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An Analysis of the Domestic Workers' Place  
in the Late Nineteenth Century Household

Christine A. Spencer

A THESIS

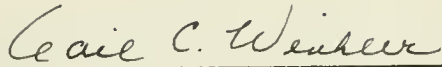
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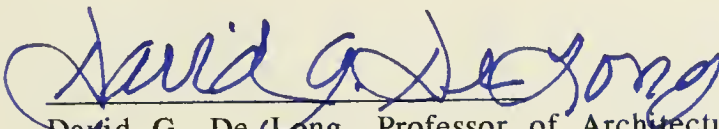
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## INTRODUCTION

This paper will examine the domestic architectural interiors in Germantown, Pennsylvania (today part of Philadelphia) between 1860 and 1900. It will specifically examine the roles of domestic workers within the household and their possible impact upon the arrangement of domestic interiors.

This paper will be relying heavily on the books by Susan Strasser and Faye Dudden for information regarding Victorian domestic life. It will examine the social arrangements and living conditions of servants in an attempt to determine what changes, if any, occurred within the household as the need for live-in domestic workers lessened with the advancement of technology.

Many of the studies done concerning the Victorian domestic home life have focused on the working conditions of servants in the household. However, there has been no examination of the specific living conditions of the domestics within the household in order to determine if there was a relationship between the architectural interior and domestic social order. Furthermore, earlier studies have focused primarily on urban or rural areas. Germantown offers a new area of research because it was a suburb of Philadelphia during the period being investigated. During the late eighteenth century, many Philadelphians moved to Germantown during the summer months and some built permanent summer homes in response to outbreaks of Yellow Fever. With the introduction of the railroad system in the mid-nineteenth century, it had become possible to work in



Philadelphia during the day and return to Germantown at night, and many successful businessmen moved to Germantown year round. Suburbs offered many urban dwellers the comforts of more "healthful" environments along with the conveniences of the city.

This paper will examine some of the prescriptive literature of the period including domestic manuals, women's magazines and Philadelphia newspapers. Many of the manuals and magazines contained discussions of the "servant problem" -- especially the quality of the help available. Although advanced household aids were available by the 1860's such as washing machines and refridgerators, the demand for domestic help remained constant and manuals continued to complain about the lack of availability of good domestics. These manuals, while providing advice on how to treat domestics, also argued in favor of abolishing them. A great deal of literature which instructed wives on organization of households, including interior layout, was published. These publications reveal information about the national attitude towards domestic help while Philadelphia newspapers give insight on a local level.

Chapter One will examine the history of domestic service in the United States. Chapter Two will recount some of the nineteenth-century literature regarding domestics. The influence of which may be seen in the physical living conditions of the domestics. Chapter Three will examine the architectural influences of the period as they specifically apply to domestics' living quarters. Chapter Four will discuss the history of Germantown while Chapter Five will look at the demographic changes of those employed as domestics in





Germantown. Finally, Chapter Six will examine a case study, the Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion, and research the living quarters of the domestics employed by the occupants of the house.



## CHAPTER ONE: EMERGENCE OF THE DOMESTIC SERVANT

Domestic workers can be divided into two categories: "help" versus "servant." The term "help," which applied primarily to women in domestic service, indicated a kind of joint work situation between the employer and the employee.<sup>1</sup> "Help" was hired to assist an employer with the household tasks rather than execute them independently and often worked on a part-time basis. Frequently daughters of families who lived nearby were employed and these young women were not dependent on their wages for survival. A familiarity between the employer's and employee's families was expected and common.

Existing as a predominantly rural phenomenon, "help" was treated far differently than their urban counterpart. "Help" was allowed to eat with the employer's family and a shared atmosphere was created. The household work was organized according to individual tasks rather than length of time and once the task was complete the women were allowed to spend their free time in any way they wished without the supervision of their employers.<sup>2</sup> "Help" were also permitted guests when not working, a practice not common for later "domestic servants."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women. Household Services in Nineteenth Century America*. Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Dudden, *Serving Women*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Dudden, *Serving Women*, p. 42.



During the first half of the nineteenth century, social changes began to convert "help" into servants in the urban areas of the country and among the upperclasses. In the 1830's, the increasing rate of urbanization began to dissolve the easy familiarity between employer and servant.<sup>4</sup> The class stratification of growing urban populations made it difficult for employers to know potential employees. The new middle class emerging in cities became the major employer of "domestic help" who were drawn from a pool of strangers. The relationships between employer and employee altered; the use of the term "help" was replaced by "domestic" or "domestic servant."<sup>5</sup>

While "domestic servants" increased in the urban areas, "help" remained a mainly rural phenomenon which continues to the present day. According to one historian, servants "were generally single women who lived in their employers' homes, always on call and subject to their mistresses' whims...."<sup>6</sup> Their employers were women "educated and anxious to devote themselves to church or charitable work, an enlarged view of maternal duties and even a social life," who needed servants to perform household tasks for them in order to free their time for other pursuits.<sup>7</sup> This loss of familiarity between employer and domestic workers was evident in the development of the "servant problem" as defined in nineteenth-

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<sup>4</sup> Dudden, *Serving Women*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Dudden, *Serving Women*, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Susan Strasser, *Never Done. A History of American Housework*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982, p. 163.

<sup>7</sup> Dudden, *Serving Women*., p. 47.



century literature as a lack of quality domestic assistance as well as a reduction in quantity of available domestics.

Who were servants? According to one historian, "in places with large immigrant populations, domestic service embodied one possible solution--but by no means a universal one--to the cares of nineteenth-century housekeeping."<sup>8</sup> Domestic servants were mainly single women of foreign origin. Specifically they were urban immigrant women--especially from Ireland.<sup>9</sup> Blacks accounted for only a small number of domestic employees in the North but the post-Civil War immigration of free Blacks into the north resulted in an increase of Blacks employed as domestic servants. "Discrimination pressed males into an otherwise female occupation: among all ethnic groups, only Chinese men were as prone to enter service work."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Dudden, *Serving Women.*, p. 47.

<sup>9</sup> Strasser, *Never Done.*, p. 163.

<sup>10</sup> Dudden, *Serving Women.*, p. 222.





## CHAPTER TWO: STUDY OF PERIOD LITERATURE

In the March 1870 issue of *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, Marion Harland wrote a short story entitled "The Vanes." The servant in this story is described as a "housekeeper [who] had been an attache of the Randolph family for fifteen years, and was thoroughly competent in her work."<sup>11</sup> This depiction of servants is found in much nineteenth-century fiction. It is this fiction which is the basis for comforting myths about servants treated as family members and faithful to their employers. This depiction is far different than those in household manuals which describe servants as unintelligent, dishonest and flighty.

Nineteenth-century women's literature, including periodicals and manuals, advised middle-class women on their proper roles in American society and the home. Household manuals gave information ranging from how to rear children to the proper cleaning of linens. Also included in these manuals was advice on the management of servants.

One such author of nineteenth-century household manuals was Catharine E. Beecher. An author and educator, Beecher founded the Western Female Institute. She wrote several articles advocating the endowment of schools for women and promoting emphasis on teaching and domestic science curricula. She also was the author of

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<sup>11</sup> Harland, Marion, "The Vanes," *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, 81(1870), p. 234.



several household manuals.<sup>12</sup> In her *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841) she summed up her own attitude towards domestic servants in a chapter description:

No Subject on which American Women need more Wisdom, Patience, Principle, and Self-control. Its Difficulties. Necessary Evils. Miseries of Aristocratic judge correctly respecting Domesticity. They should be treated as we would expect to be under similar Circumstances. When Labor is scarce, its Value is increased. Instability of Domesticity: how it may be remedied. Pride and Insubordination; how it may be remedied. Abhorrence of Servitude a National Trait of Character. Domesticity easily convinced of the Appropriateness of different degrees of Subordination. Example. Domesticity may be easily induced to be respectful in their Deportment, and appropriate in their dress. Deficiencies of Qualifications for the Performance of their Duties; how remedied. Forewarning, better than Chiding. Preventing, better than finding fault. Faults should be pointed out in a Kind Manner. Some Employers think in their Office and Duty to find Fault. Domesticity should be regarded with Sympathy and Forbearances.<sup>13</sup>

This chapter description contains the common complaints of "insubordination" and the "deficiencies of Qualifications for the Performance of their Duties"--attitudes shared by most household manuals of the period. Beecher placed the responsibility for educating the servant on the the wife. Housewives were not only supposed to be employers but surrogate parents as well. Beecher wrote:

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<sup>12</sup> E.T. James, editor, *Notable American Women 1607-1950, A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. 1, London: Oxford Press, 1971, p. 122.

<sup>13</sup> Catharine E. Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home, and at School*, Boston: 1841, p. 196.



It is not merely by giving them comfortable rooms, and good food, and presents, and privileges, that the attachment of domestics is secured; it is by the manifestation of a friendly and benevolent interest in their comfort and improvement. This is exhibited in bearing patiently with their faults; in kindly teaching them how to improve; in showing them how to make and take proper care of their clothes; in guarding their health; in teaching them to read, if necessary, and supplying them with proper books; and, in short, by endeavoring, so far as may be, to supply the place of a parent.<sup>14</sup>

Servants were viewed as children to be shaped and molded by the parent/employer. "Every woman, who has the care of domestic, should cultivate a habit of regarding them with that sympathy and forbearance, which she would wish for herself or her daughters, if deprived of parents, fortune, and home."<sup>15</sup>

In 1869, Catharine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe published a manual for housewives, entitled *The American Woman's Home*, in which they addressed the many adversities faced by middle-class wives with limited budgets and advised on how to overcome the problems. One problem was domestic servants. Beecher and Stowe began their chapter on "The Care of Servants" with a discussion of "help." They wrote:

Great merriment has been excited in the old country because, years ago, the first English travelers found that the class of persons by them denominated servants, were in America denominated *help*, or helpers. But the term was the very best exponent of the state of society. There

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<sup>14</sup> Beecher, A *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, p. 199.

<sup>15</sup> Beecher, A *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, p. 206.





were few servants, in the European sense of the word; there was a society of educated workers, where all were practically equal, and where, if there was deficiency in one family and an excess in another, a *helper*, not a servant in the European sense, was hired.<sup>16</sup>

Beecher and Stowe expressed a clear understanding of the difference between "help" and "servants." They continued to discuss the use of "help" as a mainly rural occurrence. Beecher and Stowe recognized the loss of "help" in the urban areas and concentrated their discussion on the "servant problem." They described the urban servant who was generally an untrained immigrant.

Nineteenth-century household manuals make clear that most social discrimination was aimed towards the Irish immigrants who were the dominant ethnic group in domestic service. Beecher and Stowe discussed the idea of immigrants moving to the United States as the land of liberty

...with very aim and confused notions of what liberty is. They are very extensively the raw, untrained Irish peasantry, and the wonder is, that, with all the unreasoning heats and prejudices of the Celtic blood, all the necessary ignorance and rawness, there should be the measure of comfort and success there is in our domestic arrangements.<sup>18</sup>

Some publications printed caricatures of Irish domestics. They often portrayed Irish immigrants after they had improved themselves by working as domestic servants. The implication was that domestic service was a step up the social ladder and would

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<sup>16</sup> Catharine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, (1869; reprint, New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971), p. 309.

<sup>18</sup> Beecher and Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, p. 313.





improve their lives (see illustration 1). Other caricatures portrayed them as the "servant problem" (see illustration 2). *Puck's* editorial column stated,

The Irish declaration of independence has been read in our kitchens...many times, to frighten housewives. The fruits of that declaration are to be seen in...ill-cooked meals on ill-served tables, in unswept rooms and unmade beds, in dirt, confusion, insubordination, and general disorder, taking the sweetness out of domestic life."<sup>19</sup>

Not all of the social discrimination applied to the Irish immigrants in particular. All domestic servants, regardless of their ethnic background were described as insubordinate or unintelligent in nineteenth-century household manuals.

It is said that women who have been accustomed to doing their own work become hard mistresses. . . . Their general error lies in expecting that any servant will ever do as well for them as they will do for themselves, and that the untrained, undisciplined human being ever can do housework, or any other work, with the neatness and perfection that a person of trained intelligence can.<sup>20</sup>

As stated earlier in the paper, many women who had been employed as domestic servants opted for factory work rather than domestic work because the former provided young women with free time without the scrutiny of their employer. Another reason was the social inferiority felt by young women employed as domestic workers. While most domestics would not have had the opportunity or education required to read the

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<sup>19</sup> *Puck*, May 9, 1883.

<sup>20</sup> Beecher and Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, p. 310.





THE IRISH DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE THAT WE ARE ALL FAMILIAR WITH.

Source:

*Pat-Riots to Patriots, American Irish in Caricature & Comic Art,*  
by John & Selma Appel, Michigan State University Press, 1990.  
p. 13







*Pat-Riots to Patriots, American Irish in Caricature & Comic Art,*  
by John & Selma Appel, Michigan State University Press, 1990.  
p. 23



household manuals, the social inferiority was felt in other ways including the constant scrutiny of their employers.

It is more the want of personal respect toward those in that position than the labor incident to it which repels our people from it. Many would be willing to perform these labors, but they are not willing to place themselves in a situation where their self-respect is hourly wounded by the implication of a degree of inferiority, *which does not follow any kind of labor or service in this country but that of the family.*<sup>21</sup>

Lucy Maynard Salmon conducted a survey of domestics published as *Domestic Service* (1897). In this account she discussed the "low social position" of domestics as the "most serious disadvantage in domestic service."<sup>22</sup> According to her survey, the social inferiority was shown in many ways including the use of the term "servant." She also cited the use of the domestics' Christian name and the insistence upon uniforms by many employers.

The cap and apron sometimes indicate the rise of the employer in the social scale rather than the professional advance of the employee. The wider the separation in any community between employer and employee, the greater is the tendency to insist on the cap and apron.<sup>23</sup>

The feeling of social inferiority combined with the lack of privacy and availability of other employment resulted in a shortage of young women who wanted to work as domestics.

According to Beecher, another complaint often made by employers about servants was "that of instability and discontent,

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<sup>21</sup> Beecher and Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, p. 322.

<sup>22</sup> Lucy Maynard Salmon, *Domestic Service*, New York: MacMillan & Co., 1897, p. 151.

<sup>23</sup> Salmon, *Domestic Service*, p. 157.





leading to perpetual change."<sup>24</sup> For many employers, the tendency of servants frequently to change jobs was seen as a leading problem. By the early 20th century references can be found in Germantown obituaries glorifying servants who loyally stayed with their employers for extended periods of time.

Served One Family Fifty Years...She was 76 years old and had been nurse and companion to the family since coming from Ireland. "We mourn her loss as though one of our own flesh and blood had died."<sup>25</sup>

Served One Family Faithfully For A Half Century....Mr. and Mrs. Willis speak in the highest terms of the faithfulness, the kindly traits and the admirable character of Mary Preston.<sup>26</sup>

Served One Family For Seventy Years. Death Ends Remarkable Story of Fidelity of Elizabeth Cline. Was Last Of Her Race. "Beloved Servant of Amer Family" Will Be Buried in the Vault of Employers....Expert in the management of household affairs, she could frequently have found employment with other families, but so attached had she become to the Amers that nothing in the world could induce her to leave them.<sup>27</sup>

Despite these examples, according to household manuals it was difficult to find loyalty in most late nineteenth-century servants.

The period literature instructed the housewife in ways in which to achieve better service from the "untrained, undisciplined" servant. Beecher suggested:

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<sup>24</sup> Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, p. 196.

<sup>25</sup> Servant Subject File, Germantown Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, year 1919.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, year 1920.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, year 1912.



When a lady finds that she must employ a domestic who is ignorant, awkward, and careless, her first effort should be, to make all proper allowance for past want of instruction, and the next, to remedy the evil, by kind and patient teaching. In doing this, it should ever be borne in mind, that nothing is more difficult, than to change old habits, and to learn to be thoughtful and considerate.... It will often save much vexation, if, on the arrival of a new domestic, the mistress of the family, or a daughter, for two or three days, will go round with the novice, and show the exact manner in which the work will be done.<sup>28</sup>

Although this type of advice was commonly found in the household manuals of the nineteenth century, there was also a great movement to abolish the need for servants entirely. One author wrote that "poor servants are a tax which the rich must pay for their exemption from labor, to endure the vexations which those who perform the service will inflict on them."<sup>29</sup> This attempt to abolish servants took the form of blaming the American housewife for the "servant problem" through her dependence upon domestic servants. Beecher and Stowe mourned the loss:

the race of strong, hardy, cheerful girls, that used to grow up in country places...--the girls that could wash, iron, brew, bake, harness a horse and drive him, no less then braid straw, embroider, draw, paint, and read innumerable books...in their stead come the fragile, easily-fatigued and languid girls of a modern age, drilled in book learning, ignorant of common things.<sup>30</sup>

Many of the manuals expressed the concern that nineteenth-century women had become incapable of overseeing the domestic

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<sup>28</sup> Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, p. 203.

<sup>29</sup> Strasser, *Never Done*, p. 169.

<sup>30</sup> Strasser, *Never Done*, p. 314.



realm. There are references to the the higher education of women being the downfall of the housewife the domestic sphere.

Beecher and Stowe blamed the problems consistent with employing servants on their belief that nineteenth-century women had not been trained to perform domestic duties and therefore had no skills with which to instruct their servants. As they described it, "If young women learned to do house-work they would be able to keep their servants and if they lost them, they would avoid ill-successes of trying to run the household untrained."<sup>31</sup>

Several authors of household manuals, including Beecher and Stowe, felt that the education of young woman had been limited during their upbringing and that they were now unprepared to handle the management of their households.

Our common-school system now rejects sewing from the education of girls, which very properly used to occupy many hours daily in school a generation ago. The daughters of laborers and artisans are put through algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and the higher mathematics, to the entire neglect of that learning which belongs distinctively to woman.<sup>32</sup>

As technological advancements were made, many worried that women would lose their traditional roles. Many critics felt that a mother could best influence her children by systematically carrying out her tasks rather than rushing through them with the help of technology.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Strasser, *Never Done*, p. 314.

<sup>32</sup> Strasser, *Never Done*, p. 317.

<sup>33</sup> David Handlin, *The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815-1915*. Boston: Little, Brown, Pub., 1979, p. 416.





*Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, published in Philadelphia from 1830 to 1898, would have been familiar to Germantown women. This publication included recipes and sewing patterns for women while also providing literature and poetry sections. It also listed current events and lectures which might interest women in Philadelphia. One such entry went as follows

Domestic Science--Professor Blot has lately repeated his valuable lecture on the art of cooking. That the ladies of Philadelphia, who had the privilege of listening to his sensible discourses, gained much useful information is certain; but ignorant domestics may fail to carry out the orders which they cannot comprehend. The women and girls employed in American households need an opportunity for special improvement in the knowledge of their duties.<sup>34</sup>

Following this article, there was a call for a school of domestic training for housewives as well as servants. There was also a call for the abolishment of servants and the retraining of domestic skills for the wives. Schools which would train women in domestic science was part of a larger national move to professionalize women's domestic work. Catharine E. Beecher had begun in 1852 her American Woman's Educational Association with these ideals.

Domestic Science was introduced into the education system as well as the idea of combining science and housework. The "scientific program" of housecleaning began with the construction of the home.<sup>35</sup> Housewives were instructed to seal the house with screens, choose easily cleaned surfaces, avoid textured wallpaper and opt for

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<sup>34</sup> *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, 80 (1870), p. 192.

<sup>35</sup> David Handlin, *The American Home*, p. 411.





linoleum floors as carpets were difficult to clean. Many of these suggestions appealed to middle-class housewives with limited household budgets because they were less expensive options. The arrangement of the house was also subject to realm of domestic science. (This will be discussed later in the Part IV.)

Many authors of household manuals discussed the need for housewives to regain there traditional roles. Mary Virginia Terhune (under the pseudonym Marion Harland), author of over twenty-five household manuals as well as a novelist who wrote for such publications as *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, wrote from two different viewpoints.<sup>36</sup> She discussed the horrors of domestic servants in the home in her household manuals while portraying servants in her fictional short stories as respected members of the family. In her short story "The Vanes," she described the servant as respected and admired while in her manual, *House and Home, A Complete House-Wife's Guide* (1889), she promoted a future when servants would not be necessary to households. She wrote

Perhaps in that enfranchised day there will be no Katies and Maggies, and the Norahs will know their place no more. Then the enlightened womanhood may have to begin at the foundation, and glorify the kitchen again.<sup>37</sup>

Mary Terhune differed from many of her contemporaries in her arguments to embrace modern technology. She advocated their use within the home and urged women to purchase new inventions which would alleviate or lighten their work.

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<sup>36</sup> *Notable American Women*, p. 441.

<sup>37</sup> Marion Harland, *House and Home: A Complete House-Wife's Guide*. Philadelphia: Clawson Bros., 1889, p. 97.



Fiction often depicted domestics as one of the family, loyal and helpful. Louis Tasso in his short story, *Why She Married*, wrote

Marie braided her hair; Marie dressed her carefully in her most becoming raiment; and Marie, the wisest and most sagacious of ladies' maids, ventured to observe that Miss Maddy only needed a little more color to be *si charmante*.<sup>38</sup>

These depictions in literature may be related to the needs of a democratic society to justify the idea of "servants." Many of the manuals addressed the contradiction of a democratic society which allowed the existence of servants. In the same publication, the manuals's authors would make socially discriminating statements about the inadequacy of servants. Beecher and Stowe wrote that "the condition of domestic service, however, still retains about it something of the influences from feudal times, and from the near presence of slavery in neighboring states."<sup>39</sup> There was a constant attempt to justify the need for servants. Authors of household manuals attempted to describe the domestic servant as an appealing position in the house. As described earlier employers were described as surrogate mothers for immigrant women employed as servants. Servants were optimistically described by Beecher and Stowe as "a society of educated workers."<sup>40</sup> Beecher also states

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<sup>38</sup> Louis Tasso, "Why She Married," *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, 81 (1870), p. ?.

<sup>39</sup> Beecher and Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, p. 318.

<sup>40</sup> Beecher and Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, p. 308.



In regard to the common feeling among domestics, which is pained and offended by being called "servants," there is need of some consideration and allowance. It should be remembered, that in this Country, children, from their earliest years, are trained to abhor servitude, in reference to themselves, as the greatest of all possible shame and degradation....Now the term servant, and the duties it involves, are in the minds of many persons, nearly the same as those of the slave....It is a consequence of that noble and generous spirit of freedom, which every American draws from his mother's breast, and which ought to be respected, rather than despised...It should be shown to them, that, in this Country, labor has ceased to be degrading, in any class; that, in all classes, different grades of subordination must exist ; and that it is no more degrading for a domestic to regard the heads of a family as superiors in station, and treat them with becoming respect, than it is for children to do the same, or for men to treat their rulers with respect and deference.<sup>41</sup>

This type of rationalization permitted servants and the use of the term "servant" to exist within the democratic society. The language used for servants in this type of literature is one example of the discrepancy between the ways in which servants were depicted in fictional works. Some families, as those described in the Germantown newspapers, may have had loyal servants who were employed for years but the majority of the country as seen in the household manuals, viewed servants as subordinate employees. These strained relations are evident in the social interaction depicted in the household manuals and periodicals. There are also evident in the physical relationships exhibited by the architectural layout of the home.

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<sup>41</sup> Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* , p. 200.





### CHAPTER THREE: ARCHITECTURE

The nineteenth century produced a myriad of new inventions designed to alleviate the work in housework. Machines were considered "one way to do without servants and lighten the burden of housework."<sup>42</sup> Machines raised a controversy in American society as many felt they were "antithetical to the human element."<sup>43</sup> The controversy produced heated debates concerning the professionalism of housework and the true role of the housewife.

Scientific invention was reflected by the introduction of modern mechanical systems as well as by the overall household design, especially the allocation and arrangement of spaces.<sup>45</sup> Each room was a separate space defined by a specific activity such as the distinction of dining room separate from the parlor. Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe were among the earliest efficiency experts. In the *American Woman's Home* (1869), they showed designs for kitchens that followed the ideology of defined spaces with cupboards and drawers labeled and placed strategically within the kitchen space in order to increase efficiency.

Studies conducted during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century examined methods used to increase efficiency in the kitchen. One such study conducted by Christine Frederick in the early twentieth-century examined efficiency methods which had been used throughout the second half of the nineteenth-century. In

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<sup>42</sup> David Handlin, *The American Home*, p. 415.

<sup>43</sup> David Handlin, *The American Home*, p. 416.

<sup>45</sup> David Handlin, *The American Home*, p. 422.





her *Efficiency Studies in Home Management* (1914), she described a time and motion procedure which would increase productivity of the housewife and allow her to carry out her tasks efficiently and without assistance.<sup>46</sup> Her procedure defined the task, broke it into sections, and then allowed the housewife to determine the best method for achieving the required results.

One specific chapter in her study, entitled "Standardizing Conditions in Kitchen Arrangement," discussed the "time and motion" procedure as it applied to kitchen arrangement. She wrote

The first step toward the efficiency of any kitchen is to have the kitchen small, compact, and without long narrow pantries and closets. Many women are under the impression that a 'roomy' kitchen is desirable. It may appear attractive, but a careful test of the way work is done in a 'roomy' kitchen will discover wasted spaces between the equipment, and hence wasted motion between the work.<sup>47</sup>

This description was similar to the kitchen designs advocated by Beecher and Stowe forty-five years earlier.

Efficiency designs were not limited to kitchens. Rooms in the economical architecture designs promoted by household manuals and domestic science texts were clustered around a central hall to allow for a more efficient use of time.

The democratic ideals put forth by many during this period were not reflected in the physical division of architectural space. "Servants knew that their work was not valued in a society that was

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<sup>46</sup> David Handlin, *The American Home*, p. 422.

<sup>47</sup> Christine Frederick, *Efficiency Studies in Home Management*, Philadelphia: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1914, p. 46.



increasingly separating the workplace and the home. It was, after all, work disdained by their employers...."<sup>48</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century domestic architecture continued to reflect the idea that the servants' quarters and workspace should be removed from the family areas of the home. Houses were designed with the kitchen in the basement or the back section of the house and with secondary staircases which allowed servants to carry out their tasks while not interacting with the family. The desire to place the servants' rooms and work areas away from the family sections of the house reflected Victorian sensibilities as to what was appropriate to the domestic sphere. Most household guides, as stated earlier, professed a desire to eliminate the need for servants in the household entirely.

Very few references can be found in the specific layout of the servants' quarters in the household manuals studied. The references primarily dealt with the cleanliness of the room and the number of beds needed; they rarely dealt with the location or space of the room. "Their rooms are the neglected, ill-furnished, incommodious ones -- and the kitchen is the most cheerless and comfortless place in the house."<sup>50</sup>

In order to gain a greater understanding of household layout and design, this study focused on Philadelphia architects who would have been accessible to the middle-class market. Architects were

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<sup>48</sup> Deborah Fairman Browning, "Toilers Within the Home: Servants Quarters in Nineteenth-Century New England," *Journal of American Culture*, Spring 1992, p. 93.

<sup>50</sup> Catharine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home*, NY: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971 (reprint), p. 323.



chosen to represent the three periods used in the demographic study--1860, 1880 and 1900. Architectural designs were examined for the three periods to determine if any significant changes in household layout occurred.

In the 1860's, Samuel Sloan (1815-1884) was considered to be one of Philadelphia's leading architects. Samuel Sloan published several pattern books in the mid-nineteenth century including *City and Suburban Architecture* (1859), *Sloan's Constructive Architecture* (1859), and *The Model Architect* (1860).<sup>51</sup> The writings were published in several editions throughout the late nineteenth-century. Furthermore, some of Sloan's architectural designs were published in *Godey's Lady's Book*, which was the first magazine to offer model residences for the interest of its female readers. Included were perspective views of the house as well as its floorplans. These were recommended as popular designs for houses during this time.

In *The Model Architect*, Sloan published images and floorplans of houses including an Italian Villa and an Elizabethan Villa (See illustrations 1-4). These houses showed similar design aspects to the houses being built in Germantown at the time. Both plans placed the servants' quarters above the kitchen and next to the bathrooms. The houses were also designed with secondary staircases.

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<sup>51</sup> Sandra L. Tatman & Roger W. Moss, *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects: 1700-1930*, Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1985, p. 730.



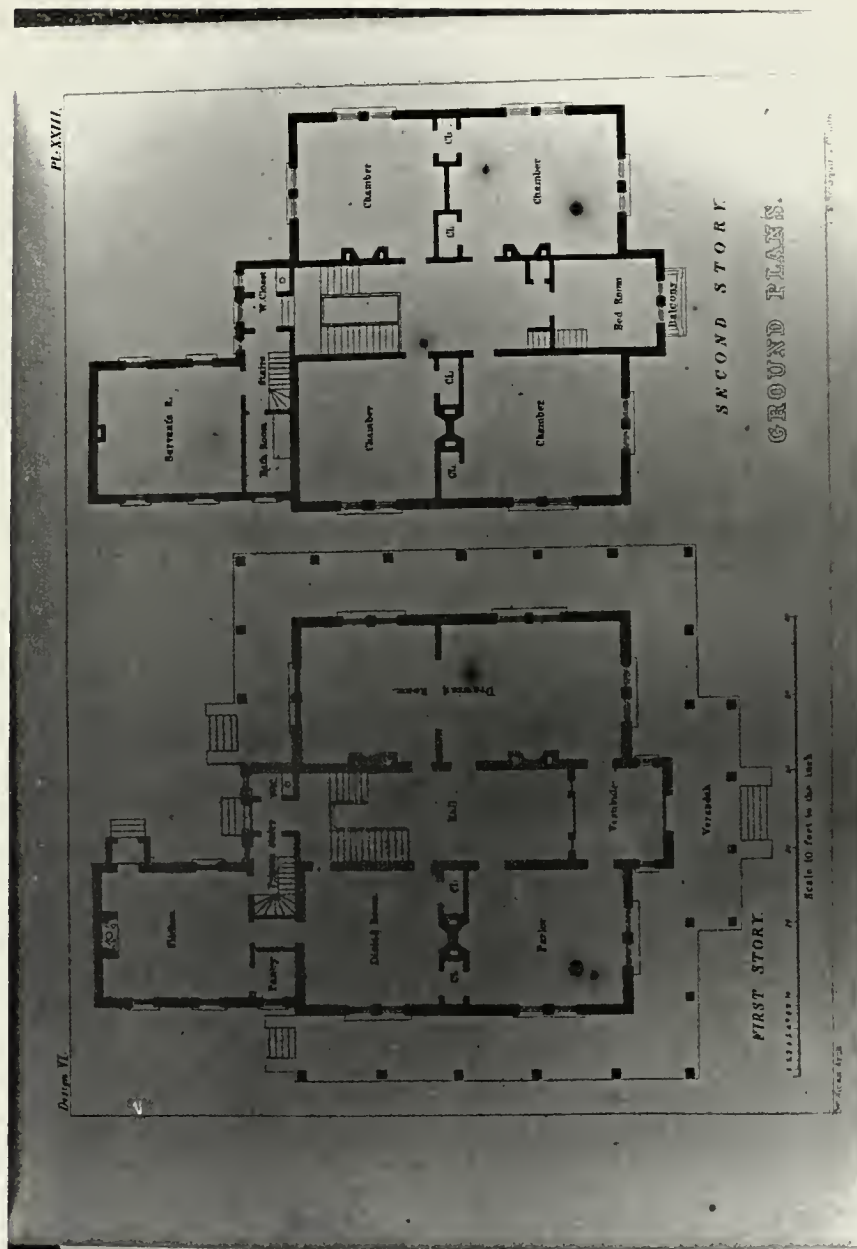




Source: "Italian Villa"  
 Samuel Sloan, *Model Architect* (Philadelphia, 1860), pl. XXII

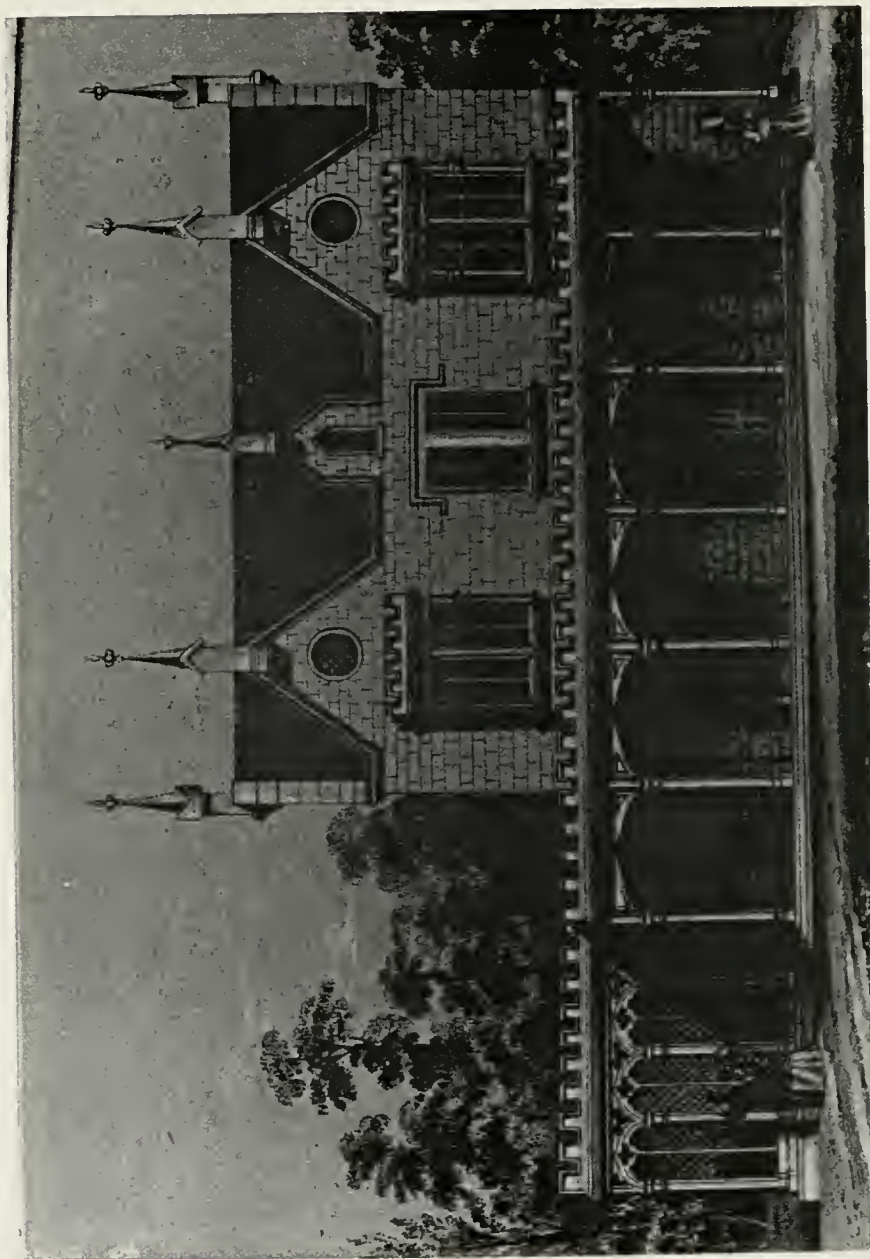






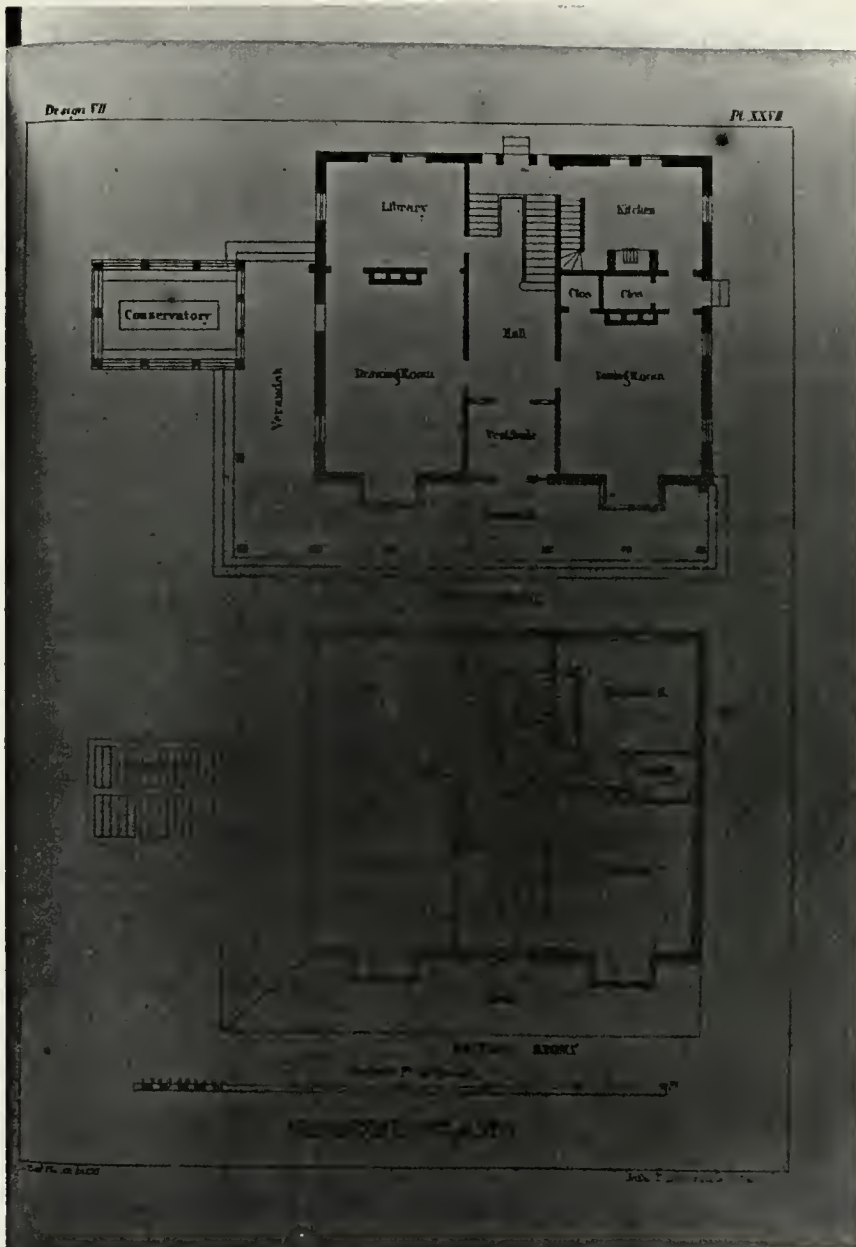
Source: "Italian Villa"-floorplans  
 Samuel Sloan, *Model Architect* (Philadelphia, 1860), pl. XXIII





Source: "Elizabethan Villa"  
Samuel Sloan, *Model Architect* (Philadelphia, 1860), pl. XXVI





Source: "Elizabethan Villa"-floorplans  
 Samuel Sloan, *Model Architect* (Philadelphia, 1860), pl. XXVI





Isaac H. Hobbs (1817-1896), a Philadelphia architect, was "an example of the architect who was able to capitablize on the expanding economy in Philadelphia and across the nation in the late nineteenth century."<sup>5 2</sup> Hobbs also published his architectural designs in several periodicals including, *Godey's Lady's Book*, beginning in 1863 and throughout the second half of the nineteenth-century.

The architectural designs shown here were chosen because of their similarity to the types of architecture being built in the Tulpehocken District of Germantown in the late nineteenth-century. These architectural plans could be found both in *Hobbs's Architecture* (1876) and in *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* during the 1860s and 1870s. The following images were found in the 1873 and 1876 editions of *Hobbs's Architecture*. The images chosen are from the 1873 edition because of their higher reproduction quality although they reflect plans in both editions.

Most of the plans in *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* did not explicitly define servants' quarters but did place smaller chambers in back of the house over the kitchen and close to the bathrooms. These would probably have been used by servants as the heat would have been unbearable in the summer and family members would not have chosen to live in those rooms.

Illustrations 5 and 6, taken from *Hobbs's Architecture*, specifically mentioned servants' rooms. These rooms were all located over the kitchens and near the bathrooms.

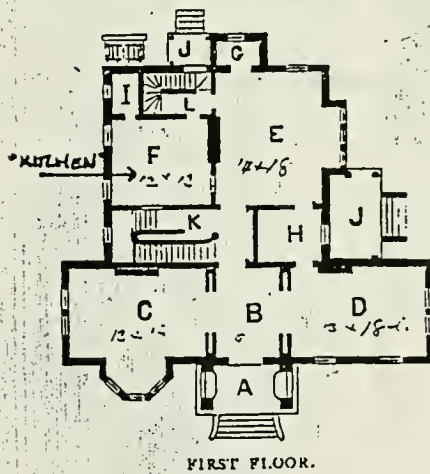
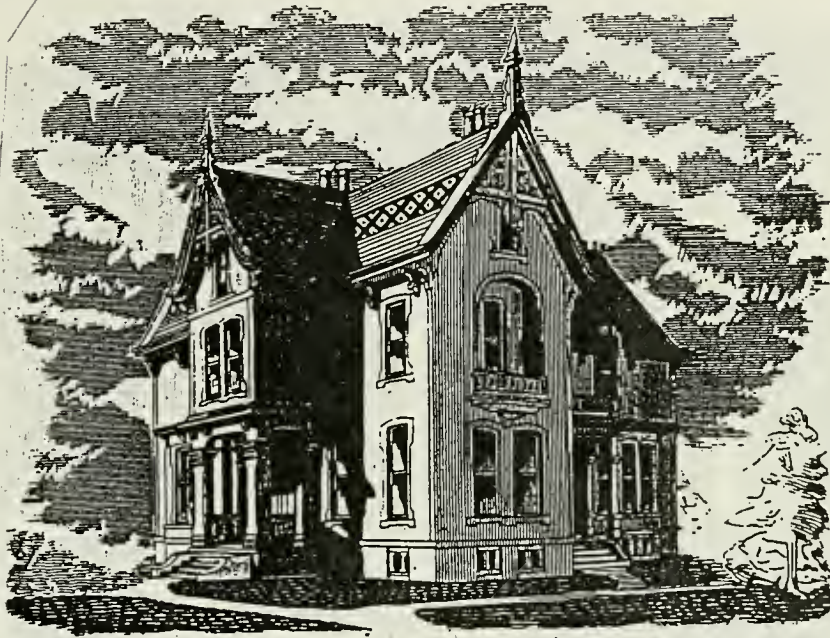
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<sup>5 2</sup> Tatman and Moss, *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects*, p. 382.

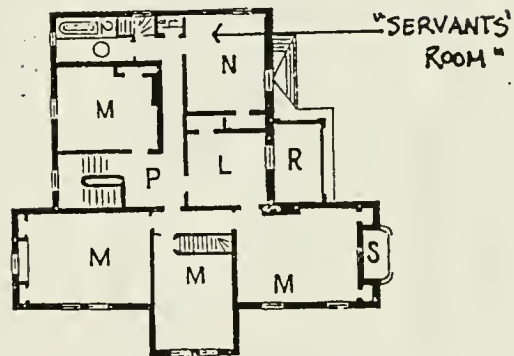




## DESIGN XLVI.

*Model Residence.*

FIRST FLOOR.



SECOND FLOOR.

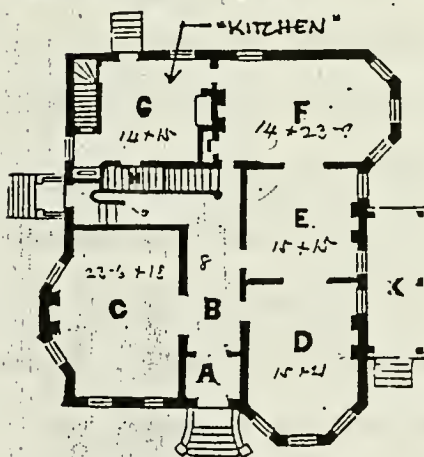
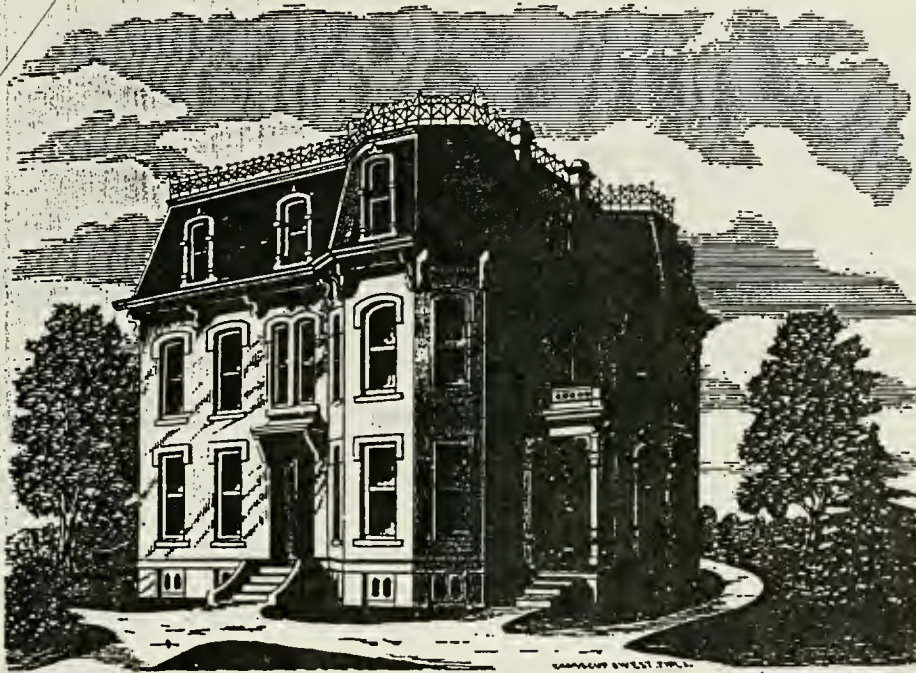
(113)

Source:

*Hobbs's Architecture* by Isaac H. Hobbs & Sons,  
Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1873, p. 113.

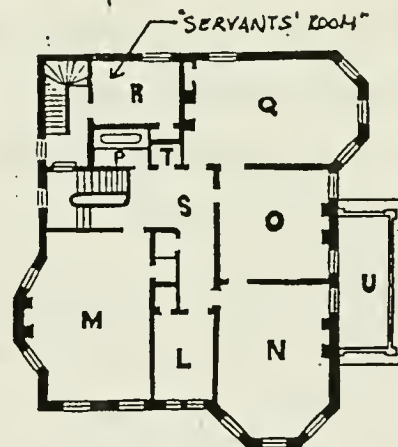


## DESIGN XXIX.

*A Model Residence.*

FIRST FLOOR.

12



SECOND FLOOR.

(79)

Source:

*Hobbs's Architecture* by Isaac H. Hobbs & Sons,  
Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1873, p. 79.



The majority of the homes depicted in *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* and *Hobbs's Architecture* have a secondary staircase. Plans without a secondary staircase usually carry the information, "No back stairs were desired by the party ordering these drawings, but one can easily be placed between the dining-room and the kitchen, if desired."<sup>53</sup> Illustration 7 specifically differentiated between the main staircase and the servants' staircase. The servants' staircase was a small winder stair adjacent to the kitchen.

Finally, architectural plans which dated around 1900 were studied. The two firms chosen were Cope & Stewardson and Walter Price. Both designed houses for Philadelphia middle-class clientele as well as specifically designing houses in the Germantown area.

Walter Cope (1860-1902) and John Stewardson (1858-1896) were partners in "one of Philadelphia's most important and prestigious firms at the turn of the century."<sup>54</sup> Their practice, while primarily academic buildings, also included residential designs. In 1896, they designed the John C. Winston Residence on E. Penn Street in Germantown (see illustrations 8 & 9). None of the bedrooms shown in the floorplans were specifically designated servants' quarters. Bedroom D, however, was located in the rear of the house over the kitchen (see illustration 9). It was also located near a smaller staircase which led directly to the kitchen and pantry areas of the house. These conditions indicated that Bedroom D may have been used by servants.

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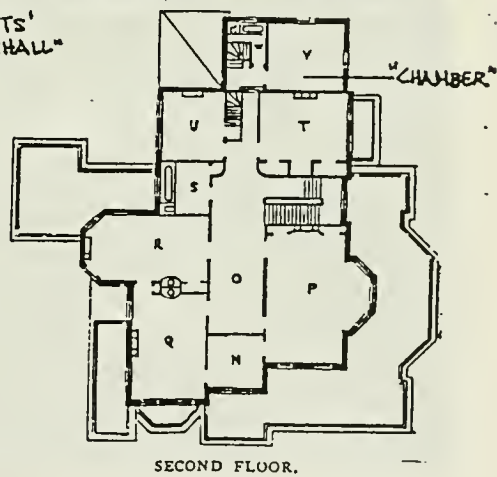
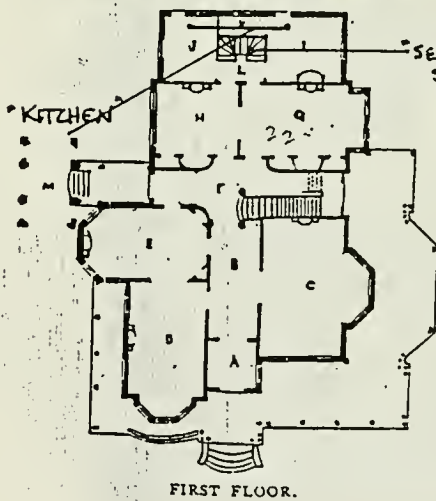
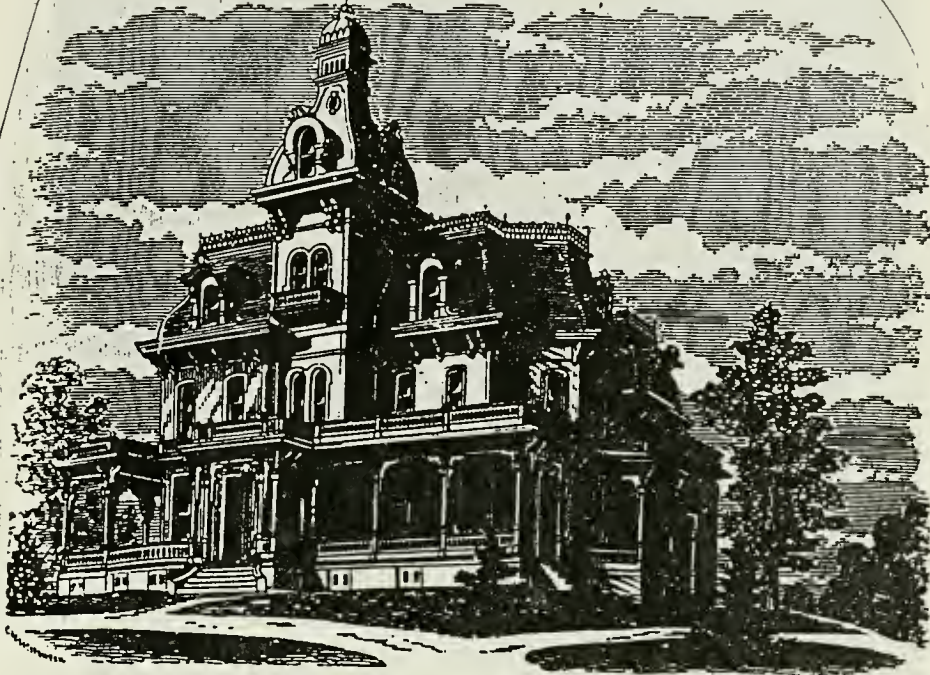
<sup>53</sup> *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, 81 (1870), p. 293.

<sup>54</sup> Tatman and Moss, *Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects*, p. 165.





DESIGN I.  
A Model Residence.

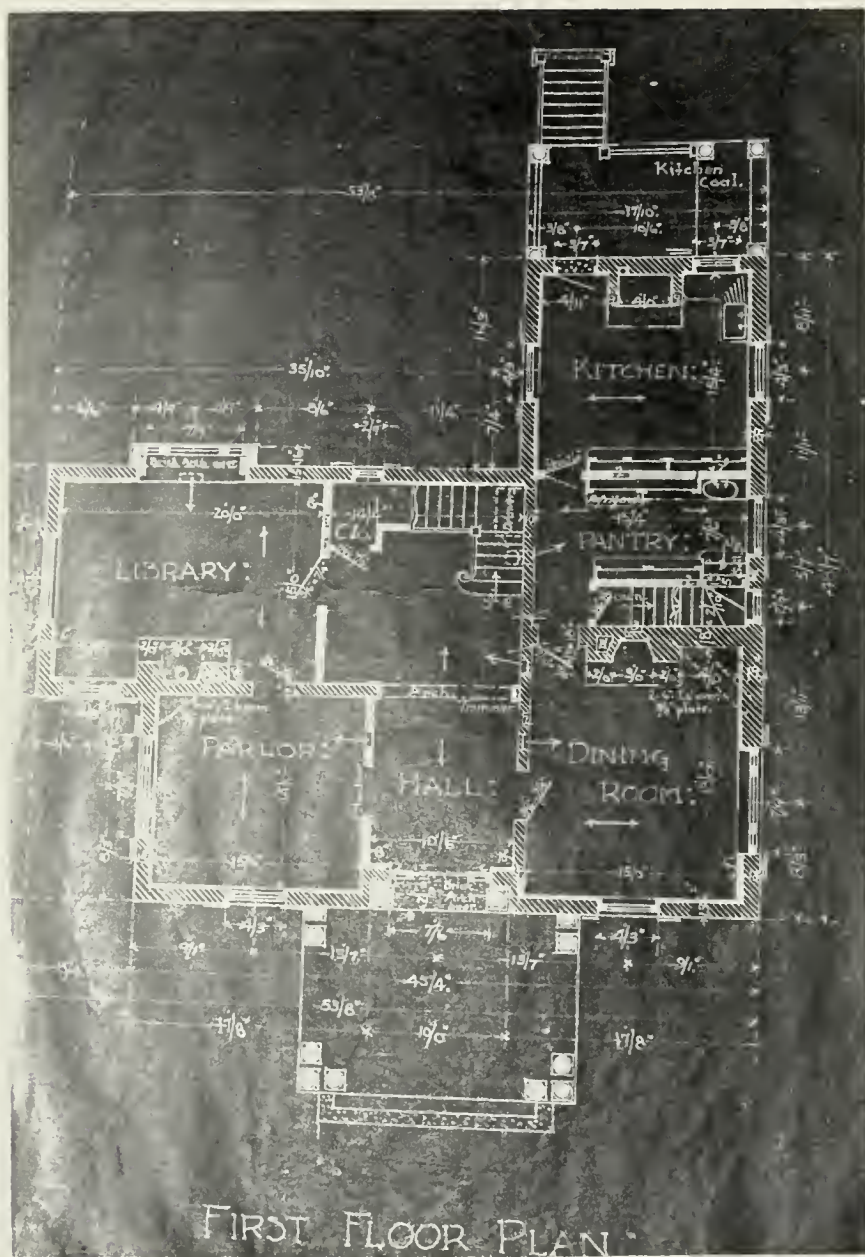


(23)

Source: *Hobbs's Architecture* by Isaac H. Hobbs & Sons,  
Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1873, p. 23.

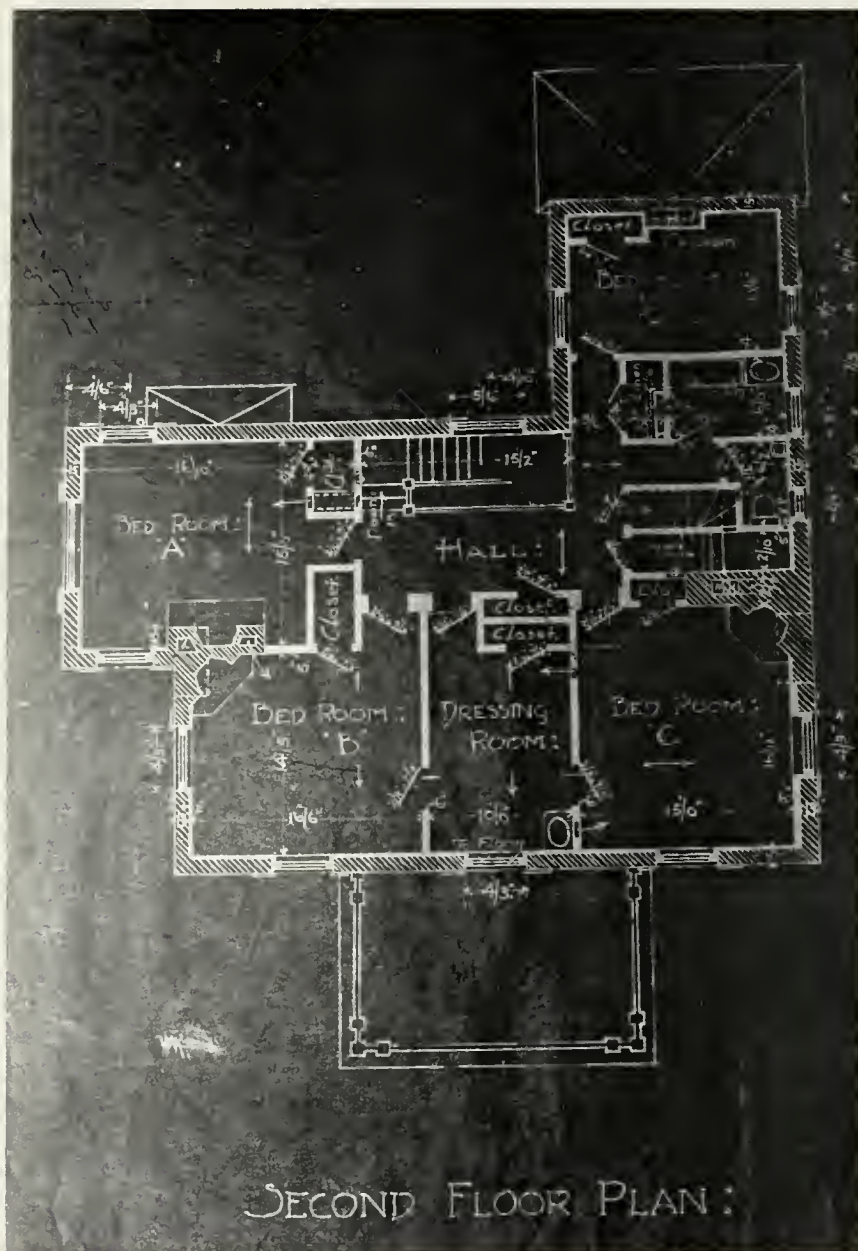






Source: "First Floor Plan"  
 Cope & Stewardson, John. C. Winston Residence,  
 E. Penn Street, Germantown, PA (1896)





Source: "Second Floor Plan"  
 Cope & Stewardson, John C. Winston Residence,  
 E. Penn Street, Germantown, PA (1896)



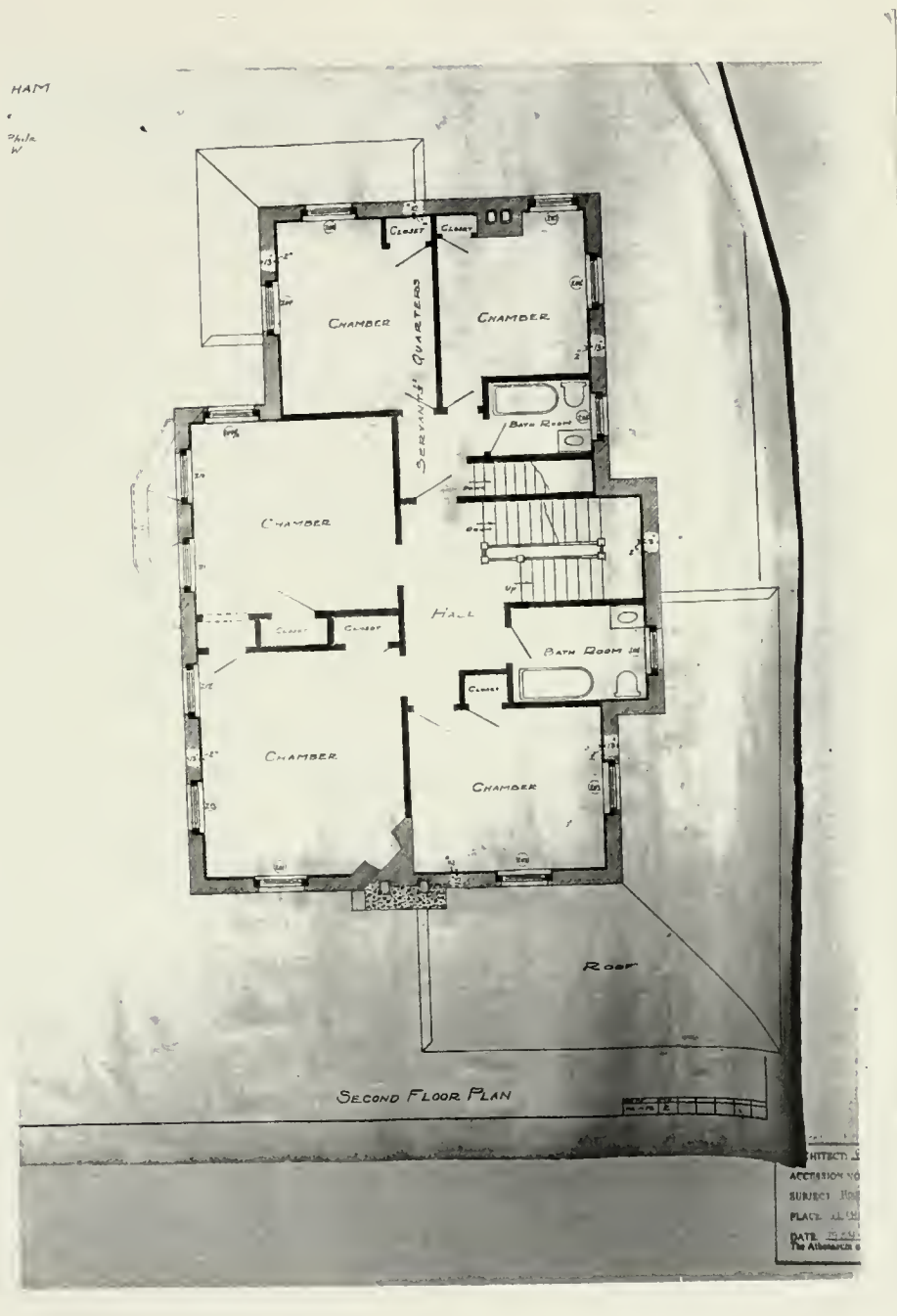


In 1904, Walter Price (1857-1951) designed House #81 in Pelham, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (see illustrations 10-12). This second floor plan of the house showed the servants' quarters located in the rear of the house still over the kitchen (see illustration 10). The basement plan also included a room designated as the servants' parlor (see illustration 12).

There were no significant shifts in household layout throughout the late nineteenth century. All four architectural firms placed the servants' quarters in the rear of the house, over the kitchen and located near a smaller staircase. This practice continued from the eighteenth-century into the twentieth-century separating the servants' quarters from the family quarters. The following chapters will research the history and demography of Germantown. Chapter 6 will examine a Germantown residence to determine if the architectural layout of the house follows this pattern. This chapter will also specifically study the servants' quarters to determine the differences in living conditions of the servants as reflected in their physical environment.

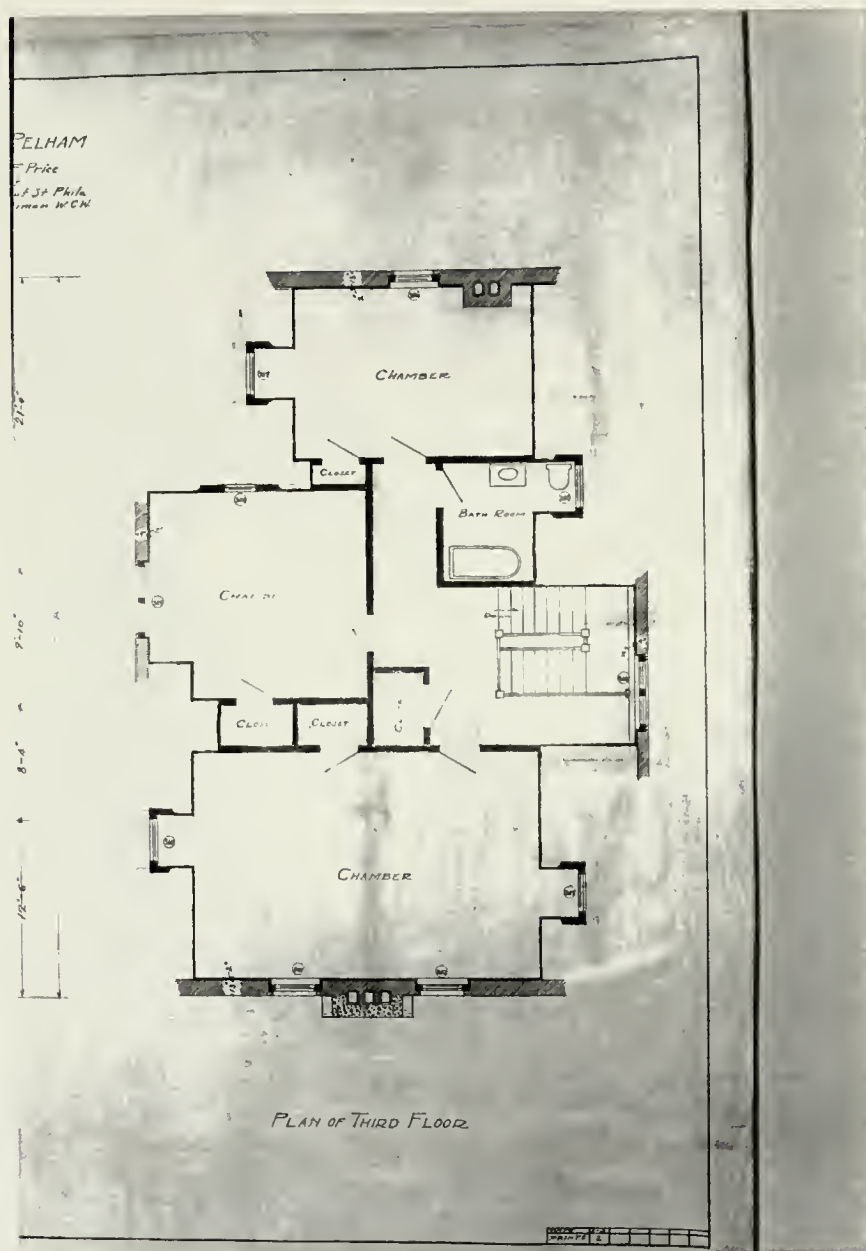






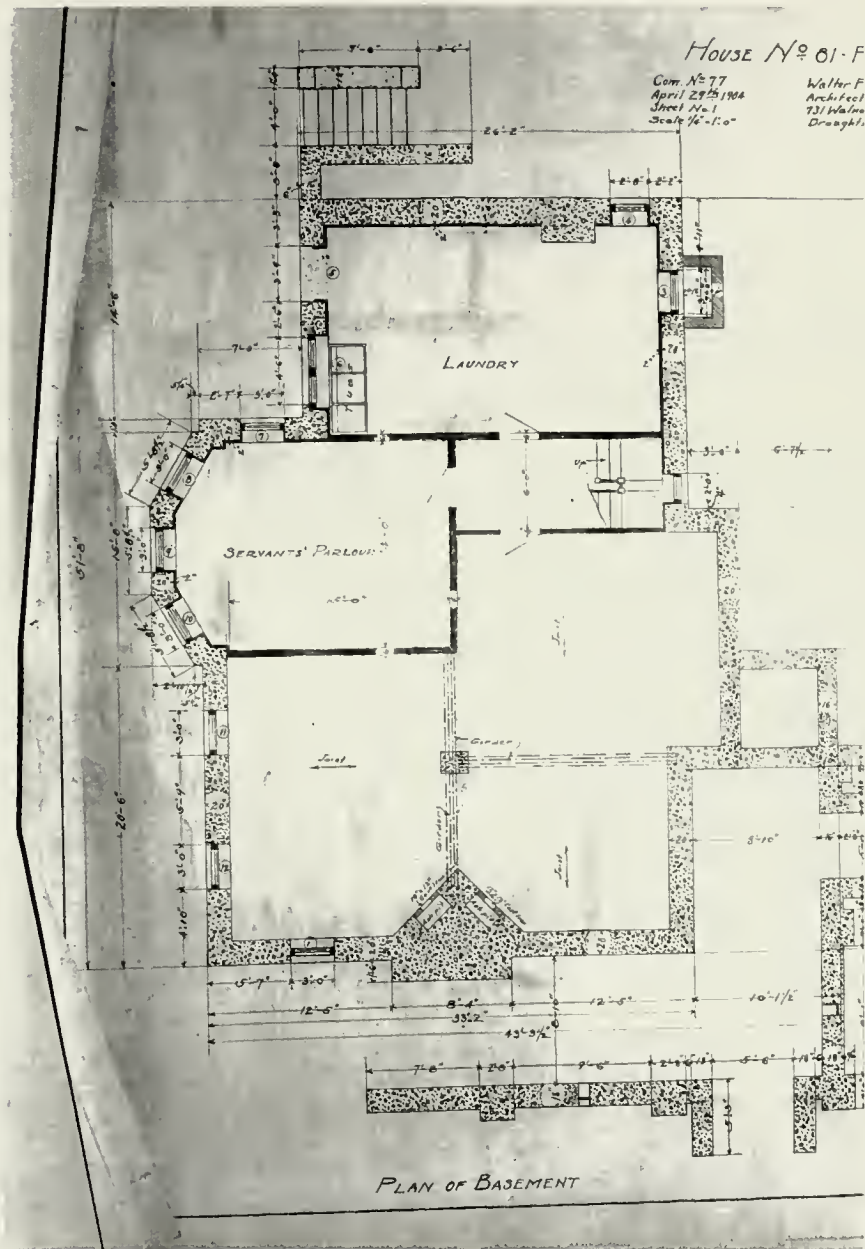
Source: "Second Floor Plan"  
Walter Price, House #81, Pelham, Philadelphia (1904)





Source: "Third Floor Plan"  
Walter Price, House #81, Pelham, Philadelphia (1904)





Source: "Basement Plan"  
Walter Price, House #81, Pelham, Philadelphia (1904)





## CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORY OF GERMANTOWN

Germantown was created on the ideals of the European settlers who first inhabited the area and who are thought to have resulted from William Penn's visit in 1677 to the Rhineland, especially to the areas of Krefeld and Krisheim in the Netherlands. Contrary to the popular belief that all the immigrants to Germantown were of German descent, authors are now claiming the first immigrants were Netherlanders and German-speaking Swiss.<sup>55</sup>

Germantown was settled in 1683 when the original thirteen immigrant families, led by Daniel Francis Pastorius from Krefeld and Krisheim arrived in Pennsylvania.<sup>56</sup> Soon after their arrival a warrant was issued to Daniel Pastorius for land, inclusive of 5700 acres, on behalf of the Germantown purchasers. A meeting was held and the original 55 land grants were laid out in 50 acre lots.<sup>57</sup> The land lots were narrow and long in their original distribution. As Germantown evolved, a trend developed towards redistributing the land into smaller lots befitting the concept of the new "urban village."<sup>58</sup> The settlement ground was unusually rocky for the area,

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<sup>55</sup> Harry M. & Margaret B. Tinkcom, Grant Miles Simon, F.A.I.A. *Historic Germantown, From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955, p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Edward W. Hocker, *Germantown, 1683-1933*. Philadelphia: published by author, 1933, p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> Ord of a General Court at that place begun by Francis Daniel Pastorius, *Ground and Lot Book of all and each real Properties of cleared and uncleared Land in the entire Germantownship*, Philadelphia: Germantown Historical Society.

<sup>58</sup> Concept of urban village defined by Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.





which made impractical William Penn's plan for a square village with central market area. Instead Germantown began to orient its community life and housing along the Germantown Road. This entity was based on the "single street village" idea which prevented the formation of blocks on which our idea of a city is often based.<sup>59</sup> Although this road was the main route for travel from Philadelphia to the outer cities in Pennsylvania, it was also known for its treacherous conditions.

The conditions of the main road, including large swampy areas, and the subsequent city plan led Germantown residents to build their town into a self-sufficient entity.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Germantown slowly became an influential suburb of Philadelphia. At the end of the eighteenth century Philadelphia fell victim to Yellow Fever. From August to November, 1793, the worst epidemic to hit the city caused 12,000 of the approximately 36,000 citizens to flee the area.<sup>60</sup> Many residents, including government officials, fled to Germantown. George Washington may have been among the Philadelphians who arrived in Germantown. Government business was conducted at the Deschler-Morris House during the time of Washington's visit. Hocker wrote that the President stayed in the home of Reverend F. Herman and then later with Colonel Frank. Washington supposedly also stayed at Frank's residence the

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<sup>59</sup> Wolf, *Urban Village*, p. 27.

<sup>60</sup> Germantown Historical Society Subject Files, Philadelphia, PA.



following summer. No primary evidence has been located to support these claims.<sup>61</sup>

The influx of visitors during this period and also during subsequent epidemics in 1797, 1798, and 1799, exposed Germantown citizens to the influences of Philadelphia. English began to be used more frequently in Germantown resulting in the establishment of Philadelphia-oriented institutions such as the first English church (Methodist), fire companies and libraries.<sup>62</sup> Many Philadelphians who fled to Germantown believed in the healthfulness of the area and bought permanent summer homes, thus increasing the town's population and prosperity.

The governing bodies of Germantown changed considerably between the time of its inception to the mid-nineteenth century. Between 1683 until 1707 Germantown was a self-governing entity. Next Germantown became a township in Philadelphia County and in 1844 became a borough. The borough government was maintained until 1854 when the city of Philadelphia was consolidated and Germantown annexed as the 22nd ward of Philadelphia.

By 1801 the Germantown Turnpike had been incorporated, thus improving the access to Germantown. This access was further aided by the completion of the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad in 1832. The Pennsylvania Railroad chartered in 1846 also increased the accessibility to Germantown. The railroad

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<sup>61</sup>Hocker, *Germantown, 1683-1933*, p. 127.

<sup>62</sup> Margaret B. Tinckom, "Germantown & Urbane Village, 1683-1850," *Wyck- A Guide's Manual*, Philadelphia: The Wyck Foundation, 1991, p. 2.



system aided Germantown's development into a modern suburban. Many businessmen moved their families to Germantown as a result because it was now become possible to work during Philadelphia in the day and return home to the healthfulness of Germantown at night. Citizens of Philadelphia, disturbed by the rising crime and dirt of city life, quickly took advantage of accessibility and healthfulness of Germantown.

There were also significant technological advances during the mid-nineteenth century. The increase need for industry and utilities in Germantown was directly tied to the town's growth as a suburb. In 1851, the Germantown Gas Company was incorporated and a gas plant was built along the railroad near Brighthurst Street.<sup>63</sup> That same year the Germantown Water Company was incorporated which supplied hot and cold water to many homes in Germantown.<sup>64</sup> These advances helped promote bathrooms and new lighting systems within houses. In 1884, the Germantown Electric Company was founded.<sup>65</sup> Although gas and water quickly became a part of the domestic life of Germantown residents, many waited until the twentieth century before incorporating electricity into their domesticlives. Electricity was unpredictable and to many conservative households may have appeared as an unnecessary luxury.

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<sup>63</sup> Germantown Historical Society Subject File, Philadelphia, PA.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.





## CHAPTER FIVE: SERVANTS--A DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

### VI-1: Methodology

A demographic study was conducted to understand of the role of servants in Germantown households over time. The study examined the census records from 1860, 1880 and 1900. These years were chosen as they give a good overview of the changing nature of servants in the later half of the nineteenth century. The twenty year increments were chosen in order to allow for a timespan large enough for changes in social order and construction to be evident. The census records for 1860, 1880 and 1900 were all complete and accessible making it possible to study extensively.<sup>66</sup>

A population count as well as a count of "servants" or "domestics" was conducted for each of the three dates and the household composition examined to determine the number of servants per household as well as the occupations of the heads of household. The ages, ethnicity, and sex of the individual servants were also noted. Only individuals who were described as servants, domestics or household help in the census occupation line were

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<sup>66</sup> It should be noted that census records are not always accurate as the lesser income families are often excluded. These conclusions are based on the records available and may be inaccurate but by using them in conjunction with other sources one should be able to get a close approximation to the social construction and domestic relations in Germantown in the late nineteenth-century. The census records for 1840 were rejected because they did not list occupations for the members of the households.



included in the findings. Drivers or gardeners were omitted as this study focuses entirely on household domestic help.

#### VI-2: 1860 Study

In 1860 the total population of Germantown was 11,925 residents. Of this number, 225 households (9%) employed domestic servants. The largest percentage of households employed only one live-in servant in the household (41%), however 72 households (32%) employed two domestic servants. Less than 3% of the 225 households listed more than 5 domestic servants. The most likely household head occupations to employ servants were merchants (24%) and gentlemen (11%) followed by physicians (3%), manufacturers (6%) and farmers (5%). Subsequent variations in occupations employing domestic help will be discussed later.

Of the 11,925 residents, 4% of the population were live-in domestic servants. The overwhelming percentage were women; of the 459 servants, 425 were female and only 34 were male.

Further analysis of the census data was conducted examining the ages and ethnicity of the servants. Of the 425 women, almost half were between the ages of 20 and 29 years (49%). Of the remaining 51%, 18% of the women were under 20 years while 18% were between the ages of 30 and 39 years. Only 7% were over 50 years. Overwhelmingly the women were Irish (74%) followed by 15% of Pennsylvania descent. Only 1% of the women were listed as Black or Mulatto.



Men, representing 7% of the domestic servant population, were typically employed as waiters and butlers within households. Almost half of the men (41%) were between the ages of 20 and 29 years. This was followed closely by the age group between 30 and 39 years of which 32% of the men fell. Only 6% were over the age of 50 years. Male servants were almost equally divided between Irish (29%), German (24%) and those born in Pennsylvania (24%). Only 5 of the 34 men or 15% of the total, were listed as Black.

### VI-3: 1880 Study

By 1880, the population in Germantown had tripled to 33,815 individuals with 1868 listed as domestic servants. Since 1860 the number of households with lesser numbers of servants had increased while the number of households which listed more than 5 servants decreased. This change suggested a the rise of a more prosperous middle-class and the decline of very wealthy residents in Germantown. Approximately 52% of the households employed only one servant while 30% employ two servants. 12% of the households employ three servants. Only 2 % of these households employed over 5 servants.

Occupations listed in the 1880 census show a larger variety of professions. Merchants still accounted for a large group (11%). However the number of gentlemen with servants fell to 2%. One of the largest occupations listed was "keeping house." This entry which accounted for 19% of the households employing servants can be





defined as households headed by women. These women were generally listed as widows in the marital status line of the census record. This appeared as a new entry which was not listed in the 1860 census. Farmers and physicians only accounted for 3% (each) of the household occupations.

Of the 33,815 residents, 1868 were listed as domestic servants. As in the 1860 census women significantly outnumbered men as domestic servants. Women accounted for 91% numbering 1701. Female domestic servants were commonly found to range between the ages of 20 and 29 years (44%). These were followed by women under 20 years (19%) and women between the ages of 30 and 39 years (15%). Women between 40 and 49 years (12%) and women over 50 years (10%) ranked very closely.

An examination of the ethnic background of these women showed a decline to 51% of those claiming Irish descent. Women born in Pennsylvania were listed second at 27% while women of German and English descent made up only 5% of the woman servants. The number of Black women employed as domestic servants rose to 10%.

Of the 1868 domestic servants listed, men numbered 167 (9% of the servant population). The largest age group for men were found from 20 to 29 years (41%) followed by three other groups which were closely tied in percentages. Men under 20 years rated 17% while men between the ages of 30 and 39 years rated 15%. The men between the ages of 40 and 49 years led closely at 16%. Only 11% of the men employed as servants were over the age of 50 years.





An ethnic study of the male domestic servants showed changes. Irish decedents, men born in Pennsylvania, and Black men were rated between 29% and 32%. The Pennsylvania-born men (32%) led before Irish-born men (31%) and Black men (29%). All of the Black men were born within the United States. German- and English-born men only made up 4% of the total number of male servants in Germantown.

#### VI-4: 1900 Study

Between 1880 and 1900 the population of Germantown had doubled to 65,377 residents. The number of households employing domestic servants had also doubled to 2,271. This indicated that the percentage of domestic servants remained fairly constant increasing slightly from 15% in 1880 to 17% in 1900. In 1900 60% of these households employed only one servant while 27% employed two. The numbers decreased from 1880 and 9% of the households employed three servants while 3% employed four. The number of households which employed more than five servants was 36 (only 1% of all Germantown households).

Merchants and manufacturers continued to play major roles as employers at 8% and 9% respectively. There was an increased diversity in professions employing servants listed in the census; new professions included clerks, dentists and florists. These new middle-class professions accounted for 77% of the employers of domestic servants.



The number of servants was determined to be 3,630 keeping the percentage of individuals employed as domestic servants at 6%. Of the 3,630 servants, 3,538 were female which accounted for 97% of the domestic servants employed in Germantown. Women were still found generally to be between the ages of 20 and 29 years (50%). These women made up half of the domestic employment force. Women between the ages of 30 and 39 followed at 19% while women under 20 years were listed at 12%. These percentages were followed closely by women between 40 and 49 (8%) and women over 50 years (11%).

Irish-born women made up almost half of the workforce at 45% while Black women made up 24%. The rest of the ethnic groups made up the remaining 31% although women born in Pennsylvania accounted for 15%.

Of the 3,630 servants, men numbered 92 (3% of the servant population). Of these men, 54% were between the ages of 20 and 29 years. Men between the ages of 30 and 39 years accounted for the second largest group at 20% followed by men under 20 years (15%). Men between 40 and 49 years and men over 50 years accounted for 7% and 4% respectively.

The largest ethnic group of men employed as servants were Black men (65% of the male servant population) which was a significant rise from 1860 and 1880. Men born in Pennsylvania and Ireland, which had been large groups, fell to 12% and 14% respectively. Immigrant and caucasian men accounted for a very small percentage of domestic servants.



### VI-5: General Analysis

The population in Germantown increased considerable during the three census periods studied, growing from 11,925 to 65,377 residents. Yet, the percentage of the population in service remained basically the same, increasing only slightly from 4% to 6%. The 1850 census, which was taken before the consolidation of Philadelphia, showed a population of 3,554 of which only 99 residents were employed as servants. Servants, in 1850, could be found in 55 households. The significant rise in population and number of servants in 1860 was a direct result of the consolidation of Philadelphia. Ward 22 not only includes Germantown proper but also Chestnut Hill and several other communities. It was for this reason that the decision was made to study Ward 22 after the consolidation.

The terminology used in the census records reflects the attitudes of the Germantown residents towards servants. In 1850 domestic servants were referred to as "servants." By the 1860 census, they were being referred to as "domestics." A return to the use of "servant" is found in the 1880 census and remained throughout the 1900 census. The term "help," which was used to refer to domestic servants in the first half of the nineteenth century can be found in the 1900 census; however, the term is in reference to professional assistants such as "baker's assistant."





The percentage of households employing one servant increased over the forty year period while the percentage of households employing several servants steadily decreased. Of all households employing servants, those with only one servant increased from 41% to 60% while households which employed more than five servants decreased from 3% to 1%. The influx of middle-class households and new diversity of occupations may have directly related to this increase in single servant households. As Germantown became a popular suburban residential area many middle-class families were attracted to it. These households may have found it more cost efficient to hire one servant rather than invest in the new technologies available for households at that time. Employing one servant also may have served as a status symbol for middle-class women which allowed them time to pursue their own interests.

Throughout the study, women accounted for over 90% of the domestic household employees. Of these women, the major ethnic group remained Irish. However as the 20th century approached, the percentage of Black women increased. In the 1860 census Black women only accounted for 1% of the workfore yet by 1900 they increased to 24%. Although Blacks and Irish were the most prominent group of domestic servants, in the 1880 census a small number of Native Americans were noted as servants. The range of ages remained consistent throughout the study. Women between 20 and 29 years remained the largest group.

Perhansp as other work opened to them, the number of men decreased from 7% to 3% of the workforce. In 1860, Irish men



accounted for the largest group of domestic employees making up one-third of the total, and by 1900 they were only 14%. A significant increase in the number of Black men employed as domestic servants can be observed. As industrialization increased allowing for greater opportunities for immigrant and American men, Black male domestic employees increased from 15% to 65%. The ages remained steady for male domestic employees with the largest group found in the 20 to 29 year age group.



## CHAPTER SIX: CASE STUDY

Once the demographic information for Germantown, Pennsylvania had been accumulated, a specific case study was determined. A house located in the Tulpehocken District, a neighborhood developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, was chosen to specifically examine the physical conditions of domestics as reflected in the architecture. The house chosen was the Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion, located at 200 West Tulpehocken Street. The Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion was typical of the commonly built houses in the middle to upper middle-class neighborhoods in suburban Germantown. Importantly, the house was constructed in 1859 so its construction meshes with the architectural examples studied earlier in this paper especially those of Samuel Sloan and Isaac Hobbs.

The Tulpehocken Street area was a typical prosperous neighborhood consisting of well-to-do gentlemen as well as merchants and clerks. The residents of this neighborhood were exactly the sort to employ servants during this period as shown in the 1860 demographic study (see appendix B).

The Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion was built for Ebenezer and Anna Maxwell in 1859.<sup>67</sup> The architecture has been described as "picturesque eclectic" combining French Second Empire, Italianate and Flemish styles. The house has been attributed to Joseph Hoxie, a

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<sup>67</sup>All information about the Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion was found in *Guides Training Manual*, Philadelphia: Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion, Inc. Revised by KSM, 2/91.



well-known Philadelphia architect, although there is no primary evidence to support the assertion.

The house was likely built on speculation as Ebenezer Maxwell sold it soon after its construction and began to build a smaller house on the property next to it. The Hunter family rented the house until William Hunter purchased it in October, 1862, for \$13,000. The Hunter family added several additions to the house including a two-story wing, a second front porch and a carriage house. Rosalie Hunter, widow of William Hunter, remarried Howard Stevenson in 1870 and lived in the house until her death. The house then remained in the Stevenson family until 1956.

The house is currently being presented and open to the public as a house museum. Many of the objects and finishes have survived and are original to the house while others are recreations. Of the latter, some objects follow the 1867 inventory and some do not. The photographs of the Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion used in this chapter are of the house as it exists today.

Each family had employed servants during their occupation of the house. According to the 1860 census, the Maxwell family employed three domestics. They were Elisa Phillips, Ellen German, and Kathy German. The Hunter family employed two domestics according to the 1870 census. They were Sarah Duffy and Cathy Kerr.

According to the 1867 inventory for William Hunter, Jr. the attic room listed 35 yards of ingrain carpeting and two bedsteads, suggesting it was the domestics' quarters. The attic was reached by a





winding staircase located in the back of the house and entered through a small slanted door located in the servants' hallway (see illustration 1 and 2). The hallway used by the servants was very plain. The walls were painted a peach (this color was determined by paint analysis) and the floorboards were uncarpeted. According to the fire insurance survey the back stairs were built of white pine. The hallway leading to the kitchen area also lacked aesthetic details (see illustrations 3 and 4). This was a utilitarian spaces used primarily by the domestics which is reflected in the lack of decoration.

This is very different from the hallway in the front part of the house which was primarily used by the family (see illustration 5). The walls there have been covered with an ashlar wall paper. Although illustration 5 shows linoleum, the floors probably would have been covered in carpeting and the wood stained and grained. Illustration 6 shows the detailed painting in the second floor main hallway. This central hallway was located off the main staircase. The colorful and finely detailed stencilling was added during the Stevenson occupancy. The front entryway, which would have been the main access to the house for family and guests, was elaborately decorated. The walls were probably covered in an ashlar print and the woodwork was grained. Although illustration 7 shows linoleum covering the floor, the 1867 inventory lists twenty yards of carpet as well as thirty-three yards of stair carpet. (See 1867 William Hunter inventory in Appendix B.)



Illustration 1:  
Rear door located on second  
floor leading to attic by way  
of rear staircase.



Illustration 2:  
Second floor rear hallway





Illustration 3:  
First floor rear hallway  
looking towards kitchen.

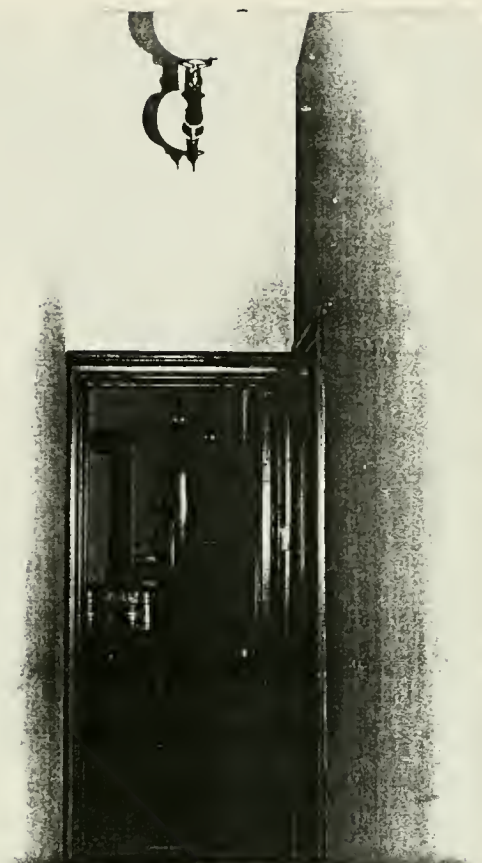


Illustration 4:  
First floor rear hallway  
looking towards entry hall.

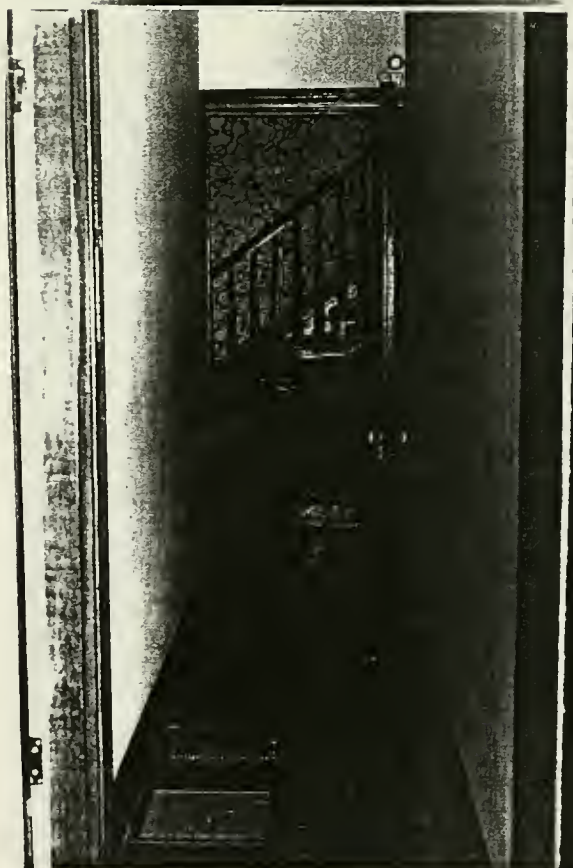






Illustration 5:  
Central staircase as seen  
from second floor landing.



Illustration 6:  
Second floor hall decorative  
painting detail.





The front parlor, a space in which the family entertained, was elaborately decorated. The inventory listed seventy-five yards of velvet carpeting as well as three sets of curtains and lambrequins. The walls were probably covered in wallpaper while the exposed woodwork was grained to suggest more expensive wood (see illustrations 8 & 9).

The dining room was also a room which would have been used by family and guests. The inventory listed fifty yards of Brussels carpet as well as a drugget. The walls were probably wallpapered as shown in illustration 10. Although no curtains were listed on the inventory, there probably were curtains hung in this room. The gaselier located in the dining room was probably a much more elaborate one than the servant hallway and kitchen. The inventory listed a gas fixture in the dining room valued at \$10 which was probably similar to the one in illustration 10. The inventory also listed a gaselier in the parlor valued at \$40 as well as other gas fixtures throughout the house of lesser value. However, the inventory did not list any gas fixtures in the attic (the domestics' living quarters) or the kitchen.

The kitchen was separated from the family living spaces by a long hallway. This design was common in the earlier architectural designs examined. Andrew Jackson Downing suggested this design in his book *Victorian Cottage Residences* (1981 reprint).



Illustration 7:  
Entry hall as seen from  
Dining Room.



Illustration 8:  
Parlor

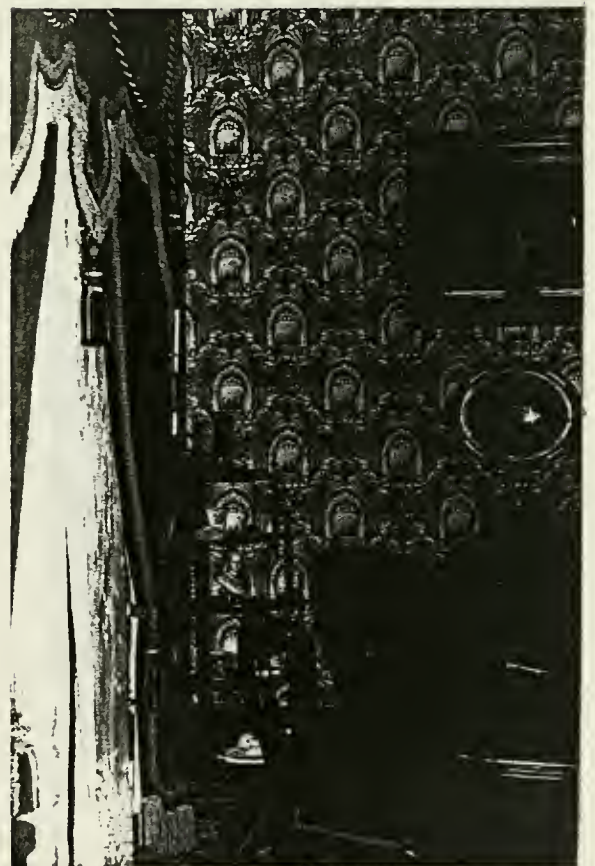






Illustration 9:  
Detail of Parlor entry  
door frame



Illustration 10:  
Dining Room







A kitchen on the first floor has the advantage of being more accessible, and more completely under the surveillance of the mistress of the house, but, on the other hand, it is open to the objection of being occasionally offensive in the matter of sound, sight, and smells; unless, in the case of large houses, where these may be excluded by long passages and double doors.<sup>68</sup>

The kitchen has been restored to represent a typical late nineteenth-century kitchen. The modern interpretation of the kitchen was based on Beecher and Stowe's *The American Home* (1869).<sup>69</sup> The kitchen was enlarged by the Hunter family, however, the modern interpretation has installed a false wall. This reduction in size and the interpretation are supposed to represent a typical kitchen of the 1860's. The kitchen was used mainly by the domestics and would have served as their workspace as well as their sitting room (see illustrations 11-14).

The walls were painted peach (color determined by paint analysis) while the floors were left relatively bare. The 1867 inventory lists one rag carpet (see illustration 13). There were very few items of furniture, four chairs and three tables, listed in the inventory.

The 1859 Fire Insurance Survey lists, "Dressers in kitchen, cooking range, boiler, iron sink & hot and cold water introduced, pantry & closets" (see appendix B). Illustrations 11 and 12 show the range (patent date 1866) and boiler recently installed in the house.

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<sup>68</sup> Andrew Jackson Downing, *Victorian Cottage Residences*, NY: Dover Publishing, Inc., 1981 (reprint), p. 3.

<sup>69</sup> *Guide Training Manual*, Philadelphia: Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion, Inc. Revised by KSM, 2/91.



Illustration 11:  
Detail of kitchen range  
and boiler.



Illustration 12:  
Kitchen

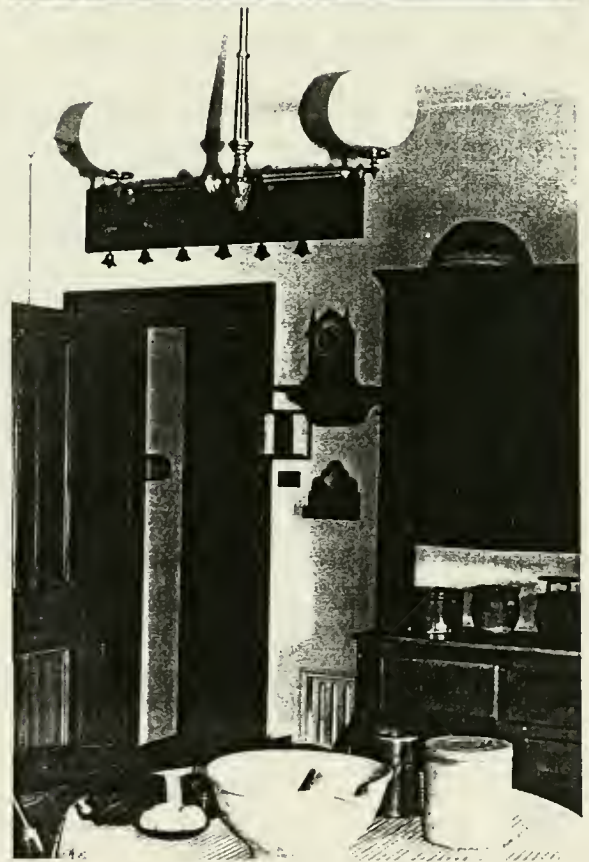




Illustration 13:  
Kitchen



Illustration 14:  
Kitchen







The kitchen had been recently restored according to the principles of Beecher and Stowe. The kitchen is arranged to be efficient with cupboards and shelves holding every utensil or gadget within arms reach.

A bell system was installed in the kitchen in order to call for domestics when desired. This system is not original but was found in a neighborhood house constructed during the same period. Illustrations 14 and 15 show the bell system. This would have allowed family members to call on servants at any time. This demand on their time was a major complaint of nineteenth-century domestics.

The domestics' living spaces were far different than those of the familys'. The domestics were placed in an attic room. Although the 1867 inventory listed thirty-five yards of ingrain carpet and two bedsteads in the attic, the rooms offered little decor. The ceilings (as seen in illustrations 16-18) were sloped, which created a cramped space for the domestics. The roof slopes were evident inside the room around the windows (see illustration 17). A heating system was installed in the attic which would have provided some comfort for the domestics in the winter (see illustration 18). The rooms, however, would probably have been extremely hot in the summer.

A column was placed in the middle of the room possibly for structural support. A ladder, placed by the doorway, led to a trap door in the ceiling which accessed the roof (see illustrations 19 & 20).



Illustration 15: Detail of sloping walls.

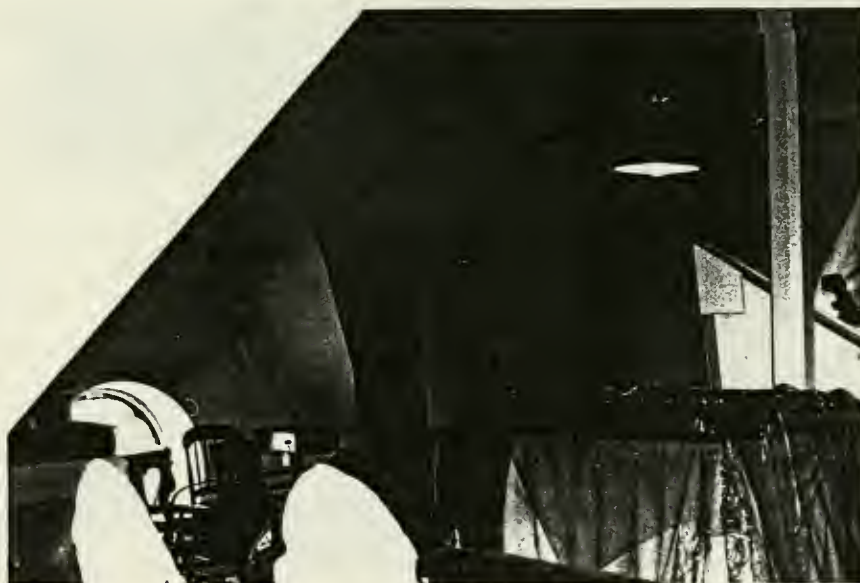
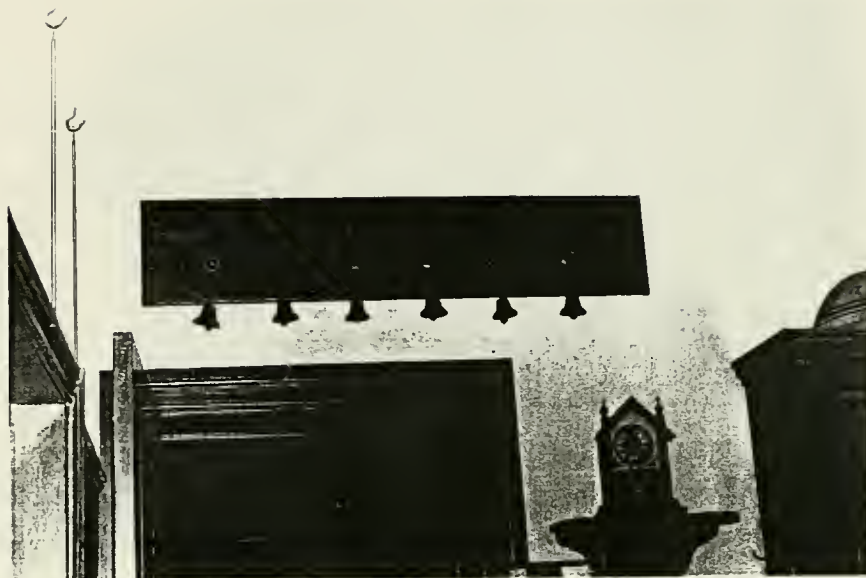


Illustration 16: Domestic workers' living quarters.



Illustration 17: Detail of Bell system



Illustration 18: Heating system in domestic workers' living quarters.





Illustration 19:  
Domestic workers' living  
quarters.

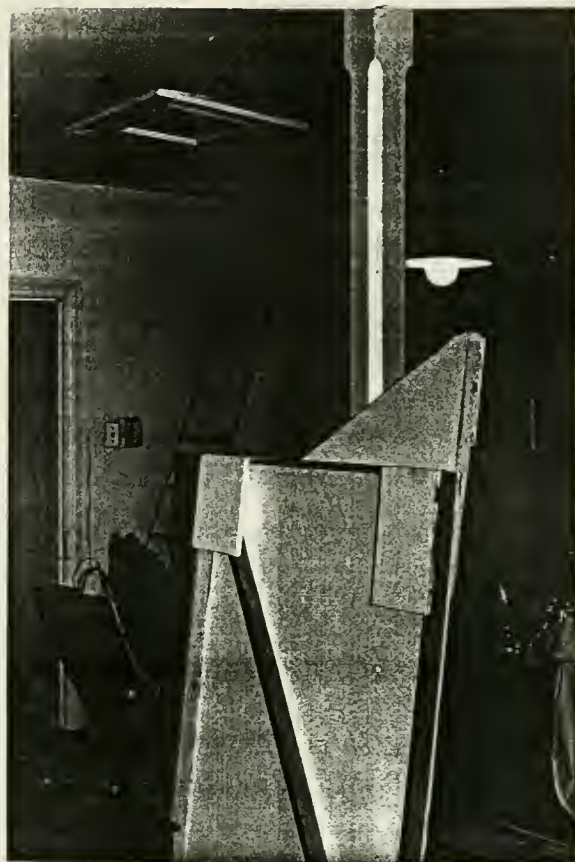
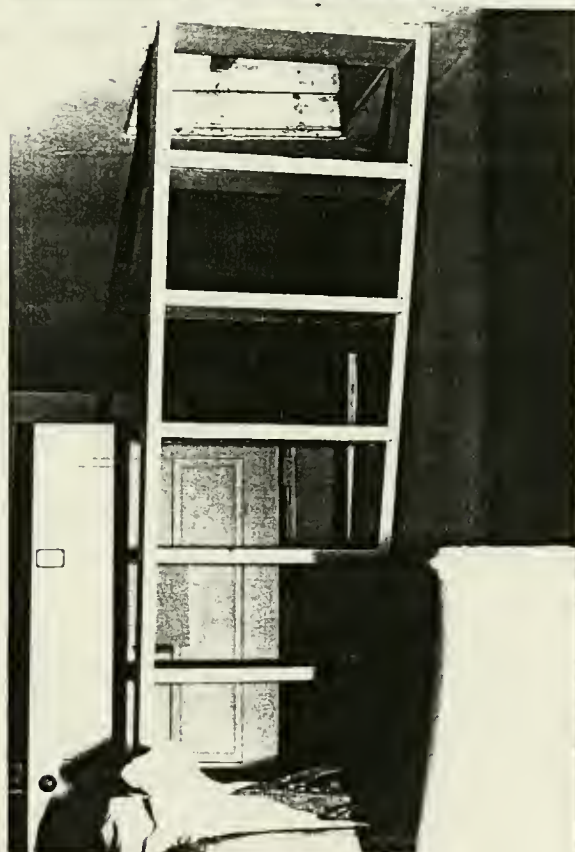


Illustration 20:  
Ladder leading from attic  
to roof.







The walls and windows would have lacked any decoration. The windows were floor level (shown in illustrations 21-24). Small in size, the windows did not offer much light in the room and probably very little relief from the summer heat. There were no lighting fixtures listed in the inventory for this space and was likely there were none. The windows were primarily architectural decorative elements rather than functional (see illustration 25).

The spaces which the domestic workers occupied in the Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion were confining and lacking decor. The domestic workers' rooms, which were located in the attic, were unpainted and awkward spaces. The sloping roof decreased the amount of space available to the domestic workers. The windows offered little light and relief from summer heat. This differed greatly from the family areas of the house. These areas were finely decorated with wallpaper, paint and carpet. The windows were large and offered a great deal of light and air circulation.

While the family viewed the house as a home which should be comfortable and aesthetically pleasing, the domestic workers viewed the house as a work place. Their chambers and work spaces, devoid of any comfort, were a reflection of their positions in the house as workers.



Illustration 21:  
Domestic workers' living  
quarters.



Illustration 22:  
Window detail in domestic  
workers' living quarters.





Illustration 23:  
Domestic workers' living  
quarters.



Illustration 24:  
Window detail in domestic  
workers' living quarters.









Illustration 25:  
View of exterior of window leading to domestic workers'  
living quarters.



## CONCLUSION

Many nineteenth-century works of fiction depicted the role of the domestic worker as more than an employee. Many described them as "part of the family." This paper began as an analysis of the "servant myth" as it was reflected in the social and physical environments of the domestic worker. A study of nineteenth-century prescriptive literature was completed to determine social attitudes of employers. This research was then applied to Germantown, Pennsylvania.

Nineteenth-century prescriptive literature was full of contradictions. Authors professed a need for employers to educate their domestic servants as well as fill the role of parent. This literature argued against the necessity of domestic workers while authors supplied information on training one's employees. Most importantly, this literature advocated a democratic ideal which defined domestic workers as "educated employees" rather than servants or slaves.

This democratic ideal, combined with the domestic myth, were contradicted in the social as well as physical conditions which surrounded a domestic worker in the second half of the nineteenth century. The social stigma attached to the domestic worker was reflected in the physical conditions in which they lived. Domestic workers were placed in rooms in the rear of the house which were often placed over the kitchen and near the bathroom. The back



rooms were accessed by a secondary staircase further severing the domestic workers contact with the family. These rooms were often plain and barren. They lacked most of the comforts associated with home.

Although many nineteenth-century fictional works described domestic workers as "members of the family," these workers were employees. The social and physical living conditions of the domestic workers reflected the accepted attitudes about domestic workers.



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Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA



**Appendix A: Demographic Study**





Germantown Census Results - 1860

Total population: 11,925

Total # of servants: 459 - 4 %

Total # of households: 225

# of servants per household:	(1):	92 - 41 %
	(2):	72 - 32 %
	(3):	33 - 15 %
	(4):	21 - 9 %
	(5+):	7 - 3 %

Occupations of head of household:	merchant:	54 - 24 %
	gentleman:	24 - 11 %
	manufacturer:	14 - 6 %
	farmer:	12 - 5 %
	physician:	6 - 3 %
	other:	115 - 51 %

---

**Servant info:****Women:** 425 - 93 %

nationalities:	Irish:	315 - 74 %
	Penn:	65 - 15 %
	Germ:	16 - 4 %
	Engl:	7 - 2 %
	Other:	17 - 4 %
	Black:	4 (all born in U.S.) - 1 %

age:	under 20:	74 - 18 %
	20-29:	209 - 49 %
	30-39:	78 - 18 %
	40-49:	35 - 8 %
	over 50:	29 - 7 %

**Men:** 34 - 7 %

nationalities:	Irish:	10 - 29 %
	Penn:	8 - 24 %
	Germ:	8 - 24 %
	Engl:	2 - 6 %
	Other:	1 - 3 %
	Black:	5 (all born in U.S.) - 15 %

age:	under 20:	4 - 12 %
	20-29:	14 - 41 %
	30-39:	11 - 32 %
	40-49:	3 - 9 %
	over 50:	2 - 6 %



Germantown Census Results - 1880

Total population: 33,815  
 Total # of servants: 1868 - 6 %  
 Total # of households: 1039

# of servants per household: (1): 536 - 52 %  
 (2): 309 - 30 %  
 (3): 121 - 12 %  
 (4): 40 - 4 %  
 (5+): 33 - 2 %

Occupations of head of household: merchant: 117 - 11 %  
 gentleman: 23 - 2 %  
 manufacturer: 66 - 6 %  
 farmer: 28 - 3 %  
 physician: 29 - 3 %  
 (wife): 193 - 19 %  
 other: 583 - 56 %

Servant info:

Women: 1701 - 91 %

nationalities: Irish: 871 - 51 %  
 Penn: 462 - 27 %  
 Germ: 33 - 2 %  
 Engl: 54 - 3 %  
 Other: 112 - 7 %  
 Black: 169 (all born in U.S.) - 10 %

age: under 20: 329 - 19 %  
 20-29: 745 - 44 %  
 30-39: 263 - 15 %  
 40-49: 192 - 12 %  
 over 50: 172 - 10 %

Men: 167 - 9 %

nationalities: Irish: 51 - 31 %  
 Penn: 54 - 32 %  
 Germ: 1 - 0-1 %  
 Engl: 5 - 3 %  
 Other: 7 - 4 %  
 Black: 49 (all born in U.S.) - 29 %

age: under 20: 29 - 17 %  
 20-29: 68 - 41 %  
 30-39: 25 - 15 %  
 40-49: 26 - 16 %  
 over 50: 19 - 11 %



Germanatown Census Results - 1900

Total Population: 65,377  
 Total # of servants: 3,630 - 6 %  
 Total # of households: 2,271

# of servants per household: (1): 1362 - 60 %  
 (2): 614 - 27 %  
 (3): 197 - 9 %  
 (4): 62 - 3 %  
 (5+): 36 - 1 %

Occupation of head of household: merchant: 180 - 8 %  
 farmer: 14 - 1 %  
 manufacturer: 202 - 9 %  
 physician: 68 - 3 %  
 (wife): 51 - 2 %  
 other: 1754 - 77 %

Servant info: 3,630

Women: 3,538 - 97 %

nationalities: Irish: 1581 - 45 %  
 Penn: 535 - 15 %  
 Germ: 121 - 3 %  
 Engl: 88 - 2 %  
 Other: 381 - 11 %  
 Black: 832 (all born in U.S.) - 24 %

age: under 20: 428 - 12 %  
 20-29: 1751 - 50 %  
 30-39: 686 - 19 %  
 40-49: 282 - 8 %  
 over 50: 391 - 11 %

Men: 92 - 3 %

nationalities: Irish: 13 - 14 %  
 Penn: 11 - 12 %  
 Engl: 6 - 7 %  
 Other: 2 - 2 %  
 Black: 60 (all born in U.S.) - 65 %

ages: under 20: 14 - 15 %  
 20-29: 50 - 54 %  
 30-39: 18 - 20 %  
 40-49: 6 - 7 %  
 over 50: 4 - 4 %



PHILADELPHIA, WARD 22 -- CENSUS INFORMATION -- 1860

<u>#</u>	<u>Head of Hsehold</u>	<u># of Servants</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Nationality</u>
1844	merchant	2	25,30	F	Ireland
1845	?	1	14	F	Penna
1846	clerk	2	20,15	F	Ireland, unknown
1848	clerk	2	20,20	F	England
1849	merchant	1	20	F	Germany
1853	?	5	14,32	F	2-Ireland
			24		1-Penna
			35,40	M	1-Penna
					1-England
1856	gentleman	4	32,36	F	2-Ireland
			20	F	1-Penna
			34	M	Germany
1859	gentleman	3	35,29,	F	Ireland
			30		
1860	merchant	2	22,40	F	Ireland
1861	merchant	1	23	M	B Penna
1865	merchant	7	55,39	F	Ireland
			44,36,61		
			46,27	M	1-Penna
					1-Ireland
1866	merchant	3	20,24	F	Ireland
			38		
1867	merchant	2	30,40	F	Ireland
1868	stock broker	3	30,40,	F	Ireland
			25		
1869	coal dealer	2	45,17	F	Ireland
1870	merchant	4	12	F	Penna
			50,20	F	B Penna
			21	M	Penna
1871	gentleman	3	64,40	F	Ireland
			26		
1873	physician	2	20,21	F	Ireland
1875	merchant	1	18	F	Ireland
1876	merchant	3	24,22	F	Ireland
			42		
1879	clerk	2	25,16	F	Ireland
1881	broker	4	20,20	F	Ireland
			25,56		
1883	?	2	11,25	F	1-Ireland
					1-Penna
1886	?	1	20	F	Ireland
1887	physician	4	24,23	F	Ireland
			22		
			34	M	Ireland





## PHILADELPHIA, WARD 22 -- CENSUS INFORMATION -- 1860

#	Head of Household	# of Servants	Age	Sex	Nationality
1890	minister	1	21	F	Maryland
1892	merchant	3	20,24	F	2-Penna
			36		1-New Jersey
1893	clerk	1	30	M	Ireland
1894	gentlemen	2	21,25	F	Ireland
1895	jeweller	2	23,25	F	Ireland
1898	?	2	17,22	F	1-Penna
					1-Ireland
1900	?	4	23,30	F	2-Ireland
			30,17		1-Germany
					1-New York
1901	manufacturer	3	26,29	F	1-Ireland
					1-Germany
			24	M	England
1903	marble dealer	2	19	F	1-Scotland
			20	M	1-Ireland
1904	merchant	1	30	F	Ireland
1905	merchant	1	22	F	Ohio
1908	?	3	23,23	F	Ireland
			21	M	Ireland
1935	watchmaker	2	25,23	F	Ireland
1936	?	1	45	F	B Rhode Island
1940	shoemaker	1	60	F	Penna
1945	broker	2	20,26	F	Ireland
1955	?	1	25	F	B Penna
1959	?	2	28,27	F	Ireland
1961	merchant	1	45	F	Scotland
1962	merchant	1	19	F	Ireland
1963	teacher	1	18	F	New Jersey
1964	minister	3	22,25	F	Ireland
			26		
1971	manufacturer	3	16,22	F	Ireland
			24		
1975	merchant	4	28,38	F	Ireland
			12	F	B Penna
			29	M	Germany
1977	merchant	1	24	F	Ireland



PHILADELPHIA, WARD 22 -- CENSUS INFORMATION -- 1880

#	Head of Hsehold	# of Servants	Age	Sex	Nationality	
84	merchant	1	40	F	B	Virginia
86	real estate agent	1	20	F		Ireland
87	surveyor	1	20	F		Penna
91	physician	1	20	F		New Jersey
103	(housewife)	2	20,20	F		Penna
107	dealer	1	19	F		Ireland
117	(housewife)	1	24	F		Penna
119	(housewife)	3	20,21	F	B	Delaware
			23			
120	(housewife)	3	30,10	F		2-Ireland
			30			1-Penna
123	worker	1	35	F		Ireland
124	(housewife)	1	18	F		Penna
125	mining	1	20	F	B	Virginia
126	clergyman	1	35	F		Penna
127	manufacturer	2	18,40	F		1-Penna
						1-Ireland
128	(housewife)	1	20	F		Ireland
129	rail road	1	30	F		Ireland
130	retired	2	21,25	F		1-Penna
						1-Ireland
132	shipping industry	3	20,23	F		Ireland
			25			
133	banker	1	16	F		Penna
134	retired	2	23,25	F		Ireland
135	merchant	1	20	F	B	Penna
136	manufacturer	4	20,20	F		3-Ireland
			23,27			1-Maryland
137	banker	2	40,20	F		1-Penna
						1-Ireland
138	merchant	1	25	F		Ireland
139	physician	3	40,30	F	B	Virginia
			10			



PHILADELPHIA, WARD 22 -- CENSUS INFORMATION -- 1880

<u>#</u>	<u>head of hsehold</u>	<u># of servants</u>	<u>age</u>	<u>sex</u>	<u>nationality</u>
139	merchant	1	20	F	B Maryland
140	insurance	1	20	F	Penna
141	merchant	2	29,25	F	Ireland
142	manufacturer	1	20	F	B Delaware
143	?	1	20	F	Ireland
146	clergyman	2	20,17	F	Ireland
148	(housewife)	2	23	M	1-Penna
			24	F	1-England
156	grocer	2	40,20	F	1-Penna
					1-Germany
157	shoemaker	1	14	F	Ohio
173	clerk	1	21	F	New Jersey
175	conveyancer	3	19,20	F	1-Penna
					1-Vermont
			30	M	Ireland
177	clergyman	2	19,20	F	B 1-Virginia
					1-Delaware
178	(housewife)	1	58	F	Ireland
180	merchant	2	24,23	F	Ireland
181	(housewife)	2	30,16	F	Penna
183	accountant	1	20	F	B Penna
189	lawyer	3	30,20	F	Ireland
			10		
190	jeweller	2	23	F	B Virginia
			25	M	B Maryland
191	merchant	2	19,20	F	B Maryland
192	(housewife)	2	20,40	F	Ireland
193	banker	3	40,20	F	2-Ireland
			40	M	1-England
194	merchant	1	12	F	Penna
195	(housewife)	1	20	F	Delaware
199	clergyman	2	24,25	F	B Maryland
200	clerk	1	14	F	Louisiana





PHILADELPHIA, WARD 22 -- CENSUS INFORMATION -- 1900

#	head of hsehold	# of servants	age	sex	nationality
15	?	1	24	F	B Virginia
17	engineer	1	21	F	Ireland
19	real estate agent	1	19	F	B Virginia
20	manufacturer	2	20,40	F	Penna
21	manufacturer	3	20,60	F	England
			24		
22	?	1	29	F	Penna
23	buyer	1	25	F	Ireland
37	banker	4	23,34	F	2-Ireland
			50,20		2-Sweden
38	retired	4	30,20	F	1-France
			30		1-Australia
					1-Ireland
			20	M	B Georgia
39	insurance	2	14,12	F	Penna
40	railroad	2	23,25	F	1-Penna
					1-Ireland
42	architect	2	24,26	F	Ireland
43	insurance	6	20,20	F	1-Germany
			34,32		1-Canada
			23,18		3-Ireland
					1-Penna
44	artist	2	23,26	F	B Maryland
45	dentist	2	20,30	F	Ireland
46	buyer	2	26,34	F	Ireland
48	builder	1	31	F	England
50	furniture maker	1	20	F	Penna
54	retired	1	59	F	B Virginia
56	salesman	2	30,19	F	Ireland
57	insurance	1	19	F	Ireland
58	?	1	23	F	Ireland
62	baker	1	21	F	Ireland
65	lawyer	1	20	F	Penna
66	physician	2	23,27	F	Ireland



PHILADELPHIA, WARD 22 -- CENSUS INFORMATION -- 1900

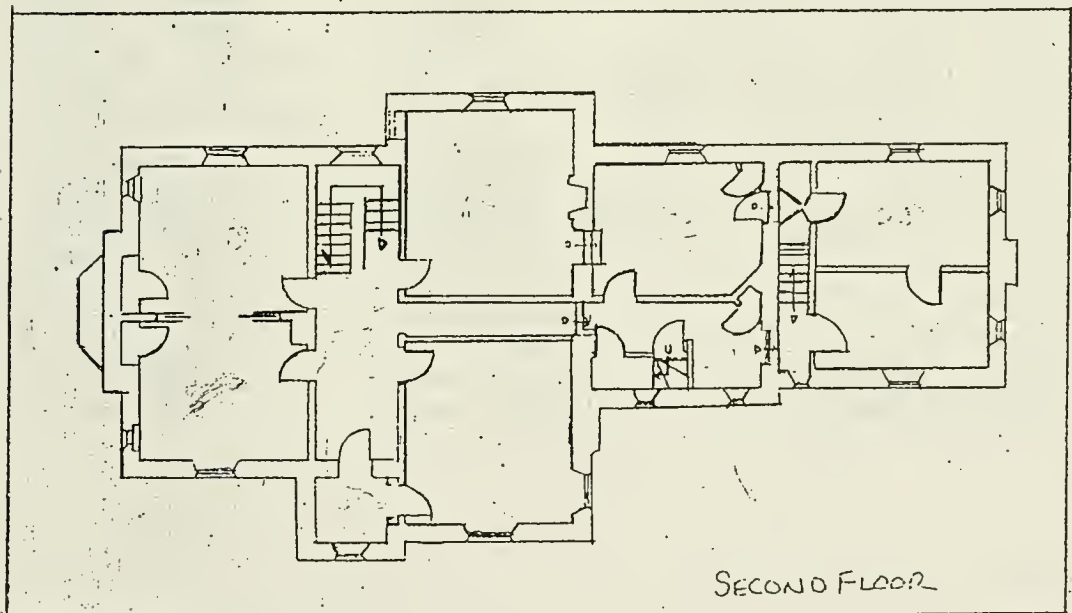
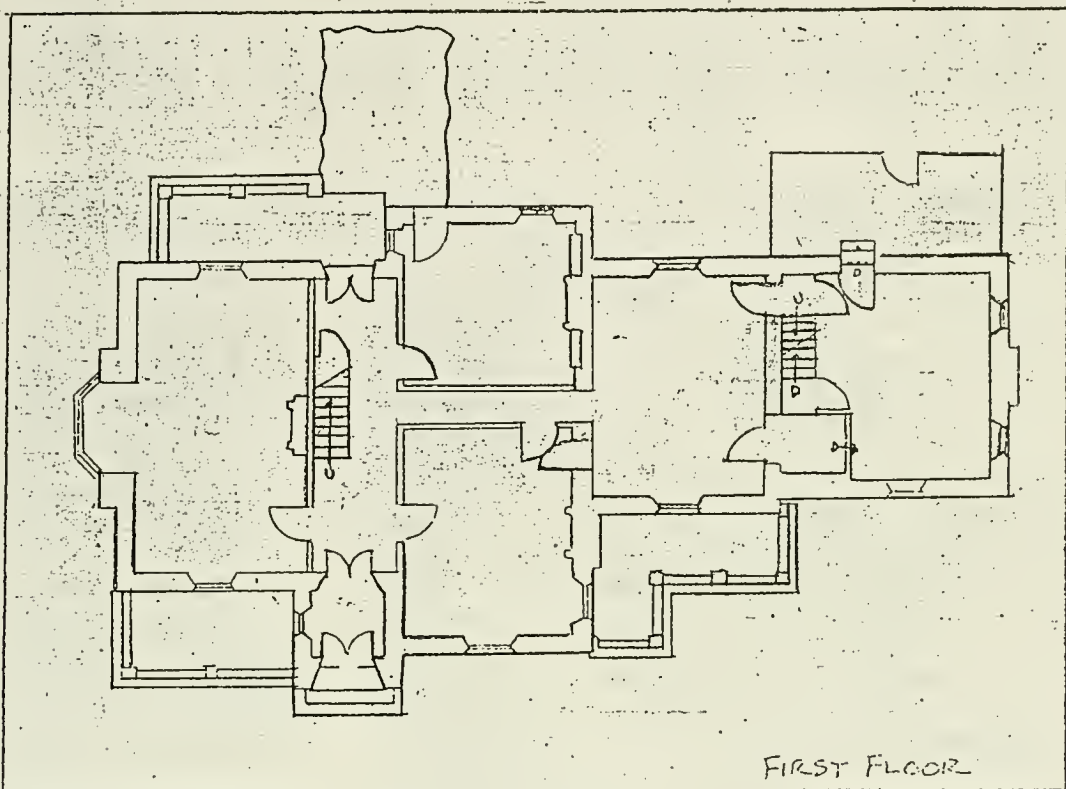
#	head of hsehold	# of servants	age	sex	nationality
68	retired	2	23,25	F	Ireland
69	manufacturer	2	20,30	F	Ireland
70	manufacturer	3	20,20	F	Penna
			32		
71	clerk	1	20	F	Ireland
72	merchant	2	20,30	F	Ireland
73	physician	4	20,20	F	1-Ireland
			30		2-Penna
			40	M	1-Delaware
74	teacher	1	22	F	B Virginia
75	merchant	1	22	F	Ireland
76	clerk	1	29	F	B Virginia
78	insurance	2	23,25	F	Ireland
79	railroad	2	20,30	F	B Virginia
81	retired	2	18,20	F	Ireland
82	retired	2	23,34	F	Ireland
83	(housewife)	2	23,27	F	Penna
84	manufacturer	1	24	F	B N. Carolina
86	druggist	2	19,28	F	B 1-Virginia
					1-Penna
89	retired	1	64	F	Penna
90	minister	1	40	F	B Virginia
91	retired	1	50	F	Ireland
92	dentist	1	21	F	B Virginia
93	merchant	2	30,27	F	1-Ireland
					1-New Jersey
97	manufacturer	3	40,20	F	B Maryland
			13		
98	merchant	2	43,25	F	Germany
99	lawyer	1	32	F	B Virginia



**Appendix B: Case Study Research**

Source: All research for this case study was found in the *Guide Training Manual*, Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion, Inc.  
Revised by KSM, 2/91.









Property Owners on Tulpehocken Street and Walnut Lane, 1861

Source: *Map of the Vicinity of Philadelphia*, by D.J. Lake and S.N. Beers, Philadelphia, 1861; and *McElroy's City Directory*, Philadelphia, 1861.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Business Address</u>
Aertson, James M	Bill broker	SE Dock & Walnut
Aertson, Robert B.	Asst. Treasurer	410 Walnut
	Phoenix Iron Works	
Bennett, Edward	Gentleman	--
Bodine, Samuel T.	President	230 Walnut Street
Bradley, Joseph W.	Publisher	66 N. 4th
Champion, John B.	Papermaker	27 N. 6th
Cope, Jacob	Gentleman	--
Garrett, John	Grocer	--
Gummere, William	Cashier	Northern Liberties Bank 227 Vine
Houston, Henry	PRR Freight Agent	13th & Market
Johnson, Anna	Widow	--
Kennedy, Davidson	--	333 Walnut
Maxwell, Ebenezer	Commission Merchant	123 Chestnut
Merchant, George W.	Gentleman	--
Mitchell, Joseph, Sr.	President, Mechanics Bank	3rd below Market
Mitchell, Joseph Jr.	Manufacturer	--
Potter, Beatman	Agent	--
Richards, Ellen	Widow	--
Shoemaker, Franklin	Tanner	809 N. Front
Spooner, David C.	Goat skin merchant	430 N. 3rd
Strawbridge, George	--	--
Taws, Lewis	Machinist	125 Walnut
Thomas, Charles D.	Gentleman	--
Warner, Redwood F.	Chandelier manuf.	404 Race
Warnock, Robert	Dry Goods	32 N. 8th
Warnock, Robert, Jr.	Clerk	--
Williams, Howard	Gentleman	--
Williams, Jacob T.	Gentleman	--
Yocum, James	Iron foundry	13 Drinker's Alley
Yocum, James, Jr.	Brass foundry	13 Drinker's Alley



Insurance Survey #28119 (Fire Association)

Survey made 11th month 11th 1859 and filed [in the] Office of the Fire Association for Ebenezer Maxwell of the City of Phila of his Three Story Stone Dwelling House situated at the Corner of Tulpehocken and Green Streets in the 22nd Ward city of Phila.

Finished as follows: Slate roof, Tin Spouts, Wood Cornice, Hemlock Joists, Sap pine floors, Gas pipes in each Story, Brick furnace in Cellar for Warming the House & Valves in Each Story.

First Story divided into Parlor, Entry, dining room, library, & Kitchens. Vestibule in front part of Entry with Sash Door & Stained Glass in ditto. A continued rail stairs with yellow pine steps, turned Ash ballusters, walnut rail & newel post. Wash stand with marble top, china bowl & cold water introduced in closet under stairs. Stucco cornice & center flowers on the ceilings. Three marble mantles, 13/8 six panel doors with mortice locks. Doors & windows finished with fancy architraves. The sash in windows hung on hinges and inside panel shutters with boxes. Two closets. Two neat bookcases in the Library with sash doors and stained glass. A plain winding back stairway the steps of white pine. Dressers in kitchen, cooking range, boiler, iron sink & hot and cold water introduced, pantry & closets. A Frame Conservatory in rear of house about 8 feet by 13 feet, finished in a neat fancy full manner, skylight in roof. Four windows with circular heads & sash, the sash in one of ditto on hinges as doorway, fancy columns with cap & base & wood cornice. Open piazza in front & rear of house finished in a fancy full manner with similar columns, caps & base, wood cornice & Tin roof.

Mortar floor in cellar, sash & wire to windows, pantry partitioned off & two rough coal bins, ceiling of cellar plastered.

Second story divided into six rooms & entrys, & bath room. Two marble mantles, 6/4 four panel doors with mortice locks. The windows with sash on hinges & inside panel shutters, doors & windows finished with architraves,



Insurance Survey, continued

stucco cornice, sliding doors in partition between two of the rooms, four closets with 5/4 doors. Wood bath tub lined with planished copper, hot & cold water introduced, water closet piped as usual. Two fancy shaped windows with single sash. Back stairs extending to third story.

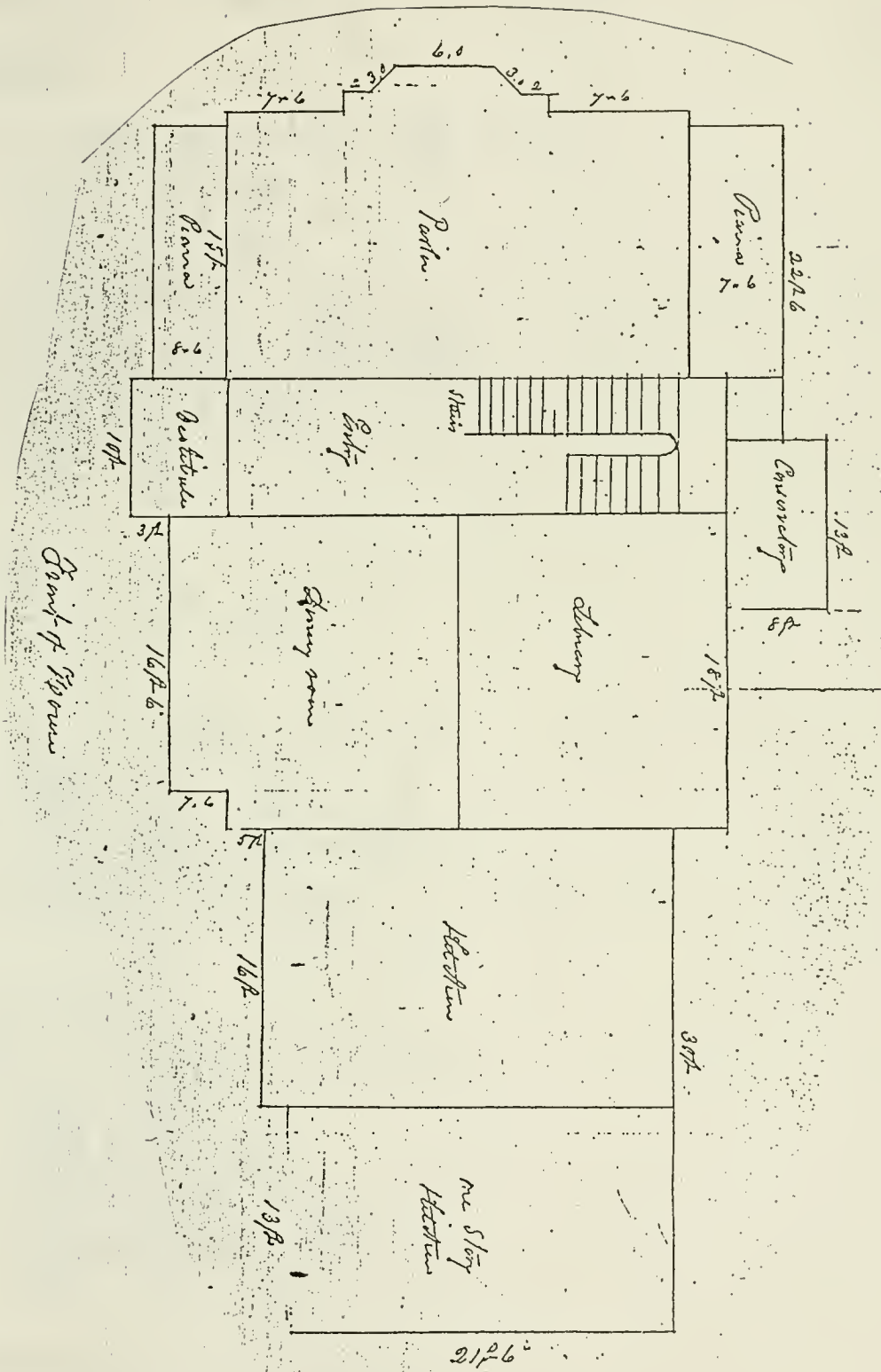
Third (or Attic story) divided into three rooms. Entry, or store room, 1-1/8 four panels doors with knob locks, doors and windows finished with moldings. Three circular windows with sash on pivots. Two windows with angle heads the sash on hinges. Two windows in the tower, the sash on hinges. Trap door and step ladder to Roof. Platform about 30 feet square in center of roof, with a fancy ballustrade around ditto. Floor covered with tin. The stone tower extending above the roof and finished in a fancy full manner.

FA 28119

John M. Ogden, Surveyor









Inventory of William Hunter, Jr., 11/6/1867Parlor

75 yds. velvet carpet (claimed by Mrs. Hunter)  
 4 fine stuffed chairs 25. \$100  
 2 sofas 60. \$120  
 4 reception chairs 10. \$40  
 2 ottomans 10. \$20  
 1 card table \$10  
 1 walnut center table \$60  
 1 French plate looking glass, gilt frame \$200  
 9 assorted oil pictures 30. \$270  
 3 sets curtains and lambrequins (claimed by Mrs. Hunter) 60.  
 1 walnut what not \$100  
 3 bronze statues 30. \$90  
 1 piano \$175

Reception Room

1 walnut cabinet \$150  
 1 "cooko" clock \$40  
 1 reception sofa \$40  
 8 " chairs 8. \$64  
 1 center table, marble top \$30  
 1 small walnut do (sic) \$20  
 2 alabaster vases (broken) 4. \$8  
 5 assorted pictures (oil) 5. \$25  
 2 sets blue lambrequins' curtains 40. \$80  
 1 walnut what not \$40  
 (50?-59?) yds. Brussels carpet 3. \$150  
 1 French plate looking glass \$150

Dining Room

50 yds Brussels carpet 1.25 \$62.50  
 1 druggett \$3  
 1 walnut cabinet \$40  
 1 extension table \$35  
 1 small ditto \$10  
 8 assorted chairs 2. \$16  
 5 pictures (assorted) 6. \$30  
 1 picture \$20  
 2 vases 1. \$2

Pantry

china, glass, dishes, etc. \$50



Lower Hall

20 yds carpet	1.	\$20
2 walnut chairs	5.	\$10
2 camp chairs	2.	\$4
1 hat rack		\$6
2 pedestals	5.	\$10
33 yds stair carpet	1.25	\$41.25
stair rods		\$10

Library

32 yds Brussels carpet	2.25	\$72
1 walnut table		\$15
1 mahogany leather sofa		\$15
1 walnut leather chair		\$15
4 walnut leather chairs	4.	\$16
1 walnut secretary		\$25
1 French plate looking glass		\$75
80 miscellaneous volumes	.50	\$40
147 " "	1.	\$40
1 drugget		\$3
1 stuffed chair		\$4
7 assorted pictures	4.	\$28

Kitchen

1 rag carpet	
4 chairs	all at \$100
3 tables	
tins, pots, china, etc.	

Chamber No. 1

40 yds Brussels carpet	1.75	\$70
4 chairs	4.	\$16
1 lounge		\$20
1 walnut wardrobe		\$100
1 bedstead and bedding		\$100
1 bureau		\$60
2 sets white lace curtains	10.	\$20
1 toilet stand		\$15
2 pictures	5.	\$10



Chamber No. 2

35 yds carpet	1.	\$35	
1 walnut bedstead and bedding			\$75
1 walnut wash stand		\$15	
3 fancy (?) chairs	1.	\$3	
1 chamber set		\$5	
1 walnut bureau		\$40	

Chamber No. 3

1 walnut bedstead and bedding			\$75
1 walnut wash stand		\$15	
1 bureau		\$35	
3 fancy chairs	1.	\$3	
35 yds carpet	1.	\$35	
1 chamber set		\$5	
1 stuffed chair		\$10	
1 bidette		\$10	

Second Story Hall

1 chest for clothes		\$20	
---------------------	--	------	--

Chamber No. 4

2 cottage beds and bedding	20.	\$40	
4 chairs	1.	\$4	
1 washstand		\$6	
1 chamber set		\$6	
1 looking glass		\$5	
1 bureau		\$10	
30 yds ingrain carpet	.60	\$18	

Chamber No. 5

30 yds carpeting	.50	\$15	
1 cottage bureau		\$5	
1 bedstead and bedding		\$10	
3 chairs	1.	\$3	
washstand and towel rack		\$6	





Children's Sitting Room

30 yds carpet	1.50	\$45
5 chairs	1.	\$5
1 whatnot and books		\$5
1 looking glass		\$6
2 stands	2.	\$4
1 center table		\$15
5 pictures	8.	\$40

Girls Room (sic)

1 cottage bedstead and bedding		\$18
3 chairs	.50	\$1.50
1 ingrain carpet		\$10
1 stand		\$1
1 looking glass		\$2
1 bureau		\$5
30 yds carpet		
"stairs ditto"	1.	\$30

Attic

35 yds ingrain carpet	1.	\$35
1 bedstead and bedding		\$25
1 bureau		\$15
3 chairs	1.	\$3
1 stand towel rack		\$3
1 iron bedstead and bedding		\$5

Gas fixtures

parlor chandelier	\$40
reception room	\$35
library	\$35
dining room	\$10
sitting room	\$8
bedrooms	\$30
hall	\$10





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