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Multiculturism in Twenty-First Century Philadelphia

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MULTICULTURAL TOURISM IN TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
PHILADELPHIA

Charlene Palmore-Lewis

A THESIS

in

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
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Dedication

I dedicate my thesis to my mother Ezella Palmore. She had great courage in the midst of her adversary, breast cancer.

Acknowledgments

The Cow-Tail Switch, A folktale from Liberia

One day a hunter went out to hunt and did not return home. His family was worried, but soon stop speaking of him after several days. The mother gave birth to her eighth son and as soon as he could speak he asked, “Where is my father?” The other sons searched for their father and found his bones and rusted weapons. Each son did something remarkable; the bones were put together, flesh and muscle were placed on the bones, blood coursed through his veins, breath, movement, and speech were restored. There was a big celebration and that night the hunter fashioned a beautiful cow-tail switch to give to the one who brought him back to life. Each desired it. “It is surely me,” said the son who showed his brothers the path that helped them to find their father. “But without me he wouldn't have come back to life,” said the one who laid out the bones. “Breath is more important than bones,” said another son. “What is life without movement?” Said another. On and on they went. The hunter asked for silence and he gave the cow-tail switch to his youngest son, for he was the one who remembered him.

I give my cow-tail switch to Suzanne M. Hyndman, who asked “Where is Charlene?”

To my husband, Stephen, family, friends, and professors, who placed my bones together and gave me the muscle and blood that course through my veins.

Dr. Gail Caskey Winkler and the Reverend Dr. Jeffery N. Leath, who always kept me on the correct path.

Praises be to my blessed Savior who gave me movement and breath.
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Chapter One: Introduction

*From Vacationers to Tourists*

During the year of 1990 Edward Lawler, an urban archeologist and architectural historian, was giving a guided tour in center city Philadelphia. He pointed out Congress Hall where the House of Representatives and the Senate met and he pointed out the old City Hall where the United States Supreme Court met. As any inquisitive tourist might wonder, where was the equivalent to the White House? Such a question was posed to Mr. Lawler. He replied that he believed a public restroom was built on the site. He was astonished that an important segment of the United States history was not revered enough to be interpreted.

About this time Independence National Historical Park (INHP) began a series of public meetings regarding the proposed changes to Independence Mall, which included a new Visitor’s Center, a new home for the Liberty Bell, and the National Constitution Center. Lawler along with others urged the officials of the INHP to include the President’s House in the interpretation of the Liberty Bell exhibit. The superintendent of INHP abandoned the idea, arguing that it "would create a design dissonance between the two features, potentially causing confusion for visitors." This did not stop Lawler from an exhaustive archival research about the mansion and its many infamous residents. His research lead to the publication of *The President's House in Philadelphia*, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 26

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2 Letter written to Superintendent, Martha Aikens on August 15, 2001 of the Independence National Historic Park from the Board of the Independence Hall Association and citizens in requesting the President’s House to be appropriately commemorated by marking the paving which was written October 11, 2001.
This information was so compelling that a public fight ensued to have an archeological dig at the site and the inclusion as the site of the interpretation of the President’s House. The Philadelphia City Council and the Pennsylvania Legislature passed a unanimous resolution urging Independence National Historic Park to commemorate the President’s House and its slaves, and the U.S. House of Representatives attached an amendment to the 2003 budget of the Department of the Interior requiring the Park Service to do so.

From the 1920s through the early 1950s leisure meant not spending any time at the workplace. Days of relaxation were spent on short trips to the beach, or rides to the countryside to visit relatives and friends. Extensive vacations were for the rich and the upper middle class. This changed between 1940 and 1970 as incomes doubled during the war and post-war period. In addition the number of hours worked per week declined for most in the United States. By 1950 the average workweek had been reduced to 40.5 hours, a reduction of 10.5 hours per week since 1909. Also non-wage benefits were on the rise, specifically paid vacation. Suburbanization maintained its strong influence on middle class leisure time with back yard barbecues, pool parties and picnics. The healthier the economy, the more disposable income was spent on leisure activities.

But the main change that fueled vacation experiences was increased

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5 Ibid., 225.
education. To travel was to gain knowledge of other cultures and places. As the number of individuals earning college degrees grew exponentially it created a commitment to personal development. Leisure time was another venue to becoming educated. Getting away was not enough; parents sought greater awareness of what was going on around them and their children. Vacations became visits to heritage sites, museums, or travel abroad. Leisure time became tourist-oriented rather than the relaxing experience at home. Historic preservationist has contributed to tourism and tourism has enhanced historic preservation.

With the enactment of laws to preserve historic sites, preservationists have been able to protect houses, districts and sites throughout the country. While tourism in America has evolved to include historic sites, few of those sites include a comprehensive account of the history of African-Americans. Consequently, tourists, whether Black or White, have little opportunity to visit sites associated with this critical part of history. Black tourism lagged behind White tourism for all the economics and racist reasons we know. Perhaps not surprisingly Southern sites such as Charleston, South Carolina, Charlotte, North Carolina, Williamsburg, Virginia, Maryland and Washington D.C., do include the Black experience in the interpretation of their history with themes ranging from slavery on plantations to African-American heritage trails.

The tourism industry in the 21st-century is becoming aware of the interest and

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6 Ibid., 226.
7 Ibid., 226.
8 Author has traveled to these destinations while on vacation with family.
profitability of African-American history.\textsuperscript{9} Virgie M. Washington stated, “It’s really in vogue right now; we’re tired of listening to everybody else’s history but our own.”\textsuperscript{10} According to the Travel Industry Association of America, the firm statistics reported that Blacks spent $30.5 billion on travel in 2002 and leisure travel rose 4 percent between 2000 and 2002, twice the rate of Americans as a whole.\textsuperscript{11}

Allen Kay, spokesman for the Travel Industry Association of America, says his organization identified Blacks traveling to historical and cultural sites more than other travelers

“One of the reason we have seen growth in minority travel, and particularly African American travel, is these groups the travel industry has identified and particularly targeted. They have found that when they promote themselves to African Americans they get more business.”\textsuperscript{12}

Although African-American tourism is on the rise, visitation numbers to places like Colonial Williamsburg are not on the rise. Colonial Williamsburg had hoped opening the Great Hopes Plantation would attract minority visitors to the ten-acre farm, which depicts life of poor White farmers as well as free and enslaved Blacks. The public has responded but not in visitation as Colonial Williamsburg had anticipated. Critics suggest that for decades an all White cast of characters, although, Colonial Williamsburg itself was historically fifty-one percent Black offers a sanitized view of slavery.\textsuperscript{13} Travel Industry Association of America indicates that tourism continues to steadily climb in the United States in 2007.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 1.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 1.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 1.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 3.
Philadelphia, the first capitol of the United States has not done as well as many of its Southern counterparts. As described previously, Philadelphia Black history is omitted in most Philadelphia tourist venues. I would like to share a personal experience on a tour of my hometown, Philadelphia, two years ago. The guide pointed out sites such as the Liberty Bell, Independence Hall, and the Betsy Ross house but as we passed the African American Museum not a word was spoken. I did not know why this institution was omitted but my anger made me more attentive to the rest of the guide’s narrative. One site mentioned on the tour was Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, affectionately called “Mother Bethel.” The guide indicated that the church was the oldest parcel of land continuously owned by African-Americans and that the church was founded by Richard Allen, a freedman and itinerant preacher who walked out of St. Georges Methodist Episcopal Church after refusing to sit in the balcony. The second site mentioned was the Philadelphia Museum of Art located at 26th Street and the Parkway. We were told that the chief architect of the structure was Julian Abele (1881-1950), the first African-American to graduate from the school of architecture at the University of Pennsylvania. He was employed by Horace Traumbauer (1868-1938) and sent to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris to further his study in architecture. He later joined the firm becoming Trambauer’s chief architect. The last site mentioned was the All War Memorial to Colored Soldiers and Sailors dedicated to the African-Americans who fought in the American Revolution, Civil War, Indian Wars, Spanish American War, Philippine Insurrection, and the two World Wars. The memorial is located on the west side of Logan Square on 19th and the Parkway.
I concluded from this experience that these sites were probably the most familiar sites to be interpreted and sites which were less familiar and no longer visible were probably not interpreted.

Beverly Tatum, in “Teaching White Students about Racism: The Search for White Allies and the Restoration of Hope,” states that Whites often struggle with feelings of guilt when made aware of the pervasiveness of racism in our society. Even if they have no direct connection with racism they feel guilt by association, which leads them to resist learning about race and racism. These feelings of guilt, coupled with the absence of the Black history as part of the general American history may account for the lack of Black heritage tours in mainstream tourism.

Jerome H. Schiele, in “Cultural oppression and the high-risk status of African Americans,” make the point that “The nations discomfort with talking about race and race relations has dramatically affected the psychology of all Americans.” Expanding on that theme, Claude M. Steel, in “Race and the Schooling of Black Americans (1992)” argues persuasively that Black culture, literature, politics and social perspectives should be presented in the mainstream curriculum of American schooling and that the heritage of Blacks should not be set aside for a special day of the month or special courses and programs mainly aimed at Blacks. The author notes that Blacks have been in America since its inception and are intrinsically part of the defining images of our nation.

These statements gave me the ammunition to continue the dialogue about race, thereby removing the barriers that we as a people have put up. As a question prompted Mr. Lawler into an exhaustive investigation to give a voice to those who
have not been heard for a long time, I too have been prompted to do something. I have begun to create a heritage tour, which acknowledges the various cultures, which make up our city’s history. This tour’s purpose is to start the dialogue about race, thereby removing the barriers that we have erected to avoid those who are different from us. Schiele states, “One of the greatest group successes of United States history is the survival and continuation of African American life. After experiencing some of the most brutal forms of injustice and dehumanization in U.S. history, African Americans continue to survive and function with remarkable resiliency.”

Chapter Two: Literary Resources

Jerome Schiele, in “Cultural oppression and the high-risk status of African Americans (2005),” posits an estrangement from cultural heritage among today’s African-Americans that is caused by the cultural oppression of the dominant European-American culture. The risk from this oppression is of being “unaware and unappreciative of the ancestral homeland and its customs, traditions, and contributions.” He equates this estrangement with cultural amnesia and explains that in this amnesia, that results in “favorable characteristics of a group’s past [being] suppressed and systematically excluded not only from the memory of the culturally oppressed but from the culturally dominant as well.”\(^\text{15}\) The prevalent sense of estrangement by African-Americans and European-Americans emphasizes the need to eradicate cultural amnesia by developing an African-American tour that starts the dialogue about race relations.

Another aspect of cultural oppression is how the dominant culture wields its power. Vonnie C. McLoyd, in “Linking race and ethnicity to culture: Steps along the road from inference to hypothesis testing,” lists one of the characteristics of power as “the ability to define what counts as knowledge and to make definitions of knowledge appear ‘natural’ rather than artificially constructed.”\(^\text{16}\) This creates for African-Americans a dual reality living under two cultural agendas; there is the almost exclusively marketed culture of White America and the eclipsed Black American culture. According to Wade W. Boykin and Forrest D. Tom biculturalism is not, in and of itself, a problem. What is problematic is the oppositional nature of these two cultures. Boykin and Toms cite from

\(^\text{15}\)&nbsp;Ibid., 806.
The Black experience in America is distinguished by the fact that the qualities attributed to Blackness are in opposition to the qualities rewarded in society.

The specific features of Blackness as cultural imagery are, almost by definition, those qualities which the dominant society has attempted to deny in itself...W.E.B. Dubois so poetically describes this experience as twoness, ‘an American; a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.’

Cultural oppression in school curricula perpetuates social inequality. Vonnie C. McLoyd describes cultural capital as the knowledge, disposition, linguistic expressions, and skills passed from one generation to the next. Schools which reflect the cultural capital of the dominant classes there can be the oppression of omission. An example is my experience while on a tour in Philadelphia, as the driver passed the African American Museum the tour guide made no mention of it. Hearing only the history of the dominant culture leaves out important lessons and inspiration for children of color. “Multicultural curriculums must at least recognize that the potential exists for children of color to benefit from lessons and examples that come from their unique histories and experiences.”

The effect of cultural oppression, of denying the stories of Africans in America, produces cultural misorientation. Cultural misorientation “precludes African-Americans from knowing, accepting, and validating their traditional cultural worldviews while concomitantly placing them at risk of internalizing pejorative messages and images about

17 W.E.B. Dubois, Souls of black folk (Chicago: McClurg, 1903), 17.
their history and their homeland and, by extension, themselves.\textsuperscript{19} The end result of oppression and misorientation is the denial by African-Americans of the particularity of their West African cultural origins and, by extension, their human particularity.\textsuperscript{20} Although Schiele writes about the effect of cultural oppression of not knowing African culture the same consequences of not knowing one’s African-American culture also has an effect.

Nonetheless, Jerome H. Schiele states that the survival and continuation of African-American life is, “one of the greatest group successes of United States history.” The history of African American resistance tells the story of a tenacious and resilient people with an intense desire to be free.”\textsuperscript{21} Resiliency is defined as positive adaptation despite negative environmental circumstances and racial socialization and it has been shown to have protective effects in the societal landscape of racism.\textsuperscript{22} Marie Peters distinguishes socialization from racial socialization as the “tasks Black parents share with all parents providing for and raising children but include the responsibility of raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations.”\textsuperscript{23} The socialization process can be direct or indirect, verbal or nonverbal, overt or covert. In the Journal of Child Development Stephani Coard et. al. state “there is a growing body of evidence supporting the notion that the more parents engage in specific racial socialization practices, the more their children

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 802.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 802
show better socio-emotional, behavioral and academic outcomes.”\textsuperscript{24} Even for very young children racial socialization practices and home environments can make a positive difference.\textsuperscript{25} Exposure is a tool for teaching about race: “This exposure can take many forms, including visits to African-American historical sites, museums and monuments....” Not surprisingly, these methods are the same dominant group passed from generation to generation.\textsuperscript{26}

The theory that cultural oppression leads to an inferior sense of racial self-esteem among African-Americans and creates an unyielding sense of power among European-Americans promotes a greater need for racial socialization at a very young age. Historically European-Americans exhibit a sense of power due to the prevailing acceptance of White culture over that of African-Americans, but, as stated by Vonnie McLoyd, exposure to different races can lead to enhanced racial understanding and cultural sensitivity. In turn, African-Americans should continue to delve deeper into their history to understand the struggle and inherent sense of resiliency.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid, 1614.
Chapter Three:  Familiar Historic Sites

Mother Bethel and the President’s house were mentioned during my tour of Philadelphia and today the sites are described as places to visit on Philadelphia’s tourist websites in addition to guided tours given by companies such as the Big Bus, the Duck, and the Trolley tour.

“Mother Bethel”

Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church affectionately called “Mother Bethel” is not significant for a world-renowned architect nor is its Richardson Romanesque Revival architecture. What is central about “Mother Bethel” is the philosophy retained from past to present whose origins began with one of the first great Black American leaders, Richard Allen (1760-1831).
Allen had a religious awakening and became a member of the Methodist denomination while in bondage. After he purchased his freedom he became an itinerant preacher spreading the gospel as he traveled.\(^{27}\)

Allen was drawn to the doctrines of the Methodist domination founded by John Wesley, established in Philadelphia in the 1760s.\(^{28}\) Methodism denounced the enslavement of human beings and practiced principles of faith that were simple and

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\(^{28}\) Ibid., 13.
forthright.\textsuperscript{29} One did not have to be intellectually sophisticated to comprehend the word of the Lord, for the sermons could be understood by all. The style of uninhibited praise and the freedom to permit extemporaneous sermons fueled Allen’s preaching. Methodism in general and Allen in particular were responsible for the conversion of many blacks to Methodism.

Allen’s fiery preaching manner was the impetus for St. George Methodist Episcopal Church, the mother of American Methodism, to invite him to preach in their pulpit. Every Sunday, Allen preached at the uncomfortable hour of 5:00 a.m. to a congregation of his own ethnicity.\textsuperscript{30} He also preached at various times during the day to accommodate the increasing populace of Blacks around the city. St. George, alarmed at the growth of the conversion of Blacks, decided to build galleries for the overflow of the Black congregation. The irony is that the Blacks of the congregation contributed substantially with their labor and monies to an addition intended to separate them from their fellow White congregants.

Allen and three other parishioners arrived late for service at St. George on November 5, 1787, and were asked to go to the new seating area after taking seats in the rear of the sanctuary. A physical confrontation ensued between a trustee and one of the parishioners, Absalom Jones, who refused to be escorted to the gallery as prayer was going forth. The quarrel continued and Absalom Jones remarked, “Wait until the prayer is over and I will trouble you no more.”\textsuperscript{31} Those legendary words led to an immediate exodus of most of the Blacks from St. George.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 17.
In 1793 Allen purchased real estate for the first African-American church. Unfortunately the Free African Society did not favor the parcel of land at Sixth and Lombard Streets which Allen had made a deposit. It was felt another location four blocks away was a more commodious parcel of land. Because Allen had entered into a good faith business transaction for the land at Sixth and Lombard Streets he did not want to forfeit the deal and thus acquired the land for his own.

It is hypothesized that public opinion was not of great consequence due to the demographics of the neighborhood. The community consisted of immigrants who were renters of property. Those who rented property placed less value on their present surroundings then those who owned it. However a letter written by Benjamin Rush to his wife Julia Rush gives an idea of the attitude of the time. He remarked that Philadelphia’s Black leaders held an elaborate dinner in celebration of the raising of the roof of the African Church. “About a hundred carpenters and other white guest were seated and served by the black people.”32 Rush also sent a large wheelbarrow full of melons to the prisoners at the Walnut Street jail who overheard or witnessed the raising of the roof of the church. Rush hoped that the prisoners might sympathize a little in the joy of the day.

While construction of the first African church was being built, Allen was given official support from the Methodist church to build an edifice on the land at Sixth and Lombard Streets because of his heroism during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793.

Under the guise of securing the right to receive the legacies (legal affiliation and all rights and doctrines associated) of the Methodist church Bethel was incorporated into the Methodist conference. Unaware of the legalities of being incorporated in the

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Methodist conference Allen was tricked in the forfeiture of his church. After years of an estranged relationship with St. George there was a legal separation of religious affiliation after the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled in Bethel’s favor. An independent denomination called African Methodism was established in 1816.33

Richard Allen remarked “We deemed it expedient to have a form of discipline, whereby we may guide our people in the fear of God in the unity of the Spirit, and in the bonds of peace.”34 They adopted the Episcopal form of church government, meaning they would be under the authority of bishops who were ordained by officials within. At that meeting Allen was elected the first Bishop by the people of the African Methodist Church.

Four Structures

By 1890 the property at Sixth and Lombard had had four successive structures erected on the site: The first was a renovated blacksmith frame, which was hauled by a team of horses owned by Richard Allen. A roughcast structure replaced that one in 1805. This edifice was built because the congregation had grown exponentially; membership went from twenty to four hundred and fifty-six, twenty-two times the original twenty. As the church membership grew so too did their finances enabling the congregation to build the third edifice in 1841. The structure remarkably resembled the architecture of St. George, which served as the prototype for most Methodist churches.

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34 Ibid., 70.
during this period.\textsuperscript{35}

The fourth and present structure was built because of a structural fracture in the 1841 church, which forced the congregation to abandon the site. A building committee was formed to find a style of architecture that would be pleasing to the congregation.

Figure 2: The first structure, a blacksmith shop, was used for worship in 1794. Source: http://www.motherbethel.org/museum/exhibit/panel6.html; Internet; accessed 20 April 2007.

\textsuperscript{35} Bishop Richard F. Norris, Personal Interview, December 2003.
Figure 3: “Mother Bethel structure built 1805 was called roughcast because of the crude cinder blocks. Source: http://www.motherbethel.org/museum/exhibit/panel6.html; Internet; accessed 20 April 2007.


The decision was to build in the likeness of Jones Tabernacle Union Methodist Episcopal Church, listed on the National Historic Register, located at 2021 West Diamond Street, Philadelphia. because the Richardson Romanesque Revival

36 In March of 1981 Jones Tabernacle Union Methodist Episcopal Church applied for historic designation. It cited the following reasons: the architects, Edward P. Hazlehurst and Samuel Huckle Jr., the architectural style in which it was designed (Richardson Romanesque), the original furnishing had survived, and the founding of the church by Bishop Richard R. Wright Jr., a prominent man, importantly
architecture of Jones Tabernacle was favored, the architects, Edward P. Hazlehurst (1853-1915) and Samuel Huckle Jr. (1858-1917) were given the commission in 1889. Hazlehurst and Huckle were able to correct design flaws present in Jones Tabernacle Union Methodist Episcopal Church; “Mother Bethel” has wider steps, a full and wider balcony.

One handsome feature of the fourth structure is the five stained-glass windows, which depict Biblical scenes which church historian Ruby Boyd described as “sermons in art.” They were installed during the building of the church in 1890 by Century Art Company for a purchase price of $1,190.00. The five windows on the church’s Pine Street side depict Biblical references. The windows on the Richard Allen Avenue side are devoted to Jesus Christ. On the Lombard Street side, one of the windows makes significant use of Masonic symbols and was donated by a Masonic order. The church was completed in 1890.37

The Reverend Richard Franklin Norris, the current Bishop completed a massive 3.5 million dollar restoration in 1991, which brought the Romanesque Revival structure back to its 19th-century splendor.

*Monuments in Glory*

“Mother Bethel” has been the source of remarkable moments, which have also accounted for its significance. From the pulpit, battles have been waged. It won the

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the integrity of the building remained intact. Jones Tabernacle was incorporated on the National Historic Register on October 5, 1981.

battle against the American Colonization Society to send free Blacks to Africa. It served as a refuge for slaves fleeing to freedom. There were education classes for children and by night for the adults. It is the site of the founding of the second Masonic Hall. One of Allen’s last major accomplishments was the formation of the Free Produce Society in December 1830. Members of the society pledged to buy only products made by non-slaves, whenever possible. Advocated by the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, the boycott also served as an exhibition of black self-reliance. Allen’s lesson of the economic power of boycott became a favorite strategy of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. 38

There were other notable moments Lucretia Mott (1793-1880), abolitionist and women’s right advocate, Frederick Douglass (1818-1895) abolitionist and journalist, and William Still (1821-1902), a moving force behind the Underground Railroad, who were among those who spoke from the rostrum at “Mother Bethel.” 39 A female preacher, Jarena Lee (1783-?), was one of the first Black women to speak out publicly against slavery. 40 There are countless successes made possible because of the visionary Richard Allen.

**Mother Bethel Today**

In the early part of the twentieth century the Blacks in South Philadelphia began to migrate towards West Philadelphia and to the North. As a result the religious

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38 Ibid., 7.
40 Ibid., 7.
institutions began to move with the population to provide continued ministry.

Bethel’s congregation saw a larger picture, preserving the site and the memories of the birthplace of African Methodism, which meant that the church would stay at its present location rather than move with many of its congregants. The Church would witness the loss of the neighborhood base of members and experience the pitfalls of urban decay from decades of neglect. The once prestigious community had suffered a steep decline leaving dilapidated buildings and vacant lots in its aftermath.

In the middle of the 20th-century the city of Philadelphia had decided revitalization would be the answer for Society Hill. The Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority sold homes to private owners with the agreement that the residences would be restored to reflect the colonial heritage of the 1700s. The city was able to restore six hundred houses with this arrangement as well as the construction of contemporary residences that would complement the colonial ambiance of Society Hill.41

In the midst of these plans, there were several offers to purchase “Mother Bethel.” There was even a plan to route I-95 along South Street that might have resulted in razing the church. After the plans for the highway fell through, the church leadership decided to protect the integrity of the church’s historic past by applying to have “Mother Bethel” designated as a National Historic Landmark on May 30, 1974.

The community realized “Mother Bethel” was not going anywhere and thus an increasing sense of pride had become more apparent. The display of this pride is evidence in the monies that have been contributed for the support of the new museum and research center which will be erected on the adjacent church parking lot. This part of the

41 Bishop Richard F. Norris, Personal Interview, December 2003.
church’s history is being conducted by the Reverend Dr. Jeffery N. Leath.

**The President’s House**

The President’s House has become a familiar tourist site within the last five years for two reasons; the building is the new home of the nine million dollar Liberty Bell Center and the building occupies the archeological site remains where the first two Presidents lived and which the first, George Washington, owned slaves. During Washington’s presidency the slaves brought from Mount Vernon were rotated out of Pennsylvania from 1890 through 1897 for reasons discussed below.

With the controversy following the publication *The President's House in Philadelphia*, written by Edward Lawler, the undeniable question was asked how the INHP was going to include the interpretation of the President’s House at the new Liberty Bell Center. The INHP was firm in the conviction that the masses wanted the interpretation of the Liberty Bell but decided to place a placard noting that the site was where the President’s House stood.

Although the site is referred to as the President’s House it has a long and colorful history of being the home to generals and diplomats. This list includes Richard Penn, governor and grandson of William Penn, General William Howe, Major General Sir Henry Clinton, the infamous Benedict Arnold, French consul John Hoker and financier Robert Morris.⁴²

In 1790 Robert Morris then a United States Senator, convinced Congress to make

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Philadelphia the capitol for a ten-year period while the new Federal city was being built on the Potomac. Of all the houses in the city of Philadelphia, his house seemed the only one suitable for the residence of the President. Mr. Morris agreed to rent his house for two years while a grand mansion was built on 9th Street for the President, in an attempt to keep the capitol in Philadelphia. Morris profited in having his house renovated at the government’s expense in addition to receiving rent. In the meantime, he moved next door to the property he had purchased in 1786 that once belonged to the Stedman Galloway family.

The third story will furnish you & Mrs. Lear with a good lodging Room — a public Office (for there is no place below for one) and two Rooms for the Gentlemen of the family [Washington's office staff]. — The Garret has four good Rooms which must serve Mr and Mrs Hyde [the steward and his wife] (unless they should prefer the Room over the wash House), — William [Osborne, the valet] — and such Servants as it may not be better to place in the addition (as proposed) to the Back building. — There is a room over the Stable (without a fireplace, but by means of a Stove) may serve the Coachman & Postillions; — and there is a smoke House, which possibly may be more useful to me for the accommodation of Servants, than for the Smoking of Meat. — The intention of the addition to the Back building is to provide a Servants Hall, and one or two (as it will afford) lodging Rooms for the Servants, especially those who are coupled."

Washington had many renovations done: A two story bow was placed on the western half of the south façade of the main house. Washington had the bathtubs removed for the second floor bathhouse, and had the bathingroom converted into his private office/dressing room/study. He added a servant’s hall to the east side of the backbuilding in the enclosed area between the bathhouse and the wall of the stable yard.

43 Ibid., 9.
44 Ibid., 9.
The servant’s hall was probably a kitchen area used by the White servants as an eating area. The White stable hands were housed in the smokehouse and its addition included enslaved Africans from Mount Vernon. Washington’s domestic staff averaged from twenty to twenty-four persons of whom there were nine enslaved Africans early in his presidency in Philadelphia, to three at the end of it.  

Pennsylvania law provided for the gradual manumission of slaves except for slaves owned by residents of other states. This meant every Negro and Mulatto born after 1780 would be freed from bondage at the age of twenty-eight, and that Negro and Mulatto slaves who had permanent residency in the state would be able to register for their freedom after six months. Washington argued he was a Virginia citizen whose presence was a necessary consequence of Philadelphia’s being temporary national capitol. To circumvent the law he rotated his slaves out of the state of Pennsylvania before permanent residency could be established which should have resulted in immediate manumission. Later Washington due to the backlash of abolitionist had replaced his slaves with German indentured servants near the end of his term.

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45 Ibid., 11.  
46 Ibid., 11.  
47 Ibid., 11.  
48 Ibid., 11.
Figure 6: Revised Conjectural Plan of the first floor of the President’s House. North is to the bottom by Edward Lawler, Jr.: Source: “The president’s House Revisited.” available from http://ushistory.org/presidentshouse/plans/pmhb2/index.htm; Internet; accessed 7 January 2007.

**Who Were the Washington Slaves?**

Nine slaves traveled with the Washingtons to Philadelphia. George Washington owned two and Martha Washington had six dower slaves (slaves held in trust for her children) from her previous marriage to Daniel Parke Custis. The nine slaves who lived at the President’s house were: Moll, Austin, Oney Judge, Giles, Paris, Christopher Sheels, Hercules, Richmond and Joe (Slaves took the last name of their owner).

Moll had been nanny to Martha Washington’s children while married to Daniel Parke Custis. When Custis died intestate, his widow was entitled to only a third of his property with the remainder held in trust for their children. Moll went to Mount Vernon as a dower slave at the age of nineteen when the Washingtons married in 1759. When the Washingtons went to Philadelphia Moll was probably the nanny for the grandchildren, Nelly and G.W. Parke Custis. She was the only slave who stayed in Philadelphia during the entire Presidency. She returned to Mount Vernon at the end of his term and upon Martha Washington’s death it is likely that Moll became the property of one of the Custis grandchildren. It is presumed that Moll never married nor had children.

Austin was born of mixed race heritage. His mother was Betty, a seamstress and slave brought to Mount Vernon in 1759 along with her infant son, Austin. His father is

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49 Edward Lawler, Jr., “The president’s Preliminary Designs: The President’s House Revisited”; available from http://ushistory.org/presidentshouse/plans/pmhb2/index.htm; Internet; accessed 7 January 2007. What is known are demographics, such as approximate age, occupation and legal status which came from the 1759 Custis estate inventory and the 1786 and 1799 Mount Vernon slave census.

50 Ibid., 17.

51 Ibid., 17.
unknown. In 1770 Austin became a butler and later a footman for the carriage in the Washington household.\textsuperscript{52} He was a trusted slave whom on occasion would ride from Philadelphia to Mount Vernon unescorted. He married another dower slave at Mount Vernon, who may have been a seamstress, named Charlotte.\textsuperscript{53} While in Philadelphia Austin was a stable worker. His quarters probably adjoined the stable.

Austin died in 1794 from a horse fall near Harford, Maryland. His widow and five children survived him. The five children were inherited by C.W. Parke Custis and moved to Arlington House upon the death of Martha Washington in 1802. There is no subsequent information of Austin’s widow.\textsuperscript{54}

Oney Judge was born in 1773 to Betty and thus was Austin’s half sister. Her father was a White English tailor named Andrew Judge, who was an indentured servant to Washington in the early 1770s. It is speculated that Washington did not acknowledge Oney as Judge’s child thus Judge did not admit to the paternity of Oney. She was a playmate for Martha Washington’s granddaughter and she later traveled to New York performing the duties of body servant to Martha Washington. While in the Philadelphia residence she performed the same duties and shared quarters with Nelly, Martha Washington’s granddaughter.\textsuperscript{55}

While in Philadelphia Oney made friends with the city’s free Blacks and she escaped in May or June 1796 to New Hampshire.\textsuperscript{56} Mrs. Washington begged the President to post notices for her capture as she felt betrayed and thought that Oney may

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 21.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 21.
have been abducted by a Frenchmen. Washington refused her request to avoid controversy. Unfortunately Oney was seen later that summer by Elizabeth Langdon, the daughter of Senator John Langdon of New Hampshire. Elizabeth was a friend of Martha Washington’s granddaughter and had visited the President’s house on various occasions. Oney eluded Elizabeth Langdon but correspondence was sent to Washington to give him news of Oney. Washington sent a request via Secretary of the Treasury Oliver Wolcott to handle the situation. Wolcott wrote Joseph Whipple, the Collector of Customs in Portsmouth, to help return Oney to the President. Mr. Whipple warned that abducting Oney and placing her on a ship bound south could start a riot on the docks. Mr. Whipple located, questioned her, and discovered that she had not been abducted by a Frenchmen but left the Washington household on her own recognizance. Oney, frightened of the uncertainty of her future, informed Whipple she would return to the Washington household if she would be guaranteed her freedom upon their deaths. Outraged, Washington answered:

To enter into such a compromise with her, as she suggested to you, is totally inadmissible [sic], … it would neither be politic or just to reward unfaithfulness with a premature preference [of freedom]; and thereby discontent before hand the minds of all her fellow servants who by their steady attachments are far more deserving than herself of favor.57

Two years later Washington’s nephew Burnwell Bassett visited New Hampshire on business. He dinned with the Langdons and informed them he would seek out Oney and take her back to the Washingtons. On this occasion the Langdons helped Oney and her family which included her husband, Jack Staines a sailor, and her child. They went into

57 Ibid., 21.
hiding and Basset was unable to recapture Oney. Oney had three children all of whom predeceased her, as did her husband. Oney Judge Staines died in Greenland, New Hampshire, on February 25, 1848.\textsuperscript{58} She had been in hiding since the signing of the fugitive slave act and the persistence of the Custis family to recapture her.

Giles was a dower slave born in the late 1750s. During the Revolutionary War he may have accompanied Mrs. Washington to Valley Forge. He traveled with Washington on other occasions such as in May 1787, for the Constitution Convention in Philadelphia, and in 1789 to the President’s residence in New York where he was a stable hand. A year later he was in Philadelphia where he probably continued as a stable hand and sleeping in the adjoining room. Giles served as the driver of the baggage wagon from March through June 1791 when Washington traveled to the southern states. During this tour Giles became severely injured which made riding a horse impossible. As a result Washington left Giles at Mount Vernon and returned to Philadelphia. There is no information that Giles ever married or had any children. It is presumed that Giles died before 1799 as he was not listed in the 1799 census.\textsuperscript{59}

Paris was owned by Washington. His birth date is unknown but he was younger than Giles and Austin. He was a teenager in 1791 when he was taken to New York to serve as a stable hand.\textsuperscript{60} In Philadelphia he would have slept in the adjoining room to the stables with Austin and Giles. During Washington’s southern tour Paris was insubordinate and Washington sent him back to Mount Vernon as punishment. In the autumn of 1794 there had been a lot of illness at Mount Vernon and Washington was

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 20.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 20.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 20.
subsequently informed by his estate manager of the death of Paris in September or October.61

Christopher Sheels was a dower slave born in 1795. He is believed to have been literate. His uncle, Will, was Washington’s body servant during the Revolutionary War and sustained two falls which left him incapacitated. After the war Christopher helped his uncle with the duties of body servant to Washington in New York and also in Philadelphia.62 When Will was retired to Mount Vernon Christopher continued the duties of his uncle. It is believed Christopher slept on the fourth floor of the Philadelphia residence along with two other slaves, Hercules and Richmond. Christopher was returned to Mount Vernon in January of 1792.63

Motier Lafayette, the teen-aged son of the Marquis de Lafayette became a close companion of Christopher as they were close in age during his stay with the Washingtons in April 1776 at both the Philadelphia and Virginia residences.64

In 1799 Christopher asked Washington for permission to marry a slave on another plantation.65 Several days later Washington intercepted a letter outlining an escape plan. Despite this, Christopher remained the body servant of Washington until his death in 1799. Upon Martha’s death in 1802 Christopher was inherited by one of the Custis children.

61 Ibid., 20.
62 Ibid., 20.
63 Ibid., 20.
64 Ibid., 20.
65 Ibid., 20.
Hercules, owned by Washington, was the chief cook at the Mount Vernon estate. He married Lame Alice, a dower slave who was a seamstress. That marriage produced three children: Richmond, Avery, and Delia. His wife Alice died in 1787. Hercules may have had a second wife and another daughter.66

During his residency in New York, Washington was dissatisfied with the culinary skills of the chef and sent for Hercules to join the Washington household in Philadelphia.

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Hercules was so appreciated by the Washingtons that he was permitted to sell the leftover food from the President’s House to earn money for himself.

In correspondence from Tobias Lear we know that Washington rotated Hercules out of Pennsylvania, but he did so after the six months. It is not known if Hercules knew if he stayed beyond six months he could petition for his freedom or that leaving Pennsylvania would forfeit the time he spent there.

Hercules returned to Mount Vernon and escaped in March 1797. In his will Washington emancipated his slaves upon his death. Then Hercules was freed in 1801 and no longer had to fear capture under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793.

We know more about Hercules thanks to the recollections of George Washington Parke Custis.

The chief cook would have been termed in modern parlance, a celebrated artiste. He was named Hercules, and familiarly termed Uncle Harkless. Trained in the mysteries of his part from early youth, and in the palmy days of Virginia, when her thousand chimneys smoked to indicate the generous hospitality that reigned throughout the whole length and breadth of her wide domain, Uncle Harkless was, at the period of the first presidency, as highly accomplished a proficient in the culinary arts as could be found in the United States. He was a dark-brown man, little, if any above the usual size, yet possessed of such great muscular power as to entitle him to be compared with his namesake of fabulous history.

The chief cook gloried in the cleanliness and nicety of his kitchen. Under his iron discipline, wo[e] to his underlings if speck or spot could be discovered on the tables or dressers, or if the utensils did not shine like polished silver. With the luckless wights who had offended in these particulars there was no arrest of punishment, for judgment and execution went hand in hand.

The steward, and indeed the whole household, treated the chief cook with such respect, as well for his valuable
services as for his general good character and pleasing manners.

It was while preparing the Thursday or Congress dinner that Uncle Harkless shone in all his splendor. During his labors upon this banquet he required some half dozen aprons, and napkins out of number. It was surprising the order and discipline that was observed in so bustling a scene. His underlings flew in all directions to execute his orders, while he, the great master-spirit, seemed to possess the power of ubiquity, and to be everywhere at the same moment.

When the steward in snow-white apron, silk shorts and stockings, and hair in full powder, placed the first dish on the table, the clock being on the stroke of four, "the labors of Hercules" ceased.

While the masters of the republic were engaged in discussing the savory viands of the Congress dinner, the chief cook retired to make his toilet for an evening promenade. His prerequisites from the slops of the kitchen were from one to two hundred dollars a year. Though homely in person, he lavished the most of these large avails upon dress. In making his toilet his linen was of unexceptional whiteness and quality, then black silk shorts, ditto waistcoat, ditto stockings, shoes highly polished, with large buckles covering a considerable part of the foot, blue cloth with velvet collar and bright metal buttons, a long watch-chain dangling from his fob, a cocked-hat and gold-headed cane completed the grand costume of the celebrated dandy (for there were dandies in those days) of the president's kitchen.

Thus arrayed, the chief cook invariably passed out at the front door, the porter making a low bow, which was promptly returned. Joining his brother-loungers of the pave, he proceeded up Market street, attracting considerable attention, that street being, in the old times, the resort where fashionables "did most congregate." Many were not a little surprised to behold so extraordinary a personage, while others who knew him would make a formal and respectful bow, that they might receive in return the salute.
of one of the most polished gentlemen and the veriest dandy of nearly sixty years ago.67

Richmond, the son of Hercules and Lame Alice, was born in 1787. Hercules asked Washington if Richmond could come to Philadelphia, and in 1790 he agreed. He worked in the kitchen and one of his duties was to clean the chimneys.

His quarters were probably on the fourth floor of the house where he shared a room with his father and Christopher.68

Richmond left Philadelphia in November, 1791, before he established the six-month residency to register to be emancipated. After returning to Mount Vernon, Richmond was caught stealing money in November, 1797, possibly to escape with his father. Richmond was subsequently sent to the fields to work. There is no documentation found of his life after the death of Martha Washington.

Joe, the last slave to be documented was the President’s footman. It is not certain when Joe was born. He was a dower slave but not mentioned in the Custis inventory. One might surmise that he was born after 1759 when Martha Custis became Mistress at Mount Vernon.69 Washington listed Joe on a 1786 Mount Vernon census as an adult, which meant he was older than fourteen years of age.70

During Joe’s residence in Philadelphia he worked in the stables and his quarters were probably between the kitchen and the stables. There is no evidence as to how long Joe stayed in Pennsylvania.

He married Sall, a seamstress, and they had three children: Henry, Elijah, and

67 Ibid., 19.
68 Ibid., 19.
69 Ibid., 22.
70 Ibid., 22.
Dennis. Sall and the children were owned by Washington and upon his death they were emancipated. She took the surname of Richardson. Although Joe remained a slave because of his dower status he was able to remain with his wife. Joe and Sall had two more children Joe Jr. and Levi; all of whom eventually acquired their freedom.

Quincy Adams, second president of the United States resided in the house until May of 1790. Upon the departure of Quincy Adams the house became a hotel called the Francis Union. The hotel was not a success and later stripped of all architectural ornament and converted to a boarding house and used for various other commercial uses. Three stores were built within the building in 1832 and in 1835 the stores were demolished leaving only the four story walls. Most of the building’s western wall was removed by 1941, and the remaining eastern wall was demolished in 1951 during the construction of Independence Mall.\textsuperscript{71}

Recent Events

In January 2003, preliminary designs to commemorate the house were unveiled for 4.5 million dollars. Unfortunately the design was abandoned due to the protest over the lack of community involvement. Mayor Street pledged 1.5 million dollars towards the commemoration of the President’s House on the opening of the Liberty Bell Center and Congressman Chaka Fattah obtained the additional 3.6 million dollars in federal funds for the commemoration project in September 2005. A national design competition was launched and in March 2007, the project was awarded to the firm of Kelley/ Maiello. An archeological dig is currently underway at the site.

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Chapter Four: Historic Sites less Familiar

*Marian Anderson (1897-1993)*

The house museum located at 762 South Martin Street (Marian Anderson Way), Philadelphia, is the museum dedicated to the greatest contralto, Marion Anderson. This was her residence when she lived in Philadelphia. Many may remember the controversy which occurred in 1935. Marian Anderson’s manager, Sal Hurok, tried to rent Constitution Hall for a concert featuring her. The Hall is owned by the Daughters of the...
Revolution and in 1935 management of the hall instated a new clause: “concert by white artists only.”73 Hurok was told the hall was not available but later learned another manager had rented it for the same dates. The manager of the Constitution Hall told Hurok that “No Negro will ever appear in this hall while I am manager.”74 Outraged, Blacks protested and enlisted the help of the First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt joined with other members of the Daughters of the Revolution to renounce their memberships. Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Hurok, Mrs. Roosevelt, and the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, arranged a free open-air concert at the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Morning.75 Seventy-five thousand people attended the concert that was broadcast throughout the United States. Later Ms. Anderson would give a private concert for President and Mrs. Roosevelt and their guest the King and Queen of England. 76

The Constitution Hall was not the only venue where Marion Anderson endured racism. Despite her popularity she was often relegated to third or fourth-class accommodations. Simple necessities such as arranging for laundry, taking the train or eating at a restaurant were met with difficulty.77 Because of this overt racism Ms. Anderson would stay with friends when she traveled south, take her meals in her room, and even travel in drawing rooms on night trains. Ms. Anderson fought racism in her own quiet fashion. She insisted on vertical seating in segregated cities so that Blacks would not be restricted to a certain area and by 1950 she refused to sing where the

74 Ibid., 3.
75 Ibid., 3.
76 Ibid., 3.
77 Ibid., 4.
Ms. Anderson’s birth certificate stated that she was born February 27, 1897, but throughout her life she gave the date of February 17, 1902. Her parents were John Berkeley Anderson and Anna Delilah Rucker. Her father was a loader at the Reading Terminal Market and her mother a former teacher in Lynchburg, Virginia. In 1912 her father died from complications of a head wound. Mrs. Anderson and her three daughters moved into the home of her late husband’s parents. She worked as a laundress, cleaned houses and scrubbed floors to support her family.

Marian Anderson began singing at an early age. Her father had purchased a piano from his brother but was unable to afford piano lessons so Anderson taught herself. She joined the junior choir at the age of six at her family church, Fitzwater Baptist, and was affectionately called “baby contralto.” When thirteen she joined the senior choir and began to receive engagements to perform at various churches, sometimes giving three performances in one day.

At age fifteen she began taking voice lessons with Mary Saunders Patterson, a prominent African-American soprano. Shortly after, the Philadelphia Choral Society held a benefit concert which raised $500.00 for Anderson to study with contralto Agnes Reifsnyder. Upon her graduation from South Philadelphia High School for Girls the principal introduced Anderson to Guiseppe Boghetti, a much sought after voice teacher.

Her singing engagements were initially focused on Black colleges and churches in the south. William King, her manager and accompanist, decided Ms. Anderson was

78 Ibid., 4.
80 Ibid., 1.
ready to perform at the New York’s Town Hall but unfortunately the concert was poorly attended and critics were not kind stating that her voice was lacking. Anderson was so disheartened she considered giving up singing.

Shortly thereafter, she won a contest through the Philadelphia Philharmonic Society and gained the attention of Arthur Judson, an important impresario who put her under contract. She continued to sing throughout the states adding songs to her repertoire. She gave a solo concert at Carnegie Hall on December 30, 1928. She obtained a scholarship from the National Negro Association of Music to study in Great Britain where she sang in London at Wigmore Hall in September 30, 1930.

She returned to the United States but went back to Europe through money provided by the Julius Rosenwald Fund to perfect her foreign languages, a necessity to sing opera. While in Europe she gave a concert in Berlin and captured the attention of Rule Rasmussen and Helmer Enwall. They arranged for Anderson to tour Scandinavia and Enwall would continue to manage her career while she toured Europe.

She returned to the United States in 1933 and then back to Europe on yet another scholarship from the Julius Rosewald Fund. She sang over 142 engagements from September, 1933, through April, 1934, including one for King Gustav in Stockholm and another for King Christian in Copenhagen. A rare invitation was sent from Jean Sibelius, the famous Finnish composer who was seventy at the time. He told her, “The roof of my house is too low for your voice.” He was so moved by Anderson’s ability that he dedicated a song, “Solitude” to her. She would continue to sing all over the

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81 Ibid., 2.
82 Ibid., 2.
83 Ibid., 2.
84 Ibid., 2.
world. In 1955 she debuted at the New York Metropolitan Opera as Ulrica in Guiseppe Verdi’s “Un Ballo in Machera,” the first African-American to sing as a member of the company. She thus paved the way for Leontyne Price, Simon Estes, and Jessye Norman to name only a few of the Black opera stars who followed. On April 19, 1965, she gave her final performance at Carnegie Hall at the end of her one-year farewell tour.

Anderson received many accolades during her life time. In 1939 she was awarded the Springman Medal given annually to a Black American who has made the highest achievement during the preceding year or years in any honorable field or endeavor.” In 1941 she received the Philadelphia Award (Bok Award) given to an outstanding Philadelphian. She used the award money of $10,000.00 to establish the Marian Anderson Scholarship in Philadelphia. In 1963 President Lyndon Johnson presented her with the American Medal of Freedom; in 1977 she was awarded a gold medal for her 75th birthday; in 1980 the Untied States Treasury minted a half once gold commemorative medal with her likeness; and in 1986 President Ronald Reagan presented her with the National Medal of Arts.

On April 8, 1993, in Portland Oregon Marian Anderson died of heart failure. Her mission was to leave behind the kind of impression that would make it easier for those who followed.

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85 Ibid., 3.
86 Ibid., 4.
Paul Leroy Robeson (1898-1974)

Paul Leroy Robeson was an extraordinary athlete, scholar, orator, linguist, singer, actor, law school graduate, author, and most notably a civil rights activist in the fight against racism and separatism. But if you ask anyone who is not well versed in the arts, politics or African-American history “Who is Paul Robeson” the response too often is “I have never heard of him.”
Robeson was born 1898 in Princeton, New Jersey. His parents were the Reverend William Drew Robeson, who had fled slavery at the age of fifteen, and his mother, Maria Louisa Bustill who was an educator. During his life Paul Robeson mastered twenty languages so that he could raise social consciousness through song and speech. Not only did he raise awareness of the perils of social injustices but he had a love affair with the ideologies and philosophies of communism. He equated communism with the “colored” person’s struggle and he embraced the social equality and dignity he felt with Russia.

His political beliefs caused him to be viewed as political enemy of the United States especially during the era of Joseph McCarthy, Senator from Wisconsin, and member of the House Un-American Activities Commission. He was blacklisted from performance engagements in America and his passport seized to prevent him from earning a living abroad.

Robeson has been characterized as “a pathetic tale of talent sacrificed, loyalty misplaced, and idealism betrayed. His life, full of desire and achievement, passion and conviction, was” the story of a man who did so much to break down the barriers of a racist society, only to be brought down by the controversies sparked by his own radical politics.”

Lonely, destitute, and in failing health, Robeson spent the last ten years of his life with his sister, Marian Forsysthe, at 4951 Walnut Street in West Philadelphia, and died at the age of seventy-six after suffering a stroke. His legacy lives on through memories of his great works such as his performance in Othello and the changing of the words to the

88 According to Jim Miller in News Week, 2 February 1976.
song in Show Boat “Old Man River” from … “I’m tired of livin’ and feared of dyin’… to a declaration of resistance … I must keep fightin’ until I’m dying….”

In 1976 the house was abandoned and severely damaged when taken over by squatters. It is presently owned by the West Philadelphia Cultural Alliance (WPCA). Francis Aulston, executive director of the Robeson House, was instrumental in the purchase of the house when it was placed up for sale. In 2000, the house was placed on the National Historic Registry. Partnerships with the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Save America’s Treasures, and Home & Garden Television have allowed repairs to be made to the interior and exterior of the house including the wood trim, plaster, masonry, and the slate roof.

The mission of WPCA is

“Paul Robeson House, Institute of Civic Responsibility, serves as organizer, convener and promoter of projects and cultural and educational events that commemorate Paul Leroy Robeson. Empowering emerging artists and teaching future generations his legacy. The exhibits and programs of the Robeson House affirm the mission of West Philadelphia Cultural Alliance to provide access to the arts for the citizens of West Philadelphia, support the development and marketing of local emerging artist and serve as an advocate for the power of the arts to promote social change and economic development.

The Robeson House is on a campaign to raise 3.1 million dollars for a three-tier project with the master plan provided by Philadelphia architectural firm Kelly/Maiello

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90 Francis Aulston, Personal Interview, February 2004.
and exhibit designers Ueland Junker McCauley Nicholson (UJMN). 93 The plan will encompass the restoration and stabilization of the exterior such as new doors, windows, minor masonry work, structural repairs to the roof, a porch, and the addition of a second exit, as well as the restoration of the interior of the house from 1966-1976 when Robeson lived there.94 The last phase of the project will be the relocation of WPCA offices and new reception space, lecture, exhibit and public rest area in the adjacent house located at 4949 Walnut Street with a breezeway to connect both properties.95

Historic house museums serve to enhance ones historical perspective. Despite their smaller size and sometimes insignificance to larger African-American museums (e.g., Charles A. Wright Museum of African American History in Detroit, Michigan, and the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History in Baltimore), historic house museums such as Marian Anderson and the Paul Robeson House enable African-Americans and other visitors to gain a historical relationship to its previous owners and or other inhabitants despite the passage of time, and the passing of those individuals.

94 Ibid., 2.
95 Ibid., 2.
Chapter Five: Little Known African-American Sites

Charles Blockson, collector and retired curator of the African-American exhibit at Temple University exhibit was engaged by the William Penn Foundation in 1990 to head the Philadelphia portion of the African-American Pennsylvania State Marker Project. Of approximately 2,200 historical markers in Pennsylvania, only 180 refer to the African-American Experience, and invaluable Charles Blockson is responsible for sixty-six of them.96 His books, *Philadelphia Guide: African-American State Historical Markers and Philadelphia 1639-2000*, has provided most of the information for this sampling of historical sites.

*London Coffee House*

The London Coffee House located on the southwest corner of Front and Market Street was built by Charles Reed who was granted the land from William Penn’s daughter, Latettia Penn. Unbeknownst to most Philadelphians today, the establishment was used for the examination and sale of enslaved Africans, who were brought from the West Indies after being seasoned. In 1754 William Bradford, a newspaper publisher, purchased the establishment as a coffee house where merchants, ship captains, judges and other officials met to negotiate deals, discuss politics, read newspapers, dine on simple meals, and sale human property. While in the back of his establishment he published and sold his newspaper the Pennsylvania Journal.97

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**Congo Square**

Southeast Square as the site was originally known, (a.k.a. “Washington Square”), was one of William Penn’s original five city squares. The square was nicknamed Congo Square, by the enslaved and freemen in reference to Zaire. The square was used as a site to worship, dance, speak in their native tongue and freemen would cook African cuisine for their enslaved brethren. The square was also the location where slaves were brought before they were sold and transported to their new destinations during the colonial period.98

During the Revolutionary War over 2,000 American and British soldiers were buried there. Later the square would become a potters grave for Blacks and Whites during the 1783 yellow fever epidemic. In 1833 the square was named Washington Square in honor of George Washington and the fallen soldiers of the American Revolutionary War.

**Philadelphia Art Museum**

In 1873 it was legislated that construction of Memorial Hall would house the art work of the 1876 centennial and be constructed by Hermann J. Schwarzmann and the conclusion of the centennial Memorial Hall would remain open as a museum for the public. In 1786 the Pennsylvania Museum and the School of Industrial Art was commissioned to develop a Museum of Art to showcase various branches of art including technical, and textiles industries of the state. The founders of the museum envisioned a

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museum similar to the Victoria and Albert Museum in England with the omission of a school to train craftsman for the growing industries of the United States.\(^99\)

As the collection grew a new location was surveyed to build a new museum which was the location of the old reservoir located on the hill of Fairmount. Construction began in 1919 by the Commissioners of Fairmount Park with funds granted by the city. The architects chosen by the Park commission were Horace Trumbauer and the firm of Zantzinger, Borie, and Medary. Julian Abele (1881-1950), an African-American in the Trumbauer office, was the chief architect. He modeled the building after a Greek temple but with more massive Roman proportions and decorated with polychromed finals and pediments. The museum occupies ten acres and contains over two hundred galleries. It is considered one of the Philadelphia’s crowning achievements in the “city beautiful” movement of the early part of the twentieth century.\(^100\)

Julian Abele resided at 1515 Christian Streets, Philadelphia. He was the first African-American to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania School of Architecture. Horace Trumbauer (1863-1938) encourages him and sent him to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts school of Architecture in Paris. After he returned, Abele worked for Trumbauer and becoming the chief architect in 1906 after the former chief, Frank Seeburger, took a job in New York.\(^101\) Upon Trumbauer’s death in 1938, Abele and William O. Frank became partners and continued with the firm under the name of “The Office of Horace Trumbauer.” Many of the firm’s clients may not have known that

Abele was an African-American. He was responsible for the Duke residence in Manhattan, several projects at Duke University, and Free Library of Philadelphia on Logan Circle.\textsuperscript{102}

\textit{William Still}

William Still (1821-1902) resided at 244 South 12\textsuperscript{TH} Street, Philadelphia. He was an active abolitionist taking a job as a clerk in 1847 with the Pennsylvania Anti-slavery Society and later serving as secretary of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee and the Underground Railroad.\textsuperscript{103} Still kept meticulous records of the slaves, who traveled along the Underground Railroad and consequently authored a book, \textit{The Underground Railroad} published in 1872.\textsuperscript{104}

Still was also a good businessman becoming one of the first successful African-Americans in Philadelphia. He owned coal and lumberyards, in addition to financing the first YMCA for African-Americans.\textsuperscript{105}

\textit{Girard College}

Girard College located at Corinthian and Girard Avenues, was funded by Stephen Girard (1750-1831) an American philanthropist and banker. In his will he stipulated that a boarding school be built for poor, White, orphaned boys. It was completed in 1834. During the 1930s Raymond Pace Alexander, an African-American judge charged the city of Philadelphia with racial discrimination.\textsuperscript{106} Nothing would happen until the 1960s, the

\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., 41.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 41.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., 41.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., 57.
College was the site of civil rights demonstrations to desegregate the century old mandate of Stephen Girard. Attorney Cecil B. Moore took the case to the United States Supreme Court that ruled that Girard College would be integrated. Four Black youths entered the school in 1964. Today the school has open enrollment and includes girls among its students.

Institute for Colored Youth

Once located at 915 Bainbridge Street, the Institute for Colored Youth began in 1852. Twenty years before the Institute for the Colored Youth, the Quakers had envisioned a farm school for Black youth to teach them skilled trades. It was financed by Richard Humphrey and Jonathan Zane and built on the outskirts of Philadelphia. The students rebelled under the strict rules and the required farm labor; the school closed and was sold.

Under the direction of Fanny Jackson Coppin (1917-1977), principal from 1869 through 1900 it gained an excellent reputation. The Institution for Colored Youth moved to farmland located in Cheney Pennsylvania and later became a teachers college. Today it is a state university.

Robert Bogle

Robert Bogle (1837-1913) was a Black in the catering profession which was one of the first businesses wherein Blacks could become affluent. His specialties were meat pies and soups. Bogle catered food and also served as master of ceremonies at weddings.

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107 Ibid., 57.
108 Ibid., 73.
109 Ibid., 73.
and funerals to clients including Nicolas Biddle, financier and head of the Second Bank of the United States. To honor Bogle, Biddle wrote a verse in 1829 entitled “Ode to Bogle.” His establishment was located 112 South 8th Street in Philadelphia.

**Octavius V. Catto**

Octavius V. Catto (1839-1871) resided at 812 South Street. He was a graduate of the first class of the Colored Institute of Youth and later taught there. Catto was commissioned as a major and served in the Union Army during the Civil War. As a civilian he was active in pursuing the voting rights for African-Americans. While lobbying African-American support for the Republican Party in Philadelphia he was assassinated and the United States Marines were called out to quell any potential race riots. His body was guarded by the Pennsylvania Militia at the Armory located at Race and Broad Street, Philadelphia. He was given full military honors. This was one of the largest funerals Philadelphia had seen.110

**Francis (Frank) Johnson**

Francis (Frank) Johnson (1792-1844) resided at 536 Pine Street. During the war of 1812 he honed his skills as a musician while playing in a Black band. Johnson was familiar with several instruments such as the French horn, bugle, and fiddle. He was a composer, bandleader, and orchestral director. While performing at the Chestnut Theater in 1825 Philadelphia, General Lafayette heard Johnson play and was so impressed that he sponsored a European tour for him.111 He played for Queen Victoria and she presented

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111 Ibid., 34.
him with a silver bugle after his performance. Upon his death he was buried with it.

**Cyrus Bustill**

Cyrus Bustill (1732-1806) was born into slavery in Burlington New Jersey and eventually purchased his freedom. He perfected his culinary skills in baking and opened a shop in Philadelphia. During the American Revolution he risked his life to take bread to General Washington’s starving troops at Valley Forge.

Bustill was involved in many humanitarian acts; he was one of the cofounders of the Free African Society in 1787, he contributed to the construction of St. Thomas African Episcopal Church despite being a Quaker, and upon his retirement from baking he opened a school for Black children in his home at Third and Green Streets. Paul Robeson was his great-great-great grandson.

**A.M.E. Book Concern**

Founded in 1836 the A.M.E. Book Concern, was located at 631 Pine Street, one of the oldest African-American publishing houses in the United States whose purpose was to serve as an outlet for members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Some of the literature published was historical works by African-American authors, protest against slavery, and appeals to support Black business. Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner (1835-1923) and Dr. Henry M. Turner (1834-1915) served as editors.

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112 Ibid., 34.
114 Ibid., 23.
115 Ibid., 23.
116 Ibid., 49.
117 Ibid., 49.
**Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital**

Dr. Nathan Mossell (1856-1885), one of the first African-American graduates of the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania founded the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital in 1895.\(^{118}\) This was the first African-American hospital in Philadelphia and was staffed entirely with Black personnel. Due to racial discrimination the hospital served as a training ground for Black doctors, nurses, and pharmacist. Surprisingly, the wards at Pennsylvania Hospital (located at 800 Spruce Street) were integrated since the 18\(^{\text{th}}\) century. Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital was located at 1522 Lombard Street.

**First African Baptist Church Cemetery**

Located at 8\(^{\text{th}}\) and Vine Street, the cemetery served the congregation of the First African Baptist Church between 1824 and 1842.\(^{119}\) The church is located at 16\(^{\text{th}}\) and Christian Streets. The site of the cemetery was excavated in the 1980s by anthropologist Janet Collins and her team who discovered that the congregation had retained some ancient African burial customs.\(^{120}\) The remains were reburied in Eden Cemetery in Delaware County.

**Free African Society**

The Free African Society was founded in 1787 by a delegation of African-Americans lead by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones when they left St. George Methodist Episcopal Church because of its segregated policy. The Society’s goal was the

\(^{118}\) Ibid., 51.
\(^{119}\) Ibid., 54.
\(^{120}\) Ibid., 54.
uplift people of African descent by providing mutual aid. This was one of the earliest examples of a formed Black assistance society in America.\textsuperscript{121} The society was located at 6\textsuperscript{th} and Lombard Street.

\textit{Pennsylvania Hall}

Pennsylvania Hall was located at 6\textsuperscript{th} and Haines Streets and was built in 1838 as a rallying place by abolitionists. It was burned to the ground on May 17, 1838, the day after the first antislavery meeting was held there.\textsuperscript{122} It was not the only structure burned by slavery supporters; the Shelter for Colored Orphans at 13\textsuperscript{th} and Callowhill Streets, and an African-American church at 7\textsuperscript{th} and Bainbridge Streets were also burned.\textsuperscript{123}

This small sampling of historical markers represent snap shots of history. So much more can be ascertained if we so endeavor.

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 72.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 61.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., 61.
Chapter Six: Conclusion

During the formation of our country Blacks had little voice in the control of the economic and political decisions that shaped their lives. In the Southern colonies it was illegal to teach slaves to read and write. In the Northern colonies (latter states) most Black Americans were at the bottom rung of the socio-economic level. And just like their White counterparts of the same class, they left little evidence in the form of a will or inventories because they had very little to pass or access. And when Black Americans did succeed, the documents (inventories, etc.) are color blind, as we have discussed. Fortunately, in Philadelphia there is a treasure trove of untapped repositories. Further research to enhance the multicultural experience in Philadelphia should include topics such as the integration of the wards at Pennsylvania Hospital (located at 800 Spruce Street); the opposition to slavery by Quakers such as Angelina (1805-1879) and Sarah Grimke (1792-1873), two sisters from a prominent slave owning-family in Charleston, South Carolina, who came to Philadelphia and became members of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Regardless of the historical markers that give insight to the history of African-Americans in Philadelphia, the average Philadelphian remains unfamiliar with them. Storytelling has been part of every society as a way to transmit knowledge. I would hypothesize most of us, regardless of race; retain information taught through compelling oral stories. People love to hear stories because they can relate to them. A good storyteller can evoke a range of emotions -- anger, sadness, joy, motivation, and inspiration. The multicultural experience should also be interactive. I had such an experience at Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church located in Lancaster,
Pennsylvania.

I sat in a pew along with other visitors awaiting the Living Experience performance of actors portraying abolitionist and slaves. Once the performance began, I was enthralled by the enthusiasm and the sincerity of the participants. I was frightened when the slave catchers burst into the church armed with guns. They grabbed me, announcing that I was the runaway slave they were looking for. Shocked, my husband allowed the unknown White men attempt to whisk me away to some unknown destination. If I did not remember it was the 21st-century, I am not sure what emotions would have held me because, for a fleeting moment, I felt my heart drop. I knew the audience was fully engaged because they, too, did nothing. I know I could never imagine the emotions felt by a fugitive slave or freed Black when placed in such an uncertain situation. I was not comforted by the fact that this was a performance and I was consumed with thoughts of the enslaved African’s plight. Coupled with this powerful experience and Edward Lawler’s struggle to have the President’s House interpreted, I was inspired to create a multicultural tour in Philadelphia.

Two positive outcomes may result from this type of tour. The first is to promote bonds between a site and its neighbors to make the site part of the civic activity of a community. Multicultural tourism can impart knowledge and understanding of the past and education will serve the greater social purpose. Which is to expand American history to include all Americans.

It is worth repeating the sentiments expressed in Chapter One. “The nation’s discomfort with talking about race and race relations has dramatically affected the psychology of all Americans,” and Black culture, literature, politics and social
perspectives should be part of the mainstream curriculum of American schooling. The heritage of Blacks should not be set aside for a special day or month or special courses and programs having mainly a Black audience. Blacks have been in America since its inception, their ancestors arrived before those of most White Americans, and they are part of the defining images of our nation. It is time to start the dialogue about race, and remove barriers we have erected to avoid those who are different from us.
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