a site for a State House half a block west, on the rise bordering the south side of Chestnut Street. Eventually city officials chose to level the ground so that the stately building no longer stood elevated from Chestnut

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<sup>8</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette (hereinafter PG)*, Feb. 25, 1790.

<sup>9</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 495. See below for information on John Kinsey.

<sup>10</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 434.

<sup>11</sup> Common Council appointed a committee in 1737 to "get that part of High Street over the Swamp called Center Swamp repaired and an Arch made about 2 feet wide to carry off the Water, And a Causeway of 70 feet wide, with 2 good Ditches on each side..." which may have described 6<sup>th</sup> and High, or Market Streets. The swamp didn't refer to Fourth Street, for the same day they ordered the repair of Fourth Street where it crossed High and the construction of a four-foot wide arch across High. Aug. 1737, *MCC*, 368; Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 222.

<sup>12</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 434. Watson uses the term immense, based on Matlack's recollections. The fact that Matlack as of 1750 lived and worked at his brew house in Market street between Third and Fourth Streets supports this recollection. *PG* July 5, 1750; Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 222, notes that William Sheaff's property on that corner had been dug down as much as five feet in the street to level the ground and street. Watson also learned (466) that the Black Bear Inn on High Street about 40 yards east of the corner of Fifth, stood on elevated ground, too.

<sup>13</sup> 13 January 1706, *MCC*, 44. Also quoted in Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 215.

Street.<sup>14</sup> Across from the State House, at the northeast corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets in 1773, construction workers unearthed a bubbling underground spring.<sup>15</sup> This water source may not have been evident to the first builder on the lot, who erected a frame dwelling that probably did not require a deep cellar excavation.<sup>16</sup>

The actual landscape features on block one of Independence Mall prior to man's intrusion have received only sketchy documentation. William Penn selected a site for Philadelphia that was heavily wooded with oak, black walnut, chestnut, cypress, hickory, beech and elm, which the first settlers had to clear.<sup>17</sup> There seems to be no written recollection of this tedious work, much of which must have been done by imported slaves or indentured servants. Perhaps all of the trees were not cut down; as early deeds and records occasionally refer to landmark trees, such as the one describing "cedar tree" lot on Walnut Street that William Allen purchased in 1762 for the State House yard.<sup>18</sup> Evidently, according to recollections, the old inn of 1693 on Chestnut Street across from the State House stood in a grove of "lofty and primitive walnut trees," which Watson claimed dated to William Penn's lifetime. The last of these walnuts was taken down in 1818.<sup>19</sup>

#### William Parsons Plan, 1741-47

While serving as surveyor-general of Pennsylvania, 1741-1748, William Parsons researched and drew up a citywide plan of lots already surveyed and granted in the city. The names listed on the lots indicate the original title owners from the seventeenth century, rather than the property owners of the 1740s. As devised, this manuscript provides a prototype of the first lot dimensions for block one of Independence Mall. The High Street lots, called "great lotts," were assigned as bonus lots to Purchasers of 1000 acres or more.<sup>20</sup> On block one the High Street lots all extended south 306 feet to the "back lotts" on Chestnut Street, which had a depth

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<sup>14</sup> Watson decried the leveling of ground and claimed the State House had once been three to four feet higher. *Annals*, 1, 214, 396. John Lukens' survey of 1766 supports his claim, as his measurements showed a five-foot drop from the south side of Chestnut Street to Walnut Street along the east side of Sixth Street. Lukens Papers, 1750-1788, American Philosophical Society. (hereinafter cited APS) An earlier survey showed a decline of a half -inch in ten. "Regulation of the Ground at the Statehouse," July 19, 1737, Bureau of Land Records, Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, D-113-272, as cited in research note card file, INDE.

<sup>15</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 492.

<sup>16</sup> Edmund Davis or his heirs erected this wooden building in the 1730s or 40s. 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," p.53. Copy at Independence National Historical Park (hereinafter cited as INDE) Also, see below for Chestnut Street lot development.

<sup>17</sup> Russell F. Weigley, ed. *Philadelphia: A 300 Year History* (Philadelphia, 1982), 4.

<sup>18</sup> Charles H. Browning, "The State House Yard, and Who Owned It First After William Penn," *PMHB* 40 (1916), 102.

<sup>19</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 403; Whitfield Bell, "Addenda to Watson's Annals of Philadelphia: Notes by Jacob Mordecai, 1836," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 98 (1974), 131. Hereinafter cited *PMHB*.

<sup>20</sup> For a brief biographical sketch of Parsons, see, John W. Jordan, "William Parsons, Surveyor General, and Founder of Easton, Pennsylvania," *PMHB* 33 (1909), 340-41. Nicholas Wainwright, "Plan of Philadelphia," *PMHB* 80 (1956), 164-170, gives a block by block reproduction of the surveys and background information on the Parsons plan. "Warrants and Surveys of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1683-1759, Volume II," 146-7, Philadelphia City Archives (PCA).

of 178 feet. Thus, block one measured 484 feet running north-south. Parsons lists seven lots on High Street of varying widths, and eight on Chestnut, also of different widths. The larger lots on High between Fifth and Sixth Streets add up to 416 feet, and the eight smaller Chestnut Street lots measured together 414-plus feet for the same dimension. Parsons identified fifteen names as original owners of the lots, but of these, only one, William Crews, took up the land. Most of these citizens –Robert Greenaway, Robert Harley, Enoch Flower, John Bezer, to name a few—were wealthy First Purchasers who lived elsewhere, in the city, country, or in England. They either sold their titles to the land or passed them down to their heirs, who eventually sold or rented to someone who settled the lot.<sup>21</sup>

## Early Ownership/Settlement, 1685-1747

### Chestnut Street Back Lots

William Crews, (or Creus), a potter, received "50 foot front in Chestnut Street near David Powell for the making of Potter's Work," on November 26, 1688/9. David Powell, who the next year was deeded a lot on the opposite side of Chestnut Street, may have been renting nearby at the time. Likely the reference to Powell in the Crews land transaction indicates the scarcity of prominent people available on the block as reference points at this early date.<sup>22</sup> William Crews and his family remained on this property for over a decade. He erected a "pott house" and enlarged the lot to 133 feet six inches by petitioning for a land grant from Penn's commissioners and buying Ananias Turner's 32-foot lot on the east.<sup>23</sup> The Philadelphia County tax list for 1693 showed "William Creus" twice, once with a valuation of 150 and the other, on Market Street, at 30.<sup>24</sup> Considering the list as a whole, he figured in the middle range of city taxpayers. By his will, dated 1695, William's son John, likely also a potter, received interest in the "brick building on the East lot of my Dwelling house and my work house and all working tools and implements..."<sup>25</sup> John Crews patented the 133'6 lot on October 9, 1701, and then

<sup>21</sup> Hannah Benner Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia," *PMHB* 92 (1968), 1-47 and 143-193, discusses the First Purchasers, including John Bezer, (p. 17) a commissioner for William Penn, who originally held title to the Fifth and High Street lot, and Enoch Flower, (p. 158), who received the adjoining High Street lot. See Illustration 1 for Parsons plan. In *Colonial Philadelphians (Philadelphia, 1999)*, Roach gives further clues to the life and locations of these early settlers by way of a 1689 tax list and a conjectural city directory for 1690 based on her extensive research on early Philadelphians. More on the individuals listed on Parsons' plan is available by using the index to the *PMHB (Volume 75)*.

<sup>22</sup> William Penn to David Powell, 10<sup>th</sup> Mo. 13<sup>th</sup> d., 1689, F-2, 11-14, Independence Square Chain of Title, INDE research note card file. Powell, William Penn's surveyor and "the surveyor" in deeds, purchased a large part of the State House Yard block at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Charles H. Browning, "The State House Yard, and Who Owned It First After William Penn," *PMHB* 40 (1916), 85-103. Powell's brother Jeremiah that year (1689) rented a 40-foot lot at the east end of Chestnut Street on block one, where David may have been living. Roach, "Historical Report," 60.

<sup>23</sup> As quoted in Harold E. Gillingham, "Pottery, China, and Glass Making in Philadelphia," *PMHB* 54 (1930), 102, from Manuscript Book No. 3, p. 12 (No. 136), then in the Land Office, Harrisburg, PA.

<sup>24</sup> John Russel Young, ed. *Memorial History of the City of Philadelphia From Its First Settlement to the Year 1895, 2 Volumes, Vol. 1*, (New York, 1895), 123 gives the full tax list.

<sup>25</sup> Crews' Will, probated May 20, 1695, Book A, 314, left John his sole executor, although another son, James, is named in the will. Family Tree Maker's Family Archives, Genealogical Records: Pennsylvania Wills, 1682-1834, CD #209 (hereinafter cited PA Wills), gives an abstract of his will. Roach, 46-47, states that Crews first built a log structure between 1684-88, followed in 1690 with a two-story brick house



sold the property on July 30, 1702 to Jacob Regnier, a naturalized French citizen. Regnier probably leased out the property during his fifteen-year ownership, because at his death in 1715, he was a practicing attorney in New York City. His wife, Elizabeth, and other executors sold the 133'6 lot three years later, on October 3, 1720, to Andrew Hamilton, another prominent attorney.<sup>26</sup>

Andrew Hamilton, a brilliant Philadelphia lawyer and able politician, is credited with selecting the site and submitting the original design for the Pennsylvania State House, today known as Independence Hall. As Speaker of the Assembly, Hamilton's choice on the western outskirts of town won over the recommendation of Dr. Kearsley, who promoted a location near the Courthouse, in center city. That Hamilton owned the large lot on Chestnut Street across from the State House is likely part of the reason for his choice of real estate for the colony's political center. Hamilton immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1717 and rapidly won recognition as a prominent, wealthy and well-connected Pennsylvanian.<sup>27</sup> He purchased the 133-foot lot on Chestnut Street in 1720 as an investment that paid off. Under his ownership tenants kept an inn in the old Crews homestead which not only served traders and Native Americans en route to downtown, but became a popular meeting place for politicians, once the Assembly and other government officials moved to the new State House in 1735. At his death in 1741, Hamilton left the property to his son James, who continued to lease out the inn until his death at the close of the Revolution, when he willed the property to his nephew, William Hamilton, the last owner during the old inn's use. Hamilton sold the property in 1794. The next year it was torn down, all to be related later in this text.<sup>28</sup>

Elizabeth Drinker's journal entry for January 2, 1796 records that the "old ruff-cast house opposite the State House which was dated 1690" had been "pulled down."<sup>29</sup> This comment, together with William Crews' will of 1695 and the chain of title, suggest that the house of William Crews, the potter, assumed a long-standing commercial role on the block. Antiquarian John Fanning Watson and the later city's historians Scharf and Wescott both refer to the inn story.<sup>30</sup> In the earliest years,

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erected on the front of the homestead, but she doesn't give a source. She may be basing her comments on an old undated water color titled, "The State House Inn," a copy of which is included in the illustrations .

<sup>26</sup> Gillingham, 102-3. Roach, "Historical Report," 48. Roach does not document the information about Regnier's life in New York, unless it is information provided in the 1720 deed transfer she cites as Deed Book F-3, 150.

<sup>27</sup> Hamilton's brilliance and ready grasp of local politics is captured in a phrase by Frederick B. Tolles in *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston, 1957), 117. Roach, "Historical Report," 48, provides a biographical sketch of Andrew Hamilton's political career, including Attorney General (1717), member of the Pennsylvania Council (1721), and Speaker of the Assembly (1729-?). As attorney for proving William Penn's will, he received the country estate, Bush Hill. Accessible Archives listed an article indicating that Andrew Hamilton in 1738 was in charge of Loan Office, housed in one of the State House wings. *PG* Sept. 14, 1738. See also Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 1, 134.

<sup>28</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 48, 51.

<sup>29</sup> Elaine Forman Crane, ed., *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker, Three Volumes*, 2 (Boston: 1991), 767. Roach cites this in "Historical Report," 51, but modernizes the spelling as "roughcast." Crane's editorial footnote and Watson and Hazard, *Annals* 1, 403, give the date of the building as 1693. Robert Earle Graham, in his article, "The Taverns of Colonial Philadelphia," *Historic Philadelphia From the Founding Until the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1980), 319, cites Drinker's entry, but misses the early Creuse ownership. Graham gives background information on the use of taverns and inns in colonial Philadelphia.

<sup>30</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 403. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia 1609-1884, Three Volumes*, 2 (Philadelphia, 1884), 982, with the same image cited above but titled, "Clark's Inn."

however, it is difficult to determine when the inn opened. Watson claimed that "the ancient black Alice" fondly recalled visits by founder William Penn, who would "stop there and refresh himself in the porch with a pipe" and leave her with a penny. Penn's last visit to Pennsylvania spanned from 1699 to October 1702, so that if Alice's recollection is reliable, the inn probably opened under a tenant after William Crews' death, either under his son John's ownership or after Jacob Regnier purchased the property in July of 1702.<sup>31</sup> After Andrew Hamilton purchased the property in 1720, the evidence suggests he leased the building as a tavern to proprietor Evan Powel in the year that the Assembly first sat all sessions in the new State House. As early as 1729 Evan Powel advertised his stock of "very good Live Geese Feathers" for sale "in Chesnut street, next Door but one to Andrew Hamilton, Esq.:" Evidently Hamilton and Powel both were living on the 133-foot lot when Hamilton, Speaker of the Assembly, began drawing up plans for the new State House across the street. In September 1736, Evan Powel advertised his goose feathers again, but located himself at the "Sign of the Thistle and Crown, opposite the State House." Genealogist Hannah Benner Roach observed that Andrew Hamilton may have selected this tavern name to denote the close ties between his family (Thistle, or Scottish) and the Proprietor's.<sup>32</sup>

The Thistle and Crown tavern not only had the politicians and officials as ready clientele, but also the city dwellers who, Watson learned, strolled up Chestnut Street to enjoy the beautifully landscaped grounds of the Carpenter Mansion one block to the west. After his arrival from England in 1738, Governor Thomas leased the property, and old timers remembered that his wife liked to offer youngsters some of the fruit from the cherry trees that lined the mansion grounds along Chestnut Street. The adults, however, may have preferred to stop for refreshment at the Thistle and Crown before their return to town. There, the whole family may have also bought cakes from Evan Powel's servant, "Molatto Bess."<sup>33</sup>

In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century Philadelphia, malt liquor was the alcoholic beverage of choice.<sup>34</sup> By the 1730s George Emlen owned 151 feet of frontage on the east end of Chestnut Street on this block and had built a malt house on Fifth Street.<sup>35</sup> He may have become a ready supplier for Powel's Thistle and Crown, as well as for the inn's

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<sup>31</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 405; Weigley, *Philadelphia*, 26.

<sup>32</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 48. The Proprietor's family was not royalty, but Roach may have had other reasons to see the association. *PG* Sept. 24, 1729 and Sept. 16, 1736. The Assembly first sat in the unfinished State House in September 1735, but without windows, and other reasonable amenities. Edward M. Riley, *Independence* (National Park Service Handbook, 1954; rev. 1956), 2. Likely the Thistle and Crown already was open for their convenience, to warm their body and soul.

<sup>33</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 376-7; *PG* June 1, 1738; Governor Thomas served from 1738 to 1747. *My Pennsylvania A Brief History of the Commonwealth's Sixty-Seven Counties* (Harrisburg, 1946). *PG* Sept. 16, 1736. On March 5, 1745, Powel gave notice in the same paper: "that whereas Molatto Bess, who used to go about selling Cakes, has been often complained of to her Master for borrowing of Money, and taking up Goods upon Trust in her Master's Name, and unknown either to her Master or Mistress; these are therefore requiring that no Person, upon what Pretence soever, may hereafter trust her either with Money or Goods, or entertain her in their Houses, upon their Peril." This statement opens up many questions about the proprietor and the life of his black servant. For insights on the harsh treatment of African Americans in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, see Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 1, 120.

<sup>34</sup> Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 50, notes that in the early period it was very common for the "good livers" to have malt houses on their property for making good strong beer. Kenneth Finkel, ed., *Philadelphia Almanac and Citizens' Manual for 1994* (Philadelphia, 1993), 78.

<sup>35</sup> Roach relates that Emlen purchased the large lot in 1729 from Joseph Claypoole, a carpenter. Carpenter had purchased the property from Richard Hill who had acquired three lots on the corner and patented them

next proprietor, Henry Clark, who changed the tavern name to "the Sign of the Coach and Horses."<sup>36</sup> Henry Clark had a flair for entertainment. The next year he invited the public to the Sign of the Coach and Horses "at any time of the Week, (Sunday excepted)" to see

A Curious Piece of Clock-Work, representing Joseph's Dreams, Gen. 37 Joseph sold into Egypt. Joseph and his Mistress, Chap. 39. Joseph in the Dungeon, Chap. 40 Pharaoh's Dream, Chap. 41. Joseph sent out of Prison. Joseph made Ruler over the land of Egypt. Jacob sends his Ten Sons to buy Corn in Egypt, Chap. 42. Jacob sends his Sons the Second Time and Benjamin with the, Chap. 43. Israel going down into the Land of Goshen and Joseph meets his Father, Chap. 46. The Children of Israel going out of Egypt, Exod. 14. Pharaoh followeth them into the Red-Sea,

all for the price of 6 pence for the adult and 3 for children. Clearly, in an age when Quaker morality ruled the custom and law in Philadelphia, proprietor Clark wanted to show his interest in the Bible and family values, while promoting his tavern trade across from the State House.<sup>37</sup> In 1742 he again tempted the public with novel sights to see up Chestnut Street:

At the Sign of the Coach and Horses against the State House, in Chestnut Street, Every Evening, at 7 o'clock precisely, will be acted, An agreeable comedy or Tragedy, by changeable Figures of two feet high. A Sight of the Sea and Ships. A merry Dialogue between Punch and Joan his Wife. With several other pleasing Entertainments.<sup>38</sup>

In 1745, Clark offered yet more clever novelties to lure in customers:

At Henry Clark's, at the Sign of the Coach and Horses, opposite to the State House, there are to be sold several Dogs and Wheels, much preferable to any Jacks for roasting any Joynt of Meat; where is to be seen great Variety of Entertainments, viz. A lively Representation of Joseph's two Dreams; the Butler and Baker's two Dreams, and King Pharaoh's two Dreams; all done by Clock work, and many other Curiosities, too tedious to mention. Any Company of Gentlemen, Ladies, or others, may be entertained with the above Curiosities, from the Hours of Ten in the Morning to Nine at Night. N.B. Any Bookbinders, or Sugar bakers, may be supplied with the best Scaleboard, very cheap, by their humble Servant. Henry Clark<sup>39</sup>

Henry Clark that year was leasing from Andrew Hamilton's son, James, who inherited the property in 1741, and under whose ownership the tavern remained in

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in 1706. Claypoole built a house on the western lot and rented it to Emlen before selling him the property.. Roach, "Historical Report," 60. More on the Emlen family later.

<sup>36</sup> PG March 1 and 8, 1738.

<sup>37</sup> PG March 1, 1739. Weigley, *Philadelphia*, 28-9.

<sup>38</sup> PG Dec. 30, 1742.

<sup>39</sup> PG July 18, 1745.

business.<sup>40</sup> The 1740s and 50s Philadelphia witnessed a surge in population as artisans flocked to the colony to find work in the city. Many of these immigrants settled on the western lands, where real estate still was affordable, and these may have been some of Clark's customers. Others clientele may have included members of the Library Company of Philadelphia, who began meeting in the west wing of the State House in 1740, or, "Gentlemen" who subscribed to "a Course of Philosophical Lectures and Experiments" offered by Mr. Greenwood in the "Chamber adjoining to the Library at the State House." Even the guests invited to the banquets and construction raising feasts hosted at the State House may have taken time to see Clark's novel entertainments.<sup>41</sup>

Other early occupants settled on this block of Chestnut Street at the east and west ends. George Emlen moved in 1728 to the large piece of ground adjoining Fifth Street and the next year purchased the 151-foot lot and its dwelling (erected by carpenter Joseph Claypoole). Emlen's family lived in the original three-story brick house on the westernmost of the property's three lots until after the close of the century. Possibly earlier structures stood on the ground, because Jeremiah Powel and James Pugh (both shown on Parsons' survey) each rented forty-foot lots beginning at Fifth Street prior to Emlen's arrival. Richard Hill, a merchant, prominent commonwealth politician and well-connected Philadelphian, bought up the two lots and added another 71-foot lot adjoining before he received a patent (1706) on the 151-foot frontage—the property Emlen afterwards acquired.<sup>42</sup>

Emlen, a good Quaker and malt house owner, must have lived a relatively quiet life. Little is known of his career as a brewer, but the frame structure on Fifth Street built as his malt house remained standing through the century, and later served other uses (to be discussed later). Emlen's only public visibility came when he advertised on the occasions that his servant(s) ran away early in the 1740s, possibly lured by the opportunities on the frontier and brave (or desperate) enough to risk recapture. George died in 1754, leaving his wife, Mary, sons George and Joseph, and daughter Hannah (Logan). Evidently Mary Emlen, entered the Friends Ministry in 1728, the year they moved to the Chestnut Street property, and rose over the next half century to be a popular Quaker preacher, during which time she traveled to Meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to spread the word of God.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Andrew Hamilton on August 4, 1741 and was buried at Bush Hill. *PG* Aug. 6, 1741. His will, recorded in Book F, 234, was looked at only in abstract. Pennsylvania Wills, Family Archives. Roach, "Historical Report," 61, notes that James inherited the property, even though another brother, John, and Andrew's wife, Margaret, were heirs as well.

<sup>41</sup> In October 1738 the Governor gave "a grand Entertainment to near 150 Gentlemen and Ladies, at the State House, which concluded with a Ball." *PG* Nov. 2, 1738; April 17, June 5, 1740. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia, I*, 140, tells of an event in 1741 for the raising of the State House tower, which called for 800 limes for the punch, multiple barrels of beer, 1481/2 pounds of beef, 613/4 pounds of bacon and large quantities of mutton, veal and venison.

<sup>42</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 60-61. Roach cites Deed Book F-8, 55 for the Nov. 29, 1729 sale of the property from Joseph Claypoole to Emlen. James M. Duffin, Project Archivist, *Part One-Guide to the Philadelphia Exemplification Records, Series, Being True Copies of Philadelphia County Land Records in the Master of Rolls Office and its Successors, 1669-1838* (Philadelphia, 1994), 178. Hereinafter cited Duffin, *Exemplification*. For an obituary notice on Richard Hill (1673-1729), see "Notes and Queries," *PMHB* 12 (1888), 378-9. Claypoole posted his retirement from the trade as joyner in 1738, when he passed the business to his son, Josiah. *PG* May 25, 1738.

<sup>43</sup> *PG* Jan. 27, 1742, Jul. 12, 1744 and July 3, 1746. Real estate advertisements associate Emlen with such stalwart Quaker leaders as Samuel Hudson and Anthony Morris. George Emlen, brewer, will recorded in K, 213, PA Wills; Roach, *Ibid.*, 61, gives Mary's death date as 1777.

At the western end of the block, at Sixth and Chestnut, another large block of real estate came together into one family's ownership early in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. James Logan, William Penn's secretary, patented two 55-foot lots at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets in 1708 and sold the 110-foot frontage in 1720 to Edmund Davis, a tallow chandler, or candle maker.<sup>44</sup> By his will eight years later, Davis left the property to Mary his wife, who left it in 1734 to her two married daughters, Jennet Church and Mary (William) Davis.<sup>45</sup> Together they sold off an 18-foot lot on the eastern end of the larger lot in 1734 to John Boyle, a carpenter. Boyle may have been anticipating the rising real estate value for the lots across from the yet-unfinished State House. There is no record, however, of his disposition of this lot and the sale of it did not register on the sisters' next division of the property.<sup>46</sup> In 1748 the two sisters equally divided into six lots their joint real estate --all 110 feet (not subtracting the Boyle lot)--on Chestnut Street. Mary Davis received the corner lot at Sixth Street with 17'6 inches of frontage on Chestnut, with the frame structure on it. Jennet Church and her husband took the lot about 33 feet from the corner on which they had built a small 15-foot wooden house where they lived. With it they received, the 17'6 inch lot to its west, adjoining the corner lot. Mary Davis and her husband took the lots associated with the homestead (presumably built by Edmund Davis), a 20-foot frame structure that sat back from the street, like William Crew's homestead to the east.<sup>47</sup> At her death (date not determined), Mary Davis divided her share of the property between her two sons, William and David Davis, and these men began selling their portions a decade later.<sup>48</sup>

By 1747, then, the Chestnut Street back lots had been divided into three large blocks all with depths of 178 feet and owned from east to west, by George Emlen (155 feet), James Hamilton (the tavern lot, 133 feet) and the Davis family block on the westernmost 110 feet. (Note: these three frontages add up to 398 feet, not the 414 indicated by Parsons' plan described above. The former figure is closer to accurate, although measurements in surveys regularly were adjusted in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.) The 1750s, with its surge of population in the city, brought more real estate development and turnovers on this section of the block.

#### Market Street "Great Lotts"

Although the Parsons' plan shows seven lots with as many property owners on this block of Market Street, nearly the entire frontage had been bought up by a single property owner and kept as one piece of real estate throughout most of the first half of the century. The first house to be built on Market was probably also the first on the block. Enoch Flower, barber, owner of a patent (1684) for a 52 by 306 foot lot, the second lot from Fifth Street, arranged with Thomas Masters, carpenter,

<sup>44</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 52 points out that Logan held many high offices in the early days of the Province (Commissioner of Property, member and president of the Provincial Council, and Chief Justice of the Province) and cites the sale of this property as March 1, 1720, Deed book F-3, 196. Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 1, 87, assessed Logan as "without a doubt the most learned man which the province knew in the early days." Logan's patent is recited in Duffin, *Exemplification*, 239, as in patent book A4, 105.

<sup>45</sup> Edmund's will of Mar. 29, 1729 is recorded in E, 77; Mary's will is not cited in Roach, "Historical Report," 52. She may have learned the particulars of Mary's will through the deed to Boyle given below.

<sup>46</sup> The deed to John Boyle of Feb. 15, 1743/4 was recited in Bk. I-3, 384. Roach, "Historical Report," 52.

<sup>47</sup> The partition deed of August 18, 1748 is recorded in G-11, 154. Roach, "Historical Report," 3.

<sup>48</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," cites a deed in EF-7, 269 between son William Davis and Alexander Stedman in 1765 as the source for this later land division. The Stedman purchase will be covered below.

to build a house on his Liberties land in exchange for the Market Street lot. Flower, however, died before the agreement was complete, so his son Henry Flower, as executor, settled the estate by selling the Market Street property to Masters, who erected a house there, c.1685. It was frame, like many buildings on the outskirts of town.<sup>49</sup>

On December 12, 1687, Masters sold the 52-foot lot and "houses, well, pump and other improvements" to Patrick Robinson, a Scottish merchant who then was serving as deputy master of the rolls and first clerk of the Provincial Court.<sup>50</sup> Robinson's background remains unclear, but his real estate dealings in the city seemingly were frequent, as were his activities as a legal advisor. Unlike most others who lived on the block at this time, he was not a Quaker. He owned and traded slaves. The record suggests he was something of a character. When he arrived in the city in c. 1683, at age thirty, he immediately began to buy and sell city real estate, settling on fashionable Second Street. In 1686, Robinson found himself jailed after a combative series of encounters with the Quaker hegemony. William Markham considered his behavior "very Indecent, much like a Mad Man." Before his confinement, Robinson surrendered the county records he had been keeping as clerk. Upon inspection, they were found to be "in Excellent order."<sup>51</sup> Nonetheless, Robinson served a term of near a year, apparently imprisoned until April 1687, when the Provincial Council ordered his eviction from one of the caves along the Delaware. Robinson requested a month to pull his cave down, and meanwhile must have been arranging for his purchase of the Market Street property.<sup>52</sup>

Robinson's continued hot temper and prison term did not end his financial rise or political career. In c. 1688 he was appointed register and in 1690, overseer of the poor.<sup>53</sup> After his 1687 purchase of the Market Street property, he moved there with his family and over the next twelve years acquired nearly two thirds of the block frontage. The 66-foot lot to his west he promptly acquired in 1687 from John Redman, a bricklayer. The 26-foot lot to his east, on the southwest corner of Fifth and High Streets, he purchased eight months later from First Purchaser John Bezer's estate. His wealth and influence grew, landing him a seat for three years -1693-5 and 1696- on the Provincial Council. Simultaneously he was appointed provincial secretary, which post he held continuously from 1693 until his death in 1701. In 1699, he bought the 26-foot lot at the western end of his property, and the larger one to its west, measuring another 66 feet, from Silas Crispin, William Penn's cousin

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<sup>49</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 1, 8; Family Tree Maker's Pennsylvania Wills, 1682-1834 lists Enoch Flower's will as recorded June 21, 1684 and probated July 25, 1684 (?). Enoch's Executors are brother Seth Flower and son Henry. Roach named Henry as Enoch's nephew. Flower's patent of April 1684 is recorded in Duffin, *Exemplification*, 129. Duffin gives April 12, while Roach lists April 2, as the day of patent. Although Roach notes he was a schoolmaster for 20 years in England, Duffin shows that the deed for the purchase of 2000 acres lists Flower as a barber. For a profile of the Quaker carpenter and merchant Thomas Masters, see Craig W. Horle, et. al., *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania A Biographical Dictionary*, 1, 534-537. Hereinafter cited Horle, *Lawmaking*.

<sup>50</sup> As quoted in Roach, "Historical Report," 1, from Deed Book 1, Vol. 5, 617.

<sup>51</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 1-2; Horle, *Lawmaking*, 643- 646, quotes on 646. Duffin, *Exemplification*, 344-346, indicates that Patrick Robinson was a major landowner in the city and suburbs.

<sup>52</sup> Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City Philadelphia 1670-1838* (Philadelphia, 1939), 2.

<sup>53</sup> These appointments were listed in Abstracts of PA Wills, 1682-1834.

and Thomas Holmes' son-in-law and executor. In that year his frontage on Market Street totaled 236 feet.<sup>54</sup>

Despite years of careful record-keeping, Patrick Robinson neglected to prepare for his own death. He died intestate in 1701, at age 47, leaving a widow, Elizabeth, and three sons, Livewell, Peter and Septimus. The family had owned and perhaps lived on the property some fourteen years. Elizabeth was still there when she remarried, c. 1706. Her husband, Griffith Jones, was a prominent Quaker merchant, First Purchaser, owner of the Blue Anchor tavern, among many other city properties, and one-time (1693) second highest taxpayer in Philadelphia. Jones, a glover in England, arrived in Pennsylvania in 1682, a trusted friend of Penn's and a member of the Society of Traders, the merchant group on Society Hill. He had just served a one-year term as mayor of the city (1704-5) and was sitting in the Pennsylvania Assembly when he married widow Robinson. Jones moved into Elizabeth's Market Street house and proceeded to buy out (1710) his stepson Peter Robinson's rights to the dwelling and six lots running west from Fifth Street, totaling 236 feet on Market Street, and 306 feet south, that his father had acquired before him.<sup>55</sup>

Griffith Jones' final years were troubled by his only son's public disownment from the Philadelphia Quaker Meeting, an act that pained Jones enough to sever his own lifelong ties with the Quakers. Because he had proved such an effective mayor, (James Logan, no friend of his, allowed that he was "the best Magistrate Philadelphia ever had in my time, of any kind."<sup>56</sup>), Jones was drawn back into politics. He continued to serve as an Assemblyman until 1709, although under a cloud with William Penn, who showed his annoyance at the recalcitrant Jones and his associates, David Lloyd and Joseph Wilcox, by asking whether they had forgotten "their low Circumstances," something he had not.<sup>57</sup>

Griffith Jones died in 1712 "of a weakness owing chiefly to old age." By his will the property on Market Street was returned to Elizabeth, although it came with very limited support. Quaker James Logan noted about his political enemy that Jones "as he lived so at his Death he designedly cheated his wife, leaving her but the use of the house she lived in & about L20 p[er] An[um] during life, thou[gh] shee had too honestly given him what P.R. had left her & now must live in great straits for it."<sup>58</sup> Elizabeth by then had lived in the house for twenty-three years, but apparently

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<sup>54</sup> Roach, "Historical Report, 1-2, cites Deed Book E-1, Vol. 5, 92 and 619. Robinson's deed transactions are recited in Deed Bk. H-9, 532-543, when his son Peter relinquished his rights to the property to Griffith Jones in 1710. That deed reveals that Redman owned his lot only one year, suggesting that as a bricklayer he may have bought the property to build on it. In 1688 Robinson served twice as an executor with Charles Pickering, who was listed patent holder on Parsons' block plan on the adjoining lot to the west. PA Wills for Anna Salter and Nathaniel Watson, 1688. Perhaps Pickering's real estate presence on the block influenced Robinson's purchase.

<sup>55</sup> Peter Robinson to Griffith Jones, Oct. 13, 1710, Deed Bk. H-9, 532-543 recites all the patents and deeds Patrick Robinson purchased. The total of six lots running from Fifth Street west 236 ¼ feet.

<sup>56</sup> As quoted in Hannah Benner Roach, "Griffith Jones Forgotten First Purchaser and a Founder of The Province," 33, in "Genealogical Notes, Vol. 13, Griffith Jones," HSP.

<sup>57</sup> As quoted in Horle, *Lawmaking*, 476. Jones began his life as a glover in County Surrey, England. Roach, "Griffith Jones," p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> As quoted in Horle, *Lawmaking*, 476. Roach, "Griffith Jones," estimates his birth (based on his marriage dates) at c. 1740-50, which would make Jones at the most, 72 at his death. Roach's essay on Jones maintains that because he left no personal papers, the strong written record left by his contemporaries expressing their antipathy (such as Logan's cited above), makes it impossible to draw a fair assessment of

lacked the means or desire to remain. After securing the rights to the property from her stepson, Joseph Jones, and his wife, Margaret, she sold the entire property in 1714 to wealthy ironmonger Lionel (Lyonel) Brittain, who already lived as tenant in the Jones family dwelling.<sup>59</sup>

Lionel Brittain had migrated from England in 1680, settling in Bucks County as a blacksmith. He soon after moved to the city and by 1688 began acquiring real estate. During the 1690s he identified himself as a blacksmith, but early in the 1700s, began using merchant, ironmonger, and shopkeeper, suggesting his rise in status.<sup>60</sup> Brittain's purchase of the 236-foot frontage on Market Street with its on April 14, 1714 likely provided him with the country setting for his retirement.<sup>61</sup> He took out a patent of confirmation on the westernmost 66-foot lot, and settled down for the last seven years of his life. Little is known of his time there except that his will of 1721 presents him as a devout and loving family man and suggests that he had developed sensitivity towards the institution of slavery his life had condoned. In his will he proposed – if his widow Elizabeth so wished-- that his "Negro man Quan" and his "Negro woman Dinah" go free three months after his death, and that they be provided with respectable bedding and clothing. It is not clear whether Elizabeth ever did free this couple. Possibly Quan gained his freedom, or died, for he is not mentioned in 1729 when Elizabeth Britton deeded the family home to Elizabeth Kearney, her granddaughter. In that deed she makes clear that Dinah is yet enslaved, for she reserved the house and ground on the property then "occupied by a Negro woman named Hagar," for "the use of the Negro Woman named Dinah belonging to her the said Elizabeth Brittain." In her will, written in 1732 and probated 1741, Dinah still lived in the "small tenement, " on her property. The will also indicates that Thomas Holland occupied a house on Fifth Street, near the south end of the property. In his will of 1754, Thomas Holland, merchant, then living at his house on the north side of Market Street, left his Negro woman, Hagar, to his children. It is likely from these references that Dinah and Thomas Holland's Negro woman, Hagar, shared a house somewhere near what was to become Minor Street.<sup>62</sup>

Lionel Brittain's will of November 1, 1720 (probated 12 November 1721) left all his property to his "loving wife" Elizabeth, until her death, after which the estate

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Jones' life. Her essay attempts to give a full record of his political career. It runs 45 pages typescript.

Roach, "Griffith Jones," HSP.

<sup>59</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 2-3, cites Deed Bks H-9, 538 and H-10, 149 for land transfers from Peter Robinson and Elizabeth Jones. Griffith Jones had a large extended family from his former marriage of 30 plus years, which may have restricted his ability to be more generous to his widow. Abstract of his Will, PA Wills and Roach, "Griffith Jones." Widow Jones went on to marry again, the third time to John Swift, a wealthy and prosperous Pennsylvania legislator. Swift and Griffith Jones coincidentally had been appointed to visit Widow Robinson in 1706 to request the patent to the Market Street property. Elizabeth and Swift married sometime after his first wife died in 1717. Horle, *Lawmaking*, 469, and 695. Griffith Jones' will of October 27, 1712, is recorded in Will Book C, 318. PA Wills. No record of Elizabeth's life prior to becoming Patrick Robinson's wife has been found.

<sup>60</sup> Duffin, *Exemplification*, 37-38.

<sup>61</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 5 cites Elizabeth Jones, widow, to Lionel Brittain, April 14, 1714, Dk Bk E-7, 10, 43. Roach cites the Patent of Confirmation of Oct. 20, 1716, as Ex. Bk. 2, 147.

<sup>62</sup> Lionel Brittain, Will Book D, 203, #228, probated Jan. 20, 1721; Elizabeth Britton [sic] to Elizabeth Kearney, March 11, 1729, Dd. Bk. H-9, 535; Elizabeth Britton, Will Bk F, 272, probated Jan. 21, 1741. Unfortunately, the latter will was torn in the section discussing Dinah and also hard to read. Both wills were read on microfilm at HSP. Thomas Holland, 6 July 1754, probated 12 Sept. 1755, Will Bk. K, 351, #224. Tax Assessment records for the 1780s, discussed below, show a free black living on the south side of Minor Street; perhaps this was a relative/descendant of Quan and Dinah's.



was to be divided up among his grandchildren any way Elizabeth chose to arrange it, by deed or will. His will anticipated that their daughter, Rebecca Kearney, would live at the property until her daughter, Johanna Kearney, was old enough to inherit it. In 1729, however, Elizabeth instead deeded the homestead with a substantial lot, to Johanna's sister, Elizabeth Kearney, who already was in residence, along with her mother, Rebecca Kearney. Philip Kearney, Rebecca's husband, had died in 1722, which presumably was the year when the Kearneys moved in with the widow Brittain. Providing for her last years (she called herself "aged and infirm of body" in her will drafted three years later), the deed reserved for Elizabeth Brittain "out of the before granted Premises One Room in the House aforc'd and a Closett in the Cellar ... together with the privilege of the Use of the Pump with Egress and & [sic] Regress." The transfer of property included all the "Houses Outhouses Orchards Gardens Stables with all and singular the appurtenances thereunto belonging" a standard phrase in deeds of that period, but suggestive of the likely landscape features by that date.<sup>63</sup> The deeded property stood on the south side of High Street and was bounded east by Fifth and north by High. The western boundary was described as the property Lionel had devised in his will to his wife Elizabeth, his daughter Rebecca Kearney and Johanna, her daughter. The deed defined the property line to the south as a fence that marked the lot and tenements occupied by Thomas Holland. Although little is known about Thomas Holland, he did stand as witness for Elizabeth Brittain's will, suggesting that he knew the family well. His fenced house and gardens stood on Fifth Street at the south end of the 306-foot long Brittain lots. Elizabeth Brittain devised this Fifth Street property to daughter Rebecca Kearney by her will of 1741.<sup>64</sup>

Granddaughter Elizabeth Kearney married James Morris, grandson of the family patriarch, Anthony Morris, one of the largest landowners in Pennsylvania. The young couple was living with widow Elizabeth Brittain in the Market Street house when they by deed of June 1731 formally exchanged the High Street property with Elizabeth's older sister, Mary Kinsey, wife of John Kinsey, Jr. The Morrises received the family house at Second and Strawberry Alley, and the Kinseys took title to the High Street house. John Kinsey, Jr. already had gained a reputation as a prominent Quaker attorney and politician, both in New Jersey and Philadelphia. Six months earlier Kinsey, already Speaker of the New Jersey Assembly, had been elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly. Considering the convenience of the property in its proximity to the future State House, it is likely that Kinsey proposed the land exchange with his Morris in-laws.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Lionel Brittain, Will Bk. D, 203; Elizabeth Brittain Will Bk F, 272; Dd Bk H-9, 534-5. Roach, "Historical Report," 6. The western lots reserved by Lionel in his will are clearly mentioned in this deed, but not readily found in Lionel's will, which is nearly impossible to read.

<sup>64</sup> Fortunately, the Holland property on Fifth Street is described on a property survey, by way of quoting from the Brittain deeds and wills. James Pearson, 1806, took the transcriptions. Record Series 90-3.1, Div. 4-T, PCA.

<sup>65</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 6-7. This writer could not verify that James Morris was Anthony's grandson. Roach notes Mary Kearney and John Kinsey wedding date as Sept. 9, 1725. Kinsey's father of the same name briefly owned one of the two lots near Fifth on Chestnut Street that he sold to Richard Hill, who patented the greater property there in 1706. (See earlier text.) Quote as taken by Roach from the deed, in Deed Bk H-9, 522. Little could be ascertained about James Morris, except he was serving as trustee of the loan office at his death in 1750. John W. Jordan, "Penn Versus Baltimore. Journal of John Watson, Assistant Surveyor to the Commissioners of the Province of Pennsylvania, December 13-March 18, 1750/51," *PMHB* 39 (1915), 33. He may also have been the sea captain trading in the West Indies indicated in *PG* Oct. 19, 1732.

The June 1731 deed stated that John Kinsey already lived on the High Street property ("in tenure and Occupation"), that included "Messuages Houses Lots of Land and Tenements." Soon after this land transfer, Kinsey began to solidify his stake in the Market Street frontage. In 1738, when attorney general of Pennsylvania, he placed a patent on the 120-foot lot to the west of the original six lots, and in 1743, purchased the 95-foot lot west of the homestead from his sister-in-law, Johanna Kearney.<sup>66</sup> Kinsey in the 1740s reached the top of his political power. From 1738 throughout the 1740s he served as trustee to the General Loan Office. For eleven consecutive years, from 1739 to his death in 1750, he was Speaker of the Assembly, while also clerk of the Friends Yearly Meeting, the official Quaker body for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, for over twenty years. Kinsey locally also sat as an Elder in the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting and served as trustee of its properties. After his 1743 election as chief justice of Pennsylvania's Supreme Court, he simultaneously held the highest legislative, judicial and religious posts in the province.<sup>67</sup> At the pinnacle of his career and owner of all but forty feet of the Market Street frontage, Chief Justice Kinsey decided to tear down the frame homestead (erected c. 1685 by Thomas Masters) to build in its place a large, elegant three-story brick house.<sup>68</sup> Here he enjoyed influence and power. Richard Peters regarded Kinsey as the "Hinge on which the Quaker Politicks all turn & can influence them to do what he pleases."<sup>69</sup> Such prominence, however, did not last long. Kinsey lived only some seven years in his new dwelling before an apoplectic fit killed him on May 11, 1750.<sup>70</sup>

The Market Street lots laid out on the Parson plan of c.1741-47 did not suggest the one-man ownership on this frontage under Chief Justice Kinsey, whose property likely was long a landmark in the vicinity. As mentioned earlier, on the lot to the west of the house old-timers recalled "Kinsey's pond." Other specific references to landscape features in this period include the out buildings, gardens, orchards and pump mentioned in the deeds. These auxiliary structures and plantings probably stood towards the south end of the lot or on Fifth Street, and didn't obstruct Kinsey's grand view. Across from him, on Hudson's Square at this date, the entire block was rented out as pasture. Kinsey enjoyed a country gentleman's life just west of Fifth Street.<sup>71</sup>

Newspapers tell us that Kinsey rented to artisans during his nearly 20 years on Market Street. In 1740 William Saunders, gunsmith, moved from Second Street to "the upper end of Market Street, at the Sign of the Gun, a little above the house

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<sup>66</sup> Ex. Bk. 5, 4, Duffin, *Exemplification*, 218; Roach, "Historical Report," 8, cites Deed Bk. H-9, 530. This granddaughter of Lionel Britain evidently died an old maid. She is listed in the Philadelphia County wills, but no abstract was provided. PA Wills.

<sup>67</sup> Kinsey served eleven consecutive terms as speaker during a difficult, strident time in Quaker politics. For an excellent biographical essay, see Horle, ed. *Lawmaking*, 591-601, and Edward Bronner, "The Disgrace of John Kinsey, Quaker Politician, 1739-1750," *PMHB* 75 (1951), 401-415.

<sup>68</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 6-7. Kinsey did not own the 40-foot lot at the corner of Sixth Street. I have found no source for Roach's conjecture that Kinsey replaced "the old frame message" with "the fine brick dwelling" at the peak of his career. She cites William Jones' will of 1799 as a source to describe the house interior. Jones lived there for many years, as discussed below. William Jones, Glazier, Dec. 8, 1802, Will BK 1, 39.

<sup>69</sup> Richard Peters to Proprietors, Nov. 14, 1741, as quoted in Bronner, "The Disgrace," 404.

<sup>70</sup> For several obituary notices at Kinsey's death, see Bronner, "The Disgrace," 406-408.

<sup>71</sup> PG Feb. 24, 1747 has an advertisement offering Hudson's Square for lease as pasture. Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, I, 230; for more on Hudson's Square development, see, Anna Coxe Toogood, "Historic Resource Study, Independence Mall, The 18th Century Development, Block Two, Market to Arch, Fifth to Sixth Streets," Independence National Historical Park, November, 2000.

of John Kinsey, Esq." He assured the public that he sold "very good guns, well stock'd and lock'd." <sup>72</sup> Eight years later, Griffith Jones, presumably the son and namesake of the former owner, placed an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* which located him on the 26-foot lot to the east of Kinsey's. "Left at the house of Griffith Jones, skinners, at the corner of Fifth street, in Market street, next door to John Kinsey, Esq ... a piece of cloth," and informed the owner he could retrieve it after paying charges. <sup>73</sup> Griffith Jones continued at this location another twelve years. In January 1761, he announced that he had removed "from his dwelling at the corner of Market and 5<sup>th</sup> to Samuel Burkeloe's house near the City Prison ... where he carries on the trade of leather-dresser and breeches making."<sup>74</sup> Jones, it can be presumed, moved east, towards the center of town, to enjoy a brisker business.

#### Summary of Setting, 1747:

The block beyond Fifth Street remained remote. On Kinsey's extensive property there was his fine brick home on High Street about 60 feet from the corner. On either side of John Kinsey's house on High Street, buildings supported the shops of a gunsmith and skinner. These buildings likely were neither large nor aesthetic, and were perhaps discreetly placed out of Kinsey's view. Possibly Kinsey's property had a high brick wall around it, like so many 18<sup>th</sup> century properties did, but there is no record of that. Old timers recalled "Kinsey's pond" near High Street, at the Sixth Street end of his property. On Fifth Street, at the south end of the High Street lots, merchant Thomas Holland continued to rent a house with gardens and orchard from the Kinsey family. Probably near his house, possibly on a carriage road that later was cut through as Minor Street, a small tenant house had been built by Elizabeth Brittain for an African American servant woman, Dinah, who was living with Thomas Holland's servant woman, Hagar. On Chestnut Street, there was a cluster of small, frame structures on the corner of Sixth Street owned by the descendants of Edmund Davies. To the east of the Davies' lots stood the old tavern across from the State House, and closest to Fifth Street, George Emlen's brick house and a frame malt house on Fifth Street near the corner. Likely the Emlen property also had other small frame structures and outbuildings, like tenant houses or barns. The neighborhood was on the verge of a burst of real estate development prior to the American Revolution.

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<sup>72</sup> PG July 17, 1740.

<sup>73</sup> PG Mar 7, 1749.

<sup>74</sup> PG Jan. 15, 1761, as quoted in Roach, *Colonial Philadelphians*, 91. Roach herein provides the city tax list of 1754 with additional input from newspapers, to help locate individuals.

## II. Mid- Century: Years of Expansion, 1748-1775

### The State House Neighborhood

During the mid-century this block north of the State House began to be integrated more with the city. The State House and Square gradually supplanted the old Courthouse at Second and High Streets as the political center. The State House was where the governor gave balls and principal gentlemen of the city hosted large and elegant dinners to honor special local persons or the king (at his birthday).<sup>1</sup> Notable scholars held experiments or courses in electrical fire and experimental philosophy in its halls. The public voted at the State House, the Provincial Assembly sat and the Pennsylvania Executive Council and Supreme Court met there, while important records were kept in the office wings. The Court of Oyer and Terminer and the General Gaol deliveries held forth at the State House, while subscriptions to building projects in the city were collected there. In one touching case announced in July 1761, the names of children captured by Indians during the French and Indian War and recently released were posted at the State House so that their parents could know where to find them. The Library Company of Philadelphia, the first subscription library in the British colonies of America, leased the upstairs rooms of the west wing for their collection of books. Delegations of Native Americans were housed and fed at the State House and its office buildings. With the construction of a tower and the import of a Whitechapel Foundry bell for the State House in 1752, the public awareness of the Provincial Assembly's sessions and the outdoor mass political meetings held in the State House Yard could not be ignored or missed. As political tempers heated in the 1760s, parades and processions started or ended at the State House. Chestnut Street was the access to the largest building in the colonies, the political center of the province. The State House dominated the consciousness of the neighborhood.<sup>2</sup>

Commonly individuals who lived near the State House identified their location as such. Jacob Duche, potter, John Eliot, looking-glass store proprietor, and Thomas Campbell, Esq., all advertised their location a block east on Chestnut Street, as "near the State House;" as did Maurice and Edmund Nihell, brewers, on the west side of Sixth Street south of Market Street. Those individuals on Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets located themselves "opposite the State House" or "nearly opposite" it.<sup>3</sup>

### The Clarkson-Biddle 1762 Map of Philadelphia

Nicholas Scull, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania from 1748 until his death in 1761, provided the material for the first detailed map of the city of Philadelphia. Mary Biddle, Scull's daughter, and Matthew Clarkson, who owned an engraving business on Second Street, published the map likely drafted by Scull himself from his

<sup>1</sup> Accessible Archives gave a sampling of notices posted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* mid-century describing State House events. For the balls and dinners, see *PG* Nov. 14, 1754, Sept. 25, 1755, Mar. 24, 1757, July 1, 1762, Nov. 24, 1763.

<sup>2</sup> *PG* Sept. 28, 1752, Apr. 2, July 2, 1761, Nov. 21, 1765; see Anna Coxe Toogood, "Draft, Cultural Landscape Report, Independence Square," (Independence National Historical Park, 1997), for more on the events and uses of the square during this period.

<sup>3</sup> *PG* Jan. 14, 1752, July 15, 1756, Dec. 22, 1757, Jan. 25, 1759.

lot surveys<sup>4</sup>. For the block between Chestnut and High Streets, from Fifth to Sixth Streets, the map shows a scattering of buildings, the addition of Minor Street cut through from Fifth to Sixth Streets and a substantial amount of residual open space. Existing records explain to some degree the timing and the use of this new development on the block; the story unfolds through the family deeds, wills and advertisements that follow.

### Chestnut Street Lots

At mid-century opposite the State House Square the property owners witnessed a change of generations and a birth of new business in response to the obvious expanded needs of the neighborhood. Although still thinly populated, opportunities for change opened when the block's real estate parcels were sold or willed as smaller lots. On Chestnut Street in 1748, Edmund Davis' two married daughters, Mary (William) Davis and Jennet (also spelled Joannet)(William) Church, received the 110-foot frontage at the corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets through his widow Mary's will (probated 1735), which called for the equal division of the estate. The partition divided the property into twelve separate lots. Nine of the twelve lots stood at the corner: three on Chestnut Street, each 17 feet 6 inches by 73 feet in depth, and six separate lots on Sixth Street, covering 105 feet to the north property line, each 17 feet 6-inches front by 52 feet six inches. The Davis family took the south three and the Churches the north three. Three other lots to the east varied in frontage on Chestnut Street --18, 22 and 17' 6 feet-- but each retained the original 178 feet in depth. The frame homestead on the 22-foot lot went to Mary and William Davis, while the Churches took a lot to the west where they had erected another small, frame house on Chestnut Street. In 1754 the tax list for Middle Ward included William and Edmund Davis and William Davis, Jr.<sup>5</sup>

At her death Mary Davis willed her six lots to her sons, William and David. William in 1768 sold two of his Chestnut Street lots and the family's frame homestead to George Kemble, who ran a large stable on Sixth Street. He also sold the corner lot with a frame building on it in June 1765, to wealthy merchant Alexander Stedman. That year Stedman built an elegant three-story brick mansion on the opposite end of the block, at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets. Stedman perhaps purchased this plain structure on Chestnut Street at Sixth to house a servant family. Stedman shortly after faced financial straits, so that by the summer of 1771 his 18 by 65-foot lot with its frame house stood subject to a sheriff's sale. Another prominent Philadelphian, John Lawrence, purchased the property, along with another 12 feet of width from Jennet Church and her husband.<sup>6</sup>

John Lawrence as an attorney, councilman, alderman and mayor (1765-6) had long worked in the neighborhood. He was the son of Thomas Lawrence (1685-1745), who had served as a Provincial Councillor over several decades, and the brother of Mary (William) Masters, who that year (1771) was building a grand house on High Street for her daughter and son-in-law, Richard Penn (to be discussed

<sup>4</sup> Martin P. Snyder, *City of Independence Views of Philadelphia Before 1800* (Philadelphia, 1975), 36, 62.

<sup>5</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 52 and 53; Partition Deed, 18 August, 1748, Deed Book G-11, 154. This deed was difficult to read, but I could not find the reference to the frame house erected by the Churches. Roach likely found this in a later deed.

<sup>6</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 57 for Kemble sales; 53, cites Dd Bk E-F-7, 269 for the Stedman sale, and D-11, 214 and D-25, 332 for the two Lawrence purchases. .

below). In March 1768, he had married Elizabeth (Betsy) Allen, the daughter of James Allen. After his purchase of the lot, Lawrence replaced the frame structure with a 3-story brick dwelling measuring 29 feet 6 inches on Chestnut and 38 feet along Sixth Street. The kitchen was in the cellar and two trees gable-high stood in front of the house in 1786, when the insurance policy finally was recorded. It is not clear when Lawrence erected his house, but his appointment as judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1772 likely made its location across from the State House more appealing. He was in residence during the Revolution, when his connections with the Penn family placed him under suspicion and house arrest.<sup>7</sup>

David Davis, the other son, evidently had died by 1772 when a sheriff's sale advertised a frame tenement and lot on the east side of Sixth Street in his "late estate."<sup>8</sup> The structure measured 13 feet 1 by the full depth of the lot, 52 feet 6 inches, a close fit to the structure indicated on the 1762 Clarkson-Biddle map. Evidently another structure of about the same size stood on the adjoining Davis lot. Likely one of these buildings represented the livery stables George Kemble advertised as new and opened to the public in 1762.<sup>9</sup>

George Emlen left his 151-foot lot on Chestnut Street at the corner of Fifth Street to his widow Mary, reserving the malt house on Fifth Street for son George, at his death in 1754. Mary Emlen, the Quaker preacher, continued to live on the western 71-foot lot. The list of taxables for 1754 and 1756 placed George Emlen next to David Edwards, possibly the wheelwright whose estate settlement was advertised in 1760. An advertisement in 1755 by George Emlen "opposite the State House" indicated that son George (the 3<sup>rd</sup>) lived on Chestnut Street, probably with his aging mother in his deceased father's house.<sup>10</sup>

The Biddle-Clarkson map of 1762 indicates that other structures dotted the Emlen property. One on Fifth Street no doubt was the malt house willed to son George. At least two other substantial Chestnut Street buildings appear on the map between widow Emlen's house and the corner. No concrete information has yet been located to determine the buildings' date of construction, but their use may be explained. Between 1757-1760 Daniel Stanton and John Pemberton compiled a directory of Friends in Philadelphia's Monthly Meeting. On the north side of Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets they listed after George Emlen and David Edwards, Widow Thomas, Joshua Hastings, and Widow Edgerton. The last two names, the list indicated, lived with Widow Thomas. In this grouping, Evan Peters and John Haynes followed these names and their location was "in Fifth Street."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 53; *PG* Oct. 4, 1764; Undated survey, "Old Surveys," Third Survey District, City Archives; Thomas Lawrence is listed as a councillor in the Minutes of the Provincial Council from c. 1728 to the early 1740s. see *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Volumes 1 to 3*; *PG* Mar 17, 1768; Mutual Insurance Policy 146, Feb. 25, 1786, in Anthony N.B. Garvan, Cynthia Koch, Donald Arbuckle, and Deborah Hart, *The Mutual Assurance Company Papers Volume I, The Architectural Surveys 1784-1794* (Philadelphia, 1976), 109; Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania in North America... Written Principally between the Years 1776 and 1780, Two Volumes*, 2, 290. More on the Revolution to follow.

<sup>8</sup> *PG* 19 Mar. 1772 as compiled by Hannah Benner Roach, "Genealogical Records, Philadelphia County, V. 33, Newspaper Accounts, 1719-1778."

<sup>9</sup> *PG* June 24, 1762. Kemble's stables will be discussed further under the section below on the inn.

<sup>10</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 6, cites George Emlen's will in Will Bk Q, 242, #206; *PG* Sept 25, 1755. Roach, *Colonial Philadelphians*, 91. Roach here lists and interprets the city taxable list of 1754 prepared by William Savery. *PG* Nov. 6, 1760 and Dec. 3, 1761. Emlen genealogy covering the first four Emlens is found in "Notes and Queries," *PMHB* 58 (1933), 91-93.

<sup>11</sup> "A Directory of Friends in Philadelphia, 1747-1760," *PMHB* 16 (1892), 219, 229.

James Hamilton, owner of the 133-foot lot opposite the State House, continued to lease out the old William Crews house as an inn. His account book lists Henry Clark and then his widow as proprietors until 1751, followed by John Jones and then his widow, Sarah, from 1751 to 1753. Widow Jones evidently remained on the block at least another year, moving into one of the small, frame houses on the Davies property next to the west. Thomas Lennon received the next lease (1753 to 1757) from James Hamilton to run the inn, which he called the "Sign of the Blue Ball." Perhaps he still ran the inn in 1761 and 1762, when he advertised his location as "opposite the State House in Chestnut Street." Lennon had for sale "A Young hearty Negroe Wench," on the first occasion and on the other, a four-year contract for an indentured servant, a "strong and healthy" lad, "fit for a Farmer." Lennon moved to Delaware a year or so later, where he continued as a broker, selling people or their contracted time.<sup>12</sup>

At the old inn on Chestnut Street, Michael Clark held reign from at least 1769 through the Revolution. Evidently he was the son of Henry Clark who had run the inn as the sign of the Coach and Horses in the 1730s and 40s, because in 1768, Mrs. Clark (presumably the widow) located herself at the Blue Ball, opposite the State House. The next year Michael Clark advertised a runaway Irish servant woman (Mary Conner, about 23 or 24 years old) from the "sign of the Blue Ball" in Chestnut Street. Michael Clark likely was well known in the city, for he advertised another runaway servant in 1776, but this time the "young Negroe woman, named Bet" belonged to a gentleman in Maryland. It seems that Clark was hired to be the Marylander's eyes, ears and Philadelphia agent, for he asked that Bet be brought to the Blue Ball for a reward, if found.<sup>13</sup>

To accommodate the growing traffic at the State House and its inn opposite, another enterprise developed mid-century. Before his death in 1753, John Jones, the inn proprietor, advertised himself as a smith and farrier opposite to the State House, who provided a "commodious stable and large lot for horses to run in." He assured the public he would take in horses at a reasonable rate. This type of convenience for travelers from the country who needed to do business at the State House was timely and, likely, profitable. George Kemble followed suit in 1762, advertising that he was living in Chestnut Street "nearly opposite the State House" and had lately "built a "commodious Livery Stable" well stocked with "the best Hay and Oats." He intended to keep horses, (like Jones) at a "most reasonable Price," and assured any gentlemen who wished to have their horses kept with him, could expect his care and fidelity. A survey of the corner property later showed Kemble's name on the westernmost of the three Davis Chestnut Street lots that extended the full 178 feet in depth. Kemble lived in one of the Davis family structures, but his stables stood on or near Sixth Street. In 1770, John Perkins and John Metcalf announced to the public that they had taken over George Kemble's "large and commodious livery Stables ...in Sixth street, between Market and Chestnut streets." Besides hoping to accommodate Kemble's former customers, these two men assured

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<sup>12</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 49; *PG* Sept. 3, 1761; Mar. 18, 1762; Jan. 12, 1764; Sept. 5, 1765.

<sup>13</sup> For Henry Clark, see earlier section and *PG* Feb. 28, 1737/8, Mar. 8, 1738/9 Sept. 15, 1743, and July 18, 1745. For Mrs. Clark, *PG* June 23, 1768; for Michael Clark, Jan. 12, 1769; Oct. 9, 1776. See also Jan. 17, 1779, for another Clark advertisement from the Blue Ball, when he offers an orphan boy, aged two and a half, to be bound out in the country.

their public that they continued to run their stable in Minor Street, near the Sixth Street livery stables.<sup>14</sup>

George Kemble did not move away, but only retired from his livery stable business. In 1774 he advertised the sale of his former stable hand: "A HEARTY, stout young NEGROE MAN, that has had the Measles and Smallpox, understands taking Care of Horses and Carriages, and can be well recommended; sold for no Fault, but for Want of Employ." Kemble would receive enquiries "opposite the State House."<sup>15</sup> A year later his widow, Elizabeth Kemble, was hoping to fill the remaining four years of John Perkin's lease of the stables. She was still in residence on Chestnut Street opposite the State House. The advertisement described the stables and the setting in which they stood on the eve of the Revolution:

A Livery Stable, very well situated in Sixth street, between Market and Chestnut streets. It will contain upwards of 30 horses, with good stalls; it has likewise a large and commodious yard and exceeding good coach houses and sheds for carriages. If it should not be wanted as a Livery stable, it might be very convenient for a few Gentleman to take it, who keep their horses themselves, as it is well situated in a wholesome air, and room for their carriages. It might be divided into different partitions, according a they might chuse.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, the rise in traffic to and from the State House, the travelers to town, and the real estate development in the neighborhood warranted three stables nearby each other on the southern end of the block to provide a convenient place to park or hire carriages and horses.

#### Market Street Lots and Minor Street

John Kinsey, Esq., owner of nearly the entire frontage along High Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, died unexpectedly at 57, while pleading a case before the Supreme Court of New Jersey on May 11, 1750. It sent shock waves through the leadership of Pennsylvania, where he had served eleven consecutive years as the Speaker of the Assembly and concurrently sat as Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* eulogized, "His long Experience and great Abilities in the Management of Public Affairs, his Skill in the Laws, and his unblemish'd Integrity as a Judge, made his Life a very useful and valuable One: His Death is therefore justly lamented as a general loss." Privately, politicians wondered who would replace him. As John Smith noted to William Logan, he had gained "the most universal Esteem that ever any one man had in the province..."<sup>17</sup>

Even as these eulogies were sounding, Kinsey's executors discovered that he had borrowed over L3000 of public funds while serving as a Trustee for the General Loan Office. It was a shocking piece of news for the upright Quaker community. The

<sup>14</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 49; *PG* Jan. 23, 1753, June 24, 1762, Feb. 17, 1763, Apr. 19, 1770;; Old Surveys, Third Survey District, PCA.

<sup>15</sup> *PG* Apr. 13, 1774.

<sup>16</sup> *PG* May 24, 1775.

<sup>17</sup> As quoted in Bronner, "The Disgrace of Kinsey," *PMHB* 75, 408-9.



sum amounted to fifteen times his salary as the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. This family embarrassment placed a cloud over his long political leadership in the Commonwealth and as a mainstay in the Philadelphia Quaker Meeting. His wife Mary had predeceased him, leaving his remaining heirs (led by his brother-in-law, Philip Kearney) and executors (Israel Pemberton and William Plumsted) to try to ward off damage to the family name and the young heirs.<sup>18</sup>

The executors immediately set about to recover the money due before the word went public. As Richard Peters reported, "Poor Mr. Kinsey's affairs turn out wretchedly, on my return to town but six weeks from his death I found his goods had been sold at Vendue, his dwelling house was in possession a Town Carter, his Country House was let to Reis Meredith..."<sup>19</sup> This sale, along with other emergency measures, raised insufficient funds to pay off the debt; they still needed over £1100. There was no suppressing the scandal. James Kinsey, the oldest son, an apprentice of law with his uncle Philip Kearney in New Jersey, came forward with several hundred pounds and advised that debts were due his father's estate. The executors hoped they would not have to sell much of the Kinsey real estate, because it would hurt the family reputation, as well as the children's interest, but James urged them to carry out the sales, if needed to pay off the debt. The Kinsey children who were still minors went to stay with relatives and the new house on High Street went through a succession of tenants for a year before it was leased as temporary quarters for the newly-established Pennsylvania Hospital.<sup>20</sup>

#### The Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751-1756:

Kinsey's death was still fresh in the wind when Dr. Thomas Bond began promoting the establishment of a hospital for "the relief of the sick poor of the Province and for the reception and cure of lunatics."<sup>21</sup> The concept for such a hospital was not an original one, but certainly untried in the British American colonies. Dr. Bond had studied medicine in England and France, where he would have become familiar with the recently established "voluntary hospitals" for the poor. The hospital concept ran counter to the popular preference to be doctored at home, but the increase in the numbers of sick paupers in the population had shown the concept to be a practical one. Hospitals lowered the cost of caring for the poor tenfold, kept down the poor taxes and reduced the risk of desperate crime. Hospitals also met the drive for increased medical learning and training. The new institutions worked like teaching hospitals of modern times.<sup>22</sup>

When Dr. Bond first introduced his idea for the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphians were not ready to subscribe. As Bond's longstanding friend Benjamin Franklin explained, with obvious satisfaction, people wanted to know first what Franklin thought of the project and whether he was a subscriber. Dr. Bond at length went to ask Franklin for his support, when he acknowledged that without his help

<sup>18</sup> Bronner, "The Disgrace of Kinsey," *PMHB* 75, 410-11

<sup>19</sup> As quoted in Bronner, "The Disgrace of Kinsey," 413.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 413-15; Roach, "Historical Report," 9.

<sup>21</sup> The wording for the Jan. 1751 petition to the Assembly as quoted in William H. Williams, *America's First Hospital: The Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751-1841*, (Wayne, 1976), 4.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-10.

"there is no such thing as carrying a public-spirited project through".<sup>23</sup> Franklin characteristically backed the philanthropic effort. He personally subscribed and urged others in the city to join him. Realizing that the idea was new and not fully understood, he "endeavored to prepare the minds of the people by writing on the subject in the newspapers."<sup>24</sup> It didn't take long to persuade Quakers, who routinely supported good works in Philadelphia. When fundraising began to flag, however, Franklin drafted a petition in behalf of the hospital, which was introduced to the Assembly in January 1751. That same month the Assembly heard a petition addressing mental illness in the community that likely was meant to send an alarm to the legislators: "...persons distempered in mind, and deprived of their rational faculties hath greatly increased in this province."<sup>25</sup>

At first the country members resisted, arguing that the project should be a city expense. Franklin felt particularly cunning when he offered a second hospital bill. This time he made the proposal conditional. The Assembly would subscribe L2000 only when private subscriptions matched that amount. The rural legislators assumed it was an impossible goal, but wanted the credit for the charitable act. The Assembly passed the bill in February 1751 and it went forward for the mandatory approval from the Provincial Governor, where it again met with political delay. Finally in May, James Hamilton, lieutenant governor, signed the bill establishing the hospital. In no time the private subscriptions exceeded the required L2000, and the Assembly's matching obligation was secured.<sup>26</sup>

In July the Contributors met in the State House to launch the plan. Aside from Bond and Franklin, the list of 36-odd subscribers were predominantly leading Philadelphia Quakers, such as Israel Pemberton, Joseph Fox, John Reynell; Anthony Morris and Anthony Benezet. In October a committee of the Board inspected Judge Kinsey's High Street house as a potential temporary hospital. They found it the "most convenient House that could be procured, with Gardens, &c." and took an 18-month lease with the option to remain longer.<sup>27</sup>

In February 1752 the Pennsylvania Hospital opened in Judge Kinsey's house. The Managers had hired Widow Elizabeth Gardner as Matron to "govern the Family, and nurse the Sick," William Sweeting to handle the insane patients, and Alice Courtnet as nurse.<sup>28</sup> Rules approved on how to choose and treat patients specified closely who could be admitted. No one with incurable diseases, except the insane, nor mothers with small children could be accepted. Those with small pox, itch and other contagious diseases could not be admitted until "proper Apartments" were prepared for them. People from outside Philadelphia were admissible, if certified by their local Justice of the Peace and Overseers of the Poor, and then approved by the hospital managers. These restrictions intended to curb costs and to assure the most efficient use of hospital resources. The rules provided one bed for accidents that required immediate relief, and, if room was available, allowed patients who did not fit the category of poor to be boarded and nursed in the hospital. The last measure

<sup>23</sup> As quoted from Franklin's *Autobiography* in, *Benjamin Franklin Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital*, Printed in Facsimile with an Introduction by Benjamin Cohen (Baltimore, 1976), xix.

<sup>24</sup> *Benjamin Franklin*., xx.

<sup>25</sup> As quoted in Williams, *Pennsylvania Hospital*, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *Pennsylvania Hospital*, 4.

<sup>27</sup> As quoted in *Benjamin Franklin*, 25; Young, *Memorial History*, 1, 264; Roach, "Historical Report," 9-10.

<sup>28</sup> As quoted in Williams, *Pennsylvania Hospital*, 6.

aimed to accommodate the sick servants of wealthy residents who could afford to pay for their care and supplement the hospital operating expenses. All told, the hospital admittance policy copied closely the precedent set by the British voluntary hospitals.<sup>29</sup>

Rules also governed the selection of the medical staff. The managers were to promptly choose six "Practicioners in Physick and Surgery", who had reached the age of 27 and were contributors to the hospital. Staff doctors had to have the proper apprenticeship and at least seven years in practice. They were to visit the hospital twice weekly and keep a record of their patients' care. Other doctors, members of the corporation, had visiting rights so long as they paid one English Guinea. The six chosen for the first year—Drs. Thomas Bond, Phineas Bond, Thomas Cadwallader, John Redman, Samuel Preston Moore and Lloyd Zachary—all met these vigorous standards.<sup>30</sup>

After six months in operation, the hospital had acquired 18 beds, six pine tables, two easy chairs and twelve rush chairs. Twenty-three patients had been admitted, half of whom had already been discharged. The patient diagnosis included the insane (Hannah Shines), and patients suffering from such non-contagious afflictions as scurvy, tuberculosis, ulcers and dropsy. When winter set in they ordered two stoves for added heat, although every room in the house had its own fireplace. During the first year staff doctors donated the necessary medicines. A subscription among the city's charitable widows and "other good Women of the City" raised enough money to order medicines from London. When the shipment arrived, the excess in the supply was so great that the hospital set up a small apothecary shop on the second floor. The apothecary sold to private customers in addition to supplying the patients' needs, to help with operating costs.<sup>31</sup>

The first lease for the Kinsey house expired in May 1753, when the hospital had treated 64 patients. James Kinsey, the judge's eldest son, agreed to a three-year renewal at a lowered rate of L38,10. The hospital continued to maintain a progressive record. In their second year, 61 patients were treated and six beds, bedding, two large spinning wheels, and other supplies purchased for the hospital's use. The following year the patient count rose again, to 89, which strained their ability to supply adequate milk. They proposed buying a cow. In May of 1755 the Managers laid the cornerstone for the hospital's permanent building at Eighth and Spruce Streets and by December 1756, the building was sufficiently ready to admit the first patients, who were transferred from their quarters at the Kinsey property. Thus the elegant house John Kinsey built for his family enjoyed a philanthropic and useful purpose for five years, much in the Judge's own life tradition.<sup>32</sup>

Very likely the transfer of patients in the dead of winter before the new hospital building was completed suggested that the Managers felt under pressure. Small pox had broken out among the troops during the French and Indian War, prompting Governor Denny and Colonel Bouquet to try to find shelter and care for them. They found that they could not get access to the new hospital or the old. Apparently the Managers were reluctant to use their new facilities for unexpected

<sup>29</sup> Benjamin Franklin, 25-26; Williams, *Pennsylvania Hospital.*, 8.

<sup>30</sup> Benjamin Franklin, 29-30n, Cohen.

<sup>31</sup> Benjamin Franklin, 27-30; Roach, "Historical Report," 10.

<sup>32</sup> Young, *Memorial History*, 1; Edward B. Krumbhaar, "The Pennsylvania Hospital," *Historic Philadelphia*, 237-240; Scharf and Wescott, *Philadelphia*, 1, 244; Roach, "Historical Report," 9-11.

purposes, however worthy. By December the governor intended to solve the problem, stating in his message that he wanted 62 beds in the city for the sick soldiers. Although no records have been found to confirm it, the empty Kinsey house likely was again taken up by the state to care for the troops.<sup>33</sup>

#### Partitioning of the Kinsey Estate and Laying Out Minor Street

Judge Kinsey's executors leased as much of his High Street property as possible in the decade after his death. When the Pennsylvania Hospital chose not to use Kinsey's stables as part of their lease, the executors rented them with the lot they stood on, to Abraham Kintzing, a grazier or waggon master located across High Street. The lot adjoining to the west they rented to Israel Pemberton, an executor of the estate. Two years later, Abraham Kintzing announced he no longer wished to take the stables' lease, but he must have remained on the block or returned later, because two records in 1770 refer to his location on this section of Market Street as a marker for their own situation. Kintzing may even have been related to Judge Kinsey, based on genealogist Hannah Benner Roach's interpretation of the name as spelled either Kintzing or Kinsey. During the latter part of the century, Abraham Kintzing became a more known quantity on this street.<sup>34</sup>

One tenant of the Kinsey house appears to have set up his business even before the hospital had officially moved out. In June 1756 Abraham Shelley, Thread maker, advertised that he was in Market Street, the corner of Fifth, "at the house where John Kinsey formerly lived." He sold "all sorts of grey linen yard, from two to four dozen the pound" and would pay ready money to those who would take his flax to spin.<sup>35</sup>

Griffith Jones, (likely the son and namesake of the earlier landowner on this block of Market Street), who had identified himself as a skinner living at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets in 1749, continued as a neighbor on the property to the east. In 1761 his son, John, announced that he was moving to Strawberry Alley from his father's house, still at that location.<sup>36</sup> The Clarkson-Biddle map of 1762 outlines what likely was the Kinsey and Jones houses, the former on High Street near the corner, the latter on Fifth Street, just south of the corner.

Further south on Fifth Street, the children of Elizabeth and James Morris (heirs of Lionel and Elizabeth Brittain) had recently partitioned a piece of ground at the back end of the Market Street lots. The partition of 1757 between Isaac, Mary and Anthony Morris divided the Fifth Street property into four shares. Isaac Morris, presumably the oldest, received two-shares-worth by getting the lot with the brick buildings on them. This property likely was where Thomas Holland lived in the 1730s and 40s. The Morris partition was surveyed in 1808, when a full description of the land ownership was presented. Elizabeth Brittain, Lionel's widow, had left the

<sup>33</sup> This is Roach's conjecture, proposed in *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>34</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 11; *PG* Nov 22, 1770; *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (herein after *PA Chron.*) Jan. 8, 1770. The newspaper references will be described later in this text.

<sup>35</sup> *PG* June 3, 1756.

<sup>36</sup> *PG* June 11, 1761. John Jones advertised his trade as leather dresser and breeches maker, akin to his father's, Griffith Jones finally moved out to Chester County, where he advertised in 1771 a runaway servant from his house in Charles Town. *PG* Jan. 17, 1771. He also owned land near Carlisle, PA. *PG* Aug. 10, 1774.

property to her granddaughter Elizabeth Kearney Morris, wife of James, by her will of 1732 (probated 1741). The ground was bounded by George Emlen on the south, and on the west and north, by Elizabeth's aunt and brother-in-law, Joanna Kearney and John Kinsey. Isaac Morris' brick building stood beside an alley that led into a court on its south and west sides. A brick wall along the building's north side served as a demarcation for the partition with the other two Morris lots. Research has not yet determined how the Morris heirs used their Fifth Street property prior to the Revolution, but considering their own personal status, it is likely that they leased or let stand the lots. Possibly, too, another building was constructed directly south of Minor Street, as indicated by the 1762 Clarkson-Biddle map.<sup>37</sup>

The Kinsey heirs finally began to sell off the large land estate on High Street in the 1760s. In March 1759 they posted an advertisement offering for sale, "A Parcel of Lots, fronting Market, Fifth and Minor Streets, being part of the Estate of John Kinsey, deceased." The plan could be seen at John Biddle's or at the Old Hospital on one of the lots. The advertisement noted, "Minor is a new Street laid out through the Middle of said Lots, East and West."<sup>38</sup>

Evidently the Kinsey heirs chose to lay out Minor Street as part of their real estate scheme. The creation of the 40-foot-wide street divided the 306-foot deep Market Street lots into two. The family thus profited from a greater number of lots available for sale. They likely simply set aside what once had been the carriage access to Kinsey's stables, which evidently stood along the line of the newly-created street, 180 feet south from High Street. The 1762 city map shows one large building so situated on Minor Street, on the lot adjoining Kinsey's to the west.<sup>39</sup>

The Market Street lots began to find buyers a year later. On January 1, 1761, John Lawrence purchased the first one 60 feet east of Sixth Street, within a 120-foot lot John Kinsey had earlier patented.<sup>40</sup> Lawrence deeded the 48 feet front by 180 feet deep lot the same year to his sister, Mary Masters, widow of William Masters, (son of the Thomas Masters who built the first house on the block). A wealthy heiress<sup>41</sup>, Mary Masters built a grand and elegant house on her lot soon after she acquired title and added another 24-foot lot on High Street to the east of her property line.<sup>42</sup> Here she was living with her three daughters, Rachel, Mary and

<sup>37</sup> Pre-1814 Survey, Fifth Street, Chestnut to Market, Third Survey Dist., PCA. Copy in illustrations. Elizabeth and James Morris swapped the High Street house for the family house at Second and Strawberry Alley, with sister Mary and her spouse, John Kinsey. See previous section of this text for the family relationships and for Thomas Holland.

<sup>38</sup> *PG* Mar. 89, 1759.

<sup>39</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 12, reaches the same conclusions.

<sup>40</sup> Roach, *Ibid.*, 22, explains that Kinsey purchased the lot from George Fitzwater and James Steel who had acquired it from Thomas Fairman, who purchased from the original bonus lot owner, Thomas Harley.

<sup>41</sup> Mary's father, Thomas Lawrence, had left her property, and her husband, a merchant, had owned a wharf on the Delaware and a great deal of real estate, slaves and other property. Howard M. Jenkins, "The Family of William Penn," *PMHB* 22 (1898), 88; *PG* Oct. 1, 1746, Ap. 16, 1747, Dec. 27, 1748, Sept. 6, 1750, Jan. 20, 1757; Keith, *Provincial Councillors*, 454, which also notes that Masters served many years in the Assembly. Roach, "Historical Report," 23. His will appointed Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Fox, and Joseph Galloway as guardians and executors. Will Bk M, 38, PA Wills, 1682-1834.

<sup>42</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 23, states that Mary built her house "sometime during the next seven years" whereas Jenkins, "The Family of William Penn," 88 and Nicholas Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia The Home of General John Cadwalader* (Philadelphia, 1964), 149, state it was within a year of her acquisition. The 1762 Clarkson-Biddle map does not show the house. This writer has not found

Sarah (the latter two were only four and two at their father's death in 1760), when Mary (or Polly) Masters married Richard Penn, William Penn's grandson, on May 22, 1772. At the time, Richard Penn was serving a two-year term as Pennsylvania's Lieutenant-Governor.<sup>43</sup>

Mary Masters deeded the High Street property to her 16-year-old daughter and husband as a wedding present. The fire insurance policy of March 1, 1779 suggests how substantial the house and backbuildings were. This was a freestanding three-story brick house, 45 feet front by 52 deep, in a city dominated by rowhouses not half these dimensions. The first floor had three large rooms and entryway with a mahogany staircase. The policy counted "2 fluted collums 4 pillasters 4 arches 4 pediments" adorning the entry and wainscoting with "fretts & dentals" in the front parlor. All the rooms on the first floor and the front bedchamber of the second floor were wainscoted pedestal high. The exceptionally large (16 by 12-inch) paned windows were framed with mahogany sash, and dowels fastened the floor on the ground level. The third floor retained chimney breast skirting and surbase, the plastered garret had dormer windows and four rooms, and the roof was covered in "short shingles." It was a lavish architectural statement, valued at L2000. The two one-story back buildings, which measured 14 by 7 feet and 54 by 18 feet, Bedford, the surveyor, valued separately, at another L900, more than most properties in the city. The property had such a high valuation, in fact, that the Contributionship issued five policies, four of them on the house alone. Likely Widow Masters had also laid out the grounds in gardens, like Kinsey's property to the east, and walled in the lot for privacy. One can readily glimpse the comfort and style the Penns enjoyed.<sup>44</sup>

Richard Penn and his bride lived in the High Street mansion during the tumultuous years leading up to the Revolution. Penn handled the difficult job as Proprietor with a certain charm and grace, unlike his brother, who had grown very unpopular during his term as governor from 1763 to 1771. Pennsylvania politics, always contentious, eased a degree under his leadership. As one young lady noted in her journal, Richard possessed "the hearts of the people."<sup>45</sup> Penn entered into the life of the city, serving as a patron for the prestigious American Philosophical Society. When John Penn returned from England in 1773, however, he estranged Richard in the way he took back the Proprietorship. The siblings didn't speak, causing a community stir. As surviving letters tell, however, the brothers resumed their cordial relations within the year. Richard then accepted his brother's offer to serve as naval officer at Philadelphia.<sup>46</sup>

In the summer of 1775 the Continental Congress asked the popular Richard Penn to carry the "Olive Branch" petition to King George. Richard and Polly Penn departed for England and shortly after a public sale at the High Street house offered "Part of the Household Furniture, consisting of Upholstery, Cabinetmaker's Work and kitchen furniture." The couple, who had started a family after their arrival in London, remained in England during the Revolution. They probably had intended to return, however, because Richard purchased a country home near Philadelphia that the

primary sources to verify when Mary Masters built the house. Roach cites Dd. Bk. D-15, 117, for the deed of Aug. 5, 1768 to the additional lot on High Street. On post-1775, Jenkins, *Ibid.*, 89, 91.

<sup>43</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 23; Jenkins, "The Family of William Penn," 87; *PG* May 28, 1772.

<sup>44</sup> Contributionship Survey Bk. 1, 49.

<sup>45</sup> "Extracts from the Journal of Miss Sarah Eve, Written While Living in the City of Philadelphia in 1772-73, *PMHB* 5 (1881), 197.

<sup>46</sup> *PG* Jan. 9, 1772; Jenkins, "The Family of William Penn," 87.

British troops burnt to the ground. The couple's High Street house later suffered the same fate, so the Penns never returned, except for a visit in c.1806. The High Street house thus became available for lease and played a prominent role during the American Revolution.<sup>47</sup>

The next Kinsey family real estate sale came February 23, 1762, when John Potts, brewer, purchased two High Street lots extending 144 feet west from Fifth Street. The next day he sold off the 36-foot corner lot to Jacob Hiltzheimer, who in turn sold it on April 12th to John Odenheimer, victualler. The Odenheimer lot extended south along Fifth Street only 125 feet (not the full 306 feet of the High Street lots). By the deed, Hiltzheimer set aside an eight-foot alley running west from Fifth Street along the southernmost end of the lot, to and along the adjoining 36 by 120-foot lot occupied by Elizabeth Gray. This alley was to "forever remain open and free" and for the "common use and benefit" of the tenants and occupants of both lots. The same alley appeared on city atlases from 1860 to 1939, and no doubt existed when plans for Independence Mall called for the demolition of the entire block in 1950. Between the alley and Minor Street, the Clarkson-Biddle map of 1762 shows two other structures on Fifth Street, which current research has not identified, although one may have been the residence of a Widow Taylor in 1765.<sup>48</sup>

John Odenheimer constructed a large three-story brick house on the vacant corner lot where he lived for several years. The 1769 tax located him here with one servant and two horses. He probably had moved to his lands in Chester County by December 1772, however, when John Gilbert, "PRACTITIONER in PHYSIC and SURGERY" advertised that he had moved from Reading and now lived "in Market Street, the Corner of Fifth street, in John OdenheimerHouse." He was selling a wide assortment of medicines, including "AndersonPills, HooperPills, GodfreyCordial, DaffyElixir, and best Bitters." Gilbert assured his customers that he had "much Experience in Physic, by Land and Sea," and would try to cure all diseases, internal and external. Reminiscent of the Pennsylvania Hospital's mission, Doctor Gilbert announced he would give "the Poor his Advice gratis."<sup>49</sup> This expansive announcement belied the fact that Gilbert may have departed from Reading for bad debts. How long Dr. Gilbert remained in residence has not come to light.<sup>50</sup>

Elizabeth Gray, widow of William Gray, bought John Pott's adjoining lots westward, which included the Kinsey house with its 36-foot lot, and the 24-foot lot to its west. Perhaps in anticipation of buying the house, Widow Gray in February 1762 deeded the dwelling and lot on the north side of Market Street that she had inherited

<sup>47</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 12, cites Dd. Bk. D-15, 117, which evidently records both Lawrence's purchase and transfer of the property, Roach dates the deed to Mary Masters as Oct. 20, 1762. *PG* May 28, 1772 and, house sale, June 21, 1775. Jenkins, "The Family of William Penn," 86-90.

<sup>48</sup> Hiltzheimer, yeoman, to John Odenheimer, victualler, Apr. 12, 1762, Dd. Bk. I-13, 406; Roach, "Historical Report," 15, cites Dd. Bks. H-15, 369 and D-69, 382, and EF-31, 160 as the deed book record of Potts' purchase of the two lots and sale to Hiltzheimer. This writer could find neither of the first two deeds on the microfilm. Copies of the 1860, 1895 and 1939 atlas entries for this block have been copied as "Independence National Historical Park Archeological Resource Map, Block 1500." (File 15001939.DWG) My thanks to Paul Inashima for copies of all three. *PG* Oct. 17, 1765, for Widow Taylor's.

<sup>49</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 15. Roach gives no source for Odenheimer's building description. *PG* Dec. 23, 1772.

<sup>50</sup> Jacob Hoff, a Reading resident, gave notice that the public should not trust Gilbert on his credit, because he had abused it. In his own defense, Gilbert explained in his own public announcement that he had gone into partnership with Hoff in a druggist shop and that Hoff had proven to be "unworthy of any trust or confidence," and that he had dissolved the partnership. *PG* July 9 and Aug. 12, 1772

from her father, Humphrey Jones, to her two sons, Joseph and William Gray.<sup>51</sup> Widow Gray may have been living in the Kinsey house for several years prior to her purchase from Potts. In December 1756, after the Pennsylvania Hospital had vacated Judge Kinsey's house, Widow Gray's name appeared on the mayor's house inventory of beds drawn up to find room for the sick soldiers home from the French and Indian War. The coincidence that Widow Gray purchased the house six years later suggests that she may have been a tenant there when the inventory was taken. (Only one bed, however, was listed under her name.)<sup>52</sup>

Widow Gray ran a tavern or lodging house known as Bull's Head, "at the upper end of High Street."<sup>53</sup> Contributors to the Fund for the Relief of poor distressed Widows and Children were called to meet there on certain evenings in 1765 to organize and make rules. Jacob Hiltzheimer on occasion stopped at Widow Gray's, along with other gentlemen of the city, to eat breakfast (at 5:30 am) before fox hunting, or to meet friends for a bowl of punch.<sup>54</sup> William Jones, a close friend of Hiltzheimer's, and like him, a wagon master, probably met Widow Gray during these visits. Several months after his wife died in May 1766, Jones married Elizabeth and threw a traditional open house (when Hiltzheimer overindulged) to celebrate the union.<sup>55</sup> Jones appeared on the 1774 tax list at this location, and was assessed for two servants and a horse.<sup>56</sup> Already forty-four, William Jones lived another 35 years, all of them in the house on High Street. After his death in 1802, his heirs refused to buy the property at the appraised value and it was ordered sold at public auction in 1817, when Robert E. Jones purchased it for \$29,000.<sup>57</sup>

Early in 1764 another Market Street property came up for sale, but with no Kinsey family signature on the advertisement, giving it an air of mystery. This substantial property was to be sold at public auction. The only other property on Market Street, other than the Kinsey house, appearing on the 1762 Clarkson-Biddle map stood at the southeast corner of Market and Sixth, but the lot size doesn't match that property. Evidently, this house and its outbuildings had been erected after the map's publication as a real estate venture.

A Lot of Ground, situate on the South Side of Market street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, containing in Breadth on Market street 24 Feet, and extending back to Minor street 180 Feet, with sundry Buildings thereon, viz. One House 15 Feet Front and 40 Back, 3 Stories high, completely finished; also a Wash house, Little house, and a Well of excellent Water in the Yard, with a Pump in the same;

<sup>51</sup> Gray to Gray, Feb. 12, 1762, Dd. Bk. I-2, 279. Widow Gray's mother, Ann, married again after Jones died. She married Robert Erwin, owner of a boardinghouse on Sixth Street, on block two of Independence Mall.

<sup>52</sup> Roach, *Ibid.*, cites Gray's purchase from Potts as Dd bk I-2, 279 and D-42, 72, but this researcher did not find them on the microfilm. Inventory list in *PA Arch*, 1754, Vol. 3, 85.

<sup>53</sup> Roach, *Ibid.*, 13, and Scharf and Wescott, *Philadelphia*, 2, 995.

<sup>54</sup> Parsons, Jacob Cox., ed., *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, 1765-1798*. (Philadelphia, 1893), 9, 12. The former entry, dated Dec. 23, 1765, is Hiltzheimer's first week of journal, where he notes, "Breakfasted at five o'clock at Mrs. Gray's, with Enoch Story, Samuel Morris, Dr. John Cox, Mr. Petit, John Cadwalader, and Levi Hollingsworth; then set out fro Darby fox-hunting."

<sup>55</sup> Jones' first wife died in May 1766. Roach, "Historical Report," 13; Parsons, Hiltzheimer, 11, 12, 13; *PG* Sept 12, 1765..

<sup>56</sup> *PA Arch* 3, Vol. 14, 253.

<sup>57</sup> Roach, *Ibid.*, cites Supreme Court Bk. D, 28. This Jones, a son of William and Elizabeth, was named after his grandmother's second husband, Robert Erwin.



likewise large Brick Stables and Coach house, fronting Minor street, 24 by 25 Feet, two with Cedar Fence; the first Buildings are built back 40 Feet, with a Design of the City, and would be extremely convenient for any Gentleman.<sup>58</sup>

Who ever built this property followed the trend to provide a setting for the gentleman class on Market Street, with stables situated along the back of the lot, next to an alley or access street, in this case the recently-cut Minor Street. It is not possible to trace this lot exactly, but it no doubt stood between Widow Gray's (the Kinsey homestead) and the Masters property near the corner of Sixth.

At the southeast corner of Market and Sixth Streets the 39 1/2 by 306-foot piece of ground assigned as a bonus lot to Robert Greenway remained open and undeveloped. In 1752 Israel Pemberton, Jr., forced the public sale of the property on account of his suit against Greenway's administrator. Robert Greenway lived elsewhere in the city and otherwise seemed prosperous as a wine merchant and real estate investor. Pemberton, however, may have retained a claim on the property, because he later in 1770 played a role in its transfer to a new owner.<sup>59</sup>

Around 1761 Alexander Stedman, a merchant of enormous wealth and a prominent local politician, purchased the 39 1/2-foot lot at the Sixth Street corner and the 21-foot lot adjoining it, both with their original 306-foot depth. He then built a finely-appointed house there which, as mentioned, appears on the 1762 city map. Alexander Stedman and his brother, Charles, arrived in Philadelphia from Scotland in 1746, having just fled from captivity after the Battle of Culloden during the Stuart uprisings. In Philadelphia they joined in business as consignors for Palatine immigrants, dealers in dry goods and ship supplies, and as extensive real estate speculators in western lands, in Lancaster and Northampton Counties. Simultaneously, they joined in partnership with Henry William Stiegel in the ownership of the lucrative Elizabeth and Charming Forge Furnaces. In Philadelphia Alexander and Charles both contributed to the founding of the Dancing Assembly in 1748, the St. Andrew Society of Philadelphia in 1749, and the College of Philadelphia, for which Alexander served for over two decades as Trustee.<sup>60</sup>

The large townhouse Alexander Stedman built for his family at the edge of town reflected his status among Philadelphia's upper tier. Its location suggested his wish to be conveniently located to the State House, where he had been serving as Presiding Justice of the Orphans' Court, Justice of the County Court of Quarter Session and, as of March 1764, as a Supreme Court Justice.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> PG Feb. 23, 1764. This advertisement appears with another for a Germantown property which is signed by Joshua Byrn. For the years 1751-1783, Accessible Archives shows only this one advertisement under his name. Further research on Byrn may resolve the mystery of this property.

<sup>59</sup> See Parson's map of 1747 and PG Nov. 2, 1752. Robert Greenway advertised his commercial interest in the West Indies trade in PG Oct. 12, 1748, his wine and real estate along the Germantown road, Apr. 21, 1757, and his real estate speculation in the city and country, in Jan. 14, 1746. There must have been a son of the same name, as one article of Nov. 3, 1763 refers to the will of, and another of Robert Greenway, appointed librarian for the Library Company in 1765.

<sup>60</sup> Rouch, "Historical Report," 24; George Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian The City House of Samuel Powel and Some of Its Eighteenth-Century Neighbors* (Middletown, 1976), 4-6, gives a good account of the brothers, with an emphasis on Charles, who built the Third Street house later owned by mayor Powel.

<sup>61</sup> Rouch, *Ibid.*, 34.

In 1765 Stedman expanded his holdings on the block by purchasing the Chestnut Street lot south of his property, at the corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets, from William Davis. Perhaps he wanted the simple frame building there to house one of his two servants.<sup>62</sup> A financial reversal, however, followed fast on the heels of this purchase. In January of 1766 the brothers dissolved their long partnership, as their fortunes began to wane. In November Alexander announced in the newspapers his intention to leave Pennsylvania within six months, and offered his extensive real estate for sale. Listed among the items was "A House and lot in Market Street, in said City, 32 Feet front, and 48 Feet deep, with large back Buildings, Stables, Coach House, &c.," with another lot adjoining of 31 feet front.<sup>63</sup> Two days later Stedman took out three separate insurance policies on the Sixth and Market Street property. The three-story house stood 31 foot 6 inches front by 36 feet 5 inches deep. There were two rooms and a large entry on a floor. The interior was "richly ornamented" with dentil cornice, frieze and pediments over each door. The house had two flights of mahogany open newel stairs. Two back buildings, insured for L500, featured a three-story structure, with a pantry and sitting room below, 24[?] by 45 ½ feet, and a two-story kitchen, 14 by 30 feet. Stedman chose not to include his stables and coach house in the coverage, evidently to save money. Already the property value stood so high (L1600) that the company divided the risk into three separate policies. Stedman negotiated with the Directors over the terms of the policy, no doubt because he was taking every measure possible to ward off the financial nadir of his life.<sup>64</sup>

Three years later, in May 1769, when Stedman was 66, his house and lot on Market Street were exposed to public sale. Joseph Redman, sheriff, described the property as:

... a lot of ground, situate on the south side of Market and east side of Sixth streets, containing in front on Market streets 39 feet 9 inches, and extending back on Sixth street 180 feet to Minor street, having a large well built 3 story brick messuage, 32 feet front, and 48 feet in depth, with large back buildings adjoining, thereon erected; also one other lot of ground, situate on the east side of Sixth street, and south side of Minor street, containing in front on Sixth street 86 feet, and in depth on Minor street 39 feet 9 inches, with a coach house and stables erected thereon, both lots subject to a groundrent of L16 Pennsylvania currency per annum. At the same time will be sold, one other lot of ground, containing in front on Market street 22 feet, and in depth 180 feet to Minor street, adjoining the first...also one other lot of ground, situate on the south side of Minor street, containing in front 18 feet 10 inches, and in depth 86 feet, late the estate of Alexander Stedman Esq; seized and taken in execution...<sup>65</sup>

Within a year Stedman no longer owned his fine new home, nor the lots adjoining at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets. To pay off a debt, he mortgaged the property on June 9, 1770 to Israel Pemberton. The following years saw many more sheriff's sales forcing Stedman to relinquish his western lands and furnace

<sup>62</sup> Rouch, *Ibid*, cites PA Arch., Ser. 3, Vol.14, 160. This volume currently not on the park shelves.

<sup>63</sup> PG Nov. 27, 1766.

<sup>64</sup> Contributionship Survey Nos. 1133, 1134, 1135, Nov. 1766, as cited in INDE note card file. See App. C.

<sup>65</sup> PG May 18, 1769.

holdings. The lot at the Sixth and Chestnut Street was sold in a sheriff's sale in August 1771, to John Lawrence, Mary Masters' brother. By 1774 Alexander Stedman had come to the bottom of his fortune—he owned no taxable property in Pennsylvania.<sup>66</sup>

Israel Pemberton likely purchased the Stedman property as an agent, for he sold it the same day to Joseph Galloway, another well-connected Philadelphian, a lawyer and political leader. Galloway paid £2700 for the house with a 39-foot by 306-foot lot. Evidently the 22-foot lot adjoining remained unclaimed. Galloway had been four years Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and no doubt, like Stedman, appreciated the house's proximity to the State House. He lived well at this location, having three house servants and five horses, until the outbreak of the American Revolution, when he, like Stedman, was named as a loyalist. The discussion of his wife, Grace Growden's attempt to keep the house by remaining in it after her husband's retreat behind the British lines, will be told in the next section. Ultimately, Pennsylvania confiscated his estate and this property became the home of the governor under the state constitution of 1776.<sup>67</sup>

A few other developments occurred on Market Street mid-block at this time. In November 1770 Adam Kimel announced that he had "removed from the north side of Market street, to the south side, into the 5<sup>th</sup> house above Fifth street," adjoining Abraham Kintzing. Kimel had opened a shop stocked with "Wine, West India, New England and Philadelphia rum, melasses, sugar, tea, coffee, pepper, ginger, alspice, oil and mackrel," which he offered "at the lowest rates, for cash, or short credit." At the back of his house he had for lease a livery stable "24 feet wide, and 48 feet deep, two story high; and is as well fitted for that purpose as any other stable in town." John Perkins and John Mittcalf evidently had just vacated this stable, judging from the fact that they had advertised in January that year that they were opening stables adjacent to Abraham Kintzing on the south side of Market between Fifth and Sixth Streets. Probably they relinquished the lease late in 1770, because in April Perkins and Mittcalf advertised that they had taken the large and commodious stables formerly occupied by George Kemble nearby on Sixth Street, but they were continuing to manage the stables on Minor Street as well.<sup>68</sup>

Only a few months after his public announcement, Adam Kimel insured his property. The house measured 24 by 41 feet, was three stories high, but only two stories were laid. The rest remained unfinished. The lower story served as a wet goods store. Two back buildings were listed, one three-stories high measuring 38 feet by 15 feet, the other one story, 13 by 11 feet. The policy surveyor figured the house was around six years old, or built c. 1765, close to the date that the mystery property was advertised in 1764. Tax records later show Kimel and Abraham Kintzing side by side. Perhaps Kimel's and Kintzing's houses were built as typical Philadelphia

<sup>66</sup> Rouch, *Ibid.* cites Mortgage Book X-11, 89 for the Pemberton deed, and Dd Bk D-11, 214 for the Lawrence sale. Stedman had already mortgaged his home in 1766 to pay off a debt. Roach cites *Mortg. Bk. X-11*, 154. Accessible Archives listed 106 entries for Alexander Stedman. At least 20 were pre-1774 forced sales of his vast real and personal property. His 1774 tax listing is in *PA Arch*, Ser. 3, v. 14, 291. By 1779 Stedman's estate included two out lots in Reading, Berks County, which the state confiscated. *PG* Oct. 6, 1779. Stedman was attainted a traitor in 1778 and after the war settled in New York City, becoming a trustee of the college. *PG* Oct. 31, 1778; Nov. 15, 1784.

<sup>67</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," ;

<sup>68</sup> *PA Chron.* Jan. 8, 1770; *PG* Nov. 22, 1770.

row houses, side by side, at the same date, c. 1764. Both properties, then, each had their own large brick stables fronting on Minor Street.<sup>69</sup>

Kimel's statement that he was located five doors from Fifth Street affirms that by 1770 there were five properties lining the east end of Market Street. At the corner, on a 36-foot lot, stood John Odenheimer's new house, followed by the old Kinsey house on two lots, 36 feet and 24 feet on Market, purchased by Widow Gray, who married William Jones. Abraham Kintzing and Adam Kimel followed. On the west end of the block, Mary and Richard Penn's house and Joseph Galloway's on the corner of Sixth Street were the only other properties on Market Street prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution.

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<sup>69</sup> Feb. 27, 1771, Contributionship Bk. 1, 27; see next section for tax records of the 1780s, and historic base map for 1787.

### III. Philadelphia: Political Center for the Colonies and New Nation, 1774-1800

#### Why Philadelphia?

William Penn's colony of Pennsylvania prospered especially its capital and major port, Philadelphia, during the first three quarters of the 18th century. By the 1750s, the city was the largest, wealthiest and most cosmopolitan in the British North American colonies. Medicine, arts and science, city planning, institutions for the care of the poor, all had taken hold in this community under Quaker leadership and the likes of Benjamin Franklin. Visitors more often than not marveled at this city in the New World. Success had made its leaders conservative, however, so that Pennsylvania was slow to warm to the rattle of war as tensions mounted with Great Britain during the 1760s and 70s. Probably this conservatism contributed to the selection of Philadelphia as the meeting place for the First Continental Congress in September 1774.<sup>1</sup>

But there were numerous other factors that pointed to the city's meteoric rise as the political heart of an emerging nation. Philadelphia remained the largest (population approximately 30,000),<sup>2</sup> most refined metropolis in the colonies and already had in place the infrastructure to host a colonial convention and national government. In 1775 the city offered professional expertise in medicine and law, and the superior collections of the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Loganian Library. More importantly, the city boasted an active press, with six newspapers in circulation and several printers available, critical elements for the dissemination of political news and propaganda.<sup>3</sup> The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, earlier Benjamin Franklin's newspaper, already enjoyed wide distribution throughout the colonies.<sup>4</sup> Philadelphia printers and publishers could expect a reasonable supply of paper from the several mills along the Wissahickon and other tributaries of the Schuylkill River. By the time of the Revolution, imported paper had nearly vanished and colonial paper mills, mostly located in Pennsylvania near Philadelphia, were struggling to meet the need in the colonies.<sup>5</sup> The market for the printed word in Philadelphia soon proved to be a vehicle for revolution, as Thomas Paine's pamphlet, *Common Sense*, published in January 1776, amply demonstrated. Within three months it sold 100,000 copies throughout the colonies and was followed by other popular patriot

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<sup>1</sup> John Adams recalled that New York and Pennsylvania would have joined the British had it not been "kept in awe" by New England on one side and Virginia on the other. In the Committee of the Whole vote on July 1, 1776, Pennsylvania was one of four states that voted against independence. Catherine Drinker Bowen, *John Adams and the American Revolution*, (Boston, 1948, 1950), 567, 597.

<sup>2</sup> Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, I, 382. Philadelphia was one of only four cities on the coast with a population over 10,000 in a seaboard colonial population of 2.5 million. A&E Special, *American Revolution*, hosted by Gordon Wood and Thomas Fleming, November 1998.

<sup>3</sup> Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, Volume Two* (Worcester, 1947), 931-33, 937-8, 940-42. The other five were the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, *Pennsylvania Journal*, *Pennsylvania Ledger*, and *Pennsylvania Packet*.

<sup>4</sup> Billy G. Smith, "Fugitives from Slavery in the Mid-Atlantic Region During the Eighteenth Century," PCEAS Seminar, March 31, 1989, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Eugenie Andruss Leonard, "Paper as a Critical Commodity During the American Revolution," *PMHB* 74 (1950), 488.

propaganda under Paine's name, collectively called *The Crisis*, most dramatically recalled by the line, "These are times that try men's souls."<sup>6</sup>

Besides lending a medium for news, Philadelphia could feed the masses. The city was surrounded with rich agricultural country, so that its markets rarely suffered in quantity or quality. Finally, considering the long distances most delegates had to travel in a time period when overland transportation was difficult, dirty and dangerous, Philadelphia's central location in the colonies and its convenient access by sea weighed importantly in its selection as the capital of a new nation.

## The American Revolution and The Birth of a Nation

In September 1774 the First Continental Congress brought the political crisis directly to Philadelphia soil with the arrival of colonial delegates from up and down the coast. These men, all selected by their individual legislatures, did not know what to expect or how long they would stay. In most cases they did not know each other. The closure of Boston Harbor was the immediate issue, but the future of liberty in America was the keynote topic. Inns, taverns, boarding houses, family and friends made room for these extra-legal representatives. John Adams, staying with the other Massachusetts delegates on Arch Street, found that his initial enthusiasm for Philadelphia paled under the stress of business and his long absence from his wife and four young children. He vowed he would never be away from home and Abigail for so long again, and when he departed in late October, assumed he'd never return to Philadelphia.<sup>7</sup>

The delegates had sat for less than two months and many, including John, returned the next spring to work long hours for the cause of liberty. By that time, the tensions in Boston had erupted into violence at Lexington and Concord. Delegates to the Second Continental Congress likely knew that their business in Philadelphia would last longer, be more demanding. As Adams framed it,

When fifty or sixty men have a constitution to form a great empire, at the same time that they have a country of fifteen hundred miles' extent to fortify, millions to arm and train, a naval power to begin, an extensive commerce to regulate, numerous tribes of Indians to negotiate with, a standing army of twenty-seven thousand men to raise, pay, victual, and officer, I really shall pity those fifty or sixty men.<sup>8</sup>

These fifty or sixty men (not all the same body of men) made Philadelphia home for several-month stretches throughout the war. Much of the time, the Continental Congress struggled with inefficiency, internal disputes, with critical shortages in supply and finances, with crippling inflation. The alliance with France in 1778 renewed their hope, but with mixed emotions over the future influence of that

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<sup>6</sup> Isaac Kramnick, ed. *Thomas Paine Common Sense* (Penguin Books, 1978) 30-31; "Thomas Paine," Grolier Electronic Publishing Inc., 1992.

<sup>7</sup> Bowen, *John Adams*, 502, 504. The First Continental Congress met from September 5, to October 26, 1774. *A Biographical Congressional Directory 1774-1911* (Washington, 1913), 25.

<sup>8</sup> As quoted in John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams, *John Adams, Volume I*, Introduction by Peter Shaw (New York, 1980), 248-9.

powerful and traditional enemy. The Articles of Confederation, drafted in 1778, did not receive final ratification from the thirteen states until 1781, due to longstanding conflicts between Maryland and Virginia, among other issues. The delegates, for one, had to learn to trust one another. It took time and many meetings, meals together and patriotic events to bind them as a national body. It took time, as well, to master the art of self-government. In 1781 Congress voted to appoint executive departments, instead of doing business by the often-inefficient committee system. The Superintendents of Finance and Foreign Affairs both located their offices within close range of Congress, on the block north of the State House. Even after Congress moved to Princeton in June 1783, in response to a threatening demonstration by disgruntled, unpaid Pennsylvania line soldiers before the State House, the executive office of finance remained in Philadelphia, in the capable hands of Robert Morris, still considered the wealthiest man in America. The war by then had been won and the provisional treaty from Paris signed. Congress in Philadelphia, with the support of its armed forces and skilled diplomats, had birthed a new nation.<sup>9</sup>

### The State House Activity

The Second Continental Congress met in the State House for eight years, from May 1775 to June 1783, with the exception of four months in 1776-7, when they fled to Baltimore, in expectation of a British attack on the capital, and nine months in York in 1777-1778, during the British occupation of Philadelphia.<sup>10</sup> The block to the north of the State House at this time became home to various legislators, lobbyists and officers of the national and local government, as well as, briefly, officers of the Crown. The State House and its yard often defined the experiences of those who lived nearby. Enclosed by a high brick wall to Walnut Street, the State House yard became the scene of mass political rallies. On May 20, 1776, for instance, several thousand Philadelphians gathered there, despite a torrential rain, to hear rousing speeches from local patriots, Colonels Daniel Roberdeau, Thomas McKean, John Cadwallader, and Timothy Matlack, who exhorted the crowd to vote for government by "the authority of the people."<sup>11</sup>

The State House yard also was used as a place for military storage and ceremony during the war. The Pennsylvania militia brought cannon and other munitions through the city streets to the yard, and troops drilled and paraded there. On occasion these maneuvers were accompanied with a loud beating of drums and shouts from the soldiers, which disturbed Congress and, likely, their neighbors.<sup>12</sup> Parades of military troops frequently passed up and down Market and Chestnut streets, drawing crowds. The State House Square buzzed with military, political, legal and international business. Pennsylvania's Supreme Court met there, as did committees, the engines of revolution. Offices of the state and the Assembly's doorkeeper occupied the east and west wings. Curious spectators must have

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<sup>9</sup> See the prefaces in Edmund Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Congress, Vols. I to VI*, (Washington, 1921-1933) for concise essays on the business of Congress during the Revolution.

<sup>10</sup> Richard B. Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York, 1953), 94, 99, 100.

<sup>11</sup> John Adams to James Warren, May 20, 1776, as quoted from Warren-Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS), in the INDE note card file. *American Archives: Fourth Series containing a Documentary History of the English Colonies in America, Volume VI* by Peter Force, (Washington, 1846), 521. From a May 21, 1776 letter from Philadelphia Committee to the Committees of the several Counties in the Province.

<sup>12</sup> The President of Congress to Benedict Arnold, 7<sup>th</sup> August [1778], Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, III*, 363.

gathered on Chestnut Street to see distinguished guests dressed in their finery, or to witness the historic moment on August 6, 1778, when Monsieur Gerard, the first Minister Plenipotentiary of France, was formally presented to the Continental Congress.<sup>13</sup>

With the outbreak of war, Philadelphia's State House became the nerve center for American liberty. There the Second Continental Congress selected George Washington as the Commander in Chief of the Continental Army, drafted and signed the Declaration of Independence, and created the first frame of government, the Articles of Confederation. In May 1776 the State of Pennsylvania also witnessed a political revolution at their State House, led by the city's Committee of Inspection and Observation. Local patriots displaced the conservative/moderate Assembly in what one observer wagered was "the warmest Election that ever was held" in the city.<sup>14</sup> The new Assembly then strengthened their hold by furnishing Pennsylvania with a radical constitution. The gentlemen class in Philadelphia recoiled, as Joseph Shippen, Jr.'s comments indicate:

Tim. Matlack & a number of other violent wrongheaded people of the inferior Class have been the chief Promoters of this wild Scheme; and it was opposed by the few Gentlemen belonging to the Committee—but they were outvoted by a great Majority.<sup>15</sup>

Shippen's negative reaction to the new leadership reflected a climate of increasing intolerance and distrust. Waves of immigration mid-century had swelled the city's population and widened the disparity between the very wealthy and the laboring classes. Citizens of diverse backgrounds grew sensitive to these gross inequalities through the Revolution's democratic rhetoric. A Committee of Privates, representing the poorer laborers, issued in 1776 their own "Declaration of Rights." In it they maintained it was "dangerous to the rights and destructive of the common happiness, of mankind" to have such "an enormous proportion of property vested in a few individuals."<sup>16</sup> Such wealth readily could be found on the block just north of the State House, in the homes of Richard Penn and Joseph Galloway, at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets.

After the Declaration of Independence went public, Philadelphia remained at the periphery of war, but at the center of politics. Although the military presence was readily apparent at the State House Square and on the block north across Chestnut Street, at the 22-stall Continental stables on the east side of Sixth Street, and at other nearby supply buildings on adjoining blocks, the city center witnessed no battles.<sup>17</sup> Congress sat while Washington led a demoralized and shrinking army. On Christmas 1776 he dared a miracle and succeeded by crossing the icy Delaware

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<sup>13</sup> Burnett, *Letters* 3, 361.

<sup>14</sup> Caesar Rodney to Thomas Rodney, as quoted in David Hawke, *In the Midst of A Revolution*, (Philadelphia, 1961), 18. Hawke explains the buildup to the Pennsylvania elections, pp. 17-8. Philadelphia's Committee of Inspection and Observation laid the groundwork. These increasingly radical patriots included familiar names like Timothy Matlack, Benjamin Rush, Charles Willson Peale and Thomas Paine.

<sup>15</sup> Hawke, *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>16</sup> As quoted in Billy G. Smith, "Inequality in Late Colonial Philadelphia: A Note on Its Nature and Growth," *William & Mary Quarterly* 41 (1984), 644. Hereinafter cited *W&MQ*.

<sup>17</sup> These frame stables opposite Mr. Gray's brewery on Sixth Street were vacated in April 1782, when the army offered them for sale. *PP* 18 Apr. 1782, in Roach, "Newspaper Excerpts," v. 34.



River at night and attacking the British at Trenton. More than 900 Hessian prisoners were taken at that surprise attack and marched through the streets of Philadelphia, no doubt past the State House where Congress was sitting. The effect was electrifying. Recruits for the Continental Army enlisted or reenlisted and the army's morale momentarily lifted. But the optimism was short-lived.<sup>18</sup>

#### The British Occupation of Philadelphia, 1777-1778

On September 26, 1777 British troops led by Maj.-Gen. Charles Lord Cornwallis took control of Philadelphia. Philadelphians by the thousands had fled town after stripping the State House and the city's several churches of their bells and the storage areas of their munitions. Many Quakers and Loyalists remained to greet the invading army. Joseph Galloway, who had resigned from the Continental Congress late in 1776 and fled the next year with other local loyalists to New York, returned to the city with the British. He settled comfortably back in his Sixth and Market Street house with Grace, his wife, who came in from their country estate, Trevoise, in Bucks County. Cornwallis lived next door in Richard Penn's fine mansion until Sir William Howe arrived on September 28<sup>th</sup>, when he took up residence there. Howe and Cornwallis laid out the defenses for the city, establishing a main guard post at the State House and battalions to guard the three land directions of the city. For the Delaware, they constructed batteries on the shoreline in Southwark and further north, near the Cohocksink Creek.<sup>19</sup>

At first Joseph Galloway served the British by identifying local rebels, administering oaths of allegiance to the Crown and supervising a spy agency. In December General Howe appointed him superintendent of the police and director of exports and imports. In effect, Galloway was made mayor of the city. Promptly he issued a proclamation to try to clear the city of its filth and trash in the streets. Having had poor response, he issued another order two months later to sweep and pile the rubbish along cartways for collection. He followed orders to recruit local supporters and to take a population census of the city. The census also recorded the number of houses and stores, and which would be available to the British army. Galloway took on these tasks and others with earnest, while he promoted the importance of Philadelphia to the British war effort. In long conversations with Ambrose Serle, General Howe's aide, he formulated his ideas that afterwards were submitted to Howe as several papers defining the benefits to be gained by holding the city. A leading point in the city's favor was Galloway's estimate that from 75 to 90 percent of Pennsylvania's population were loyal to the crown.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> John W. Jackson, *With the British Army in Philadelphia 1777-1778* (San Rafael, 1979), 4.

<sup>19</sup> Jackson, *With the British Army*, 18; [Samuel Wharton] to Benjamin Franklin, Dec. 21, 1776, and Richard Bache to same, Mar. 10, 1777, William B. Willcox, ed. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Volume 23, October 27, 1776 through April 30, 1777* (New Haven, 1983), 65, 455; Raymond C. Werner, "Diary of Grace Growden Galloway," *PMHB* 55 (1931), 33.

<sup>20</sup> PG Dec. 31, 1777; Weigley, ed. *Philadelphia*, 133, 140; Jackson, *With the British Army*, 3, 20, 168, 276-77. Jackson also notes that a copy of Galloway's census in the Lord Dartmouth manuscripts has the added comment that about 10,000 Philadelphians fled town at the approach of the British army. 289, ft. nt. 21. Galloway's census counted 21,767 people in the city, 9423 male under 60 years old and 12,344 female (all ages). Dartmouth MSS, Library of Congress, as cited on INDE note card. Lewis Burd Walker, in "Life of Margaret Shippen, Wife of Benedict Arnold," *PMHB* 25 (1901), 20, notes that Galloway's census counted 15,847 inhabitants in Philadelphia. Ambrose Serle refers to his friendship with Galloway in Philadelphia in his journal. Edward H. Tatum, Jr., ed. *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle Secretary to Lord Howe 1776-1778* (San Marino, 1940), 287, 289, 292.

As the winter of 1777-78 came on, the city suffered an initial scarcity of provisions and a sharp increase in prices, but by January that condition reversed and the customary flow of abundant supply to the city's markets resumed, much to General Washington's consternation at Valley Forge. Although prices remained high, British money was plentiful, at least for those with means. General Howe settled into his comfortable quarters, seized a coach for his use from widow Pemberton, and spread his charms among the Tory elite. Rather than attack Washington's army, he partook in plays, music and the attentions of a local lady. Rebecca Franks, a renowned Tory belle, painted a telling picture of one of two great balls General Howe held at his residence: "I spent Tuesday evening at Sir Wm Howes where we had a concert and Dance...The Dress is more ridiculous and pretty than anything that ever I saw-- great quantity of different coloured feathers on the head at a time besides a thousand other things."<sup>21</sup> As Benjamin Franklin so aptly observed from France, "General Howe has not taken Philadelphia-- Philadelphia has taken General Howe."<sup>22</sup>

At the other end of the block, John Lawrence, Supreme Court justice of Pennsylvania, likely remained in residence at his new home at Sixth and Chestnut Streets (when he wasn't at his country house).<sup>23</sup> Lawrence may have joined the Loyal Association Club, which met a few doors down, at Michael Clark's tavern, the Coach and Horses, opposite the State House. He and the royal troops had as a convenience the "large and commodious" stables "nearly opposite the State House," in the tenure of George Kemble. John Lawrence was one of several wealthy Philadelphians accused of treason and sentenced to die after the patriots returned to the city in June 1778. Lawrence, however, had such prestige and integrity within the community that he was pardoned and spared execution.<sup>24</sup>

The American officers imprisoned in the State House across the street and the numerous poor citizens in other neighborhoods did not share the bounty that graced the tables of John Lawrence at the south end of the block, and General Howe and Joseph Galloway at its northwest corner. American prisoners and British troops alike, in fact, suffered a scarcity of provisions during the Philadelphia occupation. Howe could justify the temporary want of American officers and enlisted men, because warfare at that time dictated that armies supply their captured troops.<sup>25</sup> Nearby there were others who probably shared the deprivation. Just opposite to the State House, for instance, some "humble and respectable Africans" lived in "humble wooden sheds," according to the boyhood recollections of Jacob Mordecai. These people, not otherwise recorded, made a living by selling tarts and molasses buns.<sup>26</sup> Mordecai recalled fondly the apple and cranberry tarts baked by these elderly black women, but may not have realized how marginal their lives likely were during this period of economic extremes. Returning Americans to Philadelphia in June noted the undernourished appearance of many inhabitants, only a month after British officers arranged for an extraordinary feast at the Meshianza, the farewell extravaganza for

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<sup>21</sup> Jackson, *With the British Army*, 147-8; Sept 28, 1777, in "Diary of John Miller," Sept. 1777-June 1779, Reed Papers, Vol. IV, NYHS, as cited by INDE note card; Franks to Ann Paca, as quoted in Jackson, *With the British Army*, 213.

<sup>22</sup> As quoted in Thompson Westcott, *Historic The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1877), 254.

<sup>23</sup> *PG* July 23, 1772 advertises a property "near the country estates of John Lawrence, Esq. and Mr. Henry Keppele, Jr" in a very high situation near the Falls of the Schuylkill.

<sup>24</sup> *PG* May 11, 1774, Dec. 3, 1778, *PP* Apr. 10, 1775.

<sup>25</sup> Jackson, *With the British Army*, 123. Jackson further discusses the prisoners' care, 131-33.

<sup>26</sup> Bell, Jr., "Addenda," *PMHB* 98 (1974), 131, 149, 158.

General Howe. Some of the local scarcity may have resulted from the evacuation of the British troops, who, frustrated at not having attacked the rebels while occupying Philadelphia, ransacked and pillaged the city, leaving numerous houses destroyed and the State House in a deplorable condition. Fortunately, with the return of Congress to Philadelphia, the distribution of goods once again returned to normal.<sup>27</sup>

Philadelphians reacted with disgust and anger over how the British left the city. During the winter firewood had been scarce. The soldiers broke up and burned the furniture at the State House, tore up fences and demolished houses for firewood. Human excrement and filth had been left in the State House and the private homes occupied by the troops, and heaped in alleys and back streets. John Nesbitt found the town "excessively Dirty & disagreeable, stinks Intolerably..." Richard Peters fell ill for several days from "the foul & abominable atmosphere of the Place." Congress had to sit at the college for several weeks and delay the reception of the first French minister to the United States while the State House, a prison for American troops during the occupation, received a thorough cleaning. Returning inhabitants complained of swarms of flies, so many "that one Hand is employed in brushing them away while the other is writing."<sup>28</sup> According to one witness, some 600 houses had been destroyed. An estimate of damages was drawn up within weeks of the evacuation, but no property owners on the block north of the State House were listed. At least General Howe showed restraint, as did John Lawrence and the Galloways, who logically did not damage their own property.<sup>29</sup>

#### Galloway's Property at Sixth and Market Confiscated by the State

Local patriot leaders, charged by the city's devastation, were determined to punish enemy sympathizers. Those who had joined the British Army were the first identified and their properties confiscated.<sup>30</sup> Joseph Galloway and their daughter had departed with the British, but Mrs. Galloway, nee Elizabeth Growden, stayed behind in the house at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets to try to keep it safe. Distraught and feeling ever threatened by the rising temper of the local patriots, Mrs. Galloway frantically pressed for aide from the old guard men of influence and from her neighbor, Philadelphia's military commander, General Arnold. The end came after two months of emotional warfare. Charles Willson Peale, in charge of local Agency for Forfeited Estates, insisted that she make room for the Spanish Ambassador, who had been promised the house. Mrs. Galloway held her ground in a verbal battle that continued over several days. After making a careful room by room inventory of the house contents, Peale came with a small coterie of men to evict her. Finding the doors locked, they broke through the kitchen door with a scrub brush. Mrs. Galloway and her servant woman were waiting in the hall. Peale then personally escorted Grace Galloway, under protest, to General Arnold's waiting coach. The family's association with the house at Sixth and Market Streets had come to a close.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Bell, "Addenda," 141-2; Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1941), 91; Charles Willson Peale, *Diary*, III, June 17, 18, 1778, APS, as cited on INDE note card.

<sup>28</sup> Jackson, *With the British Army*, 265-7, and as quoted therein.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Willson Peale *Diary*, III, June 17, 18, 1778, APS, as cited on INDE note card; Jackson, *With the British Army*, 265; John W. Jordan, "Sessions of the Continental Congress Held in the College of Philadelphia in July 1778," *PMHB* 22 (1898), 114; "Assessment of Damages Done By the British Troops During the Occupation of Philadelphia, 1777-1778," *PMHB* 25 (1901), 324.

<sup>30</sup> The names of the first to be named were published in *PG* Apr. 22, 1778, before the British evacuation.

<sup>31</sup> Werner, "Diary of Grace Galloway," *PMHB* 55 (1931), 33, 41, 43, 46-49; Charles Coleman Sellers, *The Artist of the Revolution The Early Life of Charles Willson Peale, Volume 1*, (Hebron, CT, 1939), 186-7,

Paul Fooks, "Notary Public for the English, French and Spanish languages, and Interpreter of the same to the Honourable the Congress, and state of Pennsylvania," promptly moved his office into the vacated house.<sup>32</sup> Within months, however, the state reserved the confiscated Galloway property as a governor's mansion. Joseph Reed, the first governor (in Pennsylvania, titled president) to live in the house, and no friend of Galloway's, led the effort in the fall of 1778 to identify those local Pennsylvanians who had been subversive to the American cause. Forty-five men were charged with treason, and two of them, well-respected Quakers, were hung as traitors in the commons, despite exerted efforts from the Quaker community to save them.<sup>33</sup>

Joseph Reed's wife, Esther De Berdt, also played an important role as wife of the president and galvanizer of the women's effort to raise funds for Washington's troops. Mrs. Reed, despite her loneliness during long absences from her husband, (who went off to fight the war), and often alone with six young children, (one of whom, two-year old Theodosia, died of smallpox in 1778), managed to rally local women patriots to the cause. General Washington's army sorely needed shirts. Esther and her committee of ladies raised "a sum equal to L100,000," which Washington requested be invested in linen, so the ladies could sew the needed shirts for his soldiers. Before her job could be finished, however, Esther, weakened from a bout of smallpox and the birth of her fifth child, died in September 1780 of acute dysentery. Ironically, her husband had just returned to the city from the field to find his 34-year-old wife near death. The Pennsylvania Executive Council and legislature acknowledged their appreciation for Esther and her wartime contributions by adjourning business to attend her funeral, and Sarah Bache, Benjamin Franklin's daughter, took the mantle of leadership with the local women's patriot effort. Esther's death was a great blow to Reed. Her recent letters had suggested the struggle to keep family and spirits together without his supportive presence. Reed broke down and cried at the funeral and suffered declining health, but managed also to arrange for his sister, Mary, to move into the house at Sixth and Market to help Esther's mother care for the five young children.<sup>34</sup>

In November 1780 Reed was unanimously reelected president for a third and final year. This proved a most difficult time because Pennsylvania, along with the

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which points out that the so-called ambassador named by Peale was Don Juan de Mirailles, was in fact an unofficial representative of Spain and a Cuban by birth.

<sup>32</sup> *PP* Aug. 22, 1778; *Journal of Continental Congress*, Dec. 10, 1778 and Dec. 22, 1779, as cited by Roach, Index, APS. By Nov. 1779, Fooks had found lodgings at Mrs. Robeson's on Chestnut Street. *PP* Nov 9, 1779, Roach index. The Galloway property inventory, taken July 21, 1778, helps to grasp the level of comfort the family enjoyed. See Appendix. The originals are in RG 27, Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments, 1775-1790, Forfeited Estates File of the Supreme Executive Council, 1777-1790, and RG-4, Records of the Office of the Comptroller General, Forfeited Estates Accounts, 1777-1809, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA.

<sup>33</sup> Weigley, *Philadelphia*, 144-5; Van Doren, *Secret History*, 168. Reed voiced his suspicions about Galloway's loyalty as early as January 1775, and manifested his venom the next month when he commented that Galloway's poor health left him with "hopes of his not existing to increase and continue public confusion much longer." Reed to Pettit, Feb. 25, 1775, as quoted in John F. Roche, *Joseph Reed*, (New York, 1959), 233. Reed was elected governor in December 1778. The Reeds also enjoyed a summer house, the confiscated estate of Quaker merchant, Samuel Shoemaker. Roche, *Joseph Reed*, 264-66.

<sup>34</sup> Roche, *Joseph Reed*, 179, 253, 282; Paul Engle, *Women in the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1976), 31-45, has a chapter on Esther De Berdt Reed. Engle points out that Esther mounted her fundraising while recovering from the smallpox.

nation, struggled with the escalating inflation and the grave news of a mutiny of the Pennsylvania line of the Continental army. These immediate problems were compounded by the demoralizing reality of the capture of Charleston, the defeat at Camden and the treason of Arnold.<sup>35</sup> Throughout Reed maintained protocol as the first officer of state. Long accustomed to entertaining Congressmen,<sup>36</sup> the president also hosted military leaders who stopped in Philadelphia en route to the battlefield, to parade and refresh their troops in the national capital. In September 1781, he met General Rochambeau and his aide, Baron von Closen, on their march to Yorktown, Virginia, and escorted them from Trenton to Philadelphia at the head of "a very well mounted small corps of volunteers." That night they dined at the M. de la Luzerne, the French Minister's, one block to the west of the State House, in the old Carpenter mansion on Chestnut Street. At that occasion, Reed toasted his guests with "When Lilies flourish, roses vanish!" The next day, Governor Reed hosted the French general and his aide at his own "elegant" house at Sixth and Market Streets.<sup>37</sup> Von Closen recalled a "sumptuous, spectacular" and "very ceremonial dinner" which included "a huge turtle, 90 pounds in weight."<sup>38</sup>

#### Benedict Arnold in Command of Philadelphia, 1778-9

Having been designated military commander of Philadelphia, Major General Benedict Arnold, 37, moved into Richard Penn's grand mansion next door to President Reed's on Market Street in June 1778, after General Howe vacated it. Arnold, hero of Quebec, brave and wounded patriot, had received the command of Philadelphia from a grateful General Washington. With Joseph Reed's advice, Arnold clamped the city and suburbs under military law and closed the shops for a week. Arnold explained in a public proclamation that this closure allowed time for an inventory of all British goods that might be useful to the army. Evidently Arnold also entered into a secret agreement with the clothier-general, James Mease, to purchase some of the confiscated British goods for private gain.<sup>39</sup> Although local patriots suspected Arnold's motives, this clandestine transaction, did not come to light for many years.

Meanwhile, Commanding General Arnold set about to acquaint himself with Congress and Philadelphia society by entertaining frequently. Delegates Samuel Holten from Massachusetts, and Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, both recorded

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<sup>35</sup> Roche, *Joseph Reed*, 180-81; Ralph Ketcham, *James Madison A Biography* (Charlottesville, 1990, second printing 1992), 91-2. Reed served out three full terms, to November 1781.

<sup>36</sup> For instance, Samuel Holten, delegate from Massachusetts, noted in that he dined at President Reed's for Christmas dinner with General Washington "and his lady and suit," the president of Congress, and several other notables. Samuel Holten's diary entry for Dec. 23-25, 1778, Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members, III*, 551.

<sup>37</sup> On Apr. 18, 1781 John Kaign and William Attmore offered for sale this property's ground rent. The advertisement described an "elegant brick house, stables, etc." on two lots, 39'9 by 266' on Sixth Street. Roach, "Newspaper Excerpts," v. 34.

<sup>38</sup> Acomb, "The Journal of Von Closen," *W&MQ* 10, 205 and 207. As Acomb notes, turtles sometimes grew much larger. In Providence, Blanchard reported dining on one weighing 300-400 pounds. Acomb., 207, n. 17.

<sup>39</sup> Walker, "Life of Margaret Shippen," *PMHB* 25, 31; Van Doren, *Secret History*, 169; James Kirby Martin, *Benedict Arnold Revolutionary War Hero An American Warrior Reconsidered* (New York, 1997), 426; James Thomas Flexner, in, *The Traitor and the Spy Benedict Arnold*, (New York, 1953), 223, notes that Reed drew up the proclamation and convinced Arnold to sign it.

dining with him the first summer.<sup>40</sup> Riding in a coach-and-four with liveried servants, he soon became a conspicuous symbol of wealth in a recovering city. In July, at Congress' request, Arnold hosted the new French Minister Gerard, providing him temporary quarters and a dinner reception at the house. The local press recorded that Gerard arrived at Arnold's "elegant apartment" on Sunday morning, July 12<sup>th</sup>, escorted by Col. Thomas Proctor's artillery.<sup>41</sup> Resentment began to build over the fine house and extravagant luxuries, clearly not affordable on the salary of a Continental officer.<sup>42</sup> Local patriots, like President Reed and Esther, his wife, disapproved of his lavish spending, as well as the company he was keeping. Arnold showed a preference for wealthy Philadelphians, especially those who had collaborated with the enemy during the British occupation. His leadership, they concluded, was both offensive and suspect.<sup>43</sup>

President Reed, representing the state, pressed charges against Arnold for exploiting his office.<sup>44</sup> Arnold went on the attack to defend himself, even at General Washington's expense. To his betrothed, Peggy Shippen, Arnold falsely claimed that "General Washington and the officers of the army" were on his side, and that they "bitterly extracate[d] Mr. Reed and the Council for their villainous attempt to injure me."<sup>45</sup> Most of the eight accusations brought against Arnold could not be proven, but he did receive a court martial and a reprimand from Washington for his illegal use of government wagons to haul private merchandise. To affirm his appreciation for Arnold's earlier heroic patriotism in the war, Washington in August 1780 granted his request for the command at West Point. General Arnold headed north that month, followed soon after by his wife, Peggy Shippen, and their newborn son. Within weeks Benedict Arnold committed "Treason of the Blackest dye" when he conspired to hand over the fort and General Washington to the British.<sup>46</sup>

#### French Consul John Holker and Robert Morris

The elegant Richard Penn house had already changed tenants and burned before Arnold's treason. Evidently after Arnold and his wife moved, Jean (John)

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<sup>40</sup> Samuel Holten Diary, [July 7-8, 1778], and Henry Laurens to President of South Carolina, July 15 [1778], Burnett, *Letters of Members*, III, 322, 333

<sup>41</sup> *PP* 14 July 1778, as cited in Roach, "Newspaper Excerpts," V. 34, Roach Coll., HSP.

<sup>42</sup> Van Doren, *Secret History*, 170; Henry Laurens to the President of South Carolina, July 15, [1778], Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members*, 332-333.

<sup>43</sup> Engle, *Women in the Revolution*, 42. Flexner, *The Traitor*, 227, maintains that Reed hated Arnold, because "their convictions and temperaments were opposite." He also pointed out that Arnold's socializing included flirting "with a whole garland of Tory belles." 233, and gave testimony on the "very gay" life Arnold enjoyed, 236.

<sup>44</sup> Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City*, 351, suggests that Arnold had been unfairly nagged, hectorated and badgered and not repaid for his loans to the war effort. Reed's part, these historians maintained, seemed to have been pursued "with the vindictive malevolence of a peevish dyspeptic."

<sup>45</sup> As quoted in William Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Volume 2*, (Philadelphia, 1847), 54.

<sup>46</sup> Quote is extracted from General Greene's Order when he learned of Arnold's treason, Sept. 26, 1780, in "Extracts from the Letter-Books of Lieutenant Enos Reeves," *PMHB* 20 (1895), 310; Charles Royster, "The Nature of Treason: Revolutionary Virtue and American Reactions to Benedict Arnold," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 36 (1979), 185. Hereinafter cited *W&MQ*. Arnold married Peggy Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen, on April 8, 1779. Martin, *Arnold*, 427. He received the command of Philadelphia on June 18, 1778 and that the West Point appointment on August 3, 1780. Walker, "Life of Margaret Shippen," *PMHB* 25, 42, gives the birth of their son as March 19, 1780. Walker also notes that Peggy remained in the city until September 6<sup>th</sup>, when she joined her husband at West Point.

Holker, the French consul in Philadelphia, took the lease for the premises.<sup>47</sup> Soon after his arrival from France, Holker approached Robert Morris, the wealthiest man in the nation, to assist him as a commercial partner. Morris reluctantly assented and the two formed a partnership which no doubt brought them together at the Market Street house on more than one occasion before a fire consumed all but the ground floor in January 1780. The fire broke out on a Sunday morning at daybreak in stormy weather and despite every effort from "the inhabitants," that "elegant building" could not be saved. Holker moved to another confiscated estate on Arch Street and Robert Morris arranged with the Richard Penn family in England through their local agent and attorney, *Tench Francis*, to rebuild the house. Morris meanwhile continued at his residence on Front Street near the Dock, a distance from the political heart of the city.<sup>48</sup>

Until that fateful year, 1780, many Americans remained complacent, expecting the war to be soon won. Even in the depressing winter of Valley Forge, Pennsylvania's Executive Council had refused to forward funds to recruit badly needed troops, arguing that "the war would be shortly finished, and there was no need for throwing the State to farther Expences."<sup>49</sup> Such recalcitrance, exacerbated by the escalating inflation of the Continental currency, disheartening military reversals and, finally, the dire news of Arnold's treason, left Congress often in desperate straits. "Congress are at their wit's end," Ellery admitted in 1779.<sup>50</sup> Members frequently came away from their sessions weary and disheartened, and sometimes bitterly disappointed in their fellow members.<sup>51</sup> In their boarding houses, like the large one run by Mrs. Mary House and her daughter, Eliza Trist, at the southwest corner of Fifth and Market Streets, delegates commiserated over their dilemmas, both on a national and personal level.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Arnold purchased Mount Pleasant in March of 1779 and gave it as a wedding present to Peggy Shippen. There is some question whether they lived at Mount Pleasant. The evidence is clear, however, that Holker was tenant during the fire. Eberlein and Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City*, 352.

<sup>48</sup> The Arnolds had moved out to Mount Pleasant, the striking villa overlooking the Schuylkill River that Arnold had purchased as a wedding present for his bride. *PP* Nov. 14, 1780, in Roach, "Newspaper Excerpts," v. 34; For more on Holker, see section below on Morris as Financier. Parsons, ed., *Hiltzheimer*, 43; *PG* Jan 5, 1780; Van Doren, *Secret History*, 177; "Notes and Queries," *PMHB* 39 (1915), 115 quotes a sales announcement for the elegant house and lot of Samuel Shoemaker, occupied by John Holker, Esq..

<sup>49</sup> William Thompson to Richard Butler, Oct. 5, 1778, as quoted in Royster, "The Nature of Treason," 171.

<sup>50</sup> As quoted in Burnett, ed. *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, Vol. IV, January 1 to December 31, 1779* (D.C. 1928), xxxiii.

<sup>51</sup> In one example, John Mathews wrote to Thomas Bee, Sept. 22, 1778, "Oh! My worthy friend, never was Child more sick of a school, than I am, of this same business, I am sent here upon." He particularly suffered from the "thirst for Chattering" among the members during business, which led to "the loss of so much precious irretrievable time." Burnett, ed. *Letters of Members, III*, 420. Henry Laurens wrote similarly nine months earlier of his poor initial reception from members of Congress when he reported on the alarming condition of the army: "I had the mortification to find, I spoke to Walls, or gave offence to Individuals." David R. Chesnut and C. James Taylor, eds., Peggy J. Clark and David Fischer, Asst. eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens, 12, Nov. 1, 1777-March 15, 1778*, 226.

<sup>52</sup> George Dangerfield, *Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York 1746-1813* (New York, 1960), 126-7. Mrs. House's life before she became widowed has not been confirmed by this research. She likely had been married to Samuel House, merchant, for whose estate she was co-executor with Isaac Stretch in 1767. *PG* Mar. 23, 1767. Her son, Samuel House, lived with her at Fifth and Market, but by the close of the war had established himself as a merchant with a "large and general assortment of merchandize" near the corner of Second and Chestnut Streets. *PG* July 7, 1784.

### Mary House's Boarding House at Fifth and Market

Widow House had moved her boarding house from Front Street to Fifth and Market Streets around June 1778, no doubt to be more conveniently situated to Congress and the seat of government. That summer the Deputy Quarter Master General advertised that Continental Loan Office certificates could be had there, and Congress resolved to pay Mrs. House \$695 60/90 for boarding, lodging and attending to the funeral of General Du Caudray.<sup>53</sup> Eliza was married to a Virginian, and so it was no surprise that many of the boarders came from that state also, like Congressmen Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Joseph Jones, James Henry and John Walker. Quite a few, however, were from New York, like James Duane, William Floyd, John Morin Scott and Robert R. Livingston, soon to be appointed as the first Superintendent of Foreign Affairs. The company of five to ten boarders reportedly was convivial, eased by the pleasant relations with the host family, fondly dubbed, "The Family." Even the alarm of a fire in the house in 1781 did not deter the delegates from returning. It seems only overcrowding prevented those boarders who favored Mrs. House to find lodging. The domestic environment must have brought some solace when political matters looked so very grim in 1779-1781.<sup>54</sup>

James Madison boarded with the Houses from his first election to Congress in the spring of 1780 until the capital moved from Philadelphia during the summer of 1783. Its location just the "bray of an ass" from Congress was just as gratifying as the company. Thomas Jefferson, who also boarded with the Houses when in Philadelphia, brightened the family circle, as did Catherine Floyd, fondly known as Kitty, the second daughter of New York's delegate, William Floyd. Kitty's harpsichord playing entertained the family and friends, but the spark Madison felt in her company went unkindled.<sup>55</sup>

When he took the oath in March 1780, Madison at 29 was the youngest delegate to Congress, new to the way of national politics, but a quick learner. Madison's letters home to Governor Jefferson reflected the despairing circumstances that he experienced as a crisis in the Revolution. The treasury was empty, public credit exhausted and suspicion between the people and Congress debilitating. There were endless tasks required, but no resources to implement them. Congress, he allowed, could "neither enlist pay nor feed a single soldier." Nevertheless, Madison played an increasingly important role, serving on the Board of Admiralty and helping to reorganize the Quartermaster's department. He quickly showed an aptitude for foreign affairs. Working closely in committee with fellow boarders James Duane and

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<sup>53</sup> EP June 30, 1778 as extracted by Hannah Benner Roach, "Newspaper Excerpts, 1777-1789, v. 3," HSP, herein after cited, Roach, "Newspaper." A year after Du Caudray's death, Joseph Hewes, a delegate from North Carolina, also died while boarding with Mrs. House. November 11, 1779 entry in Parsons, *Hiltzheimer*, 41. Before moving, Mary House ran a boarding house in Lodge Alley, but had moved to Front Street, at the corner of Chestnut Street in 1777. *PP* Apr. 10, 1774; *PG* Mar 27, 1776; *EP* Feb 6, Sept 2, 1777; 17 Aug. 1778, Hannah Benner Roach index, APS; *Journals of Continental Congress XI*, 804, *PP* July 5, 1781, as cited in William T. Hutchinson and William M.E. Rachal, eds, *The Papers of James Madison, Volume 3* (Chicago, 1963), 183; James Read to George Read, Apr. 7, 1783, Judge Richard S. Rodney Collection of the George Read Papers, Historical Society of Delaware, as cited by INDE note card.

<sup>54</sup>Ketcham, *Madison*, 88. Jefferson felt so at home at the House-Trist home, that he left Patsy in their care when he had to be out of town in 1784. At the same time, he boarded there when in town and solicited Mrs. Trist's advice on a boarding school for his daughter. Marie Goebel Kimball, *Jefferson War and Peace 1776 to 1784* (New York, 1947), 318.

<sup>55</sup> Madison was sworn into Congress on Mar. 20, 1780; as quoted in Virginia Moore, *The Madisons A Biography* (New York, 1979), 60, 67.



Robert Livingston of New York, he found ways to shield Benjamin Franklin's reputation as the U.S. representative in France and to protect the alliance with that country against the formidable Lee-Adams faction of Congress. Another boarder at Mrs. House's, Joseph Jones, delegate from Virginia, also allied with Madison on a pressing national issue, the U.S. claim to all British territory in the Mississippi Valley. The congenial spaces at Fifth and Market Streets must have been filled often with political scheming.<sup>56</sup>

#### Congressmen on Chestnut Street

Gouverneur Morris, delegate from New York, was living "about fifty yards" from Congress, likely at one of the houses on Chestnut Street, at the south end of the block, when he complained about his long hours and hard work. "From Sunday morning to Saturday night I have no exercise unless to walk from where I now sit ... to Congress and return." He found that the every day minutia were infinite. "My constitution sinks under this and the heat of this pestiferous Climate."<sup>57</sup> Henry Laurens of South Carolina the same summer of 1778, however, evidently felt quite comfortable and well situated at John Lawrence's house "on the "North east corner of Chesnut and Sixth Streets," "nearly opposite the State House." He urged Alexander Wright to visit and assured him "that you will there think yourself at home and look for no other lodging. I believe you will meet as good Bed and Board as at any Inn in Philadelphia and nowhere a more hearty welcome."<sup>58</sup>

#### Robert Morris Named Superintendent of Finance

Feeling at home in Philadelphia was made easier for some of the Congressmen by such comfortable accommodations and the wide variety of goods at hand during the war years. Farmers' wagons rumbled into town twice weekly with their bounty of meat and produce to be sold in the market sheds on High or Market Street from Front to Third Streets. Along the Delaware, merchant ships continued to import and export. Stores carried many luxury items, including British contraband.<sup>59</sup> In 1777 one French visitor observed that the city's "variety of elegant shops presents a sight that one wishes might be seen on the Rue Saint Honore'."<sup>60</sup> Franklin lamented from Paris in 1779 that "When the difficulties are so great...for our defense, I am astonished and vexed to find...much the greatest part of the Congress interest bills come to pay for tea, and a great part of the remainder is ordered to be laid out in gewgaws and superfluities."<sup>61</sup> The next summer, President Reed called the black market for imported goods, the "sugar, wines, spirits, and gewgaws of every kind"

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<sup>56</sup> Moore, *The Madisons*, 60; Ketcham, *Madison*, 88-9, as quoted, 90, 91-95; Hutchinson and Rachal, *Papers of James Madison*, 3, 202.

<sup>57</sup> Morris to Robert R. Livingston, Aug. 17, 1778, Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members*, III, 377.

<sup>58</sup> Laurens to John Laurens, July 6, 1778, in Chesnutt, et. al., eds, *Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XIII*, (Columbia, 1992), 551, nt. 5, and Laurens to Wright, July 30, 1778, Vol. XII, p. 235, South Carolina Historical Society, as cited on INDE note card.

<sup>59</sup> Royster, "The Nature of Treason," 175. Royster here supports his statement that Americans craved British goods during the war, by an anecdote that one French merchant who had imported clothing from France relabeled it as British made.

<sup>60</sup> Frenchman as quoted in, Durand Echeverria, Translator and Editor, "The American Character, A Frenchman Views the New Republic from Philadelphia, 1777," *William And Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. XVI* (1959), 384. The French author penned his account anonymously, simply calling himself "un francois."

<sup>61</sup> As quoted in Royster, "The Nature of Treason," 174.

most deplorable.<sup>62</sup> Baron Von Closen in the summer of 1781 spoke favorably of Philadelphia's "opulence and taste," and noted that the "shops are full of merchandise of every description."<sup>63</sup>

The Continental Congress was all too aware that the opulence Von Closen observed in 1781 defied the persistent crisis they had been facing in national finance. That spring Congress made a dramatic shift in policy by unanimously electing Robert Morris as the Superintendent of Finance. Congress' creation of executive departments indicated the members' growing awareness that government needed more central control. Robert Morris, in 1776 a reluctant patriot, had proven himself as a member of Congress and as a patriotic citizen to be a trustworthy and very competent man. He had become a trusted friend of General Washington's during the war.<sup>64</sup> Although said to be the wealthiest in the nation, he did not seem pompous. "Mr. Morris is a large man, very simple in his manners, but his mind is subtle and acute, his head perfectly organized, and he is as well versed in public affairs as in his own..." one French visitor, Chastellux, wrote. According to a fellow delegate in Congress, Morris was "Very popular in & out of the Congress" and was "much confided in by all the Cabals." John Adams, vouched that "[he is] of masterly understanding, an open temper and an honest heart. He has vast designs in a mercantile way . . . but he is an excellent member of our body." President of Congress Samuel Huntington, a no-nonsense Connecticut man, notified Morris of his election with emphasis, "It is hoped that this important call of your country will be received by you, sir, as irresistible."<sup>65</sup>

Morris accepted his post reluctantly, and only on his proscribed terms, which included the right to retain his commercial connections and the power to appoint and dismiss staff. He then placed his private business affairs into the hands of associates and plunged into the work of the Office of Finance. He applied the weight of his mercantile influence and his long history of financial management to bring order from chaos. The Treasury Board, which had been struggling for years to control inflation and finance the war effort, had not measured up to the task. Morris found their records incomplete and disorganized.<sup>66</sup> Congress also appointed Morris Agent of Marine, establishing him in effect at the head of two major departments at once. Victory at Yorktown in October of his first year gave Congress and the nation the hope - and General Washington and Morris both worried that it might be a false

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<sup>62</sup> As quoted in *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>63</sup> Baron Ludwig von Closen's account of his visit to Philadelphia while serving as an aide to General Rochambeau is translated with an introduction by Evelyn M. Acomb, "The Journal of Baron Von Closen," *William and Mary Quarterly* 10 (1953), 205.

<sup>64</sup> Morris, already the Superintendent of Finance, hosted Washington in September 1781, when he passed through Philadelphia on the way to Yorktown. The State House was the scene for a lavish banquet attended by them and French generals Rochambeau and Chastellux, and Americans Moultrie and Knox. Afterwards, Washington walked the city followed by a crowd of people "pressing to see their beloved general." *PP* Sept. 1, 1781.

<sup>65</sup> *JCC XIX*, 180, as cited in INDE note card; Le Marquis de Chastellux, as quoted in Charles Henry Hart, "Mary White—Mrs. Robert Morris," *PMHB* 2 (1878), 166; Unnamed delegate as quoted in "Robert Morris," entry, Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 13, Mills-Oglesby (New York 1934), 221. (This sketch claims that Morris was elected without a dissenting vote). Adams as quoted in Swigget, *Morris*, 110; Huntington as quoted in George Kelsey Dreher, *Samuel Huntington, President of Congress Longer than Expected* (Midland, TX, 1996), 154.

<sup>66</sup> Morris' letter of acceptance was read in Congress on May 14, 1781. *JCC XX*, 499, INDE notecard. Footnote 1, for Diary: June 12, 1782, John Catanzariti & E. James Ferguson, Eds., *The Papers of Robert Morris Volume 5 January 11-April 15, 1782* (Pittsburgh, 1980), 386-87. Dreher, *Huntington*, 154.

hope<sup>67</sup>—that war was near to the end. The enormous debt, care of the army and control of the inflation were among the most urgent matters. In just over a year, he promoted and saw the opening of the Bank of North America,<sup>68</sup> the first corporate bank in the nation, and proposed a plan for a mint with a decimal coinage. With the hired pen of Thomas Paine to convince the nation to stand behind the Continental measures, Morris promoted his program. His work load soon broadened to include local and diplomatic concerns, military and naval affairs, and near every aspect of government.<sup>69</sup>

Morris chose his close friend and merchant partner from New York, Gouverneur Morris,<sup>70</sup> (no relation) as his assistant superintendent and hired several clerks to staff the office, which he set up in rented quarters near his home on Front Street.<sup>71</sup> Working with his established mercantile partners, and regularly with broker Haym Salomon,<sup>72</sup> (who, like Morris, extended large sums of his personal credit for the war effort), Morris contracted to supply military needs. Daily his office was deluged with petitioners for money, from the private citizen to the highest officers of government. His office diary regularly showed the strain from this bombardment of demands. "This Day I have received a Number of distressing disagreeable Letters from all Quarters. Money wanted for the Public Service from every where, and none

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<sup>67</sup> Washington in November 1781 left Mount Vernon to "proceed to Philadelphia, where I shall attempt to stimulate Congress to the best Improvement of our late Success...My greatest Fear is, that Congress viewing this stroke [Yorktown] in too important a point of Light, may think our Work too nearly closed..." He, like Morris, wanted Congress to prepare for a possible military campaign in 1782. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington, 23 August 16, 1781-Feb. 15, 1782* (Washington, 1937), 347.

<sup>68</sup> Gouverneur Morris just before his death recalled his part in the bank initiative: "The first bank in this country was *planned* by your humble servant." As quoted in Morris, *Diary and Letters, I*, 15; Weigley, ed., *Philadelphia*, 159, points out the difference between the Bank of North America and the local Bank of Pennsylvania, which was intended as an immediate resource for the war effort, not a permanent institution <sup>69</sup>"Contents of Published & Forthcoming Volumes," in University of Pittsburgh Press, *Book News, The Papers of Robert Morris, Vols. 1-3*. Congress did not adopt Morris' plan for a mint and coinage.

<sup>70</sup> G. Morris evidently lived with the Robert Morris family for all or part of this time. Eleanor Young, *Forgotten Patriot Robert Morris*, (New York, 1950), 164. G. Morris, a keen merchant, had already developed a political career as an active member of Congress, contributing to multiple committees, as well as Chair of the Standing Committees. Later he remembered this service as the most tasking, difficult period of his public career. Anne Cary Morris, ed. *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris, Volume 1* (New York, 1888), 12. Fourteen months before his appointment, Morris endured the amputation of the lower half of his leg after a carriage accident in Philadelphia. He replaced the leg with a simple wood peg. PG May 17, 2000, Roach, "Newspaper Items, v. 34;" Morris had worked unofficially for Robert Morris in the spring and received the official appointment on July 6, 1781. Howard Swiggett, *The Extraordinary Mr. Morris* (New York, 1952), 88.

<sup>71</sup> Morris rented John West's house on Front, near his home, for the Office of Finance. Auditor and Register General Office, Waste Book C., p. c544 (R.G. 39, N.A.) as cited in INDE note card. By 1783 Morris' office included, besides himself and Gouverneur, six clerks and a waiter. "Est. Expences Treas. Office, Item 44, "Papers and Estimates to the Treasury," 43, on Papers of Cont. Cong. RG 11, N.A., as cited in INDE note card.

<sup>72</sup> Morris' office Diary for July 12, 1782 notes that Salomon at his own request received title as the official broker of the Office of Finance. Catanzariti, ed., *Papers of Robert Morris, 5*, 568-9. For more on the story of Jewish patriot and financier of the Revolution, Haym Salomon, who never was reimbursed by the government for more than \$300,000 of personal loans, see Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen* (Philadelphia, 1895), 14-27, and Edwin Wolf 2<sup>nd</sup>, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1956, 1975), 98-135. James Madison, (among many individuals), also received a loan from him. For his 1827 acknowledgment letter to Salomon's son, see Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *The Papers of James Madison Volume 4, 1 January 1782-3 July 1782* (Chicago, 1965), 108-9.

ready or providing any where,"<sup>73</sup> he wrote in June 1782, one month before he provided Congress with the important *Report on Public Credit* which laid out a plan to pay off debt and restore the public credit. To Morris this plan was critical to the future of the nation. Already the Pennsylvania line had mutinied to demand their long overdue salary. International loans and domestic debt remained outstanding.<sup>74</sup>

Congress, however, did not act on his recommendations. Factions within Congress and the states' resistance to paying taxes frustrated his efforts. Intending to force their hand, Morris tendered his resignation in January 1783, making it clear that funding the public debt was the issue. "The accomplishment of this necessary work is among the objects nearest my heart," he explained, "and to effect it I would sacrifice time, property, and domestic bliss." His letter made "a deep and solemn impression on Congress," and promptly some effort was made to consider the means to fund the debt. Although some members felt he had overstepped his boundaries by pressuring Congress that way—for Morris' personal credit and proven competence stood behind the office of Finance—they asked him to continue in service during the crisis. Morris assented and stayed until November 1784, on the condition that he could take time off to attend to pressing private matters.<sup>75</sup>

Morris' enemies in Congress became more outspoken after the resignation incident. His plan for funding the public debt failed to win acceptance and Congress often moved to curb Morris' discretionary authority. His uncommon power in the new republic made even his admirers uncomfortable. "He has many excellent qualities for a Financier," Samuel Osgood conceded, but they didn't "comport so well with Republicanism."<sup>76</sup> Few people could grasp the complicated arrangements Morris devised to control inflation and underwrite the war. By the summer of 1783 the Office of Finance was the "object of almost daily attack."<sup>77</sup> A close accounting of his departmental records were called for, in the midst of his many other duties. After Continental officers nearly mutinied at Newburgh, Morris agreed to pay the disbanding army with his own notes of credit. During his last year in office, he struggled to find the means to redeem these notes and prepare the financial record for the Board of Treasury that was being organized to take charge of the Office of Finance.<sup>78</sup> At the same time, Jean Holker, still the French consul and Morris' partner, as well as one of his contractors for military supply, made it public that he accused him of unfair dealings. Morris broke off the partnership and wrote a detailed history

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<sup>73</sup> Diary: June 3, 1782, Catanzariti, ed. *The Papers of Robert Morris*, 5, 31.

<sup>74</sup> Tench Tilghman to Robert Morris, May 17, 1781, June 4, 1781, Stan V. Henkels, Auction Commission Merchant, Catalogue No. 1183, *The Confidential Correspondence of Robert Morris* (Philadelphia, 1917), 168-9; Swiggett, *The Extraordinary Mr. Morris*, 88; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris: Revolutionary Financier* (Philadelphia, 1954), 166.; Morris raised \$30,000 among his friends on his personal credit in the Fall of 1781 to pay the "distressed" army, who soon moved on to Yorktown. Elias Boudinot, MSS, Journal, J.C., Brown Library, as cited by INDE note card.

<sup>75</sup> Morris and James Madison, as quoted in Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris*, 170, 171; 177.

<sup>76</sup> Osgood comment, dated December 1783, as quoted in Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris*, 177.

<sup>77</sup> James Madison quote in footnote for Diary: June 12, 1782, Catanzariti, ed., *Papers of Robert Morris*, 5, 388.

<sup>78</sup> May 28, 1784, *Journals of Continental Congress*, XXVII, 469-71, 546-7. Morris explained in a letter of transmittal with his the report to Congress in March 1785: "The Statement of these Accounts was a Work of great Labour, and the Printing and Publishing is attended with Expence, but the Importance of making the Citizens of A Free Country acquainted with the Receipt and Expenditure of their Revenue; the necessity of setting the Example in this infant Empire, and the Satisfaction which I hoped thereby to communicate to Congress, were Reasons so Cogent, ..." that he felt obliged to have it done. As quoted in footnote, Diary: June 12, 1782, Catanzariti, ed., *Papers of Robert Morris*, 5, 389.

to explain and defend his integrity in the transactions, but this public dispute cast further shadow over his financial practices. At his retirement in November 1784, Morris returned to his neglected business affairs, which were, he allowed to friend Mathew Ridley, "infinitely more agreeable[sic] and for which I am far better suited." <sup>79</sup>

#### Robert Morris Acquires and Moves to Richard Penn Estate on Market

Not long after taking office,<sup>80</sup> Robert Morris and his family moved to the former Richard Penn house on Market Street, which Morris had rebuilt with splendor following the fire of January 1780. The family thus probably witnessed the column of soldiers "two miles long" passing through en route to Yorktown in late summer 1781, when General Washington and his suite stayed with the Morrises.<sup>81</sup> Early in the spring of 1782, no doubt for his personal convenience, Morris began looking for office space closer to his new residence. He finally paid the high price asked by Jacob Barge for two houses at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets, ordered the needed renovations made, and moved the Office of Finance and Marine from the Front Street location on June 11-12, 1782. Certainly, the half-block walk across the street to this office gave him more time for work and private affairs during these over-booked and tense years. For his last year in office, he directed that his office be moved once again, "from the Office of Mr. Barge to the Office I now Occupy next to my Garden Wall." <sup>82</sup>

Morris, now 47 and a devoted family man, likely wanted to have his office as close to home as possible. He and his wife, Mary White,<sup>83</sup> sister of the Reverend Bishop William White, pastor of Christ Church and St. Peters, had many social connections with Philadelphia's leading families and Morris' far-flung trading partners. The Morrises both loved to entertain, and their elegant home and generous hospitality left a favorable impression. Prince de Brogie found their house "simple but well furnished and very neat," with eye-fetching details: "The doors and tables are of a superb mahogany, and beautifully polished." "The locks and hinges in brass curiously bright. The porcelain cups were arranged with great precision." Untutored

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<sup>79</sup> Ketcham, *James Madison*, 134-5; Elizabeth M. Nuxoll and Mary A. Gallagher, eds., *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784*, Volume 9, Jan. 1-Oct. 30, 1784, (Pittsburgh, 1999), xxix, xxxi, and for Morris' letter of explanation on the Holker dispute, 407-417; Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris*, 186, 188-189, with Morris quote, 189; "Contents of Papers," for Vols. 1-9 of the Morris papers gives a synopsis of Morris' turbulent service as Superintendent of Finance, 1781-84.

<sup>80</sup> *Pennsylvania Journal (PJ)* of Aug. 8, 1781 notes lots for sale adjoining the walled lot "late of R. Penn, now of Robert Morris, Esq." Tax records for 1781 list Robert Morris on Market Street, at a value of 3500. Middle Ward Tax Assessment, 1781, INDE microfilm roll 569. Effective Supply Tax for City of Philadelphia, 1781, in *PA Archives, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., XV, 708*; Morris evidently still lived on Front St. as of Nov. 1, 1781, when the *PP* noted that Richard Humphreys was located near Morris' on Front, near the Drawbridge.

<sup>81</sup> Swiggett, *The Extraordinary Mr. Morris*, 92, dates Washington's visit as Aug. 30, 1781. Gouverneur herein also described watching the troops "in a dust like a smothering snowstorm" with all the ladies "watching from the open windows of every house."

<sup>82</sup> Diary: April 5, 9 June 11 and 12, 1782, Catanzariti, ed. *Papers of Robert Morris*, 5, 518, 551 (agreed to pay barge \$350 per year for a house at Fifth and Market and another adjoining, on Fifth Street), and 385. This writer is conjecturing that Barge's two houses were on the northwest corner. In 1778 Jacob Deuran, a surgeon, advertised he had moved to Fifth, between Market and Arch, near Jacob Barge. *PG* Aug. 18, 1778. Mrs. House's boarding house was on the southwest corner, and William Sheaff, on the southeast. It may also have been the northeast corner. More research in deeds or tax records may locate it more exactly. Diary: January 3, 1784, Nuxoll and Gallagher, eds. *Papers of Robert Morris*, 9, 4.

<sup>83</sup> Robert Morris married Polly White, daughter of Colonel Thomas White, in March 1769. *PG* Mar. 9, 1769.

in the expected customs, Brogie went on, "I partook of most excellent tea and I should be even now still drinking it, I believe, if the Ambassador had not charitably notified me at the twelfth cup that I must put my spoon across it when I wished to finish..."<sup>84</sup>

Robert and Mary Morris had seven children, five sons and two daughters, the last of whom, little Henry, was born the summer before Morris retired from office.<sup>85</sup> In 1781 Robert and Mary sent the two oldest, Robert and Thomas, aged 12 and 10, to Geneva for schooling. Morris' long letter to Matthew Ridley, who chaperoned the boys on their risky wartime voyage, expressed a parent's serious and tender concern for his children's upbringing and their future usefulness in the new republic. Morris directed Ridley to take the boys to Benjamin Franklin in Paris, whose sage presence and many French connections would be a protective support during their school days. Simultaneously, he wrote Franklin a personal letter asking his attention to his "two little helpless boys in a Strange Country."<sup>86</sup> William, Hetty, Charles and Maria, meanwhile, had the run of the very large walled yard, filled with the gardens and shade trees established more than a decade earlier by Mary Masters for her daughter Mary Penn. It was a pleasant and secluded place in the midst of wartime Philadelphia, when radical patriotism often led to violence, a rise in robbery and immorality disturbed the peace, and the sights and sounds in the neighborhood were not always civil.<sup>87</sup>

Morris' garden was also the setting for a gathering of some of his friends in May 1784. Thomas Jefferson reported that he'd watched a paper balloon made by Dr. Foulk go up from the garden "to the great amusement of the spectators." Jefferson and his friend Francis Hopkinson both were fascinated with balloon ascensions after hearing that two French men had sent one up measuring 36 feet in diameter in June 1783. Jefferson heard from the French Minister Luzerne that he had seen a balloon carry a man 3000 feet into the air and a distance of six miles. The highest flyer Jefferson saw in Philadelphia, however, only went up 300 feet. A decade later Jefferson perhaps witnessed another French man, Jean Blanchard, who attracted an enthusiastic audience at a balloon ascension that took him over the streets of Philadelphia to New Jersey. At his return, he visited Robert Morris' house, then in possession of President Washington, as the first executive mansion.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Account of Prince de Broglie in 1782, "Notes and Queries," *PMHB* 1 (1877), 224; Young, *Forgotten Patriot*, 168-9, also cites de Broglie, with a slightly different translation.

<sup>85</sup> The Morris children by birth: Robert (1769), Thomas (1771), William (1772), Hetty (1774) Charles (1777) Maria (1779), and Henry (1784). Genealogy provided by David Kimball, for the U.S. Constitution's Bicentennial in 1987.

<sup>86</sup> Morris to Ridley and Franklin, Oct. 14, 1781, Catanzariti, ed., *Papers of Robert Morris*, 3, 53-59

<sup>87</sup> Young, *Forgotten Patriot*, 175 alludes to young Henry playing in the yard, wheeling dirt in a wheelbarrow to make a garden for his brother, William, an incident recorded in a letter written later in the 1780s to Morris by wife, Molly. See "Diary of James Allen, Esq., of Philadelphia, Counsellor-at-Law, 1770-1778," *PMHB* 9 (1885), 43, which gives a Loyalist's point of view on patriots in Philadelphia, particularly the tragic case of Dr. Kearsley, who died shortly after being carted through the streets of Philadelphia. His offense, Allen noted, "was writing a passionate letter to England abusing the Americans long before the commencement of Independancy." Weigley, ed., *Philadelphia*, 152, comments on the city's rise in crime and vice. Parsons, ed., *Hiltzheimer*, 44, records a brawl between Timothy Matlack and Whitehead Humphreys on Market between Fifth and Sixth Streets on New Year's day, 1781.

<sup>88</sup> Kimball, *Jefferson War and Peace*, 355-6.

### The President's (Governor's) Mansion, 1781-85 at Sixth and Market

The former Galloway house on the corner of Sixth and Market, just west of Robert Morris', continued to serve as the governor's mansion until 1785. William Moore served for the year November 1781 to October 1782, and John Dickinson for the years 1782-1785. Benjamin Franklin, the next governor, or president of Pennsylvania to be elected, chose to live in his own house off Market Street, which closed the chapter when the Sixth and Market property served as a governor's mansion. Moore and Dickinson saw the war through to its end. They no doubt got to know Robert Morris very well, as the state's finances relied heavily on the success of Morris' program, which included the creation of the first national (corporate) bank, the Bank of North America. Moore had served under Joseph Reed as his vice president, so he probably slipped seamlessly into the office for a year. John Dickinson, a conservative patriot and long a figure in local and national politics, carried out the pomp and circumstance of his office with seeming ease. He entertained the Supreme Executive Council and military officers at the house in a "very elegant" style on July 4, 1783 to celebrate Independence Day. Dickinson completed a maximum three-year term, perhaps signifying a public longing for stability. His reelection may also have suggested the public's reaction to the abusive treatment given many prominent Philadelphians at the hands of local radical patriots during the Revolution. Now the voters seemed to want to resume a reasonable semblance of normality. After the explosive news of Yorktown in October 1781, the city settled down to wait for the peace treaty terms, and business fell into its regular patterns.<sup>89</sup>

### The Superintendent of Foreign Affairs, Sixth and Chestnut

The peace treaty in principal was the direct concern of Robert R. Livingston, whom Congress had elected in August 1781 as Superintendent of Foreign Affairs. Livingston, a popular and well-connected patriot from New York, had earlier served two terms in Congress, when he boarded at Mrs. House's at Fifth and Market Streets with Madison and Duane, and others who probably influenced his election to the position.<sup>90</sup> For several years Livingston had been considered for a diplomatic post, as his work on committee in Congress related to France had demonstrated his ability. The French representatives in Philadelphia, Minister La Luzerne and M. Barbe-Marbois, Secretary of Legation and Consul General of France, both favored his appointment and encouraged him to accept. When he heard the news of his election, however, he admitted to the latter, "I feel myself unequal to it." He found the

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<sup>89</sup> Entries for William Moore and John Dickinson, in William C. Armor, *Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania, With the Incidental History of the State, from 1609 to 1872* (Philadelphia 1879), 231-250, give no content about the terms of these two men during their service as governor. Moore and Dickinson both came from a wealthy background and were experienced politicians. *PP* July 5, 1783, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34. The city's exuberant reaction to the Yorktown victory also resulted in considerable damage to Quaker homes that did not show lights. For a vivid description from a Quaker woman's point of view, see, William Brooke Rawle, Esq., "Laurel Hill and Some Colonial Dames Who Once Lived There," *PMHB* 35 (1911), 400-404.

<sup>90</sup> Dangerfield, *Chancellor Robert R. Livingston*, 127, 141. Livingston was the first son of Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont, judge and patriot, and one of the wealthiest landed estate holders in New York, after marrying Margaret Beekman, only daughter of Col. Henry Beekman, of Rhinebeck, New York. Robert R. Livingston entry in Malone, ed. *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11, 319-320. This sketch, 321, notes that Robert R. served on the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, but did not vote for independence or sign the Declaration, because he left Congress to resume service in the New York Assembly.

subject new to him "& foreign to the line in which my studies have lain." Cautious, he inquired with Thomas McKean, president of Congress, whether he would have the power to select his staff, and why his salary was not commensurate with the other departments. McKean's diplomatic response soothed Chancellor Livingston's concerns, and he accepted the post on September 23.<sup>91</sup>

Once Livingston made his decision, he asked fellow New Yorker, Gouverneur Morris, (Robert Morris' aide), to find him a house. "Mrs. Livingston says there is nobody she would as soon chose to hire a house for her as you," he began. "Let it be in a good street, not a busy one—near stables."<sup>92</sup> Morris found John Lawrence's house at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets available and rented it for Livingston and his family. As requested, a coach house and stable were near by. The Livingstons moved to Philadelphia in time for his oath of office on October 20. Livingston hired Lewis R. Morris, Gouverneur Morris' nephew, and Peter S. Du Ponceau, a brilliant young translator, as staff and both moved into the Livingston home as part of the extended family. Next door, on Sixth Street, Livingston rented a narrow, three-story house for the Office of Foreign Affairs. Watson described the building in the 1830s as "but twelve feet front" and still standing, then occupied "as a small shop for vending cakes and children's trifles." The old Committee on Foreign Affairs sent over their records, but the staff soon found them woefully disorganized and inadequate.<sup>93</sup>

During the nearly two years Livingston served as Superintendent of Foreign Affairs, he often found his job frustrating. At first he had to insist on status, both for himself and his translator, Du Ponceau, who came very well recommended, having served as aide de camp and private secretary under Baron von Steuben. Although Congress made concessions—they raised his salary and allowed him to appoint two under secretaries, rather than one, thereby making it possible to promote both Du Ponceau and Morris to levels commensurate with their talent and social position—the members continued to interfere in his daily duties. Throughout his tenure, all his correspondence had to be submitted first to Congress before being sent, to Livingston's personal mortification. The correspondence proved extensive. Congress obliged the Chancellor by approving the addition of a clerk and another translator, Jean P. Tetard, his former French tutor, who worked and found his quarters on the third floor of the office. Even with a larger staff to sooth his feelings, Livingston continued to chaff under the constraints on his authority. He wrote to Franklin in Paris complaining about his limited role in the peace arrangements. In reply Franklin reminded the chagrined superintendent that the distance and wartime risks of travel across the Atlantic delayed responses to diplomatic events as much as five to six months. Ships departing with correspondence for the superintendent often were postponed and the post office in Paris was not to be trusted, as letters regularly

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<sup>91</sup> As quoted in Dangerfield, *Chancellor Robert R. Livingston*, 143; James L. Whitehead, ed., *The Autobiography of Peter Stephen Du Ponceau*, PMHB 63 (1939), 433.

<sup>92</sup> As quoted in Swiggett, *The Extraordinary Mr. Morris*, 89.

<sup>93</sup> Dangerfield, *Chancellor Robert R. Livingston*, 145; Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 1, 422. Du Ponceau came to America with Von Steuban when he was only 17 and made his way to Valley Forge. He settled in Philadelphia while serving as under secretary during the Revolution and became a citizen of Pennsylvania in 1781. Afterwards he became an eminent lawyer and scholar, and a devoted philologist. At his death he was president of the American Philosophical Society and a member of 40 learned societies. Elizabeth S. Kite, "General Duportail at Valley Forge," PMHB 56 (1932), 341-54; Watson and Hazard, *Annals*, 3, 283.



arrived already opened. Livingston, in other words, had to accept the difficult position the treaty commissioners were under and support their discretion.<sup>94</sup>

Despite these restrictions, Livingston proved himself an excellent administrator, bringing order and regularity into the business of foreign affairs. His dispatches came to be appreciated for their brevity and clarity, and served as models of sensible, strong reasoning. A faction in Congress, however, found him entirely too friendly with French interests. Two of his staff were French-born, and La Luzerne and Marbois had lobbied hard for his appointment as superintendent. But Livingston did not in the end go blindly into the French camp, but "developed a foreign policy that was not French at all."<sup>95</sup> He consulted weekly with the other department heads and whenever possible, with General Washington. Robert Morris' measures to breathe life into a declining commerce (the French navy had returned to the West Indies in 1782, when the British blockade on American ports tightened) and the severe shortage of currency led Livingston to write the governors to get their financial support. At the same time, however, he became convinced that the "want of money...is and will continue a radical evil till it is removed by foreign aid." But France made it clear that they had no more money to lend. Livingston reported this obstacle to the governors to pressure them for assistance, but privately he knew the truth of the case. To Benjamin Franklin in Paris, he wrote, "That France can aid us is not to be doubted, for it is certain she never carried on a war that distressed her finances less." At the same time, he recognized the conniving attempts of the British diplomats to drive a wedge between the United States and its allies. He remained convinced of France's good faith, and waited anxiously, along with all Americans, for the news of the peace deliberations.<sup>96</sup>

Local politics back home in New York prompted Livingston to resign from office in December 1782, but after an appeal from a special congressional delegation, he agreed to remain until May 1783. A cabal of local politicians, including James Duane, his former fellow boarder at Mrs. House's, had organized to try to remove him as chancellor of New York. He agreed to stay in office in Philadelphia only on the terms that he could go home for a short leave of absence to take care of the matter.<sup>97</sup>

While living in Philadelphia, Livingston played an important role as a leader in the new nation's society. A genial and fashionable Hudson Valley nobleman with an

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<sup>94</sup>Dangerfield, *Chancellor Livingston*, 145-8 also explains that Livingston had hired Tetard to tutor himself, his younger brother and his sister in French, at Clermont, in New York, a year before he brought him to work at the Office of Foreign Affairs. Apparently Tetard came reluctantly to Philadelphia from his idyllic country life. In a letter to his neice in 1837, Du Ponceau recalled the issue of title for himself and Lewis Morris, who was favored as Gouverneur's nephew, but who, he thought, possessed "very moderate talents." Whitehead, ed., "*The Autobiography of Duponceau*," *PMHB* 63, 338-9.

<sup>95</sup> Dangerfield, *Chancellor Livingston*, 135, 179.

<sup>96</sup> Dangerfield, *Chancellor Livingston*, 159-163. Du Ponceau remembered these years as ones of "extreme poverty," where the only currency available was the specie from France, which was used to pay all the government salaries. This, he pointedly remembered, were "the days of our humiliation." This attitude must have affected Livingston as well. Whitehead, ed., "*The Autobiography of Du Ponceau*," *PMHB* 63, 436 and 437.

<sup>97</sup> Dangerfield, *Chancellor Livingston*, 177. Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11, 322, gives a very different story on Livingston's resignation. The biographical sketch maintains that he resigned because of his low salary, which, Livingston reported, fell short \$3000 of his actual annual office expenses. Also, the machinations of Congress may have contributed to his decision. Webster's dictionary defines chancellor as a chief administrative officer, or in the case of a state, the governor.

inherited manorial estate, Livingston brought style and conviviality to a city still at war. When Livingston and his wife, Mary Stevens, arrived at their rental house in 1781, the family included an infant daughter, born the previous May. In April 1783, during their final months in Philadelphia, a second daughter arrived. Livingston's three unmarried sisters, who came on alternate visits, and his two young and devoted under-secretaries supplemented the household circle.<sup>98</sup> Peter Du Ponceau later recalled the happy years he spent with the family.<sup>99</sup> In his opinion, the Livingstons "contributed a great deal to give the *ton* to polite society." They enjoyed the company of the numerous French officials and immigrants in the city, as well as the "principal families" of South Carolina who had escaped to Philadelphia after the British captured Charleston. Music was one of the popular amusements, he continued, with Marbois a talented violin player and another foreign officer, Mr. Otto (later Count Otto), as a harpist. Ladies, too, played instruments, "so that we had some very good music." Luxury "had not yet made its way among us," Du Ponceau recalled, so that Madeira, not the later preferred champagnes and Burgundy, was the fashionable wine, and fancy french cooking had not yet been introduced.<sup>100</sup>

The Livingstons did enjoy some fancy entertainment and French cooking, however, as guests of their neighbor, French Minister La Luzerne, who hosted government officials, Congressmen and Philadelphia's social elite on November 3, 1781, to celebrate the French and American defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The next summer the French minister threw an even more spectacular party to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin of France. La Luzerne "borrowed thirty cooks from the French army," Benjamin Rush reported, to prepare a feast for the 1100 people invited. About 700 actually showed up for this fantastic entertainment on the Minister's grounds less than 200 feet from the Livingstons' windows. Day after day hordes of spectators stood in the street by their house -- Rush guessed as many as 10,000 -- gawking through the new palisade fence erected in place of a board fence so that all citizens could witness the elaborate preparations which were weeks in the making. General Washington, members of Congress, officers of government and "all the ranks and parties and professions in the city" intermingled, including an "Indian chief in his savage habits" and French soldiers in their finery. The supper, laid out at noon, "was a cold collation, simple, frugal, and elegant."<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Dangerfield, *Chancellor Livingston*, 125, 180; Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography* 11, 322. records that Livingston married Stevens on Sept. 9, 1770. In his published memoirs, Du Ponceau recalled the wife to be "Miss Rutherford, of a respectable family of New Jersey." This writer took the former source for the record. Whitehead, ed., "*The Autobiography of Du Ponceau*", *PMHB* 63, 432. Another discrepancy in the record comes over the children born in Philadelphia. Dangerfield indicates that the two daughters were born by the time Livingston left office, whereas Du Ponceau recalled that the daughters were born "long afterwards" and that he never met either of them.

<sup>99</sup> No doubt this fond feeling influenced Du Ponceau to purchase the house at Sixth and Chestnut Streets in 1801 and live out his life there.

<sup>100</sup> Du Ponceau to Anna, July 26, 1839, Whitehead, ed. "*Autobiography*," 434-5. Weigley, ed. *Philadelphia*, 152, gives testimony of lavish social events in 1778, before Du Ponceau came to Philadelphia, when Col. Walter S. Stewart marveled, "'Tis all gaity, ... Splendor and show... you cannot conceive anything more Elegant than the Present Taste." Stewart to Anthony Wayne, Nov. 28, 1778, Wayne Papers, HSP. Marbois courted and married President William Moore's daughter, Elizabeth, in 1784. *PJ* June 19, 1784, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34.

<sup>101</sup> Diary: Nov. 3, 1781, Catanzariti, ed. *Papers of Robert Morris*, 3, 131; Rush to Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, July 16, 1782, L.H. Butterfield, ed., *Letters of Benjamin Rush, Volume 1: 1761-1792* (Princeton, 1952), 278-283. The French minister's house was owned by John Dickenson and enlarged with a "huge, elegantly-finished building" before the older house, in 1771 and 1774. Garvan, *Mutual Assurance Company Papers*, 50.

The next summer the Livingstons no doubt attended La Luzerne's exuberant garden party when 750 guests witnessed fireworks on the square opposite his house followed by an illumination staged in an amphitheater set out in the groves along Chestnut Street. At midnight "a brilliant ball" filled the neighborhood with music, and afterwards, the guests sat down to supper at seven tables for 80 people each that stretched across the garden. The weather that July night was so fine, that an estimated 12,000 spectators with a great number of carriages came to see the event. People climbed to the top of the State House to view the "hotel of France, the gardens and groves full of ladies and gentlemen."<sup>102</sup>

Robert Livingston's resignation in April 1783 came as a relief to some Congressmen who felt uneasy that he worked so closely with neighbor Robert Morris, secretary of the Finance Office and a strong nationalist.<sup>103</sup> Congress had always had its factions and they already divided along the lines that became solidified after the Constitution, into the Federalist and Democratic Republican parties. For the meantime, however, Congress had its hands full trying to forge the nation. Debt and the resolution of peace with honor loomed over the heads of politicians. Citizens of Philadelphia began at this time to recover from wartime restrictions and losses. The economy slowly indicated promise. Social barriers thrown up during the war began to melt.<sup>104</sup> Suddenly, in June 1783, the Revolution's ultimate symbol, the Continental Congress, left Philadelphia. The incident that prompted it lasted only a short few hours and sparked no violence. It was threatening, however, to the members of Congress to witness armed Pennsylvania militia demonstrating before the State House where they sat. The military men wanted their back pay. Governor Dickenson refused to call out troops to disband the soldiers. The tension mounted, but each of the state and national representatives in the State House departed the building safely. Philadelphia, however, in one afternoon lost its key role as capital of the new nation. Congress moved to Princeton and then settled in New York. Philadelphia's leadership faced years of rebuilding and improvement before they could lure the capital back and then for only a decade as the temporary seat of government. An era had ended, but, as Rush pointed out, the American Revolution had just begun.<sup>105</sup>

#### Physical Changes and Demographics during the American Revolution

With a few exceptions, the physical scene on the first block of Independence Mall remains a vague picture. Available documentary record contemporary with the era of the American Revolution is tenuous at best. The Middle Ward tax assessments for 1780-83, along with newspaper advertisements describing properties for sale or lease and Philadelphia surveys and deeds, give only the slightest trace of the physical appearance of the first block at this significant period of history. In fact, the tax records in themselves need to be interpreted, because the assessor made no indication of his route. This writer, however, could make reasonably reliable guesses as to the property locations based on land ownership information at that time. No

<sup>102</sup> *PP* 18 July 1782, in Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34.

<sup>103</sup> Dangerfield, *Chancellor Livingston*, 179.

<sup>104</sup> Rush to Ferguson, July 16, 1782, Butterfield, ed. *Letters*, 1, 278-9 gives glowing commentary on how former enemies enjoyed each other's company at La Luzerne's grand fete.

<sup>105</sup> For a description of this 1783 event, see Kenneth Bowling, "New Light on the Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783: Federal-State Confrontation at the Close of the War for Independence," *PMHB* 101 (1907), 419-450. Rush to Richard Price, May 25, 1786, Butterfield, ed., *Letters*, 1, 388.

insurance surveys survive for those properties constructed during the war, likely due to wartime disruption. Thus, we need our imaginations and hindsight, as well as the few written recollections and pictorial images, inaccurate at best, to offer a suggestion of the scene.

When the Revolution got underway, most of the city's life and commerce still revolved around the Delaware waterfront. As one French traveler observed in 1777, "Second Street at midday with its crowds of pedestrians and its variety of elegant shops presents a sight... Market Street, Arch Street, and Chestnut Street are almost as handsome ...Third and Fourth Streets are unfinished and one may say that the magnificence of the city ends here."<sup>106</sup> This visitor's description suggests the sparse development on the block north of the State House as the war opened. During the eight years of civic disruption brought on by the Revolution, the historical record reveals that this block provided housing for the American and British leaders. At each of the block's four corners, politicians or officers of government found agreeable residency, on the Emlen, Oppenheimer, Morris and Pennsylvania Executive, and Lawrence properties. The block also witnessed some new construction and physical change, but also retained many vacant lots and open spaces. These properties were choice real estate for the building boom of the 1790's, when Philadelphia once again became the nation's capital.<sup>107</sup>

#### Market Street: The Robert Morris House and Governor's Mansion

After the fire of January 1780, Robert Morris, long a resident on fashionable Front Street, negotiated to buy the ruins of the notable Richard Penn house, with its large walled lot and convenient location near the political seat of the nation. In June 1781 he purchased the property for L3,750 from Richard Penn, Mary, his wife, and Sarah and Mary Masters, (mother and sister of Mary Penn) through Tench Francis, the family's agent and attorney. As the deed records, the house, "rendered uninhabitable" by the fire, now was "rebuilt and repaired" with "divers and very valuable improvements." Morris' attorney advised him to have a new deed drawn up to describe "the premises with more certainty." This instrument, finally completed in June 1785, provides evidence of the house's large footprint and a close narrative of the property history. Besides the original lot of 48 feet breadth on Market Street sixty feet east of Sixth Street, Morris' property included the 24-foot lot to its east and a 9-foot strip to the west. All these properties extended 180 feet in depth to Minor Street, and had been purchased in 1768 by Mary Masters from the Kinsey estate.<sup>108</sup>

Morris' house stood 45'6" feet wide, according to a plot plan with the 1785 deed, and filled nearly the entire original lot; the adjoining 24-foot lot to its east had the wash house and other back buildings and a landscaped yard enclosed by a high wall.<sup>109</sup> Archeology in 1952 exposed the outline of two foundations, one with a 31-foot width, and the other, presumably Morris' enlargement, which measured 45'8 1/2". The insurance survey for "Governor Penns dwelling" dated March 1, 1779, however, gives the house measurement as 45 feet by 52 feet, a survey taken before

<sup>106</sup> Echeverria, "The American Character," *W&MQ*, XVI, 384.

<sup>107</sup> The Oppenheimer property at Fifth and Market was where Mary House ran her boardinghouse.

<sup>108</sup> No date is given in the deed for the acquisition of the 3-foot strip. See Appendix G for a typescript of the August 5, 1785 deed recorded at PCA as Deed Book 15, pp. 117-120. My thanks go to Edward Lawler, researcher on 190 High Street, for a copy and typescript of this deed provided in Appendix G.

<sup>109</sup> See "Burnt House" plan, 1780, Illustration 5.

the fire and Morris' involvement with the property. Morris found the first floor of the house intact, and the record strongly indicates that he rebuilt on the same foundations. When Andrew Kennedy purchased the Morris' house in 1795, he took out insurance, which measured the building as 44 by 51 feet. The archeological evidence of a 31-foot foundation thus is not clear, as there is no record yet found that suggests an earlier structure on the property.<sup>110</sup>

The Morris house and back buildings stretched south 130'4, leaving less than 20 feet between the rear backbuilding and the stables. The front house measured 52 feet in depth, just as it had for Richard Penn. The enlargement Morris clearly made appears in the plan of the back buildings. The 1779 policy described a one-story structure in two parts, 14 by 7 and 54 by 18 feet. Morris' backbuildings stood higher and larger. A piazza 14 feet long led to the two-story kitchen, which measured 37'6 by 20 feet wide. The wash (or bath) house, also two-stories, measured 17 feet long and spanned the width of the kitchen. Finally, a small 9'4 by 10-foot wide structure, presumably the icehouse,<sup>111</sup> completed the house extension. Stables and a coach house stood along Minor Street, on the house lot's 48-foot frontage. A large brick stable, 18 feet on Minor and 38 feet back, abutted a larger coach house and stable, 33 feet on Minor and 30 feet in depth. A five to six-foot alley leading south from Market Street ran between the Morris house and the "President's [Governor's] lot" to a paved yard west of the house's back buildings.<sup>112</sup>

Recent archeology and research also confirmed that Morris added a large ice house to the back end of his property, in the southwest corner, along Minor Street. General Washington, who had been shown Morris' icehouse, inquired about its construction in 1784, because his had failed at Mount Vernon. Morris replied with a detailed description, which fits closely with the large octagonal-shaped pit uncovered in the archeology of 2001 carried out in preparation for the construction of a new Liberty Bell Pavilion. Likely Morris had it built during the summer or fall of 1781, because Jacob Hiltzheimer notes in his journal for February 12, 1782, that he hauled ice from the Schuylkill River "to the ice-house of Robert Morris in the rear of his house on Market Street." Finally Andrew Kennedy's insurance policy for the property in 1798 includes mention of an ice-house among the outbuildings.<sup>113</sup>

The appearance of the facade of Robert Morris' new "Capital message" has been the subject of some debate. After considerable analysis, a popular 19<sup>th</sup> century illustration of the house, drawn from recollections and frequently copied and republished by Zachariah Poulson, Jr., has been proven inaccurate. Fortunately,

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<sup>110</sup> Contributionship Survey Bk 1, 49; Mutual Policy #891-896, Mar. 18, 1795, Andrew Kennedy.

<sup>111</sup> The only reference to Morris' buildings in contemporary literature came from Hiltzheimer's diary for February 12, 1782, that noted Robert Erwin hauled ice that day from the Schuylkill River to the "ice-house of Robert Morris in the rear of his house on Market." Parsons, ed. *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*, 48.

<sup>112</sup> See "Burnt House" plan and plan of Morris property in the deed of 1785.

<sup>113</sup> Washington to Morris, June 2, 1784; Morris to Washington, June 15, 1784, Abbot, ed., *The Papers of George Washington, Confederation Series*, I, 420-21 and 450-52; Rebecca Yamin and Tod L. Benedict, "Phase II Archeological Investigation Liberty Bell Complex, Block 1, Independence Mall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania," John Milner Associates, 2001, has an excellent graphic illustrating the ice house, based on Morris' letter; Parsons, ed., *Hiltzheimer*, 48; Policy No. 895, Mutual Assurance, June 1798, for Andrew Kennedy, lists the property's back buildings, including the ice house, but does not give the customary dimensions for it. See Appendix I for a copy of the policy. My thanks to Ed Lawler, and Dr. Jed Levin, NPS, for their generous sharing of sources and thoughts on the ice house. See also the NPS website for Independence NHP for Levin's excellent descriptive text on Morris, his property and ice house.

William M. Mason made a sketch of the property before its demolition in 1832, which assured historians that it was a 4-bay house, rather than a 5-bay. This research found no contemporary commentary on the exterior of the house from the street to supplement Mason's view made half a century after Robert Morris first lived there.<sup>114</sup>

Next door, the Governor's mansion at the corner of Sixth may have lost some of its glamour during the war. As described earlier in this text, the house as built and advertised by Alexander Stedman, measured 32 feet front by 48 feet deep, with large back buildings. Its coach house and stables stood on the south side of Minor Street, within the same lot. Joseph Galloway, wealthy landowner and long-time Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, purchased the property from Stedman, but chose to be a Tory during the Revolution. After the state confiscated Galloway's property in 1778, the treasury could rarely pay to supply the troops, much less the house maintenance and upkeep. During Joseph Reed's three years as president of Pennsylvania, he often was away, either at war, or at the summer home provided by the state from confiscated Tory property. Governor Dickenson, who also served a three-year term, may have paid for upkeep on the house. He owned the elegant mansion where the French Minister lived across Sixth Street, and property out of the city, notably in Delaware. Likely he would have wished to have his residence look every bit as dignified as his neighbor Morris'.<sup>115</sup>

As of 1783 Market Street property values retained their predominantly affluent character. Governor John Dickinson's personal assessment included 303 ounces of silver plate and a coach and sulky. Robert Morris' dwelling, lot and stables, valued at 6500, stood out as among the highest taxable real estate in the city. He owned a coach, chariot and phaeton to transport his large family about the city and to their country estate along the banks of the Schuylkill River. Mid-block on High or Market Street, two houses owned by Adam Kemble's estate and by Abraham Kintzing, carter, had assessments of 1000 and 1500, indicating their substantial construction. The house of William Jones, grazier, and the large boarding house run by Mrs. House, valued at 1800 and 3000 respectively, completed the range of large structures on Market between Sixth and Fifth streets.<sup>116</sup>

### Fifth Street

On Fifth Street, Joseph Potts, a wealthy brewer, evidently built the large brew house sometime prior to the Revolution on the lot his father had purchased in 1762 from the Kinsey Estate. The building stood on the lot south of Mary House's boarding house, and on the north side of Minor Street. Potts advertised in March 1775, "A convenient Brewhouse, situate in Fifth street, near Market street, now in the Tenure of William Pusey." By 1779 Pusey had moved to Chestnut Street and brewers Hugh Roberts and William Garrigues had the lease. The following year, Hugh Roberts took over the brewery and remained for several more years. As the later

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<sup>114</sup> Research by Edward Lawler, 1999. Lawler has compiled a file on the illustrators and found the May 1, 1832 drawing of the house showing four bays, by William L. Mason. Lawler provided this writer with his composite sketch of Morris' house after the fire of 1780. The five-bay version is published in Oberholtzer, *History of Philadelphia*, 1, opp. 342. Zachariah Poulson, Jr. published and promoted this inaccurate view.

<sup>115</sup> PG May 18, 1769. This conjecture is based on general information about the governors and Pennsylvania's struggles to finance the war.

<sup>116</sup> The sequence of the 1783 tax list places Camphor's property between Kintzing and Jones, but it seems likely that the cooper's house stood on Minor Street, at the back end of a Market Street lot. "Kemble" is likely Kimel.

narrative will amplify, this brewery survived to the age of photography and appears to have been demolished only with the creation of Independence Mall State Park in the early 1950s.<sup>117</sup>

South of Minor Street on Fifth, probably in the house earlier leased to Thomas Holland, Paul Esling, a brickmaker, occupied a dwelling and lot (valued at 400) owned by the Isaac Morris Estate. Esling, like few other tradesmen who resided on this block during the century, remained at this location for an extended length of time, until surveys of the property could be completed for Esling and the Morris-Jones heirs of the earlier Brittain family landowners on Market Street. These surveys, drawn up right after the Revolution, showed clearly the definition of four lots on Fifth Street between Minor Street and the Emlen estate, carved out of the southern end of the original Market Street lots. These lots composed the property willed to Elizabeth Morris by her grandmother, Elizabeth Brittain. Elizabeth Morris in turn had divided the property into lots for her children. The Brittain will, dated January 1741, specifically described the property having a house and gardens enclosed by a fence under lease to Thomas Holland. This house presumably was part of Isaac Morris' share of the estate and leased by him to Paul Esling, as no other person is listed for these lots on the 1783 tax.<sup>118</sup>

#### Chestnut and Fifth Streets, The Emlen Family Property

Based on tax assessment records for 1783 a few new buildings went up during the war on the large Emlen estate (151 feet on Chestnut Street west from Fifth Street, all with 178 foot depth). David Edwards is listed in a modest dwelling valued at L200 on Emlen property adjoining the widow's. (The Edwards house is given a numbered address on Chestnut Street in 1785 with the first city directories).<sup>119</sup> James Kaigen's (also spelled Keggen) dwelling and livery stables, advertised prior to the outbreak of the war, probably were situated on the large court entered from Fifth Street at the north or back end of the Chestnut Street lots.<sup>120</sup> The assessment of L125 for his occupation suggests what good business he enjoyed when so many troops and government officers were stationed in or passing through the State House area. Along the 178 feet on Fifth Street within the Emlen property, the tax assessment listed five small properties, some of which appear to be new, but modest, likely frame construction. These may have been free standing or connected, even all in one partitioned building. Alexander Miller, a cooper, leased a house and lot next to the entrance to the court, at the northernmost end of the property, valued at L100. David Sutter, Philadelphia's constable, lived next door, in a property

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<sup>117</sup>Potts married Sally Powell, an "accomplished young Lady, with a large fortune." *PG* Jan. 28, 1768; In 1776, when again offering the brewery, he was living in Sixth St. and selling sheet and rod iron. *PG* July 31, 1776; Mar. 29, 1775, Aug. 2, 1780; *PP Aug. 19, 1779, 6 May 1780*. "Effective Supply Tax, City of Philadelphia, Middle Ward," for 1780 and 1781, *PA Arch., Ser. 3, Vol. 15*, 198, 708.

<sup>118</sup>Tax Assessment, 1782-3, Middle Ward, INDE Micro 569; Survey March 27, 1786 for Heirs of Ezra Jones, and Paul Islings lot, Surveyd Sepr 11<sup>th</sup> 1789, Third Survey District, Folder 67, pre-1814, PCA. Brittain's will is quoted in another survey of this property: "and all the remainder of my estate ...lot with the house garden & appurtenances now in the Tenure of the sd Thomas Holland within & to the fence now standing & inclosing the said House ...I give...unto my Granddaughter Elizabeth Morris."

<sup>119</sup>MacPherson listed David Edwards as 302 Chesnut. *MacPherson's Directory for the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1785).

<sup>120</sup>The Morris & Esling property surveys cited earlier show this court that separated the Morris lots from Emlen's. It opened at Fifth Street with a 9-foot entrance and widened to a width of 26 foot 3 inches. The court actually was part of the Morris property, so that agreements must have been made for its use by Emlen family and tenants. See survey #6 in Philadelphia City Surveys at end of this report.

again valued at L100. His dwelling adjoined two others, valued at 150 and 100. Finally Joseph Skerret (also spelled Skerrett and Skerrit), a blacksmith, leased a dwelling and shop (together valued at 150) on the corner lot at Chestnut Street. Skerret's location near the State House turned out to be convenient. Pennsylvania records show several accounts with him between 1788 and 1796 for work done on locks, stoves, and other equipment needed for the public buildings on the State House Square.<sup>121</sup>

Although the 1783 tax does not specifically list the Emlen malt house, apparently it still operated during the Revolution. In 1778 the *Pennsylvania Packet* noted a fire had broken out in "Emlen's brewhouse in Fifth Street," but that it had been extinguished and little damage done. The 1780 tax list referred to the malt house as part of widow Emlen's assessment (she was the widow of George, son of the founder of the estate, who had been willed the malt house.) Perhaps the fire slowed down operations enough that it lost its productivity. A large and well-established malt house stood on Sixth Street only a block away, and perhaps that competition proved more than the family enterprise could sustain.<sup>122</sup>

#### Chestnut Street: Hamilton Family Property

Mid-block on Chestnut Street, Michael Clark leased and ran the Blue Ball inn set back on William Hamilton's large central lot (133' frontage). The inn remained a convenient and hospitable stand after Clark's retirement, as Bartholomew Baker, an experienced innkeeper in the city, took the lease in 1780, and William Hassell followed in 1782. As mentioned earlier, the Royal Association met there during the British occupation, Congressmen dropped in after tense sessions, and its prime location no doubt made it a favorite watering place for others doing business across the street at the State House. Nearby to its east and west the large stables on Kemble's and Emlen's lots served British and American troops, as well as civilians who were attending to legal matters at the State House.<sup>123</sup>

#### Chestnut and Sixth Streets

In 1783 one of the modest frame houses built along Chestnut Street near Sixth earlier in the century by the Church and Davis families, was occupied by Elizabeth Church, a widow who boarded that year James Wilkins, and James Elliot, who had opened a tavern. Elliots' occupation valuation of L100 suggests his success. That year William Hassell, the new innkeeper renting from William Hamilton on the property to the east, renamed the establishment the State House Inn. The valuation for his work was equivalent to neighbor Elliots', suggesting that both public spots did a brisk trade. John Lawrence's house at the corner of Sixth Street stood vacant,

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<sup>121</sup> Tax Assessment, Middle Ward, 1783, INDE Micro 569; transcribed State Records in note card file, INDE, under titles, Independence Hall, Repairs and Maintenance, and Biography, Joseph Skerrett.

<sup>122</sup> *PP* Aug. 22, 1778;

<sup>123</sup> The name of the inn under Baker has not been revealed by this research. In 1767 he ran the old and "commodious Public House," the Sign of the Black Horse, on Market between Fourth and Fifth Streets. *PG* Aug. 20, 1767. Baker leased the inn on Chestnut Street from 1780-82, according to Hamilton's account book. Roach, "Historical Report," 48-9 (which has a type error, reading 1790, rather than 1780.) James Keggan (Emlen property) advertised his livery stable opposite the State House, *PP* July 27, 1782. Captain John Davis advertised in *PG* July 5, 1781 a stray mare from his stables in Chestnut opposite the State House.



(Livingston and his family left Philadelphia in May 1783), but the property's valuation of L2000 made clear its contrasting worth with the adjoining lots.<sup>124</sup>

Along Sixth Street tradesmen occupied the small properties as tenants of the Lawrence Estate. In June 1783 Congress made a record at the Office of Foreign Affairs of the files Robert Livingston had accumulated while superintendent. These included 13 letterbooks and five boxes of letters received. Alexander Rynear then apparently became the next tenant in the building, in a dwelling valued only at L100. The next two Lawrence properties listed to its north, occupied by a hatter and a barber, were valued at the same rate. One of these may have been the 12 by 18-foot 3-story, "very plain" house insured in 1774 by James Glenn on the east side of Sixth between Chestnut and High Streets.<sup>125</sup>

During the war John Perkins and Elizabeth Kemble advertised the lease for the old George Kemble stables "in Sixth Street between Market and Chestnut". These stables, they assured the public, had room for "upwards of 30 horses, with good stalls, large and commodious yard, and exceedingly good coach houses and sheds for carriages." They would be "very convenient for a few Gentlemen," they added, "who keep their horses themselves, as it is well situated in wholesome air, and room for their carriages." At the close of 1778 these same stables went up for public sale. The advertisement described the stables as near the corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets, on a lot leased from widow Church. The lease was to expire in 5 months, but "tis supposed may be renewed." The sale offered

A large Frame Stable, 44 by 26, well boarded and shingled, the frame is excellent timber erected a few years ago, and is in good order. The loft will contain upwards of 20 tons of hay, it is well floored with plank and has stalls for 22 horses, more to be removed, being frame to separate in two parts.<sup>126</sup>

Evidently the local militia took up the lease for part of the war. In April 1782 the stables were offered at public auction and two months later Henry McCormick announced he had opened the livery stable "lately occupied by the Militia Light Horse" in Sixth between Chestnut and Market, and that he also leased out horses and chairs.<sup>127</sup> McCormick, however, continued for less than a year; in 1783 the tax assessor listed "empty stables" on William Crispin's lot, part of the estate of Widow Church. (Crispin, a first Purchaser and deed holder to a Market Street lot, was long deceased, but for some reason this property was still attached to his name.) As mentioned earlier, the Church-Davis family at mid-century owned a large block of real estate at the northeast corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets, extending north 178 feet from Chestnut. Presumably the stables stood at the north end of the frontage along Sixth Street. Benefit of hindsight, the stables may have been located on the alley that extended south from Minor Street at the back end of the Sixth

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<sup>124</sup> Tax Assessment, Middle Ward, 1783, INDE Micro 569.

<sup>125</sup> Tax Assessment, Middle Ward, 1783, INDE Micro 569; James Glenn, Mar. 16, 1774, Contributionship Book 1, 62; Survey. Glenn's name doesn't figure in any other documents collected by this research.

<sup>126</sup> PG Dec. 1, 1778.

<sup>127</sup> PP Apr. 18, and June 18, 1782, in Roach, "Newspaper Excerpts," v. 34. In April the stables were advertised as being located on Sixth Street opposite Gray's brewery, a local landmark located on the west side of Sixth, adjoining on the north the new alley through the center of the block, later named Carpenter Street.

Street lots. John Perkins, for instance, remarked when he leased the Kemble stables in 1770 that they were near to his other stables on the south side of Minor Street.<sup>128</sup>

### Minor Street

The development along Minor Street during the Revolution appears to be largely in the form of stables. Pre-war advertisements indicate stables on the Galloway, Penn, Kemble and Kintzing lots, in one case on the south side of Minor Street. The 1783 tax suggests that a cooper, Michael Campher, may have lived on Minor Street. His listing came in the midst of the Market Street row, on Joseph Potts' land. Potts, son of the land purchaser in 1762, had sold off all but the westernmost Market Street frontage, leaving him a 48-by-180-foot lot. It seems unlikely that the modest house (valued at 100) stood amidst the prominent homes on Market Street, but rather stood on the back end of the lot, on Minor Street.<sup>129</sup>

### African-American Presence

African Americans lived on the block opposite the State House during the Revolution, but largely in white households as servants. An advertisement posted in 1775 by Market Street's Abraham Kintzing, carter, for his runaway slave described Bill as "a likely Negroe fellow...about 23 years old, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high..." He had run away wearing "his shirt and trowsers, old hat, and shoes with brass buckles." Kintzing offered a reward of six dollars for his return.<sup>130</sup>

Although Kintzing did not allude to it, the Revolutionary spirit that excited the minds of most Americans at this time may have prompted Bill's escape. Philadelphia, the leading voice for abolition in the colonies, found new advocates during the Revolution. Radical ideas about individual freedom as it applied to human bondage were widely promulgated by Quaker anti-slavery activists and local proponents such as Benjamin Rush. Within a turbulent climate for reform, the state legislature in March 1780 passed the Gradual Abolition Act, the first of its kind in the new nation. Although the act did not free anybody immediately, it had a positive impact on the decline of slavery in the community. Philadelphia in 1770 counted approximately 1375 slaves, in 1780, about 450, and in 1783, less than 400. Not included in that number was Congressman James Madison's run-away servant, Billey, who, when recaptured, Madison chose to free.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> PG Feb. 17, 1763, Apr. 17, 1770, Apr. 13, 1774 and May 24, 1775. McCormick advertised that he ran stables "opposite the State House" that year. PJ Feb. 5, 1783, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34.

<sup>129</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," Brief of Title page for Jones-Kinsey-Pennsylvania Hospital Site & Madison Constitution Site.

<sup>130</sup> PG June 28, 1775, Accessible Archives. Kintzing also had an "English servant man" run away that summer, perhaps also hoping to find his freedom in wartime service. PG Aug. 2, 1775.

<sup>131</sup> Gary B. Nash, "The Black Revolution in Philadelphia," Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, (PCEAS), Feb. 28, 1985, makes a case for the impact of the Revolutionary spirit on Philadelphia's slave and free black population. He points out, p. 2, that Philadelphia was the center for early American abolitionism. In 1773 Benjamin Rush came out as one of the first non-Quakers to advocate abolition in America with his publication, *Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America, upon Slave-Keeping*. Nathan G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush Physician and Citizen 1746-1813* (Philadelphia, 1924), 272-3. Quaker anti-slavery leaders in Philadelphia Anthony Benezet and John Woolman had been publishing and corresponding on the subject for more than a decade. Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (Gloucester, MA, 1965), 86; Joseph S. Foster, *In Pursuit of Equal Liberty George Bryan and the Revolution in Pennsylvania* (University Park, 1994), 109; (Sidney Kaplan and Emma Nogrady Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution* (Amherst, 1989), 7-25. To give added perspective,

Despite the abolitionist initiative, slavery hung on in the neighborhood among some of the wealthy. In 1781 Governor Reed owned three slaves, and in 1783, Governor Dickinson had four, Robert Morris, 2, and William Jones, 1, all neighbors on Market Street. Dickinson's four Negroes were valued at 300, a large proportion of his personal property. Earlier, in 1780, Cato Foster, "a black", appeared on the tax roll as head of household on property owned by the Philip Kinsey Estate. The only published source that tells the number of African Americans who occupied such households comes later, in the 1790 census, but from that listing it is possible that Cato Foster shared his house with 5 to 10 other African Americans. Based on the sequence of this listing, the house likely stood at the back end of a Market street lot, on the north side of Minor Street. This may have been the modest dwelling (mentioned in a previous chapter) that was erected by the Brittain family for a former slave servant; Foster may even have been a descendant of that family. Unfortunately this research did not reveal more on the lives of these individuals, or give any further record of the African Americans whom Jacob Mordecai so fondly mentioned in his recollections as living across from the State House and purveyors of delicious sweet treats.<sup>132</sup>

The white population of the block in 1783 easily may be estimated to have been five times the individuals taxed in these records, considering the typical family size per household at that time.<sup>133</sup> The numbers must have ebbed and flowed, depending on the season - most Philadelphians who could afford to moved to the country during the hot, sickly summers—and the political climate. When the patriots held reign there may have been many more than under the British occupation. At any time, however, the block retained considerable open space, with vacant lots or property turned to use for garden and stable yards, especially at the center of the block, along the back ends of Chestnut and Market Street lots. As the city recovered after the war and especially after Philadelphia resumed its role as the nation's capital

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some 4000 slaves and only a few hundred free blacks resided in the cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia on the eve of the Revolution. A half-century later, the same cities had some 22,000 free blacks but only about 500 slaves, most of who lived in New York. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville, 1983), 3. Between 1780 and 1790, as Philadelphia's slave population was on decline, New York City's slave ownership increased by 33 per cent. Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York and Oxford, 1991), 204. Statistics given in text on slave population in Philadelphia do not include the suburbs of Southwark and Northern Liberties. Billy G. Smith, "Fugitives from Slavery in the Mid-Atlantic Region During the Eighteenth Century," PCEAS Seminar, March 31, 1989, 8. Gary Nash compiled African American population statistics in the city for 1783: free blacks counted more than 1000 slaves about 400. Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community 1720-1840* (Cambridge, 1988), 39, and for information on the Gradual Abolition Act, 60-65, and Billy G. Smith, "Runaway Slaves in the Mid-Atlantic Region during the Revolutionary Era," in Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, ed., *The Transforming Hand of Revolution Reconsidering the American Revolution as a Social Movement* (Charlottesville, 1995), 207-8. Madison perhaps regretted the decision to follow his conscience in 1782, as Billey later was rumored to be an aide in the escape of Anthony, another of his slaves at the family plantation in Virginia. Irving Brandt, *James Madison, Father of the Constitution, 1787-1800* (Indianapolis, 1950), 17.

<sup>132</sup> For a sampling of black households in the block north, across Market Street, in the 1790 census, see Toogood, "Historic Resource Study, Independence Mall, Block Two," Bell, Jr., "Addenda," *PMHB* 98, 131, 145, 158.

<sup>133</sup> Robert J. Gough, "The Significance of the Demographic Characteristics of Wealthy Philadelphians at the end of the Eighteenth Century," in Susan E. Klepp, Ed., *The Demographic History of the Philadelphia Region 1600-1860* (Philadelphia, 1989), 307, notes that the wealthy elite in 1775 fathered 6.3 children.

in 1790, many new properties were developed on the block before the century closed in 1800.

#### Post-War Recovery, 1783-1789

It was "generally agreed," Oliver Ellsworth confided on June 4, 1783 to fellow Connecticut politician, Jonathan Trumbull, "that Congress should remove to a place of less expense, less avocation and less influence than are to be expected in a commercial and opulent city." Ellsworth's letter anticipating a departure from Philadelphia is dated nearly three weeks before the Continental Congress' president issued a proclamation ordering the delegates to reconvene in Princeton, New Jersey, due to the Pennsylvania Executive's failure to suppress militia troops who demonstrated for back pay at the State House. Ellsworth's letter, however, suggests that most delegates already agreed there were compelling reasons to leave Philadelphia and find a more suitable seat of government.<sup>134</sup>

Philadelphia had served as the capital for the nation through the war years and now it was time for rebuilding the city. Eight years of delayed maintenance and neglect had taken its toll. Visitors in 1783 commented on the peeling paint, the broken windows on houses and shops. In August a letter to the editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* railed over the dirt in the city's streets. Walking and riding were made disagreeable, with dead dogs, cats, fowl and offal among the cleanest articles. He especially pointed to the area near the Dock, where putrefying matter exposed citizens to potential sickness, conditions similar to those during the dread yellow fever of 1762. The city needed to arch over the Dock and clean its thoroughfares. This civic proposal seems to have resonated with the public, for the 1780s were marked with a host of projects mounted by the state and local authorities. The street commissioners set out to upgrade and expand the common sewer, especially at Fourth and Market Streets, and to clean, rake, level and pave the streets at the western end of town. The improvements to the infrastructure during the mid-1780s seemed to reflect the pride and ambitions of a new nation.<sup>135</sup>

Although the city suffered an economic slump at the close of the war as commerce readjusted to peacetime demands, the State House neighborhood within a few years began to show a busy face. In September 1783 the Pennsylvania Assembly voted to fund the decades-old plan to landscape the yard. After work got underway, in March 1785, the Assembly granted a building plot on the east side of the yard to the American Philosophical Society to construct Philosophical Hall. Construction and landscaping were both under the direction of Samuel Vaughan, a wealthy and urbane London-Jamaica visitor who arrived in Philadelphia with his family late in 1783 and remained four years. It took three years for Vaughan's landscape to come together, and even longer for the Hall to be built, given the vicissitudes of fund raising. Wagonload after wagonload of dirt, trees, bushes, seed, lumber, and other construction materials had to be hauled to the Square. The traffic along Fifth Street must have kicked up clouds of dust, as the street yet had not been paved on the block between Walnut and Chestnut Streets. The State had already torn down or sold the military storage sheds and stables on the State House Square and the block to the north and west, near Sixth and Chestnut Streets. Sale of vacant lots in the

<sup>134</sup> As quoted in Weigley, ed. *Philadelphia*, 154.

<sup>135</sup> *PG* Aug. 27, 1783, *PP* Mar. 18, 1784, *PJ* Sept. 8, 1784, in Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34; Parsons, ed., *Hiltzheimer*, 60 and following, for references to street commissioners' work from Jan. 1784.

neighborhood began the process that would bring considerable housing boom in the decade to follow.<sup>136</sup>

All this activity around the State House Square must have given a boost to the neighborhood's commercial enterprises. The old State House Inn standing back from the road under the bowers of mature Walnut trees, no doubt quenched the thirst and offered temporary lodging for some of the workers. Judges, lawyers, juries and clients from the Supreme Court in the State House may have found refreshment there. Officials and bureaucrats, state assemblymen, and delegates to the Federal Convention in 1787, all may have crossed the street to the tavern. On occasion committees and juries met there for business, likely in a room set aside and private. One who witnessed this inn wrote in 1829 that Norah (or Lenora) Hassell, the innkeeper's daughter, was "passing fair" and a draw for local customers. Jacob Hiltzheimer, an assemblyman and street commissioner during the decade, noted several times in his diary entries having to meet at Hassell's Tavern to complete business. Fifteen members gathered one November night at 7pm to decide delegates for Congress; another night to decide senators for the First Congress under the new U. S. Constitution. He attended a meeting where city and state officers discussed the city's incorporation and a bill to draft a new state constitution. Hassell's tavern no doubt provided the atmosphere and relaxation to ease through sensitive or weighty decisions.<sup>137</sup>

For William Hassell, his tavern trade across from the State House may have been a strategy for other business. Hassell until early 1784 ran a "beefstake and oyster" house on Front Street. He may have taken the lease for the old inn to be better situated to lobby the Assemblymen who were considering his petition for half-pay to cover his 3-year service as storekeeper in the general hospital of the Continental Army during the last years of the Revolution. Certainly, the inn also brought him closer to the seat of government, where he'd likely find veterans like himself to share stories of the trauma and insights of war in the tavern's convivial halls.<sup>138</sup>

During this decade the suggested traffic at the State House and inn of that name can be gauged from the appearance by 1785 of two boardinghouses on this

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<sup>136</sup>Weigley, ed., *Philadelphia*, 156; as late as 1790 Fourth and Fifth Streets remained unpaved. *PG* Feb. 24, 1790; Toogood, "Cultural Landscape Report, Independence Square," 72-119; In January 1787 Vaughan applied for naturalization for himself and family of five, but was reluctant to take the oath of allegiance because of his property in England. Evidently, this hurdle was insurmountable, as he and his family, except his son, George, left Philadelphia. *PP* Jan. 4, 1787 and *PG* Jan 31, 1787, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34. George Vaughan rose to be the librarian for the American Philosophical Society and lived on Chestnut between Fifth and Sixth Streets in 1785. White, *The Philadelphia Directory (1785)*. Phila. Street Commissioners to Pres. and Supreme Executive Council of PA, June 10, 1783, Society Coll., HSP, as cited in INDE note card file; *PP* Aug. 16, 1781, for sale of frame buildings opposite to Minister of France's residence and Parsons, ed., *Hiltzheimer*, Apr. 12, 1782.

<sup>137</sup>Nov. 8, 1787, Sept. 25 & 29, 1788, Feb. 29, Aug. 31, 1789, Parsons, ed., *Hiltzheimer*, 132, 145, 154, 171.

<sup>138</sup>*PP* Mar 26, 1787, when PA Light Infantry, 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion met at Hassell's to take applications for joining under Col. Shee; Dec. 8, 1789 notes Hassell's petition before the PA Assembly for half-pay to cover his service, 1780 to the close of the war. Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34; clipping of Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 10, 1829, as reprinted in W.C. Brenner, "A List of Phila. Inns and Taverns, 1680-1850, mss, HSP, as cited in INDE note card; Robert Earle Graham, "The Taverns of Colonial Philadelphia," *Historic Philadelphia*, 319, refers to Lenora and cites Struthers Burr's *Philadelphia Experiment*, 315-316, for the love story between Lenora Hassell and Aaron Burr.

block of Chestnut Street, Mrs. White's and Mrs. Pugh's, and the frequent advertisements for the livery stables James Keggan continued to keep "opposite the State House," on the Emlen property near Fifth and Chestnut streets. Wealthy people were among his customers, for in 1785 he had for sale an "elegant fashionable phaeton." John Holker, the French consul general and former mercantile partner of Robert Morris, fit the category. He had the lease for John Lawrence's house at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets until 1785, when Keggan submitted his carriage advertisement. Holker may have moved from his Fifth and Market street address to Lawrence's after Livingston and his family left Philadelphia (1783), so that he could be situated nearer to Congress and the courts, useful to his international dealings. After he left, John Penn Jr. took the house, remaining there until his return to England in 1788; when he advertised the sale of "all furniture, household goods", his mare and geldy, chariot, family coach and chair.<sup>139</sup>

As the western edge of the city continued to attract wealthy citizens like John Holker and John Penn, the tradesmen followed with their fine wares. By 1785 David and Francis Clark, coach and harness makers from Europe, had set up business on Sixth Street, possibly converting the vacant stables listed by the tax assessor in 1783. Two house carpenters also lived on this block of Sixth Street in 1785, suggesting the building and improvement projects all around the neighborhood. One of these reached completion late the next year, Robert Morris' house "at the corner of Minor and Sixth Streets." By that date, Morris had purchased the Governor's house and lot, which included 80 feet along Sixth Street below Minor Street.<sup>140</sup>

The Governor's house at the corner of Sixth and Market streets became available for lease after Benjamin Franklin took office in 1785. Robert Morris immediately arranged for Robert Edge Pine to live there. Morris admired this British painter's work. Pine at the time had been given "an apartment" in the State House so he could paint the "most illustrative scenes in the late revolution." Pine didn't live much longer, but he likely had moved to the house that Morris had built for him on North Eighth Street before his sudden death of apoplexy on November 19, 1788.<sup>141</sup>

Robert Morris, for his part, finally resigned in November 1784 from his arduous office as Superintendent of Finance. In preparation, he completed a detailed report on the nation's finances for Congress at Annapolis. Because the states had failed to meet their obligations towards the national debt, he admitted to Thomas Jefferson, "our Finances are in a more critical Situation than you can easily conceive."<sup>142</sup> But it was just a few months more before Morris posted a sale to be held at his office in a building next to his garden wall. U.S. government property would be sold at auction, including "fine and coarse blankets, soal leathers, calf

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<sup>139</sup> *PP* Oct 26, 1782 (Holker 5<sup>th</sup> and Market address); Keggan: *PP* July 12, Aug 28, 1783, Nov. 3, 1784, May 12, 13, 1785, Mar. 8, 9, 1787, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts, v. 34;" *PG* May 14, 1785, *PP* Nov. 14, 1786, Apr. 18, Sept 11, 1787; Penn: *PP* Apr. 3, May 15, 17, 26, 1788, Roach file, APS. Penn also offered the lease for his country house, Lansdowne, in the April advertisement. Hiltzheimer noted that Penn and his wife were planning to leave for England in a few days in his May 10 1788 entry. Parsons, *Hiltzheimer*, 145.

<sup>140</sup> Clark: *FJ* Aug. 31, 1785, *PP* Mar. 8, 1787, Roach file, APS. Morris house: Dec. 14, 1786, Parsons, *Hiltzheimer*, 110; Westcott, *Historic Mansions*, 265; See earlier text for the Holker-Morris dispute.

<sup>141</sup> *PP* Nov 3, 1784, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts, v. 34;" Joseph Jackson, *Market Street Philadelphia The Most Historic Highway in America Its Merchants and Its Story*, (Philadelphia, 1918), 109-110. In 1791 *The Philadelphia Directory* listed Pine's widow at 9 North Eighth Street.

<sup>142</sup> Morris to Jefferson, Feb. 25, 1784, Julian P. Boyd, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Volume 6, 21 May 1781 to 1 March 1784* (Princeton, 1952), 558-564.

skins, worsted stockings, thread, coarse hats, iron wire, brown linen," in other words, leftover military supplies.<sup>143</sup>

Morris remained politically active and sought after in the city. His friendship with General Washington and Martha Washington brought great excitement to the neighborhood during their visits in town.<sup>144</sup> He invariably hosted the leading family for dinner, if not as overnight guests. In May 1784 Morris rode into town with Washington, who had arrived from Mount Vernon for a general meeting of the Society of Cincinnati. On that day they both joined the Sons of Tammany at a countryseat on the Schuylkill where the general received hardy toasts and cheers. Washington stayed at Morris' Market Street house for over two weeks while attending the Society of Cincinnati as acting president. He also found time to arrange purchases through his local agent and former aide, Clement Biddle, and respond to a host of correspondents looking for advice and recognition. Apparently, Philadelphia once again showered him with local hospitality. Washington could go nowhere without drawing attention. He was already the nation's foremost icon.<sup>145</sup>

Morris' return to private business immediately increased his wealth. The lucrative China Trade that he and a partner had opened in 1783 rapidly inundated the city with popular exotic ware. Like many leading Americans, he invested heavily in real estate. Volumes of record survive to document the thousands of acres he purchased on the western frontier and New England. On a smaller scale, he acquired the former country estate of the Proprietors along the Schuylkill River, soon to be famed as "The Hills," for his family's summer retreat. Like with his city property, the house had just burned to the ground, so he likely rebuilt it in the latest style, after which he hired an Irish landscaper to tend its greenhouse and improve the grounds. Besides the Governor's mansion to the west of his city dwelling, Morris added the vacant Kinsey lots to the east of his garden wall to enlarge his Market Street holdings. It is no wonder, then, that Morris successfully invited General Washington to be his guest, after he arrived in May 1787, to attend the Federal Convention, called by the states to settle disturbing national issues of government.<sup>146</sup>

### The Federal Convention of 1787

Fifty-five delegates came to Philadelphia in 1787 to attend the Federal Convention called to revise the Articles of Confederation. Political power under that first frame of government lay foremost with the states, which had to vote unanimously in order to pass important legislation. The government lacked the power to tax the people, to pay off war debts or fund other critical elements to stabilize the republican experiment. It faced contempt from European countries, like Great Britain. Increasingly the state governments took on more authority and

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<sup>143</sup> PG Oct 2, 1784, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34.

<sup>144</sup> In 1785 Morris was a legislator in the Pennsylvania Assembly. Francis White, *The Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia, 1785); PP Sept 1, 1781, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34, for wild fanfare at Washington's arrival and his stay at Robert Morris' house.

<sup>145</sup> FJ May 5, 1784, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34. Washington stayed in the city from May 4-18, the duration of the meeting. His account for attending listed "Mr. [Robert] Morris's Servants & other Exps. There 5.15" W.W. Abbot, Editor, *The Papers of George Washington, Confederation Series, 1 January - July 1784* (Charlottesville, 1992), 402 and 327-401. Washington kept no diary during most of 1784. Biddle later was elected vice president for Pennsylvania.

<sup>146</sup> PG Mar. 20, 1784, Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34.

showed defiance towards federal law. Congress reflected this ineffectiveness by not forming a quorum. The members stayed home. National leaders from different states began to agree that the government needed strengthening.<sup>147</sup>

George Washington early expressed his concern that the Articles of Confederation lacked vigor. He and Robert Morris must have shared many a conversation about the limits of the national government in the comfort of Morris' Market Street home during visits to Philadelphia early in the decade. Washington had been a prime mover behind the Annapolis Convention in September 1786, called to strengthen interstate cooperation for the important Potomac canal and other matters of commerce. Nine states were represented, but the slim showing prompted the delegates to propose a new convention the following spring. Alexander Hamilton drafted the letter to the states inviting representatives to gather again to discuss interstate commerce, but also added, and "to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." News from Massachusetts of mob action there, the so-called Shays Rebellion, had prompted this second agenda for the proposed convention. Debt-ridden farmers, caught in a declining wage spiral, had taken to violent or threatening demonstrations in July and August 1786, causing Washington and key leaders of the Revolution to fear for the new nation. When Daniel Shays led fellow farmers against the Springfield arsenal on September 26, Congress authorized General Knox to muster 1,340 militia. Although the crisis was settled without the use of force, the insecurity of the national authority had been forcefully highlighted.<sup>148</sup>

What began as a revision of the Articles soon expanded to a new frame of government. It was outside the expressed intent of the states, and thereby extralegal, but these men knew what was at stake and were prepared to take the risk. As Madison wrote home to report, "the whole community is big with expectation, and there can be no doubt but that the result will in some way or other have a powerful effect on our destiny." Franklin warned that if the convention didn't succeed, "it must do harm, as it will show that we have not wisdom enough among us to govern ourselves; and will strengthen the opinion of some political writers that popular governments cannot long support themselves."<sup>149</sup>

The Federal Convention sat all summer, from May 25<sup>th</sup> to September 17<sup>th</sup>. Twenty-nine men stood at the core effort, attending nearly every session. These were a distinguished group of well-seasoned politicians, lawyers, jurists and businessmen. Jefferson called them "an assembly of demigods." The sessions ran six days a week, sitting from 10 or 11 in the morning to 4 or 5 in the afternoon. (They were conducted in secret, so the windows remained shut on the street side and the doors were guarded.) Informal debates continued over dinner in the inns, taverns and boarding houses around the city. As the summer wore on and the issues divided the delegates, tensions often ran high. In the end, each delegate came to a

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<sup>147</sup> Park staff completed a Bicentennial Daybook for 1787 which chronicled the day to day business of Congress sitting in New York. From Nov. 6, 1786 to Jan. 1, 1787 Congress did no business, because not one day was there a quorum. "A Daybook for 1787 Bicentennial of the Constitution of the United States," Independence National Historical Park, 1986, 1.

<sup>148</sup> Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History*, 115-116; Richard B. Morris, *The Forging of the Union 1781-1789* (New York, 1987), 131-134, maintains that "in depth and duration" the depression after the war "proved to be the most serious economic setback suffered by Americans since the earliest days of colonial settlement." New England and the South especially suffered a prolonged business slowdown after the war.

<sup>149</sup> Madison and Franklin as quoted in Ketcham, *Madison*, 190.



compromise on one point or another. During the final week, the restless desire to adjourn drove the votes and left the Constitution without a Bill of Rights.<sup>150</sup>

General Washington, a delegate from Virginia, was among the first to arrive in Philadelphia. Already a hero, he was escorted from Grays Ferry to his lodgings by the "City light horse commanded by Colo. Miles" amid chiming bells, booming cannon and cheering crowds. At his arrival, he passed through the crowd to Mrs. House's, where Robert and Mary Morris awaited him. They "again warmly and kindly pressed" him to be their guest and the general moved his baggage and self the half-block up Market Street to accept the hospitality. This done, he went directly to visit the president of Pennsylvania and the nation's second most prestigious public figure, Benjamin Franklin.<sup>151</sup>

James Madison had arranged Washington's board with fellow delegates at Mrs. House's at Fifth and Market streets, because he intended to have all the Virginia delegates together to work closely for a stronger national government. Two other Virginia delegates did live at Mrs. House's with Madison, James McClurg and Edmund Randolph, but the latter moved out soon after his arrival, to join his pregnant wife in larger accommodations. Charles Pinckney from South Carolina and John Dickenson and George Read from Delaware took other rooms and likely other delegates did also, but their stay has not been recorded. Certainly, the comfortable and familiar lodgings must have served as a place for late hour conversations among the resident delegates, and on one occasion at least, a place for them to dine with invited members, including Washington.<sup>152</sup>

When the convention opened on the appointed day, May 14<sup>th</sup>, only the delegates from Virginia and Pennsylvania were on hand. A quorum was not achieved for another eleven days. Meanwhile, Madison and the other Virginia delegates met for two to three hours daily (perhaps at Mrs. House's) to discuss the pending agenda and prepare Virginia for a position of leadership. Before the first debates began, Madison had written out and promoted his ideas for the Virginia Plan introduced to the convention by Governor Randolph. This plan set out revisions to the Articles of Confederation that served as the framework for the Constitution of the United States.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> James H. Charleton, Robert G. Ferris and Mary C. Ryan, Editors, *Framers of the Constitution* (Washington: 1986), 29; As quoted in Ketcham, *Madison*, 230. Ketcham, 194, listed 18 men who he thought carried the debate.

<sup>151</sup> Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, editors, *The Diaries of George Washington, Volume 5 July 1786-December 1789* (Charlottesville, 1979), 155; Ketcham, *Madison*, 192; Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Miracle at Philadelphia The Story of the Constitutional Convention May to September 1787* (Boston, 1966), 16.

<sup>152</sup> Edmund Randolph to Lt. Gov. Beverly Randolph, VA State Papers, Volume 4, 293-4; George Read to John Dickinson, May 25, 1787, Dickinson Papers, DE State Archives. John Blair and George Wythe from Virginia, for instance, likely stayed at the house. George Mason, however, found Mrs. House's fully booked when he arrived; he stayed at the Indian Queen on Fourth Street. Ketcham, *Madison*, 193. Washington recorded dining there on July 17. See Toogood's chart of Washington diary entries during the convention, 1787, as Appendix H. Historical research compiled by writer for a figurative map titled "Philadelphia 1787" depicting the core city during the convention months. (Available at park bookstores.) The park has a substantial research file on 1787 copied from historical record archives across the country.

<sup>153</sup> It is not clear where the Virginians met for these sessions, at Mrs. House's or at the Indian Queen where Mason stayed. The Indian Queen's ample accommodations led numerous convention members to meet regularly in its common rooms. Madison visited there so often travelers mistakenly thought that he lived there. Ketcham, *Madison*, 188-189, 193, and 196; Charleton, ed., *Framers*, 34, points out that a quorum required at least seven states. At that point, only 29 of 55 delegates were present.

At the official opening on May 25, George Washington was elected the convention's president. His dignified presence served as the unspoken model for the Executive, to which office he soon would be unanimously elected. Although he remained a silent participant until the last week, making only one proposal for the document, members often could glean his body language. He had often discussed the proposals introduced in the Virginia Plan with Madison and supported them. Although almost a generation older, Washington matched Madison's keen, passionate interest in the national good. However, many issues proposed required days of contentious debate. Privately, Washington grew alarmed in July when he saw the rising divisiveness. "I almost despair of seeing a favourable issue to the proceedings of the Convention," he wrote to Alexander Hamilton, because of the "Narrow minded politicians [who were]...under the influence of local views." But he, like most members, persevered, and found consensus again and again by compromise.<sup>154</sup>

James Madison, along with James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris and others, led the effort to give a strong government. Madison probably was the most intellectually prepared of all the delegates. For months prior to the convention, he had studied from hundreds of books Jefferson had sent him from Paris. At home he had poured over volumes on political theory, law and history, on biography and general knowledge.<sup>155</sup> These stimulated his thoughts on government that came together in the Virginia Plan. To allow time to meet and talk informally with the other delegates, Madison arrived in Philadelphia on May 3, eleven days early. He intended that Virginia take the lead in forming the debate. Throughout the Federal Convention he sat in the front row and took notes, leaving for posterity the best record of those secret debates. Even towards the end of the long four months, when Madison's health broke, he continued to attend and keep record of the arguments, although his output dropped thirty per cent. Still in his youthful thirties, even Madison's stamina bent to the tensions and grueling intensity of the effort.<sup>156</sup>

In the end, however, the "Father of the Constitution," as he later was titled, felt satisfied with the content and proud of the effort that leading members made to strengthen the nation. As he so aptly phrased it in the official letter forwarding the document to the states, the delegates had kept in focus "the consolidation of our Union," to protect the "prosperity, felicity, safety, [and] perhaps our national existence..."<sup>157</sup> Musing on the Convention's momentous accomplishment, Madison felt humbled. "To view, through the calm, sedate medium of reason the influence which the establishment now proposed may yet have upon the happiness or misery of millions yet unborn, is an object of such magnitude, as absorbs and in a manner suspends the operations of human understanding."<sup>158</sup>

Over the four months in session, the delegates found the leisure to explore the city and its nearby rolling countryside. In their town wanderings they may have wondered at the hogs and pigs running free in the streets. (The city finally outlawed them the following summer after many public complaints.)<sup>159</sup> Most leisure time moments were intended to please the delegates. Philadelphia's leading families

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<sup>154</sup> As quoted in Ketcham, *Madison*, 212; and 196; Bowen, *Miracle at Philadelphia*, 15.

<sup>155</sup> Bowen, *Miracle at Philadelphia*, 14.

<sup>156</sup> Ketcham, *Madison*, 190-2, 195, 224.

<sup>157</sup> Ketcham, *Madison*, 229

<sup>158</sup> As quoted in Ketcham, *Madison*, 195.

<sup>159</sup> *PP* May 29, 1788, in Roach, "Newspaper Extracts," v. 34.

hosted teas, dinners, and socials at their town houses or summer villas overlooking the Schuylkill River. (While some delegates responded favorably, others, like George Mason, felt "heartily tired of the etiquette and nonsense so fashionable in this city.") During free time they could visit Charles Willson Peale's fascinating natural museum or Abraham Chovet's wax museum, among numerous diversions. When possible, delegates shopped for assorted goods requested by family members back home. Many of them likely took every opportunity to ride out into the country for cooler air and exercise. City Tavern, Indian Queen Tavern and Gray's Ferry all provided meals and the opportunity to talk informally and more personally with one another. At such a gathering some met sophisticated and knowledgeable Manassah Cutler who came to town to lobby delegates as agent of the Ohio Company, a large land company formed in Massachusetts principally by war veterans who hoped to settle the tract. In June Sconteoyah and other Cherokee Nation chiefs stopped on their way home from New York after a formal visit to Congress, to meet the distinguished delegates at work on the nation's frame of government. They found them in the Assembly Room of the State House, where the Convention met, and shook hands with several.<sup>160</sup>

Robert Morris, a Pennsylvania delegate at the Federal Convention, not only had the nation's leading hero as his guest, he opened his home to "a large company" of the delegates for lavish dinners. Morris' participation in the convention on the surface was negligible -- Madison recorded almost no comments from him—but his influence was immense. He was a staunch supporter of a strong national government and everyone knew it from his many publications during his three years as Finance Superintendent. His private dinners no doubt gave him the opportunity to work behind the scenes, to soften resistance to the proposals that would heighten the credibility and influence of Congress and provide the nation's executive with power.<sup>161</sup>

As the Morrises' guest, Washington was living in comfort in one of the city's finest homes, just a block from the sessions. Next door in the former governor's dwelling, now owned by Robert Morris, Washington had the pleasure to have the company of Samuel Meredith, a brigadier general of the Pennsylvania militia under his command during the Revolution. Over the summer he visited the Meredith household six times for dinner or tea. Around the corner on Sixth Street below Minor Street, he became acquainted with coach maker David Clark, whom he entrusted to refurbish the interior of his coach. Washington also enjoyed the hospitality of John Penn at the Lawrence house at the corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets.<sup>162</sup> His interest in landscape was gratified at the State House Square, where the grounds were just recently laid out under the direction of Samuel Vaughan. One July evening on his way home from a social at William Bingham's on Third Street, he strolled in the Yard, no doubt filled with memories of home. Vaughan had befriended him some years earlier and that summer planned to visit Mount Vernon. As a present for his absent host, Vaughan drew up a plan of Mount Vernon's new landscape, which had

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<sup>160</sup> Charleton, ed., *Framers*, 27; *PP* June 15, 1787, in Roach, "Newspaper Excerpts," v. 34; as quoted in Ketcham, *Madison*, 193. Franklin's dinner on May 16<sup>th</sup> for twenty or so delegates, 192. For more on Cutler, "New York and Philadelphia in 1787. Extracts from the Journals of Manasseh Cutler," *PMHB* 12 (1888), 97.

<sup>161</sup> Ketcham, *Madison*, 191.

<sup>162</sup> Anna Coxe Toogood, "Philadelphia 1787," 8, a paper delivered for the bicentennial of the Constitution; *PG* Apr. 9, 23, 1777; Meredith (1741-1817), a Philadelphia merchant before the war, went on to be the first treasurer of the United States under President Washington. W.W. Abbott, ed. *The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series, 1 September 1788-March 1789*, (Charlottesville, 1987), 337.

been long in the planning and finally set out after the war. This plan showed features that had a striking resemblance to those in the State House Yard. <sup>163</sup>

Washington's passion for gardens<sup>164</sup> likely prompted him to take careful note of the grounds at Samuel Powel's and William Bingham's in town, and at William Hamilton's Bush Hill, John Penn's Lansdowne, Robert Morris' The Hills, George Logan's Stenton and at Bartram's and Grays Ferry, among the several country spots he rode out to visit. Recognizing his status and interest, the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture had designated him an honorary member, and he joined them for their July 2 meeting at Carpenters' Hall. Leisure time during session breaks, however, also included plays at the Southwark Theater, poetry readings, as well as rides out to Valley Forge during the late July break to recall that dreadful winter of 1777-78 and to fish along nearby river and streams. Less pleasurable, he sat for local artists Charles Willson Peale and Robert Edge Pine, a courtesy that he grew increasingly weary of during his presidency. Always popular with the ladies, Washington also accepted frequent invitations from the city's most fashionable Anne Bingham and Eliza Powel, all of which he dutifully recorded in his diary. <sup>165</sup>

While at home at the Morris', Washington, ever one who appreciated quality, ate meals prepared by a French butler and had his food passed by liveried servants. He observed Mary Morris as she managed the household and rated her "a notable lady in family arrangements." She, in assessing Washington as a guest, found him quiet and self-effacing. <sup>166</sup> He often dined with the family and sometimes passed afternoons in his room reading reports from home and writing letters in return. As the summer dragged on and the sessions became testier, his diary more regularly found him at his lodgings for both dinner and tea, with no other socializing. The mutual admiration between Washington and his hosts, coupled with the family atmosphere heightened by young Morris children, must have offered a comforting refuge and a great source of renewal during his long absence from Mount Vernon and Martha. <sup>167</sup>

The Federal Convention wound up its business on September 17<sup>th</sup>. All eleven states present voted unanimously for the Constitution, with only three delegates dissents (Randolph and Mason from Virginia and Gerry from Massachusetts). The delegates adjourned for the last time and dined together in celebration at the City Tavern. That evening Major William Jackson, secretary of the Convention, delivered the papers to Washington at his lodgings. Afterwards he retired to his room to

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<sup>163</sup> Ketcham, *Madison*, 211; Toogood, "Cultural Landscape Report, Independence Square," 74-78. Washington visited the State House Square on July 2. See Appendix H and Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, editors, *The Diaries of George Washington, Volume 5 July 1786-December 1789* (Charlottesville, 1979), 155-186.

<sup>164</sup> Today he is considered "one of the two or three most imaginative and innovative landscape gardeners in eighteenth century Virginia." Peter Martin, *The Pleasure Gardens of Virginia From Jamestown to Jefferson* (Princeton, 1991), 137.

<sup>165</sup> Washington was elected to honorary membership on July 4, 1785. Simon Baatz, "Venerate the Plough" *A History of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture 1785-1985* (Philadelphia, 1985), 6; Washington recorded visits to all these places in his diary over the summer. Jackson and Twohig, eds. *The Diaries*, 5, as charted in Appendix H of this report. He sat for Pine and Peale on July 2, 3 and 9.

<sup>166</sup> As quoted in Bowen, *Miracle at Philadelphia*, 193.

<sup>167</sup> The INDE Museum Coll. #39095 includes a charming letter dated Nov. 11, 1787, from Robert Morris' son, William, to Washington thanking him for the gift of a fusee (gun) sent from Mount Vernon after his return home. "I shall allways remember with pleasure the time when I received a presint from that Patriotick Chief," he enthused. Taken from a typescript copy.

"meditate on the momentous wk. which had been executed." The very next day he wasted no time in departing for Mount Vernon, but not without saying good by to "those families" who had "been most intimate," and dining one last time with the Morris family and close friend, Gouverneur Morris.<sup>168</sup>

Madison, on the other hand, remained several days at Mrs. House's to clean up his notes on the debates and write some letters.<sup>169</sup> His departure signaled another interlude when Philadelphia no longer hosted national politicians. But the city's leaders had a vision to restore Philadelphia as the nation's capital. During the summer the Federal Convention met, the state broke ground for a new county court house long planned for the State House Square, at the corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets. This handsome Georgian-brick building reached completion in 1788. At the same time, a new city hall building was being planned for the opposite corner at Fifth Street. Chestnut Street's frontage soon would offer considerable new opportunities for Congress to meet in a dignified and gracious setting befitting the new Constitution of the United States ratified in 1788. When the new First Federal Congress met in New York City the following year, delegates from Pennsylvania were ready to offer the U.S. Congress the use of "any or all the public buildings in Philadelphia." In particular they recommended the new county courthouse capable of seating 100 members and near 500 spectators in the gallery beyond the bar. Senator Robert Morris was the most effective lobbyist of the Pennsylvania Congressmen. After more than a year of debate, his influence swayed Congress to vote for Philadelphia as the nation's temporary capital for a decade while the permanent new capital, named for Washington, was under construction along the shores of the Potomac. The Residency Act of July 16, 1790 opened the final chapter of Philadelphia's stewardship of national politics.<sup>170</sup>

#### The U.S. Capitol, 1790-1800

The news of Philadelphia's renewed status as the capitol under the new United States Constitution immediately stimulated the local economy and led to the publication of the first city directories with street numbering to guide the flood of visitors to town. Not only did all the bureaucracy and Congress arrive in the fall of 1790, with them came hordes of tradesmen and service workers hoping to prosper with the capital. Housing became scarce, prices to board soared, and new construction got underway throughout the western suburbs near the State House and beyond.

In mid-July 1790 a local committee headed by Miers Fisher began to narrow down the options for housing Congress. Philadelphia's Congressman Thomas FitzSimons wrote from New York recommending the talented architect, Major L'Enfant, who had so beautifully renovated and enlarged the New York City Hall for Congress, to build a new capitol building in Philadelphia. Although "some delicacy might arise" in hiring him (presumably because he was French), FitzSimons thought it worth the risk, because L'Enfant was well versed in the "present taste in Europe."

<sup>168</sup> Jackson and Twohig, eds. *Washington Diaries*, 5, 185-6.

<sup>169</sup> Ketcham, *Madison*, 231; 250, mentions that Madison spent a week in Philadelphia in March 1789, en route home from Congress in New York. Likely Mrs. House's again was his lodgings.

<sup>170</sup> *Columbian Magazine*, July 1787 announced that the west foundation of an "elegant courthouse" had been laid. Prisoners from the Walnut Street jail dug the foundations. *PG* Mar. 18, 1789, note card file, INDE.

Veiled in this proposal lay a determination among local leaders like FitzSimons, Tench Coxe and Robert Morris to restore Philadelphia as the nation's permanent capital.<sup>171</sup>

With only six months until Congress' arrival, the local committee set out to remodel the new Courthouse at Sixth and Chestnut for their reception. At least two resident tradesmen on the block north of the State House won contracts to work on the renovation. Joseph Skerrett supplied smith work from his blacksmith shop at the northwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, at 16 S. Fifth as numbered by Clement Biddle in his 1791 city directory.<sup>172</sup> Grocer Israel Jones, listed at 4 S. Fifth Street, at the southwest corner of Fifth and Minor Streets, provided the workers' rum. Carpenters tore out the benches and bars and replaced them with rows of curved seating and desks patterned after the New York model. The 65 Congressmen occupied the large downstairs room and the 26 Senators climbed steep stairs to a smaller chamber directly above. The second floor also reserved office and meeting space for the secretaries and committees of Congress. On December 7, 1790, Congress opened in their new quarters to the members' general satisfaction.<sup>173</sup>

One block away on Market Street the new President of the United States, George Washington, had already settled into his friend Robert Morris' house (190 High Street), considered the best home in the city for such an important officer of government. Morris, senator from Pennsylvania, and his family moved next door to their own house, which he had purchased when the state put it up for sale in 1786. The two senior leaders (both near 60) and fellow war veterans had seven years more to enjoy their maturing friendship as close neighbors.<sup>174</sup>

That same year Congress prepared a national census (as called for in the Constitution). The count added 41 new members to the House of Representatives, way more than the chamber could accommodate. This intensified the efforts of local politicians to have the Pennsylvania Assembly authorize funds for a new building to house Congress. The initiative failed, however, to gain the conservative Pennsylvania legislators' vote. Instead, they debated moving Congress to the State House—it was good enough for Congress during the war, one reporter smugly noted—or enlarging Congress Hall, as the county courthouse became known. The latter option was adopted and in 1793 the building was enlarged 26 feet southward to seat the new Congressmen. Once again, nearby tradesmen won business, among them Samuel Benge, an upholsterer and umbrella maker at 139 Chestnut Street, directly across from Congress Hall. Benge received a total of 129.8.10 for his work on several

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<sup>171</sup> FitzSimons to Fisher, July 15 and 16, 1790, Miers Fisher Papers, HSP, as transcribed in First Congress Papers, George Washington University, D.C.; Tench Coxe To George Thatcher, Mar. 12, Apr. 8, 1789, Cat. #8035 and 8036, INDE Museum Coll.

<sup>172</sup> Clement Biddle, *The Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia, 1791) is alphabetically listed.

<sup>173</sup> Miers Fisher to Tench Coxe, Sept 4, 1790, Tench Coxe Papers, HSP; Tench Coxe to Mayor of New York Richard Varick, Sept. 7, 1790, Pierpont Morgan Library; Roger Sherman to Gov. Huntington, Jan. 3, 1791, Gratz Collection, Old Congress, Box 11, HSP, as given in INDE note card file; "Amount of Disbursements paid by the Commissioners of the City and County of Philadelphia, for fitting the New County Court House, for the accommodation of Congress." (1791), Appendix A, "Furnishing Plan for the Second Floor of Congress Hall," Prepared by Staff, Independence National Historical Park, October 1963; Israel Jones insured a 3-story building where he lived on the southwest corner of Fifth and Minor Streets which had a room reserved for a "wett goods store" on Nov. 5, 1787. CB 1, 129.

<sup>174</sup> November 27, in Jacob Cox Parsons, ed. *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, 1765-1798*, (Philadelphia, 1893), 165; Tobias Lear to John Shee, Oct. 1, 1791, transmitting a year's rent of L500 beginning Oct. 1, 1790. Cat. #6803, INDE Mus. Coll.

furnishings jobs. For instance, he took down and cleaned all the venetian blinds and curtains in both chambers of Congress and covered the 44 additional House "Elbow Chairs" with black leather and the new Senate chairs with red leather over horsehair.<sup>175</sup>

The building's expanded space allowed more room for visitors as well, because the House sessions were open to the public and attended regularly. By the closing years in Philadelphia, however, so many people were coming to watch the debates, the Congressmen voted to confine all visitors to the upper and lower galleries, which held around 400 spectators. These regular crowds at the State House Square must have given a boost to the trade for Hassells and Garvin's taverns across the street, on the north side of Chestnut Street, and the shopkeepers or tradesmen along Fifth and Sixth Streets.<sup>176</sup>

Instead of supporting a new hall for Congress, the Pennsylvania legislature passed a bill allocating \$20,000 to build a stately executive mansion for the President. Considering the fact that when Albert Gallatin surveyed some 5354 dwellings in the city only nineteen were valued between \$10,000 to 30,000, Pennsylvanians did show civic pride in this gesture. Construction, however, took so long that Washington declined to live there, as it reached completion in his final year as president. When John Adams took office in March 1797, he also refused the city's offer to live there, principally because the upkeep of such a large and elegant house would be a capital drain on his already inadequate salary.<sup>177</sup>

The location chosen for the President's house on Ninth Street three blocks west of Morris' house signified the fast westward development in Philadelphia. An estimated 400 to 500 houses went up annually with the arrival of Congress, nearly half of which developer Joseph Sansom erected according to his "well laid plans" for the city.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> David A. Kimball and John D.R. Platt, "Historical Data Section," 7, in "Historic Structure Report, Part I, Congress Hall," Independence National Historical Park, 1960. Benge's bill is reproduced as Appendix E, "Furnishing Plan, Second Floor of Congress Hall." *American Mercury*, Aug. 19, 1790; *Journal of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, 1791-2*, 44.

<sup>176</sup> *American Daily Advertiser*, June 3 and 14, 1797; Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Under their Vine and Fig Tree, Travels Through America in 1797-1799, 1805*, Translated and edited by Metchie J.E. Budka (Elizabeth, NJ, 1965), 42.

<sup>177</sup> Scharf and Wescott, *History of Philadelphia, I*, 462; "No. of Dwelling Houses," Box 72 Uncatalogued Dateless, Gallatin Papers, MSS, NYHS, as cited in INDE note card file. Because PA was in debt, construction didn't get underway until 1792. *PG* May 16, 1792; William Birch illustrated the President's mansion in his *The City of Philadelphia...as it appeared in the Year 1800*. For a facsimile of this publication, *Birch's Views of Philadelphia With Photographs of the Sites in 1960 & 1982* by S. Robert Teitelman (Philadelphia, 1983), Plate 13, House for the President. The University of Pennsylvania finally purchased the house for the president in 1800 and in 1805 a medical school was designed and built adjoining. Edwin Wolf 2nd, *Philadelphia Portrait of An American City*, (Harrisburg, 1975), 128.

<sup>178</sup> Theodore Sedgwick wrote home to his wife, Nov. 6, 1791, "Since I have been here last spring great improvements have been made in building, I should imagine from the appearance not less than 500 houses have been erected the last season..." Sedgwick Papers, MHS, as given in INDE note card; Philadelphia City Directory 1804, APS, 8, as cited in note card file, INDE; Today many of Sansom's large and orderly townhouses of 1799-1800 still stand west of Seventh Street, on Walnut Street and the street given his name. Richard Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved Catalog of the Historic American Buildings Survey* (Philadelphia, 1976), 53; Wolf, *Philadelphia*, 129.

Imagine the hammering everywhere as Congress opened in December 1790. Just yards away from their sessions, a new City Hall was under construction at the Fifth Street end of the State House row. This building, completed in 1791, fulfilled the master plan for the State House Square. For the remaining years of the decade three levels of government, city, state and federal, worked together on the square in a crowded, often tense, political and legal environment. These politicians, judges, attorneys and officers, also socialized together, often on the adjoining block north, in the company of the president of the United States.

### 190 High Street: The Executive Mansion for Presidents Washington and Adams

President Washington accepted the state's choice of his friend Robert Morris' house as the Executive Mansion, on the condition he could make additions and changes for the accommodation of his household. Once completed, the Washington family moved into the house and Robert Morris moved next door, to the former Governor's Mansion, which he now owned. President Washington made it his business to invite local and national leaders twice weekly (Tuesdays and Thursdays) for state dinners and levees. Such gatherings provided an opportunity for the nation's leaders to exchange personal or political views in a social but stately milieu.<sup>179</sup> Martha Washington hosted more informal levees on Friday nights.<sup>180</sup>

Besides these regular gatherings, Washington made it his policy to entertain visiting Native American chiefs to promote peace on the frontier. He hosted these tribal entourages and presented them with gifts of clothing, silver medals and gorgets. In 1791, with pressure on the frontier mounting, the great Seneca leader, Cornplanter, and several other chiefs came to town to discuss peaceful relations. The next year, the Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant came "quite alone" to the capital where during his weeklong visit, he dined at the President's, as well as at Governor Mifflin's summer home. The federal government put him up at the fashionable City Tavern and presented him with a pair of pistols, clothing, and a tomahawk. That same year Robert Morris watched as forty-nine Chiefs and Sachems of the Six Nations led by Red Jacket marched in review past his and Washington's door. The delegation, he learned, would stay a fortnight or longer. This visit, he assumed, would secure the neutrality of these nations. On another occasion in 1796, Little Turtle, chief of the Miami, and about fifty chiefs from several southern tribes came to town, when "The President dined four sets of Indians on four several days the last week."<sup>181</sup>

<sup>179</sup> Washington's formal levees with local politicians aroused sharp criticism in some circles where they were labeled "certainly anti-republican." <sup>179</sup> Senator Maclay as quoted in Leonard D. White, *The Federalists A Study of Administrative History*, (New York, 1961), 108.

<sup>180</sup> Historic Structures Report Part II on Old City Hall," Independence National Historical Park, February 1961; For information on Washington's modifications and use of the house, see Harold Donalson Eberlein, "190 High Street, (Market Street below Sixth) The Home of Washington and Adams, 1790-1800," *Historic Philadelphia*, 166-174.

<sup>181</sup> Francis Paul Prucha, S.J. "History of the United States Presidential Medal Series," *Medals of the United States Mint* (Washington, D.C., 1972), 286; Cornelius Vermeule, *Numismatic Art in America* (Cambridge, 1971), 17; Martha Gandy Fales, *Joseph Richardson and Family Philadelphia Silversmiths* (Middletown, 1974), 159-162; Harrold E. Gillingham, "Indian Silver Ornaments, *PMHG* 58 (1934), 97-126; Wolf, *Philadelphia*, 105; Gerhard H. Clarfield, *Timothy Pickering and American Diplomacy 1795-1800* (Columbia, MO, 1988), 131; Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia*, 3, 365; Brant quote in Wm. Irvine to Anthony Wayne, 5 July 1792, Irvine Papers, I, Draper Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, as cited by INDE note card file. In 1797 the *Connecticut Courant* (Mar, 6) called Brandt "the famous Mohawk Chief"; "Captain Brandt in Philadelphia, 1792, Account No. 3232, Miscellaneous Treasury Records of the General



Washington took his role as president with great seriousness. As the first American in the executive role, he set the precedent by fashioning the office with the respect and integrity he thought it was due. Among his many duties, he intended to encourage national progress. As Henry Wansey, an English visitor to the capital in 1794, reported every person who felt he had an invention or bright idea for the national good came to the president's door to get his official support. When Wansey dropped in one morning with a letter of introduction, the president invited him to breakfast. He joined Martha and George and their two young grandchildren, Nelly and George Custis. Together they observed another guest demonstrate his model for an invention to improve canals—a subject Washington long had been keenly interested in to advance transportation westward. Wansey, too, caught Washington's attention, with his expertise in wool production. Washington listened carefully to Wansey's observations on American sheep herds and appreciated the gift publication on wool manufacturing that Wansey had authored.<sup>182</sup>

For his part, Wansey confessed he was "struck with awe and veneration" in the company of the "GREAT WASHINGTON, the noble and wise benefactor of the world!"<sup>183</sup> Wansey's expressed respect for the president was not unusual. Jacob Hiltzheimer, a state legislator, confided to his diary after dining at the president's in 1791, "I cannot help remarking that President Washington is an unassuming, easy and sociable man, beloved by every person." Two years later, when he again dined at Washington's, he remarked, "I cannot resist recording the President's familiarity and sociability to all present."<sup>184</sup>

Part of Wansey's favorable impression stemmed from his admiration of Washington's lifestyle. Martha dressed "very plain" and instead of servants, she prepared the tea and coffee. He remarked that only one servant, who didn't wear livery, stood by to assist. What Wansey did not realize was that behind the scenes the household included two secretaries (usually a nephew or close family relative) for the president and some twenty servants, both white and black, some of whom were very difficult to supervise. Generally he brought only five slaves from Mount Vernon because of the ease runaways had to find asylum in Philadelphia, with its sympathetic Quakers and the 1780 Gradual Abolition Act. During the first administration Mr. and Mrs. Hyde, the steward and his wife, lived in the house along with the President's secretary, Tobias Lear, and his wife, Polly. The latter couple brought their infant boy, as well, who captivated the Washingtons' hearts, but in

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Accounting Office 1790-1814, as cited by INDE note card file; Robert Morris to Charles Williamson, Mar. 14, 1792, Chas. Williamson Coll., Rochester Public Library, as cited in INDE note card file; Stephen Decatur, Jr., *Private Affairs of George Washington, From the Records and Accounts of Tobias Lear, Esquire, his Secretary* (Boston, 1833), 326; Henry Lewis Carter, *The Life and Times of Little Turtle First Sagamore of the Wabash* (Urbana and Chicago, 1987), 158, notes that Washington gave Little Turtle a ceremonial sword which was buried with him. Miller, *Peale*, 2, 160; 1796 dinners described in letter from John Adams to wife, Abigail, as quoted in White, *The Federalists*, 108, ft. nt. 32.

<sup>182</sup> Eleanor Parke Custis (born 1779) and George Washington Parke Custis (born 1781) were raised and adopted by the Washingtons and both lived the seven presidential years with their grandparents in Philadelphia. William M.S. Rasmussen and Robert S. Tilton, *George Washington The Man Behind The Myths* (Charlottesville, 1999), 178; David John Jeremy, Editor, *Henry Wansey and His American Journal 1794* (Philadelphia, 1970), 99.

<sup>183</sup> Jeremy, ed. *Wansey*, 99. Wansey here noted that he was quoting the words of the just-deceased Count Mirabeau, his former general.

<sup>184</sup> Jeremy, ed., *Wansey*, 100; Parsons, ed., Hiltzheimer, 171, 193.

1793, Polly suddenly died and Lear sent the child home to New Hampshire, to his mother.<sup>185</sup>

Simplicity in manner did not mean Washington went without appropriate finery befitting his office. The president rode a white steed with leopard skin housing and saddlecloth with gold binding or paraded in a fine cream colored carriage pulled by six of the dozen or more horses he kept in the Morris stables. He took particular care to order for the first White House additional sets of silver. A 1797 inventory of his purchases as president listed more than twelve dozen silver spoons, urns for punch, tea and coffee and large plaited waiters for serving it, all of the "best workmanship," to supplement his own service. Plaited silver (a relatively new and economical process) appealed to Washington, so he specified in his order for stylish Argand lamps that they be coated. All the while, he insisted on the "less costly," or the "plain and neat" over the "folies of luxury and ostentation." He aimed for dignity without extravagance, "For extravagance," he explained to the dealer, "would not comport with my own inclination, nor with the example which ought to be set."<sup>186</sup>

That year, 1793, the local politics heated to violence, embroiling the president in public controversy and apparent danger. News arrived of the escalating French Revolution. King Louis XVI and his wife, Marie Antoinette, had been arrested, then guillotined. France declared war on their ancient enemy England and soon most of Europe had taken sides. The French Republic sent its first French Minister to the United States, Edmond Charles Genet, to press the United States to honor their old alliance and join the war.<sup>187</sup> England at the same time wanted to secure our alliance.

Pressure mounted so that in July Washington was called to the capital from Mount Vernon, when he found the situation critical. He soon felt "very much perplexed with the disputes, memorials, and what not, with which the government were pestered by one or the other of the petulant representatives of the powers at war," leaving him more than ever overwhelmed.<sup>188</sup> Washington realized the danger to the nation and proclaimed the United States neutral. But France had won many passionate supporters in America who were ready to go to war. Genet arrived in Philadelphia in May with a hero's welcome. By summer tempers had been stirred by his outspoken politicking among local Republicans and his comments to the press. In August a mob gathered before President Washington's door to protest the neutrality policy. As John Adams later vividly reminisced with Thomas Jefferson, the president was at harms way:

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<sup>185</sup> Eberlein, "190 High," 167; "190 High Street," typescript, Works Progress Administration, 1937 and 1938, at APS. This report cites only 18 servants, 7 of them black, and is based on Stephen Decatur, Jr. *Private Affairs of George Washington*, (1933), 151-152; Washington at least twice took action to discipline wayward servants. He put his "disorderly Servant," Wilhelmina Tyser, in jail for 5 or 6 days and specified she be kept "at hard labour" in July 1794 and Martin Cline went the next month to jail at the president's orders for being "frequently Drunk, neglecting his duty, and otherwise misbehaving." R.S. Rowe and Billy G. Smith, "Prisoners: the Prisoners for Trial Docket and the Vagrancy Docket," in Billy G. Smith, ed., *Life in Early Philadelphia Documents from the Revolutionary and Early National Periods* (University Park, 1995), 84.

<sup>186</sup> Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington A Biography, 7 Volumes, 6, Patriot and President* (New York, 1954), 226; Oberholtzer, *History of Philadelphia, 1*, 340; as quoted in Rasmussen and Tilton, *George Washington*, 227-228.

<sup>187</sup> For a biographical essay on Genet, see John Catanzariti, John, Editor, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Volume 26, 11 May to 31 August 1793*. (Princeton: 1955), 46-7.

<sup>188</sup> Washington to Henry Lee, July 21, 1793, as quoted in William Spohn Baker, *Washington After the Revolution MDCCLXXXIV-MDCCXCIX* (Philadelphia, 1908), 261.

You certainly never felt the Terrorism, excited by Genet, in 1793, when ten thousand People in the Streets of Philadelphia, day after day, threatened to drag Washington out of his House and effect a Revolution in the Government, or compell it to declare War in favour of the French Revolution, and against England. The coolest and the firmest Minds, even among the Quakers in Philadelphia, have given their Opinions to me, that nothing but the Yellow Fever... could have saved the United States from a total Revolution of Government.<sup>189</sup>

Yellow fever may have rescued Washington in this case, but for most people who came in contact with the virus, they found it deadly. "The condition of this town ... is truly alarming," wrote Tench Coxe's clerk on September 9<sup>th</sup>, explaining that "The prevalent disease" proved "fatal in almost every instance." Written nearly two weeks after the alarm and panic had set in, almost half the city had fled. President Washington characteristically remained at 190 High Street, reluctant to set a bad example and encourage hysterical behavior. He, like the city's doctors and general public, had no clear idea of the epidemic's cause, or whether it was contagious. Yellow fever had not been in the city for over 30 years, so the doctors misdiagnosed the symptoms, sometimes calling it flu or other illnesses typical of the summer season. Perhaps the president's location on the western end of town, which was typically thought to be airy and healthful, gave Washington a sense of greater protection from the epidemic. The lingering sadness over Polly Lear's sudden, unexplained death on July 28<sup>th</sup>, however, may have led the family to wonder whether she had contracted yellow fever. (Had she visited the waterfront Polly may have been bitten by the *Aedis aegypti* mosquito that carries the virus. Trading ships from the West Indies, where yellow fever had been rampant over the summer, brought the infected mosquitoes to town.)<sup>190</sup>

Washington finally consented to leave town earlier than intended at Martha's imploring. She would not go without him, and he was anxious to see his family safe. They set out for Mount Vernon on September 10<sup>th</sup>, when nearly all the city and state offices had already closed. Only the Mayor, his committee of volunteers, including men and women from the Free African Society who took on the most dangerous jobs, burying the dead and nursing the sick, remained to struggle with the crisis. Those who remained lived in fear. The nasty public debate among the city's eminent doctors as to the cause and treatment for yellow fever left them anxious. People avoided walking the streets, and kept away from each other, even on occasion abandoning their sick. Opposite Congress Hall, Samuel Bengel, (the upholsterer who

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<sup>189</sup> Adams to Jefferson, June 30, 1813, Lester J. Cappon, *The Adams-Jefferson Letters The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams, Two Volumes, II*, (Chapel Hill, 1959), 346-7. This year, 1793, has been written about at length in many histories, due to the complexity of the yellow fever, the French Revolution and European war, the dangers on the frontier, and the internal enmity within Washington's cabinet. A recent history focused on the period: Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York, 1993), covers the impact of this turbulent year in a chapter, "The French Revolution in America," 303-373.

<sup>190</sup> As quoted in Jacob E. Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic*, (Chapel Hill, 1978), 252; John Harvey Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793* (Philadelphia, 1949, 1993) is perhaps the best general account of the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia. J. Worth Estes and Billy G. Smith, Editors, *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic* (Philadelphia, 1997), 7 discusses the disease and its morbidity and the fact that still there is no cure. *Ibid.*, 13, describes the sharply divided medical community.

had just that February completed some work for President Washington),<sup>191</sup> stayed to supervise the removal of the dead to the Stranger's burial ground (where the city's poor and church unaffiliated went) another block away, in today's Washington Square. During September and October the death toll sometimes reached 100 dead a day. When cold weather finally killed off the mosquitoes and ended the epidemic, 1,334 of more than 4000 yellow fever victims had been buried there, some in long trenches dug hurriedly to dispose of the contaminated corpses.<sup>192</sup>

This was but the first of several outbreaks of yellow fever during the decade. Congress and the President returned that fall to Germantown until the city finally was declared safe in late November.<sup>193</sup> Although the outbreaks in 1797 and 1798 killed thousands more, the residents gradually learned techniques to protect their population. Even the first year, remedial steps seem to have been almost instinctively carried out. "The town looks beautifully clean," Tench Coxe reported in early November. As early as October 2 Mayor Clarkson had ordered the streets regularly cleaned. Jacob Hiltzheimer supervised a daily wetting down on his street, and concluded that it "must make it healthier." Soon planning got underway to build new sewers and a water works to pipe clean water into the city and many of the old pits for brickmaking were filled in to reduce what some in the medical profession thought were toxic fumes emanating from rotting vegetable matter. Tent camps were set up on the banks of the Schulykill River for the city's poor at the first signs of epidemic. Even as this campaign continued, the federal and state legislators began to anticipate another, more reliable place for their capital.<sup>194</sup>

President Washington struggled with other immediate concerns, including the deepening disagreements and personal animosities within his cabinet who met regularly at 190 High Street. By 1793 Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton had polarized into the leaders of two intense political parties, the Democratic-Republicans and the Federalists. Each grew convinced the other would subvert the new nation, either by denying individual rights and succumbing to the British example or by subjecting the fragile experiment to volatile and violent French influence. This bitter and suspicious environment within Washington's administration was mirrored publicly in the press. Jefferson and his party leader in Congress, James Madison, hired and subsidized the former Revolutionary War poet, Philip Freneau, "with his sharp wit and acid pen," to edit the

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<sup>191</sup> Feb. 7, 1793, "Washington's Household Account Book, 1793-1797," *PMHB* 31 (1907), 334.

<sup>192</sup> Sept. 19, and Oct. 1, 2, 1793, Jacob Hiltzheimer Diary, MSS, APS. The Oct. 1 date notes the opening of a new burial ground "on the public square between Race and Vine" on the far end of town; Mathew Carey, *Account of the Malignant Fever Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia: ... Third Edition, Improved* (Philadelphia, November 30, 1793), end tables give a break down of deaths and burials by location.

<sup>193</sup> The Washingtons stayed at the Deshler-Morris house, (now so named), today a unit of Independence National Historical Park. The following year they again took the house. Anna Coxe Toogood, "Historic Structure/Furnishings/Grounds Report, Deshler-Morris, Brighthurst House, Historical Data Section, Independence National Historical Park," (Denver Service Center, 1990), 32-45.

<sup>194</sup> Nathan G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush Physician and Citizen 1746-1813*, (Philadelphia, 1934), 202-209, 222-5; Coxe to John Adams, Nov. 11, 3, 6, 1793, as quoted in Cooke, *Tench Coxe*, 252; Parsons, ed., *Hiltzheimer, 196*; Scharf and Wescott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1, 495, ft. nt. 1; Martin S. Pernick, "Politics, Parties, and Pestilence: Epidemic Yellow Fever in Philadelphia and the Rise of the First Party System," *W&MQ* 29 (1972), 566 ff, deals with the theories on what caused the epidemic and measures taken to prevent future outbreaks.

Republican mouthpiece, the *National Gazette*, while Hamilton gave staunch support to John Fenno's the *United States Gazette*.<sup>195</sup>

Washington had hoped that the new government would not divide into parties, but when it so readily did, he worked to find a balance and consensus. By 1793, however, the antagonisms led Jefferson to submit his resignation and Hamilton followed suit soon after. Washington's next dilemma was to find competent replacements, not an easy task, as several candidates turned him down. The president himself longed to retire to Mount Vernon, but the pressure from his advisors to continue for a second term finally made him consent, out of his strong sense of duty.<sup>196</sup> The second term in office perhaps caused him even greater stress, as the vituperations within the cabinet continued and the national and international politics fomented heated debates and public demonstrations. The complicated and often disputed issues of the Whiskey Rebellion in Western Pennsylvania, Jay's Treaty with the British, the treaty with Spain over the right to trade on the Mississippi River, the Army's mission to subdue the Indians on the frontier and the captivity of American seamen by the Barbary States, all weighed heavily on his mind. So did the capital named after him, which remained "little but a sea of mud and vacant lots," despite his concerted effort to instill progress in his appointed commissioners in charge of the construction.<sup>197</sup> As his final years in office unfolded, the Republican press, which now included the *Aurora*, lambasted the president, who subscribed to all the major newspapers to keep himself informed. Washington's carefully controlled demeanor fell aside during at least one of the cabinet meetings at 190 High Street, when he exposed his rage over one of the insulting articles.<sup>198</sup>

Washington, like Congress, usually went home during the recesses, giving him some relief from this stressful life.<sup>199</sup> Wherever the president went, however, troubles followed, as the voluminous correspondence he sent out from 190 High Street indicates. New dentures had to be ordered in 1797 when Washington told the manufacturer that the two sets he owned were "both uneasy in the mouth and bulge my lips out in such a manner as to make them appear considerably swelled."<sup>200</sup> His absence from Mount Vernon distressed him, as he watched his farms suffer under

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<sup>195</sup> The political scene is oversimplified for this report, but is covered in depth in many published sources on this decade, among them, Eugene R. Sheridan, "Thomas Jefferson and the Giles Resolutions," *W&MQ* 49 (1992), 589-608; quote describing Freneau from Philip S. Foner, Editor, *The Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800* (Westport CT, 1976), 3; Nathan Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1946), 299.

<sup>196</sup> For strong urgings from Thomas Jefferson, May 28, 1792, Alexander Hamilton, July 30, 1792, and from Randolph on Aug. 5, 1792, see Baker, *Washington After The Revolution*, 241-242.

<sup>197</sup> As quoted in William C. Di Giacomantonio, "All the President's Men, George Washington's Federal City Commissioners," *Washington History* 3 (1991), 52-75.

<sup>198</sup> Benjamin Rush in a letter to John Adams, June 4, 1812, tells an anecdote given him by Jefferson who claimed he "once saw him [Washington] throw the *Aurora* hastily upon the floor with a 'dam' of the author..." Butterfield, *Letters of Rush*, 2, 1139. Irving Brant described a cabinet battle, when Edmund Randolph, Jefferson's replacement as Secretary of State, was accused of accepting a treasonable bribe from France. "Randolph's misfortune" was to "have against him two of the most malevolent men who ever decorated a presidential Cabinet—Timothy Pickering and Oliver Wolcott." Brant, "Edmund Randolph, Not Guilty!" *W&MQ* 7 (1950), 180. Benjamin Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, published the *Aurora*. Bache on one occasion wrote of Washington's "Vituperous drivel." *Aurora* Mar. 5, 1797.

<sup>199</sup> For an abbreviated version of his daily schedule as president, see Baker, *Washington After the Revolution*.

<sup>200</sup> As quoted in Ellen G. Miles, *George and Martha Washington Portraits from the Presidential Years* (Washington, 1999), 44.

poor supervision.<sup>201</sup> Family problems plagued him as his brothers and sisters died, leaving many young dependents who needed his attention and financial support. Martha's three siblings provided seven more children, so that between them there were 24 nephews and nieces. Added to that were Martha's four grandchildren from her first marriage, two of whom, Eleanor (Nelly) Parke and George Washington (Wash) Parke Custis, the Washingtons adopted as infants. He grew resigned to the family deaths as well as the responsibility, and found solace in the new family circles. The Washington household usually included several children who absorbed Martha's attention and brightened both their worlds, when they weren't disappointing them in some inappropriate behavior.<sup>202</sup>

In Philadelphia Washington saw to the education of Nelly and George and took his little family to concerts, to plays at the new Chestnut Street Theater, to Peale's museum on the State House Square, and to some of the gala affairs that the city's social elite so enthusiastically enjoyed. The family turned out on March 8, 1797 for the grand dinner in Washington's honor held at Rickett's Circus across Sixth Street from Congress Hall. Two hundred and forty guests paid their respects and a few days later the Washingtons were on the road for Mount Vernon. Washington had reluctantly accepted a second term in 1793, but in 1796 had firmly refused to serve a third. He knew it was "indispensably necessary" to be out of the "serious anxiety" the office created and was determined to enjoy his final years in private life.<sup>203</sup> His public career had finally come to a close and the aging couple soon were to "feel like children just released from school or from a hard taskmaster," as Martha put it to her old friend Lucy Knox. Vouching for both of them, she continued, "nothing can tempt us to leave the sacred roof-tree again, except on private business or pleasure."<sup>204</sup>

President Washington's successor, President John Adams, moved into 190 High Street with little furniture and no Abigail. She remained home in Braintree to complete the arrangements for their absence. President Adams felt acutely his aloneness. He had endured Washington's Farewell Address where tears flowed freely for the departing first president. For his own inauguration he experienced anxiety and worries over his reception. He agonized over the disparity between his and Washington's pocket book and the inflated prices in the national capital, knowing full well that on his salary he could not afford the luxuries, the servants, the finery that Washington had established as the image of the executive.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Washington wrote 116 letters to his manager at Mount Vernon between October 1793 and January 1797. Baker, *Washington After the Revolution*, 274. Shortly after retirement Washington lamented, "an eight years absence from home ... had so deranged my private affairs; had so despoiled my buildings; and in a word, had thrown my domestic concerns into such disorder, as at no period of my life have I been more engaged than in the last six months, to recover and put them in some tolerable train again." Washington to Reverend William Gordon, Oct. 15, 1797, Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of Washington*, 36, 49.

<sup>202</sup> John E. Ferling, *The First of Men A life of George Washington* (Knoxville, 1988), 355; Miriam Anne Bourne, *First Family George Washington and His Intimate Relations* (New York, 1982), 139-173.

<sup>203</sup> As quoted in. Ferling, *George Washington*, 466.

<sup>204</sup> Martha to Lucy Flucker Knox, n.d., Joseph E. Fields, compiler, "Worthy Partner" *The Papers of Martha Washington* (Westport, CT, 1999), 303.

<sup>205</sup> Page Smith, *John Adams, Two Volumes, 2, 1784-1826* (Garden City, NY, 1962), 915-6, 919, 928, 929, 937. Adams always showed irritation at the adoration for Washington. Niemcewicz recorded that he publically refused to attend the ball honoring Washington's birthday in February 1798, even sending the managers a "ill-tempered note." Niemcewicz concluded that such a display showed him to be "a little man,

Such jitters and resentments soon were replaced by others, as President Adams felt the full impact of his official responsibilities. Just weeks after taking office, when agitated by troubles on the domestic and diplomatic front, he wrote Abigail to come, regardless of the situation at Braintree. "I care nothing about it," he told her, "But you I must and will have." He "wanted her advice and assistance" more than ever, for, he assured her, "I can do nothing without you." Abigail was needed to manage the executive mansion, which he found in a shambles, furnished only with a few items bought with public funds and in a deplorable condition. "There is not a chair fit to sit in," he told her, and the "beds and bedding are in a woeful pickle." Evidently the servants, in the absence of any supervision after the Washingtons vacated, had made merry in the house in the "most scandalous drunkenness and disorder...ever heard of." Abigail, his life partner and soothing consultant, joined him in Philadelphia the ninth of May, and the two established their own pattern of official entertainments and social appearances, and he, his own system of meeting with the officers and Congressmen.<sup>206</sup>

Abigail Adams had faced the move to Philadelphia in 1790 with despondency. "I feel low-spirited and heartless," she told her sister. She dreaded having to go "among a new set of company, to form new acquaintances, to make and receive a hundred ceremonious visits," the routine for high office.<sup>207</sup> The years in Philadelphia during Washington's presidency, however, had eased her anxiety, although family and domestic problems still plagued her and John. The Adamses had four adult children by the time of John's presidency, Abigail or Nabby, 32, John Quincy, 30, Charles, 27, and Thomas Boyton, 25. Much had been expected of the children by their parents. As Adams had told the oldest son, John Quincy, "You come into life with advantages which will disgrace you if your success is mediocre. And if you do not rise to the head not only of your Profession, but of your country, it will be owing to your own Laziness, Slovenliness, and Obstinacy."<sup>208</sup> The two younger sons struggled with this mantle, both turning to alcohol to relieve their stress. Thomas finally managed to escape to Europe as secretary to his brother, John Quincy, ambassador to Holland, and then to set up a law practice in Philadelphia. Charles, however, deteriorated emotionally, despite having married his sister-in-law, Sally Smith, who delivered their beautiful baby daughter, Susan. Adams offered little sympathy, seeing Charles as "possessed by the Devil," and Charles finally died of drink on December 1, 1800, at the close of Adams' presidency. His death caused great grief, but also relief and mortification for the proud Adams family. Though grieving was a private matter, Adams admitted to Jefferson that his loss posed "the deepest affliction of my life."<sup>209</sup>

Daughter Nabby also worried her parents. She had married an unreliable man, William Stevens Smith, who frequently left her alone, and at times desperate,

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envious, and quick tempered." *Under Their Vine*, 44. Adams even felt irked by the outpouring of grief expressed at Washington's death in December 1799. Smith, *Adams 2*, 1021.

<sup>206</sup> As quoted in Smith, *Adams 2*, 923, 925 and 927; Eberlein, "190 High," *Historic Philadelphia*, 176 gives details of Tobias Lear's frustrating effort to ready the house for Adams.

<sup>207</sup> As quoted in Smith, *Adams 2*, 807.

<sup>208</sup> As quoted in Paul C. Nagel, *Descent from Glory Four Generations of the John Adams Family* (New York, 1983), cover; Smith, *Adams 2*, 808.

<sup>209</sup> As quoted in Nagel, *Adams 2*, 59, 79; 31, 45, 52, 57-61, 79-80, 128. Adams to Jefferson, Mar. 24, 1801, Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, 264; Page, *Adams 2*, 808-10; Lynne Withey, *Dearest Friend A Life of Abigail Adams* (New York, 1981), 262.

with their three small children. Johnny, her infant second son, had gone with his grandparents to Philadelphia in 1790 during Adams' service as vice-president, where he had delighted and relaxed the typically uptight John Adams. Abigail stopped at Nabby's in Eastchester, near New York City, on her way to Philadelphia in April 1797. She found Nabby typically sad and distracted, but unwilling to discuss her husband's absence. Abigail fretted that Nabby lived in such a lonely, isolated spot and that her children were "prey to grief and misfortune."<sup>210</sup>

After her arrival in Philadelphia in May 1797, the Adams family settled into a comfortable routine at 190 High Street. The household now included Louisa Smith, Abigail's niece, (daughter of her deceased brother), who proved to be a comfort and help during the trying presidential years. In November Abigail collected Nabby and her young daughter, Caroline, in New York and took them with her to Philadelphia to relieve their isolation (William Smith once more had disappeared). The Adams family also continued with their faithful housekeepers, John and Esther Briesler, and their young children. From her previous seven years in Philadelphia Abigail had formed close friendships with several other families, among them, the Washingtons. She grew close to Eliza Powel, (also one of George Washington's favorites), as well as Samuel Otis' wife, and Mrs. John Allen and her three daughters.<sup>211</sup> The regular Tuesday-Thursday levees established by Washington, the Adamses continued, often feeding from 30 to 40 politicians or statesmen at a sitting. Another Washington tradition-- the Fourth of July open house-- caused Abigail considerable anxiety. They had heard that these events customarily had cost Washington \$500. Invitees included all of Congress, the leading families of the city, the governor, and the Philadelphia Light Horse militia officers and men, who sat at tables inside and out in the yard, to enjoy over 200 pounds of cake served with wine and rum. When she survived her first Fourth of July with "much more ease" than expected, Abigail felt fortified for future occasions.<sup>212</sup>

John Adams took office during a political crisis that boded war with France. Washington at the close of his term had recalled James Monroe from Paris because of his blatantly Francophile diplomacy, even counteracting his government's orders. Monroe, Adams scoffed, had created "a school for scandal against his country." It was Adams' job to replace him, one that troubled the new president. The Federalist ranks had been thinning through retirement and the country stood bitterly divided over foreign policy, whether to go with British or French influence. To Adams it was clear enough. The French Revolution, with its bloody news and revolving governments, all in the name of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," repelled him. The British posed far less a threat to the national security than the ferocious revolutionaries in France. Nonetheless, Adams, with some hesitation, offered the post as minister in France to James Madison, the recently retired leader of the Republican Party in the House. When Madison declined, he asked Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina, who accepted. Within weeks of his inauguration Adams received news that the Directory in France not only had not received Pinckney, he had been insulted and ordered out of the country. Moreover, French frigates had seized American ships in the West Indies.<sup>213</sup>

<sup>210</sup> Smith, *Adams* 2, 928, and quote, 944.

<sup>211</sup> Smith, *Adams*, 2, 944; Smith, *Adams*, 1, 593-4, explains that the Brieslers joined the family right after the war, Esther as the nurse for Nabby's son, and John as an assistant for the family. They married in London while John Adams served as ambassador, 2, 761; 769, 809, 813, 821, 838, 923; Eberlein, "190 High," 177.

<sup>212</sup> As quoted in Smith, *Adams*, 2, 939 and 938; for Abigail's daily routine, Eberlein, "190 High," 177.

<sup>213</sup> As quoted in Smith, *Adams*, 2, 913; 912, 921, 923-4.



Adams met the crisis by requesting his Cabinet's opinion on the best policy to follow and calling a special session of Congress for May 15 to ask their approval for negotiations with France. His Cabinet members all agreed that negotiations and military preparations for war were both in order. Locating appropriate commissioners to France, however, bogged down with refusals from vice-president, Thomas Jefferson and, again, Madison. On May 15 President Adams delivered a bombshell on the reconvened Congress when he exhorted them "to convince France and the world that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and a sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence." He pressed the House to find the resources to strengthen the navy and militia for the "natural and safe defense of the country."<sup>214</sup>

Congress responded with staunch patriotic support and voted to send Adams' delegation of John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry to join Pinckney for negotiations. In addition, the members passed bills to build twelve new frigates for the navy and to strengthen coastal fortifications. At the same time, Adams was dealing with a proposal to ratify a treaty with the Barbary pirates, while British ships impressed American seamen, and the Spanish refused to honor the 1795 Pinckney treaty which called for vacating their forts on the Southern frontier. President Adams also found himself besieged by petitions from needy citizens looking for government appointments, and in June by the public scandal created by Senator Blount of North Carolina, who got caught red-handed plotting with the British to invade Spanish territory in the southwest. The president's desk piled high and his eyes grew weary. At 190 High he held frequent meetings with his heads of state and burned the midnight oil writing letters and proposals to Congress. The Presidential family returned to Quincy for the summer months and remained into November. At their return to Philadelphia after the long absence, Adams continued to have the support of the public, although Bache's *Aurora* daily printed insults dubbing the president and his wife Darby and Joan after a country couple depicted in a popular Yorkshire ballad.<sup>215</sup>

News arrived from France of Napoleon Bonaparte's military campaigns that brought Francis II of Austria to the peace table and threatened a massive invasion on England. Moreover the peace commissioners in France had not been received. Tempers ran high in Congress, too, where a fisty-cuff between two members, Mathew Lyon and Roger Griswold, derailed debate on several bills. Adams got worn down over his effort to move the members to pass needed legislation. Abigail admitted to a friend that the both of them were "sick, sick, sick of public life." Finally in March 1798 word came from France and it was not good. War loomed. French agents, anonymously named simply X, Y and Z, had demanded bribes before negotiations could begin. France also wanted President Adams' apology and a loan of \$12 million.<sup>216</sup>

The so-called X, Y, Z Affair aroused the nation and turned the strong tide that had been building in favor of the French. In May some 1200 young men delivered an address to the President at 190 High. Huge crowds gathered to witness this touching show of support. Abigail recorded that "in great order and decorum" the young men "marched through the multitude," each wearing a black cockade. Adams, dressed in

<sup>214</sup> As quoted in Smith, *Adams*, 2, 930; 928.

<sup>215</sup> Smith, *Adams*, 2, 935-6, 931-2, 939, 940, 947.

<sup>216</sup> As quoted in Smith, *Adams*, 2, 952; 947.

his uniform, greeted them in the Levee Room and gave his reply, after which the young men departed to three cheers from the crowd. Later, at midnight, they returned "drunk with wine," and woke the Adams with a serenade at the president's windows. Following this, another demonstration in the State House Yard turned violent when a small group of Republican youth sporting the tricolor cockade came to blows with the young black cockaders and were hauled off to the Walnut Street jail. As a precaution, the light horse was called out to patrol the streets and a guard was posted before the Executive Mansion.<sup>217</sup>

Adams managed to avoid war by sending a special envoy to France. At the same time, he had to cope with a national fever to prepare for war. Adams appointed Washington Lieutenant General and Commander-in-Chief. Ever mindful to his nation's security, Washington returned to Philadelphia in November to plan the military buildup and Congress passed a federal direct tax to finance it. Resistance to the tax in Northampton County prompted Adams to call out troops. Fries Rebellion, so called, vaporized without any violence, but John Fries was convicted of treason in the courtroom at the State House Square and sentenced to be hanged. A petition to pardon him came to the President's desk, moving him to study the case with his legal expertise, trying to reason in favor. Partisan emotions and scheming continued. Only two of Adams' Cabinet, Charles Lee and Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddert supported him in his plan for a peace mission. The press war escalated to the point that Congress, led by the Federalist majority, passed the Alien and Sedition Acts in June and July 1798, a measure that Abigail heartily supported, but the Republicans found alarming. British impressment of American seamen continued to worry the president. The controversial policy with France, the Federalist legislation and the dangerous movement towards a standing army—traditionally loathed on American soil—led Federalists and Republicans alike to launch a campaign against Adams' reelection.<sup>218</sup>

The intensity and complexity of these national concerns wore the president down. When Congress adjourned, usually in the spring, he wasted no time in packing to head for Quincy with Abigail, regardless of strong advice and complaints that he was needed in the volatile capital. Adams refused to give into these arguments. His four-month residence at Braintree in 1799 and 1800 restored his health and helped to calm him and give him the perspective needed for these trying times. Mindful of his duties, however, he kept up a stream of correspondence from his peaceful country home, surrounded by his family and longtime neighbors. Abigail, frequently plagued with rheumatism and with fragile health, didn't always join her husband in Philadelphia. Both felt this separation acutely, but Adams always was willing to endure it, rather than risk the life of his beloved. Daughter Louisa (Smith) filled in as hostess in her absence and Adams brought his nephew Billy (William) Shaw, son of Abigail's sister, Elizabeth, to Philadelphia in 1798-99 to serve as his secretary. Billy helped to keep Abigail informed, when the president sank too deeply into the morass of official duties.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> As quoted in Smith, *Adams*, 2, 965; Niemcewicz, *Under Their Vine*, 67, dates this as May 6 [1798]; Parsons, ed., *Hiltzheimer*, 252 dates the fight as May 9; Withey, *Abigail Adams*, 255.

<sup>218</sup> Smith, *Adams*, 2, 974, 986, 1004, 1006-7, 1011, 1015; Withey, *Abigail Adams*, 257.

<sup>219</sup> Smith, *Adams*, 2, 986, 1005, 1014, 1038. In 1798 Congress didn't adjourn until August, when the first family finally got out of town, just before yellow fever forced the government to move to Trenton. Abigail did not return with the president in November because of her health. Withey, *Abigail Adams*, 258, 262;

Moody and prone to swings between despondency and euphoria, President Adams remained determined to carve his own path through the political jungle. He was well aware that Pickering, Wolcott and McHenry in his own Cabinet placed their loyalty with the retired Federalist leader, Alexander Hamilton. Finally disgusted by the backstage treacheries, he fired Timothy Pickering and James McHenry in May 1800, in his last year in Philadelphia. The public embarrassment and alarm over this rupture in government helped to fuel his enemies' argument to elect a new president. Hamilton gave the most telling blow to Adams' reelection with his publication of a pamphlet expressing a damning opinion about Adams' presidency and personality. John and Abigail departed Philadelphia in May 1800 deeply aware of the public mood. It left the president acutely irritable. They both journeyed to the new federal capital in Washington, D.C. the following fall where they awaited Adams' fate in the new and unfinished executive mansion. It was not long before they received news of Thomas Jefferson's election.<sup>220</sup>

Adams departed Philadelphia still the President, but his remaining time in office was short. Later Adams proudly recalled his turbulent one term with a hint of the arrogance that left him few friends in politics.

I left my country in peace and harmony with all the world, and after all my 'extravagant expenses' and 'wanton waste of public money,' I left navy yards, fortifications, frigates, timber, naval stores, manufactories of cannon and arms, and a treasury full of five millions of dollars. This was all done step by step, against perpetual oppositions, clamors and reproaches, such as no other President had to encounter, and with a more feeble, divided, and incapable support than has ever fallen to the lot of any administration before or since. For this I was turned out of office, degraded and disgraced by my country; and I was glad of it. I felt no disgrace, because I felt no remorse. It has given me fourteen of the happiest years of my life; and I am certain I could have not lasted one more year in that station, shackled in the chains of that arbitrary faction.<sup>221</sup>

The Executive Mansion vacated by the Adamses no longer belonged to Robert Morris. Having led the real estate speculation in the post-war era, Morris a decade later was land rich and cash poor. In March 1795 he sold the house and lots to Andrew Kennedy, a soapboiler, for \$37,000, to pay creditors. He stipulated that Washington had the right to stay in the house for two years, and reserved his two large looking glasses, the hall stove, the marble and wooden baths, with the copper boiler and bath apparatus (bathing equipment at this date still was a rarity) for himself. Kennedy then promptly insured the property and continued to lease it to the state as the presidential mansion.<sup>222</sup>

With the national capital removed to Washington, D.C., the lease for 190 High Street again became available and John Adams' old landlord at the Indian Queen Tavern, John Francis, took it. In short order he opened the "Union Hotel," where

<sup>220</sup> Smith, *Adams*, 2, 1011, 1021, 1027, 1030, 1032, 1044-5.

<sup>221</sup> Adams to James Lloyd, March 31, 1815, Charles Quincy Adams, *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: ... 10 Volumes, X*, (Boston, 1856), 154.

<sup>222</sup> Nathaniel Burt, *Address on the Washington Mansion* (Philadelphia 1875), 32, as cited in INDE note card file; Mutual Assurance Policy #891, Andrew Kennedy, June 19, 1798; *PG* Oct. 5, 1796, also lists Kennedy on the city's Common Council; Harold Donaldson Eberlein, "When Society First Took a Bath," *PMHB* 67 (1943), 30-48.

Abigail Adams stayed on her way south to Washington, D.C. in the fall of 1800. She received several visitors there and enjoyed herself while in Philadelphia, reminded of the many pleasures this grand city offered over the near wilderness of the new capital where she was headed. Two years later a banquet for Governor Thomas McKean, presided over by William Jones and Alexander James Dallas, brightened the hotel, before Francis gave up the lease in 1803. The old mansion remained a hotel until 1803, but then received alterations to ready it for stores. Finally, in 1832, Nathaniel Burt, a merchant, purchased the property and tore down the old house (not without taking an interest in its history), to rebuild on the foundations three stores, later numbered 526, 528 and 530 Market Street.<sup>223</sup>

#### 170 High: The House-Trist-Dunn Boarding House. A Republican Stronghold

While 190 High Street served the Executive Branch of government during the decade, 170 High Street, Mrs. House's boarding house at Fifth and Market streets, became a Republican Party stronghold as the residence of Congressman James Madison. Madison's close ties with fellow Virginian Thomas Jefferson, the recognized head of Republican politics, and his own ability to present Republican ideas in word and writing, made him the party leader in Congress. Jefferson pressed him in 1791 to speak with the British agent George Beckwith, who perhaps unknowingly also boarded with Mrs. House. Beckwith had already established relations with Hamilton and other pro-British Federalists and so refused to cooperate with Madison's line of question concerning the Northwest forts still in British control. Madison had more success when promoting the Republican ideology. With Jefferson's encouragement, he played a key role in persuading his old Princeton friend, Philip Freneau, to launch the party paper, *National Gazette*, in October 1791. It took many machinations to lure Freneau to Philadelphia, because he supported a large family and needed a secure job before leaving New York. Jefferson offered him a post as translating clerk in the State Department and Madison met with party supporters, wrote letters and a stream of subscription solicitations for the proposed newspaper, until the plan finally came together. He then wrote a series of political articles for the paper over the winter of 1791-92 and the fall of 1792 that spelled out clearly and effectively the party line. They made clear Madison's heightened awareness of the dangers posed by Treasury Secretary Hamilton's program for a national bank and his arguments that government should favor the wealthy to stabilize the Union. By these essays, in one historian's estimation, Madison actually formed the Republican Party. In Congress both Federalists and Republicans acknowledged him as the "opposition leader" and the "great man of the party" and they called the Republican Party "Madison's Party."<sup>224</sup>

According to local Republican convert Benjamin Rush, Madison generated good conversation. In March 1792 at Mrs. House's they "spent a long and agreeable evening" together in Madison's room talking about "the evils introduced into our country by the funded debt of the United States and in praise of republican

<sup>223</sup> Smith, *Adams*, 2, 1049; Scharf and Wescott, *Philadelphia*, 1, 503; Roach, "Historical Report," 31-2; Jackson, *Market Street*, 70; Philadelphia City Directories, 1800-1807.

<sup>224</sup> As quoted in Ketcham, *Madison*, 323-332 and Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1780-1801*, (Chapel Hill, 1957), 69. In September 1792 Fisher Ames, a leading Federalist, wrote, "Madison is become a desperate party leader." As quoted in Ketcham, *Madison*, 333.

governments. He said that he could at all times discover a sympathy between the speeches and pockets of all those members who held certificates." Such were the suspicions and deep worries that drove Madison to great measures in behalf of his party and for the good of the people and nation. In 1792, for instance, he rallied support against the reelection of John Adams for vice-president. Adams had proven himself alien to agrarian and Southern sentiments through his published *Discourses of Davila*, and, besides, Madison never really could take a liking to the man. But an even bigger target for his party work was of course, Alexander Hamilton, who acknowledged that he probably would not have accepted the office of Secretary to the Treasury had he known in advance of the intrinsic difficulties of the office and "the powers of Mr. Madison."<sup>225</sup>

A powerful influence outside of politics eventually diverted some of Madison's energy and ultimately led to his retirement from Congress in March 1797. Madison fell in love and proposed marriage to Dolley Payne Todd, a young widow who had lost her husband and one child in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. Senator Aaron Burr, who knew the family by boarding with Dolley's mother, introduced them in May of 1794. Madison, long a bachelor and then 43 years old, found a good match in the vivacious 26-year old young mother, who recognized in "the great little Madison" her Virginia roots and a match for her own sharp intellect. They likely discussed the prospect of marriage at their first meeting in Philadelphia, but Congress soon after adjourned and both separately removed to Virginia. There, at Harewood, home to Dolley's little sister and her husband, George Steptoe Washington, the President's nephew, Dolley wrote to Madison accepting his offer for marriage, and there on September 15<sup>th</sup> the two took their vows, which carried them through their 42 years together.<sup>226</sup>

The Madisons returned to Philadelphia for three more winter seasons of Congress, but not to Mrs. House's boarding house. Mary House had died in May 1793, ("She extinguished almost like a candle," Jefferson reported to Madison) and Mrs. Trist planned to give up the house "immediately," as it had brought her "great loss" despite her exertions to keep it solvent. James Dunn finally took over the boarding house and soon it again provided comfortable quarters for Congressmen and other visitors to the capital. In 1797 the directory listed John Wilkes Kittera, Congressman from Pennsylvania, and Jonathan Dayton, Speaker of the House, from New Jersey, and in 1798, Congressmen David Holmes and James Machir, of Virginia, in residence. Tax records showed New Jersey's Richard Stockton boarding over several years. As an attorney to the Pennsylvania bar, he had reason to live near the State House.<sup>227</sup>

#### Robert Morris: Road to Financial Disaster

At the other end of the block, at 192 High Street, Senator Robert Morris and his family lived in the graceful old mansion built by Alexander Stedman some three

<sup>225</sup> As quoted in Ketcham, *Madison*, 332-3, 336.

<sup>226</sup> As quoted in Ketcham, *Madison*, 376, and 377, 381.

<sup>227</sup> Ketcham, *Madison*, 383, lists where the Madisons stayed during the last years. *Federal Gazette* May 29, 1793; Jefferson to Madison, June 2, 1793, Thomas A. Mason, Robert A. Rutland, and Jeanne K. Sisson, editors, *The Papers of James Madison, Volume 15, 24 March 1793-20 April 1795* (Charlottesville, 1985), 25; Cornelius William Stafford, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1797* (Philadelphia, 1797) and 1798 (Philadelphia, 1798), list the residences of "Executive, Legislative and Judicial Magistrates of the United States."

decades earlier. Morris had bought the property in a public sale after the Revolution, when Pennsylvania no longer needed the governors' mansion, and had rented it until Congress made plans to move to Philadelphia. When his own home was chosen for President Washington, the Morris family moved next door. First, the state purchased the lease from Morris' tenant, General Walter Stewart, so that Morris and his family could move in and make 190 High available for President Washington. Morris had been writing Stewart from New York to keep him posted on the arrangements to bring the capital to Philadelphia. Stewart, who had recently retired from the army, listed himself a merchant in the 1790 census. His friendship with Morris continued, for in 1792 the two of them sat together on a board, Morris as president and Stewart as one of several managers for a newly formed company to build a canal between the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers.<sup>228</sup> Morris held some of these meetings, as well as those for the Society for promoting the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation, for which he also served as president, at Hassell's Tavern and at the State House across Chestnut Street.<sup>229</sup>

Robert Morris' career, however, had already started on the skids early in the 1790s. In December 1794 he sold off the eastern half (30 feet) of the Sixth and Market Street lot where he lived to Robert Kidd, a perfumer, for \$3200 and the following March he deeded the other half of the property, including the house where he lived, to William Bell, a merchant and grocer across the street. Morris already had moved to the back end of the house, numbered 1 South Sixth Street by 1793, which Bell leased to Morris for his home and office. The front part Bell rented to Robert Kidd, who remained there through the century, rising to the status of copper merchant in the 1801 directory. Kidd had sold off the adjoining lot (1797) to Lucia Carolina Grattan, after building a house on the lot that came only 9 feet from the west wall of President Washington's executive mansion. The corner property turned over several times after Bell's purchase, but its primary use after the capital relocated, was commercial. In 1815, the newly chartered Schuylkill Bank took ownership and opened its doors to begin a long stretch of business at that location. Further pressed for money, Morris sold his own home at 190 High to Andrew Kennedy in 1795, as well as several lots to its east, to Henry Sheaff (510, 512 and 514 Market), Charles Marquedant (516-518 Market) and Peter Kuhn (520-522).<sup>230</sup> Wine merchant Henry Sheaff ended up with two of the lots and moved to 180 High Street by 1795. Merchant Peter Kuhn kept a thriving vineyard on his Morris lot that he proudly showed off to Jacob Hiltzheimer in 1797.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> PG July 4, 1792; Stewart's 1784 portrait by Peale is reproduced in *PMHB* 22 (1895), opp. 365; Robert Morris to Gen. Walter Stewart, July 28, 1790, G.51.7.4(59) Boston Public Library, as cited in INDE note card file.

<sup>229</sup> Oct. 4, 1791, "Minutes of City Council, 1789-1793," 425; Roach, "Historical Report," 42; *Heads of Families At the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790 Pennsylvania* (Washington, 1908), 227; PG Feb 8, July 4, 1792; Parsons, ed. *Hiltzheimer*, 171.

<sup>230</sup> Deed record compiled by Edward Lawler, Jr., from WPA Research notes; Roach, "Historical Report," 42-45; Parsons, ed. *Hiltzheimer*, 245; James Hardie, *The Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia, 1793); Stafford, *Philadelphia Directory for 1801*, 15.

<sup>231</sup> PG Ap. 17, 1799; July 18, 1797 in Parsons, ed. *Hiltzheimer*, 245; Chain of Title for 516 Market St. and 509 Ludlow St., (Formerly 182 High St.), prepared by PCA; Edmund Hogan, *The Prospect of Philadelphia and Check on the Next Directory* (Philadelphia, 1795), Market, south side, b. 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>. Sheaff probably was the son of William Sheaff, also a wine merchant, who had hounded Morris to distraction in 1791 for monies owed him. Robert Morris to James Wadsworth, Nov. 25, 1791, MSS in Wadsworth Papers, Y. Y. S. Library, as cited in INDE note card file.

Robert Morris' final decline came in 1798, a year in which he lost more than his freedom. His tragic arrest in February prompted "a dreadful scene of distress" from the family. Mary Morris appeared "almost frantic, and flew upon the Person who was his bail and who brot him to town and would have committed violence but was prevented," Samuel Otis reported to his wife. Only a few years ago "he was in wealth and honor, the most considerable man in the United States, & she ruled the world of fashion with unrivaled sway." Otis imagined that Morris would "probably moulder away a few remaining wretched years in prison, and her joys and comforts have probably forever vanished."<sup>232</sup>

Otis' grim projection came close to realization. In October William Morris died from yellow fever during the second worst epidemic of the decade in Philadelphia. From debtor's prison Robert Morris wrote his old friend and associate, John Nicholson, "In him I have lost a Dutifull and affectionate Son, and a valuable Friend & Companion, and in him my Family have lost of those protectors that I counted on when Fate should call me off..."<sup>233</sup> Morris' insolvency left him devoid of his vast tracts of western lands and his several city properties. The three-year term in debtors' prison also permanently damaged his credit in the community. Loyal friends, however, continued to support him and look to his release. When called out of retirement for the Quasi-War with France in 1798, George Washington made a month-long visit to Philadelphia to make arrangements, when he dined out with President Adams at 190 High Street and the next night with Morris and his family in the prison. Morris was finally released after Congress passed a Bankruptcy Act in 1800, with him in mind. Gouverneur Morris helped to support Morris and his wife in their few final years together. Robert Morris' spare will of 1804 made painfully obvious the paltry estate of the once richest man in America.<sup>234</sup>

#### Chestnut Street Public Figures

Chestnut Street during the decade continued to provide housing for political and prestigious visitors in town. On the old Emlen tract at the east end, Phineas Bond, Esq., 'Charge Des Affairs for his Britannic Majesty, listed himself at 171 Chestnut Street in 1795. He had lived in Philadelphia nearly 10 years under service to his country before he moved to Chestnut Street. In September 1793 his mother, Williamina (Moore) Bond, widow of Dr. Phineas Bond, insured a new, large, but simply appointed dwelling, 173 Chestnut Street. Phineas, Jr. gave his address as 173 Chestnut in the 1797 city directory, when his title was listed as Consul General for the Middle and Southern States. In 1800, Thomas Bond, under the same official title, lived at 173 Chestnut, evidently taking over his brother's duties. Samuel Meredith, the U.S. Treasurer, called 171 Chestnut Street home and office from 1794 through 1800. Samuel Blodgett, Jr., architect of the First Bank of the United States

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<sup>232</sup> H.G. Otis to his wife, Feb. 16, 1798, Otis Papers, Box 2, Folder 1798, MHS, as cited in INDE note card file.

<sup>233</sup> Morris to Nicholson, Oct. 10, 1798, Robert Morris Coll., HSP

<sup>234</sup> Reede and Forde Papers, 1759-1823, at HSP show the properties in Pennsylvania that Morris had to dispose of to satisfy creditors and Accessible Archives under Robert Morris showed numerous land sales for Robert Morris; Nov. 26 and 27, 1798 in Jackson, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington, VI*, ; P.S. DuPonceau to R.R. Livingston, Aug. 6, 1803, expects that Morris' effort to start a new bank will fail without local support, due to his history. Roberts Coll., Box 789, Peter Du Ponceaus, MSS [Haverford], as cited in INDE note card file. Morris died in 1806. A copy of his short will is rich in sentiment and short on resources to distribute. Will, June 13, 1804, Last Will and Testament of Robert Morris, Society Small Collection, Robert Morris, HSP.

on Third Street, lived at 169 Chestnut Street in 1795, the year construction got underway on the bank. Both Meredith and Blodgett rented from Pennsylvania's Treasurer and sole Trustee of the Loan Office, Christian Febiger, who had purchased land from the Emlen estate and in 1793 built a large and expensive double house "nearly opposite the State House." The January 1794 insurance also noted two stables and coach houses on Emlen's court to the rear of the house. The Emlen homestead at 179 Chestnut at the western edge of the tract, next door to the old tavern lot, had in residence widow Mary Emlen throughout the decade.<sup>235</sup>

On the middle tract, held since 1720 in the Hamilton family, the old inn still ran under the name of Hassell's tavern. In November 1790 the Supreme Executive Council decided to put up Seneca chiefs Cornplanter and Half-Moon at William Hassell's "untill the arrival of the President of the United States in this city."<sup>236</sup> In January 1794 Robert Morris became the owner of the tavern lot, evidently after Hassell's death from yellow fever.<sup>237</sup> Still optimistic that real estate was the way to wealth, he bought up all the Hamilton ground on Chestnut Street. The tract included 133-½ feet frontage containing the three original lots, a 22-foot lot to the west, and a 75 by 86-foot plot on the south side of Minor Street (the south end of Market Street lots) which Hamilton acquired in 1761 from the Kinsey estate. That spring Attorney Jared Ingersoll purchased a 60-foot lot to the east of the tavern lot and by 1795 had moved into his new, "spacious family mansion and office," at 181 Chestnut Street, as listed in the 1795 city directory. Ingersoll, who had represented Pennsylvania in the Federal Convention of 1787, must have spent considerable time in the courts and offices across the street, especially in 1799, when he served as one of two attorneys for Senator William Blount's impeachment. That year, too, he was appointed as one of several commissioners to oversee the "speedy introduction of a copious supply of wholesome water ... deemed essential for the health and preservation of the city." His new house also was convenient to the new Philosophical Hall on the State House Square where he attended meetings of the American Philosophical Society.<sup>238</sup>

#### Physical Changes and Demographics, 1790-1811

The breakup of the large landholdings of the Hamilton, Emlen and Morris families during the capital city decade reformatted property ownership on the block. Real estate turnover on Chestnut Street continued at a rapid pace throughout the

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<sup>235</sup>PG Nov. 22, 1786; Sept. 29, 1790, Mar. 28, 1792, Aug. 28, 1793; *Philadelphia Directory*, 1794, 1795, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800; Lillian B. Miller, Editor, *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, Three Volumes*, 2, (New Haven, 1988), 108, n. 1 on Blodgett; Parsons, ed. *Hiltzheimer*, 235, notes Febiger's burial on Sept. 22, 1796. Blodgett married Rev. William Smith's daughter in 1792. "Descendants of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.," *PMHB* 4 (1880), 381; *Heads of Families*, 224-5; W. Bond, Mutual Assurance Policy Nos. 3385, 386, 387, in Garvan, *Mutual Papers*, 1, 250; Christian Febiger, Jan. 2, 1794, C Bk, S#1, 155; Philadelphia Tax Assessment, Middle Ward, c. 1795, Micro Roll 569, INDE.

<sup>236</sup>Nov. 8, 1790, *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council Pennsylvania*, XV (Harrisburg, 1853), 513.

<sup>237</sup>Roach, "Historical Report," 50 suggests Hassell's death from yellow fever, but this writer did not find his name on Carey's listings of the buried at the back of his *Account* of Nov. 1793.

<sup>238</sup>Morris to Ingersoll, May 2, 1794, as given in Roach, "Historical Report," 50-51. Roach points out that the office was a one-story addition to the house; PG Jan. 12, 1785 notes that Ingersoll served as counsellor for the society that year. PG Feb. 13, 1799 spells out his duties as commissioner. Charles J. Ingersoll, *Recollections Historical, Political, Biographical, and Social. Two Volumes. 1*, (Philadelphia, 1861), 32-3. Quotes about the Ingersoll house from, Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 10, 1829, as cited in INDE note card file.



1790s. Several lots extended beyond the original 178 feet to include the full distance to Minor Street. Ingersoll's 60-foot Chestnut Street lot did, as did the 35-foot lot to its west, which Robert Morris sold to Joseph Thomas, an attorney, in Oct 1794. Thomas in turn sold the lot to James and William Miller, who sold to Henry Pepper, the brew house owner at 4 South Fifth Street. Morris sold the actual tavern and its 60-foot lot the next summer (July 7, 1795) to William Parker who divided it in two and sold the lots off the next week to two buyers. John Fries purchased the vacant 35-foot lot to the west of the tavern, and John Irwin the 25-foot lot with the tavern, which he chose to tear down that year, closing more than a century (1690-1795) of use. Henry Pepper purchased Irwin's lot, giving him a 60-foot property span along Chestnut Street. City surveys show that Henry Pepper by 1802 owned 95 1/2 feet in the center of the block from Chestnut to Minor streets, which indicates further contiguous purchases, on which he erected three new 3-story houses long known as "Pepper's Row."<sup>239</sup> Later records show that behind these houses, 105 feet back from Chestnut Street, stood a 25-foot court. This open area could be reached from Chestnut Street by a small alley along the east of Pepper's property, or by a 13-foot alley that ran into the court from Minor Street along the back end of Sixth Street lots. This large court probably explains the location of the stables "Opposite the State House" from the earliest days of the Assembly meetings.<sup>240</sup>

Chestnut Street in this area was becoming a very fashionable place to live and shop. At the corner of Sixth Street John Lawrence once again lived in the house he had purchased nearly twenty years before. His neighbors to the east -- Samuel Bengé, the upholsterer, James Girvan, a tailor, and Abraham Morrow, gunmaker -- continued in the modest buildings "on a rising ground towards Sixth Street," on the old Church estate. Bengé's trade must have been good, as another upholsterer, Richard Wevill, took over the business after his death. Morrow's gunsmith trade had long associated him with government contracts. He had cleaned and repaired city militia arms during the 1780s and in 1792 refurbished bayonets and muskets for the army. His move to Chestnut Street across from the government may have helped him to win other contracts, especially during the Adams administration, when war with France seemed imminent.<sup>241</sup>

Market Street occupants in 1790 (besides already mentioned Walter Stewart, Robert Morris, and Mary House), included Abraham Kimling (Kintzing), wagon master, Patrick McCormick, fishmonger, Benjamin Harbeson, coppersmith (who led his tradesmen in the Federal Procession of 1788), and William Jones, grazier, who had moved into the old Kinsey property years earlier, after marrying widow Elizabeth Gray, who died in June 1793. In 1794 Jones built a 3-story home on the lot next to his for his son Robert E. Jones, a wine merchant. Robert Jones in turn built another house in 1804 "west of and near" Fifth Street. Like Henry Pepper's new Market Street houses on this block, Jones' measured 24 feet by 47 feet deep, with 2-story

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<sup>239</sup> "Measures of Chestnut & Minor streets &c. For Derrick Peterson April 28<sup>th</sup> 1802," City Surveys, Third Survey District, PCA. See City Surveys, No. 3.

<sup>240</sup> Roach, "Historical Report," 51; Pepper's large lot stood 92 feet east of Sixth Street, according to the compiled map for Chestnut Street lots. The court as a feature is marked on the plat in the post-1814 folder, but presumably was an earlier feature. Chestnut Street surveys, pre-1814 folder and 1814-1855 folder, Third Survey District, PCA.

<sup>241</sup> Philadelphia Tax Assessments, Middle Ward, 1790s; quote re. the rising ground, *American Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 10, 1829; *PP* Nov. 20, 1788; *Aurora General Advertiser*, Nov. 5, 1799.

backbuildings. Built as a dry goods store, the building had a 2 foot 9 inch alley "taken off below," likely to access the rear storage area.<sup>242</sup>

Henry Pepper insured his industrial property on the north corner of Minor Street in 1801. The 2-story brew house, which he estimated to be 30 years old, measured 25 by 70 feet, with a double broken pitch roof. The malt house to the rear, built c. 1787, was L-shaped, measuring 22 by 51 feet and north 41 by 22 feet. Parts or all of this beer manufactory survived to the age of photography. Pepper clearly saw real estate as his future. In addition to "Pepper's Row" on Chestnut Street, he began to build substantial houses on Market Street. In 1804 he insured three new 3-story houses on the south side of Market Street on this block. In February he listed a 24 by 47-foot house and another "six doors west" of it, 24 feet front and 50 feet back. In December he listed the third property, once again a new 24 by 59-foot house. Clearly meant for prosperous buyers or tenants, the houses all had backbuildings, stables and coach houses.<sup>243</sup>

Fifth and Sixth Streets continued through the decade to have residents in the service industry, like a grocer, brickmaker, shoemaker, blacksmith and two coachmakers. Local government officials, like town coroner John Leacock, occasionally boarded on Fifth Street, no doubt for the convenience of location. On Fifth in 1790 Isaac Morris, (a Brittain heir) insured an old two-story house and kitchen, measuring only 16 by 31 feet, two rooms to a floor, and "very plain." This typified many of the houses on the north-south streets. Morris' cousin, Israel Jones, however, insured a new 3-story house at the corner of Fifth and Minor streets in 1787. The house only had a 10-foot frontage on Fifth, and extended along Minor 80 feet. Jones lived there and had a wet goods store in one of the rooms.<sup>244</sup>

Sixth Street, according to Philadelphia's historians of the last century, may have been the scene for an important moment in national history. John Harper evidently struck the first U.S. coins in an old coach shop "on Sixth Street above Chestnut," in the presence of Adam Eckfeld, later the coiner for the U.S. Mint.<sup>245</sup>

As in other parts of the city, the east-west streets remained the more fashionable location for residential, but as development pushed westward at the close of the eighteenth century, this block between Fifth and Sixth turned more to commercial enterprise. In 1810 the city extended the market sheds from Fourth to Sixth Street, changing the residential flavor of the Market Street properties.<sup>246</sup> By 1811 the former executive mansion at 190 High Street had been divided up into two stores, George K. Kuhn upstairs and John and Joseph Borie downstairs. Peter Kuhn and son ran a dry goods and grocery store out of the old governor's mansion on the corner. Chestnut Street followed a similar pattern. The 1811 city directory listing for Thomas B. Zantzinger, seller of classical books on the northeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets introduces the strong presence of the arts and printing trade on this block by mid-century. Over the next decades publishers and booksellers typically located their shops on Chestnut, while the support trades of bookbinding and printing

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<sup>242</sup> *Heads of Families*, 1790; *PG* July 9, 1788; June 26, 1793; Jan. 9 and Apr. 22, 1799, Oct 22, 1800. There may be a mix up with another William Jones. Jones died in 1804. Policy of Oct. 18, 1804, CBK 3, 233.

<sup>243</sup> July 30, 1801, Feb. 25, and Dec. 31, 1804, CBk 3, 123, 220, 253.

<sup>244</sup> Hogan, *Prospect*, 1795. Isaac Morris policy, Dec. 7, 1790, CBS #1, 140; Israel Jones policy, CBk 1, 129.

<sup>245</sup> Scharf and Wescott, *Philadelphia*, 1, 472-3.

<sup>246</sup> Jackson, *Market Street*, 68.

with their associated warehouses grew up along Minor Street. A century later, before it was razed to build Independence Mall, this block stood at the center of the book arts industries in Philadelphia.<sup>247</sup> For awhile into the 19<sup>th</sup> century Chestnut Street remained the home to a few prominent lawyers—Peter Du Ponceau, Z. Phillips, and Joseph McKean-- who lived near the federal, state and local courts still on the State House Square. The transition to a commercial setting as depicted mid-century by the views of J.C. Wilds and Baxter's Panoramic had begun.<sup>248</sup>

The demographics for block one during the final decade of the century begin with the census of 1790 which list households by age and, subtly, by race (The category, "All other free persons" translates to free blacks, and, presumably, Native Americans). The two blacks, presumably free, listed either in the 1781-82 or the 1787 tax assessments, Cato Foster on Philip Kinsey estate (Market Street lot) and Samuel Easlin (elsewhere spelled Easton), on Chestnut Street, on Widow Kemble's Estate, do not appear in this decade. Hogan's city directory, *Prospect for Philadelphia*, 1795, identifies African Americans with Af. before the name, but lists no black households on the block. Tax assessment records for the 1790s, on the other hand, did record unnamed servants or slaves in the wealthy families. These assessments indicate the decline in slave holding on the block. The c.1795 assessment, the last one studied for this report, listed only one slave among the residents, in the household of Mrs. Bond, evidently British Consul Phineas Bond's mother.<sup>249</sup>

Philadelphia after the national and state capitals moved to new locations, neglected its significant contributions to American history until Lafayette's 1824 ceremonial return to the "Hall of Independence," when the State House began to symbolize an important chapter in our national story.<sup>250</sup> Honoring the French hero, crowds filled the streets once again. The scene was reminiscent of the pomp and circumstance that so characterized the nation's capital during the 1790s and the Revolutionary capital a decade before that. Philadelphia has continued to value that history and the people who forged it, many of whom lived for a time on ground today known as Block One of Independence Mall.

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<sup>247</sup> James Robinson, *The Philadelphia Directory for 1811* (Philadelphia, 1811); "Minor Street," in *Making A Case For Cloth Publishers' Cloth Case Bindings 1830-1900*. Exhibition, Library Company of Philadelphia, 1995.

<sup>248</sup> Peter Du Ponceau lived at 195 Chestnut and kept his office at 15 S. 6<sup>th</sup>; Z. Phillips, 193 Chestnut, and Joseph McKean, 183 Chestnut. Robinson, *Directory for 1811*; J.C. Wild, "Panorama of Philadelphia, From the State House Steeple," North View, 1838, in Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography* (Philadelphia, 1958), no. 265; "Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory," Market Street, south side, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, 1859, FLP (available on line, "Places in Time, [www.brynmawr.edu/Acads/Cities/iconog/frdr.html](http://www.brynmawr.edu/Acads/Cities/iconog/frdr.html)); The *Philadelphia Complete Business Directory for 1857* (Philadelphia, 1857) lists a number of the book trade businesses under the title of booksellers, book binders, book importers, book gilders, book sellers and publishers and law book sellers and publishers.

<sup>249</sup> The census and first city directory list Samuel Ester, shopkeeper, at 191 Chestnut Street, but don't identify him as black. This likely is the same man identified in 1787 as a "blackman." Tax Assessment, Middle Ward, c. 1795. The assessments are not dated, but based on Robert Morris' sale of the Sixth and Market Street property in December 1794, and Roach's reference to the subsequent construction of a new house on the east side of the Sixth Street corner lot. In this assessment the lot remained vacant, which indicates that this assessment was taken in 1795 or shortly afterwards.

<sup>250</sup> Lafayette's 1824 visit to Philadelphia spawned patriotic revivals and the name "Hall of Independence" for the Assembly Room. *Historic Philadelphia*, 33.

## Epilogue

### Destruction and New Construction

When William J. Fotherall tore down the "old frames" along Fifth Street to build "Fotteral Hall" at the corner of Chestnut Street in 1831, the workers uncovered a foundation stone at the corner dated 1701. Fotherall had large commercial ambitions for his new hall. The lower floor was taken up by a tailor and piano sales room, while the upper floor became known as the Hall of Industry because of the cotton mill operated there with four dogs turning a wheel. Philadelphia's new role as the leading manufacturing center in the nation had begun.<sup>1</sup>

Fotherall's grand hall burned to the ground in 1854, along with the two properties to the west built by George W. Edwards around 1846. Within the year Fotherall replaced his loss with a five-story brick commercial building. Evidently another fire in the spring of 1856 again caused damage at this corner, leaving a gap in the row of buildings. After the fire of 1854 the Public Ledger purchased the ground west of Fotherall's Henkel's building on the lot to the west of Fotherall's also was destroyed in the 1854 fire, so that and erected two five-story iron-fronted stores that extended the length of the lot, numbered 179-181 Chestnut (505 and 507). This was the site of the large double house Christian Febiger put up in 1793 and where Phineas Bond lived as the British consul during the 1790s. Afterwards Febiger's house had served as an art gallery from 1814 through 1837 when Thomas Sulley took over its management.<sup>2</sup>

Further west the three-story brick house numbered 175-177 (511-513) was torn down in 1827 by Jacob Ridgway and replaced by a new house he built for his daughter Phoebe, married to Dr. James Rush. The couple remained there until 1845, after which the house went commercial. Jacob Ridgway also tore down two houses to build The American Hotel in 1844 at 181-183 Chestnut (517-519). Initially the hotel was the largest in the city and quite an attraction. Henry Pepper's "Pepper's Row" took up some of the old State House Inn lot, 189 to 191 Chestnut (527-529) and the Orleans Hotel at 193 (531) stood the place of the old State House Inn.<sup>3</sup>

A fire in December 1851 destroyed the five-story building at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Street built by Abram S. Hart to replace the 3-story brick house, 195 (535) Chestnut Street that John Lawrence had constructed in the 1770s. This was the property where such notables as Governor John Penn, Robert Livingston and Peter Du Ponceau had lived during the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Several photographs of the street show the structure that followed Hart's building on this corner, as does the Baxter Panoramic of 1859. Among its first occupants was a fashionable new industrial business, a daguerreotype foundry, along with a shop of wood engravers.<sup>4</sup>

Chestnut Street's paving caused a racket in 1787 during the Federal Convention (they laid down straw to muffle the wagon sounds), and still presented

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<sup>1</sup> Souder's *History of Chestnut Street*, 105, Perkins Collection, Volume 75, HSP.

<sup>2</sup> Souder's *History of Chestnut Street*, 107, Ibid.; Joseph Hopkinson to John Trumbull, Feb. 18, 1823, John Trumbull Papers, NYPL, as cited in INDE note card file: Rouch, "Historical Report," 57-62

<sup>3</sup> Souder's *History of Chestnut Street*, 108-111, Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Souder's *History of Chestnut Street*, 112, Ibid.

an unacceptable level of sound distraction in 1828, when Select Council considered laying down gravel to dampen the noise. Perhaps that's why the city authorized the funds to McAdamize Chestnut Street in the fall of 1831.<sup>5</sup>

Several insurance policies and advertisements from the first half of the new century indicate the pattern on Minor Street of warehouses and manufacturing buildings. Crissy and Markley, printers, at 4 Minor Street, published the *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia, 1704 to 1776* for the city government in 1847. Their location so close to City Hall no doubt facilitated the contract. Jacob Ridgway built two four-story brick stores on the south side of the street, at 506 and 510 Minor Street, in 1855 and 1866.<sup>6</sup>

In 1832 Nathaniel Burt tore down the old executive mansion, 190 High Street, the home of Presidents Washington and Adams, and replaced it with three adjoining commercial buildings, renumbered after the city incorporation, 526, 528, and 530 Market Street. An insurance policy on 190 High Street dated June 9, 1856 (for Nancy K. Risk) located the property 112 feet east of Sixth Street, or on the wood lot of the former Morris property. The four-story brick store measured 25 feet by 50 feet with a piazza and back building, in outline much like the old Georgian row house style, but a transition architecturally towards the new department stores rising on Market. The policy on this granite front building likely was written to reflect repair or rebuilding on the property after the devastating fire of April 1856 that began on Commerce Street north of Market and blew south, destroying large sections of real estate. The city's fire department reported that the flames crossed over from the north side of Market near Sixth and caused "considerable damage to the buildings in that vicinity." The fire may also have cleared the corner lot at Sixth Street, making room for a six-story building, said to be the first of that height in the city. *Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory of Philadelphia for 1859* shows a 6-story clothier store on the corner under the banner, Levick & Bassett. Originally called "Mc Neil's Folly," after its builder, this building was renamed "Oak Hall" by John Wanamaker and his partner Brown, when they opened their clothing business in 1865.<sup>7</sup>

Photographs suggest that the building on the southwest corner of Fifth and Market streets used by Mary House as a boarding house during the founding years of the nation survived to be torn down by Pennsylvania for Independence Mall. Likewise the adjoining building to the south, Henry Pepper's brew and malt house at the north corner of Fifth and Minor Street, appears in a twentieth century photograph. Most of the other remnants of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, had been demolished or destroyed during the subsequent century, leaving perhaps archeological traces of an historic period in American history.

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<sup>5</sup> Bicentennial Daybook 1787, ; Aug. 5, 1828, Minutes of Select Council, June 16, 1821-Sept. 30, 1830, PCA, as cited in INDE note card file; Proceedings of Councils, Sept. 8, 1831, Hazard, ed. The Register of Pennsylvania Vol. VIII, p. 182, as cited in INDE note card file.

<sup>6</sup> See Contributionship and Mutual Insurance Policies index, Minor Street, in park library; card index for Minor Street, Graphics Division, Library Co. of Philadelphia (LCP); *Minutes of Common Council of the City of Philadelphia 1704 to 1776* (Philadelphia, 1847), title page.

<sup>7</sup> This policy includes a ground plan. Copy from Philadelphia Historical Commission, in Holt files, INDE archives; "View of the ruins caused by the great fire Northeast corner of Sixth and Market st. which began on the night of Weds. April 30, 1856—From the Northeast." LCP.; "The Fire Department of Philadelphia," typescript based on The Fireman, D.D. Dana, 1858, from Contributionship Fire Insurance file, courtesy archivist Carol Smith; *Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory of Philadelphia, for 1859*; "Where John Wanamaker Began Business," Jackson, *Market Street*, 110.

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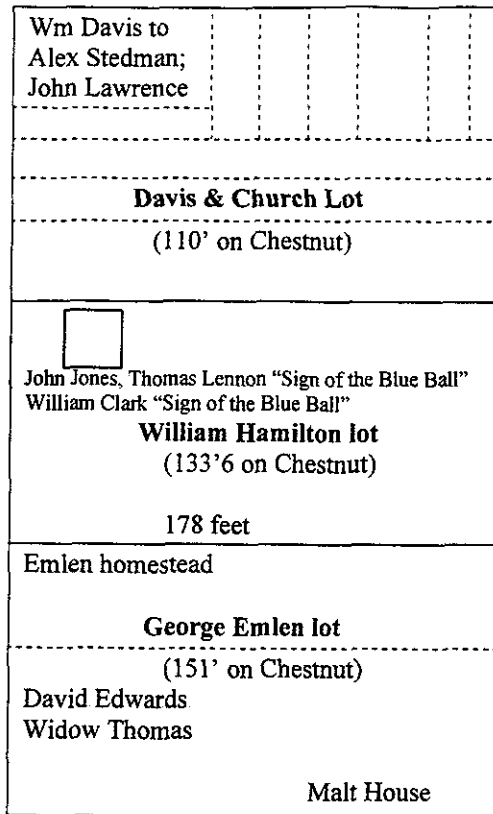
## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### **Chestnut Street Lots, mid-century, a compilation**

Chestnut Street frontage, originally labeled "back lots," developed early in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as three large lots extending 178 feet north. From Fifth Street west, George Emlen owned 151 feet, William Hamilton 133 feet, and Edmund Davis 110 feet to Sixth Street. These families held on to much of their title until the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Emlen and Davis families lived on their properties, while the Hamiltons leased to a series of innkeepers who kept the tavern opposite the State House.

Composite from 18<sup>th</sup> century records



Not to Scale

### Chestnut Street Lots, mid-century

**James Logan** patented two lots, measuring a total of 110 feet east from Sixth Street, 1708  
 Logan sells his lots, 110 by 178 feet, to **Edmund Davis**, tallow chandler, March 1, 1720  
 By his will, **Davis** leaves property to wife **Mary Davis**, 1728  
**Widow Mary Davis** d. 1734; Daughters: **Jennet Church** and **Mary Davis** (m. to **William Davis**)  
 Sell 18' lot east of homestead to **John Boyle**, carpenter, Feb. 15, 1743/4  
 1748 Land division b. **Church and Davis**: (110' on Chestnut)  
 Frame Homestead goes to **Mary Davis**  
**William and David Davis**, her sons, inherit her share of 6 lots; each receive half of  
 52 by 52' lot at north end of the corner lot at Sixth St.  
**David Davis** sells northern 13 by 52' lot on Sixth Street to **James Glenn**, bricklayer, 1770'  
**William Davis** sells frame homestead on 22' Chestnut St. lot to **George Kemble**, 1768  
**George Kemble** opens new, large and commodious stables near Sixth St., 1762  
**Jennet Church** takes lot with frame dwelling c. 33 feet from Sixth & 17'6" lot to its west  
**Mary Davis** wills corner 17'6" lot with frame dwelling to son **William Davis**  
**William Davis** sells corner lot at Sixth Street to **Alexander Stedman**, June 3, 1765  
 Sheriff's sale of **Alexander Stedman** lot to **John Lawrence**, August 31, 1771  
**Jennet Church** to **John Lawrence**, August 13, 1771, 13 feet to the east- lot is now 29'6"  
**John Lawrence** insures new house, 29'6 by 38 feet, at corner of Sixth St., 1778  
**Andrew Hamilton** leaves the 133 feet on Chestnut to son **James**, 1741, who leases it as an inn until his  
 death, 1783; **William Crews** House an inn under **Powell, H. Clark, Jones, Lennon** and **M. Clark**  
**George Emlen** 151 feet west from Fifth Street, (George II and George III)

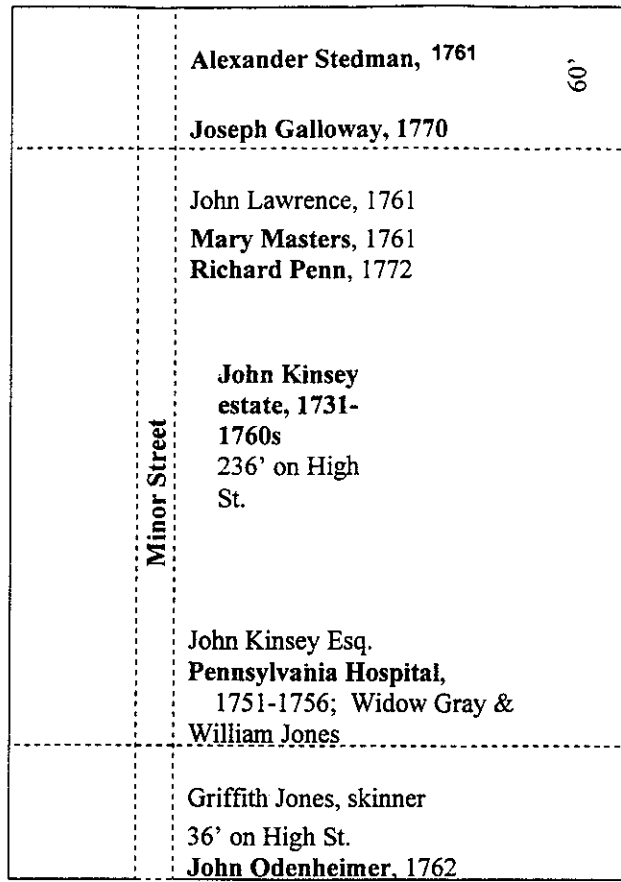
*Sources:* Roach, "Historical Report," 52-58; 1762 Clarkson-Biddle Map of Philadelphia  
 Deeds & Wills; *Pennsylvania Gazette*; Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Directory, 1757-60

## APPENDIX B

### **Market Street Lots, mid-century, a compilation**

William Penn awarded the "Great lotts" on Market Street as bonus lots to large land purchasers, but the titles soon changed hands. During the 1740s, most of the Market Street lots on this block came by marriage and purchase to John Kinsey, Speaker of the Assembly and a powerful Quaker politician. At his sudden death in 1750, Kinsey's estate fell into debt, forcing the family to lease the Kinsey mansion near Fifth Street to the newly created Pennsylvania Hospital, the first in British North America. The 1760s saw the addition of two more substantial houses on the block, one at Sixth Street constructed by Alexander Stedman, and the other in the lot adjoining, built by Mary Masters, who gave the property to her daughter in 1772, when she married Richard Penn.

Composite from 18<sup>th</sup> century records



Not to scale

306 feet depth of lot  
(180 feet to Minor St.)

### Market Street Lots mid-century

**Henry Flowers to Thomas Masters, 1684**

**Thomas Masters to Patrick Robinson, 1687**

**Patrick Robinson purchased adjoining lots, total 236' on Market**

**Patrick Robinson died intestate, 1701**

**Griffith Jones married widow Robinson, c. 1706**

**Widow Elizabeth (Robinson) Jones sold to Lionel Brittain, 1714**

**Lionel Brittain to wife by will, 1720**

**Elizabeth Brittain deeds to granddaughter, Eliz. Kearney, 1729**

**John Kinsey and wife, Mary Kearney, take land on Market in family swap, 1731; Kinsey builds new house & buys most of Market St. lots before his death in 1750; Heirs lease Kinsey house to Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751**

**Mary Masters builds elegant house on Kinsey lot 60' east of Sixth, c. 1762**

**Alexander Stedman builds elegant house at Sixth & Market, c. 1761**

**Minor Street, 40 feet wide, cut through 180' south of Market St. by Kinsey heirs during sale of real estate, 1750s**

**8-foot alley headed west from Fifth Street 120 feet south of Market Street, as laid out in 1762 deed to John Odenheimer**

*Sources: Deeds; Roach, "Historical Report"; Pennsylvania Gazette  
Benjamin Franklin Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital*

**APPENDIX C**

**Fire Insurance Policies for Alexander Stedman House  
Sixth and Market Streets  
November 4, 1766**

Alexander Stedman, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, insured his elegant house and back buildings on his 60 by 306-foot lot at the corner of Sixth and Market streets, just prior to selling the property due to financial difficulties.

Contributionship Insurance Policies 1133-1135  
with  
Transcription from INDE note card file



Survey of Alexander Stinson's Dwelling house

N. 433 Back buildings, Situate at the South East Corner of High North Street. Front 31 feet, side front 26 feet 6 inches deep, three story high, 14 8/9 inch walls

8

434

Two rooms and a large lobby on a floor, and plastered Partitions, The front Parlor wainscoted up to the ceiling a Tabernacle Frame, Pediment over the Parlor door and a Dentile Cornish Round the Room.

The Back parlor wainscoted subbase high a Tabernacle Frame and pediments over the Entry of Closet Doors and a Dentile Cornish Round the Room. The Entry wainscoted subbase high Double pilasters, of the Corinthian Order, a Dentile Cornish, with Frieze & Chakates and pediments over each Room door. The floor

Dowled, The second story front Parlor Chamber wainscoted subbase high Tabernacle Frame Dentile Cornish Round the Room and pediment over the Door; The Back Room finished after the same manner nearly Inside window Shutters which folds into the frame, The Entry wainscoted subbase high and a Dentile Cornish &

Dowled floor. The third story Both Room is finished with Best subbase of oak boards and Plaster being the Rooms Open wood Stairs and two flight mahogany wainscot Panels & Banisters. Vaulted Plastered and arched out of the roof and Battlement. Dutch Gable roof.

Best Mahogany for the floor and Cornish. The walls are plastered and arched out of the roof and Battlement. Dutch Gable roof. The roof is covered with shingles and the chimney is built of brick.

P  
H35

on the Roof and Battlements, a Dutch Eye & Secured  
ornamented. Back Building 14 feet by 16 feet  
Three Storey high of Inch walls, a Partry and Corridor  
Setting Floor below both wainscotted wainsce high  
a bust in the room and Double Corridor Round of  
the room above finish with bust wainsce & wash  
and Board newel Stairs, Kitchen 14 feet by 30 feet  
high of Inch walls the whole Painted Inside and  
a front piece over the front Door

11th. 4th 1766

John Roberson

*[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten notes and signatures, possibly including names like 'John Roberson' and 'John...']*



- 1) Franklin Court  
Franklin's House  
Comparative St
- 2) High Street - so  
east corner St
- 3) Stedman, Alexander  
House
- 4) Smith, Robert [?]  
builder

Contributions to House  
Survey 1112 1133-1135  
(Nov. 21, 1766)

Survey of Alexander Stedman's Dwelling house and Back Buildings Situate at the South East Corner of High & Sixth Streets House 31 feet 6 Inches front 26 feet 6 Inches deep Three Story high, 14 & 9 Inch Walls Two Rooms and a Large Entry on a Floor, and plastered Partitions, the Front Parlour wainscotted up to the Ceiling a Tabernacle Frame Pediment over the Parlour door and a Dentile Cornish Round the Room.

The Back parlour wainscotted Surbase high a Tabernacle Frame and pediment over [over] the Entry & Closet Doors and a Dentile Cornish Round the Room The Entry wainscotted Surbase high Double pilaster, of the Corinthian Order, a Dentile Cornish with Freese & Architrave and pediments over Each Room door, The floor Dowel'd, The Second Story front ~~Parlour~~ [sic] Chamber wainscotted surbase high Tabernacle Frame Dentile <sup>Carved</sup> Round the Room - and pediment over the Door the Back Room finish after the same manner nearly Inside window shutters which folds into the Jass, the Entry wainscotted surbase high [illegible word] Dentile Cornish & Dowel'd floor The third Story Both Rooms finish with Brest surbase washboard and Cornish Round the Rooms Open Newel Stairs Ramp & Bracket <sup>[sic]</sup> and two flights Mahogany waincot Rails & Bannisters, Carret Plastered and a way out on the Roof and Battlements a Dorick Eve & Richly ornamented. Back building 2- [?] feet by 46 and 1 Three Story high 9 Inch walls a pantry and Common

Sitting Room below - bath wainscotted surbase high a Brest in the Room and Double Cornish Round in the Room above finish with brest surbase & washbord and board newel Stairs Kitchen 14 feet by 30 Two Story high 9 Inch walls the whole Painted inside and outside a frontispiece over the front Door  
11 11<sup>o</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> [?] 1766  
Saml Wetherill Jun.

£1100 on the House @ 50/

500 on the Back buildings @ 20/

[Value ?] on the front of the House £500 [illegible word]

[doing ?] the Back part at 500 by the [illegible words]

in 3 Policies.

Mr Alex<sup>r</sup> Stedman refusing to comply with the above Terms & having proposed the terms [?] he would agree to the Directors [?] in Considering the same Agreed to Insure the House at £1000 at 20/ p ct. & the Back buildings as above [?] as p Minutes of 6 January 1766.

[Policies] No. 1133, 1134, 1135

MIX @ 7/15/63

**APPENDIX D**

**Inventory of Joseph Galloway's Forfeited Household Goods, July 21, 1778**

Joseph Galloway purchased the Stedman property in 177 and occupied the house as mayor of the city under the British occupation of Philadelphia, 1777-1778. Galloway fled with his daughter during the British evacuation, leaving his house at Sixth and Market Streets in the care of his distraught wife, Elizabeth Growden Galloway. Pennsylvania patriots voted to confiscate Galloway's property, including the furnishings to the house at Sixth Street.

RG 4, Records of the Office of the Comptroller General, Forfeited Estates, A-Z  
Pennsylvania State Archives,  
Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Harrisburg

Philad<sup>a</sup>  
 July 21<sup>st</sup>  
 1778

**Inventory of Sundry Household Goods found in y<sup>e</sup>  
 House of Joseph Galloway, in Market Street.** - £ 10

Front Room Down Stairs	2 Mahogany Tables	M <sup>r</sup> Chairs	13				
	2 D <sup>r</sup> Card D <sup>r</sup>		12				
	10 D <sup>r</sup> Chairs with Hair Bottoms	(Chairs)	20/11	40			
	1 Windsor D <sup>r</sup>	D <sup>r</sup>	30/11	6			
	1 Brass Hand Irons	D <sup>r</sup>		9			
	1 Shovel & Tongues	D <sup>r</sup>		2			
	1 Mahogany Table	D <sup>r</sup>		5			
	1 Side Board			8			
	1 Table			3	10		
	8 Mahogany Chairs w. Hair Bottoms	(# Chairs)	80/1	32			
Back Room	1 Hand Irons & Tongues	D <sup>r</sup>	3				
	1 Small Looking Glass			10			
	1 Wine Decanter			5			
	6 Black Bottles	9/4		2			
	1 Small China Bowl			15			
	1 Tea Canister			2	6		
	1 Windsor Chair			1	10		
	1 Tooth Brush			2	6		
	1 Mahogany Stool	(Deborah Morris)		4			
	1 Casket with Silver Laps			2	10		
on the Landing	3 Brass Candle Sticks	1/6	1	2	6		
	17 Candles	2/6		2	6		
	3 Spanned Wipers		1	2	6		
	6 Cups	1/6		3			
	1 Stop Board			2	6		
	1 Cream Pott			3			
	1 Plate			5			
	1 Tea pott			7	6		
	5 Silver Tea Spoons			2	10		
	1 Plate, Basket & other D <sup>r</sup>	10/1		10			
Amount Carried Over			£	15	4	9	6

PHILADELPHIA  
 PAUL NEWMAN  
 100 N. 3rd St. Philadelphia, PA 19106  
 (215) 922-1234

2/ Amount Brought Over £ 154 9 6

1 Wine Glass	1/3	1	3	26
1 Brass Hand Irons	20/-	1		107
13 Black Bottles	2/6	4		17
2 China Bowles	15	1	10	19
1 Large Waiter	50/-	2	10	19
4 Jelly Glasses	1/-	4		12
3 Turf Spoons	1/6	4	6	15
1 Large Flint Bottle D. Sullivan	15/-		15	16
1 Silver Table Spoon	20/-	1		16
1 China Bowl	15/-		15	29
6 Dutch Dishes	10/-	3		16
12 G. Plates	40/-	2		19
1 Churn	7/6		6	17
3 Brushes	10/-		10	20
2 China Cups & Saucers	1/6		6	20
2 Iron Candle Sticks (A. Chew)	15		15	19
1 Large Jug	7/6		6	29
1 Small waiter	2/6		6	29
1 Tea Pot & 1 Smart Mugg	0/6		6	19
1 Wine Glass	1/3		3	49
1 Salt	1/6		6	19
1 Lamp Glass	12/6		12	6
2 Windsor Chairs	10/6	1		73
1 Bed Chest	22/6	1	2	6
6 Windsor Chairs (Mr Wharton)	20/-	1		10
1 Walnut Table	20/-	1		10
1 Brass Hand Irons	40/-	2		11
1 Open Stove	50/-	3		8
1 Jack & Weight (A. Chew)	9			29
1 Brass Kettle (A. Grandam)	80/-	4		10

Wife

For the children

For the Grand Room  
W. Lewis

26  
107  
17  
19  
19  
12  
15  
16  
16  
19  
17  
20  
20  
19  
29  
29  
19  
49  
19  
6  
73  
6  
10  
10  
11  
8  
29  
10  
10

The above list of articles is a copy of the original list  
 and is not to be taken as a receipt for any article  
 unless it is signed by the person to whom it is  
 delivered.

2 Copper & Brass pans		100/-	3	
1 Spit Rack	(Mr. Coburn)	100/-	3	
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Shovel & Tongue	D	10/-		10
1 Grid Iron	D	100/-	5	
1 Frying Pan	D	7/10		7 6
1 Drapping D.	D	15/-		15
1 Spit D.	D	15/-		15
1 Chopper & Cleaver	D	10/-		10
1 Baking Iron	(Robt. Enwing)	15/-		15
2 Iron T. Potts	Mr. Chew	30/-	1	10
1 Coffee Mill	D	20/-	1	
1 Iron Candlestick		7/6		7 6
1 Iron Tea Kettle		7/6		7 6
2 Old Table	Robt. Swain	7/6		7 6
2 Walnut Chairs		7/6 off		15
2 Windsor D.	Mr. Wharton	20/-	1	
1 Flesh Fork & Ranch		7/6		7 6
2 Tea potts & Sauce Boat		5/-		5
2 Yellow Jugs		5/-		10
1 D. Bowl		1/6		1 6
4 Knives & 8 Forks		7/6		7 6
1 Mahogany Bedstead & Sacking (Stuart)		15/-		15
1 Feather Bed	D. S. off			
7 Boulders	2 Pillows			
1 Blankett		15/-		15
1 Patch Counterpane		30/-	1	10
1 Lett Bed Curtains, complete (M. Stuart)			35	
1 Easy Chair			7	
8 Mahogany Chairs		25/-		10
2 Card Board Tables (Mr. Chew)		70/-		7
1 Case High Drawers				20
1 Oval Sconce	(Mr. Chew)			12

In the front Room  
Mr. Chew

Penna. Board  
 PENNSYLVANIA STATE ARCHIVES  
 Box 1029 Harrisburg, PA 17104  
 For more information contact:



In the Back room & 2nd Floor

Reproduction of an original record  
 Please Credit  
 NATIONAL SLAVE ARCHIVES  
 Box 10, 1000 14th St, NW, Washington DC 20004  
 www.nslas.org

17 Hand Bellows	13/-	15		
2 Windsor Chairs	25/-	2	10	
1 Mahogany Stand	60/-	3		
6 J. Chairs				
1 Cloac Stool (for 2 children)	60/-	3		
1 Looking Glass	20/-	1		
1 High Drawers	100/-	5		
1 Mahogany Dressing Table	140/-	7		
3 Bookshelves	7/6	1	2	6
2 High post Bedsteads & Sackings		8		
2 Feather Beds				
2 Boudoirs, 2 Pillows & Cases	4/6			
2 Sheets	11/25	2	10	
4 Blankets	50/-	2	10	
1 Counterpane	15/-		15	
5 Sheets	25/-	6	5	
1 Table Cloth	60/-	3		
6 Pillow Cases	7/6	2	5	
5 Napkins	1/6		7	6
3 Glass Saucers	60/-	3		
38 Black Bottles	0/4		19	8
1 Quantity London Magazines	30/-	1	10	
1 Small Tea Chest & 1 Canisters	10/-		10	
5 Books & 2 Baskets	20/-	1		
1 Set of Curtains	100/-	5		
2 Battle Boards	3/9			6
1 Bundle Green Gauze	20/-	1		
2 Old Shirts	20/-	2		
1 small Window Curtains	10/-	3		
some Green Curtains, Yellow J.	50/-	2	10	
1 Looking Glass		5	10	
1 Set of Iron Curting Rods	20/-	1		

In the Back room

15  
12

1 Looking Glass	60/-	3	
7 Bedstead & Packing	140/-	2	
1 Feather Bed & 2 Pillows	3 1/6		
1 Sheet	5/-	5	
1 Old Counterpane	7/6	7	6
1 Mahogany Tea Table - Widow Shaw	60/-	3	
1 Walnut & Windsor Chairs	20/-	4	
3 Blankets	2	5	15
1 Shovel	5/-	5	
3 Bags Feather	3 1/6		
1 Sheet	1/6	1	6
1 Feather Bed & 1 Boudoir	2 1/6		
1 Rug	10/-	10	
1 Walnut Book Case	30/-	1	10
2 Glasses	1/6	2	
1 Bedstead	30/-	1	10
1 Couch Bed	2 1/6		
1 Blankett	20/-	1	
1 Windsor & Walnut Chairs	10/-	10	
1 Feather Bed & 1 Pillow	1 1/6		
50 Empty Bottles	0/4	16	8
2 Casks	2/6	5	
House for	5/-	5	
2 Axes	7/6	15	
1 Glass Windows for a Chariot	30/-	6	
1 Walnut Table	30/-	1	10
1 Cow		20	
1 Carriage & Harness		25	
2 Old Lanthorns	2/6	2	6
1 Wood Saw	30/-	1	10
2 Stoves - One £7. The other £1.10		8	10

911/2  
Widow Shaw

John McFarland

From Mr. Mitchell

Wm. McFarland

Am<sup>t</sup> Brought Over —

2 Tubbs	7/6	15
5 Old Barrels	2/6	2 6
1 Parcel Magazines	13	13
1 F. Old Acct <sup>s</sup>	5	5
1 Shovel & 1. Praxe	7/6	7 6

Appraised Aug. 5. 1778 By

Jacob Barge

Wm. Sheaffe

Charles Wilson Lisle

Robert Smith

Philad<sup>ca</sup> Personally before me this day appeared the subscribers Jacob Barge & William Sheaffe who being duly sworn doth depose & say That the foregoing appraisment & valuation of the Goods found in the House and supposed to belong to Joseph Galloway is just & true to the best of their abilities under standing & belief Given under my hand & seal the 18 day August 1778

J. M. Mason

Cost p<sup>d</sup> by Col. Will. S.

## APPENDIX E

### **Insurance Policies for Governor [Richard] Penn's Dwelling, Mar. 1, 1779**

Richard Penn, married to the daughter of Mary Masters who built the mansion near the southeast corner of Market and Sixth Streets early in the 1760s, insured the property after he and his wife escaped to England during the Revolution. Less than a year after he took out the policies, this beautiful home burned down on January 1, 1780. Robert Morris arranged to rebuild the house, largely on the same scale. See the plan of the property drawn up after the fire in Illustration 5 and Appendix I, insurance on the property in 1798, for a description of Morris' construction.

Contributionship Book 1, 49

Survey? March 1, 1878 - Governor Davis dwelling house  
 front on the south side of High Street between 5th & 6th Streets -  
 45 feet front 50 feet deep 2 1/2 story high - 14 1/2 inch walls -  
 Mahogany Entry & Hair Case in first story on 4 story of Hair  
 Brass? Brackets mounted on a cast-iron rail 18 inch balusters  
 Mahogany Hair Case and Entry in front pediment high  
 2 fluted Columns 12 pilasters 12 arches 4 pediments in addition  
 Cornish front parlor window all round 12 pilasters Cornish  
 Hair Case in niches with brackets Dentals 18 inch pediments  
 Mahogany Hair Case mounted Cornish 18 inch on front - west back  
 parlor window all round front Cornish 2 pediments  
 Mahogany Hair Case on front - east back parlor Chimney  
 Brackets Hair Case 12 pilasters Cornish - Dowel Floor in  
 first story Mahogany doors - Mahogany glass in  
 each story Glass 16 by 12 inch - front Chamber in 2 story  
 window pediment high - pediments front Cornish Mahogany  
 frame 18 inch on front - pediment pediment high pediments  
 Black Cornish west back Chamber the same as front but  
 no Mahogany frame on front - east back Chamber Chimney  
 Brackets Hair Case 12 pilasters Cornish - 3 story Chimney  
 Brackets Hair Case - front - parlor 12 pilasters 12 rooms 12 pilasters  
 former window - Roof covered with short shingles - a front  
 of door pediments windows in addition cornice - a brick wall  
 runs north & south in the middle of the house - the whole  
 painted inside & out - The back building 16 by 9 feet and  
 5 1/2 by 10 ft one story high 9 inch walls -

June 7 1878

2000 on the House 2000 to be divided in four  
 parts by the brick wall running from front to rear & by a brick  
 wall running east & west from the center of the division and an  
 imaginary line continuing from thence to the left side and  
 2000 on the back building 2000

five policies -

APPENDIX F

**Deed, Mary Masters, Richard Penn & Sarah Masters to Robert Morris**  
**August, 25, 1785**

Mary Masters, her son-in-law Richard Penn, and daughter, Sarah Penn, signed the deed transferring ownership to the Market Street property where Robert Morris had been living for nearly four years. Morris rebuilt the house on the foundations of the Masters-Penn house after the 1780 fire. The deed explains that Morris' attorney delayed the land purchase to allow time to make a careful study of the title for his client.

Philadelphia County Deed Book D-15, 117-120  
[190 High Street, the Executive Mansion]  
Typescript by Ed Lawler, 1999

Record book and as her self and Deed did deliver the  
Deed of Conveyance without any coercion or Compulsion  
from her self Husband In Witness whereof I have  
hereunto set my Hand and seal this 15<sup>th</sup> Day of February  
A.D. 1786 — Saml. Wharton (Seal)  
Recorded A.D. March 1786  
Deed, 5 AUG 1785

Deed: Mary Masters, Rich<sup>d</sup> Penn } This Indenture made the  
& Sarah Masters } twenty fifth day of August in the  
To: Robert Morris Esq. Exar } year of our Lord one thousand seven  
hundred and eighty five, Between Richard Penn late of the  
City of Philadelphia now of Cavendish Square in the County  
of Middlesex in Great Britain Esquire and Mary his wife of  
the first part, Mary Masters of the same place Widow of the  
second part, Sarah Masters of the same place Spinster of  
the third part, Jech Francis of the City of Philadelphia  
Gentleman of the fourth part and Robert Morris of the same  
City Esquire of the fifth part Whereas James Kinsey and Hannah his  
wife Philip Kinsy and Thomas Kinsy by Indenture dated the first  
day of January the thousand seven hundred and sixty one for the con-  
sideration therein mentioned did grant bargain sell convey and en-  
sure to John Lawrence Esquire his heirs and assigns forever a certain lot  
of Ground situate on the South side of High Street in the City of Philadel-  
phia containing in breadth on the said street forty eight feet and  
in Depth one hundred and eighty feet, bounded on the East by the Ground of the  
said James Kinsey and Brothers on the South by minor street or shaded by  
other Ground then or late of the said James Kinsey and Brothers and then  
covered or intended to be conveyed to Alexander Stearns and on the North  
by High Street of aforesaid or in and by the said Indenture fully appears And  
Whereas the said John Lawrence and Elizabeth his wife by Indenture dated the  
twentieth day of October one thousand seven hundred and sixty one for the  
consideration therein mentioned did grant bargain sell convey and assure the  
said lot of Ground with the Appurtenances to the said Mary Master and Her  
and Assigns forever as by the same Indenture fully appears And Whereas  
the said Mary Masters by Deed Bt bearing Date the nineteenth day of May one  
thousand seven hundred and seventy two reciting that she had made a dwelling  
or Dwelling House and made other Improvements on the said lot of Ground did  
give grant and confirm the said lot with the Building Improvements thereon to  
her eldest Daughter Mary Masters and the said Mary the wife of the said Richard  
Penn and Herly Krets and her Husband Assigns forever and by the  
said Deed Bt fully appears And Whereas the said James Kinsey and wife Philip Kinsey  
and Hannah Kinsey by one other Indenture dated the fifth Day of August one thousand seven  
hundred and sixty one did grant bargain sell convey and assure the said lot of Ground

of Middlesex in Great Britain Esquire and Mary his wife of  
the first part, Mary Master of the same place widow of the  
second part, Sarah Master of the same place daughter of  
the third part, Leah Francis of the City of Philadelphia  
Gentleman of the fourth part and Robert Morris of the same  
City Esquire of the fifth part Whereas James Kinsey and Hannah his  
wife Philip Kinsey and Thomas Kinsey by Indenture dated the first  
day of January the thousand seven hundred and sixty one for the  
redemption therein mentioned did grant bargain sell convey and as-  
sure to John Lawrence Esquire his heirs and assigns forever a certain lot  
of Ground situate on the south side of High Street in the City of Philadel-  
phia containing in breadth on the said street forty eight feet and  
in depth one hundred and eighty feet bounded on the East by the Ground of the  
said James Kinsey and Brothers on the south by Minor Street on the West by  
other Ground then or late of the said James Kinsey and Brothers and then  
conveyed or intended to be conveyed to Alexander Steedman and on the North  
by High Street aforesaid as in and by the said Indenture fully appears And  
Whereas the said John Lawrence and Elizabeth his wife by Indenture dated the  
twentieth day of October one thousand seven hundred and sixty one for the  
consideration therein mentioned did grant bargain sell convey and assure the  
said lot of Ground with the Appurtenances to the said Mary Master on Her  
and Assigns for ever as by the same Indenture fully appears And Whereas  
the said Mary Master by Deed Poll bearing Date the nineteenth day of May one  
thousand seven hundred and seventy two reciting that she had bought and bought  
or Dwelling House and made other Improvements on the said lot of Ground did  
give grant and confirm the said lot with the Building Improvements thereon to  
her eldest Daughter Mary Master with the said Mary the wife of the said Robert  
Down and Parly Krets and her Heirs and Assigns for ever as in and by the  
said Deed Poll fully appears And Whereas the said James Kinsey and wife Philip Kinsey  
and Thomas Kinsey by one their Indenture dated the fifth day of August one thousand seven  
hundred and sixty eight did grant bargain sell convey and assure to the said Mary  
Master the mother her Heirs and Assigns forever one other lot of Ground situate on the  
South side of High Street aforesaid next adjoining to and on the East side of the lot  
above described and containing in breadth twenty four feet and in depth one hundred and  
Eighty feet bounded Eastward by other Ground of the said James Kinsey and Brothers South-  
ward by Minor Street aforesaid, and Westward by the above described lot adjoining thereof one Ann-  
uity or yearly rent charge of thirty Pounds lawful Money of Pennsylvania payable to the said  
James Kinsey and Philip Kinsey and Thomas Kinsey their Heirs and Assigns forever as in and by the said  
Indenture fully appears and Whereas the said Mary Master by Deed Poll bearing Date the last aforesaid Indenture  
and dated the sixth day of July one thousand seven hundred and seventy three for the consideration  
therein mentioned did bargain sell assign and set over the said lot of



ground with the opportunity to the said Richard Penn his Heir and assigns for ever, along with the said road as in and by the said Deed well appears, And whereas the said Mary Masters the Mother by force of some good conveyance and assurance in the Law became seized in her Demise as of fee and in another Lot or stripe of Ground adjoining the first described Lot on the West side of High Street which Lot before mentioned to have been granted or intended to be granted by the said James Kinsey and Brothers to the said Alexander Sedman which last mentioned stripe contained in breadth on High Street three or four rods or less and in depth from High Street to Minor Street one Hundred and Eighty feet and is bounded Eastward by the first above described Lot and Westward by the remainder of the said Lot granted to Alexander Sedman And whereas the Capital Messuage erected on the said Lot was burnt about the second day of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty for the most part consumed by fire and rendered uninhabitable whereupon the said Richard Penn by Letters under his Hand directed to the said Joseph Francis (whom he had constituted his Attorney which Power to sell and convey all his Real Estate in America) to sell the Ruins of the said Messuage together with all and singular the Lots of Ground herein above described which were and had been customarily used with the said Messuage to any person willing to purchase the same and thereupon the said Joseph Francis as Attorney to the said Richard Penn contracted with the said Robert Morris for the absolute sale and conveyance of the said Messuage and Lots of Ground for the price of three thousand seven hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain which sum the said Robert Morris seemed to be paid to the said Richard Penn upon the presenting the title to the said Robert Morris and thereupon the said Robert Morris received possession of the said ruins and Lots of Ground and hath since caused them to be rebuilt and repaired and hath made divers other very valuable Improvements thereon And whereas in pursuance of the said Contract so made by the said Joseph Francis and in Order to carry the same into execution an Indenture Tripartite was drawn and executed in England bearing date the eight Day of June one thousand seven hundred and eighty one wherein the said Richard Penn and Mary his wife and Sarah Masters were parties of the first part, the said Mary Masters widow was party of the second part, and the said Joseph Francis was party of the third part In which Indenture it was recited in substance that the said Messuage and the Lot of Land whereon it stood was Originally the Estate of William Masters deceased the husband of the said Mary Masters and

vested by the remainder of the said Lot granted to Edward  
Bridman said above the Capital Messuage erected on the said Lot and  
on about the second day of January one thousand seven hundred and  
eighty for the most part consumed by fire and rendered inhabitable  
whereupon the said Richard Penn by Letters under his Hand sealed  
did send send Francis whom he had constituted his Attorney with  
Power to sell and convey all his Real Estate in America) to sell the  
Remainder of the said Messuage together with all and singular the Lots of Ground  
above described which were and had been customarily used with  
the said Messuage to any person willing to purchase the same and  
thereupon the said Francis as Attorney to the said Richard Penn  
contracted with the said Robert Morris for the absolute sale and convey-  
ance of the said Messuage and Lots of Ground for the price of three  
thousand seven hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain  
which sum the said Robert Morris deemed to be paid to the said Richard  
Penn upon the presenting the title to the said Robert Morris and there-  
upon the said Robert Morris received possession of the said messuage  
and Lots of Ground and hath since caused them to be rebuilt and  
repaired and hath made divers other very valuable Improvements  
thereon and whereas in pursuance of the said Contract so made  
by the said Francis and in Order to carry the same into  
execution an Indenture Inpartite was drawn and executed in England  
bearing date the eight Day of June one thousand seven hundred and  
eighty one wherein the said Richard Penn and Mary his wife  
and Sarah Masters were parties of the first part, the said Mary  
Masters, widow was party of the second part, and ~~the~~ the said  
Francis was party of the third part In which Indenture  
it was recited in substance that the said Messuage and  
the Lot of Land wherein it stood was Originally the Estate of William  
Masters deceased the husband of the said Mary Masters and  
Father of the said Mary Penn and Sarah Masters that upon  
his Death the same descended to the said Mary Penn  
and Sarah Masters in fee simple subject to the Right  
of Dower of the said Mary Masters of and in the same  
that the said Mary Penn and Sarah Masters were  
desirous to sell and dispose of the same with the  
approbation of the said Mary Masters, and for effects  
along that purpose in consideration of the sum of five  
Shillings the said Richard Penn and Mary his  
wife and Sarah Masters did grant bargain and  
sell and the said Mary Masters did release ratify

and confirm to the said Sarah Francis all that the Lot of  
Land in the said Deed mentioned with all the Buildings  
and Appurtenances thereunto belonging to hold to have his  
Heirs and assigns to his and their proper Use and behoof for ever  
upon Trust nevertheless to sell and dispose of the same for  
the Use of the said Robert Morris and his assigns  
Sarah Masters and the Heirs and assigns of the said Mary  
Lynn and Sarah Masters respectively as in and by the said  
Indenture recorded at Philadelphia in Volume of Attorney N<sup>o</sup>. 1.  
Page 215. Col<sup>r</sup>. fully appears which said recitals are not founded  
in facts nor is the description of the said Lot or Lots sufficiently  
comprehensive or certain to assure the same to the said Robert  
Morris in the full extent of the contract and therefore it has been  
advised by the Council learned in the Law of the said Robert  
Morris to cause and procure a Deed describing the premises  
with more certainty to be executed by all the said Parties to this  
present wholly as well the legal Estate by the last recited Indenture  
vested in the said Sarah Francis as the Trust created thereby  
of the purchase Money for the said Richard Lynn and Mary his  
wife and Sarah Masters and all other the Rights which the said  
Mary Masters Richard Lynn and Mary his wife Sarah Masters and  
Sarah Francis have of or to and out of all the said Lots may  
be and are vested and vested in the said Robert Morris Now  
therefore this Indenture Witnesseth the said Mary Masters for and in  
consideration of the Natural Love and affection which she hath and  
beareth to her Daughter the said Mary Lynn and to enable the  
said Richard Lynn and Mary his wife to perfect the title to the  
said Marriage and Lots and thereupon to receive the purchase  
money agreed for and also of the sum of five Shillings to her in hand  
paid by the said Robert Morris the Receipt whereof is hereby acknow-  
ledged, The said Richard Lynn and Mary his wife for and in consid-  
eration of the said sum of three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds  
Sterling Money of Great Britain to them in hand paid at the time  
of the Execution hereof by the said Robert Morris being the full  
purchase money agreed on the receipt whereof is hereby acknow-  
ledged the said Sarah Masters in consideration of the said  
mistake in the said Recited Indenture and in order to rectify the  
same and of the sum of five Shillings to her in hand paid by  
the said Robert Morris at the time of the Execution hereof and  
the said Sarah Francis in performance and execution of the trust  
the said Indenture is here reposed and as Execution of the con-  
tract so as aforesaid by her made as Attorney to the said

advised by the Council Learned in the Law of the said Robert Morris to cause and procure a Deed describing the premises with more certainty to be executed by all the said Parties to these presents wholly at well the legal Estate by the last recited Indenture vested in the said Trust Transient or the Trust created thereby of the purchase Money for the said Richard Penn and Mary his wife and Sarah Masters and all other the Rights which the said Mary Masters Richard Penn and Mary his wife Sarah Masters and Sarah Francis have of or to and out of all the said Lots may be and are vested and vested in the said Robert Morris Now therefore this Indenture Witnesseth the said Mary Masters for and in consideration of the Natural Love and Affection which she hath and beareth to her Daughter the said Mary Penn and to enable the said Richard Penn and Mary his wife to perfect the Title to the said Messuage and Lots said thereupon to receive the purchase Money agreed for and also of the sum of five Shillings to her in hand paid by the said Robert Morris the Receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, The said Richard Penn and Mary his wife for and in consideration of the said sum of three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain to them in hand paid at the time of the Execution hereof by the said Robert Morris being the full purchase Money agreed on the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged the said Sarah Masters in consideration of the said Mistake on the said Recited Indenture, and in order to rectify the same out of the sum of five Shillings to her in hand paid by the said Robert Morris at the time of the Execution hereof and the said Trust Transient or Transient and execution of the Trust in the said Indenture in line aforesaid and in Execution of the same Trust so as aforesaid by him made as Attorney to the said Richard Penn and in consideration of the sum of five Shillings to him in hand paid at the time of the Execution hereof the Receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged Now and each of them hath granted bargained sold aliened conveyed Released and confirmed and they and each of them for him their and themselves Do and Doth jointly and severally grant bargain and sell alien convey release and confirm to the said Robert Morris his heirs and assigns for ever All that Capital Messuage and the said Lots of Ground herein above mentioned thereto belonging and therewith used situate on the south side of High Street between fifth and sixth in the City of Philadelphia containing in breadth on High Street aforesaid seventy five feet be the same more or less and in Depth from High Street to Minor Street

one hundred and eighty feet bounded on the North by High Street  
of the East by the Ground late of James Kinney and Brothers and  
by their lately conveyed to the said Robert Morris on the South  
by Minor Street and on the West by a Messuage and Lot now  
vested in the Commonwealth for the the use of the President  
for the time being of the Supreme Executive Council thereof  
or hereafter the said Messuage Lot or Lots and premises  
to be granted are or ought to be better bounded  
and described together with all and singular the Houses Buildings  
Improvements Ways Water Courses Rights Liberties Privileges  
Immunities Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever to the same  
belonging or therewith used and possessed nothing whatever re-  
served or excepted and the Reservations and Remainders Rents issues and  
profits thereof and all the Estate Right Title Interest Fee Simple  
Property Possession Claim and Demand whatsoever either at Law  
or in Equity or otherwise howsoever of them the said Mary Motters  
Richard Penn and Mary his wife Sarah Masters and Jacob  
Francis and of each and every of them either jointly with one  
or more of them or severally of him her or themselves of in to or  
out of the premises or any and every part thereof To have  
and to hold the said Messuage Lot or Lots of Ground and  
Premises with all and every their Appurtenances to the said  
Robert Morris his Heirs and Assigns to his and their own  
proper use and behoof for ever Subject never the less to  
and charged with the said yearly Rent of thirty Pounds  
lawful Money of Pennsylvania issuing out of one of the said  
Lots payable to the said James Kinney and Brothers their  
Heirs and Assigns for ever and to the Proportionable  
part of the yearly Quit rent reserved out of a Larger Lot  
of which the said Lot or Lots were part payable to the late  
proprietaries of Pennsylvania and their Heirs for ever if any  
such Quit rent is or shall be due to them And the said Mary  
Motters for herself and her Heirs and the said Richard Penn  
and Mary his wife for themselves and their Heirs and  
especially for the Heirs of the said Mary Penn and the said  
Sarah Masters for herself and her self and her Heirs and  
the said Jacob Francis for himself and his Heirs and not  
jointly or one for another of them and both severally present and  
future and with the said Robert Morris his Heirs and Assigns who are and shall be  
heirs of the purchase of the Premises hereby intended to be granted saying that they  
that they or any or either have and shall not have or suffer to be done any Act  
matter or thing whatsoever

of the same and all the estate right title interest due trust  
property possession claim and demand whatsoever either at Law  
or in Equity or otherwise howsoever of them the said Mary Masters  
Richard Penn and Mary his Wife Sarah Masters and Tench  
Francis and of each and every of them either jointly with one  
or more of them or severally of her or her or themselves of us to or  
out of the premises or any and every part thereof To have  
and to hold the said Messuage Lot or Lots of Ground and  
Premises with all and every their Appurtenances to the said  
Robert Morris his Heirs and Assigns to his and their own  
proper Use and Benefit for ever Subject nevertheless the last to  
and charged with the said yearly Rent of thirty pounds  
lawful Money of Pennsylvania issuing out of one of the said  
Lots payable to the said James Kinsey and Brothers their  
Heirs and Assigns for ever And to the Proportionable  
Part of the yearly Quit rent reserved out of a Larger Lot  
of which the said Lot or Lots were part payable to the late  
Proprietaries of Pennsylvania and their Heirs for ever if any  
such Quit rent is or shall be due to them And the said Mary  
Masters for herself and her Heirs and the said Richard Penn  
and Mary his Wife for themselves and their Heirs and  
especially for the Heirs of the said Mary Penn and the said  
Sarah Masters for herself and her self and her Heirs and  
the said Tench Francis for himself and his Heirs and not  
jointly or one for another of them To and with covenant promise grant and  
warranty and with the said Robert Morris his Heirs and Assigns who are or shall be  
Heirs of the freehold of the Premises hereby intended to be granted or any part thereof  
that they or any or either have and hath not done or suffer to be done any Act  
matter or thing whatsoever whereby the same or any part thereof hath been or may be  
charged or incumbered or the title thereof impeached and that they and each and every  
of them their and each and every of their Heirs all and singular the premises hereby  
intended to be granted with the appurtenances to the said Robert Morris his Heirs and Assigns  
who are or shall be Tenants of the freehold of the same or any part thereof against  
themselves and each of them severally and against all and all Manner of Persons whatsoever  
lawfully claiming by this from a Vendor them or any or either of them shall and will  
warrant and for ever defend In Witness whereof the said Parties have to these presents set  
their Hands and seals the Day and Year above written Tench Francis (S)  
Sealed & Delivered by Tench Francis in the presence of us Tho: Wm Francis, Mers Fisher }  
Richard Penn (S) Mary Penn (S)  
Mary Penn (S) Mary Masters (S)  
Sarah Masters (S)

# 1785 DEED TO 190 HIGH STREET

Deed. [2]5 AUG 1785

Deed: Mary Masters, Richard Penn  
& Sarah Masters

To: Robert Morris

This Indenture made the  
twenty fifth day of August in the  
Year of our Lord one thousand seven

hundred and eighty five, Between Richard Penn late of the City of Philadelphia now of Cavendish Square in the County of Middlesex in Great Britain Esquire and Mary his wife of the first part, Mary Masters of the same place Widow of the second part, Sarah Masters of the same place Spinster of the third part, Tench Francis of the City of Philadelphia Gentleman of the fourth part, and Robert Morris of the same City Esquire of the fifth part. Whereas James Kinsey and Hannah his Wife, Phillip Kinsey and Thomas Kinsey by Indenture dated the first day of January one thousand seven hundred and sixty one for the Consideration therein mentioned did grant bargain sell convey and assure to John Lawrence Esquire his heirs and assigns forever a **Certain Lot of Ground situate on the South side of High Street in the City of Philadelphia containing in breadth on the said Street forty eight feet and in Depth one hundred and eighty feet**, bounded on the East by thier Ground of the said James Kinsey and Brothers on the South by Minor Street on the West by thier Ground then or late of the said James Kinsey and Brothers and then conveyed or intended to be conveyed to Alexander Stedman and on the North by High Street aforesaid as in and by the said Indenture fully appears [--] And Whereas the said John Lawrence and Elizabeth his Wife by Indenture dated the twentieth day of October one thousand seven hundred and sixty one for the Consideration therein mentioned did grant bargain sell convey and assure the said Lot of Ground with the Appurtenances to the said Mary Masters her Heirs and Assigns for ever as by the same Indenture fully appears [--] And Whereas the said Mary Masters by Deed Roll bearing Date the nineteenth day of May one thousand seven hundred and seventy two reciting that she had erected a Messuage or Dwelling House and made other Improvements on the said Lot of Ground did give grant and Confirm the said Lot with the Building 'and' Improvements therein to her eldest Daughter Mary Masters and this said Mary the Wife of said Richard Penn and Party herein and her Heirs and Assigns for ever as in and by the said Deed Roll fully appears [--] [And Whereas the said James Kinsey and Wife Phillip Kinsey and Thomas Kinsey by one other Indenture dated the fifth Day of August one thousand seven hundred and sixty eight did grant bargain sell Convey and assure to the said Mary Masters the Mother her Heirs and Assigns forever **one other Lot of Ground situate on the South Side of High Street aforesaid next adjoining to and on the East Side of the Lot herein 'above' described and Containing in Breadth twenty four feet and in depth one hundred and Eighty feet** bounded Eastward by other Ground of the said James Kinsey and Brothers Southward by Minor Street aforesaid, and Westward by the above described Lot reserving thereof one Annuity or yearly rent Charge of thirty Pounds lawful Money of Pennsylvania payable to the said James Kinsey and Phillip Kinsey and Thomas Kinsey their Heirs and Assigns forever, as in and by the said Indentures fully appears and Whereas the said Mary Masters by Deed Roll indorses on the last [ill.] Indenture and dated the sixth day of July one thousand seven hundred and seventy three for the Consideration therein mentioned did bargain sell assign and set over the said Lot of

Ground with the Apportionments to the said Richard Penn his Heirs and assigns for ever charged with the said rent as in and by the said Deed Roll 'fully' appears [--] And Whereas the said Mary Masters the Mother by force of some good Conveyance and assurance in the Law become used in her [*illegible*] as of fee of and in another Lot or stripe of Ground adjoining the first described Lot on the West side thereof [*illegible*] of a Lot herein before mentioned to have been granted or intended to be granted by the said James Kinsey and Brothers to the said Alexander Stedman which last mentioned stripe contained in breadth on High Street Three [feet] be the same more or less and in depth from High Street to Minor Street one hundred and Eighty feet and is bounded Eastward by the first above described Lot and Westward by the remainder of the said Lot granted to Alexander Stedman [--] **And Whereas the Capital Messuage erected on the said Lot was on or about the second day of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty for the most part consumed by fire and rendered uninhabitable** whereupon the said Richard Penn by Letters under his Hand directed the said Tench Francis (whom he had instituted his Attorney whith [sic] Power to sell and Convey all his Real Estate in America) to sell the Ruins of the said Messuage together with all and Singular the Lots of Ground herein above described which were and had been customarily used with the said Messuage to any person willing to purchase the same and thereupon the said Tench Francis as Attorney to the said Richard Penn contracted with the said Robert Morris for the absolute sale and conveyance of the said Messuage and Lots of Ground for the price of three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain which Sum the said Robert Morris secured to be paid to the said Richard Penn upon the perfecting the title to the said Robert Morris and thereupon the said Robert Morris received possession of the said ruins and Lots of Ground and hath since caused them to be rebuilt and repaired and hath made divers other very Valuable Improvements therein [--] And Whereas in persuance of the said Contract so made by the said Tench Francis and in Order to carry the same into execution an Indenture Tripartite was drawn and executed in England bearing the date the eight[h] day of June one thousand seven hundred and eighty one where in the said Richard Penn and Mary his Wife and Sarah Masters were parties of the first part, the said Mary Masters, Widow was party of the second part, and the said Tench Francis was party of the third part [--] In which Indenture it was recited in Sunstance that the said Messuage and the Lot of Land wherein it stood was Originally the Estate of William Masters deceased the husband of the said Mary Masters and Father of the said Mary Penn and Sarah Masters that upon his Death the same descended to the said Mary Penn and Sarah Masters in ffee [sic] simple subject to the Right of Dower of the said Mary Masters of and in the same that the said Mary Penn and Sarah Masters were desirous to sell and dispose of the same with the approbation of the said Mary Masters, and for effectuating that purpose in Consideration of the Sum of five Shillings the said Richard Penn and Mary his Wife and Sarah Masters did grant bargain and Sell and the said Mary Masters did release ratify



and confirm to the said Tench Francis all that the Lot of Land in the said Deed mentioned with all the Buildings and Appurtenances thereunto belonging To hold to him his Heirs and Assigns to his and their proper Use and Behoof for ever upon trust nevertheless to sell and dispose of the same for the Use of the said Richard Penn and Mary his Wife and Sarah Masters and the Heirs and Assigns of the said Mary Penn and Sarah Masters respectively as in and by the said **Indenture recorded at Philadelphia in Letter of Attorney No. 1. Page 215 &c.** fully appears which said recitals are not founded in facts nor is the description of the said Lot or Lots sufficiently comprehensive or certain to assure the same to the said Robert Morris in the full extent of the Contract [--] **Wherefore it has been advised by the Council learned in the Law of the said Robert Morris to cause and procure a Deed describing the premises with more certainty to be executed by all the said Parties** to these presents whereby as well the legal Estate by the last recited Indenture vested in the said Tench Francis as the Trust created thereby of the purchase Monies for the said Richard Penn and Mary his Wife and Sarah Masters and all other the Rights which the said Mary Masters[,] Richard Penn and Mary his Wife[,] Sarah Masters and Tench Francis have of in to and out of all the said Lotts may be consolidated and vested in the said Robert Morris Now therefore this Indenture Witnesseth the said Mary Masters for and in Consideration of the Natural Love and Affection which she hath and beareth to her Daughter the said Mary Penn and to enable the said Richard Penn and Mary his Wife to perfect the Title to the said Messuage and Lots and thereupon to receive the purchase Money agreed for and also of the sum of five Shillings to her in hand paid by the said Robert Morris the Receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, The said Richard Penn and Mary his Wife for and in Consideration of the said sum of three thousand seven hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain to these in hand paid at the Time of the Execution hereof by the said Robert Morris being the full purchase Money agreed on the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, the said Sarah Masters in Consideration of the said **Mistake in the said Recited Indenture**, and in order to rectify the same and of the Sum of five Shillings to her in hand paid by the said Robert Morris at the Time of the Execution hereof and the said Tench Francis in pursuance and execution of the Trust by the said Indenture in him reposed and in Execution of the Contract so as aforesaid by him made as Attorney to the said Richard Penn and in Consideration of the Sum of five Shillings to him in Hand paid at the Time of the Execution hereof the Receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged [--] Have and each of them Hath granted bargained sold aliened [*illegible*] Released and Confirmed and they and each of them for him her and themselves Do and Doth jointly and severally grant bargain and sell alien [*illegible*] release and confirm to the said Robert Morris his Heirs and Assigns for ever **All that Capital Messuage and the said Lots of Ground herein above mentioned thereto belonging and therewith used situate on the South side of High Street between fifth and Sixth in the City of Philadelphia containing in breadth on High Street aforesaid Seventy five feet be the same more or less and in Depth from High Street to Minor Street**

one hundred and eighty feet bounded on the North by High Street  
 of the East by the Ground Late of James Kinsey and Brothers and  
 by Minor Street and on the West by a Messuage and Lot now  
 vested in the Commonwealth for the Use of the President  
 for the Time being of the Supreme Executive Council thereof  
 or howsoever else the said Messuage Lot or Lots and premises  
 hereby intended to be granted are or ought to be [*illegible*] bounded  
 and described [--] Together with all and Singular the House Buildings  
 Imporvements Ways Waters Water Courses Lights Liberties Privileges  
 Immunities Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever to the same  
 belonging or therewith used and Possessed nothing whatsoever reser-  
 ved or excepted and the Reversions and Remainders Rents issues and  
 profits thereof and all the Estate Right Title Interest Use Trust  
 Property Possession Claim and Demand whatsoever either at Law  
 or in Equity or otherwise howsoever of them the said Mary Masters[,]  
 Richard Penn and Mary his Wife[,] Sarah Masters[,] and Tench  
 Francis and of each and every of them either jointly with one  
 or more of them or severally of him her or themselves of in to or  
 out of the premises or any and every part thereof [--] To have  
 and to hold the said Messuage Lot or Lots of Ground and  
 Premises with all and every their Appurtenances to the said  
 Robert Morris his Heirs and assigns to his and their own  
 proper Use and Behoof for ever Subject never the less to  
 and charged with the said Yearly Rent of thirty Pounds  
 lawful Money of Pennsylvania issuing out of one of the said  
 Lots payable to the said James Kinsey and Brothers their  
 Heirs and Assigns for ever And to the Proportionable  
 part of the yearly Quit rent reserved out of a Larger Lot  
 of which the said Lot or Lots were part payable to the late  
 proprietaries of Pennsylvania and their Heirs for ever if any  
 such Quit rent is or shall be due to those[--] And the said Mary  
 Masters for herself and her Heirs and the said Richard Penn  
 and Mary his Wife for themselves and their Heirs and  
 especially for the Heirs of the said Mary Penn and the said  
 Sarah Masters for herself and her self and her Heirs and  
 the said Tench Francis for himself and his Heirs and  
 jointly or one for another of them Do and Doth covenant promise grant and  
 agree to and with the said Robert Morris his Heirs and Assigns who are or shall be  
 Tenants of the Freehold of the Premises hereby intended to be granted or any part thereof  
 that they or any or either have and hath not done or suffered to be done any Act  
 Matter or Thing whatsoever whereby the same or any part thereof hath been or may be  
 charged or incumbered or the Title thereof impeached and that they and each and every  
 of them their and each and every of their Heirs all and Singular the premises hereby  
 intended to be granted with the appurtenances as to the said Robert Morris his Heirs and Assigns  
 who are or shall be Tenants of the Freehold of the same or any part thereof against  
 themselves and each of them severally and against all and all Manner of Persons whatsoever  
 lawfully Claiming by this from or under them or any or other of them shall and Will  
 Warrant and forever defend In Witness whereof the said Parties have to these presents set their Hands and  
 Seals the Day and Year above Written  
 Sealed & Delivered by Tench Francis in the  
 presence of us: Thoꝝ Wm Francis, Miers Fisher

Tench Francis (seal)

Richd Penn (seal) ~~Mary Penn (seal)~~

Mary Penn (seal) Mary Masters (seal)

Sarah Masters (seal)

## APPENDIX G

### **Robert Morris' letter to George Washington describing his Ice House, June 15, 1784**

On June 2, 1784, Washington wrote his friend Robert Morris asking for a description of Morris' icehouse he'd seen on a visit to Philadelphia. When he reconstructed the Penn-Masters house, Morris added an ice house to the property. Jacob Hiltzheimer noted in his diary in February 1782 that he filled the ice house at Morris' dwelling on Market Street with ice taken from the Schuylkill River. Archeology on block in the spring of 2001 located a large pit in the southwest corner of the Morris property, presumably the remains of the ice house Morris described to Washington in this letter.

W.W. Abbot, Editor, *The Papers of George Washington, Confederation Series, I, January–July 1784*, (Charlottesville, 1992), 450-452.

for Baltimore (where he is to embark) yesterday—My Ice House is about 18 feet deep and 16 Square, the bottom is a Coarse Gravell & the Water which drains from the Ice soaks into it as fast as the Ice melts, this prevents the necessity of a Drain which if the bottom was a Clay or Stiff Loom would be necessary and for this reason the side of a Hill is preferred generally for digging an Ice House, as if needful a drain can easily be cut from the bottom of it, through the side of the Hill to let the Water run out. The Walls of my Ice House are built of Stone without Mortar (which is called a Dry Wall) untill within a foot and a half of the Surface of the Earth when Mortar was used from thence to the Surface to make the top more binding and Solid—When this wall was brought up even with the Surface of the Earth I stopped there and then dug the foundation for another Wall two foot back from the first, and about two feet deep, this done the foundation was laid so as to enclose the whole of the Walls built on the inside of the Hole where the Ice is put and on this foundation is built the Walls which appear above ground and in mine they are about ten foot high, On these the Roof is fixed, these Walls are very thick, built of Stone and Mortar, afterwards rough Cast on the outside. I nailed a Cieling of Boards under the Roof flat from Wall to Wall, and filled all the Space between that Cieling and the Shingling of the Roof with Straw, so that the Heat of the Sun Cannot possibly have any Effect.

In the Bottom of the Ice House I placed some Blocks of Wood about two foot long and on these I laid a plat form of Common fence Rails Close enough to hold the Ice & open enough to let the Water pass through; thus the Ice lays two foot from the gravel and of Course gives room for the Water to soak away gradually without being in contact with the Ice, which if it was for any time would waste it amazingly. The upper Floor is laid on Joists placed across the top of the Inner wall and for greater security I nailed a Cieling under those Joists and filled the Space between the Cieling & Floor with Straw.

The Door for entering this Ice House from the north, a Trap Door is made in the middle of the Floor through which the Ice is put in and taken out—I find it best to fill with Ice which as it is put in should be broke into small peices and pounded down with heavy Clubs or Battons such as Pavers use, if well beat it will after a while consolidate into one solid mass, and require to be cut out with a Chizell or Axe—I tryed Snow one year and lost it in June—The Ice keeps untill October or November and I beleive if the Hole was larger so as (to hold) more it would keep untill Christmass, the closer it is packed the bett(er i)t keeps & I beleive if the Walls were lined with Straw between the Ice a(n)d stone it would preserve it much, the melting begins next the Walls and Continues round the Edge of the Body of Ice throughout the Season.<sup>2</sup> Mrs Morris joins me in our best Compliments to Mrs Washington & yourself and I beg to return Mrs Washington my thanks for her kind present which will be very useful to me next winter. I am Dear Sir Your most Obedt hble servt

Robt Morris

P.S. Thatch is the best covering for an Ice House.

## APPENDIX H

### **George Washington's Activities While Attending the Federal Convention, May 13-September 18, 1787**

General Washington stayed as a guest of his friend and fellow delegate, Robert Morris, during the three months of the 1787 convention that created the Constitution of the United States. Three years later Washington, as the first U.S. President under the Constitution, leased and modified Morris' Market Street house as the Executive Mansion.

Compiled by the writer from  
Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, Editors, *The Diaries of George Washington, Volume V, July 1786-December 1789*, (Charlottesville, 1979), 155-186

<u>SUNDAY</u>	<u>MONDAY</u>	<u>TUESDAY</u>	<u>WEDNESDAY</u>	<u>THURSDAY</u>	<u>FRIDAY</u>	<u>SATURDAY</u>
<u>13</u> Arrive Mrs. Mary House: to Robert Morris' (RM) Dr. Franklin	<u>14</u> D-RM	<u>15</u> D-Soc. Of Cincinnati	<u>16</u> D-Franklin's T-John Penn	<u>17</u> D&T Powell's	<u>18</u> D-Grays Ferry T-R Morris Concert w. Mrs. Morris	<u>19</u> D-Jared Ingersoll E-Lodgings
<u>20</u> D-RM T-Powell's	<u>21</u> D&T-RM T-Tench Francis in large circle	<u>22</u> D&T-RM	<u>23</u> B-Mifflin's country; visit Peters, Penn & Wm. Hamilton seats D&T-B.Chew, wedding	<u>24</u> D&T-John Ross	<u>25</u> Quorum D-Thomas Willing	<u>26</u> D-City Tavern in club E-L
<u>27</u> St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church D&T-L	<u>28</u> D-RM T-Tench Francis in large circle	<u>29</u> D-RM With Mr & Mrs. Morris to concert	<u>30</u> D-John Vaughan T&E-Mr. & Mrs. John Lawrence Wed. eve. Party	<u>31</u> D-Mr. Francis T-Mrs. Meredith		

SYMBOLS

B-breakfast

D-dinner

E-Evening

L-Lodgings (chamber)

T-tea

P-play

RM-Robert Morris

V-visit to C-concert

George Washington  
In Philadelphia, 1787  
For  
Federal Convention  
May

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
					1 D-John Penn E-Bush Hill Party by Wm. Hamilton; more than 100 guests	2 D-City Tavern with the Club E-L
3 D&T George Clymer	4 Reviewed military D-Mifflin T-Miss Cadwalader	5 D&E-RM w. large company	6 D&T Franklin E-L	7 D-Indian Queen with club of Convention members T&E-L	8 D&T&E-L	9 D-City Tavern in club T&E-Powell
10 B-Mr. Powell V- Bartram's; Jones Farm; Powell farm D-Hills (RM) E-L	11 D&T&E-L	12 D&T-RM C-City Tavern Mr. Reinagle	13 D&T-Clymer E-Bingham	14 D-Maj. Thos. Lloyd Moore E-L	15 D&T-Powell	16 D-City Tavern in club T=Dr. Shippen with Mrs. Livingston
17 Christ Church D-John Ross-8 miles in country. Chester Co.	18 D-City Tavern Quarterly Meeting of Sons of St. Patrick T-Dr. Shippen w. Mrs. L.	19 D&E-RM in large company	20 D-Samuel Meredith T-ditto	21 D-Prager's E-L	22 D-RM T-Francis Hopkinson	23 D-Dr. Thomas Ruston T-RM
24 D-RM E&T- Meredith's	25 D&T-RM E-L	26 D-Family din, Gov'r Randolph T-Grays Ferry with party	27 D&T-RM E-L	28 D&T-RM in large company E-L	29 D&E-RM	30 D-Club at Springsbury

SYMBOLS

B-breakfast

D-dinner

E-Evening

L-Lodgings (chamber)

T-tea

P-play

RM-Robert Morris

V-visit to C-concert

George Washington  
In Philadelphia, 1787  
For  
Federal Convention  
June

<u>SUNDAY</u>	<u>MONDAY</u>	<u>TUESDAY</u>	<u>WEDNESDAY</u>	<u>THURSDAY</u>	<u>FRIDAY</u>	<u>SATURDAY</u>
<u>1</u> <u>D&amp;E-RM</u>	<u>2</u> <u>Sat for Mr. Pine in morn</u> <u>D-Indian</u> <u>Queen with members of convention</u> <u>T-Binghams</u> <u>Walk to State House Yard</u>	<u>3</u> <u>Sat for CW Peale</u> <u>Metzotinto</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-Mrs.</u> <u>Powell's with Mr. Powell to Agric. Soc.</u> <u>At Carpenters Hall</u>	<u>4</u> <u>Visited Dr. Shovat (Chovet)</u> <u>Anatomical figures;</u> <u>oration</u> <u>D-Epplees-Cincinnati</u> <u>T-Powell's</u>	<u>5</u> <u>D. T. E-RM</u>	<u>6</u> <u>Sat for C.W. Peale</u> <u>D-City Tavern with members of convention</u>	<u>7</u> <u>D-club at Springsbury</u> <u>T-Meridith's</u>
<u>8</u> <u>About 12 o'clock rode to Dr. Logan's near Germantwn</u> <u>D-Logan's</u> <u>T-RM</u>	<u>9</u> <u>Sat for CW Peale</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-with Mrs. Morris</u> <u>To John Redman's 3 miles in country</u>	<u>10</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-Bingham's</u> <u>Southwark</u> <u>Theater-play</u>	<u>11</u> <u>D&amp;E-RM</u>	<u>12</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-Mrs. Livingston</u>	<u>13</u> <u>D,T,E-RM</u>	<u>14</u> <u>D-Springsbury with the club</u> <u>Play in afternoon</u>
<u>15</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>Home all day</u>	<u>16</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-Mrs. Powell's</u>	<u>17</u> <u>D-Mrs. House's</u> <u>T-with party to Gray's ferry</u>	<u>18</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-Meredith's</u>	<u>19</u> <u>D-John Penn's the younger</u> <u>T&amp;E-L</u>	<u>20</u> <u>D-RM (at Home)</u> <u>T-Clymers</u>	<u>21</u> <u>D-Springsbury with club with Gents &amp; ladies</u> <u>Play</u>
<u>22</u> <u>left town by 5 am</u> <u>B-Gen Mifflin's</u> <u>Rode to Spring Mills</u> <u>D-Gen. Mifflin's</u>	<u>23</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-Lansdown, seat of Mr. Penn</u>	<u>24</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T&amp;E Beni. Rush</u>	<u>25</u> <u>D, T, E-L</u>	<u>26</u> <u>D&amp;T-RM</u>	<u>27</u> <u>Convention adjourns</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-Powell's</u>	<u>28</u> <u>D, T-Club at Springsbury</u> <u>E-L</u>
<u>29</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>Whole day writing letters</u>	<u>30</u> <u>[Valley Forge]</u> <u>w. Govr Morris to Jane Moore's fishing</u>	<u>31</u> <u>Valley Forge visit winter encampment staying at Mrs. Moore's;</u> <u>RM &amp; wife there, too</u>				

SYMBOLS

B-breakfast

D-dinner

E-Evening

L-Lodgings (chamber)

T-tea

P-play

RM-Robert Morris

V-visit to C-concert

George Washington  
In Philadelphia, 1787  
For  
Federal Convention  
July



<u>SUNDAY</u>	<u>MONDAY</u>	<u>TUESDAY</u>	<u>WEDNESDAY</u>	<u>THURSDAY</u>	<u>FRIDAY</u>	<u>SATURDAY</u>
			<u>1</u> <u>Return to city</u> <u>D-Rm</u>	<u>2</u> <u>D, T, E-RM</u>	<u>3</u> <u>[Trenton, NJ]</u> <u>w. RM &amp;</u> <u>wife &amp; Govr.</u> <u>Morris-fishing</u> <u>party</u> <u>L-Col. Sam.</u> <u>Ogden,</u> <u>Trenton</u>	<u>4</u> <u>[Trenton]</u> <u>fished</u> <u>D-Gen. Philemon</u> <u>Dickenson's</u> <u>E-Ogden's</u>
<u>5</u> <u>D-Col.</u> <u>Ogden's</u> <u>Early back</u> <u>to Phila.</u> <u>Arrived c.</u> <u>9am</u>	<u>6</u> <u>Convention</u> <u>Rcd. Report</u> <u>of</u> <u>committee</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-</u> <u>Meredith's</u>	<u>7</u> <u>D, E-RM</u>	<u>8</u> <u>D-City Tavern</u> <u>remained there</u> <u>near until</u> <u>10pm</u>	<u>9</u> <u>D- [John]</u> <u>Swanwick's</u> <u>Afternoon in</u> <u>own room</u> <u>reading letters</u> <u>&amp; accounts</u> <u>from home</u>	<u>10</u> <u>[Iron]Works</u> <u>D, T-Mr.</u> <u>Bingham's</u> <u>E-L</u>	<u>11</u> <u>D, T-Club at</u> <u>Springsbury</u> <u>Home after tea</u>
<u>12</u> <u>D-Bush Hill</u> <u>with Mr.</u> <u>Wm.</u> <u>Hamilton</u> <u>E-L writing</u> <u>letters</u>	<u>13</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-with Mrs.</u> <u>Richard</u> <u>Bache at the</u> <u>President's</u>	<u>14</u> <u>D, T, E-RM</u>	<u>15</u> <u>D,T,E-at home</u>	<u>16</u> <u>D-Pollack's</u> <u>E-my chamber</u>	<u>17</u> <u>D&amp;T-Powell's</u>	<u>18</u> <u>D-Chief Justice</u> <u>[Thos.] McKean</u> <u>Afternoon &amp; E-L</u>
<u>19</u> <u>Whitemarsh</u> <u>w. Powell</u> <u>visited old</u> <u>encampment</u> <u>D-</u> <u>Germantwn</u> <u>V-Blair</u> <u>McClenegan</u> <u>T-Peter's;</u> <u>returned to</u> <u>Phila.</u>	<u>20</u> <u>D,T,E-RM</u>	<u>21</u> <u>D,T,E-RM</u>	<u>22</u> <u>D-Morris'</u> <u>farm at the</u> <u>Hills</u> <u>V-Powell's in</u> <u>afternoon</u>	<u>23</u> <u>D,T,E-RM</u>	<u>24</u> <u>D,T,E-RM</u>	<u>25</u> <u>D-Club at</u> <u>Springsbury</u> <u>Afternoon at my</u> <u>lodgings</u>
<u>26</u> <u>Ride for</u> <u>exercise</u> <u>D-Hills</u> <u>E-writing</u> <u>letters</u>	<u>27</u> <u>D-RM</u> <u>T-Powell's</u>	<u>28</u> <u>D,T,E-RM</u>	<u>29</u> <u>D,T,E-RM</u>	<u>30</u> <u>D,T,E-RM</u>	<u>31</u> <u>D-RM with a</u> <u>party went to</u> <u>Lansdale</u> <u>[downe]</u> <u>T-Penn's</u>	

SYMBOLS

B-breakfast

D-dinner

E-Evening

L-Lodgings (chamber)

T-tea

P-play

RM-Robert Morris

V-visit to C-concert

George Washington  
In Philadelphia, 1787  
For  
Federal Convention  
August

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
						1 D&T-RM
2 Rode to Bartram's & other places in country D&T-Grays Ferry E-returned to city	3 V-Dr. Franklin's to see the mangle for pressing	4 Detc-RM	5 D—Mrs. House's T-Bingham's	6 D-Dr. [James] Hutchinson E-Mr. Morris	7 D-RM Rode a few miles E-at home	8 D-Springsbury with club E-L
9 V-Gardoqui, Min. from Spain, who claims to have come from N.Y. to see him	10 D&T-RM	11 D-RM in large company with Gardoqui T&E-RM	12 D-President's [B. Franklin's] T-Mr. Pine's	13 D-Vice President's Chas. Biddle T-Powell's	14 D-City Tavern in my honor given by City Light Horse E-Mr. Meredith's	15 sat in convention until 6 pm D&E-RM Gardoqui returned to NY in forenoon
16 wrote many letters D-Morrisses at the Hills E-returned to City	17 D-City Tavern with members of convention At L received papers of convention from secretary	18 Leaves Philadelphia after taking leave of those most intimate family D-early, RM RM & Govr. Morris rode as far as Grays Ferry				

SYMBOLS

B-breakfast

D-dinner

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L-Lodgings (chamber)

T-tea

P-play

RM-Robert Morris

V-visit to C-concert

George Washington  
In Philadelphia, 1787  
For  
Federal Convention  
September

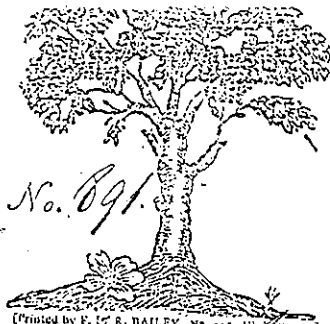
## APPENDIX I

### **Fire Insurance for Andrew Kennedy, 190 High Street South Side High between Fifth and Sixth Streets June 19, 1798**

Andrew Kennedy, soapboiler, purchased Robert Morris' dwelling and lot in 1795 and continued to lease the property to President Washington and then to President John Adams. After the capital moved to Washington, the house was leased as a fashionable hotel for a few years and was finally torn down in 1832 by its new owner. This insurance policy lists an ice house among the back buildings, but omits giving its measurements. This policy is the only written record describing what Robert Morris built on the property after the destruction of the Penn-Masters house in 1780.

Mutual Assurance Policies 891-895

Copy from Philadelphia Historical Commission  
As Provided by Edward Lawler



**This Policy** witnesseth, That Andrew Kennedy

having become, and by these Presents becoming, a Member of the Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses, &c. from Loss by Fire, within the City of PHILADELPHIA, and ten Miles round the same, in Pennsylvania, pursuant to a Deed of Settlement, bearing date the twenty-first Day of October, 1781. And for and in Consideration of the Sum of four hundred and fifteen pounds in Hand paid by the said Andrew Kennedy

(Printed by F. & R. BAILEY, No. 110, 111, Street.)  
unto the said Andrew Kennedy, his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, upon

the Third division of his House to the Eastward, situate on the South side of High Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets the said House being forty four feet front, fifty one feet deep exclusive of a <sup>small</sup> ~~small~~ <sup>front</sup> ~~front~~ <sup>porch</sup> ~~porch~~ <sup>divided</sup> ~~divided~~ <sup>into three equal parts</sup> ~~into three equal parts~~ North and South from the top of the Roof to the bottom of the Cellar

&c. If any damage should be done to the Windows in base of fire, it shall be estimated at the same rate as if the glass had been of the size of eight by ten inches

during the Term of Seven Years from the Date hereof, Which said Sum of four hundred and fifteen pounds is hereby declared to be deposited by the said Andrew Kennedy as a Pledge or Caution for the Performance of the Agreements comprised in the said Deed of Settlement on this Part from henceforth to be performed. Now We the Trustees of the said Assurance Company, for and in Consideration thereof, do hereby order, direct and appoint the Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company, according to the said Deed of Settlement, to pay and satisfy unto the said Andrew Kennedy, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, the Sum of four hundred and fifteen pounds at the End of three Months next after the said Third division

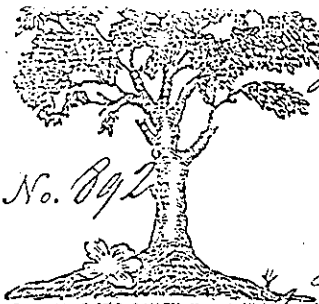
shall be burnt down or demolished by, or by Reason or Means of, Fire; and in like Manner shall pay the Sum of four hundred and fifteen pounds &c. so often as any Third division of the same Value and Goodness, built in the Room thereof, shall be burnt down or demolished by Reason or Means of Fire, during the Time this Policy remains in Force, and thereupon to indorse each and every such Payment on this present Policy. And also that We the Trustees aforesaid do hereby further order, direct and appoint, that when and so often as the said Third division or any Third division built in the Room thereof, shall happen to be damaged or injured by, or by Means of, Fire, such Damages shall be made good according to the Estimate thereof, or repaired, and put into as good Condition as the same was or were before such Fire or Fires happened. And we likewise order and direct the said Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company, at the End of the said Term of Seven Years, to repay unto the said Andrew Kennedy, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the said Money so deposited as aforesaid, or so much thereof as shall not in the mean Time be applied towards Losses and the unavoidable Expence of the said Insurance Office, pursuant to the said Deed of Settlement.

Provided, and it is hereby declared and agreed, That if the said Deposite Money shall not be demanded at this Insurance Office within the Space of One Year next after the Expiration of the said Term of Seven Years, then the Payment thereof shall cease, and the same shall be sunk and remain to the Benefit of the said Assurance Company.

Provided also, That if it should so happen, that the whole Stock of the said Assurance Company should ever be insufficient fully to pay and discharge all the Losses sustained by the Members of this Assurance Company, in such Case a just Average shall be made, and the Payment to be demanded in Virtue of this Policy shall be a Dividend of the said Stock, in Proportion to the Sum insured, agreeable to the Tenor and true Intent of the said Deed of Settlement.

In Witness whereof, We have hereunto set our Hands, and caused the Seal of the said Assurance Company to be affixed, this twentieth Day of June in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and nineteen.

Any Assignment of the above Policy must be brought to the Office to be entered, within



Printed by F. & A. BAILEY, No. 110, High Street.

*Witnesseth, I that Andrew Kennedy*

having become, and by these Presents becoming, a Member of the Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses, &c. from Loss by Fire, within the City of PHILADELPHIA, and ten Miles round the same, in Pennsylvania, pursuant to a Deed of Settlement, bearing date the ~~twelfth~~ first Day of October, 1784: And for and in Consideration of the Sum of ~~thirteen hundred fifteen~~ *fifteen* ~~shillings~~ in Hand paid by the said *Andrew Kennedy* to the Treasurer of the said Assurance Company, being

unto the said *Andrew Kennedy, his* Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, upon

*the Centre Third Division of his House, situate on the South side of High Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, the said House being forty four feet front, fifty one feet deep each end of a Row, and three stories high. - divided by two imaginary lines, running North & South, from the top of the roof to the base thereof. - If any damage should be done to the Windows in the said House, of fire, it shall be estimated at the same rate, as if the Glass had been of the size of eight by ten inches*

during the Term of *Seven* Years from the Date *hereof* Which said Sum of *fifteen* ~~fifteen~~ *shillings* is hereby declared to be deposited by the said *Andrew Kennedy* as a Pledge or Caution for the Performance of the Agreements comprised in the said Deed of Settlement on his Part from henceforth to be performed. Now We the Trustees of the said Assurance Company, for and in Consideration thereof, do hereby order, direct and appoint the Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company, according to the said Deed of Settlement, to pay and satisfy unto the said *Andrew Kennedy, his* Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, the Sum of *four hundred fifteen* ~~four hundred~~ *pounds*

at the End of three Months next after the said *Centre Third Division* shall be burnt down or demolished by, or by Reason or Means of, Fire; and in like Manner shall pay the Sum of *four hundred fifteen* ~~four hundred~~ *pounds* so often as any *Centre Third Division* of the same Value and Goodness, built in the Room thereof, shall be burnt down or demolished by Reason or Means of Fire, during the Time this Policy remains in Force, and thereupon to indorse each and every such Payment on this present Policy. And also, That We the Trustees aforesaid do hereby further order, direct and appoint, that when and so often as the said *Centre Third Division* or any *Centre Third Division* built in the Room thereof, shall happen to be damaged or injured by, or by Means of, Fire, such Damages shall be made good according to the Estimate thereof, or repaired, and put into as good Condition as the same was or were before such Fire or Fires happened. And we likewise order and direct the said Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company, at the End of the said Term of *Seven* Years, to repay unto the said *Andrew Kennedy, his* Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the said Money so deposited as aforesaid, or so much thereof as shall not in the mean Time be applied towards Losses and the unavoidable Expence of the said Insurance Office, pursuant to the said Deed of Settlement.

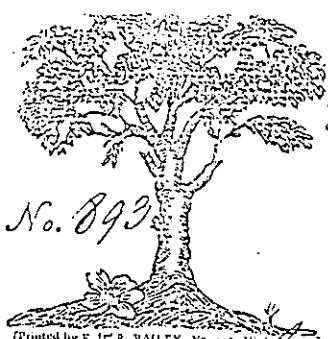
Provided, and it is hereby declared and agreed, That if the said Deposite Money shall not be demanded at this Insurance Office within the Space of *One* Year next after the Expiration of the said Term of *Seven* Years, then the Payment thereof shall cease, and the same shall be sunk and remain to the Benefit of the said Assurance Company.

Provided also, That if it should so happen, that the whole Stock of the said Assurance Company should ever be insufficient fully to pay and discharge all the Losses sustained by the Members of this Assurance Company, in such Case a just Average shall be made, and the Payment to be demanded in Virtue of this Policy shall be a Dividend of the said Stock, in Proportion to the Sum insured, agreeable to the Tenor and true Intent of the said Deed of Settlement.

In Witness whereof, We have hereunto set our Hands, and caused the Seal of the said Assurance Company to be affixed, this *twentieth* Day of *June* in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and *ninety eight*.

*John Knight*  
Secretary

Any Assignment of the above Policy must be brought to the Office to be entered, within four Weeks next after such Assignment shall



# This Policy witnesseth, That Andrew Kennedy

having become, and by these Presents becoming, a Member of the Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses, &c. from Loss by Fire, within the City of PHILADELPHIA, and ten Miles round the same, in Pennsylvania, pursuant to a Deed of Settlement, bearing date the twenty-first Day of October, 1783. And for and in Consideration of the Sum of Twelve Pounds Sterling in Hand paid by the said Andrew Kennedy

to the Treasurer of the said Assurance Company, being the Consideration for Insuring the Sum of four hundred and thirty pounds unto the said Andrew Kennedy, his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, upon

the third division of his House to the Westward, situate the South side of High Street, between Fifth and Sixth Street the said House being forty four feet front, fifty one feet deep, and of a Bow, and three stories high, divided by two imaginary lines running North and South, from the top of the Roof to the bottom of the wall. If any damage should be done to the Windows in consequence of fire, it shall be estimated at the same rate as if the Glass had been of the size of eight by ten inches.

during the Term of Seven Years from the Date hereof Which said Sum of Twelve Pounds Sterling is hereby declared to be deposited by the said Andrew Kennedy as a Pledge or Caution for the Performance of the Agreements comprised in the said Deed of Settlement on this Part from henceforth to be performed. Now We the Trustees of the said Assurance Company, for and in Consideration thereof, do hereby order, direct and appoint the Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company, according to the said Deed of Settlement, to pay and satisfy unto the said Andrew Kennedy, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, the Sum of four hundred and thirty pounds

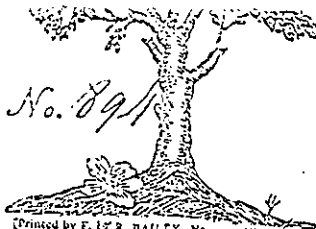
at the End of three Months next after the said third division shall be burnt down or demolished by, or by Reason or Means of, Fire, and in like Manner shall pay the Sum of four hundred and thirty pounds of the same Value and Goodness, built in the Room thereof, shall be burnt down or demolished by Reason or Means of Fire, during the Time this Policy remains in Force, and thereupon to indorse each and every such Payment on this present Policy. And also, that We the Trustees aforesaid do hereby further order, direct and appoint, that when and so often as the said third division or any third division built in the Room thereof, shall happen to be damaged or injured by, or by Means of, Fire, such Damages shall be made good according to the Estimate thereof, or repaired, and put into as good Condition as the same was or were before such Fire or Fires happened. And we likewise order and direct the said Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company, at the End of the said Term of Seven Years, to repay unto the said Andrew Kennedy, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the said Money so deposited as aforesaid, or so much thereof as shall not in the mean Time be applied towards Losses and the unavoidable Expence of the said Insurance Office, pursuant to the said Deed of Settlement.

Provided, and it is hereby declared and agreed, That if the said Deposite Money shall not be demanded at this Insurance Office within the Space of One Year next after the Expiration of the said Term of Seven Years, then the Payment thereof shall cease, and the same shall be sunk and remain to the Benefit of the said Assurance Company.

Provided also, That if it should so happen, that the whole Stock of the said Assurance Company should ever be insufficient fully to pay and discharge all the Losses sustained by the Members of this Assurance Company, in such Case a just Average shall be made, and the Payment to be demanded in Virtue of this Policy shall be a Dividend of the said Stock, in Proportion to the Sum insured, agreeable to the Tenor and true Intent of the said Deed of Settlement.

In Witness whereof We have hereunto set our Hands, and caused the Seal of the said Assurance Company to be affixed, this thirteenth Day of June in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and ninetysix.

Any Assignment of the above Policy must be brought to the Office to be entered, within



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having become, and by these Presents becoming, a Member of the Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses, &c. from Loss by Fire, within the City of PHILADELPHIA, and ten Miles round the same, in Pennsylvania, pursuant to a Deed of Settlement, bearing date the twenty-first Day of October, 1784: And for and in Consideration of the Sum of Twelve Pounds

Four hundred Pounds unto the said Andrew Kennedy, his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, upon

the Backbuilding & Bath house, adjoining the Shop situated on the South side of High Street, between Fifth & Sixth Streets, fifty two feet by eighteen feet, and two stories high, the Bath house Twenty one feet by fifteen feet, and two stories high, also another Kitchen fifteen feet by fifty one feet, and one story

during the Term of Seven Years from the Date hereof Which said Sum of Twelve Pounds is hereby declared to be deposited by the said Andrew Kennedy as a Pledge or Caution for the Performance of the Agreements comprised in the said Deed of Settlement on Part from henceforth to be performed. Now We the Trustees of the said Assurance Company, for and in Consideration thereof, do hereby order, direct and appoint the Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company, according to the said Deed of Settlement, to pay and satisfy unto the said Andrew Kennedy his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, the Sum of four hundred Pounds, at the End of three Months next after the said Backbuilding & Bath house shall be burnt down or demolished by, or by Reason or Means of, Fire; and in like Manner shall pay the Sum of four hundred Pounds, so often as any Backbuilding or Bath house of the same Value and Goodness, built in the Room thereof, shall be burnt down or demolished by Reason or Means of Fire, during the Time this Policy remains in Force, and thereupon to indorse each and every such Payment on this present Policy. And also, That We the Trustees aforesaid do hereby further order, direct and appoint, that when and so often as the said Backbuilding & Bath house or any Backbuilding & Bath house built in the Room thereof, shall happen to be damaged or injured by, or by Means of, Fire, such Damages shall be made good according to the Estimate thereof, or repaired, and put into as good Condition as the same was or were before such Fire or Fires happened. And we likewise order and direct the said Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company at the End of the said Term of Seven Years, to repay unto the said Andrew Kennedy, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the said Money so deposited as aforesaid, or so much thereof as shall not in the mean Time be applied towards Losses and the unavoidable Expence of the said Insurance Office, pursuant to the said Deed of Settlement.

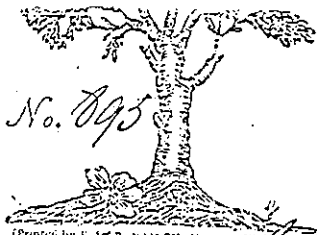
Provided, and it is hereby declared and agreed, That if the said Deposite Money shall not be demanded at this Insurance Office within the Space of One Year next after the Expiration of the said Term of Seven Years, then the Payment thereof shall cease, and the same shall be sunk and remain to the Benefit of the said Assurance Company.

Provided also, That if it should so happen, that the whole Stock of the said Assurance Company should ever be insufficient fully to pay and discharge all the Losses sustained by the Members of this Assurance Company, in such Case a just Average shall be made, and the Payment to be demanded in Virtue of this Policy shall be a Dividend of the said Stock, in Proportion to the Sum insured, agreeable to the Tenor and true Intent of the said Deed of Settlement.

In Witness whereof, We have hereunto set our Hands, and caused the Seal of the said Assurance Company to be fixed, this fourteenth Day of June in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and eighty eight.

Any Assignment of the above Policy must be brought to the Office to be entered, within four Weeks next after such Assignment shall be made; and on Default thereof, the Benefit of Insurance will be lost, agreeable to the Deed of Settlement.

*John Knight*  
*Aspar Morris*



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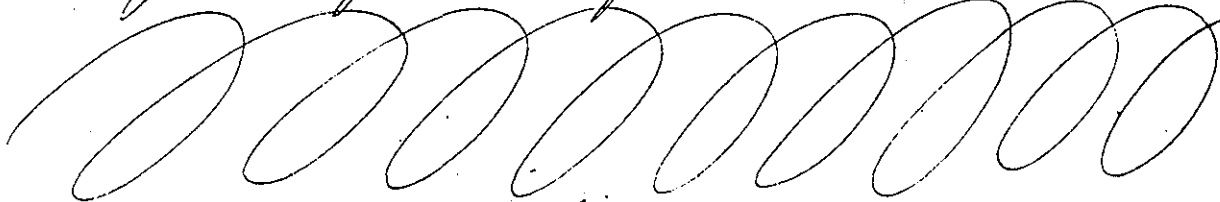
Pounds unto the said  
and Assigns, upon—

having become, and by these Presents becoming, a Member of the Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses, &c. from Loss by Fire, within the City of PHILADELPHIA, and ten Miles round the same, in Pennsylvania, pursuant to a Deed of Settlement, bearing date the twenty-first Day of October, 1784. And for and in Consideration of the Sum of ten Pounds ten Shillings

in Hand paid by the said Andrew Kennedy to the Treasurer of the said Assurance Company, being the Consideration for Insuring the Sum of three hundred fifty

Andrew Kennedy Executors, Administrators,

the Stable and Coach House on the North side of Minor Street and to the South of his other Building—being fifty feet by thirty four feet and two stories high. Also a Ice House  
feet by feet with Roof and Door.



during the Term of Seven Years from the Date hereof Which said Sum of ten Pounds ten Shillings is hereby declared to be deposited by the said Andrew Kennedy as a Pledge or Caution for the Performance of the Agreements comprised in the said Deed of Settlement on Part from henceforth to be performed. Now We the Trustees of the said Assurance Company, for and in Consideration thereof, do hereby order, direct and appoint the Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company, according to the said Deed of Settlement, to pay and satisfy unto the said Andrew Kennedy

his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, the Sum of three hundred fifty Pounds, at the End of three Months next after the said stable, coach house & ice house shall be burnt down or demolished by, or by Reason or Means of, Fire; and in like Manner shall pay the Sum of three hundred fifty Pounds, so often as any stable, coach house & ice house of the same Value and Goodness, built in the Room thereof, shall be burnt down or demolished by Reason or Means of Fire, during the Time this Policy remains in Force, and thereupon to indorse each and every such Payment on this present Policy. And also, That We the Trustees aforesaid do hereby further order, direct and appoint, that when and so often as the said stable, coach house & ice house or any stable, coach house & ice house built in the Room thereof, shall happen to be damaged or injured by, or by Means of, Fire, such Damages shall be made good according to the Estimate thereof, or repaired, and put into as good Condition as the same was or were before such Fire or Fires happened. And we likewise order and direct the said Treasurer for the Time being of the said Assurance Company, at the End of the said Term of Seven Years, to repay unto the said Andrew Kennedy Executors, Administrators or Assigns, the said Money so deposited as aforesaid, or so much thereof as shall not in the mean Time be applied towards Losses and the unavoidable Expence of the said Insurance Office, pursuant to the said Deed of Settlement.

Provided, and it is hereby declared and agreed, That if the said Deposit Money shall not be demanded at this Insurance Office within the Space of One Year next after the Expiration of the said Term of Seven Years, then the Payment thereof shall cease, and the same shall be sunk and remain to the Benefit of the said Assurance Company.

Provided also, That if it should so happen, that the whole Stock of the said Assurance Company should ever be insufficient fully to pay and discharge all the Losses sustained by the Members of this Assurance Company, in such Case a just Average shall be made, and the Payment to be demanded in Virtue of this Policy shall be a Dividend of the said Stock, in Proportion to the Sum insured, agreeable to the Tenor and true Intent of the said Deed of Settlement.

In Witness whereof, We have hereunto set our Hands, and caused the Seal of the said Assurance Company to be affixed, this thirteenth Day of June in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and nineteen.

Any Assignment of the above Policy must be brought to the Office to be entered, within four Weeks next after such Assignment shall be made; and on Default thereof, the Benefit of Insurance will be lost, agreeable to the

John Knight  
Casper Morrey



APPENDIX J

**Household Furniture Purchased for 190 High Street  
By the United States and by George Washington  
[February 1797]**

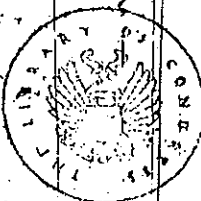
George Washington took great pains to set a good precedent as first president of the United States. His purchases for the Executive Mansion suggest his desire to display restraint in the expense, while exhibiting a stylish taste.

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Copy provided by Edward Lawler

[1797, Feb 5]

# Household Furniture

Turnished by the U. States  
Plate



Purchased by GW  
Plate

2	Punch Urns	£ 143	4	6
2	Bread Baskets	47	18	5
2	Setts 5 glass Castors	24	0	0
4	pair Setts blue glass	19	4	0
9	" " " "	4	10	0
3	polished Mustard spoons	17	0	
2	Fish knives	10	10	0
4	Turkey Ladles	16	19	9
3	pair butter ladles	9		
4	doz <sup>n</sup> Table Spoons	58	9	7
4	doz <sup>n</sup> desert " "	33	7	1
2	Bottle stands	12	16	0
2	beaded punch Urns	6	12	0
8	Labels	5	8	0
1	Tea pot	20	7	0
2	Sugar cups	26	10	8
2	Cream pots	21	8	0
2	Spoons for " "	1	8	0
2	p <sup>r</sup> Tea tongs	2	14	0
4	doz <sup>n</sup> Tea Spoons	17	18	1
2	Flower pots	25	0	0
3	pair mounted buffers	6	0	0

8	Shavers	£ 16	3	8
2	Walters	110	5	7
1	Tea Tray	84	18	
1	" " " "	88	18	
2	Bottle corks	99	10	
6	Table Spoons	} F.W.	8	6
6	Tea " " " "			
1	Ditto Pot	Virginia	33	7
1	Stop ben C			
2	Bottle labels		1	10

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## Plated Ware

1 oval silver frame	45.00	0
1 large oval waiter	7.94	4
1 do round do	6.78	4
2 small do	5	-
2 do do	6.00	0
2 do do	4.00	0
1 bread basket	8.00	-
2 fluted dish covers	16.16	-
2 Tarkard	11.00	-
2 pint do	6.60	-
2 pair gilt Tumblers	9.12	0
2 do do	7.40	0
4 do do	14.80	0
2 Bottle stands	5.60	0
4 doz salt spoons	2.80	0
1 pair do do	12	-
4 do la. Candlestick	22.80	0
2 oval top branches	13.40	0
2 triangle top do	12.10	0
2 plain do	11.00	-
2 small do	8.00	0
3 pair flat candlesticks	8.50	0
3 butter stands	3.14	0
2 pair butter	-	-
1 coffee urn with heater	8.10	0
1 do do without	7.50	-

Carried over

## Plated Ware

7 Plateaux - 9 horns	cost in Tr. 378	silver
2 Add 2 ones - 108 do	-	-
4 la. Wine Coolers, then	lamp cost \$96.00	-
8 small do	84.00	0
14 Turkeys Arg	136.15	-
Pat. Lamps 52/6	-	-
8 Plated lamps	-	4.10
90. Cooke	100	37.10
2 pair do do	60	22.10

Continued

Public  
Plated Ware

Bro't from other side - £

1 Tea urn	16.16.0
1 large Tea pot	8
1 Tea Caddy	5
1 S <sup>o</sup> shell	5

Japan Ware

2 Tea Trays	3.2.0
3 Sp. Oval Waiters } with Landscapes }	14.8.0
2 Small S <sup>o</sup> S <sup>o</sup>	8.0
6 S <sup>o</sup> S <sup>o</sup> S <sup>o</sup>	3.2
2 S <sup>o</sup> S <sup>o</sup> S <sup>o</sup>	1.12.0
1 S <sup>o</sup>	10
2 S <sup>o</sup>	16
1 S <sup>o</sup>	4

Private  
Plated Ware

Japan Ware

2 Plate warmers	5.8.0
India Tea Tray	4.10.0

4  
 3  
 3  
 1  
 2  
 2  
 2  
 3  
 LIBRARY OF CONGRESS DI

## Looking Glasses

1 la. and elephant	£ 29.0.0
1 p <sup>n</sup> d <sup>c</sup> 8°	53.14.
1 p <sup>n</sup> d <sup>c</sup> - Oval 2°	36 -
1 p <sup>n</sup> Sq <sup>n</sup> d°	28.15.
1 square - 2°	10 -
1 Chimney glass	12 -
1 Toilet 8°	4 -
Dressing boxes	5.12
1 Glass	2.0 -

## Looking glasses

1 pair Ct <sup>n</sup> de montin	£ 92.0.0
1 la. elephant glass	29 -
1 Japan dress 8°	8 -
1 Toilet 8° 2° M. Elmer	7.15
2 Dressing 2°	8.5
1 8° 2°	3 -
1 2° 2°	2.5
1 2° 2°	1.14
1 looking glass plate	1.10
2 8° 2°	4.8

Continued

Public

Knives & Forks

4	p <sup>2</sup> Carvers Silv mouth	3	4	0
3	d <sup>o</sup> doz <sup>a</sup> Table K & F	30	0	0
3	doz <sup>a</sup> Ivory Dar D <sup>o</sup>	9	12	0
1	Doz <sup>a</sup> d <sup>o</sup> Silv <sup>a</sup> Gen	2	16	0
2	best carving K & F	18	0	0
2	Doz <sup>a</sup> Table	2	6	0
3	d <sup>o</sup>	2	4	0

Private

Knives & Forks

From M. Roberts	91	
1 Carving knife	0	18
Desert	3	14
Mich <sup>o</sup> Roberts	41	10
4 doz <sup>a</sup> Knives & F <sup>o</sup> ks	1	10

Andersons

1	pair from Barry & R	8	0	0
1	d <sup>o</sup> brassy globe headed	8	0	0
1	d <sup>o</sup> grape vine	8	0	0
2	d <sup>o</sup> turn headed	16	-	-
1	d <sup>o</sup> face headed	8	-	-
1	d <sup>o</sup> Engraved	7	-	-
1	d <sup>o</sup> R. Hunter	6	15	-
1	d <sup>o</sup> deliv <sup>a</sup> N <sup>o</sup> Franklin	4	-	-

Andersons

1	p <sup>2</sup> ditto	3	-	-
1	p <sup>2</sup> Kitcher	20	-	-
2	p <sup>2</sup> of Doz <sup>a</sup>	1	16	0
1	Ditto for the Office	-	-	-

Peppers

2. Wire - Ditto - B & R - 3.12.0  
 2. Brass - D° - D° - 9.12.0  
 2. Ditto - D° - Italy - 9.12.0

Peppers

2 Brass - D° - Barry & R. - 8.6.0  
 1. Ditto - D° - D° - 2.4.0  
 1. Wire - D° - D° - 1.2.0

Shovels & Tongs

4. p<sup>2</sup> Ditto - L - D° - 5.12.0  
 1. p<sup>2</sup> Ditto - - - D° - 1.6.0  
 1. Set. Shov & Tongs & Pliers for kitchen - 1.6.0  
 1. p<sup>2</sup> Shov & Tongs for D° - 1.0.0

Shovels & Tongs

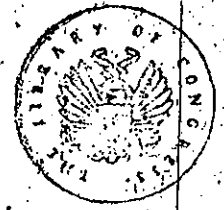
2. p<sup>2</sup> D° - - - D° - 2.4.0

Clock

On the Stairs - 30.00

Clock

On the Chimney -



Continued

Public  
Upholstry

1 Large & best bed Bol- ster & Pillows	16.0-0
4 Ditto Ditto - 2° 14 ea	56.0-0
2 Ditto - 2° 8 ea	16.0-0
4 Ditto - 2° 7.10	30-
<u>3 Bed cases - check</u>	
1 Large hair Matrass	11.10-
2 Ditto - 2°	20-
1 Ditto - 2°	6-
1 Suit Chesty & green Curtains complete with window Curtains	31.18-6
1 Suit Chesty - 2° with window Curt <sup>ns</sup> 2	18-9-0
1 Suit for a field Bed	7.15-0
1 Suit white dematy & 2 window Curtains	3.16-
Crimson Satin W. Curt <sup>ns</sup> Large Dining Room	
2 Blue damask win- den Curt <sup>ns</sup> - small di- ning Room	

Private  
Upholstry

1 Matrass In <sup>o</sup> B	9.15-
1 Bed, Bolster & Pillows	14.0-0
Crimson damask to ex- large wind <sup>er</sup> Curtains 18 Dollars	
2 Yellow Morocco win- den Curtains	32.63 Dollars
Blue furniture for front draw <sup>ing</sup> Room 15.60 Dollars	
Damask - for Ditto 20 Dollars	
1 Large Matrass - Marteau	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> This went to Virginia	
Awning for the Press <sup>ing</sup> Study	



- ring Loom - - - - -
2. Yellow damask window Curtains for the front drawing Room - mentioned under the article Cabinet
4. Venetian Window blinds 10.0.0

Counterpane

3. Mersaikes. 9<sup>th</sup> 24.0.0
1. elephant bed spread }  
needle work - - - - - } 14.0.
1. Muslin - - - Ditto - - - 3.4.0
2. best Counterpane - - - 62/ - - - 6.4.0
3. " " " - - - 52/ - - - 7.16-
3. 10/4 Cotton - 3<sup>rd</sup> - - - 45/ - - - 6.15-

Rugs and Blankets

8. Green Rugs - - - 42/ - - - 16.16.0
1. p<sup>r</sup> 10/4 Blankets - - - 3.4.0
- 6 p<sup>r</sup> 1/5 - - - 2<sup>nd</sup> - - - 19.4.0
- 8 Ditto - - - 2<sup>nd</sup> - - - 20 - - -
- 6 Ditto - - - 2<sup>nd</sup> - - - 16.10 - - -
1. Ditto - - - 2<sup>nd</sup> - - - 2.18 - - -
- 5 Blankets - - - - - 9.5 - - -

Counterpane

Rugs and Blankets

2. 9/4 green Rugs - - - 3.15.0
2. " " " - - - 2<sup>nd</sup> - - - } 28.83
- 3 p<sup>r</sup> of Blankets }  
1 p<sup>r</sup> 10/4 Blankets - - - 2.16.3
- 2 p<sup>r</sup> best 9/4 Rose - - - 4.5 - - -

Continued

Public

Lustres

2 pair glass - Barry & P... 9.12.0  
 1 pair D° - - - - - D° - - - - - 14.18.8

Gerandoles

2 pair Noorevett - - - - - 9.10.0  
 1 - - - - - D° - - - - - 5.15.0  
 1 - - - - - D° - - - - - 4.15.0  
 1 - - - - - D° - - - - - 2.0.0  
 4 - - - - - D° a 70/ - - - - - 14 -

Sconces

1 pair - - - - - 2.8.0  
 2 pair - - - - - 2.10.0  
 1 Ditto - - - - - 14 -  
 2 p<sup>r</sup> d vie branches - - - - - 6.0.0

Private

Lustres

1 eight armed - McComb - - - - - 76.19.0  
 cord & Tappal - - - - - 2.0.0  
 1 p<sup>r</sup> - Barry & Popen - - - - - 20 -  
 1 p<sup>r</sup> Gerandoles - - - - - 16.0.0

Gerandoles

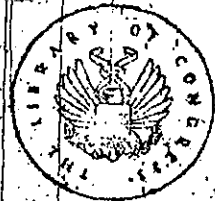
Sconces

## Lamps

3 Large & comp. Barry - 12.8 -  
 2. 8<sup>o</sup> taper headed - 8.0 -  
 2. Japan. Silver case - 5 -  
 5. Common - gilt. - 3.15 -  
 3. Copper - 2.5 -  
 1. Large - 5.0 -  
 2. p<sup>2</sup> dble branches } 6 -  
 query - what are these? }

## Lamps

12. Oval Japan look }  
 glass - sent by Gov<sup>2</sup> }  
 Morris 25<sup>o</sup> tier each }  
 3. Patent Lamps W.B. - 5.8.0  
 2. Lamps and glasses - 9.12.0  
 5. Ditto - common - 2.5 -



## ~~Japan Ware~~

~~2. Tea Tray - 3.2.0~~

## ~~Japan ware~~

~~2. Plate warmer - 5.8.0~~  
~~India Tea Tray - A 10~~

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Continued

Public  
Cabinet - Work

3 Yellow silk Soppas	
2 D <sup>o</sup> - - - D <sup>o</sup> Wood <sup>d</sup> Curt <sup>r</sup>	
a sett. la. dining Tables	25-0-0
2 end Tables for D <sup>o</sup>	4-0-0
2 Mahogany din <sup>g</sup> Tables	9-10-0
1 Inlaid breakfast - D <sup>o</sup>	5-15-0
1 Plain - D <sup>o</sup> - - - D <sup>o</sup>	9
1 D <sup>o</sup> - - - D <sup>o</sup> - - - D <sup>o</sup>	2-15
1 Inlaid Tea Table	6-0-0
2 D <sup>o</sup> - - - Card <sup>o</sup> - - - D <sup>o</sup>	12-0-0
a pair - - - D <sup>o</sup> - - - D <sup>o</sup>	7
2 Circular side boards	38-0-0
3 Toilet tables - pine	1-10
<hr/>	
10 chairs cov <sup>d</sup> with yellow damask	
24 Mahogany Ditto	42-0-0
12 D <sup>o</sup> - - - D <sup>o</sup>	21
10 D <sup>o</sup> - carved - D <sup>o</sup>	21
8 D <sup>o</sup> plain - D <sup>o</sup>	14-16
2 D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup> arm - D <sup>o</sup>	5-10
8 D <sup>o</sup> - - - D <sup>o</sup>	13-4
2 D <sup>o</sup> - arm - - - D <sup>o</sup>	4-14
6 plain - - - D <sup>o</sup>	9-12
1 Easy chair	2-15
<hr/>	
1 Mahogany Cabinet	13-0-0

Private  
Cabinet - work

1 Writing desk T.B. - £98-18	
1 Table - - - - - 3-10	
Tables - Thom Burl - - - 7-10	
2 Armed Ch <sup>r</sup> yellow	7-0
Drawing Room	
1 Circular Chair	7-0
1 Mad <sup>d</sup> stead	2-18
3 Pine dining Tables	
Bought from the Count de Montier	
1 Soppa - R <sup>d</sup> green silk	30-0-0
with 2 cushions	
12 arm Chairs D <sup>o</sup>	77-0
6 Inak D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	24
1 Chair & stool - called a Shepherds	9-0
Green silk wind Curt <sup>r</sup>	78-0
1 Writing desk Mad <sup>d</sup> Day	18-0
1 Dress <sup>g</sup> Table C <sup>d</sup> do M <sup>d</sup>	19
a Chair for a medal	3-0-0
3 Chimney boards	4-0-0
1 la. Fire Screen	3

MANUSCRIPT DIV. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

1 Mahogany Cabinet	13.00
1 Ditto Bookcase	21.00
1 Ditto Baths Press	21.00
1 Ditto - D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	21.00
1 Large - D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	9.00
1 Mahogany Bureau	7.18.00
1 Ca Mahogany Bedstead	6.10.00
Carved	
1 D <sup>o</sup> - plain	8.10.00
1 D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	7.10.00
1 D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	6.10.00
1 D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	6.10.00
1 D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	6.00.00
1 D <sup>o</sup> - low posts	4.00.00
3 Packing boxes	10.10.00
1 boarded - D <sup>o</sup>	1.50.00
1 Mah <sup>y</sup> Wash stand	4.10.00
1 D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	4.10.00
3 D <sup>o</sup> - plain D <sup>o</sup> - 32/	4.10.00
2 Mah <sup>y</sup> cases for kids	8.00.00
3 D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	9.12.00
4 D <sup>o</sup> - knife boxes	2.00.00
1 Night stool	6.20.00
1 D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup>	2.20.00
4 Vordure	1.10.00
2 Large Coolers	8.10.00
2 Sofas - A	12.00.00
2 Ditto	10.00.00
2 Ca Mah <sup>y</sup> Windsor beds	5.00.00

1 Ca. Fire Screen	3.00.00
2 Fixed side boards	9.10.00
2 Presses for lin <sup>n</sup>	12.00.00
1 Bath press	6.00.00
3 Ditto - D <sup>o</sup> at top	12.00.00
2 D <sup>o</sup> - D <sup>o</sup> small	
1 Larder in cellar	9.00.00
6 Chairs and two Tables added to the Green furniture	32.11.00
Jundries for M <sup>r</sup> Perry Washington	49.18.00

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Public  
Stoves

Continued

Private  
Stoves

1	Ditto - Iron No. 10	6.00
1	Ditto	10.00
1	Ditto	8.00
1	Ditto & Funnel	7.00
1	Plate Stove No. 11	7.10
1	Cast - D - D	4.10
1	Franklin D. for office	4.10
2	Ditto - fire places	9.00
1	Double Franklin	4.10
1	Open Stove	4.10
1	Ship Stove	4.00
2	Stoves - Coach - No.	4.00
6	Iron D. Dining Room	1.16.00



07

Nothing herein has been said relative  
relatively to the Table Linens, Sheetings, Che  
sa and Glass ware which was furnished at  
the expense of the United States, because  
they have been worn out, broken, stolen and  
replaced (at private expense) over and over again.

Nor has any account been taken  
of the Kitchen furniture, as that also,  
except a few of the most durable articles  
(which will be left) has been broken, worn  
out, & otherwise reduced as above. The  
Carpets also are entirely worn out.  
— all on the floors, at present, have  
been purchased on private account.

**APPENDIX K**

**Thomas Twining: Visit to President Washington at 190 High Street  
May 13, 1795**

Thomas Twining, like many foreign visitors, deeply admired George Washington, but was surprised by the first president's modest home.

Thomas Twining, *Travels in America 100 Years Ago* (New York, 1902), 132-3.



## Thomas Twining At 190 High Street, May 13, 1795

13 May - At one o'clock to-day I called at General Washington's with the picture and letter I had for him. He lived in a small red brick house on the left side of High Street, not much higher up than Fourth Street. There was nothing in the exterior of the house that denoted the rank of its possessor. Next door was a hair-dresser. Having stated my object to a servant who came to the door, I was conducted up a neat but rather narrow staircase, carpeted in the middle, and was shown into a middling-sized well-furnished drawing-room on the left of the passage. Nearly Opposite the door was the fireplace, with a wood-fire in it. The floor was carpeted. On the left of the fireplace was a sofa, which sloped across the room. There were no pictures on the walls, no ornaments on the chimney-piece. Two windows on the right of the entrance looked into the street. There was nobody in the room, but in a minute Mrs. Washington came in, when I repeated the object of my calling, and put into her hands the letter for General Washington, and his miniature. She said she would deliver them to the President, and, inviting me to sit down, retired for that purpose. She soon returned, and said the President would come presently. Mrs. Washington was a middle-sized lady, rather stout; her manner extremely kind and unaffected. She sat down on the sofa, and invited me to sit by her. I spoke of the pleasant days I had passed at Washington, and of the attentions I had received from her granddaughter, Mrs. Law.

While engaged in this conversation, but with my thoughts turned to the expected arrival of the General, the door opened, and Mrs. Washington and myself rising, she said, "The President," and introduced me to him. Never did I feel more interest than at this moment, when I saw the tall, upright, venerable figure of this great man advancing towards me to take me by the hand. There was seriousness in his manner which seemed to contribute to the impressive dignity of his person without diminishing the confidence and ease which the benevolence of his countenance and the kindness of his address inspired. There are persons in whose appearance one looks in vain for the qualities they are known to possess, but the appearance of General Washington harmonized in a singular manner with the dignity and modesty of his public life. So completely did he *look* the great and good man he really was, that I felt rather respect than awe in his presence, and experienced neither the surprise nor disappointment with which a personal introduction to distinguished individuals is often accompanied...

The General's age was rather more than sixty-four. In person he was tall, well-proportioned, and upright. His hair was powdered and tied behind. Although his deportment was that of a general, the expression of his features had rather the calm dignity of a legislator than the severity of a soldier...

## APPENDIX L

### **Insurance Policy for John Lawrence, Northeast Corner, Sixth and Chestnut Streets, November 1785**

John Lawrence, a prominent Philadelphia politician and jurist, purchased two lots on the corner of Sixth in 1771 and tore down the old frame building that had been there.

Lawrence erected a new 3-story brick house across the full width of the lot, 29'6 on Chestnut by 38 feet on Sixth Street, with the kitchen in the cellar. The Mutual Assurance Company allowed for street trees, but made note of them, as in this policy's two trees "within range of the gable end."

Mutual Assurance Policy 146

Survey of a three story house the corner  
north east  
of Chestnut and Math street belonging to John  
Lawrence Esq. — Dimensions 29 feet 6 by 30 feet  
Lower story front, Mantle, double cornice window  
washboards & Windows cased back room washboards  
stove and iron stove cased — second story  
front plain faced over base high Mantle and  
Tabernacle frame, Pediment Double Cornice  
with Modillions & windows cased back room  
Mantle Double Cornice Washboards over base and  
Windows cased third story Washboards to Sash  
& Windows faced with bellows — Gables plain  
all Trap Door Walks 14 1/2 inches in the  
Hall there is fluted pilasters and Double Cornice  
two flights of Stairs and one of twist stairs  
Kitchen in the Cellar & two rows in range of  
the Gate, of the Building  
Nov. 1783  
250.0. In front on the Corner 25th Street & 1st St.

APPENDIX M

**Insurance Policy for James Glenn, 16 March, 1774**

This short policy describes Glenn's new house built at the north end of a 52 by 52 foot lot behind John Lawrence's property at Sixth and Chestnut Streets. The 3-story brick structure measured 12 by 18 feet deep and was "finished very plain." During the Revolution this simple structure served as the Office of Foreign Affairs under Robert Livingston.

Contributionship Book 1, 62

179 by 29 feet - 2 stories high 9 inch walls & floor-plaster and gravel  
new

House & Hair Case \$500 - d 20/ J. G. Bedford  
Kitchen & pantry - 100 - d 20/ three policies  
Stable - - - - - 75 - d 20/

Survey 16 March 1774 - A house belonging to Joseph Green situated  
on the South side of main street between 2d & 3d streets corner 2d street -

17 feet front 20 feet deep 2 stories high 9 inch walls & rooms on a  
floor-plaster & partitions - Chimney breast leading front porch & single  
door in two stories - one of which is painted 2d story & part 1st  
finished - out side painted - Hair Case 11 by 9 feet 2 stories high 9 inch  
walls - Board newel stairs - Kitchen 16 by 12 feet 2 stories high 9 inch walls  
finished - about 0.5 in. 18

House \$275 - d 20/ J. G. Bedford  
Kitchen 35 by 35 - d 20/ three policies

\* Survey 16 March 1774 - A house belonging to James Green situated  
on the East side of South Street between High and Chestnut Streets -

12 feet front 18 feet deep 2 stories high 9 inch walls & one in party  
walls - finished very plain - inside and out painted sand plaster  
new

\$125 - d 25/ J. G. Bedford  
one policy

Survey 16 March 1775 - A house for with 1/2 heart situated on  
the North side of Lombard Street between 2d & 3d streets -

17 feet front 25 feet deep 2 stories high 9 inch walls & rooms on a  
floor-plaster & partitions - Board newel stairs - Chimney breast  
in each story - Kitchen 14 by 11 feet 2 stories high 9 inch walls  
the whole painted inside and out and new

House \$150 - d 20/ J. G. Bedford  
Kitchen - 50 by 200 - d 20/ three policies

## **APPENDIX N**

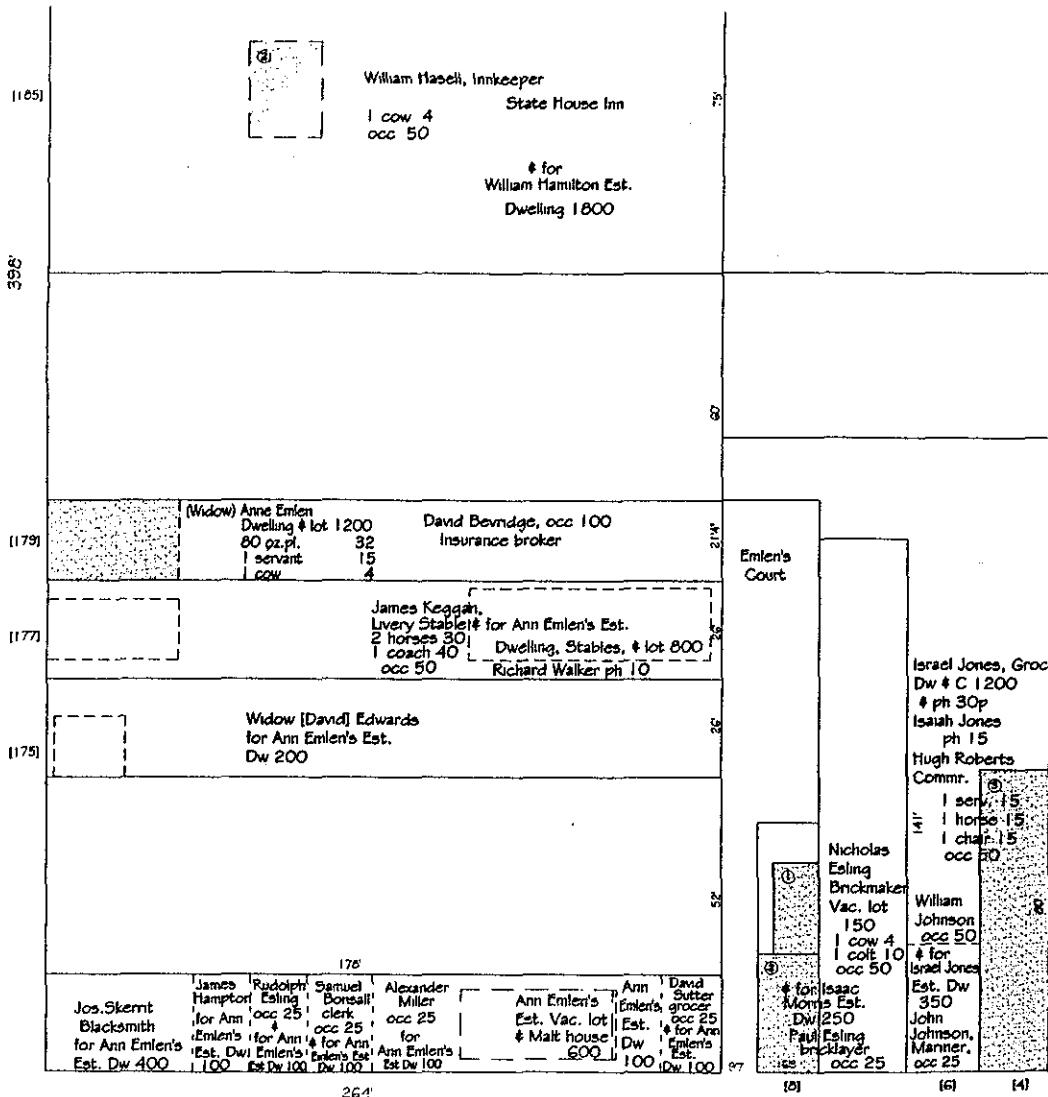
### **Residents of Block One of Independence Mall, 1787**

For the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, Independence NHP staff researched and completed a property map of the blocks within the park. Oversized, the section for Block One is presented on four sheets here, beginning at Chestnut at Fifth Streets going north to Minor Street, followed by Fifth from Minor to Market, then Sixth Street from Chestnut to Minor and, finally, Sixth from Minor to Market Street. Mary House's boardinghouse at Fifth and Market and Robert Morris' house further west on Market together hosted seven delegates to the Constitutional Convention. An eighth delegate, Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, also stayed at Mrs. House's for a time during the convention.

Codes: Dw=Dwelling; Occ=Occupation; ph-per head; oz.pl.=ounces (silver) plate;  
Est.=estate

Drawing No. 391, Sheet 5, Prepared by Anna Coxe Toogood, 1985 and Digitalized 1996  
Compiled from  
Philadelphia Tax Assessments, Middle Ward, 1787  
Deeds, newspapers, street commissioners records

CHESTNUT ST.



FIFTH ST.

Robert Morris, Mct.  
Dwelling # lot 5000  
900 oz plate 360  
1 Bound Servt. 15  
1 Negro 50  
1 Coach 80  
1 Phaeton 60  
1 Charnot 80  
5 Horses 75  
occupation 400 fr

\* for Adam Kimmel's  
Est. Store # lot 900  
John Bloom ph 107  
Peter  
g. Adams ph 10

Abraham Kintzang, wagonmaster  
Dw # lot 1200  
20 oz.pl. 8  
13 horses 135  
1 chair 15  
1 cow 4  
3 servants 4  
occ 150

Michael Camp  
occ 25  
\* for Jos. Pot  
Dw 400

Henry Pepper  
2 horses 30  
occ. 50  
\* for  
Jos. Pott's Est.  
Dw 1500  
John  
Weisenbnck  
occ 25

William Jc  
Dw # k

Edm. Randolph  
James McClurg  
James Madison  
J. Dickinson(?)  
Geo. Read

264' 180'

MINOR ST. Paved 1786

MARKET ST.

Israel Jones, Grocer  
Dw # C 1200  
# ph 30p  
Isaiah Jones  
ph 15  
Hugh Roberts  
Commr.  
1 serv. 15  
1 horse 15  
1 chair 15  
occ 50  
William  
Johnson  
occ 50  
# for  
Israel Jones  
Est. Dw  
350  
John  
Johnson,  
Manner,  
occ 25

52'

Robert Morris, Mct.  
Dwelling # lot 5000  
900 oz plate 360  
1 Bound Servt. 15  
1 Negro 50  
1 Coach 80  
1 Phaeton 60  
1 Charnot 80  
5 Horses 75  
occupation 400 f6120

Gen. George  
Washington  
(May 13-Sept. 17)

# for Adam Kimmel's  
Est. Store # lot 900  
John Bloom ph 107  
Peter  
g. Adams ph 10

Abraham Kintzing, wagonmaster  
Dw # lot 1200  
20 oz. pl. 8  
13 horses 135  
1 chair 15  
1 cow 4  
3 servants 45  
occ 150

Michael Campen, cooper  
occ 25  
# for Jos. Potts Est.  
Dw 400

Henry Pepper  
2 horses 30  
occ. 50  
# for  
Jos. Potts Est.  
Dw 1500  
John  
Weisenbrck  
occ 25

William Jones, Grazer  
Dw # lot 1200  
1 Negro 60  
40 oz. pl. 16  
1 chair 5  
1 horse 15  
2 cows 8

Edm. Randolph  
James McClurg  
James Madison  
J. Dickinson(?)  
Gdo. Resid

Widow (Mary) House  
Boarding house  
for John  
Odenheimer's Est.  
Dw 2225  
John Johnny  
Richard Stockton ph 20  
Jacob Myers ph 30

Dw 1000  
24 oz. pl. 9  
1 horse 15  
occ 150

John Cope, Grocer  
occ 100  
# for Caleb Foulke's Est. Dw 600

Amos Foulke, Mct.  
16 oz. pl. 6  
occ 200  
# for Thos Moore's Est. Dw 1300

1219 Thomas Moore, Gent.  
Dw 1300  
House # coach house 400  
70 oz. pl. 26  
2 horses 50  
1 charnot 50  
1 waggon 25  
occ 25

1217 William Bell, Mct.  
Dw. 1100  
100 oz. pl. 37  
1 servant 12  
occ 300

James Stacke, Innkpr  
1 horse 15  
1 cow 5  
occ 100  
# for Henry Beckel's Est 900

1215 John Pemberton, Gent  
Dw. 2800  
50 oz. pl. 18  
1 charnot 50  
2 horses 40  
1 cow 5  
Willson, pl

James Lang, ropemaker  
Dw 800  
1 Negro 40  
1 horse 10  
1 cow 5  
occ 100

Charles Chamberlain  
Dw 1100  
60 oz. pl. 2, 1 cow 5, occ 100

Jacob Stein, Grocer  
occ 100  
# for Jacob Esler's Est Dw + lot 125  
Barnett Mansell, taylor occ 30

Adam Boush, reedmaker  
occ 25  
# for Widow Wharton's Est. Dw 350

Simon Shadicorn, papermaker  
1 cow 5  
occ 50  
# for Widow Wharton's Est. Dw 350

1201 Dr. James Dunlap  
Dw 900  
24 oz. pl. 9  
1 cow 5  
occ. 150

1201 George Reinhold, stationer  
Dw 900  
occ 100

1199 Samuel Hudson, Gent.  
150 oz. pl. 56  
occ 50

40'

121

180'

Code

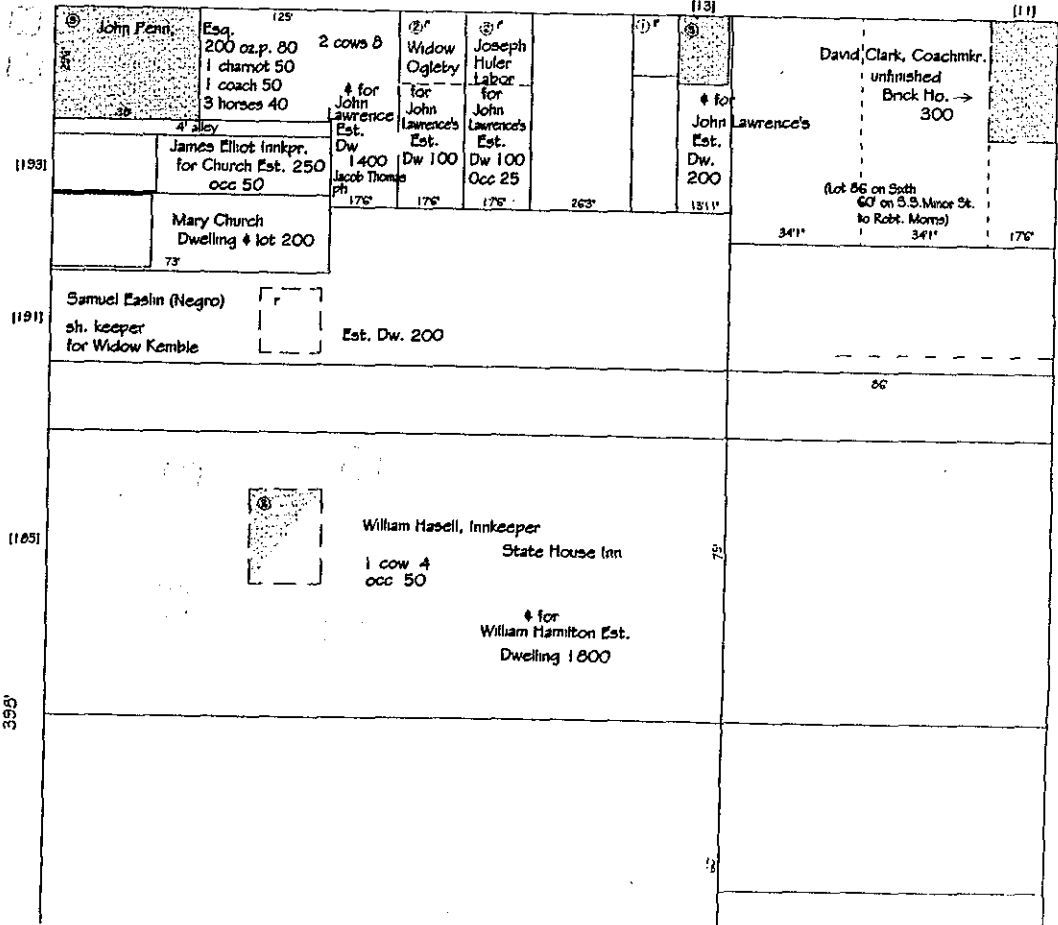


# SIXTH Paved July 1786 ST.

50'

26'

40'



by Couthouse  
Congress Hall  
construction

State House

HESTNUT ST.

PINE ST. Paved 1786

Brck Stable  
Coach House # Stable

Gen. Geor Washington  
(May 13-5ep)

151' 36' 124' 120'

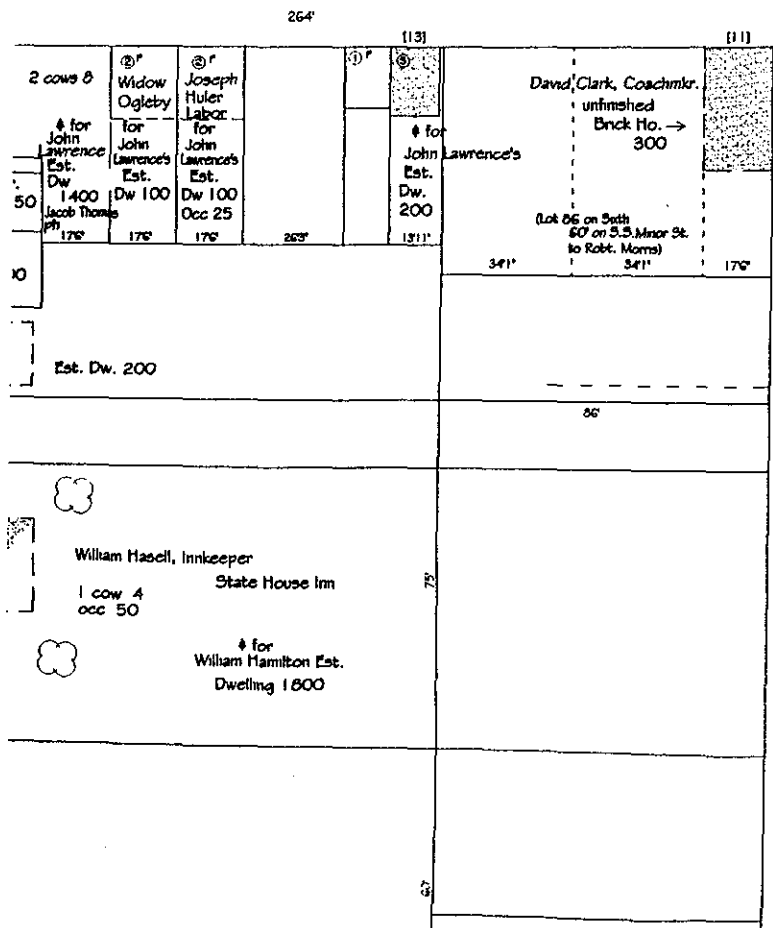
10 oz. pl. 6  
1 servant 15  
2 horses 30  
1 cow 4      occ 50

2 horses 30  
1 cow 4  
occ 50

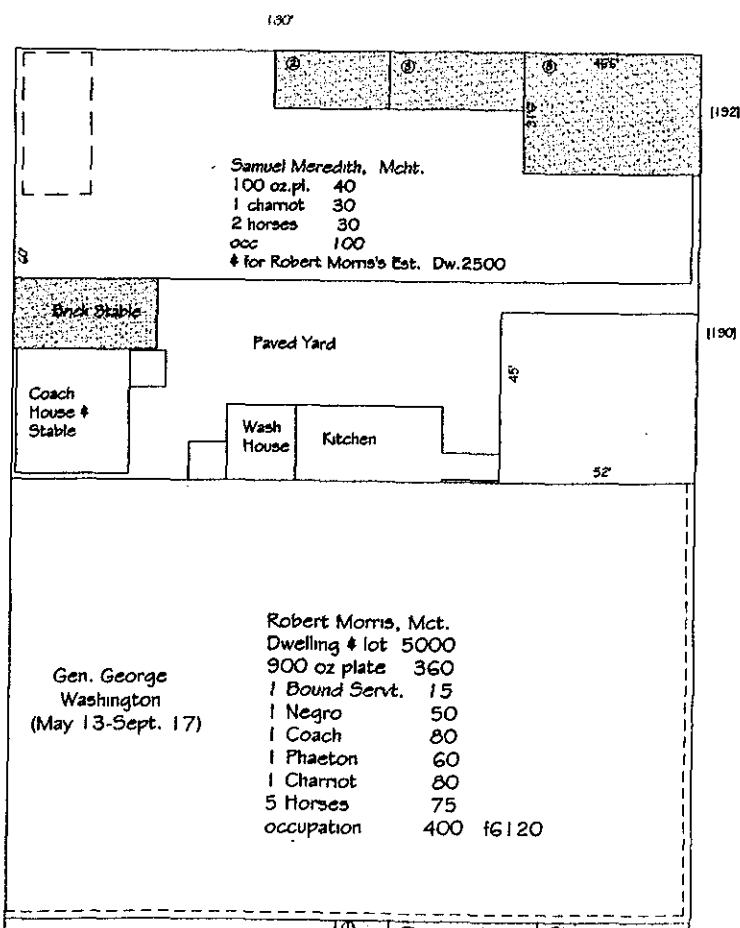
for Sarah : occ 25  
Green's Est. † for Sarah  
Dw 100 : Green's Est.  
Simon Mitchell occ 25 Dw 100

occ 25 "Blue Ball Inn"  
† for Thos. 1 horse 15  
Fiskals Est. occ 30 †  
Dw 600 for John Wilson's  
Est. Dw 350

# SIXTH Paved July 1786 ST.



MINOR ST. Paved 1786



MARKET ST.

## APPENDIX O

### **Residents of Block One of Independence Mall, 1790-1791 Chestnut and Market Streets**

**And**

### **Fifth and Sixth Streets**

Clement Biddle conducted the first U.S. Census for Philadelphia and used the information he gathered street by street to compile what is considered the first city directory with an officially-accepted numbering system. Finally Philadelphia adopted a scheme to have odd numbers on the north and east sides and even numbers on the south and west sides of the streets to facilitate locating an address. Fortunately, most of the people listed by street in the 1790 census still were at the same address the following year, when Biddle completed his directory. The directory had its limits—you still could not be sure on what block the number was placed—but this system remained until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, when the city adopted a new and innovative scheme. Each block received up to 100 numbers, so that any number in the 500s meant between Fifth and Sixth Street. Thus 190 High, the executive mansion in 1790-91, became 524 to 530 Market Street in 1857.

*Heads of Families, Pennsylvania, 1790*

And

*Clement Biddle, The Philadelphia Directory, 1791*

# Chestnut and Market Streets, 1790-1791

## Sixth Street

<i>Chestnut Street</i>	195	<i>Minor Street</i>	George Fox, gentleman	192
	193		James Girvan, innkeeper	
	191		Samuel Ester, shopkeeper	190
				Walter Stewart
				Robert Morris, Esq. Merchant & countinghouse (1791) U.S. President
	185		William Hassell, innkeeper	178
				Abraham Kintzing, wagonmaster
	179		David Beveridge, insurance broker	176
	179		Mary Emlen, gentlewoman	—
	177		Ann Queen, widow	172
175	Edwards, widow	170		
		Benj. Harbeson, coppersmith		
165	James Simmons, coachmaker	172		
		William Jones, grazier		
		Mary House, boardinghouse		

## Fifth Street

### SOURCES:

*Heads of Families, Pennsylvania, 1790*

*Clement Biddle, The Philadelphia Directory, 1791*

# Fifth and Sixth Streets, 1790-91

*Sixth Street*

17      15      13 & 9      1

Robert Hartong Laborer	Samuel Gilmore carpenter	Alexr Christie painter	David Clark coachmkr
Jos. Skerret Blacksm.	Thos. Copson Laborer	Paul Esler brickmkr now Peter Lohra	John Johnson mariner
		Hugh Roberts Carp.	Israel Jones grocer

Henry Pfeiffer Brewer
--------------------------

*Chestnut Street*

*Minor Street*

*Market Street*

16      12      8      6      4      2

*Fifth Street*

## SOURCES:

*Heads of Families, Pennsylvania, 1790*

Clement Biddle, *The Philadelphia Directory, 1791*

## APPENDIX P

### **Residents of Block One Of Independence Mall, 1795**

Fortunately Edmund Hogan provided a prospect or directory for two years (1795-1796) that recorded residents by street, rather than alphabetically. This method made it clear for the first time where numbers ended on a block, as the directory indicated when crossing the main streets. Thus, going west on High or Market, the Prospect reads "cross Fifth" then "cross Sixth," demarcating the block. For this block, however, Hogan did not mention Minor Street while heading south from Market, nor did he reference any Sixth Street numbers. The placing of Janet Clark on the south side of Minor is a conjecture arising from earlier references to her husband's coach business on Sixth Street. Hogan also provides an alphabetical index of residents to facilitate finding specific people.

As Recorded in

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

And put in plan by Anna Coxe Toogood, Independence National Historical Park

**Residents of Block One, 1795  
On Chestnut and Market Streets**

**Sixth Street**

Chestnut Street

**195** John Lawrence,  
gentleman  
**193** Samuel Bengal,  
upholsterer  
**191** Abraham Morrow,  
gunsmith  
**189** Jared Ingersoll, Attorney  
at Law

**179** Mary Emlen, Widow,  
Gentlewoman

--Mr. Bond, His Britannic  
Majesty's Charge D'Affaires  
**171** Samuel Meredith,  
Treasurer of the United  
States  
**169** Samuel Blodgett,  
Gentleman

Robert Kidd, **192**  
perfumer

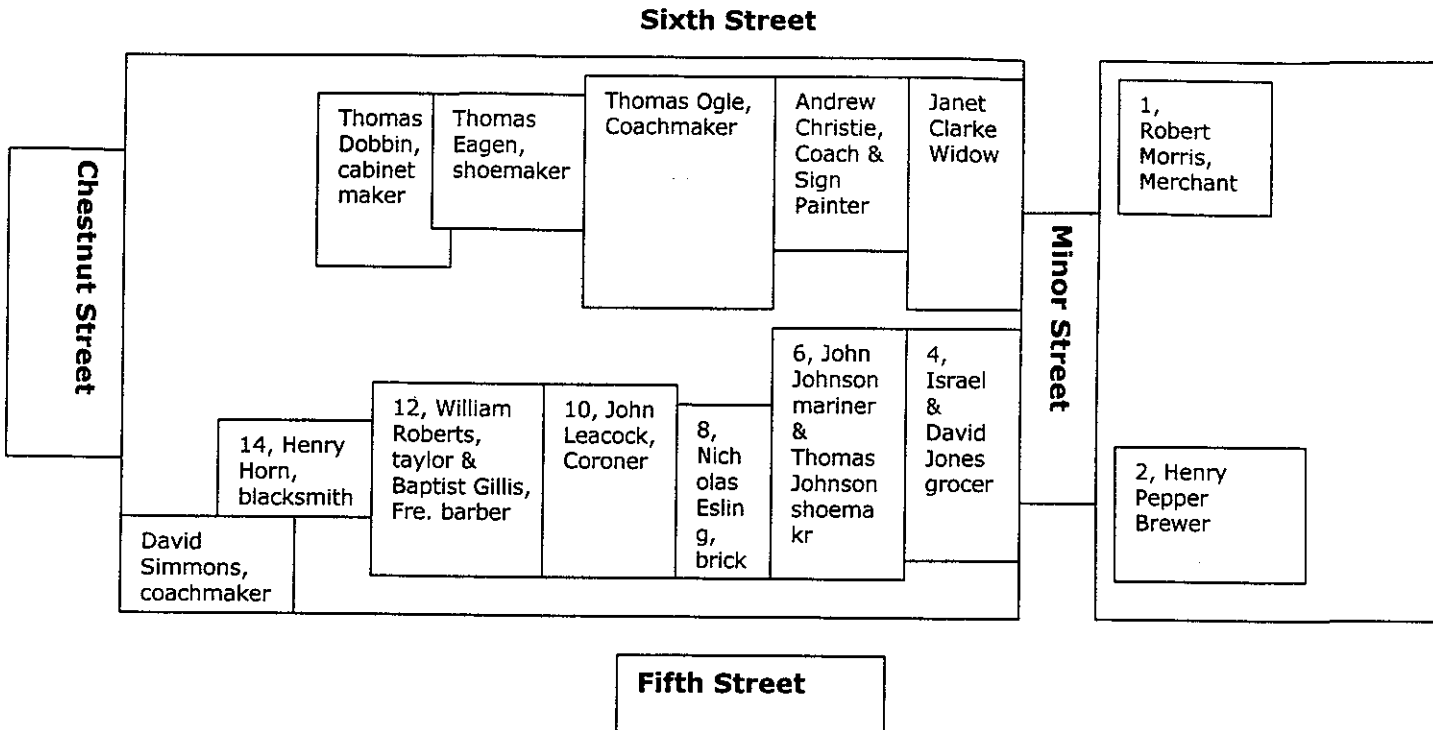
George Washington, **190**  
President of the United  
States

Henry Sheaff **180**  
Wine Merchant  
Abraham Kintzing **178**  
Grazier  
Jacob Stein **176**  
Flour Merchant  
Robert E. Jones **174**  
Wine Merchant  
William Jones **172**  
Gentleman  
James Dunn **170**  
boardinghouse

Market Street

**Fifth Street**

**Residents of Block One, 1795  
On Fifth and Sixth Streets**





## APPENDIX Q

### **Residents of Block One, Independence Mall, 1801 Chestnut and Market Streets Fifth and Sixth Streets**

Cornelius William Stafford provided a directory similar to Hogan's 1795 pattern, by street listings, so once again Philadelphians could see who lived on what street and could look up individuals in an alphabetical index. A comparison with the 1795 and 1790-91 charts shows the gradual build up along Sixth Street over the decade and the loss of the State House Inn (185) on Chestnut Street.

Cornelius William Stafford, *Philadelphia Directory for 1801*  
And put in plan by Anna Coxe Toogood

*Sixth Street*

	17	15	11	7	5		3	1	
<i>Chestnut Street</i>	William Thomas Egan E. Thos. Alexr. Stuart, shoemaker Christie Ogle Turnbull Oysterman boardingho. Coachmkr Cabinet mkr					John W. Joshua Godfrey, B. Bond, Merchant merchant			
	George Joseph Philip Wm. Francis Wm. Israel & Johnson, Beale & Ridabock McDonald Mason, Davis, David Coachmkr Samuel tavern hairdresser sawmkr taylor & Jones McIntire keeper & intelligence John Leacock, Cabinetmkrs officer coroner grocers					Henry Pepper Mrs. Maxwell & Sons, brewers Boardinghouse			
	18	16	14	12	10	8	4		
									No address numbers given

*Minor Street*

*Market Street*

*Fifth Street*

**BLOCK ONE, INDEPENDENCE MALL, 1801  
FIFTH AND SIXTH STREETS**

**Cornelius William Stafford, *Philadelphia Directory for 1801.***

*Sixth Street*

<i>Chestnut Street</i>	195	Robert Alexander, gentleman	Robert Kidd, copper merchant	192	<i>Market Street</i>
	193	Richard Weevil, upholsterer	John Francis Hotel	190	
	191	Abraham Morrow, innkeeper			
	181	Jared Ingersoll, counsellor at law			
	179	Ann Emlen, widow	Anthony & John Kennedy Merchants	184	
			Henry Sheaff, wine merchant	180	
	173	Phineas Bond, his Brittanic Majesty's consul general	Abraham Kinsey, gentleman	178	
	171	John Waddington, gentleman	Jonathani Miller, merchant	176	
	169	Samuel Blodgett, gentleman	Edward Lynch, merchant	174	
		William Jones, gentleman	172		
		Cochrane and Thursby, merchants	170		

*Fifth Street*

**BLOCK ONE, INDEPENDENCE MALL, 1801  
CHESTNUT AND MARKET STREETS**

*Cornelius William Stafford, Philadelphia Directory for 1801.*

## APPENDIX R

### **U.S. Senators, Congressmen and Government Officers on Block One, 1791-1800**

Only Thomas Stephen in 1796 and William Cornelius Stafford in 1798 and 1800 attempted to list in their city directories the street addresses for important non-residents, such as Congressmen, government officers, or diplomatic representatives in Philadelphia.

Typically the addresses were listed at the back of the book, in the government section. Only the President of the United States consistently throughout the decade had his name and address, 190 High, printed in the alphabetical or street (Hogan) listings.

Because of its obvious convenience to the State House Square, where Congress met and most government business transpired in the 1790s, the block north of Chestnut Street logically should have been a popular boarding house and rental location. The existing record, however, indicates it attracted only a few in 1796 and none in 1798 and 1800, perhaps because of the lodging expense.

Compiled from city directories, 1791, 1793-1800 and INDE's notecard file research in RG 63, National Archives.

## U.S. Senators, Congressmen and Government Officers, 1795-1800

Biddle, Hardie, Stephen's and Stafford, Philadelphia Directories, **1791-1797\***

- George Washington, President of the United States, 190 High Street

Stafford, Philadelphia Directories, **1798-1800**

- John Adams, President of the United States, 190 High Street

Hardie, Hogan, Stephen and Stafford, Philadelphia Directories, **1794-1800:**

- Meredith, Samuel, Treasurer of U.S., 171 Chestnut St. (1794, Treasurer's office at 145 Chestnut; 1799-1800 Meredith only keeps Treasurer office at 171 Chestnut and lives elsewhere)

(Records of the Registers Office, Vol. 137, p. 429, MS, RG 63, NA. INDE notecard), **1795**

- Mr. [Jacob] Read, 170 High [Senator, SC, 1795-1800]

*Thomas Stephen's Philadelphia Directory for 1796*

- Livingston, Edward, Representative, NY, 192 High
- Langdon, John, Senator, NH, 192 High
- Dayton, Jonathan, Speaker of the House, 170 High
- Kittera, John Wilkes, Representative, PA, 170 High
- Giles, William B., Representative, VA, 170 High
- Thomas Dunn, Assistant Doorkeeper, 193 Chestnut
- Bond, Phineas, Charge des Affairs in the absence of G. Hammond, Consul General for the Middle and Southern States, 171 Chestnut
- Treasury Office, 171 Chestnut

## APPENDIX S

### **Robert Morris' Market Street Property Sales, 1794-1795**

Robert Morris fell into a spiraling debt in the mid-1790s, forcing him to sell off his real estate on Market Street and finally ending him in Debtors' Prison. His two homes during the decade, first at 190 High and then 192 High, were the most prominent structures on the block. When the new numbers (the 500s shown here) were introduced after 1854, both these houses had been torn down to make room for more commercial structures. As the numbers indicate, Morris owned the entire Market Street frontage except the corner lot at Fifth Street before his decline.

Compiled from "Summary of the 190 High Street, WPA Research Notes, Annotated by Ed Lawler, Jr."  
The 190 High WPA Research Notes are in the collections of the American Philosophical Society.

**Robert Morris' Market Street Property Sales, 1794-1795**

**Sixth Street**

March 13, 1795 Robert Morris to William Bell	192 or 536
December 22, 1794 Robert Morris to Robert Kidd & wife	192 or 532-534
August 21, 1795 Robert Morris to Andrew Kennedy (two lots: 48 by 180 to Minor Street; 24 by 180 to Minor St.)	190 or 524 to 530
May 13, 1795 Robert Morris to Peter Kuhn	520-522
May 13 1795 Robert Morris to Charles Marquedant	516-518
May 10, 1795 Robert Morris to Henry Sheaff	512-514
March 23, 1795 Robert Morris to Henry Sheaff	510

**Market Street**

**Fifth Street**

## **Philadelphia City Surveys**

The loose city surveys in the Third Survey District prior to 1814 provide important information about the lot development of the block during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Although most of the surveys are not dated, they furnish lot sizes along Sixth Street, where the new Liberty Bell Pavilion will be erected. Even with these surveys, however, it is not always possible to line up exactly the surveyed lots with the Sixth Street residents listed on this block in the city directories of 1791, 1795 and 1801.

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



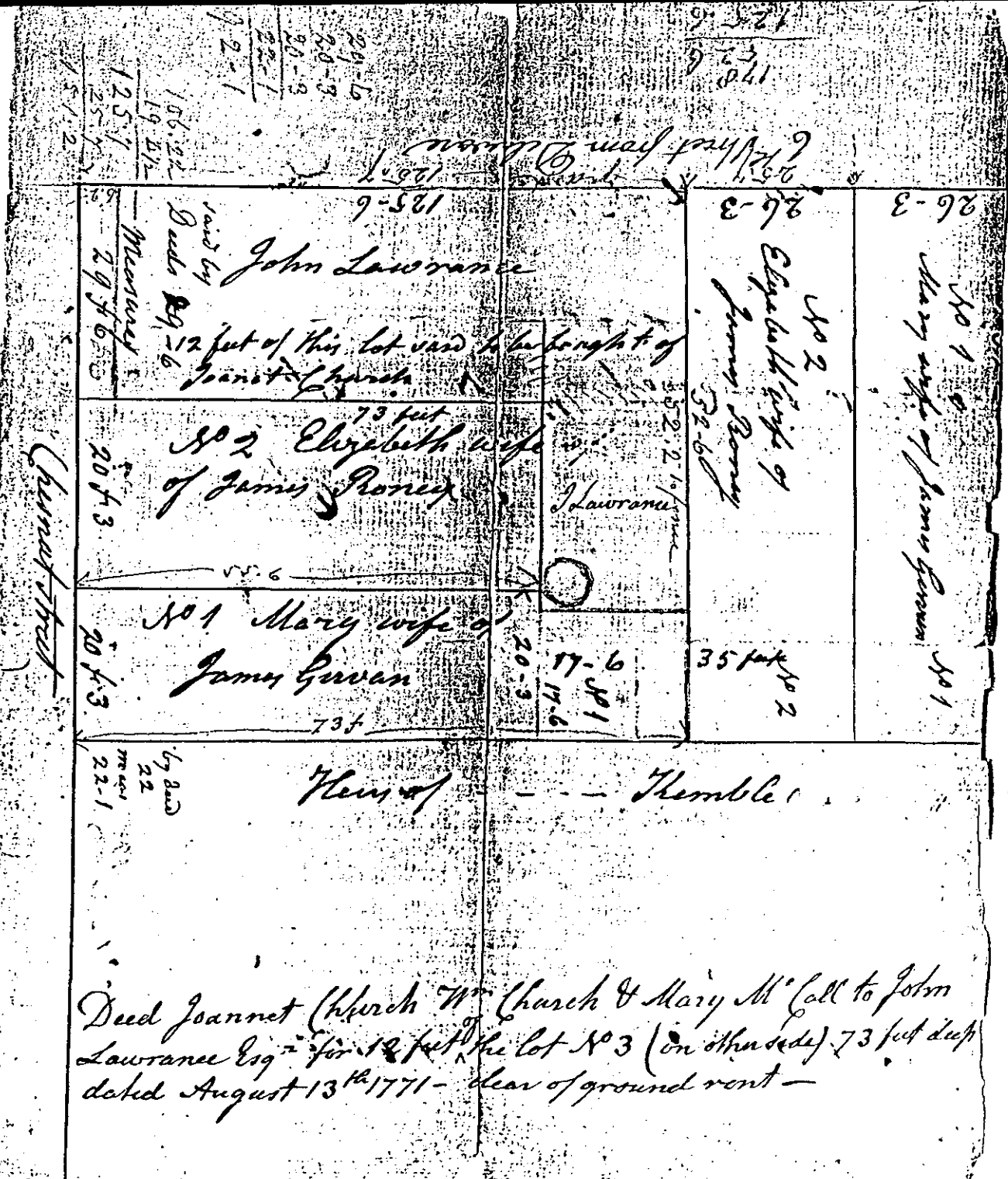
#### **1. Sixth and Chestnut Streets, no date**

This survey presents the corner lots after the Edmund Davis heirs divided the family property. The families of the two married sisters, Mary Davis and Jennette Church, divided their land, which extended 110 feet on Chestnut Street east from the corner of Sixth Street, into lots. John Lawrence's name is added to the corner lot, indicating that the survey was made after his 1771 purchase of the property. Lawrence later reconfigured the corner property by buying from the estate a large lot, 52 by 52 feet along Sixth, and 12 more feet along his eastern lot line. He also tore replaced the frame house at the corner with his new residence. (See App. K) William Crews, Andrew Hamilton and William Hamilton are shown on the large central Chestnut Street lot. The Hamilton family leased the property as a popular inn, called the State House Inn after the Revolution.



## **2. Sixth and Chestnut Streets, no date**

John Lawrence's corner lot at Sixth has been extended along the back of the adjoining Chestnut Street lots, evidently to provide a stable and entrance from Sixth Street for his new residence. The lot widths do not correspond with the earlier survey (see Survey 1), but the 52 by 52 foot lot Lawrence eventually acquired on Sixth Street is evident in two adjoining 26-3 lots. The Kemble heirs refer to the George Kemble who ran a prosperous livery stable opposite the State House.

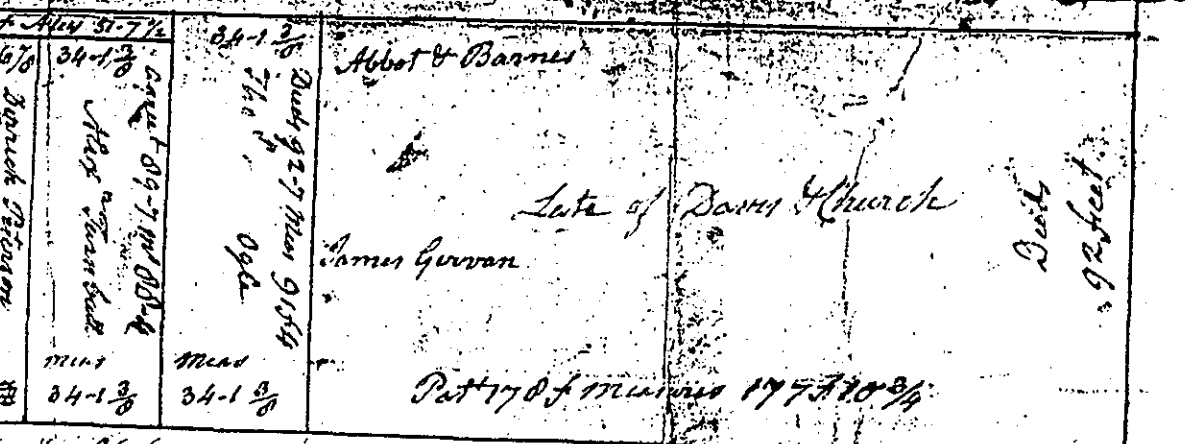
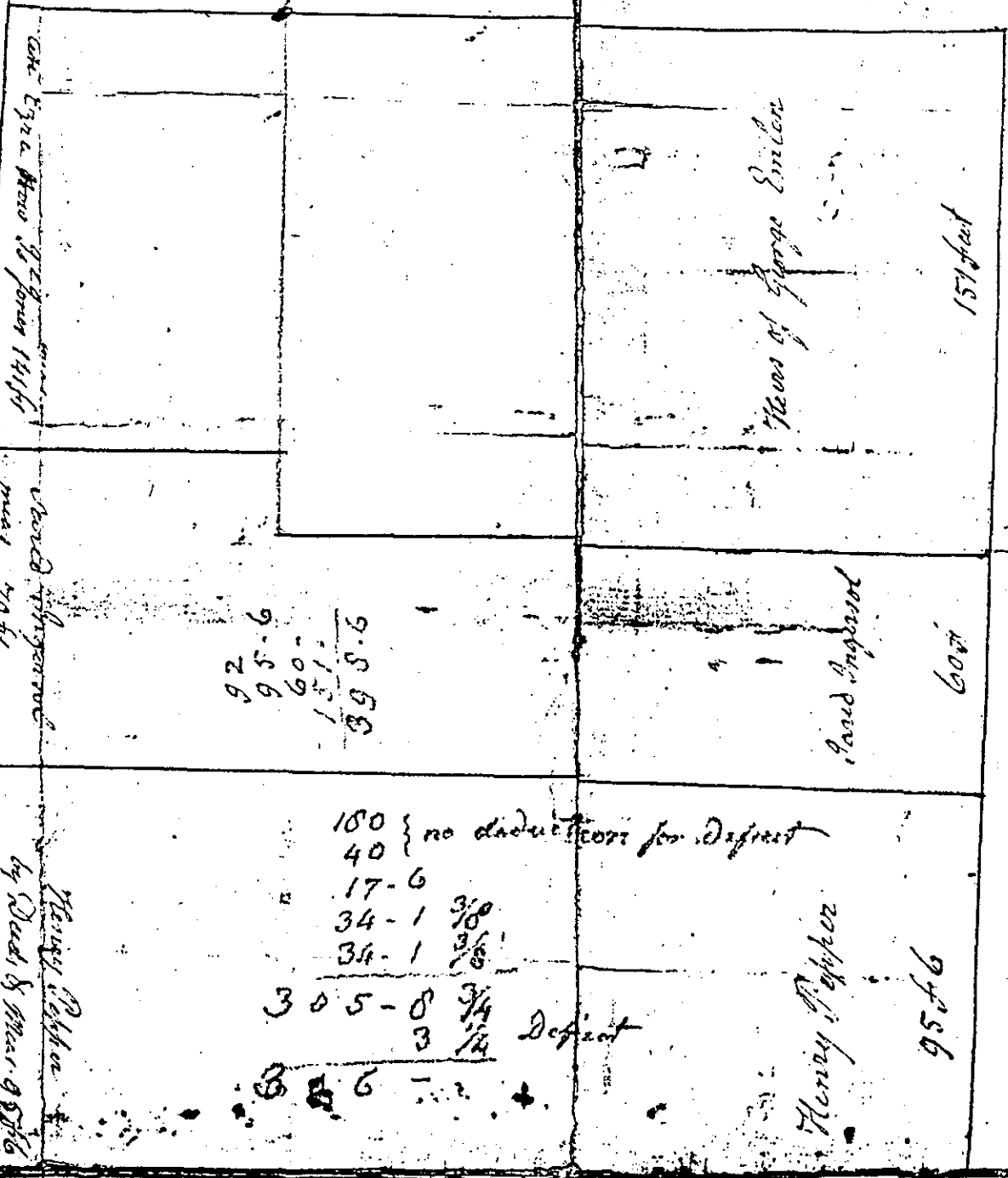


**3. "Measures of Chestnut & Minor Streets, &c for Derrick Peterson, April 28, 1802"**

This dated survey indicates the status of all the Chestnut Street lots at the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The corner lot at Sixth Street now measures 92 feet on Chestnut and 177'103/4" in depth. The three remaining lots on Sixth north to Minor Street reflect the 86 feet originally attached to the Market Street lots, which all measured 306 feet in depth. After Minor Street went in during the 1760s, the Market Street owners began to subdivide and sell off the back end of their lots. Look for Thomas Ogle on the resident maps for the 1790s (appendices), and note the 3-foot alley extending south from Minor Street 51'71/2 behind two Sixth Street lots.

Plat thrust from [unclear]

400 ft  
40 ft



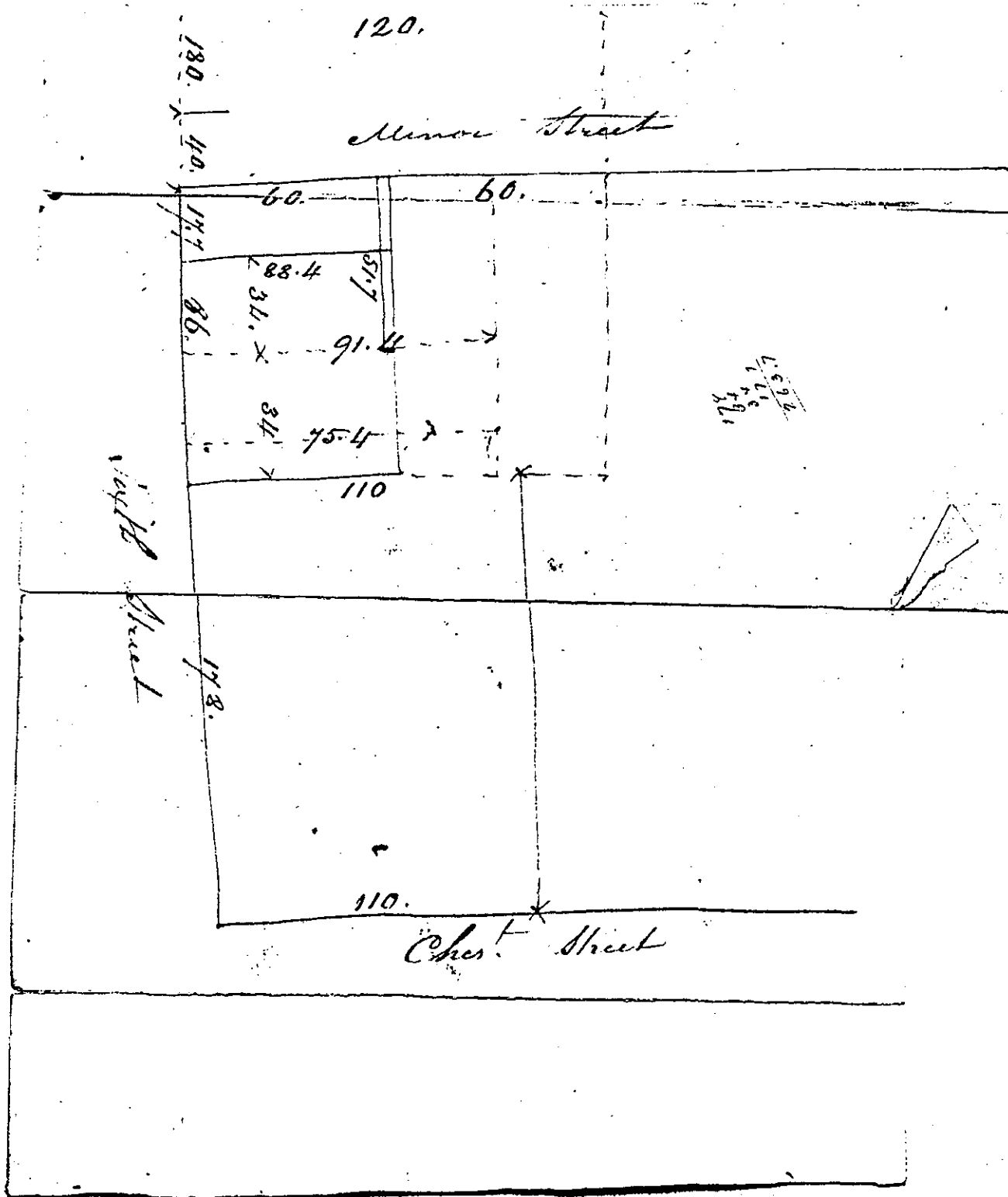
North End of the North Street

North Street

being a deficiency of 5 inches in the whole square as stated the loss to Charles [unclear] 3-161 Inc. 1-038 5-00  
North Street from Delaunoy

**4. Peterson, Ogle, Turnbull & Hagal, n.d.**

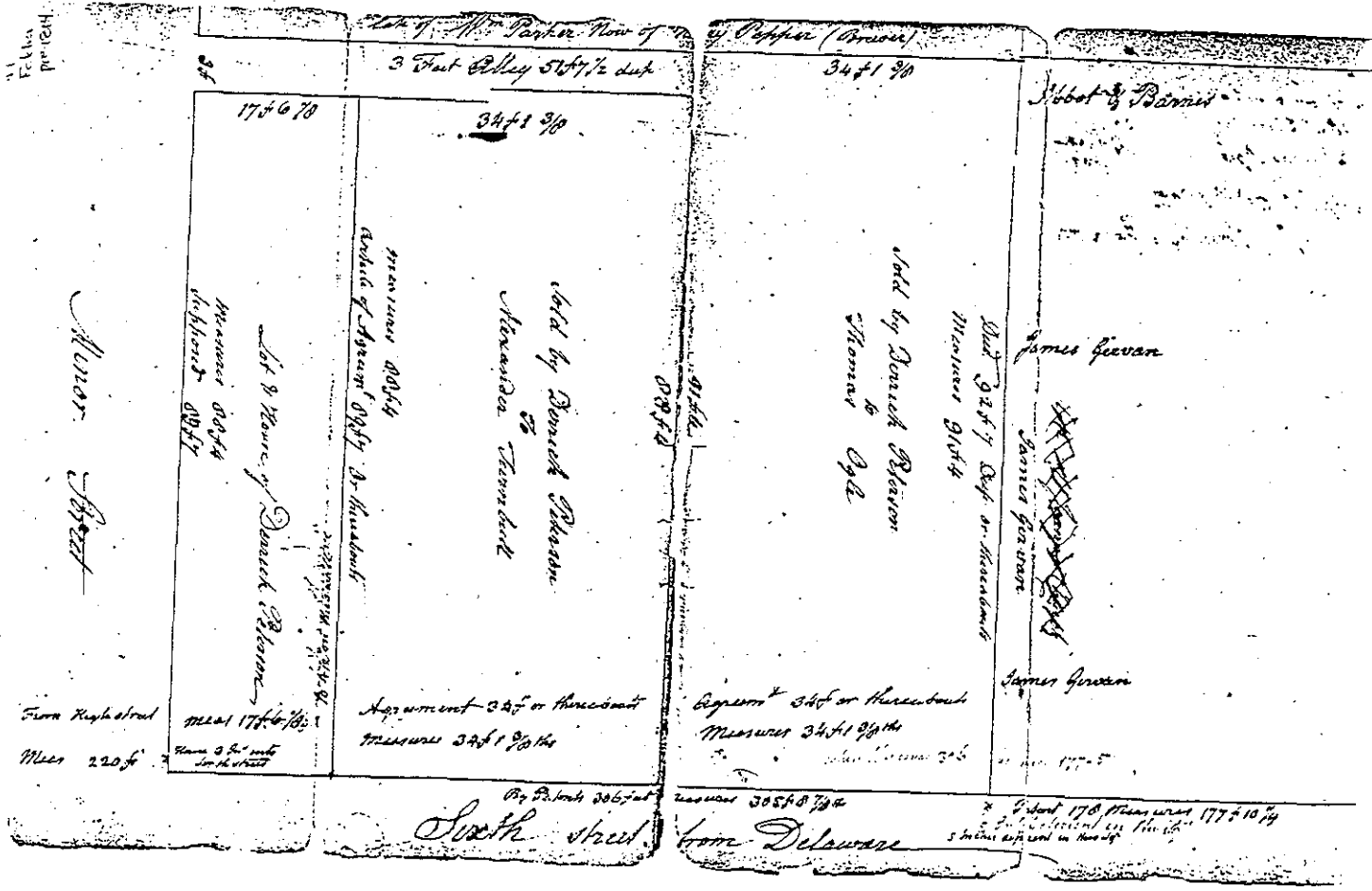
This undated survey again shows the three lots making up the back end of the Market Street lots below Minor Street. Some sort of calculations were clearly anticipating another real estate change.





**5. "Survey of Derrick Petersons Lot on Sixth Street Sold to Alexr Turnbull & Thomas Ogle, April 28<sup>th</sup> 1802 by James Pearson"**

This dated survey again shows the Sixth Street lots south of Minor, but the text offers specific new information about the change of owners. Evidently all three lots were at some time owned by Derrick Peterson, who sold the southern 34-foot lots to Thomas Ogle, coachmaker, and Alexander Turnbull. Turnbull evidently leased his property, based on the directory listings. Derrick Peterson's house is indicated on the lot just south of Minor. This 3-story brick house Robert Morris built in 1786-1787 when he purchased the old Governor's property at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets in two lots, one 60 by 180 north of Minor and the other, 60 by 86 feet below Minor Street. (December 14, 1786, in Parsons, ed., *Hiltzheimer*, 110; *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania*, XV, 151)



31  
Fella  
percent

31  
3 Foot Alley 51 1/2 feet

34 1/2 30

Abbot & Barnes

175 6 70

34 1/2 30

Lot 9 House of Donald Blaine  
measures 80 1/4  
feet

measures 80 1/4  
feet of House of Dr. Hubbard  
sold by Donald Blaine  
to  
Thomas Standard

sold by Donald Blaine  
to  
Thomas Ogil

James Gevan

~~James Gevan~~

James Gevan

From High Street  
Meas 220 ft

meas 175 6 70  
House 3 1/2 feet  
wide

Agreement 34 1/2 or thereabout  
measures 34 1/2 30 1/4

Agreement 34 1/2 or thereabout  
measures 34 1/2 30 1/4

By Deeds 306 1/2 feet  
SOUTH STREET

measures 305 1/2 30 1/4  
from Delaware

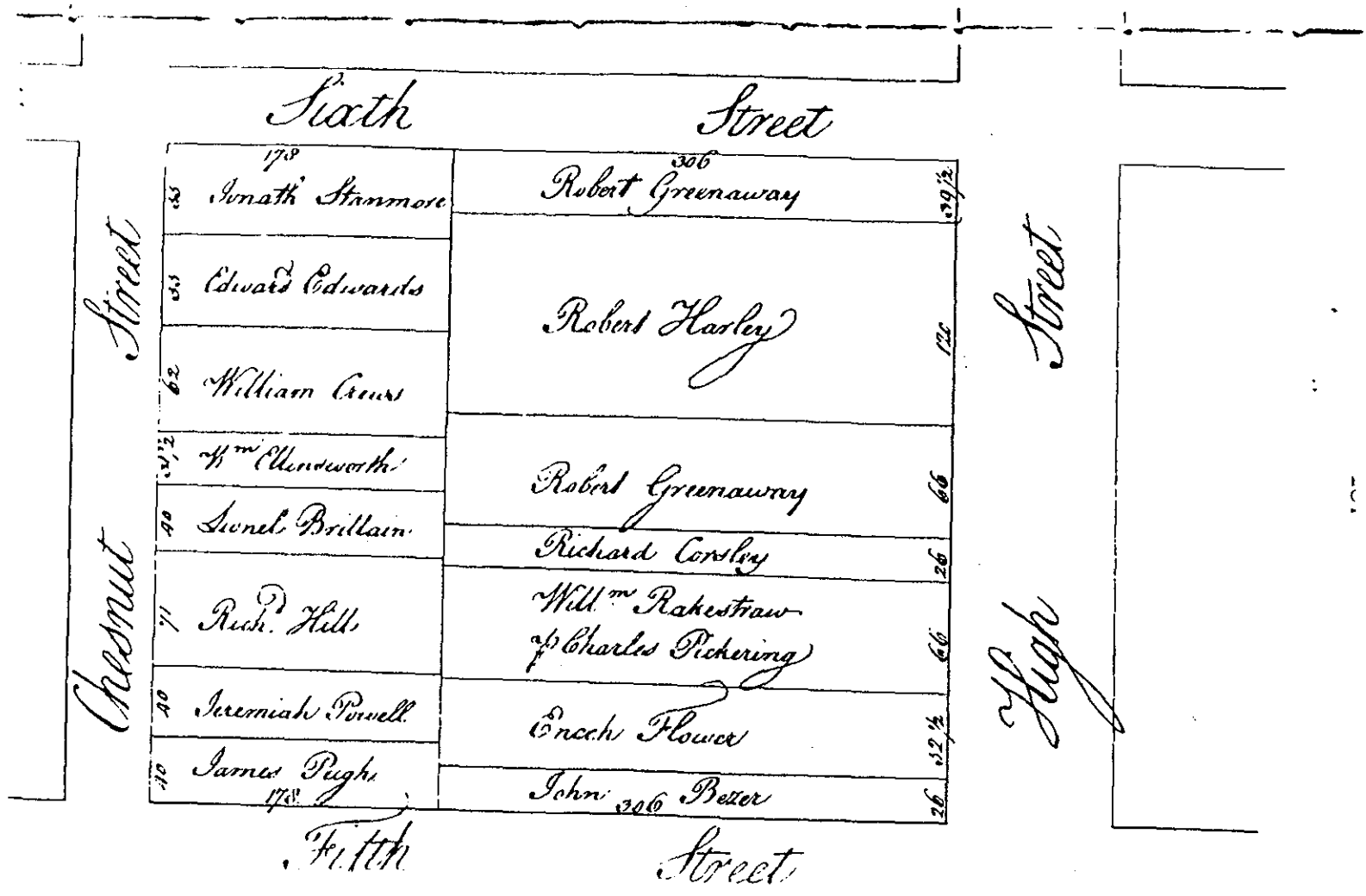
\* Eject 170 measures 177 5 10 1/2  
2 1/2 feet wide on the lot  
5 inches wide on the lot

## Illustrations

### **1. William Parsons Survey, 1747**

William Parsons, Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania from 1740-47, completed a citywide lot plan that recorded the original property owners awarded bonus lots by William Penn on Market and Chestnut streets. By the date of the survey's completion, the lots on this block had been bought up into larger tracts.

As reproduced in Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Plan of Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 80 (1956).



Sixth Street

Chestnut Street

High Street

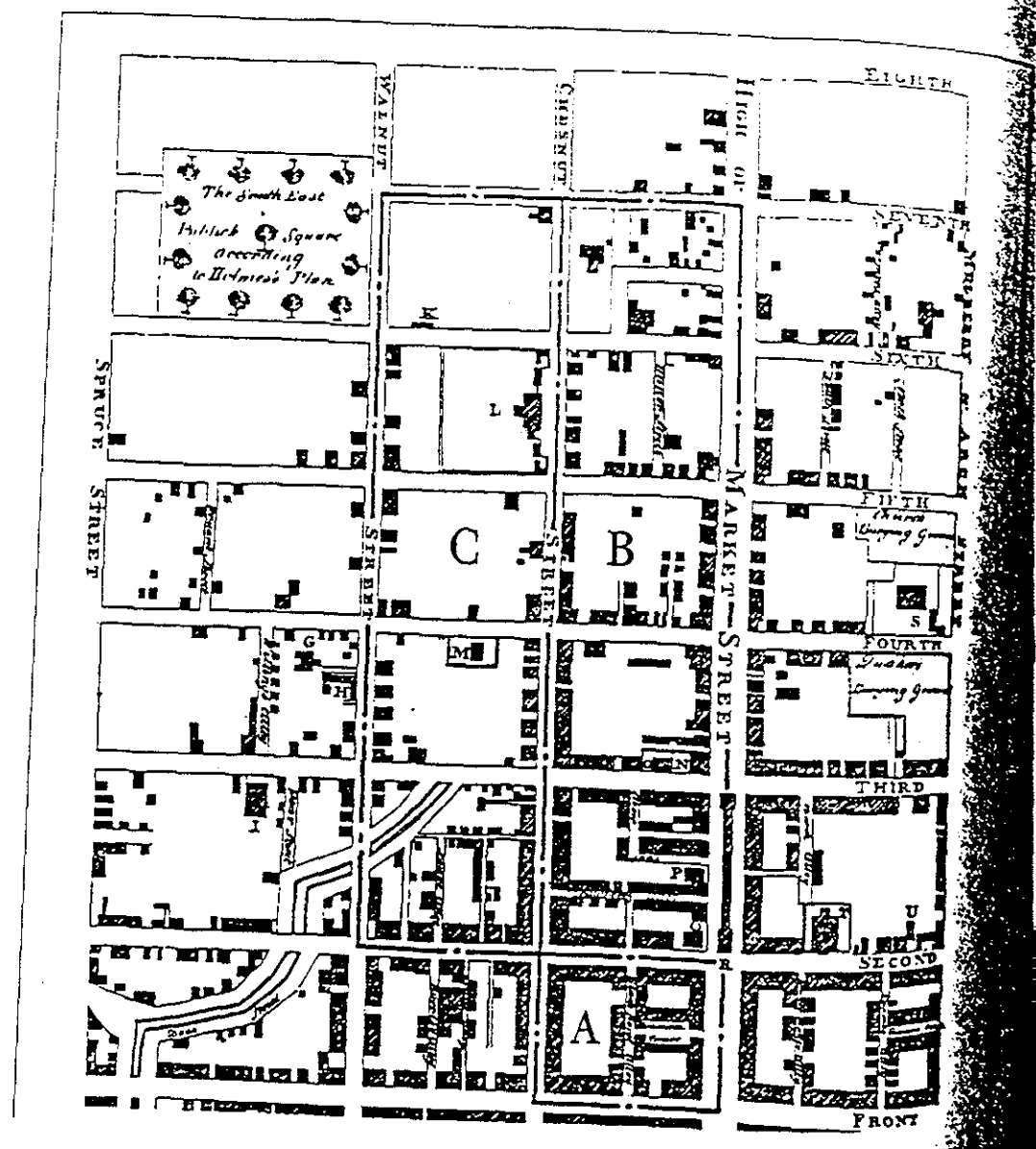
Fifth Street

178	Anath Stammore	306	Robert Greenaway	29 1/2
63	Edward Edwards		Robert Harley	125
62	William Cress		Robert Greenaway	66
41 1/2	Wm Ellsworth		Richard Conley	26
40	Simeon Brillain		Willm Rakestraw & Charles Pickering	66
31	Richd Hill		Enock Flower	32 1/2
40	Jeremiah Powell		John Bester	26
30	James Pugh		John Bester	26

**2. Section of Clarkson-Biddle Map of 1762,**

This map is thought to be a composite of the city surveys prepared by Nicholas Scull during his service as Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, 1748-1761, and published after his death by his daughter, Mary Biddle and Matthew Clarkson. Block One is situated directly above the large B.

From Hannah Benner Roach, *Colonial Philadelphians*, 70



**3. "Richd Penn's Burnt House Lot Philadelphia" after the fire of January 1, 1780.**

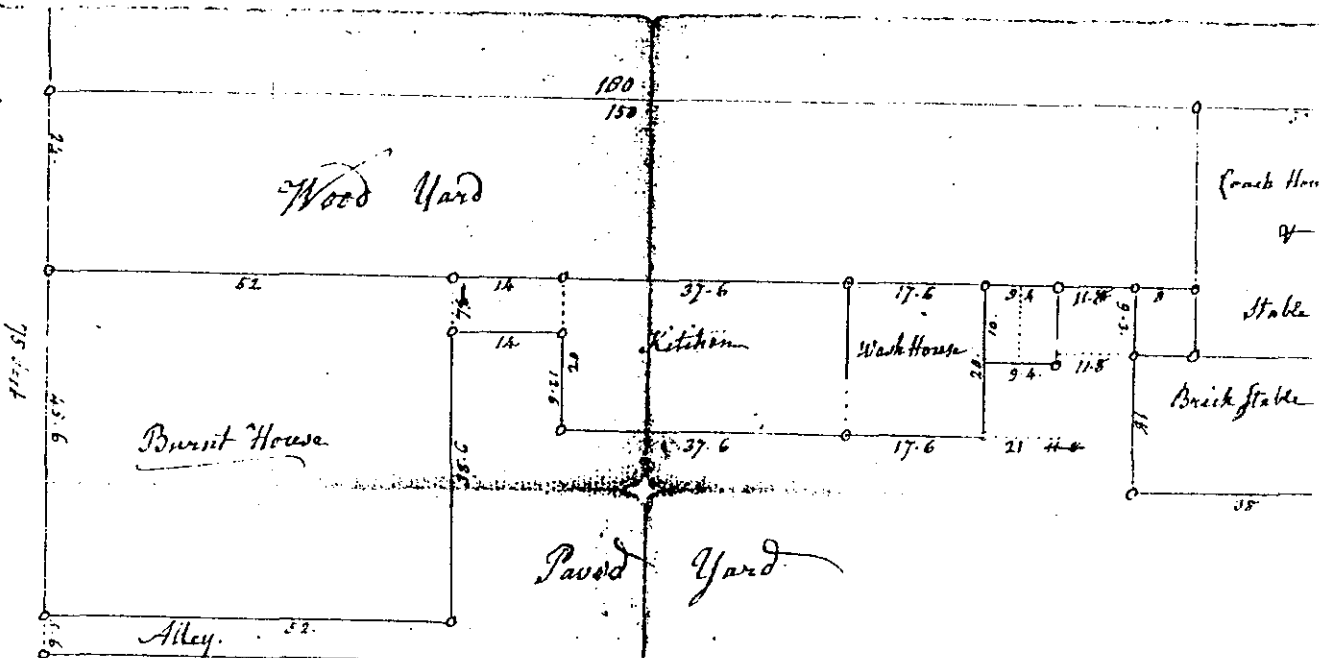
Robert Morris purchased Richard Penn's property after the fire and rebuilt the house in a different style, but on the same foundations. The lot shows a carriage entrance from Market and from Minor Street, where the stables and coach house stood. Morris purchased adjoining Market Street lots to the east and west of his house lot during the 1780s. The one at the corner of Sixth Street here is labeled "President's lot," otherwise known as Pennsylvania's Governor's mansion.

Record Group 17, Land Office, Map Collection, #3399, Pennsylvania State Archives  
Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Harrisburg



2-6

Marked a fence



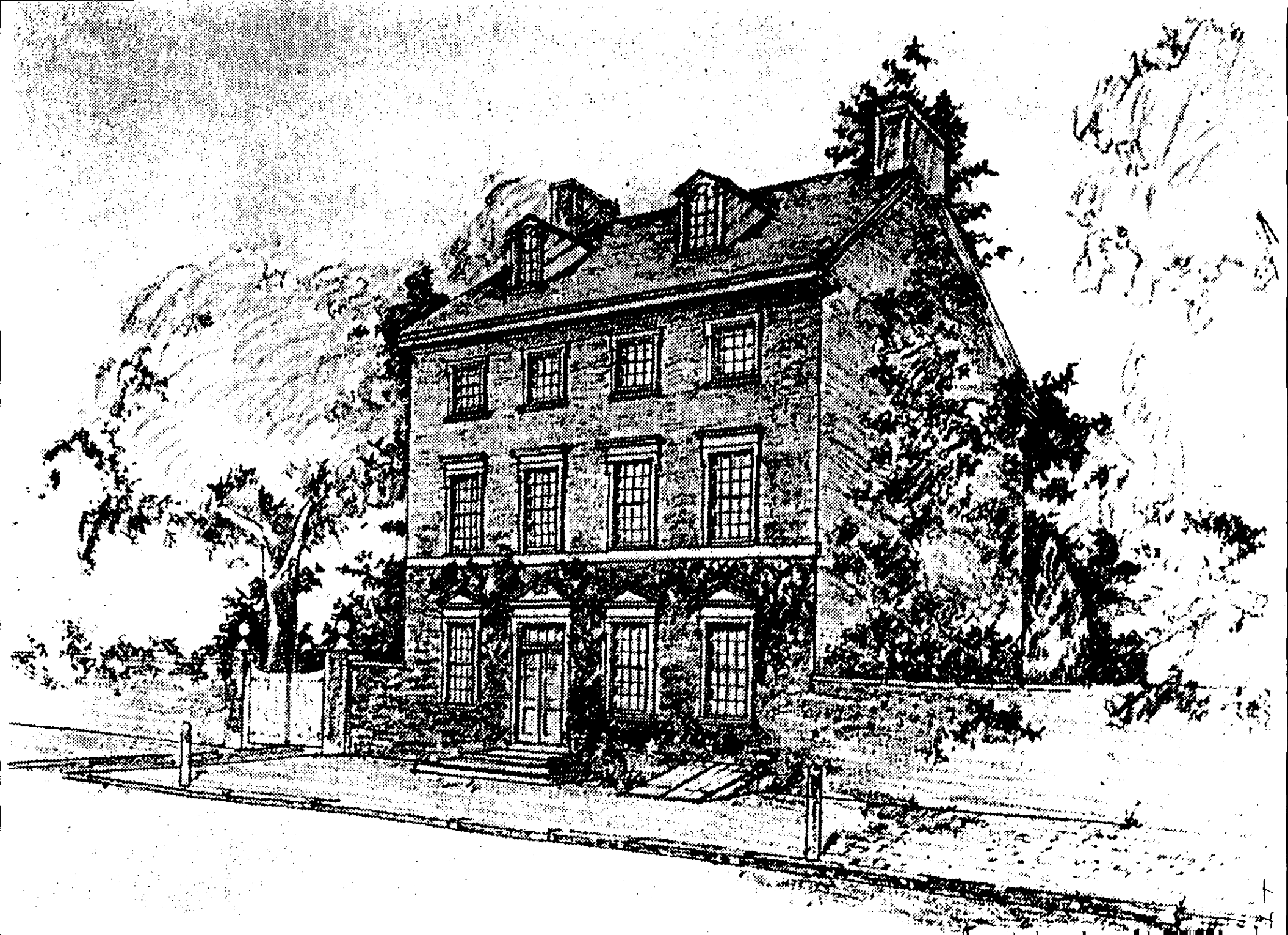
Proprietary Lot

Sixth Street

#### **4. 190 High Street, the Executive Mansion**

This drawing by Ed Lawler (1999) is based on the sketch of the house by William L. Mason, May 1, 1832, just before it was demolished to make way for three stores.

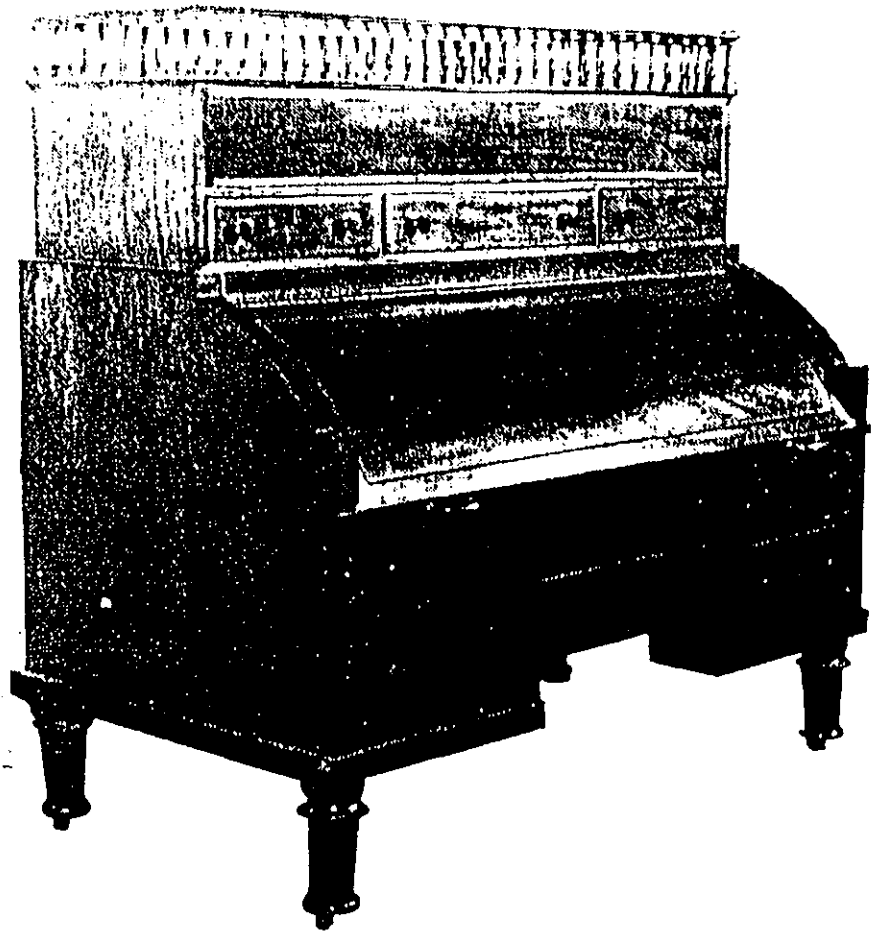
Copy provided this writer by Ed Lawler



### **5. George Washington's Desk from 190 High Street**

This pine desk has a mahogany veneer with ebony and maple inlays. Washington's appreciation for fine work was balanced by his self-conscious effort to display economy as the first president. When Washington left Philadelphia for Mount Vernon, he sold the desk to his friend, Eliza Powel (Mrs. Samuel) for \$245, as recorded in a letter of March 9, 1797 from Tobias Lear to Mrs. Powel. At some point later the desk was modified by adding the unrelated top piece and new legs.

Desk at Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Gift of Charles Hare Hutchinson, 1867  
Image provided by Ed Lawler. Information on desk alteration from Karie Diethorn, Curator, INDE



WASHINGTON'S DESK

S.T.

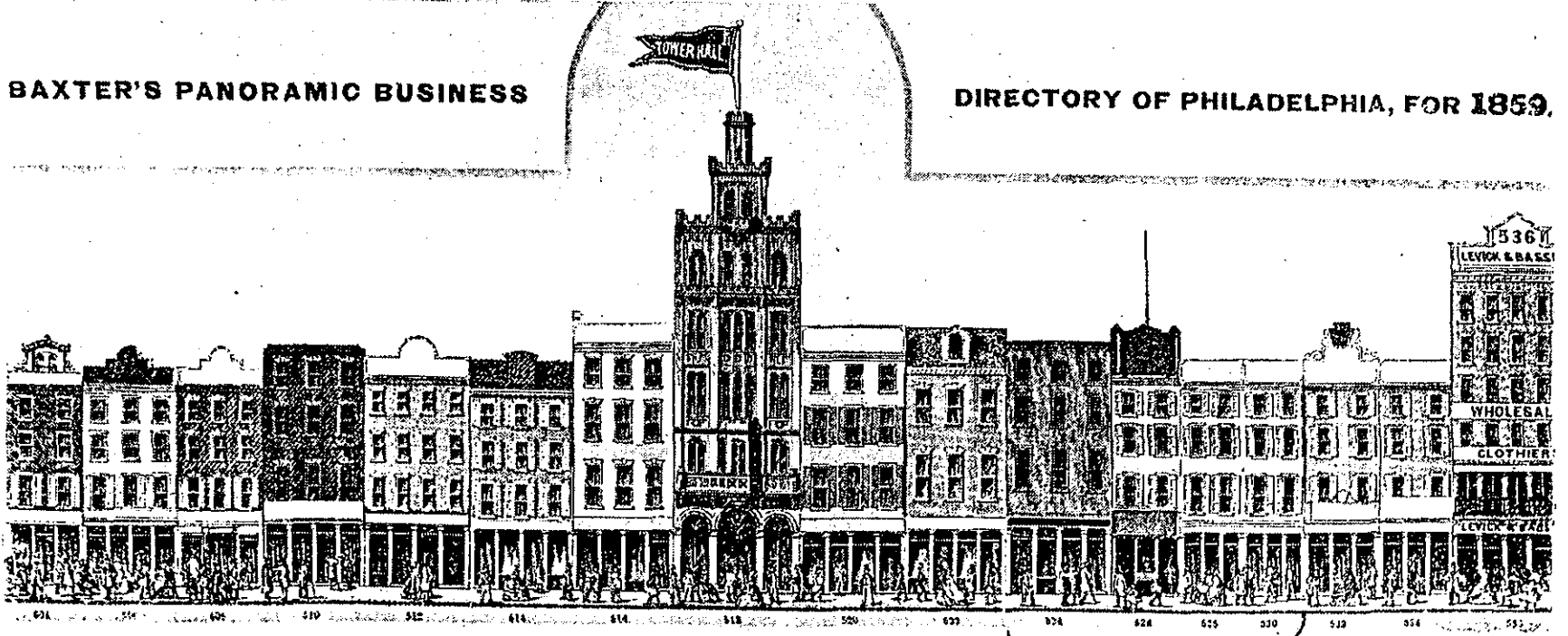
### **6. Baxter's Panoramic Business Directory of Philadelphia, for 1859**

This mid-nineteenth century depiction of Market Street reflects the demolition and rebuilding of the former 190 and 192 High Street properties. The former Executive Mansion has been replaced with three stores, 526, 528, 530 Market Street, and the adjoining wood lot or yard of the house is numbered 524 Market Street.

The former 190 High Street identified on the image by the writer

BAXTER'S PANORAMIC BUSINESS

DIRECTORY OF PHILADELPHIA, FOR 1859.



190 High

(97)