NOMINATION OF HISTORIC BUILDING, STRUCTURE, SITE, OR OBJECT
PHILADELPHIA REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
PHILADELPHIA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

SUBMIT ALL ATTACHED MATERIALS ON PAPER AND IN ELECTRONIC FORM ON CD (MS WORD FORMAT)

---

1. ADDRESS OF HISTORIC RESOURCE (must comply with an Office of Property Assessment address)

Street address: **48-62 E. Penn Street**

Postal code: **19144** Councilmanic District: **8**

---

2. NAME OF HISTORIC RESOURCE

Historic Name: **The Mifflin-Cope House**

Common Name: **Waring House**

---

3. TYPE OF HISTORIC RESOURCE

X Building ☐ Structure ☐ Site ☐ Object

---

4. PROPERTY INFORMATION

Condition: ☐ excellent ☐ good ☒ fair ☐ poor ☐ ruins

Occupancy: ☐ occupied ☒ vacant ☐ under construction ☐ unknown

Current use: **Non-Functional**

---

5. BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

Please attach a plot plan and written description of the boundary. **SEE ATTACHED SHEET**.

---

6. DESCRIPTION **SEE ATTACHED SHEET.**

Please attach a description of the historic resource and supplement with current photographs.

---

7. SIGNIFICANCE

Please attach the Statement of Significance. [See Attached Sheet]

Period of Significance (from year to year): from **1850** to **1960**

Date(s) of construction and/or alteration: **1849-1850 and 1876**

Architect, engineer, and/or designer: **Addison Hutton (1876)**

Builder, contractor, and/or artisan: **Unknown**

Original owner: **Lloyd Mifflin**

Other significant persons: **Marmaduke Cooper Cope**

CRITERIA FOR DESIGNATION:

The historic resource satisfies the following criteria for designation (check all that apply):

X **(a) Has significant character, interest or value as part of the development, heritage or cultural characteristics of the City, Commonwealth or Nation or is associated with the life of a person significant in the past; or,**

(b) Is associated with an event of importance to the history of the City, Commonwealth or Nation; or

X (**c) Reflects the environment in an era characterized by a distinctive architectural style; or,**

X **(d) Embodies distinguishing characteristics of an architectural style or engineering specimen; or,**

X **(e) Is the work of a designer, architect, landscape architect or designer, or engineer whose work has significantly influenced the historical, architectural, economic, social, or cultural development of the City, Commonwealth or Nation; or,**

(f) Contains elements of design, detail, materials or craftsmanship which represent a significant innovation; or,

(g) Is part of or related to a square, park or other distinctive area which should be preserved according to an historic, cultural or architectural motif; or,

(h) Owing to its unique location or singular physical characteristic, represents an established and familiar visual feature of the neighborhood, community or City; or,

(i) Has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in pre-history or history; or

(j) Exemplifies the cultural, political, economic, social or historical heritage of the community.

---

8. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Please attach a bibliography. **SEE ATTACHED SHEET.**

---

9. NOMINATOR

Name with Title: **Joseph McCarthy, Board Member**

Organization: **Historic Germantown**

Email: **jfmccarthy3rdarchitecture@gmail.com**

Date: **8 July 2016.**

Street Address: **5501 Germantown Avenue**

Telephone: **(215) 844-8118**

City, State, and Postal Code: **Philadelphia, PA 19144**

Nominators are not the property owners.

PHC USE ONLY

Date of Receipt: 7/8/2016

☒ Correct-Complete ☐ Incorrect-Incomplete Date: 8/30/2016

Date of Notice Issuance: 8/30/2016

Property Owner at Time of Notice

Name: Waring House LLC

Address: 5118 Germantown Ave

City: Philadelpia State: PA Postal Code: 19144

Date(s) Reviewed by the Committee on Historic Designation: _____

Date(s) Reviewed by the Historical Commission: _____

Date of Final Action: _____

☐ Designated ☐ Rejected

Nomination for the

Philadelphia Register of Historic Places

The Mifflin-Cope House, also known as Waring House, 48 E. Penn Street. Ca. 1920s.
Courtesy Eric E. Thompson and Robert Smith.

The Mifflin-Cope House
also known as Waring House
48-62 East Penn Street
Germantown
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Descendants of Marmaduke C. Cope, the Warings, decorate the Christmas Tree in the west parlor of 48 E. Penn Street. Ca. 1940s. Courtesy Eric E. Thompson and Robert Smith.

5. BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

Known separately as 48-56 East Penn Street and 62 East Penn Street, the property is now known as 48-62 East Penn Street (48 E. Penn Street) and the boundary description is as follows:

PARCEL A: ALL THAT CERTAIN messuage or tenement and lot or piece of land with the buildings and improvements thereon erected.

BEGINNING at a point in the southeasterly side of East Penn Street at the distance of 437 feet northeastward from the northeasterly side of Main Street or Germantown Avenue; thence along the northeasterly side of a certain alley or passageway 11 feet in width southeastwardly at right angles to the said East Penn Street 103 feet 2.25 inches; thence by the head of said 11 feet wide alley southwestwardly 5 feet 6 inches; thence by land granted to Robert P. Morton southeastwardly 42 feet 6 and 1/8 inches to a corner; thence by the lands formerly of Charles J. Blister, now deceased, northeastwardly 154 feet 6 inches; thence by land hereinafter described northwestwardly on a line at right angles to the said East Penn Street 146 feet 1 inch to the said side of East Penn Street and thence along said side of East Penn Street southwestwardly 149 feet to the place of beginning.

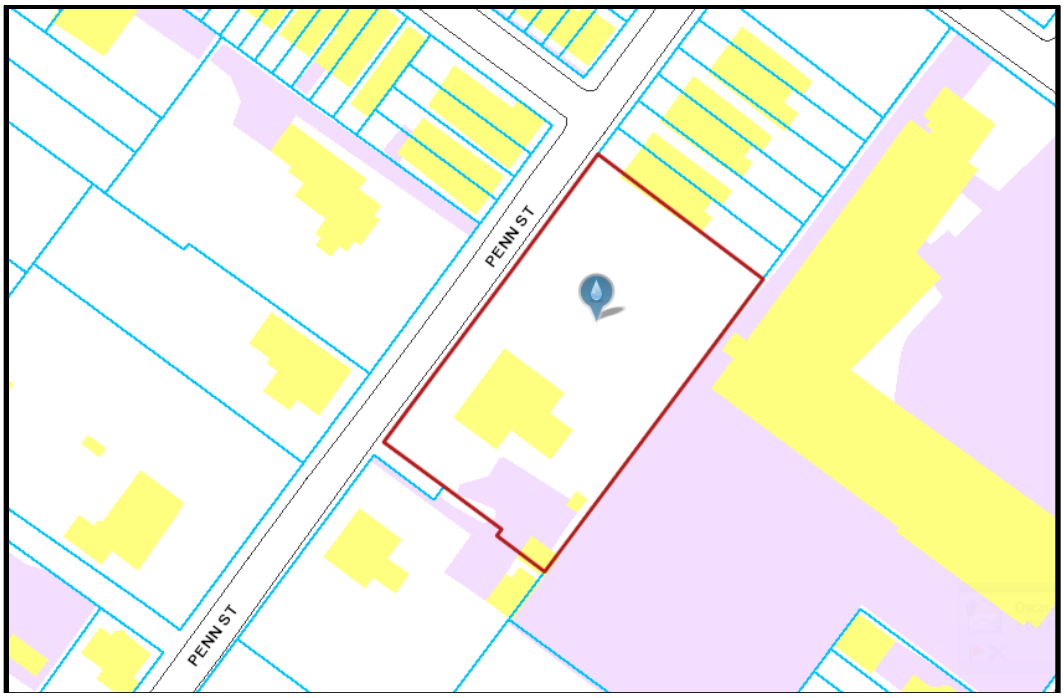
BEING known as 48-56 East Penn Street and Philadelphia Department of Records Parcel No. 054N01-0124.

PARCEL B: ALL THAT CERTAIN lot or piece of ground with the messuage or tenement thereon erected, SITUATE on the southeasterly side of East Penn Street

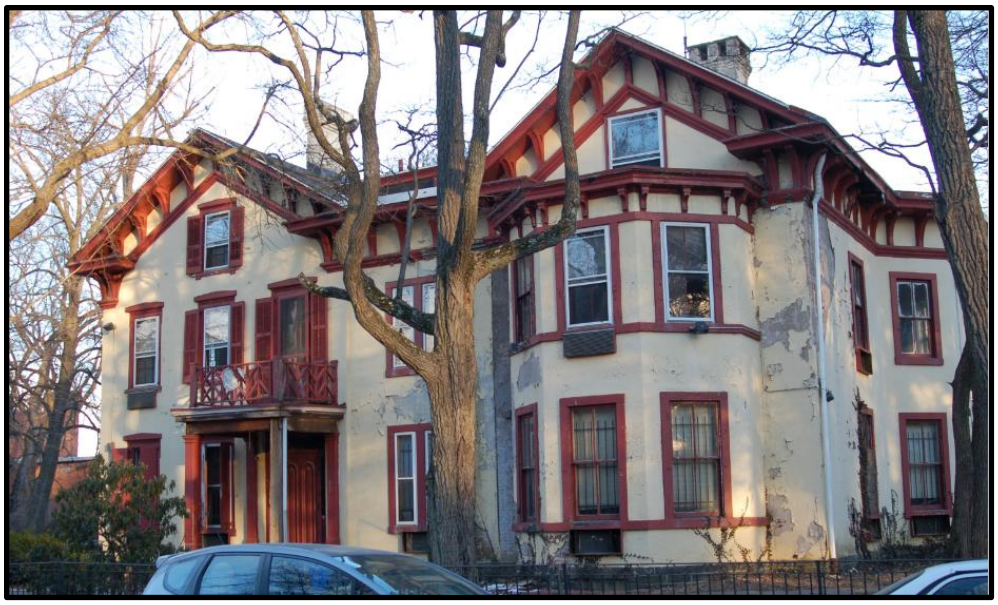
BEGINNING at a point on the southeasterly side of East Penn Street at the distance of 586 feet northeastwardly from the northeasterly side of Germantown Avenue. CONTAINING in front or breadth on the said East Penn Street 100 feet and extending of that width in length or depth southeastwardly between parallel lines at right angles with the said East Penn Street 146 feet on the southwesterly side thereof and 146 feet 3.25 inches on the northeasterly side thereof.

BEING known as 62 East Penn Street and Philadelphia Department of Records Parcel No. 054N01-0125.

Both properties (Parcels A and B) known as Tax Account No. BRT_ID 121134811.



The boundary for the subject property is in red. Courtesy Philadelphia Water.



Looking southeast.

6. ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION

Situated five hundred feet northeast of Germantown Avenue on East Penn Street, the Mifflin-Cope House at 48 E. Penn Street is a two-and-one-half story suburban "villa" built primarily of rough-cast (stucco-covered) brick. Its double-gabled façade and bracketed cornice give symmetry and visual coherence to a structure erected in two distinct phases. Fabric beneath the eastern gable dates to circa 1850 and is distinguished by the use of splayed and shouldered window surrounds. These are capped by low pediments on the façade and are generally accompanied by louvered shutters. An additional? Doric entrance porch accentuates the Greek effect (the Chippendale railing above is probably a later addition). Architraves on the remainder of the building are flat and rectilinear. The few original or early twentieth century shutters that survive in these sections of the building are three-panel in design and are concentrated at the southeast portion of the house.

The later date of the house's western half (1876) is indicated by the use of bracketed, three-sided bays and two-over-two sash windows on the older section of the building are six-over-six and the eastern bay is an addition. Another hallmark of the newer construction is the use of heavy-headed chimneys: two on the main block and one on the kitchen wing. Dormers are few and unevenly distributed: one between the rear gables, three of unequal size on the roof's principal eastern pitch. Overall, the house retains a high level of architectural integrity. The main exceptions are stucco loss near downspouts, openings cut beneath windows to accommodate air conditioners, and the substitution of a solid wood post for one of the front porch's box piers. There have been no significant additions since 1900 with the possible exception of a sleeping porch on the rear wing. The roof is clad in asphalt shingles, but the low pitch makes this unobtrusive.

Looking southeast..

Looking east.

Looking east.

Looking northeast. Courtesy Volunteers of the Germantown Historical Society.

Looking north.

Looking north.

Looking south.

Looking south.

Looking south.

Looking southeast across E. Penn Street from the Selena Willing House.

Looking southeast.

Garage

Designed by Brockie & Hastings, Architects, in 1911, the building is a small, single-car garage of frame construction. The building appears to retain its original form, featuring replacement or concealed double doors. Despite the fact that its gable-front roof is missing elements of its cladding and is in poor condition, this structure could easily be made serviceable again and is a contributing resource to the subject designation.

Looking east at the garage.

Auxiliary Building

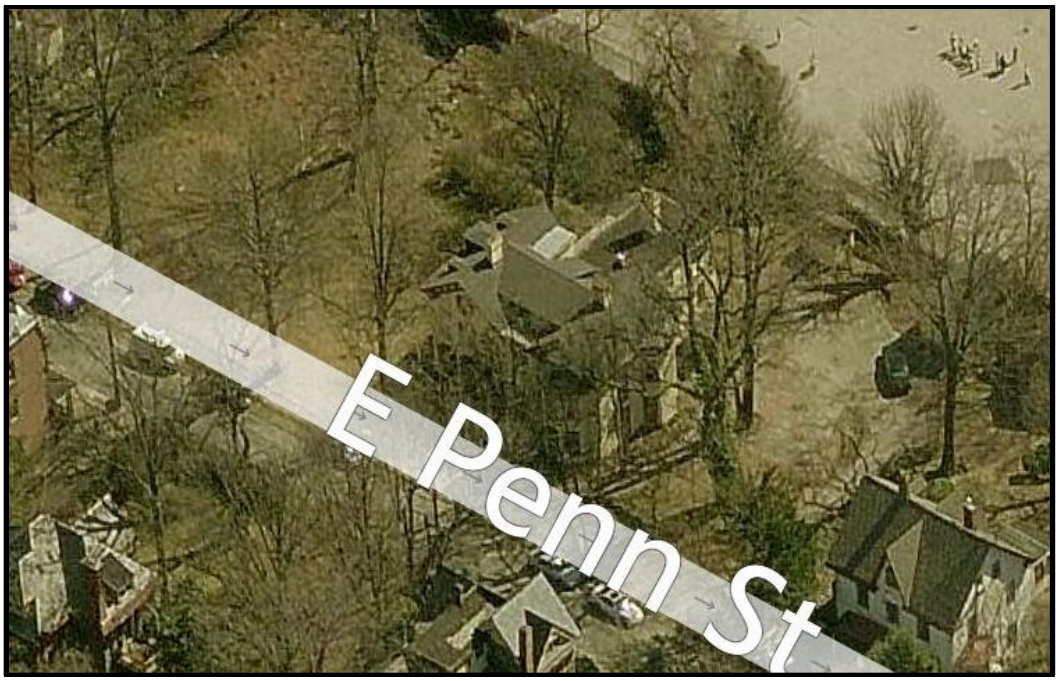
Designed by Brockie & Hastings, Architects, in 1911, the building is a small auxiliary

building of frame construction. The building appears to retain its original form, featuring a similar massing as sale as the garage. Despite the fact that its physical features are obscured by vegetation, it is one of two outbuildings that day to the Waring ownership of the property. The condition of the building is unclear; however, it may easily be made serviceable again and is a contributing resource to the subject designation.

Looking west at the shed.

Setting

The setting of the Mifflin-Cope House and its environs at E. Penn Street convey an overall feeling of gracious suburban grandeur. Like its neighbors, the subject building is set upon a large verdurous lot that was once adorned with simple, but beautiful plantings. The space created by the large lot is important to the suburban feeling of the house and its street.



Looking north. Courtesy Bing Maps.

Looking south. Courtesy Bing Maps.

Looking east. Courtesy Bing Maps.

Looking west. Courtesy Bing Maps.

Looking southeast. From the Franklin Fire Insurance Survey, ca. 1920s.
Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

7. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Mifflin-Cope House at 48 E. Penn Street is a significant historic property that merits designation by the Philadelphia Historical Commission and inclusion on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places. Located in Germantown, the house at 48 E. Penn Street satisfies the following Criteria for Designation, as enumerated in Section 14-1004 of the Philadelphia Code:

> *(a) Has significant character, interest or value as part of the development, heritage or cultural characteristics of the City, Commonwealth, or Nation and is associated with the life of a person significant in the past;*
>
> *(c) Reflects the environment in an era characterized by a distinctive architectural style;*
>
> *(d) Embodies distinguishing characteristics of an architectural style or engineering specimen; and*
>
> *(e) Is the work of a designer, architect, landscape architect or designer, or engineer whose work has significantly influenced the historical, architectural, economic, social, or cultural development of the City, Commonwealth or Nation.*

The period of significance for the subject designation is 1850 to 1960.

A descendant of Marmaduke C. Cope, one of the Warings, poses in the original, east parlor in her wedding dress at 48 E. Penn Street. Ca. 1930-40s. Courtesy Eric E. Thompson and Robert Smith.

The Old Germantown Bank, below E. Penn Street. Sketch by John Richard.
Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Historic Context: Physical History of 48 E. Penn Street

Formerly known as Shoemaker's Lane, East Penn Street (E. Penn Street) was one of the early cross streets of Germantown opened sometime before 1693 opened between the lots of Abraham Tünes and Marie Hendricks, widow of Garret, and in the eighteenth century served as the road to Conrad Weaver/Weber's, which stood on the Little Wingohocking Creek near present-day Ogontz and Kemble Avenues.[1] Another old landmark of the Hendricks/Shoemaker family, known as the "Rock House," stood for nearly two centuries at the juncture of E. Penn Street and Belfield Avenue

At Germantown Avenue, E. Penn Street formed the dividing line between original "Lot 7" and "Lot 8".[2] Just northwest of E. Penn Street ("Lot 8") was a single property on which stood the Shoemaker Mansion at 5301-5303 Germantown Avenue. Likely built in

[1] Minutes of the General Court of the Corporation of Germantown, 23 day 12 month 1692/3 (J.M. Duffin, ed., *Acta Germanopolis: Records of the Corporation of Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1691 – 1707* [Philadelphia: Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, 2008], 182, 245).

[2] John Palmer, Garber, Naaman Henry Keyser, and C. Henry Kain, *History of Old Germantown* (Philadelphia: 1907), 62.

the early eighteenth century, the Mansion was razed after George Henry Thomson purchased the old Shoemaker estate (which then stretched from Germantown Avenue to the railroad) in 1842.[3] The southeast side of E. Penn Street were several lots that were subdivided from the original "Lot 7" in the 1730s and 40s. The houses of these lots were on Germantown Avenue and E. Penn Street merely formed a means of access to the rear of their lots into the 1840s.

The Victorian suburban development of E. Penn Street began with George H. Thomson. In the place of the Shoemaker Mansion, he created several lots along Germantown Avenue and built a set of houses known as Cottage Row, "one of the earliest and most celebrated examples of a uniform setback in [nineteenth century] Germantown" and the first local product of a practice known "bonus building."[4]. Some distance behind Cottage Row, Thomson built for himself and his wife Rebecca Harrison Willing a large mansion which he called Mayfield. Thomson encouraged some limited development on his frontage on the northwest side of E. Penn Street. In October 1849, he sold off a lot on ground rent to John Jay Smith who built his home, Ivy Lodge, on the site.[5] Other houses were built on E. Penn Street and at the other end of the property on the 5300 block of Baynton Street in the 1860s and 1880s. After Thomson's death, his widow's relatives in the Willing family built a few more houses on E. Penn Street in the 1880s. Eventually both Mayfield and Cottage Row were demolished.[6]

The development of the southeast side of E. Penn Street (which the subject building stands) is tied primarily to one person, Lloyd Mifflin, as with other side of street. Following Thomson's lead, Mifflin started acquiring land on E. Penn Street in April 1849.[7] The first property he purchased, with the help of Philadelphia printer Cephas G. Childs, was the house and lot at the corner of Germantown Avenue. The lot stretched just beyond present-day Wakefield Street. Because the depth of the along the E. Penn Street was only 25 feet, Mifflin worked on buying the back end of the Bank of Germantown (where he was the cashier until May 1850) property at 5275-5277 Germantown Avenue. In September 1850 Cephas Childs was able to get part of this lot

---

[3] Deed: Robert Morris, of the City of Philadelphia, doctor of medicine, to George H. Thomson, of the same, gentleman, 1 April 1842, Philadelphia Deed Book G.S., No. 39, p. 112, City Archives of Philadelphia (hereafter CAP).

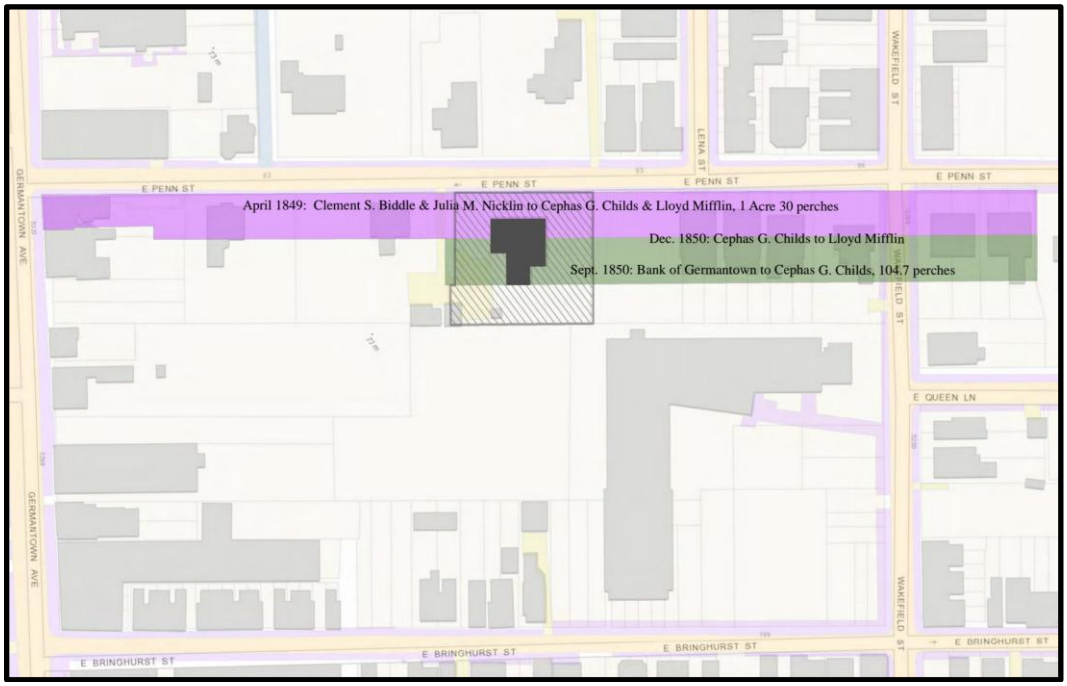
[4] Nancy A. Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (Phd diss., University of Delaware, 2008), 118; Charles Jenkins, *The Guide Book to Historic Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1902), 89, 296 n. 23.

[5] Deed: George H. Thomson, of Germantown, and Rebecca H., his wife, to John Jay Smith, of Germantown, 29 October 1849, Philadelphia Deed Book T.H., No. 74, p. 342, CAP.

[6] Mayfield was torn down in the late 1890s and the surviving buildings that formed Cottage Row were demolished in the 1960s, in spite of being placed on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places.

[7] Deed Tripartite: Clement C. Biddle, esq., of the city, first part, and Julia M. Nicklin, of the city, second part, to Cephas G. Childs and Lloyd Mifflin, of Germantown, 25 April 1849, for $3,550, Philadelphia Deed Book G.W.C., No. 9, p. 320, CAP.

which added an addition 25 feet to Mifflin's previous purchase.[8] Once the title was transferred in December 1850, Mifflin was able to offer 50-foot deep lots along E. Penn Street for sale to upscale buyers.[9]



Lloyd Mifflin's acquisitions of the parcels that created the south side of E. Penn Street, which includes 48 E. Penn Street at center. Courtesy J. M. Duffin.

This was a very active time in suburban development in Germantown. West Walnut Lane was opened in 1849/50, W. Tulpehocken Street in 1850, and a development called "Linden Place" was being laid out on E. Locust Street and Church Lane in 1850.[10] Mifflin did not lose any time reaping returns from his investment. Once he had the full 50 foot depth to offer buyers, he sold two lots on ground rent and two clear in December 1850.[11] Three of the buyers were fellow Quakers and two were relatives (William E. Hacker and Ann Mifflin). Not unlike Thomson's ground rent deed for John Jay Smith's

[8] Deed: Bank of Germantown to Cephas G. Childs, of the county of Philadelphia, publisher, 13 September 1850, for $1,200, Philadelphia Deed Book A.D.B., No. 41, p. 439 (recorded in 1858), CAP.

[9] Deed: Cephus G. Childs, of Germantown, publisher, and Ann, his wife, to Lloyd Mifflin, of the same place, accountant, 14 December 1850, for $2,737.54, Philadelphia Deed Book G.W.C., No. 75, p. 386, CAP.

[10] Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization of Germantown," 104; "Linden Place," *Germantown Telegraph*, March 27, 1850.

[11] Deed: Lloyd Mifflin, of Germantown, to William E. Hacker, 17 December 1850, Philadelphia Deed Book G.W.C., No. 75, p. 384; Deed: Deed: Lloyd Mifflin, of Borough of Germantown, accountant, and Hannah H., his wife, to Ann Mifflin, city, single woman, 7 December 1850, Philadelphia Deed Book G.W.C., No. 75, p. 403; Deed: Lloyd Mifflin, of Borough of Germantown, accountant, and Hannah H., his wife, to Ann C. Coleman, of the city, widow, Philadelphia Deed Book G.W.C., No. 86, p. 170; Deed: Lloyd Mifflin, of Borough of Germantown, accountant, and Hannah H., his wife, to David Maule, of the city, gentleman, Philadelphia Deed Book G.W.C., No. 86, p. 173, CAP.

Ivy Lodge, these sales required the buyers to build "a substantial building of value sufficient to secure" the ground rent with one year of the purchase. By 1852, the southeast side of E. Penn Street would have three new houses on it in addition to the land Lloyd Mifflin set aside for his own house. Additional houses were built on the lots into the 1860s. Almost all the owners of these houses were Quakers and also fairly closely related to one another as well as the Smith family across the street.

Lloyd Mifflin's sales of the parcels that created the south side of E. Penn Street, which includes 48 E. Penn Street at center. Courtesy J. M. Duffin.

Historic Context: Brief History of 48 E. Penn Street

For much of their married life Lloyd Mifflin and Hannah Hacker resided in a proper, Federal-style Philadelphia townhouse in the heart of the Quaker City, as most of their interests were in town. It was only after Mr. Mifflin's administrative service during the closure of the Bank of the United States that the couple began visiting Germantown, which had become a second home to his wife's "Brother Jeremiah" Hacker and "Sister [-in-law] Beulah" Morris after the purchase of their own country seat in 1837, "Woodside", at 339 E. Wister Street.

According to the published Mifflin family history, Lloyd was paid for his exceptional service during the closure of the bank with his own "cottage" on Penn Street. While the issues surrounding the closure of the bank first began in the mid-1830s, it is possible that Mifflin was involved through the early 1840s.

The Mifflins first lived at 5218 Germantown Avenue next door to "Brother Isaiah" Hacker, who apparently hosted his sister and brother-in-law for dinner regularly at their home "Maple Lodge" at 5214 Germantown Avenue, as the Hackers and Mifflins lived in

walking distance from one another.[12]

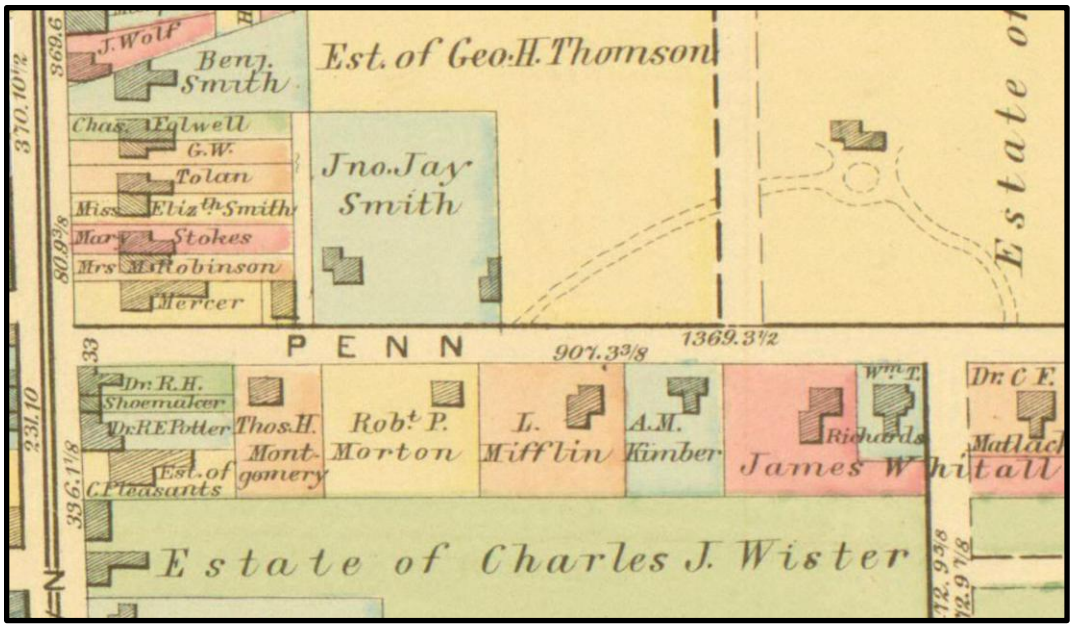
Lloyd Mifflin's retirement from the Bank of Germantown corresponds with his decisive settlement on E. Penn Street. Interestingly, the lots that comprise the unit block of E. Penn Street were in the rear of the bank's property. It was here that he retired in a modest size cottage at 5 Shoemaker's Lane, later known as 5 Penn Street and eventually as 48 E. Penn Street. He and his wife may have lived on property or in the vicinity as early as 1844-1845. Letters in 1844 and 1846 reference "setting up housekeeping" and make specific references to not "boarding".[13] Their removal to Germantown is confirmed by records from December 25, 1844 at the "Monthly Meeting of Friends at Philadelphia for the Southern District".

Construction of the first phase of the house appears to have been completed by February 1850, when Lloyd Mifflin insured the house with the Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia. The pages of this survey are below, as well as a floor plan showing the portion of the subject house that stands today as the oldest section.

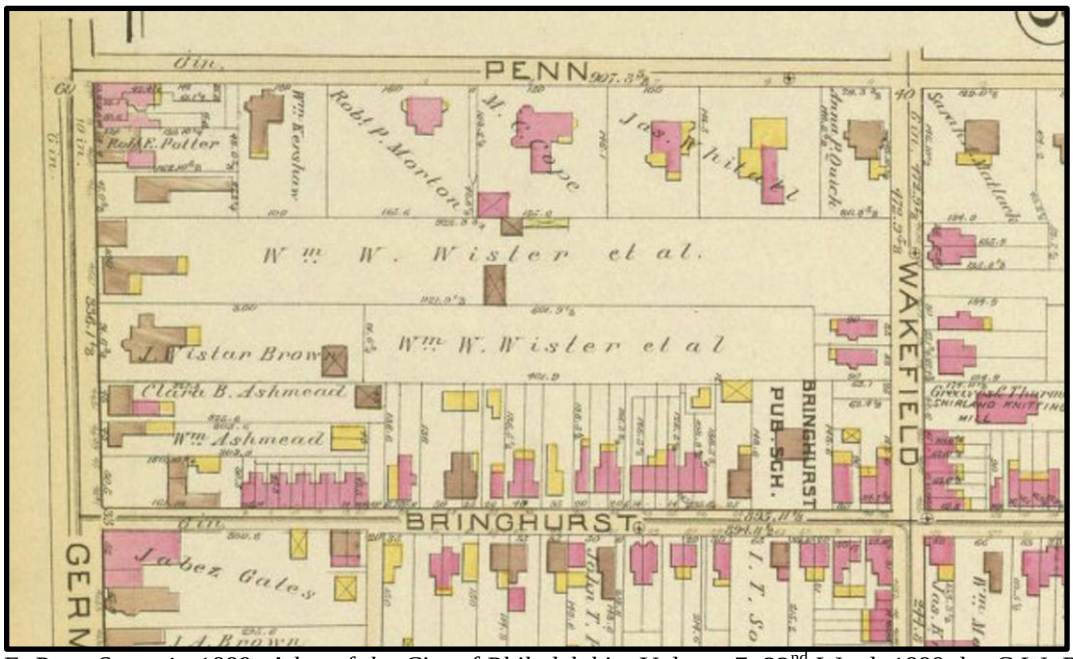
E. Penn Street in 1851. *Map of the Township of Germantown, Philadelphia County, Penna.*, 1851. By John Flynn. Shows original location for Wakefield Street (later shifted east). Courtesy Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network.

[12] J.C. Sidney, *Map of the Township of Germantown* (Philadelphia: R.P. Smith, ca. 1848). 5218 Germantown Avenue was purchased by Isaiah Hacker in 1848 (Philadelphia Deed Book R.L.L., No. 18, p. 748, CAP).

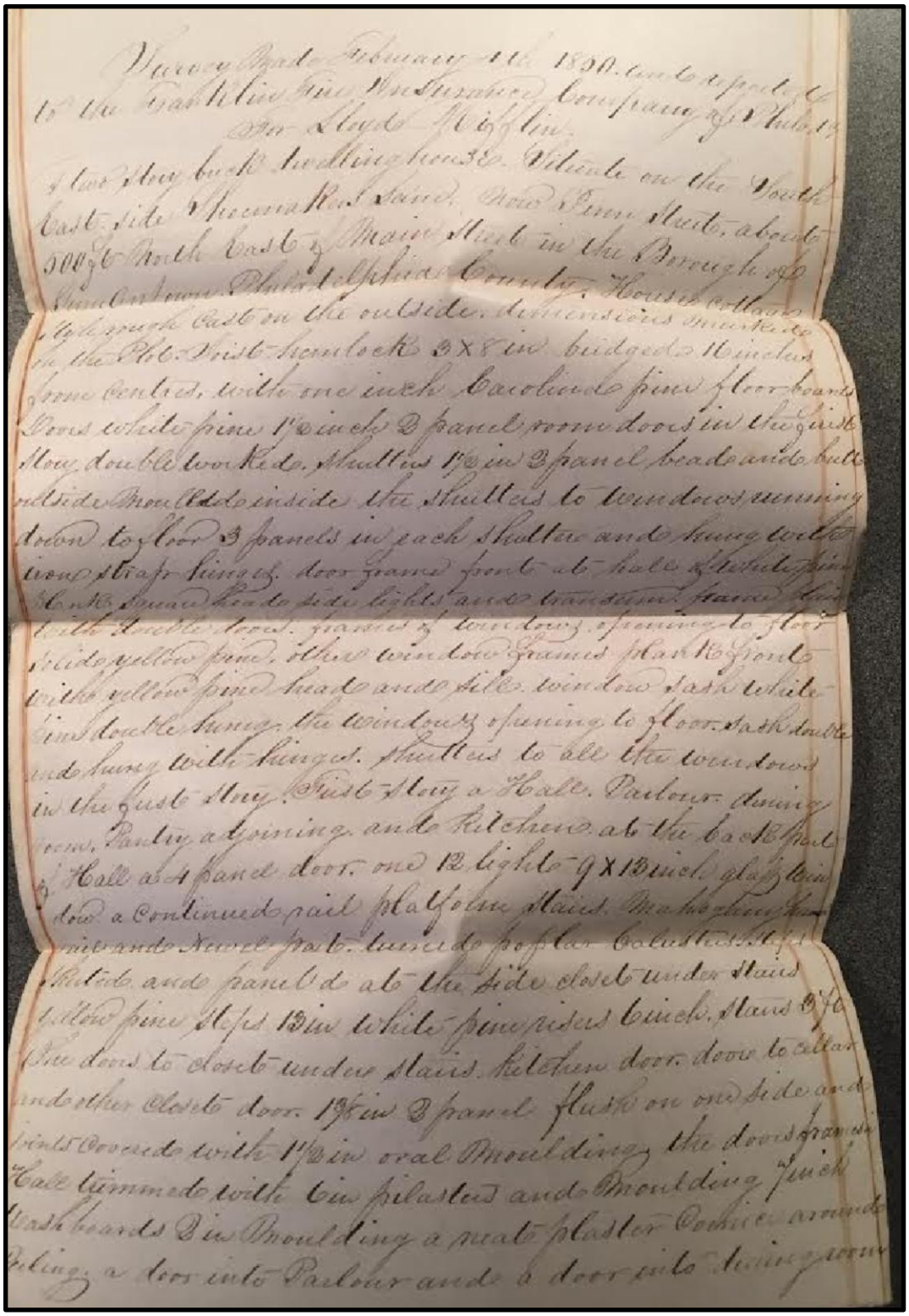
[13] Letter LM to Cousin Mifflin, Mifflin Papers, 1714-1936, Archives and Special Collections, Franklin and Marshall College.



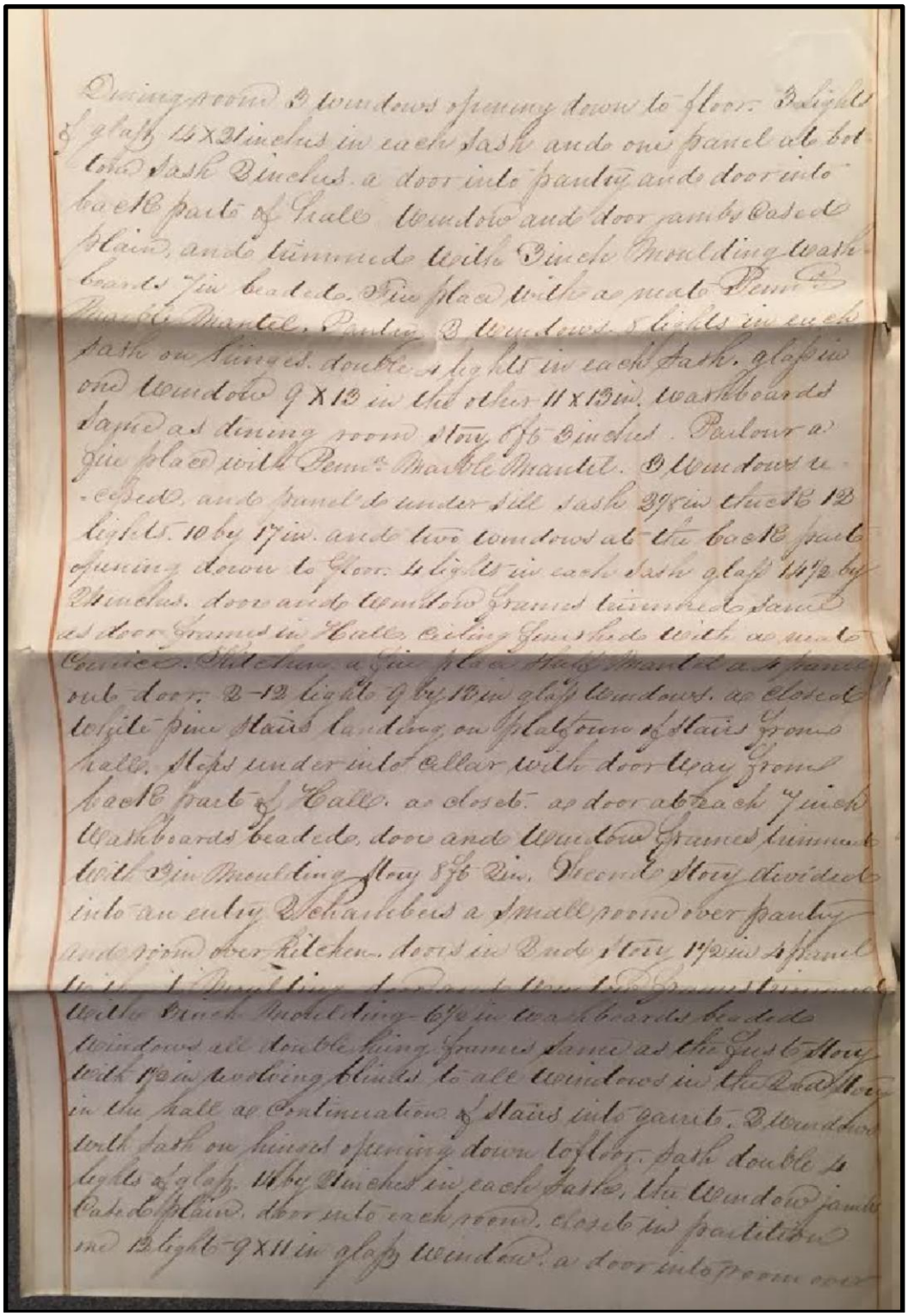
E. Penn Street in 1871. *Atlas of the Late Borough of Germantown* by G.M. Hopkins. Courtesy Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network.



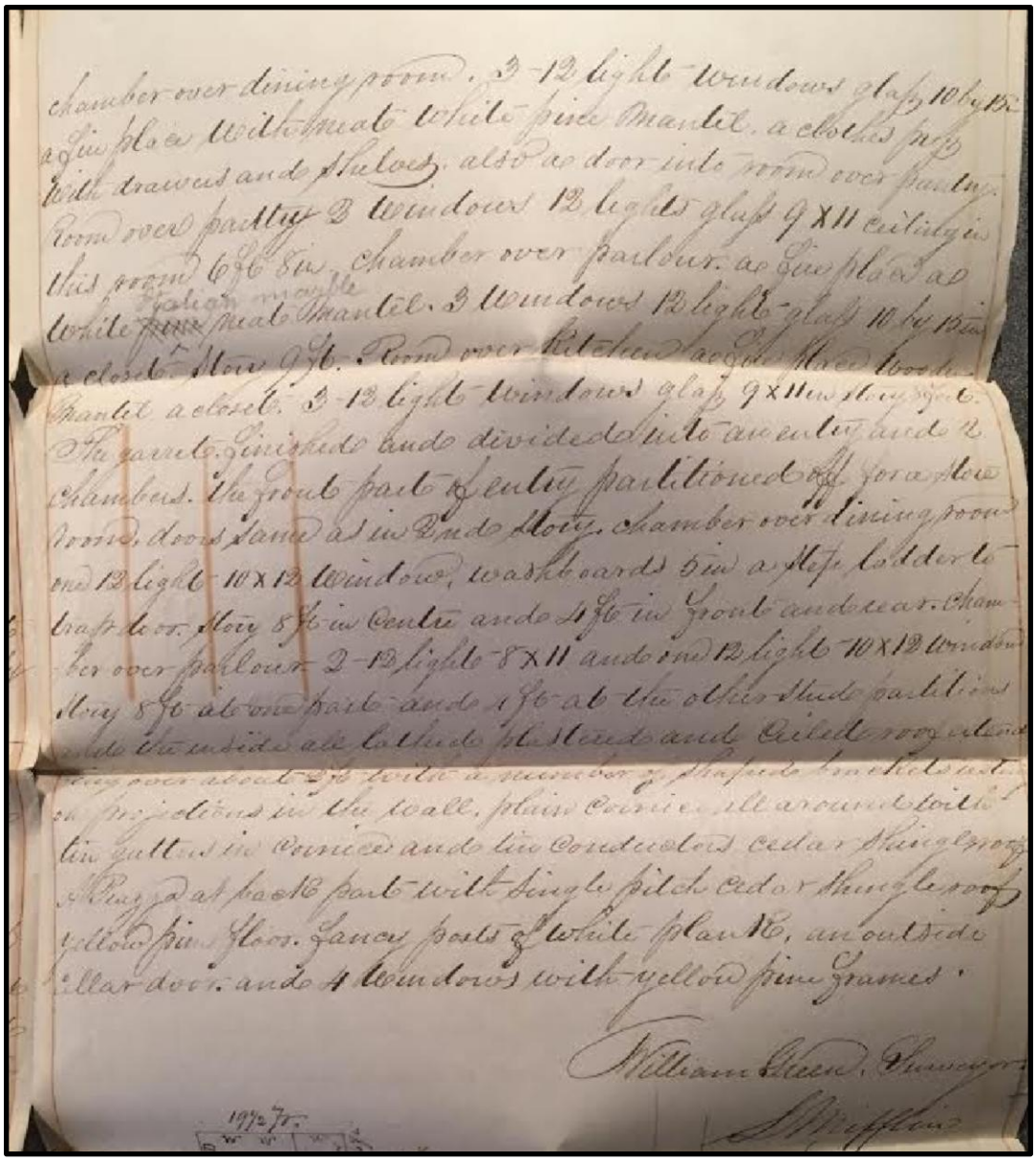
E. Penn Street in 1889. *Atlas of the City of Philadelphia*, Volume 7, 22nd Ward, 1889. by G.W. Bromley and Co. Courtesy Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network.



Page 1 of the Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for 48 E. Penn Street. Completed in 1850. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Page 2 of the Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for 48 E. Penn Street. Completed in 1850. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



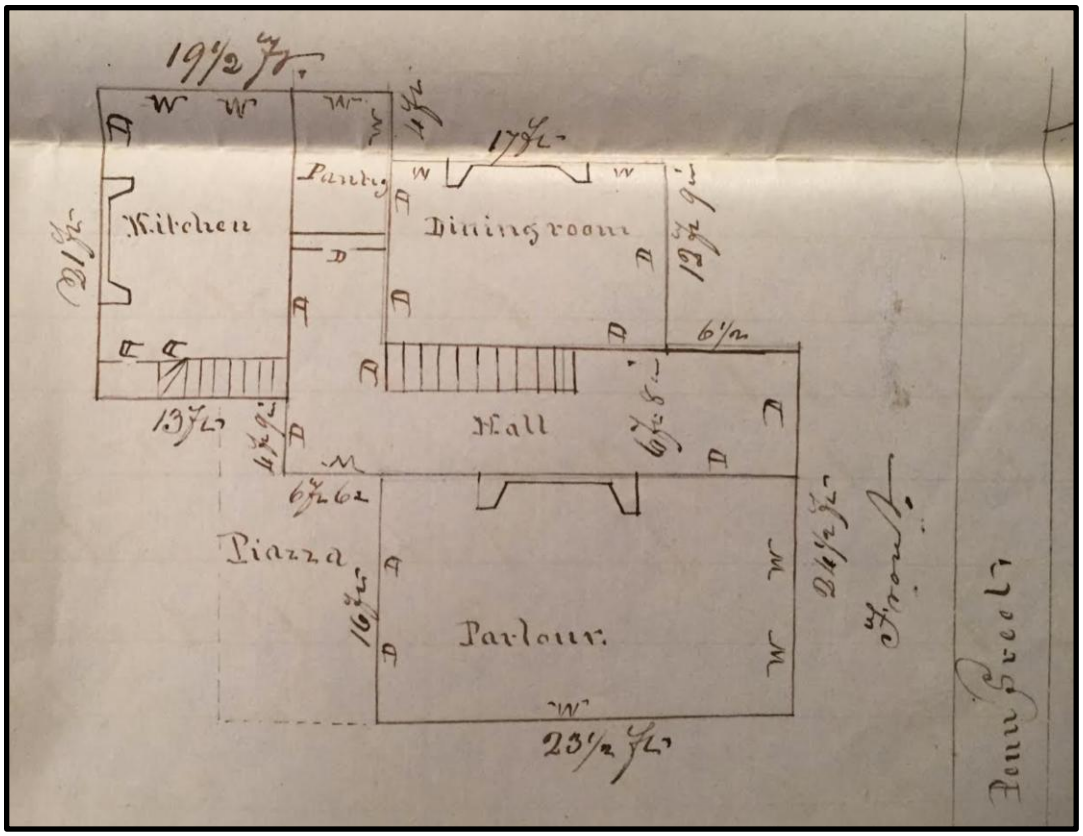
chamber over dining room. 3-12 light windows glass 10 by 15 in
a fire place with neat white pine mantel. a clothes press
with drawers and shelves. also a door into room over pantry.
Room over pantry 2 windows 12 lights glass 9 X 11 ceiling in
this room 6 ft 8 in. chamber over parlour. a fire place a
white ~~pine~~ Italian marble neat mantel. 3 windows 12 light glass 10 by 15 in
a closet. Story 9 ft. Room over kitchen a fire place wooden
mantel a closet. 3-12 light windows glass 9 X 11 in story 8 feet.
The garret finished and divided into an entry and 2
chambers. the front part of entry partitioned off for a store
room, doors same as in 2nd story. chamber over dining room
one 12 light 10 X 12 window, washboards 5 in a step ladder to
trap door. Story 8 ft in centre and 4 ft in front and rear. Cham-
ber over parlour 2-12 light 8 X 11 and one 12 light 10 X 12 window
Story 8 ft at one part and 4 ft at the other stud partitions
and the inside all lathed plastered and ceiled roof extend
[illegible] over about 2 ft with a number of shaped brackets resting
on projections in the wall. plain cornice all around with
tin gutters in cornice and tin conductors cedar shingle roof
A Piazza at back part with single pitch cedar shingle roof
yellow pine floor. fancy posts of white plank, an outside
cellar door. and 4 windows with yellow pine frames.

William Green, Surveyor

S Mifflin

1972 Fr.

Page 3 of the Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for 48 E. Penn Street. Completed in 1850.
Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



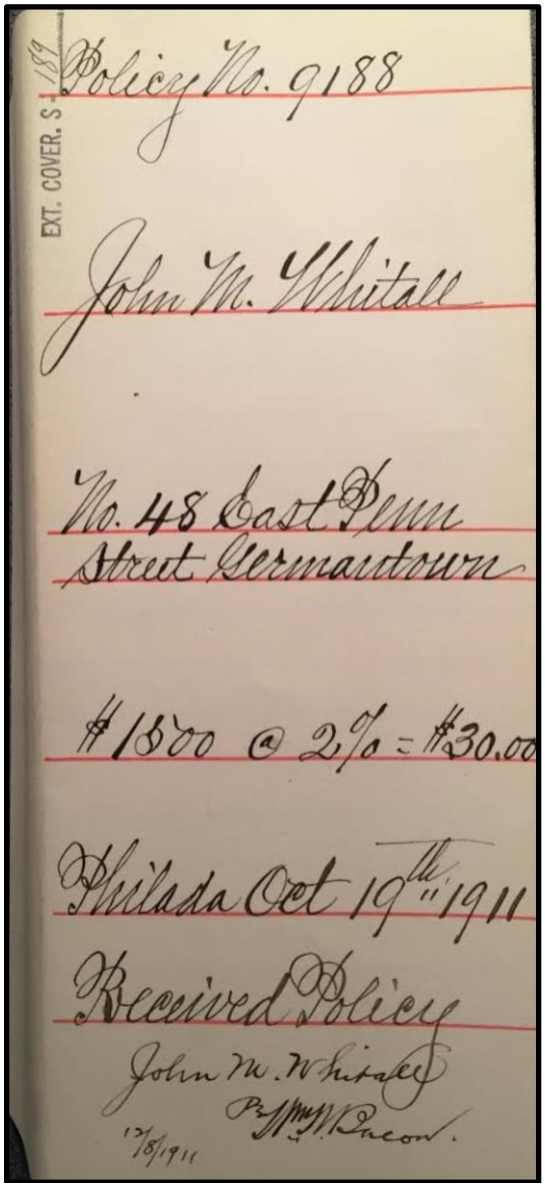
Page 3 of the Franklin Fire Insurance Survey for 48 E. Penn Street. Completed in 1850.
Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Hannah Hacker Mifflin died at 48 E. Penn Street and Lloyd Mifflin occupied the house until 1875-1876, when it appears he was experiencing financial problems, which compelled him to sell the house, which will be described in more detail later in this nomination.

Marmaduke Cope purchased the subject house at 48 E. Penn Street on March 21, 1876 for $12,000.[14] Cope and Mifflin were acquaintances due to their mutual associations with Germantown Quakerism, though the extent of their relationship is unclear. Shortly after the purchase, Cope commissioned Quaker architect Addison Hutton to enlarge the house and equip it with all of the modern conveniences.[15] While Hutton's remodeling was substantial, it seems also to have engaged the earlier fabric, making full use of its form.[16]

[14] Deed: Lloyd Mifflin, of the Twenty-Second Ward, gentleman, to Marmaduke C. Cope, of the city, gentleman, 21 March 1876, Philadelphia Deed Book D.H.L., No. 15, p. 365, CAP.
[15] Elizabeth Biddle Yarnall, *Addison Hutton: Quaker Architect, 1834-1916* (Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press1990).
[16] Diary of Addison Hutton, 1876, Addison Hutton Papers, Coll. no. 1122, Special Collections, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

He was an active member of the Twelfth Street Meeting, and an elder in it until his relocation to Germantown, after the death of his wife in 1872.[17]



Survey of 48 E. Penn Street by The Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses From Loss By Fire. Completed on October 19, 1911. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[17] "Marmaduke C. Cope, of Philadelphia." *The Friend, a Religious and Literary Journal (1827-1906).* Philadelphia, 20 November 1897, p. 18.

Dimensions of the original building. Courtesy J. M. Duffin.

Marmaduke Cope's removal to Germantown completed a family grouping of sorts on the south side of E. Penn Street. Immediately to the east of Marmaduke Cope's house was the home of his son-in-law and daughter, Anthony Morris Kimber (1824-1917), and Margaret Cooper Cope (1831-1890), who marriedin 1853. The next house to the east was Marmaduke Cope's other son-in-law and daughter, James Whitall (1835-1896) andMary Wistar Cope (1834-1897), who married in 1856.[18] Both the Kimber and Whitall houses have been demolished and the properties were subsequently developed and the Mifflin-Cope House is now the only extant building from this nineteenth century family compound. After Marmaduke Cope's death in 1897, the estate took some years to settle. Because the Kimbers and the Whitalls had their own homes, the house was rented for more than a decade before a family member would again occupy the site.

In 1911, Mildred Whitall—and her husband Bernard Waring, the great-granddaughter of Marmaduke Cope; the granddaughter of James Whitall and Mary Wistar Cope; and the daughter of John Mickle Whitall and Margaret Haines Bacon, acquired the house at 48 E. Penn Street. They had previously lived on the street in a smaller house further up the street. The Warings made changes to the house and hired Brockie and Hastings, Architects, to design a small garage and shed as "improvements" to the property. Moving to 48 E. Penn Street with just one child, it was here that the following of their children were born: Ann Newlin Waring (1913-2000), who married H. Eastburn Thompson, Jr.; Dorothy Gilpin Waring (1915-1969), who married William Wharton Smith; and Thomas Waring (1921-2001), who married Theodora Elkinton. Just two years after the birth of her last child, Mildred Whitall Waring died on January 10, 1923. Bernard Waring remarried and remained in the house until his death in 1959.[19] The home remained in the family until 1960, when it was sold to the Germantown Settlement for one dollar.[20]

---

[18] Family Record of James Whitall, The Gilbert Cope Foundation of Genealogical and Historical Research. 14 January 1939.

[19] Family Record of Bernard Gilpin Waring, The Gilbert Cope Foundation of Genealogical Historical Research. Not Dated.

[20] Deed: Grace Warner Waring, Henry C. Evans and Margaret Whitall, his wife, Ann Newlin Thompson, widow of H. Eastburn Thompson, William Wharton Smith and Dorothy Waring, his wife, and Thomas Waring and Theodora, his wife, to The Germantown Community Center, acting under the name of the Germantown Settlement, 14 January 1961, Philadelphia Deed Book C.A.B., No. 1833, p. 382, CAP.

Survey of the property situated on the south side of Penn Street east of Germantown Ave. #48 East Penn Street, Germantown.

Being a stone house, rough cast with a pointed stone base. Main building two stories and attic. Back building, two stories. For sizes see plan attached. The windows of the main building are all plank front frames, with flat pilaster finish outside, with square and pediment heads. The windows in the back building are all plank front frames, with outside shutters and blinds. The roof of the main building is of slate with tin gutters. The roof of the back building is slag. Rain conductors of copper. Heavy bracketed wood cornice, rough cast between the brackets. The building is all underdrained; plastered throughout; lighted by gas and electric lights; heated by hot air. On the main building, three octagon bay windows, two of stone rough cast and one of frame, all with tin roofs. A balcony over the front door, with brick platform and steps, supported by four square 9" pilasters with moulded wood cornice. Wood ceiling, with balustrade over the same; square balusters; tin roof etc. Walnut front door with raised moulded panels. Front door frame with side lights, three lights each 5" by 15" glass. Transom two lights 12" by 15" and one light 12" by 30" all Am. glass.

First floor .Main building, three rooms and open hall.

East room (Parlor) Three windows D.H. sash, 6 lights, each 10" by 17" glass. Three ditto in the bay windowD.H. sash 2 lights each 11" by 18" glass. One sash door, 2 lights 15" by 24" glass. Paneled window seat in bay window. Oak wood floor. Panel backs under the window, 7" architrave. Two paneled doors brass hardware. One white wood mantle with fluted columns. Open fireplace with brick arch, back and jambs. Fancy tile hearth. 8" moulded base. Finished in white enamel.

Hall. Open stairway to the third story. First flight of oak, the second flight, yellow pine steps and risers, with open balustrade, 2" turned balusters 3" moulded hand rail, capped with mahogany, with square and turned newels. Oak floor, 9" moulded base, 6-1/2" architrave with beads. One twin window D.H. sash, 1 light ,each 18" by 32" glass. Inside shutters; panel backs and plain jambs. Doors, 6 panels, brass hardware.

Page 1 of the Survey of 48 E. Penn Street by The Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses From Loss By Fire. Completed on October 17, 1912. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Library, west room. Three windows D.H. sash 2 lights, each 15" by 34" glass, one ditto 15" by 34" Am. glass, panel backs; inside blinds, four fold, 6" architrave , 9" moulded base. Paneled window seat in the bay window. One open fire place, with brick arch, back and jambs, with white wood mantle, same as parlor. Oak floor.

Dining room, south west. Three windows D.H. sash, 2 lights each 15" by 34" glass; panel backs,inside blinds to two windows only. Oak floor. One open fireplace, with brick arch, back and jambs,and brick hearth. White wood mantle with pilasters, etc. One 6 light chandelier. 6" architrave and 9" moulded base. The wood work is finished in white and enameled.

Second story of the main building in three rooms and bathroom.

Bed room facing N.E. Three windows D.H. sash 6 lights, each 10" by 16" glass, outside blinds. Two closets. Open fireplace. Plain marble mantle and soapstone hearth. 6" moulded base and 3-1/2" architrave. This room papered.

Hall. One window, casement sash to the floor, 8 glass 14" by 22" with outlet to the balcony. 4" architrave and 10" base. Cypress floor varnished.

Bath room. Cypress floor. Side walls wainscoted 48" high with base and cap One twin window frame D.H. sash 2 lights, each 18" by 30" glass. One open porcelain water closet with low tank. One porcelain washstand 20" by 26" with splash. One porcelain bathtub, H. and C. water, all nickel fixtures of good quality. Inside blinds six fold.

Bed room N.W.Three windows D.H. sash 2 lights each 15" by 30" glass. Four fold inside blinds. One open fireplace. Brick arch and facing. Brick hearth. One wood mantle with pilasters, etc. One large closet. Brass hardware. Room papered.

Bed room, S.W. Two windows D.H. sash 2 lights each 15" by 39" glass. One open fireplace, with brick arch,facing and hearth. White wood mantle with pilasters, etc. 4" architrave and yellow pine floors.

Back Building. First story. Butlers pantry. One dresser from floor to ceiling with sash doors above with 5 lights each 12" by 14" glass 4 shelves. Solid doors at bottom. Three drawers. One planished copper sink 14" by 20" H. and C. water. Oak drip board 21" wide and an 18" marble splash. Walls painted. Bronze hardware.

Kitchen. One dresser in two parts with solid doors, drawers and shelves. One double oven range (Spears) with slate hearth and large upright boiler. One stone sink 20" by 50" with stone splash.

Laundry. Three stationary wash trays, 24" by 26" , H. and C. water; one large closet with three shelves, and one portable laundry stove.

Plain box stairs to the second floor, yellow pine steps and risers, with a small toilet room underneath. This room wainscoted with narrow boards, 53" high with a cap. One open closet, low tank. One washstand 18" by 24" H. and C. water. One small window, 3 lights 11" by 14" glass.

Second story of the back building. Sewing room. One window, D.H. sash 6 lights, each 10" by 12" glass. Two closets.

S.W. room.Two windows D.H. sash 6 lights, each 10" by 12" glass. Two sash doors to the balcony, 12 lights, each 7" by 11" glass. One open fireplace, with brick jambs, facing and hearth. One white wood mantle. This room papered.

Rear bathroom. Wainscoted 54" high with narrow worked boards with base and cap. One open closet; one enameled bath tub; one porcelain washstand 20" by 26" H. and C. water. One medicine cabinet with mirror door 18" by 25" in the wall. One small window, 6 lights, each 8" by 10" glass. One closet.

Third story or attic in four rooms, hall and bathroom. Wide yellow pine floors.

Hall. Two closets. One small room shelved.

N.E. room. Two windows, 12 lights, each 8" by 12" glass, one ditto, 10" by 12" glass. 3" architrave. Papered.

room. One window, casement sash, 2 lights, each 18" by 21" glass, 4 ditto, 4 lights, each 11" by 13" glass. Papered.

room. One window, 12 lights, each 10" by 12" glass. 4" architrave, 7" base. One closet.

room. One window, 12 lights, 9" by 11" glass. One closet.

Bathroom. Wainscoted with narrow worked boards 54" high, with base and cap. One porcelain lined bath tub; one open water closet with high tank; one marble top washstand, 20" by 36" with 10" splash, H. and C. water. Two casement sash 4 lights, each 8" by 12" glass.

Page 2 of the Survey of 48 E. Penn Street by The Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses From Loss By Fire. Completed on October 17, 1912. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In the rear of the main building facing south is an open porch, with yellow pine floor. Tin roof, supported by six 9" square pilasters with moulded base and cap; with a box cornice, moulded; ceiling lined with worked boards painted.

On the rear of the back building is an open porch, supported by two 9" square pilasters, with box cornice, ceiling lined, yellow pine floor , etc. One door, 2 feet 8" by six feet 8". One door, 32" by 7 feet 0". One window, 6 lights, 9" by 13" glass,outside shutters.

Rear of the back building, facing south. An open balcony supported by 3 square pilasters same as the first floor, with a balustrade, base and hand rail. Box cornice. Ceiling lined. Yellow pine floor.

Cellar. One large portable heater with all the necessary heat pipes covered with asbestos.

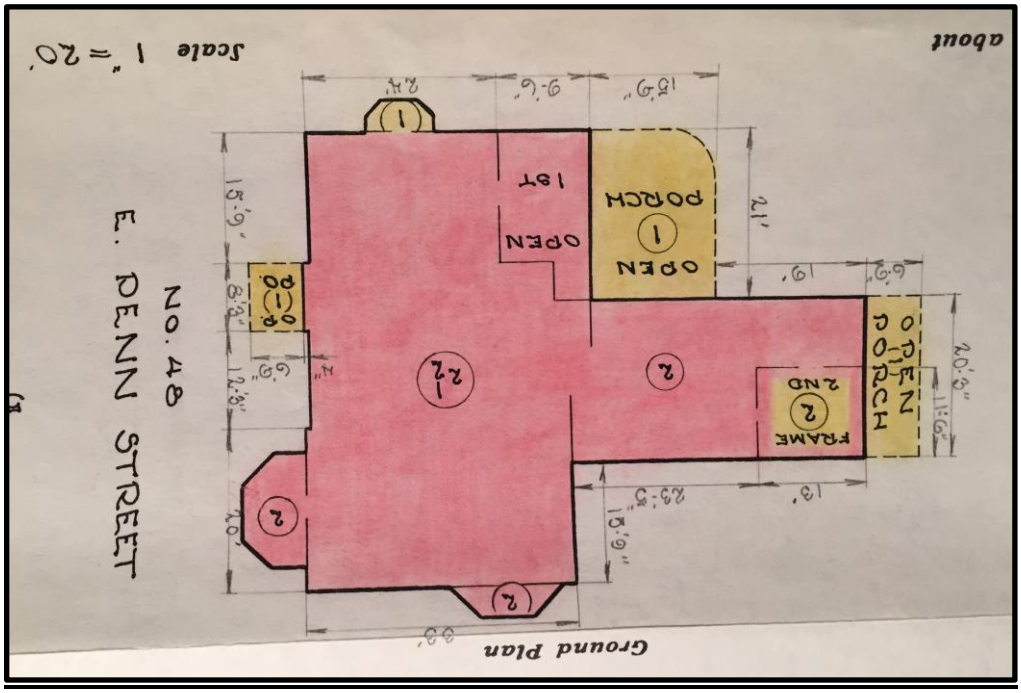
All the work and material of a good quality.

Walter Tryday
Surveyor.

Oct. 17th, 1912

Page 3 of the Survey of 48 E. Penn Street by The Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses From Loss By Fire. Completed on October 17, 1912. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Photograph from the Survey of 48 E. Penn Street by The Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses From Loss By Fire. Completed on October 21, 1940. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Floor Plan from the Survey of 48 E. Penn Street by The Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses From Loss By Fire. Completed on October 21, 1940. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

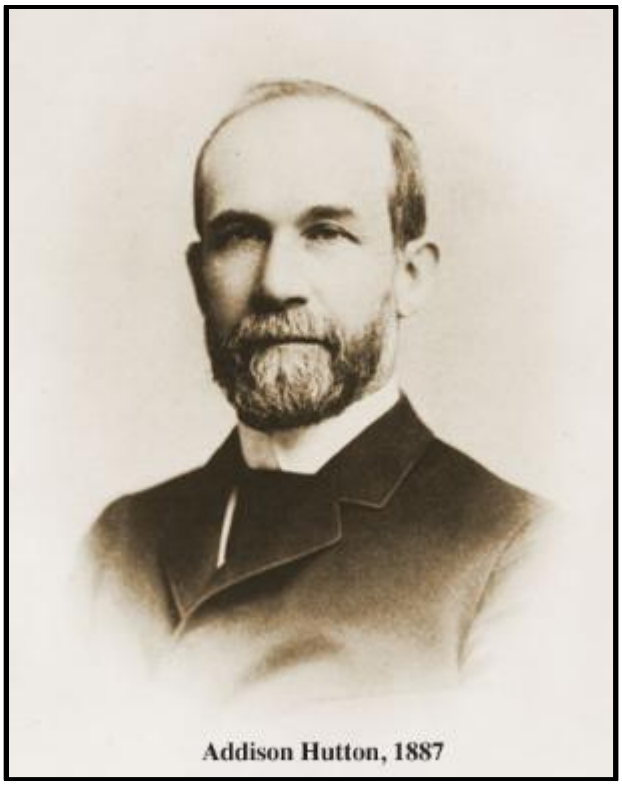
CRITERION C AND CRITERION D
Architectural Significance

The ample stucco-clad house at 48 E. Penn Street exemplifies upper-middle-class architecture from the first period of suburban development in the Germantown section of Philadelphia. Although polygonal bays and a bracketed cornice give the building visual coherence, these Italianate features unify two distinct phases of construction, the first of which was Greek Revival in character. The relatively modest cottage style house that owner-occupant Lloyd Mifflin insured in February 1850 measured three bays across the façade closest to Penn Street. This structure bore some resemblance to a gable-fronted, two-and-one-half-story, side-passage house type becoming ubiquitous in urbanizing parts of New England in the same period. Like those buildings, this one was notionally Greek. Its low-pedimented architraves are still visible on the left half of 48 E. Penn Street; shouldered window surrounds on the east elevation are likely part of the same fabric.

In plan, Lloyd Mifflin's house was strikingly asymmetrical. While its parlor and stair hall conformed to a neat square, the dining room, pantry, and kitchen stepped back from the main block in a jagged footprint to the southwest. The building's picturesque form differentiated it from New England counterparts and from most other houses in the area. In 1850, E. Penn Street was a budding enclave of "cottages" and "villas" built for some of Philadelphia's first suburbanites.[21] The best known of these houses is Ivy Lodge (formerly Denwood) at 29 E. Penn, built for librarian, editor, and cemetery founder John Jay Smith around the same time as Mifflin's cottage. However, Smith's symmetrical mansion, designed with help from architect Thomas U. Walter, undoubtedly qualified as a villa, as did several other houses on the street. Mifflin, who had been serving as cashier of the nearby Germantown Bank, presumably could not afford something so grand.

Throughout the nineteenth century, however, 48 E. Penn Street became more like Ivy Lodge in terms of design. When Marmaduke Cope bought Mifflin's house in 1876, he commissioned architect Addison Hutton to design a large addition that mimicked the older building's gabled front while masking its rearward asymmetry. Hutton had designed the Germantown Friends' Meeting House on Coulter Street eight years earlier and was a natural choice in a neighborhood rife with Orthodox Quakers. But the remodeling he conceived for Cope was not especially austere. Doubling the perceived width of the house from the street, Hutton adorned it with three-sided bays of varying heights on all elevations except the rear. (Here the old kitchen wing continued to protrude, apparently with a small addition.) 48 E. Penn encapsulates the two early suburban house types that prevailed in this eclectic moment. That it evolved from one type into the other only adds to its historical interest.

[21] John Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 124; Kenneth J. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization of Germantown," 133-141.



Addison Hutton. Courtesy CPC.

CRITERION E
Addison Hutton (1834-1916)
As it stands today, the house at 48 East Penn Street is the work Addison Hutton, a designer and architect whose work has significantly influenced the historical, architectural, economic, social, or cultural development of the City of Philadelphia. Marmaduke Cope commissioned this fellow Quaker to design a substantial addition to Lloyd Mifflin's cottage in 1878. Hutton recorded this work in his journal of 1878 and the building reflects his influence. Much like his work on the Torwood, the Mansion of Justus R. Strawbridge, Addison Hutton enlarged an earlier house, enlivening its form with a creative design that brought it into the fashion of the Victorian period, while also paying homage to its earlier aesthetic motif. Addison Hutton's design for the house at 48 E. Penn Street is indicative a genre of his work, which collectively represent the commissions of moderately conservative Quakers that chose to enlarge earlier houses rather than to construct new buildings.

The following is a biography previously written on the life and work of Addison Hutton:

> Addison Hutton was one of the principal Philadelphia architects of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. He was born in Sewickley Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, and was a birthright member of the Society of Friends. Before coming to Philadelphia in 1857 he alternated working as a carpenter and a schoolteacher, learning

architectural drawing from one of his fellow workmen in French's Sash and Door Factory in Salem, Ohio. After resuming teaching in the Fairview School, Westmoreland County, he was recommended to architect Samuel Sloan, then a noted designer of hospitals, with whom he was associated as an office assistant and draftsman from 1857 until 1861. During that time he supervised the building of "Longwood" in Natchez, Mississippi, for Dr. Haller Nutt. In 1862 Hutton received his first known independent architectural commission, a cottage for Henry Morris to be built at Newport, Rhode Island; and by September, 1863, he was located in his own office at 400 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Soon after, he became engaged to and eventually married Rebecca Savery, great-granddaughter of the Philadelphia cabinetmaker William Savery.

Hutton was so successful [enough] in his independent work that Samuel Sloan approached him in 1864 to join in a partnership, with an office located at 152 South 4th Street, Philadelphia. This association lasted until 1868 with Sloan & Hutton producing a number of designs for state hospitals, churches, and residences. Following the dissolution of the partnership, Sloan moved temporarily to New York, leaving Hutton to finish whatever remained from their office. The first of these in Philadelphia was the new building to be erected for the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society at the northwest corner of Washington Square. Hutton's firm was awarded this commission over the designs of James H. Windrim Steven D. Button and Furness & Hewitt. Hutton completed the building without Sloan's aid and was successfully launched as an independent architect. Immediately following this commission, he designed an addition to Joshua Lippincott's bookstore on Market Street, at nearly the same time working on designs for the Arch Street Methodist Church. Hutton working independently and with various younger architects, including a short-lived partnership with John Ord (Hutton & Ord) around 1877 to 1890. Others, such aa Charles L. Hillman and James Shirk, worked various with Hutton until he was joined in partnership by his nephews Albert and Addison Savery in 1904. Later William Scheetz was added to this association, and with Savery, Scheetz & Savery he completed the design for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia. In 1907 Hutton retired from active practice but continued to be listed in the firm's drawings and letterhead as "Consulting Architect." By 1910 he had fully retired.

The career of Addison Hutton spanned some 53 years; for approximately 40 of those years he worked alone, accepting residential, school, business, hotel, religious, and hospital commissions. Although he was a member of the Philadelphia Chapter of the AlA, and in 1902 was employed as a Lecturer on Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, his participation in the Pennsylvania State Capitol competition of 1901

violated the ruling of the Chapter and resulted in his expulsion from the Chapter in February 1902. However, Hutton successfully petitioned the Court and was reinstated by October 1902.[22]

[22] *Philadelphia Architects and Buildings*, s.v. "Addison Hutton (1834-1916)," by Sandra L. Tatman, accessed May 2016, https://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/25239.

Lloyd Mifflin (Sr.). Courtesy LancasterHistory.org.

CRITERION A

Lloyd Mifflin (1786-1878)

Lloyd Mifflin is a significant historical figure (unless you are trying to adhere to the criteria wording) in the context of Philadelphia and Germantown. Born to an important Pennsylvania family, he was in many ways a renaissance man in his lifetime. Orphaned by the death of his parents a young age, Mifflin attended the first class of Westtown—founded in 1799 as a boarding school of the Religious Society of Friends in Chester County; became a cashier in the [Second] Bank of the United States; the Cashier of the Bank of Germantown; and served as an agent and/or estate manager for many of the important, wealthy Philadelphia families. His service to the Bank of the United States was greatly valued and as a result he was engaged in finalizing certain aspects of their business matters after the institution's demise. Married to Hannah Hacker, Mifflin was a devout Quaker who lived in Society Hill for many years before removing to Germantown in the 1840s. By 1850, he and his wife built a cottage at 7 Shoemaker's Lane, later known as 5 Penn Street and eventually as 48 E. Penn Street. Hannah Hacker Mifflin lived in the house until her death and Lloyd Mifflin remained in the house until 1875.

Biography

Lloyd Mifflin was born in 1786 to Joseph Mifflin (1751-1791) and Deborah Richardson (1753-1789). The son of John Mifflin (1720-1798) and Hannah Taylor (1719-1763), Joseph Mifflin was a prominent Philadelphia merchant engaged in the East India trade in partnership with his brothers, Col. Jonathan and John Mifflin. Born in Chester, Pennsylvania, Deborah Mifflin was the daughter of Francis Richardson. The Richardson sisters were said to have been not only beautiful, but more specifically that, "…the exquisite transparency of their complexion was so remarkable that the gallants of that day reported that when they drank a glass of wine it might be seen trickling down their fair throats".[23] Joseph Mifflin and Deborah Richardson had six children—Mary Mifflin (1773-1791); Hannah Mifflin (1775-1796); Joseph Mifflin (1781-1822), the spouse of Martha Houston; Deborah Mifflin (no dates available); Lloyd Mifflin, the subject of this work; and Rebecca Mifflin (1784-1785). It appears that Joseph Mifflin (the younger) was the only of six children to carry on the bloodline. After Joseph Mifflin's death in 1822, Lloyd Mifflin would play an important role in the lives of his brother's children.[24] Mifflin and his siblings were raised at the family's townhouse at 112 S. Second Street in Philadelphia and their estate, Fountain Green.[25]

Lloyd Mifflin's Signature and Seal, C. 1799. Courtesy Franklin and Marshall College.

Five year old Lloyd Mifflin was an orphan due to the early demise of both of his parents; however, his paternal grandfather, John Mifflin (1720-1798) of Philadelphia survived to see him almost to adulthood. Lloyd Mifflin was among the first students to attend the Westtown School, which opened in May 1799. He wrote his sister from Westtown in November 1799.

> I have been very impatient for Aunts return from Philada [sic.], expecting she would stop here and bring me my winter stockings, which I very much

[23] John Houston Merrill, *Memoranda relating to the Mifflin Family* (Philadelphia: Printed for Private Distribution, 1890), 61.
[24] Merrill, *Memoranda relating to the Mifflin Family*, 80.
[25] Merrill, *Memoranda relating to the Mifflin Family*, 61.

> want, having none but cotton ones. I also want a hat to wear in common, my straw one being too thin to wear now.[26]

At Westtown he boarded with Henry Cope and Daniel Lloyd, which created an enduring trio that would reunite in Germantown after retirement.[27] After Westtown, Lloyd Mifflin moved to Philadelphia, where he worked for several years. In 1807 when he removed to Baltimore, Maryland, then America's boom town. He remained in Baltimore until 1811, returning again to Philadelphia. [28]

After he returned to Philadelphia, one of Lloyd Mifflin's first notable positions was for Stephen Girard's Bank. He worked under the leadership of Joseph Roberts, then cashier. Mifflin was in charge of the office transacting the business of the Camden Bank at No. 21 Church Alley.[29] In August 1816, Lloyd Mifflin joined the Philadelphia Meeting.[30]

Left: Lloyd Mifflin, C. 1803. Right: Lloyd Mifflin, c. 1860. Courtesy Lancasterhistory.org.

By 1822, Lloyd Mifflin was living at No. 7 Church Alley. The next year he married Hannah Hacker, the wholesome daughter of Isaac and Anna Hacker of Salem, Massachusetts—both of whom were deceased by this time. Lloyd Mifflin and Hannah Hacker were married in the "Meeting House" on Twelfth Street in Philadelphia on March

---

[26] Letter, Lloyd Mifflin to Deborah Mifflin, Weston School, 13 November 1799, Mifflin Family Papers, Franklin and Marshall College.

[27] Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, *Quaker biographies: brief biographical sketches concerning certain members of the religious Society of Friends, with illustrations, Series II.* (Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store, 1912), 43.

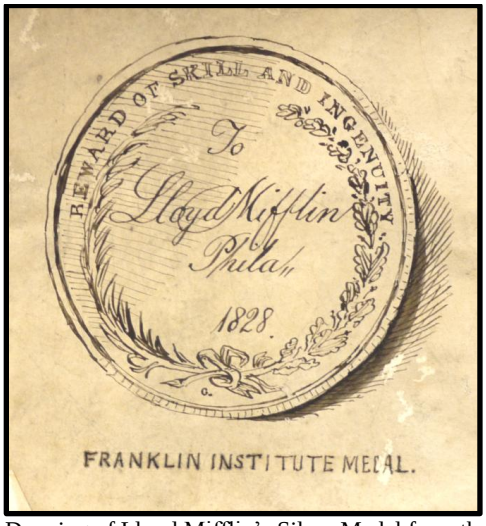
[28] *Commercial Directory*, Philadelphia. 1811.

[29] *Commercial Directory*, Philadelphia. 1815.

[30] Merrill, *Memoranda relating to the Mifflin Family*, 80.

26, 1823.[31] Later that year Hannah Hacker Mifflin removed to the Southern District Meeting, which became official on August 20, 1823. As early as 1824, the couple lived at 252 Spruce Street, where they would stay through the 1840s. They were very devout and active members of the monthly meeting. Lloyd Mifflin was on a discipline committee that worked on recover "fallen" Quakers, visiting them individually in their homes.[32]

In the mid-1820s he became an active member of the Franklin Institute, being one of the managers by 1826. He also served on two active committees—"On the Library" and "On Models".[33] In 1828, Lloyd Mifflin was awarded the "silver medal" by the Franklin Institute. His invention—No. 201—was an improved weaving machine, which he used to make several rugs that were on display that year. While the invention may have led to some minor advances in weaving, it did not prove formative to the rest of his life. Yet it speaks to the breath of his talents and interests.[34]



Drawing of Lloyd Mifflin's Silver Medal from the Franklin Institute.
Courtesy of Franklin and Marshall College.

In October 1829, Lloyd Mifflin became a "junior clerk" with the Bank of the United States. His salary was $700. Soon after being appointed to this position, the 3rd Assistant Cashier moved to Ohio to manage the Cincinnati branch of the bank. Mifflin soon took over the duties of this position, which he held for the remainder of the bank's lifespan. He continued doing the job without an advancement in title or the full salary, being paid about $1,364 per year.[35]

[31] Philadelphia City Directories, 1820s-1840s; and Ancestry.com. *U.S., Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014.
[32] *Minutes, 1825-1830*, Haverford College; Haverford, Pennsylvania.
[33] *The Franklin Journal and American Mechanic's Magazine*, 1 (1826): 65.
[34] *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*. 1828: 264.
[35] Testimony of Lloyd Mifflin, Mifflin Family Papers, Franklin and Marshall College.

In fact, Mifflin was said to be aware that the bank would fail before the problems were realized. And it was his testimony in Lyman, et. al. v. the Bank of the United States that led to the exposure of many of the problems that led to its failure.[36]

> …"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," would enforce strict honesty between man and man. In illustration of this, an incident was mentioned of the late Lloyd Mifflin, who was a clerk in the Bank of the United States at the time of it failure. From his position, he knew of the catastrophe that was approaching, but refused to take advantage of this knowledge, and sell the stock of the bank which he held and thus throw the loss on an innocent purchaser.[37]

Being a faithful Quaker, his honesty was recognized during the closing of the bank. A commission was appointed to investigate the bank's actions and finalize its business matters. On August 30, 1831 Board approved a resolution, authorizing Lloyd Mifflin to conduct the final settlement of the Pennsylvania Agricultural & Manufacturing Bank, Carlisle, which had been under the agency of John McGinnis Junior, JD Mahon, and J. Williamson Esquires.[38] Once the Carlisle matters were closed, Mifflin was authorized to deal with the Columbia branch and also travel to Washington, D.C. for the purpose of specific business in settling matters for the Bank of the United States.[39] Years later Lloyd Mifflin was subpoenaed for depositions regarding an ongoing court case related to the Bank of the United States.[40]

---

[36] Testimony of Lloyd Mifflin, Mifflin Family Papers, Franklin and Marshall College.
[37] "Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Orthodox Friends," *Friends Intelligencer and Journal* 7 (May 1887): 300-301.
[38] Resolution, Bank of the US August 30, 1831. –Mifflin Family Papers, Franklin and Marshall College.
[39] Bank of the US to LM, September 3, 1831, Mifflin Family Papers, Franklin and Marshall College.
[40] Philadelphia August 26, 1846, Bank of the US v. Wyllys Lyman, et al.; and LM Esquire, Germantown from William Rawle and William A. Porter.

Lloyd Mifflin. Courtesy Franklin and Marshall College.

Philadelphia Quakers began purchasing property in Germantown at the time the Philadelphia, Germantown, & Norristown Railroad was founded in 1830-1831. Relatives of Lloyd Mifflin and Hannah Hacker were among the early suburbanites. Hannah's brother Jeremiah Hacker and his wife Beulah Morris purchased their country house—Woodside (now 339 E. Wister Street) in 1837. Hannah's brother Isaiah Hacker and his wife Anna Hazen Brown who lived in the Powell House in Society Hill started spending their summers at Hazel Lodge in or near Germantown in the late 1830s.[41] Lloyd Mifflin and Hannah Hacker made fairly regular "excursions," as they called them, to Woodside in the late

[41] Holst, "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization of Germantown," 182, 219 n. 75.

1830s and the early 1840s. Things changed in May 1844 when Isaiah Hacker purchased two houses along Germantown Avenue that would first become his family's summer house and later permanent residence.[42] The larger house, present-day 5214 Germantown Avenue, was Isaiah and Anna's home which they called Maple Lodge and the smaller house to the north, present-day 5218 Germantown Avenue, became the first Germantown residence of Lloyd Mifflin and Hannah Hacker.[43]

Starting in 1844, most of the extant correspondence of both Lloyd Mifflin and Hannah Hacker was written from Germantown. Letters in 1844 and 1846 reference "setting up housekeeping" and make specific references to not "boarding".[44] Their removal to Germantown is confirmed by records from December 25, 1844 at the "Monthly Meeting of Friends at Philadelphia for the Southern District".

> A certificate being requested for Lloyd Mifflin and wife to Frankford Monthly Meeting.[45]

Letter to Lloyd Mifflin from Houston Mifflin, 1844. Note, house plans are doodled about the margin of the address likely by Lloyd Mifflin. Courtesy Franklin and Marshall College.

Germantown was still a "Preparative Meeting" of the Frankford Monthly Meeting at the time of this relocation, but this marks a new commitment of the Mifflins to Germantown. They were received and accepted by the Frankford Monthly Meeting on February 25, 1845.[46] For their first years in Germantown the Mifflins appear to have lived just north Isaiah Hacker on Germantown Avenue. Between 1845 and 1846, the Mifflins lived in the

---

[42] Deed: Rev. William Neill and Sarah S., his wife, to Isaiah Hacker, merchant, 28 May 1844, Philadelphia Deed Book R.L.L., No. 18, p. 748, CAP.

[43] 5214 is more commonly referred to as the Conyngham-Hacker House and 5218 as the Howell House, both of which were owned by the Germantown Historical Society in the twentieth century.

[44] Letter, LM to Cousin Mifflin, Mifflin Family Papers, Franklin and Marshall College.

[45] Ancestry.com, *U.S., Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014.

[46] Ancestry.com, *U.S., Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935*

unfinished house with no "domestics" and generally took their meals with Isaiah Hacker's, which was just one house down on the Avenue.

> The letters thee alludes to, thro' which you learned we had gotten back to Germn [sic.]—were affairs of business,--written as it were and necessitate, or they would not have been written at all—Altho we returned here on the 26th [illegible word], we are yet without a domestic and had it not been for the promiximety [sic.] and hospitality of Brother Isaiah's family, I know not what we should have done— As it is we lodge at home, but take most of our meals with them— The few we take at home are the product of the united efforts of Hannah & myself (I make the fire!) fetch the water & put on the tea kettle!)…if we do not get a girl very soon, I don't know but we shall have to go to boarding till we do—I have been all day superintending the construction of a cooking apparatus in our kitchen, which is yet completed—and I have just deserted my post to write this letter…[47]

During this period, the Mifflins helped Hannah's brother Jeremiah Hacker and his wife Beulah Morris care for their children when they were called away to New England and Philadelphia for extended periods.

The Bank of Germantown was chartered by the Legislature in 1813, opening for business the next year. The bank occupied an old house at 5275-5277 Germantown Avenue (commonly known as the Clarkson-Watson House), where its first, longtime Cashier resided. Lloyd Mifflin purchased the property located along Penn Street behind 5275-5277, 5270-5281, and 5283 Germantown Avenue in 1849 and 1850.[48] An insurance policy for his house at 48 E. Penn Street, then known as 7 Shoemaker's Lane, was taken out from the Franklin Fire Insurance Company in February 1850 [49]. The bank's third cashier was Lloyd Mifflin, who served in that capacity from 1848-1850.[50]

> He was … a man of the most unblemished reputation; a man, whose conduct has been approved of by Morgan Hinchman himself; for he,

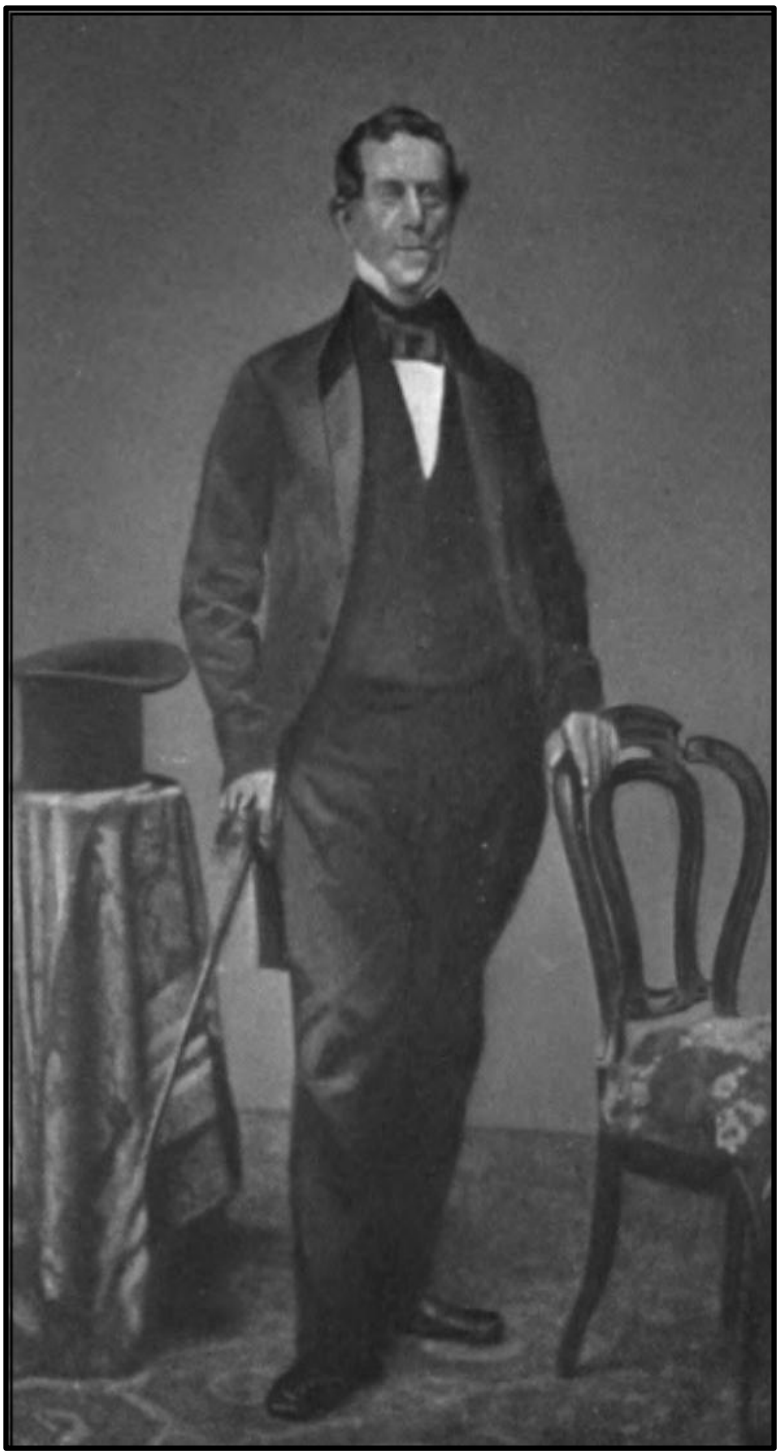
[47]Letter, LM to HM. Germantown, 8 September 1846, Mifflin Family Papers, Franklin and Marshall College.

[48] Deed Tripartite: Clement C. Biddle, esq., of the city, first part, and Julia M. Nicklin, of the city, second part, to Cephas G. Childs and Lloyd Mifflin, of Germantown, 25 April 1849, for $3,550, Philadelphia Deed Book G.W.C., No. 9, p. 320; Deed: Cephus G. Childs, of Germantown, publisher, and Ann, his wife, to Lloyd Mifflin, of the same place, accountant, 14 December 1850, for $2,737.54, for both his half interest in the Biddle property and full interest in Bank of Germantown lot, Philadelphia Deed Book G.W.C., No. 75, p. 386, CAP.

[49] Insurance Policy for 7 Shoemaker's Lane (48 E. Penn Street) of Lloyd Mifflin. Issued by the Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia in February 1850. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[50]John Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* 3 (Philadelphia L.H. Everts & Co., 1884): 2098.

Hinchman, started to Judge Stroud, that "he was perfectly satisfied with Mr. Mifflin, in every particular."[51]



Lloyd Mifflin, Cashier of the Bank of Germantown, 1848-1850. Photograph taken in 1861.

[51] Oliver Dyer and Dennis F. Murphy, *Defendants' Counsel and the Charge of Judge Burnside in the Case of Hinchman Vs. Richie et al.* (Philadelphia: T.K. and P.G. Collins, 1849), 100-120.

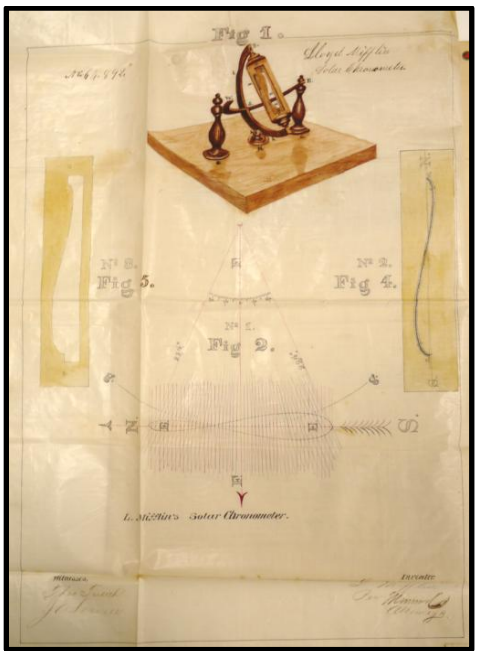
Published in the History of the Germantown Bank. Courtesy HathiTrust.

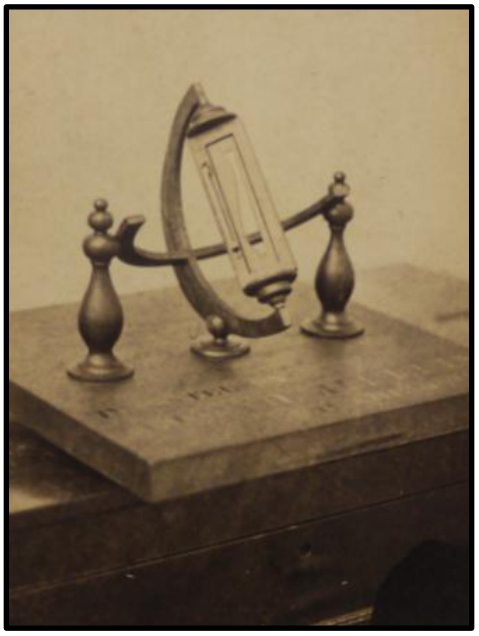
Hannah Hacker Mifflin. Photograph taken in 1861.
Courtesy the University of Virginia.

While Mifflin's tenure was short at the Bank of Germantown, he had been involved in numerous local matters including the establishment of the Savings Fund of Germantown; incorporation of the Chestnut Hill Railroad Company in 1852; and various charities related to the Society of Friends.[52] In the 1850s he began managing the estate of Ann Mifflin, and subsequently that of another wealthy relative Anne Rawle. In 1854, he was one of several Quakers who paid for the purchase of the Green Street parcel, enlarging the property of the Germantown meeting.

After several protracted illnesses, Hannah Hacker Mifflin died on April 17, 1863.[53] Her sister Elizabeth "Betsy" Wister lived with Lloyd Mifflin for several years, likely for financial reasons and possibly assist him with running the house. By the time of the 1870 U.S. Federal Census, both Betsy and a niece of Hannah and Betsy were living at 48 E. Penn Street. Sarah Beck was also in residence at this time; she was Lloyd Mifflin's housekeeper for the remainder of his life.

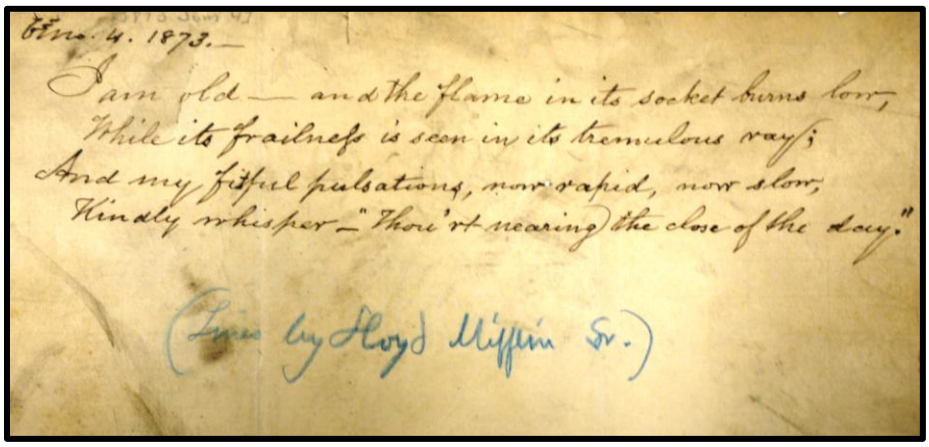
Mifflin openly grieved his wife's death; however, he did not allow it to deter his progress. He remained interested in scientific discovery and invention. As a sort of gentleman's' accomplishment, he devised an "Improvement in Solar Chronometers" and was issued Letters Patent No. 64,892 on May 21, 1867.[54]





Left: Drawing for the United States Patent Office of the Solar Chomometer. Right: Cart de Viste of the Solar Chronometers that is now owned by Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Courtesy Franklin and Marshall College.

[52]Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. No. 706. P.; Act of Incorporation of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company (Philadelphia, 1850).
[53]Ancestry.com, *U.S., Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935*
[54] Writings of Lloyd Mifflin, Mifflin Family Papers, Franklin and Marshall College.

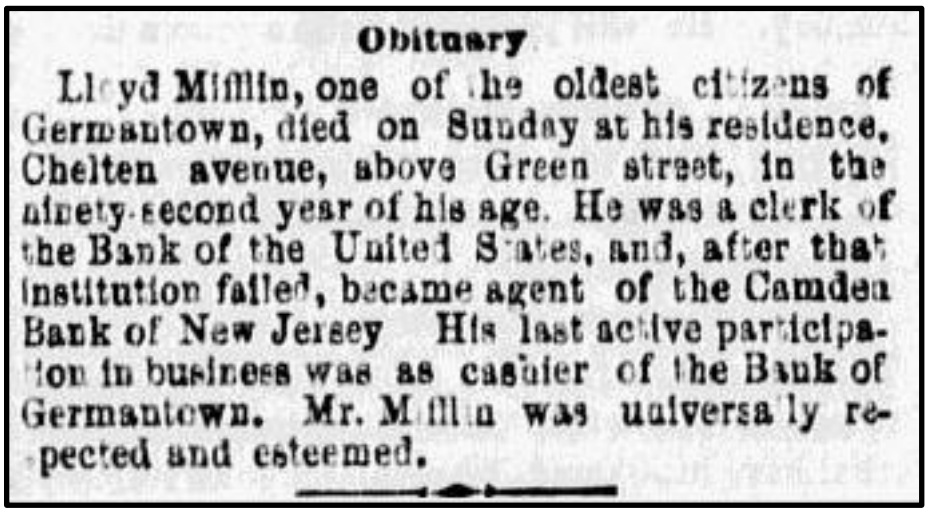

Ger. 4. 1873.—

I am old — and the flame in its socket burns low,
While its frailness is seen in its tremulous rays;
And my fitful pulsations, now rapid, now slow,
Kindly whisper — "Thou'rt nearing the close of the day."

(Lines by Lloyd Mifflin Sr.)

Quote of Lloyd Mifflin. Courtesy of Franklin and Marshall College.

Lloyd Mifflin's activities dissipated in the 1870s. He continued to live at 48 E. Penn Street until he experienced financial problems in 1874-1875. He sold the house to Marmaduke Cooper Cope, a fellow Quaker in 1876. Mifflin moved to Chelten Avenue below Green Street, where he and his housekeeper, Sarah Beck lived until his death in April 1878.


Obituary

Lloyd Mifflin, one of the oldest citizens of Germantown, died on Sunday at his residence, Chelten avenue, above Green street, in the ninety-second year of his age. He was a clerk of the Bank of the United States, and, after that institution failed, became agent of the Camden Bank of New Jersey His last active participation in business was as cashier of the Bank of Germantown. Mr. Mifflin was universally respected and esteemed.

Obituary of Lloyd Mifflin. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 16, 1878. Courtesy Proquest Historical Newspapers.

At the time of his removal from Penn Street to Chelten Avenue, Mifflin appears to have given many of his possessions to a long list of relatives. The very detailed list is part of the Mifflin Family Papers, on file at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster.

Marmaduke Cooper Cope, C. 1882. By Julius Ludovici's Studio. Newport, Rhode Island.
Courtesy the Wyck Papers.

CRITERION A

Marmaduke Cooper Cope (1804-1897)

Born to old New Jersey and Pennsylvania Quaker families; educated at Westtown; and a partner in an old Philadelphia dry goods house, Marmaduke Cooper Cope (Marmaduke Cope) was an important Quaker activist and philanthropist—a significant person of the past. A principal founder of the School for Colored Youth, he was active in antebellum abolitionist circles and, after the Civil War, "relieving and uplifting the negro".[55] Maramaduke Cope also supported causes that related to improving educational opportunities and quality of life for Native Americans in Indian Territory.[56] Upon

[55] M.C. Cope, *Report of a visit to Hampton, Norfolk & Yorktown* (1863; repr. Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association Collection, 1987), xxx.

[56] "Marmaduke C. Cope, of Philadelphia,*" The Friend, a Religious and Literary Journal*,. 20 November 1897, 18.

retirement, Cope was devoted to charitable works, which will be discussed below. In 1875-1876, Marmaduke Cope purchased the subject house at 48 E. Penn Street in Germantown from Lloyd Mifflin, where he lived until his death in 1897.[57]

> But it seemed almost stranger still to behold the race who had been there in bondage for two centuries free.[58]

The aforementioned quote sums up Marmaduke Cope's outlook. He described his earliest years as follows:

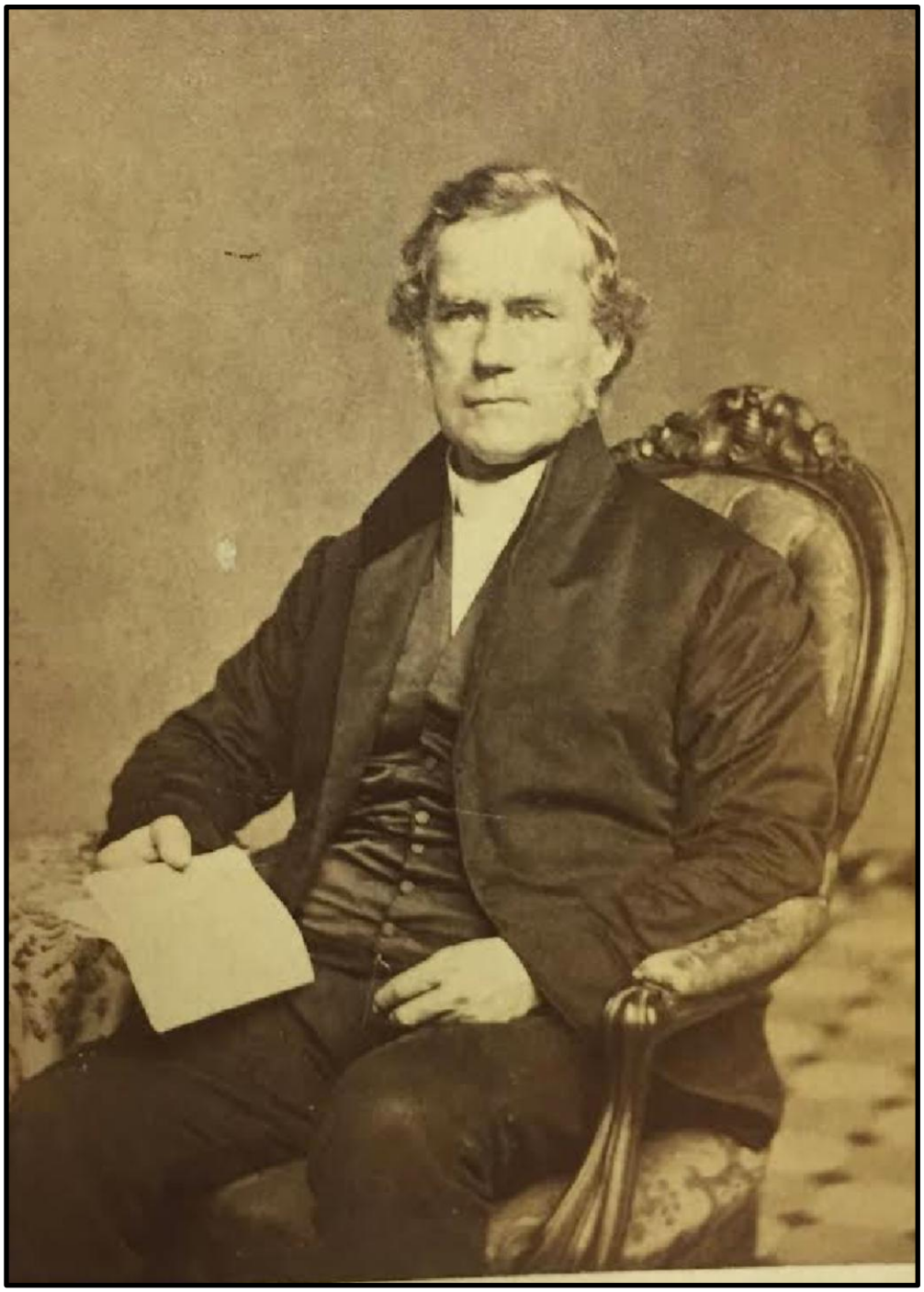
> I was born in Philadelphia, the third day of the Seventh Month, 1804. My parents resided then on the east side of North Fourth Street a few doors above Market Street. The house was taken down many years ago, and the site is now occupied by a store. When I was about one year old my parents removed to a house purchased by them on Arch Street, below Eighth Street, where the family resided about sixty years, when the property was sold and a large store built on the site which is now numbered 728.[59]

The son of Israel Cope and Margaret Cooper, Marmaduke Cope was born on July 3, 1804 in Philadelphia. Cope was the second of six children, which included Mary Ann Cope (1803-1884), who married Stephen Paschall Morris; Emeline Cope (1806-1828); Ann Cope (1806-1812); Elizabeth Cooper Cope (1812-?), who married William Morris Collins; and Lydia Cooper Cope (1817-1856). Marmaduke Cope's paternal heritage was based in Pennsylvania. Israel Cope (1770-1855) was a native of Lancaster, the son of Caleb Cope and Mary Mendenhall from Chester County and later of Philadelphia. Marmaduke Cope's maternal line descended from an old New Jersey family—the Coopers of Camden and South Jersey. Margaret Cooper was the daughter of Marmaduke Cooper and Mary Jones. Marmaduke Cope was raised in Philadelphia and attended the Westtown School. After convincing his father to leave Westtown at fifteen years old, he started his "long apprenticeship of six years" he completed his studies, he entered the family business—the silk trade and, later, dry goods.

The Copes were essentially Chester County farmers who moved to Lancaster in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1786, Israel Cope's brother, Thomas Pim Cope (1768-1854), moved to Philadelphia to apprentice with an uncle, Thomas Mendenhall (1759-1843), an important Delaware River merchant. The partnership

---

[57] Marmaduke Cooper Cope was known as Marmaduke Cope, Marmaduke C. Cope, and M.C. Cope interchangeably throughout his life and will be referred to as Marmaduke Cope throughout this nomination.
[58] Marmaduke C. Cope, "A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope by Her Husband" (Philadelphia: Printed for Private Distribution, 1873), xxx.
[59] Maramaduke Cooper Cope, "Recollections of Youthful Days, and Some Records of After Years," *The Friend*, 22 June 1922, p. 60.



Marmaduke Cope. Courtesy the Quaker Archives at Haverford College.

Sarah Cope. Courtesy the Quaker Archives at Haverford College.

of Mendenhall and Cope was brief and unsuccessful, as were other subsequent endeavors. Thomas Pim Cope's brothers, Israel and Jasper Cope followed their brother to Philadelphia, where, in 1800, the three formed a mercantile partnership—Cope & Brothers. This partnership endured until 1806, when Israel and Jasper established their own firm. They were in the silk business located at 165 Market Street. The established silk house endured for their entire, long careers and were succeeded in business by their

sons, Marmaduke Cope and Caleb Frederick Cope (1797-1888), respectively. The firm evolved, eventually specializing in dry goods. Marmaduke Cope retired from the business at a relatively early age and the firm Caleb Cope & Co. was formed—"the difficulties in which this old established house were involved by some of the junior partners are well remembered."[60]

> In opening his [Marmaduke Cope's] business career, he determined to retire from it when a fixed amount of property should have been successfully accumulated. This he did, for having obtained his object in early middle life, he thereafter devoted his energies largely to work of Christian philanthropy.[61]

On June 8, 1828, Marmaduke Cope married Sarah Wistar in Philadelphia. The twelfth of thirteen children, she was the daughter of Thomas Wistar (1765-1851) and Mary Waln (1765-1844).[62]

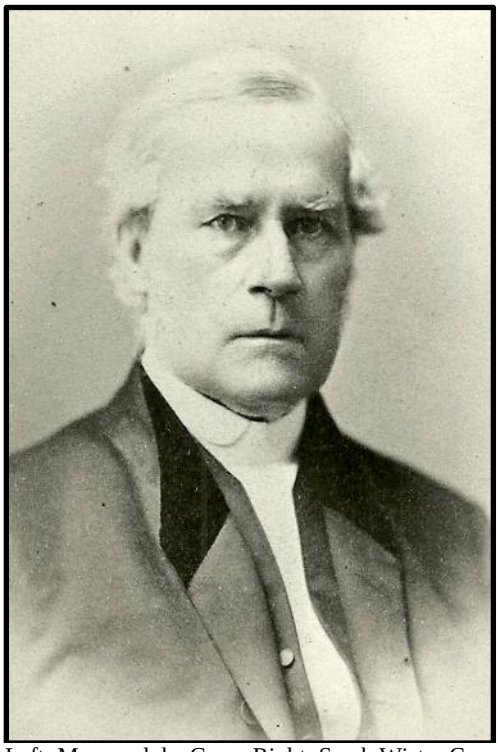
Soon after their marriage they received a visit from the Religious Society of Friends from England, which left a permanent impression on the marriage of Marmaduke Cope and Sarah Wistar, influencing their compassion for those less fortunate, those who were mistreated by the world.

---

[60] Her thirteen siblings included Richard Wistar (1787-1787); Elizabeth Waln Wistar (1788-1880); Sarah Wyatt Wistar (1790-1791); Richard Waln Wistar (1791-?); Margaret Wistar (1792-1886), who married Roberts Vaux; Wyatt Wistar (1795-1795); Mary Wistar (1796-1804); Thomas Wistar, Jr. (1798-1876), who married Elizabeth Buckley Morris and Mary Richardson; Bartholomew Wyatt Wistar (1800-1800); Caspar Wistar (1801-1867), who married Lydia Jones; Joseph Wistar (1802-1879), who married Sarah Elizabeth Comfort; and Mary Waln Wistar (1807-1840), who married Moses Brown. Caleb Cope and Family Papers, Coll. no. 1222, Special Collections, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

[61] "Marmaduke C. Cope, of Philadelphia." *The Friend*, 20 November 1897.

[62] Caleb Cope and Family Papers, Coll. no. 1222, Special Collections, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library



Left: Maramaduke Cope. Right: Sarah Wistar Cope. Courtesy of Descendants of the Waring and Whitall Families.

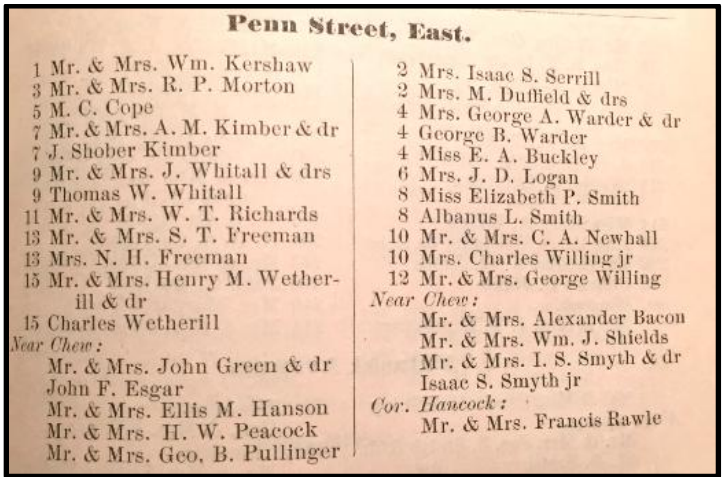
The Copes lived in the vicinity of the Twelfth Street Meeting House at 1312 Filbert Street.

> A number of houses in the immediate neighborhood of our grandparents' residence were occupied by their warm, personal friends. On the opposite side of the street lived their valued friends M.C. [Marmaduke Cooper] and S.W. [Sarah Wistar] Cope, one of those whose daughters their son married.
>
> There was much unity of thought and interests in these various households, and a constant interchange of pleasant, social intercourse. They all were members of the Twelfth Street Meeting, and encouraged and strengthened each other in their religious concern and faithful service for the church.[63]

The area near the Twelfth Street Meeting House and the streets around the 1300 Block of Filbert was known unofficially as "The Saints' Rest", which was largely due unto the good, charitable works of the Quakers in the area.[64] Marmaduke Cope held the Filbert Street house until 1891, when it was sold to the Girard Real Estate and Trust Company for the use of Henry S. Hoffman.[65] Two children were born to Marmaduke Cope and

[63] R.N. Tatum, *Memoir of Mary Whitall* (Philadelphia: Printed for Private Distribution, 1885), 114-115.
[64] Tatum, *Memoir of Mary Whitall*, 116.
[65] "The Real Estate World," *The Times*, Philadelphia, 17 March 1891, p. 2.

Sarah Wistar: Margaret Cooper Cope (1831-1890), who married Anthony Morris Kimber (1824-1917) in 1853; and Mary Wistar Cope (1834-1897), who married James Whitall (1835-1896) in 1856.[66] The Cope girls were raised in the Twelfth Street Meeting House, and likely attended the Meeting's School. For advanced studies and training, they may also have been students at the "School for Young Ladies" at the southwest corner of Arch and Tenth Streets, which was administered by Harriet Brown, likely a relative or acquaintance of the Cope, Wistar and/or another lateral family.[67] The Kimbers had four children: Maramaduke Cope Kimber (1854-1878); Thomas William Kimber (1855-1885), who married Maria Brinton Shoemaker; Joanna Sophia Kimber (1855-1885), who married William Potter Buffum; and John Shober Kimber (1864-1937), who married Mary Haines Ecroyd. The Whitalls also had a large family: John Mickle Whitall (1858-1926), who married Margaret Haines Bacon; Thomas Wistar Whitall (1859-1894), who married Sarah Whitmore; Sarah Cope Whitall (1864-1900), who married Walter Nordoff; Margaret Whitall (1865-1892); and Franklin Whitall (1871-1894).[68] The genealogy of Marmaduke Cope's family is particularly important, as 48 E. Penn Street was passed down through the Whitall descendants.



Penn Street, East.

1 Mr. & Mrs. Wm. Kershaw
3 Mr. & Mrs. R. P. Morton
5 M. C. Cope
7 Mr. & Mrs. A. M. Kimber & dr
7 J. Shober Kimber
9 Mr. & Mrs. J. Whitall & drs
9 Thomas W. Whitall
11 Mr. & Mrs. W. T. Richards
13 Mr. & Mrs. S. T. Freeman
13 Mrs. N. H. Freeman
15 Mr. & Mrs. Henry M. Wetherill & dr
15 Charles Wetherill
Near Chew:
Mr. & Mrs. John Green & dr
John F. Esgar
Mr. & Mrs. Ellis M. Hanson
Mr. & Mrs. H. W. Peacock
Mr. & Mrs. Geo. B. Pullinger

2 Mrs. Isaac S. Serrill
2 Mrs. M. Duffield & drs
4 Mrs. George A. Warder & dr
4 George B. Warder
4 Miss E. A. Buckley
6 Mrs. J. D. Logan
8 Miss Elizabeth P. Smith
8 Albanus L. Smith
10 Mr. & Mrs. C. A. Newhall
10 Mrs. Charles Willing jr
12 Mr. & Mrs. George Willing
Near Chew:
Mr. & Mrs. Alexander Bacon
Mr. & Mrs. Wm. J. Shields
Mr. & Mrs. I. S. Smyth & dr
Isaac S. Smyth jr
Cor. Hancock:
Mr. & Mrs. Francis Rawle

Excerpt of E. Penn Street from Boyd's *Blue Book*. Note, Marmaduke Cooper Cope and his daughters—the Kimbers and the Whitalls all live on the same side of E. Penn Street. Courtesy the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[66] Family Record of James Whitall, The Gilbert Cope Foundation of Genealogical and Historical Research, 14 January 1939.
[67] "Advertisement," *The Press*, Philadelphia, 5 September 1857, p. 3.
[68] Marmaduke C. Cope, *A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope by Her Husband* (Philadelphia: Printed for Private Distribution, 1873), 12.

Left: Antony Kimber and Margaret Cooper Cope. Right: Margaret Cooper Cope, Anthony Morris Kimber and Marmaduke Cope Kimber. Courtesy the Waring-Whitall Family.

Left to right: Anthony Morris Kimber, Margaret Cooper Cope Kimber, Marmaduke Cope Kimber, William Kimber, and Joanna Sophia Kimber. Photograph of John Shober Kimber no available. Courtesy the Waring-Whitall Family.

Left to right: Mary Cope Whitall (middle aged); Mary Cope Whitall (elderly); Mr. & Mrs. John Mickle Whitall—in the yard at Church Lane; and Mildred Whitall Waring and Bernard Gilpin Waring. Courtesy the Waring-Whitall Family.

The Whitall Grandchildren of Marmaduke Cope.
Courtesy Ann Newlin Thompson.

Throughout their adult lives, Marmaduke Cope and Sarah Wistar were involved extensively in some of the most important and controversial issues of the day like abolition and equal rights. According to Marmaduke, Sarah Wistar Cope was the driving force behind many of their endeavors. Josiah Forster, a fellow abolitionist, was a family friend and in 1837, the Copes were among those who assisted in founding the Institute for Colored Youth.[69] This was part of a larger effort to help "the neglected condition of the poor colored children in the southern section" of Philadelphia.

In a memoir written and privately published by Marmaduke Cope, he said the following of his wife:

> A comfortable home was provided for a considerable number, with a commodious school room. This, under the care of an association of women Friends, of which she was the treasurer and an attentive manager, continued for many years to dispense its comforts and train the children in good habits under religious influences. Other efforts on behalf of this neglected race met with her cordial aid and sympathy, and she was every ready to consider the case of the poor and oppressed.[70]

In 1846, the Copes housed George Stacey and John Allen, London Quakers, who came to American to reconcile the differences existing among Friends in Indiana, then known as the anti-slavery separation.[71] Their work assisting colored youth and fellow Quakers in need continued in the 1850s. In the fall of 1856, their beloved friends, Priscilla Green and Mary Nicholson, fellow abolitionists, came to Philadelphia and were guests of the Copes for an extended period of time. It was through the efforts of Green and Nicholson that the Copes traveled to Iowa in 1858 to enlarge the Society of Friends in that part of the country.[72]

Among the charitable pursuits of the Copes was the "Mission of Queen Nah-nee-bah-we-qua" to Queen Victoria in England. Nah ne bah wee qua (1824-1865) was an ambassador of sorts for the Ojibwa, a Christian missionary, and a quasi-celebrity of her day. Known also as Catherine Bunch, she was of Native American and English-American parentage; however, orphaned at a young age, she was unofficially adopted by her uncle, Peter Jones and his English-born wife, Eliza Fields. She lived with the Jones family at the Credit Mission, where she married and had three children with William Sutton. They remained at the Mission until 1845 when, at the invitation of the Nawash Tribe, they moved to Georgian Bay in Ontario, Canada, and were adopted into the tribe. Part of their work in Georgian Bay was as Christian missionaries. In order to raise money for this cause, Queen Nah ne bah wee qua appealed to Queen Victoria in person. Her journey being directly related to the improvement of the red man, she was aided financially by Quakers. In April 1859/1860, she was accompanied under the personal protection of Marmaduke

[69] "Marmaduke C. Cope, of Philadelphia." *The Friend*, 20 November 1897, p. 18.
[70] Cope, "A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope," 13-15.
[71] Cope, "A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope," 15-16.
[72] Cope, "A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope," 18.

Cope and Sarah Wistar on the steamer *Persia*. Once in England, Queen Nah ne bah wee qua was connected with members of the Society of Friends who offered? accommodations to assist in her mission.[73] While in England, the Copes traveled to England to meet fellow abolitionist Friends.

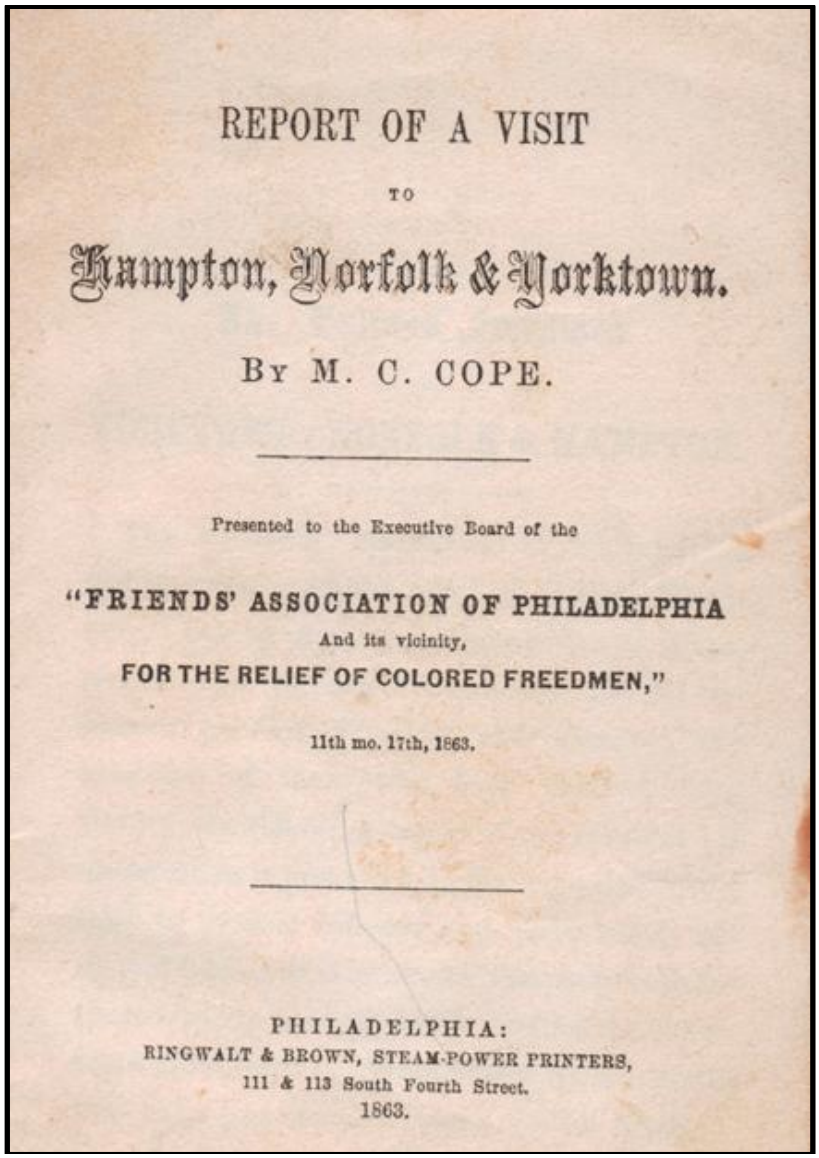
Naturally, the Copes signed onto the "Petition for the Colored People of Philadelphia to Ride in the Cars" of 1862.[74] However, this effort was only effective for a very short period before there were additional racial issues. That same year, the Copes "commenced that memorable work among the freed colored people in the Southern States". They visited Virginia during the Civil War to examine the living conditions of the "freed colored people" in the vicinity of Hampton, Norfolk and Yorktown. They described their findings in a report:

> The fearful evidences of war were all around us. The blackened walls of burnt towns; the weed-grown and fenceless fields; the bristling cannon of the fortresses; the pickets by the roadside; the regiment returning from a destructive raid were strange sights in our hitherto favored and peaceful land.[75]

The trip to the American South was quite disturbing to the Copes, so much so that Marmaduke was compelled to record his travels. He then generated "Report of a Visit to Hampton, Norfolk & Yorktown.", which was published in 1863 by Ringwalt & Brown by their steam powered machinery. Marmaduke Cope generated the report for the Executive Board of the "Friends' Association of Philadelphia, And its vicinity, For the Relief of Colored Freedmen".[76] The report was one of the earliest accounts of the conditions of the freedmen, which indicated that almost all of those observed were uneducated and poor.[77]

---

[73] "The Two Queens," *Boston Courier*, 16 August 1860, p. 1.
[74] "Colored People in Passenger Cars." *The Christian Recorder*, 14 June 1862.
[75] Cope, *Report of a visit to Hampton, Norfolk & Yorktown*, 40.
[76] Cope, *Report of a visit to Hampton, Norfolk & Yorktown*, 46.
[77] Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (London: MacMillan & Company, Ltd., 1921), 600.



REPORT OF A VISIT

TO

Hampton, Norfolk & Yorktown.

BY M. C. COPE.

Presented to the Executive Board of the

"FRIENDS' ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA
And its vicinity,
FOR THE RELIEF OF COLORED FREEDMEN,"

11th mo. 17th, 1863.

PHILADELPHIA:
RINGWALT & BROWN, STEAM-POWER PRINTERS,
111 & 113 South Fourth Street.
1863.

"Report of a Visit to Hampton, Norfolk & Yorktown." By Marmaduke Cooper Cope.
Courtesy Google Books.

In 1865, the Copes again southward traveled, but now to examine conditions of their own Friends in North Carolina and Tennessee and found "Friends of the North," an organization that provided large quantities of clothing and provisions for their fellow Friends. They also brought several destitute young women from the south to Philadelphia, housing them while preparing them to receive an education from the boarding-school at Westtown. In 1869, they traveled to Southampton County, Virginia, where they met with other Friends and visited their homes to examine conditions. Afterwards, the Copes provided funds for their education and general improvement to their southern counterparts. In 1870, the Copes visited Tennessee and afterwards assisted in the establishment of a training school for girls at Friendsville, Tennessee, as well as a monthly meeting at Maryville. Sarah Wistar Cope served as treasurer of the Committee

of Friends on behalf of the Indians of the West, furnishing aid in the way of clothing for women and children.[78]

After her death, Marmaduke Cope said this of his beloved partner in memoir, which he had privately published and printed:

> Her interest in the moral, religious, and intellectual improvement of the young was very remarkable. She felt the great importance of preparing them for the duties of Christian life. Those who were friendless or poor, claimed her especial sympathy. It mattered not whether these were found among the colored people, the Indians, or the needy of our own society in the South or elsewhere.[79]

After the Civil War Marmaduke Cope purchased a cottage in Newport, Rhode Island at 53 Washington Street. The house is still extant. He was first listed as a resident in 1865 with several other Philadelphians, including John A. Brown, Henry Morris, Wistar Morris, and William D. Smith.[80] In 1866, the Copes were taxed $64.00 for their cottage on "Washington street [sic.] and the bay", which was valued at $8,000.[81] Sarah Wistar Cope would spend the summers at this house until the time of her death. Marmaduke described their time in Newport in 1873:

> The summer residence of our family being at Newport, R.I., she became much attached to the Friends who formed the meeting there, which she called "the little church by the sea." In the welfare of its members she took a lively interest, and wrote encouragingly to some who were much concerned to promote the good cause.[82]

Marmaduke Cope continued to own and use his Washington Street residence throughout the remainder of his life, where he and his family spent their summers, as confirmed in social sections of contemporary newspapers:

---

[78] Cope, "A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope," 20-26.
[79] Cope, "A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope," 20.
[80] "Newport, Villas Owned By Summer Residents," *Providence Evening Press*, 12 August 1865, p. 3; "Cottages and Villas owned by Summer Residents," *Newport Mercury.*, 9 July 1870, p. 2.
[81] "Newport Tax List," *Newport Mercury*, 15 September 1866, p. 2.
[82] Cope, "A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope," 32.

The former cottage of Marmaduke Cope and Sarah Wistar at 53 Washington Street in Newport, Rhode Island. Courtesy Google Earth.

> Mrs. T. M. Whitall, of Philadelphia, who has been spending the winter here, has taken a cottage on Conanicut Island.
>
> The late James Whitall, of Germantown, Pa., spent his summers here with his father-in-law, Marmaduke Cope. He was a large owner of real estate at Conanicut.[83]

Being in good health in the weeks prior to her death, Sarah Wister Cope suffered an acute attack of inflammation of the heart and lungs on April 3, 1872, but the family hoped for a recovery. Sarah Wister Cope died on April 21, 1872 and was buried a few days later on April 25.[84] As stated, Marmaduke Cope compiled, published and printed a memoir about the life of his wife, which was a private bound volume for his close friends and relatives. A similar book was completed on close friends of the Copes—John Mickle Whitall and Mary Whitall, who lived in close proximity to the Copes in Philadelphia.

In the 1870s, Marmaduke Cope occupied several roles that led to his continued contribution to his lifelong charitable causes. Through the decade he served as chair of "Friends' Association of Philadelphia and Its Vicinity, for the Relief of Colored Freedmen". The association made efforts to raise money throughout the entire year. In 1869, they raised over $12,000, not including goods donated, for the aide of "colored persons" and it was reported that there were a total of 47 schools and 67 teachers throughout the country, which were receiving aid from the association.[85] While Marmaduke Cope's primary energy went towards aided African American causes, as well as Quaker-specific efforts, he was also part of a movement to aide "The Mennonite Emigration," which enabled many to cross the Atlantic to new opportunities and

[83] "Newport Gossip. Great Preparations for the Summer Season-Some of the Recent Rentals of Villas by the Sea," *New York Herald*, 15 March 1896, p. 13.
[84] Cope, "A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope," p. 53-55.
[85] "Local Affairs," *Public Ledger*, 25 July 1870, p. 3; "The Freedmen," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 17 April 1877, p. 3.

settlement.[86] He was also an early member of the Union Benevolent Association, a membership he maintained throughout his life.[87]

In 1876 Marmaduke Cope purchased the cottage of Lloyd Mifflin at 48 E. Penn Street in Germantown. He almost immediately commissioned Quaker architect Addison Hutton to enlarge the house and fit it up with modern conveniences.[88] This undertaking, previously discussed in this nomination, respected the design of the extant cottage, incorporating design elements to create a more elaborate Italianate Villa.[89]

> He was an active member of the Twelfth Street Meeting, and an elder in it until his removal to Germantown, after the death of his wife…[90]

Marmaduke Cope's substantial civic and philanthropic involvements continued through the 1880s. He had long since been a member of the Indian Aid Association of Friends. For years he was both an officer and a member of the Executive Board.[91] He also remained an important contributor, as well as an executive board member of the Freedmen's Association until the time of his death.[92] He was also a founder, lifelong contributor and board member of the Institute for Colored Youth, the building of which still exists in Bainbridge Street.

Not far from their father and grandfather, Marmaduke Cope, the Kimbers lived next door at 7 E. Penn Street. And the Whitalls lived next door to them at 9 E. Penn Street. James Whitall and Mary Cope had five children: Margaret M. Whitall (1882-1907); Mildred Whitall (1884-1923), who married Bernard Gilpin Waring; James Whitall (1888-1940), who married Mildred Mason Smith; Helen Whitall (1890-1917), who married Joseph Haines; and William Henry Bacon Whitall (1892-1960), who married Mary Brinton.[93]

From the Last Will and Testament of Marmaduke C. Cope:

> Ninth I give devise and bequeath unto my daughter Mary C. Whitall, her heirs and assigns the house and lot where I now reside, numbered by me as No. 5 East Penn Street, Germantown.[94]

---

[86] "The Mennonite Emigration," *The Philadelphia Friends Review*, 27 May 1875, p. 1, also published in the *Lawrence [Kansas] Daily Journal*; and "Annual Meeting of the Branch in Arch Street," *The Times*, Philadelphia, 18 April 1876, p. 1.
[87] "Local Intelligence," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 October 1881, p. 3.
[88] Yarnall, *Addison Hutton: Quaker Architect, 1834-1916*.
[89] Diary of Addison Hutton, 1876, Addison Hutton Papers, Coll. no. 1122, Special Collections, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.
[90] "Marmaduke C. Cope, of Philadelphia." *The Friend*, 20 November 1897, p. 18.
[91] "Yearly Meeting: First Day of the Annual Conference of the Society of Friends," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 17 April 1883.
[92] "Yearly Meeting of Friends: The Peace Society and the Freedmen's Association –Officers Elected," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 April 1892, p. 2.
[93] Family Record of John M. Whitall, The Gilbert Cope Foundation of Genealogical and Historical Research. 8 February 1939.
[94] Will of Marmaduke Cope, Philadelphia Register of Wills, Ancestry.com

Marmaduke Cope died on September 5, 1897. He and Sarah Wistar Cope were buried in the Friends Southwestern Burial Ground at Upper Darby.[95] His daughter, Mary Cope Whitall died the year prior and his codicil left the house to his grandson, John Mickle Whitall.[96] After Marmaduke Cope's death in 1897, the house passed into the ownership of his daughter and son-in-law, Mary Cope and John Mickle Whitall. However, the Whitalls never lived in the house throughout their ownership in _____ it was then deeded to his daughter, Mildred Whitall and her husband Bernard Waring.[97]

Late signature of Marmaduke Cooper Cope from his 1894 Will. Courtesy Ancestry.com.

During the course of Marmaduke Cope's life he invested and held bonds in numerous companies including the Northern Central Railway Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company, the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, the Minehill & Sch. Haven Railroad Company, the Philadelphia, Germantown, & Norristown Railroad Company, the Nesquehoning Valley Railroad Company, the Locust Mountain Coal & Iron Company, the Chesapeake & Delaware Canal Company, the Provident Life & Trust Company of Philadelphia and the West Jersey & Seashore Railroad Company.. At the time of his death, he held mortgages on seven properties, including the First Presbyterian Church of Camden. He had large sums of money on deposit with the Pennsylvania Annuity Company, the Philadelphia Trust, Safety Deposit & Insurance Company, the Provident Life & Trust Company of Philadelphia, the Western Saving Fund Society of Philadelphia, the Germantown R.E.D. & Trust Company, the Fidelity Insurance Trust & Safety Deposit Company, the Fidelity Insurance Trust & Safety Deposit Company, and the Newport National Bank. At the time of his death his estate was valued at $936,782.47.[98]

Settlement of the Marmaduke Cope estate took John Mickle Whitall several years. Around the time of Marmaduke Cope's death, the Act of May 12, 1897 took place which imposed taxes on certain personal property. A dispute over the constitutionality was decided upon by the Orphan's Court and then appealed in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. It was decided that the tax was unconstitutional in January 1899.[99]

---

[95] *Find A Grave*. Find A Grave. http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi.
[96] Codicil of Marmaduke Cooper Cope. 9 January 1897, Philadelphia Register of Wills, Ancestry.com.
[97] "Application for Probate and Letters Testamentary, No. 1354, the Estate of Marmaduke Cope, Filed 9 September 1897, Philadelphia Register of Wills, Ancestry.com.
[98] "Application for Probate and Letters Testamentary, No. 1354, the Estate of Marmaduke Cope, Filed 9 September 1897, Philadelphia Register of Wills, Ancestry.com.
[99] "Direct Inheritance Tax," *The Times*, Philadelphia, 21 January 1899, p. 4.

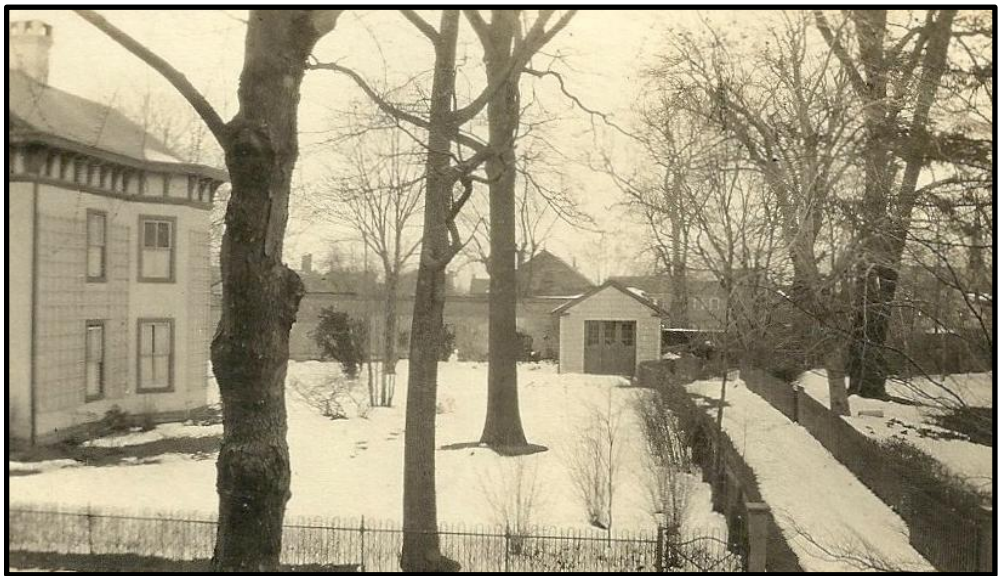
Mildred Whitall, c. 1900.
Courtesy the Wyck Papers.

The Warings of Waring House

Of the children of John Mickle Whitall and Margaret Haines Bacon, Mildred Whitall was born on June 15, 1884 in Germantown. Mildred Whitall was educated at the Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. She took the great interest in her ancestral home at 48 E. Penn Street, moving there after her marriage to Bernard G. Waring. Their union took place in Philadelphia on November 18, 1908. Bernard Waring was born to Thomas Waring and Anna Smith on August 24, 1876 in Colorado, Maryland. However, later in life, his parents moved to Camden, New Jersey for business. After his marriage and relocation to Philadelphia, Bernard Waring resigned his position as a salesman for the Esterbrook Steel Pen Manufacturing Company in Camden to enter into business with D. Robert Yarnall, establishing the Yarnall-Waring Company in Philadelphia. The company manufactured steam power plant equipment. On July 27, 1910 the Whitall's daughter, Margaret Whitall Waring was born. She would later marry Henry C. Evans. In 1911, the Warings took over the house at 48 E. Penn Street and made some alterations and modernizations. As previously mentioned, these alterations and "improvements" were

made by Brockie and Hastings, Architects, an important Philadelphia firm of the early twentieth century.

The Warings had three other children and 48 E. Penn Street: Ann Newlin Waring (1913-2000), who married H. Eastburn Thompson, Jr.; Dorothy Gilpin Waring (1915-1969), who married William Wharton Smith; and Thomas Waring (1921-2001), who married Theodora Elkinton. Just two years after the birth of her last child, Mildred Whitall Waring died on January 10, 1923. Bernard Waring remarried and remained in the house until his death in 1959.[100] The family home passed to the next generation and was eventually sold to the Germantown Settlement for two dollars—one dollar in 1960 and another in 1961.[101]



The yard and garage of 48 E. Penn Street. Courtesy Eric E. Thompson and Robert Smith.

[100] Family Record of Bernard Gilpin Waring, The Gilbert Cope Foundation of Genealogical and Historical Research. Not Dated.

[101] Deed: Grace Warner Waring, Henry C. Evans and Margaret Whitall, his wife, Ann Newlin Thompson, widow of H. Eastburn Thompson, William Wharton Smith and Dorothy Waring, his wife, and Thomas Waring and Theodora, his wife, to The Germantown Community Center, acting under the name of the Germantown Settlement, 14 January 1961, Philadelphia Deed Book C.A.B., No. 1833, p. 382, CAP.

Bernard Gilpin Waring and his family, 1914.
Courtesy Erik Eastburn Thompson.

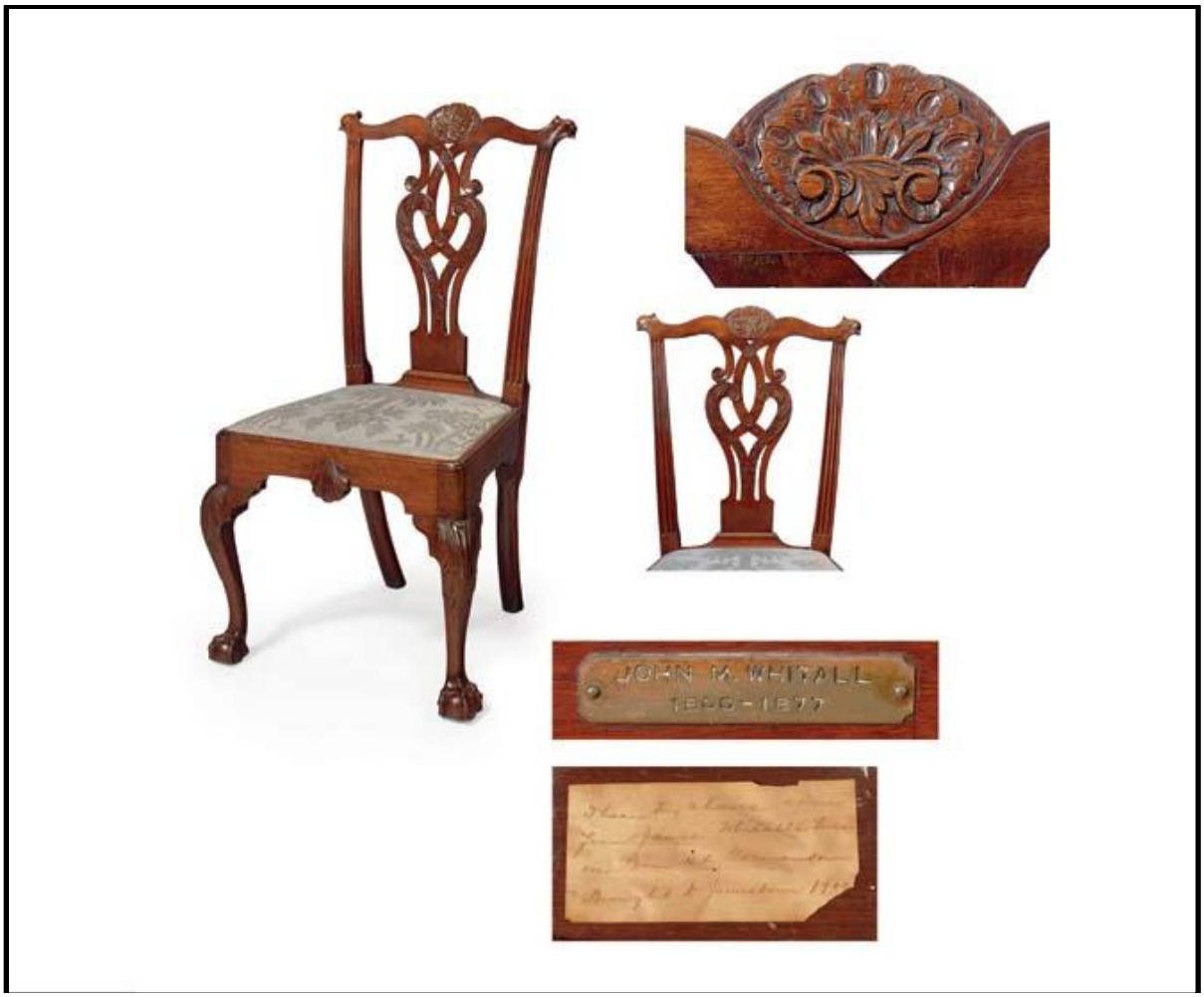
Children using the slide at 48 E. Penn Street.
Courtesy Erik Eastburn Thompson.

Top left: rear elevation of 48 E. Penn Street with Bernard Gilpin Waring and Mildred Whitall Waring and their children at the edge of the hedge. Top right: side elevation of 48 E. Penn Street (Warings shown again). Bottom left: Ann Newlin "Nancy" Waring. Bottom right: Margaret Whitall Waring and Ann Newlin "Nancy" Waring.

"Kite" Sharpless & "Easie" Waring at 48 E. Penn Street riding up the snow slide.
Courtesy Erik Eastburn Thompson.

Winter at 48 E. Penn Street. Courtesy Erik Eastburn Thompson.

The Family of Bernard Waring (second wife, Grace Waring, pictured) in the west parlor of 48 E. Penn Street. Ca. 1940s. Courtesy Eric E. Thompson and Robert Smith.



The Wistar Family Chippendale Carved Walnut Side Chair. Carving attributed to Nicholas Bernard and Martin Jugiez, Philadelphia, 1750-1760. Front seat rail marked VIII XIII; rear seat rail with brass plaque, John M. Whitall (1800-1877); seat frame with old paper label inscribed: These two chairs came from James Whitall's house on Penn Street, Germantown. Brought to Jamestown, 1900. Courtesy Christies.com.

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Advertisement." *The Press*, Philadelphia, 17 March 1891.

Ancestry.com, *U.S., Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014.

"Annual Meeting of the Branch in Arch Street." *The Times*. Philadelphia, 18 April 1876.

"Application for Probate and Letters Testamentary, No. 1354, the Estate of Marmaduke Cope, Filed 9 September 1897. Ancestry.com.

Bank of the US v. Wyllys Lyman, et al

Bank of the US August 30, 1831. Mifflin Family Papers. Franklin and Marshall College

Caleb Cope and Family Papers. Coll. no. 1222, Special Collections, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

Codicil of Marmaduke Cooper Cope. 9 January 1897. Ancestry.com

"Colored People in Passenger Cars. *The Christian Recorder*, 14 June 1862.

Commercial Directory, Philadelphia.

Cope, M.C. *Report of a visit to Hampton, Norfolk & Yorktown*. Philadelphia, 1863. Reprint, Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association Collection, 1987.

Cope Marmaduke C., "A Tribute to the Memory of Sarah W. Cope by Her Husband." Philadelphia: Printed for Private Distribution, 1873.

Cope, Marmaduke Cooper, "Recollections of Youthful Days, and Some Records of After Years," *The Friend*. Philadelphia, 22 June 1922.

"Cottages and Villas owned by Summer Residents." *Newport Mercury*, Newport, Rhode Island, 9 July 1870.

Diary of Addison Hutton, 1876. Addison Hutton Papers, Coll. no. 1122. Special Collections, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library.

Deed: Bank of Germantown to Cephas G. Childs, of the county of Philadelphia, publisher, 13 September 1850, for $1,200, Philadelphia Deed Book A.D.B., No. 41, p. 439 (recorded in 1858), CAP.

Deed: Cephus G. Childs, of Germantown, publisher, and Ann, his wife, to Lloyd Mifflin, of the same place, accountant, 14 December 1850, for $2,737.54, Philadelphia Deed Book G.W.C., No. 75, p. 386, CAP.

Deed: Grace Warner Waring, Henry C. Evans and Margaret Whitall, his wife, Ann Newlin Thompson, widow of H. Eastburn Thompson, William Wharton Smith and Dorothy Waring, his wife, and Thomas Waring and Theodora, his wife, to The Germantown Community Center, acting under the name of the Germantown Settlement, 14 January 1961, Philadelphia Deed Book C.A.B., No. 1833, p. 382, CAP.

Deed: Grace Warner Waring, Henry C. Evans and Margaret Whitall, his wife, Ann Newlin Thompson, widow of H. Eastburn Thompson, William Wharton Smith and Dorothy Waring, his wife, and Thomas Waring and Theodora, his wife, to The Germantown Community Center, acting under the name of the Germantown Settlement, 14 January 1961, Philadelphia Deed Book C.A.B., No. 1833, p. 382, CAP.

"Direct Inheritance Tax," *The Times.* Philadelphia, 21 January 1899.

Duffin, J.M. ed. *Acta Germanopolis: Records of the Corporation of Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1691 – 1707.* Philadelphia: Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, 2008,

Dyer, Oliver and Dennis F. Murphy, *Defendants' Counsel and the Charge of Judge Burnside in the Case of Hinchman Vs. Richie et al.* Philadelphia: T.K. and P.G. Collins, 1849.

Family Record of James Whitall, 14 January 1939, The Gilbert Cope Foundation of Genealogical and Historical Research.

Family Record of James Whitall, not dated, The Gilbert Cope Foundation of Genealogical and Historical Research.

Find A Grave. Find A Grave. http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi.

The Franklin Journal and American Mechanic's Magazine, Volume 1. Philadelphia: The Franklin Institution, 1826.

"The Freedmen." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 17 April 1877.

Garber, John Palmer, Naaman Henry Keyser, and C. Henry Kain. *History of Old Germantown*. Philadelphia: 1907.

Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: W. F. Geddes, 1828.
Holst, Nancy A., "Pattern Books and the Suburbanization of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." PhD diss., University of Delaware 2008.
Insurance Policy for 7 Shoemaker's Lane (48 E. Penn Street) of Lloyd Mifflin. Issued by the Franklin Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia in February 1850. the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Jackson, Kenneth J., *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1987.
Jenkins, Charles. *The Guide Book to Historic Germantown*. Philadelphia, 1902).
Jones, Rufus M. *The Later Periods of Quakerism*. London: MacMillan & Company, Ltd., 1921.
Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. No. 706.; Act of Incorporation of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company (Philadelphia: 1850).
Last Will and Testament of Marmaduke C. Cope. Ancestry.com.
"Local Affairs." *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia. 25 July 1870.
"Local Intelligence," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. Philadelphia, 19 October 1881.
"Marmaduke C. Cope, of Philadelphia." *The Friend, a Religious and Literary Journal (1827-1906),* 20 November 1897.
"The Mennonite Emigration." *The Philadelphia Friends Review.* Philadelphia, 27 May 1875.
Merrill, John Houston, *Memoranda relating to the Mifflin Family*. Philadelphia: Printed for Private Distribution, 1890.
Mifflin Papers, 1714-1936, Archives and Special Collections, Mifflin Family Papers. Curtsey Franklin and Marshall College.
Minutes, 1825-1830, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania. "Newport Gossip. Great Preparations for the Summer Season-Some of the Recent Rentals of Villas by the Sea." *New York Herald*, 15 March 1896.
"Newport Tax List." *Newport Mercury*, 15 September 1866.b
"Newport Villas Owned by Summer Residents." *Providence Evening Press*, 9 July 1870.
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, *Quaker biographies: brief biographical sketches concerning certain members of the religious Society of Friends, with illustrations, Series II.* Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store, 1912.
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Orthodox Friends, *Friends Intelligencer and Journal*, 7 May 1887.
Tatum, R.N. *Memoir of Mary Whitall*. Philadelphia: Printed for Private Distribution, 1885.
"The Real Estate World." *The Times*, Philadelphia, 5 September 1857.
"The Two Queens." *Boston Courier*, 16 August 1860.
Thomas Scharf, John Thomas and Thompson Westcott. *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884,*. Philadelphia L.H. Everts & Co., 1884.
Stillgoe, John R., *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
Tatman, Sandra L. "Addison Hutton (1834-1916)." Philadelphia Architects and Buildings Database of the Athenaeum, 2016.
Yarnall, Elizabeth Biddle, *Addison Hutton: Quaker Architect 1834-1916*. Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press, 1990.
"Yearly Meeting. First Day of the Annual Conference of the Society of Friends," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*17 April 1883.