

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form



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JUN 3 2014

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "X" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name High Street Historic District (Boundary Increase)

other names/site number _____

2. Location

street & number 6 West Pearl Street not for publication

city or town Burlington City vicinity

state New Jersey code NJ county Burlington code 005 zip code 08016

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide locally. See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Phil Boony Signature of certifying official/Title Ass't Commissioner Date 6/10/14

NJ - DEP

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet for additional comments.

Signature of certifying official/Title _____ Date _____

State or Federal agency and bureau _____

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register. See continuation sheet.
- determined eligible for the National Register. See continuation sheet.
- determined not eligible for the National Register.
- removed from the National Register.
- other, (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

Edson H. Beall 8-25-14

High Street HD (Boundary Increase)
Name of Property

Burlington Co., NJ
County and State

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	0	buildings
1		sites
		structures
		objects
2	0	Total

Name of related multiple property listing

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE: processing

DOMESTIC: single dwelling

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC: single dwelling

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions)

Colonial

Federal

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation Stone

walls Stucco (over brick)

roof Asphalt

other

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8 Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- X A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
X B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
X D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria considerations

(mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
B removed from its original location.
C a birthplace or grave.
D a cemetery.
E a reconstructed building, object or structure.
F a commemorative property.
G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- X preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
previously listed in the National Register
previously determined eligible by the National Register
designated a National Historic Landmark
recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

Blank lines for entering Areas of Significance categories.

Period of Significance

Ca.1678-ca.1860

Blank lines for entering Period of Significance details.

Significant Dates

Ca.1678

1796

Blank lines for entering Significant Dates.

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Budd, Thomas

(for others, see continuation sheet)

Cultural Affiliation

Euro-American (English)

Blank lines for entering Cultural Affiliation details.

Architect/Builder

Unknown

Blank lines for entering Architect/Builder details.

Primary location of additional data

- X State Historic Preservation Office
Other State agency
Federal agency
Local government
University
Other

Name of repository:

Blank line for entering Name of repository.

High Street HD (Boundary Increase)
Name of Property

Burlington Co., NJ
County and State

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 0.1 acres

UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

1	18	511938	4436707	3			
	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
2				4			

See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title John Brady
organization _____ date December 2013
street & number 1 Colles Avenue telephone (973) 539-2289
city or town Morristown state NJ zip code 07960

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional items

(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name John Brady
street & number 1 Colles Avenue telephone (973) 539-2289
city or town Morristown state NJ zip code 07960

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.470 *et seq.*)

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

**High Street Historic District (Boundary Increase)
Burlington County, NJ**

Section number 7 Page 1

Preface

The High Street Historic District, as originally listed, encompassed both sides of High Street from East and West Pearl Street southward (inland from the Delaware River) for about three blocks, encompassing the street addresses on the south side of High Street from 200 to the middle 400s. Common to these properties is that the facades of the buildings face High Street, which the subject of this boundary increase, 6 West Pearl Street, today does not. Apparently for that reason, 6 West Pearl was omitted from the original nomination (see the Boundary Justification, in Section 10). The district largely consists of 18th-century and 19th-century, 2- and 3-story, masonry buildings of a commercial or mixed-use character, and the district's commercial character is one of its salient historic features. High Street was the principal commercial street of Burlington City during the district's period of significance, ca.1682-ca.1941.

Description Narrative

Summary Paragraph

Six West Pearl Street is a 2 ½ -story brick house, gabled and stuccoed, with a combined footprint of 19 by 65 feet, with its gable end facing north to West Pearl Street, and its east side parallel with and about 132 feet west of High Street. It stands on a roughly rectangular lot, with 36 feet of frontage on West Pearl Street and extending 119 feet to the south. The house is of colonial-period origin, and stands on a portion of a larger parcel that was the location of Burlington's first brewery, beginning ca. 1678 and remaining in operation until 1796. Furthermore, the current building encompasses the footprint identified in 18th-century deeds as the "brew house" component of the brewery. The building was converted into a residence after the brewery closed, and a 2-story brick addition was made to the north end (facing West Pearl Street) between ca.1850 and 1874. Another 2-story brick addition, to the south end, was built between 1885 and 1891, replacing a 1-story frame kitchen. The building does retain significant 18th- and 19th-century building fabric. The current structure evidently retains remnant elements of the brew house as outlined at the end of this section.

Narrative Description

6 West Pearl Street is a 2 ½-story brick house, stuccoed, gable front with asphalt gable roof supported by prominent cornice returns. The building is of colonial period origin and the lot is the site of an early commercial brewery that operated there from ca. 1678-1796. In the 19th-century, two additions were added to either end of the building giving it today's long rectangular plan composed of three rooms per floor. At the end of the 19th-century an addition was built in front of the existing house expanding each floor of the house by an additional room. The building retains significant 18th and 19th residential fabric.

The building is roughly centered on the lot, set back about 29 feet from the right-of-way of West Pearl Street with a large swath of grass in front. This is in noticeable contrast to the 19th-century attached row-houses that line the Pearl Street sidewalk west of the property.(Photo 9) To the east is the Hoskins House, 1797, another row house that lines High Street, on the site of an early public house (Photo 7). 6 West Pearl has unobstructed views of the Delaware River which runs parallel to Pearl Street one and a half blocks away (Photo 8). High Street can be seen from the rear yard through a neighboring courtyard that was formerly Isaac Collins' 18th-century print shop. A concrete path bisects the front yard, accesses the façade and then wraps around to the entrance on the east continuing further to the rear of the property where it ends in a concrete patio immediately

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behind the house. A metal chain-link fence lined with evergreen shrubs encloses the east and rear of the property line; a wood fence runs along the western edge of the property. The colonial brewery on the site contained a brew house, malt house, mill house and granary. The granary ran east-west along Pearl Street..

Exterior

6 West Pearl Street is a front gable house with a long rectangular floor plan. The façade facing West Pearl Street is two-bays wide with a side entrance topped by rectangular transom next to two, two-over-two windows (Photo 2). This is topped by two centered two-over-two windows at the second floor crowned by a single arched window within the upper gable end. The building's window sash dates from the late 19th century, except for the kitchen windows, which are of recent construction. The decorative wood cornice returns are the only ornamentation on the façade with the exception of a metal belt course dividing the first and second floor which remains from a 20th-century aluminum canopy that once adorned the building. This façade was constructed at the end of the 19th-century when an addition was built in front of the existing house expanding each floor of the house by an additional room. The brickwork extending the house to the north, which according to the 1885-1902 Sanborn Map occurred at the end of the 19th-century, is not toothed into the original building's brick.

The east elevation stands on a ground-level brick water table covered by stucco (Photos 4-5). Several generations of stucco have been applied to the building's original brick exterior since the late 18th century, the most recent layer having been applied in the mid 20th century, over wire lath. This side of the house indicates the evolution of the building from an early commercial use to an 18th-century residence to an enlarged 19th-century residence. The southern end of the main block of the house is the former brew house and was converted into a residence in 1796 with a three-bay, one-room deep center hall plan. While the fenestration is a result of the symmetrical Federal style, the center entrance was an original feature of the previous building. The six-panel door with Federal paneled cheek walls dates to 1796 (Photo 11). Today, this is framed by a hipped roofed portico with modern wrought iron posts and railings. Modern one-over-one replacement windows flank the entrance topped by three modern one-over-one windows on the second floor. To the south of the portico, a modern metal bulkhead door accesses the entrance to the cellar. To the north of the original block, the late 19th-century addition has no fenestration. To the south, the 20th-century shed roof kitchen wing has one modern one-over-one sash at its center.

The rear, south elevation, is dominated by the 20th-century, 1-story concrete block kitchen addition with asphalt shed roof (Photos 5-6). It has a modern door with two, modern one-over-one windows. Behind it, two small square fixed lights sash punch the upper gable end of the south wall of the original structure.

While the east elevation shows the evolution of the building, the west side is less architecturally clear. It retains the same ground level brick water table covered by stucco while the fenestration speaks to many generations of changes (Photo 6). On the first floor, the northern 19th-century addition contains one two-over-two window. Moving south, this is followed by 5' high utility door with a single light over wood panels followed by a one-over-one window. This is followed by a small fixed-light square window with a pair of one-over-one sash at the southern block of the main block with the shed addition at the rear. The second floor is equally asymmetrical with one-over-one sash anchoring the north and south ends of the main block of the house with a small fixed-light square window at the center.

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Interior

Cellar

The cellar is unfinished and accessible via a staircase from the 1st floor rear room. It is also reachable from the exterior through an east side metal bulkhead door. The foundation walls are constructed of 5' of stone topped with 3' of brick. The floor beams for the first story occupy 1' of space so the cellar beneath the pre-addition structure maintains a 7' clearance above a concrete floor. Under the fireplace in the rear room the cellar has a brick arch with a masonry coating. Beneath the fireplace in the middle room there is a supporting brick half arch extending from the corner.

There are two cellar windows on the west wall set in the brick above the river stone. The associated exterior wells are constructed of brick with a height that extends at ground level.

At the line of the north addition a brick and river stone wall divides the cellar. Like the east and west walls, the lower portion is stone and the upper portion is brick. A door centered in this wall leads to the north section containing a 5' clearance and dirt floor. The north end foundation walls are also brick on the upper section and stone on the bottom. The mortar in the river stones of the dividing wall is pulverizing and eroding onto the north room floor, exposing a substantial amount of the old stone.

Beneath the kitchen addition on the south end there is a crawlspace enclosed by cinderblock on three sides. The chimney column and arch divides the kitchen crawlspace and the older cellar. The arch and column brickwork match the exposed chimney column in the kitchen above. On either side of the cellar chimney column are walls of distinct brickwork that connect the east and west foundation walls. The brickwork of these walls matches the brickwork to the west of the chimney column directly above in the kitchen.

The cellar contains eight freestanding brick piers of varying height, along the east and west foundation walls (Photo 37). Six of these piers are under the older structure and two are under the north addition. The height of these piers extends at least 1' above the stone portion of the foundation walls. The piers support railroad rails, with late 19th-century dates, running the length of the older building and north addition. The railroad beams atop the piers support the first story wooden floor joists. There is also a single railroad beam running under the center of the north addition floor. One end of this beam is embedded in the brick above the door separating the original cellar from the north section.

First Floor

The first floor is divided into 3 sequential rooms plus kitchen (See floor plan in continuation sheets). The floors are random width wood planks that were covered with sheet linoleum prior to the restoration. The walls are plaster. The ceilings are exposed beams as detailed below.

Rooms 102 and 103 comprise the oldest section of the house that was converted into a center hall flanked by parlors in the late 18th-century. Interestingly, in this section of the house, the east wall is three courses of brick - one course thicker than the two course thick west wall and upper walls on both sides. At the beam line, where the three-course first story meets the two-course second story a single brick shelf is formed. It is unclear why the building was constructed this way. The 11' ceiling is exposed to the beams, except for minor sections near

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the walls where remnants of riven lath ceiling remain (Photo 21). There are 6 roughhewn ceiling beams extending east-west, supported by a large center beam running south to north. The beams are rustic, irregular shape of varying thickness, with bark and two large, wide mortise and tenon joint openings on the side of the beam, spaced approximately 30" apart. The beams extend several feet north into the adjoining staircase hall. With the exception of the riven lath on the ceiling edges, the lath in the house, including over the ship lap framed interior walls and lining the underside of the staircase, are uniform mill cut rectangular strips.

Room 103 contains a fireplace centered in the south interior wall of the rear room encased by Federal panels, molding and cabinetry (Photo 20). This hearth has been modified into a curved, shallow, Rumford style fireplace with iron underpinning the brick lintel. There are Federal panels and a cabinet encasing the chimney column. A primitive 12" wide board with rose-head nails abuts the east side of the chimney column. The board was revealed during restoration of the kitchen and serves as the back of a fireplace cabinet.

In the hall separating Room 103 and 102 there is a Federal staircase, extending four flights from the first floor to the attic (Photo 25). With wood pin construction it retains wood newel posts, finials, balusters, trim and an under-staircase cabinet with raised panels characteristic of the early Federal style (Photos 25-29). In the west wall of the center hallway there is a small door with square window over two basic rectangular panels. The east wall contains a Federal entryway that opens facing the stairs. The north and south walls of the hall are constructed of plaster and lath over a salvaged ship lap frame. The boards are laid over another at the edges to form a crude frame - as opposed to being joined in standard tongue and groove fashion (Photo 24). The ship lap is worn and weathered.

The ceiling in Room 102 contains exposed 4" x 8" beams. All seven ceiling beams are uniformly bowed 4" from the wall to the center. There is no supporting cross-beam. On the opposite side of the wall there is a large mortise and tenon pin visible from the middle room (Photo 17). The pin extends through the end of a beam supporting the staircase. While the staircase beam is level, the ceiling beam it extends through is bowed. The newer, stair support beam is level despite being inserted into an older bowed ceiling beam. The reclaimed ship lap interior wall framing has been taper cut flush with the bowed curve of the ceiling beam along its entirety. The bowed beams have been sister-ed with level boards to support the second story floor.

Room 102 contains a corner fireplace in the northwest corner with a Federal mantle. Centered ten inches over the lintel there are five elongated brown bricks in a 3-over-2 pattern (Photo 14). The hearth has been re-opened after being closed off with concrete. The fireplace brickwork exposed during the restoration is of newer vintage than the surrounding brick walls. The chimney column is freestanding and not joined into the walls on either side. Federal window sill trim (Photo 18) was recently uncovered in room 102 behind wall board during the restoration.

The wall separating rooms 101 and 102 is a former exterior wall that became an interior wall when the façade addition was built in the late 19th-century. During the recent restoration, the late 18th-century rough-cast coating facing the river was exposed (Photos 13 & 15). The former window openings are 38" wide by 77" high, 27" from the floor and topped with wood headers. The salvaged brick filling is clearly distinguishable from the brick type surrounding the old apertures (Photo 16). The older brick walls extending from the corners to both sides of the filled-in openings, have straight edges with no broken brick or gouging. On the eastern edge of this

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north interior wall a 7' x 30" entryway has been created, serving as a passage from room 101 to 102 (Photos 14-15). The brick edges surrounding this entryway are straight and not gouged. There is a thick wood header above. There is a separate 4' ½" x 7' ½" doorway, framed with nailers and centered in the wall that was revealed under wall board during the restoration. The east side of this opening is straight edged brick, while the west side is gouged in the brick. There is a primitive wood header above, split in the middle, in the two course thick brick wall (Photos 15-16). It was subsequently covered with lath and plaster before being exposed in the restoration.

Room 104, the kitchen at the southern end of the first floor, is a single-story cinder-block room dating to the mid-20th-century (Photo 23). The 1885-1902 Sanborn Map indicates a wood framed kitchen in the same location as of 1885. The south, east and west walls are wall board over wood framing against cinder block. At the time of purchase in 2010 the kitchen had been gutted with no working appliances or plumbing.

During the kitchen restoration wallboard was removed from the interior north wall exposing the rear of the fireplace in room 103. Two parge coats were removed, revealing distinct periods of brickwork (Photo 22). Between the west side of the chimney column and the corner of the kitchen the brick is of thinner height and remnants of paint layers are visible. This brick section of the kitchen's north wall is not tied into either the chimney or the corner where it meets the west wall. The chimney column contains thicker brick of lighter color than the wall brick. On the east side of the chimney column brick, which contains no paint remnants, is a primitive, 12" x 2" wide board with rose-head nails that was covered by wall board up until the restoration.

Second Floor

Throughout the second floor, the exterior walls are plaster and lath over brick. The interior walls are plaster and lath over crude ship lap framing. In some areas the plaster and lath is missing exposing the weathered grey ship lap boards and rose-head nails. The plaster ceilings are 8' in height. The flooring on the second story is wood, of three different periods. In the Rooms 202 and 203, the floors are narrow pine board from the mid-20th-century. In the closets of Room 203 and in the bathroom sub-floor there are remnants of thick, wide pumpkin pine planks. The floor in Room 201 is constructed of medium-width yellow pine boards that appear to date to the late 19th-century north addition.

In Room 203, there is a fireplace with a Federal mantle on the south wall (Photo 34). There are two shallow closets east of the fireplace. The hearth was recently re-opened after being blocked with plaster.

Centered in between Rooms 203 and 202 there is a full bathroom with an entrance facing the staircase. The bathroom has a single window in an exposed brick wall.

In Room 202, there is a fireplace in the northwest corner of the room (Photos 32-33). The hearth was opened during the restoration after being blocked with plaster. It is encased in Federal paneling with no mantle.

On the eastern half of the wall between Rooms 202 and 201, a former second floor window has been converted into a passageway between the rooms. On the interior wall of Room 201, modern commercial paneling was

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removed during the restoration. It revealed a former window framed with thick wood nailers and wallpaper over plaster that coats the former exterior wall of roughcast over brick (Photo 31).

Attic

The attic roof beams are exposed and each joist is marked with roman numerals. On the roof's west slope are narrow slats of the type associated with a wood shake roof. On the east slope are evenly spaced broad irregularly shaped roof boards. Both roof sides have a layer of recent plywood supporting the new roof installed in 2011. The chimney columns of the lower floor fireplaces were lopped off at the roofline by the previous owner so that neither chimney extends through the roof.

At the point of the north addition a former exterior wall divides the attic between the original structure and the addition (Photo 36). There is an off-center doorway in this former exterior brick wall enabling passage between the two sections. Beneath this passageway trim, gouged and smooth brick edges indicate where the original exterior hatch opening was heightened into a doorway. This pre-addition opening was designed off-center so the hatch door could swing to the side without being impeded by the roof overhang.

To the rear of the attic on the south wall there are two 1' x 1' square windows on either side of the chimney. The exterior window sills are highly weathered and worn. The 2-over-2 wood sash that formerly occupied the windows was found in the attic without glass in deteriorated condition.

There is evidence of a former brick center chimney column extending through the floor and roof.¹ In the center of the roof there is a 3' x 3' framed opening in the roof boards covered by recent plywood sheathing. The old boards and frame appear to have been cleanly cut some time ago. The boards and frame show signs of being nicked by masonry. Directly below the square framed opening are replaced floor boards of corresponding dimensions.

To the south of the attic stairwell there are framing remnants - evidence of a second interior wall that once segmented the pre-addition attic into two rooms.

Alterations

The house appears to have undergone six major phases of alteration:

- 1) North Entryway: A 4 ½' wide center entryway was gouged out of the structure's Pearl Street façade early in its history. The pre-existing windows on either side of the new entryway were filled in with brick. (Photos 14-16). It is possible that this center entryway was gouged out of the brew house's north wall to enable easy access to the adjacent malt house that was constructed on the site of the present front patio and yard on the Pearl Street end of the property.

¹ Paul Devenny, P. D. Chimney Sweeps, Beverly, NJ, historic chimney expert and former President, NJ Chimney Sweep Association, inspection and assessment February 9, 2011.

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- 2) Residential Conversion: After over a century as part of the brewery, the building was converted to residential use. The associated granary, mill house and malt house on the site were removed. The 1797 Birch Map suggests a rear outbuilding may have been retained.

The majority of the structural materials and nails in the core section of the house date to the turn of the 17th century. Whereas the majority of the decorative details in the house date to the period of residential conversion in the late 18th century.

Indications are that the building was converted into a residence in the following manner:

- The space was divided into a one-room deep house with center hall and flanking parlors. The rooms were formed by inserting interior walls constructed of plaster and lath over salvaged wood (Photo 24).
- A center chimney was removed.² The space occupied by the former chimney was utilized as a center hall.
- A Federal staircase was placed in the new center hall and supported with a beam slotted into existing ceiling beams, which had bowed after over a century of previous use, and secured by a mortise and tenon joint (Photo 17).
- Throughout the building Federal-style door frames, molding, paneling and cabinetry were installed to create residential architectural detail (Photos 11, 18-20 & 26).
- The brickwork indicates that the rear wall was opened up and a chimney column with a supporting arch in the cellar was inserted (Photo 22). Similarly, in the northwest corner of the front, the brickwork indicates that a corner fireplace column was built with a supporting cellar arch. The new north and south end chimney columns created a fireplace in each of the houses new four rooms.
- The front of the house was coated in the roughcast that still lines the former north exterior wall (Photos 13-14).
- The east side door, facing the well pump that served the brewery, was trimmed with recessed Federal-style panels to create a formal entryway opening into the center hall (Photo 11).
 - Period deeds and maps show that there were always buildings on High Street that blocked a direct view of High Street from the east side of the brew house. In addition, for over a century the granary and malt house partially occluded the sight of the brew house from W. Pearl Street. When the granary and malt house were removed during the residential conversion the former brew house was fully visible from W. Pearl Street.³
- A back door facing the former mill house was framed with Federal trim in the south rear wall.
- The 1797 Birch Map of the town of Burlington suggests that porches were added to east and west doorways.
- The conversion of the property for residential use also affected the site, because to complete the conversion, the other brewery buildings needed to be converted, demolished, dismantled, or moved. Contemporary evidence suggests that both the mill house and the malt house were sold to another

² Paul Devenny, P. D. Chimney Sweeps, Beverly, NJ, historic chimney, P. expert and former President, NJ Chimney Sweep Association, inspection and assessment February 9, 2011..

³ The building was initially oriented towards High Street. During the conversion the east side entryway facing High Street was selected as the formal entrance given the adjacency to the center hall and staircase.

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Burlington brewer who operated at another location nearby (see the significance statement). This own businessman's newspaper advertisements also suggest that he did not buy the brew house, but rather built a new, larger brewhouse by 1807. It is believed, however, that portions of the foundations of the malt house and mill house may remain below grade.

- 3) North addition - At the end of the 19th-century a 2 ½ story brick addition was built where the south end of the malt house had once stood. This extended the existing walls and roof of the current building 17' north towards Pearl St. and the Delaware River. The 1885-1902 Sanborn Map indicates that the addition was built between 1885 and 1891 during John McNeal's ownership.

An entrance was inserted in the new north exterior wall as well as two bays with windows on the first and second story. A single pointed window was centered on the third story.

The 4 ½-foot-wide entryway centered in the former north exterior wall facing Pearl Street was filled with framing and finished as an interior wall. The roughcast covering the former north side exterior was coated with plaster and gold leaf wallpaper. The interior brick on the other side of this north wall was covered with plaster over lath. A passageway between the now middle room (Room 102) and the new the addition (Room 101) was gouged out of the brick near the east wall. Yellow pine flooring was laid over wood joists for the addition's first story flooring (Photo 13).

A portion of the former malt house was evidently situated over part of the current cellar's north room. This north section is divided by a rock wall from the balance of the cellar. Evidence suggests that the malt house would have had a cellar that contained a kiln for roasting malt above, either on a perforated or a tile floor, as was the custom according to historians of brewing (and records indicate the presence of a kiln).⁴

On the second story, the easternmost of the two windows in the original exterior north wall were converted into an entryway into the front bedroom. The remaining window was framed and covered with lath and plaster as was the balance of the roughcast wall (Photo 31).

The attic's exterior hatchway was enlarged into an interior passageway to the new front room (Photo 36).⁵ The attic joists in both third story rooms were lathed and plastered. The former exterior roughcast was plastered and wallpapered, converting the space into two finished rooms. With the exception of the riven lath in the attic and the first story ceiling of the core building, the sawn rectangular lath of the north addition is identical in type to the lath in the balance of the house. This may indicate that much of the house was lathed or re-lathed at the time of the addition.

⁴ The brewery's kiln is conveyed in the following 18th-century deeds: Joseph Redman to Abraham Bickley, 25 January 1719, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book BB, 102; Estate of Thomas Shaw to John Shaw, 8 October 1761, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book U, 226-230. The kiln is also referenced in colonial newspapers when the brewery is advertised for sale by William Dillwyn as outlined in the Statement of Significance below.

⁵ The hatchway was originally constructed off-center in the façade so that its cover could open a full 180 degrees without hitting the roof soffit.

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- 4) Elevating the Structure: Physical evidence suggests that either after or concurrent with the north addition being built at the end of the 19th-century, the building was elevated 3' off of its original stone foundation.⁶ Brick was used to fill in the 3' gap between the stone foundation wall and the raised structure's brick water table. Cellar windows were created in the new brick section. During the elevation work, the present, newer floor joists may have been inserted as it would have been an opportune time for this repair.

The raised structure was subsequently stabilized with eight, non-aligned brick piers - five on the west wall and three on the east wall. Atop the brick piers were placed iron beams of varying length including four salvaged Erie Lackawanna railroad track beams – the latest is dated 1897 – fabricated during the property's ownership by the Thomason family, descendants of Burlington foundry owner and 6 West Pearl Street owner John McNeal. The iron runs the length of the house on each side, including the north addition (Photo 3741).

- 5) South addition: A single story, cinder block kitchen was added to the south end of the dwelling in the 20th-century. Pine flooring was laid over wood floor joists in the 2' crawl space. The 1885 and 1902 Sanborn maps indicate that there were two iterations of a wood frame kitchen prior to the present cinder block kitchen. The original building and its two additions were subsequently encased in wire lath and covered with a rough, pink pigmented stucco for a uniform exterior coating.
- 6) Rehabilitation: A rehabilitation was initiated in 2010 to address the comprehensive mechanical and structural issues that prevented the house from being occupied. By 2010 the house had been uninhabited and unheated for several years. Its interior had been exposed to the elements through a leaking roof and open window panes. A family of raccoons had taken up residence on the second floor and were known to peer out of the windows at passersby. The front and rear additions were pulling away from the original building. The first floor interior was gutted through a circa 2005 rehab attempt that was started but abandoned after the demolition stage. The copper piping and radiators were unusable, having burst from freezing temperatures.

In 2010, once a new roof was installed and the structure was stabilized, all surface finishes were repaired. New water and heating lines were installed. The electrical main was upgraded to 150 amps. An expanded electrical panel was connected to all new wiring, outlets and switches. A new high efficiency boiler was coupled to refurbished 19th-century radiators. New kitchen cabinetry, counters and appliances now occupy the previous kitchen shell. The pink stucco was extensively patched and painted an off-white color.

Elements of the Brew House Retained in the Current Structure

The dwelling retains several architectural elements from its use as a brew house:

⁶ There appears to be sections of brickwork 3' below current ground level on the property.

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- Design Profile - The original building's long, narrow shape and high pitched roof are nearly identical to William Penn's brew house built in 1682, 7 miles upriver in Morrisville, PA. Penn's original brew house was extant until the mid-19th-century and a well-established pictorial record has survived.⁷ Similarly, the attic's south wall has two square windows of the same size and position as in Penn's 1682 brew house.
- Center Chimney Frame - The former center chimney opening is extant as a framed, cut-away section in the center of the roof boards. This is also consistent with the chimney configuration of Penn's 1682 brew house.
- Ceiling Beams – The seven identically bowed ceiling beams in Room 102 pre-date the residential conversion. This is evidenced by how the newer beam installed in the conversion under the retrofitted staircase is level, while the older ceiling beam it extends through is bowed (Photo 17). Underneath this pre-existing, bowed ceiling beam, from one end of the underlying staircase wall to the other, the top of the wall frame boards are taper-cut in curve so as to be flush with the bow of the ceiling beam along its entirety (Photo 17). The remaining six pre-existing ceiling beams were sister-ed with new boards to create a level support structure for the residence's new second story floorboards.⁸
- Former North Entrance - Retained in the original north exterior wall is a 4 ½' wide center passageway facing the former malt house and granary that lined Pearl Street. It was likely where the grains from the malt house were taken into the brew house and the wooden casks of finished beer hauled out to the nearby wharves for shipping.
- Four Entrances – The original structure retains four doorways on each of its sides from its past as a one room deep commercial building. The wide north door faces the former malt house and the granary. The east door faces the old water well. The south door leads to the sites of the former mill house. The west door, the smallest of the exterior doors at just 5' tall, overlooks the former brewery's gutter. Deeds indicate that this gutter lined the west side of the malt house. Maps indicate that the gutter then turned at a right angle to the brew house. Through the small west door, brewers were able to dump the copious amounts of effluent that brewing generates into the gutter without having to walk far from the brew house. In the 1796 converted structure these four doors made for an atypical number of entrances to what was a simple two room first floor.
- East and West Brick Walls - The random, alternating 3 over 1 and 4 over 1 exterior bond-work in 6 West Pearl stems from its utilitarian brew house origins, when aesthetics were not a consideration. The brickwork is dissonant from the English and Flemish bond brick pattern of neighboring homes in the district. For example, the adjacent Hoskins house, built in 1797, has a Flemish bond pattern. 6 West Pearl's brickwork is also out of character with the fine quality interior woodwork that the building was retrofitted with and retains.
- North and South Brick Walls – Other than the newer brickwork from the retrofitted residential chimneys and fireplaces on these walls, the balance of the brick dates to the brew house. The exposed south wall of the original south exterior wall (Room 104) shows that the fireplace in room 103 was gouged from the pre-existing wall. In addition, the brick of the exposed corner fireplace in room 102 is newer and not interlocked into the walls.

⁷ Thomas Budd, the original owner of the Burlington brew house, was a close associate of Penn in political, business and religious circles. Thomas Budd's brother-in-law, Francis Collins, was the leading bricklayer in the area during the period that Budd and Penn's brew houses were constructed.

⁸ It is not known what caused the beams to bow, although excessive weight over an extended age are the likely factors.

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- Three-Course East Wall - In contrast to the two-course brick exterior walls throughout the building, the first story east wall facing High Street is three-courses thick. The brick is interlocked indicating that it was originally constructed with three courses and not reinforced at a later period. Its purpose is presently unknown. However, it may turn out to be associated with a commercial activity in the adjacent yard leading to the brewery's well.
- Period nails - By 1790 machine cut nails were dominant in new construction.⁹ However, the structure contains hundreds of older, hand forged, rose-head nails. The mix and placement of the two eras of nails are consistent with the original early colonial structure being converted to a residence in the late 18th-century.
- Period Lath – Similarly, the mix and location of riven and sawn lath styles is consistent with the late 18th-century conversion.¹⁰ The original riven lath is in the ceiling while the newer sawn lath is in the staircase and interior walls.
- Third Floor Exterior Hatch – The hatchway in the original north exterior wall facing Pearl Street is positioned off center to one side. This permitted the door to swing open 180 degrees without hitting the roof overhang – a useful feature for hoisting and loading supplies. When the addition was added, the window in the façade was centered beneath the peak of the roof consistent with residential aesthetics.
- The elevation in photo 10 shows how the older small square windows and west entry are more deeply inset into the structure than the newer rectangular apertures inserted during the residential conversion.

⁹ James L. Garvin, *A Building History of Northern New England*, (University Press of New England, Lebanon, NH, 2001) 75-77.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

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Preface

In 1993 the High Street Historic District was listed in the New Jersey and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in architecture, commerce, community planning/development, and politics/government, with a period of significance from ca.1682-ca.1941. The district consists chiefly, though not exclusively, of buildings that face High Street and have been used for commercial or mixed-use residential purposes.

Statement of Significance

Summary Paragraph

From the evidence of its physical features, the original, central section of 6 West Pearl Street is of colonial-period origin, when it was one of the buildings of Burlington's first brewery. This brewery, begun about 1678 (just a year following the English arrival in late 1677) and operated until about 1796, was an important local business for more than a century, and it factored in both business relations with Philadelphia and its products in trade with the Caribbean. The brewery consisted of at least four buildings, of which only one survives, heavily altered. The combined evidence of several land transfers pinpoints that the oldest section of the surviving building was the "brew house" in the 18th century. Though its construction date is not known with precision, a brew house is referred to in a deed of this property from 1693. A 1761 deed specifically pinpoints that the then brew house stood precisely on the footprint of the oldest part of the present building. (No evidence has been found to show that the 1693 building and the 1761 building were different buildings.) The nominated parcel is only a portion of the original brewery property, which at first extended from High Street more than half the distance westward to Wood Street, but the brewery buildings were concentrated on and close to the present 6 West Pearl Street lot, enhancing the likelihood that at least some brewery-related archaeological material—including, perhaps foundation walls from two other brewery buildings, remains on the nominated property. For the association with the brewery, this property strengthens the district's eligibility under National Register Criteria A and D in the area of commerce. The brewery was also owned and operated (and by implication the nominated property also) by several historic figures. These include in the 17th century Thomas Budd, one of the leading founders of Burlington, and Samuel Jennings, briefly the governor of West New Jersey. No other buildings are likely to have survived that are associated with these men. For association with these major figures in West New Jersey, the property meets Criterion B in the areas of community development, and politics and government. In the 19th century, 6 West Pearl Street was the home at various times of persons of historic importance. For a brief period up until the outbreak of the Mexican American War in 1846 General Winfield Scott resided here, years when the building was known as "Ivy Cottage." Scott's family continued to live there until 1848 while he was in Mexico. Important New Jersey author Frank R. Stockton also lived here in 1860. For its association with these individuals, the property meets Criterion B with local significance in military history and in literary history, respectively. The property was also associated with several other figures of local importance.

Historical Background

In the autumn of 1677, a shipload of English Quaker families arrived at the site of the present City of Burlington, part of the early efforts to establish West New Jersey as the first Quaker colony in the New World,

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and within two months the leaders laid out a town plan, allocated the first lots, and the families began their settlement. The town plan was focused on High Street, the principal business street which was surveyed to extend inland at a right angle to the river (and which has already been the subject of the Register nomination for the High Street Historic District). River frontage was valuable for landings, wharves, shipyards, and many other commercial purposes, and a road extending along the riverfront was laid out. Close by, a second street was laid out parallel to the river, and named "Second Street." Thomas Budd, one of the founding leaders of Burlington, received in the allocation one of the town's choicest properties: the lot at the southwest corner of High and Second streets. There he chose to establish a brewery.

The Burlington Brewers

Thomas Budd

Thomas Budd was the first son of Reverend Thomas Budd, an Oxford-educated minister in Martock parish, Somersetshire. In 1662 the father was jailed under the Quaker Act for holding Quaker services in a grove and refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Church of England.¹ Rev. Budd elected to spend the last seven years of his life in jail rather than sign the oath that would release him.² In 1669, the year of his father's death, Thomas and his youngest brother James embarked for America out of Weymouth on the *Constance*,³ exploring the New World for an unknown length of time before returning to England.

In 1677 Thomas Budd became a West New Jersey proprietor by purchasing a proprietary share from William Penn, who was managing the shares. Budd signed the famous 'Concessions and Agreements' compact, granting liberal rights to the settlers.⁴ Arriving in Burlington in 1678, Budd drew first in the lottery conducted among the "London" proprietors on the river shore, who divided up the western half of the town.⁵ The lot he chose was bounded by Second Street (now known as West Pearl Street) to the north, Wood Street to the west, and High Street to the east.⁶ Budd built a brew house about 1678 and later a malt house, perhaps even in the precise locations later indicated for them within the present 6 West Pearl Street lot.⁷

Budd's wife and brothers arrived in November 1678 aboard the *Shield* of Hull. By this time, incoming ships had elevated Burlington's population to approximately eight hundred settlers, which made the brewery's wharf district bustle with maritime and economic activity. In the 1680s Burlington became a port with a constant presence of tall-mast ships in its harbor. The wharf neighborhood employed ship chandlers, coopers, brewers,

¹ Charles II, 1662: *An Act for preventing the Mischeifs and Dangers that may arise by certaine Persons called Quakers and others refusing to take lawfull Oaths.*; Statutes of the Realm: volume 5: 1628-80 (1819), pp. 350-51. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=47304>. Date accessed: 8 April 2013.

² Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with an Introduction by Edward Armstrong* (New York: William Gowans, 1865), 21.

³ Peter Wilson Coldham, *The Complete Book of Immigrants, 1661-1699*, (Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore 1987) 150. Also William Nelson *New Jersey Biographical and Genealogical Notes from the Volumes of the New Jersey Archives* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co Inc., 2010), 60-61.

⁴ Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives: *Published Law Compilations, 1676-1844*; "The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey" compiled by Leaming & Spicer, (1757) 410.

⁵ George DeCou, *Burlington, A Provincial Capital* (Philadelphia: Harris & Partridge, 1945), 179. Also, *Burlington Story*, vol.9, no.1 (Burlington: 1979) 1-2.

⁶ C. Miller Biddle, "Burlington Waterlots Surveyed," *The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey* (Jan. 2011), Vol. 86:2-13.

⁷ "Thomas Budd: Radical Founder", *The Burlington Story*, (Burlington, NJ, Unknown date post-1994), 3-4. Also C. Miller Biddle, Vice Chairman of the Council of Proprietors of West New Jersey, discussion with John Brady (June 13, 2012). Also C. Miller Biddle, *William and Sarah Biddle, 1633-1711, Planting a Seed of Democracy in America* (C. Miller Biddle, Moorestown, NJ 2012) 49, 76.

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carpenters, blacksmiths, bakers, potters, maltsters, tanners, butchers, tavernkeepers and sail-makers.⁸ True to the vision of London brewer and major West Jersey proprietary shareholder Edward Byllynge, Burlington became the political and trading capital of West Jersey. The Quaker port had become a colonial boomtown, involved in Caribbean trading, and for a brief time grew without competition from Philadelphia.⁹

In 1684 Thomas Budd made the following statements about the advantages of Burlington as a brewing hub:¹⁰

“It would bear great crops of...*barley*...and it would be very fit for *hop* gardens.” “*Coopers...Brewers*; and many other sorts of trades would have full employment (*sic*.” “The *Water* is clear fresh and fit for brewing.” “*Hops* in some places grow naturally, but were *Hop-Gardens* planted in low rich Land, quantities might be raised to good advantage.” “I do not question but that we might make good strong sound *Beer, Ale and Mum*... if it be well brewed in a seasonable time of the Year and put up in good Casks but it will keep good to be Transported from Delaware River to those islands.” “Were Glass houses erected to furnish us with Bottles, we might have a profitable Trade.”¹¹

Beer was in high demand as a staple of the colonial diet. Consequently, Budd’s brewery was critical infrastructure to the Burlington settlement.

In the 17th-century Delaware Valley, Quaker brewers like the Budds “had a better name for purity and wholesomeness and (their beer) sold for more than English beer.”¹² The Budds were among many early Quaker merchants who were able to launch successful entrepreneurial ventures without the harsher regulatory environment of England.¹³ They leveraged their newfound political power and wealth to take economic leadership in the Delaware Valley. Some, like William Frampton, had acquired experience in New World trading elsewhere before they arrived. Such men “brought knowledge of markets throughout America and ties with other Quaker entrepreneurs throughout the English-speaking world. Their connections with the English West Indian sugar islands proved to be especially valuable.”¹⁴ The region’s Quaker merchants’ progressive view of the world stemmed from their commercial, religious, personal, and family contacts from the North Atlantic to the Caribbean to Europe’s trading centers. “The intelligence which they received from their correspondents...broadened their view of the world, tending to overcome the provincialism so likely to be characteristic of a colonial people.”¹⁵

⁸ C. Miller Biddle, “Burlington Waterlots Surveyed,” *The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey* (Jan. 2011), Vol. 86:2-13. Also various West Jersey deeds in the New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, New Jersey.

⁹ James H. Levitt, *For Want of Trade: Shipping and the New Jersey Ports, 1680-1783* (New Jersey Historical Society, Newark 1981) 66.

¹⁰ Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, (Philadelphia William Bradford, 1685) 1-39

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 6-9.

¹² Horace Mather Lippincott, *Early Philadelphia: Its People, Life and Progress* (J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1917) 268

¹³ E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston & Quaker Philadelphia*, (Transaction Publishers, Rutgers, New Brunswick 1996) 131.

¹⁴ Russell Frank Weigley, Nicholas B. Wainwright, Edwin Wolf, *Philadelphia: A 300 Year History* (W. W. Norton & Company, 1982) 19.

¹⁵ Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting Houses and Counting Houses, The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 43-44

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Budd's operation was Burlington's only brewery until the late 18th century.¹⁶ Strategically located near the wharves and public market, the brewery likely served as a hub for the community of immigrant brewing craftsmen who worked or owned property in the brewery's wharf district, including:

- Budd's two younger brothers William and John Budd. Listed as brewers in West Jersey deeds as early as 1684, they are the first documented brewers in either East or West New Jersey.¹⁷ (Youngest sibling James managed the pottery factory across the street.)
- Cousin-in-law Anthony Morris, who applied his baking skills to brewing¹⁸ and would soon launch a brewing dynasty in Philadelphia spanning several generations.¹⁹ Both men were from Weymouth, England.²⁰ Morris sold his Burlington property in 1687 to William Budd.
- William Frampton, who was in Burlington in 1682.²¹ It would be over a year before Penn could entice William Frampton to leave the West Jersey boomtown to break ground for Philadelphia's first brewery²² in 1683, 16 miles downriver from Burlington on Front Street.²³ In the interim, the well-established Burlington brewery and its community of brewers may have been a potential source for Philadelphia's beer.²⁴
- Nathaniel Ible, brewer, who sold his wharf district property in 1687 to take over the ownership of William Frampton's brewery.²⁵ John Budd would later succeed Ible there.²⁶
- John Borradaile²⁷ and John White²⁸ were maltsters in Burlington at this time. A 1715 deed shows Borradaile residing in a house on High Street adjoining the brewery property.²⁹

As illustrated above, Burlington's early brewers left to establish their own brewing enterprises in the booming deep-water port of Philadelphia downriver. Historians tend to view the history of West Jersey and Pennsylvania in separate silos along political boundaries. Histories of Burlington and Philadelphia have traditionally shunned what happened in the other city as having only token significance to their town. However, this colony-centrism

¹⁶ There has been no documentation found of a mill house or malt house in Burlington City in the deeds or tax records of the state archives other than the subject property until the late 19th-century. New Jersey Archives, Trenton, N.J.

¹⁷ William Nelson, *Patents and Deeds and other Early Records of New Jersey, 1664-1703* (Baltimore: Clearfield, 1997), 724.

¹⁸ Craig W. Horle, *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: 1710-1756*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1997) 555. Also E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston & Quaker Philadelphia*, (Transaction Publishers, Rutgers, New Brunswick, 1996) 131.

¹⁹ Ethelbert Stewart, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Economic Condition of Beer Brewing in Colonial New England" *American Brewers' Review*, Volume 17, 1903 p. 114.

²⁰ Robert Charles Moon, *The Morris Family of Philadelphia: Descendants of Anthony Morris, Born 1654-1721 Died*, Volume 4 (R.C. Moon, Philadelphia, 1908) 77. (Morris later became Philadelphia's second mayor. [John Fanning Watson, Willis Pope Hazard, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, (E. S. Stuart, Philadelphia 1891) 87.] The Morris Brewery endured as a family business until the 1830s. As the Francis Perot and Sons Malting Company, it survived into the 1960s "as arguably the oldest continuous business in the United States." From "Anthony Morris", Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthony_Morris_\(I\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthony_Morris_(I)), (accessed April 4, 2013).

²¹ Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova Cæsaria, Or New Jersey* (W.S. Sharp, Trenton, 1877) 154.

²² Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova Cæsaria, Or New Jersey* (W.S. Sharp, Trenton, 1877) 154.

²³ Rich Wagner, *Philadelphia Beer: A Heady History of Brewing in the Cradle of Liberty* (The History Press, Charleston 2012) 18.

²⁴ There is documentation of beer being shipped from the Burlington brewery to Philadelphia in the 18th-century and of beer being shipped from Burlington's wharves in the 17th-century.

²⁵ Nathaniel Ible to Rebecca De Cow, 28 August 1687, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book B, 148.

²⁶ Dale P. Van Wieren, *American Breweries II* (East Coast Breweriana Association, West Point PA, 1995) 329.

²⁷ John Spratt Wrightnour, *The Frampton family: With Especial Reference to William Frampton, Register General, Province of Pennsylvania, 1686, and his Descendants* (Unknown binding, 1916) 69. Also Henry Bisbee, "Beer Making at Burlington", *Burlington Story*, (Burlington, NJ unknown date), 3.

²⁸ Dermot Quinn, *The Irish in New Jersey: Four Centuries of American Life* (Rutgers University Press, 2004) 22. Also Thomas Atherton to John White, Maltster, 6 February 1682 Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Gloucester Deeds, No. 3, 682. Also Manlif Lelyn Branin, *The Early Makers of Handcrafted Earthenware and Stoneware in Central and Southern New Jersey*, (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988) 93.

²⁹ Thomas Stevenson to Samuel Marmian, 17 April, 1715, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book B-B, 250-252.

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conceals the synergy between the two communities. There was strong, intricate government, social, commercial and religious ties between the Burlington and Philadelphia Quakers engendered by the ‘Great River’ Delaware. The reality is that Quaker leaders, including Penn, Budd, Morris and Shippen, progressed from their first efforts in West Jersey to forge Philadelphia. It’s more accurate to view the Burlington-Philadelphia region as the epicenter of the Delaware Valley in the pivotal decade of the 1680s.³⁰ The dynamic of the two Quaker hubs influencing each other economically and intellectually would continue well into the next century.

For Thomas Budd, brewing would be one of many enterprises that would make him “One of the principal characters in the early history of the colony of New Jersey.”³¹ Budd embarked on a rapid succession of successful New World investments and land acquisitions. He also expanded his power and influence through numerous roles in the West Jersey government. Thomas was a firm advocate of free speech and democracy who would repeatedly put his own welfare at risk for these causes in West Jersey. Budd’s significant contributions in colonial commerce, diplomacy, education, exploration, finance, government and religion included:

- Being among the first English Quakers to explore the New World, having arrived in 1669, nine years in advance of most of the Proprietors. (Years later Budd recalled his explorations: “I have travell’d alone in the Country some hundreds of Miles and by missing of my way have lain in the Woods all night.”³²)
- Being elected to numerous West Jersey government offices including the Assembly, the Governor’s Privy Council, a Justice of the Peace, Land Commissioner and Treasurer.³³
- Being placed in charge of administering the colony’s first election as specified by the Concessions and Agreements. Budd had notices distributed to all residents of the province urging them to vote. After the election he was arrested by decree of Governor Andros for inciting the public.³⁴
- Building the colony’s Court House and Market House in 1683 with his brother in law, bricklayer Francis Collins. Described as a “Delicate great Market House where they keep their Market: It hath a noble and spacious Hall over head where their Sessions is kept having the Prison adjoining to it.” It was located a half block from his brewery.³⁵

³⁰ In 1670 the land that would become the colony of West Jersey had 100 European residents while Penn’s future grant had none. By 1680 there were 1,700 people living in West Jersey and only 700 in what would become Pennsylvania. However, by 1690 Penn’s colony was clearly ascendant for the Quakers with 11,500 people in Pennsylvania and 2,500 in West Jersey. [Marfy Goodspeed, Goodspeed Histories, *West New Jersey 1682*, <http://goodspeedhistories.com/west-new-jersey-1682/> (Accessed 8/30/13)]

³¹ Francis Bazley Lee, *Genealogical and Memorial History of the State of New Jersey, Vol. III* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1910), 434

³² Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, (Philadelphia William Bradford, 1685) 34.

³³ Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with Introduction and Notes by Frederick J. Shepard*, (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Company, 1902.) 9. Also Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with an Introduction by Edward Armstrong* (New York: William Gowans, 1865), 11. Also Association of Practical Surveyors of West New Jersey, *Proceedings, Constitution, By-Laws, List of Members, &c., of the Surveyors Association* (Camden, S. Chew, 1869), 44.

³⁴ C. Miller Biddle, William and Sarah Biddle, 1633-1711, *Planting a Seed of Democracy in America* (Moorestown, NJ: C. Miller Biddle, 2012) 53.

³⁵ Gabriel Thomas, *Historical Description of the Province and Country of West Jersey in America, Reprinted from the Original Edition of 1698* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1903), 73. Also John O. Raum, *History of the City of Trenton, New Jersey* (Trenton: W.T. Nicholson and Company, 1871) 24. And William Watts Hart Davis, *History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania: From the Discovery of the Delaware to the Present, Volume I* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1905), 22.

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- Assuming all of the West Jersey government's debt in 1687 in exchange for 15,000 acres.³⁶
- Serving as a liaison between the colony and the Lenape, he befriended several of the chiefs. He documented King Ockanickon's famous succession speech and participated in several councils with the "Indian Kings."³⁷

In 1684 the West Jersey assembly commissioned Budd to voyage to England to advocate for self-government for the colony. During the journey he demonstrated his capacity as a colonial thought leader by writing *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*. Published in London, his pamphlet not only foreshadowed much of what would eventually be actualized, but painted an appealing vision of the colonies for future immigrants. In the view of one historian, "Thomas Budd's work exhibits the possession of intelligence and public spirit to a remarkable degree."³⁸ (Famous colonial printer and free press advocate William Bradford published the book.³⁹ Budd and Bradford were later imprisoned in a 1692 freedom-of-press controversy.⁴⁰) Budd's revolutionary ideas for life in the colonies included:

- A system of schools in which all children, including poor and Indian children would be educated. (He is credited with providing inspiration and encouragement to Jen De Groot for an Indian school she opened in Philadelphia in 1685.)⁴¹
- The establishment of a mechanism to provide lending capital to accelerate development of the region.
- Building a public storehouse in which producers and merchants could safely store commodities.
- An integrated coexistence of European settlers with the Indians.⁴²

The 1684 West Jersey assembly's charge to Budd (and Samuel Jennings) as envoys to the crown was in a "matter relating their demand and vindication of their right to the Government...to negotiate the said affair in England, and commissionate and empower them for the transacting the same."⁴³ Unfortunately their mission failed to curtail the impositions on the Quaker colony's political freedoms.⁴⁴ As a result, West Jersey came under increasing constrictions from Andros, the Anglican Governor of New York. Budd was the oldest son of a man who spent the last seven years of his life in jail for refusing to sign a pledge of loyalty to the Anglican Church.⁴⁵ Thomas was as principled as his father. Finding Andros' limitations intolerable, Budd crossed the Delaware River, following his friend William Penn to his new City of Brotherly Love, which had the same freedoms that had been recently rescinded in West Jersey.

³⁶ Alvin Rabushka, *Taxation in Colonial America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 226. Also Francis Bazley Lee, *Genealogical and Personal Memorial of Mercer County, New Jersey, Volume 1* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1907), 69.

³⁷ Laura M. Stevens, *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, And Colonial Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 187. Also Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1685), 30-32.

³⁸ Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Volume M (New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1886) 450.

³⁹ Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1685) 1

⁴⁰ Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas Jr. 1810) 63.

⁴¹ Hezekiah Butterworth, *The Wampum Belt*, (D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1897) 105-109.

⁴² Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (Ann Arbor: March of America Facsimile Series, Vol. 32, 1966) 33. Also Howard Bodenhorn, *State Banking in Early America: A New Economic History* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2003), 125.

⁴³ Aaron Leaming & Jacob Spicer, *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey* (Philadelphia: 1758), 485.

⁴⁴ Edwin Platt Tanner *The province of New Jersey, 1664-1738, Volume 30* (New York: Columbia University, 1908), 119

⁴⁵ Francis Bazley Lee, *Genealogical and Memorial History of the State of New Jersey, Vol. III* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1910), 944. (The transcript of Rev. Thomas Budd's trial was included in the 1865 edition of "Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey" published by William Gowans.)

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By 1685 Budd had established his family home on Philadelphia's Front Street near many familiar Quaker faces who once communed in Burlington. There he built Philadelphia's first row houses, known as "Budd's Long Row" on the waterfront.⁴⁶ (At present day Front Street between Dock and Walnut Streets.) However, he maintained control of his brewery upriver in Burlington. In 1690 he purchased Philadelphia's first tavern, the Blue Anchor inn, to which his row houses were attached to.⁴⁷ From 1690-1693 Budd concurrently owned both the Burlington brewery and the landmark Philadelphia Tavern,⁴⁸ which may have served Budd's beer.

By the 1690s the Budds' lives had evolved beyond Burlington and brewing. Thomas was managing his land and mercantile holdings from Philadelphia.⁴⁹ William Budd sold the High Street town house in Burlington he had bought from his cousin-in-law Anthony Morris⁵⁰ and established himself on a plantation in neighboring Northampton.⁵¹ John ventured down-river and succeeded Nathaniel Ible at William Frampton's original Philadelphia brewery, shipping his brews to colonial ports.⁵² James Budd⁵³ became increasingly involved in trying to bridge the colony's political disputes with Britain. The West Jersey assembly voted to send James to England in 1688 to negotiate with the absentee governor,⁵⁴ just as his brother Thomas had been elected to do 4 years prior. Upon his return, James managed Governor Coxe's pottery factory in Burlington's wharf district. Tragically, he drowned in the Delaware under suspicious circumstances.⁵⁵

In mid-1693, Thomas Budd became embroiled in a bitter dispute with Samuel Jennings.⁵⁶ While the two had jointly advocated for the colonies' political and economic freedoms⁵⁷, they became adversaries over the highly charged Keith schism that was roiling the Quaker faithful. The matter pitted two deeply principled, independent and outspoken men over Quaker doctrine and the charismatic yet controversial George Keith. Jennings tried

⁴⁶ John Russell Young, *Memorial History of the City of Philadelphia, Volume 1* (New York: , 1895) 39. Also Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (New Haven: George W. Gorton 1843), 546. The row-houses were two rooms deep with a rear yard and modeled on contemporary seventeenth century London houses. (William John Murtagh (December 1957). "The Philadelphia Row House". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* vol. 16 no. 4.) A 1736 fire there was extinguished. However, this scare galvanized support for Benjamin Franklin to organize the fire company that he had recently proposed. (John Thomas Scharf, Thompson Westcott *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884 Volume 3* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Company, 1884) 1884. Also J. Curtis Varone, *Legal Considerations for Fire and Emergency Services* (Clifton Park, NY: Cengage Learning, 2011) 76.) Prior to this, the fire engine that Abraham Bickley had imported to Philadelphia from England in 1718 was the primary defense against fires. (J. Albert Cassidy, *The Firemen's Record: as Gleaned From All Available Sources of the History of Philadelphia From Its Earliest Incipency, Covering a Period of Nearly Three Centuries* (Fireman's Pension Fund, Philadelphia Fire Dept. 1891) 7.

⁴⁷ John Russell Young, *Memorial History of the City of Philadelphia, Volume 1* (New York: , 1895) 39. Also Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (New Haven: George W. Gorton 1843), 546.

⁴⁸ Thomas Budd owned the Blue Anchor for seven years before selling it to Anthony Morris, his fellow Weymouth native, wife's cousin and future brewing magnate, who had sold his Burlington land to William Budd.

⁴⁹ John Edwin Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702: A History of the Origins of an American Colony* (Princeton University Press, 1956) 247.

⁵⁰ Anthony Morris to William Budd, 21 October 1685, and William Budd to James Marshall 4 July 1687, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book B, 140-141.

⁵¹ William Budd, 5 July 1685, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book A, 73 and various other West Jersey deeds in the New Jersey Archives.

⁵² The Weekly Underwriter, Volume 131 (Underwriter Printing and Publishing Company, New York 1934) 370.

⁵³ Robert Charles Moon, *The Morris Family of Philadelphia: Descendants of Anthony Morris, Born 1654-1721 Died*, Volume 4 (R.C. Moon, Philadelphia, 1908) 77.

⁵⁴ John Edwin Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702: A History of the Origins of an American Colony* (Princeton University Press, 1956) 157-158, 162

⁵⁵ M. Lelyn Branin, *The Early Makers of Handcrafted Earthenware and Stoneware in Central and Southern New Jersey* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Rutherford 1988) 22.

⁵⁶ Samuel Smith, *History of the Province of Pennsylvania*, Chapter VIII, quoted in *Register of Pennsylvania* Vol. 11, No. 18 (Philadelphia) 279.

⁵⁷ Budd and Samuel Jennings had been elected by the assembly as envoys to the crown in a "matter relating their demand and vindication of their right to the Government...to negotiate the said affair in England, and commissionate and empower them for the transacting the same." Unfortunately their mission had failed to curtail the impositions on the Quaker colony's political freedoms. Edwin Platt Tanner, *The province of New Jersey, 1664-1738, Volume 30* (New York: Columbia University, 1908), 119

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Budd in a Quaker court. In turn, Jennings was later tried in London for his role in the matter. Both men subsequently defended themselves in the public eye by publishing their versions of events.

In November 1693, Budd sold the brewery to Jennings. Although his spiritual adversary would seem an unlikely buyer, the sale enabled Jennings to expand his Burlington tavern business into commercial brewing. After the sale, Budd cut his ties with West Jersey and focused on his family and businesses in Philadelphia. Budd held onto the Blue Anchor Tavern until 1697, when he sold it to his cousin-in-law, Anthony Morris,⁵⁸ who had become Philadelphia's leading brewer.

During the 1680s the Budd brothers made major economic and political contributions to the colonies, achieving both affluence and influence in the process. The Budds' legacy of establishing Burlington as a New World brewing hub for Quaker brewers cannot be underestimated. If Delaware Valley brewing was to have a father, a first family and a founding brewery, Thomas Budd, the Budd family and their Burlington brewery would be prime candidates respectively. Subsequent generations of Quakers would go on to dominate the manufacture and export of ale and porter in greater Philadelphia until the Revolutionary war.⁵⁹

Samuel Jennings, 1693-1708

Samuel Jennings followed an unlikely New World path from minister to governor to brewer. He arrived in the capital in 1680 as a Quaker minister. In 1682 at the urging of William Penn he ran for election and became West Jersey's first freely elected governor, to the chagrin of Governor Byllynge in London.⁶⁰ Jennings went on to serve West Jersey in numerous senior posts.⁶¹ In 1707 Jennings waged a strong opposition to the oppressive and arbitrary governor, Lord Cornbury. Despite Cornbury's defense that "Jennings was the most impudent man he ever knew," Jennings' objective, having Queen Anne terminate her cousin's governorship, was achieved.⁶² In the view of one historian, Jennings "was one of those rare individuals in whom was concentrated a variety of qualifications and mental endowments...He did more than any of his contemporaries in organizing the civil government of West Jersey."⁶³ Another historian saw West Jersey Quakers such as Jennings and Budd at "the forefront of the struggle for freedom and independence from superior authority, in politics as well as religion; and in this struggle, as in a number of others that followed, they fought out in miniature form many of the issues that came to dramatic culmination and transfiguration in the Revolutionary War."⁶⁴

The 1693 Budd deed transferred a "brew house" and "malt house" to Jennings.⁶⁵ Jennings received a lot that was less than half the size that Budd had acquired in 1678, although it still maintained its commercially strategic eastern and northern positions on the corner of High Street and Second Street. Budd had sold the

⁵⁸ Hannah Benner Roach, *Colonial Philadelphians* (Sheridan Press, Hanover, PA, 1999) 51-52.

⁵⁹ "Beer" *Appleton's Journal*, Volume 13, February 27, 1875 (D. Appleton & Co., New York) p. 268.

⁶⁰ *Cyclopedia of New Jersey Biography* "Samuel Jennings" (American Historical Society, Inc. New York, 1921) 303-304.

⁶¹ John Rudderow Stevenson, *Thomas Stevenson of London, England and his descendants* (H. E. Deats, Flemington 1902) 23-26. Also Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova Caesaria, Or New Jersey*, (W.S. Sharp, Trenton 1877) 126, 164, 288 & 346.

⁶² Thomas Shourds, *History and Genealogy of Fenwick's Colony, New Jersey* (G.F. Nixon, Bridgeton 1876) 120.

⁶³ V. F. Calverton, *The Awakening of America* (New York: John Day Company, 1939), 384.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 385.

⁶⁵ Thomas Budd to Samuel Jennings, 14 November 1693, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book G-G, 184.

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western half to Benjamin Wheat in 1686. The brewery was located a stone's throw from the town wharf, the public market at High and Pearl Streets.⁶⁶

In his 1698 account, *An Historical Description of the Province and Country of West Jersey in America*, Gabriel Thomas wrote that Burlington had "Very many fine Wharfs and large Timber Yards, Malt-Houses, Brew-Houses, Bake-Houses."⁶⁷ It appears that Thomas's overstated description likely misled future historians researching brewing in Burlington. For example, while there were two known wharfs in Burlington at this time, there were not "very many fine" of them. His use of plural with respect to 'Brew-Houses' was likely referring to taverns which were sometimes called brew houses. The 'brew house' of William Bassnett and the 'New Brew House', both in 17th-century Burlington, are examples of 'brew houses' that were public houses, not breweries. Besides Jennings' brewery at 6 West Pearl, there is no record of another brewery in Burlington at this time.⁶⁸ In fact there is no record of another brewery in Burlington until the late 18th-century.⁶⁹ There may have been brew houses attached to taverns, but these would have been minor in scale compared to the end-to-end commercial brewing and export operation running at High and Pearl Streets.

Gabriel Thomas wrote that large quantities of beer were being sold at the Burlington public market and shipped from the town wharves to colonial seaports.⁷⁰ This is likely an indication that Jennings was maintaining the wholesale trade that had been part of the brewery's business model since its inception. At some point after 1700, Jennings acquired the "New Brew House" on the waterfront.⁷¹ While not a brewery, it was an inn and gathering place for West Jersey's elite.⁷² Built in the early 1680s it was owned and operated by Burlington Mayor Richard Bassnett. One New Jersey historian has called the "New Brew House" one of the most famous buildings in Burlington, if not in West Jersey.⁷³ The inn would have been convenient for Jennings to supply with beer and ale from his brewery one block away.

The Stevensons, 1708-1717

Jennings' offensive against the policies and administration of Lord Cornbury was the final highlight of his public career. He passed away later that year. William, Thomas, and John Stevenson, who had married Jennings' daughters, inherited the brewery, but in settling their father's estate, they carved up the property further.⁷⁴ In November 1709, the Stevensons sold to a local gentleman Thomas Gardiner two lots that dramatically shrank the size of the brewery property: A corner lot with a brick house at High and Second

⁶⁶ William Schemerhorn *History of Burlington* (Enterprise Publishing Co., Burlington, N.J., 1927) 36. "Perhaps the greatest volume of buying and selling in the early city was conducted at the public marketplaces. Two open air markets stood in the center of High Street. The stalls of North market, the longest of the two, ran from near the town wharf at the foot of High Street over two blocks south beyond the intersection of Pearl Street." Also C. Miller Biddle, "Burlington Waterlots Surveyed," *The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey* (Jan. 2011), Vol. 86:2-13; Also Major E.M. Woodward, *History of Burlington County New Jersey*, (Philadelphia, Everts and Peck, 1883) 120

⁶⁷ Albert Cook Myers, Ed. *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania West New Jersey and Delaware 1630-1707* (Charles Scribner & Sons New York, 1912) 346.

⁶⁸ There has been no documentation found of a mill house or malt house in Burlington City in the deeds or tax records of the state archives other than the subject property until the turn of the 18th-century. New Jersey Archives, Trenton, N.J.

⁶⁹ Similarly, the use of the plural by Gabriel Thomas in his description may have been an unintentional yet misleading generalization. While there was a malt house and timber yard in Burlington, there is no evidence of there being "many fine" such malt houses and timber yards.

⁷⁰ Albert Cook Myers, Ed. *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania West New Jersey and Delaware 1630-1707* (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1912) 346.

⁷¹ Jennings purchase the 'New Brew House' from the estate of Richard Bassnett in the early 1700's. It may have been called 'New' to distinguish it from Budd's brew house one block south.

⁷² C. Miller Biddle, "Burlington Waterlots Surveyed," *The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey* (Jan. 2011), Vol. 86:2-13

⁷³ Francis Bazley Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, (The Publishing Society of New Jersey, New York 1903) 298.

⁷⁴ *Cyclopedia of New Jersey Biography* "Samuel Jennings" (American Historical Society, Inc. New York, 1921) 303-304.

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streets, and a lot comprising the western portion of the property, with 164 feet of frontage along Second Street. Gardiner immediately flipped these lots to Samuel Marmon [or Marmion], a local merchant. The Stevensons continued to own the brewery, itself, however, probably leasing it to Joshua Humphries, and then selling it to him in June 1717.⁷⁵

Joshua and Elizabeth Humphries, June–November 1717: Humphries' wife Elizabeth Frampton had a life-long association with brewing in Philadelphia and Burlington. She was just two years old when her father, William Frampton, left Burlington and opened Philadelphia's first brewery in 1683. William Frampton had died of disease in September 1686, when Elizabeth was five years old. At age seven, she returned to Burlington with her two younger siblings. Her mother married city innkeeper Richard Bassnett. He, in turn, passed away in an epidemic that swept through Burlington in 1694. The West Jersey Assembly subsequently passed an 'Act for Selling Widow Bassnett's Brewhouse'.⁷⁶ (Bassnett's 'brewhouse' was a tavern. 'Brewhouse' and 'tavern' were sometimes used synonymously in the colonial lexicon. Thirty-four years after her father left Burlington Elizabeth and her husband of one year, farmer Joshua Humphries, bought the Burlington brewery from the Jennings family. William Frampton's other daughter also married into the brewing trade, when she became the wife of Burlington brewer and maltster John Borradaile in 1701.⁷⁷)

When Humphries purchased Stevenson's brewery in 1717, Elizabeth Frampton gained a stake in the Burlington brewery where John Budd once brewed. (Three decades earlier John Budd had taken over the brewery run by Elizabeth Frampton's father in Philadelphia.) The 1717 Stevenson to Humphries⁷⁸ deed transferred a "Brewhouse, maulhouse...together with ...Coppers, Coolers and other utensils necessary for a Brewhouse that are now in the possession or occupation of said Joshua Humphries." The deed's reference to Humphries already being in possession of the brewery indicates that Humphries may have been brewing as a tenant brewer or as an employee of the Stevensons. Under their ownership, they apparently expanded the operation by having a "mill house" constructed along the south border of the property.

Abraham Bickley and Joseph Redman, 1717- 1730: After just five months of ownership, Humphries reversed course and sold the brewery at a capital loss.⁷⁹ The new buyer was a distiller and Elizabeth's step-uncle, Abraham Bickley, and Bickley's partner, Philadelphia merchant Joseph Redman.⁸⁰ Both men served on the Philadelphia common council as aldermen and also individually owned wharves in Philadelphia's harbor.⁸¹ The deed conveyed the brew house, malt house and mill house.⁸² The deed also mentions a "wooden granary" that extended along Second Street in the rear of the corner lot. The deed specifically excluded the house

⁷⁵ Thomas Stevenson to Joshua Humphries, 20 June 1717, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book B-B-B, Page 309. Also John Rudderow Stevenson, Thomas Stevenson of London, England and his descendants (H. E. Deats, Flemington 1902) 27-28.

⁷⁶ John Spratt Wrightnour, *The Frampton family: With Especial Reference to William Frampton, Register General, Province of Pennsylvania, 1686, and his Descendants* (Unknown binding, 1916) 52, 68. Also Aaron Learning & Jacob Spicer, *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey* (1757), 555.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 25, 48, 52, 54-58, 62 and 69.

⁷⁸ Thomas Stevenson to Joshua Humphries, 20 June 1717, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book B-B-B, 309.

⁷⁹ Joshua Humphries to Abraham Bickley and Joseph Redman, 2 November 1717, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book BB, 53.

⁸⁰ *The American Weekly Mercury, Volume 2, Issues 53-106* (Philadelphia: Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, 1948), 12, 16, 58 & 60.

⁸¹ *Minutes of the Common Council, City of Philadelphia: 1704-1776* (Philadelphia: Crissy & Markley, 1847), 117 & 156.

⁸² Joshua Humphries to Abraham Bickley and Joseph Redman, 2 November 1717, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book BB, 53.

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occupied by Samuel Marmon at the corner of High and Second Street, already owned by Marmon. The deed sets the western border of the lot 111 feet west of the corner of High and Pearl.⁸³

While newspaper advertisements show that Redman sold beer at his Philadelphia wharf, as a distiller, Bickley was more familiar with the business of alcohol production, and he bought out Redman's share in 1719. The deed for that conveyance suggests a growing brewing operation, including the rights to profits, "coppers, tuns, coolers, backs, brewing vessels, mill, malt house, and all implements necessary for brewing."⁸⁴ Bickley owned the brewery until his death in 1726. In 1728, Bickley's son William, a merchant in upstate New York, placed notices in the *American Mercury* advertising the brewery for sale: The ad details a "Brew house Malt house and Mill house Ready fitted with Utensils proper for each Vocation"⁸⁵ A second ad for the brewery and corner tavern appeared in 1730. William Bartoft of Philadelphia offered "for sale a large house and lot on the main or High street in Burlington NJ with malt house, brew house, mill house, brewing vessels, kiln, a large copper with a capacity of 10 barrels, coolers, tuns, backs, malt mill and millstones."⁸⁶

Dr. Thomas Shaw and Sons, 1730-1765: Later in 1730 Dr. Thomas Shaw of Burlington became the brewery's next owner of record. The brewery remained in the Shaw family for over thirty years.⁸⁷ Shaw was a brewer, a practicing physician, and a captain in the New Jersey militia. Charles Read, the notable 18th-century New Jersey agriculturist and compiler of the notes on farming that later became the book *Ploughs and Politicks*,⁸⁸ once wrote about Shaw as a friend who pursued the business of brewing.⁸⁸ In Read's notes he attributes that "tolerable hops in Jersey will yield (sic) pr. Acre 400 lbs. or better" to a T. Shaw. It is believed that Burlington's Dr. Shaw or his son Thomas are the source.

When Dr. Shaw died in 1750 his son, Thomas, Jr., inherited the brewery.⁸⁹ He was a lawyer by trade and like his father, a captain in the 'Jersey Blues' regiment. In August 1757 Thomas Jr. survived the Indian massacre of the Connecticut and New Jersey regiments at Fort William Henry in the French and Indian War. However, he was held hostage by the Indians for two months. During his captivity he wrote a narrative of his ordeal before being returned by the French to the British lines.⁹⁰ For his bravery at Fort William Henry, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel. After his release, he continued to fight against the French, but he was killed in combat at Ticonderoga in July 1758.⁹¹

Shaw advertised in the May 19th, 1757 *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

⁸³ Thomas Stevenson to Joshua Humphries, 20 June 1717, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book B-B-B, 309.

⁸⁴ Joseph Redman to Abraham Bickley, 25 January 1719, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book BB, 102.

⁸⁵ William Nelson, *Extracts from American Newspapers, Relating to New Jersey, 1704-1775, Volume XI* (Paterson: Press Printing and Publishing, 1894), 151-152.

⁸⁶ J. Leander Bishop, *A History of Manufactures, 1608-1860 Vol. 1* (Edward Young & Co., Philadelphia, 1868)258. The advertised 10 barrel capacity was less than the 17 barrel capacity that would be advertised 30 years later.

⁸⁷ Estate of Thomas Shaw to Adam and John Shaw, 8 October 1761, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book U, 226-230. Also John Shaw to William Dillwyn, 2 January 1765, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book U, 230-234.

⁸⁸ Carl R. Woodward, *Ploughs and Politicks, Charles Read of New Jersey and His Notes on Agriculture, 1715-1774*. (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1941) 304.

⁸⁹ John Shaw to William Dillwyn, 2 January 1765, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book U, 230.

⁹⁰ Joseph G. Bilby, Harry F. Ziegler, James Martin Madden, *Hidden History of New Jersey* (The History Press, Charleston 2011) 14. Also *New Jersey History* (New Jersey Historical Society, Newark 1985) 370-374.

⁹¹ "New Jersey in the Colonial Wars", *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Volume VI* (New Jersey Historical Society, Newark 1921) 215.

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To be Lett or Sold A Large convenient Dwelling house with a Brew house and all necessary Utensils for Brewing a large Malt house adjoining the same and a Hop yard situate in Pearl street in the City of Burlington. Whoever inclines to rent or purchase the above by applying to James Kinsey or Abraham Hewlings in Burlington or Ann Shaw living at the Corner of Seventh and Market streets in Philadelphia may know the terms. N.B. The Dwelling house will be lett separate if required.

The dwelling referred to the house at the corner of High and Pearl which had once been occupied by Samuel Marmon. It had since been acquired by Shaw and operated as a tavern.

A year after Thomas's death, the Shaw family again advertised the brewery for sale in the July 12, 1759 edition of the Pennsylvania Gazette: "A large convenient Brew house situated near the Water side in Burlington with all the necessary Utensils for carrying on the Business." The exclusion of the mill house, malt house and granary is potentially significant. It may be evidence of the ability of the separate brewing and malting operations, not to mention milling and baking, to be viable, self-sustaining entities that the Shaws wished to retain.

After Thomas Jr.'s death at Ticonderoga, a 1761 deed transferred the "brew house, malt house, mill house, kiln, coppers, tuns, coolers, backs, brewing utensils and mill stones" and privileges for the granary from Anne Shaw, the executrix and Samuel Shaw, his only surviving son, to Thomas's brother John Shaw.⁹²

William Dillwyn, 1765–ca.1773: Twenty-one year-old William Dillwyn started off the 1765 new year by assuming control of the brewery on January 2nd. Like predecessors Budd, Jennings and the Shaws, Dillwyn had multiple talents and interests. Soon after his purchase the Philadelphia born Quaker merchant became a passionate anti-slavery advocate. During his life he wrote several famous tracts on the injustices and horrors of the slave trade.⁹³ His passion for this cause led him to travel the southern colonies to study slavery first-hand. Upon his return he lobbied the New Jersey legislature for slave freedom.⁹⁴ He subsequently resettled in Great Britain, where he became one of the 'Quaker Five,' the founders of the British Society for the Abolition of the

⁹² Estate of Thomas Shaw to Adam and John Shaw, 8 October 1761, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book U, 226-230.

⁹³ William Dillwyn and John Lloyd, *The Case of our Fellow Creatures, the Oppressed Africans* (1784), Excerpt: "It would surely have been more constant with the avowed principles of Englishmen, both as men and as Christians, if their settlement in heathen countries had been succeeded by mild and benevolent attempts to civilize their inhabitants, and to incline them to receive the glad tidings of the gospel. But how different a conduct towards them has been pursued. It has not only been repugnant, in a political view, to those commercial advantages which a fair and honourable treatment might have procured, but has evidently tended to increase the barbarity of their manners, and to excite in their minds an aversion to that religion..."

This traffic is the principal source of the destructive wars which prevail among these unhappy people, and is attended with consequences, the mere recital of which is shocking to humanity. The violent reparation of the dearest relatives, the tears of conjugal and parental affection, the reluctance of the slaves to a voyage from which they can have no chance of returning, must present scenes of distress which would pierce the heart of any, in whom the principles of humanity are not wholly effaced. This, however, is but the beginning of sorrows with the poor captives...

Under their cruel treatment on the ships, where, without regard to health or decency, hundreds are confined within the narrow limits of the hold, numbers perish; and, by what is called the seasoning in the islands, many are relieved by a premature death, from that suffering.

In procuring slaves from the coast of Africa, many children are stolen privately; wars also are encouraged among the negroes: but all is at a great distance. Many groans arise from dying men, which we hear not. Many cries are uttered by widows and fatherless children, which reach not our ears. Many cheeks are wet with tears, and faces sad with unutterable grief, which we see not. Cruel tyranny is encouraged. The hands of robbers are strengthened; and thousands reduced to the most abject slavery, who never injured us."

⁹⁴ John Simkin, "William Dillwyn", Spartacus Educational, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/REdillwyn.htm> (accessed April 4, 2013)

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Slave Trade. This society was a primary force in pushing the British government toward abolition. He was an effective social advocate who had the courage to stand up to the profitable slave trade well ahead of popular opinion.⁹⁵

The Shaw to Dillwyn deed references the original ownership of Thomas Budd and includes a “Brew house, Malt house, Mill house and the copper coolers, tuns, backs, millstones...and other brewing utensils...used in the business of brewing...baskets and casks...in the said employ...and all the privileges of upholding and maintaining the malt granary.”⁹⁶ The deed also conveyed “Further privileges of a strip of two feet in width adjoining to the wall of the Malt House 34 feet long ending at Pearl Street upon which strip the said William Dillwyn may put gutters...to carry off his water into Pearl Street.”⁹⁷ The gutter was situated on the west side of the malt house.

Dillwyn again advertised the brewery for sale in the November 5, 1767 *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

To Be Sold, A Lot of Ground with the Brewhouse in which are two Coppers and the Mill and Malt house thereon erected in Burlington with the Implements for carrying on both Malting and Brewing. It is in a good Stand for Business but it being particularly inconvenient to the present Possessor to give it the necessary Attendance is the Reason for his offering it to Sale. For Terms enquire of William Dillwyn in Burlington.

Dillwyn ran a similar ad one year later in the November 14, 1768 *Pennsylvania Gazette*. It was likely Dillwyn’s travels to the southern colonies or his subsequent move to England that made it “particularly inconvenient” to him to keep brewery. The ad appeared again in September 27, 1770 and indicates that Dillwyn had found a tenant brewer for his operation. The notice refers to “The Brewery in Burlington now occupied by Leonard Snowden consisting of a brewhouse with two coppers a mill house a malt house with all the utensils in order for business.” Snowden was a Quaker and former Yorkshire, England schoolteacher who emigrated to Philadelphia in 1737.⁹⁸ During the Revolutionary war he was implicated in the Kearsley Affair, a plot to smuggle information about America’s Delaware River fortifications to the British military. For his role he received three months in a York, Pennsylvania jail.⁹⁹ Snowden later appears in the public record in 1800 as a partner in a Philadelphia brewery with Thomas Fisher that operated until 1818.¹⁰⁰

William Innes, 1773-ca.1790

⁹⁵ John Simkin, “William Dillwyn”, Spartacus Educational, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/REdillwyn.htm> (accessed April 4, 2013) Also “The Quaker Five in the 1787 national Abolition Committee”, Quakers in the World, <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/207> (accessed April 4, 2013). Also “Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade”, Wikipedia,

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Society_for_Effecting_the_Abolition_of_the_Slave_Trade, (accessed July 12, 2012). Also William Dillwyn and John Lloyd, *The Case of our Fellow Creatures, the Oppressed Africans* (Unknown) 1784: “In procuring slaves from the coast of Africa, many children are stolen privately; wars also are encouraged among the negroes: but all is at a great distance. Many groans arise from dying men, which we hear not. Many cries are uttered by widows and fatherless children, which reach not our ears. Many cheeks are wet with tears, and faces sad with unutterable grief, which we see not. Cruel tyranny is encouraged. The hands of robbers are strengthened; and thousands reduced to the most abject slavery, who never injured us.”

⁹⁶ John Shaw to William Dillwyn, 2 January 1765, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book U, 230-234.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁹⁸ Albert Cook Myers, *Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia: 1682-1750* (Ferris & Leach, Philadelphia 1902)102-103.

⁹⁹ Richard Smith, "Diary of Richard Smith in the Continental Congress, 1775-1776" *American Historical Review, Volume 1* (MacMillan & Co. New York, 1896) 495.

¹⁰⁰ John Thomas Scharf, Thompson Westcott *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884 Volume 3* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Company, 1884) 1884. Also Rich Wagner, *Philadelphia Beer: A Heady History of Brewing in the Cradle of Liberty* (The History Press, Charleston 2012) 28.

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By 1773 William Innes (sometimes 'Innis') was the new tenant at Dillwyn's brewery. Innes had emigrated from Scotland about 1765, when he was in his early 30s.¹⁰¹ An advertisement in the March 10, 1773 *Pennsylvania Gazette* states: "The brewery in the city of Burlington, now occupied by William Innis, consists of a malt-house, mill-house, and brew-house, with two coppers, the largest containing seventeen barrels; with the utensils necessary for carrying on the business of malting and brewing." Dillwyn remained the owner, and this latest advertisement provides insight into the brewery's production capacity by referencing the larger of its two coppers as being 17 barrels.¹⁰² Not counting the second copper of unknown size, the 17-barrel capacity would have made it a significant facility by 18th-century measures. The ratables for Burlington City, which survive from 1773 and 1774, indicate that William Innes had the only brew house operating in Burlington City at that time.¹⁰³ In their book "Early Breweries of New Jersey", Grace M. Weiss and Harry B. Weiss refer to Innes's brewery as a "large affair."¹⁰⁴ Innes continued for a long time to operate the brewery, but it is unclear whether or when Dillwyn sold it. No deed for its transfer from Dillwyn has been found, and he placed no further advertisements for its sale. Innes, of course, may have purchased it.

In the July 30, 1778 *Pennsylvania Packet*, Innes advertised that "The subscriber proposes sending a quantity of BEER as good as what is brewed at present for 6 pounds per barrel delivered at Chestnut street wharf. Those who chose to leave their names with Mr. William Falconer in Market street near Strawberry Alley may be supplied till the stock of grain is brewed up. WILLIAM INNES." This notice indicates that Innes is brewing in the middle of the Revolutionary War. Many colonial brewers were prevented from exporting during the revolution due to British blockades. However, one month after the British evacuated the city Innes' agent in Philadelphia, William Falconer, is accepting orders to have barrels of beer shipped down-river from Burlington.

Three weeks later, in the August 19, 1778 *New Jersey Gazette*, Innes advertised again. "For Sale, A Brewing Copper containing three and a half barrels, with a wooden Curb containing five and a half barrels, in all nine barrels; has a brass cock, and may be made into a still, as it is little worse for wear. Also a Cog Wheel, with an iron shaft for horse pumps, never used; and a light Waggon and Gears." The advertised brewing copper was smaller than the 17-barrel primary copper. It may have been used for smaller batches of session or seasonal ales. It may have been the non-quantified second 'copper' mentioned in the above Dillwyn advertisements of 1773.

Innes subsequently promoted his beer on October 5, 1779 in the *New Jersey Journal*: "WILLIAM Innes acquaints his customers he now begins brewing, will sell beer at the Philadelphia prices for cash or produce only. He again requests all those indebted to him to call and pay their respective balances, and those who have casks of his are desired to return them." A postscript states that: "Said Innes gives the current prices for barley and has some salt he will exchange for barley or wheat for family use. Burlington" Two years later the string of advertisements continued in the *New Jersey Gazette*: "WILLIAM INNES Acquaints the publick and also his customers that he has begun brewing and has beer for sale which he hopes will give satisfaction at the current prices." "All persons who have casks of his are earnestly requested to return them or pay the worth of them."

¹⁰¹ "Obituary for William Innes" The Christian Advocate, Volume 2 (A. Finley, Philadelphia 1826)

¹⁰² William Nelson. Extracts from American newspapers, Volume 12, The Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 2307, March 10, 1773, (The Call Printing and Publishing Co., Patterson, NJ 1902) 451.

¹⁰³ Tax Ratables, Burlington City, 1773 & 1774, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives.

¹⁰⁴ Harry Bischoff Weiss and Grace M. Weiss, Early Breweries of New Jersey (New Jersey Agricultural Society, Trenton, 1963) 38. (The authors incorrectly attribute Snowden and Innes brewing at the corner of Wood and Pearl where George Painter would brew after 1796.)

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The apparent use of the honor system with respect to the return of casks implies that there was a degree of customer loyalty to Innes and renewal orders for his beer – with the exception of those called out as not returning theirs. Innes’s frequent newspaper advertising, and his selling ‘by the barrel,’ are indications that wholesale trade was a significant part of his business. Historically, Burlington was a proving ground for Philadelphia Brewers. Like Frampton before him over 100 years earlier, Innes left Burlington to open his own brewery on Front Street in Philadelphia from 1790 to 1799.¹⁰⁵ His 1824 obituary states that during the “revolutionary struggle he took a decided stand in favour of his adopted country and through life he uniformly maintained the character of a firm and consistent friend of liberty.” He was remembered as a devout man and philanthropist who persevered in his work despite recurring illnesses.¹⁰⁶

Tench Coxe and Nathaniel FitzRandolph, 1790-1792

Tench Coxe succeeded Dillwyn as the brewery’s next owner of record. Coxe was a great-grandson of Dr. Daniel Coxe, an early governor of West Jersey.¹⁰⁷ Although Coxe was, himself, a merchant, not a brewer, he wrote with intelligence about the benefits of beer and brewing: “It may be considered a fact strongly in favor of the industry, sobriety and tranquility of the city of Philadelphia that its breweries exceed, in the quantity of their manufactured liquors, those of all the sea ports of the United States.” He continued, “The superior virtue, both moral and political, of a country which consumes malt liquors instead of distilled spirits, needs only to be mentioned.”

Coxe believed beer was “the best of our commodities.” He urged farmers to cultivate hops and barley.¹⁰⁸ In contrast he viewed distilled spirits as having “pernicious effects” and believed “It must be acknowledged that the domestic manufacture of ardent spirits from fruits and grain, threatens this country, no less than foreign liquors, with much public and private evil.”¹⁰⁹ “We cannot omit to observe here that beer strengthens the arm of the laborer without debauching him, while the noxious drink [ie. distilled hard liquor] now enervates and corrupts him.”^{110, 111} Mirroring Thomas Budd over a century earlier Coxe wrote, “I have no doubt myself but barley could be well grown, and well malted, and well brewed in almost any part of America; and beer might be more generally introduced.” Coxe was “rather surprised that breweries are not more generally established” given that “there is no excise upon malt, nor upon malt liquor; as grain is cheap, and the materials of a brewery to be had for little or nothing.”¹¹² Like the Shaws before him, Coxe believed that brewing and malting could be distinct industries as they were in Europe: “The absence or infrequency of malting as a separate trade, has also operated against brewing.”¹¹³ One can envision Coxe leveraging the brewery to test and advance the business and social theories about brewing that he expressed in his writings.

¹⁰⁵ Rich Wagner, *Philadelphia Beer: A Heady History of Brewing in the Cradle of Liberty* (The History Press, Charleston 2012) 81.

¹⁰⁶ “Obituary for William Innes” *The Christian Advocate*, Volume 2 (A. Finley, Philadelphia, 1826)

¹⁰⁷ Oakey Hoagland to Jackson B. French, 18 March 1795, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book D, 303.

¹⁰⁸ Gallus Thomann, *Liquor Laws of the United States: Their Spirit and Effect*, (The United States Brewers' Association, 1898.) 29-30.

¹⁰⁹ Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America: In a Series of Papers, Written at Various Times, Between the Years 1787 and 1794*, (William Hall, Philadelphia 1794) 494.

¹¹⁰ By warning of the destructive effects of hard alcohol, Coxe echoed the values of the early Quaker brewers including Thomas Budd. As outlined on pages 29, 32-33 of *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, Burlington Indian King Ockanickon (Iron Hook) the Lenni-Lenape who Thomas Budd frequently held councils with, praised Burlington’s early settlers for refusing to market or sell hard liquor to the Indians.. Whereas the Dutch and Swedish settlers who preceded the English Quakers did so freely.

¹¹¹ Gallus Thomann, *Liquor Laws of the United States: Their Spirit and Effect*, (The United States Brewers' Association, 1898.) 28-29.

¹¹² Thomas Cooper and Tench Coxe, *Some Information Respecting America* (St. Paul's Church, London, 1794) 122-123.

¹¹³ Tench Coxe, *Arts and Manufactures of the United States for the Year 1810*, (A. Comman, Philadelphia, 1814) xl.

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Tench Coxe had a distinguished career in government as a member of the Continental Congress, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and Commissioner of Revenue under President George Washington. He served as Purveyor of Public Supplies of the United States from 1803-1812. He also maintained a subcabinet role as a political economist in the administrations of four presidents from Washington to Madison.¹¹⁴

Coxe was a prolific political and business writer. His works included newspaper essays offered under the names "A Freeman" and "An American Citizen" in 1788, supporting Constitutional ratification. These widely regarded essays are still quoted in current political dialogue, histories and law classrooms as a Federalist lens on the constitution.¹¹⁵ While owning the brewery, in 1791 he co-wrote a seminal business reference with Alexander Hamilton, "Report on Manufactures"¹¹⁶ This work contained statistical benchmarks on the health and yields of major American industries, including brewing. Coxe was an active hand in organizations working for social and business improvement. He was a leading member of the Philadelphia Society for Encouraging Manufactures and the Useful Arts,¹¹⁷ the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons and the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. Like Dillwyn, Coxe advocated vigorously for the cessation of slavery.¹¹⁸ In addition to owning successful mining interests, Coxe also worked diligently to establish cotton as a staple crop in the South.¹¹⁹

In 1791 Coxe conveyed the brewery to Nathaniel and Sarah FitzRandolph.¹²⁰ There is no record of FitzRandolph as a brewer, however, and given the few months of his ownership, it, evidently was a speculative purchase. It is unclear after Innes how active the brewery was.

Oakey and Eleanor Hoagland, 1792-1795?

Eleanor 'Field' (Van Brunt) purchased the property from the Fitz's in 1792 and briefly became the first female with sole ownership of the brewery. Shortly thereafter she married brewer¹²¹ and tavern owner Oakey Hoagland. The brewery became their joint property.¹²² Colonel Oakey Hoagland had owned Bordentown's 'American House' tavern from 1774 to 1787. At the height of the Revolutionary period, the American House was a hotbed of patriot activity.¹²³ He also operated the Blue Anchor Tavern¹²⁴ at the corner of High and Broad Streets in Burlington during the war.¹²⁵

¹¹⁴ "Tench Coxe Biography", James Madison Research Library and Information Center, http://www.madisonbrigade.com/t_coxe.htm (accessed July 12, 2012).

¹¹⁵ Tench Coxe "A Freeman" Tench Coxe Essays, http://oll.libertyfund.org/?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=2069&chapter=156158&layout=html&Itemid=27 (accessed July 12, 2012).

¹¹⁶ Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, (Penguin Books, New York, 2004) Also Stuart W. Bruchey, *Enterprise: the Dynamic Economy of a Free People* (President and Fellows of Harvard College, Cambridge, MA, 1990) 134

¹¹⁷ John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, 1999) 29.

¹¹⁸ *Tench Coxe Biography*, James Madison Research Library and Information Center, http://www.madisonbrigade.com/t_coxe.htm , (accessed July 12, 2012).

¹¹⁹ George Derby, James Terry White, *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, V.1 (James T. White & Co. New York, 1896) 14.

¹²⁰ Oakey Hoagland to Jackson B. French, [5 February, 1796](#), Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book D, 303.

¹²¹ *Bordentown 1682-1976* (Bordentown Historical Society, Bordentown, 1976) 92.

¹²² Oakey Hoagland to Jackson B. French, [5 February 1796](#), Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book D, 303. No public record of Eleanor Field has been found. Van Brunt had previously been married to Nathaniel Moore whom she had several children with before he died in 1789. There is no record yet found as to the marriage date of Van Brunt to Hoagland. Her nickname was Geesie.

¹²³ Walter Hamilton Van Hoesen, *Early Taverns and Stagecoach Days in New Jersey*, (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Rutherford, 1976) 135. Also Arlene S. Bice, *Bordentown Revisited*, (Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, 2005) 9 & 76.

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At the outset of the war for independence Captain Hoagland raised a company and joined the first regiment of Burlington County in the New Jersey militia. He gained successive promotions including serving as regiment quartermaster.¹²⁶ His experience as a brewer and tavern owner likely played a role in that selection. Hoagland was wounded at the battle of Princeton on January 3, 1777. It was a severe fight where a large part of his company was either killed or wounded. He was afterward promoted to Lieutenant Colonel.¹²⁷ Hoagland was entrusted with many important responsibilities during the war. He was tasked with ending the smuggling of goods from loyalists to British troops. In this regard he was granted authority to seize any water going vessel on the Delaware. Promoted again, Major Hoagland was entrusted with safeguarding as prisoner Lieut. Col. John Simcoe, the notorious British practitioner of 'total war' that enraged so many colonists.¹²⁸ In 1777 Hoagland, Francis Hopkinson, Col. Joseph Kirkbride and Col. Joseph Borden hatched a plan to build floating mines out of wooden kegs to disrupt the British navy downriver in Philadelphia's harbor. In January 1778 they launched 20 gunpowder filled kegs from a whaleboat on the Delaware.¹²⁹ Most of the flotilla became trapped in ice flows. While the effort achieved little militarily, it rattled the Royal Navy. For many hours after the explosion, the English were ordered to shoot anything that moved in the river.¹³⁰ Hopkinson parodied the enemy's assault on icebergs and branches with a song 'British Valor Displayed: or The Battle of the Kegs.' Set to the tune of Yankee Doodle, the mock tribute became a widely distributed propaganda piece that boosted the American's spirits.¹³¹ When news of the Peace of Paris reached the Delaware river towns, Hoagland hosted a lavish celebration at his Bordentown home.¹³² He died in 1813 and is buried in St. Mary's Church cemetery in Burlington.

Among the breweries of early America, Burlington's would appear to stand out. The early breweries were notoriously fragile enterprises, more often than not closing within a few years of their opening. But Burlington's brewery endured for over 110 years. It was evidently the first brewery in America to attain the century mark, and by the end of the Revolution no American brewery had been operating longer.¹³³ At its mid-18th-century zenith, it had a peak capacity of over 500 gallons per session,¹³⁴ and over the decades produced

¹²⁴ It is interesting coincidence that the first and last brewers at 6 West Pearl each had an interest in the 'Blue Anchor Tavern,' one in Philadelphia at the end of the 17th-century, the other in Burlington at the end of the 18th-century.

¹²⁵ Juneanne Wescoat Glick, *Waistcote, Westcoatt, et al.* (J.W. Glick, Clayton, NJ 1991) 443.

¹²⁶ William S. Stryker, *Official Register: Officers and Men of New Jersey Revolutionary War*, (Wm. T. Nicholson & Co., Trenton, 1872) 239-240, 835.

¹²⁷ C.R. Primm, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Reding, Conover, Hoagland and Houghton Families*, (Unknown 1930) 40.

¹²⁸ *Bordentown 1682-1976* (Bordentown Historical Society, Bordentown, 1976) 119. According to this source and to Gleaves, John Lawrence and Hoagland befriended Simcoe during his imprisonment in the area. It was at Simcoe's invitation that the loyalist Lawrence later moved to Canada during the latter part of the revolution. [Albert Gleaves, *James Lawrence, Captain, United States Navy, Commander of the Chesapeake* (G.P. Putnam, New York, 1904) 15.]

¹²⁹ James D. Magee, *Bordentown, 1682-1932: An Illustrated Story of a Colonial Town* (The Bordentown Register, Bordentown, 1932) 39.

¹³⁰ Jack Coggins, *Ships and Seamen of the American Revolution*, (Dover Publications, Mineola 2002) 97-98.

¹³¹ "Francis Hopkinson: Bringing Wit to the Revolution", Hidden New Jersey, <http://www.hiddennj.com/2012/10/francis-hopkinson-bringing-wit-to.html>, (accessed October 14, 2012). Later that year the British retaliated against the conspirators, burning the homes of Colonels Borden and Kirkbride while pillaging Hoagland's American House tavern. (The Hopkinson house was spared because of the British officer's respect for Ann and Francis's Hopkinson's extensive library.) Arlene S. Bice, *Bordentown Revisited*, (Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, 2005) 9 & 76.

¹³² Edwin Salter, *A History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, (F. Gardner & Son, Bayonne, NJ 1890) 310.

¹³³ Dale P. Van Wieren, *American Breweries II* (East Coast Breweriana Association, West Point PA, 1995) Analysis of 17th-century breweries included in listings.

¹³⁴ William Nelson. *Extracts from American Newspapers*, Volume 12, The Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 2307, March 10, 1773, (The Call Printing and Publishing Co. Patterson, NJ 1902) 451.

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thousands of barrels of beer and ale for local consumption and for export.¹³⁵ The brew house, a large malt house, a granary, a mill house, and a hop yard were present on the property until 1796; the brick walls and much of the physical fabric of the brew house are still there.

Residence, 1796-Today

While 6 West Pearl's transition to residential use marked its end as a brewery, its association with famous Americans would continue for another hundred years.

Jackson Browne French and Katherine 'Kitty' Lawrence:

By March 1796 the Hoaglands had converted the lot into a residence and sold it to Jackson Browne French and his wife Katherine 'Kitty' Lawrence French.¹³⁶ Jackson Browne French was a St. Vincent's born merchant. Kitty was the daughter of attorney John Lawrence, Burlington's loyalist mayor. Kitty would be the first of several generations of Lawrences to own 6 West Pearl through the next 87 years. In 1781, due to her mother's tragic death after giving birth to her youngest brother James and the need for the father to flee due to anti-Loyalist sentiments in Burlington at war's end. James was reared by Kitty and half-sister Elizabeth in Burlington.¹³⁷ When the Navy granted James a midshipman's warrant, he left Burlington and embarked for the West Indies aboard the *Ganges*. His naval prowess earned him successive promotions to the rank of captain. On board the *Wasp* he befriended fellow Burlingtonian James Fenimore Cooper who served under his command in 1810.¹³⁸ Lawrence was given command of the Chesapeake in the War of 1812. During battle with the British ship *Shannon*, James was mortally wounded. While being carried below deck he delivered his "Don't Give Up the Ship" order to his crew. This phrase became the credo for the U.S. Navy.¹³⁹

Kitty Lawrence inherited 6 West Pearl when her husband Jackson Browne French died in 1826.¹⁴⁰ The property passed to their daughter Charlotte Seton French.¹⁴¹ By this time Burlington's 'Green Banks' on the Delaware became a popular retreat. Over the course of Charlotte's 55 years of ownership she let the home to several families, among which the following are notable:

¹³⁵ William Nelson. Extracts from American newspapers, Volume 12, The Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 2307, March 10, 1773, (The Call Printing and Publishing Co. Patterson, NJ 1902) 451 and various ads promoting export.

¹³⁶ Oakey Hoagland to Jackson B. French, 18 March 1796, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book D, 303. (The deed bears earmarks of being a hastily drafted work to establish provenance of the property through 3 different transfers dating to Tench Coxe in 1791. It contains several inaccuracies including repeatedly assigning one of the sellers, Eleanor Hoagland, a wrong maiden name – calling into question that the seller Eleanor Hoagland was there to execute the document as is stated. According to the deed Eleanor Fields supposedly bought the brewery individually before marrying Oakey Hoagland. However Eleanor's maiden name was Van Brunt, not Fields. The deed also makes an effort to document adjacent transactions with John Hoskins. The conveyance is also unusual in that it recites boundary markers that were stated to no longer be there at the time of the sale. The deed was written by James Kinsey, close friend and former law partner of the buyer's father John Lawrence. Acknowledging certain irregularities the author states "*Wherein the antecedent title to the several lots of land above described is more particularly set forth as by recitals and references to prior deeds and records respecting the same will more fully and at large appear.*" Those recitals and references have yet to be found.)

¹³⁷ Martha Tallman Lawrence died after giving birth to James. John Brown Lawrence, mayor of Burlington during the revolution, went to Canada to avoid loyalist persecution, shortly after James' birth.

¹³⁸ Wayne Franklin, *James Fenimore Cooper: The Early Years* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2007) 123, 125, 416. Their parent's row houses were next to each other on High Street, although the Cooper family left Burlington when the future author was one year old.

¹³⁹ Albert Gleaves, *James Lawrence, Captain, United States Navy, Commander of the Chesapeake* (G.P. Putnam, New York, 1904) 19. Also Chris Dickon, *The Enduring Journey Of The USS Chesapeake: Navigating the Common History of Three Nations* (History Press, Charleston, 2008) 54.

¹⁴⁰ George Morgan Hillis, *Church in Burlington*, (William Sharp, Trenton, 1896) 386.

¹⁴¹ Mary Rebecca Blauvelt to Alice Silpath, 9 July, 1783, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book W-10, Page292.

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General Winfield Scott: The general's wife, the former Maria Mayo of Richmond, attended St. Memin's finishing school in Burlington. According to Newspaper accounts and a photograph (Photo 4) he made 6 West Pearl a residence for his family both immediately before and during the Mexican War.¹⁴² His main home was in Elizabeth, NJ, sixty miles north of Burlington. Scott was the Hero of Chapultepec and later Commander of the Union Forces at the opening of the Civil War in 1861.¹⁴³

Thomas Milnor: An 1849 map identifies the house as 'Ivy Cottage' and shows Thomas Milnor as occupying the property.¹⁴⁴ Thomas was the founder of a coal business on the Delaware shore in Burlington. He was a son of William Milnor, a three-term member of the U.S House of representatives and former mayor of Philadelphia. Thomas Milnor was on Burlington's Common Council, a judge in the Burlington County Court of Common Pleas, president of the Board of Education and president of the Burlington Library.¹⁴⁵ He was a director of both the Delaware and Raritan Canal¹⁴⁶ and the Burlington and Mt. Holly Railroad.¹⁴⁷

Frank Richard Stockton: In 1860 Frank Stockton and his new bride Mary Ann Edwards Tuttle moved in to 6 West Pearl. Stockton was a descendant of both Thomas Gardiner, an original West Jersey Proprietor in Burlington and Richard Stockton, signer of the Declaration of Independence.¹⁴⁸ A *Lippincott's Magazine* article from 1900, "A Bookish Corner of New Jersey," refers to Stockton having occupied Ivy Cottage: "A pretty vine embowered dwelling locally known as Ivy Cottage and standing a little back from the corner of Main and Pearl Streets a short block from the riverside was once the abode of the now renowned writer of Rudder Grange and many other inimitable books. To this homelet which aforetime had been the residence of the gallant Lawrence of the Chesapeake, Stockton brought his bride nearly forty years ago and here he produced some of his first literary work including "The Story of Champaigne." Published in *The Southern Literary Messenger* in 1861, four months before the outbreak of the Civil War, Stockton prefaced "The Story of Champaigne" with a patriotic poem about the battle at Chapultepec. Stockton may have drawn inspiration from the accounts that General Scott had occupied 6 West Pearl before him.¹⁴⁹

Frank Stockton was a prolific writer of children's and adventure stories including "Rudder Grange." His most famous work, "The Lady or the Tiger?" ended in suspense without closure, leaving the reader to imagine what happened to the protagonist. At the time, this technique was considered an important literary innovation that significantly influenced subsequent American novels.¹⁵⁰ Later his writing would fully sustain him and he would

¹⁴² Edwin Markham, *The Great Republic: The Age of Aggression, 1824-1854*. (New York: William H. Wise & Company, 1912) 462. Also "Burlington Historic Sites," *The Burlington Enterprise*, November 16, 1904.

¹⁴³ R.G. Grant, *Commanders: History's Greatest Military Leaders* (New York, DK Publishing, 2010) 225.

¹⁴⁴ H. Bisbee, *The Island of Burlington* (Philadelphia: T. Cook 1977), Map: 1849 Plan of the City of Burlington. Surveys by J.C. Sidney, published by M. Dripps, Philadelphia.

¹⁴⁵ Woodward, p. 173.

¹⁴⁶ "Journal of the Seventh Senate of the State of New Jersey: Volume 114," (Salem: Robert Gwynne, 1851), 895.

¹⁴⁷ "Acts of the 71st Legislature of the State of New Jersey," (Trenton: Phillips & Boswell, 1847), 23.

¹⁴⁸ *Stories of New Jersey* (Rutgers Univ. Press, New Brunswick, 1996.) iv. Also Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *American authors: A Hand-book of American Literature from Early Colonial to Living Writers* (Franklin Printing and Publishing Co, Atlanta, 1902) 512. As detailed on the 1849 Sidney Map, an 'S.W. Stockton' is identified with seven properties in the rear of the Pearl- High- Union-Wood Street block in 1849 - a potential relation to Frank given the prominence of the S.W. Stockton name in descendants of Richard Stockton in both Mercer and Burlington county.

¹⁴⁹ Theodore F. Wolfe, M.D. "A Bookish Corner of New Jersey", *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, Volume 65 (J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1900) 103.

¹⁵⁰ The Lady or the Tiger?, Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Lady,_or_the_Tiger%3F (accessed October 14, 2012)

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own estates in Morristown, New Jersey and Charlestown, West Virginia. Stockton is in the New Jersey Hall of Fame, and is further remembered for his *Stories of New Jersey* (1896).

James Lawrence Kearny and Mary Rebecca Blauvelt:

So far as is known, Stockton was the last notable historic figure to reside at 6 West Pearl, and he did not remain there after he became an established writer. When Charlotte Schenk's will was proved in 1881 the property descended to her cousin, Mary Rebecca Blauvelt and to Blauvelt's nephew, James Lawrence Kearny.¹⁵¹ Passing on equal shares to two relatives not of the same household perhaps underscores the rental nature of the property. Like Charlotte French Schenk, Blauvelt was the niece of Captain James Lawrence. She was also the sister of Rear Admiral Charles Stuart Boggs, Union hero of the Battle of New Orleans in the Civil War.¹⁵² James Lawrence Kearny was the son of Elizabeth Lawrence Kearny. Elizabeth was Captain James Lawrence's half-sister, the only child of John Brown Lawrence's first marriage.¹⁵³ As detailed above, Elizabeth and her sister Kitty Lawrence raised their youngest sibling James. Elizabeth Kearny wrote poetry under the literary alias 'Madame Scribblerus.' Elizabeth Lawrence's husband, Commodore Lawrence Kearny, is credited with opening the door of China to the west. The Kearnys lived in the Kearny Cottage in Perth Amboy. When James Kearny sold 6 West Pearl Street in 1883, it ended 87 years of ownership by the Lawrence family.¹⁵⁴

Alice Silpath: Alice Silpath purchased the property from Kearny in 1883. She was 59 and the widow of merchant Philip Silpath, who had died two years earlier. The Silpaths operated a dry goods store for several decades at the neighboring intersection of High and Pearl streets.¹⁵⁵ Alice died in 1884, however, and ownership of the property passed to her children.¹⁵⁶ The Silpaths had 16 children born in Burlington.¹⁵⁷ They Silpath's held the property for four years before selling it in 1888 to John McNeal, the retired founder of the U.S. Pipe & Foundry Company.¹⁵⁸

John McNeal and the Thomasons

John McNeal was a self-made man who left the shoemaking trade in 1832 to work at a blast furnace. He later established a foundry business, John H. McNeal and Sons in Bristol, PA. Crossing the river to take advantage of superior rail and steamboat transportation, he built a new foundry in Burlington City in 1872. By the 1880s he had attained significant wealth and was seen as a 'captain of industry' during the gilded age.¹⁵⁹ McNeal acquired the 6 West Pearl St. property in 1888 after his retirement. He did not live there; instead the lot was abutted his main residence, the mansion of former Senator Garret Wall at 212 High Street.¹⁶⁰ It seems more

¹⁵¹ Mary Rebecca Blauvelt to Alice Silpath, 9 July, 1783, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book W-10, Page 292.

¹⁵² Charles Benedict Davenport, *Naval Officers, their Heredity and Development* (Carnegie Institute, Washington 1919) 118-119.

¹⁵³ Albert Gleaves, *James Lawrence, Captain, United States Navy, Commander of the Chesapeake* (G.P. Putnam, New York, 1904) 17, 34.

¹⁵⁴ The Lawrence family's 87 year ownership is of contrasting saliency in that James and Katherine's parents never owned property in Burlington. They were renters of the house on High St. where James was born. (Judith Olsen, President and Jeff Macechak, Education Director, Burlington County Historical Society, discussion with John Brady September 12, 2012.)

¹⁵⁵ *Industries of New Jersey* (Historical Publishing company, New York, 1882) 429.

¹⁵⁶ Phillip F. Silpath et al to John McNeal, 11 June 1888, Holly, N.J., Burlington County Courthouse, Deeds, Book V-11, 269.

¹⁵⁷ Bill Abrams, 'Families of Burlington County, NJ', <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=teincnj&id=I072306>, (accessed March 13 2012).

¹⁵⁸ Phillip F. Silpath et al to John McNeal, 11 June 1888, Holly, N.J., Burlington County Courthouse, Deeds, Book V-11, 269-272.

¹⁵⁹ David Hughes Barber, "The Hughes-MacNeal Family", <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/b/a/r/David-Barber/BOOK-0001/0006-0001.html>, (accessed October 14, 2012).

¹⁶⁰ H. Bisbee, *The Island of Burlington* (Philadelphia: T. Cook 1977), 1875 Map of Burlington by Harry C. Woolman, 17. McNeal's purchase created a curious historical parallel with Abraham Bickley who owned 6 West Pearl in the early 18th-century. Both had sons with mansions on the Delaware River

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likely that he acquired the property to control who his neighbors would be. The 1885 and 1902 Sanborn maps together show, however, that the northern addition to 6 West Pearl was probably added during McNeal's ownership (figure 26). When McNeal died in 1895, the house passed to his daughter Margaret McNeal and her husband Edward Thomason.¹⁶¹ The Thomasons continued to live in the mansion at 212 High Street, and sold 6 West Pearl in 1901.

Subsequent Owners

Walter and Mabel Shull bought 6 West Pearl from the Thomasons, and finally once again made it an owner-occupied house.¹⁶² They lived there with their two children for 17 years before selling it to Michele and Giacinta Zappacosta in 1918.¹⁶³ The Zappacostas were Italian immigrants who bought the house when he was 28 and she was 17. They held the property for 30 years and raised six children there. This family was one of several in the West Pearl Street block whose head of household was born in Italy. This neighborhood had become increasingly one of immigrants, many of the family members working in Burlington-area factories.¹⁶⁴ The Zappacostas sold the house to John W. Hurns Jr. and Loni Hurns in 1948.¹⁶⁵ Eloise Jackson, a widow, bought the house from them in 1952.¹⁶⁶

In 1988 Dr. Henry Bisbee wrote about the property's use as an early American brewery in *The Burlington Story*, published in cooperation with the Burlington County Historical Society.¹⁶⁷ It appears that few if anyone beyond the local newsletter's subscribers paid attention to Bisbee's discovery. During the 20th-century the historical significance of the house seems to have largely faded from public memory. As Burlington's transition from an economic, transportation and political center accelerated, West Pearl Street became home to a new generation of immigrants working in the city's factories. The wharves that had helped define Burlington across four centuries closed. The Army Corp of Engineers converted the 'Green Banks of the Delaware' into a concrete and iron bulwark to prevent flooding. The historic buildings between High Street and the river were leveled for a riverfront esplanade. During this time 6 West Pearl Street's historic beams, brickwork and woodwork were covered in wallboard, pink stucco and asphalt tile. A sweeping aluminum awning with wrought iron columns adorned the north wall. Locally, the house was referred to somewhat derisively as the 'Pink Palace.' In 1993 the High Street Historic District was created without the unusually long shaped home.

that would later be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Merchant Samuel Bickley and distiller Abraham Bickley III built Pen Ryn in Bensalem, PA while Andrew McNeal built the McNeal Mansion in Burlington. [Marie Murphy Duess, *Colonial Inns and Taverns of Bucks County* (The History Press, Charleston 2007) 85-87. Also Alfred Miller Heston, *South Jersey: A History, 1664-1924, Vol. I* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1924), 361. Also George Haines, MD and Richard Haines, *Ancestry of the Haines, Sharp, Collins, Wills, Gardiner, Prickett, Evans, Moore, Troth, Borton & Engle Families* (Camden: Sinneckson, Chew & Sons, 1902), 376.]

¹⁶¹ Edward J. Thomason to Walter H. Shull, 5 September 1901, Mount Holly, N.J., Burlington County Courthouse, Deeds, Book 356, 473.

¹⁶² Edward J. Thomason to Walter H. Shull, 5 September 1901, Mount Holly, N.J., Burlington County Courthouse, Deeds, Book 356, 472-475.

¹⁶³ Walter H. Shull et ux to Michele Zappacosta et ux, 29 May 1918, Mount Holly, N.J., Burlington County Courthouse, Deeds, Book 545, 20-22.

¹⁶⁴ "Michael Zappacosta, United States Census, 1940," FamilySearch, <https://familysearch.org/pal:MM9.1.1/K45W-N6W> (accessed 21 Apr 2013).

Michael Zappacosta, Ward 2, Burlington, Burlington City, Burlington, New Jersey, United States; citing enumeration district (ED) 3-18, sheet 4A, family 66, NARA digital publication T627, roll 2317. The Manes lived across the street at 5 West Pearl. In John and Ida Manes had 11 children living ages 9-24 in their household in 1940. Mr. Manes was a laborer with the War Projects Administration.

¹⁶⁵ Michele Zappacosta et ux to John W. Hurns Jr. et ux, 11 March 1948, Mount Holly, N.J., Burlington County Courthouse, Deeds, Book 1045-D, 14-16.

¹⁶⁶ John W. Hurns Jr. et ux to Eloise F. Jackson, 24 October 1952, Mount Holly, N.J., Burlington County Courthouse, Deeds, Book 1147, 300-303.

¹⁶⁷ "A Birdseye View of the Old Brewery", *The Burlington Story*, Volume 18, Number 1, (Burlington, NJ 1988), 1; "Ivy Cottage House of Mystery and History" Volume 11, Number 2; 1981, 1.; "Brewery at High and Pearl", Volume 9, Number 1, 1979, 1-2. (Burlington, NJ 1981) 1, and references in other editions.

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After 49 years, Mrs. Jackson sold 6 West Pearl to Todd & Kristin Kimmel in 2001.¹⁶⁸ They initiated a renovation, gutting much of the 20th-century interior fabric of the house. They ceased the rehab midway through the demolition, however, and put it up for sale in 2008. Current owner John Brady bought 6 West Pearl in 2010, continuing the rehabilitation of the house and conducting the research that has led to this nomination.

Appendix

The Brewery's Buildings and their Function

Across its 118-year history at least four brewery buildings were constructed. Records indicate their deployment for the production of both beer and distilled spirits. They are detailed below in their order of usage in the brewing process:

The Mill House (First referenced in a deed dated 1717) - The raw grains from the fields were threshed and ground in the mill house before being transferred to the granary for drying. This building was situated behind the brew house at the rear of the property. The mill house and mill stones are repeatedly referenced in the property's 18th-century deeds.

The Granary (First referenced in a deed dated 1717) - The threshed brewing grains from the mill house were stored in the granary until they were sufficiently dried to initiate the malting process. It was a long, narrow, wooden building located in the rear portion of the corner lot at High and Pearl (set off from the rest of the brewery property in 1709). Granaries of the era were typically built on pilings to prevent rodents from accessing the grains. The property's 18th-century deeds consistently grant the owners of the brewery the right to the granary's use. The wording of these rights, coupled with Thomas Budd's vision for a community granary, suggests that the granary may have been accessible to others. The granary is also referred to as a bolting house. Bolting involves the further refinement of grains through a sifting process. Bolting is primarily deployed in the process of baking and less commonly for brewing certain styles of wheat beer. Bakers and brewers both worked with yeast, grains and heat to produce their products. Before Anthony Morris became a famous Philadelphia brewer he was listed in West Jersey records as a baker in Burlington.

The Malt House (First referenced in a deed dated 1693) The ancient, multi-step process of turning barley into malt was conducted in the malt house. The structure was substantial - 34 feet long according to West Jersey deeds and detailed as 'large' in 18th century advertisements for the brewery's sale. It was located on the northwestern quadrant of the property in between the brew house and granary. 18th-century newspaper notices for the property advertise the Malt house as being a self-sufficient enterprise independent of brewing. This may be evidence that the site supported other brew houses in the vicinity that lacked malt houses. The methods of malting were supervised by highly skilled craftsman known as Maltsters. John Borradaile and John White were 17th-century Burlington maltsters. Borradaile lived next to the brewery in 1715. The delicate malting process required constant tending. The maltster began by air-drying and storing the barley in the granary for several

¹⁶⁸ Elouise F. Jackson to Todd B. Kimmell and Kristen Kimmell, 11 March 1948, Mount Holly, N.J., Burlington County Courthouse, Deeds, Book 5926, 293-296.

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weeks. The barley would then be soaked in water for intervals over several days to induce the ‘coming of the barley’ when the grains would sprout. The sprouted barley was then spread out on the malting house’s floor. This floor was customarily constructed of either perforated tile or wood. Underneath the malting floor was a kiln, noted in the property’s 18th-century deeds, that generated heat to dry and toast the barley. Over the next several days the barley was repeatedly turned over until it was sufficiently dry to be ‘green malt’. The maltster then employed various kiln techniques to dry the green malt to a color ranging from pale through amber or black depending on the brewmaster’s specifications. The malt’s hue would define what color the beer would become. The Bickley deed refers to ‘hair cloth’ which was essential to a common 17th-century malt drying technique.¹⁶⁹ This hair cloth was stretched over wooden ribs and placed over a fire where the barley was dried to the right tincture.¹⁷⁰

The Brew House (First referenced in a deed dated 1693) - The brew house was the operation’s hub where the beer was brewed, aged and packaged. The primed materials from the Malt House were transformed into beer in the brew house. It was located in the middle of the property. Within its walls the brew master mixed and cooked his ingredients in the brewing ‘coppers’. After drawing the wort through the ‘coolers’, the mash would be poured into wood casks and stored in the basement for fermentation prior to sale and transport. The brewery’s 18th-century deeds consistently refer to “brewing implements, coppers, coolers... and backs¹⁷¹” that would have been deployed in the mashing, lautering, fermenting and filtering of the beer.

Once aged, the beer would be ready for local sale - likely at the public market near the intersection of Pearl and High Streets. Or the beer would be hauled to the wharves at the end of High Street and shipped to Philadelphia and possibly other colonial ports. In the August 19, 1778 edition of the New Jersey Gazette brewer William Innes advertised “a light Waggon and Gears” for sale that was likely horse-drawn and could have been employed in delivering beer barrels to the nearby wharves.

Etymologically ‘brew house’ was old English for ‘brewery’. The term ‘brewery’ does not appear in the English lexicon until the mid-18th-century.¹⁷² In the 17th and 18th-century breweries were not known to have ‘brand names’ per se. The beer sold was identified by the type of beer (i.e. ale, porter, etc.) and the name of the maker. Similarly, breweries were not generally named. It was simply referred to as a brewery owned or operated by a particular person in a town. An example of the Burlington brewery’s advertising format published in Pennsylvania and New Jersey Newspapers was ““WILLIAM INNES Acquaints the publick and also his customers that he has begun brewing and has beer for sale which he hopes will give satisfaction at the current prices.” It wasn’t until the 19th-century that America’s brewers began to develop the brand strategies and names that are prevalent today.

¹⁶⁹ Joseph Redman to Abraham Bickley, 25 January 1719, Trenton, N.J., New Jersey Archives, Deeds, Book BB, 102.

¹⁷⁰ David Booth, *The Art of Brewing* (London: Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Baldwin and Cradock, 1829), 21. Also Alexander Morrice, *A Treatise on Brewing* (London: H. D. Symonds, 1802), 27.

¹⁷¹ ‘Backs’ are containers designed to capture or filter the brewing mixture at different stages of the process.

¹⁷² James A. H. Murray, Editor, *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Volume 1, Part 2 (MacMillan & Co., New York, 1887) 1091.

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The Brewery as a Distillery

The first evidence of the brewery doubling as a distillery appears during the revolution in 1778, six weeks after the British ended their occupation of Philadelphia. In the July 30 edition of the Pennsylvania Packet, brewer William Innes advertised for sale “A Still containing 22 gallons with Worm and Tub.” 22 gallons is a substantial production capacity. Three weeks later, in the August 19, 1778 edition of the New Jersey Gazette Innes advertised “Cherry Brandy, Cherry Rum, West India Rum, Anniseed, &c. by the barrel or gallon, at the lowest prices.” His production of ‘West India Rum’ is interesting. This spirit had been part of the Caribbean – England – colonial trade triangle that had run through Burlington since the days of Thomas Budd. Anniseed was a liquor flavored with anise seeds produced in copper stills. It was similar to what is known today as ouzo which also relies on anise seeds for its primary flavor.

The Brewery’s Potential Role in Baking

Burlington farmer Joshua Humphries added a mill house to the brewery in 1717. The subsequent deed of the same year refers to the granary as also being a bolting house. Bolting houses grind flour to a finer granularity than a mill and are traditionally associated with baking, not brewing, suggesting that the brewery may have been used in the production cycle of baked goods. The brewery’s mill house, granary and malt house could also have been valuable facilities to bakers needing to convert raw materials into finished product. In colonial America there was a strong affinity between brewing and baking. To be successful in either craft required a knowledge of grains, their reaction to heat and an understanding of their interaction with yeast. Baking was prevalent in the brewery neighborhood. Of the eight bakers documented to be in East and West Jersey from 1664-1703, five were concentrated in Burlington’s wharf district.¹⁷³ The district’s port and public market made the location equally strategic for bakers and their bakehouses as it was for brewers. West Jersey records show:

- Percival Towle, baker, with a bakehouse fronting on the Delaware River circa 1681-1692¹⁷⁴
- Anthony Morris, baker, on a lot fronting the ‘great river’ in 1685.¹⁷⁵ (As aforementioned, Anthony Morris made a highly successful transition from Burlington baker to Philadelphia brewer in 1685.)
- Robert Wheeler, baker, with a lot fronting on High Street running back to Wood Street in 1695.¹⁷⁶
- Samuel Gibson, baker, on High Street, adjacent to Thomas Budd’s original lot in 1698.¹⁷⁷
- Josiah Prickett, baker, with a house and bakery fronting High Street in 1697.¹⁷⁸

Further research is needed to assess to what extent that the brewery’s buildings may have been used by West Jersey bakers.

¹⁷³ *Calendar of Records in the Office of the Secretary of State 1664-1703*, edited by William Nelson, (The Press Printing and Publishing Company, Patterson, 1899) 724.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 367, 478, 522.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 466.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 474.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 512.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 496.

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Maps

For reproductions of the historic maps relied upon in this nomination, see: Bisbee, Henry comp. *The Island of Burlington*. Philadelphia, T.Cook, 1977.

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Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The nominated boundary increase to the High Street Historic District consists of Block 12, Lot 59 in the City of Burlington, Burlington County, New Jersey, at the address known as 6 West Pearl Street. The property is bounded on the north by West Pearl Street, on the east by a chain link fence separating the property from the driveway of the Hoskins House on High Street, on the west by wood and chain link fences separating the lot from the house at 8 West Pearl Street, and on the south by a chain link fence separating the lot from the backyard of 212 High Street.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

This lot is the property on which the brew house of the Burlington brewery stands and the land that encompasses the site where the malt house and the mill house stood.

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Photographs & Illustrations

Historic Photo

Historic view of the north elevation, published in 1912.

Supplemental Illustrations

Supplemental Illustration 3, View of William Penn's brew house built in 1682

Supplemental Illustration 4, Second view of William Penn's brew house built in 1682.

Current Photographs

Photographer: John Brady

Date Photographed: May 4, 2013 (Unless otherwise indicated)

- 1 of 37. View of the southeast elevation showing 20th-century addition.
- 2 of 37. View of the north elevation with 19th-century addition.
- 3 of 37. View of the northeast elevation .
- 4 of 37. View of the east elevation.
- 5 of 37. View of the southeast elevation from adjoining courtyard on high street.
- 6 of 37. View of the southwest elevation.
- 7 of 37. View from the front yard looking eastward along West Pearl Street toward High Street.
- 8 of 37. View from the front yard looking north with Delaware River in background.
- 9 of 37. View from the front yard looking westward along West Pearl Street toward Wood Street.
- 10 of 37. View of the rear yard from house looking south.
- 11 of 37. Detail of the jamb panels and trim profile on the east entryway.
- 12 of 37. View of room 101 looking north at windows with Delaware River in background.
- 13 of 37. View of room 101 looking south through former brew house door, uncovered during restoration.
- 14 of 37. View of room 102 looking north through former brew house door.
- 15 of 37. View of former exterior wall facing south containing evidence of five distinct phases of use and construction (9/29/12).
- 16 of 37. Detail of brew house window filled in with brick and passage to malt house inserted (9/29/12).
- 17 of 37. Detail of mortise & tenon joint extending from staircase with ship lap wall beneath (9/29/12).
- 18 of 37. Detail of Federal window trim profile uncovered beneath wallboard during restoration (9/29/12).
- 19 of 37. Detail showing the trim profile of the entrance to room 102 (9/29/12)..
- 20 of 37. View of room 103 looking southwest.
- 21 of 37. Detail of rustic ceiling beams in room 103.
- 22 of 37. Detail of brick comprising former south exterior wall. Looking north at where fireplace in room 103 was gouged out of former brew house rear wall.
- 23 of 37. View of Kitchen.
- 24 of 37. Detail of typical interior wall framing constructed of salvaged ship lap (9/29/12).
- 25 of 37. View of first floor looking west at staircase and minor entryway on west wall of house.
- 26 of 37. Detail of first floor staircase cabinetry and trim profile (9/29/12).
- 27 of 37. View of center hall from top of first flight of stairs looking east.
- 28 of 37. View of staircase from second floor facing west.

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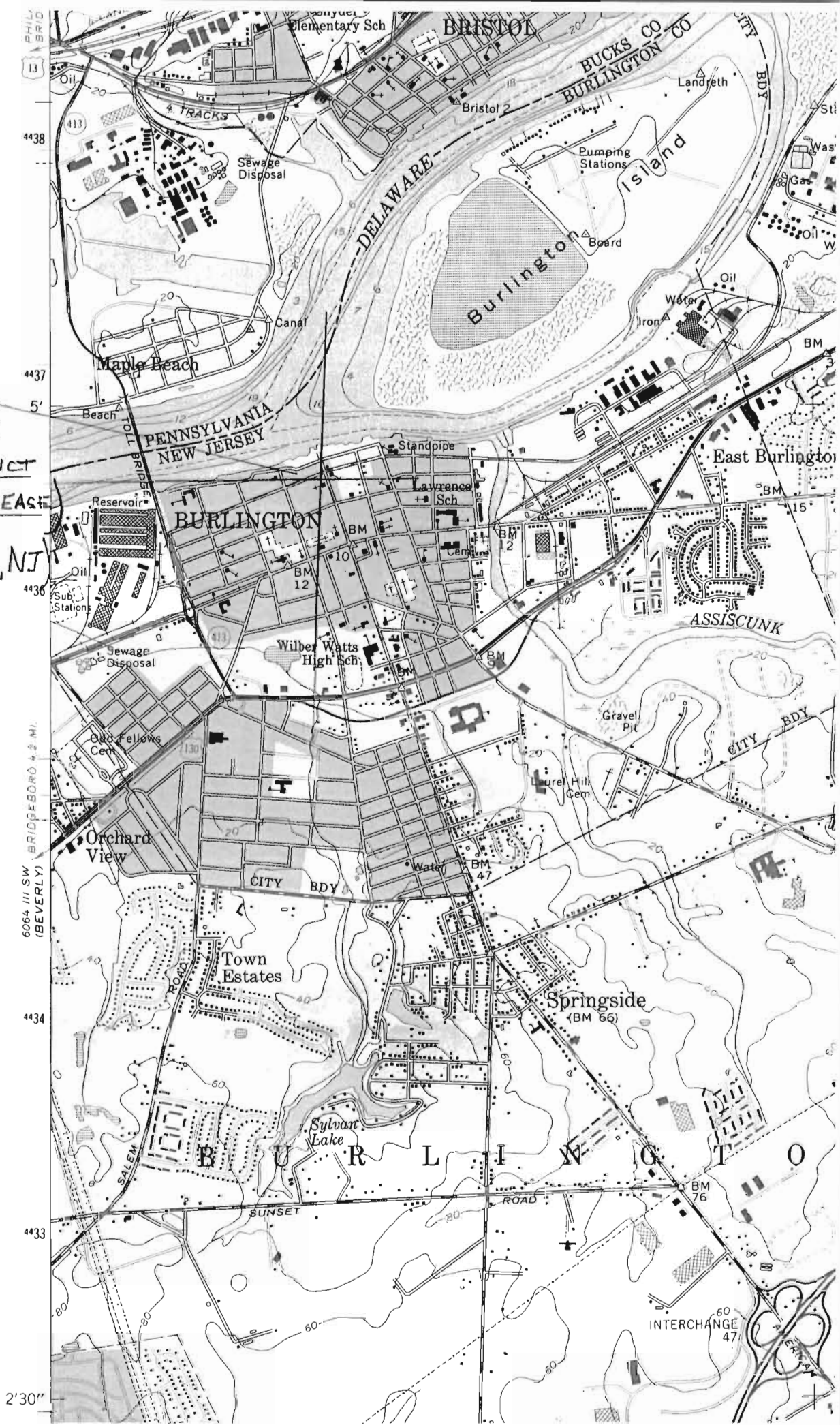
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- 29 of 37. View of staircase between 2nd floor and attic.
- 30 of 37. View of room 201 facing north towards Delaware River.
- 31 of 37. View of Room 201 facing south at former exterior rough cast wall and passage way converted from window (9/29/12).
- 32 of 37. View of room 202 facing northwest.
- 33 of 37. View of Fireplace in room 202.
- 34 of 37. View of room 203 facing south.
- 35 of 37. View of front room in attic facing north at window towards Delaware River.
- 36 of 37. View of front room in attic facing south at former exterior hatch converted to doorway in the 19th-century at the time of the addition..
- 37 of 37. View of west wall of former malt house basement with typical brick piling and railroad beam supporting first floor joists.

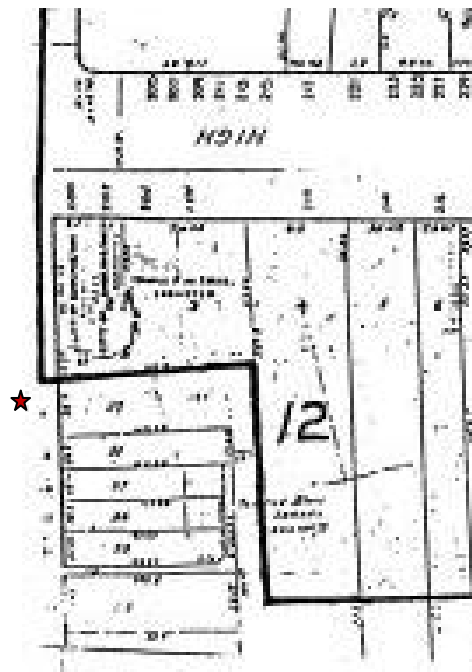
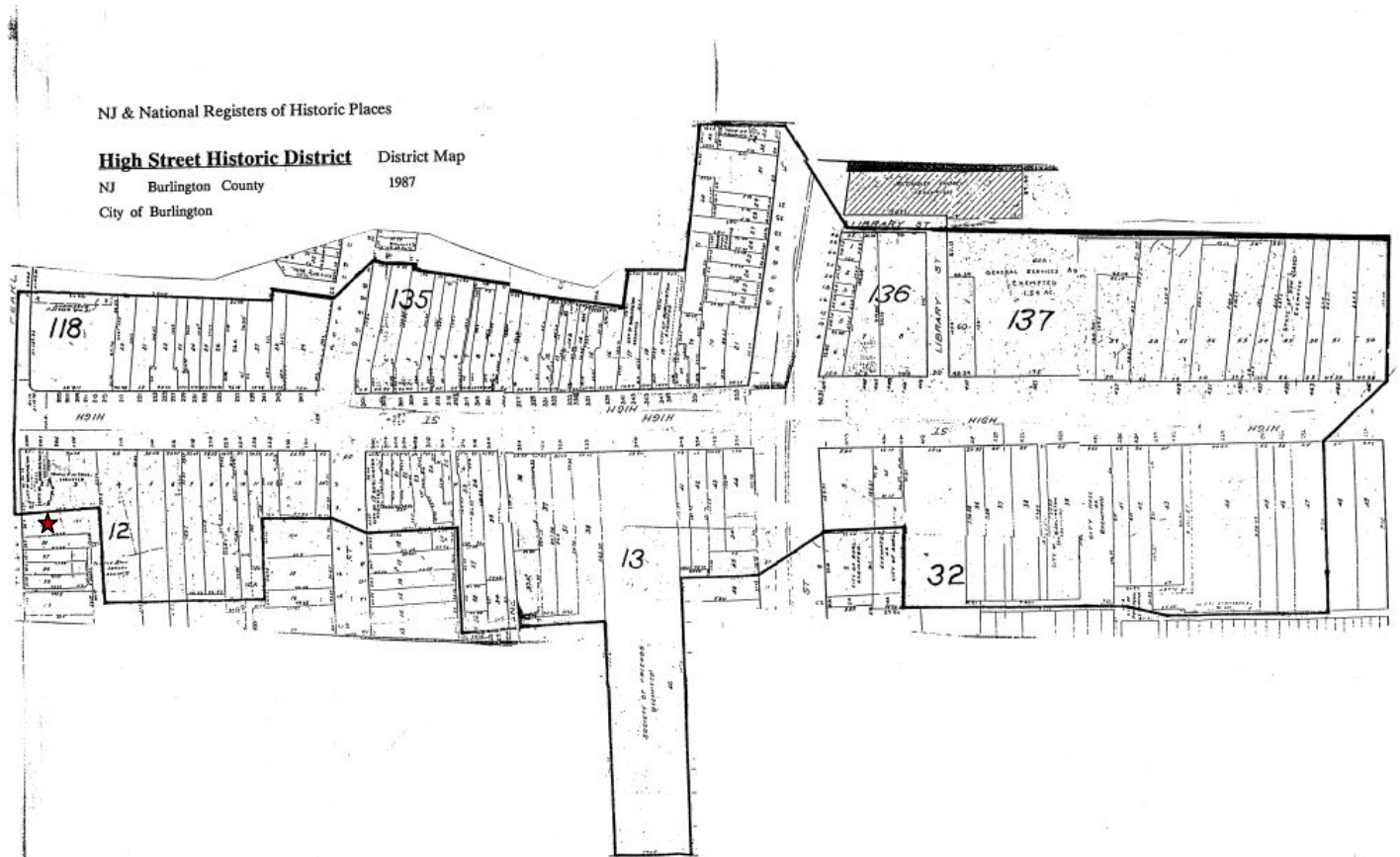
HIGH STREET
HISTORIC DISTRICT
BOUNDARY INCREASE
(BURLINGTON Co., NJ)

Zone = 18
E = 511938
N = 4434707



1987 Historic District Map

1987 High Street Historic District map. Shows 6 West Pearl property bordering the High Street Historic District on two sides.

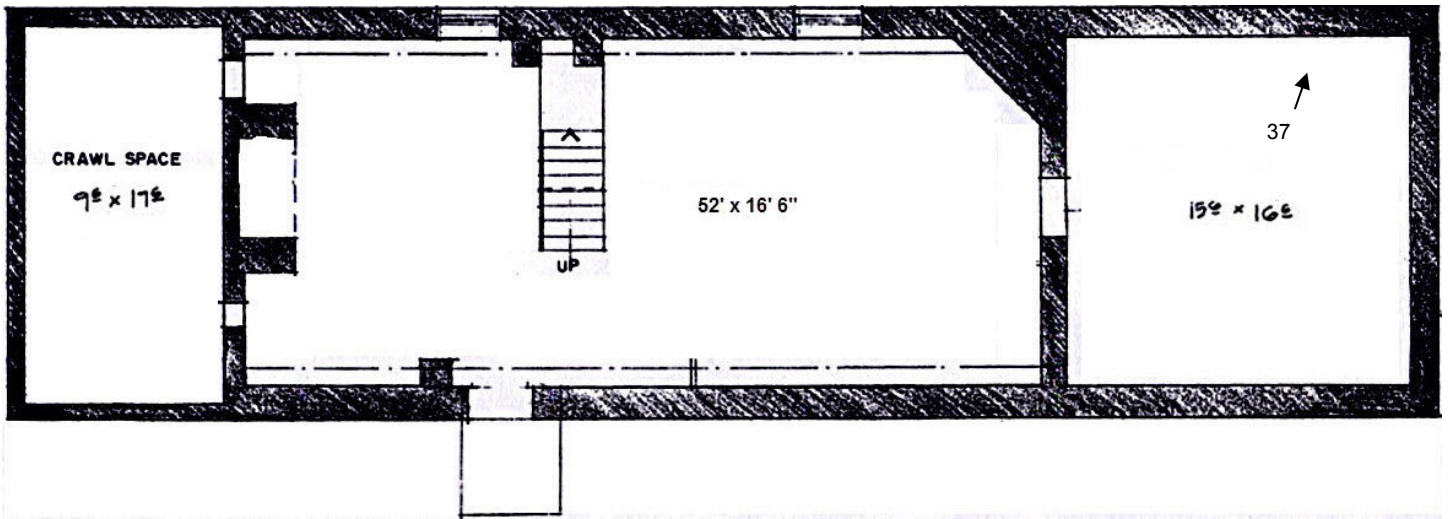


2010 Aerial Map
2010 aerial view of 6 West Pearl Street

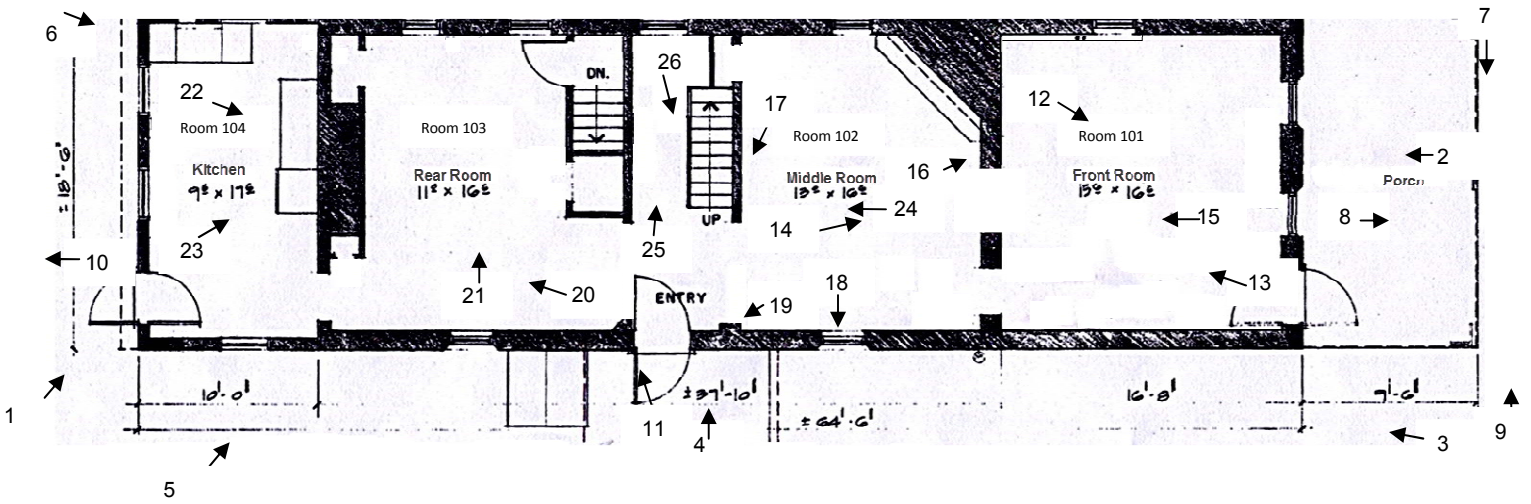


Floor Plan Sketches

Basement

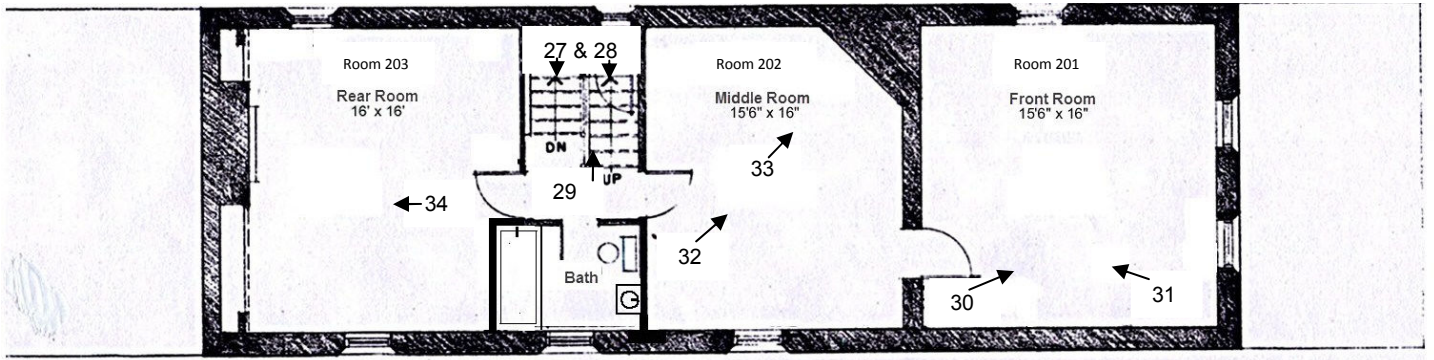


First Floor

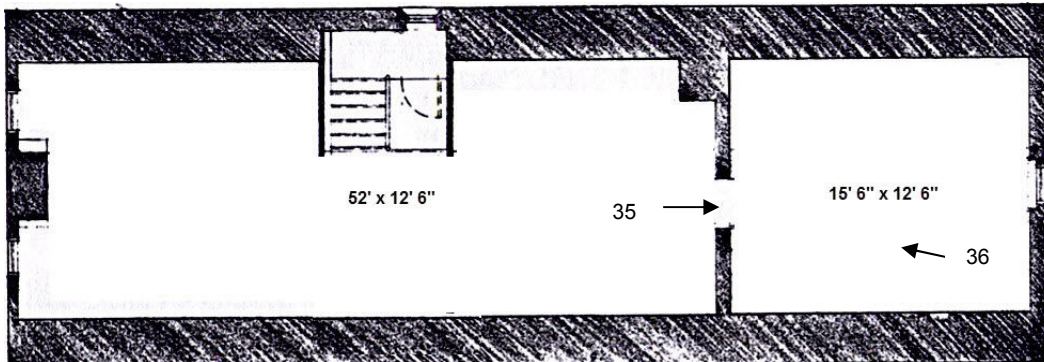


High Street Historic district (Boundary Increase)
[6 West Pearl Street]
Burlington county, New Jersey

Second Floor

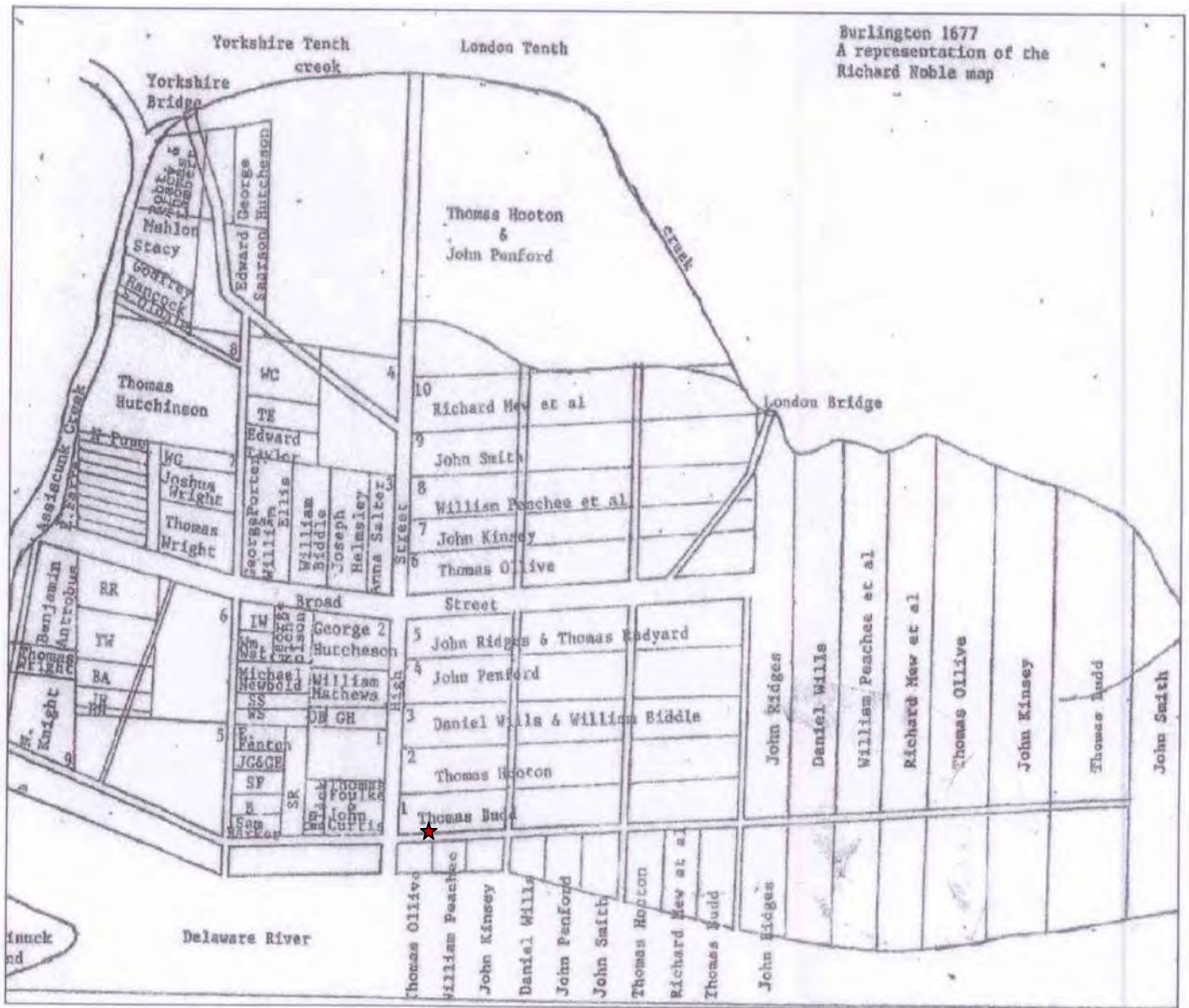


Attic



Re-creation of 1677 Noble Map

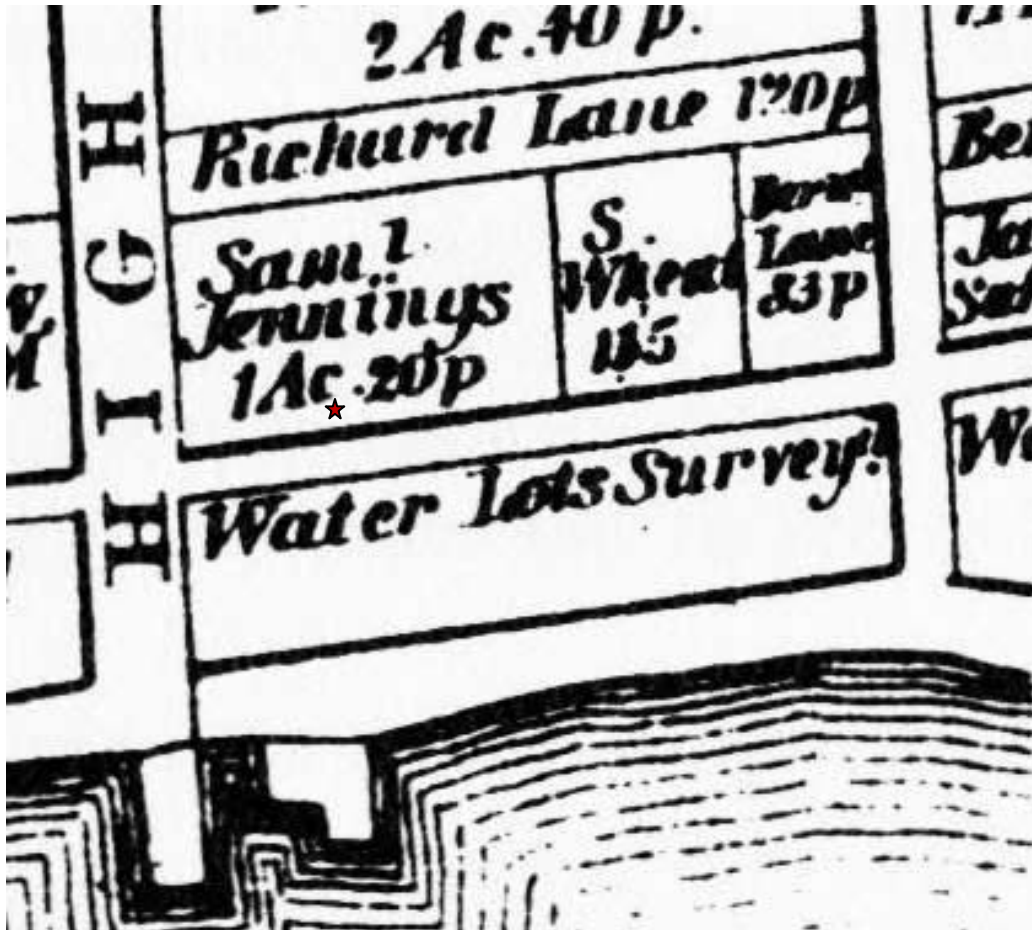
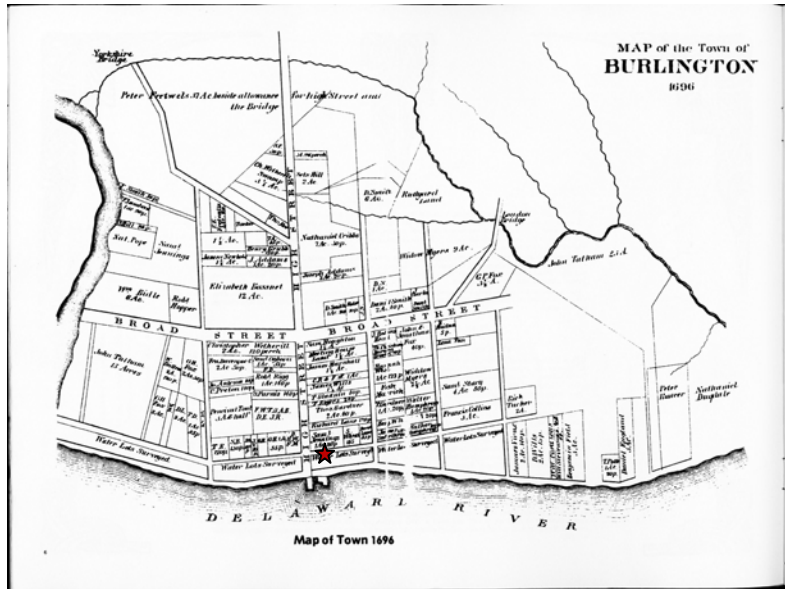
2011 Re-creation of Richard Noble's 1677 Burlington Map as published in The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey⁹



⁹ C. Miller Biddle, "Burlington Waterlots Surveyed," The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey (Jan. 2011), Vol. 86:2-13.

1696 Leeds Map

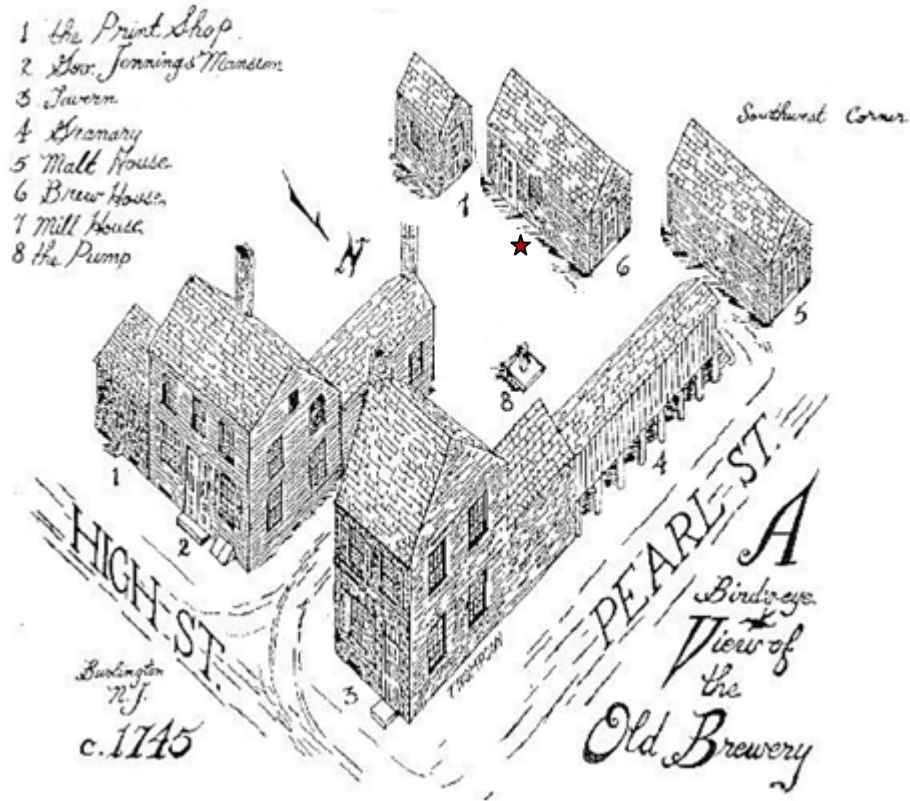
1696 Daniel Leeds Map Commissioned by the Burlington Town Meeting¹⁰



¹⁰ Henry H. Bisbee *The Island of Burlington* (Philadelphia : T. Cook 1977), Daniel Leeds Map 1677, 5.

Re-creation of 1745 Brewery Map

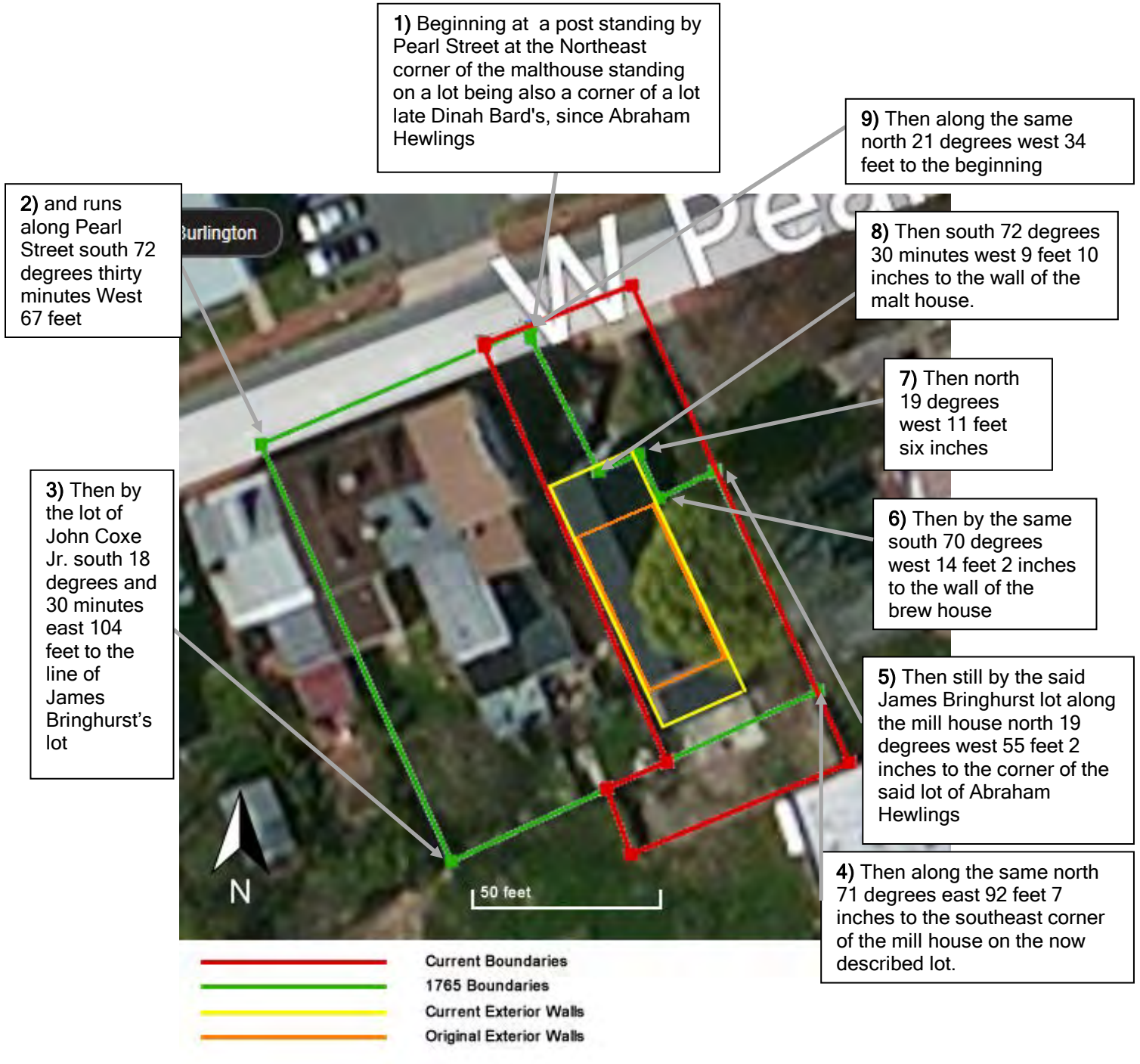
Conjectural historic illustration of the brewery prepared by local historian Henry Bisbee and surveyors from Taylor-Wiseman-Taylor in 1988. While there are issues with scale and building locations, it was the first significant effort to show that 6 West Pearl was the site of a former brewery. Bisbee began publishing notes about the brewery in the Burlington Story, his Burlington history newsletter in 1981.¹¹



¹¹Originally published in "A Birdseye View of the Old Brewery", The Burlington Story, Volume 18, Number 1, 1988, 1. The above map has been revised since 1988 to more accurately reflect the location and sizing of the buildings as outlined in West Jersey land deeds. It does not include the bolting house.

1761-1796 Deed Map

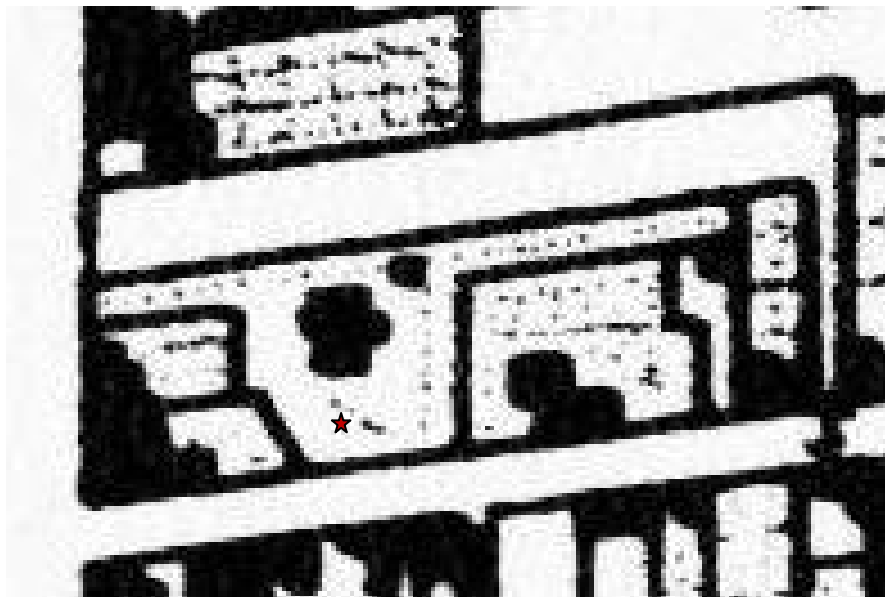
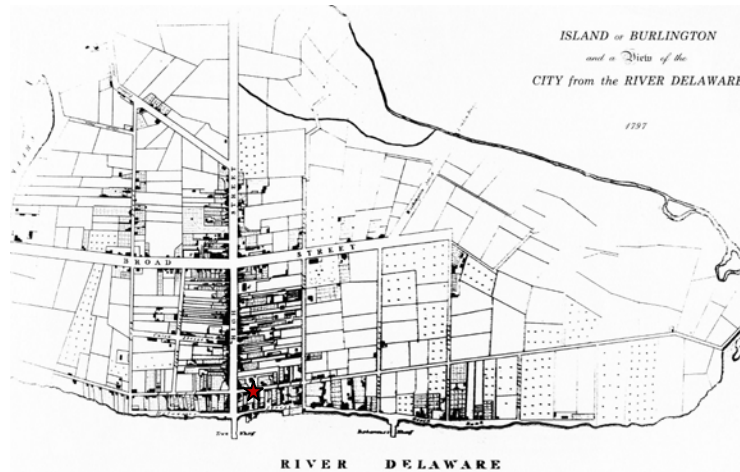
1765 Shaw to Dillwyn deed description.¹² Beginning in 1761, three successive deeds (1761, 1765 & 1796) cite specific and identical coordinates for the brew house east wall; malt house northeast corner, east wall and north wall; mill house southeast corner and east wall. Each of these deeds reflect changes in the owner names of the subject and surrounding properties. However, the building coordinates are precisely consistent from one transfer to the next. Verbatim boundary points are detailed below in counter-clockwise order.



¹² Depiction of 1765 deed boundaries prepared with the assistance of metes & bounds expert Steve Broyles, President, Direct Line Software, makers of DeedMapper. Transposed on recent aerial photograph with current boundaries marked.

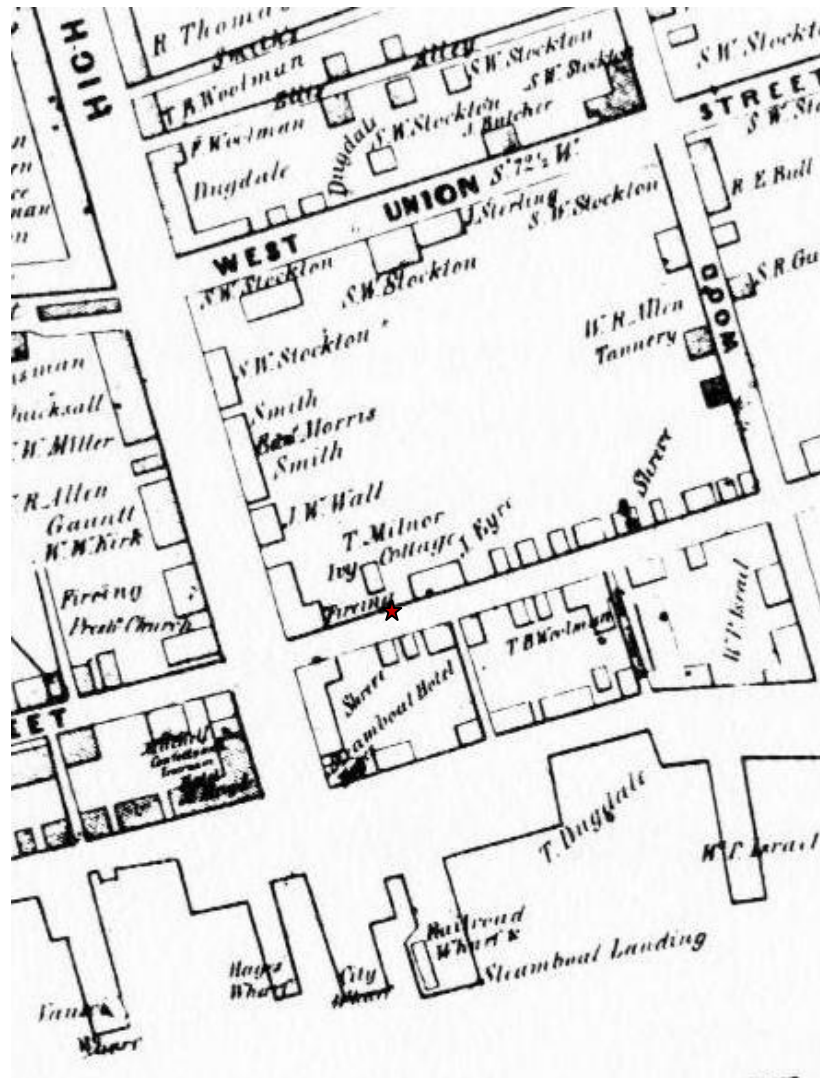
1797 Birch Map

1797 Map of Burlington by William Birch ¹³



¹³ Henry H. Bisbee, *The Island of Burlington* (Philadelphia : T. Cook 1977), Daniel Leeds Map 1677, 7.

1849 Sidney Map
1849 plan of the City of Burlington¹⁴



¹⁴ Ibid., Plan of the City of Burlington, 1849, J.C. Sidney, 11.

1874 Birds-Eye Map

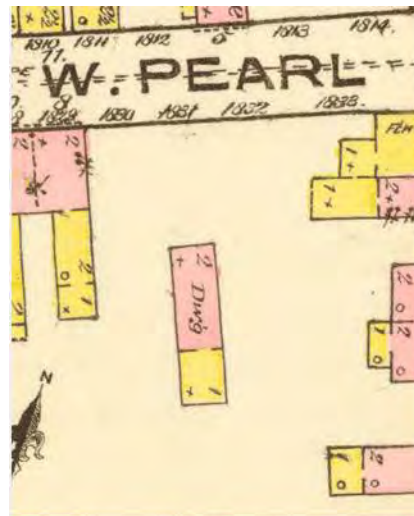
1874 birds-eye view map of Burlington showing north addition.¹⁶



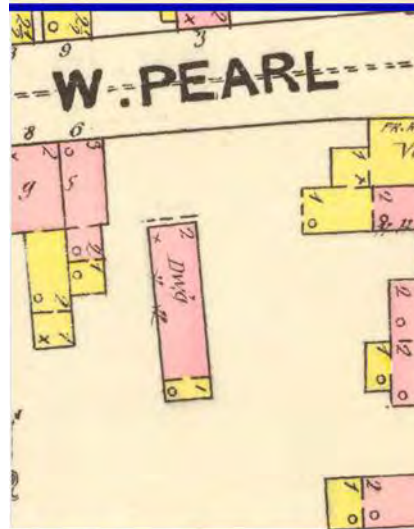
¹⁶ Ibid., Birds Eye View of Burlington 1874, 15.

1895-1902 Sanborn Map

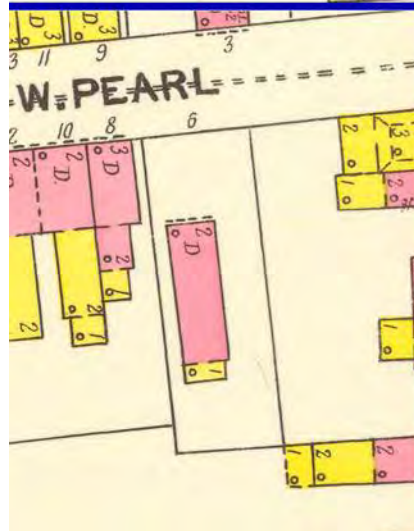
Composite of 1885, 1891 and 1902 Sanborn insurance maps. Indicating construction of north addition between 1885 and 1891. Also reconstruction of wood frame kitchen during this period.



1885



1891



1902

Historic Photo

Historic view of the north elevation, published in 1912 in the "The Great Republic".



**THE HOME OF GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT,
BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY**

Supplemental Illustrations 1 & 2

Two views of William Penn's brew house built in 1682 built 6 miles upriver in Morrisville, PA. Intact as late as 1850¹ a pictorial record survives.² The facsimile currently at Pennsbury was constructed in the mid-20th-century.



¹ Ethelbert Stewart, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Economic Condition of Beer Brewing in Colonial New England" *American Brewers' Review*, Volume 17, 1903 p. 114.

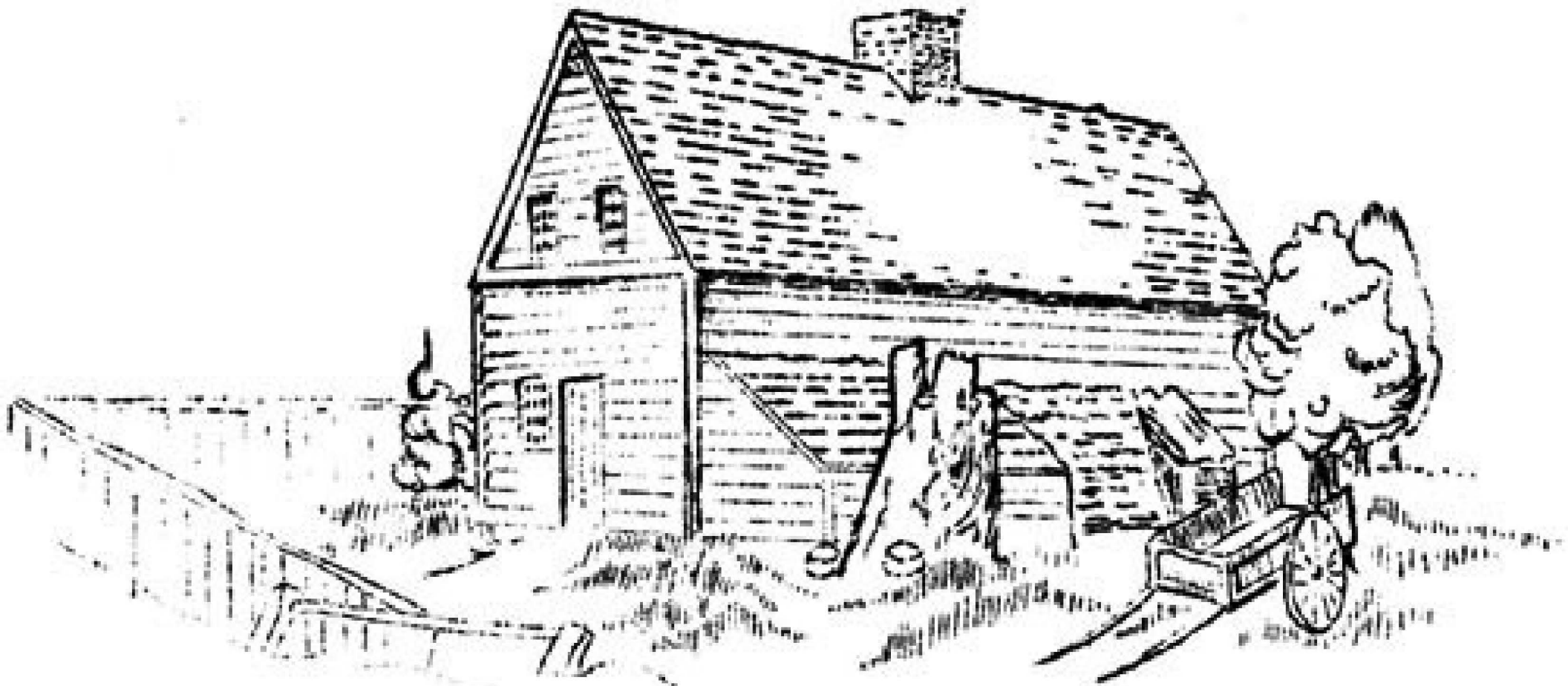
² Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society, History Quarterly, *The Re-creation of Penn's Manor : Pennsbury : Part II* (Tredyffrin, PA Source: July 11941 Volume 4 Number 3)53–55.



THE HOME OF GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT,
BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY



Penn's old Brewhouse.



Penn's old Brewhouse







WELCOME TO
— The Historic —
LONDON
NEIGHBORHOOD
Est. 1896

ONE WAY

















6





OLD BREWERY
The original site of the
brewery was located
at the corner of
the street and
the building was
used for the
brewery until
the year 1850
when it was
converted into
a residence.

















































UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

REQUESTED ACTION: NOMINATION

PROPERTY NAME: High Street Historic District (Boundary Increase)

MULTIPLE NAME:

STATE & COUNTY: NEW JERSEY, Burlington

DATE RECEIVED: 07/09/14 DATE OF PENDING LIST:
DATE OF 16th DAY: DATE OF 45th DAY: 08/25/14

REFERENCE NUMBER: 14000515

REASONS FOR REVIEW:

APPEAL: N DATA PROBLEM: N LANDSCAPE: N LESS THAN 50 YEARS: N
OTHER: N PDIL N PERIOD: N PROGRAM UNAPPROVED: N
REQUEST: N SAMPLE: N SLR DRAFT: N NATIONAL: N

COMMENT WAIVER: N

ACCEPT RETURN REJECT 8.25.14 DATE

ABSTRACT/SUMMARY COMMENTS:

Entered in
The National Register
of
Historic Places

RECOM./CRITERIA _____

REVIEWER _____ DISCIPLINE _____

TELEPHONE _____ DATE _____

DOCUMENTATION see attsched comments Y/N

If a nomination is returned to the nominating authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the NPS.



State of New Jersey

DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION
NATURAL & HISTORIC RESOURCES

Office of the Assistant Commissioner
MAIL CODE 501-03A
PO Box 420
Trenton, New Jersey 08625
609-292-3541/ FAX: 609-984-0836



CHRIS CHRISTIE
Governor

KIM GUADAGNO
Lt. Governor

June 3, 2014

Paul Loether, Chief
National Register of Historic Places
National Park Service
Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C. 20240

Dear Mr. Loether:

The enclosed disk contains the true and correct copy of the nomination for the High Street Historic District (Boundary Increase), Burlington City, Burlington County, New Jersey.

This nomination has received unanimous approval from the New Jersey State Review Board for Historic Sites. All procedures were followed in accordance with regulations published in the Federal Register.

Should you want any further information concerning this application, please feel free to contact Daniel D. Saunders, Administrator, New Jersey Historic Preservation Office, Mail code 501-04B, P.O. Box 420, Trenton, New Jersey 08625-0420, or call him at (609) 633-2397.

Sincerely,

Rich Boornazian
Deputy State Historic
Preservation Officer