HOW THE OTHER NINE-TENTHS LIVED: INTERPRETING THE WORKING CLASS EXPERIENCE IN PHILADELPHIA, 1870-1900

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To my family for supporting this endeavor of even higher education, and
To my friends for their words of encouragement, subsidized meals,
and free places to stay -

Thank you.

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Passageway behind 2400 Lombard Street, north side, looking east (1996)

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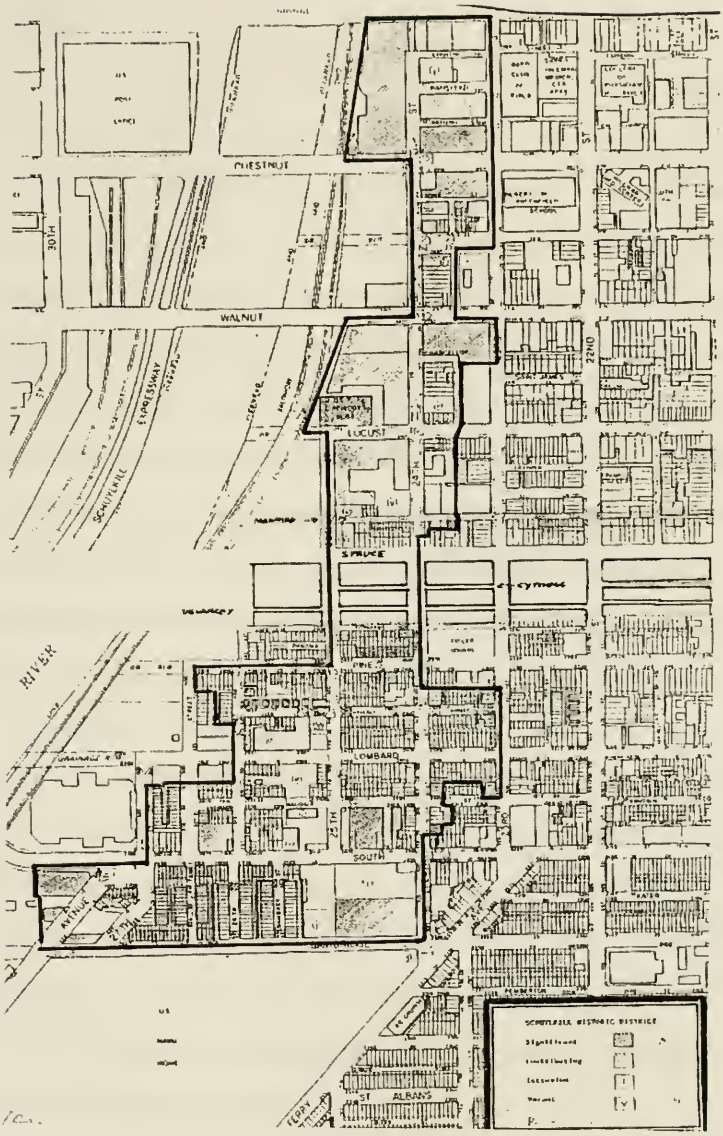

Figure 1: Schuylkill Historic District (1985)

Introduction

My goal in writing this thesis is to tell the story of a neighborhood. It is a story few people have heard, and at the same time the story of people many of us might have known: our grandparents and their parents, first and second generation immigrants in a large, industrial city in the late 19th century. Employed as shoemakers, mill workers, vest makers, and day laborers, these workers helped to support a thriving regional and national economy. Theirs is the story of where they worked, where they shopped, where they went to church and to school, the houses they lived in, and the streets that they travelled on.

Not in its form but in its anonymity, this neighborhood could represent hundreds, maybe thousands, of urban working-class districts dating from this period. In this case, the city is Philadelphia, and the neighborhood extends roughly from S. 20th Street west to the Schuylkill River and from Spruce Street to south of Gray's Ferry Avenue. For the purposes of this study, I placed the southern boundary of my research at South Street with particular focus on two block and their inhabitants: the 2400 block of Lombard Street and, inside the 500 block of S. 23rd Street, Ross Court.

Why this neighborhood? Although I believe that the research has its own merit, my broader intent is to discuss preservation of the urban landscape. This landscape not only includes buildings of many descriptions but also streets and alleys, parks and gardens, and personal and municipal memory.

Not only is it about more than the physical fabric that remains, it is about looking beyond the subjects of traditional preservation efforts -- the great events, the

great structures, and the great individuals. Richard Longstreth discusses this idea in "Taste v. History."

> Exceptional things certainly deserve attention, but it can be just as important to protect broad patterns of development that are salient distinguishing feature of place; more than anything else, these broad patterns of development afford a sense of continuity with the past and provide the essential context within which the individual landmarks derive meaning.[1]

This concern may be rationale enough for historic preservationists, but what of the public? Why should they be interested in the "non-exceptional"? To be sure, there are those who would never want to learn about a neighborhood such as this. But there are growing numbers of people who do want to learn about the lives of the working-class and will pay admission to do so. They visit the City Life Museums in Baltimore, the Botto House in New Jersey, and the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York. In 1998 they will be able to see the Kins House Museum of the American Immigrant Experience in Pittsburgh. Attendance at the Tenement Museum has been so good that they extended the hours of operation from five to six days a week at an adult admission of $7.00.[2]

It is a curiosity that Philadelphia, with its tremendous growth in the 19th century, lacks interpretation of the lives of the workers on whose labor this city grew into the third largest in North America by 1900. This anonymity is what I will address. It is my contention that the preservation and interpretation of this group's history would help to broaden participation in preservation in general and to balance the overall presentation of Philadelphia's past.

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[1] Richard Longstreth, "Taste Versus History," *Historic Preservation Forum* 81, #3 (May/June 1994), p. 41.

[2] The Museum's hours were extended in Spring 1996.

Using the Schuylkill area as an example, I would like to ask such questions as: What makes a neighborhood worthy of preservation? What can be learned from historic sites that is not now a focus of interpretation? Why is this neighborhood, which lacks great architectural monuments, or famous and influential citizens, or a decisive role in American history, important? How do we overcome such issues as taste and class prejudice in preservation?

In addition to examining these theoretical issues, the chapters that follow will discuss using this neighborhood as an example what the common urban landscape can teach, and moreover, how such disciplines as historical archaeology, cultural and economic geography, and public history can inform interpretation by looking at the production of space, the complexity of habitation, the changing social valuation of territory, and the lives of its past residents.

This history is important for preservationists to pursue for at least two reasons: conservation and interpretation of the locales of average persons' lives connects the past with a broad and diverse group of inhabitants of the present, and the public is showing an increasing interest in visiting -- and paying admission for -- such sites.

While a significant portion of the neighborhood's historic features remain, much has been lost. Besides searching out these disappeared physical features, I want to discover through my research what Kent C. Ryden calls the "invisible landscape," that "the unseen layer of usage, memory, and significance...superimposed upon the geographical surface and the two-dimensional map. To passing observers, however, that landscape will remain invisible unless it is somehow called to their attention...."[3]

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[3] Kent C. Ryden, *Invisible Landscapes: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), p. 40.

With this project, I am attempting to call attention to the Schuylkill's invisible landscape and to that of other, otherwise passed-by neighborhoods like it. In thinking less about individual buildings and more about background, context, and what cannot be seen, the view into three decades of the 2400 block of Lombard Street and of Ross Court provides the basis for discussion of what can be learned through the history of the working-class and how it can be meaningfully interpreted.

In order to provide the setting for the discussion of the neighborhood, I relied on others' scholarly work. I am aware that my analysis may be too simplistic for some, and those readers I would encourage to refer to the texts cited for clarification.

One ❖ The Philadelphia Rowhouse: A Brief Overview

The history of the origins of Philadelphia rowhouse is well-documented. The purpose of this chapter, after briefly describing its forms, is to discuss the land tenure system in Philadelphia which made its wide-scale construction possible and the institutions that encouraged homeownership among the working-class.

Rowhouse Forms

William John Murtagh's 1957 article, "The Philadelphia Row House," remains the definitive description of this ubiquitous Philadelphia residence type as it appeared in the city to c. 1800.[1] Murtagh describes four varieties of rowhouse: the Bandbox house, also known as the trinity; the London house; the City house; and the Town house.[2] Of these four, the trinity and the London house have the two basic plans from which the others were adapted. Although now constructed of concrete block and other modern materials, rowhouses in this city were historically made from brick.

Consisting of one room on each floor connected by a closed, winding stair, the trinity was the rowhouse in its most modest form. Most were no larger than fifteen feet wide and eighteen feet deep. The house was two or three storeys high and sometimes shared a chimney with the house adjacent. trinities were commonly built on a court in the interior of a block (usually entered through an eight-to-twelve-foot-wide passage off a north-south running street) or on alleys. Many such courts and alleys were built at the rear of larger Town or City house lots in what was originally the back yard where sheds and stables might first have been located. "Necessaries" were found opposite the

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[1] William John Murtagh, "The Philadelphia Row House," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XVI, #4 (December 1957): 8-13.

court's entrance. The houses on Ross Court, that will be discussed in Chapter Four, were three-storey trinities with wooden lean-to sheds behind.

The London house was more commodious at two rooms deep with a side entrance hall leading to a stair to two upper floors. While the lot remained narrow across the front, the depth of this form of rowhouse could reach thirty feet; the lot extend to a small alley seventy feet from the street. Murtagh's examples show a shed roof along the rear of the house which sheltered the cellar kitchen.[3] At 2409 Lombard Street (an unusual adaptation of a London-type plan) the shed roof housed a kitchen at the first floor and a bath house with a tin roof on the second floor. (See Chapter Four for a complete discussion).

For the middle and upper classes, the trinity and the London house plans were enlarged, becoming the more elaborate City and Town houses. These houses were still narrow on the street but had deep back extensions with a connector, popularly called a "piazza," containing the stairs and leading to the kitchen, scullery, and other service rooms. These back rooms, being narrower than the those of the front, created a long sideyard. Three-foot-wide passages between houses gave access to the rear.

From the 17th century forward, the rowhouse was the residential form of choice to accommodate the narrow Philadelphia city lot. Beginning in the 1880s, the Philadelphia rowhouse gained national attention as remedies for the housing of exploding urban populations were sought. The "teeming" tenements of New York, Chicago, Boston, and other large cities had earned a reputation for being unhealthy for body and character alike. Housing codes and building laws -- thirty-two enacted in

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[2] Murtagh, p. 9.
[3] Murtagh, p. 10.

New York State alone between 1867 (the first tenement house act) and 1900 -- proved difficult to implement and only partially successful in combating insalubrious conditions in multi-family dwellings.[4] In 1891, a *Harper's Weekly* article went as far as to credit the rowhouse with the improvement of society. "They have done more to elevate and to make a better home than any other known influence. They typify a higher civilization as well as a true idea of American homelife, and are better, purer, sweeter than any tenement house system that ever existed."[5] And in 1893 at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the "Workingmen's House," a two storey, brick rowhouse designed by Philadelphia architect E. Allen Wilson, was exhibited with an Eskimo house and a logger's cabin.[6]

At least one social reformer in Philadelphia did try the tenement as a solution for housing the working poor. An 1884 letter by A. K. Long, an associate of Theodore Starr, describes Starr's 1880 visit to Peabody Fund housing in London and his "being favorably impressed" by it and his subsequent decision to try the tenement system "upon a small scale" in Philadelphia.[7] Long as chronicler registers that he thought this would be a failure. The architect, a Mr. Simms (possibly James Peacock Sims [1849-

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[4] Robert W. De Forest, *The Tenement House Problem, vol. II* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903), Appendix VI.

[5] Excerpted from Frank H. Taylor, ed., *Souvenir 12th Annual Convention National Association of Master Plumbers* (Philadelphia: 1895), pp. 67-68 in Thomas, ibid.

[6] George E. Thomas, "Design of a Rowhouse for William T.B. Roberts, Builder ('The Workingmen's House')," in *Drawing Toward Building: Philadelphia Architectural Graphics, 1732-1986*, by James O'Gorman, Jeffrey A. Cohen, George E. Thomas, and G. Holmes Perkins (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), p.166. See also the plan and photographs of rooms of this rowhouse exhibit in the *Hand-Book of the Master Builders' Exchange and Descriptive Catalogue of its Permanent Exhibition* (Philadelphia: The Master Builders' Exchange of the City of Philadelphia, 1895.), pp. 144 (plan), 150, 156, 162, and 166. According to Murtagh's typology, the house displayed was a kind of London house.

[7] "Building Operations of Theodore Starr," extracts from A.K. Long's Letter of 8 December 1884, Center for the Study of the History of Nursing, School of Nursing, University of Pennsylvania, Collection MC9, Series II, Box 5, Folder #72, pp. 33-35.

1882]), designed six "suites of rooms; each tenant had a suite; each suite had a range, hot and cold water, sink, and bathroom and WC." The rent was $5.00 per month. One tenant was paid to clean the common areas of the entry and stairs. After a year the project was abandoned because of difficulty "attracting reliable tenants," and Starr returned to funding construction of new, single-family rowhouses.

Rowhouse Construction

What was it about Philadelphia that led to the domination of the rowhouse? M. J. Daunton sees a difference in the "culture of property" as explaining the contrast in patterns of homeownership and forms of housing in 19th-century Toronto and Montréal.[8] Certainly a major influence in Philadelphia was geography: unlike other cities such as New York and Boston, Philadelphia had room for lateral expansion. As important was the land tenure system of ground rents in Philadelphia which made it possible for houses to be constructed without the large capital outlay required elsewhere. Donna J. Rilling cites these and two additional factors: Philadelphia's increasingly dispersed population and the diversity of the economy in the 18th and 19th centuries.[9] The spread of the city industries to outlying areas such as Germantown, Moyamensing, Kensington, and Manayunk relaxed demand for central real estate, thus keeping prices reasonable.[10] The range of industry in the city grew the population of the "middling" sorts -- the artisans, shopkeepers, and merchants of moderate means -- who

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[8] M.J. Daunton, "Rows and Tenements: American Cities, 1880-1914," in *Housing the Workers: A Comparative Perspective, 1850-1914*, edited by M.J. Daunton (London: Leicester University Press, 1990), p. 275.

[9] A valuable source for understanding the city's land tenure system is Donna Rilling's unpublished paper, "The Business of Building: Craftsmen and Capital, 1790-1850," prepared for The George Meany Memorial Archives Symposium on Building History and Labor History, February 1996. See also Rilling's *Building Philadelphia: Real Estate Development in the City of Homes, 1790 to 1837*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993.

might afford to have their own homes. Edwin T. Freedley describes the situation in 1867:

> The custom...that prevails of selling lots on ground-rent, gives to the man of small means facilities that he cannot ordinarily obtain in other cities. For instance, if he has but money enough to erect a house, he can procure a lot on an indefinite credit; and so long as he pays the interest of the purchase-money, he will not be disturbed; nor can the principal be called for. By this means, it is quite common for mechanics, small tradesmen, and even laborers, to become owners of homesteads in the suburbs, which, by Passenger Railways that are being introduced, will be brought nearer to the centre than ever before.[11]

The ground-rent system began with William Penn's granting of the colony's lots to investors. These "first purchasers" paid Penn a nominal quit rent but were free to convey the land to others, usually in fee simple but often reserving an annual rent payable to the "ground lord." Although quit rents were abolished after the Revolution, the ground-rent system remained in place.[12]

Titles to ground-rents were granted by landowner to those who would pay annual or semi-annual rents for the right to make improvements to the property. Often the contract stipulated that the grantee had a year in which to construct a house of sufficient value to secure the ground-rent payment.[13] Having only the initial payment of ground rent, the construction of buildings became considerably more affordable. The grantee was responsible for taxes and fees charged by the city as it added services, but his/her rights were transferable, mortgageable, and inheritable. The rent amount was determined by the value of the lot: 6% of total value was common.[14] Although if real

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[10] Rilling (1993), pp. 27-28.
[11] Edwin T. Freedley, *Philadelphia and Its Manufactures; A Hand-Book of Its Great Manufactures and Representative Mercantile Houses of Philadelphia, In 1867* (Philadelphia: Edward Young & Co., 1867), p. 70.
[12] Rilling (1993), p. 38.
[13] Because ground lords were considered ahead of other creditors, they wanted to be assured also that something of value was on the property in case of renter default.
[14] Rilling (1996), n. 10.

estate values rose, the rent did not increase accordingly. When real estate values dropped, this rate of return made a sound hedge against losses; in any case, it was a much better return than one could get from most other investment strategy. For this reason, ground rents were often dedicated as a form of annuity for the maintenance of widows or as a conservative investment for institutions and estates. In addition, the legal standing of the ground lord was superior to that of a long term leaseholder.[15]

The Philadelphia elite, as in Boston and New York, invested a large portion of their assets in urban land and mortgage financing; however, in Philadelphia, they did not construct rows of houses with their own capital. Instead, artisan entrepreneurs to undertook most of the risk. All types of building mechanics, but carpenters in particular, retained control over labor and the production of housing. While this situation was good for the independence of the working-class, another result was the entry of this group into the speculative building market for which they were sometimes ill-prepared.[16]

Thus, the ground-rent system circumvented a monopoly of landholding by the elite. While other eastern cities such as New York and Baltimore also had a land tenure system which included ground-rents, Philadelphia's was unique in that the leases were held in perpetuity. By contrast, the usual term in New York was twenty-one to ninety-nine years; thus, the Manhattan leaseholder who made improvements was in a position not nearly as secure as one in Philadelphia. Elizabeth Blackmar sees this control as a major factor that contributed to the tenement's becoming the standard housing for New

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[15] ibid., p. 10 and 12 ff.
[16] ibid., p. 23 ff.

York's working classes.[17] New York City developers, operating under a more exploitative system and having to contend with the geographical constriction of Manhattan island -- which escalated the value of property -- found the multi-family dwelling offered the best return on investment.

In Baltimore, another city where the rowhouse rules the residential landscape, the land tenure system was dominated by leaseholds of ninety-nine years, renewable at any time and at the same terms as the original lease. This created a *de facto* perpetual lease. According to Martha J. Vill, the grantor thus lost control over the property through this system, and it was outlawed in 1884.[18] The new law stipulated that the leaseholder had the right to purchase the ground after fifteen years; this term was later reduced to ten and then to five years. Vill does not conclude whether the Baltimore system affected the form of housing, although she does note than when builders were able to acquire both fee simple interest and a leasehold, they often built entire blocks of identical rows at once.[19]

While speculation certainly did lead to large developments, many houses were constructed in clusters of three or four by teams of artisans (e.g., glaziers, carpenters, and masons) each of whom had an interest in the properties which they redeemed when they were sold.[20] An example of this is the development of the 3400 block of Sansom Street in Philadelphia.[21]

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[17] Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan For Rent, 1785-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).
[18] Martha J. Vill, "Building Enterprise in Late Nineteenth-Century Baltimore," *Journal of Historic Geography* 12, #2 (1986): 162-181.
[19] ibid., p. 173-74.
[20] Rilling (1993), pp. 326-27.
[21] George E. Thomas, Ph.D., National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form, 24 February 1977. 3400 Sansom Street block file. Philadelphia Historical Commission, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The cost of rental housing in Philadelphia also reflected the subdued market (as compared to New York and Boston). Lower rents in turn enabled working families to save for the purchase of a house. Still, the cost of ownership was out of reach for poor, wage-earning households. Renting a house, and usually subletting a part of it to boarders, was the normal way of life. Chapter Four will look at the composition of specific working-class Philadelphia households during the 1870-1900 period.

In addition to ground rents, institutions such as building and loan associations facilitated homeownership. Building societies were established in Philadelphia in 1831 but not significantly involved until the 1850s. In April 1859, the Commonwealth enacted laws governing building associations in Pennsylvania; by 1874, there were 400 associations in Philadelphia.[22] *The Workingman's Way to Wealth; A Practical Treatise on Building Associations: What They Are and How to Use Them* by Edmund Wrigley (Philadelphia, 1872) outlined the benefits of the mutual association over the other options available at the time.[23] About the savings fund Wrigley advised that it was "not democratic or mutual; members are divided into different classes which do not share profits equally; the depositor has no voice." Loan associations, he said, faired badly in the crisis of 1857 and also did not distribute profits equally. Land associations, he explained, "were at one time extensively patronized by the working classes as a means of gaining themselves houses" but had fallen out of favor in the face of the building association's popularity.

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[22] John F. Sutherland, "Housing the Poor in the City of Homes: Philadelphia at the Turn of the Century," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940*, edited by Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), p.178.
[23] Edmund Wrigley, *The Workingman's Way to Wealth; A Practical Treatise on Building Associations: What They Are and How to Use Them, Fifth Edition* (Philadelphia: James K. Simm, 1872), p. 17.

The building association was indicative enough of the business culture of the city that it merited discussion in Albert F. Matthews's 1890 book *What Philadelphia Is: A Sketch of the Industries and Leading Characteristics of the City*.[24] Matthews quotes Bureau of Revision of Taxes figures of 1889 that new houses were being constructed at the rate of 7500 per year and the number of city property owners was then 75-100,000 people.[25] He notes that the city was not able to accommodate as many water and sewer connections as was demanded, and he credits building associations for making homeownership so prevalent and tenements so unpopular.[26]

Matthews provides a concise description of how the building association operated:

> The building association is simply a workingman's savings-bank, whose money is invested in erecting homes for members and, in some cases, for non-members, and in taking mortgages, payable in monthly installments, as security for the investment. The members purchase stock with their deposits and get six percent interest on their investment.[27]

At purchase prices of $3000 or less for a two storey brick rowhouse, it took only eleven years for the house "to [pay] for itself."[28]

Two basic categories of building association emerged: the Pennsylvania or serial plan, and the permanent plan (later known as the Dayton or Ohio plan). The serial plan was the method used at the beginning of the building association in the United States and was thought to be the most mutual and least bureaucratic.[29] Whatever their organization, the popularity of the building association stemmed from its being the only

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[24] Albert F. Matthews, *What Philadelphia Is: A Sketch of the Industries and Leading Characteristics of the City* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1890).
[25] Matthews, p. 48.
[26] ibid., p. 49.
[27] ibid.
[28] ibid.
[29] Daunton, p. 259.

institution that would serve working-class clientele. Commercial lenders would not advance more then 50% of the property's value, whereas the building association would lend much closer to full value. In addition to property investment, the building association for some served as a savings bank because the interest received was much more favorable.

At their start building associations were closely tied to a neighborhood or an ethnic group living in a particular area of the city. According to Dennis Clark, many were distinctly Irish Catholic in character; one Irish businessman alone established thirty-five associations in Philadelphia.[30] Many of these were associated with certain trades or certain parishes.[31] Association with a parish "implied honesty, stability, and provided a steady network of relationships and a regularly attended locus for the promotion of activity."[32] Although no records of it appear to exist, Clark mentions a St. Patrick's Building and Loan Association which presumably would have served the Schuylkill neighborhood. (St. Patrick's Church was established in 1841 at 242 S. 20th Street.) According to *Parish Boundaries* author John T. McGreevy, even if the building association had no formal connection with the parish, priests commonly encouraged homeownership from their pulpits for the benefit of their parishioners as well for their own self-interest: unlike Protestant churches, Catholic parishes were not movable.[33]

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[30] Dennis J. Clark, *The Adjustment of Irish Immigrants to Urban Life: The Philadelphia Experience, 1840-1870* (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1970), p. 74. See also Dale B. Light, Jr., *Class, Ethnicity and the Urban Ecology in a Nineteenth Century City: Philadelphia's Irish, 1840-1890* (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1979), p. 86.
[31] Clark (*Adjustment...*), p. 80. See also Joseph J. Casino, "From Sanctuary to Involvement: A History of the Catholic Parish in the Northeast," in *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present*, edited by Jay P. Dolan (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), p. 28.
[32] Clark (*Adjustment...*), p. 80.
[33] John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 18-21.

While other congregations could relocate, Catholic parishes and their property were registered in the name of the diocese and by definition served those living within the parish boundaries. In addition, real estate agents sometimes equated Catholic churches with neighborhood stability and good property values. Builders often emphasized the nearness of their houses to a parish, for example, "a few minutes' walk from St. Ann's."[34]

By 1895, the tenement was virtually outlawed in Pennsylvania: the Commonwealth passed a law requiring that all buildings exceeding four storeys be fireproof throughout.[35] Alongside existing light and ventilation regulations, any building type but the rowhouse would have been too costly to build. During the years 1897-1901, 92% of the more than 102,000 new buildings were two and three storey buildings.[36]

Of course, not all of these structures were residences. Nor did a neighborhood of rowhouses equal a healthful and attractive place to live. While housing reformers in Philadelphia and other cities embraced the rowhouse as a means to relieve the condition of the poor, Sutherland reminds us that the city's poor inhabited the oldest, most densely populated, and worst maintained row housing available. Chapter Four will examine house configuration, neighborhood density, and living conditions in the Schuylkill neighborhood.

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[34] ibid., p. 21.
[35] Sutherland, p. 180.
[36] ibid., pp. 181-82.

Two ❖ The Working-Class Philadelphian

> The laborer ought to be ashamed of himself who in 20 years does not own the ground on which his house stands...who has not in that house provided carpets for the rooms, who has not his China plates, who has not his chromos, who has not some books nestling on the shelf. -- Henry Ward Beecher, 4 July 1876.

Attempts at Labor Organization

In 1867, Edwin T. Freedley wrote of the good life that could be had by all classes in Philadelphia.

> As a place of residence, Philadelphia enjoys the rare distinction of being desirable alike to the capitalist and to the artisan...to the former, it offers all the attraction that can delight a cultivated mind, and all the luxuries that can please a fastidious palate; while an artisan, if industrious and intelligent, may command probably every thing essential to his present comfort, prospective independence, with constant participation in many of the chief pleasures of the capitalist.[1]

Because of the city's many amenities, there was no shortage of skilled labor. "Here is congregated at all times an army of artisans from every civilized nationality -- the majority employed, others seeking employment; and should the supply at any time fall short, an advertisement would bring a regiment from every place where it had been seen."[2] Continuing, Freedley asserts that men who could earn a greater annual wage elsewhere "eagerly come to Philadelphia for $800."[3]

Philadelphia had been a hotbed of labor unrest since the late 1820s when the Working Men's party, comprised primarily of journeymen, was organized by William Heighton in an attempt to establish a ten-hour day. They held some radical ideas for the period: holding down monopolies and curbing speculation; preserving the small shop; establishing kindergartens, technical institutes, and common schools with high

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[1] Freedley, pp. 69-70.
[2] Freedley, p. 71.

taxes on liquor dealers.[4] Although the party was dead by 1831, the General Trades' Union (GTU) begun in New York in 1833 had spread to Philadelphia by the next year. By 1835 the city had fifty-three locals.

The combination of a worsening economy (set off by inflation created by the banking crisis) and the threat to livelihood caused by mechanization and its concomitant division of labor, worker agitation in Philadelphia became more frequent. The Philadelphia General Strike of 1835 for a ten-hour day involved plumbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, saddlers, bakers, coal dock workers, cordwainers, drygoods store clerks, bricklayers, house painters, and some city employees.[5] In May 1835, Irish day laborers reportedly marched through the city chanting "six to six," the catchphrase of the movement for shorter hours.[6] After several weeks of strikes, most trades had achieved their aims. Women textile workers also struck, and seamstresses and shoe binders employed at home tried to organize with the help of the male shoemakers and tailors in the GTU.[7]

Over ten strikes in 1836 alone caused employers to appeal to government for help. After coal merchants were not able to draw strikebreakers, Mayor Swift had the leaders of a Schuylkill waterfront workers strike jailed and bail set at $2500 for each person. Important to note about Philadelphia's GTU was its inclusion of unskilled dock workers together with skilled men at this time. The leaders of skilled unions came to

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[3] ibid.
[4] Bruce Laurie, *Artisans Into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America,* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), p. 80.
[5] Gladys L. Palmer, *Philadelphia Workers in a Changing Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956), p. 17.
[6] Laurie, p. 85.
[7] ibid., p. 87-88.

the aid of the laborers (probably not altogether altruistically) and appealed the Mayor's fines. Those jailed were eventually acquitted.[8]

The Panic of 1837 and subsequent depression lasting until the mid-1840s reversed the gains made by workers. Frustration led to rioting of Irish and native-born Philadelphians against blacks in the Alaska district in 1842 and continued through 1843 and 1844.[9] In addition to white on black assaults, native-born workers fought with white immigrants and against the Irish in particular, being the most numerous of the foreign born.[10] In 1844, one three-day riot in Kensington between nativists and Irish left sixteen persons dead and many buildings destroyed.[11] Not until the Knights of Labor in the 1870s did the labor movement have significant influence in the city.

Profile of Philadelphia Workers, Wages, and Cost of Living, c. 1880

Returning to Edwin T. Freedley's claim in 1867 that workers were willing to earn less in Philadelphia than they could in other cities, despite early union activity, might be true. Clearly, the variety of work, both skilled and unskilled, that could be found attracted many. Several studies shed light on the probable situation of the late 19th-century Philadelphia worker. In *Getting Work: Philadelphia, 1840-1950*, Walter Licht outlines the characteristics of this class in Philadelphia as contrasted with the country as a whole. In 1880 when 42% of the U.S. workforce were Irish-, English-, and German-born

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[8] Warner, Jr., Sam Bass, *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 75.
[9] For a detailed account of the Philadelphia riots, see Michael Feldberg, *The Philadelphia Riots of 1844: A Study of Ethnic Conflict* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975).
[10] Between 1790 and 1840, 70% of immigrants to Philadelphia were Irish. See Harry C. Silcox, *Philadelphia Politics from the Bottom Up: The Life of Irishman William McMullen, 1824-1901* (Philadelphia: The Balch Institute Press, 1989), p. 28.
[11] Laurie, p. 97-98.

immigrants, this group represented only 30% in Philadelphia.[12] Only five other cities -- all significantly smaller than Philadelphia -- had a greater proportion of native-born workers. The prevalence of light industry led to more opportunities for women to work; almost 33% of the city's industrial workers were female, as opposed to less than 25% for the U.S.[13] Not surprisingly, Philadelphia, of all industrial cities, had the greatest number of two-income families.[14]

The ethnicity of the workforce changed over time. From 1850 to 1880, the Irish fell from 27% to 18% of all male workers; Germans increased 137% during the same period.[15] In 1850, 30.3% of day laborers were Irish and less than 33% worked at skilled trades. Germans, most of whom arrived as skilled craftsmen, counted for only 11.6% of day laborers. Native-born whites held the best positions, although fewer could be found in shoemaking, tailoring, and baking trades than could Germans.[16] Among the children of foreign-born parents, by 1880 traditional trades not surprisingly began to be abandoned for new jobs in the metal industries or in printing (especially setting type).[17] Working in the building construction also became more popular. The authors also point out that "laborer," traditionally considered the worst compensated, least desirable occupation to have, in some industries such as building construction and metal may have led to learning skills that would bring higher wages later in their careers.[18]

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[12] Walter Licht, *Getting Work: Philadelphia, 1840-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 14.
[13] ibid., p. 15.
[14] ibid., p. 16.
[15] Bruce Laurie, Theodore Hershberg, and George Alter, "Immigrants and Industry: The Philadelphia Experience, 1850-1880," *Journal of Social History* 9, #2 (Winter 1975), p. 232.
[16] ibid., p. 234.
[17] ibid., p. 238ff.
[18] ibid., p. 243.

Looking at the Schuylkill neighborhood's concentration of persons who identified themselves as "laborers," this is a point worth bearing in mind.

What could workers expect to earn? Laurie, et al., found that earnings depended on the type of work and, by 1880, the size of the shop or factory. Despite the perceived disadvantages of industrialization (e.g., loss of autonomy, subordination to machine), higher and more dependable wages were common to those working for large concerns.[19] For example, during the period from 1850 to 1880, the disparity of pay from small- (under five employees) to medium-sized shoemaking shops rocketed from $2 to $84.[20] Small producers might operate as subcontractors of specialized goods for large manufacturers, but competition forced them to "sweat" journeymen and work alongside them in order to decrease costs.

Although the labor agitation of the first half of the century did achieve shorter hours for some workers, many worked longer than ten hours every day. According to Laurie, et al. , in 1880 the industries most likely to hold to the ten-hour day were iron and steel, metal, harness making, hardware, and machines and tools. Meat and baking called for longer hours, and printing generally fewer hours.[21]

Daily wages in 1880 ranged between $2.55 for skilled mechanics in the clothing industry (large shop) to $1.57 for meat workers in small businesses.[22] Unskilled workers

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[19] ibid., p. 227ff. The good news was that during the 1850 to 1880 period, the number of firms employing 51-150 workers grew 195% and firms with 151+ workers grew 585%. (See Theodore Hershberg, Harold E. Cox, Dale Light, Jr., and Richard R. Greenfield, "The 'Journey-to Work': An Empirical Investigation of Work, Residence, and Transportation, Philadelphia, 1850 and 1880," in *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Theodore Hershberg [New York: Oxford University Press, 1981], pp. 159-60.)
[20] ibid., p. 229, Table 9.
[21] ibid., p. 226.
[22] ibid., p. 227.

in small shoemaking shops earned the least at $0.93 per day, and men in building construction earned on average $1.59 daily.

Looking at Laurie's figures, it is uncertain which artisans Edwin T. Freedley referred to as finding a job earning $800 annually. Iron and steel workers in 1880 took home the most pay on average at $631, hardware ($534), printing ($518), machine and tools ($469), and harness making ($469) follow. At the bottom were blacksmithing ($452), metal ($446), baking ($435), meat ($405), and clothing ($359).[23]

How were earnings spent? Eudice Glassberg's determination of a poverty level for Philadelphia in 1880 tell us what level of income was necessary to maintain a family of five.[24] (The families on Ross Court and 2400 Lombard Street in 1880 had a slightly lower average family size of 4.4 persons. Boarders and domestics are not included in this figure.) Her findings agreed with those of Laurie that Irish and Blacks (a group not included in the latter's paper) formed the majority of the day laborer pool while Germans and native whites had better jobs and therefore higher wages.[25] Glassberg's study derives from several sources, among them Carrol D. Wright's "The Condition of Workingmen's Families," published in 1875.[26] In this report, Wright compares the average daily diet for an Irish laborer's family against that of an American-born carpenter. While cultural differences may account for food preferences (i.e., Wright noted that Italian families' diets tended to include many vegetables), the meagerness of

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[23] ibid., p. 229.
[24] Eudice Glassberg, "Work, Wages, and the Cost of Living, Ethnic Differences and the Poverty Line, Philadelphia, 1880," *Pennsylvania History* 46, #1 (January 1979): 17-58.
[25] ibid., p. 21.
[26] Carrol D. Wright, "The Condition of Workingmen's Families," in Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor, *Sixth Annual Report* (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1875), pp. 191-450.

the laborer's family's diet is more likely a result of lack of money for items such as cake and pie, cheese, meat , and eggs.

Family No. 160: a laborer, annual income $580, $384 earned by the father and $196 earned by a 13-year old son.

Breakfast:	Bread, butter, remains from dinner, coffee occasionally.
Dinner:	Bread, meat, potatoes, vegetables.
Supper:	Bread, butter, tea.

Family No. 21: a carpenter, $686 annual income, earned alone.

Breakfast:	Meat or eggs, hot biscuits, butter, cake, coffee.
Dinner:	Bread, butter, meat, potatoes, vegetables, pickles, pie, tea.
Supper:	Bread, butter, cheese or sauce, cake, tea.[27]

Glassberg arrived at a figure of $6.47 per week to feed a family of five at a "minimum adequate diet," or $336.44 per year.[28] If the Irish laborer's family has $580 to spend, after food $243.56 remains for all other needs. The carpenter's family has $349.56 left.

Shelter was, in 1880 as it is now, a significant expense for working-class families. Glassberg estimated $120.00 for a four room rental house for this five person family.[29] In addition to rent, fuel for cooking and minimal heating was necessary. The two choices available were coal or wood, with coal costing $23.20 each year. Light sources were kerosene lamps if gas was not available. The annual cost was $3.60, bringing the total shelter costs to $146.80.[30]

The laborer's family has $96.76 remaining, and the carpenter's $202.76, to spend on clothing, holidays, home furnishings, health care, religious contributions, a newspaper, and recreation. Glassberg's figure for these items is $160.22 for a total

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[27] ibid., pp. 274, 227.
[28] Glassberg, p. 26.
[29] ibid., p. 30.
[30] ibid., p. 31.

minimum maintenance budget of $643.36.[31] This leaves the laborer's family with a deficit of $63.36 or 11% of its total budget. The carpenter has $42.64 left in his pocket for items such as transportation, liquor, and tobacco.

Could an unskilled Philadelphia worker hope to earn $643.36 in 1880? Glassberg answers that the male's wages alone were probably not adequate to support the family. Wright found that children's wages comprised 25% to 33% of total family income.[32] In the case of our laborer, a son's earnings would still be not enough to close the gap. This leaves other strategy of women working outside the home, taking in work at home, and/or taking in boarders. Women working outside the home could make $5.00 to $6.00 weekly; piecework brought in much less. Boarders lived with 20.9% of working Black families, 16.9% of Irish, 15% of German, and 13.7% of native whites. As will be seen in Chapter Four, on Ross Court and 2400 Lombard Street, 25% of families had boarders (most having two boarders), and 53% had income from at least one other family member (not a boarder).

One could expect that another stratagem might be to have fewer children. Looking at the period 1874-1901 in ten New England states, John Modell found that native whites may have been the only group to do this.[33] "Whereas American-headed families practiced some kind of a trade-off between having children and making socially significant expenditures, Irish families on the whole made no such trade-off and indeed were enabled to spend money on many things by [sic] their children."[34] Modell found

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[31] ibid., p. 39.
[32] Wright, p. 443.
[33] John Modell, "Patterns of Consumption, Acculturation, and Family Income Strategies in Late Nineteenth-Century America," in *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America*, edited by Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978).
[34] ibid., p. 221.

also that for both Irish and natives, income from boarders was less stigmatizing than income from working wives; presumably this means income from wives' work outside the home as it would have been wives who looked after any boarders.[35]

After 1889, those at the economic bottom were found to have improved their status, if only slightly. Assuming still that the Irish constituted the lowest strata, in 1874 total family income was nearly even between native-born and Irish; in 1889 the Irish had more income, and in 1901 they had 5% less income.[36] A disparity between the income of household heads continued. Interestingly, in 1889 the ratio of girls to boys sent out to work was the same for both groups, but the youngest children working tended to have native-born fathers.[37]

Finding Work; The Journey-to-Work

How did adults find work? Licht's studies show that the first job usually resulted from a person's own initiative in pounding the pavement more than through newspaper ads or personal or family connections. For the Irish, on the other hand, the first job was as likely to have come from any of these sources.[38] Regarding advertisements, the *Public Ledger* was the most popular paper among the working-class and had want ads as early as 1850 and was the only paper to have them until 1888.[39] Early ads were quite general, however, by 1890 ads described the ethnicity and religion of the person desired. Employment agents in the form of merchants, direct labor agents, and packet ship line owners connected with large employers such as DuPont did arrange and pay for

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[35] ibid., p. 224.
[36] ibid., p. 217.
[37] ibid., p. 228.
[38] Licht, p. 34.
[39] ibid., p. 133ff.

transport of Irish immigrants to Philadelphia. "Intelligence offices" which performed a variety of functions for immigrants such as holding mail, sending remittances home, and making travel arrangements also helped people find job opportunities.

Although transportation advances enabled middle and upper classes to move out of the city, for the working-class, Philadelphia in the late 19th century was still a "walking city." The fare structure of both omnibuses -- and later the street railway lines -- was prohibitively expensive for the unskilled (at 9% of a daily wage) and most mechanics (6%).[40] In contrast, an unskilled federal worker earning the minimum wage in 1980 would have spent only 4% on public transportation.

According to Hershberg, the 1870s saw the beginning of "modern urban form" in Philadelphia.[41] Industrial growth created a "shuffling of the occupational universe" by producing new types of work and a new managerial class. He notes:

> Not only did industry and commerce accelerate their carving up of urban space, but social differentiation and spatial differentiation proceeded in tandem. Social differences in work -- wages, status, and work environments -- now began to be mirrored in increasingly homogenous residential settings.[42]

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[40] Theodore Hershberg, Harold E. Cox, Dale Light, Jr., and Richard R. Greenfield, "The 'Journey-to Work': An Empirical Investigation of Work, Residence, and Transportation, Philadelphia, 1850 and 1880," in *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Theodore Hershberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 146-47.
[41] Theodore Hershberg, Alan N. Burstein, Eugene P. Ericksen, Stephanie W. Greenberg, and William L. Yancey, "A Tale of Three Cities: Blacks, Immigrants, and Opportunity in Philadelphia, 1850-1880, 1930, 1970," in *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Theodore Hershberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
[42] ibid., p. 473.

Chapter Three will explore the physical and personal separations by class and ethnicity in the late 19th-century urban neighborhood.

Three ❖ The Immigrant Neighborhood

Henry Ward Beecher's chastisement of the laborer who after twenty years did not yet own his house demonstrates how unaware the middle and upper classes were with the challenges faced by the lower sort. Not only were more prosperous Americans economically out of touch, they were physically out of touch as well.

People who could afford to were leaving the city. The 1854 consolidation of the city and county and the expansion of the street passenger railway system in the 1860s encouraged the dispersion of persons and businesses.[1] Whereas Center City gained 13.5% population in 1860, in 1870 and 1880 it lost more than 9% each decade in favor of the outer suburbs.[2] This exodus coincided with a decrease in those employed in mercantile and professional positions and an increase in unskilled workers; artisans' numbers decreased also, but they remained the second largest group.[3]

Did immigrant enclaves exist in the 19th-century city? Certainly they did, although scholars disagree about their extent and role in the process of assimilation. Generally speaking, immigrant neighborhoods in America may have been less concentrated ethnically and economically than the "ghetto model" allows. Drawing on data from Ross Court and the blocks of 2400 Lombard Street in the Schuylkill neighborhood, however, it is correct to say that during the 1870 to 1900 period this was

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[1] See Howard Gillette, Jr., "The Emergence of the Modern Metropolis: Philadelphia in the Age of Its Consolidation," in *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1975*, edited by William W. Cutler III and Howard Gillette, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980).
[2] ibid., p. 15.
[3] ibid., p. 17.

a predominantly Irish Catholic community of first and second generation immigrants who remained in the neighborhood for several years if not for decades. Since the early 1800s, industries located near and dependent upon the Schuylkill had attracted Irish newcomers. And as noted in Chapter Two, the cost of transportation kept home and workplace in close proximity.

A theme of Sam Bass Warner Jr.'s *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* is that "the thorough destruction of the informal neighborhood street life" occurred because of the city's 19th-century growth surge and that as a consequence people rushed to join clubs and associations in order to replace that lost community.[4] Stuart Blumin adds that people moved around the city to such a great degree -- and the city itself was so large -- that neighborhoods could not take hold in the way that they had in the 18th century.[5] Prior to examining the Schuylkill area, I accepted this assessment. To be sure, Philadelphia was no longer a colonial town, but "thorough destruction" of community overstates the situation as I have found it. This chapter, as well as the next, points out the many ways that "neighborhood" changed, certainly, but persevered and grew.

Because this study's focus is the working-class Philadelphian, how possible was joining a club, if he had that urge, for the day laborer? Joining an organization meant committing not only time but money. Many of these groups were based on shared status (the professional organizations, for example) or implicit status (only middle class

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[4] Warner (*Private City*), p. 61.

[5] Stuart Blumin, "Residential Mobility Within the Nineteenth-Century City," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940,* edited by Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973).

Irish belonged to the Irish Land League).[6] Dale Light Jr.'s study of the Irish in Philadelphia revealed that those who belonged to associations were not representative of the Irish immigrant population at large; they were the "labor aristocracy." "Immigrants arriving in Philadelphia from Ireland in the middle decades of the nineteenth century thus encountered pre-existing ethnic social structures in which privilege and status were formalized and perpetuated across generations."[7] Further, he found that ethnic elite organizations tended to associate with other elite organizations over association with non-elite ethnic organizations.[8]

In lieu of formal groups, the residents of Philadelphia's many tiny court houses were likely to have had a subsociety of their own.[9] James Borchert's article on alley houses in Washington, D.C., describes the "second level of organization that provided a wide range of services for its members."[10]

> Because the alley was isolated from street-front neighbors and the alley entrance was unobtrusive from the street, there was little likelihood that nonresidents would enter the alley. The single-exit alley also increased the potential for face-to-face meetings among residents....much that went on...was common knowledge....Finally, the hot, humid summers of Washington encouraged residents to spend as much time as possible in front of their small, crowded homes.[11]

Anyone who has passed a summer in Philadelphia can attest to the turgidity of the atmosphere north of Washington as well.

Aside from geography, other influences enforced neighborhood cohesion. The parish and its priest was one significant factor. "The Catholic world supervised by

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[6] Light, p. 204.
[7] ibid., p. 119.
[8] ibid., p. 131.
[9] Over thirty courts were located in the Schuylkill vicinity.
[10] James Borchert, "Alley Landscapes of Washington," in *Common Places: Readings in Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), p. 284.
[11] ibid., p. 286.

these priests was disciplined and local. Pastors were notorious for refusing to cooperate with (or even visit) neighboring parishes -- all attention was devoted to one's own institution," states McGreevy.[12] "Most parishes ...contained a large number of formal organizations -- including youth groups, mothers' clubs, parish choirs, and fraternal organizations....Catholics used the parish to map out -- both physically and culturally -- space within all northern cities."[13] Among the parish-associated groups were benevolent societies which collected dues that allowed poor immigrants to borrow from or receive sickness and death benefits. A nationally organized example was the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union (ICBU) founded in 1869.[14] Parishes established grammar schools; Philadelphia's parochial school system was among the largest in the U.S. and was comprehensive enough that one could go from "cradle to career without substantial non-Catholic contact."[15] If you were Catholic, even if you attended services only sporadically, the social network that developed around the parish church was likely to touch you in some way.[16]

Additionally, politics, in the form of the ward and its boss, contributed to neighborhood cohesion. Many have written about the 19th century, big city political machines. The situation in Philadelphia was no different: among the well-known

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[12] McGreevy, p. 15.
[13] ibid.
[14] See Joseph J. Casino, "From Sanctuary to Involvement: A History of the Catholic Parish in the Northeast," in *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present*, edited by Jay P. Dolan (New York: Paulist Press, 1987).
[15] Clark (*Adjustment*...), p. 159.
[16] Due to pew rents, priest shortages, and interference with work, Casino estimates that in the 19th century regular attendance at Sunday mass was only 40% (p. 26).

figures in city politics, aside from Mulhooly,[17] was William McMullen. First active in the 1860s, then as alderman, Common Councilman, and eventually Select Councilman, he was "Philadelphia's best-known Irish employment agency" because of the patronage jobs and services he obtained for his constituents.[18] Ward bosses were responsible for bringing out the vote for the designated candidate; accomplishing this in areas such as the Schuylkill was easy because of the concentration of Irish. By the Democrats, it was accomplished because organizers spent more time with the Schuylkill workers than did the Whigs whose class affiliation preferred a higher level.[19] (Catholics and immigrants were brought together politically also by the legacy of the nativist, and later Know-Nothing Party, clashes against them.)

A favored location for grass roots political organizing was the neighborhood saloon, of which there were many in working-class districts. The saloon keeper usually enjoyed some status in the neighborhood and, according to Clark, "was commonly called on to aid or represent his neighbors and customers."[20] E.L. Godkin wrote in *The Nation* in 1875:

> Liquor dealers are the medium and the only medium through which political preaching or control can reach a very large audience....The liquor dealer is their guide, philosopher, creditor. He sees them more frequently and familiarly than anybody else, and is the person through whom the news and the meaning of what passes in the upper regions is heard....[21]

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[17] In 1881, a book called *Solid for Mulhooly* was published satirizing machine politics as practiced by the Irish in Philadelphia. Its popularity was so great that it was reprinted in 1889 with stinging cartoons by Thomas Nast.
[18] Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 175.
[19] John J. Kane, *The Irish Immigrant in Philadelphia 1840-1880: A Study in Conflict and Accommodation* (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1950), p. 213.
[20] Clark (*Adjustment...*), p. 191.
[21] E.L. Godkin in Clark (*Adjustment...*), p. 191-2.

Saloons, with the exception of those run by women, were the exclusive province of men. Neighborhoods had other, secular, non-gender-specific meeting places. Local halls, some with ethnic affiliations, held wedding and baptism celebrations, meetings, and gathering of all kinds. In the Schuylkill neighborhood there was at least one: Devenny's Hall at 2119 South Street (as early as 1867). Public markets were another neighborhood feature. From at least 1874 to 1900 at the northeast corner of S. 23rd and South Streets was Centennial Market, before that residents could have patronized Farmers Western at S. 21st and Market Streets, Southwestern at S. 19th and Market Streets, Federal at S. 17th and Federal Streets, or Kater at Kater Street southwest of S. 16th Street.[22]

The high concentration of immigrants among the working-class, who would have brought with them traditional modes of village living, also may have influenced the feeling of neighborhood. Oscar Handlin explores this idea in *The Uprooted*. "The village was so much of their lives because the village was a whole. There were no loose, disorderly ends; everything was knotted into a firm relationship with every other thing. And all things had meaning in terms of their relatedness to the whole community."[23]

As noted in Chapter Two, some working-class Philadelphians were able to move up in economic status. Many probably moved to more spacious neighborhoods outside the central city. Others of similar background moved in to replace them, not only because of ethnic affiliations or cheaper housing, but as Conzen observes, "Once a neighborhood begins to acquire an ethnic character, it will become less attractive to

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[22] City markets were listed in *Boyd's Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia: Central News Co., 1874, 1885, and 1901).
[23] Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 2/E (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1973), p. 9. Recall also that the first Irish settlements in the Schuylkill area were known as "The Village" and "Goosetown."

outsiders of equal or higher status, and the normal vacancies occurring in the neighborhood under the high mobility conditions of the American city can be filled by new comers of the ethnic group."[24]

Ironically, immigrants' separateness was criticized but neither were they especially welcome in the better neighborhoods. Mona Domosh argues in *Invented Cities: The Creation of Landscape in Nineteenth-Century New York and Boston* that in Gilded Age America, the new "leisure" class endeavored to legitimize its wealth through landscape and built forms. They "looked at the city as a cultural map, where classes distinguished themselves by the clothes they wore, the shops they frequented, the parks they strolled in, [and] the houses they inhabited."[25] In his work on late 19th-century Toronto, Peter G. Goheen states that this new view was brought on by urbanization and industrialization; he calls it the "changing social valuation of territory."[26]

Alexander Von Hoffman in his work *Local Attachments: The Making of an American Neighborhood, 1850 to 1920* summarizes well the role of the urban neighborhood at the turn of the century.

> Far from being a place of self-absorbed privatism or indifferent alienation, the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century urban neighborhood created a rich public life that mediated between the privacy of the family and the impersonal crowd of the metropolis.

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[24] Conzen, p. 610.
[25] Mona Domosh, *Invented Cities: The Creation of Landscape in Nineteenth-Century New York and Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 156.
[26] Peter G. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto, 1850 to 1900* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 127, 1970).

Shared experiences in local business, workplaces, and voluntary associations fostered a complex mesh of relationships that linked thousands of individuals to each other and their neighborhood.[27]

[27] Alexander Von Hoffman, *Local Attachments: The Making of an American Neighborhood, 1850 to 1920* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 241.

Four ❖ The Schuylkill Neighborhood

Neighborhood Boundaries

Kent C. Ryden in *Invisible Landscapes* writes about what draws him to maps: that they are "simultaneously distillations of experience and invitations to experience."[1] Much of my research on this area depended on historic maps, both for information and for points at which to begin imagining the neighborhood and its layout, sights, and smells.

Geographically, there are many ways to draw the neighborhood's boundaries. Asking residents to draw "their neighborhood" thus revealing their cognitive maps in the manner of Kevin Lynch would be one way.[2] One could use the limits of St. Patrick's parish: Market Street to South Street, S. 16th Street to the Schuylkill River. There are also the lines drawn marking the National Register's Schuylkill Historic District which reaches from Walnut to Bainbridge Street and zigzags eastward from the river to the boundaries of the locally designated Rittenhouse-Fitler Residential Historic District (*fig. 1*). Or one could use Dennis Clark's sketch maps showing the locations of Irish concentration in the city: while both indicate an area beginning at South Street and extending deeply into South Philadelphia, one distinguishes a "Schuylkill District" area radiating southeast from the corner of South and S. 25th Streets from a "Ramcat" area radiating southwest from that corner to the River; the other designates the whole area as

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[1] Kent C. Ryden, *Invisible Landscapes: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), p. 23.
[2] Kevin Lynch, *Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1960).

"Schuylkill (Ramcat)."[3] Besides the name "Ramcat," until approximately the midpoint of this century, parts of this area were called also "Devil's Pocket" and "God's Pocket."[4]

Wherever the lines are drawn, we must realize that our present day conception of "neighborhood" in general -- and this neighborhood specifically -- are probably different from what 19th-century people would have conceived. According to longtime Lombard Street resident Margaret Logan, what was "Center City" and "downtown" were different geographic concepts when she was a young woman in the 1930s: "downtown" was the area south of South Street, and "Center City" was not a description she recalls using at all.[5] To Logan, her neighborhood was either "South Philadelphia" or "Gray's Ferry."[6] With this caveat in mind and for the purpose of this limited study, I have focused on the area bounded north-south by Spruce and South Streets and east-west by S. 20th Street and the Schuylkill River. Within these boundaries, I chose for closer scrutiny the two sides of the street opposite each other on the 2400 block of Lombard Street and Ross Court, formerly located off the west side of S. 23rd Street between Naudain and South Streets.

The goal of this chapter, indeed of the entire work, is to get at what geographer Yi-Fu Tuan calls "a sense of place." He defines this as: "experiences, mostly fleeting and undramatic, repeated day after day and over the span of years. It is a unique blend

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[3] The map on the facing page to the Introduction of *Erin's Heirs* locates "Schuylkill (Ramcat)" among all the historically Irish neighborhoods in Philadelphia, and the map on p. 127 of "'Ramcat' and Rittenhouse Square: Related Communities" shows both a "Ramcat" and a "Schuylkill District."

[4] According to resident Margaret Logan, "Devil's Pocket" referred to the blocks south of South Street that dead end at the Naval Asylum. "God's Pocket" may refer to the same area. Bill Brennan, another resident, recalls using the name "Ramcat" but not what it meant.

[5] Margaret Logan is the granddaughter of James Logan of 1 Ross Court and 2410 Lombard Street (see Chapter Four, *infra*, and Appendix 2).

[6] Telephone conversation with Margaret Logan, of 2408 Lombard Street, on 4 November 1996.

of sights, sounds, and smells, a unique harmony of natural and artificial rhythms, such as the time of sunrise and sunset, of work and play."[7] In an attempt to ascertain what sights, smells, and sounds could have been heard in the neighborhood, its people, land development, and commercial life must be examined.

Neighborhood Development

The Schuylkill River, as we know, was not the focus of activity that the Delaware was in the early years of the city. One (purportedly) pre-Revolutionary War image depicts "The 'Baptisterion'" at a wooded area near Spruce Street (*fig.* 2). Since the late 17th century, a ferry connected the King's Highway with what later became known as Gray's Ferry Road to Darby, Chester, and Wilmington.[8] Chambers Ferry, later called Gray's Ferry (after George Gray, its keeper c. 1740), apparently was used by so many travellers that in 1790 a garden was opened on the Schuylkill's western shore; sleighing parties were said to have enjoyed the spot in winter.[9] In 1796, the ferry was replaced by a floating bridge which allowed a mail coach to pass "'though the forests which bordered the Schuylkill [and take] the country road we call Spruce Street.'"[10]

Although this quote is attributed to no particular person, maps do show that even if travel was heavy, settlement was sparse along this river until undesirable industries such as brickmaking and lime burning located there early in the 19th century.[11] With the opening of the Schuylkill canal in 1828, the Schuylkill River became

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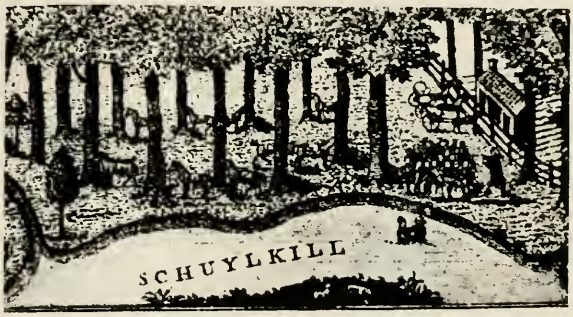
[7] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), pp. 183-84.
[8] John T. Faris, *Old Roads Out of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1917), p. 30.
[9] ibid., pp. 31-32.
[10] ibid., p. 33.
[11] See Bobbye Burke's article, "History and Development," in *Historic Rittenhouse: A Philadelphia Neighborhood,* edited by Trina Vaux (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), for a concise history of early development along the Schuylkill.

a major thoroughfare for goods, especially coal and wood from Pennsylvania's interior. The riverbanks extended into the river to create wharves, and warehouses lined the River from Fairmount to Gray's Ferry (*fig.* 3). Labor was needed to help transfer it all, and since the 1820s the Irish provided an increasing amount of the brawn.



THE "BAPTISTERION" AT SPRUCE STREET, SCHUYLKILL, AS IT WAS PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION

Figure 2: "Baptisterion" in Schuylkill River (n.d.)

Figure 3: Francis Bacon & Co's Coal Yard on the Schuylkill (n.d.)

The earliest map of any detail is the 1858 Hexamer and Locher which shows the neighborhood as being fairly built-up with brick rowhouses.[12] Some blocks were entirely occupied by mills or other industry; some blocks were half empty and half full of dwellings. Lombard Street development varied: the north side of the 2400 block was empty, and the south side was a mixture of empty lots and small houses; on the 2500 block an iron foundry faced a lime kiln, itself surrounded by two groups of three houses each; and on the 2600 block the south side was entirely filled with dwellings. This Hexamer view is the earliest evidence of the Ross Court development: down a 120 foot long, seven foot wide passage (narrowing to five feet at the entrance) were five three-storey, brick houses, each fifteen by fourteen feet on their first floor. Across the passage from them (as well as across S. 23rd Street) was an omnibus stable. Other neighborhood industry included a cotton mill and an oil mill on the 2500 block of Factory (Delancey) Street, numerous coal yards at and across the street from the wharves, a lumber yard occupying the 2200 block between Pine and Spruce, and a silk works on 2400 South Street. Small one- and two-storey stores dotted nearly all the blocks, growing thicker toward South Street and east nearing S. 20th Street.

The scale of Bonsall's 1860 *Complete Atlas* provides a less detailed but more global view of the area.[13] It is easy to appreciate the number of wharves along the Schuylkill as well as the number of small (twenty to thirty feet wide) east-west streets wending their way through the grid and creating long, narrow blocks on average 128 feet wide (north-south) by 270 feet long. Also apparent are the undeveloped areas,

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[12] *Maps of the City of Philadelphia, vol. 3* (Philadelphia: E. Hexamer & W. Locher, 1858).
[13] *Complete Atlas of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Joseph H. Bonsall and Samuel L. Smedley, 1860).

roughly 40% of the land. A street railway ran down Pine from S. 21st Street, then turned to South Street where it travelled two blocks to Ashton Street (S. 23rd), then up to Spruce where it headed back to the east. Another passenger railway operated on Gray's Ferry Avenue.[14] A public school was located on S. 23rd opposite Ashburton (Waverly) Street; the Octavius V. Catto Higher Grade School for black children was later located at S. 20th and Lombard Streets.

Commencing with the Jones 1874 Atlas, maps providing a great deal of information about the city are available.[15] During the fourteen years between it and Bonsall's atlas, a predictably huge increase in development occurred. A greater variety of industries are observable in the neighborhood: six coalyards, a brickyard, two ice companies, a felt factory, a lime kiln, and a gravel roofing yard were located at the wharves between Spruce and South. Industrial activity was not confined to the riverfront: between wharves and S. 20th Street, some wedged between the houses that now covered each block, there was a planing mill, galvanizing works, rag storehouse, worsted mill, cotton mill, feed mill, whiskey distillery, foundry, coal sheds, gas works, several machine and carpenter shops, and several stone yards. Some businesses, mostly those close the River, still occupied entire blocks. Large unimproved tracts remained at Franklin (Cypress) Street to Pine, S. 25th to S. 24th Streets; Naudain to South Street, Barnwell to S. 26th Street; and Pine to Franklin Street, S. 24th to S. 23rd.

In addition to residential, commercial, and industrial development, the Jones plates show the extent to which city services were provided to this neighborhood. Parts

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[14] Although outside of the study area, Gray's Ferry was an important thoroughfare beginning at South and S. 23rd Street and running southwesterly, approximately parallel to the Schuylkill River.

[15] *Atlas of Philadelphia, Wards 5, 7, 8* (Philadelphia: G.H. Jones & Co., 1874).

of three streets had not yet been opened: S. 26th Street from Spruce to Factory (Delancey), Kent (Panama) from S. 26th Street to the Schuylkill, and Pine Street from Barnwell (Taney) to the river. Water main diameter is an indication of the adequacy of service: pipes three inches or smaller would not have been large enough to meet the needs of residents; these might have been antiquated pipes constructed of wood.[16] In the Schuylkill neighborhood, tertiary streets such as Naudain, Ashburton (Waverly), Chippewa (S. 27th Street), Barnwell, and Kerr (Crosskey) had three or four inch pipes. Streets such as S. 25th, S. 23rd, S. 21st, Lombard, Pine, Spruce (west of S. 22nd), and even South had only six inch mains. The only streets with twelve inch pipes were some north-south running streets such as S. 22nd and Spruce (east of S. 22nd). Streets lacking service were Kent, Franklin, Hampton (Addison), and S. 26th Street between Lombard and South; no courts had water lines. Although the Common and Select Councils ordered street paving, water pipe laying, and curbing, they were done at the adjacent property owners' expense. If the bills went unpaid, ordinances provided that the city could put a lien against the offending property.[17] The city gave three months' notice for the opening of streets; property owners who might lose their land could seek redress with the Court of Quarter Sessions.[18]

Sewer connections were even more scarce than water connections. The area bounded by South, Pine, the river (with a short jog over to Barnwell) to S. 23rd Street

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[16] Olivier Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigration in Detroit, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 118.
[17] Thomas J. Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884, Vol. III* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1884), p. 1704.
[18] ibid.

had no sewer service through at least 1885. The nearest connection for 2400 Lombard Street was 2400 Pine Street; Ross Court had access from S. 23rd Street.

Street widths (from lot line to opposite lot line) varied a great deal as detailed in Table 1. Natalie Shivers notes that in Baltimore, class distinctions in the city and within neighborhoods were determined in part by the makeup and layout of the streets.[19] Philadelphia, however, had had a hierarchy of streets (Broad and High [Market] Streets forming the primary axis) since the city was laid out in the 17th century. The rather wide streets of Sutherland, Gray's Ferry, and Chippewa, although at the edge of Philadelphia's original grid, may have been necessary to accommodate the heavy activity created by the Schuylkill industries. Variations in width along the course of tertiary streets such as Granville (Cypress) could be explained by their uncoordinated, block-by-block development.[20] In contrast, consider the court dwellers who had no street at all.

Table 1: Schuylkill Street Widths in 1874

STREET NAME	WIDTH (ft.)
Gray's Ferry, Sutherland (Schuylkill Av.)	70
Chippewa (S. 27th), S. 22nd	60
Pine, South	51
S. 25th, 24th, 23rd, 21st, 20th, Barnwell, Lombard, Spruce	50
S. 26th, Albion (Van Pelt), Factory (S. 26th-25th only), Naudain (E. of S. 22nd)	40
Ashburton, Granville (Cypress; S. 22nd-21st only), Hand (Waverly)	30
Naudain (W. of S. 22nd)	28
Factory (S. 25th-24th only), Kerr	25
Hampstead (Rodman)	24
Clay (Panama), Franklin, Granville (S. 21st-20th only), Hampton, Kent, Tryon	20
Franklin Place	10
Gallagher (W-E from S. 27th-Taney)	9

[19] Natalie Shivers, *Those Old Placid Rows: The Aesthetic Development of the Baltimore Rowhouse* (Baltimore: Maclay and Associates, 1981), p. 16.
[20] Burke, p. 16.

By comparison, Locust and Walnut Streets were fifty feet wide, Market Street was one hundred, and Broad Street 113 feet across.

Four street railways serviced the area.[21] While for the reasons discussed in Chapter Three the Schuylkill residents were not likely to be riding these lines, many did work for them. The Seventeenth and Nineteenth Street line operated on north and south on these streets. The Philadelphia and Gray's Ferry line (popularly known as the Spruce and Pine) made a loop up S. 23rd Street, down Spruce, out Pine, down S. 22nd to South Street, then to Gray's Ferry Avenue to return up S. 23rd. It had a yard at Spruce between S. 23rd and S. 22nd Streets. The Lombard and South Street line had its terminus on Naudain between S. 26th and S. 25th Streets. The Schuylkill River line operated up and down S. 22nd and S. 23rd Streets. Three major freight railroads, The Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore, the B & O; and the Pennsylvania Railroad, were located along the Schuylkill as well and employed many neighborhood people.

Population changes will be discussed later in this chapter, but it is worth noting that where the omnibus stables once stood on the east side of S. 23rd Street between Naudain and South, by 1874 the Centennial Market had replaced them. It seems unlikely that another public market would locate without sufficient demand, perhaps due to the growth of the Rittenhouse area population westward.[22]

By 1885 when Bromley published his *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*, the neighborhood was a densely packed mix of residential, commercial, and industrial uses.[23] In the type and number of non-residential concerns, by 1896 the most obvious

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[21] These are easier to pick out on the Hopkins *City Atlas of Philadelphia by Wards, vol. 6* (Philadelphia: G.M. Hopkins, C.E., 1875).
[22] For a discussion of the growth of the Rittenhouse area, see Burke.
[23] *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: George W. Bromley and Co., 1885).

difference is that the small shops -- the blacksmiths, the carpenters -- woven through the blocks in the 1870s are fewer by the mid-1880s and gone by the mid-1890s.[24] Larger companies occupying half of a block or more as well as rowhouses have replaced them. The turn of the century also brought new businesses to the area: department store warehouses and a pie baking company.[25] Factory Street became Delancey Street. A park between 23rd and 24th and Pine and Panama Streets, now called Fitler Square, appeared for the first time in Bromley's 1901 Atlas (*fig. 4*).[26]

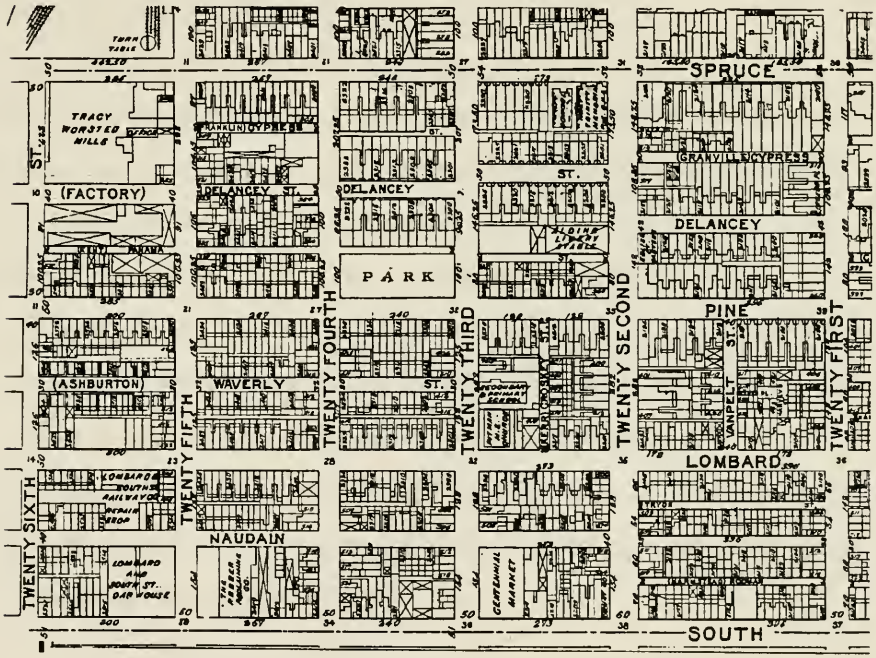

Figure 4: Schuylkill Neighborhood in 1901 Bromley Atlas

[24] *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia, Central Business District, vol. 2* (Philadelphia: George W. Bromley and Co., 1896).
[25] George E. Thomas, Ph.D. (Clio Group), National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form, Schuylkill Historic District, 5 July 1985, sect. 8, p. 1.
[26] *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: George W. Bromley and Co., 1901).

Housing Development

As earlier discussed, the population of Philadelphia began to decrease by the 1870 Census. When longtime residents were able to move out, there were plenty of new people to move in; thus, as unfashionable as the Schuylkill neighborhood was, the atlases show no slacking off in residential dwelling construction there. In fact, the middle and upper classes had themselves been moving westward to the Rittenhouse Square area since the 1850s, and by 1880 it was an established enclave of the well-to-do. It is important to emphasize that although contiguous by the latter part of the 19th century, Rittenhouse and Schuylkill were distinct entities that not only appeared different but also developed separately and, quite literally, had different outlooks: the former toward the east and the latter toward the west. Architecturally, the contrast is everywhere apparent in the size, materials, and details of the houses. Lot sizes near Rittenhouse are broader by as much as ten feet which allowed for the more gracious City and Town plans described by Murtagh.[27] Brownstone, common in the Rittenhouse proximity, is rarely to be seen west of S. 23rd or south of Spruce Street --although this scarcity may have been due to the material's falling out of fashion more than to its expense. Small limestone mansions designed by architects such as Theophilus Parsons Chandler (1845-1928) and Horace Trumbauer (1868-1938) give way to modestly adorned trinities a few blocks away.[28]

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[27] By comparison, 1816 Spruce is twenty-two feet wide and seventy-five feet deep.

[28] For an examination of the geographic distribution of major architects' work throughout Philadelphia, see George E. Thomas, "Architectural Patronage and Social Stratification in Philadelphia Between 1840 and 1920" in *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1975*, edited by William W. Cutler III and Howard Gillette, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980).

The National Register Schuylkill Historic District nomination form identifies 1832 to 1928 as the neighborhood's significant dates, and late Federal rowhouses to early 20th century commercial buildings fill its blocks.[29] For example, Philadelphia Historical Commission files for the 2400 block of Pine Street list thirteen, two and one-half storey, brick, common side-hall-plan rowhouses built c. 1835 on the north side; those on the south side date largely from the 1850s.[30] The west side of the 400 block of S. 26th Street has a row of early Victorian (c. 1865), two-storey houses with "flat stone lintels, single-width doors, rectangular transoms, stone basements, molded and pierced wood cornices with floral decoration, separated by corbeled consoles and acroterion."[31] Built in the 1880s, the fancier three storeys of 2409 South Street were built of buff-colored brick and brownstone and had a double-width recessed door.[32] The rustic but handsome detail is still visible today.

Although some 19th-century visitors to Philadelphia despaired of the regularity and sameness created by the grid, within these blocks a hodgepodge of houses of varying dimensions grew stables, sheds, passages, and inner courts of tiny trinities. It could be said that the city was by 1850 composed of a conglomeration of small towns, each oriented toward and developing hierarchically around sources of work, whether they be natural features such as rivers or locations of industry.[33] A look at any of the

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[29] Thomas (Schuylkill Historic District Files).
[30] Rittenhouse-Fitler Historic District, Pine Street block files, Philadelphia Historical Commission, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
[31] Clio Group, Inc., Pennsylvania Historic Resource Survey Form, S. 26th Street block files, Philadelphia Historical Commission, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
[32] ibid., 2400 South Street block file.
[33] Sam Bass Warner, Jr., suggests that Philadelphia had within it many "urban mill towns." See "A Framework for the History of Urban Environments: Philadelphia 1774, 1860, 1930," photocopied typescript of a Washington University Institute for Urban and Regional Studies

maps from the 1870 to 1900 period illustrates the density of settlement. Nevertheless, according to figures from the Twelfth Census in 1900, 84.6% of Philadelphia's families lived one to a property compared to only 17.5% of New York's families or 29% of Chicago's.[34] What is lacking is a comparison of densities within the city by census district. Even without this, we can gain some appreciation for the density when we look in-depth at Ross Court and the 2400 block of Lombard Street.

Ross Court and 2400 Lombard Street Development

Ross Court

Ross Court was established at least as early as 1858 most likely as a result of the river-related industrial growth (*fig. 5*). The court was long and narrow, just seven feet wide in the interior. Five, three-storey brick houses, each fifteen by fourteen feet, faced the back of an omnibus stable on South Street. From insurance records, it appears that each house was a part of the property behind it which faced onto Naudain Street (2302 to 2310). Although the mapmakers did not assign house numbers to Ross Court, Census takers did. From these, and assuming that Census takers would not have deviated from the norm for Philadelphia, this study assumes that 1 Ross Court was closest to S. 23rd Street and 5 Ross farthest in just as 2302 Naudain is at the corner and 2310 is located toward S. 24th Street. According to Sanborn insurance maps current to February 1996, the Ross houses remain in place although access to them is no longer gained from S. 23rd Street but instead through a locked private entry between the corner and 2302

Colloquium paper presented on 6 February 1967 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Library, 1986), p. 10.

[34] *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Volume II, Part II*, Table 102, in Daunton.

Naudain. The main houses that fronted on Naudain Street were substantially altered and this entryway to the court created after 1964 (*fig. 6*).[35] The old entry to the court still is visible on S. 23rd Street (*fig. 7*).

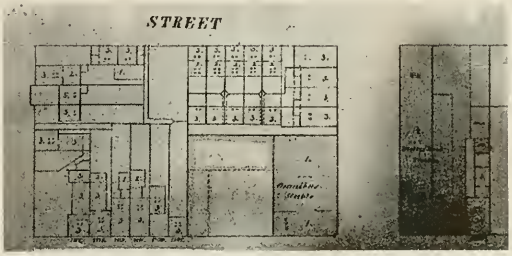

Figure 5: Ross Court (row of five small squares with "3" in them at center) in 1858 Hexamer Atlas (S. 23rd Street is at right, Naudain Street at top, South Street at bottom)

Figure 6: 2302-2310 Naudain Street in 1964 (looking west)

[35] Photographs dated 1964 in the 2300 Naudain Street block files at the Philadelphia Historical Commission show 2302-2314 with façades individual and intact. Today 2302-2310 have been merged, at least on their façades, as though they are one structure. The original size and placement of the doors and windows have been completely changed.

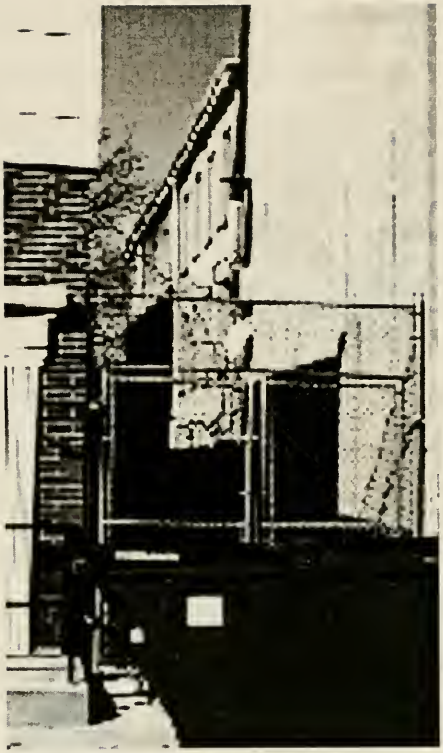

Figure 7: Entrance to Ross Court from S. 23rd Street (Feb. 1997)

Exactly when and who built Ross Court are unknown. The name "Ross" belongs to a family who in the 1890s (and perhaps earlier) owned 2302 to 2310 Naudain and the attached court houses. In this case the sequence probably was construction of the Naudain Street buildings with later infill in back with this extra income-producing housing. We know this from an 1890 fire insurance policy that covered two Naudain Street houses and the two Ross Court houses behind them.[36] By contrast, Borchert states that alley houses in Washington, D.C., were constructed by "absentee owner-

[36] Franklin Fire Insurance Co. of Philadelphia, Perpetual Survey No. 70279 Made Dec. 11th, 1890 for Mrs. Amanda J. Ross, (2302 and 2304 Naudain St., Philadelphia).

developers" on land that was subdivided and held separately from the land fronting the street.[37] Burke's research found that a court located on Bonsall Street next to the wharves was constructed by the New York and Schuylkill Coal Company for its workers; if the company also owned any larger houses adjacent is not stated.[38] Clearly, further research into the development of these courts (such as creating a chain of title for each) can be done; it would be safe to speculate now that a variety of conditions and circumstances caused them to be built.

Examining map details, that Ross Court's houses were three-storey was unusual for low-budget housing in this neighborhood at the time.[39] Reaney's Court, with exterior alterations but still extant within the 2500 block of Pine Street, is a row of six, two-storey brick houses built c. 1850.

Samuel Hillman surveyed 2302 Naudain Street on 11 December 1890 for Mrs. Amanda J. Ross. (A complete transcription of the survey can be found in Appendix M.) Mrs. Ross owned the identical house next door at 2304 Naudain which also was covered by the policy. At the time, city directories show that Amanda Ross was the widow of Cornelius Ross and lived around the corner at 516 S. 23rd Street.[40]

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[37] Borchert, p. 282.
[38] Burke, p. 8.
[39] To be sure, other three storey examples of low-cost, mid-19th-century housing can be found in the city, a remarkable one being Ringgold Place extending from S. 19th and S. 20th between Pine and Lombard Streets.
[40] *Gopsill's Philadelphia City Directory* (Philadelphia: J. Gopsill's Sons, 1890).

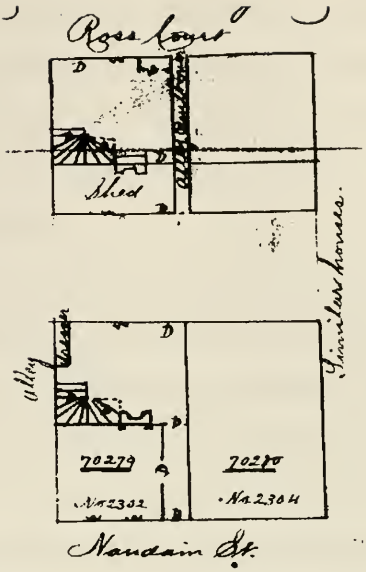

Figure 8: Franklin Fire Insurance Survey plan of 2302 Naudain and 1 Ross Court (1890); S. 23rd Street entrance to Court was at the left

That 2302 Naudain was insured for only $500 and 1 Ross Court for $300 gives an indication of their economical construction.[41] Figure 8 is the surveyor's sketch plan of both the Naudain and Ross Court buildings. 2302 Naudain was three storeys, two registers (fifteen feet wide), brick, with a wooden stoop. The front windows on the first storey had shutters, the second third storeys blinds. Windows were six-over-six and single hung. A three-light rectangular transom over the front door illuminated the side hall. Joists were of hemlock and the floors of yellow pine. The walls were plastered. Interior detailing was minimal: each floor had one room with wainscoting, plain

[41] No houses for sale in the neighborhood advertised by Geo. N. Townsend & Co. in 1864 were priced less than $1200. Even taking into account the influence of possible late Civil War inflation on these prices, if there had been a loss, it is unlikely that $500 or $300 would have covered the cost of replacement of anything but an old, cheaply constructed house. (See "Register of Dwellings, Stores, and City Property for Sale by Geo. N. Townsend & Co." [Philadelphia: Geo. N. Townsend & Co., 1864].)

fireplace mantels, and simply paneled doors. The second and third floor rooms each had a closet. A closed winder stair connected the floors. Ceiling heights were eight feet six inches on the first floor, seven feet six inches on the second, and on the third seven feet nine inches with tin roof sloping down a foot. The total area for this building was approximately 462 square feet.

In between this house and 1 Ross Court was a two-storey back building, dimensions fifteen by thirteen feet. On the first floor was the kitchen with a gas oven, one six-over-six window, and appointments for a bedroom: a "dresser with drawers." The second floor was reached through a closed winder stair and had a closet, wainscoting, two six-over-six windows (single hung or casement not noted), a plain wood mantel, and four-paneled doors. Another winder stair connected this room with the third storey of the main house. A cellar underneath the kitchen could be reached from inside the building. Ceiling heights were eight feet on the first floor and seven feet six inches on the second. This building, too, had a tin roof and gutters. The total living area for both buildings was approximately 800 square feet.

One Ross Court was identical to 2302 Naudain except in two features: it had only one six-over-six window on the first floor front and back, and its kitchen building was a wood shed with a gas oven, five feet six inches deep and "inclosed [sic] with rough boards" on a brick floor. The main house was fifteen by fourteen feet deep. Total living area was approximately 616 square feet.

By 1896, the Bromley CBD atlas shows an "Amanda J. Bowen" as owner of 2302 and 2304 Naudain and 1 and 2 Ross Court; Amanda Ross lives at 518, not 516, S. 23rd

Street.[42] Other Rosses appear on this map: Samuel Ross owns 2306 Naudain and 3 Ross Court, and the Estate of John Ross owns 2308 and 2310 Naudain with 4 and 5 Ross Court. None of the Naudain back buildings are shown, suggesting that the kitchen had been incorporated into the main building perhaps in order to regain the yard.

The property across the court undergoes a series of changes during this 1858 to 1896 period. In 1858, an omnibus stable and related buildings occupy the site. Stables and the "23rd Street Market" have the corner (S. 23rd and South) by 1874 (*fig. 9*). The 1875 Hopkins indicates only that Cornelius Ross owns that corner. By 1896 a series of parcels with wood structures on them are owned by Walter Ross, et al., Ellen Ross, and Amanda Bowen (*fig. 10*).

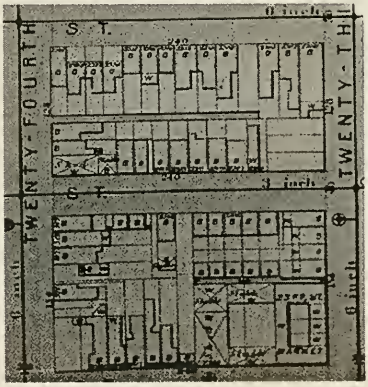

Figure 9: Ross Court in 1874 Jones Atlas (Naudain St. is at center, Lombard St. at top)

[42] *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia, Central Business District, vol. 2* (Philadelphia: George W. Bromley and Co., 1896). Searching for a marriage between the former Mrs. Amanda J. Ross and a Mr. Bowen proved fruitless.

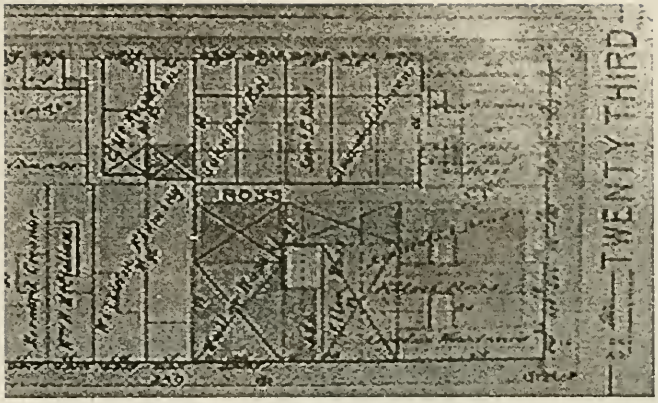

Figure 10: Ross Court in 1896 Bromley CBD Atlas (Naudain St. at top, South St. at bottom)

2400 Lombard Street

Both the north and south blocks of 2400 Lombard are 267 feet long and 128 feet wide. A five-foot-wide alley bisects the north block, and on the south block a three-foot-wide passage began being recorded in maps in 1896; it runs from S. 25th Street approximately 120 feet in the interior.

The 1858 Hexamer atlas reveals that the western end of Lombard Street developed later than nearby streets; Pine Street one block north was completely built up with two and one-half storey, gable roofed rowhouses as far as the Schuylkill.[43] Lombard's 2400 block had only two, two-storey, brick, fifteen-foot-wide dwellings set back from the street a good twenty feet at 2420 and 2418. There was a three-storey store of some type with related buildings next door and an ice house to the west of that. At the southwest corner of S. 25th and Lombard was a three-storey brick dwelling at 2432.

[43] The Philadelphia Historical Commission block files for 2400, 2500, and part of 2300 Waverly date the buildings to c. 1840.

The north side of the street was completely vacant (*fig. 11*). The next block west was similarly sparse except for a few houses clustered on the north side near the corners and an iron foundry located mid-block on the south side.

Figure 11: 2400 Block of Lombard St. in 1858 Hexamer & Locher Atlas (S. 25th St. at left)

Bonsall's atlas of 1860 shows no change. Predictably, by 1874 the Jones Atlas reveals that significant construction has occurred on the block and in the neighborhood as a whole. The street's north side had houses from 2401 to 2415; 2413 and 2413 extended approximately fifty feet in the rear while the rest were only twenty-five feet deep. The breadth of each is fifteen to sixteen feet. At the western third of the block was J. Eccles's large machine shop and office. Development on the street's south side roughly mirrored that of the north: from S. 25th Street to mid-block was the Keystone Safety Gas Machine Company with its carpenter shop, sheds, and stables (the dwelling at 2432 appears to have been incorporated into this complex), and next to it were the two set back houses at 2420 and 2418.[44] Next to those, at 2416, was a lone, brick, sixteen by sixty-five foot house with two empty lots adjacent to it. Given the industry on the block, it is not surprising that much land stayed undeveloped (*fig. 12.*)

[44] These divisions of the Keystone complex are noted on the 1875 Hopkins map only.

Within the year (or the Jones cartographers were behind the times) the street was evidently renumbered as the 1875 Hopkins mapmakers assigned 2410 to 2420, 2408 to 2418, and 2406 to 2416 (*fig. 13*).

By 1885, a wagon works replaced the gas machine company on the south side of the block. The set back dwellings remain, but next to them had grown a row of three, three-storey, brick, seventeen foot wide houses to 2402. Across the street, 2401 to 2415 remained unchanged. Abutting 2415 were some large sheds, and the lot to the corner had switched from machine shop to a roofing material factory. One could surmise that the odors from this establishment (and the Philadelphia Rubber Works a block south) permeated the neighborhood (*fig. 14*).

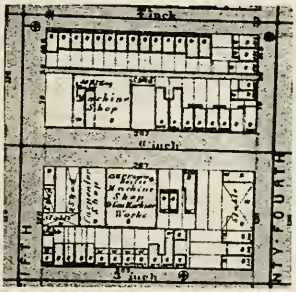

Figure 12: 2400 Lombard Street in 1874 Jones Atlas

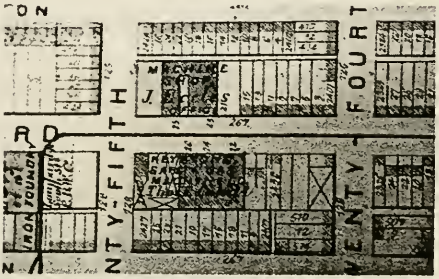

Figure 13: 2400 Lombard Street in 1875 Hopkins Atlas

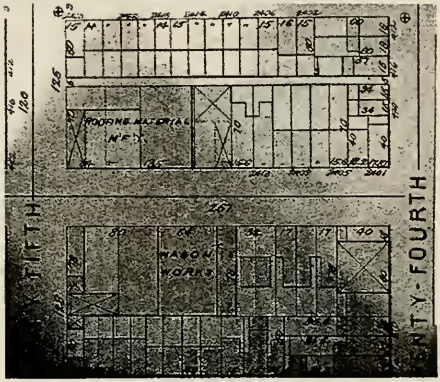

Figure 14: 2400 Lombard Street in 1885 Bromley Atlas

In 1896, the rubber manufactory next to the galvanizing works occupied an entire half block of 2400 Naudain Street; nevertheless, both sides of 2400 Lombard were fully occupied with housing. The little dwellings with their "garden fronts" at 2420 (2410) and 2418 (2408) were renovated to bring them flush with the street (which also gave them an extra parlor), and the row of two-storey, two register houses that occupy the lots today from 2412 to 2428 built.[45] Similar development occurred on the north side: 2413 to 2433 was designed as two-storey, two register row. Though squatter, these houses reached on average fifteen feet deeper than their three-storey neighbors, and this allowed for a more generous City house plan.[46] Street frontage varied from fifteen and a half feet to sixteen feet. Their depth was approximately fifty feet on the longest side;

[45] Margaret Logan, whose family lived at 2410, recalled her grandmother telling her that she had had to move out of the house while the renovation was taking place. (Interview with Margaret Logan on 21 March 1997.)
[46] See the typology discussion in Chapter One, *supra*.

twenty-five feet on the shortest. Each had a wooden shed at the rear and total living area of approximately 1000 square feet (*fig. 15*).

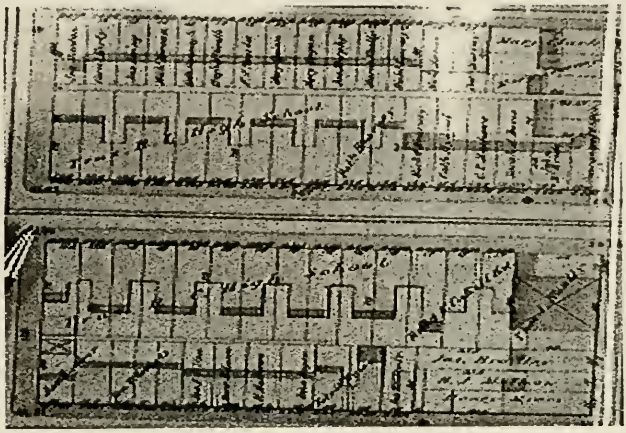

Figure 15: 2400 Lombard Street in 1896 Bromley CBD Atlas

Philadelphia Historical Commission files describe the block's south side:

> This row of ten, two-story dwellings is embellished by imaginative brickwork. A running frieze of corbel brick triangles is interrupted at each party wall by corbel brick piers which cascade down to the middle of the building. These piers are crowned by pressed metal caps which divide the continuous pressed metal cornice that is decorated by rosettes and bead molding. The doors and first floor windows have segmental arch stone lintels. The second floor windows have 6/6 double hung sash with flat stone lintels. A marble basement supports the whole.[47]

These survey forms also date the row to c. 1880; however, its absence in both the 1885 Bromley and 1888 Baist and presence in the 1896 Bromley narrows the dates of construction to 1888-1895.[48] The north side of the block, which has a similar form but some different details (flat stone lintels at the door and all windows), is dated in these

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[47] Pennsylvania Historic Resource Survey Form (30 October 1980), 2400 Lombard Street block files, Philadelphia Historical Commission, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[48] The Philadelphia Archdiocese owned the land at this time. Unfortunately, searches at the Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center and the Archdiocese real estate office did not recover any documents or information about the construction of these rows. (See p. 61, *infra*.)

files to c. 1875 which the map evidence again does not confirm (*figs. 16 & 17*). The dating of the three-storey houses at 2402, 2404, and 2406 to 1860-1879 could also be tightened: we know from the 1874 Jones that 2406 (2416) but no others were there.[49]

Returning to E. Allen Wilson's "Workingmen's House" displayed at the Columbian Exposition, its façade mirrors exactly these Lombard Street rows. According to George E. Thomas, this design was influenced by Willis G. Hale,

> who had raised 'conspicuous consumption' among the middle classes to an art form, thereby creating the maximum opportunity for individual expression in even the mundane rowhouse. This was achieved by emphasizing pride of ownership by separating each home in the row by piers carried on corbels that in turn were capped by galvanized metal finials, and by adapting features of costlier houses such as a rock-faced stone base, small-paned Queen Anne glazing on the front sash, and an elaborate galvanized cornice.[50]

Although not a fashionable locale, these details illustrate the reach of consumer culture even to those not of (but aspiring to) the "leisure class" (*fig. 18*).

Figure 16: 2400 Lombard Street, South Side, looking east (Feb. 1997)

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[49] Although beyond the scope of this study, a deed search for each address would provide a chain of title and likely establish a definitive sequence of development for each lot.
[50] Thomas, "Design of a Rowhouse...," p. 166.

Figure 17: 2400 Lombard Street, North Side, looking west (Feb. 1997)

Unfortunately, no fire insurance survey has been found for any of the two-storey houses. A representative of the earlier, three-storey houses was surveyed (again by Samuel Hillman) on 17 September 1892 for Catharine Hyland, a policeman's widow who lived at 2409 Lombard Street.[51] (A complete transcription can be found in Appendix N.) The contrast with the Naudain Street houses is significant. As can be appreciated in Figure 18, the dimensions of the building are greater; the main building's fifteen-foot-eight-inch breadth and twenty-eight-foot depth allowed for two rooms on each floor. The door was reached by marble steps. One entered a vestibule and the hall passage. The interior doors were all panelled rather than plain. Each room had a

[51] Franklin Fire Insurance Co. of Philadelphia, Perpetual Survey No. 71341 Made Sept. 17th, 1892 for Catharine Highland [sic] (2409 Lombard St., Philadelphia). In all other records located, the last name was spelled "Hyland." Although the record of her death could not be found, it appears from the city directories that she lived there with her son James from late 1892 until 1897 or 1898; her son Lawrence moved in in 1898.

fireplace, and the four bedrooms each had wainscoting and a closet. The frame kitchen (seven feet deep) was equipped with a range, cast iron sink, a large window, and a skylight. It also had a "dresser with drawers." Above the kitchen was a bathroom ("bath house') with a window and "zinc bath tub, hot and cold water introduced." Although the same woods were used (hemlock joists and yellow pine flooring), all the windows of the main building were double hung, the house had "gas pipes throughout" for lighting, and there was a "portable heater in the cellar." The total living area of 2409 Lombard was approximately 1400 square feet. While this rowhouse was an improvement over Naudain and Ross Court, its appointments were still modest when compared to its Rittenhouse or even nearby Spruce Street cousins. Yet, it was certainly better housing than could be had in other major American cities.

Figure 18: Cornice line between 2406 and 2408 Lombard Street (Feb. 1997)

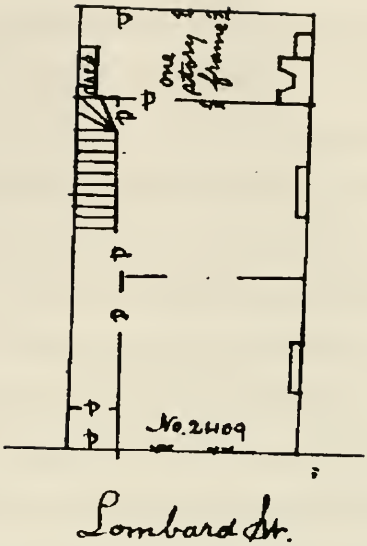

Figure 19: Franklin Fire Insurance Survey plan of 2409 Lombard Street (1892)

Neighborhood Residents

General Profile

Who lived here? The 1850 census reports that west of S. 23rd Street, 43% of the population were Irish-born. "Goosetown" near S. 20th and Spruce and "The Village" near S. 19th and Spruce Streets were places of early Irish settlement.[52] As reviewed above, most of those who lived in this area were employed in the Schuylkill or other immediate industry or around Prime (Washington) Avenue. Like those who settled in Southwark and Moyamensing, the Irish sought work along the Schuylkill River, cycling through the various industries as they evolved: brickmaking, coalheaving, textile mill

[52] Burke, p. 8.

work, boatman who transferred goods from ship to shore, railroad work, and carting the goods from the wharves to warehouses, mills, and locations throughout the city. The occupational data from the 1870, 1880, and 1900 U.S. Censuses,[53] proves Clark's assertion that work opportunities here were greater than those for other areas of Irish concentration such as Kensington or Manayunk.[54] Licht found that among Irish immigrants, women could get the better paying jobs in light industry because they arrived with some skills, whereas men's opportunities relied largely on their capacity to carry, load, and unload.[55] Women found work also in domestic service and, for older women and widows especially, in operating boarding houses.

The number of occupations listed in the 1880 and 1900 U.S. Censuses for Ross Court and 2400 Lombard is seventy-nine. (See Appendix N for the complete list.) The most frequently reported, aside from "keeping house" or "at school," were "clerk," laborer, and housekeeper/servant. "Foreman," glassblower, painter, plumber, teamster/driver, saleswoman, and "woollen mill" (unspecified) were all next in frequency. For Ross Court alone, laborer was the most common occupation.

Combining single occupations into industries (e.g., textiles) and types of work (e.g., driving), the following clusters emerge. Note that most are skilled and semi-skilled types of work.

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[53] Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, Schedule I - Population, City and County of Philadelphia, 1870* (National Archives Microfilm M-593, Reel 1392); *Tenth Census of the United States, Schedule I - Population, City and County of Philadelphia, 1880* (National Archives Microfilm T-9, Reels 1170 and 1171); and *Twelfth Census of the United States, Schedule I - Population, City and County of Philadelphia, 1900* (National Archives Microfilm T-623, Reel #1455). The *Eleventh Census* (1890) burned in a fire in 1921, and partial data for only a few states -- Pennsylvania not among them -- is available.
[54] Clark (*Irish Relations...*), p. 40.
[55] Licht (*Getting Work...*), p. 15.

Table 2: Occupational Clusters, 1880-1900

RANK (1=most frequent)	OCCUPATIONAL CLUSTER
1	Clerking/Sales
2	Keeping house
3	Sewing (at home)
4	Transport (land and water)
4	Woollen mill
5	Glass house
5	Labor (unspecified)
6	Painter
7	Fireman/Policeman
7	Foreman
7	Plumber
8	Druggist
8	Laundress
8	Widow

Among the occupations held only by a single individual were: bartender, blacksmith, boarding, contractor, electrician, engraver, errand boy, firehouse matron, galvanizer, gentleman, grocer, lady, liquor dealer, machine moulder, nurse, president of company, printer, retired, saloon keeper, segars, shoemaker, teacher, tin roofer, tobacco stripper, undertaker, wagonbuilder, waiter, watchman, and wheelwright.

According to Kane, in 1870 45% of the foreign-born Irish were employed as domestics or laborers.[56] As discussed above, the research of others such as Licht, Modell, and Laurie shows that second-generation Irish tended to fare better on the occupational ladder. In the Ross Court group in 1880 and 1900, the ethnicities and generations could be sorted as follows.

[56] Kane, p. 100.

Table 3: Ross Court Ethnicity/Generation Breakdown

ETHNICITY/GENERATION (Ireland 2=foreign born father)	1880 # persons	1900 # persons
England/Scotland 1	4	0
England/Scotland 2	4	0
Ireland 1	3	2
Ireland 2	5	2
Other Foreign 1	0	1
Other Foreign 2	0	2
US (person & parents born)	9	7
Total Persons	25	14

The groups are too small from which to draw any conclusions in terms of generation and occupational status, although it is interesting to note the decrease in density over twenty years. Additionally, most of the American-born group is composed of children.

For 2400 Lombard Street, the breakdown is more instructive.

Table 4: 2400 Lombard Street Ethnicity/Generation Breakdown

ETHNICITY/GENERATION (Ireland 2=foreign born father)	1880 # persons	1900 # persons
England/Scotland 1	6	1
England/Scotland 2	0	5
Ireland 1	12	11
Ireland 2	29	39
Other Foreign 1	0	1
Other Foreign 2	1	6
US (person & parents born)	34	88
Total Persons	82	151

Not surprisingly, the "US" and "2" groups' proportions of the total increase significantly. Because of the rowhouse development mentioned above, the density of this block nearly doubles.

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The sorting of persons by level of work and ethnicity/generation yields the table below.[57]

Table 5: Occupations by Skill Level for 2400 Lombard Street, 1880-1900

ETHNICITY/ GENERATION	HIGH W. COLLAR	LOW W. COLLAR	SKILLED	SEMI-SKILLED	UNSKILLED	Total
Foreign-born	0	2	3	11	0	16
Foreign Father	2	10	14	16	1	43
US	0	11	5	19	3	38
Total	2	23	22	46	4	97

According to this profile, the most common person one would encounter here was a semi-skilled person whose parents were born in the United States. A neighbor might be another semi-skilled worker whose father was born in Ireland. The appearance of so few unskilled workers may be a result of the categorizing of work; some jobs that might be considered to be "unskilled" are, according to this system, classified "semi-skilled." The number of those in "low white collar" jobs, mostly clerks and salespeople, are those found in the 1900 Census. In fact, the increase in sophistication and variety of jobs is quite noticeable in the 1900 Census. (See Appendices for a complete list of residents' data for 1880 and 1900.)

Of the five families who owned their homes in 1900 (the first census to record this information), two of them were headed by Irish-born men, one a glassblower and the other a policeman, and the glassblower in fact owned his free and clear of mortgage debt. Twenty-four families rented their homes. (All the Ross Court families rented.)

In tracing the 269 people associated with 2400 Lombard Street or Ross Court from 1870 to 1900, it is notable how many of them came from and remained in the

[57] The classification of occupations used is found in Jules Tygiel's *Workingmen in San Francisco, 1880-1901* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), pp. 420-22.

neighborhood and surrounding area during that span of time.[58] Blumin's study of mobility in 19th-century Philadelphia focuses on the 1820 to 1860 period, and he found that people moved around the city more than they moved vertically, in moving they followed the jobs, and only one in four or five adult males remained in the same neighborhood for more than ten years.[59] Appendix M traces the families' movements as far as feasible prior to 1870 and after 1900. While a few moved all over town (David Bird and his son David Jr. moved from West Philadelphia to Lombard Street and then back to West Philadelphia), the vast majority moved around the Schuylkill neighborhood. John Devenny lived near S. 24th and Lombard Street for at least thirty-one years. Perhaps one explanation is that in the Schuylkill area, there were still jobs to be had, thereby allowing people to stay. Another is that public transit became more affordable for workers toward the turn of the century. It may also be that if Blumin had studied the period 1860 to 1900, he might have had opposite findings. In any case, many stories can be pieced together by looking at these data; a few are reconstructed below.

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[58] Two hundred sixty nine is the total number of persons counted in the 1880 and 1900 Censuses for these two streets. Of these, many fewer were well-enough established (by age, independence, or sex) to be traced further.
[59] Blumin, pp. 41, 47, and 48.

Figure 20: Thomas E. Cahill (n.d.)

"President of Company"

The primary reason that the 2400 block of Lombard Street is included in this study is that during the 1870-1900 period, the land was still undergoing change. Through the legacy of a "local boy made good" named Thomas E. Cahill (*fig. 20*), the Archdiocese of Philadelphia came to own a number of lots in the city and, it is this author's hypothesis, develop on Lombard Street the two-storey rows we can see today at 2412 to 2428 on the south side and 2417 to 2433 across the street.[60] These they rented out until they could dispose of the property, which proceeds, along with those from sales of all the other Cahill properties bequeathed to them, Cahill stipulated be used to establish the Roman Catholic High School, the first free Catholic high school in the United States.[61]

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[60] General Deed #25, Trustees under the will of Thomas E. Cahill to Trustees of the Roman Catholic High School in Philadelphia, 28 December 1881 (Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Lower Merion Township, Pennsylvania).
[61] Roman Catholic High School opened in 1890; of the twenty-five deeds (some composed of groups of properties) given to the Trustees, it appears from the handwritten notes on the deed envelope that several were not sold until ten or fifteen years later.

Thomas E. Cahill died in Philadelphia in 1878. He had been president of the company he founded, Knickerbocker Ice Co., since at least 1867.[62] He was also born in Philadelphia, in 1828, to a mother from Delaware and a father from Ireland.[63] Cahill's father was a contractor for the railroads. He grew up at S. 23rd and South Street, attended Southwest Primary and Grammar School at S. 23rd below Pine, and worked at Patrick Brady's grocery and ship chandlery at S. 26th and Pine Street. Later he worked at Hunt's Rolling Mill at Sutherland Street below South where he earned $1.50/day until the mill shut down, after which he went back to Brady's. According to his biographer, Cahill was an enterprising young man and soon bought Brady out. He expanded the business to include dealing in coal and hardwood cargoes coming down the Schuylkill. His brother-in-law, James J. Gillen, recalled:

> The vessels came up the river laden with cordwood pine, oak, and hickory; and the Baltimore chippers, as they were called, often carried whole cargoes of watermelons, peaches, potatoes, eggs, and all kinds of produce. Thomas would purchase the complete cargo, and in return sell coal, lime, groceries, etc.[64]

Even after two disastrous floods which wiped out his warehouses along the river, he came back to establish first in 1854 the Cold Spring Ice Company and later in 1869, the Knickerbocker Ice Company. The firm also delivered coal.

City directories report his address as 2432 Lombard in 1867, then 1910 Walnut in 1875. Some confusion arises with another "Thomas E. Cahill" and a "Thomas Cahill," perhaps a nephew, also working in coal (but as "clerk" or simply "coal") and living at various addresses on 2400 Lombard. (See Appendix M: Residents' Residences.)

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[62] The earliest date that he was listed as such in a city directory.
[63] Biographical information about Cahill is provided in Saint Patrick's Parish centennial history, *A Century of Faith* (Philadelphia: Saint Patrick's Parish, 1940), p. 13.
[64] ibid., p. 16.

Whether this is one or two men is unclear, but it is known that the president of Knickerbocker Ice had no children[65]; additionally, the other Cahills live past 1878.

Why did Cahill leave his property to the Archdiocese to establish a school when he had no children and never had attended Catholic school? He passed the entrance exams for Central High School but was not admitted because he was too young (eleven years old). A couple of years later he tried again and was rejected again. In the end, he substituted for a grammar school instructor who became ill, teaching "boys [who] worked in the brickyards in the summer and went to school in the winter."[66] Admittance for Roman Catholic High School, he stipulated, must be open to boys eleven years and older.

"Boarding"

Because we know the size and layout of 2409 Lombard Street, a few words about its inhabitants are appropriate. The 1880 Census records nine people (seven adults) living in this house. The matriarch, if there was one, was probably Charlotte Johnson who at age sixty years was the widow of Patrick Johnson, a laborer.[67] She moved with her grown sons Francis and William, both glassblowers, her daughter Charlotte Kane, also a widow, and two school-age granddaughters to Lombard Street from 409 S. 24th Street between 1877 and 1880. The family had lived in the neighborhood since as early as 1870 when William was an apprentice.[68] (Her son Francis apparently did not live with her in

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[65] ibid., p. 18.
[66] ibid., p. 14.
[67] Patrick Johnson is last listed in city directory in 1869. By 1875, Charlotte Johnson is listed as "widow."
[68] The 1870 Census lists families by ward and enumeration district, not house number. The 7th ward, 21st subdistrict did encompass part of the Schuylkill neighborhood.

1870.) She had another son Peter, also a glassblower, but after the move from S. 24th Street, he disappears from the directories.

Besides the extended family, three single, adult boarders lived there: Pat McFarland, a clerk; John Conway, a glassblower; and Teresa Cummey, a glass house worker. The income from the boarders, the two sons, and Charlotte Kane's pay as vestmaker sustained the family.

In 1881, Charlotte Johnson's occupation is "boarding" in the city directory. She, her daughter, and granddaughters remained at 2409 Lombard until at least 1890. In 1891 Charlotte Kane lived at 2235 Carpenter Street. Catharine Hyland, for whom the fire insurance survey is made in 1892, might have taken control of the building by then if not during the previous year. By 1895 Charlotte Johnson, now seventy-five years old, moved to 1636 Kater Street where she still took on boarders. Her son William, forty-three and no longer listed as glassblower but merely laborer, lived with her.

Catherine Hyland, the new owner and occupant, was the widow of Patrick, a policeman. She lived at 2409 Lombard from as early as 1891 to 1898, the year she might have died. Her sons James and Lawrence lived with her from 1891 to 1894 or 1895; by 1895 Lawrence had moved to 409 S. 25th Street and followed in his father's footsteps to become a policeman. By 1897 he had moved to 2308 Pine Street, and in 1898 he was back at 2409 Lombard, presumably having inherited the property from his mother. His brother James, a waiter in 1897, probably stayed on Lombard since they first moved in.

By 1900, a new family owned (with a mortgage) 2409 Lombard. Having moved from 2405 Lombard up the block,[69] William Nelson, a thirty-six year old mill foreman,

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[69] The 1890 city directory lists "William Nelson, foreman" at 2405 Lombard Street.

his wife Rebecca, five young children, and sixty-four year old mother Elizabeth are recorded by the Census. The Nelsons had been married eleven years, and their eldest child was ten years old; the children were spaced two years apart except for the littlest, William Jr., who was one year old. The support for the family came from William's work and his mother's income as a seamstress. She had emigrated to the United States in 1855 and most likely lived with William because her other two children had died. It was she, perhaps, who kept her things in the "dresser with drawers" in the first floor kitchen.[70] In 1903, the Nelsons lived still at 2409 Lombard Street.

"Painter"; "Undertaker"

Another interesting story is that of James Logan, born of Irish parents, and his family who lived in Ross Court and Lombard Street during the 1870-1900 period. Logan, like Charlotte Johnson, lived in the Schuylkill neighborhood since at least 1870 in the 9th U.S. Census when he appeared as a twenty-two year old painter boarding with the Towlson family. By 1871, he had moved to 2316 Naudain Street where he lived until he was recorded by the 10th Census at 1 Ross Court. He, his wife, and three children[71] ages seven, four, and one lived next door to the Browns, a stonecutter and his family from Scotland until 1883 when the city directory listed James at 2410 Lombard Street. Still a painter and although without work some months of the year, he had apparently earned enough to move up and out of the Court albeit to one of the very small, setback houses next to Keystone Safety Gas Machine Company. As recalled by Margaret Logan, granddaughter of James Logan, 2410 as it was first built was renovated while her grandmother lived there so that the house came to the lot line -- one of the two-storey

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[70] Franklin Fire Insurance Co., Perpetual Survey No. 71341 Made Sept. 17th, 1892.

rows -- some time after 1888. His daughter Anna was one of four in the neighborhood who reported the occupation of "saleslady" that year.

By 1895, Logan's son William had become an undertaker. He lived with his parents until 1903 when his residence was 2418 Lombard but his business was 2410. Had his father died during the year? In any case, William H. Logan Funeral Homes, Inc. is still in business at 2410 Lombard Street with William H. Logan IV as its director.

"City Fireman"

In the 1870 Census, John H. Symington was seventeen years old and a student at Girard College. By 1900 he lived at 2431 Lombard Street with his wife Sarah and seven children, ages twenty-one to eleven months. He had been a city fireman since at least 1895, his wife looked after the younger children, and his two eldest sons worked as day laborers while the sixteen year-old had a job as an errand boy. In 1903, the city directory listed John H. and the two oldest sons, one of the latter having become trained as a bricklayer.

"Coachman"

Only two non-white families were found in this study: the Richardsons and the Singletons, "mulattos" who lived at 2405 Lombard Street at the time of the 10th U.S. Census. In 1878, William W. Richardson, a thirty-two year old coachman, lived on School Lane, Falls of the Schuylkill. By 1880, he, his wife Emma, and three small children rented the Lombard Street house. Living with them were John and Lela Singleton, he a waiter, she "keeping house"; neither could write although both reported that each could read. By 1890, the Nelsons (above) had moved in and the Richardsons

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[71] According to the 12th Census, the Logans had had a fourth child who died.

had moved to 2047 Lombard Street. They can last be traced to 1118 S. 22nd Street in 1895 where William was still a coachman and his son Clarence, then twenty, had become a motorman, perhaps on a Washington Avenue passenger rail line.

The appearance of the Richardsons and the Singletons signals the change in the racial composition of the neighborhood. Although beyond the scope of this study, at 1900 the Schuylkill area, particularly below South Street, was becoming increasingly racially mixed. Photographs from the 1920s and the 1960s, taken for architectural purposes rather than to document sociological change, show almost exclusively black residents. Census records from 1900 register small clusters (the side of one block, for instance) of "mulattos" and blacks just north of South Street.

Table 6: Racial Changes in the Study Area v. Below South Street

YEAR	Above South % White	Above South % Black	Below South % White	Below South % Black
1940	94%	5%	42%	58%
1960	67%	32%	17%	83%
1990	89%	7%	23%	77%

Then as now, the non-white city population encountered the greatest barriers to employment and earned the lowest wages. Toward the turn of the century, religious and reform organizations began to focus on the South Street area, presumably because of its poverty. Whether it was immigrants specifically that these organizations were trying to help or any members of the lower class is not stated, but two groups were particularly active.

Missions to the Neighborhood

Presbyterians

It is well-documented that a family's religious affiliation in the 18th and 19th centuries was tied to its economic status. As George E. Thomas posits in "Architectural Patronage and Social Stratification in Philadelphia Between 1840 and 1920," "If the journey to church, like the journey to work, can be assumed to have been relatively short, and if church affiliation was a reasonable indication of class status, then the location of churches in the communities of choice should provide a strong clue to ethnically and socially distinct districts in the city."[72] Given the low to middling status of Schuylkill residents, it is not surprising that the Catholic church should have played an early role in the neighborhood; a Methodist "bricklayers" church also was reportedly located at S. 20th and Walnut Streets.[73] Episcopalians were squarely upper and middle class and came to the neighborhood as Trinity Church (S. 22nd and Spruce Streets) much later.

The Presbyterians were also middle and upper class people, but part of their activity included missionary work, in this case among poor districts in Philadelphia. Discussing the period just prior (1800 to 1850), Norman Johnston characterized them as follows: "The Philadelphia Presbyterian achieved position through ambition and hard work, lived correctly, associated with the right people, and *had a proper address*."[74] He states that their Calvinist outlook "not only tended to discourage lower class members, but probably even repelled them."[75] John Wanamaker certainly was a good example of what rewards were possible in this world, and he, with E. H. Toland of the American

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[72] Thomas ("Architectural Patronage..."), p. 97.
[73] Burke, p. 8.
[74] Norman J. Johnston, "The Caste and Class of the Urban Form of Historic Philadelphia," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* XXXII, #6 (November 1966), p. 348.

Sunday School Union, established a Sunday school in a rented room at 2135 South Street in 1858.[76] A decade later the Bethany Memorial Presbyterian Church was dedicated on 13 February 1868 at S. 22nd and Bainbridge Streets. In addition to regular worship, Bethany Church offered a number of outreach services: youth activities and adult organizations, a medical dispensary, a building and loan association, a "Friendly Inn," the Penny Savings Fund, and Bethany College. In 1949, Bethany sold its buildings to a black congregation and relocated to Delaware County. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith now operated in this Bainbridge Street location.

University of Pennsylvania Christian Association

In 1898, two University of Pennsylvania undergraduates and members of the Christian Association, Josiah C. McCracken (M.D. 1901) and William Remington (B.S. 1900), started a Sabbath afternoon school for neighborhood boys at either 2623 South Street or 611 Schuylkill Avenue.[77] A year later, the University Christian Settlement opened at 2524 South Street. By 1904, the Superintendent's Report outlines operations at a Boys Club at 2609 Lombard Street, a second Boys Club at 2644 Catherine Street, a Rescue Mission at 2601 Lombard, and Girls Club at 403 S. Taney. Apparently the second boys' club was opened at the prompting and organization of the boys themselves who "asked us to start one nearer to their homes." "While we delayed," he continues, "these boys

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[75] ibid.

[76] Kenneth A. Hammonds, *Historical Directory of Presbyterian Churches and Presbyteries of Greater Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1993), p. 62.

[77] Christian Association Records, 1857-1990, Archivist Commentary, University Archives, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

found a house, offered to pay the rent, and got together a crowd of forty boys ready to join...."[78]

Like every settlement house, the idea behind these clubs was to offer "instruction in various branches of educational, domestic, and physical work and to spend a pleasant social hour."[79] Or stated another way, "The University of Pennsylvania Settlement was started...by a group of students who noticed the wild, vicious groups of boys loafing about the South Street Bridge."[80] The Boys Clubs had "shower baths," a gymnasium, reading room, educational classes five nights every week, and Saturday evening lectures. The Girls Club offered practical housekeeping, athletics, singing, sewing, a kindergarten, and mothers' meetings. Also, "the girls of the Settlement who do not attend public schools because of work at home, and there are many such, have a chance each Wednesday afternoon to learn something of the elementary school branches."[81] Both boys and girls could join a savings bank run by the Settlement.

Boys Club membership was open to youths aged eight to eighteen years old, but it was not free. Twenty-five cents initiation fee was charged, and five cents each week thereafter. Hands and faces had to be clean to enter the building, twenty-five minutes prayer was mandatory each evening, and drinking, smoking, and foul language were

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[78] University Settlement Association, "Superintendent Report 1 January 1903 to 1 April 1904," Christian Association Records, 1857-1990 (University Archives, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania).
[79] University Settlement Association, *Settlement Scrapbook #1* (1901-1908), Christian Association Records, 1857-1990 (University Archives, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania).
[80] ibid. Considering that this bridge would have been the principal route of University students to their lodging, some degree of self-preservation (from harassment and assaults from these youths) may also have been involved in the decision to "do good works" in the neighborhood.
[81] ibid.

prohibited. Given these prerequisites, the Settlement records show that they had more interest than they could sometimes accommodate either physically (facilities too small or outfitted unsatisfactorily) or from a staffing standpoint.[82] Testimonials from the boys are documented in the Settlement *Scrapbooks*: "One of the boys said, 'If we didn't have the Settlement club, we would have one of our own in a back room somewhere, and spend the time drinking and gambling and shooting crap.' Another said to a new student, 'You ought ter seen us three years ago before we was civilized.'"[83] A neighborhood policemen was to have said, "The neighborhood does not trouble us half so much as before the club opened."[84]

Unfortunately, the Settlement records contain no hard data on the members' ages, racial or ethnic backgrounds of the children, or their families. *Scrapbook* photographs, however, document racially mixed groups with white children predominating. Another potentially instructive but nonexistent source of information would concern the activities of the Girls Club. Was this Club, like other Settlements, making visits to homes, prescribing housekeeping routines, suggesting appropriate furnishings, and in general fostering middle class standards among the uninitiated? It would be useful to know.

St. Patrick's Parish

Although not a mission *per se*, the parish was in 1839 the first institution in the neighborhood and has proven to be the most enduring. Its present church at 242 S. 20th Street is the third place of worship for this congregation, the first being a rented frame

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[82] The Superintendent expressed many concerns about the lack of appeal of their buildings. He said they must make "at least part of our club cozy. It is hard to make an old building look cozy."
[83] *Settlement Scrapbook #1*.
[84] ibid.

building on the east side of S. 19th Street between Manning and Spruce,[85] the second in 1841 a stucco-covered, brick building on the west side of S. 20th Street at the corner of Rittenhouse Street (*fig. 20*),[86] and the third the present church at the same site in 1910.[87]

Figure 21: St. Patrick's Church in 1892

The Rectory was built in 1860,[88] and the school building was completed in 1883.[89] The building which housed the convent for the Sisters of St. Joseph who taught at the school is located at 2044 Locust Street.[90] St. Patrick's Parish Hall was constructed at 511 S. 21st Street in 1904 (previously the first floor of the school was used as the parish hall) and was operated until 1939.[91]

In addition to its religious purpose, as McGreevy and others point out the Catholic church played a large social and political role in urban areas. Particularly as a result of the anti-Catholic unrest of the 1840s, parishes "... became like besieged sanctuaries....Within these fortresses, Catholics constructed their own societies,

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[85] William E. Campbell, *How Unsearchable Are His Ways: One Hundred Twenty-Fifth Anniversary, Saint Patrick's Church* (Philadelphia: Saint Patrick's Parish, 1965), p. 5.
[86] ibid., p. 7.
[87] ibid., p. 48-49.
[88] ibid., p. 27.
[89] ibid., p. 37.
[90] The Sisters had three residences over the years, but 2044 Locust Street was the one of longest standing. See *A Century of Faith* (Philadelphia: Saint Patrick's Parish, 1940), p. 103ff.
[91] ibid., p. 47-48.

complete with an alternate system of institutions to provide them with the services they were denied in the outside world."[92] Establishing parochial schools was of primary importance; by 1880, only 35-40% parishes had parochial schools -- including St. Patrick's.[93] Although regular attendance at Sunday mass may have been only 40%, devotions introduced in the 1850s became popular. For example, the devotion of the Forty Hours' Public Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament was introduced into the United States by 1853 and was celebrated in Philadelphia by 1854.[94] Spiritual organizations of laypersons formed to pursue a variety of devotions and good works. These were segregated by sex and combined particular devotions with social activity. Detailed accounts of the formation and activities of the many organizations supported by St. Patrick's members are documented in the published parish histories. Literary societies that performed plays, temperance societies, the Women's Society, the Girls' Society, the St. Rose Society (gave charity to the poor), the Eucharistic League of the Sacred Heart, Altar Society, Holy Face Society, and Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary are only a few of the organization connected with the parish. Toward the turn of the century, a night school for girls who worked was established. Between 1839 and 1891, St. Patrick's priests baptised 21,103 persons and married 5337 couples.[95]

Neighborhood Commerce

Mapping the locations of key trades and services at different points during the 1870 to 1900 period is another way to make more palpable the Schuylkill neighborhood's "sense

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[92] Casino, p. 22.
[93] ibid., p. 24.
[94] ibid., p. 27.
[95] Saint Patrick's Parish, *Souvenir Sketch of St. Patrick's Church, Philadelphia, 1842-1892* (Philadelphia: Hardy & Mahony, 1892), Appendix.

of place." Light's study found that as the century wore on, Irish neighborhood self-sufficiency generally increased as more goods and services were offered, even as transportation improvements brought far flung parts of the city closer together.[96] As discussed above, the published atlases provide a wealth of information about the area but fail to identify all the small businesses that lined the streets. (See Appendices O, P, and Q for 1874, 1885, and 1901 neighborhood business maps, respectively.)

City business directories do provide this information. To be sure, not every little shop could afford to be included, but even given that limitation, a map of the grocers, saloons, bakers, clothing stores, and other businesses that were listed in the directories begins to bring the neighborhood to life. The directories used for this study were *Boyd's Co-Partnership and Residence Business Directory of Philadelphia City* for 1874, 1885, and 1901. Combined with the Jones 1874 atlas and the Bromleys of 1885 and 1901, one can reconstruct with more certainty neighborhood routines.[97]

In compiling the lists, a few trends emerge. First, the diversification of business that occurred during the period. As the decades wore on and consumers and their tastes grew more numerous, so did the types of shops and services and the sophistication of advertising for them. The category was no longer simply "Bakers," it was "Bakers - Bread" and "Bakers - Cakes" and "Bakers - Pies." Second, scanning the lists of addresses showed where business, and therefore people, were going in the city. In 1874, few concerns outside Center City had listings. In 1885, more places in Manayunk, Frankford, and Germantown were listed. By 1901, the spread of city

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[96] Light, p. 48.
[97] Of course, the choice of what businesses to map is subjective. One could add a number of other categories to the list such as livery stables, mechanics' shops (carpenters, blacksmiths,

business was most profound: many addresses were at the city periphery, in West Philadelphia (especially the 6000 and 6100 blocks), the Point Breeze/Gray's Ferry districts, and the 2200-2400 blocks of South Philadelphia. Not surprisingly, there is a slight decrease in the total number of these selected businesses in the Schuylkill neighborhood.

The maps themselves show how shops early on clustered near people and transportation. The hub in 1874 was S. 22nd and South Street. By 1885, South Street was the main commercial artery fed by S. 20th and S. 22nd Streets. A concentration of activity had formed also near Pine and S. 24th Street. The picture in 1901 is similar except that the mix of businesses, as mentioned above, is more diverse.

Regarding specific types of business, it is true that liquor and wine retailers and "segar" retailers could be found on most blocks, and more than one on some blocks. The numerous stores dotting the 2400-2700 blocks in 1885 were largely gone by 1901 -- not having been replaced by different shops. Corner grocers were more common by 1885, and many of the cast iron corner columns still mark where these shops were. Laundries, of which there were none in the area in 1874, were half of them Chinese-run establishments in 1885; by 1901, two listings for laundries, one of then Chinese, made the directory. By 1901, segar dealers were known as "cigar stores" and many sold newspapers and stationery as well -- as they might have done all along informally. A few second-hand furniture stores located on South Street by 1901 where there were none in the neighborhood before. At the same time, a florist had also settled there.

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wheelwrights, locksmiths and bellhangers), but examination of these was beyond the scope of this study.

Notable for their absence were dentists, restaurants, bookstores, libraries, banks, and, in the 1874 business directory, boardinghouses. We know from the census and residential directory data that the latter did exist in the neighborhood; there must have been many such lodgings run informally and advertised by word-of-mouth only. The Wanamaker Branch of the Free Library opened by 1910 at 2123-35 South Street. (It has since been unrecognizably altered and is no longer a library.) In addition to the Presbyterian Penny Savings, by 1901 there were more than sixteen building and loan associations within two blocks of S. 20th Street and South.[98] Regarding the other types of business, we can assume that there was not custom enough for them to locate in the neighborhood.

Fresh food vendors are missing from the table because the public market, Centennial Market between Naudain and South on the east side of S. 23rd Street, is where butchers, butter and egg, fresh produce, and fish dealers sold their goods. Each had a stall assignment, and judging from these numbers, Centennial Market had well over one hundred stalls. The building now houses South Square Market, a conventional local (i.e., not a chain) grocery store.

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[98] Among them were the Belrose, Ben Franklin, Crescent, Economy, Model, Monumental, St. Anthony, St. Charles, Solar, Southwestern, and Thirtieth Ward. (*Boyd's Co-Partnership and Residence Business Directory of Philadelphia City 1901* lists them in the Appendix.)

Table 7: Schuylkill Neighborhood Businesses, 1874, 1885, and 1901

BUSINESS	# 1874	# 1885	# 1901
Baker	6	6	7
Barber	4	6	12
Cigar/newsstands	13 /0	28 /0	16 /8
Clothing store	1	4	0
Confectioner	15	10	13
Dressmaker	13	2	16
Druggist	4	7	8
Dry goods	15	15	9
Florist	0	0	1
Fruit	0	1	2
Furniture (new)	4	1	4
Furniture (second hand)	0	0	3
Grocer	31	41	31
Hotels & boarding	0	1	4
Ice cream saloons	0	1	0
Laundry	0	4	4
Liquor retailers*	42	37	11
Milk dealers	1	0	5
Physicians	3	15	13
Saloons*	7	7	0
Tea & coffee retailers	0	4	2
Total	136	150	126

* In 1901, saloons were not listed separately from wine and liquor retailers making these comparisons unreliable.

On his way home from confession at St. Patrick's on Saturday, what could John Kelley, chief engineer and resident at 2423 Lombard Street in 1901, pick up for his family? St. Patrick's is located at S. 20th and Locust Streets. If Kelley were to have walked straight down S. 20th and turned onto Lombard, he would have had the following options, beginning at Spruce Street: seven dressmakers; seven grocers (would it be Thomas Bones's place he would stop? or Daniel Collins's, Susan Coyle's, Owen Cunningham's, Oliver Lawson's, Anne Dougherty's, or McCandless & Sons?); a cigar store and newsstand at 426 S. 20th; two liquor stores (or shebeens -- he could be a *little* late); two druggists; three of five neighborhood milk dealers, Hagerty's, McGillen's, and

Kennedy's; a doctor at 2312 Lombard; two Chinese laundries and the Guild Laundry of the Church of the Holy Trinity at 2200 Lombard (should he trust his fancy shirt to Episcopalians?); two bakeries (George Kern's and Hattie Moore's); and two candy shops for a treat for the little ones John, Lillie, and Rose. If John Kelley had some pocket money, there were certainly places to spend it in the neighborhood.

The reader may conclude, as did this author after reviewing her research, that no matter how much more populous and spread out Philadelphia may have been compared to other American cities, Warner's description of a "thoroughly destroyed street life" does not agree with what we know to have been the commercial and spatial landscape of this corner of Philadelphia during the 1870 to 1900 period. In looking backward at any period, historians must guard against coloring their interpretation of a group or place with their own biases. Was it a pretty, attractive neighborhood by our standards? No. We know that people lived crowded together in their houses and on the blocks and courts. The output of some nearby industries created bad smells and noise. It got hot and uncomfortable in the summer, and cold and damp in the winter; people became ill from bad weather and inadequate sanitation. They worked long hours for little pay, and pleasures were not many.

But things were not all bad. Wages were increasing, and there seemed to be more interesting types of work to be had, especially for young people. Living that closely together, neighbors knew each other, their grocer, and their dry goods merchant. Although they might not go as often as they should, St. Patrick's was a large congregation -- so large that a new building was planned for 1910 -- and had a good

school for the kids. The neighborhood might not have been everything you wanted, but it was what you had, and for most residents it was probably thought to be all right.

Five ❖ Interpretation

Peirce Lewis has opined that most Americans are "conditioned to overlook the appearance of ordinary landscapes."[1] A question raised by Lewis, one beyond the scope of this study, is what action should be taken to preserve these landscapes once we have learned to recognize them? How does this knowledge change the interpretation of existing sites? In order to address such questions as these, preservation in the coming century must be informed by the work of historic archaeologists, geographers, and cultural, oral, urban, and public historians, especially when dealing with those groups who were not apt or able to provide written accounts of their activities.

Dennis Clark's article "'Ramcat' and Rittenhouse Square: Related Communities" takes pains to place the Philadelphia that is celebrated in context. Indeed, one could have the impression in Philadelphia that "historic" is synonymous with "upper class"; the same, until recently, could be said of historic preservation as a whole. The Schuylkill neighborhood is important for reasons of context, but I would not want to leave the reader with the impression that research into the lives of the vestmaker or the day laborer is necessary merely to provide "background" for the history heretofore represented by people of prominence.

The working-class neither is nor was a monolithic group. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, some held low white collar jobs, others had skilled and semi-skilled work, and still others had unskilled jobs. They lived in different types of houses, some

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[1] Peirce Lewis, "Taking Down the Velvet Rope: Cultural Geography and the Human Landscape," in *Past Meets Present: Essays About Historic Interpretation and Public Audiences,* edited by Jo Blatti (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), p. 26.

as distinct from others' of their class as the Schuylkill neighborhood was from Rittenhouse Square. Their histories are individual.

In the same article, "Taking Down the Velvet Rope: Cultural Geography and the Human Landscape," Lewis discusses the cultural geographer's approach to history as represented in the landscape. He sees the human landscape as akin to material culture, and just as museum curators endeavor to create the appropriate context for a collection, cultural geographers

> are skeptical of putting boundaries around certain areas and calling them 'historic districts' -- as if there were somehow a greater quantity of history inside the district than outside it....That picket fence, that velvet rope across the door of the historic bedroom, mark breaks with the historic past and encourage the public to view that history really has nothing to do with the place where it is located....[2]

Dolores Hayden also urges a reconsideration of traditional methods of preservation for urban areas.

> Restoring significant shared meanings for many neglected urban places first involves claiming the entire urban cultural landscape as an important part of American history, not just its architectural monuments. This means emphasizing the building types -- such as tenement, factory, union hall, or church -- that have housed working people's everyday lives. Second, it involves finding creative ways to interpret modest buildings as part of contemporary city life.[3]

Historical archaeologists -- whose profession it is to exhume the past -- also bring interpretive concerns to the discussion. Mark P. Leone feels that working with the 19th century can be particularly vexing because it is not so far removed from contemporary life.[4]

> If we accept for historical archaeology the basically anthropological task of understanding everyday life in the past and what accounts for its everyday structure, and if we define ideology as something that hides or masks certain underlying aspects of social reality

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[2] ibid., p. 25.
[3] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes As Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), p. 11.
[4] Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr., editors, *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

(Althusser 1971), then archaeologists of the recent past have the job of piercing a *living* ideology. That is, the ideology we study as scholars is the same ideology we deal with as members of a society. We contend that it is more difficult to penetrate an ideology that is still serving living interests than it is to see through a dead ideology, one with no contemporary beneficiaries.[5]

Many would caution that we in 1997 would be mistaken to think that we have the same ideology as a 19th-century person or, at the very least, we cannot assume to hold the same concepts. A different cultural system was then at work. Bearing in mind the length of the archaeologist's timeline, Leone is correct that Philadelphia in 1870 is not as different from us as is classical Rome, and thus it would be wise to be aware of certain traps inherent in the relationship of the recent past to the present.

Among historians, David Lowenthal has articulated this concern in *The Past Is A Foreign Country* wherein he contends that the past has its own culture and that the 20th-century person should not be seen as a "native" of the past.[6] Recently, he has expressed criticism of the "heritage movement" into which he folds historic preservation.

Given these many warnings it is hard to know what the appropriate action is. Embrace Ruskin and take no action? Long before these rows become ruins they will be razed and a drugstore or corporate building or new townhouses erected in their places. Build a museum? Erect a monument? This chapter is about exploring ideas for interpretation and what other disciplines can bring to the table.

Other Viewpoints

Economic Geography; Historical Archaeology

Non-high-style building has "received consideration based on physical form rather than on social and political meaning."[7] What little has been published on the study area proves this statement true. While the authors of the Schuylkill District National Register nomination form endeavored to include its socially historic importance in the designation, the form itself emphasizes architectural description and classification.

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[5] ibid., p. 372.
[6] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is A Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[7] Hayden, p. 11.

Architecture is a form of communication. To economic geographers, the built landscape communicates power relations in its representations (e.g., buildings, monuments, and works of art) of the exchanges between groups. "The formation of territorial outcomes is contingent upon the essentially unpredictable interactions of the spatial with the economic *and* the political and social/cultural spheres," state Wolch and Dear in *The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life*. Conceived thus, space is a product. Henri Lefebvre, author of *The Production of Space*, identifies multiple kinds of space -- geographic, social, political, mental, physical, economic, commercial, national -- "each one piled upon, or perhaps contained within, the next...."[8] Lefebvre's interest is not in analyzing "things in space" but rather in examining space itself in order to uncover the social relationships embedded in it.[9] If we look at the Schuylkill neighborhood and its layout, architecture, and the changes made to its landscape -- and in particular who effected these changes -- we gain a broader view of the lives of its residents and their relation to their environment.[10]

Consider who built the two-storey rows in this neighborhood and throughout working-class districts in Philadelphia. It was not generally the inhabitants but those

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[8] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1991), p. 8.
[9] ibid., p. 89.
[10] Zierden and Herman identify four historical processes at work in the landscape, each having contributed to the physical definition of the urban terrain: conversion - alteration of the natural terrain through the appropriation and modification of native environmental features to cultural purposes (e.g., clearing land for building); accommodation - things that cannot be entirely overcome through human agency (e.g., climate); intensification - increased functional demands on limited urban lands (e.g., converting yards to building lots or a shift from domestic to industrial activities); and regulation - imposition of community standards (sanitation, fire prevention, etc.). See Martha A. Zierden and Bernard L. Herman "Charleston Townhouses: Archaeology, Architecture, and the Urban Landscape, 1750-1850," in *Landscape Archaeology*, edited by Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996), p. 194.

higher up on the economic ladder. Residents did not have control over the design of their houses in the way that upper class patrons of well-known architects did. Neither did they have control over the economy dependent on their labor. Robert Paynter explains that capital is a process which takes on different forms at different moments of production.

> First it is money in the hands of the capitalist. Next it is the labor power of the workers, raw material (e.g., clay, wood), and tools (e.g., kilns, wheels, molds). Next the commodities (e.g., tea sets, pans, creamers) produced by the labor power. Finally, the circuit closes as money to cover the investment plus a profit returns to the hands of the capitalist....[11]

And what does the capitalist do? He invests his money in property and/or in improvements to property both of which have an impact on the landscape as new built forms in place of existing structures or landforms.

Historical archaeologists Texas B. Anderson and Roger G. Moore attempt to penetrate Lefebvre's "piled up" layers of space in order to research the ideas and ideologies behind the artifacts through the use of symbolic interpretation.[12] Symbolic interpretation involves a holistic view of the place under investigation and explicit acknowledgment of the "ideological matrix" in which objects existed and are representative. To get at this matrix, it is necessary to examine the multiple and overlapping social, political, economic, and religious settings in which the particular people played out their lives -- "the constituents of the societal ideology" -- and search for themes that are repeated not only in the social structure or in architecture, but also

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[11] Robert Paynter, "Steps to an Archaeology of Capitalism: Material Change and Class Analysis," in *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, edited by Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), p. 413.
[12] See Texas B. Anderson and Roger G. Moore, "Meaning and the Built Environment: A Symbolic Analysis of a 19th-Century Urban Site," in *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the*

"in the language of a letter, the construction of a home or garden walkway, or even in the arrangement of a mirror and shelves over a mantelpiece. These themes, repeated ad infinitum within the culture, constitute representations of an ideology, perhaps one of several functioning simultaneously at different levels of society."[13]

This study of the Schuylkill neighborhood is an effort to demonstrate what could be learned about people who did not leave personal written records. Because of this dearth of traditional primary source material, the preservationist's recourse must be to the environment. While information from secondary sources such as city directories, insurance surveys, deeds to property, periodicals, and the like plays an important role in interpretation, the story of the Ramcat residents cannot be complete without the information the landscape provides -- no less what an actual excavation of the yards of these houses might reveal.

Urban History, Local History, Public History

"When examined together, local history, urban history, and public history spark a creative tension that produces useable frameworks for exploring the dynamic of life at the local level, connecting it to something larger, and making it more visually tangible," writes Patricia Mooney-Melvin in a spring 1996 *History News* article.[14] The methods used by these disciplines can help preservationists connect the historic fabric to its greater municipal, regional, and national contexts. For example, it is important to be able to identify past and present urban policy trends concerning tax incentives; building codes; preservation enforcement; and infrastructure, public works, and streetscape

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Eastern United States, edited by Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

[13] ibid., p. 380.

improvements that affect preservation efforts in general or specific historic sites. Additionally, interviews with longtime residents can both flesh out the historical record as well as sensitize the preservationist to the issues, concerns, and desires of the community. Local historians' research into the community where a preservation project occurs is obviously vital to providing an informed interpretation of the site.[15] Lastly, public historians' expertise can help engage citizens in preservation projects through education programs and can help negotiate among the constituencies involved -- the producer (e.g., the historian or exhibit designer), the sponsor, and the audience.

Possibilities for Interpretation

We are all familiar with what preservation's critics have to say, viz., that it is an elitist enterprise both because of the type of history that is conserved and showcased and the financial cost of doing so, that too often the past is preserved for its own curatorial sake without adequate consideration of public access or information, and that the economic effects of designation manifested in gentrification and displacement of lower-income residents. In addition, funds for preservation shrink annually, limiting the ability of organizations to overcome these criticisms.

This study has its genesis in finding a response to these criticisms while simultaneously looking for ways to broaden participation in preservation. Interpretation of the Schuylkill neighborhood could accomplish both of these goals.

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[14] Patricia Mooney-Melvin, "Urban History, Local History, and Public History," *History News* 51, #2 (Spring 1996), p. 19.

[15] A valuable resource of the kinds of questions to ask about a community's history can be found in David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You* (Nashville: American Association of State and Local Historians, 1982).

What the public may have witnessed as preservation's early modernist preoccupation with the aesthetic value of individual buildings and sites is no longer accepted by a new generation of preservationists, historians, community development organizations, and others concerned about the future of urban areas. Movements such as the New Urbanism have had their influence as well because of its emphasis on neighborhood.[16] Interpretation of largely uncelebrated groups such as the working class and immigrants would be an important addition to Philadelphia's knowledge of itself and to its tourist appeal.

"Workingmen's" Rowhouse Museum

Although fraught with difficulty, developing a rowhouse museum remains this author's goal. Such a place would provide a counterpoint to the preponderance of high-style and 18th-century examples of living currently open to visitors to Philadelphia.[17] Discussing in detail all of the components involved in opening a new house museum is beyond the scope of this work and indeed would deserve its own book-length study. The focus for now is on what this museum could accomplish.

An excellent example of the kind of program that a "Ramcat" rowhouse museum could follow is that of the Lower East Side Tenement Museum (LESTM) in New York City. Its dates of interpretation are 1863 to 1935 and reflect the impact of industrialization on the lives of immigrant workers during this period. The LESTM opened in late 1990 before the tenement building was open to the public. (The Museum

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[16] Catherine Lynn of the University of Miami School of Architecture discussed this idea in her lecture "The New Urbanism: A Challenge to Modernist Preservation," Graduate Program in Historic Preservation, Fall Lecture Series - Issues in Heritage Planning; Global Perspectives, (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 6 November 1996).

has an auxiliary space in a storefront across the street now used for multimedia presentations, exhibits of artifacts, the gift shop, and tour group meetings.) Soon after, the LESTM received a grant from the NEH to fund a self-study project which goal was to determine how to interpret the tenement building. Historians, artists, folklorists, and exhibit fabricators met with the LESTM curator, directors, and trustees in three meetings in 1991, and Richard Rabinowitz of the American History Workshop wrote the report on the group's discussions in 1992.[18] LESTM founders saw that this museum, as distinct from others, had a special role "as an institution that preserves urban, working class, immigrant history and culture" while at the same time having the social goals of "promoting tolerance as well as historical perspective."[19] The study group endorsed both objectives.

As in the case of the residents of the Schuylkill neighborhood, no diaries, letters, or other personal papers have been located for the former residents of 97 Orchard Street. In order to create the program, census records, city directories, atlases, court documents, and secondary sources were researched and consulted. Moreover, the building itself and its surroundings provided much important information.[20] Interviews with surviving residents or relatives of residents also were conducted. One of the questions faced early on by Museum personnel was, because of the difficulty of obtaining information about the tenement's inhabitants, whether they should augment the

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[17] To be sure, there are examples of workers' and artisans' enclaves that are part of the Philadelphia tourist's itinerary, but these -- Elfreth's Alley and Budd's Court -- are 18th century examples.
[18] Richard Rabinowitz, "Report on a Self-Study Process, Lower East Side Tenement Museum," January 1992 (Lower East Side Tenement Museum Files, New York, New York).
[19] ibid., p. 3.
[20] The LESTM had funding to do a major archaeological excavation of the rear yard in 1993. This dig recovered a large number of artifacts belonging to the building's residents.

interpretation by including composite or fictionalized biographies.[21] The decision was not to do this so as not to confuse visitors and instead to use the limited real information about residents and then speak generally about their group's immigrant experience in New York.

Talking to visitors about the building's context was seen as a vital component of the interpretation.[22] Having toured the LESTM twice, I would say that it is the information about the block and the neighborhood which sets this experience apart from any other house museum I have visited. The Museum tour begins at the corner across the street from the tenement, and visitors do not enter the tenement building until at least fifteen minutes into the sixty minute tour. The 1992 Rabinowitz report discusses at length the rationale for this: while the tenement rooms can show elements of ordinary life such as work, education, and religion, these matters and those of crime, politics, and health involved places outside of the tenement. How did what was happening in New York and in America affect the Orchard Street neighborhood and the residents of 97 Orchard Street during this seventy-two year period? How did the lives of the inhabitants intersect with life outside the building and with the street in particular? These are questions rarely addressed by traditional house museums and are exactly the kind of questions that could be asked and answered by a rowhouse museum in the Schuylkill neighborhood.

Neighborhood Walking Tour

In addition to the tenement tour, the LESTM offers neighborhood walking tours embracing various general historical themes (e.g., Jewish immigrants in New York) as

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[21] Rabinowitz, p. 6.

well as themes concerning the present (Asians in the Lower East Side). The Foundation for Architecture (FFA) in Philadelphia, a non-profit, membership organization that "promotes Philadelphia and the region as a 'museum of architecture,'" offers fifty-three walking, bus, and boat tours of the city's and suburb's neighborhoods April through November.[23] One of these is an "Upstairs-Downstairs Rittenhouse Square West" tour that journeys as far west as Fitler Square, but focuses on its "neighborhood intimacy" rather than on its history as a working-class district. A "Ramcat" tour would complement the FFA's roster of high- and low-style rambles. Ideally, the route would extend beyond South Street toward Bainbridge, and the discussion would include the changes to the area after 1900 -- specifically the transition to a primarily African-American neighborhood in the south of South Street section. Short, biographical sketches of past neighborhood residents such as those presented in Chapter Four could be told as well as information about extant historic buildings, vanished structures, and the urban landscape. The "five-foot-wide passage or alley[s]" could be probed, the few remaining courts visited, and big and small streets visited in order to show the gradations of public and private space. In this way, participants would receive equal information about the buildings, the people, and their context rather than just a quick recital of how "the workers" lived.

Other Interpretive Concepts

Current computer technology allows the creation of impressive homepages, and the capability of these "virtual visits" to provide textual and graphic information should only improve in the future. Relative to the undertaking of opening a physical museum,

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[22] ibid., p. 9ff.

devising a cyberspace Ramcat rowhouse museum and Schuylkill neighborhood tour via the internet would be a manageable project and first step toward public participation.

Another method to bring this history to the public would be offering lectures at various locations such as St. Patrick's Parish Hall (formerly St. Patrick's School). For the city's tricentennial in 1982, a mobile history workshop/exhibition called "Philadelphia Moving Past" visited forty-seven city neighborhood events from June to November of that year.[24] Despite a limited budget, the "historymobile" found that there was enough interest from ordinary citizens that they would stand in lines thirty persons' deep in hot weather.[25] A movable discussion/exhibition of Schuylkill district history could be organized for neighborhood events in the summer and fall.

Formal exhibition of this neighborhood's history could be developed with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Although visitors would not experience the streets firsthand, displays of the vanished landscape could be emphasized. "Before Central Park: The Life and Death of Seneca Village," on exhibit at The New-York Historical Society in 1997 (29 January to 10 August), presents a place of which there are no traces remaining on the landscape. The residents of Seneca Village were working-class Irish immigrants and African-Americans whose community of shanties, squatters' shacks, churches, schools, and privately-owned properties were demolished to make way for the creation of Central Park in the late 1850s. The exhibition ends with a "study center" where visitors can consult files with copies of the primary source materials for each known Seneca Village family and are encouraged to add to the information by

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[23] The Foundation for Architecture, "Architecture Tours 1996," p. 1.
[24] Cynthia Jeffress Little, "Celebrating 300 Years in a City of Neighborhoods: Philadelphia Moving Past," in *Public History: An Introduction* edited by Barbara J. Howe and Emory L. Kemp (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1988): 265-277.

providing any personal information or research suggestions that s/he might have. Again, Ramcat could be exhibited in a similar way and the public invited to contribute their knowledge and recollections.

[25] ibid., p. 270.

Conclusion

"Given their importance as a point of reference for many Americans, the neighborhood offers a manageable unit through which to explore a number of urban issues" writes historian Patricia Mooney-Melvin.[1] My own interest in "neighborhood" as a concept comes from having lived in a number of cities in the Midwest and the East Coast and in several different neighborhoods within these cities. I knew the unique shape of each neighborhood, from the noisy, ugly hissing steam vent on the corner in Philadelphia to the peaceful public garden across the street. I felt at home because I knew my way around, and I knew a few people here and there. There was constant change (good and bad) -- a new business opening, a street festival, street repairs, someone moving in or out. But contrary to the opinion held by some social scientists, I have found that in this increasingly impersonal, highly mobile post-modern society, it is still possible to be part of a neighborhood.

History being my particular interest, imagining what my various neighborhoods used to be has been a favorite pastime. As a preservationist, I have been trained to recognize and interpret building types and their architectural attributes. As a dedicated city-dweller, I am inspired by what the urban landscape can teach us if we know how and where to look. Working on this project gave me an opportunity to combine these interests into one study -- this, of my present, Schuylkill neighborhood.

Examining the demographic data collected in the Census records, following the movements of the residents through the city directories, comparing the past and present

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[1] Mooney-Melvin ("Urban History...."), p. 21.

physical layout of the streets, imagining through the fire insurance surveys how one of these houses must have been used, and absorbing the research done by others of working-class history revealed how complex this seemingly simple concept of neighborhood actually is.

Dennis J. Clark described Philadelphia as a city with "a peculiarly foreshortened historical image."[2] Where the founding fathers are memorialized and the Rittenhouse Square and the Main Line neighborhoods have achieved "cult" status, Clark remarked, "the working class and immigrant experience that was the central historical engagement of the overwhelming portion of the city's population during a century and a half of industrialization has not been a part of what is conceived to be 'historic Philadelphia.'"[3] Philadelphia makes a particularly good case study because of its long history and its 19th-century achievements.

This lacuna in the interpretational record is not exclusive to Philadelphia. The lives led by the "lower sort" were not documented by themselves or by others in most American cities. The object of this thesis was to demonstrate that there is a need for interpretation of the urban working-class experience, that the public has shown a growing interest in learning about this history, and that the dearth of personal written records left by workers does not preclude generating a meaningful and engaging interpretation. Creating this experience can be accomplished in several ways, but all of them rely on the expertise of those in related disciplines such as geography, archaeology, and urban, oral, and public history to work with preservationists to

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[2] Dennis J. Clark, *Erin's Heirs: Irish Bonds of Community* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991).
[3] ibid., p.5.

provide the most comprehensive, accurate, detailed, and thought-provoking experience for the public possible.

Henry Glassie wrote about the informal get-togethers called "ceilis" he witnessed among village residents in the 1970s in Ballymenone, Ireland. "Ceilis are composed of neighbors who come out of the night to sit together and...'pass a lock of hours.' Their topic is neighbors...and expands as the 'ceilers' examine the community's health."[4] A visit to the 2400 block of Lombard Street in 1997, especially when being introduced around by a block resident, reveals that a similar community is alive there. A wave returned by a figure in a window is an invitation in to visit. Through a morning of such visiting, I discovered that these houses are linked together by more than architectural detail, they are linked by the people who live within. A large number of residents have lived in the neighborhood for their entire lives as did their parents -- and in some cases, their grandparents. Even with the deaths of family members and the steadily increasing costs of homeownership, they remain in the neighborhood.[5] They look after each other and also after those who have no one.

It is very much a living neighborhood, and its residents are protective of it. They are interested in its history, many of them because it is bound up with the history of their own families. But the majority are at or beyond the age of retirement, and the risk of losing their recollections and contributions to the understanding of the neighborhood history grows. At times the stories I heard were apocryphal, but some were not: had I

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[4] Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 41.
[5] According to their residents, the south side of 2400 Lombard is assessed differently (and lower) than is the north side.

not talked with Margaret Logan, I would not have correctly understood the development of 2408 and 2410 Lombard from "garden front" houses to rowhouses.

If we do conceive of preservation as a method of improving communities as much as it is a way to conserve the fabric of history, considerations such as these will take root.

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Appendices

Transcriptions of Franklin Fire Insurance Surveys

Appendix A: Perpetual Survey No. 70279 Made Dec. 11th, 1890 for Mrs. Amanda J. Ross. (2302 and 2304 Naudain St., Philadelphia.)

Appendix B: Perpetual Survey No. 71341 Made Sept. 17th, 1892 for Catharine Highland. (2409 Lombard St., Philadelphia.)

Information Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Schedule I - Population, City and County of Philadelphia

Appendix C: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) - 2400 Lombard Street, North Side
Appendix D: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) - 2400 Lombard Street, South Side
Appendix E: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) - Ross Court
Appendix F: Extracts from the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) - 2400 Lombard Street, North Side
Appendix G: Extracts from the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) - 2400 Lombard Street, South Side
Appendix H: Extracts from the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) - Ross Court
Appendix I: Extracts from the Ninth U.S. Census (1870) - 7th ward, var. enumeration districts
Appendix J: Chronological Sections of House Occupants - 2400 Lombard Street, North Side
Appendix K: Chronological Sections of House Occupants - 2400 Lombard Street, South Side
Appendix L: Chronological Sections of House Occupants - Ross Court
Appendix M: Residents' Residences - 2400 Lombard Street
Appendix N: Frequency of Occupations, 1880-1900

Neighborhood Business Maps

Appendix O: Schuylkill Neighborhood Business Map - 1874
Appendix P: Schuylkill Neighborhood Business Map - 1885
Appendix Q: Schuylkill Neighborhood Business Map - 1901

Appendix A: Transcription of Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for 2302 Naudain Street

"PERPETUAL SURVEY No. 70279
Made Dec. 11th 1890 for Mrs. Amanda J. Ross
And Reported to the
FRANKLIN FIRE INSURANCE CO. of PHILADELPHIA .

"A three story brick dwelling house with a two story brick back building situate on the south side of Naudain St. No. 2302 beginning about 45 ft west from South Twenty third St. in the Seventh ward of the City of Philadelphia $500 Insured. Also a three story brick dwelling house on the rear end of same lot and fronting on Ross Court $300 Insured.

"Dimensions of Naudain St. house main building 15 ft front by 12 ft deep back building 13 ft deep. Wood steps to front reveal window frames to front also with wood heads and sills. Cased frames back outside panel shutters to first blinds to upper stories front and back except third story back windows which have no shutters sash single hung hemlock joist yellow pine flooring and building plastered.

"The main building first story is in one room with an entry off the side a square head front doorframe with a 3 light transom and panel front door 2-12 light 8 + 14 windows front, 3 in fillited [sic] finish 6 in beaded washboard a 4/4 panel passage door and a plain wood mantel. Story 8 ft 6 in.

"The second story of main building is in one room and has 2-12 light 9 + 12 windows, 2 in beveled finish, 5 in beaded washboard a closet, 4/4 square framed doors and story 7 ft 6 in. The third story is in one room having 2-12 light 9 + 11 windows front a 6 light window back hung with hinges a closet and finish and doors the same as second story. Story 7 ft 9 in front sloping to 6 ft 9 in back, a tin roof sloping to back wood cornice to front and the back above roof of back building covered with tin.

"The back building first story is the kitchen having a plain back doorframe panel door a 12 light 10 + 12 window close stairs to second story with cellar steps under, 3 in fillited [sic] finish, 6 in molded washboard a 6/4 square framed passage and 4/4 do cellar and stair doors a dresser with drawers and panel doors and a gas oven Story 8 ft.

"The second story of back building is in one room, box entry and close [sic] winding stairs to third story of main building, 2-12 light 10 + 12 windows back a closet a wood mantel shelf 2 in beveled finish, 5 in beaded washboard, and 4/4 square framed doors, Story 7 ft 6 in a flat tin roof tin conductor and fascia board.

"Dimensions of the Court house is [sic] 15 ft front to the centre [sic] of an alley built over by 14 ft deep. Cased window frames front and back outside panel shutters to first story blinds to second and third stories front, sash single hung Hemlock joist yellow pine flooring and building plastered.

"The first story has a square head front doorframe with a 3 light transom, and panel front door a plain doorframe and panel door back a 12 light 10 + 12 window close [sic] stairs to second story with cellar steps under 3 in fillited [sic] finish walls wainscoted 4 ft high with planed and beaded yellow pine boards a closet a wood mantel shelf 4/4 panel closet stair and cellar doors and Story 8 ft.

"The second story is in one room box entry and winding stairs to third story, 2-12 light 9 + 11 windows front and 1 back a closet and wood mantel shelf 2 ½ in finish, 4/4 panel doors and story 7 ft 6 in.

"The third story is in one room 2-12 light 9 + 11 windows front 1 back 1½ in finish 5 in beaded washboard a 4/4 panel stair door and story 7 ft 6 in front sloping to 6 ft back a tin roof brick eave front fascia board and tin conductor back. A shed on the rear 5 ft 6 in wide inclosed [sic] with rough boards and has a brick floor, a panel door 12 lights of 9 + 14 sliding sash a gas oven and tin roof.

"Samuel Hillman Surveyor"

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[Summary of insurance coverage.]

"The Franklin Fire Insurance Co. Philadelphia,
Make Perpetual Insurance as follows:
In Name of Mrs. Amanda J. Ross
On 2-3 Story brick Dwellings
Situate No. 2302 + 2304
On the South side of Naudain Street,
Beginning [blank] feet [blank] inches [blank] of [blank] Street,
in the [blank] Ward of the City of Philadelphia.
Amount Insured, $500 ea Premium $ [blank]

[handwritten below:]
"$500 ea on 2302 + 2304 Naudain St
Also 2-3 sty dr Dwgs N side
$300 Ea. in rear of above on Ross Court"

Appendix B: Transcription of Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for 2409 Lombard Street

"PERPETUAL SURVEY No. 71341
Made Sept. 17th 1892 for Catharine Highland
And Reported to the
FRANKLIN FIRE INSURANCE CO. of PHILADELPHIA .

"A three story brick dwelling house with a one story frame kitchen and a frame bath house, situate on the north side of Lombard St. No. 2409 beginning about 67 ft west from south Twenty-fourth St. in the 7th ward of the City of Philadelphia.

"Dimensions of main building 15 ft 8 in front by 28 ft deep frame kitchen 7 ft deep and frame bath house 6 by 6 ft deep. Marble ashler [sic] watertable and steps and platform to front. Reveal window frames to front with wood sills and heads, outside panel shutters to first blinds to second and third stories cased window frames back outside panel shutters to first and second stories blinds to third story, sash all double hung, hemlock joist yellow pine flooring, building plastered gas pipes throughout and a portable heater in the cellar.

"The main building at first story is in two rooms entry and close [sic] stairs to second story with cellar steps under off the side, a square head front doorframe with a transom in 1 light of sash and panel front door, a vestibule with a square head doorway transom in 1 light of sash and sash door having 2 lights of circular top sash in it 2-4 light 13 + 32 windows front, a plain doorframe back and panel door a 12 light 10 x [+?]14 window a wood mantel shelf in each room, 3 in finish, 8 in molded washboard 6/4 double faced passage doors a 5/4 single faced cellar door, and story 9 ft 6 in.

"The main building at second story is in two rooms entry and close [sic] stairs to third story of[f?] the side of back room 2-4 light 15 x [+?]28 windows front, a 12 light 10+13 do back, a closet and wood mantel shelf in each room, finish washboard and doors the same as first story and story 8 ft.

"The third story is divided the same as second story 2-4 light 15+24 windows front, a 12 light 9 x[+?]11 and an 8+10 window back, a closet and wood mantel shelf in each room, 2½ in finish, 7 in molded washboard, 4/4 and 5/4 square framed doors. Story 8 ft 6 in front sloping to 7 ft back a flat pitch tin roof to the back wood cornice and brackets to front tin conductor brick eave and fascia board back.

"The frame kitchen is inclosed [sic] with fence boards, sheathed with the same and a tin roof with a skylight in it, in small lights of window glass, a ledge door, 12 lights of 10+14 sliding sash a dresser with drawers and panel doors, a range and cast iron sink. Story 7 ft at the eave.

"The bath house is on the roof of the kitchen at second story, weatherboarded with fence boards, a tin roof and fascia board, and has a 12 light 8+10 window 3 in finish, molded washboard, a 5/4 square framed passage door and zinc bath tub hot and cold water introduced Story 6 ft 6 in.

"Samuel Hillman Surveyor"

Appendix C: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1				Relation					Marital		Mother of		
2				to Family			Yr. of		Status	# Yrs.	# Children		# Months
3	House #	Last Name	First Name	Head	Race	Sex	Birth	Age	S/M/W	Married	Total/Alive	Occupation	w/o Work
4	2403	McBride	John		W	M	1835	65	M	37		General contractor	0
5			Mary	Wife	W	F	1840	60	M	37	6, 2		
6			Mary E.	Daughter	W	F	1866	34	S		0, 0		
7			Katie C.	Daughter	W	F	1875	25	S		0, 0	Saleswoman	0
8	2405	Cully	Emma		W	F	1847	53	W	36	7, 7		
9			Mary E.	Daughter	W	F	1865	35	S		0, 1		
10			Sarah	Daughter	W	F	1869	30	S		0, 0	Woollen sorter	0
11			Joseph	Son	W	M	1872	28	S			House painter	0
12			Thomas N.S.	Son	W	M	1873	26	S			Salesman	0
13			Walter G.	Son	W	M	1879	21	S			Druggist	
14	2407	McCruwn[?]	Thomas		W	M	1854	46	M	24		Stevedore	0
15			Maggie	Wife	W	F	1856	44	M	24	7, 4		
16			Maggie	Daughter	W	F	1879	20	S		0, 0	Tobacco stripper	0
17			Regina	Daughter	W	F	1884	16	S		0, 0	Woollen worster	0
18			Thomas Jr.	Son	W	M	1887	13	S			At school	
19			Josephine	Daughter	W	F	1890	10	S			At school	
20	2409	Nelson	William		W	M	1863	36	M	11		Mill foreman	0
21			Rebecca	Wife	W	F	1867	32	M	11	5, 5		
22			Emma	Daughter	W	F	1889	10	S			At school	
23			Thomas	Son	W	M	1891	8	S			At school	
24			Elizabethe	Daughter	W	F	1893	6	S			At school	
25			Rebecca	Daughter	W	F	1896	4	S				
26			William Jr.	Son	W	M	1899	1	S				
27		Nelson	Elizabeth	Mother	W	F	1836	64	W	40	3, 1	Seamstress	0
28	2411	Kearney	Richard		W	M	1836	64	M	39		Glass blower	0
29			Anna L.	Wife	W	F	1839	60	M	39	14, 7		
30			Rose A.	Daughter	W	F	1863	36	S		0, 0		
31			Mary G.	Daughter	W	F	1874	25	S		0, 0	Teacher	0
32			Margaret	Daughter	W	F	1876	23	S		0, 0	Seamstress	0
33			Joseph	Son	W	M	1878	21	S			Plumber	0
34			Catherine	Daughter	W	F	1880	20	S				

Appendix C: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
1			Person's	Father's	Mother's						Own/	Own
2			Place of	Place of	Place of	Year of	# Yrs.	Natural-	Cannot	Cannot	Rent	Free/
3	House #	Last Name	Birth	Birth	Birth	Immig.	in U.S.	ization	Read	Write	Home	Mort.
4	2403	McBride	NY	Ireland	Ireland						O	F
5			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
6			PA	NY	PA							
7			PA	NY	PA							
8	2405	Cully	PA	NY	MD						R	
9			PA	PA	PA							
10			PA	PA	PA							
11			PA	PA	PA							
12			PA	PA	PA							
13			PA	PA	PA							
14	2407	McCruwn[?]	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1870	30	Y			R	
15			Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1869	31					
16			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
17			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
18			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
19			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
20	2409	Nelson	PA	Ireland	Ireland						O	M
21			PA	PA	PA							
22			PA	PA	PA							
23			PA	PA	PA							
24			PA	PA	PA							
25			PA	PA	PA							
26			PA	PA	PA							
27		Nelson	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1855	45					
28	2411	Kearney	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1847	53	Y			O	F
29			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
30			PA	Ireland	PA							
31			PA	Ireland	PA							
32			PA	Ireland	PA							
33			PA	Ireland	PA							
34			PA	Ireland	PA							

Appendix C: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1				Relation					Marital		Mother of		
2				to Family			Yr. of		Status	# Yrs.	# Children		# Months
3	House #	Last Name	First Name	Head	Race	Sex	Birth	Age	S/M/W	Married	Total/Alive	Occupation	w/o Work
35	2413	Kelly	Michael		W	M	1872	28	M	6		Stonecutter	0
36			Theresa	Wife	W	F	1873	27	M	6	4, 4	At school	
37			Annie	Daughter	W	F	1894	5	S				
38			John	Son	W	M	1896	4	S				
39			Frances	Daughter	W	F	1898	2	S				
40			Mary	Daughter	W	F	1900	1 mo.	S				
41	2413 [rear?]	Sexton	Thomas		W	M	1868	32	M	10		Mill boss	0
42			Margaret	Wife	W	F	1870	29	M	10	0, 0		
43	2415	Campbell	Peter		W	M	1857	43	M	8		Machine moulder	0
44			Mary	Wife	W	F	1864	36	M	8	3, 3		
45			Mary C.	Daughter	W	F	1893	7	S			At school	
46			Regina	Daughter	W	F	1895	4	S				
47			Agnes	Daughter	W	F	1899	1	S				
48		O'Brien	Johannah	Mother-in-law	W	F	1839	60	W	40			
49	2415 [rear?]	Gotwin[?]	Ellen		W	F	1849	50	W	28	2, 1		
50	2417	Winslow	John		W	M	1853	47	M	25		Plumber	0
51			Emma	Wife	W	F	1854	46	M	25	3, 2		
52			William	Son	W	M	1875	25	S			Clerk	0
53			Mabel	Daughter	W	F	1882	18	S		0, 0		
54	2419	Esher	Park		W	M	1858	41	W	25			
55			Margaret	Daughter	W	F	1882	17	S		0, 0		
56			Frank	Son	W	M	1878	21	S			Coal wagon driver	0
57			Park	Son	W	M	1881	19	S			Coal wagon driver	1
58			Katie	Daughter	W	F	1885	14	S		0, 0	Woollen sorter	0
59			Jennie	Daughter	W	F	1889	10	S			At school	
60	2419 [rear?]	Hart	Florence		W	F	1879	20	S		0, 0	Matron firehouse	0
61			Joseph	Brother	W	M	1887	12	S			At school	
62	2421	Rhodes	James		W	M	1842	57	M	28		Letter carrier	0
63			Margaret	Wife	W	F	1848	51	M	28	6, 2		

Appendix C: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
1			Person's	Father's	Mother's						Own/	Own
2			Place of	Place of	Place of	Year of	# Yrs.	Natural-	Cannot	Cannot	Rent	Free/
3	House #	Last Name	Birth	Birth	Birth	Immig.	in U.S.	ization	Read	Write	Home	Mort.
35	2413	Kelly	PA	Ireland	Ireland						R	
36			PA	Ireland	PA							
37			PA	PA	PA							
38			PA	PA	PA							
39			PA	PA	PA							
40			PA	PA	PA							
41	2413 [rear?]	Sexton	PA	Ireland	Ireland						R	
42			PA	Ireland	PA							
43	2415	Campbell	PA	Ireland	Ireland						R	
44			NJ	Ireland	Ireland							
45			PA	PA	NJ							
46			PA	PA	NJ							
47			PA	PA	NJ							
48		O'Brien	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1850	50					
49	2415 [rear?]	Gotwin[?]	England	England	England	1860	40				R	
50	2417	Winslow	PA	Ireland	Ireland						R	
51			PA	VA	Ireland							
52			PA	PA	PA							
53			PA	PA	PA							
54	2419	Esher	PA	PA	PA						R	
55			PA	PA	PA							
56			PA	PA	PA							
57			PA	PA	PA							
58			PA	PA	PA							
59			PA	PA	PA							
60	2419 [rear?]	Hart	PA	PA	PA						R	
61			PA	PA	PA							
62	2421	Rhodes	NY	Ireland	Ireland						R	
63			NY	Ireland	Ireland							

Appendix C: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1				Relation					Marital		Mother of		
2				to Family			Yr. of		Status	# Yrs.	# Children		# Months
3	House #	Last Name	First Name	Head	Race	Sex	Birth	Age	S/M/W	Married	Total/Alive	Occupation	w/o Work
64	2423	Kelley	John E.		W	M	1853	46	M	26		Chief engineer	0
65			Mary	Wife	W	M	1854	46	M	26	14, 6		
66			William	Son	W	M	1875	24	S			Car builder	0
67			Mary	Daughter	W	F	1877	22	S		0, 0	Saleswoman	0
68			George	Son	W	M	1884	15	S			Tobacco stripper	
69			John	Son	W	M	1889	10	S			At school	
70			Lillie	Daughter	W	F	1891	8	S			At school	
71			Rose	Daughter	W	F	1891	8	S			At school	
72	2425	Marshall	Charles B.		W	M	1866	34	M	14		Plumber	0
73			Annie	Wife	W	F	1868	31	M	14			
74			Jennie	Daughter	W	F	1890	10	S			At school	
75			Catharine	Daughter	W	F	1892	8	S			At school	
76			Charles	Son	W	M	1894	6	S			At school	
77			William	Son	W	M	1896	3	S				
78		Magan	June	Mother	W	F	1835	65	M	42	8, 3		
79	2429	Irish[?]	Elonzo		W	M	1850	50	M	25		City fireman	0
80			Elizabeth	Wife	W	F	1845	55	M	25	6, 3		
81			William	Son	W	M	1863	37	M	7		Bricklayer	0
82			Anjelica	Daughter	W	F	1878	21	S		0, 0		
83	2431	Symington	John H.		W	M	1853	47	M	22		City fireman	0
84			Sarah	Wife	W	F	1856	43	M	22	8, 8		
85			Thomas H.	Son	W	M	1878	21	S			Day laborer	0
86			John H.	Son	W	M	1881	18	S			Day laborer	0
87			James W.	Son	W	M	1883	16	S			Errand boy	0
88			Katie F.	Daughter	W	F	1886	13	S			At school	
89			Frank	Son	W	M	1894	5	S			At school	
90			William K.	Son	W	M	1896	3	S				
91			Ellisa	Daughter	W	F	1899	11 mo.	S				

Appendix C: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
1			Person's	Father's	Mother's						Own/	Own
2			Place of	Place of	Place of	Year of	# Yrs.	Natural-	Cannot	Cannot	Rent	Free/
3	House #	Last Name	Birth	Birth	Birth	Immig.	in U.S.	ization	Read	Write	Home	Mort.
64	2423	Kelley	PA	Ireland	Ireland						R	
65			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
66			PA	PA	PA							
67			PA	PA	PA							
68			PA	PA	PA							
69			PA	PA	PA							
70			PA	PA	PA							
71			PA	PA	PA							
72	2425	Marshall	PA	PA	PA						R	
73			MD	Ireland	Ireland							
74			PA	PA	MD							
75			PA	PA	MD							
76			PA	PA	MD							
77			PA	PA	MD							
78		Magan	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1840	60					
79	2429	Irish[?]	PA	PA	PA						R	
80			PA	PA	PA							
81			PA	PA	PA							
82			PA	PA	PA							
83	2431	Symington	PA	PA	PA						R	
84			PA	Ireland	PA							
85			PA	PA	PA							
86			PA	PA	PA							
87			PA	PA	PA							
88			PA	PA	PA							
89			PA	PA	PA							
90			PA	PA	PA							
91			PA	PA	PA							

Appendix C: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1				Relation					Marital		Mother of		
2				to Family			Yr. of		Status	# Yrs.	# Children		# Months
3	House #	Last Name	First Name	Head	Race	Sex	Birth	Age	S/M/W	Married	Total/Alive	Occupation	w/o Work
92	2433	McCabe	Bridget		W	F	1834	66	S		0, 0		
93		Hughes	Susan	Boarder	W	F	1847	53	S		0, 0	Laundress	0
94		McCabe	Maggie	Boarder	W	F	1849	50	S		0, 0	Laundress	0
95		O'Brien	Michael	Boarder	W	M	1859	40	M	10		Day laborer	0
96		Mc[illegible]	June	Boarder	W	F	1834	65	W		0, 0	Laundress	0

Appendix C: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
1			Person's	Father's	Mother's						Own/	Own
2			Place of	Place of	Place of	Year of	# Yrs.	Natural-	Cannot	Cannot	Rent	Free/
3	House #	Last Name	Birth	Birth	Birth	Immig.	In U.S.	ization	Read	Write	Home	Mort.
92	2433	McCabe	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1865	35				R	
93		Hughes	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1865	35					
94		McCabe	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1865	35					
95		O'Brien	PA	Ireland	Ireland							
96		Mc[illegible]	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1865						

Appendix D: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) - 2400 Lombard Street, South Side

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1				Relation					Marital		Mother of		
2				to Family			Yr. of		Status	# Yrs.	# Children		# Months
3	House #	Last Name	First Name	Head	Race	Sex	Birth	Age	S/M/W	Married	Total/Alive	Occupation	w/o Work
4	2402	Hancock	John		W	M	1853	46	M	11		Saloon keeper	0
5			Emma	Wife	W	F	1869	31	M	11	2, 2		
6			Emma	Daughter	W	F	1890	10	S			At school	
7			Graham	Son	W	M	1897	3	S				
8		[illegible]	Amelia	Servant	W	F	1878	22	S			Servant	0
9	2404	Devenny	John		W	M	1849	51	M	24		Supt. coal wharves	0
10			Catherine	Wife	W	F	1856	43	M	24	7, 4		
11			Mary	Daughter	W	F	1878	21	S				
12			Frances	Daughter	W	F	1880	20	S				
13			William	Son	W	M	1880	13	S			At school	
14			Ca[illegible]	Daughter	W	F	1891	9	S			At school	
15	2408	Doyle	Christopher		W	M	1865	34	M	7		Plumber	0
16			Sarah	Wife	W	F	1868	32	M	7	1, 1		
17			Ruth	Daughter	W	F	1898	1	S				
18	2410	Logan	James		W	M	1849	50	M	24		Painter	0
19			Elizabeth	Wife	W	F	1851	48	M	24	5, 4		
20			William	Son	W	M	1872	27	S			Undertaker	0
21			Anna	Daughter	W	F	1878	21	S			Sales lady	0
22			Catherine	Daughter	W	F	1884	15	S			At school	
23	2412	[illegible]	[illegible]		W	M	1866	34	M	5		Letter carrier	0
24			Susan	Wife	W	F	1866	34	M	5	1, 1		
25			[illegible]	Son	W	M	1900	9 mo.	S				
26	2414	Chatley	John		W	M	1844	55	W	30		Policeman	0
27			John Jr.	Son	W	M	1870	29	S			Clerk	0
28			Robert	Son	W	M	1878	22	S			Bookkeeper	0
29		Higgins	Fannie	Housekeeper	W	F	1865	35	S			Housekeeper	0
30	2416	Hickson [?]	Stephen		W	M	1834	65	M	34		Police sergeant	0
31			Elizabeth	Wife	W	F	1844	55	M	34	3, 1		
32			Mary	Daughter	W	F	1879	21	S				

Appendix D: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) - 2400 Lombard Street, South Side

	A	B	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
1			Person's	Father's	Mother's						Own/	Own
2			Place of	Place of	Place of	Year of	# Yrs.	Natural-	Cannot	Cannot	Rent	Free/
3	House #	Last Name	Birth	Birth	Birth	immig.	in U.S.	ization	Read	Write	Home	Mort.
4	2402	Hancock	PA	Germany	Germany						R	
5			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
6			PA	PA	PA							
7			PA	PA	PA							
8		[illegible]	PA	PA	PA							
9	2404	Devenny	PA	Ireland	Ireland						O	F
10			PA	Ireland	PA							
11			PA	PA	PA							
12			PA	PA	PA							
13			PA	PA	PA							
14			PA	PA	PA							
15	2408	Doyle	PA	Ireland	PA						R	
16			PA	PA	PA							
17			PA	PA	PA							
18	2410	Logan	PA	Ireland	Ireland						R	
19			PA	PA	PA							
20			PA	PA	PA							
21			PA	PA	PA							
22			PA	PA	PA							
23	2412	[illegible]	PA	Ireland	Ireland						R	
24			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
25			PA	PA	PA							
26	2414	Chatley	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	1864	35	Y			O	F
27			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
28			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
29		Higgins	PA	Ireland	Ireland							
30	2416	Hickson [?]	PA	PA	PA						R	
31			PA	PA	PA							
32			PA	PA	PA							

Appendix D: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) - 2400 Lombard Street, South Side

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1				Relation					Marital		Mother of		
2				to Family			Yr. of		Status	# Yrs.	# Children		# Months
3	House #	Last Name	First Name	Head	Race	Sex	Birth	Age	S/M/W	Married	Total/Alive	Occupation	w/o Work
33	2418	Doyle	Mary		W	F	1856	44	W	19	6, 4		
34			Minnie[?]	Daughter	W	F	1881	19	S			Dressmaker	0
35			[illegible]	Daughter	W	F	1883	17	S			Dressmaker	0
36			John	Son	W	M	1885	14	S			At school	
37			Carrie	Daughter	W	F	1887	12	S			At school	
38			Mary	Mother-in-law	W	F	1834	65	W	45	5, 4		
39		Roscomon[?]	Marie[?]	Boarder	W	F	1875	25	S			Mill work	
40	2422	Barrett	[illegible]		W	M	1859	40	M	20		Teamster	0
41			Hanna	Wife	W	F	1861	39	M	20	1, 1		
42			John	Son	W	M	1879	20	S			Conductor	0
43		Brown	Mary	Boarder	W	F	1853	46	S			Dress maker	0
44		Bird	David	Boarder	W	M	1823	77	M	55		Watchman	0
45			Elizabeth	Boarder	W	F	1826	74	M	55	13, 4		
46	2424	Wolfe	Charles		W	M	1851	48	M	16		Nurse	0
47			Ellisa[sic]	Wife	W	F	1860	39	M	16	6, 4		
48			Marie	Daughter	W	F	1886	13	S			At school	
49			Annie	Daughter	W	F	1889	10	S			At school	
50			Lucia[?]	Daughter	W	F	1894	6	S			At school	
51			Charles Jr.	Son	W	M	1896	3	S				
52	2426	Neel	Charles		W	M	1853	46	M	2		Clerk	0
53			Ellen	Wife	W	F	1859	40	M	2			
54		G[T?]eary	Annie	Sister-in-law	W	F	1871	28	S			Sales lady	0
55			John	Brother-in-law	W	M	1861	38	W	18		Painter	0
56			Helen	Niece	W	F	1888	11	S			At school	
57			William	Nephew	W	M	1890	10	S			At school	
58			Mary	Niece	W	F	1894	6	S			At school	
59			Richard	Brother-in-law	W	M	1857	42	S			Tin roofer	0
60			Morris	Brother-in-law	W	M	1861	39	S			Printer	0

Appendix D: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) - 2400 Lombard Street, South Side

	A	B	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
1			Person's	Father's	Mother's						Own/	Own
2			Place of	Place of	Place of	Year of	# Yrs.	Natural-	Cannot	Cannot	Rent	Free/
3	House #	Last Name	Birth	Birth	Birth	immig.	In U.S.	ization	Read	Write	Home	Mort.
33	2418	Doyle	PA	PA	PA						R	
34			PA	PA	PA							
35			PA	PA	PA							
36			PA	PA	PA							
37			PA	PA	PA							
38			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
39		Roscomon[?]	PA	PA	PA							
40	2422	Barrett	PA	PA	PA						R	
41			PA	PA	PA							
42			PA	PA	PA							
43		Brown	PA	Ireland	Ireland							
44		Bird	PA	Germany	PA							
45			PA	PA	PA							
46	2424	Wolfe	Germany	Germany	Germany	1861	38	Y			R	
47			MI	MI	MI							
48			PA	Germany	MI							
49			PA	Germany	MI							
50			PA	Germany	MI							
51			PA	Germany	MI							
52	2426	Neel	PA	PA	PA						R	
53			PA	England	England							
54		G[T?]eary	PA	England	England							
55			PA	England	England							
56			PA	PA	PA							
57			PA	PA	PA							
58			PA	PA	PA							
59			PA	England	England							
60			PA	England	England							

Appendix E: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) - Ross Court

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
1				Relation					Marital		Mother of		
2				to Family			Yr. of		Status	# Yrs.	# Children		# Months
3	House #	Last Name	First Name	Head	Race	Sex	Birth	Age	S/M/W	Married	Total/Alive	Occupation	w/o Work
4	1	Griffin	Michael		W	M	1854	46	M	24		Day laborer	0
5			Margaret	Wife	W	F	1856	44	M	24	0, 0		
6	3	Scott	A[illegible]		W	F	1856	43	M	21	3, 2		
7			Elizabeth	Daughter	W	F	1876	23	S		0, 0	Clerk	0
8		Beatty	John	Boarder	W	M	1875	24	S*			Day laborer	0
9		Beatty	Catharine	Boarder	W	F	1880	20	M	2	1, 1		
10			Gertrude	Boarder	W	F	1899	1	S				
11	4	Hoffman	Anne		W	F	1864	36	M	17	7, 3		
12			Anna	Daughter	W	F	1887	12	S				
13			Kate	Daughter	W	F	1890	9	S				
14			Harry	Son	W	M	1897	3	S				
15	5	Archer	Joseph		W	M	1853	46	M	25		Bar tender	0
16			Anna M	Wife	W	F	1853	47	M	25	6, 1		
17			Joseph D.	Son	W	M	1890	9	S			At school	
18						* Mistake? Married to Catharine Beatty and father of Gertrude?							

Appendix E: Extracts from the Twelfth U.S. Census (1900) - Ross Court

	A	B	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W
1			Person's Place of Birth	Father's Place of Birth	Mother's Place of Birth	Year of Immig.	# Yrs. in U.S.	Natural-ization	Cannot Read	Cannot Write	Own/ Rent Home	Own Free/ Mort.
2												
3	House #	Last Name										
4	1	Griffin	PA	Ireland	Ireland						R	
5			Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]				
6	3	Scott	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]			R	
7			PA	Ireland	Ireland							
8		Beatty	PA	PA	PA							
9		Beatty	PA	PA	PA						R	
10			PA	PA	PA							
11	4	Hoffman	PA	PA	PA							
12			PA	PA	PA							
13			PA	PA	PA							
14			PA	PA	PA							
15	5	Archer	Switzerland	Switzerland	Switzerland	1880	20	Y			R	
16			PA	Switzerland	Switzerland							
17			PA	Switzerland	PA							
18												

Appendix F: Extracts from the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) - 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1							Relation	Marital				
2							to Family	Status		# Months	Cannot	Cannot
3	House #	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Head	S/M/W	Occupation	w/o Work	Read	Write
4	2401	Ball	Edwin	W	M	31		M	Druggist			
5			M. Gertrude	W	F	31	Wife	M	Keeping house			
6		McMullen	Al.	W	M	25	Boarder	S	Clerk in store	X		
7		Miller	Thomas	W	M	16	Boarder	S	Clerk in store	X		
8	2403	McBride	John	W	M	40		M	Boat man			
9			Mary	W	F	38	Wife	M	Keeping house			
10			Rose	W	F	19	Daughter	S				
11			Mary E.	W	F	17	Daughter	S	Segar maker	X		
12			Katie	W	F	11	Daughter	S	At school			
13	2405	Richardson	William	Mulatto	M	34		M	Coachman	X		
14			Emma	Mulatto	F	30	Wife	M	Keeping house			
15			Clarence	Mulatto	M	5	Son	S				
16			Ida	Mulatto	F	3	Daughter	S				
17			John Henry	Mulatto	M	9 mo.	Son	S				
18		Singleton	John	Mulatto	M	40		M	Waiter	X		X
19			Lela	Mulatto	F	26	Wife	M	Keeping house			X
20	2407	Shields	Owen	W	M	55		M	Shoemaker	X		
21			Maggie	W	F	50	Wife	M	Keeping house			
22			Mary	W	F	20	Daughter	S	Vest maker	X		
23			Johanna	W	F	17	Daughter	S	Vest maker	X		
24		Keeley	James	W	M	32	Son-in-law	M	Works in gas house			
25			Celia	W	M	29	Wife	M	Keeping house			
26			Michael	W	M	3	Grandson	S				
27			Mamie	W	F	5 mo.	Granddaughter	S				
28		Shields	James	W	M	24	Son	M	Galvanizer			
29			Sarah	W	F	19	Daughter-in-law	M	Keeping house			
30			Maggie	W	F	5 mo.	Granddaughter	S				

Appendix F: Extracts from the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) - 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	M	N	O
1			Person's	Father's	Mother's
2			Place of	Place of	Place of
3	House #	Last Name	Birth	Birth	Birth
4	2401	Ball	PA	PA	PA
5			PA	PA	PA
6		McMullen	PA	Ireland	Ireland
7		Miller	PA	PA	PA
8	2403	McBride	New York	Ireland	Ireland
9			Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
10			PA	New York	Ireland
11			PA	New York	Ireland
12			PA	New York	Ireland
13	2405	Richardson	PA	Virginia	Virginia
14			PA	Virginia	Virginia
15			PA	Virginia	Virginia
16			PA	Virginia	Virginia
17			PA	Virginia	Virginia
18		Singleton	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
19			Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
20	2407	Shields	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
21			Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
22			PA	Ireland	Ireland
23			PA	Ireland	Ireland
24		Keeley	PA	Ireland	Ireland
25			PA	Ireland	Ireland
26			PA	PA	PA
27			PA	PA	PA
28		Shields	PA	Ireland	Ireland
29			PA	Ireland	Ireland
30			PA	PA	PA

Appendix F: Extracts from the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) - 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1							Relation	Marital				
2							to Family	Status		# Months	Cannot	Cannot
3	House #	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Head	S/M/W	Occupation	w/o Work	Read	Write
31	2409	Johnson	Charlotte	W	F	60		W	Keeping house			
32			Francis	W	M	31	Son	W	Glass blower	X		
33			William	W	M	28	Son	W	Glass blower	X		
34		Kane	Charlotte	W	F	33	Daughter	W	Vest maker	X		
35			Ella	W	F	12	Granddaughter	S	At school			
36			Mary Ann	W	F	8	Granddaughter	S	At school			
37		Cummey	Teresa	W	F	23	Boarder	S	Works in glass house	X		
38		McFarland	Pat	W	M	28	Boarder	S	Clerk in store	X		
39		Conway	John	W	M	26	Boarder	S	Glass blower			
40	2411	Kearney	Richard	W	M	44		M	Glass blower	X		
41			Annie	W	F	39	Wife	M	Keeping house			
42			Rose	W	F	17	Daughter	S				
43			Susie	W	F	14	Daughter	S	At school			
44			Richard Jr.	W	M	12	Son	S	Works in glass house			
45			Henry	W	M	9	Son	S	At school			
46			Maggie	W	F	6	Daughter	S	At school			
47			Mamie	W	F	4	Daughter	S				
48			Joseph	W	M	2	Son	S				
49			Catharine	W	F	1 mo.	Daughter	S				
50	2413	Giggles	Henry	W	M	46		M	Works in woollen mill	X		
51			Anna	W	F	45	Wife	M	Keeping house			
52			Angeline	W	F	22	Daughter	S				
53			Frederick	W	M	18	Son	S	Engraver			
54			Ada	W	F	13	Daughter	S	At school			
55		Barron	F.H.	W	M	32	Boarder	M	Works in woollen mill	X		
56		Keese	John	W	M	46	Boarder	S	Works in woollen mill	X		
57	2415	Funk	John	W	M	29		M	Works in woollen mill			
58			Ella	W	F	27	Wife	M	Keeping house			
59			Mamie	W	F	7	Daughter	S	At school			
60			Clara	W	F	5	Daughter	S	At school			
61			Eddie	W	M	1	Son	S				
62		Pinyard	Julia	W	F	22	Boarder	S	Works in woollen mill	X		

Appendix F: Extracts from the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) - 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

	A	B	M	N	O
1			Person's	Father's	Mother's
2			Place of	Place of	Place of
3	House #	Last Name	Birth	Birth	Birth
31	2409	Johnson	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
32			New York	Ireland	Ireland
33			PA	Ireland	Ireland
34		Kane	New York	Ireland	Ireland
35			PA	New York	New York
36			PA	New York	New York
37		Cummey	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
38		McFarland	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
39		Conway	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
40	2411	Kearney	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
41			New York	Ireland	Ireland
42			PA	Ireland	New York
43			PA	Ireland	New York
44			PA	Ireland	New York
45			PA	Ireland	New York
46			PA	Ireland	New York
47			PA	Ireland	New York
48			PA	Ireland	New York
49			PA	Ireland	New York
50	2413	Giggles	England	England	England
51			England	England	England
52			England	England	England
53			England	England	England
54			England	England	England
55		Barron	New York	Ireland	Ireland
56		Keese	England	Ireland	Ireland
57	2415	Funk	PA	PA	PA
58			PA	PA	PA
59			PA	PA	PA
60			PA	PA	PA
61			PA	PA	PA
62		Pinyard	PA	PA	PA

Appendix G: Extracts from the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) - 2400 Lombard Street, South Side

House #	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Relation to Family Head	Marital Stetus S/M/W	Occupation	# Months w/o Work	Cannot Read	Cannot Write	Person's Place of Birth	Father's Place of Birth	Mother's Place of Birth
2400	McFadden	John	W	M	34		M	Liquor dealer	3	X	X	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
		Rosa	W	F	26	Wife	M	Keeping house		X	X	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
		John	W	M	2	Son	S					Phila.	Ireland	Ireland
2402	Cahill	Thomas	W	M	32		M	Clark in coal office				Phila.	Phila.	Phila.
		Sarah	W	F	33	Wife	M	Lady		X	X	Phila.	Ireland	Ireland
		Harry	W	M	3	Son	S	At home				Phila.	Phila.	Phila.
	Eahman [?]	Carrie	W	F	25	Servant	S					Phila.	Phila.	Phila.
2404	Devenny	John	W	M	32		M	Shipping clerk				Phila.	Ireland	Ireland
		Kate	W	F	25	Wife	M					Phila.	Ireland	Ireland
		Mamie	W	F	3	Daughter	S					Phila.	Phila.	Phila.
		Fannie	W	F	5 mo.	Daughter	S					Phila.	Phila.	Phila.
	Malladay	Mary	W	F	17	Servant	S	House keeper	X			Phila.	Phila.	Phila.
2406	Cahill	Richard F.	W	M	55		M	Coal shipper				Phila.	Ireland	Ireland
		Mary	W	F	54	Wife	M					Phila.	Ireland	Ireland
		Theresa	W	F	20	Daughter	S	At school				Phila.	Ireland*	Ireland*
		Mamie	W	F	18	Daughter	S	At school				Phila.	Ireland*	Ireland*
		Willie	W	M	13	Son	S	At school				Phila.	Ireland*	Ireland*
		Regina	W	F	9	Daughter	S	At school				Phila.	Ireland*	Ireland*
	Apel	Emma	W	F	17	Servant	S	House keeper	X	X	X	Phila.	Ireland	Ireland
2418	Cahill	Mary	W	F	62		W	Retired		X	X	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
	Linner	Ellen	W	F	56	Boarder	S	Wash woman	X	X	X	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
	Reaney	Matthew	W	M	23	Boarder	S	Ica driver				Phila.	Ireland	Ireland
2420	Burke	Frank	W	M	24		M	Painter	X			Phila.	Ireland	Ireland
		Bertie	W	F	22	Wife	M					Phila.	Germany	Germany

* Mistake? Parents born in Phila.

Appendix H: Extracts from the Tenth U.S. Census (1880) - Ross Court

House #	Last Name	First Name	Race	Sex	Age	Relation to Family Head	Marital Status S/M/W	Occupation	# Months w/o Work	Cannot Read	Cannot Write	Person's Place of Birth	Father's Place of Birth	Mother's Place of Birth
1	Logan	James	W	M	32		M	Painter	X			PA	Ireland	Ireland
		Elizabeth	W	F	28	Wife	M	Keeping house				PA	PA	PA
		William	W	M	7	Son	S	Attending school				PA	PA	PA
		Ellen	W	F	4	Daughter	S					PA	PA	PA
		Anna	W	F	1	Daughter	S					PA	PA	PA
2	Brown	Walter	W	M	39		M	Stone cutter				Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
		Jane	W	F	39	Wife	M	Keeping house				England	England	England
		William J.	W	M	9	Son	S	Attending school				MA	Scotland	England
		Alfred D.	W	M	6	Son	S	Attending school				MA	Scotland	England
		Walter H.	W	M	4	Son	S					PA	Scotland	England
		Charles F.	W	M	1	Son	S					PA	Scotland	England
	Dobinson	Mary Ann	W	F	48	Sister-in-law	S	Tailoress				England	England	England
3	Burns	Peter	W	M	35		M	Laborer	2			Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
		Mary	W	W	35	Wife	M	Keeping house				Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
4	Harris	John F.	W	M	40		M	Laborer (gas works)				England	England	England
		Margaret	W	F	35	Wife	M	Keeping house				PA	PA	Ireland
		William H.	W	M	14	Son	S	Carrier (glass house)				PA	Ireland	PA
		John F.	W	M	12	Son	S	Attending school				PA	Ireland	PA
		Clara Louise	W	F	8	Daughter	S	Attending school				PA	Ireland	PA
5	Jones	Thomas S.	W	M	36		M	Stoker (gas works)	2			PA	PA	PA
		Margaret	W	F	29	Wife	M	Keeping house				PA	Ireland	Ireland
		Henry C.	W	M	9	Son	S	Attending school				PA	PA	PA
		Sophia	W	F	8	Daughter	S	Attending school				PA	PA	PA
		Thomas	W	M	7	Son	S	Attending school				PA	PA	PA
	Moore	Margaret	W	F	60	Mother-in-law	W					Ireland	England	Ireland

Appendix I: Extracts from the Ninth U.S. Census (1870) - Various Enumeration Districts

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	**name in bold = appeared as family in 1870 and 1880 Censuses**								
2	*name italicized = appeared as family in 1870 and 1900 Censuses*								
3									
4	**Dwelling #**	**Family #**		(N.B. Ninth U.S. Census did					
5	**in Order of**	**in Order of**		not record street addresses)					
6	**Visitation**	**Visitation**	**District**	**Verifiable Address/Date**	**Last Name**	**First Name**	**Age**	**Sex**	**Race**
7	364	498	21st Sub	2431 Washington Av./1869	**Shields**	**Owen**	**46**	**M**	**W**
8				1811 South St./1871*		**Margaret**	**42**	**F**	**W**
9				*may be business address		Cecelia	19	F	W
10				2407 Lombard/1880		James	13	M	W
11						**Mary**	**11**	**F**	**W**
12						**Johanna**	**8**	**F**	**W**
13						Kate	3	F	W
14	431	601	21st Sub	S. 24th cor. Kent/1869*	**Johnson**	**Charlotte**	**51**	**F**	**W**
15				*before she was widowed		**William**	**17**	**M**	**W**
16				409 S. 24th St./1875		Peter	16	M	W
17				2409 Lombard/1880	Cluen	Thomas	30	M	W
18						Margaret A.	25	F	W
19					Bradley	Mary	14	F	W
20	201	297	21st Sub		Towlson	Stephen	28	M	W
21						Wilhelmina	25	F	W
22						Dord	7	M	W
23						Stephen	5	M	W
24						Hannah	3	F	W
25						Ella	5 mo.	F	W
26					McCormic	James	30	M	W
27				2316 Naudain/1871	**Logan**	**James**	**22**	**M**	**W**
28				1 Ross Court/1880	Briscoe	James	21	M	W
29					Wood	Joseph	22	M	W
30					Logan	Ellen	19	F	W

Appendix I: Extracts from the Ninth U.S. Census (1870) - Various Enumeration Districts

	E	F	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6	Last Name	First Name	Occupation	Value of Real Estate	Value of Pers. Prop.	Person's Place of Birth	Father Foreign Born	Mother Foreign Born	Cannot Read	Cannot Write
7	Shields	Owen	Shoemaker	900	200	Ireland	X	X	X	X
8		Margaret				Ireland	X	X		
9		Cecelia	Vest maker			PA	X	X		
10		James				PA	X	X		
11		Mary				PA	X	X		
12		Johanna				PA	X	X		
13		Kate				PA	X	X		
14	Johnson	Charlotte				Ireland	X	X	X	X
15		William	Apprentice to glass blower			PA	X	X		
16		Peter	Apprentice to glass blower			PA	X	X		
17	Cluen	Thomas	Upholsterer			Ireland	X	X		
18		Margaret A.	Tailoress			Ireland	X	X		
19	Bradley	Mary	Weaver in cotton			PA	X	X	X	X
20	Towlson	Stephen	Drives wool wagon		100	MD				
21		Wilhelmina				DE				
22		Dord				MD				
23		Stephen				PA				
24		Hannah				PA				
25		Ella				PA				
26	McCormic	James	Gardener			Scotland	X	X		
27	Logan	James	Painter			PA	X	X		
28	Briscoe	James	Carpenter			MD				
29	Wood	Joseph	Wool comber			England	X	X		
30	Logan	Ellen	Domestic			PA	X	X		

Appendix I: Extracts from the Ninth U.S. Census (1870) - Various Enumeration Districts

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
4	Dwelling #	Family #		(N.B. Ninth U.S. Census did					
5	in Order of	in Order of		not record street addresses)					
6	Visitation	Visitation	District	Verifiable Address/Date	Last Name	First Name	Age	Sex	Race
31	537	557	20th		Harris	Lindsay	37	M	W
32						Margaret	25	F	W
33						Robert	2	M	W
34						Elizabeth	9 mo.	F	W
35		558		2105 Lombard/1869	**Jones**	**Thomas**	**25**	**M**	**W**
36				5 Ross Court/1880		**Margaret**	**19**	**F**	**W**
37			20W, 63D	1702 Burton/1895	*Symington*	*John*	*17*	*M*	*W*
38				2431 Lombard/1900					
39	534	523	20th		Paul	Susan	38	F	W
40						James	14	M	W
41						Susan	10	F	W
42					Morrow	Martin	28	M	W
43					Mulineaney	John	32	M	W
44						Rebecca	31	F	W
45						Eva	3	F	W
46					Mullinberger	Martin	29	M	W
47					Knowles	Ingram	27	M	W
48				2008 Hampton/1878	*Winslow*	*John*	*19*	*M*	*W*
49				2417 Lombard/1895					

Appendix I: Extracts from the Ninth U.S. Census (1870) - Various Enumeration Districts

	E	F	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
4										
5						Person's	Father	Mother		
6	Last Name	First Name	Occupation	Value of Real Estate	Value of Pers. Prop.	Place of Birth	Foreign Born	Foreign Born	Cannot Read	Cannot Write
31	Harris	Lindsay	Laborer			Ireland	X	X		
32		Margaret	Keeping house			Ireland	X	X		
33		Robert				PA	X	X		
34		Elizabeth				PA	X	X		
35	Jones	Thomas	Brick maker			PA	X	X		
36		Margaret	Keeping house			PA	X	X		
37	*Symington*	*John*	*Student [Girard College]*			*PA*	*X*	*X*		
38										
39	Paul	Susan	Keeping house			Scotland	X	X		
40		James	At school			PA	X	X		
41		Susan	At school			PA	X	X		
42	Morrow	Martin	Iron moulder			Scotland	X	X		
43	Mulineaney	John	Tin smith			England	X	X		
44		Rebecca				England	X	X		
45		Eva				PA	X	X		
46	Mullinberger	Martin	Cotton mill			Prussia	X	X		
47	Knowles	Ingram	Cotton mill			Prussia	X	X		
48	*Winslow*	*John*	*Laborer*			*PA*	*X*	*X*		
49										

Appendix J: Chronological Sections of House Occupants - 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

Address	Date	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relation to Head	Occupation	Owner/Date
2401	1874	Grove	John E.			Druggist	
	1676	Grove	John E.			Druggist	
	1880	Ball	Edwin	31		Druggist	
			M. Gertrude	31	Wife	Keeping house	
		McMullen	Al.	25	Boarder	Clerk in store	
		Miller	Thomas	16	Boarder	Clerk in store	John McBride/1896
	1900	[no one listed]					
2403	1869	Kearney	Richard			Grocer	
	1872	McBride	John			Segars	
	1880	McBride	John	40		Boat man	
			Mary	38	Wife	Keeping house	
			Rose	19	Daughter		
			Mary E.	17	Daughter	Segar maker	
			Katie	11	Daughter	At school	John McBride/1896
	1900	McBride	John	65		General contractor	John McBride/1900
			Mary	60	Wife		
			Mary E.	34	Daughter		
			Katie C.	25	Daughter	Saleswoman	
2405	1880	Richardson	William	34		Coachman	
			Emma	30	Wife	Keeping house	
			Clarence	5	Son		
			Ida	3	Daughter		
			John Henry	9 mo.	Son		
		Singleton	John	40		Waiter	
			Lela	26	Wife	Keeping house	
	1890	Nelson	William			Foreman	Sarah A. Davis/1896
	1900	Cully	Emma	53			
			Mary E.	35	Daughter		
			Sarah	30	Daughter	Woollen sorter	
			Joseph	28	Son	House painter	
			Thomas N.S.	26	Son	Salesman	
			Walter G.	21	Son	Druggist	
2407	1880	Shields	Owen	55		Shoemaker	
			Maggie	50	Wife	Keeping house	
			Mary	20	Daughter	Vest maker	
			Johanna	17	Daughter	Vest maker	
		Keeley	James	32	Son-in-law	Works in gas house	
			Celia	29	Wife	Keeping house	
			Michael	3	Grandson		
			Mamie	5 mo.	Granddaughter		
		Shields	James	24	Son	Galvanizer	
			Sarah	19	Daughter-in-law	Keeping house	
			Maggie	5 mo.	Granddaughter		C.T. Mathews/1896
	1900	McCruwn[?]	Thomas	46		Stevedore	
			Maggie	44	Wife		
			Maggie	20	Daughter	Tobacco stripper	
			Regina	16	Daughter	Woollen worster	
			Thomas Jr.	13	Son	At school	
			Josephine	10	Daughter	At school	
2409	1880	Johnson	Charlotte	60		Keeping house	
			Francis	31	Son	Glass blower	
			William	28	Son	Glass blower	
		Kane	Charlotte	33	Daughter	Vest maker	
			Ella	12	Granddaughter	At school	
			Mary Ann	8	Granddaughter	At school	
		Cummey	Teresa	23	Boarder	Works in glass house	
		McFarland	Pat	28	Boarder	Clerk in store	
		Conway	John	26	Boarder	Glass blower	
	1883	Johnson	Charlotte			Boarding	
	1890	Kane	Charlotte			wid. Harry	
	1893	Hyland	Cathanne			wid. Patrick	
			Lawrence			Clerk	
	1895	Hyland	Cathanne			wid. Patrick	
	1897	Hyland	Cathanne			wid. Patrick	Cathanne Hyland/1896
	1898	Hyland	Lawrence				
	1900	Nelson	William	36		Mill foreman	William Nelson/1900
			Rebecca	32	Wife		
			Emma	10	Daughter	At school	
			Thomas	8	Son	At school	
			Elizabeth	6	Daughter	At school	
			Rebecca	4	Daughter		
			William Jr.	1	Son		

Appendix J: Chronological Sections of House Occupants - 2400 Lombard Street, North Side

Address	Date	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relation to Head	Occupation	Owner/Date
2409		Nelson	Elizabeth	64	Mother	Seamstress	
	1903	Nelson	William			Mill foreman	
2411	1871	Kearney	Richard			Glass blower	
	1880	Kearney	Richard	44		Glass blower	
			Annie	39	Wife	Keeping house	
			Rose	17	Daughter		
			Susie	14	Daughter	At school	
			Richard Jr.	12	Son	Works in glass house	
			Henry	9	Son	At school	
			Maggie	6	Daughter	At school	
			Mamie	4	Daughter		
			Joseph	2	Son		
			Catharine	1 mo.	Daughter		
	1895	Kearney	Henry			Clerk	Richard Kearney/1896
	1900	Kearney	Richard	64		Glass blower	Richard Kearney/1900
			Anna L.	60	Wife		
			Rose A.	36	Daughter		
			Mary G.	25	Daughter	Teacher	
			Margaret	23	Daughter	Seamstress	
			Joseph	21	Son	Plumber	
			Catherine	20	Daughter		
	1903	Kearney	Richard			Supt.	
			Joseph			Electrician	
2413	1874	Neuhauser	Charles B.			Blacksmith	
	1877	Neuhauser	Charles B.			Wagonmaker	
	1800	Giggles	Henry	46		Works in woollen mill	
			Anna	45	Wife	Keeping house	
			Angeline	22	Daughter		
			Frederick	18	Son	Engraver	
			Ada	13	Daughter	At school	
		Barron	F.H.	32	Boarder	Works in woollen mill	
		Keese	John	46	Boarder	Works in woollen mill	Patrick Kearney/1896
	1900	Kelly	Michael	28		Stonecutter	
			Theresa	27	Wife	At school	
			Annie	5	Daughter		
			John	4	Son		
			Frances	2	Daughter		
			Mary	1 mo.	Daughter		
2413 [rear?]	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Sexton	Thomas	32		Mill boss	
			Margaret	29	Wife		
2415	1874	Neuhauser	John			Wheelwright	
	1877	Neuhauser	John			Wagonmaker	
	1880	Funk	John	29		Works in woollen mill	
			Ella	27	Wife	Keeping house	
			Mamie	7	Daughter	At school	
			Clara	5	Daughter	At school	
			Eddie	1	Son		
		Pinyard	Julia	22	Boarder	Works in woollen mill	Patrick Kearney/1896
	1900	Campbell	Peter	43		Machine moulder	
			Mary	36	Wife		
			Mary C.	7	Daughter	At school	
			Regina	4	Daughter		
			Agnes	1	Daughter		
		O'Brien	Johannah	60	Mother-in-law		
	1903	Campbell	Peter			Moulder	
2415 [rear?]	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Gotwin[?]	Ellen	50			
2417	1880	[no one listed]					
	1895	Winslow	John			Plumber	
		Winslow	William			Clerk	Trustees of the Roman
	1900	Winslow	John	47		Plumber	Catholic High School/1896
			Emma	46	Wife		
			William	25	Son	Clerk	
			Mabel	18	Daughter		
2419	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Esher	Park	41		[none given]	Trustees of the Roman
			Margaret	17	Daughter		Catholic High School/1896
			Frank	21	Son	Coal wagon driver	
			Park	19	Son	Coal wagon driver	
			Katie	14	Daughter	Woollen sorter	
			Jennie	10	Daughter	At school	

Address	Date	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relation to Head	Occupation	Owner/Date
2419 [rear?]	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Hart	Florence	20		Matron firehouse	
			Joseph	12	Brother	At school	
2421	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Rhodes	James	57		Letter carner	Trustees of the Roman
			Margaret	51	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
	1903	Rhodes	James			Carner	
2423	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Kelley	John E	46		Chiel engineer	Trustees of the Roman
			Mary	46	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
			William	24	Son	Car builder	
			Mary	22	Daughter	Saleswoman	
			George	15	Son	Tobacco stripper	
			John	10	Son	At school	
			Lillie	8	Daughter	At school	
			Rose	8	Daughter	At school	
	1903	Kelley	John E.			Chief Engineer	
			William			Builder	
2425	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Marshall	Charles B.	34		Plumber	Trustees of the Roman
			Annie	31	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
			Jennie	10	Daughter	At school	
			Cathanne	8	Daughter	At school	
			Charles	6	Son	At school	
			William	3	Son		
		Magan	June	65	Mother		
2429	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Irish[?]	Elonzo	50		City fireman	Trustees of the Roman
			Elizabeth	55	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
			William	37	Son	Bricklayer	
			Anjelica	21	Daughter		
2431	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Symington	John H.	47		City fireman	Trustees of the Roman
			Sarah	43	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
			Thomas H.	21	Son	Day laborer	
			John H.	18	Son	Day laborer	
			James W.	16	Son	Errand boy	
			Katie F.	13	Daughter	At school	
			Frank	5	Son	At school	
			William K.	3	Son		
			Elisa	11 mo.	Daughter		
	1903	Symington	John H.			Fireman	
			John G.[sic]			Bricklayer	
			Thomas H.			Laborer	
2433	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	McCabe	Bridget	66			Trustees of the Roman
		Hughes	Susan	53	Boarder	Laundress	Catholic High School/1896
		McCabe	Maggie	50	Boarder	Laundress	
		O'Brien	Michael	40	Boarder	Day laborer	
		Mc[illegible]	June	65	Boarder	Laundress	

Appendix K: Chronological Sections of House Occupants - 2400 Lombard Street, South Side

Address	Date	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relation to Head	Occupation	Owner/Date
2400	1880	McFadden	John	34		Liquor dealer	
			Rosa	26	Wife	Keeping house	
			John	2	Son		Thomas Naulty/1896
	1900	[no one listed]					
2402	1880	Cahill	Thomas	32		Clerk in coal office	
			Sarah	33	Wife	Lady	
			Harry	3	Son	At home	
		Eahman [?]	Carne	25	Servant		
	1883	Cahill	Thomas E.			coal	
	1886	Cahill	Thomas E.			coal	Estate of Richard F.Cahill
	1900	Hancock	John	46		Saloon keeper	/1896
			Emma	31	Wife		
			Emma	10	Daughter	At school	
			Graham	3	Son		
		[illegible]	Amelia	22	Servant	Servant	
2404	1878	Devenny	John			agent	
	1880	Devenny	John	32		Shipping clerk	
			Kate	25	Wife		
			Mamie	3	Daughter		
			Fannie	5 mo.	Daughter		Estate of Richard F.Cahill
		Malladay	Mary	17	Servant	House keeper	/1896
	1900	Devenny	John	51		Supt. coal wharves	John Devenny/1900
			Catherine	43	Wife		
			Mary	21	Daughter		
			Frances	20	Daughter		
			William	13	Son	At school	
			Ca[illegible]	9	Daughter	At school	
2406	1871	Cahill	Richard F.			coal	
	1872	Cahill	Richard F.			coal	
			Thomas E.			coal	
	1880	Cahill	Richard F.	55		Coal shipper	
			Mary	54	Wife		
			Theresa	20	Daughter	At school	
			Mamie	18	Daughter	At school	
			Willie	13	Son	At school	
			Regina	9	Daughter	At school	
		Apel	Emma	17	Servant	House keeper	
	1883	Cahill	Richard F.			coal	
	1886	Cahill	Richard F.			clerk	Estate of Richard F. Cahill
	1890	Cahill	Richard F.			coal shipper	/1896
	1900	[no one listed]					
2408	1880	[no one listed]					
	1883	Cahill	Mary			wid. Thomas	
	1890	Cahill	Mary			wid. Thomas	Trustees of the Roman
	1900	Doyle	Chnstopher	34		Plumber	Catholic High School/1896
			Sarah	32	Wife		
			Ruth	1	Daughter		
2410	1880	[no one listed]					
	1883	Logan	James				
			William				
	1895	Logan	William				Trustees of the Roman
	1900	Logan	James	50		Painter	Catholic High School/1896
			Elizabeth	48	Wife		
			William	27	Son	Undertaker	
			Anna	21	Daughter	Sales lady	
			Catherine	15	Daughter	At school	
	1903	Logan	James				
			William			Undertaker	
2412	1880	[no one listed]					
	1883	Neuhauser	Charles			Wagonbuilder	
	1885	Neuhauser	Charles			Blacksmith	
	1900	[illegible]	[illegible]	34		Letter carrier	Trustees of the Roman
			Susan	34	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
			[illegible]	9 mo	Son		
2414	1880	[no one listed]					
	1882	Neuhauser	Charles B.			Wagonbuilder	
	1900	Chatley	John	55		Policeman	Trustees of the Roman
			John Jr.	29	Son	Clerk	Catholic High School/1896
			Robert	22	Son	Bookkeeper	John Chatley/1900
		Higgins	Fannie	35	Housekeeper	Housekeeper	
	1903	Winslow	John			Plumber	
2416	1880	[no one listed]					

Address	Date	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relation to Head	Occupation	Owner/Date
2416	1900	Hickson [?]	Stephen	65		Police sergeant	Trustees of the Roman
			Elizabeth	55	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
			Mary	21	Daughter		
2418	1867	Cahill	Thomas			Gent.	
	1872	Cahill	Thomas			[none given]	
	1878	Cahill	Mary			wid Thomas	
	1880	Cahill	Mary	62		Retired	
		Linner	Ellen	56	Boarder	Wash woman	
		Reaney	Matthew	23	Boarder	Ice driver	Trustees of the Roman
	1884	Neuhauser	Charles B.			Wagonbuilder	
	1903	Logan	William H.			Undertaker	Catholic High School/1896
2420	1867	Cahill	Richard			shipper	
	1869	Cahill	Richard			supt. Greenwich coal wharves	
	1880	Burke	Frank	24		Painter	Trustees of the Roman
			Bertie	22	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
	1900	[no one listed]					
2422	1880	[no one listed]					
	1895	Giggles	Henry				Trustees of the Roman
	1900	Barrett	[illegible]	40		Teamster	Catholic High School/1896
			Hanna	39	Wife		
			John	20	Son	Conductor	
		Brown	Mary	46	Boarder	Dress maker	
		Bird	David	77	Boarder	Watchman	
			Elizabeth	74	Boarder		
2424	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Wolfe	Charles	48		Nurse	Trustees of the Roman
			Elliisa	39	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
			Marie	13	Daughter	At school	
			Annie	10	Daughter	At school	
			Lucia[?]	6	Daughter	At school	
			Charles Jr.	3	Son		
	1903	Wolfe	Charles				
2426	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	Neel	Charles	46		Clerk	Trustees of the Roman
			Ellen	40	Wife		Catholic High School/1896
		G[T?]eary	Annie	28	Sister-in-law	Sales lady	
			John	38	Brother-in-law	Painter	
			Helen	11	Niece	At school	
			William	10	Nephew	At school	
			Mary	6	Niece	At school	
			Richard	42	Brother-in-law	Tin rooler	
			Morris	39	Brother-in-law	Printer	
2428	1880	[no one listed]					Trustees of the Roman
	1900	[no one listed]					Catholic High School/1896
2430	1880	[no one listed]					This address does not
	1900	[no one listed]					exist in 1896.
2432	1867	Cahill	Thomas E.			Pres., Knickerbocker Ice Co.	This address does not
	1869	Cahill	Thomas E.			Pres., Knickerbocker Ice Co.	exist in 1896.
	1880	[no one listed]					
	1900	[no one listed]					

Address	Date	Last Name	First Name	Age	Relation to Head	Marital Status	Occupation	Owner/Date
1	1880	Logan	James	32		M	Painter	
			Elizabeth	28	Wife	M	Keeping house	
			William	7	Son	S	Attending school	
			Ellen	4	Daughter	S		Amanda J. Ross/1892
			Anna	1	Daughter	S		Amanda Bowen/1896
	1900	Griffin	Michael	44		M	Day laborer	
			Margaret	44	Wife	M		
2	1880	Brown	Walter	39		M	Stone cutter	
			Jane	39	Wife	M	Keeping house	
			William J.	9	Son	S	Attending school	
			Alfred D.	6	Son	S	Attending school	
			Walter H.	4	Son	S		
			Charles F.	1	Son	S		Amanda J. Ross/1892
		Dobinson	Mary Ann	48	Sister-in-law	S	Tailoress	Amanda Bowen/1896
3	1880	Burns	Peter	35		M	Laborer	
			Mary	35	Wife	M	Keeping house	Samuel Ross/1896
	1900	Scott	A[illegible]	43		M		
			Elizabeth	23	Daughter	S	Clerk	
		Beatty	John	24	Boarder	S*	Day laborer	
		Beatty	Catharine	20	Boarder	M		
			Gertrude	1	Boarder	S		
4	1880	Harris	John F.	40		M	Laborer (gas works)	
			Margaret	35	Wife	M	Keeping house	
			William H.	14	Son	S	Carrier (glass house)	
			John F.	12	Son	S	Attending school	
			Clara Louise	8	Daughter	S	Attending school	Estate of John Ross/1896
	1900	Hoffman	Anne	36		M		
			Anna	12	Daughter	S		
			Kate	9	Daughter	S		
			Harry	3	Son	S		
5	1880	Jones	Thomas S.	36		M	Stoker (gas works)	
			Margaret	29	Wife	M	Keeping house	
			Henry C.	9	Son	S	Attending school	
			Sophia	8	Daughter	S	Attending school	
			Thomas	7	Son	S	Attending school	
		Moore	Margaret	60	Mother-in-law	W		Estate of John Ross/1896
	1900	Archer	Joseph	46		M	Bar tender	
			Anna M	47	Wife	M		
			Joseph D.	9	Son	S	At school	

Appendix M: Residents' Residences (those who could be traced)

2400 LOMBARD STREET					
Name	Address	Occupation	Date	Source	Notes
David **Bird**	315 Brooklyn	conductor	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	Brooklyn St. is in West Philadelphia.
	4207 Eadline	watchman	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	Eadline St. = Wallace St.
	4201 Wallace	grocer	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
	651 Brooklyn	conductor	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2422 Lombard	watchman	1900	12th U.S. Census	
David **Bird Jr.**	315 Brooklyn	driver	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
	4203 Eadline	fireman	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
	4216 Wallace	fireman	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
	655 Brooklyn	constable	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
Frank **Burke**	2420 Lombard	painter	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	2248 Pemberton	painter	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
Mary **Cahill**	2418 Lombard	wid. Thomas	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
		retired	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	2408 Lombard	wid. Thomas	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		wid. Thomas	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
		wid. Thomas	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
Richard F. **Cahill**	2420 Lombard	shipper	1867	Gopsill's City Directory	
		supt. Greenwich coal wharves	1869	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2406 Lombard	coal	1871	Gopsill's City Directory	
		coal	1872	Gopsill's City Directory	
		coal shipper	1880	10th U. S. Census	
		coal	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		clerk	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
		coal shipper	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
Thomas **Cahill**	2418 Lombard	Gent.	1867	Gopsill's City Directory	
		[none listed]	1872	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2402 Lombard	clerk in coal office	1880	10th U.S. Census	
Thomas E. **Cahill**	2406 Lombard	coal	1872	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2402 Lombard	coal	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		coal	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
Thomas E. **Cahill**	2432 Lombard	Pres. Knickerbocker Ice Co.	1867	Gopsill's City Directory	This Thomas E. Cahill died in 1878; had
	S. 25 cor. Lombard	Pres. Knickerbocker Ice Co.	1869	Gopsill's City Directory	no children. Later lived at 1910 Walnut.

Appendix M: Residents' Residences (those who could be traced)

Name	Address	Occupation	Date	Source	Notes
John **Conway**	2409 Lombard	glass blower	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	2403 Pine St.	glass blower	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
John **Devenny**	515 S. 24th St.	clerk	1869	Gopsill's City Directory	
			1871	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2404 Lombard	agent (119 Walnut)	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
		shipping clerk	1880	10th U.S. Census	
		John J. Devenny & Co.	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		clerk	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
		clerk	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
		[none listed]	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
		supt. coal wharves	1900	12th U.S. Census	
Matthew P. **Esher**	2405 Spruce	stoker	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	Matthew "P." and "Park" are the
Park **Esher**	2405 Spruce	police	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	same person?
		police	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		police	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
		stoker	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2419 Lombard	[none listed]	1900	12th U.S. Census	
John S. **Funk**	2324 Lombard	spinner	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2415 Lombard	woollen mill	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	2234 St. Alban's Place	spinner	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	St. Alban's runs E-W south of Fitzwater.
Frederick **Giggles**	2413 Lombard	engraver	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	1417 S. 18th St.	engraver	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2204 Lombard	engraver	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2306 Ashburton	engraver	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
Henry **Giggles**	731 Gray's Ferry Rd.	woolsorter	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2413 Lombard	woollen mill	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	1417 S. 18th St.	sorter	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2204 Lombard	wool sorter	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2422 Lombard	sorter	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
John E. **Grove**	2401 Lombard	druggist	1874	Boyd's Business Directory	
	2248 Ridge Av.	druggist	1877	Gopsill's City Directory	
Florence **Hart**	2419 Lombard [rear?]	firehouse matron	1900	12th U.S. Census	Father was a fireman, so daughter
Joseph W. **Hart**	2405 Spruce	fireman	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	becomes matron on his death?

Appendix M: Residents' Residences (those who could be traced)

Name	Address	Occupation	Date	Source	Notes
Catharine **Hyland**	2409 Lombard	wid. Patrick	1893	Gopsill's City Directory	
		wid. Patrick	1897	Gopsill's City Directory	
James **Hyland**	2409 Lombard	waiter	1897	Gopsill's City Directory	
Lawrence **Hyland**	2409 Lombard	clerk	1893	Gopsill's City Directory	
	409 S. 25th St.	police	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2308 Pine	police	1897	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2409 Lombard	[none listed]	1898	Gopsill's City Directory	
Patrick **Johnson**	S. 24th cor. Kent	laborer	1869	Gopsill's City Directory	
Charlotte **Johnson**	7th ward, 21st subdist.	[none listed]	1870	9th U.S. Census	Charlotte Johnson had at least
Charlotta[sic] Johnson	409 S. 24th St.	wid. Patrick	1875	Gopsill's City Directory	4 children: Charlotte (Kane),
		wid. Patrick	1877	Gopsill's City Directory	Peter, William, and Francis.
	2409 Lombard	keeping house	1880	10th U.S. Census	
		boarding	1881	Gopsill's City Directory	
		widow	1882	Gopsill's City Directory	
		boarding	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
	1636 Kater St.	boarding	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	Kater runs E-W just south of South St.
Peter **Johnson**	7th ward, 21st subdist.	apprentice glassblower	1870	9th U.S. Census	
	409 S. 24th St.	glassblower	1875	Gopsill's City Directory	
William **Johnson**	7th ward, 21st subdist.	apprentice glassblower	1870	9th U.S. Census	
	2409 Lombard	glass blower	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	1636 Kater St.	laborer	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	Kater runs E-W just south of South St.
Henry **Kane**	2404 Pine St.	glass blower	1871	Gopsill's City Directory	
Charlotte **Kane**	409 S. 24th St.	wid. Henry	1877	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2409 Lombard	vest maker	1880	10th U.S. Census	
		wid. Henry	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		wid. Harry	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2235 Carpenter	wid. Henry	1891	Gopsill's City Directory	

Appendix M: Residents' Residences (those who could be traced)

Name	Address	Occupation	Date	Source	Notes
Henry **Kearney**	2411 Lombard	at school	1880	10th U.S. Census	Henry/Harry is Richard's son.
Harry J.[sic]		clerk	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
Richard **Kearney**	2407 Factory	glassblower	1867	Gopsill's City Directory	Factory St. = Delancey St.
	2403 Lombard	grocer	1869	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2411 Lombard	glass blower	1871	Gopsill's City Directory	
		glassfinisher	1872	Gopsill's City Directory	
		glass blower	1880	10th U.S. Census	
		finisher	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		foreman	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
		supt.	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
		glass blower	1900	12th U.S. Census	
James **Keeley**	523 Chippewa	mariner	1867	Gopsill's City Directory	
	523 S. 27th St.	boat man	1871	Gopsill's City Directory	S. 27th St. = Chippewa St.
			1872	Gopsill's City Directory	Keeley is Owen Shields's son-in-law.
	2424 Ashburton	laborer	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2407 Lombard	gas house	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	2304 Naudain	police	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	Rear of house was #2 Ross Court.
John E. **Kelley**	615 Barnwell	engineer	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	Barnwell = Taney St.
	1926 Kater	engineer	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	Kater runs E-W just south of South St.
	2423 Lombard	chief engineer	1900	12th U. S. Census	
		chief engineer	1903	Gopsill's City Directory	
James **Logan**	7th ward, 21st subdist.	painter	1870	9th U.S. Census	
	2316 Naudain	painter	1871	Gopsill's City Directory	
		painter	1872	Gopsill's City Directory	
	1 Ross Court	painter	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	2410 Lombard	painter	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		painter (427 S. 20th)	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
		painter	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
		painter	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
		painter	1900	12th U.S. Census	
		painter	1903	Gopsill's City Directory	
William H. **Logan**	1 Ross Court	at school	1880	10th U.S. Census	William H. is James's son.
	2410 Lombard	undertaker	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2418 Lombard	undertaker	1903	Gopsill's City Directory	His business remained at 2410.

Appendix M: Residents' Residences (those who could be traced)

Name	Address	Occupation	Date	Source	Notes
Charles B. **Marshall**	2227 Gerritt	plumber	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	Gerrit runs E-W just south of Reed St.
	2425 Lombard	plumber	1900	12th U. S. Census	
John **McBride**	2418 Ashburton	boat man	1867	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2324 Lombard	laborer	1869	Gopsill's City Directory	
		boat man	1871	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2403 Lombard	segars	1872	Gopsill's City Directory	
		McBride Brothers, segars	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
		boat man	1880	10th U.S. Census	
		shipping (136 Walnut)	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		segars (2403 Lombard)	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
		segars	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
		[none listed]	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
		general contractor	1900	12th U.S. Census	
John **McFadden**	2400 Lombard	liquor dealer	1880	10th U.S. Census	
		liquors (335 S. 25th)	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
Charles **Neel**	2426 Lombard	clerk	1900	12th U.S. Census	
William **Nelson**	2405 Lombard	foreman	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2308 Naudain	foreman	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2409 Lombard	mill foreman	1900	12th U.S. Census	
		mill foreman	1903	Gopsill's City Directory	
Charles B. **Neuhauser**	2413 Lombard	blacksmith	1874	Boyd's Business Directory	
	244 S. 40th St.	wagonmaker	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
	414 S. 22nd St.	wagonbuilder	1879	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2327 Lombard	wagonbuilder	1881	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2414 Lombard	wagonbuilder	1882	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2412 Lombard	wagonbuilder	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2418 Lombard	wagonbuilder	1884	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2412 Lombard	blacksmith	1885	Boyd's Business Directory	
	2312 Lombard	wagons	1888	Gopsill's City Directory	
John **Neuhauser**	2415 Lombard	wheelwright	1875	Gopsill's City Directory	
	244 S. 40th St.	wagonmaker	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
James **Rhodes**	319 Dugan Ct.	porter	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	Dugan Ct. ran N-S from
	625 Forbes Court	carrier P.O.	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	1512 Spruce to 1514 Pine St.
	2421 Lombard	letter carrier	1900	12th U.S. Census	

Appendix M: Residents' Residences (those who could be traced)

Name	Address	Occupation	Date	Source	Notes
Clarence **Richardson**	2405 Lombard	[none listed]	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	1118 S. 22nd St.	motorman	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
William W. **Richardson**	School Lane, Falls Sch.	coachman	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2405 Lombard	coachman	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	2047 Lombard	coachman	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
	1118 S. 22nd St.	coachman	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
James **Shields**	2403 Ashburton	laborer	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	Owen and Maggie are James's parents.
	2407 Lombard	galvanizer	1880	10th U.S. Census	
Maggie **Shields**	2540 Eagleson	wid. Owen	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	Eagleson St. = Montrose; it runs E-W
Owen **Shields**	2431 Washington Ave.	shoemaker	1867	Gopsill's City Directory	between Christian and Carpenter Sts.
		shoemaker	1869	Gopsill's City Directory	
	[no home address]	boots (1811 South St.)	1871	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2403 Ashburton	shoemaker	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2407 Lombard	shoemaker	1880	10th U.S. Census	
John H. **Symington**	Girard College	student	1870	9th U.S. Census	
	1702 Burton	fireman	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	Burton St. ran E-W from 15th-18th,
	2431 Lombard	city fireman	1900	12th U.S. Census	at 514 South (between
		fireman	1903	Gopsill's City Directory	Lombard and South St.).

Appendix M: Residents' Residences (those who could be traced)

Name	Address	Occupation	Date	Source	Notes
John **Winsiow**	7th ward, 20th dist.	iaborer	1870	9th U.S. Census	
	2008 Hampton	plumber	1878	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2309 Ashburton	plumber	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
		piumber	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2417 Lombard	piumber	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
		plumber	1900	12th U.S. Census	
	2414 Lombard	piumber (2121 Lombard)	1903	Gopsill's City Directory	
William **Winsiow**	2417 Lombard	clerk	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
		clerk	1900	12th U.S. Census	
Charles **Wolfe**	1934 Lombard	nurse	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
		nurse	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
	2424 Lombard	nurse	1900	12th U.S. Census	
ROSS COURT					
Name	**Address**	**Occupation**	**Date**	**Source**	
Walter V. **Brown**	2 Ross Court	stone cutter	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	r. 518 S. 23rd St.	stone cutter	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	Another way to refer to Ross Court?
		stone cutter	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
Michael **Griffin**	r. 518 S. 23rd	motorman	1895	Gopsill's City Directory	
	1 Ross Court	day laborer	1900	12th U.S. Census	
John F. **Harris**	4 Ross Court	iaborer (gas works)	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	2308 Naudain	laborer	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	Rear of 2308 Naudain was 4 Ross Ct.
	2113 Latona	iaborer	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
John F. **Harris, Jr.**	4 Ross Court	attending school	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	2113 Latona	iaborer	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	Latona runs E-W just north of Wharton.
Harry **Hoffman**	2528 South St.	[none iisted]	1890	Gopsill's City Directory	
Anne Hoffman	4 Ross Court	[none listed]	1900	12th U.S. Census	
Thomas S. **Jones**	2105 Lombard	brick maker	1869	Gopsill's City Directory	
	7th ward, 20th dist.	brick maker	1870	9th U.S. Census	
	5 Ross Court	stoker (gas works)	1880	10th U.S. Census	
	5 Ross Court	brick maker	1883	Gopsill's City Directory	
		brick maker	1886	Gopsill's City Directory	
James **Logan**	1 Ross Court	painter	1880	SEE ABOVE @ LOMBARD	

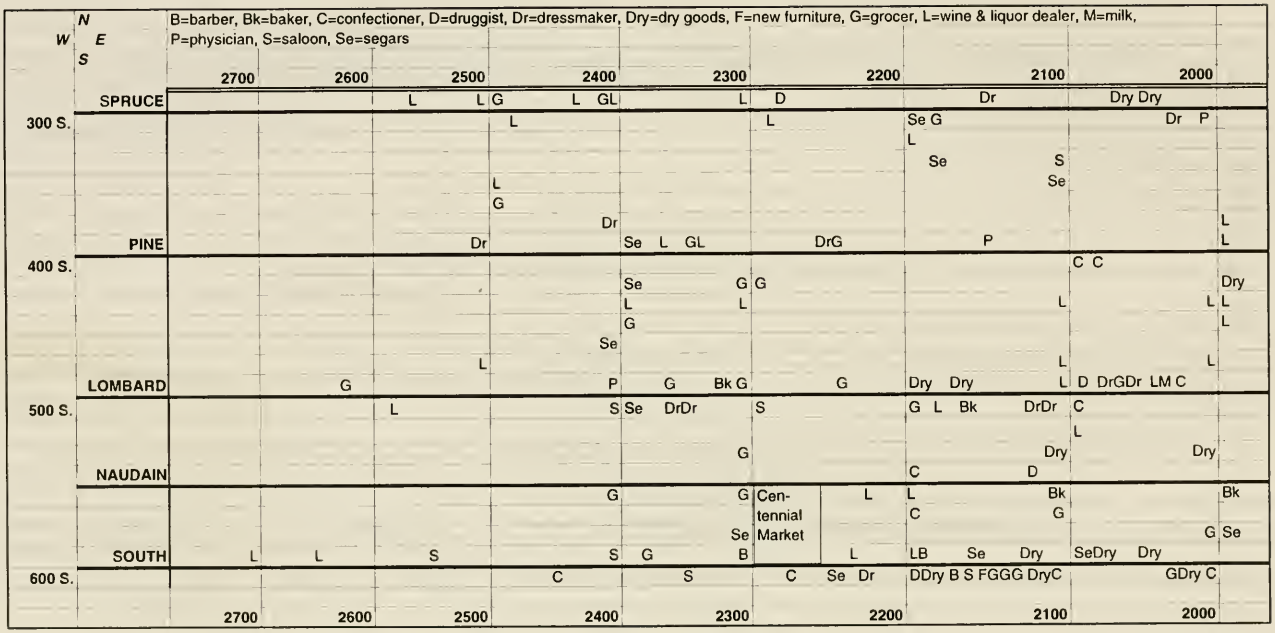
Appendix N: Frequency of Occupations, 1880-1900

2400 LOMBARD STREET			ROSS COURT	
Occupation	# of Persons	Notes	Occupation	# of Persons
At school	40		At school	9
Blacksmith	1		Bar tender	1
Bricklayer	2		Carrier	1
Boarding	1		Clerk	1
Boat man	1		Keeping house	5
Bookkeeper	1		Laborer	3
Builder	1		Painter	1
Car builder	1		Stoker	1
Clerk	11		Stone cutter	1
Coachman	1		Tailoress	1
Coal (unspecified)	1		No occupation (13<age)	6
Coal shipper	1			30
Conductor	1			
Contractor	1			
Dress maker	1			
Druggist	3			
Electrician	1			
Engineer	1			
Engraver	1			
Errand boy	1			
Firehouse matron	1			
Fireman	2			
Foreman	4			
Galvanizer	1			
Gas house worker	1			
Gentleman	1			
Glass house worker	2			
Glassblower	4			
Grocer	1			
Housekeeper/Servant	5	(A person unrelated to household head.)		
Keeping house	12			
Laborer	3			
Lady	1			
Laundress	3			
Letter carrier	2			
Liquor dealer	1			
Machine moulder	1			
Nurse	1			
Painter	4			
Plumber	4			
Police	2			
President of Co.	1			
Printer	1			
Retired	1			
Salesman	1			
Saleswoman	4			
Saloon keeper	1			
Seamstress	2			
Segars	1			

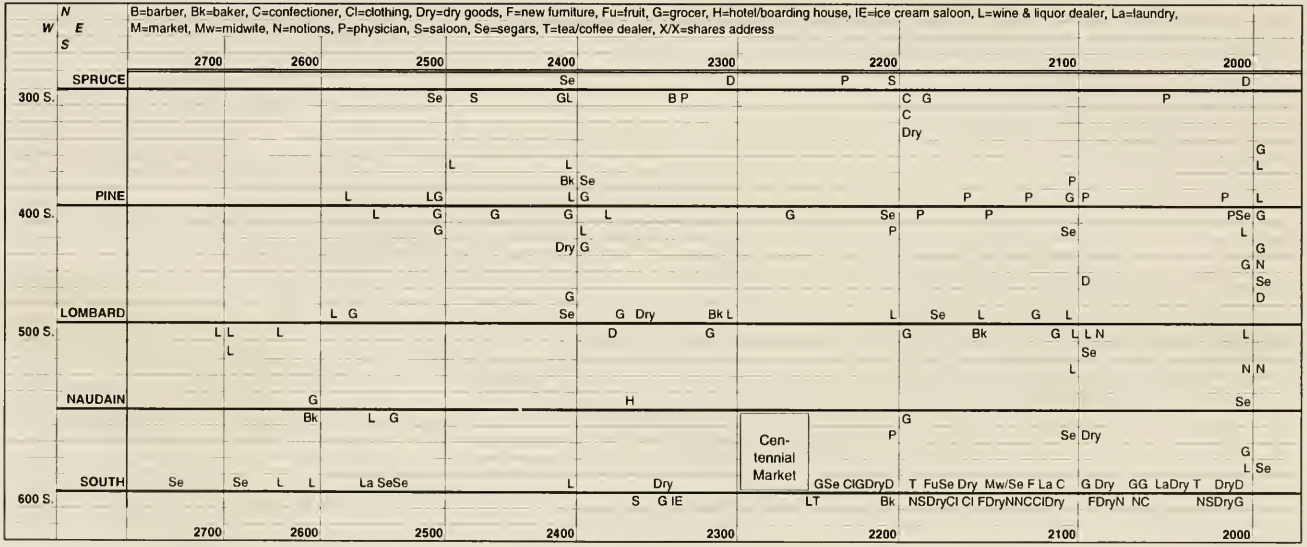
Appendix N: Frequency of Occupations, 1880-1900

Occupation	# of Persons	Notes	Occupation	# of Persons
Shipper	2			
Shoemaker	1			
Stevedore	1			
Stonecutter	1			
Teacher	1			
Teamster/Driver	4			
Tin roofer	1			
Tobacco stripper	1			
Undertaker	1			
Vest maker	3			
Wagonbuilder	1			
Waiter	1			
Watchman	1			
Wheelwright	1			
Widow	3			
Woollen mill (unspecified)	4			
Woollen sorter	2			
Woollen worster	1			
No Occupation (13<age)	36			
	206			

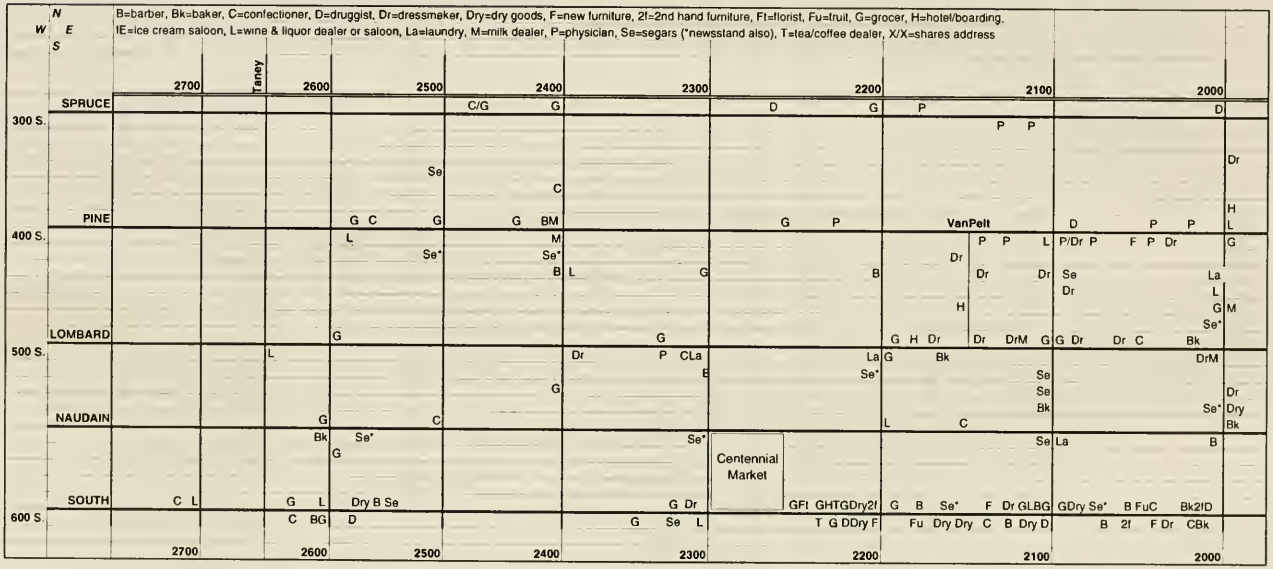
Appendix O: Schuylkill Neighborhood Business Map - 1874 (not to scale)



Appendix P: Schuylkill Neighborhood Business Map - 1885 (not to scale)



Appendix Q: Schuylkill Neighborhood Business Map - 1901 (not to scale)



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‡ The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
þ The Athenæum of Philadelphia

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