Woodlands
Philadelphia, Philadelphia County
Pennsylvania

PA. 1125
HABS
PA
51-PHILA
39-

Reduced Copies of Measured Drawings

PHOTOGRAPHS
WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA
District of Pennsylvania-1

Historic American Buildings Survey

ADDENDUM TO:
THE WOODLANDS
4000 Woodlands Avenue
Philadelphia
Philadelphia County
Pennsylvania

HABS PA-1125
PA,51-PHILA,29-

PHOTOGRAPHS

PAPER COPIES OF COLOR TRANSPARENCIES

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS

FIELD RECORDS

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240-0001

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

ADDENDUM TO
THE WOODLANDS

HABS No. PA–1125

NOTE: Prior Historic American Buildings Survey documentation includes four 1938 photographs of the house and two undated photographs of the stable/carriage house, as well as eighteen sheets of drawings dated 1940, one of which includes elevations and a plan of the stable/carriage house. These were based on measured drawings completed in 1932 as part of the "Old Philadelphia Survey" of sites conducted by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA). Most of the drawings are dated 1932, and give the name of the delineator; they were later copied onto sheets with HABS title blocks. Given the association between HABS and the AIA, a number of Philadelphia sites entered the HABS collection in this manner. The HABS title block refers to the site as "Hamilton Place," a name never used historically, and handwritten titles on individual sheets—presumably dating from the 1932 work—alternately refer to the site as the "House of Andrew Hamilton" and the "House of William Hamilton." There were no histories completed at the time for the site. Documentation from 2002 includes an historical report for the house, which also includes information on the extant stable/carriage house, and extensive large-format photography. A new set of existing-conditions drawings for the house and stable/carriage house were completed during the Summer 2003. The address attached to the earlier HABS documentation reflected the former gateway and main entrance at Thirty-ninth Street and Woodland Avenue. The 2002-03 drawings, photographs, and history employ the current address of 4000 Woodland Avenue. See HALS PA–5 for associated documentation (drawings, photographs, and history) of The Woodlands Cemetery, whose scope spans a period extending from William Hamilton's eighteenth-century estate landscape through its transformation into the Woodlands Cemetery (1840) and many stages of subsequent change as burial grounds.

Location: 4000 Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania.

Present Owner: The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia.

Present Use: Cemetery offices and tenant apartment.

Significance: William Hamilton's (1745–1813) house at The Woodlands in Philadelphia stands as one of the greatest American domestic achievements of the eighteenth-century. From its significant

beginnings around 1770—which included what was likely the first monumental portico in Philadelphia—to its neoclassical reconstruction between 1786 and 1789, Hamilton's residence at The Woodlands represents nearly every aspect of contemporary genteel culture as individually interpreted by one native North American. As a setting for both formal and informal entertainment, the display of art, and day-to-day living, the house also boasted what were likely the best-finished and most sophisticated service spaces created at that time in Philadelphia, and perhaps in the country as a whole.

The house's imported avant-garde neoclassical design presaged the formation of architectural trends in America that would dominate building design and construction for the first decades of the nineteenth century. Beyond its singular importance and survival as a structure, the house at The Woodlands was not conceived in an isolated manner. Its aesthetic and functional qualities were intimately related to, indeed inseparable from, the surrounding estate. These eighteenth-century pleasure and work landscapes have passed from existence; however, the house and its accompanying stable/carriage house remain as testimony to the grand estate that William Hamilton visualized, built, and rebuilt on the banks of the Schuylkill River over the course of his adult life.

Historian: James A. Jacobs.

PART I: HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History:

1. Date of erection: The original house at The Woodlands was built ca. 1770. The structure's present state was achieved during a construction campaign beginning in 1786 and significantly completed by late in 1789. This campaign concealed or destroyed most of the form and the detailing of the earlier dwelling.

2. Architect, builders:

There was almost certainly no architect for William Hamilton's ca. 1770 house in a modern sense of the term. Given both the dearth of trained professionals in the colonies and the traditional construction methods employed even for the largest building campaigns, a member of the educated gentry and a skilled master craftsman could have conceived and

built the ambitious dwelling. In addition to a master builder, the laying of the stone walls and the comparatively complex joinery for the portico columns necessitated more specialized stone masons and carpenters as well.

In 1784, Hamilton began making changes to The Woodlands and apparently hired well-known Philadelphia builder Thomas Nevell (1721–1797) for plans, although their extent is not known. Nevell's accounts for that year indicate that he provided Hamilton with "some Extracts from Sundry Plans in [his] Possession."[1] That his work may have included a more extensive design for alterations is suggested by an October 1784 letter from Hamilton to his agent Benjamin Hays Smith instructing: "Nevils [*sic*] plan should be paid for."[2] Thomas Nevell lived in Philadelphia his entire life. He was apprenticed to Edmund Woolley, who was master builder for the Pennsylvania State House construction between 1735 and 1753.[3] Nevell's most important commission was the design and construction of John MacPherson's Mt. Pleasant (1763–1764), a large Georgian country house located on the Schuylkill River. Notably, Nevell offered courses in architectural drawing between 1771 and 1773, a first in Philadelphia, and provided the engravings for the Carpenter Company's *Articles of the Carpenters Company of Philadelphia and their Rules for Measuring and Valuing House-Carpenters Work* (1786).[4] While Nevell had very little, if any, input on the final product of the 1780s work at The Woodlands, that Hamilton sought the involvement of the best-known builder in Philadelphia is surely indicative of his overall objectives. Nevell's later work in Philadelphia is not verifiably known, perhaps Philadelphians no longer viewed him as competent in up-to-date architectural design or considered him fashionable for major commissions. Whatever the reason, Hamilton stopped construction activity at The Woodlands when he left for England late in 1784. While in that country,

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[1]Thomas Nevell Account Book, 1784, Wetherill Papers, University of Pennsylvania, as noted in Timothy Preston Long, "The Woodlands: A 'Matchless Place'," thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1991, 91. Long's extensive study of The Woodlands provides in-depth analysis of its eighteenth-century planning and construction as well as its ultimate transformation into a planned burial ground with the 1840 establishment of The Woodlands Cemetery Company. It also furnishes the best source for locating a number of important primary documents related to the house's construction. The author is extremely indebted to Long for insights shared both in the thesis as well as in personal conversations and correspondence.

[2]William Hamilton to Benjamin Hays Smith, 6 October 1784, Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP). ***When cited as a correspondent, ase of "Hamilton" will denote William Hamilton.***

[3]Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," *Historic Philadelphia: From the Founding until the Early Nineteenth Century, Papers Dealing with its people and Buildings with an Illustrative Map*, (Philadelphia, 1953), issued as *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 43, pt. 1, 13–17, for Woolley and State House dates; Sandra L. Tatman and Roger W. Moss, *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700–1930* (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1985), 568, for Nevell apprenticeship.

[4]Tatman, 569.

he likely conferred with an English architect and returned to The Woodlands with highly sophisticated spatial and decorative ideas, if not actual drawings, for the house's expansion.[5]

Early-twentieth-century scholarship established a construction chronology were an earlier house at The Woodlands was expanded late in the 1780s, and since that time a number of candidates have been offered as possible architects for this work. In terms of design motivation, Thomas Tileston Waterman's *The Dwellings of Colonial America* (1950) incorrectly interpreted the disposition of rooms at The Woodlands as reflecting the work of seventeenth-century French architect Louis LeVau, as brought to this country via Thomas Jefferson.[6] This formal association is invented or purely coincidental as Jefferson's tenure as American Minister to France lasted until 1789, by which time the renovated and enlarged house was substantially complete. Sterling Boyd's 1966 dissertation "The Adam Style in America: 1770–1820" notes that "certain Adam elements" are evident in the house and he proposed a link with the Adam brothers.[7] Richard J. Betts suggests in "The Woodlands" (1979) that the design's author was not the Adam brothers, but rather someone working ably yet independently within their influence.[8]

Boyd and Betts are not necessarily incorrect when considering the influences leading to their possible attributions. The neoclassical motifs used in the expansion of The Woodlands exemplify how Adamesque details were transported and translated in America. According to William Pierson, "the American [neoclassical] idiom was simpler than the British, more severe, more chaste…[they avoided] the delicate but sparkling color of Adam's most characteristic work."[9] Although seemingly lavish, the decoration at the reconstructed Woodlands paled in comparison to English period counterparts. In "The Woodlands: 'A Matchless Place,' " Timothy P. Long departs from an Adam or near-Adam attribution and departs from Betts's suggestion that the pattern of cross axes employed in the layout of the Woodlands might be more indicative of John Soane's early work.[10]

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[5]In addition to actual neoclassical buildings seen and people interviewed while in England, the pattern books to which Hamilton owned or had access to would have provided additional sources for the house's complex expansion. At least one title is known to have been in his collection: James Paine, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Other Ornaments of the House belonging to the Corporation of Doncaster* (London, 1751).

[6]Frank Cousins and Phil M. Riley, *The Colonial Architecture of Philadelphia* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1920), 65, for quote; Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 181.

[7]Sterling M. Boyd, "The Adam Style in America: 1770-1820," diss., Princeton University, 1966, 185. Published in original format, New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985.

[8]Richard J. Betts, "The Woodlands," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14:3 (1979): 226, as noted in Long, 54.

[9]William H. Pierson, Jr., *The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, American Buildings and their Architects, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press), 218.

[10]Betts, 226; Long, 101–103.

Long uses the published works of Soane and his contemporary, John Plaw, and scrutinizes both their graphic representations as well as their texts for similarities to The Woodlands.[11]

Of the two architects considered, Long favors John Plaw. By the time of William Hamilton's trip to England, John Plaw (ca. 1745–1820) had become a well-known architect. Apprenticed to a bricklayer, Plaw attained the title "architect and master builder" by 1763.[12] He held membership in the Incorporated Society of Artists (disbanded in 1791), frequently exhibited there and at the Royal Academy, and published three books in numerous editions.[13] In 1810, he moved to Prince Edward Island, Canada and lived there until his death.[14] Plaw's best-known designs—for Belle Isle at Lake Windermere (1774–1775) and St. Mary's Church, Paddington (1788–1791)—bookend what appears to be his most active period.[15]

While not referred to directly in the *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, Plaw is a candidate for the design of the most renowned post-Revolutionary townhouse constructed in Philadelphia—the Bingham House (1786–1787). In "City Living, Federal Style" from *Everyday Life in the Early Republic* (1994), Damie Stillman offers a Plaw attribution for the lavish dwelling because a 1790 exhibition at the Incorporated Society of Artists included Plaw's "Design for a house in third street, Philadelphia," the street on which the Bingham house fronted.[16] Bingham's letters home during his trip abroad noted that he consulted with an unnamed architect who turned sketched ideas into an actual, usable plan. It is possible that this architect was Plaw, although a surviving diary entry of wealthy Baltimore merchant Robert Gilmor, Jr. also suggests the possibility that the design originated in Bingham's friendship with the Marquis of Lansdown. Gilmor wrote: "On Mr. Bingham's return to Philadelphia, he built the superb mansion already mentioned, after a plan given to him by his friend the Marquis of Lansdown."[17] Gilmor's observation does not necessarily discount a Plaw attribution as the

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[11]See Long, 54, 102.

[12]"John Plaw," *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*, ed. Howard Colvin (London: John Murray, 1978), 642.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid.

[16]"Plaw," 643, as noted in Damie Stillman, "City Living, Federal Style," *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, ed. Catherine E. Hutchins (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1994), 141.

[17]Robert Gilmor, Jr., "Family Record or collection of memoranda relating to the private history of My family & it's connexions, made at various times as the facts occurred or were made known to him, and preserved in this manner for the information and use of the members of it, Commenced 30 Decr., 1813," MS 2686, folio 4, note 9, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland. The author thanks Lance Humphries for knowledge of this passage.

Marquis of Lansdown may have gifted a Plaw design to his friend William Bingham. Additionally, it is also possible that Lansdown was only later, and incorrectly, associated with the plans because of the known friendship between Lansdown and the Binghams. Although John Plaw is a plausible candidate, one can only speculate as to who definitively conceived of the Bingham townhouse.

An attribution for the Bingham townhouse is relevant to the 1780s expansion of the house at The Woodlands because both the Hamilton and the Binghams were in England for overlapping periods in 1784–1786 and both families planned significant construction campaigns upon their return to Philadelphia. Americans living in London—either for political or social reasons—saw each other frequently and moved within similar circles. Beyond this generality, period sources reveal that the Hamiltons and Binghams were friendly while visiting there. In letters home to America, both Abigail Adams—wife of the then American minister to England—and her daughter linked the popularity and beauty of Anne Willing Bingham to that of Ann Hamilton (William Hamilton's favored niece).[18] When the Binghams left England for Philadelphia in March 1786, William Hamilton knew on which ship they traveled, and sent notice to his friend Doctor Thomas Parke, presumably moving on a faster ship.[19] This letter also included information about some of the Binghams' imported luxuries. A comparison of what the Binghams actually purchased and what Hamilton desired to purchase indicates that they probably spent time discussing material goods more easily and inexpensively obtained in London. Because of this sociable and consumption-based connection, it is likely that Hamilton would have known of the architect with whom they consulted. Although purely speculation, given his personality and socio-material aspirations for the trip, it is not difficult to imagine Hamilton seeking out the same architect in an effort to create an estate house to rival the one planned by the Binghams in the city. Unfortunately for Hamilton the Binghams had far greater resources at their disposal for the purchase of goods while in England and construction upon their return. Regardless, if John Plaw designed both, he would have been responsible for two of the most celebrated eighteenth-century residences in the Philadelphia area.[20]

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[18]Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752–1804* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), 151, 153.

[19]Hamilton to Doctor Thomas Parke, 8 March 1786, Pemberton Collection (hereafter Pemberton), vol. 45, HSP.

[20]Research on William Hamilton and The Woodlands conducted by Beatrice H. Kirkbride, Research Assistant, Philadelphia Historical Commission, in 1964 found that a Mrs. Joseph Carson claimed to possess "a letter from William Hamilton, about the Woodlands, to Dr. Thomas Parke," one "architectural book owned by William Hamilton and a list of his architectural books," and "William Birch's journal which may note the date of the sketch for the Woodlands plate which was printed in 1808." See Beatrice H. Kirkbride, "Second Report on 'The Woodlands'," May 29, 1964, Philadelphia Historical Commission, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Conversations with a range of Philadelphians in 2002 and 2003 found that over three decades Mrs. Carson dangled these carrots in front of a number of historians and never actually

One additional speculative avenue should also be proposed for the design: William Hamilton. In a November 1785 letter, William Hamilton explained that he had traveled a great deal around the English countryside surrounding London.[21] In a prior letter, Hamilton told Parke that "my chief amusement is in viewing the best Houses in [and] about this metropolis."[22] William Watts's tome *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in a Collection of the Most Interesting and Picturesque Views* published in the years leading up to Hamilton's trip offers a glimpse of the English countryside as he would have seen it.[23] Of the houses illustrated, a number either possess an overall form like The Woodlands (a two-story block raised on a high basement with an extruded, central portico) or, in larger five-part dwellings, have a similar central pavilion.[24] As Hamilton expressed an intent to see the "best Houses," while in Hertfordshire he would have stopped at Wrotham Park, located not far outside London.[25]

Well-known eighteenth-century architect Isaac Ware designed the house at Wrotham Park for Admiral John Byng in 1754.[26] Isaac Ware is best-remembered for his inaugural 1738 translation of Andrea Palladio's *Quatto Libri dell'Architettura* (1570) from Italian into English. While the house is much grander than anything William Hamilton could have aspired to himself, the similarity between the central block and what ultimately took form on the banks of the Schuylkill River is striking. Both were rectangular forms of two stories over a raised basement with a centered, tetrastyle portico extending out into the garden.[27] Both were

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produced them. The bulk of these papers are now located at Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. and the Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

[21] Hamilton to Parke, 2 November 1785, Dreer Collection, William Hamilton Folder (hereafter Dreer), HSP. For a summary of Hamilton's travels beyond London see Long, 97–98.

[22] Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785, Dreer, HSP.

[23] William Watts, *The Seats of Nobility and Gentry in a Collection of the Most Interesting and Picturesque Views* (London, 1779) (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982).

[24] See plate V, "Wentworth House," Yorkshire; plate VII, "Harewood House," Yorkshire; plate XXII, "Kedleston House," Derbyshire, for houses in areas where Hamilton is documented as having visited. Plate LXVIII, "Seat of Mrs. Garrick at Hampton," Middlesex, has a form and scale that is quite similar to The Woodlands (note the hip roof and the placement of the chimney stacks), but it is not certain as to whether Hamilton visited that area.

[25] The author would like to thank Aaron Wunsch for knowledge of Wrotham Park, and suggesting its affinity to The Woodlands.

[26] "Wrotham Park: History," accessed online, 18 May 2004 http://www.wrothampark.com/wrothampark.html.

[27] Ware included an elevation of Wrotham Park in his *A Complete Body of Architecture, Adorned with Plans and Elevations, from Original Designs...In Which Are Interspersed Some Designs of Inigo Jones, Never before Published* (1756), plate 53. Also illustrated in the book are the dining parlour mantle (plate 84), the drawing room mantle (plate 89), and a first-floor plan (plate 52), whose grid-like plan of six roughly square rooms bears little resemblance to the dynamic neoclassical spaces of The Woodlands. An oblique view of the garden facade is also pictured in plate XXVIII of Watts's 1779 publication. This view is included in Mark Laird's *The Flowering of the Landscape Garden: English Pleasure Grounds, 1720–1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), plate 198, 333.

arranged in five bays on the garden front with Venetian windows flanking the portico on the first floor, and had staircases descending into the garden from either side of the portico. Although it is not certain whether the feature is original to Wrotham Park, on the approach facade, the Venetian windows were contained within arches slightly recessed from the plane of the wall.[28] Having likely seen the house at Wrotham Park first-hand and the resources to obtain one or both of Ware's and Watts's publications depicting the garden front of the property, it is certainly safe to speculate that Hamilton might have returned with an idea to recreate the central pavilion of the house at Wrotham Park on his own Philadelphia estate.

Given Wrotham Park as a possible design source, the suggestion that Hamilton—by himself or only informal discussion with an architect—contrived the expanded design cannot be overlooked. One need only point to Thomas Jefferson's four-decade-long construction affair with Monticello for evidence of this type of activity.[29] Like Jefferson, Hamilton possessed similar inclinations and resources, saw firsthand high-style design while abroad, and had access to most if not all pattern books available in the colonies. With this said, given the sophistication—yet to a certain degree when compared with Monticello the less-personalized nature—of the design, and Hamilton's preoccupation with things created "in the present taste," it is still likely that he consulted an architect specifically about the house's expansion.[30] While in England, Hamilton requested that his steward forward measurements for distances between outbuildings around the house and the dimensions of furniture that would be used within.[31] These measurements would have been vital to contriving the size of the expanded building envelope and its disposition of rooms. In the end, however, Hamilton carried either general or specific ideas back to Philadelphia and was personally responsible for directing their ultimate physical translation. Even with working drawings, William Hamilton could have changed his mind at any time and was also constricted by the local demands of labor and materials.

With construction imminent, Hamilton chose not to use Thomas Nevell in the reconstruction of his house. In his 1780s correspondence, Hamilton refers to "John Child" and "Mr. Child" in a manner that conveys he was the master builder at the site.[32] While nothing more is known beyond a

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[28]In 1883, the house at Wrotham Park burned. Comparing its present state with the eighteenth-century views, as reconstructed, the flush Venetian windows on the garden front were recrafted as rounded bays and a full attic story added, where previously only a partial one had existed.

[29]Robert FitzGerald made the welcome observation regarding design authorship and Thomas Jefferson. Robert FitzGerald to Timothy Long, electronic correspondence, 9 December 2002, forwarded to author via electronic correspondence, 17 December 2002.

[30]Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786, for "present taste."

[31]Long, 103–105.

[32]The first mention of John Child as the project supervisor was a 1984 draft report regarding the design attribution and construction of The Woodlands authored by Charles E. Peterson. A copy of the

name, the complexity of the finished house and Child's likely submission of a competition drawing for the new Library Company building in 1789, indicate that he was a skilled builder.[33] The house at The Woodlands, as substantially completed by late in 1789, emerged from an intersection of factors: the original dwelling, possibly in a state of early, second-generation expansion under a well-known Philadelphia builder; the remote planning collaboration between Hamilton and an unknown English architect; and the execution of the English ideas or plans by an apparently competent Philadelphia builder, under Hamilton's oversight. The highly sophisticated dwelling house that appeared at The Woodlands late in the 1780s stemmed from a collaborative effort in the truest sense of the term.

3. Original and subsequent owners:

According to tax records, William Hamilton's "plantation" on the west bank of the Schuylkill River in what was then Blockley Township achieved its greatest size in 1789 at 600 acres.[34] The bulk of this acreage was largely amassed by Hamilton through inheritance from his father, Andrew Hamilton [II], and what amounted to gifts from his uncle James Hamilton.[35] Nearly all of the acreage was located in a wedge formed by

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report was furnished by Timothy P. Long, who in turn received it directly from Peterson. John Child's son, Jack, is also frequently mentioned in period correspondence and performed minor tasks and ran errands for both Hamilton and his father.

[33]Betts, 233, note 69.

[34]Pennsylvania Tax of 1789, Blockley Township assessment ledger, City of Philadelphia Municipal Archives (CPMA).

[35]There are four "Andrew Hamiltons" pertinent in the discussion of William Hamilton and The Woodlands. Andrew Hamilton [I] (ca. 1676–4 August 1741) was probably born in Scotland and the patriarch of what became a wealthy and powerful eighteenth-century Philadelphia family. Andrew Hamilton [I] and Anne Preeson Browne married on 6 March 1706 and had three children prior to their 1715 move to Philadelphia: the eldest, merchant Andrew Hamilton [II] (ca. 1710–September 1747), father of Andrew Hamilton [III] (12 January 1742/43–22 November 1784) and William Hamilton (29 April 1745–5 June 1813); Margaret Hamilton Allen (ca. 1712–13 May 1760); and the youngest, James Hamilton (ca. 1715–13 August 1783), who among other positions was twice the lieutenant governor of the Pennsylvania colony. Andrew [II] died comparatively early, when his sons were only four and two. William Hamilton, like his uncle James, never married. Andrew Hamilton [III] and his wife Abigail Franks ultimately counted seven children before his death in 1784. One of his three sons was also named Andrew Hamilton [IV] (4 November 1776–16 May 1825). The dates for the Hamilton family—particularly for the birth dates of the earlier generations—were difficult to substantiate. The bulk of the specific information noted above is drawn from *Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, vol. 1, ed. John W. Jordan (NY: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1911), 519–530. Many genealogical sources from late in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century are often riddled with mistakes. This volume, however, was the only one found that offered William and Andrew [III]'s birth dates. The marriage dates for Andrew [II] and Mary Till and Andrew [III] and Abigail Franks included in the source correspond with information available regarding Christ Church, Philadelphia. The birth years for Andrew [II], Margaret, and James Hamilton have never been established. Varying sources list them all as "ca. 1710." It is known that James was the youngest child. Records obtained through "Family Search" of the online International Genealogical Index contain three listings for Andrew Hamilton and Ann Browne of Northampton County, Virginia, where they lived for a time and owned land. Andrew [II]'s birth is noted as "about 1710," Margaret's as "about 1712," and James's as "about 1715," which was the year in which the family relocated to Philadelphia. Given that

what is now Market Street on the north and the Schuylkill River on the east.[36] The core tract "containing about three hundred and fifty six acres" inherited from his father is the portion that includes the site of the house and will be more fully discussed below.[37] The most significant later acquisition—of 179 acres—came essentially as a gift from his uncle on 16 March 1776.[38] The deed was formally lodged with the County of Philadelphia on 20 March 1776 and the "purchase price" was noted as five shillings.[39]

The original tract on which the house at The Woodlands was located was part of a 545-acre parcel patented to Benjamin Chambers by the "Proprietary Deputies" acting on behalf of William Penn on 3 July 1704.[40] This patent was not the first official English recognition of ownership. It was issued subsequent to a survey requested by Chambers in order to confirm the overall boundary of five adjacent land purchases. The ownership history of the five contributing parcels is as follows:

Parcel 1
20 July 1684—William Penn to Peter Cock. A tract of land totaling 200 acres on the west bank of the Schuylkill River was exchanged for 100 previously-settled acres located within the boundaries of the planned City of Philadelphia. The 200 acres bore the rent of one bushel of wheat per annum.

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their parents were married in 1706, it is possible that these dates are entirely incorrect; however, they will be used for the purposes of this report. See also "James Hamilton," *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. Craig W. Horle, Joseph S. Foster, and Jeffrey L. Sheib (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 464–465, note 1 for additional information related to James Hamilton's dates.

[36]See Long, 70, for a description of the modern-day boundaries of The Woodlands tract.

[37]Will of Andrew Hamilton [II], 14 September 1747, Will Book H, #187.

[38]A "brief of title" for this tract contains information spanning the seventeenth century though William Hamilton's acquisition and is located in the Cadwalader Collection, General Thomas Cadwalader Papers (hereafter GTCP), series III, box 112, folder 2, HSP.

[39]Deed, James Hamilton to William Hamilton, 20 March 1776, Deed Book E.F., vol. 15, 400.

[40]"Benjamin Chambers 545a," Exemplification Book 1, 562–565 (as recorded in Patent Book A, vol. 2, 676). Unless otherwise noted, all information related to the composition of the 545-acre Chambers tract is drawn from this record. The order in which the parcel chain-of title is mentioned is not chronological in terms of the dates on which Chambers purchased the tracts, rather they follow the order used in the document. William Penn left Philadelphia in 1701 and did not return to Pennsylvania. His affairs were directed by his "Proprietary Deputies" named on 28 October 1701. At the time of this patent the deputies were, or at least included: Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, and James Logan. Despite the use of deputies, the patent is worded in the singular first person, as if William Penn was actually executing the legal contract. One final comment, the date of this patent has been noted in some sources as 14 May 1704—"Recorded the 14th 5th mo 1704"—however, the text also states that the transaction occurred "the third day of the fifth month (July)…one thousand seven hundred and four." On account of the increasing discrepancies between England, which continued to adhere to the Julian calendar, and the rest of Europe which was rapidly adopting the leap-year Gregorian calendar, some pre-1752 legal and church documents consider March (25) the year's first month (day), while others view January (1) as the first month (day).

10 December 1698—Executors of Peter Cock's Will to Thomas Tenner. Lasse and Ereck? Cock transferred the 200-acre tract to Tenner "in part of the marriage portion of Margaret his wife daughter of the said Peter Cock."

7 March 1699[41]—Thomas and Margaret Tenner to Benjamin Chambers.
The Tenners sold the 200 acres to Chambers for £71. When the 545-acre patent was issued in 1704, Chambers paid "forty shillings like money ['silver money of Pennsylvania'] to my use paid also by the said Benjamin for reducing [in effect eliminating] the rent of one bushel of wheat for the two hundred acres aforesaid."

Parcel 2
6 August 1685—Patent to William Hearn. James Claypoole and Robert Turner (Commissioners of Property for William Penn) patented 100 acres to Hearn for a "yearly quit rent of one penny sterling for every acre."

28 November 1699—William Hearn to Benjamin Chambers.
Chambers purchased the 100 acres from Hearn for £51 7s. When the 545-acre patent was issued by Penn in 1704, Chambers paid "eleven pounds silver money of Pennsylvania…for reducing [in effect eliminating] the rent of the said one-hundred acres of Penny rent land."

Parcel 3
3 April 1692—Charles Loyd and Margaret Davis to Thomas Loyd.
Thomas Loyd was warranted (given) two parcels of land totaling 145 acres (100 and 45, respectively).[42] This acreage was part of 5000 acres purchased by Loyd and Davis sometime prior.

20 September 1692—Robert Turner and John Goodson (Commissioners of Property William for Penn) confirmed the above transaction.

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[41]The patent document notes that the Tenners sold the property to Chambers on 7 January 1698, however given that Thomas Tenner did not come into possession of the tract until 10 December 1698 and Chambers is amassing some of the other tracts during 1699, it is likely that the clerk accidentally wrote "1698" instead of "1699."

[42]The land is referred to as being "in the Liberties of the City of Philadelphia." The so-called "liberty lands" of Philadelphia have been defined as 8000 acres outside the bounds of the City of Philadelphia to the north and west. For each Pennsylvania land purchase of at least 5000 acres, the buyer was granted eighty acres of liberty land. See Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, "The Founding, 1681–1701," *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell F. Weigley (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 7.

8 March 1699—Executors of Thomas Loyd's Will to Benjamin Chambers.
Isaac Norris and David Loyd sold the 145 acres to Chambers for £110.

Parcel 4
5 May 1694—Patent to Daniel Humphry. Robert Turner and John Goodson (Commissioners of Property for William Penn) patented 100 acres of land to Daniel Humphry.

2 July 1700—Daniel Humphry et al to Benjamin Chambers. Humphry "together with John Bevan? for himself and Charles Bevin? and Elizabeth Pritchard[,] William Howell for himself and Evan Thomas[,] William Jenkins for himself and John Griffith and Lewis Davis being lawfully interested in the last above [100 acre patent]" sold half of the 100-acre tract to Chambers for £33 10s.

Parcel 5
14 June 1683—John Gee to Robert Turner. Gee "and several others" warranted Turner 100 acres, part of 5000 acres previously purchased from William Penn.

6 July 1697—Robert Turner to Thomas Tenner. Turner sold Tenner the 100-acre tract for £20.

6 March 1699—Thomas Tenner to Benjamin Chambers. Tenner conveyed half of the 100 acres to Chambers. No money appears to have been exchanged, perhaps on account of a second, distinct land transaction made with Tenner and his wife the next day.

Total acreage
3 May 1704—Patent to Benjamin Chambers. "At the special instance and request of the said Benjamin Chambers," William Penn surveyed the supposed 545-acre total and "confirm[ed] the same to him by Patent under the yearly quit rent of one English silver shilling for every hundred acres." The new quit rent was attached to the entire tract, while Chambers paid to have the existing rental attachments eliminated from two of the five existing parcels.

11 January 1716/7—Abraham Marshall et al to Stephen Jackson. Acting on behalf of his mother-in-law, who was Stephen Jackson's sister-in-law, Abraham Marshall released to Stephen Jackson, through a Deed of Partition, the 545-acre tract.[43]

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[43] As recorded in an abstract of title in GTCP, series III, box 108, folder 4, HSP (hereafter abstract).

29 January 1734—Stephen Jackson to Andrew Hamilton [I]. Jackson conveyed 250 of the 545 acres to Hamilton "in consideration of an annuity of £25" for the remainder of Jackson's life; an annuity of £20 for the remainder of his sister, Priscilla Williams's life; a life-lease for 200 acres and the house thereupon; and pay off the remainder of the mortgage held by the Trustees of the General Loan Office.[44]

2 July 1741—Executor of Stephen Jackson's Will to Andrew Hamilton [I]. Priscilla Williams conveyed "about 300 acs whereon he [Jackson] now lives" as per the agreement of 29 January 1741.[45] One reason for the difference in acreage total when compared to the earlier transaction could relate to an imprecise or lack of an initial survey by Hamilton.

4 August 1741—Andrew Hamilton [I], deceased, to Andrew Hamilton [II]. Andrew [I] died on this day and his will—written and signed on that day as well—left Andrew [II], among other properties, "the plantation laying on the Schuylkill River which I bought of Stephen Jackson & direct the same to be conveyed to him accordingly."[46] The will does not mention the total acreage as it stood at Hamilton's death.

15 January 1745—Trustees of the General Loan Office to Andrew Hamilton [II]. John Kinsey, Thomas Seith, and John Watson, and Priscilla Williams fully conveyed the paid-off land to Hamilton [II] as per the earlier agreement with Williams's brother.[47]

14 September 1747—Andrew Hamilton [II], deceased, to William Hamilton. As the time of Andrew Hamilton [II]'s death is not known specifically beyond "September 1747," the above date reflects when the will was written and signed. In this will, among other properties, William Hamilton, aged two years, was left "my Plantation on the West Side of the Schuylkill containing about three hundred and fifty six acres."[48]

2 June 1767—William Parr to William Hamilton. Parr sold Hamilton 11 1/2 acres.[49]

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[44]Ibid.
[45]Ibid.
[46]Will of Andrew Hamilton [I], 4 August 1741, Will Book F, #210.
[47]Abstract.
[48]Will of Andrew Hamilton [II], 14 September 1747.
[49]"List of Title Papers," GTCP, series III, box 108, folder 2, HSP.

16 March 1776—James Hamilton essentially gifts his nephew William 179 acres purchased from Benjamin Davies et al on 20 January 1774. Interestingly, though perhaps unrelated, only twelve days before, the will written by James Hamilton appointed William and two others as executors.[50]

31 October 1783—Warrant to William Hamilton issued for 12 acres of Liberty Land.[51]
In 1783, William Hamilton's commonwealth tax assessment for The Woodlands in Blockley Township includes 550 acres, slightly less than the 558 1/2-acre total for the above transactions, a situation underscoring both the imperfect nature of eighteenth-century record keeping as well as the lack of a "foolproof" manner in which to presently conduct deed research.[52] The size of the estate fluctuated throughout the end of the eighteenth century, with the maximum of 600 acres being reached in 1789.[53] This total did not hold long as the tract was reduced to 555 acres by 1791.[54]

5 June 1813—William Hamilton, deceased, to James Hamilton. William Hamilton died on this day. As outlined in his will of 9 September 1811, James Hamilton inherited "all my real estate called the Woodlands."[55] A survey completed in October 1813 noted that the inherited estate included roughly 385 acres, just over 91 acres of which was the "part annexed to the Mansion house."[56] The acreage attached to the house included William Hamilton's extensive gardens, while most of the remaining land was farmed by tenants.

James Hamilton died intestate on 20 July 1817.[57] He was not married and had no children. His legal heirs included his sisters Margaret and Mary, both unmarried, his brother Andrew [IV], his sister Rebecca, and two daughters of his deceased sister, Ann.[58] The Hamilton estate was vast and included property both in the Philadelphia area and beyond, it was also

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[50]Deed Book E.F., vol. 15, 400, for land transaction; "List of Title Papers," for 1774 purchase information; a second title abstract in GTCP, series III, box 108, folder 4, HSP, notes the appointment of William Hamilton as executor.

[51]"List of Title Papers."

[52]Pennsylvania Tax of 1783, Blockley Township assessment ledger, CPMA.

[53]Pennsylvania Tax of 1789, Blockley Township assessment ledger, CPMA.

[54]Pennsylvania Tax of 1791, Blockley Township assessment ledger, CPMA.

[55]Will of William Hamilton, 9 September 1811, Will Book 5, #74.

[56]Samuel Haines, "Survey of the Part of the Woodlands Estate Belonging to James Hamilton Esq.," October 1813, GTCP, series III, box 108, folder 2, HSP.

[57]Jordan, 527, for death date.

[58]"The title to the Indian Orchard Tract," GTCP, series III, box 108, folder—Hamilton Estate, Heirs, 1828–1837, HSP.

heavily indebted, both inherited and through new deficits created by members of the younger generation. Final settlement of the estate dragged on for decades.

In regard to The Woodlands and the 92 acres containing the house and gardens, on 14 May 1819, Andrew Hamilton [IV] wrote his brother-in-law James Lyle, husband of his deceased sister Ann, and gave him power-of-attorney while out of the country over decisions related to this tract.[59] According to the letter, sisters Mary and Margaret Hamilton wanted to buy the house and 92-acre tract from the estate "paying therefore out of debt due to them from my Uncle William Hamilton."[60] It does not appear that this transaction ever occurred as an 1821 document discussing the different tracts comprising the overall estate notes: "The Woodlands Estate costs much more to keep it in repair than it yields and if neglected the dilapidation would soon become very great, an expense more than it lent is annually incurred and no sale can be made."[61]

27 December 1827—Jacob Strembeck, Sheriff, to Henry Beckett.[62] The James Hamilton heirs held onto the house and grounds at The Woodlands through the 1820s. Eventually its documented drain on family resources and its indebted state led to a sale through sheriff's deed. A newspaper advertisement noted that Sheriff Jacob Strembeck had seized, on November 12, 1827, "All that Plantation and Tract of Land, situate in Blockley Township, on the west side of the Schuylkill…known by the name of the Woodlands."[63] By December, a buyer had been found and Henry Beckett, husband of one of Margaret Hamilton's nieces, acted as agent for the elder Hamilton sisters and "purchased for their interest…the Sheriff's Deed and [later] reconveyed the Property to T. Flemming."[64] The sale included the "Mansion House and about 91 Acres of Land adjoining."

2 January 1828—Henry and Mary Beckett to Thomas Flemming.[65] Five days after purchasing the sheriff's deed, Beckett conveyed the land to Flemming for a payment of $30,000. That William Hamilton's grand estate likely sold under market value is underscored by comments written by Andrew Hamilton [IV]'s wife, Eliza: "So the poor Woodlands is gone

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[59]Andrew Hamilton [IV] (signed James) to James Lyle, 14 May 1819, GTCP, series III, box 113, folder—Hamilton Estate, Correspondence, 1819–1829, HSP.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Untitled estate agreement between Mary Hamilton and the other heirs," 13 April 1821, GTCP, series III, box 107, folder 1, HSP.

[62]Deed Book G.W.R., vol. 22, 574.

[63]Newspaper advertisement, November 1827, GTCP, series III, box 108, folder 4, HSP.

[64]Untitled estate document, 1 January 1828, GTCP, series III, box 113, folder—Hamilton Estate, Correspondence, 1819–1829, HSP.

[65]Deed Book G.W.R., vol. 22, 578.

at last and I am afraid almost given away—it was however I suppose considered advisable under existing circumstances to part with it even at a sacrificing price."[66]

For all subsequent land transactions, including those related to the founding, expansion, and contraction of Woodlands Cemetery, see the "Owners" subheading in the historical report for "Woodlands Cemetery," HALS PA–5.

4. Original and subsequent occupants:

A number of people lived on what would become The Woodlands estate at the time of the first Hamiltonian purchase in 1734, but the existing house dates from much later. William Hamilton was living in the first Hamilton country house on The Woodlands estate by early in the 1770s. With the exception of a period late in the 1780s during which the house at The Woodlands was undergoing its radical expansion and the Hamiltons were residing at their other Philadelphia estate—Bush Hill—The Woodlands remained William Hamilton's primary residence throughout his adult life. During his tenure there, Hamilton dwelled with varied and ever-changing numbers of his family, including his mother and nieces and nephews, as well as a number of household servants. Nineteen people were listed at The Woodlands in 1810, but it is likely that some of those listed might have included tenants farming the productive portions of the estate.[67]

After William Hamilton's 1813 death, the house continued to be used by the Hamilton family. Twenty-five people were listed as resident at The Woodlands in 1820; this total included nine free people of color.[68] Not all or even most of the people present at The Woodlands would have been living in the house. By 1826, the house had been rented—indicating that the surviving Hamiltons had vacated the property, possibly on account of the expense of upkeep.[69] It is not certain whether anybody lived in the house between its sale out of the Hamilton family in 1828 and its purchase by the Trustees of the Woodlands of the Woodlands Estate in 1840.[70] By the 1850s, the Woodlands Cemetery Company had turned portions of the first floor into an office, board room, and a chapel.

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[66]As quoted in Long, 176.

[67]U. S. Decennial Census, population schedules for Blockley Township, Philadelphia County, 1810.

[68]U. S. Decennial Census, population schedules for Blockley Township, Philadelphia County, 1820.

[69]Catherine Ann Carosino, "The Woodlands: Documentation of an American Interior," thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1997, 28.

[70]Census information from 1830 and 1840 is inconclusive.

It is not known at what time they began renting portions of the house for inhabitance by caretakers, and at times, tenants unrelated to the cemetery operation. A lease of 14 February 1887 states:

> This Agreement Witnesseth that The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia doth hereby let unto William B. Walker, the Mansion House in Woodlands Cemetery in the Twenty-seventh Ward of the City of Philadelphia, excepting and reserving however the main hall or Chapel Room and the Office Room in the South West corner of the Mansion.[71]

From the time of this lease through late in the twentieth century, the Cemetery Company utilized the southwest cabinet and the saloon for their work, while the rest of the structure was given over to a tenant/caretaker residence and storage. An "Architectural /Historical Assessment and Space Planning Study" conducted in 1992 recommended that the tenant apartment be relocated to the second floor and the first floor rooms entirely opened for public visitation.[72] This Cemetery Company followed this and relocated the tenant apartment in 1995.

5. Workmen and materials suppliers:

Materials[73]
Boards: (1784) Cooper Harrison & Company; Joseph Walker; "…and Scantling" (1785) Joseph Ogden; (1819) S. Simmons
Bolts: (1784) Poultney & Wistar
Bricks: (1784) Nicholas Esling
Flooring Boards: (1840) Brinton Jacobs
Glazing: (1784) Edward Dickins; (1817) John Walsh
Hair: (1784) James Dilworth
Laths: (1784) Francis Mahony; Wetherill & Truman
Lime: (1784) Isaac Walker; Stephen Yerkes; Jonathan Cleaver
Locks: (1817) C. Baker
Lumber: (1785) Bartling & Sharswood?; (1817) Hubbell; (1820) Rhodes & Sons
Mechanical: (1859) Patent Chimney & Ventilator Company

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[71]Lease, Woodlands Cemetery Company and William B. Walker, 14 February 1887, Woodlands Cemetery Company Records (hereafter Cemetery), HSP, as quoted in Carosino, 33, note 72. It is uncertain whether other leases or records of leases exist for the house. On account of their unprocessed status, the author had only limited access to The Woodlands Cemetery Company records during 2002.

[72]John Milner Associates, Inc., "An Architectural/Historical Assessment and Space Planning Study of The Woodlands," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 1992, 72.

[73]The suppliers, craftsmen, and workmen named in this section are drawn from the following sources: "Woodlands Household Accounts," Dr. George Smith Collection (hereafter Smith), box 1, HSP; "James Hamilton's Estate in Account with James Lyle," GTCP, series III, box 107, HSP; "The Woodlands in Account with Henry Becket," GTCP, series III, box 112, HSP; Treasurer's Reports, and Minute Book 1846–1861, Cemetery, HSP.

Nails: (1784) Thomas Poultney & Sons; Michael Gunchel; N.P? & D. Sellers
Paint: (1817) William Wihoff; (1847) John Gibson; (1855) "Galliard," Mackward & Sears
Plated Moulding: (1817) D. B. Lint
Plumbing: (1855) "Hicks"
Scantling: (1784) William Rose; "Boards and…" (1785) Joseph Ogden
Shingles: (1845) A. Benton
Stone: (1789) Mr. Crammond
Wallpaper: (1791) Francis Del'Orme; (1856) John W. Kline and Isaac Elwell

Craft & Labor
"Carpenters work"
(1784) Isaac Kite; John Adams; (1785) Capt. Shaffer

"for digging additional foundations, for cleaning away the earth…the above not to be charged to his other account of digging the foundation of stable"
(1791) George Muller

"for laying 6 Hearths"
(1784) Samuel Lestor

"for the fan lights"
(1789) "Ludlum"

"repairing paving for Compesition [*sic*] under Piazza, labor only"
(1786) William Gray

"repairing the Pavilions"
(1826) F. V. Busser

"3 Mos. wages to Inst. + 2 Furnaces for house"
(1826) Alex Pringle, Farmer

6. Original plans and construction:

Introduction
Constructed on a scale equal to their Chesapeake and Low-country contemporaries, the "rural retreats" built as centerpieces to extensive estates surrounding eighteenth-century Philadelphia remain a particularly impressive extant collection of both high-style and more vernacular domestic architecture. The earliest examples date from the 1720s with construction of them continuing well into the nineteenth century. In differing degrees, they exhibit the most up-to-date design ideas available

at the time in North America, as imported mostly from England, France, and elsewhere in Europe. These showpiece houses and their immediate surroundings were conceived as status symbols and constructed to uphold a life of leisure and seasonal escape. Many of the dwellings included sophisticated interior and exterior spatial planning that skillfully mediated interaction between the owners, servants, guests, and visitors. While many of these houses survive throughout the Philadelphia area, a concentration along the Schuylkill River remain a particularly cohesive group and, because of Fairmount Park, retain a least a cursory understanding of their original settings.

Chartered in 1681 and laid-out in 1682 on land purchased from the Swedes between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers, it did not take long for the Quaker settlement of Philadelphia to expand. By 1765, the city had grown to include 25,000 persons, likely making it the fourth largest city in the British empire.[74] As the region's most important commercial center and a hub for hemispheric and transatlantic trade, a number of Philadelphians had attained significant wealth and, like their genteel counterparts at home and abroad, cultivated an increasingly expansive world view. While the earliest country houses were constructed by members of the Quaker elite, including members of the Penn, Logan, and Norris families, the transfer of power to the Proprietary gentry by mid-century led to much of the later construction being non-Quaker.[75] Free from socio-religious strictures subduing, if not proscribing, material ostentation, the ascendant Philadelphian powerbrokers commissioned town and country houses meant to convey their wealth and status. This was the material environment into which William Hamilton was born in 1745 and the world in which he constructed The Woodlands on the west bank of the Schuylkill River.

The Woodlands I: The Date

Few details are conclusively known about the original house constructed by William Hamilton at The Woodlands; however, its appearance could not have been ignored given a conspicuous site and prominent, monumental portico. Beyond attributing the state of the present house to William Hamilton's tenure at The Woodlands, there has been very little historical consensus regarding the entire history of Hamilton's house at The Woodlands. Thompson Westcott's *The Historic Mansions and Buildings in Philadelphia* (1877) provides one of the earliest accounts suggesting a chronology for Hamilton residences at the site:

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[74]Theodore Thayer, "Town into City, 1746–1765," *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, ed. Russell F. Weigley (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 79.

[75]For a thorough description of this transfer of power see Stephen Brobock, "Revolutionary Change in Colonial Philadelphia: The Brief Life of the Philadelphia Gentry," *William and Mary Quarterly* 33:3 (Jul 1976): 410–434.

> Shortly after it [the land] went into the possession of the Hamiltons a mansion was built there which the second Andrew occupied, and his son William after him. It is supposed to have been a comfortable house, but not near so handsome in style and appearance as the mansion which succeeded it, and which it is supposed was erected about the time of the Revolution.[76]

Westcott placed the original construction of the country house sometime between 1734 (the purchase date) and 1747 (Andrew Hamilton [II]'s death) and the building of the present structure "about the time of the Revolution." Over three decades later, Herbert Wise and H. Ferdinand Beidleman listed The Woodlands in the "Pre-Revolutionary Mansions" section of *Colonial Architecture for Those About to Build* (1913), and more specifically dated the extant building to 1770.[77] Not long after, Frank Cousins and Phil Riley reiterated, in their *Colonial Architecture of Philadelphia* (1920), a 1770 date for the extant house, but qualified: "it is the second house on the site, the first having made way for the present spacious structure."[78] These three publications afford a composite theory about houses on the site by the first decades of the twentieth century. A Hamilton family member constructed a house at The Woodlands early in its ownership, prior to 1747, and this dwelling was fully replaced by a much grander structure constructed on the same site around 1770.

Two years after Cousins and Riley, well-known colonial revivalist Fiske Kimball published his seminal *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (1922). While not placing much focus on any one property, Kimball gave a brief history of the house at the rear of the volume.[79] He continued to credit Andrew Hamilton [II] for the initial house, but was the first to argue that late in the *1780s* "radical building operations were going on" at which time the original structure "assumed its present form."[80] There is little, if any, physical evidence easily viewed on the exterior indicating multiple construction campaigns, and because Kimball also gave a more-or-less correct year for the alterations his insights probably extended from period correspondence.[81] This basic model for the house's history was clearly accepted by the

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[76]Thompson Westcott, *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia, with Some Notice of Their Owners and Occupants* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877), 424.

[77]Herbert C. Wise and H. Ferdinand Beidleman, *Colonial Architecture for Those About to Build* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1913), 65.

[78]Cousins, 66.

[79]Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 290.

[80]Ibid.

[81]Likely sources for this information is correspondence between Hamilton and Benjamin Hays Smith, his steward, and Hamilton and Dr. Thomas Parke, a friend of Hamilton's, available at the HSP in Philadelphia. Inquiries at the HSP during 2002 failed to pinpoint an acquisition date for these papers; however, this was noted as an indication that the papers were probably accessioned early in the institution's history.

publication of Harold D. Eberlein and Cortland Van Dyke Hubbard's *Portrait of a Colonial City* (1938).[82] Like Kimball, they suggested "the Hamiltons built a comfortable and fair-sized house at The Woodlands somewhere about 1742," and also forward that the extant house resulted from additions to an earlier structure.[83] They wrote:

> It was in 1788, after his return from England, that William Hamilton altered and enlarged the house and brought it to the form in which we see today. Close examination of the structure shows the former house was incorporated in the present building, although the alterations and additions were extensive.[84]

Kimball's findings were echoed again in Thomas T. Waterman's *The Dwellings of Colonial America* (1950), as well as in G. Edwin Brumbaugh's 1965 restoration reports on the north-facing Venetian windows and the portico.[85] Interestingly, commenting on the ca. 1742 original construction date Brumbaugh stated: "further research is needed to document these statements [about the date of the earlier house]."[86]

The information about The Woodlands contained in William Pierson's landmark *The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles* (1970) included a 1788-89 date for the house's expansion; however, Pierson also offered a much later date for the original construction—1770.[87] Pierson drew this date from *Pennsylvania: A Guide to the Keystone State* (1940), but why he settled on

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[82]Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, *Portrait of a Colonial City: Philadelphia, 1670–1838* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1939), 447. Interestingly and not surprisingly, Eberlein forgot that he had "found" a "diary" which chronicled a visit to the enlarged and completed house at The Woodlands in 1786. In "Further Passages from the Diary of Nicholas Pickford Esquire, Relating to his Travels in Pennsylvania in 1786," published in *The Architectural Review* 48:285 (August 1920): 27-31, Eberlein claims to have "edited for the first time" an eighteenth-century travel journal with entries related to The Woodlands. On 21 May 1786, Nicholas Pickford claims to have sent a letter of introduction to William Hamilton and received a reply from him the same day that included an invitation to visit The Woodlands on 22 May. The rapidity of the reply is particularly impressive given that Hamilton was either still in England at the time or en route somewhere in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. Even more astonishing, Pickford describes his visit, meals, and entertainment at The Woodlands in full, including activities that occurred in rooms which would not be started let alone completed until after Hamilton's return to Philadelphia more than a month later. In "The Woodlands," Richard J. Betts recounts a discussion with Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard where he was told "that the so-called Pickford diary is actually a fabrication" (1, note 3). As conveyed by Hubbard to Betts, Eberlein entirely fabricated both a person in history as well as his travel journal.

[83]Ibid., 450.

[84]Ibid., 452.

[85]Waterman, 181; G. Edwin Brumbaugh, "Preliminary Restoration Report No. 1—South Portico," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 28 April 1965; G. Edwin Brumbaugh, "Preliminary Restoration Report No. 2—North Terrace Doors," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 7 June 1965. Copies of both reports are available in the office of the Philadelphia Historical Commission.

[86]Brumbaugh, Portico, 5.

[87]Pierson, 219.

a 1770 date for the early house is not clear.[88] Nine years later, the *Winterthur Portfolio* published the first modern scholarly work on the house. In "The Woodlands," Richard J. Betts focused on establishing a construction chronology for the 1780s changes and proposing the form and room arrangement of the original house. Although full of useful information, Betts does not quite nail-down the form of the early house and accepts the long-repeated construction date. He wrote: "from his father, Andrew Hamilton II (d. 1747), he [William Hamilton] inherited the Woodlands, including a house built about 1741–1746, which is the nucleus of the present structure."[89] In a footnote for the above sentence, Betts stated that "Andrew Hamilton died in 1747, by which time he had built a house on the hill overlooking Gray's Ferry" and offered three nineteenth-century sources as references, including Westcott's 1877 tome. After 1979, a number of unpublished studies have been executed regarding the later expansion of the Woodlands, but the incorrect date for the original house remained firmly in place.

Despite this scholarly convention about the date, the first significant estate house at The Woodlands postdates the lifespan of Andrew Hamilton [II], and was constructed sometime around 1770. In 1734, when Andrew Hamilton [I] and Stephen Jackson worked-out purchase stipulations for the 250 acres that became the core of The Woodlands, the tract included a house in which Jackson remained until his death.[90] As will be shown in regard to a 1752 map, the structure was undoubtedly modest. Stephen Jackson resided on the acreage and "the house thereupon" until his 1741 death. As Jackson held a life tenancy as per the deed and Andrew Hamilton [I] died three months after Jackson, no major improvement was likely made to the acreage at that time. Additionally, Hamilton's resources were tied-up with the construction of his country seat at Bush Hill located just beyond the colonial city's northwestern quadrant and completed in 1740.[91] Andrew Hamilton [II] inherited the acreage on the west bank of the Schuylkill River upon his father's death in 1741. As part of the original agreement between the Hamiltons and Jackson, clear title to the land required that the Hamiltons fully pay-off the mortgage held by the General Loan Office. Andrew [II] did not complete this transaction until January 1745, and it is doubtful that he would have made capital improvements to the acreage before he possessed clear title. While not

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[88]A telephone discussion with the author provided the source for the 1770 date—research notes for the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration, *Pennsylvania: A Guide to the Keystone State*, American Guide Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940). If Pierson had used a single date for the house, then the source would be obvious, however, he decided on an amalgam of 1770 (original) and 1788–1789 (expansion) whose source at this time cannot be pinpointed.

[89]Betts, 223.

[90]Abstract.

[91]Henry A. Boorse, "Bush Hill: An Historic Philadelphia House," *Imprint* 9:2 (Autumn 1984): 12, for completion date.

owning Bush Hill—it had passed to his brother James Hamilton—the elegant and spacious seat could also have been used by Andrew [II] and his family during the summer months and as a social backdrop for leisure and escape. It is not to say that Andrew [II] did not aspire to construct his own seat at what would later be called The Woodlands, but his premature death in 1747 preempted any movement in that direction. At this time, the tract of land passed to his two-year old son, William.

A 1752 "Map of Philadelphia and Parts Adjacent" confirms the absence of a high-style country house on the acreage.[92] The map depicts the Philadelphia grid empty with the exception of the newly-finished Statehouse. Roads extend outward from the city into the surrounding countryside, and the location and owners of many outlying houses are noted. The vicinity where William Hamilton's house will ultimately be constructed stands wholly devoid of any dwelling. The view obviously does not include all houses, but the map depicts other extant seats as well as scores of less imposing dwellings. If an elegant country house stood on the Hamilton acreage, it undoubtedly would have been noted.

An anecdotal source which could not be verified through documentary sources provides, if weak, further evidence. In the *Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia*, Thompson Westcott quoted an episode in the life of William Hamilton as forwarded by a person named "Griswold."[93]

> Mr. Griswold says: 'On graduating in 1762 from the Academy of Philadelphia, he gave a fete at The Woodlands to his college friends…The beautiful edifice for which his place has since been celebrated was not then erected, and his entertainment was necessarily spread in a temporary building.'[94]

If this anecdote is indeed true, it supposes that no large house existed yet at The Woodlands as late as 1762, not surprising as William Hamilton was only seventeen and had not come into his full inheritance. It remains safe to conclude that no prominent dwelling house existed on the site until after William Hamilton reached adulthood.

In 1766, William Hamilton came of age and took control of the fortune left to him by his father nearly twenty years prior.[95] This date provides a

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[92]N[icholas] Scull, G. Heap, and L. Hebert, "A Map of Philadelphia and Parts Adjacent, with a Perspective View of the State-House," Philadelphia, 1752, Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

[93]The "Griswold" to which Westcott and later historians refer (never with full name and always recounting the same tale in Hamilton's life) might be Rufus Wilmot Griswold, author of *The Republican Court; or, American Society in the Days of* [George] *Washington* (1864). While the Hamiltons are briefly mentioned in this book, the tale about William Hamilton's dinner at the Woodlands is not included in this particular volume.

[94]Westcott, 424.

convenient *terminus post quem* for the original construction; Hamilton would not have had the legal power nor the resources to accomplish anything prior to this year. A 1787 letter from William Hamilton to his Lancaster agent, Jasper Yeates, reflected that he had lived at "his favourite [sic] spot…for near 20 years."[96] Supporting this somewhat offhand comment, a 1768 diary entry made by Philadelphian Jacob Hiltzheimer recorded that on 16 August he "called at William Hamilton's place over Schuylkill."[97] This note indicates that Hamilton was at least seasonally relocating to the estate by that year, perhaps occupying the tenant house existing on the property when the Hamiltons purchased the land. A letter, also from 1768, conveys that William Hamilton wanted money from his father's estate that had been deposited in England, evidence that he was probably already moving forward with grander domestic plans.[98] His uncle, James Hamilton, wrote the Barclays:

> one of the Executors of my late Brother acquaints me that many years ago he remitted a sum of Money to your House to be put to interest in the publick funds on Account of my Brothers Children Andrew & William Hamilton…[they] are now of age, and desirous to draw that Money into this Country.[99]

Though both had large inheritances in America, much of it stood in land and the lure of available cash would have been strong. Andrew Hamilton [III] married Abigail Franks on January 6, 1768 and it is easy to understand his anxiousness at receiving this money given that he needed to set up a household. William Hamilton remained a lifelong bachelor and his portion of this liquid capital could have been entirely devoted to procuring materials and workmen necessary to construct his country house.

Major building campaigns throughout colonial America often proceeded slowly because of such factors as weather, variability in the skilled and unskilled labor force, and unreliable transportation routes and methods.

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[95]Unless legally stipulated otherwise, the age-of-majority in eighteenth-century Philadelphia stood at twenty-one for males. James Hamilton's daybook—"Account of Expenses in My Family"—provides an inexact, but strong indicator that twenty-one was the age at which Andrew [III] and William received their inheritances. Beginning in 1761, James Hamilton noted frequent instances when gave "Andrew & Billy" some "pocket money." Both boys are periodically listed until 1764, after which only Billy is noted. In 1764, Andrew [III] turned twenty-one and would have come into his inheritance, no longer requiring "pocket money" from a doting uncle. The ledger stops before 1766, the year in which Hamilton turned twenty-one. See Day Book, 1759-1783, James Hamilton Papers, HSP.

[96]As noted in Long, 78.

[97]Jacob Hiltzheimer, *Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia, 1765–1798*, ed. Jacob Cox Parsons (Philadelphia, 1893), 15. The author would like to thank Mike Hardy for knowledge of this entry.

[98]James Hamilton to David and John Barclay, 19 April 1768, James Hamilton Papers, Letter Book, 1749-1783, HSP.

[99]Ibid.

Because of these issues, even with an infusion of ready cash and an established, if not always regular, income mainly through land rents, Hamilton's construction plans probably proceeded at an uneven pace and full realization was drawn out over many years. An approximate year of 1774 for the completion this first house is drawn from a 1784 letter he wrote to George Washington.[100] The letter explained that the polygonal east and west bays present in the house's early manifestation posed a construction problem that "baffled" him for ten years.[101] However useful, this date is still problematic as the building shell—exterior walls, roof, and windows and doors—could be occupied well in advance of the application of interior finishes like wall and ceiling plaster, paneling and other molding, and fireplace surrounds, and even these could move forward irregularly as funds or needs dictated.

In summary, the earliest possible date for construction is 1766. Additional evidence suggests that Hamilton was already embroiled in or was planning imminent change at the estate by 1768, and the initial construction was substantially complete by 1774. With a better understanding of when this first house was built, its physical form—only fully established in the last decade—and its significance to the Philadelphia landscape can be more fully understood.

The Woodlands I: The Form

Rescuing William Hamilton's early house from obscurity is significant not only for affording clearer comprehension of the present structure, but also in coloring his significant first steps toward independently conveying his refinement. The original perimeter walls of The Woodlands were precisely located only during the last two decades. In a 1965 restoration report for the portico, G. Edwin Brumbaugh was the first person to expand upon the documentary evidence found by the 1930s, which indicated that the extant house was built in two stages. He described the dominant form of the early structure—a rectangular block contained under a gable roof that extended out over the south-facing tetra prostyle portico; as initially built, the portico contained only the four outer columns.[102] Brumbaugh also highlighted the survival of the crosseted window frames on the second story under the portico. He ascertained the presence of projections

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[100]Hamilton to George Washington, 20 February 1784, Manuscripts Reading Room, LOC.

[101]A 21 Jan. 1776 diary entry made by artist Charles Willson Peale recorded a visit to "Mr. Hambleton." The editors of these papers explain that Peale's "Mr. Hambleton" refers to William Hamilton, and this entry and others correspond with what is known about Hamilton. See diary entry for 21 Jan. 1776 and related note (n109) in *Selected papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, Volume 1, ed. Lillian B. Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 168. Pertinent to The Woodlands and its dating, Peale was of the opinion that The Woodlands "is & will be when finished one of the pertyest [*sic*] Seats that I have seen at least in this country" (168). Although it reveals the unfinished condition of the estate, something that Hamilton will spend decades making and remaking, it does confirm that he is already living at The Woodlands, likely full time on account of the season in which he visited.

[102]Brumbaugh, Portico, 3–8.

to the east and west using evidence that both the south portico pilasters and hidden quoins on the north face once turned the corners, and foundation clues; however, Brumbaugh incorrectly concluded that the early plan was cruciform. To his credit, he admitted that without major demolition, the northern extent of the "wings" could not be known.

The next proposal for the early house's form and plan came from Richard Betts's article, "The Woodlands" (1979). His footnotes show that he probably did not know of Brumbaugh's fieldwork when he proposed a house wider than the portico with interior rooms grouped in a classic Georgian center-hall, two-room-deep arrangement common to houses of the colonial gentry.[103] Two years later, Reed L. Engle produced an historic structures report for the saloon at The Woodlands for John Dickey.[104] Engle, knowing Brumbaugh's reports and through more invasive on-site fieldwork, proposed the now-accepted perimeter for the first house Hamilton constructed. The Brumbaugh model for the dominant form is retained; however, his "wings" are reduced to an east- and west-facing three-sided bays located at the "center" of the building when taking into account the portico. One feature of Engle's physical chronology which, for now obvious reasons, falls short is the suggestion that the construction incorporated an existing two-room hall-parlor house. His evidence centers on the presence of a chimney footing and hearth foundation located in the western three-sided bay at cellar level. In-depth investigation of the house during the 1990s, intimates that this fireplace foundation dates from the 1780s reconstruction and embodies an abandoned scheme for heating the saloon.[105]

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[103]Betts, 228.

[104]Reed L. Engle, "Historic Structure Report, The Saloon of the Woodlands, Woodlands Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania for the University City Historical Society," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 30 September 1981.

[105]In addition to this fireplace footing and hearth, there are framed, but currently unused openings in the first-floor joists visible in the cellar, and a second set above them in the second-floor joists above the saloon. The openings could be evidence of Phase I, ca. 1770 construction, or like the fireplace footing, another proposed idea about heating the Saloon. Any indecision about the heating of the Saloon was ultimately settled by located a stove in one of the hemicycle niches. Timothy Long to author, electronic correspondence, 18 December 2002. In the mid-1990s, Robert FitzGerald, Timothy Long, and Thomas McGimsey founded a consulting firm named FitzGerald, McGimsey & Long specifically to observe historic fabric made visible during construction for the relocated tenants' apartment on the second floor. This somewhat unsympathetic construction allowed the aforementioned to view some of the house's structure not visible prior. As part of this consultation, FitzGerald, McGimsey & Long (1) opened two view ports in the wall of the oval drawing room in order to view the house's original exterior northeast corner; (2) exposed, in an upstairs room, the original exterior stucco on the three-sided bay; (3) bored a small hole in the plaster at the base of the arched recess on the southwest side of the room that allowed for a fiber-optic exam, which indicated the presence of a finished wall behind the extant one; (4) cut a view port into the drum wall of the circular vestibule at a point above the domed ceiling. FitzGerald to Long, 9 December 2002.

While the perimeter and general form of the house have been established, questions remain about the disposition of rooms within a fairly tight footprint. An extant east-west masonry wall extending from the basement up through the second floor bisects the house into two, roughly equal interior spaces. When considering the portico, the first floor might be viewed in terms of thirds. A narrower masonry wall in the cellar extends from the east-west wall to its south perimeter wall; whether this wall previously extended higher than the cellar is not known. Physical evidence shows that the saloon's ceiling was raised during the 1780s expansion.[106] Beyond these physical clues, very little else can be established without demolition of the house's finished areas.

Although slightly later, a functionally logical comparison is Solitude, the house constructed by John Penn in 1784 a little further up the Schuylkill River. Bearing a square footprint, on the first floor Solitude contained a single public room, with a spacious entry hall and impressive U-shaped stair occupying the remaining third of the space. A second, smaller public room was situated on the second floor as well as two heated bedchambers. Conceived of by a young bachelor, the modest, but exquisitely detailed getaway was most suited to small entertainments. Though larger than Solitude, as a young bachelor, Hamilton's initial purpose for The Woodlands was likely similar—a personal place for leisure and social gatherings. Whether or not he imagined it as his primary residence from the beginning is not verifiably known. The idea of living one's life as a wealthy bachelor at a seat was not unknown to Hamilton as his uncle James did just that at Bush Hill. Although Hamilton's purpose in constructing a new house at The Woodlands might have been similar to Penn's with Solitude, the exterior effect of the house was much grander than Penn's later folly. Indeed, the siting and portico surely made it stand out among all the other Schuylkill River estate houses.

What Hamilton's house may have lacked within its somewhat narrow footprint was more than made up through its exterior presence. As a young man at last in control of a fortune, he probably felt that anything in the world was within the realm of possibility. Later in life, Hamilton admitted that he had "difficulty" in "practic[ing] an economy," and clearly lived a materially rich life.[107]

Despite his education and potential, like his father, to be active in business in Philadelphia, neither seems to have appealed in the way that his house and grounds would for the rest of his life. In this context, then, it is easier to understand the importance of his decision regarding the siting and exterior form of his house at The Woodlands.

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[106]Engle, 13.
[107]Hamilton to Parke, 2 November 1785.

As extensively documented by Timothy Long in his thesis "The Woodlands: 'A Matchless Place' " (1991), William Hamilton, like his other class contemporaries, was greatly influenced by English thoughts and practices regarding the entirety of an ideal country estate. The house at The Woodlands (in its various phases) and its outlying structures were part of a larger, integrated concept of landscape design—both in terms of view and in terms of movement through the house and grounds. It is important to stress that the house's prominent siting held a dual purpose in providing Hamilton and his family, friends, and visitors with spectacular views and "circuits," while at the same time consciously marking his place among the local elite through a bold, and clearly recognizable expression of refinement. With this in mind, in positioning his house Hamilton chose a rise above the Schuylkill River at a point where it turns ninety degrees in its course just upriver from a ferry, and later a bridge, crossing. A person traveling upriver or crossing on the Lower or Gray's Ferry could not have avoided seeing William Hamilton's new house.

The siting alone would not necessarily have assured an awe-inspiring view, rather it was a combination of the house's location and its monumental, tetra prostyle portico facing the river. A common, though still impressive sight to most Americans even by the middle of the nineteenth century, open porticos of any size were scarce in the colonial period. Sources suggest that as few as three predated William Hamilton's within all the British colonies of North America. While its interpretation as an early "temple fronted" building has been debated, the Redwood Library's tetrastyle Doric portico in Newport, Rhode Island (Peter Harrison, 1748–1750) stands as the earliest known and extant example in British North America. One year later, Peter Harrison's design for King's Chapel in Boston, Massachusetts included a three-sided Ionic colonnade around the tower, but this feature was not executed until after the Revolution.[108] As a result, the second built instance is the one affixed to the front of the impressive St. Michael's in Charleston, South Carolina (1752–1761), again the Order is Doric and the form is tetrastyle. While both of these examples well predate the construction at The Woodlands, it is unlikely that Hamilton knew anything particular of them as there is no evidence he was in either city prior to building his own. He would have gained more from a visual representation in a pattern books or prints than a verbal or written description of the element elsewhere in the colonies. The third building, apparently the first domestic use, employing a monumental portico is Whitehall, constructed outside Annapolis by Governor Horatio Sharpe ca. 1764.[109] In addition to its notability in being

[108]Pierson, 145.

[109]Charles Scarlett, Jr., "Governor Horatio Sharpe's Whitehall," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 46:1 (March 1951): 12.

applied to a house, the story-and-a-half tetrastyle portico was of the Corinthian Order. Later in life, William Hamilton is documented as having made a trip to Annapolis, but there is no evidence that he traveled there as a young man.[110] Again, it is improbable that Hamilton actually viewed Whitehall's portico prior to construction. Given the uniqueness of the eye-catching and impressive form in the colonies, it is not surprising why Hamilton and patrons in other colonial cities chose to use them for their commissions.

While a full inventory of his own library has never been found, Hamilton owned an extensive collection of books in addition to the reportedly vast library of his uncle's located at Bush Hill.[111] Beyond family books, Hamilton could have easily viewed volumes at the Library Company and the College of Philadelphia, of which Hamilton was an alumnus.[112] There was likely no English pattern book available in the colonies that Hamilton could not have accessed in one way or another.

What Hamilton constructed ca. 1770 would have stunned the contemporary viewer. There is no evidence indicating the presence of a portico in Philadelphia at the time of the scale that Hamilton constructed.[113] The portico at The Woodlands was tetrastyle, but the simpler Tuscan order was used over the Doric—the most obvious difference between the two was the lack of triglyphs and metopes in the frieze. In addition to the portico, surviving fabric shows that the first structure was of rubble stone covered with stucco, incised to mimic ashlar courses. The northwest and northeast corners were highlighted by beveled quoins; a similar treatment of the structure's southern corners was likely as remnants of quoining are present behind the extant wood pilasters.[114] Three second-story portico windows bear their original Georgian window frames with crosseted corners and projecting keystones. Similar frames were used on the north windows as well; these are now encased in a thick layer of stucco forming the walls present outer surface. Just behind the portico on the east- and west-facing walls, two-story three-sided bays extended five feet from the temple-like mass, and a stringcourse situated

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[110]"…I parted with Billy Hamilton very well last Wednesday on his way to Annapolis," Tilghman to Tench Coxe, 12 January 1781, Papers of Tench Coxe, Correspondence and General Papers, HSP.

[111]Long, 76.

[112]Ibid.

[113]The only structure that may have had a similar treatment was Lansdowne, a Philadelphia estate dwelling whose own construction was roughly contemporaneous with The Woodlands. Lansdowne possessed a front-facing portico divided into two levels; however, each level contained its own Order rather than utilizing the overall monumental scale of a single two-story Order.

[114]View ports cut by FitzGerald, McGimsey & Long into the oval drawing room wall revealed the original stuccoed northeast quoins. In 1965, Brumbaugh discovered what he interpreted to be unstuccoed brick quoins like those at Mt. Pleasant behind the east pilaster, Brumbaugh, Portico, 6. FitzGerald, McGimsey & Long concluded that the stucco was chipped off the face of the quoin in order to fit the pilaster over during the 1780s renovations.

between the first and second stories unified the composition.[115] With the drama that colored many aspects of his life, young William Hamilton made his introductory move in the genteel game of one-upmanship practiced up and down the colonial eastern seaboard by the wealthy and powerful.[116]

The Woodlands II: A False Start

Not long after the completion of the first high-style house at The Woodlands, the British colonies in North America plunged into Revolution. Hamilton's ambiguous political position during the Revolution led to near disaster in terms of his lands and fortune, but he emerged from repeated suspicion and trial—both literal and figurative—with much of his livelihood in place. The Woodlands, like many other country estates in the Philadelphia area, required a great deal of rejuvenation by the Revolution's end. In addition to the need for physical repair, Hamilton was probably feeling flush from a massive inheritance from his uncle James in 1783 and, perhaps, was also probably threatened by young bachelor John Penn's plans for Solitude.[117] These factors contributed to Hamilton's activity on the site in 1784. Work and procured materials included: plaster, bricks, boards, nails, and payment for glazing, carpentry work, and "the laying of six hearths."[118] In addition to conventional materials, Hamilton's correspondence in that year indicates he was also testing up-to-date construction methods as practiced in England:

> I engaged a person of the name of Turner, newly arrived from England, to do some stucco work at Bush Hill. While he was at the work I frequently talk'd with him about the different compositions now so much used in England particularly that for covering floors, Roofs, & fronts of Houses. He professed to understand the method of preparing & applying it & wished me to encourage him in giving a Specimen. To this, I at length consented, and he undertook to make a variegated floor in my Green House, one for an open portico on the front of my House on the Schuylkill, and to cover the flats of two Bow Windows that have for these ten years baffled every attempt to lighten them… I am however very sanguine as to the success nor do I found my opinion mere on the account given me by Turner himself. I have enquired of Mr. Vaughn & several other english [*sic*] gentlemen who say great things of it. I find it may be

[115]Three-sided window bays or bows arranged in two stories were a common feature of many late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century houses in Philadelphia and throughout the eastern seaboard.

[116]Tim Long describes that in addition to mere show and status, the conception of the country house and its gardens—particularly at The Woodlands—also reflected on the intellectual prowess of the owner and his ability to "synthesize" complex ideas regarding architecture, gardening, and gentry life. Long, 77.

[117]Ibid., 90.

[118]"Woodlands Household Accounts," Smith, HSP.

> adapted to very kind of ornament can be done at any season of the year (in any weather) & as impenetrable to Water, Heat & Frost. [119]

The work and material orders also coincided with Hamilton's apparent hire of Thomas Nevell, the builder of Mt. Pleasant further up the Schuylkill River; Nevell prepared at least one "plan" for Hamilton prior to his departure for England.[120] It is clear from these sources that Hamilton was actively pursuing changes to his house and grounds at The Woodlands in 1784.

The only visible physical evidence suggesting what he may have envisioned in terms of alterations to the house is located in the north wall facing the land approach. The original house was only as wide as the portico, which on the north side included just the area between the present pilasters, part of the later 1780s construction. Between these pilasters and the later 1780s east and west "wings" are sections of wall with what appear to be filled-in openings. If these portions of the wall were the extent of what Hamilton initially imagined, then the end result would have been a slightly broader house with five bays along the north side. Using period conventions, this added breadth would have enlarged the somewhat constricted envelope and, if desired, allowed for a central passage and four flanking rooms, not unlike the proposal offered by Richard Betts in his 1979 article. While not a full two-room-deep plan, Nevell's Mt. Pleasant included a wide central passage. A double-pile plan with a central passage would have been functionally flexible; however, it would not have set the house apart. However, plans changed radically after William Hamilton's stay in England between 1784 and 1786.
The house that resulted from this interlude still bore considerable presence when viewed from the river, but unlike the striking appearance of the two-story portico ca. 1770, the second version's novelty lay inside the house.

The Woodlands II: Avante Garde Neoclassicism on the Schuylkill
Alterations to The Woodlands by the time of William Hamilton's departure for England had not advanced very far and ceased during his absence. While away he moved his mother and most of his household from Bush Hill to The Woodlands because of a desire to lease the former.[121] In October 1784, Hamilton sent a letter to his agent instructing him to send his mother's hay and "the green chairs in the garden" to The Woodlands.[122] Two months later, Hamilton remarked in a letter from London to his friend Doctor Thomas Parke: "I am exceedingly anxious to

[119]Hamilton to Washington, 20 February 1784.
[120]Hamilton to Smith, 6 October 1784, Society Collection, HSP.
[121]Ibid.
[122]Ibid.

hear how my mother is situated at the Woodlands."[123] Hamilton would not have installed his mother at The Woodlands if the house was undergoing major construction; she apparently lived there for the duration of his trip.[124] To have interrupted renovation work is predicable given Hamilton's social astuteness. He was well aware that in England he would encounter high-style and cutting-edge domestic architecture, and in turn could import these designs to Philadelphia and maintain a place among Philadelphia's most fashionable residents.

Late in 1784, Hamilton arrived in London, ostensibly to settle his uncle's debts with a number of banking institutions; however, there can be little doubt that he also held material goals as well. He traveled with two of his nephews, his favored niece Ann, and at least one servant, and despite being plagued with myriad monetary woes—the lack of cash from ground rents on his lands, the debts of his uncle, and the miscalculation of living expenses in London—they were able to move in the highest Anglo-American circles.[125] When not working toward an end to the family's financial snafus, Hamilton visited people and went sight-seeing within the city and beyond its borders, writing: "my chief amusement is in viewing the best Houses in [&] about this metropolis."[126] Beyond merely viewing English houses and returning with ideas by which to instruct a Philadelphia house builder, Hamilton might well have conferred with an English architect, John Plaw being a plausible candidate. Surviving Hamilton correspondence during his stay in London offers a number of hints about the reconceived seat he envisioned at The Woodlands.

After nearly a year in England, Hamilton voiced his continued interest in expanding the house and outbuildings at The Woodlands to Doctor Thomas Parke:

> I am looking forward to the arrangements for making my situation convenient & agreeable. Some addition to the House, a stable & other offices are immediately necessary at the Woodlands and as I have most severely felt the consequences of having

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[123]Hamilton to Parke, 1 December 1784, Society Collection, HSP.

[124]Months after his arrival in London, Hamilton wrote: "…I could not however avoid giving you a line to tell you that the children & I are in perfect Health, of which I beg you will be so good as to inform the families at the Woodlands & in Third Street" (author's emphasis). Hamilton to Parke, 19 July 1785, Pennsylvania Series Provincial Conference, William Hamilton Folder (hereafter Provincial), HSP.

[125]A summary of some of these problems can be found in Long, 92–95; see also the Hamilton-Parke correspondence in the Society, the Pemberton, and the Dreer collections at the HSP for more detailed information related to Hamilton's financial state while in England.

[126]Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785, Dreer Collection, HSP. For a summary of Hamilton's travels beyond London see Long, 97–98.

> workmen at extravagant prices, I mean to take from hence some who will engage with me for a certain number of years on moderate terms.[127]

The changes he envisioned were considerable as evidenced by his desire to hire workmen willing to contract for a lengthy period of time. His plans became all the more necessary as his brother died late in 1784 and he became both the family patriarch and the *de facto* male parent for Andrew [III]'s seven children. Hamilton saw himself living at The Woodlands full time upon his return as it seems he could not afford the upkeep of two, let alone three, residences.[128] He stated in one 1786 letter: "As to living at B. Hill or in Town, it is out of the Question as I can afford neither, nor if I could, would either be to my mind."[129]

While making this decision for himself, Hamilton did not see the dwelling as a year-round residence for all of the Hamiltons. In writing "as from the size of my family in the summer season I shall require a coach as well as a chariot," he implied that the entire family would not be permanently resident during the whole year.[130] This was a common situation as post-Revolutionary society seasonally moved between the urban social whirl of the city in winter and the comparatively salubrious and cooler environment of the country in the summer. Even the relative proximity of The Woodlands to the city would not have been as socially useful as their residence in the family townhouse at Third and Walnut streets, which Abigail Hamilton continued to occupy for at least a decade after her husband's death.[131] That William Hamilton did not want the children at The Woodlands full-time was not due to any indifference toward them, on the contrary, he seemed to dwell heavily upon their social potential and likely saw an in-town residence as vital to their futures.[132]

The Woodlands needed expansion beyond its "bachelor" state if it were to function both as Hamilton's full-time residence as well as the family's seasonal retreat. In 1785, Hamilton had grand plans regarding the

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[127]Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785.

[128]It has been suggested that Hamilton might have conceived of The Woodlands as a year-round residence prior to his departure for England, and this was the impetus for planning and limited action evident in 1784. FitzGerald to Long, 9 December 2002.

[129]Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786.

[130]Ibid.

[131]In his will, among other personal property and real estate, Andrew Hamilton [III] left his wife Abigail "the House & Lot where I now live at the Corner of Walnut & Third Streets…To hold to my said wife during her natural life." Will of Andrew Hamilton [III], 1 January 1785, Will Book T, #59. As a widow, Abigail Hamilton remained in predominant residence at the Hamilton townhouse. Her account book indicates that she was paying the property taxes on the house well into the 1790s. Andrew Hamilton [and Abigail "Francis" (Franks) Hamilton], Memorandum Book, 1784–1800, HSP.

[132]While in England, Hamilton made a number of comments about the children and their social progress to Dr. Thomas Parke. See particularly Hamilton to Parke, 29 July 1785, Society Collection, HSP, and Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785.

importation of workers to rebuild the house and grounds, and materials, furniture, and luxury goods with which to complete the house's interiors. Hamilton intended to ship over "two or three stone quarriers"; Parke was instructed to pay their passage and be reimbursed later.[133] To better understand the extent of his planned life at the reconstructed Woodlands, one should note that he also intended to "send over by the first opportunity a coachman, a groom, a gardener & a Boy or two" and commented that he also planned to ship "carriages, furniture, & many other matter of different kinds which cannot be done without & may be had in a better taste & some of them cheaper than in America."[134] No records exist recording the servants and goods shipped to America; however, the finished house and descriptions of its interiors and domestic happenings indicate that despite money troubles, Hamilton obtained many of the items he set out to purchase.[135]

William Hamilton returned to Philadelphia in July 1786 but did not reinitiate construction at The Woodlands immediately, again perhaps of continued financial shortfalls.[136] In October 1786, he wrote his Lancaster agent, Jasper Yeates, and commented favorably on the rents recently collected, suggesting that the money would be used to purchase "necessary matters previous to my removal to Bush Hill (having disposed of early all my furniture on my going to England)."[137] This comment suggests that Hamilton was still in residence at The Woodlands and had not begun any substantial construction, although such preparatory tasks as stone quarrying were surely in process, perhaps by imported Scottish stone workers. By the following summer work "on the necessary additions & repair" to the house at The Woodlands was in full throttle and William Hamilton took careful interest in its progress. He wrote to Yeates in August 1787: "the raising of my House at the Woodlands has detained me there for several days past."[138] With major construction at The Woodlands, a resident household at Bush Hill, and the need to support his nephews while in England, a nervously cash-strapped Hamilton desired to move into the Woodlands as soon as possible, even before the house was substantially altered:

> I cannot close [at Bush Hill] with the Gentleman untill [*sic*] the time of my removal to the Woodlands can be ascertained which

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[133]Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785.

[134]Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786.

[135]The material culture and domestic life at The Woodlands will be discussed in greater detail in the "Historical Context" section of this report.

[136]For a summary of Hamilton's attempts to relieve his money troubles through the collection of ground rents and possible land sales, particularly in reference to his work being completed at the Woodlands and payments made in materials from Lancaster, see Long, 113–117, 119–122.

[137]Hamilton to Jasper Yeates, 8 October 1786, Jasper Yeates Letterbook, 1781–1790, (hereafter Letterbook), HSP.

[138]Hamilton to Yeates, 2 August 1787, Letterbook, HSP.

> wholly depends on my obtaining monies to hurry the furnishing of as much of my House as will accommodate my family before Winter.[139]

Socially-minded Hamilton was torn between the great expense of remaining at Bush Hill through the winter and moving his household to the barely-started alterations at The Woodlands. He commented ten days later: "the addition to my House at the Woodlands is not yet covered in."[140] As workers finished the exterior walls of the east and west additions before destroying the interiors of the "old House" with the new configuration of rooms, Hamilton debated about moving into the older, still-extant house during cessation of major work during the winter 1787-1788.[141] He never vacated Bush Hill and work continued in earnest through 1788.

The year 1788 did not start out well as Hamilton's first letter to Benjamin Hays Smith complained that a number of workmen, including master builder John Child, failed to regularly appear for work.[142] Despite this situation, construction proceeded far enough to order sash for the first-floor windows as well as the three openings from the saloon onto the portico.[143] Hamilton sharply conveyed a desire to have the windows completed in another January 1788 letter to Smith:

> You will however be pleased to tell Mr. Child if I find when I come there an air hole as large as a quill in the windows or any other part of the West Wing or that the directions I gave him have been unattended to I shall not be in a very good Humour [*sic*].[144]

Hamilton did not mention the sash again in 1788, perhaps the work was completed to his satisfaction. By the summer 1788, workers were in the process of shaping the niches in the saloon, laying high-quality doweled

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[139]Hamilton to Yeates, 3 September 1787, Letterbook, HSP. The "Gentleman" to which Hamilton refers might likely be William Bingham as he was "in treaty" with him regarding the rental of Bush Hill the previous spring. "I have now serious thoughts of setting off for Lancaster within 6 or 10 days although it will not be in my power to remain there above a day or two being just now in treaty with Mr. Bingham for the letting of Bush Hill from whence I shall have consequently to remove my family about the middle of next month." Hamilton to Yeates, 10 March 1787, Letterbook, HSP.

[140]Hamilton to Yeates, 13 September 1787, Letterbook, HSP.

[141]Hamilton to Smith, n.d., located between letters dated 6 February and 2 May 1789, for reference to the "old House" as a still-standing entity, Smith, HSP. Despite its location, this letter likely dates from the spring of 1788 as it seems to be a follow-up for another illegibly dated letter from Hamilton to Smith, tentatively held as 4 June 1788. The letter's date is suggested in Betts, 232, based on illegible writing and the construction chronology. In this report, the first mention of letters transcribed in Betts's appendix will also include his name and the page number.

[142]Hamilton to Smith, 3 January 1788, as cited in Betts, 231.

[143]Ibid.

[144]Hamilton to Smith, 12 January 1788, as cited in Betts, 232.

flooring in the public rooms, and moving forward with interior plasterwork on the first-floor.[145] Notably, one of these letters Hamilton alludes to the fact that the "old House" still remained a recognizable entity, at least on the interior. He told Smith to "remind Child that no person whatever is to be admitted into the old House."[146]

It should be noted that very few, if any, load-bearing walls needed to be taken down in order to alter the house's plan. The bows, which might have proven daunting when considering a new disposition of rooms and eliminated by an unimaginative architect, must have been a significant catalyst in devising the interior spaces. The bow's presence demanded a number of rooms with novel shapes, but also allowed for as compact a plan as possible and the added bonus of useful storage space. While interior partition walls were removed, the saloon was designed using the existing load-bearing wall configuration, with the apsidal hemicycles fitted neatly into the former bows.[147] Doors into the southeast and southwest cabinets utilized the center window openings of the three-sided bows. The raising of the ceiling in this room accounts for the only significant structural change. The northern half of the original core contains rooms, stairs, and passages for circulation, also fitted within the

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[145]Hamilton to Smith, [4 June 1788?], as cited in Betts, 232, for niches; Hamilton to Smith, 8 July 1788, as cited in Betts, 232, for floors; Hamilton to Smith, 21 [July] 1788 and 28 July 1788, as cited in Betts, 232, for plaster.

[146]Hamilton to Smith, [4 June 1788?].

[147]While the room designations "saloon" and "vestibule" remain constant throughout the documentary record, the other public rooms on the first floor are not so consistently named. Letters and other period sources refer to the room in the house's northeast corner as the "oval room," "drawing room," and even "library," however one diarist noted in 1806: "I saw no room apportioned as a library." See Hamilton to Smith, 20 June 1791, Smith, HSP; Dr. Charles Drayton Diary, 2 November 1806, 55, Drayton Hall, National Trust for Historic Preservation (hereafter Drayton), and Oliver Oldschool, Esq. (pseudonym, Joseph Dennie), "American Scenery—For the Port Folio, The Woodlands," Port Folio 2 (December 1809): 505–507. In this report, "drawing room" will be used. The room opposite, in the northwest corner, is referred to as both "dining parlour" and the "dining room." See Hamilton to Smith, 20 June 1791; Drayton, 52; and Oldschool, 505. In this report, "dining room" will be used. The room in the southeast corner is referred to as "cabinet," "parlor," and possibly "library." It's primary function—which will be addressed later in the report—was a picture gallery for Hamilton's art collection, although the 1806 diarist and a later nineteenth-century memoirist also noted the presence of many books in the room's closets. See Hamilton to Smith, 20 June 1791; Drayton, 52, 55; Oldschool, 506; and *Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher, Written in 1864*, ed. Sophia Cadwalader (Boston: D. B. Updike, 1929). In architectural terms, the use of "cabinet" generally refers to a more private room used for quiet pursuits like reading, as well as the display of "scientific and artistic curiosities." See "Cabinet," *Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture*, ed. Cyril M. Harris (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1983), 82. "Southeast cabinet" will be used in reference to the first-floor room in the southeast corner. Paired in later descriptions of the house with this room, the corresponding space in the house's southwest corner is likely the one named in early correspondence as the "breakfast parlour," given its proximity to the dining room and service stairs. By early in the nineteenth century, Hamilton ceased using it as such and it is described as a location of art. See Hamilton to Smith, 20 June 1791and 17 March 1802; Drayton, 52, 55; Oldschool, 506. For this report, "southwest cabinet" will be used. Room names for the cellar level will be discussed in the "Historical Context" section of this report. Unless otherwise noted, the generic "chamber" or "bed chamber" will be used for second-story rooms, as they do not figure prominently in the documentary record.

existing load-bearing walls; only the new staircase might have required the removal of earlier floor joists. The much lauded "oval rooms" on the north and the matched square cabinets flanking the saloon are located in the additions. The rounded ends of the dining and drawing rooms fit like puzzle pieces against the original bows and extend out from the house's mass, creating new curved bows for the reconstructed house.

By late in 1788, the progress characterizing the first half of the year slowed. Hamilton wrote in October:

> I am really surprised & not a little displeased that Mr. Child has not yet sent the model & draft for the iron railing [for the north entrance]…If Mr. child pays so little attention to my other directions I must in my own defence [*sic*] immediately on my return give up all thoughts of removing to the Woodlands during this year of our Lord Should that be the case, I shall as soon as I return Home discharge every workman and shut up the house untill [*sic*] the spring.[148]

He made good on his threat on "shut[ting] up the house untill the spring," and was not necessarily unhappy about the situation, as it allowed him to pay debts owed merchants Coxe & Frazier, a stone supplier, and the person responsible for crafting the fanlights.[149] He also set about acquiring boards necessary for constructing the "waiting hall [vestibule] ceiling, for the cooks closet…and for the office shutters."[150] By January 1789, the saloon was largely completed, the dining room walls and plaster were being worked on, and planning and the purchase of materials for the vestibule were actively moving forward.[151] Hamilton hoped to have the dining room finished by June; however, a letter at the end of the month conveyed "a most extraordinary neglect" whereby John Child had not completed the plastering, apparently because he was busy with a competition drawing for a new civic building.[152]

By the fall of 1789, work was nearly completed in the dining room and Hamilton's attentions turned toward the drawing room and readying the construction of the soffit (likely referring to the arched recesses on the room's west side), the window shutters, and the fanlight for the Venetian window.[153] Despite moving into the house by late in 1789, work on the drawing room dragged on for a number of years.[154] Not until June 1791

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[148]Hamilton to Smith, 22 October 1788, Smith, HSP.
[149]Hamilton to Smith, 25 January 1789, as cited in Betts, 233.
[150]Ibid.
[151]Hamilton to Smith, 9 January [1789], as cited in Betts, 233.
[152]Hamilton to Smith, 24 June 1789, Smith, HSP.
[153]Hamilton to Smith, 27 September 1789, as cited in Betts, 234.
[154]A letter written by a visitor to The Woodlands notes in, reference to the drawing room, that it was "a very handsome room, which, when finished will form a complete oval" ("L.G." to "Eliza," 15 June,

did Hamilton ask that the "oval Room Mahogany door" be hung.[155] In addition to working on the drawing room, the fall of 1789 also saw Hamilton placing an order for nails in anticipation of construction of the stable, greenhouse, and entrance lodges; the ability to allocate resources to supporting structures suggest that work on the house was nearing completion.[156]

In January 1790, Hamilton directed his agent Benjamin Hays Smith to purchase mahogany for the staircase, the small sum of money allocated to this expenditure (50 shillings) implies that the it was not for the treads and risers, but rather for the balusters and railing, a point later corroborated in a letter three days later.[157] He wrote: "I am really anxious about the posts & rails respecting which no time should be lost."[158] Even with the main stair incomplete, it is clear that by this time, some members of the Hamilton family had already relocated to the Woodlands, even though the decorative finishes were not yet fully applied:

> If Terence should be at the Woodlands next week I think it would not be amiss if he were to whiten the ceiling of

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17?? or 18??, Society Collection, HSP, as cited in Betts, 217). Betts suggests the year 1788 for the letter's date on account of the room's under-construction state and the fact that Sunday, June 15 (both indicated on the letter) occurred in that year (217, note 8). Eleven years later, Timothy Long considered three other candidates—1794, 1800, and 1806—because of the discovery of an 1806 diary entry referring to the room—two times—as unfinished (396, note 139). In terms of the date, Betts's candidate for the year can be effectively eliminated by reading the remainder of "L.G.'s" letter to "Eliza," which describes the saloon, vestibule, and dining room; none of these rooms were completed—and in the case of the vestibule, started—in June 1788. When considering the other date, the problem lies in what exactly the two visitors meant by "unfinished." "L.G.'s" comments lead one to believe that at the time of the visit, the actual structure of the room—its oval shape—was not fully discernible. As noted by Catherine Carosino, however, a letter of William Hamilton's dated 30 August 1789 intimates the near-completion of the room because the plaster grounds were to be completed shortly thereafter (162). In this documented scenario, though not fully completed, the basic structure of the room was evident by 1789. One can postulate that despite its language, "L.G.'s" letter references an unfinished plastered state rather than something structural, especially since the author also describes the room as "handsome." The degree of finish in the room must also be questioned with the 1806 diarist's use of the term. In addition to the oval room, the writer describes the saloon as "not finished." (Drayton, 55). The manner in which the concept is here employed implies that although floored, plastered, decorated to some extent, and heated (all documented in other sources), the room remained "unfinished" because of Hamilton's real or imagined plan to "apportion" the walls "into parts, by pilasters." A mid-nineteenth century memoir even suggested that the ceiling was meant to be frescoed. [*Recollections*, 220]. Through the eyes of both the 1806 diarist and the later memoir writer, it was "unfinished" because, though livable, the room was not *decoratively* finished. In any case, while a better date than 15 June 1794 **or** 1800 **or** 1806 cannot be offered at this time, at least two visitors, one as late as 1806, saw the room for whatever reason as "unfinished."

[155]Hamilton to Smith, 20 June 1791.

[156]Hamilton to Smith, 8 June 1789, Smith, HSP.

[157]Hamilton to Smith, 8 January 1790, Smith, HSP.

[158]Hamilton to Smith, 11 January 1790, Smith, HSP.

> Anns [*sic*] Room after she has gone to town. It will be necessary to have it done previous to it being papered & this I wish to have over soon for many reasons.[159]

With the main stair—the one to be finished in the mahogany—not entirely completed, access to the second floor could have occurred temporarily by means of the service stair on the house's west side. The above quote alludes to Ann as already resident at the house by January 1790, and not just moving in at the time. A letter dated 22 November 1789 to Hamilton from his Lancaster agent was the first in their correspondence addressed to Hamilton at The Woodlands, which increases the likelihood that he relocated to the house from Bush Hill by that time. With the structural and a majority of the finish work completed or nearing completion, William Hamilton and some, if not all, of his semi-rural household moved from Bush Hill to The Woodlands late in the fall 1789.

There was still work to be done after Hamiltons moved into the expanded seat. The drawing room remained in some unfinished state for some time after 1789 and decorative paints and papers throughout the house were still being installed a year-and-a-half after occupancy. A 20 June 1791 letter describes preparations being made to paper most of the rooms on the first floor.

> I wish Mr. Child could find the time to have the pictures immediately removed carefully from the Breakfast parlour [*sic*] & have the walls dobb'd in every part where necessary, in order that the paper may be put up the day after my return. The pictures may be most safely laid on the floor of the Library which may be kept lock'd. You should desire Lormé to hold himself in readiness? to come out and…paper the B. parlour [*sic*] & Library. At the same time query of him the right kind of canvas for paper in the library & I would have you look and to have some ready for the purpose…[???] should immediately paint the Saloon & Breakfast parlour & dining p. passage so as to have the smell over before our return.[160]

Evidence of early wallpapers have been found in a number of rooms, including the drawing room whose unfinished state is certainly underscored by it not being mentioned in the previous quote regarding imminent papering. Catherine Carosino established that the "Mr. DeLorme," present in the 1791 Woodlands household accounts (and referred to in the above letter as "Lormé"), refers to Francis Del'Orme, advertised in 1790 as an importer of foreign papers and a paperer himself.[161]

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[159]Ibid.
[160]Hamilton to Smith , 20 June 1791.
[161]Carosino, 235, after *General Advertiser* 18 November 1790.

The reconstructed seat at the Woodlands stood, in 1790, in much the same state as it appears today. On the exterior, the portico remained a dominant feature on the south (river) front, though it was now flanked by two large stone wings featuring decorative niches and Venetian windows.[162] Though not mentioned in eighteenth-century documents, conservation and restoration work completed in 1965 concluded that the portico's side columns (2) were added as part of the 1780s changes, possibly as an ineffectual solution to rot in the primary supports contained within the forward columns.[163] As completed, the north front on the land approach mirrored the portico with an engaged temple front bearing Ionic pilasters and entablature. The gables and cornice were denticulated and a number of the window frames accented by large keyblocks. Early nineteenth-century accounts of the house note that its "rough stone" was "coated over with lime."[164] Physical evidence hints that cut stone might have been envisioned for the raised cellar story, but this was never executed.[165] A complex enfilade of public rooms composed in dynamic shapes and proportions structured the interior, and Hamilton filled these spaces with fashionable appointments, furnishings, and artwork.[166]

7. Alterations and additions:

Hamilton completed some significant repair work at The Woodlands in 1802. Early in that year, he noticed that the portico column plinths were "rotten as punk," and required underpinnings of stone after jacking up the roof.[167] If the danger of the portico roof collapsing was not enough, sometime shortly after these repairs the dining room ceiling fell down "with such force as to crush all in its way & shake the House like an aspen leaf…had the ceiling fallen ten minutes later…it would have crushed...us to atoms as it did the furniture."[168]

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[162]Hamilton refers to the window type as "Venetian." By definition this type is described as "a three-part window with a large central arched section flanked by narrower, square headed ones. Generally, the whole is treated as an ensemble with columns or pilasters surmounted by an entablature." See *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape*, ed. Carl R. Lounsbury (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1994). Other common names for the arrangement include Serliana and Palladian (a more modern term).

[163]Brumbaugh, Portico, 3–4.

[164]Drayton, 52.

[165]On a site visit during June 2002, Timothy Long pointed out a ledge under the cryptoporticus which may have been envisioned as a base for the cut stone.

[166]The function of these and other rooms and the highly sophisticated network of service spaces—mainly located in the cellar and attic stories—will be discussed in the "Historical Context" section.

[167]Hamilton to Smith, 17 March 1802, as transcribed in "Some Letters from William Hamilton to his Private Secretary," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 29 (1905), 265.

[168]Ibid.

After Hamilton's 1813 death, the changes made to his neoclassical seat along the Schuylkill River remained predominantly cosmetic in nature, or at least on a scale which has not yet gravely compromised the integrity of the dwelling. James Hamilton, his nephew who inherited the house, replaced some of the fireplace surrounds and room trim. Minor repair work occurred throughout the 1820s; however, neglect after its sale out of the Hamilton family was made clear through an 1838 diary entry noting that the house was "rapidly going to decay."[169] After the Woodlands Cemetery Company purchased the property, they routinely engaged in internal and external repairs and changed interior finishes throughout the first floor.[170] These included: roofing; new window sash; exterior lime washes of the stone; removal of the projecting north porches, two of the roof monitors, and the roof balustrade; various generations of paint and wallpaper throughout the first floor; vinyl floor coverings; the installation of gas and water plumbing; sewerage; speaking tubes; electric lights and outlets; and forced-air heating plants. The introduction of utilities and power lines has been particularly noticeable and destructive to building fabric in the cellar rooms.

Restoration work conducted by G. Edwin Brumbaugh in 1965 targeted the once again failing portico supports, and the highly speculative recreation of the north-facing Venetian windows, removed by the Cemetery Company in the mid-nineteenth century.[171] In 1981, John Dickey supervised restoration work in the saloon which, among other things, recreated a series of wall sconces with escutcheon plates crafted using paint ghosts as a guide.[172] Mirrored door panels and transom panels were cavalierly applied to the original doors—eliminating their original thinned-out profiles. In the mid-1990s, the tenant's apartment was relocated to the western half of the second floor. Wall-to-wall carpeting was laid and a kitchen installed in the bed alcove of the former northwest bed chamber. At this time the former tenant kitchen in the southeast cabinet was removed.

While no individual change since 1840 proved drastic in regard to the basic form and layout of the house, more than a century-and-a-half of collective change in decorative finish and mechanical and utility lines/equipment has obscured some of house's well-known and celebrated historical state.

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[169] *Diary of Sidney George Fisher,* 61.

[170] See Carosino for further information related to cosmetic changes made to the house, particularly in reference to the vestibule, drawing room, and southwest cabinet (formerly the picture gallery). The discussion of changes are, in large part, drawn from the unprocessed Woodlands Cemetery Company papers located at the HSP.

[171] See Brumbaugh, "Portico" and "North Terrace Doors."

[172] See Reed L. Engle, "Historic Structure Report, The Saloon of the Woodlands, Woodlands Cemetery, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania for the University City Historical Society," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 30 September 1981.

B. Historical Context

The Philadelphia Upper Class and the Rise of Hamilton Family

> [The Hamiltons] styled themselves, somewhat pretentiously…if I am correct in supposing that their earlier history was obscure, 'The Hamilton family of The Woodlands and Bush Hill.'[173]

While the statement smacks both of elite social commentary widespread in Victorian America and may bear some factual inaccuracies, the observation is not entirely off-center when considering the rise of the Hamilton family in eighteenth-century Philadelphia. Two prominent members of that family were especially known for their opulent surroundings and lavish lifestyle. One in particular took no interest in an existence beyond the expenditure of great quantities of money in the pursuit of a gentlemanly country life. Despite their attainment of social, political, and economic prominence by the third decade of the eighteenth century, their distant familial origins do remain "obscure."

Very little about the Hamiltons is known prior to Andrew Hamilton [I]'s (ca. 1676–1741) immigration from Scotland sometime at the end of the seventeenth century; he was living in Northhampton County, Virginia, by October 1700.[174] It is possible that his reason for immigrating was involvement in one of the frequent uprisings against the English government, and he may have arrived in America as an indentured servant in order to run a school on Maryland's Eastern Shore.[175] Ambition, two significant inheritances, and a good marriage worked to advance Hamilton's position in the colonies. In January 1703/04, Bridgett Foxcroft, a known local (childless) philanthropist of sorts, left him a modest inheritance and four years later he was the recipient of Presbyterian-church founder Francis Makemie's 896-volume library.[176] August 1704 saw Andrew Hamilton [I] purchasing his first acreage in the colonies—550 acres in Northampton County for £300 sterling.[177] In March 1707, Hamilton married widow Anne Preeson who brought with her a large, but not especially valuable estate.[178] Early in 1713, after a number of land purchases and relocations, Hamilton was residing in Kent County, Maryland when James Logan hired him to legally represent the Penn family's proprietary rights in Delaware.[179] Hamilton then traveled to England for

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[173]Westcott, 424, after Griswold.

[174]"Andrew Hamilton," *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, ed. Craig W. Horle, Joseph S. Foster, and Jeffrey L. Sheib (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 417.

[175] Walker Lewis, "Andrew Hamilton and the He-Monster," *William and Mary Quarterly* 38:2 (April 1981), 272, 275.

[176]Ibid., 274–276.

[177]Horle, "Andrew Hamilton," 417.

[178]Ibid.

[179]Ibid., 418.

a short stay and upon his return moved to Philadelphia—"realizing that perhaps he could accumulate substantial landed and monetary wealth in a relatively young colony."[180]

Once in Philadelphia, Hamilton rented one of the largest houses in the town—Clark Hall—and set about making necessary repairs to it, which were deducted from his rent.[181] After relocating to Pennsylvania, Hamilton quickly rose up the political, social, and economic ladder, holding during his lifetime the positions of Pennsylvania attorney general, judge of the vice-admiralty court, assemblyman for Bucks County, provincial councilor, and General Loan Office trustee, among other positions.[182] Ultimately divesting himself of his Chesapeake properties, between 1714 and 1741 Hamilton purchased or was granted over 20,000 acres of land in the Delaware River valley; a house in New Castle, Delaware, and nine houses and forty lots in Philadelphia.[183] His vast wealth and political influence notwithstanding, he is best remembered for two significant events: being the catalyst and early superintendent of the Pennsylvania Statehouse construction (Independence Hall) and his victorious defense of New York printer Peter Zenger, in what was the foundation case for American freedom of the press.[184]

In addition to the statehouse construction, Hamilton also left his mark on the Philadelphia landscape through the establishment of his estate—Bush Hill—whose centerpiece was a seven bay, three-story country house with a hip roof and front-facing gable; it was completed in 1740. Hamilton purchased the land comprising the estate, located just outside colonial Philadelphia above the northwestern quadrant, piecemeal during the 1720s from the Penn family's estate of Springesttsbury Manor; a patent for 153 acres was issued by the Penns on 24 January 1734.[185] Upon completion, Hamilton moved his household to Bush Hill, dying there a year later. Benjamin Franklin eulogized his life in an obituary written by Benjamin Franklin which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on August 6, 1741. This notice conveyed the importance—whether friend or foe—in which Hamilton was held by many Philadelphians and read, in part:

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[180]Ibid.

[181]This house ultimately figured in a labyrinthine legal process based on claims that the repairs made were greater than the total rent, thus resulting in a question of ownership. Despite court decisions against Hamilton, he continued to reside there, ultimately purchasing the property from Rebecca Clark Richardson in 1739. Horle, "Andrew Hamilton," 419. The property was later sold by Andrew Hamilton [I]'s heirs after his 1741 death. Lewis, 289. This case is only one of many for which Hamilton was criticized and even satirized in poems by such foes as Isaac Norris I and II and Pennsylvania Governor William Keith, among others. See Katherine Carter, "Isaac Norris II's Attack on Andrew Hamilton," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 104 (1980): 118–144 and Walker Lewis, "Andrew Hamilton and the He-Monster," *William and Mary Quarterly* 38:2 (April 1981): 268–294.

[182]Horle, "Andrew Hamilton," 416.

[183]Ibid., 418.

[184]Lewis, 285–289.

[185]Westcott, 417. For information about the house at Bush Hill see Henry A. Boorse, "Bush Hill: An Historic Philadelphia House," *Imprint* 9:2 (Autumn 1984): 12–18.

> On the 4th Instant, died ANDREW HAMILTON, Esq.; and the next Day inter'd at *Bush-Hill*, his Country Seat. His Corps [*sic*] was attended to the Grave by a great Number of his Friends, deeply affected with their own, but more with their Country's Loss. He lived not without Enemies: For, as he was himself open and honest, he took pains to unmask the Hypocrite, and boldly censured the Knave, without regard to Station and Profession. Such, therefore, may exult at his Death. He steadily maintained the Cause of Liberty …His free Manner in treating Religious Subjects, gave Offence [*sic*] to many, who, if a Man may judge by their Actions, were not themselves much in earnest. He feared God, loved Mercy, and did Justice.[186]

Hamilton and his wife Anne had three children: James Hamilton (ca. 1715–13 August 1783), Andrew Hamilton [II] (ca. 1710–September 1745), and Margaret Hamilton (ca. 1712–13 May 1760). As the eldest son, James Hamilton inherited Bush Hill and a great amount of land, in addition to other major tracts.[187] Andrew [II] received Philadelphia properties both within town and along the waterfront; he also was left rural tracts, including the acreage that ultimately formed the core of The Woodlands.[188] Margaret Hamilton married wealthy William Allen on 16 February 1733/34, both Margaret and William and their sons born by that date received real estate holdings.[189] That the family had become one of the most important in Philadelphia by the time of Andrew [I]'s death was underscored by an apparent controversy surrounding the marriage of Margaret, who "grew up in the home of the most distinguished non-Quaker in Pennsylvania," and William Allen who despite his accumulation of vast wealth ,"had been raised by an Irish immigrant."[190] Apparently Allen's perceived uncelebrated background did not matter to the Hamiltons, perhaps on account of their own undocumented origins.

The next generation of Philadelphians expanded on the foundation of social, political, and economic prominence set into motion by Andrew Hamilton [I]. They became founding members of an elite group of Philadelphians known as the "Proprietary Gentry."

> The most cohesive and prominent upper-class group in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia consisted of twenty-two distinguished non-Quakers who were allied with the Pennsylvania Proprietors. By the late 1760s these men, most of whom had inherited considerable wealth and status from their fathers, dominated the executive and judicial branches of the provincial government and controlled the prestigious Philadelphia Corporation. They also managed or played

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[186]Benjamin Franklin, "Obituary of Andrew Hamilton," The Pennsylvania Gazette 6 August 1741.

[187] Will of Andrew Hamilton [I].

[188]Ibid.

[189]Ibid.

[190]Stephen Brobeck, "Revolutionary Change in Colonial Philadelphia: The Brief Life of the Proprietary Gentry," *William and Mary Quarterly* 33:3 (1976): 415.

> leading roles in such institutions as the College of Philadelphia and the exclusive Dancing Assembly…Their wealth, derived mainly from landed property, appears to have exceeded that of the only other Philadelphians who rivaled them in affluence and cohesion, the Quaker gentry.[191]

While Andrew Hamilton [I] established some of the first elite Quaker–non-Quaker ties, it was James Hamilton who solidified the family's status in the Pennsylvania colony. Over his lifetime, Hamilton held the positions of assemblyman for Lancaster County; provincial councilor; prothonotary for Philadelphia County; common councilman, alderman, and mayor for the City of Philadelphia; and most significantly, Lieutenant Governor of the colony from 1748–1754, and again from 1754–1759.[192] Over his lifetime, he purchased or added to tracts in the City of Philadelphia, three counties in Pennsylvania, two in Delaware, and territory in New Jersey; he also invested money in business and industry. In addition to his wealth and political power, the lifelong bachelor was known for his hospitality and frequent entertainments at his country estate. Associations with such local organizations as the Dancing Assembly, Philosophical Society, Mt. Regale Fishing Company, Society of the Sons of St. Tammany, and the Jockey Club confirm Hamilton's social prominence.[193] He also donated money to the Juliana Library in Lancaster, the construction fund for the Freemason's Lodge, the College of Philadelphia, and to Christ Church for a new steeple. James Hamilton possessed all of the privileges, power, and connections that eighteenth-century Philadelphia could offer. He and his extended family lived in a rarified and genteel world, that was surpassed by few in the English colonies in North America.

While never marrying nor having children, the early death of his brother Andrew [II] left James Hamilton with the responsibility of providing guidance for his two young nephews, Andrew Hamilton [III] (12 January 1742/43–22 November 1784) and William Hamilton (29 April 1745–5 June 1813). In another instance of the web of marriages connecting the Philadelphia gentry, Andrew Hamilton [II] had married Mary Till, daughter of a provincial councilor, chief justice of the supreme court, and Pennsylvania assemblyman on 24 December 1741.[194] Where James largely resided at his Bush Hill estate, Andrew [II] and Mary Hamilton made their home in a house on Walnut Street at Third Street.[195] Perhaps on account of his inheritance of lots along the Delaware River and other urban property, Andrew [II] actively pursued business in commerce and shipping in the 1740s.[196] Upon

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[191]Ibid., 410.

[192]Unless otherwise noted, biographical information related to James Hamilton is drawn from Horle, "James Hamilton," 449–466.

[193]Brobeck, 416.

[194]Horle, "James Hamilton," 449.

[195]This property may have been that house and lot located at Third and Walnut streets essentially gifted by Mary Till Hamilton to her son Andrew [III] in 1783, at which time, she went to live in William Hamilton's household. See Deed Book D, vol. 55, 226–227.

[196]Long, 72.

his death, the bulk of the urban property—aside from the family house and its contents which were left to Mary—went to Andrew [III] while his semi-improved country estate passed to two-year old William. Between their own and their mother's sizable inheritances and inherited investments, and a nearby uncle who thought nothing of regularly tossing them £10 for "pocket money," Andrew [III] and William grew up in luxury and privilege, at a time when Philadelphia rose as the largest and most wealthy colonial city.[197]

Who Was William Hamilton?

> His knowledge of Botany & Natural History—his taste for cultivating many curious productions of America, united to his very amiable Character, will I am confident gain him a welcome reception… (1782)[198]

> My voyage to England has to my very great Mortification been hitherto delayed by the want of cash. (1784)[199]

> This is such arrant nonsense that I am out of patience on the subject…I find she [Margaret Hamilton, niece] was invited to a party given by John Mifflin & not permitted to go, at which I am not a little vexed. (1785)[200]

> You will however be pleased to tell Mr. Child if I find…that the directions I gave him have been unattended to I shall not be in a very good Humour. (1788)[201]

> I say her [Ann Hamilton, niece] friends because I can by no means esteem as mine those who by encouraging (to use the most moderate term) her unkindness to me, have so greatly deepen'd the wound I sustain. (1792)[202]

> I have enquired [*sic*] two or three times for Mr. Hamilton but never could hear anything of him, except that he drinks pretty hard. (1799)[203]

> I will mention a visit I made, on my journey…to a garden, which in many respects exceeds any in America. It is at the country-seat of Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman of excellent taste and great property. (1803)[204]

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[197]Day Book, 1759-1783, James Hamilton Papers, HSP.
[198]Parke to Humphrey Marshall, 5 September 1782, Dreer Collection, Thomas Parke Folder, HSP.
[199]Hamilton to Yeates, 30 August 1784, Letterbook, HSP.
[200]Hamilton to Parke, 2 November 1785.
[201]Hamilton to Smith, 12 January 1788.
[202]Hamilton to James Lyle, 28 September 1792, Harry B. Pearce Collection, 1689-1836, HSP.
[203]Rebecca Lowndes Stoddert to "Miss Lowndes" [her sister], 23 September 1799, Rebecca Lowndes Stoddert Papers, Manuscripts Reading Room, LOC. The author is indebted to Orlando Ridout V for furnishing the reference pertinent to The Woodlands.

> I did not think it was prudent to ask him [for plants in return], lest it should terminate that friendship; as I well know his jealousy of any person's attempt to vie with him, in a collection of plants. (1809)[205]

> His noble mansion was for many years the resort of a very numerous circle of friends and acquaintances attracted by the affability of his manners and a frankness of hospitality peculiar to himself. (1813)[206]

Knowledgeable botanist—rich, but cash-strapped—meddler, perfectionist, and "control freak"—doting (and at times wounded) uncle—lush—country gentleman—territorial expert—gracious host. In life William Hamilton wore many hats, most of which were income consuming rather than producing. By his death, Hamilton, like many men of his station, "was greatly indebted."[207] Probably more than any other class contemporary, William Hamilton lived a busy life of leisure and enjoyment. He used his time and money to appreciate and involve himself with gardening, architecture, fine food and drink, art, and various household goods. He was described in 1797 as "interested only in his house, his hothouse and his Madeira."[208] When compared to most people living in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century America, William Hamilton's life differed so much and in so many ways that it remains hard to fixate on a particular portion.

Of the two well-off Hamilton brothers William took a more unconventional route in his life and, without a wife and children to make demands on him, cultivated an elite, though acceptable idleness, an almost solely intellectual and pleasurable existence which by his death remained unrivaled by most Americans. This life was not wholly without responsibility—his mother lived with him until her 1803 passing and like his uncle, he became the dominant male force in the lives of his nieces and nephews after their father's death in 1785; however, William Hamilton probably came closest to approximating rarified country life as more commonly seen in England than in colonial or early federal America. The creation and maintenance of this lifestyle underscores the vastness of the Hamilton fortune, but it would have been impossible to live on such a grand scale without the seemingly

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[204]Manasseh Cutler to Mrs. [Mary Cutler] Torrey, 22 November 1803, from *Life Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D. by His Grandchildren*, vol. 2, ed. William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1888), 144.

[205]Bernard McMahon to Thomas Jefferson, 3 January 1809, Thomas Jefferson Papers, LOC.

[206]William Hamilton obituary, *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 8 June 1813: (3).

[207]Untitled document, 13 April 1821, GTCP, series III, box 107, folder 1—Claims Against the Estate of William Hamilton (1817–1821) in Account with James Lyle, for indebtedness; Hamilton to Parke, 2 November 1785, for "economy."

[208]Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797–1799, 1805 with Some Further Account of Life in New Jersey*, ed. and trans. Metchie J. E. Budka (Elizabeth, NJ: Grassmann Publishing Company, 1965), 53.

endless lines of commercial and banking credit offered him, available through connections made with English institutions by and the local prominence of his ancestors.

Hamilton's social stature dictated that he be well educated and acquire social graces. In terms of formal schooling, William Hamilton went as far as a young man could in eighteenth-century America without attending an English institution. He graduated from the College and Academy of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania) in 1762 with a "Baccalaureatus."[209] The College of Philadelphia—like all higher institutions and many period grammar schools—remained steeped in a classical curriculum stressing philosophy, speaking and rhetoric, and Greek and Latin. The institution benefited from Benjamin Franklin's efforts to provide for more practicality in American education and students at the College took courses in mathematics, the natural sciences, and English language composition. Between education attained through formal sources and in libraries available in the city—including his uncle's immense private library—William Hamilton could have satisfactorily pursued any intellectual interest from his first literate days. After attaining his majority and coming into his inheritance, Hamilton appears to have taken to the country and created the first planned landscapes and structures on his Schuylkill River estate sometime around 1770. At The Woodlands, Hamilton spent the next four decades creating and recreating a domestic environment that merged the natural with the built, the unplanned and unexpected with high-style design—and by all accounts his efforts were an immense success. In 1808 William Birch commented in his volume on American seats:

> This noble demesne has long been the pride of Pennsylvania. The beauties of nature and the rarities of art, not more than the hospitality of the owner, attract to it many visitors. It is charmingly situated on the winding Schuylkill, and commands one of the most superb water scenes that can be imagined. The ground is laid out in good taste. There are here a hot house and green house containing a collection in the horticultural department, unequalled perhaps in the United States. Paintings &c. of the first master embellish the interior of the house, and do credit to Mr. Wm. Hamilton, as a man of refined taste…It is about a mile from the city of Philadelphia[210]

While the two versions of Hamilton's well-located country house indicate an interest in architecture, a preoccupation with aesthetic trends, and a desire to impress, the related gardens and walks attained their much lauded state through his intense interest in practical and scientific botany. Hamilton was introduced to the natural sciences through family-owned books and this interest was augmented by formal studies at the College of Philadelphia. Hamilton developed a friendship

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[209]Long, 75.

[210]William Birch, *The Country Seats of the United States of North America with some Scenes connected with them* (Springland, PA, 1808), (3).

with the Bartram family living south of The Woodlands on the Schuylkill River.[211] Through this friendship he likely gained further insights and practical knowledge about botany—since the 1730s, the Bartrams' botanical garden and the scientific and exploration interests of father John Bartram and son William Bartram had been well-known and respected on both sides of the Atlantic. While William Bartram kept-up interest in experimental botany, the family emphasis after John Bartram's 1777 death turned more to an extensive nursery and William Hamilton rose as Philadelphia's preeminent botanist.[212] Hamilton's connections to the nation's top political leaders—Washington, Madison, Jefferson—among others, their similar socioeconomic positions, and their mutual interests in botany and estate development, resulted in his successful lobby to receive seeds sent by Lewis and Clark to the government during their exploratory trip to the Pacific in 1804–1806.[213] In addition to national interests, Hamilton's collection of outdoor and greenhouse plants was deemed ideal for the botanical studies of University of Pennsylvania students, Thomas Jefferson's grandson included, early in the 1800s.[214] Hamilton's interest in and knowledge of botany was well-enough imbedded in his popular persona that his 1813 obituary noted: "The study of botany was the principal amusement of his life."[215]

Given his age, fortune, and location, Hamilton could very well have become a key player in Revolutionary and Federal Philadelphia were it not for his family's association with the Penns and obvious service to the Crown. He wrote in 1779:

> politicks seem to take up every Body's attention & I believe there never was a great[er] variety of sentiments on any Topic…If indeed it was proper, I could not give you much Information as I keep myself for the most part out of the way, not only for my dislike of the subject as at the present handled, but because I have other Fish to fry.[216]

In declaring his "dislike of the subject as at the present handled," he indicates ambivalence toward the cause of independence. William's stance was likely an

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[211]In addition to correspondence, like other plant-minded people, Hamilton and the Bartrams exchanged plants and seeds. In 1785, Hamilton introduced the Ginkgo tree to America through a gift to William Bartram. One of these original trees is still living at Historic Bartram's Garden in Philadelphia.

[212]Hamilton's position as Philadelphia's favored botanist could have been threatened by his contemporary, the brash German-American William Young, Jr. (1742–1785). Despite his being named "Botanist to the Queen" in 1764, Young's career was entirely erratic, and he experienced disfavor and debt in addition to heady successes. Aside from the introduction of some plant species, his major contribution to the field of botany was a method for packing plants allowing their survival on long ocean voyages. He drowned in March 1785 while crossing Gunpowder Falls in Maryland, eliminating any continued challenge to the work and prominence of other Philadelphia botanists. See Michael P. Kinch, "The Meteoric Career of William Young, Jr. (1742–1785), Pennsylvania Botanist to the Queen," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 110 (Jul. 1986): 359–388.

[213]See Long, 157–160.

[214]See Long, 160–161.

[215]William Hamilton obituary, *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 8 June 1813: (3).

[216]Hamilton to William Tilghman, April 1779, Society Collection, HSP.

outgrowth of uncle's leadership positions and personal sentiments. James Hamilton supported lessening the injustices placed upon the Americans, but did not advocate a full break with the mother country.[217] Although tried (and acquitted) of treason in October 1778, William Hamilton's unclear position probably stemmed more from loyalty to a loving uncle than necessarily against the American cause.[218] Though acquitted, suspicion did not abate for William nor for his uncle James. In October 1780, William again came under attack and the governing body "banished" him for the duration of the war.[219] A sympathetic friend encouraged him to quit Philadelphia as quickly as possible, but "never to go to England till a peace is concluded," lest he incur more social and economic wrath.[220] Hamilton offered his correspondent rental of The Woodlands, which was declined, and two weeks later an ad appeared in the Pennsylvania Packet stating: "To be LET, that elegant SEAT, THE WOODLANDS, with or without the FARMS belonging to the Tract."[221] Somehow Hamilton escaped legal banishment, and threats against him did not translate into action.[222]

The Hamiltons—who made their colonial fortune in service first to the Pennsylvania proprietors and then to the Crown—survived the Revolution without confiscation of property, though like most other elite Philadelphian families their finances were in disarray. William Hamilton's fiscal confusion only compounded with the death of his uncle in 1783. Despite the apparent windfall, the estate was encumbered with such debt that William was impelled to go to England to settle matters in 1784. This trip proved somewhat counter-productive as Hamilton had to keep up two seats in
Philadelphia and support himself and a niece while in England, as well as two nephews who were staying in England for educational purposes. In one of his first letters to Philadelphia from England, Hamilton commented:

> I have since my arrival here been so fully engaged in providing temporary Lodging & necessary clothes for myself & the children, looking out for places to fix them permanently, in receiving & returning visits, & in making various arrangements that I have not yet had the power of ascertaining whether a Sum was to be obtained have for the purpose it was wanted.[223]

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[217]"James Hamilton," 463.

[218]*Pennsylvania Evening Post* [Philadelphia], 17 Oct. 1778 (postscript).

[219]John Cadwalader to Hamilton, 16 October, 1780, Cadwalader Collection, General John Cadwalader Papers, series II, box 7, Outgoing Correspondence: 1769-1786, HSP.

[220]Ibid.

[221]Ibid.; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 28 October 1780.

[222]A 12 January 1781 letter from William Tilghman to Tench Coxe noted "I parted with Billy Hamilton very well last Wednesday on his way to Annapolis. It was very agreeable to see him in Chester Town." Papers of Tench Coxe, Correspondence and General Papers, HSP.

[223]Hamilton to Parke, 1 December 1784.

Upon arrival, Hamilton realized that the cost of his stay in England well-exceeded his expectations, a point which he admitted in the same letter: "I had as I thought formed a pretty good Idea of the expences [*sic*] in this country but am sorry to say I was under the mark."[224] Beyond the literal expense, Hamilton consumed much energy immediately after his brother's death in regard to the children, writing: "that my return [from England] will be speedy is likely enough…because I have the misfortune of losing an affectionate Brother whose children have a claim on me for an early attention."[225] While he fully funded the education of his nephews, it seems that most of his interests—not surprisingly given his own proclivities—focused on the social advancement of his nieces.[226] Furthermore, he and his brother's widow, Abigail, who maintained her house in the city rather than relocate to her brother-in-law's country house, did not see eye-to-eye when it came to the children's upbringing. In one letter from England he worries about one of his nieces during their mother's period of mourning:

> From Mrs. Hamiltons [*sic*] Letters to me of her dismal and forlorn state [regarding Andrew [III]'s death], I fear it is not intended that Peggy shall go into company this winter. What is the reason of this I know not, without it is to frustrate my intentions. Altho [*sic*]I do not suppose my opinion will have any great Weight I have nevertheless written to her mother on the subject & I do entreat you to second the matter. It appears to me of the first consequence of Peggy.[227]

Not two months later, he at length expressed anxiousness about the children and their apparent neglect by their mother. He implored his friend Doctor Thomas Parke to discuss the problem with Abigail Hamilton.

> Nothing more frequently occasions the uneasiness that my uncertainty of the progress of the children make in their education. The Boys and Becky are yet too young to suffer much on their Head, but time is precious to Peggy & Molly. It is very remarkable that Mrs. Hamilton who does not want for sense & appears so much attached to Peggy & is in many instances a managing woman, never gave that kind of attention to the matter one would naturally have expected to, which she was perfectly equal if she would exert herself. With respect to Peggy I fear the time of improvement is past. The troubles & cramp'd circumstances of some of her family who might have been of service to her prevented a good foundation's being laid in preparation… her Mother…has moreover (I am told) kept her so much at Home for many months past as must have been of material disadvantage. I hope what I have before said on this subject to Mrs. H. has had effect. Poor Moll has likewise been unfortunate, for not

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[224]Ibid.

[225]Hamilton to Parke, 29 July 1785.

[226]That Hamilton continued to support his nephews while in England is evidenced by a 1788 letter in which he notes: "an immediate call for £200 sterling for the support of my nephews, which I must remit to England by the packet that will leave N. York on the 3 of April." Hamilton to Yeates, 20 March 1788, Letterbook, HSP.

[227]Hamilton to Parke, 29 July 1785.

> being a favourite [*sic*] with her mother, she could not expect much attention. It is a pity so good a capacity should remain uncultured. I am in hopes however that of late it has not been neglected. Respecting them both, my whole and sole reliance is on you. Besides your regard to them, & to the memory of their poor dear father & your friendship to me, which will I am certain make you anxious for their advancement…One thing I must request of you if it has not been done already, that you will immediately put Molly to the Harpsichord or Piano-forte. She has excellent talents for music & I should be sorry they were left unimproved…I must insist also that she is with a Dancing Master for the coming winter.[228]

Evidently Parke was unsuccessful as a November 1785 letter from William Hamilton expressed distress over the unresolved situation:

> In answer to my request to Mrs. Hamilton that Peggy might be no longer so much confined at Home, I have been answered that she should go into as many private parties as possible but that she could not go into any publick [*sic*] company for want of a person to introduce her. This is such arrant nonsense that I am out of patience on the subject…I find she was invited to a party given by John Mifflin & not permitted to go, at which I am not a little vexed.[229]

One of many intriguing comments made by Hamilton in one of above passages is noting that his sister-in-law had a favored daughter ("Peggy") and neglected one of her other daughters ("Molly"). While it is unlikely that any of the young Hamiltons were fully ignored by either their mother or their uncle, William Hamilton can hardly be excused from favoring one child over the others—in his case his niece Ann. Ann accompanied her uncle to England and beyond the trip itself, he indulged her greatly while in the country. Hamilton declared in a letter to his friend Doctor Thomas Parke: "<u>Anns</u> [*sic*] <u>last quarter alone</u> came to £60 sterling <u>exclusive</u> of her clothes & her other matters."[230] Most importantly in terms of posterity, while in England the pair sat for a full-length portrait by Benjamin West. Ann clearly benefited from a close and loving relationship with her uncle; however, his intense interest in her life led to a fierce "wounding" of William in 1792, made all the worse because Ann allied herself with her mother. In that year, Ann married James Lyle without the consent of her uncle. In a letter to James Lyle, who was making an attempt to court his soon-to-be "uncle-in-law," William Hamilton's feelings of betrayal is told with melodramatic flair.

> Happy as I thought myself in the dutiful affections of a <u>then</u> favorite child I withheld every occasion of coolness between Her & her family. But now the die is thrown. The fairy dream which had me down is

[228]Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785.
[229]Hamilton to Parke, 2 November 1785.
[230]Ibid.

> past, I have only patiently to wait the event, which I am told is just at hand & then arrange my future plans which heretofore have rested solely on the conduct of my niece Anne in fixing Life.[231]

In regard to Abigail Hamilton, it is clear that she and William did not necessarily see the upbringing and social advancement of the children in the same manner. Abigail supported the courtship of James and Ann, while William Hamilton's lack of comment on the matter—"to avoid the smallest injury to my niece's feelings"—was interpreted as "approbation" of the union.[232] In the letter, William Hamilton makes two interesting comments: "whatever may be Mrs. Hamilton's opinion of me" and after discovery of Abigail Hamilton's assistance in the courtship that Ann should be "immediately surrendered…to the mother …at her own house in 3d street."[233] The first comment suggests that Abigail Hamilton may not have held William Hamilton in high respect, the second reveals that relations between the elder Hamiltons may have created two distinct parental "camps," one at The Woodlands and one at the house in Walnut Street.

William Hamilton's correspondence with peers and family depicts a generally gracious and even-tempered man; however, he could be quite sharp when frustrated, as shown above in regard to his sister-in-law. As evidenced in the discussion of Ann's courtship and marriage, Hamilton clearly sulked when he was not involved in such serious social matters as the marriage of his favored niece. Given his privileged upbringing, it is not surprising that Hamilton was put-out and moody when made vulnerable—whether within the family or in his other dealings. In 1779 a year after narrowly escaping ruin and possible death and still being under suspicion, he showed justifiably strong negative emotion toward Philadelphia:

> Do you remember how anxious I was two or three years ago to have a peep at the Town, thro [*sic*] the center Wood. It was then an object of my regard, but at present I so cordially hate it, that although the prospect of it lately opened by the total removal of the wood is a most commanding one, & would at any other time have been admired. It is now absolutely disgusting to me. Judge by this what must be the frame of my Mind.[234]

While his anger toward some of his fellow Philadelphians was justifiable, his ability to cultivate what might be seen as "genteel" or controlled anger is useful when considering various aggravations faced after the war. His trip to England made clear that the American gentility, while a novelty to high-English society, were for the most part not on the same economic footing as their European counterparts. Hamilton's lower place in the pecking-order likely led to his terse comment: "Delightful as this country is, It has no charms for me without a great

[231]Hamilton to Lyle, 28 September 1792.
[232]Ibid.
[233]Ibid.
[234]Hamilton to Tilghman, April 1779.

deal of money."[235] Despite these monetary troubles, Hamilton did not do so well in "practicing an economy" while in Europe or at home—particularly in regard to some of the domestic and luxury goods purchased while in England.

An excellent example of his lack of monetary conservatism, again occurring while in England, focused on the purchase of an expensive new riding coach. Prior to his departure for England, Hamilton's tax list noted "one sulkey riding chair."[236] A sulky is a simple two-wheeled open vehicle—essentially a "chair" on wheels accommodating one or two passengers and drawn by one horse. However minimal, at the time ownership of any wheeled vehicle was rare and notable. Aside from their obvious usefulness, the increased use of chairs, chariots, and carriages in the eighteenth century was intimately tied to the rise of genteel culture. Not unlike substantial houses with regularized facades and manners in comportment, speech, and dress, open and—more effectively—enclosed vehicles elevated and separated genteel Americans both literally and figuratively above the streets and more "common" passerby.[237] Within a year of his arrival in London and after the realization that he was the male head of the family, Hamilton became dissatisfied with his single chair. He wrote: "as from the size of my family in the summer season I shall require a coach as well as a chariot. I intend on taking them with me from hence."[238] That his purchase was going to be a significant one in terms of his social position in Philadelphia as well as the overall politics of the age is indicated by his hesitation about the purchase: "…from the accounts we have of the state of things in America, it should seem there might be a risque [*sic*] of losing them."[239] Ultimately, Hamilton purchased one new vehicle while in England—an imposing four-wheeled, enclosed coach (also referred to as chariot) and thus had two wheeled modes of transportation at his disposal.[240] He likely made the carriage purchase just before returning to America as he writes to Parke about procuring the necessary horses for "comfortable" country living.

> To live comfortably in the country without Horses in impossible. Fewer than four for a carriage, a saddle Horse for myself, some for a servant will hardly do for the distance from Town. Bays have undoubtedly the preference & their being all that colour [*sic*] will certainly be an advantage. The difference of Expence [*sic*] between

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[235]Hamilton to Parke, 2 November 1785.

[236]Pennsylvania Tax of 1781, for quoted term; also listed in 1779, 1780, 1782, and 1783.

[237]Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 168–169.

[238]Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785.

[239]Ibid.

[240]Pennsylvania Tax of 1787, 1788, and 1789. By definition, a "coach" and "chariot" are similar enclosed vehicles with the former generally seating four and the latter two. Both forms of this large vehicle were, in Europe, closely associated with the nobility. See "Glossary of Carriages," online, accessed 8 October 2002, http:// www.bbno.freeserve.co.uk/glossary.htm. In 1789, Hamilton was taxed for three vehicles: a chariot, a chair, and a sulky. Abigail Hamilton inherited a "chair" from her husband upon his death in 1784, and it is possible that this second chair/sulky indicated that vehicle.

> handsome & plain is not very great, & Beauty I esteem a matter of the first consequence. If I said full tails (when I wrote before) I meant merely good switch Tails…[241]

This passage nicely demonstrates Hamilton's position as a connoisseur of virtually everything, as well as his intense need for control—even to the type of tails that his coach horses should possess.

The controlling aspect of Hamilton's personality appears most clearly in letters to his steward about his dwelling's reconstruction between 1786 and 1789. When away from The Woodlands he wanted daily reports from his steward Benjamin Hays Smith. In 1788 he requested of Smith: "inform me particularly of every thing of consequence for me to know more especially What is doing in every room at the Woodlands" and again in 1789, "You must not fail to go to the Woodlands every day for more reasons than one 2 [*sic*] take a Mem of the occurrences of each day.[242] Smith's conveyance of progress often reported slow-downs and problems, which did not please William Hamilton. His letters to Smith are riddled with evidence of frustration about slow work and lack of control over every detail: "…if…the directions I gave him have been unattended to I shall not be in a very good Humour;" "…pays so little attention to my other directions;" "it is a most extraordinary neglect;" "I was by no means pleased at Mr. Child's…employing people contrary to my Inclination;" "I am by no means pleased at this being done without my counsel."[243] Beyond the trouble with his workers at The Woodlands, Hamilton continued to be plagued with cash deficiencies during construction. Dismal efforts to collect rents on his Lancaster property often kept Hamilton away from The Woodlands, particularly after he relieved his Lancaster agent from duties in 1790.[244] Whether he was collecting rents, managing construction, or negotiating family activities, William Hamilton liked to retain jurisdiction. Though at times exposing an unpleasant side of his personality through a need to micromanage, Hamilton was broadly held by contemporaries as a consummate host, ruling over an estate made synonymous with hospitality and graciousness.

Hamiltonian Gentility at The Woodlands

> In the front, which commands an extensive and most enchanting prospect, is a piazza, supported on large pillars, and furnished with chairs and sofas, like an elegant room. Here we found Mr. H., at his ease, smoking his cigar. He instantly recognized Mr. Pickering, and expressed much joy at seeing him. On Mr. Pickering introducing me, he [Hamilton] took me by the hand with a pretty hard squeeze… [and said] 'Come, gentlemen, walk in and take some refreshments, for I have much to

[241]Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786.

[242]Hamilton to Smith, 28 July 1788; Hamilton to Smith, 2 May 1789, Smith, HSP.

[243]Hamilton to Smith, 12 January 1788 and 22 October 1788; Hamilton to Smith, 24 June 1789; Hamilton to Smith, 20 June 1791 and 3 August 1792, both Smith, HSP.

[244]See Long, 153–154.

> show you…I rejoice the inn was full, I am indebted to this circumstance for this visit. There is my house, we have plenty of beds, and whatever it affords is at your service.'[245]

The importance of Manasseh Cutler's above observations lay not so much in their recordation of a single past event, but rather in its illustration of elements germane to the concept of gentility as it had evolved by the first decade of the nineteenth century and more specifically its practice by wealthy Philadelphian William Hamilton. A spur-of-the-moment visit to The Woodlands found its owner not at work, but rather relaxing on the portico, which was "furnished… like an elegant room" with chairs and sofas, upholstered objects generally not found inside houses of the period let alone in an outdoor space. Instead of expressing dismay at an unscheduled visit, Hamilton genuinely welcomed an acquaintance and his traveling companion, who was already known to Hamilton likely through their mutual affection for and study of botany. After a warm greeting, he offered refreshments, a tour of his house and gardens, and lodging for the evening—"whatever [The Woodlands] affords is at your service." Hamilton's words and actions in the above scenario, as well as the setting and objects portrayed by Cutler, begin to offer comprehension of the rarified world created, maintained, and enjoyed for nearly forty years at William Hamilton's Schuylkill River estate.

William Hamilton created The Woodlands within the context of local and international estate design and construction practices. The re-creation of the house at The Woodlands late in the 1780s emphasizes, particularly, the increased complexity of wealthy Americans' residences during the second half of the eighteenth century. This expanded complexity assisted in the creation of a domestic atmosphere whereby hospitality, comfort, and increased privacy were emphasized and supported by a network of public, semi-public, and private rooms, as well as a suppressed system of service spaces within and beyond the principal dwelling. The sophisticated planning evident in the construction of the second house at The Woodlands underscores William Hamilton's concern for devising a place where he could live and entertain in an appropriate, and even lavish, manner.

Supporting Gentility: The Service Spaces at The Woodlands

In order to better understand the manner in which the major public rooms worked in William Hamilton's reconceived residence, it is best to first comprehend how the service areas were disposed within and beyond the house. Roughly one-half of the dwelling's interior area was given over to service functions, these included: an expansive cellar, attic/third floor, and portions of the first and second stories, including a separate stairway more-or-less extending from the cellar through the third floor. Very little research has been completed to date regarding non-slave service landscapes in the eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth century. When considering eighteenth-century country houses, William Hamilton's second

[245]Manasseh Cutler to Mrs. [Mary Culter] Torrey, 22 November 1803.

manifestation of The Woodlands bears more in common with English prototypes than with its American counterparts. During the eighteenth century, most estate dwellings contained a symmetrical main block, assuring an impressive approach façade. In some cases—as at nearby Mt. Pleasant (1763–1764) and Cliveden (1763–1767)—paired dependencies forward of or behind the main block augmented the ensembles' grandiosity and provided extruded kitchen and other support areas. In surviving Philadelphia estates, a free-standing kitchen separate from the dwelling was also used at Stenton (1720s) and Solitude (1784). While a common arrangement, the detached kitchen was not standard for all eighteenth-century estate houses. In a manner not unlike period urban row house construction, service spaces were frequently contained in a long ell extending from the side opposite the house's formal approach as seen, for example, at Woodford (1750s, 1770s).

It is notable that the house at The Woodlands was equipped with rather extensive internal service rooms and passages. Even more extraordinary, these areas appear to have been very well finished from the beginning. Hamilton's attitude about servants in general cannot be wholly ascertained through surviving documentation; however, he did go through the expense of plastering cellar and attic walls and ceilings; installing paneled doors, toe molding, and in some rooms chair rails; carving architrave moldings and fireplace surrounds; and installing pine plank floors.[246] While significance can no longer be fully ascertained, the house at The Woodlands was flooded by light. Monitors cut through the third-floor ceilings, the use of borrowed light for internal spaces, and large, double-hung cellar windows created light-filled service areas—"more light gave gentry rooms an entirely different feel from the rooms of ordinary houses."[247] Whether he did this on account of a generous spirit or because of a concern to fully finish the house from top to bottom, it cannot be overstated that William Hamilton's domestic staff lived and worked in an environment far more refined than most of other Americans of all socioeconomic backgrounds.

The thirteen principal rooms in the cellar and the attic were used by a staff of uncertain size and makeup. It is not verifiably known to what extent William Hamilton employed slave labor at The Woodlands. While never a dominant portion of the labor force, the African slave population in and around Philadelphia fluctuated throughout the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Peaks in slave owning occurred late in the 1720s/early in the 1730s and during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), a period when the importation of Scotch and German

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[246]Mutual Assurance Society, policy no. 3095, survey no., 1680, February 1811, for pine plank floors. While the official policy survives at the HSP, the survey does not exist there. A transcription of the survey is located at the City of Philadelphia Historical Commission where it is noted that the source of the survey is the Mutual Assurance Society Minute Book, 14 December 1809–10 December 1810, 483. The location of this minute book is not included on the typescript's handwritten citation.

[247]Bushman, 125.

indentured servants proved difficult.[248] Similarly to other northern cities, slaveowning in the Philadelphia area tended to be an urban phenomenon that occurred more often—though not exclusively—among the wealthy. Born into a gentry family William Hamilton grew up in an environment that included slaves. His grandfather counted no fewer than eight at his 1741 death and although Hamilton himself was not taxed for slaves in 1774, his mother was levied £4 for "1 Negro."[249] Seven years later in 1781 he was taxed for "1 Bound Boy 15 years ould;" that this servant was a person of African descent is confirmed in the 1783 Pennsylvania tax assessment in which he is listed simply as "1 Negroe."[250] The registers were probably referring to George Hilton, who was frequently mentioned in surviving letters and other documents.[251] During his long service, Hilton acted at times as manservant, marketer, gardener, accompanied Hamilton to England, and, in 1802, saved the house at The Woodlands from destruction by fire.[252] Rather than being enslaved, it is more likely that Hilton was an indentured servant; in 1785 Hamilton remarked that "the term of his freedom expired some time ago," yet Hilton remained "on wages with me."[253] Hilton remained at The Woodlands until at least Hamilton's 1813 death, upon which Hilton, his wife, and son all received bequests of £150.[254] Another black household servant, known alternately as "Hagar" or "Haga Africana" also received forty dollars annually upon Hamilton's death and, more relevant to her closeness with the Hamiltons, was referred to as "a woman of colour [*sic*] in my family."[255]

Given both the general and at times imprecise nature of the early censuses, it is uncertain as to what portion of the twenty-four persons listed as living at The Woodlands in 1790 were family, servants, or tenants renting the working portions

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[248]Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly* 30:2 (April 1973): 227, 229.

[249]Horle, "Andrew Hamilton," 442; 1774 Provincial Tax, registers for the City of Philadelphia, Middle Ward, 52. While no 1774 registers specific to Blockley Township—the location of The Woodlands—in Philadelphia County exist, William Hamilton was listed under his mother and taxed for, among other things, a "country seat."

[250]Pennsylvania Tax of 1781 and 1783, Blockley Township assessment ledgers, CPMA.

[251]Timothy P. Long was exceedingly generous in sharing research notes and insights regarding some of the named persons in the Hamilton family's service, George Hilton, "Hagar" or "Haga Africana," and a "Mrs. McCall."

[252]Letters between Hamilton and Smith frequently mention Hilton and his activities, particularly those between 1788 and 1792. See Smith, HSP. Hamilton to Smith, 19 March 1802, Smith, HSP, specifically for fire. Beyond his status as a household servant, a 1785 letter from Hamilton to Smith also alludes to his handsomeness and apparent reputation as a fine lover. See Hamilton to Smith, 30 September 1785, HSP. For his travel to England with Hamilton, see Hamilton to Parke, 1 December 1784, Society Collection, HSP.

[253]Hamilton to Smith, 30 September 1785. The 1790 census records no slaves present at The Woodlands. In comparison, his sister-in-law's household at "80 Third Street" still included two slaves. U. S. Decennial Census, population schedules for Blockley Township and the City of Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, 1790.

[254] Will of William Hamilton, 9 September 1811, Will Book 5, #74.

[255]Ibid., for bequest. See George Smith Collection, household accounts, HSP, for references to "Hagar" and "James Hamilton's Estate in Account with James Lyle," GTCP, series III, box 107, HSP, entry for 22 June 1820, for reference to "Haga Africana."

of the estate. Despite this difficulty, it is possible to deduce that Hamilton had sizable household and estate staffs. If nothing else, the extent of the servants' portion of the house indicates a number of domestic positions. In England, contemporary country houses on large estates included a male agent/personal secretary/steward and a female housekeeper, as well as varying numbers of personal maids, chamber maids, kitchen maids, valets, footmen, coachmen, butlers, gardeners, and general laborers. The wealthiest Americans lived on far less a grand scale than their English counterparts. As observed by Hamilton in 1785: in England: "there are elegancies & conveniences in consequence of wealth, improvements, & populousness, that it will be a long time before we shall enjoy [in America]."[256] An estate like Hamilton's, while requiring the energies of many servants and other employees, would probably have been supported by a comparatively modest staff engaged in various tasks where and when needed.

> In some eighteenth-century households—and not just small households—servants moved freely and often between roles. Far from adhering to a strict hierarchy among their servants, some households seem to have regarded the labour [*sic*] of their servants as highly flexible, changing their role to fit their employers' needs…The upstairs/downstairs model of service with a rigid servant hierarchy may well have been the invention of the Victorians.[257]

In a 1785 letter from England, Hamilton noted that he was planning on sending over an English coachman, a groom, a gardener, "& a Boy or two."[258] Given his monetary troubles, it is possible that he did not send back all of the named workers, however, additional comments in the same letter afford some understanding of his approach to those in his employ. Hamilton recounts that he resolved to keep Mr. Thomson (the gardener) "and his family" at The Woodlands because "they would be agreeable to my Mother" and "I had a confidence in him…from his knowledge of my intentions in many matters, no one could so well execute any directions of mine." Later, after embarking on his cash-strapped journey and deciding that he needed to "practice an economy," Hamilton decided that he "shall be under the necessity of discharging him" on account of the expense; "[in England] I can get a first rate gardener to go with me on very moderate terms compared with that branch at present."[259] Thomson remains at The Woodlands into the 1790s, although to what capacity remains vague.

Aside from the gardener and aforementioned black servants, other known members of William Hamilton's staff include the most important male position. In the 1780s and 1790s, Benjamin Hays Smith was Hamilton's "clerk or steward," at times acting as estate manager, construction manager, and personal and social

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[256]Hamilton to Parke, 29 July 1785.

[257]Bridget Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1996), 22.

[258]Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785.

[259]Ibid.

secretary.[260] Hamilton's correspondence with Smith while frequently away from The Woodlands provides some of the best material related to the reconstruction of the Woodlands. Hamilton instructed Smith to, among other things, speak with the master craftsman regarding the order and purchase of materials. His varied duties also included the extension of invitations for social engagements:

> Mr. Smith was directed to call last Evening at your House in order to request the favor of you to take your breakfast with us today & to get you to invite the Mr. Frasiers to join with you in a sociable family dinner at three o'clock to day.[261]

Interestingly, Hamilton does not seem too perturbed at the fact that the above written invitation was sent on account of Smith's "neglect" in his duty. Evidence shows that in addition to assisting William Hamilton, Smith also aided Abigail Hamilton in her affairs after her husband's death.[262] Despite an environment where servants acted in multiple roles as needed, a hierarchy of sorts probably existed at The Woodlands with Smith and his female counterpart—the housekeeper—occupying the top gendered roles.

At a time prior to the widespread appearance of butlers, the housekeeper oversaw most of the domestic activities within the house. The housekeeper's vital position in period households was revealed in one of Hamilton's letters in which he directed Smith to "recollect to call & make particular enquiry [sic] respecting the Housekeeper. It is a matter of the greatest consequence to the family."[263] In the 1780s and early in the 1790s, a "Mrs. McCall" appears to have been the family's housekeeper. Hamilton clearly viewed her as trustworthy, competent, and congenial, even asking Smith to "desire my love to my mother & Mrs. McCall" while away in 1792.[264] While Hamilton obviously had amiable relationships with some of his servants, he did not tolerate what he viewed as substandard behavior. In two separate situations, female servants were dismissed, seemingly after their perceived sexual misconducts were exposed.[265] True to gender expectations of the age, in one of these cases, the male servant (George Hilton) remained in good favor, while in regard to the female servant Hamilton ruled: "it is incompatible with my Ideas of propriety that she should remain any longer with my family."[266]

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[260]A document dated 6 July 1785, reiterated that in October 1784 William Hamilton gave power-of-attorney to Edward Shippen and Thomas Parke while he was out of the country. Benjamin Smith "at that time a Clerk or Steward of Mr. Hamilton" pledged that this was the case. Gratz Collection, case 1, box 16, HSP.

[261]Hamilton to Parke, 1 August 1790, Provincial, HSP.

[262]See Andrew Hamilton and Abigail Francis [Franks] Memorandum Book, 1784-1800, HSP.

[263] Hamilton to Smith, 6 November 1792, Smith, HSP.

[264]See Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786, Hamilton to Smith, undated though included in the "1789" folder and Hamilton to Smith, 11 November 1792, both Smith, HSP.

[265]See Hamilton to Smith, 11 June 1788, Smith, HSP and Hamilton to Smith, undated (1789?).

[266]Hamilton to Smith, 11 June 1788.

The activities of the domestic staff is vital to full comprehension as to the manner in which estates like The Woodlands functioned, both visibly and behind the scenes.

The only other servant referred to by position, rather than by name, in Hamilton's surviving correspondence is his "boy." This vague station likely entailed running errands of lesser importance for Hamilton. Hamilton wrote in 1779 to Tench Coxe, partner in the mercantile firm of Coxe & Frazier:

> My Boy comes for your answer respecting the wine. I wish you could tell him where he can buy any by the Gallon…also if you could tell him where he may safely get a couple of Guineas (in sixpences) changed for Cont[inental money].[267]

Perhaps on account of the suspicion surrounding him during the Revolution, Hamilton was not convinced that the "Boy" could complete the work as he added in a postscript: "Upon second Thought. If you can contrive to let your Clerk get the money changed (lest the Boy should make a mistake & draw me into a Scrape)."[268] As errand boys eventually grew up, Hamilton and his contemporaries were forced to find replacements and he noted in a letter from England that he was going to "send over…a Boy or two."[269] These servants and the countless others who go unmentioned in period sources inhabited and worked in spaces both within and outside the house.

Four of the major spaces in the cellar can be assigned likely functions given both documentary and secondary information. The easiest to identify is the kitchen, which occupied the northwest corner of the cellar directly under the dining room. This spacious room contained all of the kitchen technology available for a late-eighteenth-century house and easily accommodated the preparation of the frequent dinners that Hamilton held. There was a large fireplace with a pot crane and adjacent oven. Under the center window of the western bow was a built-in sink with an exterior drain. Notably, in the northeastern corner of the room was a stove, built near a window for ventilation purposes. Very few eighteenth-century houses contained stoves. They made their appearance as French cuisine became more prevalent among English and American households.[270] With iron grates placed over small, recessed charcoal fires, these stoves were able to provide regulated heating sources for the creation of sauces, gravies, stews, and other things requiring a low, consistent heat.[271] That socially-minded William Hamilton had one installed at The Woodlands is not surprising given his established predilection for entertaining. His contained an area for the fire

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[267]Hamilton to Coxe, 24 September 1779, Papers of Tench Coxe, Correspondence and General Papers, HSP.
[268]Ibid.
[269]Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786.
[270]Lounsbury, "stove," 357.
[271]Ibid.

directly on the (formerly) brick floor with three principal channels extending up to the stovetop. Pots placed over these circular openings would have been heated either through convection or conduction; items could also be kept warm as the entire unit would have absorbed heat from the fire.[272]

The room in the northeast corner under the drawing room was likely used as the servants' hall, which would have been the primary social space for the household staff. Meals were taken there and some light chores occurred in the room during the day. That a servants' hall existed at The Woodlands is confirmed through a 1788 letter in which Hamilton requests: "get the servants Hall tighten'd & plaister'd as I Desired."[273] The room to the south of the servants hall, reached by a curving passage, might have functioned as the cook's room. It was relatively well-finished, contained direct access to the servants' hall, and also had a large storage closet accessed only from this room with a raised wooden floor and ventilating louvers. It's name and function is suggested by a reference to boards "for the cooks closet."[274] The room opposite in the southwest corner probably functioned as the steward's office. This unheated room was well-protected with iron bars surviving on one exterior window and on an interior opening that provided light for an interior passage extending from the kitchen. This passage terminates in an exterior door near the office door. The office functioned as the managerial center of estate, the place where internal and external accounts and other paperwork and records were housed.[275] Hamilton refers to the "office shutters" in construction correspondence and he may have been speaking of this room.[276]

From the servants' vestibule in the cellar a secondary vertical service axis extends up to the attic with a break at the second-story passage. This stair allowed servants to pass throughout the house efficiently and with as little visibility as possible. Given its interior location, strategic placement of windows allowed for the passage of "borrowed light" from external rooms into the otherwise dim circulation space. For example, light entered the large window in the first-floor pantry (currently a bathroom) adjacent to the dining room and passed over the barrel-vaulted passage extending between the vestibule and dining room through two windows opening onto the service stair. The former pantry's current dropped ceiling is a twentieth century alteration. Additional illumination was provided by means of oval windows opening onto the barrel-vaulted passage from both the pantry and the stair. Even at times when the shutters in the pantry needed to be closed, a degree of natural light still entered through round perforations in the top panel of the window shutters. Beyond allowing servants maneuverability throughout the house, the service stair would have also provided a highly

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[272]Mutual Assurance Society, survey no. 1680.
[273]Hamilton to Smith, 3 January 1788.
[274]Hamilton to Smith, 25 January 1789.
[275]Merlin Waterson, *The Servants' Hall: A Domestic History of Erddig* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 79.
[276]Hamilton to Smith, 25 January 1789.

functional means of cooling the house during the hot summer months as warm air flowed upwards and out of three operable monitors originally cut through the attic ceilings (only one survives).

In terms of the attic rooms and other sleeping areas, Hamilton made only a few references in letters. While in London, Hamilton wrote to Parke regarding preparations he would like made at the Woodlands prior to the arrival of the servants he was sending over. He states: "would it not be well enough on the arrival of my Servants to put them into the back room of the Green House…[or] Possibly [they] may make out in the garret for a little while."[277] It is clear from this passage that some of the servants slept beyond the quarters in the house. While the garret referred to may have been in one of the subsidiary farm houses scattered throughout the estate, another period reference to a "garret" indicates that he could have been speaking of a room in his house's attic. In 1789 with the reconstruction of the house coming to a close, Hamilton asked that the "ox-eye in the men's garret" be repaired, as "it was only fit for a bawdy house."[278] This comment refers to one of two unheated rooms located behind the pediments on the house's north and south sides. It is possible to postulate that low-status servants resided in the space, dormitory style, and could also imply that there was a "women's garret" located at the opposite end of the passage. Regardless of where they slept, Hamilton noted that he wanted the servants to have "a couple of good common tight…Bedsteads with necessary bedding" which were infestation-free, probably as much for the threat of a general problem as for the comfort of his employees.[279]

It is clear that between the comments on the bedding and the highly-finished nature of the service spaces that Hamilton intended to give a modicum of comfort to his servants. This cross-class concern was inverted in the creation of service routes on the first and, to a lesser extent, the second floors. In this conception, Hamilton sought to buffer guests from "vulgar" service areas and activities. Without ever visiting the house, a genteel guest was given visual cues through interior finishes in order to avoid doors and passages designated as service only. While most often employed for designation of important rooms and to rank-order public spaces, hierarchical systems of finish were often found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century houses.[280] At The Woodlands, simple articulation of wall and door paneling—a rectangular recess void of any molding—signified that it was usually, but not exclusively, used by servants. The passage extending between the vestibule and the dining room is flanked by the service stair on the south and, originally, a pantry on the north, both spaces are accessed by means of doors

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[277]Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786.
[278]Hamilton to Smith, October 1789.
[279]Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786.
[280]See Orlando Ridout V, *Building the Octagon* (Washington, D.C.: The American Institute of Architects Press, 118–120, and Edward Chappell, "Looking at Buildings," from *Fresh Advices: A Research Supplement*, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, November 1984, 3–4, for further discussion of finish hierarchies in historic houses.

bearing this simple paneling arrangement. East of these doors there are two similarly paneled doors which, when open, fold back flush into the wall. When closed, they form an uninterrupted, though temporary, staging area for servants—giving them easy access to the cellar, the pantry, and the dining room without being seen. To guests entering the vestibule, their closed state and decidedly less-articulated form discourage entrance.

In a similar manner the doors between the dining room and the southwest cabinet, and the drawing room and the southeast cabinet were articulated to restrict access. Two sets of jib doors—one for each opening—faced onto the four rooms and were designed to "provide minimal visual impact" (only the doors facing onto the drawing and dining rooms remain in place.[281] While formal balance within in room was often the reason for employ a jib door, on account of its "low profile," it was often also used for service circulation.[282] In essence, they were rendered socially invisible, even while they were not, in physical reality, invisible. Guests would know not to use them, because they did not "see" them. One 1806 anecdote written in a diary entry about The Woodlands noted:

> this room [dining room] being papered, the door leading to the garden parlour [*sic*] is not Seen. this was the occasion of great surprise to a formal pompous gentleman, who finding the company about to withdraw, stalked slowly to open the principal door, & when he turned, nobody was to be seen, the company having passed through the concealed door.[283]

Regardless of its absolute veracity, this recounted event suggests that the door was not regularly in use during nights when Hamilton was entertaining. A small door opens into the concealed space between the southwest cabinet and dining room doors (roughly 2'-0" x 3'-0). This door accesses a chase that extends from the basement to the second floor. Currently used to carry ductwork, it was almost certainly a dumbwaiter during the Hamiltonian occupancy.

That the door between the dining room and the southwest cabinet appears to have been a service-oriented jib door is significant as it lessens the likelihood that a passage once existed between the service stair and the southwest cabinet. A well-finished barrel-vaulted brick space curves westward between the rounded ends of the dining room and the saloon towards the southwest cabinet. Some historical plans of the house conjecturally show the passage as connecting through to the dining room, as well as other passages that never existed.[284] Despite its location and perhaps its inspiration, it probably never functioned as a service passage. The southwest cabinet shows no evidence that a door ever opened into its northeast corner, and at some point a brick flue completely blocked full movement through

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[281]Lounsbury, "jib door," 194.
[282]Ibid.
[283]Drayton, 54.
[284]See Kimball, 147, from earlier drawings by Ogden Codman.

the "passage." On the service stair end, a very well-finished closet—with a raised floor and entirely lathed and plastered—also blocked access into the space. That this closet almost certainly dates from the Hamiltonian (ca. 1790–1820) occupation of the house is indicated by its high level of finish and the built-in beaded boards, both characteristic of the service areas at The Woodlands. Additional physical evidence can be ascertained through a hole created in closet's the rear wall, revealing a full-height brick wall blocking access through the passage about eight feet beyond the closet. The most compelling evidence against it being used as a service passage are the brick walls and vault themselves; they show no sign they were ever plastered. Given the high level of finish throughout the house it is unlikely that Hamilton would not have had this passage finished as well. A likely scenario features Hamilton conceiving of a direct passage to the southwest cabinet—initially intended for taking some meals—and for unknown reasons choosing to close-off this planned circulation route sometime during overall construction.

Further buffering of genteel activities on the main floor from the service activities below came in the way of plaster and hay used between the floors. Where evidence is visible, the undersides of the floorboards were lathed and plastered. Below this plaster, between the joists, was hay held in place by boards; this layer was masked by more lathing and finish plaster affixed to the underside of the floor joists. Altogether, this triple layering of material would have greatly reduced the passage of sound and smell through to the floors above. This layering also would have provided a degree of fire resistance if the event had occurred.

A final and important note regarding the service spaces within the house at The Woodlands—they were integrally tied to support areas beyond the house. While a visitor commented in 1806 that "the domestic offices are below [in the house's cellar]," kitchen gardens, privies, the stable/carriage house, the greenhouse, an ice house, a laundry and other facilities existed as landscapes and outbuildings elsewhere on the estate.[285] Like the service circulation within the house, the connection between the well-articulated and architecturally complimentary stable building and the house was particularly impressive and sophisticated. Curving outward to the northwest from the western bow/cryptoporticus was a paved pathway. Beginning below the grade of the oval drive, the path "spreads as it ascends, into the [stable] yard."[286] Essentially a rising service passage widened into a ground-level yard in front of the stable/carriage house. As it was mostly below-grade in regard to the entrance drive, it was rendered invisible; "loose hedges" were also employed to provide further camouflage for the passage from the surrounding garden.

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[285]Drayton, 53.

[286]Drayton, 53, for plan; Drayton, 60–61, for description; see also Long, 63–65, for discussion of this passage in reference to the Drayton diary.

Promoting Gentility: The Public Rooms at The Woodlands

The creation of a sophisticated system of service movement throughout the house and grounds enabled William Hamilton to form—for his family, friends, and other guests—a genteel social environment in which to pursue pleasurable leisure activities. During the eighteenth century, gentry houses grew in size, room number, finish quality, and furnishings. These changes directly reflected a rise in leisure among wealthy colonists, as well as an increasingly complex code of social conduct that was known to like people throughout British North America. Well-finished and furnished drawing rooms—with all daily work functions exported elsewhere—allowed for the display of expensive objects and a location for both formal and informal entertainment. Similarly conceived, the increasingly important act of dining required its own room and often provided the most impressive backdrop for genteel activity within a house. The importance of the dining room and drawing room, in particular, was underscored by restriction on access. The appearance of entryways independent of living spaces occurred early in the eighteenth century. By mid-century, large estate houses and some townhouses more often than not contained a central or offset passage running from front to back onto which all of a particular floors' rooms opened. This room arrangement allowed for increased privacy as well as flexibility in function. By the 1780s, no gentry house was complete without a plan arranged around circulation passages and containing, at the very least, two impressive public rooms. The recreated house at The Woodlands included all of the rooms necessary for high-style entertainment and these were arranged in a particularly dramatic fashion.

William Hamilton's neoclassical house departed from the by-then conventional estate house plan of a central passage flanked by four primary rooms and instead relied upon a series of intersecting axes for room arrangement. The three most important rooms were easily accessed from the domed vestibule entered on its north side: the drawing room to the east through the stairhall; the dining room to the west through a barrel-vaulted passage; and the impressive saloon ahead to the south. These rooms were the primary public rooms in the house. The two standard eighteenth-century public rooms—the drawing and dining rooms—balanced one another on the north side. Indeed, in period English examples these rooms were often paired for convenience of the entertaining ritual whereby men remained in the dining room after dinner and women retired to the drawing room.

> The [dining room and drawing room] reigned as king and queen over the other rooms. The nature of the relationship was quite often underlined by putting a matching drawing room and dining room to either side of a hall or antechamber…and expressing this externally by a symmetrical façade.[287]

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[287]Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 233.

These rooms at The Woodlands were disposed, and likely used, in a similar manner. The estate was associated with sociability and entertainment both during William Hamilton's lifetime and for a brief time after his death. Surviving invitations from earlier in the 1780s asking Doctor Thomas Parke to dinner and tea at The Woodlands were, no doubt, common.[288] One friend of the Hamilton family later reminisced that, "he kept a hospitable house, entertained gentlemen frequently, and ladies occasionally."[289] This comment about entertaining men only is underscored by a 13 May 1783 invitation stating: "Mr. W. Hamilton requests the honor of Dr. Parke's company to partake of a bachelor's dinner on Tuesday."[290] In order to set a proper table, Hamilton—like his other class contemporaries—owned a great deal of plate, which by the end of the eighteenth century likely included far more silver than pewter. In 1779, Hamilton was taxed for 64 ounces of plate; a total that held steady over the next few years.[291] Six years later, Hamilton was only assessed for 20 ounces of plate.[292] While possibly sold-off to help fund his trip to England in 1784–1786, the two-thirds reduction of the 1779 total more likely stemmed from a wish to "furnish…myself with some plate in the present taste" while in Europe.[293] Hamilton apparently did not take the old plate with him, rather after being in England for almost a year he wanted it sold in America and the proceeds forwarded or shipped to England for sale there. "I was in hope before this to have received the plate…or its value being very anxious to supply its place by the new articles I intend to have made here."[294] As late as March 1786, two or so months before his departure, he had still not received the plate nor any money.[295] Hamilton may have returned to Philadelphia without the new plate, otherwise he returned after the year's taxes were collected, as he was again assessed for 20 ounces in 1786.[296] At some point during the next year, he came into ownership of more than three times the original quantity of plate and was taxed for 200 ounces.[297] With a greatly expanded collection of plate, Hamilton could entertain on a grand scale, a scale no doubt befitting his rapidly expanding country house.

Despite the paramount social meanings and probable more frequent use of the dining and drawing rooms, the third major public room at The Woodlands—the saloon—stood as the house's most visually impressive. The grand room rises to a height of approximately 15'-0" and terminates on the east and west in hemicyles bearing marble-floored niches flanking doors into the southeast and southwest rooms. The south wall contains three marble-floored recesses each with French windows opening onto the portico. In terms of size, originality, and prospect,

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[288]See Pemberton, vol. 37, 39, and 50, HSP.
[289]*Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher,* 221.
[290]Pemberton, vol. 39.
[291]Pennsylvania Tax of 1779, Blockley Township assessment ledger, CPMA.
[292]Pennsylvania Tax of 1785, Blockley Township assessment ledger, CPMA.
[293]Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786.
[294]Hamilton to Parke, 2 November 1785.
[295]Hamilton to Parke, 8 March 1786.
[296]Pennsylvania Tax of 1786, Blockley Township assessment ledger, CPMA.
[297]Pennsylvania Tax of 1787, Blockley Township assessment ledger, CPMA.

there was likely at the time no domestic space in Philadelphia rivaling William Hamilton's saloon. While the drawing and dining rooms also hosted more mundane, day-to-day activities, the saloon mainly existed for the "formal reception and entertainment of guests."[298] Often located at the center of the house and thus receiving a great amount of air circulation, the saloon was also a place-of-refuge during the hot summer months.[299] A memoir from the mid-nineteenth century underscores this dual function at The Woodlands: "it was a noble room for dancing, and delightfully cool in summer."[300] Use of the room was not restricted to the warm part of the year. A cannon stove—a tall and narrow enclosed stove resembling a cannon turned on end—provided heat for the saloon in the winter and was located in one of the hemicycle niches.[301] Both documentary evidence and surviving fabric attest to the widespread use of mirrored doors, window shutters, and panels throughout the house's public rooms.[302] This expanse of mirrors contributed to the creation of a magical, light-filled world in which his uniquely shaped rooms appeared all the more exciting to visitors experiencing light and reflection in very extremely novel ways. There were probably few places that could rival such an experience anywhere in the country at that time.

However important Hamilton's saloon may have been for seasonal living and large entertainments, it also functioned in another very important way, for the display of art—a practice that even among wealthy Americans was quite rare in the eighteenth century. Of all aspects of gentility imported by North Americans during the eighteenth century, none remained as singular as collecting art. The Hamiltons were among a small group of Americans that thought about painting and sculpture in a serious, although when considering contemporary English collections, still modest manner.[303] Significantly, it was not William Hamilton who inaugurated the family's forays into the art world, but the actions of his uncle more than a generation earlier. By the mid-eighteenth century, James Hamilton was already a patron of the arts. In 1752, he hired portrait-painter John Wollaston—among the first English practitioners in the colonies—to create "2 half length Pictures."[304] James Hamilton continued to support and further the careers of Philadelphia-based artists, even so far as to loan money for the

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[298]Lounsbury, "saloon, salon," 315.

[299]Ibid.

[300]*Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher,* 220.

[301]Hamilton to Smith, 12 October 1789, as cited in Betts, 234, for "cannon stove;" Drayton, 55, for stove location.

[302]See Long, 61–62.

[303]See Angela D. Mack and J. Thomas Savage, "Reflections of Refinement: Portraits of Charlestonians at Home and Abroad" and Maurie D. McInnis "Picture Mania: Collectors and Collecting in Charleston," both in *In Pursuit of Refinement: Charlestonians Abroad, 1740–1860*, ed. Maurie D. McInnis and Angela D. Mack (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999) and Ella M. Foshay, *Mr. Luman Reed's Picture Gallery: A Pioneer Collection of American Art* (New York: Abrams, 1990), for information related to art and art collecting in America from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.

[304]Ledger entry, 20 October 1752, James Hamilton Cashbook, 1739–1757, HSP.

education of famed American expatriate painter, Benjamin West. A February 1770 letter to his London agents suggests concern about recouping some of that money since West had attained fame and success.

> At my leaving London, I deposited with Mr. John Barclay a note of Mr. Benjamin West the painter settled by himself, upon which if I rightly remember there was thirty odd pounds due. If he has not already paid this money into your hands, I beg you will send one of your people to present the note for payment, but without any vehement pressing…if he is…so flourishing…as is represented, that he should so long delay or neglect to pay this money which is only a small part of what I advanced to him eight or nine years ago to enable him to proceed with his studies in Italy without the least thought of advantage to myself.[305]

About five years earlier, Hamilton had his portrait painted by West.[306] By the time of James Hamilton's death in 1783, despite the continued rarity and value of major works, the Hamilton family had more paintings and "pictures" than they knew what to do with. On the eve of his departure to England, Hamilton forwarded instructions to his steward regarding some objects at Bush Hill, now in his ownership. "The two large pictures of Latona & the Rape of Proserpine now in the green House may be sold."[307] Being stored in the greenhouse at Bush Hill, these "two large pictures" were already superfluous to the Hamiltons, and presumably had already been replaced with something better. Their sale also indicates William Hamilton had no use for them at The Woodlands, alluding to the presence of another burgeoning art collection. William Hamilton continued to expand his own holdings, even to the point of selling art likely viewed as out-of-date, not for appreciation elsewhere but for reuse of the canvas. He wrote to his steward in 1792:

> When you go to Rutter mention that there are near a dozen of old pictures (portraits) the canvass of which is as good as new. They are all on good stretching frames [and] (by covering them with a coat of white lead) for painting one. Possibly he may not know it but it is a well known fact in England that to a painter of old paintings, provided the canvas is in tolerable order, are as precious for painting on as an old Madeira cask is to a wine connousier [*sic*].[308]

By William Hamilton's adulthood, the family possessed an intense interest in, a collection of, and insights about the production of artistic works. The earlier passage regarding James Hamilton's paintings of Latona and the Rape of

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[305]James Hamilton to David and John Barclay, 20 February 1770, James Hamilton Papers, Letter Book, 1749-1783, HSP.

[306]This portrait, painted ca. 1765, is now located at Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[307]Hamilton to Smith, 6 October 1784, Society Collection, HSP.

[308]Hamilton to Smith, 7 November 1792, Smith, HSP.

Proserpine underscores the manner in which art collecting, despite its expense and rarity in the colonies, easily extended from another aspect of genteel life, namely familiarity with classical myths and themes. Knowledge of this type was a key component of the formal and informal education offered to both men and women of the gentry. The link between classicism and the artistic environment embodied by Hamilton's estate appeared overtly in a poem published in 1809, where the writer feels that she should never have to visit Rome if she could "often wander" The Woodlands.[309] In the poem "Laura" reflects:

> Then, while within the *Woodland's* fair domain.
> The Muses rove, and Classic pleasures reign
> For distant climes no longer will I sigh,
> No longer wish to distant realms to fly;[310]

In addition to displaying wealth and intellectual sophistication, paintings and "pictures" hung in public rooms, like exquisite furniture, fabrics, books, and other interesting objects, provided a launching-point for genteel conversation and the display of wit and diverse knowledge. Like his uncle before him, Hamilton not only collected art, but also commissioned works of his own. Prior to leaving for England, Hamilton instructed his agent that the artist: "must be paid five guineas on the delivery of peggy's picture, and 15 guineas on that of nancys [*sic*]. I am sorry to say I saw no likeness in nancys the last time I was at his Room."[311] The second-half of the eighteenth century saw portraiture become the dominant form of art patronization by upper-class Americans and Hamilton paid a local Philadelphia artist to create images of two of his nieces.[312] Likely on account of the family's relationship with the artist, as well as his by-then extreme fashionability, Hamilton sought out Benjamin West while in England for the creation of a full-size double portrait of Hamilton and his favored niece Ann. Despite its commission in the 1780s, the portrait was not finished until just before Hamilton's 1813 death.[313] In completing the portrait, West repainted the entire canvas with the exception of the heads so that the finished portrait "may possess the accumulated practice which twenty years' study has added to the period since the picture was first undertaken;" he noted that he would not charge additional fees for the changes.[314] In addition to likenesses of the Hamilton family members, William Hamilton also sought to immortalize his country seat.

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[309]"Laura," "For the Port Folio: The Woodlands," *Port Folio* 1 (Feb. 1809): 180–181.
[310]Ibid.
[311]Hamilton to Smith, 6 October 1784.
[312]See McInnis, "Picture Mania."
[313]Benjamin West to Robert Barclay, 5 September 1810, Etting Collection, Artists, 93, HSP. The double portrait of William Hamilton and his niece Ann Hamilton Lyle by West was donated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1873 by Thomas Kuhn and currently hangs in the Society's main reading room.
[314]Ibid.

Hamilton supported at least one other local artist, an artist who ultimately painted Hamilton's house and included it in a book about American estates. In 1800, along with such people as Thomas Jefferson, then vice president, architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, the mayor of New York, the governor of Pennsylvania, and the British and Spanish ministers, Hamilton was listed as a "subscriber" to William Birch's *Views of Philadelphia*, thus providing some of the capital necessary to complete the volume.[315] While The Woodlands was not included in this volume, it was featured in Birch's later *The Country Seats of the United States of North America with some Scenes Connected with Them* (1808).[316] While no subscribers were included in this volume, the description of The Woodlands was the longest of all and particularly favorable—perhaps indicating both its extreme beauty as well as Hamilton's possible assistance in the book's production.

With a love of and collecting mania for art established through family and personal impetuses, William Hamilton surely considered where art would be displayed when he planned the house's expansion in the 1780s. Surviving physical evidence, two period sources, and one later memoir help to place art objects within and beyond the house. It has been suggested that the West portraits of James Hamilton, and later, William Hamilton and Ann Hamilton Lyle hung in the shallow niches on either side of the dining room entry.[317] Prior to the completion of the double portrait, an 1809 description of the house notes that a Wertmüller copy of a Sir Godfrey Kneller portrait of Andrew Hamilton [I] hung in its place in the dining room.[318] In the saloon, Hamilton possessed a number of sculptural pieces, executed both in-the-round as well as in bas relief. The 1809 description places a marble statue of Antinous (perhaps opposite the niche with the cannon stove) in one hemicycle and "a beautiful group" of bronzes portraying "Apollo in pursuit of Daphne with Peneus at her feet, in a style worthy of the Grecian sculptors" located across the room.[319] A diary entry made late in 1806 notes the presence of a bas relief sculptural panel "so done with Lions" hung above one of the saloon doors.[320] The 1809 article also concentrates on the southeast and southwest cabinets referred to as "two large cabinets of gems." While early-on, Hamilton envisioned one of these rooms—probably the southwest cabinet—as informal eating space, by the end of his life this space had also been given-over to artistic display.[321] The southeast cabinet was likely planned to display art from the beginning. Instead of plaster, the walls were fitted with

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[315]William Birch, *City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, North America, as it Appeared in the Year 1800* (Springland, PA, 1800).

[316]William Birch, *The Country Seats of the United States of North America with some Scenes connected with them* (Springland, PA, 1808).

[317]*Recollections*, 221. This memoir mistakenly attributes the double portrait of William Hamilton and Ann Hamilton Lyle to "Stewart," likely referencing the portraitist "Gilbert Stuart," who studied under West.

[318]Oldschool, 505–506.

[319]Ibid., 506.

[320]Drayton, 55.

[321]Hamilton to Smith, 20 June 1791, for reference to a "breakfast Parlour."

tightly-laid boards. The upper portion, separated from the lower by a chair rail, was presumably covered in canvas or fabric, and organized, at least on the south wall, into units by means of Doric pilasters.[322] While the article does not make a distinction between the art in the rooms, it describes their appearance in this manner:

> 'On every side the living canvas speaks.' The walls are decorated with the works of several of the ancient painters, from the Italian, Dutch, and Flemish schools, many of which are of great merit. Those perhaps most conspicuously eminent are four very fine paintings by Gerhard Douw, a delicious fruit piece by Van Huysum, and a Holy Family by Schudt. Let it be mentioned, however, to the praise of a living artist, Wertmuller, that, compared with all these fine specimens of the ancients, his exquisite picture of a half length Danae, ranks among them as proudly preeminent.[323]

The quantity of and subject matter in art present at The Woodlands meant that art was also hung in rooms well beyond the public spaces on the first floor. Young Philadelphia socialite Harriet Manigault described two of the paintings that she encountered on the house's second story while on a visit there in November 1814.[324] The text of the diary entry indicates that Manigault was close friends with or even kin of the Hamiltons, and the close familial links likely provided access to artwork purposely located remote from the casual gaze. She commented that the life-sized painting of Venus in ("Uncle") Andrew Hamilton's room "as being a most *disgusting* looking thing," and reflected that the "small Danae" in ("Uncle") James Hamilton's room "frightful; she is on the point of receiving Jupiter in the shape of a *shower* of *gold*."[325] Both paintings were "very correctly concealed by...curtain[s]."[326] It is clear that some people might have found either the rendering of the image and/or the symbolism shocking and these works were not only located in more private second-story chambers, but also behind curtains. They were obviously seen as appropriate within a private masculine domain, and only visited by women occasionally and even then in a single-sex group.

The fantastic collection of portraits, paintings, and bronze and marble sculpture within the house was, not surprisingly given the intimate design relationships between the house and surrounding landscape, mimicked by architecture and sculpture outside of the house. As already noted, the stable building, visible from the north (carriage) front of the house carried the neoclassical design elements of the house into an outbuilding. Not far from the stable stood a magnificent

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[322]The board walls are extant and the pilaster ghosts dividing the south wall into sections also survive.

[323]Oldschool, 506.

[324]Harriet Manigault, *The Diary of Harriet Manigault, 1813–1816* (Rockland, ME: Colonial Dames of America, Chapter II [Maine-Coast Printers], 1976), 61 [25 Nov. 1814]. The author is indebted to Aaron Wunsch for knowledge of the diary passage.

[325]Ibid.

[326]Ibid.

greenhouse structure, among the most opulent in America at the time. Finally, scattered throughout the walks and planned gardens was statuary.[327]

By the time of his death, William Hamilton created a domestic landscape on the banks of the Schuylkill River that was likely unsurpassed anywhere in the country when considering its overall architectural presence, exceptional room arrangement, collection of art, furniture, and other luxurious objects, and its finely laid-out grounds and outbuildings. William Hamilton constructed a domestic realm that tangibly exhibited nearly every aspect of genteel life as it evolved late in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century. In his extreme interest in all things artistic and stylish, his mostly genial nature and proclivity for leisure and entertainment, and his passion for intellectual and practical pursuits, particularly in botany and horticulture, Hamilton was the definitive "gentleman" and The Woodlands embodied an Americanized ideal of country estate. The Woodlands was known up and down the Atlantic coast and became a clear destination point for visitors to Philadelphia.

> I am determined to go to his House which looks very inviting and see all that is worth seeing. I daresay you have often heard of it. The Woodlands it is called—just over the Schuylkill.[328]

After William Hamilton's death in 1813, The Woodlands passed to his nephew James Hamilton [II]. Not unlike William's relationship with and tutelage in aspects of genteel life by his bachelor uncle, James [II] attained adulthood after his father's death and obviously forged a close tie with his single uncle William. At the time of Hamilton's death, James [II] had not married and accounts of life at The Woodlands in the four years before his untimely passing indicate that James and the other Hamiltons resident at the house wished to pursue life in a manner much like William before them. Diary entries made between 1814 and 1816 by wealthy merchant-turned-gentleman Samuel Breck frequently note social trips to The Woodlands that at times included tea or dinner.[329] After James Hamilton's 1817 death—duly noted in Breck's diary—the trips to the grounds did not cease, but the entertainments at The Woodlands appear to have slowed. An entry of 3 August 1820 by Breck provides the most solid evidence that its physical upkeep and associated lifestyle began to tax the Hamilton family and they desired to divest themselves of the still-grand property.

> We rode to the Woodlands this afternoon. The grounds are all in superb order. The place with one hundred acres of ground is for sale at seventy-five thousand dollars. Altho' the state of the times forbid the hope of making a sale at that price, I do not think it too high.[330]

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[327]Drayton, 58.

[328]Stoddert to Lowndes, 23 September 1799.

[329]See "The Diary of Samuel Breck, 1814–1822," ed. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (October 1978): 469–508.

[330]Ibid., 498–499.

Eight years later, The Woodlands was sold out of the family, its contents scattered, and its clear association with and setting for an opulent estate lifestyle forever broken. While The Woodlands has not passed entirely out of memory, its preeminent place among late-eighteenth-century country estates has not been fully recognized. In a similar manner, on account of placing his actions and energies outside of key political and economic realms at a time when Philadelphia was the center of both, William Hamilton's position as a truly exceptional American has not been fully ascertained. Hamilton's headstrong movements in regard to architecture, art collecting, and botany and gardening remain among the greatest, yet least-known stories late of the late eighteenth century.

PART II: ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION[331]

A. General Statement:

1. Architectural character: Constructed of locally-quarried schist, William Hamilton's seat at The Woodlands contains one of the preeminent, if not the most august, neoclassical house interiors in the United States. Beyond the extreme spatial sophistication of the expansion and retrofitting in the 1780s, the monumental portico on the house's south face is notable in its own right. Likely included as part of the original ca. 1770 country house forming the core of the present structure, this feature was likely the first of its kind in Philadelphia and ranks among the earliest in America.

2. Condition of fabric: exterior, fair; interior, poor.

B. Description of Exterior:

1. Overall dimensions: 96'-2" x 68'-7 ¾", including east and west window bays, south-facing portico, and north-facing terrace. The main two-story block is roughly 84' x 42'.

2. Foundations: The foundation walls are constructed of random-coursed rubble stone to thicknesses ranging mostly between 1'-6" and 2'-0"

3. Walls: With the exception of the visible window surrounds—which are of brick—the load-bearing exterior walls are constructed of Wissahickon schist and gneiss. The center sections on the north and south walls, defined by the portico and engaged temple front, faced in stucco; the foundation walls are covered in scored concrete up to the first-floor sill

[331] Summer 2002 field photographs and photocopies of building plans can be found in the field notes.

line. Except for traces of a yellow wash in some protected places, the remainder of the exterior walls are not currently stuccoed, roughcasted, or limed.

North Facade: As the historical land approach, this symmetrical elevation is arranged in three parts with an engaged Ionic temple-front flanked by two wings which step out twice from the central wall plane. In the center section, three bays containing a door and windows are defined by Ionic pilasters which "uphold" a cornice with rosettes, in turn surmounted by a denticulated pediment on the attic story containing an oxeye window. The upper and lower openings in each bay are separated by shallow rectangular recesses. In each wing, a recessed arch accommodates glazed folding doors, a fanlight, and engaged column/pilaster pairs in a pseudo-Venetian arrangement.[332] A single window is present above each of the arches. A 6'-0" deep platform with three stairs rising from the circular drive extends across the north front of the house; a cryptoporticus formed by a flattened arch under the terrace provides its support. This arch is propped up by a concrete block wall and steel posts, of a recent vintage. The undifferentiated terrace surface is surrounded by a border of stone.

South Facade: As the imposing garden/water front, this symmetrical elevation is dominated by a large tetra prostyle portico two columns deep in the Tuscan order. The portico is raised up on a battered stone base and covered by a roof with a denticulated pediment and oxeye window nearly identical to that on the north front. Unlike the north front, the south wall remains essentially in a single plane, although the center section under the portico is stuccoed and scored to resemble ashlar blocks. A stuccoed stringcourse is present between the first and second stories. The three bays of the portico each feature an arched door with a window in a crosseted frame above. The flanking "wings" are separated from the portico by means of pilasters in line with the portico columns. First-floor niches and recessed blind roundels provide for further separation, perhaps in lieu of a significant plane change. As on the north façade, recessed arches contain Venetian windows composed of a large double-hung window flanked by narrow fixed sash and topped by a fanlight. One window is located above each of the Venetians and a semi-circular window opening is present at ground level.

East and West Elevations: These walls are essentially identical mirror images. Their dominant features are graceful rounded bays on the north sides, each containing three curved windows per story. Each floor

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[332]Folding doors" is a term used in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America that referred to a pair of interior or exterior doors hinged on opposing jambs in the same doorway. Another period term more commonly in use today is "double doors." When fully glazed, folding doors were often referred to as "French windows," or "French doors" in modern usage.

contains five openings in total, all except two on the west side are windows. The first-floor openings are a full story in height.

4. Structural systems, framing:

All of the major exterior and some of the interior walls are of load-bearing masonry, mostly stone, but also some brick. Brick barrel-vaults are stacked one on another at various places in the cellar and on the first and second stories. The complex construction of the public rooms is accomplished through stud walls, as are a number of the interior partitions on the second and third floors. Nearly all of the cellar room walls are of stone. Recent structural intervention included the insertion of steel posts and beams to stop the deflection of the first-floor joists.

The roof structure exists in two parts with the roof of the original house encased within the structure of the 1780s roof. As a result of this situation and the considerable twin chimney masses, the joinery for the later hip roof and cross gables to the north and south is, not surprisingly, complex. In terms of components, most of the members are common rafters with wood props assisting the large spans. The removal of floor boards in the room over the portico reveals one massive beam (presumably there is a similar one on the west side) extending out to the forward portico columns, which contain at their centers hewn posts; another hewn beam extends across the front of the portico. Originally, the lateral beams rested on the house's stone walls and supported the roof rafters and attic floors, as well as the portico ceiling.[333] The joints were mortise-and-tenoned and large iron spikes kept the lateral beams from slipping off the outer-most vertical posts.[334] Degradation discovered in the 1960s required the addition of steel channels on either side of the beams, blocks bolted their intersection with the vertical posts within the splined columns, and the posts received new concrete bases in order to discourage rot.

5. Openings:

a. Doors and doorways:

Six doors are cut into the north wall, three opening onto the cryptoporticus and three onto the north terrace. The primary entrance at the center of the first floor is contained within a frontispiece consisting of two Ionic columns topped by denticulated impost blocks which are in turn surmounted by a denticulated segmental pediment. A rounded door frame containing folding doors and a fanlight is present within these

[333]Brumbaugh, Portico, 3–4.
[334]Ibid.

tabernacle frame. Each door holds three fixed lights and one simple panel; recesses on the interior indicate that the original doors were meant to fold back into the wall when open. The ornate fanlight has metal muntins, most of which are structural.

Two identical pairs of glazed folding doors are located in the wings of the north façade. These are contained within recessed arches and despite not having the requisite flanking windows, suggest a Venetian window. The doors contain ten fixed panels arranged in pairs. The fanlights have ornamental wood muntins. The spandrels of the larger arched recess are simply finished with buff-colored stucco.

The three remaining doors open from the cellar onto the cryptoporticus. The cryptoporticus runs under the north terrace and is defined by a relieving arch with a flattened, near-horizontal arch along the top. The pair directly below the main doors are unglazed folding doors containing three panels each. One door opens under each of the flanking glazed folding doors. They are both standard six panel doors. The center and east doors have paneled jambs and lintels, while only the jamb panels survive outside the west door.

Three arched doorways open onto the portico. Their frames extend 8" from the stuccoed wall and contain pairs of French windows and ornamental fanlights with metal muntins, which are mostly structural with some ornamental. Although the central doorway and door is slightly wider, all three are similarly articulated. The frames are composed of symmetrical architraves with bull's-eye corner blocks at the arch's springing point. A delicately molded keystone stands at center above the fanlight. Fix lights of differing dimensions are made to appear more like a single sheet of glass through use of extremely narrow muntins. Interior shutters are divided into similarly sized panels and fold back into wall recesses when not in use.

Two exterior door openings are present in the west wall of the basement story, both located along a sunken walkway extending around that side of the house from the cryptoporticus. One, located in the rounded bow and opening onto the former kitchen, is glazed. The other is permanently closed-up and composed of paneled pieces from other doors. It is located further south in the wall beyond the rounded bay and once opened onto a passage extending back from the kitchen.

b. Windows, window frames, and shutters:

The Venetian windows on the first-story of the south wall remain one of the extant original features of the exterior. The center sash of each is twelve-over-twelve arrangement and topped by a simple fanlight with wooden muntins, whereby linear elements radiate outward from and through two concentric semicircles nearer the center. The fanlight is surmounted by a heavily molded semicircular surround with a delicate keystone at center. This tall center unit is flanked by fixed ten light windows that are set into frames formed by a three-quarters-engaged Doric pilaster and semi-engaged Doric column upholding segments of a plain, denticulated entablature. This entablature provides the springing point for the semicircular molding. The window muntin profiles are weightier than those in the other windows.

With the exception of the Venetian windows, all of the first- and second-story windows in the east and west wings of the house are contained within flush brick frames bearing more-or-less uniform jack-arch lintels and quoin-like extensions tying the brick into the stone wall. The windows on the first floor are twelve-over-twelve double hung and those on the second floor are eight-over-eight double hung.

In general, the window openings in the center wall sections of the north and south facades are smaller than those in the wings, underscoring a history that features two major periods of construction. The five windows at the center of the north face are set into the stucco with simple frames. Both the upper and lower windows are filled with six-over-six double hung sash; the light dimensions of the second-story windows are smaller than those on the first. On the river front, three six-over-six double hung windows, similar in scale to the second-floor windows opposite on the north face, are positioned over the three arched portico openings. Of particular note, these windows are contained within heavily molded crosseted frames with plainly fashioned keyblocks at center. These frames surround the window in their entirety. All of the houses other exterior windows on the first and second stories have stone sills.

The pediments on the north and south facades each contain an oxeye window set in identical surrounds bearing four keyblocks. The north window contains a simple wooden muntin profile with linear elements extending from a central circle, separating the window into eight wedges. The south oxeye holds upper sash

displaying a pattern of curved, overlapping muntins that was common in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century compass headed windows and known, historically, as "Gothic sash."[335].

The cellar windows are six-light double casements along the east and west sides (8), eight-over-eight double hung on the north side under the cryptoporticus (4), and rectangular double hung sash in the semicircular window openings on the south side; the west window also has a rounded top.

The attic story originally contained three monitors, only one of which, located in the north-south corridor, remains in service today. Glazing was set into the four sides of the square monitors, which was covered with shallow pitched roofs. Two skylights once provided additional light to the room above the portico; the framing is extant.

6. Stone carving and woodwork:

Beyond the plinths for the portico columns, the threshold and plinths for the north entrance tabernacle frame, bull-nosed edging on the terrace and portico, marble splash blocks, and the simple, rectilinear window sills, no other cut or carved stone is used on the exterior of the structure. Carefully chosen rubble stones make up the four arches containing the Venetian windows on the north and south fronts. The portico floor contains pavers laid in a diagonal checkerboard pattern. The saloon's French windows have large sills that fill the entire interior recess on the east and west, and half of the recess in the center. They are raised slightly higher than the floor.

In lieu of intricately cut stone, most of the exterior classical and formal details are rendered in wood. These elements include: the denticulated cornice running around the building's perimeter and in the north and south gables; the pilasters and frieze, and the central, tabernacle doorframe on the north front; on the portico, the column shafts and capitals, entablature, crosseted window frames on the second story, and the compass-headed frames for the French windows; and the elaborate frames for the Venetian windows and oxeye windows on the north and south fronts.

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[335] *Articles of the Carpenters Company of Philadelphia; and Their Rules for Measuring and Valuing House-Carpenters Work* (Philadelphia: Hall & Sellers, 1786), 15, as reproduced in *The Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia 1786 Rule Book* (New York: Bell Publishing Company, 1981).

7. Roof:

The roof form is a low-pitched hip-on-hip running east-west. The large brick chimney stacks are symmetrically placed at the intersection of the roof planes. Cross gables extend to the north and south; their ridges intersect the main roof at a point lower than its ridge. A monitor pierces the roof at center along the hip-on-hip's ridge. The roof is sheathed in worn asphalt shingles. A small satellite dish is present on the roof's south side.

C. Description of Interior:

1. No original plans are known to exist for either of the house's two construction campaigns. A fairly accurate plan of the structure's first-floor rooms and immediate surrounding landscape was sketched into an 1806 diary entry describing a visit to The Woodlands.[336] While a circuit can be made through all of the public rooms on the first floor, as discussed in "Historical Context" section, guests and family members did not usually move through the house in this manner. Rather than a circuit, the plan is best understood in terms of parallel and intersecting axes. Two east-west axes allowed for enfilades of rooms, providing dramatic sight lines. On the north side of the house, the dining room, barrel-vaulted passage, circular vestibule, stairhall, and oval drawing room are aligned and provide a particularly stunning vista through the house. The number of discrete spaces and their series of arched openings creates a rapid and dynamic view across the house. This sight-line is kept in check by means of the dining room passage and the vestibule columns. The east-west axis on the south side, while containing the house's most impressive room in terms of size, is not as dramatic. Although still grand, the controlled sight-line of the north axis is diluted as one looks across the lofty saloon from one flanking square cabinet to the other. The single, centered north-south axis provides for the most dramatic view shed. Beginning at the north exterior door, this axis passes through a vestibule arch framed by columns across the saloon's short side to a similarly arched French window giving onto the portico. The axis continues out into the garden landscape and, originally, views of the river.

The energetic ground floor plan is not repeated on the second story. Eight principal chambers are arranged along a single passage oriented east-west, and continued at its ends by extensions running at 45° from the primary passage. These extensions provide access to the southeast and southwest rooms. At center on the south side under the portico, three of chambers are reached via three steps; this uplifted portion of the second story accommodates the high ceiling of the saloon below. The three northern

[336]Drayton, 53.

bed chambers include what were originally bed alcoves, and built-in closets and cabinets abound throughout the floor.[337] Currently, the six rooms west of the stairhall on this floor are cordoned-off into a tenant apartment.

Like the rest of the house, the cellar is arranged in a complex plan. Access to most of the cellar areas, if not actual rooms, radiates out from a spacious "servants' vestibule" on the north side of the house at the center. Doors to the exterior, kitchen, stairs up, rooms on the south side of the house, and a small western passage with three rooms opening from it all feed into this space. Only the room in the southwest corner remains relatively distant from this space. Circulation paths are augmented by a linear cryptoporticus located under the terrace on the structure's north side, open on both ends to the exterior.

There are six finished spaces in the attic story, which is reached by stairs off the second-story passage. Four rooms open onto a single north-south axis running between rooms behind the north and south pediments. While there are interior attic spaces under the eastern and western portions of the roof, these are unfinished; the functional rooms are contained under the center of the house.

2. Flooring: Random-width floorboards are used throughout the first, second, and third floors. Where original on the first floor, the planks are doweled to one another. The southeast and southwest rooms on the first floor have later coverings placed over the floorboards, as does the bathroom located in the passage to the west of the entry. All but the northeast and southeast second-floor rooms are covered predominantly in wall-to-wall carpeting. The bathroom and the kitchen areas of the tenant apartment are covered in linoleum. The attic/third-story floors are all plank. The basement floors are concrete.

3. Wall and ceiling finish: All of the first- and second-story ceilings and walls are plastered, with most furred-out and plastered over lathe. Most of the cellar walls and ceilings are lathed and plastered, those that are not have whitewashed stone walls and ceilings open to the joists and floorboards above.

4. Doorways and doors: Many of the first- and second-story doorways are round headed and contain fanlight windows or mirrored fanlights. Some of the doors contained in these openings are double; the three sets of interior double doors into the saloon all have mirrored faces.

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[337]Timothy Long, Robert FitzGerald, and Thomas McGimsey found a small firebox in the bed alcove of the northwest bedchamber with charring indicating that the alcove itself had an additional heat source distinct from the room. Replaced flooring in the alcove of the northeast room suggests that there may have been one in that alcove as well.

The most formal and impressive doorways are the primary ones for the drawing and dining rooms, opening from the stair hall and the vestibule passage, respectively. Facing the room interiors and surrounding the doors are highly articulated, curved neoclassical architraves. While not identical, these doors share a similar disposition of parts and use of classical elements. Fluted Ionic pilasters flank the door and a floral garland in low relief "hangs" between the capitals' scrolls. The pilasters support a full entablature with a denticulated cornice breaking out around the pseudo-impost blocks topping the columns. At frieze level, each impost block bears a single rosette and the center is embellished with two mirror-image griffins in low relief. The doors contained within this openings are mahogany six-panel doors with intricate incised patterning around the panels facing into the rooms.

There are two-jib doors opening from the dining and drawing rooms into their respective square, south-facing cabinets. Jib doors also conceal closets within the southeast and southwest cabinets.

On the second floor most of the room and closet doors are of six panels and contained within doorways with carved architraves. Many of the doors include rim locks for closure.

5. Trim and woodwork:

Nearly every room from the cellar to the attic contains some sort of trim and/or woodwork. The first and second stories bear elements of varying profiles and include window and door architraves, baseboards, chair rails, cornices, mantles, and other decorative trim. In the attic and the cellar it is largely restricted to architraves, simple fireplace surrounds, shutters, and shoe molding. See associated photographs for further information.

6. Mechanical:

Remnants of a bell-pull system for calling servants is evident throughout The Woodlands. It was installed as part of the reconstructed house as noted in an account ledger on October 12, 1791: "Bell pulls & Cranks"[338]

Heating:

Historically the house was heated by means of fireplace and stove. Two large furnaces remain in the cellar as do grates for varying generations of forced-air heating and ventilation.

[338]Woodlands Household Accounts, Smith, HSP.

Plumbing:

Bathrooms in the cellar and on the first-floor, and a kitchen and bathroom/laundry in the tenant apartment on the secondary floor are all plumbed for water and sewer.

Electricity:

Remnants of knob-and-tube wiring exist throughout the house, as do many generations of later electrical wiring. This wiring is both imbedded within the walls and baseboards as well as surface mounted.

D. Site:

It is impossible to fully consider the importance of the house at The Woodlands without viewing it as integral to a larger estate landscape.[339] Just a few years prior to William Hamilton's death, a visitor reflected in regard to the house's surrounding landscape: "the attention is next excited by the grounds, in the arrangement of which the hand of Taste is every where discerned."[340] Indeed, it is the celebration of the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century garden landscape that led to the transformation of a portion of the estate into a rural cemetery after 1840. As stated in an 1852 annual report to The Woodlands Cemetery Company shareholders:

> It is thus that the object of our care and protection acquires an interest transcending the consideration of pecuniary profit: and it will hereafter, as our Cemetery attains its destined development, become a source of congratulation to all who have aided, that they have participated in rescuing from destruction the most beautiful feature in the scenery round Philadelphia, consecrated it to the repose of the dead, and brought it, but successive acts of improvement, to be the most perfect, both as respects to convenience and impressive beauty, of any in the world.[341]

Interestingly, it is clear that the survival of William Hamilton's magnificent house occurred on account of a desire to preserve the surrounding garden landscape and open space. See HALS PA–02, "The Woodlands," for the accompanying historical report, which focuses on the landscape history of The Woodlands, particularly in reference to The Woodlands Cemetery Company.

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[339]Long, particularly chapters I and II for greater explication of this point.
[340]Oldschool, 506.
[341]"Extracts from the Annual Report of the Managers of the Woodlands Cemetery Company to the Corporators," 3 January 1852, Executive Committee Minutes, Cemetery, HSP.

Outbuildings

Stable/Carriage House

The stable/carriage house (hereafter stable) is the only Hamilton-era outbuilding extant at The Woodlands. Prior to the estate's comprehensive reconstruction beginning in the 1780s, there may have been no substantial stable present at the site.[342] At that time, changes to the house, grounds, and outbuildings were part of a cohesive reconception of The Woodlands and obvious care was taken in designing the stable. One of this structure's notable features is its visual affinity to the enlarged house. Blind arches, roundels, niches, keystones, and a stringcourse are some of the architectural motifs discernible on the exteriors of both the house and the stable. The reason for the similarity is evident enough—the stable's front (south) face was clearly visible from the house's land approach. A letter written by Hamilton while in England reveals that he was envisioning a new stable building at The Woodlands at the same time he was thinking about enlargements to the house. "Some addition to the House, a stable & other offices are immediately necessary at The Woodlands."[343] Given that Hamilton likely conferred with somebody in England regarding the changes to the house and grounds, he could have easily discussed the stable and/or other outbuildings as well. Despite this possibility, it should also be noted that work on the stable did not commence until the house's
exterior was largely completed. It is feasible that Hamilton and John Child, his master builder, worked-out the formalized south elevation of the stable by themselves using design elements already employed at the house.

The stable was clearly planned as a companion to Hamilton's nearby dwelling and is remarkable enough to be at least mentioned in some early histories of American architecture. Cousin and Riley's *The Colonial Architecture of Philadelphia* (1920) notes: "A word may well be said in passing in regard to the stable…while rightly unassuming, lives in complete accord with the house, as every outbuilding should."[344] In his *American Spirit in Architecture* (1926), Talbot Faulker Hamlin ignored the stable's similarities to the house and referred to it as having "a dignity of mass, a rugged strength of detail, and a bold treatment of its masonry that makes it almost seem Italian."[345] Eberlein and Hubbard's *Portrait of a Colonial City* (1939) merely states the "handsome stable and coach-house was made to correspond in style with the dwelling."[346] The stable/carriage house should

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[342]In a 1786 letter from London, Hamilton wrote: "If the stable as I plan'd just before my departure for temporary convenience was never finish'd, it would be very well to have it done in such a manner as to serve for a cover for a carriage & Horses." Hamilton to Parke, 8 Mar 1786.

[343]Hamilton to Parke, 24 September 1785.

[344]Cousins, 66.

[345]Talbot Faulkner Hamlin, *The American Spirit in Architecture, The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States*, vol. 8, ed. Ralph Henry Gabriel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), 71.

[346]Eberlein, 452. See also Julius Trousdale Sadler and D. J. Jacquelin, *American Stables, An Architectural Tour* (1981), for photo and caption included in a more recent work.

continue to be recognized both in terms of a holistic view to period estate design as well as a distinctive outbuilding, which despite its high-style architectural features, was fully utilitarian in function.

Construction of the stable did not begin until major work on the house's expansion was winding-down and occurred in two phases. Based on documentary and physical evidence, Hamilton initially envisioned the two-story central section consisting of a carriage room, stalls, and an upper loft, all contained under a hip roof. In a June 1789 letter Hamilton asked his steward Benjamin Hays Smith to "let me know from Mr. Child what kind of nails and also the Quantity which will be wanting for the duration of the Stable."[347] In the same letter, he also requests that an agreement be made regarding moving stone from a quarry to The Woodlands, stone possibly destined for the stable's walls. One year later, the structure was completed enough for Hamilton to confer with John Child about the "Quantity of Shingles which would be necessary for the stable."[348] Sometime in the following year, Hamilton found the stable structure inadequate and launched a campaign to enlarge it.[349] By July 1791 the foundations had been started for the new sections.[350] When considering the extant structure, construction seams indicate that the shed-roof extensions abutting the northeast and southwest walls were added later and are the logical candidates for this second stage of construction. Design elements—specifically blind arches and a continuation of the stringcourse—were repeated in the shed additions. Conversely, the use of bricks in the door and window arches in the northeast wall and keystones above the blind arches on the principal elevation and on the northeast wall set them apart from the initial phase. The stable was still not finished to Hamilton's satisfaction as late as August 1792, but in all likelihood it was nearing completion by that time. The structure was listed on the 1798 Federal Direct Tax as constructed of stone, measuring 48' x 30'.[351]

The stable retains a high degree of integrity. Beyond some door and window replacements and updated roofing, very little change has been wrought on the structure over its two centuries of existence. Given documentary evidence that the house was once at the very least limed, if not stuccoed, it can be suggested that at least the principal face of the stable was similarly finished. A fanlight behind boarding above one of the principal elevation's windows is likely the only remaining one at The Woodlands dating from the eighteenth century and may reflect those that were also employed in the house.

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[347]Hamilton to Smith, 8 June 1789.
[348]Hamilton to Smith, 12 June 1790. Smith, HSP.
[349]IHamilton to Smith, 20 June 1791.
[350]Woodlands Household Accounts, 1791.
[351]Federal Direct Tax, 1798, returns for 3rd Assessment District, Township of Blockley, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania.

Greenhouse/Hothouse

In addition to the stable, the other major outbuilding constructed in close proximity to the house was William Hamilton's no longer extant greenhouse/hothouse (hereafter greenhouse). Prior to his trip to England, William Hamilton had already constructed a greenhouse at The Woodlands, but its form or size is not known.[352] A number of greenhouses and hothouses were present in the Philadelphia area by the last decades of the eighteenth century. John Bartram, the noted American explorer and botanist, constructed a modest, heated greenhouse in 1760–1761 on his land just south of The Woodlands.[353] Given Hamilton's intense interest in botany, he surely knew of its existence (as well as any others in Philadelphia), but his combined resources and ambition were far greater than most others and he sought to construct a lavish structure that would compliment and enhance his estate.

There is no verified visual documentation of Hamilton's later greenhouse beyond its footprint on a Woodlands Cemetery Company site plan of ca. 1840 and partial inclusion on a Woodlands Cemetery Company stock certificate of 1843.[354] Fortunately, Hamilton's greenhouse was used as a model for the one at the Elgin Botanical Garden on Manhattan, for which a visual survives.[355] The Elgin greenhouse bears some formal likeness to a design included in Philip Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary*, deemed an essential text for serious gardeners and plant enthusiasts and of which there were numerous eighteenth-century editions.[356] In both cases, a conventionally-roofed multi-story greenhouse at center is flanked by heated hothouses bearing glazed shed roofs. According to the 1798 Federal Direct Tax, Hamilton's greenhouse measured 65' x 24' and contained one-and-one-half stories. The view on the stock certificate parallels the Elgin greenhouse in that the greenhouse section contained high, south-facing compass-headed windows—a common arrangement for eighteenth-century high-style greenhouses. While listed separately, the hothouse measured 33' x 36' and was almost certainly integral to the greenhouse. The stock certificate view and an 1806 description

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[352]Hamilton writes: "I am at a loss to determine the number of feet from the west wall of the House to the East Wall of the Green House" and "…would it not be well enough on the arrival of my Servants to put them into the back room of the Green House." Hamilton to Parke, 30 September 1785, as cited in Betts, 225, and 8 March 1786, respectively. This greenhouse may be one of two structures depicted to the west of the house in J. P. Malcom's "Woodlands, the Seat of W. Hamilton Esqr. from the Bridge at Grays Ferry," ca. 1792, The Dietrich American Foundation, Chester Springs, Pennsylvania.

[353]For more information about this structure see HALS No. PA–1–B, "John Bartram House and Garden, Greenhouse."

[354]Site plan present in Long, 346. Reproduced from original in the Executive Minutes, Cemetery, HSP. Stock certificate located in Cemetery, HSP. Given the documentary evidence placing termination of construction of the central greenhouse portion in 1792, it is possible that this structure is one of two depicted to the west of the house in Malcom's ca. 1792 view.

[355]See Long, 144, 346.

[356]See Philip Miller, *The Gardener's Dictionary. Containing the Methods of Cultivating and Improving all Sorts of Trees, Plants, and Flowers, for the Kitchen, Fruit, and Pleasure Gardens; as Also Those Which Are Used in Medicine*, 4th ed. corrected and enlarged, 3 vols., (London, 1754; reprint, *The Gardener's Dictionary*, abridged ed., New York: Stechert-Hafner, 1969), 577 (page citation is to the reprint edition).

reveal that the hothouse had three glazed walls and a glazed shed roof. The 1798 Federal Direct Tax does not note the presence of two (flanking) hothouses, indicating that one wing may not have been constructed by 1798.[357] The second hothouse is present by 1806, and possibly earlier.[358] When including both of the glazed greenhouses, the entire structure measured roughly 140 feet long.[359] Interestingly, in addition to tiers of plants within, one of the hot houses included "a cistern" for raising "tropical aquatic plants."[360]

It is not known whether Hamilton incorporated any part of the earlier greenhouse structure into the new one. Planning and construction of the new and/or expanded greenhouse occurred simultaneously with the stable and the entrance lodges, after the expansion of the house was significantly completed. By June 1789, Hamilton was in the early stages of planning and construction.[361] One year later, he was ordering shingles for the "Green House," indicating that the central portion with the conventional roof was nearing completion.[362] By July 1792, the central greenhouse portion and one of the hothouse wings were completed and foundations of some sort were being prepared at the complex.[363] Given the absence of a second greenhouse in the Direct Tax, it is not certain whether these foundations were for the other hothouse—completed, at least, by 1806.

Period sources note that the finished structure was "equal to any in Europe" and that "nothing that has preceded it [on a visit to The Woodlands estate] can excite more admiration."[364] Needless to say, William Hamilton's greenhouse was a dominant part of the landscape at The Woodlands. In addition to its grandiosity

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[357]The direct tax notes the presence of "2 Porters houses," indicating that they would have likely mentioned the presence of two hothouse structures if two existed.

[358]Drayton, 59. Manasseh Cutler mentions visiting "green-house*s*" in 1803, however he could be referring generically to the greenhouse and one hothouse. Manasseh Cutler to Mrs. [Mary Cutler] Torrey, 22 November 1803.

[359]Oldschool, 507.

[360]Drayton, 59.

[361]Hamilton to Smith, 8 June 1789.

[362]Hamilton to Smith, 12 June 1790. In using the term "Green House," Hamilton was likely referring to the structure generically. In the eighteenth century, the terms *greenhouse*, *conservatory*, and *hothouse* were used interchangeably in popular discourse. Horticultural texts provided some distinction in terms. For example by definition, plants were kept in pots in a greenhouse while plants were bedded in conservatories. In either case, thermal heating might be augmented by artificial heating. Hothouse or *stove* was most often used in reference to a well-heated structure whose high temperatures were ideal for tropical and semi-tropical plants. *Hypocaust* and, later, steam heating systems were commonly employed in hothouses. The term *orangery* appeared most often in treatises and was not widely used by eighteenth-century Americans, perhaps on account of its aristocratic European associations. Nineteenth-century treatise writers commonly referred to eighteenth-century greenhouse structures—those of brick or stone, with large sash windows and unglazed roofs—as orangeries in contrast to later glasshouses distinguished by large expanses of glass, glazed roofs, and a degree of iron framing. See Therese O'Malley, "Conservatory," "Greenhouse," "Hothouse," and "Orangery," in "Keywords in American Landscape Design," National Gallery of Art in conjunction with Yale University Press, mss. Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Washington, D.C.

[363]Hamilton to Smith, 30 July 1792.

[364]Drayton, 59; Oldschool, 507.

and technical advancement, the structure's siting just west of the house and south of the stable assured a central presence on the estate. Its impressiveness and usefulness had clearly waned by the establishment of The Woodlands Cemetery Company. In 1854, the greenhouse was demolished in order "to erect in its place very spacious octagonal sheds for the protection of horses and carriages."[365] Five sides of the octagonal enclosure remains extant; the original roof no longer exists.

Entrance Lodges

While not located in the immediate vicinity of the house, the entrance lodges were integral to experiencing The Woodlands and provided the initial architectural experience when visiting the estate. The original entrance lodges are no longer extant; however, the early approach road is still evident in the Cemetery's northeast corner. An 1838 map showing a proposed canal scheme along the Schuylkill River shows the carriage road wending its way from the entrance lodges along Woodland Street [now Avenue].[366] They were included in the 1798 Federal Direct Tax listed as "2 Porter houses," constructed of stone, and measured 16' x 18' each. An 1854 engraving of Hamilton's entrance lodges depict a pair of one-story structures with blind arches facing the road; they are covered with low-pitched hip roofs with small balustrades around their tops.[367] Use of blind arches, which appear to be stuccoed, formally link the entrance lodges with the house and the stable. Stone walls extend out from the lodges and an iron fence/gate encloses the space between. Hamilton was planning construction of the entrance lodges in June 1789, along with the stable and the greenhouse; as late as August 1792 they remained unfinished.[368]

Just over a decade after the establishment of The Woodlands Cemetery Company, William Hamilton's neoclassical entrance lodges were deemed too modest for their purposes. At first the managers wished to retain them, but with an augmented street presence. A ca. 1851–1852 stockholder report notes plans for the "filling in of the space between the lodges by three ornamented arch ways."[369] The managers wanted to keep the lodges because they "seem to be in keeping [architecturally] with the mansion" and would be a cost-effective way in "making a pleasing and effective entrance."[370] No action was taken regarding the plans for reworking the original entrance lodges and they were demolished in conjunction with the construction of a colossal new entrance gateway designed by noted Philadelphia architect John McArthur, completed by 1860.

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[365]The Woodlands Cemetery Company, "Annual Report," 1854, Cemetery, HSP.

[366]F. J. Roberts, *Plan of the City of Philadelphia and Adjoining Districts* (Philadelphia, 1838).

[367]S. E. Brown, "Lodge Entrance to the Hamilton Mansions," *Gleason's Pictorial Review* (April 1954): 232, as reproduced in Long, 341.

[368]Hamilton to Smith, 8 June 1789 and 3 August 1792.

[369]The Woodlands Cemetery Company, "Report of the Managers to the Stockholders," ca. 1851–1852, Cemetery, HSP.

[370]Ibid.

Some of the other structures listed on the 1798 Federal Direct Tax which were located in the vicinity of the house and the aforementioned outbuildings include a stone "Seed house" measuring 12' x 20' and a "Feed house" bearing a 20' diameter. Hamilton also had an ice house built at The Woodlands at the highest point of the tract immediately surrounding the house, a place that ultimately became the middle of a cemetery plan feature known as the "center circle."[371]

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[372]For a comprehensive list of visuals and site plans spanning into the twentieth century, see: Aaron V. Wunsch, "Woodlands Cemetery," HALS No. PA–5, "Site Plans," "Early Views," and "Maps," Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS), National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 2003-2004.

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Various nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographs and prints of The Woodlands are available at The Library Company of Philadelphia, with comparatively more recent views also accessible at the City of Philadelphia Historical Commission.

Photographic reproductions of four painted views of The Woodlands estate dating from late in the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century can be accessed in the J. Hall Pleasants Studies Collection of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland. One of these images reproduces the above painting by William Groombridge owned by the Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

Avenues and sources for further research

A great deal of information about the Woodlands Cemetery Company tenure (1840 and after) can be gleaned from Timothy Long and Catherine Carosino's theses, but another sweep of their content might turn up some new insights about changes to the house. Unfortunately, access to the Cemetery Company's papers was restricted during 2002 because most of the nineteenth-century records were "in process" at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

While not feasible within the confines of this study, surviving correspondence and papers in England might more conclusively document Hamilton's whereabouts while on his visit, as well as concretely establish the architect's identity. Such avenues might include the papers of John Plaw, some of which are located at the Royal Institute of British Architects, as well as the records of Barclays, with whom the Hamiltons had accounts.

PART IV: PROJECT INFORMATION

The project was co-sponsored by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) of the National Park Service, The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia, and The Woodlands Trust for Historic Preservation. Research assistance and other support provided by Timothy P. Long, historical architect, Valley Forge National Historical Park, National Park Service, and the staff of The Woodlands Cemetery Company. The documentation of The Woodlands was undertaken by HABS, E. Blaine Cliver, Chief of HABS/HAER/ HALS; under the direction of Paul D. Dolinsky, Chief of HABS. The project leaders were HABS architect Robert R. Arzola and HABS senior historian Catherine C. Lavoie. Documentation of the house at The Woodlands was conducted in Summer/Autumn 2002 by HABS historian James A. Jacobs and photographer Joseph Elliott. Architectural drawings of the house were produced during the Summer 2003 by project supervisor Steven B. Utz, architect; and architecture technicians Morgan Gick (University of Notre Dame), Courtney L. Gunderson (University of Arkansas—Fayetteville), Shalini Mahajan (ICOMOS/India), and Michael Stofiel (Kansas State University).